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Cover: A Civilian of *c.* 1400 in Private Possession

# A Civilian of *c.* 1400 in Private Possession

by SALLY BADHAM and H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD

*with an Appendix by* PETER NORTHOVER

A CURIOUS brass demi-effigy of unknown provenance was purchased by an antique dealer in March 2000. The object immediately changed hands and on 1 April 2000 was acquired by one of the authors of this paper (H.M.S.).

The brass is a single sheet of metal (258 x 192 mm, thickness 4.0 to 5.1 mm, mean 4.5 mm) with three rivet holes placed at the forehead and in the lower left and right corners. The latter has been broken off where the plate has suffered minor mutilation. The design, particularly the drawing of the hands, appears abruptly terminated, but it is unlikely that this plate was part of a larger figure, because the lower edge is chamfered to the same degree as the other edges and there is no evidence on the reverse of the customary scoring usually made to aid adhesion of the solder used to join plates. Attempts to establish the provenance of the brass by comparing it with rubbings in the Society of Antiquaries' collection and coeval civilian indents known to the authors have so far proved fruitless. These factors, combined with the curious manner of engraving and unusual patina, gave rise to doubts whether the brass was genuine. In order to determine authenticity two procedures were adopted, those of stylistic and metallurgical analysis.

In the first instance one of the authors (S.B.) closely paralleled the features exhibited on this brass with known examples and concluded that the costume shown dates the brass to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The civilian is shown wearing a chaperon attached to the mantle by three buttons on the left side, with the ample folds of the chaperon shown draped across the right chest and shoulder. Precisely the same garment is shown on London B brasses to two unknown civilians at King's Sombourne, Hampshire *c.* 1380,<sup>1</sup> and to William Frith, d. 1386, and his brother at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire.<sup>2</sup> There was formerly a London C brass showing the buttoned chaperon at St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury,<sup>3</sup> but it had only one button. Under the mantle, the civilian wears an undertunic, the overlapping buttoned mittens of which envelop his hands to just below the joints of his fingers. Overlapping mittens are commonly seen on London C and some London A brasses of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century; London C parallels include the 1394 civilian at

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), p. 117. The attribution and dating of the Shottesbrooke brass is the subject of a forthcoming paper by Nigel Saul, to be published in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Windsor and Reading Region*, ed. L. Keen and E. Scarff, British Archaeological Association Conference Proceedings (Leeds, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated in M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in Shropshire', *Archaeological Jnl*, LII (1895), pl. opp. p. 76, from a drawing in the British Library, Add. MS 21236, f. 83.



FIG. 1  
Direct photograph of a Civilian, c. 1400,  
in the private possession of H. Martin Stuchfield

Hereford Cathedral,<sup>4</sup> the *c.* 1400 brass to William Overbury at Letchworth, Hertfordshire,<sup>5</sup> John de Estbury's brass of 1446 at Lambourne, Berkshire<sup>6</sup> and the 1404 brass to John Rede at Checkendon, Oxfordshire.<sup>7</sup>

Stylistic details analysed below enable the brass to be identified as a product of the London C series, made by one of the lesser London workshops.<sup>8</sup> The earliest brass from this workshop is dated 1374, but as only thirteen examples appear to date from before 1390, the workshop may have begun operations in the 1380s and been responsible for some retrospective commissions. There are forty-eight known brasses from this workshop, including palimpsest reverses and some brasses now lost and known only from rubbings or antiquarian drawings. The last, apart from the 1410 brass at Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire, on which the date has evidently been filled in later, is Sir William Baginton's fine brass of 1407 at Baginton, Warwickshire, and it is likely that the series ended about that time. Brasses largely based on the London C series were, however, produced in the Fens area, probably in Boston, from 1408 to 1435.<sup>9</sup> Most London C brasses are located in the south-east of England and East Anglia, though a few outliers are found in the south-west and the Midlands.

Thirteen of the London C brasses, including one now lost and one known only in indent form, feature a male figure in civilian dress. London C brasses are less stereotyped than their London A and B counterparts; thus no two are exactly the same. This brass of an unknown civilian is not exactly like any other known Series C brass; most of the individual features, however, are paralleled on other brasses from this workshop, both of civilians and other types.

Stylistic traits enable closer dating of the brass within the workshop span of *c.* 1380-1407. Where the hood encircles the civilian's neck a small area of cross-hatching is shown; cross-hatching is not common on London C brasses, though examples of it include the 1401 brass to Margaret Penbrygge at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire,<sup>10</sup> the 1404 brass at Checkendon and the 1407 brass at Baginton.<sup>11</sup> The neat ear-length hair is very like that on the 1394 brass at Hereford, the 1398/9 brass to

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated in S. Badham, 'The Brasses and Other Minor Monuments', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (London, 2000), p. 335, fig. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated in M. Rensten, *Hertfordshire Brasses* (Stevenage, 1982), p. 51, fig. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Berkshire*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Illustrated in *Oxford Portfolio of Monumental Brasses*, pt. 2, pl. 2.

<sup>8</sup> The workshop was first identified in J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses - A New Classification of Military Effigies *c.* 1360-*c.* 1485', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, XII (1949), pp. 70-97, though he listed a number of brasses produced in the Fens along with the ones of London origin. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, pp. 57-63 identified some other effigial brasses from this workshop. The additional information on Series C in this paper is taken from an unpublished part of Sally Badham's ongoing study of London-made brasses in the period to 1420, which has the aim of extending the first part of Kent's work on London brasses.

<sup>9</sup> S.F. Badham, 'The Fens I Series: An Early Fifteenth-Century Group of Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXLII (1989), pp. 46-62.

<sup>10</sup> Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Berkshire*, p. 119.

<sup>11</sup> Illustrated in N. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 1 (1992), p. 31, fig. 6.



FIG. 2  
Male civilian, c. 1400  
in the private possession of H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 3  
M.S. I. William Overbury, c. 1400  
(female effigy and remains of inscription omitted)  
Letchworth, Hertfordshire

William Groby junior at High Halstow, Kent<sup>12</sup> and, above all, the 1404 Checkendon brass and the *c.* 1400 Letchworth civilian (Fig. 3). The nose and mouth compare closely with those on all London C products after *c.* 1390. The neat facial hair again compares most closely to the 1394 Hereford civilian. Many London C brasses show heavily lined faces with puckered eyebrows. This figure has more tranquil facial features, like those of John Cray's brass of 1392 at Chinnor, Oxfordshire,<sup>13</sup> William Groby junior's brass of 1398/9 at High Halstow, the lost knight from Mildenhall of *c.* 1390, Sir Nicholas Dagworth's brass of 1401 at Blickling, Norfolk<sup>14</sup> and Sir William Bagot's brass of 1407 at Baginton, Warwickshire. Overall, these parallels suggest that the brass demi-effigy of an unknown civilian dates from between 1392 and 1407, with a probable date of *c.* 1400.

Secondly, the plate was submitted to Dr. Peter Northover, Oxford University, for metallurgical analysis. Work in this field was pioneered by our late President, Dr. Cameron, who documented the changes in the chemical composition of latten produced between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> Considerable technical advances have been made since then, enabling more information to be gleaned. Dr. Northover used electron probe microanalysis with wavelength dispersive spectrometry to establish the composition of the metal, concluding that it was consistent with what is known of monumental brass alloys around 1400 and more particularly that it fits with trends of the London C workshop. Furthermore, Dr. Northover made a metallographic study; it was his opinion that the corrosion present in the microstructure could only result from natural, long-term processes, thereby confirming the age and authenticity of the brass. The authors consider that the report produced by Dr. Northover to be of such significance that it has been reproduced in its entirety as an appendix.

Now that the plate has been proved genuine, it is hoped that ongoing work on the *County Series* will eventually establish the provenance of the brass. This is the first occasion on which metallurgical analysis has been adopted in the authentication and dating of a monumental brass. Dr. Northover's work has clearly demonstrated the potential value of such methods and raises the question of whether even more detailed and useful conclusions could be reached if the existing body of comparative analytical data were to be expanded. William Lack has continued Dr. Cameron's practice of taking samples from brasses during conservation. Only a small proportion of this material has yet been analysed, but financial support is needed for the work to proceed. It is therefore hoped that this paper will stimulate interest in this approach and assist in attracting funding to enable development of a hitherto relatively neglected field of research.

<sup>12</sup> Two London C figures may have been laid down at the same time, probably 1399, at High Halstow. The surviving figure and inscription of William Groby junior, d. 20 January 1398/9, are illustrated in V.B.J. Torr, 'A Priest in Cassock and other Brasses at High Halstow, Kent', *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 6 (1939), p. 263. The surviving inscription to William Groby senior, d. 1396, is illustrated in W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905), II, p. 62, fig. 182 but there is no known rubbing of the lost demi-effigy which accompanied the inscription.

<sup>13</sup> Illustrated in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 80.

<sup>14</sup> Illustrated in Norris, *Memorials*, II, pl. 74.

<sup>15</sup> H.K. Cameron, 'The Metals used in Monumental Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 4 (1946), pp. 109-30; *idem*, 'Technical Aspects of Medieval Monumental Brasses', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXI (1974), pp. 215-37.

## Appendix: Analysis and Metallography of a Monumental Brass

A figure from a monumental brass was submitted for metallurgical study. The figure, depicting a male bust, could be dated to *c.* 1400 and attributed to the London C workshop.

### *Sampling and analysis*

A single sample, labelled #R1560, was cut from a fracture on the lower edge of the figure, hot-mounted in a carbon-filled thermosetting resin, ground and polished to a 1m diamond finish. Analysis was by electron probe microanalysis with wavelength dispersive spectrometry; operating conditions were an accelerating voltage of 25kV, a beam current of 30nA, and an X-ray take-off angle of 40°. Thirteen elements were sought, as listed in the accompanying table; pure element and mineral standards were used with a counting time of 10s per element. Detection limits were typically 100200ppm with the exception of 400ppm.

Fifteen areas, each 30 x 50m, were analysed on the sample; the individual compositions and their means, normalised to 100%, are shown in the table. All concentrations are in weight %.

After analysis the sample was examined metallographically in both the as-polished and etched states. The etch used was an acidified aqueous solution of ferric chloride further diluted with ethanol.

### *The alloy*

The figure was formed from a quaternary alloy of copper, tin, zinc and lead, with 5.0% zinc, 6.0% tin and 9.7% lead. The principal impurities were nickel (0.24%) and antimony (0.43%), together with traces of iron, cobalt, arsenic, bismuth and, probably, sulphur.

There is now a reasonable body of comparative analytical data available for English monumental brasses, starting with a paper published by Cameron in 1984,<sup>1</sup> followed by an undergraduate thesis by Calver in 1990,<sup>2</sup> and as yet unpublished analyses by the present writer. Both Calver's and the writer's analyses were from samples supplied by William Lack, which are gratefully acknowledged. To illustrate the trends that can be observed in monumental brass alloys the tin, lead and zinc contents from the writer's own data are plotted against each other and against date in the accompanying graphs with the values from #R1560 highlighted. For interpreting this analysis the data from Calver's dissertation are most helpful showing that around 1400 the London C workshop had the highest mean tin content and some of the lowest zinc contents. Even so that mean is considerably higher than the zinc content

<sup>1</sup> H.K. Cameron, 'Technical aspects of Medieval Monumental Brasses', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXI (1974), pp. 215-37.

<sup>2</sup> C. Calver, '*Magna cum artificio*: Medieval Metallurgy and the Monumental Brass Industry', undergraduate dissertation, Newnham College, Cambridge, 1990.

of #R1560 but both Calver's and the writer's data show that around 1400 the range of tin and zinc contents was perhaps at its broadest with tin contents perhaps reaching a maximum. Against this background the composition of this brass figure, although at the edge of the distribution, is consistent with it. Further, analyses from fourteenth-century brasses are still scarce so that it is possible that parallels for this composition may be found a little earlier than 1400. As far as present knowledge extends the impurity pattern, with Sb, Ni as significant impurities, and with  $Sb > As$  is typical for the period; indeed, some brasses run to much higher antimony contents at this time. We can therefore say that this brass is consistent with what we know of monumental brass alloys at the start of the fifteenth century.

### *Metallography*

For a fuller assessment of the age and authenticity of this brass a metallographic study was made (Figures 1-8). Figure 1 illustrates the interdendritic lead dispersion in the cast alloy, together with a band of corrosion cavities beneath the surface and some deeper penetration by intergranular corrosion (centre of figure). One of these cavities is shown in more detail in Figure 2; visible are redeposited copper in the cavities, removal of lead inclusions and replacement by corrosion product, some de-alloying, and corrosion tracks along phase boundaries. Brasses corrode in two ways, either slowly, with reactions involving both copper and zinc in a manner analogous to the corrosion of bronze, or more rapidly by de-zincification which leaves a spongy mass of copper and cuprite. It is unlikely that an alloy with this much tin and this little zinc would corrode rapidly by de-zincification, and we can therefore attribute any redeposited copper and other de-alloying features to long-term corrosion processes. Other details of the corrosion, such as the intergranular and inter-phase corrosion and the replacement of lead are also markers for long term corrosion. A second area of corrosion is seen in normal incident light and under plane polarised light in Figures 3-4. This shows the presence of both lead (white) and copper (orange/red) corrosion products, with a build up of copper corrosion products in surface pits. Figure 4 also confirms the replacement of lead inclusions by corrosion. A third area of corrosion is seen in Figure 5 where the corrosion path and the elongation of the lead inclusions demonstrate that the metal in that area has been deformed.

Etching (Figures 6—8) revealed an almost unmodified as-cast, cored, dendritic structure, and confirms the cold deformation of one surface (Figure 7). It could of course be that the deformation occurred when the plate was broken. The intergranular path of corrosion is also visible in Figure 7.

### *Conclusions*

As discussed above, the composition of this brass, although at the edge of the distribution, is consistent with what we know of monumental brass alloys around 1400. More particularly it fits with trends at the London 'C' workshop to which it is

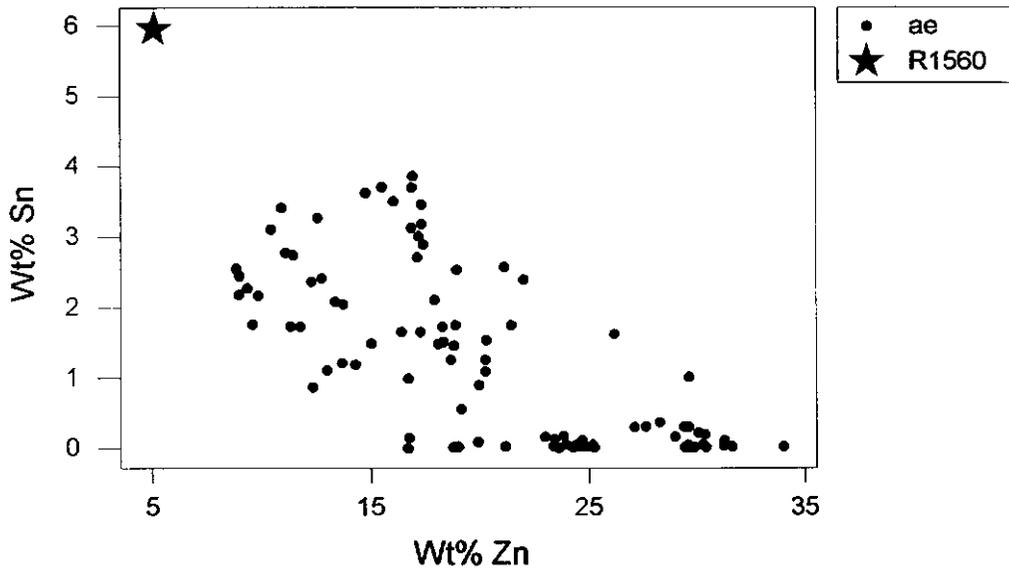
attributed. Finally, the corrosion features in the microstructures could only result from natural, long-term processes, especially when it is remembered that this piece has probably never been buried in the ground. We can therefore conclude that this monumental brass is indeed authentic, with the metallurgical evidence supporting its stylistic dating.

*Analyses of sample #R1560*

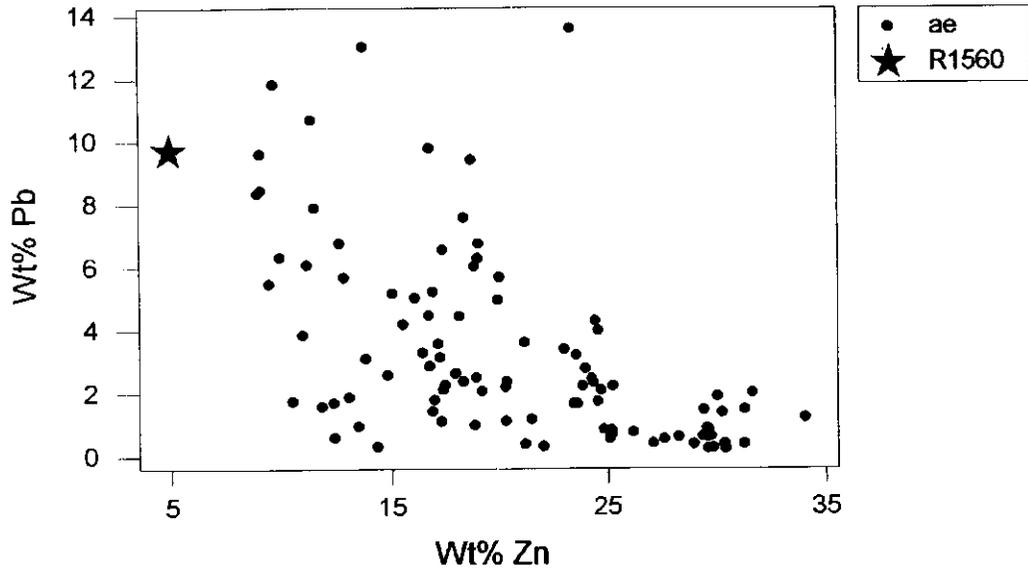
<b>Sample</b>	<b>Fe</b>	<b>Co</b>	<b>Ni</b>	<b>Cu</b>	<b>Zn</b>	<b>As</b>	<b>Sb</b>	<b>Sn</b>	<b>Ag</b>	<b>Bi</b>	<b>Pb</b>	<b>Au</b>	<b>S</b>
<b>R1560/1</b>	0.03	0.02	0.26	81.82	4.96	0.00	0.40	5.54	0.59	0.01	6.34	0.00	0.02
<b>R1560/2</b>	0.01	0.00	0.22	62.88	3.94	0.00	0.30	4.65	0.49	0.09	27.36	0.06	0.00
<b>R1560/3</b>	0.05	0.00	0.23	83.25	5.43	0.00	0.38	5.83	0.36	0.04	4.43	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/4</b>	0.04	0.01	0.25	84.24	5.50	0.00	0.45	6.10	0.38	0.11	2.93	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/5</b>	0.01	0.03	0.17	71.02	4.38	0.04	0.51	6.26	0.45	0.00	17.14	0.01	0.00
<b>R1560/6</b>	0.08	0.00	0.25	85.01	5.59	0.00	0.35	5.87	0.28	0.00	2.57	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/7</b>	0.03	0.02	0.25	78.53	4.90	0.00	0.49	7.05	0.53	0.01	8.19	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/8</b>	0.01	0.04	0.19	77.30	4.88	0.00	0.47	6.09	0.39	0.04	10.59	0.01	0.00
<b>R1560/9</b>	0.02	0.03	0.26	75.61	4.69	0.02	0.45	6.12	0.35	0.00	12.36	0.07	0.00
<b>R1560/10</b>	0.03	0.00	0.28	78.94	5.05	0.00	0.37	5.87	0.37	0.00	9.08	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/11</b>	0.05	0.00	0.25	82.90	5.25	0.01	0.47	6.06	0.37	0.09	4.55	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/12</b>	0.04	0.00	0.23	79.78	5.17	0.00	0.27	4.64	0.40	0.03	9.44	0.00	0.00
<b>R1560/13</b>	0.02	0.00	0.23	71.13	4.57	0.00	0.49	6.30	0.48	0.00	16.76	0.03	0.00
<b>R1560/14</b>	0.05	0.00	0.32	84.63	5.35	0.00	0.49	6.77	0.33	0.00	2.05	0.00	0.01
<b>R1560/15</b>	0.03	0.03	0.25	74.94	4.81	0.02	0.50	6.34	0.71	0.00	12.37	0.00	0.00
<b>Mean</b>	0.03	0.01	0.24	78.13	4.96	0.01	0.43	5.97	0.43	0.03	9.74	0.01	0.00

### Monumental brass alloys

Sn vs Zn



Pb vs Zn





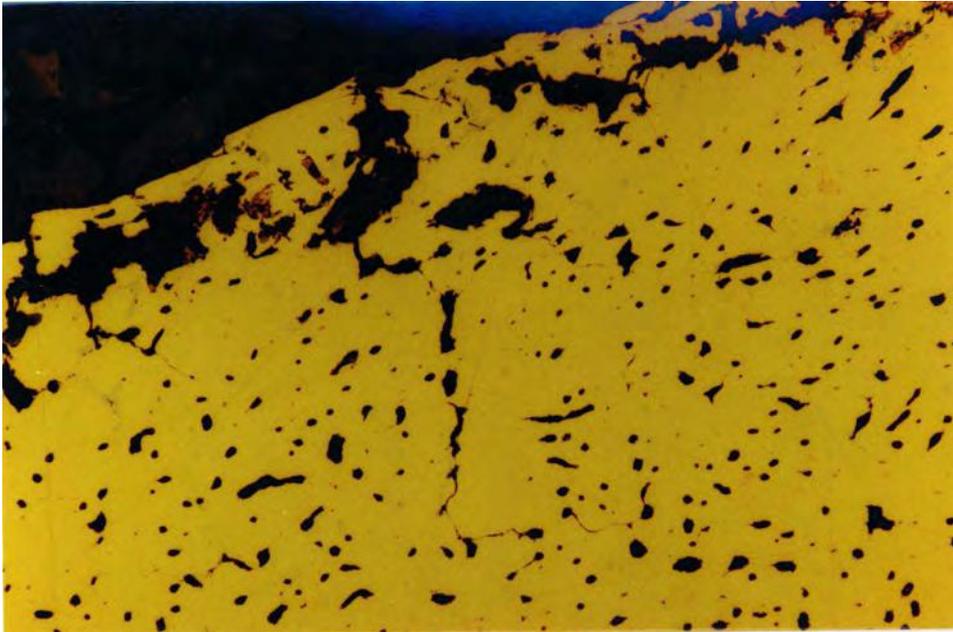


FIG. 1

#R1560, showing corrosion cavities beneath the surface with deeper intergranular corrosion and some intergranular corrosion; note also interdendritic lead distribution, unetched, x250

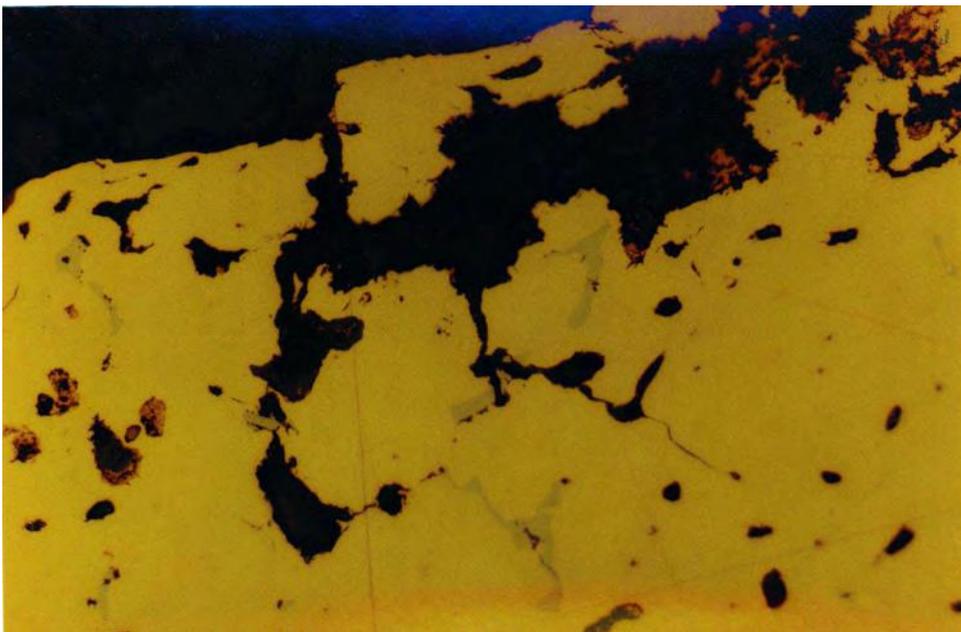


FIG. 2

#R1560, detail of corrosion showing formation of redeposited copper, removal of lead, corrosion at phase boundaries, and possible de-alloying, unetched, x625

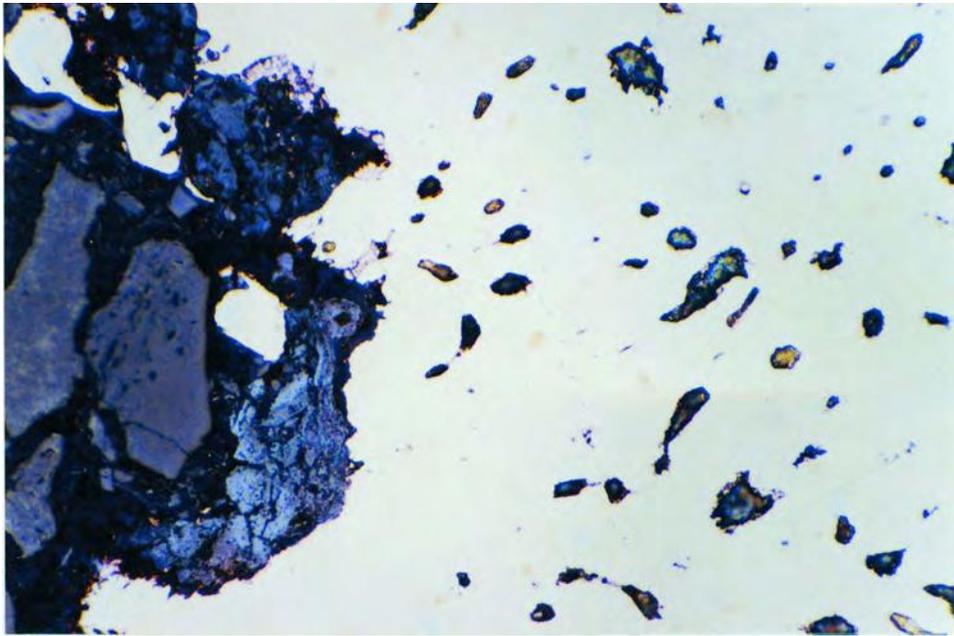


FIG. 3

#R1560, another area showing evidence of replacement of lead inclusions and build-up of corrosion products in surface pits, unetched, x625

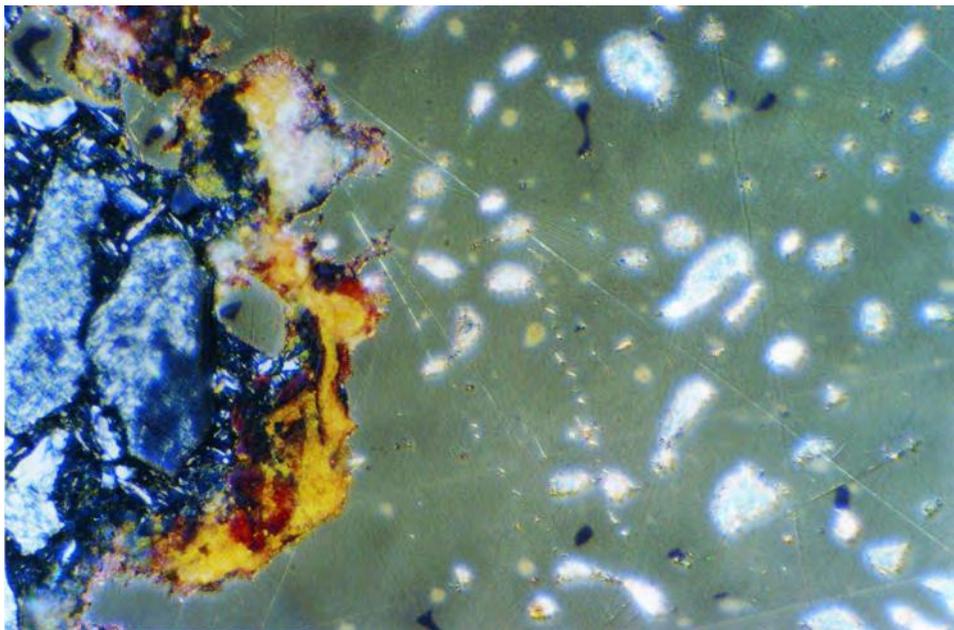


FIG. 4

#R1560, as Fig. 3 but viewed under plane polarised light; cuprite-rich corrosion is red/yellow, lead corrosion products are white, and lead metal is mottled grey, unetched, x625

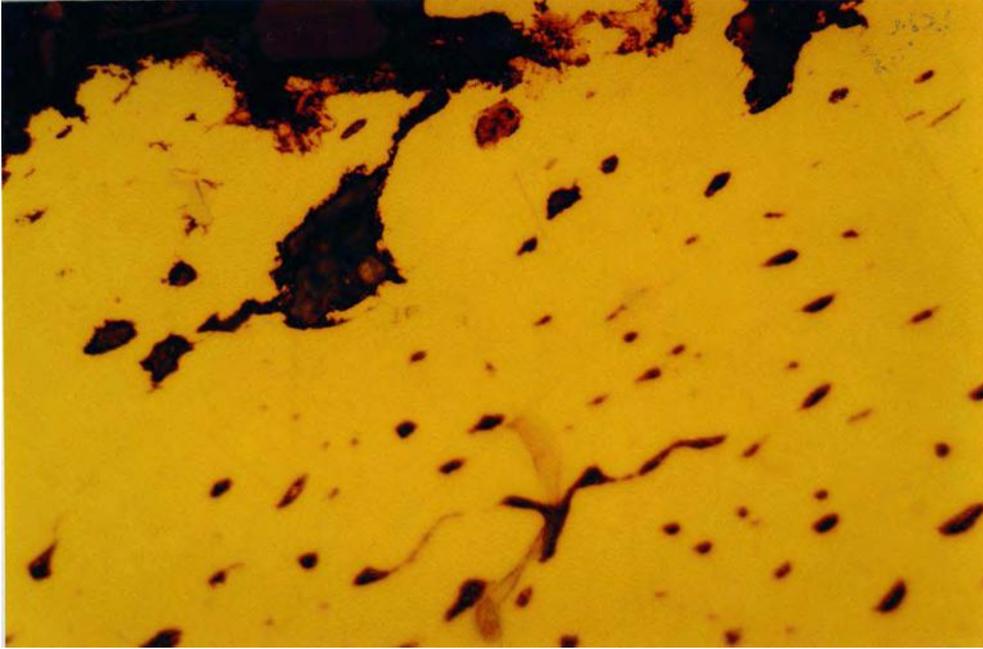


FIG. 5

#R1560, another area; elongation of lead inclusions indicate local deformation, unetched, x625

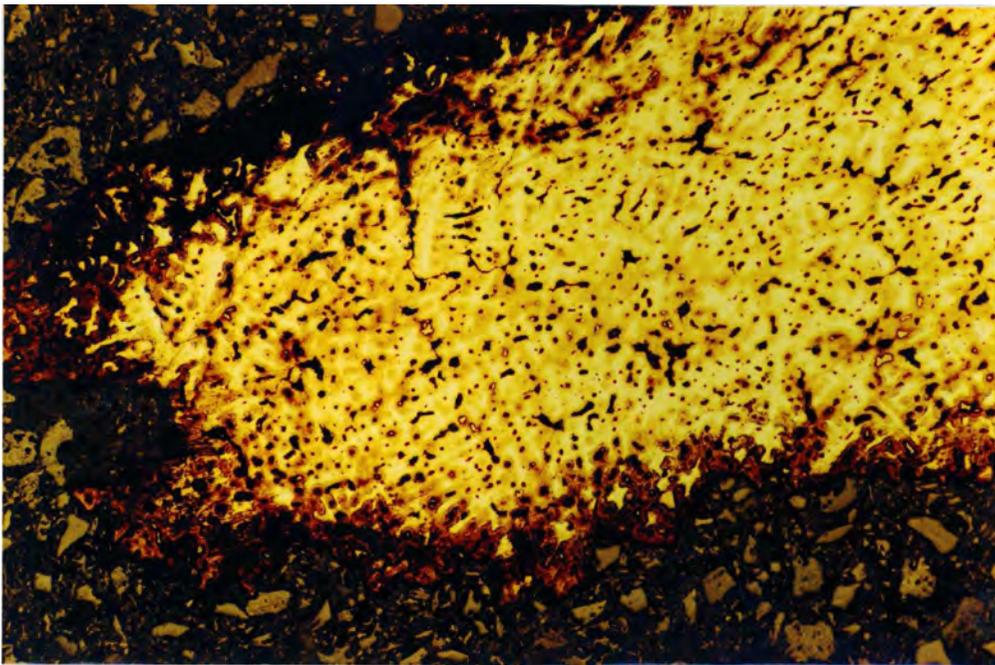


FIG. 6

#R1560, general view of cast structure, etched, x125

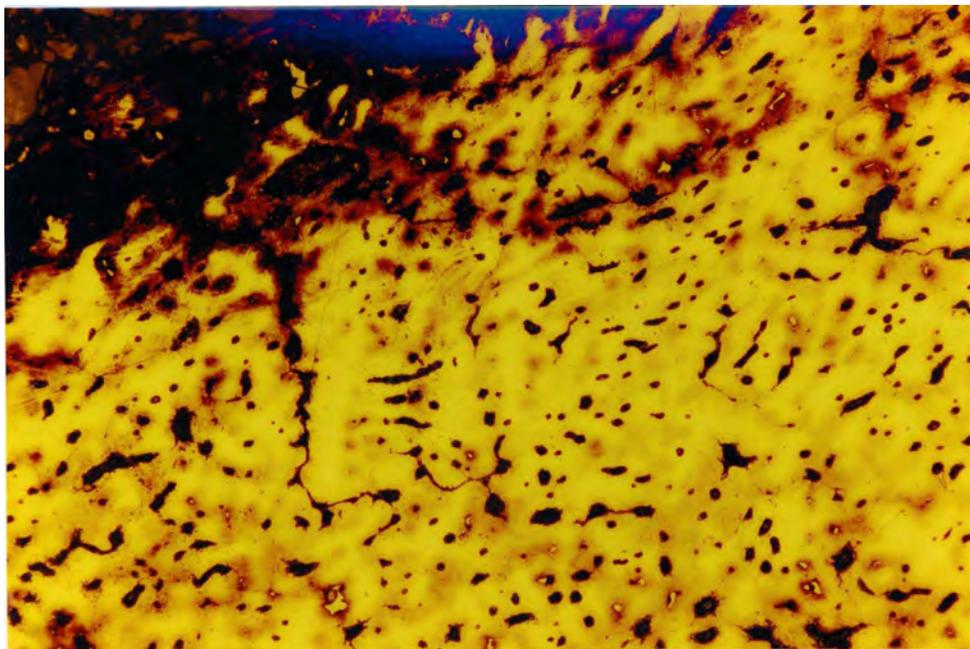


FIG. 7

#R1560, showing deformed part of sample with some deep intergranular corrosion (left of centre), etched, x250

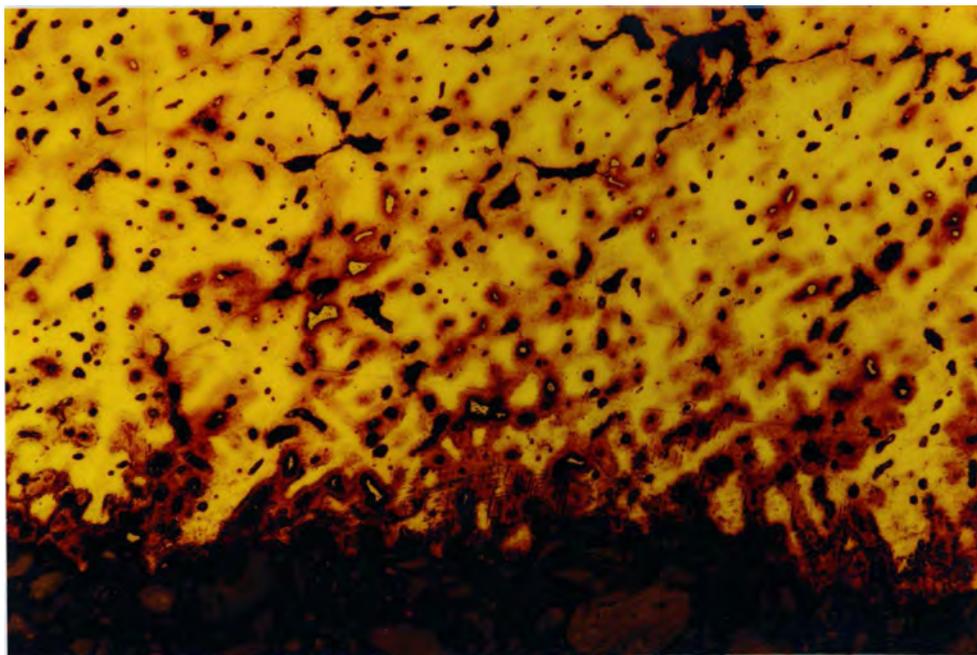


FIG. 8

#R1560, the other, undeformed, surface, etched, x250

# The Brass of Rupert of Jülich-Berg, Bishop of Paderborn

by REINHARD LAMP

WHERE the streams flowing from the Eggegebirge in Westphalia join to form the river Pader, Charlemagne established a royal residence and a church in 777, as part of his thirty-year-long campaign to convert and subjugate the heathen Saxons. In 799 Paderborn (meaning ‘spring of the Pader’) was the location of the historic meeting between Charlemagne and Pope Leo III, which led to Charlemagne’s coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome a year later.

Near the remains of the Carolingian palace and a lovely eleventh-century chapel of Byzantine inspiration stands the cathedral of St. Liborius, with its massive west tower. The present building is mostly thirteenth-century work, in a transitional style between late Romanesque and early Gothic. It is an early example of a Westphalian hall-church, with nave and aisles of equal height.<sup>1</sup>

In this building are three fine monumental brasses of the fourteenth century, a notable distinction, since most of the brasses in Germany’s churches were destroyed during the protracted and ferocious religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which devastated a country that in the Middle Ages was rich in this field of sepulchral art. All three are memorials to bishops of Paderborn. Two have separate inlay figures,<sup>2</sup> the third is a quadrangular plate (Fig. 1);<sup>3</sup> all of them have marginal Latin inscriptions. They originally lay in the body of the nave, but now the first two are mural on the western piers of the crossing, facing each other across the wide steps leading up to the choir, while the quadrangular plate, commemorating Rupert of Jülich-Berg, is mural on the north aisle wall, next to the transept.

## *The Life of Rupert of Jülich-Berg*

Rupert (or Rupprecht) of Jülich-Berg was born in 1365, the eldest son of Wilhelm, Duke of Jülich and Berg, twin duchies on either side of the Rhine.<sup>4</sup> He opted for a clerical career. At the early age of twenty-one he was made an apostolic notary by Pope Urban VI, which entitled him to be addressed as *magister*. On account of his erudition, he was made Bishop of Passau in south-east Bavaria, and when the see of

<sup>1</sup> On Paderborn Cathedral see *Westfalen*, ed. D. Kluge and W. Hansmann, Dehio Handbuch (München, 1986), pp. 440-453.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard V zur Lippe (d. 1341) (Cameron 1) and Heinrich von Spiegel zum Desenberg (d. 1380) (Cameron 2).

<sup>3</sup> On the brass of Rupert of Jülich-Berg see H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), p. xxxvii n. 1; W.F. Greeny, *A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1884), p. 18, pl. opp. p. 17; W. Weimar, *Monumental-Schriften vergangener Jahrhunderte von ca 1100-1812 an Stein- Bronze- und Holzplatten* (Wien, 1898), Tafel VI-VII; H.K. Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (London, 1970), p. 74; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 46, II, fig. 59; *idem*, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), pp. 71, 75; Dehio, *Westfalen*, p. 449 (where it is wrongly classified as Flemish).

<sup>4</sup> The county of Berg became a duchy in 1380. It lies east of the Rhine, with Düsseldorf as its capital, and is separated from the duchy of Jülich by the archbishopric of Cologne.



FIG. 1  
 Rupert of Jülich-Berg, Bishop of Paderborn, 1394  
 Paderborn Cathedral, Germany (Cameron 3)  
*Rubbing by Reinhard Lamp, October 1999*

Paderborn became vacant in 1389 the chapter elected him. He soon earned the respect and love of the people of his diocese for his keen sense of justice, his courage, his piety and his wisdom in judgement. Since he was too young to be consecrated bishop he had to govern by means of a suffragan bishop.

German bishops of the Middle Ages wielded considerable power, as they were also temporal princes and held office at the hands not only of the Pope, but also of the Emperor. In 1391 Rupert was made Marshal of Westphalia, thus occupying the highest military function in that country. It was a time when the Emperor was held in small esteem and anarchy was rife. The regional princes disregarded the central power and vied with each other for political leadership; the towns grew in economic strength and leagued together, most notably in the Hanse, to achieve freedom from their overlords; knights formed unions to maintain their independence, which often enough meant robbing wayfarers and pillaging towns and villages.

Like his predecessor, Simon II von Sternberg, Rupert was forced to take up arms against the bands of barons, and - again like his predecessor, who died from an arrow wound in battle - Rupert met his death campaigning. While laying siege to the stronghold of Padberg in 1394, he fell victim to the plague that had broken out. On 29 June he died, and was buried in Paderborn Cathedral amid general grieving of the people.<sup>5</sup>

### *Description*

The brass, probably from a Cologne workshop, is composed of six plates arranged two abreast, of roughly equal size. The overall length is 2125 mm (left side) and 2130 mm (right side), the composite plates measuring between 705 and 710 mm in length. The overall width is 980 mm at the top and 975 mm at the bottom, the composite plates being between 486 and 492 mm wide. The central figure of Rupert is 1440 mm high and 470 mm at its widest. The marginal inscription measures 1854 mm on the outside left, 1856 mm on the outside right, 1728 mm on the inside left, and 1732 mm on the inside right. The text has an average width of 85 mm.<sup>6</sup>

Round three sides of the brass runs a Latin inscription. On the left and the right the inscription fillet is interrupted halfway by barbed trilobes, each showing the demi-figure of a prophet holding a blank scroll which curls round him. Against a background of regular quatrefoil flowers, Rupert stands under a crocketed triple-gabled canopy.

On either side of Rupert, in three tiers, stand angels under delicate double canopies that are of a different shape in each tier. A row of smaller demi-figures of angels occupies the arcade above the roof of the canopy. The absence of any framing inscription fillet at the top of the brass conveys a sense of soaring height and openness, and may well be intended to have a religious meaning, in conjunction with the concentration of angels above the canopy.

<sup>5</sup> On Rupert see H.J. Brandt and K. Hengst, *Die Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Paderborn* (Paderborn, 1984), chapter 32.

<sup>6</sup> These measurements were taken from the rubbing.



FIG. 2  
Angel playing portative organ



FIG. 3  
Angel playing psaltery



FIG. 4  
Angel playing three-stringed fiddle



FIG. 5  
Angel playing lute



FIG. 6  
Arms of Jülich quartering Berg,  
with Ravensberg inescutcheon



FIG. 7  
Arms of Bavaria quartering The Palatinate

All the angels play musical instruments, making the brass of interest to music historians. The angel at bottom left has a portative organ (Fig. 2); one hand is seen playing, the other is to be imagined behind the instrument, working the bellows. Round, button-like keys are shown.<sup>7</sup> The angel in the middle has a double-stringed psaltery (Fig. 3), an instrument of the zither family, of the 'pig's head' type with incurved sides, held against the chest and played by plucking the strings with a plectrum. The third angel has a three-stringed fiddle, the ancestor of the viol family (Fig. 4). To the right, the two lower angels play lutes, of slightly different design (Fig. 5), and the topmost one a small frame harp. The same instruments are also played by the demi-figures of angels on the roof.

A striking feature is the highly individualised face, quite different from the stereotypes often encountered in Flemish brasses of this period. Rupert is shown as bearded, although a contemporary source spoke of him as *iuvēnis inberbis* (a beardless youth). It is exceptional to depict a bishop as bearded at this period. Perhaps the intention was to stress his military authority. As he was never consecrated bishop, he does not wear his mitre, which two angels hovering on either side of him hold above his head, seemingly about to invest him with it.<sup>8</sup> For the same reason he is not shown in the usual rich episcopal vestments. Instead he is clad in a simple, wide-sleeved surplice that falls around him in rich folds, an ordinary fur almuce lying folded

<sup>7</sup> In a simplification of the design only three keys are shown, although there are nine pipes visible.

<sup>8</sup> (One of the abbatial indents at Fountains Abbey shows the mitre not on, but above the head, and perhaps implies that the person commemorated died before he could be blessed as abbot (J. Bertram, *Lost Brasses* (Newton Abbot, 1976), p. 162). *Ed.*)

around his shoulders.<sup>9</sup> He wears this garment in quite a casual fashion. The mood of nonchalance and lightness in the brass is heightened by the host of angels around him. In contrast to the surrounding splendour, Rupert is depicted in great simplicity as a canon who has been chosen but not consecrated as bishop, an image which may be unique in medieval funerary art.

With his elegant shoes the bishop tramples two armoured knights who lie prostrate under him. Both wear helmets with aventails (one a pointed, visored bascinet, the other a broad-brimmed kettle-hat), surcoats, gauntlets, mail chausses and plate greaves and sabatons. They lack shields or weapons, and cower helpless under the bishop, who is victorious in death over the barons who plagued his country.

### *Heraldry*

The four corners of the brass are filled with quatrefoiled and cusped medallions displaying shields referring to Rupert's family origins.

A) Top dexter (Fig. 6): Quarterly 1 and 4, *Or a lion rampant sable langued and armed gules* (Jülich); 2 and 3, *Argent a lion rampant queue fourchée gules, langued, armed and crowned or* (Berg). Over all an inescutcheon *Argent three chevrons gules* (Ravensberg).<sup>10</sup> Rupert was the eldest son of Wilhelm (d. 1408), 6th Duke of Jülich, 2nd Duke of Berg and Count of Ravensberg. His paternal grandmother Margareta was heiress of both the counties of Ravensberg and of Berg when she married Gerhard, Duke of Jülich.<sup>11</sup>

B) Top sinister (Fig. 7): Quarterly 1 and 4, *Fusilly in bend argent and azure* (Bavaria); 2 and 3, *Sable a lion rampant or crowned gules* (The Palatinate).<sup>12</sup> Rupert's mother Anna was a daughter of the Prince-Elector Rupert II of the Palatinate.<sup>13</sup>

C) Bottom dexter: *Argent three chevrons gules* (Ravensberg).

D) Bottom sinister: *Or a lion rampant sable langued and armed gules* (Jülich).

### *The Inscription*

The inscription is in very fine gothic minuscule lettering with abundant abbreviations, the words being separated by quatrefoil asterisks. The text of the poem begins at the top right-hand corner and ends on the opposite side. Lines 1, 2, 4 and 5 each occupy one half of the vertical margins, being separated by the medallions, and line 3 runs across the bottom.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Jürgen Brandt and Karl Hengst, in their seminal work on the bishops of Paderborn, *Die Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Paderborn*, interpret Rupert's clothes as a prince's gown, possibly seeing the tassels hanging from the right-hand side of the collar as ermine, which was indeed a princely attribute. However, ermine tails occur over the whole surface of a fur, while the tails here, probably of simple squirrel fur, are in one row only. The correct interpretation is provided by Malcolm Norris, who writes that 'the figure lies vested in a surplice with an almuce lying folded over his shoulders' (Norris, *The Memorials*, I, p. 46).

<sup>10</sup> The Ravensberg arms occur in different versions, the earliest being *Chevronny argent and gules* (1217). Later, both *Or three chevrons gules* and *Argent three chevrons gules* are used.

<sup>11</sup> Gerhard and Margareta are commemorated by a sculpted tomb in the Cistercian abbey church of Altenberg, near Cologne (Alexander Pottgießer, *Die Kirche der Zisterzienser-Abtei Altenberg* (Ratingen, 1950), pls. 39-41). The church subsequently became the burial place of the family of Berg.

<sup>12</sup> Bavaria and the Palatinate formed a political entity at the time.

<sup>13</sup> Rupert II's son Rupert III (the bishop's maternal uncle) became King of Germany - and effectively Holy Roman Emperor - in 1400.

## Transcription

Annis *Mille Christi* quadringentisque minus sex  
 De mundo tristi festo *petri et pauli* rapuit nex  
 Rupertum electum huius ecclesie bene rectum  
 De montis vectum bavarorum fonte reffectum  
 Cui tu messia rogo confer gaudia *divina*

Translation<sup>14</sup>

In the year of Christ one thousand four hundred minus six,  
 On Peter and Paul's feast-day, a violent death tore from this sad world  
 Rupert, elected of this church, a most straightforward man,  
 Come from the Bavarians' mountains, re-elected at the source.  
 Him, Messiah, I ask thee to grant heavenly joys.

## Commentary

1st and 2nd line: *annis* instead of *anno* is a deviation from classical Latin that may be found in German monumental inscriptions of the Middle Ages, as may the use of cardinal numbers instead of ordinal ones.

3rd line: *electus*, with an ellipse for *episcopus*, means 'bishop chosen by the administrative body of a church'. The Paderborn cathedral chapter had opted for Rupert, then Bishop of Passau, to be their new bishop in 1389, which means that he was *re-made* (implying bishop) at *the source*, signifying the source of the Pader.

4th line: *De montis* must be read for *De montibus*, a probably intentional Latin mistake which ensures a clever pun. The obvious meaning points to the Bavarian mountains, while the form *De montis* can, by stretching an ellipse, be read as *de (gente) Montis*, and points to Rupert belonging to the family of the Duke of Berg (*mountain* in English).

5th line: Noteworthy is the insertion of the word *rogo*, a first person singular, which means that a speaker integrates himself into the text.<sup>15</sup> The word breathes authority. One wonders who that person is who thus stands forth to intercede for him. The brass was evidently ordered after Rupert's untimely death. It seems reasonable to assume that it was commissioned by a member of his family, perhaps his brother Wilhelm, who in 1400 became Bishop of Paderborn.

The lines have end and interior rhymes.

*Condition*

The brass is in excellent condition, faultless with the unhappy exception of a graffito in the top left-hand corner.

<sup>14</sup> The version of the inscription in Brandt and Hengst, *Die Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Paderborn*, is wondrously fanciful.

<sup>15</sup> Another instance of the use of this word occurs in the inscription on the brass to John and Alice Lyndewode, 1419, at Linwood, Lincs.: 'Qui contemplaris lapidem modicum rogo siste...', meaning 'You who might contemplate this modest stone, stand and pause, I beg...' It would be interesting to hear of other instances.

*The Rubbing*

I rubbed the brass in October 1999, in an overall grisaille colour scheme. I used Astral cinder-black (strongly applied) for the surplice and (lightly) for the garment showing underneath. His face and hands were done in Cirencester pewter, with a layer of a light Cirencester rose-copper, his hair with an additional layer of Astral cinder-black. Rupert's mitre and shoes I did in a mixture of Abbey silver and Astral black, making them come out in a milky silver-grey. The angels I picked out in Abbey silver (medium strong pressure), the margin and text fillet, as well as the recumbent bandits, I did in strongly applied Astral coal-black. Afterwards I brushed the rubbing to give it a brilliant sheen. The rubbing took me about thirteen hours, spread over two days.

# An Analysis of the Length of Plates used for English Monumental Brassess before 1350

by PAUL BINSKI

MY essay 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brassess', published in *The Earliest English Brassess* (1987), attempted to develop a typology and chronology of early brassess which reflected the common belief of John Blair and myself that it was possible to offer a fairly simple primary classification for much London early (pre-1350) brass production. The conclusions of my survey and the nomenclature for the various styles which it invented seem to have been widely accepted, albeit with some small modifications. This was scarcely the first attempt to classify brassess, but it was amongst the first to transfer to such classification a wider consideration of brassess and the art and architecture of the period, in order to indicate comparative evidence of style and date. However, the analysis of styles of engraving, though capable of enormous enrichment by the study of their wider aesthetic environment, has its own limitations and pitfalls. It can rarely provide precise chronologies, since styles tend to be current in one form or another for at least a generation or so; and to succeed it must be founded upon absolutely convincing visual comparison to which any reasonable witness could assent. I believe that my designation of the Camoys, Setvans and Seymour series – which are absolutely precise designations marking workshop 'signature' styles – has for the most part been accorded that assent. Style categories have to cohere in order to convince. Finally, no style history or classification should exist in isolation from the material facts of an object: how it was made, and of what.

In the course of my work on brassess in the 1970s and 1980s, I tried to bear in mind their character as manufactured objects. The size of the metal plates used in their making is part of this character. In an article on the technical aspect of brassess published in 1974, H.K. Cameron noted by way of generalisation that the earliest English brassess were made of relatively small pieces of metal of a little over 60 cm in length.<sup>1</sup> In 1978 the late Malcolm Norris suggested that 'it would seem that the plates used in England were cast in a regular size' of about 76 by 61 cm.<sup>2</sup> The notion that there were 'regular' plate sizes requires some qualification in the earliest period; as I intend to demonstrate here, plates in fact tended to lengthen in the period 1280-1350 and especially during and after the decade 1330-40 when figure brassess diminished slightly in overall size, were made of plates secured by lead wipes and rivets, rather than by sunk joining bars and pitch adhesion, and comprised fewer plates. These changes more or less coincided in London with stylistic and typological changes, namely the emergence of the Seymour group of brassess, which itself pointed forward

<sup>1</sup> H.K. Cameron, 'Technical Aspects of Medieval Monumental Brassess', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXI (1974), p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brassess: The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 36.

to Kent's later and I think still controversial London series. I made some preliminary points about these technical features in my 1987 essay, but I had not then had the time to gather the data for plate lengths more comprehensively.<sup>3</sup> This practical matter therefore remained firmly subordinate to stylistic analysis.

Fifteen or so years later I now confess to being less certain that these priorities were right. I have since been struck by the fact that the study of the metalwork of these brasses has declined in importance while stylistic or typological analysis appears to have become more fashionable and, though I hesitate to say so, more undisciplined. There are some exceptions, such as Knud Holm's study of the construction of the royal brass at Ringsted, though even this does not give dimensions of the constituent plates of the brass; in an earlier study Cameron noted that the maximum plate dimension on this brass was about 75 cm.<sup>4</sup> It is worth while reflecting that, our various style groupings notwithstanding, we seem to be no nearer to a firm account of exactly where the latten used on early brasses in England might have been made. This could in part be established through comparative analysis of plate lengths used on English and Continental brasses. Though I cannot answer this question in the present paper, I nevertheless here propose an elementary theory of plate-length analysis which is based upon measurement of forty-two extant pre-1350 figure brasses or their indents made in England – in other words, all those known to us which are sufficiently well preserved or accessible to be measured. I hope others will take up the task of measuring plates on Continental brasses.

My recording method is simple enough. In the case of surviving brasses the vertical dimension of the plates, i.e. their greatest length as rectangles, was measured from the head downwards and the plates identified A, B, C, *etc.* Importantly, indents could also be figured into the tabulation of lengths. Measuring plates of lost brasses was only possible in the 'pre-rivet' period before about 1340 when plates were joined by narrow joining bars, themselves accommodated by deeper horizontal recesses within the outline of the effigy, the plate size thus being reflected in the indent itself in a way impossible in rivetted examples where no such joining bars were used. By bisecting the width of these bar recesses and measuring from mid-point to mid-point, one can derive the plate lengths to reasonable tolerances, i.e. 1-2 cm. In this exercise full-length figures are the most useful, though it is worth indicating that some indents of demi-effigies such as that of Bishop Simon of Ghent (d. 1315) at Salisbury Cathedral preserve some evidence for plates of about 50 cm length. The Cantilupe brass indent at Hereford (1282-7) shows that this method of using joining bars was in place from the 1280s.

<sup>3</sup> P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', in *The Earliest English Brasses. Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), p. 110

<sup>4</sup> K. Holm, 'The Brass of King Erik Menved and Queen Ingeborg: Restoration and Examination', *MBS Trans.*, XV (1992), pp. 2-18, figs. 11-12; H.K. Cameron, 'Technical Aspects', p. 217. See also H.K. Cameron, '14th Century Flemish Brasses to Ecclesiastics in English Churches', *MBS Trans.*, XIII (1980), pp. 3-24, for the maximum dimensions of plates on De La Mare and later Wensley brasses (58 and 82 cm respectively). See also C. Blair and J. Blair, 'Copper Alloys', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay (London 1991), pp. 81-106.

Plate widths were not tabulated because the results are not of statistical value. It seems likely that the raw plates were rectangular in shape. To ascertain the length of one side of a rectangle of raw plate, we need to get at its unworked straight edges. English figure-brasses of this period were composed of plates laid with their maximum dimension vertically and their minimum dimension horizontally, the composition of the raw plates reflecting the type of tall narrow profile of a cut-out figure generally up to around 50 cm wide. The straight edges of plate joins therefore almost invariably cut across the figure. The manufacture of Flemish and Silesian brasses (e.g. the Lubiaz series) is quite different, since the straight sides of plates may be joined vertically or horizontally – an approach to composition premised upon a more habitual use of big rectangular tomb plates constructed as if they were made of large flagstones of metal. There are English examples of complex joints which may follow the lines of the composition, as at York 1315, Acton 1331, Pebmarsh c. 1335-40 and Elsing 1347, or of small plates with vertical edges (Westley Waterless, shield). The tendency seems as a rule to have been to use the minimum number of plates as simply as possibly. In any event for our purposes the important point is to get at the data for the raw plates in their straight-sided cast and battered form.

My conclusions affirm my preliminary observation that plate-lengths increased in the period 1280-1350. To express the change statistically: in the 1330s the average length of the longest plates increased quite rapidly from 60 cm before this decade to 79 cm during and after it, a 24% increase; only 25% of brasses in the period up to the 1330s can be seen to have had their longest plates in the region of 70-75 cm maximum. The sample is reasonably large, and though there remains the possibility that a hitherto unknown brass or indent of the pre-1330 period may yet be discovered with plates in the upper 70s or 80s cm, several with plates of that size would have to be found to indicate that the present sample is in some way misleading. As it is, not a single surviving English brass dating certainly to before the 1330s has a plate over 75 cm in length. This ceiling is common also to the Ringsted brass of 1319.

From these data we may reasonably conclude that brasses around 1350 were made from fewer parts and were simpler in construction – even if in other respects their design grew more elaborate – than those made around 1300. They show the tendency to increasingly simple solutions adopted by all successful technologies, of which one is the use of the largest components possible to arrive at a particular end. In this period, for example, the technology of making the stone components for Gothic window tracery shows exactly the same tendency to fewer, larger, masonry elements. This reasoning might help to explain why fillet inscriptions gradually displaced separate-letter inscriptions in the period 1325-50. Since the earliest surviving fillet inscriptions (e.g. Pebmarsh, Westley Waterless) are not in *textura* but uncial lettering, this choice must in part have been made for technical or aesthetic reasons, though there can be no doubt that such fillets allowed for longer inscriptions. As I noted in 1987, in this period the vulnerability ‘to loss or theft’ of brasses made from dozens of small components may have been becoming obvious; indeed I was

gratified to note Professor Baker's subsequent discovery of a case of latten theft by a cleric from a church in 1319, which proved my point.<sup>5</sup> The simpler, stronger, rivetted technology of large plates coming into fashion in the 1330s doubtless deferred such problems. And, as the plates increased in size, the figures made from them diminished, lessening workshop wastage and producing brasses made as a rule from one or two plates nearing a metre in length, rather than three, four or even five plates of under about 75 cm.

What considerations may have explained this increase in average longest plate lengths are at present unclear. The two most promising suggestions for future enquiry are, first, that the increase represents a comparatively quick advance *c.* 1330 in the technology of plate casting and hammering, or, second, that plate-lengths were increasing as longer lengths of raw plating could be accommodated in shipping to England. The second point, made by Nitz, is of course premised on the widely-held but as yet unproven assumption that all latten plate, like most stained glass in this period in England, was necessarily imported, though given the extent of the metalworking industries in the Mosan region especially this seems likely.<sup>6</sup> We cannot be sure, either, that our plates were not themselves cut down from even larger source plates, but it is striking that no such large plates seem to have survived when their use might have conferred some technical advantages, as on the Flemish brasses. Yet the Ringsted and Wenemaer brasses have exactly the same range of plate sizes as their English contemporaries. The most probable answer is that the engineering of such raw plates was developing in a way that affected brass manufacture across much of northern Europe. It is clear that much more work needs to be done on this aspect of monumental brass manufacture.

In the tabular survey which follows I have set out the evidence in date-order; this table should be compared with that in my article in *The Earliest English Brasses*, as it includes a few revisions. Since changes in plate lengths indicate a fundamental technological change, they may themselves permit us to establish dating criteria. This method can therefore be used to cross-check the more sensitive – and for that reason more potentially misleading – evidence of style. It cannot refine the date of a brass within the parameters of the broad and fairly stable phases mentioned. But it can guard against radical mistakes in chronology. Here only one example is necessary. I am increasingly sceptical about the current fad for reinventing England's earliest brasses, which seems to be a reaction to the generally more conservative chronology proposed by us in 1987. The desire to find the 'earliest' of any sequence is sometimes understandable, though I think it has remained too much of a preoccupation in our study. It can lead to overstatements. The evidence of plate lengths contradicts Sally Badham's recently expressed view that the brass at

<sup>5</sup> J.H. Baker, 'Alleged theft of brasses from the Dominican Friary, near Ludgate', *MBS Bulletin*, 52 (1989), p. 400; Binski, 'Stylistic Sequence', p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> M. Nitz, *Entstehung und Bedeutung der englischen Messinggrabplatten* (Munich, 1980), p. 101.

Gorleston may be early.<sup>7</sup> I am quite unconvinced by her general case since it requires us to discount the clear evidence of its plate armour, unknown on any 'early' English military brass, and also its obvious connections to brasses like that at Pebmarsh, datable to the 1330s, in size (Pebmarsh figure 168 cm, Gorleston 165 cm) and use of fillet inscriptions. Gorleston, like Pebmarsh, is made up of two long plates, of 86 and 79 cm respectively, and so overlaps technically with brasses in the later sequence, as my table below makes clear. These plate lengths are as yet unknown before the 1330s. This later dating explains many more features about the Gorleston brass than would an early one: one would be that its facial features, such as the configuration of the eyes, eyelids and brows with two small hooks on them – a Camoys mannerism – are obviously related to the Camoys series as represented by the late example at Pebmarsh. The Gorleston brass imitates this style and does not precede it, and I think it much more likely that it is the work of a non-specialist East Anglian workshop of limited ability commissioned by its patron to be 'like' a brass of the type at Pebmarsh. The fact that another member of this family, Adam Bacon, a priest (d. 1327 x 34) had a Camoys brass at Oulton may not be irrelevant. Was the Gorleston brass made in the style of the Camoys brasses but after their manufacture had ceased in the 1330s?<sup>8</sup> It seems to me on this basis alone, not to say anything about the style of armour and general character of the Gorleston brass where a considerable amount of special pleading is necessary to establish the case for an early date, that we would be more justified in looking for an 'owner' who died at any point in the 1330s or 1340s. Nor can I see the force of such comparisons as have been adduced between it and the so-called 'Ashford' series. I will return to these points after the following table.

<sup>7</sup> S. Badham, 'The Bacon Brass at Gorleston, Suffolk', *MBS Trans.*, XVI (1997), pp. 2-25. Badham gives no technical details about the brass, not even its size. Her findings are repeated in S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1999), p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Badham, 'Gorleston', p. 25.

date	location	plates	max
1287 (-)	Hereford Cathedral	47 40 44 49	49
1301	St Albans Abbey	60 65 53 23	65
1302	Waltham Abbey	68 67 71	71
1306	Bottisham	58 68 70	70
1306	Weekley	56 67 70	70
1309	Bindon	67 64 71	71
c.1310(?-)	Cobham	74 57 36	74
1310	Saltwood	40 47 46	46
c.1310	Trotton	36 33 55 36	55
1314	Aston Rowant	46 42 46 55	55
1315	York Minster	43 46 44 46	46
1315	Milton Abbas	68 66 69	69
c.1315	Beaulieu	31 41 48 36 25	48
c.1315	Tewkesbury	67 54 75	75
1318	Stoke-by-Nayland I	64 64 40	64
c.1320	Cople III	64 (m) 61 (f)	64
1322	Chartham	66 64 66	66
1326	Stoke-by-Nayland II	57 59 54	59
1326 (-)	Trumpington	61 61 60 9	61
1326 (+)	Redenhall	56 62 59	62
1327	Stoke d'Abernon I	12 63 60 59	63
1327 (+)	Oulton	64 58 58	64
1331	Acton	66 67 67	67
c.1330	Emneth	72 71 66	72
c.1330?	Walgrave	56 70 63	70
c.1330?	Boyton	57 54 54 35	57
c.1330?	Hever	46 48 58	58
1332	Hollesley	63 61 40	63
1337(?-)	Higham Ferrers	36 62 62	62
1333 (-)	Durham Cathedral	70 70 76 50	76
1332 (+)	Harpley	108 49	108
1334	Sawley	78 67	78
c.1335	Westleton	40 78 72	78
c.1335	Stoke-by-Nayland III	74 78	78
c.1335	Pebmarsh	66 102	102
c.1340	Gorleston	86 79	86
c.1345	Stoke d'Abernon II	77 83	83
c.1345	Westley Waterless	80 84(m)79 85(f)	85
c.1345	Norbury	85 76	85
1347	Elsing	88 73	88
1348	Bowers Gifford	35 86 56	86
1325 (+)	Ghent (Wenemaer)	45 58 59 56	58
1352 (-)	Ghent (Wenemaer)	30 56 43 41 43	56

*Comments on the Table*1. *Brasses omitted*

1298 Ely: slab too worn; c. 1307 Hardwick: slab too fragmentary; 1308 Wells: slab now concealed; 1308 Hawton: slab too worn; 1320 Letheringham: slab mostly hidden beneath high altar; 1321 Peterborough: slab recut and no indications of method of plate fixture; 13?? Everdon: only one plate (67 cm) discernible; 13?? Dunwich: only one plate (43 cm) discernible.

2. *Comments on individual brasses, with reference to the Badham and Norris study, Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers (1999)*

*Hereford, St. Albans, Waltham, Bottisham*: the suggestion in Badham and Norris (p. 151) that the slabs at Bottisham, Weekley and Hardwick Mill should be split off from the Camoys prototypes and allied with the so-called 'Ashford' series is incomprehensible to me. For one thing they use a canopy type which recurs commonly in the Camoys series (e.g. Milton, Redenhall, Walgrave, Emneth). This is the first of a series of points on which I find myself in disagreement with the Badham and Norris volume, notwithstanding its collection of a new and important range of material. Since they do not hesitate to offer their own criticisms of the Binski and Blair theories set out in 1987, I feel some reply is in order. My objections relate principally to many of their discussions of style and their comparisons, which I find frequently unconvincing, but also to their frequent use of 'proof by cumulative assertion', whereby possibilities turn into probabilities and then into hard attributions and datings as the volume progresses. It seems to me that the more radical the claim, the more solid (i.e. objective) the proof must be. I find the arguments about the 'Ashford' series especially problematical. For example, I cannot see the force of the comparison between the excellent fragment showing St. Ethelbert from the Cantilupe tomb and the Steeple Langford and London Museum I slabs (Badham and Norris figs. 13.5-6, 5.4), upon which slender evidential base the Cantilupe brass is dramatically annexed to the 'Ashford' series (pp. 149-50). Nor can I follow the logic of Badham and Norris's discussion (pp. 151-6) of the mediocre head of a priest at Ashford as if it were a securely dated monument of the 1280s. Readers must assess the visual analogies with such works as the slab at Pyrton for themselves (I remain firmly unconvinced), but the notion that there is 'overwhelming evidence' (p. 155) for a date for the Ashford fragment so early as the 1280s is simply untrue. 'Overwhelming evidence' would require epigraphic evidence, a name, a date of death or some other hard facts, in short, proof. But how many of the so-called 'Ashford' series memorials are so securely dated? In the case of the imperfectly legible Pyrton slab the argument is weakened by the authors' tendency to restrict their survey of potential commemorations to 'the period covered by the operation of the Ashford workshop' (p. 123) when a date into the fourteenth century for the slab would not be out of the

question. This logic is circular, because the authors are favouring individuals and death-dates which accord with some prior idea of workshop history, in order to prove that very same workshop history. In doing so they unhesitatingly dismiss any possible alternatives by not considering them at all. The dating of the Pyrton slab which the authors 'favour' (p. 123), is then itself used as a criterion by which to fix the date of the Ashford fragment. By p. 151 of their survey the 'favoured' date for Pyrton has become the 'probable date': the slab at Pyrton is now 'probably to Richard de Gretton and thus dating to the 1280s'. I doubt that this is good method, and I see no reason why this tomb should not be dated as late as *c.* 1330, as originally suggested. Badham and Norris admit (p. 155) that the Ashford head is detached from any context, including an inscription, which might point to its identity. It is to all intents and purposes an anonymous fragment. This means that the visual analogy to the Pyrton monument has to carry all the burden of proof, and in itself it is unconvincing. Not uncommonly in this volume, very general similarities of period style are confused with absolutely precise workshop signature styles. To the present writer the Ashford head could be fourteenth-century work, as I suggested in 1987.<sup>9</sup> Should such isolated material open to subjective interpretation ever be used to advance dramatically early datings which, as is the case with the Cantilupe indent, require independent documentary confirmation? And would it not be wiser to conclude that the Ashford brass is simply undatable?

*1309 Bindon, 1315 Milton:* the dates given by me in 1987 were approximations; see now Badham and Norris, p. 54, for the documented dates of death.

*York:* the Greenfield brass is the earliest to have a plate-join (a mitred join at the neck) which follows the design and not the straight borders of the raw plates: cf. also the design-based plate joints at Acton, Stoke I, Pebmarsh and Elsing.

*Chartham:* I am at a loss to understand the Badham and Norris attribution of the fairly weak incised slab of a civilian in the Victoria and Albert Museum to the Setvans hand (pp. 73-4), since it is surely merely a reflection of the same period style. One can find facial conventions of this type as far afield as Germany around 1320.

*1326 (+) Redenhall:* William de Neuport is described as *iadis persone* (resigned 1326).

*1327(+)* *Oulton and other Camoys-style brasses.* Date for Oulton from Badham and Norris, pp. 52-3. Badham and Norris's very interesting analogies with the incised slabs at Stoke, Kent and Barking, Essex are the only ones for the Camoys group that I find compelling in their, to my mind, overly-inclusive discussion of this very exactly delineated style. To include the qualitatively poorer and differently-drawn slabs at Sawbridgeworth, Lesnes and Titchfield under the Camoys heading as Badham and Norris do (Chapter 7) again seems to me incomprehensible. It stretches

<sup>9</sup> Binski, 'Stylistic Sequence', p. 116.

an absolutely precise designation of a ‘signature’ style – i.e. the work of a single hand or small group of hands working in one idiom – much too far. Nor do I think that the issue of quality can be sidelined in this way. For example, the incised slab at Barking (Badham and Norris, figs. 7.13-14) has many hallmarks of the Camoys style brass at Merton College; but did some manufacturers of incised slabs copy the best brass models rather than actually making them? The issue of quality is critical because only quality objects or objects associated with high or especially relevant forms of patronage ever suggest themselves as models. Most of the so-called ‘Ashford’ series strike the present writer as mediocre in the extreme and inherently unlikely to have suggested themselves as examples to very high-status commissions like the tomb of Bishop Cantilupe at Hereford. Camoys brasses on the contrary are of superbly regulated quality – hence their excellent survival rates and wide dispersion. It is intrinsically likely that they, in turn, had excellent models in England or France.

*1337(?-) Higham Ferrers:* the brass uses short plates, which leads me to suspect that it was commissioned a little before 1337, in the priest’s lifetime, but using old stock plates. The brass is advanced in other respects, not least in its use of *textura* inscriptions, coming into stained glass at this time, as at York Minster. I envisaged the possibility of some overlap between the Camoys and Seymour groups in 1987 (pp. 113-4), but now see that this overlap might also lie at the level of the raw plates used. Badham and Norris (Chapter 9) incline to push the origins of the Seymour group back much earlier than the 1330s, indeed as early as 1309, but I find their evidence unconvincing and contrary to the broader development of Anglo-French art in this period, which they seem either to ignore or to misunderstand. Here I must admit to an error on my own part, which has in turn misled Badham and Norris. I was incorrect in attributing the indent at Westwell to the Seymour shop in 1987 (p. 113), though Badham and Norris accept my attribution (pp. 77-9). The date of 1309 for it suggested by Badham and Norris is I am sure correct, but this indent shows every sign of having been a Camoys derivative and has no consequences whatsoever for the chronology of the Seymour style. The incised slab at Rothwell (Badham and Norris, pp. 79-81) is qualitatively weak and unlike the Seymour brasses which are all of superlative quality; again, I do not think it supplies us with evidence for discussion of the Seymour style proper, which is self-evidently dependent upon French models of no earlier than about 1320. To attribute the slab at West Wickham to the Seymour style (Badham and Norris, pp. 81-3 and fig. 9.7) strains credibility, and readers are invited to compare this illegible shard to the magnificent brasses of this designation and make up their own minds on the matter.

*c. 1333 (-) Durham:* measurements are here established from the rubbing in the *MBS Portfolio*, the subsequent modern restoration of the figure having concealed the original indent. The implication, by Badham and Norris, p. 77, that Beaumont might have commissioned his brass as early as 1317, simply on the basis of a post-medieval source, seems to me to press the evidence too far. One could equally well argue from

the same source that it was made as late as 1332. I do not think that pure supposition of this type should lend credence to the idea that Seymour-style prototypes were being executed so early as 1309. In similar vein Rogers (1987), pp. 45-6, attributes the large brass in the south presbytery aisle at Ely cathedral to John Ketton (d. 1316), but he does not note that this brass employs rivets, unrecorded in England on brasses at so early a date. Not surprisingly Badham and Norris (p. 150) suggest an even earlier date without remarking on the use of rivets. Has the possibility of a date later in the fourteenth century for this tomb been considered?

*1332 (+) Harpley:* John de Gurnay is described as *quondam rectoris patroni huius ecclesie*. The curious canopy is isolated but the profile of the figure resembles Seymour brasses: cf. Westleton. Badham and Norris however suggest Camoys, p. 160.

*Westleton:* Badham and Norris, pp. 77 and 160, suggest that this brass is close to the Seymour group, and I concur.

*Pebmarsh:* the two plates are cut and joined so as to follow the line of the sword belt.

*c. 1345 Norbury:* the attribution to Matilda de Verdun, *pace* Badham and Norris, p. 75, is not assured and the considerable plate-lengths are incompatible with a date as early as they suggest. Since I myself consider the Seymour style to be powerfully influenced by French work of the 1320s or 1330s I see no problem in the French analogies posited by Badham and Norris, p. 75, though nothing in the brass is incompatible with an English origin. The insinuation that this brass might in fact be French requires more discussion than is given by Badham and Norris of the positive survival or reuse of French material in England dating to this period, of which the only instance to my mind would be the Northwood brass at Minster-in-Sheppey, *c.* 1340 (cf. Noyon cathedral: *MBS Portfolio* (1988), no. 13).

*Elsing:* as perhaps befits its high artifice, the Elsing brass has a more than usually complex plate composition (e.g. the pillow). Though I remain wedded to the idea that this brass is an English and probably metropolitan product, I am struck by the resemblance of its ferocious features and swashbuckling stance to the Wenemaer brass.

*Ghent, Bijloke museum, Willem Wenemaer:* the sword (85 cm) is the longest piece of metal but this could be derived by cutting a fillet at a diagonal from a plate *c.* 75 cm long.

I am indebted to Claude Blair and John Blair for their comments on this paper, and to Julian Luxford, Mrs. F. Moule, Dr. Christopher Norton, Anne Page, Dirk Ollmann and André van den Kerckhove, Director of the Bijloke museum, Ghent, for their help.

# The Jättendal Fragment

by JEROME BERTRAM

**I**N 1848 a farm worker named Jöns Olofsson unearthed a fragment of a monumental brass near the village church of Jättendal, 30 miles south of Sundsväl in the Swedish province of Hälsingland. He dutifully handed it over to the State, which rewarded him with two *Riksdaler Banco*, and it was placed in the State Historical Museum in Stockholm, where it remains on display. It measures 145 x 74 mm, and is in good condition apart from a hole near the lower edge, implying a torn-away rivet. No other rivet is visible.



FIG. 1  
Abraham receiving a soul, Flemish, c. 1325-50, from Jättendal, Sweden, now in the State Historical Museum,  
Stockholm (inv. nr. 1354)

*Reproduced by permission of Antikvarisk-Topografiska Arkivet, Stockholm*

The piece is obviously of Flemish design, from the great Tournai school published by H.K. Cameron, and represents Abraham receiving the soul of the deceased into his bosom. This is a standard element on the brasses and slabs of this school, though I know of no other surviving separately inlaid piece like this. Close parallels to the design are on the surviving incised slab of Birger Persson, d. 1327, at Uppsala,<sup>1</sup> and the lost brass of Bishop Niels Jepson, d. 1395, formerly at Roskilde,<sup>2</sup> which indicate the wide date-range possible. However, incised slabs on which only certain details are inlaid fall within a narrower range, and the best parallels are the slabs at St. Martin, Leicester, *c.* 1325;<sup>3</sup> Ashby Puerorum, Lincs., *c.* 1330;<sup>4</sup> Musée de la Porte de Hal, Brussels, *c.* 1330;<sup>5</sup> and Vielsalm, Luxembourg, Belgium, *c.* 1350.<sup>6</sup> On none of these do the actual inlays survive, but the indents are clear, showing the figure of Abraham flanked by two angels. A probable date-range for this fragment can therefore be *c.* 1325-1350. Like so many of these Flemish brasses and slabs, it was presumably traded by the Hansa, brought up the east coast of Sweden to some port near Jättendal. At the time of discovery, it was the northernmost known monumental brass of any type.

I am grateful to Göran Tegnér, the senior curator of the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, for his helpful information, and to the National Heritage Board Information Department for the gift of the photograph here reproduced.

<sup>1</sup> W.F. Greeny, *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1891), no. 39.

<sup>2</sup> H.K. Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses in Denmark: A Microcosm of National History', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 3 (1982), pl. V.

<sup>3</sup> F.A. Greenhill, *The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester, 1958), pl. V.

<sup>4</sup> F.A. Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln* (Newport Pagnell, 1986), pl. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Greeny, *Incised Slabs*, no. 40. This is from the abbey of Villers, Brabant.

<sup>6</sup> F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs* (London, 1976), pl. 57a.

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

by ROBERTHUTCHINSON and BRYAN EGAN\*

43      1552      **Somerton, Oxon.** (St. James)      M.S. I  
William Fermer (Fermoure), esq., lord of the town, patron of the church and ‘clarke of the crowne in the kyngs benche’, in armour, and ‘last’ wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Norreys, four shields (two on east and south sides of tomb), and inscription.

*Position:* On altar tomb, south chapel.

*Description:* Both figures have been given long legs and trunks, with disproportionately small bodies above the waist (Fig. 1). The effigies have the characteristic ‘sway’ of later Fermer workshop products, that creates the visual effect of leaning away from each other. The inscription is positioned some way - 350 mm - below the figures.

*Inscription:* Six lines of Script 6 within a single line border:

Here lyeth buried Mr wylliam Fermoure Esquyer whyche was Lord of thys /  
Towne and patorne of thys Church & allso Clarke of the Crowne in the  
Kynges /Benche, bye Kyng Henry the vii<sup>th</sup> & Kyng Henry the viii<sup>th</sup> days,  
whych Dyed the / xxix daye of September in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde God a M  
CCCC lii & allso Here/ Lyeth Mestres Ellsabethe Fermoure hys Last wyffe  
whiche was y<sup>e</sup> Dawghter of /syre wylliam Norrysse knyght upon whose Soullles  
& all Chrysten soullles Jhesus have Mercy /

Script 6 type 8 flourishes, used as line terminators, are seen on lines one, two and five.<sup>1</sup> That on line five is incomplete, the lower serif omitted. Other small terminator motifs, on lines three and four, appear for the first time on a Fermer brass with hints of Renaissance influence.

*Dimensions:* Male effigy 774 x 226 mm; female 746 x 253 mm. Dexter shield 190 x 164 mm. Sinister shield 188 x 160 mm. Inscription 154 mm x 735 mm.

*Heraldry:* Dexter shield, *Argent on a fess sable between three lion’s heads erased gules as many anchors or (FERMER) impaling, quarterly POWLET, 1, Sable three swords pileways points meeting in base argent, hilts and pommels or (POWLET); 2, Argent fretty and a canton sable (IRBY); 3, Argent six martlets sable (DELAMORE); 4, Azure a fess between three fleurs-de-lis or (SKELTON).* Sinister shield, *FERMER* impaling quarterly, *NORREYS, 1, Argent a chevron between three raven’s heads erased sable (NORREYS); 2, Argent a chevron gules between three unicorn’s heads erased azure (HORNE); 3, Ermine three fleurs-de-lis within a bordure*

\* The rubbings are by Bryan Egan, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> See *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 4 (1995), p.357.



*engrailed gules (FABYAN); 4, Bendy of ten or and azure a bordure gules (MERBROKE).* Both shields on the tomb are *FERMER*.

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck slab, surface much flaked, 2282 x 947 mm; no sign of reuse. East end incorporates a re-used slab, re-polished but with rivets and lead-plugs of an old inscription, not associated with the Fermer brass. Slab on south side also probably appropriated.

*Re-used:* Reverse of shield on south side of tomb: indecipherable engraving, (164L1); lower part of small lady, standing sideways, with a pendant hanging from a girdle, *c.* 1500, (164L2). Reverse of most of male and female effigies: centre of a very large figure of a bishop or abbot in pontificalia, with gloved hand grasping a pastoral staff and red pigment remaining in the orphreys of chasuble and maniple, *c.* 1490 (164L3-4). Reverse of narrow strips at top and bottom of main figures: blank. Reverse of dexter shield: two portions of a small lady in high-waisted gown with long sleeves, *c.* 1430 (164L5-6). Reverse of sinister shield: two portions of lower section of a civilian in fur-lined gown and round-toed shoes with beads and pouch, *c.* 1490 (164L7-8). Reverse of shield at east end of tomb: centre part of civilian with pouch with red pigment remaining, *c.* 1500 (164L9), and portion of another civilian with pouch and a dagger, also *c.* 1500 (164L10). Reverse of inscription: greater part of a male skeleton in a shroud, skull missing, *c.* 1530 (164L11).<sup>2</sup>

Discovered by H.F. Owen Evans on 3/7 June 1952.

*Link:* Lower portion of lady, *c.* 1500 behind shield on south side of tomb links with reverses of shields at Stoke Charity (no. 41, 163L6-7).

*Biographical details:* Both William and his brother Richard (no. 44, Easton Neston) were the sons of Thomas Richards *alias* Fermer, of Witney, Oxon., a wealthy merchant of Welsh descent who married, secondly, Emmotte, daughter and heir of Simkin Hervey, esq., and widow of Henry Wenman.<sup>3</sup> Richard Lee, Portcullis Pursuivant, records the father's arms in a window of Witney Church during his 1574 visitation, together with his brass.<sup>4</sup> William purchased one half of the manor of Somerton in 1498,<sup>5</sup> and acquired the remainder (in the crown's hands since the attainder of Francis, Lord Lovell, in 1485) in 1512 at an annual rent of £15. 11s.<sup>6</sup> He built a house on rising ground east of the village, living in it for forty years.<sup>7</sup>

William proved a loyal servant to the Crown, despite his adherence to the 'old faith'. He was appointed coroner and attorney of the King's Bench in 1509, a justice of the peace for Oxfordshire in 1521 and served as High Sheriff in 1533 and again in 1543. In 1530 he was a Commissioner inquiring into Cardinal Wolsey's possessions;

<sup>2</sup> For chemical analysis of the plates see H.F.O. Evans, 'Somerton, Oxon.', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 3 (1953), p.103.

<sup>3</sup> See pedigree in 'Topography of Somerton, Oxfordshire', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XCVII, i (1827), p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *The Visitations of the County of Oxford in the Years 1566 ...; 1574 ... and in 1634 ...*, ed. W.H. Turner, Harleian Soc., 5 (London, 1871), p. 46. Over the arms were written: 'Thomas ffarmor and Alice and Emote his wyfes' and on the brass, now lost, 'On a marbe [sic] stone: Thomas Ffarmor wt<sup>h</sup> his ij. wyffes, w<sup>ch</sup> thomas dyed An<sup>o</sup> Doi. mcccclxxxv'.

<sup>5</sup> J.C. Blomfield, *History of the Present Deanery of Bicester, Oxon.*, 8 pts. (Oxford and London, 1882-94), Middleton and Somerton, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VI, (London, 1959), p. 292.

<sup>7</sup> The house was abandoned in the middle of the 17th century and demolished 100 years later.

among the recorded debts of the Cardinal is: 'To Roger Elys for duties paid to William Farmer clerk of the crown for discharging my Lord's *praemunire* and entering his pardon, 4*£*'.<sup>8</sup> A year later, Fermer was appointed Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench at *£*100 per annum. In 1535 he was one of the Royal Commissioners for Oxford to collect the tenths of spiritualities no longer paid to Rome.<sup>9</sup> In 1549 he was listed among those gentlemen ordered to take traitors in the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire and assist in their executions, ensuring they 'be hanged immediately or on the next market days ... their heads to be set up in the highest places of the towns for the greatest terror of evil people'.<sup>10</sup>

William married four times but had no issue from the marriages. His third wife, Katherine, daughter of Sir William Powlett, died on 26 May 1510 and was commemorated by an inscription, now lost, at Hornchurch, Essex.<sup>11</sup> He died on 11 September 1552 and in his will asked to be buried in Somerton 'under the newe Arche betwene the Ile of the south side and the quere wherein I have used to knele'.<sup>12</sup> He left bequests for repairs to the churches of Somerton, Hardwick, Ardley, Fritwell and Godington. His estate was bequeathed to his nephew Thomas, M.P. for Chipping Wycombe, but his wife Elizabeth was to hold Somerton and considerable lands elsewhere for life. She was still lady of the manor in 1568, but by 1573 Thomas had succeeded her.<sup>13</sup>

*Illustrated:* H.F.O. Evans, 'Somerton, Oxon.', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 3 (1953), p. 98 (obverse), pls. facing pp. 100, 101, 104 (reverses); *Oxford Portfolio*, series II, part II (1951) (obverse); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, (London, 1980), II, pls. 64-66 (reverses); *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 2 (1993), pp. 162 (obverse, male effigy only), 167 (obverse, female head); J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999), pp. i (obverse, figures only), 2 (reverse, shield).

44      1552      **Easton Neston, Northants.** (St. Mary)      M.S. I  
Richard Fermer, merchant of the Staple of Calais, in armour, and wife Anne (daughter of Sir William Browne, mayor of London, 1513), marginal inscription and eight shields, four of which are on the sides of the tomb (Fig. 2.).

*Position:* Altar tomb, against south wall of chancel. Slab reversed when the tomb was moved from north side of chancel, within the rails, in the early nineteenth century.

*Description:* The figure of Fermer, with bobbed hair, on the left, rests upon an elaborately crested and tasselled helmet (Fig. 3), with traces of red and black pigment

<sup>8</sup> *L. & P. Henry VIII*, iv (3), nos. 6516, 6748.

<sup>9</sup> Blomfield, *Bicester*, Middleton and Somerton, p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1547-53, pp. 126-7.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Christy, W.W. Porteous, and E.B. Smith, 'Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc.*, New Series, XI, pt. 4 (1910), pp. 326-7. The inscription, lost before 1740, read: 'Here lyeth Katherin, the dawghter of Sir William Powlet, Knyght, Wyf of William Fermor, Clarke of the Crown, who died 26 May, the second of Henry the Eight.' Two shields remain, one mutilated, relaid with the remnants of the brass to Thomas Scargile and wife, 1475.

<sup>12</sup> PCG 29 Powell. Proved at London, 8 November 1552.

<sup>13</sup> A. Ballard, *Seven Somerton Court Rolls*, Oxford Archaeological Soc., Transactions, 50 (Banbury, 1906), p.21.



FIG. 2  
 Richard Fermer, 1552, and wife Anne  
 Easton Neston, Northants.  
 From *MBS Trans.*

remaining in the engraving lines, forming the greatest width of the effigy. The 'sway' seen on his brother's brass at Somerton (no. 43) is repeated here. His wife wears the pedimental head-dress with folded-up lappets, now becoming unfashionable, and a large circular and tasselled pendent, prominently inscribed with the sacred monogram 'IHS', hangs from her girdle. He stands upon a chequered floor, she on a grass base.



FIG. 3

Head of Richard Fermer, Easton Neston, Northants., with elaborately crested helmet

*Inscription:* Marginal inscription in Script 6:

Here under thys Tombe Lyeth buried the Body of /  
 Rychard Fermer Esquyer & Marchant of the staple of Calays & Anne  
 hys wyffe one of y<sup>e</sup> Doughters of s<sup>r</sup> Wylliam Browne knyght · whiche Rychard /  
 Dyed the xvii day of November Anno domini M CCCC Lii /

*Dimensions:* Male figure: 691 x 240 mm; female figure 656 x 226 mm.

*Heraldry:* Upper dexter shield and one on the north side of the tomb: *Argent on a fess sable between three lion's heads erased gules three anchors or, in chief a crescent, charged with a bezant for difference (FERMER)*. Upper sinister and lower dexter, repeated on another on the north side of the tomb: *FERMER* impaling *Per pale indented argent and or a chevron between three escallop shells gules (BROWNE)*. Lower sinister, again repeated on the north side of the tomb: *BROWNE*.

On the east side of the tomb is another shield, quarterly, *FERMER* impaling *BROWNE*, impaling, quarterly of six, 1 & 4, *Chequy argent and gules a chevron azure with three roses or (VAUX of Harrowden)* quartering 2 & 3, *Azure a fess azure between two pairs of barnacks gules in chief and a rose in base (THURNING of Harrowden Parva)*; 2, *Argent on a chevron gules between three hawk's heads erased sable, beaked or, three crescents or*

(*DRAKELOW*);<sup>14</sup> 3, *Gules crusilly fitchy three luces rising or (LUCY)*; 4, *Azure three bucks trippant or (GREEN of Green's Norton)*; 5, *Per pale gules crusilly and a chevron or a lion passant guardant in chief argent (MABLETHORP)*; 6, *Argent three chevrons sable (ARCHDEACON)*.<sup>15</sup>

On top of this shield is a two-line inscription in Script 6: 'Arma Johannis Fermer et Metilde / uxor eius filia domini Nicolai Vause' indicating the arms of Richard Fermer's son, Sir John (d. 1571), who almost certainly erected the tomb.

*Slab/stonework*: Purbeck slab appropriated: bears indents of a man and woman, wearing a butterfly head-dress, with plate above, probably a Trinity, c.1480. Altar tomb built from ashlar and Purbeck blocks.

*Re-used*: Reverse of Sir John Fermer's arms and Fermer arms on side of tomb: linking portions of the base of a large lady, c.1480 (165L1-2). Part of marginal inscription: feet of civilian in round-toed shoes with plant between, c. 1490 (165L3). Reverse of shield on side of tomb and lower dexter shield: two merchant's marks, one a device between black letter initials 'M.G.', the other a device between Roman letters 'N.R.' (165L4-5). Reverse of lower sinister shield: another shield bearing *Argent a chevron between three banded garbs gules (SHEFFELD)* (165L6). Reverse of remaining three shields, linking portions of a full-face civilian in furred gown with purse, c. 1515 (165L7-9). Reverse of seven pieces of inscription: strips from a rectangular plate with Crucifixion showing Christ's head and arms, c. 1535, possibly from a Rood Screen or a reredos, with red pigment remaining (165L10-16). Reverse of effigies: large figure of civilian in furred gown, c. 1540 (165L17-18) (cf. Loughton, Essex, M.S. I).<sup>16</sup>

Discovered 26 May 1951 by H.F. Owen Evans.

*Link*: Reverse of main figures links with reverse of male figure, sons and shield, from Halton, Bucks. (no. 61, 1553) (166L1-3).

*Biographical details*: Fermer was a merchant who dealt in commodities such as silks, wheat and wool and is also described as a grocer. In 1524 he was assistant to Cardinal Wolsey's agent in Florence. Later, through his jester, Will Somers, he gained some influence at Henry VIII's court and was appointed sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1532 and 1533. Seven years later his star was on the wane. The Privy Council, meeting at Ewelme on 25 August 1540, wrote 'to the keeper of the King's Benche under the stampe for the bringing of Richard Fermer prisoner there to Stony Stratford upon Monday next following, the King being at Grafton'.<sup>17</sup> Fermer appeared soon afterwards at Grafton, described as 'late of London, grocer'. Poignantly, among those present was his brother William, 'of ye town of Somerton'. The royal displeasure may have stemmed from Fermer's determination to comfort his former chaplain and confessor, Nicholas Thayne, then a

<sup>14</sup> *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, II, ed. T. Woodcock, J. Grant, I. Graham (London, 1996), p. 478. William Vaux (d. 1405) married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Drakelow of Wilby (G. Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden* (Newport, Mon., 1953), p. 3). Major Owen Evans gives this as *HARROWDEN*. See H.F.O. Evans, 'Easton Neston, Northants', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 2 (1952), p. 51.

<sup>15</sup> P. Heseltine, *The Mill Stephenson Collection of Shields of Arms on British Brasses at the Society of Antiquaries* (Göteborg, 1994), p. 75, gives this coat as *CHAMBERS*.

<sup>16</sup> Chemical composition of plates given in Evans, 'Easton Neston', p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> Blomfield, *Bicester*, Middleton and Somerton, p.105.

close prisoner in Buckingham gaol, although nothing was later legally proved except the sending of a paltry 8d. and several clean shirts. Fermer's extensive estates were seized for the king's use but some were recovered in 1549.<sup>18</sup> Collins, in *The Peerage of England* (London, 1768), describes Fermer's death:

'With a foreknowledge of his own death, he invited on that very day many of his friends and neighbours and taking leave of them, retired to his devotions and was found dead in that position.'

Mary, daughter of Richard Fermer, married Sir Richard Knightley of Fawsley, Northants., and another daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Lovet of Astwell.<sup>19</sup> *Illustrated*: F. Hudson, *The Brasses of Northamptonshire* (London, 1853), pl. 62;<sup>20</sup> H.F.O. Evans, 'Easton Neston, Northants', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 2 (1952), pl. facing p. 50 (obverse), pl. facing p. 51 (head of Richard Fermer), p.59 (shield with arms of Sir John Fermer), pp. 52-4, 56, 58, pl. facing p. 54, 56, 58 (reverses); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 65, 67, 68; Page-Phillips, *Sixteenth Century Workshop*, p. 2 (reverses).

45      1552      **Horseheath, Cambs.** (All Saints)      L.S.W. III  
Robert, son of Sir Giles Alington, d. 1552, in civil dress, headless, with two shields, one mutilated; inscription lost.

*Position*: Relaid, chancel floor, within altar rails.

*Description*: Figure shown full-face, dressed in a long furred over-gown with long false 'tube' sleeves, over an embroidered tunic or shirt with banded, ruffled wrists, fastened at the waist with a thin belt (Fig. 4). The effigy stands on a chequered pavement with a shield on each side. The head is now missing but the face was probably clean-shaven.

*Dimensions*: (now) 752 x 285 mm. Sinister shield: 156 x 141 mm. Dexter shield (mutilated at lower dexter corner) 163 x 140 mm.

*Heraldry*: Dexter, quarterly of four: 1, *Sable a bend engrailed between eight billets argent (ALINGTON)*; 2, *Gules three covered cups argent (ARGENTINE)*; 3, *Azure seven martlets<sup>21</sup> or a canton ermine (FITZTEK)*; 4, *Per fess argent and sable a pale countercharged three griffin's heads erased sable (GARDENER)*, overall a label of three points or, for difference. Sinister: as last, impaling *Gules three conies sejant argent within a bordure engrailed sable, a crescent for difference (CONINGSBY)*.

*Slab/stonework*: Relaid.

*Re-used*: Not yet investigated. At some stage the brass was re-fixed using Victorian large-headed rivets. No record of any engraving on the reverse seems to have survived.

*Biographical details*: Robert, who died 22 May 1552, was the son of Sir Giles Alington, three times sheriff of Cambridgeshire in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and

<sup>18</sup> *Acts of P.C.* 1547-50, p. 412. A letter dated 17 March 1549 to Sir John Williams instructs him to 'deliver to Richard Fermour the howse and parke of Easton and to make no spoyle in the same'.

<sup>19</sup> *The Visitations of Northamptonshire made in 1564 and 1618-19*, ed. W.C. Metcalfe (London, 1887), pp. 32, 35.

<sup>20</sup> He describes the brass as a 'very carefully-finished memorial' (p. 418 in Ralph Griffin's foliation in the Society of Antiquaries' copy). His illustration hardly does the brass any justice.

<sup>21</sup> ?Cornish choughs

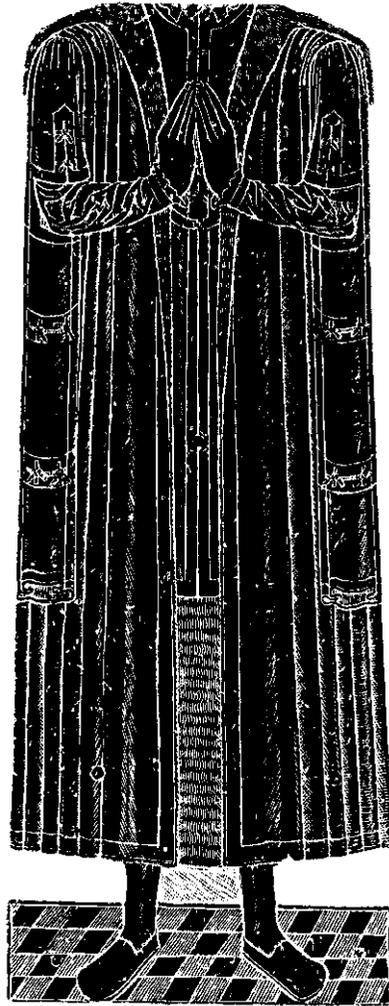


FIG. 4  
Robert Alington, 1552 (shields omitted)  
Horseheath, Cambs.

Master of the Ordnance to Henry. Robert married Margaret, daughter of William Coningsby<sup>22</sup> and widow of Thomas Pledger.<sup>23</sup> Sir Giles survived both his son and grandson, dying in 1586. The two-tiered clunch tomb erected to him and his father against the south wall of the church has an inscription which records the names of the children of Robert and Margaret: John, Gyles, James, George, Alice, Ann, Margaret, Elizabeth, Frances and Beatrix. Sir Giles was succeeded by his great grandson, another Giles.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Judge of the King's Bench, 1541.

<sup>23</sup> She died in 1598.

<sup>24</sup> VCH, *Cambridgeshire*, VI (Oxford, 1978), p. 71.

*Comment:* The design is stiff and clumsy with spindly ankles and absurdly small feet. The Fermer workshop was uncomfortable with designs of male civilian figures.

*Illustrated:* P.J. Heseltine, *The Figure Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (Eaton Socon, 1981), fig. 51; W.Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 160; Page-Phillips, *Sixteenth Century Workshop*, p. 45 (figure only).

46      c. 1552\*      **Aldenham, Herts.** (St. John the Baptist)      Lost  
Civilian and wife, now lost, known only by a dabbing and a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection, the former dated 3 October 1810, and the latter taken in the 1840s. Previously unillustrated (Fig. 5).

*Position:* A sketch of the slab on the dabbing is annotated: 'In the Middle Chancel, West of the steps to the Altar'.

*Description:* The man, on the left, facing right, wears a long gown with a sleeveless ?aldermanic mantle,<sup>25</sup> corded at one shoulder and with slits through which the arms are thrust. The elaborate frilled collar of an undershirt is seen at the neck. The female wears a pedimental head-dress with turned-up lappets, with a closely buttoned partlet with lace cuffs and striped or slashed sleeves beneath a fur-trimmed dress with long false sleeves. A girdle is fastened at the waist with a large brooch, from which depends a tasselled ornament.

*Inscription:* Lost. On the dabbing made on 3 October 1810 by William Alexander (now Society of Antiquaries, Phillipps MS 34481, f. 21), a pencil sketch of the slab shows an indent for a deep inscription with three remaining rivets.

*Dimensions:* Male effigy, 375 x 145 mm; female, 375 x 130 mm.

*Slab/stonework:* Dimensions on the sketch are 5 ft 10 ins. long, 2 ft. 4 ins. wide.<sup>26</sup>

*Reused:* Not known. The rubbing was taken when the figures were loose, as indicated by empty rivet holes. If the plates were re-used, no note was taken of the reverses. Possibly 2 mm thick plate, recycled from Reformation spoil.

*Comment:* Weever quotes an inscription at Aldenham, almost certainly a brass, to John Long, died 1538, and wife who may be commemorated by these figures,<sup>27</sup> although Chauncy records the text (already mutilated in his day) probably more accurately.<sup>28</sup>

Here lyeth the Body of John Long, Sal=  
ter, Citizen, and Alderman of London and Dame  
Margery<sup>29</sup> his wife: which John died the vi day  
[of July, M. Vc. xxxviii. Whos sowl Iesu pardon.]

<sup>25</sup> The aldermanic mantle is extremely rare on brasses. It is shown on the brass to Sir William Harper, lord mayor of London, d. 1573, at St. Paul's, Bedford.

<sup>26</sup> The slab's width is narrow: H.C. Andrews, 'Sidelights on Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches', *East Herts Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, IX (1934), p. 51, reverses the measurement to 4 ft. 2 in. However, the space between the effigies is only 162 mm at the base and 175 mm at the elbows, so these would easily fit into such a small slab.

<sup>27</sup> J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 591.

<sup>28</sup> Sir H. Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (London, 1700), p. 493.

<sup>29</sup> Weever calls her Margaret.

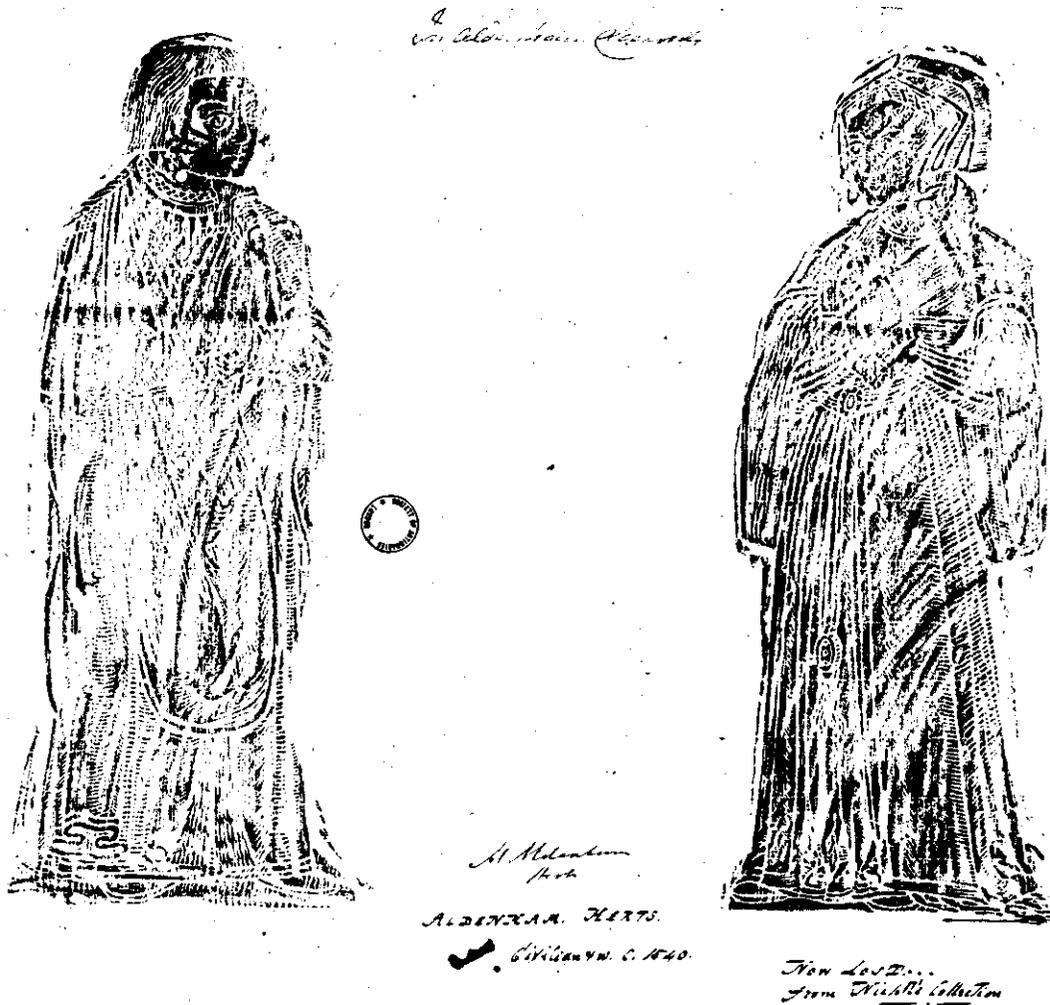


FIG. 5

Lost brass to Civilian and wife, re-dated to c. 1552  
Aldenham, Herts.

*Rubbing by J.G. Nichols, 1840s, in Collection of the Society of Antiquaries*

Weever supplies the missing words in brackets. The four lines would fit the depth of the inscription. Long was one of the sheriffs of London in 1528. He was born at Berkhamsted, Herts., the son of William Long, descended from the Longs of Wiltshire, and was father to John, of Holme Hall, Derbyshire.<sup>30</sup> His date of death probably lies behind Mill Stephenson's dating of the brass as c. 1540<sup>31</sup> although clearly, the brass belongs to the later Fermer figure design. If it does commemorate Long, the brass must have been laid down after his wife's death.

<sup>30</sup> Weever, *loc. cit.*

<sup>31</sup> M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brass in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 179.

The illustration is from a heelball rubbing from the Nichols collection acquired by Sir Augustus Franks and given, with the rest of his collection, to the Society of Antiquaries. The brass probably disappeared from the church during restorations of 1834 or 1847 when Cussans describes how the bar, passage and taproom of the nearby Chequers Inn were paved with slabs, laid upside down, from the church. Others were used to line the oven of a Watford baker and to provide veracity to a 'ruined' folly built nearby.<sup>32</sup>

47      *c.* 1552\*      **Maidstone Museum**      M.S. IV

Lady, facing left, in pedimental head-dress with folded-up lappets, over-gown, and stiff-necked partlet with circular pendant with long tassel. Small vertical strip at left edge missing (Fig. 6).

*Description:* 2 mm thick plate, blank on reverse. Not known when the plate came into the Museum's possession. No information on provenance.

*Dimensions:* 551 x 173 mm.

*Comment:* Almost certainly the survivor of a larger composition with a male figure and inscription.

*Illustrated:* W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905), II, p. 90, no. 294.; *M.B.S Trans.*, XV, p. 169.

48      *c.* 1552\*      **Rettendon, Essex** (All Saints)      M.S. I

Civilian and two wives (third lost), three sons and four daughters, two other groups of daughters lost, as is the inscription.

*Position:* North aisle floor.

*Description:* Male effigy, full-face, wears a doublet down to the knees, confined at the waist by a sash tied in a knot. Over this is a long fur-lined gown hanging down to the ankles with very long false sleeves. The left-hand wife wears a fur-lined costume with fur cuffs, the gown curiously caught up at the hem. The right-hand wife is similarly attired. Both wear pedimental head-dresses without the side lappets folded up. The plates depicting the children of the second and third wives are lost; they probably showed two sons, two daughters and about four sons and four daughters respectively. If so, the man had 19 children (Fig. 7).

*Dimensions:* Male, 420 x 125 mm (150 mm missing from base); left-hand wife, 415 x 110 mm; right-hand wife, 415 x 105 mm. Lost inscription: 114 x 589 mm.

*Slab/stonework:* Re-used twelfth-century floor slab with carved edge.

*Re-used:* Not yet investigated.

*Comment:* 'The brass is dated *c.* 1535 but this seems too early by fifteen years or so, in terms of the costume and engraving style. Although the treatment of the faces and hands looks typical Fermer work, the poor standard of engraving and draughtsmanship stands out in the series as far below the norm, as does the design.

<sup>32</sup> J.E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, 3 vols. (London, 1870-81), III, p. 260.

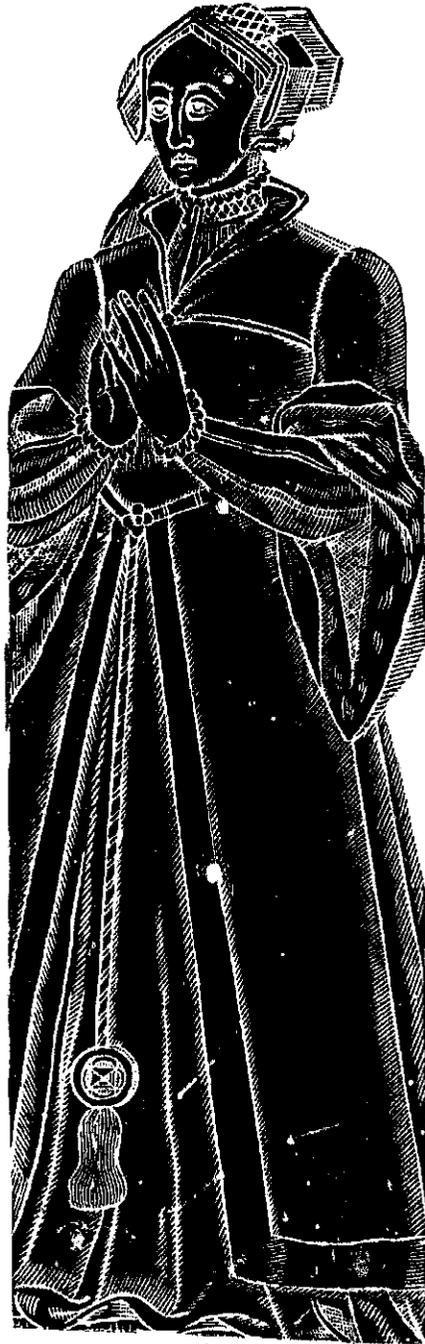


FIG. 6  
Lady, redated to c. 1552  
Maidstone Museum, Kent.  
*Collection of the Society of Antiquaries*



FIG. 7  
 Civilian and three wives (one lost), re-dated to *c.* 1552  
 Rettendon, Essex  
*From Essex Archaeological Soc. Trans.*

Was this a 'one-off' - produced to meet the specific, if not idiosyncratic needs of a customer? Malcolm Norris suggests the brass is 'North Essex work' and a copy of London work.<sup>33</sup> This may be the case: the surviving children's plate is squared-off, traditionally regarded as a hall-mark of provincial work, and it is known the local series in Kent (probably based in Rochester or Canterbury) deliberately copied London designs in the years up to 1535. Indeed, a Suffolk-produced brass dated *c.* 1550 at Lowestoft, now lost, closely resembles the Fermer civilian figures at Sonning and Greystoke and is an obvious plagiarism.

*Illustrated:* M. Christy, W.W. Porteous and E.B. Smith, 'Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc.*, New Series, IX, pt. 1 (1903), p. 33; RCHM, *Essex*, IV (London, 1923), pl. facing p.25.

49 *c.* 1552\*

**Ludford, Herefordshire** (St. Giles)

M.S. I

William Foxe of Ludlow, Salop., esquire, in armour and wife Jane, daughter and heir of Richard Downe of Ludlow, with nine sons and five daughters, four shields and inscription (Fig. 8).

<sup>33</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 191. Some of the 'local' Essex brasses of the 1530s may be outlying examples of Kent work. See the forthcoming paper on the Kent school by R. Hutchinson and L.A. Smith.



*Position:* Once on altar tomb, now mural in original slab, south arcade, north chapel.

*Description:* Foxe, in armour on the left, has bobbed hair, his head resting on a very small helmet. His wife wears the pedimental head-dress and an over gown with very short hanging sleeves. Four shields are at the corners of the slab and beneath the inscription, are plates for sons and daughters, the latter clearly appropriated from an earlier monument.

*Inscription:* Seven lines of Script 6:

Here undernethe this Stone lyeth y<sup>e</sup> bodye of Wyllyam Foxe of Ludlowe yn /  
the Countye of Salop Esquyer and Founder of thys Ile adJeynyng unto this /  
Churche and which Wyllyam reedefyed the Almes Howse of Seynt Gyles /  
beyng decayed and also Jane hys wyff Doughter & heyre of Richard /  
Downe of Ludlowe aforseyd. which Wyllyam decessyd the xxiii<sup>th</sup> daye of /  
Aprill Anno domini M CCCC<sup>o</sup> Liiii<sup>o</sup> and Jane Decessyd the /  
daye of Anno domini M CCCC<sup>o</sup> On whose Soules Jhesu have mercy /

Spaces have been left for the date of the wife's death. A type eight terminator ends line three.

*Dimensions:* Male effigy, 675 x 220 mm; female 655 x 230 mm. Inscription 195 x 700 mm.

*Heraldry:* Upper dexter and lower sinister shields: quarterly, 1 and 4, *Argent a chevron between three fox's heads erased gules* (FOXES); 2 and 3, quarterly i and iv, *Argent on a bend sable three dolphins or* (STOKES), ii and iii, *?Per pale indented sable and argent (?STEVINGTON)*. Upper sinister, as last, impaling *Argent a bend double cotised sable, a martlet in chief for difference* (CLUDD). Lower dexter, as first, impaling *Azure a lion rampant or* (PICKENHAM) quartering *Argent three chevrons gules* (BARRINGTON).

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck slab, probably appropriated, *vide* inclusion of daughters, c. 1515 (176L1), which may belong to the original brass. A sixth daughter is lost. One of her feet may be apparent on the lower sinister edge of her surviving sisters' plate, and so she may have been a Fermer addition, as at Southwick, Hants., although the fact that the last daughter has long, flowing hair may also indicate she formed the edge of the plate.

*Re-used:* Not yet investigated. The fact that the brasses are composed of more than twenty separate pieces of plate indicates almost certain re-use.

*Biographical details:* Foxe was elected to serve firstly as Low and later High Bailiff of the Borough of Ludlow five times during the reign of Henry VIII and again in October 1553. He represented the town at Westminster in 1529 and again in 1536 and also served as Secretary to the Council of the Marches.<sup>34</sup> In 1547 he and his eldest son Edmund were granted the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Ludlow<sup>35</sup> together with the manors of Rocke, Salop., and Ludford, Herefs., St. Giles' House, Ludford, and lands in Hawkebache, Staffordshire and elsewhere. Another son, Charles, had acquired the site of the former Carmelite friary in Corve Street, suppressed in 1538,

<sup>34</sup> *Trans. of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Soc.*, 3rd series, VIII (1908), p. xvi; S.T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, 3 vols. (London, 1982), pp. 169-70.

<sup>35</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1547-48, p. 4.

the nearby chapel of St. Leonard, and a 99-year lease on the former Benedictine priory of Bromfield in 1541.<sup>36</sup>

*Comment:* This brass has been re-dated on stylistic grounds on the basis of clear-cut similarities with other Fermer brasses at Dry Drayton, Easton Neston, Somerton and Twyford. However, there remains the problem of the date of death of 23 April 1554, given on the inscription. Mr Moor points out that the date itself is incorrect, citing a reference in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, dated 12 April 1554, which grants the new Queen's assent to the burgesses of Ludlow to elect another bailiff in place of Foxe who had died in office. He probably died soon after making his will, dated 6 March 1553/4. Either the brass was laid down earlier, around 1552, and here was one of the rare instances of date of death being filled in (which seems improbable, given the distance from the workshop in London) or, more likely, the figures were old stock used for Foxe's monument. Certainly Jane's head-dress and costume looks distinctly unfashionable for 1554.

*Illustrated:* *Victoria and Albert Museum List*, pl. 31; 2nd edn., pl. 34 (effigies only); *MBS Portfolio*, VI, pl. 54; Page-Phillips, *Sixteenth Century Workshop*, p. 7.

50      c. 1552\*      **Twyford, Bucks.** (Assumption of the Virgin)      L.S.W. II  
Thomas Giffard of Twyford, esq., full face in armour, slightly mutilated, standing upon a greyhound, inscription and four shields.

*Position:* Altar tomb, south aisle.<sup>37</sup>

*Description:* Portions missing from upper arms and both elbows, together with the hilts of the sword and dagger. The figure stands upon an elegant greyhound, another example of anachronistic iconography of this workshop's output, cf. Blewbury, Berks. (Fig. 9).

*Inscription:* Four lines of Script 6:

Here lyethe buried the Bodyes of Thomas Giffard of Twiffard in the Coun = /  
tye of Bucks Esquyer and Marie his wyffe Doughter of Wylliam Staveley / of  
Bignell Esquyer which Thomas decessyd the xxv<sup>th</sup> day of Nouember / in the  
yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde God M CCCC L On whose Soules Jhesus haue Mercy amen /

A type eight swirl ends line two.

*Dimensions:* Figure, 1218 x 369 mm. Inscription, 128 x 708 mm.

*Heraldry:* Upper dexter and lower sinister: *Gules three lions passant argent (GIFFARD)*. Upper sinister: *GIFFARD* impaling *Argent on a chevron between three lozenges azure three buck's heads cabossed or (STAVELEY)*. Lower sinister: *STAVELEY*.

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck slab 2810 x 1165 mm, 103 mm thick, re-used. Re-surfaced and re-polished but old rivet lead plug holes left unfilled. Original brass was large composition consisting of civilian and wife, perhaps c. 1470.<sup>38</sup> Altar tomb made up of

<sup>36</sup> We are very grateful to our member Jonathan Moor for generously allowing us access to his exhaustive researches on William Foxe which we have used for much of the biographical information in this section.

<sup>37</sup> A funeral helmet hung over the tomb. See JJ. Sheahan, *History and Topography of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1862), p.320.

<sup>38</sup> VCH, *Buckinghamshire*, IV (London, 1927), p. 258 suggests the earlier tomb commemorated Thomas Giffard, d. 1469.

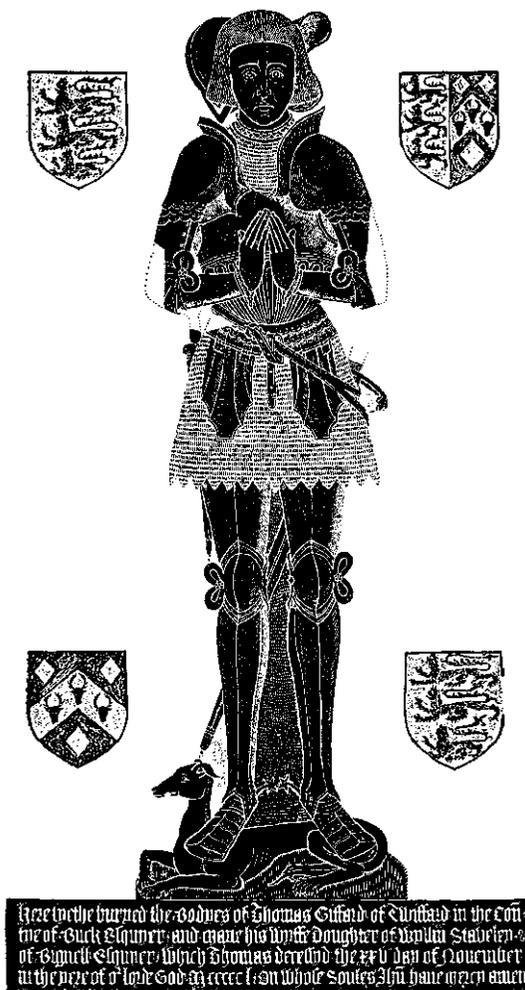


FIG. 9

Thomas Giffard, re-dated to c. 1552

Twyford, Bucks.

*From MBS Trans.* (in the original, the top shields are 280 mm above the effigy's head and the bottom shields are 509 mm below the inscription)

earlier stonework and rubble. Both ends have two fifteenth century panels containing blank shields and shield-bearers in ogee recesses.

*Re-used:* Reverse of lower half of figure: priest in surplice and cassock, c. 1450 (161L1). Largest portion of inscription: another to William Storteford, canon and treasurer of St. Paul's Cathedral, 'Hic iacet magister Willelmus Stortefforde q(r)...../ Canonicus & Residariciarius presentis Ecclesie ac...../ Midd' qui obijt iiij<sup>o</sup> die mense Novembr / domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> xvj<sup>o</sup> cuius anime propicietur de[us].../ (161L2). Middle portion of inscription: centre of a monk in cassock and gown, c. 1450 (161L3). Smallest part of inscription: indeterminate drapery, c. 1440 (161L4). Lower dexter shield: two

fragments of canopy work, fifteenth century (161L5-6). Upper half of figure: priest in mass vestments, *c.* 1330 (161L7). Head of greyhound: part of furred hem, undated, (161L8). Fore paws of greyhound: part of shroud *?c.* 1500 (161L9).

Three shields *not* examined, but the metal has been cut through in several places, indicating likely re-use. Discovered May 1907 by Mill Stephenson, W.J. Hemp and W.Gawthorp when latter lifted the figure for repair after it had broken in two pieces along the old transverse crack in the slab.

*Biographical details:* Giffard was the son of another Thomas, who died on 20 October 1512, when he was aged 30. His only issue, Ursula, married Sir Thomas Wenman, eldest son and heir of Richard Wenman of Witney, merchant of the Staple of Calais,<sup>39</sup> MP for Northampton in 1547, and later MP for Oxon. and Buckingham. Giffard's property passed to Wenman on his death.<sup>40</sup>

*Comment:* Re-dated on basis of stylistic affinity with other Fermer products of this date.

*Illustrated:* M. Stephenson, 'Some Additional Palimpsests', *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 8 (1907), pp. 228 (obverse), 230 (reverse); *idem*, 'Note on a Palimpsest Brass at Twyford', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, IX, no. 5 (1908), pp. 326 (obverse), 327 (reverse); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 63-4 (reverses); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p.218 (obverse), 217 (reverse).

51 *c.* 1552 **Dry Drayton, Cambs.** (SS. Peter and Paul) L.S.W. I  
[John Hutton], in armour, slightly mutilated, and wife [Anne], one shield, inscription lost, four sons and seven daughters (Fig. 10).

*Position:* Formerly in south aisle, now on nave floor.

*Description:* On 31 August 1745 that indefatigable antiquary, the Revd. William Cole of Milton, visited Dry Drayton Church and recorded:

A handsome Pew is built against the E. End of this S. Isle for the Duke of Bedford's Family: under it is partly covered a very fine Marble having the Effigies in Brass very beautifully engraved of a Man in Armour & a Lady in the Dress of the Times she lived in; both exceedingly fresh & perfect: but the Inscription & bottom part of their Feet is covered by the said Pew: over their Heads is this Coat: viz: on 3 Roundles, as many Birds, on a Cheif [*sic*] an Eagle displayed, all within a Bordure engrailed for Holton. This is the most perfect & elegant as well as the freshest that I ever met with.<sup>41</sup>

The inscription is now lost. The plates depicting the children were missing for many years. Four sons and two of the daughters were acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1899 and the remaining five daughters were in private possession from 1953 until all were reunited with their parents on 28 April 1972 when Egan relaid the brass after conservation and repair.

<sup>39</sup> See entry on William Fermer at Somerton (p. 243 above).

<sup>40</sup> G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols. (London, 1847) III, p.131.

<sup>41</sup> W.M Palmer, *Monumental Inscriptions and Coats of Arms from Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 40.

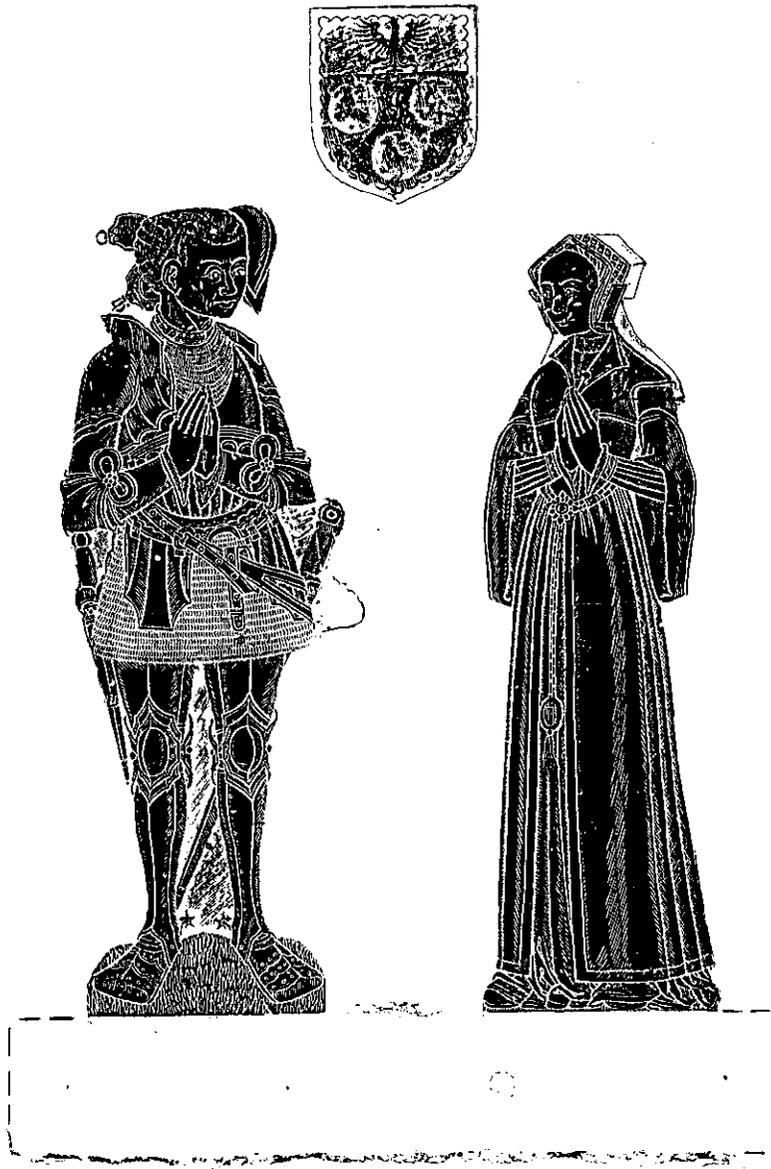


FIG. 10.  
[John] Hutton, c. 1552, and wife [Anne]  
Dry Drayton, Cambs.

Of the main figures, the male, on the left, is clean-shaven and has wavy hair with the back of the skull curiously elongated. The head rests upon the Fermer standard design helmet, but this time the helmet is reversed, with the visor and comb on the right. The familiar Fermer depiction of armour - all show and little accuracy - is here but the sword quillon is lost. The female figure again is standard work, with a pedimental head-dress with folded lappets, a fashion beginning to look dated at this period. This may indicate use of old stock. The face has been damaged about the nose. The sons, in civilian dress, have been engraved in a remarkable attempt to portray individuality. The daughters all wear the more fashionable 'Paris' head-dress. *Dimensions*: Male: 741 x 253 mm; female: 715 x 210 mm. Inscription indent: 120 x 680 mm. Shield: 182 x 153 mm. Sons, 169 x 142 mm. Daughters, 160 x 222 mm.

*Heraldry*: *Argent three roundels azure on each a falcon close argent, on a chief vert an eagle displayed or, a bordure engrailed gules (HUTTON).*<sup>42</sup>

*Slab/Stonework*: Purbeck slab, 1790 x 785 mm. Not appropriated (unless turned over?).

*Reused*: Reverse of upper portion of male and female effigies (except female head): a large ecclesiastic (?an Augustinian or canon of Windsor) in almuce and mantle with long tasselled cords, *c.* 1530, (159L1-3). Reverse of strip at base of male figure: indeterminate engraving, possibly a waster (159L4). Reverse of remainder of male effigy and two daughters: lower part of a lady, *c.* 1500, one section scraped down (159L5-6). Reverse of wife's head: lower portion of a lady showing end of girdle, *c.* 1500 (159L7). Reverse of five daughters: four sons, headless, with 'bag' sleeves, *c.* 1480 (159L8). Reverse of four sons: feet of a civilian in round-toed shoes and furred gown, *c.* 1520 (159L9). Reverse of upper portion of shield: portion of an inscription 'trusting in hevyn/ quorum animabus propic[ietur deus].../ [1529] (159L10).<sup>43</sup>

Reverse of lower portion of shield: part of another inscription, 'uxor eius que quid./ .mi Millesimo V<sup>c</sup> Secu/ . no Domini Millesimo / [1502] (159L11). A unique record of re-use occurred when a small inscription plate was used to compress the solder 'wipe' joining the two pieces of the shield together while it solidified. On the wipe was the clear 'mirror' imprint of the plate's engraved script (159 L12).

Main palimpsest discovered by Bryan Egan and John Page-Phillips, 1971.

*Link*: Reverse of upper portion of shield links with the reverse of the lost inscription at Shorne, Kent, 1553, no. 62 (160L1).

*Biographical details*: Mill Stephenson and others have dated this brass *c.* 1540 but it clearly belongs to the Fermer group and, moreover, to the mainstream figure design which appears around 1550. Lawrence James pointed out the affinities with other Fermer brasses and, on the basis of a seventeenth-century manuscript pedigree of the Hutton family (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B 278, f. 103), identified the subject of the brass as John Hutton, esquire, who died in 1552/3.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Heseltine, *Shields*, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> Almost certainly from the brass to John and Katherine Hall, parents of the chronicler Edward Hall, buried in hospital of St Thomas of Acon, London, dissolved in 1538.

<sup>44</sup> L. James, 'Some Problem Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 6 (1968), p. 458.

*Illustrated:* 'The Brasses of Cambridgeshire', *MBS Trans.*, III, pt. 1 (1897), pl. opp. p. 4 (obverse); RCHM, *County of Cambridge, I, West Cambridgeshire* (London, 1968), pl. 112 (obverse, without children); J. Page-Phillips, *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972) front cover (head of man only); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 61-2 (reverses); P.J. Heseltine, *The Figure Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (Eaton Socon, 1981), fig. 30; *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 2 (1993), pp. 157 (obverse and reverse of sons), 167 (female effigy's head); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), pp. 99 (obverse), 100 (reverse).

52      1553      **Penshurst, Kent** (St. John the Baptist)      M.S. V  
 Inscription, four shields and marginal inscription with text from Job 19.25,<sup>45</sup> and four shields on tomb panels, to Sir William Sidney, chamberlain and afterwards steward to Edward VI (Fig. 11).

*Position:* Inscription mural, chamfer inscription around three edges of altar tomb, south chapel.

*Dimensions:* Inscription 210 x 545 mm.

*Inscription:* Eight lines of Script 6 within ornamental border with Renaissance motifs:

Here lyethe Syr Wylliam Sydney Knyght and Bannorett  
 sometyme Chamberlen and after Steward to the moste  
 myghtie & famous Prynce Kynge Edward the vi<sup>th</sup> in the  
 tyme of his beinge Prynce & the firste of that name beinge  
 Lorde of the Manner of Penshurste who Dyed the x<sup>th</sup> day  
 of Februarye in the vii<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reigne of Kynge Ed =  
 ward the vi<sup>th</sup> and in the yere of our Lord God a M<sup>i</sup> fvy  
 hunderd Fiftie & three. On whose Soule Jhesus have Mercy

The marginal inscription, again in Script 6, reads:

I knowe y<sup>t</sup> my Redemer liveth, & that I the last daye shalt rise from the yearth,  
 & shal be clad agayne with myne owne Skinne, & in myne owne fleshe I shal  
 see God, whom I my selfe shal; se, & myne eyes shal loke upon & / none other,  
 this hope is Layd up in my bosome

The illustration in Belcher's *Kentish Brasses* is not an accurate portrayal of components of the brass and omits one shield.<sup>46</sup>

*Heraldry:* Above and below the inscription are four shields. Those above are: 1, *SIDNEY* quartering *BRANDON*: 1 & 4, *Or a pheon azure (SIDNEY)*; 2 & 3, *Barry of ten argent and gules, over all a lion rampant or crowned per pale argent and gules (BRANDON)*; 2, *SIDNEY* impaling *Argent three chevrons gules, in chief a label of three points azure (BARRINGTON)*. Below the inscription: 3, *SIDNEY* impaling quarterly *BRANDON*; and 4, *SIDNEY* quartering *BRANDON* and impaling *Quarterly or and gules, in the first quarter an eagle displayed vert (PAGENHAM)*.

A shield is on each of the three panels on the side of the tomb, marking the marriages of his daughters. At sinister, below a small label 'Syr William Dormar knight

<sup>45</sup> The same text is used at Ossington, no. 32, 1551.

<sup>46</sup> W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905), II, p. 106a, no. 349.



FIG. 11.

Inscription and shields, Sir William Sidney, 1553  
Penshurst, Kent

(after *Belcher*; in the original, the shields are above and below the inscription and the marginal inscription is arranged differently. One shield has been omitted)

and [Mary] Sidney': Quarterly, 1, *Azure ten billets, four, three, two and one or, on a chief or a demi lion rampant issuant sable (DORMER)*; 2, *Gules on a chevron between three chubs argent as many shovellers sable, on a chief indented argent three escallops gules (DORRE alias CHOBBE)*; 3, *Argent on a fess sable three mullets argent (LAUNCELYN)*; 4, *Argent on a chevron sable between three pellets as many roses argent (BALDINGTON)*, impaling quarterly of eight, 1, *SIDNEY*; 2, *BRANDON*; 3, *Argent two bars and in chief three escutcheons sable (CLUNFORD)*; 4, *BARRINGTON*; 5, *Argent on a bend gules three lozenges argent (MERCY)*; 6, *Quarterly or and gules an escarbuncle sable (MANDEVILLE)*; 7, *Azure a chevron between three mullets or (CHETWYND)*; 8, *Argent three lions rampant, two and one, gules (BAARD)*.

The middle of the three shields bears an inscription above, also in Script 6, 'Syr James Harrington knight and Lucy Sidney'. The shield was stolen some years ago, but a replica, based on a rubbing of the original, has now been set in its place:<sup>47</sup> Quarterly of eight, 1, *Sable a fret argent (HARRINGTON)*; 2, *Argent a bend engrailed (CULPEPER)*; 3, *Argent a chevron sable between ten martlets gules (HARDRESHALL)*;

<sup>47</sup> Made by our member Mr. Peter Hutchings. Replica shield laid by William Lack on 13 December 1988. See *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 4 (1989), p.291.

4, *Quarterly or and gules a bend sable* (LUCYE); 5, *Azure a saltire and a chief or* (BRUSE); 6, *Argent a chevron between three billets gules* (DE LA LAUNDE); 7, *Or a cross engrailed gules in dexter chief a martlet vert for difference* (HAWTE); 8, *Azure a cross patonce between four martlets argent* (PLESSINGTON), impaling SIDNEY with the seven quarterings of the previous shield.

The dexter shield bears the inscription, in Script 6, 'Syr Wylliam Fytz Wylliam Knyght and Anne Sidney', quarterly of fifteen: 1, *Lozengy argent and gules* (FITZWILLIAM); 2, *Chequy or and azure* (WARENNE); 3, *Or a chief azure* (LIZOURS); 4, *Quarterly or and gules a bend sable* (LACYE of CLAVERING); 5, *Or an orle azure* (BERTRAM); 6, *Argent a chief gules and a bend azure* (CROMWELL); 7, *Per pale gules and sable a lion rampant argent crowned or* (BELLERS); 8, *Ermine a fess gules* (BERNACKE); 9, *Argent three cinquefoils and a canton gules* (DRIBY); 10, *Chequy or and gules a chief ermine* (TATTERSHALL); 11, *Gules a lion rampant or* (DAUBIGNY); 12, *Azure three garbs or* (Earls of Chester); 13, *Azure a wolf's head erased argent* (LUPUS); 14, *Argent a cross engrailed gules* (GREENE of DRAYTON); 15, *Chequy or and azure a bordure gules* (MAUDIT),<sup>48</sup> impaling SIDNEY with seven quarterings as before.

On the west side of the tomb is a coroneted shield, marking the marriage, in 1555, of the fourth daughter, Frances, to Thomas Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter, who succeeded his father as Earl of Sussex, on 17 February 1556-7. Presumably this shield was a later addition to the tomb. Quarterly of eight, 1, *Argent a bend engrailed sable* (RADCLIFFE); 2, *Or a fess between two chevrons gules* (FITZWALTER); 3, *Argent a lion rampant sable crowned or, a bordure azure* (BURNEL); 4, *Or a saltire engrailed sable* (BOTETOURT); 5, *Gules three lucies hauriant argent* (LUCY); 6, *Argent three bars gules* (MULTON); 7, *Or semée of fleur-de-lis sable* (MORTIMER of ATTLEBOROUGH, Norfolk); 8, *Argent an eagle with wings extended sable preying on a child swaddled gules banded or* (CULCHETH) impaling SIDNEY with seven quarterings as before.

*Re-used:* Not yet investigated.

*Biographical details:* Born in 1482, the eldest son of Nicholas Sidney by Anne Brandon, Sir William accompanied Thomas, Lord Darcy into Spain as a volunteer against the Moors in 1511 and two years later commanded the *Great Bark* in naval operations around Brest. The same year, he commanded the English right wing at Flodden Field and became a squire of the body to Henry VIII. As such, he attended Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. He was appointed tutor and steward to Edward in 1538. He added Penshurst to his estates on 25 April 1552.<sup>49</sup>

*Illustrated:* Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, II, p. 106a, no. 349 (omits one shield and lay-out of brass is incorrect); R. Griffin, 'The Sidney Tombs at Penshurst and Ludlow, *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 12 (1909), pp. 391-2, 395, 397-8, 402 (shields).

53      1553      **Littleton, Middx.** (St. Mary Magdalene)      M.S. I  
Inscription, Lady Blanche Castell, second wife of Sir Hugh Vaughan, with two roses

<sup>48</sup> *Medieval Ordinary*, II, p. 195.

<sup>49</sup> *DNB*, LII, p. 210.

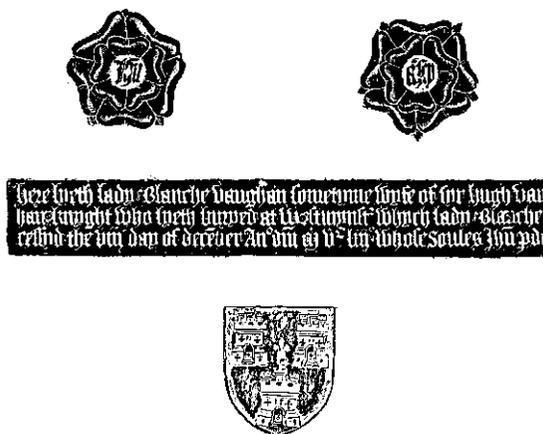


FIG. 12

Inscription and roses, Lady Blanche Castell, second wife of Sir Hugh Vaughan, 1553  
Littleton, Middx.

*From London and Middx. Arch. Soc. Trans.*

(two others lost), symbolising the transitory beauty of life,<sup>50</sup> inscribed 'Thesu-mercy', one shield (Fig. 12).

*Position:* Once on an altar tomb;<sup>51</sup> relaid, mural, chancel; now screwed to a wooden board, west wall of nave.

*Description:* J.L. André, writing in 1895, assigned a date of *c.* 1450 to the two roses and suggested that 'the arms and the inscription, now on the same slab, do not belong to this memorial'.<sup>52</sup> This view was endorsed by Stephenson who re-dated the roses to *c.* 1460 and added that they were 'no doubt portions of some larger memorial, but now relaid'.<sup>53</sup> Cameron modified this view, believing the slab with the roses had been appropriated by inserting the later inscription and shield,<sup>54</sup> although there is no mention of any appropriation in Page-Phillips' entry on Littleton in *Palimpsests*.<sup>55</sup> In fact, the roses almost exactly replicate the two (of four) still remaining on the brass to Bishop Thomas Goodryke (no. 73), 1554, at Ely Cathedral, save for the inclusion of small evangelical symbols in the centre of the Ely roses. Almost certainly, a similar outline pattern or template was used for both memorials. At Ely the roses measure 152 x 152 mm and at Littleton 135 x 130 mm. It seems therefore safe to presume the roses and the inscription and shield at Littleton are contemporaneous.

*Inscription:* Three lines of Script 6, slightly mutilated at the right edge:

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Norris, *Memorials*, I, p. 198.

<sup>51</sup> Stephenson, *List*, p. 306. Lysons records only that the brass plate was 'on the chancel floor' (D. Lysons, *An Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex, which are not described in the Environs of London* (London, 1800), p. 203).

<sup>52</sup> J.L. André, 'Antiquarian Notes on the Rose', *Archaeological Jnl*, LII (1895), pp. 212-3.

<sup>53</sup> M. Stephenson, 'Notes on the Monumental Brasses of Middlesex,' *Trans. of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.*, IV (1900), p.230. He may later have come to doubt this view as there is no mention of the earlier dating of the roses in the *List* entry.

<sup>54</sup> H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex: Part 22, Kingsbury and Littleton', *Trans. of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXXIII (1982), p. 374.

<sup>55</sup> Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, I, p.54.

Here lyeth lady Blanche Vaughan sometyme wyfe of syr Hugh Vau[g=]  
han knyght who Lyeth buried at Westmynst' whych lady Blanche [de=]  
cessyd the viii<sup>th</sup> day of december Anno domini M v<sup>c</sup> liii<sup>o</sup> whose Soules Jhesus  
pardo[n].

*Dimensions:* Inscription, (now) 83 x 598 mm. Shield, 145 x 122 mm.

*Heraldry:* *Argent three castles triple-turreted....a fleur-de-lis in fess point for difference (CASTELL).*<sup>56</sup>

*Slab/stonework:* Relaid.

*Re-used:* On reverse of shield, portion of five daughters in kennel head-dresses, with tight sleeves and turned-back cuffs, London 'F' work, c. 1520 (171L1). Reverse of inscription blank. Discovered when loose in slab on chancel floor, 1899.

*Biographical details:* Blanche was the second wife of Sir Hugh Vaughan of St Peter, Westminster and Littleton, Middx., who had first married Anne Percy, daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, widow both of Sir Thomas Hungerford and Sir Laurence Rainsford.<sup>57</sup> Blanche bore Vaughan two sons, George and Francis. Sir Hugh died in 1536 and sought burial in the chapel of St. Michael within the monastery church of St. Peter at Westminster or at Littleton, but the inscription proves his first wish was observed. If he *was* commemorated by a brass, an indent remains in the middle of the east aisle of the north transept, formerly the chapel of St. Michael, which may well mark his grave. The indent, (which seems of the right date) lying North-South and near that to Abbot Edmund Kirton, 1466, is "probably of two figures and an inscription plate"<sup>58</sup> and if to Vaughan, presumably included the effigy of Blanche as well. To her, he left his 'mansion place of Lyttleton called Ipwel' together with other property at Feltham, Middx., Holborn, within the City suburbs and 'a mansion place in Westminster which I hold of the Abbot until the tyme my son and heir come to the full age of 21'.<sup>59</sup>

*Comment:* A drawing of the now lost brass to Abbot Kirton d.1466, at Westminster in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* shows the canopy with a rose at the apex of the central pediment.<sup>60</sup> Considering the close proximity of the probable brass to Vaughan, Kirton's brass may have been the inspiration for the use of roses in Blanche Vaughan's slab and the inclusion of this emblem in the Fermer workshop's pattern book.

*Illustrated:* Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 70 (reverse); H.K Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex: Part 22, Kingsbury and Littleton', *Trans. of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXXIII (1982), pp. 373 (obverse), 374 (reverse).

(*To be continued*)

<sup>56</sup> B. Burke, *General Armory* (London, 1884), pp. 175-6, blazons Castell of Cambridgeshire *Argent three towers triple-towered gules* with similar coats for branches in Cumberland, Warwickshire, Devon and at Raveningham, Norfolk.

<sup>57</sup> *Middlesex Pedigrees as collected by Richard Mundy in Harleian MS. No. 1551*, ed. Sir G.J. Armytage, Harleian Soc., 65 (London, 1914), p. 65; Lysons, loc. cit.

<sup>58</sup> RCHM, *London*, 1, *Westminster Abbey* (London, 1924), p.47. Indent II shown on plan.

<sup>59</sup> Cameron, 'Kingsbury and Littleton', p.375.

<sup>60</sup> R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1786-96), II, pl. LXXXI, facing p. 210. The rose was inscribed around the edge: 'Sis rosa flos florum morbis medicina reorum', and had at its heart the sacred monogram 'IHS', crowned. Round the centre were five capitals spelling 'MARJA'.

# An Heraldic Engraved Brass Coffin-Plate to Bridget, Lady Heathcote - a Product of Thomas Chippendale's London Workshop?

by PETER HACKER AND PATRICK FARMAN

**A**MONG the items held in store by the Chippendale Society at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, is an heraldic brass coffin-plate bearing the lozenge of arms of Bridget, Lady Heathcote set in a fanciful rococo surround, below which is the inscription: 'BRIDGET HEATHCOTE / THE WIDOW & RELICT OF / SIR JOHN HEATHCOTE / BAR'T / DIED MAY THE 5TH 1772/ AGED 68 YEARS' (Fig. 1).



FIG. 1  
Bridget, Lady Heathcote, d. 1772  
Temple Newsam House, Leeds  
*Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

The blazon of the arms is: On a lozenge, Quarterly 1st and 4th, *Ermine three pomeis each charged with a cross or* (Heathcote),<sup>1</sup> 2nd and 3rd, *Azure a cross engrailed ermine* (Rayner),<sup>2</sup> *in centre point an inescutcheon argent charged with a sinister hand gules*, impaling *Gules a chevron vair between three lions rampant or* (White).



Fig. 2  
Tracing of impressed  
mark on back of brass

The plate measures 300 x 410 mm, and on the back it bears the impressed letters 'BW' beneath a crude crown (Fig. 2). The meaning of these letters is uncertain. They could perhaps be those of the maker of the brass plate.<sup>3</sup> Another possibility is that they stand for Bridget White, the deceased lady's maiden name, as she was the daughter of Thomas White of Wallingwells, Notts. (1667-1732), M.P. for East Retford.<sup>4</sup> On 5 August 1720 she married Sir John Heathcote, 2nd Baronet (1689-1759), the M.P. for Grantham (1715-22), and subsequently for Bodmin (1733-41), by whom she had two sons and six daughters.<sup>5</sup>

The coffin-plate came to light in the vaults of Normanton church in Rutland shortly after it was deconsecrated in 1971 in order that the Empringham reservoir project (now known as 'Rutland Water') could proceed. This entailed flooding the church to a depth of ten feet! On 6 September 1972 the vault was unsealed and sixteen coffins were hoisted out, including what remained of Lady Heathcote's, of which only the elaborate brass handles and the coffin plate had survived intact. These items were subsequently presented to the Chippendale Society by the Earl of Ancaster, a descendant of Lady Heathcote.<sup>6</sup>

The strong interest in these remaining items shown by the Chippendale Society was prompted by an earlier discovery in 1968 at Lincoln Records Office of Thomas Chippendale's account for furnishing and directing Lady Heathcote's funeral in 1772.<sup>7</sup> Chippendale's bill included charges for 'a large Strong Lead Coffin and soldering up with inscription'.<sup>8</sup> The account continues with the following clear reference: 'A Brass plate of Inscriptions with the Coat of Arms neatly Engrav'd and Gilt &c £4', an obvious allusion to the rediscovered coffin-plate, which originally would have been attached to the outer wooden coffin for identification. The coffin is described in the invoice as 'cover'd with black Velvett & finish'd with 2 rows best brass nails & 4 pairs of large strong chas'd brass handles gilt'.

<sup>1</sup> These arms were granted to Sir Gilbert Heathcote of Normanton, 1st Baronet (1652-1733) in 1708 (E.D. Heathcote, *An Account of some of the Families bearing the name of Heathcote which have descended out of the County of Derby* (Winchester, 1899), p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> This should properly be *Azure a saltire engrailed ermine*. Sir Gilbert Heathcote married Hester, daughter and heiress of Christopher Rayner (Heathcote, *Heathcote*, p. 81).

<sup>3</sup> *Thomas Chippendale: An Exhibition to mark the Bicentenary of Thomas Chippendale's Death in November 1979*, Leeds Art Galleries at Temple Newsam (Leeds, 1979), p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> R. Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754*, 2 vols. (London, 1970), II, p. 534.

<sup>5</sup> Heathcote, *Heathcote*, pp. 86-7; Sedgwick, *House of Commons*, II, pp. 123-4.

<sup>6</sup> The brasses from the other coffins in the vault were given to the Rutland County Museum, Oakham.

<sup>7</sup> Lincoln Records Office (LAO), 2 Anc 12/D/29.

<sup>8</sup> C. Gilbert, 'Chippendale as Undertaker', *Furniture History*, IX (1973), p. 116.

In Chippendale's order book, under 12 May 1772, seven days after Lady Heathcote's death, is an entry which evidently refers to this plate: 'a brass plate of inscription with a coat of arms neatly engrav'd and gilt etc. £4-00'.<sup>9</sup>

Despite heavy tarnishing both the ornate handles and the coffin plate have responded well to expert cleaning by Temple Newsam's conservators, although the items are not generally on public view. The heraldic lozenge at the head of the coffin plate with its elaborate surrounding rococo decoration emerged as a most delicately executed specimen of the engraver's art, reflecting Thomas Chippendale's earlier 'Director' style without a hint of the neo-classical impulses which by 1772 were influencing his furniture designs.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the cast coffin handles with their back plates reminiscent of earlier baroque cartouches are considered to be remarkably archaic for the date of death. This may indicate usage of old stock items.

Although many eighteenth-century cabinet-makers were also undertakers,<sup>11</sup> this particular branch of their activities does not so far appear to have been researched. Chippendale's account shows that one Thomas Haig was sent to accompany the funeral cortège from London to Normanton, suggesting that the Heathcotes were established respected customers, an inference supported by the existence of other bills from the firm found amongst the family papers.<sup>12</sup> However, it is as yet impossible to assess exactly what proportion of the furnishings Chippendale actually made for the funeral, although his joiners and upholsterers would have been sufficiently competent to produce the outer wooden coffin with its velvet covering and brass fittings. According to a contemporary trade card Chippendale and Rannie are described as 'cabinet makers and upholsterers' and were based in St. Martin's Lane, Charing (sic) Cross.<sup>13</sup>

In conclusion, the striking similarity between this coffin-plate and a series commemorating members of the Cavendish family, mounted on the panelling in the south aisle of Derby Cathedral, and also those commemorating the Burlingtons in All Saints church, Londesborough, East Riding, Yorks., should not pass unnoticed. These would be suitable subjects for further research. In the light of this evidence of the excellence of the engraver's art on brasses, perhaps the eighteenth century should no longer be dismissed as the period without brasses of any significance.

The authors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mr. James Lomax, Curator (Decorative Arts) at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, and to the Chippendale Society for permission to rub and reproduce the rubbing of the coffin-plate.

<sup>9</sup> *Thomas Chippendale*, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Gilbert, 'Chippendale as Undertaker', p. 115.

<sup>11</sup> The Gillow papers provide evidence of this (Gilbert, 'Chippendale as Undertaker', p. 114).

<sup>12</sup> LAO, 2 Anc 12/D/28 and 32.

<sup>13</sup> Westminster City Library, Ref. Print Box No. 63, no. 39, i (Gilbert, 'Chippendale as Undertaker', pl. 38A).

# Conservation of Brasses, 1998

by WILLIAM LACK

**T**HIS is the seventeenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with several projects; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance with Carlisle Cathedral and Sprotborough; to the late Donald Lack for assistance with Carlisle Cathedral; to Michael Taylor for assistance at several churches in Suffolk; to Philip Whittemore for assistance with Compton; to the Churches Conservation Trust; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Fovant and Sprotborough; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Carlisle Cathedral, Fovant and Metfield; the Leche Trust at Carlisle Cathedral; the Manifold Trust at Fovant and Sprotborough; and the Monumental Brass Society at Carlisle Cathedral, Compton, South Elmham, Fovant, Mendlesham and Metfield.

Full reports on this conservation work will be deposited in the Society's archive at Birmingham.

## CARLISLE CATHEDRAL<sup>1</sup>

I removed three brasses on 3 August 1998.

**L.S.W. I.** Bishop Richard Bell, 1496. This London (series D) brass, comprising an effigy with mitre and crosier (1427 x 422 mm overall, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 3.5, 3.4 and 4.3 mm, 22 rivets), a scroll (395 x 405 mm overall, engraved on nine separate pieces of brass with mean thickness 3.1 mm, 5 rivets), an inscription in two Latin lines (59 x 638 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets), a mutilated triple canopy (originally 2260 x 910 mm, now 2020 x 910 mm, 19 plates, various sizes, thicknesses 2.8 to 4.3 mm, 42 rivets) and a mutilated marginal inscription in Latin (originally 2870 x 1559 mm overall, now 2789 x 1559 mm, 9 fillets survive, various sizes, the largest 994 x 33 mm, 24 rivets), was taken up from the original marble slab (3300 x 1880 mm) in the choir. There were originally quadrilobes at each corner, probably engraved with Evangelists' symbols, but these have been lost for many years.

The whole brass was loose and several plates had been relaid, secured with screws and bedded on putty. The three plates of the effigy had never been joined together. A section of the scroll had been detached from the slab for many years. The plates are abraded and brightly coloured, probably as the result of unsuitable covering in the

<sup>1</sup> The two pre-1700 brasses were described and illustrated in R. Bower, 'Brasses in the Diocese of Carlisle', *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archeological Soc.*, XIII, pt. 1 (1894), pp. 143-4, 150, pls. II, XI, and illustrated recently by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1998), pp. 20-2.

recent past, and have become quite worn. A comparison with the engraving published by Richard Gough about two hundred years ago<sup>2</sup> shows that since that time the only losses have been a small fragment from the left canopy shaft and another from the right end of the top strip of the marginal inscription, the latter lost within the last few years.

After cleaning I replaced solder joints in the scroll and canopy, repaired a fracture in the inscription and fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. II.** Bishop Henry Robinson, 1616. This Haydocke-engraved rectangular plate<sup>3</sup> (576 x 420 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 6 rivets), engraved with a kneeling effigy, depictions of the Cathedral and Queen's College, Oxford, and an inscription, was removed from a modern marble slab on the north wall of the north aisle. It had been secured with ferrous nails and was easily removable. The plate is made of copper and there are remains of gilding on it. After cleaning I repaired a small fracture and fitted new rivets.

**L.S.W. LXI.** Inscription to Cyril Mayne, Dean 1943-1959. This inscription commemorating the replacement of the pulpit in memory of Archdeacon William Paley (432 x 304 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 4 rivets) had come loose from paving close to the pulpit. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 5, 6 and 13 October 1998. The indent for the Mayne inscription was recut by the resident stone mason.

## COMPTON, SURREY

**M.S. I.** Thomas Gennyn and wife Margaret, both died 1508 (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> This London (series F) brass now comprises a civilian effigy (405 x 138 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 2 rivets), a three-line English inscription (64 x 449 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets) and two sons (141 x 80 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 1 rivet). These were removed from the original slab in the nave (1270 x 760 mm) on 27 October 1998. The female effigy (397 x 124 mm), stolen from the slab in 1969,<sup>5</sup> is illustrated in Fig. 1 from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries. There are also indents for a shield and a single daughter.<sup>6</sup>

The inscription, fractured into two parts, proved to be palimpsest with another inscription, flanked by a lion's head erased, from the mouth of which issues a cross crosslet, and an oak leaf and acorns, on the reverse (Fig. 2). The reverse engraving is

<sup>2</sup> R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 2 vols. in 3 (1786-96), II, pt. 2, pl. 116, p. 329, reproduced in Lack, Stuchfield and Whitemore, *Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> There is an almost identical duplicate in Queen's College, Oxford, also produced by Richard Haydocke. See K.J. Hölten, 'Richard Haydocke: Translator, Engraver, Physician', *The Library*, Fifth Series, XXXIII (1978), pp. 26-7, pl. IVb.

<sup>4</sup> Described in M. Stephenson, *The Monumental Brasses of Surrey* (London, 1921; repr. Bath, 1970), pp. 145-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix to 1970 edition, p. 568.

<sup>6</sup> When the brass was recorded by O. Manning and W. Bray, *History of Surrey*, 3 vols. (London, 1804-14), II, p. 12, the shield was extant but the daughter already lost.



FIG. 1

Compton, Surrey

M.S. I. Thomas Gennyn and wife Margaret, both died 1508

*Rubbing by William Lack; female effigy from rubbing in Society of Antiquaries*



FIG.. 2  
Compton, Surrey  
Palimpsest reverse of inscription from M.S. I  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

contemporaneous with the obverse, is very 'sharp' and was never laid down. The inscription reads 'John Pynnok alderman and elezabeth his wyff / foundors of this chapel here under lieth'.

(This 'waster' was intended for Holy Trinity Chapel, on the south side of the chancel of Burford church. John Pinnock of Burford, in his will made on 8 November 1486 and proved on 20 October 1487, desired to be buried 'in the chapel of Holy Trinity attached to the church of Burford lately built at my costs'.<sup>7</sup> He was a merchant of some substance, owning property and lands in Burford and Northleach. The family used arms, which were entered in 1603 as: *Per saltire gules and sable on a chevron between three lions' heads erased, from the mouth of each issuant a cross crosslet fessways all or, as many cinquefoils or*.<sup>8</sup> Pinnock was the son of another John Pinnock, merchant, who died in 1474.<sup>9</sup> The elder Pinnock's tomb was noted by Sir Richard Lee in 1574: 'On a graveston Pynnok as before impaling a lion rampant guardant uninctured Over it is written John Pynnok marcator and Elein his wife mccccxxiv'.<sup>10</sup> In his will John Pinnock the younger mentions his wife Elizabeth, his son Thomas, and daughters Margery, married to someone called Peter, Agnes and Elizabeth. Another member of the family was commemorated by a brass noted by an antiquary in 1660: 'Nigh hence on a brasse on the ground Hic jacet Johannes Pinnock primogenitus Thome Pinnock gentleman quondam societatis de Greisinne qui quidem Johannes obiit v die Augusti MCCCCLXXXX cujus etc'.<sup>11</sup> Burford, which was a major centre of the wool trade, was governed by an alderman and burgesses. No systematic list of aldermen was kept, and the earliest alderman so far recorded occurs in 1530.<sup>12</sup> Consequently the brass is valuable evidence for the earlier use of that title for the chief officer of the corporation, corresponding to what was called in 1382 the 'Senior Gilde Borfordie'. The list of bailiffs is more complete; John Pinnock junior is listed as bailiff in 1458, 1460, 1466, 1472 and 1481, and Thomas Pinnock in 1517-8.<sup>13</sup> By October 1488

<sup>7</sup> PRO PROB 11/8, f. 35 (PCC 4 Milles).

<sup>8</sup> Sir B. Burke, *The General Armory* (London, 1884), p. 805. Pinnock bequeathed his son a tapestry covering with the image of a lion.

<sup>9</sup> The bequests in John Pinnock the elder's will are printed in R.H. Gretton, *The Burford Records* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 365-7.

<sup>10</sup> Gretton, *Burford Records*, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-6.

Elizabeth had married one Thomas Everard, who joined in a petition with Pinnock's executors against one of his debtors.<sup>14</sup> The date of Elizabeth's death is indicated by an entry in the Fine Rolls. On 18 May 1496 a writ of *diem clausum extremum* was issued to the escheator of Oxfordshire, after the death of Elizabeth Everard late the wife of John Pynnok.<sup>15</sup> Ed.)

After cleaning I repaired the fracture in the inscription and fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in the slab on 14 December 1998.

#### CRANFORD ST. ANDREW, NORTHANTS.

I removed two brasses on 21 May 1998.

**M.S. I.** John Fossebrok, 1418, and wife Maud (Fig. 3). This London (series B) brass,<sup>16</sup> comprising an armoured effigy (525 x 149 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets), a female effigy (501 x 200 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (93 x 491 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 4 rivets), had been reset in its original Purbeck slab (1720 x 760 mm) which is now mounted against the north wall of the north aisle.<sup>17</sup> There are indents for two shields at the top of the slab. M.S. II is mounted in the lower part of the slab and its inscription obscures the indents of the two lower shields.

The original rivet holes and several later holes had been plugged with solder and three rivets had been soldered to the reverse of each plate. Another rivet had been soldered to the reverse of a small detached fragment at the bottom left-hand corner of the male effigy. The head of the female effigy had been broken off at some stage and re-secured with a steel backing-plate riveted with four brass rivets. Two fractures in the male effigy had been repaired with solder. After cleaning and removing the solder plugs and backing-plate I rejoined the head to the female effigy and the small fragment to the male effigy and fitted new rivets to the original rivet holes.

**M.S. II.** John Fosbroke. 1602, and two wives (Fig. 4). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a civilian effigy (403 x 235 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 8 rivets), two female effigies (left 399 x 124 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets; right 404 x 122 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets) and an eleven-line English inscription (206 x 610 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 10 rivets), had been reset below M.S. I in the same slab.

The rivet holes in the effigies had been plugged with solder and each plate secured with two rivets soldered to the reverse. The head of the male effigy had been broken off and re-secured with a ferrous backing-plate in identical fashion to the female effigy of M.S. I. After cleaning and removing the solder plugs I rejoined the head to the male effigy and fitted new rivets.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 616-7, 671.

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. Fine R.* 1485-1509, no. 532.

<sup>16</sup> Dated c. 1430 by the late Dr J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses: A New Classification of Military Effigies', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, XII (1949), p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> The brasses and slab had already been moved from the floor to the wall by 1861, as noted in H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861; repr. Bath, 1970), II, p.156.



FIG.. 3  
Cranford St. Andrew, Northants.  
M.S. I. John Fossebrok, 1418, and wife Maud  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

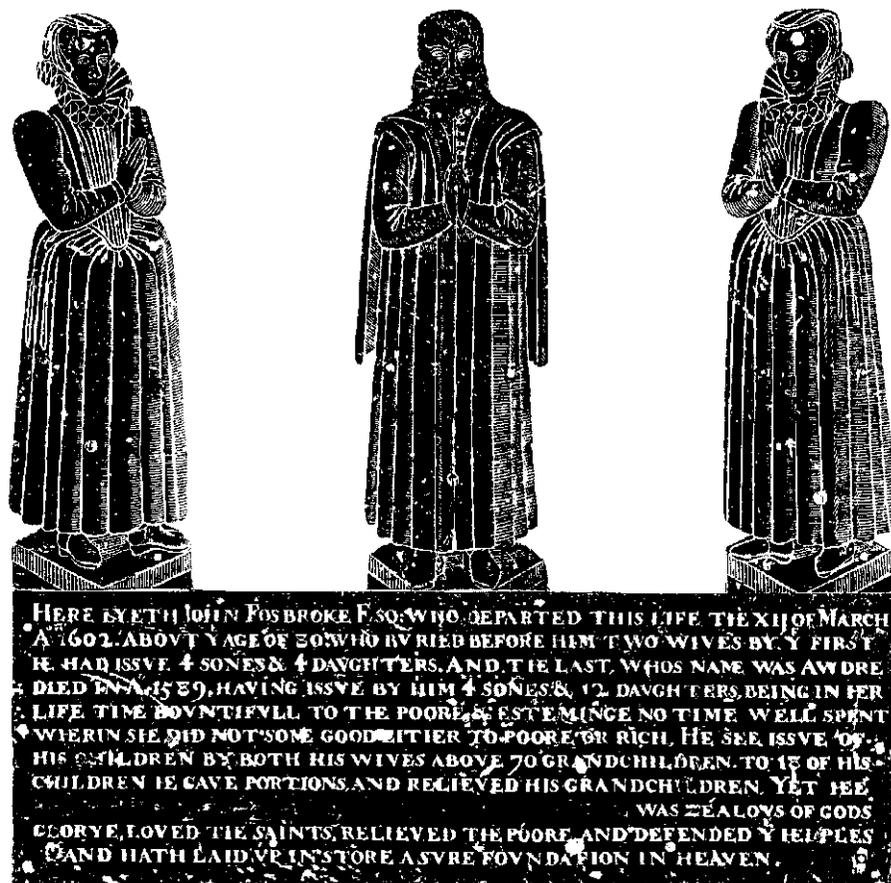


FIG. 4  
Cranford St. Andrew, Northants.  
M.S. II. John Fosbroke. 1602, and two wives  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

The brasses were reset in the slab on 23 June and 7 July 1998. On 7 July 1998 I cleaned the inscription to Edward and William Robinson, 1865, *in situ* on the south wall of the south chapel.

### DEERHURST, GLOS.

**M.S. I.** Sir John Cassy, 1400, and wife Alice. In 1984 I conserved nine plates from this famous London (series A) brass.<sup>18</sup> Following the theft of the upper sinister shield<sup>19</sup> I removed all the other plates on 16 June 1998. These comprised the male effigy (976 x 198 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 7 rivets), the female effigy (967 x 301 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 7 rivets), the base below the effigies (74 x 678 mm, engraved on two plates with

<sup>18</sup> Previous conservation work in 1984 was described in *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 6 (1985), pp. 518-9.

<sup>19</sup> *MBS Bulletin*, 77 (February 1998), pp. 356-7.

thickness 3.2 and 4.0 mm, 3 rivets), the pediments of the double canopy (engraved on a single plate, 565 x 702 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 11 rivets), three sections of the lower canopy shafts (various sizes, the largest 603 x 59 mm, thicknesses 3.6, 3.7 and 4.5 mm, 5 rivets), twelve of the thirteen fillets of the marginal inscription (2250 x 935 mm overall, largest fillet 561 x 31 mm, thicknesses varying from 3.3 to 4.1 mm, 32 rivets) and the sole surviving (lead) shield (160 x 121 mm, maximum thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets).

There are 'compartments' down each side of the male effigy's robe which were originally filled with lead. There are holes through the metal, 66 in total, at the ends of each compartment which acted as keys for the lead. Although most of the lead has been lost from the compartments nearly all of the holes remain plugged with lead. There are identifying Roman numerals incised on the reverses of the marginal inscription and these run clockwise round the inscription from the top left corner.

After cleaning, I repaired several fractures, replaced lead joints and fitted new rivets. The plates were relaid on 16 and 21 July 1998.

#### SOUTH ELMHAM, ST. JAMES, SUFFOLK

Two brasses were removed on 30 May 1998.

**M.S. I.** Unknown civilian and wife, *c.* 1500 (Fig. 5). This Norwich (series 3) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (441 x 138 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets) and a female effigy (436 x 142 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 2 rivets), was removed from a board mounted on the north wall of the nave. In recent years it had been removed from the original slab (2430 x 1115 mm) in the nave. There is an indent for a missing inscription.<sup>20</sup> After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. III.** Inscription to William Grudgefield and wife, 1601 (Fig 6). This five-line inscription in English (now 107 x 570 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 8 rivets) was taken up from the original worn slab (1620 x 780 mm) in the chancel. There was originally another central plate extending from the lower edge of the inscription and joined with lead. This plate, measuring about 25 x 235 mm and engraved with two extra lines of inscription, has long been lost. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 3 December 1998. The indent for M.S. III was deepened before relaying.

#### FOVANT, WILTS.

**M.S. I.** George Rede, *c.* 1500.<sup>21</sup> For many years this London (series D) brass, comprising a rectangular plate engraved with a kneeling effigy in academical dress,

<sup>20</sup> Already lost when the brass was noted in C R Manning, *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in England* (London, 1846), p. 77.

<sup>21</sup> The brass was described and illustrated in E. Kite, *The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (London, 1860; repr. Bath, 1969), p. 42, pl. XIII, and has recently been illustrated in M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (London, 1977), fig. 234.



FIG.. 5

South Elmham, St. James, Suffolk  
M.S. I. Unknown civilian and wife, c. 1500  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

• HERE LYETH BVRIED THE BODY OF WILLIAM GRVDGFIELD •  
WHO HAD TO WIFE ELIZABETH BATTLEY HE DECEASED y 2 OF  
IUNE AN<sup>o</sup> 1601 WHICH WILLIA GAVE X POUND. TO BE PAYED BY  
HIS EXECVTORS TO y CHVRCH WARDENS w IN 2 YERES AFTER  
• HIS DECEASE FOR y BYING OF 5 MILSH KYNE TO BE LET OVT TO

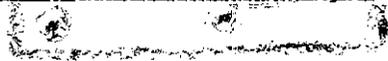


FIG.. 6

South Elmham, St. James, Suffolk  
M.S. III. Inscription to William Grudgefield and wife, 1601  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

an Annunciation and a three-line Latin inscription (316 x 380 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 6 rivets) had been screwed to a board mounted on the north wall of the chancel behind a sheet of perspex, and had become considerably corroded. It was taken down in 1997 and I collected it on 2 August 1997. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plate into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the chancel on 3 April 1998.

#### LONDON, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

**M.S. III.** John de Waltham, 1395.<sup>22</sup> This London (series B) brass now comprises a mutilated effigy in episcopal vestments, the remains of an elaborate triple canopy with super-canopy and a fragment of marginal inscription, and lies in the north-west corner of the Confessor's Chapel. For many years the brass was covered by wooden flooring but this was removed in November 1996.<sup>23</sup> On 17 February 1998 I removed the effigy (now 1197x 476 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.2 and 2.7 mm, 24 rivets), the top part of the right-hand canopy shaft (494 x 242 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets), the surviving fragment from the lower right-hand corner of the super-canopy (254 x 97 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 3 rivets) and the surviving central section of canopy pediment (218 x 104 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 2 rivets) from the original worn Purbeck slab (2550 x 1225 mm).

There are two unsightly transverse scratches which occurred during removal of the wooden floor. After cleaning I repaired fractures, re-soldered part of the original joint between the plates of the effigy and fitted new rivets, including several soldered to the reverses of plates. The brass was relaid on 10 and 11 March 1998.

**Bishop James Monk, 1856.** On 18 September 1990 I removed this brass, comprising an effigy in episcopal vestments (1387 x 476 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 16 rivets), a single canopy (2000 x 670 mm overall, comprising six plates, the largest being the pediment, 967 x 503 mm, thicknesses 2.0 to 2.6 mm, 33 rivets), two shields (137 x 118 mm, thicknesses 2.5 mm, 4 rivets) and a marginal inscription (2242 x 891 mm overall, engraved on six fillets, thicknesses 2.2 to 2.4 mm, 22 rivets) with Evangelists' symbols at the corners and crosses mid-way down each side, all set in quadrilobes (148 x 148 mm, thicknesses 1.9 mm to 2.6 mm, 10 rivets), from a slate slab (2440 x 1070 mm) in the north choir. It had become loose over many years and most of the plates had been re-secured with screws. At one stage it had been covered with perspex but this had been removed and replaced with a sheet of lead. The plates are badly worn, particularly on the left-hand side of the brass, and after several years under the lead covering they had become very corroded and unsightly. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 16-17 February and 10 March 1998.

<sup>22</sup> The brass was illustrated in its entirety by J. Dart, *Westminsterium: Or the History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peters Westminster*, 2 vols. (London, [1723]), II, pl. 92, p. 46. Nearly all of the losses to the brass occurred during the next 100 years and its condition has remained virtually unchanged since then, as is shown by Kite, *Wiltshire*, pl. XXXI.

<sup>23</sup> *MBS Bulletin*, 74 (February 1997), pp 283-4.

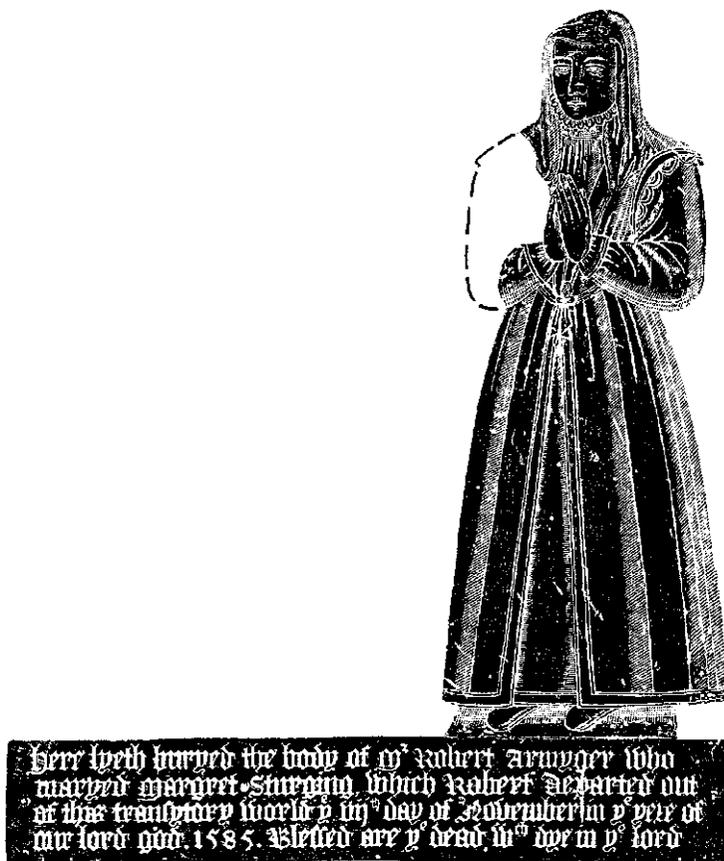


FIG. 7

Mendlesham, Suffolk

Margaret Armiger, 1585, formerly M.S. I in Southolt, Suffolk

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

## MENDLESHAM, SUFFOLK

**Margaret Armiger, 1585**, formerly in Southolt, Suffolk (Fig. 7). This London (series G, Daston style) brass now comprises a female effigy (594 x 236 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 5 rivets) and a four-line English inscription (102 x 592 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets). The effigy of her husband Robert was lost in the mid nineteenth century<sup>24</sup> and the left arm of the effigy is broken off. The brass was originally laid down in the nave of St. Margaret's, Southolt.<sup>25</sup> The church at Southolt was declared redundant about thirty years ago and the brass was removed and screwed to a board mounted on the south wall of the south aisle in Mendlesham church. The board was removed from the church on 11 July 1998. After cleaning and fitting new rivets I rebated the brass into a beech board, the plates being positioned as in an old rubbing in the Society of

<sup>24</sup> It was recorded as extant in 1846 in Manning, *List*, p. 77, but as lost in 1861, in Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 193.

<sup>25</sup> Listed as M.S. I in M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 470.

Antiquaries' collection, made when the brass lay in the original slab. The board was mounted on the south wall of the south aisle on 3 December 1998.

### METFIELD, SUFFOLK

**M.S. I.** Inscription and shield to John Jermy and wife Isabel, 1504 (Fig. 8). This Norwich (series 3c) brass, now comprising a mutilated three-line Latin inscription (originally 90 x 590 mm, now 90 x 430 mm, thickness 5.5 mm, 3 rivets) and a shield (128 x 114 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 2 rivets), was removed from the original slab (1720 x 920 mm) in the sanctuary on 11 July 1998. There is an indent for a second shield but this has been lost for many years. The inscription was laid facing west rather than east and old rubbings in the Society of Antiquaries show that it had been laid this way for many years. After cleaning and repairing a fracture, I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in the slab on 3 December 1998.

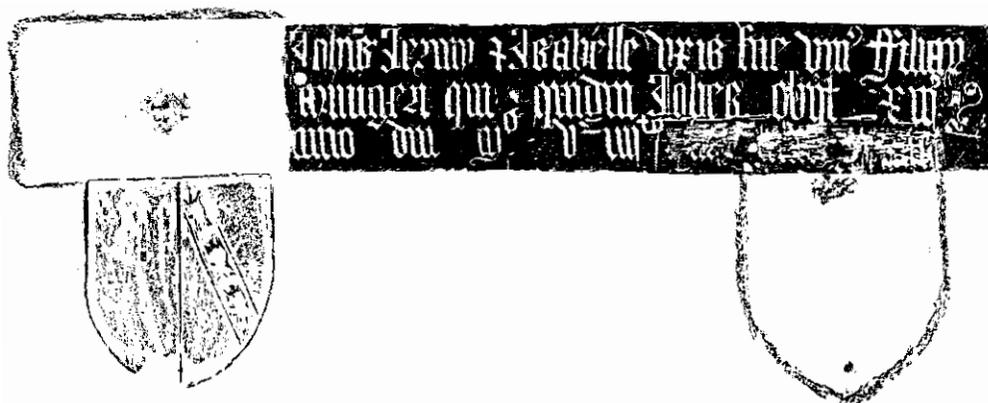


FIG. 8

Metfield, Suffolk

M.S. I. Inscription and shield to John Jermy and wife Isabel, 1504

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

### SPROTBOROUGH, YORKSHIRE

I took up two brasses on 26 June 1998.

**M.S. I.** William Fitzwilliam, 1474, and widow Elizabeth.<sup>26</sup> This York (series 2b) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (794 x 250 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 12 rivets), a female effigy (778 x 247 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 8 rivets) and a four-line Latin inscription (142 x 688 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 6 rivets), was taken up from the original dark marble slab (2430 x 1165 mm) in the chancel. There are indents for four lost shields. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

<sup>26</sup> Described and illustrated by F.R. Fairbank, 'Ancient Memorial Brasses remaining in the Old Deanery of Doncaster', *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Jnl*, XI (1891), pp. 80-4. It has been illustrated in several other publications, for example *MBS Portfolio*, V, part 9 (1946), pl. 47, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses: Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 203.

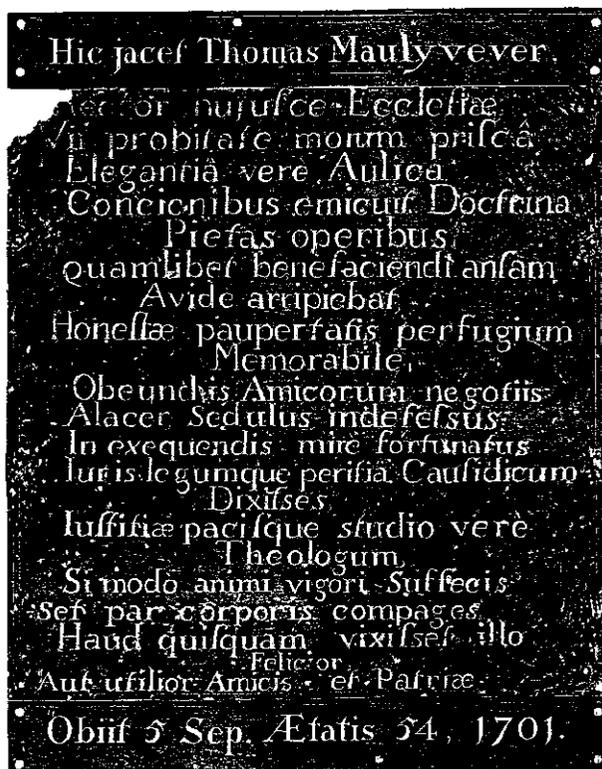


FIG. 9

Sprotborough, Yorkshire  
 Inscription to Thomas Maulyverer, 1701  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

**Inscription to Thomas Maulyverer, 1701** (Fig. 9). I removed this inscription in two Latin lines and twenty-one Latin verses from a non-original cement slab on the south side of the sanctuary. The brass is engraved on three plates, a central square plate with the verses, in a lower case Roman script<sup>27</sup> (414 x 410 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 12 rivets), and separate strips at the top and bottom, each engraved with a single Latin line (upper 52 x 411 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 6 rivets; lower 51 x 410 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 6 rivets). The brass had been secured with screws, and was considerably corroded and bent up at the corners. After cleaning and repairing cracks I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 28 July 1998.

<sup>27</sup> In general appearance it resembles Page-Phillips' Script 13 (J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999), p. 33, but certain features, such as the sloping 't', are distinctive.

## Reviews

Sally Badham and Malcolm Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. 60 (London, 1999). ISBN 0 85431 272 2

The death of Malcolm Norris has deprived us of a remarkably stimulating and observant scholar. This book, produced in collaboration with Sally Badham, represents the last fruits of that scholarship. Much of the credit for the book is properly due to Sally Badham, whose skill as an epigraphist is evident throughout the book, and who saw this book through the press. Credit is also due to the Society of Antiquaries for the excellent standard of their publication. The illustrations, which include potentially difficult subjects such as antiquarian drawings and rubbings of decayed incised slabs, are of superb quality. Tribute must also be paid to Frank Greenhill, to whom this work is dedicated. The authors make much use of his rubbings and unpublished notes, made at a time when all too many incised slabs were in much better condition.

The book provides a systematic attempt to reconstruct a fuller picture than has previously been available of the operations of the London marblers before the Black Death. The authors have examined the 170 incised slabs in England and Wales listed by Greenhill, dated within the span 1250 to 1400, together with a handful of slabs that have come to light since his death. Their examination has revealed that production was on a larger scale than previously believed and that more than one workshop was producing brasses and incised slabs in London for much of the period covered by this study. Their study highlights the need for conservation of these slabs, often regarded as an inferior art form. So little work has been carried out on these monuments which are rapidly deteriorating and even being destroyed. The process of decay is well illustrated by four illustrations of the incised slabs of John de Huntingfeld at West Wickham, ranging from Thomas Fisher's drawing of a largely intact monument to Sally Badham's tracing of the few meagre fragments remaining in 1989.

Because of the presumption that the technique of incising stone is not the same as engraving brass, the study of engraved brasses has largely been divorced from that of incised slabs in England. To those familiar with French or Tournai monuments such a division is meaningless. Continental examples suggest that designers worked concurrently in both media. It is possible that different craftsmen were employed for the two processes but they were produced in the same workshop to the same patterns. Greenhill had suspected a common origin for the two, and Badham and Norris marshal a body of evidence to support this hypothesis.

Chapter 3 deals with the development of effigial incised slabs to 1400 in England and Wales, although the main focus of their monograph is on the period *c.* 1280 to

c. 1360. Cross-slabs are undoubtedly the most numerous type of incised monument surviving, but the authors have found it difficult to identify workshop groupings among the surviving regionally-produced effigial incised slabs. They conclude that production before 1400 shows that London marblers clearly dominated the market in the south-east, but no further afield. There is considerable variety in regionally made incised slabs, but little evidence for large-scale regional production of effigial slabs in England and Wales. The vast majority of pre-Black Death brasses and indents were probably products of the London marblers.

Chapter 4 deals with the Purbeck marble industry in the pre-Black Death period. Purbeck marble, a polishable limestone usually worked only by specialist masons, termed marblers, was used in the production of both incised slabs and brasses in London, again emphasising that the same craftsmen were involved in their production. Indeed, the majority of the approximately 4000 extant brasses and indents dating to before 1500 are set in Purbeck marble. Evidence suggests that by the late thirteenth century the Purbeck marblers had begun to settle in London. In the early fourteenth century the trade in London was dominated by Adam of Corfe (d. 1331), who may have been responsible for the Camoys and Septvans series. Similarly John Ramsey III (d. 1371) may be associated with London A, and Emmerson and Blair have linked Henry Lakenham (d. 1387) with London B.

In Chapter 5 a survey is given of brass production in London in the period prior to the Black Death, revealing evidence of activity from as early as the 1270s. Here the authors challenge some of the dating earlier postulated by Binski and Blair in *The Earliest English Brasses*. They provide a useful account of the often forgotten Westminster Abbey series which, although it does not appear to have produced figural brasses, confirms the presence of the new technique in London in the 1270s. Chapter 6 puts forward evidence that early brasses and incised slabs were produced in the same London workshops. Datable examples among the sixty-six slabs assigned to London span a period wider than that suggested for brass production in *The Earliest English Brasses*.

Part 2, comprising chapters 7 to 14, discusses the monuments in detail, beginning with the workshop series identified in *The Earliest English Brasses*, namely the Camoys, Septvans and Seymour styles. The links between monuments in the different media are underlined by the juxtaposition of similar features. Particularly telling are the comparisons between Martin the vicar at Barking and Richard de Hakebourne at Merton College, Oxford, and between the slab from St. Christopher-le-Stocks, London (Fig. 1) and the Septvans brass at Chartham. In both cases the proportions of the face and the arrangement of the hair point to a common designer. Chapter 7 deals with the Camoys style, to which the authors add further brasses and indents, as well as making some re-datings. Among the slabs which the authors link with the Camoys series a particularly outstanding one is that of Sir William de Pageham (d. 1305) at Titchfield, Hants. Were it not for the use of Purbeck marble, this slab, partly in the *taille d'épergne* technique, and showing a figure with feet planted apart, could



FIG. 1

Unknown civilian, c. 1305-25

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, from St. Christopher-le-Stocks, London

easily pass as a French monument. The involvement of craftsmen trained in France at this significant period in the development of brasses and incised slabs is something to be considered. The slabs discussed in Chapter 8 have a relationship with both the Camoys and Septvans style brasses and as such are entirely consistent with Binski's analysis of the brasses which also show a mix of features. They suggest that the Septvans style represents an offshoot group of the Camoys shop. Their findings for the Seymour style suggest that it may have spanned a much longer period than previously thought. The convincing attribution of the composite slab at Westwell to John de la More, who probably died in 1309, implies that production overlapped with the Camoys/Septvans workshop for some decades. The existence of concurrent workshops parallels the situation in London in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Chapter 10, dealing with post-Seymour brasses and slabs, witnesses to a period when brass engraving suffered a hiatus. Further information about the brasses of this period is provided in Sally Badham's article 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death - A Reappraisal', *Archaeologia*, LXXX (2000), pp. 207-47. Production is thought to have resumed with Series A in the mid 1330s and Series B in the 1350s. Only three extant slabs date from this period. The style is distinctive but one which is clearly less proficient than that hitherto, testifying to an apparent decline of London as a centre of production at this period. It is interesting to note that a parallel situation pertains in the case of manuscript production from the late 1330s where, although some links were apparently preserved with London, artistic activity was seemingly focused in Oxford and Cambridge as well as other centres in East Anglia. There are also various incised slabs which do not fit into any recognised workshop series. These are discussed in Chapter 11. Of particular note is the fragment at Wimborne Minster which, as is observed, seems to show French influence.

To Camoys, Septvans, Seymour and Hastings we must now add Basyng and Ashford as the names of stylistic groupings. The names are apposite. Basyng takes its name from the fine, though battered, incised slab of Prior William de Basyng (d. 1295) in Winchester Cathedral. It may be significant that most of the products of this workshop are to be found in and around Winchester. The authors favour production in London, but make the interesting suggestion that the workshop was located in Southwark, at the northern end of the diocese of Winchester. If so, then tomb production in Southwark has a longer pedigree than hitherto suspected. The Basyng workshop is only represented by incised slabs, often just inscriptions added to Purbeck cross slabs produced in Corfe, with one possible exception. The authors make the interesting suggestion that the Chinnor cross brass, dated *c.* 1320 by Binski and tentatively assigned to the Camoys group, in fact belongs to the 1290s. The inscription fillet, which suggests a later date, can be paralleled on the Cantilupe brass, and the face at the centre of the cross is very close to that of Prior William de Basyng. Certainly there is nothing about the decorative repertoire of the brass which is inconsistent with a date in the 1290s.

The Ashford group is named after a rather unimpressive and sketchily engraved brass bust of an anonymous priest in Ashford, Kent. This is the only surviving brass of this group, but a number of important figure indents, such as de Luda at Ely, are assigned to this workshop, as well as some twenty incised slabs. The chronology of several key monuments is uncertain, but the body of evidence points to a date range between the 1270s and *c.* 1310. Characteristic of this style are small-featured faces, with small ears, and close-set almond-shaped eyes, and long, ungainly bodies. Very similar figures can be found in manuscripts of the late thirteenth century, most notably the artist of the Passion scenes in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.4.16. The Cantelupe brass at Hereford is also assigned to the Ashford series, but the more coherent drapery of the surviving figure of St. Ethelbert suggests, at the very least, the intervention of a more gifted draughtsman. The authors speculate that this series was produced in the workshop of Master Ralph of London, shortly to be the subject of a study by Philip Lankester and John Blair.

This book is the most important work on brasses to appear since *The Earliest English Brasses*. Like that work it is not definitive, in the sense that further research and further discoveries will alter details. Dates of death and identities of the commemorated will be challenged or confirmed. Further work undoubtedly needs to be done on the relationship between English and continental workshops, and on the broader artistic context of the monuments. But the overall picture presented by the authors in this study is a convincing one, and has clarified our understanding of the origins of brass production in England.

LYNDA DENNISON

Anne F. Sutton, *I Sing of a Maiden: The Story of the Maiden of the Mercers' Company* (London: Mercers' Company, 1998). ISBN 0 9521515 3 7

In this witty, informative and well illustrated study the Archivist of the Mercers' Company traces the history of the maidenhead device used by the Mercers. She demonstrates that it is not a disguised version of a Marian symbol, as some nineteenth-century antiquaries speculated, but secular in its origins. The Maiden's first recorded appearance is on the common seal granted to the Mercers in 1425, which shows a very worldly personage, her hair in fashionable *cornettes*, her neck bare, wearing a coronet, and with a light veil flowing behind her. Anne Sutton makes a good comparison with the depiction of Queen Joan of Navarre on her tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. However, the device seems to date back to the fourteenth century. By 1377 there was a brewhouse called the *Maid on the Hoop* next to St. Thomas of Acon, which served as the Mercers' church, and another nearby tavern was called the *Maiden's Head* by 1407. An important element of the Mercers' trade

was in haberdashery, especially the products of the London silkwomen. It is suggested that the device refers to the Mercers' female clientele. Support for this idea is provided by a medieval French proverb which compares an over-dressed woman to a mercer's shop.

Brasses provide important evidence as to the development of the device as the Company's coat-of-arms in the early sixteenth century. The earliest instance illustrated by Anne Sutton is on the Thorpe brass (M.S. VI) of 1504 at Higham Ferrers, Northants. However, earlier examples can be found on the brasses of John Lambard, 1487, Hinxworth, Herts., M.S. II; Thomas Hoore, 1495, Digswell, Herts., M.S. V; and John Welles, 1495, St. Laurence, Norwich, M.S. XI. The huge loss of monuments from City of London churches, especially St. Thomas of Acon, has undoubtedly deprived us of valuable evidence. Some monuments were recorded by antiquaries; a photograph is included of Nicholas Charles's drawing of the heraldry on the monument (probably a brass) of Christopher Howes (d. 1508) in St. Alban, Wood Street. Occasionally a mercer would impale his merchant's mark with the maidenhead, in the manner of a bishop impaling his family arms with those of his see. Illustrations are given of examples on the brasses of Thomas and Alice Baldry, St. Mary le Tower, Ipswich, M.S. III, and John Carman, Worstead, Norfolk, M.S. VI, as well as on the house of Augustine Styward in Tombland, Norwich. The Maiden is almost always surrounded by a nebuly border, and usually emerges from a bank of clouds, underlining her symbolic role as the personification of the mystery.

It was not until 1568 that the maidenhead was formally registered by Robert Cooke as the Company's arms. Colour plates are given of Cooke's record of the arms, Henry St. George's version of 1634, and the grant of arms made in 1911. It is particularly fascinating to see the way in which the Maiden reflects the fashion of the day in her hairstyle and neckline. Like other City Livery Companies, the Mercers have continued the tradition of commissioning works of art glorifying the Company. One of these is a tapestry, designed by Valerie Power and Bernard Watney, and woven in 1996, which has at its centre a representation of the Maiden obviously based on an early sixteenth-century brass shield in the British Museum. The Maiden is thus an excellent example of the vivacity of tradition.

NICHOLAS ROGERS

## Portfolio of Small Plates

**Fig. 1:** A knight, early 14th century (incised slab), Chelvey, Somerset. *Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, 10 December 1931*

On the floor of the south chapel of Chelvey church is a cut-down slab of greyish-black lias (1994 x 520 mm tapering to about 457 mm), the surface much perished, especially round the edges and across the centre, bearing the boldly engraved figure of a knight with wavy hair, wearing a sleeved surcoat reaching to the ankles. In his right hand he holds a lance, and with his left hand grasps his sword just below the quillons. The head rests on a cushion; it cannot now be seen whether there was any foot-rest. No traces of the inscription now remain.<sup>1</sup>

This is one of a small group of incised slabs in the Bristol area which show French influence.<sup>2</sup> The lance-carrying pose is uncommon in English brasses and incised slabs, but commonplace on French monuments of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> The pose of the Chelvey figure can be matched on the incised slab of Jean de Châtillon (d. 1345), formerly in the Cordeliers at Châtillon-sur-Seine.<sup>4</sup>

F.A.G. and N.R.

**Fig. 2:** Elizabeth Roper, d. 1567, Lynsted, Kent, M.S. I. *Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 31 March 2001*

Elizabeth, the daughter and sole heir of Richard Parke of Kent, esquire, born in 1544, was the first wife of John Roper, esquire, subsequently created 1st Baron Teynham (c. 1534-1618), whom she married c. 1560. As the inscription indicates clearly, she was a staunch Catholic, and was presented for recusancy in 1562. She died on 15 September 1567 and was buried the following day in the south (or Roper) chancel at Lynsted.<sup>5</sup> She is shown with one son and two daughters, an achievement and three shields. The illustration in Belcher is misleading both in the disposition of the elements and the omission of the last section of the inscription. The way in which this was engraved on a separate plate suggests that there was a fear of objection to the inclusion of a prayer for the dead.

N.R.

1 On this slab see R.W. Paul, *An Account of Some of the Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of North-West Somersetshire* (London, 1882), p. 13, pl. XVI; A.C. Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies in Somerset, Part XII, Incised Effigies', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Soc.*, LXXI (1925), p. 51, pl. VII, fig. 1 (the date of c. 1260 given here is far too early); F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), I, p. 132 (where it is dated c. 1320).

2 S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1999), p. 17.

3 E.g. J. Adhémar & G. Dordor, 'Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e Période, LXXXIV (1974), nos. 302 (1267), 317, 364 (1279), 439 (1293), 465 bis (1296), 466 (1297), 468 (1297), 547 (1307), 593 (1315); Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, pls. 47b, 52a (1270).

4 Adhémar & Dordor, no. 746.

5 A. Vallance, 'The Ropers and Their Monuments in Lynsted Church', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLIV (1932), pp. 153-4; G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, XII, pt. 1 (London, 1953), p. 680.



FIG. 1  
A knight, early 14th century (incised slab)  
Chelvey, Somerset  
*Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, 10 December 1931*



Here lieth buried Elizabeth Roper late wife of John  
 Roper of Kent's shire daughter & late heire of Richard  
 parke of Kent's shire who had issue by the said John  
 Roper our soune & thre daughters. We had her buried  
 vntomby and ended the same most catholykely

Wherunto god send



FIG. 2  
 Elizabeth Roper, d. 1567  
 Lynsted, Kent, M.S. I  
 Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 31 March 2001

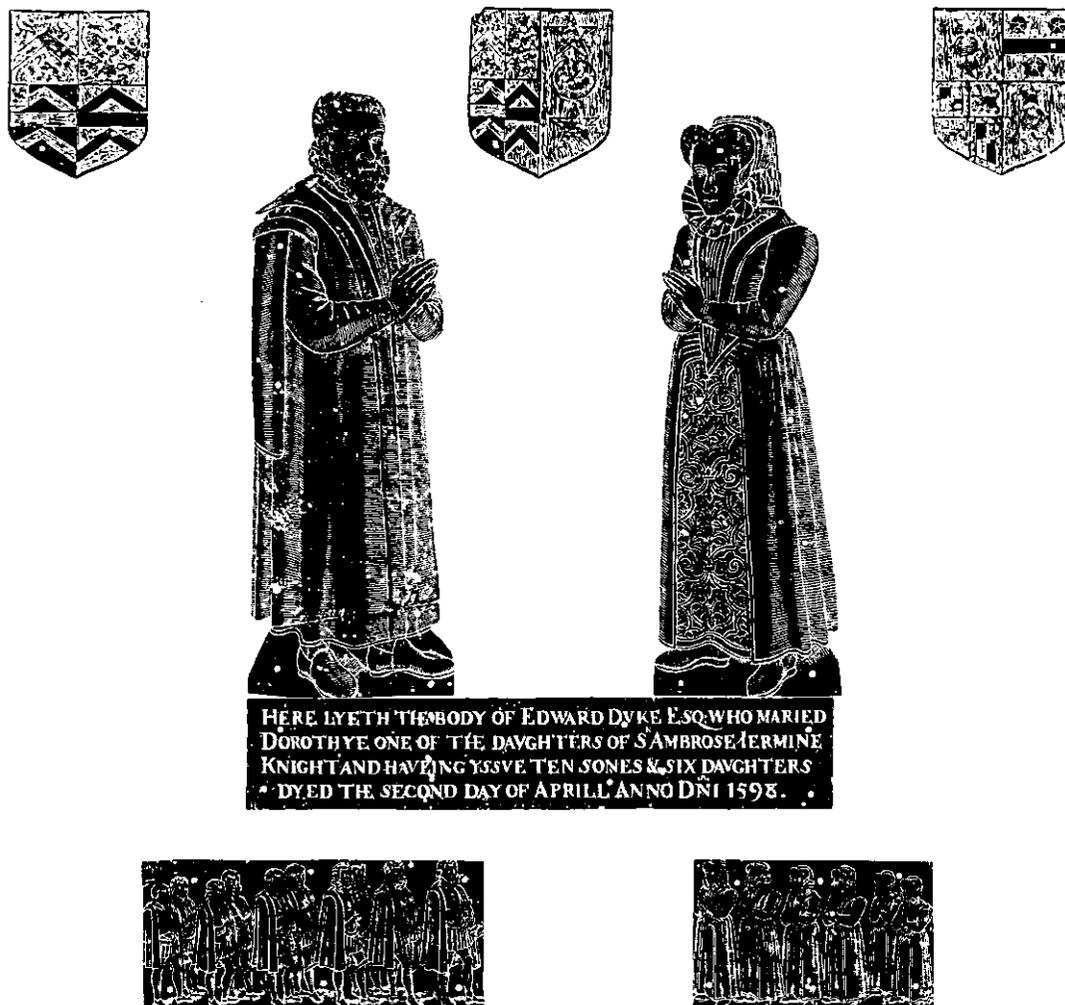


FIG. 3

Edward Duke, esq., d. 1598, and w. Dorothy  
 Benhall, Suffolk, M.S. II  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, July 1999*

**Fig. 3:** Edward Duke, esq., d. 1598, and w. Dorothy, Benhall, Suffolk, M.S. II.  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, July 1999*

M.S. II at Benhall, Suffolk, lies in the chancel. It depicts Edward Duke, esquire, died 2 April 1598, in gown, and his wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir Ambrose Jermyn of Rushbrooke, knight. Their ten sons (the two eldest carrying rapiers) and six daughters are shown on two plates. There is a foot inscription in English and three shields. The figures measure 635 by 203 mm, the inscription 114 by 610 mm, groups of children 152 mm high and the shields 178 by 146 mm.

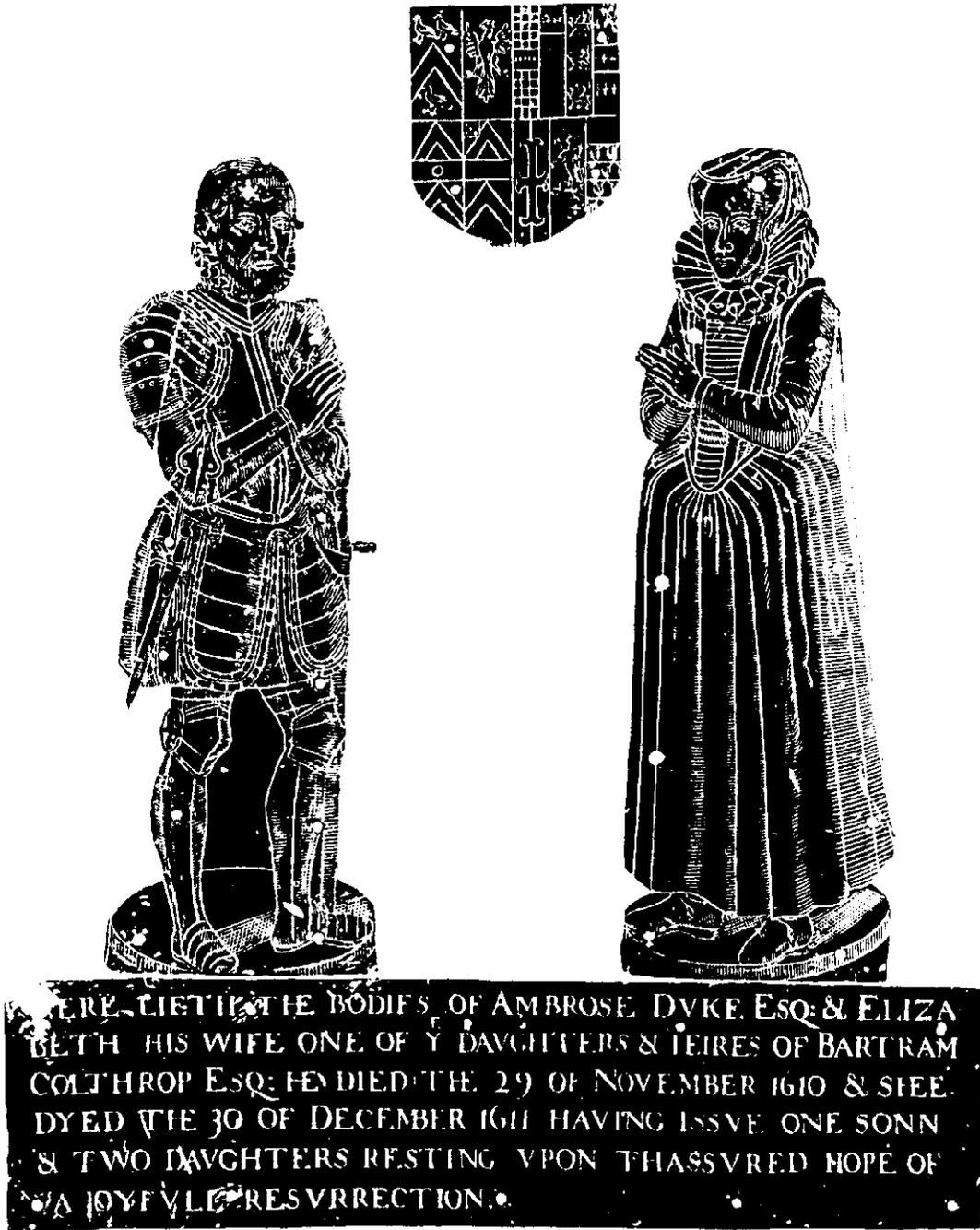


FIG. 4  
 Ambrose Duke, esq., d. 1610, and w. Elizabeth  
 Benhall, Suffolk, M.S. III  
 Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, July 1999

The shields, from the dexter, bear: 1. Quarterly Duke, Parke, Ilketshall and Baynard; 2. the same impaling Jermyn, and 3. Quarterly 1 and 4 Jermyn, 2 Rushbrooke, and 3 Quarterly Heveningham and Borgon.

J.M.B.

**Fig. 4:** Ambrose Duke, esq., d. 1610, and w. Elizabeth, Benhall, Suffolk, M.S. III. *Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, July 1999*

M.S. III at Benhall, Suffolk, in the chancel, is now covered by the platform on which the communion table stands. It depicts Ambrose Duke, esquire, died 29 November 1610, in armour, and his wife Elizabeth, died 30 December 1611, one of the daughters and heirs of Bartram Colthrop [Calthorpe], esquire, barrister of London and Norwich, who has a brass at Antingham, Norfolk (M.S. IV), and Margaret his wife, daughter of Edmund Tichbourne of Edenbridge, Kent. There is a foot inscription in English and one shield. They had one son, Edward, created a baronet by Charles II, and two daughters. The figures measure 520 x 203 mm, the inscription 153 x 597 mm, and the shield 127 x 102 mm.

Ambrose was the eldest of ten sons of Edward Duke (d. 1598) of Brampton, Shadingfield, Kelsale and Benhall, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Ambrose Jermyn of Rushbrooke, Suffolk, still alive in 1606. He married Elizabeth Calthorpe at Little Stonham in 1599. His parents' brass at Benhall (M.S. II) may be from the same workshop.

The shield above the effigies has Quarterly of four, Duke, Parke, Baynard, Ilketshall, impaling Quarterly of seven, Calthorpe, Bacon of Redgrave, Wythe, St. Omer, Ingham, Stapleton and Tichbourne. As Ilketshall and Baynard are Ambrose Duke's great-great-grandfather's first and second wives, he could hardly claim descent from both of them. Parke is for his great-great-grandfather's wife. The baronetcy became extinct in 1732.

J.M.B.

**Fig. 5:** Thomas Price, d. 1776, Ann Price, d. 1778, and children, Duntisbourne Abbots, Gloucestershire. *Rubbing by G.W. Ruck, 12 September 1959*

**Fig. 6:** Mary Price, d. 1796, Duntisbourne Abbots, Gloucestershire. *Rubbing by G.W. Ruck, 12 September 1959*

These two Cotswold brasses (695 x 515 mm and 515 x 360 mm respectively), on tombstones in the churchyard at Duntisbourne Abbots, to the south-west of the south porch, are both signed by the engraver, James Cook of Minchinhampton, whose products bear dates between 1761 and 1814.<sup>6</sup> On two brasses of 1787 (James

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Peter Heseltine for this information. See also A.B. Connor, 'Signed 18th-19th Century Churchyard Brasses from the Cotswolds and Somerset', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 2 (1944), p. 53.

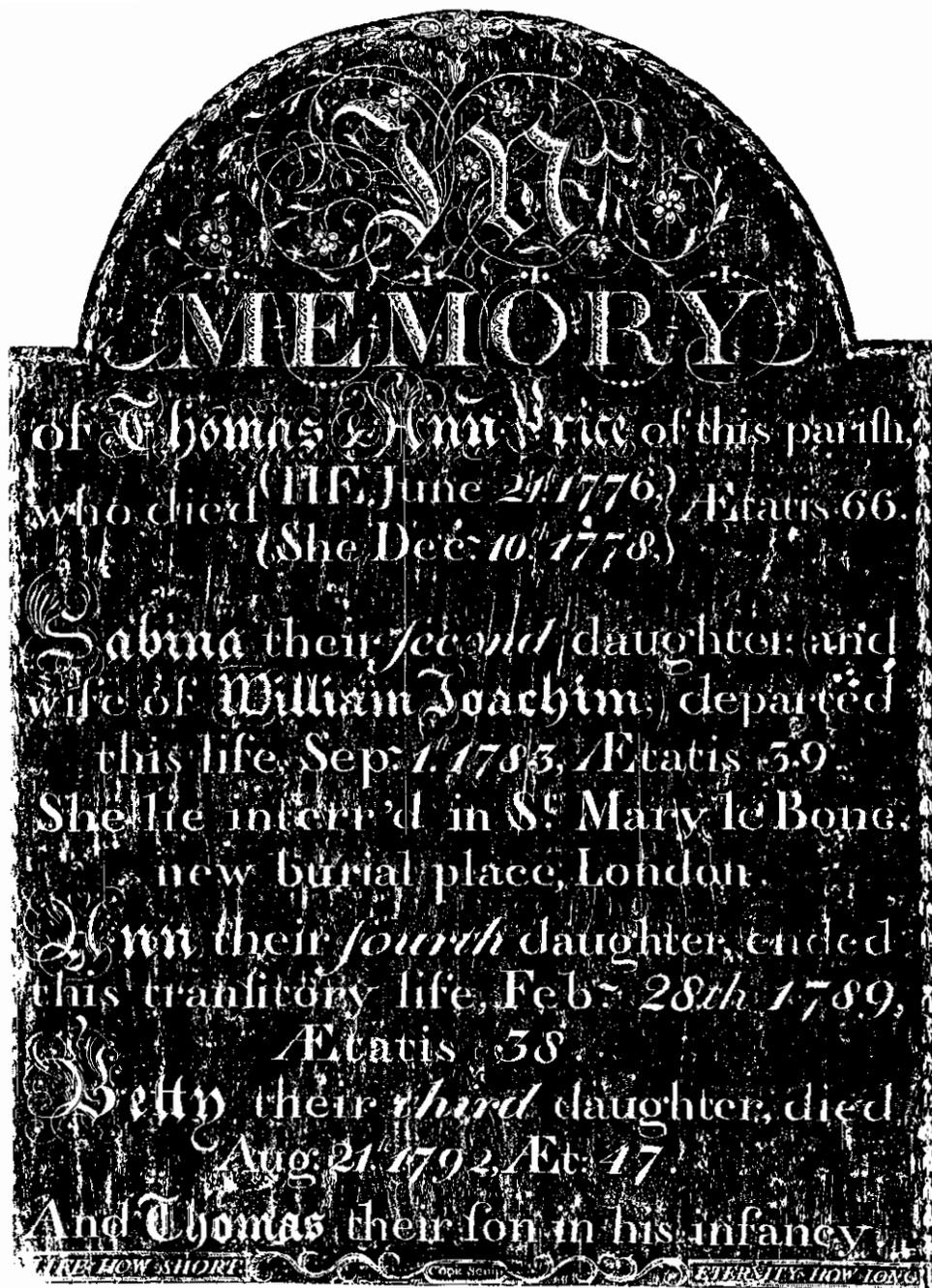


FIG. 5

Thomas Price, d. 1776, Ann Price, d. 1778, and children  
Duntisbourne Abbots, Gloucestershire  
Rubbing by G.W. Ruck, 12 September 1959

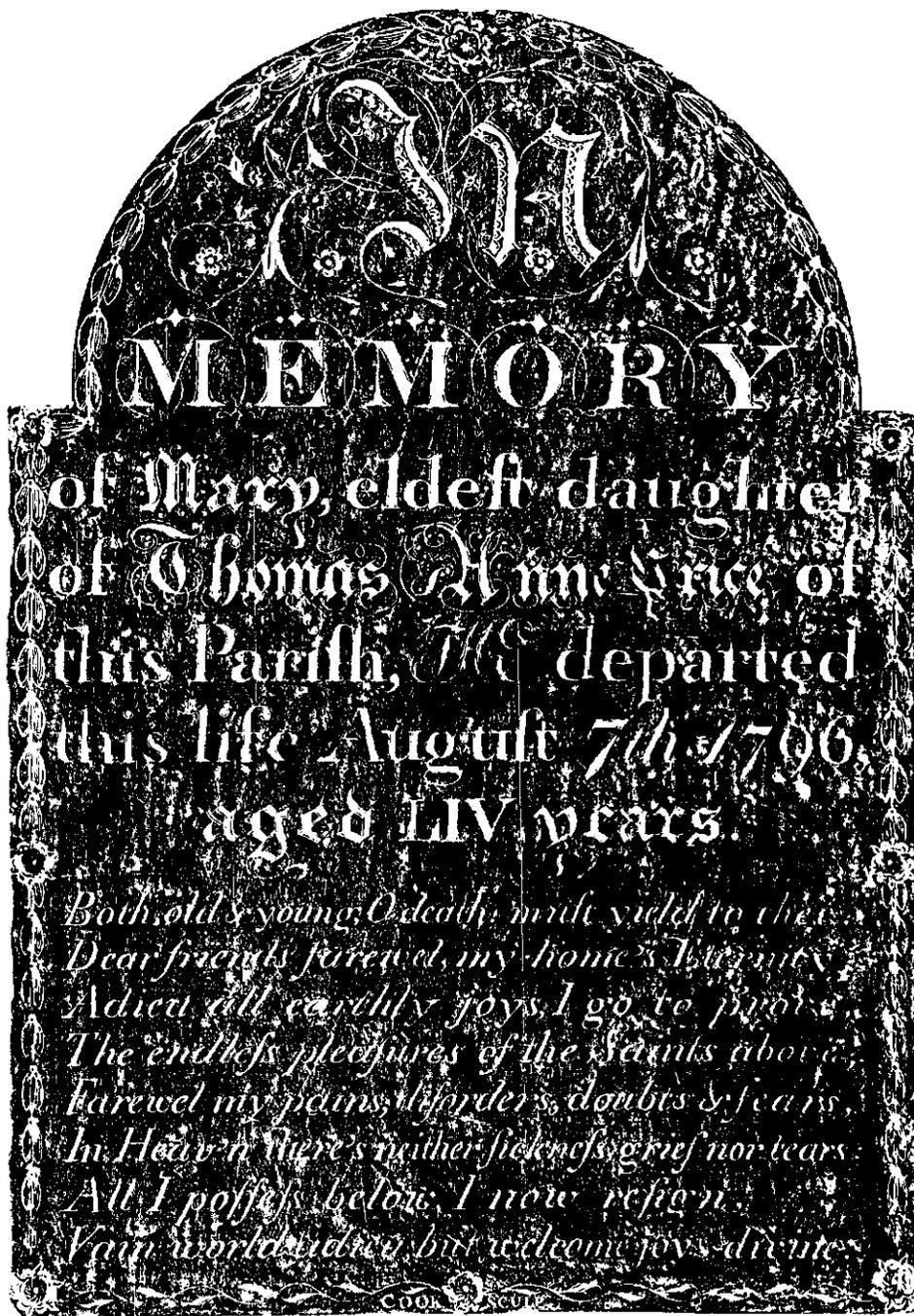


FIG. 6

Mary Price, d. 1796

Duntisbourne Abbots, Gloucestershire

Rubbing by G.W. Ruck, 12 September 1959

Mathen, Duntisbourne Abbots, and William Bengier, Duntisbourne Rouse) Cook gives his address as 'near the Lodge, Hampton Common'.

The baptisms of Sabina (12 January 1743), Betty (14 December 1745), Thomas (10 October 1747) and Ann Price (24 April 1751) are recorded in the parish register of Duntisbourne Abbots, as is the marriage, on 10 May 1774, of Sabina and William Joachim.

N.R.

<b>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY</b> <b>Registered Charity No. 214336</b> <b>INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT</b> <b>FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.99</b> <b>General Fund</b>
--

<i>1998</i>	<b>INCOME</b>	<i>1999</i>
8041	Subscriptions	8043.62
2058	Income Tax recovered	0.00
279	Donations	20.00
772	Sales - net	234.19
1126	Events - net	375.69
1935	Interest and Investment Income	1665.91
<u>-84</u>	Less share transferred to Malcolm Norris Fund	<u>-57.00</u>
		<u>1608.91</u>
<u>14127</u>	<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>	<u>10282.41</u>
	<b>EXPENDITURE</b>	
2744	Publications - Bulletin	2602.36
1128	Meetings	829.90
647	Travelling Expenses	609.55
677	Printing / Postages	801.98
64	Subscriptions	64.00
32	Bank Charges	10.50
58	Miscellaneous	114.00
600	Transfer to Conservation Fund	100.00
600	Transfer to Exhibition Fund	600.00
<u>5600</u>	Transfer to Publications Fund	<u>5000.00</u>
<u>12148</u>	<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</b>	<u>10732.29</u>
14127	<b>INCOME FOR YEAR</b>	<b>10282.41</b>
<u>12148</u>	<b>EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR</b>	<u><b>10732.29</b></u>
<u>1979</u>	Deficit for year - transferred to Balance Sheet	<u><b>-449.88</b></u>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY</b>  <b>Registered Charity No. 214336</b>  <b>INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT</b>  <b>FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.99</b>  <b>Miscellaneous Funds</b></p>
--

**PUBLICATIONS FUND**

Reserve for 1997, 1998 Trans. and Occasional Series at 31.12.98	8593.94	
Final part production costs of 1997 Transactions	<u>-3129.41</u>	5464.53
Net surplus / deficit of Occasional Series No. 1		-988.27
Transfer from General Fund for Transactions 1999 & Occasional Series		<u>5000.00</u>
Reserve for 1998, 1999 Transactions & Occasional Series		<b><u>9476.26</u></b>

**EXHIBITION FUND**

Balance as at 31.12.98		-600.00
Transfer from General Fund		<u>600.00</u>
Fund closed		<b><u>0.00</u></b>

**MALCOLM NORRIS FUND**

Balance as at 31.12.98		1479.91
Donation		40.00
Accrued interest		57.00
Archival expenses		<u>-248.13</u>
Balance as at 31.12.99		<b><u>1328.78</u></b>

**MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY**  
**Registered Charity No. 214336**  
**INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT**  
**FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.99**  
**Conservation Fund**

1998	<b>INCOME</b>	1999
95	Donations	50.00
50	Sale of Printing Blocks	0.00
306	Interest	167.33
600	Transfer from General Fund	<u>100.00</u>
1051	<b>Income for year</b>	<b>317.33</b>
-795	Less: Grants approved in 1999 as per Schedule below	-1000.00
	Grants no longer required	<u>450.00</u>
256	<b>Surplus / deficit for year carried to Balance Sheet</b>	<b><u>-232.67</u></b>

**Schedule of Grant Awards at year ending 31.12.99**

Applicant Parish	Unpaid at Jan.1, 99	Made in 1999	Paid in 1999	Grants not required	Unpaid at Dec.31, 99
Gt. Yeldham	75.00				75.00
Lostwithiel	100.00			100.00	
Gt. Yeldham	50.00				50.00
Lidlington	250.00			250.00	
Hartlepool	100.00			100.00	
Stokesby	100.00				100.00
Horsham	50.00				50.00
Northolt	100.00				100.00
Perivale	150.00				150.00
S. Elmham St James	100.00		100.00		
Cranbrook	75.00				75.00
Wrotham	150.00				150.00
Shotesham St Mary	100.00		100.00		
Ashby St Legers	50.00		50.00		
Benhall	150.00		150.00		
Mendlesham	70.00				70.00
Metfield	150.00				150.00
Compton	50.00				50.00
Maulden		150.00	150.00		
Tingrith		75.00			75.00
Wantage		100.00			100.00
Chelmsford		75.00			75.00
Colchester		100.00			100.00
Albury		175.00			175.00
Little Hadham		125.00			125.00
Newnham		100.00			100.00
Chastleton		100.00			100.00
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>1870.00</b>	<b>1000.00</b>	<b>550.00</b>	<b>450.00</b>	<b>1870.00</b>

**Total of Grants Unpaid at 31.12.99 carried to Balance Sheet** **1870.00**

<b>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY</b> <b>Registered Charity No. 214336</b> <b>BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.99</b>
--

<i>1998</i>	<b>ASSETS:</b>	<i>1999</i>
	<b>CASH AND BANK BALANCES</b>	
	General Fund - Barclays Current a/c	160.27
	Barclays Postal a/c	9141.48
	Girobank	177.93
10558	First Vermont Bank	<u>255.27</u> 9734.95
13326	National Savings Bank	13890.28
8666	Conservation Fund	<u>8433.68</u> 32058.91
13210	Charifund [1337 units]	14186.91
	Conference Prepayments	
	Canterbury (2000)	840.00
	Hull (2001)	<u>300.00</u> 1140.00
	<b>Less Creditors:</b>	
-208	County Series Books	-207.67
-1870	Grants outstanding	<u>-1870.00</u> <u>-2077.67</u>
<u>43682</u>		<u>45308.15</u>

**REPRESENTED BY:**

	<b>GENERAL FUND:</b>	
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.98	16202.40
16202	Less deficit for the year	<u>-449.88</u> 15752.52
11210	Unrealised surplus on Investments (Charifund)	12186.91
	<b>CONSERVATION FUND:</b>	
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.98	6796.35
6796	Less deficit for the year	<u>-232.67</u> 6563.68
8594	<b>PUBLICATIONS FUND:</b>	9476.26
-600	<b>EXHIBITION FUND:</b>	0.00
<u>1480</u>	<b>MALCOLM NORRIS FUND:</b>	<u>1328.78</u>
<u>43682</u>		<u>45308.15</u>

20 May 2000

M.A. Paige-Hagg  
Hon. Treasurer

Note: No value has been placed on the Society's archives, library and publications stock.

# Independent Examiner's Report

## **To the trustees/members of the Monumental Brass Society**

This report on the accounts of the Monumental Brass Society for the year ended 31st December 1999, which are set out on pages 10 to 13, is in respect of an examination carried out under section 43 of the Charities Act 1993.

## **Respective responsibilities of trustees and examiner**

As the charity's trustees you are responsible for the preparation of the accounts; you consider that the audit requirement of section 43(2) of the Charities Act 1993 ('the Act') does not apply. It is my responsibility to state, on the basis of procedures specified in the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners under section 43(7)(b) of the Act, whether particular matters have come to my attention.

## **Basis of independent examiner's report**

My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the charity and a comparison of the accounts presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the accounts, and seeking explanations from you as trustees concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the view given by the accounts.

## **Independent examiner's statement**

In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:

- a) which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements
  - to keep accounting records in accordance with section 41 of the Act; and
  - to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with the accounting requirements of the Act have not been met; or
- b) to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

R. G. Oakley  
Independent Examiner

7th August 2000

TRANSACTIONS OF THE MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY

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*NOTE: Contributors are solely responsible for all views and opinions contained in the Transactions, which do not necessarily represent those of the Society.*