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SIR TOBY MATTHEW AND HIS 'FIDUS ACHATES' GEORGE GAGE, 1607-1620

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A century ago, the biographers of the courtier, recusant, and man of letters Sir Toby Matthew (1577-1655) deplored the 'lacunae' in the writer's 'correspondence between the time of his admission at Gray's Inn [in May 1599] and the beginning of the year 1601.' (Mathew and Calthrop 21-22) Apart from the publication, some forty years ago, of twenty-nine previously unknown sonnets, all probably composed by 1614 and testifying to his activities as a Catholic poet, little or no new evidence in connection with Matthew's life has come to light.¹ The hitherto unnoticed archival documents discussed below are a significant addition to our knowledge of Matthew's turn-of-the-century career and his relationship with his co-religionist George Gage (c.1582-1638) between 1607 and 1620.²

The earliest of these documents is a letter dated 10 May 1604 and preserved at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C. It appears to have been removed from T. R. O'Flahertie's copy of John Donne Jr.'s edition of *A Collection of Letters Made By Sr Tobie Mathews Kt.* (1660). The second letter, dated 17 August 1607, is part of a collection of 'Diverse documents, 17th and 18th centuries', kept in the State Archives, Ghent, and relating to the English Jesuit mission at Wat(t)en, in present-day northern France, where the Jesuits had established themselves in 1608. Both letters are signed 'Tobie Matthew'.³ The transcription below reproduces the original as closely as possible, including marginal and other annotations; illegible letters or words are supplied between square brackets.

1.

To the right reverend father in God the L. Bisshop of Duresme my good father.

May it please y^r L^p.

I went, as fro^m your L^p. to my L Chauncellour to desyre his opinion and advise whether or no y^r L^p. might not now repaire to Parliament. His awnswear was short and not sweet : y^t he could not give opinion, and desired to be pardoned in not givinge advise. I said his Ma^{tie} had rather condemned y^r L^p as too curious in forbearinge so longe. His L^p. replied, y^t was nothinge to him, and y^t he left your L^p. to your own iudgement. Supra tota materiam I observed him to be willinge y^t y^r L^p should keep [home?] a while. Your cause of the colemynes is not heard to day; but put of, till the first Saterdag the next terme; at w^{ch} time (if [?] it is resolutely delivered,) y^t it shall not be adiudged but stay till the next a[ssises?]. It failed to day for want of counsail, M^r Jacksoⁿ only beinge ready to argue, M^r Attorney could not be had, nor serieant Tanfield. I here the matter hath been ill sollecited [?]. The act of Union or rather Treaty is not yet come in. The Commissioners names are not yet agreed on; but the number of 30 is our house, and 14 in the higher house. I most humbly take my leave.

Y^r L^{ps} most humble sonne
Tobie Matthew

The 10th of Maye 1604

Annotated in a different hand: *of this S^r. Tobie Matthew eldest son of ABp Mathews of Yorke see Woods Athenae Oxon: 2^d vol. p: 120.*⁴

Acknowledgement of receipt by the Archbishop: *10. May. 1604 Tobie Matthew touching my forbearance for the pliamen^t. of the cause for Blackburne pitts & of the bill for y^e Union.*

Evidently sent in response to an inquiry by his father, bishop of Durham since April 1595, this letter was written in Matthew's capacity as an MP for St Albans in James' first Parliament, an office which he had

entered upon in March 1604 in place of Sir Francis Bacon, whom Matthew had met and befriended as a student in Gray's Inn in 1599 (Sheils). In early 1604, the bishop had only been in London intermittently: he had participated in the Hampton Court conference of mid-January and had preached at Westminster, at the opening of the first session of Parliament on 19 March. Largely absorbed by the work in his diocese, in between and after these dates he most probably returned to Durham (Middleton II, 481). The bishop now expected his son to keep him abreast of developments in three different matters of personal interest: (1) whether the recently appointed Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton (c. 1540-1617), thought it advisable for him to come down to London and take up his seat in Parliament; (2) a court case relating to the coal-mining business in the Blackburn area, an attractive but as yet unprofitable venture, in which the bishop had a financial interest;⁵ and (3) the composition of the parliamentary commission that was to debate the Union with Scotland. Matthew Jr.'s matter-of-fact reply raises questions which cannot be easily settled. With respect to the first issue, one wonders why Egerton's opinion was required, when the King himself had apparently 'condemned' the bishop's procrastination. Nor is it clear why Egerton, despite his manifest indifference, would have insinuated that the bishop remain in Durham a little longer. As if by coincidence, on the very day this letter was written, the Lords went ahead with the appointment of fourteen commissioners, one of whom was the 'Lord Bishop of Durham'. On 12 May the Commons in their turn reached an agreement on the thirty commissioners' names. Two of the four 'Common Lawyers' appointed as commissioners had been called upon (in vain) to plead the bishop's inadequately prepared 'cause' of the coalmines: Sir Lawrence Tanfield (c.1551-1625), serjeant-at-law, who represented Oxford in this parliament; and Sir Thomas Hesketh, Attorney of the Wards, presumably the 'Mr Attorney' mentioned by Matthew Jr.⁶ Whatever the magnitude of his professional worries, the papist-hunting bishop could hardly have anticipated that his dutiful son would soon be adding to his 'good' father's adversity by earning himself the reputation of being 'an inveterate enemy to the protestant religion' (Hutchinson 479). In this conversion, George Gage was to play no negligible part.

2.

To my very much beloved friend S^r George Gage

Sr,

though yet I have not the honour to know you I do and will exceedingly love you. But I had rather trust you with my life than with my Latin tongue. I do gladly acquaint my friends with my secrets, but not with my imperfections least they should be the less my friends. I did much desire to have had your company here in prison. I would all my suites were so denied me, for your liberty was that which I did more heartily pray for. We [that] are Christians know, that these things come not by chance. The divine providence discerns, your Liberty is fitter for you, and restraint for me; fitter for his glory and our good. You shall honour him in doing well, and I in suffering evil for his sake. And therefore though our fortunes be diverse, yet since our design and end is the same, let the means be so too. Ut beneficientes obmutescere faciamus imprudentium hominum ignorantiam.

Sr, I commend me humbly to your devotions, and to theirs (by your means) whom now you will daily have commodity to meet withal. So I rest

At your commandment

Tobie Matthew

The fleet this 17th of August 1607

This item is an interesting supplement to the letters Matthew is known to have written from the Fleet, to such people as Robert Cecil and Sir Dudley Carleton, in the course of a six-month imprisonment preceding his

banishment from England in April 1608 (Mathew [passim]). Much to his father's consternation, Matthew had openly testified to his change of religion in debates with George Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and had refused to take the Oath of Allegiance (Mathew and Calthrop 67). The 1607 letter is the earliest piece of evidence that we know of documenting his friendship with Gage, the diplomat and art connoisseur who was to be his travelling companion on a European tour in the years 1612-1616 and came to be known as Sir Toby's *fidus Achates* (McClure II, 306). Accompanied by Gage, Matthew in May 1614 is said to have been secretly ordained in Rome by Cardinal Bellarmine (Gillow IV, 535).

While the opening words suggest that the two men had only recently become acquainted, Matthew's deprecation of his knowledge of Latin betrayed his awareness of Gage's learning and skill in foreign languages – perhaps he was writing in response to a Latin letter by Gage. This deferential attitude squares with the tone of the first of Matthew's sonnets addressed to Gage, expressing his admiration for the latter's erudition: 'Thy thoughts are like high Poems that transcend / the vulgar straine, thie speeches are not lesse / then witty Epigrams ...'. Matthew's joy about Gage's 'liberty' echoes other feelings conveyed by the sonnets, including 'his great sympathy for those in pain ... and separation from dear friends' (Petti 134, 142). Emphasizing the bond of brotherhood with Gage and his own indomitable spirit ('we that are Christians'), even during his 'restraint', Matthew in the verse from 1 Peter 2 ('Ut beneficientes ... ignorantiam', i.e. 'For so is the will of God, that by doing well *you* may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men') substituted a first-person ('faciamus') for a second-person plural ('faciatis'). A modicum of false modesty about his scholarly reputation attaches to this stilted address for as recently as October 1605 Bacon, Matthew's self-styled *alter ego*, had forwarded his knowledgeable young friend for his inspection a copy of *The Advancement of Learning*, 'at the swadling whereof you were' (Mathew and Calthrop 47). Similarly, Matthew's unwillingness to 'acquaint' Gage with his 'imperfections' for fear of losing his friendship may have been a subtle pretext for demonstrating his observance of the guidelines in Castiglione's *The Courtier*, specifically its caveats against flaunting one's literary talents.⁷ Whether Gage's 'devotions' were instrumental in securing Matthew a certain degree of freedom cannot be ascertained; Bacon himself probably procured his release from prison.⁸ But the mark left on Matthew's mind by his confinement in the Fleet was indelible enough for him to require in his 1614 will that 'a special care may be had for the relief of such lay Catholiques as shall be in prison for the confession of theyr faith'.

3.

Matthew's acknowledgment of the part played by Gage in his conversion helps to explain the content, if not the exact purpose, of the third piece of new evidence, entitled 'several accounts of S^r Toby Matthews' (see Appendix). Signed by the Jesuit fathers Thomas Courtney (1594-1668) and Edward Pritchard on 8 October 1638, and attested by a notary public on 15 October, this is a list of payments made to and for Gage on Matthew's behalf between November 1615 and June 1620 (the year 1616 excepted), and 'faithfully translated' from the 'Accounts Book' of the English College in Rome.⁹ Except for two sums paid in 1618 -- one by bill of exchange and quoted in pounds, shillings and pence and one in Spanish reals -- all items in these accounts are quoted in florins (guilders) and 'stuivers' and converted into Roman crowns (or scudi) and baiocchi (100 to a scudo).¹⁰ The grand total paid to Gage came to 2723 scudi and 68 baiocchi, an annual average of around 545 scudi -- no pittance considering that a skilled Roman mason would have made 85 scudi annually and that a university professor's earnings came to some 300 scudi (Spear 312, 314). By English standards Gage received some £ 681

for these years. In his will, drawn up at the time of his ordination in June 1614, Matthew had bequeathed all the moneys and rents proceeding from the sale of his personal estate in England to the English Jesuit college of St John's at Louvain.¹¹ To the only other beneficiary, his 'dearest and most entyre frynd Mr. George Gage', he left a lifelong legacy of 'foure hundred crowns of gold per Annum, to be payable unto him half yearly uppon such days and in such places as he shall demand of the executor of this my will...'. This was in consideration of 'the great kindness and affection which he hath expressed towards me uppon all occasions, and for having abandoned so many other better fryndes for my company...' (Mathew and Calthrop 29-31, 130). Neither the varying annual amounts nor the multiple dates of payment in the 'Accounts of Rome' appear to correspond with the provision in his will. Indeed the former may well itemize moneys other than the legacy of 400 crowns; travel costs and small but expensive luxury goods such as silks were also defrayed by Matthew. Although it remains unclear whether the legacy was continued after 1620 -- Matthew between 1610 and 1647 drafted four different wills, two of them revoking the stipulations of the previous one -- the price of Gage's friendship, with or without the 400 crowns provided for in the will, was a steep one. From an emotional point of view Gage may have come to fill the gap left by Matthew's alienated parents, who as he stated in his (final) will dated 12 October 1647, 'did absolutely disinherit me of all their estate' (Mathew and Calthrop 338). Within a few years after the carefully-worded but prophetic letter of August 1607, Matthew had taken on the role of Gage's financier.¹²

The record of payments made to Gage by Jesuit fathers in Madrid and Valladolid between early 1618 and September 1619 seems to be consistent with the report by William Cecil, Lord Roos (1590-1618) that Gage, 'a good friend of Toby Matthew's', had left Rome for Spain, in hopes of securing a pension from King Philip III.¹³ Moving in pro-Spanish circles and promoting the Roman-Catholic cause in England, Gage (like other Englishmen) would have felt entitled to such recompense. For all we know, however, it was Matthew's legacy, administered from Rome, which paid (or helped pay) for Gage's considerable expenses. Gage was undoubtedly on a political mission on behalf of the Jesuits, and perhaps preparing the ground for his appointment, in May 1621, as James' representative requesting a papal dispensation for the Spanish match. His correspondence reveals that, before returning to Flanders, he ingratiated himself with such grandees as Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar (1567-1626), the ambassador in England, and Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma (1552/3-1625), the (former) royal favourite and art collector, who lavishly entertained Gage at Valladolid (Tobío 228-29).

Interestingly, the years covered by the 'Accounts of Rome' overlap with the period of Matthew's and Gage's cooperation as art-brokers in the service of Carleton and Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel (1585-1646). A tough bargainer, Gage spent most of 1616 and 1617 in Flanders acting as 'the principal agent in the commission and negotiations' concerning Carleton's purchase of paintings by Rubens (Barnes 3). The new evidence shows that Gage was in Brussels by November 1615, scouting the local art scene and dealing with 'Mr Wake' [i.e. Lionel Wake], an English merchant 'frequently employed by Rubens to pack and transmit pictures' (Sainsbury 21). It was in the margin of these activities that Gage in 1617 or early 1618 commissioned two paintings, one of his late sister, a Benedictine nun in Brussels, and one of Matthias Hovius (1542-1620), archbishop of Mechlin. We have been unable to trace the former picture, which Matthew no less than Gage would have cherished as a memento: it was to Mary Gage (c.1586-1614), Mary Flavia in religion, that in 1611 he had addressed the 'True Historicall Relation' of his conversion (Mathew and Calthrop 69ff). The picture of 'the Bishop of Macklin', on the other hand, can in all likelihood be identified with the *Portrait of Matthias*

Hovius 1542-1620, third bishop of Mechlin 1595-1620 (canvas on wood, 66,3x52,5cm), now preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels. Catalogued as an anonymous work of the seventeenth-century South-Netherlandish school, this painting is inscribed as follows: 'XPONIKON / Arte tva Lvca. extento Ivbilantis In oevo [sic] / Ecce Hovii vvlvum viva tabella referi [read: 'refert'] / aet. 76'.¹⁴ The sitter's age as well as the year revealed by this chronogram (a distich consisting of a hexameter and a pentameter line) prove that the portrait was painted in 1617, Hovius' seventy-sixth year. The artist was Mechlin-born Lucas Franchoy's the Elder (1574-1643) (Neeffs I, 339-43). A prominent portrait painter and former dean of the Guild of Saint Luke's, Franchoy's would have met Matthew and Gage, and become the obvious choice once Gage decided to commission a painting of the archbishop to take with him to Spain. In 1612 Franchoy's had already produced a three-quarter length portrait of Hovius, at seventy years old, now preserved at the Bowes Museum, Durham, which evidently served as a model for the bust-length version of 1617.¹⁵ Gage himself may have devised the clever Latin inscription, with its praise of 'Lucas' and its implied familiarity with the subject's features. No doubt the Hovius painting was meant as a testimony to Gage's close relations in Flemish Catholic circles and as a tribute to the prominent role played by the Bishop in the Counter-Reformation. The same painting also serves to remind us of the extent to which personal, politico-religious, and artistic interests were inextricably intertwined in the checkered careers of contemporary English exiles and expatriates such as Matthew and Gage.

Appendix

Partite extracto [*illegible*] infrascritti de verbo ad verbum da doi libris in quarto foglio intitolati libri delli conti con fiandra, uno fatto nel tempo del quondam P[roretto]^{re} Tomaso Odoeno Rettore del Collegio Anglicano di Roma, e l'altro del R[everen]^{do} P[roretto]^{re} Tomaso Fitzherberto moderno Rettore del medesimo Coll[eg]^{io} copert[e?] di carta pergamena, et asservati nel praed^o Collegio anglicano et appresso il [Al^{to}] P[roretto]^{re} Guglielmo Risdono procuratore et sono ll' infrascritte

1615

Item given to m^r George Gage at Bruxells the xith of November
1615 sixty crownes

Crownes baiocks

60

Item paid for the same to m^r Wake twenty and eight biockes

20

8

Given by his appointment to one that went two iourneys for him
seven crownes

7

In the accounts for the year 1617

Item to m^r Gage the xxth of January a hundred florens the 25 of
march three hundred flo: in all foure hundred flo

160

Item to him the tenth of June two hundred flo: the xviith of July
fifty flo: in all 250 flo

100

Item the xivth of September more to m^r George Gage Three
hundred flo: The xixth of October two hundred flo: the 26 of
october a hundred flo: in all six hundred florens

240

Item more to him the 27th of october in gould three hundred flo:
the same day paid to him one hundred, and fourteen flor. in all
414

165

60

In the accounts for the year 1618

Item paid to a smith for curing m ^r Gages horse a little before his departure 4 flo: 2 stivers 2 lyards	1	65
Item to m ^r Randall for the portage of a trunk for m ^r Gage the xxiv th of January 9 flo: 15 stivers	3	90
Item paid for two pictures for m ^r Gage, one of his sister in the Monastery which cost fyve flo: and one of the Bishop of Macklin, which cost 24 flo: in all 29 florens	11	60
Item for the portage of things from Dunkerk for m ^r Gage	1	48
Item the xv th of Feb. sent by bill of exchange to Madrid for m ^r Gage one hundred twenty four poundes sterling six shilling three pence	497	25
Item paid to him by Fa. Walpoole in Spayn, three thousand ryalls	300	
Item laid out by Fa. Baker for m ^r Gage not put to account the last tyme Three hundred and seaven florens	122	92
Item paid for him to Jerome Laveson a merchant of silks for things taken up at his departure nyne flo: ten stuevers	3	80
Item paid to m ^r Gage by Fa: walpoole not long before his departure from Madrid two hundred sixty nyne florens	107	60
Item paid by Fa: Blackfan to m ^r George Gage two hundred nynty two flo: as approved by his of the eight of November	116	80
Item more to m ^r Gage three hundred and fifty florens as appeareth by Fa: Blackfans of the xxx th of November 1618	140	

In the accounts for the year 1619

In primis paid unto m ^r Gage by Fa: Blackfan in Spayn the 14 th of Feb: two hundred and fifty florens	100	
Item by Fa: Blackfan to m ^r George Gage in Madrid on the second of July	100	
Item paid to m ^r George Gage by Fa: Blackfan two hundred and fifty florens, as appeareth by his of the 14 th of August	100	
	S[om]ma	2359 68
<u>p. 141-2 :</u>	Crownes	baiocks
S[om]ma on the other side ...two thousand three hundred fifty nyne crownes sixty eight baiocks	2359	68
Item more to him for his iourney into Flaunders five hundred fifty flor: as appears by Fa: Blackfans of the xxi th of September	220	
Item made good to Fa: Blackfan one hundred an ten flo: in full payment of a thousand one hundred and sixty flor paid to m ^r Gage synce midsummer last as appears by his of the ix th of November	44	

In the accounts for the year 1620

Item so much disbursed by Fa: Forcer for m ^f Gage as appears by his of the vi th of June a hundred crownes	100	
	S[um]ma	2723 68
Dico scudi doi milla sette cento vententre baiocchi sessanta otto	2723	68

Ego Thomas Courtneus Anglus fidem facio et attestor qualiter supradictas partitas fuerunt [a?] me unatam Odoardo Prichiardo Anglo fideliter extractas ex supradictis duobus libris nationum in lingua Anglicana de verbo ad verbum et fideliter collationatas. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem [*illegible*] datum [*illegible*] in Collegio Anglicano hac die 8 Octobris 1638. Ita est Thomas Courtneus manu propria. Ego Edwardus Pricciardus manu propria [testavi?] et testor ut supra.

¹ See Petti; A. J. Loomie, 'Matthew, Sir Toby (1577–1655)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18343>, accessed 8 Sept 2009]; and Tobío, 220-228. David Mathew's *Sir Tobie Mathew* (London: Parrish, 1950) is a patchy account.

² P. Revill and Francis W. Steer, 'George Gage I and George Gage II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 31 (1958): 141-158. A. J. Loomie, 'Gage, George (c.1582–1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online ed., Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10270>, accessed 8 Sept 2009].

³ Catalogue MS X.d.141 (Folger Shakespeare) and Acc. 070, 'Jesuits 16th century-1774', inv. 74, fol. 136-7 (State Archives, Ghent). We gratefully acknowledge the permission from both institutions to publish these documents. The latter is probably an autograph, as appears by comparison with the record of examination, witnessed and signed by Matthew on 25 August 1643, of Lady Anne Somerset prior to her profession as an English Theresian in Antwerp (Archive of the Antwerp Diocese, K111, fol. 62).

⁴ The reference is to the 1692 edition of Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 2 (London) col. 120-121.

⁵ One George Bowes was advised to discontinue the work of mining, 'his success ... having been so little and the expense so great' (Green 140).

⁶ *Journal of the House of Lords: vol. 2: 1578-1614* (1802), 295-296 [[http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=28300&strquery=commissioners 1604](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=28300&strquery=commissioners%201604)]; *Journal of the House of Commons: vol. 1: 1547-1629* (1802), 205 [<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=9784>]. See also E. I. Carlyle, 'Tanfield, Sir Lawrence (c.1551–1625)', rev. David Ibbetson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26959>, accessed 8 Sept 2009].

⁷ 'Let him much exercise hym selfe in poets, and no lesse in Oratours and Historiographers, and also in writinge bothe rime and prose, and especiallye in this our vulgar tunge...*And if by reason either of his other busines beside, or of his slender studie, he shall not attaine unto that perfection that hys writings may be worthy much commendation, let him be circumspect in keeping them close, least he make other men to laugh at him. Onely he may show them to a frend whom he may trust, for at the leastwise he shall receive so much profite, that by that exercise he shall be able to give his iudgement upon other mennes doings.*' Thomas Hoby, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio divided into foure books* (London, 1561), I, H4r [our italics].

⁸ On 27 August 1607, Dudley Carleton informed Chamberlain that 'Tobie Matthias is allowed to visit Sir Fras. Bacon' (Green 368).

⁹ Document preserved at the State Archives, Ghent, 'Jezuïeten 07/74: Diverse stukken', 138-144. The list survives in two copies, the first covering the period from 11 November 1615 to 9 November 1619; the second the period from 11 November 1615 until 6 June 1620. The entries for the years 1615 to 1619 are identical in both; the second copy specifies that they were drawn from the 'libri delli conti con fiandra' kept in the days of Father Thomas Owen (c.1556-1618), rector of the college from 23 April 1610 until 6 December 1618, and his successor Father Thomas Fitzherbert (1552-1640). Why this information was compiled and verified in October 1638, two decades after the facts, is unclear except that this happened shortly after the death of Gage, whose will was proved 11 September 1638 (PRO, prob/11/177 and 178). The 'Accounts' may therefore have been required by his heirs or executors. The Appendix reproduces all the entries and part of the attestations in the second copy.

¹⁰ The contemporary rate of exchange was 4 : 1, e.g. 400 florins was equivalent to 100 crowns/scudi. The pound was valued at 1 : 4, i.e. 4 scudi to the pound; the Spanish real at 1 : 1.

¹¹ By March 1604 Matthew had obtained a large grant of real estate from the Crown. As his sole executor he appointed Father Owen, prefect, authorizing him and his successors to dispose of his estate for the benefit of the English mission.

¹² Matthew also invested in the Society of Soapmakers of Westminster, whose governor Gage became in the early 1630s. An acknowledgement of debt drawn up on 2 July 1636 by Sir Richard Weston (1591-1652), one of Gage's recusant business partners, reveals that Matthew had lent him £1000 'whereof five hundred was for the profit of a part in making of the soape, & the other five hundred pounds was for the profit of a part in the vent of the soape.' [Rijkarchief Gent, 'Jezuïeten 70/67'].

¹³ See Tobío, 228ff. Father John Blackfan (1560-1641) was appointed rector at Valladolid in April 1615; Father Michael Walpole (1570-1625) was prefect of studies at Valladolid in 1603 and a member of Gondomar's retinue in 1613; Father Baker may have been the Alexander Baker (d. 1638), who in 1630 attested to Toby Matthews' 'priestly character' (Foley 1st Ser., 153-54; 2nd, 3rd, 4th Ser. 625-42).

¹⁴ Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. Departement Oude Kunst, *Inventaris catalogus van de Oude Schilderkunst* (Brussel: KMSK, 1984): 424. In translation the text reads: 'By your art, Lucas, this living portrait, see, shows the face of Hovius at an advanced age, in his [i.e. celebrating his] jubilee'. We owe thanks to Prof. Wim Verbaal, Department of Latin and Greek, Ghent University, for deciphering the chronogram.

¹⁵ See the online National Inventory of Continental European Paintings (<http://www.vads.ac.uk/>).

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