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Es filius xpi qd non iacet hic lapis iste  
Corpus ut opret set sps ut maneat  
Hinc tu qui trahis magnis modis puer an sis  
Dum me funde puer dabit michi sic dicit spes

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Cover: Civilian, c. 1400, from Temple Church, Bristol (now in St Mary Redcliffe)

## Editorial

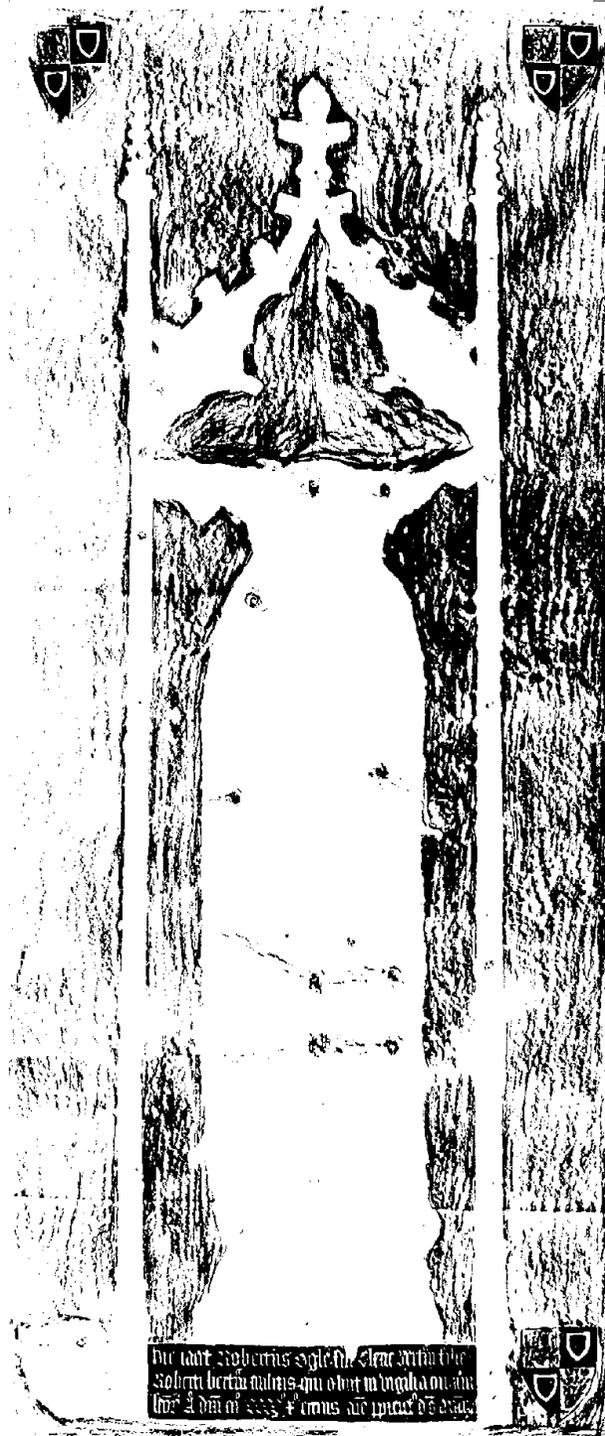
SOME time in the summer of 1961 a small boy was making his second (and as he thought quite creditable) attempt at rubbing the little armoured figure of Walter Culpeper (M.S. III) at Goudhurst in Kent, when an older boy, I suppose about fifteen or sixteen, turned up with much blacker heelball and much whiter paper. They got talking, and the older boy lent the younger some of his “Astral” heelball to rub John Culpeper (M.S. II), and wrote on the rubbing the name and address of Major Evans, then secretary of the Monumental Brass Society. Major Evans was characteristically helpful with advice, heelball, tea and biscuits, and willingly put up the younger boy as an Associate Member of the Society.

I have often wondered who the older boy was, whether perhaps he is still among our readers. As for the younger, he is coming to the end of his term as Editor, preparing to hand over the blue pencil and green eyeshade, and to retire gracefully to the Upper House, as it were, of the Society’s Council. His only anxiety is the shortage of schoolboy brass-rubbers emerging to fill the Society in the coming century. For surely most of us began life with a bicycle and a stick of heelball, touring country churches in search of knights in armour, learning up the terminology from the older editions of Little Macklin, and quick to distinguish a sideless cote-hardie from a tuille, an ogress from a torteau.

That phase came to an end with the high fees and off-putting clergy of the early 1970s, when only the rich and dedicated could afford to continue brass-rubbing. It was a great shame that the schoolchildren were priced out of the churches, for they never seem to have come back. And as we grew up we moved on from genouillières and butterfly headdresses to Kent’s Style A and Emmerson’s Style sub-B, trying to distinguish John Page-Phillips’ twelve scripts and wondering about the early “Lombardic” letters. Fascinating stuff, but perhaps less enthralling for the eleven-year old. There should always be room in our Society for those who just enjoy the magic of making an image appear on the paper, and who are fascinated by the metal gents’ suitings and fantastic female fripperies of the fifteenth century. Though it would be nice to get the terminology right!

There now seems to be a new phase of brass-studies emerging, trying to understand just exactly what the designers and engravers, whatever their school or style, thought they were doing, and what their clients, whether armoured or kirtled, thought they were commissioning. What was the purpose of a brass, and how did they want you to react to it? Why did certain designs evolve, and do different schemes of design represent different intentions on the part of executor or engraver? Sally Badham’s long article in this issue looks at these questions, and in particular reinterprets our old favourites the shrouds and skeletons. But there is much more to be said on the iconography and epigraphy of brasses, and it is this area that I am hoping to explore in the future, once free from the green eyeshade and the blue pencil.

An obvious beginner’s interest is in brasses of one’s own family. When I was twelve I found some of my mother’s ancestors in Biddenden, but Macklin told me they were late and therefore decadent. In desperation therefore for respectability I looked up the index to Mill Stephenson and found the only Bertram in the book - an overnight bus journey to the far North, and here he is, fifteenth-century, and almost entirely lost, but an unusual brass and one that deserves illustration. I will leave you with Robert Ogle, son of Eleanor Bertram, while wishing great success and enjoyment in the editorship to my successor.



Robert Ogle, 1410, son of Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert Bertram (M.S.I)  
Hexham Abbey, Northumberland  
*Rubbing by J.F.A.B., 7 Sept. 1975*

# Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs

by SALLY BADHAM

A much abbreviated version of this paper was given at the Roger Greenwood Memorial Symposium held at Norwich by the M.B.S. on 8 July 1995. It reflected Roger Greenwood's great interest, which dominated the last years of his life, in the information that could be gleaned from wills about medieval brasses and the motivation of those who commissioned them. This paper ranges more widely and probes more deeply in examining how the patron's priorities for commemoration influenced the imagery of late medieval tomb design. It too is dedicated to Roger Greenwood's memory.

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to explore the main functions of memorials and how they influenced iconographical aspects of late medieval tomb design. A few points need to be made at the outset. The first is that the subject matter will be mostly brasses and incised slabs. Although all monumental types originally shared the same iconographic repertoire, a more complete picture of the rich and varied imagery and symbolism of medieval monuments can be obtained by studying brasses and incised slabs than extant three-dimensional tombs. This is because, although a high proportion of two-dimensional monuments have been destroyed, many of those that survive, be they brasses or incised slabs, are relatively complete, while few medieval carved tombs are in their original form, retaining all painted and sculptural detail.

The second point is that the subject is approached from an English perspective. Although English and continental tombs had many common features, there were also important distinctions, which may in large part be said to reflect their different origins. Early Christian tomb sculpture in these two areas grew out of and adapted the types and motifs of pagan memorials, but from two very different traditions. Early medieval tomb sculpture in England, particularly Anglo-Saxon gravemarkers and hogbacks, with their carved interlace panels and weird beasts, vividly reflect Viking influence. There is a strong emphasis on symbolism. Figures, where they appear, are not representations of the deceased, but form part of biblical scenes.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, early Christian tomb sculpture on the continent was heavily dependent on classical Roman models. This is shown in part in the continued use of sarcophagi, but more particularly in the greater emphasis on pictorial representation than on symbolism, and the development of iconographic schemes in which the deceased is shown as part of a complex narrative.<sup>2</sup> Before the Norman conquest of England, there was virtually

<sup>1</sup> R.N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture* (1980).

<sup>2</sup> E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (1964), 39-66.

no cross-fertilisation between these two traditions of tomb design. Although thereafter English tombs were influenced by French innovations, tomb design in the two countries did not totally converge, but continued to reflect their different origins and early development. Thus in England, cross slabs and other monumental types which emphasised symbolism, rather than pictorial representation, continued in vogue throughout the Middle Ages, and the French taste for what Panofsky has called the “tombeau de grande ceremonie” never really caught on.<sup>3</sup>

A third point is that the paper will be confined to the pre-Reformation period. This is an appropriate break point since patrons' wishes fundamentally changed in the later sixteenth century as a result of the growing influence of humanism and the changes in theology brought about by the Reformation.

St. Augustine saw the purpose of tombs as twofold: the solace of the living and assistance to the dead, though he disparaged funerary pomp and other celebrations of the mortal remains, including lavish tombs, and saw them as contributing far more to the solace of the living than to the assistance of the dead.<sup>4</sup> This austere view was shared by other great theologians, notably Peter Lombard, and by those of Lollard persuasion, and resulted in some deliberately simple memorial compositions, but did not appear to have swayed the majority of the laity or, indeed, a substantial proportion of the clergy. Many placed great emphasis on tomb commemoration as a means of helping the dead.<sup>5</sup> Some clearly believed that the more lavish the tomb and associated imagery, such as painted windows or chantry chapels, the greater would be the assistance to the soul. The tension between these two opposing views and the impact they made on tomb design make a fascinating study.

Medieval memorials contributed to the solace of the living in various ways, as Norris has recently highlighted.<sup>6</sup> First, commemoration of the person who had died was an important part of the rites of passage, which contributed to the process of grieving and of coming to terms with bereavement. Secondly, the provision of a tomb demonstrated a sense of propriety and maintained the good reputation of the family. Failing to carry out this duty to the dead reflected badly on the living; as Margaret Paston wrote to her son in 1471, “It is a shame and a thing that is much spoken of in this country that your father's gravestone is not made”.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the secular aspects of the tomb design could be chosen to reflect the dead person's worldly achievements and status in society, bathing the living in reflected glory.

## THE IMAGERY OF STATUS

### *The importance of social status in tomb representation*

The secular aspects of medieval monuments are frequently more striking than the sacred aspects; often they dominate the composition and in many cases they have

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-1.

<sup>4</sup> P.M. King, “The Cadaver Tomb in England: Novel Manifestations of an Old Idea”, *Church Monuments*, V (1990), 30-1.

<sup>5</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992), 327-337.

<sup>6</sup> M. Norris, “Later Medieval Monumental Brasses: An Urban Funerary Industry and its Representation of Death”, in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns* (1992), 134.

<sup>7</sup> R. Emmerson, “Margaret Paston's Brass”, *M.B.S. Bulletin*, 17 (Feb. 1978), 13.



FIG.1  
Tong, Shropshire M.S.I  
Brass to Sir William and Lady Margaret Vernon, 1467

been more extensively studied. The brass to Sir William and Lady Margaret Vernon from Tong, Shropshire is a typical brass commemorating members of the gentry (Fig. 1). Although it shows both Sir William and Lady Margaret Vernon, and the inscription refers to both, it was set up on the former's death in 1467 and is essentially his monument; her date of death was never completed. We can be fairly confident that it shows Sir William as he chose to be depicted. His will, made two days before his death, specifies that he is to be buried in the church of St. Bartholomew at Tong where a tomb is to be made after his own "devise".<sup>8</sup>

What is immediately noticeable is the emphasis on status and family pride, key aspects of my first theme of status as a motive in commemoration. The striking display of heraldry, probably the most important of all aspects of monumental imagery aimed at emphasising family status,<sup>9</sup> both on the brass itself, and also originally painted on the tomb chest, emphasises Vernon's lineage and family connections. The depiction of Lady Margaret and the couple's twelve children, shows that Vernon had continued the family line. The inscription, in which Sir William is described as knight constable of England and the son of Sir Richard Vernon, treasurer of Calais, records other important family achievements. In summary Sir William's brass can be seen as portraying his completed role, in terms both of office and of genealogical sequence - a witness to achievement and success in this world. The dress in which the Vernons are depicted indicates their position in society. Sir William is shown in armour. With few exceptions the nobility appear on their tombs in the likeness of men of war until the end of the seventeenth century. Whether or not they had seen active service was largely irrelevant to this image; the point was that it identified them as forming part of the dominant warrior class in society.<sup>10</sup> The importance attached to this is shown by the brasses to judges at Rougham, Norfolk to Sir William Yelverton, made *c.* 1470,<sup>11</sup> and at St. Paul, Bedford to Sir William Harper, *ob.* 1573;<sup>12</sup> both show them wearing armour under judicial robes. An even more incongruous example is the brass at Winwick, Lancashire, to Sir Peter Legh, *ob.* 1527, who took holy orders after the death of his wife, who is also shown on the brass together with their children (Fig. 2). He is depicted wearing a chasuble over armour, with a large shield of arms on his chest. All three were clearly concerned to highlight their knightly status.

Allegiance and the related concept of service were integral to definitions of knightly status in society. Symbols of allegiance and service both to the crown and to lesser lords in the form of coats-of-arms, collars and badges are all shown on medieval monuments, though they do not appear on the Vernon brass.<sup>13</sup> The 1416

<sup>8</sup> M. Stephenson, "Monumental Brasses in Shropshire", *Arch. Jour.*, CII (1895), 89.

<sup>9</sup> For a valuable discussion of heraldry on brasses see J. Goodall, "Heraldry depicted on Brasses" in J. Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (1996), 47-55.

<sup>10</sup> For a general introduction to the imagery of status on brasses to the nobility see L. James, "The Image of An Armed Man", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XII, pt. 1 (1975), 53-66.

<sup>11</sup> Illus. *Monumental Brasses: the Portfolio Plates of the M.B.S. 1894-1994* (1988), fig. 200.

<sup>12</sup> Illus. W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (1992), 9.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the various types of livery see N. Saul, "The Commons and the Abolition of Badges", *Parliamentary History*, 9, ii (1990), 302-15.



FIG. 2

Winwick, Lancashire M.S.II.  
 Brass to Sir Peter Legh, 1527  
*Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

brass at Felbrigg, Norfolk to Richard II's standard bearer, Sir Symon Felbrygge, shows him carrying Richard II's banner, even though Richard had by then been long deposed.<sup>14</sup> The royal arms, together with those of the Duchy of Lancaster appear on the 1437 brass at Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire to John Leventhorpe, receiver-general of the Duchy and one of the executors of Henry V's will.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the arms of the Earls of Warwick were displayed by Thomas de Cruwe, who was retained by the Beauchamps as a lawyer, on his 1418 brass at Wixford,

<sup>14</sup> Illus. N. Saul, "The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, pt. 1 (1992), 29, fig. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Illus. J.G. and L.A.B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th Century* (1864, repr. 1975), pl. 37.



FIG. 3  
Owston, Yorkshire M.S.I  
Brass to Robert and Ade de Haitfield, 1407  
*Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

Warwickshire.<sup>16</sup> Livery collars were a very personal mark of favour and were considered sufficiently important sometimes to be specified by testators when giving details of their desired tomb. For example, Thomas Fetherston requested in 1489 “a picture after my persone in Latton to be gravid and fast sett in the said stone with a coler of esses of King Henry is livery a bout my nekk”.<sup>17</sup> The Lancastrian collar of SS also appears on the brass at Owston, Yorkshire to Robert de Haitfield, *ob.* 1417 (Fig. 3) and on the *c.* 1410 incised slab at Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire to William Weel.<sup>18</sup> The collar of Suns and Roses, denoting service to the house of York, is shown for example on the 1467 incised slab at Barlow, Derbyshire to Robert Bayley<sup>19</sup> and the brass at Lillingstone Lovell, Buckinghamshire to Thomas Clarell, *ob.* 1471.<sup>20</sup> Badges were more widely distributed and denoted no more permanent a

<sup>16</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 111.

<sup>17</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (1977), I, 140.

<sup>18</sup> Illus. F.A. Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln* (1986), 37.

<sup>19</sup> Illus. F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs* (1976), II, pl. 80b.

<sup>20</sup> Illus. W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (1994), 137, and see p. 515 of this issue.

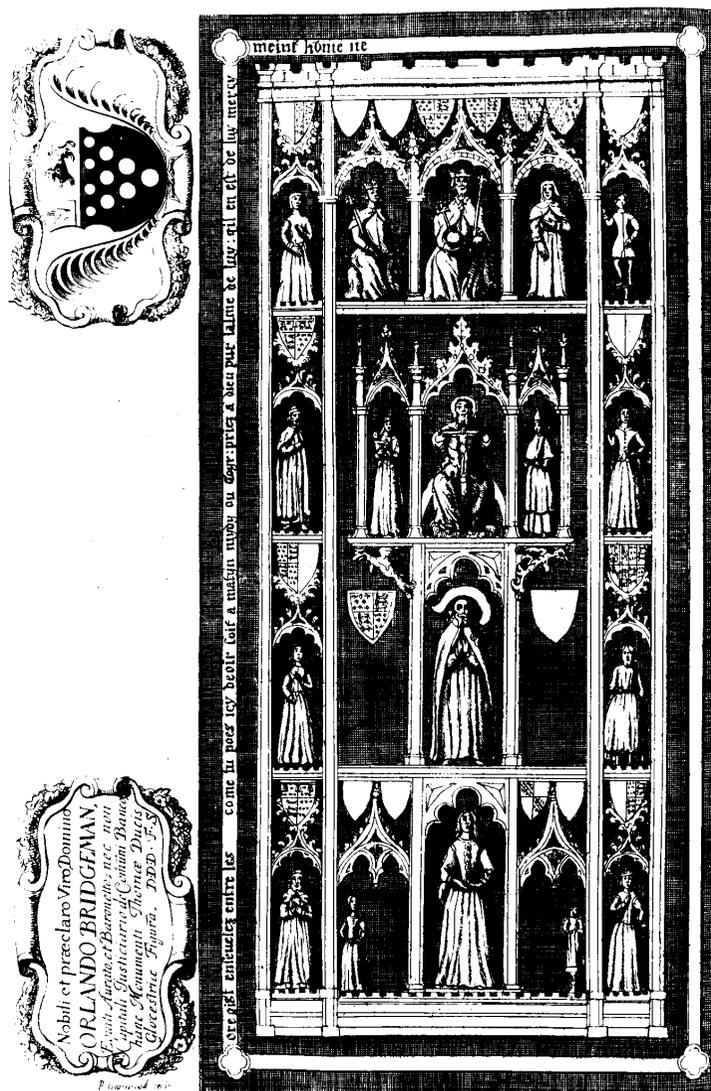


FIG. 4  
Westminster Abbey, London  
Lost brass to Thomas of Woodstock, 1397  
From F. Sandford, *A Genealogical History of England*, 230

commitment than the gift of good lordship in return for the promise of service. Accordingly, they are both more numerous on monuments and more varied in type. Richard II's badge of the white hart is prominently displayed on the canopy of Sir Symon Felbrygge's brass, the Bohun swan appears on the canopy of the 1399 brass to Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester at Westminster Abbey<sup>21</sup> and Canon Langeton, kinsman of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, wears a cope decorated by repeated Stafford knots on his brass of 1413 in Exeter Cathedral.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Illus. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: the Craft* (1977), fig. 173.

<sup>22</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 114.

More prestigious was the award of the Garter, founded in 1348 by King Edward III.<sup>23</sup> Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, *ob.* 1397, whose lost brass was formerly in Westminster Abbey, proudly displays the Garter mantle on his monument (Fig. 4). Other knights of the Garter depicted in brass include Sir Peter Courtenay, *ob.* 1405, in Exeter Cathedral, Devon,<sup>24</sup> Thomas, Lord Camoys, *ob.* 1419, at Trotton, Sussex,<sup>25</sup> and Sir Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, *ob.* 1483, at Little Easton, Essex.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, an indent at East Barsham, Norfolk has the slab powdered by the device of the Garter.<sup>27</sup>

Sir Hugh Hastings's magnificent brass of 1347 at Elsing, Norfolk illustrates a variety of ties and connections. His canopy is populated, not by the usual choice of saints or ancestors as weepers, but by fellow peers, including three Garter knights, headed by Edward III. It has been suggested that two factors determined their inclusion. First, these were all men with whom he had family connections or to whom he owed allegiance. Secondly, they were comrades-in-arms with whom he had served on his last campaign in France. Thus they represent the body of the aristocracy, and their inclusion emphasises Sir Hugh's status and the circles in which he moved. Symbols of allegiance also appear in other guises. Saul has drawn attention to the use of the white hart and sprays of broom, both symbols denoting allegiance to Richard II, which separate the hexameters on the inscription from Sir John Golafre's brass of 1396 at Westminster Abbey.<sup>28</sup> But despite the variety of symbols of allegiance found on brasses and incised slabs, they share a common purpose, of emphasising status and social position.

The brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire, commemorating Thomas Busshe, who died in 1525, and his wife Joan, who died a year later is another typical monument dominated by secular imagery (Fig. 5). As their dress shows, the Busses were further down the social scale than the Vernons, but the design again emphasises worldly achievement, both personal and professional. Only the death of Thomas is referred to in the main foot inscription, though he too is shown with his wife and children, highlighting family continuity. He was a woolman and both inscriptions describe him as having been a merchant of the Staple of Calais. Additionally, the brass is full of other symbols emphasising his status. Though, unlike Vernon, he was not armigerous, his merchant's mark is displayed, like a heraldic device, on a plate between the two groups of children. Both Thomas and Joan have a sheep and a woosack as footrests, a common feature on brasses to woolmen. Even more interesting is the picture in the spandrels of the canopy. At the top are the arms of the Merchants of the Staple of Calais on a shield. Beneath is a bush, an obvious rebus,

<sup>23</sup> For a general introduction to the depiction of the Garter robes and insignia on brasses and incised slabs, see J. Bracken, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1991).

<sup>24</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 19, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 26, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 29, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 46, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Saul, "Golafre Brass", 28.

<sup>29</sup> S. Badham and J. Blatchly, "The Bellfounder's Indent at Bury St. Edmunds", *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XXXVI (1988), 288-97.



FIG. 5  
 Northleach, Gloucestershire M.S.VIII  
 Brass to Thomas and Joan Busse, 1525  
*Rubbing by Jerome Bertram*

under which lie three sheep. All loudly proclaims who and what manner of man is buried here.

Effigial brasses and incised slabs of tradesmen often also display appropriate devices, including bells and three-legged pots on an indent to a bellfounder at St. James, Bury St. Edmund, Suffolk;<sup>29</sup> a pair of gloves on a brass to the glover Peter Denot at Fletching, Sussex;<sup>30</sup> and a seaman's whistle on John Deynes's brass of 1527 at Beeston Regis, Norfolk.<sup>31</sup> At Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, the vintner Simon Seman, *ob.* 1433, stands on two wine casks.<sup>32</sup> Nicholas de Aumerdene, a fishmonger, is commemorated by a cross brass of *c.* 1350 at Taplow, Buckinghamshire, the stem of the cross rising, unusually, from a dolphin.<sup>33</sup> Such unusual features were undoubtedly specially requested: John Malling of West Malling, Kent, *ob.* 1488, directed "and in every corner of the said stone I wold have graven in laten a paire of taylours sheris".<sup>34</sup>

Members of the professions were also anxious to proclaim their status on their monuments, by means both of dress and of devices. Clerics, judges, lawyers and academics are normally shown in the robes of their calling. Architects and master masons are often shown with the implements of their profession. Thus the incised slab to William de Wermington, mason, at Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire, probably dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, shows him carrying a pair of compasses in his left hand and a square in his right hand.<sup>35</sup> Notaries too indicated their status by means of the tools of their trade; the penner and inkhorn are associated with figures on brasses of *c.* 1475 and 1506 at St. Mary Tower, Ipswich, amongst other examples.<sup>36</sup> More unusual depictions of professional status on brasses include John Borrell, Sergeant-at-Arms, whose 1531 brass at Broxbourne, Hertfordshire shows him carrying his ceremonial mace<sup>37</sup> and Thomas Cotes, Porter at Ascot Hall, shown at Wing, Buckinghamshire with his hat and porter's key.<sup>38</sup>

The meaning of emblems indicating the trade or profession of the deceased were so well understood in medieval times that they were often employed in place of effigial representation. Thus Richard Mikylhalf, a notary who died in 1500, specified that on his tomb there should be "in remembrance of me a penner and hynkehorne".<sup>39</sup> The most common type of emblematic brass is the chalice brass, frequently used, particularly by the York and Norwich workshops, to commemorate priests.<sup>40</sup> Croziers and pastoral staffs were also inlaid in brass as emblematic representation of the tomb of an abbot or bishop, fine indents of this type surviving at

<sup>30</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 239.

<sup>31</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 308.

<sup>32</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 151.

<sup>33</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Buckinghamshire*, 203.

<sup>34</sup> R.H. D'Elboux, "Testamentary Brasses", *Antiq. Jour.*, XXIX (1949), 188.

<sup>35</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Lincoln*, pl. 2.

<sup>36</sup> H.F.O. Evans, "The Penner and Inkhorn on Brasses and Incised Slabs", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, pt. 3 (1971), 128-135, esp. figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>37</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 28.

<sup>38</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Buckinghamshire*, 243.

<sup>39</sup> D'Elboux, "Testamentary Brasses", 188.

<sup>40</sup> Norris, *The Memorials*, I, 199-200.

Dorchester, Oxfordshire and Ainderby Steeple, Yorkshire.<sup>41</sup> However they are more common on incised monuments, often associated with mitres; a particularly fine series of Purbeck marble incised crozier slabs is in Chichester Cathedral.<sup>42</sup>

Particularly in the north of England, incised and relief cross slabs incorporate a wider range of emblems denoting the rank or occupation of the deceased, though their interpretation can be problematic.<sup>43</sup> The most common such emblem is the sword, sometimes associated with a shield, a helmet or a spear, denoting a male burial and possibly that the deceased had the right to bear arms. The shears are also frequently found; there is a strong tradition in the north that a small pair of shears with pointed ends indicates a female burial. Where larger square-ended shears are shown, alternative interpretations include the occupations of tailor, woolmerchant, woolstapler and flockmaster. Keys often appear in conjunction with shears and may also symbolise a female burial in many cases, though they may additionally have indicated a steward of a nobleman's household. Books, like the paten, often appear in conjunction with the chalice, suggesting that they usually represent the burial of a priest, but are also found with a variety of other emblems, including the sword and shears, implying that their use was not restricted to monuments to priests. An even more puzzling combination of emblems appears on a pair of cross slabs at Melmerby, Westmorland: one of the slabs has a sword, but the other features a pair of shears with pointed ends in conjunction with a chalice and paten.<sup>44</sup> Bows, arrows and horns may represent a forester or a huntsman and could be symbols of some official position. The hammer and tongs are traditionally the emblems of a smith or armourer. Trumpets are shown on an incised slab in the Museum of London to Godfrey le Trompour, a musician.<sup>45</sup> Other commonly found emblems, such as scissors, knives, axes and a variety of agricultural implements are of very uncertain, and perhaps variable interpretation. For example a knife appears with a cleaver on the brass to a fishmonger, John Jobson, *ob.* 1525, at St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln, but a cook's knife and a dredging or sifting box appear on an incised slab to William Coke at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.<sup>46</sup> Examples are legion, but all underline the importance placed by medieval man on being depicted on his tomb in a manner appropriate to his status.

### *Family iconography*

Key aspects of both the Vernon and the Busshe brasses, and indeed the majority of medieval brasses and incised slabs are the emphasis on pride of family and on family

<sup>41</sup> L. Butler, "Cistercian Abbots' Tombs and Abbey Seals" in M. Parsons Lillich (ed.), *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, IV (1993), 79-88; illus. figs. 5a and 5b.

<sup>42</sup> Illus. S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*, forthcoming, figs. 14.22-3.

<sup>43</sup> For the most up-to-date discussion of secondary emblems on cross slabs see P.F. Ryder, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham* (1985), 17-40.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Peter Ryder for information on this slab.

<sup>45</sup> Illus. Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, figs. 13.14-5.

<sup>46</sup> Illus. Lincoln in M. Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1968) pl. 64, no. 5; Bristol in R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments* (1786-1802), I, cix.

continuity. This theme can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century, when the earliest figure brasses were made, though initially the focus was on ancestors and contemporary family members, rather than on children. As Rogers has ably demonstrated, episcopal monuments were frequently in the forefront of contemporary tomb design.<sup>47</sup> St. Thomas de Cantilupe's brass of 1287 in Hereford Cathedral is the second earliest English figure brass with surviving inlay. More importantly, as far as the present paper is concerned, the tomb chest is the earliest in England to incorporate weepers, the mourners of the funeral cortege, first seen on French tombs.<sup>48</sup> The weepers on Cantilupe's tomb are sculpted rather than engraved in brass, but their importance in the present context is that they are believed to represent relatives of the deceased, thus stressing family honour.

Subsidiary imagery on brasses and incised slabs was often incorporated into the canopy design, specifically the sideshafts of the canopy. Early examples of family iconography on brasses include the *c.* 1320 indent at Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire, probably commemorating Maud de Burgh<sup>49</sup> and the huge indent in Durham Cathedral to Bishop Beaumont, *ob.* 1333.<sup>50</sup> We know from *The Rites of Durham* that the latter was made in Beaumont's lifetime, undoubtedly under close personal direction, and the contemporary description of it is most informative.<sup>51</sup> The design emphasised Beaumont's distinguished ancestry through heraldry, images and words. The chronicler records that the side-shafts of the outer canopy contained "the pictures of his ancestors in their coat armour beinge of the blood royall of france" and that "his owne armes of france beinge a white Lyon placed upon his breast of his uestment, beneath his uerses of his breast with the flowers deluces about the lyon, 2 lyons pictured one under the foote of him and another under the other of him supportinge and holdinge upp his crosiers staffe his feet adioininge and standinge upon the said lyons and other two lyons beneath them in the nethermost border of all". The epitaph on the marginal inscription again singled out Beaumont's ancestry. Thereafter, there was more variety in the images populating canopies, though the depiction of family members continued. A particularly fine example is Sir Roger le Strange's spectacular Norwich-made brass of 1506 at Hunstanton, Norfolk, with ancestors as weepers in the canopy.<sup>52</sup> A more debatable case is the *c.* 1480 incised slab to John Lawe at Derby Cathedral (Fig. 6). Six figures are housed in canopy niches; possibly some represent family members, though the inclusion of two cowled figures and a priest suggests a rare instance in England of the depiction of the funeral procession, a common iconographic type on French monuments.

<sup>47</sup> N. Rogers, "English Episcopal Monuments" in J. Coales (ed.), *The Earliest English Brasses* (1987), 15-37.

<sup>48</sup> The earliest known example of weepers on a tomb chest were on the lost silver-sheathed monument formerly in Sainte Etienne, Troyes to Thibault III, Count of Champagen, *ob.* 1201, which had six images of relatives lining the tomb chest (H. S'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (1954), 86). The French royal tombs at Royaumont, notably that to Louis, *ob.* 1260, also deployed this iconography prior to its introduction in England; see A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *L'église abbatiale de saint-Denis, 2: Les Tombeaux Royaux* (3rd ed., 1979), esp. fig. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Illus. Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 60, p. 78.

<sup>50</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, 105, fig. 98.

<sup>51</sup> J.T. Fowler (ed.), "The Rites of Durham", *Surtees Society*, CVIII (1902), 14-16.

<sup>52</sup> Illus. Bertram, *Art and History*, fig. 72, p. 93.



FIG. 6  
 Derby Cathedral, Derbyshire  
 Incised slab to John Lawe, c. 1480  
*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill*

Two other instances of ancestral commemoration on pre-Reformation brasses merit attention. Reference has already been made to the lost brass to Thomas of Woodstock for its depiction of him in garter robes, but its unique representation of the iconography of the family is of even greater significance (Fig. 4). Thomas is shown in the centre, under a Trinity, flanked by two saints and surrounded by his relations. His father, Edward III, is at the top, his wife, Eleanor de Bohun, who is separately commemorated by a brass at Westminster Abbey, is at the bottom and his six brothers and five sisters are also shown, those who died in infancy being shown as

diminutive figures, two of them on pedestals.<sup>53</sup> To emphasise antiquity and honour of the family was clearly a prime motivation of John Langton, *ob.* 1467, whose sadly worn and damaged brass survives in St. Peter, Leeds. In his will, he specified “a stone of marbill to be laid upon us boeth withe a grete skotchon of myn armes and of the armes of my said wyfe to be sett in the myddle of the stone with all my doghtirs in armes withe thair husbonds upon my right syde ande with alle my sonz ande thair wyfes in armes upon my left side and with alle my fedir, gransir ande ancestrez in small Skotchonz at my hede under the scriptur”.<sup>54</sup> Here the depiction of ancestors was through heraldry rather than figures, but the underlying motivation of glorifying the family is common to all the examples given.

By 1400 the emphasis in family iconography was changing, with children rather than ancestors being most commonly depicted.<sup>55</sup> Again, this representation of the family may have been imported from the continent: the earliest known example is the *c.* 1300 slab to “Oliver’s children” at the Abbaye St. Bavon, Gent, Belgium<sup>56</sup> and early French examples include the 1355 incised slab to the family of Jehan Bruniaus at Maing, near Valenciennes<sup>57</sup> and the 1368 slab at Besançon, Doubs to Hunders li Chins, his son Perrenis and their wives.<sup>58</sup> Probably the earliest two-dimensional English monument with effigial representation of a child is the incised slab from Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire with a female figure on a bracket or low pedestal, which is believed to commemorate Princess Eleanor, daughter of Edward I, who died at the age of 5 in 1311.<sup>59</sup> Early representations of children in a group in England are the *c.* 1370 brass at Sherborne St. John, Hampshire to Raulin and Margarete Brocas,<sup>60</sup> probably the children of Sir Bernard Brocas, whose effigy lies in Westminster Abbey, and the lost brass from Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire to the four sons of Sir John Salisbury, who was executed in 1388.<sup>61</sup> A more unusual family group is shown at

<sup>53</sup> The iconography may well have been influenced by the tomb of Woodstock’s father Edward III, which has a Purbeck marble tombchest with niches for cast latten weepers, which the enamelled shields below each figure identify as the king’s sons and daughters. The cast latten effigy and the weeper figures are thought to be the work of John Orchard, a latoner of London, who was also paid £5 in 1376 for providing copper angels for the tomb of Queen Philippa in Westminster Abbey and who was involved in providing the alabaster tombs of Edward III’s children, Blanche and William, who died in infancy (J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (revised ed., 1984), 220; W.R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King’s Craftsmen* (1906), 251-3). It has been suggested that Orchard made brasses as well and might have made Woodstock’s brass, but this is unlikely. Woodstock’s brass was not laid down until *c.* 1399-1400 (N. Rogers, “Brasses in their Art-historical Context”, in Bertram, *Art and History*, 149). Orchard is last recorded in 1395. Moreover, the other great brasses of this date in Westminster Abbey, including that of the Duchess of Gloucester which may have been prepared at the same time as her husband’s brass, are all from the London B workshop, headed successively by Henry Lakenham and William West.

<sup>54</sup> M.G.A. Vale, “Piety, Charity and Literacy amongst the Yorkshire Gentry 1370-1480”, *Borthwick Papers*, I (1976), 10.

<sup>55</sup> For a general discussion of children on brasses, see J.C. Page-Phillips, *Children on Brasses* (1970).

<sup>56</sup> Illus. W.F. Greeny, *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe* (1891), 32.

<sup>57</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 115a.

<sup>58</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, II, pl. 115b.

<sup>59</sup> Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, forthcoming. Two earlier monuments to high status children, though without effigial representation, were the Cosmati tomb made for John, eldest son of Edward III in 1273, and the cross brasses to Margaret and John de Valence, who died in 1276 and 1277 (illus. p. 000 of this issue). Earlier still was the silver-sheathed wooden effigy made in 1258 to commemorate Katherine, daughter of Henry III. See J. D. Tanner, “Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey”, *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, new series XVI, 26-40.

<sup>60</sup> Illus. Page-Phillips, *Children*, fig. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 65.

Beddington, Surrey on the 1414 brass to Phillipa Carreu, which has her thirteen siblings in a row of diminutive half-effigies, each with his or her name beneath.<sup>62</sup> Children were rarely shown full-size on monuments; an exception is at Stoke Fleming, Devon where, on John Corp's brass engraved *c.* 1391, his granddaughter, who was also buried there, has a life-size effigy, though she is shown on a pedestal to indicate that she died in infancy.<sup>63</sup>

Initially, children were given considerable prominence, as on the indent of an unknown late fourteenth-century knight at East Barsham, Norfolk, which also features a half-size figure, presumably his son and heir.<sup>64</sup> Sometimes the children were named, as at Cobham, Kent, where Sir Nicholas Hawberk's brass of 1407 shows his son, John, as a diminutive figure on a pedestal;<sup>65</sup> or at Linwood, Lincolnshire, where the children of John Lyndewood, *ob.* 1419, stand in crenellated arcading beneath the figures of their parents.<sup>66</sup> In other instances children were shown as tiny figures nestling in the folds of their mother's gown, as at Trotton, Sussex on the brass to Thomas, Baron Camoys, *ob.* 1419,<sup>67</sup> and at Longforan, Perthshire on the *c.* 1422 incised slab to John de Galychylyty.<sup>68</sup> The earliest example of this last arrangement is at Champeaux, Seine-et-Marne, France on the incised slab to Sir Pierre de Nareis, *ob.* 1333.<sup>69</sup> By the mid-fifteenth century, however, the depiction of children was largely standardised, with groups of tiny boys and girls being shown beneath their parents' figures, dressed in civilian, ecclesiastical, academic or military attire according to their status. Testators were concerned to ensure the correct depiction of all their children. William Hanningfield gave careful instructions in his will of 1426 about his brass, now lost, which was to be laid down in Binacre Priory, Essex "the brode stone gravyn with Laton of Cisify and viii children, that is to sey, a son and vii drouhtren, Joan and ii children, Agnes and 2 children".<sup>70</sup> Where such large numbers of children are depicted, they can dominate the composition, even when shown as tiny figures, as on the 1468 incised slab at Bolton-by-Bowland, Yorkshire to the much married Sir Ralph Pudsey, who had 24 children (Fig. 7).

### *The representation of the deceased*

On all the monuments discussed so far and, indeed, on most medieval brasses and incised slabs, what is most apparent is the type or status of person commemorated. This was a prime concern of those commissioning monuments. Wills and contracts give an interesting insight into the wishes of the testator. Specifications concerning the figures themselves are usually brief and say only which figures are to be shown.

<sup>62</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 117.

<sup>63</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 76.

<sup>64</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 99.

<sup>65</sup> Illus. Page-Phillips, *Children*, fig. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, fig. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 178.

<sup>68</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 79b.

<sup>69</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, II, pl. 53b.

<sup>70</sup> James, "Image of an Armed Man", 54.



FIG. 7  
Bolton-by-Bowland, Yorkshire  
Incised slab to Sir Ralph Pudsey, 1468  
*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill*

One of the most detailed will specifications is that of Thomas Muschamp, a citizen and mercer of London, who died in 1472 and was buried in St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, though his brass does not survive. He left virtually no discretion to the brass engraver, detailing the precise composition of the brass, down to the width of the marginal inscription and the wording to be used on the prayer scrolls, the marginal inscription and the foot inscription, but all he said of the figures, which we would probably regard as the main element of the composition, was “an Image for me an other for my wife and Images for my Children”.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Henry Pole of Withcote and Langley, Derbyshire, who died in 1558 and whose incised slab survives at Kirk Langley, requested “that there be layde on my father and mother one fayre

<sup>71</sup> This entire section of the will is given in full in Norris, *The Craft*, 90.

stone of alleblaster with their armes and pictures and the pictures of alle their children. Also ... one Tombe for me with my picture and myne Armes ... my wif and her picture and Armes".<sup>72</sup>

Some testators give more detail about the figures, but even then the particulars are limited to the general requirement to be armed or otherwise appropriately dressed. Thomas Tyrrell of East Horndon, Essex who died in 1475, specified that the brass to be laid to himself and his wife was "to be honestly for oure degree".<sup>73</sup> The contract dated 1381 for Thomas de Thweng's brass at Kirkleatham, only the indent of which survives, specified "one figure of laton with the likeness of a chaplain suitably carved and decorated".<sup>74</sup> Thomas Salter, chantry priest of St. Nicholas Acon, London, who died in 1558 and whose brass was to be made by the "cunynge marbler that dwellithe in sancte Dunstons parishe", requested "an image of a priest wt an albe and a vestment upon him".<sup>75</sup> Finally, Sir Arnald Savage, who died in 1420 specified that a brass to be laid down to himself, his father and mother should show them dressed in heraldic jupon and kirtle and mantle.<sup>76</sup> It is clear from this survey that what was considered of primary importance in determining how the deceased should be depicted was appropriateness to status. This preoccupation was apparent even at the highest levels; Henry III's clerk of the works decided that the King's throne should be adorned by lions of bronze, rather than marble, because they would be more magnificent and presumably therefore more appropriate to the King's status.<sup>77</sup>

In all the examples of testamentary direction quoted above, and in others, the figures were seen as symbols of the testator's station in life, rather than the representation of an individual personality. Medieval art in general shows a comparative lack of preoccupation with idealising the human form. Faces on monuments were intended to convey, not an ephemeral likeness to the living person, but the eternal sanctity of his soul. Thus the faces of ladies and priests are in conventional lines of delicate serenity and those of the knights portray the determined warrior. There is no evidence for portraiture on medieval brasses or incised slabs, beyond the very occasional representation of features presumably appropriate to the deceased, as, for example, with John Knyvet's brass of 1415 at Mendlesham, Suffolk, which shows him bearded, probably to indicate that he was unusually old when he died.<sup>78</sup> Nor are the figures on medieval brasses and incised slabs ever seen as vehicles of human emotion. Indeed, even by the seventeenth century, when such representation was common on three-dimensional tombs, melancholic images of the deceased and grief-struck relatives were almost never shown on two-dimensional

<sup>72</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 90b; will transcript *ibid.*, I, 18.

<sup>73</sup> Norris, *The Craft*, 90.

<sup>74</sup> S. Badham, "Monumental Brasses: the Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1989), 168 and fig. 7.

<sup>75</sup> D'Elboux, "Testamentary Brasses", 188.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 189, and Goodall, "Heraldry", 52. The instructions were not followed precisely, for the brasses survive at Bobbing, Kent and though Sir Arnald and his father are in armour, his mother is shown in a plain kirtle and mantle rather than heraldic dress. Illus. M.S.I, W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses* (1888-1905), I, 15, M.S.II, *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 131.

<sup>77</sup> N. Coldstream, *The Decorated Style* (1994), 117.

<sup>78</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 125.

monuments. Amongst rare exceptions are the 1630 incised slab to Mary Frankishe at Water Stratford, Buckinghamshire,<sup>79</sup> and the 1618 brass to Edmund and Theodosia West at Marsworth, Buckinghamshire,<sup>80</sup> both of which were made by Epiphany Evesham, who more commonly produced carved tombs.

*The life and achievements of the deceased*

Inscriptions on thirteenth and fourteenth-century brasses and incised slabs rarely tell us much about the person commemorated other than his name and possibly his rank and date of death. Later, inscriptions lengthened and included more details about the life of the person commemorated, as we have already seen on the brasses to Sir William Vernon and Thomas Bushe; most record service, achievements and general knightly and chivalrous virtues. Eulogistic inscriptions emphasising the character and personal virtues of the deceased are first found in the fifteenth century, though, with rare exceptions, only at first on ecclesiastical monuments. As Rex has argued, the increasing popularity of such detailed inscriptions probably had more to do with growing literacy than with any shift in theology.<sup>81</sup> Eulogistic inscriptions were extended to the laity and became more common in the reign of Henry VIII, even before his break with Rome. The inscription on the 1524 brass to John Terry at St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, describes him as “Vertuose in lvyngge, to the Comonwealthe profytable, And to Right and Conscynce ever conformable”.<sup>82</sup> This invokes the Renaissance concept of remembrance as recollection of the living person, his qualities and personality and clearly reflects the growing influence of humanism, which became the dominant theme of later monuments, until, indeed, the present day.

One further category of achievement which is fairly frequently depicted or otherwise recorded on brasses and incised slabs is the building and enrichment of churches. Donor figures are often shown carrying a model of the church they founded. Sir Brian Rouclyffe’s once magnificent, but now damaged and fragmentary brass shows him holding a model of Cowthorpe church in Yorkshire, which he rebuilt.<sup>83</sup> Sir John de Cobham, who died in 1408, is shown on his brass of *c.* 1367 at Cobham, Kent holding a church, in this instance representing the college which he founded in 1362.<sup>84</sup> No English incised slab uses this particular imagery to commemorate those who had funded church building works, though on the continent examples survive of *c.* 1250 at Wallersdorf, Germany;<sup>85</sup> of 1282 at Gravenhorst, Germany<sup>86</sup> and of *c.* 1300 at Eidfjord, Norway.<sup>87</sup> However, the

<sup>79</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 129a.

<sup>80</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Buckinghamshire*, 158.

<sup>81</sup> R. Rex, “Monumental Brasses and the Reformation”, *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, pt. 5 (1990), 381-7.

<sup>82</sup> Illus. E.M. Beloe, *A Series of Photolithographs of Monumental Brasses in Norfolk* (1890-1), pl. 18.

<sup>83</sup> Illus. Waller, *Series of Brasses*, pl. 50.

<sup>84</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 38.

<sup>85</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 108a.

<sup>86</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, pl. 107b.

<sup>87</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, pl. 132c.



FIG. 8  
Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk M.S.I  
Brass to Henry Notingham, c. 1405.

inscription on Sir Richard Sylkeston's incised cross slab of 1347 records that he erected the chantry and church in which it lies at East Kirkby, Lincolnshire.<sup>88</sup> On a more modest level, an incised inscription at Addlethorpe, Lincolnshire to John Godard mentions that he "had this porch made".<sup>89</sup>

Many inscriptions refer to other contributions to church fabric and fittings. Probably the earliest brass of this type is the 1405 example at Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk to Henry Notingham (Fig. 8). It is a modest memorial but the inscription is unusually large in comparison with the figures. He clearly thought the inscription important, doubtless because it records that he and his wife had built the church steeple and choir and had also given vestments and bells. At Emberton,

<sup>88</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Lincoln*, pl. 24.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.



FIG. 9

Monkton Farleigh Priory, Wiltshire  
 Incised slab to Ilbert de Chat, early twelfth century.  
*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill*

Buckinghamshire, the inscription on John Mordon's brass of *c.* 1410 refers to gifts of theological books and ornaments to the churches of Emberton, Olney and Hulleorton.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, William Compton's brass of 1498 at Weeke, Hampshire refers to his gift of bells<sup>91</sup> and John Idewyn's brass of 1497 at Barton Turf, Norfolk records that he gave vestments of red velvet.<sup>92</sup> Reference on incised slabs to benefactions can be found much earlier than this. A curious early twelfth-century incised inscription at Monkton Farleigh Priory, Wiltshire commemorates Ilbert de Chat "filled with goodness, who here gave Broughton by many gifts" (Fig. 9). More specific is a modest early fifteenth-century incised mural tablet of Purbeck marble at Corfe, Dorset commemorating Robert and Johanna Rynkyn, which mentions their endowment of a window in the church.<sup>93</sup>

A final example to be examined in the context of memorials recording acts which enriched the church is that to Robert Wyvil, Bishop of Salisbury, who died in 1375.<sup>94</sup> The scene on this most idiosyncratic of brasses perpetuates a remarkable event which took place during his prelacy, the recovery of Sherborne Castle and the Chase of Bere in Dorset, which had been alienated from the see by the Crown two hundred years previously and which in 1337 was granted to William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Wyvil brought a writ for the recovery of the castle, which was brought forward in the Court of Common Pleas, as a result of which it was decided that the ownership was to be decided by a trial by single combat, though in the end, Montacute defaulted.<sup>95</sup> The brass shows a representation of Sherborne Castle, with a demi-effigy of Wyvil emerging from it, and his champion at the castle gate. In the foreground of the brass an area of grass with hares represents the Chase of Bere.

<sup>90</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Buckinghamshire*, 80.

<sup>91</sup> Illus. Clayton, *V&A Catalogue*, pl. 62, no. 5.

<sup>92</sup> Norris, *The Craft*, 60.

<sup>93</sup> Illus. G. Dru Drury, "Some Recent Discoveries in the Church of St. Edward King and Martyr, Corfe Castle", *Proc. Dorset History and Arch. Soc.*, LXIX (1948), 56, pl. vii.

<sup>94</sup> Illus. Waller, *Series of Brasses*, pl. 21.

<sup>95</sup> E. Kite, *The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (1860, repr. 1969), 14-18.



FIG. 10  
 Crundale, Kent  
 Incised slab to John Sprot, 1466  
*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill*

Charitable bequests were also immortalised in brass and stone. The inscription on John Terry's brass in St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, referred to earlier, also records endowments for the relief of the poor. Likewise, John Sprot's alabaster incised slab of 1466 at Crundale, Kent mentions that he "left to each of his parishioners, both married and widowed, 40 pence, to each of those unmarried 12 pence" (Fig. 10).

Given the very secular and materialistic world in which we now live, it is tempting to see brasses and incised slabs which record charitable giving and good works just as displaying power, wealth and perhaps generosity but there is more to them than that. All show that the deceased contributed to the wealth of the church or the relief of the poor, both of which were considered particularly meritorious. It was not uncommon for donor figures and inscriptions to be associated with works given, such as windows, screens, pulpits, chalices and vestments. However, I suggest that such commemoration has less to do with my theme of status than with my theme of salvation, to which I will now turn.



FIG. 11

Temple Church, Bristol, Gloucestershire, M.S.I

Now in St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol

Brass to an unknown civilian, c. 1400

*Rubbing from Society of Antiquaries of London*

## THE IMAGERY OF SALVATION

### *Remembrance of the soul*

As St. Augustine recognised, as well as being a solace to the living, monuments served the purpose of providing assistance to the dead. Indeed many regarded this as their main purpose. The point is made in the inscription on the brass of c. 1400 to an unknown civilian, formerly in the Temple Church, Bristol, but now in St. Mary Bristol (Fig.11). In translation, it reads: "Thou art witness O Christ, that this stone is not here laid to adorn the body, but that the soul may be remembered. You who pass by, whether old, middle-aged or youth, make supplication for me that I may attain hope of pardon". This was one of a number of stock formulae used for inscriptions; it can be found on brasses of a range of dates and from a variety of workshops.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> This text was also used in full for the 1408 brass to John Lumbarde at Stone, Kent (the inscription is now lost, but is recorded in J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), 333) and on the 1426 brass to Sir John de Brewys at Wiston, Sussex. The first sentence (Es (or Sis) testis Christe quod non jacet lapis iste corpus ut ornatur sed spiritus ut memoretur) is found on its own on brasses of 1413 at Havant, Hampshire, 1414 at Southfleet, Kent, 1420 at Merton College, Oxford, 1494 at St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford and 1498 at Algarkirke, Lincolnshire. The second sentence (Hinc tu transis magnus medius puer an sis pro me funde preces ut sit mihi venie spec) is used independently on brasses of 1480 at Faversham, Kent and, in a variant form, of 1398 at Mere, Wiltshire. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for bringing examples of these and some other stock formulae to my attention.

Richard Hunt of Shipley, Sussex, who died in 1546, had the same intention when making provision for his monument. In his will he specified that he should be commemorated by “a stone to be layed over my grave and also a brass to be nayled on the same stone and then to be graven or printed some petuus style or text moving all of them that shall reyd or lok upon the same of ther charyte to pray for my soll and all crysten solles”.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, William Norreys of Ash by Sandwich, Kent set out in his will of 1486 the imagery he wanted on his brass “for a speciall Remembrance of prayer”;<sup>98</sup> Robert Burnham of Norwich requested in 1512 “a heart stone of marble to lie upon me with some remembrance of scripture”;<sup>99</sup> and Richard Davy in 1533 requested “a stone of marble ... for a Remembrance”.<sup>100</sup> This emphasis on the spiritual purpose of monuments is again made in the definition of a monument which appears in the Register of the Grey Friars church in London: “A monument is something which, as it were, admonishes the mind.... It either reminds us of death, through the sight of the tombs of those who have gone before. Or else it reminds us of our dear ones departed, so that we offer up prayers for them”.<sup>101</sup>

This is a very different concept of remembrance from that on the 1524 brass to John Terry at St. John Maddermarket, Norwich discussed earlier. It is apparent that before the Reformation the function of memorial or remembrance was of calling to mind, not so much the character or qualities of the dead person, but his living soul and with the specific purpose of praying for his salvation. Nowadays, when we remember someone who is dead, we look backwards at his life, but, in remembering the dead in a religious context, medieval man essentially looked forward to the life after death.

Students of monuments usually study tombs as objects in their own right, but to appreciate them properly it should be borne in mind that, to those who commissioned them, they were a means to an end.<sup>102</sup> Medieval monuments are essentially Catholic memorials and to understand them we must take into account the nature of late medieval faith, particularly as perceived by the laity. Galpern has argued that “Catholicism at the end of the Middle Ages was in large part a cult of the living in the service of the dead”.<sup>103</sup> It is commonly accepted that medieval man was obsessed by death, but what really concerned him was not the act of dying, but the fear of what would follow. As Duffy has recently highlighted, “the defining doctrine of late medieval Catholicism was Purgatory”.<sup>104</sup> On death, only saints could realistically expect to go straight to Heaven. As Hell was primarily for the infidel,

<sup>97</sup> D’Elboux, “Testamentary Brasses”, 185.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> J.R. Greenwood, “Wills and Brasses: Some conclusions from a Norfolk study”, in Bertram, *Art and History*, 85.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>101</sup> Rex, “Brasses and the Reformation”, 379.

<sup>102</sup> For a recent study of medieval attitudes to death and commemoration see P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (1996), though the discussion of the development of medieval tombs concentrates almost exclusively on the high-status monuments to royalty, the aristocracy and the higher clergy, rather than the more modest memorials that are the focus of this paper.

<sup>103</sup> A. Galpern, “The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth-Century Champagne”, in C. Trinkaus and H. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness* (1974), 149.

<sup>104</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 8.

heretics and the like, erring Christians could hope for salvation, but only after a period of purification in Purgatory. Purgatory loomed large in lay awareness and contemporary illustrations show it to be a fearsome experience.<sup>105</sup> Naturally, medieval man was anxious to minimise the time spent in such an inhospitable place. He was taught that the best way of achieving this was by meek suffering and good works in this world. Gifts to adorn churches or to beautify the worship of God were regarded as particularly efficacious, hence the emphasis on this on the brasses and incised slabs discussed in the previous section. It was commonplace to use wealth in this way as a means what Duffy has aptly described as “post-mortem fire-insurance”.<sup>106</sup>

### *Prayers for the dead*

Once a person was dead and in Purgatory, the sentence could be shortened by prayer and intercession. The value of the prayers of the living to the purification of the dead in Purgatory was a central tenet of medieval faith,<sup>107</sup> and it was therefore vital to a believer that prayers for his or her soul should be said and masses sung.<sup>108</sup> This could be achieved in various ways, among them the endowment of chantries, the establishment of obits and entering one’s name on a parish or gild bede-roll.<sup>109</sup>

A number of brasses, like that of 1492 to William Burgh at Catterick, Yorkshire,<sup>110</sup> refer to the commemorated as having established a chantry, but few give more information. Monuments recording details of the establishment of chantries, obits or bede-rolls would undoubtedly have been a prime target for destruction at the Reformation, but several escaped this fate. No English brass recording the establishment of an obit or chantry survives unscathed, but Stephenson has drawn attention to the obit brass on the palimpsest reverse of the 1548 shroud brass at Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire.<sup>111</sup> The reverse commemorates the foundation in 1491 by John and Alice Stone of an obit to be celebrated by the fraternity of Our Lady at Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire. However, some incised inscriptions recording obits and other forms of prayer for the dead survive *in situ*. A

<sup>105</sup> For example, see *ibid.*, 127-8.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 302. One of the most imaginative of such bequests was that of Alice Chester of Bristol, whose will recorded “consydering that non herse-cloth was yn the Churche of any Reputacyon” the gift of a black and gilt hearse-cloth for use at funerals, embroidered with the text “Orate pro anima Henrici Chester et Aliciae uxoris eius” thus turning every funeral into a commemoration of herself and her husband (*ibid.*, 331).

<sup>107</sup> The belief that prayers for the dead could relieve the suffering of a soul in Purgatory was prevalent from an early period, witness the inscription “Pray for the soul” found on a mid-ninth century cross found at Dewsbury, Yorkshire and now in the British Museum. This belief was strengthened in the eleventh century when Abbot Odilo of Cluny instituted the celebration of All Souls’ Day. The increasing formalisation of the doctrine of Purgatory in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which was accompanied by a rapid growth in commemoration by funeral monuments, culminated in official recognition in 1439 by the Council of Florence. For fuller details, see K. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1973), 62-3; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 182-8.

<sup>108</sup> For a general introduction see J. Bertram, “Orate pro anima: Some Aspects of Medieval Devotion Illustrated on Brasses”, *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), 321-3.

<sup>109</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 327-37, 368-76.

<sup>110</sup> Illus. S. Badham, *Brasses from the North East* (1979), pl. 11.

<sup>111</sup> M. Stephenson, “A List of Palimpsest Brasses”, *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, pt. 7 (1903), 258-60; see also Rex, “Brasses and the Reformation”, 377-8, illus. fig. 1, p. 378.

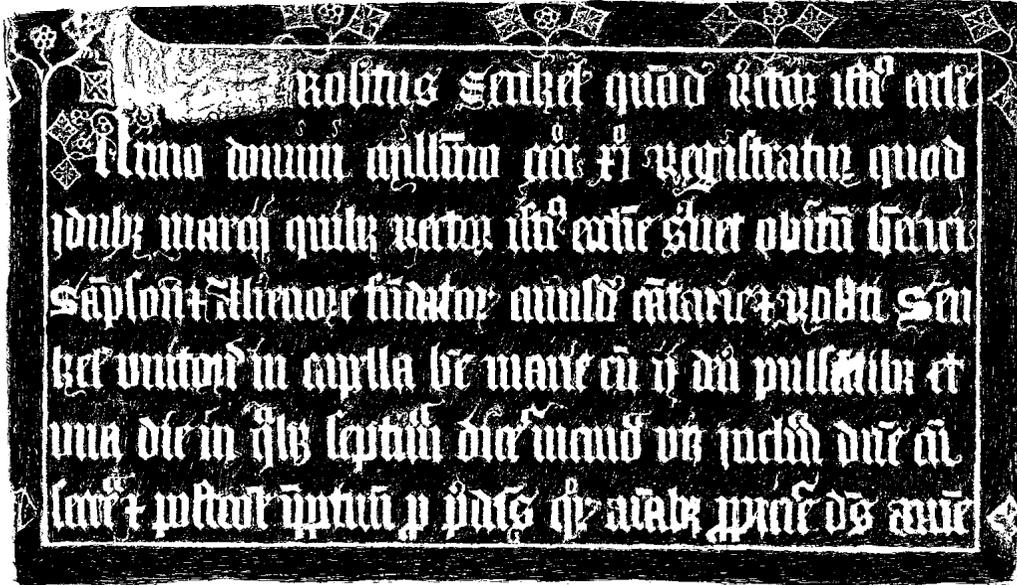


FIG. 12  
Easton-on-the-Hill, Northamptonshire  
Incised slab recording annexation of chantry by Robert Senkeler, 1411

fine example at Easton-on-the-Hill, Northamptonshire records the annexation in 1411 to the rectory by Robert Senkeler of an established chantry (Fig. 12).<sup>112</sup> Similarly, Avery Cornburgh of Romford, Essex, who died in 1480, had carved on his monument a reminder that the names of members of his family were to be included in the parish bede-roll.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, two incised inscriptions in Corfe, Dorset record that Robert and Johanna Rynkyn “desired to be celebrated annually one mass on the vigil of saint John Baptist”<sup>114</sup> and that a couple of the same name gave “one cow for praying for them and for celebrating five masses for their brothers and sisters on the five vigils of Saint Mary” (Fig. 13). Most curious of all is Bartholomew Kyngston’s incised slab of 1486 at Rothley, Leicestershire, which includes part of his will specifying details of his provision for obits.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>112</sup> The inscription reads in translation: “The Rector of this church shall keep the obit of Henry Sampson and (Queen) Eleanor founders of the same chantry and of Robert Senkeler its uniter (with the Rectory) in the chapel of the blessed Mary with twice ten peals and on one day in every week there be said the memorial ‘Inclina Domine’ with the secret prayers and post-communion for ever”. Information from the unpublished notes of F.A. Greenhill in the custody of John Coales.

<sup>113</sup> The relevant part of the inscription reads: “Moreover this call to your remembrance anon, That in the beadroll of usage every Sunday redd; The souls of this Avery, Beatrice and John Be prayed for is speciall; se that owr will be spedd And that the curate of this church curtesly be ledd And for his labor have in reding of that roll Forty pens to pray for them and every Christian soul” (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 336).

<sup>114</sup> Dru Drury, “Corfe Castle”, pl. vii and 57.

<sup>115</sup> This part of the inscription and will read: “to have a nobit to be keptyd oncy evy yere for me and Ely my wyff my fader and my moder on the Monday next aftyr Symon day and Jude the wyche obet to be kept out of the profett off the land ... I wyll that the vecar have for derige iiid and to be offerd at masse be the handys off the feoffers xvjd and to the sayde vecar for the beydroll viiid” (F.A. Greenhill, *The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland* (1958), 151-2 and pl. XXIX).

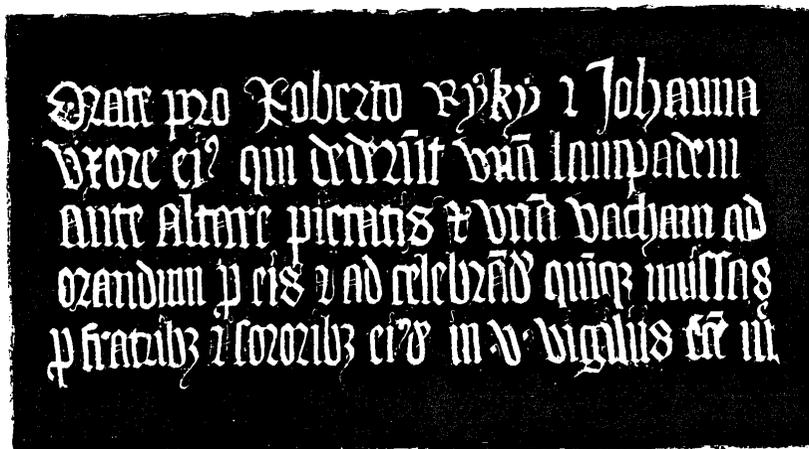


FIG. 13

Corfe, Dorset

Incised slab to Robert and Johanna Tynkyn, late fifteenth century

*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill*

Finally, of course, the setting up of a permanent and visible memorial was a device for attracting prayers, as most inscriptions make clear. Even ostentatious tombs, which seem only to celebrate the worldly pomp and circumstance of the deceased, could be justified as having the merit of attracting attention, and thereby prayers, for an apparently great man, though some evidently found such a worldly emphasis distasteful. Many brasses and incised slabs consisted of no more than an inscription. Sometimes this may have been all that could have been afforded, but not always. The brass to Bishop Richard Gravesend of Lincoln, who died in 1279, is lost, but is known from a drawing made for Dugdale,<sup>116</sup> an inscription plate with just his name and the resurrection text from Job 19, it is an unusually simple monument for a bishop. Again, John Spicer, of Worstead, Norfolk, who died in 1440, was commemorated by just an inscription brass, but it cannot be described as a modest memorial. It is a fine inscription from the prestigious London D workshop and is set in a huge, and obviously expensive, slab of Purbeck marble (Fig. 14). Similarly, Constance Martyn of Canterbury, who died in 1513 requested in her will a slab “with a scripture of my name thereupon to be graven in Laten, without any image thereupon to be fixed”.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps all three were reacting against the worldly sumptuousness and over-emphasis on status that is apparent on many late medieval monuments. Not all went this far. A less extreme example of the rejection of elaborate forms of memorial is the brass at Sprotborough, Yorkshire to William Fitzwilliam, esquire, who died in 1471.<sup>118</sup> His will shows him to have been a very

<sup>116</sup> Rogers, “Episcopal Monuments”, fig. 46, p. 57.

<sup>117</sup> D’Elboux, “Testamentary Brasses”, 187.

<sup>118</sup> Illus. Badham, *North East*, pl. 10.

pious man, with considerable theological knowledge.<sup>119</sup> He wished to be buried, as befitted a lord of the manor, in the choir of the parish church, but in a way that those celebrating divine service would not be impeded, hence his choice of a modest floor brass, rather than a tomb chest with carved effigies.



FIG. 14  
Worsted, Norfolk M.S.II  
Brass to John Spicer, 1440  
*Rubbing by Jon Bayliss*

There are good grounds for arguing that the most important part of the monument was the inscription. Why else would many monuments, which evidently were simple because a more elaborate memorial could not be afforded, contain only an inscription? The point has already been made that medieval testators gave only brief details of the effigial representation they desired on their monuments, but there is also evidence that the wording of the inscription was considered of prime importance. Many testators refer merely to a stone with a scripture, implying that these were the most important elements of the memorial, but some give more detail. The Muschamp will, discussed earlier, contains the precise wording required for both inscriptions and prayer scrolls on the testator's brass, but this is not the only such example. In 1369 Lady Joan Cobham gave instructions in her will for her brass to be laid down in St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, including the wording of the perimeter inscription.<sup>120</sup> Both William Reve of Capel St. Mary, Suffolk, *ob.* 1525, and Edmund Holkham who in 1484 requested burial in St. Benet-at-Holme, Norfolk included in their wills the wording to be used for their foot inscriptions.<sup>121</sup> The wording of prayer scrolls was specified in the 1503 will of John Ayleward of East Harling, Norfolk;<sup>122</sup> the 1514 will of Henry Olde Castell of Eltham;<sup>123</sup> and the 1518 will of Christopher Rawson of London, parts of whose brass survives in All Hallows, Barking.<sup>124</sup> Others had set out separate details of how they wished to be commemorated. Thus, Henry Mownford of Norwich directed in his will of 1518 that he should be commemorated by "a ston of marble with 1 Epytaphy in verses which I have wretyn in a bil"<sup>125</sup> and

<sup>119</sup> Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy*, 17-8.

<sup>120</sup> D'Elboux, "Testamentary Brasses", 184.

<sup>121</sup> Greenwood, "Norfolk study", 91-2.

<sup>122</sup> M. Norris and R. Greenwood, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (1976), 28.

<sup>123</sup> D'Elboux, "Testamentary Brasses", 187.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-90; he chose the text "O libera nos salva nos justifica nos O beata Trinitas", which is the Antiphon of the Holy Trinity after Lauds of Our Lady.

<sup>125</sup> Greenwood, "Norfolk study", 91. The inscription is preserved in the care of Norwich Museums.

Nicholas Beaupre of Outwell, Norfolk referred in his will of 1513 to “a marbill ston ... with scripturis and scochins accordyng as I have caused Thomas Gladwyn to peynt a clothe to ley upon my grave”.<sup>126</sup>

Most inscriptions on brasses and incised slabs, whether in Latin, French or English, follow common formulae. They begin “Here lies” or “Pray for the soul of”; then follow with the name and perhaps details of the person commemorated; then the date of death, presumably to prompt obits; and finally a plea to God to have mercy upon the soul. In essence, the inscription was both a prayer and an exhortation to prayer. Sometimes the prayers to be said were specified, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Creed and the De Profundis being the most frequently mentioned. For example, John Smart of Plumstead, who died in 1525, requested in his will “a stone with a certain remembrance in writing upon it in Latin testifying who lyethe there, praying, for my soule, and all Xen soules, a paternoster and an ave”.<sup>127</sup> Such inscriptions can be found from the thirteenth century. The part relief and part incised slab at St. David’s Cathedral, Pembrokeshire to John, Archdeacon of Brecon, who held office some time before 1279 ends with the words “Pater Noster”<sup>128</sup> and an incised inscription of c. 1280-1300 at Fobbing, Essex asks the onlooker to say the Pater Noster and Ave for Thomas de Crawedene.<sup>129</sup> Finally, lost brasses of the 1530s from Coggeshall, Essex set out the texts of the Pater Noster, Ave and Creed<sup>130</sup> and a fragmentary coffin-lid at Wherwell includes part of the Ave,<sup>131</sup> both giving very firm prompts to the onlooker to pray for the deceased.

It could be argued that one purpose of the other elements of the brass or incised slab was to make the monument more conspicuous, to attract the attention of the passer-by and to move him to prayer. The main figures are almost invariably shown in attitudes of prayer, often with prayer scrolls issuing from their mouths. The implicit invitation is there for the spectator to join in. The use of scrolls appears to have made its introduction in England just before 1400, though surviving carved effigies of this type pre-date two-dimensional monuments.<sup>132</sup> The earliest known brass of this type was at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire where the indent to Richard de Wotton shows a prayer in individually inlaid Lombardic letters snaking upwards from Richard de Wotton to the Virgin and Child.<sup>133</sup> Its counterpart in stone is the curious early fourteenth-century incised coffin-lid at Hawkridge, Somerset showing a civilian and his wife kneeling on either side of a cross, with prayer scrolls drifting across the stem of the cross.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>127</sup> D’Elboux, “Testamentary Brasses”, 187.

<sup>128</sup> He is not recorded in J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Welsh Dioceses* (1965).

<sup>129</sup> Illus. Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, fig. 13.12.

<sup>130</sup> Rex, “Brasses and the Reformation”, 387.

<sup>131</sup> Illus. Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, fig. 12.12.

<sup>132</sup> The earliest example may be the beautiful effigy of c. 1290 to Murial FitzAlan at Bedale, Yorkshire (illus. E. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (1912), fig. 705, p. 632), closely followed by the diminutive Purbeck marble civilian figure at Britford, Wiltshire. In both cases the figure is shown holding the prayer scroll.

<sup>133</sup> Illus. *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 161, p. 150.

<sup>134</sup> Illus. B.F. Cresswell, “Sepulchral Slabs with Crosses in Devon”, *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, X (1918), opp. p. 65.

A considerable variety of short prayers are found on such scrolls. Recent work by Bertram analysing their content on brasses and incised slabs in Sussex and Oxfordshire has shown that the principal source for these texts was the Primer.<sup>135</sup> The notion of Primers conjures up images of rare illuminated and bejewelled manuscripts produced for the elite of the wealthy aristocracy, but particularly in the very late Middle Ages, many Primers were far removed from this type. Some printed editions ran into thousands of copies and varied in price from pounds to a few pence. Duffy has estimated that there were probably some 57,000 Primers in circulation among the English Laity on the eve of the Reformation.<sup>136</sup> He has demonstrated that their use was widespread among the urban middle classes, which was by then the main clientele of the brass engraving workshops.<sup>137</sup> Bertram's analysis of prayer scrolls has identified texts from many offices including the Litany, the Office of Our Lady, the Anima Christi, the Jesus Psalter and the Prayer of St. Bernadyne, but prayers from the Office of the Dead<sup>138</sup> were the most frequently quoted. This is hardly surprising. As Duffy has convincingly argued, the prayers in the Office of the Dead were the most commonly used of all prayers in the late Middle Ages and were thus familiar as no other prayers were.<sup>139</sup> Every gild prescribed attendance at the funeral of every deceased member as a condition of membership and imposed fines for avoidable absence, and both gild and parishes celebrated corporate Diriges for their members. The detailed specifications of mortuary prayers in many late medieval wills reveal the familiarity of many lay people with this part of the Primer. In a culture in which the whole of the Liturgy was celebrated in Latin, even those who could not read and had limited understanding of Latin would doubtless have learnt by heart the prayers of the Office of the Dead from hearing and recitation, just as young children learn a wide range of nursery rhymes and songs before they can read or understand the meaning of all the words. For those whose ability to read was rudimentary, a smattering of learning combined with knowledge of the Office gained through this process of constant repetition would have enabled them to participate in services by following their Primers. In view of this it seems highly unlikely that the meaning of prayer scrolls on brasses and incised slabs would have been understood only by the fully literate elite of medieval society.

Various devices were used to make the appeal for prayers even more attractive to others. Initially, the value to the spectator of saying prayers was expressed in general

<sup>135</sup> "Inscriptions on late medieval brasses and monuments", lecture by Jerome Bertram to the International Conference on Medieval European Epigraphy, held at St. Hilda's College, Oxford in March 1996, to appear in the *Conference Proceedings*, ed. K. Forsyth and J. Higgitt.

<sup>136</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 211-2.

<sup>137</sup> One example Duffy quotes is a servant to a waxchandler who, in his will, left his godchild "a primer for to serve God with"; *ibid.*, 212.

<sup>138</sup> The Office of the Dead comprised two parts. The first part was Vespers or Evensong, commonly called Placebo from the opening words of the Office; it was recited in church, or occasionally in the home of the deceased, on the night before the funeral. The second part comprised Matins and Lauds recited as one office before Mass and was known as Dirige. It is very common in wills and other medieval documents to find the Office of the Dead referred to as Placebo and Dirige. The Sarum use was the most frequently used rite in England in the late Middle Ages.

<sup>139</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 210, 220-2.

terms. The early eleventh-century incised inscription at Stratfield-Mortimer, Berkshire to Aedelward, son of Kypping declares “blessed be the man who prays for his soul”.<sup>140</sup> From the late thirteenth century, the inscription often promised a grant of indulgence to anyone saying prayers on behalf of the dead. The incised slab at Winchester Cathedral to Prior William de Basing, who died in 1295, promises a modest 3 years and 145 days of pardon.<sup>141</sup> These indulgences became increasingly generous, an extreme example being the *c.* 1506 brass to Roger Legh at Macclesfield, Cheshire. The inscription reads: “the pardon for saying 5 Pater Noster and 5 Aves and a Cred is 25 thousand years and 26 days of pardon”.<sup>142</sup>

Perhaps this sort of extravagant promise led people to doubt the veracity of such claims. Certainly some of those commissioning such monuments felt it necessary to demonstrate that the inscriptions carried authority. A mid fourteenth-century incised inscription at Hungerford, Berkshire promises “whosoever will pray for Sir Thomas Hungerford as long as he shall live and for his soul after his death will have 550 days of pardon the grant of fourteen bishops during his lifetime” (Fig. 15). Sir Thomas was clearly concerned with providing for his soul for in 1325 he founded a chantry for the souls of his wife Geva and his ancestors and, after his own death, for his own soul, an endowment which he twice augmented.<sup>143</sup> Maud de Eddefen’s early fourteenth-century incised slab at Edvin Ralph, Herefordshire records that “to whoever shall say a Pater and an Ave the Lord Bishop of Worcester will allow 30 days of pardon and the Lord Bishop of Hereford 60 days of pardon”.<sup>144</sup> In this case, the varying amounts permitted by the two bishops creates uncertainty, rather than confidence.

At the time of the Reformation indulgences and associated pardon inscriptions came in for early and vehement criticism. The rapidly changing shifts in what was deemed acceptable for inscriptions can be illustrated by early sixteenth-century monuments. The brass at St. Jonn Maddermarket, Norwich to John Marsham, *ob.* 1525, has lost its inscription but the text was recorded by Blomefield.<sup>145</sup> Interestingly it was palimpsest but with inscriptions to Marsham on both sides. Possibly the original was engraved during Marsham’s lifetime; it asked for prayers for Marsham “that in the feyth Catholick from this world departed ... Ye shall not lose your charitable devotion; 12 Cardinals have granted you 12 dayes of Pardon.” However, when the inscription plate was re-engraved, the text was toned down: “Of your charyte pray for the soulles etc .... on whose soulles and all Cristen soulles Jesu have mercy Amen”. There is no mention of the Catholic faith, nor of indulgences. Perhaps John Marsham’s executors thought it inappropriate to refer to them, though 1525 appears somewhat early for the questioning of such things in England. Whatever the reason, even the more anodyne version of Marsham’s inscription would have been unacceptable by the second half of the century.

<sup>140</sup> Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, I, 316-7.

<sup>141</sup> Illus. Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, fig. 12.2.

<sup>142</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Memorials*, II, fig. 241.

<sup>143</sup> A.T. Finch, H. Wardley King and K. Tagg, *The Story of Hungerford Parish Church* (1967), 14.

<sup>144</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 134a.

<sup>145</sup> E. Blomefield and C. Parkin, *History of Norfolk* (1805-10), IV, 290.

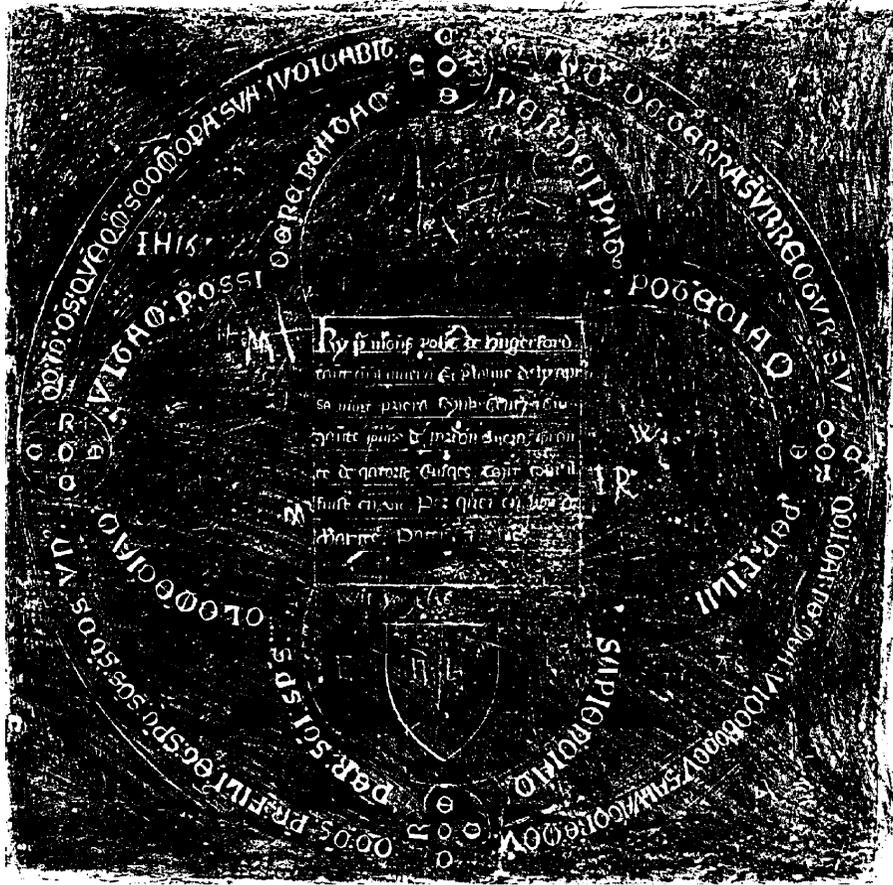


FIG. 15

Hungerford, Berkshire

Incised slab to Sir Thomas Hungerford, c. 1340-50

*Rubbing by F. A. Greenhill*

It was not just the prayers of the living that were solicited, but also the intercession of the saints. The Catholic church embraces all Christians, both living and dead, and those who have completed the passage to heaven can be called upon to help those still on their way. Female saints were especially favoured, as they symbolised pity and compassion. Thus, the inscription on Henry Elyngton's incised cross slab of 1400 in Stamford Grammar School Chapel, Lincolnshire reads in translation: "Katherine and Margaret pray for him, he was the poor friend of your chapel".<sup>146</sup> The mechanics of intercession are often depicted on brasses and incised slabs. Edmund Croston's 1507 brass at St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford shows him praying to St. Katherine, who in turn intercedes with the Trinity.<sup>147</sup> Similarly,

<sup>146</sup> Illus. *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in the Town of Stamford*, R.C.H.M. (1977), pl.33.

<sup>147</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 59.



FIG. 16  
 Morley, Derbyshire M.S.VI.  
 Brass to Sir Thomas Stathum and wives, 1470  
*Rubbing by Malcolm Norris*

William Lawnder is shown on his *c.* 1510 brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire praying to the Virgin, who herself passes the prayer on to the Trinity.<sup>148</sup> More commonly, only the first stage of intercession is shown, as on the 1470 brass at Morley, Derbyshire, to Sir Thomas Stathum and his two wives (Fig. 16). Two of the saints depicted here were a personal choice, for, in his will, Sir Thomas specified that his grave should be covered by “a stone of marble with 3 ymages of laton oon ymage maade aftir me and th othir 2 aftir both my wifis ... with eche on of us a rolle in our handis unto our Lady saint Marye and to saint Christopher over our heedis”.<sup>149</sup> The figure of St. Anne was probably added to balance the composition.

<sup>148</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 280.

<sup>149</sup> A fuller transcription is in Norris, *The Craft*, 90.



FIG. 17  
 Arnold, Nottinghamshire  
 Incised slab to John de la Launde, 1347  
*Rubbing by F. A. Greenhill*

Devotional iconography first appears on English monuments in the fourteenth century and usually show the object of devotion placed on a bracket or in the head of a cross. Amongst the earliest examples in brass are the indents of Adam de Brome, who died in 1322, at St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford<sup>150</sup> and Richard de Wotton at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. A unique iconographic type is seen on the

<sup>150</sup> Illus. Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 162, p. 150.

incised slab to John de la Launde, *ob.* 1347, at Arnold, Nottinghamshire, which was probably made in his lifetime; this shows a nimbed figure, probably representing St John, praying before a statue of the Virgin and Child on a canopied wall-mounted corbel (Fig. 17). People frequently had a devotion to a particular saint and chose to have them depicted on their monument, to honour and invoke them, in much the same way as modern-day Catholics often take a saint's name on confirmation. Thus, the remains of a cross brass of *c.* 1410 from Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire to an unknown priest, show him kneeling in prayer, with an equal-sized figure of John the Baptist next to him.<sup>151</sup>

*Resurrection imagery and the influence of the Primer on tomb design*

I have reviewed the imagery of prayer and intercession, but what of the hoped for results of prayer, in terms of the imagery of salvation? One of the Collects in the Absolution in the Sarum use *Dirige* reads in translation: "Bid the holy angels take his soul in their hands, that they may lead him into the bosom of Thy friend the patriarch Abraham".<sup>152</sup> Imagery reflecting this is commonplace on French and Flemish brasses and incised slabs, like the bas-relief Tournai slab at Ely Cathedral to Bishop Nigel, who died in 1169, showing the Archangel Michael carrying the Bishop's soul,<sup>153</sup> but is found relatively infrequently on English two-dimensional monuments. The soul is conventionally depicted as a naked figure and is usually seen being carried in a sheet by a pair of angels. It is the main feature of the Walter Beauchamp's *c.* 1430 brass at Checkendon, Oxfordshire.<sup>154</sup> More usually, this scene is shown between the main figure and the canopy, as on the 1508 incised slab to Robert Horncastle at Bardney Abbey, Lincolnshire<sup>155</sup> and on the 1401 brass to John Sleaford at Balsham, Cambridgeshire.<sup>156</sup> The earliest representations, however, are on an early fourteenth-century bas relief coffin slab of an unknown priest at Newton Regis, Warwickshire<sup>157</sup> and the 1347 brass to Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk. There appears to be no instance of the soul in Abraham's bosom on either a brass or an incised slab of indisputably English origin, but an image in the canopy of Lawrence St. Maur's magnificent brass of 1337 at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire shows his soul being presented by angels to Christ.<sup>158</sup> The inscription on the canopy arch of this brass reads in translation: "May Christ who called me receive me and may the angels lead me into Abraham's bosom".

It has been said that the resurrection theme almost never appears on monuments before the seventeenth century.<sup>159</sup> This is far from true as far as brasses and incised

<sup>151</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 110.

<sup>152</sup> I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for considerable help with references to the liturgy of the Sarum use Primer.

<sup>153</sup> Illus. B. Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (1980), fig. 147, p. 167.

<sup>154</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Memorials*, II, fig. 228.

<sup>155</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Lincoln*, frontispiece.

<sup>156</sup> Illus. W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (1985), 5.

<sup>157</sup> Illus. H.M. Bloxam, "On Some Rare and Curious Sepulchral Monuments in Warwickshire of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century", *Trans. Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, V (1874), 8.

<sup>158</sup> Illus. Bertram, "Orate pro anima", fig. 4, p.327.

<sup>159</sup> Kemp, *English Monuments*, 165.



FIG. 18  
Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire  
Upper half of indent of lost brass, c. 1400  
*Rubbing by Malcolm Norris*

slabs were concerned. Resurrection imagery is particularly common on brasses and incised slabs associated with Easter Sepulchres, the focus of the most emotive ritual of the Christian year, which re-enacted Christ's entombment and resurrection. The 1503 brass to Thomas Harding at Cranleigh, Surrey, which stood in the position of an Easter Sepulchre on the north side of the choir, includes a representation of Christ's resurrection and had scrolls, now lost, which read: "Have mercy Jhesu in the honour of they glorious resurrection" "And grant us the merits of thy bytter passion".<sup>160</sup> Images and symbols of resurrection appear in various guises. Depictions of Christ's resurrection, such as that just mentioned at Cranleigh, are frequent and well-known and have been the subject of specialised study by Evans.<sup>161</sup> Images of the Coronation of the Virgin, such as those shown in the canopies of the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing and the fine indent at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire (Fig. 18) also symbolise resurrection of the dead, since by her Assumption, Mary anticipated

<sup>160</sup> M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (1921, repr. 1970), 149-52.

<sup>161</sup> H.F.O. Evans, "The Resurrection on Brass", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, pt.2 (1970), 88-100.

and demonstrated the fate of the saved at the Last Judgement.<sup>162</sup> Rogers has argued that semi-effigial slabs, which show part of the effigy through apertures in the slab or in a crosshead, may be intended to show the deceased bursting from his coffin at the moment of Resurrection.<sup>163</sup> The belief in bodily resurrection is also symbolised in other ways.

The basis of the belief in bodily resurrection most familiar to medieval man was based on the Vulgate form of Job 19, verses 25-27, which read: “Scio enim quod Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et rursum circumdabor pelle mea: et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum. Quem visurus sum ego ipse, et oculi mei conspecturi sunt: et non alius. Reposita est haec spec mea in sinu meo.” Texts based on this biblical passage were particularly popular for inscriptions on brasses and incised slabs, though before the early sixteenth century normally employing the formula “Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit Et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum et in carne mea videbo deum salvatorem meum”, reading in translation “I believe that my Redeemer lives and that at the last day he shall stand upon the earth and that in my flesh I shall see my Saviour”. Sometimes this text was the main feature of the monument, as on the lost brass from Lincoln Cathedral to Bishop Gravesend discussed above and the *c.* 1350 incised slab to Thomas de Hungerford at Hungerford, Berkshire (Fig. 15). In his will of 1472 Thomas Muschamp chose this text for prayer scrolls on his brass.<sup>164</sup> The text can be found in a variety of unusual places on monuments. It was used, amongst many other instances, in the canopies of the brass to Sir Brian Rouclyffe at Cowthorpe, Yorkshire; on the front of Thomas Ouds’ chasuble on his *c.* 1500 brass at Great Musgrave, Westmoreland (Fig. 19); and on the orphrey of William Prestwyk’s cope on his brass of 1436 at Warbleton, Sussex.<sup>165</sup>

Of course, Job is not the only Biblical text to refer to resurrection and judgement, but it is the only one quoted on medieval monuments. The reason for this and for the popular choice of the shortened version of the Job text was way in which devotion was influenced by the Primer. Medieval monuments quote liturgy, not scripture and the shortened text formed the responsory after the first reading of the Dirige in the Sarum use. Being the first responsory it would have been one of the best known of the prayers in the Office of the Dead, thus explaining its popularity for monuments. The full biblical text also featured in the Sarum use Dirige, but rather later in the Office as part of the eighth reading of Matins; consequently it was not often quoted

<sup>162</sup> N. Rogers, “Monuments to Monks and Monastic Servants”, in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval England* (ed. B. Thompson), Harlaxton Medieval Studies 6, forthcoming.

<sup>163</sup> Rogers, “Episcopal Monuments”, 26.

<sup>164</sup> The prayer scroll over Thomas Muschamp was to read: “Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit” - *1st section of responsory after 1st reading of Dirige*. The prayer scroll over wife was to read: “Credo quod in novissimo die de terra surrectura sum”- *2nd section of responsory after 1st reading of Dirige*. The prayer scroll over sons was to read: “Credo quod in carne mea videbo deum Salvatorem Meum”- *3rd section of responsory after 1st reading of Dirige*. The other texts specified were also from the Office of the Dead. The prayer scroll over the daughters was to read: “Credo videre bona domini in terra viventium”, which forms the response at Placebo and in the Dirige the second Nocturn of Matins and the response at the end of Lauds. The marginal inscription was to read “Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici miseremini mei”, the eighth lesson of Matins in the Dirige.

<sup>165</sup> Illus. H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (1861), 1, clxxvii .



FIG. 19  
Great Musgrave, Westmoreland M.S.I  
Brass to Thomas Ouds, c. 1500  
*Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

on monuments, a rare exception being the perimeter inscription on the 1382 brass to John de Campeden at St. Cross, Winchester, Hampshire.<sup>166</sup>

It was not just that the form of this inscription and other texts used for prayer scrolls parallel the wording of liturgical texts, but, as the period of religious turbulence in the mid sixteenth century progressed, the wording of inscriptions and prayer scrolls on monuments changed in close correspondence with changes in the liturgy. Thus once the liturgy appeared in the vernacular, so did liturgical texts on monuments. Moreover, by this time the bible was also available in the vernacular and in 1543 it was ordered that bible readings should be included in services. All these developments affected the choice of wording of the Job resurrection text used

<sup>166</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 60.



FIG. 20

Shorne, Kent M.S.(2) palimpsest reverse  
From the Hospital of St. Thomas Acre, London  
Part of brass to John Hall, 1529

1810 dabbing by Fisher in the *Society of Antiquaries of London*

on monuments. Thus, the mutilated inscription on the brass of 1550 to Dame Jane Calthorpe in St. Martin-at-Palace, Norwich employs the translation of Coverdale's first English bible of 1536. Most texts continued to be taken from the Primer, but a variety of English translations of the Job text appears on sixteenth century brasses, reflecting the rapidly changing liturgy of successive revisions of the Primer.<sup>167</sup> The text in the King's Primer of 1545 was used for the mutilated inscription on the 1551 brass to Reynold Peckham at Ossington, Nottinghamshire, but this translation was itself shortly to be replaced. Thus the 1557 brass to Humfrey Cheynie at West Hanney, Berkshire<sup>168</sup> and the 1561 brass to Robert Pygott at Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire<sup>169</sup> take their text from the Order for Burial of the Dead in the second prayer book of Edward VI dated 1552.

<sup>167</sup> For a useful exploration of the various Latin and English translations of the Job resurrection text, see A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (1956), 162-5. For Early English Prayer book texts see E.C.S. Gibson, *The First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI* (1910) and *The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth 1559* (1890).

<sup>168</sup> Illus. W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (1993), 71.

<sup>169</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Buckinghamshire*, 228.



FIG. 21  
Isfield, Sussex M.S.II palimpsest reverse  
Part of brass to Thomas Humfre of  
London, first half of sixteenth century

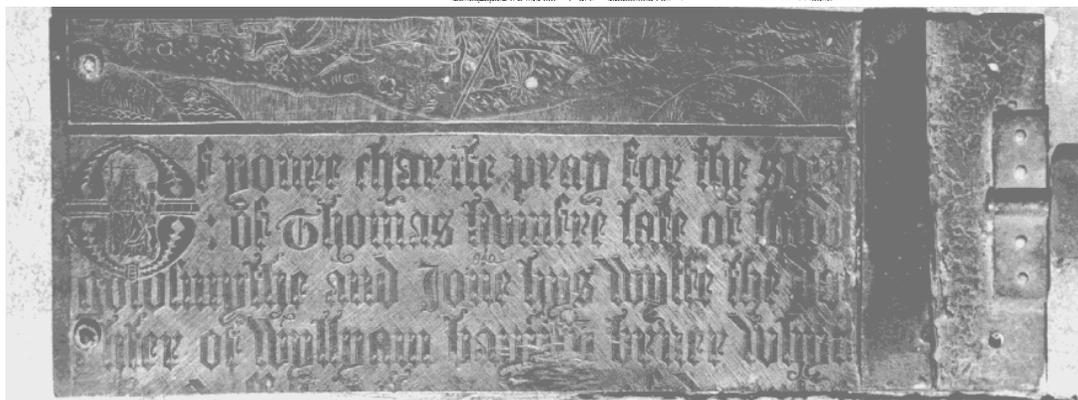


FIG. 22  
Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire M.S.IX palimpsest reverse  
Part of brass to Thomas Humfre of London, first half of sixteenth century

Primers were used as a source for tomb design in other ways also. Other biblical texts referring to resurrection and judgement are reflected in imagery on brasses, though they are not very common. Some reflect the apocalyptic vision of John in the Book of Revelation. One such forms part of the palimpsest fragments of the lost brass formerly in the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acre in London to John Hall, who died in 1529 (Fig. 20). The imagery is very precise. It showed the figure seated on a throne, in the words of Revelation 4, verse 3 “there was a rainbow round about the throne;” and, in the words of Revelation 1, verse 16 “he had in his right hand seven stars; and

out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword". Christ seated on a rainbow, though without the sword or stars, is also on the brass at Sibston, Leicestershire to John Moore, who died in 1532<sup>170</sup> and has been lost from a brass of c. 1520 at Ampthill, Bedfordshire.<sup>171</sup>

Fragments of a more elaborate depiction of the Day of Judgement on a quadrangular plate brass from the first half of the sixteenth century to Thomas Humfre, a goldsmith of London, survive as palimpsests on the back of brasses of 1558 at Isfield, Sussex and Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire (figs. 21 and 22). The brass is unusually finely engraved, possibly by a goldsmith, and shows fascinating detail. Elements of the composition include an angel blowing a trumpet, Christ on a rainbow, though only one end of the rainbow survives, and St. Michael weighing souls. The main figures are shown kneeling in shrouds at the moment of resurrection. At first sight, the angel blowing a trumpet might suggest that the scene is based on 1 Corinthians 15, but Revelation is a more probable source. As has already been explained, Christ on a rainbow is part of apocalyptic imagery, but so is the weighing of souls and the seven angels with trumpets. St. Michael is described as the representative of the souls in the offertory in the medieval Office of the Dead. The explanation for the choice of apocalyptic imagery may lie in the illustrated Primers which were so commonplace in late medieval England. A standard illustration accompanying the penitential Psalms in the Primer, which formed part of the normal intercessory prayers for the dead, was imagery from the Apocalypse, including Christ in Judgement seated on a rainbow.<sup>172</sup> Thus again the source of these images on brasses was the Primer, rather than the Bible.

Similar imagery appears on many medieval painted Dooms, and in other scenes including the early fourteenth-century wallpaintings from Chalgrove, Oxfordshire.<sup>173</sup> It is also to be found in painted glass, for example in glass of c. 1338-45 at Wells Cathedral, Somerset, where figures, including kings and bishops, are shown rising from their graves<sup>174</sup> and, most famously, in John Thornton's east window of c. 1405-8 at York Minster which shows eighty one scenes from the Book of Revelation.<sup>175</sup> Resurrection imagery also appears on a French incised slab of c. 1530 to Canon Gilles Coquevil, in Noyon Cathedral (Fig. 23). At the top is the figure of Christ sitting on a rainbow and on his right hand the angel of the resurrection blowing his trumpet. Beneath, the naked tonsured figure of the Canon kneels on one knee in his grave, with hands uplifted in prayer. Around him are other figures, also rising from their graves.

Other resurrection scenes on brasses show the dead rising from the grave and the trumpet being sounded, but not Christ in judgement. They are probably based on

<sup>170</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 317.

<sup>171</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Bedfordshire*, 2.

<sup>172</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 226.

<sup>173</sup> Illus. P. Binski, *Painters* (1991), fig. 34, p. 37.

<sup>174</sup> Illus. R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages* (1993), fig. 63, p. 81.

<sup>175</sup> D.E. O'Connor and J. Haselock "The Stained and Painted Glass", in G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant, *A History of York Minster* (1977), 365-70.



FIG. 23

Noyon, France

Incised slab to Canon Gilles Coqueville, c. 1530

*Photograph from F.A. Greenhill collection*

the text of 1 Corinthians 15, verse 52, which reads in the translation of the Authorised Version of 1611: “In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed”. This text made its first appearance in the liturgy in John Hilsey’s Primer of 1539. All English examples of this type appear to post-date the 1539 Primer, again emphasising the link between the design of monuments and the content of the liturgy.<sup>176</sup> On the 1573 brass to Jane Lambard at Ightham, Kent, a trumpet is shown emerging from a cloud.<sup>177</sup> On the c. 1580 brass to an unknown

<sup>176</sup> Philip Lankester has suggested as an alternative source chants such as the “Dies Ires”.

<sup>177</sup> Illus. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, II, 78.



FIG. 24  
Pamber Priory, Hampshire  
*Incised slab to an unknown prior, twelfth century*

lady at Leigh, Kent the deceased is shown both as a shrouded effigy in a tomb and a risen figure saying “Behold O lord I com willingly” as the angel sounds the trumpet on the Day of Judgement.<sup>178</sup>

#### *The meaning of cadaver tombs*

The fashion for cadaver tombs, which was at its height in England between *c.* 1450 and *c.* 1550, is often seen as one aspect of the vogue for the macabre which so obsessed society following the Black Death, but, as King has pointed out, as a simple explanation of this phenomenon the Black Death is both too early and too late.<sup>179</sup> Both this type of tomb representation and the emphasis on morbidity can be traced back significantly before the Black Death. Cadaver tombs are often accompanied by inscriptions emphasising macabre moralism,<sup>180</sup> but such inscription can also be traced back to pre-Black Death origins.

There were three main formulae of this type used for inscriptions on medieval monuments. Perhaps the most common was “*Quisquis eris qui transeris sta perlege plora Sum quod eris fueramque quod es pro me precor ora*”, which, in translation read “Whosoever passes by, stop read and shed a tear, I am what you will be, I have been what you are, pray for me I beseech you”. Inscriptions based on this formula date back to late Antiquity and were used on monuments made very much earlier than the Black Death, including the tomb of 932 of Aedulph, Bishop of Exeter;<sup>181</sup> the *c.* 1260-70 Purbeck marble cross slab at Sturminster Marshall, Dorset to John, a vicar; the incised slab at Watton, Yorkshire to William de Malton, who died in 1279;<sup>182</sup> and on the chamfer of a high-quality Purbeck marble cross slab to one of

<sup>178</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Memorials*, 246.

<sup>179</sup> King, “The Cadaver Tomb”, 26.

<sup>180</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 21-32.

<sup>181</sup> T.J. Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs* (1888), 65. A similar epitaph was recorded in the Lateran, Rome; G. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* (1869), 2, 223.

<sup>182</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 29b.



FIG. 25  
Lavenham, Suffolk M.S.I  
Brass to Thomas and Margaret Spryng, 1486

the twelfth-century priors of Pamber Priory, Hampshire (Fig. 24).<sup>183</sup> The later popularity of the formula “I am what you will be, I have been what you are” reflects the influential legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, an old idea given dramatic reality in poems originating in France in the late thirteenth century.<sup>184</sup>

The second text commonly associated with cadaver monuments was “*Vermibus hic donor et sic ostendere conor Et sicut hic ponor ponitur omnis honor*”, which may be translated as “I here to worms become a prey Try by this picture thus to say That as I lie here out of sight So too must pass all earthly might”. This text is familiar on brasses such as that at Oddington, Oxfordshire to Ralph Hamsterley, *ob.* 1515 (Fig. 29),<sup>185</sup> but was found on many carved tombs also. A similar sentiment is expressed in the third commonly-found formula in the macabre vein “*de terre fut fait et forme et en terre eta terre suyt retourne*”, or in translation “of earth made and

<sup>183</sup> The name of the deceased is not recorded on the slab at Pamber; perhaps it was assumed when it was made that this would have been common knowledge in the community.

<sup>184</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 33-4; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 134-8.

<sup>185</sup> Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, refers to *Vermibus hic ponor et sic ostendere conor* appearing in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Merton MS 13, fo. 63v. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for drawing this to my attention and for suggesting that Ralph Hamsterley might have seen these verses there.

formed and in earth and to earth returned".<sup>186</sup> However, once again these texts have origins dating from well before the Black Death. As Cohen has pointed out,<sup>187</sup> the denigration of worldly pomp and the description of the body as food for worms derives from the writings of eleventh and twelfth century theologians, such as Bernard of Clairvaux<sup>188</sup> and Pope Innocent III.<sup>189</sup>

Though there are a significant number of cadaver brasses and incised slabs, the conventional interpretation is that few depict bodily resurrection. The commonly-quoted exceptions are the 1516 brass at Childrey, Berkshire to William Feteplace<sup>190</sup> and the 1486 brass at Lavenham, Suffolk to Thomas Spryng (Fig. 25). Cadavers are usually interpreted simply as representations of the dead. Images such as that of Elizabeth Horne, 1548, at Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire<sup>191</sup> are indisputably of death. However to regard all such figures merely as a grim memento mori, intended to remind the spectator just of the inevitability of death, is to tell only half the story. As Mâle, Huizinga and others have shown, in the later Middle Ages religious thought had a marked tendency to embody itself in images, symbolism and allegory.<sup>192</sup> Against this background, it is hard to believe that cadaver monuments were meant to be interpreted so literally. The common interpretation certainly fails to take into account the earliest representations of this type of monument.

One of the problems of interpreting medieval tomb design is the way in which iconographic representation was degraded and misrepresented by successive generations of tomb-makers, so that the original significance was all but lost. A familiar example of this is the beasts on which many effigies rest their feet. This convention derived from Psalm 91 "You will walk on the asp and the basilisk and the lion and the dragon you will trample underfoot". It did not take long for the lion and the dragon trampled underfoot to be replaced on monuments by pet dogs nestling in the folds of their mistress's gown.

The iconographic significance of cadaver tombs was similarly distorted over the years, but the original meaning can similarly be clarified by tracing the type back to early sources. The earliest known cadaver representation is the 1194 tomb in Hildesheim Cathedral, Germany of Presbyter Bruno (Fig. 26). In common with other early monuments, the deceased is shown as part of a complex narrative. The lower part of the monument shows Bruno's shrouded corpse supported by two priests,

<sup>186</sup> This text is found, for example, on the brasses of Sir John de Cobham, c. 1367, at Cobham, Kent (illus. H. Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (1906, repr. 1970), 160); Sir John de Mereworth, ob. 1366, at Mereworth, Kent (illus. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, II, no. 305, p.93) and Sir William de Etchingam, ob. 1388, at Etchingam, Sussex (illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 67).

<sup>187</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 23-32.

<sup>188</sup> "O esca vermium! O massa pulveris! O roris vanitas, cur sic extolleris?" (trans. "Oh food for worms! Oh heap of dust! Oh vanity of dew! Why are you puffed up?") from *De contemptu mundi*, a poem attributed to St. Bernard; *ibid.*, 24-5.

<sup>189</sup> For example in *De contemptu mundi* "He who just now sat glorious on his throne, now lies in his tomb, looked down upon. Who just now was decorated with gleaming gold, now lies naked in the tomb. The man who just now dined upon delights in his living room, is now being dined upon by worms in his grave"; *ibid.* 23-4, 28, 43.

<sup>190</sup> Lack *et. al.*, *Berkshire*, 40.

<sup>191</sup> Illus. Norris, "Urban Funerary Industry", pl. 13.4, p. 200, and this issue, p.000.

<sup>192</sup> E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages* (1986); J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924).

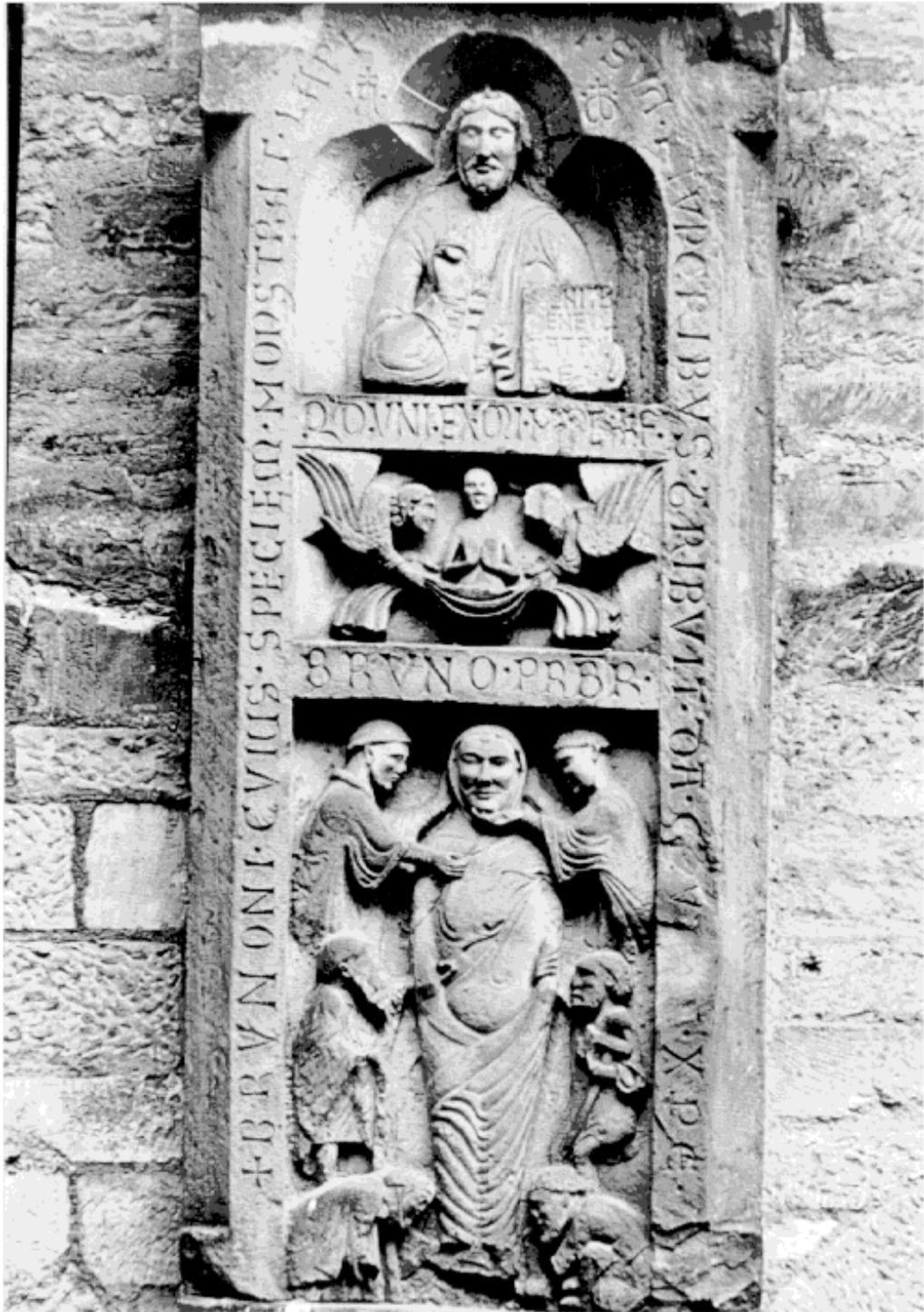


FIG. 26  
Hildesheim Cathedral, Germany  
Tomb of Presbyter Bruno, 1194.

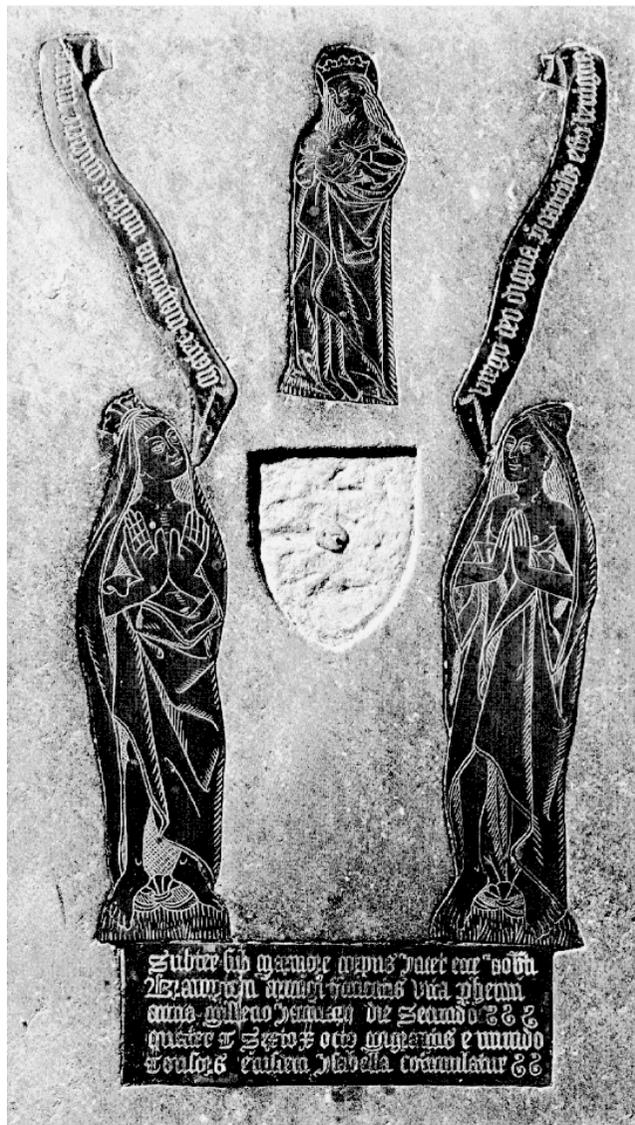


FIG. 27

Brampton, Norfolk M.S.I

Detail of brass to Robert and Isabel Brampton, 1468.

representing the part of the funeral rites known as the “elevatio corporis”. In the middle portion of the monument Bruno’s soul is carried heavenwards by two angels. Above this is an image of Christ. As Panofsky has pointed out, the imagery is very like the narrative miniature of the death and transfiguration of Abbot Lambert of St. Bertin.<sup>193</sup> A similar combination of imagery is shown on the tomb of Archbishop

<sup>193</sup> Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 60 and fig. 240.

Simone Salterelli, *ob.* 1342, in Santa Caterina, Pisa, Italy.<sup>194</sup> In the lower portion Salterelli's figure is shown lying in a death chamber, revealed by angels and in the upper portion his naked soul is being carried to heaven by angels. In all three examples there is a clear link between death and resurrection. This link is not always so explicit on later cadaver monuments, produced from the 1380s onward, but residual elements of this meaning survived.

A number of English cadaver brasses are ambiguous in their imagery. The 1454 brass to John Brigg at Salle, Norfolk<sup>195</sup> and the 1468 brass to Robert Brampton at Brampton, Norfolk (Fig. 27) show the figures standing, with grass beneath their feet, and in the act of casting their shrouds aside. Similar representations are found on a fair number of other brasses from a variety of workshops, including those at Cley, Norfolk<sup>196</sup> and Dunstable, Bedfordshire.<sup>197</sup> It is likely, as Norris has recently suggested, that these depict the deceased at the time of resurrection.<sup>198</sup> These brasses, rather than representing the depressing concept expressed by Stone as the "material finality of death",<sup>199</sup> can instead be viewed as amongst the most triumphalist of medieval English monuments. Here, in the familiar words of 1 Corinthians 15, verse 54 "Death is swallowed up in victory".

The full symbolism of cadaver tombs is explicitly set out on the incised slab to Ralph Wodford, 1498, from Ashby Folville, Leicestershire (Fig. 28). The scrolls on the two crosses read in translation, "take heed that you will die". The foot inscription reads "Of erthe I am formed and maked To erthe I am turned all naked", echoing the "de terre" formula referred to above. So far all fits in with the conventional memento mori interpretation. But the shrouded figure is alive, standing and discarding his shroud. And, even more conclusively, above his head is the resurrection text from Job 19, verses 25-26. There can surely be little doubt that Wodford is depicted at the moment of resurrection.

In choosing to be depicted as a cadaver, the person commemorated was probably purposely rejecting the over-emphasis on worldly status, seen on so many contemporary monuments, in favour of an attractively humble and pious attitude and a more overtly spiritual function. Thus the purpose of cadaver tombs was to remind the spectator of death and, even more importantly, the ensuing Resurrection, Judgement and Purgatory. It was designed to prompt him both to mend his own ways and to pray for the deceased in Purgatory. But, however morbid the image, the underlying message was one of salvation. Even such a grisly image as Ralph Hamsterley's cadaver being devoured by worms on the 1515 brass at Oddington, Oxfordshire may be given a positive interpretation (Fig. 29). Surely on seeing it the devout would immediately have called to mind what would follow death and decay.

<sup>194</sup> Illus. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (1901-40), IV, fig. 382.

<sup>195</sup> Illus. Norris, "Urban Funerary Industry", pl. 13.1, p.196.

<sup>196</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, pl. 13.2, p. 197.

<sup>197</sup> Illus. Lack *et. al.*, *Bedfordshire*, 31.

<sup>198</sup> Norris, "Urban Funerary Industry", 198.

<sup>199</sup> L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (2nd ed., 1973), 213-4.



FIG. 28  
Ashby Folville, Leicestershire  
Incised slab to Ralph Wodford, 1498  
*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill*

In the words of Job 19, verse 26 “And though worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God”.

Such an interpretation of many cadaver tombs can be supported by both documentary and physical evidence. Thomas Morys of London, who died in 1506, gave detailed instructions as to the form of his cadaver brass, which unfortunately does not survive. He requested that “the images that should be on the stone engraved like two dead carcasses as piteously made as can be thought, holding up our hands in winding sheets, and a cross to be made of the stone and my carcass kneeling at the foot of the cross on the one side and the image of my wife in like manner on the other side of the foot of the cross, with each of us [having] a scripture out of our mouths”.<sup>200</sup> No surviving brass precisely mirrors such a design, but the kneeling

<sup>200</sup> A fuller transcription of the text of this section of the will is in Norris, “Urban Funerary Industry”, 195-8.



FIG. 29  
Oddington, Oxfordshire M.S.I  
Brass to Ralph Hamsterley, 1515

shrouded figure with the hands raised in the orans position and with a scroll coming out of the mouth suggests a composition very like the 1486 London-made brass to Thomas Spryng at Lavenham, Suffolk (Fig. 25). An analagous composition was ordered by Sir Bartholomew Reed, who died in 1505 and desired burial in the London Charterhouse and commemoration by a carved tomb. His will requested “a tombe of stone to the value and cost of £20 with the Image of the Trynity and of a dead corse knelyng therunto”.<sup>201</sup> Both he and Thomas Morys use the words “dead corpse” and “dead carcasses”, but the images are both of the resurrected dead. The intent behind such representation is also explicitly stated in Morys’s will; he said “Under the foot of the cross a Scripture graven what we were, to the intent that [for] those that be lookers upon we, may be had the better in mind to be prayed for”.

<sup>201</sup> Greenwood, “Norfolk Study”, 92.

A variety of forms of resurrection imagery is shown on cadaver monuments throughout much of Western Europe, be they brasses, incised slabs or carved tombs. The shroud brasses in St. Sauveur, Bruges, Belgium to Woulter Copman, *ob.* 1387<sup>202</sup> and to Joris de Munter, *ob.* 1439, and Jacemine van der Brugghe, *ob.* 1423,<sup>203</sup> both show a cross, the symbol of redemption, lying on the breast of each of the deceased. The monuments to Jeanne de Bourbon, *ob.* 1521, now in the Louvre and to François de Sarra, *ob.* 1363, which probably dates from the late 1390s, at La Sarraz, Switzerland have scallop shells, symbolising eternal life, carved on the canopy and tombchest respectively.<sup>204</sup> The first known English cadaver memorial, the elaborate “double-decker” tomb to Archbishop Chichele, constructed by 1426 during Chichele’s lifetime, undoubtedly under his personal direction, has statues of Christ and praying monks at the east and west jamb of the upper order of the tomb and the ejaculatory prayer “Emmanuel, Emmanuel, Emmanuel”, evoking Christ as Redeemer, is inscribed at the head and foot of the cadaver.<sup>205</sup> One of the earliest French cadaver tombs, the multi-ordered wall monument to Cardinal Jean de Lagrange, *ob.* 1402, constructed according to directions in his will, displayed imagery directed at the salvation of Lagrange’s soul, including praying monks and five representations of the Cardinal at prayer, in each case recommended by an angel or a saint.<sup>206</sup> More explicitly, the low-relief slab to Canon Etienne Yver at Notre Dame, Paris, prepared before his death in 1468,<sup>207</sup> depicts him both as a corpse devoured by worms and rising from the tomb to appear before the Christ of the Apocalypse, with his sponsors, Saint John and Saint Stephen (Fig. 30). The foot inscription reads in translation: “Let God have the soul which he created. Nature has what is hers. Expecting the resurrection and the eternal life of both [body and soul]. For it is necessary that that which is corrupt put on incorruptability, and that which is mortal put on immortality”.<sup>208</sup>

Other monuments convey the message of resurrection through the wording of inscriptions and prayers, quite apart from the usual request for the prayers of the living requested in the inscriptions accompanying many cadaver images. The Job resurrection text, already noted on the Wodford cadaver slab, was one such; it was also inscribed on a lost funeral plaque with a worm-infested cadaver formerly in Evreux Cathedral.<sup>209</sup> A lost incised slab of a standing cadaver from St. Walburge, Bruges, Belgium commemorating Joos de Clerk, *ob.* 1544, included the inscription

<sup>202</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Memorials*, II, fig. 47.

<sup>203</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 147.

<sup>204</sup> Illus. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pl. 258.

<sup>205</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 67. For an admirable account of this tomb see C. Wilson, “The Medieval Monuments”, in P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1995), 476-81.

<sup>206</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 12-3; illus. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pls. 263-4.

<sup>207</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 60.

<sup>208</sup> Habeat deus quam creavit animam eius. Habet natura quod suum est. Expectans Resurrectionem et utriusque vitam eternam. Opportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem et mortale induere immortalitatem.

<sup>209</sup> Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 113-4, who suggests that this imagery was drawn from the embroidery on a funeral pall at Evreux Cathedral which featured a worm-infested cadaver placed at the foot of a large cross, with the Job resurrection text beneath.



FIG. 30  
 Notre Dame, Paris, France  
 Low relief slab to Canon Etienne Yver, 1468

“God have mercy on me”, the first Psalm of Lauds in the Dirige.<sup>210</sup> The lost 1525 wall tomb of Jacquete de Rothais, Abbess of Beaumont les Tours, France showed her recumbent shrouded figure with a scroll coming out of her mouth proclaimed “I await the resurrection of the dead”,<sup>211</sup> the same prayer as was used on the lost incised

<sup>210</sup> Illus. V. Vermeerish, *Grafmonumentum te Brugge voor 1578* (1976), III, pl. 309, p. 618.

<sup>211</sup> Illus. Norris, *The Memorials*, II, fig. 131.

slab, formerly in Rouen Cathedral, showing Robert Touse, *ob.* 1422, as a skeleton.<sup>212</sup> Abbot Jehan de Blaisy's 1439 incised slab from Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye shows him as a skeleton with a scroll issuing from his mouth addressing a prayer to the "Redeemer of the world" and his soul is shown ascending to heaven, accompanied by prayers reading "Have mercy on me" and "Jesus Christ have mercy".<sup>213</sup> Intercession is also sought on Guillaume Callot's incised slab of 1446 formerly in St. Jean le Rond, Paris, the prayer scroll accompanying his shrouded figure reading: "Spare me O Lord and have mercy on my soul".<sup>214</sup> Again a lost monument from the Cemetary of the Innocents, Paris, dating from the early fourteenth century, also combined a naked cadaver with an inscription expressing hope for resurrection.<sup>215</sup>

Images of Christ's resurrection are to be found on a number of cadaver tombs, including at Augsburg, Bavaria a low relief walltomb to a member of the Fugger family, designed by Dürer in 1510 and completed by local sculptors in 1515;<sup>216</sup> at Eichstatt Cathedral, Germany on the monument to Bernard von Waldkirck, *ob.* 1523;<sup>217</sup> and in St. Denis, Paris the tomb of Francis I, carved by Pierre Bontemps 1551-8.<sup>218</sup> More common was the employment on cadaver tombs of images of the crucifixion, examples of which can be found across Europe, including the carved tombs of Archbishop Richard Fleming, *ob.* 1420, in Lincoln Cathedral<sup>219</sup> and Precentor Thomas Bennett, *ob.* 1558 in Salisbury Cathedral;<sup>220</sup> at Notre Dame, Bruges, Belgium a low relief monument to André de Clerke, *ob.* 1540;<sup>221</sup> the brass, formerly at Jeumont, France, but now in the British Museum, to Nicholas de Brun, *ob.* 1547;<sup>222</sup> the lost wall plaque to Jean Suvart, *ob.* 1503, formerly at St. Denis;<sup>223</sup> at Wels, Austria the tomb commemorating Bernard von Polheim, *ob.* 1504;<sup>224</sup> and a bronze plaque of *c.* 1565 from Hotting, but now in the Innsbruck Museum to Gregor Loffler.<sup>225</sup> In Italy, cadaver tombs are rarely found, but cadaver representation combined with resurrection imagery is shown on a painting by Masaccio in St. Maria Novella, Florence.<sup>226</sup> On all the death of man is inextricably linked with the death

<sup>212</sup> Illus. Cohen, *Death Symbol*, pl. 61.

<sup>213</sup> Illus. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 152b.

<sup>214</sup> Illus. Cohen, *Death Symbol*, pl. 18.

<sup>215</sup> Part of the inscription read in translation: "Hear me, on account of my sins, thus as I stripped Thus was I born, thus prepared naked to rise"; Cohen, *Death Symbol*, 56-7.

<sup>216</sup> Illus. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pl. 280.

<sup>217</sup> Illus. Cohen, *Death Symbol*, pl. 71.

<sup>218</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, 89; here the image of the resurrected Christ is on the underside of the vault.

<sup>219</sup> Here the crucifix is on shields at the head and foot of the cadaver.

<sup>220</sup> The battered remains of a crucifix are on the east jamb of the tomb recess.

<sup>221</sup> Illus. Vermeersh, *Brugge*, pl. 292-4, pp. 588-90.

<sup>222</sup> Illus. *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 340.

<sup>223</sup> Illus. J. Adhémar, *Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières*, 2, *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (July-August 1976), 49, no. 1368. In the lower section of this tomb is a recumbent shrouded figure with a pair of angels carrying the deceased's soul to heaven. The upper section features a pietá.

<sup>224</sup> Illus. Cohen, *Death Symbol*, pl. 54. On this monument there is a cadaver and also a plaque above on which John and Mary are showing standing on either side of the crucified Christ and gesturing towards Bernard and his brother Wolfgang who kneel beside the cross.

<sup>225</sup> Illus. *ibid.*, pl. 55.

<sup>226</sup> Illus. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pl. 269. This painting depicts the Trinity, with the crucified Christ prominent, with donor figures, all supported on a tomb with a skeleton, believed to represent Adam or Everyman, upon it, with the words (in translation) "I was what you are, and you will be what I am".

and resurrection of Christ and, by implication, man's salvation. In essence it may be argued that such tombs convey a message of transcendence not transience, as is so often suggested. They are not symbols of death, but allegories of resurrection.

Perhaps such an interpretation should not really be so surprising. The crucifixion itself, at one level just an image of painful and degrading death, rapidly became the main symbol of the Christian's central belief, in the resurrection and victory over death. With so strong a paradox at the very heart of Christian art and symbolism, it is little wonder that those who commissioned these monuments, to whom such symbolism and the beliefs it portrayed were entirely familiar, saw images of death as equally images of the triumph over death. In the symbolic art of the church monument, too, death is swallowed up in victory.

#### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Jerome Bertram, Malcolm Norris and Nigel Saul for help and advice on various aspects of this paper. I would also like to thank Jon Bayliss, Jerome Bertram, Patrick Farman and Malcolm Norris for help with the illustrations.

# History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546 - 1555 Part Two: The Brasses (iii)

By ROBERT HUTCHINSON AND BRYAN EGAN†

17 & 18 c.1550\* **Crowan**, Cornwall (St.Crewenna) L.S.W. III and 20  
A jumble of two brasses together commemorate (No.17) Thomas Seintaubyn the elder (dead by 1505) in armour and wife Matilda, (ob.1512) with fragments of a marginal inscription and a mutilated evangelical symbol and (No.18) one shield from the otherwise lost brass to Thomas Seintaubyn the younger (ob.1562) and wife Mary, (died c.1548.) In Stephenson's *List*<sup>1</sup> the two brasses are grouped together as M.S.III, although the *Appendix*, on p.731, includes a second, now unfortunately lost, shield belonging to the younger Seintaubyn's brass as VI, undated.

*Position:* Now relaid, mural on a board, south aisle (Fig. 1). Both originally were in the chancel, then mounted on slate, mural in the north chapel.<sup>2</sup>

*Description:* (No. 17) The upper half of the armoured effigy of Thomas Seintaubyn the elder is lost, but a drawing published in Volume IV of Polwhele's *History of Cornwall*, 1803-08, though crude and inaccurate (Fig. 2), shows a typical Fermer product with mail skirt, tassets, a looped swordbelt and a breastplate similar to that worn by Sir John Hampden, (No. 59) 1553, at Great Hampden, Bucks.<sup>3</sup> His head with long, flowing hair, rests upon a small close helmet with the usual Fermer buckle, as seen at Blatherwyck, Somerton and elsewhere in the series. The remaining portion, cut off at the thighs, terminates in a pair of square-toed sabbatons standing on a mound of typically spikey, stylised grass with cross-hatching cutting away the metal between the legs.

The female figure, whose upper half was lost even in Polwhele's day, wears what appears to be an ankle-length over-gown with a round, tasselled and bejewelled pendant. The folds of a long dress beneath, where they appear on the ground, seem to have been engraved in a confused manner.

The wooden board also bears the fragments of marginal inscription, in Latin, the one surviving but slightly mutilated winged lion, the quatrefoil-shaped evangelical

† The rubbings and photographs are by Bryan Egan, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> Stephenson, Mill, *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London and Ashford, 1926), 72. In John Page-Phillips' *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), I, 49, the brass of Seyntaubyn the younger is given as c.1548.

<sup>2</sup> Six Seyntaubyn or St.Aubyn brasses were removed from the chancel in 1859 and taken to the family seat of Clowance before being later returned and set in slabs of local slate. See Dunkin, E.H.W., *Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1882, reprinted Bath, 1970), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore's *Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), 108, and *M.B.S. Trans.*, IX, Part 1 (1952), 18.

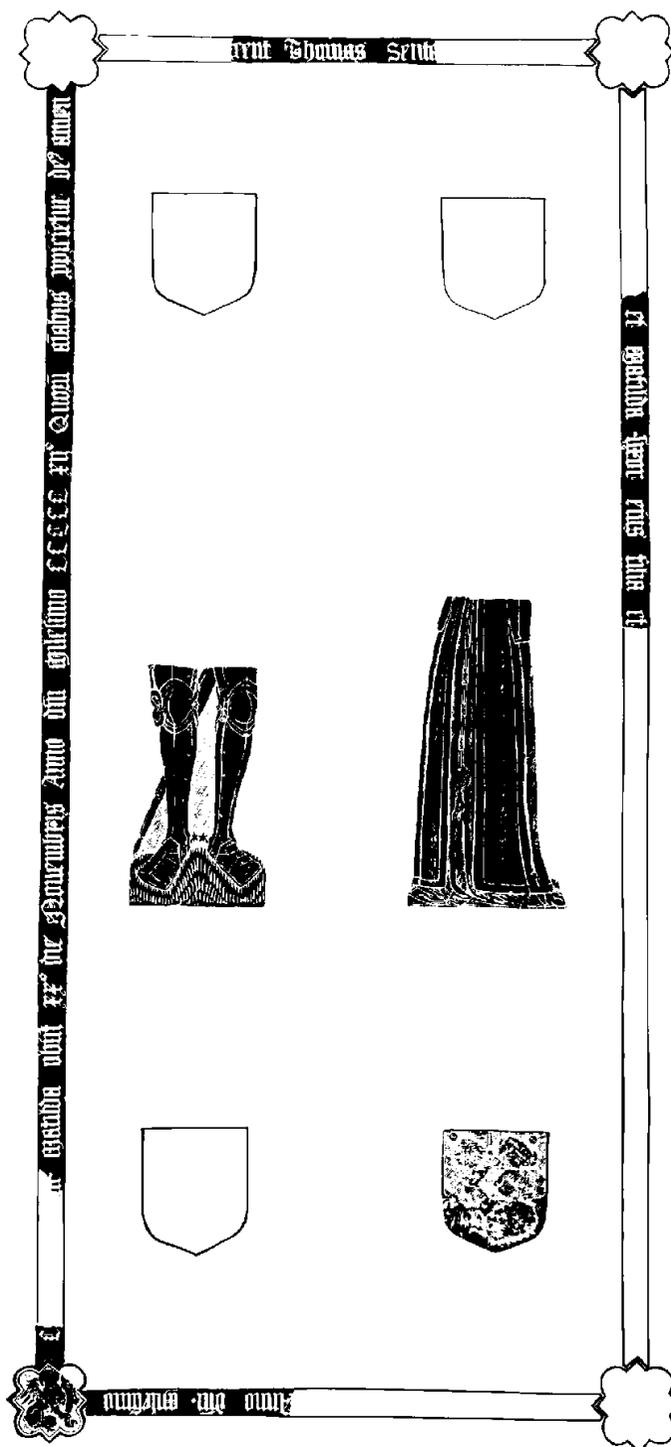
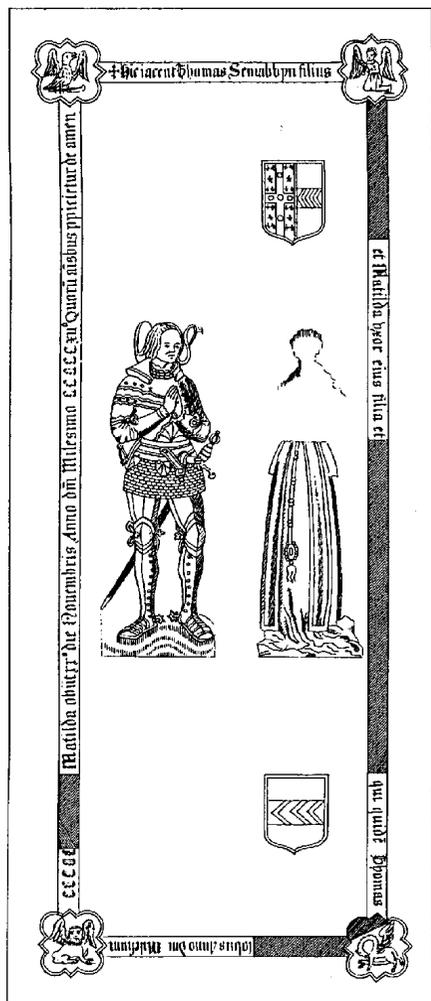


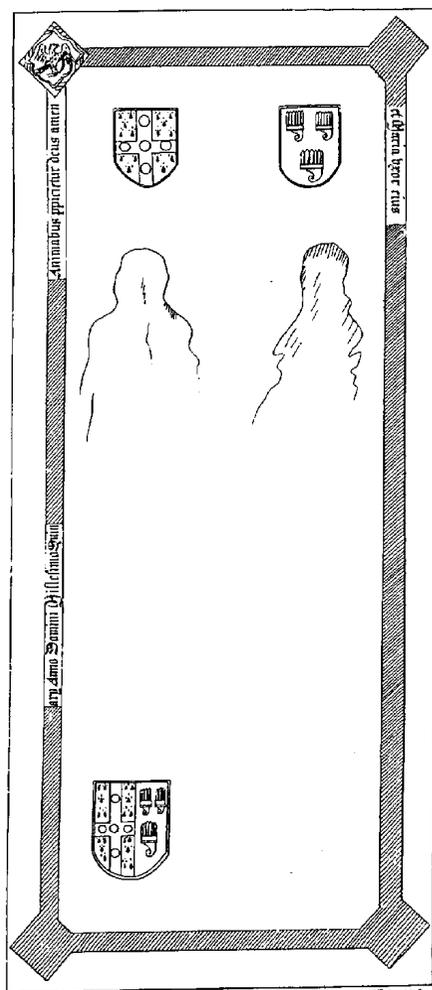
FIG. 1  
 Brass to Thomas Seintaubyn the elder and wife, c.1550, (dead by 1505)  
 Crowan, Cornwall, L.S.W. III  
 (Composition restored to original dimensions.)



*Thomas St. Aubyn of Clowance Esq. and his Wife Matilda second Daughter & Coheir of John Trenoweth of Sestongettle in Cornwall Esq. from a Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.*

FIG. 2

Thomas Seintaubyn the elder and wife, c.1550  
Crowan, Cornwall, L.S.W. III  
From Polwhele's History of Cornwall



*Thomas St. Aubyn of Clowance Esq. and his Wife Lucy Daughter of Sir Thomas (Trenoweth of Crow, 20 & 21) from a Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.*

FIG. 3

Brass of Thomas Seintaubyn the younger and wife, c.1550  
Crowan, Cornwall, L.S.W. 20  
From Polwhele's History of Cornwall

symbol of St. Mark, and one shield at lower sinister, *TRENOWYTH*, out of four originally.<sup>4</sup>

The second brass, (No.18) was a near twin of the former, in that it consisted of a male effigy, also in armour, his wife, a marginal inscription and four shields, but with four

<sup>4</sup> A drawing by Dunkin in *Monumental Brasses of Cornwall*, presumably done in the early 1880s, shows the evangelical symbol complete and more of the marginal inscription than is extant today.

lozenge-shaped plates at each corner of the composition. The one surviving fragment, a mutilated shield, *SEINTAUBYN* impaling *GRENVILLE* was lost between 1959 and 1988.<sup>5</sup> In Polwhele's day, three shields remained, *SEINTAUBYN*, *GRENVILLE* and *SEINTAUBYN* impaling *GRENVILLE*, together with one lozenge-shaped evangelical symbol of St. John and three portions of inscription, at upper sinister, "et Maria uxor eius" and on the dexter side, "...ary Anno Domini Millesimo Quin" and "Animabus ppicietur deus amen." Only the shadowy outlines of the upper part of the figures remained. Whilst not too much reliance must be placed on the precision of such drawings, it would seem that the male figure's head did not rest upon a helmet (Fig. 3).

*Inscription:* Of brass No.17, Script 6:

( Hic ia)cent Thomas Senta(ubyn filius) /  
 ..... et Matilda uxor eius filia et.....(qui quide[m] Thomas) /  
 .....(Octobris) Anno dni Milesimo /  
 C(CCCC).....ta Matilda obiit xx<sup>o</sup> die Novembris Anno dni Milesimo  
 CCCCC xij<sup>o</sup> Quoru[m] a[n]i[m]abus p[ro]picietur de[us] amen

*Translation:* 'Here lies Thomas Seintaubyn, son..... and Matilda his wife, daughter and (heir).... which Thomas (died.....) October, 15— .... Matilda died 20 November 1512 on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.

*Dimensions:* Remaining portions of effigies from brass No.17: male, 30.8 cm height, 17.8 cm width. Female: 39.8 cm height, 20.7 cm width. Lost shield from No.18, 12.7 cm width and originally about 15.3 cm in height.

*Heraldry:* Brass No.17's remaining shield bears *Argent, on a fess sable, three chevronels passwise points to dexter argent (TRENOWYTH)*. Both the Polwhele drawing and that of Dunkin, published as plate XXVIII in *Monumental Brasses of Cornwall*, show a second shield, at upper sinister, bearing *Ermine, on a cross, gules, five bezants*<sup>6</sup> (*SEINTAUBYN*) impaling *TRENOWYTH*.

The recently lost shield of Brass No.18 was a second *SEINTAUBYN* impaling *gules three clarions or (GRENVILLE)*.

*Reused:* Brass no.17:-

Reverse of marginal inscription: Cut from the substantial figure of a London 'G' series civilian c.1510 in eight sections (138L3-10) apart from the reverse of the fragment, "cent Thomas Senta," which has three words of a marginal inscription, c.1490, "(?A)licie pridem Simonis" (138L2). Possibly associated with reverse of lower portion of lady identified below as 138L11.

Reverse of lady: Lower portion of a London 'D' series lady with long cord and pendant hanging from her waist, c.1490 (138L11).

Reverse of remnant of male figure: part of an inscription, 1523, to ... Adams DD<sup>7</sup> in Latin verse and in English (138L12):-

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated, obverse and reverse, *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, part 4 (1972), 216.

<sup>6</sup> Dunkin, *ut supra*, 21, wrongly says *three bezants*.

<sup>7</sup> In his will, he desired to be buried in St. Sepulchre, as near as possible to the vicar's stall, if he died in London, or if at Fulham, to be buried there. P.C.C. 17 Bodfelde. P.R.O. Prob. 11/21 dated March 12 1523/4, proved April 12, 1524.

Iam fuit imbriferi pr...  
 lux adams fatis  
 ....nc pbitate suo  
 Consensus  
 Quem coluit  
 Cuncta crea.....  
 ....yo' charite pray....  
 ...dams doctor of di....  
 ... hurche which deces...  
 ....o<sup>r</sup> lord m<sup>+</sup> v<sup>c</sup>xxiii on...

Reverse of mutilated evangelical symbol: tassels from a brass to a ?lady, *c.*1450 (138L13). Reverse of mutilated shield, bearing Trenowyth: blank, but the late John Page-Phillips considered this might be appropriated, *c.*1500.

Brass No.18:

Reverse of mutilated shield, Seintaubyn impaling Grenville (now lost) part of the mailed foot of an armoured figure standing on an animal, *c.*1330 (138L1).

Discovered autumn, 1959 by Malcolm Norris, K.O. Butterfield and I.T.W. Shearman.

*Link:* Reverse of No.18 mutilated shield (138L1) probably links with the 'Gyfford' style brass at Edlesborough, Bucks., M.S.I, 1540, but engraved later, *c.*1548 (137L1).

*Illustrated:* Obverse and reverses: *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, part 4, (1972) 212-216. *Palimpsests*, (London, 1980) II, pl. 47,50.

*Biographical details:* Thomas Seintaubyn the elder was dead by 1505, according to deeds in the library of the Royal Institution of Cornwall<sup>8</sup> wherein Matilda is described as his widow. She died in 1512, as described on their brass. Thomas Seintaubyn the younger married Mary Grenville of the family of Stowe, near Bude, *c.*1511<sup>9</sup> and seems to have succeeded his brother John as squire of Crowan sometime after 1524. He appears to have died in 1562, shortly after being mentioned in a land transaction when he settled a large portion of his estate, including part of the demesne of Clowance on his son John.<sup>10</sup> It seems very probable that both brasses were ordered after his wife, Mary's death *c.*1548.

*Comment:* The remnants of the Seintaubyn brasses indicate that these are the first monuments still extant of the mainstream Fermer figure design, comparable to effigies at Blatherwyck, Easton Neston, Somerton, Dry Drayton and Beckenham, although the possible palimpsest link with the brass of the preceding figure style shows that stocks of old despoiled plate were still available in the workshop. Crowan is the first of several locations where a number of brasses were laid down by one client of the Fermer establishment at one time.

(Our sincere thanks to Paul Cockerham for his valuable assistance in sorting out the muddle of brasses at Crowan and with the biographical details he generously made available from his own research.)

<sup>8</sup> Henderson MS., HA/3/8-10.

<sup>9</sup> Marriage settlement dated 6 October 1511. R.I.C. Henderson MS., HA/2/15

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* HA/14/9.

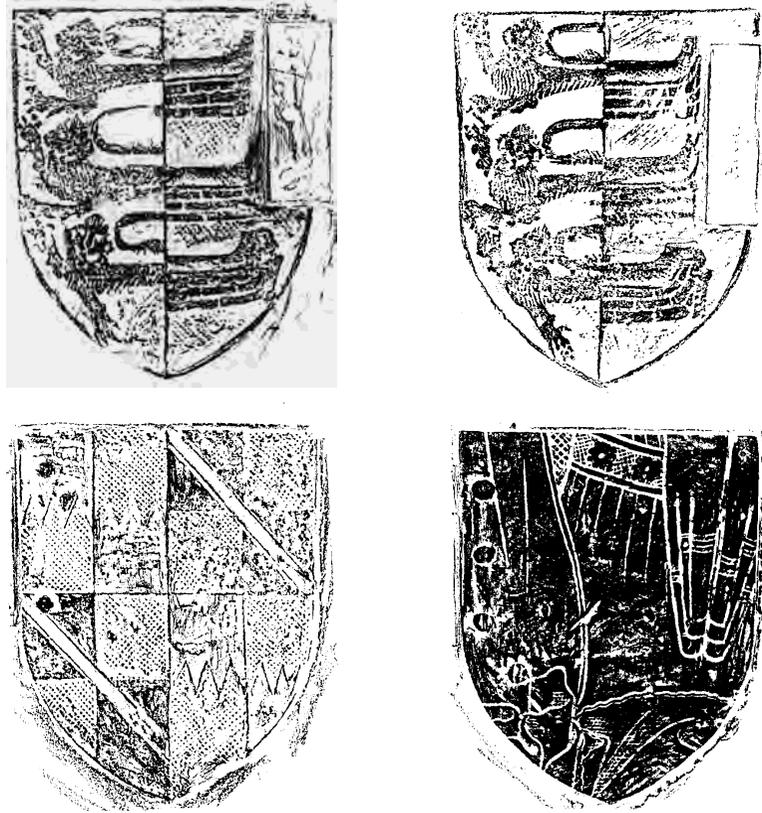


FIG. 4

Two shields, c.1550, with arms of the Cinque Ports, with hinged reverses, a ?sixteenth-century shield and part of a lady in a high-waisted kirtle and mantle, c.1460, or possibly earlier

Faversham. Kent

*Collection of the Society of Antiquaries*

19      c.1550\*      **Faversham, Kent** (St. Mary of Charity)      M.S.XVII

Two shields with arms of the five Cinque Ports, *ENGLAND* dimidiating *Azure, three ships' hulls fesswise in pale argent* (Fig. 4).<sup>11</sup>

*Position:* Hinged to a pillar in north aisle at east end of nave.

*Description:* Two shields, one now slightly mutilated at the dexter base, although the illustration in volume two of Belcher's *Kentish Brasses*, (London, 1905), 49, shows the shield whole.

*Dimensions:* 15.4 cm in height, 12.2 cm width and 15.2 cm height, 12.2 cm width.

*Reused:* Reverse of the slightly larger shield, part of a lady c.1460, or perhaps slightly earlier, London 'D' series origin, showing be-ringed hands, mantle and high-waisted kirtle (148L1).

<sup>11</sup> Stephenson, *ut supra*, 229, dates the shields as merely "sixteenth-century" which is repeated from Griffin and Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses...in Kent* (Ashford and London, 1922), 107. However, in *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, part 4 (1901), 145, Stephenson dates the shields c.1540.

Reverse of other shield: Another displaying, quarterly 1 and 4, quarterly *per fess indented, argent and azure, in first an annulet, or (LANGLEY)* 2 and 3, or *and gules bendlet over all sable (LANGLEY)*, ?sixteenth-century.<sup>12</sup> (148L2)

Discovered by 1900.

*Link:* None known.

*Illustrated:* Reverse: *Palimpsests*, (London 1980) II, pl. 56. Obverse and reverse: Belcher, W.D., *Kentish Brasses*, (London 1905) II, 49, no.152.

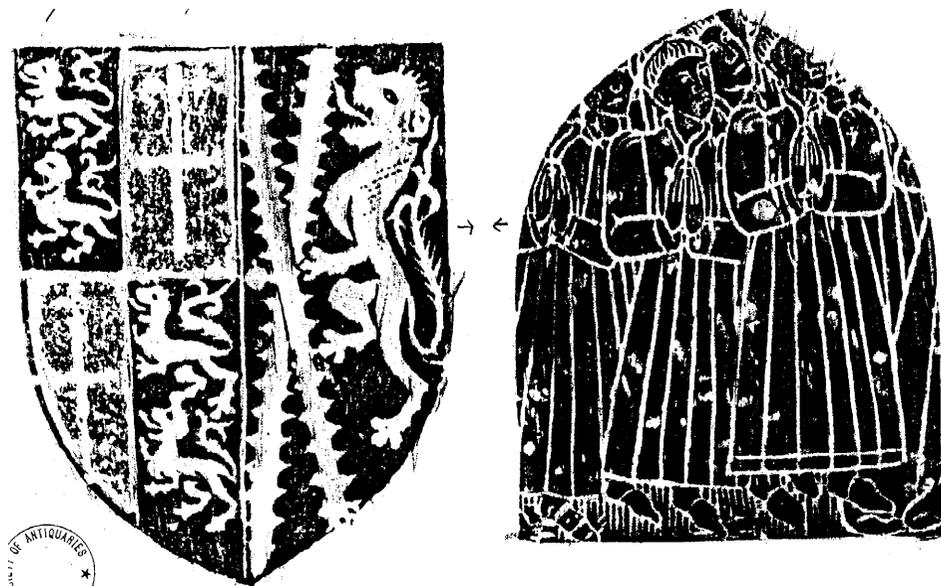


FIG. 5

Surviving shield c.1550, of four from Hertingfordbury, Herts., with reverse, portions of ?six sons in civilian dress  
Now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries  
*Collection of the Society of Antiquaries*

20 c.1550\* **Hertingfordbury**, Herts. (St. Mary)

One shield, the survivor of four shields now lost (Fig. 5).<sup>13</sup>

*Position:* Now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, listed as M.S.XIX.<sup>14</sup>

*Dimensions:* Shield 14.1 cm in height, 11.3 cm width.

*Heraldry:* The surviving shield was originally placed in the upper sinister corner, according to a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection. It bears, quarterly, 1 and 4, or *two lions passant azure (SUTTON alias DUDLEY)*, quartering 2 and 3 *argent a cross patonce azure (?SUTTON or perhaps MALPAS)*, impaling *argent a saltire engrailed gules (TIPTOFT)*, impaling or a *lion rampant gules (CHARLTON)*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Stephenson, *M.B.S. Trans.* IV, part 4 (1901), 146, blazons the latter coat as *quarterly, or and gules a bend sable*.

<sup>13</sup> Dated as sixteenth-century in the *List*, 187 and 579.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, 579.

<sup>15</sup> Heseltine, Peter, *The Mill Stephenson Collection of Shields on Arms on British Brasses at the Society of Antiquaries* (Godmanchester, 1994), 41.

Upper dexter shield: (now lost) *three bars gemelles* (?*BENSTEDE*).<sup>16</sup>

Lower dexter: (now lost) quarterly, 1 and 4, *two lions passant*, 2 and 3, *a cross patonce*, impaling, quarterly, 1 and 4, *a saltire engrailed* impaling *a lion rampant*, 2 and 3, *three bars gemelles*.

Lower sinister: (now lost) as the lower dexter shield, but in the first quarter of the impalement, the lion takes precedence of the saltire.

*Reused*: Reverse of surviving shield: portions of ?six sons<sup>17</sup> in civilian dress with pointed shoes standing on grass depicted by vertically engraved lines, c.1460 (151L1).

Discovered by 1861.

*Link*: Possibly associated with the lady of the reverse of one of the Faversham shields, No.19, above. Both Faversham and Hertingfordbury reverses are of London 'D' origins.

*Illustrated*: The remaining shield is shown (obverse and reverse) in *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, 128, and Burlington Fine Arts Club, *British Heraldic Art to the end of the Tudor Period* (London, 1916), pl.4.



FIG. 6

Inscription to John Hatton, c.1550

Holdenby, Northants., M.S.I

21 c.1550

**Holdenby**, Northants. (All Saints)

M.S.I

Inscription with four lines of Latin verses to John Hatton (Fig. 6).

*Position*: On floor of nave. Baker<sup>18</sup> records it as being at the east end of the nave.

*Dimensions*: 48·9 cm in width and 10·8 cm in height.

<sup>16</sup> Arms of Bensted are given as *gules, three bars gemel argent*. See footnote, *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, part 3 (1901), 129. Burke's *General Armory* (London, 1854) gives "*gules, three bars gemelles or (another, the bars argent.)*" for Bensted, Benst or Bense.

<sup>17</sup> Page-Phillips, in *Palimpsests*, (London, 1980) I, 51, says five sons and one daughter. In the lower sinister corner may be the edge of a skirt of a female figure.

<sup>18</sup> Baker, George, *Hist. and Ant. of the Co. of Northampton* (London, 1822), I, 209.

*Description:* Inscription in two portions, with a small plate fixed along a slightly oblique line at sinister. Metal 2 mm thick, hammered plate, blank on reverse. Some damage to the lettering in the first and third lines at the sinister edge of the main plate; had the engraving cut through?

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Ne quis Johannis Dubitet quonam ossa se(pul)chro  
 Hattoni Jaceant, qui legis, ecce locum.  
 Hunc habuit laudata virum Westbeia conju(x)  
 Et sexu lætum, fecit utroque patrem.

*Translation:* “Lest anyone be unsure in which grave John Hatton’s bones lie, look, reader, this is the place! His beloved wife Westby had him for a husband and made him a happy father to [children] of both sexes.” (Our thanks to the Hon.Editor for his assistance in translating this and the following Holdenby inscriptions.)

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck marble, almost certainly cut down.

*Biographical details:* John Hatton was the elder son of the marriage of Elizabeth, sister and eventually heiress of William Holdenby, *ob.*1490 and Henry Hatton, third son of Piers or Peter Hatton, who was dead by 1511. John married Jane, daughter of John Westby.<sup>19</sup>



FIG. 7

Inscription to Francis Hatton, c.1550  
 Holdenby, Northants., M.S.II

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 196.

22 c.1550 **Holdenby**, Northants. (All Saints) M.S.II  
 Inscription in four lines of Latin verses to Francis, son of William Hatton. Shield lost (Fig. 7).

*Position:* On floor of nave, relaid.

*Dimensions:* Inscription 53·4 cm in width, 10·8 cm in height.

*Description:* Inscription in two portions, 2·5 mm hammered plate, blank on the reverse.

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Tu quis es? Hattonus. quo te prenomine dicis?

Franciscum: genitor, cui Gulielmus erat.

Viuenti que cura? mori meditabar. avebas

Deserere hanc vitam? non: sed adire deum.

*Translation:* “Who are you? Hatton. By what first name called? Francis, whose father was William. What was your concern in life? I pondered on death. Have you abandoned this life? No, but I went to God.”

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck, cut-down.

*Biographical details:* Francis, son and heir of William Hatton, eldest son of No.21, died aged 14, leaving the manor and estate to the second son, Sir Christopher Hatton,<sup>20</sup> born at Holdenby in 1540, who became Lord Chancellor and was buried, after his death in 1591, in Old St.Paul’s beneath a huge and many-pillared tomb, a magnificent product of the Southwark workshops.<sup>21</sup>

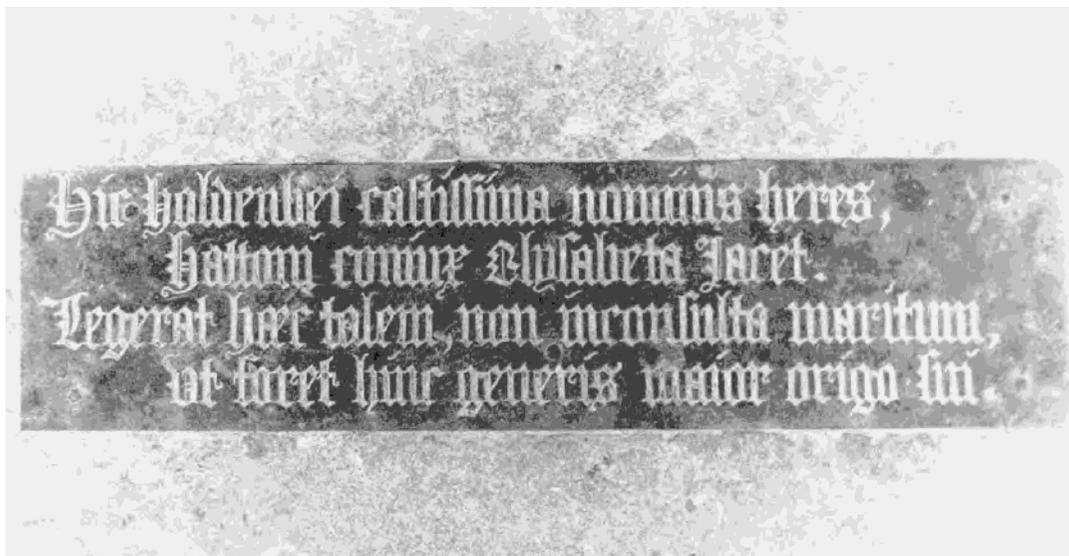


FIG. 8  
 Inscription in four Latin verses to Elizabeth Hatton, c.1550  
 Holdenby, Northants., M.S.III

<sup>20</sup> Bridges, J, *Hist. and Ant. of the Co. of Northampton*, (Oxford, 1740) I, 527.

<sup>21</sup> Criticised by contemporaries for its huge, if not megaomaniac, size. Illustrated in Dugdale’s *History of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London* (2nd ed., London, 1716), 82. Even its inscription referred to its size: “Stay and behold the mirroure of a Dead man’s House...”



FIG. 9  
 Damaged Purbeck slab and inscription to Elizabeth Hatton, c.1550  
 Holdenby, Northants.

23      c.1550      **Holdenby**, Northants.(All Saints)      M.S.III  
 Inscription, four shields lost (indent of upper sinister shield destroyed) to Elizabeth Hatton (Fig. 8).

*Position:* On floor of south aisle.

*Dimensions:* 43·1 cm in width, 10·2 cm in height.

*Description:* One plate in centre of slab, originally four shields, one at each corner.

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Hic Holdenbei castissima nominis heres,  
 Hattoni coniux Elysabeta Jacet.  
 Legerat hæc talem, non inconsulta maritum,  
 Ut foret hinc generis maior origo sui.

*Translation:* "Here lies the chaste wife Elizabeth Hatton, heiress of the name of Holdenby. She chose a husband carefully that he might have a greater lineage than she."

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck marble, 131 cm in height, 74.2 cm width (Fig. 9), broken across top sinister corner and with a small portion missing from lower dexter corner. Slab flaking. Indents of lead shields contain lead plugs. The top dexter indent may provide evidence of re-use of the slab through the presence of redundant lead plugs.

*Biographical details:* The mother of John Hatton (No.21.)

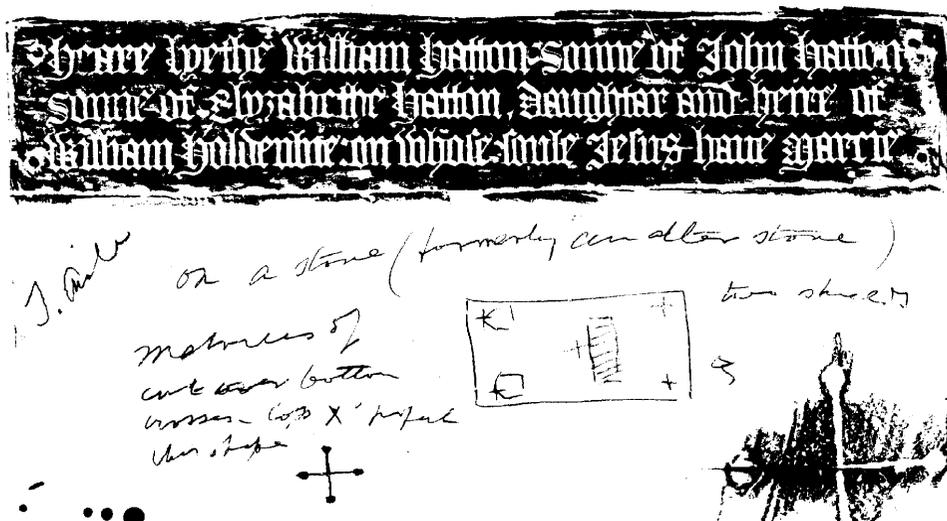


FIG. 10

Inscription to William Hatton, c.1550  
Holdenby, Northants., M.S.IV. ?Now lost.

Sketch shows position of five crosses on the original altar slab appropriated for the monument.

Copyright, Society of Antiquaries

24      c.1550      **Holdenby**, Northants.(All Saints)      M.S.IV

Inscription to William, son of John Hatton, son of Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Holdenbie, (ob.1546). Two shields lost.

*Position:* Once on floor of south aisle, all now apparently lost.

*Dimensions:* 56.5 cm in width, 10.1 cm in height.

*Description:* Three lines of inscription, in English.

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Heare lyethe William Hatton Sonne of John Hatton  
Sonne of Elyzabeth the Hatton, Daughtar and heire of  
William Holdenbie: on whose Soule Jesus have Marcie

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck, reused *mensa* or altar stone. A drawing on a rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, dated 10 January 1865, clearly displays the five crosses identifying it as such, with a rubbing of one of them (Fig. 10). The indents

of the two shields at the base of the slab cut into the incisions of two crosses. Re-use of the altar slab probably came in or immediately after 1550; in May of that year, Ridley ordered the abolition of altars in his diocese, an order formally extended to the whole country by the Privy Council the following November.<sup>22</sup>

*Biographical details:* William was the eldest son of John Hatton, who married Alice, daughter of Lawrence Saunders, of Harrington, esq.<sup>23</sup> A lost inscription to Alice at Holdenby is also recorded:<sup>24</sup>

Illa ego Saunderis prognata parentibus olim  
 Alicia Hatton juncta puella thoro.  
 Postquam attigit peperit spe non sine divite nato,  
 Mutavi virum pro meliore meum.

*Translation:* "I am that Alice, once sprung from the family of Saunders, given in marriage as a girl. After it happened that I bore a son, not without great hopes, I exchanged my husband for a better [?life]."

It is assumed that this was a brass plate, emanating from the Fermer workshop, at the same time as the others.

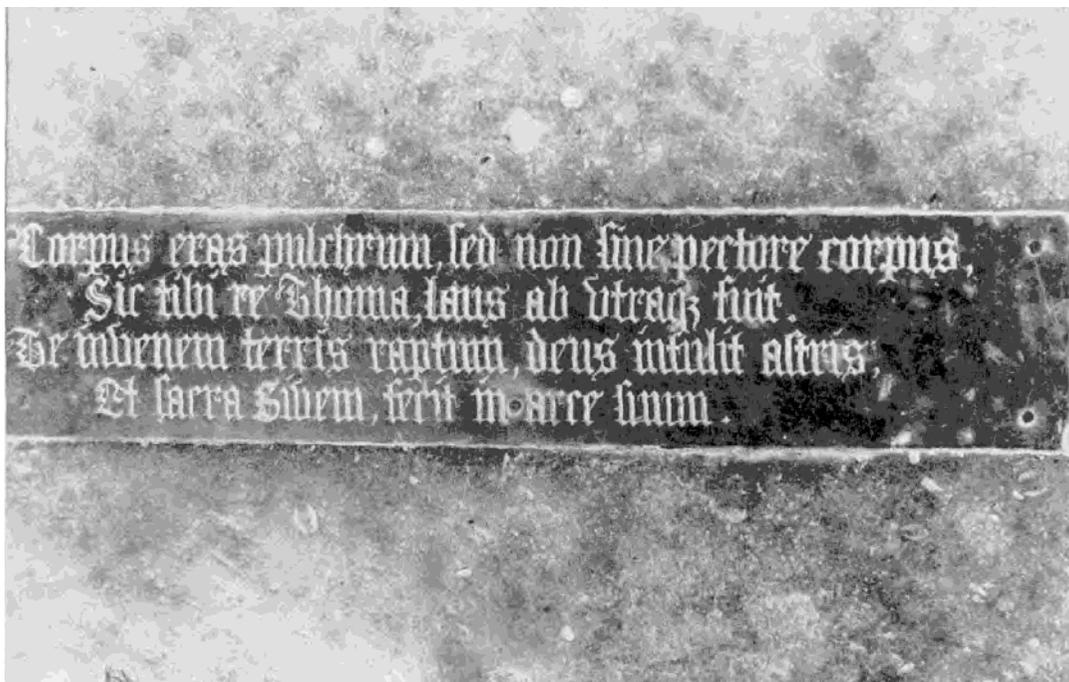


FIG. 11

Inscription in four Latin verses to Thomas Hatton, c.1550  
 Holdenby, Northants., M.S.V

<sup>22</sup> See Eamon Duffy's seminal *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London, 1992), 472.

<sup>23</sup> Baker, *op.cit.*, 196.

<sup>24</sup> Hartshorne, Emily Sophia, *Memorials of Holdenby*, (London, 1868), 68.



FIG. 12  
Slab and inscription to Thomas Hatton, c.1550  
Holdenby, Northants.

25            c.1550            **Holdenby**, Northants. (All Saints)            M.S.V

Inscription in four lines of Latin verses to Thomas Hatton. Two shields lost (Fig. 11).

*Position:* On floor of south aisle.

*Dimensions:* 52 cm in width, 11 cm in height.

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Corpus eras pulchrum, sed non sine pectore corpus,

Sic tibi re Thoma, laus ab utraq' fuit.

Te iuvenem terris raptum, deus intulit astris,

Et sacra Sivem, fecit in arce suum.

The engraver has made a mistake in "Sivem". We believe it should read "Civem."

*Translation:* "You were a beautiful body, but not a body without a soul. Thus, Thomas, you found praise from both parts. A god has snatched you, O youth, from the earth into the stars and made you a citizen in his sacred fortress."

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck, good condition, lead plugs remain in the sharply defined indents of the two shields, top dexter and sinister (Fig. 12).

*Biographical details:* Thomas was the third son of William Hatton who died without issue.

*Comment:* All six brasses at Holdenby (nos.21-25, and the probable lost plate to Alice Hatton) to four generations of the family were almost certainly laid down at the same time, probably after the death of Thomas Hatton. In view of the chronology of the family relationship, the inscriptions should perhaps should be renumbered as: Elizabeth Hatton, M.S.I; John Hatton, M.S.II; William Hatton, M.S.III; Francis Hatton, M.S.IV and Thomas Hatton remains as M.S.V.

26            c.1550\*            **Swyre**, Dorset (Holy Trinity)            M.S.I

Inscription and shield to John Russell (*ob.* 1505) and wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Frocksmer esquire (Fig. 13).

*Position:* Now mural, north wall, nave.

*Dimensions:* Inscription, 46·8 cm in width, 8·7 cm in height. Shield, 12·7 cm by 15·2 cm.

*Description:* Inscription plate 2·0 mm thick, probably hammered plate and blank on the reverse. Measurement of thickness of shield unknown; this plate, however, is in two pieces with a horizontal break and may be reused.

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Here Lyeth John Russell Esquier and Elizabeth his  
wyfe daughter of John Frocksmer Esquier which  
Decessyd the xx yere of King Henry y<sup>e</sup> vii A<sup>o</sup> · 1505 ·

Note the use of arabic numerals.

*Slab/stonework:* Relaid in new stone frame on 9 September 1922.<sup>25</sup> Inscription now has large rivets.

*Heraldry:* Shield, Russell impaling Wise, has now been wrongly placed. It belongs to No.27 and its shield, *argent, a lion rampant gules on a chief sable three escallops of the first, argent (RUSSELL) impaling sable a griffin segreant between three crosslets fitchee argent (FROCKSMER)* should be placed with this inscription, as in the illustration.

*Biographical details:* John Russell is recorded as keeper of the royal artillery in Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight, on the accession of Edward IV.<sup>26</sup> There were apparently five children of the marriage, James (No.27), Thomas, Alice, who married Sir Henry, second son of Sir John Trenchard of Wolveton and Lytchett Matravers, Christian, who married Walter Cheverel Esq.,<sup>27</sup> and Anne, who married John,

<sup>25</sup> According to a pencilled note by Ralph Griffin on the dabbings in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>26</sup> Wiffen, J.H., *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell* (London, 1833), I, 170.

<sup>27</sup> Hutchins, John, *Hist. of Dorset*, (3rd ed., Westminster, 1863) II, 781-2.



FIG. 13  
Inscription and shield to John Russell, (ob.1505) c.1550  
Swyre, Dorset, M.S.I  
*From Dorset Proceedings*

second son of Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston in Scotland, who fell at the battle of Flodden Field in 1513.<sup>28</sup>

*Illustrated: Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Ant. Field Club, XXIX (1908), 277.*

*Comment: Probably laid down at the same time as No.27.*

27            c.1550\*            **Swyre**, Dorset (Holy Trinity)            M.S.II

Inscription and shield to James Russell (ob.1509) and wife (Fig. 14).

*Position:* Mural, north wall of nave.

*Dimensions:* Inscription, 46.3 cm in width, 8.7 cm in height. Shield, 12.7 cm by 15.2 cm.

*Description:* Inscription in two pieces, with the smaller piece at the sinister edge. Only 2.0 mm thick, hammered plate and probably blank on the reverse. Thickness of the shield unknown.

*Inscription:* Script 6:

Here lyeth James Russell Esquier and Alys hys  
wyfe Daughter of John Wise Esquier who decessyd  
the first yere of King Henry the viii · A° M · CCCCC ix

*Slab/stonework:* Relaid in a new stone frame at the same time as No.26, wrongly placing the shield, (which should be above No.26.) It bears *RUSSELL* impaling *sable, three chevronels ermine, a crescent for difference* or (*WISE*.)

<sup>28</sup> Whiffen, *op cit.*, 172-3.



FIG. 14  
Inscription and shield to James Russell, (ob.1509) c.1550  
Swyre, Dorset, M.S.II

*Biographical details:* James Russell seems to have married twice; his will, dated 1505, bequeathed his estate to his wife Joan, John his son, and his brother Thomas, who are named as executors. It is therefore strange that Joan is not mentioned in the inscription. The first wife, Alicia, was a daughter of John Wyse of Sydenham, Devon.<sup>29</sup> James and Alicia's son John lived some time in Spain in his youth, and when Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Joan, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile and Aragon, were driven into Weymouth by storms *en route* from Flanders to Spain, he acted as interpreter when they were entertained by Sir Thomas Trenchard at Wolveton.<sup>30</sup> After a glittering military career in France, John Russell was knighted in 1522 and 15 years later sat in judgement, with the Duke of Suffolk and Sir Francis Bryan, on the Lincolnshire rebels<sup>31</sup> before acquiring substantial church lands at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. He was created Baron Russell of Chenies, Bucks., in 1538-9 and Earl of Bedford on 9 January, 1550 after waging a campaign against the insurgents in Devon and Cornwall, during the course of which he relieved Exeter.

*Illustrated:* *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. & Ant. Field Club*, XXIX (1908), facing 277.

*Comment:* Probably laid down by the Earl of Bedford, who died 14 March, 1555.<sup>32</sup> It is surprising that given the dynastic nature of these monuments, only humble

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, 176. He describes James Russell's funeral, 177-8.

<sup>30</sup> Whose probable tomb, despoiled of its brasses, c.1530, is at Charminster, Dorset. For illustration of this interesting indent, see A.G. Sadler's *Indents of Lost Monumental Brasses in Dorset and Hampshire* (Ferring, 1975), 16.

<sup>31</sup> Hutchins, *op. cit.*, 781.

<sup>32</sup> He was buried at Chenies, Bucks.

inscriptions and shields were chosen as a format. Perhaps the Earl's leading role in the suppression of the Western rebellion and the proximity of Swyre to the scene of action, led the brasses to be less ostentatious than one would expect to be associated with the family of a major national figure. In addition, the wholesale destruction of brasses from 1548 may have led to the belief, in those uncertain days, that mere inscriptions would appear less attractive targets for the reformers, if only because of their lower potential value as metal spoil. Such uncertainties may not have been applicable in 1555, during the Marian Counter-Reformation, when the Earl's own grand alabaster tomb was erected at Chenies, Bucks.

In the first part of this series on the Fermer workshop, we briefly discussed the early use in England of 2.0 mm hammered plate,<sup>33</sup> and the Holdenby and Swyre inscriptions may provide some clues as to the nature of manufacture in this period. Three of the inscriptions are composed of two plates each, to give the required length; with measurements of the larger portions (from the dexter edge to the point where the plates join,) ranging from the 37.2 cm of James Russell's inscription to the 44.2 cm of John Hatton. One other, the inscription to William Hatton, 56.5 cm in length, is well outside this range, although it is not known whether this lost brass was of this thickness. All are within 8.7 cm to 11.0 cm in height, suggesting something approaching a standard measurement being cut off the original latten plate, dictated by the number of lines of text. Is it possible, therefore, that the standard supplied hammered plate measured something like 45 cm in width and 50 cm in height, providing enough metal for five separate inscriptions to be cut from it? The factors of cumulative weight during delivery and ease of handling may support this theoretical size although Cameron,<sup>34</sup> points out that the early brasses in England are made up of plates about 61 cm long and the Flemish school used plates up to 76.2 cm long. As these were thicker, they would have weighed considerably more than the later 2.0 to 2.5 mm hammered plate.

The William Hatton inscription length is an exception; as this does not have a join, perhaps it was scraped down and hammered Reformation spoil? The same may be true of the inordinately long inscription to Edward Shelley and wife, 1554, (no.70) at Warminghurst, West Sussex which measures 77 cm in length and 10.7 cm in width and still displays hammer marks on its reverse.<sup>35</sup>

As to the source of this metal, the Edwardian inventories of church goods indicate very large numbers of latten objects becoming available from parishes. Such a glut may have lowered prices for the metal and it seems that some bowls, candlesticks and crosses removed from churches were melted down and may have been recycled into brass plate. The 1552 *Inventory of Church Goods in Oxfordshire* gives some idea of the quantities involved: a total of 259 items of brass - crosses, candlesticks, pyxes, basins and the like - are listed as remaining in 69 parishes.<sup>36</sup> In Surrey, Thomas Taxsted or Thaxsted "founder of London" bought large quantities of

<sup>33</sup> *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 2 (1993), 173-5.

<sup>34</sup> Cameron, H.K. "Technical Aspects of Medieval Monumental Brasses", *Archaeological Journal*, 131 (1974), 217.

<sup>35</sup> See William Lack's "Repairs to Brasses, 1988", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, part 4 (1989), 293. The inscription at Isleham, Cambs., (No.15) is 49.7 cm long, but is 3.4 cm thick and is either new metal or blank Reformation spoil.

<sup>36</sup> Graham. Rose (ed.), "Edwardian Inventories of Church Goods for Oxfordshire", *Alcuin Club Collections* (London, 1920), XXIII.

brass items about 1550 in the adjoining parishes of Beddington, Cheam, Sutton, Carshalton and Mitcham.<sup>37</sup> Certainly these sacred ornaments found their way to bellfounders elsewhere, as at Barnes, Surrey, again in 1550, “John Harding, bell fownder of London for iiij<sup>or</sup> candelstykes, one branche candilstyke, one payr of sensors, one lawmpe of latten one old crosse of latten one hande bell solde to hym by the consent of the parishe viijs.”<sup>38</sup>

28            *c.*1550            **Acton**, Cheshire (St.Mary)            L.S.W. 14 and 15  
Slab measuring 211 cm by 89.9 cm with indents of a half effigy of a priest in mass vestments, *c.*1400, 30.5 cm high, and inscription, 35.6 cm in width and 10.1 cm in height with indents of a later Fermer appropriation (147L) for an armoured figure and wife, two groups of children and four shields, placed in an upside down position on the slab (Fig. 15).

*Position:* At west end of south aisle.

*Description:* Main figures half turned towards each other, the male with long hair, sword reaching down to the ground and, possibly with an animal facing sinister at the feet. The wife wears a pedimental head-dress and a gown with probably false sleeves. Two of the four shield indents are missing where the slab has crumbled on the sinister side. Indents remain of two plates commemorating at least eight sons and six daughters.

*Dimensions:* Main figures 69.9 cm in height. Inscription 82.5 cm in width, 16.5 cm height.

*Biographical details:* Philip Whittemore has a possible attribution of the slab to William Wilbraham, *ob.*1536 and wife Helen, *née* Egerton. Wilbraham's will requests his executors to buy a marble stone with pictures of himself, his wife and their arms. Alternatively, the brass may have been to a member of the Bromley family who held Dorfold Hall in the parish<sup>39</sup> from 1522, possibly Thomas Bromley. The estate was sold by a William Bromley to Sir Roger Wilbraham, Master of Requests, sometime before 1600.<sup>40</sup>

*Illustrated:* Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses of Cheshire*, (London, 1996) facing 1.

*Comment:* The late John Page-Phillips identified this indent as a Fermer appropriation and had photographed it sometime during the late 1960s/early 1970s. It stands against the west wall of the south aisle, half concealed by rubble. The illustration is from a rubbing by William Lack, made in 1996 during field work for the Cheshire volume.<sup>41</sup>

*(To be continued)*

<sup>37</sup> *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, IV (1869), 68-75.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 93.

<sup>39</sup> Lysons, Daniel and Samuel, *Magna Britannia* (London, 1810), II, 469.

<sup>40</sup> See George Ormerod's *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* (London, 1882), III, 345, “William Bromley sold all his estate to Sr Roger Wilbraham... who 44 Elizabeth past over to Ralph Wilbraham his younger brother y<sup>e</sup> manors of Acton, Hurleston and Derefold.”

<sup>41</sup> Our thanks to the late John Page-Phillips for drawing this indent to Hutchinson's attention and to Messrs Whittemore and Lack for their kind help.

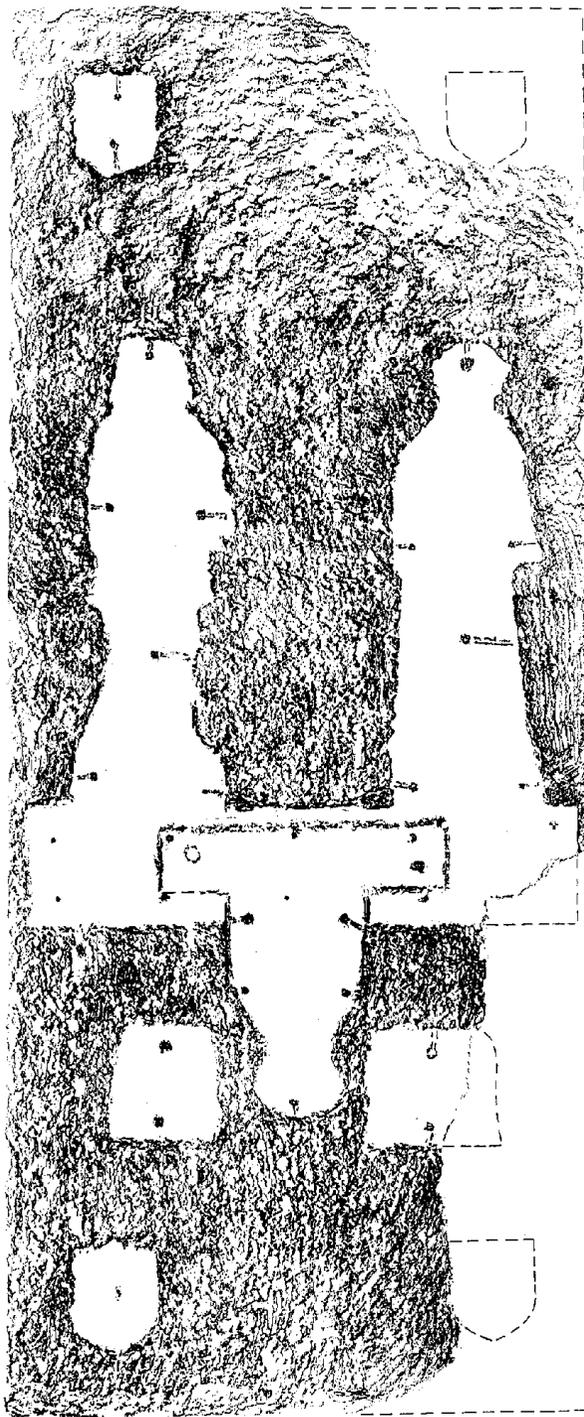


FIG. 15

Indent of a Fermer design armoured figure and wife, c.1550  
 appropriating a slab with the indent of a half effigy of a priest in mass vestments, c.1400  
 Acton, Cheshire, L.S.W.14 and 15

*Rubbing by William Lack from Monumental Brasses of Cheshire*

# Sir Mark Sykes and The Sledmere Brasses

*by* DAVID MEARA

**S**LEDMERE lies about six miles from the northern boundary of the Yorkshire Wolds, and there has been a manor house there since medieval times. The Kirkby family held the manor from the seventeenth century until it passed to the Sykes family in 1748. The Sykes family have held the Sledmere Estates from that time until the present day.

The manor house was extensively remodelled in the 1780s and 1790s and survived unaltered until almost totally destroyed by fire in 1911. From 1912 onwards the buildings were faithfully restored by the York architect Walter Brierley. At the same time the house was further enlarged and acquired an exotically tiled Turkish room, reflecting the Oriental tastes of the young statesman Sir Mark Sykes, Sixth Baronet, who is the subject of this article.

Sir Mark's father, Sir Tatton Sykes, Fifth Baronet, was a considerable benefactor of the church, and from 1868 to 1912 built six churches and extensively restored ten more, engaging the services of such leading architects of the day as J. L. Pearson, G. E. Street and Temple Moore who designed a new parish church at Sledmere on the foundations of the medieval building. Sir Tatton also commissioned numerous monuments, including the Rotunda containing the village well, and the Eleanor Cross, situated opposite the main gate of the church (Fig. 1).

Eleanor of Castille, the wife of Edward I, died at Warby, Nottinghamshire, in 1290, and crosses were erected to commemorate the resting places of her body on its way to London for burial. The Sledmere Eleanor Cross is a copy of the original monument at Hardingstone, Northampton, and was designed and executed by Temple Moore for Sir Tatton Sykes in 1896. It was to become the unusual memorial not only for local men from the Sledmere Estate who had given their lives in the Great War, but also for Sir Mark Sykes on his death in 1919.

Sir Mark Sykes, 6th Baronet (Fig. 2), was born in 1879, the only son of Sir Tatton Sykes and Jessica Cavendish-Bentinck. He was baptised in the old Sledmere Parish Church by the Vicar, the Revd. Newton Mant,<sup>1</sup> but Lady Sykes, who was a Roman Catholic, succeeded in having him received into the Catholic church in 1882 by conditional baptism at the Brompton Oratory. He was educated by private tutors, travelled extensively with his parents, and went up to Cambridge University, but failed his exams. In 1900 he was summoned to join his militia battalion for the South

<sup>1</sup> The Revd. Newton Mant went on to be Vicar of Hendon where there is an interesting memorial brass to his memory. See Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (R.K.P. 1983), pp.126-7.



FIG. 1

General view of the Eleanor Cross, Sledmere, E. Yorks.

African War, and sailed for Cape Town in 1901. In 1903 he married Edith, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Sir John Gorst. He had developed a passionate interest in the Arab people and nations, partly through travel and partly through temperament. In 1911 he entered politics by being elected M.P. for Hull. In 1914, on the outbreak of World War I he took command of a T.A. Battalion and in 1915 received a Commission on the Army General Staff. The war presented him with his greatest political opportunity because it allowed him to use his knowledge and experience of the Middle East in helping to shape British policy towards that part of the world at a crucial moment in its history.

He travelled extensively on special missions to the East, attached to the Secretariat of the Committee of Imperial Defence. He is best known for the Sykes-Picot Agreement which he negotiated on behalf of the Foreign Office in 1915, and which laid down British and French spheres of influence in the near East.



FIG. 2

Colonel Sir Mark Sykes: a portrait photograph from *Mark Sykes: His Life & Letters*, by Shane Leslie

At the end of the war he was again returned as M.P. for Hull in the 1918 General Election, but the years of unremitting travel had taken their toll. He went to Paris in January 1919 for the Peace Conference and caught the influenza which was sweeping across Europe. He died the following month.

As Shane Leslie describes in his biography of Sykes, "Mark's body was brought home and buried with military honours at Sledmere. In the presence of an enormous crowd of friends, tenants and dependants the coffin, flag-covered, was carried on a gun-carriage. Amid many tapers flickering in the daylight the Abbot and Monks of Ampleforth performed the solemn and piteous rites of the Holy Catholic Church. His widow and eldest children were left kneeling at his grave in the tree-clad spaces between the church which his father had built and the house of his ancestors which he had restored stone for stone during the short hour of his inheritance".<sup>2</sup>

Although he was buried in the churchyard, there is another memorial to him - the Eleanor Cross put up by his father. During his lifetime Sir Mark had filled the niched panels with brasses in memory of his friends and tenants killed during the War. The work had been carried out by the firm of T. J. Gawthorp and Son, of Tufton Street, London. Thomas John Gawthorp, the founder, died in 1912 and the business was taken over by his son Walter Edmund Gawthorp. They engraved brasses and repaired and relaid medieval examples, and W. E. Gawthorp wrote a small but excellent handbook *The Brasses of Our Homeland Churches* (1923).

<sup>2</sup> Shane Leslie, *Mark Sykes: His Life and Letters* (Cassell & Co., London, 1923), pp. 293-4.



FIG. 3

An Engraver, who had spent over fifty years in Gawthorp's workshop, engraving one of the figures for the Sledmere memorial

In this book there are illustrations of an engraver in Gawthorp's workshop working on one of the Sledmere Memorial figures (Fig. 3), and of three of the finished panels, including that commemorating Sir Mark. Other figures on the memorial include Edward Bagshaw, a friend since schooldays, killed in Flanders, "preux chevalier sans peur et sans reproche". Also commemorated are Walter Barker, a footman of Sledmere and a Private in the 5th Yorkshire Regiment, Henry Agar, an agriculturalist and a Lance-Corporal, and William Watson, a saddler and a Lance-Corporal, and many others distinguished by their trades and ranks.

Sir Mark himself is depicted as a modern crusader (Fig. 4) in armour of the 14th Century style, carrying a large shield with the family arms, *Argent, a chevron sable between three Sykes proper*. He holds his broadsword in front, and stands upon a Saracen. A scroll over his head says "Laetare Jerusalem", and in the background there is a representation of the Holy City, a reminder of his Middle Eastern interests (Fig. 5).

A full description of the panels is given below. What makes the monument so unusual are the curious details depicted on some of the panels, but even more the overall conception of the memorial. It fits in that tradition of romantic chivalry which was particularly strong at the turn of the last century and which has been well documented by Mark Girouard in *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English*



FIG. 4

Memorial brass to Sir Mark Sykes, showing him as a crusader

*Gentleman* (Yale University Press, 1981). Sir Mark and his companions are depicted as fulfilling the highest aspirations of this chivalric code, treading underfoot the barbaric Hun, and slaying the evil dragon of German imperialism with the sword of St. George. This heroic and chivalrous tradition can be seen interpreted on many memorials after the First World War. These memorials are the “visual documents of how the bereaved came to terms with and bestowed meaning on the war. At the same time the ideals of a fight for justice and freedom needed to be reaffirmed to conclude the events of 1914-1918”.<sup>3</sup>

Because of the traditions of chivalry and this overwhelming need to mark the sacrifice of so many lives, images of saints such as St. George, St. Michael and Sir Galahad, and symbols of youthful sacrifice such as the Greek athlete and the

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Moriarty: “Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials”, in *Imperial War Museum Review*, No. 6, p. 63 ff.



FIG. 5

Panel at base of figure of Sir Mark Sykes, showing part of the city of Jerusalem, and the prostrate figure of a Saracen being trampled under Sir Mark's mailed feet

crusader, were common. Even so, on the Sledmere memorial the imagery is particularly strong, and the figures are depicted with great crudity and relish. The German Enemy is portrayed with particular ferocity, reminiscent of wartime propaganda images of the bestial Hun who mutilated nuns and babies, and despoiled religious imagery. Who could have designed such a monument? A catalogue of Gawthorps' memorial brasses shows a detail of the Sledmere brasses and attributes the design to Sir Mark Sykes himself. He had designed the Waggoners' Memorial at Sledmere which also included scenes of enemy pillage and cruelty. The German Consul in London objected to the brutality of the depiction at the time but no change was made to either memorial. Sadly there is very little documentary evidence about the memorial. Although Gawthorps kept rubbings of all their brasses in the basement of Tufton Street, when the firm was amalgamated with Wippells in 1935 all the rubbings and other documents were disposed of. But it must have been one of the most unusual brasses made by Gawthorps as well as one of the quaintest memorials to the dead of the Great War.

#### THE ELEANOR CROSS : DESCRIPTION OF PANELS

Round the base of the cross are the words of the Lord's Prayer. The description of the brasses start with that to Sir Mark Sykes, and continues round the memorial in an anti-clockwise direction:-

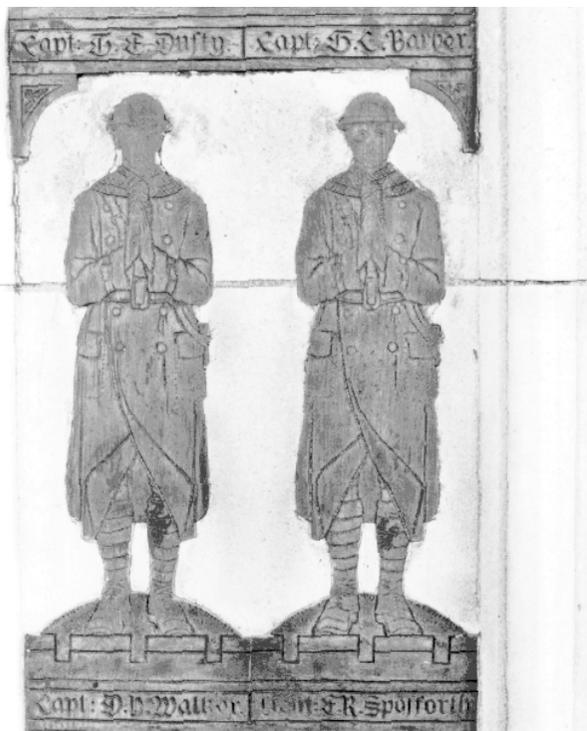


FIG. 6

Third panel: Captains Walker and Spofforth

*FIRST PANEL* : Figure of Sir Mark Sykes (Fig. 4)

Remember Lieut. Col. Sir Mark Sykes Bart M.P. / who served in the South African War and was mentioned in despatches / from 1911 until his death he was M.P. for Central Hull. During the / Great War he served first as Lieut. Col. in command of the / 5th Batt. Yorkshire Regiment and then on the General Staff / being detailed for duty in more than one theatre of War. / He died at Paris when in attendance on the Peace Conference 16th Feb 1919 /

Gawthorp & Sons London

This effigy was raised by the Tenants and Villagers / on the Sledmere Estates as a mark of esteem and / regard for a good Landlord and an honoured friend.

*SECOND PANEL, left hand side* : soldier wearing mail hood, with saw and bugle at his feet

Ye who read this / remember / Thomas Frankish / a Carpenter of / Sledmere and a / Sergeant in the 5th / Yorkshire Regiment / He gave his life / for his King, his / Country, and the / liberty of mankind / in Flanders / 22nd June 1915.

Scroll above - "Iste Miles"

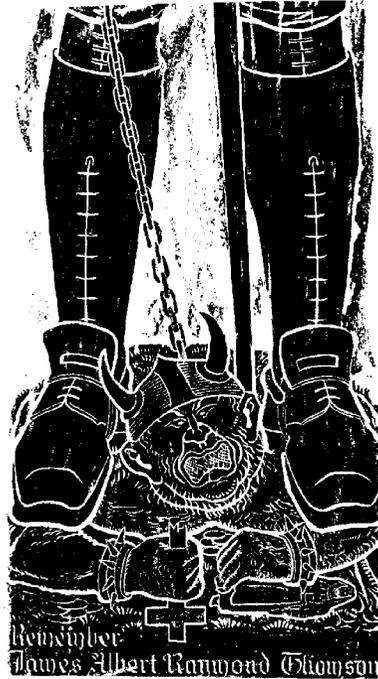


FIG. 7

Third panel: detail of Lt.-Colonel James Albert Raymond Thomson, d. 1918, showing him holding a Prussian enemy in chains

*SECOND PANEL, right hand side* : soldier with carpenter's plane at feet

Ye who read this / remember / Harry Addison / a Carpenter of / Sledmere and a / Lce. Corp. in the 5th / Yorkshire Regiment / He gave his life / for his King, his / country and the / liberty of mankind / at the battle of Ypres / 25th May 1915.

Scroll above - "Usque ad mortem"

*THIRD PANEL, left hand side* : six officers in uniform, hands in prayer

Captain T. E. Duffy

Captain T. C. Barber

Captain T. N. Walker

Captain E. R. Spofforth (Fig. 6)

Captain E. J. Scott

Captain W. Vance M.C.

*THIRD PANEL, right hand side* : Officer in uniform with scabbard, trampling Hun (Fig. 7)

Remember James Albert Raymond Thomson L-Colonel 5th Yorkshire Regt awarded the D.S.O. Croix-de-Guerre / Gold Star / and Special Mention in Despatches Killed in action May 27th 1918 at Garonne, France. This effigy is placed by his widow.



FIG. 8

Fourth panel: Major Harold Brown, d. 1918, holding a laurel wreath, and trampling on a Prussian eagle

*FOURTH PANEL, left hand side* : officer in uniform with wreath trampling on German Eagle (Fig. 8)

Remember Major Harold Brown who / joined the 5th Yorkshire Regt. 1914 / wounded July 12th 1916 on the Somme, Sept 15th 1916 / at the battle of Arras April 23rd 1917, awarded D.S.O. for daring and successful raiding June 11th 1915 / M.C. for organising and carrying out raids July 12th 1916 / Croix-de-Guerre for gallantry and ability Aug 17th 1911 / killed near St Quentin March 23rd 1918.



FIG. 9

Fourth panel: detail of Lt.-Colonel Frederick William Robson, d. 1918, showing him trampling underfoot the figure of Death who is saying "Truly where is my victory? Where my sting?"

*FOURTH PANEL, right hand side* : Soldier in chain-mail and modern uniform holding ? olive-branch trampling Death (Fig. 9)

Remember Lt.-Col. Frederick William Robson / joined the 5th Yorkshire Regt 13th Nov 1909 / mentioned in despatches 13th November 1916 / awarded D.S.O. 15th November 1916 / appointed to command 6th D.L.C. 5th April 1917 / mentioned in despatches 7th November 1917 / and fell leading that Battallion in Flanders on / 28th March 1918 Mentioned in despatches / 7th April 1918.

On scroll : "Euge Serve Bone!"

*FIFTH PANEL* : Group of three soldiers, one behind with arms on others' shoulders. Behind head of left hand soldier a scene of St. George and the Dragon (Fig. 10)

Remember Lt.-Col. James Mortimer C.M.G. who enrolled as Private in the / 2nd V.B. East Yorkshire Reg. 1888 Commanded the service Company in / the S.A. War as Captain 1900 Commanded the 5th Yorkshire Regiment / as Lt. Col. from 1915 until September 15th 1916 on the morning of which day / he was killed in action on the Somme. On his left hand stands Captain / Frank Woodcock 5th Yorkshire Regiment who fell a few hours after on the / same day in the same place. Behind stand Lce. Corp. Harry Woodcock / Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry who fell May 8th 1915 at / the 2nd battle of Ypres. Both brothers-in-law of the above /



FIG. 10

Fifth panel: detail of Lt.-Colonel James Mortimer, d. 1916, and Captain Frank Woodcock, d. 1916

These effigies were raised by Dora Mortimer (widow of James Mortimer) / and Elizabeth Jane Woodcock her mother and brother and sisters.

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*SIXTH PANEL, left hand side* : Cross-legged knight in chain-mail amour and shield standing on dragon (Fig. 11)

Remember Edward / Bagshawe Captain / of the 5th Yorkshire Regt. / killed in Flanders on / July 22nd 1916 / Preux Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche

Scroll round head : - "Dere lady help at nede" ‘

Culn

Gawthorp & Sons London

*SIXTH PANEL, right hand side* : Three figures of infantry officers under canopies.

William Holtby / David Cooper / George Potts

The names inscribed / on this cross are those / of Officers and Men of the 5th Yorkshire Regt. / who gave their lives / for their King, their / country and the liberties / of mankind in the years / of the Great War / Let Yorkshire men / cherish the memory / of this honourable / company of citizens / who left their peace / full avocations to / uphold justice, protect / the weak and defend / the Right.



FIG. 11

Sixth panel: Captain Edward Bagshawe, d. 1916

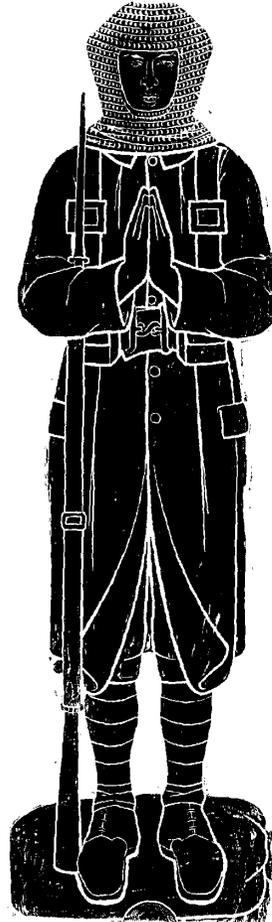


FIG. 12

Seventh panel: Walter Gerner Barker, 1918

*SEVENTH PANEL, left hand side* : Soldier holding rifle and bayonet wearing W.W.I uniform, with head in chain mail, standing on ?sandbag (Fig. 12)

Ye who read this / remember / Walter Gerner Barker / a footman of / Sledmere and a / Private in the 5th Yorkshire Regiment. / He gave his life / for his King, his / Country and the / liberty of mankind / in Flanders / 27th May 1918.

*SEVENTH PANEL, right hand side* : Soldier standing on ? sandbag

Ye who read this / remember Harry / Clifford Agar / an agriculturalist of Kirby Grindalythe and a Lce. Corp. in the 5th / Yorkshire Regiment / He gave his life / for his King, his / Country, and the / liberty of mankind / at Dulman Camp / on the 17th day of November 1919 / a prisoner of war.

*EIGHTH PANEL, left hand side* : Soldier with scythe

Ye who read this / remember / David Scott / an agriculturalist of / Sledmere and a  
/ Private in the 5th / Yorkshire Regiment / He gave his life / for his King, his /  
country, and the / liberty of mankind in Flanders / 16th November 1916.

*EIGHTH PANEL, right hand side* : Soldier in fleecy top-coat

Ye who read this / remember / William Webster / a saddler of / Thixendale and a /  
Lce. Corp. in the 5th / Yorkshire Regiment / He gave his life / for his King, his /  
country, and the / liberty of mankind / at the battle of Verdun / 22nd February  
1916.

Culn  
Gawthorp & Sons London

Each panel measures 5 ft 5 ins in height.

Above each figure there is an architectural canopy. Several of the plates are signed with Gawthorp's name, or "Culn" which was a trade name also used by the firm.

# Conservation of Brasses, 1995

by WILLIAM LACK

**T**HIS is the fourteenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the Transactions. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with several projects and for funding the facsimile at Writtle; to Paul Cockerham for assistance at Gorran and Stratton and for financial assistance at Stratton; to the late Malcolm Norris for assistance at Catshill; to Frank Wheaton for assistance at Denham and Merton College; to Lucy Lack for assistance at Merton College; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Elstow and Stoke Charity; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Blickling, Denham, Elstow and Stratton; and the Monumental Brass Society at Blickling, Denham, Elstow, Gorran and Stratton.

## BLICKLING, NORFOLK.

I removed parts of six brasses on 31 January 1995.

**M.S.II.** Sir Nicholas Dagworth, 1401.<sup>1</sup> This London (series C) brass, comprising a 1670 mm armoured effigy, a mutilated marginal inscription (1898 x 910 mm overall) and four shields, lies in the original Purbeck slab (1960 x 980 mm) in the south aisle. The only parts conserved were the five surviving sections of marginal inscription (various sizes, largest 751 x 36 mm, thicknesses varying from 2.6 to 3.2 mm) and the hilt of the dagger (88 x 30 mm, thickness 2.0 mm). There are identifying Roman numerals incised on the reverse of the marginal inscription. Our member Peter Hutchings had renewed the missing parts of the marginal inscription<sup>2</sup>, blank corner roundels, the pommel and blade of the dagger and the sword handle. After cleaning the original plates I fitted new rivets to them and the renewed plates.

**M.S.IV.** Cecilie Boleyn, 1458 (Fig. 1). This London (series B) brass, comprising a female effigy (467 x 164 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line inscription in English (103 x 596 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 4 rivets), was removed from the original slab (1500 x 615 mm) at the east end of the chancel. Both plates had been secured by conventional woodscrews. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S.V.** Inscription to Henry Jerveys, 1460 (Fig. 2). This Norwich (series 1) three-line English inscription (67 x 275 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 2 rivets) was removed from its original slab (1775 x 665 mm) in the north aisle. It had been secured by iron rivets, was corroded and not well bedded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in *A Series of Photolithographs of Mon. Brasses in Norfolk*, by E. M. Beloe (1890-1), pl.17.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was given in full in *An Essay towards a History of Norfolk*, by Rev Francis Blomefield and Rev Charles Parkin, III (1769), p. 625. One small section now lost is shown in *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, by J. S. Cotman, I (1814), pl.13, p.11.



FIG. 1  
 Blickling, Norfolk  
 M.S.IV. Cecilie Boleyn, 1458  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S.VIII.** Isabel Cheyne, 1485.<sup>3</sup> This Norwich (series 3a) brass, comprising a female effigy (675 x 210 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 4 rivets), a three-line inscription in Latin (80 x 412 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivets) and a lead shield, lie in the original slab (1620 x 610 mm) in the chancel. I removed the effigy and inscription which were both loose, the inscription having been re-secured with screws. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S.XIX.** Anne Asteley, 1512.<sup>4</sup> I removed this Norwich (series 6a) brass, comprising a female effigy (440 x 121 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 4 rivets) and a four-line inscription in Latin (97 x 688 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets), from the original slab

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated *The Monumental Brasses of England, a series of engravings on wood*, by Rev. C. Boutell (1849).

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated in *English Church Brasses*, by E. R. Suffling (1910).



FIG. 2  
Blickling, Norfolk  
M.S.V. Inscription to Henry Jerveys, 1460  
*Rubbing by William Lack*



FIG. 3  
Blickling, Norfolk  
M.S.XX. Inscription to Robert Grise, 1518  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

(2100 x 890 mm) in the nave. Both plates were loose and vulnerable to theft. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S.XX.** Inscription to Robert Grise, 1518 (Fig. 3). I removed this Norwich (series 6b) two-line inscription (47 x 214 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 2 rivets) from the original slab (1780 x 640 mm) in the nave. It was held by screws and had become corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 5, 6 and 24 June 1995.

#### CATSHILL, WORCESTERSHIRE

**Inscription to Frances Beasley Hadley, 1866.** This four-line English inscription (152 x 510 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 2 rivets) commemorates Frances Beasley Hadley, wife of Enoch Hadley of Barnsley Hall. It was damaged in an arson attack in the summer of 1994 and I removed it on 27 January 1995. The edges of the plate had become corroded and heat had caused the black and red mastic within the engraving to blister and run. After cleaning and touching up damaged mastic the plate was polished and lacquered. The brass was reset on 21 April 1995.

DENHAM, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE<sup>5</sup>

I removed all six brasses on 1 August 1995. They had all been taken out of their slabs about a hundred years ago and the slabs are now lost or covered. Five of them had been relaid in modern slabs in the sanctuary. The slabs are covered by carpet and the brasses were loose and corroded.

**L.S.W. I.** Walter Duredent and two wives, 1494. This London (series D) brass comprises an armoured effigy (659 x 200 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 8 rivets), two female effigies (dexter 609 x 213 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 8 rivets; sinister 617 x 208 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 4 rivets), two groups of children (dexter 192 x 390 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 5 rivets; sinister 156 x 218 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets), a two-line Latin inscription (57 x 788 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 4 rivets), an achievement (412 x 331 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 5 rivets) and three shields (dexter 142 x 110 mm, thickness 3.5 mm; centre 141 x 111 mm, thickness 3.5 mm; sinister 141 x 112 mm, thickness 3.4 mm; each 1 rivet). One other shield is lost and the brass has been relaid in two adjoining modern slabs in the chancel.<sup>6</sup> The bottom dexter corner of the sinister female effigy and the dexter end of the inscription are broken off and lost. After cleaning, repairing cracks and plugging holes I fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. II.** Dame Agnes Jordan, abbess of Syon, c.1544. This London (series G) brass, comprising the effigy (930 x 340 mm, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 2.7, 4.2 and 3.4 mm, 10 rivets) and a six-line inscription in English (242 x 473 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 5 rivets), had been relaid in a modern slab in the chancel. The effigy had come completely loose and had been locked away for safe-keeping. A small fragment at the lower sinister corner of the effigy had become detached and proved to be palimpsest, the reverse showing some drapery. After cleaning I rejoined the plates of the effigy and fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. III.** Inscription and group of children, 1528. This London (series F debased) four-line English inscription (104 x 527 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 8 rivets) and a group of three sons and one daughter (128 x 112 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 1 rivet) are all that remain of the London (series F debased) brass to Thomas Bedyll and two wives. A rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries shows the indents of the effigies.<sup>7</sup> The plates had been relaid in a modern slab in the chancel. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. IV.** Amphillis Pekham, 1545. This London (series G) brass now comprises a female effigy (392 x 128 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets), an inscription in five English lines (128 x 388 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 4 rivets) and a shield (147 x 123 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 1 rivet). A scroll and another shield are lost.<sup>8</sup> The brass was

<sup>5</sup> The figure brass are illustrated in *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire*, by William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore (1994), 56-8.

<sup>6</sup> The original arrangement of the brass, based on an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries, is shown in *op cit*, 56.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit*, 57.

<sup>8</sup> The composite illustration in *op. cit*, 58, shows the scroll from an old rubbing in the British Library and the original arrangement from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

removed from its slab c.1894 and found to be palimpsest.<sup>9</sup> The reverse of the effigy shows most of the effigy of a friar, c.1440, the reverse of the inscription an almost effaced inscription in four Latin verses to John Pyke, and the reverse of the shield another shield. These reverses are all probably from the same brass. The brass had been mounted on the sanctuary wall in a hinged frame behind a padlocked glass door. After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the reverses and fitted new rivets. The brass and facsimiles were rebated and secured into Cedar boards.

**L.S.W. V.** Leonard Hurst, 1560. This brass originally comprised an effigy in surplice and scarf and an inscription.<sup>10</sup> Only the effigy (441 x 147 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 5 rivets) has survived and this had been relaid in the same slab as L.S.W. III and VI. The effigy had recently become detached from the slab and found to be palimpsest,<sup>11</sup> the reverse showing part of a large fourteenth century Flemish brass, more of which has been found on reverses at Pottesgrove, Bedfordshire, Chalfont St Giles, Buckinghamshire, British Museum M.S.VI(5) and Fivehead, Somerset.<sup>12</sup> After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the reverse and rebated and secured this into a Cedar board. After repairing cracks in the effigy I fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. VI.** Inscription to Richard Thornhill, 1612. This London-engraved five-line English inscription in capitals (122 x 564 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 10 rivets) had been relaid in the same slab as L.S.W. III and V. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The floor brasses were relaid on 25 September 1995 and 9 October 1995. On 16 November 1995 the board carrying M.S.IV was mounted on the wall behind the hinged glass door and the boards carrying the resin facsimiles on the west jamb of the adjacent window

### ELSTOW ABBEY, BEDFORDSHIRE<sup>13</sup>

I removed parts of two brasses on 1 May 1995.

**L.S.W. I.** Margery Argentine, 1427. This London (series B) brass, comprising a female effigy (2545 x 1130 mm), a mutilated marginal inscription (2393 x 971 mm) and one shield, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2545 x 1130 mm) in the south chapel. Three other shields and a circular plate from the top of the slab are lost. I removed the effigy (engraved on three plates with thicknesses 3.7 mm, 3.6 mm and 3.0 mm, 10 rivets) and the eight surviving fillets of the Latin marginal inscription, five of them complete (various sizes, the largest 724 x 37 mm, thicknesses varying between 3.3 to 3.8 mm, 23 rivets in total). There are identifying marks incised on the reverses. One

<sup>9</sup> *Palimpsests*, by J. C. Page-Phillips (1980), pl. 34, nos. 114L1-3.

<sup>10</sup> The indent of the inscription is shown in *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>11</sup> *M.B.S. Bulletin*, 69 (June 1995), p.179.

<sup>12</sup> *Palimpsests*, pl. 81-2, nos. 202L1-7, 203L1-2, 204L1 and 205L1-2.

<sup>13</sup> The brasses were described in 1893 by H K St J Sanderson (*M.B.S. Trans.*, II, part 5 (1895), 156-7) and they have been illustrated recently in *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire*, by William Lack, H Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore (1992), 39-42.

fillet proved to be palimpsest, being cut from a section of a marginal inscription in Lombardic letters, engraved c.1330, and reading 'TI RECTO'. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. II.** Dame Elizabeth Herwy, c.1520. This London (series F) brass, comprising the effigy of an abess (906 x 276 mm), a mutilated marginal inscription (2164 x 888 mm overall) and one shield, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2465 x 1090 mm) immediately west of L.S.W. I. Three other shields, the top of the crosier, a Trinity and a scroll are lost. I removed six surviving fillets, four of them complete<sup>14</sup> (various sizes, the largest 798 x 38 mm, thicknesses varying between 3.5 and 4.1 mm, 21 rivets in total). They are again engraved on the reverse with identifying marks. Two of the fillets proved to be palimpsest with their reverses showing text from Job XIX. They are wasted material with 'nonissimo' in error for 'novissimo' and there no contractions. After cleaning I rejoined two plates and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 12 June 1995 and 19 June 1995. They are now protected by a movable post and cord barrier.

#### FRENZE, NORFOLK

**M.S.VII.** George Duke and wife, 1551. This Norwich-engraved brass now comprises only the upper part of the female effigy and the inscription and I conserved and relaid these plates in in 1988.<sup>15</sup> Over twenty years ago a small piece (34 x 24 mm, thickness 1.7 mm) became detached from the bottom dexter corner of the surviving part of the effigy and it was sent to me in the autumn of 1992. After cleaning I soldered a rivet to the reverse of the fragment and relaid it in the slab on 1 May 1995.

#### GORRAN, CORNWALL

**L.S.W. I.** A lady, c.1510. This London (series G) brass originally comprised a kneeling effigy, a scroll, two shields and a marginal inscription and was laid down in a granite slab in the chancel. Only the effigy (467 x 252 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 6 rivets) and the upper sinister corner of the slab (now 665 x 690 mm) have survived.<sup>16</sup> The effigy had formerly been mounted on the south aisle wall and more recently screwed to a board mounted in the vestry while the slab fragment is lying loose at the west end of the nave. The brass was removed from its board by Paul Cockerham and delivered to me by Dr R. G. Cockerham on 4 May 1995. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the obverse and rebated the brass and facsimile into separate Cedar boards. On 3 July 1995 I mounted the board carrying the brass on the east wall of the vestry and that carrying the facsimile on the south wall of the south aisle.

<sup>14</sup> Two fillets of marginal inscription on the sinister side were relaid by Bryan Egan in 1967, *The Repair of Monumental Brasses*, by B. S. H. Egan and H. M. Stuchfield (1981), 13.

<sup>15</sup> *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, part 4 (1989), 283-4.

<sup>16</sup> The composite illustration in *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall*, by William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore (1997), ??, shows the surviving fragments of slab together with a rubbing of a fragment of marginal inscription which survived in 1872 from the Cambridge collection.

## INGRAVE, ESSEX

**Inscription to Walter Gayselee, c.1370** (Fig. 4). This London (series B) two-line Latin inscription (71 x 420 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 3 rivets) was found in its Purbeck slab (about 1980 x 760 mm) under wooden flooring beneath pews in the nave in 1939.<sup>17</sup> It was subsequently relaid and covered over with a perspex inspection panel inserted into the flooring above it. In the recent re-ordering and removal of the pews it was again uncovered. It was taken up by Martin Stuchfield on 29 May 1995 and delivered to me some weeks later. The plate had suffered considerable corrosion on both sides. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into an Iroko board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the chancel on 29 September 1995.



FIG. 4  
INGRAVE, ESSEX  
Inscription to Walter Gayselee, c.1370  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

## WESTMINSTER ABBEY

**Robert Stephenson, 1859.**<sup>18</sup> This brass, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott and engraved by Hardmans of Birmingham, comprises an effigy in civil dress and a marginal inscription with quatrefoils at the corners and lies in the original granite slab (2670 x 1300 mm) in the nave. The only parts conserved were the section of marginal inscription on the dexter side (2059 x 106 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 6 rivets) and the upper dexter quatrefoil (184 x 184 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 2 rivets) which were removed from the slab on 14 October 1994. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid the plates on 24 March 1995.

OXFORD, MERTON COLLEGE<sup>19</sup>

I removed seven brasses from their slabs on 17 November 1994.

**M.S.I. Richard de Hakebourne, 1322.**<sup>20</sup> This London (Camoys style) brass originally comprised a half effigy set in the head of a floriated cross with a marginal

<sup>17</sup> "Discovery of brass to Walter Gayselee, c.1370, at Ingrave", by R. R. Lewis and D. J. Cockell, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, N.S. XXIII (19), 169. According to William Holman the plate was originally laid down in West Horndon church (*Bod. Lib., Rawlinson MS. Essex 27, f.42b*).

<sup>18</sup> Illustrated in *Victorian Memorial Brasses*, by David Meara (1983), pl.35, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> The brasses were described by Alan Bott in 1964, *The Monuments of Merton College Chapel*, pp. 19-20, 35, 56-60 and 62-3.

<sup>20</sup> Illustrated in Bott, *op. cit.*, pl.II.

inscription in separate Lombardic letters. Only the effigy (536 x 364 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets) has survived and I removed it from the original Purbeck slab (3035 x 1115 mm) in the north transept. The plate had been relaid and secured by screws. The surviving sections of the cross head on each side of the effigy are engraved on the same plate as the effigy. The slab has flaked badly in places especially around the sections of the cross head. After cleaning I repaired fractures and fitted new rivets.

**M.S.II.** Robert de Tring, 1351.<sup>21</sup> This London brass now comprises a mutilated effigy in academical dress (298 x 91 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.5 and 3.9 mm, 2 rivets) and part of the head of a floriated cross (now 345 x 380 mm, on two plates with thicknesses 3.7 and 3.8 mm, 4 rivets). I removed these from the original Purbeck slab (3080 x 1150 mm) in the north transept. The effigy had been relaid and secured with screws. The slab has flaked badly within the existing area of the cross head. After cleaning I rejoined the two plates of the effigy, repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets.

**M.S.III.** John Bloxham and John Whytton, c.1420.<sup>22</sup> This London (series B) brass comprises the effigies of John Bloxham in gown and hood (511 x 205 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 4 rivets) and John Whytton in cassock and hood (503 x 154 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 4 rivets), a foot inscription in three Latin lines (171 x 727 mm overall, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets), a double canopy (959 x 630 overall, 20 rivets; comprising main plate 310 x 624 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, a pendant and five finials thicknesses from 3.0 to 3.8 mm, and two shafts, thicknesses 3.0 mm). and a bracket with an Agnus Dei and a small scroll inscription at the base (1559 x 565 mm overall, thicknesses of individual plates varying from 3.1 to 3.7 mm, 12 rivets).

The brass was taken up from its original Purbeck slab in 1849, partly restored and relaid in a modern slab (2990 x 1065 mm) on the north side of the choir. Some damaged parts had been renewed. These included sections of the shaft of the bracket which, when relaid, was 23 mm shorter than originally. In recent years the brass had been covered by a carpet with rubber underlay and had become badly corroded. Areas of the slab had been made up with cement and the whole effect was very unsightly. When I took the brass up I found that the plates had been rivetted to brass backing plates with many small rivets. There are many cracks and fractures in the plates and most of these rivets had been used to secure the plates on either side of the breaks. The original rivet holes had been enlarged and blanked with brass, and the plates secured with large studs soldered to the reverses of the backing-plates and bedded in plaster-of-paris. The brass had not been protected from damp and there was considerable corrosion on every surface of the plates and the backing-plates. The original Purbeck slab, now in the north transept, has been cut down slightly at the base and now measures 3020 x 1400 mm. After removing the backing-plates and cleaning I rejoined plates, repaired fractures and fitted new rivets.

<sup>21</sup> Illustrated in Bott, *op. cit.*, pl.III.

<sup>22</sup> Illustrated in *Oxford Portfolio*, I, part 4 (1901), pl.5.

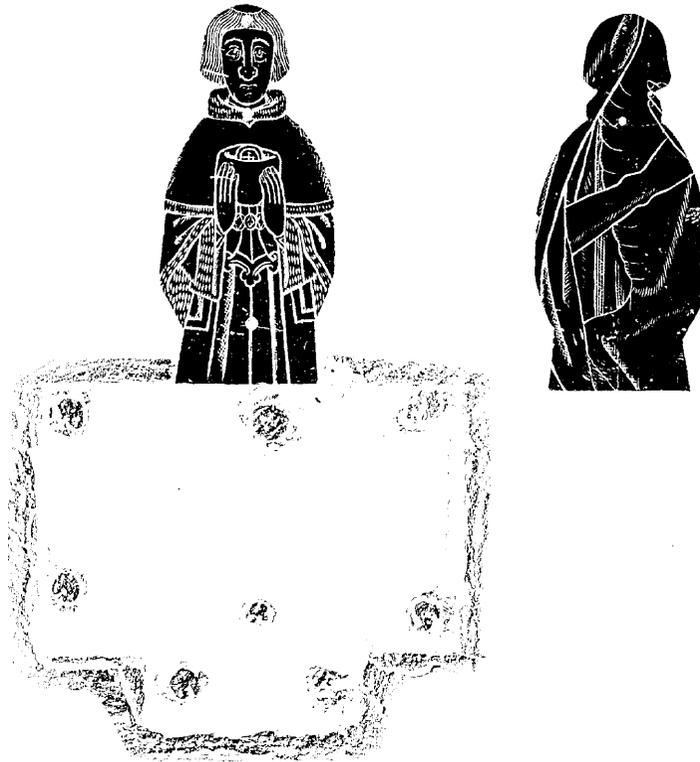


FIG. 5  
Oxford, Merton College  
M.S.VII. John Bowke, 1519 obverse and reverse  
*Rubbings by Jerome Bertram and William Lack*

**M.S.IV.** John Killingworth, 1445.<sup>23</sup> I removed this London (series B) brass, comprising a half effigy in academic dress (244 x 153 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 2 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (74 x 374 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) from the original Purbeck slab (1580 x 660 mm) in the south transept. There is an indent for a lost shield. The effigy had been relaid and secured with screws and both plates were heavily corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S.V.** Henry Sever, 1471.<sup>24</sup> This London (series D) brass comprises a fine coped effigy (1700 x 585 mm overall, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 3.6, 4.0 and 3.9 mm, 18 rivets), a three line Latin inscription (102 x 843 mm overall, originally engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.7 and 3.9 mm, 3 rivets), the upper part of a triple canopy (593 x 663 mm, engraved on seven original plates with thicknesses between 3.2 and 4.0 mm, 23 rivets) and two shields (dexter 139 x 115 mm, thickness 3.6 mm; sinister 139 x 115 mm, thickness 3.3 mm; each 1 rivet). Parts of the effigy,

<sup>23</sup> Illustrated in *Brasses as Art and History*, ed. J. F. A Bertram (1996), fig.2, p.4.

<sup>24</sup> Illustrated in Bott, *op. cit.*, pl.IV

inscription and canopy have been renewed and the side shafts of the canopy are lost. I removed the brass from a modern slab (2700 x 975 mm) on the south side of the chancel. The brass was removed from its original slab at the same time as M.S.III, was relaid and renewed in exactly the same way and had suffered similar corrosion. It was decided that the brass should be relaid in the original Purbeck slab (2990 x 1070 mm) in the north transept. The slab is badly worn. After removing the backing-plates and cleaning I rejoined plates, repaired fractures and fitted new rivets.

**M.S.VI.** Inscription to William Bysse, 1510. I removed this London (series F) inscription in four Latin lines (97 x 233 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 2 rivets) from the original Purbeck slab (640 x 200 mm) under the tower. It had been secured by screws and was corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S.VII.** John Bowke, 1519 (Fig. 5). I removed this London (series F) half effigy in academical dress (308 x 142 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets) from the original Purbeck slab (1520 x 700 mm) in the south transept. The inscription is lost. The plate had been relaid and secured with screws. It was very corroded and broken across the rivet hole through the neck. It proved to be palimpsest, the reverse showing part of a shroud, engraved *c.*1480 (Fig. 5). After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the obverse, mounted this on a board and fitted new rivets to the brass.

The brasses were relaid in their original slabs on 22 May, 25 July and 8 and 15 August 1995.

#### STOKE CHARITY, HAMPSHIRE<sup>25</sup>

I removed parts of the three brasses on 13 September 1995.

**M.S.I.** Thomas Wayte, 1482. This London (series F) brass, comprising an effigy in armour, a two-line Latin inscription, the figure of Our Lord in Pity, a scroll and the upper sinister shield, lies in the original Purbeck slab (1495 x 700 mm) on an altar tomb on the south side of the nave. Three other shields are lost. The only plates repaired were the effigy (672 x 209 mm, engraved on two plates with thickness 3.7 and 2.8 mm, 4 rivets) and the scroll (261 x 51 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 2 rivets). The joint at the ankles between the two parts of the effigy had failed, leaving the lower part of the upper plate proud of the lower plate. There is a transverse fracture in the upper part of the slab. After cleaning I rejoined the two plates of the effigy and fitted new rivets.

**M.S.II.** Thomas Hampton and wife Isabel, 1483. This London (series F) brass, comprising an armoured effigy, the lower part of the female effigy, a three-line Latin inscription, a Trinity, two sons, six daughters, two scrolls and four shields, lies in the original Purbeck slab (1950 x 940 mm) on an altar tomb between the chancel and north chapel. The only plates conserved were the female effigy (originally 825 mm

<sup>25</sup> The brasses were described and the two figure brasses illustrated by C.J. P. Cave in 1910, *M.B.S. Trans.*, VI, part 1, 18-24.

tall, now 451 x 257 mm, 3.2 mm, 2 rivets) and the inscription (83 x 629 mm, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 3.1, 3.2 and 3.6 mm, 3 rivets). After cleaning I repaired fractures in the female effigy and fitted new rivets.

**M.S.III.** Inscription and two shields to Richard Waller, 1552. This London (series G)<sup>26</sup> brass, comprising a mutilated three-line English inscription ) and two shields, lies in the original Purbeck slab (1980 x 900 mm) in the north chapel. The only part repaired was the inscription (originally 95 x 703 mm, now 95 x 670 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.6 and 3.7 mm, 3 rivets). The brass was discovered to be palimpsest when relaid in 1955.<sup>27</sup> After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 19 October 1995. While they were away from the church, Roger Harris had carried out conservation work on the slabs of M.S.I and II.

### STRATTON, CORNWALL

**L.S.W. I.** Sir John Arundell, 1561, and two wives.<sup>28</sup> This London (series G) brass, comprising an armoured effigy, two female effigies, two groups of children, two shields and a marginal inscription, is set in the original Purbeck slab (2040 x 880 mm) on the west wall of the south aisle. Two other shields and two single children are lost. The slab was originally set on an altar tomb at the east end of the north aisle. The only part conserved was a fillet of marginal inscription (engraved "wyth the faythfull Christians i", 552 x 38 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets) from the dexter side. I removed the fillet on 3 July 1995 and found that it had been partly renewed. After cleaning and fitting new rivets I reset the plate on the same day.

### WRITTLE, ESSEX<sup>29</sup>

Four brasses were removed from their slabs on 23 August 1993.

**M.S.III.** Thomasin Thomas, her father and grandparents, 1513. This London (series F variant) brass, comprising two armoured effigies (Thomas junior 769 x 231, thickness 3.4 mm, 5 rivets; Thomas senior 774 x 249 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 5 rivets), two female effigies (Thomasin junior 759 x 232 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 5 rivets; Thomasin senior 758 x 245 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 5 rivets) and four shields (upper dexter 147 x 126 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 1 rivet; upper sinister 150 x 126 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 1 rivet; lower dexter 148 x 125 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 1 rivet; lower sinister 147 x 126 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 1 rivet), was taken up from the original slab (2435 x 1420 mm) in the north aisle. The inscription has long been lost and the slab is badly worn. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

<sup>26</sup> Engraved in the Fermer style, see *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 2 (1993), 144.

<sup>27</sup> *Palimpsests*, pl. 64, no. 163L1-6. The discovery was described and illustrated by the late J. C. Page-Phillips in *M.B.S. Trans.*, IX, part 6 (1958), 331-4.

<sup>28</sup> Described and illustrated by E. H. W. Dunkin, *Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (1882, and 1970 reprint), pp. 34-5 and pl. XXX). The composite illustration in *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall*, shows a lost son from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>29</sup> The brasses were described and illustrated by Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous, *Essex Review*, VII (1898), pp. 49-50 and *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, IX (1903), pp. 53-6 and 59-62. M.S.III was also illustrated in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 2 (1993), 207.

**M.S.IV.** Constance Berners, 1524. This London (series F debased) brass, comprising a female effigy (381 x 121 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line English inscription (93 x 487 mm, thickness 5.2 mm, 3 rivets), was removed from the original slab (1290 x 575 mm) in the north aisle. Two of the four original shields remained in 1926(3) but these are now lost. The organ which covered the brass for some years has now been removed. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S.VII.** Edward Bell and wife, 1576. This London (series G) brass, comprising a male effigy in civilian dress (508 x 182 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 2.1 and 2.0 mm, 5 rivets), a female effigy (495 x 182 mm, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7 mm, 5 rivets), a five line inscription in English (124 x 446 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 5 rivets), three sons (148 x 119 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 3 rivets) and a shield (178 x 151 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1560 x 660 mm) in the north chapel. The effigy of a daughter is now in private hands. The whole brass was loose and the effigies were each in pieces. The group of sons proved to be palimpsest, the reverse being cut from the lower part of a lady of similar date to the obverse and probably wasted work.<sup>30</sup> After cleaning, I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, rejoined the parts of the effigies and fitted new rivets.

**M.S.VIII.** Rose Pinchon, 1592. This Johnson style brass originally comprised a civilian effigy, female effigy, inscription, achievement and two groups of children. Only the female effigy (531 x 195 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 6 rivets) has survived and was removed from the original slab (1890 x 740 mm) in the north aisle. The group of sons were stolen c.1960. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 30 January 1995.

<sup>30</sup> "Seventh Addenda to Palimpsests", *M.B.S. Bulletin* 74 (Feb. 1997), pl. 228, no. L511-1.

# Conservation of Brasses 1989-1993

by BRYAN EGAN

**N**OTE: *Full detailed reports of conservation work will be deposited in the Society's new archive at Birmingham. The following summary of work done in past years will enable a permanent record to be available of when particular brasses were conserved and what discoveries ensued. All references to palimpsests are to John Page-Phillips, Palimpsests, the Backs of Monumental Brasses, 1980, and to seven "Appendices" published with the M.B.S. Bulletin, 1982-97. Ed.*

## **Acton, Suffolk**

M.S.I, Sir Robert de Bures, 1331; M.S.II, Alice Brian, 1435; M.S.IV, Edmund and Margaret Daniel, 1589 and M.S.V, John Daniel, 1598, all conserved and relaid, 1 May 1992.

## **Ashbourne, Derbyshire**

M.S.II, Francis and Dorothy Cockayne, 1538. Canopy side shafts and six shields, all Victorian, conserved and relaid, 19 April 1991. The shields had been added on top of painted stone escutcheons on sides of tomb.

## **Ashby St Ledgers, Northamptonshire**

M.S.III, William and Margaret Catesby, 1494, male figure only (the head was, appropriately, found completely detached from the body); M.S.V, William Catesby, 1518 and M.S.VIII, portion of figure, both loose in 1920; all conserved and relaid, 14 June 1991. No VIII believed to belong to no II, Sir Wm. Catesby and wives, 1471.

## **Aylsham, Norfolk**

M.S.I, Thomas Tylson, vicar, *c.* 1490; M.S.II Robt. and Kath. Farman, *c.* 1490; M.S.III, Rich. & Cecily Howard, 1499; M.S.IV, Civilian and wife, *c.* 1500 (probably rather earlier); M.S.V, Thomas Wymer, worstead weaver, 1507 and M.S.VI, John Furmary, 1610. All conserved and relaid (M.S.IV in a new sandstone slab), 30 March 1989.

## **Balsham, Cambridgeshire**

M.S.II, John Blodwell, 1462, conserved and relaid, 24 November 1989. Lead levelling discs were found round the edge of the matrix, including some wedged vertically between brass and stone.

## **Bobbing, Kent**

M.S.I, Joan Bourne, 1496, conserved and relaid 15 June 1993, in Iroko wood board, arranged as on a rubbing made 1894 in Soc. Antiqs. collection.

**Brenchley, Kent**

M.S.II, Civilian and wife, *c.* 1540; M.S.III, Geo. Roberts, 1562; M.S.V, Geo. Robertes, 1616, conserved and relaid, 20 October 1989. (See M.B.S. Bulletin, 53, 421.)

**Brundish, Suffolk**

M.S.IV, Francis and Margaret Colby, *c.* 1580. The female figure was restored in 1988 (see M.B.S. Trans., XV, p. 387) but the male figure remains in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. As a result of negotiations between the M.B.S. and the Kienbusch Collection of Arms and Armour in the museum, moulds of both sides of the brass were provided, from which facsimiles were produced for the church. The facsimile of the obverse male figure was laid beside his wife in September 1992. The Colby family, still resident in the area, helped finance this project.

**Burton Pedwardine, Lincolnshire**

M.S.I, Thomas and Mary Horsman, 1631 conserved and relaid, 28 April 1992.

**Carshalton, Surrey**

M.S.IV, Thomas and Elizabeth Elyngbrigge, 1497, parts of canopy and shield conserved and relaid, 19 March 1990. The lead shield was supported on small lead levelling pieces.

**Cookham, Berkshire**

L.S.W. I, John Babham, 1458; L.S.W. III, Margaret Andrew and husbands, 1503; L.S.W. V, Richard Babham and wife, 1527; L.S.W. VI, Edmund Stoktun, 1534; L.S.W. VII, Raffé and Mary More, 1577 (see *Palimpsests* 240L) and L.S.W. VIII, Edward and Eliz. Woodyore, 1615 and L.S.W. XI, Venables family 1847 all conserved and relaid, 29-30 June 1992. No III was rearranged according to an old rubbing; part of no V had been stolen and replaced; no VIII and XI were relaid in Iroko wood boards.

**Crowhurst, Surrey**

M.S.III, Anne Gaynesford, *c.* 1510, conserved and relaid, 16 March 1991.

**Digswell, Hertfordshire**

M.S.I John and Joan Peryent, 1415 (marg., inscr. only); M.S.II, John Peryent, 1442; M.S.III, William and Joyce Roberts, 1484; M.S.V, Thomas and Alice Hoore, 1495 (one shield only), M.S.VI, Robert Batyll and family 1557 (appropriated figures) and M.S.VII, Martha Champneys, 1637 all conserved and relaid, 16 October 1992.

**Eastling, Kent**

Inscr. to Robert Yate, 1612 (not in M.S.) conserved and relaid in Iroko wood board, 15 June 1993.

**Enfield, Middlesex**

M.S.I, Joyce lady Tiptoft, *c.* 1470, portion of marg. inscr. conserved and relaid, 20 December 1993. Three 16th cent. shields of Lovell, long presumed lost, had been rediscovered and were relaid in Iroko wood board.

**Felbrigg, Norfolk**

M.S.III, Sir Simon and Margaret Felbrygge, 1416 (one shield only) and M.S.V, Thomas Windham, *c.* 1608, conserved, 8 November 1991.

**Graveney, Kent**

M.S.I, Joan and John de Feversham, *c.* 1360, with fragment of inscription returned from Society of Antiquaries' collection; M.S.II, Robert Dodde and Richard de Feversham, 1381; M.S.III, Joan Botiller, 1408, with several fragments recently discovered loose (Fig. 1); M.S.IV, Judge John and Anne Martyn, 1436, with fragment of inscription recently rediscovered; all conserved and relaid, 21 October 1989.

**Much Hadham, Hertfordshire**

M.S.III, civilian and wife, *c.* 1520; M.S.V, Clement and Mary Newce, 1582, both conserved and relaid, 27 November 1989.

**West Hanney, Berkshire**

M.S.I, John Seys, *c.* 1370; M.S.II, Humfrey Cheynie, 1557 (inscrs. and ev. syms. only); M.S.III, John Ayshcombe and wives, 1592 (one sh. and foot inscr. only); M.S.IV, Christopher Lytcot, 1599; M.S.V, Francis Wellsbourne and wives, 1602 (one wife, children and marg., inscr. only); and M.S.VI, Oliver and Martha Ayshcombe, 1611 (one shield and part of female figure) conserved and relaid, 10-11 May 1991.

**Great Harrowden, Northamptonshire**

M.S.I, William and Margery Harwedon, 1433, conserved and relaid, 17 June 1991.

**Harpenden, Hertfordshire**

M.S.I, William and Isabel Anabull, 1456, and M.S.II, William and Grace Gressye, 1559, conserved and relaid, 4 June 1991.

**Harpham, Yorkshire**

M.S.I, Sir Thomas de St Quintin, 1418, another piece of canopy shaft conserved and relaid, 28 August 1991.

**Holdenby, Northamptonshire**

M.S.I, John Hatton, *c.* 1550; M.S.II, Francis Hatton, *c.* 1550; both conserved and relaid, 12 May 1990. (See pp. 473-5 of this issue.)

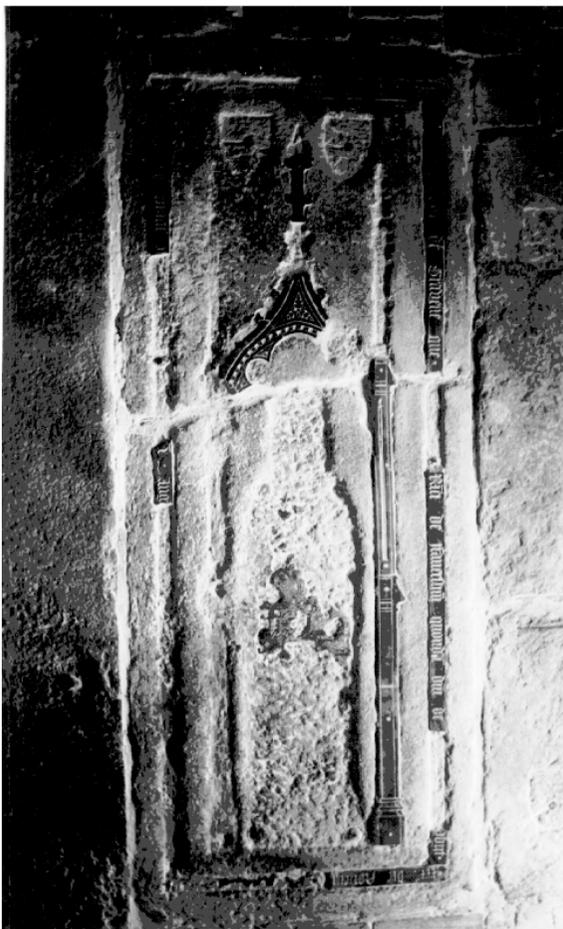


FIG. 1

Joan Botiller, 1408  
Graveney, Kent, M.S.III  
state after repair, 1989

### **South Kyme, Lincolnshire**

M.S.I, Gylbert and Elizabeth Talboys, 1530 conserved and relaid, 28 April 1992. The inscription is palimpsest, the reverse being a workshop waster, an unfinished inscription (*Palimpsests* 17M). The slab is also reused, with indents for two figures, a central shield and an inscription scrolled at the ends, c. 1480-1500. The figure of Elizabeth Talboys was purchased by the British Museum in 1989. See *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, part 5 (1990), 356-9 (illustr.).

### **Lillingstone Lovell, Buckinghamshire**

L.S.W. I, John Merstun, rector, 1446; L.S.W. II, Thomas & Agnes Clarell, 1471 (detail, fig. 2); L.S.W. III Wm and Agnes Rysley, 1513; all conserved and relaid 18



FIG. 2  
Thomas Clavell, 1471  
Lillingstone Lovell, Bucks., L.S.W. II  
detail of collar after cleaning

August 1989, the shields of no III restored to correct positions, and one found to be palimpsest.

### **Lingfield, Surey**

M.S.I, Lady Elizabeth Cobham, 1375; M.S.III, John Hadresham, 1417; M.S.IV, Dame Eleanor Cobham, 1420 (shields and parts of canopy only); M.S.V, Katherine Stoket, *c.* 1420 (inscr. only); M.S.VIII, Maiden Lady, *c.* 1450; M.S.IX, James Veldon, 1458 (inscr. only); M.S.X (inscr. only) and M.S.IX, John Swetecok, 1469; all conserved and relaid, 15-16 March 1991.

### **Linslade, Buckinghamshire**

L.S.W. II, Civilian and wives, *c.* 1500, conserved and relaid in Iroko wood board, April 1991.

### **Marsworth, Buckinghamshire**

L.S.W. I, John and Christine Scelk, *c.* 1390; L.S.W. III, Nicholas and Joan West, 1586, conserved and relaid, 26 October 1990. (No III is a known palimpsest, see *Palimpsests* 301L; the daughters also turned out to be palimpsest, a workshop waster, being a heavily cross-hatched section of female dress, Sixth Appendix to *Palimpsests*, pl. 213).

**Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire**

L.S.W. I, John Style, 1613 and L.S.W. II, Francis and Elizabeth Style, 1646, conserved and relaid, 17 May 1993. The P.C.C. had proposed keeping the brasses loose in a display cabinet, but were persuaded to think otherwise and return them to their original slabs.

**Morley, Derbyshire**

M.S.I, Godithe and Richard de Stathum, 1403; M.S.II, Ralph and Godythe de Stathum, 1418; M.S.III, John and Cecily Stathum, 1453; M.S.V, John and Cecily Stathum, 1454 (inscr. only); M.S.IX, Sir Henry and Isabel Sacheverell., 1558, conserved and relaid, 1 June 1991. No I had traces of red pigment within the rough-keyed ground; No VIII was laid in a reused stone with indent for a priest with marginal inscription on the reverse.

**Newbottle, Northamptonshire**

M.S.I, Peter Dormer and wives, 1555, one shield and one wife conserved and relaid, 13 February 1992. Traces of red and black pigment found in shield. Some stone canopy fragments found in the churchyard about 1900 and now placed elsewhere in the church may belong to this monument.

**Norbury, Derbyshire**

M.S.I, John Fitzherbert, 1531; M.S.II, Sir Anthony and Maud Fitzherbert, 1538 both conserved and relaid, 12 April 1991. No II is a well-known palimpsest (*Palimpsests* 21M) and electrotypes of the reverses had been mounted on a board in the vestry. Some of these were stolen in 1986: these were replaced, and the surviving electrotypes cleaned and refixed.

**Northiam, Sussex**

M.S.I, Robert Beuford, 1518; M.S.II, Nicholas Tufton, 1538; M.S.III, Richard Sharp, 1553; M.S.IV, John Sharp, 1583 and M.S.(App.) V, fragment of inscr., c. 1540, all conserved and relaid, 19 August 1993. The original inscr. of no II which had been recovered in 1930 was fixed with the figure in its slab, and the Victorian replacement inscr. mounted in Iroko wood board, with nos III to V. Facsimiles of the reverses of nos. III and IV were also mounted with the originals.

**South Ormsby, Lincolnshire**

M.S.I, Lady, c. 1410, palimpsest, conserved and relaid, and facsimile of reverse mounted on board, 3 July 1989.

**Ottery St Mary, Devon**

M.S.I, John, Wm. and Rich. Sherman, c. 1620, conserved and relaid, 10 March 1989. The names "IOANNES" and "GVILIELMVS" were found scratched on the back of the appropriate figures.

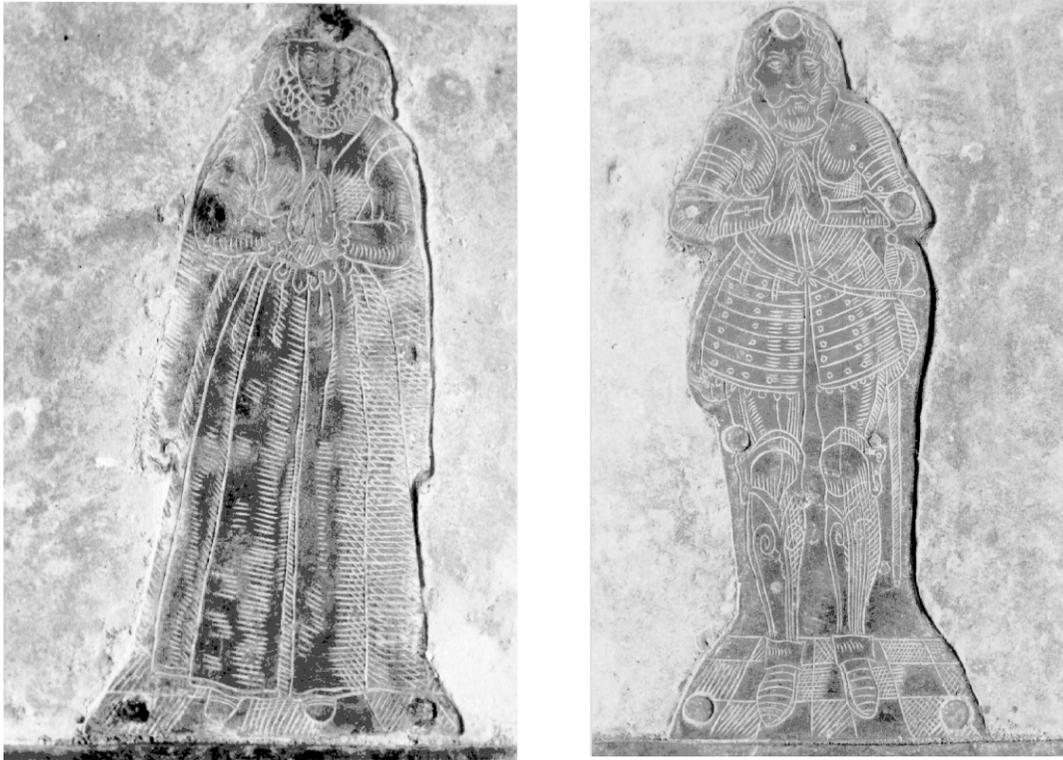


FIG. 3  
Sir Clement and Mary Edmonds, 1622  
Preston Deanery, Northants., M.S.I

### **Preston Deanery, Northamptonshire**

M.S.I, Sir Clement and Mary Edmonds, 1622 (fig. 3), conserved and relaid, 29 December 1989.

### **Reepham, Norfolk**

M.S.I, Sir William and Cecily de Kerdeston, 1391 (parts only) conserved and relaid, 8 November 1991. One of the base plinths had been set upside down in an earlier restoration, this was rectified.

### **Shiplake, Oxfordshire**

M.S.I, John and Joan Symonds, c. 1540, conserved and relaid in Iroko board, 15 June 1992. Three of the plates had been stolen and recovered in autumn 1991.

### **Shipton under Wychwood, Oxfordshire**

M.S.I, Elizabeth Horne, 1548 conserved and relaid in Iroko wood board, with facsimile of reverse, 2 December 1992. The original stone frame still survives behind the organ. (See *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 4 (1995), 359-362.)



FIG. 4  
 Roger Dynham, 1490  
 Waddesdon, Bucks., L.S.W. I  
 obverse and reverse of upper part of figure,  
 showing inserted cadency marks

### **Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire**

L.S.W. I, Roger Dynham, 1490 (from Eythrop chapel), conserved and relaid, 2 March 1990. Traces of dark red pigment found on tabard of arms. The small crescent cadency marks had been applied after engraving by inserting discs through the brass. (Fig. 4)

### **Warbleton, Sussex**

M.S.I, William Prestwyck, 1436 and M.S.II, John and Joan Prestwyck, c. 1430, conserved and relaid, 21 March 1992.

### **Waterperry, Oxfordshire**

M.S.I, Isabel Beaufo, c. 1370, conserved and relaid, 25 January 1989. M.S.II, Walter and Isabel Curson, c. 1450 (From Austin Friars, Oxford), conserved and relaid, 14 September 1990. Facsimile of palimpsest reverse of inscription, and an improved mould of the reverse of the upper part of the female figure, provided for church. (See Sixth Appendix to *Palimpsests* 70L, pl. 215, 216.)

### **Wiston, Sussex**

M.S.I, Sir John de Brewys, 1426, shields, parts of helmet and marg. inscr. conserved and relaid, 13 July 1993, whole brass cleaned and waxed May 1995.

## Portfolio of Small Plates

**Fig 1:** Margaret and John de Valence, 1276 and 1277; Westminster Abbey M.S.I and II. *Rubbings by Mill Stephenson, 2 Feb. 1914; reproduced by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

These two earliest of London brasses are permanently concealed from view under the step leading into Henry V's chantry. They were briefly uncovered in 1912 when Stephenson made these rubbings, and although the one with the glass mosaic has been illustrated recently, and they have been frequently discussed, the other has not.<sup>1</sup> They are always understood to commemorate two children of John de Valence, although which is which has been a matter of debate. The one with the glass mosaic

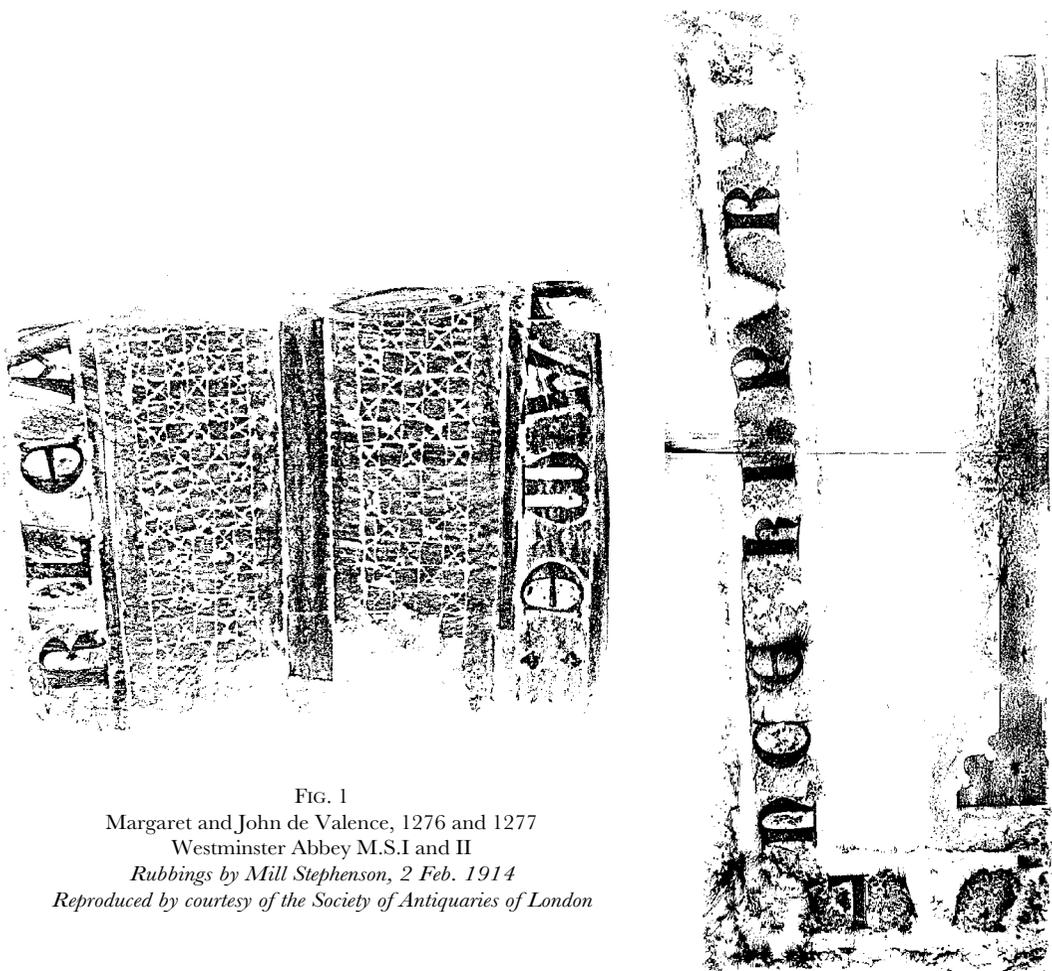


FIG. 1  
Margaret and John de Valence, 1276 and 1277  
Westminster Abbey M.S.I and II  
*Rubbings by Mill Stephenson, 2 Feb. 1914*  
*Reproduced by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London*

<sup>1</sup> R.C.H.M., *Westminster Abbey*, p. 27, 32 and pl. 57; also J. Coales (ed.), *The Earliest English Brassess* (1987), fig. 142, pp. 136 and 200; and M. Norris, *Monumental Brassess*, *The Craft* (1978), fig. 68.

is centrally positioned, and therefore probably commemorates Margaret, who died first, in 1276, leaving the one with the stem and base of cross for her brother John, 1277. Mill Stephenson notes that the one with glass mosaic is on a tapering Purbeck slab 8 feet in length, of which “about 6 feet lies in the Confessor chapel and is worn smooth although the brass rivets for the cross can still be traced; the other two feet (see rubbing) is under the step carrying the iron grid between the Confessor’s chapel and chantry wherein is the wooden effigy of Hen. V.” He notes that the letter R was loose, but it is the letter E that has subsequently disappeared. A photograph of the whole slab, reproduced in the Royal Commission’s volume shows deep indents of two shields near the head of the slab, and does not indicate the rivets, which would be unique at this early date.<sup>2</sup> Of the other slab, the lower end was only uncovered as much as the rubbing shows, an area measuring about 70 by 28 cm; again the upper three-quarters of the slab seem to be worn smooth.

**Fig. 2:** Richard de Thorp, Stanwell, Middlesex M.S.I.  
*Rubbing by Nigel Saul, 1996*

Richard de Thorp was instituted as rector of Stanwell in 1368 and held the living until a few years before his death.<sup>3</sup> In his will, made on 8 June 1408, he left 40s to the church of Stanwell which he described as “newly constructed and built”.<sup>4</sup> In a further provision of his will he directed that Robert Robourne, chaplain, should celebrate masses in the church for his own soul, that of King Edward III, and for the living and dead to whom he was specially bound. The reference to Edward III, who had presented him to the living during the minority of the lord of the manor, suggests the possibility that Richard was connected with the court or the royal administration. Interestingly, among the beneficiaries of the will was one John, son of Robert de Thorp, presumably a kinsman. It is tempting to identify this Robert with Sir Robert de Thorp, sometime Chief Justice of Common Pleas, who was appointed Chancellor in 1371 and died in the following year.<sup>5</sup> However, the commemorated’s connection with Sir Robert, though likely, is incapable of proof.

The brass is an excellent example of the work of series “A” in its final phase. By *c.* 1411 the workshop had either ceased production or had passed under new management. A couple of years before, when Thorp’s brass was engraved, its consistency of design was already weakening. However, a number of late “A” hallmarks are still evident. Chief among them are the low shoulders, the elongated neck, and the fingers which meet only at the tips. The execution of the brass is excellent. It now lies in the centre of the chancel floor: the figure measures 427 x 249 mm, the inscription 74 x 787 mm.

<sup>2</sup> R.C.H.M., pl. 57; E.E.B., fig. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria Diocesis Londiniensis, AD 1362-1375*, ed. R.C. Fowler (Canterbury and York Society, 2 vols., 1927, 1938), i, 260; ii, 59, 70. See also A. Heales, “The Church of Stanwell and its Monuments”, *Trans. London & Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, III (1870), 117-9.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts from the will are printed in Heales, “The Church of Stanwell and its Monuments”.

<sup>5</sup> B. Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester, 1929), 128-9.



FIG. 2

Richard de Thorp, 1408  
 Stanwell, Middlesex M.S.I  
 Rubbing by Nigel Saul, 1996

**Fig. 3:** William Bulcombe, 1518, St Martin's, Oxford (lost brass vi).

*Rubbing (by James Hunt ?), 21 August 1820; reproduced by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

Although Oxford contains more brasses than any other city save Norwich, there are no surviving military brasses, and this unique rubbing represents one of only two known lost armoured figures. The figure measures 296 x 187 mm, the Trinity 148 x 99 mm. The rubbing is labelled "On the South wall of Carfax Church Oxford all the other brass gone except the two above rubbed off." The handwriting could be that of James Hunt, assistant to Henry Hinton in collecting Oxfordshire rubbings.<sup>6</sup> Anthony Wood described the brass in the late seventeenth century, when the inscription and shield were already lost, but he found them recorded by Miles Windore in 1574; it commemorated William Bulcombe esq., sometime mayor of Oxford, who died 4 October 1518.<sup>7</sup> St Martin's church at Carfax was completely rebuilt in 1820, save for the tower, and again demolished in 1896, with the same exception. The brass and its stone setting must have disappeared on the first occasion.

<sup>6</sup> See *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 2 (1981), 90.

<sup>7</sup> See *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, part 5 (1973), 352.

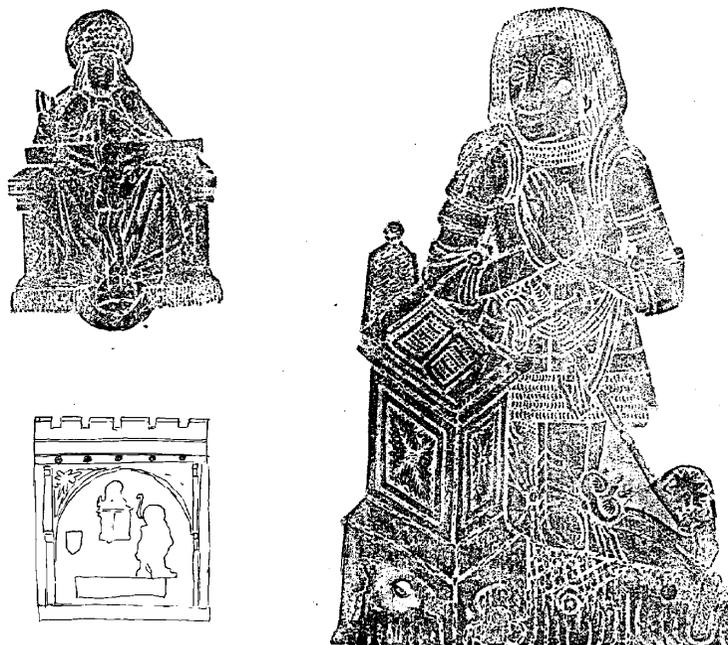


FIG. 3

William Bulcombe, 1518

St Martin's, Oxford (lost brass vi)

*Rubbing (by James Hunt ?), 21 August 1820**Reproduced by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London*

**Fig. 4:** Hildebrandt Ferber, 1531, Lidzbark Warminski, Poland (Cameron Appendix 1). *Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 13 August 1971.*

The Editor reached Lidzbark in August 1971 following a tip-off that brasses had been seen there. Formerly known as Heilsberg, it was a seat of the Bishops of Warmia, whose castle is a fine moated structure with four towers, an arcaded courtyard, a fine high vaulted chamber covered with frescoes, and a little Baroque chapel.

Of the two brasses in the parish church the earlier is unfortunately worn: the main rectangular plate measures 1.69 x 0.90 m, and is surrounded by a marginal inscription with corner shields measuring 2.25 x 1.51 m. It is placed against the north wall of the Nave. The figure in civil dress is framed by a most ornate canopy in the disintegrating spätgotisch style, in which Gothic forms seem to have been siezed by the spirit of the Rococo. Cherubs one might expect, but mer-angels and monkeys are also to be found lurking in the foliage. The heraldry is as bizarre as only East Prussian heraldry can be and rather defies description. The inscription, in round German, tells us that Sir Hildebrant Ferber the honourable died in God on the 1st of June, 1531, and was here given Christian burial: pray God for his soul's welfare.

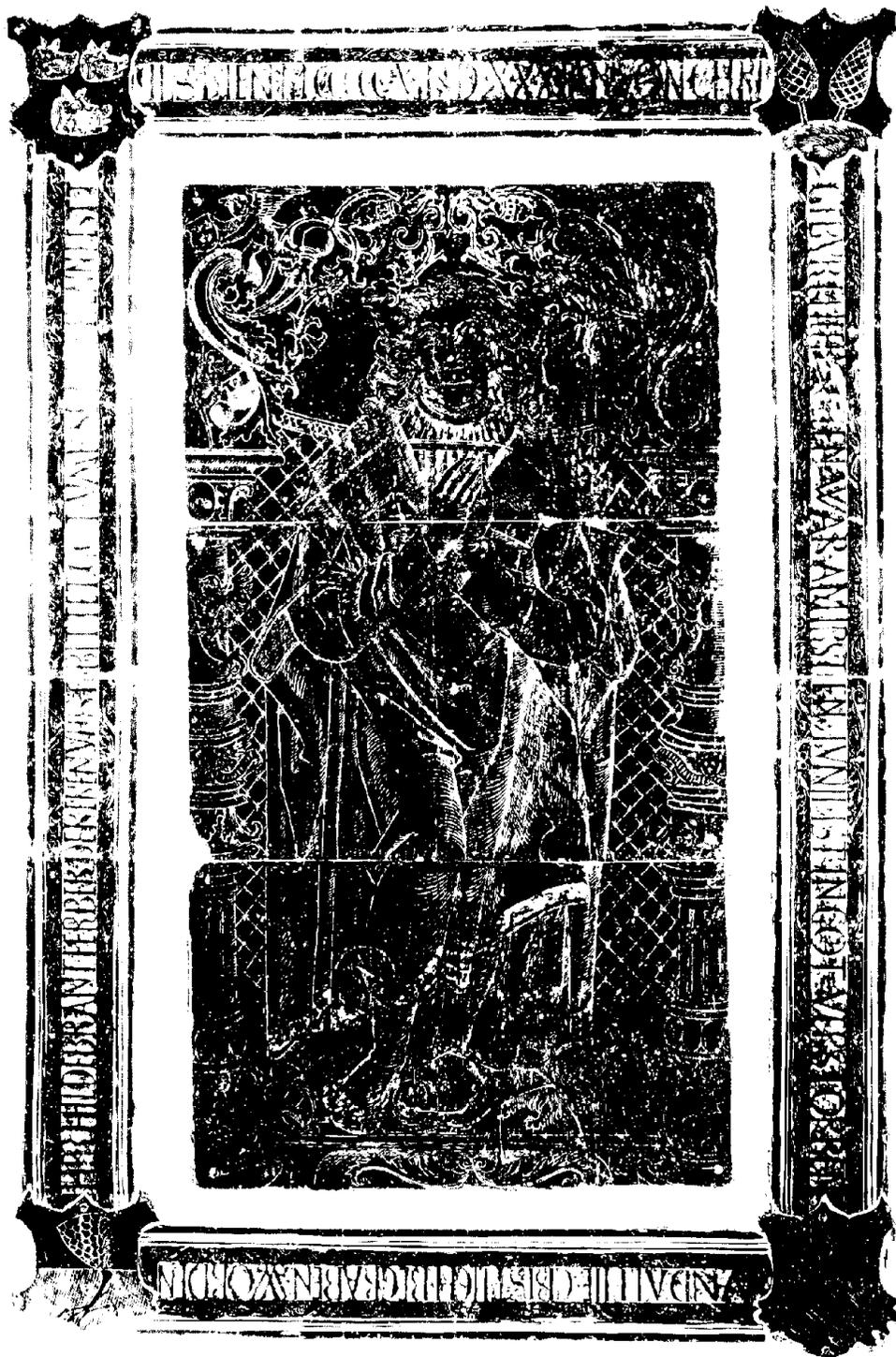


FIG. 4  
Hildebrandt Ferber, 1531  
Lidzbark Warminski, Poland (Cameron Appendix 1)  
*Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 13 August 1971*



FIG. 5  
 Roland Lytton and wives, 1582  
 Knebworth, Herts. M.S.III  
 Rubbing by B.S.H. Egan, 8 August 1996



FIG. 6  
 John Glegge, 1619  
 Heswell Cheshire (incised slab)  
*Rubbing by Patrick Farmer, August 1995*

Both this and the adjacent non-effigial brass to Cristina von Puczke, 1539, are of no known style of engraving, yet are certainly not amateur work: they are evidence for a Prussian brass-engraving school, of which other examples may yet turn up in northern Poland or the Oblast of Kaliningrad, in other words the lost realms of East Prussia and Ermland.

**Fig. 5:** Roland Lytton and wives, 1582, Knebworth, Herts. M.S. III.  
*Rubbing by B.S.H. Egan, 8 August 1996*

This brass was partly covered by a later memorial until recently, and has never before been seen in its entirety. It is an early product of the Southwark workshops, of the style associated with Gerard Johnson, with “script 12” lettering. The figures measure 683 x 261, 701 x 274 and 682 x 269 mm respectively, the inscription 740 x 171 mm, the achievement 237 x 217 mm, and the shields 186 x 156 mm.

**Fig. 6:** John Glegge, 1619, Heswell Cheshire (incised slab).  
*Rubbing by Patrick Farmer, August 1995.*

This small (925 x 770 mm) incised slab looks like a product of the Marshall workshop. It is high up in the church tower, with no frame or mount, and lightly incised, the shield in particular being only outlined and the charges painted on. The name is concealed in the acrostic verses.

**MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY**  
**Registered Charity No. 214336**  
**BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.95**

**ASSETS:**

Cash and Bank Balances			
General Fund	3904.44		
Conservation Fund	7551.44		
National Savings Bank	11308.46	22764.34	
Investment in Charifund [1337 units] [Market value £9826]			2000.00
Less Creditors			
Grants unpaid			<u>-1325.00</u>
			<b><u>23439.34</u></b>

**REPRESENTED BY:**

**GENERAL FUND:**

Accumulated Balance as at 31.12.94 (as per Receipts & Payments Account)	14173.44		
Less Deficit for year	-1323.56	12849.88	

**CONSERVATION FUND:**

Accumulated Balance as at 31.12.94 (as per Receipts & Payments Account)	7296.41		
Less grants unpaid 1994	-925.00		
Equals true Balance for y/e 31.12.94	6371.41		
Less Deficit for year	-144.97	6226.44	

**PUBLICATIONS FUND (new fund)**

Surplus for year		4000.00	
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**MALCOLM NORRIS FUND (new fund)**

Surplus for year		1247.91	
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**EXHIBITION FUND (new fund)**

Deficit for year			<u>-884.89</u>
			<b><u>23439.34</u></b>

12 April 1996

Paul D. Cockerham  
*Hon. Treasurer*

*Audit Certificate:*

I have examined the Income and Expenditure accounts of the Monumental Brass Society as identified in this Balance Sheet for the year 1995 and certify that they are correct according to the books, vouchers and information supplied to me.

19 June 1996

R.G. Oakley  
*Hon. Auditor*

Notes: 1. No value has been placed on the Society's library, stock of publications and computer equipment.  
2. There is a Contingent Liability in respect of the Worcester Exhibition, as yet unquantifiable.  
3. The Grants unpaid are summarized in the Income and Expenditure Account for the Conservation Fund.

<b>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY</b> <b>Registered Charity No. 214336</b> <b>INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNTS</b> <b>FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.95</b>
--

### General Fund

<b>1994</b>	<b>INCOME</b>	<b>1995</b>
9692	Subscriptions	8623.41
135	Donations	141.00
318	Sales of Publications	555.38
1808	Conference / Events	1318.60
845	Interest	1297.94
	Income Tax Recovered	<u>659.05</u>
		12595.38
	<b>EXPENDITURE</b>	
	Cost of Publications	
3043	Transactions	4310.11
2335	Bulletin	2373.64
	List of Members	495.00
	Brasses as Art & History	<u>248.14</u>
		7426.89
298	Meetings	525.21
346	Travelling Expenses	397.95
709	Printing / Postages	1437.23
62	Subscriptions	72.00
	Bank Charges	36.00
	Miscellaneous	23.66
	Transfer to Publications Fund	<u>4000.00</u>
		13918.94
	<b>Deficit for year - to Balance Sheet</b>	<b>-1323.56</b>

### Publications Fund

Provision for 1995 Transactions	4000.00
Expenditure	<u>nil</u>
<b>Surplus for year - to Balance Sheet</b>	<b>4000.00</b>

### Exhibition Fund

Income	nil
Expenses incurred re Worcester Exhibiton	<u>884.89</u>
<b>Deficit for year - to Balance Sheet</b>	<b>-884.89</b>

### Malcolm Norris Memorial Fund

Donations received	1247.91
Expenditure	<u>nil</u>
<b>Surplus for year - to Balance Sheet</b>	<b>1247.91</b>

### Conservation Fund

1994	INCOME	1995
432	Donations	498.00
132	Interest	<u>257.03</u>
		755.03

### GRANTS APPROVED DURING 1995

Macclesfield, Cheshire	50.00	
Lostwithiel, Cornwall	100.00	
North Ockendon, Essex	100.00	
Great Yeldham, Essex	50.00	
Thrupton, Hampshire	100.00	
Chinnor, Oxfordshire	<u>500.00</u>	900.00

**Deficit for year [Income less grants approved] -144.97**

### Grants remaining unpaid (as from 31.12.94)

Westley Waterless, Cambs.	250.00	
Great Yeldham, Essex	75.00	
Ossington, Notts.	<u>100.00</u>	425.00

**Total liability for grant payments at 31.12.95 1325.00**

Note: Grants previously approved and paid during the year ending 31.12.95 were as follows: Thannington, Kent (£50.00), Blickling, Norfolk (£200.00), Gorran, Cornwall (£50.00), Denham, Buckinghamshire (£200.00); making a total of £500.00.

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