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The Works Of Horatio Walpole, Earl Of Orford

In Five Volumes

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Chap. I. The earliest Accounts of Painting in England.

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A N E C D O T E S

Lieut. James Caulfield OF Bengal Cavalry.

P A I N T I N G, &c.

C H A P. I.

The earliest Accounts of Painting in England.

THEY who undertake to write the history of any art, are fond of carrying its origin as far back as possible. When this tends to show the improvements made in it, by comparing latter works with the first rude inventions, it may be of service; but it often happens that the historian thinks the antiquity of a discovery reflects honour on his country, though perhaps his country has been so careless, or has wanted genius so much, as to have refined very little on the original hints. Some men push this farther, and venerate the first dawnings of an art more than its productions in a riper age. The inventor may have had more genius, but the performances of the improver must be more perfect. Mr. Vertue had taken great pains to prove that painting existed in England before the restoration of it in Italy by Cimabue. If what we possessed of it in those ignorant times could be called painting, I suppose Italy and every nation in Europe retained enough of the deformity of the art to contest with us in point of antiquity. That we had gone backwards in the science farther almost than any other country, is evident from our coins, on which there is no more of human similitude, than an infant's first scrawl of the profile of a face; and so far therefore as badness of drawing approaches to antiquity of ignorance, we may lay in our claim to very ancient possession. As Italy has so long excelled us in the refinement of the art, she may leave us the enjoyment of original imperfection.

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However,

However, as Mr. Vertue's partiality flowed from love of his country, and as this is designed for a work of curiosity, not of speculation and reasoning, I shall faithfully lay before the reader such materials as that laborious antiquary had amassed for deducing the History of English Painting from a very early period.

The *first evidences in favour of the art are drawn from our records †, which Mr. Vertue had carefully consulted. There he found the following entries ‡:

"MCCXXVIII, A° 12 HEN. III. m. f. Rex thes. et camer. suis salutem.
"Liberate cuidam pictori 20s. ad cameram magni scaccarii depingendam."

This does not express the kind; whether the chamber was to be painted with figures, ornaments, &c. or whether the *quidam pictor* was not a mere house-painter; probably an artist of higher rank, as twenty shillings would have been a great price in that age for painting wainscot. However, the next record is more explicit, and ascertains the point in question:

* Dr. Thorpe, M. D. when writing his History of the town and diocese of Rochester, discovered at the west end of that cathedral two busts of Henry I. and his queen in stone, which had never been observed before.

† Since the first edition of this work, I have been informed by a curious gentleman, that the earliest place in a catalogue of English painters is due to St. Wolstan, bishop of Worcester in 1062, or at least to Ervenius or Erwen, his master. William of Malmesbury, who wrote the life of Wolstan in three books, gives the following account: "Habebat tunc [Wolstanus] magistrum Ervenium nomine, inscribendo et quilibet coloribus effingendo peritum. Is libros scriptos, sacramentarium et psalterium, quorum principales litteras auro effigiaverit, puero Wolstano delegandos curavit. Ille preciosorum apicum captus miraculo, dum pulchritudinem intentis oculis rimatur, scientiam litterarum internis hausit medullis. Verum doctor ad seculi spectans commodum, spe majoris premii, sacramentarium re-

gi, tunc temporis Cautoni, psalterium Emmæ regine contribuit. Perculit puerilem animum facti dispendium, et ex imo pectore alta traxit suspiria." If this passage is not sufficient authority, as I think it is not, to prove St. Wolstan a painter, at least it is decisive for Ervenius, who was certainly an illuminator of MSS.

‡ There are two records more ancient than any that follow; but they relate to architecture, not painting; however, as not foreign to this work, I shall insert them here: they are both of the reign of king JOHN:

"Anno 1209, vicecomites Lond. et Midl. allocaverunt Elyæ ingeniatori x marcas, ad reparacionem domorum regis apud Westmonast. per breve H. archiep. Cantuar."

"Anno 1210, Willelmus Puintellus redd. comp. de 1216l. 13s. 6d. quos recepit de thesauro ad operationes turris Londoniæ."

William Puintell might be only a surveyor, but Elyas was certainly an architect.

"MCCXXIII.

“ MCCXXXIII. Liberate A° 17 HEN. III. m. 6. Mandatum est vice-
 comiti Southton. quod cameram regis * lambruscatam de castro Winton.
 depingi faciat eisdem historiis et picturis quibus fuerat prius depicta. Et
 costum, &c. computabitur. Teste rege apud Kideministr. iiii die Junii.”

There are more remarkable circumstances than one in this venerable scrap :
 as, the simplicity of the times; the king sending a precept to the sheriff of
 Hampshire to have a chamber in the royal castle painted; and his majesty,
 like the Roman general, who threatened his soldiers if they broke any of the
 antique Corinthian statues that they should pay for having others made, giving
 orders to the same sheriff to have the chamber re-painted with the same pic-
 tures and histories with which it had been adorned before; and which, by the
 way, implies that history-painting had been in use still longer than this date,
 which was the earliest Mr. Vertue could discover †.

“ Liberate A° 17 HEN. III. m. 10. Mandatum est custodi domorum regis de
 Wudestok quod in rotundâ capellâ regis de Wudestok bonis coloribus depingi
 faciat majestatem Domini et iiii Evangelistas, et imaginem sancti Edmundi
 ex unâ parte, et imaginem sancti Edwardi ex aliâ parte, et ibi fieri faciat
 duas ‡ verimas novas.”

“ Rot. Claus. 20 HEN. III. m. 12. Mandatum est thesaurario regis, quod
 magnam cameram regis apud Westm. bono viridi colore depingi faciat ad
 modum curtanæ et in magno gabulo ejusdem camerae juxta ostium
 depingi ludum illum

“ § Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne pret ke desire;

“ et etiam parvam garderobam regis viridi colore ad modum curtanæ depingi
 faciat: ita quod rex in primo adventu suo illuc inveniat predictas cameram
 et garderobam ita depictas et ornatas, sicut predictum est.”

* *Lambruscatam*, wainscoted, from the French
lambris.

† Some have ascribed the introduction of
 painting into this island to venerable Bede.

‡ *Verimas*, a barbarous word, not to be found
 even in Dufresne's glossary. One cannot help
 observing the absurdity of those times, in couch-

ing orders in a language which they could not
 write, and addressed to persons by whom it was
 not understood.

§ *Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce
 qu'il desire*; or, as it is expressed in another re-
 cord, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille
 quod optat*.

“ Rot.

“Rot. Clauf. A° 20 HEN. III. m. 12. Mandatum est H. de Pateshull thesaurario domini regis, quod borduram a tergo sedis regis in capellâ sancti Stephani apud Westm. et borduram a tergo sedis reginæ ex aliâ parte ejusdem capellæ interius et exterius depingi faciat de viridi colore: juxta sedem ipsius reginæ depingi faciat quandam crucem cum Mariâ et Johanne ex opposito crucis regis, quæ juxta sedem regis depicta est. T. vii die Febr.”

The next record, which has been mentioned by Stowe, gives directions for repairing the granary under the Tower, and all the leaden gutters, and for leading the whole thoroughly on that side, *per quas gentes videre possint*, and for white-washing the chapel of St. John, and for making three glass windows in the same chapel, in which were to be represented, a little Virgin Mary holding the child, and the Trinity and St. John the apostle. It gives orders too that (patibulum) a cross should be painted behind the altar, *bene et bonis coloribus*; and wherever it could be done most conveniently, there were to be drawn in the same chapel two images of St. Edward holding out a ring and delivering it to St. John the evangelist. “Et dealbari faciatis (adds the record) totum veterem murum circa sepedictam Turrim nostram. Et custum quod ad hoc pofueritis, per visum et testimonium legalium hominum, com-putabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste rege apud Windesfor. x die Decembr.”

It is evident from this and some following passages, that as * painting on glass was then known, the art of painting in general could not be at a very low ebb.

Then follows another, regarding the same place: “Rex eisdem salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod cancellum beatæ Mariæ in ecclesiâ sancti Petri infra ballium turris nostræ London. et cancellum beati Petri in eadem ecclesia, et ab introitu cancelli beati Petri usque ad spatium quatuor pedum ultra stallos ad opus nostrum et reginæ nostræ in eadem ecclesia factos bene et decenter labruscari faciatis, et eisdem stallos depingi, et Mariolam cum suo tabernaculo et ymagines beatorum Petri, Nicolai et Katerinæ, et trabem ultra altare beati Petri, et parvum patibulum cum suis ymaginibus de novo colorari, et bonis coloribus refrescari, et fieri faciatis quandam ymaginem de beato Petro

* In Aubrey's MS. Survey of Wiltshire, in the library of the Royal Society, he says, on the authority of sir W. Dugdale, that the first painted

glass in England was done in king John's time. Vol. ii. p. 85.

“ in

“ in solempni apparatu archiepiscopali in parte boreali ultra dictum altare, et
 “ de optimis coloribus depingi; et quandam ymaginem de sancto Christo-
 “ fero tenentem et portantem Jesum, ubi melius et decentius fieri potest, et
 “ depingi in prædicta ecclesia. Et fieri faciatis duas tabulas pulcras et de op-
 “ timis coloribus et de historiis beatorum Nicolai et Katerinæ depingi antè
 “ altaria dictorum sanctorum in eadem ecclesia; et duos cherumbinos stantes
 “ a dextris et a sinistris magni patibuli pulcros fieri faciatis in prædicta ecclesia
 “ cum hilarî vultu et jocofo; et præterea unum fontem marmoreum cum
 “ colompnis marmoreis bene et decenter incis. Et custum, &c. Teste ut
 “ supra.”

The next again specifies the sum to be expended on paintings at West-
 minster: “ Rot. Liberat. A° 21 HEN. III. m. 5. Rex thesaurario et camera-
 “ riis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostra Odoni aurifabro custodi ope-
 “ rationis nostræ Westm. quatuor libras et undecim solidos ad picturas faci-
 “ endas in camera nostra ibidem. Teste rege apud Westm. ii die Augusti.”

The next contains the first mention we have of a star-chamber.

“ Liberat. A° 22 HEN. III. m. 3. Mandatum est viç. Southampt. quod
 “ cameram apud Winton. colorari faciat viridi colore, et *stellari* auro, in qui-
 “ bus depingantur historiæ veteris et novi testamenti.”

The next precept is very remarkable, as implying the use of oil colours*,

* John ab Eyck, the supposed inventor of painting in oil, which he was said to discover in a search for varnish, died in 1441. In the record before us, both oil and varnish are mentioned, and the former might indeed be only used in the composition of the latter. Mr. Raspe, in his curious treatise published in 1781, has proved that oil-painting was known long before its pretended discovery by Van Eyck. And governor Pownall, in the 9th vol. of the *Archæologia*, p. 151, 152, and 154, has produced from the Sacristy of Ely some accounts that are as explicit as possible, that oil was used in the mixture of colours. The first says, “ In tres lagenis et

dimid. olei pro ymaginibus super columnas depingend.”—The next, “ In 31 lagenis et dimid. olei empt. . . . pro color. temperand.” (for mixing colours, which is distinguishing it from varnish.)—And the third, “ In oleo empt. pro picture faciend. in capellâ.”—Could oil-painting be more exactly described at this day?

1. Oil for painting images on columns, 1325.
2. Oil for mixing colours.
3. Oil for making pictures in the chapel.

Note too, that the first is dated in the reign of Edward the second—the last in that of Edward the third.

long before that method is supposed to have been discovered. It is dated in his 23d year, 1239, and runs in these words:

“ Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro
 “ Odoni aurifabro et Edwardo filio suo centum et septemdecem solidos et de-
 “ cem denarios pro oleo, vernici, et coloribus emptis, et picturis factis in ca-
 “ merâ reginæ nostræ apud Westm. ab octavis sanctæ trinitatis anno regni
 “ nostri xxiii usque ad festum sancti Barnabæ apostoli eodem anno, scilicet
 “ per xv dies.”

There is another mandate of his 25th year, for two windows with pictures in the hall, and with the motto above mentioned, of which I do not know that any of our antiquaries have taken notice.

The two following precepts are so connected with the foregoing, that, though relating only to building not to painting, I shall insert them here, as their most proper place.

“ A° 28 HEN. III. Mandatum est vice-comiti Kancie quod sub omni qua
 “ poterit festinatione emi faciat et cariari usque Westmon. 100 navatas grise
 “ petreæ ad operationes quas ibi sine dilatione fieri rex præcepit: et talem et
 “ tam festinantem diligentiam ad hoc mandatum regis exequendum ponat,
 “ quod se inde rex commendare debeat: et ne W. de Haverhull thesaurarius
 “ et Edwardus, quibus operationes prædictas rex injunxit faciendas, culpam
 “ dilationis in se refundere possint, si prædictæ operationes contra voluntatem
 “ regis differantur.”

“ Rex dedit et concessit Deo et beato Edwardo et ecclesiæ Westmonasterii
 “ ad fabricam ipsius ecclesiæ 2591 libras, in quibus regi tenetur Licoricia, quæ
 “ fuit uxor David de Oxonio Judæi. Et rex vult quod pecunia illa reddatur
 “ ad novum scaccarium, quod rex ad hoc constituit apud Westmonasterium,
 “ archidiacono Westmonasterii, et Edwardo de Westmestre, quos ejusdem
 “ scaccarii thesaurarios assignavit. Teste rege apud Windfore.”

The miserable Latin of these orders is not the most curious part of them. The hundred barge loads of grey stone to be purchased by the sheriff of Kent might

might be either from a Kentish quarry, or to be imported from the coast of France. The king's great impatience about his new works, and the large fine from a Jew's widow which he bestows on his new edifice, are very observable. But the most memorable is the origin of the Exchequer, which seems by this precept to have been instituted solely for the carrying on the new building at Westminster.

The next is in the year 1248. "Rex vicecomiti Southamtoniæ salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod de exitibus comitatus tui depingi facias in capella reginæ nostræ apud Wintoniam super gabulum versus occidentem ymaginem Christoferi, sicut alibi depingitur; in ulnis suis deferat Christum; et ymaginem beati Edwardi regis, qualiter tradidit annulum suum cuidam peregrino, cujus ymago similiter depingatur. Teste rege apud Windefore vii die Maii."

Another. "Rex custodi manerii de Wudestoke præcepit, ut inter alia fieri faciat duas fenestras de albo vitro, et fenestram aulæ versus orientem, similitur cum picturâ ejus aulæ emendari faciat. Quoddam etiam scaccarium fieri faciat in eadem aulâ, quod contineat hunc versum, Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat."

"Clauf. 33 HEN. III. m. 3. Rex injunxit magistro Johanni de sancto Omero quod garderobam cameræ regis apud Westm. perpingi faceret sicut pictura illius garderobæ inchoatur, et quod faceret unum lectrinum ponendum in novo capitulo Westm. ad similitudinem illius quod est in capitulo sancti Albani, vel decentius et pulcrius, si fieri poterit; et ad hæc faciendâ colores et mæremium et necessarias liberationes usque ad adventum regis London. ei inveniri faceret. Et custum ad hæc appositum, cum rex illud sciverit, reddi faciet. Et mandatum est abbati Westm. Edwardo filio Odonis, et Philippo Luvel, quod liberationes et alia necessaria supra inveniri facerent. Teste rege apud Windefore xxiii die Septembr."

In Henry's 34th year Edward of Westminster is ordered to have painted in the chapel of St. Stephen the images of the Apostles round about the said chapel, by the following precept;

“ Clauf. 34 HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum est Edwardo * de Westm. quod in capella beati Stephani depingi faciat imagines Apostolorum in circuitu ejusdem capellæ; et judicium in occidentali parte ejusdem; et iconem beatæ Mariæ virginis in quadam tabula similiter pingi faciat; ita quod hæc parata sint in adventu regis. Teste rege apud Brugwauter xiii die Augusti.”

The next, dated in the same year, exhibits a donation of three oaks for making images.

“ Clauf. 34 HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum est custodi parci regis de Periton quod in eodem parco faciat habere sacristæ Glasston. tres quercus ad imagines inde faciendas et ponendas in ecclesia sua Glasston. de dono regis. Teste rege apud Glasston. xv die Augusti.”

The following is not less curious :

“ Clauf. 34 HEN. III. m. 12. Mandatum est R. de Sandeford magistro militiæ templi in Anglia quod faciat habere Henrico de warderoba, latori pre-

* This Edward of Westminster is the same person with Edward Fitz-Odo mentioned in the preceding order, and I suppose son of Odo Aurifaber, recorded above. It appears by Dart's History of the Abbey that he was master of the works; and Dart quotes the records in the Tower on the authority of Strype. The whole passage is worth transcribing, as it shows the passion of Henry for adorning his new foundation there, called then, The new work at Westminster †.

“ In the 28th of his reign he commanded Edward Fitz-Odo to make a dragon, in manner of a standard or ensign, of red samit, to be embroi-

dered with gold, and his tongue to appear, as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire, or other stones agreeable to him, to be placed in this church against the king's coming thither.

“ And the queen set up in the feretry of St. Edward the image of the blessed Virgin Mary; and the king caused the aforesaid Edward Fitz-Odo, keeper of his works at Westminster, to place upon her forehead for ornament, an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the bishop of Chichester had left the king for a legacy.” Dart, vol. i. p. 26. edit. 1742 †.

† Duchesne, Antiq. France, vol. i. p. 145, says the Louvre was so called from l'œuvre, the new work.

‡ The Fitz-Othos were Germans, brought over by Henry Ist; and the family rose to such eminence, that Thomas, son of William, married a daughter of W. Beauchamp, baron of Bedford, &c. Of William is a curious seal, as Mint-master, in Nichols's Biblioth. Topograph. No. XX. p. 63.

"sentium, ad opus reginæ * quendam librum magnum, qui est in domo sua
"London. Gallico ydiomate scriptum, in quo continentur gesta Antiochiæ et
"regum aliorum, &c. Teste rege apud Westm. xvii die Maii."

The two next specify the use that was to be made of the above-mentioned book, which I conclude contained an † account of the Crusade, the history of which the king orders to be painted in the Tower and at Westminster in a low chamber in the garden near what in the writ is named the King's Jewry ‡, and which room his majesty orders to be thenceforward called the Antioch-chamber; the origin probably of what is now styled the Jerusalem-chamber.

"Clauf. A° 35 HEN. III. m. 11. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm.
"quod depingi faciat historiam Antioch. in camera regis turris London. sicut
"ei dicit Thomas Espernir, et costum, quod ad hoc posuerit, rex ei faciet
"allocari. Teste rege apud Winton. v die Junii."

"Ibidem, m. 10. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm. quod Judaismum
"regis apud Westm. et magnum § cellarium vinorum regis lambruscari, et
"bassam cameram in giardino regis, et parvam turellam ultra capellam ibidem
"depingi,

* The beauty of Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III, is thus celebrated by Langtoft in his Chronicle, published by Hearne, vol. i. p. 213.

Henry king, our prince, at Westmynster kirke
The crys douhter of Province, the fairest may
o lif,

Her name is Helianore, of gentille norture,
Bizond the fe that wore was non suilk creature.

† The emperor Frederic II. had sent to king Henry a large account of his war in the Holy Land, in a letter under his own seal. See note to Tindal's Rapin under the year 1228.

‡ This Judaism, or Jewry, was probably an exchequer or treasury erected by Henry for receiving the sums levied on the Jews, from whom he extorted a third part of their substance to carry on the war with France. Rapin ubi supra.

§ There are two records among the foregoing, which, though not relating to my subject, but to the wine-cellar, and even to the composing of wines for his majesty, are so curious that I am persuaded the reader will be glad to see them.

"Clauf. A° 34 HEN. III. m. 19. De potibus
"delicatis ad opus regis faciendis. Mandatum
"est custodibus vinorum regis Winton. quod de
"vinis regis quæ habent in custodia sua, libe-
"rent || Roberto de Monte Pessulano tanta et
"talia, qualia et quanta capere voluerit, ad po-
"tus regis pretiosos delicatos inde faciendos.
"Teste rege apud Lutegareshall xxvi die No-
"vembr."

"Clauf. 36 HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum est
"custodibus vinorum regis de Ebor. quod de
"melioribus vinis regis quæ sunt in custodia sua
"faciant habere Roberto de Monte Pessulano

|| See more of him in Pegge's Life of Roger Weseham.

D 2

"duo

“depingi, et in eadem camera unum caminum fieri faciat, quam quidem cameram Antioch volumus appellari.”

These that follow all relate to various paintings :

“Ibidem, m. 5. Mandatum est Simoni Capellano et aliis custodibus operationum Windesor. quod claustrum regis in castro Windesor. paviri et lambruscari, et Apostolos depingi faciant, sicut rex ei et magistro Willielmo pictori suo ibidem injunxit. Teste rege apud Havering. xx die Augusti.”

“Liberat. 36 HEN. III. m. 15. Rex vicecomiti Nottinghamiæ salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod in camera reginæ nostræ apud Nottingham depingi facias historiam Alexandri circumquaque ; et cultum quod ad hoc posueritis computabitur. Teste rege apud Nottingham xv die Januarii.”

“Liberat. 36 HEN. III. m. 15. Mandatum vic. Northampton. quod fieri faciat in castro North. fenestras de albo vitro, et in eisdem historiam Lazari et Divitis depingi.”

“Clauf. 36 HEN. III. m. 22. Mandatum est Radulpho de Dungun, custodi librorum * regis, quod magistro Willielmo pictori regis habere faciat colores ad depingendum parvam garderobam reginæ, et emendandum picturam magnæ cameræ regis et cameræ reginæ. Teste rege apud Westm. xxv die Febr. Per regem.”

The six next precepts appertain to various arts, not to painting in particular.

“Clauf. 36 HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm. quod

“duo dolia albi vini et garhiofilacum, et unum dolum rubri vini ad † claretum inde faciend. ad opus regis contra instans festum Nativitatis Dominicæ. Et mandatum est Rob. de Monte Pessulano quod festinanter accedat ad Ebor. et garhiofilac. et claret. predict. faciat sicut annis præteritis facere consuevit.”

* It would be a great curiosity if we could recover a list of his majesty's library. It probably contained some illuminated MSS. as the librarian had the keeping of the colours too. The original copy of Matthew Paris with miniatures, in the British Museum, was certainly a present to this king from the author.

† A composition of wine and honey. V. Hist. de l'ancienne Chevalerie, vol. i. p. 49.

“cum

“ cum festinatione perquirat quendam pulcrum gladium, et scauberg. ejusdem
 “ de serico, et pomellum de argento bene et ornate cooperiri, et quandam pul-
 “ cram zonam eidem pendi faciat, ita quod gladium illum sic factum habeat
 “ apud Ebor. de quo * rex Alexandrum regem Scotiae illustrem cingulo mili-
 “ tari decorare possit in instanti festo Nativitatis Dominicae. Teste rege apud
 “ Lychfeld xxi die Novembr. Per ipsum regem.”

“ Claus. 36 HEN. III. m. 30. Mandatum est J. de Somercote † et Rogero
 “ Sciffori, quod sine dilatione fieri faciant unum lectum pretiosum, ita quod
 “ illud decenter et ornate factum habeat apud Ebor. ad dandum illud Alex.
 “ regi Scotiae illustri in instanti festo Nativitatis Dominicae.”

“ Ibidem. Mandatum est J. de Somercote et Rogero Sciffori, quod de me-
 “ lioribus famittis quos invenire poterunt sine dilatione faciant quatuor robas,
 “ duas videlicet ad opus regis, et duas ad opus reginae, cum aurifraxiis femi-
 “ latis, et varii coloris, et quod tunicae sint de mollioribus famittis quam pallia
 “ et supertunicae; et quod pallia furrentur cum ermino, et supertunicae de mi-
 “ nuto vario; ita quod rex habeat praedictas robas ornate factas apud Ebor.
 “ ad hoc instans festum Nativitatis Dominicae. Teste rege apud Lychfeld
 “ xxi die Novembr.”

“ Ibidem. Mandatum est J. de Somercote et Rogero Sciffori, quod preter
 “ illas duas robas quas rex fieri precepit ad opus suum, fieri faciant ad opus
 “ regis tres robas de queintisis, videlicet unam robam de meliori famitto vio-
 “ laceo, quam invenire poterunt, cum tribus parvis ‡ leopardis in parte ante-
 “ riori, et aliis tribus parte posteriori; et duas de aliis melioribus pannis
 “ qui inveniri poterunt; ita quod robas illas decenter et ornate factas rex
 “ promptas habeat apud Ebor. in festo Nativitatis Domini.”

“ Claus. 39 HEN. III. Rex concessit magistro Johanni de Gloucestre ce-
 “ mentario suo, quod toto tempore vitae suae quietus sit de omnimodo tallagio
 “ et thelonio ubique per totam potestatem regis.”

* Alexander III. king of Scotland married Margaret, daughter of Henry, at York.

tent to be Warden of the mint, Custos cambii per totum regnum.

† The lions in the arms of England were originally leopards.

“ Claus.

“ Clauf. 43 HEN. III. m. 10. Mandatum est magistro Johanni de Glouc.
 “ cementario suo, et custodibus operationum Westm. quod quinque imagines
 “ regum incisas in franca petra, et quandam petram ad supponendum pedibus
 “ unius imaginis beatæ Mariæ, faciatis habere custodibus operationum ecclesiæ
 “ sancti Martini London. ad easdem operationes, de dono regis. Teste rege
 “ apud Westm. xi die Maii.”

Then comes a record entitled Pro rege de coloribus ad picturam Windesfor.

“ Clauf. A° 44 HEN. III. m. 6. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm.
 “ quod colores et alia ad picturam necessaria sine dilatione faciat habere fratri
 “ Willielmo monacho Westm. pictori regis, ad picturas regis apud Windfor
 “ inde * renovandas, prout idem frater Willielmus predicto Edwardo dicit ex
 “ parte regis. Et hoc sicut regem diligit, non omittat; et cum rex sciverit
 “ custum quod ad hoc posuerit, rex breve suum de liberate sibi habere faciet.
 “ Teste rege apud Windfor xiii die Augusti.”

The next is inscribed De pictura Rap. Guldef. and contains the following orders:

“ Liberate A° 44 HEN. III. m. 11. Rex vicecom. Surr. salutem. Precipi-
 “ mus tibi quod exitibus comitatus tui picturas magnæ aulæ nostræ de Gulde-
 “ ford, prout necesse fuerit, sine dilatione emendari, et in magna camera nostra
 “ ibidem ad caput lecti nostri super album murum quoddam pallium depingi,
 “ et tabulas et fruntellum altaris magnæ capellæ nostræ ibidem sine dilatione
 “ fieri facias, prout injunximus Willielmo Florentino pictori; et custum quod
 “ ad hoc posueris per visum et testimonium proborum et legalium hominum
 “ conf. &c. Teste meipso apud Westm. xxx die Octobr.”

I conclude that master William, William the monk of Westminster, and William of Florence were the same person. What arts we had, as well as learning, lay chiefly among the religious in those ages. One remark I am surpris'd Mr. Vertue did not make, when he was assigning greater antiquity to painting in England than in Italy, that this William of Florence was an Italian.

* Hence it appears that Windfor had been a consequently long before it was beautified by place of note, even before the reign of HEN. III. Edward III.

The

The two following are little remarkable, except that in the last we find the name of another painter.

“Liberate A° 49 HEN. III. m. 7. Rex thes. et camerariis suis salutem.
 “Liberate de thesauro nostro pictoribus cameræ nostræ apud Westm. septem
 “libras et decem solidos ad picturas ejusdem cameræ capellæ nostræ retro
 “lectum nostrum ibidem faciend.”

“Liberate A° 51 HEN. III. m. 10. et 8. Rex ballivis civitatis London.
 “salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de firma civitatis prædictæ habere faciatis
 “magistro Waltero pictori nostro viginti marcas ad picturas cameræ nostræ
 “apud Westm. inde faciend. et hoc nullo modo omittatis. Et computabitur
 “vobis ad scaccarium. Teste rege apud Westm. vii die Januar.”

Among these records I find the following curious memorandum of the sums expended on the king's building at Westminster to the forty-fifth year of his reign :

“Summa cust. operationum West. ab inceptione usque in die dominica
 “proxima post festum divi Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici xlv°. Et cclx
 “libræ restant solvendæ pro stipendiis alborum cissorum et minorum ope-
 “rariorum, et pro franca petra et aliis emptionibus quæ non computantur in
 “hac summa; xxix millia, cccxlv l. xix s. viii d.”

The last piece I have to produce relates to works to be done for the Prince and his consort Eleanor; with the addition of the salary of master William, who was allowed six-pence a day, as surveyor of the works at Guilford :

“Liberate 52 HEN. III. m. 11. Rex vicecom. Surr. et Suff. salutem.
 “Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus com. prædictorum infra curiam nostram
 “manerii nostri de Guldeford quandam cameram cum stadio et camino, gar-
 “deroba, et camera forinseca, et quandam capellam ad caput ejusdem cameræ,
 “cum stadio et fenestris vitreis, eandem cameram et capellam decentibus, ad
 “opus karissimæ filiæ nostræ Alianoræ consortis Edwardi primogeniti nostri,
 “et unam cameram cum stadio et camino camera forinseca, et fenestris vi-
 “treis

“treis eandem cameram decentibus, ad opus militum karissimæ confortis
 “nostræ Alianoræ reginæ Angliæ, et quoddam * appentim. ibidem de novo
 “sine dilatione fieri, et herbarium ejusdem reginæ nostræ reparari et emen-
 “dari facias, secundum quod Willielmo Florentino pictori nostro injunximus,
 “et idem Willielmus plenius tibi scire faciet ex parte nostra; et custum, &c.
 “per visum, &c. computabitur.

“Rex eidem vicecom. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus com.
 “prædictorum facias habere Willielmo Florentino custodi operationum nostra-
 “rum manerii nostri de Guldeford singulis diebus sex denarios pro stipendiis
 “suis, quam diu fueris vicecomes noster eorundem comitat. et prædictus
 “Willielmus custos fuerit operationum prædictarum, sicut eos temporibus
 “retroactis ante turbationem habitam in regno ibidem percipere confuevit: et
 “custum, &c. Teste rege apud Westm. xxix die Jan.”

Besides the palaces above mentioned, this prince laid out, too, large sums in repairing and beautifying Kenelworth castle, cieling the chapel with wainscot, painting that and the queen's chamber, and rebuilding the wall on the outside, as it remained to the time of sir William Dugdale †.

I cannot pass over the princess Eleanor, so much celebrated by our legendary historians for sucking the poison out of her husband's wound, without mentioning the crosses erected to her memory, which Vertue with great probability supposed were built on the designs of Peter Cavalini, a Roman sculptor, and whom from various circumstances he discovered to be the architect of the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

The reader, I am persuaded, will be pleased to see how ingeniously my author traced out this hitherto unknown fact.

* Sic originale.

† See his Warwicksh. p. 244. In the same reign John of Hertford, abbot of St Albans, made great additions to his convent, and in one of the chambers placed A NOBLE PICTURE. See

Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 21. One Lamb-birt, builder or repairer of the same church, heaped his own rebus, a lamb and a bird, among the ornaments. Alen Strayler was illuminator to that abbey.

The original inscription on the tomb ran thus :

Anno milleno Domini cum septuagena
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum
Romanus civis : Homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus, sancti præsentis amicus.

The words *Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis* were discernible till very lately. Some old authors ascribe the erection of the shrine to Henry himself; others, to Richard de Ware the abbat, elected in 1260. It is probable that both were concerned. The new abbat repaired to Rome immediately on his election to receive consecration from Urban IV. At that time, says Vasari, flourished there Peter Cavalini, a painter and the inventor of mosaic, who had performed several costly works in that city. About four years before the arrival of abbat Ware, that is in 1256, had been erected a splendid shrine * for the martyrs Simplicius and Faustina, at the expence of John James Capoccio and his wife, adorned with twisted columns and inlaid with precious marbles exactly in the taste, though not in the precise form, of that of St. Edward. Nothing is more probable than that a rich abbat, either at his own expence, or to gratify the taste of his magnificent master, should engage a capital artist to return with him and undertake the shrine of his master's patron-saint, and the great patron of his own church. Weaver says expressly that the abbat brought back with him from Rome *workmen* and rich porphyry stones for Edward the Confessor's feretory; and for the pavement of the chapel †.

* A draught of it by Mr. Talman in the proper colours is preserved in the first volume of the drawings belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. A sketch of it I have among Vertue's MSS. Great part of that identic shrine, which stood originally in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, and was removed of late years, on making a new pavement to the church, is now at Strawberry-hill, in a chapel erected on purpose to receive it; being sent to Mr. Walpole by sir William Hamilton, envoy to Naples, who purchased it on its removal.

† Before Henry III. began the present church, there had been a rich shrine for the Confessor erected by William I. as the latter says expressly

in his charter. Edward had bestowed Windfor on the Abbey of Westminster; the Conqueror, on his accession, prevailed on the abbat and convent to restore Windfor, in exchange for other lands, being delighted with the site: "Maximè utilis et commodus est visus propter contiguam aquam et silvam venationibus aptam," says he; and after naming the lordships he gave them, he mentions the gift of an hundred pounds of silver to complete and finish the building of the Abbey, and then adds, "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipsum inclitum regem Edwardum habueram, tumbum ejus et reginæ juxta eum positæ, ex auro et argento fabrilii opere artificiosii decoris mirificè operiri feci."

This abbat was lord treasurer to his death in 1283, and was buried on the north side of the great altar : over him was anciently this epitaph confirming the circumstances above mentioned :

Abbas Richardus de Wará, qui requiescit
Hic, portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab Urbe.

Vafari's silence on Cavalini's journey to England ought to be no objection ; he not only wrote some hundred years after the time, but confounds his own account so strangely as to make Peter Cavalini scholar of Giotto, who was twenty years younger. If it may be imagined that Richard Ware could not have interest enough to seduce so capital a workman from the service of the pope, it might still be accounted for by higher authority. Edward I. returning from the Holy Land was conducted by the king of Sicily to Rome to visit Gregory X. who had been Edward's companion and friend in the Holy War. An artful pope would certainly be glad to furnish a young king with artists who would encourage him in raising shrines and temples. The monument of Henry III. erected by his son, is beautified in the same taste with porphyry and mosaic ; and the first brazen statue known to have been cast here, lies upon it. The old paintings round the chapel of St. Edward, and those in a very beautiful and superior style, though much decayed, over the ragged regiment, Vertue ascribes to the same Cavalini. This painter and sculptor probably, as I have said, gave the designs for the crosses erected by Edward to his beloved Eleanor *. Vertue had drawn them, with a design of engraving ; I have his original drawings. I must not omit, that it was no small part of Peter Cavalini's fame, that he made the crucifix that spoke to St. Bridget †.

From all the testimonies above recited, Henry III. appears in a new light from what has hitherto been known of him. That he was a weak prince in point of government is indisputable. That he was a great encourager of the arts, these records demonstrate. When historians talk of his profusion, they evidence only in what he dissipated on his favourites. But it is plain that the

* I have some suspicion that a son of Peter Cavalini is the person called Peter le Orfever, mentioned in a precept of Edward II. He is there entitled of Stanford, and brought an action against certain persons for assault and bat-

tery. As one of queen Eleanor's crosses was erected there, it is not improbable that a son of Cavalini might marry and settle in that town. See Peck's Stanford, lib. x. sect. 13.

† Felibien, vol. i. p. 172.

number and magnificence of his buildings and palaces must have swallowed great part of the sums, maliciously charged to the single article of unworthy favourites. It matters not how a prince squanders what he has tyrannically squeezed from the subject: if he exceeds his revenue, it is almost as ill spent on edifices as on ministers. But it is perhaps no more than justice to make some allowance for partial or exaggerated relations. Henry was not a wise prince—may I venture to say more—he was not a martial prince. Even in these more sensible ages, one illustrious defect in a king converts all his other foibles into excellencies. It must have done so much more in a season of such heroic barbarism as that of Henry III. and the want of an enterprising spirit in that prince made even his patronage of the arts be imputed to effeminacy, or be overlooked. The extravagance of Louis XIV. in his buildings, gardens, water-works, passed for an object of glory under the canon (if I may say so) of his ambition. Henry III. had no conquests to illuminate his ceilings, his halls, his bas-reliefs. Yet perhaps the generous sentiment implied in his motto, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*, contained more true glory than all the Fast couched under Louis's emblem of the sun, and his other ostentatious devices. But let us compare Henry with one nearer to him. Henry's reign is one of the most ignominious in our annals; that of Edward the Ist, of the most triumphant. Yet I would ask, By which of the two did the nation suffer most? By sums lavished on favourites and buildings; or by sums and blood wasted in unjust wars? If we look narrowly into Edward's reign, we shall scarce * find fewer representations against the tyranny of the son than against the encroachments of the father. Who will own that he had not rather employ master William and Edward of Westminster to paint the gestes of the kings of Antioch, than imitate the son in his barbarities in Wales and usurpations in Scotland?

* See the Parliamentary History.