

ON THE WORK OF FLORENTINE SCULPTORS IN ENGLAND IN THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TOMBS OF CARDINAL WOLSEY AND KING HENRY VIII.

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CONTENTS.

1. The tomb of Margaret, Countess of Richmond	131
2. The tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York	134
3. The High Altar of Henry VII's Chapel	145
4. The tomb of Dr. Young, Master of the Rolls	150
5. The tomb of Cardinal Wolsey	152
6. The tomb of King Henry VIII	164
7. Minor works in terra-cotta	191
Appendices (original authorities) I to IX	199

Considering the long and intimate commercial relations between England and Florence, dating at least from the time of Edward III, it was to be expected that some of the more adventurous spirits amongst the Florentine artists would find their way to London, if not in the fourteenth and earlier part of the fifteenth century, yet at least in the stirring times which followed upon the fall of the Eastern Empire, the revival of classical learning, and the discovery of the new world. None of the sculptors or painters of the earlier Renaissance, however, seem to have penetrated so far north; and none of the four world-famous artists of the so-called golden age of Julius II and Leo X set his foot in England or ever executed any work intended for an English King, save only Raphael, whose beautiful little picture of St. George, presented by the Duke of Urbino to Henry VII, has found what is probably its last resting-place in St. Petersburg. If London cannot, like Bruges, boast of a work made for it by the greatest genius of modern art, it can show the masterpiece of a

Florentine artist, commissioned and made in London at the very time that Michel Angelo was beginning his own greatest work, the painting of the vault of the Sistine Chapel. I allude, of course, to the splendid monument of Henry VII, by Torrigiano, in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey Church, a tomb called by Lord Bacon, with singularly appropriate words, "the stateliest and daintiest in Europe." Of another fine work by the same hand, the High (or Lady) Altar of the same chapel, we possess only scanty relics; but happily we have much fuller information about it than can commonly be given of destroyed works of art. No less beautiful, although less sumptuous than the monument of Henry VII and his Queen, is that of his mother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond; undoubtedly designed and wrought by the same hands as that of the King and Queen. Just as the masterpiece of Torrigiano has failed generally to be duly appreciated, owing to its being hidden from sight behind an extremely elaborate and very beautiful bronze screen, so has his fame as an artist been obscured by the evil reputation he has gained from having disfigured Michel Angelo for life by an unlucky blow, given in a moment of violent passion, when the two artists were working together, as youths, in Florence. Vasari ascribes the act to Torrigiano's jealousy and envy of Michel Angelo's superior attainments; but it must be remembered that the latter had a sharp tongue, and sometimes gave way to a gibing spirit only too likely to provoke a fiery youth like Torrigiano beyond endurance. The exact date of this unfortunate affray is not known; but it was probably in 1492, when Michel Angelo would have been about seventeen and Torrigiano about twenty. The latter found it expedient to leave Florence at once, and he was employed on stucco work in the Torre Borgia in the Vatican during the years 1493 and 1494. After this he appears to have enlisted as a soldier and to have served in the wars till 1503; having been present, according to Vasari, at the affair of Garigliano in that year, when Piero de' Medici was drowned. He did not succeed, as he had hoped, in attaining the command of a company; and so he became disgusted with military life and returned to Florence, where he made some small figures in bronze and marble for certain Florentine merchants.

These merchants, or some of them, brought him to England, and here, according to Vasari's account, he did an infinite number of things for the king in marble, bronze and wood. We have no information of the date of his arrival in England. It may well have been as early as 1509, the year of the decease of both Henry VII and the Lady Margaret; especially, if my views are correct, that the countess's tomb was made before that of the king. All that can be said for certain is, that he was in England before October, 1512 (see p. 141).

TOMB OF MARGARET, COUNTESS OF RICHMOND.

In looking at the monuments of Henry VII and his mother, the first thing that strikes a student familiar with Italian precedents is the fact that the favourite English form of the free-standing altar-tomb (very rare in Italy) has been adopted, and that the main idea is, in fact, the same as that of the tomb of Henry V, or of the kings and queens in the Confessor's chapel. The sculptor of the Lady Margaret's tomb, which is entirely of black marble or touchstone, and gilded bronze, was, however, no doubt guided mainly, not only as regards form but also as to the use of black and gold (instead of the rich colouring of earlier monuments) by the contemporary fashion for the tombs of Imperial and Royal personages on the Continent; and he may, for example, very well have seen, on his way to England, the tomb of the Empress Mary of Burgundy, at Bruges, erected 1495-1502. The general scheme of his design is simple yet rich in effect. It is merely a plain altar-tomb, decorated with shields of arms, which are surmounted by crowns and wreathed in garlands of fruit and flowers. Three of these wreathed shields, divided by pilasters, decorate the north and south sides, whilst a single one serves for each of the ends facing east and west. The corners between the wreaths and the pilasters are filled with roses. The whole of this decorative work is carved out of the black marble, save only the blazons on the shields, which are on thin plates of bronze inserted into a space left for them in the marble shields. It would have been so much simpler to have cast the whole shield, and its surmounting crown, in

bronze, and to have gilded only the blazon, that one is led to suppose that there was a special reason for the course actually adopted; and I believe the reason to be that the heraldic work was entrusted to an English workman and therefore necessarily executed separately. I think I see in this arrangement a strong argument in favour of the view that the Lady Margaret's tomb is earlier than her son's. When we come to the king's tomb we shall find that the gilded medallions with figures of saints are executed in bronze, whilst the wreaths which surround them, and seem to form part of them, are carved in marble. It is so natural to assume that the medallions and their framing are worked in the same material, that Mr. Burges in his notes published in *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, actually describes them as so worked. In the case of the king's monument both wreaths and medallions are undoubtedly Italian work; and the reason I have given for the small separate bronze castings for the Lady Margaret's tomb certainly does not apply to her son's tomb. But if the former monument was the earlier work, and was so highly approved that, after three years of delay over the earlier schemes for the tomb of Henry VII, the king's executors determined to entrust that work to Torrigiano, it is in the natural course of things that the *marble* wreath of the original tomb should be repeated by Torrigiano in the more magnificent monument, although there was no technical necessity for employing that material. There can be no manner of doubt that the hands that carved the wreaths on the one tomb carved those on the other also; but there is no certain test as to which work is the earlier, in the absence of the papers of the executors of Henry VII and his mother.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the characteristic features of the fine recumbent effigy of the Lady Margaret which surmounts her tomb: they at once attract attention and speak for themselves.

Realistically as the head and hands are rendered, the general treatment of the figure is one of great nobility. I do not think that the hands, which are separate castings from the rest of the effigy, are cast from moulds taken from the life, although no doubt such a cast

may have been made use of by the artist as a guide, when he was engaged in modelling the wax or clay.¹

One curious point about this monument is the blackening of the hands, face, hood, wimple and the inner lining of the robe. On all these parts over the black surface may be seen remains of painting in oil colours, but whether this is sixteenth century work I cannot say. It would be in accordance with the treatment of bronze in Italy, if those parts of the figure which were not gilded were covered with a composition, of which pitch seems to have been an integral part. Perhaps the painting in colours was applied at the time over the black composition, but if so it must surely have been a piece of English taste: Torrigiano at all events can hardly have had anything to do with it. The bronze effigy of Pope John XXIII in the Baptistry of Florence is, I believe, an example of the face being covered with black composition or artificial patina, the rest of the figure being gilded. The Gothic canopy above the head of the Lady Margaret presents some difficulty. The tracery looks far too good for an Italian's imitation of Gothic, and seems to be French or Netherlandish in style. The general shape (which is like that of the so-called *type* or cupola-roof of a turret) is however distinctly Tudor in character. May not the designer of the closure round Henry VII's tomb, if he was a Fleming, have had a hand in the design for the Countess of Richmond's canopy?

A fragment of gilt bronze, on the north side of the Countess's figure, near the shoulder, shows that the effigy was intended to be represented as lying upon cloth of gold with the device of the Beauforts, the Portcullis, woven into it. In this feature, as also in the form of the pillows, without tassels at the corner, the Italian artist has copied the early monuments in the Confessor's chapel. The two long pilasters (if I may so call them) of tabernacle-work, which lie each side of the effigy, marked the borders of

¹ In the light of the information I publish in Appendix VI, respecting the statues for the tomb of Henry VIII, it would seem probable that the effigies of the Lady Margaret, Henry VII, and Elizabeth of York were all cast in piece moulds taken from either wooden

or terra-cotta originals or "patterns," without the use of wax, and that the latter material was confined to small decorative objects that could not readily be cast from piece moulds. Torrigiano was famous for his skill as a worker in clay.

the cloth of gold. Although they are an attempt to copy Northern work, they show one characteristic Italian Renaissance feature in the rows of little discs threaded on a string; and their Gothic character generally is extremely superficial. It is somewhat remarkable that what I have called the pilasters cannot be adjusted to the canopy without being thrown out of the parallel with the sides of the tomb. The canopy, in fact, appears to be too small. It should be explained that neither canopy nor pilasters are fixed to the slab on which they rest. I must not omit to mention the antelope at the Countess's feet. The upper part of the head, carrying the ears, seems to have been a separate casting, and has unfortunately been lost. The head and neck were also cast separately from the body of the animal.

TOMB OF HENRY VII AND HIS QUEEN.

Henry VII had laid the foundation stone of his new Lady Chapel at Westminster in January, 1503; and, from the terms of his will, dated twelve days before his death on the 22nd April, 1509, it may be gathered that the bare fabric was substantially finished; as the instructions therein given relate to the fitting, glazing and painting of the chapel. The £5,000 which the king paid over to the Abbot, Prior and Convent of Westminster on the 13th April, must have been intended to cover these expenses, and also those of the tomb, as well as the "grate in manner of a closure" which had already been begun.¹ The will directs that the tomb be "in the myddes of the same chapell, before the high aultier, in such distaunce from the same as is ordered in the plat made for the same chapell and signed with our hande."² This direction as to the placing of the tomb in the centre of the chapel and before the high altar was not carried out; and the explanation is, I believe, to be found in the fact that the *chevet* or apse was designed to hold the shrine of Henry VI, after his canonization. With the death of Henry VII, however, the project of transferring Henry VI's

¹ See the terms of the will in Neale and Bayley's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. i. (Henry VII's Chapel), p. 8.

² Do. p. 7.

bones from Windsor to Westminster seems to have been abandoned; and it was a natural idea of Henry VIII to place his father's tomb in the position, behind the high altar, originally intended for Henry VI. Mr. Micklethwaite has pointed out to me an excellent reason for his view that the altar in the easternmost of the chapels round the apse was in all probability the altar of Henry VI, and he seems to think that the shrine was intended to be within the same subordinate chapel. To me this does not seem probable, bearing in mind the great importance that Henry VII would naturally wish to give to Henry VI's tomb, if his canonization had been carried out, as was intended. The matter is, however, one which does not very intimately concern my present subject.

Passing on now to examine Henry VII's tomb, or rather the double tomb of himself and his Queen, Elizabeth of York, we find that it is essentially a glorified version of his mother's. There is, however, a distinct departure from the simple altar tomb. We notice at once, in what may be called the upper stage of it, some reminiscence of the Italian *shaped* sarcophagus (or possibly of the bier on which the body of the deceased is often represented in Italy as lying, above the sarcophagus). The old English rule, which limited the size of the top of the tomb by the length of the life-sized recumbent effigy, including its supports at head and foot, is nominally observed. But, by the use mainly of a bold and richly decorated *cavetto* moulding of white marble, the sculptor has given a spreading form to the upper part of the tomb, and has thus united the ordinary-sized upper slab to a main body of magnificent dimensions, such as the luxurious taste of the sixteenth century demanded.

The retention of the altar form, with only a slight modification, was probably due not merely to the admiration which the Countess of Richmond's tomb had excited, but also to the desire of Henry VIII and the executors to observe the directions given in Henry VII's will, which had apparently not been closely followed in an earlier scheme invented by "Master Pageny," but never carried out, as it was (very properly) "disliked" by Henry VIII.

I must here mention the fact that Henry VII had begun to construct a tomb for himself at Windsor as

early as 1501, in which year, on the 23rd of July, a payment of £10 was made "to Master Esterfelde for the Kinges toumbe." Another payment of the same amount was made to Esterfelde "for the Kinges toumbe at Windsor" on the 19th March, 1501-2. On the 13th January, 1502-3, he was paid the like sum "for conveying of the Kinges toumbe from Windesor to Westminster." This information is derived from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII, as printed in *Bentley's Excerpta Historica* (pp. 125, 127, 129), where there is a note that Esterfelde received at various times the considerable sum of £68 3s. 2d.—equal to something like £700 in modern money. The comparatively large amount allowed for the transport from Windsor to Westminster shows that a good deal of work had been done; and taking into account the statement in Henry VII's will that "the grate in manner of a closure," which he had begun, was to be fully "accomplished and performed," we are led to conjecture that the magnificent screen in Henry VII's Chapel was originally begun for the Lady Chapel or so-called Tomb-House at Windsor, and that the maker of it was Esterfelde, who, judging from his name and his work, may have been an Englishman, but, as it seems to me, was more probably a Fleming. The screen would very well have stood on the platform subsequently occupied by the tomb of Henry VIII at Windsor, but the space within the screen of the latter monument was longer, as it was intended to include a free-standing canopied altar.

If Esterfelde's work, transferred from Windsor to Westminster, included a tomb proper, and not merely a screen, all trace of it has been lost; but we have a very interesting set of estimates of the cost of making the tomb designed by the above-mentioned Master Pageny (who it will be presently seen was a well-known Italian sculptor), printed in *Neale and Brayley's Westminster Abbey (Henry VII's Chapel, p. 55)*, from a copy in the British Museum (*Bibl. Harl. No. 297, p. 28*). The original is in the Record Office, and a full abstract of it is given in the State Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. I., p. 109, No. 775. Separate estimates were furnished by the carver, who was to make the patterns, by the founder, by the coppersmith and gilder, by the painters, by the masons, and by the marble mer-

chants. From these we learn the general character of the design. There were to be recumbent statues of the king and queen lying within the tomb; and upon the top of it there were to be kneeling statues of the king and also of four of his lords. In addition to these there were to be twelve small images on every side about "the tomb." A monument of almost exactly the same design will be found figured in the bird's-eye view of the tombs in the choir of St. Denis, at p. 550 of the *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denys par Dom Michel Felibien*, Paris, 1706. The tomb in question was that of Charles VIII, and is marked in Felibien's plate with the letter P. In the centre the king kneels at a prie-dieu, and, at each of the four corners, there is a kneeling angel supporting a shield of arms. The author of this monument was the Modenese sculptor, Guido Mazzoni, who accompanied Charles VIII to France after the conquest of Naples, and remained in France from 1495 to 1516. He is well known in Italy for his life-sized groups of painted terra-cotta statues, most of them kneeling figures (*e.g.*, those in the sacristy of the church of Monte Oliveto at Naples); and he introduced his favourite kneeling attitude into France, when designing the sepulchral effigy of Charles VIII, an ugly precedent followed on the monuments of Louis XII, Francis I, and Henry II. He was sometimes called Paganino, after his grandfather, and Felibien (*loc. cit.*) states that the tomb of Charles VIII was signed *opus Paganini Mutinensii (sic)*. The similarity of the name, thus recorded, with that of Master Pageny was recently pointed out to me by that acute antiquary Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A.; and the identification is made certain by the practical identity of design between the tomb of Charles VIII and that of the projected tomb for Henry VII. The French tomb was of black marble with gilded bronze figures, including statuettes round the sides. These latter were, however, female figures representing virtues, and not saints as in the design for the English tomb. The directions in Henry VII's will as to the material of which his tomb was to be made, lead one to suppose that he knew of the French tomb, and it would almost seem that Master Pageny's design was received two or three years before the king's death, because the manuscript above-mentioned contains an alternative estimate by

“Drawswerd, Sheriff of Yorke,” for the making of the wooden “patterns” for the figures, and Thomas Drawswerd was Sheriff of York in 1506–7 (21 and 22 Henry VII). (See note by Dr. Brewer, *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 109.)

It is true that the form of the tomb is not expressly mentioned in the will; but it is clearly indicated in the following words:—“In which place (*i.e.*, the chapel which he had begun to build anew in the honour of our Blessed Lady) we wol, that for the said sepulture of us and our derest late wif the Quene, whose soule God p’done, be made a towmbe of stone called touche, sufficient in largieur for us both; and upon the same oon ymage of our figure, and an other of hers, either of them of copure and gilte, of such faction, and in such maner, as shall be thought moost convenient by the discrecion of our executours, yf it be not before doon by our self in our daies. And in the borders of the same towmbe, bee made a convenient scripture, conteignyng the yeres of our reigne and the daie and yere of our decese. And on the sides, and booth ends of our said towmbe, in the said touche under the said bordure, wee wol tabernacles bee graven, and the same to be filled with ymages, sp’ially of our said avouries of coper and gilte.” The executors were not left in doubt as to the avouries, or patron saints, to be represented in the niches round the tomb. In another part of the will the king states—“I trust also to the singular mediacions and praiers of all the holie company of heaven . . . and sp’ially to myne accustomed avouries I call and cry, Sainct Michaele, S. John Baptist, St. John Ev., S. George, S. Anthony, S. Edward, S. Vincent, S. Anne, S. Mary Magdalene, and S. Barbara.”

All these saints are duly figured, on the sides of the existing tomb, in copper (or rather bronze) gilt, as directed by the will; but the system of small tabernacles would have been entirely repugnant to the breadth of effect aimed at by Torrigiano. He was able to repeat the large panels, and wreaths and flowers, of the Lady Margaret’s tomb, by grouping the saints in pairs and designing the groups as bronze medallions, entirely filling up the central space of the wreaths. Under this arrangement two additional figures were required beyond those prescribed by the will;

and the popular saint St. Christopher, together with the virgin and child, were accordingly added. The central medallion on the south side contains the two St. Johns', and it has on our right a medallion of St. George and St. Anthony, and on our left one of the Virgin and Child and St. Michael. The centre medallion of the north side has St. Christopher and St. Anne. The one on the right (which comes under the head of the Queen Elizabeth) has the Confessor and St. Vincent, and the one on the left the Magdalene and St. Barbara. These figures, without being consummate works of art, are finely designed, expressive and varied in pose, and well fitted to the circular space they occupy. The relief although high, is not forced or exaggerated. I know of no similar arrangement of saints in pairs, except in the fine bronze doors by Donatello in the sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence.

It has already been mentioned that the wreaths, which in Henry VII's monument are confined to the long sides of the tomb, are carved out of the black marble or touch and are often mistaken for dark bronze. The pilasters, which come between them, and at each end of the sides, are not cut out of the marble, as in the Lady Margaret's tomb, but are of gilded bronze, very elaborately ornamented with foliage. Similarly the spaces between the wreaths and the pilasters, have the sprays of roses in gilded bronze, and not carved in black marble as is the case on what I suppose to be the earlier tomb of the king's mother. I do not propose to attempt a description of the heraldic devices and supporters at the north and south ends; but I must specially mention the large rose, supported by a greyhound and dragon which together fill up the whole of the west end. They are in very high relief, in fact almost in the round; and they are undoubtedly English and not Italian works. Mr. St. John Hope was, I believe, the first person to point out this interesting fact. He also ascribes the heraldic work at the east end to English hands, and I think he is right. This, of course, does not apply to the "naked children" or *putti* who act as supporters to the lower shield. They are obviously Italian.

Of the merely decorative work, whether in metal or marble, I will say nothing more, except to call attention to the exceptional beauty of the terminal figures,

arabesques and birds on the broad white marble *cavetto*, which I have already mentioned as a constructive feature. No finer work of the date can be seen in Italy, so far as I am aware. There remains to be mentioned the most important work of all, the extraordinarily fine recumbent effigies of the king and queen, and also the four angels seated on the four corners of the tomb. These are all in gilded bronze and in a splendid state of preservation. The pose of the figures, with the hands raised in supplication, is the same as in the effigy of the Lady Margaret. The style is particularly broad, and yet the personal characters of both king and queen are powerfully indicated, not only in the faces but in the hands also, which are of an astonishing perfection of modelling. The disposition of the robes is simple and not wanting in grandeur, and the lions on which the king and queen rest their feet are, in spirit, worthy of the finest periods of the sculptor's art. In Sandford's cut of the tomb, the monarchs are represented with crowns on their heads. If they really existed they were probably added by English hands, as they obviously formed no part of the original design. The angels (or *putti* as they are called in Italian), who sit, in a highly supernatural fashion, at the four corners of the upper stage of the monument, may be regarded as Renaissance versions of the angels who commonly support the pillow or canopy at the head of a mediæval effigy. Here they turn their backs on the king and queen, but serve to proclaim the royal honours to the world. The two at the feet held banners in their *outer* hands; those at the head held apparently a sword and balance, if we may trust the earliest prints of them. The *inner* hands, which are particularly beautiful, were designed to support some smaller object than the shield behind which they now pass (in the case of the pair at the foot or east end of the tomb). Those at the west end now support nothing; but a rough gash in the marble below shows the place where a shield, or some similar object, rested. The arrangement of the hair in locks ending in little whirlpools is an exaggeration of the manner of Rossellino. It may be mentioned that these *putti*, which in Italy would certainly have been entirely nude, are here fully clothed, whether in deference to English notions of

modesty, or in æsthetic consideration of the English climate, it is impossible to say. The south-west figure has lost its forearm. This is almost the only injury the monument has sustained, and is due to the fact that the forearms of these child angels are separate castings from the rest of the figure.

The fortunate circumstance that the tomb of Henry VII is surrounded, and more or less hidden from sight, by an elaborate "sacellum" or screen, no less remarkable in its own way than the monument itself, has preserved Torrigiano's work to us in a rare state of perfection. But the same circumstance has tended to prevent the excellence and completeness of the work from being commonly known, so that so distinguished a writer on Italian art as the late Mr. J. Addington Symonds, in a note to his admirable translation of Cellini's autobiography, could dispose of Torrigiano's English labours by a note stating that he worked for Henry VIII and that "some fragments of his bronze" exist in London.

The contract for the monument of Henry VII was made on the 26th October, 1512, on which day Torrigiano entered into an agreement with the king's executors "to make and worke, or doo to be made and wrought, well, surely, clenly, workemanly, curiously and substancyally, for the sum of £1,500 sterling, a tombe or sepulture of whit marbill and of black touch-stone w^t ymags, figures, beasts and other things of coppure gilt . . . togedir w^t, other dyv'se ymags epitaphies and other things."¹ The tomb was finished some time before the 5th January, 1518-19,² *i.e.*, in a little over six years at the most; no very long period considering the elaborate nature of the work, and that the tomb of Dr. Young, in the Rolls Chapel, falls within the same time. Moreover, Torrigiano had bound himself on the 11th March, 1516-17, to construct the high altar of Henry

¹ The original indenture does not appear to be extant, but full particulars are given in the draft indenture for the proposed monument of Henry VIII and Queen Katharine, found amongst Cardinal Wolsey's papers, now in the Public Record Office, see *Archæologia*, vol. xvi., p. 84, from which the extract above is taken.

² This is shown by the draft contract for the projected tomb of Henry VIII and Queen Katharine (see note ¹), in which mention is made of "the said tombe which the same Petre before made and *fynysshed* for the same Kyng Henry the vijth." The cost of the gilding of Henry VII's tomb was £200. See Appendix III, p. 202.

VII's Chapel; but after the lapse of two years he seems to have made little or no progress with that undertaking.¹ We learn from a letter he addressed to Wolsey, about the end of the year 1518, that he had given notice that it would be necessary for him to go to Florence, in order to enable him to complete, "pro illustrissimo defuncto rege," certain unfinished work, which can be no other than the high altar referred to. The letter in question is a holograph preserved in the Cottonian volume, Titus, B. VII in the British Museum, and, as it is of considerable interest, and has only been published in the *Athenæum* (see No. 2743, 22nd May, 1880), I print it in Appendix I. Torrigiano makes a very urgent appeal to the Cardinal, and states that for several months he has been putting off his voyage, for no other reason than his desire to come to some settlement before he goes, as to the work that Wolsey had promised to get him from Henry VIII. It must be remembered that the work he had hitherto done had been for the executors of the king's father and grandmother, respectively, and not for the king himself. He professes his willingness to undertake anything within the compass of his art to the full extent of his powers, and he was shrewd enough to see that the difficulty of providing ready money might be an obstacle to his getting any important commission; he, therefore, offers to accept payment in the form of "so many obligations or bonds of Florentine merchants by which the said merchants are bound to repay certain sums of money to the king." This appeal to Wolsey was not without result. An indenture was drafted on 5th January 1518-19,² for a tomb for Henry VIII and Queen Katharine, to cost £2,000, and to be of white marble and black touchstone like Henry VII's monument, but "more grettir by the iijth parte." There is every probability that this scheme was one of Wolsey's own magnificent ideas, because it is stipulated in the draft indenture, that "the tombe was to be after such manner and form as may be ordered and assigned by the most Rev'end ffader in god Thomas by goddes p'mission

¹ See below, page 143.

² This document was preserved amongst Wolsey's papers, and is published in *Archæologia*, vol. xvi, p. 84.

It is now in the Record Office and is indexed in the *State Papers* of Henry VIII, vol. iii., part 1, p. 2.

of the holy church of Rome of the title of Saint Cicile beyond Tybre Prest Cardynall and Archbishop of Yorke." Wolsey had also the control of the financial arrangements. One curious point about the scheme is, that it was left for the king to decide where the tomb was to be set up, after it should be finished, for which a period of four years was allowed. If no place was assigned, then the sculptor and his representatives were to be acquitted and discharged. Torrigiano's own suggestion of payment by means of Florentine merchants' bonds, instead of ready money, was adopted in the draft indenture; but, owing to some reason or other—most probably because the king was still too young to take kindly to the idea of building his own tomb—the indenture was never proceeded with; and, exasperated by the delay, Torrigiano started for Florence, without leave, some time before June, 1519.

The worst possible construction was put upon the sculptor's unceremonious departure, as we gather from a note on p. 262 of the 4th volume of *Milanesi's Vasari*:—

"In the Archivio di Stato in Florence (filza 37, a.c. 108 delle Lettere esterne alla Signoria) is a letter from London, written to the Signoria by Rinaldo de' Ricasoli, consul of the Florentine nation in London, on 18th June, 1519, in which it is stated that Torrigiano had undertaken, about two years ago, to make for King Henry an altar and other works of bronze, at the price of £1,000 sterling; and that this sum had been paid by His Majesty a long time ago into the hands of a Lucca merchant, who was Torrigiano's surety to the king, the money to be disbursed by the merchant to the sculptor as the work advanced. Out of the £1,000 the Lucca merchant had paid for Torrigiano into the hands of Pier Francesco Bardi, in London, the sum of £240 sterling for the purpose of buying, in Florence, some sound property as a security for the said Lucca merchant. Ricasoli begs the Signory to make every effort to prevent the money coming into the hand of Torrigiano, who has not finished nor even commenced the work, and had left England *insalutato hospite* and without His Majesty's permission, with a deliberate intention of not returning and not finishing the said work, which has been, and is a very

great dishonour and, perhaps, injury to the Florentine Colony."¹

It must have been at some time during the year 1519, that the famous meeting between Torrigiano and Cellini took place, which is so graphically described in the wonderful autobiography of the latter artist. Cellini, himself, was barely nineteen years of age, and already an enthusiastic admirer of Michel Angelo, when Torrigiano, now a man of forty-six or forty-seven, told him the story of his early quarrel with the great master, and so excited Cellini's disgust and aversion that he immediately gave up the idea of a visit to England, an idea which had evidently appealed strongly to his natural love of adventure. With some allowance for the horror in which he held the man, for his brutality to Michel Angelo, we may accept the vivid sketch Cellini has handed down to us of the appearance and manners of Torrigiano, who for some years must have been a familiar figure in the precincts of Westminster. I trust I may be excused for reprinting the well-known passage—"About that time there came to Florence a sculptor named Torrigiano; he arrived from England, where he had resided many years. . . . This man had a splendid person and a most arrogant spirit, with the air of a great soldier more than of a sculptor, especially in regard to his vehement gestures and his resonant voice, together with a habit he had of knitting his brows, enough to frighten any man of courage. He kept talking every day about his gallant feats among those beasts of Englishmen."²

It seems pretty clear, that, whatever was the cause that made Torrigiano run away from England, the Florentine Signory took the necessary means, soon after the receipt of Ricasoli's letter, to make him return to London. On the 23rd and 28th September, 1519, being still in Florence, he entered into an agreement with Antonio di Piergiovanni di Lorenzo, sculptor, of Settignano, and Antonio, called Toto³ del Nunziata, painter,

¹ Milanesi's *Vasari*, vol. iv., p. 262.

² Symond's *Life of Cellini*, vol. i., p. 27.

³ Toto lived for many years in England, and was much employed as a painter, particularly at Hampton Court.

See Mr. Ernest Law's, *History of that palace*, vol. i., 1855, pp. 129 and 363; also Milanesi's *Vasari*, vol. v., p. 590; vol. vi. pp. 535 and 543.

who bound themselves to work with him for four and-a-half years, and practise their arts in Italy, France, Flanders, England, Germany, or in any other part of the world, with a salary of three gold florins a month for the first year, and forty ducats a year afterwards, besides the cost of food, lodging, and horse hire. On 26th October, of the same year, he made a similar contract with Gio. Luigi di Bernardino di Maestro Jacopo da Verona, living in Florence.¹

HIGH ALTAR OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL.

There is every reason to believe that Torrigiano, accompanied by his three assistants, returned to London in the latter part of 1519, or the beginning of 1520, and at once set to work upon the high altar for which £1,000 had been advanced, as already mentioned (see p. 143). This advance was made by the executors of Henry VII,² and not by Henry VIII as stated in Ricasoli's letter to the Florentine Signory. In the original bond, of the 11th March, 1516-7, it was agreed that the garnishment or baldacchino of the altar, and various images, should be set up in the chapel before 1st November, 1519. The work, actually begun at about the time when it ought to have been finished according to the agreement, can hardly have been completed before 1522, the year in which Torrigiano died in Spain, according to Vasari, after executing many works in that country. The real date of his death has, however, been shown by Milanesi to be about July, 1528. A petition from his widow, addressed to one of the Florentine law courts, states "Piero mortuus est et decessit jam sunt tres menses et ultra." The date of the petition is not given, but the judgment of the court in favour of the widow is dated 5th November, 1528.³

If Torrigiano left England for Spain in 1522 or 1523, he would have had ample time to carry out the works ascribed to him in the latter country, assuming that he

¹ Milanesi's, *Vasari*, vol. iv., p. 262.

² See the account of the indenture as given in Neale and Brayley's *West-*

minster Abbey, vol. i., *Henry VII's Chapel*, p. 58.

³ Milanesi's *Vasari*, vol. iv., p. 264.

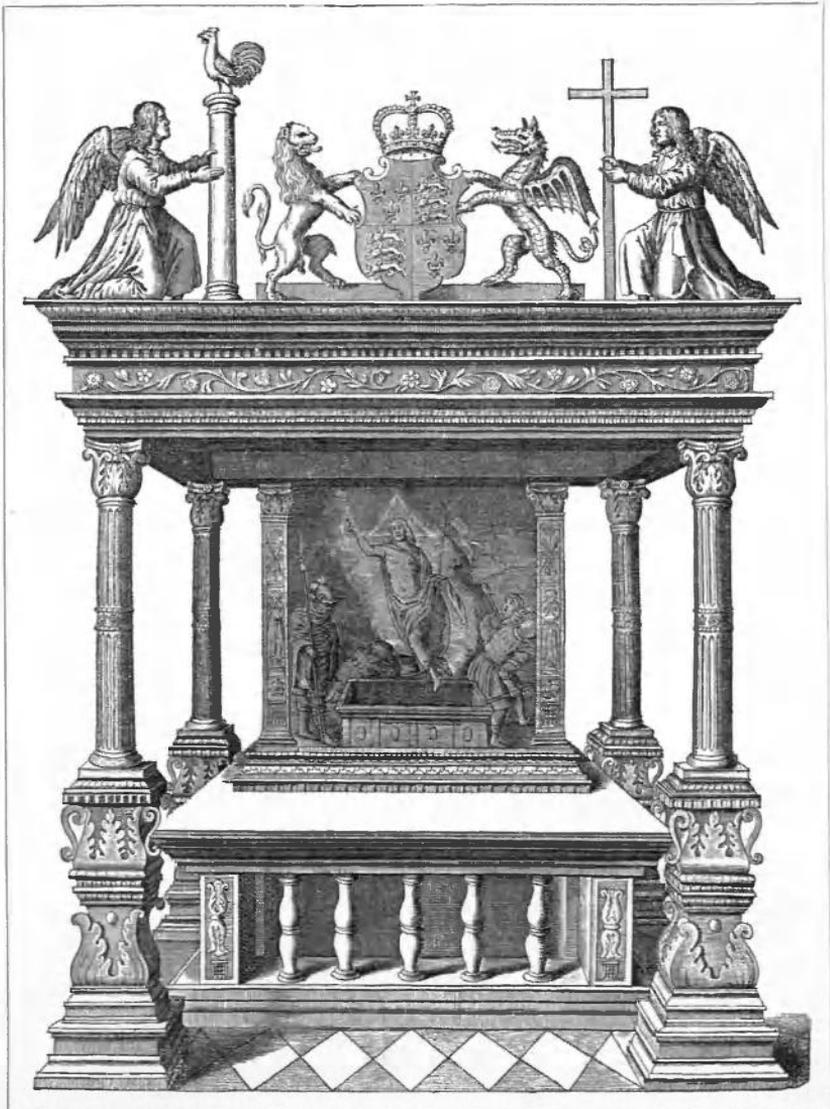
died there in 1528. The story which Vasari tells of Torrigiano having starved himself to death in the dungeons of the Inquisition to which he had been consigned upon a charge of heresy—on account of his having, in a violent fit of passion, broken up a terracotta group of the Virgin and Child, for which a Spanish nobleman had sent him a trifling sum in brass coins of small denomination called *maravedis*—has been discredited but not disproved.

Three very beautiful pieces of Torrigiano's high altar have been preserved and were restored, as near as may be, to their original place by Dean Stanley when he erected the present Communion Table, in Henry VII's Chapel, on the site of the old altar. A glance at these remains will, I think, dispose of the late Mr. W. Burges's assertion that the art of the altar and its belongings, compared with that of Henry VII's tomb, was of "a very different and coarser description." Upon the strength of the purely conventional representation in Sandford's "Genealogical History of the Kings of England" he supposed that Torrigiano changed his style, as the result of his visit to Florence; and Mr. Burges pronounced the "details and members" to be "coarse and heavy."¹ Although it must not be taken as any guide whatever as to the character of the details and members, and should only be looked at as a diagram, Sandford's engraving (of which a reproduction is given for the reader's convenience in Plate No. I) is a most valuable guide to the understanding of the interesting particulars given in the contract for the altar,² and in the report on the state of the Royal Tombs made to the Lord Treasurer in Queen Elizabeth's time (printed in Appendix VII from Lansdowne MS., Brit. Mus., No. 116-13). From the contract we obtain the following details as to the dimensions of the work:—The height of the baldacchino, from the pavement to the upper member of the cornice, was nine feet, and the widths of the front, or western aspect, was of the same dimension. The square, black marble bases on which the supporters of the canopy rested were one foot square at

¹ *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, Abbey, vol. i., *Henry VII's Chapel*, p. 84.

² Neale and Brayley's *Westminster*

p. 58.



THE HIGH ALTAR OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL, BY TORRIGIANO.
From the Print at page 471 of Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of
England. London, 1683.

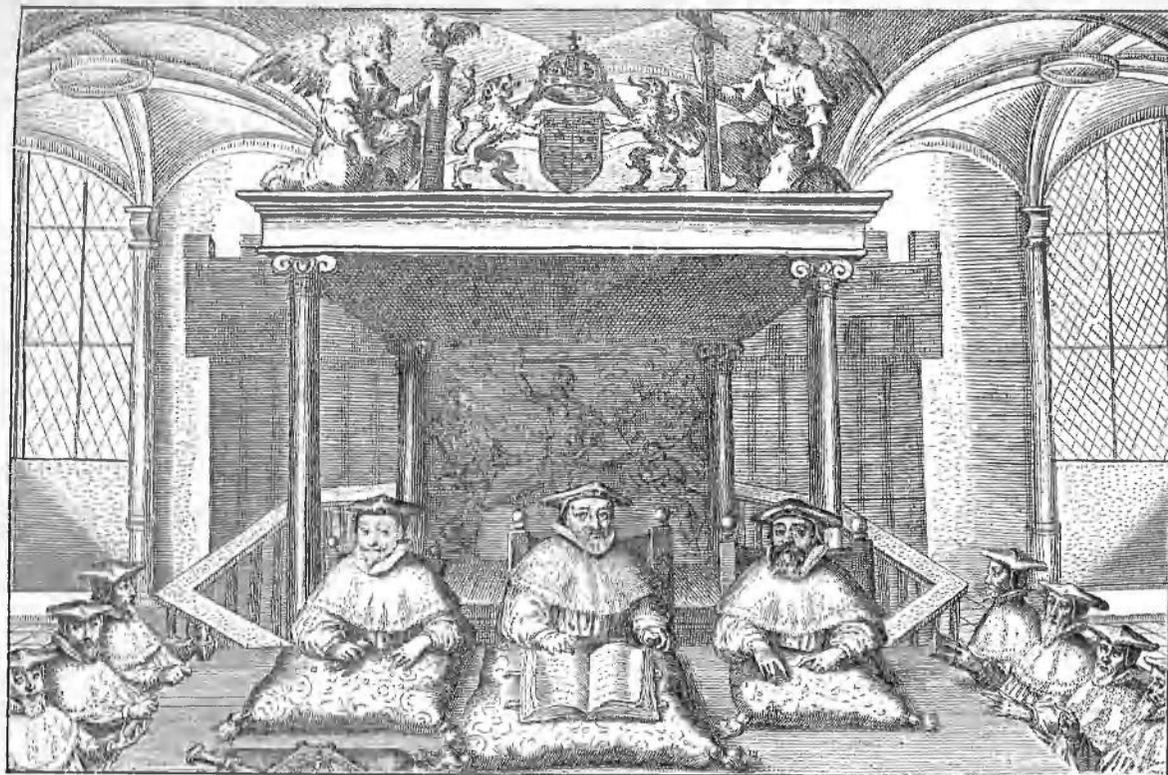
the bottom and one and-a-half feet high, and the kneeling angels of terra-cotta on the top of the baldacchino were two feet high. The altar proper was six feet long, three feet high, and three feet four inches wide. The proportions of Sandford's engraving agree almost exactly with these dimensions. As regards materials the information in the contract is very complete, and is confirmed by the Report to Lord Burghley so far as it goes. The canopy of the baldacchino was of white marble (with apparently a frieze and other garnishments of gilt bronze¹). The supporting pillars, with their capitals, were of gilt bronze. The triple bases, on which they rested, were of black marble in the lowest section, and of white marble, with gilt bronze enrichments, on the two upper sections. The basement of the altar was of black marble (or touchstone), and upon it rested "four square pillows (*sic*) of white marble, with levys and crests with their proportions all coloured as app'teyneth to the work." These pillars were rectangular posts, of which two have been preserved and now support the present Communion Table. Their dimensions are two feet seven and-a-quarter inches in height and eight and-a-half inches square at the top and base. The massive black marble slab which rested upon these piers was also borne by sixteen gilded bronze balusters, five of which are clearly shown in Sandford's engraving. Dr. Ryves, in his *Angliæ Ruina*, states that the altar stone was of touch, "all of one piece, a raritie not to be matched, that we know of, in any part of the world."² Under the altar was a "bakyn image, of erthe coloured, of Christ dede."³ At the back of the altar, framed, between two square pillars of gilt bronze was a *dosel* of the same material, with two base reliefs, the one in front, facing west, having for its subject the Resurrection, and the other, at the back, having a representation upon it of the Nativity of Christ. The relief with the Resurrection is shown in Sandford's illustration (see Plate I) and also in Plate II, where a reproduction is given of part of a rare print in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, showing the meeting of the Upper House

¹ See Report to Lord Treasurer, printed in Appendix VII, and Indenture of 11 March, 1516, Neale and Brayley, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 58.

² Neale and Brayley's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. i., p. 59.

³ Contract of 1516-17, already cited.

of Convocation in Henry VII's Chapel in 1623-1624. The representations of the angels agree accurately with the description in the indenture, and are much better than the figures in Sandford's engraving. There is nothing to indicate whether the moulded base on which the bronze panel rested was of bronze or marble. It has been supposed to be of the latter material, and that the carved frieze which rests in a similar position on the present communion table is the identical piece of marble. Dean Stanley figured it (upside down) in the *Memorials of Westminster*, as a portion of the baldacchino; but its small size—only three feet eight inches long—makes this impossible, and also renders it highly improbable that it can have supported the base of the bronze reliefs, which must have been nearly five feet wide according to Sandford's engraving. After careful consideration, I have arrived at the conclusion that it was the base or rest for the Royal Arms (in marble) which we know, from the contract and from Sandford, surmounted the canopy. The length agrees almost exactly with the indication in the engraving; and although the height is nearly double the apparent height in the cut, the difference is accounted for by the simple fact that the rest for the arms was set back some way from the edge of the canopy and, therefore, half-hidden from view. The iron bar which was found with the piece of marble, as mentioned in the *Memorials of Westminster*, probably supported the arms from behind. From the character of the delicate carving of roses and fleurs-de-lis, on what I believe to be the base which supported the Royal Arms, the workmanship may certainly be pronounced to be Italian of the early part of the sixteenth century. The piece was discovered, at the entrance of Henry VIII's vault, in the excavations made by Dean Stanley when searching for the body of James I. The square piers or posts of white marble which supported the altar-stone are lovely examples of Italian decorative carving (very like Benedetto da Rovezzano's work in the church of the Trinità in Florence) and the device of the Portcullis upon them, shown in the same position in Sandford's cut, leaves no doubt as to their identity. Dr. J. H. Middleton, now Director of the South Kensington Museum, was the first to recognise them amongst the marbles in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford,



THE HIGH ALTAR OF HENRY VII'S CHAPEL, BY TORRIGIANO.
From a print (dated 1623) of the meeting of the Upper House of Convocation in that chapel.
(Collection of the Society of Antiquaries.)

where they were preserved until they were restored, in Dean Stanley's time, to the Abbey. The four angels bearing the instruments of the passion, who knelt at the four corners on top of the canopy, were (according to the contract of 1516-17) to be of "erthe baked in an oven after the colour of white marble." This expression I take to indicate that they were to be of glazed terra-cotta, like the famous Della Robbia ware. On the top of the cornice of the baldacchino, in the central space between the angels, both on the east and west aspects, were to be—as I have already indicated—groups of the arms of England and Spain, properly coloured, all on "scochyns, of white marble surmounted by a crown Imperial, and having rose branches in marble at the sides." Everything tends to show that the high altar I have attempted to describe was a work of exquisite taste. It was of modest dimensions; the cornice of the baldacchino reaching no higher than the cornice of the closure round Henry VII's tomb, and its width being not so great as to hide the fine towers at the corners of the closure. From the inventory relating to Wolsey's tomb, at Windsor, which I shall refer to further on, we learn that the bronze pillars shown in Sandford's cut are not the original ones. They proved insufficient to carry the weight of the canopy, and they were removed by Benedetto da Rovezzano, in whose possession they were at the time that artist furnished his report on Wolsey's tomb. (See Appendix IV, p. 205.) With the exception of the alteration in the matter of the pillars, Torrigiano's high altar and baldacchino remained unchanged till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, when the fanatics of the civil war destroyed them. Dr. Ryves, in his *Angliæ Ruina*, ascribes the act of profanation to Sir Robert Harlow, in 1643. After describing the position of the altar, before the "goodly monument" of Henry VII, he pathetically adds "There it stood for many years, not for use, but only for ornament; yet it did not escape the frenzy of this man's ignorant zeal, for he broke it into shivers."¹

I am not aware that there are any other remains of Italian art of the sixteenth century in Westminster Abbey than those I have mentioned. Certain fragments of terra-

¹ Neal and Brayley's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. i., p. 59.

cotta figures were discovered some years ago in the pockets of the vault in the S.W. tower, and they are sometimes shown as having belonged to Torrigiano's altar; but this is undoubtedly a mistaken supposition, as they evidently belong to an earlier date. They are now preserved in the south triforium of the nave.

TOMB OF DR. YOUNG, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

We must go into the City of London or, rather, into the Liberty of the Rolls for further materials for our subject. In the Rolls Chapel, we shall find a monument, undoubtedly Italian of the early sixteenth century, and in all probability designed by Torrigiano (see Plate III). This is the tomb of Dr. Young, Master of the Rolls, on the north side of the altar, where it exactly fills a rather low arched recess, presumably made for it when the chapel was reconstructed by Inigo Jones. In its general design it conforms to one of the two principal types of the fourteenth and fifteenth century Florentine tombs, that of a sarcophagus under an arch; but it should be noticed that here the pedestal on which the sarcophagus rests has ceased to have the connection with the pilasters, or sides of the arch, which it had in earlier tombs; and that the lower part of these pilasters now appears, in a modified form, on the pedestal itself, where it serves, as it did in its original position, to bear escutcheons with the armorial devices of the deceased. In the central space between the pilasters of Dr. Young's tomb, is a framed panel, bearing the inscription and flanked by arabesques in relief. Upon the pedestal, which is of stone, there is a shaped sarcophagus of the same material, with a recumbent effigy of the deceased upon it in terra-cotta. The sarcophagus rests on lion's paws. At its lower part it has a wide ogee moulding, with acanthus leaves at the corners. Across the middle of the sarcophagus a cavetto, of equal width with the ogee, divides the two main groups of narrow mouldings in relief. The two wide, hollow mouldings are ornamented, with excellent effect, by a simplified egg and arrow decoration. Between the lion's feet runs a naturalistically treated scroll or ribbon with the incised inscription "*Dominus firmamentum meum.*" The recumbent effigy is



TOMB OF DR. YOUNG, 1516, IN THE ROLLS CHAPEL.

(Reproduced by permission from a photograph by Messrs. H. Dixon & Son, London).

designed with great simplicity and dignity. The evident fidelity and extraordinary refinement of modelling in the features are enhanced by the broad massive treatment of the drapery,—a long cloak with tippet,—the folds arranged chiefly in horizontal lines in accordance with the best traditions of mediæval art. The hands, which are admirably posed, are crossed on the breast, and the head rests on two small cushions. Allowing for the thicker ermine-lined robes of the king, the cast of drapery is so precisely similar to that in Henry VII's monument that there can be no doubt that they were either designed by the same person or copied the one from the other. The intelligent differences between them, however, preclude, in my opinion, the idea of a mere copy by an inferior artist.

Affixed to the wall, in the lunette between the effigy and the arch above it, is a bust of our Lord with a cherub on each side. The type of the Christ is a common one in the Florentine art of the period; several examples may be seen at South Kensington. The brows are knit and the expression severe. The very formal pancake clouds, which terminate the bust, are anything but happy; and the cherubs, with their artificially-curled hair, have a somewhat vulgar look, much enhanced by coarse modern paint. The inscription on the central panel at the base of the monument is as follows:—

IO. YONG Æ DOCTORI SACROꝝ
SCRINIOꝝ AC HVIVS DOMVS
CVSTODI DECANO OLIM EBORꝝ
VITA DEFVNCTO XXV APRILIS
SVI FIDELES EXECVTORES
HOC POSVERVNT. M.D.XVI.

from which it appears that Dr. Young was Master of the Rolls and Keeper of the Rolls Chapel, that he had been Dean of York, that he died 25th April, 1516, and that his faithful executors erected the monument in the same year. It was not till the 11th March, 1516-7, as we have already seen, that Torrigiano undertook the high altar of Henry VII's Chapel, which he had not even commenced two years later; and the delay in carrying out that commission would not appear to be due to the work for

Dr. Young's monument. My own impression is that we cannot assign any part of that monument, except the terra-cotta figure, to the hand of Torrigiano himself. It is incredible that the author of the charming boy-angels in Westminster Abbey can, at the same period, have executed the cherubs of the Rolls Chapel. No doubt the latter were the work of a pupil, whose hand may, I think, be also traced in some of the subordinate figures at Westminster. That Torrigiano specially practised terra-cotta work appears from a notice of him in the writings of Francesco d'Olanda. He places amongst the celebrated sculptors who were his own contemporaries "*Maestro Pietro Torrigiano, modellatore di terra,*" and he mentions especially that Torrigiano made a portrait in clay of the Empress (of Portugal).¹

It is possible that something may be learnt as to the authorship of Dr. Young's Tomb from his will, an abstract of which is given in the *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Publications of the Surtees Society, 1884, p. 72). The will is dated the day of his death, and prescribes the place of his burial, and that a tomb was to be erected over his remains. He bequeathed a standing cup with a cover, clean gilt, to Cardinal Wolsey. Dr. Young was a scholar, and a friend of Erasmus, who dedicated a book to him.² The "Master of the Rolls" was one of the very few persons present at the laying of the foundation stone of Henry VII's Chapel, and it seems possible that Dr. Young's duty as Master of the Rolls may have brought him into contact with Torrigiano as sculptor of the King's monument.

THE TOMB OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

My readers will remember the draft indenture of the 5th January, 1518-19 (see p. 142), according to which Torrigiano was to have erected, within the space of four years and at a cost of £2,000, a monument for Henry VIII and Queen Katharine, one fourth part larger than that of Henry VII's. This project, in which Wolsey was intimately concerned, came to nothing, as we have

¹ See Raczyński, *Les Arts en Portugal*, Paris, 1846, 8vo.

² See note in *Testamenta Eboracensia* referred to in the text.

seen; but a few years later the Cardinal resolved to build for himself a not less magnificent monument. Some writers have said that he erected, for the purpose of containing it, the small building adjoining the east end of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, formerly called Henry VII's Chapel or Wolsey's Chapel, or the tomb-house of Henry VIII, and now known as the Prince Consort's Memorial Chapel; but this is without doubt an error. Leland¹ rightly states that Henry VII built the *tomb-house* (which was obviously meant to be primarily a Lady Chapel). Mr. St. John Hope has shown me a copy of an indenture of the 3rd year of Henry VIII for the vaulting of the building, and we may therefore assume that Henry VIII granted the chapel to Wolsey.² Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his *Life of Wolsey* (London, 1622), has the following passage on the subject of Wolsey's tomb.

"He (Cardinal Wolsey) died and was buried there (at Leicester) in the Abbey Church, 30th November, before day, and not where he had begun a monument for himself long since (wherein, *as appears by our Records*, he had not omitted his own image), which one Benedetto, a statuary of Florence, took in hand, 1524, and continued until 1529, receiving for so much as was already done 4,250 ducats. The design whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry the Seventh. Nevertheless I find the Cardinal, when this was finished, did purpose to make a tomb for Henry the Eighth, but dying in this manner, King Henry made use of so much as he found fit, and called it his."

The Benedetto of Florence mentioned by Lord Herbert is the well-known Florentine artist Benedetto da Rovezzano, who was born in 1474, one year before Michel Angelo. He came from Pistoja, and was called da Rovezzano because he settled and bought property in that place, about 1505, on returning to Tuscany from employment in other parts of Italy. Amongst the first of the many fine things he did in Florence is the chimney piece of "macigno," made for the house of Pier Francesco

¹ See Leland's *Comments on the Cygnea cantio*, published with his *Itinerary* by Hearne (Oxford, 1769), vol. ix, p. 105.

² Wolsey had held a canonry and prebend at St. George's, Windsor, from 1511 to 1514. *State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. i, Nos. 1506 and 4856.

Borgherini, but now in the museum at the Bargello. In 1512 he received a commission to erect the tomb of the ex-gonfaloniere Piero Soderini, which still stands in a state of perfect preservation in the church of the Carmine in Florence. It is of touchstone, and Vasari praises very highly the skill with which the stone was polished, so that it looked like black satin. In this monument we see one of the earliest instances of the detestable custom of ornamenting tombs with skulls and cross-bones, but happily they do not much obtrude themselves. This system was further extended in the perhaps finer tomb of Oddo Altoviti in the church of the SS. Apostoli. But Benedetto's greatest work in Florence was the chapel and tomb for the body of San Giovanni Gualberto for the church of the Trinity, which belonged to the Vallombrosan monks. He worked at it for ten years (probably from 1505 to 1515). According to Vasari it was completed, but never set up; and, owing to changes and disputes in the governing body of the Vallombrosan order, it remained in a house belonging to the monks, on the outskirts of Florence (where it was worked), until 1530, when it was destroyed by the Papal and Imperial soldiers during the siege of Florence. There were many life-sized figures in the round, which stood in niches divided by pilasters; also a base or plinth, an ell and a half in height, with reliefs illustrating the life of the saint. (Some remains of these reliefs are in the Bargello Museum.) There was also an infinity of ornament about the sarcophagus. It is to be deplored that a perverse fate has deprived us of both of the ambitious works on which Benedetto spent the best years of his life, and that, owing to the loss of his principal Florentine work, we are deprived of one of the best means of realizing what was the result of his years of labour at Windsor. It is sad to learn that he spent the last two or three years of his life in total blindness; but the liberal payments he is said to have received from Henry VIII seem to have provided amply for his material necessities. The exact date of his death in Florence is not recorded; but it was about the year 1554, when he would have been eighty years of age.

It will be seen from the extract I have given from Lord Herbert's *History*, that he refers to the Public Records as

the authority for his account of Wolsey's monument. Copies of the documents in question have, fortunately, been preserved, and are calendared in the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII.* I have printed them at full length in Appendices III and IV for convenience of reference. The first one is reprinted from vol. iv, part 3, p. 2544 of the Calendar, and is of first-rate importance. It is a long letter in Latin from Benedetto da Rovezzano to Cardinal Wolsey, and is dated 30th June, 1529, about four months before the Cardinal's fall. From the earlier part of the letter we learn that Thomas Cromwell, acting on behalf of Wolsey, had ordered the artist to give a faithful account of his agreement with a certain Antonio Cavallari as to the erection of the Cardinal's tomb, and also a statement of moneys received and owing. Cavallari was a wealthy merchant of Lucca. His letters patent of denization, dated 21st November, 1509, are printed in Mr. William Page's *Denizations and Naturalizations, 1509 to 1603*, published by the Huguenot Society in 1893, Preface, p. 2. He held the appointment of Purveyor of Gold and Silver Cloths to the King, and is several times mentioned in the *State Papers*. In one place, for example (*Henry VIII*, vol. iv, part 2, p. 1557), there is a note of an acquittance of £60,000 sterling in which John and Anthony Cavallari had been bound, at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey. (This was dated at Compiègne, 17th September, 1527.) At the time Benedetto wrote, Cavallari had recently died, and this must have been one reason why the artist was called upon to give an account of the financial arrangements Cavallari had made with him; another reason may have been the necessity which Wolsey foresaw of beginning to arrange his own affairs, in view of his growing disfavour with the King. Benedetto explains that there had been very great mutual confidence between himself and Cavallari, and that their agreement was a verbal one, to the effect that he would make a tomb which should not be inferior in workmanship, magnificence, and cost, to the tomb of Henry VII. Money was to be advanced to him, as he might require it, for the purchase of materials, payment of workmen, and other expenses; and when the work was finished, it was to be valued by experienced and trustworthy persons, upon the

basis of the cost of Henry VII's monument, regard being had to the superior size of Wolsey's. The amount given by Lord Herbert as the sum received by Benedetto (4,250 ducats) is literally correct according to the artist's own statement; but he asserts that he had paid more than this amount out of his own money, and that he owed an almost equal sum in Florence and London for materials employed. He further states that if all his arrangements for founding, carriage of materials, &c., had not met with unusual good luck, the cost would have been far greater still. He mentions incidentally that Cavallari had been very much surprised at the amount of gilding required: £200's worth had sufficed for Henry VII's tomb, but the Cardinal's would cost about £800. He affirms that the tomb is more than twice as splendid as Henry VII's; that Cavallari knew all this, and had promised that he should go to Oxford to make an altar there in Cardinal College (now Christ Church), and further, that he should have the commission for a tomb for Henry VIII himself. He says he is most anxious to undertake all this work, but he feels compelled to go and see his wife and children, from whom, he is ashamed to say, he has been separated ten complete years. In giving the sum of money (4,250 ducats) he had received, he states that this amount was for the period from the 1st June, 1524, to the 3rd May, 1529. This seems to be the only authority for Lord Herbert's statement that the work was taken in hand in 1524. As he had left Florence in 1519, according to his own statement, he probably arrived in England before 1524.

I think I have given all the main points of Benedetto's letter. There is however another document with it amongst the Masters MS. at Cambridge,¹ an abstract of a letter of unknown date, but earlier than 29th June, 1529, as it is from Cavallari, who had died before then. He informs the Cardinal that he had laid out £380 13s. 0d. sterling for the gilding of the part of the tomb already done (being the half).² This agrees almost exactly with Benedetto's estimate that the total

¹ I have reprinted an abstract of it in Appendix III.

² In modern money this would be

equal to about £4,000 spent for gilding only.

cost of the gilding would be about £800. Cavallari "seems to doubt whether the Cardinal mean to have the rest of his tomb perfected, which if he do not he would have him give the gilder leave to go home to Antwerp, and also to Benedict the carver to return into Italy."

[In Wornum's edition of *Walpole*, the absurd mistake of supposing that Cavallari was the gilder of the tomb, instead of the financial agent, is apparently taken from Dr. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*.]

There are two other documents now in the Record Office relating to Wolsey's monument, and they are at least as important as Benedetto's letter. A short abstract of them is given by Mr. Brewer in his Calendar (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. iv, part 2), but they are now published for the first time (see Appendix IV), and the two papers are printed side by side, in order that the differences between them may be seen at a glance. They are, evidently, two versions of the inventory which Benedetto had been called upon to draw up, after Wolsey's disgrace or death, showing what work had been executed for the purposes of the tomb, and how far it could be made available for a tomb for the King. Although the two documents cover the same ground, they are by no means duplicates. The one marked 5113 II is written on a single sheet, of two sides, and appears to be the first draft of the artist himself, not only from the fact that it contains much fewer particulars than the other list, but because the language sufficiently shows that it was written by an Italian imperfectly acquainted with English. The other document, No. 5113, is written on a double sheet of four sides, and is in a different, but contemporary, handwriting. Probably it is an expansion of Benedetto's own list; the additional particulars it gives relate chiefly to the gilding of the bronze work, a matter which we know, from Benedetto's letter to Wolsey (see Appendix III), was no affair of the sculptor's. The order of the items in the two lists is the same throughout, and all the numerous measurements in the one are repeated in the other with absolute accuracy. As regards other details, the two lists correspond precisely, so far as they go, except that paper 5113 gives 14 as the number of

small scutcheons, whilst paper 5113 II gives it as 10. Paper 5113 also gives particulars as to four small pillars for the altar, whilst the list in 5113 II is confined absolutely to the tomb. The latter document, however, repeats the information given in Benedetto's letter (Appendix III) as to the money received from the Cardinal; and it enables us to express the amount in English money, as the value of the ducat, 4s. 6d., is mentioned. The amount paid would therefore be £956 5s. 0d., or more than £10,000 in modern money. The precise object with which the inventories were drawn up is more clearly shown by the version in paper No. 5113, the main part of which, comprising the first eleven items, is headed, *For the King's Highness*; whilst the rest, comprising the remaining eight items, is marked off with the words, *Things to be ordered at the King's pleasure*, or in modern English, "to be disposed of as the King may direct." These "things" have all personal reference to Wolsey. First of all, his recumbent effigy with two griffons at his feet, then his Cardinal's hat with twelve buttons and silken strings, two scutcheons with his arms, ten (or fourteen) scutcheons with his arms and those of his churches, twelve small images of saints (one foot high), and lastly a cross and two pillars, the emblems of archiepiscopal and legatine authority, of which we hear so much in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, one of the first and most fascinating biographies of a great Englishman.

The information given in the inventories printed side by side in Appendix IV, pp. 203-205, affords ample materials for a conjectural restoration of Wolsey's monument, which must have been in a condition closely approximating completion when it was taken over by Henry VIII. The elevations and plan given in Plate VI (opposite p. 162), have been worked out from the inventories with the co-operation of my accomplished friend Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., and they will, at least, serve as a help to the reading of the following descriptive matter. They may also possibly lead to the identification of some contemporary representation of the work. It should be noted that the dimensions marked on the plate are all taken direct from documentary evidence and are not

inferential, except as regards the diameter of the pillars (12 inches), a dimension mainly derived from the scheme for Henry VIII's tomb printed in Appendix V.

The evidence before us proves that Wolsey's monument consisted of a sarcophagus of black marble (touchstone), and that upon it there was a recumbent statue of the Cardinal in gilded bronze, lying upon bronze drapery made to imitate cloth of gold; his feet supported by two grifons, also in gilded bronze. The sarcophagus, which was made in four pieces and measured seven feet in length, four feet in breadth, and two feet and a-half in height, was supported by a base eight feet in length, four feet four inches in breadth, and two feet in height, consisting of twelve pieces of black and eight pieces of white marble, and this base again rested upon a platform of black marble, whereon stood also four great pillars of bronze, nine feet high, supporting on their capitals four angels bearing candlesticks. The angels were three feet four inches in height, and the total height of the pillars and angels was therefore twelve feet four inches. The platform was nine feet long by eight feet broad; and, as the base of black and white marble which rested upon it was eight feet long by four feet four inches wide, it necessarily follows (see ground plan, Plate VI) that the four great pillars must have stood at the *sides* of the sarcophagus and base, where the available space was one foot ten inches on each side, whilst the space at each end of the base was only six inches wide. The four angels of gilded bronze, which we are told knelt at the head and foot of the tomb, could not have been placed at the ends (E. and W.) as there was no room for them there, either upon the top of the base or upon the platform: moreover, the six inches, which is the extent to which the platform there extended beyond the superincumbent base, must have been occupied by the "four naked children," two feet nine inches high, which stood at the head and foot of the tomb to hold the shields of arms (see end elevation, Plate VI). The four kneeling angels, two feet eight inches high, bearing the legatine pillars, the archbishop's cross and the cardinal's hat, must therefore have been placed at the sides of the base, towards the east and west ends, where also stood the four great pillars.

From the wording of paper 5113 II (see Appendix IV)

it seems certain that the sarcophagus, base and platform, were actually placed in position in the Chapel at Windsor, and also the four columns which stood on the platform. The parts of the bronze work expressly stated to be "gilded and burnished" were probably also in their places. They are as follows:—The four kneeling angels and the emblems, which they carried, two shields of arms and the four *putti* supporting them, the recumbent statue of Wolsey with the two grifons at his feet, the seven pieces of copper wrought like cloth of gold, and the twelve small figures of saints. The pillars were probably to be parcel gilt. It is stated that five pieces comprising half of one of the pillars was already gilt and burnished. The parts mentioned as not gilt are the four angels with candlesticks to stand on the pillars, the two pieces of copper for epitaphs, the four leaves of copper for the corners of the tomb, and the four small pillars for the altar canopy. It is possible that these parts were not intended to be gilded. With regard to the fourteen small scutcheons or shields, there is no information as to whether they were gilt or not.

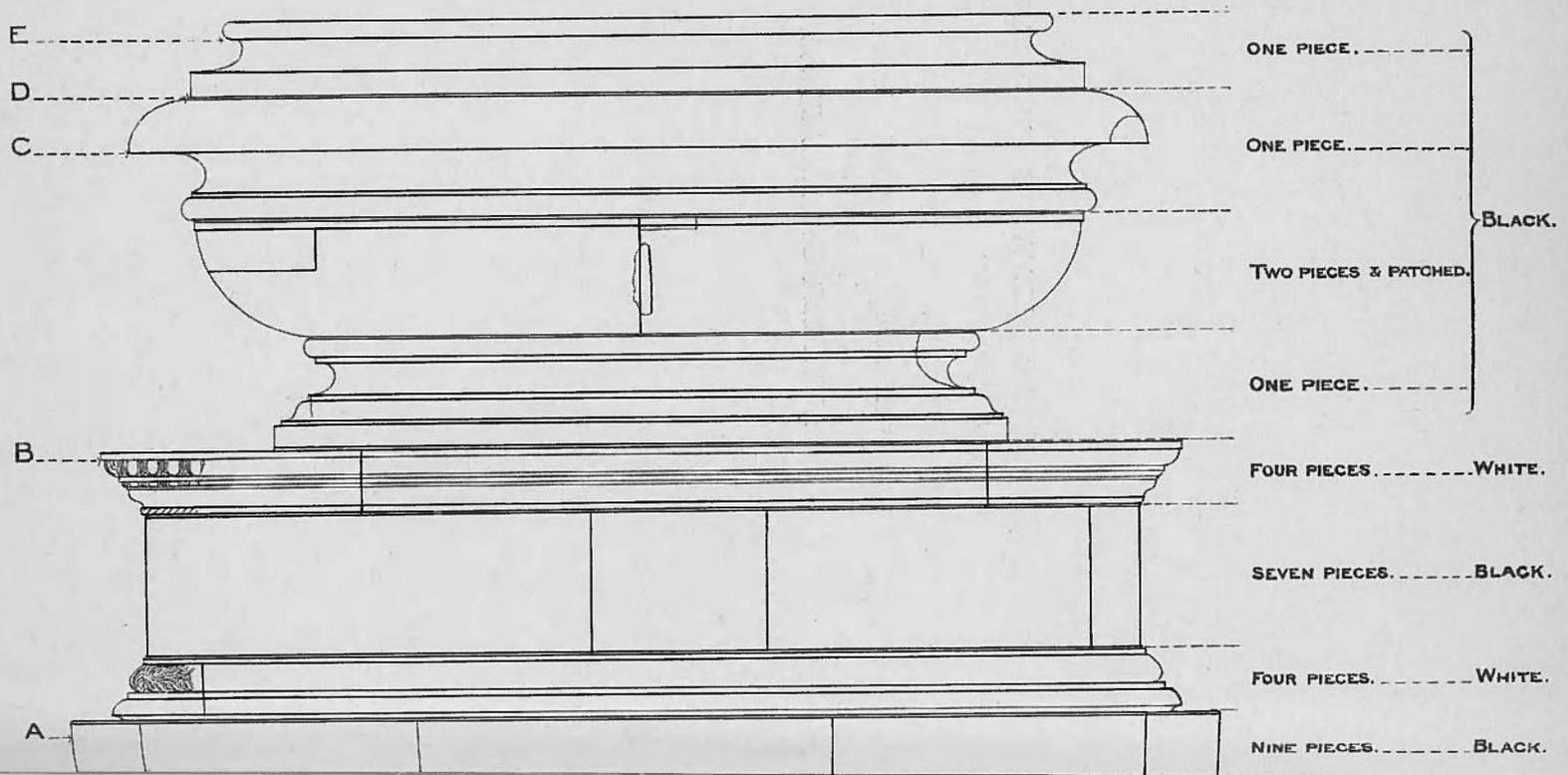
My readers have no doubt, like myself, frequently met with the assertion that the sarcophagus now surmounting the tomb of Lord Nelson in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, is the one which was prepared for the body of Cardinal Wolsey. It might reasonably be supposed that the Cathedral library, or the Office of the Surveyor of the Fabric, would contain information on this point; but, upon enquiry, I find that such is not the case, and I have also ascertained that no particulars whatever with regard to Nelson's tomb exist among the records of H.M.'s Office of Works. From a document in the Record Office marked "Audit Office Declared Accounts, Roil 452, Bundle 2501," I find that between 5th July, 1814, and 5th January, 1815, a sum of £1.033 Os. 3¼*d.* was imprested out of the Exchequer to George Saunders, Esq., "for the payment of tradesmen's bills for executing Lord Nelson's tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral in the years 1806, 1808, 1809, and 1810," the said George Saunders having been specially appointed by the Treasury "to investigate the unsettled accounts of the late¹ James Wyatt, Esq., for several public works and

¹ Mr. James Wyatt held the appointment of Surveyor to H.M.'s Office of Works.

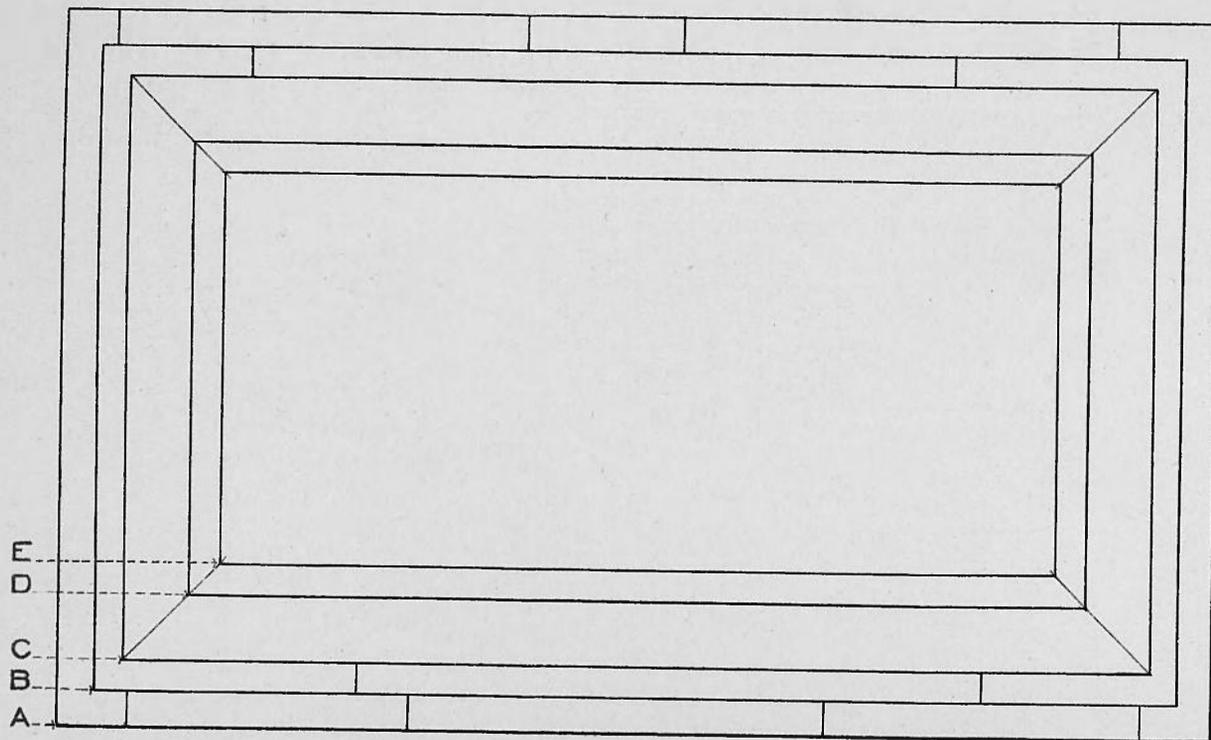
NORTH ELEVATION AND PLAN
OF SARCOPHAGUS AND BASE
FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY'S TOMB AT WINDSOR.

*(now used for Lord Nelson's Tomb
in the Crypt
of St. Paul's Cathedral Church).*

SARCOPHAGUS. NOW USED FOR LORD NELSON IN S^T. PAUL'S.



NORTH ELEVATION.



PLAN.

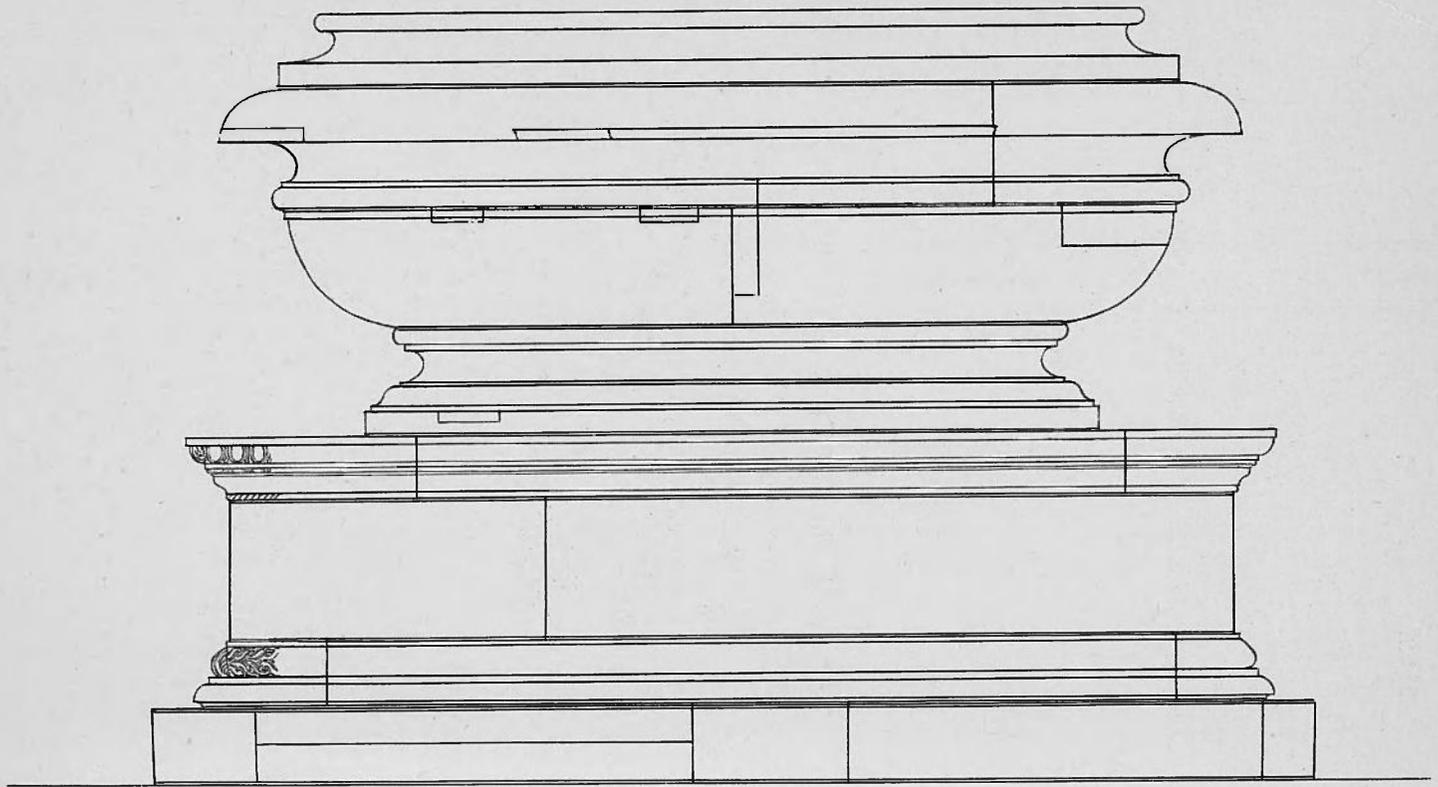
To follow next Plate IV.

PLATE V.

SOUTH, EAST, AND WEST ELEVATIONS
OF SARCOPHAGUS AND BASE
FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY'S TOMB AT WINDSOR.

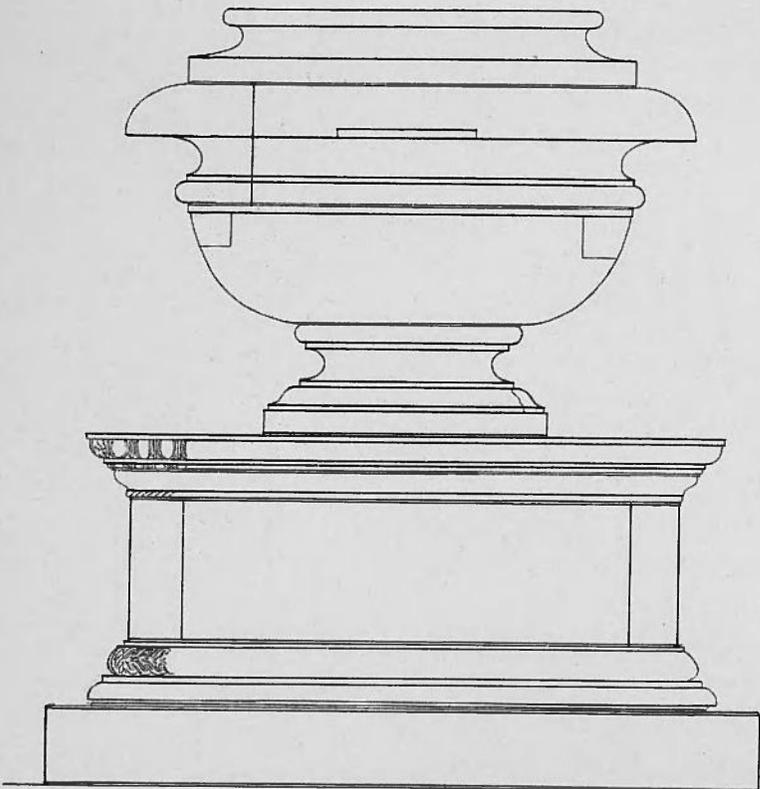
*(now used for Lord Nelson's Tomb
in St. Paul's Cathedral Church).*

SARCOPHAGUS. NOW USED FOR LORD NELSON. IN S^T. PAUL'S.

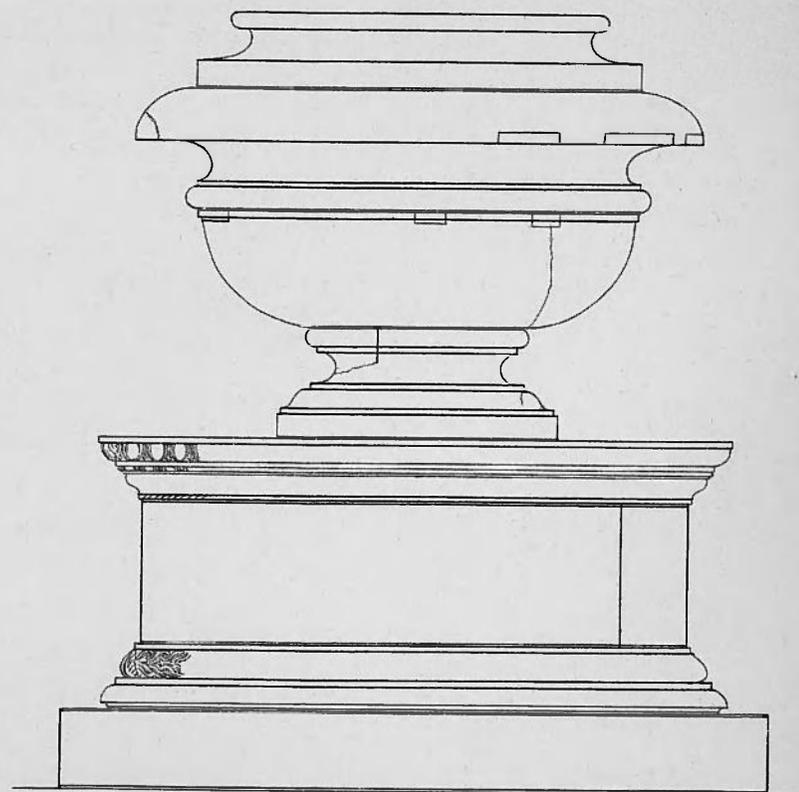


SOUTH ELEVATION.

SCALE OF 0' 1' 2' 3' 4' 5' 6' 7' 8' FEET.



EAST ELEVATION.



WEST ELEVATION.

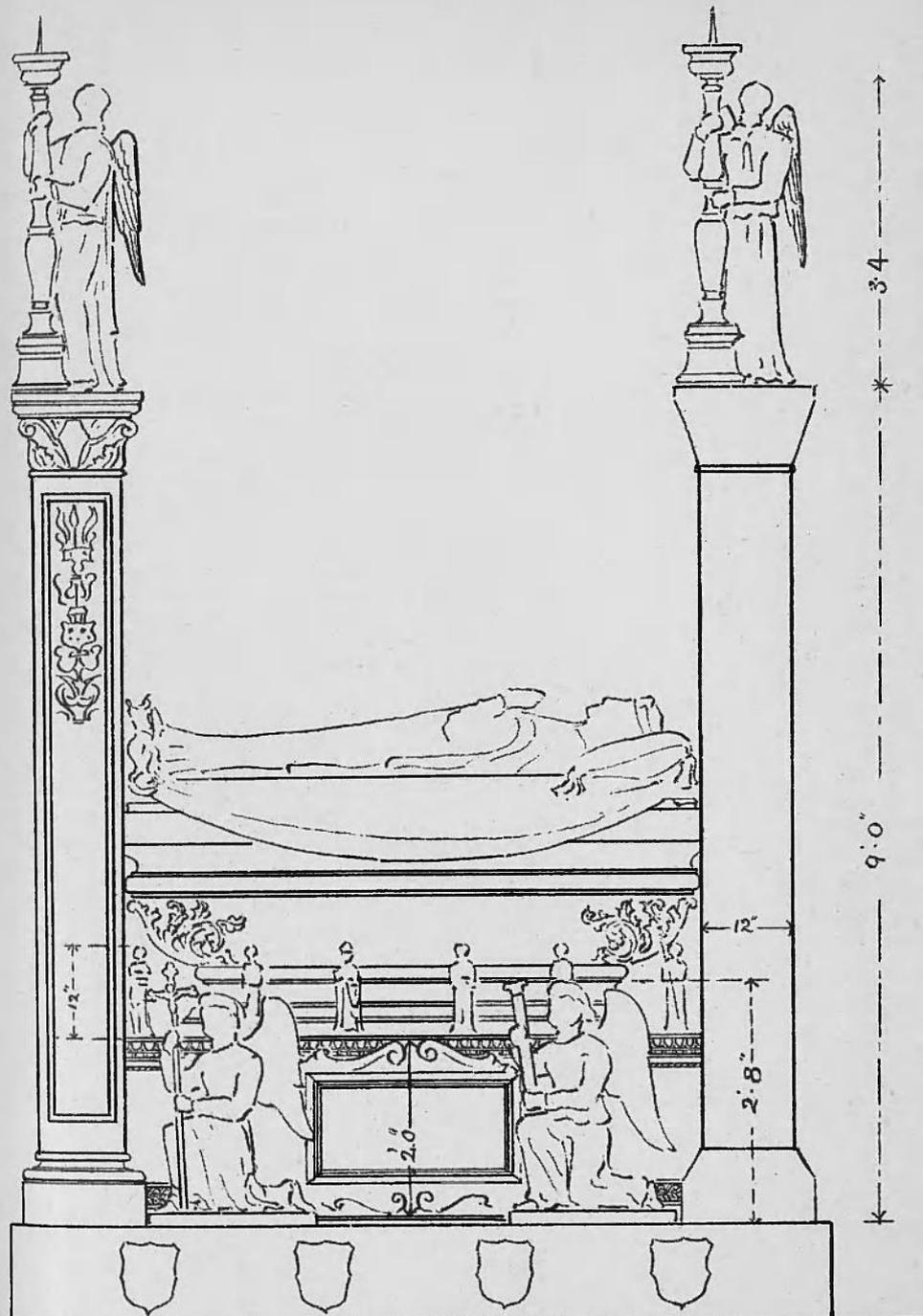
buildings placed under his superintendence." I regret to say that the bills of particulars, which must have been produced to the Audit Office, and which would have shown in detail the materials used for the tomb, are not annexed to the declared account, and have probably been destroyed. The account itself, however, shows that no less a sum than £713 5s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. was paid to Henry Westmacott, mason, and this would seem to indicate that any materials obtained from the Tomb House at St. George's, Windsor, must have required to be extensively supplemented and re-worked. One thing at all events is certain, that any transfer from Windsor must have taken place between 1808 and 1810. In a petition to the Treasury, dated May 16th, 1814, Westmacott, writing from 28, Mount Street, states that in 1808 he received instructions from the Surveyor-General of H.M.'s Office of Works to execute the tomb of Lord Nelson in St. Paul's. The earliest published statement on the subject, so far as I can trace, is to be found in Ellis's edition of Dugdale's *St. Paul's*. At p. 213 of that book, which was published in 1818, Ellis states that "the sarcophagus and pedestal were brought from Wolsey's tomb-house at Windsor. They were the same which the Cardinal had prepared for the reception of his own body in the time of Henry VIII." The plate given by Ellis shows that Nelson's tomb, as it now exists, was complete at all events before September 1st, 1817, that being the date of the formal publication of the print.

In view of the fact that the Wolsey monument was remodelled and greatly enlarged for Henry VIII, it was not, antecedently, probable that Ellis's assertion could be put to the proof; but the minute details given in the inventories I have printed in Appendix IV, when compared with the measured drawings of Nelson's tomb which Mr. Somers Clarke has kindly had prepared for me, and which are reproduced in the adjoining Plates IV and V, show conclusively that Ellis's statement is quite accurate, with the reservation that, of course, the body of Wolsey would rest in a vault under the tomb, as, in point of fact, Lord Nelson's body does, and not in the sarcophagus itself. It will be seen that not only does the Nelson sarcophagus agree in its dimensions with the particulars given by Benedetto da

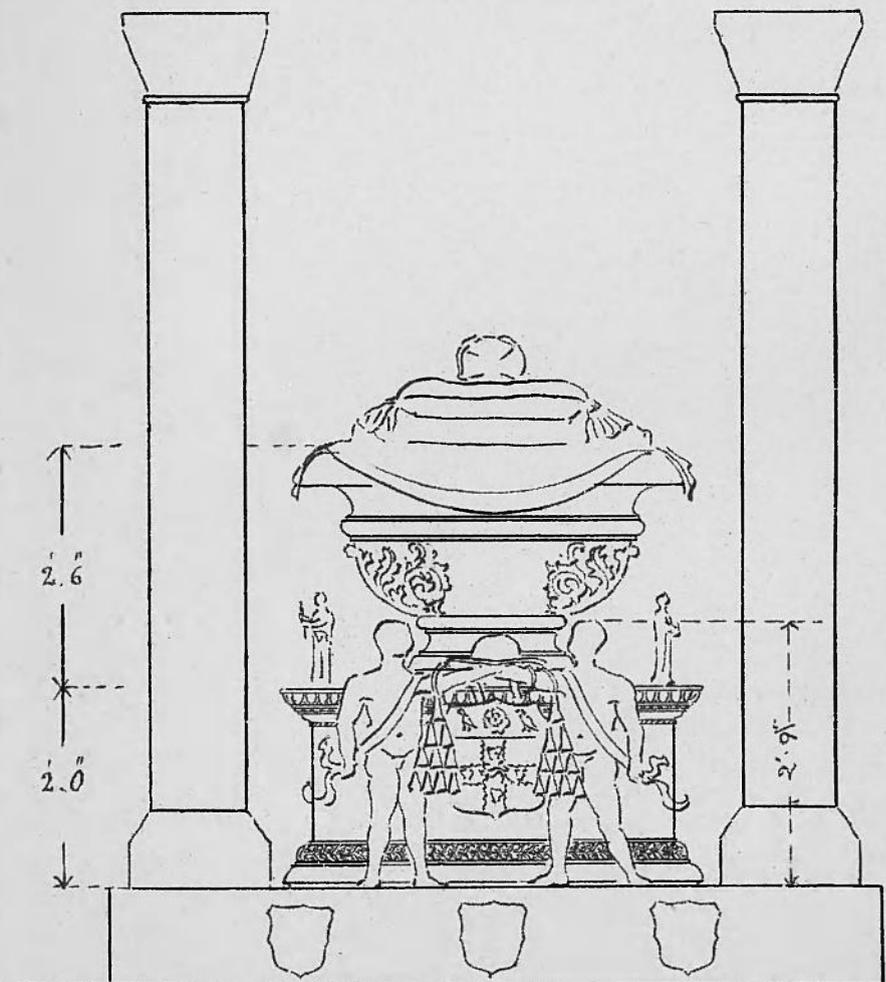
Rovezzano in his inventories printed in Appendix IV, but the number of pieces of which it consists (four) is also the same. As regards the base, there is an agreement as to the number of pieces of white marble (eight) of which the mouldings are made up, but there is a discrepancy as to the number of pieces of black touchstone, there being only seven now visible in St. Paul's, instead of the twelve mentioned in Benedetto's inventories. The dimensions agree as regards width only; the height of the existing base being two inches less, and the length six inches less than Cardinal Wolsey's.

The original dimensions of the base, as made for Cardinal Wolsey (eight feet by four feet four inches by two feet), are very much more satisfactory than the present ones, and have, of course, been used in the conjectural restoration in Plate VI. I may here mention that, after a careful examination, I have failed to discover any traces of marks for the attachment of bronze enrichments on the existing marbles; and this alone, independently of other considerations, points to some reconstructions of the base, but the mouldings in white marble are clearly original, and the lower one, which is very characteristic, closely resembles a guilloche ornament on the St. Bavon Candlesticks, which I shall have to deal with further on. The base of the sarcophagus may not improbably have been reduced in size when re-adapted for the monument of Henry VIII, and the small step of black marble below it may also be derived from the same monument; but the slab which now closes the sarcophagus above was doubtless made expressly for Lord Nelson. Certainly it had nothing to do with the Wolsey tomb, as neither it nor the small step below is included in Benedetto's inventories (see Appendix IV).

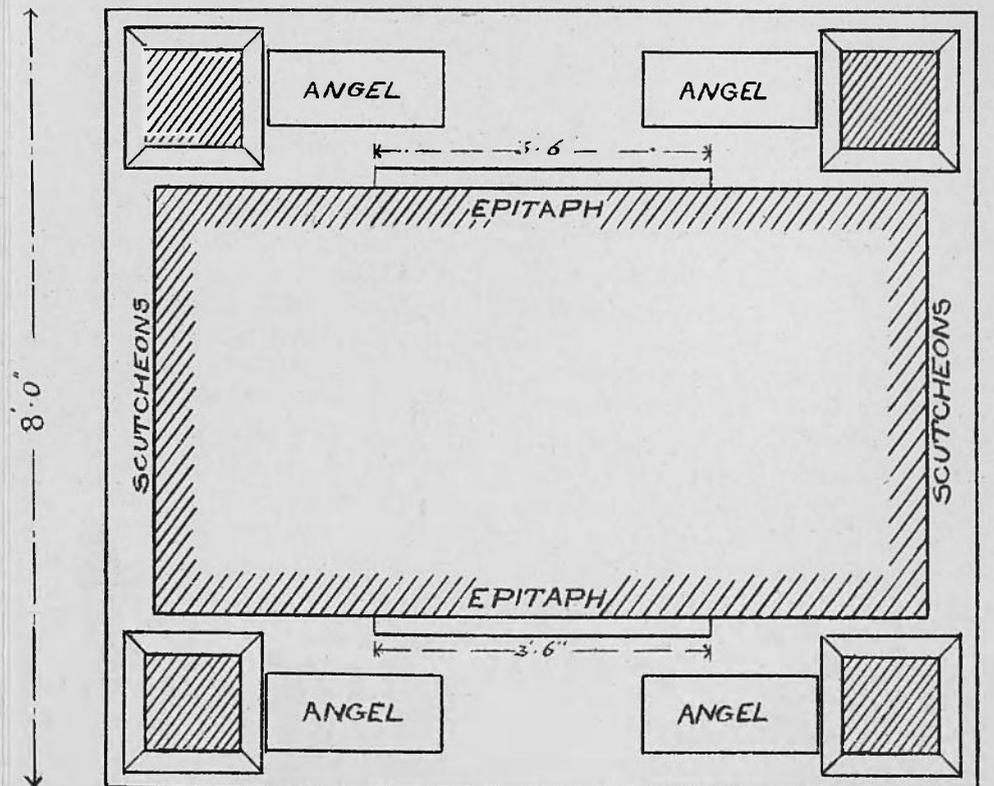
I cannot say for certain who was the author of the brilliant idea of marking the grave of our national hero under the dome of St. Paul's by transporting to it the remains of the tomb originally designed for Wolsey, which were no doubt very much in the way in the chapel at Windsor, owing to the excavations that were being carried out there by George III for the royal vaults. Probably James Wyatt, as Surveyor to H.M.'s Office of Works, was entrusted with the works at Windsor as well as those



SIDE ELEVATION



END ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

DIAGRAM OF CONJECTURAL
RESTORATION OF CARDINAL
WOLSEY'S TOMB.
SCALE 1/2 INCH TO ONE FOOT.

in the crypt of St. Paul's, and may have suggested the transfer to the King. We need not enquire too curiously whether an additional honour to Nelson, or only a petty piece of economy, was intended; but Wyatt contrived to run up the expenses for Nelson's tomb to more than £1,000, as is shown by the Audit Office account mentioned above.¹

I have not been able to trace any payment to Benedetto da Rovezzano of the large outstanding debt due to him by Wolsey; but the following extract from a MS. in the British Museum (Titus B., i, 446), dated 1533, shows that the matter was not lost sight of by Thomas Cromwell.

“*Parliament,*

“Things to be moved on the King's behalf unto his attorney . . . against the next assembly of Parliament . . .

“ . . . Benedic, the carver, to have recompense for the debt due to him by the Cardinal.

“MS. partly in Cromwell's hand.”

(*Printed in State Papers, Henry VIII, vol. vi, p. 549.*)

I will conclude my account of the Cardinal's tomb by the following interesting entry from the collection of original authorities at the end of Dr. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey* (London 1726), p. 206, under the heading *Transcripts from Mr. Master*: “255.—The Cardinal sendeth Ralph Sadler to Cromwell with instructions how the said Cromwell shall deal for him being now in disgrace; amongst other things to procure the sending hither (*i.e.* to York) of mine image with such part of the tombe as it shall please the King that I shall have, to the intent that now being at my church of York I may order and dispose the same for my Burial which is like by reason of my Heaviness to be shortly.”

¹ Such is the condition of disgraceful shabbiness into which Nelson's tomb has fallen (in spite of the careful dusting it periodically receives from the cathedral authorities), that it almost looks as if it were made of painted deal. The

white marble is as dirty and dingy as the touchstone, and Mr. Penrose, the learned surveyor of St. Paul's, was not even aware that the mouldings are of white marble, until he tested them with a knife at my suggestion.

THE TOMB OF HENRY VIII.

If the appeal mentioned in the last paragraph ever reached the King, he must have rejected it; and he had apparently no more hesitation in making use of the material prepared for the Cardinal's tomb, than he had shown in taking possession of York Place, or in accepting Hampton Court as a free gift. A considerable amount of evidence exists for tracing the further history of the monument, which we must now call the Tomb of Henry VIII. Payments to Benedetto da Rovezzano, Giovanni da Maiano, his assistant, and others, for labour and expenses for the tomb during the years 1530 to 1536, are recorded in the *State Papers* calendared in the Roll Series. I give the details of them in Appendix VI, and they will be discussed later on. The last payment seems to have been after August, 1536. The troubles connected with the "Pilgrimage of Grace" may have induced Henry to discontinue the expenditure on his monument, or the failing health of Benedetto, who is stated by Vasari to have suffered in his eyesight from his labours in connection with the furnace in England, may have caused him to return to Italy. Anyhow the fact remains that the monument was never completed, although Benedetto was employed upon it for at least eleven years altogether, *i.e.* from 1524 to 1529 by Wolsey, and from 1530 to 1536 by the King.

Henry VIII died on the 28th January, 1547: in his will, dated the 30th November, 1546, he had given the following directions with regard to his burial, and the erection of a monument to himself and Queen Jane Seymour. See Tighe and Davis' *Annals of Windsor*, p. 555 (London 1858). ". . . and also by these presents, our last Will and Testament, doe will and ordaine, that our bodie be buried and enterred in the quire of our Colledge of Windsor, midway between the stalls,¹ and the high altar; and there² be made and set, as soon as convenientlie

¹ This word is printed *halls* by Tighe and Davis, but the correct reading has recently been verified by a reference to the original will in the Record Office.

² The word "there" obviously does not mean "in that place."

maie be donne after our descease, by our executors, at our costs and charges (if it be not donne by us in our life time), an honourable tombe for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made therefore already, with a fair grate about it, in which we will alsoe, the bones of our true and loving wife Queen Jane be put alsoe." The will, after providing for the erection of an altar, at which masses were to be said for the King's soul "as long as the world shall endure," further prescribes that "the said Deanne and Channons, and their successors for ever shall find two priests to say masses at the said altar *to be made where we have appointed our tomb to be made and stand.*" The words "which is well onward and almost made therefore already," and perhaps also the reference to the fair grate, and the order to transfer the bones of Queen Jane from the vault in the choir [where, however, they still rest] to the tomb in the Lady Chapel, read as if they were an addition to the original draft of the will. It would seem that the King in giving instruction for the draft had forgotten, for the moment, the costly tomb which he neglected for the last ten years of his reign.

The injunctions of the will, in spite of the solemn adjuration which Henry addressed to his successors on the throne, were practically utterly neglected, although his son remembered them when he, in his turn, came to make his will. In the *Chronicles of Queen Jane, &c.*, published by the Camden Society, 1850, we find at p. 102 the following entry, under the heading (p. 101) of *King Edward's minute for his Last Will*, as transcribed by Secretary Petre: "The King my father's tomb to be made upp." Queen Mary too, according to Fuller (*Church History*, London, 1655, p. 254), who quotes Sanders, *De Schis. Angl.*, p. 216, as his authority, had a great mind to make up her father's tomb, but durst not, for fear a Catholic should seem to countenance the memory of one dying in schism with the Church of Rome. After Elizabeth had been on the throne some years, she also appears to have entertained the idea of completing her father's tomb, and accordingly a survey was made of the incomplete monument by direction of the Lord Treasurer (Lord Burghley), to whose department the care of the

Chapel in which it stood belonged.¹ This report is preserved in the British Museum (*Lansdowne MS.*, 116-13), and a copy of it is printed in Appendix VII to this paper. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* states that it is dated 1579, but I can find nothing in the document (in its present slightly mutilated condition) to indicate its precise date. So far as I know, it is now printed for the first time, except the part relating to the tombs in Henry VIIIth's Chapel at Westminster. There is nothing to show who were the authors of the report. They state that they had paid a visit to the tomb at Windsor, and had taken a note of the special things there wanting, and a note of the weight of old metal, *i.e.* the amount of unused metal available for the completion of the work. An interesting "gesse" or estimate is also given of the temporary buildings which would be required for the accommodation of the masons, carvers, moulders, gilders, and other artificers. The amount of "old metal and new" (which I take to mean metal already used for the discarded parts of the Wolsey tomb, and raw material) is reported as twenty cwt.; but, singularly enough, this is almost exactly the weight of the last purchase of copper bought for the work forty-three years before, in 1536, when the works seem to have ceased.

As the report to the Lord Treasurer only notes the parts wanting to complete the tomb, it does not, of course, go very far towards enabling us to form a conception of Benedetto da Rovezzano's design in its final shape as a monument for Henry VIII; but nevertheless, very valuable help is afforded to us. We learn that there were figures of brass (*i.e.*, gilded bronze), four and a half feet high, that they stood on great capitals; that there was an upper and lower story to the tomb, and that the lower story reached to about half the height of certain pillars, which we might safely assume bore the great capitals supporting the bronze figures four and a half feet high, even if we had not direct evidence (which I shall presently produce) on this point. We find further that the lower story, or podium as it may conveniently be called, had an upper frieze, consisting of panels two feet long

¹ See entry from the minutes of the Chapter of St. George's, Windsor, printed in Appendix IX, especially that of May, 1613.

and seven and a half inches high, and a lower frieze, made up of panels two feet nine inches in length. Each panel of this lower frieze belonged to a base which was only two feet six inches long, *i.e.* three inches shorter than the panel itself, a peculiarity which clearly indicates the construction of the base of the podium, as is shown in Plate VIII (opposite p. 190). It is clear also, that one end of the podium, was not closed, the lower panels noted as wanting having been left out, probably, in order to afford access to the interior for the purpose of fixing other panels. Only the central portion of the podium, which had to bear the weight of the superincumbent sarcophagus and base, would be solid. We learn further that there were to be upwards of twenty-five images,¹ each twenty-five inches high, "to stan in the petistales," no doubt the pedestals or bases of the pillars which surrounded the tomb. The four doors opening in the middle ("brekinge in the midst"), five feet high and three and a half feet wide, were obviously the entrance gates to the screen or closure. The extreme narrowness of the gates (each leaf only twenty-one inches) would be due to the fact that the closure was necessarily very close to the monument, and that the gates must open inwards.

The inferences to be drawn from the report to Lord Burghley are materially strengthened by another document which I print in Appendix V; but it is necessary to use this document with due caution. As a mere scheme, which may or may not have been approved, it stands upon a very different footing from Benedetto's inventories of work done for Wolsey or the report to Lord Burghley on the parts wanting to complete Henry VIII's work. It is a MS. on a sheet of foolscap in the possession of Mr. George Pritchard, of Connaught Lodge, Lower Camden, Chislehurst, and is apparently a copy, made in the latter half of the seventeenth century, from the original paper. The heading, it will be seen, is as follows: "The weight of copper and other things necessary to be provided for a Tombe, Chappell and Altar to be made for ye King's highness," and there is also the following memo. at the head: "On the backside in the corner is written (it

¹ Small figures similarly placed were intended to be used for the pillars supporting the canopy of the altar (see Plate VII, opposite p. 172).

seemeth with the King's own hand, this ('a memoriall for my Tomb) H. 7.'” It is almost superfluous to remark that King Henry VII would not sign himself H. 7: certainly the 7, and probably also the H., were added when the seventeenth century copy was made, or even a little later, for they appear to be in a different hand from the rest of the paper. Anyhow they are absolutely valueless in estimating the question whether the original document referred to the well-known tomb of Henry VII, as has been supposed by competent persons, or to the comparatively unknown tomb of Henry VIII, as I confidently believe.

Even at the first blush one would be justified in concluding, from the vast quantity of metal estimated for, that the Windsor tomb is in question and not that at Westminster. The former is referred to by contemporary writers as of *solid brasse*,¹ and is mentioned in the *Journal of the House of Lords*, under date 10th April, 1646, as the “broken brass tomb.”

If we proceed to examine Mr. Pritchard's MS., we find that the first, second, and fourth items only relate to the tomb, that the third deals with the closure, surrounding the whole chantry chapel (*i.e.* the tomb as well as the altar), and that the remaining six items refer solely to the altar-canopy and its supports, the altar itself being no doubt of marble or touchstone. First, then, we learn that there were to be eight pillars, ten feet high and twelve inches about, “*according to the pattern already made.*” This I take to mean, “in accordance with the form of the four pillars made for Wolsey, which, it will be remembered, supported four angels bearing candlesticks. Wolsey's pillars were marked off in Benedetto da Rovezzano's report to Henry (Appendix IV) as available for the King, but they were only nine feet high instead of ten and must therefore have been either lengthened or discarded altogether. In any case they were probably square in section, so that the phrase “twelve inches about,” would mean one foot square.

The second item in Mr. Pritchard's MS. is twelve figures or images of Apostles, five feet high, eight of which

¹ See, *e.g.*, *Annales of England* (Mary), by Morgan Godwyn. London, (Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen 1630, p. 113.

were to stand on the pillars above mentioned, and four upon the closure. The height of the images as given in the report to Lord Burghley is only four feet six inches, but this need cause no misgiving with regard to the relevancy of the Pritchard MS., because the figures of the smaller dimension would give such a very much better effect when standing upon a pillar ten feet high, that we may fairly infer that an improvement in this particular was made upon the original design. It is to be noted too that the weight of the figures of five feet was estimated as five hundred pounds each, whereas the figure of four feet six inches weighed by Lord Burghley's surveyors was eight hundredweight, see Appendix VII, p. 216; but the original estimate was probably based upon Benedetto's experience of fine Florentine bronze casting, and it may not have been possible to execute the casting so skilfully in England. It will be seen from the extracts from the *State Papers*, which I print in Appendix VI, that Benedetto da Rovizzano had to make use of founders who were not Italians as assistants in his casting operations. It is moreover very probable also that the figure weighed for Lord Burghley contained the core, and this would of itself account for the difference of weight. The eight pillars which were to surround the tomb according to the scheme in the Pritchard MS. were to have had twenty-eight candlesticks affixed to them, each weighing fifty pounds. These must have been intended to branch out from the sides of the pillars, as there were statues standing on the capitals. The distribution of the candlesticks or candelabra is quite clear from the number stated: each of the four corner pillars would have four free sides, and the four middle pillars would each have three free sides. If we assign one candelabrum to each side, the total number of twenty-eight is made out. We shall see further on a good reason for believing that these branching candelabra, which must have been unsatisfactory features from the point of view of design, were replaced by candlesticks nine feet high, standing centrally between the pillars (see diagram, Plate VIII, opposite p. 190).

The third item of the Pritchard MS. relates to the closure or grate which enclosed the chantry chapel, *i.e.*

both the tomb and its altar. This closure was to be four and a half feet high, partly of metal, and partly of black and white marble (like the base of the sarcophagus now in St. Paul's), and the weight of bronze was to be no less than 10,000 lbs. We may reasonably conclude from the eighth item in the Report to Lord Burghley (see Appendix VII) that the closure was completed except as regards the "*four doares brekinge in the middest containing in height five foote in bredth, three foote di.*" The height thus given for the doors, or gates as we should now call them, agrees with the height of the closure as specified in the Pritchard MS., if we allow half a foot for the marble base to the bronze work of the closure. Speed's *History of England* (London, 1627), p. 796, may also be quoted as showing that the closure was actually made, as he refers to the monument as "a most costly and stately tombe begun in copper and gilt, but never finished, *in the enclosures of whose grates is curiously cast this inscription, Henricus Octavus Rex Angliae et Franciae Dominus Hiberniae Fidei Defensor.*" Moreover, in Stow's *Annales*, by Edmund Howes (London, 1631), the writer states at p. 592 that he had seen the tomb with the inscription (as given by Speed), "cast in the grates or enclosure thereof (being copper)."

We now come to the last six items of the Pritchard MS., which all relate to the altar, or rather to its ciborium, or baldacchino (see Plate VII, facing p. 172). The details will be best understood if we bear in mind the form of Torrigiano's altar in Henry VII's chapel (see Plate I, facing p. 146); but it must be remembered that the latter was the high altar of the Lady Chapel, Henry the VII's chantry altar having been within the lofty closure at its east end.

The copture or covering mentioned in the fifth item of the Pritchard MS. appears to correspond with the "archytraves and frese and crests" specified in the indenture for Henry VII's altar in connection with the "vault of white marble." (See Neale and Brayley's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. i, Account of Henry VII's Chapel, p. 58.) That vault or canopy was found to be too heavy for its supports, and Benedetto da Rovezzano, before he began to work for Henry VIII at Windsor, had

had to supply stronger pillars for the Westminster altar, in place of those made by Torrigiano (see *ante*, p. 149 of the present paper). Four angels of glazed terra-cotta surmounted the baldacchino of Torrigiano's altar; and the fifth item of the Pritchard MS. shows that this feature was to be copied at Windsor; but instead of being made of "erthe bakid in an oven," the kneeling angels were to be of bronze: each figure to weigh four hundred pounds. There was also to be a "seate" or "grate" weighing three hundred pounds. Although the word occurs twice in the MS., it is not certain whether the correct reading is seate or grate: but I believe that the word is "seate," and that it means a raised support or stage for the kneeling figures on the top of the canopy. The term "sitting" is often applied in sixteenth century English to the act of kneeling, and the word "seat" would therefore be appropriate when applied to the support of kneeling figures. If on the other hand "grate" be the correct reading, we must suppose that in order to lighten the weight upon the supporting pillars, Benedetto, profiting by Torrigiano's mistake at Westminster, intended to close the top of the altar-canopy by an open grate instead of a solid ceiling of bronze or marble. At Windsor the architrave was not to rest directly upon the pillars as at Westminster, but was to be supported by four arches "curiously carven and craftily entayled," which were to be set rising upon the tops of the pillars; each of these arches was to weigh 1,000 lbs., so that the total weight to be supported by the pillars of the canopy was no less than 6,900 lbs.; thus: copture 1,000 lbs., angels and seate 1,900 lbs., four arches 4,000 lbs.

We cannot give exactly the weight of the supports to the canopy, because it was part of the scheme detailed in the Pritchard MS. (see item 7) that four metal pillars already made should be used. There is no reasonable doubt that these were the "four small pillars for the corners of an altar" specified by Benedetto da Rovezzano amongst the parts of the Wolsey tomb which might be made use of for the King. They were each made up of four pieces, and their height was four feet six inches (see Appendix IV). The seventh and eighth items of the Pritchard MS. show that these pillars were to be mounted on lofty metal bases

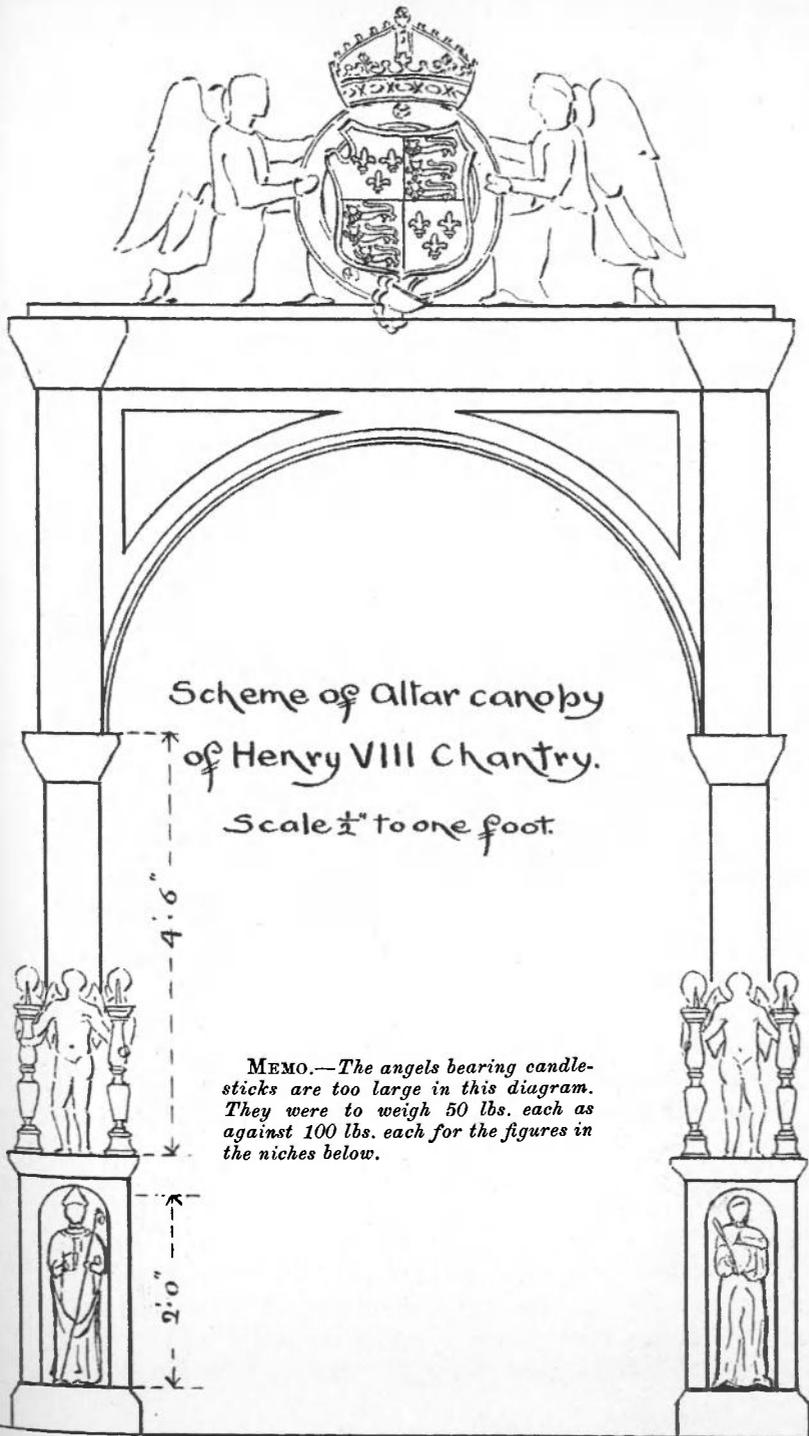
square in section, "curiously graven," and furnished with sixteen attached figures or images about two feet high, and weighing each 100 lbs.; the total weight of these bases with their figures being 3,600 lbs. The bases seem to have been considerably larger in section than the small pillars "already made" which they were intended to support; and there was therefore room upon their tops for "sixteen naked children or nymphes, every one of them holding a candlestick" (see item 9). Of course these *putti* had their backs to the small pillars. Their weight is given as "every one of them 100 lbs.;" but this is an obvious slip of the pen for 50 lbs., as the total weight of the sixteen children is carried out in the column of totals as 800 lbs.

The total weights of metal for the scheme in the Pritchard MS. work out as follows:—

	lbs.
For the tomb proper	13,800
For the closure proper, <i>i.e.</i> excluding four figures of Apostles	10,000
Altar, excluding weight of four small pillars already made for Wolsey	11,300
	<hr/>
Total	35,100

All the information we have about the altar or baldacchino is derived from the Pritchard MS. which can only be taken as showing the artist's intended mode of dealing with this feature of the monument. It might be assumed as certain that a chantry altar was part of the scheme, in view of the injunctions in Henry VIII's will as to the masses to be said at his tomb, but I cannot say whether any progress was made with this part of the work.

Dismissing, therefore, the question of the chantry altar, I return to the main subject of the tomb and its enrichments. The eight bronze pillars of the Pritchard MS., with their twenty-eight candelabra, weighing 50 lbs. a-piece, attached to them, were obviously intended to be set round a rectangular podium (probably of black and white marble), supporting the sarcophagus with its base; the general idea of the monument being to some extent derived from the great herse, for holding banners and burning tapers, which were used at state funerals. The herse used



Scheme of Altar canopy
of Henry VIII Chantry.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ " to one foot.

MEMO.—The angels bearing candlesticks are too large in this diagram. They were to weigh 50 lbs. each as against 100 lbs. each for the figures in the niches below.

at Henry VIII's funeral, for example, "consisted of thirteen great pillars, and weighed by estimation 4,000 lbs., having about it twelve banners of descents." [From the account of the funeral in Sandford's *Genealogical History*, p. 463.] As regards the dimensions of the podium, we get no help whatever from the Pritchard MS., which is an estimate for metal work only; but we find sufficient indications in the Report to Lord Burghley, which gives the size of the two principal panels wanting at one end of the podium. They were each three feet wide; and if we add to these the three bronze pillars, which were one foot wide, according to the Pritchard MS., we get nine feet as the width of the podium at the height of the principal panels. We may therefore estimate the width of the podium on the ground as ten feet six inches (a reference to Plate VIII will make this intelligible). The number of pillars (eight) according to the scheme in the Pritchard MS. would indicate a square podium, if the disposition of the pillars was an equidistant one. But a podium only ten feet six inches square is out of the question as the substructure for a sarcophagus and base of the dimensions prepared for Wolsey, and intended to be used for Henry VIII. We are reduced to the supposition that there were on each side four pillars, including the corner ones, or ten in all instead of eight, and we then get a podium with the dimensions of about fourteen feet six inches by ten feet six inches upon the floor, which would very well fit in with all the available information as to the other parts of the monument. With regard to the height of the podium, I read the following rather obscure passage from the Report to Lord Burghley: "There doth lacke eight frezes betwene capitall (and) capitall of the *lower stoye the wch is about the midle of the piller*," as meaning that the podium was half the height of the pillars, *i.e.* five feet. This would agree very well with the only two vertical dimensions of parts of the podium given in the same report, *viz.*, that of the central panel, two feet two inches, and that of the upper frieze between capital and capital, seven inches and a half. The term capital seems to be used for the cornices or heavy mouldings which framed in the bronze frieze (see diagram, Plate VIII, facing p. 190).

All the bronze work of the monument was removed and sold by order of the Long Parliament, as will be explained in detail further on; but it is by no means impossible that the podium, together with the sarcophagus and base which stood above it, remained *in situ* until the beginning of the present century, when George III commenced the excavation of the royal vaults under the chapel, and repaired the chapel itself, which was then in a very dilapidated condition.

In Ashmole's *Order of the Garter* (London 1672) the plate by Hollar following p. 136, contains a "ground plot of St. George's Chapell," including the tomb-house, in which is shown, opposite the third pier counting from the west end, an oblong outline, thus, 28; the No. 28 referring to the description in the margin as follows: "28, *Part of H. 8 Tombe.*" The same plan is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (edition of 1673, p. 67), where the site of the tomb is marked "Reliquiæ Tumuli pro Rege Hen. 8 designati."

In James II's time (1685-89) the Wolsey Chapel was turned into what was called a mass-house. "The famous Verrio was employed on the painting of the roof, and is said to have in this place exceeded all his other labours and outdone himself" (*Antiquities of Berkshire*, by Ashmole, vol. iii, London, 1723), but the remains of Henry VIII's tomb are not likely to have been disturbed.

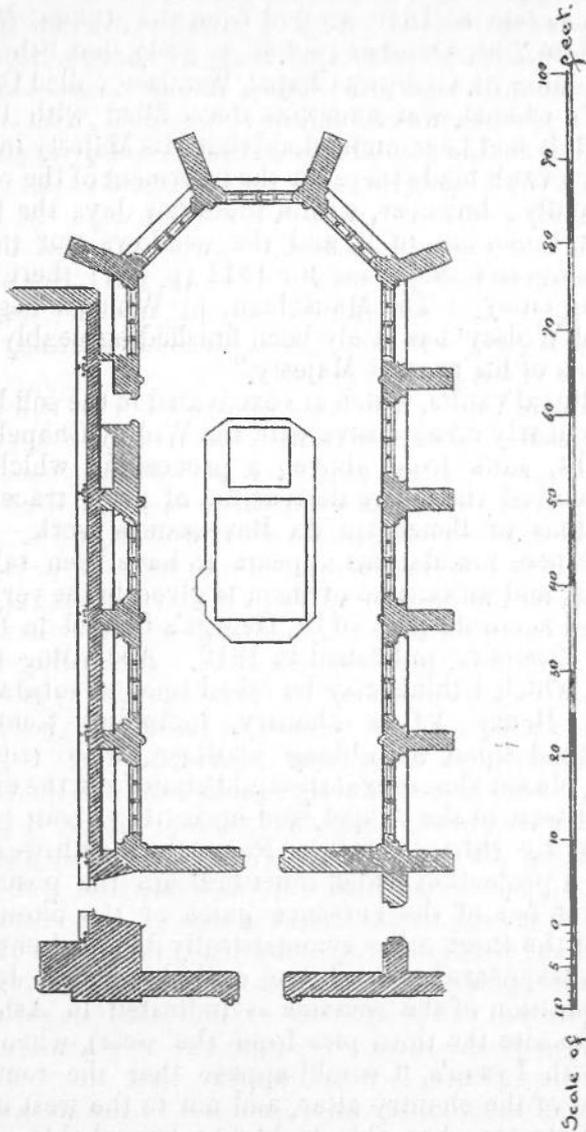
George Bickham, junr., in his *Deliciæ Britannicæ* (London, 1742), p. 136, says: "Contiguous to this Royal Chapel [St. George's] is the Tomb-House. . . . In King James II's time, indeed, it was made use of as a chapel, but at present it lies in a very ruinous condition. In a short time, however, as we are credibly informed, it will be converted into a free school, and it's now repairing for that purpose." The repairs could not have proceeded far, for in Pote's *History of Windsor*, published at Eton seven years later (1749), we read, at p. 62, "Pity it is that this chapel, which might be an ornament, should be suffered to run to ruin, and stand a work of publick Resentment for being once employed in a service disagreeable to a *Protestant* people; but certain it is since that Prince's [James II] reign, it has been entirely neglected,

though the care and repair of it is peculiar to the Crown, being no appendage to the Collegiate Church."

Even as late as 1810 we find from the *Annual Register*, under date 26th October (vol. lii, p. 284), that "the building adjoining St. George's Chapel, Windsor, called Cardinal Wolsey's Chapel, was sometime since filled with lumber, although it had been understood that His Majesty intended to have a vault made there for the interment of the remains of his family; however, within these few days the lumber has been taken out of it, and the windows put in." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1811 (p. 651) there is the following entry, "The Mausoleum at Windsor begun by Cardinal Wolsey¹ has lately been finished agreeably to the directions of his present Majesty."

The Royal vaults, which are excavated in the solid chalk, and are nearly co-extensive with the Wolsey Chapel, were, no doubt, sunk from above; a proceeding which must have involved the entire destruction of every trace of the foundations of Benedetto da Rovezzano's work. But a note of these foundations appears to have been taken at this time, and an outline of them is given in the very complete and accurate plan of St. George's Chapel in Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, published in 1812. According to this outline, which I think may be relied upon as substantially correct, Henry VIII's chantry, including tomb and altar, stood upon an oblong platform, with truncated corners, placed almost exactly equidistant from the extreme east and west of the chapel, and measuring about twenty-six feet by thirteen feet. Near the north-west end there is a projection which must indicate the position of the step to one of the entrance gates of the closure, all traces of the three other symmetrically disposed entrances having disappeared when Lyson made his plan. Judging by the position of the remains as indicated in Ashmole's plan (opposite the third pier from the west), when compared with Lyson's, it would appear that the tomb was eastward of the chantry altar, and not to the west of it as at Westminster; but this is highly improbable, and it is more likely that Ashmole's plan was only intended to

¹ The words "begun by Cardinal Chapel or Tomb-house, are erroneous, as I have already shown." here intended to apply to the



PLAN OF THE TOMB-HOUSE, ST. GEORGE'S, WINDSOR, SHOWING SITE OF HENRY VIII'S CHANTRY; FROM LYSON'S MAGNA BRITANNIA. (THE OUTLINES OF THE TOMB AND CHANTRY ALTAR HAVE BEEN ADDED.)

show very roughly the position of the remains still existing in his day.

In the reproduction I give of Lyson's plan (see p. 176) I have placed within the outline of the foundation of the chantry the outline of the podium of the tomb, according to the dimensions worked out at p. 173 above; and I have also indicated the site of the canopied altar eastward of the tomb.

I have given above my reason for inferring, from the dimensions of the end panels of the podium, that the scheme (in the Pritchard MS.) of eight pillar-candelabra, surrounding the tomb, was modified by the addition of two pillars at the sides. Such a modification of the design would be likely to carry with it a modification or abandonment of that part of the scheme which consisted in attaching branch candlesticks to the sides of the bronze pillars; as a further multiplication of these adjuncts would have been very objectionable. It is a common experience of students of drawings by the "old masters" to find that able artists, in developing their designs, constantly adhere to the general idea, although they vary the form of expressing it. Similarly, Benedetto having once adopted the idea of a tomb surrounded by tall pillars and candelabra, would probably not readily give it up, and, I think, I am warranted in the conjecture, that, in lieu of attaching four branches to the corner columns and three to each of the others, he ultimately adopted the far simpler and more satisfactory design of a single lofty candlestick standing between each pillar as shown in my proposed restoration (Plate VIII, facing p. 190). Taking the dimensions of the bronze pillars from the Pritchard MS., viz., ten feet high and one foot square, a good design would be obtained if the bronze candlesticks were nine feet high and eighteen inches square at the base. Now four such candlesticks, of the dimensions specified, undoubtedly of Italian design, and bearing the arms of Henry VII or Henry VIII, viz., a shield, France and England quarterly, surmounted by an imperial crown, and supported by a winged dragon (or rather grifon) on the dexter side and by a greyhound on the sinister, stand in front of the high altar of the church of St. Bavon at Ghent. The artist has transformed the dragon, to suit the narrow band in which it is placed, by

converting it into an Italian grifon, the form of which nicely balances that of the not very rampant greyhound. No argument as to the date of these candlesticks can be drawn from the arms. The dragon and the greyhound were just as much used in decorative work as "Kings' beasts" in the time of Henry VIII as in that of Henry VII.¹ In fact we have positive proof (see Appendix IV, p. 208) that dogs, and dragons' heads were cast in bronze in 1531 to serve as part of the decoration of the pillars of Henry VIII's tomb. It is quite evident from the character of the details of the Ghent candlesticks, that they cannot be of earlier date than, say, 1530. They correspond exactly to all that we know of the style of Benedetto da Rovizzano, and I have no doubt that they were designed by him, and executed under his direction. It has been suggested that they were originally designed as pillars, and subsequently changed into candlesticks by the addition of a sconce or hobéche; but the only ground for such a conjecture is the very slender one that the great sconces, which contains the sockets (formerly prickets) for the candles are different in style from the rest of the work. They are, in reality, not only different in style, but also in the colour of the metal; and they are so disproportionate in size as to seriously detract from the Italian elegance of the stems or shafts. Their origin is sufficiently indicated by a peculiar bulging ogee, and

¹ This is very well shown by the bill for the panels of Henry VIII's Arms over the gateways of the First Court at Hampton Court: "Also paid to Edmund More of Kyngston, fremason, for making, karving and intailling of the Kynges armes in thre sundry tables of freston with severall bournclers of antique worke, and *certen of the Kynges best*, holding up in a shilde the Kynges armes, &c. (see *Law's Hampton Court*, Vol. I, p. 125). The supporters on one of the panels are the dragon on the dexter side, and the greyhound on the sinister, and the same supporters appear on the cloth of estate under which the King sits in the large picture at Hampton Court (No. 340), which has been attributed to William Streetes. The age of Prince Edward, who stands at the King's right hand, shows that this picture must belong to the last years of Henry VIII. In the

spandrels of the entrance door to the great Hall at Hampton Court the Royal arms are supported by the dragon and greyhound in the right hand spandrel, and by the lion and dragon in the left hand one. The same alternate scheme of supporters is also used in the richly ornamented roof of the Hall. The use of the lion and dragon as supporters does not seem to have originated with Henry VIII. At the recent heraldic exhibition of the Society of Antiquaries the Heralds' College exhibited a MS. volume of arms, painted by Sir Thos. Wriothesley, Garter, when he was Wallingford Pursuivant to Arthur, Prince of Wales. The series of arms of English kings in this book ends with Henry VII, and the supporters shown for that monarch are the lion on the dexter side, and the winged dragon on the sinister.

in my opinion they are Flemish work, and were made in the 17th century, when the candlesticks were placed in their present position; larger candles being then in fashion than was the case in the preceding century. The form of the original sconce or patera may be readily inferred from the similar part in some of the well-known colossal marble candelabra from Roman temples and palaces. The Ghent candlesticks may, in fact, fairly be described as *pasticcii* from those Græco-Roman candelabra; as nearly every element of form, as well as of surface decoration (the Tudor Roses and the Royal Arms excepted) is clearly derived from them; the large overlapping acanthus leaves being specially characteristic. I find it therefore impossible to believe that the candlesticks were originally intended to serve as pillars.

As there is a cast from one of the Ghent candlesticks in the South Kensington Museum it has not been thought necessary to illustrate this paper by a photograph from the originals. The outlines given in the conjectural restoration of Henry VIII's tomb (Plate VIII) will, it is hoped, be sufficient.¹ Each candlestick is made up of eight separate castings which I have indicated, in the end elevation in Plate VIII, by letters A to I. All four candlesticks are of the same design; but there are numerous small differences amongst them which are of technical interest as showing that the metal was cast very much in the rough from "patterns," and that a vast amount of labour was spent in the "finishing and repairing." Clear traces of gilding are to be found on the two centrally placed candlesticks. They occur on the most deeply-sunk parts of the section containing the Royal Arms, and in the band above decorated with conventional masks. The circumstance that only two out of the four candlesticks show traces of gilding is presumptive evidence that they belonged to a work never completed, such as the monument of Henry VIII.

The several pieces of the candlesticks are not screwed together but are simply held in place by a thick rod passing up the centre. Some of the pieces are not very

¹ The form of the Flemish sconces in order not to interfere with the outline has been a little simplified in the drawing, of the sarcophagus.

accurately fitted one upon another, and thus an open joint is left, through which it is possible, by introducing a fine wire bent at a right angle, to ascertain the distance to which the joints extend inwards. This proved to be considerable, varying from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Of course I could not, by introducing my wire at the joints, ascertain the thickness of the casting: but I was able to measure, through a small hole, apparently an original fault, the thickness of one of the drums decorated with Tudor roses (part of Section F-G., Plate VIII), and I found it fully $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch.¹ This seems to confirm the inference I drew from the golden-brown colour of the metal where it is untouched by the hand and kept polished, and from the regular bronze patina of the mouldings up to the height of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, viz., that the work is entirely produced by casting and chasing, and not by hammering. The execution is not above the level of the work of men whom we should now call skilful artizans, and it is in the highest degree improbable that the sculptor himself would have any hand in these subordinate parts of so richly elaborated a monument as that conceived by Benedetto da Rovezzano.²

I have endeavoured to trace the history of the arrival of the St. Bavon candlesticks at Ghent, and can only learn for certain that they were presented by Bishop Anthony Triest, who occupied the see from 1622 to 1657.³ The local histories agree that they belonged to Charles I (see

¹ Some allowance must be made for a possible abnormal thickness of the metal round the margin of a fault, but I am fully satisfied that the castings are of very considerable thickness throughout.

² Some of the small differences between the four candlesticks at Ghent may, for technical reasons, be worthy of record. In the candlestick to the extreme right (*i.e.* south) as one faces the altar, the band above the royal arms is decorated with roses consisting of petals only, whilst all the others have five rose leaves in considerable relief as well as five petals. The lower parts of the shields also are plain on both sides (east and west); whereas the other three candlesticks have sprigs or sprays at this point, on the west side but not on the east. The wings of each of the eight grifons differ very considerably in general form as well as inner markings; and the

head of one grifon is unique in form besides being furnished with a barbed tongue instead of flames issuing from his mouth. The cross surmounting the Imperial crown, in one instance, rises well on to the margin of the moulding above it, whereas in all other instances it is placed well below it. Occasionally one of the fore limbs of the beasts (grifon or greyhound) is suppressed or considerably modified. Several inserted pieces of bronze to cover defects in casting may be noticed; one of them three inches long.

³ A shield of arms surmounted by a broad-brimmed hat, resembling that worn by a cardinal, is engraved on the foot of each candlestick; and the blazon agrees with the arms of the Triest family of Ghent as given by Rietstrap in his *Armorial General*, Gouda, 1887.

Les Eglises de Gand, par Kervyn de Volkaresbeke, p. 116, and *Gand*, par Hermann van Duyde). I can find no authority for the legend that they were for a time at St. Paul's Cathedral, having been presented by Laud; but there is nothing improbable in the story, as Charles I may have sanctioned their removal from Windsor. In pursuance of my conclusion that they formed part of the incomplete monument of Henry VIII, I may mention that eight candlesticks might have sufficed for the design of ten pillars, as they could have been dispensed with at the end where the chantry altar stood, the supporting pillars of the altar canopy being intended to be furnished with figures of children bearing candlesticks. (See Plate VII.) There is a record in the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII, under date February, 1529-30, for the cost of preparations for making eight metal candlesticks. From the large expense involved we may assume that they were to be of considerable size, but whether they were intended for the King's tomb is very doubtful. The date, 1st February, 1530 (new style), seems too early, as we know of no payments to Benedetto da Rovezzano on the King's part before December, 1530. The entry in the Privy Purse account is however worth putting on record in this connexion, although I do not attach any importance to it. It runs as follows:—

(*Henry VIII, Privy Purse Expenses, 1530, February.*)

“The furste daye paied to herasmus one of the armerers upon his bille for diu's necessaryes by him bought for to make viij candilstickes for the kinges use—xxvij li ixs.”

Nicolas, p. 22.

I have left to the last the discussion of the important accounts and records of payments given in Appendix VI. They do not help us very much as regards the general design of the monument, but they supply some interesting details entirely wanting in the materials I have already submitted to my readers. The most valuable paper is the one calendared in vol. v of the *Letters and Papers*, and numbered 558. This is the account rendered by Benedetto da Rovezzano and Giovanni da Maiano for the five months, June to November, 1531. The MS. is written

in Italian, and from its bad condition and peculiar handwriting is difficult to decipher. It is now published for the first time. The earliest entry is dated the 26th June, and records the purchase, chiefly at the Steelyard, of 2,000 lbs. of red, yellow, and other kinds of bronze, at a cost, including weighing and carriage, of £20 sterling. Naturally one of the first things to be taken in hand in the conversion of the tomb of Wolsey into a monument for the King was the substitution of the Royal arms for those of the Cardinal: accordingly we find that the next entry after that of the purchase of bronze is for a load of loam for making the moulds for the arms; and a quantity of hair for mixing with the loam was purchased at the same time. The fuel for firing these moulds was however not purchased till September; and although some iron for binding the pieces together was purchased in July, a further purchase was made in October, and the casting did not take place till October or November. It is not till the latter month that we get the record of a payment to Nicholas the Florentine for finishing and repairing¹ the arms in *bronze*. By arms we must understand the shields only, as the "naked boys" of Wolsey's tomb were intended to be used as supporters. Each of these shields was to be surmounted by an Imperial Crown, as is evident from the purchase in August, at a cost of 2*s.* 1*d.*, of four-and-half pounds of some substance (name illegible, but probably "wax" if one may judge by the price) for making two crowns. In November £1 was paid to Robert, an Englishman, for finishing or polishing one of the crowns, and in the same month 8*d.* was paid for silver solder for soldering "the crown imperial."

Entries in July and August relate to a sword and sceptre. There is a payment of 1*s.* 8*d.* for turning in a lathe the model or pattern (doubtless of wood) of this sceptre "borne by an angel." This indicates, clearly enough that Wolsey's four angels were to be turned to account by simply substituting royal symbols of authority for those of the Cardinal originally borne by the angels. While

¹ *Finishing* and *Repairing* are the technical terms applied to the working up of the surface of bronze castings from piece moulds, the removal of seams, &c. The words repair and polish, in the

sense above indicated, are as old as the time of Henry VI, and are found in the agreement with the artizans who executed the fine latten figure of the Earl of Warwick.

two of the angels bore the sword and sceptre, the other two bore each a richly ornamented orb made of yellow bronze, as is shown by a payment in August to Firmin the founder, and by the words, "ornamenti che vano intorno a la pala' chetengono e dua anglioli." The sceptre, and the four dolphins which supported a small crown at the top of it, were cast in bronze in August. At that time the sculptors and their assistants were evidently not in a position to undertake anything but very small castings; and it was not until October or November that a casting furnace of any size and a furnace of the size required for firing large figures or moulds in clay were constructed. There are numerous entries in these accounts which show that all the metal work in connection with the tomb at Windsor was cast and finished at Westminster. It would seem that the work for Wolsey was done at Windsor, and that consequently when Benedetto, perhaps after a visit to his family (from whom he had been separated, as we have heard, for more than ten years), commenced serious work for the King in June, 1531, he could not make use of the old furnaces at Windsor, and had to construct new ones at Westminster. The sculptors were still working at Westminster for the same tomb in August, 1536, as is shown by the last payment recorded (Appendix VI).

One important thing that we gather from these accounts is the fact that the waste-wax process of casting was only used to a very limited extent, and for small objects, such as the ornaments on the handle of the sword borne by one of the kneeling angels. All the larger castings were from piece moulds. In September two trees or beams of wood were brought from London to Westminster for use in making the patterns for the columns, which were to be so conspicuous a feature of the tomb. Stone for carving the patterns from which the capitals were to be cast was bought in July, and the

¹ The word "pala" is evidently written for "palla" (ball), like *tera* for *terra*. In the MS. Inventory of the contents of Henry VIII's Jewel House, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, the orb is called simply "a round ball with a cross of gold." It would

have been more correct if Benedetto had given the angels two sceptres instead of two orbs, as the Regalia included a rod of gold as well as a sceptre with a dove; but a second orb was far preferable from the point of view of balance of composition.

castings were executed in October apparently, as "Tomaso Fiorentino" was paid £2 15s. 0*d.* in November for repairing and finishing them. This payment covers also the period of a fortnight in October during which he was engaged in the same work. Heads of greyhounds and dragons in bronze for decorating "the four columns" were cast as early as July; they were evidently undertaken at that time as being very small objects which could be cast in the small furnace then in use. The reference to four columns might seem to imply that at this early date the conversion of the Cardinal's into the King's tomb was to be a simple affair, hardly consisting of more than a substitution of Henry's arms and emblems for those of Wolsey, but the list No. 5113, which I print in Appendix IV, shows that Wolsey's four pillars were to be used; and we thus get the eight pillars of the scheme in the Pritchard MS. (see Appendix V). In November, 1531, preparations were made for casting the large figures to stand upon the columns, and a purchase is recorded of two hundred and twenty two pounds of iron for strengthening the moulds. The figures were modelled in clay by the sculptor and then baked, and the piece moulds were made direct from the terra-cotta figures.¹ In the only other detailed accounts we have, those for the month of September (1534 ?) (see Appendix VI)—there is a charge of 6*s.* for eighteen sacks of coal for making the "mowles of St. James," followed by a charge of 2*s.* 2*d.* for a load of faggots to bake the image of St. James. This is the only mention I have found of the name of one of the apostles whose images were to stand on the column.

I have mentioned above that 2,000 lbs. of copper were purchased on 26th June, 1531, at a cost of £20; two other similar purchases are recorded, viz., 23 cwt. 3 qrs. 21 lbs. in June, 1533, costing £21 10*s.* 10½*d.*, and 2,040 lbs. in 1536, costing £22 17*s.* 4*d.*

The accounts for the period from June to November, 1531, give full information as to the assistants employed by the sculptors. A founder called Tomaso Chote or

¹ See the entries under date July, 1531 (Appendix VI), "E pr dua charatte di tera di chalesse [Calais] pr fare e

patroni de le figure," and "E pr dua charate di tera pr mescolare chonquela di chalesse."

Choute was in constant employment for the whole five months, at a salary of £1 8s. 0*d.* a month; another founder, Giovanni Utrin, was employed from July to November at 14s. a month; a third founder, Pietro Baldi, and two assistants, for part of October and November; and a fourth Giacheto for November, besides Firmin, who seems to have been paid by the job. Andrew Maison, Rinieri and Ambrogio were engaged as "engineers," and two Florentines, Thomas and Nicholas, had brief employment also. The nationality of most of these men is uncertain. Two men only, John and Robert, are said to be Englishmen; and they were both employed in "finishing and repairing" crowns.

It will probably be thought remarkable that I have made no use whatever of the description of the design for the tomb of Henry VIII given in Speed's *History of England* (p. 796), published in 1627. After stating, quite wrongly, that the King's body was buried at Windsor "under a most costly and stately tombe begun in copper and gilt, but never finished," Speed continues, "with what cost and state this monument was intended is manifest by a MS. taken from the true modell thereof, which I received from that industrious herald—Nicholas Charles, *Lancaster*." The description, which occupies two closely printed folio columns, is headed, "The manner of the Tombe to be made for the King's Grace at Windsore," and winds up thus:—"Item, there shall be cxxxiiii figures, xliiii stories, as in the patterne appeareth." In addition to a life-sized equestrian statue of the King under a canopy, and recumbent figures of the King and Queen Jane Seymour, there were to be fourteen statues of Prophets, five feet high, and twenty Apostles and Doctors of the same size. Each of these thirty-four statues was to have an angel at its foot two and a half feet high, and there was to be a choir of twenty angels.

The whole of the one hundred and thirty-four figures (about forty of them nearly life size) were to be included, together with the forty-four reliefs, in a monument the height of which was twenty-eight feet and the width fifteen feet; and this monument was to be placed between two of the pillars or piers of a church, the width of the said piers being five feet, so that the total width of the work, including

the piers, was twenty feet. If this monstrous scheme was ever seriously intended, it can never have emanated from the mind of an Italian artist of the earlier half of the 16th century, and it must have been the idea of some Englishman or Fleming, who thought himself competent not only to complete but to vastly augment and improve upon Benedetto da Rovezzano's unfinished work. The monument can not have been intended to stand in the choir of St. George's Chapel, as has been supposed, because the diameter of the opening of the arches of the choir arcade is only nine feet, the width of each pier three feet, and the height of the arches only twenty-four feet five inches;¹ and in fact there is no position in St. George's Chapel which would accommodate it. The only real interest this preposterous scheme possesses lies in the fact that the dimensions of the larger as well as the smaller statues agree with those given in the Pritchard MS., that there are two series of reliefs (one of the Old and another of the New Testament) as mentioned in the Lansdowne MS., and that the twenty pillars were to be each ten feet high, the same height as is given for the pillars in the Pritchard MS. The coincidences, as far as they go, confirm the conclusions I have arrived at.

Many of the seventeenth century writers make the not unnatural mistake that the monument in the "tomb-house" at Windsor was erected by Wolsey not for himself but for the King. They quote the King's style as given by Speed (*loc. cit.*, p. 796) from the inscription stated by him to have been curiously cast in the inclosures of the grates of the tomb, and they point to the use of the term *Dominus Hiberniæ*, and the omission of the title of Head of the Church as a proof that the monument was erected in the Cardinal's days. This mistake is made by William Sanderson in the earliest account I have traced of the destruction of the tomb. In that writer's *Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles* (London, 1658), p. 888, we read as follows:—

¹These dimensions have been furnished to me by the surveyor of the fabric, through the kindness of Canon Dalton, of St. George's, Windsor.

“Anno 1646” “And yet as busie as they are with these matters of State, yet they had time and necessity it seems to vote the sale of the brass monument in the chappel of Windsor Cathedral (*sic*) to be sold, and if the value exceed not six hundred pounds, then that money to be paid unto the Governor, Colonel Ven; who was so cunning, and had so much kindness afforded him by the Committee, as to have it sold for no more; and so he had that money besides other sums shared by the by, of which the Parliament were deceived. That monument which the Committee call *brass defaced*, was that curious, costly, elaborate tomb, erected at the immense charge of Cardinal *Wolsey*, intended for the memory of King Henry the Eighth, and so served the Cardinal’s design also for his own memory, as the re-edifying of St. Paul’s Church in London continues the monument of *Laud*, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The other was a piece of rarity, and sold for a song to a *Dutchman*, that made of it much more for the weight of brass.”

Walpole’s statement that the bronze fetched the comparatively large sum of £600,¹ is perhaps based on Sanderson. It is clear from the extracts from the Journals of the House of Commons, which I print in Appendix VIII, that it realised more than £400, because the resolution of 7th April, 1646, only authorised the proceeds up to a limit of £400 being appropriated for the pay of the Garrison of Windsor, and it became necessary to pass another resolution on 31st July, in order to sanction the balance being applied for the same purpose; but the amount of the balance is not stated in the Journals.

In order that the extracts printed in Appendix VIII, from the Journals of the Lords and Commons, may be clearly understood, I give below the following extracts from the Commons’ Journals of December, 1643, which will give some idea of the injury done to Henry VIII’s

¹ It is quite possible, under all the circumstances, that the bronze being sold as old metal was valued at no more than 6*d.* a lb.; and if so the total weight would be 24,000 lb., or about the weight given in the Pritchard MS. (see p. 172),

exclusive of the bronze altar canopy, which was probably never executed; 9*d.* a lb. seems to have been about the ordinary price of old copper at this time (see Roger’s *History of Prices*).

monument under the sanction of the House three years before its actual destruction took place.

“Die Mercurii 20° Decembris, 1643.

“*Ordered*, That Colonel Ven shall put the ordinance, for Removal of scandalous Monuments and Pictures, in execution in the several churches and chapels of *Windsor* and *Eaton*: And likewise put the order of this House of the Fifteenth of December, in Execution there also, in like manner as it is in that Order for St. Paul’s.”

The order relating to St. Paul’s is as follows:—

“Die Veneris 15° Decembris, 1643.

“*Ordered*, That the Committee for taking away superstitious Monuments do open *Paul’s* Church; and that they shall have power to remove, out of the said church, all such matters as are justly offensive to godly men.”

The Commons’ Resolution of 19th September, 1645, mentions only “a statue of brass at Windsore.” The Resolution of 21st November mentions “the brass statue at Windsour Castle and the images there defaced and the other broken pieces of brass,” and this wording is repeated in the Resolution of 7th April, 1646. The wording of the Journals of the House of Lords is almost identical, but “brass statues” in the plural are always spoken of, and the expression “broken brass tomb” is also used. Upon the whole, as the House of Commons, which primarily dealt with the matter, used the word statue or statua in the singular, one is led to suppose that the principal statue or recumbent effigy of the King was completed by Benedetto, but we have no direct evidence on the point. The action of the House of Lords was practically confined to adding to the Commons’ Resolution a rider that the purchasers of the metal work of the tomb should have power to transport it beyond the seas. It was probably under the authority of this addition to the resolution that the bronze candlesticks now at Ghent were exported, and fortunately fell into the hands of Bishop Triest.

After the Restoration the question of the possibility of recovering the statues, &c., came before the Dean and Chapter of St. George’s Chapel, as we find from the following entry in the Chapter Book, under date 31st May, 1661:

“Decretum est ut Regi vel ejus attornato gen̄rli mentio fiat de Henrici Octavi monumento et si quid recuperetur inde satisfiat Robto Clarke (of Blackman Street in Southwarke next door to the Woolsacke) et John Gerard brasier at the Frying-pan in Basinghall Street) qui rem detexerunt.” It is disappointing to find that this entry stands alone, there being no other reference to the subject in the Chapter Books either before or after.

Summarising the conclusions at which we have arrived with regard to Benedetto da Rovezzano's work for Henry VIII at Windsor, we find

- (1.) That it was a chantry chapel, or enclosed tomb and altar, placed in the middle of the Lady Chapel of Henry VII, now called the Prince Consort's Chapel.
- (2.) That it stood upon an oblong platform or foundation, about twenty-six feet long by thirteen feet wide, with corners cut off.
- (3.) That it was surrounded by a closure of bronze four and a half feet high, with framework of black and white marble, making the total height 5 feet; and that there were four gates to the closure.
- (4.) That for the tomb there was a podium (fourteen feet six inches long by ten feet six inches wide, and about five feet high) apparently of black touchstone or marble, and ornamented above and below with a frieze of bronze.
- (5.) That from the base of the podium there rose ten square piers or pillars of bronze with large capitals, supporting figures of apostles four and a half feet high, and that eight bronze candlesticks nine feet high (of which four are preserved in the choir of the church of St. Bavon at Ghent) were placed, alternately with the columns, on the N., S., and W. sides of the podium.
- (6.) That the podium supported the sarcophagus of touchstone together with its base of the same material with white marble mouldings; and that both sarcophagus and base, which were originally made for Cardinal Wolsey, now

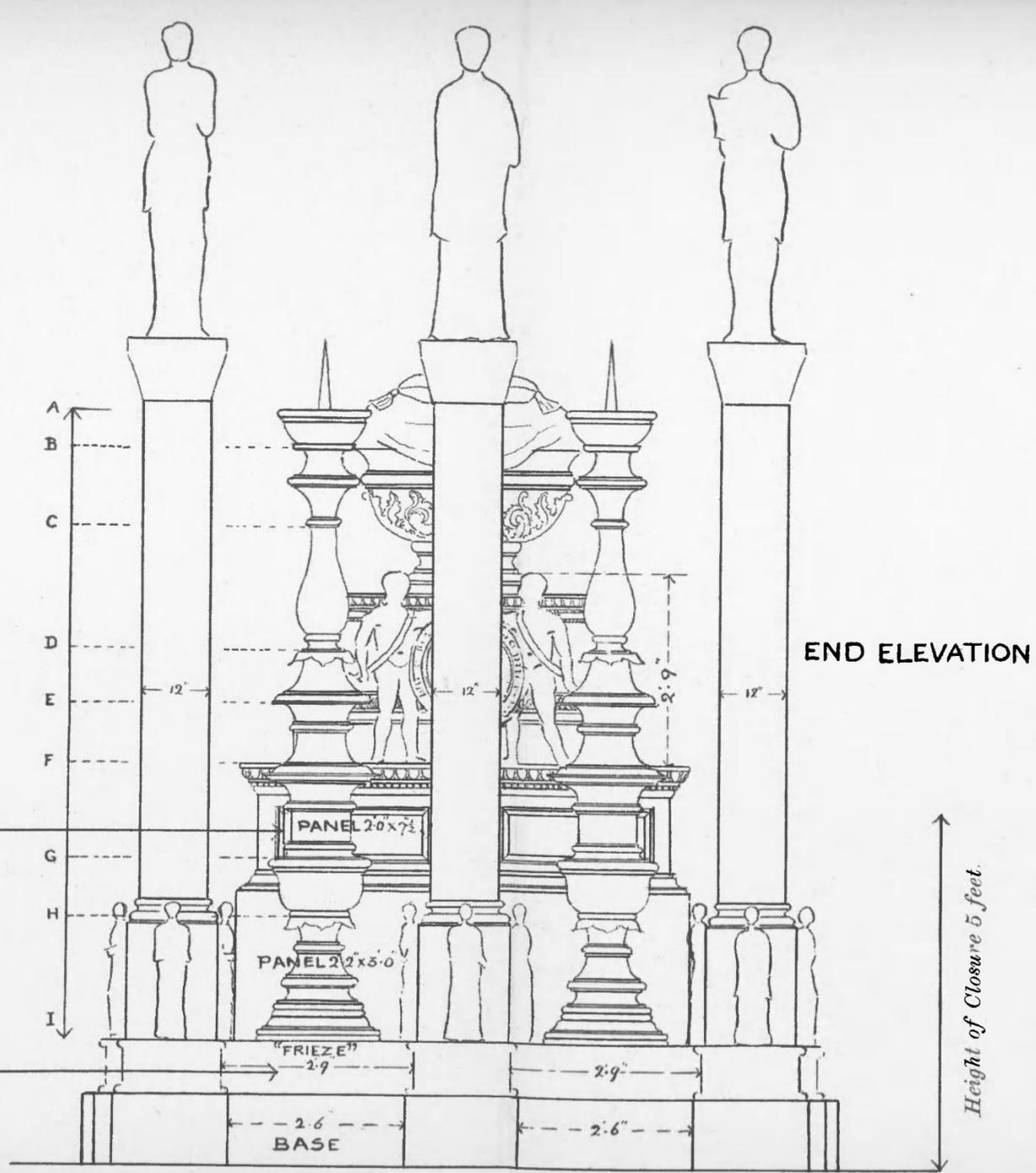
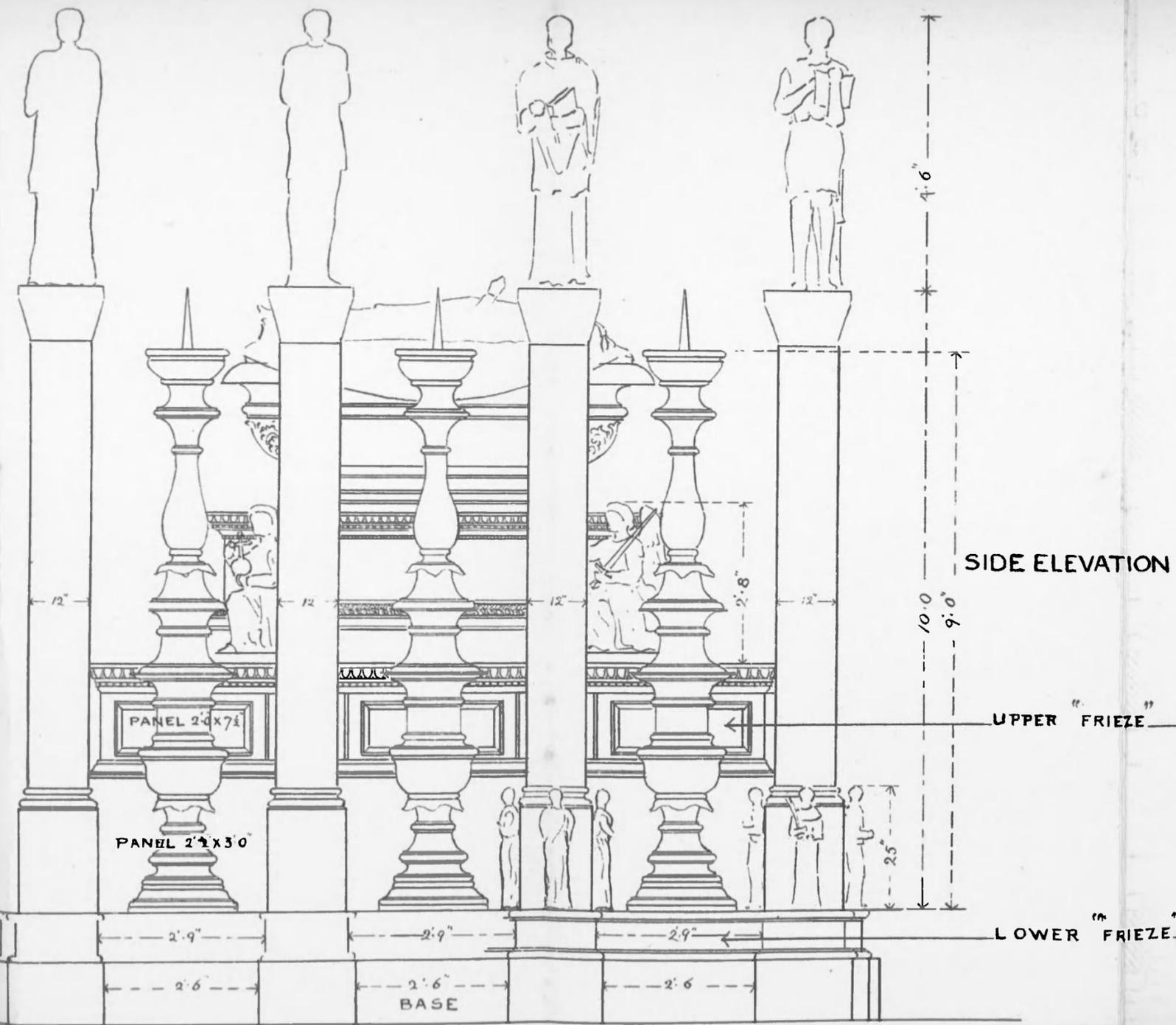
surmount the grave of Nelson in the crypt of St. Paul's.

- (7.) That the chantry altar was to stand to the E. of the tomb within the closure.
- (8.) That the altar was intended to be surmounted by a highly enriched canopy of bronze, upon the top of which were kneeling figures of angels. The canopy was to be supported by four pillars, having stilted bases with sixteen children or *putti* bearing candlesticks standing on the bases, and a like number of similar figures of larger size at the sides of the bases; the whole of the canopy and its supports and figures being of bronze (see Plate VII, facing p. 172).

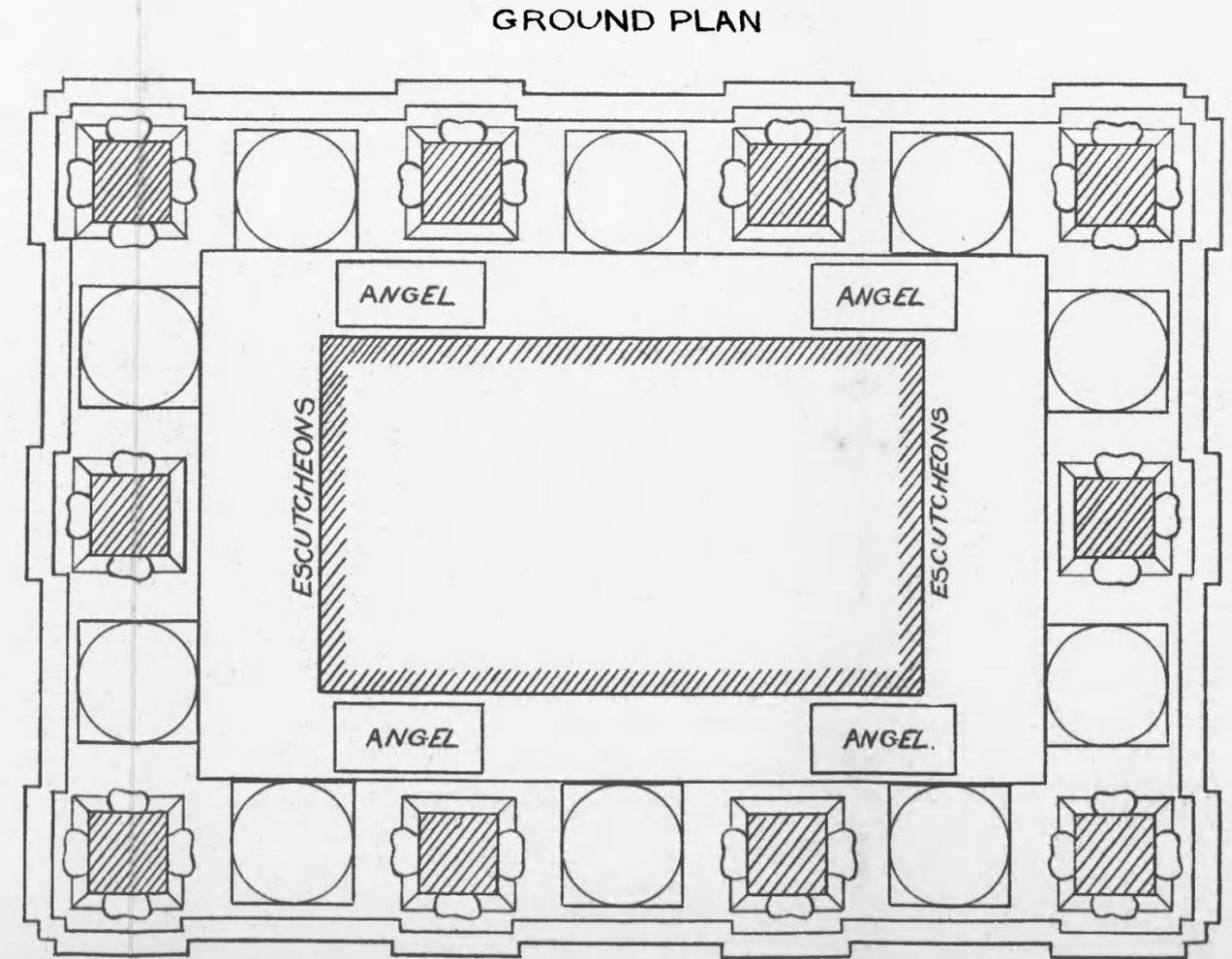
The bronze work throughout was no doubt intended to be thickly gilded, as in the portions of the tomb executed for Wolsey, the gilding of which cost the enormous sum of £400, although only half of it was completed. As regards the extent to which the work was actually carried out by Benedetto and his assistants, we may conclude that the podium and the sarcophagus with its base were placed in position; that only two out of the ten panels of the upper bronze frieze of the podium were cast and fixed in their places; that the lower frieze was complete, but that the two intermediate panels at one end of the podium, between the panels of the "friezes" were wanting; that the ten bronze columns were finished all except two, which wanted their capitals; that seven out of the ten statues of apostles had been cast and mounted on their columns; that only nine out of the thirty-four small figures about the bases of the columns were executed; that the closure was complete except as regards its gates; and that the principal statue, the recumbent effigy of the King, was probably cast and in its place on the top of the sarcophagus.

There is nothing to show whether any progress had been made with the altar beyond the making of the small pillars which had been designed for Wolsey, but without them sufficient work is accounted for to explain the comparatively large sum which the bronze fetched when sold as old metal at a forced sale during a time of civil war.

DIAGRAM OF CONJECTURAL
RESTORATION OF KING HENRY VIII'S
TOMB. SCALE 1/2 INCH TO ONE FOOT.



Height of Closure 5 feet.



In the extensive use of metal work and in extravagance of conception, the only monument which can be compared with that of Henry VII is the tomb of the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck. That belongs however chiefly to a later time and to another nationality. It has none of the exquisite detail which was so lavishly used by Benedetto, who inherited the consummate technical skill of the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century. If I have succeeded in restoring the general scheme of his work I must be content, but my readers will feel all the more keenly the loss of its essential beauties which no human hand can now renew.

MINOR WORKS IN TERRA-COTTA.

Next in importance to the sepulchral monuments we have been considering, comes the series of ten terra-cotta medallions or roundels, with busts of the Cæsars, which ornament three of the gateways of Hampton Court. It was formerly supposed that they were the remains of a set of the twelve Cæsars presented to Cardinal Wolsey by Leo X; but there was no foundation whatever for this conjecture. In 1862 Mr. J. C. (now Sir Charles) Robinson, when writing what still remains the only catalogue of the Italian sculpture at the South Kensington Museum, ascribed the Hampton Court medallions to Benedetto da Rovezzano, and, according to his view, they were executed by the artist before he arrived in England, but were expressly designed to match the brick architecture of the palace. The name of the real author of these sculptures, and the fact that they were made in this country by order of Wolsey himself, and not in Italy, was however published to the world as early as 1846 by Sir Henry Ellis, in his *Letters illustrative of English History*. In vol. viii, p. 250 of that work, will be found a letter from Giovanni da Maiano to Wolsey, dated 18th June, 1521, in which he states that he has made and set in their places at Hampton Court eight (not ten) terra-cotta roundels (rotundas imagines) *painted and gilded*. As a much later writer on this subject than Sir J. C. Robinson does not appear to be familiar with the document in question, and has contented himself with the imperfect (and on one point

erroneous) abstract given in Brewer's *Calendar*, I assume that it is not generally known, and I have therefore reprinted it in Appendix II, after having had it verified by comparison with the original in the Record Office.

Giovanni da Maiano has already been repeatedly mentioned (see p. 164) as working with Benedetto da Rovezzano upon Henry VIII's tomb from the year 1531. It is probable that he was employed upon the same tomb when it was intended for Wolsey; but there is nothing to prove this. We have some slight trace of him during the ten years which passed between the making of the Hampton Court terra-cottas and the date of the first recorded payments for Henry VIII's tomb. The *Calendar of Papers, &c., Henry VIII*, vol. iv, part 2, p. 1394, shows that he was employed in the decoration of two triumphal arches connected with a banqueting house (apparently a temporary structure) within the tilt-yard at Greenwich. He seems to have had a number of men working under him, or to whom he acted as paymaster. He himself was paid for six antique heads gilt, silvered and painted, 26s. 8d. each. This was in May, 1527. In November of the same year he and his men were paid 56s. 8d. for repairs and painting to the same building (see the volume last above referred to, Entry No. 3563). It has been confidently stated that Giovanni da Maiano was a member of the family of famous Florentine sculptors of that name; but I fail to trace him in the pedigree given by Milanese (Vasari, vol. ii, p. 477); and it is most probable that in his case "da Maiano" was not a family name, and only denoted that he came from the village of Maiano, near which are the well-known quarries of Maiano and Settignano.

We cannot select, from the ten roundels now at Hampton Court, the eight for which payment was claimed in Giovanni's letter of the 18th June, 1521, but it will be generally agreed that the two now on the southern tower of George II's gateway in the Clock Court, representing Julius and Otho, are certainly finer than the rest, and they may possibly be the later ones. The two lower and more accessible heads on this gateway have been selected for reproduction in Plates IX and X. All the ten roundels seem to be approximately of the same size; that of Julius



TERRA COTTA ROUNDEL, WITH BUST OF A ROMAN EMPEROR (? VESPASIAN), BY GIOVANNI DA MAIANO.
Clock Court, Hampton Court Palace.



TERRA COTTA ROUNDEL, WITH BUST OF JULIUS CESAR, BY GIOVANNI DA MAIANO.
Clock Court, Hampton Court Palace. (Diameter 3 ft. 4 in.)

Cæsar, which is the only one I measured, has an extreme diameter of 3 ft. 4 in. ; the diameter inside the frame being 1 ft. 11 in. Two out of the ten roundels (probably the two upper ones in the Geo. II gateway) were removed from Hampton Court by Wren, and were recovered and restored to the Palace by Mr. Edward Jesse, who discovered them fixed in front of keepers' cottages in Windsor Forest. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1845, vol. ii, p. 593.

The general design of the busts of the emperors is the same in all the ten examples. The head is crowned with a chaplet of bays, from which proceed flying ribbons that serve to fill up the concave background behind the heads. The breast is covered with a highly decorated cuirass, having high on the right shoulder an emblem, such as an eagle's or lion's head. An entirely plain piece of heavy drapery passes over the left shoulder, and is cut off abruptly in front, leaving a large, more or less vertical, smooth surface flush with the inner margin of the roundel. In one instance, that of the medallion of Otho, a helmet is substituted for the usual chaplet, and bears on its summit a very fine crouching grifon, with wings displayed, and lowered head directed to the (spectator's) right. The character of the head of this emperor, as well as that of Julius, is worthy of a great sculptor. As regards the purely decorative adjuncts of the busts of the emperors it may be noted that the circular borders or framework are of two types: the one, in high relief, has a lion's head above and below, the rest of the border being filled with representations of various articles of military equipment after the fashion derived from the reliefs on Trajan's column. The other has a similar border in rather low relief, divided cross-wise by Tudor roses and Wolsey's badge, the lion's head issuing from a coronet. There are five examples of each of these two types of framework, and the Otho and Julius busts have the last-mentioned design for their borders.

Giovanni da Maiano's letter claims payment for a balance of £21 13s. 4d., due not only for the eight medallions, costing £2 6s. 8d. each, but also for three histories of Hercules, at the rate of £4 apiece, besides 20s. expended in setting the whole in their places. From the

use of the word *similiter* before "*tres historias Herculis*," we may conclude that the reliefs were in the same material as the medallions, and painted and gilded. From the price, £4 each (about £50 in modern money), we must infer that they were of considerable size. They have entirely disappeared, and we are very much in the dark as to what part of the palace they were used for. As a mere conjecture¹ I throw out the suggestion that they served as the original decorative panels for the three oriel windows of the great gateway and second gateway, having thus occupied the position now filled by "three sundry tables of freston with several bourders of antique work, and certen of the kynges best (beasts), &c.," which were inserted by Henry VIII when the palace was taken over by him. (See the bills for these panels published by Mr. Law in his *Hampton Court*, vol. i, p. 125.) It is to be regretted that Mr. Law, although he gives the month and day of the month very carefully, has omitted to state the year; but it appears to be 1531 or 1532. The Labours of Hercules form the subject of the chiaroscuro paintings in Wren's Fountain Court; and it is a characteristic coincidence that the lost panels made by Giovanni da Maiano for Wolsey should have had the same subject.

There is another work at Hampton Court to be mentioned: a female bust of *glazed* terra-cotta, in very high relief, within a circular medallion. It was for many years on loan at the South Kensington Museum, but is now placed over a doorway in the Queen's Gallery on the north side of Fountain Court. In Sir J. C. Robinson's catalogue above referred to, he discusses the technical character of the work, and points out with great exactness the nature and present condition of the enamel, which very much more resembles delft than the Italian or Della Robbia glaze. From the great similarity in general treatment to the medallions outside the palace, more particularly as regards the vertical section of the drapery in front, to which I have already called attention, it is quite clear that the author of the female bust was very familiar with those

¹ In judging of my conjecture it should be borne in mind that the bills printed by Mr. Law (*Hampton Court*, vol. i, p. 126), show that the three present panels

of the Royal Arms were originally elaborately painted and highly gilded like the medallions near which they were placed.

of the Emperors; and looking not only to the character of the glaze, but also to the very great difference in artistic feeling, I am strongly inclined to think that this interesting specimen is due to an attempt by a later and non-Italian sculptor, probably of the seventeenth century, to imitate the work of Giovanni da Maiano. The scheme of colour of this bust, orange or gold upon a dark purple background, is very remarkable, and quite unlike the Florentine glazed terra-cottas of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It seems to me probable that this colouring represents to a certain extent the original painting and gilding (which must have been more or less intact in the seventeenth century) of the Italian medallions on the outside of the palace. I should have mentioned above that the Augustus on the inner side of the central or Anne Boleyn gateway still shows traces of gilding on the leaves of the chaplet above the centre of the emperor's forehead.

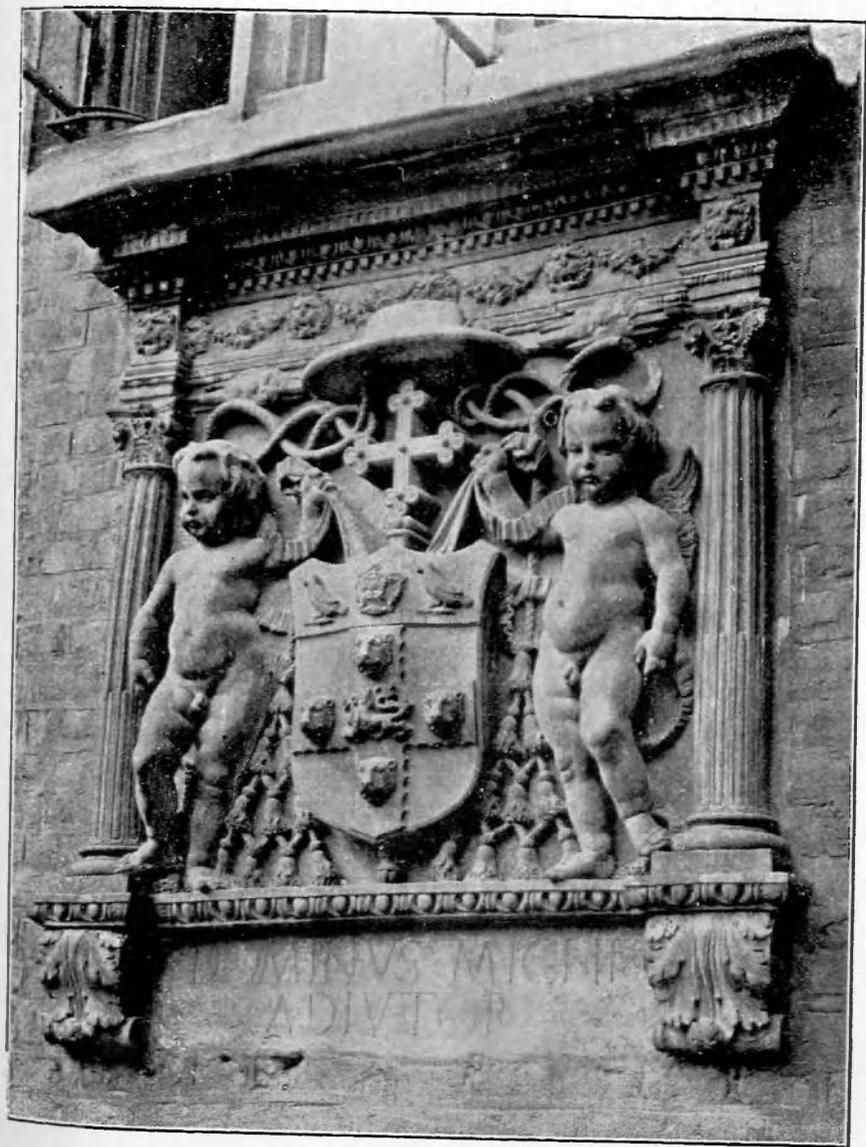
If one may judge by the print given in vol. i of *Archæologia*, there can be little doubt that the four terra-cotta roundels in the front of the so-called Holbein Gate, which formerly stood at Whitehall, were also the work of Giovanni da Maiano, the resemblance between them and the Hampton Court roundels or medallions being extraordinarily close. Many points in the design of this gate strongly resemble the architecture of Hampton Court, and especially the treatment of the oriel window with its panel of the royal arms below. There seems to be no foundation for the supposition that the large "circular medallions of busts" which are or were preserved at Hatfield Peveril came from the Whitehall Gate. A comparison of the figures given of these medallions in Smith's *Westminster*, with Vertue's print of the Holbein Gate in *Archæologia*, shows that the former were entirely different in style, as well as in design, from the medallions which appear on the front of the gateway shown in Vertue's print. The Hatfield Peveril busts seem, however, to have been very fine, and to have been clearly Italian; in fact, one might almost venture, from the print in Smith's *Westminster*, to ascribe them to Torrigiano.

The most charming of all the Italian terra-cotta work executed in England in Henry VIII's time is the panel

with the arms of Cardinal Wolsey on the inner side of the clock tower in the middle court of Hampton Court Palace (Plate XI, gives for the first time a photographic representation of it). The shield, charged with the Cardinal's arms, has, as supporters, two most beautiful *putti*, entirely nude. These replace the angels with trailing raiment which appear as supporters in the fine borders of tapestry affixed to the gallery in the Great Hall. On the gateway the archiepiscopal cross passes behind the shield, and above is the Cardinal's hat. On each side of the hat is a thunderbolt, a daring symbol of Wolsey's supreme power—perhaps as legate *a latere*. The whole panel has an appropriate architectural framework, with leopards' heads (part of the charge on the shield) introduced in the frieze above. At the bottom of the panel is Wolsey's motto, "Dominus michi adjutor." Surmounting the framework there was formerly a lunette containing a beautifully-designed monogram of Wolsey (T.W., with cord and tassels) and the date MDXXV. This has now disappeared, and the last trace of it, the cement backing into which it was fixed, was removed in the summer of 1894; but it is to be seen figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1845, vol. ii., p. 593.

There is no resemblance between this charming work and the medallions of the Cæsars, so far as I can see. The *naïveté* of the *putti* and even the architectural details seem to be borrowed from Italian work some five and twenty years earlier than 1525; and it is impossible to ascribe this panel with confidence to any one of the sculptors whom we know to have worked in England in that year.

The loss of the lunette is no doubt a subject for regret, but we ought rather to rejoice that the work generally is so well preserved. It has often struck me as wonderful that the arms of the original builder of Hampton Court should have been allowed to remain in such a comparatively conspicuous place. The explanation is to be found in the letter of Mr. Edward Jesse to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 17, 1845. Mr. Jesse was at that time employed in H.M.'s Office of Works, and his explanation may be accepted implicitly, viz., that on taking down the arms of Henry VIII, for the purpose of restoring



TERRA-COTTA PANEL, WITH THE ARMS OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Over the Gateway of the Clock Tower at Hampton Court. Height, exclusive of consoles, 3 ft. 10 in., width 3 ft. 11 in. [N.B.—The cross and shield are modern.]

them, those of Cardinal Wolsey were found, as shown in the engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It is not quite clear from Mr. Jesse's statement how the king's arms were fitted into or over Wolsey's; but anyhow, it was found, after the Royal arms were removed, that the cardinal's arms required restoration at the hands of the Clerk of Works in charge at Hampton Court, and I have ascertained by close inspection that all one can now see of the shield and archiepiscopal cross are modern restorations in cement, but I could detect no other nineteenth century work. The original work was of a yellow clay, the same in colour as the roundels of the Cæsars; but it is for the most part covered with what appears to be the original paint now turned almost black. The cardinal's hat has a gaping fissure running through it, which should be repaired. The dimensions of the panel of Wolsey's arms are as follows:—Extreme length of base 3ft. 11in., and height, excluding the consoles, 3ft. 10in. The consoles are 7in. by 7in.

At Windsor Castle the only remains of Florentine work appear to be some pieces of glazed terra-cotta, the framing (or rather the upper horizontal portion and the sides) for a large panel beneath the window on the south-eastern side of the Bray Chapel, which forms the southern apsidal transept of St. George's. The easternmost of the five sides of the apse was occupied by an altar, of which many traces remain; the southernmost side is now occupied by the altar-tomb of William FitzWilliam, a structure closely resembling the "Chaucer Monument" in Westminster Abbey; the south-western side is occupied by a large, canopied monument of a seventeenth century bishop. It is therefore only on the south-eastern and western sides of the apse that the wall beneath the windows is accessible. On the former side the arcading is so designed as to admit a large panel with the terra-cotta framing above mentioned. The width of this framing is about five inches, and the sides of it are exactly four feet high, each side made up of two pieces two feet in height. The horizontal portion or lintel, if I may so term it, is also made up of two pieces which are provided with "returns," and the total horizontal length is about four feet two inches. The

ornamentation consists mainly of a nicely designed band of ivy leaves in proper colours with black, and here and there, green berries, the whole bound together with a running blue ribbon. Outside this is a bold egg and arrow moulding, and inside there is a narrow bead and reel moulding. The ground is pure white, and the glaze is the regular, thick Della Robbia glaze, free from cracks. The pattern fits accurately, and it would seem that the work was designed for the place it occupies. It is probable that it originally framed in a terra-cotta panel with a subject in relief, and that similarly framed panels decorated or were intended to decorate the other sides of the chapel. In August, 1893, I was present when an examination was made of the western side of the apse, where there is only a small mural slab, occupying the centre of the wall and surrounded by plaster. This plaster was removed to a sufficient depth to show that the place for the panel and framing had been cut into the stone exactly as on the south-eastern side; but we were disappointed of our hope of finding some portion of the framing still *in situ*. It had apparently been destroyed when the small memorial slab was inserted, and the rest of the space filled up with plaster.

In conclusion, I must mention that Benedetto da Rovezzano made for Cardinal Wolsey six terra-cotta statues, seven feet high, which were intended for Cardinal College, Oxford, and apparently for the altar in the College Chapel, referred to in the letter I have printed in Appendix III. They remained in the sculptor's hands on Wolsey's fall, and perhaps were never fired. Nothing is known of them beyond what I have stated above, and this is derived from the sculptor's inventory, paper No. 5113 II, in Appendix IV.

APPENDICES.

- I. Letter from Torrigiano to Cardinal Wolsey (written probably in 1518) respecting a projected monument for Henry VIII and Queen Katharine (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Titus B. vii, 324).
- II. Letter from Giovanni da Maiano to Cardinal Wolsey (dated 18th June, 1521) respecting the medallions of the Cæsars at Hampton Court (Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. iii, No. 1355).
- III. Letter from Benedetto da Rovezzano to Cardinal Wolsey (dated 30th June, 1529) on the subject of the Cardinal's tomb, also abstract of letter from Antonio Cavallari (a merchant of Lucca) on the same subject (Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. iv, part 3).
- IV. Inventories of the work executed for Wolsey's tomb; showing how far the materials could be made available for a tomb for Henry VIII (Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. iv, Nos. 5113 and 5113 ii. Abstract given in Calendar, but now printed at length for the first time).
- V. Memo. showing the weight of bronze required for a tomb for Henry VIII (MS. in the possession of Mr. George Pritchard, of Lower Camden, Chislehurst).
- VI. Accounts and records of payments for work done, during the years 1530 to 1536, for the tomb of Henry VIII (Letters and Papers, Vols. v, vi, vii, ix, and xi).
- VII. Reports to Lord Burghley on the tomb of Henry VIII at Windsor and on the Royal tombs in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster (Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS. 116-13).
- VIII. Extracts from the Journals of both Houses of Parliament in 1645 and 1646 relative to the sale of the metal work of Henry VIII's tomb.
- IX. Extracts from the Chapter Records of St. George's, Windsor, respecting the tomb-house of Henry VIII (now called the Prince Consort's Memorial Chapel).

APPENDIX I.

Letter from Torrigiano to Cardinal Wolsey (written probably in 1518) respecting a projected monument for Henry VIII and Queen Katharine. Original in the British Museum:—Cotton MS. Titus B. vii, No. 324. Published by Mr. Edward J. L. Scott in the Athenæum, 22nd May, 1880. The draft indenture for this monument was published in Archaeologia. Vol xvi, pp. 84-88.

“Ex vltimis meis litteris tibi traditis sacratissime ac Reverendissime pater, si eas ut es pollicitus legeris: facile noueris urgentem mihi necessitatem aliquem fructum recipiendi laborum meorum et operum erga gratiam tuam: quemadmodum a tua Reuerendissima Dominatione mihi promissum sepissime fuit: et fides ac spes mea postulare videntur: cum precipue salus mea et honor in fauore et auxilio Amplissime Dominationis tue consistant: in qua semper firma desiderii mei consequendi fuit expectatio: quibus si forem priuatus non sine magno dedecore mea oriretur calamitas atque ruina: de quo nulla unquam mihi suspitio fuit, sub tanto presertim clementissimo

principe ac Domino meo Reuerendissimo: ex eisdem litteris te certiolem feci breui in patriam me transferre mihi opus esse, ut opera nonnulla pro illustrissimo defuncto rege a me inchoata perficere ualeam: nec ob aliud iam pluribus mensibus expectauit, tuis humanissimis uerbis fretus, nisi ut de rebus meis ac expeditione mea aliquid concluderem iuxta tue Dominationis Reuerendissime promissa, de operibus a me fiendis pro regia Maiestate pariterque pro gratia tua: Quapropter cum prope sit tempus discessus mei cupiamque iustissimi affectus mei finem aliquem uidere non sine decore ac gloria memorate Regie Maiestatis eiusdemque Dominationis tue Reuerendissime modum aliquem excogitauit idque tibi enarrare decreui putans tibi omnino satisfactum iri: quem si (ut spero) approbauerit Dominatio tua Reuerendissima ipsam pro immensa eius benignitate etiam atque etiam rogo ut celerem expeditionem mihi concedere dignetur: eiusque in hac re animum et uoluntatem mihi ostendere ut quid acturus sim quidue prouisurus siquod opus a me exarandum fuerit clare cognoscam: quid autem circa hoc decreuerim hic inferius declarabo:—

“Volens Dominatio tua Reuerendissima me quaecumque sit opus ad artem meam spectans pro eadem Regia Maiestate efficere pro uiribus meis paratus sum omnia agere ea fide ac diligentia eaque regis utilitate et ornamento ut me fidelem seruum tuum decet: cui semper obsequi desiderauit et ut melius faciliusque perspicias me non imprimis lucrum et commodum meum cæterum regiam utilitatem quærere: cui satisfacere ac tibi mihi sat erit ac gloriæ immortalis: Ea opera uniuersa quæ mihi facienda commiserit Dominatio tua Reuerendissima pro memorato inuictissimo Rege: absque ulla numeratæ pecuniæ solutione conficienda suscipiam: dummodo mihi libere tradantur et realiter consignentur: de quibus periculum suscipiam: tot florentinorum merchatorem obligationes quibus annuatim quasdam pecuniarum summas eidem regi restituere tenentur predicti mercatores: eas obligationes capiendo quæ tempori ac pretio operum fiendorum correspondeat ut congruo tempore disseremus: offerens me paratum idoneas cautiones prestare de pactis seruandis et operibus perficiendis: Et sic pro tali summa a mercatoribus exigenda idem Serenissimus Rex tutus euadet: Rursum obsecrans gratiam tuam ut ita mihi faueat ne impotens fiam quemadmodum cæpi et pergere opto eam honorandi nam id apprime affecto: quod si (ut credo) effeceris tibi semper obnoxius ero: et pro quocumque opere quod ad tuæ Dominationis Reuerendissime decorem et uoluntatem facere me acciderit quamdiu spiritus hos reget artus tanquam fidelissimo seruo tuo iubere ualebis: Quod autem deliberare uolueris in hac re celeri est opus expeditione ut pro operibus finiendis homines et uniuersa quæ ad ea faciunt in reditu meo adducere mecum possim: Vale in Christo Reuerendissime pater.

“Humilis seruus tuus

PETRUS TORRISANUS.”

APPENDIX II.

*Letter from Giovanni da Maiano to Wolsey (dated 18th June, 1521) respecting the roundels or medallions of the Cæsars at Hampton Court.*¹

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII (Calendar, Vol. iii, No. 1355).

“ R^{mo} in Xpo pr, &c. Cum ex mandato vestræ gratiæ fecerim et in vestro palatio apud Anton Cort collocaverim octo rotundas imagines exterra depictas et deauratas pro pretio librarum duarum solidorum vj. et denariorum octoquamlibet earum: ac similiter tres historias Herculis, ad rationem librarum quatuor pro unaquaque. Et pro dictis operibus in ipsa domo situandis etiam expenderim solidos xx. et ult^a quæ summa in totum est libræ xxxi. solidi xij. et denarii iij. Ex quibus habui libras decem: nunc sola necessitate coactus ad vestram R^{nam} Do. confugio rogans eam et obsecrans ut dignetur jubere residuum dictæ pecuniæ mihi solvi scilicet libras xxj. solidos xij. et denarios iij. prefat. R^{mo} Do. V. humiliter me commendans: cujus jussis ero semper obsequentissimus servus et fidelissimus.

“ JOANNES DE MAIANO, sculptor.

“ xviiij. die Junii, M.D. xxj.”

Addressed—R^{mo} D. Cardinali.

APPENDIX III.

Letter from Benedetto da Rovezzano to Cardinal Wolsey, dated 30th June, 1529, on the subject of Wolsey's tomb; also abstract of letter from Antonio Cavallari, merchant of Lucca, to the Cardinal on the same subject. Reprinted from Letters and Papers, Henry VIII (Calendar, vol. iv, part 3, No. 5743, Masters MS., f. 251).

“ Rev. et Ill. Domine.—Ex relatu nobilis viri Thom. Cromwell, tuæ gratiæ consiliarii, percepi tui generosi animi voluntatem, tuam in me benevolentiam ingentem, quod ad finem tui monumenti atque altaris² et pecuniæ mihi dicitæ ac debendæ satisfactionem, quod mihi perjucundum fuit: sic enim potero cuncta, ut cupit amplitudo tua, honorifice brevique absolvere, præsertim si huic rei præficiat tua gratia ipsum D. Thomam, virum magni ingenii maximæque dexteritatis, ne tempus mihi sit conterendum tuæque sacræ aures quotidie interpellandæ. Qui Dominus Cromwell jussit ut pacta de hoc tumulto exarando inita cum Anthonio Cavallari, et pecunium ab eo acceptam, totiusque rei istius successum, fideliter enarrarem; quod faciam quam libentissime.

“ Cum ipso Cavallari verbis tantum conveni (nam invicem plurimum fidebamus) ut id sepulchrum fabricarem, quod non esset minoris operis. decoris et pretii quam sit tumba serenissimi regis Henrici VII. Pretium

¹ Printed in Ellis's letters, series 3, vol. viii, p. 250.

² “Hoc altare circa hæc tempora instituebatur Oxonii, in Collegio Cardinalitio.”

vero, inspecta operis magnitudine responderet ipsi regio monumento. Et indes pro marmoribus, metallo, artificibus, cæterisque sumptibus, jure meo, nummos soluturum promisit. Et sepultura perfecta (deaurationem omitto, quia nihil ad me) per homines experientes et honestos æstimandum erat sepulchrum, quanti pretii foret, instar memorati regii monumenti, et dempta pecunia quam acceperissem, residuum mihi solveretur.

“Ego autem a die primo Junii 1524, usque ad diem III Maii 1529, habui partim ab ipso Cavallari, et partim pro eo ab Anthonio Bonvisi, circiter ducatos quatuor mille ducentum quinquaginta, de qua summa claram veramque rationem potero ostendere: quamvis longe magis ex ære meo sumpserim, et Florentiæ pro marmoribus, ac Londini aliis amicis hujusmodi de causis debeam summam haud exiguam: nam sperabam quotidie cum ipso Anthonio Cavallari rationem ponere, et debitam mihi pecuniam accipere, quod re vera brevi secutum fuisset, nisi crudelis mors obstitisset. Et nempe multum est tempus cum solutiones pecuniæ mihi fuerunt diminutæ. Dicebat enim ipse Anthonius cito se a tua gratia talem summam pecuniæ accepturum, ita ut mihi uberrime possit satisfacere, et non solum pro tumulo, sed pro altari ut operarios conducere valerem, eo maxime quia in hoc fabricando sepulchro cuncta mihi ex sententia evenerant, sive in marmore huc vehendo, sive in ære conflando, sive in bonis ministris conducendis, et denique in omnibus aliis, quod neutiquam raro contingere solet; idque pro optimo auspicio existimabam, aliter namque valde grandiori pecunia opus fuisset, pro tam operosa mole. De cujus deaurationis magno pretio mirabitur ipse Cavallari, quia regio ipsi sepulchro CC libra fuerunt satis, et in hoc circiter octingentis opus erit. Unde plane judicari potest quantum sit discrimen inter hoc et illud; testorque in simplicitate mea id tuum sepulchrum in duplo regium superare, aut plus eo, sumptu, arte et decore. Quæ omnia ipse Anthonius non ignorabat, ac pollicebatur brevi me Oxoniam iturum ad ipsum altare fabricandum. Ac deinde, tuæ gratiæ nomine, hujus invictissimi regis monumentum exarandum firmiter promittebat. Quæ cuncta, te jubente, si vixero, spero Deo dante me perfecturum. Nihil aliud cupio, nisi tuæ gratiæ servire quoad vivam. Seo cogor semel uxorem natosque visere, et, si expedierit, huc adducere, quia jam x integros annos (quod me referre pudet) ab eis discriminator. Itaque amplissimam Do. tuam precor et obsecro, ut ipsi prudentissimo Do. Thom. Cromwell mandet, meum hoc negotium rationesque pecuniarum juste concludi et terminari, ne tempus (mihi minis charum) terere otiose cogor. Ego vero sua jussa capessere quam maxime opto. Ult Jun, 1529.

“E. gratiæ tuæ.

“Servitor humillimus Benedictus

“Sculptor Florentinus.”

Copy pp. 3.

Abstract—Letter¹ of one Antonio Cavallary to the Cardinal.

That for gilding the part of his tomb which is already done (being the half) he hath laid out £380 13s. sterling. He seems to

¹ This letter was of somewhat earlier date than 30th June, 1529, the date of the preceding letter of Benedetto d Rovezzano.

doubt whether the Cardinal meant to have the rest of his tomb perfected: which if he do not he would have him give the gilder leave to go home to Antwerp, and also to Benedict (a Florentine), the carver, to return into Italy. [Date not given.] Note in the margin. Patch his jest on Wolsey's tomb fulfilled. See *Antiq. Britannic.*

APPENDIX IV.

Inventories by Benedetto da Rovezzano of the work executed for the tomb of Cardinal Wolsey; shewing how far the materials could be made available for a tomb for Henry VIII.

They are here printed in parallel columns in order to facilitate comparison. No. 5113 II appears to be the artist's original draft, and No. 5113 to be a revised list written out by an Englishman, and giving many additional particulars.

The original documents are in the Record Office. An abstract of them was published in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Calendar, Vol. iv."

No. 5113.

"For the Kinge Highness

Furst iiij grete pillers of copper curiouslye graven ev' y piller conteyning in length ix fote and ev' y of the same pillers being of x pecce whereof v pecce conteyning the halfe of one of the said iiij pillers ben all redie gilt and burnished.

iiij aungelle kneeling to stand at the hede and fete of the tombe ev' y aungell conteyning in length ij fote and viij ynches all redie gilt and burnished.

iiij aungelle w^t candlestickes in their hande to stande upon the said pillers conteyning in length ev' y aungell iiij fote and iiij ynches not gilt.

iiij naked children to stand at the hed and fete of the tombe to hold the armes of ij fote and ix ynches lenth the pece all gilt and burnished.

ij grete pecce of copper being garnysshed w^t sondrye devyses made for the epitaphes fixed to eche side of the tombe conteyning in length iiij fote and di and in bredeth ij fote not gilt.

No. 5113 II.

"iiij pyllers great of nyne fottys heght ev' y one.

iiij angelle stadyng knyllyd of ij foote and viij enches ev' y one.

iiij angelle w^t a candelstike in their hande hegh iiij foote and iiij enches.

iiij boys that kepe the armes ij foote and nyne enches heght.

ij epitaphis w^t ornamentes thereto iiij foote and di long ij foote broode.

A tombe of stone black touche conteyning in length vij fote in breadth iiij fote and in height ij fote di.

iiij leves of copper fixed upon the iiij corners of the said tombe stone of touche ev'y one of them conteyning a fote and a half in length ungilt.

The base of the said tombe conteyning xii pecç of black touch and viij pecç of white marble in length viij fote in breadth iiij fote and iiij ynches and in height ij fote.

A steppe of black touch conteyning viij pecç called scalyons going square about the said tombe.

vij pecç of copper graven wrought like cloth of gold to lye upon the said tombe all gilt and burnished.

iiij small pillers of copper for the iiij corners of an altar ev'y piller conteyning iiij pecç and ev'y of the same pillers conteyning in length iiij fote and a half, not gilt.

Things to be ordered at the
King's pleasure

The ymage of the Cardinall all gilt and burnished.

ij griphons to be at the fete of the said ymage all gilt and burnished.

A Cardinall's hat w^t xij buttons and certen stringe of copper all gilt and burnished.

ij scutchins w^t the armes of the said Cardinall all gilt and burnished.

A tombe of towching stone vij foote long iiij foote brode ij foote high and di which is of iiij peces.

iiij leffes upon the iiij corners of the said tombe a fote di long ev'y one.

The base whereupon sette the said tombe ys xii peces of towching stone and viij of white marble viij foote long and iiij foote broode and iiij enches and ij foote height.

A steppe of towching stone in viij peces whereupon stands the iiij great pillers whiche ys nyne foote long and eight foote brode.

A pece lyke clothe of gold in vij peces standing upon the tombe.

The image of the Most Reverend Cardinall w^t his cowstyons uppe¹

ij griffons at the foote of the said image.

The hatte
xij buttons or uppz [?[?] nappz from Italian "*nappe*" tassels] w^t their silkyne stringe.

ij armes of my said Lord Cardinall.

¹ Cf. Italian "*costume*." Wolsey's Gentleman Usher refers to his wearing "the *habytt* of a Cardynall."

See Kelmscott Edition of Cavendish, 1893, p. 30.

xiiij small scutchins of dyvers sorte conteyning in them the armes of the said Cardinall w^t the armes of suche churches as he hath been promoted unto.

xij litle figures of a fote long the pece, representing the ymages of certain saincts all gilt and burnisshed.

A crosse w^t a staff and figure of the crucyfyx in the toppe gilt and burnisshed.

ij pillers all gilt and burnisshed."

x small skuchyns of dyvers soorte.

xij litell figures of a foote apece.

A crosse w^t our Saviour Criste upon it.

ij pillers keped (*sic*) of the ij angells in their hande.

A chamynye of w^t marbyll vj figures of claye of vij foote apece whiche sholde have s^ved for Oxforde.

Whereuppon the said work to my coste and expenses and martells bod (*sic*) and w^t towchinge stone and brasse and ev^y other thinge I have receaved iiij^m ij^{cl} ducatt^e or theraboute and ev^y ducate after iiij^s vjd^e the ducate Itm the jamys and mantyll for a chymney of whyte marbyll.

And morover to leve an inventory of all that doth apperteyne to the Kinge most noble grace orever I go to Flowrannece yt rest^e in the house iiij pillers whiche was lefte of the awter of King Henry the vijth whiche were not sufficient to stand to the weight of the said awter whiche Master Peter Torrygan hadd made of the said pillers whiche apperteyneth to the Kinge most noble grace."

APPENDIX V.

Memo: shewing the weight of bronze required for a tomb (including chantry-chapel and altar) for Henry VIII; from a MS. in the possession of Mr. George Pritchard, of Connaught Lodge, Lower Camden, Chislehurst; apparently a seventeenth century copy of the original.

"On the backside in a corner is written (it seemeth with the King's own hand) this (a memoriall for my Tombe) H: 7."¹

"The weight of copper and other things necessary to be provided for a Tombe chappell and altar to be made for ye King's highness."

"first 8 pillars wher upon shall stand 8 figures or ymags accordinge to the patron already mayd every pillar of 10 foot in length and 12 ynches about and every of the said pillars shall weigh 800 lb. Amounts to	} 6400 lb.
It: 12 figures or ymages of the 12 apostles of 5 foot longe the peece wherof 8 shall stand upon the top of the said 8 pillars and the other 4 shall stand upon the closure every one of them weighinge 500 lb. Amounts to	} 6000 lb.
It: the closure of the chappell that shall inclose the Tombe round about shal be all in copper carven and curiously intayled and shalbe in height 4 foote and a half p ^{te} of mettall and p ^{te} of blacke and white marble the mettall that shalbe in the said closure shall weigh	} 10000 lb.
It: 28 candlesticks which shalbe fixed upon the said 8 pillars every of the said candlesticks weighing 50 lb.	} 1400 lb.
It: the copture or covering that shall goe about the altar and cover the same shalbe of Rosses foliarie and flower deluses with other ornam ^{ts} and devises of mettall shalbe of the weight	} 1000 lb.
It: 4 angells mayd kneelinge upon the altar that is to say 2 on every side with a <i>grate</i> (? seate)—all of mettall shalbe of the weight of 400 lb.—every angell and the <i>grate</i> (? seate) of 300 lb. Amount	} 1900 lb.
It: 16 figures or ymages that shall furnish the 4 inner pillars to be mayd to uphold the said 4 pillars of mettall that be all ready mayd shalbe 2 foote in height or therabouts and shall weigh every one of them 100 lb. Amounts to	} 1600 lb.
It: the feete of the said 4 pillars all squaire curiously graven unto the w ^h . the said 16 figures or ymages shalbe fixed to furnish the said works the said feete shall contayne in weight 500 lb. the pece in all	} 2000 lb.
It: 16 naked children or nymphes every one of them holding a candlesticke in his hand w ^h shal be sett upon the sides of the said 4 pillars shal be of weight every one of them 100 lb. ² Amount to	} 800 lb.

¹ The "H. 7." is written with a thicker pen and in a different hand from the rest of the MS.—A. H.

² Should be 50 lb. as the total of the 16 children is carried out as 800 lb.

It: 4 arches standing upon the tops of the said 4 pillars }
 curiously carven and craftily entayled which shall } 4000 lb.
 be sett rising upon the said 4 pillars and shall be of }
 the weight every one of them 1000 lb.

APPENDIX VI.

Accounts and records of payment for work done for the tomb of Henry VIII.

Letters and Papers Henry VIII (Calendar, Vol. v., p. 753).
 December, 1530.

Privy Purse Expenses.

“To Mr. Cromwell for the king’s tomb £13 6s. 8d.”
 (British Museum. Addl. MSS. 20,030)

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. v., No. 558.

(Printed from the original in the Record Office. There
 is no abstract of it in the Calendar.)

“Benedyctes Accompte.

“1531.

“Inspese di lavoro e opera fate

[*June*, 1531.] Maesta del re del mese di Giungnio
 pr noi Benedeto e Giovanni, inschul-
 tori Fiorentini.

E A di xxvj di Giungnio deto pr dua migliaia di
 libre di bronzo rosso e giallo e di piue sorte
 chonperato agli stigliardi la piue parte lire
 venti disti [di sterlingi] e pr el peso e posto
 inchasa soma il tuto. l. 20 s. — d. —

E pr una charata ditera pr fare le forme de la arme
 danari oto disti l. — s. — d.

E pr pelo pr mescolare chondeta tera danari oto
 disti l. — s. — d. 8

E pr tire pale pr achonciare deta tera e quello che
 ara di bisongnio pr deto lavoro soldi uno e
 danari dua disti l. — s. 1 d. 2
l. 20 — 2 — 6

Inspese di lavoro e opera fate pr la

[*July*, 1531.] Maesta del re del mese di Lulglio pr
 noi Benedeto e Giovanni inschultori
 sopradeti.

E adi primo di Lulglio pr dua libre difilo difero
 danari oto disti l. — s. — d. 8

E pr una charata di charboni a danari quatro el
 sacho sono sacha trenta soma soldi dieci disti l. — s. 10 d. —

E pr uno boselo [bushel] di charboni ditera pr la
 fabrica [dan]ari quatro disti l. — s. — d. 4

- nciento di fero pr armare le forme delarme
[sol]di quatro e danari oto disti *l. — s. 4 d. 8*
- E adi viij di Lulglio pr aio di bigliete
pr fondare poste inchasa soldi sei e danari sei
disti *l. — s. 6 d. 6*
- E pr dua libre diciera pr fare el manicho de la
spada e daltri picholi ornamenti soldi uno disti *l. — s. 1 d. —*
- E pr piue peri di pietre datagliare e inchavare de
patroni pr le cholone soldi dua (*sic*) e danari
quatro disti *l. — s. 4 d. 4*
- E pr dua charatte di tera dichalese pr fare epatroni
de le figure soldi quatro la charata soma in tuto
soldi oto disti *l. — s. 8 d. —*
- E pr dua charate ditera pr mescolare chonquela
dichalese pr fare le figure soldi dua e danari
sei disti *l. — s. 2 d. [6]*
- Tomaso Chote, fondore, chomincio a lavorare adi
primo di Lulglio e pr deto mese abiano pagato
a deto Tomaso lire una e soldi oto disti ogi
questo die utimo di Lulglio sopra adeto e
quali danari sono pr suo salario e sua inspese *l. 1 s. 8*
- Giovanni Utrin, fondore, chomi[n]cio a lavorare
adi primo di Lulglio deto e pr deto mese che
a lavorato gli abiano pagato soldi quator dici
disti pr suo salario e sua inspese ogi questo die
utimo di Lulglio deto *l. — s. 14*
- Andrea Maison, injungere, chomincio a lavorare
adi x di Lulglio deto e pr insino adi utimo di
deto a lavorato die quindici a soldi uno el gi-
orno abiangli pagato soldi quindici disti ogi
questo utimo di Lulglio *l. — [s. 15 d. —]*
- Rinieri ———, injungere, chomincio a lavorare adi
xviii di deto e a lavorato di deto mese di
Lulglio die oto a soldi uno disti pr die abiagli
pagato soldi oto disti *l. [— s. 8 d. —]*
- Anbrugio, inju[n]giere, a lavorato di
Lulglio deto die cinque a danari oto pr
die abiaglli pagato soldi tre e danari quatro
disti *l. — s. 3 d. 4*
- Upe a lavorato die tre pr fabbricare eferi de le
forme delarme abiaglli pagato soldi uno disti
pr die *l. — s. 3 d. —*
- E piue abiano pagato a Fermino fondore pr gitare
le teste de chani e drachi di bronzo chevano
ne quatro pilieri soldi uno e danari quatro
disti *l. — s. 1 d. 4*
- l. 5 — 8 — 8*
- Inspese di lavoro e opera fate pr la
Maesta del re del mese dagosto pr noi
[Aug. 1531.] Benedeto e Giovanni inschultori so-
pradeti.
- E adi iij dagosto deto pr fare torniare una chorona
di pietra bianca a danari undici disti *l. — s. — d. 11*

- E pr una charata di charboni soldi dieci e danari sette disti *l. — s. 10 d. 7*
- E pr fare torniare un patrone incietro dilangnio soldi uno e danari oto disti *l. — s. 1 d. 8*
- E pr pine poti di tera da fondere soldi uno disti *l. — s. 1 d. —*
- E pr fare fare uno ornamento dinsulmanicho de la inspada diciera achosimo danari oto disti *l. — s. — d. 8*
- A Fermino, pr gitare lo incietro e quatro dalfini pr deto incietro enna chroese chon altri ornamenti chevano intorno a la pala [*i.e.* palla. See note p. 183] chetengono e dua angioi pr sorono tuti libre ventidua a danari sei la libra soma *l. — s. 11 d. —*
- ka pr apichare dua ferri insieme danari oto disti *l. — s. — d. 8*
- farfare la pala di bronzo giallo la tuto soldi dua disti *l. — s. 2 d. —*
- E pr quatro libre e mezzo dia [p]r fare dua chorone soldi dua e danari uno disti *l. — s. 2 d. 1*
- A Pietro Baldi, pr fare torniare lo incietro di bronzo egli ornamenti dintorno alapala [palla] soldi dua e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 2 d. 4*
- Tomaso Chote, fondore, abiano pagato pr el mese dagosto chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e sua inspese lire una e soldi oto disti *l. 1 s. 8 d. —*
- A Rinieri, pr die ventidua chegli a lavorato del mese dagosto abiano pagato lire una e soldi dua disti *l. 1 s. 2 d. —*
- Andrea Maison, pr die ventidua chegli a lavorato del mese dagosto abiano pagato lire una e soldi dua disti *l. 1 s. 2 d. —*
- A Gian., fondore, abiano pagato pr el mese dagosto chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e inspese soldi quatordecidi disti *l. — s. 14 d. —*
- l. 5 — 18 — 11*
- Inspese di lavoro e opera fate pr la Maesta del re del mese di Setembre pr noi Benedeto e Giovanni inscultori sopradeti.
- [*Sept. 1531.*]
- E pr tre charate dilangiuse pr chuociere le figure e larme soldi dua e danari quatro la charata soma soldi sete disti *l. — s. [7 d. —]*
- E pr dua charate di charboni a soldi undici e danari quatro pr charata soma lire una e soldi dua e danari oto disti *l. [1 s. 2 d. 8]*
- E pr chola e poti pr fondere soldi uno e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 1 d. 4*
- E pr portare dua alberi pr fare le forme de le cholone da Londra astimestre [to Westminster] e pr bora pr fare le forme soldi uno disti *l. — s. 1 d. —*
- E pr un picholo mantacheto e pr chiovi di pine sorte danari sei disti *l. — s. — d. 6*
- E pr dieci e grandi choregiovoli pr fondere bronzo soldi sei e danari oto disti *l. — s. 6 d. 8*

- E pr una charata di tera che vene da la chapela biancha [Whitechapel] pr fare le forme soldi uno e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 1 d. 4*
- E pr rivetare quatro dalfini a Gian. inglese soldi quatro disti *l. — s. 4 d. —*
- A Tomaso chote, fondore, abiano pagato pr el mese di Setembre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e sua inspese lire una e soldi oto disti *l. 1 s. 8 d. —*
- A Rinieri, injungere, abiano pagato pr die ventidua chegli a lavorato del mese di Setembre lire una e soldi dua disti *l. 1 s. 2 d. —*
- Andrea, injungere, Maison (*sic*), abiano pagato pr die ventidua chegli a lavorato del mese di Setembre lire una e soldi dua disti *l. 1 s. 2 d. —*
- A Gian. Utrin, fondore, abiano pagato pel mese di Setembre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e sua inspese soldi quatordecim disti *l. — s. 14 d. —*
- A Piero Baldi, fondore ab[iano] [p]agato pr giorni dodici chegli a lavorato a chasa sua pr torniare la spada e fare lo incietro¹ e altre ornamenti, e pr giorni dodici chegli a lavorato qui austimetre [at Westminster] pr suo salario e pr parte di sua inspese lire una e soldi cinque disti *l. 1 s. 5 d. —*
- A Nicholaio Potiere abiano pagato pr die quindici chegli a lavorato del mese di Setembre pr aiutare a Piero Baldi pr suo salario e sua inspese soldi oto disti *l. — s. 8 d. —*
- l. 8 — 3 — 6*
- [Oct. 1531.] Inspese di lavoro e opera fate pr la Maesta del re del mese dotobre pr noi Benedeto e Giovanni inscultori so-
pradeti.
- E adi iii; dotobre deto pr fare portare dua paia di grandi mantaci da Londra austimetre [to Westminster] e daustimetre a Londra pr fondere soldi uno e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 1 d. [4]*
- E pr un migiliaio di biglieta pr fondere soldi sei e danari oto e pr la fare portare da Londra austimetre a una barcha e pr la fare portare dalinci fino a chasa soma in tuto soldi oto e danari dua disti *l. — s. [8 d. 2]*
- A Nicholaio Fiorentino pr chonperare feri da lavorare di pue sorte soldi quatro e danari oto disti *l. — s. [4 d. 8]*
- E pr un charo di charboni soldi dodici disti *l. — [s. 12 d. —]*
- E pr chiovi e fogli e olio pr fare le finestre dicharta da lavorare soldi uno e danari oto disti *l. — [s. 1 d. 8]*

¹ There seems to be a *lapsus calami* here. *Torniare* should apply to the sceptre, and *fare* to the sword.

- E pr dua charate di bricke pr [? fare] el picholo forno da fondere e pr richuociere le forme soldi quatro e danari oto disti *l. — s. 4 d. [8]*
- E pr uno boselo di charboni di tera pr forgiare danari quatro disti *l. — s. — d. [4]*
- E pr dua charate di tera pr fare la fornage da fondere soldi uno disti *l. — s. 1 d. —*
- E pr sete charate di pietre da fuocho pr fare la fornage da fondere cheadete a Maestro Alforte e pr farle portare a chasa soldi tre disti *l. — s. 3 d. —*
- E pr fare rivetare e riparare una chorona pr lo incietro a Gian. inglese soldi cinque e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 5 d. 4*
- E pr u[n]dici charate di pietre damasonare pr fare la fornage da fondere el fondamento e altre chose appartenente a deta fornage e pr le fare portare dal pala 3° vechio e metere inchasa soldi dua e danari sei disti *l. — s. 2 d. 6*
- E pr dua denti di fero pr fare le forme cioe larma dure delarme soldi oto e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 8 d. 4*
- E pr una charata di tera pr fare la fornage danari sei disti *l. — s. — d. 6*
- E pr fare lavorare le pietre pr fare la fornage da fondere e pr murare deta fornage lavororno e intorno Tomaso e Nicholaio ciaschuno di loro giorni quatordici abiano pagato pr loro lavoro di deto tempo [so]ldi dicioto e danari oto a ciaschuno soma intuto lire [u]na e soldi di ciasete e danari quatro disti *l. 1 s. 17 d. 4*
- A Tomaso Choute, fondere a[bianco] pagato pr el mese dotobre chegli a lavorato lire una e soldi oto disti pr suo salario e inspese *l. 1 s. 8 d. —*
- A Piero Baldi pr un mezo mese chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e inspese abiano pagato soldi quindici disti *l. — s. 15 [d. —]*
- A Rinieri abiano pagato pr el mese dotobre chegli a lavorato pr die venti tre lire una e soldi tre disti *l. 1 s. 3 d. —*
- Andrea Maison abiano pagato pel mese dotobre chegli a lavorato pr die venti tre lire una e soldi tre disti *l. 1 s. 3 d. —*
- A Gian. Utrin, fondere, abiano pagato pr suo salario e inspese pr el mese dotobre chegli a lavorato soldi quatordici disti *l. — s. 14 d. —*
- A Potiere, servitore di Piero Baaldi (*sic*) abiano pagato pr el mese dotobre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e inspese soldi quindici disti e danari quatro *l. — s. 15 d. [4]*
- A Gilio pr ajutare a Piero Baldi abiano pagato pr un mezo mese chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e inspese soldi sete e danari dua *l. — s. 7 [d. 2]*
- E pr libre dodici di chandela pr fare lavorare soldi uno e danari sei disti *l. — s. [1 d. 6]*

- Inspese di lavoro e opera fate [pr] la
 [Ncv. 1531.] Maesta del re del mese di Novembre
 pr noi Benedeto e Giovanni, inschul-
 tori sopradeti.
- E pr dua some di charboni minuti soldi uno e danari oto disti l. — s. 1 d. 8
- E pr fare portare emantaci di Piero Baldi da Londra austrmestre danari cinque disti l. — s. — d. 5
- E pr una charata di tera pr formare danari sei l. — s. — d. 6
- E adi viij di Novembre deto pr un migliaio e mezo di biglieta soldi undici e danari oto disti chonperate a Londra e pr ie fare portare ausmestre soma in tuto l. — s. 11 d. 8
- E pr dua lebre (*sic*) e mezo diflo efero danari dieci l. — s. — d. 10
- E pr dua charate di priete (*sic*, pietre) damasonere pr fare el forno da chuociere le figure danari sei disti l. — s. — d. 6
- E pr dua martegli da lavorare soldi uno disti l. — s. 1 d. —
- E pr una charata di fagoti pr chuociere le figure soldi dua e danari quatro disti l. — s. 2 d. 4
- E pr una chorona che riveto Ruberto inglese del mese dotobre lire una disti l. 1 s. — d. —
- E pr bora pr mescolare chola tera pr formare danari oto disti l. — s. — d. 8
- E pr olio pr formare le figure danari quatro l. — s. — d. 4
- E pr dua cienti e venti libbre di fero pr fare larma dure pr le grande figure a soldi quatro e danari dieci el ciento e posto inchasa soma in tuto soldi dieci e danari oto desti l. — s. 10 d. 8
- E pr fare saldatura dargienti pr saldare la chorona imperiale danari oto disti l. — s. — d. 8
- E pr dua busegli di charboni di tera pr forgiare danari oto disti adi xx deto l. — s. — d. 8
- E pr una libra e mezo di ciera danari oto disti l. — s. — d. 8
- F pr fare tagliare tre gran lime danari oto disti l. — s. — d. 8
- E pr chiovi picholi danari dua l. — s. — d. 2
- E pr . . . rosa macinata pr lavare le forme danari dua disti l. — s. — d. 2
- E pr libbre trentot° di chandele pr lavorare soldi quatro e danari nove disti l. — s. 4 d. 9
- A Nicholaio Fiorentino abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre e una settimana del mese dotobre chegli a lavorato pr rivetare e riparare larme di bronzo lire dua e soldi quatro pr mese che soma in tuto lire dua e soldi quindici disti l. 2 s. 15 [d. —]
- A Tomaso Fiorentino abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato e una settimana del mese dotobre pr rivetare e riparare e chapitegli di bronzo lire dua e soldi quatro pr mese che soma in tuto lire dua e soldi qui[n]dici disti l. 2 s. [15 d. —]
- A Tomaso Choute, fondore, abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr su salario e sua inspese lire una e soldi oto disti l. 1 [s. 8 d. —].

- A Piero Baldi abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e sua inspese lire una e soldi dieci disti *l. 1 [s. 10 d. —]*
- A Rinieri, injungiere, abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr die venti tre chegli a lavorato (*sic*) lire una e soldi tre disti *l. 1 s. 3 d. —*
- Andrea Maison, injungiere, abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr die venti tre lire una e soldi tre disti *l. 1 s. 3 d. —*
- A Gian. Utrin, fondore, abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e sua inspese soldi quatordecidi disti *l. — s. 14 d. —*
- A Nicholaio Potiere abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e sua inspese soldi quindici e danari quatro disti *l. — s. 15 d. 4*
- A Ruberto inglese abiano pagato pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato pr suo salario e inspese lire una e soldi quatro disti *l. 1 s. 4 d. —*
- A Giacheto, figliuolo di Tomaso, fondore, abiano pagato pr suo salario e inspese pr el mese di Novembre chegli a lavorato soldi cinque disti *l. — s. 5 d. —*
l. 16 — 10 — 8.”

The gentleman employed by Messrs. Page and Hardy, Record Agents, to transcribe this document for me reports that it is in a very mutilated condition, and that the handwriting is difficult to decipher. He has, however, acquitted himself of his task with great skill, and I desire to express my special obligations to him. Mr. Brewer evidently regarded the document as illegible.

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. (Vol. v., No 1244).

(Printed from the original in the Record Office. There is an abstract in the Calendar.)

“Adi xxij d’Agosto, 1532.

“Io Giovanni da Maiano e Benedeto da Rovezano, Fiorentini, abiano ricevuto ogi questo die xxij d’Agosto deto da maestro Chermuele lire dodici e soldi undici e danari oto di sterlingi e quali danari sono pr opera e lavoro espese fate pr noi sopradeti inschultori pr la tonba de la Maesta del re del mese di Lulglio prosimo pasato.

“E pine, io Giovanni e Benedeto, inschultori Fiorentini, abiano ricevuto ogi questo die xxviii di Setembre da Maestro Chermuele lire dodici e soldi sete danari dieci disti e quali danari sono pr opera e lavoro fato pr noi sopradeti inschultori pr la tonba de la Maesta del re del mese d’Agosto prosimo pasato.

“E pine, io Giovanni e Benedeto, inschultori Fiorentini, abiano ricevuto ogi questo die viij d’Otobre da maestro Chermuele lire dieci e soldi—e danari—disti e quali danari sono pr opera e lavoro fato pr noi sopradeti inschultori pr la tonba de la Maesta del re del mese di Setembre prosimo pasato.”

Endorsed :—“Benedik.”

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII (Calendar, Vol. vi., Nos. 228 and 717).

1533

No. 228. . . Cromwell's accounts [for the period from 22nd November, 1532 to 11th March, 1533].

"Workmanship of the King's tomb.

. "To Benedict, the King's tombmaker, £38 9s. 9d."

No. 717. Cromwell's accounts (for the period from Michaelmas of 24 Henry VIII to 28th June of 25 Henry VIII).

"To Benedict, the King's tomb-maker, £21 9s. 10d.

To Jasper Melyn, merchant of the Steelyard, £21 10s. 10½d. for 23 cwt. 3 qr. 21 lb. of copper to be employed on the tomb."

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol vii., No. 1212.

(Printed from the original in the Record Office.)

Date 1534 (according to abstract given in Calendar.)

"Coste made in the month of September for the worke of the King's Highnes, by Benedict and John, gravers.

" Itm̄. for xvij sacke of coles for to make the mowles of Saint James, vj s.

Itm̄ for j lode of faggote for to bake the ymage of Saint James, ij s ij d̄.

Itm̄ for ij lb. of wax for to make the piller, xj d̄.

Itm̄ for a busshell and d̄ of yerth coles vj d̄.

Itm̄ to Benedict, graver, for his coste the said month ij li. 10 s.

Itm̄ payd to John, graver, for his expenses the said monith xvj s v d̄.

Payd to Thomas, Florentin, for his working of the said monith xx dayes, j li ix s̄.

Itm̄ payd to Nicholas, Florentin, for xx dayes work of the said monith, j li. ix s̄. iiij d̄.

Itm̄ payd to Thomas Conte, founder, for his working the said monith, j li. viij s̄.

Itm̄ payd to Cornellys, founder, for his working the said monith, j li. viij s̄.

Itm̄ payd to John, founder, for his working of the said monith, xv s̄.

Itm̄ payd to Jaquet for his working of the said monith xij s̄.

Som̄ to^l x li xvij s. xj d̄."

Endorsed: "For the monyth of September
Richard Andrews."

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII (Calendar Vol. ix., pp. 72 & 73).
1535.

No. 442. ? "Dockets of Warrants to be signed by the King.

To Benedict and John, gravers working on the King's tomb for three months, £25 5s. 7d."

Titus B. 1. 442. Brit. Mus.

Letters and Papers, Henry VIII (Calendar, Vol xi.,
Nos. 381 and 516.)

1536.

No. 381. "Gostwick's Disbursements [He was Treasurer of Tenths and First Fruits].

Benedict and John, Florentynes, gravers, for April, £9 8s. 8d.

No. 516. "Docket of a Warrant to be signed by the King.

To Benedict and John, gravers, working upon the King's tomb, at Westminster, in May, June, July, and August, £38 3s. 1d.; 2,040 lb. of copper for that tomb, £22 18s. 4d."

Endorsed: "Mr. Gortwick's Warrant and docket."

APPENDIX VII.

Reports to the Lord Treasurer (Lord Burghley) on the work necessary for the completion of Henry VIII's tomb, and on the Royal tombs in Henry VII's chapel.

B.M. Lansdowne M.S. 116-13.

"Maye it please yor honor to understand that we have bine at Wyndsor at the tome and have taken a note of the special thinge there wantinge and a note of the waighte of old metle with a note also of sertayne stones beinge no parte of the said tome.

[Imprimis] there doth wante 3 figures of brase cont □ height 4 foote and a halfe.

[Item] ther is wantinge 2 great capitales that □ the images afore-said to stan on.

[Item] there doth lacke 8 frezes betwene capitall □ capitall of the lower storye the wch is about [t] he midle of the pillar cont in lenght 2 foote in. height 7 ynches di.

Item there wanteth 2 pannyles betwene pyller and pyller at the endes cont in bredth 3 foote in height 2 foote 2 ynches.

Item, there is wantinge 2 bases betwene piller and piller cont in lenth 2 foot di. wth there 2 frezes cont in lenth 2 foote 9 ynches.

Item there wanteth 25 smale Images to stan in the petistales the images cont in height 25 ynches

Item ther doth lacke 4 doares brekinge in the middest cont in height 5 foote in bredth 3 foote di.

More there doth lacke an number of smale thinge as leaves smale dragons and Lyons with other smale beaste with dyvers and sundry thinges else the wch is over much to truble yor Loordshippe wth all.

The figure that was wayed comyth to viij c | e reddye wroughte

The re is of old metle and new XXⁱⁱ c waighte

Of Stones there being no pcell of ye tome

Impri^mis one tuch stone of 20 foot longe and 5 foote broode

one tuch stone of 8 foote longe 3 foot 7 ynches in bredth and 9 ynches thicke.

Item one stone of 6 foote longe di. 3 foote brode and one foote thicke broken in the middeste

Item one stone 9 foote long 2 foote 8 ynches broode and 7 ynches thicke.

Item another 5 foote long 2 foot 3 inches brood and 6 ynches thicke

Item another stone beinge 8 foote di longe, 3 foote brode and 9 ynches thicke

Item a table of white marbell being 5 foot longe 2 foote brode and 2 ynches di thicke

Item a peice of white marbell beinge 2 foote di longe a foot brode and of the same thicknes.

Of Kinge Henry the 7 chappell in Westmr.

The tome where Kinge H. the 7 lyeth and his wyfe in Westmr Abbey the p'sonages, [personages] be of metle and gylte. 4 Angelles metle and gylte, the Lyons at there feete, the vaynes, the boyes supportinge of armes metle and gylte. The lenth of said tome is 9 foot di, the bredth 5 foote.

At the hedd of the said tome standeth an aulter uppon 4 pyllasters of white marbell and balesters of metle and gilte. The backe of the said aulter both the sydes stories metle and gylte, two pillasters metle and gylte wth either end of the said backe, 4 pillers bearinge the rooff wth petistales, vazes of metle gilte and white marbell, the rofe also white marbell and gilte the armes about the said aulter white marbell and gilte and the rest of the garnishment about the rooffe is metle and gilte.

A tome in the side yle wher Kinge H the 7 mother doth lye, the tome of blacke tuch the armes of metle and gilte the supscription about metle & gilte, the psonadge and howsinge metle & gilte, the

lenght of the said tome is 7 foot di and the bredthe 5 foote di. A closier of yron about her with vaynes and armes.

On the other side lieth Q. Marye wth playne paving over her.

Maye it please yor honor to understand that I have made a gesse what howses and officies will belonge unto the said worrke.

Ffirst a masons lodge to receive so manye masons as shal be thought good to do the said worrke.

(A) howse for carvers in freestone

(A) howse for carvers that worcketh in boste (?) for the moulder.

(A) howse for the moulder and a rome joyninge. The same for them yt beate and temp ye claye.

(A) howse for the founders with 2 furnisses

A howse for the carvers and reparers of the same metle worke

A smythes howse with 2 fordges to sarve the masons, founders, and carvers wch muste have there tooles found them.

A howse for gilders with 2 furnisses.

A howse for carvers that worke in white marbell and tuche

A woodyarde

A cole howse

A store howse for provition

A comon howse for masons, carvers and all other artificers to vittayle and lye in

A comon stoole howse.

[On the back of this, the fourth and last, leaf of the document is the docket “. . . embranses for the Righte . . . rable the Lorde Trer^r . . . ouchinge Kinge Henry . . . gte Tome at Wyndsor.”]

APPENDIX VIII.

Extracts from the Journals of both Houses of Parliament in 1645 and 1646 relative to the sale of the metal work of Henry VIII's tomb.

Journals of the House of Commons

Die Veneris 19^o Septembris 1645

Mr. Rous, Mr. Winwood, Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Holland, Sir Thos. Widdrington, *Mr. Recorder*, Mr. Oldesworth, or any three of them are to consider of a statue of Brass at Windsore; and in what condition it is; and to report ther opinions concerning it to the House.

Die Veneris Novembris 21^o 1645

Resolved, &c., That the Brass Statue at *Windsour Castle*, and the Images there defaced, and the other broken Pieces of Brass, be forthwith sold to the best advantage of the State: and that the Committee formerly appointed do take care of the sale thereof

Die Lunæ 9^o Martii 1645

Ordered, That the proceed of the sale of the Brass Statua at Windsor, not exceeding the sum of four hundred pounds, shall be employed, upon accompt, for the pay of the Garrison of Windsor.

Die Martis 7 Aprilis 1646

The Petition of the officers and soldiers of the Castle of Windsor was read.

Ordered, That the Brass *Statua* at *Windsor Castle*, and the Images there, defaced, and the other broken Pieces of Brass, be forthwith sold to the best advantage of the State: and that Mr. Rous, Mr. Winwood, Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Holland, Sir Thos. Widdrington, Mr. Recorder, Sir John Trevor, and Mr. Ouldesworth, or any four of them, are to take care of the sale thereof; and likewise to take order, That the Proceed upon the Sale of the said *Statua*, not exceeding Four hundred Pounds, be paid, upon account (sic), to Colonel Whitecote, Governor of *Windsor Castle*; to be by him employed for the Pay of that Garrison.

The Lords' Concurrence to be desired herein, Mr. Holland is appointed to carry it to the Lords.

Die Veneris 10° Aprilis 1646

Answer returned by the same messenger [to the Lords]

The House hath considered your message: and as to the Order giving power to transport the *Statua* at *Windsor*, they do agree

Die Veneris 31° Julii 1646

Resolved, &c., That the remainder of the Proceed of the Brass Statua at Windsor, not disposed of, be paid upon account, unto Colonel Whitecote, for Relief of the soldiers of that Garrison.

JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Die Jovis 9° die Aprilis

A message was brought from the House of Commons by Mr. Cornelius Holland;

To desire concurrence in several Orders and Ordinances:

1. An Order for selling the Brass Statues at *Windsor* for Payment of the soldiers at *Windsor* (Here enter it)

Agreed to, with an addition ["That they that buy them shall have Liberty to transport them beyond the Seas"].

A message was sent to the House of Commons by Sir Edw. Leech and Mr. Page:

2. To desire concurrence in the order to give Liberty to those that shall buy the statues of Brass at *Windsor*, to transport them beyond the Seas.

Die Veneris 10° die Aprilis

Sir Edward Leech and Mr. Page return with this answer from the House of Commons:

That they agree to the Ordinance to enable such as shall buy the broken Brass Tomb at *Windsor*, for the paying that Garrison, to transport it beyond seas.

(Same day)

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament:

That such Person or Persons as shall buy the Brass Statues at Windsor Castle, and the Images there defaced, and the other broken pieces of Brass, shall have Liberty to transport them beyond the Seas, for making their best advantage of them.

APPENDIX IX.

Extracts from the Chapter Records of St. George's, Windsor, respecting the Tomb House of Henry VIII. (now known as the Prince Consort Memorial Chapel).

1613. May.—At the same Chapter it was also agreed that answer should be given to Sir John Trevor Officer of H. M. Works in the Castle that the Dean and Canons had nothing to do with *Henry the 7th his Chappell* for that my *Lord Treasurer* had appointed from time to time an officer for the keeping of the same.

1619. May 18. *A Warrant for Keeping ye toomb.*

Whereas ye keeping of ye Keyes of ye toombhouse by his M^{ties} free Chappell of St. George in Windsor Castle *where ye toomb of King Henry ye 8th doth lye* hath usually been heretofore in ye hands or Keeping of yo Verger of ye same free Chappell. These are therefore to require you ye Dean and Canons of ye same free Chappell to command those who have ye keeping of ye same keyes of ye toombhouse aforesaid to deliver to this bearer John Darknall now verger there ye said Keyes y^t hee may have ye keeping and custody theroreof and these shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe Given at the Court at Greenwich this 18th day of May 1619.

PEMBROKE.

1626. Whereas I have thought good to continue and confirm unto John Darknell now Verger of His M^{ties} free Chappell of St. George in Windsor Castle ye custody of ye Keyes of *ye toombhouse of King Henry ye 8th*, adjoining to ye said Chappell together with ye keeping of ye said toombhouse. These are to pray and require you ye said Dean and Canons of ye said Chappell and all such other whom it may concern y^t ye permit and suffer ye said John Darknall freely and quietly to keep and enjoy ye said Keyes together with ye custody of ye said toombhouse in as free and beneficial manner as he or any other his predecessors have ever heretofore enjoyed ye same and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Whitehall, ye 21st March 1626.

[1704] Whereas I have thought good to continue and confirm unto Benjamin Lamb now Verger of Her Majesties free Chapel of St. George in Windsor Castle the custody of the Keyes of the Toomb House of *King Henry the 8th* adjoining the said Chapel together with the Keeping of the said Toomb House. These are to pray and require you the said Dean and Canons of the said Chapel and all such other whom it may concern that you permit and suffer the said Benjamin Lamb freely and quietly to keep and enjoy the said

Keyes together with the custody of the said Toomb House in as free and beneficial manner as he or any other his predecessors have ever heretofore enjoyed the same and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal the 7th day of March, in the 3rd year of Her Majesty's Reign.

KENT.

To the Rev. Dr. Hascard,
Dean of Windsor.
Benjamin Lamb's warrant for
the custody of King Henry the
8th Toomb House.

ON THE WORK OF FLORENTINE SCULPTORS IN
ENGLAND IN THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY.

BY ALFRED HIGGINS, F.S.A.

(See pp. 129 to 220 of this volume.)

Supplementary note on the Tomb of Henry VIII.

In the conjectural restoration of the tomb of Henry VIII, which I published in Plate VIII, opposite page 190 of the present volume, I treated the four great bronze candelabra, now standing in front of the high altar of the church of St. Bavon at Ghent, as having once formed part of the monument of the Tudor King. In so doing I was guided by evidence of style as to date and authorship, and also by the obvious fitness with which these candelabra, bearing the arms of Henry VII or Henry VIII, would accommodate themselves to the general design of the monument, so far as it is known to us from contemporary records. I relied, further, upon the fact that "candlesticks," in a different form, were included in an earlier scheme for the same monument, which has been preserved to us in the Pritchard MS. printed at p. 206 of this volume. Up to the date of the publication of my paper I had not been able to find any evidence of an eyewitness as to the original purpose which the Ghent candelabra had served. I could not, in fact, trace any description or representation of Henry VIII's unfinished tomb, as it must have stood in the chapel at Windsor from the year 1536 (when the last recorded payments were made to "Benedict and John, Florentynes, gravers") up to the end of 1643 or the early part of 1644, when it was defaced, as a "scandalous monument," by order of the House of Commons. The report to the Lord Treasurer (printed at pp. 215 and 216 of this volume), only gives a list of what was required for the completion of Benedetto da Rovezzano's work and does not mention the candelabra.

I am now indebted to Mr. Richard Cope, Clerk to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, for a reference to a rare book, *Henzneri Itinerarium*, published at Breslau in 1617, which settles the question of the candelabra beyond reasonable doubt, and gives, at the same time, a brief description of Henry's tomb, confirming, as far as it goes, the accuracy of my conjectural restoration. The book referred to is the itinerary of the travelling tutor to a German nobleman, who, in the course of his "grand tour," visited England in 1598. One passage from it has become famous for the extremely vivid description it gives of Queen Elizabeth, and of the elaborate ceremonies attending the laying out of her dinner table at Greenwich. Horace Walpole printed at Strawberry Hill in 1757, under the title *A Journey into England, by Paul Hentzner in the year 1598*, an edition of that part of the *Itinerarium* which relates to our own country. The paragraph with which I am now concerned, will be found at p. 73 of Walpole's edition, or p. 148 of the original work. It is in the following words:—

"In Choro posteriore vel appendice hujus Sacelli [St. George's Chapel] monstrabantur nobis præparamenta quædam ad *sepulchrum* magnificentissimum Cardinalis Wolsæi postea capite plexi;* sunt in ambitu VIII magnæ columnæ ex orichalco; proprius ad tumulum IV in formam candelabrorum factæ; tumulus ipse ex marmore candido et nigro, &c., quæ omnia, uti fama est, in sepulturam reginæ Elizabethæ asservantur, sumtus in hac rem jam facti æstimantur *ultra 60,000 auri libras.*"

Horace Walpole's fairly literal translation runs thus:—

"In the back choir, or additional chapel, are shown [*more accurately*, we were shown] preparations made by Cardinal Wolsey, who was afterwards capitally punished,* for his own tomb; consisting of eight large brazen columns placed round it, and nearer the tomb four others in the shape of candlesticks, the tomb itself is of white and black marble; all of which are reserved, according to report, for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, the expenses already

¹ "This was a strange blunder to be made so near the time, about so remarkable a person, unless he concluded that

whoever displeased Henry VIII was of course put to death."

made for that purpose are estimated at upwards of £60,000."

As it was possible for Hentzner not to discover that the tomb, as he saw it, was the monument of a king instead of that of a cardinal, we must infer that he did not inspect it very closely; but his general impression may no doubt be trusted. His phrase "*sunt in ambitu VIII magnæ columnæ*" when read with his description of the candlesticks, as columns made in the form of candelabra, indicates that the candlesticks were pretty much of a size with the columns, and that in fact a sort of high screen, consisting of columns and column-like candelabra, surrounded the tomb. At the same time he notices specially that the candelabra were closer to the tomb than the columns. It will be seen, from the construction worked out in Plate VIII, that this position of the candelabra entirely agrees with my conjectural restoration; and in the monument itself the projection of the columns beyond the line of the candelabra would be more evident to the eye than it is in the diagram.

There is an apparent difference between Hentzner's account and my own plan, because he gives the number of columns as eight, whereas I have assumed that there were ten; but this discrepancy may be explained by the fact, which we gather from the report to the Lord Treasurer, that two of the columns were unfinished, *i. e.*, that they lacked both capitals and the statues which were to surmount them. It is quite possible that they were not actually placed, and that they would not be reckoned by Hentzner. As regards the candelabra there can be little doubt that only four of them were completed.

The design for the monument as indicated in the Pritchard MS. certainly gives only eight columns; and I should have unhesitatingly adopted that scheme in my conjectural restoration, if I had not seen that this number of columns necessarily implies a square podium, and that the available space within the outline marked in Lyson's plan (see p. 176 of this volume) does not allow width for a podium of that form, proportionate in size to the actual sarcophagus and base which are extant in the crypt of St. Paul's. I have shown that the width of the bronze panels or "frezes" at the base "between pillar and pillar," at

the end of the monument, indicates a podium only about 10 feet 6 inches in width, and that this dimension is far too narrow for a podium square on plan. Upon the whole, therefore, I think it reasonable to abide by the restoration I have already given; but at the same time I admit that a scheme of eight columns would give an equally good, and perhaps better, design, if the space available admitted of a square podium of the size indicated by the proportions of the rest of the monument.

I shall be glad if the publication of this note should lead to the discovery of further materials, enabling us to build up more surely, in our imagination, the sumptuous Italian monument at Windsor, which would have been one of the more striking memorials of a momentous period of English history, if, by good fortune, it had survived to our own days.

FRRATA.

VIII for VII, p. 148, line 11 from bottom.

VII for VIII. p. 191, line 4 from top.

Statua for "statua," p. 218, lines 8, 14, 23 from top.