3 "History from Marble"

Church notes and the rise of epigraphy in early modern England

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Introduction—of church monuments and histories from marble

In early 1600 a dedicated guide to the tombs, monuments and inscriptions of Westminster Abbey was published for the first time: *Reges, reginae, nobiles, & alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti, usque ad annum reparatae salutis.*[1] The author was the antiquary, herald and schoolmaster William Camden, and the book addressed a subject of newfound interest at the time. A small and easily portable quarto, the guide quickly attracted the attention of domestic and international readers alike, and it was soon popular enough to warrant further editions in 1603 and 1606.[2] Entrepreneurial church officials took to selling it in the Abbey precincts and visitors began to tour the building with copies in their hands. Other writers and travellers also started to use it in their own descriptions of the Abbey in the accounts and journals that they wrote up afterwards.

The Bohemian nobleman Baron Waldstein (Zdeněk Brtnický Valdštejna), who toured England in July and August 1600 when he was just nineteen, was one such example. In his diary, when he recorded his visit to the Abbey that summer, Waldstein picked out Camden's guidebook for special recommendation: "The Abbey, one of the finest in the whole of England, is most magnificent and also very beautiful […] It contains a large number of chapels and some very splendid royal monuments: with reference to these, consult a special book, which is printed in London".[3] Shortly thereafter he also quoted from the book when he described the Coronation Chair as one of the Abbey's must-see attractions: "Among other things one should see the marble throne of the Kingdom of Scotland in the royal chapel. After defeating the Scots, Edward I returned triumphant in 1297 and in the Abbey of Westminster he dedicated to God the sceptre and crown of the Kings of Scotland, and also this seat upon which the Scottish Kings used to be crowned".[4] Waldstein presumably acquired a copy when he was in London, probably from one of these entrepreneurial abbey officials.

The guide was still being touted to visitors to the Abbey a decade later. We know this because the German traveller Justus Zinzerling (Jodocus Sincerus) reported it in his *Itinerarium Galliae* (1616), an account of his travels through

France, Belgium and England. He recorded there that copies were "sold by the verger".[5] Valentin Arithmaeus, Professor of Poetry at Frankfurt on the Oder, noted the same thing when he visited London the following year. He, however, refused to buy the book because the verger who approached him with a copy demanded such a high price for it. In the preface to his own account of the Abbey's tombs and monuments, titled *Mausolea regum, reginarum, dynastarum, nobilium, sumptuosissima, artificiosissima, magnificentissima, Londini Anglorum* (1618), Arithmaeus wrote that "[w]hen the Verger saw I was eager after these things, he offered a copy of some Inscriptions printed several years before; but after the manner of his nation, eaten up with avarice, he demanded a great price".[6]

As the first dedicated guide to Westminster Abbey and its monuments, Camden's book was original and innovative in two interrelated ways. First, it was the first dedicated guidebook to an ecclesiastical building of any sort to be published in England. As such, it originated a form of historical writing that flourished in the seventeenth century: church descriptions. These works combined antiquarian research into the foundations and origins of churches with enumerative accounts of their tombs and monuments and observations (usually rather basic) on their architecture. Mixing church notes with checklists of funerary monuments, coats-of-arms and inscriptions, these works appealed to wealthy travellers, heralds, genealogists and antiquaries alike.

Books in the same vein that followed in the wake of Camden's guide included the printer and bookseller Henry Holland's comparable guide to St Paul's Cathedral, *Monumenta sepulchralia Sancti Pauli* (1614) (reissued in a slightly extended version in 1633 as *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli illustrata*), the antiquary William Somner's more elaborate *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640) and the antiquary and herald William Dugdale's much more elaborate *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, from its Foundation Untill These Times* (1658). Daniel King's collection of engravings of cathedrals and abbeys from across England and Wales, *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches of England and Wales Orthographically Delineated* (1656), was another important landmark in this tradition.[7] King's book, which was issued in at least three different states, contains multiple engravings by him and Wenceslaus Hollar, based on original drawings by a number of artists, including Richard Newcourt, Thomas Johnson, Richard Ralinson, Stephen Anderton, Randle Holme Junior and King himself.

Camden's guide was equally significant, though, for initiating another overlapping seventeenth-century interest: epigraphy. Just as subsequent years saw a series of cathedral and church descriptions modelled on Camden's book, so they also witnessed the publication of a growing number of historical works devoted to inscriptions, funerary monuments and epitaphs, which were likewise inspired by it—what a subsequent antiquary, the draughtsman and surveyor Thomas Dingley (or Dineley as his name was also sometimes spelt) called "History from Marble".[8] Crossing confessional boundaries and incorporating works in both print and manuscript, "history

from marble" became an increasingly prominent aspect of seventeenth-century antiquarian activity. As the antiquarian project turned from textual to material traces of the past, the inscriptions and monuments that historians from marble collected and documented took on a new evidentiary importance. Along with other material and visual remains such as coins and medals, these epigraphic records were able to supplement and support the authority of traditional, text-based historical evidence.[9] Moreover, this "history from marble" also constituted a significant step in early modern England's discovery of its own medieval past. Whilst their methods and approaches drew on classical scholarship, the historians of marble extended antiquarian attention from Roman remains to more recent material and archaeological traces too.

This kind of history is my subject in this chapter. Why did this "history from marble" emerge in the seventeenth century? What were the major literary and intellectual influences on it? How did it affect people's understanding of history as a practice? What were its consequences for the early modern sense of the past? How did it fit into the wider European interest in classical inscriptions? What were the effects of this new form of historical writing on historical activity more generally? How did it lead, in the British context, at least, perhaps for the first time, to a distinctly visual sense of the past? These are the research questions that the rest of this chapter sets out to answer. To do this, the chapter begins by contextualising "history from marble" and placing it within the larger culture of the material turn of post-Reformation history-writing. Subsequent sections of the chapter trace the development of this form of history, beginning with Camden's and Holland's guidebooks, before turning to the most important seventeenth-century study of inscriptions, John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631). The chapter then ends with Dingley's own works, which exemplify the full potential of this new approach to the past and the books for which he coined his striking term in the first place.

Church notes and the material turn of post-Reformation history

Scholars have generally explained this rise in interest in the material remains of the medieval past as a response to the Reformation. In a now classic essay, the ecclesiastical historian Margaret Aston argued that the ruins caused by the Dissolution of the Monasteries "proved to be peculiarly fertile in stimulating consciousness of the past and in promoting historical activity" and suggested that they "fostered a growing nostalgia" for the medieval world, which "had been swept off in this break".[10] Church notes were perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this, as sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquaries exhaustively documented the funerary monuments, inscriptions and epitaphs and occasionally, too, the architectural features, of churches up and down the country.[11] That interest, as Alexandra Walsham has shown, numbered both Catholics and Protestants; there was, in her words, a "growing impulse"

amongst conservative writers across the confessional divide "to record in writing and image remnants of a religious world that they feared would soon be lost".[12] The Worcestershire antiquary Thomas Habington, for example, who compiled an extensive collection of church notes based on his tours of that county, described his purpose as to "preasarve […] within thease paper walles what that stronge rocke cannot keepe".[13] Habington was a Catholic convert, but the sentiment was not one just restricted to his fellow believers. Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, the first extended historical study of an English cathedral, for example, reflected a High-Church Anglicanism, which was shared by many seventeenth-century antiquaries, whilst Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* was animated by an acute understanding of the fragility of historical records and a profound sense of material loss. In his case, though, this was occasioned by a more recent series of depredations as well: the neglect, even vandalism, of the church during the Commonwealth period.[14]

If seventeenth-century antiquaries increasingly sought to preserve the material remains of the medieval past through their books and collections, so those remains were also increasingly conceived in textual terms—as Dingley's term attests. The histories from marble that they started to produce did not, however, necessarily signal a dedicated medievalism, at least not in the modern understanding of that word. Rather, their works freely mixed medieval and post-medieval monuments and inscriptions, and they continued to document Roman material remains where these were unearthed too. The result was that histories from marble brought together inscribed stones from both distant and much more recent times in a universalising antiquarian project. This was entirely in keeping with the Renaissance and early modern interest in, and approach to, the medieval world more generally.[15]

The major drivers here, moreover, were not a new appreciation for medieval art and architecture, although glimpses of both did start to appear in the works of certain antiquaries, especially in the later seventeenth century. Instead, they were the senses of fear and loss expressed by Dugdale and Habington. Almost as important, too, as this chapter will go on to argue, was the widespread interest in genealogy that characterised so much seventeenth-century historical and antiquarian endeavour. Church notes, as Jan Broadway writes, "could be extremely useful for the genealogist", as they included "not only coats of arms, either drawn or in blazon, but also descriptions of funeral monuments, their inscriptions and epitaphs".[16] Churches were, therefore, one of the primary sites for both heraldic research and antiquarian activity in the period: their funerary monuments provided documentary evidence of ancestors and names, which was invaluable for drawing up pedigrees and tracing family histories.

In what follows, I examine three of the most important landmarks in this history of marble, in chronological order, to document the evolution of epigraphic activity and research in the seventeenth century and to demonstrate the changing ways in which historically minded authors made use of inscribed evidence and their shifting motives for this: Camden's and

Holland's early seventeenth-century guides to Westminster Abbey and St Paul's, Weever's massive mid-century *Ancient Funerall Monuments* and finally Dingley's late seventeenth-century eponymous work and its associated texts. What emerges from these examples is the story of a distinct form of early modern historical writing: a form whose significance scholars have noted, but whose story in long duration has rarely been told before. Before turning to these examples, though, we need to pause briefly to document the emergence of epigraphy as a discipline amongst a previous generation of continental antiquaries, whose activities instigated the study of inscriptions as historical evidence important in both their textual and material dimensions.

Two pioneering church guidebooks

As William Stenhouse has shown, there emerged across Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century a group of antiquarian scholars who "opened avenues towards the systematic exploitation of inscriptions as historical evidence", who gathered "records of examples" and "developed techniques to order and index what they found", who "produced general rules for the interpretation of epigraphic material", and whose works pioneered "ideas about the scope and potential of inscribed evidence".[17] Originating in a small community based in Rome in the 1540s and 1550s, these scholars developed ideas about the interpretation of inscriptions that had a profound influence on historical writing and, by the end of the sixteenth century, had spread across Europe thanks to a series of published collections of inscriptions and epitaphs. These works gathered examples of classical inscriptions for future scholars to use and developed approaches to and methods for interpreting that material.

By 1587, the first handbook of this subject had been published in the form of the ninth and tenth dialogues of Antonio Agustín's *Dialogos de medallas inscriciones y otras antiguedades* (1587). This work, which was published posthumously a year after its author's death, set the stall for future epigraphic research, as it mapped how, and in what circumstances, inscriptions could be used as historical evidence.[18] Agustín's book was popular and quickly met with success. An Italian translation was soon published, issued in two different editions by the Roman printer Guglielmo Facciotti in 1592, and a Latin version by the classical scholar and philologist Andreas Schott then followed in 1617. As with other scholars of the period, Agustín believed that the primary value of inscriptions was philological and lay in their potential to verify the spelling of classical Latin: what he called "el prouecho de la orthographia". However, he also recognised that inscriptions could have other uses, too, for the antiquary and historian. Notably, he argued that they could supplement, and even correct, what was obscure or false in textual records, and that in this way they could provide valuable information about subjects as diverse as Roman families, tribunes, legions, magistrates, ministers, priests, soldiers and wars.[19] Agustín's focus, as with the scholars of the 1540s and 1550s, was on classical inscriptions, but he pioneered an approach

to the material remains of the past that later antiquaries would take up in considerably expanded ways.

Camden undoubtedly took his cue from this previous generation of scholars. His own book begins with a brief history of Westminster Abbey from its foundation in the seventh century ("*Fundatio Ecclesiæ Beati Petri Westmonasterij*").[20] This provides a potted account of the Abbey, in just two pages, from its first building through to the recent, post-Dissolution past. Camden's principal sources here were the sixteenth-century antiquary John Leland ("Lelandus") and, for the Abbey's foundation, a history written by the eleventh-century Norman monk Sulcard ("Sulcardus"). (He would have had access to the latter thanks to the library of his friend and fellow antiquary Robert Cotton: two manuscripts of Sulcard's history survive amongst the Cottonian manuscripts today.[21]) His own epigraphic research then follows in the form of a comprehensive collection of the Abbey's funerary inscriptions. The transcriptions of these are interspersed with brief historical notes and short biographies of the persons memorialised. He also included a list of the coats-of-arms dating from the reign of Henry III and his rebuilding of the Abbey, which could be seen on either side of the nave, reminding us of the genealogical interests of this kind of church history.

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the book is its guidebook format. Camden's models here were the medieval and early modern encomiastic guides to cities such as Rome, which were written for secular travellers and religious pilgrims alike. Works such as the much recopied, revised and eventually printed *Mirabilia urbis Romae* offered a model for the yoking together of touristic handbook and antiquarian description.[22] Camden's book, however, also constitutes a significant departure from these models. His work is shorn of the miraculous and wondrous elements that typify the *Mirabilia* tradition. In his guide, the antiquarian spirit predominates. After the two-page introductory history, the book transports the reader progressively, and soberly, through the interior of the Abbey, identifying numerous monuments and inscriptions in Latin and English in twenty different locations. The presentational style is strikingly "matter-of-fact": the book has, as Wyman Herendeen has noted, "the 'modern' antiquarian's and herald's concern for descriptive accuracy and the preservation of facts".[23] The result is a generically mixed book: one modelled on an earlier tradition of guidebooks, but which took its intellectual inspiration from a subsequent, more scholarly antiquarian and epigraphic tradition, and adopted its enumerative approach to monuments from contemporary topographical and chorographical works, including Camden's own, much better-known *Britannia* (1586). The *Reges, reginae, nobiles, & alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti*, then, was a guidebook for the historically curious rather than the historically credulous.

Holland adopted the same approach in his book about St Paul's, which appeared fourteen years later, and was the first guide to the monuments in an English cathedral to be published. (Camden's book, whilst it initiated the genre,

was not strictly speaking a cathedral guide: Westminster Abbey is not a cathedral, as in a diocesan seat, but a collegiate church.) Holland's book likewise mixes the form of a travel guide with antiquarian principles of compilation to produce a comprehensive collection of funerary monuments and inscriptions. As Camden had done, he too prefaced this collection with a short essay on the church's foundation and history ("ECCLESIÆ SANCTI PAVLI *fundatio*"). An English translation of that text then follows ("THE FOVNDATION OF SAINT PAVLES *Church*"), suggesting that he may have had a more exclusively domestic audience in mind than Camden had.[24] The book then travels through the space of St Paul's, beginning at "the entrance of the North *side or Ile of the Quire or* Chancell", and then taking the reader up and down the north and south aisles, before ending back at "the little North doore" and the "iron box for the Poore" located there. Appended to the work is a table listing the sixteen archbishops and then the eighty-seven bishops of London up to Holland's own day. The final entry in this list is the incumbent John King, "now liuing in this See of London; yea long and long may hee liue, as hee is a painfull Preacher, a vigilant Pastour, and a worthy Gouernour to Gods glory, and the Church of Englands good".[25] Holland's concluding words here are a reminder that these histories from marble were more than just exercises in antiquarian nostalgia and that they were also frequently animated by strongly held confessional identities. In Holland's case, this resulted in a guidebook that was proleptic as well as explanatory, and which served as a document of St Paul's present and future as well as a record of its past.

In the reissued edition, Holland was more explicit about why he had decided to write this kind of monumental history. He prefaced the 1633 text with an epistle "To the Reader", in which he explained why nineteen years after the first edition he had decided to return to it. One reason was because funerary monuments in St Paul's continued to be erected: this kind of compilation was, therefore, never complete and had to be continuously added to and revised. He also admitted that there were omissions in the original text, which he wanted to correct: "*Beloued, My first Collection of these Monumentall Epitaphs I published Anno*. 1614. *full* 19 *yeeres sithence*: *And vnto this second Edition are diuers Additions of Monuments and Epitaphs erected since that time*, *besides, of some omitted in the former*".[26] However, like most early modern antiquaries, he was also animated by a strongly preservationist instinct, and an awareness of the fragility of historical and material remains and of the ever-present possibility of decay and decline. In his case, the immediate trigger was the project to renovate St Paul's, which Inigo Jones had begun that same year, and a fear that this repair work might lead unintentionally to the damage of some of the church's monuments: "*And now*, *his* Maiesties *gracious* Commission about the Decayes and for the repayring of this famous Church, *is on foot*, *and in agitation* (a Worke, certes, requiring Royall helpe, and beseeming the Maiestie of so mighty a Monarch:) *I haue thought good to publish this as completely as I could, lest in repairing the same, some Monuments of the dead might be defaced, if not quite raced*; *but*

preserued hereby to Memory and Posteritie".[27] As with the Worcestershire antiquary Thomas Habington, it seems, then, that Holland's aim, too, was to preserve material remains in "paper walles". That kind of wall, his words imply, could endure the ravages of humans and time far more easily than any marble or monuments could.

Ancient funerary monuments—The first English gazetteer

As with Camden's *Reges, reginae, nobiles, & alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti*, Holland's guidebook appears to have met with widespread approval. In the preface to the second edition, he tells his readers that the other reason why he reissued the book was because he "*was importuned to publish this my Collection the second time*".[28] Nonetheless, popular as Camden's and Holland's guides seem to have been, both books were limited in scale and scope. Whilst they would have been useful to visitors and tourists, and to historians and antiquaries interested in the two specific churches and the individuals buried in them, they lacked the comparatist approach of the more ambitious collections of monuments and inscriptions, which had begun to appear elsewhere in Europe. Books such as Jan Gruter's monumental *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (1602–03) were on an altogether different scale: this compilation brought together more than 12,000 inscriptions from across the Roman world and was a genuinely trans-European project.[29] Nor did their guidebooks contain discussions of how epigraphic material might be used and interpreted, of how inscriptions should be transcribed, or even a history of inscriptions, although elsewhere Camden himself did address all these subjects in an essay published in his antiquarian miscellany *Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine* (1605).[30]

Shortly before Holland reissued his text, however, a much more ambitious study of British funerary monuments had been published: John Weever's mammoth *Ancient Funerall Monuments Within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent* (1631). Weever's work is at once a collection of inscriptions, a methodical treatise in how to interpret monuments and inscriptions, a history of funerary monuments from classical antiquity to the present day and a deeply personal series of observations and reflections. Amongst its antiquarian matter, it also intersperses discussions of church history, digressions on architecture, snippets of poetry and pedigrees. It was, as such, the first comprehensive gazetteer of this kind of material to appear in English.

Such was the impact of Weever's book that Holland himself felt duty-bound to admit (but also excuse) the considerable overlap with his own much more modest project: "*I am not ignorant also that M*r. Iohn Weever *his laborious collected volume of* Funerall Monuments *is lately published: wherein I see and haply you may find many and most of my collected Epitaphs, done, doubtlesse, by his owne industry*". He hoped, though, that his readers would excuse and "*vindicate* [him] *from robbing from him or ploughing with his*

Heifer, *this small piece of Ground*".[31] Without Weever, history from marble might never have taken off: his work is the crucial intermediary between guidebooks such as Camden's and Holland's, which were compiled primarily for curious antiquarian-minded church visitors, and the much more elaborate church and cathedral descriptions, and collections of church monuments, that began to appear from the middle of the seventeenth century.

Weever's work was nearly 900 pages long, and it was the result of more than two decades of meticulous observation and exhaustive research. Weever combined periods of bookish study with regular journeys across Britain to make his own first-hand transcriptions.[32] Two notebooks, now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries in London, document this research, and much of the material that he copied in those manuscripts ended up in the printed text.[33] The book that emerged was commemorative, resurrectionary and explicitly focused on family history and genealogy. The letterpress title describes it as "[a] worke reuiuing the dead memory of the Royall Progenie, the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Communaltie, of these his *Maiesties Dominions*". The same title also emphasises the variety of sources on which Weever drew and the extent to which he combined literary research with fieldwork, or as he put it "Studie" with "Trauels". It promises a work "[i]ntermixed and illustrated with variety of Historicall obseruations, anno*tations*, *briefe notes*, *extracted out of approued Authors*, *infallible* Records, Lieger Bookes, Charters, Rolls, old Manuscripts, and the Collections of iudicious Antiquaries".[34]

The work itself begins with a lengthy preface in which Weever explains the origins of his project, sets out his research methods and expounds his style of transcription. The preface makes clear the extent to which he conceived *Ancient Funerall Monuments* as a humanist and philological project in the contemporary continental vein. At the same time, though, the preface also signals how closely he aligned his endeavour with the particularly English form of antiquarianism that emerged as a response to the Reformation. He undertook the project, he tells his readers in the opening sentences of the book, because of the scholarly neglect of Britain's tombs and inscriptions, and because of the widespread despoliation of these monuments. The preface begins by naming three prominent, contemporary epigraphic scholars in whose footsteps he follows (Nathan Chytraeus, Franciscus Swertius and Laurentius Schraderus). Weever then turns to the execrable situation in Britain, lamenting "how barbarously within these his Maiesties Dominions" monuments have been "broken downe, and vtterly almost all ruinated".[35] The consequence of this "inhumane, deformidable act", he goes on, is that "the honourable memory of many virtuous and noble persons deceased, is extinguished". Weever's rhetoric here is far from subtle, but it makes clear his outrage at the destruction of Britain's funerary monuments in the all-too-recent past. His own antiquarian and epigraphic endeavours, he explained, were a first step to rectify this neglect. "[G]rieuing at this vnsufferable iniurie offered as well to the liuing, as the dead", and "out of the respect I bore to venerable Antiquity, and the due regard to continue the remembrance of the

defunct to future posteritie", he wrote, "I determined with my selfe to collect such memorials of the deceased, as were remaining as yet undefaced; as also to reuiue the memories of eminent worthy persons entombed or interred, either in Parish, or in Abby Churches".[36]

The epistle then concludes with a brief statement and explanation of Weever's method of transcription:

> I conclude the Epitaphs and Funerall inscriptions in this booke as I finde them engrauen […] And I write the Latine in the same manner as I finde it either written or imprinted, as *capud* for *caput*, *nichil* for *nihil*, and the like; as also E vocall, for E dipthong, dipthongs being but lately come into vse.[37]

In including this passage, Weever's aim was to underscore the documentary nature of his collection and thus signal its reliability. *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, the quotation earlier emphasises, is a diplomatic transcription and an authoritative record of monumental inscriptions and medieval manuscripts. Subsequent scholars have not always been as generous in their assessments of the work, but passages such as this do foreground Weever's commitment to a recognisably scholarly, humanist, philological method.[38] This, moreover, was not just editorial puff. As E. A. J. Honigmann has shown, "[w]hen Weever copied from a good text, he seems to have done so with a high degree of accuracy".[39] Furthermore, Weever did not just limit this approach to Latin materials. He did the same thing with Anglo-Saxon documents: "I likewise write the Orthographie of the old English as it comes to my hands; and if by the copying out of the same it be any manner of ways mollified, it is much against my will, for I hold originalls the best; whereby some may obiect the simplicitie of my vnlaboured stile, and the rough hewen forme of my writing".[40]

A Diocesan history and discourse of funerary monuments

Weever's introductory materials also include a lengthy eighteen-chapter "DISCOVRSE OF Funerall Monuments, &c.", which takes up nearly a third of the book. This discourse is a comparatist and diachronic history of funerary monuments, which moves freely across pagan and biblical, and classical and post-classical, times. Much of it is taken up with a thoroughly orthodox Anglican history of the Reformation. Echoing the tone of his preface, Weever repeatedly lambasts Protestant iconoclasm and offers a series of fierce rebuttals of monumental despoliation and neglect. In this chapter, for example, he laments that "nothing will be shortly left to continue the memory of the deceased to posteritie", and blasts "the opinion some haue, that Tombes, and their Epitaphs, taste somewhat of Poperie, hauing already most sacrilegiously stolne, erazed and taken away, almost all the Inscriptions and Epitaphs, cut, writ, inlaid, or engrauen vpon the Sepulchres of the deceased; and most shamefully defaced the glorious rich Tombes, and goodly monuments of our most worthy Ancestours".[41] In Chapter 10, he similarly castigates the "too

forward zeale" of the Reformers, as they "rooted vp, and battered downe, Crosses in Churches, and Church-yards", "defaced and brake downe the images of Kings, Princes, and noble estates", "crackt a peeces the glasse-windowes wherein the effigies of our blessed Sauiour hanging on the Crosse, or any of his Saints was depictured", and "despoiled Churches of their copes, vestments, Amices, rich hangings, and all other ornaments whereupon the story, or the pourtraiture, of Christ himselfe, or of any Saint or Martyr, was delineated, wrought, or embroidered". "[T]hese hote-burning in zeale officers", he went on, "got cloakes to hide their knauery, and beards to visard their hypocrisie, and thereby vnder a goodly pretence of reforming Religion, they preferred their priuate respects, and their owne enriching, before the honour of the Prince and countrey; yea and before the glory of God himselfe". The worst of all, though, was that these bearded hypocrites despoiled and defaced funerary monuments: "But the foulest and most inhumane action of those times, was the violation of Funerall Monuments".[42]

Weever's "Discourse", however, is more than just tub-thumping, anti-iconoclastic rhetoric. It is also a careful and comparative history of the material form of funerary monuments. In this chapter, for example, Weever develops a taxonomy for sepulchres and monuments based on their building materials, decoration, statuary and elevation above the ground. This was a hierarchical theory, where the degree of decoration corresponded with the social status and rank of the commemorated. It was also, though, a model of memorialization that Weever saw as in decline. "Sepulchres", he warned, "should bee made according to the qualitie and degree of the person deceased, that by the Tombe euery one might bee discerned of what ranke hee was liuing". This, however, was "not obserued altogether in these times: for by some of our epitaphs more honour is attributed to a rich quondam Tradesman, or griping vsurer, then is giuen to the greatest Potentate entombed in Westminster".[43]

In the same chapter, we also hear Weever making what sound like tentative aesthetic judgements on funerary monuments. These generally accord with his conservatism and with the sense of moral and historical decline that he articulated throughout the book. He bemoaned, for example, the contemporary habit of "garnish[ing]" tombs "with the pictures of naked men and women", associating this kind of carving with the worst of pagan idolatry. Tomb-makers "now adayes", he lamented, "rais[e] out of the dust, and brin[g] into the Church, the memories of the heathen gods and goddesses, with all their whirligiggs".[44] His description of Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey (carved by the Florentine sculptor Pietro Torrigiani) elsewhere in this chapter exemplifies the conservative historical and social vision behind his method of reading monuments, as well as the significance of architectural and material details for it:

Noble men, Princes, and Kings had (as it befitteth them, and as some of them haue at this day) their Tombes or Sepulchres raised aloft aboue

ground, to note the excellencie of their state and dignitie; and withall, their personages delineated, carued, and embost, at the full length and bignesse, truly proportioned throughout, as neare to the life, and with as much state and magnificence, as the skill of the Artificer could possibly carue and forme the same: the materials of which were alabaster, rich marble, touch, rauce, porpherey, polisht brasse or copper.[45]

Henry VII's splendid monument, he went on, citing Francis Bacon's concluding words in his *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh* (1622), was the pre-eminent illustration of this: "like vnto that made to the memorie of King *Henry* the seuenth in Westminster, who dwelleth more richly dead (saith *Viscount* Saint *Alban* in his history of that kings raigne) in the monument of his Tombe, then hee did aliue in Richmond or any of his palaces, it being the stateliest, and most curious daintie monument of Europe, both for the Chappell, and for the Sepulchre".[46]

By far the largest part of *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, though, are the four diocesan surveys of Canterbury, Rochester, London and Norwich that take up the remainder of the book. (Despite the promise of the title and the fact that Weever travelled as far as Scotland in search of inscriptions, the published text got nowhere near the geographical coverage that he intended.[47]) *Ancient Funerall Monuments* does in macrocosm what Camden and Holland in their guidebooks did in microcosm. Weever adopted both the copious, expansive style of contemporary antiquarian books and the peregrinatory narrative strategy of chorography. Works such as Camden's *Britannia* and topographical books such as William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (1576; revised edition 1596) and John Norden's county surveys were his likely models here.[48] His principal aim, as with many other early modern antiquaries, was historical comprehensiveness: the four sections are, at heart, a gazetteer of the churches, abbeys and monasteries, and the funerary monuments within them, in these four dioceses. His descriptions come sometimes from direct observation, sometimes from books that he read, and sometimes from other scholarly "collections". He also sometimes included transcriptions of documents and occasionally, too, architectural descriptions. His approach to tombs and monuments was primarily genealogical. His focus, in accordance with what he set out in his prefatory epistle, was on the family histories of the individuals memorialised, and on preserving their names and fame through documenting their monuments and recording the inscriptions on them. Occasionally, though, there are also glimpses of architectural and monumental connoisseurship: as, for example, in his dating of certain inscriptions in the Minster on the Isle of Sheppey in Kent on the evidence of their style or in his description of the tomb of the fifteenth-century archbishop of Canterbury, John Kemp.[49]

Moreover, unlike Camden or Holland, Weever also explicitly included visual material in his gazetteer in the form of eighteen woodcut illustrations. The first of these occurs in his description of St Nicholas' Church in the village of Pluckley in Kent: illustrations of two of the famous Dering family

brasses found in the Dering family chapel there.[50] The woodcuts depict two
of the family's most notable fifteenth-century ancestors, John and Richard
Dering. Weever was probably supplied with the drawings on which the
woodcuts were based by one of their descendants, the seventeenth-century
antiquary Sir Edward Dering.[51] Other visual material in the book includes a
woodcut of a notable late-medieval monument, with a magnificent inlaid
brass effigy, in St Margaret's Church, Westminster and an illustration of a
near contemporary funerary monument (for Gerard D'Ewes who died in
1591) from Upminster in Essex.[52] The decision to include the former, an
illustration of the tomb chest of Dame Mary Billing, a prominent fifteenth-
century church benefactor, was especially prescient, as her tomb was
destroyed in the mid-eighteenth century.[53] As for the latter, Weever's
motivation to include that was genealogical: "whose Epitaph, because it is
replenished with many particulars touching the antiquity and ensignes of this
familie. I haue beene more exact in the full delineation thereof in the figure
following".[54] With Weever's book, then, as well as it being a ground-breaking
gazetteer and a work that exemplified the relationship between genealogy and
epigraphy in historical writing at the time, there are also the first stirrings of a
distinctly visual sense of the past. There are signs, too, that Weever
recognised that the significance of his "church notes" lay as much in the
material culture that he delineated as in the texts that he transcribed.

Conclusion—Dingley's histories from marble

This visual sense of history flourished in the later seventeenth century, taking
full flight in the astonishing (but now almost entirely forgotten) work that gives
its name to this chapter: Thomas Dingley's *History from Marble*. Despite not
being well known today, Dingley's *History* deserves our attention because it
exemplifies the ways in which seventeenth-century antiquaries and historians
collected, documented and made use of church monuments and their inscrip-
tions. In terms of genre, it is a familiar work and one in a long line of
seventeenth-century antiquarian-inflected chorographies. It is yet another
example of a miscellaneous collection of historical and antiquarian observa-
tions, organised along broadly geographical lines. Its coverage ranges across
Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Worcestershire
and Herefordshire, with long sections on the cities of Oxford and Bath. Like
many travellers at the time, Dingley journeyed with a "Journall" in his hand.
From the notes and observations that he made in this notebook, he later wrote
up his *History*. We know this from the following remark that he made about
the church of St Mary Redcliffe in Bristol: "It was founded and finisht at the
sole charges of one Canninges a citizen and merchant of Bristoll, who hath two
monuments therein erected to his memory the one in sacerdotall & ye other in
Secular habitt which I have committed to my Journall as follow".[55]

The contents of the *History from Marble* include church monuments,
architectural notes on country-houses, castles and cathedrals, antiquities

(classical and post-classical), onomastics, etymologies and extracts of poetry. More unexpected subjects that Dingley made notes about include the geology of hot springs and the mineralogical and medicinal qualities of their waters, campanology, prompted by a visit to one of the churches in Chippenham, and literary biography.[56] His principal interests, though, were genealogy and heraldry, and these shaped the form and contents of the entire work. A supplementary alphabetical index at the beginning of the manuscript ("An Alphabett of ARMS additionall to those w[ch] I have mett with on Funerall Monuments, Tombstones, Churches Castles Publick Buildings and Seats in this Journall") illustrates this.[57] So also do the coats-of-arms, properly tricked out, that he dutifully recorded from tombstones, seals and monuments, and which fill the pages of his *History*. Like many other seventeenth-century antiquarian and chorographical surveys, its pages are also filled with inscriptions that its author collected and transcribed. In Dingley's case, these include classical, medieval and post-medieval examples.

The *History from Marble* was not, therefore, particularly innovative in terms of its organisation, genre or subject matter. What is, however, distinctive about it, and what marks it out from the myriad other similar books written in preceding years, is the way in which it combines text and image, and the extent to which Dingley sought to document the material remains of the past visually as well as textually. The *History from Marble* is a beautifully produced manuscript, with penmanship of the highest order. By far its most striking feature are its more than one hundred fine pen-and-ink drawings. These portray churches, castles, country-houses and cathedrals; they depict antiquities, monuments and tombs; and, more frequently than anything, they document coats-of-arms, heraldic devices and other blazons.

Dingley set out his stall here with the manuscript's splendid decorative frontispiece (Figure 3.1). Personified figures of Painting and Sculpture, with some of the key tools of their respective trades (palette, brushes, chisel, try-square), face one another and hold up a curtain on which the full title is written. The frontispiece in this way signals to the reader that this will be a visual history. Elsewhere, the frontispiece also foregrounds the work's more specific interest in funerary monuments and church notes. Below the figure of Sculpture, and alongside a blank cartouche, Dingley wrote the following verses adapted from an inscription that he had found on an Oxford church monument: "Aspera vox ite, Vox | est benedicta venite. | Dicetur reprobis ite, | Venite piis" ("Harsh voice go! The voice that is blessed come! It is said to the reprobate 'go', to the pious 'come'"). He had apparently discovered this sententious distich, in a slightly different form, on an epitaph in the Church of St Mary Magdalen in Oxford, as he recorded later in the manuscript.[58] At the foot of the frontispiece, he also copied another Latin maxim, which signals even more clearly his interest in funerary monuments and epigraphy. Importantly, too, this one acknowledges his debt to previous literary and historical works: "Augustinus de Civ. Dei Sepulchrorum memoria magis virorum, est Consolatio, quam defunctorum utilitas" ("The memory of the
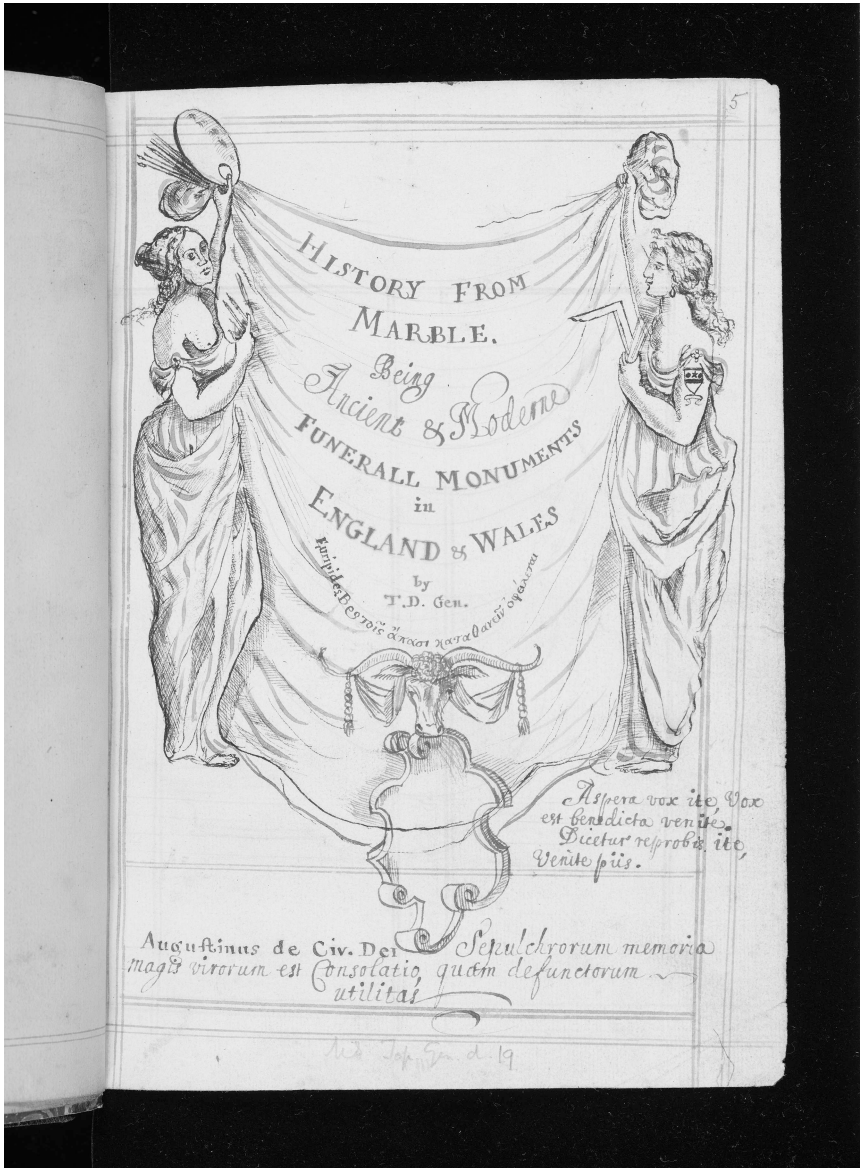
Figure 3.1 Thomas Dingley, "History from Marble. Being Ancient & Moderne Funerall Monuments in England & Wales by T. D. Gen.," Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top. gen. d. 19, fol. 5r. Frontispiece.

graves is more a consolation to the living than a benefit to the dead"). These words were ultimately adapted from Book 1, Chapter 12, of St Augustine's *De civitate dei*, and a passage therein which Augustine reflected on

commemorative and sepulchral practices and their significance for the living rather than the dead.[59] The more immediate source, though, was the title-page of Camden's guide to Westminster Abbey, where the maxim was given in the same form.[60] By quoting it on his frontispiece, Dingley signalled that he was writing in the same tradition and that his *History* should be seen as a direct descendant of Camden's work. Moreover, if the frontispiece indicated his debt to previous epigraphic scholarship, so also did the wonderfully suggestive title itself. The phrase "history from marble" (consciously or otherwise) echoes how pioneering earlier scholars conceived inscribed stones. Agustín, for example, described monumental inscriptions as "books on marble or bronze", whilst the Italian Jesuit historian Agostino Mascardi, in an influential treatise on the writing of history *Dell'arte historica* (1636), described classical remains more generally as *libri di marmo*.[61]

The *History from Marble* was one of six antiquarian works that Dingley compiled, all of which later ended up in the library of Sir Thomas Winnington at Stanford Court in Worcestershire, where they remained until the 1930s. The Dingley manuscripts survived the devastating fire there in December 1882, which destroyed many of the family's rare books and manuscripts. What remained of the library was then dispersed following the death of the fifth baronet, Sir Francis Winnington, in 1931.[62] All of Dingley's works combined the form of an itinerary (or, in some cases, multiple itineraries) with antiquarian observation, monumental documentation and epigraphic transcription. His *Observations in a Voyage in the Kingdom of France*, for example, which records a journey that he made in 1675, is subtitled "Being a Collection of Several Monuments, Inscriptions, Draughts of Towns, Castles, &c.".[63] His *Observations in a Voyage Through the Kingdom of Ireland*, which was bound in the same manuscript, and documents a journey that he made to Ireland five years later in 1680, possibly as a surveyor, is subtitled in exactly the same way.[64] The pages of this work, moreover, are similarly filled with church notes, architectural drawings, descriptions of tombs and funerary monuments, transcribed inscriptions and heraldic observations. Notable examples can be found in the descriptions of Tullow, Kilkenny, Cashel, Owney Abbey, Emly, Quin Abbey, Limerick and, most extensively, Dublin.[65] In short, this work, too, was a history from marble, sharing the same interests in epigraphy, funerary monuments and genealogy as Dingley's eponymous work, and the same visual approach to historical and topographical writing.

The examples of Camden, Holland, Weever and Dingley show the evolution of epigraphic research in the seventeenth century. The development from Camden's slim guidebook to Dingley's richly illustrated and lengthy manuscripts was considerable. However, there was also clearly a continuity here, as Dingley's allusive frontispiece indicates. The works discussed in this chapter all shared a common method and approach, even if in form, scope and scale, Dingley's and Weever's books had more in common with Camden's *Britannia* than his brief abbey guide. They also had a common purpose: "history from

marble", these examples all suggest, was a recognisable and coherent form of antiquarian activity across the seventeenth century, and a distinct form of history. Its subject matter was church monuments, epitaphs, coats-of-arms and inscriptions. Collection, compilation, documentation and transcription were its aims. The result was a genre that drew on continental classical scholarship, and which took its inspiration from pioneering sixteenth-century work on Roman inscriptions, but which turned its attention to the medieval and post-medieval worlds as well or instead, and which resulted in something more specifically English in matter and motivation.

The drivers of this kind of history, and the principal reasons behind it, were genealogical, heraldic, antiquarian and preservationist. Thomas Habington explained in the introduction to the *Survey of Worcestershire*, his own "history from marble", that the "occasyon wheareuppon [he] fyrst undertook this woourcke was because it was obiected by one that our countie conteygned fewe gentllmen of antiquity". He, therefore, set out to counter that objection by "s[eeing] and transcryb[ing] the Armes and monuments of all the churches in thys Shyre".[66] Exactly the same could be said for Camden, Holland, Weever and Dingley. These were the motives and methods that produced their histories from marble too. Scarred by recent memories of monumental despoliation, and all too aware that the same might happen again, they sought to preserve in their books the epitaphs and other heraldic, genealogical and monumental remains found in churches and to rescue them from the ravages of humans and time. Habington told his readers in the same place that, thanks to his exhaustive epigraphic research and his relentless transcriptions, "the face of our Shyre [was] raysed out of obscurityes". Camden, Holland, Weever and Dingley could all have made similar claims.

Notes

1 William Camden, *Reges, reginæ, nobiles, & alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti, vsque ad annum reparatæ salutis* (London: E[dmund] Bollifant, 1600). The book was entered in the Stationers' Register on 21 January 1600: see *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875–94), 3:56.

2 Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 211; Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 168–70; and Ian Atherton, "Visiting England's Cathedrals from the Reformation to the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*, eds Dee Dyas and John Jenkins (Cham: Springer, 2020), 88.

3 *The Diary of Baron Waldstein: A Traveller in Elizabethan England*, trans. and annot. G.W. Groos (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 37.

4 *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 41; cf. Camden, *Reges, reginæ, nobiles, & alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti*, A4v: "Obtulit B. Edwardo in Ecclesia Westmonasteriensi regalia regni Scotiæ, videlicet Solium inaugurationis, Sceptrum aureum cum corona, Anno 1307. mortem obijt & ad caput patrus situs est in tumulo marmoreo cum hoc Epitaphio".

5 William Brenchley Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First. Comprising the Translations of the Journals of the Two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and 1610; Both Illustrative of Shakespeare. With Extracts from the Travels of Foreign Princes and Others, Copious Notes, an Introduction, and Etchings* (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), 132; *Iodoci Sinceri Itinerarium Galliæ, Ita accomodatum, vt eius dvctv mediocri tempore tota Gallia obiri, Anglia & Belgia adiri possint: nec bis terue ad eadem loca rediri oporteat: notatis cuiusque loci, quas vocant, deliciis: cum appendice, de Bvrdigala* (Lyon: Jacques du Creux, 1616), Z7v–Z8r.

6 Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, 178; Valentin Arithmaeus, *Mausoléa regum, reginarum, dynastarum, nobilium, sumptuosissima, artificiosissima, magnificentissima, Londini Anglorum in occidentali urbis angulo structa, H. e. Eorundem inscriptîones omnes in lucem reductæ curâ Valentinis Arithmæi, Professoris Academici* (Frankfurt: Joannis Eichorn, 1618), †5 v: "Cum verò æditimus […] me vidit cupidum istarum rerum, obtulit exemplar inscriptionum aliquot, ante multos annos excusarum: sed pactus ex more gentis, avaritiâ ferventis ingens pretium".

7 Daniel King, *The Cathedrall and Conventvall Churches of England and Wales Orthographically Delineated by D. K. Anno M DC LVI* (London: John Overton, 1656).

8 Thomas Dingley, "History from Marble. Being Ancient & Moderne Funerall Monuments in England & Wales by T. D. Gen.," Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top. gen. d. 19, fol. 5r.

9 Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 23.

10 Margaret Aston, "English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 231–2.

11 For the rise of "church notes", see also Jan Broadway, *"No historie so meete": Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 133–6.

12 Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," *Historical Journal* 55, no. 4 (2012): 918.

13 Thomas Habington, *A Survey of Worcestershire*, ed. John Amphlett, 2 vols, Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1895–99), 2:18.

14 Parry, *Trophies of Time*, 181–5; Graham Parry and Michiyo Takano, "The Illustrations to Dugdale's *History of St Paul's Cathedral*: Subscribers and Their Sentiments," *The Seventeenth Century* 35, no. 4 (2020): 473–95.

15 For Renaissance and early modern "medievalism", see Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, "What Counted as an 'Antiquity' in the Renaissance?" in *Renaissance Medievalisms*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 53–74; Deanne Williams, "Shakespearean Medievalism and the Limits of Periodization in *Cymbeline*," *Literature Compass* 8, no. 6 (2011): 390–403; and Mike Rodman Jones, "The Uses of Medievalism in Early Modern England: Recovery, Temporality, and the 'Passionating' of the Past," *Exemplaria* 30, no. 3 (2018): 191–206.

16 Broadway, *"No historie so meete"*, 134. For the rise in the "genealogical imagination" more generally, see Michael Maclagan, "Genealogy and Heraldry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Levi Fox (London: Oxford University Press for the Dugdale Society, 1956), 31–48; and D. R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 99–140.

17 William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005), 115, 118.

18 For Agustín's book and its reception, see further Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 78–80, 157–8, 161–2.

19 Antonio Agustín, *Dialogos de medallas inscriciones y otras antiguedades* (Tarragona: Felipe Mey, 1587), 2a4r: "Hai sin esto otros prouechos para ente[n] der muchas cosas q[ue] en libros estan falsas y escuras como son los nombres y prenombres y familias de los Romanos, las tribus, las legiones, los magistrados, los sacerdocios y sus ministros, los officious, el gouierno de las prouincias, el cargo de la gente de guerra, y muchas particularidades de los soldados, y otras casas infinitas".

20 Camden, *Reges, reginæ, nobiles, & alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti*, A2r–v.

21 British Library, Cotton MSS Faustina A. iii, fols 11r–16 v, and Titus A. viii, fols 2r–5 v.

22 For the *Mirabilia* and other similar guides to Rome, see Anna Blenow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota (eds), *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the 20th Century* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019).

23 Herendeen, *William Camden*, 169.

24 Henry Holland, *Monumenta sepulchraria Sancti Pauli* (London: impensis H[enry] Holland, 1614), A3r–A4r and B1r–B2v respectively.

25 Holland, *Monumenta sepulchraria Sancti Pauli*, F3v.

26 Henry Holland, *Ecclesia Sancti Pavli illvstrata* (London: John Norton, 1633), A3r.

27 Holland, *Ecclesia Sancti Pavli illvstrata*, A3r. For the renovation project of St Paul's, see Vaughan Hart, "Inigo Jones's Site Organization at St. Paul's Cathedral: 'Ponderous Masses Beheld Hanging in the Air'," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 4 (1994): 414–27.

28 Holland, *Ecclesia Sancti Pavli illvstrata*, A3v.

29 For accounts of Gruter's work, see Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 149–53; and Ginette Vagenheim, "L'Epigraphie: Un aspect méconnu de l'histoire de la philologie classique au XVIIe siècle," *Les Cahiers de l'humanisme* 1 (2000): 89–91.

30 William Camden, "Epitaphes," in *Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, the Inhabitants Thereof, Their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise Speeches, Poësies, and Epitaphes* (London: G[eorge] E[ld] for Simon Waterson, 1605), d2r–h2r.

31 Holland, *Ecclesia Sancti Pavli illvstrata*, A3r–v.

32 For the making of Weever's book, see E. A. J. Honigmann, *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson, Together with a Photographic Facsimile of Weever's* Epigrammes *(1599)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 68–79; and Parry, *Trophies of Time*, 190–216.

33 Society of Antiquaries Library, London, MSS 127 and 128.

34 John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments Written Within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adiacent, with the Dissolued Monasteries Therein Contained: Their Founders, and What Eminent Persons Haue Beene in the Same Interred* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631), π2r.

35 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, π3r. For Chytraeus, Schraderus, and the text-based epigraphic tradition to which they belonged, see Jan L. de Jong, "Reading Instead of Travelling: Nathan Chytraeus's *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae*," in *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture*, eds Karl A. E. Enenkel and Jan L. de Jong (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019): 237–61.

36 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, π3r.

37 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, A2r.

38 The clergyman and historian Henry Wharton, for example, was especially damning. In *Anglia sacra* (1691), his history of the medieval church, he accused Weever of confusing the numbers in funerary inscriptions and dismissed his transcriptions as a farraginous mishmash: "Quod Weaverum attinet, is mortalium omnium infœlicissimus cunctosferè numeros ex sepulchralibus titulis in farraginem suam descriptos vitiavit" (*Anglia sacra, sive collectio historiarum, partim antiquitus, partim recenter scriptarum, de archiepiscopis & episcopis Angliæ, a prima fidei Christianæ susceptione ad annum MDXL* [London: Richard Chiswel, 1691], 4Q2v).

39 Honigmann, *John Weever*, 73.

40 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, A2v.

41 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, C3v.

42 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, F1v–F2r.

43 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, B5v–B6r.

44 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, B6r.

45 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, B5v.

46 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, B5v; Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh*, in *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh, and Other Works of the 1620s*, ed. Michael Kiernan, The Oxford Francis Bacon VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 169.

47 For the evidence that Weever travelled to Scotland, see his remark on the lack of surviving funerary monuments there: "As also of the Funerall Monuments which are there to be found, which will be but a few, if Sir *Robert Cottons* Librarie do not helpe me, for by my owne obseruation, in the famous maiden-citie of Edenborough, and in the Parish Churches of other Townes, the Sepulchres of the dead are shamefully abused, or quite taken away, yea and the Churches themselues, with religious houses, and other holy places, violated, demolished, or defaced" (*Ancient Funerall Monuments*, K4r).

48 For these works and their narrative strategies, see Angus Vine, "Travel and Chorography," in *A Handbook of English Renaissance Literary Studies*, ed. John Lee (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 411–24.

49 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 2B4r and V6v. He described Kemp's tomb as a "decent Monument": a description that reflected his sense of its propriety (*OED*, *s.v.* "decent", *adj.* 3[a]), but was also a statement of taste (*OED*, *s.v.* "decent", *adj.* 2).

50 For the Dering brasses, many of which were, in fact, seventeenth-century alterations or forgeries, see R. H. D'Elboux, "The Dering Brasses," *The Antiquaries Journal* 27, nos 1–2 (1947): 11–23; and Sophie Pitman, "Prodigal Years? Negotiating Luxury and Fashioning Identity in a Seventeenth-Century Account Book," *Luxury* 3, nos 1–2 (2016): 7–31.

51 Oliver Harris, "Lines of Descent: Appropriations of Ancestry in Stone and Parchment," in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, eds Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (London and New York: Routledge, 2016; first published 2013), 99–102.

52 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 2V2r and 3K3r.

53 Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Westminster: Memorials of the City, Saint Peter's College, The Parish Churches, Palaces, Streets, and Worthies* (Westminster: Joseph Masters, 1849), 149.

54 Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 3K2v.

55 Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble. Compiled in the Reign of Charles II*, ed. John Gough Nichols (Westminster: Camden Society, 1867), lix.

56 Dingley, *History from Marble*, xliii–xliv, lv, and cxlvii.

57 Dingley, *History from Marble*, vii–xv.

58 Dingley, *History from Marble*, cxix: "S^T MAGDALENS CHVRCH in Oxford suburbs without the north Gate […] It hath also the distich on the side and the other Inscrip*cion*. Aspera vox (ite) Vox est benigna (venite) Dicetur reprobis (ite) venite piis".

59 St Augustine, *De civitate dei*, 1. 12: "Proinde ista omnia, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum".

60 Camden, *Reges, reginæ, nobiles, & alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti*, A1r. Dingley, in fact, slightly misquoted Camden and ended up mangling one of the Latin words: the text on Camden's title-page reads "Sepulchrorum memoria magis viuorum, est consolatio, quàm defunctorum vtilitas", which makes better sense and is closer to the contrast between the living and the dead that Augustine drew.

61 Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 8; Agostino Mascardi, *Dell'arte historica d'Agostino Mascardi trattati cinque* (Rome: Giacomo Facciotti, 1636), A3v–A4r.

62 For the history of the library at Stanford Court, see Edward Walford, "Antiquarian News & Notes," *The Antiquarian Magazine & Bibliographer* 3 (1883): 97–8; and Rosemarie McGerr, *A Lancastrian Mirror for Princes: The Yale Law School* New Statutes of England (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011), 137.

63 National Library of Ireland, Dublin, MS 392.

64 For the reasons behind Dingley's Irish journey, see Amy Louise Harris, "New Insights into Thomas Dingley's Irish Journey 1680–81," *The Other Clare* 44 (2020), 18–19, 107.

65 Evelyn Philip Shirley, *et al.*, "Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II," *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society*, new series 2, no. 1 (1858): 47–9; new series 4, no. 1 (1862): 107–9; new series 5, no. 2 (1865): 275, 277–82, 285–7; new series 5, no. 3 (1866): 432–8; and new series 6, no. 1 (1867): 179–81; and F. Elrington Ball, "Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II," *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society*, sixth series 3, no. 4 (1913): 275–309.

66 Habington, *Survey of Worcestershire*, 1:34.

Figure 3.1 Thomas Dingley, "History from Marble. Being Ancient & Moderne Funerall Monuments in England & Wales by T. D. Gen.," Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top. gen. d. 19, fol. 5r. Frontispiece.

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