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A JACOBEAN ANTIQUARY REASSESSED: THOMAS LYTE, THE LYTE GENEALOGY AND THE LYTE JEWEL

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This paper discusses two objects once owned by the antiquary Thomas Lyte (1568–1638). The Lyte Genealogy, now in the British Library, is an illustrated pedigree of Britain's monarchs, tracing the royal succession through multiple lines of descent from the Trojan prince Brute. It demonstrates the importance of antiquarianism, and the continuing relevance of the traditional British history derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth, in supporting the legitimacy of the Stuart succession. The Lyte Jewel, now in the British Museum, is a tablet miniature containing a portrait of James I by Nicholas Hilliard, presented to Thomas Lyte by the king as a reward for his work on the Genealogy. New evidence points to the king's jeweller, George Heriot, as its likely designer. Together, the Lyte Genealogy and the Lyte Jewel offer new insights into the antiquarian pursuits of the early Stuart gentry and the intellectual and material culture of the Jacobean court.

Thomas Lyte (1568–1638),[1] of Lytes Cary, Somerset, is associated with two remarkable artefacts from the court of James I. The first of these is the Lyte Genealogy (fig 1), an illustrated pedigree tracing the descent of James I from Brutus, which Lyte presented to the king at Whitehall in 1610; the second is the Lyte Jewel (fig 2), a diamond-studded locket containing a miniature of James I by Nicholas Hilliard, which the king gave to Lyte in 1610–11. The Jewel was given to the British Museum as part of the Waddesdon Bequest in 1898, while the Genealogy was bought by the British Museum in 1964 and is now in the British Library. More recently, they were brought to wider public attention when they featured in the exhibition *Shakespeare: Staging the World* at the British Museum in 2012,[2] and in the BBC television series *The King and the Playwright: a Jacobean history*, presented by Professor James Shapiro, in the same year.

In the course of research for the British Museum's Shakespeare exhibition it became apparent that these two objects needed to be reassessed – and, what is more, reassessed together. Each is remarkable in its own right, but together they form part of a connected story about Jacobean court culture and the public representation of kingship.

1. Sherlock 2008.
2. Bate and Thornton 2012.

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Fig 1. Central panel of the Lyte Genealogy (BL, Add MS 48343). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

The balance of value in the exchange might seem inequitable, since the Genealogy has often been regarded as a minor antiquarian curiosity, whereas the Jewel has long been recognised as one of the finest pieces of jewellery to survive from the early Stuart period. In the first and second sections of this article we show why Thomas Lyte was so richly rewarded for his labours, by setting the Genealogy in the context of contemporary debates on the Anglo-Scottish union and the Stuart succession. In the third section we show how the Lyte Jewel belongs to a culture of lavish royal gift-giving at the Jacobean court, and offer new evidence to strengthen its attribution to George Heriot, the king's jeweller.

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Fig 2. The Lyte Jewel, enamelled gold set with diamonds with a miniature of James VI of Scotland and James I of England, London, 1610–11 (BM, WB.167). *Photographs*: © Trustees of the British Museum; all rights reserved

THOMAS LYTE AND THE GENEALOGY

Thomas Lyte inherited his antiquarian interests from his father, Henry Lyte (1529–1607), who had the reputation of being 'a most excellent scholar in several sorts of learning'.[3] Henry Lyte (fig 3) is best known for his translation of Dodoens' *New Herball, or Historie of Plantes* (1578), a landmark work in the history of English botany. His copy of the 1557 French Dodoens, now in the British Library, is inscribed 'Henry Lyte taught me to speake Englishe' and is heavily annotated in red and black ink, with further notes added by Thomas, including a list of the fruit trees in the orchard at Lytes Cary.[4] The house at Lytes Cary, now in the possession of the National Trust, later fell into dereliction before being restored in the early twentieth century, but enough remains of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century decorative schemes to show that, like other gentry houses of the same period, it was richly decorated with heraldic stained glass and painted coats of arms.[5] Thomas Lyte's papers also include an inventory of the muniments at Lytes Cary, a substantial collection of deeds, rolls and other documents stored in an assortment of iron chests, wooden boxes and wicker hampers in the 'closet', possibly the room now known as the Little Parlour.[6]

3. Bliss 1813–20, II, 22.
4. BL, 442.h.9.
5. For other gentry houses with heraldic decoration, see Cust 2014.
6. SRO, DD/X/LY/3.

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Fig 3. Thomas Lyte's portrait of his father Henry Lyte, *c* 1633 (SRO, DD/X/LY/2). *Photograph*: Somerset Record Office

The visitor to Lytes Cary would thus have been confronted with a powerful visual assertion of the family's right to gentry status, with the documentary evidence to back it up. This was the setting in which the Lyte Genealogy would once have been displayed.

Henry Lyte's only appearance in print, apart from his translation of Dodoens, was a short historical treatise, *The Light of Brittaine*, which he presented to Elizabeth I on the occasion of her triumphal procession to St Paul's Cathedral on 24 November 1588 following the defeat of the Spanish Armada. In this work he traced the history of Britain back to its mythical foundation by the Trojan prince Brute, and argued that many of the great noble families of England, including the Grays, the Percys, the Cecils and the Sydneys, were descended from Brute's Trojan followers.[7] The Brute legend was especially important to Lyte as a means of upholding the honour and dignity of his own family; in an unpublished manuscript treatise he argued that the Lytes were descended from Leitus, one of the five captains of Brute's army, and that the Lyte coat of arms (gules, a chevron between three swans argent) was based on the standard carried by Leitus at the siege of Troy. Lyte believed that the towns of Bruton and Castle Cary had both been established by the Trojans, the former named after Brute himself, the latter after Caria in Asia Minor, and that the proximity of Lytes Cary to these two ancient settlements 'provethe that we were not only of Brutes trayne, but also somwhat neare aboute him'.[8]

7. Lyte 1588. On Lyte's presentation of the work to Elizabeth I, see Munday 1611, 470.
8. BL, Harleian Rolls H.26.

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This fanciful theory led T D Kendrick to characterise Lyte as the epitome of the old-fashioned 'fundamentalist' antiquary, in opposition to the new 'sceptical modernist' school pioneered by William Camden.[9] Yet, this is an over-simplification. Lyte could hardly remain untouched by the pervasive influence of Camden's *Britannia*, and his annotated copy of the book shows how closely he studied it.[10] Although he took issue with Camden over his rejection of the Brutus legend, he was clearly influenced both by Camden's model of topographical or chorographical history (which, as Jan Broadway has recently argued, provided a pattern, on a national scale, that local antiquaries could apply to the history of their own family or county) and by his method of using the etymology of place-names to reconstruct their history.[11] Thomas Lyte was on friendly terms with Camden, who wrote some Latin verses in commendation of the Genealogy and added a note to the English translation of *Britannia* in 1610 praising Lyte as 'a gentleman studious of all good knowledge'.[12] Lyte in his turn acted as a mentor to other local antiquaries, such as Thomas Gerard, whose *Particular Description of the County of Somerset* (1633) acknowledged 'his love to my own studie' and 'his great humanitie towards mee in helping mee with many excellent peices of evidence and other antiquities which have bin very useful unto mee'.[13]

The Lyte Genealogy was probably begun soon after James's accession in 1603, as a companion manuscript, 'Britaines Monarchie', bears the colophon: 'Dedicated to his excellent Maiestie and published with his royall assent and Priviledge, 1605'.[14] It was most probably a collaborative project, started by Henry Lyte and completed by Thomas after his father's death in 1607. Thomas's inventory of his papers includes 'A petigree from Brute drawne by my father in a little Roll', which may refer to an early draft of the Genealogy.[15] The final version was presented to James at Whitehall on 12 July 1610, in the presence of Prince Henry, Archbishop Bancroft and the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, Nottingham, Arundel, Southampton and Montgomery.[16] The first published reference to it occurs in Anthony Munday's historical compendium, *A Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of Times* (1611), which prints a lengthy extract from Henry Lyte's *The Light of Brittaine* in defence of the Brutus legend, ending as follows:

> Thus much out of Maister *Lytes* Light of Brittaine, which worthy Gentleman being deceased, his Son Maister *Thomas Lyte*, of *Lytescarie*, Esquire, a true immitator and heyre to his Fathers Vertues, hath (not long since) presented the Maiesty of King Iames, with an excellent Mappe or Genealogicall Table (containing the bredth and circumference of twenty large sheets of Paper) which he entitled Brittaines Monarchy, approuing *Brutes* History, and the whole succession of this our Nation, from the very Original, with the iust observation of al times, changes and occasions therein happening. This worthy worke, having cost above seaven yeares labour, besides great charges and expence, his highnesse hath made very gratious acceptance of, and to witnesse the same, in Court it hangeth in an especiall place of eminence.[17]

9. Kendrick 1950, 100.
10. Beinecke, Osborn pa33. We are grateful to Kathryn James for drawing our attention to this volume.
11. Broadway 2006, 31–2. On Camden and etymology, see Vine 2010, 51–79.
12. Camden 1610, 224. Camden's verses are transcribed by Lyte in BL, Add MS 59741, fol 8v.
13. Gerard 1900, 224–5.
14. BL, Add MS 59741.
15. SRO, DD/X/LY/3, p 62.
16. The date and circumstances of presentation are given in BL, Add MS 59741.
17. Munday 1611, 478–9.

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Fig 4. Image of the stone of Gathelus, from Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* (London, 1577), 4th section, A2r (p 3). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

Fig 5. Image of the stone of Gathelus, copied from Holinshed, in the Lyte Genealogy (BL, Add MS 48343). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

Munday expresses the hope that the Genealogy might be 'made more generall', adding that 'his Maiesty hath graunted him priviledge, so, that the world might be worthie to enioy it, whereto, if friendship may prevaile, as he hath bin already, so shall he be still as earnestly sollicited'. This seems to suggest that Lyte was planning an engraved version of the Genealogy. No such engraving is now known to survive, but a copy was later in the possession of William Aubrey, brother of the antiquary John Aubrey, who called it 'bigger than the biggest map of the world I ever sawe'.[18] Thomas Hearne also saw a copy which he described as 'ingraved in about 20 sheets of Paper to be pasted together and hung up', though he added that it was 'wonderful scarce'.[19]

The copy of the Genealogy that was presented to the king, 'fairlye written in Parchment and set fourth in rich coulers in a verie large Table', no longer survives, having perhaps been destroyed in the Whitehall Palace fire of 1619. What remains is the uncoloured copy in pen and ink that belonged to Thomas Lyte and that hung in the Great Parlour at Lytes Cary. This originally consisted of nine sheets of parchment joined together to form a square, approximately 2 metres along each side, though the four corner sheets are now lost. In an

18. Bodleian, MS Wood F.39, fols 141–142 (Aubrey to Wood, 27 Oct 1671), and fol 210 (Aubrey to Wood, 24 May 1673), partly printed in Aubrey 1898, II, 41–2.
19. Hearne 1719, III, 150.

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Fig 6. Portrait heads of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, from the Lyte Genealogy (BL, Add MS 48343). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

explanatory note, Lyte states that 'for the better understanding of this generall worke' he has divided it into 'four severall tables', the first tracing the descent of the British kings from Brutus, the second the descent of the Scottish kings from Gathelus, the third the 'severall genealogies of the four conquering Nations' (the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans) and the fourth the descent of the Pictish kings down to the defeat of Drusken by Kenneth, King of the Scots. These various lines of descent – including 'The Danish Lyne', 'The Saxon Lyne', 'North Wales lyne', 'South Wales lyne' and 'Tuders Lyne' – run in parallel along the foot of the manuscript (see fig 10) before finally converging on the central figure of King James.

According to Lyte, the Genealogy was compiled 'out of the best and most approved Authors that have written either in French Latine or Englishe'. In fact the Genealogy relies heavily on a single source, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, and to a lesser extent on the other standard chronicles (chiefly Harding and Stow) and, for the Welsh kings, on David Powell's *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* (1584). Many of the supporting texts, such as John Leland's Latin verses on King Arthur and Nicolas Roscarrock's English translation of them, are taken straight from Holinshed, while the inscription on Henry VII's monument in Westminster Abbey may have been copied from Camden's *Reges, Reginae, Nobiles* (1600) or his *Remaines* (1605). Several of the illustrations also come from Holinshed: the image of the Stone of Scone, for example, which appears several times in the Genealogy, is a reversed copy of Holinshed's woodcut of the marble stone of Gathelus (figs 4 and 5). Among other visual sources, the emblems of the English monarchs are copied from Jacobus Typotius's *Symbola Divina et Humana Pontificum, Imperatorum,*

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Fig 7. *James I in Parliament* (1604), engraved by Renold Elstrack (BM, 1856,0614.148). *Photograph*: © Trustees of the British Museum; all rights reserved

Fig 8. James I, copied from Elstrack's engraving, in the Lyte Genealogy (BL, Add MS 48343). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

Regum (1601); the oval portrait heads of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York (fig 6), and the figures of James I and Anne of Denmark, from a print by Renold Elstrack, *The Most Happy Unions Contracted betwixt the Princes of the Blood Royall of theis towe Famous Kingdomes of England & Scotland* (1603); while another Elstrack engraving, of *James I in Parliament* (1604) (fig 7), served as the source for the the Genealogy's central image of James I (fig 8).[20]

20. On the tradition of portrait heads of English monarchs, see Hind 1955, 115–20, and Luborsky and Ingram 1998, I, 621–2. On the Elstrack prints, see Griffiths 1998, 45–7.

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Fig 9. Thomas Lyte's portraits of William le Lite and his wife Agnes, *c* 1610 (SRO, DD/X/LY/1). *Photograph*: Somerset Record Office

A reference in Lyte's notebook to 'Crinkyns Covenants for drawing and lymninge the kinges petegree' shows that he commissioned a professional artist to illuminate the presentation copy of the Genealogy. J H P Pafford was the first to identify 'Crinkyn' as the London painter-stainer John Grinkin (*fl* 1586–1620), one of the leading artificers responsible for the Lord Mayor's shows and other civic pageants in the early Stuart period.[21] Grinkin and Lyte may have been introduced by Anthony Munday, who was also involved in designing and producing the mayoral pageants, and, as noted above, inserted a fulsome compliment to Henry and Thomas Lyte in his 1611 *Briefe Chronicle*. Grinkin was certainly employed to illustrate the now-lost copy of the Genealogy that hung at Whitehall Palace; what is not so clear is whether he also drew the figures in the surviving uncoloured copy that probably served as the exemplar. Aubrey, who saw the manuscript on display at Lytes Cary

21. Pafford 1988. On Grinkin's career, see Bergeron 2003, 239–42, and Town 2014, 99–100.

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in the 1670s, believed that Lyte was responsible for the text but not the drawings: 'T. Lyte writt the best print hand that ever I yet sawe, the originall, which is now in the Parlour at Lytes-Cary, was writt by him with his hand, and limned by a famous Artist.'[22] However, Lyte's godson, Thomas Baskerville, who also saw the Genealogy 'set in a frame about 3 yards square … in the great parlor att Lytes Cary house', believed that it was entirely Lyte's own work: 'beeing a curious pen-man, hee drew it on Vellam or parchment, illustrating [it] with the figures of Men women and other things agreeable to that history'.[23]

We can learn more about the Lyte Genealogy by comparing it with two other pedigree rolls that were probably displayed alongside it in the parlour at Lytes Cary.[24] The first, written on four sheets of vellum (the upper sheet now missing), traces the Lyte family back to William le Lite (d. 1316) and his wife Agnes, whose kneeling figures, copied from a stained-glass window in the church of Charlton Mackrell, appear at the foot of the roll with the stem and branches of the family tree ascending from them in the conventional Jesse Tree format (fig 9). On either side of the family tree are a series of pen-and-ink copies of documents and funeral monuments, including the monument for Anthony Lyte (d. 1579) taken from a copper plate in Greenwich church 'as I beheld the same and tooke a transcript of it in the yeer of our Lord 1610', showing that the manuscript must post-date the Lyte Genealogy. The second roll, also on four sheets of vellum, and written in 1633, sets out the descendants of John Lyte (1498–1566) and his wife Edith (1521–56), their eight children and their respective families. The caption to John Lyte's portrait emphasises his role in suppressing the Western Rising of 1549, noting that he joined with 'other gentlemen of the Countrie in suppressing the Western Rebels who came soe farr as Kingweston neer Charlton and were there overthrowne by the power of the Countie'. This suggests that the manuscript was in part intended as a display of the Lyte family's loyalty to the Crown and the county establishment, an especially sensitive subject for Thomas Lyte, who had been temporarily removed from the Somerset commission of the peace in the 'great purge' of 1625–6 when opponents of the Duke of Buckingham were put out of the county commissions.[25]

The three rolls manifestly share a common origin. All are written in the same distinctive round hand that Aubrey described as Thomas Lyte's 'print hand'. All are drawn by the same artist, though the draughtsmanship of the two pedigree rolls is more fluent and assured than that of the earlier manuscript. All are highly idiosyncratic in design and execution. As Grinkin died in 1620, he cannot have had any hand in designing the second pedigree roll of 1633, and it therefore seems likely that all three manuscripts were written and drawn by Lyte himself, with the Genealogy conceivably being the item listed in Lyte's inventory of papers as 'The first draught of divers tables fixed in the kinges petegree'.[26] The drawings are certainly not beyond the capability of a talented amateur artist. The 'print hand' found in the three manuscripts bears little resemblance to the handwriting of Lyte's few surviving letters, but his notebook shows that, like many practised writers in early modern England, he was able to vary his handwriting, alternating between a running secretary hand and a more formal bookhand. The variety of calligraphic hands used in the Genealogy and the facsimiles of medieval court hand in the earlier of the two pedigree

22. Bodleian, MS Wood F.39, fols 141–142.
23. For Baskerville's account of the Lyte family, see Bodleian, MS Rawl D.859, fol 76.
24. SRO, DD/X/LY/1–2. These are the rolls referred to by Maxwell Lyte as 'Pedigree I' and 'Pedigree II' respectively: Lyte 1892, 1–2.
25. Wall 2009, 683.
26. SRO, DD/X/LY/3, p 64.

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rolls suggest that he also had access to a copybook such as Jean de Beauchesne's *A Book Containing Divers Sortes of Hands* (1570).

These three genealogical rolls are among the most remarkable manifestations of early Stuart gentry antiquarianism. They reflect an obsessive concern with ancestral origins, an anxious awareness of social mobility and an almost mystical belief in the unifying power of consanguinity, expressed most clearly in the introductory caption to the 1633 pedigree roll in which Lyte explains his reasons for compiling the manuscript: 'not for anye ostentation of birth or kinred … but only that those that are soe lately discended of one Parentage and from one Famelye might not be Strangers one to an other For as it has pleased God to advance some of them to honour and worshippe Soe some againe are humbled to a lowe & meane estate yet not to be despised for that they are discended of the same bloud and it may please God in a moment to raise them up againe.' They also reveal Lyte's strategic use of genealogy to create an appearance of continuity. The Lytes were hardly a united family: only a generation earlier, the family peace had been shattered by a bitter quarrel between Thomas's father and grandfather, still traceable in the family records where Thomas noted 'unkynd letters & worse dealinges betwixt Jo Lyte Esq & his son'.[27] The Lyte pedigree rolls were, among other things, a means of rendering these divisions invisible and presenting an image of seamless continuity across the generations. The Lyte Genealogy performed the same trick on a larger scale by smoothing over the ruptures in the line of British kings in order to present a seemingly unarguable case for the Stuart succession.

SUCCESSION AND UNION

The Lyte Genealogy is one of a number of royal pedigrees presented to James I soon after his accession. Other examples include George Owen Harry's *The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Brittayne* (1604), and Morgan Colman's genealogical chart, *Arbor Regalis, sive Genealogia Potentissimi Invictissimi et Augustissimi Monarchae Jacobi Primi* (1604), which may have hung alongside the Lyte Genealogy in Whitehall Palace.[28] These were works of compliment and panegyric, produced in the hope of gaining royal favour, yet they also deal with two issues of the utmost political sensitivity, the Stuart succession and the Anglo-Scottish union. The Lyte Genealogy deserves attention not just as an exercise in panegyric but as a case-study in the application of antiquarian history to contemporary politics.

One of the most notable features of the Lyte Genealogy is its inclusion of the line of ancient British kings from Brute to Cadwallader, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth (the 'Galfridian myth', as it is sometimes called). Several sixteenth-century historians, including Polydore Vergil in his *Anglica Historia* (1534) and George Buchanan in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582), had already cast doubt on the veracity of the Brute legend, while Camden's *Britannia* (1586) suggested that the name Britain derived not from the legendary Brute but from the Welsh word Brith, meaning painted or coloured, in reference to the ancient Britons' custom of painting their bodies. Nevertheless, Camden ended by leaving the question open and inviting every reader to 'judge as it pleaseth him':

> I beseech you, let no man commense action against me, a plaine meaning man, and an ingenuous student of the truth, as though I impeached that narration of Brutus;

27. SRO, DD/X/LY/3, p 63.
28. Bodleian, MS Lat misc a.1. Another chart by Colman, showing the genealogies of the kings of England from Egbert of Wessex to Elizabeth I, is now in the Beinecke Library, Osborn fa56. For evidence that some of Colman's charts were displayed at Whitehall, see Town 2014.

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> forasmuch as it hath been alwaies (I hope) lawfull for every man in such like matters, both to thinke what he will, and also to relate what others have thought. For mine owne part, let Brutus be taken for the father, and founder of the British nation; I will not be of a contrarie minde … Let Antiquitie heerein be pardoned, if by entermingling falsities and truthes, humane matters and divine together, it make the first beginnings of nations and cities more noble, sacred, and of greater maiestie: seeing that, as Plinie writeth, *Even falsely to claime and challenge descents from famous personages, implieth in some sort a love of virtue.*[29]

Some modern commentators have argued that this passage is heavily ironic in tone. Others have suggested that it should be taken literally, as a pragmatic acceptance that myth and legend could still serve a useful purpose in supporting national identity. Contemporary readers, however, were in little doubt that *Britannia* represented a formidable challenge to the received theory of British origins. Henry Lyte complained that the critics of the Brute legend 'have don no smale wronge to Britayn, espetially Camden whos Britannia beinge in the Latin tongue fleethe abroad in all the worlde as a Recorde against the true Originall of the moste noble Britaynes'. He even proposed that the book should be suppressed, and 'master Camden or som other' commissioned to write a revised edition, 'with better advisement', so that 'the veritie of the Britishe historie' could be reasserted.[30]

This 'Britishe historie' took on extra significance with the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English and Welsh throne in 1603, as it made it possible to argue that the whole island had once been united under a single ruler. James's union of the crowns could thus be seen not just as a unification but as a reunification. Such was the influence of Camden's *Britannia*, however, that few of James's advisers bothered to defend the Galfridian myth, despite its potential value as a precedent for the Anglo-Scottish union. Francis Bacon, in his *Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland*, declared firmly: 'It doth not appear by the records and monuments of any true history, nor scarcely by the fiction and pleasure of any fabulous narration or tradition of any antiquity, that ever this island of Great Britain was united under one king before this day.'[31] Sir Henry Savile, in his *Historicall Collections* on the Anglo-Scottish union, briskly dismissed the Brute legend as one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Welsh fables', while, from the Scottish side, Sir Thomas Craig described it as *immo nihil probabile* ('exceedingly improbable') and argued that, at the time of the Roman invasion, Britain had been divided into several different states, each ruled by its own king.[32] There was thus fairly widespread agreement that, in Bacon's words, James was 'the first king that had the honour to be *lapis angularis*, to unite these two mighty and warlike nations of England and Scotland under one sovereignty and monarchy'.[33]

Yet James himself was reluctant to give up the Brute legend. He had already used it in his treatise on government, *Basilikon Doron* (1599), as a warning to his son that 'by deviding your kingdomes, yee shall leave the seed of division and discord among your posteritie; as befell to this Ile, by the division and assignement thereof, to the three sonnes of Brutus'. He drew on it again in a royal proclamation of 20 October 1604, which referred pointedly to 'the blessed Union, or rather Reuniting' of the two kingdoms.[34] Nor was the new school of sceptical

29. Camden 1610, 6.
30. Bodleian, MS Twyne 2, fol 161.
31. Spedding 1861–74, III, 92.
32. Galloway and Levack 1985, 211; Craig 1909, 208–9.
33. Spedding 1861–74, III, 92.
34. Sommerville 1994, 42; Larkin and Hughes 1973, 95.

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Camdenian history necessarily opposed to the Galfridian myth.[35] Even some antiquaries in the Camdenian tradition, such as Sir Simonds D'Ewes, expressed a desire to hold onto the story of Brute in some form. In an unfinished treatise, 'Brutus-Redivivus, or Brittaines True Bruto in parte discovered', D'Ewes affirmed his belief in the 'traditionall historie' of Britain, which he complained was 'too much derided by some that are learned'. In his view, there was every reason to believe that Brute had existed as a historical figure and given his name to Britain, even though the tale of his Trojan origin was clearly a later invention grafted onto the older tradition after the Roman conquest. 'I make noe great doubt but that our true Brute was both setled here and this Island fullie knowen by that appellation it receaved from him: and (under Mr Camdens leave) before the Brittaines weere acquainted with that skill of painting or this land receav'd its appellation from soe poore a daubing.'[36]

Thomas Lyte was not so unusual, therefore, in trying to salvage some elements of the traditional 'British history'. Unlike his father, he was prepared to accept the force of Camden's arguments, but in the Genealogy and its accompanying commentary, *Britaines Monarchie*, he offered a qualified defence of 'the Brittish Genealogies and the Histories of Brute' adapted from another of his source-texts, William Warner's *Albions England* (1602). As for the truth of the Brute legend, he wrote,

> I leave it disputable to the censure of our fore passed and modern Historiographers, my purpose being only to reduce that to order which Antiquitie hath left and we by tradition have received
>
> And albeit I concurre with our learnedst Antiquaries that before the entrance of the Romans our Brittish History avoideth not the suspition of some fabulous errors, yet in soe generall a worke to have omitted a matter soe generally received had bene no otherwise than to delineat a bodie without a head or to have described a river without his proper fountaine.[37]

Although Lyte could not bring himself to omit the legendary history altogether, he invited 'those that are lesse affected to the History of Brute' to ignore it and 'descend lower to those cleerer streames issueing from our later Brittishe Kings and Princes of Wales from whome they may drawe a most perfect descent running by divers direct lynes to our gracious Soveraigne'.[38]

The Lyte Genealogy is a product of what might be termed the 'Galfridian moment' shortly after James's accession, when the Brute legend was pressed into service in support of the Anglo-Scottish union. Thomas Middleton's verses for the triumphant procession welcoming James into London on 15 March 1604 are a good illustration of this strategic deployment of British history. As he entered the capital, James was greeted by the figure of Zeal, who invited him to take possession of his new dominions:

> … so rich an *Empire*, whose faire brest
> Containe four *Kingdomes* by your entrance blest,
> By *Brute* divided, but by you alone,
> All are again united, and made one.[39]

35. A point recently made in Hadfield 1993 and Hadfield 2005.
36. BL, Harleian MS 593, fol 17.
37. BL, Add MS 59741, fol 8. For a version of the same passage, see Warner 1602, 351.
38. BL, Add MS 59741, fol 8v.
39. Taylor and Lavagnino 2007, 263.

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In Anthony Munday's pageant *The Triumphes of Re-United Britannia*, performed at the Lord Mayor's show on 29 October 1605, Brute appears in the pageant to welcome James as 'another *Brute*, that gives againe / To *Britaine* her first name' and celebrate the peaceful reunification of the kingdoms:

> And what fierce war by no meanes could effect,
> To re-unite those sundred lands in one,
> The hand of heaven did peacefully elect
> By mildest grace, to seat on *Britaines* throne
> This second *Brute*, then whom there else was none.
> *Wales*, *England*, *Scotland*, severd first by me:
> To knit againe in blessed unity.[40]

John Ross's Latin poem *Britannica*, published in 1607, illustrates the particular appeal of the Brute legend for common lawyers seeking to uphold the antiquity of British law.[41] But the most famous literary product of this Galfridian moment is Shakespeare's *King Lear*, probably written around 1605–6 and typical of the early Jacobean period in its concern with the dangers of dividing a united kingdom.

A further notable feature of the Genealogy is that it traces the succession back to Brute via multiple lines of descent. The basic case for the Stuart succession rested on James's descent from Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. James himself, in his speech to Parliament on 19 March 1604, declared that 'by my descent lineally out of the loynes of Henry the seventh, is reunited and confirmed in mee the Union of the two Princely Roses of the two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke'.[42] This had the advantage of emphasising the blood-relationship between James and Elizabeth I and aligning the case for James's hereditary right with the existing arguments for the Tudor succession. However, it was also open to several objections: first, that Henry VIII's will had conspicuously passed over the Stuart claim; secondly, that James, as a Scot, was barred from the English throne by the common-law rule against alien inheritance.[43] Both these objections were raised by Robert Parsons in his succession tract, *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland* (1594), in which he presented James as merely one of a host of possible candidates and argued that the strongest claimant was the Spanish Infanta. Parsons's aim may not have been so much to promote the Infanta's claim as to spread doubt and confusion over James's claim. If so, he certainly succeeded. Susan Doran has argued that, until 1595, 'James had every reason to feel confident that his title to the English throne was reasonably secure'. The publication of Parsons's *Conference* altered his attitude and made him considerably more anxious about the possibility of a disputed succession.[44]

The response of James's apologists was to come up with increasingly elaborate arguments in defence of the Stuart succession. As Parsons had argued that the Infanta's hereditary claim could be traced back to William the Conqueror, his opponents sought to go one better by tracing James's claim back to the pre-Conquest period. Sir Robert Cotton, in a tract presented to James shortly after his accession, argued that the Stuart line could be

40. Bergeron 1985, 9. See also Dutton 1986, Schofield 2004 and, for other uses of the Brute legend, Greenleaf 1966 and Parry 2000.
41. Hardin 1992, 243.
42. Sommerville 1994, 134.
43. Levine 1966, 99–125, 147–62.
44. Doran 2006, 27.

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traced back to Edgar, King of the West Saxons, who called himself King of all Britain, 'as many of his charters at this day warrant'. James thus united the Norman and Saxon lines, and as well as being 'the just and lawful successor to all the Norman race, may undoubtedly deduce from Edgar in blood (which the Conqueror properly could not) the stile of King of Brittain'.[45] Sir Thomas Craig put forward an even more elaborate argument from hereditary succession in which he maintained that the Romans, the Saxons and the Danes, 'the three royal houses which at different times have claimed the crown of England', were all united in the person of James. The Roman claim had passed by natural law to the Picts and Scots when the Romans abandoned Britain, and therefore belonged to the Scottish kings; while the Saxon claim had passed from Edward the Confessor to his niece Margaret, and thence to Margaret's husband, Malcolm Canmore, King of the Scots. Craig did not discuss the Danish claim in any detail, but it could be argued that this too had passed to James through his marriage with Anne of Denmark.[46]

These arguments varied according to national preferences. Cotton's was an Anglocentric argument, hinging on the assertion that the Saxon King Edgar had been 'victorious over the Kings of Scotland, Orcades and the Isles' and had therefore earned the right to call himself King of all Britain. Craig's was a Scotocentric argument, which held that the right to the English throne had descended through the Scottish kings, even though the rightful heirs had been excluded for more than 500 years by the Norman Conquest. Morgan Colman's *Arbor Regalis* puts Craig's argument into visual form by giving a central place to the marriage of Margaret and Malcolm Canmore, the Anglo-Scottish union *in posse* which James's accession to the English throne would later accomplish *in esse*.[47] What these arguments have in common, however, is the idea of multiple lines of succession converging providentially on James. This is the key to the Lyte Genealogy too, with its branching lines of descent ingeniously combined in one diagram like the Tube lines on the map of the London Underground (fig 10). Lyte was not merely a Somerset backwoodsman obsessed with the romantic myth of Britain's Trojan past; he was fully up to date with the arguments used to justify the Stuart succession, and the Lyte Genealogy is a formidable and sophisticated piece of propaganda designed to put James's right to the throne beyond all reasonable doubt.

The Genealogy thus contains several different layers: a celebration of James as a second Brute, dating from around 1604–5, overlaid by a more complex defence of the Stuart succession, which may have evolved and developed over a longer period of time. By 1610, when Lyte presented the manuscript to the King, the project for a full Anglo-Scottish union was no longer politically feasible, but the Genealogy still had its uses in upholding James's title to the throne and, not least, in presenting the principle of hereditary succession as the natural order of things.[48] Hung in its 'place of eminence' at Whitehall, the Genealogy would have been a highly prominent, vividly coloured and fascinatingly intricate expression of the antiquity and legitimacy of the Stuart monarchy. The engraved copy of the Genealogy could have been even more valuable for propaganda purposes: among the diplomatic gifts brought to Japan by the English ship *Advice* in 1616 was '1 genelogy all kyngs from Brute' – almost certainly a copy of the now-lost engraving.[49] This helps to explain the balance of exchange between the Lyte Genealogy and the Lyte Jewel, and it is to the Jewel that we now turn.

45. TNA, SP 14/1/3. The treatise is briefly discussed in Sharpe 1979, 115.
46. Craig 1909, 267–8.
47. Bodleian, MS Lat misc a.1.
48. On James's assertion of the principle of indefeasible hereditary right, see Nenner 1995, 62.
49. Cocks 1978–80, I, 268 (17 July 1616).

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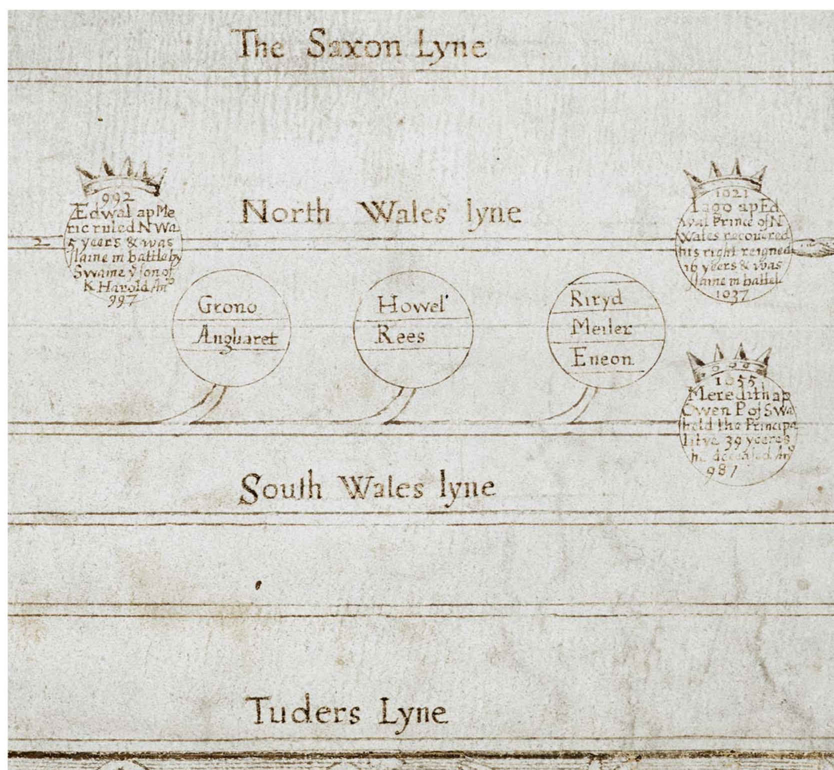

Fig 10. Parallel lines of royal descent, from the Lyte Genealogy (BL, Add MS 48343). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

THE LYTE JEWEL

The Lyte Jewel has been justly described as 'the finest Jacobean jewel in existence'.[50] It was presented to Lyte by James I in 1610 or 1611. The exact date of presentation is unknown, but it must have been between 12 July 1610, when Lyte presented the Genealogy, and 14 April 1611, when Lyte had his portrait painted wearing the jewel. It may well have been a New Year gift, as Lyte's inventory of his papers and possessions includes a reference to 'Newyeers giftes brought me in Anno 1611'.[51] Whatever the circumstances of the gift, it belongs to a culture of gift-giving and gift-exchange at the early Stuart court that had rarely been seen in England on such a lavish scale.[52]

The will of Thomas Sackville, 1st Earl of Dorset, shows how James used jewels to cement fealty and allegiance at court. It mentions a ring 'sett with twentie diamonds' given him by James, which was to descend 'from heire male to heire male of the Sacuilles after the Decease of euery one of them, seuerally and successiuelie'.[53] Sackville's will shows that he owned other fine diamonds, and his accounts for the last year of his life list jewels sold or

50. Smith 1908, 303–4; Tait 1986, cat. no. 33 and references to earlier bibliography.
51. SRO, DD/X/LY/3, p 71.
52. Heal 2014.
53. Awais-Dean 2012, 285; Graves 2014.

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altered by the royal jeweller Abraham Hardret.[54] The ring given to him by James, however, had exceptional significance, as it had been delivered to him during his recent illness with:

> this Royall message vnto me namelie that his highness wished a speedie and a perfect recouerye of my healthe with all happie and good Success vnto me, and that I might live as long as the Dyamonds of that Rynge (which wherewithal he Deliuered vnto me) did indure. And in token thereof required me to weare it and keepe it for his sake. This most gracious and comfortable message restored a newe life vnto me as coming from so renowned and benigne a Soueraigne vnto a Seruante so farre vnworthie of so greate a favoure.[55]

Portrait jewels, carrying the king's likeness, had a special role to play in the culture of gift-giving at court. To mark the signing of the Treaty of London in 1604, concluding decades of war between England and Spain, James had a special portrait medal struck in gold.[56] The example in the British Museum is probably one of the 'certain medallions to the number of twelve in gold' for which Nicholas Hilliard was paid by the king in December 1604 (fig 11).[57] The portrait on the obverse closely resembles Hilliard's first portrait type of James in his painted miniatures.[58] The integral suspension loop shows that the medal was designed to be worn on a chain or ribbon around the neck, as a token of loyalty and honour.[59] The model for the Peace with Spain medal, as for James's coronation medal – the first for an English ruler – was almost certainly continental, another indication of the way in which James I was aligning himself as a peacemaker and major actor on the European stage.[60]

The reign of James I also saw the rise of the tablet – a portrait miniature incorporated into a jewel – which had first become fashionable in the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign.[61] Anne of Denmark was often depicted wearing a tablet jewel, and gave them to others as tokens of love, affection and diplomatic friendship.[62] Her jewellery inventory of 1606 lists two tablets with miniatures of her much-loved brother, Christian IV of Denmark.[63] Tablets made for Anne by the jeweller George Heriot took a number of forms, often adapted from flowers and plants, such as 'a tablet for a picture in frome of a baye leafe set with threescore and eleven diamonds'

54. His personal accounts for 1607 (KHLC, U 269 A1/1 and U 269/1 OE 324) include payment of £45 for 'a Jewell of diamonds' to the stranger jeweller Abraham Hardret on 24 Dec 1607 and links for the chain set with diamonds, which is also listed in detail in his will: TNA, PROB 11/113/1. For Hardret, see Mitchell 2012, 145.
55. Awais-Dean 2012, 286.
56. Bate and Thornton 2012, 228–9, on the conference and fig 221 for the Royal Gold Cup as a peace pledge; Ungerer 1998.
57. Barclay and Syson 1993; Cook 2012, 16.
58. On the basis of the Peace with Spain medal, the Dangers Averted medal of *c* 1589, cast in gold with Elizabeth I and the device of a bay tree, has also been attributed to Hilliard: Sher 1994, cat. no. 164.
59. Like the Phoenix Jewel, it is an unusual English example of a decorated medal for wear. For continental precedent see Börner 1981, Scarisbrick 2011, 40 and figs 38–44, and Cook 2012, 15.
60. James I was the first English king to produce coronation medals, one for himself and one for Anne of Denmark, which were scattered at the coronation on 25 July 1603: Bate and Thornton 2012, 216, fig 4, and 293. The model was perhaps the gold medal of 1596, with integral suspension loop, made for his father-in-law, Christian IV: Scarisbrick 2011, 51.
61. Tait 1986, 179; Scarisbrick 1994, 134–40.
62. Murdoch *et al* 1981, 76 and pl 12d. MacLeod 2012, cat. no. 6, for Isaac Oliver's miniature of the Queen of *c* 1612 in the NPG, which shows her wearing a diamond-set tablet very similar in the design of the border and front cover to the Lyte Jewel.
63. Scarisbrick 1991, 220, and inv nos 278 and 369.

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Fig 11. Gold medal of James VI and I designed by Nicholas Hilliard, commemorating Peace with Spain, 1604. *Photograph*: © Trustees of the British Museum; all rights reserved

supplied by Heriot in April 1609, which incorporated 'a large diamond cutt with facets and a large triangle diamond', costing £42, and nine smaller diamonds, costing £27. Another 'jewell for a picture set with 160 diamonds in forme of an pensee [pansy]' was supplied in March 1610, while in June 1611 Heriot billed the Queen for 'making a Casse for a picture on the back syde of a rose of diamonds' with a 'Cristall' to protect the miniature.[64] The papers of Sir William Herrick, another of the King's jewellers, contain further references to tablet jewels, such as 'one tablet of Graven worke inamiled beinge sett with divers smale diamondes & one pearle pendant with the Kings Maiesties pikture in it and a Christall ouer the same' belonging to Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham, and valued at £50 in 1609.[65]

The centrepiece of the Lyte Jewel is a fine miniature of James I unsigned but attributable to Nicholas Hilliard.[66] James granted Hilliard a monopoly for the production of royal portraits in 1617, calling him 'our wel-beloved Servant Nicholas Hilliard, Gentleman, our principal Drawer for the small Purtraits and Imbosser of our Medallions of gold'. The privilege was given on account of his 'extraordinary Art and Skill in Drawing Graving and Imprinting of Pictures, of us and others'.[67] James might not have agreed with Hilliard's bold claim that limning was 'a

64. TNA, LR 2/122, fols 32, 34, 42v and 44v respectively.
65. Bodleian, MS Eng hist c 479, fols 127–128.
66. Tait 1986, 187; Edmond 2008.
67. Auerbach 1961, 40.

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thing apart' which 'excelleth all other painting whatsoever … being fittest for the decking of princes' books, or to put in jewels of gold', but he was keenly aware of the power of the portrait in different formats as a propaganda tool.[68] Supplying James with miniatures required the assistance of Hilliard's former apprentices, as shown in the only other miniature of James to have survived in its contemporary tablet setting. Known as the Ark Jewel, it is much smaller, with a simple enamelled gold case. The portrait of James I is of Hilliard's second type (*c* 1609–14), as used in the Lyte Jewel. Unlike the Lyte Jewel, however, it is a studio production, not from Hilliard's own hand.[69] As late as 18 October 1615, Hilliard was still supplying miniatures of the king in gold and jewelled cases: he was paid £35 'for work done by him aboute a table of his Ma[iestie]s picture garnished with diamonds given by his Ma[ies]tie to John Barkelay'. He also profited from leasing out his designs to other artists, as in Michaelmas 1618, when he was paid for a 'small picture of his Ma[ies]tie delivered to Mr Herryott his Ma[iestie]s jeweller'.[70]

THE MAKER OF THE JEWEL

George Heriot, the king's jeweller, was born in 1563 and admitted as a freeman of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh on 28 May 1588, having served his apprenticeship with his father. Like many Edinburgh goldsmiths, he came from a family steeped in the craft: his father, George Heriot the Elder, was a prominent goldsmith and city figure in his own right, whose working career overlapped with that of his son until his death in 1610. George junior, however, achieved far greater fame than his father.[71] He developed as a fine craftsman to such an extent that on 17 July 1597 he was appointed as goldsmith to Queen Anne, and, on 4 April 1601, as jeweller to James VI.[72] He was one of several Scottish craftsmen who followed James to London in 1603, establishing his business in the parish of St Martin in the Fields. His accounts show that supplying the Stuart dynasty with jewels and regalia was an extremely lucrative business, but he was very much more than a master-craftsman, acting also as what has been called a 'credit-creator', lending money on security to service the king's debts.[73] By the time of his death in 1624 he had amassed a fortune of

68. Thornton and Cain 1992, 43.
69. Murdoch *et al* 1981, 80 and pl 9C; Strong 1983, cat. nos 208, 238; Coombs 2013, 51 and fig 40.
70. Auerbach 1961, 39; Edmond 1983, 174, for references to Exchequer Declared Accounts in the National Archives.
71. Partly because of the literary immortality bestowed on him by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *The Fortunes of Nigel*, where Heriot appears under the nickname 'Jinglin' Geordie': Dalgleish and Fothringham 2008, 25.
72. Surviving Heriot accounts (see n 80) indicate the range of material he supplied: in May 1593 the Queen (still only of Scotland) purchased '… twa hingers for lugis [earrings] set with sevin dossane of rubyes' (NRS, GD421/1/3/5), while in the same year she also acquired '… ane carrat of gold & ane tablet baith set with dyamontis & rubeis' (NRS, GD421/1/3/6). In December 1596 she bought '… ane Jewell with a portrat of Sanctgeorge contening sextene dymantis, [24] rubeis & ane amerod' (NRS, GD421/1/3/8). On James's accession to the English throne, his wife's purchases escalated in both number and range. The accounts also show that Heriot was both pawning the Queen's jewels for cash and providing her with direct loans. The extent to which she was indebted to him, and the occasional concern which this caused him, is evident in a petition to the Queen in 1610, which indicated that she owed him some £18,000 sterling and pleaded for some repayment 'in regard of the extreme burden of interest wherewith he is borne downe' (NRS, GD421/1/3/37/2).
73. For the use of this term for Heriot's role at court, see Lenman 1995, 176.

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some £50,000 sterling, much of which went to establish Heriot's Hospital (now George Heriot's School) in his native city of Edinburgh.

Heriot has long been considered a strong candidate for the making of the Lyte Jewel,[74] and that link has been made stronger now that the Eglinton Jewel (fig 12), in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has been clearly identified as a piece documented as having been commissioned and supplied by Heriot in 1610.[75] The Eglinton Jewel is not only the first surviving jewel to have been traced to Heriot, it is also the earliest extant tablet with a royal cipher or jewelled letters of a kind that appears to have been highly fashionable at the early Jacobean court. The case has a translucent red enamelled cover with collet-mounted table-cut diamonds set in the form of two 'S's , two linked 'C's and Anne's own personal cipher 'CAR' with a crown above (the initial C is undoubtedly a reference to her beloved brother, Christian IV of Denmark). This jewel is one of the best documented pieces of early seventeenth-century jewellery in existence. As Diana Scarisbrick has argued, it is surely the item described in George Heriot's account to the Queen in 1610 as 'a tablet with a cipher A and C set on the one side with diamonds'.[76] It is also faithfully depicted in the portrait of Lady Anne Livingstone, Countess of Eglinton, by an unknown artist, painted in 1612 to mark her wedding to Sir Alexander Seton of Foulstruther, later 6th Earl of Eglinton.[77] Indeed, the jewel may have been given as a wedding present to Lady Anne by the Queen after whom she was named. It is shown attached by a ribbon-bow knot over her heart as a mark of regard from the Queen, with a pendant pear-shaped pearl below, possibly the same one that the Queen gave her in 1607.[78]

The final, conclusive and indeed most unusual piece of evidence comes from another Heriot document. On the reverse of an itemised account of jewels supplied to the Queen from 9 March to 20 September 1606 is a series of pencil sketches outlining an empty oval, an oval enclosing a cipher 'CAR', a cipher 'ASR' not in an oval, and then a more fully worked-up cipher surmounted by a crown and set with table-cut stones within an oval (fig 13).[79] The sheet also contains some entirely unconnected rough arithmetical jottings. The conclusion is that this is a 'back of the envelope' working diagram, created on a piece of scrap paper snatched up from the goldsmith's table to make a sketch of how such a piece could be developed, possibly in response to being given a verbal request for the jewel. In its final realised form, the Eglinton Jewel is not an exact match of the most developed of the sketches; the crowned cipher is different, the positioning of the collet-mounted diamonds is different and the 'C's and 'S's do not appear on the sketches. There is little doubt, however, that the drawings are the initial designs for this piece and, as such, are a delightfully unexpected and personal link with the creator of this fascinating jewel.[80]

74. Tait suggested this, but noted that 'no documented specimen of Herriot's work has survived': Tait 1986, 178. Packer 2012 discusses a pair of earrings in a private collection with the busts of black Africans, which he suggests might represent the 'two p'ts made like mores's heads all set with diamonds' in the Heriot accounts of jewellery supplied to Anne of Denmark in 1609.
75. Scarisbrick 1986, 234.
76. Ibid.
77. Marshall and Dalgleish 1991, 22, no. 10.
78. Ibid.
79. NRS, GD421/1/3/32.
80. The document on which these sketches appear is one of a series of accounts and receipts for jewels relating to Heriot's business that form part of the much larger collection of papers of George Heriot's Trust, the body that was established to administer his bequest and that still runs the school in Edinburgh that bears his name. These papers were deposited with the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh (NRS, GD421) and are separate from, but closely connected

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Fig 12. The Eglinton Jewel, enamelled gold with miniature of Anne of Denmark by the studio of Nicholas Hilliard, *c* 1610. The case has Anne of Denmark's crowned cipher, 'CAR', two 'S's and intertwined 'C's worked in diamonds and set on enamelled gold. *Photograph*: © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

The diamond cipher on the front of the Eglinton Jewel is one obvious link with the Lyte Jewel.[81] However, one of the outstanding features of the Lyte Jewel is its strongly architectonic design, in which every detail has been carefully planned and executed. The front cover is an openwork grille pierced to form the royal monogram IR (Jacobus Rex). The monogram is formed from two narrow bands of white enamel set with eight table-cut diamonds; even though these differ from one another in size, they have been skilfully matched and set in their gold collets. The gold is cut away on either side of each diamond so as to accentuate the royal monogram. Like the contemporary album of record designs of jewellery associated with Arnold Lulls, the Lyte Jewel documents the early Jacobean fashion for jewellery intended to show off carefully selected and well-cut gemstones while minimising their setting.[82] Openwork settings on miniatures allowed the underlying portrait to glow through when seen in daylight.

with, the series of accounts between Heriot and Queen Anne now housed in the National Archives at Kew (TNA, LR 2) that Diana Scarisbrick cites in her papers on Anne's jewellery. The documents in London are, in effect, the customer's actual account for work done and are frequently headed 'Bought and received from our Jeweller George Heriot …', while the parallel documents in Edinburgh are the vendor's receipted copy, headed 'Sould and delivered to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty'.

81. Scarisbrick 1994, 136–7; Marshall and Dalgleish 1991, 23; Scarisbrick 2011, 71–2. Heriot billed Anne for a second tablet with her royal cipher in August 1615: 'Item a tablet with a Cipher of A and C set on the one syde with diamonds' at £110 for the tablet, £1 4s for the crystal over the miniature inside, and £1 10s for 'the pendent of a diamond … hunge at the said tablet': TNA, LR 2/122, fol 54.
82. V&A, Dept of Word and Image, D.6.1896; see esp no. 6. Edgcumbe 2013, 153–5; Larminie 2008; Hayward 1986.

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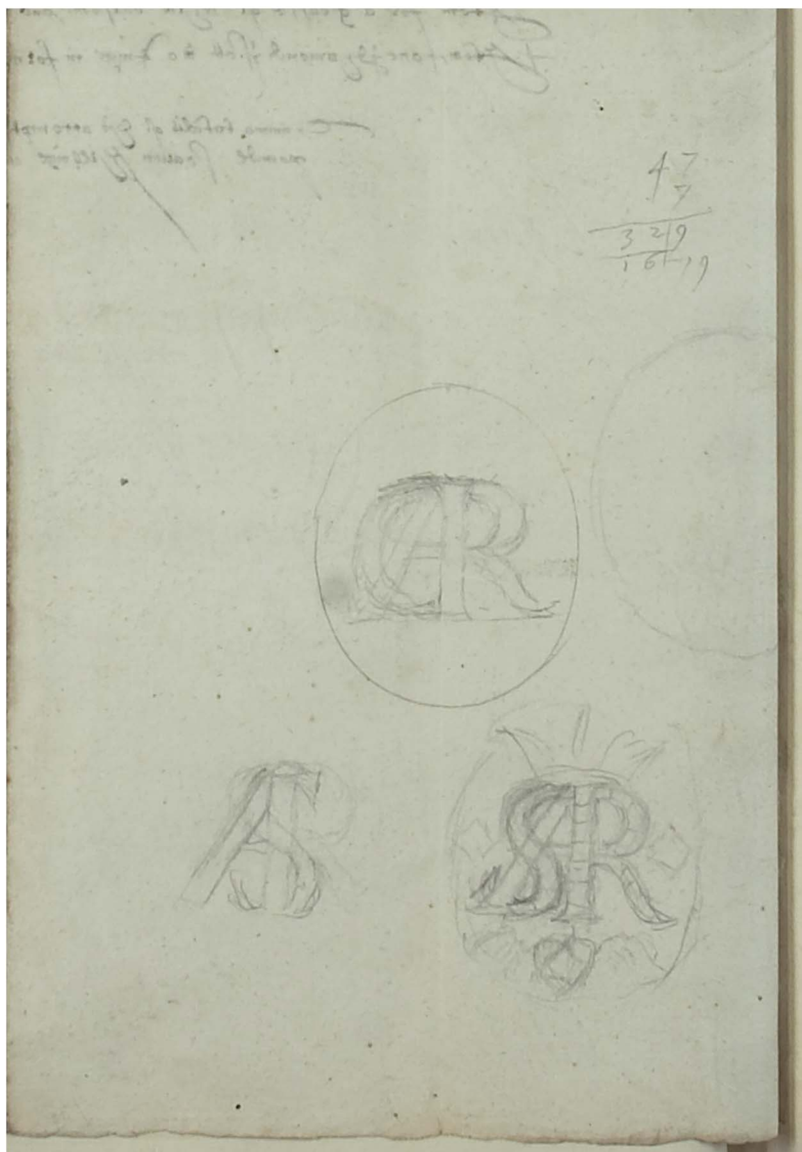

Fig 13. George Heriot, design for the Eglinton Jewel sketched on an itemised account of jewels supplied to Anne of Denmark between 9 March and 20 September 1606 (National Archives of Scotland). *Photograph*: image reproduced by kind permission of the Governors of George Heriot's Trust

The Lyte Jewel's construction allows the rich red hanging behind the bust of James I to be seen to striking effect behind the royal cipher. A similar effect is seen in Hilliard's miniature of Elizabeth I as the Star of Britain, dating to around 1600, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[83] Another tablet in the Fitzwilliam Museum, dating to around 1600–10 but now

83. Somers-Cocks 1980, no. 36; Phillips 2008, 40; Scarisbrick 2011, 64–5, for detailed illustrations.

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containing a later miniature, has a closely comparable openwork frame with a 'Heneage knot' picked out in rubies set in gold.[84]

Apart from the pierced cover, another notable feature of the Lyte Jewel is its openwork border, which emphasises the quality of the diamonds selected to decorate it. The border is made up of two parallel bands of white enamel, pierced so as to set off the sixteen table-cut diamonds by alternating them with sixteen openwork rectangles. This gives the outer band of diamonds exceptional prominence when the jewel is worn, as shown in the Lyte portrait. The Heneage Jewel is an earlier and simpler version of this kind of setting, forming spokes around the Queen's profile, dating to around 1595.[85] The Lesser George of Christian IV's younger brother, Duke Ulrik, which was probably made in London around 1605, shows a development of this openwork diamond edging that is close to the Lyte Jewel in conception (fig 14). Duke Ulrik travelled to England to visit his sister, Anne of Denmark, and her husband, James I, and stayed in London from November 1604 to June 1605. During his stay he received the Order of the Garter, with a Lesser George set with an agate cameo of St George and the Dragon. He was twice portrayed wearing it. Duke Ulrik's Lesser George stands between the Heneage Jewel and the Lyte Jewel in the design of its border.[86]

Diamond initials are also prominently used on the case of a tablet in William Larkin's portrait of Elizabeth Drury, Lady Burghley, which has been dated to around 1615 (fig 15). Like the Countess of Eglinton, Lady Burghley wears her tablet on her left breast, but the jewel is attached by a gold dagger in this case, rather than a ribbon.[87] It is worn to striking effect against deep black, contrasted with a pearl headdress or *tire* in the hair, thick ropes of pearls around the shoulders secured by a diamond brooch, pearl-studded buttons on the bodice and sleeves, and an elaborate lace collar. The jewel has a frame of table-cut diamonds with a pendant pearl, and the interlaced initials 'RD' worked in table-cut diamonds, as on the Lyte Jewel, at its centre. The monogram is that of her brother, Robert Drury, who died on 2 April 1615; it has been suggested that the Countess wore this tablet, perhaps containing a portrait of her brother, in his memory.[88]

The survival of tablets was secured by their role in the history of a family. It is significant that three famous surviving examples – the Drake, the Eglinton and the Lyte Jewels – are all shown being worn in portraits of their original owners. This may have been vital in reinforcing the link between a jewel and a famous ancestor through the generations, ensuring a jewel's survival. The Drake Jewel of *c* 1580–90 is said by tradition to have been given to Sir Francis Drake by Elizabeth I, and it appears in two versions of the same portrait

84. Somers-Cocks 1980, no. 116. Both these jewels have infills within the openwork of pearls of blue and white enamel similar to those seen on the cover of the Lyte Jewel. See Packer 2012 for other examples.
85. Somers-Cocks 1980, no. 38; Phillips 2008, 38; Scarisbrick 2011, 48.
86. This jewel also has blue enamel pearls comparable to those already noted on the Star of Britain, Fitzwilliam and Lyte Jewels: Hein 2009, II (1), cat. nos 26, 28–32; Hein 2006.
87. Heriot charged Anne 'for gold and making of a needle and a screwe for the kinge of denmarke's picture' in the spring of 1611: TNA, LR 2/122, fol 44. Heriot 1822 publishes excerpts from these records, which are the sources commonly cited: we refer to the original records.
88. Shown by Derek Johns Ltd at the Frieze Masters art fair, London 2012. The identification of the initials on the tablet as those of Robert Drury, and the suggestion that the picture might be a mourning portrait, is due to Stephen Lloyd. This half-length portrait is closely related to a full-length one by Larkin, which does not show the tablet: Houliston 2012, 172–4, no. 24. The Countess of Derby mentions in her will of 24 Dec 1637 a tablet of her late husband, Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby, worked in diamonds and with his initials 'F:D' on one side: TNA, PROB 11/174, fol 4.

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Fig 14. The Lesser George of Ulrik John of Denmark, Duke of Holstein and Schleswig, sardonyx and enamelled gold, London, *c* 1605. *Photograph*: Rosenborg Castle (The Danish Royal Collections)

of Drake by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. The one in the National Maritime Museum is dated 1591 (fig 16), which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Jewel, which cannot otherwise be closely dated.[89] Perhaps the presentation of the Jewel had prompted the commissioning of the original portrait on which these two surviving examples are thought to have been based. This is suggested by the way in which the cameo Jewel, set with fine table-cut rubies and diamonds, has been delineated with care and given great prominence, along with his arms, a globe and a rapier, symbolising Drake's attributes as an adventurer, circumnavigator and courtier.[90]

In the case of the Lyte Jewel, as with the Eglinton portrait, it would appear that the gift of the Jewel prompted Lyte to have his portrait done proudly wearing it as a token of royal favour (fig 17). The oil portrait on panel presents Lyte wearing sober and expensive black, with a starched linen collar over a *supportasse*.[91] The plainness of his costume suggests a wish to present himself as a country gentleman rather than a courtier. He is flanked by his arms at the top left, and a Latin inscription at top right recording the sitter's age as forty-three, and

89. Kelsey 2009; Edgcumbe 2013, 147–8, fig 184.
90. It appears again in this connection in Edwin Long's portrait of Drake's descendant, Lady Seaton, painted in 1884: Scarisbrick 2011, 62, fig 63; Edgcumbe 2013, 150.
91. Compare the linen collar and *supportasse* in the famous engraved 'portrait' of William Shakespeare from the First Folio of 1623, attributed to Martin Droueshout the Younger: Cooper 2006, cat. no. 1.

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Fig 15. William Larkin, portrait of Elizabeth Drury, Lady Burghley, oil on canvas, *c* 1615. *Photograph*: reproduced by kind permission of Derek Johns, London

dating the portrait to 14 April 1611. The Jewel is worn on a broad red ribbon around his neck. It has been precisely delineated: the monogram is clearly shown, and each diamond is in its correct place so as to identify the Jewel. The only original element of the Lyte Jewel not to have survived is also shown in this portrait: a trilobed diamond pendant, which was missing by 1882.[92] Tablets generally had pendants made from a single pear-shaped pearl; diamond pendants seem to have been a luxury: a 'pendant sett with two rose diamonds which was hunge at a tablett XIIs [12 shillings]' was important enough to be listed as a single item in Heriot's accounts for May 1611.[93]

Given its quality and sophistication, the Lyte Jewel has always been seen as a bespoke jewel, specially commissioned for presentation to Lyte. Heriot's accounts with Queen Anne may, however, suggest an alternative origin, for they show that between 1607 and 1617 no fewer than twenty tablets with miniatures were made or repaired in Heriot's workshop. Their price varied greatly according to the quality of the diamonds and the complexity of the setting. One tablet 'sett with Diamonds on the one side', which was to be sent 'to her

92. Sale of Hamilton Palace collections, Christie's, London, 17 June–20 July 1882, lot 1,615: it had probably long been separated from the tablet, to be worn on its own as a pendant, as the Jewel passed down by inheritance through the male line in the Lyte family, and then through the female line in the Blackwell and Monypenny families.
93. TNA, LR 2/122, fol 48.

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Fig 16. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Sir Francis Drake* (showing the Drake Jewel), oil on canvas, dated 1591. *Photograph*: © Royal Museums Greenwich

ma[iesties] mother the Queene of Denmark', cost £66 in 1607. This was at the low end of the price range; towards the top was 'a tablet of gold made for two pictures and sett on both sides with diamonds', costing £250 in July 1609.[94] The most expensive was 'a great tablet for a picture sett with 200 diamonds great and small', valued at £350 in April 1609.[95] As we cannot deduce the value of the twenty-nine diamonds incorporated on one side of the Lyte Jewel, we cannot estimate its exact status in relation to the Heriot tablets in the documents. Given the quantity of tablets, and the number of diamonds, passing through Heriot's hands at the time when the Lyte Jewel was made – and he was not the only jeweller supplying James I at the time – it is possible that the Jewel could have been made for another recipient and then recycled as a gift for Lyte. This would fit the picture we have of the way in which Anne of Denmark's jewels were in constant circulation, being taken from her and given as presents, broken up and remodelled for other uses at court.

Whether the Lyte Jewel was bespoke or not, the diamonds used to make it may well have been taken from other jewels and then carefully selected as a group. Even so some of the

94. By comparison, Arnold Lulls and Sir William Herrick were paid £439 by James I for what appear to have been two tablets: 'two pictures of Gold sett with Stone, given by our said wife the Queene, the one to Monsieur de Beaumont, the late French Ambassador, and the other to the Lady, his wife': V&A, Dept of Word and Image, D.6.1896, prefatory letter.
95. TNA, LR 2/122, fols 27, 34 and 32 respectively.

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Fig 17. Anonymous artist, *Thomas Lyte*, oil on panel, dated 14 April 1611. *Photograph*: Museum of Somerset, Taunton; © Somerset County Council Heritage Service

facets appear to have been broken or chipped before they were set into their gold collets. The gem-setter has improved the forms by extending the facets of the gold setting smoothly into the edges of the collets to make the gems look larger and more evenly shaped and sized. These deep closed-back settings allow the setter to incorporate foils behind the gemstones to enhance the brilliance of the diamonds. Cellini's *Goldsmiths' Treatise* gives the recipe for a black resin to set behind diamonds in closed-back settings.[96] Close examination of the Lyte Jewel under strong magnification indicates that seventeen of the twenty-nine diamonds have been enhanced by this method.[97] Contemporary painters recognised the jeweller's practice – and contemporary taste in how best to show off diamonds – by portraying diamonds as black gems with white highlights.[98] The anonymous portrait of Thomas Lyte wearing the Jewel shows this particularly well.

The enamelling on the Lyte Jewel (fig 18) has more to tell us of the Jewel's origins and its continental European aspects. The inside of the lid of the Lyte Jewel is enamelled

96. Cellini 1967, 35–9. We are grateful to Hazel Forsyth for this reference. One of the diamonds on Duke Ulrik's Lesser George in Rosenborg is missing, so one can clearly see the preparation underneath.
97. We are grateful to Denise Ling for this observation.
98. Whalley 2013.

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in translucent red, green, blue and white on the back of the diamond settings, while the back of the outer frame is stippled.[99] The enamelling is of the very highest quality and in the latest design, executed in fine gold curves and C-scrolls in a white ground; the junctions have been strengthened with halberd-like blocks in red enamel. The decoration resembles that on the inside of a miniature case in Vienna, which is documented in the 1619 inventory of the Emperor Mathias as having originally contained 'a portrait or miniature of the king of England'. The reference is probably to James I, dating the tablet to the period 1603–19.[100] It represents a type of grotesque strapwork known in German as *schweifwerk* ('tailwork'). This light and delicate precursor to the fully developed 'peascod' style[101] – perfectly adapted to the needs of enamellers making champlevé-enamelled jewels – was rapidly disseminated throughout northern Europe during the 1590s.[102]

Surviving sets of dated engraved designs of this type are rare, but it is evident that whoever enamelled the Lyte Jewel in London was keenly aware of the latest continental fashions. There is an affinity with the designs for engraved ornament by Corvinianus Saur, court goldsmith to Anne of Denmark's brother, Christian IV of Denmark, which were published between 1591 and 1597.[103] Similar too are the designs for enamelling in blackwork of Guillaume de la Quewellerie, a Protestant goldsmith from Oudenaarde, which were published in Amsterdam by Willem Janszoon Blaeu in 1611.[104] The work of the Protestant goldsmith Jacques Hurtu is also close to the enamelling style on the Lyte Jewel. Hurtu was the son of the Protestant goldsmith from Orléans who followed his brother Guy to London and is documented as working in Blackfriars in 1585.[105] In 1594 he was sworn to the Ordinances of the Goldsmiths Company in London. We do not know when he left London, though he published a set of engraved designs in Paris in 1614, showing his knowledge of the very latest fashions and his contribution to the development of the peascod style.[106]

This broadly northern European style of ornament and the migration of jewellers between different European goldsmiths' centres make it difficult to pin down the Lyte Jewel as anything other than a London product, very likely the work of a number of talented stranger jewellers – immigrant craftsmen. It is probably the best documented example of a process whereby a jewel could be 'fashioned in London of a stone supplied by a German merchant, cut by a diamond cutter from Antwerp, set and enamelled by a jeweller from Paris, designed from a print by a goldsmith from Geneva, with the whole process controlled and directed by a royal jeweller from Scotland'.[107]

99. Compare the inside of the back cover of a watch, made in London around 1600–3, with a movement by the stranger watch- and clockmaker, Nicholas Vallin: Leopold and Vincent 2000, esp 140, fig 10. See Thompson 2004, 56, on Vallin and a clock signed and dated 1598.
100. For the Vienna tablet see Somers-Cocks 1980, cat. no. 22 (discussed and differently dated by Tait 1986, 191), and cat. no. 34 for a closely related enamelled tablet, now missing its miniature, which is also in the Waddesdon Bequest and which Tait dates to *c* 1610–20.
101. In which graduated beads of enamel are arranged like peas in a pod.
102. Fuhring and Bimbenet-Privat 2002, esp 7–10; Thornton 1998, 58, 70–2; Griffiths 2013, 114–18.
103. Tait 1986, 191; Hein 2006 on Saur.
104. Fuhring 2004, 255–6, including examples from the set in the V&A, Dept of Word and Image, 21633, 22781–4.
105. Mitchell 2012, 146–7.
106. Furhring and Bimbenet-Privat 2002, 98–100.
107. Mitchell 2012, 150–1.

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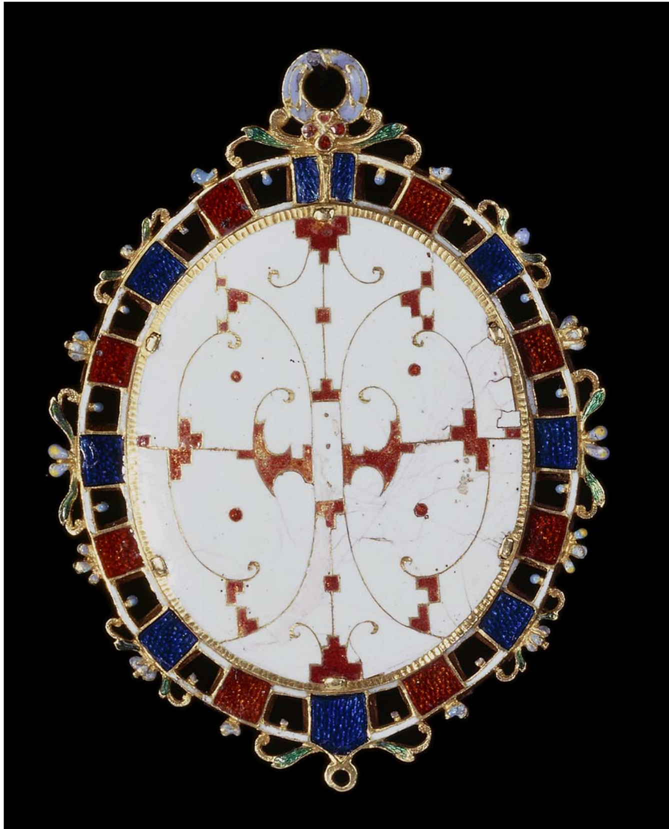

Fig 18. Detail of enamelling on the back of the Lyte Jewel, London 1610–11. *Photograph*: © Trustees of the British Museum; all rights reserved

CONCLUSION

The house and estate at Lytes Cary remained the property of the Lyte family until the mid-eighteenth century, when Thomas Lyte (1694–1761), great-great-grandson of the antiquary, fell on hard times. In 1740 he conveyed the house to trustees in order to protect it from his creditors, and in 1748 he surrendered his life interest to his son John.[108] In 1755 the property was finally sold. By that time, however, the family heirlooms had already passed to Thomas's uncle, Thomas Lyte of New Inn (1673–1748), a wealthy London attorney, who acquired the portrait, the jewel and the remaining family papers. The importance he attached to them is shown by their prominence in his will, where the portrait and the jewel are the first movables to be bequeathed, before plate and other furnishings:

> I also give unto my said daughter, Silvestra Blackwell, during her life, the possession and use of my great grandfather's picture, and of the jewell which is set round with diamonds, and hath also some other diamonds on the top thereof, and in the inside hath the picture of King James the First (the same being given by him to my said

108. TNA, PROB 11/765/541.

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great grandfather) and of which jewell there is also a picture under my said great grandfather's picture.[109]

Both objects passed by family descent to Laura Dunn Monypenny (1832–94), who sold the Lyte Jewel after the death of her father in 1854. It was acquired by the 11th Duke of Hamilton (1811–63), a keen collector of Stuart relics, who lent it to the South Kensington Exhibition along with other Stuart miniatures in 1862.[110] At the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection in 1882 it was bought for £2,835 by the dealer E Joseph for Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild.[111] The Jewel had a prime position in the New Smoking Room at Waddesdon Manor. On Baron Ferdinand's death in 1898, it was bequeathed to the British Museum as part of the cabinet collection known as the Waddesdon Bequest.[112] The portrait was bequeathed by Miss Monypenny to Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, and remained in family hands until it was sold at Sotheby's, London, on 3 February 1960 (lot 70) and acquired by Somerset County Museum through the National Portrait Gallery.[113]

The Genealogy had a more chequered history. Its damaged condition, with the four corner panels missing, suggests that it might have remained at Lytes Cary after the sale of the house and been salvaged at a later date. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte was unaware of its existence when he published his detailed history of *The Lytes of Lytescary* in 1892, but at some point before 1918 it was sold by the firm of Bernard Quaritch to the collector Howard Coppuck Levis (1861–1935), who illustrated it in a privately printed monograph on Bladud, the legendary founder of Bath.[114] Levis sold it to Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte at the price he had paid for it – £152 – and it remained in the family until 1954, when Walter Maxwell Lyte, on behalf of his son J W Maxwell Lyte, offered it to the British Museum for £325 on account of its integral connection with the Lyte Jewel. The initial response was unenthusiastic. It was rejected by the Department of Prints and Drawings and passed on to the Department of Manuscripts, where C E Wright reported that it was 'remarkable only as an antiquarian curiosity, the illustrative material being derived from the stock-in-trade of the engraver of the period'. A J Collins, the Keeper of Manuscripts, recommended that the offer be declined, but he was overruled by the Trustees, probably at the prompting of Sir Thomas Kendrick, the Director, who had written about Henry Lyte in his book *British Antiquity* only a few years earlier.[115] Following its exhibition at the British Museum in 2012, the Genealogy underwent treatment in the British Library's Centre for Conservation, and its five panels have now been separated and individually mounted.[116]

The time has now passed when the Genealogy could be dismissed merely as an antiquarian curiosity. Together with the Jewel, it is a product of the intellectual ferment and

109. Will of Thomas Lyte, quoted in Lyte 1892, 64.
110. Robinson 1862, 217–21. See Evans 2009–10 for the 11th Duke's collecting tastes.
111. Sale of Hamilton Palace collections, Christie's, London, 17 June–20 July 1882, lot 1,615.
112. Thornton 2001.
113. Vivian-Neal 1960. It was in the hands of Sir H C Maxwell Lyte in 1892: Lyte 1931, 124, where he also states that he had a copy of the Jewel. A high-quality copy of the Lyte Jewel, containing scrolls of hair rather than a miniature, was sold by Fellows & Sons, Edgbaston, on 18 Sept 1996, lot 253. It was a very careful reproduction, slightly smaller than the original, and was kept in the original fitted leather case inscribed 'Watherston, 42 Old Bond St.W.'.
114. Levis 1919, 71–2 and pl VII.
115. These details are taken from the accession file in the British Library, Department of Manuscripts, uncatalogued departmental archives.
116. An account of the conservation work can be found on the British Library's Collection Care blog at <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/collectioncare/2013/09/parchment-conservation-lyte-geneaology.html> (accessed 3 Dec 2015).

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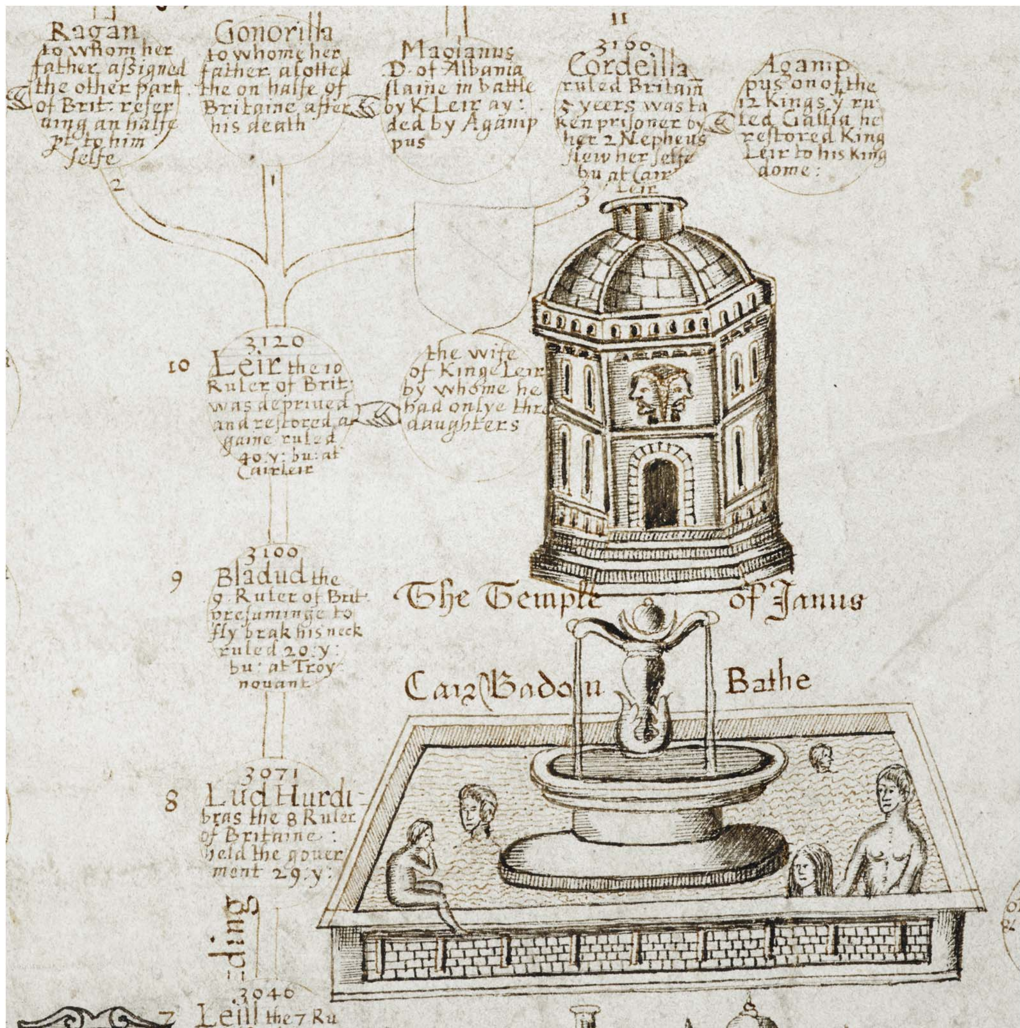

Fig 19. Detail from the Lyte Genealogy, showing King Lear and his three daughters, 'Ragan', 'Gonorilla' and 'Cordeilla' (BL, Add MS 48343). *Photograph*: © The British Library Board

creative flowering that resulted from the Stuart succession and the conceptual shift from the history of England to the history of Britain. Shakespeare's Jacobean plays – particularly his two Ancient British plays, *King Lear* and *Cymbeline*, and his Scottish play, *Macbeth* – belong to the same cultural moment. *Lear*, as already noted, is typically Jacobean in its preoccupation with the dangers of a divided kingdom; *Cymbeline* ends with the reunification of Romans and Britons and the convergence of their claims to political legitimacy; while *Macbeth* famously traces the line of succession through a show of eight kings summoned up for Macbeth by the three witches.[117] Ever since the time of Malone, Shakespearean scholars have recognised that these three plays hang together both chronologically and thematically. Shakespeare and Lyte

117. On *Lear* and *Cymbeline*, see Dutton 2012 and Morse 2013; on *Macbeth*, see Smuts 2008.

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both drew their history from a common source – Holinshed's *Chronicles* – and there is no reason to suppose that they were influenced by each other. But if Shakespeare visited Whitehall with the King's Men after 1610, he would have seen the Lyte Genealogy on display, with the names of Lear and his three daughters (fig 19), as well as those of Banquo and Fleance in the now-lost panel showing the succession of the Scottish kings. It would have been a reminder that the legendary history of Britain still had potent political resonance.

The Lyte Jewel too has its Shakespearean echoes. Shakespeare was aware of the fashion for jewelled miniatures in tablet form: when Olivia gives a jewel to Viola in *Twelfth Night*, the gift is clearly glossed as a tablet: 'wear this jewel for me, tis my picture'. In Shakespeare and Middleton's *Timon of Athens* (*c* 1604–6), the giving and wearing of jewels creates bonds of honour and allegiance. Timon, like James, is continually spending and giving to maintain his popularity and position. At dinner he summons a servant to bring him a casket, and presents a jewel to one of his companions: 'look you, my good lord, / I must entreat you honour me so much / As to advance this jewel – / Accept it and wear it, kind my lord.' The recipient responds gracefully, 'I am so far already in your gifts', to the general murmur, 'So are we all', while Timon's servant, aside, frets about his master's extravagant generosity: 'More jewels yet? / There is no crossing him in's humour.' It is possible, as some scholars have suggested, that Shakespeare and Middleton intended their audience to draw a direct parallel between Timon's profligacy and James's lavish expenditure.[118] What is certain is that they were well aware of the importance of jewellery, and its display, in the gift economy of the Jacobean court.

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We would like to thank Edward Town for our initial discussions on the Lyte Genealogy and its making, and for help with the archival research in the National Archives. We are also grateful to Natasha Awais-Dean for allowing us to cite her PhD thesis, which is soon to be published by the British Museum.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Beinecke	Beinecke Library, Yale
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
KHLC	Kent History and Library Centre
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
SRO	Somerset Record Office, Taunton
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Manuscript sources

Beinecke, Osborn fa56 (Morgan Colman, 'Genealogies of the Kings of England')
Beinecke, Osborn pa33 (Henry Lyte, annotated copy of Camden's *Britannia*)

118. Bevington and Smith 1999.

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BL, Add MS 48343 (Lyte Genealogy)
BL, Add MS 59741 (Thomas Lyte, 'Britaines Monarchie', 1605)
BL, Harleian MS 593 (Simonds D'Ewes, 'Brutus-Redivivus, or Brittaines True Bruto in parte discovered')
BL, Harleian Rolls H.26 (Henry Lyte, 'A Table wherby it is supposed that Lyte of Lytescarie sprange of the Race and Stock of Leitus')
BL, 442.h.9 (Henry Lyte, annotated copy of Dodoens' *New Herball*)
BM, 1856,0614.148 (Renold Elstrack, engraving of James I in Parliament)
BM, WB.167 (Waddesdon Bequest)
Bodleian, MS Eng hist c 479 (Herrick family papers)
Bodleian, MS Lat misc a.1 (Morgan Colman, 'Arbor Regalis')
Bodleian, MS Rawl D.859 (Hannibal Baskerville's genealogical collections)
Bodleian, MS Twyne 2, fols 160–168 (Henry Lyte, 'Recordes of the true originall of the noble Britaynes' and 'The mysticall Oxon of Oxfourde')
Bodleian, MS Wood F.39 (Letters of John Aubrey to Anthony Wood)
KHLC, U 269 A1/1 and U 269/1 OE 324 'Sackville Accounts' (Accounts of Thomas Sackville, 1st Earl of Dorset, 1607)
NRS, GD421/1/3 (Records of the George Heriot's Trust, Edinburgh, 1474–1962: personal and executry papers: accounts and receipts for jewels, etc, 1590–1623)
NRS, GD421/1/3/5 (Itemised account of jewels supplied to the Queen by George Heriot the Younger in May and Aug 1593)
NRS, GD421/1/3/6 (Itemised account of jewels, as NRS, GD421/1/3/5; additional note, signed by the Queen, recording total account at 1,806 crowns and details of part payment, May 1593)
NRS, GD421/1/3/8 (Letter of obligation by the Queen to Heriot for £1,238 8s Scots, 20 Dec 1596; itemised list of jewels with details of jewels delivered to Heriot in pledge)
NRS, GD421/1/3/32 (Itemised account of jewels, etc, supplied to the Queen by George Heriot, 9 Mar–20 Sept 1606)
NRS, GD421/1/3/37/2 (Copy of petition from George Heriot the Younger to the Queen for payment of her debts to him; endorsed with notes of payment, etc, *c* 1610)
SRO, DD/X/LY/1 (Lyte pedigree roll, *c* 1610)
SRO, DD/X/LY/2 (Lyte pedigree roll, 1633)
SRO, DD/X/LY/3 (Thomas Lyte's notebook)
TNA, LR 2/122 (Accounts of George Heriot, 1616–17)
TNA, PROB 11/113/1 (Will of Thomas Sackville, 1609)
TNA, PROB 11/174 (Will of Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, 1637)
TNA, PROB 11/765/541 (Will of Thomas Lyte, 1748)
TNA, SP 14/1/3 (Robert Cotton, 'A Discourse of the Discent of the King's Majesty from the Saxons', 1603)
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