

# ◆ The Amberley Castle panels and a drawing by William Henry Brooke

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*In 1989 a drawing of 1820 by William Henry Brooke (1772–1860) was included in an exhibition at Michelham Priory. It was soon realized that it provided valuable historical evidence of the original form of Lambert Barnard's Amberley Castle 'Worthies', painted for Robert Sherburne, Bishop of Chichester in the early sixteenth century. Beginning with a documentary history of the panels and their origins, the article continues with a discussion of their subject, of Brooke's drawing and of the importance of their combined survival.*

When Bishop Robert Sherburne first acquired Amberley Castle on his translation to the See of Chichester in 1508, he applied himself with his customary zeal to the task of renovating and modernizing his residences. As well as other renovations and new building at the castle, he made himself an apartment by dividing the Small Hall, once a chapel, into two stories. The upper part became known as the Queen's Room.<sup>1</sup>

For this new apartment Sherburne subsequently commissioned a richly coloured cycle of the *Heroes and Heroines of Antiquity*, or *Nine Worthy Men* and *Nine Worthy Women*. Traditionally ascribed to his court painter, Lambert Barnard,<sup>2</sup> these allegorical images, measuring approximately 115 × 84 cm, were painted in oil and tempera on oak panels incorporated into a panelled wall. There is no contemporary documentary evidence connected with these paintings, but a letter from William Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey of 3 August 1526, included below, might indicate they had been completed by that time.<sup>3</sup>

That summer, Henry VIII left London and progressed through Sussex to Hampshire and Bedfordshire. Local nobility met him at Petworth and escorted him to Arundel Castle.<sup>4</sup> There he was entertained by William Fitzalan, 11th Earl of Arundel, and, as may be expected of that energetic monarch, he spent a good part of his time hunting, dining, and making merry. He also shared the munificence of Sherburne's table as whilst at Arundel he visited one of the Bishop's residences. Fitzwilliam describes the royal progress and continues:

And also as yesterday his highness dined with the bishop of Chichester at his house where

his grace had right great and honourable cheer, undoubtedly not a little to his and other men of the church's honour in that behalf, but also to see in what proper and commodious manner the said house is furnished and trimmed. For in mine opinion within an hundred miles of the same cannot be found a properer, a better cast house more neatly kept with fairer and pleasanter walks than is about the same (the king's houses and yours only reserved). And I assure your grace I wished that ye had seen the said howse, for sundry and diverse devices be therein right commodious and proper which I have not seen in none other place.<sup>5</sup>

Here the relevant extract of this often-mentioned document is given in full, as it merits careful examination. The text refers to one of Sherburne's residences but whether Amberley, Aldingbourne, Cakeham or the Bishop's Palace in Chichester is not clear. Geographically, Aldingbourne and Amberley lie closest to Arundel. The former, where the bishop spent his summer months informally and with a reduced staff, may have been too small to entertain Henry and his entourage.<sup>6</sup> Amberley Castle was used as hunting lodge by the bishops of Chichester and the land about it was suitable for Henry's favourite sport.<sup>7</sup> Of the two, Amberley seems to fit Sherburne's needs the better. Fitzwilliam's laudatory account, written with a tellingly precise vocabulary, paints a clear picture of the high standard of living expected and enjoyed by Bishop Sherburne.

At the time, novelty was a highly regarded part of the Tudor aesthetic yardstick when combined with splendour and costliness. That Fitzwilliam draws specific attention to unnamed 'curiosities'

is an indication of just how unusual and striking Sherburne's home must have appeared. The real value of this extract therefore lies, not just in its report of a royal visit, but also in the subtle picture it supplies of the bishop's magnificence.

Fitzwilliam also specifically uses the word 'devises'. At the time, 'device' referred most often to the trappings of heraldry, specifically to armorials. It also often carried a meaning of contrivance or invention — something marvellous to be wondered at. If, as seems likely, the reference to 'sundry diverse devises' indeed refers to Amberley, then the letter may well be the earliest mention of Sherburne's grand decorative scheme.

Nothing more is written of the Amberley Panels until 1813 when Frederic Shoberl provided the first modern description of Barnard's work:

In one of the apartments called the Queen's Room, are the remains of the portraits of ten ancient monarchs and their queens, with their coats properly blazoned; and on the ceiling are the portraits of six warriors carved in wood.<sup>8</sup>

He illustrates the Queen's Room and shows the panels arranged along the top of the north wall, above other full-length figures, presumably those of the kings (Fig. 1). This information was repeated in a volume of *The New British Traveller* in 1819<sup>9</sup> and shortly afterwards, in 1820, W. H. Brooke<sup>10</sup> executed a watercolour drawing of four of the 'queens'. This drawing will be considered in more detail later.

These early descriptions indicate the painted scheme was originally a much larger composition, even then in extremely poor condition. The ten ancient monarchs had disappeared altogether by 1835 when Thomas Horsfield's description makes no mention of them and records only that:

In one of the apartments, still called the Queen's room, are some curious paintings, the side pannels exhibiting a series of female figures, with escutcheons of arms, but for whom designed is altogether unknown. The inscriptions under them have long become illegible, and, indeed, the paintings themselves, which are extremely interesting, as connected with the history of art, are now almost defaced, and fast mouldering into decay. On the ceiling are the portraits of six warriors carved in wood.<sup>11</sup>

By 1840 only three of the panels could be found, but five others, with fragments of a sixth, were

subsequently discovered in 1849 at West Dean House north of Chichester and returned to the castle by the Revd Leveson Vernon Harcourt.<sup>12</sup> In 1865, record was made of eight full panels with painted escutcheons and a ninth composed of fragmentary boards revealing a sleeve, cuff and lion. The Queen's Room had by then been subdivided along its eastern side in order to accommodate a bedroom. On the dividing wall, and presumably re-incorporated into it, were some fragments of painted panel reading SOLI HONOR DEO AE GL[OR]IA.<sup>13</sup> Also in existence was 'a panel found in the church probably transferred there from the castle having upon it a *fleur-de-lis*, and the heraldic lion, the back has the appearance of faint graining, with a maroon or dark bordering.'<sup>14</sup> A painted 'butler' is also mentioned, 'possibly Bacchus, carrying a foaming tankard of ale in hand' that supposedly was later used for an inn sign.<sup>15</sup> Whether this latter fragment formed part of the Barnard scheme remains open to conjecture.

These accumulated reports suggest a room lined overall with dark red panelling, the dado painted to represent grained wood; this was adorned with Sherburne's mottoes and heraldry and above this were ranged the kings. Over these the nine heroines were portrayed behind a *trompe l'oeil* parapet surmounted by painted round arches. Certainly one of these figures was separated from her neighbours by strips of panelling painted with a Renaissance grotesque design; the outer framework of those panels had striped barber-poles attached to the stiles. (Fig. 4g) Above the western door stood a painted full-length male figure, which by tradition would have been that of the reigning monarch, in this case Henry VIII, taking his position as the tenth worthy.<sup>16</sup> The overall effect, heightened by Barnard's use of gold and silver, must have been one of glowing colour and great richness.

Such was the interest generated by these paintings, that the Revd Leveson Harcourt entered three of the heroines for the Special Loan Exhibition mounted for the inauguration of the Chichester Museum Society in 1853 and at which the Archaeological Institute held their annual meeting.<sup>17</sup> Their state of preservation was noted as 'in many parts worm eaten' but otherwise in 'good and undisturbed condition' and 'free as yet from the restorer and varnisher'. The Institute's members advised that 'great care should be taken

in their future preservation to guard against any chance of any alteration of their present genuine, untampered-with condition'.<sup>18</sup>

George Scharf then organized their second outing to the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland at Somerset House on 8 December 1864 and from there to the Society of Antiquaries. He pointed out that they were originally soundly painted but were now suffering neglect and exposure to continued damp.<sup>19</sup> This fact had been recorded previously in the Minutes of the Executive Committee of the British Archaeological Association on November 17 of that same year, where their fragility is noted and a recommendation made that they be covered in a layer of size before undertaking the journey to London.<sup>20</sup> Whilst away from Amberley, five photographs of the panels, subsequently sent to the British Museum, were taken by a Mr Fox of Brighton.<sup>21</sup>

Scharf also discloses that the Council of the Society of Antiquaries had taken the advice of the restorer Henry Merritt.<sup>22</sup> He recommended that:

the panels which are parted at the joints, be merely braced together by plain frames of oak, without any attempt being made to glue the joints. Portions of the wood, which are most worm eaten, might be hardened by being sized with glue. I would also recommend that the surfaces of the pictures be covered with clear parchment size, this would harden the colours and particularly harden the ground, which is now no little better than a powder. With respect to other portions of the panels which are entirely denuded of colour, I would, if desired to do so, restore them without covering any portion of the original remains.<sup>23</sup>

Merritt himself believed the black-letter verses could be made legible. The Society of Antiquaries contributed £5, the cost of necessary repairs, which were then carried out; it was reported that:

the crumbling panels have been incorporated with size, the disunited portions joined, and the paint by which the inscriptions had been covered over apparently in modern times, was removed.<sup>24</sup>

Although the castle was inhabited between 1841 and 1891, it remained in a damp and parlous condition, and by 1883 the panels had been removed to nearby Parham House.<sup>25</sup> Robert

Curzon, Lord Zouche, the owner of Parham and an avid collector purchased a twenty-year lease of Amberley Castle in 1871. At his death two years later, Parham passed to his son. In 1893, the freehold of the castle was purchased by the 15th Duke of Norfolk who, in 1908, set about making it habitable.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps it was at this period the panels were re-instated in the Queen's Room, although this time only one was hung on the north and the rest removed to the south wall.<sup>27</sup> This re-hang may also account for the arrangement of peg-holes in the wooden framework discovered during the conservation.<sup>28</sup>

The castle changed hands again in 1925 when it was purchased by Thomas Addis Emmet. By the end of the decade, together with his architect Guy Elwes, Emmet had undertaken major alterations, re-instating the Queen's Room to its original dimensions and uncovering a fireplace from Sherburne's time. During this period, the panels were taken down from the wall and in 1945 some went to the Courtauld Institute for analysis with a view to replacing them in the castle.<sup>29</sup> This project never materialized and when the Emmet family sold their property the panels were offered for sale through Sotheby's auction house in London on Monday 11 July 1983.<sup>30</sup> Happily, a grant was obtained from the National Heritage Memorial Fund to allow Chichester District Council to acquire them and place them in the custody of the Chichester District Museum; the panels are now on loan to Pallant House Gallery. Before going on display, in 1987 the paint surface was conserved and stabilized by Pauline Plummer and conservation work to the wooden framework carried out by J. C. Dawes.

The remaining panels depict eight female figures in three-quarter length. Slightly less than life-sized, perhaps to emphasize foreshortening of the images when seen from the ground and to give a greater sense of perspective, they are positioned behind a parapet. In the case of one figure, her shield hangs forward of the architecture depicted, again to accentuate a sense of pictorial depth. The flat space on the front of the parapet, painted white, bears descriptive black-letter verses. The heroines are wearing long heavy gold chains, of a fashion specific to the early 1500s, over finely-pleated white lawn chemises, and gowns of either red velvet or black and gold woven damask. Two are crowned, four wear fanciful golden headdresses,

one is helmeted in armour and one wears a Tudor 'kennel' headdress. Each heroine displays a shield bearing different apocryphal escutcheons, five carry weapons, and one an orb and sceptre and all wear pieces of 'antick' silvered mail and plate armour. Barnard applied the paint economically, in thin layers with a sure hand, and thicker layers where the surface is overlaid with coloured gold and silver; the silvering has now blackened. On five of them, damage to the paint surface has resulted in loss of detail; three are in better condition. The style, particularly in its use of fanciful headdresses and pageant costume, is a typically English sixteenth-century amalgam that owes much to the influence of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century northern European art.

Opinion as to their subject has differed widely. Whilst long referred to as 'Queens' it was at first believed they represented either sibyls, or towns, cities or Flemish provinces, the latter identifiable by the heraldic arms painted on their shields. Then in 1864, J. R. Planché discounted these proposals and, after comparing the designs to those in later emblem books, pronounced them to be depictions of the *Nine Worthy Women*.<sup>31</sup>

His conclusion immediately gave shape and meaning to the cycle. At first composed only of men, the Nine Worthies first appeared as a subject in French and Burgundian tournaments and pageants of the early fourteenth century and in Jacques de Longuyon's poem, *Les Voeux du Paon* (c. 1310). De Longuyon's list provides the template followed by almost all later versions of male Worthies. In the poem, the allegorical heroes appear in three groups of three, composed of Christians (Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon), biblical figures (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabaeus), and pagans (Hector, Alexander, and Julius Caesar). This triadic arrangement became fashionable and widespread in European poetry. The theme proved an attractive choice within the visual arts too, being particularly common in tapestry design and figuring in woodcuts, engravings, manuscript illumination, sculpture, and sometimes even on playing cards.<sup>32</sup> These ubiquitous heroes, as exemplars of great moral and military strength, were well suited to courtly and civic pageant and tournament. There they enjoyed great recognition and exposure, especially in the case of pageants, where their familiarity amongst the wider populace was engendered through the spoken word and

moving spectacle. This all-pervasiveness was largely a result of the popularity of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Christine de Pisan, whose writings enjoyed a wide distribution throughout Europe both in their original languages and in translation.

The choice of heroines, unlike that of their male counterparts, was less restricted by formula and so was easily adapted to the demands of changing ideologies. Their first literary appearance within the canon of Worthies was between 1389 and 1396, in Eustace Deschamps' *Il est temps de faire la paix*, a literary call for peace between England and France. Poets and artists quickly accepted this new development. Of the Amberley group, Semiramis, Sinope, Thomyris, Hippolyta and Menalippe all appear in Deschamps's poem and again, with fuller descriptions, in his undated *Si les héros revenaient sur la terre, ils seraient étonnés*.

The imagery of Worthies had already been adopted by painters working on large-scale projects for which, as allegorical figures, they were eminently suited. In England nothing of this type dating from before the 1520s has yet been discovered. Where did Sherburne find his pictorial inspiration, if not on his frequent travels to the continent? Not ordained priest until 1501, his life was spent in public service, notably as Henry VII's ambassador to the papal court (1496–1499 and 1502–1504) and Warden of St Thomas' Hospital in Rome (1496–1499).<sup>33</sup> The distances he had to travel were great, the journeys on horseback long and arduous, but from the moment he landed in the Low Countries to his arrival in Rome he would have been exposed to a constant stream of sophisticated visual stimuli. His route to the Vatican probably took him across Flanders to the Rhine and then southwards to the Alps. His journey would have taken him through Augsburg, a hub for printmakers and Nuremberg, a major artistic centre.<sup>34</sup> In the centre of the city the Schöner Brunnen fountain (c. 1385) carries many painted sculptures amongst which is a group of nine worthies.<sup>35</sup> Once across the Alps and into Milanese territory, depending on local skirmishes he would have had choice of routes to follow to Rome.<sup>36</sup> Little needs to be said regarding the artistic delights on show in the churches and homes he would have, of necessity, visited.<sup>37</sup>

Cycles illustrating *Uomini Famosi*, or noteworthy figures of the past, had existed in Italy for some time. As early as 1330 Giotto painted a series of men and women for King Robert of Anjou in

Naples. This is now lost, but the painted hall of the Castello della Manta, Piedmont, executed c. 1426 by Giacomo Jaquerio, still contains a complete series of Worthies of both sexes. Those painted by Florentine Andrea del Castagno c. 1449 for the Villa Carducci-Pandolfini, Legnaio and Uccello's *Founders of Florentine Art* (c. 1425–1460) provide evidence that, in Italy at least, the accepted canon of *Uomini Famosi* was wider and often included contemporary figures whose fame was based as much on human achievements as on Christian ideology and abstract concepts.<sup>38</sup>

A cursory glance at the early Worthies and their associated texts reveals a unifying theme of conquest, empire, militarism and good government, aligned with virginity, chastity and purity — in 1526 topical elements, given Henry VIII's imperial ambitions, stormy relations with France and his passion for the trappings and pageant of chivalry. The subject is clearly linked to the universal theme of the rise and fall of man. It emphasizes the virtues and failings of the great and good, culminating in their subsequent redemption through the practice of Christian virtues, whilst all the while underlining the transience of human achievement. It is no surprise, therefore, that Sherburne was drawn to such a popular theme when he came to commission the paintings for Amberley. Equally suitable for domestic or public areas, the subject, at least in the visual arts, must have owed some of its fascination to its ability to offer simultaneously a means of serious reflection on mankind's spiritual salvation coupled with an opportunity for display and magnificence.

The panels, like Deschamp's poem, combine Amazons (Hippolyta, Lampedo, and Menalippe), with middle-eastern queens, (Semiramis, Thomyris<sup>39</sup> and Sinope) who are uniquely augmented in the Amberley sequence by the inclusion of the Trojan prophetess Cassandra. The eighth remaining figure has lost her black-letter legend and is therefore anonymous; her escutcheon, in common with those of her companions, provides insufficient evidence on which to base identification; the ninth is no longer extant.<sup>40</sup> All the heroines are set within an arcade of round-topped arches, behind a painted parapet that bears only slight resemblance to an architectural framework. Sherburne's ghostly initials 'RS' can be made out in the spandrels of all but the image of Semiramis.

Of the eight, the panels depicting Cassandra and Thomyris are in the best state of preservation. Together with Sinope they retain the greatest pictorial detail and communicate some idea of Barnard's handling of facial feature. In common with all the panels, the heroines are blushing, sweetly smiling, modest creatures, quite at odds with their often ferocious histories (Fig. 4). Lambert Barnard moulded their features with a delicate brush in strong contrast to the much cruder, flatter handling of armour and shields. Barnard was capable of working with much greater delicacy and sophistication, as is shown by his work on the large double panel depicting the *Foundation of the See of Chichester* in the cathedral.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the contrast between the harsh metallic and delicate flesh was deliberately achieved to enhance the essential femininity of these female warriors.

Cassandra (Fig. 4a) is viewed in three-quarter length with body and face in right profile. Her stance and helmet plumed with a white ostrich feather are comparable to those of a full-length statue of a male warrior affixed high on a parapet in the background of the second panel of Barnard's *Foundation of the See of Chichester* showing Henry VIII confirming the *Foundation of Chichester Cathedral to Bishop Sherburne* and may have derived from a common pattern-book figure. The prophetess wears armour chased with a heavy gold acanthus motif with pearls outlining a square-cut neckline. Heavy gold chains hang around her neck, she carries a lance in her right hand and bears a shield on which, according to Planché, are the arms '*gules*, three female heads proper within a *bordure or semeé* of human hearts'. These arms are closest in type to those ascribed to the Amazon queen, Lampedo; the human heads being peculiar to heraldry associated with these warrior women.<sup>42</sup>

Standing outside the canon of nine worthies, Cassandra, though pagan, had long been seen as an exemplar of Christian virtue. In the literature of Sherburne's time she was described as 'Good Cassander; Steadfast of thought, Well made, well wrought',<sup>43</sup> — a succinct description of her qualities. Christine de Pisan had included Cassandra in her *Epistre d'Othea* of c. 1400 translated into English 40 years later by Stephen Scrope. His arrangement of text, gloss and allegory explains clearly Cassandra's allegorical interpretation.



Texte

Haunte thou the temple and wurschip in tyme  
 The goddes of heuene, and at all tyme  
 After Cassandra kepe thou the gise,  
 If that thou wylte be holden [for] wise.

Glose

Cassandra was kynge Priantes doughter, and sche was a ful good ladi and a deuoute in theire lawe. Sche serued the goddis and haunted the temple, and sche spake but litell withouten cause; and whanne sche muste speke, sche spake nothinge but that was trewe, ne sche was neuere founde with lesynge; sche was ful connyng. Therefore it is seide to the good knyghte that he schulde be like here, for lewde customes and lesinges be gretli to blame in a knyghte, for he schulde serue God and wurschip the temple, that is to seye, the chirche and the mynystres therof. And Pictagoras seith: It is righte a loueable thing to serue God and to halowe his seintes.

Allegorie

The auctorite seith that the good knyghte schulde haunte the temple. In liche wise the good spirite schulde doo, and he schulde haue singulere deuocion in the feithful holi chirche and in the comunyon of seintes. As the articule seith that Sent Symond made, the which seith: Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem.<sup>44</sup>

Interpreted through Christian ideology, her pagan faith translated thus into a belief in the Holy Church; in her historic role as a sybilline virgin, she also came to represent all that was free of the taint of worldliness. In forming his treatise on the education of women in 1523, written when in Louvain and dedicated to Catherine of Aragon as a text to use in the education of Princess Mary, the Princess's Spanish tutor, Juan Luis Vives, was pleased to assign Cassandra's prophetic gifts to her virgin state:

And truely if we wold call tholde worlde to remembraunce, and reherce theyr tyme, we shall fynde no lerned woman that ever was yll: where I coude brynge forth an hundred good, ...

And saynt Hieronyme sayth, that the .x. Sibilles were virgins. Also Cassandra, and prophetis of Apollo, and Juno at Cryssa, were virgins, and that was a common thyng, as we rede, that those women that were prophetes were virgins eke.<sup>45</sup>

Interest in Cassandra persisted throughout the sixteenth century where an emphasis on her constancy and devotion to the church, her purity, virginity

and wisdom, distinguished her from her fellows.

Sinope (Fig. 4b), Amazon queen, turns her face to the viewer with a gentle expression. Nevertheless she holds aloft a two-edged sword in her right hand, a jousting favour flutters in her hair, and the armour worn over her tight-fitting deep crimson velvet gown is silvered and decorated. She wears a gold headdress of fanciful design incorporating rubies; hawks' bells dangle over the ear-pieces and from her puffed sleeves. A row of large pearls edges her neckline and a jewelled girdle encircles her waist. Her shield displays a lion rampant once blue in colour and is hung around her body with a dark band or guige.<sup>46</sup> Like Cassandra, Sinope was renowned for her chastity, but was also a successful warrior and great ruler.

Thomyris (Fig. 4c), Queen of the Massagetae and Scythia, faces to her right in three-quarter profile, her finely sculpted features and delicate arching eyebrows framed by a close-fitting gold cap decorated with acanthus scrolls and edged with small *grelots* or small bells used in falconry. In her right hand she carries a lance with a floating crimson pennant, from the end of which depends a large round golden bell. A jousting favour is twisted around her waist and gorget of chain mail worn over her gown. Thomyris' armour is completed by a neck guard, rere-brace, vambrace and gauntlet and her right hand is uncovered to reveal a silk glove. According to Planché, her shield, hung from a guige, displays the arms of Antiope, that of three female heads on a red ground.<sup>47</sup> Of the figures depicted she has the bloodiest history. Her insatiable thirst for revenge led her to force King Cyrus of the Persians to witness the beheading of his generals. Their blood collected in a bucket, she ordered his own decapitated head be thrown into it. This time military prowess, conquest and steadfastness of purpose are the qualities invested with virtue.

Lampedo (Fig. 4d), another Amazon queen, is shown in full profile, facing to her left, richly crowned in gold and carrying a sword turned with the point downwards.<sup>48</sup> An enigmatic expression suffuses her features and over her sleeve she wears a vambrace, couter and gauntlet. Her shield is divided per pale; the dexter half *gules*, three ladies heads; the sinister *azure*, twelve billets *or*. Together with her sister Marpesia (also mother of Sinope), Lampedo conquered Asia.

Menalippe's features (Fig. 4e) have all but disappeared but this Amazon queen wears a

headdress similar to that of Sinope. In her right hand she clutches a sheaf of arrows, and in her left a vertical, double-edged sword. In memory of the Worthies' connection with Burgundian pageantry, a tournament-favour curls from the base of her cap and it is possible to make out a breastplate decorated with a gold acanthus leaf pattern. Her shield displays *gules*, three thrones *or*. Planché considers this to be a variation of the arms of Minthia (the Amazon Mirina) mentioned by both Diodorus Siculus and Strabo.

Hippolyta (Fig. 4f) is the only heroine to wear a contemporary kennel headdress. Almost half the image is missing, but it is possible to make out that she is grasping a bow and arrows in her right hand; a chain-mail tasset is just visible below her waist. These features suggest that she has just dismounted from horseback or come in from archery practice. Chains and pendants hang around her neck and over a gown of costly black and gold brocade. Her arms display a shield within a shield '*or*, a lion *azure*, armed and langued *gules* holding in his forepaws a small shield *gules*, charged with three female heads'; these are assigned by Favine to Hippolyta Queen of the Amazons.<sup>49</sup> Menalippe and Hippolyta can be viewed in tandem: together the two battled the Greek armies and defeated the heroes Theseus and Hercules by force of arms.

Of the remaining two panels, only one can be identified by her legend. Semiramis (Fig. 4h) is a majestic figure, depicted full face; she holds a hierarchic pose. An imperial crown sits on her head; in her right hand is a sceptre and, although barely visible, an orb is balanced in the left. At her throat a brooch clasps a mantle of black and gold damask, edged with gold braid and pearls. Over her mantle she wears an ermine tippet and a ring adorns the third finger of her right hand. Portrayed as a Queen Regnant, Semiramis does not wear armour, neither does she carry a shield. Thus, in order both to name her and to maintain the symmetry of the composition, Barnard has placed an identical shield with escutcheons of ten *grelots* within a bordure of ladies' heads in each spandrel. According to Planché, these arms are normally assigned to Penthesilea.

Because of this deliberate departure from the pattern set by the painter for the other heroines, and her hieratic pose, she was probably intended as the focus of the nine. This is not necessarily to say that she occupied the central picture space amongst

them, but rather may have been positioned above a significant space within the room.

Semiramis is imbued with many honourable qualities. Of great beauty, she rose from a lowly position to become trusted consort and advisor of King Ninus. Following his death she took up arms and further expanded and ruled his Empire judiciously.

The unidentified figure (Fig. 4g) has a cord knotted across her forehead underneath her golden headdress, and carries a shield displaying a crowned lion rampant in a field *or* between three human hearts, which Planché was unable to assign with any certainty. This panel is attached to that of Semiramis, the two being separated by a flat panel with a painted grotesque pattern.

The ninth (and missing) image (Fig. 4i and Fig. 2 top right) was described briefly by the Revd Arthur Clarkson in 1865 as 'The Ermine cuff'.<sup>50</sup> At that time the panel was in fragments and eventually disappeared or decayed. However, because of Brooke's watercolour sketch, its appearance is now known. The unidentified figure, wearing a red gown, gold headdress and carrying a sword in her right hand carries a shield on which appears a lion rampant. Brooke's study, as stated earlier, is dated 1820, and its exhibition for the second time in 1988 by the Sussex Archaeological Society at Michelham Priory as part of an exhibition, *Monastic Sites and Buildings in Sussex*, has brought it into the spotlight.<sup>51</sup>

Extracted from Brooke's portfolio containing drawings of Sussex topography and antiquities, the ink and colour-washed study, *Frescoe Paintings on the Walls of Shelbred Abbey* (Fig. 2), illustrates four three-quarter length armoured female figures.<sup>52</sup> As he also added some brief colour and content notes to the sketch, Brooke may have intended to work the drawings into an illustration for eventual publication.

The complete portfolio had been shown at the Special Loan Exhibition at the inauguration of the Chichester Museum Society in 1853.<sup>53</sup> However, in spite of growing antiquarian interest in the Amberley Panels, the drawing went unnoticed until 1902 when the Liberal politician and historian, Arthur Ponsonby, made Shulbrede Abbey his home. Shulbrede is noted for its late sixteenth-century wall paintings, amongst which is an unusual *Nativity* in which bird-calls and animal noises are rendered animatedly as human

speech.<sup>54</sup> Ponsonby discovered the published reference to the drawing in a volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.<sup>55</sup> Unable to discover the originals of Brooke's four images in his home, he became intrigued. He and Charles Strachey, a family friend, searched the Chichester Museum collections to no avail but eventually Strachey discovered the portfolio at Barbican House, the Sussex Archaeological Society's museum at Lewes. Their investigations are recorded in an exchange of letters during September 1908, in which they concluded that the drawing of the four armed females entitled *Frescoe Paintings on the Walls of Sheldred Abbey* were in fact studies of the heroines in the Queen's Room at Amberley.<sup>56</sup> Brooke had indeed included in his portfolio a sketch of the Court Room at Shulbrede showing its sixteenth-century wall paintings, but clearly had mistaken the location of the worthies.<sup>57</sup> In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, Strachey's conclusions must be accepted.

A comparison of Brooke's sketch and the existing panels reveals that the former closely resembles three of the eight remaining Amberley figures. The watercolour sketch omits the parapet, and the heroines carry no black-letter legends, a confirmation that they were barely legible by 1820. Brooke appears to have prepared his drawing by squaring the page, sketching in the arched surrounds, then, in an attempt to compensate for the omission of the parapet, to have elongated his figures. The consequent distortion created a slight imbalance in their composition.

In spite of these minor discrepancies, three of the drawings can be identified with their originals at Amberley. The details of costume, jewellery, arms and armour are very close, and Brooke's written colour-notes are correct. At top left (Fig. 2) is Semiramis, wearing a crown and carrying an orb and sceptre; at bottom left stands an unidentified figure, holding aloft a plumed helmet and shield on which is painted a lion. At bottom right, a spear-carrying Cassandra, face in full profile, wears a helmet and displays a shield emblazoned with three female heads. The fourth figure, top right, is Brooke's most important contribution, since it provides a record of the now missing, ninth worthy, described as remaining only in fragments in 1865.

The watercolour makes only cursory reference to the painted framework of round arches, and

makes no record of Sherburne's initials in the spandrels nor of Semiramis' shields emblazoned with a set of hawk's bells. Brooke was careful, however, to note the background colours of scarlet and blue, colours described later as being dulled.<sup>58</sup> His inclusion of the missing figure brings the full complement of Amberley heroines to nine, with four figures set against a ground of scarlet, and five against a ground of blue. The use of two colours suggests that the figures were arranged by alternating backgrounds, starting with blue. If an even progression of damp and water-damage is also taken into account, it appears likely they were hung in order with the first, Cassandra, as the best preserved, leading on to Sinope, Thomyris, Lampedo, Menalippe, Hippolyta, Unknown, Semiramis (the latter two the most damaged) and finally the ninth, now lost figure. Such a proposed arrangement is shown in Figure 4.

The black-letter verses painted on a creamy white background, with individual words separated by decorative red foliation, provide the most reliable means with which to identify these allegorical heroines. When the Nine Ladies Worthy first appear alongside their male counterparts in Eustace Deschamps' *Il est temps de faire la paix*, the names are little more than a simple list.<sup>59</sup> Other works, such as Jehan le Fèvre's *Livre de Leësse* (1373) also present the familiar grouping of Sinope, Hippolyta, Menalippe, Semiramis, Thomyris, Penthesilea, Teuca, Lampedo and Deiphile, and seven appeared in Christine de Pisan's celebration of womanly virtues, *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* of 1405 which was in turn made available in Brian Anslay's popular English translation of 1521. However, it is in a second undated poem, *Si les héros revenaient sur la terre, ils seraient étonnés*, again by Deschamps, that the poetic origins of the Amberley verses are to be found.

The content and wording of Deschamps's lines were echoed, in close translation, in the Queen's Room. Thus, with a combination of accumulated opinion<sup>60</sup> and the benefit of conservation work undertaken in 1987, it can be made out that Deschamps' description of Thomyris, 'Et Thamaris la force a subjuguée / Du roy Cyrus', becomes 'Sirus the noble kynge of Percy / Submytted him self to Thamoris merci'.

However, the verses are not all drawn from that same source. Edward Croft-Murray, in his landmark study establishing Lambert Barnard's *oeuvre*,<sup>61</sup> identified the anonymous poem *The IX Ladyes*





Fig. 1. Frederick Shoberl, The Queen's Room, Amberley Castle from *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 1813. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 2. W. H. Brooke (1772–1860), *Fresco Paintings on the Walls of Shelbred Abbey*, Decem[be]r 1820. (LEWSA.VR:4120–4123, ink and watercolour, reproduced with the kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society.)

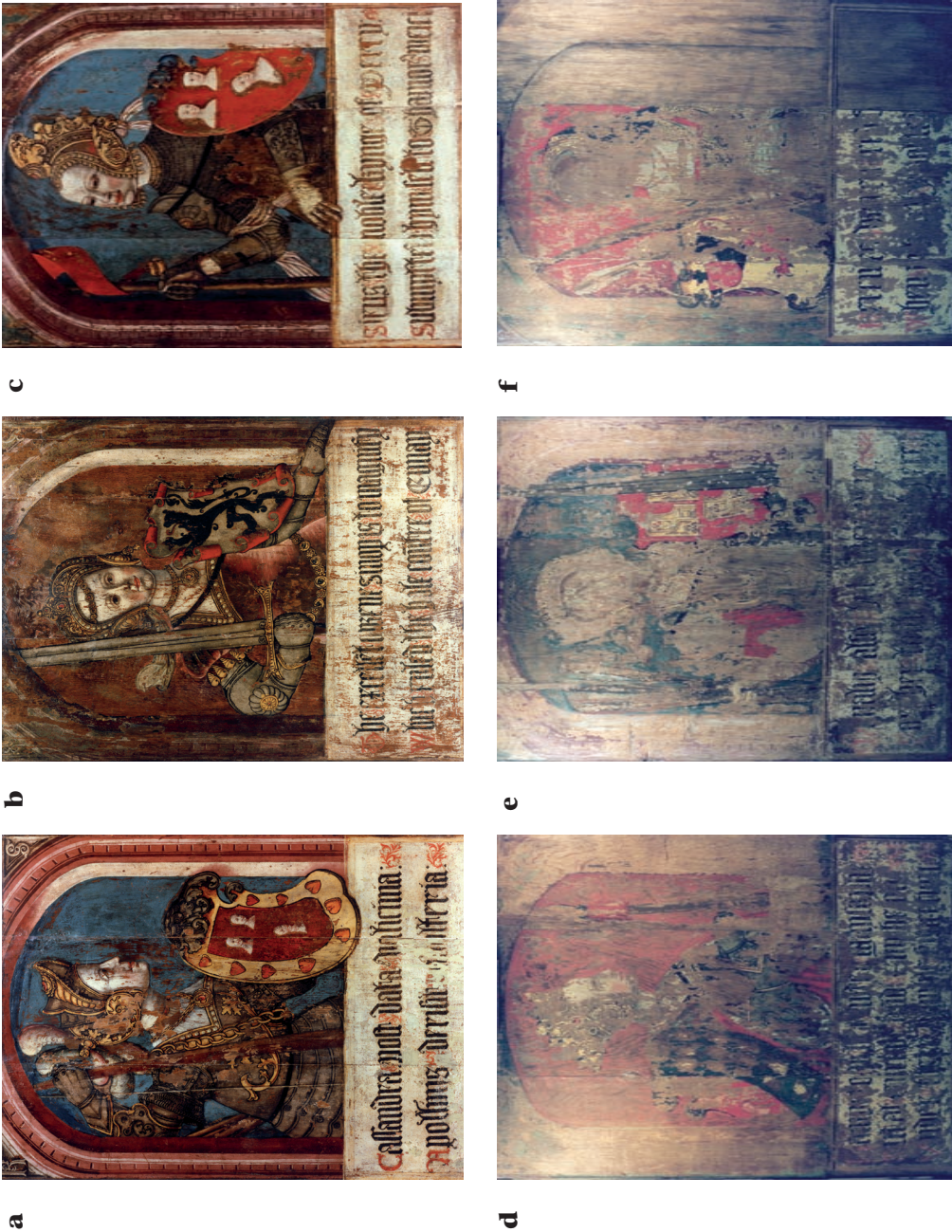


Fig. 4. Lambert Barnard (c. 1490–1567), The Amberley Panels: a) Cassandra; b) Sinope; c) Thomyris; d) Lampedo; e) Menalippe; f) Hippolyta.





i



h



b

Fig. 4. (*cont.*) Lambert Barnard (c. 1490–1567), The Amberley Panels: g) Unknown 1; h) Semiramis, c. 1526; i) Unknown 2, detail of LEWSA.VR: 4121, 1820. (Photos 4 a, b, c, d, e, f, g and h: author; 4i, reproduced with the kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society.)



Fig. 3. Giacomo Jacquerio (fl. 1403–53), Lampeto, detail of *The Nine Ladies Worthy*, Castello della Manta, Piedmont, c. 1426. (Photo: © Bridgeman Art Library.)

*Worthy*, poem 31 in MS R.3.19, Trinity College, Cambridge, as the closest English source for the majority of the Amberley verses.<sup>62</sup> This manuscript is a poetical miscellany of c.1480, but poem 31 is of an earlier date. A comparison of the lines beneath the Amberley heroines and those of the poem shows a similarity in choice of words. Sinope's verse 'Prefulgent in precyousness. O. Synope the queen / Of all femynyne beryng the septr and Regaly / Subduyng the large contrey of Ermony as hyt was sene / Maugre theyr myghtes thow brought theym to aply / Thyn honour to increase thy power to magnify'<sup>63</sup> is compressed at Amberley to provide a couplet but retains the meaning and becomes, 'The excellēt qwene Sinopis to magnify / Which ruled the hole cōutre of Ennay'.

Lampedo's tristych is remarkably close in wording, changing from the manuscript version, 'Of thys lady lampydo with her syster masyfy / That all the land of Femyny Europe & Euphesyn / Be yelden and applied lowly to her subiecyon'<sup>64</sup> to the three lines 'Lampedo with her sister Maysaphe /



Fig. 5. Lambert Barnard (c. 1490–1567), Thomyris (detail), *Amberley Castle Panels*, c. 1526. (Photo: author.)

Put al Europe and Euphysyne / Under there humble subjection'.

Menalippe follows this same pattern. 'Also that lady Menalyp thy systyr dere / Whos mercyall power noman cowed withstand / Thorough the world was nat found hyr pere'<sup>65</sup> becomes 'Menalip also thy sister dere / For her time was sans pere'.

Hippolyta's single line, 'Yet Ercules wexyd red for shame when I spake of Ipolyte' is extended into a couplet and reads, 'Hercules wexed red for shame / When I spake Ypolite's name'.

That of Semiramis appears to have a double derivation being an amalgam of Deschamps' 'Semiramis midi, septemtrion; / Ethiope mist a suggesttion',<sup>66</sup> and the Trinity manuscript's 'Lo here Semeramus queen of grete Babylon / Most generous gem and floure of louely favour / Whos excellent power from Mede vnto Septemtrion / Florysshyd in hyr regally as a myghty conquerour / Subduyd all Barbary and Zoroast the kyng of honour'.<sup>67</sup> The two are contracted to form a distych, 'Semyramus quene of Babylon / Subdued al from Barbary to septētryō'. This last example shows very clearly how the verses have become hybridized through time and translation.

Croft-Murray's instincts, therefore, were correct insofar as both poem and panel depend on several combined sources. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint an exact text, given the large number of French and English variants in circulation. Only with Cassandra is the chain broken; her verses have not been traced, although Hyginus' *Fabulae* may provide a parent source in that his specific account of her is concerned with the same aspect of her history and is briefly worded. 'Cassandra Priami et Hecubae filia in Apollinis fano ludendo lassa obdormisse dicitur; quam Apollo cum vellet comprimere, corporis copiam non fecit. Ob quam rem Apollo fecit, ut, cum vera vaticinaretur, fidem non haberet.'<sup>68</sup> Because they are in Latin, the words on Barnard's panel are unique in the Amberley series. 'Cassandra post data vaticinia / Apollinis derisit adulteria'<sup>69</sup>

Because of its deviation from English, Horst Schroeder, in his excellent study of the Nine Worthies, believed Cassandra's couplet to be the invention of a restorer,<sup>70</sup> but a restorer would surely have continued with English verse, having no reason to differ from the established format. It must be accepted that the choice of Cassandra and her couplet was Sherburne's, and that the Latin text contains a specific significance in the context of her inclusion amongst the other Worthies.

Finally, a comparison should be made with the closest extant painted example, the decorative cycle executed, in the 1420s, by Giacomo Jaquerio<sup>71</sup> for the Marchese di Saluzzo<sup>72</sup> in the Castello della Manta, Piedmont, where the walls of the Sala Baronale display a series of nine heroes and nine heroines (Fig. 3). Predating the Amberley version by a century, they depict Hippolyta, Menalippe, Sinope, Lampedo, Penthesilea, Semiramis, Thomyris, Teuca and Ethiope (Deiphile). As at Amberley, all display escutcheons and descriptive black-letter verses. However, these elegant women are placed, not in an architectural colonnade, but in a garden, sheltered by a natural arcade, a spreading leafy canopy where tree trunks are used to divide the pictorial plane into compartments. Shields, emblazoned with their arms, hang from the branches, imagery common in illuminations depicting tournaments and a reminder that these figures have their roots in pageant. The verses, written in black-letter on a white frieze, as with the Amberley panels, are derived from contemporary literature, following closely the text of Tomasso di Saluzzo's *Chevalier Errant* of 1395.<sup>73</sup>

The female worthies at Saluzzo and Amberley both display particular sweetness and modesty, an international standard of beauty characterized by a delicate nose, softly blushing cheeks, finely curving brows, firmly modelled chin, and downcast, heavy-lidded eyes — an appearance significantly related to representations of the Madonna or female saints and as with the latter, intended to convey a palpable vision of spirituality and gentility. Both series carry meaning beyond straightforward allegorical interpretation, but a significant difference between them lies in Sherburne's desire to portray the Worthies as historic figures. Barnard achieved this for him by adding 'antick' details, the flourishes of Italianate decoration often used to signify a biblical or historical character, to otherwise contemporary costume. This common practice can be seen quite clearly in the detail of Thomyris (Fig. 5) where curling classical acanthus leaves are incorporated as earpieces and crest into her headdress. Any interpretation of the series of worthies at Amberley must take this historicism into account.

Indeed, considered together, all the works produced by Barnard for the bishop are linked by a shared philosophy augmented by a depth of learning probably not available to the painter. That Sherburne was the careful author of their intellectual content and appearance cannot be doubted. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this article to explore this complex thesis in detail, but it must be emphasized that the introduction of the Worthies to the Queen's Room at Amberley could prove significant in the search for a deeper understanding of the use and interpretation of painting in early sixteenth-century England.

In Europe, few examples of this period remain to indicate how widespread a subject the Nine Worthies were in wall and panel painting.<sup>74</sup> In exploring their history, meanings and their significance as interior decorative cycles within the context of their period, the importance of the Amberley Panels together with W. H. Brooke's watercolour drawing, cannot be overestimated. Bishop Sherburne and Lambert Barnard's contribution presents the most complete English example dating from the first half of the sixteenth century — an extremely rare survival.

#### Acknowledgements

As well as those specifically credited in the footnotes, the author acknowledges a large debt of gratitude to Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig and Christopher Whittick for their gracious



support and guidance throughout the production of this article. Helen Poole, the staff of the Sussex Archaeological Society Library, the West Sussex Record Office and Chichester Library were unfailingly generous in their assistance, and

the author is most of all grateful to the late Edward Croft-Murray for his encouragement. The Society is most grateful to the Marc Fitch Fund for a grant towards the publication of this article.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Whether derived from the presence of the painted panels and their 'queens' or from a room actually prepared to house a queen is not known, the name is historically given with the apostrophe before the final 's' to suggest the latter interpretation.
- <sup>2</sup> Lambert's name appears, often Latinized, in various entries in the Chichester Cathedral Communal's account books. Early commentators believed him to be of Italian origin. However, there is no documentary evidence to support this, indeed records as far back as the thirteenth century show the Barnard family established across south Sussex with a concentration living in and around Chichester by the sixteenth century.
- <sup>3</sup> The National Archives (hereafter TNA) SP 1/39, 26–7, Fitzwilliam to Wolsey. Its placing in the royal documents between two dated items indicates it to have been written in 1526.
- <sup>4</sup> TNA SP 1/39. He was escorted by the Earl of Arundel, Lord Delaware, Lord Dacre of the South, Sir Davy Owen, the sheriff and other gentlemen.
- <sup>5</sup> TNA SP 1/39, ff.26-27 (spelling modernized); also listed in J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* 4, pt ii (London, Longman & Co. and Trübner & Co., Paternoster Row, 1872), 1058.
- <sup>6</sup> James Dallaway, 'History of the Antiquities of the City of Chichester', *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex* 1 (London, 1815), 75. William Waller's troops razed Aldingbourne to the ground in 1642.
- <sup>7</sup> David Arcott, *Amberley Castle 1103–2003* (The Dovecot Press Ltd, 2002), 14. The castle was developed from Bishop Luffa's hunting lodge.
- <sup>8</sup> Frederic Shoberl, *The Beauties of England and Wales* 14 (London, 1813), 87.
- <sup>9</sup> James Dugdale, *The New British Traveller, or, Modern Panorama of England and Wales; Exhibiting ... an ... Account ... of the Most Important Portion of the British Empire ... Illustrated by ... Maps, Views of Public Buildings, Antiquities, etc.* (J. Robins & Co, London, 1819).
- <sup>10</sup> For William Henry Brooke (1772–1860), portrait painter, engraver and illustrator of popular editions of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* (1822) and Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1823), see Ernest Radford, 'Brooke, William Henry (1772–1860)', rev. Paul Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
- <sup>11</sup> Thomas Walker Horsfield, *The History and Topography of the County of Sussex* 2 (1835), 159.
- <sup>12</sup> D. G. C. Elwes, *A History of the Castles, Mansions and Manors of Western Sussex* (London, 1876), 8–9. Harcourt was both a tenant of Amberley Castle and owner of West Dean House.
- <sup>13</sup> Information supplied by the Revd E. Stansfield and quoted in the Revd George Clarkson, 'Notes on Amberley, its Castle and Church', *Sussex Archaeological*

*Collections* (hereafter SAC), 17 (1865), 205–6.

<sup>14</sup> SAC 17, 213, quoting Henry Merritt.

<sup>15</sup> SAC 17, 211.

<sup>16</sup> It is worth mentioning at this point that on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1521, Henry VIII, apparelled as Hercules, the tenth worthy, led the other nine onto the field: Horst Schroeder, 'The Nine Worthies, a supplement', *Archiv für das Studien der Neuen Sprachen und Literaturen* 218 (1981), 335.

<sup>17</sup> 'Catalogue of Antiquities Exhibited in the Museum formed during the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute Held at Chichester in July 1853', SAC 8 (1856), 318.

<sup>18</sup> 'Proceedings at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute Nov 4 1864', *Archaeological Journal* 22 (hereafter Arch. J.) (1865), 65–8.

<sup>19</sup> George Scharf, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, NS 3 (1864–7), 29. Sir George Scharf (1820–1895), artist and art historian, was the first director of the National Portrait Gallery.

<sup>20</sup> 'Proceedings', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (hereafter JBAA) 1 (1864), 27–30.

<sup>21</sup> Almost certainly Edward Fox the younger (1823–1899) of 44 Market Street, for whom see <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/DSfox.htm> The photographs are untraceable.

<sup>22</sup> According to J. R. Planché, conservation work on the panels was also carried out by Gordon Hills who supplied descriptive information to Planché for his article: 'The Nine Worthies of the World', *JBAA* 20 (1864), 317.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Henry Merritt to Scharf quoted in Clarkson, SAC 17, 203.

<sup>24</sup> 'Proceedings', Arch. J 22, 67.

<sup>25</sup> C. E. Keyser, *A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland Having Mural and Other Painted Decoration* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, for HMSO, London, 1883), 6.

<sup>26</sup> Caroline Adams of the West Sussex Record Office and Mr Mark Frankland kindly provided this information.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding their position after 1908, this information was given in a letter from Lavinia Fleming, daughter of Thomas and Evelyn Emmet, to the author, 25 Nov 1992. Mrs Fleming spent some years at Amberley following her parents' purchase of the castle in 1925.

<sup>28</sup> J. C. Dawes, conservation report 1987.

<sup>29</sup> Fleming (see note 27).

<sup>30</sup> The other fragments were not offered as part of the sale lot.

<sup>31</sup> *JBAA* 20, 318. At the time of his article Planché was employed by the College of Heralds. He became Somerset Herald in Ordinary in 1866.

<sup>32</sup> During Henry VIII's visit to Tournai in 1513, Queen Margaret of Austria was presented with a set of tapestries illustrating Christine de Pisan's *Cité des Dames*. In England, Cardinal Wolsey was known to have taken delivery of a set of Tournai tapestries depicting the Nine

- Worthies in December 1521: Tom Campbell, 'Cardinal Wolsey's Tapestry Collection', *Antiquaries Journal* **76** (1996), 75, 84, 107.
- <sup>33</sup> In 1579 St Thomas' Hospital became the Venerabile Collegio Inglese in Rome.
- <sup>34</sup> Of the many practitioners active in both cities at the time of Sherburne's journeys, the Holbein family and Hans Burgkmair lived and worked in Augsburg and Albrecht Dürer was born and spent most of his life in Nuremberg. Burgkmair's woodcuts and prints for book illustration were influential in spreading imagery throughout Europe, including in 1516, a series *Die Drei Guten Heiden* (Nine Male Worthies), now in the Kunstmuseum, Basel and the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.
- <sup>35</sup> The original is now removed to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Elsewhere in Germany a very early carved series can be found in Cologne's town hall.
- <sup>36</sup> *Calendar of State Papers (Venetian)* **1** (1864), 691, where a letter is listed, dated 1 April 1496 from Henry VII to the Visconti, Duke of Milan, requesting free passage across his territory for 'his Secretary, councillor and ambassador' to the Roman Court.
- <sup>37</sup> Where possible he would have found lodgings in the homes of his continental counterparts. My thanks are due to David Darbyshire and Prof. Roy Bridges of the Hakluyt Society who were most generous in sharing their knowledge of European travel routes and its literature with me.
- <sup>38</sup> Castagno's frieze was dismantled and is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Uccello's *Founders of Florentine Art*, now in the Louvre Museum, Paris, is assigned to c. 1425–1431.
- <sup>39</sup> Usually spelled either Thomyris or Tomyris. 'Thomyris' is used throughout the text.
- <sup>40</sup> *JBAA* **20**, 315–24. Planché discusses the attribution of apocryphal coats of arms to the Worthies and points out that it is impossible to identify any of the Amberley Ladies by their shields alone, each having been assigned the incorrect arms.
- <sup>41</sup> In the south transept of Chichester Cathedral. In spite of heavy restoration and overpainting glimpses of Barnard's hand are still visible.
- <sup>42</sup> *JBAA* **20**, 322.
- <sup>43</sup> John Skelton, *To Mistress Margaret Hussey* (c. 1495).
- <sup>44</sup> Stephen Scrope, *The Epistle of Othea* (ed. Curt F. Bühler) translated from the French text of Christine de Pisan, Early English Text Society (Oxford University Press, 1970), 43–4.
- <sup>45</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, (ed. Beauchamp, Virginia Walcott *et al.*), (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 2002), 20. For Vives, see Charles Fantazzi, 'Vives, Juan Luis (1492/3–1540)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
- <sup>46</sup> SAC **17**, 65.
- <sup>47</sup> *JBAA* **20**, 322.
- <sup>48</sup> *JBAA* **20**, 323.
- <sup>49</sup> *JBAA* **20**, 323.
- <sup>50</sup> SAC **17**, 207.
- <sup>51</sup> The exhibition was held 25 March to 31 October 1988. I am grateful to Mrs Anne Bone for drawing my attention to the inclusion of this watercolour in the exhibition and to Helen Poole, Senior Museums Officer, Sussex Archaeological Society, for providing me with further information.
- <sup>52</sup> In the collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes. The drawing is referenced as LEWSA.VR:4120–23.
- <sup>53</sup> 'Catalogue of Antiquities Exhibited in the Museum formed during the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute Held at Chichester in July 1853', SAC **8** (1856).
- <sup>54</sup> Arthur Ponsonby, *The Priory and Manor of Lynchmere and Shulbrede* (Barricott & Pearce, The Wessex Press, 1920), and for illustrations of the Court Room see James Rouse, *The Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex* (London 1825), 405.
- <sup>55</sup> SAC **8** (1856), 324.
- <sup>56</sup> Charles Strachey was brother to Lytton and editor of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son*. The surviving letters from Strachey to Ponsonby are in the ownership of Kate Russell, granddaughter of Arthur Ponsonby. I am most grateful to her for drawing my attention to this correspondence.
- <sup>57</sup> W. H. Brooke, *Ancient Court Room of Lynchmere Priory*, LEWSA.VR: 3678. In Brooke's portfolio, this study is mounted together with that of another of the Shulbrede wall paintings, an illustration of Ditchling Priory and the 'mistaken' Amberley study. Helen Poole (see note 52) has also pointed out that Brooke's labelling shows he was unclear about the relative identity of 'Shulbrede' and 'Lynchmere' indicating he was in some confusion at the time. Shulbrede Abbey is in the village of Lynchmere.
- <sup>58</sup> SAC **17**, 67.
- <sup>59</sup> *Semiramis avecques ces preux vien, / Deiphyle, Marsoppe o lui erre, / Synoppe apres, Panthasilée tien, / Tantha qui j'aim, va Thamaris querre, / Ypollite, Menaloppe desserre, / Toutes et touz .xviii. saillez sus, / Mettez raison et le droit au dessus, / Et ne veuillez soustenir le triangle. / Qui tort ara, monstrez li voz vertus: / Des or fust temps d'avoir paiz, ce me semble. Eustache Deschamps, Il est temps de faire la paix* (between 1389 and 1396).
- <sup>60</sup> SAC **17**, 205–6 and the Revd G. Clarkson, 'A series of paintings in Amberley Castle' *Arch. J.* **22** (1865), 65–8 also Edward Croft-Murray, 'Lambert Barnard: an early Renaissance painter' *Arch. J.* **13** (1957), 108–25.
- <sup>61</sup> *Arch. J.* **13**, 119.
- <sup>62</sup> Trinity College, Cambridge, Trinity R.3.19, ff.110v–111r, and for further information on the miscellany, Dr. Bradford York Fletcher, *Manuscript Trinity R.3.19: a Facsimile*, The Facsimile Series of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, **5** (Pilgrim Books, Norman, Oklahoma, 1987).
- <sup>63</sup> Trinity R.3.19, f.110v.
- <sup>64</sup> Trinity R.3.19, f.111r.
- <sup>65</sup> Trinity R.3.19, f.111r.
- <sup>66</sup> *Si les héros...*
- <sup>67</sup> Trinity R.3.19, f. 111r.
- <sup>68</sup> 'Cassandra, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, is said to have fallen asleep when she was tired of playing, in the temple of Apollo. When Apollo tried to embrace her, she did not permit him. So Apollo brought it about that she should not be believed, though she gave true prophecies', Hyginus, *Fabulae*, **93** from Mary Grant, (trans. & ed), *The Myths of Hyginus*, University of Kansas Publications in Humanistic Studies, **34** (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1960). <http://www.theoi.com/Text/HyginusFabulae2.html>.

<sup>69</sup> 'Cassandra, after his gift of prophecy / Scorned adultery with Apollo'. My thanks are due to Christopher Whittick and Lesley Boatwright for confirming and refining my translation.

<sup>70</sup> Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst*, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen, 1971) 189.

<sup>71</sup> Also known as Jacques Iverny.

<sup>72</sup> Ludovico I, son of the poet Tomasso IIII author of *Le Chevalier Errant*.

<sup>73</sup> Illuminations in a manuscript copy of this poem,

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr. 12559, ff.125r and 125v shows the *Les Neuf Preux* (Nine Worthies) and *Les Neuf Preuses* (Nine Worthy Women) respectively.

<sup>74</sup> The theme did not lose its popularity, as is shown by the classically-garbed figures in the late sixteenth-century wall-paintings discovered at Amersham (described in Horst Schroeder 'The Mural Paintings of the Nine Worthies at Amersham', *Arch.J.* **138** (1982 for 1981), pp. 241–7) and in the continued appearance of these men and women in sixteenth and seventeenth-century emblem books and masques.

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