

◆ Cowdray and the iconography of Henry VIII

By Bridget Howard

The early Tudor mansion of Cowdray (at Midhurst) was devastated by fire in 1793 and, conserved by a Lottery Grant, it is now open to the public. At first sight it appears to have been typical of the houses built by members of Henry VIII's Court, but recent research is showing a property that was very different from the other mansions of the day. They displayed their possessors' importance; Cowdray, by contrast very much smaller, barely acknowledged its owner and was filled with symbolic references to the king. This article attempts to interpret the iconography and explain a unique house.

Cowdray was built for Sir John Bohun (?–1492), a London merchant; in 1529 it was bought by Sir William Fitzwilliam (c. 1490–1542), then Treasurer of Henry VIII's Household. It devolved on to his half-brother, Sir Anthony Browne, and then to Sir Anthony's eldest son, the first of eight Viscounts Montague to live there until the fire in 1793.¹

It is not immediately obvious why Fitzwilliam acquired the house and its estates. According to his letters, he spent very little time there.² As an important officer of state (Treasurer 1526–39, Lord High Admiral 1536–40 and Lord Privy Seal 1540–42), attendance upon the king was vital. He was granted a house in Cannon Row which, after the Dissolution, he exchanged for the Bishop of Bath's grand property in the Strand. At Hampton Court, and other palaces, there were allocated lodgings for him. Further accommodation was available to him as the royally appointed Keeper of Windsor Park (1529) and, very near Cowdray, of Petworth (1537). In his own right, he possessed houses at Guildford and Byfleet. Cowdray was not intended as a family home. His two older brothers had been killed at Flodden in 1513, and his only child was an illegitimate son. He owned extensive properties in Surrey and he had possessions in other counties, including Yorkshire.³

He bought Cowdray as a single-range manor house; over the years it expanded into four ranges surrounding a central courtyard and it is now thought that this development was done by his successor in the 1550s.⁴ Archaeological and architectural evidence indicates that the only additions made by Fitzwilliam to the original rectangular structure were an end-tower and two

side-wings. He also built a stand-alone entrance arch at a distance of 100 feet (c. 31m) from the house (Fig. 1). Cowdray's unassuming size differed from that of the great mansions of his fellow courtiers, where temporary arrangements were made if the king should visit. By contrast, Fitzwilliam's house was entirely given over to the accommodation of Henry VIII, designed as a royal pavilion although privately owned, filled with Tudor icons that far exceeded in quantity, quality and complexity the tokens seen in other properties.

It demonstrated loyalty, but what was the intended use? As a travel lodge on summer progresses or when en route to Portsmouth? The house and its estate cost him £2193 plus the expenses of the iconography; Henry only spent seven days there (3–7 August 1538 and 30–31 July 1539) during the 12 years of Fitzwilliam's ownership. He retained the King's trust, despite several scares, but he was as vulnerable as anyone else in that tempestuous era; the French ambassador noticed that he 'had long learnt to bend to all the winds'.⁵

Internally at Cowdray, the double-height great hall separated the service area from the royal suite, reached by ceremonial stairs. Beyond the presence chamber and then the privy chamber, the new end-tower provided the king's bedchamber; at right angles to this was the purpose-built privy gallery. At the domestic end of the house, the parallel side-wing increased the catering facilities. Except for a few rooms above the kitchens, there was no other accommodation; most of the entourage slept on straw pallets, taken up by day, or in tents. Everything was devoted to Henry's comfort and to honouring him.

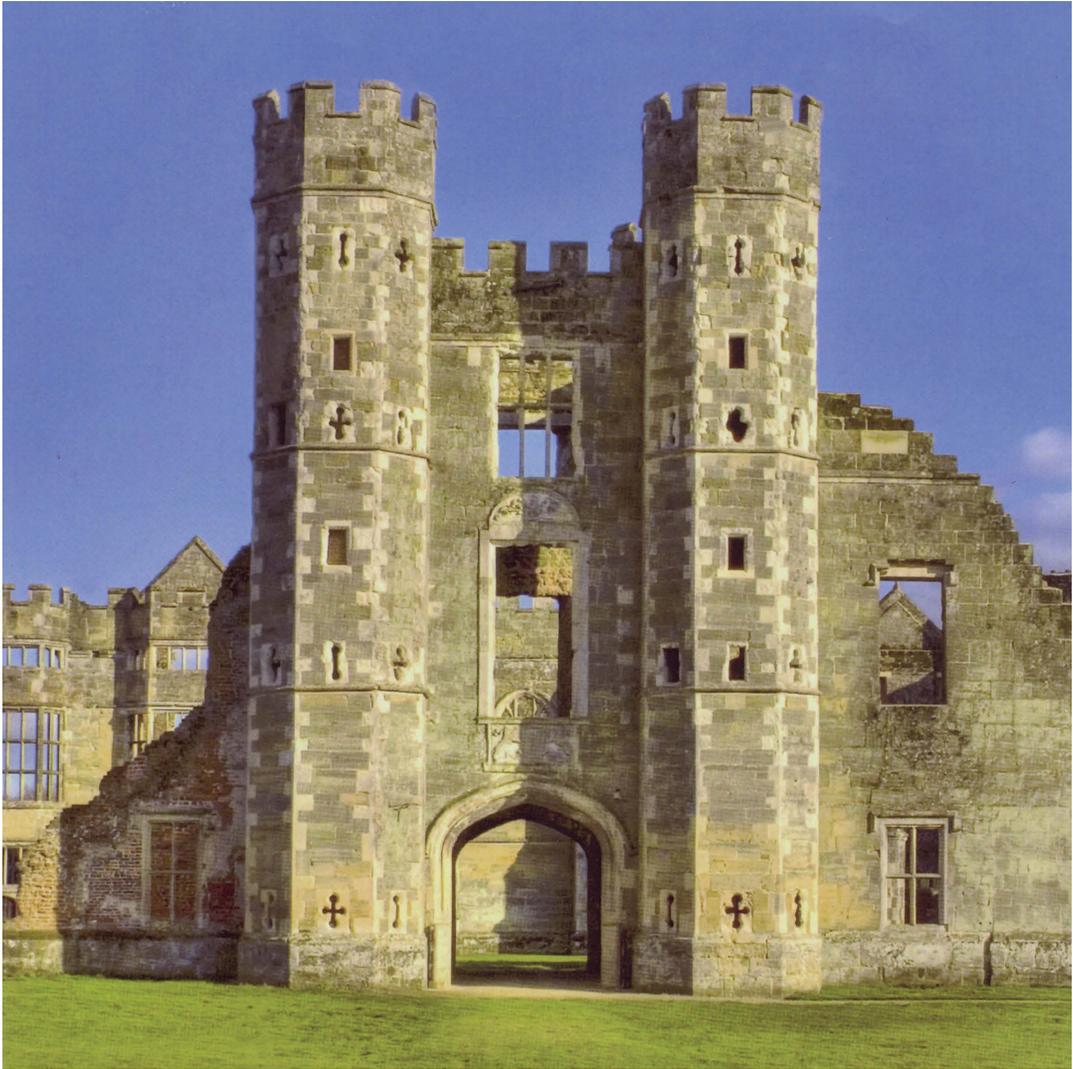


Fig. 1. The entrance archway today.

Royal approval derived not only from the magnificence but also from the symbolic emblems displayed within the house and its grounds. Fashionable taste of the day enjoyed 'devices' whose interpretation required some thought; aesthetic appreciation increased with the subtlety of the classical or heraldic references. They delighted the cultured minds of the sixteenth century and their ingenuity reflected the wit and intelligence of the owner. For those at Cowdray, Fitzwilliam commissioned the two greatest Florentine sculptors working in England, and their

Renaissance-inspired imagination produced an iconography that praised Henry, the Tudor dynasty and his territorial ambitions. The imagery began at the entrance gates where Henry was acclaimed in his most desired role: as King of France.

THE FRENCH CLAIM

For most of his reign, Henry VIII was obsessed with France and the opportunities for glory in Europe. These dreams were temporarily eclipsed in the 1530s by the consequential of the Divorce and



Fig. 2. Crest of fleur-de-lys and rays of the sun on the entrance gates.

by his building projects at Hampton Court, but his long-term ambition remained fixed on the English claim to the French throne.

His predecessor Henry II (1154–83) ruled from the Cheviots to the Pyrenees, holding by descent all of western France: Normandy, Brittany, Aquitaine and Gascony. When Edward III came to the throne in 1327, only the last two remained as major possessions (plus the Calais area), but in the following year he claimed the French crown when the childless Charles IV was succeeded by his cousin, Phillip de Valois. Salic law had barred Charles' sister Isabella, but Edward insisted that, as her son, he was the rightful heir. Despite Phillip's coronation, he styled himself King of France, and began to display the emblems of French royalty: the fleur-de-lys, the white hart and the golden sun. His personal coat of arms, signifying the realms over which he had (or claimed) dominion, quartered the lilies of France with the lions of England. For generations, the three insignia were used by sovereigns on both sides of the Channel.⁶

Despite now holding only Calais and 120 square miles of its hinterland, Henry continued to use the title *Rex Anglie et Francie* (King of England and France), dating from previous centuries when the English monarch not merely claimed but actually held the two crowns. At the Field of Cloth of Gold, he laughingly disclaimed this and fraternally embraced Francis I, but his talk of 'his true inheritances' and his 'just title' was not intended lightly.⁷ He believed himself to be the King of France and his French campaigns were inspired by the victories of Poitiers and Agincourt.

Fitzwilliam was part of the French dream, with an official title of Lord High Admiral of Normandy and Aquitaine, as well as of England, Wales and Ireland. The gilded crest on Cowdray's entrance gates alternated fleur-de-lys and the rays of the sun (Fig. 2), but tributes to the king of France were more fully displayed in the great hall.

There on a projecting ledge sat a pair of antlered white harts, each holding in its front hoofs a long pole topped with a fleur-de-lys and carrying a banner of the king's coat of arms (Fig. 3). These unmistakably heraldic creatures are identical to a pair which, in company with the figures of other royal beasts, decorated the ridge of Henry's pavilion at the victory celebrations at Th rouanne in 1513. They not only refer to the long-standing French claim but also evoke memories of military victories in that country. Doubly symbolic, they were a carefully considered tribute to Henry.⁸

Another emblem of France appeared on the screen itself, beneath the harts. Carved there was the image of the upper half of a sun with its rays, and around it were 24 smaller versions. This sunburst, known as 'the celestial', the sun breaking out from a bank of clouds, was another symbol of French sovereignty, displayed by successive kings there, including Louis XIV (1638–1715), the 'Sun King' himself. (The exception was Francis I who preferred his family badge of a salamander.) In England, the sun had been engraved on royal seals since the time of Edward III; on Henry VIII's coinage, the reverse of the rose-angel showed a sun surrounded by heraldic medallions. Courtiers

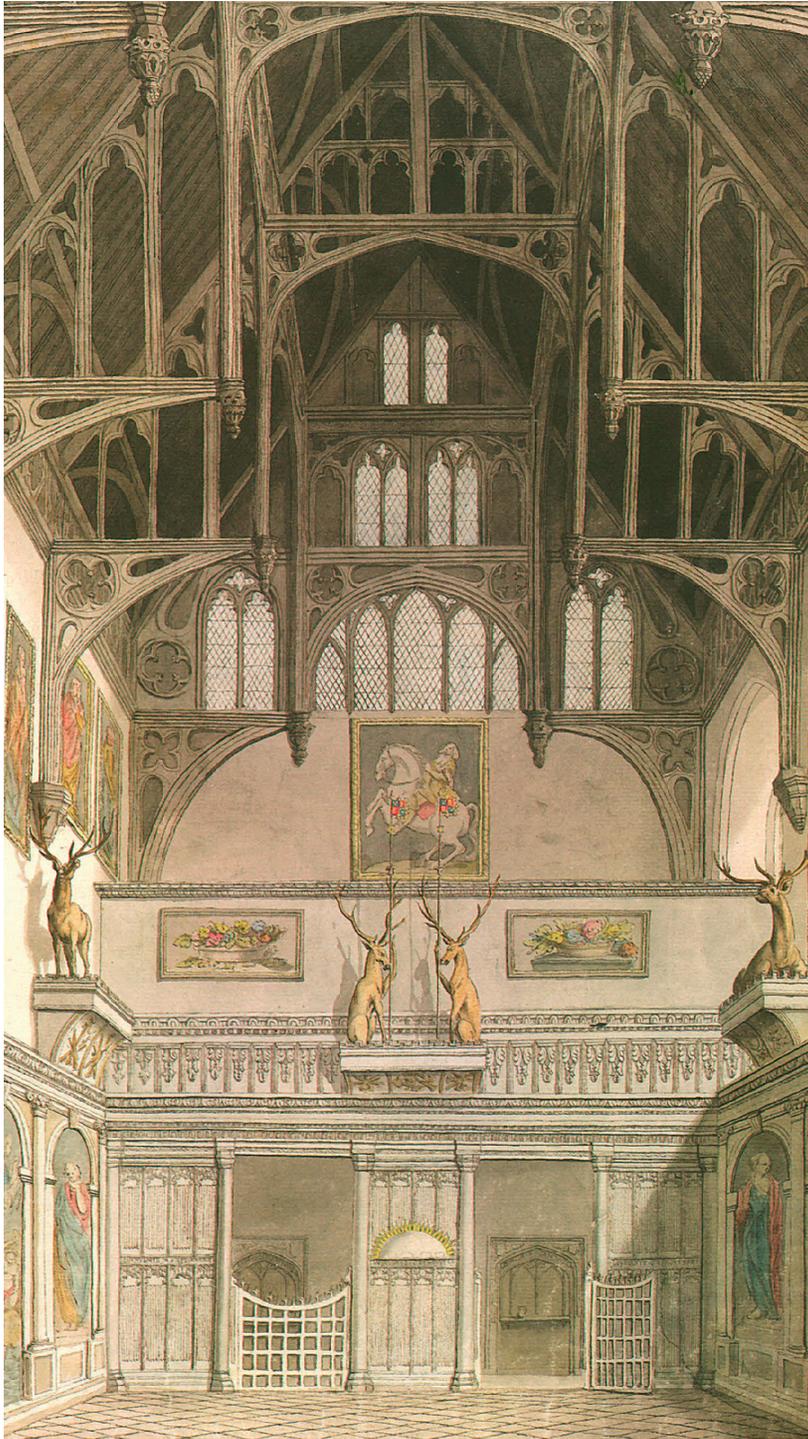


Fig. 3. Detail of drawing of the great hall by S.H.Grimm, 1782, showing the screen and hammerbeams. © British Library Board (Add. MS 5675 f.14).

flattered him with references to his celestial persona, Sir Richard Rich even describing him as 'a benevolent sun drying up all harmful vapours and ripening all things good and necessary' (1535).⁹

On either side of the large sun on the Cowdray screen, two wrought-iron dog-gates were doorways into the hall. Their crests repeated that on the entrance gates: fleurs-de-lys alternating with the rays of the sun. (In addition to these lilies of France, the 16 golden vanes flying above the house each carried 7 of the flowers.) Lest there should be any lingering doubts about Fitzwilliam's allegiance, his Garter motto, *Leaulte Se Provera* (Loyalty Proves Itself), appeared on the three panels of the screen, carved within a rail between two rows of little suns, and was reiterated on the three doors behind the screen which led into the service area.

THE PORCH

As well as the French-derived icons, the Tudors devised other emblems that symbolised their right to the monarchy. Although Henry VII had gained sovereignty by conquest, his line of royal descent was weaker than that of the Plantagenets whom he supplanted. To overcome this, a carefully nurtured propaganda campaign created a corporate image of the family, based on easily recognisable designs. The chief of these was the five-petalled red and white rose that recalled the union of the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions. Devices used by ancestors were also called into play, including the portcullis of the Beauforts, through whom the Tudors linked themselves to John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III. These, and other images, were carved on the vault of the Cowdray porch (Fig. 4). It is important to appreciate that the symbols of royalty were not merely decorative. They always indicated proprietorial rights. In displaying them, Fitzwilliam was not arrogating them to himself (for which the Earl of Surrey lost his head in 1545), but was demonstrating that, symbolically, Cowdray belonged to the king.

The iconography is complex and no interpretation of it has previously been made.¹⁰ To some extent a detailed analysis is hindered by the loss of the original colouration, but the general purport is clear. It celebrates the birth of a longed-for son to Henry VIII; it also honours the virility of the baby's father by a profusion of pomegranates, the

multi-seeded symbol of fertility. These are shown in association with the hawthorn that was part of the personal badge of Jane Seymour (Henry's third wife) and was adopted by her in reference to the hawthorn bush from which Henry VII plucked the crown on the field of Bosworth. The ceiling can be dated as being between October 1537 when Prince Edward was born and the king's visit to Cowdray in August 1538.

At the centre of the design is a rose, surrounded by a ring of pomegranates which immediately introduces the theme of fecundity. Outside this, a circle of eight quatrefoils displays the emblems of the Tudors, and in the spandrels are images of flowers, fruit and yet more pomegranates. The message is of growth, fruition and burgeoning abundance, celebrating the potency of the baby's father and the continuance of the dynasty. A quatrefoil in the south-west corner contains the traditional Prince of Wales' feathers and coronet. The next one posthumously commemorates Jane Seymour with a display of her hawthorn flowers, and beneath it a rose is growing on a hawthorn branch. The south-west quadrant contained the Beaufort portcullis, now missing. Nearby are the marguerites of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, with the forget-me-nots of her motto, *Souvent Me Souvient* (Remember Me Often). Another of the quatrefoils alternates hawthorn leaves with pomegranates (Fig. 5).

The trefoil signified Sovereignty and appears at Cowdray in the great hall and the king's bedchamber and proliferates on the porch vault. Here it is implied around the central rose, and beyond this the sides of the quatrefoils (themselves quadruple trefoils) are formed of more trefoils.¹¹ The 8 small fans in the corners of the surrounding diamond are trefoil-crested, and the 16 large fans are each headed by 3 trefoils whose points carry tiny Tudor roses. Within these, Fitzwilliam (who became the Earl of Southampton at the prince's christening) declared his allegiance. Stemmed trefoils are supported by bars labelled WS: William Southampton. Alternating with these are anchors that denoted his immovable loyalty.¹² The declaration of fidelity was reiterated on the door leading from the porch into the hall. Carved there was his motto, and below this, four cartouches repeated the initial letters WSLP (William Southampton Leaulte Provera); these were copied again beneath.

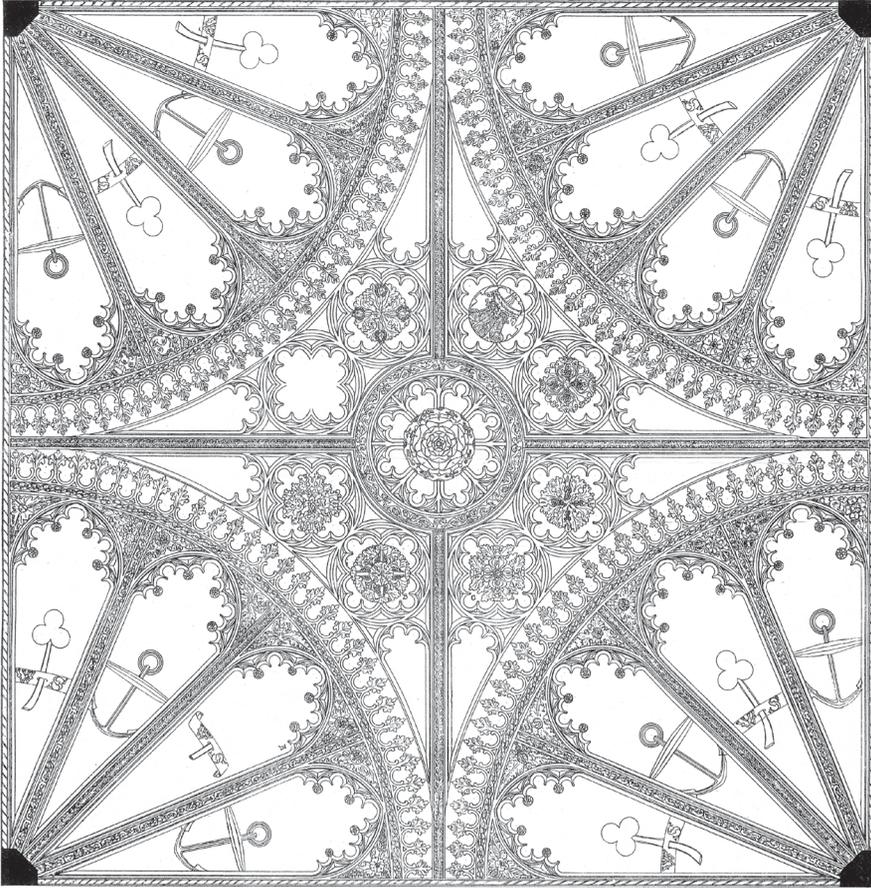


Fig. 4. Drawing of the porch vault, by W.E.Ginner (*Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* 54 (1911)).

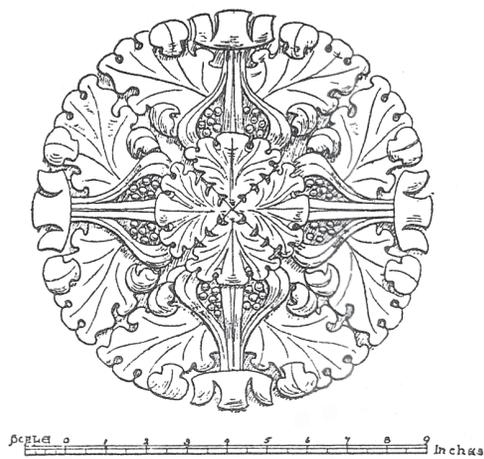


Fig. 5. Detail of a quatrefoil on the north-east side of the porch vault (*Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* 54 (1911)).



Fig. 6. The coat of arms outside the porch.

THE COAT OF ARMS

Above the entrance to the porch is Henry VIII's shield of arms, encircled by the Garter and supported by the lion of England and the dragon of Wales, beneath a closed imperial crown (Fig. 6). These are contained within an entablature bordered by early Renaissance-style pilasters. Less conventional symbolism has been added. A vase of flowers which seem to be Tudor roses, Beaufort marguerites and Seymour hawthorn is barely visible at the top right-hand side. On the top left is a wedding ring, signifying the baby's legitimacy. Beneath the shield, pomegranates are scattered below two bound sheaves of hawthorn leaves.

The delicacy of the carving, like that of the vault, is of the highest quality and, taken in conjunction with the shared icons, strongly suggests that the same sculptor worked on both. The man who comes to mind is Giovanni da Maiano

(1485–1543). He and Benedetto da Rovezzano (c. 1475–1555), both from Florence, had been employed by Cardinal Wolsey, and by Henry VIII.¹³ Flowing ribbons in the background of the arms are not dissimilar to those at Hampton Court on his Caesar roundels and on an (originally Wolsey) heraldic plaque outside the chapel, and may be diagnostic. Furthermore, there is close similarity in design, but not in iconography, between the Cowdray vault and Anne Boleyn's Gateway at Hampton Court. Subsequently commissioned by Fitzwilliam, Benedetto da Rovezzano created the Cowdray fountain (*see below*) while Giovanni da Maiano probably carved the vault and the coat of arms, besides planning the ceremonial approach to the house.

In their present position, the arms are semi-hidden in the inner courtyard and are disproportionately small for the space available. They are described by Pevsner/Nairn as 'one of

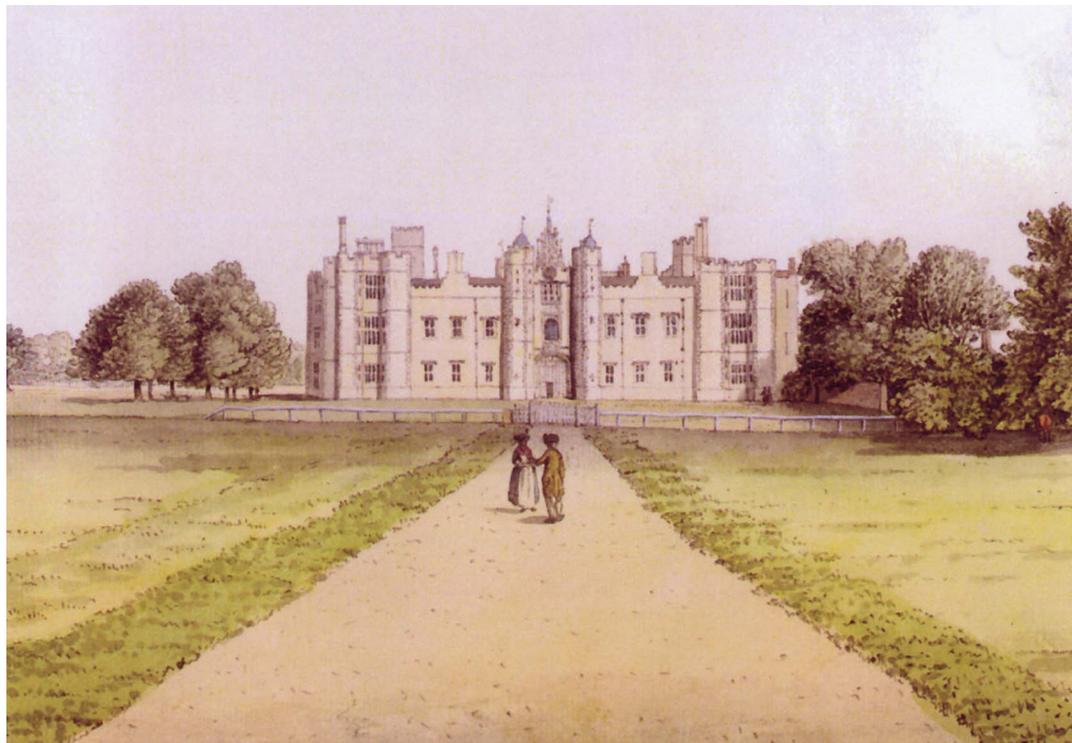


Fig. 7. Causeway and louvre, drawn by S.H.Grimm, 1782. © British Library Board (Add. MS 5675 f9).

the few mean touches in the entire building'.¹⁴ Originally, they were on the outward face of the entrance arch, above the doorway. That position is now occupied by the arms of the first Viscount Montague (owner 1548–92) and the likely sequence of events can be traced. Henry VIII's royal arms once formed the lower part of an oriel window, whose outline is marked by white quoins. The heraldry was mutilated by the Parliamentary troops who occupied Cowdray between 1643 and 1660, and when the house was renovated in the eighteenth century, the damaged oriel was replaced by a Georgian-style rectangular window and beneath it was put Montague's arms, transferred from elsewhere on the building and cut (as can be seen) to fit the space available. Henry's entablature, perhaps switched with the viscount's, was then relegated to the porch.

THE PROCESSIONAL WAY

On their original site, the royal arms were similarly positioned to those at the entrance to Hampton

Court, framed by twin towers domed in gold and overlooking a bridge ornamented with heraldic beasts.¹⁵ These stonework figures derived from the armorial bearings of Tudor ancestors; lions, greyhounds, bulls, dragons and other mythical creatures were used in a similar fashion to the dynastic badges as proof of an ancient lineage. They once embellished the ceremonial approach to Cowdray and this, a causeway across water-meadows, encapsulates the history of the house: first, the Tudor splendours, second, vandalism by royalist-hating Parliamentary troops, third, restoration that was delayed until the owners had recouped money lost in the Civil War by the sale of Battle Abbey in 1719.

The entrance gates now have piers that are eighteenth-century reinstatements of Fitzwilliam's originals. The two bridges on the causeway, like the moat bridge at Hampton Court, once carried heraldic beasts that were supported on pillars, integral to the structure, rising from the sheerwaters. Destroying the beasts wrecked the parapets. Those on the first bridge were re-built

in the Georgian period; their mortar shows ornamentation that is locally typical of that time. The second bridge, prominently in view in front of the restored and redecorated house, was entirely replaced. Remains of the Tudor original have been found beneath it.

Fitzwilliam's 400m-long causeway was designed as a processional way that terminated in a triumphal arch. To a visitor, the ruler-straight lines of the approach seemed to converge at the entrance to the arch, above and between whose turrets rose an ornamental louvre, sited on the hall roof behind. This gleaming structure carried three tiers of heraldic beasts, each holding a gilded vane; at the summit another pair clasped a long pole, topped with an imperial crown and above it a golden fleur-de-lys.¹⁶ At the point of convergence, where the horizontal axis of the causeway would meet a line drawn downwards from the louvre's pole, there blazoned the gold, red and green of the royal arms, the cynosure of the whole route¹⁷ (Fig. 7).

The golden domes on the arch's turrets were repeated on the buttresses added to the porch façade. They served as waymarks, signalling the final stage of the journey from the gates that proclaimed the King of France to the porch which extolled the Tudor dynasty. (Such an orchestrated progression is well attested for Elizabethan and Jacobean properties; Cowdray in the 1530s is perhaps the earliest evidenced example.) It is likely to have been the idea of Giovanni da Maiano, whose iconic coat of arms was its focus; the use of perspective, unknown then in England, links him to his city of Florence, the 'birth place' of Alberti's (1403–72) theory.

SEMI-DIVINITY

The glorification of Henry VIII continued. In the central courtyard a bronze fountain was set below the louvre, acting as a second focal point, immediately behind the royal arms and aligned with the far-off entrance gates (Fig. 8). It was commissioned by Fitzwilliam from Benedetto da Rovezzano in the autumn of 1536.¹⁸

The Cowdray fountain can now be seen in the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum in London. At the summit is the figure of a nude youth, supported on a candelabrum above a cylix. Water emanating from him poured into the cylix and was spouted



Fig. 8. Detail of drawing by Henrik de Cort, 1792, showing the east front with louvre, fountain and porch entrance (reproduced by permission of West Sussex Record Office).

from four Medusa masks into a lower basin where four tiny gryphon heads acted as taps. This is an eighteenth-century reconstruction in which the figure on the baluster, the Medusa masks and the gryphons are original. These parts were detached from Benedetto's fountain and taken into hiding before the house was occupied by Parliamentary troops, leaving the remainder to be vandalised. The supposition (agreed by the museum) is that when the fountain was reassembled in the 1740s, no records existed and new elements were made in the Georgian style. It is this over-sized version that has survived, and the figure, instead of predominating, has become almost irrelevant. In Benedetto's creation, it was an important part of the Henrician iconography.¹⁹

It derived from Henry's image of himself as the personification of a heroic figure from the past. In his youth, he emulated his father's hero, King Arthur; then, he turned to Solomon; finally, he was convinced that his true archetype was King David. He had overcome the mighty Church of Rome, just as David had slain Goliath; God spoke directly to him, as he did to the psalmist, without the intervention of Pope or clergy, guiding him in theological doctrine. He, like David, was the Almighty's chosen and anointed king.²⁰ Tapestries illustrating this were in all the royal palaces, and the king's own psalter depicted him as David: playing his harp, confronting Goliath, meditating in his chamber and, as a penitent, re-enacting the Agony in the Garden.

The youth on the Cowdray fountain is David, and the nine Tudor roses on the candelabrum clearly link it to the king. Like the statues on Benedetto da Rovezzano's unfinished tomb for Henry VIII, it is likely to have been gilded and then burnished.²¹ The V&A believe that it was based on Michelangelo's bronze *David*, which had been cast and finished by Benedetto while Michelangelo himself was creating his marble *David*.²² Michelangelo's bronze figure (now lost) had his foot on the decapitated head of Goliath; Benedetto's *David* is treading on a ring of dolphins and is grasping the tail of a

snarling subjugated dolphin. The repeated theme of conquest was deliberate. A dolphin was the emblem of the heir to the French throne — not necessarily the king's oldest son — and his title was *Le Dauphin*, the Dolphin. The symbolism of dolphins on the Cowdray fountain refers again to Henry's French aspirations. In the guise of David, he is triumphing over the Dauphin in the struggle for the throne of France.²³

Perhaps the iconography on the fountain was to be read in conjunction with that on the vault of the nearby porch which celebrated the birth of the Tudor prince. David now had a son, a young Solomon, who would exceed him in wisdom, and be the king of both England and France. The flattery of Henry had reached its apogee.

SIGNIFICANCE

Two levels of symbolism existed at Cowdray. The first was the conventional single images (the rose, fleur-de-lys, heraldic beast) seen at the gates and the hall. The second, the multi-layered complexities of the porch, the coat of arms and the figure on the fountain, are unique works of art by the greatest sculptors in England, Giovanni da Maiano and Benedetto da Rovezzano. Fortunately, their legacy can still be seen.

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NOTES

- ¹ The principal book on the house remains Sir William St John Hope's *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory* (London: Country Life, 1919) but its Tudor attributions are questionable. For a wider view, see Maurice Howard's *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and politics 1490–1550* (London: Philip, 1987) and Nicholas Cooper's *Houses of the Gentry 1480–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Other scholars have looked at individual properties, for example Charles Brandon's Westhorpe (S. J. Gunn and P. J. Lindley, *Archaeological Journal* **145** (1988)) and Nicholas Poyntz's *Acton Court* (London: English Heritage, 2004), but all differ in concept from Fitzwilliam's Cowdray. A research note is being prepared. In this article the term 'builder' has been used to refer to the patron for whom the work was done.
- ² D. F. Vodden, 'The Correspondence of William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton' (unpub. MPhil dissertation, University of London, 1972).
- ³ W. B. Robison, 'Fitzwilliam, William, Earl of Southampton (c. 1490–1542)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

- ⁴ See also 'Caressing the great: Viscount Montague's entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray in 1591', by Charles Curtis Breight, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **127** (1989).
- ⁵ The assessment of Fitzwilliam came from Charles de Marillac, ambassador to England 1538–42; cited by R. Hutchinson, *The House of Treason* (London: Orion, 2009), 283.
- ⁶ S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Batsford, 1992), 34–9, considers the dynastic significance of the Tudor insignia. J. N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989) contributes to a wider understanding of the topic. More recently, Kevin Sharpe's *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) discusses the relationship between authority and image. French royal symbolism, see www.heraldica.org. For fleur-de-lys, see H. S. London, *Royal Beasts* (London: Heraldry Society, 1956), 25–7. A hart is a male deer over five years old; see S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 102–3. For the sun, see King, 35–7; *Boutell's Heraldry*, revised by J. P. Brooke-Little (London: Warne, 1983), 210–12.
- ⁷ J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1968), 135.

- ⁸ British Library (hereafter BL), Cotton Ms. Augustus f.18; used as the cover illustration of R. Marks and A. Payne, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c. 1800* (London: British Museum Publications, 1978). In the Cowdray great hall Fitzwilliam's two harts were joined in the early 1600s by nine realistic wooden stags which have no symbolic relation to the originals.
- ⁹ Scarisbrick, 351.
- ¹⁰ W. V. Crake, 'The Porch at Cowdray with some account of the builder' SAC **54** (1911), 112–22, includes a detailed drawing by W. E. Ginner (plate 11). See also BL, Add. MS 5675 f.15 (Grimm drawing) and Hope, plate XXIV. I am very grateful to Karen Coke for decoding the central design. It was the impetus for this research.
- ¹¹ For centuries, the trefoil was shown on the coinage, on Great Seals and on royal crowns. It appears on portraits of Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.
- ¹² Hope, 71, links the anchors to Fitzwilliam's position as Lord High Admiral, but at that date they did not have their present connotation of the Navy. The symbolism is of fixity. Hope's comments here and on page 91 have misled later writers into interpreting the porch as a boast by Fitzwilliam of his political advancement; the full evidence reveals a very different motive.
- ¹³ A. Higgins, 'On the work of Florentine sculptors in England in the early part of the sixteenth century', *Archaeological Journal* **51** (1894), 130–220, also C. Mitchell, 'Works of art from Rome for Henry VIII', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* **34** (1971), 178–203. Giovanni da Maiano and Benedetto da Rovezzano were recruited from Florence in 1519 for royal employment, initially on Henry VII's memorial in Westminster Abbey. Giovanni's sculptures were at Hampton Court, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, at Whitehall and Greenwich Palaces. Benedetto designed Cardinal Wolsey's unfinished tomb and that intended for Henry VIII. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com>
- ¹⁴ I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, *Sussex, Buildings of England* series (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 196.
- ¹⁵ A. A. Dorling, 'The King's beasts at Hampton Court', in *Leopards of England* (London: Constable, 1913), 45–56.
- ¹⁶ A similar louvre but without directional purpose was set on the roof of the great hall at Hampton Court. E. Law, *The History of Hampton Court in Tudor Times* (London: Bell, 1885), 166–8, 355–7.
- ¹⁷ During later development of the house, the arch was incorporated into a new west range, robbing it of iconic significance. The entrance gates were moved in 1964 (when new civic offices were built) from the far end of the causeway to the front of the house.
- ¹⁸ The attribution to Benedetto da Rovenazzo was made in 1985 by Anthony Radcliffe, then Keeper of Sculpture; it is agreed by his successor and, among others, by Charles Davis (*Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institute in Florenz* **89i**) and by Francesco Caglioti (*Perspectiva* **83/84**). Earlier suggestions, for example by John Pope Hennessy ('A fountain by Rustici', *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook* **4** (1974)) are now generally discounted. Commissioning of it apparently dates from the cessation of work on Henry VIII's tomb.
- ¹⁹ The first reference to the fountain occurs in "'A Book of Orders and Rules" of Anthony Viscount Montague in 1595' by S. D. Scott, SAC **7** (1854). It was not, as is sometimes alleged, picked up on a Grand Tour. The Georgians changed the boy's staff into a trident in the mistaken belief that he represented Neptune.
- ²⁰ C. Lloyd and S. Thurley, *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor king* (London: Phaidon and Historic Palaces Agency, 1990), 29–32. See also P. Tudor-Craig, 'Henry VIII and King David' in D. Williams (ed.), *Early Tudor England* (London: Boydell, 1989), 183–99, and Sharpe, 55.
- ²¹ Higgins, 166, 190.
- ²² A. Gill, *Il Giganti: Florence, Michelangelo and the David, 1492–1504* (London: Macmillan, 2002), 224–5, 256–9.
- ²³ The title originated with the Counts of Vienne who were each called *Le Dauphin* (The Dolphin) in reference to the display of the animal on their flags. In 1349 the then count sold his lands to King Phillip IV on condition that henceforth the heir of France should be known as the Dauphin and should have a dolphin on his personal banner. This continued from 1350 to 1791 and from 1824 to 1830. The symbolism of dolphins had previously been used by Benedetto da Rovezzano on Henry VIII's tomb where, in the ornamentation, they supported an imperial crown on the top of a sceptre (Higgins, 183).

