

III. *Observations on the Heraldic Devices discovered on the Effigies of Richard the Second and his Queen in Westminster Abbey, and upon the Mode in which those Ornaments were executed; including some Remarks on the surname Plantagenet, and on the Ostrich Feathers of the Prince of Wales.* By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.

Read 4th June, 1840.

THE volume of Monumental Effigies, drawn and engraved by Mr. Charles Alfred Stothard, F.S.A. the late draughtsman to the Society, is so generally known and so highly appreciated wherever known, that it is only necessary, in order to introduce the subject of the following remarks, to remind the reader that it was left imperfect, in consequence of the author's sudden death, from a lamentable accident which occurred in the pursuit of his congenial profession. It was a part of Mr. Stothard's plan to have included in his work a complete series of the effigies of the Kings and Queens of this country; and for that purpose he visited France, and brought from Fontevraud his drawings of the statues of Henry the Second and his Queen, of Richard the First, and of Isabella Queen of John; and from the Abbey of L'Esperance, near le Mans, the effigy of Berengaria, Queen of Richard I., as well as the figure of Geoffrey, Comte of Anjou, from an enamelled Plate in the church of St. Julien at le Mans. There were others, however, and those by no means inferior to any in beauty or interest, which had been left, perhaps from the very reason of their being within immediate reach, until some convenient opportunity, which was frustrated by the premature close of the artist's career. I allude particularly to those^a of Queen Philippa, King Richard the Second, and his Queen Anne of Bohemia, all in Westminster Abbey.

^a Mr. Stothard also intended to have included in his work all the knightly effigies in the Temple church. Those he omitted will be given by the Messrs. Hollis.

The task of completing Mr. Stothard's design has been recently adopted by Mr. George Hollis (the son-in-law of Mr. John Buckler, F.S.A.), and his son Mr. Thomas Hollis : and among the objects of their earliest attention have been the royal effigies just named. In the course of making his drawings from the monument of Richard the Second, Mr. Thomas Hollis discovered that the robes of the effigies, and the platform or bed upon which they are placed, are ornamented with various patterns, punctured upon the metal, which had become so entirely concealed by the accumulated dirt of centuries that they were at length forgotten and unknown.

This discovery is interesting in two respects ; both on account of the various devices developed, the history of which forms a curious branch of heraldic investigation ; and also from the peculiar, and at the same time very beautiful manner in which they are impressed.

The minute and elaborate finish, which is characteristic of the works of ancient artists, cannot escape observation. It is very evident in their illuminated miniatures, where the patterns of the dresses of the persons represented are often clearly made out, together with those of the tapestry and other accessories ; whilst sometimes, and even in outdoor scenes, the whole background, where modern artists lightly sketch their sky and clouds, is occupied by a diapered pattern, very minutely delineated. In like manner it was usual to embellish with patterns the fields and larger ordinaries of armorial shields. In short, no portion of a design was left unadorned with elaborate workmanship.

Having adverted to this characteristic of the arts of our ancestors, I will merely, by way of further preface, point out the prevalent custom of forming the patterns of furniture, plate, tapestry, and dresses from devices—heraldic devices as we should now term them, allusive to the particular person or family for whom they were intended. This circumstance, again, will be familiar to those who are conversant with old illuminations ; and that such pictures are accurate representations of the dresses and furniture which were in general use among the great, is evident upon the perusal of any of our collections of ancient wills and inventories, as well as from portions of painting still remaining on some sepulchral effigies.^a

^a See the note on Fret-work towards the close of this paper.

In 1375 the Black Prince bequeathed to his son Richard his hangings for a hall, embroidered with mermen, and a border of red and black impaled, embroidered with swans having lady's heads, and ostrich feathers: to his wife, the Princess, he bequeathed a hall of red worsted, embroidered with eagles and griffins, with a border of swans having lady's heads; and to Mons. Aleyne Cheyne a bed of camoca, powdered with blue eagles. In 1385, Joan Princess of Wales bequeathed "To my dear son, the King, my new bed of red velvet, embroidered with ostrich feathers of silver, and heads of leopards of gold, with boughs and leaves issuing out of their mouths." Edward, Earl of March, in 1380, bequeathed to his son and heir, "our large bed of black satin, embroidered with white lions and gold roses, with escutcheons of the arms of Mortimer and Ulster;" and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1397, bequeathed to the altar of St. Paul's cathedral "his great bed of cloth of gold, the champepiers powdered with golden roses, placed upon pipes of gold, and in each pipe two white ostrich feathers;" and again, to his daughter the Duchess of Exeter, his "white bed of silk, with blue eagles displayed." In 1415, Edward, Duke of York, bequeathed to his wife "my bed of feathers and leopards, with the furniture appertaining to the same; also my white and red tapestry of garters, fetter-locks, and falcons."^b

Bequests of articles of dress, being neither so appropriate nor of so much value as beds and furniture, or plate and jewellery, are not frequent in the wills of persons of high rank. In that of Robert, Earl of Suffolk, in 1368, we find mentioned together, "my bed with the eagle, and my summer vestment, powdered with leopards," by which, perhaps, the summer bed-furniture was intended.^c We are not, however, destitute of instances of ornamented dresses, more immediately illustrative of the royal robes before us.

Two ladies, engraved ^d in Strutt's *Dresses*, vol. II. plates xcvi. and xcvi. have their robes powdered with swans, with wings erect. They are both copied from a French MS. in the Royal Collection, 15 D III. which is a superbly illuminated copy of the *Histoire Scholastique*, or *Scholastic Bible*.

Ashmole, in his *History of the Order of the Garter*,^e tells us that at

^b Nichols's *Royal and Noble Wills*. Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*.

^c *Ibid*.

^d Also in Shaw's "*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*,"

1840, Part 5.

^e P. 213.

the time of instituting the order, and for a long time after, the vestments were garnished or powdered all over with little garters, embroidered with silk and gold plate, with buckles, and pendants of silver gilt. Of these there were laid upon the first surcoat and hood, made for the royal Founder, no less than 168. In King Richard the Second's reign, the little garters which then adorned the surcoats of the Sovereign and Knights Companions, were wrought in embroidery upon blue taffaty, with Cyprus gold, and silk of divers colours, and letters of gold.

This fashion of the robes of the Garter was continued to the reign of Henry the Sixth, when the surcoat and hood of the King took 173, and those of the King of Portugal 120 Garters; but it went out of use shortly after.

A representation of a Knight, attired in this original robe of the Garter, will be seen in Strutt's *Dresses*, vol. II. pl. cviii. it being the figure of Sir Nigel Loring, one of the first knights of the order, and a benefactor to the Abbey of St. Alban's, commemorated and depicted in a Register of the monastery, now the Cottonian MS. Nero D. vii; and another instance is that of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, presenting the volume now the Royal MS. 15 E VI. to Margaret, Queen of Henry the Sixth, engraved in Strutt's *Royal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pl. xliii., in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, and in Mr. Planché's interesting little volume on *British Costume*, p. 191.^f In the series of portraitures of the Sovereign and first twenty-five knights, engraved in Ashmole's *History of the Order*, p. 642, the artist, who was apparently of a century at least after the time, has given them the modern mantles with the badge only on the left shoulder, but he has represented several of their turban-like hoods as sprinkled with garters, though not all, his aim evidently being to make as much variety as could be allowed in their head-attires.

The preceding remarks have been made in illustration of the fashion of forming an heraldic badge or charge into the running pattern of state robes, a practice which we have already found described by the contemporary term "powdering." The same term, or *poudré*, was formerly used by the

^f Still more perfectly, since this Paper was written, in Shaw's "*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.*"

heralds in blazonry, in cases where they now employ the terms *semée*, or sown, and *mis par tout*.

I will now proceed to notice in succession the several devices with which the robes of the Effigies before us are adorned. The robes of the King are powdered or strewn with three badges, the White Hart, the Broom Plant, and the Rising Sun. Among them are intermixed the letters *ṛ* and *ā*, the initials of Richard and Anne. The borders of the robes are ornamented with elegant patterns minutely delineated, the principal being a running scroll of the Broom-plant; at the foot are two rows of ermine spots, and the hood is also lined with ermine, but the inner sides of the mantle are plain. The badges on the mantle are interwoven with running lines of flowers or small leaves, in a manner so nearly resembling a curious painting of Richard the Second which is now preserved in the Earl of Pembroke's collection at Wilton, that, before I proceed further, I shall take some notice of that picture.

It is painted on two tablets, and Hollar engraved it in two plates in the year 1639; but the two when viewed together form but one design. The King is kneeling in prayer to the Virgin and her Son; behind him stand the three saints, John the Baptist, Edward the Confessor, and Edmund the King. Behind and around the Virgin are eleven angels. King Richard is here attired in a gown powdered with White Harts, which are interlaced with Broom-cods running in the same manner as the interlacing foliage on the mantle of his Effigy. He wears round his neck a collar of Broom-cods; and on his left shoulder is his badge of the White Hart. But what is more extraordinary is, that each of the eleven angels wears a similar collar and a similar badge. It must be remarked that the pendant to the collar in front, in every case, is formed of two of the Broom-cods only; and that the King, as well as the angels, wears the White Hart, as a badge, on his shoulder, not as a pendant to the collar, as was misapprehended by Anstis.^g It was this picture which furnished a subject of discussion to Walpole in connexion

^g Register of the Order of the Garter, vol. i. p. 112; and also in p. 110. Anstis was here writing of collars, and he did not sufficiently bear in mind that the badge, *stigma*, mark, sign, or cognizance was another thing. He followed the verses under Hollar's print, in which it is erroneously said, "*Pendulus est albus cervus*," &c. Anstis, in turn, is followed by Mr. Beltz, who states that the White Hart was "pendent from a collar," in his Notices of Collars of the King's Livery, Retrospective Review, new series, vol. ii. p. 501.

with the alleged discovery of oil-painting by Van Eyck ;^h but it was proved to be painted in water-colours, on an examination by T. Phillips, Esq. R.A. as is noticed in Britton's *Beauties of Wiltshire*. It formerly belonged to the Royal Collection, but is said to have been given away by King James the Second to Lord Castlemaine, about the time he went Ambassador to Rome, after whose death it was purchased by the Earl of Pembroke, and added to the Collection at Wilton.

THE BADGE OF THE WHITE HART was the most favourite device of King Richard, and it was that which he used for the cognizance which was profusely distributed among his courtiers and immediate dependants. It has been suggested with much apparent probability that he adopted it from the White Hind which is stated to have been borne by his mother the Fair Maid of Kentⁱ, and which was certainly used by the Holands, the sons of her first marriage.^k The author of the *Alliterative Poem*, which has been edited by Mr. Wright for the Camden Society, reproaching the unfortunate Richard, reminds him that

First at your anointing all were your own,
Both Harts and Hinds, and held of none other.

The writer of the *Life of Richard*, edited by Hearne, states that the badge of the White Hart was first given at the time of the Tournament held in Smithfield in 1396 for the entertainment of the Count of St. Pol and the Count of Ostrevandt :—

^h In reference to this subject, see a paper by the present writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1840, vol. xiv. p. 489, relative to a picture in the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, which was assigned by Walpole to Van Eyck, and supposed to represent the family of Lord de Clifford, but regarding which, Mr. Waagen has pronounced that "Jan Van Eyck is quite out of the question," and which is shown (*ubi supra*) to be the portraits of Sir John Donne and his wife Elizabeth, sister to Lord Hastings, temp. Edw. IV. They wear the collar of that King's livery, formed of alternate roses and suns, with a white lion sejant as a pendant.

ⁱ "The bagens that he [the King] beareth by the Faire Maide of Kent, is a Whyte Hynde." *Collectanea Top. et Geneal.* vol. iii. p. 55, from MS. Harl. 4632, written in the time of Henry VIII.; but the same MS. attributes the White Hind to Queen Philippa (*Ibid.* p. 53.), and so does the MS. L. 14, in *Coll. Arm.* f. 27, b.

^k In Sandford's *Genealogical History*, 1677, p. 124, will be seen the seal of Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent, where his shield is suspended from the neck of a *Hind*, lodged or seated, and collared with a coronet.

“Ubi datum erat primo signum vel stigma illud egregium cum Cervo Albo, cum corona et cathena aurea.”

But it is less probable that the White Hart was first given¹ on that occasion, than that it was then brought into conspicuous notice by being displayed upon all the housings and accoutrements of the English knights who took part in the tournament, as the accounts given by Walsingham and in the *Polychronicon* state that it was. Indeed, as Anstis has pointed out (though with a wrong date, as it belongs to Richard's sixth^m and not his ninth year), there is a document in Rymer some years earlier in date, which enumerates various crown jewels pawned to the Corporation of London, among which occur three brooches in the form of White Harts, set with rubies. It should, however, be added that in this document the White Hart does not come prominently forward, for there were more brooches of other patterns; as, of twenty-three in the whole, four were worked with a Griffon in the middle, five were in the form of White Dogs, one great one with four Blue Boars, four in the form of Eagles, three in the form of White Harts, and six in the form of Keys. Still there is ample evidence that the White Hart was made very conspicuous on occasion of the Tournament already mentioned, and it is remarkable that a passage has been foundⁿ in the household-book of Richard's great adversary the Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry the Fourth) for that very year, recording the expenditure of 40s. for the embroidering of two sleeves of red velvet and a pair of plates of the same suit, with the *Harts*

¹ The devise of “le Cerf volant, couronné d'or au col,” had been adopted ten years before, viz. in 1380, by Charles VI. of France, according to his historian, Juvenal des Ursins; who connects it with a legendary story of the collar having been placed upon the Hart in its youth by Julius Cæsar; which legend is also related by Upton and by him located in Windsor Forest, at the stone called Besaunteston near Bagshot. (Nic. Upton de Studio Militari, 1654, p. 159.) The same legendary beast was adopted as a supporter by the family of Pompei in Italy in token of their allegiance to the Emperor, with the initials N. M. T. alluding to the inscription on the collar of the original Hart, NEMO ME TANGAT, CÆSARIS SVM. (Anstis, Register of the Garter, i. 113, from Menestrier, Ornem. des Armes, p. 118.) Froissart ascribes the origin of the *flying* hart of Charles VI. to a dream of the king, the story of which occupies his civth chapter. It was represented *winged*, as it appears in the engraved title of the *Compendium Roberti Gaguini super Francorum Gestis*. Paris, fol. 1504.

^m See Rymer's *Fœdera*, edit. 1740, vol. III. part iii. p. 140.

ⁿ Anstis, i. 14.

of the *King's livery*. And it is very probable that it was about that time that Richard adopted the impolitic system of distributing these favours so extensively as tokens of adherence (they went by the popular name of signs), thereby fomenting divisions, and endeavouring to form a private and personal party in that realm, the whole population of which he ought to have endeavoured to cherish with an impartial and parental regard. This grand political error is forcibly exposed by the poet already referred to. He expresses his ignorance

What kin's counsel that the King had
Or moved him most to *mark* his lieges,
Or to serve them with *signs*, that swarmed so thick
Throughout his land in length and in breadth,
That who so had hobbled thro' holts and towns
Or y-passed the paths there the prince dwelt,
Of *Harts* or *Hinds* on hassels' breasts,
Or some lord's livery that the law stried,
He should have y-met more than enow,
For they incumber'd the country, and many curse served.

* * *

They plucked the plomayle from the poor skins,
And shewed their *signs*, for men should dread
To ask any amends for their misdeeds ;
Thus *liveries* o'erlook'd your lieges each one,
For those that had *Harts* on high on their breasts,
For the more party, I may well avow,
They bare them the bolder for their gay brooches
And bushed * with their breasts, and bare down the poor
Lieges that loved you (the King) the less for their evil deeds ;
So, truth to tell, as townsmen said,
For one that you *marked*, you missed ten score
Of homely *hearts*, that the harme hente ;
Then was it folly, in faith as me thinketh
To set silver in signs, that of nought served.

* * *

And so, in sooth, the season was past
For *Harts* y-headed so high and so noble.

I must not quit this part of the subject without adverting to the varieties of this favourite device of Richard the Second, which have been observed in

* A pun, as presumed, on the name of Sir John Bushy, one of Richard's favourites.

that most noble monument of him, and indeed of his whole race, the great Hall at Westminster. It is well known that the string-course which runs round the Hall is adorned with large sculptured ornaments; which are, generally speaking, the royal crest of a Lion, and the badge of a Hart, placed alternately. The Hart is usually lodged on a single row of nebulée (as he once occurs on the effigy before us) with ornamental foliage springing from behind, which foliage is sometimes oak with acorns, sometimes a rose-bush, or it terminates in fleurs-de-lis. In one instance the Hart is placed in a four-wheeled cart, as if on his way to the chase; in another he is pulled down by dogs; ° in a third he is lodged, the end of his chain being held up by a "woodhouse" or wild man, who bears a club over his shoulder. Such were the conceits by which our old artists avoided monotony, and sustained the interest of spectators. It has been remarked by Mr. Willement^p that in the whole series especial care has been taken to distinguish the *crest* from the *badge*; the lion invariably being placed upon a helmet. And here it may be added that we are in no case to regard the White Hart as a *supporter* ^q in the modern acceptation of that term. Some old heraldic writer of the 16th century ^r has asserted that "King Ric. II. forsoke the two antelops for his beasts, and toke two White Harts bearing up the arms with their backs." Such a design the writer had no doubt seen, and it was one truly accordant with the elegant taste of the artists of the period; but animals so placed cannot be considered as supporters in the modern sense, any more than in another instance at Westminster Hall, where the royal shield is held by demi-angels and the stag is placed below. It was not for some time after that the usage commenced of supporting arms by two beasts, or human figures, placed erect on either side the shield. As for the Antelope which, according to this statement, Richard "forsoke," it was first adopted as a royal beast by King Henry the Fourth.

Before quitting the subject of the White Hart, it should be remarked that I have forborne to quote much that has been previously collected regarding its

° A very curious instance of the Device of the Hart lodged within a paling occurs on a piece of sculpture recently sent from Venice to Henry Howard, esq. of Corby, an Account of which will be found in the present volume of Archæologia.

^p Collectanea Top. et Geneal. iii. 55.

^q As Anstis does, i. 113.

^r MS. Harl. 2259, quoted by Willement.

use, as well in the reign of Richard the Second and in those of his successors.^s

THE BROOM PLANT is a well-known cognisance, alluding, according to common opinion, to the supposed surname of our ancient Kings. I say the supposed surname, for I am not aware that any satisfactory answer has been given to the remark made on that subject by Anstis, in his Introduction to the Register of the Order of the Garter; where, alluding to the verses placed under Hollar's engravings of the Wilton picture, already described, he terms it the "sobriquet" of Plantagenet, not allowing it to have been the surname of our Kings; who, he says, "like those of France, and other ancient monarchs, had no peculiar name; and even Richard the Second was, before his accession to the throne, and after his abdication, styled of Bourdeaux, the place of his nativity, which was the most customary method of denominating the children of the Crown. I shall," he adds, "postpone the proofs of this matter, 'till I consider the case of Arthur Plantagenet, Knight of the Order."^t To the portion of his work here alluded to, the author never arrived, and we are, therefore, deprived of his proofs." It may be presumed that he would have endeavoured to show that Plantagenet was a

^s See particularly in the notes to Anstis, p. 113, *et seq.* several curious extracts from records relative to the making and presenting of the cognisance to various persons both at home and abroad; and Willement's Regal Heraldry, p. 20. In the third volume of the Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer (published by the Record Commission, 1836), among the Jewels, Plate, &c. in the hands of the Crown in the 1st Hen. IV. formerly belonging to King Richard, &c. will be found at p. 356, "un Cerf couchant southe un arbre, les cornes et l'arbre appairaillez de xxvij perles, poisant vii unc." A golden reindeer was of the same weight, ornamented with a sapphire and pearls. Before, at p. 328, is a cup (*hanape*), the cover of which was of silver gilt, with pinnacles and turrets, and surrounded by White Harts and other beasts, lying on a green stage; and at p. 350, a large spice plate, *curiosement arraiez*, having a cover bearing a Hart, richly adorned with stones and pearls, and its foot garnished with leopards and damsels. This was made at Paris by Assyn de Bellon.

^t Anstis, i. 115.

^u On this point Camden had previously left his opinion, expressed with remarkable earnestness and decision: when speaking of "Cognomina, or Sobriquetts, as the French call them, and By-names, or Nick-names, as we term them (if that word be indifferent to good and bad) which still *did die with the bearer, and never descended to posterity* So, in the

name upon which a sober existence was first conferred on the birth of Arthur, the bastard of Edward the Fourth, afterwards Viscount Lisle, in the same way as that of Longespé (previously a soubriquet of his ancestors^x) was given to a son of Henry the Second, and became the hereditary name of his descendants.

That Plantagenet was the cognomen of the father of King Henry the Second, Geoffrey Count of Anjou, who is also sometimes called Pulcher, or le Bel, there is ample testimony in the Chroniclers. He is called by both names by Gervase of Tilbury,^y who was nearly a contemporary; and he is termed Plantagenest in the Chronicle of Geoffrey, monk of St. Martial at Limoge, and Prior of Vigeois,^z who wrote in 1183; in the Chronicon Turonense,^a compiled early in the thirteenth century; and in the Opusc. de Origine Comitum Andegav. throughout.^b But the same authorities do not ascribe the name of Plantagenet to King Henry;^c on the contrary, he is

house of Anjou, which obtained the crown of England, Geffrey the first Earl of Anjou was surnamed Grisogonel, that is Gray-cloake; Fulco, his son, Nerra; his grandchild Rechin, for his extortion. Again his grandchild *Plantagenet*, for that he wore commonly a broome-stalke in his bonnet. So that, whereas these names were never taken up by the sons, *I know not why any should think Plantagenet to be the surname of the Royall House of England*, albeit in late years many have so accounted it. Neither is it less strange, why so many should thinke *Theodore*, or *Tydyur*, as they contract it, to be the surname of the Princes of this Realme since King Henry the Seventh; for, &c. To seek therefore the ancient surnames of the Royall and most ancient families of Europe, is to seek that which never was." Camden's Remaines, chapter on Surnames.

^x It is given to William Duke of Normandy, who died in 948; to a son of King Stephen, and a son of the Empress Maud. It is further remarkable that all of these were named William.

^y Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, vol. xiv. p. 14.

^z Ibid. xii. 432, 438. The latter passage is as follows: Gaufredus cognomento *Plantagenest*, de Mathilde genuit Henricum regem, Guillerum cognomento *la Maspa*, et Gaufredum."

^a Ibid. pp. 471, 474; at the former of which pages the same parties are described as "Henricum qui postea fuit rex Angliæ, et Guillelmum Longam-Spatam, et Gaufridum *Plantagenest*."

^b Ibid. p. 534 et seq.

^c This error (if such it be) runs through the best modern historians. Lord Lyttelton and Henry both commence with the words Henry Plantagenet; and Rapin prefixes to the reign the title, "Henry II. Sirnam'd Plantagenet." Though not adopted by Hume, nor by Mr. Sharon Turner, it is by Dr. Lingard. It was not, however, committed by

stated to have had the surname of Curtmantel,^d and his brother Geoffrey, Count of Nantes, the name of Martel.^e

What authority there is for Camden's assertion, that Geoffrey, the father, was called "*Plantagenet*, for that he wore commonly a broome-stalke in his bonnet," does not appear; but there is no question that Sandford was quite mistaken when he stated^f that, on the great seal of Richard I. g "his helmet is adorned with the *Planta Genista*, or Broom-stalk." This has been entirely disproved, on the inspection of better impressions,^h and the object which led to the supposition proves to be a crest formed of straight rods of iron, or some other material.

Holinshed, or Speed, or Stowe, or Sir Richard Baker; and in Milles's Catalogue of Honour, fol. 1610, and Ralph Brooke's Catalogue of the Kings, &c. fol. 1619, he is more correctly "sur-named *Short-mantle*." Sandford falls into it throughout, but not so Dugdale, unless by occasional inadvertence, and the Dukes of York are even indexed under the name of Coningsburgh. It may here be remarked, that the natural brother of King Henry, the progenitor of the second race of the Earls Warren, is also generally called Hameline Plantagenet, but equally without sufficient authority; as Watson, in his Memoirs of the Earls of Warren, quotes no contemporary document concerning him in which he is styled otherwise than Hameline Earl of Warren. With the like want of authority some authors (following Godwin) have given the name of Plantagenet to Geoffrey bastard son of Henry II. bishop elect of Lincoln and afterwards archbishop of York.

^d Bromton, after recording the death of Henry II. states that his body was so deserted and robbed during the confusion and license that usually took place on such occasions, "*ut diu nudum jaceret, donec puer quidam inferiores corporis partes pallio brevi contegeret. Et tunc videbatur cognomen ejus adimpletum, quo ab infantia vocabatur Henricus Curtmantell, nam iste primus omnium curta mantella ab Andegavia in Angliam transvexit.*" The same statements are repeated by Knyghton. (Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, cols. 1150, 2400.)

^e This name affords another instance of the same Christian name being repeatedly connected with the same cognomen or soubriquet. The father of Fulke IV. (Rechin) Count of Anjou, and his son, the uncle of Geoffrey Plantagenest, were both Geoffrey Martel.

^f *Genealogical History*, 1677, p. 73.

^g The cognomen of Richard the First, Cœur de Lion, is better known than almost any of these distinctions. But perhaps it was not applied to him until after his death.

^h The seal in question is not that engraved in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, where the helmet is perfectly plain; but Richard's *second* seal. The crest is very remarkable, being a lion or leopard, encircled by a radius of lines as mentioned in the text. "*Quant à moi, j'y verrois tout au plus des brins de baleine, si ce n'est même des piquants de fer, attendu la roideur et l'arrangement symétrique de ce singulier ornement.*" *Dissertation sur les Sceaux de Richard-Cœur-de-Lion*, par Achille Deville. 4to, 1828, p. 16.

It must be admitted, however, that the time at length arrived when Plantagenet was adopted as a surname by the royal family of England; but this was not until the days of the house of York, the last branch of the race. It re-appears on the page of contemporary evidence in the pedigree which Richard Duke of York laid before the Parliament, when claiming the inheritance of the Crown, on the 16th Oct. 1460; but it is there applied to that prince only, and not to his ancestors, who are each named after their birth-place.ⁱ In one other instance only it has been discovered during the reign of Edward the Fourth^j; with the exception of its use, as applied to that monarch's illegitimate son, the Viscount Lisle, already alluded to. It may be remarked, that Arthur Plantagenet had a crest assigned to him allusive to his surname; namely, A *genet*^k party per pale sable and argent, betwixt two *broom-stalks* blossomed proper.^l

ⁱ Thus—"Edward his first begoten son Prince of Wales, William Hatfeld second begoten, Leonell [it is *not* added "of Antwerp,"] third begoten Duc of Clarence, John of Gaunte fourthe begoten Duc of Lancastre, Edmond Langley fyft gotten Duc of York, Thomas Wodestok sixt gotten Duc of Gloucestre, and William Wyndesore the seventh gotten;" then, after tracing the family of Mortimer,—“the seid Anne, under the sacrament of matrymony copled unto Richard Erle of Cambrigge, the son of the seid Edmond Langley, had issue and lefully bare Richard *Plantagenet* commonly called Duc of York.” The name Richard Plantagenet, sometimes with the title of Duke of York, and sometimes without, is frequently repeated in subsequent parts of the same document. See Rot. Parl. vol. v. pp. 375, 377, 378. It may be remarked that *no other* surname is elsewhere assigned to the Duke of York, nor does the place of his birth appear to be recorded; whilst his father was called Richard of Coningsburgh: in the proceedings relative to his attainder he is styled “Ricardus Comes Cantebrigg’ de Conesburgh in com’ Ebor’ Chivaler;” see Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 64.

^j This is with reference to the creation of Edward Earl of Salisbury, the son of Richard Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.), who is called “our dear nephew, Edward *Plantagenet*.”—Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. IV. p. 2, m. 16, printed in Appendix V. to the Peerage Reports, p. 413.

^k This *genet* (which was introduced as alluding, or heraldically *canting*, on the name,) is described by Favyn as an animal nearly resembling the polecat, and approaching in size to the cats of Spain. It will be seen represented in his work, p. 514, where he gives an account of an Order of the Genette, said to have been founded by Charles Martel in the year 726.

^l So blazoned by Sandford. The garter-plate of Arthur Viscount Lisle remains at Windsor, where the genet stands on a chapeau marked with a great A in the front, and the broom-plants rise behind.

There is, therefore, some reason to conclude, that the name of Plantagenet owes its *revival* to the house of York ;^m by which its use, as expressive of hereditary claims, may be supposed to have been felt, with a force not before conceived. At all events, we are destitute at present of any proof that Richard the Second conceived his surname to be Plantagenet, or that he adopted the *broom-cod* for one of his badges, with reference to that name.

The Broom-plant had been for centuries a favourite emblem in France, and we have positive proof that it formed the collar of the royal livery given by Charles V. and Charles VI. An order of this name is stated by Favynⁿ to have been founded so early as 1234 by Saint Louis, on the coronation of his Queen Margaret of Provence, with the motto *Exaltat humiles*, the Founder accounting it emblematic of humility ; and Favyn quotes, from the Life of that monarch, written by Guillaume de Nangis, an account of the creation of *militēs Genestellæ* in the year 1267. A century later, Charles V. of France granted to Geoffrey de Belleville his Chambellan, in 1368, to wear the *collier de la cosse de geneste* in all feasts and companies.^o In 1389 Charles VI. made his kinsmen the King of Sicily and the Prince of Tarentum knights of the Star and of the Cosse de Geneste ; and it is very remarkable that, in 1393, he sent the collars of Broom-cods to Richard II. and his uncles. His goldsmith, John Compere, was ordered to make for the King of England a collar in this form, to be of two twisted stalks, interlaced with *cosses de geneste*, alternated with fifty letters hanging to the stalks, which formed the word JAMES (*jamais*) ten times repeated ; the broom-cods were to be enamelled alternately green and white, and thickly set with pearls. Three other like collars, the pearls only being of somewhat less value, were made for the Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of York ; the

^m It may be noticed, in further proof of the more correct ideas formerly prevailing on this subject, that Sam. Daniel, in his long poem on the Civil War, never introduces the high-sounding name of Plantagenet,—except in a note, where he states correctly that Richard Earl of Cambridge “ had issue by Anne, Richard (*surnamed Plantagenet*) after Duke of York.” And so Shakspeare in the Third Part of King Henry VI. though he uses the name continually, still confines it *personally* to “ Plantagenet, Duke of York.”

ⁿ Le Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie, ou Histoire des Ordres Militaires. Par André Favyn. 4to. Paris, 1620, p. 583.

^o Ibid. p. 586.

whole cost more than 830 francs.^p It will, however, be perceived that the design of this collar does not correspond with that so often repeated in the Wilton pictures (as already mentioned in p. 36); and therefore the French and English collars, though similar, were not identical. Three French collars were remaining among the crown jewels, after the accession of Henry IV. and we find them then particularly described as of the livery of the King of France.^q Two collars of broom-cods occur in the inventory of Henry the

^p The following is the description at length of the collar to be made for King Richard : “ l’un partit au Collier du Roy, pour le Roy d’Angleterre, cest a scavoir iceluy Collier fait en facon de deux gros tuyaux ronds, et entre iceux tuyaux *Cosse de Geneste* double entretenans par les queues, et autour d’icellui sur les cosses fait neuf potences, autour chacune de neuf grosses perles, et l’entre deux d’icelles potences autour du dit Collier a cinquante lettres d’or pendant a l’un d’iceux tuyaux, qui font par dix fois le mot du Roy, IAMES, et au devant d’icelui Collier, à un gros balay quarré, environné de huit grosses perles, pereilles aux perles du Collier du Roy, et au deniere a deux cosses en forme de genestes, ouvertes, emallées, l’un de blanche, l’autre de vert, et a dedans chacune l’icelles cosses trois grosses perles, et les dits tuyaux poinsonnéz de branches, fleurs, et cosses de geneste.” (Quoted by Anstis from Hist. des Ordres Religieux, viii. 278.) This description agrees with the collar worn by a herald standing by the side of Charles VI. in a picture seen by Menestrier at Ingolstad, and described by him in his Art de Blason, Lyon 1671, 12mo. p. 97; but it is wholly different from the collar given for the order de la Cosse de Geneste, by Favyn, and of course by his English copyists, Ashmole, Hugh Clark, &c. Their collar is composed of fleurs-de-lis in lozenges, and broom-flowers alternately, and Ashmole, in fact, calls it the order of the Broom-flower; but *cosse* is the same with the modern orthography *gousse*, and signifies *cod*. It may be remarked that a large majority of the collars represented for those of the ancient chivalric orders, are equally valueless, being designed from the draughtsman’s own notions (as historical portraits used to be), not derived from any contemporary authority.

At Poissi was still preserved in the time of Menestrier, a pall semé of broom, with the motto James : “ A Poissi on conserve encore dans le Monastere des Religieuses de l’Ordre de S. Dominique un Poële à mettre sur le tombeau de Madame Marie de France sœur du Roy, qui est semé de *plantes de genest*, avec ce mot en lettres Gothiques *James*.” La Devise du Roy Justifiée, 4to. 1679, p. 75.

^q “ —j. coler d’or du livre du Roi de Franceye ove i. bone baleys quarré perentre bones perles rondes ove vi. autres bones perles einz deux *cos de jenestres*, pois’ xiii. unc. i. quart.— Un colare del livre du Roi de Fraunce, cont’ ix. overages de *genestes* garnisez de iiii. baleys, iii. saphirs, xxvi. perles, poisant vi unc. et di.—Item, un coler d’or de mesme la livre plein, pois’ ii. unc. et di.” Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer, iii. 354, 357.

Fifth's jewels, made after his death ;^r and Henry VI. in the fourth year of his reign ordered a collar to be made for himself, of the letter S and broom-cods combined. Robes worked *cum ramis de Brome* are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of the latter.^t

THE RISING SUN, the third badge delineated on the King's robe, is stated by old authorities to have been one of the badges of Edward the Third ;^u whilst elsewhere we are told that the Black Prince adopted a Sun rising from the clouds ;^v and it certainly seems a device very expressive of the condition of an heir apparent. Ashmole quotes from the Wardrobe Roll of the 21st Edw. III. a charge for "forty of these clouds, embroidered with gold, silver, and silk, having in the middle the Saxon letter E of gold, provided to trim several garments made for the King, and garnished with stars." This was in the year after the battle of Crecy, and it was a pleasing hypothesis to entertain that the King wore his son's badge to do him honour ; but it will be perceived that the description of this badge, namely, clouds garnished, that is, probably, powdered or sprinkled with stars, does not entirely agree with the badge before us, of a sun or rays of light rising from clouds. Richard the Second is stated by some of the authorities before quoted, to have adopted the whole sun, or sun in splendour,^w and such a sun is displayed upon the main sail of the vessel, in which he is represented returning from Ireland, in the 7th Illumination accompanying the French poem, edited by Mr. Webb, in the XXth volume of the *Archæologia*. How-

^r Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. pp. 220. 225.

^t See the quotations in Anstis, vol. i. p. 116.

^u In the curious vellum folio of heraldry, prepared for the use of Arthur Prince of Wales, and now the MS. Vincent 152 in the College of Arms, at f. 51, is a banner ascribed to Edward III., Party per pale, the dexter side Azure, semé of fleurs-de-lis, and in the centre this badge of golden rays rising from clouds ; the sinister Gules, an ostrich feather argent, crowned or, fixed in a scroll inscribed *Hic diem*.

^v Mr. Webb, in *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 106.

^w In Prince Arthur's book, the same page as above, King Richard's banner is Party of the two cognizances, the Sun in splendour and the White Hart. Among his plate was a basin adorned at the bottom with a sun, and the arms of the King and Queen ; and a cup, with a cover engraved " en manere de la solaille." Inv. of the Exchequer, iii. 322, 327.

ever, it is clear from the statue before us, that at the time when Richard erected this monument in Westminster Abbey, the rising sun was accounted one of his customary badges.* It appears, with three others, the crowned rose, the crowned fleur-de-lis, and the crowned rose-in-sun, on the orfreys or embroidered front of the habit of the Prelate of the Garter, engraved in Ashmole's History of that Order, p. 234. This is one of a set of figures designed in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

It is now high time to turn to the devices found upon THE EFFIGY OF QUEEN ANNE. Her coat or bodice is covered with a flowered pattern, intermixed with the letters **ṛ** and **ḡ** crowned. On her gown are the same letters linked together, and also crowned; but the largest figures are alternations of a peculiarly formed knot, of which no other example has been found, and the badge of the Ostrich, collared and chained, and holding in its beak a nail. About both the two last are small sprigs or leaves, which there is reason to suppose are those of the linden or lime, which was used by the house of Bohemia. The same leaves are added to the White Harts on the King's robe; they form the running border of the Queen's mantle, and they are sprinkled over the latter, together with crowned **Ḃ**'s and **Ṛ**'s, which differ from the letters before mentioned, in being capitals, and of a much larger size.

The only English authority, recording this BADGE OF THE OSTRICH, that occurred to Mr. Willement during his researches in Regal Heraldry, was a passage in Camden's Remaines, which was evidently derived immediately from the effigies before us, and which shall now be quoted. "Richard the Second used commonly a White Hart couchant, with a crown and chain about his neck. For wearing the which some, after his deposition, lost their lives. He also used a pescod branch, with the cods open, but the pease out,

* Here, again, he appears to have followed the example of the contemporary French monarch, for it is stated that this same badge was taken by Charles VI. on his marriage with Isabel of Bavaria, in 1385.—Willement, p. 18, quoting MS. Cotton, Nero, D. II. f. 483 b; and Menestrier, Devise du Roy justifiée, p. 75: "Charles VII. fit la Devise d'un ray de Soleil, comme son pere, qui l'a prit en son mariage avec Isabeau de Baviere, comme Froisart a remarqué, et il y ajouta un S. Michel, comme on void en de vieilles Tapisseries de ce temps-là."

as it is upon his robe in his monument at Westminster. His wife Anne, sister to Wincelous the Emperour, bare an Ostrich, with a nayle in his beake." No representation of the Bohemian Ostrich was found in this country by Mr. Willement, and it is highly probable that Camden's authority for it was no other than the Queen's effigy.^y It is noticed by Mr. Willement, on the authority of Thiel, that "a white ostrich, issuing from a crown, and holding in its beak a horse-shoe, is the proper crest of the Kingdom of Hungary." This is merely observable as a parallel device; and it may be added, that an ostrich, holding a horseshoe in her beak, is the armorial coat of Mac Mahon, of Ireland, that it was one of the supporters of the Pastons, Earls of Yarmouth, and that it occurs in the crests of Coke, Digby, Wallace, and some other English families. The family of Lindsey has for crest an ostrich holding a key in its beak, and that of Proby the head and neck of an ostrich, also holding a key.

The Bohemian Ostrich, instead of rising from a crown, stands erect, collared and chained, and the article in his beak is a nail. The nail, key, and horseshoe were alike suggested by the fabulous powers of digestion which were formerly attributed to this bird, and which were considered emblematic of the appetite of a valiant warrior for the cold iron of the battle field. A foreign writer, speaking of the battle of Poitiers, where he is supposed to have been present, says, that there many a hero, *like the ostrich*, was obliged to digest both iron and steel, or to overcome in death the sensations inflicted by the spear and the arrow. It has further been remarked (by Mr. Planché, in his History of British Costume,) that the German name for an ostrich, *Strauss*, was used also in the sense of "a fight, combat, or scuffle;" and in these double significations, there would be sufficient reason for the *strauss vogel* being adopted as the emblem of a warrior.

I am here induced to advance a conjecture, I believe not before proposed, respecting the origin of an heraldic emblem, still popular among us, and which was originally a badge, though most people, having the authority of

^y The Ostrich is drawn in the same manner, as the badge of Queen Anne, in a MS. of about Camden's time, L. 14. Coll. Arm. f. 27 b.

Hume and other popular writers,^z now erroneously regard it as a crest—I mean the PRINCE OF WALES'S FEATHERS.

It will not be necessary for me to enter into the subject at much length, as I find that nearly all that could be ascertained respecting it is very well discussed by Mr. Planché, in the work to which I have just alluded. I will therefore only very briefly state, first, that plumes of feathers were not worn until the reign of Henry the Fifth, and then as portions of costume, not as personal crests; and secondly, that the crest of John King of Bohemia is shown from his seals,^a and those of his son Wincellaus, not to have been three ostrich feathers, but the entire wings of a vulture. A Flemish poem quoted by Baron Reiffenberg, in his recent edition of Barante's History of the Dukes of Burgundy, describes the crest of John King of Bohemia as "two wings of a vulture, besprinkled with linden leaves of gold:"

“ Twee ghiers vlogelen daer aen geleyt
Die al vol bespringelt zyn
Met linden bladeren guld fyn;
Deze es, als ick mercken can,
Van Behem coninck Jan.”

The Black Prince, therefore, could not have plucked ostrich feathers from a vulture's wing; and that the Black Prince's feather, a single feather only, was really that of an ostrich, we have repeated contemporary testimonies, some of which have been already quoted^b from his own will; but the hypothesis I have to offer is this: that the Bohemian King, who was a relation of Queen Anne, no more distant than her paternal grandfather, may very probably have used the badge of an ostrich, as well as his son, the

^z “ His crest of three ostrich feathers, and his motto, *Ich dien* (*I serve*), were adopted by the Prince of Wales, and are still those used by the Heir Apparent of England.”—Keightley, *Hist. of England*, i. 217. And such is the ordinary statement.

^a See engravings in *La Genealogie des Comtes de Flandre*, par Olivier de Vrée, fol. 1642, pp. 63—67.

^b Before, p. 34.

Emperor Charles, the Queen's father ; and that the English prince, upon his victory over this monarch, who from such a badge would be called the Ostrich, possibly adopted the conceit that the feathers of the conquered bird formed an emblematical trophy very significant of his success. Such a conjecture may be the more acceptable from accommodating itself with the received tradition respecting the field of Crecy, and may therefore be adopted, unless it should appear that the feather (which we also find borne by the brothers of the Black Prince),^c was used by our English princes before that event, which I confess I think not improbable.

A very remarkable fact may here be noticed, which has been disclosed by the recent publication of the Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, from which several quotations have been already made. It is that Queen Anne of Bohemia affords an instance of a Queen Consort giving a collar of her livery, and it appears to have been formed of branches of Rosemary, with an Ostrich dependant.^d A cup of the kind called Gryppeshey also occurs, ornamented with two white Ostriches.^e

We may take leave of the Queen's costume by noticing a description preserved of the dress prepared for Richard's second Queen, before the feast of Christmas, in his twenty-second year. The wardrobe keeper then accounted for the embroidery of two long gowns, with large sleeves, one of

^c It occurs on the seal of one of them,—Thomas Duke of Gloucester. Much information on the subject of the Ostrich feather, which was a favourite badge with many junior branches of the royal house, will be found in Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 45—49 ; see also *Collectanea Topog. et Geneal.* vol. iii. p. 58.

^d Two collars (or rather one and pieces of another) are described, as follows :—"Item, i. coler de la livere la Roigne, que Deux assoille, ove un Ostriche, vii. grosses perles et xxxv. autres plus petits perles, pois' vii. unc. Item, ix. overages d'or d'un coler du livere de la Royne Anne, de braunches de rose maryn, garnisez de perles, sanz peres, pois' vi. unc. iii. quart'." (P. 357). I conclude that there was but one pattern of collar ; that it was formed of branches of Rosemary, and that the pendant was an Ostrich, which in the second instance was deficient.

^e "Item, i. autre hanape appelle *Gryppeshey*, le hanape et le coverecle d'un sort, ove deux peez d'argent ennorez et en les founceez dedeins le ditz hanape et coverecle steiantz deux Ostriches blanks, steant sur au vert terage, coronez, et sur le summet les armes du Roy, pois' v. lb. iiiii. unc'." Ibid. p. 331.

sanguine cloth in grain, and the other of white, worked in embroidery with branches of *Rosemary* and *Broom*, of Cyprus gold and silk.^f

There remains to be noticed the Copper Table upon which the Effigies are laid; but as of this Mr. Hollis has hitherto cleaned a very small portion (which is represented in his drawing above the right shoulder of the King), we at present know more about it from the contract for the erection of the monument than from ocular observation.

The indentures, covenanting for the erection of the Monument of Richard the Second, are preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and will be found also in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, and in Neale and Brayley's *History of Westminster Abbey*.^g They are the more valuable from being our only documents of the kind, with the exception of those for erecting the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick, and the beautiful monument of its founder. The contract for the mason's work is dated the 1st April 18th Richard II. 1395, and that for the copper work, the 24th of the same month. We thus learn, beyond the range of conjecture, how it was that the unfortunate Richard had so magnificent a tomb. His affection for his beloved wife, who died in 1394, prompted him to erect it himself,^h and to place his own figure joined hand-in-hand with hers. The parties employed for the work in metal, to whose skill and taste, or that of the artists they employed, we are indebted for the beautiful productions before us, were Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmythes of London; who covenanted to make two images of copper and laton gilt, crowned, and joining their right hands together, holding sceptres in their left hands, and a ball with a cross between the images. The feet of the King were to rest on two lions; those of the

^f Anstis, i. 115, from Comp. Joh. Macclesfield, Custodis Magnæ Garderob. anno 22 Rich. II.

^g A memorandum of the delivery of these indentures into the receipt of the Exchequer on the 18th Aug. after their execution, has been printed in the *Kalendars, &c. of the Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 50. See also in *Devon's Extracts from the Issue Rolls, 1837*, pp. 258, 264, 284, various payments to the masons engaged on the tomb, and at p. 262 a payment for painting the canopy.

^h It was formerly stated that it was erected by Henry the Fifth, when Richard's body was removed to Westminster Abbey by that high-spirited prince.

Queen on an eagle and leopard; all of which animals, together with a great portion of the tabernacle work above the heads of the effigies, are now lost. The coppersmiths were also to make a table of the like metal gilt, on which the images should be laid; which table, it is added, "shall be made with a fret of fleurs-de-lis, lions, eagles, and leopards." It is remarkable, that this fretwork should be mentioned, but nothing said of the devices upon the effigies. The four devices of the fretwork were to be emblematical of the ancestral honours of both the King and Queen; the fleurs-de-lis for France, the lions for Bohemia, the eagles for the Empire,ⁱ and the leopards for England. They seem to have been disposed in perpendicular lozenges of each variety; and the portion of the fret Mr. Hollis has hitherto uncovered exhibits only eagles and lions.^j

ⁱ On the Queen's seal (engraved in Sandford's Genealogical History) her arms are quarterly, a spread eagle, and a double-tailed lion, crowned. On the tomb of Archbishop Simon de Langham at Westminster, the arms of Richard and his Queen are found impaled; the Spread Eagle is here single-headed. On the brass of Sir Simon Felbrigge, at Felbrigge, who married a kinswoman and maid of honour of Queen Anne, the Eagle is double-headed. The Hart lodged occurs as an ornament of this memorial. Cotman's Norfolk Brasses, XV.

^j On turning over the plates of Stothard's Monumental Effigies, other instances of armorial charges, borne fretwise, will be seen in the four following instances (all in Westminster Abbey):

1269. Aveline, Countess of Lancaster: her upper pillow the three leopards of England and the lion rampant of Rivers alternately; on her lower pillow the cross-vaire of Albemarle.

1272. King Henry III. on his boots and his pillow, a single leopard (in each lozenge).

1296. Edmund, Earl of Lancaster; on his surcoat a spread-eagle, and an ornamental flower alternately; his pillow like the Countess Aveline's.

1304. William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. This example resembles most nearly that of King Richard: the bed below his effigy being formed of plates, enamelled fretwise with the arms of England and Valence.

About 1360. The whole of the gown, and both pillows, of the lady of Sir Roger de Bois, at Ingham, in Norfolk, appear to have been ornamented in this way, though imperfectly represented in the plate, which is one of those engraved after Stothard's death.

To these may be added the following continental examples, mentioned to me by Mr. Way:

1353. Agnez, wife of Jean sire de Honecourt; at Orcamp Abbey.

1396. Marie de Chastillon, wife of Simon count of Roucy; at S. Yved de Braine. The

I shall now request attention to the *mode* in which these devices and patterns are impressed, both upon the effigies and on the table. It is entirely by fine punctures, without any engraved lines. My friend, Mr. Albert Way, Fellow of the Society (than whom I could consult no one better informed in sepulchral antiquities), informs me that he knows of only one other instance^k in England of monumental figures being thus ornamented. That instance is furnished by the brass plates of Thomas Earl of Warwick, and his Countess, in St. Mary's church, Warwick, which are now erected on a mural tablet, but which formerly, until the fire which destroyed that church at the commencement of the last century, were placed within a canopied monument represented in Dugdale's Warwickshire. On these plates, which were probably executed in less than ten years after the effigies of King Richard and Queen Anne (for the earl died in 1401), the Beauchamp cognizances, the ragged staff and the bear, are pricked in this manner, together with a diapered pattern on those parts of the armorial bearings which were intended to be gold. This circumstance was overlooked by Mr. Gough and his artist. Mr. Way showed me a very beautiful drawing, taken by himself, of an effigy of brass or latten, on the side of the chancel at Baden-Baden, representing Frederic de Baden, Bishop of Utrecht, who died so late as the year 1517; the princely prelate is represented vested in a cope over a suit of armour, the plates of which are diapered with various patterns of foliage and scroll-work in this manner. Possibly the patterns were made more visible by the insertion of a little black or other colouring matter. Mr. Way also informed me, that the same sort of work is not unfrequent in ancient goldsmiths' work, and on the enamelled ornaments of Limoges. There is a little of it in the ornaments of the small enamelled

dressess of these ladies are wholly wrought with their own bearings and their husbands, in alternate lozenges.

One of the most beautiful existing specimens of fret-work is an enamelled casket of copper-gilt, adorned with the arms of England, Valence, Angoulême, Dreux, Brabant, and Holland, engraved in Shaw's *Specimens of Ancient Furniture*, plate LXII.

^k On the effigy of Edward the Third (also of brass) in Westminster Abbey, the ornaments of the robes are represented by *engraving in lines*. See portions at large in Stothard's plates.

coffer in the museum of this Society. On the golden haloes placed round the heads of saints in ancient paintings, a punctured pattern may frequently be observed; the same contrivance is often adopted to enrich the golden portions of illuminations in books; and, from a description of the coronation chair of England, written by John Carter, F.S.A., it appears that part of its ornaments were of this kind.¹

The name given to this art I do not find mentioned by any modern writer; but I have ascertained, somewhat accidentally, that it was in English called *pounced* work, in French *pounsonnez*, or *poinçonné*,^m in Latin *ponsatum*, although a more accurate word would have been *punctuatum*, that is, pricked. I have been led to this word by a passage in the will of Joan Lady Bergavenny, dated 1434—"my round bason of silver, *pounced*" with morys letters;" upon which the late Mr. Dallaway, in his annotations prefixed to Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*,^o has made this remark:—" *Pounsonnez*, indented or pricked with a sharp-pointed instrument, a method of ornamenting plate used by the Morescos or Moors in Spain, in patterns or shapes of flowers, but principally for letters:" the former part of which explanation appears to be derived from some good authority, though none is cited; whilst the latter has very much the air of being a gratuitous

¹ "The whole work has been painted, gilded, and enamelled in the most curious and delicate manner. On the back of the Chair are the lower lines of a King seated on a throne, with diapered hangings, &c. * * *. The lines expressing the figure, diapering, &c. are *formed by small punctures made on a gold ground.*" See in Carter's *Ancient Architecture*, vol. ii. pl. vi. representations of various fragments of the ornaments of the Coronation Chair, as existing in the year 1807.

^m See various articles of plate *pounsonnez* in the catalogue of the royal Jewels, &c. in 11 Hen. VI. Rot. Parl. iv. 217.—"Le pied d'une Croix d'argent doré, *poinçonné* à la devise du Roy." *Inventaire des meubles de la Chapelle du Roy*, quoted by Menestrier in *La Devise du Roy Justifiée*, p. 75.

ⁿ In the inventory of Sir John Fastolfe's effects, 1459, occur "xij flatte peces (of plate) *pounsied* in the bottom." (*Archæol.* xxi. 242.) So late as the time of Cardinal Wolsey, we find the term applied to plate: "v boollis (bowls) of silvar *pounsied*, parcells-gilte," and "vj new greate gilte boolls withe martlitts *pounsied*, made with birdes." (*Inventory of Cardinal Wolsey's Plate*, &c. in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 288.)

^o Introduction, p. xxxii.

addition, and if so, Mr. Dallaway, in volunteering it, has probably fallen into a partial misapprehension; for, in the case of the bason "pounced with morys letters," the term Moorish applies strictly to the shape or character of the letters, and not to the method by which they were delineated; as in the very same will, just before, we find "morys letters" worked in tapestry: "my hallyng of black, red, and green, with morys letters, with cushions, bancours, and costers." It is evident that Moorish letters were those spreading characters which we meet with at this period, covering nearly the whole surface, and tricked out with scrolls and foliage, in order to do so; and which were called Moorish from being an imitation of the architectural friezes formed of Inscriptions which are frequent in the Moorish edifices of Spain: of course they might be worked in wool and silk, painted, sculptured, or engraved, as well as pounced. I have found the term in Latin in the volume of Durham Wills published by the Surtees Society (p. 53). Alan de Newark, who had been Archdeacon of Durham, and died in 1411, makes this bequest, "Item lego Willielmo cognato meo ciphum argenti coopertum, *ponsatum* in fundo et in cooperculo." The receptacles for perfumed powders, the lids of which were pierced entirely through, were called *pouncet*-boxes; and thence the dust placed in similar boxes, and still used for drying the ink of writings, acquired the name of *pounce*. In an invective of Chaucer against the extravagant waste of cloth in the reign of Richard the Second, the term is applied to the fashion of piercing holes in the margin of men's gowns, as well as clipping them into jagged edges by way of an ornamental border. There is also, he says, "so much pouncing of chesell to make holes, so much dagging of sheres forche," &c.; and that the word was still used two centuries later is shown by a passage from Bacon's Natural History, which is quoted in Johnson's Dictionary: "Barbarous people," says Bacon, "that go naked, do not only paint but *pounce* and raise their skin, that the painting may not be taken forth, and make it into works (*or marks* ?)" This process we now call tattooing, having borrowed a word from the language of the "barbarous people" themselves, whilst our own word, that was used by Bacon, has been forgotten.

But to return to the Effigies in Westminster Abbey, on which I have now

only a few words to add, with respect to their present condition. It has been mentioned that they were originally gilt; and Widmore in his History of Westminster Abbey (p. 109) quotes the Liber Quaternus, one of the books of the church, which records that this gilding cost more than 400 marks. In this state the pouncing would have the appearance of a delicate frostwork, possibly rendered more distinct by the insertion of some small quantity of colouring. But now for many generations both the gilding and pounce-work have been obscured by a thick varnish of indurated dust, until at last they were entirely forgotten, except for the tradition of the successive authors who have described the Abbey and its Monuments. Camden, in the passage before given, mentions the King's White Hart and the Queen's Ostrich as well as the Broom-plant; but as the last only was positively connected by him with the monument at Westminster, subsequent writers adopted merely that clause of his statement. Of these writers the first I have to cite is Sandford, who, in his Genealogical History, printed in 1677, when describing the monument, says nothing about these devices, but in a previous note relating to Richard's armorial bearings, he uses precisely the words of Camden, though to this extent only, "A pescod branch, with the cods open, but the peas out, as it is upon his robe in his monument at Westminster." It is plain, therefore, that Sandford did not speak of these devices from his own observation; nor did his contemporary Anstis, though he criticised^p the expressions of Camden and Sandford, remarking that they were broom-cods and not peas-cods, which were "engraven" on the robe of Richard II. Next comes Dart, the Historian of Westminster Abbey; who adopts Sandford's note into his description of this monument, and that evidently without examining the original, for his words^q are, "his robing is wrought with Peascod Shells open, and the Peas out, but upon what account that device was us'd I know not:" but if he had examined the figure, he could not have found the Peas-cods and yet have overlooked the White Harts. Mr. Gough succeeds: he looked, but could see nothing; and in consequence makes use of this remarkable expression, "Dart and Sandford talk of open peas-cods on the King's robe; but one would wonder what

^p Register of the Order of the Garter, p. 114.

^q Vol. ii. p. 44.

suggested the idea.”^r Lastly comes Mr. Brayley—for the writer of Ackermann’s “History of St. Peter’s, Westminster,” does not notice the matter. Mr. Brayley mentions that one small spot of Richard’s mantle had been kept rubbed bright, in order to show the gilding; and on that spot “the peascods are still faintly discernible.”^s Mr. Brayley has described the monument with minuteness, showing that he had examined it carefully; and he in consequence considers himself entitled to correct Mr. Gough’s account of the table, which, he says, “is all inaccurate, except in respect to the gilding. Not the least trace of any enamel is to be found on it, nor yet any fleurs-de-lis, lions, &c.” It is strange Mr. Brayley did not perceive that Mr. Gough was quoting from the indentures of contract; but it is true that the author of the “Sepulchral Monuments” used the word “enamelled” without authority; the words of the Indenture are merely *fait ovesque une frette*, “made with a fretwork.” The escucheons of arms which were round the tomb, none of which remain, were all enamelled, “du dit metal endorrez, gravez, et enamellez.”

I have entered into these latter details principally to show that no little credit is due to Mr. Thomas Hollis for having brought to light these buried works of ancient art. That this was effected with considerable trouble will be acknowledged when I state that he spent four days merely in the mechanical labour of carefully clearing off the indurated dust, without time to use his pencil. Still, he has only partially cleaned the figures; for those portions which in the drawing before us^t have a dark shading, are still covered with a crust of dirt, which conceals their beauty; and nearly the whole of the table is in the same condition.

It is more than can be expected from an artist that he should devote his time, at his own loss, to a task which has stronger claims, on various grounds, upon many other parties. It would be a source of just congratulation to the lovers of ancient art if the conservation of national monuments was made

^r Sep. Mon. i. 163.

^s Neale and Brayley’s Westminster Abbey, ii. 108.

^t Mr. Hollis exhibited a drawing of the Effigies, on a large size, being nearly half the scale of the originals.

a subject of public care here, as it now is in France, where at the present time so much is doing towards their restoration, at St. Denis, at Paris, at Rouen, and elsewhere; it were also a happy change were we to see the Dean and Chapter of Westminster commencing the repair of the more valuable monuments as well as the structure of their church; were we to see those monuments which are accordant with the character of the edifice relieved, as opportunities might arise, from disfigurement and obstruction, and those which are at present obtrusive made to retire, when possible, into the background: but until we observe some such objects as these entertained and zealously pursued by the Dean and Chapter, or the Government, I beg to submit to the Society of Antiquaries whether their efforts may not be very advantageously exerted in contributing at least to the restoration of one of the most beautiful works of art in the Abbey, and which may exhibit a useful example for future restorations of a like character.