



THE  
GEORGIAN  
GROUP

---

Adam White, 'Artisan Classicism:  
The Sculpture of Nicholas Stone and  
his Circle', *Inigo Jones and the Spread of  
Classicism*, Georgian Group Symposium,  
1986, pp. 49–60

# ARTISAN CLASSICISM: THE SCULPTURE OF NICHOLAS STONE AND HIS CIRCLE

---

Adam White

ON A DAY OF LECTURES otherwise largely devoted to architecture I have the pleasure of speaking on sculpture, but on a type of sculpture which was often highly architectural. I shall be mainly concerned with church monuments which in the England of Inigo Jones were made mostly by men who were masons as well as sculptors and brought their skills in the former craft to bear on the latter. The most eminent of them was Nicholas Stone, Master-Mason at Windsor Castle, Master-Mason to the Crown, a private mason contractor on a large scale and an architect in his own right. His close association with Jones was an important influence on his work.

Stone had the advantage of receiving both an English and a foreign training. He first served for two years as apprentice and a further year as journeyman to the London sculptor Isaac James, then in 1606 he went to Amsterdam and spent a further seven years in the workshop of the de Keyser family. He achieved his independence in 1613 when he returned to London and established himself in the parish of St Martin in the Fields, Westminster where his first master worked and several of his future patrons had property.

During Stone's absence abroad, about the year 1611,<sup>1</sup> James had made the important monument to Henry Lord Norris and his family, erected in the north transept of Westminster Abbey (Figure 1). The upper stages of the canopy which is surmounted by a figure of fame appear to owe something to the temporary triumphal arch devised by Stephen Harrison and erected by the Italian merchants of London in Gracechurch Street, for the ceremonial passage of James I through the City in 1604 (Figure 2). It differs from this source however, and marks a new departure for English sculpture in that the figures on the bas-reliefs on the front and back of the monument are in Roman costume, a feature which Stone was to adopt for his own work. James is a shadowy figure: the Norris monument is, in fact, the only surviving work which he is known to have executed independently. His workshop cannot have been nearly as important as that of the de Keyzers but his influence on Stone may have been greater than theirs simply because the two men were neighbours for a crucial eleven or twelve years when the younger of them was building his reputation.<sup>2</sup> Stone acknowledged a debt to James in 1614/15 by making him his 'partner in cortisay' on the monument to Henry, Earl of Northampton, formerly at St Mary in Castro, Dover.<sup>3</sup>

Success came quickly to Stone. The first entry in the notebook in which he listed his works records a major commission undertaken in June 1614 and the flow of patronage never dried up. This swift rise to favour calls for some explanation: was it due to the recommendation of James or de Keyser, to his self-evident talent, to some trait in his personality or to a combination of these factors? There is evidence that he soon found himself up against tough competition and was ready to seize an opportunity when it presented itself. A memorandum addressed to him by Samuel Thompson, Windsor Herald has recently turned up among the Howard papers at Arundel Castle<sup>4</sup> and has been kindly communicated to me by John Martin Robinson. 'Mr Stone', it says, 'you must make my Lord as he goeth to the Parliament in his

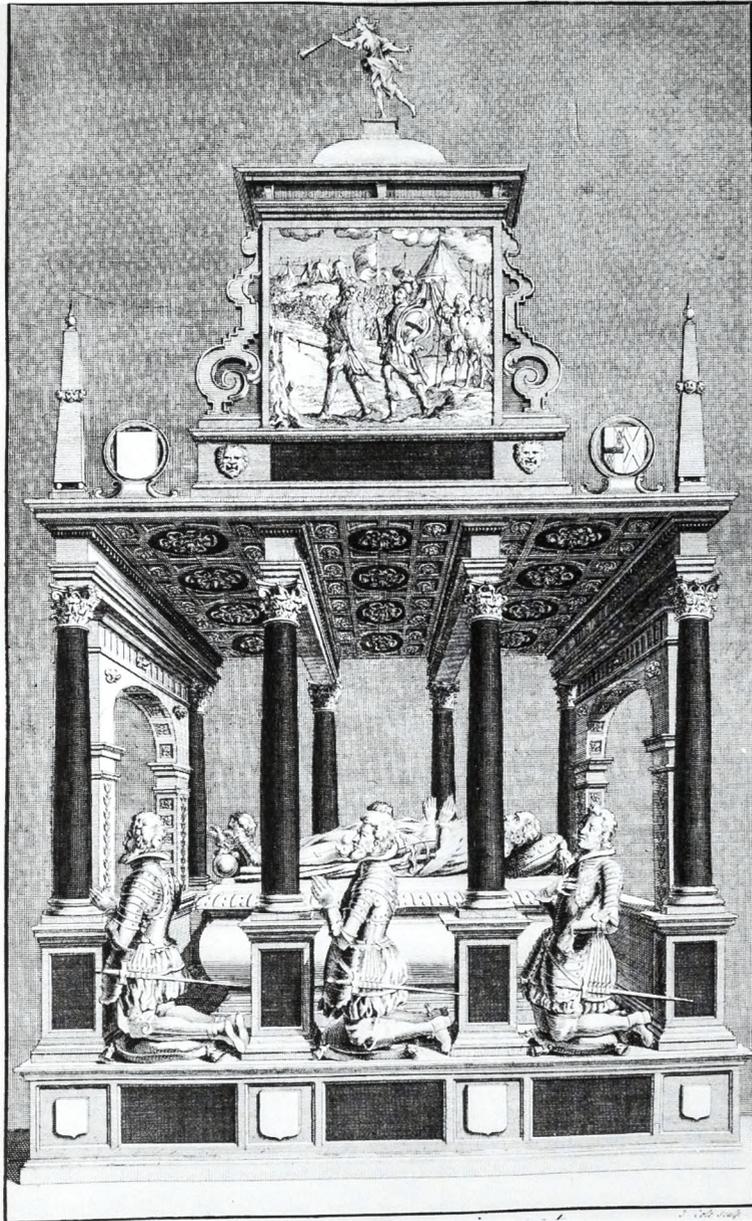


FIGURE 1. Isaac James. Monument to Henry, Lord Norris and his family c. 1611, Westminster Abbey. Engraving from John Dart, *Westmonasterium*, 1723

Robes . . . & my Lady accordingly . . .’ An early note written beneath this implies that it refers to the Northampton monument but the Earl had no wife. As Dr Robinson has pointed out, the only effigies of a couple in the family which were executed in this costume during Thompson’s tenure of office (1604–24) were those of the poet Earl of Surrey and his wife on their monument at Framlingham, Suffolk which is dated 1614. However, I find it impossible to believe that this is by Stone: the chest in particular is quite unlike anything he is known to have executed, but it bears a strong resemblance to that made by Maximilian Colt, the King’s Master Sculptor, for the memorial of Princess Mary in Westminster Abbey (1608–09). It would seem, therefore, that the memorandum refers to a commission for which Stone had submitted a proposal but which Colt had received — not surprisingly, in view of his superior credentials.

Stone’s ability to turn circumstances to his advantage appears with the monument to the fabulously rich coal-owning philanthropist Thomas Sutton in the chapel of Sutton’s charitable foundation, the Charterhouse. It had been proposed in 1613 that the sculptors should be Nicholas Johnson of Southwark and the mason-sculptor Edmund Kinsman, but their draft contract for the work<sup>5</sup> cannot have been put into effect in its original form since the

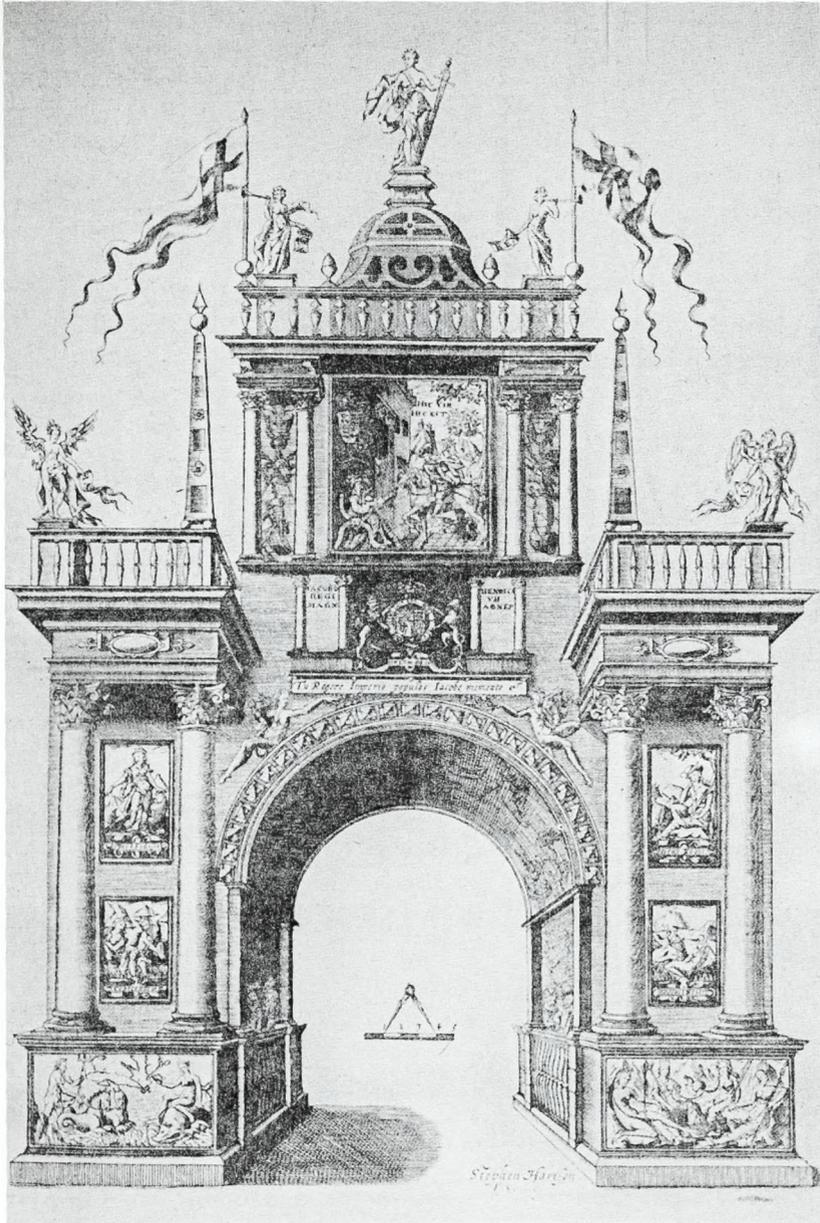


FIGURE 2. Italian arch in Gracechurch Street, City of London. Engraving from Stephen Harrison, *The Archs of Triumph*, 1604

receipt for the memorial<sup>6</sup> is signed by Johnson, Kinsman, and Stone, in that order. In his notebook, moreover, Stone made no mention of Kinsman at all, stating that 'In November 1615 Mr. Janson . . . and I did set up a tombe for Mr. Suttone' on which he claimed to have done 'all the carven work'. Was Kinsman obliged to recede into the background because of illness, negligence, pressure of other work or did Stone ease him out of his position? He was primarily a mason; the only other sculpture he is known to have done is a minor repair to Dean Colet's monument in St Paul's Cathedral<sup>7</sup> and the 'carven work' of the Sutton memorial may have been beyond his capabilities.

Stone quickly gave proof of considerable versatility as a tomb sculptor, willing to follow tradition when required but responsive to new ideas and foreign influences. The memorial to Sir Thomas Bodley in Merton College Chapel, Oxford which he set up in May, 1615 (Figure 3) follows a fashion which seems to have begun just across the Oxford High Street, in Magdalen College Chapel, for commemorating scholars and divines by a half-length effigy set in a wall recess.<sup>8</sup> Stone greatly elaborated the type, surrounding the image of Bodley with ten allegorical figures and four stacks of books, the latter referring to his great library. A highly finished design for the monument was identified by John Blair and published ten years



FIGURE 3. Nicholas Stone.  
Design for the monument to Sir  
Thomas Bodley, Bodleian  
Library, Oxford, MS Ashmole  
1137, f. 143

*Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian  
Library*

ago in the *Burlington Magazine*<sup>9</sup> (Figure 4). It differs from the executed work in the meaning and arrangement of the allegorical figures; stylistically, however, the notable discrepancies are between the two surrounds, from which Classically-inspired features were eliminated and replaced by what have come to be called Artisan Mannerisms. The reclining female figure at the bottom of the drawing has the easy, relaxed attitude which was achieved on some of the better Roman sarcophagi and is frequently to be seen in Italian and French Renaissance sculpture; on the monument the figure sits up awkwardly and her surround has changed from a plain semicircle flanked by festoons to a riot of coarse scrollwork. The pendants below the book pilasters have skulls instead of acanthus leaves and a complex triangular pediment has taken the place of a simple segmental one. The open pediment of the drawing with its small scrolls was not, in fact, to be realized in Stone's sculpture until the 1630s when it frequently occurs.

This retreat from the classical could be easily understood if Stone had left an assistant to work out the details of the design, but he almost certainly would have been prevented from doing so by the existence of a contract drawing. It is more likely that he simply suffered a failure of nerve. Though the classicist in him was not yet ready to emerge fully in his style, he

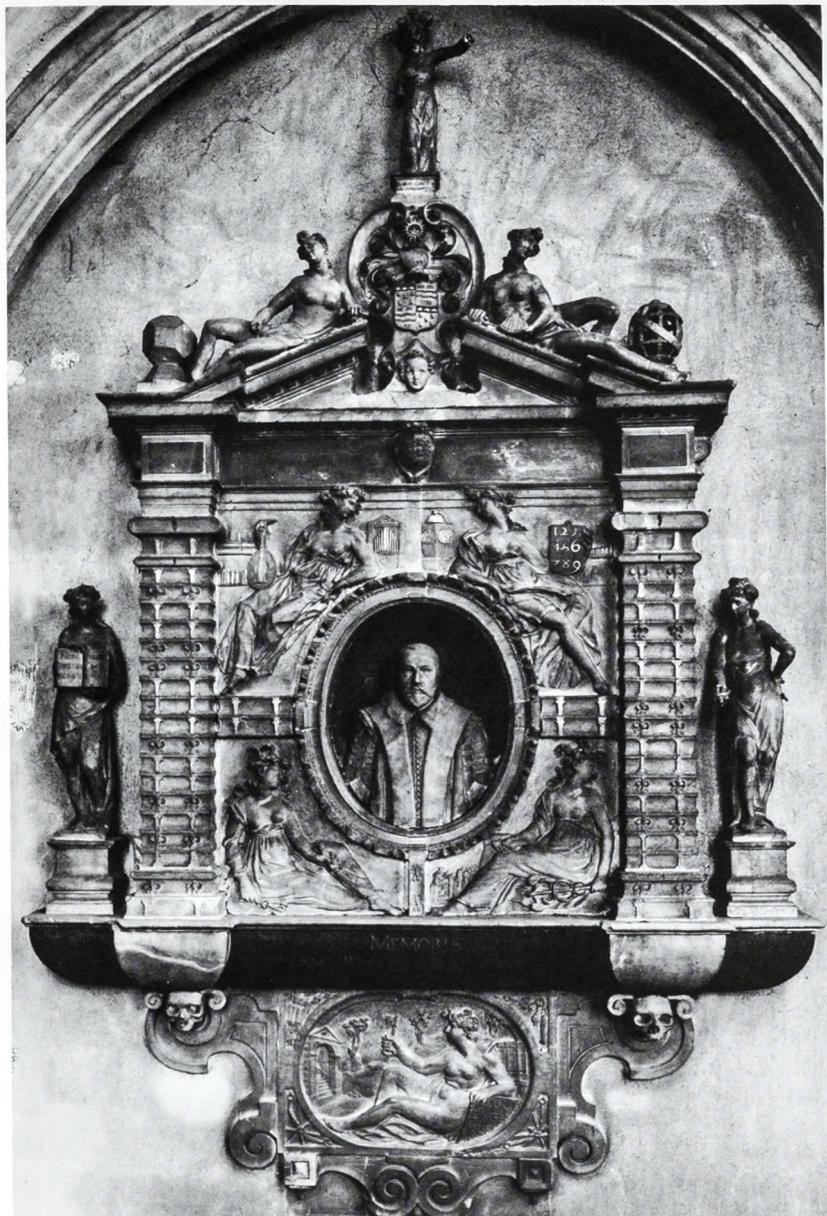


FIGURE 4. Monument to Sir Thomas Bodley 1615, Merton College Chapel, Oxford

*Photo. RCHM (England)*

was willing at this stage to make use of the iconography which had been developed from Greek mythology during the Italian Renaissance. His effigy of Anne, Lady Bennet in York Minster, another work dating from 1615,<sup>10</sup> is flanked by Sirens, half bird, half woman, who play a part very different from that of the fatal temptress usually associated with them, and personify the souls of the deceased whom they guided into the afterlife. A second pair with a putto in between form an elegant bracket supporting Stone's monument. This feature gives a strong echo of the sarcophagus on the memorial to Frances, Lady Cotton at Norton in Hales, Shropshire which, as John Newman has shown,<sup>11</sup> was designed by Inigo Jones and erected *c.* 1608. The closest similarity is with Jones's study for the monument in the RIBA collection, and one therefore wonders if Stone had seen it. The two men had not yet worked together but they were very likely acquainted and Stone had every incentive to look at the art of one who in the same year, 1615, succeeded to the Surveyorship of the King's Works and thus held the strings for the kind of royal patronage which he would have hoped to obtain.

During the 1620s Stone's sculpture reveals a greater seriousness in his approach to the Antique, a change at least partly due to the influence of Jones with whom he had been in close contact from 1619–21 as Master-Mason on the Whitehall Banqueting House. The new



FIGURE 5. Nicholas Stone. Monument to Hon. Francis Holles 1624–27, Westminster Abbey

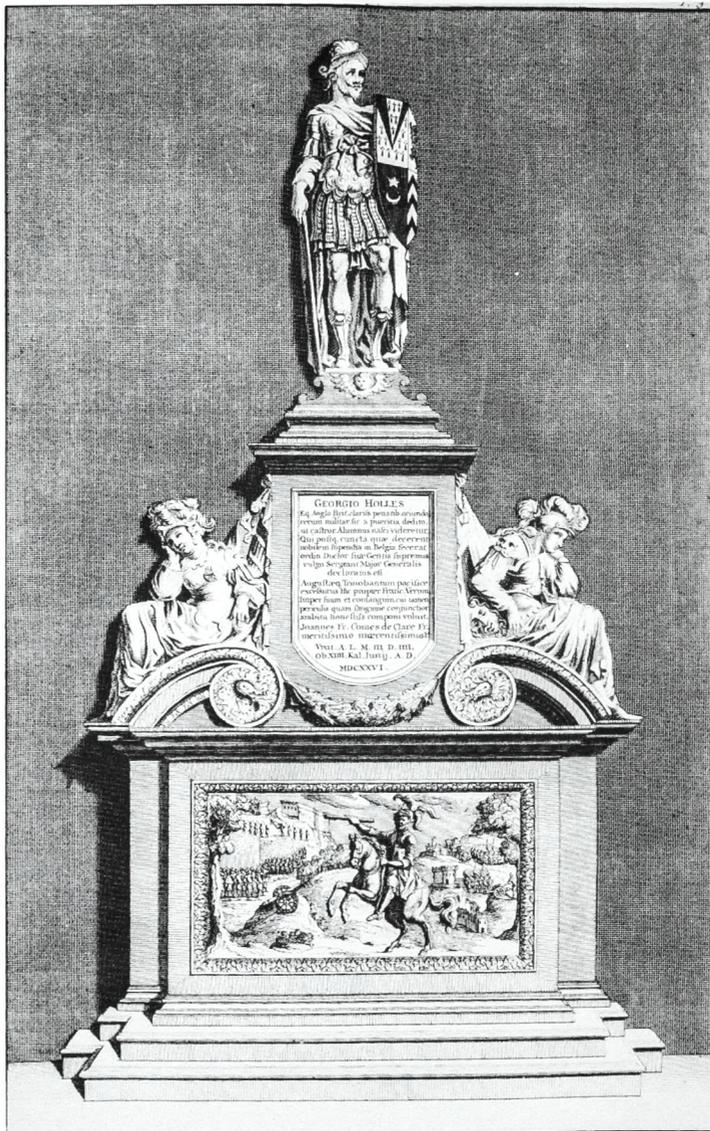


FIGURE 6. Nicholas Stone. Monument to Sir George Holles c. 1626, Westminster Abbey. Engraving from John Dart, *Westmonasterium*, 1723

manner is evident in two memorials in Westminster Abbey commissioned by John Holles, Earl of Clare, one to his son Francis (Figure 5) and the other to his brother George (Figure 6). Francis Holles was a young soldier who died in 1622. His monument had been contracted for by 1623/24; by May 1627 it apparently lacked nothing but the inscription which had been composed for it by the poet Hugh Holland and Clare was becoming impatient for it to be set up;<sup>12</sup> almost certainly this had been done by August of the same year.<sup>13</sup> Its basic form derives from a monument in the same chapel, which commemorates Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Russell and dates from 1602–03. Both effigies sit on Roman drum altars but Stone sought to improve the effect by readjusting the proportions of his effigy to its support and dressing the figure in period costume. His pedestal is simpler than its prototype but far more sophisticated in design; whereas the earlier work is virtually copied from an engraving,<sup>14</sup> Stone carefully combined material from a variety of sources. His two festoons which are suspended between masks and encompass the drum, closely resemble the decoration of the external upper frieze of the Whitehall Banqueting House and the sequence of mouldings around the top, beginning with the acanthus, are taken from the composite pedestal in

Palladio's *Quattro Libri*. Thus in the one case Stone is drawing on a building designed by Jones and on the other he is using Jones's favourite architectural treatise, no doubt with the encouragement and approval of Lord Clare who had a copy of it.<sup>15</sup>

Clare's brother Sir George Holles was also a soldier, and a more distinguished one than his nephew Francis ever had a chance to be. He died in 1626 leaving instructions in his will<sup>16</sup> that he was to be buried in Westminster Abbey as close as possible to his kinsman and former commander Sir Francis Vere. His memorial takes careful account of this for his effigy stands by the feet of Vere's, hard up against the wall. It is in fact the first principal effigy on an English monument of any consequence to assume this posture. The tall base on which it is raised bears a military relief with figures in Roman costume like those on the Norris monument, and once again Stone sought consistency of period by dressing Sir George in the same fashion. When considering the pose and costume he may well have studied a statue of a Roman soldier by the Italian sculptor Egidio Moretti which the great patron and collector Thomas, Earl of Arundel had commissioned in Rome in 1614 and transported to England.<sup>17</sup> Between the relief and the effigy Stone placed another innovation in English tomb sculpture, classical deities appropriate to the profession of the deceased.

Stone's attempts at a consistent classicism did not always have the happiest consequences. In the Victoria and Albert Museum stands his memorial to the lawyer-politician Sir Heneage Finch which was contracted for in 1632 and was formerly at Eastwell in Kent. Like the Francis Holles monument it was an adaption of a recent work in Westminster Abbey, commemorating in this case the celebrated historian and antiquary William Camden (d. 1623). Camden's effigy follows the 'scholar' pattern being somewhat less than half-length, but instead of being suspended on a wall it rests on a pedestal which is derived, in all



FIGURE 7. Nicholas Stone. Bust of Orlando Gibbons from his monument in Canterbury Cathedral, without pedestal, 1626

*Photo. Courtauld Institute*

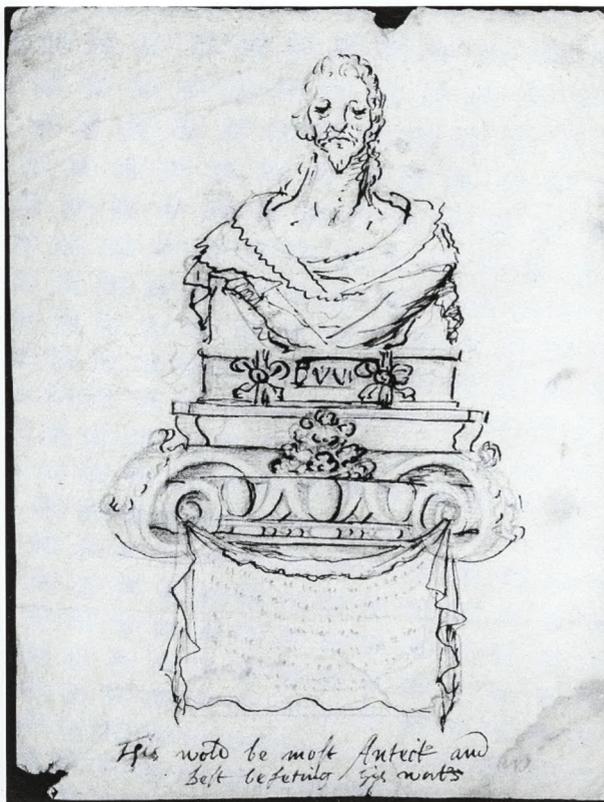


FIGURE 8. Nicholas Stone (attrib.). Design for a monument to Isaac Casaubon. Coll. William Drummond, London

probability, from the Romano-British inscribed stones which are illustrated in the 1600 and later editions of Camden's great work, the *Britannia*. This reference being inappropriate to Finch, Stone deleted it by treating the front of the pedestal architecturally with pilaster strips. In doing so he almost certainly saved money by dispensing with the need for a large piece of marble; the remarkably low contract price of £50<sup>18</sup> would only have been possible with such economies. The faint shadow of classical allusion which remained in the design was carefully complemented in the effigy which is entirely that of a man of Finch's own day except that the eyeballs are not incised and follow the fashion of late Roman Imperial portrait busts. The result, however, is to make what would in any case have been a somewhat bland effigy look singularly blank and dead, in contrast to Camden's alert and sprightly image.

Stone's interest in Roman portraiture went further than the Finch memorial suggests. His bust of the musician and composer Orlando Gibbons, erected in 1626 in Canterbury Cathedral (Figure 7) was one of the first British monumental effigies to stand on a pedestal and the very first to be truncated in a decidedly classical mode.<sup>19</sup> It is of the so-called Roman Imperial type, cut away diagonally below the shoulders. Gibbons is shown wearing a contemporary ruff, but the piece of drapery below it is intended to suggest a Roman toga, an aesthetically displeasing mixture of ancient and modern which was to gain great popularity in the eighteenth century with sitters who wanted a good likeness with an Antique gloss. Stone used the formula again for his busts of Oliver St John, Viscount Grandison, and his wife (c. 1630) on their monument in St Mary's, Battersea<sup>20</sup> and for those of William Peyto and his wife (1639) at Chesterton, Warwickshire. On paper he was once again prepared to be a little bolder, at least where costume was concerned. A design for a monument with a bust of a man dressed purely *all'antica* appeared at Christie's in December 1984,<sup>21</sup> catalogued as English, mid seventeenth century (Figure 7). It bears no identification of either author or subject but can be securely attributed to Stone by the contemporary inscription below it: *This wold be most Antick and | best befeting his works*. That the writing is Stone's can be clearly seen by comparing it with a specimen from his account book (Figure 9),<sup>22</sup> particularly the words *this* (first line), *and* (eighth, ninth, and tenth lines), *his* (bottom line) and *works* (seventh line). Iconographically the drawing fits into Stone's *oeuvre* equally well: the bust with the Gibbons monument, the book with the Bodley monument and the type of composite capital, which here serves as a

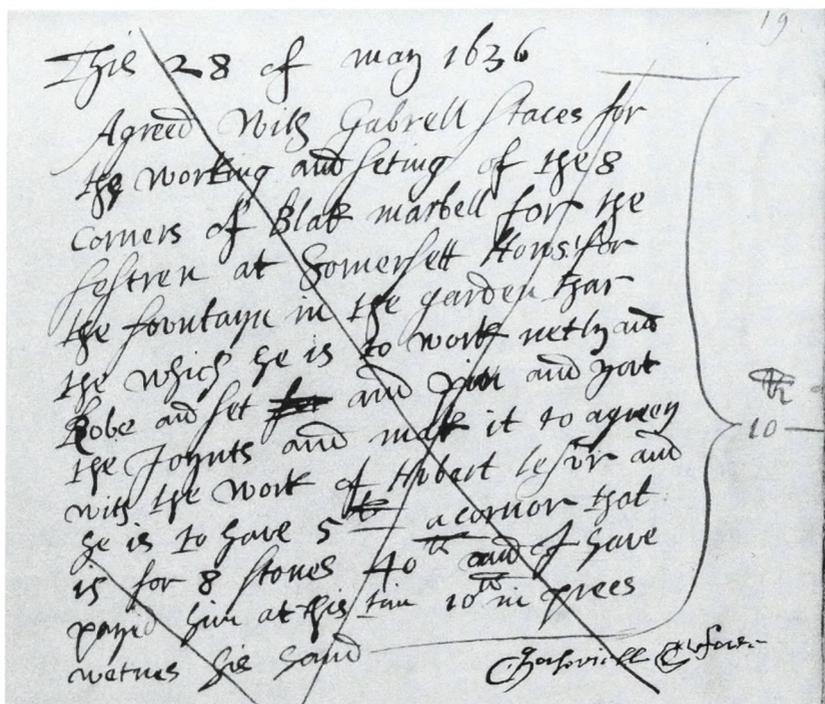


FIGURE 9. Specimen of Nicholas Stone's handwriting from his account book, dated May 1636

Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum, London

wall bracket, with a number of memorials of the 1630s and early 40s on which a festoon corresponds to the suspended inscription panel.

The inscription makes plain the author's intention, but the Mannerist elongated neck of the effigy is far from 'Antick' to say nothing of the manner in which the bust is supported. The problem of truncation is not satisfactorily resolved for although the arrangement of the costume implies the Imperial pattern, there are vertical lines from the shoulders which indicate that this was not in fact intended. As to subject, the inscription would fit a classical scholar and Stone did make a memorial to one such person, Isaac Casaubon, in 1634. It stands in Westminster Abbey and bears no resemblance at all to the drawing, but the phrasing of Stone's note implies that this design was only one of several proposals. Casaubon thus remains a candidate. A painting of him in the National Portrait Gallery<sup>23</sup> shows similar features, though the hair is much shorter.

I have argued elsewhere<sup>24</sup> that the refinements and subtleties of the Casaubon monument as executed were beyond Stone's creative ability but that they can be related to Jones's notes in his famous copy of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, suggesting strongly that it was the Surveyor and not the Master-Mason who was responsible for the design. Others have associated Jones with further memorials which were carved in Stone's workshop during the 1630s. Pevsner described Sir Edmund Paston's monument at Paston in Norfolk which Stone delivered in 1635 (Figure 10) as so 'faultlessly classical' that one would like to assume that Jones had given advice on it.<sup>25</sup> The closed urn which forms the central feature imparts an air of austere simplicity which calls to mind Jones's famous comparison, made twenty years earlier,

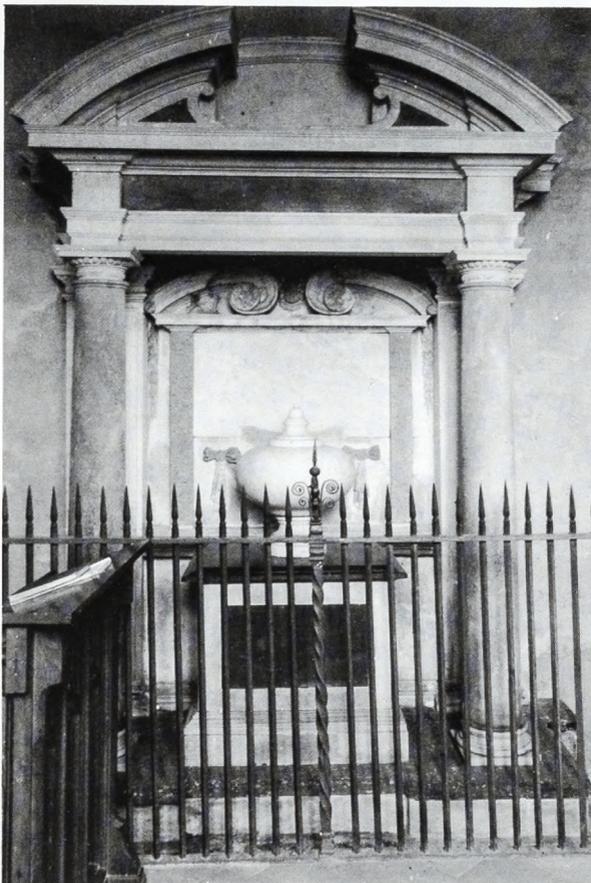


FIGURE 10. Nicholas Stone. Monument to Sir Edmund Paston, 1635, Paston, Norfolk

Photo. RCHM (England)

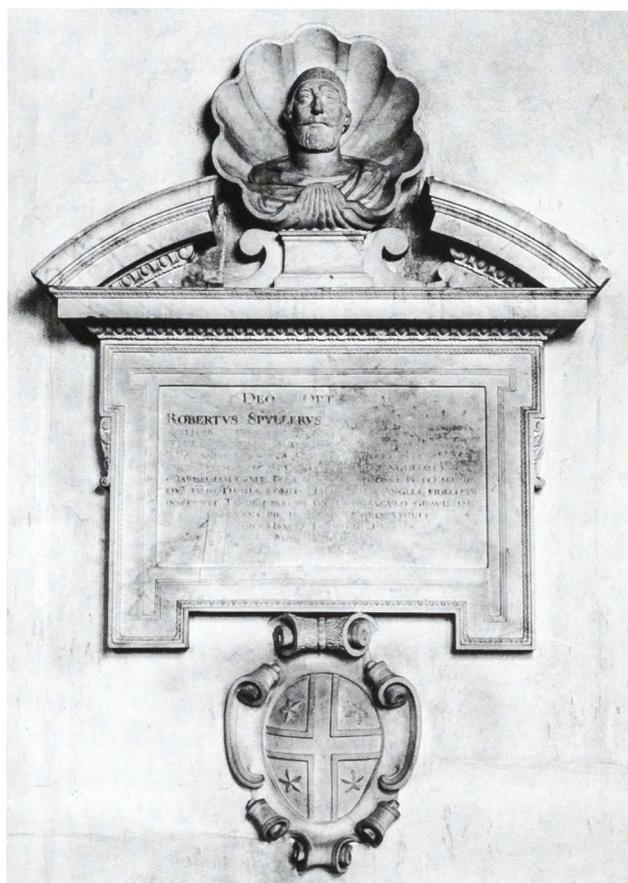


FIGURE 11. Nicholas Stone (attrib.). Monument to Robert Spyller c. 1634, Arundel, Sussex

Photo. Courtauld Institute

between the exterior of a good building and a 'wyse ma[n] [who] carrieth a graviti in Publicke Places'. It should be noted, however, that the urns did not have the exclusive connotation of Roman burial rites which they tended to acquire later since they had recently been used on monuments to indicate the survival of the medieval practise of burying part of the body, the heart or the bowels, separately from the rest.<sup>26</sup> The architectural surround of the Paston memorial was very similar to that of the gateway of Goldsmith's Hall in the City of London, a building both designed and erected by Stone on which Jones certainly did give advice early in 1635 at about the time when the memorial would have been nearing completion.<sup>27</sup> The elements of the sepulchral architecture, however, were present in Stone's earlier work, the pediment in the Bodley design and a similar order on the Monson memorial of 1625 at South Carlton in Lincolnshire. Thus while it is possible that Jones was looking over Stone's shoulder when the Paston monument was being drawn out on paper there is no reason to suppose that he was holding the pen.

It has also been suggested that Jones was somehow involved with the wall tablet to Robert Spyller (d. 1633/34) at Arundel in Sussex (Figure 11). Spyller was Steward to Thomas, Earl of Arundel who is likely to have erected the memorial, following a well-established practise for wealthy people thus to commemorate their most valued servants in their estate churches and family chapels. By the time of Spyller's death the Earl had already patronized both Jones and Stone whose hand is clearly discernible in the style of pediment and the frame around the inscription. The question is, could Stone have conceived the effigy without advice from his more learned colleague? Its most interesting feature is that it is placed in a shell, a new derivation from Roman tomb sculpture which symbolized the immortality of the deceased. Jones could have seen at least one Antique example of this when he visited Arles early in his career,<sup>28</sup> but there were also engravings of it in Jean-Jaques Boissard's treatise on Rome and its antiquities *Romanae Urbis Topographiae* . . .<sup>29</sup> which had provided some material for the Elizabeth Russell monument already mentioned. Stone was perfectly capable of quarrying the publication for new ideas of his own accord.

The 1630s were Stone's heyday. He succeeded William Cure the Younger as Master-Mason in the Office of Works (1632) and developed an extensive private practise in architecture and building. While remaining highly active as a tomb sculptor he embellished houses, gardens, and a gateway at Windsor Castle with representations of Classical subjects most of which, unfortunately, do not survive. All this ceased in the year the Civil War broke out. Stone is said to have been 'sequestrated plundered and imprisoned' during the conflict<sup>30</sup> and did not live to see its end, dying on 24 August 1647.

Stone's second son, Nicholas the younger, survived him by less than a month and his wife Maria de Keyser, was also dead within the year. A wall tablet was erected to the three of them in St Martin in Fields by his eldest son Henry. This was destroyed in the eighteenth century when the church was rebuilt to the designs of James Gibbs, but Gibbs very fortunately took the trouble to record it in a drawing preserved in the Bodleian Library (Figure 12).<sup>31</sup> This shows a single effigy, representing Nicholas Senior which, according to Vertue, was carved by Henry Stone. It takes the form of a head and shoulders in profile raised on a circular medallion, an interesting development of the tondo effigies, set within a frame, which are plausibly attributed to Epiphanius Evesham and are perhaps seen at their finest on the wall tablet to Richard, Earl of Warwick and his wife (c. 1619) at Snarford, Lincolnshire. Stone's portrait relates to a different artistic tradition, that of the commemorative medal. There is an example of its application to tomb sculpture in Antonio Rossellino's monument to Neri Capponi in Santo Spirito, Florence, a church which Henry Stone could have seen on his visits to the city in 1638 and 1642, and whose interior is mentioned in the diary of his travelling companion, his brother Nicholas.<sup>32</sup> Henry, then, commemorated his father not as a thoroughgoing classical revivalist, but most decidedly as an artist of the Renaissance. From



FIGURE 12. Henry Stone. Monument to Nicholas Stone and his family c. 1647. Formerly St Martin in the Fields, London. Drawing by James Gibbs c. 1721. Bodleian Library, Oxford

*Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library*

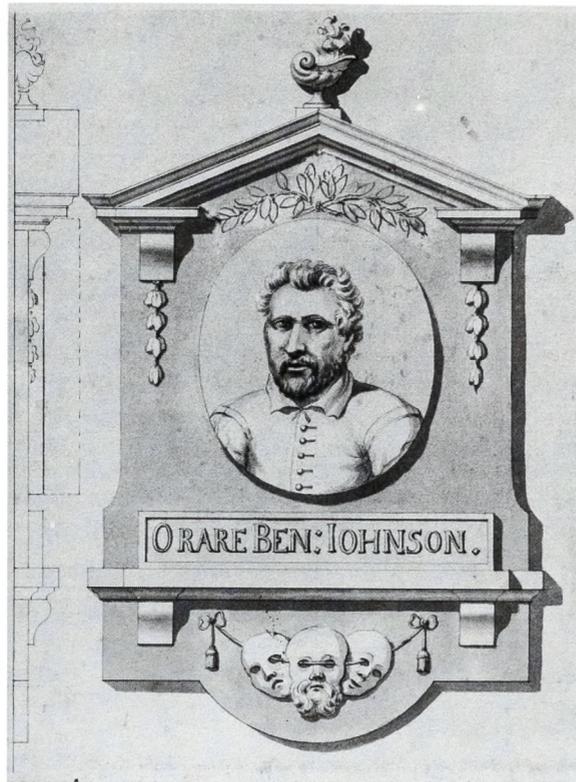


FIGURE 13. James Gibbs. Design for the monument to Ben Jonson c. 1723. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

*Reproduced by permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum*

the historian's point of view it was a highly accurate presentation; it was also one well in advance of its time, for not until the eighteenth century did medallion effigies become fashionable in English tomb sculpture. Gibbs himself adapted it for the memorial which he designed to Stone's contemporary Ben Jonson, which is generally thought to have been carved by Michael Rysbrack and had been erected in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey by 1723 (Figure 13).<sup>33</sup>

The inspiration which Stone drew from classical antiquity may seem at times to have resulted in mere gaucherie, yet he was a pioneer in his day and place and at times he showed considerable talent. I hope I have said enough to convince you that even if the sculpture of the age of Inigo Jones does not have the lustre of its finest architecture, it makes a strong claim on our attention.

#### REFERENCES

1. In a petition addressed to Francis Bacon during his tenure of office as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (1616/17–1617/18). James claimed to have executed the monument about six years previously (PRO, C3/314/36).
2. James's name appears in the assessments for the poor rate in the parish of St Martin in the Fields from 1601–02 until 1624–25.
3. W. L. Spiers (ed.), 'The Note-book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone', *The Walpole Society*, vii (1918–19), p. 38.
4. Norris Collection G 1/8.
5. Referred to in J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, I (London, 1802), p. 411.
6. Quoted in W. L. Spiers, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
7. *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, xiii (1950), p. 212, n. 1.

8. To judge by dates of death the first of these was that of Dr Lawrence Humphrey (d. 1589/90) in the ante-chapel at Magdalen College.
9. W. J. Blair, 'Nicholas Stone's design for the Bodley monument', *Burlington Magazine*, cxviii (1976), pp. 23-24.
10. Repr. W. L. Spiers, op. cit., pl. vi and J. B. Morrell, *York Monuments* (London, n.d.), frontispiece.
11. 'An early drawing by Inigo Jones and a monument in Shropshire', *Burlington Magazine*, cxv (1973), pp. 360-67.
12. P. R. Seddon (ed.), 'The letters of John Holles, Earl of Clare 1587-1637', *Thoroton Society*, Record Series vol. 35 (1982-83), p. 351. The letter in question could conceivably refer to the monument to Sir George Holles but its inscription includes no poetry. Furthermore, the date of the letter fits those of the payments for the Francis Holles monument particularly well. I am grateful to Dr David Howarth for this reference.
13. Nottingham University Library Pw V. 4., pp. 22, 75, 106. I am grateful to Dr P. R. Seddon for this information.
14. See below and A. C. F. White, 'Classical learning and the early Stuart Renaissance', *Church Monuments*, 1, pt 1 (1985), pp. 20-23.
15. H. M. C., *Portland*, ix (1923), p. 152.
16. PRO, PROB 11/149/92.
17. David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London, 1985), pp. 47, 109; repr. pl. 30.
18. W. L. Spiers, op. cit., p. 88.
19. The bust of Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster (d. 1601) on his monument at Ruthin, Clwyd is of more or less the same type but is very crudely carved and artistically little more than a curiosity.
20. For the documentation of this monument which is not mentioned in Stone's note-book or his account book see J. G. Taylor, *Our Lady of Batersey* (London, 1925), pp. 171-74. I am grateful to Mr John Newman for this reference.
21. Sale of old master drawings 14 December, lot 256.
22. Fol. 19; W. L. Spiers, op. cit., p. 105.
23. Roy Strong, *National Portrait Gallery, Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 37-38; repr. vol. II, pl. 71.
24. A. White, op. cit., p. 29.
25. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North-East Norfolk and Norwich* (Harmondsworth, 1962), p. 298.
26. On the monuments to Anne Harlay (d. 1605), Westminster Abbey and George, Duke of Buckingham (1631), Portsmouth Cathedral.
27. *Architectural History*, 14 (1971), p. 33.
28. This is the Jonas sarcophagus, now in the Musée Lapidaire d'Art Chrétien, Arles (inv. no. 27) which comes from the Roman cemetery of Les Alyscamps in the city. I am grateful to M. Jean-Maurice Rouquette, Conservateur des Musées d'Arles for information on the provenance. For Jones's visit to Arles see Gordon Higgott, 'Inigo Jones in Provence', *Architectural History*, 26 (1983), pp. 24-34.
29. Frankfurt 1597-1602.
30. W. L. Spiers, op. cit., p. 28.
31. Gough maps 22, f. 70<sup>v</sup>.
32. W. L. Spiers, op. cit., p. 169.
33. Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 100.