THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH LITERARY PORTRAIT UP TO SAMUEL JOHNSON

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M Y first step must be to suggest at least that the literary portrait is a valid and definable branch of the art. In the context of the present discussion I mean then, by literary portrait, the portrait of a man of letters in the character of a man of letters. It is of course perfectly possible for an artist to take a portrait of a man of letters in such a way that no one could guess, other than because he already knew, that the subject of the portrait is a writer. I suppose indeed that the vast majority of portraits give no such clue. One of the greatest, perhaps the supreme master of portraiture in the English School, Sir Joshua Reynolds, was once asked to compose a verbal character of someone, a portrait in words. He expressed extreme reluctance, on the grounds that 'the habits of my profession unluckily extend to the consideration of so much only of character as is on the surface, as is expressed in the lineaments of the countenance'.[1] There is of course no pattern of the lineaments of the countenance that is common to all men of letters and to them alone, singling them out amongst the rest of mankind as members of one profession. Even if such a thing were possible, if the wind were abruptly to change, and all the faces of men of letters everywhere to set into the mould of the archetypal face of the man of letters, I doubt if anyone would be much pleased, except myself for the purposes of this paper. 'You know', wrote Horace Walpole, 'how I shun authors, and would never have been one myself if it obliged me to keep such bad company. They are always in earnest, and think their profession serious and dwell upon trifles, and reverence learning . . .'[2] Walpole's attitude is of course not typical; it

[1] F. W. Hilles, *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 161.

[2] Horace Walpole, *Letters* (ed. Toynbee), vol. viii, p. 268.

is in a very privileged pose; and yet in a way it is typical in that writers are not generally notorious either for their professional solidarity or for the love of one author for another author.

For the portrait-painter of serious intent anyway, such considerations might seem superficial or even frivolous. Since the Renaissance the ideal task for the painter or sculptor has been to show in a portrait what the sitter is, not just what he does. Very few artists have been as pragmatically modest as Reynolds in admitting the limitations of their art, and none of their panegyrists have been modest at all. The writers, from Leland on Holbein to Hayley on Romney, have always praised the painter for his power not merely to consider but positively to realize the whole character or the essential soul of the sitter through the recording of the lineaments of the sitter's countenance. To portray in short, not merely the sitter's identity, but his entity.

In fact the portrait-artist has usually, amongst his other preoccupations, two especial tasks to realize in the one image: one very particular task, to record the eternal unique individuality of each sitter manifest in the face, which singles us all out, makes each of us different from anyone else; and secondly, in a more general definition, to site the owner of each individual face in a temporal and, in the broadest sense, in a social context, which may of course include the sitter's profession, vocation, rank, or trade. This is achieved in large part through the grammar and syntax of conventional clothes, gesture, accessories, and setting. At the most elementary level, as we shall see perhaps over-often, to show that your sitter is a man of letters, all you need do is to put a pen in one of his hands and a piece of paper in the other.

First, though, a brief glance at the sheer persistence and longevity, in Western Europe, of the tradition of the recording of images of men of letters. Its roots lie in the fourth and third centuries B.C. in Greece, when the Greeks began to celebrate their national heroes in statues, and then, as after Socrates the focus of attention concentrated on the individual psyche manifest in the head, in busts. Amongst these heroic images, the stature of the poets and writers, from Homer on (though very retrospective of course in Homer's case), was from the beginning very high, and it remained so when in the first century B.C. the Romans took over the traditions and practice of Hellenistic portraiture together with the surviving corpus of Greek literature. Then Roman scholars and men of culture

began to copy the busts of their Greek forebears, and to set their images up in their libraries and in their gardens, in a sort of equivalent, it sometimes seems, of the family household gods in the atrium, as presiders of intellect and imagination. If, in the third and fourth centuries A.D., the tradition seems to fade, and then dissolve altogether with the whole Western tradition of portraiture in the Dark Ages, the literary theme does nevertheless survive in places almost continuously through the Middle Ages, in the form of representations of the Evangelists with scroll or book, and then consolidates in another pictorial formula that was to be repeated endlessly till the sixteenth century. That is the formula to which the donor portrait also is related: basically a representation of a giving and a receiving, involving one figure kneeling before a standing or seated figure. The writer, normally of course a monk, is kneeling and offering his book to a patron. The early examples of this are not, in the post-Renaissance sense of the word, individualized portraits; there is little or no attempt to record a faithful detailed likeness of the participants, though their identities may be indicated by their clothes, or by labelling them with their names. As the manuscript begins to yield to the printed book, you still find this formula predominant, and the earliest line engraving connected with England, about 1475, repeats it happily in connection with the first book printed in English—the famous print of Caxton presenting his *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* to Margaret of York (Pl. I). Here Caxton at least seems a differentiated individual, though his face is not rendered in any detail. But this is no doubt a portrait, in the sense in which we use the word now, though grafted on to an older formula. The formula itself was by no means dead, and a century later we still find George Gascoyne imaged just so on his knees before Queen Elizabeth.[1]

The character in which this formula presents the writer is though almost diametrically opposite to the heroic character in which the classical busts presented their subjects. This is a portrait of a social and professional relationship, a ceremonial demonstration of a worker worthy of his hire, of a joint task completed. What the classical and medieval views do have in common, however, is their close connection with the written word. The written word is indeed their *raison d'être*, still even today—despite any rumours to the contrary from over the water

[1] B.M. Royal MS. 18 A. xlviii, f. 1 (R. C. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, Oxford, 1963, p. 100, D and I no. 6, rep.).

at Toronto—the most efficient lifebuoy to which to attach any expectation of posthumous survival in the flood of time. Once indeed the habit of celebrating in images the heroes of the past is established, the writers have in a sense the first claim to be so celebrated, for without them all other kinds of heroes would perish into oblivion. Kings, potentates, priests, athletes, and archetypal beauties, even artists in other media (for paint and stone are most fraIlly ephemeral compared with the word)— all these are ultimately secondary to the writer and survive only through his virtue. The writers themselves of course have not grown weary in pointing this out—'So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see, / So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.' Shakespeare's lack of false modesty is perhaps a little unusual in its thoroughness; the point was more often made by poets about fellow-poets' work rather than in relation to their own, like Ben Jonson, and then Milton, scorning the idea of visual monuments for Shakespeare, whose true and more than sufficient monument was his own work. But as writers gradually came to realize, while a marble monument might be a mere idle luxury, besides lacking in stamina compared with the word, nevertheless monuments and portraits also contribute their mite to the greater glory of poetry. As such they became acceptable, as in more day-to-day terms they were also acceptable as memorials of decent and affectionate piety, as sop to the common human vanity of the writer, and as food for the reader's common human curiosity. As Addison was to observe: 'a Reader seldom peruses a Book with Pleasure 'till he knows whether the Writer of it be a black or a fair Man, of a mild or cholerick Disposition, Married or a Batchelor, with other Particulars of the like nature, that conduce very much to the right Understanding of an Author . . .'[1] The reader's curiosity is natural, because the author survives (if he be dead), or is present though absent (if alive), with such extraordinary immediacy in the written word to the reader. The tone of his voice even can echo in the reader's mind, and when you are addressed by a human voice, you turn automatically to see what human being is speaking to you; hence the frontispiece.

Perhaps then it is not surprising that the first literary portrait in England to show an explicit concern for the recording of a literal and faithful likeness should be amongst the earliest of all English portraits, possibly indeed *the* earliest,

[1] Addison, the opening lines of the *Spectator*, no. 1, 1 March 1711.

with such a deliberate concern, to come down to us. The famous miniature portrait of Chaucer (Pl. II)[1] in the margin of Harleian MS. 4866, *De Regimine Principum*, was drawn by or for Hoccleve with a very specific purpose, which he duly elaborates in the accompanying verses. There Hoccleve says that his memory of Chaucer's appearance is so fresh, he has here made his likeness in 'soothfastnesse', to put other men in remembrance of his person, so that those who had thought to have lost him from thought and mind might find him again in the painting. This must have been within a fairly short time after Chaucer's death in 1400. The likeness is fresh, modest, and matter-of-fact; if skilful enough for its purposes, lacking entirely the Italian pretensions with which Dante's iconographers from earlier on had endowed the Florentine poet. But witness surely, though humble, of the emergence of an English literature in the vernacular, as too, if less single-mindedly, is the very odd tomb-portrait of John Gower of almost the same date (Pl. III). In Gower's case the interest is not so much in whatever attempt there may have been at a 'likeness', now veiled anyway by time and dazzling restoration, as in the very unusual (I think, unique) adaptation of the traditional iconography of the tomb effigy. At this date, such effigies were very much social and family statements, most often of course of members of armigerous families displayed *de rigueur* in their armour. Gower's is the effigy of a poet as a poet; his gown may be of the utmost splendour, nor is evidence of social position and royal favour disdained in the rendering of his arms and of the gold chain of SS given him by Henry IV, but the most striking part of the effigy is that the head rests proudly albeit uncomfortably on a stack of his own books instead of on the usual helmet; if the books are in three different languages—Latin, French, and English—the English one is anyway deemed worthy to accompany the others under Gower's head down through posterity.[2]

This portrait of a writer as a writer had scant progeny in the monumental field, and remains a unique and precocious

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[1] The fullest account of Chaucer's portraits is still M. H. Spielmann, *The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer* (The Chaucer Lecture), 1900.

[2] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London*, vol. v (East London), London, 1930, p. 65, as of 1408. Moved at least twice in its history, but probably reasonably close to its original appearance. The three books are *Vox clamantis* (Latin), *Speculum meditantis* (French), and *Confessio Amantis* (English).

declaration. In funeral sculpture, the theme indeed lay virtually dormant for near two centuries, until about 1608, when the Johnson family workshop from Southwark produced first the standing effigy of John Stowe, London's chronicler, pen in hand at his writing table, in St Andrew Undershaft, and then, by 1623, one of the most famous if also alas one of the most mediocre monuments in the world, that to Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon. But the pattern used for these two derives formally from a very different source from Gower's; they are versions, at a considerable remove, of a Renaissance formula that was by that date long commonplace in Italy.

The portrait in the book itself, like the Caxton print, was another matter, but in spite of the boom of early printing it was again a very long time before the portrait frontispiece became a normal practice. Its evolution, its splendid freaking, is a hare that it would have been enjoyable to pursue, but all I can do is indicate very briefly the main phases of its development. John Skelton provides a fairly early Tudor example (Pl. IV), but that the image of him is a portrait of the poet in his physical likeness is most unsure; in fact it is a compendious image,[1] being basically that long-lasting formula that I mentioned earlier, much used for representing one or other of the Evangelists, and still entirely Gothic. Except the laurel wreath, which is only right and proper for the author of the poem *The Garland of Laurel*, which describes at vast length his own imaginary crowning with the laurel. Specific likenesses, in the subtler medium of the metal engraving, do not really become numerous till the early seventeenth century, and even so are then usually posthumous, like the famous Shakespeare by Droeshout in the First Folio of 1623, whether or not they come as part of complex allegorical title-pages or frontispieces, or solo, though the presumptuous head of George Chapman in 1616, preluding his version of Homer, appeared in Chapman's lifetime. By the middle of the century, portrait frontispieces of the living author were quite acceptable; of two, chosen more or less at random, one shows Milton in 1645 (Pl. V) with the convention established firmly enough for Milton to be able to play jokes with it; the inscription in Greek, which the engraver (William Marshall) presumably engraved but also presumably did not

[1] Apparently first published in this form in Skelton's *Litel Boke called Colyn Cloute*, c. 1545; the same (?) block also used, without Skelton's name, for his *Dyvers Balettys* (?1525–30); E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535*, 1935, p. 434, no. 2287, and fig. 229.

understand, points out the badness of the likeness and the incompetence of the engraver.[1] The other, of Herrick, 1648, for *Hesperides*, succeeds rather oddly and uncomfortably in making the poet look both 'Humane and Divine' (Pl. VII), and is not only charming but of great sentimental importance for it is the only portrait of Herrick known. This is the allegorical manner in a late rather decadent fling. By the time Milton came to publish his *History of England* in 1670, the convention of frontispiecery had settled for a generally much staider and simpler manner (Pl. VI), the head and shoulders straightforwardly presented as there in Faithorne's engraving of Milton, and this from about that time on was the basic formula.

But it is time I turned to the painted portrait. Here the field to begin with seems disappointingly barren. The Italians in the sixteenth century had often delighted in celebrating their men of letters in their portraits as men of letters; in northern Europe Holbein notably had set an example of the most vivid explicitness in his portraits of Erasmus, one of which at least Holbein brought to England. But when in England, Holbein painted More strictly as Lord Chancellor of England, just as he painted or drew Surrey and Wyatt as courtiers. The fact was, that while it was in every way admirable, according to all books of etiquette from Castiglione onwards, for a gentleman to write verses or even books, such a function was only one small facet of a gentleman's desirable all-round accomplishment and certainly not the one for which, as such, an English gentleman would wish to be immortalized. The main function of a man of quality must be the profession of the knightly virtues, of arms, and so Philip Sidney appears, in breastplate and with sword rather than with pen and paper. Even when we get to the image-haunted figure of John Donne, though we find a pretty intricate and carefully stage-managed iconography, there is no overt reference in any of his portraits to his activity as a writer sacred or profane. Indeed most literary portraits up to the end of the seventeenth century are of a more or less private nature, for family use, affection, and preservation; such are the only two known paintings of Milton, both mere modest recordings of his face.

With Ben Jonson, however, the case is other, and two painted portrait types survive that refer directly to him as author. The first, by a coarse but rather potent unknown

[1] Milton, *Poems*, 1645, frontispiece.

artist, has him with pen and paper and ink-pot incorporating a nice little figure of fickle fortune (Pl. VIII).[1] But this is a most unusual *pièce d'occasion*, for on the scroll in his hand is a bit of doggerel reminding a friend of a debt outstanding, especially so now that it is nigh on Christmas. I do not know of any other begging portrait anywhere, and the whys and wherefores remain secret, though the ensemble seems in character with the jovially irascible Jonson, and may remind you of his own doubtless wryly realistic summary of the status of the court poet, in a dialogue between the latter and the king's cook in the masque *Neptune's Triumph*. There the poet describes himself: 'The most unprofitable of his servants I, sir—the Poet. A kind of Christmas Ingine; one that is used, at least once a year, for a trifling instrument of wit or so.' The second image (Pl. IX),[2] though, suggests no such irony, but is a grand full-blown baroque statement of the poet at his business. This is, however, a portrait which, in this version at least, needs closer examination (it is in an American private collection and I have not seen it). Though it was engraved, at least a detail from it was, by George Vertue in 1711, when it belonged to that excellent patron of letters, Lord Somers, and Vertue made no note of doubt about its age, it does look in this form much more like a painting of the second half of the seventeenth century than of the first half, even though the painter with whom it is associated, Blijemberch, probably came from Antwerp, where Rubens was active, before coming to England. It looks in fact post-Van Dyck rather than pre-Van Dyck, and its exact relationship, to whatever the original design was, must remain a matter for conjecture.

It is from Van Dyck, working in England during the 1630s, that one might hope for some eloquent exaltation of the man of letters. He did at least demonstrate his fellow artists, in the

[1] First recorded in the collection of John Sheffield, first Duke of Buckingham, in 1721 (G. Vertue, Notebooks I, *Walpole Society*, vol. xvii (1930), p. 97). The verses (*To Master John Burges*) are printed in Ben Jonson, *Works*, ed. Herford and Simpson, vol. vii (1947), p. 231, with notes vol. xi (1952), pp. 90–1.

[2] Descended from Somers to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke of Wimpole; Hardwicke sale, Christie's, 30 June 1888, lot 60; Viscount Clifden; Booth Tarkington, his sale, Christie's, 27 October 1961, lot 24, bought Sawyer. The head corresponds with the usual type believed to have been originated by Blijemberch (the first Duke of Buckingham owned a Jonson portrait by him, *c.* 1617; a good version of this is in the National Portrait Gallery, no. 2752).

marvellous suite of etchings known as the *Iconographie*, as aristocrats of sensibility. But he hardly impinged. He painted Inigo Jones, but not Ben Jonson. He did, however, leave us at least two fascinating images that are relevant here. The first, of Sir John Suckling, now in the Frick Gallery, New York (Pl. X), is a most engaging if slightly improbable essay in Van Dyck's best pastoral cavalier vein.[1] Though few would choose to read so large a volume outdoors and standing up, the book is in fact the First (or Second) Folio, and is open at Hamlet—this (of about 1637) is the earliest visual homage to Shakespeare's works known. The other Van Dyck portrait (of 1638) I have in mind is not so much a literary one as a painting of pure poetic atmospherics, now at Windsor. Traditionally known as Killigrew and Carew, the name of Carew has recently been prised from it, and replaced by that, with a query, of Lord Croft.[2] However that may be, in its silvery magic, in the tensions between the two figures, together and not together, in that pervasive air of melancholic or mourning reverie on a terrace by the broken pillar, it is perhaps Van Dyck's most haunting summary of the poetic, romantic side of the Caroline court, and if Lord Croft was not a poet, on the evidence of this he had no excuse not to be. The attitude of Killigrew, on the left, is of course the traditional pose of melancholic humour, used again and again since the Elizabethans. It was repeated still later by an obscure painter called Sheppard, in 1650, for Killigrew again (Pl. XI), but grown now rather stout and with bloom rather gone off.[3] This will serve, though, as witness for the contemporary view of the man of letters, although other aspects are also accounted for in this rather crowded image. There is an escalation of loyalty from dog to master, to master's master, the Martyr King, Charles I in the portrait on the wall. On the desk is the manuscript he is working on, open at the play *Bellamira her Dream*, with the date and

[1] For Suckling's portraits, see T. Clayton, 'An Historical Study of the Portraits of Sir John Suckling', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. xxiii (1960), pp. 105–26.

[2] O. Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London, 1963, p. 101, no. 156.

[3] D. Piper, *Catalogue of the Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 186–7, no. 3795. The unusual number of versions extant of this painting is so far unexplained. The *Eikon Basilike* is presumably not included as part of Killigrew's works; he is one of the few literary figures of the time whose name has *not* been put forward as candidate for the authorship of that controversial work.

place, Venice, 1650, and the sitter's status—the King's resident in Venice. Stacked behind is a pile of his other plays, all titled, though including, at the bottom, the *Eikon Basilike*.

The Killigrew portrait is a singularly and rarely explicit example. Most poets and writers of the time prefer to reserve themselves in their portraits as simple gentlemen, between wig and the conventional drape about the shoulders. Amongst them, however, rises the august figure of John Dryden, professional *par excellence* and the first English poet certainly to have been appointed Poet Laureate by warrant, in 1668. Even though deprived of office after the Revolution in 1688, his mental grasp, and in his portraits at least his physical grasp, on the laurels remained secure. The painting by John Riley of him (Pl. XII),[1] about 1683, is one of the most eloquent and stately of English baroque portraits, admirably formal, one hand proprietary resting on the Virgil, and the muse in bas-relief behind. It does not show him laureate, but Kneller also produced two magisterial successful portraits of him, both after his deposition from the Laureateship and both featuring prominently the laurel crown.[2] The most packed account, however, while indifferent in quality, demonstrates him as bard in detail, a small-scale portrait by Maubert (Pl. XIII).[3] Open before him the prime English authority, Shakespeare; on the table volumes of Horace, Virgil, Homer, and—rather interesting and unexpected—Montaigne. On the window ledge an eagle, with a Horatian tag on a scroll in its beak, is poised for flight to the distant twin peaks of Helicon and Parnassus. Though Maubert is known to have drawn Dryden from the life, this seems more of a demonstration piece than anything else, and its small scale and its allusions make it seem probable that it was designed as a library piece, and it is the library portrait as such that I must now consider.

The idea of congregating portraits of authors in a library, as if in some kind of shrine, is a classical one that naturally found favour at the Renaissance. In England, by the very end of the sixteenth century, there certainly were literary portraits

[1] Collection of F. J. Maxwell-Stuart, Esq., *The Age of Charles II*, Royal Academy Catalogue, London, 1960–1, p. 52, no. 152 (rep. in the accompanying book of illustrations).

[2] One of 1693, National Portrait Gallery, no. 2083; the other of *c.* 1697–8, at Trinity College, Cambridge (ex-Tonson collection; rep. M. Whinney and O. Millar, *English Art 1625–1714*, Oxford, 1957, pl. 56).

[3] National Portrait Gallery, no. 1133; see Piper, op. cit., pp. 114–15.

in English collections; thus Lord Lumley owned not only a portrait of Chaucer but also ones of Boccaccio, Petrarch, Dante, and Ariosto.[1] But the earliest survivors connected with a library are, I think, those rather crude friezes of literary heads of about 1618, recently rediscovered in the Bodleian Library (Pl. XIV),[2] and their counterpart at Durham. The subjects range from antiquity through the Church fathers to a singularly dour final burst of severe Elizabethan divines. In view of Sir Thomas Bodley's highly austere conception of what sort of books befitted a proper library, one would not of course expect to find portraits of writers as frivolous as Shakespeare or the University Wits, nor does one. I find little evidence that this example had much following in England for many years after, but the idea of portraits in a library was certainly not a strange one. Clemens, in his *Musei*, published in Latin in 1635, deals, for example, in detail as to what portraits are suitable for libraries,[3] and then in 1661, Evelyn's translation of Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions Concerning Creating of a Library* promulgated, in his Chapter VIII 'Of the Ornament and Decoration necessarily to be Observed', a classic apologia for the presence of portraits in libraries.

> Nor is there any necessity of seeking for, and amassing in a Library all these pieces and fragments of old Statues . . . It being sufficient to have good Copies drawn from such as are most famous in the profession of Letters; that thereby a man may at once make judgement of the wit of the Authors by their Books, and by their bodies; figure, and physiognomy by their Pictures and Images, which joyn'd to the description which many have made of their lives, may serve, in my opinion, as a puissant spurre to excite a generous and wel-born Soul to follow their track, and to continue firm and stable in the wayes and beaten paths of some noble enterprise and resolution.

Meaning, to supply the living voice captured in the dead print with a face and a person, to humanize it, and so to excite the reader to equal feats of achievement. Evelyn dedicated his translation to Lord Clarendon ('because I think, worthily to preside over Men of Letters, is a greater dignity than to be

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[1] Listed in the 1590 Lumley inventory (*Walpole Society*, vol. vi (1918), p. 25).

[2] See J. N. L. Myres, in the *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. iii (1951), pp. 82–90; and, with E. C. Rouse, in vol. v (1956), pp. 290–307.

[3] P. Claudius Clemens, *Musei, sive Bibliothecae tam privatae quam publicae Extructio, Instructio, Cura, Usus*, Lugduni, 1635 (especially Book II, 1: Ordinatio armariorum; statuae et icones principum cuiusque scientiae . . .).

born to the name of Empire'), and to Clarendon on another occasion he supplied a long list of English heroes of whom Clarendon ought to have portraits to animate, as it were, the characters in his great history of his times. This list included literary figures from Chaucer to Shakespeare and up to Clarendon's contemporaries. The earlier figures were copies, produced in Lely's studio or in his manner, and transposed sometimes rather strangely into Lely's baroque key; living contemporaries, however, were asked by Clarendon to sit if no suitable portrait existed for copying.[1] Of the disposition of the portraits in Clarendon's house or in that of his heirs, no record seems to survive, but Aubrey notes that Clarendon had a painting of Samuel Butler over the mantel in the library (and notes also that this profited Butler nothing at all when he was old and poor).[2] The Waller, by Lely (Pl. XV),[3] that belonged to Clarendon is typical of the Restoration characterization, very grand and voluminous, if anything somewhat diminished by the inscription POET WALLER, added by the next generation—and incidentally the clue, this kind of inscription, by which pictures from Clarendon's collection can be recognized when they turn up.

By the end of the century one can see the awareness of and reverence for the English literary tradition beginning to shape itself in portraits, as in the growth of critical and biographical studies of great authors. About 1694, Godfrey Kneller painted for Dryden a copy of the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare, and was rewarded by a poem from Dryden, in which the poet says that before he starts to write he invokes the portrait for a blessing.[4] This gives a fair *terminus post quem* for the practice of particularly bardolatry, meaning Shakespeare, but also of a more general setting up of poets' images. In 1711 Pope was accustomed to write with portraits of Dryden, Milton, and Shakespeare about him, 'to keep him humble'.[5] Dryden and Pope are both involved

[1] For Clarendon's collection, see Lady T. Lewis, *Lives of the Friends . . . of Lord Chancellor Clarendon*, London, 1852, vol. iii. The collection divided in 1753; part still belongs to the family, the other part being sold by the Earl of Home, Christie's, 20 June 1919.

[2] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Powell, 1949, p. 84.

[3] Collection the Earl of Clarendon (on loan to Plymouth Art Gallery).

[4] Epistle to Sir Godfrey Kneller, first published in the *Annual Miscellany*, 1694. Kneller's copy now belongs to the Earl Fitzwilliam.

[5] Probably engravings, though the first collection of engraved heads of English poets seems to have been Vertue's set of twelve poets, published in 1730.

parties, professional writers, but at the same time the habit begins to infect the patrons. The Earl of Halifax had a representative set of literary portraits;[1] Somers had at least the Ben Jonson that we saw just now, and probably others. The second Earl of Oxford, Harley, had the biggest collection,[2] that spilled over beyond the confines of the library, and it seems to have been Harley himself rather than his famous librarian Humfrey Wanley who sought them out, getting copies made and persuading authors to sit. It is in the focus of Harley's desire that one can see the first deliberate forgery of a literary portrait take shape: a well-known portrait by Isaac Fuller, believed by Harley and long after to be of the poet John Cleveland, but revealed, since it has belonged to the Tate Gallery, to have been titivated into Cleveland from being a portrait of an architect.[3] At the Sackville family house, Knole, most of the portraits still in the Poets' Parlour there were already *in situ* by 1728,[4] very possibly accumulating about an original nucleus formed by the sixth Earl of Dorset, better known as Lord Buckhurst. Between 1740 and 1742, the Halifax and Oxford sales proved a rich hunting ground for Lord Chesterfield, who won out of them most of the library portraits, twenty-one in all, that subsequently adorned his library in the new house built for him in Mayfair by Isaac Ware, finished in 1750 (Pl. XVI).[5] This library, an enchantingly civilized room, survived until the demolition of Chesterfield House in 1934, and in old photos one can see it much as it was originally. In the view reproduced (of 1922), the larger portraits in the set have already gone, but the small head-and-shoulders are all Chesterfield's originals, and they are still all, with one exception, together but now in the University of London Library. They range from Chaucer to Pope, and include several rare originals of great sentimental value, including Denham (the only portrait of him), Otway, Cowley, and the

[1] See the Halifax sale catalogue, 6/10 March 1739/40 (Lugt, no. 497).

[2] See the Oxford sale catalogue, 8/13 March 1741/2 (Lugt, no. 553).

[3] Tate Gallery, London, *Annual Report 1955/56*, pp. 14–15, no. T. 56 (but with false provenance; it was seen by Pope at Wimpole in 1730; bought at the Oxford sale, 1742, by James West; and at the West sale, 1773, by Bishop Percy).

[4] Listed by G. Vertue, Notebooks II, *Walpole Society*, vol. xx (1932), p. 51.

[5] Chesterfield's collecting is charted by G. Vertue, Notebooks IV, p. 165; V, p. 70 (*Walpole Society*, vol. xxiv (1936), xxvi (1938)). What is doubtless the original arrangement of the portraits is recorded by Sir George Scharf in manuscript notes of 1869 (National Portrait Gallery, *S.S.B. 83*, p. 57).

nearest there is to an authenticated portrait-type of Edmund Spenser. Of the larger portraits the most interesting was the one that once hung central over the fire-place, and which has recently been given most generously by Mr. Lincoln Kirstein to the Birthplace at Stratford-on-Avon: Shakespeare. In this (Pl. XVII) the head is based on the Chandos portrait, and the date appears to be about 1670, as it were an upgrading of the very modest Chandos head and shoulders into the rhetorical panache of the Baroque style, while its size and siting reflect here the acceptance of Shakespeare as the supreme genius of the English Parnassus.[1]

In fact, by the time Chesterfield was collecting his set of portraits, one might have expected him to be more interested in busts than in painted portraits; he was well aware of the virtues of the literary bust, for the year after his house was finished, in 1751, he sent over a set of four busts (Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope) to his friend Mme de Bocage in Paris.[2] But the first congregation of literary busts in England took place not in a library, but in Westminster Abbey, in Poets' Corner, though the magnet that attracted them all there in the beginning was not a bust, but a painting that was part of the monument to Chaucer that Nicholas Brigham set up in 1555. In 1599 Spenser was buried there, and for him that notable friend of learning, Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, set up a memorial (without portrait) in 1620, as she did also for Drayton (with laureate bust) after 1631. But then for a time additions came very slowly until a stir of activity between 1720 and 1740, in which period the monuments to Ben Jonson, Milton, Samuel Butler, Dryden, Rowe, Gay, and Prior were all added. Shakespeare, though agitation for an Abbey memorial to him is recorded as early as 1727, came last in this spate, but when he did appear in 1741 it was in satisfactorily dominant format, as a life-size marble statue (Pl. XVIII). There tends often to be an undertone of light irony in Augustan literary piety which is not unrefreshing; the Horatian tag inscribed round the frieze of Chesterfield's library, for example, celebrates also the virtues of sleep,[3]

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[1] For the development of Shakespeare portraiture, 1600–1800, see *O Sweet Mr Shakespeare I'll have his picture*, Exhibition catalogue, National Portrait Gallery, 1964.

[2] Chesterfield, *Works*, 1779, vol. iii, pp. 338, 372.

[3] *Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis/ducere sollicitae jucunda oblivia vitae.* Horace, *Sat.* ii. vi.

while the Abbey Shakespeare was greeted by Pope (who was on the committee responsible for it) with a doggerel epigram—'After an hundred and thirty years nap / Enter Shakespeare with a loud Clap.' But the statue was immensely popular, representing the Palladian view of the national poet, and establishing definitively Poets' Corner as the national shrine of national literature. There were also, outside the Abbey, in the 1730s, at least two celebrations of patriotic genius in terms of pagan shrines—that set up by Lord Cobham in the gardens at Stowe about 1732—the Temple of British Worthies, which included a rich representation in busts of literary figures acceptable to Whiggish history, up to Pope, and again with its pompousness alleviated, in this case by the graceful epitaph on a favourite greyhound that accompanies the Worthies into the Elysian Fields.[1] And at Richmond, in Queen Caroline's Hermitage, there was a little shrine of busts of natural philosophers, Newton, Locke, Boyle, Clarke, and Wollaston.[2]

At the same time, there begins the domestication of the portrait-bust, in answer to the needs of piety as to those of the kind of elaborate classicizing interior made fashionable by the Palladians. From 1720 onwards we begin to find busts in private houses, though I have not much evidence of private library sets of busts before 1750. One of the earliest was a group of four small-scale marbles (Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden), commissioned by Frederick Prince of Wales in 1735 for Alexander Pope.[3] This is curiously late, for the use of the classicizing bust in libraries was well established on the Continent, whereas in England it would have been familiar already to generations of scholars from the range of busts in the Cottonian Library;[4] these, though of Emperors and not of literary figures, seem to have been installed by 1638, by when the Emperor pressmarks were already in use, and presumably they stayed with the Library until the disastrous fire of 1731. Literary busts (plaster on a wooden core) were in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, from 1691 (Pl. XIX).[5]

[1] F. Saxl and R. Wittkower, *English Art and the Mediterranean*, 1948, p. 68.
[2] M. I. Webb, Giovanni Battista Guelfi, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xcvii (1955), pp. 139, 260.
[3] Collection of Viscount Cobham, Hagley Hall; G. W. Beard in *Apollo*, vol. lvii (1953), pp. 4–6.
[4] See Humphrey Prideaux's account, 1692, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 5th Report*, Appendix, p. 383.
[5] R. Willis and J. W. Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 1886, vol. ii, pp. 554–6. Wren originally planned whole-length

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Evelyn, in his translation of Naudé, clearly had busts in mind; also it was Evelyn who said 'I ever look upon a Library with the reverence of a Temple', and what could be more suitable equipment for such a temple than a range of votive busts of the major literary luminaries? However, by about 1750, the practice was well established in the grander English houses, and standard sets of casts, white, black, or gilt, were stocked by statuaries such as the Cheere brothers in London, and Roubiliac too kept moulds handy of the more popular subjects, including Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, and Pope.[1] By 1749 one or other of the Cheere brothers also stocked a series of literary statuettes, of a very similar range of subjects from Homer on, and reflecting in their composition the popularity of the Abbey Shakespeare design;[2] not long after that, the Chelsea, Derby, and Wedgwood ceramics factories began to produce figures of literary men, Shakespeare, often paired with Milton, being an easy favourite. In libraries, the effectiveness of such silent congregations of brooding busts can still be seen in several surviving examples, such as Trinity College, Cambridge, or Trinity College, Dublin. The monochrome bust (Pl. XX), particularly if in white lucent marble, has extraordinary appositeness as matching figureheads for works of the mind and of the imagination. Apart from its classical associations, it presents (if of any quality) an as-it-were essential physiognomy of its subject, drained clear of temporal accident; if architecture can be described as *gefrorene Musik*, the bust can with equal validity seem *gefrorener Geist*.

The new market in England for busts was exploited notably by three distinguished immigrant sculptors, Scheemakers, Rysbrack, and Roubiliac. Between about 1720 and 1770 these three all produced, in answer to the demand, busts or statues of the great English writers of the past. Two of them, Rysbrack and Roubiliac, also sculptured the greatest contemporary English poet, Alexander Pope.

It is in Pope's portraiture that, for the first time, the full range of possibilities latent in the literary portrait seem to have been understood and exploited. Pope's iconography is also

statues to surmount the book-presses, but busts instead were supplied by Grinling Gibbons, 1691: the later series, in front of the presses, date from 1751 on, including the famous set by Roubiliac.

[1] See K. A. Esdaile, *L. F. Roubiliac*, 1928.

[2] See M. I. Webb, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. c (1958), pp. 232, 274. An extensive range of Cheere literary statuettes, formerly at Kirkleatham, is in the Castle Museum, York.

one which, thanks to Professor Wimsatt's recently published monumental account of it,[1] one can survey and analyse with confidence. He was the first—perhaps also, until Yeats, the last—British poet not just to show interest in his portraits, but to appear almost to formulate them as a willed, highly controlled projection of the poet's image into posterity. There are various reasons for this. One was, very literally, to put the record straight; it is only (apart from caricatures) in two highly unauthorized glimpses that the actual physical deformity of the body can be seen, as in Lady Burlington's sketch (Pl. XXI). Another reason is vanity, a *sine qua non* in most portraiture, but in Pope's case magisterially intense yet not narrowly or introspectively so; his vanity swells the scope of his own image to include the poetic vocation itself, its classic dignity and its independence. This last was very much new-found, with a solid economic basis in the Copyright Act of 1709, which established that an author's work was the author's property, to be used as a bargaining basis with booksellers and publishers; further economic support was lent by the success of the subscription system, as Prior was the first to demonstrate profitably. All of which meant that a man of letters needed only success to free him from the previous servile dependence on patrons, and Pope was the first to take full, indeed ruthless, advantage from this. In 1723 he could write to Carteret: 'I take myself to be the only scribbler of my time, of any degree of distinction, who never received any Places from the Establishment, any Pension from a Court, or any Presents from a Ministry. I desire to preserve this Honour untainted to my Grave.'[2] His portraits were widely distributed, witness to a hitherto unparalleled popularity and prestige, that Voltaire duly noted about 1730 when he wrote that whereas he had seen the Prime Minister's portrait only over the latter's mantelpiece, he had seen the portrait of Mr. Pope in twenty noblemen's houses.[3] In all, Wimsatt has established some sixty-six primary portrait-types— that is, approximately, originals—of Pope, and many of these were reduplicated by copies and broadcast by engraving. It is a phenomenal number for a private citizen, and can be matched only by royalty. As for the quality of the quantity, one has to admit that Pope was unlucky in that he lived through a period when portrait painting was at a low ebb; he had,

[1] W. K. Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*, New Haven, 1965.
[2] Pope, *Works*, ed. Elwin and Courthorpe, vol. x (1888), pp. 139–40.
[3] Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, 2nd ed., 1741, p. 178.

however, worked as an amateur painter with Jervas, and he was aware of gradations of quality in the art, and beyond doubt he made the best possible use of what was available. In a whole-length by Jervas (Pl. XXII), perhaps about 1715–20, he is the poet in meditation, with an attendant ambivalent maiden who might or might not be either the muse or Martha Blount, with the bust of Homer presiding top left (I think incidentally the first appearance of Homer's bust in an English portrait).[1] The leading society painter, Kneller, painted Pope thrice. First, again closely linked with Homer, in 1716 (Pl. XXIII); the book is open at the beginning of Book IX of the *Iliad*, of which Pope's translation appeared the following year.[2] The second, 1721 (Pl. XXIV), is in the classic medallic profile, toga, and critic's ivy garland on his brow, all set in the antique symbol of eternity, the serpent biting its own tail.[3] The third, melancholic again, in 1722, leaning in a proprietary way on a volume of Homer.[4] The original of the first of these was done for Harley's library, and the third for the Harcourt library at Nuneham Courtenay. All three were repeated in copies, and widely disseminated by engravings. In 1727 Michael Dahl painted Pope in the traditional basic formula for men of letters, with pen, paper, and eyes upcast to the source of inspiration, and that too was published in an engraving.[5] In the space available, it is only possible to hint at the richness and variety of Pope's portraits, but the degree of control exercised can be indicated by the recently rediscovered portrait of Pope as child of seven (Pl. XXV).[6] The laurels in the child's hands are not uncanny prophecy; they were added later, as we know from Spence, by Pope's friend the painter Jervas, and it is a fair guess that the instigation for the addition came from Pope. I should also mention his long friendship with the painter and art-

[1] National Portrait Gallery, no. 112 (on loan to Marble Hill, Twickenham). Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 19–26, no. 3.

[2] Colln. Lord Barnard, Raby Castle, and other versions elsewhere. Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 35–49, no. 5.

[3] Colln. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, The Hirsel, and other versions elsewhere. Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 50–9, no. 6.

[4] Colln. the Viscount Harcourt, Stanton Harcourt, and other versions elsewhere. Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 60–72, no. 7.

[5] Versions in the National Portrait Gallery (no. 4132) and elsewhere. Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 93–6, no. 10. The design seems to be a somewhat emphatic variation of Raphael's *Tommaso Inghirami* of *c.* 1512 (Boston), in reverse.

[6] Colln. James M. Osborn, New Haven. Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 6–9, no. 1. Cf. Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes of Books and Men*, ed. J. M. Osborn, Oxford, 1966, vol. i, p. 6.

theorist, Jonathan Richardson, for whom Pope was one of twin deities, the other being Milton. Richardson's allegiance to Milton was both verbal and pictorial; in 1735 he published his *Explanatory Notes on Paradise Lost*, and probably about the same time painted the very odd picture of himself and his son hushed in the awful presence of the laurelled Milton, lit in the rays of a supernatural beam (Pl. XXVI).[1] Richardson's application to Pope's person was no less persistent; he painted him at least four times, and drew him again and again. Richardson was peculiarly fascinated by the idea of the continuity of the ideal poetic physiognomy; once he tried out Pope as Chaucer,[2] and on another occasion in an etching seems to be attempting a conflation of Pope's and Milton's features into an ideal mask (Pl. XXVII).[3]

Pope's portraits form a peak on their own. Other Augustan writers seem to have been content generally to be registered by their painters as gentlemen of poise, breeding, and fashion. In the context of the Kitcat Club, for example, though no one would be likely to overlook the Club's literary affiliations, Addison, Steele, and Congreve are indistinguishable from the rest.[4] Their pose, presentation, and gesture have some significance of a very general social nature, but how perfunctory this significance can be, how close to a fashion plate, can be seen in later portraits of Addison. Compare, for example, Addison by Kneller in 1716 with a certain Governor Harrison by Kneller in 1719; they are identical except for the face.[5] Or take Addison again, about 1719, again by Kneller (Pl. XXVIII), with perhaps faint recollections of the Apollo Belvedere in his stance, but barely to be distinguished from the sitter, some member of the Sykes family, in another portrait by Kneller (Pl. XXIX).[6] Such portraits aspire perhaps more to the condition of polite furniture than that of art. As for more

[1] Colln. Col. W. H. Bromley-Davenport, Capesthorne; J. F. Kerslake, in *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xcix (1957), p. 24.

[2] Cornell University Library; Wimsatt, op. cit., p. 163, no. 19 (12).

[3] Etching; Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 182–3, no. 38 (*a.b.c.*).

[4] The Kitcat portraits, by Kneller, in the National Portrait Gallery, London; see D. Piper, op. cit.

[5] Addison by Kneller, 1716, formerly Northwick Park collection, now J. M. Osborn collection, New Haven, Conn.; Governor Harrison by Kneller, 1719, formerly Lady Townshend collection (sold Christie's, 4 July 1947, lot 9).

[6] Addison by Kneller, Sir Peter Smithers collection; Mr. Sykes (?) by Kneller, location unknown.

professional identification, the man-with-paper-and-pen formula continued indefatigably. Steele had some fun with it in the *Spectator* in 1711, when he described Sir Roger showing a guest round the de Coverley family portrait gallery. He comes to the literary one:

> You see he sits with one hand on a Desk writing, and looking as it were another way, like an easie Writer, or a Sonneteer. He was one of those that had too much Wit to live in the World; he was a man of no Justice, but great Manners; he ruined everybody that had anything to do with him, but never said a rude thing in his life . . .

And so on down to—

> He left the Estate with ten thousand pounds Debt upon it, but however by all Hands I have been informed that he was everyway the finest Gentleman in the World.[1]

A passage warmed no doubt by the very professional Steele's malice towards amateur dilettanti, but it had no effect on the established formula. Look yet again, at Addison, in 1719, with desk, pen, and paper, by Dahl (Pl. XXX);[2] the conventional pose very suspect here, for even that silver ink-pot was not Addison's—it appears again in a very similar portrait by Dahl of Dr. Robert Friend. Even the terrible irony of Swift seems to have been content to be contained in a politely similar image: the standard portrait of Swift, painted by Jervas probably in 1718, though his books are slightly more revealing (Aesop, Homer, and Lucan);[3] Pope himself we have already noted similarly drawn, in his portrait by Dahl, but he was to sit yet again in similar attitude for one of the last portraits made of him, by Van Loo, in 1742 (Pl. XXXI).[4] Van Loo was an immensely successful Parisian society painter, and he performed his task with a much more polite efficiency than had Dahl. The result is sophisticated and handsome, but the formula remains formula, the sitter in the end a posed dummy. This is how a man of letters looks, ever has looked, and ever shall look, and the formula is indeed still used by both painters and photographers today.

[1] [Sir R. Steele], *Spectator*, no. 109, 5 July 1711.

[2] National Portrait Gallery, London, no. 714. See Piper, op. cit., p. 2.

[3] Versions in National Portrait Gallery, London (no. 278), and elsewhere. See Piper, op. cit., p. 337.

[4] Versions in the collections of the Earl of Mansfield, Scone Palace, W. S. Lewis, Farmington, Conn., and elsewhere. Wimsatt, op. cit., pp. 312–35, no. 66.

But in fact no cliché gets so exhausted that it is beyond revitalizing, and that is one reason why I thought I would take this account of the literary portrait beyond Pope to Samuel Johnson.[1] Pope's iconography is as it were by Pope himself, but Johnson's is, essentially, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, although other painters of course portrayed him. The first time Reynolds encountered the rugged hulk of the great cham was in 1756 (Pl. XXXII), that is in the years of the Dictionary, and he chose precisely the man-with-pen-and-paper formula.[2] But the result, in spite of some deterioration of the picture's condition, is a quite fresh, formidably actual image. Reynolds's genius lay in great part in his power to marry his learning of the Old Masters with his observation of the object in front of him, to produce from the two an image of the most sharp immediacy and individuality yet with the weight and stamina of a profound generalization. So here, Dr. Johnson in the splendour of his unglossed ugliness, the clumsiness of his fearful body, those great knuckles of the left hand: portrait of the Lexicographer as poet, on the brink of the perfect definition. Beyond this so convincingly individual pose there may lie a memory of some prototype, perhaps even Raphael's tender and graceful figure of Poetry herself in the *Stanze della Segnatura*, but if so then here entirely re-created, not borrowed.

Reynolds next painted Johnson thirteen years later, in 1769, this time in classical guise (Pl. XXXIII), without wig but as if with a toga, Greek or Roman.[3] A study of thought in action, of the thinker wrenching most physically thought into words. A heroic portrait, with in this case surely a prototype from some Roman or central Italian painting behind it, though the source has yet as far as I know to be identified. Later Reynolds was to adapt this figure for the bearded image of Tiresias in his picture of the *Infant Hercules* now in Leningrad.[4] He painted

[1] *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell, vol. iv, 1934, Appendix H, is still the best account of Johnson's portraiture (a revised edition is in progress).

[2] National Portrait Gallery, London, no. 1597. Hill and Powell, loc. cit., p. 448 (no. i).

[3] The probable original at Knole; a studio version has been transferred from the National Gallery to the Tate Gallery. Hill and Powell, loc. cit., pp. 448–9 (no. ii rep. vol. ii, frontispiece). First engraved by J. Watson, 1770. See also M. Davies, *British School*, National Gallery Catalogue, 1946 ed., pp. 128–9.

[4] See the essay by J. S. G. Simmons, in *Johnson, Boswell, and their Circle* (essays presented to L. F. Powell), Oxford, 1965, pp. 208–14, with rep.

Johnson again twice, perhaps thrice. One, though famous as the 'blinking Sam' portrait, showing the old man peering at a book close to his face, was not a great success,[1] and another, if really intended for Johnson, is a curiosity, an imaginary portrait of Johnson as a brooding infant.[2] The last great one, probably of 1778, was a library portrait, painted for Mrs. Thrale's library at Streatham (Pl. XXXIV).[3] It has no specific, built-in literary references, and yet, frequently copied, and broadcast via an excellent mezzotint engraving, this was the portrait of Johnson that became the standard one, and remains so. In fact he needs no further gloss, but is self-sufficient in his own right; it is a worthy image on which to leave the subject, with the literary profession fully established also in its own right, and Johnson a fit figurehead for it. It was after all Johnson who proclaimed that the chief glory of every people arises from its authors.

Acknowledgements

[1] Now owned by Messrs. Barclay Perkins, London. Hill and Powell, loc. cit., pp. 449–50 (no. iii; rep. vol. vi, frontispiece). About 1775.

[2] Now owned by Mrs. Hyde, U.S.A. About 1782. Identification as Johnson not traceable before 1844; it seems, however, reasonable. Romney (also in the 1780s) made a number of somewhat comparable studies of the infant Shakespeare, inspired by a passage from Thomas Gray. Hill and Powell, loc. cit., p. 454.

[3] Transferred from the National Gallery to the Tate Gallery, now on loan to the National Portrait Gallery, London. Hill and Powell, loc. cit., pp. 450–2 (no. iv rep. vol. iii, frontispiece); see also M. Davies, op. cit., pp. 118–21.
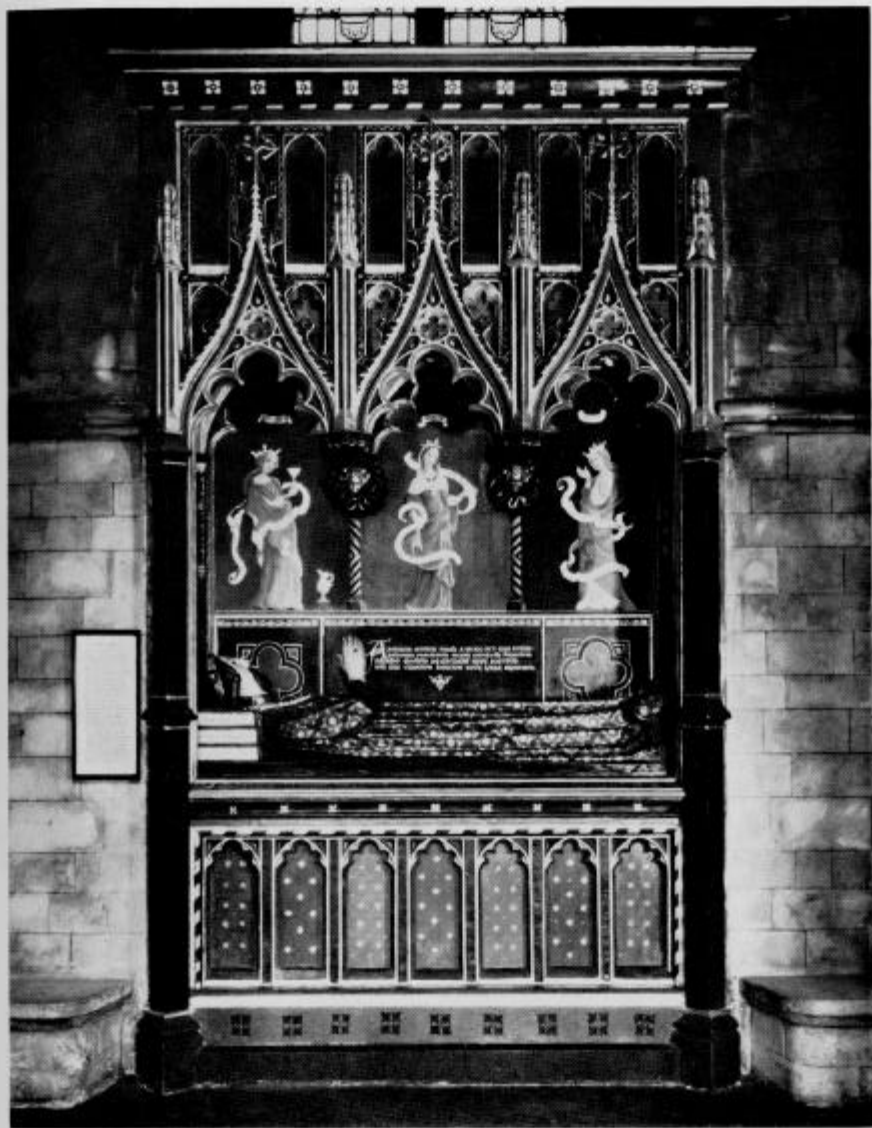
PLATE I

Caxton, presenting his *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* to Margaret of York. Engraving, Flemish School, *c.* 1475. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California
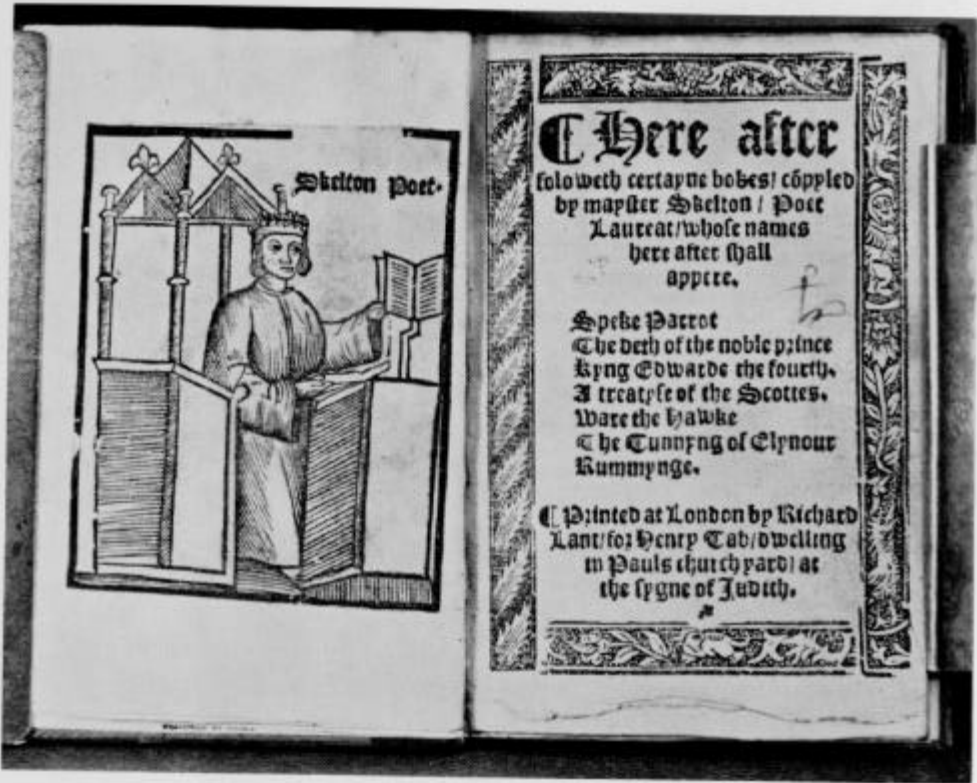
PLATE II

Chaucer, by(?) Hoccleve. From Harleian MS.
4866, f. 88. British Museum

PLATE III

Photograph by Pitkin Pictorials Ltd.

Gower, tomb effigy, c. 1408. Southwark Cathedral

PLATE IV

Skelton, woodcut, c. 1545

PLATE V

Milton, engraving, by William Marshall, 1645

PLATE VI

Gul. Faithorne ad Virum   Delin. et sculpsit.

Joannis Miltoni Effigies Ætat: 62.
1670.

Milton, engraving, by William Faithorne, 1670

PLATE VII

Herrick, engraving, by William Marshall, 1648

PLATE VIII
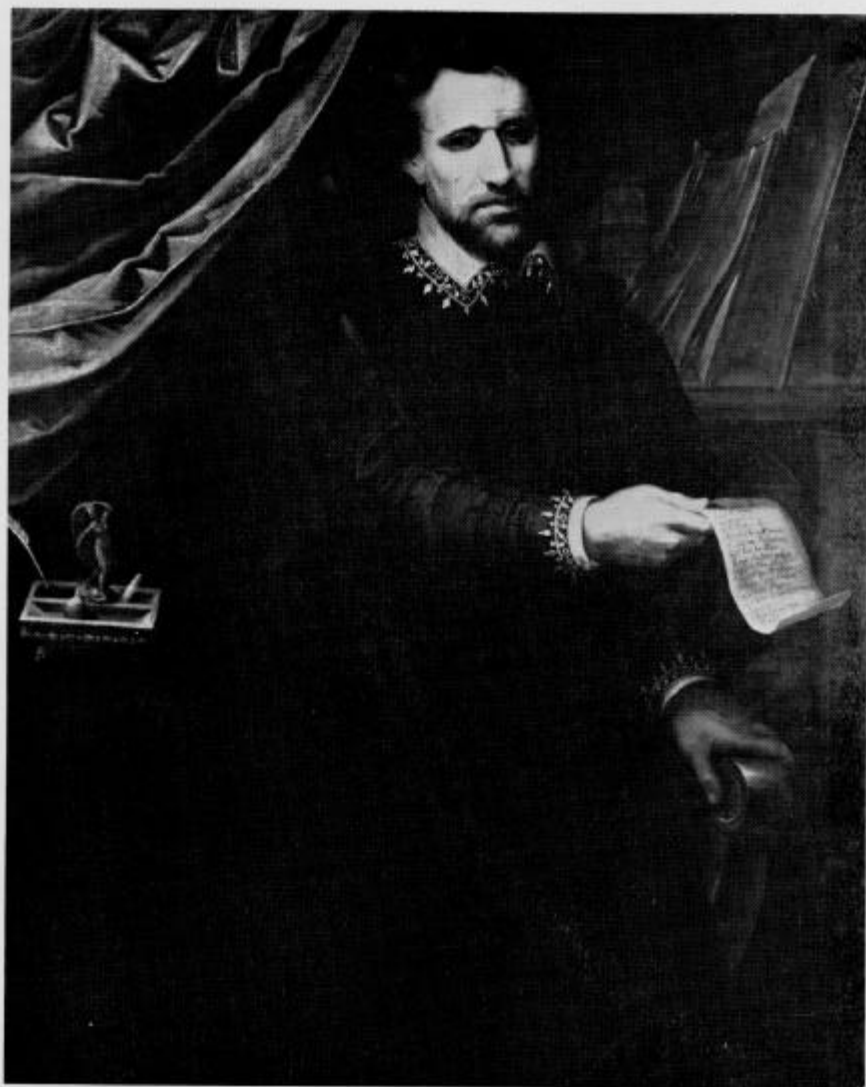
Ben Jonson, painting, artist unknown. Private collection

PLATE IX
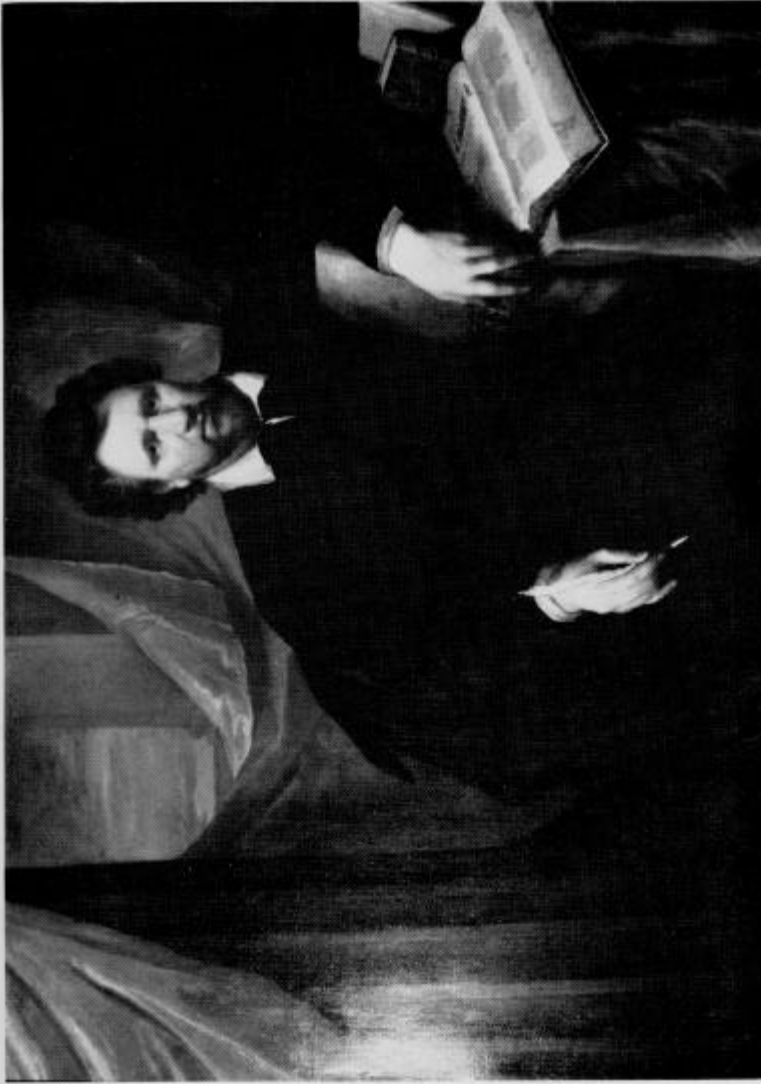
Ben Jonson, painting, artist unknown (after Blijemberch). Present location unknown

PLATE X

Suckling, painting, by Van Dyck, *c.* 1637. Copyright, the Frick Collection, New York

PLATE XI

Killigrew, painting, by William Sheppard, 1650. National Portrait Gallery

PLATE XII

Dryden, painting, by John Riley, *c.* 1683. F. J. Maxwell-Stuart

PLATE XIII

Dryden, painting, by J. Maubert, *c.* 1700(?). National Portrait Gallery

PLATE XIV

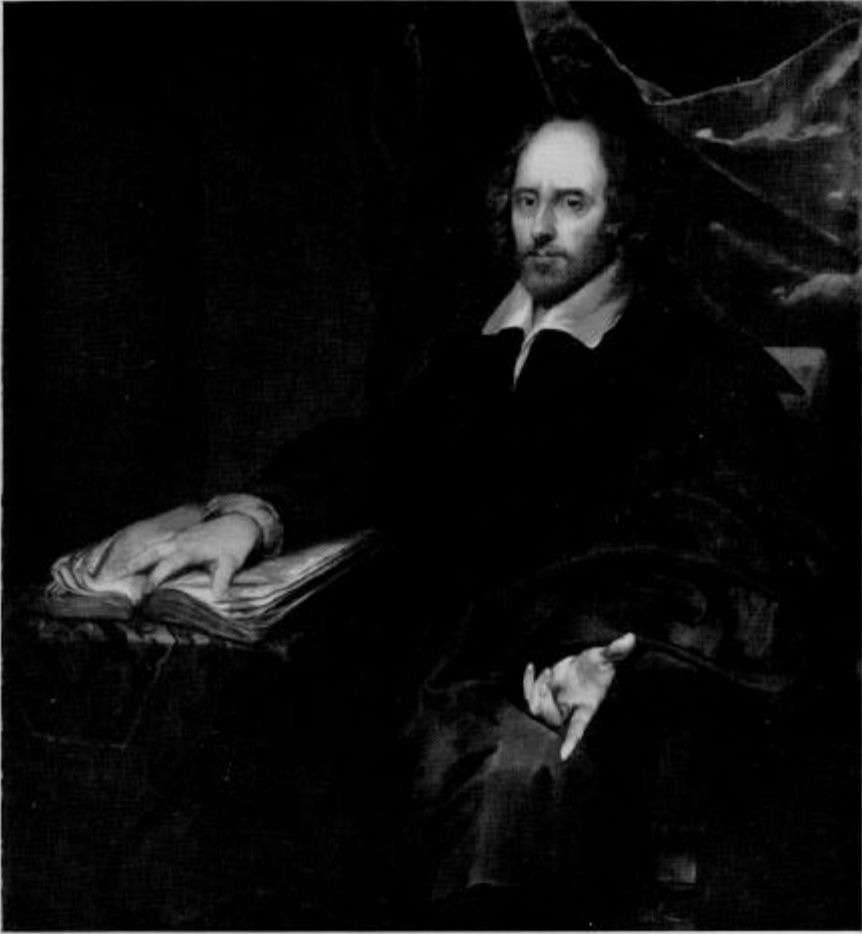Boccaccio, Aretino, Dante. *Detail*, from the frieze of heads, c. 1618, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

PLATE XV

Waller, painting, by Sir Peter Lely, *c.* 1665. The Earl of Clarendon (loan to Plymouth Art Gallery)

PLATE XVI

Copyright, Country Life

Library, Chesterfield House, Mayfair, built by 1750, demolished 1934; as it was in 1922

PLATE XVII

Shakespeare, painting, by P. Borsseler(?), c. 1670 (the 'Chesterfield' portrait).
Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-on-Avon

PLATE XVIII

Shakespeare, marble statue, by P. Scheemakers to a design by W. Kent, 1741. Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey

PLATE XIX

Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, by Wren. The busts dating from 1691 on

PLATE XX

Pope, marble bust, by L. F. Roubiliac, 1741. Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead

PLATE XXI

Pope, caricature drawing, by Dorothy, Countess of Burlington, *c.* 1740(?). Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

PLATE XXII

Pope, painting, by Charles Jervas, *c.* 1715/20. National Portrait Gallery

PLATE XXIII

Pope, painting, by Sir G. Kneller, 1716. Lord Barnard, Raby Castle

PLATE XXIV

Pope, painting, by Sir G. Kneller (? studio), 1721. Location unknown

PLATE XXV

Pope, painting, artist unknown, c. 1695. J. M. Osborn, New Haven, Yale

PLATE XXVI

Milton with the two Richardsons, painting, by Jonathan Richardson, *c.* 1735. Lt.-Col. Sir
W. H. Bromley-Davenport, Capesthorne

PLATE XXVII

Pope and Milton, etching, by Jonathan Richardson, *c.* 1730/40. British Museum

PLATE XXVIII

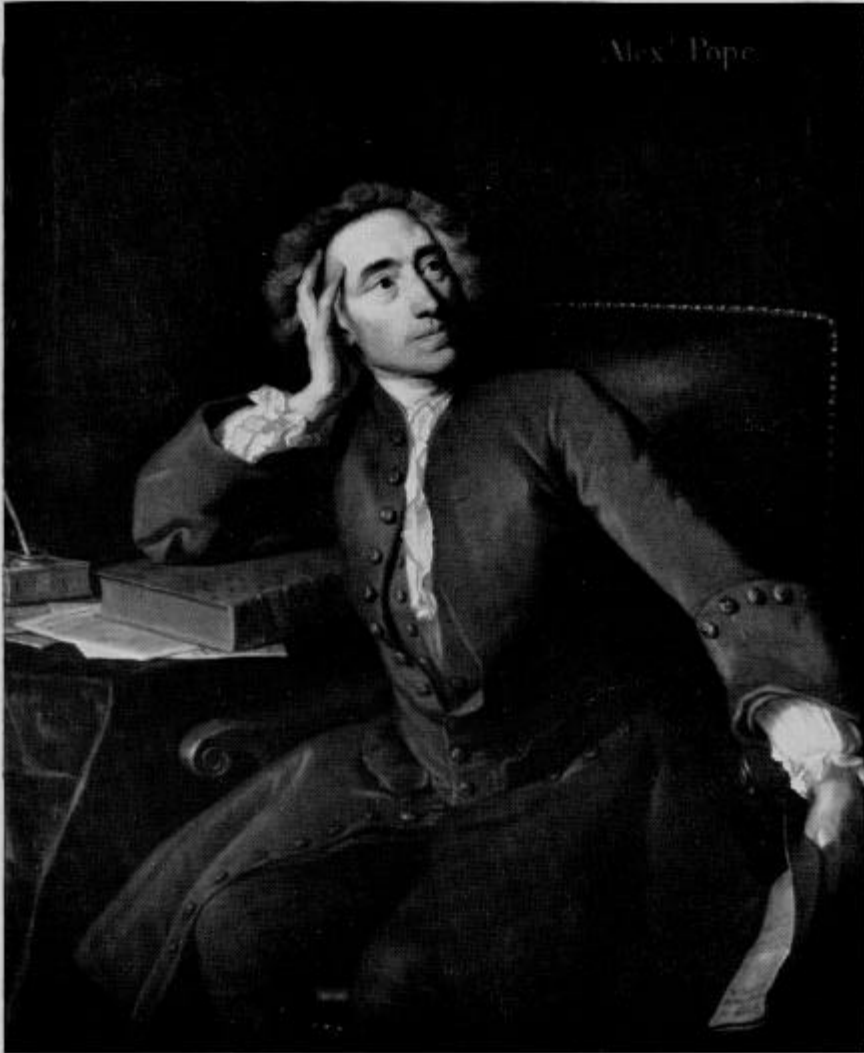Addison, painting, by Sir G. Kneller, *c.* 1719(?). Peter Smithers

PLATE XXIX

A member of the Sykes family, painting, by Sir G. Kneller. Location unknown
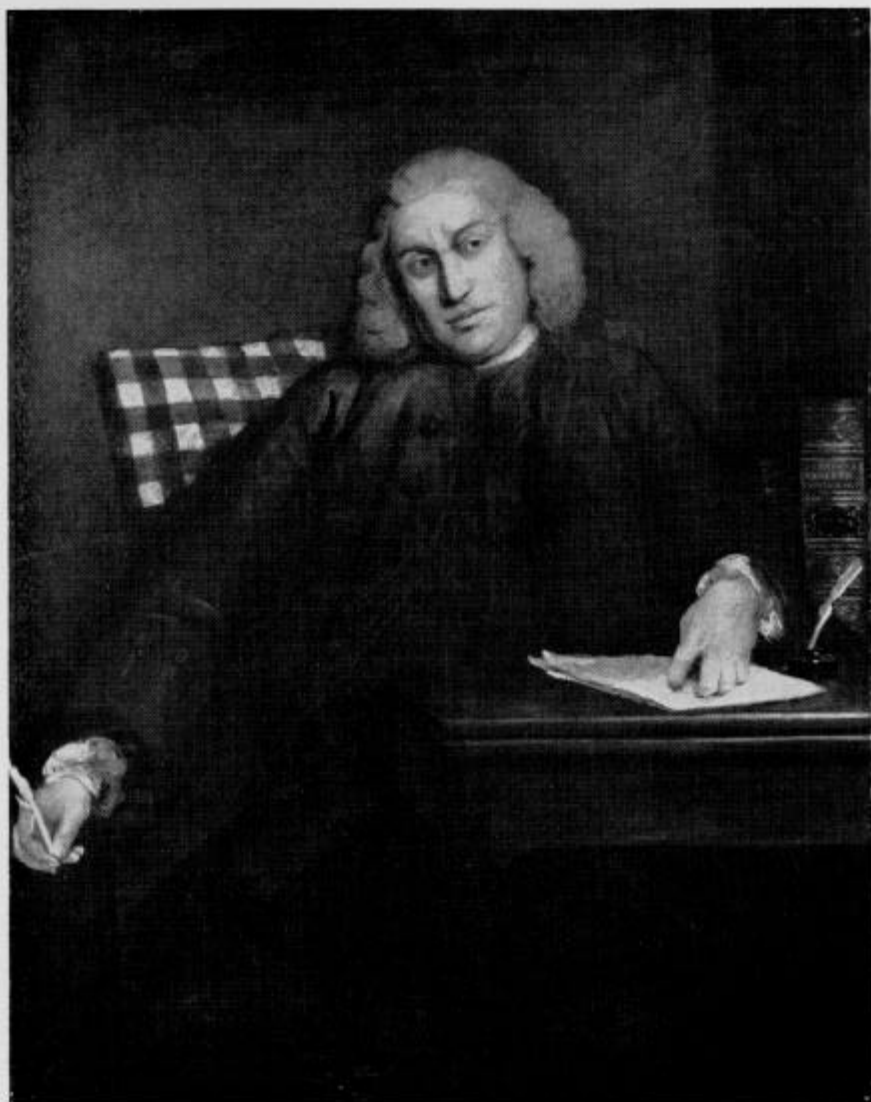
PLATE XXX

Addison, painting, by M. Dahl, 1719. National Portrait Gallery
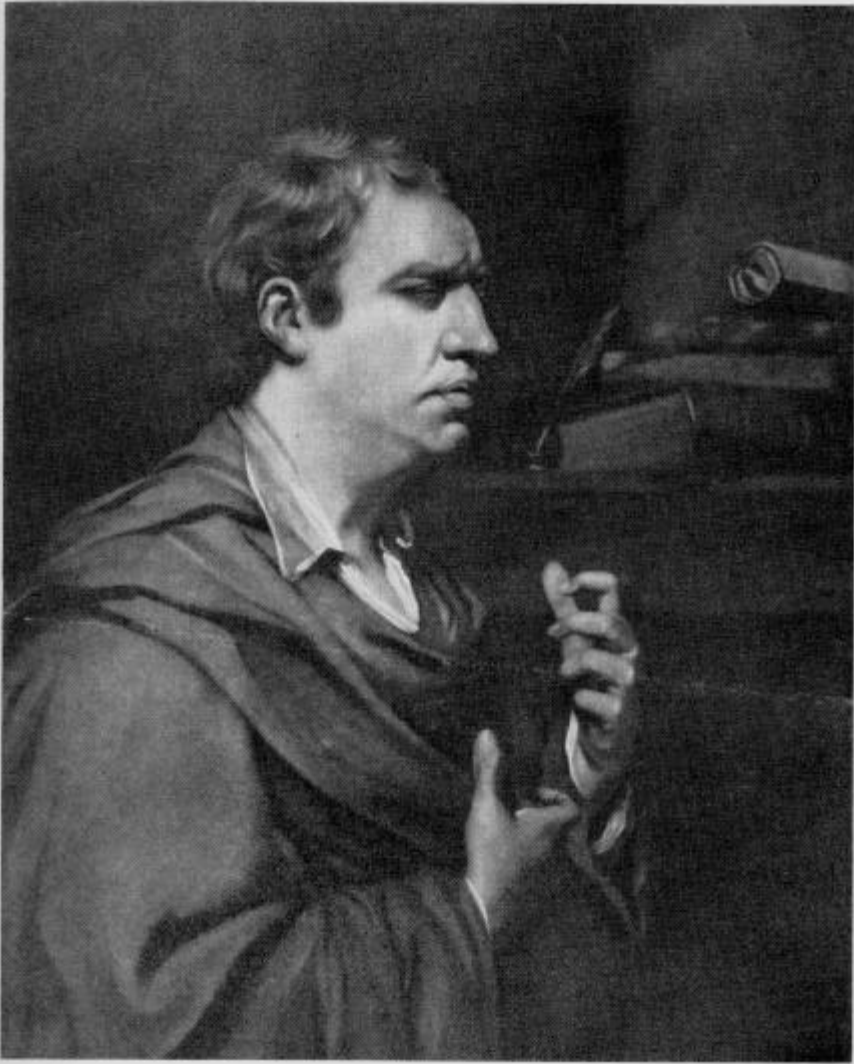
PLATE XXXI

Pope, painting, by J. B. Van Loo, 1742. W. S. Lewis, Farmington, Connecticut

PLATE XXXII

Dr. Johnson, painting, by Sir J. Reynolds, 1756. National Portrait Gallery

PLATE XXXIII

Dr. Johnson, mezzotint, by J. Watson after Reynolds, 1769

PLATE XXXIV

Dr. Johnson, painting, by Sir J. Reynolds, 1778(?). Tate Gallery