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## **'Setting' the Stuart court Placing portraits in the 'performance' of Anglo Spanish negotiations**

**Wendy Hitchmough**

*This article interrogates three manuscript inventories for Anna of Denmark's collection at the Tudor palace of Oatlands in Surrey, written at yearly intervals in 1616, 1617 and 1618. It explores the changing display of her paintings there in lavishly furnished settings and the positioning of a new portrait, Paul van Somer's Anne of Denmark. Van Somer locates his subject in the hunting park at Oatlands with a representation, in the background, of an Inigo Jones gateway. This article explores Anna's agency as a collector and patron. It proposes new readings for the interplay between portraiture, architecture, and the decorative and performing arts at the early Stuart court. Through a study of particular occasions at which they were seen by foreign ambassadors, it proposes a political currency for the queen's collection and for van Somer's portraits and Jones's architecture, as integral components in the elaborate 'performances' of the court.*

ANNA of Denmark's agency at the Stuart court and her importance as a patron of architecture, garden design, painting and the decorative and performing arts has been underestimated, until recently, in the historiography of court studies.<sup>1</sup> The influence and distinct identity of her court and its relationship to those of the king and their three children, Henry, Charles and Elizabeth, have been neglected. While Prince Henry and Charles I have been heralded as pioneers in the history of collecting in Britain, Anna has been curiously disregarded. Kevin Sharpe makes no reference to her in his 983-page biography of Charles I.<sup>2</sup> Sir Roy Strong describes her as the 'fountain-head of artistic patronage' at the Stuart court but dismisses her as extravagant and irrelevant in his monograph on Prince Henry: 'On the whole, Anne lived for pleasure, passing her time moving from one of the palaces assigned to her to the next'. He wrote that she 'avoided politics . . . devoting herself instead to dancing, court entertainments, and the design and decoration of her houses and gardens.'<sup>3</sup> Timothy Wilks implies that she was incapable of articulating a significant identity of her own as a collector, still less of inspiring the patronage of her sons. 'The tradition that Anne of Denmark imparted a love of pictures to her son, Henry,' he writes, 'seems to be little more than a facile explanation of the relationship between the collecting mother and the collecting son.'<sup>4</sup> He suggests that Henry had to be saved by his courtiers from the 'potentially ruinous influence' of his mother and that after the prince's death in 1612, 'Anne appropriated much of Henry's collection. There was no one to stop her.'<sup>5</sup>

Three inventories for Anna's 'owne stuffe' at the Tudor palace of Oatlands in Surrey belie these opinions and the hierarchies in values that they encapsulate.<sup>6</sup> Rather, they support an increasing body of research by literary scholars such as Clare McManus and James Knowles, together with art historians such as Erin Griffey and Jemma Field, that reposition Anna and her influence at the Stuart court.<sup>7</sup> Although the inventories are referenced in these reappraisals they have not been fully analysed. These documents provide rare insights into the arrangement of Anna's collection, the movement of paintings and furniture between palaces, and the furnishing and purpose of her gallery spaces. Together, the inventories describe the manifestation of the queen's authority, expanding into the king's apartments at Oatlands in 1617 while he was on progress in Scotland. Rather than receding on his return, the inventory taken in 1618 'found more

stuff newe in the withdrawing chamber on the ~~qu~~ Kings side' and in the king's bedchamber.<sup>8</sup>

The Oatlands inventories of 'her Majesties own stuff' describe a wealth of luxurious new carpets, and furniture upholstered with the finest textiles, transforming the queen's apartments and her galleries between 1616 and 1618. They begin with an account of the hangings and carpets in the queen's bedchamber and her withdrawing chambers at Oatlands because the Stuart court would have attached far greater value to these fabrics than to paintings, which were relatively inexpensive. The inventories describe 'her Ma<sup>tes</sup> letteres & Crowne . . . her Ma<sup>tes</sup> Motta' embroidered into the borders of rich satin hangings, proving that even those textiles that were installed at Oatlands by 1616 – and many more were to be added in the following year – were emblazoned with her identity as a collector.<sup>9</sup> They articulate, therefore, Anna's self fashioning and stature as a collector through the commissioning and arrangement of textiles and furniture as well as paintings. This article and the inventories transcribed in the online appendices support a timely increase in scholarly interest in Anna of Denmark as the 400th anniversary of her death approaches.<sup>10</sup> They will be of particular relevance to studies of the royal interiors and the gardens that she created.

Oatlands was a Henrician palace, granted to Queen Anna by her husband, James I, on 29 August 1611. Building accounts describe the decoration of 'the Queenes Lodgings and gallery towards the garden' for Elizabeth I in 1597-8.<sup>11</sup> The nine-year old Prince Henry was moved to Oatlands as a refuge from the plague after Elizabeth I's death in 1603. He was given an establishment there but there were no significant Stuart alterations to the palace until Anna began a series of improvements to her withdrawing chamber and to Oatlands' garden structures from 1613.<sup>12</sup> The inventories coincide with the completion of these alterations to the palace and its grounds by Inigo Jones, locating the queen's apartments and her galleries within a wider setting. As at Denmark House, renamed from Somerset House in the queen's honour in 1617, there were two distinct galleries at Oatlands.<sup>13</sup> Named 'The Garden Stone Gallery' and 'The Gallery' in the 1616 inventory, they are described as the North Gallery and the South Gallery the following year.<sup>14</sup> Significant changes and additions to the furnishing and picture hang in both galleries, and the addition of a Book Chamber in 1617, suggest the reorganization and refurbishing of these interiors between 1616 and 1617.

The work coincided with the creation of the queen's new gardens. She commissioned a two-storey silkworm house for Oatlands in 1616, promoting Britain's silk industry. It was built of brick with three or four rooms on the ground floor and a large room above. Inigo Jones, as Surveyor of the King's Works, was responsible for enclosing a new vineyard, a 'new garden' and an adjoining 'long privy walk' with a brick wall that was 11 feet high and over 700 feet in length.<sup>15</sup> His account for the work, made after the queen's death in March 1619, sets out 'chardges of the works and buyldings done and performed at Otelandys by direction and Comannement of the late Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>'. The same account outlines 'Chardges of a maske at Denmarke house in the yeare 1616' and preparatory work for the Queen's House at Greenwich, another of Anna's hunting palaces.<sup>16</sup> It describes a creative relationship between the queen and her architect, encompassing garden design, architecture and the performing arts. Jones's account specifically documents Anna's interest in material culture and performance at the Stuart court and her influence as a patron.

Jones's 'chardges' outline the masons' work at Oatlands 'in the month of June and July 1617' and detail the construction of a 'greate gate' between the gardens and the parkland, together with two smaller gateways within the gardens.<sup>17</sup> They are among the

earliest structures known to have been built by Jones. They evidence his assimilation of Andrea Palladio's designs and, together with the Queen's House at Greenwich, the gateways introduced Neo-Palladianism to Britain.<sup>18</sup> The 'greate gate' was 12 feet high and 7 feet wide between the jambs; it was built of stone, 'having on the side dorick columns cut rusticke' with a pediment and 'a square table of marble sett above'.<sup>19</sup> The account correlates with elevations by Inigo Jones in the collections of the Royal Institute of British Architects' (RIBA).<sup>20</sup> The gateway is also represented in the background of a full-length portrait of Anna by Paul van Somer, dated 1617, and listed in the inventory for Oatlands that year.<sup>21</sup>

This article focuses on the positioning of the portrait in the galleries at Oatlands and Anna's collection in the palace to illuminate the sophistication with which she engaged the arts, in combination, to promote her political causes.<sup>22</sup> Van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* has been the subject of considerable analysis, most recently and comprehensively by Jemma Field who argues persuasively that Anna commissioned the portrait to project her status as a consort with ruling powers.<sup>23</sup> She explores the iconography of the painting and its relevance to Anna's membership of the regent council, which met at her palace at Greenwich during the king's Scottish progress in 1617. It is proposed here that the influence and legacy of her patronage of the arts extended further. In reviewing the relationship between two van Somer portraits and new buildings by Inigo Jones depicted within them, it also proposes that Jones's architecture could locate a portrait in a particular activity or event at the Stuart court as well as establishing its palace setting. The Oatlands inventories evidence the strategic placing of portraits and mythological scenes. I will contend that van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* and its installation at Oatlands alluded to political affiliations with Catholic Europe and that his last known portrait, that of *James I and VI*, set before a backdrop of Inigo Jones's new Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace, may have related to a critical moment in negotiations for 'the Spanish Match'.<sup>24</sup>

Studied in combination with state papers and letters, the Oatlands inventories suggest a dynamic relationship between the innovative content and composition of *Anne of Denmark* and its location. Specific meanings attached to portraits are conditioned by where they hang and the circumstances associated with their viewing.<sup>25</sup> Oatlands offered a retreat from the city and, as one of the Queen's palaces, it reflected her agency in hosting more intimate diplomatic occasions. It is proposed here that the inventories, together with other contemporary sources, contextualize the portrait as a dynastic assertion in the subtle negotiations of court politics. By extension, it suggests that van Somer's later portrait, *James I and VI* in its gallery setting at Whitehall Palace, and the diplomatic audiences and theatrical performances that the Banqueting House there was designed to accommodate, may have enjoyed a comparable symbiotic relationship.

## <H1>The Oatlands inventories

The three Oatlands inventories survive with the Glynde Estate papers, now in the East Sussex Record Office, of Sir John Trevor who was described in Inigo Jones's account as the 'knight keeper' of Oatlands. He was responsible for the maintenance of the palace and its grounds (often funded through the queen's privy purse) and for the royal wardrobe at Oatlands. Taken almost exactly a year apart, each of the inventories marks the departure of the queen and her court, perhaps at the conclusion of a season's hunting. The 1616 manuscript (online Appendix 1) provides 'An Inventory of her Ma<sup>tes</sup>

Stuffe in Otelands taken at her Ma<sup>tes</sup> remove in October 1616'.<sup>26</sup> This is followed a year later in the same secretary hand by 'An Inventory of hir Ma<sup>tes</sup> owne stuffe in Oatlands taken ye day after her highnesse remoove from thence being ye 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1617' (online Appendix II).<sup>27</sup> A third inventory, made in 1618 (online Appendix III), suggests that the inventories were commissioned by Anna and that the 1617 inventory was adapted to record items that remained in situ.<sup>28</sup> In addition to listing 'your ma<sup>tes</sup> armes' embossed in a cloth of estate newly installed in the king's bedchamber, it describes a 'picture of your ma<sup>tes</sup> in a greene gowne embrothered wt spotts of flowres'.<sup>29</sup> This 1618 inventory, listing 'Stuff found in Otelands ~~when I tooke Survey~~ more then was mentioned in the last yeares Inventorye & brought thither this Somer 1618', replicates an addendum to the previous year's inventory. It is written in the same, less polished hand as marginalia and alterations made to the 1617 inventory. The '7' of 1617 is transformed into an '8' in the title to the 1617 inventory by this hand, and it marks with an 'x' the many items that remain in their 1617 locations, effectively adding a second consecutive year of documentary evidence to the 1617 inventory. This same hand describes the 1617 inventory as 'Your Ma<sup>tes</sup> stuff at Otelands 1618' on its docket, again supporting the hypothesis that the inventory was commissioned by the queen and that it was adapted to serve both for 1617 and 1618.

The inventories evidence the queen's active interest in the care and arrangement of her collection at Oatlands. They represent a moment, each year, in the life of a palace, a taking stock in the immediate aftermath of the court's departure, before paintings and furnishings were moved or protected from the damaging effects of sunlight and dust for the period between court visits. Red or green 'cotten covers' are meticulously listed for each of the suites of richly upholstered furniture, indicating that housekeeping procedures were already in place. The inventories are distinct, in this respect, from the 'Inventory or booke of remaine of the ornaments furniture householde stuffe and other parcells of the late Queene Anne at Denmark howse' taken at her London palace nearly seven weeks after the queen's death.<sup>30</sup> Anna died of dropsy at the age of forty-four on 2 March 1619 in her apartments at Hampton Court Palace, one of the king's hunting places, after some months of illness there. A week later her body was transported by boat, under cover of darkness, to Denmark House, where it remained until her funeral procession to Westminster Abbey on 13 May. The Denmark House inventory, as M.T.W. Payne has vividly surmized, must have been drawn up 'while the Queen's embalmed corpse lay in one of the state rooms, watched over by the ladies of the court.'<sup>31</sup>

The contents of Denmark House were of a different order to Anna's collection at Oatlands. They are analysed in depth by Erin Griffey as a basis for understanding the subsequent courtly displays there of Anna's daughter-in-law, Henrietta Maria.<sup>32</sup> The palace had been magnificently refurbished for Anna between 1609 and 1614. The Privy Gallery had been demolished and completely rebuilt, a new Cross Gallery was added with a small room connecting the two gallery spaces, the queen's privy lodgings were extensively refurbished and new gardens were created for Anna.<sup>33</sup> Her collections at Denmark House, at the time of her death, were combined with Henrician and Elizabethan furnishings and even the clothes of the former monarchs, left for her disposal. The 1619 inventory begins with the contents of her wardrobes, itemizing no fewer than six field beds and six tester or slope beds, with their suites of canopies, curtains, high chairs, stools and cushions. This great store house, as Griffey has noted, also contained huge stocks of chairs, stools and cushions that could be brought out for substantial court occasions at Denmark House. The Oatlands inventories show that high

stools were also transported to furnish Oatlands Palace on the occasion of at least one ambassadorial visit.

Together, the Oatlands inventories describe the active function of Anna's collection in embodying her authority and magnificence in pursuit of her political ambitions. They narrate the staging of her interventions in domestic and foreign policy, listing the introduction of new commissions and the movement of furniture and paintings within and between palaces. The 1616 inventory describes Anna's collection, as one might expect, in her bedchamber, her inner and outer withdrawing chambers, and in her cabinet and her two galleries. By the following year her collection had expanded, with a considerable influx of new suites of furniture, richly upholstered, throughout the queen's apartments and gallery spaces. It had also established her presence in the king's apartments. James I's Scottish progress from 13 May to 4 August 1617 left his consort in an influential position within the regent council.<sup>34</sup> Oatlands, as a consequence, may have been prepared in readiness for more lavish entertainments. The 1617 inventory lists fifteen suites of chairs, stools and cushions, some furnished with canopies and cloths of estate, where there were only three suites in 1616. One of the new suites was installed 'In y<sup>e</sup> privy chamber on y<sup>e</sup> kinges side'.<sup>35</sup> It was unambiguous in establishing Anna's new authority there in 1617 in the form of her own cloth of estate, 'largly embrothered & embost on y<sup>e</sup> backe, & over head' with her arms.

The 1616 inventory does not specify the location for its three 'Suites of stooles Cushiones Chaires & Canopys'. Their description, however, matches the suites in the 1617 inventory of furniture in the queen's inner and outer withdrawing chambers and in the South Gallery.<sup>36</sup> The inventories suggest that by 1616, following on from the 1613-14 building work, the hangings for Anna's bedchamber and withdrawing chambers were complete. All of the Oatlands inventories list suites of branched satin hangings in the bedchamber and inner withdrawing chamber. 'Branched' may be interpreted as figured with branches or patterned more generally. They were colourful in their arrangement of 'one pane of watched white & yellow; y<sup>e</sup> other of red white and yellow' and extravagantly laced and fringed with 'gold & silver greene & red silke'.<sup>37</sup> 'Watched' or watchet was a light blue colour. In the absence of corresponding wardrobe and privy purse accounts it is not possible to know whether the hangings were newly commissioned for Oatlands or selected from the queen's wardrobe at Denmark House. A new suite of tapestries in the outer withdrawing chamber at Oatlands, however, was irrefutably commissioned or purchased by Anna. Its exceptional quality is noted in the 1616 and 1617 inventories as 'faire' and 'fine', and its subject was so novel as to be unrecognizable: 'In the outer wthdrawinge Chamber. Eight peeces of new faire tapestry of y<sup>e</sup> story of [blank]'.<sup>38</sup> These valuable tapestries remained at Oatlands in 1618 but by the time of the queen's death they had been moved to the wardrobe at Denmark House where their subject was identified as the history of King Ezekiah and they were described as 'bought by Queen Anne'.<sup>39</sup>

The outer withdrawing chamber, which would have functioned as a presence chamber, was furnished for élite audiences with a green 'velvet or Tuftaffita' suite 'wrought into cut flowers betwixt a waned work'.<sup>40</sup> The suite was embroidered with Anna's Danish crown and monogram. It would have glittered by candlelight with 'y<sup>e</sup> frames painted on a greene ground wth flowers of gold, laced wth a gold spangled lace, fringed wth gold fringe above, & belowe wth green silke & gold'. A magnificent canopy, hung with green damask curtains and crowned with ten plumes of feathers with cups, painted with green and gold, covered the queen's high chaire and foot stool. Eight 'high stooles' were provided for her courtiers and guests.

The 1616 inventory outlines hangings, carpets and curtains in the queen's bedchamber, but no beds or bedding, indicating that these were among the moveable items that travelled with the queen and had been removed, or that they were excluded from the court's conception of her collection. The following year a field bedstead with all its bedding and magnificent accoutrements of canopy, curtains and matching counterpane are described in the inventory. It was painted red and gold, and the carnation and yellow damask canopy, curtains and counterpane, lined with changeable taffeta, were spangled with silver and gold and 'fringed sutably' to shimmer by candlelight.<sup>41</sup> They would have reflected in another addition to the bedchamber in 1617, an elaborate mirror, 'set in a frame of Ebony wth a peryment, and in y<sup>e</sup> hollow of it a strieking clocke'.<sup>42</sup> A further clue to the splendour of the royal bed is evidenced by the five plumes of feathers surmounting its canopy. The bedroom furniture was completed by a chair, two high stools, a foot stool, a square cushion, a long cushion and a close stool, all 'sutable to y<sup>e</sup> bed' and appearing for the first time in the 1617 inventory. This inventory also marks the introduction of the queen's collection into her privy chamber. It includes four suites of furniture, totalling twenty-four high stools, lavishly upholstered with cloth of silver. More significant, however, are Anna's incursions into the king's bedchamber and his privy and withdrawing chambers in 1617 and 1618.

The king's apartments were excluded from the 1616 inventory, indicating that 'her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> Stuffe' was not to be found therein. While he was on progress, the 1617 inventory describes Anna's occupation of his audience chambers and suggests the possibility that she requisitioned his bedchamber to store some of the most valuable additions to her collection. A canopy is inventoried in the king's bedchamber in 1617, 'unset up . . . wthout any chaire, stoole, ~~cushion~~, or any thing else to suite y<sup>e</sup> Canopy'.<sup>43</sup> This was not a temporary arrangement, awaiting the attentions of the queen's yeomen ushers. The following year, when items still in their 1617 locations were marked on the 1617 inventory with an 'x', the canopy remained in place. The 1618 addendum to the inventory lists 'More in y<sup>e</sup> K: bedchamber' including a cloth of estate, 'embrothered wth your Ma<sup>tes</sup> armes embost in a large border of Cornucopia', together with an additional high chair, long cushion, square cushion and foot stool.<sup>44</sup>

The queen also installed her cloth of estate, 'largly embrothered & embost' on the back and overhead with her own coat of arms, in the king's privy chamber in 1617.<sup>45</sup> Constructed of the most expensive fabric, cloth of gold, and coloured with the most valuable dye stuff, crimson, as well as rose-coloured velvet, it was richly ornamented and fringed with gold and silver. This singular statement of power and wealth, covering just one high chair for the queen's use, again retained its position when the inventory was checked the following year. By 1618, Anna's collection had spread further into the king's withdrawing chamber, listed in the 1618 inventory as 'found more stuff newe in the wthdrawinge chamber on the ~~qu~~ kyngs side'.<sup>46</sup> A suite of 'tawny silver' including two high chairs, made provision for two people to be seated side-by-side, together with four high stools, two foot stools and cushions. Anna's collection in the withdrawing chamber included two additional suites of furniture suggesting a comprehensive requisitioning of this space even after the king's return from Scotland.

A wealth of new 'Turky' carpets makes an appearance at Oatlands in the 1617 inventory. The largest of these, measuring 8 x 3 yards, was 'left folded' in the king's bedchamber together with three smaller carpets 'left folded there'.<sup>47</sup> Two large Persian carpets were installed in the South Gallery and 'Small window carpets of Turky worke'

were introduced into the King's Bedchamber, the Queen's Book Chamber, her Cabinet, and the North Gallery.<sup>48</sup>

### <H1>The galleries at Oatlands

The inventories describe Anna's galleries at Oatlands as important, furnished spaces, filled with her collection. The purpose of galleries and their prominence in royal palaces across Europe altered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as 'collections' became increasingly associated with cultural sophistication and their display became a matter of social and political consequence.<sup>49</sup> Anna's early years as a royal princess in Denmark and Germany, and her access – albeit at second hand – to the galleries of Italy and France through her court circles, would have informed the refurbishment of her important new gallery spaces at Denmark House and at Oatlands.<sup>50</sup> The display of her paintings, textiles and furnishings there enriched and contextualized the cultural and political sophistication of her patronage of ephemeral performances and events. Anna's transformative influence as a patron of court masques is undisputed.<sup>51</sup> The completion of her building work at Denmark House culminated in a masque, *Hymen's Triumph*, attended by the king and court in February 1614 when she hosted a banquet in one of the new galleries: 'a great feast to which so many either came or were invited that a table stretching the whole length of the gallery was filled. She herself sat at the boards' end'.<sup>52</sup> Evidence suggests that the galleries at Oatlands may also have provided a setting for important court occasions. Their construction dated from the earliest, Henrician building phase of 1537-8 and their status within the palace is evidenced by their elaborate, late Elizabethan decorative scheme, designed as an entity with the 'Queenes Lodgings'.<sup>53</sup> A consistent ordering of spaces in the 1616 and 1617 inventories also establishes the proximity of the galleries to the queen's withdrawing chamber and to her new vineyard and gardens.

The first of the three suites of furniture listed in the 1616 inventory was installed in the Gallery. Characteristically, it was embroidered with the queen's 'letteres and crowne' and comprised a canopy with ten plumes of feathers, a great chair for Anna's use, two chairs with backs, eight high stools, a foot stool and seven long cushions. It is described again the following year 'In y<sup>e</sup> South gallery next y<sup>e</sup> vineyard'.<sup>54</sup> No further furniture is listed under the headings 'In the Gallery' and 'In the Garden Stone Gallery' in 1616 with the exception of two drawing tables of 'oaken wainscote'. 'Five foulding field Tables' are itemized immediately before the 1616 list of paintings in the Garden Stone Gallery, however, and the list is followed directly by an account of furniture imported to Oatlands from the Wardrobe at Denmark House for an ambassadorial dinner, as discussed below.<sup>55</sup>

Anna's deployment of her collection to transform the two galleries between 1616 and 1617 was dramatic. Jemma Field has analysed an earlier wardrobe inventory of her dress collection to detail the sophistication with which she displayed costly textiles in her own attire to project her affluence and agency. She describes the political nuances of Anna's acceptance and dispersal of valuable textiles in the courtly diplomacy of gift-exchange.<sup>56</sup> The Oatlands inventories expand this expertise to the setting of her interiors. In the North Gallery, the influx of carpets in 1617 included two New Years gifts from Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester: 'A Carpet of Canation velvet . . . embrothered all over wth large worke in gold & coloured silkes, lyned wth changeable Taffita' and 'Another in y<sup>t</sup> gallery of Watchet velvet embrothered allso wth large wourke in gold & colloured silkes'.<sup>57</sup> As gifts, they may have related to Somerset's appointment in 1616 to the office of Lord Privy Seal.



The relative austerity of the 1616 Garden Stone Gallery was superseded, with the renaming of the space as the 'North Gallery', by an interior richly furnished with three new suites of furniture. The first of these, 'of silver & carnation velvet, laced wth silver parchment spangled lace' included a canopy that was the equal, at least, of the 1616 canopy which remained in place in the South Gallery. Surmounted by ten cups and plumes, it had 'curtaines of carnacion sattin, lined wth carnation Damaske, laced sutably, & layed wth long silver buttons'.<sup>58</sup> The North Gallery suite included a 'Cooche' for the queen's use, two low stools for her favourites, and six cushions. The second suite, 'In ye same gallery', had painted frames, garnished with flowers and covered with 'carnation sattin, stript wth white, & betwixt wth flowers of silver'. It added a chair, four high stools, two low stools, a foot stoole and a cushion to the gallery. The third suite comprised 'onely 7 long cushions' but again they were richly appointed and descriptive of Anna's taste for the finest available textiles with 'silver Chamlet, raysed wth watchett & tawny velvet flowers'.<sup>59</sup> Chamlet was a combination of wool and silk. Throughout the North Gallery the consistent use of silver, carnation and watchet indicates a coherent decorative scheme with furniture that could be arranged in small groups or brought together around the queen.

The display of paintings in the two galleries and 'her Maty<sup>es</sup> Cabbinnett' at Oatlands is illuminating. It combined a degree of stability with strategic additions and reconfigurations. Nineteen pictures are listed 'In the Gallery' in 1616 and, as at Denmark House, Anna combined court portraits (eleven) with religious subjects (four) and mythological and genre scenes. Nine pictures were displayed in the 1616 Garden Stone Gallery and these were dominated by mythological and religious scenes. The first painting listed resonated with the identity of Oatlands as one of the queen's hunting palaces: 'A lardg picture of Diana & her maydes vewing their quarrey of red deare, Conyes a boare &c.'. 'An other of like bignesse of Jupiter & the godes feasting' may also have been chosen with deliberation.<sup>60</sup> Anna's cabinet is listed as an intimate space where, in 1616, there were just four pictures: three of 'our Saviour' and one of Hercules. The room was furnished with tables and glazed cases for the display of books and precious objects, many of which would have been safely locked away in the jewel house or the wardrobe before the inventories were taken. An elaborate 'China table of tenne squares, standing on a pillar with 3 feet' supported a cabinet of 'Chyna worke' in this room in 1616. This, in turn, contained a wax work of 'ye actiones of our Saviour to his crucifixion & assention' in a glass case. A second wax figure was more prosaic, described as 'a naked boy holding a dogge in his shirt skirt'.

The 1617 inventory lists a separate cabinet and book chamber, each with its own suite of furniture and each with two window carpets. The cabinet was dressed with cloth of silver, branched with flowers of gold and coloured silks, and the book chamber with silver chamlet. The 1616 contents of Anna's cabinet, including the tables and wax figures, are itemized 'In ye bookchamber' in 1617. Paintings, however, are listed in the book chamber, the cabinet, in a lobby to the cabinet and in a lobby 'at ye staire head by y<sup>t</sup> gallery' as well as the North and South Galleries in 1617. To complicate matters further, an addendum to the 1617 inventory, made in the week following the queen's death, refers to nineteen small pictures and four larger pictures 'in the oratorye' at Oatlands.<sup>61</sup> This correlates with an undated inventory listing only 'Stuff in the Oratory & the adjoining closet'.<sup>62</sup> Duplication of furniture and pictures in this adjoining closet with the contents of the 1617 cabinet suggests that they were one and the same space. If the exact relationship between these more private spaces is difficult to decipher, however, it is clear from the inventories that the book chamber, cabinet and oratory were used by

Anna for many of her devotional and more personal pictures. 'In y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber a picture of our Saviour healeing of y<sup>e</sup> woman with y<sup>e</sup> bloody issue', for example, and 'In ye Cabbinet a picture of a deceased brother of her Mat<sup>tes</sup>'.<sup>63</sup> The pictorial display in the oratory was almost exclusively religious.<sup>64</sup> These spaces would have resounded with codified visual messages for the publicly Protestant queen's more intimate – and in particular for her Catholic – visitors.

Pictures were regarded as portable, and moved between palaces. A group of devotional paintings are marked in the margin to the 1617 inventory: 'Sent for to Hampton Court December 1618' where they remained for the last months of Anna's life: 'A picture of our Saviour at his passeon & Mandy. A picture of our Savioures birth, & y<sup>e</sup> shepherdes comming to him wth Gloria in excelsis: unhangd, but since hangd in y<sup>e</sup> booke chamber . . . A picture of night work, when y<sup>e</sup> souldiors put scornefully a reede into our Savioures hand.'<sup>65</sup> These were not the only paintings in the queen's collection to be moved from palace to palace. One of two attachments to the 1617 inventory arranges for a dispatch of five pictures by boat from Oatlands in 1618, including 'the nakyte boye takes the woman under the Chine y<sup>t</sup> is of the same that came frome hampton Courte. and the woman is some parte naked as the boye'.<sup>66</sup> A large coronation portrait 'of a King & Queene of Scotland' is described as 'Two large leaves of one faire picture to bee folded, but now unionted' and 'unhangd' in 1617.<sup>67</sup> It was sent to Prince Charles. Having three inventories, each a year apart, makes it possible, for the first time, to understand how Anna's galleries worked dynamically, with a growing collection that could be rehung and rearranged to satisfy her requirements.

Erin Griffey has analysed the combined contents of Oatlands' inventories and the clarity of her observations is helpful. Mythological paintings, she writes, were all hung in the North Gallery, Danish family portraits were brought together in the South Gallery and the queen's 'strongly Catholic' taste for Passion paintings was expressed in her cabinet and oratory.<sup>68</sup> Pictures in the 1617 inventory, unfortunately, are not grouped together by room and where their locations are listed they complicate these broad assertions. As Griffey notes, the display of pictures in all of the rooms was characterized by an idiosyncratic diversity. Reading the inventories sequentially underscores Anna's proactive role as a collector and her strategic additions to installations in the North and South Galleries from one year to the next. Excluding the twenty-three pictures in the oratory, which are not itemized in the 1616 or 1617 inventories, twenty of the fifty-one pictures listed in 1617 had been installed over the previous twelve months.<sup>69</sup> Eight were destined to be transported from Oatlands to Hampton Court Palace, or to St James's Palace on or before the queen's death.<sup>70</sup> As with the suites of furniture and the carpets, the inventories describe a substantial increase in the number of pictures in Anna's collection between 1616 and 1617 followed by relative stability. Many of the pictures in the 1617 inventory replicate the groupings of 1616 and their listing is marked with an 'x', indicating that they held their positions in the galleries the following year.

Perhaps the most important addition to Anna's collection at Oatlands in 1617 was Paul van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* (Fig. 1). It was boldly innovative as a Stuart portrait commission. Unusually, the queen is located in a landscape, outside the confines of her Tudor palace. This is depicted in detail in the background. She has appropriated the King's famous passion for hunting and is encircled by her greyhounds, her horse and a liveried black groom whose identity and favoured position at court invite further study. Her fashionable dress, demonstrating the artist's facility in painting expensive lace collars and cuffs, has buttoned sleeves in the Spanish style, unfastened in

readiness for the chase.<sup>71</sup> Two versions of the portrait survive and, in both, the Inigo Jones gateway in the middle distance has a luminous prominence in spite of its diminutive scale and location at the very edge of the composition.<sup>72</sup>

If the ordering of the paintings on the walls at Oatlands was reflected in that of the inventories, as would be usual, the display of the new portrait was carefully conceived to position Anna and her authority. It appears in the 1617 inventory as the first painting in the list of 'Pictures & Postures' and its entry specifically states its location: 'In y<sup>e</sup> gallery next y<sup>e</sup> vineyard her Ma<sup>tes</sup> owne picture with her horse by her, done at large.'<sup>73</sup> Pictures in the 1617 inventory are numbered and the first 22 in the list broadly replicate the grouping and contents of the nineteen pictures in the 1616 Gallery. There were subtle adjustments to this picture hang, however, which may have been political as well as aesthetic. Griffey and Field have noted Anna of Denmark's insistent visual references to Elizabeth I as her predecessor, albeit as queen regnant rather than consort, through the display of her dress and the styling of her earlier portraits.<sup>74</sup> No. 2 in the South Gallery in the 1617 inventory list is a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, followed by 'A picture of Henry y<sup>e</sup> fourth K of France', described the previous year as the 'late king', painted 'in full proportion'.<sup>75</sup> Henry IV was assassinated in Paris in 1610 en route to his wife's coronation. 'A picture of his daughter', not listed in 1616, is one of Anna's additions to the gallery, numbered 4 on the list.<sup>76</sup> This may have been his youngest daughter, Henrietta Maria, who was eight years old in 1617 and would marry Charles I in 1625, or more probably one of her sisters, possibly Elisabeth, who was married at the age of thirteen to the future Philip IV of Spain. Next to this French princess was her Spanish sister-in-law, 'ye Infanta of Spaine now Queene of france'. This royal grouping of three generations of interconnected dynasties is further strengthened by the removal of two pictures which had been part of this group in the 1616 hang: 'A litle auntient picture of prince Arthur' and a small portrait of the Earl of Lennox are moved to positions 34 and 35 in the 1617 inventory.<sup>77</sup> The next group of portraits again, by association, asserts Anna's authority, this time as the daughter and sister of powerful Danish kings. The 1617 inventory adds a fourth Dane: 'y<sup>e</sup> K of Denmarkes naustrall sonne' to the three portraits of Danish princes and dukes listed in 1616. They are followed, in both inventories, by a diplomatic presence: 'A picture of Don [blank] ambassadour from Spaine.' The 1618 inventory hand has crossed out 'Don' and added in its place 'the Count of Gondomer'.<sup>78</sup>

Van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* was one of three portraits by him to arrive at Oatlands between October 1616 and October 1617. The other two are conventional by comparison and highlight the innovative nature of van Somer's portrait of the queen. They are indicators, too, of her interest in theatre and her status as a patron of court masques, many of which were written by Ben Jonson and designed by Inigo Jones.<sup>79</sup> A portrait of William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke appears in the 1617 inventory: 'The Lo: Chamberlaine Pembrookes picture', perhaps strategically positioned between 'A litle table of Itallian verses made by Sr Francis Castilian wth a curtaine to it' and 'A naked Ladyes picture cast into Lawne'.<sup>80</sup> Pembroke became the King's Lord Chamberlain in 1615 and shared with Anna an avid interest in theatre and literature. Jemma Field speculates that Anna may have commissioned the portrait to indicate her political support for Pembroke and her personal triumph when he replaced Robert Carr as Lord Chamberlain.<sup>81</sup> It is equally possible that Pembroke commissioned the painting, together with a very similar portrait, again with the key of office hanging from his waist and his staff in hand, by van Somer's London neighbour, Abraham van Blijenberch and made a gift of the van Somer to the queen. Both portraits are individually signed and

dated 1617.<sup>82</sup> The third van Somer portrait at Oatlands is 'A picture of Toly ye Irish man.' Artists' names are not given in the 1617 inventory but in 1649, when the palace was inventoried again, it is identified as by van Somer. 'Toly ye Irish man' is thought to have been Nicholas Tolley, one of the actors at the Globe under Richard Burbage.<sup>83</sup> As a group, the paintings raise interesting questions about the queen's wider patronage and the creative relationships between artists.

Together, the inventories provide important new evidence for Anna of Denmark as a collector. Her galleries were not transitional spaces merely connecting one part of the palace with another. They were spaces designed for habitation and conversation. They exhibited the queen's taste and magnificence and they signalled affiliations and sympathies that might not have been openly discussed. Within the established hierarchy of palace spaces, and the strict protocol of behaviour appropriate to each space in turn, they may have enjoyed a novel, ambiguous status, a place where 'alternative' conversations could take place. This may have been enhanced by the relationship between the queen's galleries and her new gardens. Her Danish and European family connections were indicated by the arrangement of portraits but they may have been equally apparent in the prominence and styling of the galleries and the uses to which they were put. These were changeable spaces. New paintings were commissioned or imported from other palaces and their purposes in providing a context for particular occasions reflected the queen's political agency as well as her personal taste. Field has described Anna's strategic showcasing, throughout her reign, of her support for closer diplomatic relations with Spain through her dress and the court masques that she commissioned and staged.<sup>84</sup> I contend that the settings she created at Oatlands enlarged this display. Furthermore, they were designed to be experienced in combination with the 'performance' of her royal magnificence, power and prowess there. The nature of the palace as a hunting ground and the subject of van Somer's portrait of Anna as a hunter may be seen as metaphors in a complex and nuanced campaign.

### <H1>Anglo-Spanish peace and 'political portraits'

Anna's refurbishing of Oatlands coincided with Anglo-Spanish political negotiations that, although never culminating in a marriage between Prince Charles and Infanta Maria Anna of Spain, were central to Stuart foreign and domestic policy. One of the earliest political consequences of James I's accession to the throne was the Treaty of London in 1604, marking the end of the Anglo-Spanish War. The ways in which Anna's collection would function in the context of court politics, performance and ceremony at Oatlands in the following decade is illuminated in the detail of a contemporary account of the celebrations for this treaty. It was written by Philip III of Spain's representative, the Constable of Castile. The peace treaty was negotiated at Somerset House and subsequently documented in a group portrait, *The Somerset House Conference*, by an unknown artist.<sup>85</sup> Three days after it was signed a formal ceremony of swearing the peace took place in the chapel at Whitehall Palace, on 19 August 1604, followed by a banquet and entertainment in the 'Audience Chamber' there. This room is likely in fact to have been the Presence Chamber where the imposing sixteenth-century portrait, *The Family of Henry VIII* hung and appropriate tapestries and hangings would have been selected for the occasion.<sup>86</sup>

The Constable describes the orchestration of palace spaces, galleries, the decorative arts and the ephemeral arts of music and dance to create the spectacle of court occasions through a succession of carefully managed impressions.<sup>87</sup> 'The Audience

Chamber was elegantly furnished', the account begins. There was 'a buffet of several stages, filled with various pieces of ancient and modern gilt plate of exquisite workmanship. A railing was placed on each side of the room in order to prevent the crowd from approaching too near the table.' A second buffet, to one side, displayed 'rich vessels of gold, agate and other precious stones' and the dimensions of the table (approximately 15 feet by 3 feet) are given. The Constable of Castile is painstaking in listing the order in which people were seated, a matter of paramount importance as an indicator of status. James I and Queen Anna 'placed themselves at their throne' beneath a canopy of state at the head of the table 'on chairs of brocade with cushions.' The Constable was seated at the Queen's side, 'on a tabouret of brocade with a high cushion of the same' and Prince Henry was seated 'in like manner', next to the king. The Earls of Southampton and of Pembroke (whose portrait would later hang at Oatlands) served as gentlemen ushers. The Constable toasted Princess Elizabeth and the King then toasted the 'Princess of Spain', reiterating his desire for an enduring peace.

The meal, characterized as 'sumptuous and profuse', was accompanied by 'plenty of instrumental music' and lasted for approximately three hours. At its conclusion, their majesties withdrew to their apartments 'and the Constable and Count [of Villa Mediana] were conducted to a handsome gallery, adorned with various paintings, where they remained more than an hour.'<sup>88</sup> This may have been the Privy Gallery, beyond the royal bedchambers. In the meantime, the Presence Chamber was prepared for dancing, their majesties returned, and the Count and Constable were escorted back from the gallery to attend the ball. The spectacle was now transported to the performance of music and dance, and the extravagant court dress of 'more than fifty ladies of honour, very richly and elegantly dressed, and extremely beautiful,' according to the account, 'who, with the noblemen and gentlemen that were present at the dinner, were already engaged in dancing.' Again the seating arrangements were prescriptive as were the formalities of the dance. Prince Henry 'was commanded by his parents to dance a gailliard, and they pointed out to him the lady who was to be his partner'.<sup>89</sup> His subsequent partners and those of the queen are diligently noted.

Philip III sent portraits of himself and his queen consort, Margaret of Austria, by their innovative court painter, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, to James I after the agreement. Both paintings are signed and dated 1605 suggesting that they were painted as gifts. That of Margaret of Austria was overtly political. Her dress is embroidered with the Castile-Leon and Austrian coats of arms, she is wearing the prominent, square cut diamond that she is said to have worn when the London Treaty was signed, and the pearl suspended from it, 'La Peregrina', had been an engagement gift from Phillip II to Queen Mary I. The open Book of Hours in her hand with its representation of the Woman of the Apocalypse, a symbol for the Immaculate Conception, may have encoded a challenge to the English Protestant faith.<sup>90</sup>

The portraits were noted by a visitor to Whitehall Palace in 1613 and although our understanding of the galleries and interiors there is limited before Van Der Doort's 1639 inventory and the 1649 Commonwealth Sale inventories, which locate paintings in specific spaces, we may conjecture that the ordering of portraits on a wall was comparable as a signifier of status and allegiances (whether current or historic) to the placing of eminent guests and courtiers at a dinner or through a dance. The King and Queen of Spain are listed together with James I's mother, 'The Queen of Scotland, who was beheaded', two portraits of Queen Elizabeth, a painting of 'The Queen of France' and portraits of Philip III's sister, the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia and her co-sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands, the Archduke Albert of Austria.<sup>91</sup> These last two

portraits had been given to Anna by the Ambassador of the Spanish Netherlands, Charles de Ligne in 1603. He was subsequently a participant in the peace treaty conference.

The portraits associated with the Spanish Peace Treaty were moved from Whitehall to the new Cross Gallery at Denmark House.<sup>92</sup> They were inventoried as ‘Two pictures of the King and Queene of Spaine wth curtens of watchett sarcinett’ together with ‘Two pictures of the Archduke Albertus and the Infanta his wief wth curtens of crymsen taffeta’.<sup>93</sup> This powerful collection of political gifts, representing the Habsburg dynasty and its dominant position in Europe, also presented a coherent aesthetic as a group. Three of the four paintings remain in the Royal Collection and they are comparable in style and scale.<sup>94</sup> By 1617, however, the Archduke and Archduchess of Austria had commissioned Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, as their court painters, to collaborate on the production of a very different pair of portraits and it is to these (Fig. 2) that van Somer’s *Anne of Denmark* appears to relate. Rubens was responsible for the figures, seated before swathes of billowing crimson drapery. Brueghel painted the landscape and architectural backgrounds beyond the stone balustrade that articulates the architecture of the sitter’s space. The castle of Tervuren and its setting on the River Voer fills the canvas to the right of the archduke, and the archduchess’s favourite hunting estate, Mariemont with its famous deer park in the foreground, is represented to the left of the corresponding portrait. Both palaces had been recently refurbished, with the addition of a new Renaissance-style picture gallery at Tervuren and substantial additions to Mariemont and its gardens. These improvements are documented in the paintings.<sup>95</sup> There are interesting comparisons to be drawn between these portraits, relating their sitters to recent improvements at specific palaces, and to van Somer’s *Anne of Denmark*. Like the Rubens/Brueghel the Elder portraits of the Archduke and Archduchess of Austria, van Somer’s innovative portrait commission relates to recent work in the gardens and galleries at a favoured hunting palace, Oatlands. It is possible that he had seen the very recent Rubens/Brueghel paintings, or copies of them, during his travels in the Netherlands and emulated their composition for Anna soon after his arrival in London.

### <H1>Paul van Somer and his portraits as architectural records

Pauwels van Somer was born in Antwerp and worked as a history painter as well as a portrait painter. *Anne of Denmark* is one of the earliest paintings that can be attributed to him. Karen Hearn and Edward Town have found records of his work in Leiden, the Hague, Brussels and Amsterdam where he was described as ‘excellent in all aspects of art, in invention as well as portraiture’.<sup>96</sup> He was in London by December 1616 and was immediately taken up by the court but there are no known paintings by him before 1617. The Netherlandish painters Daniel Mytens and Abraham van Blijenberch later became his neighbours in St Martin’s Lane and they had a number of eminent sitters in common.<sup>97</sup> Van Somer was listed as Anna’s ‘picture maker’ in her funeral procession from Denmark House to Westminster Abbey in May 1619. He was paid £170 ‘for diverse pictures by him made for the late Queenes Maty’ after her death, perhaps suggesting six or seven paintings commissioned over the previous two years. He died and was buried in St Martin-in-the-Fields on 5 January 1622. A comparative study of *Anne of Denmark* with his later portraits, including his last known portrait of *James I* (Fig. 3), in the context of early Stuart portraits of the king and queen would be rewarding.<sup>98</sup> However, my purpose here is to explore ‘settings’ in which new ‘European’ directions in

portraiture and architecture worked in conjunction with court ritual to 'stage' the king and queen within their respective palaces.

Van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* and *James I* have been studied by architectural historians as documentary evidence for Inigo Jones's buildings. John Harris and Gordon Higgott reproduce *Anne of Denmark* in their catalogue of his drawings as an accurate representation of Inigo Jones's 'greate gate'.<sup>99</sup> In his scholarly catalogue of Tudor and Stuart portraits in the Royal Collection, Oliver Millar focuses on the significance of Jones's architecture in the portrait. He notes the coincidence of the completion of Jones's alterations at Oatlands with the year of the painting, which is signed and dated 1617. 'The canvas is therefore a tribute', he concludes, 'to the Queen's love of building and patronage of Inigo Jones as well as a display of her passion for the chase.'<sup>100</sup> Jones's design for the Banqueting House and its representation are likewise the focus for art historical analysis of van Somer's *James I*. The portrait is unsigned and undated. The circumstances for its commission are unknown. Millar proposes a date of 1620, by which time the design of the Banqueting House was agreed and the building under construction. 'The rendering of the Banqueting House', he notes, 'records the general appearance of the building and is accurate in certain details, but is rather a garbled version of what was being built.' He concludes that 'the artist may be forgiven for not understanding the unfamiliar architectural language in which Inigo Jones was speaking.'<sup>101</sup> Jennifer Scott reiterates his assertion that the Banqueting House conveyed status within the portrait as an innovative new building by a celebrated architect.<sup>102</sup>

Jones had a keen understanding of architecture and ceremony as theatre. He used an elevation for the Banqueting House as a set for one of the first masques to be performed in the new building, *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours*, in 1623. The relative status of his work as an architect, however, rather than a designer with a much broader remit at the early Stuart court, is to some degree a later construct. This article proposes that it was not van Somer's intention to immortalize Jones's designs but rather that Anna's patronage constructed a distinct new visual identity for the Stuart court and that both artist and architect, with their experience of contemporary and recent European visual cultures, were complicit in this endeavour. The place of van Somer's new portrait and its representation of its own setting in the galleries at Oatlands positions the queen's pre-eminence rather than Jones's stature as an architect. Furthermore, it documents the hunt there as a political exercise.

### <H1>The Oatlands galleries and diplomatic hospitality

Van Somer's architectural background in *Anne of Denmark* deliberately discounts the magnificent Tudor west front of Oatlands, built by Henry VIII, and its middle and inner courts, as a setting for the queen. A copy of an Elizabethan drawing of Oatlands attests to the accuracy of the painting as an architectural record.<sup>103</sup> The vantage point for the portrait, however, from the parkland to the south east of the palace, locates the experience of hunting with Anna. Jones's white stone archway promises an alternative experience of entrance into the palace grounds, perhaps at the conclusion of the day's sport. It opened into the queen's new walled garden, the south-facing vineyard that would fruit during the early autumn hunting season.<sup>104</sup> The 1617 Oatlands inventory description of van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* 'In ye gallery next ye vineyard', locates the proximity of the South Gallery to the new garden. It would be reasonable to surmise that the gallery is one of the gabled, red brick buildings represented in van Somer's portrait, indicating a particular relationship between the content of the painting and its location.

Unpublished court accounts and diplomatic letters from 1616-18 correlate with the material culture of Anna's paintings and buildings, and the archival evidence of her inventories, to offer rare insights into their ceremonial currency and the political capital of Anna's collection. The last page of the 1616 Oatlands inventory, immediately following the list of pictures in the Garden Stone Gallery where 'Diana & her maydes' and 'Jupiter & ye godes feasting' paralleled these divine pursuits with the earthly purposes of the palace. It details a total of twenty-four high stools, all covered with cloth of silver: 'stooles wch came, against ye feasting of the Embassadoures, from Mr Marvin from Somerset house'.<sup>105</sup> A later hand has inserted 'Spanishe' before the word 'Embassador'. The inventory traces their progress from Somerset House into the royal wardrobe ('hir Mat<sup>tes</sup> roabes') and from there to the gallery with an intention, in October 1616, that they should be 'sent backe againe.'

Unpublished Declared Accounts corroborate this evidence for a feast at Oatlands in September. They list the work of a team of gentlemen and yeomen ushers, grooms of the wardrobe and yeomen hangers and porters, who travelled ahead of the monarch, 'appareling and making readie' the palaces. In August 1616 they were busy 'making ready Windsor for his Majestie' apparelling St George's Chapel and 'the chapple in the house' there before preparing 'a dinner house in the greate parke two daies, and a diner house at Oateland' for an additional two days in September.<sup>106</sup> Comparable teams of ten men, often including three or four 'yeomen hangers' and two 'grooms of the wardrobe', are listed separately for the king, the queen and for Prince Charles, indicating the court's polycentric nature. In the event, the Spanish dinner at Oatlands may have fallen foul of a hunting accident. The king entertained the Ambassador for Savoy at Windsor in September 1616 but subsequently fell from his horse during a hunting party at Wanstead: 'having killed one buck, he desired to kill another, but unfortunately his horse fell under him and one leg struck the ground so hard that the spur broke in two pieces, and the king was somewhat hurt . . . Owing to this accident a gentleman was sent off, who met the Spanish ambassador on the road, and put off the audience until Sunday, the 25<sup>th</sup> of the month.'<sup>107</sup> Aside from the 1616 inventory, no account of the Spanish dinner at Oatlands in September 1616 is known to have survived. Its careful planning, however, coincided with the preparation of Jones's designs for the 'greate gate' and anticipated the commission for Anna's hunting portrait. The following year, the Declared Accounts again describe a team, 'making ready her Majesties Lodgings at Oteland' in September and October 1617 when the new gateway and gardens were complete and the portrait describing them was installed in the South Gallery.

The significance of Oatlands as a hunting ground and the nature of the queen's political agency there in hosting ambassadorial visits are vividly described in 1618. A visit by the Venetian ambassador on 30 August is detailed in two separate letters. They illuminate understandings of Oatlands as a smaller, satellite palace and its potential to support the diplomatic functions of the monarch. Again, the queen's diplomatic authority is manifested through her collection. The ambassador's visit relates directly to the 1618 inventory and the need for additional suites of furniture, 'brought thither this Somer 1618'.<sup>108</sup> The queen invited the ambassador to visit for the day. In preparation, she sent him 'two fat bucks, flayed according to the custom of the country. Two days later she sent a very large stag, quite whole, with the hide and his fine horns'.<sup>109</sup> These impressive gifts were accompanied by her solicitations for the 'very long journey', a distance of eighteen miles from London to Oatlands. A letter from Horatio Busino, a member of the Venetian embassy, describes the day. He was met by the queen's Lord Chamberlain, 'who kept his Excellency company for a space, to give time for the arrival



at the palace of the chief ladies of title, who for greater display had been invited from a long way off' as well as some of the court's principal noblemen. As with the 1604 peace treaty celebrations women, with their costly court dresses and jewels, were indicators of the court's wealth and style. 'When all was in readiness, his Excellency was led by the Lord Chamberlain into the presence chamber and was graciously received by her Majesty who gave him her hand . . . They remained some time standing during the first ceremonies, which were most stately and grave. Then the queen seated herself on the dais, making his Excellency sit likewise and cover himself. A circle was formed round them at some distance, of ladies and cavaliers, all standing respectfully.' The presence chamber for this audience, separate from Busino's conception of Anna's 'own apartments' and requiring at the very least a canopy and two high chairs, may have been the South Gallery where her new portrait hung, or the withdrawing chamber in the king's apartments. Both were spaces to which more was 'brought thither this Somer' in the 1618 inventory.<sup>110</sup> The king's privy and withdrawing chamber were furnished with the crimson cloth of gold canopy and a single high chair in 1617 to which two high chairs and four high stools were added in time for the ambassador's visit. The South Gallery had been furnished with a red and white damask canopy with ten plumes of feathers and 'One great Chair' from 1616, to which two high chairs, two low chairs and a range of stools and cushions were added in 1618. Anna's conversation with the Venetian ambassador would have chimed with her new portrait. It was chiefly about the hunt, 'which the queen had arranged in her own fashion for his diversion; and she meant to follow it herself without her court.' They planned to kill 'four head in various fashions, to fly falcons and the like'.<sup>111</sup>

After his audience, the queen 'withdrew to her own apartments from one end of the presence chamber' and the ambassador was led from the other end of the chamber in to dinner. This was prepared 'in a large and comely place for about 20 persons'.<sup>112</sup> The ambassador was seated opposite the Earl of Worcester with the Countess of Arundel at his side, 'the chief lady of the court and kingdom, no other taking precedence of her either for descent or in the queen's favour.' They talked of Venice, 'where she received much favour and courtesy a few years ago'. The Countess of Arundel was fluent in Italian and had been granted an audience with the Doge when she had visited Venice with her husband and Inigo Jones after escorting Princess Elizabeth to Heidelberg in 1613. She was also resolutely Catholic. The other courtiers 'followed according to rank, a matter in which they never make a mistake.' The trophies of previous hunts featured large on the menu: venison, 'uncommon' game 'such as we had never seen before' and 'exquisite fish' were followed by a profusion of sweetmeats prompting a favourable comparison with the most famous banquets in Italy.

Again, the decorative arts were signifiers of status. Busino was at pains to describe the ambassador's chair and the honour of his being seated 'alone on a high elbow chair of crimson velvet, whereas all the other cavaliers and ladies were on stools without any support, though covered with silk.' It is entirely possible that the North Gallery with its portraits of Diana, and of Jupiter and the Gods, provided the setting for this dinner. The geography of the palace, with the adjacent north and south galleries adjoining Anna's withdrawing chamber, supports the hypothesis that the ambassador's initial audience could have taken place in the South Gallery, followed by dinner in the North Gallery. Anna's new gallery at Denmark House had been used as a banqueting space four years earlier, and the new suites in the North Gallery from 1617, one 'of silver & carnation velvet' and another 'covered wth carnation sattin', match Busino's description. One of the five folding field tables had been sent to the queen's mansion at

Byfleet by 1617 but the remaining four were still at Oatlands in 1618.<sup>113</sup> The twenty-four high stools listed against the Garden Stone Gallery in 1616 do not recur in the following years' inventories. They were not, however, 'sent backe again' to Denmark House as planned in the 1616 entry. A note in the margin, 'one missing in Ao 1617' indicates that twenty-three of the high stools remained at Oatlands but were excluded from later inventories.<sup>114</sup> They, or others like them from the wardrobe at Denmark House, may have been used in the North Gallery for the Venetian ambassador's dinner.

'On the conclusion of the banquet', Busino wrote, the ambassador was accompanied to his apartments to take a short rest before being 'conducted back to her Majesty, with whom he remained in very pleasant discourse.' The ambassador himself recorded his conversation with the queen in a separate letter. 'She spoke to me about the marriage of the Prince to Spain . . . that it might eventually come to pass, as the king wished it, and the Spaniards promised him high terms.' Anna suggested that there was no need for haste, that the Infanta and the Prince were still young. The grouping of portraits of 'y<sup>e</sup> Infanta of Spaine now Queene of France' and of Henry IV's daughter in the South Gallery would have been pertinent to their conversation: 'She added that these precocious marriages were generally failures, as in the case of the king of France, who in all this time had not yet been able to acknowledge the queen for his wife . . . it already begins to be said in France that the king purposes to send her back to Spain and to recall his sister.'<sup>115</sup>

Incessant rain throughout the day prevented the greatly anticipated hunt. 'The rain never left off,' Busino wrote, 'and as it was no longer possible to go out sporting and the evening was coming on, his Excellency was accompanied to his coach by the Lord Chamberlain'. He returned to London 'extremely well satisfied'.<sup>116</sup> No galleries or paintings are noted in the Venetian commentaries. Jones's new gateway, the queen's new vineyard and her gardens are unremarked. The relative wealth and specificity of documentary evidence surrounding this visit, nevertheless, illuminates our understanding of the ways in which the queen's patronage may have supported her agency in securing a 'Spanish Match' for her son. It describes the ceremony and ritual, the prescribed order in which galleries, works of art and architecture were components in the 'performance' of a royal audience that should have focused on the hunt. In fair weather, the South Gallery and van Somer's portrait could have introduced or concluded a succession of visual encounters as the royal hunting party set out for the park or returned through Inigo Jones's gateway to walk through the vineyard and into the gallery.

### <H1>The Banqueting House and the masque

The Oatlands inventories and the readings that they document for Anna's agency, her patronage and the location of her collection in close proximity to her new gardens, and the 'European' insertion of a Classical gateway to the Tudor palace may, by extension, suggest new understandings for van Somer's *James I*, made after the queen's death. It may have been designed to function in relation to the Banqueting House and the ceremonial events that were staged there in much the same way as *Anne of Denmark* at Oatlands. Again, a detailed contemporary description by Busino correlates with unpublished references in the Declared Accounts to 'apparrelling and making ready' palace spaces.<sup>117</sup> These were encountered sequentially on the occasion of a masque as the Master of Ceremonies escorted visitors from the Tudor royal apartments at Whitehall Palace to the new Stuart banqueting hall. We have no detailed descriptions of the furnishing and arrangement of the gallery spaces at Whitehall in the early

seventeenth century or the ways in which they functioned in concert with state apartments. We know that the Master of Ceremonies chose his route through the palace with deliberation, however, as he escorted ambassadors and their embassies to their audiences with the king, or to an evening's entertainment.<sup>118</sup> The Privy Gallery and the Bear Gallery were located in the Tudor range immediately to the south of the Banqueting House, close to the King's Bedchamber. These galleries were ideally situated as élite waiting rooms, where ambassadors could be entertained in relative privacy, just as the Constable of Castile and the Count of Villa Mediana had 'remained more than an hour' in the 'handsome gallery adorned with various paintings' during the 1604 peace treaty celebrations.

Busino describes a long wait of two hours to see Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones's masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, in 1618 and although this was one of the last masques to be performed in the first Stuart banqueting house, court protocol would not have changed when the building was replaced by that designed by Jones. The Venetian ambassador and his embassy 'went to court privately, through the park and entered the royal apartments.'<sup>119</sup> Busino and others in his retinue were escorted by the Master of Ceremonies to 'the usual box for the Venetian embassy' while the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors awaited the king and were entertained in an unspecified location.<sup>120</sup> The banqueting hall, almost identical to that of Jones in size, was 'arranged like a theatre, with well-secured boxes all around. The stage is at one end, his Majesty's chair under a large canopy, and near him stools for the foreign ambassadors.'

At about 'the 6<sup>th</sup> hour of the night', Busino wrote, 'his majesty appeared with his court, having passed through the apartments where the ambassadors were waiting, and he graciously brought them along with him'. Busino complained about the number of Spaniards spilling out of their own box into 'principal places' and sitting 'with gold chains round their necks . . . with the lords of the Council'. He described the fanfare announcing the entry of the king and the two ambassadors. He described the performance and the role within it for Prince Charles, 'now seventeen years old, an agile youth, handsome and very graceful.' When the masque and subsequent dancing concluded he described the King's exit, 'taking the ambassadors along with him'. They 'passed through a number of rooms and galleries' to a hall where a supper was set out. No paintings are listed in this account but we may imagine that they were arranged for diplomatic effect.<sup>121</sup>

Van Somer's *James I*, in common with other portraits at Whitehall of Henry VIII and his family, combines old and new, actual and imagined. It situates the King in a known or fabricated interior of the Tudor Palace before a leaded-light window with a rich curtain, woven or embroidered with a vine motif. The view of the Banqueting House behind him is impossible, visible neither from the ground nor the first floor but a representation, luminous against a dark sky. The Classical vocabulary of Jones's architecture would have resonated with his Classical masque costume and set designs, and with Italian influences in the masque music. Van Somer's distinctive new direction in portraiture, too, would have signified an open engagement with the modern courts of Europe.

## <H1>Conclusion

The Oatlands inventories support new meanings, ascribed here to these two important portraits, which depended upon the time and place in which they were encountered. They would have had a particular resonance as a prelude to the hunt or the masque in the company of the queen or king, or in the immediate aftermath of these encounters.

As commissions, *Anne of Denmark* and *James I* may have been associated with a long-awaited wedding and political commitment between England and Spain. Within the context of the complex political negotiations for the match they would have been installed and encountered with deliberation to meet the demands of the day. The Oatlands inventories contextualize the ways in which Anna, as a collector, deployed her paintings dynamically within the distinctive settings that she created. They served as a backdrop or visual prompt for political diplomacy. The currency of portraits, however, was adaptable. Within five years of the completion of van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* and *James I*, both paintings were to serve as memorials to their subjects. Prince Charles was with his mother at Hampton Court Palace when she died on 2 March 1619 and additions to the 1617 inventory record the removal of *Anne of Denmark* from Oatlands: 'sent to the prince' at St James's Palace just six days later.<sup>122</sup> At the close of Charles's reign, the van Somers hung in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall Palace with 'King James at Length. by van Somer' listed as the first picture there, asserting Charles's ancestral authority.<sup>123</sup> His mother's collection at Oatlands, and the rich documentary evidence relating to it, cast portraits within the theatre of court. Her inventories and accounts of her lavish hospitality provide new insights into the ways in which paintings complemented the architecture, interior settings, and the cultural and diplomatic occasions through which the supreme power of monarchy was performed. The collecting mother provided her younger son with a considerable legacy.

### Supplementary information

The online Appendices to this paper provide complete transcriptions of the 1616, 1617 and 1618 inventories to Oatlands Palace, now in the East Sussex Record Office, ESRO GLY 315, 320 and 322. They provide a record of Anna of Denmark's collection there, principally arranged in her Bedchamber, Withdrawing Chamber, Outer Withdrawing Chamber, her two galleries and her Book Chamber and Cabinet. GLY 315 was written in October 1616. GLY 319 and GLY 320 are very similar versions of the same inventory. Both are titled 'An Inventory of hir Ma<sup>tes</sup> owne stuffe in Oatlands taken ye day after her highnesse remoove from thence being ye 7<sup>th</sup> of October. 1617.' The cover docket to both inventories, however, is dated 1618 and the '7' of 1617 in the title to GLY 320 has been altered to an '8'. GLY 320 has been transcribed because, in addition to duplicating the text in GLY 319, it includes marginalia, additional sheets attached to the inventory, and an additional page of inventory text (fol. 6r) that add to the contents of the GLY 319 inventory. The addition of an 'x' in the margin against the majority of items in GLY 320 also indicates that these were working documents, capable of recording the changing contents of the Palace from one year to the next. I contend that GLY 319 and 320 were initially prepared in October 1617. From fol. 5r, however, where the picture of 'venus bewayling dead Adonis' is described as 'unchanged but now hanged 7<sup>ber</sup> 1618' (September 1618), additions were made to both inventories which are reflected in the dating of their cover dockets. GLY 322, dated 17 September 1618 and entitled, 'Stuff found in Otelands ~~when I took Survey~~ more then was mentioned in the last yeares Inventorye', brought there in the summer of 1618, should be read in combination with GLY 320 and, in particular, with the marking up of that document with an 'x' in the margin against the items which remained in their 1617 locations. GLY 322 largely duplicates the last pages of GLY 320 and states: 'In all things ellse the Inventory was the same as the last yeare.'<sup>124</sup>

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### Figure captions

Fig. 1. Paul van Somer, *Anne of Denmark*, 1617, oil on canvas, 265.5 x 209 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405887.

Fig. 2. Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *La Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia*, c.1615, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 3. Paul van Somer, *James I and VI*, c.1620, oil on canvas, 227 x 149.5 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404446.

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### Notes and references

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<sup>1</sup> Anna of Denmark signed her name 'Anna' and was invested as Queen of Scotland as

<sup>2</sup> K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> R. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean portraiture* (London and New York, 1969) p. 1; R. Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986) p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> T. Wilks, 'Art collecting at the English court from the death of Henry, Prince of Wales to the death of Anne of Denmark (November 1612 – March 1619)', *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997), p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> The inventories are in East Sussex Record Office at The Keep, Woollards Way, Brighton BN1 9BP: ESRO GLY 315; GLY 320 and GLY 322. Author's own transcription and pagination for all references to these manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> See C. McManus (ed.), *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens* (Basingstoke, 2003); C. McManus, 'Women on the Renaissance stage: Anna of Denmark and female masquing in the Stuart court, 1590-1619', *Theatre International* 28, no.1 (2003), pp.103-4; S. Tomlinson, *Women on Stage in Stuart Drama* (Cambridge, 2005); J. Knowles, "'To enlight the darksome night, pale Cinthia doth arise': Anna of Denmark,

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Elizabeth I and the images of royalty', in McManus, op. cit. [*Women on the Renaissance Stage*], pp.103-4; E. Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the materials of magnificence at the Stuart Court* (London and New Haven, 2015), pp. 63-79; J. Field, 'Anna of Denmark. A late portrait by Paul van Somer (c1577-1621)', *British Art Journal* 18, no.2 (2017), pp. 50-55.

<sup>8</sup> ESRO GLY 322 fol.1v.

<sup>9</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 2r.

<sup>10</sup> See C. MacLeod, *The Lost Prince. The life & death of Henry Stuart* (London, 2013); C. MacLeod, 'Facing Europe: the portraiture of Anne of Denmark (1579-1619)', in *Telling Objects*, ed. G. Bepler and S. Norrhem (forthcoming); K. Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630* (London, 1995); Barroll, op. cit. (note1); J. Field, "'A Cipher of A and C set on the only Side with diamonds": Anna of Denmark's jewellery and the politics of dynastic display' in *Sartorial Politics: Fashioning women at the early modern court (1450-1700)*, ed. E. Griffey (Amsterdam, 2018), forthcoming.

<sup>11</sup> TNA E351/3233 quoted in H. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, vol. IV: 1485-1660, (*Part II*) (London, 1982), pp. 212-13.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>13</sup> For details of the renaming of Somerset House see *Ibid.*, p. 213. The renaming of the galleries at Oatlands is documented in ESRO GLY 315 and GLY 320.

<sup>14</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 2v and GLY 315 fol. 2v.

<sup>15</sup> TNA E351/3388.

<sup>16</sup> TNA E351/3389.

<sup>17</sup> TNA E351/3389.

<sup>18</sup> J. Harris and G. Higgott, *Inigo Jones Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York, 1989), pp. 74-83. See also Colvin, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 206-17 for an outline of the architectural development of Oatlands Palace.

<sup>19</sup> TNA E351/3389.

<sup>20</sup> Henry Flitcroft copy of Inigo Jones drawing, *Oatlands Palace, Surrey: copy of a design for the outer side of a gateway to the vineyard*, 1720, Royal institute of British Architects Collections, RIBA22810. A second, less ornate elevation by Jones articulates the reverse side of the gateway, which was dismantled and the stones dispersed in the nineteenth century. Two further designs are more tentatively identified with Jones's designs for the new gardens at Oatlands. See Harris and Higgott, op. cit. (note 18), pp. 74-83.

<sup>21</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r.

<sup>22</sup> The portrait described at Oatlands was the version that is now in the Royal Collection Trust, RCIN \*\*\*.

<sup>23</sup> Field, op. cit. (note 7), p. 50. See also O. Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (London, 1963), vol. I, p. 81, cat. 105; and Hearn, op. cit. (note 10), p. 206, cat. 139.

<sup>24</sup> Paul van Somer, *James I and VI*, c.1620, oil on canvas, 227 x 149.5 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404446.

<sup>25</sup> See M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven and London, 1993), p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 2r.

<sup>27</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 1r.

<sup>28</sup> ESRO GLY 322, fol. 1r.

<sup>29</sup> ESRO GLY 322, fol. 1v.

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<sup>30</sup> The inventory is discussed and published in M.T.W. Payne, 'An inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's "ornaments, furniture, household stuffe, and other parcells" at Denmark House, 1619', *Journal of the History of Collections* 13 (2001), pp. 23-44.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> Griffey, *op. cit.*, (note 7), pp. 73-7.

<sup>33</sup> Colvin, *op. cit.*, (note 11), pp. 256-60.

<sup>34</sup> For an account of James I's progress see W. A. McNeill and P.G.B McNeill, 'The Scottish Progress of James VI, 1617', *Scottish Historical Review* 75, no. 199, pt. 1 (1996), pp. 38-51.

<sup>35</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 3r.

<sup>36</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 3r and GLY 320, fol. 2r.

<sup>37</sup> ESRO GLY 320 fol. 1 recto.

<sup>38</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 2v.

<sup>39</sup> See Griffey, *op. cit.* (note 7) p. 77.

<sup>40</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 3v and GLY 320 fol. 2r.

<sup>41</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol.1v.

<sup>42</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 3v.

<sup>43</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 3r.

<sup>44</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 5v. See also GLY 322, fol. 1v.

<sup>45</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 3r.

<sup>46</sup> ESRO GLY 322, fol. 1r.

<sup>47</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 1v.

<sup>48</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 1v.

<sup>49</sup> See C. Mazzetti di Pietralata, 'Les galeries italiennes de peintures princes et collections', in *Les grandes galeries europeennes XVII-XIX siècles*, ed. C. Constans and M. da Vinha (Versailles, 2010), pp. 176-7. For a discussion of galleries and their relationship to 'open galleries' or loggias in Tudor and Jacobean England see P. Henderson, 'The loggia in Tudor and early Stuart England: the adaptation and function of Classical form', in *Albion's Classicism: The visual arts in Britain 1550-1660*, ed. L. Gent (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 109-45.

<sup>50</sup> See S. Thurley, *Somerset House: The palace of England's queens 1551-1692* (London, 2009), pp. 33-7, for a ground-floor plan and account of alterations to Somerset House for Anna of Denmark.

<sup>51</sup> See C. McManus, 'When is a woman not a woman? Or, Jacobean fantasies of female performance (1606-1611)', *Modern Philology* 105 no. 3 (2008), pp. 437-74; M. Murray, 'Performing devotion in "The Masque of Blacknesse"', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 47 no. 2 (2007), pp. 427-49.

<sup>52</sup> The banquet was given to celebrate the marriage of Jean Drummond to Robert Ker, 1st Lord Roxburghe on 3 February 1614. Simon Thurley dates this banquet February 1613 in Thurley, *op. cit.* (note 50), p. 41. This is the Stuart calendar date as published in the letter from John Holles to Sir John Digby, 17 February 1613 describing the banquet. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. ix (London, 1923), p. 31. The letter also refers to the 'further honor of the misty marriage' and states 'Now that Roxborrow is coupled with Mrs Drummond' making it clear that the banquet formed part of the week of celebrations for this marriage.

<sup>53</sup> TNA E351/3233 quoted in Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp. 212-13.

<sup>54</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 2v.

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<sup>55</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 3v and fol. 4r.

<sup>56</sup> J. Field, 'The Wardrobe Goods of Anna of Denmark, Queen Consort of Scotland and England (1574-1619)', *Costume* 51 no. 1 (2017), pp. 3-27.

<sup>57</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 1v.

<sup>58</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 2v.

<sup>59</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 3r.

<sup>60</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 3v.

<sup>61</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 6r.

<sup>62</sup> ESRO GLY 321, fol. 1r.

<sup>63</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4v.

<sup>64</sup> ESRO GLY 321, fol. 1r.

<sup>65</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r and fol. 4v.

<sup>66</sup> ESRO GLY 320, attached to fol. 1v. The first attached sheet is a note by Ralfe Dison listing the six pictures delivered 'at her Ma<sup>tes</sup> Command . . . to goe to bee hanged in her gallery at hampton Court' in December 1618. They are: 'A picture of our saveour at his Passeoun and mady; A picture of our saviour birth and the shepards comming to him.; A picture of night work; A picture of our saviour praying to be delevered of his Cup; A picture of the woman of Samaritan; A picture of our saviour our lady Joseph and mary'. The second attached sheet is a note from Frances Shelton to Dison with instructions to 'delivere the v picketers and the pickter that the nakyte boy takes the woman under the Chine'.

<sup>67</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 5r. The painting is described as 'Two large leaves of one faire picture to bee folded, but now unjoynted, & are of ye Coronaton of a King & Queene of Scotland, unhanged'. In the margin is written in black ink associated with 1618 annotations: 'Sent for to the prynce by the Lo Cary chamberlain & as I heare geaven since to the Duke of Buckingham.' These are the Trinity Panels, see Lorne Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 31, cat. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Griffey, op. cit., (note 7) p. 71. Griffey conflates the cabinet with the oratory. A close comparison of GLY 320 and 321 suggests that the cabinet was the adjoining space to the oratory.

<sup>69</sup> ESRO GLY 315 lists a total of 31 pictures at Oatlands in October 1616. All of these are included in the October 1617 inventory, ESRO GL 320, that lists a total of fifty-one pictures and two images or models 'made of wax'.

<sup>70</sup> Two attachments to ESRO GLY 320, one written by Ralfe Dison and a second, signed Frances Shelton, describe the movement of some of these paintings.

<sup>71</sup> For a discussion of women's hunting dress, including the wearing of hats, the use of green cloth and the shaping of doublet-like bodices see A. Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The art of Tudor and Stuart fashion* (London, 2013), pp. 158-61. The unbuttoned 'Spanish sleeves' in van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* are described on p. 208.

<sup>72</sup> The two versions are: Paul van Somer, *Anne of Denmark*, 1617, 265.5 × 209 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405887, and Paul van Somer, *Anne of Denmark*, n.d., 259 × 117.5 cm, Lamport Hall, inv. no. 41, acquired before 1676.

<sup>73</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r.

<sup>74</sup> See Field, op. cit., (note 56), p. 17 and Griffey, op. cit., (note 7), p. 71.

<sup>75</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r and GLY 315 fol. 1v.

<sup>76</sup> ESRO GLY 320 fol. 4r.

<sup>77</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 2v.



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<sup>78</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r. This handwriting can be identified with the 1618 alterations to the inventory. 'A Picture of Gondomore. done by Blenberg' is also listed in the 1649 inventory of 'ye Kings Galleries at Oatelandes', see O. Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', *Walpole Society* 43 (1970-72), p. 278.

<sup>79</sup> McManus, op. cit. (note 51); Murray, op. cit. (note 51).

<sup>80</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4v.

<sup>81</sup> Field, op. cit., (note 23), p. 51.

<sup>82</sup> Paul van Somer, *William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke*, oil on canvas, 132.1 × 99.1 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405870 and Abraham van Blyenberch, *William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke*, 1617, 113 × 80 cm, National Trust, NT 1180902.

<sup>83</sup> ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4v. 'The Lord Wm Earle of Pembroke, Chamberlain. by van Somer' and 'Captaine Touly done by van. Somer' are listed in the 'Kings Galleries at Oatelandes' in 1649, see Millar op. cit. (note 78), pp. 278-9. While Millar did not make the association between this portrait and 'Toly y<sup>e</sup> Irish man' in the 1617 inventory, he does relate the remaining damaged portrait, no. 108, in the Royal Collection *Nicholas Tooley*, to *Captaine Touly* in the 1649 inventory. Tooley, born Nicholas Wilkinson, was apprenticed to Burbage and became a sharer in the King's Men in 1605, performing in plays by Ben Jonson and John Webster. See Millar, op. cit. (note 23), p. 82. Paul van Somer, *Nicholas Tooley*, c.1620, oil on panel, 95.5 × 106.1 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402675.

<sup>84</sup> Field, op. cit., (note 56), p. 18.

<sup>85</sup> *The Somerset House Conference*, 1604, Unknown artist, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 665. Portraits of named representatives of each country in *The Somerset House Conference* correspond to the guests at the Whitehall Palace banquet. The only delegate not present at the banquet was Charles de Ligne, Count of AreMBERG, who was reportedly prevented from attending by gout. W. Brenchley Rye (ed.), *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), p. 119. See also K. Hearn, *Talking Peace 1604: The Somerset House Conference Paintings* (London, 2004).

<sup>86</sup> *The Family of Henry VIII*, unknown artist, c.1545, Royal Collection Trust RCIN 405796. Howard Colvin describes the limitations of our knowledge of the location of paintings at Whitehall Palace in the sixteenth century in Colvin, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 317-18.

<sup>87</sup> See Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Constable of Castile, 'Banquet and entertainment given by James I to the Constable of Castile at Whitehall Palace, on Sunday, Aug. 19, 1604', in Rye, op. cit. (note 85), p. 117.

<sup>88</sup> The Constable of Castille was Juan de Velsaco Frias and the Count of Villa Mediana was the senator of Milan: Rye, op. cit. (note 85), p. 123.

<sup>89</sup> Rye, op. cit. (note 85), p. 123.

<sup>90</sup> The cult of the Immaculate Conception was associated with papal supremacy at this time. See Royal Collection Trust online catalogue:

<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404970/margaret-of-austria-queen-consort-of-philip-iii-of-spain-1584-1611> [accessed 3 November 2017].

<sup>91</sup> Journal of John Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, published in summary and in translation as 'Pictures and other works of art in the royal palaces, in the year 1613', in Rye, op. cit. (note 85), p. 161.

<sup>92</sup> 'Two pictures of the King and Queene of Spaine wth curtens of watchett sarcinett' and 'Two pictures of the Archduke Albertus and the Infanta his wiefe wth curtens of crymsen taffeta' are listed together with portraits of the Elector Brandenburge, the

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Duke of Wirtenbergh, his wife, his five daughters and an oval portrait of Lady Burgley, who was married to William Cecil in a 1619 inventory of Somerset House taken after Anna of Denmark's death in 1619. The inventory is discussed and published in Payne, *op. cit.* (note 30), pp. 23-44.

<sup>93</sup> These paintings were listed together in the 1619 inventory of Somerset House. See Payne, *op. cit.* (note 30), p. 36. The date of their removal from Whitehall Palace between 1613 and 1619 is not known but they would have formed an interesting backdrop to the Roxburghe/Drummond wedding celebrations.

<sup>94</sup> Remaining in the Royal Collection are: Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Philip III, King of Spain*, 1605, 184 × 118.5, RCIN 404969; Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Margaret of Austria, Queen Consort of Philip III of Spain*, c.1605, 204.6 × 121.2 cm, RCIN 404970; and Frans Pourbus the Younger, *The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Archduchess of Austria*, c.1598-1600, 217.5 × 131 cm, RCIN 407377.

<sup>95</sup> For a discussion of Rubens and Brueghel's portraits of the Archduke and Archduchess of Austria's portraits in the Museo Nacional del Prado see A. T. Woollett and A. van Suchtelen (eds), *Rubens & Brueghel: A working friendship* (Los Angeles, 2006), pp. 101-6.

<sup>96</sup> Karel van Mander, quoted in E. Town, 'Biographical Dictionary of London Painters', *Walpole Society* 76 no. 1 (2014), pp. 182-3. Karen Hearn refers to his reputation as a history painter in Amsterdam in 1604, see Hearn, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 206. See also K. Hearn, 'Picture drawer, born at Antwerp. Migrant artists in Jacobean London', in *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, influences and patronage*, ed. T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard, E. Town (Oxford, 2015), pp. 279-87.

<sup>97</sup> See Towne, *op. cit.* (note 96), p. 183.

<sup>98</sup> For a detailed analysis of portraits of Anna of Denmark see Lucy Wood, 'The portraits of Anna of Denmark', MA dissertation, University of London Courtauld Institute of Art (1981).

<sup>99</sup> Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 74-83. See also Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp. 206-17 for an outline of the architectural development of Oatlands Palace.

<sup>100</sup> Millar, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 81.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>102</sup> J. Scott, *The Royal Portrait: Image and impact* (London, 2010), p. 73.

<sup>103</sup> The engraving, *The Palace of Oatlands in Surrey. From a drawing which belonged to Richd Gough Esqr. and which appears to have been made about the time of Queen Elizabeth* from Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, 1804-14 is reproduced in Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 211.

<sup>104</sup> A second, less ornate elevation by Jones articulates the reverse side of the gateway and two further designs are more tentatively identified with Jones's designs for the new gardens at Oatlands. See Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 78-83.

<sup>105</sup> ESRO GLY 315, fol. 4r.

<sup>106</sup> TNA E351/544, fol. 78v.

<sup>107</sup> The Ambassador for Savoy attended the King at Windsor in September 1616. Giovanni Battista Leionello, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian (CSPV)* 23 September 1616, p. 442.

<sup>108</sup> ESRO GLY 322, fol. 1r.

<sup>109</sup> Horatio Busino to the Signori Giorgio, Francesco and Zaccharia Contarini, *CSPV*, 14 September 1618, p. 535.

<sup>110</sup> ESRO GLY 322, fol. 1r.

<sup>111</sup> Busino, *op. cit.* (note 109), p. 535.

- 112 *Ibid.*, p. 535.
- 113 ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r.
- 114 ESRO GLY 315, fol. 4r.
- 115 Piero Contarini, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary in England, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 7 September 1618, p. 307.
- 116 Busino, *op. cit.* (note 109), p. 535.
- 117 TNA E351/544, fol. 91.
- 118 A. Loomie (ed.), *Ceremonies of Charles I: The note books of John Finet 1628-1641* (New York, 1987), pp. 28-9.
- 119 S. Orgel and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), p. 282. For the complete text of Busino's account in Italian and in translation, see pp. 279-84.
- 120 Horatio Busino, quoted in Orgel and Strong *op. cit.* (note 119), p. 282.
- 121 Orgel and Strong, *op. cit.* (note 119), p. 284.
- 122 ESRO GLY 320, fol. 4r. In the margin to the inventory account of 'In ye gallery next ye vineyard her Majesties owne picture wth her horse by her, done at large' is written 'sent to the prins to St Jeymes 8 mch 1618.' Allowing for the Stuart Calendar this refers to 8 March 1619.
- 123 A portrait of 'Queene Ann. at Length. wth a horss. & little dogs in Landscape of Oatlands. done by van Somer', valued at £20, and numbered 24 in the 1649 inventory of Whitehall Palace is unmistakable as the surviving portrait of *Anne of Denmark*. Also listed in 'ye Beare Gallery & some of ye privy Lodgings at Whitehall' in this inventory, 'King James at Length. by Van Somer', is less easily distinguished from other portraits of the monarch. By deduction, however, it has been identified by Oliver Millar as the portrait depicting the Banqueting House: Millar *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 69.
- 124 ESRO GLY 322 fol. 1v.

## Appendix I

### ESRO GLY 315

*[fol.1 r]*

*[blank]*

*[fol. 1v]*

*[blank]*

*[fol. 2r]*

In October  
1616

An Inventory of her Maty<sup>es</sup> Stuffe in  
Otelands taken at her Maty<sup>es</sup> remove  
in October 1616

In the Bedchamber.

A suite of branched hanginges paned viz: one pane of watched white  
and yellow, y<sup>e</sup> other of red white & yellow, laced downe right wth

lace

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silver  
 in one  
 7. peeces of  
 Damask  
 hangings  
 wth  
 leaves.

of green silke gold & silver: bordered above wth a fringe of gold and  
 greene & red silke, embroidered wth her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> letteres and Crowne  
 pane, and her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> Motta in y<sup>e</sup> other, all lyned wth Canvas.  
 The first peece consisting of fower panes.  
 The second of thirteene panes.  
 The third of Eleven panes.  
 The fourth of Eleven panes allso.  
 The fifth peece being a Chimny peece of fower short panes  
 and two long panes.  
 One window peece of three panes:  
 and an other window peece of five panes.

A Cubberd Carpet of Crimson velvet embroidered wth her Ma<sup>tyes</sup>  
 letteres & Crowne in silver, & laced wth two silver laces, & fringed  
 silver, & lined wth Crimson Taffata.

A paire of great brazen Brandirones  
 A foulding table of Ovall fashioned of spotted virginia wood,  
 bordered wth Walnut tree.

Window curtaines of Damaske paned, one pane of Watchet  
 and white, y<sup>e</sup> other of Carnation and greene, a third of greene,  
 all lined wth white fustian.  
 The first containinge five panes.  
 The second fower panes.  
 The third fower panes allso.  
 A foulding ~~screen~~ *[inserted above 'table']* of Cheena worke, of ten

In the wthdraweing Chamber.

Ten Damaske  
 peeces of  
 hanginges

An other suite of hanginges of like Damaske and embroydered,  
 and so lined, laced, and fringed.  
 The first peece consisting of seven panes.  
 The second of tenn panes  
 The third of fower short panes, for a Chimny peece.

*[fol. 2v]*

The fourth of five panes.  
 The fifthe of five panes  
 The sixth of nyne panes  
 The seaventh of six panes.  
 The eighth of two panes

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One window peece of fower panes  
One other window peece of three panes.

A Cubberd Carpet of Crimson Velvet,  
like to that in y<sup>e</sup> Bed Chamber.  
A Table of Chyna worke.  
A window curtaine of five panes, of like  
stuffe and fashion wth those in y<sup>e</sup> Bed Chamber.

In the outer wthdraweing Chamber.

8 peeces of  
tapistry.

Eight peeces of new faire tapistry of y<sup>e</sup> story of *[blank]*  
A round wicker skreene.

In the Gallery.

Tenn paned window Curtaines of Damaske; one pane of  
yellow and white, y<sup>e</sup> other pane of pink colour greene & yellow;  
of wch, eight Curtaines consist of five panes apeece, and two  
of seven panes apeece.  
Two draweing tables of oaken wainscote.  
A fayre large lookeing glasse, y<sup>e</sup> cover & frame inlayed wth  
mother of pearle in ebony.  
A round steele glasse set in a case of lether  
A picture of Queene Elizabeth.  
A litle auntient picture of prince Arthur.  
A litle picture of y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Lenox the kinges  
grandfather, wth a curtaine of greene taffita sarcenet.  
A picture in full proportion of Henry y<sup>e</sup> fourth late king of France.  
A picture of *[space]* Infanta of Spaine now queene of France.  
A picture of Assuerus and Queene Hester.  
A picture of the prince of Denmarke.  
An other of y<sup>e</sup> Duke his brother.  
A third of the third brother.

*[fol. 3r]*  
19 Pictures.

A picture of Don *[blank]* y<sup>e</sup> new Embassadour Ligier of Spaine.  
A picture of a Buffone looking out of a glasse window.  
Another of a Buffone in a fooles coate & Coxecombe.  
A picture of y<sup>e</sup> Tower of Babell.  
A picture of y<sup>e</sup> lady *[space]* y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Perthes daughter.  
A picture of M<sup>is</sup> Middlemore y<sup>e</sup> maide of honour.  
A picture of our saviour and his apostles at y<sup>e</sup> passeon, & y<sup>e</sup> Maundy.  
A picture of our Saviour & y<sup>e</sup> woman of Samaria at y<sup>e</sup> well  
A picture of our Savioures birth, & y<sup>e</sup> shepherdes comming to him.  
A table of Italian verses wth a Crimsone Curtaine spotted wth

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her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> armes & letteres wth the crowne.

In her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> Cabbinnett.

A China table of tenne squares, standing on a pillar wth 3 feet.  
A Cabinett on it of Chyna worke wth an other Cabninet on y<sup>e</sup> topp,  
and wthin an inclosure of glasse, a worke of y<sup>e</sup> actiones of our  
Saviour to his crucifixion & assention made in wax.  
A square wainescot table on a square frame.  
A wainescot table wth degrees for bookes.  
A frame wth a Capitall covered wth checquered in loseinge fashion  
of ashcoloured & Crimson Taffata, wth balles guilt & vanes, & in it  
a naked boy holding a dogge in his shirt skirt made of wax.  
A paire of brasse Brandirones.  
A picture wth our Saviour healeing y<sup>e</sup> woman y<sup>t</sup> had y<sup>e</sup> bloody issue.  
A picture of our Saviour, our Lady, Joseph, & S<sup>t</sup> John Baptist.  
A picture of Hercules &c:  
A picture of our Saviour praying to bee delivered from his Cupp:

Suites of stooles Cushiones Chaires  
& Canopys &c:

&  
laced  
above wth  
containing

Inprimis one suite, whereof y<sup>e</sup> frames are painted wth white & gold,  
spotted wth red floweres, covered wth red & white Tuftaffita,  
wth gold spangled lace, & fringed below wth Crimson & gold, &  
gold onely, embroythered wth hir Ma<sup>tyes</sup> letteres & crowne:

in particular  
One great Chayre:  
Two Chaires wth Backes  
Eight high stooles  
*[the 3 lines above bracketed together with the words,  
'wth red Cotten cases to each of them.']*

*[fol. 3v]*

One foote stoole.  
Seven long cushions  
*[the 2 lines above bracketed together with the words,  
'wth red cotten cases likewise.']*  
A Canopy of the same wth Curtaines of white & red Damaske,  
sutablely laced:  
Tenne Plumes of featheres of like colour & sutable cupps for them

---

wth a

Item an other suite of darke Tawny satten stript & chequered  
wth gold, laced with gold spangled lace, & y<sup>e</sup> Cushions lined

chequered stitched Taffita of greene white & Tawny  
the particulars are.

One great chaire.

<One foote stoole>

Two high stooles.

Two lowe stooles.

Seven long Cushiones.

One square Cushion.

Item: an other suite of greene wrought velvet or Tuftaffita, wrought  
into cut flowers betwixt a waved worke, the frames painted on  
a greene ground, wth floweres of gold, laced wth gold spangled lace,  
fringed with gold fringe above, & belowe wth greene silke & gold  
the particulars are. <& embrothered wth the Queens letteres &  
crowne>

One high Chayre.

One foote stoole.

Eight high stooles

Two long Cushiones.

One square Cushion

*[the above 5 lines above bracketed together with the words  
'all wth coveres of greene cotten.']*

featheres

A Canopy of the same laced & fringed sutably wth Curtaynes  
of greene Damaske laced sutably, & on y<sup>e</sup> backe embroydered  
wth her Ma<sup>tyes</sup> letteres & crowne. wth tenne plumes of

wth Cuppes painted wth gold and greene.

Five foulding feild Tables

In the Garden Stone Gallery

A lardg picture of Diana & her maydes vewing their quarrey  
of red deare, Conyes a boare &c:

A lesser picture of a gardener wth his sonne & daughter selling in y<sup>e</sup>  
market mellones, Cabbages & other hearbes & fruite.

An other picture of Noah's Arke, setting out him, his wife & children,  
wth variety of creatures coming into the arke.

An other of like bignesse of Jupiter & the godes feasting.

[fol. 4r]

An other of the shepheardes when the Angell visited them

---

uppon our Savio<sup>rs</sup> birth.  
An other of the foure Evangelistes  
An other of Mammon.  
An other of Venus bewailing her dead Adonis.  
An other of Lucretia.

Item stooles wch came, against y<sup>e</sup> feasting of the <Spanishe> [*Spanishe*  
*inserted in a different hand above*] Embassadoures, from  
Mr Marvin from Sommerset house, (as Ralph Dison thinketh) & were  
delivered into hir Ma<sup>tes</sup> robes, & from them delivered to him, & are  
(as hee thinketh) to bee sent backe againe.  
the particulars are.

Seaven high stooles of ashe coloured cloth of silver, spotted with  
carnation flames frindged wth silver, & y<sup>e</sup> frames painted  
wth red flames on a white ground: all cased wth red cotten.

Seaven other high stooles of a darke ashculler cloth of silver  
fringed wth silver sutably: the frames painted white on a  
darke sand colour, all with cases of greene Cotton.

Six other high stooles of russet cloth of silver, braunched  
with yellow, fringed wth gold & silver fringe, y<sup>e</sup> frames  
painted yellow on a darke russet ground: all wth greene  
Cotton Coveres.

Fower high stooles of white Cloth of silver, braunched with  
willow greene, fringed wth silver, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted greene  
on a silver ground wth blew cotten coveres.

[*Note inserted in margin to above 3 lines in a different hand:*  
*'one missinge in Ao 1617'.]*

[fol. 4v]

[back cover with the docket] her ma<sup>tes</sup> stuff in Otelands left in 8ber 1616

## **Appendix II** **ESRO GLY 320**

[Cover]

Your Ma<sup>tes</sup> stuff at  
Otelands 1618

[fol. 1r]

'An Inventory of hir Ma<sup>tes</sup> owne stuffe in Oatelands  
taken y<sup>e</sup> day after her highnesse remoove from thence  
being y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> of October. 1617<sup>124</sup>

Hangings.

x 1 suite      A suite of brancht sattin hangings in her bedchamber paned viz:  
one pane of watched white & yellow; y<sup>e</sup> other of red white & yellow,  
laced downe right in every Seame, wth lace of greene silke gold & silver



---

bordered about wth a fringe of gold & silver greene & red silk, embrothered in y<sup>t</sup> border wth her Ma<sup>tes</sup> letters & Crowne in one pane, & her Ma<sup>tes</sup> motta in y<sup>e</sup> other, & lyned wth Canvas.

the first peece consisting of 4 panes.

y<sup>e</sup> second of 13. panes.

y<sup>e</sup> third of 11. panes

y<sup>e</sup> fourth of 11. panes

y<sup>e</sup> fifth peece being a Chimney peece of 4 short panes, and  
2. long panes.

y<sup>e</sup> sixth a window peece of 3 panes

y<sup>e</sup> seaventh a window peece of 5 panes.

x 2 suite. An other suite of hangings in y<sup>e</sup> next wthdrawing Chamber of like stuffe, laceing, embrothery, fringe & lineing.

The first peece of 7. panes

y<sup>e</sup> second of 10. panes.

y<sup>e</sup> third of 4. short panes for a Chimney peece.

y<sup>e</sup> fourth of 5. panes.

y<sup>e</sup> fifth of 5. panes

y<sup>e</sup> sixth of 9. panes.

y<sup>e</sup> seaventh of 6. panes .

y<sup>e</sup> eight of 2. panes.

y<sup>e</sup> ninth a window peece of 4. panes.

y<sup>e</sup> tenth a window peece of 3. panes.

x 3. suite. An other suite in y<sup>e</sup> outer wthdrawing Chamber of fine new tapestry of y<sup>e</sup> story of *[blank]* consisting of 8. peeces.

Carpetes.

x 1. In y<sup>e</sup> Bedchamber a cubberd Carpet of Crimson velvet embrothered wth her Ma<sup>tes</sup> lettres & Crowne in silver, & laced wth 2 silver laces, and fringed wth silver, & lyned wth Crimson Taffita.

*[fol. 1v]*

x 2. Another like Cubberd Carpet in y<sup>e</sup> next wthdrawing Chamber

x 3. A Carpet of Carnation velvet in y<sup>e</sup> North gallery embrothered all over wth large worke in gold and coloured silkes, lyned with changeable Taffita.

x 4. Another in y<sup>t</sup> gallery of Watchet velvet embrothered allso wth large wourke in gold & colloured silkes, lyned wth watchett Taffita, both sent for a new yeares gift from y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Worcester

x5. A fayre embrothered Carpet of China worke in gold & coloured silkes, lyned wth Changeable Chyna silke in y<sup>e</sup> booke chamber.

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Small window Carpets of Turkey worke.

- x22. x In y<sup>e</sup> North gallery 11.  
x In y<sup>e</sup> kinges bedchamber. 2  
x In y<sup>e</sup> book Chamber. 2  
x In y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet 2.  
*[The 4 lines above bracketed together with words '17 new']*
- x 23. A new Turkey Carpet of 8. yardes in length, & allmost 3. yardes in breadth left folded in y<sup>e</sup> kings bed Chamber.
- x 24. An other left folded there of new Turkey worke of 3. yardes and a qr. in length, & 2. yardes in Breadth.
- x 25. An other new one there of like length & worke.
- x 26. A third left allso of like length & worke.
- x 27. Another left folded there of Turkey worke in length 3. yardes & a qr & in breadth a yard & a halfe.
- x 28. Another Turkey Carpett on a Table in y<sup>e</sup> wthdrawing Chamber on y<sup>e</sup> kinges side, long 4. yardes & a qr & broade 2. yardes 3. qrs.
- x 29. A Turkey foote Carpet in y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber 2. yardes 3. qrs long, and a yard & a halfe broade.
- x 30. A large Persia foote carpet in y<sup>e</sup> South gallery 6. yardes long, & broade 2. yardes & 3 qrs.
- x 31. Another Persia carpet there, 8. yardes & a halfe long, & broade 3. yardes & a qr.

Cloathes of state, suites of Canopies, Cooches, Chaires, stools  
Cushions, beddes, Window Curtaines. &c:

- x 1 suite In y<sup>e</sup> Bedchamber a field bedsted painted red & gold wth a Canopy & curtaines of Carnation & yellow damaske, & a counterpaine of y<sup>e</sup> same, lyned wth changeable Taffita, laced wth parchment lace, of gold & silver spangled & double vallanced above, & single vallanced belowe under y<sup>e</sup> bed, laced & fringed sutably, & 5. plumes of featheres sutable.

*[fol. 2r]*

A downe bed of fustian to it.  
a paire of fustian blankettes.  
a wollbed in white Canvas.  
a Quilt in Canvas.  
3. Downe Pillowes.  
a Boulster.  
an embrodered sweet bag.  
3. wrought pillowbeeres in colloured silke & gold, & covered wth lawne.  
a Chaire sutable to y<sup>e</sup> bed.

---

2. high stooles allso sutable.  
One footestoole allso sutable.  
a square cushion & a long Cushion sutable.  
a close stoole sutable wth Cases of red cotten to them all.

x 2. suite. In y<sup>e</sup> next wthdrawing Chamber a suite of darke Tawny sattin stript & chequered wth gold, laced wth gold spangled lace, & y<sup>e</sup> cushions lyned wth a chequered sticht Taffita of greene white & tawny y<sup>e</sup> parsells are.

A high Chaire.  
One foote stoole.  
2. high stooles.  
2. lowe stooles  
7. long Cushions.  
one square cushion.

*[the 6 lines above bracketed together with the words 'Wth cases of Tawny Cotten.']*

x 3. suite. In y<sup>e</sup> outer wthdrawing chamber an other suite of greene velvet or Tuftaffita wrought into cut flowers betwixt a waned worke, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted on a greene ground wth flowers of gold, laced wth a gold spangled lace, fringed wth gold fringe above, & belowe wth green silke & gold, & embrothered wth y<sup>e</sup> Queenes lettres & Crowne, y<sup>e</sup> particulars are.

A high Chaire.  
One foote stoole.  
8. high stooles.  
2. long cushions.  
One square cushion.

*[The 5 lines above bracketed together with the words 'all wth Covers of greene cotten.']*

x A canopy of the same laced, fringed and embrothered sutable wth Curtaines of greene Damaske laced & buttended sutable, with tenn plumes of feathers, wth Cuppes painted gold & greene.

*[fol. 2 v]*

x 4. suite In y<sup>e</sup> South gallery next y<sup>e</sup> vineyard one suite whereof y<sup>e</sup> frames are painted white & gold, & spotted wth red flowers, covered with white & red Tuftaffita, laced wth gold spangled lace, and fringed below wth Crimson & gold, & above wth gold onely, embrothered with her Mat<sup>tes</sup> lettres & crowne, y<sup>e</sup> particulars are.

A Canopy wth curtaines of red & white Damaske so laced & fringed wth ten plumes of feathers with cuppes sutable.  
One great Chaire.  
2. stooles wth backes.

- 
8. high stooles.  
one foote stoole.  
7. long Cushions.  
one square cushion.  
*[The 6 lines above bracketed together with the words 'wth red cotten cases.']*
- x 5. Suite. In y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber a suite of silver Chamlet branched wth greene  
flowers fringed wth greene silke and silver, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted sutably, the  
particulars are.  
A high chaire  
2 high stooles  
2 low stooles  
a foote stoole  
4 long cushions  
one square cushion.  
*[The 6 lines above bracketed together with the words 'wthout cases.']*
- x 6. suite In y<sup>e</sup> North gallery a suite of silver & carnation velvet, laced wth silver  
parchment spangled lace, & curtaines of Carnacion sattin, lyned wth  
carnacion Damaske, laced sutably, & layed wth long silver buttons, y<sup>e</sup>  
particulars are.  
A Canopy wth <vallens> 2 curtaines, ten cuppes & plumes.  
A Cooche.  
4. long cushions.  
2. square cushions.  
2. low stooles  
*[The 4 lines above bracketed together with the words 'wth cases of red  
cotten for all, but y<sup>e</sup> 2. square cushions.']*
- x 7. suite. In y<sup>e</sup> same gallery an other suite, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted wth carnation  
ground & garnished wth flowers, covered wth carnation sattin, stript  
wth white, & betwixt wth flowers of silver, & coloured silk, fringed wth  
silver, y<sup>e</sup> particulars are.  
A chaire.  
2. long cushions.  
one square cushion.  
4. high stooles  
2. low stooles  
a footestoole.  
*[The 6 lines above bracketed together with the words 'wth cases of red  
cotten to them all, but y<sup>e</sup> chaire.']*
- [fol. 3r]*  
x8. suite. In y<sup>e</sup> same gallery a suite of silver Chamlet, raysed wth watchett & tawny,  
velvet flowers, lyned wth changeable stuffe stript wth gold, tasselled wth

- 
- silver blue & tawny silke & fringed sutable; y<sup>e</sup> particulars are onely  
7 long cushions wth red Cotten cases.
- x 9 suite. In y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet a suite of cloath of silver, branched wth flowers of gold & other flowers of severall colloured silkes, y<sup>e</sup> particulars are,  
a low Chaire.  
a square cushion.  
2. long cushions.  
2. low stooles.  
*[The 4 lines above bracketed together with the words 'wth cases of yellow cotten.']*
- x 10 suite. In y<sup>e</sup> privy chamber on y<sup>e</sup> kinges side a cloath of state in panes, one of crimson cloath of gold, y<sup>e</sup> other of rose colour velvet, embrothered wth flowers of silver purle, & traile wth twist & Oes of gold, wth her Ma<sup>tes</sup> armes largely embrothered & embost on y<sup>e</sup> backe, & over head wth double vallances sutable, wth a deepe call fringe of gold & silver, bound all about wth an uncut narrow fringe of gold & silver, & y<sup>e</sup> particulars ensuing sutable to it.  
a high chaire.  
a square cushion.  
a long cushion.  
a foote stoole.  
*[The 4 lines above bracketed together with the words 'wth cases of red cotten.']*
- x 11. suite. In y<sup>e</sup> K: bedchamber unset up a canopy of haire colour silver velvet, laced wth a silver spangled lace, wth vallance of y<sup>e</sup> same, lyned wth white & sand coloured Damaske, laced fringed & set wth long buttons of silver, 2 curtaines laced, buttoned & lyned sutable, wth a back of y<sup>e</sup> same lyned wth white fustian, & one plume of feathers, wth a cup of haire colour & white, but wthout any chaire, stoole, ~~cushion~~, or any thing else to suite y<sup>e</sup> Canopy *[added in later hand: 'but one longe cushione']*
- x 12. suite In y<sup>e</sup> privy Chamber on y<sup>e</sup> Queenes side 7 high stooles of ash coloured cloath of silver, spotted wth red Carnation flames, fringed wth silver, and y<sup>e</sup> frames painted sutable all cased wth red Cotten.
- x 13. fringed In y<sup>e</sup> same 7. other high stooles of darke ash coloured cloath of silver, wth silver sutable, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted white one a dark sand colour, all wth cases of cotten.
- x 14. In y<sup>e</sup> same 6. other high stooles, of russet cloath of silver, branched wth yellow, fringed wth gold & silver fring, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted yellow on a darke russet ground, all wth greene cotten Cases.
- x 15. In y<sup>e</sup> same 4. high stooles of white cloath of silver branched wth willow

---

greene, fringed wth silver, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted greene on a silver ground wth blew cotten covers, whereof one stoole is carryed to Byflett.

[fol. 3v]

Skreenes

- x 1. A round wicker Skreene in y<sup>e</sup> wthdrawing Chamber.  
2. Another like skreene carryed to Byflet. by mr Peero *[added in black ink]*.  
x 3. A skreene on a pilaster & crosse in y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet of stript cloath of silver spotted wth coloured flowers, & lyned wth stript sticht Taffita, wth a cover  
of cotten.  
x 4. In y<sup>e</sup> Queenes chamber a Skreene on a gilt pilaster & crosse covered wth a double pane of stript gold stufte, fringed wth gold & silke & lyned wth purple Damaske.

Window Curtaines.

- x 14. Window curtaines in y<sup>e</sup> South gallery, y<sup>e</sup> Bedchamber, y<sup>e</sup> withdrawing chamber of Damaske in panes, all lyned wth white fustian, whereof  
Ten curtaines of 5 panes.  
2. of 7. panes.  
2 .of 4. panes.

Lookeing glasses.

- x 1. In y<sup>e</sup> South gallery a fayre lookeing glasse, y<sup>e</sup> cover & frame of Ebony set wth mother of pearle.  
x 2. A round steele glasse in y<sup>t</sup> gallery set in a case of Lether.  
x 3. In ye said gallery a looking glasse set in a frame garnisht wth agates & Christall.  
x 4. In y<sup>e</sup> Bedchamber a glasse set in a frame of Ebony wth a peryment, and in y<sup>e</sup> hollow of it a strikeing clocke.  
x 5. In y<sup>e</sup> North gallery a lookeing glasse set wth stones, red, blew, white & greene  
in a case painted red & gold, & lyned wth blew velvet.  
x 6. In y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet a small steele glasse round in a lether gilt case.

Tables, Formes, & Cubberdes.

- x In y<sup>e</sup> bedchamber an ovall folding table of spotted Virginia wood, bordered wth walnut tree.  
x In y<sup>e</sup> next withdrawing chamber a China gilt table.  
x In y<sup>e</sup> South gallery 2 drawing tables of Oken wainscot

- 
- x In y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber a Chyna table of ten squares on a pillar, & a cabbinet on it of y<sup>e</sup> same worke, wth another cabbinet on an enclosure of glasse, wherein is a worke in waxe of some of our Savioures actions to his resurrecton & ascention.
  - x In y<sup>e</sup> same place a square wainscot table of Oke wth a square frame.

*[fol. 4r]*

- x In y<sup>e</sup> same a wanscot table wth degrees for bookes.
- x In y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet an Oken Wainscot Octagenon folding table.
- x There also a forme of Wainscot.
- x In y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet allso a close cubberd of Wainscot locked up.
- x Five folding field tables, whereof one is at Byflet.
- x In y<sup>e</sup> Lobby betwixt y<sup>e</sup> bedchamber & y<sup>e</sup> backe staire a close cubberd ~~locked up~~ <empty>

#### Brasse Brandirons.

- x 1. One paire in y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber.
- x 2. another in y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet.
- x 3. another in y<sup>e</sup> bedchamber.

#### Pictures & Postures.

- 1. In y<sup>e</sup> gallery next y<sup>e</sup> vineyard her Ma<sup>tes</sup> owne picture wth her horse by her, done at large. *[in margin to left is written 'sent to the prince to St Jeyms 8 mch 1618']*
- x 2. The picture of Queene Elizabeth.
- x 3. A picture of Henry y<sup>e</sup> fourth K. of France.
- x 4. A picture of his daughter.
- x 5. A picture of y<sup>e</sup> Infanta of Spaine now Queene of France.
- x 6. A small picture of Assuerus & Queene Hester.
- x 7. A picture of y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Denmarke
- x 8. A picture of his second brother.
- x 9. Another of his third brother.
- x 10. Another of y<sup>e</sup> K of Denmarkes naturall sonne.
- x 11. A picture of ~~Don~~ <the Count of Gondomer> ambassadour from Spaine.<sup>124</sup>
- x 12. A picture of a Buffon lookeing out of a glasse window.
- x 13. Another of a Buffon in a Coxcombe.
- x 14. A picture of Toly y<sup>e</sup> Irish man.
- x 15. A picture of y<sup>e</sup> tower of Babell.
- x 16. A picture of y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Perthes daughter.
- x 17. A picture of Mis Middlemore y<sup>e</sup> maide of honour.
- 18. A picture of our Saviour at his passeon & Mandy, *[In left margin is written 'sent for to Hampton Court December 1618']*

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19. A picture of our Savioures birth, & y<sup>e</sup> shepherdes comming to him wth Gloria in excelsis: unhangd, but since hangd in y<sup>e</sup> booke chamber. [*In left margin is written 'also this.'*]

[*fol. 4v*]

- x 20. A litle table of Itallian verses made by Sir Francis Castilian wth a curtaine to it.
- x 21. The Lo: Chamberlaine Pembrookes picture.
- x 22. A naked Ladyes picture cast into Lawne.
- x 23. In y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber a picture of our Saviour healeing of y<sup>e</sup> woman with y<sup>e</sup> bloody issue.
- x 24. There also a picture of an old man, a young woman, & deatnes head.
- x 25. In y<sup>e</sup> Cabbinet a picture of a deceased brother of her Ma<sup>tes</sup>.
26. There also a picture of our Saviour, our Lady, Josephe & Mary. [*In left margin is written 'also this'.*]
- x 27. A picture of our Saviour & y<sup>e</sup> woman of Samaria. [*In margin 'also this'.*]
28. A picture of night work, when y<sup>e</sup> souldiors put scornefully a reede into our Savioures hand. [*In left margin is written 'also this'.*]
- x 29. A litle picture of our Lady, Ch: sucking, wth a greene Taffita curtaine.
- x 30. A molded picture of y<sup>e</sup> Jewish Ladyes saluteing David wth harpe & other instrumentes of musicke.
- x 31. A litle like picture of Queene Hester.
- x 32. In y<sup>e</sup> Lobby of y<sup>t</sup> Cabbinet a picture of our Saviour raysing Lazarus.
- x 33. In y<sup>e</sup> North gallery a picture of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Evangelistes.
- x 34. A picture of y<sup>e</sup> old Duke of Lenox.
- x 35. A picture of Prince Arthurs.
- x 36. An old peece of Lucretia.
- x 37. A picture of Noah's arke expressing him wth his sonnes & their wives, & divers creatures repaireing to y<sup>e</sup> arke.
- x 38. A picture of y<sup>e</sup> angell visiting y<sup>e</sup> Shepherdes at our Savioures birth.
- x 39. A picture of our Saviour, our Lady, St Jo: Babtist, & 2 angelles.
- x 40. A picture of Joseph of Arimathea & others putting our Saviour into his grave.
41. An other of our Saviour wth y<sup>e</sup> woman of Samaria. [*In left margin is written 'also this'.*]
- x 42. An other of Hercules Theseus & Proserpina.
- x 43. Another of Diana & her maides viewing their quarrey of red deere hares, Conyes &c:
- x 44. Another of y<sup>e</sup> battell of private combat of 12. against 12. horsemen in the lowe cuntereyes
- x 45. Another of Mamon.
- x 46. Another of our Saviour, our Lady, Joseph & a childe wth Ecce agnus dei.
47. Another of our Saviour praying to bee delivered of his Cupp. [*In left margin is written 'also this'.*]

[*fol. 5r*]

x 48. Another of Jupiter & y<sup>e</sup> godes feasting.



- 
- x 49. Another of venus bewayling dead Adonis; unhangd, but now hanged 7<sup>ber</sup>  
1618
- x 50. Two large leaves of one faire picture to bee folded, but now unioynted, & are of y<sup>e</sup> Coronaton of a King & Queene of Scotland, unhangd.  
*[In margin to left is written in black ink, 'Sent for to the prynce by the Lo Cary chamberlain & as I heare geaven since to the Duke of Buckingham.']*
- x 51. In y<sup>e</sup> Lobby at y<sup>e</sup> staire head by y<sup>t</sup> gallery a picture of a gardiner wth his sonne & daughter selling of mellons, Cabbages & other fruites.
- x 52. In y<sup>e</sup> South gallery a gally pot wth flowers made of wax.
- x 53. In y<sup>e</sup> bookechamber in a canopy frame with curtaines, a boy made of wax holding a dogge in his shirt skirt.

Stuffe said to bee y<sup>e</sup> kinges not belonging to his Mat<sup>es</sup> Wardrobe at Oatlandes, but to other wardrobes.

Five peeces of hanginges in panes, y<sup>e</sup> one of red cloath of gold & silver, y<sup>e</sup> other of red velvet, vallanced & tasselled wth silke & gold, & said to belong to Mr Cottens Charge at Whitehall. *[In left margin is written in black ink, 'restored; see Mr Disons discharge']*

Stuffe missing y<sup>t</sup> were in y<sup>e</sup> last survey 1617

In y<sup>e</sup> North gallery a picture of my Lo: Carews.  
In y<sup>e</sup> same a picture of Tom Duryes.  
*[The two lines above bracketed together with words 'both said to bee sent to bee put into frames.']*  
A folding skreene of China worke sent to Denmarke House.

Stuffe found in Oatlandes house more then was mencioned in y<sup>e</sup> last yeeres survey, & brought thither this summer 1618. as appeereth by y<sup>e</sup> particulars hereafter following viz:

- x In y<sup>e</sup> South gallery a picture of Gilbert Earle of Shrewsbury
- x Allso a picture of a Lady in a watched branched gowne wth a chaine of pearle, whose name I cannot tell.
- x In y<sup>e</sup> wthdrawing chamber on y<sup>e</sup> kinges side a suite of stooles of silvered tabeene, chevered wth greene silke, fringed wth greene silke & silver, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted sutably, y<sup>e</sup> particulars are
- A high chaire
  - A low chaire
  - One stoole wth a backe.
  - Two high stooles
  - 2 low stooles.

---

1 foote stoole.

[fol. 5v]

Two long cushions.

one square cushion

*[Above 2 lines bracketed together with words*

*'lyned wth changeable Taffita white & greene,*

*& tasselled, wth greene cotten covers to them all.']*

x A suite of greene Damaske branched wth white and sutably fringed  
wth greene & white silke y<sup>e</sup> particulars are,

A high chaire.

a low chaire.

one stoole wth a backe.

2 high stooles.

2 low stooles.

one foote stoole.

2 long cushions.

*[The 7 lines above bracketed together with words 'all wth rows of  
greene cotten.']*

one square cushion. lyned as y<sup>e</sup> former.

x A suite of Tawny silver tabeene flowered wth slips of white silke,  
fringed wth tawny silke & silver, y<sup>e</sup> frames painted sutably; y<sup>e</sup> parti  
culares are.

2 high chaires.

4 high stooles.

2 foote stooles.

2 long cushions.

2 square cushions.

*[The 5 lines above bracketed together with words 'wth covers of red  
cotten.']*

x More in y<sup>e</sup> K: bedchamber, one cloath of estate, y<sup>e</sup> head & backe con  
sisting of 5. panes apeece: whereof 3. of Crimson velvet, & 2 of  
crimson & yellow cloath of silver layd downe right wth very broad  
parchment lace of gold & silver, y<sup>e</sup> head wth 4. laces, & y<sup>e</sup> backe wth 6.  
laces. & either embrothered wth your Ma<sup>tes</sup> armes embost in a large  
border of Cornucopia, embost very faire wth double vallances in panes of  
y<sup>e</sup> same stuffe & lace fringed wth crimson silke wth a call fring of  
silver & gold twist; y<sup>e</sup> backe of y<sup>e</sup> state & y<sup>e</sup> vallances edged wth a  
small fring of gold & silver wth

a high chaire.

a long cushion

a square cushion

a foote stoole.

*[The 4 lines above bracketed together with words*

*'Sutable in all things, but not embrothered,*

---

& wth cases of red cotten.']

A wooden frame furnished wth iron worke to beare it.

More 4 Chests covered wth blacke lether, locked up full of <wth> some weighty stuffe.

*[In left margin next to the above 5 lines '3. of these sent for by Mr Pero to Hamp: Court 8ber. 1618. the 4<sup>th</sup> Mrs Hanna & delyvered 9<sup>th</sup> of mch in Person of Sr Tho. Tracy & Mr Pay.]*

Also there a round long case of tynd plate, & in it a picture of your Ma<sup>tes</sup> in a greene gowne embrothered wth spots of flowers.<sup>124</sup>

*[In black ink underneath 'sent for to Hampton court by mrs Hanna.]*

*[fol. 6r]*

x *[In the same hand as the margin note on fol 5v.]*

More fownd in the kinges bedchamber of chena Damask curteynes in panes of greene, orange tawny & crymson lyned wth white fustian in number eighte.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of march, 1618 by direction from the Lo. Chamberlain the Earle of Penbrooke ther mett me at Otelands Sr Thomas Tracy wth mr Pay clerke of the kitchin & mr Pero & we unlocked the cuberd whereof they had they key & we found therin the things folowinge

One cup of christall wth a cover garnished wth gould & sett wth small rubyes & pearle wth a case of leather to it

An other cup of christall somewhat bigger garnished wth gold or silver & guilt wth a cover ~~of leather~~ <and a case of leather also>

*[The 6 lines above bracketed together with the words*

*'delyvered into the Juelhouse to the mr*

*Sr Henry Myldmay by his Ma<sup>tes</sup> command as*

*Sr H. Myldmayes endenture declares'.]*

An <old> embrothered strawe hatt

A booke of the kings welcom into Scotland

And in the oratorye

A staff trymed wth mother of pearle <and a silver scoope>

19. small pictures

4. larger pictures.

---

*[First of 2 separate, smaller sheets now attached to fol. 1v and originally pinned to fol. 4v at 22.*

*The first of these is compatible with the later handwriting in lighter coloured ink and appears to have been added in December 1618.]*

Delevered by me Ralfe Dison to mr whinard man at  
her Ma<sup>tes</sup> Command 6 pictures for to go~~u~~ to bee  
hanged in her gallery at hamton Court  
in December: 1618

A picture of our saveour at his Passeoun and mady

A picture of our saviour birth and the  
shepards comming to him.

A picture of night worke

A picture of our savior praying to be  
delevered of his Cup

A picture of the woman of Samaritan

A picture of our saviour our lady Joseph  
and mary

*[Second of the two sheets, attached on top, in a third hand, and written in black ink]*

Mr Disson I praye you delivere the v picketers

and the pickter that the nakyte ~~by~~ boye takes

the woman under the Chine y<sup>t</sup> is of the

same that came frome hampton Courte.

and woman is some parte naked as the

boye thuse when you come one mondaye

I will tell you ~~wete~~ whate shalbe done.

Conserninge the reste I praye you let

some of your men see them safe in the

bote thuse wth my kynde love I

leave you to the allmightie god this

prsentē nighte 1618

your poore Frende

Frances Shelton

*[Endorsed:]* [T]o my Frende Mr

Disson at Otlandes

geyve this

with speede

### **Appendix III ESRO GLY 322**

*[Cover]*

Blank

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[fol. 1r]

7 ber 17<sup>th</sup> A<sup>o</sup> 1618

Stuff found in Otelands ~~when I tooke Survey~~  
more then was mentioned in the last yeares  
Inventorye <& brought thither this Somer 1618>  
*[inserted in hand of the deletion.]*

In the South gallery

picture of ~~the~~ <Gilbert> *[inserted over ~~the~~]* Earle of Shrewsbury.

<also> a picture of a lady in a watched branched  
gowne w<sup>t</sup> a chayne of pearle whose name I  
cannot tell.

a sute of stooles of silvered tabeene chevored w<sup>t</sup> greene  
silk fringed w<sup>t</sup> green silke & silver <the frams painted sutablye> the

particulars are

*[in brackets in the left margin next to the 2 lines above:*

'in the withdrawing chamber on the kinges side']

a highe chayre

a lowe chayre

on stoole w<sup>t</sup> a back

2. highe stooles

2. lowe stooles

one foote stoole

2. longe cushyons

one square cushyon.

*[The 2 lines above bracketed together with the words*

'lyned w<sup>t</sup> changeable tafita white & greene & tasselled]

w<sup>t</sup> greene cotten covers to them all.

A sute of greene damaske branched w<sup>t</sup> white ~~the~~ sutable  
fringed w<sup>t</sup> greene & whyte silke the particulars are

a highe chayr

a lowe chair

one stoole w<sup>t</sup> a back

2. highe stooles

2. lowe stooles

one foot stoole

*[The 6 lines above bracketed together with the words*

'lynd <w<sup>t</sup>> covers all of greene cotten.']

2. longe cushyons

one square cushione lyned as the former.

wantinge

In the cabenet a picture of our Lady & Christ  
sucking on her, w<sup>t</sup> a greene curten.

In the North gallery a picture of the Lo. Carewes

In the same Tom Duryes picture

*[The 4 lines above deleted and bracketed together with the word  
'Wantinge']*

---

found more stuff newe in the wthdrawinge  
chamber on the ~~qu~~ kyngs side

*[The two lines above deleted]*

A sute of tawny silver tabeene flowered w<sup>t</sup> slips of  
whit silke fringed w<sup>t</sup> tawny silke & silver the frames  
paynted sutablye the particulars are

2. highe chayres

4. highe stooles.

2. foot stooles

2. longe cushyons

2. square cushyons

*[The 5 lines above bracketed together with the words  
'w<sup>t</sup> covers of red cotten']*

*[fol. 1v]*

found more <in the kyngs bedchamber>  
<the head & back>

one cloth of estate consistinge of five panes <apeece> wherof

3. of crymson velvet & two of crimsone & yelowe

cloth of silver layd downe right w<sup>t</sup> very broade

~~par~~ parchment lace of gold & silver

<the head wth 4. laces & the back wth 6 laces & eather> embrothered

w<sup>t</sup> your ma<sup>tes</sup> armes embost in a large border of

Cornucopia embost very fayre w<sup>t</sup> double vallances

in panes of the same stuff & lace, fringed w<sup>t</sup> crimson

silke w<sup>t</sup> a call fringe of silver & gold twist, the

back of the state & the vallances edged w<sup>t</sup> a small

fringe of gold & silver w<sup>t</sup>

A <highe> chayre ~~sutable~~

A longe cushyon

A square cushyone

A footstoole

*[The 3 lines above bracketed together with the words*

*'sutable in all things but not embrothered & w<sup>t</sup>  
cases of red cotten.']*

A woden frame furnished w<sup>t</sup> iron worke to

beare it

More fowre ~~black~~ chistes covered w<sup>t</sup> black lether

locked up <full of som waighty stuff thear> ~~in the kyngs~~

~~bedchamber~~

Allso ther a round longe ~~tynd~~ case of tynd plate *[altered from plates]* &

in it a picture of your ma<sup>tes</sup> in a greene gowne

embrothered w<sup>t</sup> spotts of flowres.

<In all things ellse the Inventory was

---

the same as the last yeare.>

*[The 2 lines above bracketed together]*

But that these things be added that are  
mentioned in this the former page & that  
2. pictures are missinge one of the Lo.  
Carewes an other Thomas Duryes  
sent as is sayd to be put into frames w<sup>t</sup>  
the wanted & a folding Chyna Screene  
sent by Raf Dison to ~~Denrk~~ Denmark house  
to Mr Marvin as he sayeth.