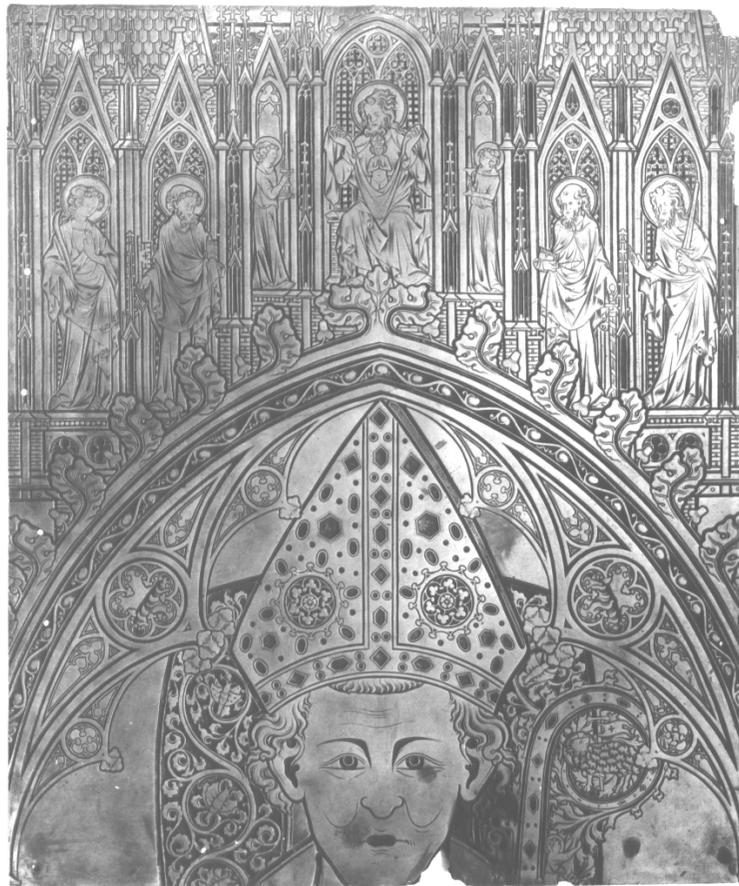


TRANSACTIONS OF THE
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Cover: Fragment of Pontifical Brass, British Museum, MME 1853,0221.1.

Photo.: T. Milton/ Trustees of the British Museum.

Editorial

THIS special issue of the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* is dedicated to the memory of Walter Mendelsson, for many years Secretary and latterly a Vice-President of the Society, and a dear friend to many. Walter cared much about the needs of the 'ordinary' members of the Society, and encouraged events such as conferences and excursions that helped disseminate the fruits of scholarship in an accessible way. One initiative which he supported warmly was a one-day symposium at the British Museum on 21 June 1997. In this issue are the papers given that day, together with others relating to brasses in the Museum's collection.

The Editor is grateful to several people for their help in bringing this collection of papers to the press, but a special debt must be recorded to John Cherry, Keeper, Department of Medieval and Modern Europe, for the copious assistance he has provided.



In sinu Abrahe angeli deducant te.

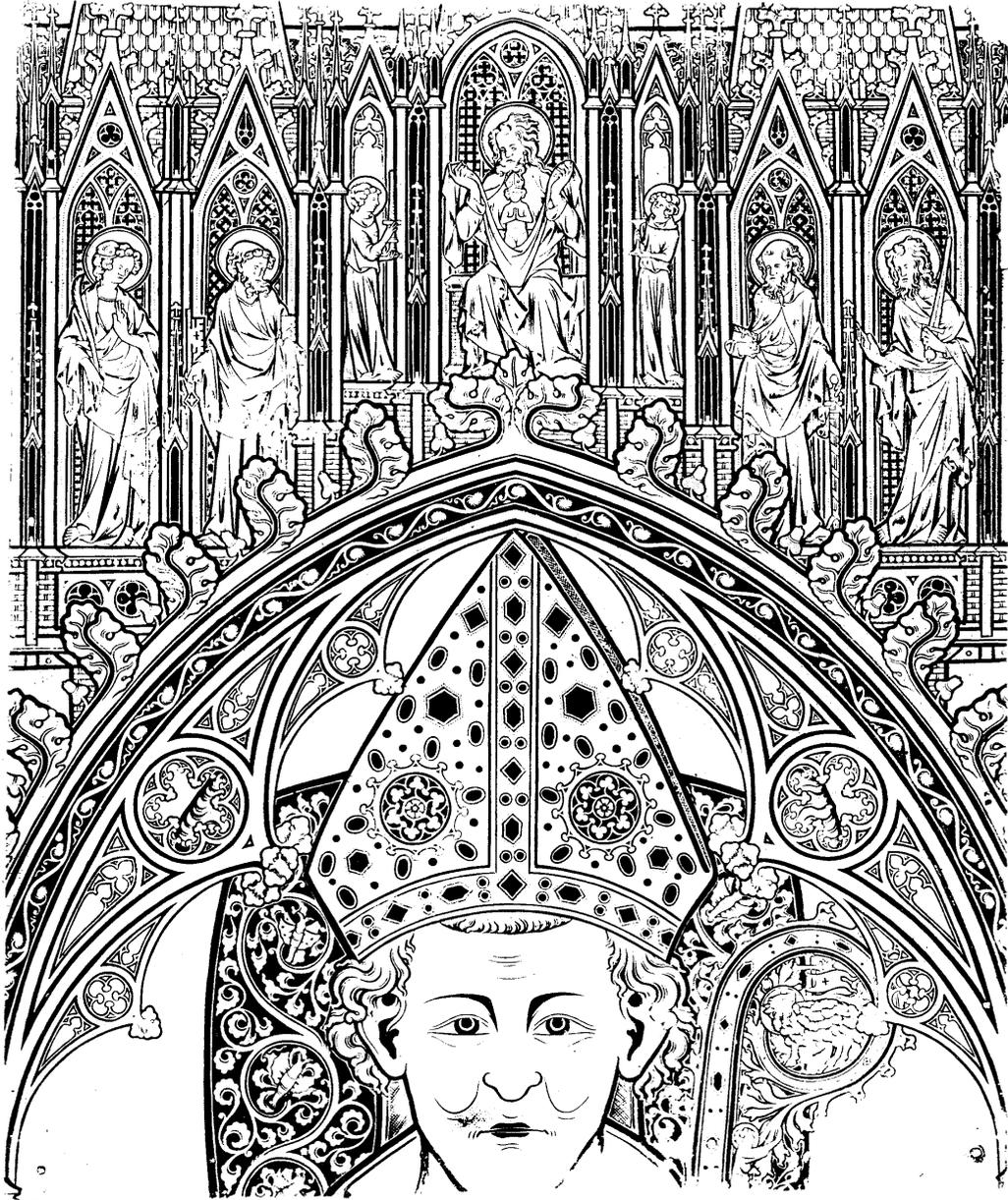


FIG. 1

Fragment of French pontifical brass, BM MME 1853,0221.1
mid 19th-century ink impression (reversed), Cambridge Collection

The Brasses of the British Museum: A Historical Survey

by STEPHEN FREETH

Introduction

THE collection of brasses held by the British Museum, listed in detail elsewhere in this issue of the *Transactions*,¹ seems impressive at first sight. There are over sixty separate items, mostly English, but including some Continental work. Amongst them are six principal figures, seven groups of children, six inscriptions, thirteen shields, and five evangelists' symbols, as well as other miscellaneous plates. These in turn range from tiny fragments to the magnificent and impressive French head of a bishop or abbot (Fig. 1) which Lynda Dennison discusses elsewhere in this issue.² The whole collection ranges in date from the early fourteenth to the early seventeenth century, in a fairly even distribution, and new items are still acquired from time to time. Anyone looking in Mill Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926) will immediately notice the size of the Museum's holdings at that date, compared to those of other museums and societies.

On the other hand, it can also be argued that the Museum's brass collection is merely a cabinet of curiosities, some really rather minor, reflecting no consistent policy or theme, and largely acquired by accident. The Museum's earliest acquisition of a brass, VI (3), the upper part of a lady, c.1490, certainly falls into this category.³ This was but one item (and the only brass) in a miscellaneous purchase from Dr. Gideon Mantell on 29 October 1839. It cannot conceivably have been the focus of the Museum's interest, and we must therefore be grateful that it was retained, unlike other parts of the same purchase, of Sussex interest, which were unloaded onto the fledgling Sussex Archaeological Society.⁴

This 1839 fragment remained the Museum's only brass until May 1852, when it purchased fifteen items 'found near Battersea' from Henry Briggs. Briggs was a labourer involved in gravel digging on the Thames, who since 1843 had earned extra money from the Museum by looking out for interesting finds in the course of his work. The Museum encouraged him, rather as today's museum curators encourage mudlarks and metal-detectors, and bought from him various discoveries, or groups of discoveries, on no less than thirty-eight occasions, the last being in 1859. Among Briggs's finds in 1852, no doubt by mere chance, was brass VI (7), a minuscule piece

¹ Pp. 394-442.

² Pp. 327-48.

³ Individual plates are identified in the text by their reference numbers in the full list of the brasses in the British Museum which appears elsewhere in this issue of the *Transactions*. This includes full bibliographical references, and brief biographical notes of collectors.

⁴ These details have been taken from the Museum accession register.

showing the shoulder of a small figure in a cape and hood. Listed by Mill Stephenson in 1926 as 'a tiny fragment', it deserves further study. However it is unlikely that the Museum had much interest in the piece at the time. It was probably buying merely to keep Briggs happy, in the hope of something better in the future. These hopes were fully justified in July 1857, when during work near Battersea Bridge Briggs discovered the 'Battersea Shield' (accession number 1857,0715.1). For this magnificent Iron Age display shield, made between 350 and 50 B.C., Franks gave him £40, an enormous sum.

As late as 1852, therefore, the Museum owned just two brasses, neither of them complete or obviously noteworthy.⁵ To be fair, much the same was true at the time of other major public or semi-public collections of brasses, as can be seen from a glance at Haines's list made in 1861 of brasses in 'Private Possession, Museums &c', which he unconsciously but significantly listed together.⁶ This was, after all, the heyday of the wealthy private collector. For example, the Society of Antiquaries had by 1847 acquired no brasses at all. This was in spite of a rich and distinguished membership, a royal charter in 1751, and the presence of Richard Gough as Director for 27 years from 1771. Only in 1847 did the Antiquaries break their duck, it seems, by accepting as a bequest the Tours dedication plate of 1446 (M.S. I), which purists may dispute is not a brass anyway. This was followed in 1849 by the gift of M.S. II, the late fifteenth-century figure of a Yeoman of the Crown, and by two shields (M.S. XIX and XX). By 1861, as we know from Haines, the Antiquaries had acquired two more plates, M.S. VII, an inscription of 1518, and M.S. XIV, a lady in hat, feet gone, *c.* 1590. In the absence of detailed accession information, these could conceivably have come in before 1847, though no record or early rubbing has yet been traced.

A similar situation prevailed at the Victoria & Albert Museum, which in any case was not founded until the 1850s. Its first acquisition, in 1858, was two shields within quatrefoils, Flemish work of the fifteenth century (M.S. X). These were followed in 1859 by a man in armour, *c.* 1430, with SS collar (M.S. I), and in 1866 by the foreign rectangular plate for Henry Oskens, 1535 (M.S. VIII). After that, it acquired no brasses at all until 1901, when the huge Flemish brass to Louis Cortewille and wife, 1504 (M.S. IV) was transferred from the Geological Museum, which interestingly had held it since 1846 or before.⁷

The Ashmolean Museum had been an even slower starter. It acquired no brasses until probably the early twentieth century, and by 1926, the date of Mill Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, had received just one. This was M.S. I, a lady, *c.* 1530, Suffolk School, which was neither a gift nor a purchase, but a deposit from the Oxford Architectural Society. The fragment of early-fourteenth-century Lombardic indent from Godstow Nunnery, which the Ashmolean has held since the

⁵ It is, however, possible that brass I (3) was acquired before 1852. This item has lost its original accession number, although it is known to have been in the Museum by 1861. It now has a new reference allocated in recent years. For details, see pp. 362-9 and 397.

⁶ H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861), II, pp. 232-5.

⁷ C.R. Manning, *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in England* (London, 1846), p. 54.

eighteenth century, appears never to have been formally accessioned, and probably arrived by accident amongst various Classical inscriptions from the Rawlinson Collection.⁸ In an interesting parallel, the Bodleian Library's handful of brasses, as recorded by Haines, were but a minor element of the enormous antiquarian collections of Richard Gough.

Why was the British Museum not interested in brasses until the 1850s, and slow to act thereafter? In one sense, any museum curator could provide the answer: you cannot buy everything, you cannot store everything, and you have to be selective. Also, the Museum has always aimed to encompass the whole span of world culture, and has never been limited conveniently to a defined area, such as a city or a county; the process of selection must therefore be all the more severe. In any case, the very question is perhaps an impertinence. While making perfect sense to the Monumental Brass Society, it might conceivably strike others as a little one-sided. Most important of all, the acquisition of brasses - indeed, of British antiquities of any kind - must be seen in the context of the development of the British Museum as a whole.

*The Early Years of the Museum*⁹

The British Museum was founded by the British Museum Act of 1753, whereby the magnificent collections of the late Sir Hans Sloane were acquired by the Government at a knock-down price, funded by the proceeds of a public lottery. The Museum's Trustees were immediately given, in addition, the care of the Cottonian Manuscripts, bequeathed to a less than grateful nation in 1700, and were able to purchase with some of the spare lottery money the Harleian Manuscripts, collected by the first and second Earls of Oxford. To modern eyes, the Museum has a world-class reputation for its collections and scholarship, and towers like a mighty oak over the thin scrub of British government culture. However, it is important to realise the indignities which the young sapling once had to endure.

The Museum's trustees included the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer and, as might have been expected, it started small (five curators), and was located in the fine but decaying Montagu House. (Buckingham House, the core of the present Buckingham Palace, was too expensive.) It was arranged in three divisions, effectively Printed Books, Manuscripts and Everything Else, the latter more formally known as 'Natural and Artificial Productions'.

The five curators soon found that admitting the public was incompatible with other work, and the experiment of public access was therefore discontinued until 1759, though from 1757 persons were admitted by ticket only to walk the gardens, on condition they did no damage and brought no dogs. Even after 1759, access to 'studious and curious persons', as required by the British Museum Act, was grudging.

⁸ D.B. Harden, "The Godstow "Foundation Stone"", *Oxoniensia* XVI (1951), pp. 77-8.

⁹ The following description of the early years of the Museum is derived almost entirely from M Caygill, *The Story of the British Museum*, 2nd edn. (London, 1992), or from E Miller, *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum* (London, 1973).

A ticket had to be applied for from the porter, and approved by the Principal Librarian. Visitors were then assembled in groups and conducted rapidly round. They were not permitted to upset the strict timetable by gazing at the objects. Not surprisingly, this led to modifications in 1761. Thereafter each group of visitors could elect by majority decision how to spend their visit. Access on public holidays, on the other hand, remained out of the question until 1837.

By contrast, the idea of charging for admission was considered and shelved (not for the last time) in 1784, for the laudable reason that many visitors were 'mechanics and persons of the lower classes' who would not be able to afford it, and because the income would be insignificant. Much the same argument has been deployed by public institutions ever since.

Until 1863 all visitors entered the Museum past sentry boxes manned by regular soldiers. These had been placed there in 1807 because of concern about the 'new streets' nearby. In 1815 this duty guard actually saw action for the first and only time, though it seems that no weapons were fired. With bayonets fixed, its corporal and four men ran to repel rioters from the Lord Chancellor's house at 6 Bedford Square. Entering through the back door, they scared off a mob which had already torn up the iron railings and demolished the front door.

The Museum grew immediately, mostly through the generosity of private donors, in the absence of a regular purchase grant. Some accessions were stupendous in scale and importance - such as the gift from George II in 1757 of the 12,000 volumes of the old Royal Library, first founded in 1471 by Edward IV, which brought with it the privilege of copyright deposit. Others were less so, such as 'a hornet's nest found in Yorkshire, more compleat than are usually met with' (1757), or 'a monstrous pig from Chalfont St Giles' (1770). Collections now famous arrived at random, gradually jigsawing together the Museum of today (and also today's Natural History Museum, for the natural history collections were not removed to South Kensington until 1880). Thus Sir William Hamilton's gift of Greek vases arrived in 1772. (The second delivery, on H.M.S. *Colossus*, never made it. It sank off the Scillies in 1798.) The Rosetta Stone and other antiquities acquired after the defeat of Napoleon's army in Egypt were presented by George III in 1802. The Townley Marbles were purchased in 1805, and led to the creation of a separate Department of Antiquities in 1807. The Elgin Marbles were purchased for £35,000 in 1816, despite being described in some quarters as 'old rubbish for which £10,000 would be exorbitant'. The collection of gigantic ancient Egyptian sculpture assembled by Henry Salt, Consul General in Egypt, was acquired in 1819 for £2000, but only after considerable argument among the Trustees, who preferred classical antiquities, and who steadfastly refused one particular sarcophagus which eventually ended up in Sir John Soane's Museum.

Montagu House was already too small, and the present Museum, designed by Robert Smirke, began to be constructed in phases from 1822, taking almost thirty years to complete. Even now, fate intervened. It had been intended that the first phase of Smirke's new building, the King's Library, would contain a national gallery of

paintings. In the event, the Government in 1824 bought the art collection of John Julius Angerstein, and the National Gallery developed elsewhere.

The arrival of yet more Classical sculptures from Xanthus in 1842, and of Layard's Assyrian sculptures from Nimrud, Nineveh and elsewhere in the late 1840s, posed a problem for the Trustees. The range of available Classical sculpture, already alarmingly elastic, was now augmented by the remains of a new civilisation of which earlier generations had never dreamed. Where would it all end? Smirke's new building was already too small, and sculpture soon had to be accommodated in a makeshift greenhouse in the colonnade. The Keepers of Natural History had been making space for the past thirty years by cremating unwanted specimens in the gardens. One of the Trustees, W.R. Hamilton, who in his youth had personally rowed across Alexandria Harbour to retrieve the Rosetta Stone from a French warship, wished Layard's discoveries from Nineveh 'at the bottom of the sea'. As late as 1857 the Principal Librarian, Antonio Panizzi, a man of enormous drive who could recognise a bottomless pit when he saw one, urged the limiting of the Museum's collections of antiquities to 'classical or pagan [i.e. Egyptian] art, as was in great measure the case a few years ago.'

At the same time, growing public interest in the non-Classical period, especially prehistory and the Middle Ages, led the Royal Commission on the Museum to report in 1850 that a collection of British antiquities ought to be formed. This suited Edward Hawkins, the Keeper of Antiquities, who quietly set aside a room (just the one) in the new building for such a purpose. To establish this new collection he chose Augustus Wollaston Franks, then aged 25. Franks was an Etonian who had graduated from Cambridge only in 1849, but had already demonstrated his medieval credentials. He had published a book on glazing patterns in 1848, and in 1850 had acted as Honorary Secretary of the Archaeological Institute's Medieval Exhibition held in London.

*The Growth of the Brasses Collection*¹⁰

Franks's first brass acquisition of note was in February 1853, when he purchased brass I (1), the French head of a bishop or abbot, of the mid fourteenth century (Fig. 1).¹¹ This came from the collections of A.W.N. Pugin, who had died the previous year. Its quality is superb, and its effect striking. What is essentially a fragment of a much

¹⁰ It should be remembered that Franks's scholarship and generosity to the Museum extended far wider than brasses, or even the British Collections, and included silver, medieval and later jewellery, European and Oriental porcelain, and ethnography. Individual gifts of note included the Witham Shield (Bronze Age), the Birdoswald Hercules, the Ring of Queen Æthelswith (Saxon - she was the sister of King Alfred the Great), the Franks Casket (8th-century Northumbrian), the Goodricke Cup (1563), the enamelled Gold Cup of the Kings of France and England (late 14th century), and a Japanese sculpture of a man in meditation (17th century). Basic biographical details of Franks can be found on pp. 439-40 in this issue of the *Transactions*. For a full discussion of Franks's achievement see M. Caygill and J. Cherry ed., *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London, 1997). This includes a chapter by John Cherry, 'Franks and the Medieval Collections', at pp. 184-99, which in turn includes a section on 'Brasses' at p. 188. An earlier treatment of Franks, now largely superseded, is D Wilson, *The Forgotten Collector: Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum* (London, 1984).

¹¹ This was Franks's first major acquisition. His very first purchase of a brass was of course VI (7), the tiny fragment from Henry Briggs, already mentioned, bought in May 1852. The Trustees would not have been impressed.

larger brass has been deliberately arranged so as to present itself almost as an engraved portrait, with accompanying religious background. It is easy to see why Franks bought it, from a dealer, shortly after the sale of Pugin's collections. He may also have been influenced by its association with the famous Pugin, and by the fact that it had already been published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and elsewhere. It had been coyly described in print as in private possession 'at Ramsgate', a pretty thin veil. In 1843-4 Pugin had built himself and his family a new home at Ramsgate, The Grange, and was proud of it. A watercolour perspective of The Grange and the adjacent church of St. Augustine, also built by Pugin, was even exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849. From 1845, Hardman's stained glass cartoon workshop occupied part of the house.¹²

The Trustees of the Museum may in turn have been pleased that the piece was obviously foreign, not British. The Museum needed not just British material, but medieval material of whatever origin, and the Trustees might perhaps have thought that the art treasures of Britain's pleasant pastures, where all was peaceful and everybody knew their place, could give way on this occasion to an item from the Continent, whose endless wars and revolutions might damage future supply. Indeed, with this brass, Franks also bought two fragments of French incised slabs, which are discussed by Derrick Chivers elsewhere in this issue.¹³

Despite this flying start, further brasses, or rather bits of brasses, were acquired painfully slowly, and at random. In October 1853 came brass I (5), the figure of a civilian, *c.* 1485, the gift of Mr. John Hewitt (otherwise unknown) of the Ordnance Office.¹⁴ In June 1854 Franks paid £1 9s. to a curio dealer near Leicester Square for two items, brass V (5), a palimpsest evangelist's symbol of St. Mark, cut from an earlier shield of arms, and a bronze candlestick base. The following November Franks's superior, Edward Hawkins, the elderly Keeper of Antiquities, presented brass I (10), a fragment of a man in armour in heraldic tabard with the arms of Fitzwilliam. In so doing, he was fulfilling a duty more or less expected of the Museum's curators, most if not all of whom had private means, that they should augment the collections at their own expense.¹⁵ Franks continued to do exactly this all his life, and after his death was still able to leave the Museum more than three thousand further items in his will.

One month after Hawkins's gift, in December 1854, the less altruistic Albert Way sold the Museum seven items for a total of £2. Two were Bronze Age axes, one was a 'copper gilt and enamelled figure' from a Limoges shrine, and the other four were brasses: V (1 and 3) and VI (1/3 and 1/4). All seven items had come from the

¹² See P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, *Pugin* (New Haven, 1994), pp. 59 and 77.

¹³ Pp. 387-93.

¹⁴ Possibly the same as the 'Mr. Hewitt' who exhibited items to the Archaeological Institute in the 1850s. See for example *Archaeological Jnl*, XIII (1856), p. 181.

¹⁵ Private means were a virtual necessity, for until the 1860s there was no fixed retiring age or pension scheme for any of the Museum staff, except on a grace and favour basis. Staff with no other income had to work until they dropped. See Miller, *That Noble Cabinet*, pp. 247-8.

collection of Pugin's friend, Edward James Willson of Lincoln. Way had been Hon. Secretary of the Archaeological Institute, and thus responsible for the elaborate temporary 'museums' which were provided as an attraction at the Institute's annual Congresses. He was therefore Franks' patron and mentor when Franks had acted as Hon. Secretary of the Institute's Medieval Exhibition in London in 1850. The four brasses comprised two evangelists' symbols, and two Lombardic letters. Although these might seem relatively insignificant today, three of them had been exhibited by Willson at the Institute's annual Congress in Lincoln in 1848, and specifically listed in the published report. In other words, Franks was buying, from a friend, items already known to scholarship. Today this is known as networking.

In September 1856 Franks purchased brass VI (1/1), another Lombardic letter, an A, as part of a group of ten mixed Roman and medieval oddments from 'W. Edwards', probably a dealer. He was not to purchase another brass until March 1867, almost eleven years later. This was VI (1/5), a Lombardic letter T, again part of a miscellaneous lot. It is hard to say whether he was interested in Lombardic letters specifically, or whether this was all the Museum could afford.

There were probably other reasons for caution too. For example, it may have been thought inappropriate for the Museum to buy brasses with a provenance, for fear of offending clergy, patrons or the descendants of those commemorated, who at that time were accepted as the legal owners to a degree hard to imagine today. Furthermore, the idea of collecting brasses for their intrinsic value might well have struck Franks as ridiculous. After all, there were thousands of brasses, not to mention indents, to be seen in England's parish churches, and if the Museum purchased ten times the amount it did, it would still not be representative of the whole, quite apart from the risk of pushing prices up. In addition, rubbing was a perfectly good means of recording brasses. As John Cherry has commented, 'it was brass rubbings rather than brasses that Franks collected'. Franks had given his early undergraduate rubbings to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1848. He gave 3000 more rubbings to the Antiquaries in 1875.¹⁶ Rubbing was a simple and effective way of assembling a corpus of comparative material, and in the days when photography was still in its infancy, brasses were perhaps unique as an art form in the way that they could be easily and accurately copied. Why buy them?

At the same time, Franks was willing to accept gifts of brasses, or to make such gifts himself. In 1861 he gave brass I (8), an armoured figure of *c.* 1510, identified since then as from Caversfield, Oxon. In 1862 he gave brass III (4), an inscription for John Bowes, rector of 'Aldebury', 1517. In 1866 his colleague Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts, on the eve of his retirement, gave brass III (5), the inscription to Rouland Monoux from Edmonton. In 1868 Franks gave VI (1/2), a Lombardic letter D. One of the most interesting gifts was in 1866, when the Trustees of the Christy Collections presented IV (5), a sixteenth-century merchant's mark. The mark itself was unexceptional; the interest lay rather in the donors. Henry Christy (d. 1865)

¹⁶ Cherry, 'Franks and the Medieval Collections', p. 188.

had made his money from towelling, a huge success at the Great Exhibition of 1851. He was a keen collector of ethnographical material, not brasses, and at his death in 1865 had left his collection to the nation, together with money in trust to maintain it. The collection is now the core of the Museum of Mankind. Franks was its first curator, and one of the four trustees. The merchant's mark has little to do with ethnography. Perhaps Franks persuaded the trustees to buy it, or perhaps the mark was a gesture of thanks from the Trustees for Franks's help in facilitating the acceptance of the Christy Collection by the Museum.¹⁷

In any case, we must remember just how widely Franks was casting his net in assembling the British collections, as well as the ethnographical. The Museum accession registers, and Franks's 'annual reports' in the *Archaeological Journal* and later in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, record the huge range of medieval and other objects which the Museum was acquiring, month by month. Some of these are now the Museum's greatest treasures, such as the Franks Casket (early eighth century Northumbrian, made of whalebone, with carved scenes and inscriptions), a gift from Franks in 1867. Against such items as this, brasses might well have seemed unimportant. At the same time, it is frustrating that more of the brass plates known to have been lost in the course of Victorian church restorations did not find their way to the Museum. Perhaps vested interests at parish level made effective action impossible. In 1875, after twenty years in which he had bought no more than two Lombardic letters, Franks purchased four brasses. The first three, in January, were I (2) and IV (7 and 8), and came from the recent sale of the effects of John Gough Nichols. The Nichols family of antiquarian publishers had assembled a fine collection of brasses by 1861, the largest in lay ownership anywhere at that time, as a glance at Haines' *Manual* makes clear.¹⁸ Franks was probably inspired by the family's associations with scholarship generally, and by the fact that their collection was already well known. However he did not bid at auction (indeed, the Museum appears never to have bought a brass at auction), but bought after the sale from a firm of numismatic dealers, Messrs. Rollin & Feuarent. The three brasses he purchased were a small circular palimpsest plate, having on the obverse a seventeenth-century mathematical instrument, and on the reverse a circular fifteenth-century brass to a priest and four others; and two shields. The circular plate was probably wanted because of its likely connection with the very similar brass I (3), which the Museum had owned since at least 1861. The reasoning behind the two shields is less clear. It would be interesting to know whether cost prevented Franks from purchasing more Nichols items, or whether there was nothing else to be had. J.G. Nichols's executors certainly held back some brasses, for in 1880 they were able to return those from Hereford Cathedral.¹⁹

The fourth purchase made in 1875 was in April, when Franks bought brass I (9), the French rectangular plate for Nicholas le Brun, 1547, for the large sum of £30. He

¹⁷ I am grateful to John Cherry for help with these points.

¹⁸ Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 234.

¹⁹ M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 175.

was probably attracted by its rarity, being well aware that most French brasses were destroyed at the Revolution.

In the same year, Franks received his largest gift of brasses, six in all, from the Revd. William Sparrow Simpson, the bookish incumbent of one of the City of London parishes, and Librarian of St Paul's Cathedral. These comprised II (1, 5 and 6), being three groups of children, all palimpsest; III (6), an inscription; V (2), an evangelist's symbol; and VI (6), a palimpsest fragment from a lady's sleeve. Sparrow Simpson appears to have acquired at least two of these, the inscription and the sleeve fragment, during his time as an undergraduate at Queens' College, Cambridge, and the palimpsest sleeve fragment (alone), which was from Wimbish, Essex, had been mentioned by Haines. Unfortunately Sparrow Simpson was rather vague about exactly where and when he had acquired his brasses, and the palimpsest fragment remains the only plate to have been identified.

This pattern of random acquisitions of brasses, comprising a few purchases substantially buttressed by gifts, has continued ever since, and there is no need to describe every accession in detail here. Suffice it to say that from 1875 until his retirement in 1896, Franks purchased no further brasses, though he gave several. Indeed the next purchase was not until 1902, being made by Franks's protege and assistant who succeeded him as Keeper, Charles Hercules Read. This was brass I (11), the figure of a civilian, *c.* 1600, for which the Museum paid an antique dealer in the depths of Suffolk £2 10s. - a bargain, surely.

Like Franks, Read was very cautious about purchases. The three brasses bought in 1903, III (2), and VI (4 and 5), were all from the collection of the late T.G. Bayfield of Norwich, and had been listed in his possession by Haines in 1861 and by Farrer in 1890. This may have made it important to secure them, though it is unclear why they had to be bought by the Museum. Much the same was true in 1904, when Read purchased brass I (7), the figure of the Virgin Mary from an Annunciation. This had been listed by Haines in 1861 in the possession of a Mr. Edlin in Cambridge. As usual, the Museum avoided the sale room, and acquired the plate afterwards. In 1911 Read purchased from a London dealer brass I (6), a pleasant figure of a priest in Mass vestments, *c.* 1480. This appears to have been previously unknown. It certainly has charm. In 1920 he purchased four items from Dr. Philip Nelson, a medical doctor and collector in Liverpool. These included IV (12 and 13), two shields from Upminster, Essex, which had formed part of the Heraldic Exhibition mounted in 1916 by the Burlington Arts Club.

Far more plates were acquired during these years as gifts. Brasses IV (9), in 1901, and III (3), in 1907, came from Mill Stephenson. Brasses II (3), IV (2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 and 14) and V (4), nine plates in all, were given by Read himself, in 1905, 1906 and 1923. The gift in 1923 comprised five shields, a clean sweep of all the brass shields from the 1916 heraldic exhibition still in private hands.

The Museum continues to acquire brasses from time to time, though other London institutions, such as the Antiquaries and the Victoria & Albert Museum, now

also have major collections of brasses. So too do provincial museums, such as those in Cambridge and Norwich. The pioneering days are certainly over. The Museum also continues to be cautious about purchases. Since Stephenson's *List* (1926), there appear to have been just three. The first was VI (β), in 1954, which was probably purchased because it joined on to a piece of brass the Museum already had. The second was VI (9), in 1988. This is not really a brass, but a Tudor weight fashioned from a brass. The latest, in 1990, was I (12), a fine palimpsest lady in heraldic mantle, *c.* 1540, with Flemish canopy work on the reverse. It probably comes from South Kyme in Lincolnshire. This piece is immediately attractive, as well as palimpsest. In addition, when it suddenly surfaced in 1990, it had not been seen or rubbed since Haines's day, over 125 years ago. Even then Haines's knowledge had been tentative, based upon an old rubbing. Who knows what other items yet await recognition.

It is unlikely that the Museum will acquire many more brasses in the future. They cost too much these days, and it is hard now to see in advance how any individual acquisition could add significantly to those already held. The future may therefore lie in other directions, such as acquiring indents, or brasses in their slabs, or even a representative range of sixteenth-century carved altar tombs. In the 1850s, loose plates were all that the Museum could legitimately collect. The parish structure of the Church of England appeared rock solid, and church buildings were a permanent feature of the landscape. Not only that, but new churches were constantly being built. In more recent years, however, shortage of clergy has caused parishes to be amalgamated relentlessly. Where necessary whole churches have been disposed of, some to be preserved by heritage trusts, and some to other uses. Important slabs (though probably not brasses) have disappeared in the process.²⁰ The study of brasses still suffers from too much study of the metal alone, a hangover from the past, when photography was far less easy than today. The study of the stonework which surrounds many sixteenth-century mural brasses, for example, has hardly begun.²¹ The British Museum, as a national institution, may be well placed to assemble a range of representative examples of such tombs from redundant church buildings. But then of course, the Museum has been on the receiving end of bright ideas about the British collections since 1850!

²⁰ For example the early-14th-century slab formerly at Langdon Hills, Essex, with indents for the heads only, of a lady in veil and a man with wavy hair. Around the whole was a fillet, and another fillet divided the slab down the centre. The church is now a private house, and the fate of the slab is unknown. See J. Coales ed., *The Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), p. 188; *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 4 (1966), p. 314.

²¹ An exception is B. Cherry, 'An early sixteenth-century London tomb design', in *Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in architectural history presented to Howard Colvin*, *Architectural History*, XXVII (1984), pp. 86-94.

Some Analyses of Medieval Monumental Brasses

by PAUL T. CRADDOCK

Abstract

THIS paper reports on the analyses made on some medieval and post-medieval brasses, and on the identification of the black inlay on one of the brasses. The metal analyses showed the compositions to be broadly similar to those published previously, but it is suggested that one brass, made *c.* 1530, could have been manufactured using zinc metal; if so, it would be the earliest example so far identified in Europe.

The black inlay was found to be of clay and bone black. The latter is a common pigment with a long history, but it has not previously been identified in an inlay.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to publish the analyses of samples taken from some medieval monumental brasses studied by our late President, Dr. H.K. Cameron, but which remained unpublished at his death. The brasses were sampled and analysed after Dr. Cameron's seminal paper in the *Archaeological Journal* on the technical aspects of medieval brasses,¹ whilst he was concluding his study on the monumental brasses of Middlesex, published in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, and was actively pursuing his study of the Flemish brasses.²

The majority of the samples reported here are from the metal of the brasses themselves (Table), and contribute to the growing corpus of analyses of medieval and early post-medieval copper alloys.³ In addition there are the results of the study of a sample of the black inlay taken from the monumental brass to a bishop, now in the British Museum (MME reg. 1853,0221.1) (Dennison Fig. 1),⁴ recently studied by Dr. Lynda Dennison and presented at the M.B.S. meeting at the British Museum on 21 June 1997; and a previously unpublished report on a sample of the mastic used to hold in place the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing in Norfolk.

¹ H.K. Cameron, 'Technical Aspects of Medieval Monumental Brasses', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXI (1974), pp. 21-37.

² H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-century School of Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), pp. 50-81; H.K. Cameron, '14th century Flemish Brasses to Ecclesiastics in English Churches', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 1 (1980), pp. 3-24.

³ See for example R. Brownsword and E.E.H. Pitt, 'Alloy composition of some cast "latten" objects', *Jnl of the Historical Metallurgy Soc.*, XVII (1983), pp. 44-9; D. Hook and P.T. Craddock, 'Composition of Bristol Brass', Appendix to J. Day, 'Bristol brass furnaces', *Jnl of the Historical Metallurgy Soc.*, XXII (1988), pp. 38-40; C. Caple, 'Factors in the production of Medieval and Post-Medieval brass pins', in *Trade and Discovery*, ed. D.R. Hook and D.R.M. Gaimster, British Museum Occasional Paper, 109 (London, 1995), pp. 221-34; A.M. Pollard and C. Heron, *Archaeological Chemistry* (London, 1996), pp. 196-238.

⁴ M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 576, (M.S. I.1); D. Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses* (London, 1991), pp. 12-13.

The Brasses - Technical

The samples were drillings taken by Cameron during the course of his studies, with the exception of the bishop's brass in the British Museum, which was sampled by the author. Approximately 10 to 20 milligrams of clean turnings were used for each analysis. The samples were analysed by atomic absorption spectrometry.⁵ The analyses presented in the Table have a precision of $\pm 2\%$ for the copper and zinc, $\pm 5\%$ for the lead and tin where these elements occur over 1%. Trace metals (i.e. those occurring below 1%) have precisions ranging from $\pm 10\%$ to $\pm 50\%$, the precision decreasing as the detection limit is approached. For most of the metals quantified the detection limit was 0.005% but for tin and for arsenic the detection limit was 0.1%. Cadmium was only sought in some samples, those where the element was not sought are marked 'ns' in the cadmium column. Otherwise a blank in the Table means the element was sought but not detected.

Samples were taken from two positions on the same piece of brass from the bishop's brass and from the de la Mare brass. In both instances the analyses are very similar and show the basic homogeneity of the metal. This further suggests that, overall, the composition of the sample drillings is likely to be representative of the brass from which they were taken.

The dates given in the Table are taken from Cameron's accompanying notes, and broadly agree with those given by Mill Stephenson. The date for the bishop's brass is taken from Dr. Dennison's paper.

The Brasses - Discussion

The compositions are broadly similar to those already published by Cameron in his 1946 and 1974 papers.⁶ The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century brasses have zinc contents which lie between about 10% and 20%, with small, but variable, tin and lead contents. In contrast the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century brasses tend to have much higher zinc contents, around 30%, but with less tin and lead.

Since Cameron's 1974 paper our understanding of the history and early methods of making brass and zinc has increased enormously, making it possible to differentiate between brasses made by *speltering* or by *cementation*.⁷ These two methods are described in full in Cameron's 1974 paper and in Norris,⁸ but can be briefly defined here. Brass could be made by speltering, that is by mixing the two metals, copper and zinc, as the latter metal became increasingly available in Europe from a variety of sources (see

⁵ For details of the methodology followed at the British Museum Research Laboratory at that time see M.J. Hughes, M.R. Cowell and P.T. Craddock, 'Atomic Absorption Techniques in Archaeology', *Archaeometry*, XIX (1976), pp. 19-36.

⁶ H.K. Cameron, 'The Metals used in Monumental Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 4 (1946), pp. 109-32; Cameron, 'Technical Aspects'.

⁷ See for example P.T. Craddock, *Early Mining and Metal Production* (Edinburgh, 1995), Chapter 8; or P.T. Craddock ed., *Two Thousand Years of Zinc and Brass*, British Museum Occasional Paper, 50, 2nd edn. (London, 1998), for a general coverage, or see Pollard and Heron, *Archaeological Chemistry*, for a more detailed work on the post-medieval period in Europe.

⁸ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978).

below, p. 318). Although seemingly a simple mixing process, speltering was in fact a highly skilled operation, due to the volatility of the zinc.⁹ In the traditional cementation process the calcined zinc ore (usually zinc carbonate, $ZnCO_3$, *smithsonite*, previously known as *calamine*) was reacted with finely divided copper metal in a loosely lidded crucible packed with charcoal at temperatures around $1000^\circ C$.¹⁰ The zinc ore was reduced to a vapour of zinc which was absorbed on the surfaces of the solid copper, forming brass directly. Remains of medieval brass production by the cementation process have been found at Dortmund, dating to *c.* 1000.¹¹ Note that the one detailed medieval description of brass making, that of Theophilus,¹² is, strictly speaking, not a cementation process because it quite specifically states that the forming brass is to be molten and stirred, whereas the post-medieval descriptions all specify that the forming brass was to be kept in a solid state in the charcoal until the very end of the process.¹³

It is clear from the accumulated analyses that in the sixteenth century there were changes in the methods of making brass. Up until then it seems that the maximum zinc content of the brasses was about 28%. This is based on the composition of many hundreds of Roman, post-Roman and medieval brass objects,¹⁴ as well as the experiments carried out by Haedecke.¹⁵ That this was the usual maximum content is supported by the comments made by the Bristol brass maker, Nehemiah Champion, in the 1720s when he patented the use of copper, granulated by pouring the molten metal into water, in the cementation process.¹⁶ He claimed that using this granulated copper the maximum zinc content was raised to 33% from the 28% that had been the previous maximum. 33% remained the maximum zinc content of cementation brass right to the very end of the process in the mid nineteenth century.¹⁷ The German chemist and metallurgist Ercker claimed a maximum zinc content of 29.5% for cementation brass in his *Treatise* of 1574.¹⁸

Note that the presence of tin or lead in the copper restricts the absorption of zinc; thus one normally finds that cementation brasses with high zinc contents have low tin

⁹ See D.R. Hull, *Casting of Brass and Bronze*, (Cleveland, Ohio, 1950), esp. pp. 1-20, for a detailed description of the speltering process as performed in an American brass foundry in the early 20th century. See also the account of speltering and the production of brass sheets for the memorial brasses made in Birmingham in the 19th century by Hardman and latterly by Powell, in S. Timmins ed., *Birmingham and the Midlands Hardware District* (London, 1866), pp. 310-2.

¹⁰ See J. Percy, *Metallurgy*, 4 vols. (London, 1861), I, pp. 612-18, for a good description of the cementation process as practised at Swansea in the mid 19th century.

¹¹ T. Rehren, E. Lietz, A. Hauptmann and K.H. Deutmann, 'Schlacken und Tiegel aus dem Adlerturm in Dortmund', in *Montanarchäologie in Europa*, ed. H. Steuer and U. Zimmermann (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 30-20.

¹² *On Divers Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus*, trans. and ed. J.G. Hawthorne and C.S. Smith (Chicago, 1963), chapters 63 & 64 (pp. 139-45).

¹³ For example, *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio*, trans. and ed. C.S. Smith and M.T. Gnudi (Chicago, 1942), esp. pp. 139-45; Percy, *Metallurgy*, I, pp. 612-8.

¹⁴ P.T. Craddock, 'The origins and early use of brass', *Jnl of Archaeological Science*, III (1978), pp. 1-16.

¹⁵ K. Haedecke, 'Gleichgewichtsverhaeltnisse bei der Messingherstellung nach dem Galmeiverfahren', *Erzmetall*, LXXXV (1973), pp. 229-51.

¹⁶ J. Day, *Bristol Brass* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 62.

¹⁷ Percy, *Metallurgy*, I, p.616.

¹⁸ *Lazarus Ercker: Treatise on Ores and Minerals*, ed. and trans. A.G. Sisco and C.S. Smith (Chicago, 1951), esp. p. 257.

and lead contents, unless of course these metals were added subsequently. The situation is further complicated because the zinc ore invariably contains some lead and during the cementation some of this could enter the copper. However, it can be seen that as a broad trend high zinc brasses have less tin and lead than those with lower zinc contents.

Thus it could be argued that the increased zinc content observed in the post-medieval monumental brasses should be ascribed to improvements in the cementation process alone, especially for those containing between 28% and 33%. However, there is another possibility, namely that some of the brasses could have been produced by speltering, mixing copper and zinc metals, which of course allows any composition to be produced. It is well known that the production of zinc on an industrial scale only began in Europe in the mid eighteenth century,¹⁹ but there were two other sources that provided zinc rather earlier.

As noted above zinc and lead ores are nearly always found together, and can be very difficult to separate. Thus if a mixed lead-zinc ore was smelted in a traditional shaft furnace the molten lead would collect in the base of the furnace, but the zinc, with its low boiling point of 920°C, would be produced as a gas which would rise and promptly re-oxidise in the flue. However small droplets of metallic zinc could sometimes condense before re-oxidation and collect on the flue walls. This is almost certainly, for example, the explanation of the droplets of ‘mocksilver’ which could be collected and used to make brass with copper, described by the Graeco-Roman geographer Strabo at a silver-lead-zinc mine near present day Balya Maden in north western Anatolia.²⁰ This source of metallic zinc was probably also known to Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century.²¹ The early exploitation of this source is not known, but certainly by the seventeenth century zinc was being encouraged to develop on the flues of the smelting furnaces at the mines of Rammelsberg near Goslar in the Harz mountains, and by the early eighteenth century about seven or eight tons of the zinc were sold each year to the brass makers.²²

Zinc was smelted by distillation in India certainly over a thousand years ago,²³ and was imported into Europe by the Portuguese from the early sixteenth century. The earliest record of this trade so far to be recognised is to be found in a letter written in 1513 by an Italian, resident in London, who noted that the English had better look to their tin trade as a Portuguese vessel had just arrived in London laden with pieces of ‘Indian tin’.²⁴ ‘Indian tin’ was a common term for zinc in countries

¹⁹ Day, *Bristol Brass*.

²⁰ Craddock, *Early Mining and Metal Production*; Craddock, *Zinc and Brass*; Strabo: *The Geography*, V, trans. H.L. Jones (London, 1928), pp. 13.1,56.

²¹ Albertus Magnus: *Book of Minerals*, trans. D. Wyckoff (Oxford, 1967), p.250; Craddock, *Early Mining and Metal Production*, p. 317.

²² E. Swedenborg, *De Cupro* (1734), trans. A.H. Searle (London, 1938), p. 533.

²³ Craddock, *Early Mining and Metal Production*; Craddock, *Zinc and Brass*.

²⁴ The letter is preserved in the Public Record Office, London, *Calendar of State Papers*, Research in Foreign Archives, Italy, 1509-19. I am very grateful to John Somers and R. Homer for bringing it to my attention.

which bordered India and which, like Europe, at this time had no separate word for the metal. The trade in zinc, initially from India, and latterly mainly from China, grew considerably over the centuries.²⁵

The main use for the zinc, from whatever source, was to make high quality brass. By adding one metal to another it was possible to achieve a much more carefully controlled composition than by cementation. The other advantage over cementation brass was that spelter brass was much purer. In the cementation process it was inevitable that some of the other metals in the ore, notably the iron, could also become incorporated in the forming brass. Thus the cementation brass could often contain several percent of iron which in turn could make the metal difficult to work.²⁶ The spelter brass was, therefore, used initially for purposes where a higher quality was needed, such as for scientific instruments,²⁷ and for costume jewellery.²⁸ Inspection of the Table shows that the earlier, low zinc brasses have generally higher silver contents.

It might be argued from the analyses reported just in this Table that perhaps any silver in the zinc ore was also transferred to the copper during the cementation process. Although this is metallurgically quite feasible, in this case the silver comes with the copper; thus, the one earlier copper piece has the same rather elevated silver content as the contemporary brasses. In fact the silver content is an artefact of chronology; the earlier copper sources tended to be richer in silver.

Although typified by its general purity, early spelter brass does tend to have a higher cadmium content than the corresponding cementation brasses. Cadmium is yet another metal which is found in varying quantities in zinc ore deposits. It is even more volatile than zinc²⁹ and thus is usually lost, and as such is only rarely detected in cementation brasses. However during the distillation of zinc some cadmium does condense as well, and recent work on early Chinese spelter brass of the later sixteenth century does seem to show an enhanced cadmium content.³⁰ This should be seen as a feature of the early distillation processes generally; for example, in the nineteenth

²⁵ Wrecks of Dutch East Indiamen, laden with many tons of zinc, dating from the early 17th century, have been located *en route* from South East Asia to Europe, see P.T. Craddock and D.R. Hook, 'The British Museum Collection of Metal Ingots from Dated Wrecks' in *Artefacts from Wrecks*, ed. M. Redknapp (Oxford, 1997), pp. 143-54.

²⁶ Note the iron content of the two copper items in the Table which are much lower than in the brasses and illustrate this point very well. The low iron content (0.03%) of the small brass of a civilian recently published in S. Badham and M. Stuchfield, 'A Civilian of c. 1400 in Private Possession', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 3 (1999), pp. 207-20, is interesting. It might suggest a later dating than that proposed, although the evidence of the corrosion of the metal and of the other trace elements still strongly suggests that this is not a modern piece.

²⁷ Pollard and Heron, *Archaeological Chemistry*.

²⁸ The secret of Pinchbeck, the 18th-century alloy used for costume jewellery, was that it was made from spelter brass with about 15% of zinc, producing a fine golden metal, and this alloy is still widely used in the jewellery trade, although known as gilding metal.

²⁹ B.P. 746°C.

³⁰ M.R. Cowell, J. Cribb, S.G.E. Bowman and Y. Shashoua, 'The Chinese Cash: Composition and Production', in *Metallurgy and Numismatics*, III, ed. M.M. Archibald and M.R. Cowell (London, 1993) pp.185-98; W. Zhou and F. Xiangxi, 'A study on the development of brass for coinage in China', *Bulletin of the Metals Museum of the Japan Institute of Metals*, XX (1994), pp.35-45. The Chinese zinc ingot now in the British Museum, MLA Reg. 1990,12-4,1, from the wreck of the VOC *Witte Leeuw*, which sank in 1613 *en route* to Europe, contains 0.04% of cadmium (Craddock and Hook, 'Metal Ingots from Dated Wrecks').

century crude distilled zinc from Silesia typically contained from 0.005 to 0.05% of cadmium.³¹

The dates of the first spelter brasses in Europe in general, and in Britain in particular, have long been debated. Pollard and Heron, for example, from their data note that after 1560 there does seem to be a marked increase in brasses containing more than 28% of zinc, suggesting to them an improved version of the cementation process, possibly involving granulation. They believe that the use of metallic zinc was no earlier than the mid-seventeenth century.³²

The analyses presented here are of some interest in the context of the changing methods of making brass in the sixteenth century. Most have high zinc contents, but not over the 33% limit set by cementation. In the main they also have high iron contents, suggesting the continued use of the more prevalent and efficient cementation process. The exception is the Wightman brass from Harrow.³³ Wightman died in 1579, but the brass is a palimpsest, using a brass dated to 1530.³⁴ Thus the metal has a high zinc content, coupled with a low iron content and, on the one sample analysed for the metal, a quantifiable trace of cadmium. The balance of evidence would suggest that this is a spelter brass. Zinc from the flues at Rammelsberg was not regularly collected before the seventeenth century, as far as is documented, and production must always have been on a rather small scale. Thus it would seem most likely that this brass was made, probably in London, from European copper³⁵ and Indian zinc. This is the earliest example of European spelter brass to have been recognised so far, made within twenty years of the earliest documented shipment of zinc to Europe, and still within forty years of the opening up by the Portuguese of the sea routes between Europe and India.

The Organic Materials

The black inlay on the fragment of a monumental brass to a bishop, now in the British Museum, (MME Reg. 1853,0221.1) (Dennison Fig. 1) was examined.

On several medieval monumental brasses there survive the remains of inlays, usually black but sometimes coloured. Little analytical work has been carried out on them, but it is usually assumed that black material is pitch.³⁶ Norris stated that the incidence of black inlays was not high and where they did occur they were of the same bitumen or pitch that was used to lay them, but with no supporting analyses.³⁷

³¹ W.R. Ingells, *The Metallurgy of Zinc and Cadmium* (New York, 1903), p.566.

³² Pollard and Heron, *Archaeological Chemistry*.

³³ H.K. Cameron, 'Palimpsest Brasses in Middlesex', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 6 (1958), pp. 311-28; H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex, Part 14: Harrow', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXIV (1973), pp.162-76.

³⁴ Samples were analysed from two components of the brass, which have similar compositions, suggesting that the same piece of cast brass was used for both. Variations in the zinc content of brasses are not uncommon, due to the volatility of the metal, and its propensity to leach slowly from the brass over the years.

³⁵ The most likely source of copper at this time would have been from Hungary, see R.A.E. Op de Beeck, 'Flemish Monumental Brasses in Portugal', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 3 (1965), pp. 151-66.

³⁶ Cameron, 'Technical Aspects', p.232.

³⁷ Norris, *The Craft*, p.42.

In addition to the inlays organic mastic materials were also used to hold the monumental brasses in their indents. Again, few of these have been analysed, but an identification was carried out by Mr. Raymond White, of the Scientific Department of the National Gallery in London, taken from the great brass to Sir Hugh Hastings, who died in 1347, at Elsing church in Norfolk. This was undertaken at the behest of Dr. Cameron but never published.³⁸

At the time the author of this paper was working with Dr. Cameron on medieval European monumental brasses, a similar project was in progress investigating the broadly contemporary Islamic brass metalwork.³⁹ These frequently have black inlays in the chased and engraved designs. Analysis has shown that the inlays are usually of bitumen, which is to be expected given the prevalence of the material in the Middle East, together with some examples of pine rosin.⁴⁰

It was noted that the monumental brass to a bishop in the British Museum also had black material in the engraved design, which clearly was a deliberate applied inlay rather than just accumulated dirt, and which gave every appearance of being original. It was sampled and analysed for comparison with the inlays in the Islamic brasses.

The Examination

The samples were investigated by a variety of techniques. In addition to the more traditional combustion and ignition tests, the samples were also examined by infra red spectrometry (IR), which would give information on the nature of the organic compounds, if any, that were present, and by X-ray diffraction (XRD), which would give information on the nature of the inorganic crystalline materials, again if any, that were present. Semi-quantitative surface analysis was carried out by energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (XRF). Small pieces were also analysed by scanning electron microscopy (SEM) equipped with a micro-analytical system (EDAX), which meant that in addition to observing the structure at high magnification it was possible to carry out analysis of the individual components.

In summary the story of the investigation of the black inlay was one, at least initially, of rather frustrating negatives.⁴¹ Analysis by IR revealed no trace of organic bonds, suggesting the material was not organic, and this was confirmed by a simple flame test. A small sample on a platinum wire did not ignite when held in a flame. Thus at a stroke one could rule out waxes, rosin or bitumen. Optical microscopy revealed a matrix containing large numbers of small black particles, with some white

³⁸ For the report, see Appendix, p. 326.

³⁹ P.T. Craddock, 'The Copper Alloys of the Islamic World', *World Archaeology*, XI, pt. 1 (1979) pp. 78-89; Craddock, *Zinc and Brass*.

⁴⁰ R. Ward, S. La Niece, D.R. Hook and R. White, "'Veneto-Saracenic' Metalwork", in *Trade and Discovery*, ed. D.R. Hook and D.R.M. Gaimster, British Museum Occasional Paper, 109 (London, 1995), pp. 235-58, esp. p. 242 & Table 4, p. 250.

⁴¹ The technical examination of black pigments is now much easier since the publication of J. Winter, 'The characterization of pigments based on carbon', *Studies in Conservation*, XXVIII (1983), pp. 49-66.

particles. The material was then investigated for the presence of metals which could have indicated the presence of an enamel, and for sulphur which could indicate the presence of niello.⁴² XRF analysis revealed some lead, zinc and copper but at concentrations which suggested that they came from the surrounding brass. The sample also contained silicon, calcium, iron and potassium, the constituents of clay. No sulphur was detected, and XRD showed no metal sulphides were present, which ruled out niello. XRD did however reveal the presence of alpha quartz, SiO₂, a common constituent of clay, and of calcite, CaCO₃. The presence of calcium carbonate was confirmed by drops of hydrochloric acid which caused the sample to fizz. Presumably the white particles observed optically were of calcite.

Thus so far the analyses had revealed clay and calcite, but nothing which would act as a black pigment. Examination in the SEM confirmed that the structure was of a continuous matrix in which there were large numbers of small particles.⁴³ The rather different analytical system on the SEM allowed for some other elements to be sought, and in addition to the elements already found by XRF, phosphorus was found to be present as a major constituent. After this examination it was suspected that the small particles were of elemental carbon. This was confirmed by a combustion test in which a small sample was placed in an open crucible and heated to red heat for several hours. After it had been allowed to cool the sample was found to be physically about the same size, but was now a greyish-white colour, strongly suggesting that carbon had been burnt off.

With the apparatus available in the 1970s it was not possible to detect light elements such as carbon directly. Since then there have been considerable advances in the capabilities of electron microscopes and their analytical systems and the samples were re-analysed. This confirmed and extended the earlier analyses and showed that overall the material contained carbon as the major constituent in addition to elements previously detected. Re-examination showed the small black particles were largely composed of charred carbonaceous material (Fig. 1). Some of the tiny constituents of the black particles had smooth concave tubular structures which could be porous channels found within bone (Fig. 1, inset).

Discussion

Analysis showed that the sample contained carbon and phosphorus together with clay and calcite. The most likely material to have this composition would be a mixture of clay and bone-black, the latter made, as the name implies, by the combustion of bones. The material and its preparation were rather prosaic and as a consequence there seem to be few early descriptions of its properties or preparation.⁴⁴ The earliest detailed description of its preparation the author has been able to locate is given in

⁴² Niello was a black material composed of a mixture of metal sulphides, typically those of copper, silver and lead. See S. La Niece, 'Niello: An Historical and Technical Survey', *Antiquaries Jnl*, LXIII, pt. 2 (1983), pp. 279-97.

⁴³ Typically between 1 and 10 microns (one millimetre = 1000 microns) (see footnote 44).

⁴⁴ The best modern description of its appearance and properties is given in R.J. Gettens and G.L. Stout, *Painting Materials*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1966), p.99. There it states that the carbon particles are typically about 5 microns in diameter. The modern preparation is described in J.S. Remington and W. Francis, *Pigments* (London, 1954), pp. 161-2.

that wonderful late nineteenth-century compendium of obscure technical processes - Spon's *Workshop Receipts*.⁴⁵ Bone-black was easy to make from readily available materials, and as such it has a long history, but its occurrence is probably under-reported. This is partly because it contains no exotic or rare materials, just the mundane elements of everyday life. As such it could be rather difficult to identify positively or even to differentiate from dirt. In fact before the advent of modern SEM systems it was the negative characteristics of what it did not contain that were the best clues to its identity!

The earliest examples of bone-black that have so far been confirmed by analysis are Egyptian and were found on wall paintings from the tomb of Perneb, dated to about 2650 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.⁴⁶

The Hellenistic painter, Apelles of Colophon, was reputed by Pliny⁴⁷ to have invented the closely related pigment, ivory-black, made by combusting ivory shavings, but no examples have yet been positively identified from classical antiquity. Indeed Thompson stated that no medieval examples were known in his 1936 magisterial account of artist's materials used in the medieval period.⁴⁸ This absence is, however, probably more apparent than real, due to the problems of positive identification outlined above. Thus it is no surprise that bone-black has since been found on an Italian panel painting by Nardo di Cione, dated to about 1365, now in the National Gallery in London, although it was noted in the report that 'otherwise (bone-black) seems not to have been much used'.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ P. Haldane, *Workshop Receipts*, 2nd series, (London, 1883). The description given of the preparation of bone-black at pp. 398-9 may be given here as it is unlikely to have changed much over the centuries:

When bones are heated in crucible, the organic constituents are decomposed and carbonized. ...

The process, as worked on the large scale is carried on in different ways, according as it is desired to collect the volatile condensable portion of the distillate or to allow it to escape. When it is required to obtain only bone-black, the apparatus employed is simple, and the amount of fuel needed is comparatively small. Carbonization is effected in fireclay crucibles, 16 in. high and 12 in. in diameter. These are preferred to iron crucibles which were much used at one time, since they do not lose their round form when subjected to a high temperature; in consequence of this they fit closely together in the furnace, less air can penetrate, and therefore less charcoal is consumed by oxidation. The furnace is an ordinary flat hearth having a superficial area of about 40 sq. yd., and is covered in with a flat arch all of brickwork. The fireplace is situate in the middle of the hearth; the crucibles are introduced doors in the front, which are bricked up when the furnace is filled; each furnace holds 18 crucibles.

The crucibles, filled with the coarsely-broken bones are covered with a lid luted on with clay. To economize on fuel, the furnaces should be in a row, and placed back to back.

When the furnace is filled and the doors are bricked up, the heat is slowly raised to redness, at which point it is kept for 6 to 8 hours. The combustible gases are evolved and consumed in the furnace as soon as the bones begin to decompose, and by this means so much heat is produced that only a small quantity of fuel is needed to maintain the required temperature. When the carbonization is complete, the doors are taken down and the crucibles removed to cool, their place being immediately filled with fresh ones. The heat must be kept uniform throughout; if it be not sufficiently high, the bone black will contain a portion of undecomposed organic matter, which renders it quite unfit for use; if it be raised too high, the bone-black will be come dense and compact.

The entry also contains a description of bone-black which closely conforms to the material found here in the medieval brass:

Ordinary bone-black has about the following composition:- Phosphate and carbonate of lime, and sulphide or oxide of iron, 88 parts; charcoal, containing a small quantity of nitrogenous matter, 10 parts. It would seem that in the medieval monumental brass examined here the bone-black was mixed with clay before application.

⁴⁶ This and other examples are reported in J.R. Partington, *Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (London, 1935), esp. pp. 136-7.

⁴⁷ H. Rackham (trans.) *Pliny: Natural History*, IX, Libri XXXIII-XXXV, trans. H. Rackham (London, 1952), p. 293 (XXXV.25.42-3).

⁴⁸ D.V. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting* (London, 1936), p.88.

⁴⁹ D. Bomford, J. Dunkerton, D. Gordon and A. Roy, *Italian Painting before 1400* (London, 1989) esp. pp. 43 and 138, plate 125.

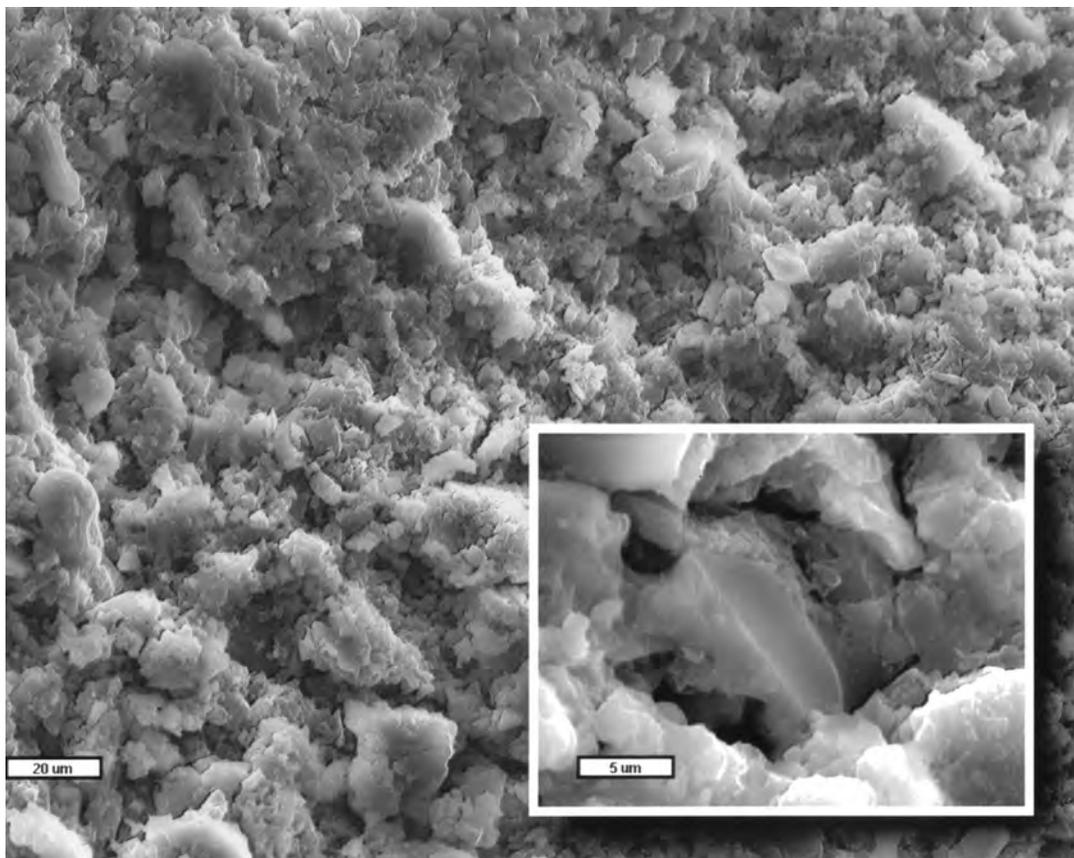


FIG. 1

SEM micrograph showing the small particles of carbonaceous material in the matrix, characteristic of bone black. The inset, at higher magnification, shows a particle with a concave surface reminiscent of the porous channels found in bones (arrowed).

As noted above, few other inlay samples have been investigated, an exception being the red and green inlays on the monumental brass to Canon Osters (1535) from Nippes, near Cologne, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁵⁰ These were examined in the Scientific Department of the National Gallery in London, and found to contain vermilion (red) and malachite (green) inorganic mineral pigments in a medium of beeswax with a little rosin to harden it. These were, however, altogether different and much more sophisticated materials than the humble bone-black of the black inlay on the bishop's brass examined for this report.

Conclusion

The analysis of the metal from a number of late medieval and early post-medieval monumental brasses has shown that they broadly conform to the pattern already

⁵⁰ Norris, *The Craft*, pp. 112-3, note 27.

Date of orig- engraving	Sample	Provenance	Mill Stephenson	Cu	Zn	Sn	Pb	Fe	Ag	Sb	Ni	Co	As	Mn	Bi	Cd	Au	Ref
1300	Angel	French, now in V&A M15 - 1973		75	18	3.0	2.3	0.77	0.19	0.24	0.035	0.01	0.2		0.01	0.004		
c.1340	Palimp. John Crozyer	Barrow, Suffolk, now in BM, MLA 1954,10-3,1 and 1903,7-24,6	MS VI 4	73	18.45	3.1	2.1	1.3	0.13	0.2	0.6	0.015	0.1	0.002				Cameron and Page-Phillips 1982
c.1340	Bishop (L)	French, now in BM	MS I	76	16.8	1.1	4.3	1.1	0.1	0.05	0.05	0.012	0.03	0.003	0.05	ns		
	Bishop (R)	MLA 53,2-21,1		75.5	17.0	1.1	4.6	0.8	0.1	0.03	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.003	0.06	ns		
1348	John de Wanton	Wimbish, Essex	MS I	77	17.5	1.5	1.8	1.7	0.11	0.25	0.015	0.045	0.13	0.003	0.005			
mid 14th		St Olaves, London		80.5	17.3	0.15	0.85	0.37	0.11	0.01	0.065	0.035	0.07	0.003	0.01	ns	0.004	
c.1360	Simon de Wensley (under sheet)	Wensley, Yorks	MS I	70	21	0.8	4.1	0.2	0.04	1.1	1.5	0.003	0.85		0.007	0.035		Cameron 1980
	Simon de Wensley (upper plate)			70	11.5	6.2	9.0	0.5	0.11	0.27	0.045	0.015	0.95			0.015		
	Simon de Wensley (lower plate)			72	13	4.1	8.1	0.43	0.19	0.27	0.04	0.02	0.95		0.02	0.01		
c. 1360	Delamare (mid Dexter)	St Albans Abbey	MS I	83	13.6	0.8	1.8	0.55	0.14	0.35	0.04	0.025			0.06	ns		
	Delamare (mid Sinister)			83	13.8	0.8	1.6	0.45	0.14	0.35	0.035	0.02	0.15		0.04	ns		
1370	Man in armour	Gunby, Lincs	MS I	80.5	14.8	1.4	2.2	0.42	0.15	0.4	0.045	0.001	0.2	0.001	0.035	ns	0.001	
late 14th	Palimp. Richard Gerveys	Constantine, Cornwall	MS I	79.5	13.9	3.7	0.65	0.75	0.16	0.6	0.04	0.018	0.25	0.001	0.04	ns		
late 14th	Fragment	Dredged from Kategat		79	17.0	0.9	2.0	1.3	0.17	0.35	0.05		0.5	ns	0.03			Cameron 1982
1400	Civilian	S. Benfleet, Essex now in Colchester Mus	MS I	70	24.0	2.5	1.2	0.66	0.11	0.8	0.085	0.05	0.3		0.02	0.001		
1400	Soul	French, now in V&A M69-1949		98	0.005		0.75	0.1	0.12	0.01	0.02		0.08					
1420	Main brass	Nousisainen, Finland		70	10.2	5.2	11.5	0.8	0.27	0.12	0.21	0.015	0.45	0.003	0.005	ns		Cameron 1970
early 15th	Palimp. Robert Fowler 1540	Islington, Middlesex	MS I	70	13.4	8.5	1.8	0.6	0.12	0.6	0.07	0.02	0.5	0.01	0.01			Cameron 1981
1525	Thomas Pounder	St Mary Quay, Ipswich	MS I	77	15.4	1.2	4.8	1.2	0.04	0.05	0.25	0.005	0.07		0.007			
1530	Palimp. Wm. Wightman (side)	Harrow, Middlesex	MS IX	66	30.6	0.5	0.85	0.07	0.04		0.4		1.2			ns		Cameron 1958 and 1973
	Wightman (corner)			64	33.0		0.95	0.1	0.04	0.13	0.43		0.95	0.0025		0.02		
1552	Robert Cheney	Chesham Bois, Bucks	MS I	68	29.0	0.35	1.3	0.6	0.04		0.4		0.12	0.005				
1561	Richard Grene	Braughing, Herts	MS IV	69.5	25.5	1.2	2.1	0.5	0.07	0.07	0.195	0.003		0.01	0.005	ns		
1574	Edvarod - main brass	St Nicholas at Wade, Kent	MS I	75	16.5	2.0	3.75	0.6	1.5	0.95	0.02	0.015	0.35		0.003			
	Edvarod - back plate			73	11.6	2.4	10.6	0.6	0.11	0.25	0.045	0.095	0.15		0.002			
1578	Rivet from indent	Kings Langley	MS II	99	0.015		0.47	0.06	0.05	0.03	0.1		0.15		0.01			
	Rivet from indent			76	17.0	0.9	2.0	1.3	0.17	0.35	0.05		0.5	ns	0.03			Cameron 1982

Table: Composition of the metal of the monumental brasses⁵¹

established. By quantifying a wider range of elements, especially iron and cadmium, it has been possible to identify the method by which the brasses were made, revealing one very early candidate for brass made by speltering, that is mixing copper and zinc metals.

The investigation of the black inlay on the monumental brass to a bishop has revealed the use of bone-black, a hitherto unreported pigment in medieval inlays. Further analysis of other black inlays might reveal further surprises, and would certainly add to our knowledge of the materials used.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to colleagues, S. La Niece, N. Meeks, D. Thickett and F. Winter, for advice and for help with the analysis of the bone-black sample, and J. Cherry, I. Freestone, D. Hook and G. Martin for helpful comments on the paper generally.

Appendix: Mr. White's Report to Dr. Cameron on Samples from the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing, Norfolk

Two samples were examined by gas chromatography which showed:

- 1) Both samples appear quite similar under chromatographic analysis.
- 2) The samples show peaks which are typical of a strongly heated resin stemming from a conifer source - in this context, a *Pinus* sp., seems most likely. No unheated oleoresin appears to have been added; there does seem to be a *quite minor* addition of softwood pitch to the mixture, but this seems so small that it can hardly have had any real effect on the overall properties of the final mixture.
- 3) No evidence was found for the inclusion of triterpenoid resin (e.g. mastic), drying oil or wax.

To summarise, it is most likely that dried resin (rosin) was placed in a vessel and heated to melt the whole, possibly with a very minor addition of softwood pitch. No doubt this would be kept hot during the work and aliquots of the adhesive poured from the cauldron as required.

⁵¹ References on Table: Cameron 1980: H.K. Cameron, '14th century Flemish Brasses to Ecclesiastics in English Churches', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 1 (1980), pp. 3-24. Cameron and Page Phillips 1982: H.K. Cameron and J.C. Page-Phillips, 'The Brass of John Crosyer at Barrow, Suffolk', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 3 (1982), pp. 224-31. Cameron 1982: H.K. Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses in Denmark: A Microcosm of National History', *MBS Trans.* XIII, pt. 3 (1982), pp. 169-202. Cameron 1970: H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-century School of Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), pp. 50-81. Cameron 1981: H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex. Part 21: Islington', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXXII (1981), pp. 140-50. Cameron 1958 and 1975: H.K. Cameron, 'Palimpsest Brasses in Middlesex', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 6 (1958), pp. 311-28; H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex, Part 14: Harrow', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXIV (1973), pp.162-76.

French or Flemish?: A Fragment of a Pontifical Brass in the British Museum

by LYNDA DENNISON

IN the British Museum there is a fine fragment of the brass of a bishop, where the soul in the Father's lap has a mitre upon it'.¹ BM MME 1853,0221.1, the brass thus described by Greeny, measures 69 x 56 cm, is clearly a portion of a larger rectangular brass and is widely considered to be Flemish in origin (Fig. 1). But all we know concerning its provenance is that A.W.N. Pugin acquired it on the Continent. According to Meara, the brass was in Pugin's possession by May 1838, when he mentioned it in an article in the *London and Dublin Orthodox Journal*.² After his death in 1852 it was sold amongst his antiquities on 12 February 1853 and, according to the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for March 1853, it fetched £24. 10s.³ It was bought by A.W. Franks for the British Museum.⁴ In a list compiled by Haines at the British Museum, he describes it as 'obtained from some continental church by the late A.W.N. Pugin'. Other brief references merely state that it was acquired abroad. Dr. Keith Cameron, in his important article of 1970, 'The 14th - Century School of Flemish Brasses', refers to it as having been 'found by Pugin in Belgium',⁵ but unfortunately he gives no reference to the source of this information, so it could have been a speculative conclusion. And of its Flemish manufacture Cameron seems to have had no doubt. It is well known that he has put forward convincing evidence for Tournai as being the likely centre of brass engraving which, for the majority produced between c. 1319 and the 1370s, would strongly appear to be the case. He suggested a date of 1360-65 for the British Museum fragment. Haines, in his 1861 *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, seems to have been undecided as to its date, a situation which has pertained to this day, referring to it variously within the same volume as 'fragment of large brass of an abbot, c. 1350', and 'the head of a bishop or abbot, c. 1360'.⁶ Eichler, in his 1933 study of Flemish brasses, dated it c. 1360.⁷ More recently, in the *Witness in Brass* exhibition of 1987 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, it was pronounced to be c. 1375.⁸

The purpose of this paper is to put forward a date and location of artistic production for this brass, but first its appearance must be described. The fragment

¹ W.F. Greeny, *A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1884), p. 3.

² D. Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses* (London, 1991), p. 33. Its influence can be detected in the upper part of Pugin's design for the Challinor brass, made in 1845 (*ibid.*, fig. 44).

³ Meara, *Pugin*, p. 13, fig. 3.

⁴ J. Cherry, 'Franks and the Medieval Collections', in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. M. Caygill and J. Cherry (London, 1997), p. 188, fig. 22.

⁵ *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), p. 51.

⁶ H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861), I, pp. xviii, xx, lxxiv; II, p. 232.

⁷ H. Eichler, 'Flandrische gravierte Metallgrabplatten des XIV. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIV (1933), p. 206, Abb. 5.

⁸ *Witness in Brass*, exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1987), no. 141.

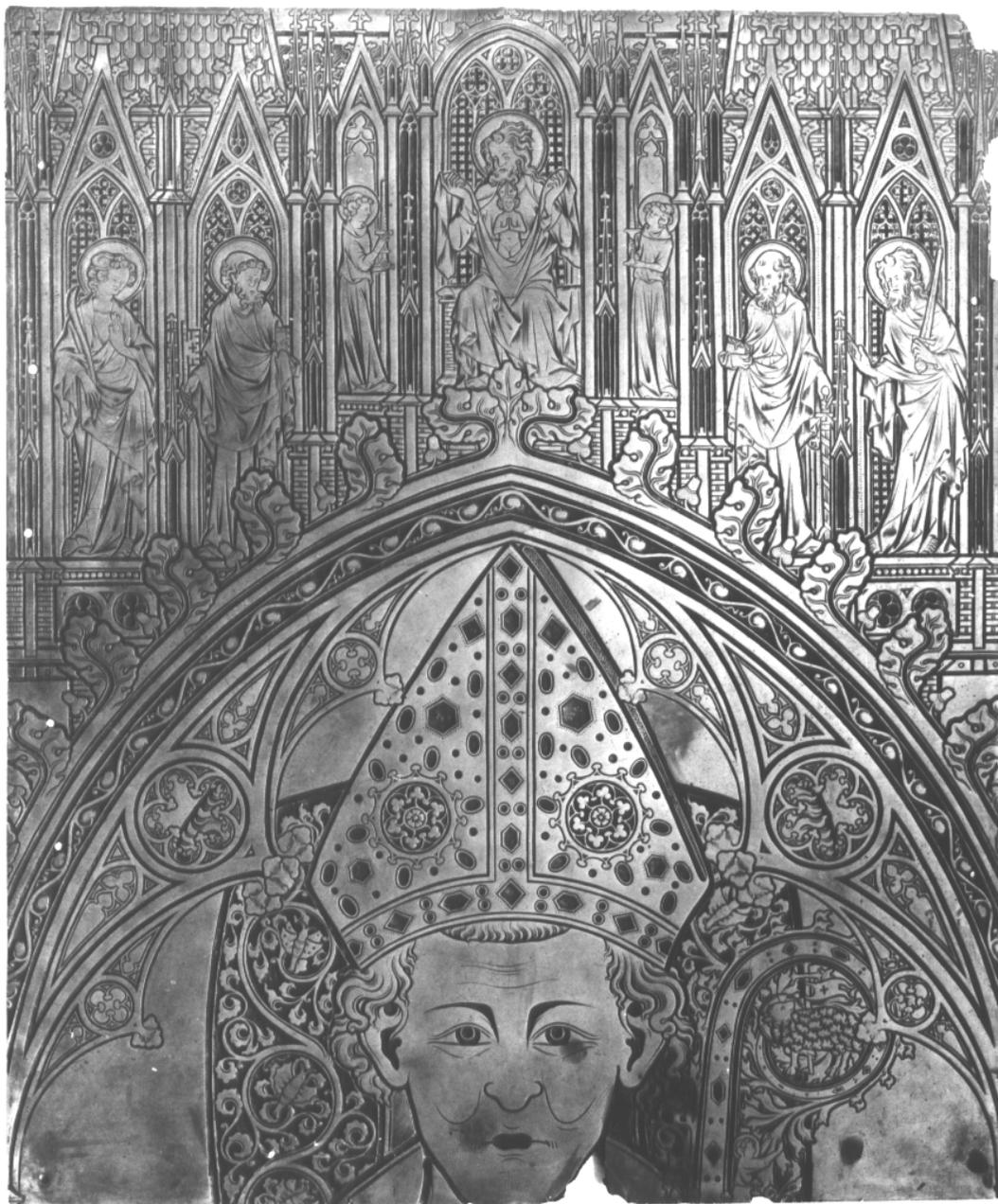


FIG. 1

Fragment of Pontifical Brass, British Museum, MME 1853,0221.1

Photo.: T. Milton/Trustees of the British Museum

shows the head of a bishop or abbot wearing a jewelled mitre, and holding a crosier, the crook of which contains an image of the *Agnus Dei*. The person commemorated is shown with his head resting on a patterned cushion, under an inhabited canopy. In the centre of the canopy is either God the Father or, more probably, Abraham, receiving the mitred soul of the deceased, flanked by angels bearing candles. On a lower level, two steps down from this central group, there are four apostles. Reading from left to right, they are St. John the Evangelist, holding a palm, St. Peter, with a key, St. Paul, with a sword and a book, and an unidentified apostle, also holding a sword.⁹ This arrangement is a common one in Flemish brass design of the fourteenth century. Also typical are the arched and gabled niches, with grounds that simulate window tracery and patterned glass. Highly characteristic are the brickwork bases and 'fish-scale' tiled roofs. Another distinctive element are the crocketed pinnacles between the niches.

My approach to dating is similar to that taken by Dr. Cameron, which has been to isolate various formal and stylistic elements, such as canopy design, background pattern, and the head of the main figure, and to consider these in relation to the constituent parts of Flemish brasses for which firmer dates exist. To Cameron's breakdown of the various elements - although, of course, many of his headings cannot be applied here because of the fragmentary state of the brass - I have added figure and drapery style of the subsidiary figures as well as their facial types. This exercise, however, has been anything but straightforward. Not only is much of the brass lost but a particular problem with brasses of the Flemish School is that once a pattern is established it is repeated, with the effect that certain later brasses may still manifest forms of an earlier period.

The brass to Martin Ferrandes (Fig. 2) is a case in point.¹⁰ Although this brass is datable to *c.* 1373,¹¹ it still exhibits a canopy and tabernacle design which has more in common with Flemish brasses of before 1360. The conservatism of the Ferrandes brass can be demonstrated by comparing it with the Fleming brass at Newark (Fig. 3), also of Flemish manufacture and datable to 1361, a pivotal brass stylistically, along with others, in manifesting certain significant progressive elements.¹² The two-dimensional niches in the Ferrandes brass, where space is suggested by flat, linear devices, contrast with the canopy above Fleming which introduces a star-studded vault. Also characteristic of the Fleming brass type are the niches which are angled slightly outwards to suggest depth, which effectively offers to the spectator a view from beneath. Another avant-garde feature, observable in the central part of the canopy, is that the traditional fish-scale tiles and brickwork of the Ferrandes brass have been abandoned in Fleming. Fleming and Ferrandes do, however, share the

⁹ He is possibly St. Matthew, who is shown on Flemish brasses holding a sword and a book (H.K. Cameron, 'Attributes of the Apostles on the Tournai School of Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4, p. 288, pl. VB).

¹⁰ On the Ferrandes brass see H.K. Cameron, 'Four Civilian Brasses of the Flemish School', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 2 (1987), pp. 104-12.

¹¹ The inscription records the death of Martin's wife Catelina Lopes in 1373.

¹² See L. Dennison, 'The Artistic Context of Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 1 (1986), p. 3.



FIG. 2

Martin Ferrandes, d. 1371
Museo Vasco, Bilbao, from Castro Urdiales, Spain
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron

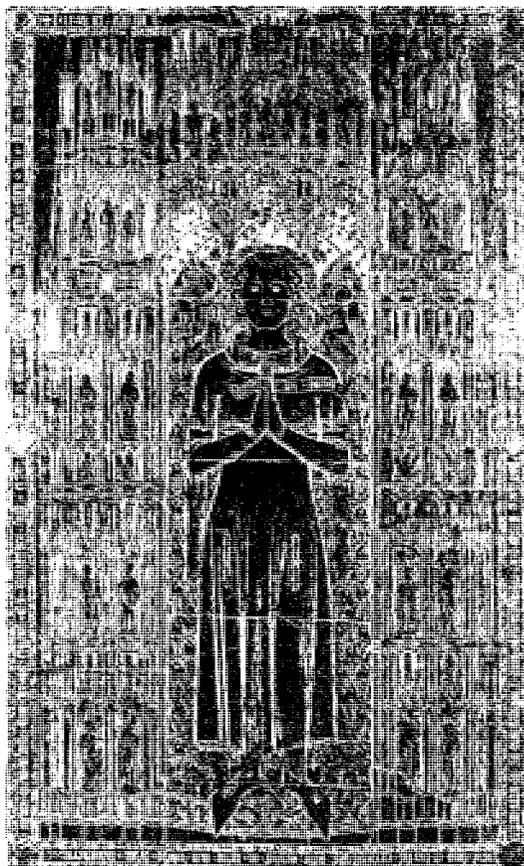


FIG. 3

Alan Fleming, d. 1361
Newark, Notts.
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron

device of leaving plain the background behind the towers terminating in pinnacles, in contrast with earlier brasses of this school where the towers and pinnacles are placed against a patterned background, as in the brass to King Eric Menved and Queen Ingeborg at Ringsted, of 1319 (Fig. 4), a type which persisted in brasses of the Tournai School until the time of the Fleming brass. This is the *horror vacui* often referred to as being characteristic of Flemish brasses. The brass to Albrecht Hövener at Stralsund, of 1357 (Fig. 5), before the crucial 1361 turning-point, is also of the '*horror vacui*' type, with pattern packed behind the towers and pinnacles of the canopy. Thus the Ferrandes brass exhibits both progressive and conservative elements and serves to highlight the caution which should be exercised in dating this group of brasses on stylistic grounds. However, a stylistic method is wholly necessary when, as here, there is little by way of documentary evidence to help arrive at a closer dating and provenance.

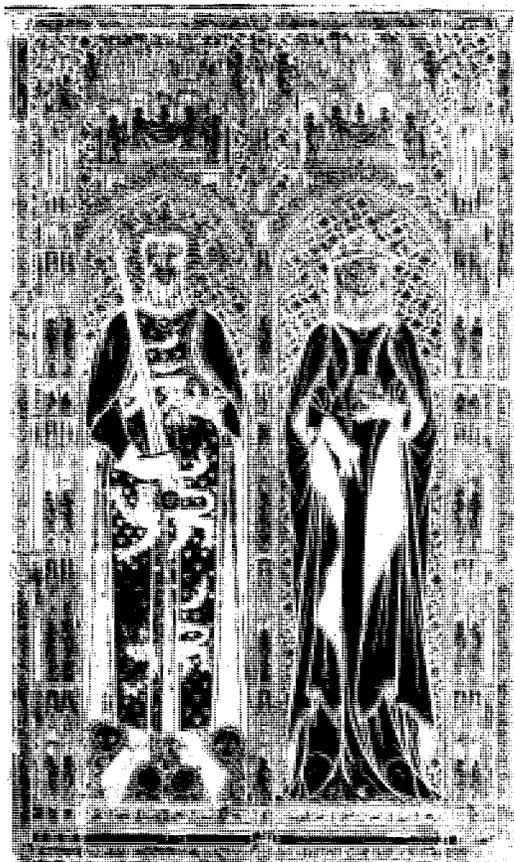


FIG. 4
King Eric Menved, d. 1319, and Queen Ingeborg
Ringsted, Denmark
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron

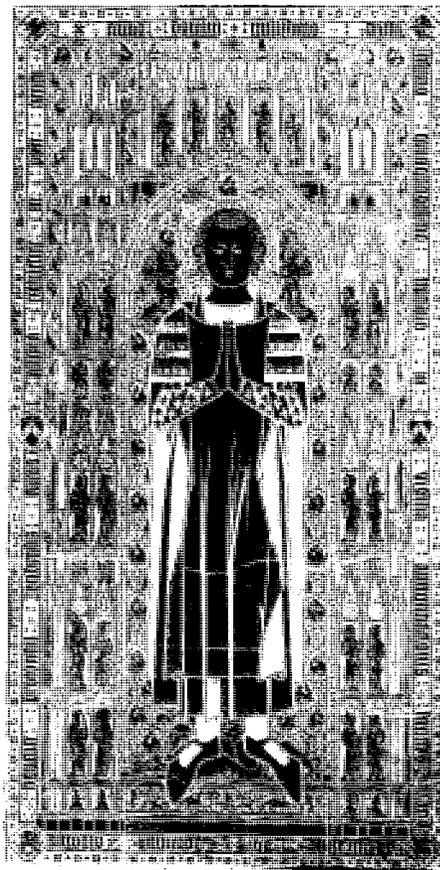


FIG. 5
Albrecht Hövener, d. 1357
Nicolaikirche, Stralsund, Germany
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron

The British Museum fragment is of the type where space is suggested by flat, linear devices, such as two-dimensional canopies, tabernacles and niches, rather than the more three-dimensional spatial handling of Fleming brass. This, alone, may hint at a date no later than *c.* 1360. It would appear to be an amalgam of the Ringsted and Hövener brasses; compositionally it is close to Ringsted, while the stepped tabernacle arrangement accords with that in the Hövener brass, a solution which appears to have been chosen for single figure brasses. The fragmentary nature of the British Museum brass makes it impossible to establish what was the nature of the background areas behind the now missing side shafts, although I will speculate on this at a later stage.

Does the British Museum fragment stand up to close comparison with brasses of the Flemish School? One marked difference exists within the area of the window forms. The Ringsted brass (Fig. 4) employs a type which is markedly rectangular with

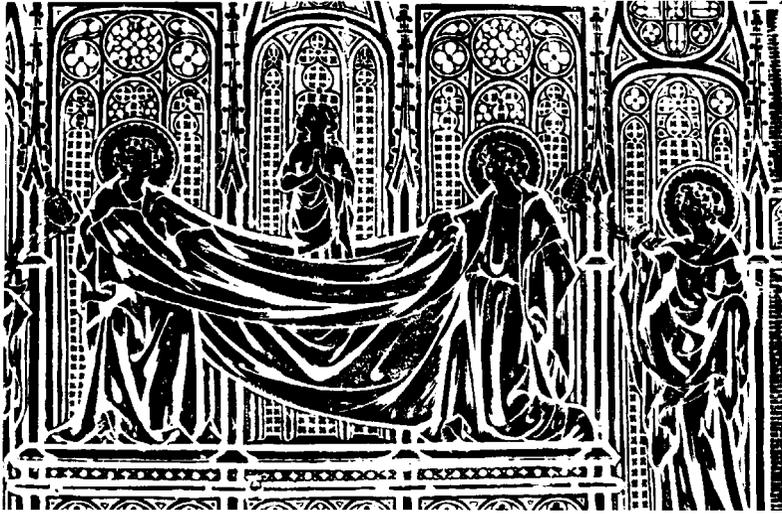


FIG. 6
 Angels bearing up the soul of Queen Ingeborg, Ringsted
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron



FIG. 7
 SS. John the Evangelist and Peter
 British Museum, MME 1853,0221.1



FIG. 8
 SS. Paul and unidentified apostle
 British Museum, MME 1853,0221.1

rounded edges, whereas in the British Museum example the architectural niches, as well as the tracery within, remain pointed. The Ringsted window type, seemingly typical of this school of brass manufacture, is evident in other examples, such as the brass to Burchard van Serken and Johann van Mul in Lübeck cathedral, of 1350,¹³ and still later - yet within the general period being considered for the execution of the British Museum fragment, which is *c.* 1320-1360 - the Hövener brass of 1357 (Fig. 5). In this important aspect, therefore, the fragment stands outside the mainstream of Flemish brass manufacture between these dates. I will return to a discussion of architectural elements, namely the arched canopy immediately above the decorated figure, after first considering the figure style and other decorative forms.

For the following comparisons I will stay principally with the brasses already introduced because they demonstrate some basic design types amongst the brasses under consideration within the appropriate date range. How do the figures in the 1319 Ringsted brass compare? Those within the canopy (Fig. 6) are markedly elongated, with long necks, small heads, a pronounced *déhanchement*, and voluminous, convoluted draperies, with broad folds that are vigorously highlighted. In contrast, the British Museum figures in the canopy (Figs. 7, 8), although 'hip-shot', are not as mannered in their proportions and the drapery falls more naturalistically about the bodies; there is highlighting but it is less marked.

A distinctive feature of Flemish brasses of *c.* 1350 onwards, such as Serken and Mul and Hövener, are the hooked noses and Medusa-like locks. Also apparent is the mannerism of the drapery pulled tight across the arm, looking rather like a sling (Fig. 9). In the British Museum brass, in contrast, the drapery falls loosely about the upper body and falls to the ground in elegant, linear folds (Figs. 7, 8). The hair is gathered either in tight locks or, if flowing free, it is controlled and there is no sign of exaggerated facial features. Out of all the Flemish brasses I have examined the closest, although not identical, are the figures in the somewhat idiosyncratic brass to Estevão Vasques Pimental of 1336 at Leça do Balio.¹⁴ In this brass the hair has not yet assumed the snake-like looks evident in Flemish brasses of *c.* 1350 and beyond. Indeed, there is a close comparison between the angel head from Leça (Fig. 10) and those of the angels in the British Museum fragment (Fig. 11); the other male head type, with flowing locks, and a pronounced curl about the ear, also occurs at Leça (Fig. 12). Although the figures are similarly proportioned in both brasses and the draperies agree in general terms, they differ as to detail; the Leça figures are of stockier proportions and the draperies have broader folds and firmer lines.

The figure types of the brasses so far examined seem to be reflecting differing phases of Parisian court art of *c.* 1270 to 1345. The Ringsted figures (Figs. 4, 6), although witnessing to French influence, are the sort of translation one might expect from an artist not working within the immediate milieu of Parisian artists but at a

¹³ See H.K. Cameron, 'The Brass of *c.* 1350 in Lübeck Cathedral to Bishops Burchard von Serken and Johann von Mul', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 5 (1984), pp. 363-80.

¹⁴ See H.K. Cameron, 'The Memorial to Dom. Frei Estevão Vasques Pimentel, a Unique Brass at Leça do Balio, Portugal', XII, pt. 5 (1979), pp. 373-402.

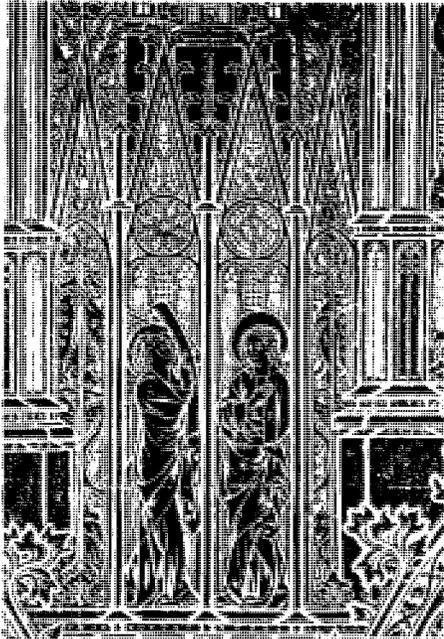


FIG. 9
Annunciation
detail from Serken and Mul brass, Lübeck
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron



FIG. 11
Candle-bearing angel
British Museum, MME 1853,0221.1



FIG. 10
Archangel Gabriel
detail from Pimentel brass, Leça do Balio
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron



FIG. 12
St. James
detail from Pimentel brass, Leça do Balio
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron



FIG. 13

Adoration of the Magi, Hours of Jeanne de Navarre
(BN, MS Nouv. Acq. Lat. 3145, f. 55v)

Photo.: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

remove, mediated possibly via pattern books or, indeed, a different medium such as manuscript illumination. To demonstrate this point, the Westminster-produced Douce Apocalypse¹⁵ witnesses to a similar translation of a Parisian source - the period in Paris of Master Honoré - but in the Douce illuminator's hands the figures become more mannered in pose, as well as elongated, as in the Ringsted brass. The Leça figures come closer to those in the British Museum fragment; they reflect Parisian court art of Master Honoré's successor, Jean Pucelle. But by comparing the Leça figures with the Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux of the 1320s¹⁶ it can be seen that in the translation of the style from illumination to brass the draperies have assumed a static, sculptural quality and the poses are verging on the mannered. The figures in the British Museum fragment, however, have a closer dependence on Parisian models, a more faithful translation, as demonstrated by a comparison with a miniature by Jean Pucelle's successor, Jean le Noir, in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre of the late 1330s (Fig. 13). The British Museum figures thus stand out as more refined, a closer translation of Parisian court art of the period.

¹⁵ N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250-1285* (London, 1988), no. 153.

¹⁶ J.J. Rorimer, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux, Queen of France* (New York, 1957).



FIG. 14a
British Museum, MME 1853,0221.1
detail of head



FIG. 14b
Bishop von Serken, detail of head
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron



FIG. 14c
Johann Clingenberg, d. 1356, detail of head
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron



FIG. 14d
Simon de Wensley, detail of head
Rubbing by H.K. Cameron

I will now consider the characteristics of the head of the main figure (Fig. 14a). It is difficult to categorise with other extant Flemish brasses of the period. The Serken and Mul brass of 1350 (Fig. 14b) represents one of a few standard types which, once established, remained fairly consistent throughout the century in brasses of this school. In the heads of the two bishops the eyebrows are of the sketchy type, rendered by vertical hatching simulating hair. A continuous line extends from one eyebrow, terminating in the tip of the nose, thus creating a three-quarters view. Both the treatment of the eyebrows and the semi-profile nose are probably a reflection of a developing naturalism. Also characteristic are the sketchily rendered cheek and nostrils, the stubble of the beard, the wavy hair covering the ears, and the open eyes. An almost identical treatment occurs in the head of Albrecht Hövener of 1357, while the head of Johann Clingenberg of 1356 (Fig. 14c) is broadly similar, except for the eyebrows, which are characteristic of another standard head type which exists in brasses such as that to William Kestevne of 1360¹⁷ and Johann van Zoest of 1361.¹⁸ A variation of this form exists in the Wensley brass of *c.* 1360 (Fig. 14d), where the nose and eyebrows are delineated in a continuous line from the eyebrows, thus giving a more full-faced appearance, while the Ferrandes head (Fig. 2) adopts the same formula, except there that the eyes are open. The British Museum head (Fig. 14a) agrees with these last two examples in adopting a symmetrical arrangement, where one side of the head is a mirror image of the other; but there are significant differences. Indeed, the British Museum fragment is difficult to categorise with other extant examples of Flemish manufacture. Uniquely, this brass has a separate delineation of the brows and nose, which in all the examples of the Flemish School that I have examined is continuous. This feature alone separates the head from typical Flemish brasses of the period, but also unique to this brass are the eyebrows, which are forcefully delineated in characteristic boomerang forms. The large prominent ears which are exposed are a distinctive feature, as are the curved cheek lines, and there is no stubble which is characteristic of comparable Flemish brasses. The head, as a whole, has a force and strength of draughtsmanship, a flow of bold and simple lines which separates it from the majority of examples selected above in my overview of Flemish brass design of the period. Where, then, do the closest comparisons lie?

An incised slab of 1333, formerly in the Collège des Bernardins in Paris (Fig. 15),¹⁹ has the discontinuous delineation of the nose, open eyes, rounded cheeks and prominent ears of the British Museum fragment. The stone is presumably of French, indeed of Parisian, manufacture. Also shared with the British Museum fragment is the empty background within the arch which introduces the next aspect of this discussion. Here, again, there are certain anomalies which separate this brass from the mainstream of Flemish manufacture.

¹⁷ *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894-1984*, intr. M.W. Norris (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 39.

¹⁸ Creeny, *Brasses*, pl. 16.

¹⁹ F. de Guilhermy, *Inscriptions de la France, I, Ancien Diocèse de Paris* (Paris, 1873), pp. 591-3.

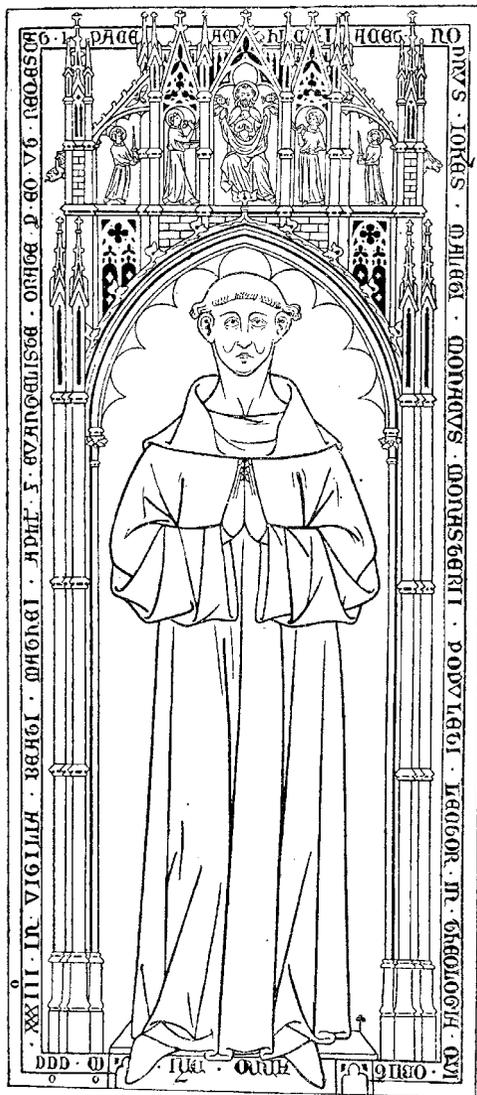


FIG. 15

Jean de Malet, monk of Poblet, d. 1333
 incised slab from the Collège des Bernardins, Paris (Musée de Cluny 2660).
Engraving in Guilhemy

Dr. Cameron stated that the cushion, seen on the British Museum fragment, is a feature of later brasses. On the whole this is probably the case of Flemish brass manufacture, but even so there are exceptions within the date span of my analysis. The Clingenberg and Hövener brasses of 1356 and 1357 respectively each display the cushion; Serken and Mul of 1350 admittedly does not, but the fragmentary Flemish brass to the wife of Francisco Fernandes, now in the Museo Arqueológico,

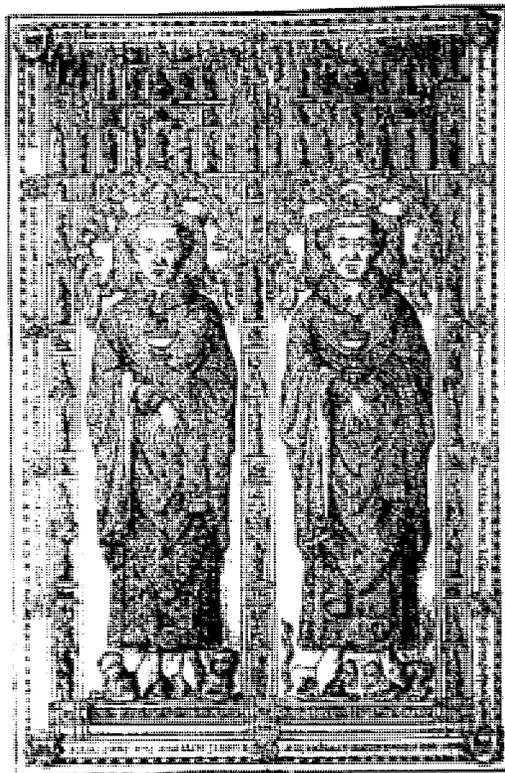


FIG. 16
Jean and Simon du Portail, formerly in the Chartreuse, Paris
from Cameron

Seville, does.²⁰ She died in 1333 but the brass is probably of the 1340s. Moreover, in the brass to Jean and Simon du Portail of *c.* 1345, formerly in the Chartreuse church in Paris (Fig. 16), considered by Cameron to be Flemish,²¹ the cushion is again present. In the chronological development of brass design of this school 1345 is a relatively early date. This brass is also interesting for the plain background surrounding each cushion, as in the British Museum fragment. Both the Portail and British Museum brasses, in having a cushion on an empty background, are not typically Flemish but French in this feature. A cursory glance through Gaignières at other French monuments supports this assessment, in illustrating the popularity of the cushion on an empty background, as in the incised slab commemorating Hugues de Pomard, bishop of Langres, d. 1345, formerly in the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris (Fig. 17). Even more unusual, were the British Museum fragment to be Flemish, is the absence of angels supporting the cushion, again, a feature more apparent in

²⁰ *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 23.

²¹ See H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-century School of Flemish Brasses: Evidence for a Tournai Workshop', *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 3 (1977), pp. 199-209.



FIG. 17

Hugues de Pomard, bishop of Langres, d. 1345, formerly Sainte-Geneviève, Paris
(BN, Estampes, Rés. Pe 1k, f. 42)

Photo.: Bibliothèque Nationale de France



FIG. 18

Guillaume Amanieu, archdeacon of Joinville, d. 1309, formerly Châlons-sur-Marne Cathedral (BN, Estampes, Rés. Pe 1m, f. 21).

Photo.: *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*

brasses and incised slabs of likely French manufacture, as in the incised slab commemorating Guillaume Amanieu, archdeacon of Joinville, d. 1309, formerly at Saint-Etienne, Châlons-sur-Marne, which is stylistically compatible with a date in the 1340s (Fig. 18). This is a type which remained characteristic of French design throughout the period, as is illustrated by the brass of Jean d'Augerant, bishop of Beauvais, who died in 1375 (Fig. 19). As an indication of just how unusual the British Museum brass would be, were it a product of the Tournai School, there are no other brasses in Cameron's list between 1333 and 1398 which have a cushion unsupported by an angel, except for a shroud brass of 1387, now in St. Saviour's cathedral in Bruges,²² and the now lost brass to Michael van Assenede and wives, once in St. Walburga's church in Bruges, of 1398,²³ which are manifestly later and probably Bruges- rather than Tournai-produced, in that they use very different patterns, style

²² V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578* (Brugge, 1976), pl. 33.

²³ H.K. Cameron, 'Two Lost Brasses of the Tournai School formerly at Bruges', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 2 (1981), pp. 123-31, fig. 4.



FIG. 19

Jean d'Augerant, bishop of Beauvais, d. 1375, formerly Beauvais Cathedral (BN, Estampes, Rés. Pe 11a, f. 117).

Photo.: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

and approach. Of the seven or so brasses, ranging in date from 1333 to 1361, which have cushions, all, without exception, are supported by angels.

What of the cushion design itself? Coiling patterns of this type are common to Tournai brasses of this period, as in the Clingenberg, Hövener, Wensley and Braunche brasses; but again I have found the British Museum fragment (Fig. 20a) to be unique. Not only is the stylised, non-naturalistic leaf form different from the above cross-section of examples (indeed, I have not identified it elsewhere), but suggestive of an early, rather than later date, is the foliage which is stylised in a way which compares with the background of the brass to Ludolph and Heinrich von Bülow, at Schwerin, of 1347. The British Museum fragment also includes an unusual rendering of a butterfly or dragonfly. The nearest, but not identical, example is in the Serken



FIG. 20a
Detail of cushion, British Museum
MME 1853,0221.1



FIG. 20b
Detail of butterfly
Serken and Mul brass, Lübeck

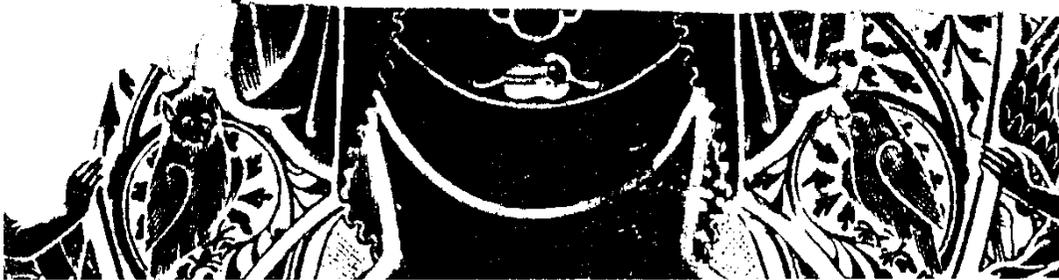


FIG. 20c
Detail of cushion, palimpsest fragment, Harrow, Middx.
Rubbings by H.K. Cameron

and Mul brass of *c.* 1350 (Fig. 20b), where it occurs in the area between the grotesques and trilobes, behind the area of the pinnacles. They are, however, a different species: characteristic of the British Museum insect are the wavy-edged wings, the absence of legs and the paired wings which are a reversal of those in the Serken and Mul brass. Cameron's date of 1360-65 for the British Museum fragment may have been occasioned by the pattern of the cushion on the palimpsest brass at Harrow (Fig. 20c) which he perceived as developing from his 3a type, but not only is the foliage different but the birds almost burst the confines of the roundels. It is unfortunately impossible to make comparison with French examples in Gaignières because of the imprecise draughtsmanship of this area. Significantly, in the British Museum fragment, there is no evidence of grotesques; this may also support the refinement of a French, rather than Flemish, design source.

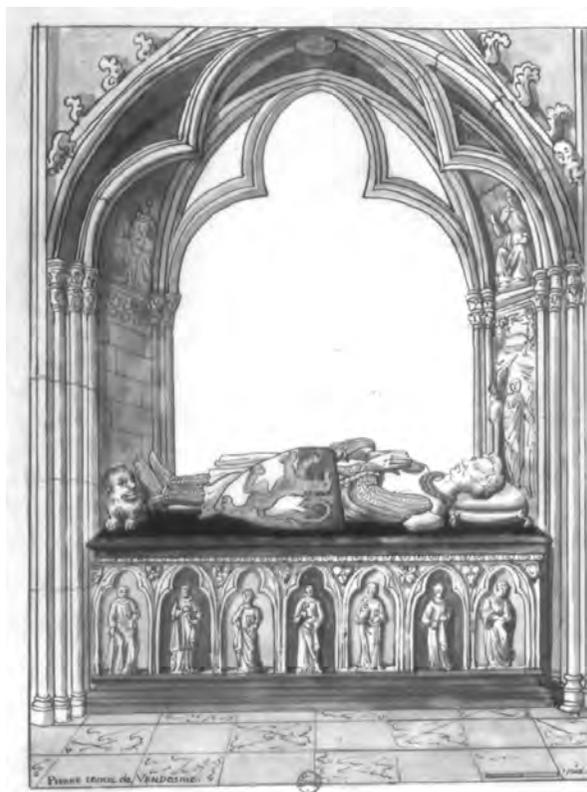


FIG. 21

Jean V de Vendôme, d. 1315, formerly in Saint-Georges, Vendôme

(BN, Estampes, Rés. Pe 1n, f. 94)

Photo.: *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*

My final area of analysis concerns the arch itself. It will come as no surprise to learn that this too is not entirely typical of brasses of the Flemish school. One point of contact, however, is the trailing foliage device which inhabits the curve of the arch, which is of the type of the Hövener brass and others; indeed, it is a standard form which pervades Flemish brass production from Ringsted of 1319, through to Hövener of 1357, Braunche of 1364 and is still evident on the 1374 brass to Gilles van Namain.²⁴ Another point of contact are the crockets, comprised of stylised leaf forms - in the British Museum fragment and Hövener probably oak because of the dispersal of acorn-like forms in between. Again, it is standard; the Braunche brass also has the same form, and there are others. What is unique to this brass, a distinctive architectural feature not apparent in any brass purporting to be Flemish, is the form of cusping. The standard Flemish form, again used exclusively in Tournai brass production of *c.* 1319 to the mid 1370s, is the cusping of the Hövener and Braunche brasses, which consists of a ring of some seven semi-circles, circumscribing

²⁴ Cameron, 'Four Civilian Brasses', pl. I.



FIG. 22

Marguerite de Chastelvilain, d. 1351, incised slab, Epernay
from *Creeny*

the inner arch. The British Museum fragment has an arch dominated by one large element of trefoil cusping on each side, while the arch of this cusping significantly repeats the same form of cusping within on a smaller scale. The larger element of cusping serves to accommodate two roundels. Clearly this was the brass engraver's attempt to simulate depth within the arch.

Observation of tomb architecture, as in the French tomb to Jean V de Vendôme (d. 1315) formerly in the collegiate church of Saint-Georges, Vendôme, known from a Gaignières drawing (Fig. 21), indicates how the engraver may have arrived at this solution. As stated, this is not a Flemish device. It is, however, undisputably French. It also occurs on the incised slab of Guillaume de Saint-Rémy, from Meaux Cathedral, of Parisian manufacture, datable to some time after 1370.²⁵ Another

²⁵ F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), I, pp. 114-15, 117, II, pl. 38; *Les Fastes du Gothique: le siècle de Charles V*, exhibition catalogue, Grand Palais (Paris, 1981), no. 37. Guillaume de Saint-Rémy died 'le mardi apres pasques florix ix iour dauril'. In the 14th century the Tuesday after Palm Sunday fell on 9 April in 1308, 1370, 1381 and 1392.

example is the incised slab to Marguerite de Chastelvilain, abbess of Argensolles, d. 1351, at Epernay (Fig. 22),²⁶ where also a distinct parallel exists in the facial type: the extreme frontal view, the strong eyebrows and the tip of the nostrils separate from the upper part of the nose. Also in close agreement is the undecorated background. A further example is in the incised slab of Guillaume Amanieu (Fig. 18). Witnessing to the longevity of this specific French form of cusping is the magnificent 'Parement de Narbonne', an altar frontal in black ink on silk, produced in Paris, c. 1375.²⁷ A late-fourteenth-century example, in brass, is provided by the epitaph to Philippe de Mézières, a further work of indisputably Parisian provenance.²⁸

At the risk of over-playing this point I would like to introduce one final example. Among the Gaignières drawings there is one of a brass from the Paris Charterhouse commemorating Jean de Blangy, bishop of Auxerre, who died in 1345 (Fig. 23).²⁹ Making allowances for the distortions created by the draughtsman in the translation of the facial features, there are some remarkably close correspondences with the British Museum fragment in all the areas of design discussed in this paper, not least in the very specific, non-Flemish form of the cusping contained within the arch. Could this be the entire brass of which this is a fragment? Can we reconstruct the original form of the brass from the Gaignières drawing? In one point at least it may be possible to establish what form the rest of the upper part of the brass took. There are two small tell-tale spaces, unified with decoration, on either side of the arch, just above the lower crocket. This concords with the Gaignières drawing and indicates that, like the Blangy brass, but unlike Flemish designs of this date, the area behind the towers, now lost in the fragment, was similarly devoid of decoration.

The Paris Charterhouse, originally founded in 1257 by St. Louis, was suppressed in 1790.³⁰ Pugin, himself half French, first visited France in 1819, when he saw his French relations.³¹ According to his autobiographical notes, it was in 1823, when he visited Paris and Normandy, that he 'first began to collect antiquities'.³² Five further visits are documented throughout the 1820s, and his diaries indicate a number of visits to Paris in the 1830s.³³ It was most probably on one of these visits that he picked up the brass. On Pugin's 1836 visit he was delivering copies of *Contrasts* to French antiquaries, including six copies for Alexandre-Albert Lenoir, who later founded the Musée de Cluny in Paris. He was the son of Alexandre Lenoir who was responsible for preserving a number of France's medieval monuments after the Revolution.³⁴

²⁶ Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, I, pp. 103, 309.

²⁷ *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 324.

²⁸ *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 94.

²⁹ On Jean de Blangy see *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, VI (Paris, 1954), col. 637. He was Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris from 1329, and bishop of Auxerre from 1339 until 1344, when he resigned his see. He died in Paris on 13 March 1345.

³⁰ L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols. (Macon, 1935-37), II, col. 2195.

³¹ A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family* (London, 1985), p. 24.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29 n. 6, 35, 38, 40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

It may never be possible to prove with certainty that the British Museum fragment once formed part of the brass to Jean de Blangy. What the evidence presented above does state forcibly is that the fragment was in all likelihood not produced in Tournai; and, if Flemish, was under strong French influence. It is my belief that the brass was produced in France, probably in a workshop in Paris, possibly by a Flemish engraver who was working in close proximity to Parisian artists of the court milieu. Furthermore, from the stylistic evidence put forward in this paper, there is a strong case for suggesting that in the past this brass has been dated too late, that it is datable not to 1360-65 but to between 1345 and 1350.

A final conclusion must await further investigation, particularly of other French slabs and brasses, but the indications are that there was a possible gravitation of Flemish engravers to Paris in the 1340s, or earlier, who took with them certain formulae and patterns from the Tournai workshop, on which they grafted elements of French design. I suggest that we witness to this amalgam of styles and approaches in the British Museum fragment. This would not be an isolated instance of Flemish artisans and craftsmen leaving Flanders to seek employment elsewhere in this and the following decade. A *Bible Moralisée* of c. 1349-52 (BN MS français 167) testifies to the influx of Flemish illuminators to Parisian court workshops;³⁵ but this was clearly a reciprocal process since brass engravers, as well as illuminators, working in Tournai, borrowed elements from the Parisian tradition. Analysis of the British Museum fragment indicates that it does not fit comfortably into the artistic mainstream of Tournai monumental brass production of the fourteenth century; and where it differs it comes remarkably close to the design and detail of brasses and incised slabs once in French churches.

³⁵ *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 272.

Change and Decay at Northfleet, Kent: The Fate of the Brass of Peter de Lacy (d. 1375)

by LESLIE A. SMITH

THEY started making cement in Northfleet in 1834.¹ This was and still is significant for the prosperity of Northfleet and, as we shall see, it was also significant in the church of Northfleet. St. Botolph's sits on top of what is called The Hill, its churchyard on the edge of one of the many, now disused, chalk quarries in this area, near the Thames. The fabric of the church is almost all early fourteenth century; the interior is spacious but with a Victorian tidiness which sanitises rather than sanctifies. Like many churches it suffers from damp; in 1997 a substantial marble wall monument fell off the wall, completely destroying the pew below. One glorious and surprising survival in the church is the carved wooden screen which must have been built with the church and so must date from about 1320. The brasses were much less fortunate. Their survival rate was very low. That there were at least thirteen brasses in the church can be established from four main sources:

a) John Philipot, *Somerset Herald*, whose 'Church Notes in Kent' were made during his visitation in 1619;²

b) Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* of 1631;³

c) John Thorpe in 1769 and 1788 in his *Registrum Roffense* and *Custumale Roffense*.⁴ Thorpe was a close friend of the Revd. Thomas Harris (1695-1762), vicar of Northfleet, and during his incumbency had 'frequent opportunities' to study the monuments;⁵

d) Thomas Fisher's drawings of c. 1800 in the Society of Antiquaries and elsewhere.

All the evidence from these was brought together by Ralph Griffin in 1917 in *Archaeologia Cantiana*.⁶ Griffin fired off this salvo:

If ever there was a case in which it is permitted to lament a so-called "restoration", it is the case of the beautiful church at Northfleet, for it is still beautiful, though much of interest has disappeared. It is not difficult to gather from accounts that are still to be found that the church once possessed many beautiful marble slabs which contained or had contained

¹ S.H. Cooke, *A History of Northfleet and its Parish Church* (London, 1942), p. 79.

² BL Harleian MS 3917.

³ J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 332.

⁴ J. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, (London, 1769), pp. 751-6; *ibid.*, *Custumale Roffense* (London, 1788), pp. 135-7.

⁵ Thorpe, *Custumale*, p. 135.

⁶ R. Griffin, 'Monumental Brasses in Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXXII (1917), pp. 36-75.

brasses. Some of these brasses were dragged by the “restorers” from their slabs and put in new stones of the street-paving type. On the top of the slabs, some of which are believed to have had fragments of brass in them in the shape of shields and so forth, was laid a bed of concrete to carry the present floor of the church. The neatness of the tiling may be attractive to some eyes, but as a substitute for interesting memorial slabs of Purbeck it may not be considered by others as an improvement. There does not seem much doubt that at the restoration some portions of brasses disappeared.⁷

Northfleet seems to have been ‘restored’ three times in the nineteenth century, firstly in 1852 by Brandon and Ritchie⁸ who concentrated mainly on the windows and thankfully left the flint-work alone. This was probably to correct earlier ‘repairs’ which Thorpe describes thus:

The arms in the chancel are broke and destroyed by the lately stopping up the window with mortar, as are two other windows on the same side, and one on the north side, the glass taken away, and likewise half of the large east window of the said chancel. By which means the fine Gothic munions and compartments being thus filled up with mortar, greatly disfigure this large handsome church. A misfortune too often incident when impropriations are in lay-hands, and the tenants, who are generally farmers and rent the great tithes, are obliged by their leases to repair the chancel.⁹

There was a further restoration in 1862 by E.W. Godwin¹⁰ and yet again in 1886¹¹ when the chancel was raised by means of that bed of concrete. Pieces of brass certainly did migrate then, but as a correspondent to the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1803 notes, ‘many of the brass plates are gone since the inscriptions in the *Registrum Roffense* were transcribed’.¹² Many pieces had gone before the publication of *Registrum Roffense* in 1769, for instance the shields and inscription of William Lye. Some of the notes printed by Thorpe were taken in 1717, a year before the church was ‘beautified’.¹³

All that is left in Northfleet church are pieces of three of those thirteen brasses. Since my principal topic is the Lacy brass, I shall first deal quickly with what else remains. These are all on one slab in the chancel, adjacent to Lacy. The demi-effigy of William Lye, rector of Northfleet, d. 1391 (Fig. 1), had a foot inscription with two shields abutting below at each end bearing a lion rampant. Thorpe gives the text in *Registrum Roffense*:

⁷ Griffin, ‘Brasses’, p. 36.

⁸ J. Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1976), p. 436.

⁹ Thorpe, *Customale*, p. 136.

¹⁰ Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, p. 437; S.W. Soros ed., *E.W. Godwin: Aesthetic Movement Architect and Designer* (New Haven, 1999), p. 363, fig. C4.

¹¹ ‘Reports of Proceedings, 1930’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLIII (1931), p. 319.

¹² *Gentleman’s Magazine*, April 1803, p. 307.

¹³ Thorpe, *Registrum*, p. 752.



FIG. 1
William Lye, d. 1391
From Archaeologia Cantiana

Hic jacet dominus Willelmus Lye, quondam rector de Northfleet, qui obiit ix. die Januarii, anno domini millesimo CCC^o LXXX^o primo.¹⁴

He comments that ‘the figure represents him to have been a very corpulent man, and is well expressed’.

Lower down on the same slab is the mutilated figure of a man in armour, and his wife, William and Katherine Rickhill, 1433 (Fig. 2). In 1769 these were on a stone in the north-east corner of the north aisle.¹⁵ Again, Thorpe gives the inscription in *Registrum Roffense*:

Hic sub pede ante altare jacent Willelmus Rikhill arm. filius Willelmi Rikhill militis primogenitus, et Katherina uxor ejus, que obiit 27 Aug. MCCCCXXXIII. qui quidem Willelmus obiit die MCCCC. Quorum.¹⁶

But by the time Thorpe published his *Registrum Roffense* in 1769 only a small portion of the inscription was left, reading ‘et Katerine uxoris ejus’¹⁷ and that went too. It

¹⁴ Thorpe, *Registrum*, p. 751.

¹⁵ Thorpe, *Registrum*, p. 753.

¹⁶ Thorpe, *Registrum*, p. 756; cf. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, p. 332.

¹⁷ Thorpe, *Registrum*, p. 753; cf. *ibid.*, *Customale*, p. 136. The genitive form indicates that the version of the inscription given by Weever and Thorpe is erroneous.



FIG. 2
William and Katherine Rickhill, 1433
From Belcher

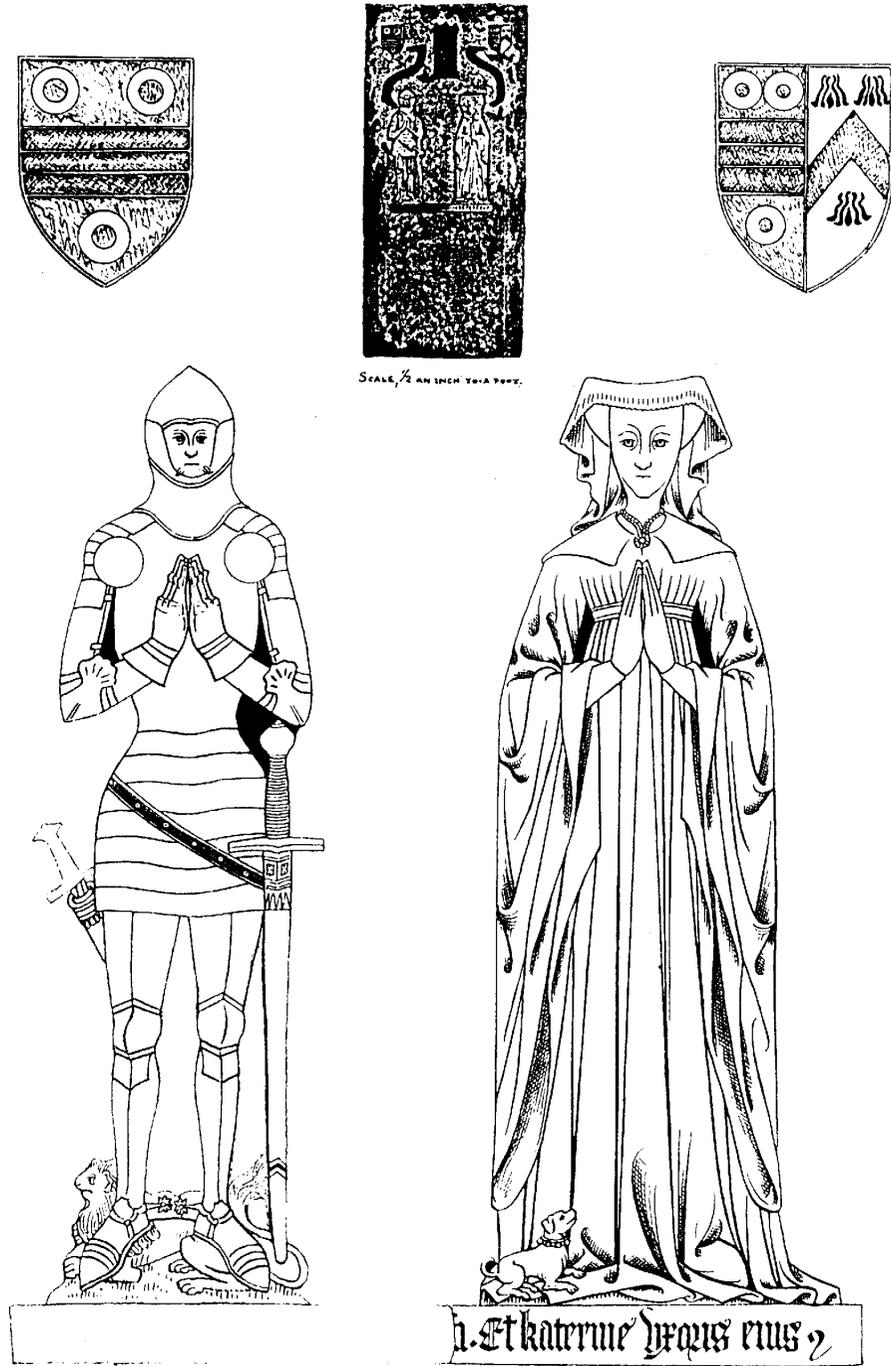


FIG. 3
William and Katherine Rickhill, 1433
Drawing by Thomas Fisher

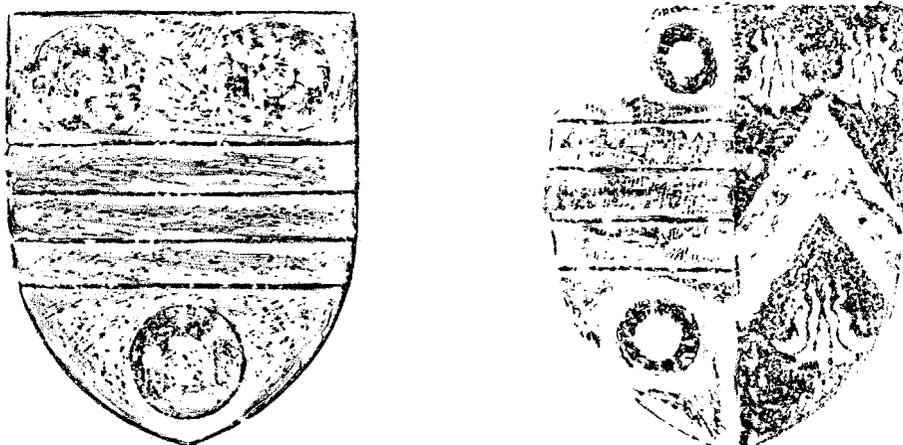


FIG. 4

Shields from the Rickhill brass. MME 1923,0303.1-2

Rubbings by Philip Whittemore

was in the Crisp sale of 22 November 1922, lot 67, and was listed by Mill Stephenson as a derelict (M.S. III (2)). So this is all that is left of this once fine brass. The brass was drawn by Thomas Fisher and this shows the lost prayer scrolls and Trinity and the remaining piece of inscription and the two shields (Fig. 3).

The shields are now British Museum M.S.IV Shields. (2) & (3) Rickhill (*Two bars*) and Rickhill impaling Coventry (*A chevron between three columbines*) (Fig. 4). They were acquired in 1923 as a gift from Sir Hercules Reid of the Museum who had purchased them at the Crisp sale in an individual capacity and donated them to the Museum.¹⁸

Peter de Lacy, the main subject of this article, was secretary and receiver to Edward the Black Prince and is frequently mentioned in charters, deeds, patent rolls and papal registers. In 1343 he was rector of Selsey in Chichester diocese. He became rector of Northfleet in 1356 and in 1368, on his last preferment, he was styled 'king's clerk' of the prebend of Swerdes in the cathedral church of St Patrick in Dublin. By his will, made on 29 September 1375, he requested to be buried in the chancel of Northfleet.¹⁹

The first record of the Lacy brass is in 1631, in Weever, who gives only the inscription:

Hic iacet Dominus Petrus de Lacy, quondam Rector istius Ecclesie, & prebend. Preb. de Swerdes in Ecclesia Cathedrali Dublin ... 18. Octob. 1375. via vite mors.²⁰

The best record of the brass in its unrestored state is in a Fisher drawing (Fig. 5). This shows the figure of a priest under a canopy; both are complete and with

¹⁸ Acquisition no. MME 1923,0303.1-2.

¹⁹ Griffin, 'Brasses', pp. 41-6.

²⁰ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, p. 332.

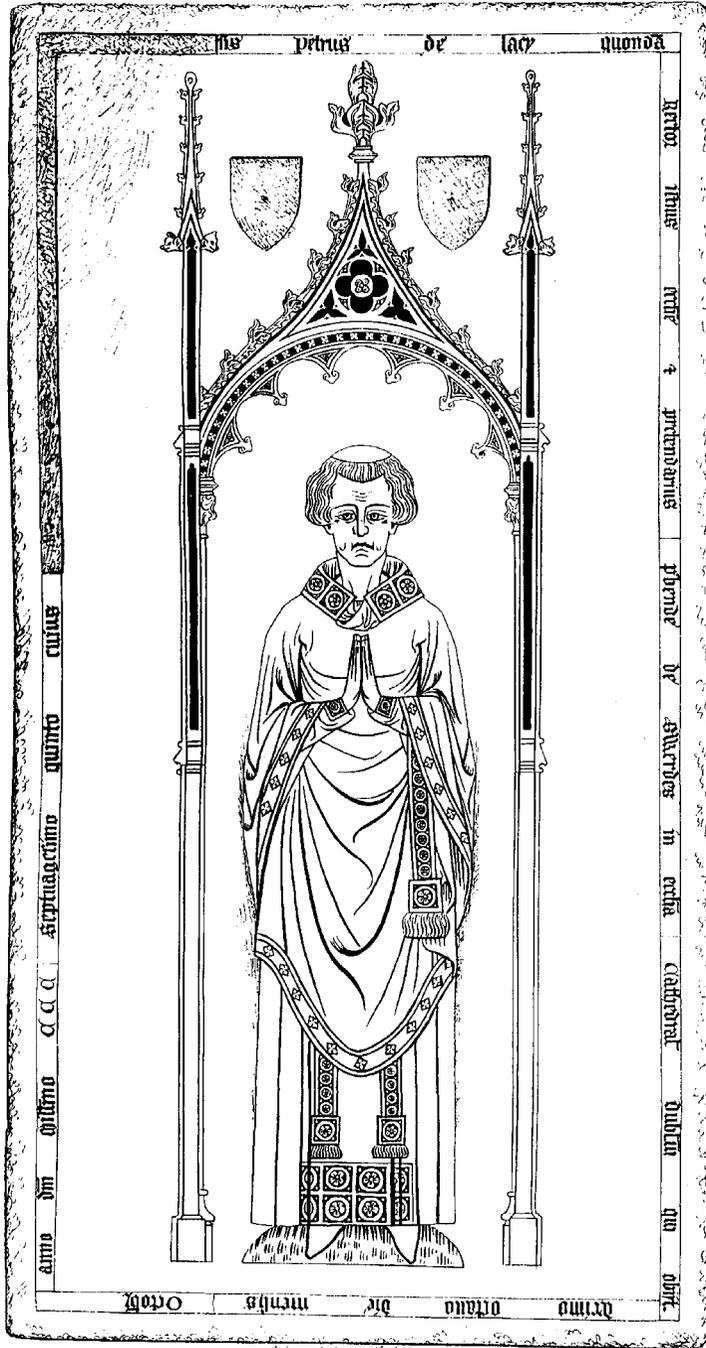


FIG. 5
Peter de Lacy, d. 1375
Drawing by Thomas Fisher

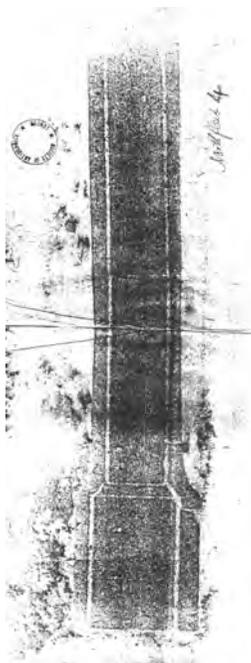


Fig. 6 Peter de Lacy brass,
detail of side shaft
Dabbing by Thomas Fisher,
Collection of the Society of
Antiquaries

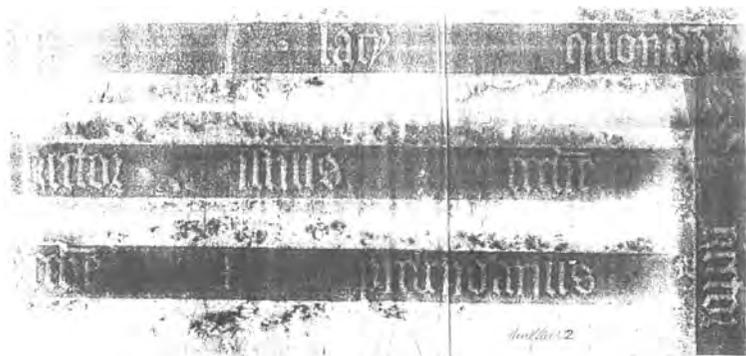


Fig. 7 Peter de Lacy brass, portion of inscription
Dabbing by Thomas Fisher, Collection of the Society of Antiquaries

most of the inscription intact, except for the top left corner, and two lost shields. Fisher's drawings are usually undated and a catch-all date of *c.* 1800 covers his corpus of work but there are problems here. The illustration in Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense* of 1788²¹ shows the side shafts above the canopy arch as missing up to the lions' heads on both sides, but Fisher shows them as being intact. So, either Fisher's drawing is inaccurate or it pre-dates 1788. The fact that the lower parts of the side shafts are not filled in might suggest that they too were missing but, in the Society of Antiquaries' collection, there is a Fisher dabbing showing the base of one side shaft (Fig. 6). Other Fisher dabbings give more of the inscription (Fig. 7), but the sum total of these dabbings does not add up to the inscription as shown in the drawing.

The Fisher drawing gives the inscription as:

[Hic iacet d]n's Petrus de lacy quonda' / Rector istius eccl'ie &
prebendarius p'bende de Swerdes in eccli'a Cathedral' Dublin' qui obiit /
decimo octavo die mensis Octobr' / anno dn'i mill'imo CCC
septuagesimo quinto cujus ...

This accords with the drawing by Cook in *Custumale Roffense*. However, neither matches the text as quoted in *Registrum Roffense* where, after 'cujus' is 'Via vitæ mors'.

²¹ Thorpe, *Custumale*, pl. XXVIII.

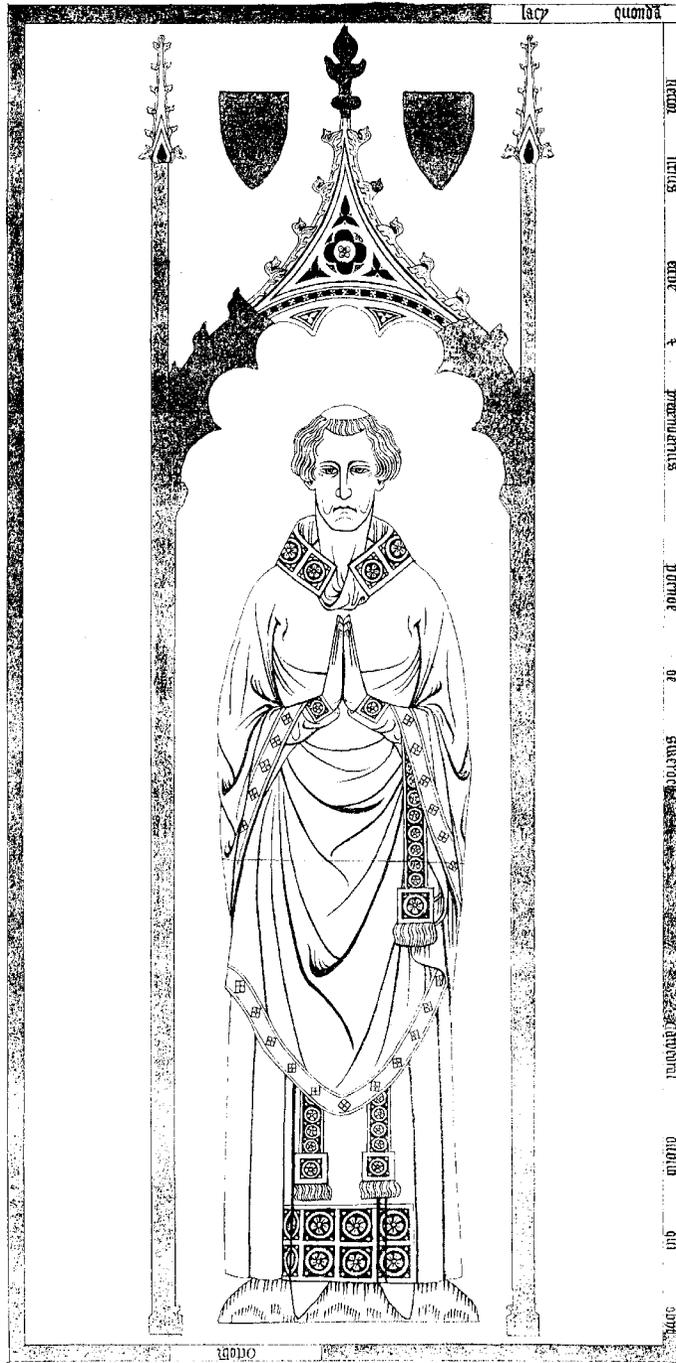


FIG. 8
Peter de Lacy, d. 1375
Drawing by L.A.B. Waller

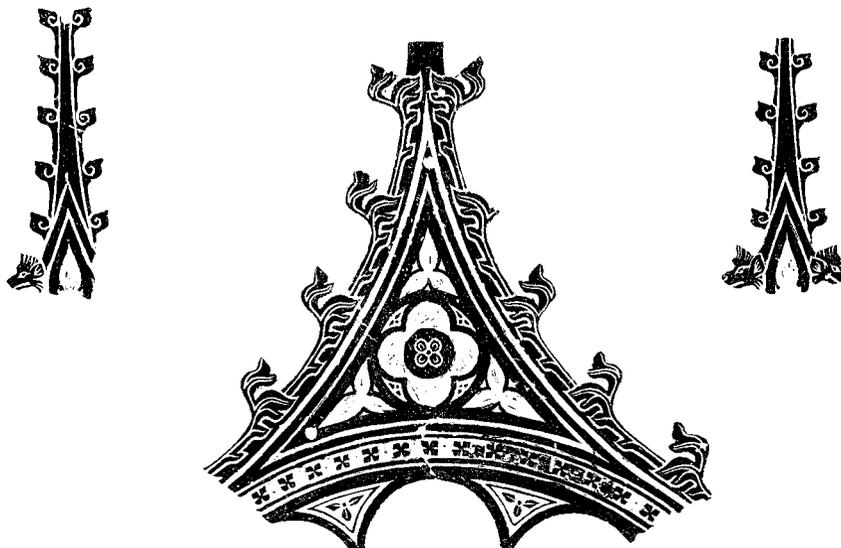


FIG. 9
Fragments of the canopy of the Peter de Lacy brass
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

This is also recorded by Waller in his notes of 1837, but both he and Thorpe show this phrase as something separate and it is not included in any of the illustrations. It is, however, on the reconstructed brass.

Waller's drawing of the brass (Fig. 8) shows very well the parts of the canopy which were to find their way into the British Museum's collection - the pediment of the canopy and the two finials. These came into the collection in 1888, by gift of J.G. Waller²² and in 1922, by purchase from Messrs. Fenton, of 33 Cranbourn Street, London (Fig. 9).²³

While the brass was being mutilated, Lacy's corpse was not allowed to rest in peace. Thorpe records the opening of the tomb and although he does not give a date his obvious indignation makes it sound like fairly current news:

This stone was taken up, and the grave opened, out of idle curiosity, to say no worse, of certain persons to view the remains of this dignitary, after they had rested peaceably for above four centuries; by which means the figure is now loosened from the rivets which fastened it to the stone, so that this fine figure and inscription are liable to be lost and destroyed. I was informed the hair was red, and that his body was wrapped in leather, a practice not unusual in early times, as this substance will continue a long time undecayed in the earth; and as this is a dry chalky soil.²⁴

²² Acquisition no. MME 1888,0412.1.

²³ Acquisition no. MME 1922,1205.1-3

²⁴ Thorpe, *Customale*, pp. 135-6.

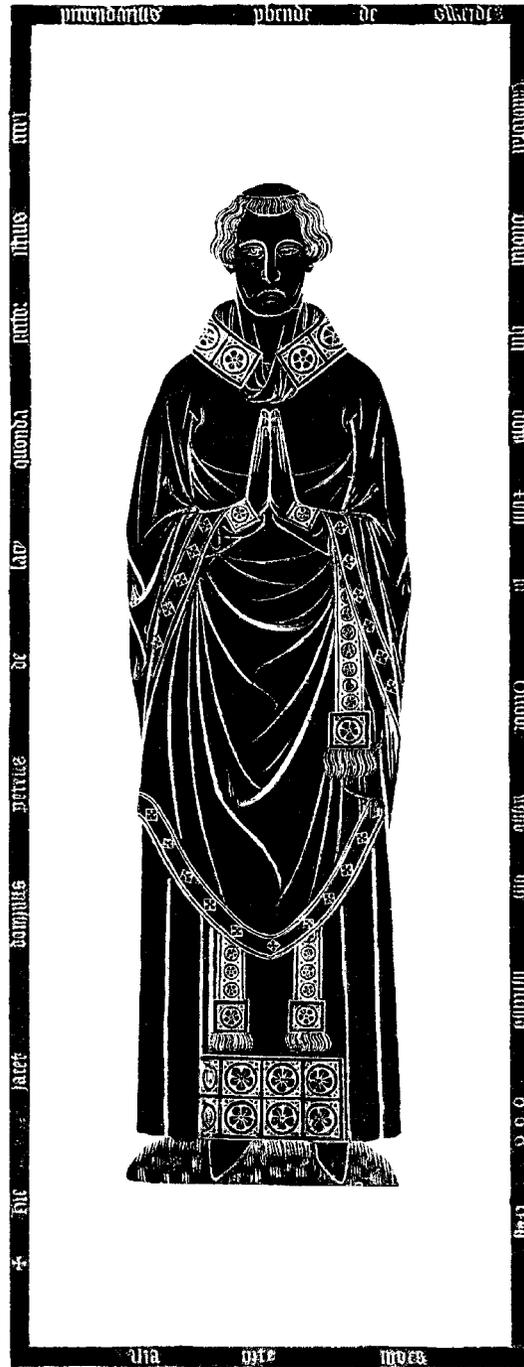


FIG. 10
Peter de Lacy, d. 1375
From Belcher

The correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1803 was less reticent or squeamish and named names:

This tomb, we were informed, was opened 20 years ago by Capt. Wm. Webber, who then lived at Orme house in this parish, having obtained leave so to do of the lay impropiator of the great tithes; he, Lacy, being buried in the chancel, the body was found wrapped in something like a winding sheet of leather, or skin, undecayed. The bones of most parts, even of the skull, were almost mouldered away, and shrunk to dust. The front hair of the forehead was said to be perfectly undecayed, and of an auburn hue, resembling in shape the portrait on the brass, then unremoved.²⁵

He also noted that the brass 'has lost part of the effigies, but the inscription round the verge remains legible'.²⁶

The brass was important enough to attract the attention of all the main writers on brasses.

Manning, in his 1846 List²⁷ describes it as 'with canopy, fine (shamefully mutilated within the last two years)'. Haines, in his 1848 Manual, says simply 'fine',²⁸ whereas Boutell says, in 1849:

In addition to the effigy, but a small fragment of a very fine single canopy, with portions of a border legend, now remain. . . . This Brass was originally placed on the pavement of the chancel.²⁹

By 1849 only the following words of the inscription remained:

LACY QVONDAM. RECTOR. ISTIVS. ECCLESIE. ET.
PREBENDARIVS. PREBENDE. DE. SWERDE CATHEDRAL. DVB.³⁰

Haines, in his Manual of 1861, notes: 'canopy all lost but part of pediment, marg. inscr. mutil., large, loose, C'.³¹

The brass, and indeed Northfleet, first gets a mention in our own *Transactions* in a report of a paper read to the then Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors on 10 March 1891, by R.A.S. Macalister of St. John's College, on 'Orphreys and Apparels'.³² In this, an early attempt at stylistic analysis, he compares the design of the orphreys on Lacy's vestments with that of Brundish, Suffolk and others. Lacy's orphreys belongs to what Macalister ventured to term his 'geometrico-floral group' which he helpfully defined as 'a combination of geometrical figures such as lozenges, squares, and circles, with floral and other devices, which are usually of a

²⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1803, pp. 307-8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

²⁷ C.R. Manning. *A List of the Monumental Brasses Remaining in England* (London, 1846), p. 44.

²⁸ H. Haines. *A Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1848), p. 211.

²⁹ C. Boutell. *The Monumental Brasses of England* (London, 1849), caption to plate.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³¹ H. Haines. *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), p. 105.

³² R.A.S. Macalister, 'Orphreys and Apparels', *Transactions of the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors*, I, pt. 10 (1891), pp. 3-13 (pp. 6, 7). On Macalister see R.J. Busby, *A Companion Guide to Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (London, 1973), p. 214.

stiff and conventionalized pattern, greatly resembling the vegetable products of heraldry'.³³

The present state of the brass is as illustrated by Belcher in 1888 (Fig. 10),³⁴ but the new inscription trapped Suffling into thinking this was the original composition and he also misread the date as 1372.³⁵ Griffin's displeasure, on the relaying and its consequences, is undisguised:

The evil of the relaying is shewn by a statement in a popular manual on *English Church Brasses* (Suffling), in which this is stated to be a case of a large early brass with no canopy.³⁶

It is a pity that this once fine brass has been so mutilated and that the others in Northfleet have suffered so badly. Their fate illustrates the value of the antiquarian record in recovering the original appearance and context of monumental brasses.

³³ Macalister, 'Orphreys and Apparels', p. 6. The maniple is illustrated in H.W. Macklin, *The Brasses of England* (London, 1907), p. 125.

³⁴ W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1908), I, p. 88, pl. 176.

³⁵ E.R. Suffling, *English Church Brasses* (London, 1910), p. 268, where it is listed as without a canopy.

³⁶ Griffin, 'Brasses', p. 39.

Two Palimpsest Roundels

by NICHOLAS ROGERS

A high proportion of brasses in museum collections are palimpsests, revealed during late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century church restorations or rebuildings and appropriated as curios. In several cases their provenance has been forgotten, and this is the case with the two roundels which are the subject of this paper.¹

The obverses of these two roundels, 14 cm in diameter, were apparently subsidiary elements of a large late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century brass, perhaps from the corners of a border inscription. One shows a pair of compasses, with a shaded base area between the points of the compass intended to represent the earth (Fig. 1). The other has a schematic representation of a quadrant/sextant, with sight-lines on the left and a scale reading from 8 to 1 along the base (Fig. 2). Dr. Silke Ackermann of the British Museum, who works on scientific instruments, has suggested a date of *c.* 1600 for these depictions.² Unless they are intended to have a deeper symbolic significance, they suggest that the brass commemorated someone such as a surveyor, mathematician or navigator.

On the reverse of the compasses is the demi-figure of a priest in Mass vestments with an apparelled amice ornamented with an unusual pattern of hollow lozenges (Fig. 3). Around the edge is an inscription in *textura*: *Hic iacet Thomas quythed magester Tercius istius collegii cuius anime propicietur deus* (Here lies Thomas Quythed third Master of this College, on whose soul God have mercy). On either side of the figure are two vertical, though not parallel lines, which, if they are anything more than setting-out lines or trials by the engraver of the obverse, may be intended to suggest that the figure is in front of an arras.

On the reverse of the other roundel is what appears at first sight to be a schoolmaster surrounded by his pupils (Fig. 4). This is how it was interpreted by Malcolm Norris, who described the composition as ‘a priest and presumably four of his students’.³ However, closer examination reveals that the two lower heads are female. So unless we have a record here of a hitherto unknown medieval coeducational school, this interpretation must be rejected. Unfortunately the inscription is not so easy to read as that on the other roundel. When the brasses were reused the original rivet-holes were filled and new ones drilled centrally. Both roundels were also trimmed back to a uniform diameter. The Whitehead roundel was scarcely affected by this, but some 5 mm were lost from the second roundel, seriously affecting the legibility of the marginal inscription. However, by a careful

¹ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), p. 75 (315L1-2), pl. 133.

² *Ex inf.* John Cherry.

³ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), pp. 90-91; *id.*, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 185.

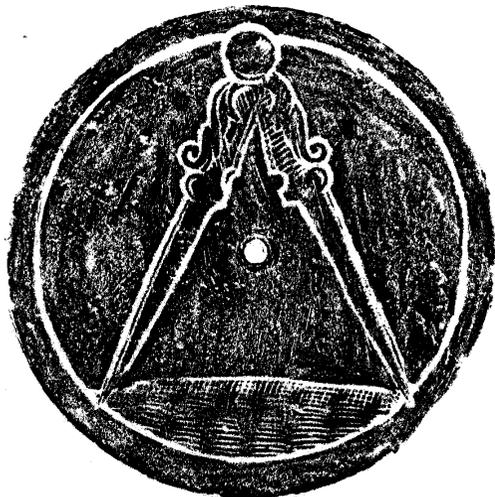


FIG. 1
Compasses, palimpsest obverse of
British Museum, MME OA.7113
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers



FIG. 2
Quadrant/sextant, palimpsest obverse of
British Museum, MME 1875,0120.4
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers



FIG. 3
Thomas Quythed
British Museum, MME OA.7113
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers



FIG. 4
John Mervin and others
British Museum, MME 1875,0120.4
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers

study of the letter-forms it is possible to recover all but one word with confidence: *Hic iacent Johannes Meruin thomas Jacobus Elizabeth Margareta quorum animabus propicietur deus*. The difficult word is the most important, the surname. Page-Phillips and Norris read it as Meuyn,⁴ Freeth as Merton, and I would incline to Mervin. Whatever the name, the inscription suggests that we probably have five members of a family: John, the priest, and his younger brothers and sisters Thomas, James, Elizabeth and Margaret.

Both roundels are products of the London 'B' workshop, but they are manifestly of different dates. Although some allowance must be made for the fact that the inscription on the Mervin roundel is longer, the proportions of the letters are different, and there are clear differences in the forms of some letters (compare the 'a' in 'iacet'). There are significant differences between the faces of the two priests. Whitehead has a narrower face, with jug ears and a small mouth turned down at the corners. Mervin has his ears covered by lappets of hair. The Mervin roundel is the easier one to place. Close parallels can be made with the children on the brass of William West at Sudborough, Northants., a central product of the London 'B' workshop, engraved *c.* 1430-40 (Fig. 5). The lozenge pattern on the apparel of the amice, where the lozenges are tending to quatrefoils, can be matched on brasses of 1412 (Shere, Surrey),⁵ *c.* 1415 (Luton, Beds.),⁶ 1427 (Milton Keynes) (Fig. 6), and 1433 (Yelden, Beds.).⁷ The hair, face and even details of the epigraphy can be compared closely with the brass of John Wyche (d. 1445) at Lingfield, Surrey (Fig. 7). Taken together, this evidence points to a date between the late 1420s and the early 1440s. Unfortunately the one good parallel for the Whitehead amice apparel that I have discovered so far occurs on the figure of an anonymous priest at Turweston, Bucks., for which we do not have a precise date of death (Fig. 8). Hair clear of the ears or resting behind them can be found on ecclesiastical brasses dating from the 1430s to the 1450s. Mill Stephenson dated this roundel *c.* 1460, but with a question mark. I would prefer a slightly earlier date, in the late 1440s or possibly early 1450s.

Can anything be deduced from the provenance of these roundels before their acquisition by the British Museum? Curiously, although they are clearly a pair, they did not come to the Museum together. The Quythed roundel was first recorded in 1839 in the possession of Joseph Goodall, Provost of Eton. After his death in 1840 it passed into the hands of H. Cureton, coin dealer, of Aldersgate St., London. It had been acquired by the British Museum by 1861, when it was recorded by Haines in his list.⁸ The Mervin roundel belonged to John Gough Nichols (1806-1873), a third-generation antiquary and the grandson of Richard Gough, who built up a collection of brasses, including several items discarded during church restorations. At the sale of

4 Norris, *The Memorials*, p. 91.

5 M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (Guildford, 1921), pp. 456-7.

6 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), p. 63 (LSW. I), illus. p. 64.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 106 (LSW. I), illus. p. 107.

8 H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861), p. 232.



FIG. 5
Detail of children of William West
Sudborough, Northants., M.S. I



hic iacet Adam Babyngton. quondam Rector istius ecclesie
qui obiit octavo die mensis Nouembri anno dñi millo.
cccc. vicesimo. septimo. annis ante p̄sentis t̄pus Amen.



FIG. 8
Priest, c. 1450, Turweston, Bucks., LSW. I
From *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire*



FIG. 6
Adam Babyngton, d. 1427
Milton Keynes, Bucks., LSW. I and II
From *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire*



hic iacet dñs Johannes Wyche quondam capellanus istius collegii
s̄c̄i petri de Wyfeld qui obiit .xxii. die mensis. auḡst̄. A.
dñi. m. cccc. .xlv. Annis ante p̄sentis t̄pus Amen.

FIG. 7
John Wyche, d. 1445
Lingfield, Surrey, M.S. VII

his collection at Sotheby's the roundel was acquired by Messrs. Rollin & Feuarent, from whom it was purchased by the British Museum.⁹ It is likely that Nichols and Goodall acquired their brasses from a common source, perhaps an antique or curio dealer, in the 1820s or 1830s. But nothing more can be established about the roundels' provenance at this end of their history.

Any attempt to establish the original provenance of these roundels must be based on the one clearly legible name, that of Thomas Quythed. Fortunately Whitehead is a relatively uncommon surname, and there seems to be only one priest called Thomas Whitehead in the first half of the fifteenth century. The earliest clear reference to him seems to be in 1398, when 'Thomas Whitheved, priest, of the diocese of London' was granted a papal indult to choose his own confessor.¹⁰ Since the canonical age for ordination was twenty-four, this would place the date of his birth in or before 1374. He may have been in the service of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, for in 1400 he exchanged the living of Haseley, Oxon., which had been in her gift, with John Hasele (presumably a native of that village), Rector of St. Michael Cornhill, in the City of London.¹¹ The connection with Eleanor de Bohun lends support to his identification with the 'Sir Thomas Whithevede clerk' who in 1395 acted as one of the feoffees of Thomas of Woodstock.¹² He vacated St. Michael Cornhill in 1407 by an exchange of benefices with William Bright, Rector of Foulmire (nowadays known as Fowlmere), Cambridgeshire. However, the connection with London was renewed on 28 January 1414-5, when he was appointed Rector of All Hallows, Bread Street. He resigned from this rectory in 1417-8, and thereafter nothing is known about his life.¹³ However, if he was born in the early 1370s, he most probably died in the 1420s or early 1430s.

When J.G. Waller recorded the Whitehead roundel in the possession of the Provost of Eton in 1839, he noted that it 'doubtless commemorates the 3rd Master of that College'.¹⁴ This suggestion, albeit with a query, has remained in the literature since then, but can easily be dealt with. There are complete lists of the Provosts, Headmasters and Fellows of Eton from its foundation in 1440, and the name Whitehead does not occur on them. The numbering of the office suggests that it is the principal one in the institution. At Eton one would expect 'prepositus' rather than 'magister'. The priest is not shown in academic dress, so it is unlikely that we are dealing with a University college. The most likely origin would be a college of secular priests. Comparison can be made with John Wyche, at Lingfield, whose brass was mentioned earlier, who is styled 'Magister istius Collegij Sancti Petri de lynfeld' (Fig. 7).

9 *Ex inf.* Stephen Freeth.

10 *Cal. Papal Regs.* v. 147.

11 *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, 265.

12 *Cal. Close*, 1392-6, 493.

13 G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), pp. 75, 332.

14 Society of Antiquaries MS 423. *Ex inf.* Philip Whittemore.



FIG. 9

Henry IV and children, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.3.57, Midlands, c. 1400-10
 Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

The roundels are reduced versions of the demi-figures with inscriptions which were remarkably popular with the clergy in the fifteenth century. Sometimes these are quite small in scale; for example, M.S. IX at Lingfield, commemorating James Veldon (d. 1458) has a half-length figure only 160 mm high.¹⁵ But the B.M. roundels are smaller still in scale: 140 mm in diameter. Whitehead is less than 95 mm high. There is a temptation to see them as subsidiary parts of a larger composition, yet they are self-sufficient as designs. A possible precursor is the lost brass of James Berkeley, Bishop of Exeter (d. 1327) in Exeter Cathedral, where the bust of the bishop, with an inscription tablet across his breast, was set within a foiled circle.¹⁶ However, a more likely influence on the format of the brasses are the roundels in genealogical rolls, where a head or bust is set within an inscribed circle (Fig. 9). Another possible origin for the format may be contemporary coinage, on which an inscription surrounds the king's bust (Fig. 10). The grouping of the heads on the Mervin roundel may have a manuscript origin. Similar groups of heads can be found in historiated initials where the space is too confined to depict full-length figures.¹⁷

15 Stephenson, *Surrey*, p. 350, illus. p. 351.

16 N. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments, 1270-1350', in *The Earliest English Brasses*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), p. 53, fig. 42.

17 E.g. the depiction of All Saints on f. 20v of the Bedford Psalter-Hours (BL Add. MS 42131).



FIG. 10
Henry VI, groat, Calais mint, 1424-7
Private Collection

The small scale of the roundels is, in my opinion, suggestive of a metropolitan origin. In London churches, where there was a great demand for space, smaller monuments were particularly favoured. In the Register of the London Grey Friars numerous people are described as buried 'sub parvo lapide', especially in the nave and cloisters.¹⁸ For the most part these must have consisted of simple inscriptions, demi-figures or small-scale full-length figures. Thomas Crane, priest (d. 1458), is described as 'sub lapide paruo quatrato'.¹⁹ Perhaps these roundels were set in similar small square stones. It is even possible that they come from external monuments, in a churchyard or cloister. Although the Whitehead brass is in very good, crisp condition, the surface of the Mervin roundel is pitted in a way suggestive of exposure to the elements.

A working hypothesis can now be constructed. If Whitehead was the third master of a London collegiate foundation, then it must have been founded in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. There are two likely London foundations of this period which were headed by masters: Walworth's College, attached to St. Michael, Crooked Lane, and Whittington's College, at St. Michael Paternoster Royal. Whittington's College was founded in 1424 by the executors of the famous mercer Richard Whittington. However, although some dates are uncertain, we have the names of the first three masters of this college.²⁰ Walworth's College seems, therefore, to be the most likely candidate. It was founded in 1381 by the fishmonger Sir William Walworth, who as mayor in 1380 had vanquished Wat Tyler, for a

18 E.g. C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), pp. 116, 120, 121, 122, 128-33.

19 Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 78.

20 VCH, *London*, I (London, 1909), pp. 578-80.

master and nine chaplains, who were to celebrate Masses for him, his wife Margaret, his former master John Lovekyn, and the founders of seven chantries which had been suppressed as insufficiently endowed. Although important in size and endowments, little is known about this college.²¹ None of the masters' names is recorded in the *Victoria County History*. It was suppressed in 1548, and Stow records that the monument of William Walworth was 'amongst other by bad people defaced in the raigne of Edward the sixt'.²² The tombs of John Lovekyn and William Walworth were replaced by equivalent monuments erected by the Fishmongers' Company in 1562. The brasses stripped from St. Michael, Crooked Lane were added to the heap of scrap metal that London brass-engravers were able to draw upon throughout the sixteenth century. A fragment of the inscription of the original Lovekyn brass survives as a palimpsest on the reverse of the brass of Richard Humberstone (d. 1581) at Walkern, Herts.,²³ and in 1986 portions of the brass of William Askham (d. 1414), who willed to be buried near John Lovekyn, were revealed on the back of the brass of Thomas Peaycock (d. 1580) at Coggeshall, Essex.²⁴ If metal removed in the reign of Edward VI was still being reused in the 1580s, then it is quite plausible that the Whitehead and Mervin roundels were removed at the same time from the same church and not recycled until the late sixteenth century.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to John Cherry and Stephen Freeth for their help in the preparation of this article.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 577-8.

22 J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (London, 1908), I, p. 220.

23 Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, p. 69 (275L1), pl. 117.

24 'Fourth Issue of Addenda to John Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (1980)', *M.B.S. Bulletin*, 49 (1988), p. 22 (L464-6/8), pl. 200.

Grantchester and Brinkley: Two Lost Brasses Identified

by WILLIAM LACK and PHILIP WHITTEMORE

A former editor of the *Transactions*, Stephen Freeth, suggested that a brass forming part of an Annunciation (MME 1904,0627.1) (Fig. 1) should be included as an unprovenanced item in *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire*.¹ This brass had been found in a house in Cambridge in 1804 and was known to have been in the possession of one J. Edlin in 1860. Because of its shape, it was possible to identify the indent, which proved to be in Grantchester church, Cambs., from the dimensions of the brass (see below). A template was prepared and placed in the indent on the altar tomb in the south aisle. The fit was exact, although the slab had become worn in places.

One of the authors, whilst looking through *A Catalogue of Rubbings, Engravings, &c. of Monumental Brasses* (published by James Parker of Oxford in 1900), noticed that Edlin had in his possession two further brasses, a fact that the Revd. Herbert Haines had recorded in his *Manual*. On consulting the Derelicts, Private Possession and Museum microfiche aperture cards in the Society of Antiquaries, the name Edlyn (sic) was found beneath a rubbing of a man in armour and lady, c. 1525-35. After further research this brass was found to originate from Brinkley. Again templates were prepared and placed in the indent. The fit was almost perfect, but there had been slight lateral movement of the slab, due to its being badly cracked. We are, however, convinced that the brass of William Stutfield and one wife, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, was originally in Brinkley church, Cambs.

The two brasses to be discussed were formerly in the possession of J. Edlin, but who was he? There are two possible candidates. The first is one William James Edlin who was admitted sizar at Trinity in 1843, obtained his B.A. in 1848, was ordained to the priesthood in 1849, and died at Montreux in 1880, aged 56.²

The second and more likely candidate for ownership of the brasses is John Edlin, an architect and surveyor who was responsible for the new façade added c. 1860-5 to Cintra House, an early-nineteenth-century, four-storey terrace in Hills Road, Cambridge.³ When the Revd. C.R. Manning rubbed the Annunciation plate it was in the possession of a Mrs. Greef of King's Parade, Cambridge.⁴ Directories for Cambridge list a Mrs. Ann Greef at 4 King's Parade, where she lived with her son, whose occupation is given as plumber, glazier and decorator. Various other

¹ W. Lack, H.M. Stutchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995).

² J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, From 1752 to 1900*, II (Cambridge, 1944), p. 386.

³ N. Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 248.

⁴ G.A.E. Ruck, 'Centenary of a Collection', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 6 (1949), p. 226.



FIG. 1

B.V.M. at desk, from Annunciation, formerly at Grantchester, Cambs.
(MME 1904,0627.1)

directories list Edlin as having apartments at 5 King's Parade, and in later years he is recorded living at the same address as Mrs. Greef, whose rooms must have been large enough to enable her to take Edlin in as a lodger. By 1881 Mrs. Greef and an unmarried daughter had moved to 4 Hills Road, together with Edlin, who is described in the census return as a retired architect, aged 71, born in St. Pancras, Middlesex. He is last mentioned at the Hills Road address in 1888. Possibly he had acquired the brasses in a professional capacity.

GRANTCHESTER

At the east end of the south aisle, under a recess, is a table tomb with five quatrefoil panels enclosing blank shields. Resting on top of the tomb chest is a Purbeck marble slab which is considerably worn along one side. The indents show a man in full-length gown and his wife, who wears a butterfly head-dress and a long gown, covering her feet. Below is a foot inscription, and directly beneath this an indent for a child. Scrolls rise from the mouths of the principal figures. Over these are two indents that held a representation of the Annunciation. The indent that would have held the kneeling angel with lily pot is at a lower level than that showing the Blessed Virgin. Four shield indents, two of which are now lost, complete the composition. The slab is now partly covered by a wooden altar platform.

Several writers recorded the tomb when it was still in the chancel. The earliest was Richard Symonds who wrote that the tomb was 'within the wall [of the chancel]



FIG. 2
Indent, Grantchester, Cambs., with B.M. Annunciation shown in place
From The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire

under the uppermost south window, under an arch ... upon the marble was the pictures of a man and woman inlaid in brasse, but gone, with the inscription and shield, probably his whose coat that bend and martlet is ...'.⁵

William Cole, who visited the church in 1744, made extensive notes about the church but only briefly mentions the tomb and indents.⁶ Blomefield, who visited the church six years after Cole, noted 'on the south side of the church is an old Altar Monument, under an Arch of the wall, robbed of its Effigies and Brasses, and in a window is Gul. A Bend Az.'.⁷ D.H., writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1802, recorded 'an altar-tomb robbed of its figures and brasses ...'.⁸ The tomb was moved to its present position when the south aisle was added to the church during the restoration of 1876-77.

From the records of Symonds (1645), Cole (1744), Blomefield (1750) and D.H. (1802) it would appear that the brass had been removed, or at least was loose in the church (but not readily visible) prior to 1645.

In 1804 the fragment showing the Annunciation was discovered in the cellar of a house in Silver Street, Cambridge.⁹ The circumstances surrounding its discovery are unknown. The fragment (Fig. 1) shows the crowned Virgin kneeling before a priedieu, on which lies an open book. Around her is a scroll, on which is the inscription 'Ecce An Cella d[omi]ni (Behold the handmaid of the Lord).'¹⁰

Nothing is known of the brass's whereabouts between 1804 and 1860, when it was recorded by Haines as in the possession of J. Edlin, Esq.¹¹ At an unknown date the brass passed to Mrs. Greef of King's Parade, Cambridge, and it was in her possession when the Revd. C.R. Manning rubbed it. In November 1903 the brass was offered for sale by Messrs. Puttick and Simpsons, Auctioneers. It was bought by Fenton and Co., 33 Cranbourne Street, London, S.W., and was acquired from them by the British Museum for £6.¹²

It has been suggested that the indent in Grantchester church may be that of Thomas Lacy, d. 1506.¹³ In his will he ordered that his tomb was to stand by St. Thomas's altar, and that the marble should have brasses of himself and his wife in their winding sheets, with their children and escutcheons.¹⁴ If this is the tomb of Thomas Lacy, then clearly his instructions were ignored. The attribution of the brass to a member of the Lacy family may not be entirely reliable, as there are

⁵ *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War, kept by Richard Symonds*, ed. C.E. Long, Camden Society, O.S., 74 (Westminster, 1859), pp. 279-80.

⁶ BL Add. MS 5805, ff. 137-42; W.M. Palmer ed., *Monumental Inscriptions and Coats of Arms from Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 66-8.

⁷ F. Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensia* (Norwich, 1750), p. 230.

⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1802, pt. I, p. 36; *Gentleman's*

⁹ Noted on a series of impressions of the plate in the Society of Antiquaries (microfiche aperture card 44/33).

¹⁰ (The rendering of 'ancilla' as 'an cella' permits an allusion to the Virgin's womb as the 'chamber' of the Lord. *Ed.*)

¹¹ H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861), II, p. 233.

¹² We are grateful to John Cherry for this information.

¹³ S.M. Walters, *Grantchester Church and its Churchyards* (Grantchester, 1988), p. 3.

¹⁴ VCH, *Cambridgeshire*, V (London, 1973), p. 211.

several Thomas Lacys and their dates of death do not accord with the dating of the brass.¹⁵

The brass belongs to what J.P.C. Kent has designated Series F. The backward stance of the lady and of the Virgin on the plate is typical. The ladies belonging to this Series have large butterfly head-dresses. Typical examples are Albury, Herts., *c.* 1475 (M.S. I), Hinton St. George, Somerset, *c.* 1475, St. Stephen, St. Albans, Herts., 1482 (M.S. I), Little Hadham, Herts., *c.* 1485 (M.S. II) and Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks., 1491 (possibly engraved *c.* 1483) (LSW. I). Similarly, the folds on the dress of Margaret Dayrell¹⁶ are almost identical to the folds of the dress of the Blessed Virgin at Grantchester.

The lost brass from St. Margaret, Westminster, to Dame Mary Billing, 1499,¹⁷ had an Annunciation similar to that at Grantchester. On either side, and slightly above the deceased, were to left a kneeling angel with scroll, while to the right was the Blessed Virgin kneeling at a priedieu, on which lay an open book. A long scroll rose from her hands. Between the figures was a lily-pot, above which was a representation of God the Father.

The theme of the Annunciation is common in medieval art. Several examples can be found on brasses. Besides those mentioned above, Annunciation scenes can be found on the brasses to Anthony Hansart and his wife Katherine, 1507, at March, Cambs.,¹⁸ and at Fovant, Wilts., on the memorial to George Rede, *c.* 1500.¹⁹ The brass to William Porter, 1524, at Hereford Cathedral has the largest Annunciation scene surviving.²⁰ It originally formed part of the canopy work. At Cirencester, Gloucestershire, are fragments of two Annunciation scenes. Numerous other examples survive either in the form of indents or in antiquarian drawings. Good examples can be found at, amongst other places, the cathedrals of Ely²¹ and Rochester²² and St. Albans Abbey.²³ Two examples were formerly to be found in Old St. Paul's Cathedral on the brasses to Thomas de Eure, 1400, and John Newcourt, 1485. Both scenes formed part of elaborate canopy work.²⁴

Details:

Slab, Purbeck, 1525 x 575 mm visible, B.V.M., 215 x 165 mm,

Male eff. 570 x 195 mm, female eff. 565 x 260 mm, inscr. 85 x 515 mm visible, angel Gabriel and scroll 250 x 230 mm, child 195 x 65 mm, shields 125 x 105 mm.

¹⁵ *Ex inf.* Caroline Burkitt of Grantchester.

¹⁶ R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design *c.* 1420-85', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXXXI (1978), pl. XV.

¹⁷ Illus. in J. Weaver, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 495.

¹⁸ Illus. in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 187.

¹⁹ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), II, pl. 234.

²⁰ J. Bertram, 'Orate pro anima: Some Aspects of Medieval Devotion Illustrated on Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), p. 331, fig. 6.

²¹ Illus. in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 118.

²² Illus. in R. Griffin, *Some Indents of Lost Brasses in Kent* (London, 1914), p. 6; *Some Illustrations of Monumental Brasses and Indents in Kent* ([London], 1946), pl. XXVIII.

²³ Illus. in W. Page, 'The Brasses and Indents in St Alban's Abbey', *Home Counties Magazine*, I (1899), p. 141.

²⁴ See Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral* (London, 1658), esp. pp. 60-1 and 78-9. See also R.A.S. Macalister, 'The Brasses of Old St. Paul's', *Trans. of the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors*, II, pt. 2 (1893), pp. 45-54, espec. pp. 49 and 53.

BRINKLEY

Lying in the nave before the chancel arch are the remains of the brass to William Stutfield, d. 1521, and his two wives, Blanche and Jane. The only metal remaining in the slab is a small rectangle, on which are engraved one son and one daughter. The brass belongs to what the late Roger Greenwood called the Haines Cambridge School.²⁵ Using a variety of sources it is possible to show when and how pieces of the brass have been lost over a period of almost two hundred years. The earliest account of the brass is one written by John Layer, *c.* 1632.²⁶ Layer's notes show that the inscription was still extant, along with the two shields above the effigies showing the arms of Heigham, *Sable a fess chequy or and azure between three boars' heads erased argent*, and Stutfield, *Per pale argent and sable a saltire engrailed ermine and ermines*. He records the inscription thus:

Orate pro animabus Willelmi Stutfield generosi Blancae et Janae uxores eius qui Willelmus obiit ultimo die Martii Anno Domini M.ccccxxj quorum animabus propitietur deus. Amen.

In 1644 William Dowsing visited the church and, according to his Journal, removed two brass inscriptions.²⁷ One presumes that the Stutfield inscription was one of these because of the opening and closing sentiments.

William Cole, who visited the church in 1750, gives the impression that the three effigies, above the now lost inscription, had been removed, for he writes of 'the crased Portraits of man between his 2 wives'.²⁸ The shields were still in place. What happened to the effigies next is not known, but by 1860 Haines recorded that J. Edlin, Esq., of Cambridge had in his possession two effigies, one of a man in armour and an effigy of a woman which possibly belonged together.²⁹ Haines was unable to establish any provenance for the effigies. Under Brinkley, in Part II of his *Manual*, he records the two shields still in position.³⁰ Within a few years this was to change. O.J. Charlton, who described the Stutfield brass in 'The Brasses of Cambridgeshire', reported that the shields had disappeared in 1875.³¹ This is borne out by an annotation on a rubbing of the shields in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. The effigies are next heard of in November 1903 when, at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's auction room, the brasses were sold to an American buyer and taken to the United States.³² They were purchased in 1929 for \$750 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.³³ Here they were recorded and illustrated by the late Dr.

²⁵ R. Greenwood, 'Haines Cambridge School of Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 1 (1969), pp. 2-12.

²⁶ Bodleian MS Rawlinson B.273, f. 147; Palmer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 221.

²⁷ *The Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. T. Cooper (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 245.

²⁸ BL Add. MS 5820, ff. 94-8; Palmer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 15.

²⁹ Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 233. Cf. Society of Antiquaries microfiche aperture card no. 45/101.

³⁰ Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 37.

³¹ O.J. Charlton, 'The Brasses of Cambridgeshire', *MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 5 (1896), p. 247.

³² *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 1 (1904), p. 22.

³³ The brasses were originally purchased by Bashford Dean (1867-1928). However, Dean's travel diaries, English invoices and estate papers fail to mention how he acquired the brasses. A photograph showing the interior of Dean's house in Riverdale, New York, taken *c.* 1920-22, shows the brasses fixed to boards either side of the mantelpiece.

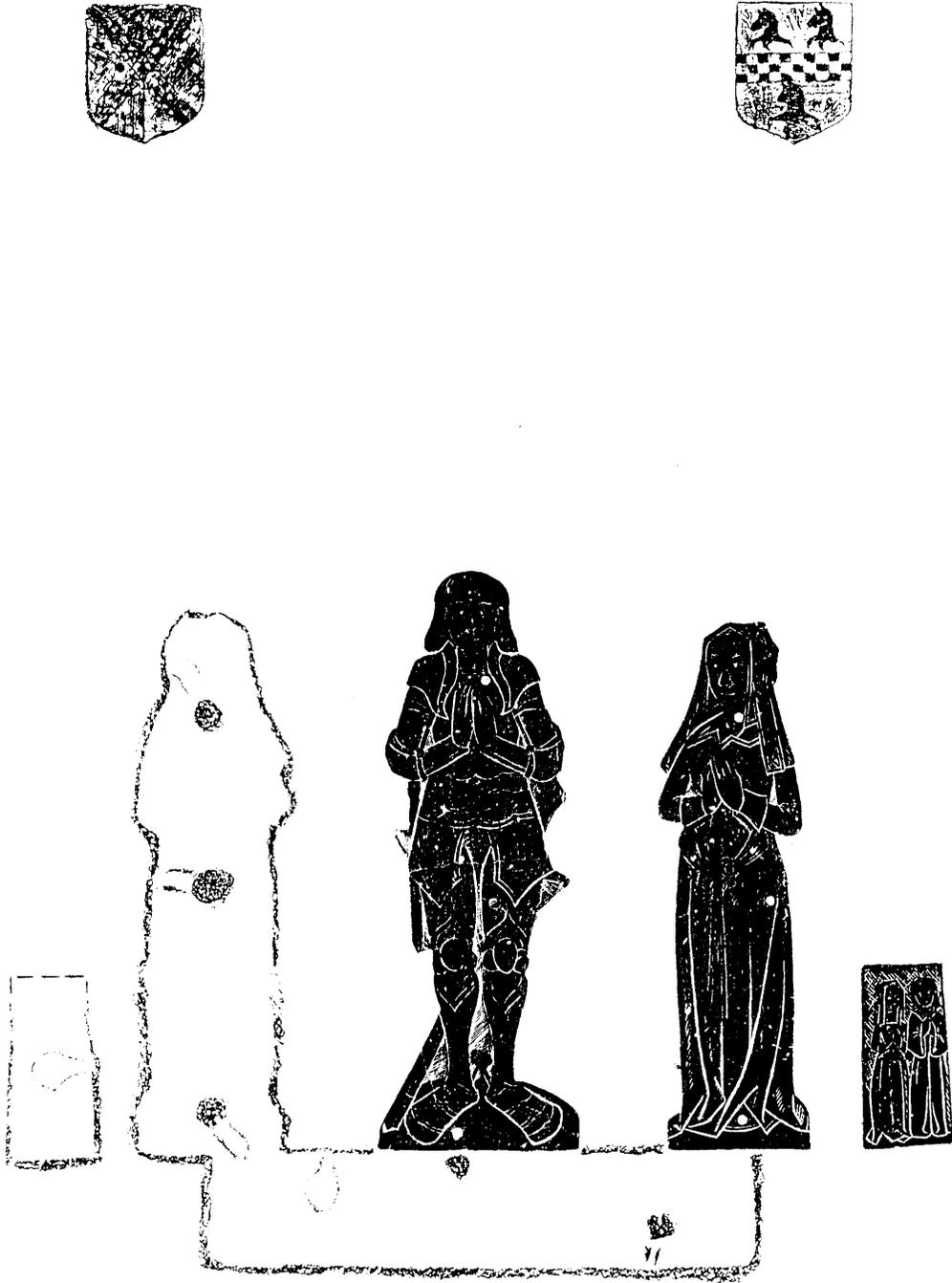


FIG. 3
Reconstruction of Stutfield brass
Brinkley, Cambs., LSW. I
From The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire

Cameron in his article 'Monumental Brasses in the United States'.³⁴ Cameron was unaware of the provenance of the brasses and could only speculate on them originating from the counties of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire or Hertfordshire, on account of their origin in a Cambridge workshop.

Stylistically the Brinkley knight is very similar to two other Cambridge-style knights. Those at Hatley Cockayne, Beds. (LSW. VI and VII) and Clifton, Beds. (LSW. 1) show characteristics that can be seen on the Stutfield brass. These include the shape of the pauldrons, the over-large sabbatons, and the acute angle at which the sword is depicted hanging from the waist. Large knee pieces are common to all three effigies.³⁵

The Brinkley lady also exhibits characteristics of the Cambridge school of engraving. Although the brass is worn, it is possible to see that the ornamentation on the head-dress is similar to that on the head-dresses of the wives of William Cokyn, at Hatley Cockayne. Her sash passes through three conjoined rings, a common feature on such local brasses.³⁶

The Stutfield family had resided in this corner of Cambridgeshire since at least the early twelfth century. In the early thirteenth century, two-thirds of the manor of Brinkley passed from Thomas Engaine to Richard and Thomas Stutville, the manor staying in the family until *c.* 1689, when it was sold to Richard Godfrey. Of William Stutfield nothing is known, beyond what was recorded on the now lost inscription. No mention is made of him or his wives in the Harleian Society publications. The only reference that has been found records that in 1521 William Stutfield left his wife and son 200 sheep each.³⁷

Details:

Slab, non-Purbeck, 2260 x 925 mm

Male eff. 487 x 164 mm, right-hand female eff. 440 x 119 mm, son and dau. 157 x 76 mm, lost left-hand shield 120 x 102 mm, lost right-hand shield 122 x 100 mm, left-hand female indent 450 x 120 mm, inscr. Indent 95 x 455 mm, children indent 160 x 65 mm.

The authors would like to thank Stuart W. Pyhrr, Curator-in-Charge, Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for information relating to the brasses in his care, and for details concerning Bashford Dean; and Nicholas Rogers.

³⁴ H.K. Cameron, 'Monumental Brasses in the United States', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 5 (1967), pp. 370-2, fig. 2.

³⁵ Military features of the Haines Cambridge School are described in Cameron, 'United States', p. 370.

³⁶ Other examples can be found on the brass to the unknown lady, *c.* 1530, at Great Canfield, Essex (M.S. I), illustrated in *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., XL, p. 113, and R.H. D'Elboux ed., *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, pt. 2 ([London], 1951), p. 89. At Elmdon, Essex (M.S. I) the wives of an unknown civilian *c.* 1530, wear mob caps although the sash and ring arrangement for the belt still remains in fashion (*Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 315. At Saffron Walden M.S. VII, *c.* 1530, also shows a lady wearing a mob cap, but again with the sash/ring arrangement (illus. in *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S. VII, p. 242).

³⁷ VCH, *Cambridgeshire*, VI (Oxford, 1978), p. 138.

Fragments from Oxfordshire

by JEROME BERTRAM

AMONG the brasses now in the British Museum are three fragments from Oxfordshire, all of which can be linked with other surviving fragments of brass to reveal monuments hitherto never brought before these *Transactions*.

1 Peter Idley and Wives, c. 1485, Dorchester, Oxfordshire (M.S. III)

The shield listed by Mill Stephenson as IV (4) has always been identified as part of the Idley brass. There remain in the church at Dorchester one other shield and a fragment of a third. The mutilated shield is shown complete on an undated rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection; it was mutilated and loose in the vestry by 1892, according to Stephenson, but by 1968 had been fastened (into the wrong indent) in the remaining fragment of slab which still contained the complete shield. This fragment, of reddish grainy Purbeck marble, now measures 55 x 82 cm; below the row of three shields can be seen the tops of the heads of two of three figures, enough to show that the dexter wife had a 'butterfly' headdress. It lies at the eastern end of the south chapel.

The two and a half shields on their own are of little obvious interest. However enough has been recorded by the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century antiquaries to reveal an important and fascinating brass.

The heraldry of Dorchester was recorded by Richard Lee in 1574,¹ and again by Richard Symonds on 28 March 1644, together with many inscriptions, and including a drawing of the whole brass (Fig. 1).² Anthony Wood, although visiting much later, was able to complete the inscription which Symonds found broken. He describes the ladies, delightfully, as having 'antique furniture on their heads'.³ Craven Ord visited Dorchester in about 1780, and took impressions of the armoured figure, the left-hand wife and the daughters.⁴ The brass can therefore be very largely reconstructed (Fig. 2). It consisted of three standing figures, Peter Idley bareheaded in armour, with his sword slung diagonally across his body, flanked by two wives turned towards him, with 'butterfly' headdresses, their hands raised and open. Below was an inscription in Gothic text; below that two groups of children, five boys and five girls. There were three shields across the top of the slab, and two at the bottom. The figures were very similar to Isleham, Cambs., LSW. III, and clearly from the same London D workshop. By Symonds' time the left-hand wife, the left-hand half of

¹ Lee's Visitation, Bodleian MS Wood D 14, p. 114, printed in *The Visitations of the County of Oxford*, ed. W.H. Turner, Harleian Soc., 5 (London, 1871), p. 109.

² Symonds's drawing in BL Harleian MS 965, f. 18v.

³ Bodleian MS Wood E 1, f. 296; transcript in *Parochial Collections made by Anthony à Wood and Richard Rawlinson*, ed. F.N. Davis, 2 pts., Oxfordshire Record Soc. 2, 4 (Oxford, 1920-22), p. 120.

⁴ BL Add MS. 32479 K2 and K3. V.J. Torr, 'A Guide to Craven Ord', *MBS Trans.*, IX (1953), p. 143, failed to identify the female and omits any reference to the male.

*In y^e same place lye this flat Stone inlayed
wth a Brass.*



FIG. 1

Brass of Peter Idley and wives, c. 1485, Dorchester, Oxon. M.S. III
Drawing by Richard Symonds, *BL Harleian MS 965, f. 18v*. Copyright the British Library

the inscription, the top left-hand shield and apparently the dexter half of the lower left-hand shield had all gone, looking suspiciously like a *damnatio memoriae* of the second wife. As we shall see, there were fierce family disputes.

The inscription read:

Ye that behold and see this dedely grave
We beseche for cheryte hartily to praye
To ye lord of mercy ouere soules to haue
That be here covered under clottes of claye
Deth from whom nothing a scape may
Hath of Perse Ideley & his two wives
By his Dredfull office sesid ouere lives.

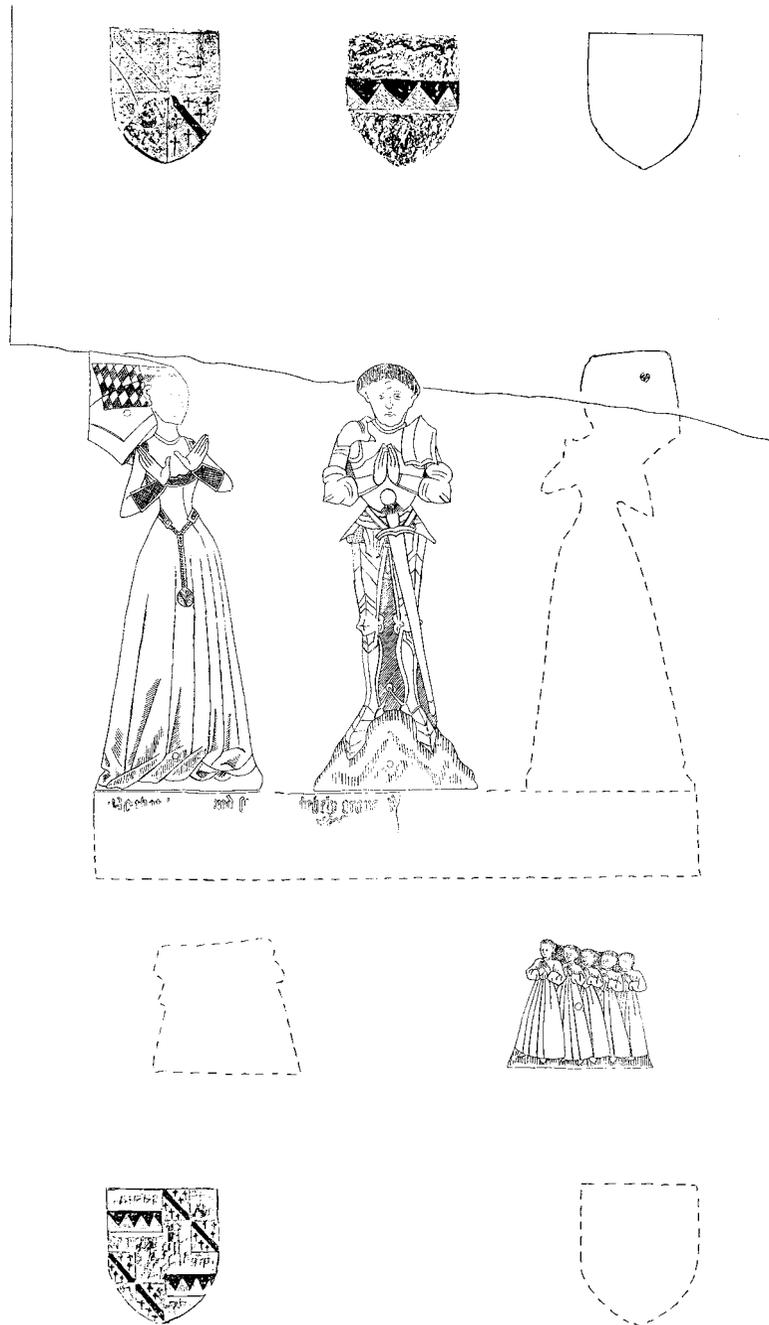


FIG. 2

Brass of Peter Idley and wives, c. 1485, Dorchester, Oxon. M.S. III, and British Museum M.S. IV (4)

Rubbing by C. Ord, 1780 (figures); anon. c. 1820 (top left shield);

J. Bertram 30 Jan. 1970 (top central shield) and 1 Oct. 1970 (lower left shield).

Height of main figures 44 cm.

The heraldry was as follows:

I *Azure a bend between six crosslets fitchy or*, for the Earldom of Mar, quartering *Ermine two bars gules, in chief a demi lion rampant gules*, for Drayton. (The broken fragment, now set in the third indent, belongs to this one. The Draytons claimed the arms of Mar by virtue of being naperers of Drayton in the county of Oxon.⁵)

II *Ermine a fess per fess dancetty or and gules*, for Idley. (The shield still in situ in the centre of the slab.)

III *Argent a chevron between three mullets [? gules]*, possibly for Creting.

IV Idley, quartering Mar quartering Drayton. (The shield in the British Museum).

V Idley, impaling ?Creting.

Peter or Piers Idley or Idle was a civil servant of some note; probably born in Kent, he was Bailiff of the Honour of Wallingford and St. Valery and the Chiltern Hundreds from 1439 to 1447, serving under Geoffrey Kidwelly of Long Wittenham, Berks., who is commemorated by LSW. IV at Little Wittenham. In 1456 he was appointed Comptroller of the King's Works, a post he held until 1461. He was a noted bibliophile and poet, known for the long English verse *Instructions to his Son*.⁶ His first wife was Elizabeth Drayton, clearly one of the family represented by other brasses at Dorchester, though the exact relationship is still undefined. It was because of this connection that Idley received the manor of Drayton St. Leonard near Dorchester. The second wife, Anne, may have belonged to the Creting family, as suggested by Addington on the basis of the untinged shield.⁷ His eldest son was Thomas, the subject of the poem; other known children were William, John, Joan, Elizabeth and Sibille. Peter made his will on 12 November 1474, mentioning all but Thomas, who was probably therefore already dead. Thomas's widow Alice immediately began a long and complicated lawsuit with the rest of the family, which resulted in her brother-in-law William attacking Drayton Manor to get her out: 'in his owne person pulled the said Alyce owt of her Chambre and put her out of the said manoir'. She afterwards secured the intriguing post of Mistress of the Nursery to the Duke of Gloucester (Richard III).

It is tempting to claim for this brass the group of five unmarried girls, loose in the vestry in 1892, and listed as M.S. VIII; by 1970 they were lost, but were recovered in 1979.⁸ However, they cannot date from as early as 1485, which seems to be the approximate date of manufacture of the brass, no doubt after Alice Idley and the king she served were got out of the way. But was it one of her descendants who ripped away the figure and shield of the second wife, presumably the mother of William and his sisters?

⁵ For the Drayton and Mar quarterings see E.St.J. Brooks in *Notes & Queries*, CLXXXIII (1942), p. 350.

⁶ *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. C. D'Evelyn (Boston, Mass., 1935). Much biographical information is given in the introduction, and the male figure is illustrated from Ord's impression.

⁷ H. Addington, *Some Account of the Abbey Church of St Peter and St Paul, at Dorchester* (Oxford, 1845), pp. 137-8.

⁸ Illustrated on the cover of *MBS Bulletin*, 21 (1979).

2 John and Amice Langstone, 1506, Caversfield, Oxfordshire (M.S. II)

The male figure of this brass, M.S. I (8) in the British Museum, was identified by Robin Emmerson as belonging with the remaining plates scattered around Caversham church, where it forms M.S. II. He described and illustrated the brass,⁹ but it is sufficiently important to be worth reproducing again here. Its treatment has been most peculiar, since the various plates are fastened to walls at various places in the chancel and north aisle of the church, the lady committed to an incestuous marriage with the fine figure of her grandfather-in-law John Langstone, 1435 (M.S. I), with whom the twenty-two children are now associated. It lay originally in the chancel, where it was mostly covered by pews until the nineteenth-century restoration. Once reassembled it can be seen to be a good specimen of the early London G style, and in reasonably good condition (Fig. 3).

The foot inscription in four Latin verses reads:

O pater excelse miserere precor miserere
 Johannis Langston et coniugis amisie.
 Atque sue sobolis qui te in terra coluere
 Hosse velis oro Jungere celicolis.

(O Father on high, have mercy I pray you, have mercy on John Langston and his wife Amice, also on their children, who have worshipped thee here on earth; I pray that thou mayest be willing to unite these to the dwellers in heaven.)

The marginal inscription can easily be reconstructed as:

Orate pro *animabus* Joh[ann]is / <Langston Armigeri et Amicie
 consortis sue qui quidem Johannes obiit nono> die septembris anno /
 <domini Millesim>o CCCCC <vi quorum animabus propicietur>
 deus amen.¹⁰

(Pray for the souls of John Langston Esq. and his wife Amice; the which John died 9 September 1506; may God have mercy on their souls.)

The arms are *Argent a chevron azure between two roses gules and a dolphin embowed azure*, for Langstone, also shown quartering *Argent on a bend gules three martlets vert*, for Danvers; John Langstone's mother being Margaret, the second daughter of John Danvers of Waterstock.¹¹

3 John Bowes, 1517, Albury, Oxfordshire

The inscription to John Bowes, listed by Stephenson as British Museum III (4), has always been identified as coming from Albury, near Thame, although contrary to his usual custom, Mill Stephenson does not cross-reference it at the end of his Oxfordshire section. It is of ordinary London G design, and reads:

⁹ R. Emmerson, 'A Missing Brass Figure from Caversfield Identified', *Oxoniensia*, XLII (1977), pp. 264-5, pl. XII A.

¹⁰ Missing words from Bodleian MS Wood E 1, f. 179, quoted in G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols. (London, 1847), II, p. 599. (Caversfield was in Buckinghamshire until late in the 19th century.)

¹¹ *The Visitations of the County of Oxford*, p. 187.



FIG. 3

Brass of John and Amice Langston, 1506, Caversfield, Oxon. M.S. II, and British Museum M.S. I (8).

Rubbing by J. Bertram, 1 Oct. 1970 (man) and 15 Jan. 1998 (remainder).

Height of main figures 69 cm.

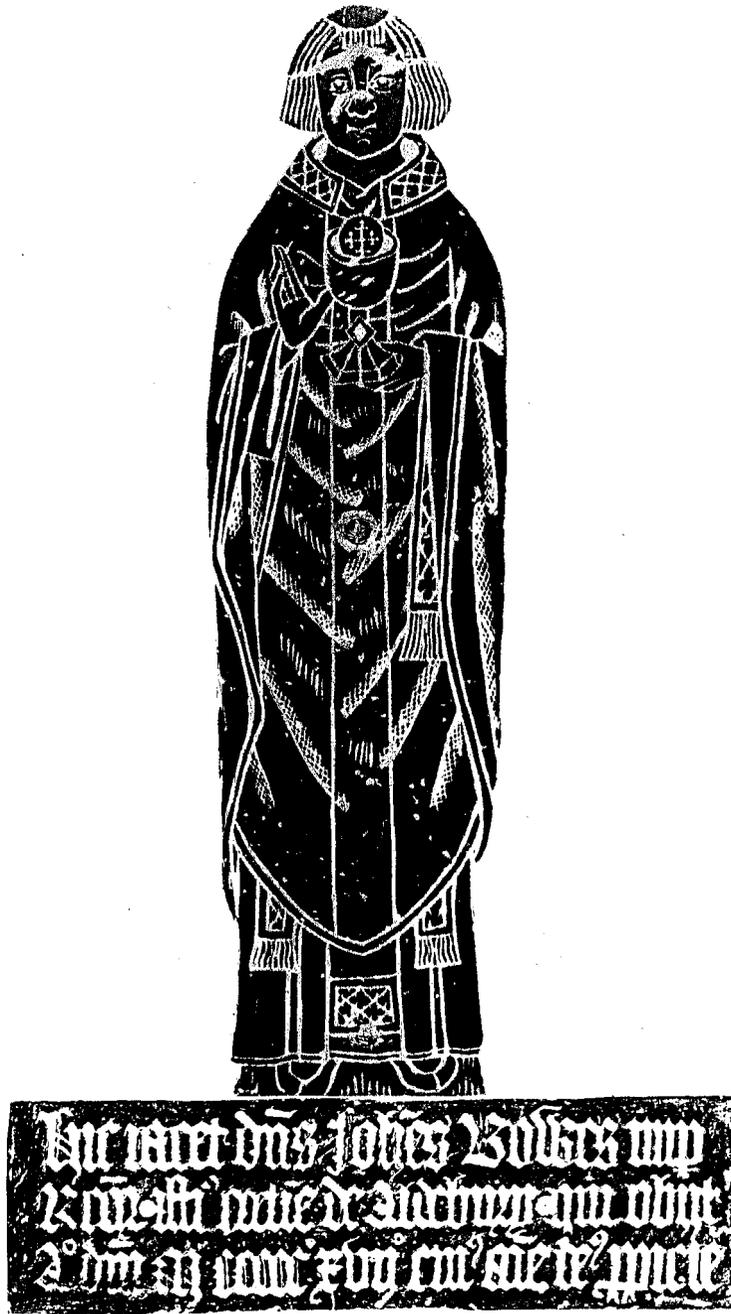


FIG. 4

Brass of John Bowles, 1517, Albury Oxon., British Museum M.S. III (4) and Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology LSW. IX.

Rubbing by J. Bertram, 21 Feb. 1970 (figure); 1 Oct. 1970 (inscr.)

Height of figure 40 cm.

Hic jacet dominus Johannes Bowes nuper / Rector istius ecclesie de
Aldebury qui obiit / Anno domini M^o CCCC^o xvij^o cuius anime deus
propicietur

(Here lies Sir John Bowes, late rector of this church of Albury, who died in 1517; may God on his soul have mercy.)

The only peculiarity of this inscription is the lack of a precise date, and the inverted order of 'propicietur deus'. More unusual, however, is the accompanying figure (Fig. 4). Wood records the inscription, and says it was 'under the figure of a priest holding in his hands a chalice, on which is a consecrated host'.¹² The figure in question is now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (LSW. IX), where it is catalogued as coming from the destroyed chapel of North Weston, near Thame, and is supposed to have been purchased in Aylesbury by Dr. F.G. Lee before 1860.¹³ (In Stephenson's list it is Private Possession, Manning III.) The late Malcolm Norris was always very suspicious about this attribution, since North Weston was only a chapel and had no burial rights, and he suspected that Dr. Lee had acquired it from some other church. Albury is evidently the church in question; it is only about half a mile from North Weston and was completely rebuilt in 1830, at the same time that North Weston was demolished. If the same building contractors were employed, the mistaken identity could have come about quite innocently.

The real interest in the figure is in the posture. It is one of only two brasses in England showing the priest in the act of blessing the chalice and Host; the other being at Walton on Trent, Derbyshire, 1492, a brass of regional workmanship. Otherwise this posture seems to be confined to Germany, where it is in fact the regular mode of depicting a priest, found on a great many brasses and incised slabs.¹⁴ It is a curious attitude and, especially when the Host is shown suspended above the Chalice, not a practicable one at all. Most examples, particularly the earlier ones, show the priest blessing only the chalice without the Host. I suspect that in fact it was originally intended to show the priest holding the chalice, as emblem of his order, and blessing the viewer, just as a bishop holds a crosier and blesses the viewer on most English brasses. In fact the earliest example of the posture I have seen is on an incised slab of 1312 in the Moritzkirche in Ingolstadt, where the chalice is veiled, as it would be when the priest carries it to or from the altar. However, I have no doubt that it came to be understood as representing the consecration of the elements, and thus showing the priest engaged in his essential duty. In the rite of Consecration the text reads 'simili modo, postquam cenatum est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum Calicem in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas: item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes...' (In like manner,

¹² *Parochial Collections*, p. 5.

¹³ P. M[anning], 'Brass of a Priest formerly at North Weston, Oxon.', *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, II, no. 2 (1900), p. 85.

¹⁴ E.g. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (London, 1977), figs. 61, 62.

when he had supped, taking also this goodly cup into his holy and worshipful hands, and again giving thanks to thee, he blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take, all of you, and drink of this ...). The priest is directed to take up the chalice, and to bless it, as he pronounces the relevant words. The action would of course be hidden from most of the congregation, since priest and people always faced the same way during Mass, but would probably be familiar to those who attended Masses in small side-chapels where all gathered close around the altar.

What is curious is that Martin Luther apparently took great exception to the gesture of blessing, brought to such prominence by so many brasses and incised slabs around him, and insisted in eliminating it from his liturgy. His new text, which Cranmer literally translated for his 1549 prayer-book, read, 'likewise after supper he took the cup and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this ...'. The idea of blessing the cup simply disappears.¹⁵ Our Albury brass of course dates from the very year of Luther's first revolt, but that is no more than a coincidence: we can hardly imagine that the rector of a small Oxfordshire village wanted to register his protest against the preachings of a friar in Wittemberg. But as to why this unusual posture was chosen, no suggestions are forthcoming.

¹⁵ See F.A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1890), pp. 204, 444-8.

Two French Incised Slabs in the British Museum

by DERRICK CHIVERS

THE only examples of incised slabs in the British Museum are two fragments that were originally in the possession of Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852) (Figs. 1, 2). They were purchased at the first auction of Pugin's collection on 12 February 1853 for £12. 15s. The sale catalogue for lot 68 states 'Two Slabs of XVIth century, with canopy work, filled with saints and rich diaper work, perfect examples incised with great talent. They were being laid down on a bridge for pavement, when Mr. Pugin rescued them from the workman'. The British Museum acquisitions book notes 'Supposed to have come from St. Germain'.¹ Since their arrival at the Museum, they were relegated until recently to the storage area, with no known record of ever having been displayed or mentioned in publications. Greenhill was unaware of their existence since they are not included in *Incised Effigial Slabs*. It was not until research for the exhibition 'Pugin: A Gothic Passion' in 1994 at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and an examination of the acquisition books, that their location was revealed. The first published record of the fragments appeared in the exhibition catalogue, which included a direct photograph of slab No. 1.² Each slab is mounted in a wooden frame, which prevents a complete examination of the sides and reverse. Through the side panels of the frames are bolt-holes indicating the method of securing these heavy objects to the wall when in Pugin's possession. Both slabs are now (2002) displayed in the office occupied by the Head Keeper of Medieval & Modern Europe.

In an attempt to verify Wainwright's reference to St. Germain-des-Prés as the original location of the slabs, an examination was made of the Gaignières drawings published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.³ Both slabs were eventually identified as originating not from St. Germain but Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux. The present building dates from 1685, and is situated in the Marais district of the city, on the north bank of the Seine and some distance from St. Germain-des-Prés on the south bank. It should be noted that there is no bridge in the immediate vicinity of this church.

The original church was built on a corner site between Rue des Guillemites and Rue des Francs-Bourgeois as a gift from St. Louis for the Servite friars, who wore a white mantle, from which the name of the church is derived. In 1297 they were replaced by hermits of St. William or Guillemites, who in turn were reformed and

¹ C. Wainwright, 'The Antiquary and Collector', in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, ed. P. Atterbury & C. Wainwright (London 1994), p.98. Here it is assumed that the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés is meant, although there is another possibility, the church of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois near the Louvre.

² *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, pl.180.

³ J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières: Dessins d'archéologie du XVIIIe siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e Période, LXXXIV (1974), pp. 1-192 (Nos. 1-1085); LXXXVIII (1976), pp. 1-128 (Nos. 1086-1837).

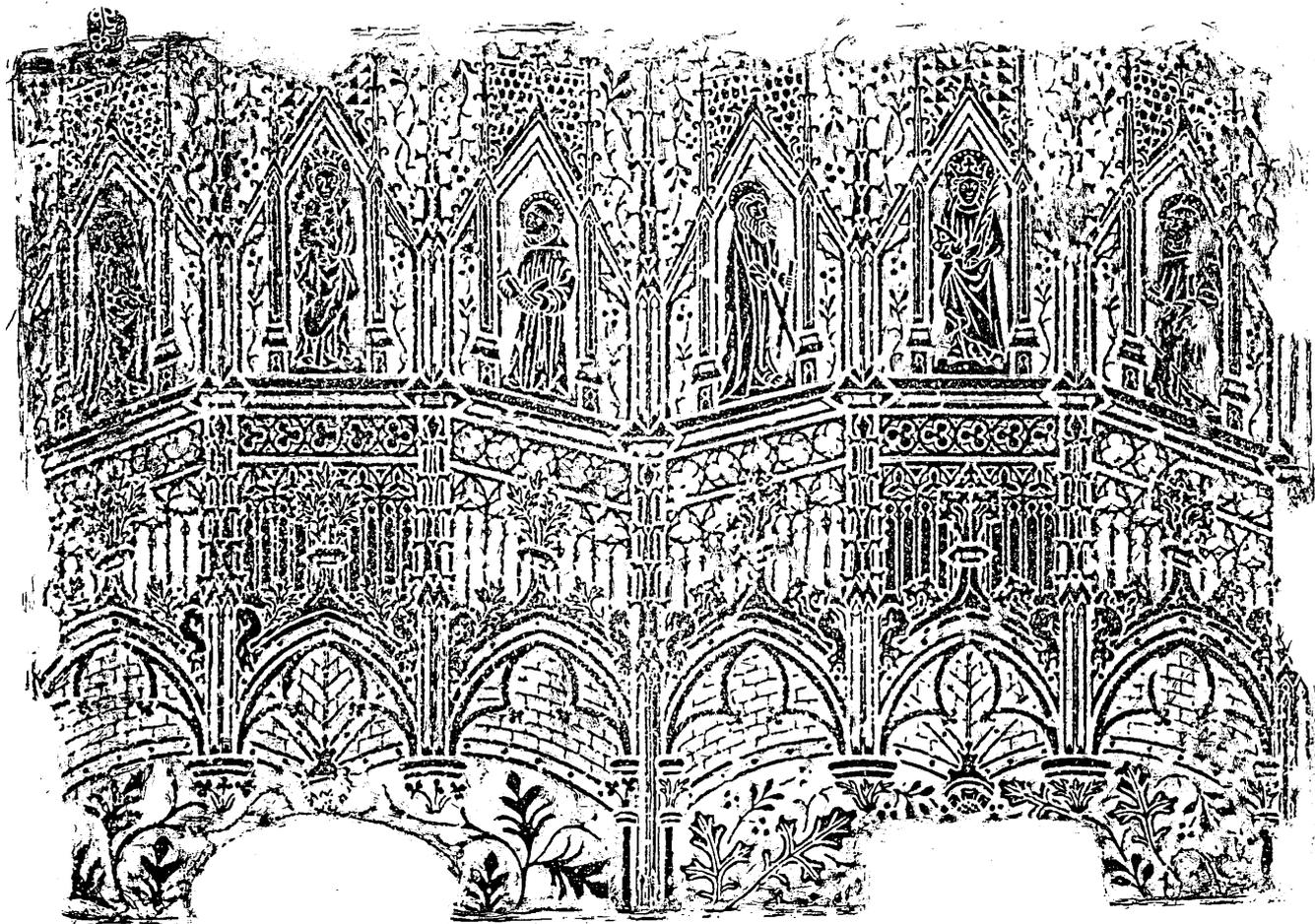


FIG. 1

Fragment of the incised slab of Hémon Raguier, d. 1420, and wife Gillette de la Fontaine, d. 1404, formerly in Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, Paris
(BM, MME 1853,0221.2)

Rubbing by Derrick Chivers

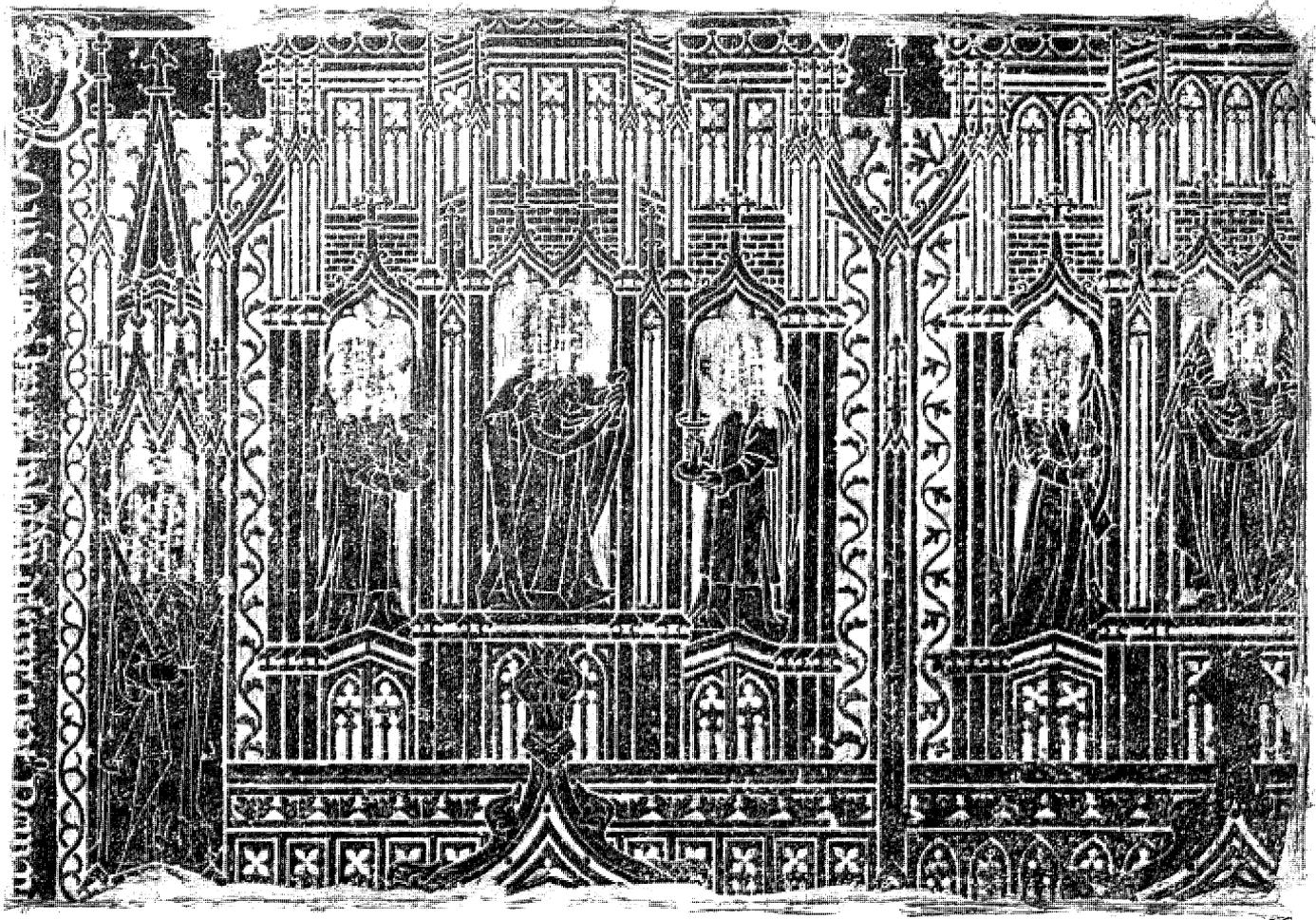


FIG. 2

Fragment of the incised slab of Bernard de Hallewin and wife Jean Millet, d. 1481, formerly in Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, Paris (BM, MME 1853,0221.3)

Rubbing by Derrick Chivers

replaced by the Benedictines of the Maurist Congregation in 1618.⁴ Excavations undertaken in 1929 on the site of the church revealed a building 47 metres in length and 12 metres wide with a semicircular apse to the chancel.⁵ It was orientated in an easterly direction while the 1685 building extended northwards from the porch of the original church. In 1706 the medieval building was demolished and the site converted into a garden.⁶ Part of the abbey site was incorporated into the Mont-de-Piété, the official pawnbrokers established by Louis XVI in 1777. Fortunately, Gaignières had the opportunity to record the monuments just prior to the demolition of the church in 1706. Bouchot records some 87 drawings in the Gaignières Collection of memorials in the old church.⁷ Of these approximately 57 represent complete tombs or commemorative plaques while 30 illustrate individual figures from the monuments. Considering the small size of the building the church must have been rather crowded with memorials. The Raguier monument (slab No. 1) alone consisted of two arched recesses in the north wall of the nave with evidence from one of the drawings of a third alongside. What happened to the slabs has yet not been determined. One can only surmise their fate from the subsequent history of the building and the turmoil within France until Pugin purchased these fragments during one of his visits to Paris.⁸ The new church was suppressed in 1790 during the Revolution when any slabs that survived from the old church would have suffered the fate of similar memorials throughout France. The building was finally sold in 1797, but was retrieved in 1807 by the city of Paris to become a chapel-of-ease to the parish church of St. Merri.⁹ It is possible that the slabs were discarded when restoration of the fabric was undertaken following the previous two decades of neglect. Alternatively, the slabs were disposed of from the old church prior to its demolition in 1706 or left in the garden established on the site. For the slabs to survive as potential building material for over a hundred years until Pugin discovered them is highly remote. We therefore have to assume, in the absence of evidence, that the smooth surface on the reverse of the fragments had already been used for paving and the workmen were relaying the bridge with existing material. The condition of the engraving with no indication of wear or exposure to rough treatment rather supports this theory.

Slab No. 1 (Fig. 1)

Accession No. 1853,0221.2.

⁴ M.L.R., *Les Curiositez de Paris...*, nouvelle édition, 2 vols. (Paris 1742), I, pp.274-5; G. Bourgin, 'Blancs-Manteaux', in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, IX (Paris, 1937), col. 116.

⁵ 'L'ancien église des Blancs-Manteaux', *Bulletin Monumental*, XCIII (1934), pp. 110-11.

⁶ *Les Curiositez de Paris*, I, p. 275.

⁷ H.Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux Départements des Estampes et des Manuscrits*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891).

⁸ On these see L. Dennison, 'French or Flemish? A Fragment of a Pontifical Brass in the British Museum', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 4 (2000), p. 347.

⁹ F., marquis de Rochechouart and M. Dumolin, *Guide pratique à travers le vieux Paris*, nouvelle édition (Paris, 1923), p. 123.



FIG. 3

Detail of the incised slab of Hémon Raguier, showing chamfered edge.

Photo.: Derrick Chivers

Measurements: 90 cm wide, 62 cm deep, 4 cm thick.

Date: *c.*1420.

Top part of a slab depicting a double triple canopy, each heavily vaulted and rising to three canopy niches each containing a figure. From left to right: St. John Evangelist with palm branch, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, St. William of Auvergne as a monk holding a book and helmet, St. Andrew with saltire cross, St. Catherine with a broken wheel and palm branch, St. Giles as a monk holding a book and a hind leaping up with an arrow through its body. The heads of the two main figures survive at the base of the fragment with deep indents indicating they were originally depicted in a composite stone inlay. The entire background is covered by a foliage pattern. Above the canopy of St. John Evangelist, a small section of the chamfered edge, on which is engraved a cloverleaf, has survived the adaptation of the slab for paving (Fig. 3). (The wooden frame prevents its inclusion in the rubbing.) This section of the slab extended in front of the arch recess at the south-west corner where the inscription commenced, while the remaining west side of the slab was left rough due to its inaccessible position within the alcove.

Identified by means of a Gaignières drawing (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts* no. 991; Bouchot no. 4711), as from the monument to Hémon Raguier, treasurer of war,¹⁰ d.

¹⁰ Raguier was also treasurer to Queen Isabelle of Bavaria (M. Popoff, *Prosopographie des gens du Parlement de Paris (1266-1753)* (Saint Nazaire le Désert, 1996), p. 829.



FIG. 4

Gaignières drawing of the incised slab of Bernard de Hallewin and wife Jean Millet, d. 1481, formerly in Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, Paris (BN, Estampes, Rés. Pe 11, f. 6)

Photo.: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

1420, and wife Gillette de la Fontaine, d. 1404. Another drawing (Gazette des Beaux-Arts no. 1064; Bouchot no.4763) illustrates to the west of the monument a canopied door with arms in the pediment, *Argent a saltire sable between four partridges within a bordure engrailed gules*,¹¹ enclosing two aumbries with bolted wooden doors.

Above is a panelled recess containing the sculptured figures of those commemorated, kneeling in prayer with a crowned female saint standing behind. Originally in the north wall of the nave, Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, Paris.

Slab No. 2 (Fig. 2)

Accession No. 1853,0221.3.

Measurements: 92cm wide, 62 cm wide, 4 cm thick.

Date: *c.* 1481.

Upper left-hand corner of a slab with the tabernacle above the arch for a single canopy for the male figure and half the corresponding section above the female figure. Under canopied niches, the souls of the deceased are shown as small human figures, standing in sheets held by Abraham for the man and a winged angel for the lady. On either side are winged angels, two holding candles and one playing a harp. The upper niche of the side shaft contains St. Paul. The inscription commences in this corner with the evangelistic symbol of St. John and the opening words: *Qui fuerat huius halevi(n) de stirpe creat(us), Bernard[us]...* (He who was created of the family of this Hallewin, Bernard...). A deep groove has been cut down this side of the slab obliterating the lower half of the script, but enough of the inscription survives which together with Gaignières drawing has enabled a positive identification for this fragment. The heads of all the figures have been deliberately erased, which, together with the damaged inscription, is not indicated on the drawing. Could this imply the monument survived complete into the eighteenth century and was defaced by the Revolutionaries? If so, why was the other slab not similarly treated, since the fragments originated from the same church and have remained together ever since? Identified from Gaignières drawing (Gazette des Beaux-Arts no 1286; Bouchot no. 4419) (Fig. 4), as the upper left-hand corner of the monument to Bernard de Hallewin, clerk (*greffier*) of petitions in the Palace, and wife Jeanne Millet, d. 1481. Originally in the centre of the sacristy, Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, Paris.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Fr. Jerome Bertram for deciphering and translating the inscription on slab No. 2, and to John Cherry, Keeper of Medieval and Modern Europe at the British Museum, for enabling me to make rubbings of the slabs.

¹¹ Bouchot, *Inventaire*, II, p. 142.

A List of Brasses in the British Museum

by STEPHEN FREETH

THIS list follows the numbering in Mill Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926). Stephenson's arrangement is severely schematic and not very illuminating, and new research and redating have sometimes jumbled the chronological order within his various categories. Nevertheless his reference numbers have been in use for three quarters of a century, and cannot be abandoned lightly. The few accessions since the *List* and its *Appendix* (1938) have simply been added at the end of each section, with italicised numbers, except for Lombardic letters, which have been added at VI (*1b*). (N.B. One, or possibly two, of these additional Lombardic letters were in fact in the Museum before 1926, and were missed by Mill Stephenson.) At the end of the whole list are summary details for the sake of completeness of three facsimile brasses, and of a few puzzling plates which were probably not monumental. For a check list showing all these brasses in date order of accession, compiled by Nicholas Rogers, see pp. 443-6.

The first paragraph of each entry is also based on Stephenson's *List*, though many of his descriptions have been revised. This paragraph includes references to published illustrations. Extra information has been added where possible about former owners, auction sales, and similar matters. This is followed by the Museum accession number, and finally, where necessary, by a select list of sources. Note that some general sources should be understood to apply to more or less every entry. These are the collections of rubbings at Burlington House (Society of Antiquaries) and/or in Cambridge, many of which carry detailed annotations about changes of owner and the like; the sets of Sotheby and other auction catalogues in the British Library, annotated with purchasers and prices; and the Museum accession registers. To avoid repetition, these have not been cited each time.

The Museum accession numbers comprise the year, followed after a comma by a second, four-digit number indicating the monthly meeting of the Trustees and the number of the accessioned collection, followed by the number within the accession. Thus 1853,0221.1 is the first item within the twenty-first collection accessioned at the meeting of the Trustees in February 1853. In what follows, I have taken the date of accession, i.e. of formal acquisition, in all cases as the date of *actual* acquisition, though it is clear from contemporary rubbings and other sources that actual acquisition could precede accessioning by as much as several months.

Following Mill Stephenson, no comment is made about the condition of individual plates, e.g. breaks, broken edges, corrosion, and so forth.

Collectors' names in **bold** indicate that there is a biographical entry for that collector in the final section, 'Brief Notes on Collectors'.

The following bibliographical abbreviations are employed:

Haines, <i>Manual</i>	H. Haines, <i>A Manual of Monumental Brasses</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861).
<i>Palimpsests</i>	J. Page-Phillips, <i>Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1980).
Norris, <i>Memorials</i>	M. Norris, <i>Monumental Brasses: The Memorials</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1977).
Norris, <i>Craft</i>	M. Norris, <i>Monumental Brasses: The Craft</i> (London, 1978).
Stephenson, <i>List</i>	M. Stephenson, <i>A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles</i> (London, 1926).

I have been interested in the British Museum's brasses since 1973. I am extremely grateful to the staff of the Museum, and particularly to John Cherry, for much assistance over the years; to the late John Page-Phillips, for advice on the dating of several of the Evangelists' symbols; to John Blair for help with the Lombardic letters; to Nicholas Rogers for general assistance; and to several others acknowledged in the text. A listing like this can only ever be provisional, and I will be glad to hear of additions and corrections.

I. FIGURES

(1) Head of a bishop or abbot, *c.* 1340-50, under fine canopy with soul, saints, etc., part of a large rectangular foreign brass; French work. Acquired in or before 1838 by A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52), the famous Roman Catholic architect and designer. He probably purchased it abroad. Pugin died on 14 September 1852, and this plate was lot 87 in the first of the two sales of his collections, which took place on 12 February and 7 April 1853. It was bought for £24 10s. (making it the most expensive item of metalwork in the sale) by Henry O. Cureton, 'Medallist & Coin Dealer, 20 River Street, Myddleton Square'. Cureton also purchased four other items from Pugin's collections at the same sale, *viz.* two fragments of continental incised slabs (lot 68, for £12 15s.), an ivory draughtsman (lot 91, for £4) and a majolica dish. He then sold all five items to the Museum later that same month for a total of £57 4s., which suggests that he had been buying on his own account, and not as agent for the Museum, as is sometimes supposed. P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright ed., *Pugin* (New Haven, 1994), p. 186, pl. 361; J. Bertram ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), fig. 47 (detail of Abraham); C. Boutell, *The Monumental Brasses of England: a Series of Engravings on Wood* (London, 1849); *BUILDER*, LIV (1888), p. 30; M. Caygill and J. Cherry ed., *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London, 1997), fig. 22; H. Eichler, 'Flandrische gravierte Metallgrabplatten des XIV. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIV (1933), Abb. 5; *Genl. Mag.*, 1848, II, p. 600; *Girls' Own Paper*, XIV, p. 159; *Guide to the Medieval Room*

(London, 1907), p. 75, (new edn., 1924), p. 30; D. Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses* (London, 1991), fig. 3; M. Norris, *Brass Rubbing* (London, 1965), fig. 106; Norris, *Memorials*, II, pl. 36 (detail).

Museum accession number: 1853,0221.1.

Refs.: *Archaeological Jnl*, X (1853), p. 163; Atterbury and Wainwright, *Pugin*, pp. 96-8, 186; C. Boutell, *Monumental Brasses and Slabs* (London, 1847), p. 10; H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), pp. 50-81, esp. pp. 51 and 78, where he dates the plate *c.* 1360-5; Eichler, 'Flandrische gravierte Metallgrabplatten', p. 206; Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 232; C.R. Manning, *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in England* (London, 1846), p. 92 (where the plate is listed in anonymous private possession at Ramsgate); *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 292; Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin*, pp. 13, 33 (who quotes Pugin's writings to show that he already owned this brass in 1838); J. Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass*, exhibition cat., V. & A. (London, 1987), pp. 27-8, no. 141.

For further discussion and illustrations see pp. 327-48 above.

(2) Circular plate with mathematical instrument, *c.* 1600-20; palimpsest, on reverse the head of a priest in amice, early 15th century, surrounded by the heads of 2 boys and 2 girls and an inscription round the circumference, *Hic iacent Johannes Mervin Thomas Jacobus Elizabetha Margareta quorum animabus propicietur deus* [I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this reading]; now hardly legible; small, worn and pitted, and trimmed around the edge. Almost certainly a pair with I (3) below, though the two plates have reached the Museum by different routes. Both have been trimmed in the same way, and both have had two former rivet holes blocked and replaced by one central rivet hole in a similar manner. M.S. II at Burghill, Herefordshire, of 1619, shows how these two plates might have been employed, though they do not come from that brass. Purchased by the Museum in January 1875 with various other items, including brasses IV (7 and 8), from Messrs. Rollin & Feuardenet, numismatic dealers of Paris and London, who had bought them at the **J.G. Nichols** sale at Sotheby's. *Antiquary*, XXV (1892), p. 198 (obv); *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 207 (obv. and rev.); Norris, *Craft*, pl. 185 (rev., captioned as 'priest and students', which seems unlikely); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 133, no. 315L1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1875,0120.4.

Refs.: *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 207; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 75, no. 315L1.

N.B. This plate and I (3) below were entered in Stephenson, *List*, p. 576, under their palimpsest reverses, i.e. the wrong way round, which is why they appear here under 'Figures'.

For further discussion and illustrations see pp. 362-9 above.

(3) Circular plate with a pair of open dividers, *c.* 1600-20; palimpsest, on reverse the half-effigy of a priest in mass vestments, early 15th century, surrounded by an inscription to Thomas Quythed (Whitehed), *magester tercius istius collegii*, small. Almost certainly a pair with I (2) above. In 1839 in the possession of Dr. Goodall, Provost of Eton (see J.G. Waller's notes). In 1840 in the possession of H. Cureton, coin dealer, Aldersgate Street, London (see Manning's *List* of 1846). It is not known exactly when or how the Museum acquired this plate, but it certainly owned it by 1861 (Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 232). *Antiquary*, XXV (1892), p. 198 (obv.); *Guide to the Medieval Room* (London, 1907), p. 76, (new edn., 1924), p. 275; *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 208 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 133, no. 315L2 (rev.).

Museum accession number: OA.7113. [N.B. The OA, or Old Accession, series was begun in 1939 to tidy up material already held by the Museum but with no reference numbers. If there was an earlier reference, there is no trace of it on the plate now. This particular number was allocated in 1981 (*ex inf.* John Cherry). The statement in *Palimpsests* that this plate and I (2) above both form 1875,0120.4 is incorrect.]

Refs.: Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 232; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p. 95 (Eton College Chapel, ref. LSW. 359); C.R. Manning, *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in England* (London, 1846), p. 55; *MBS Trans.*, . IV (1900-3), pp. 207-8; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 75, no. 315L2; Society of Antiquaries, MS 423 (notes by J.G. Waller, 1839).

N.B. this plate and I (2) above were entered in Stephenson, *List*, p. 576, under their palimpsest reverses, i.e. the wrong way round, which is why they appear here under 'Figures'. Haines gives 'from Eton College (?)', but this seems no more than a guess. Eton had Provosts, not Masters, and the early Provosts are known and do not include Thomas Whitehead (*ex inf.* Nicholas Rogers).

For further discussion and illustrations see pp. 362-9 above.

(4) Civilian, *c.* 1460-1, small, feet slightly damaged. Purchased by the Museum in April 1920 from **Dr. Philip Nelson** F.S.A., Beechwood, Calderstones, Liverpool. *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 2 (1987), p. 167.

Museum accession number: 1920,0415.1.

Refs.:- R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design *c.* 1420-85', *JBA*, CXXXI (1978), pp. 50-78, esp. p. 72.

NB Emmerson, as above, redates this figure *c.* 1460-1 on stylistic grounds (London B). Stephenson, *List*, p. 576, dated it '*c.* 1450'.



FIG. 1
Civilian, c. 1460. BM MME 1920,0415.1
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 2
Civilian, c. 1485. BM MME 1853,1003.1
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(5) Civilian with pouch and hood, c. 1485, feet lost. Presented to the Museum in October 1853 (as a single item) by 'John Hewitt Esq., Ordnance, Pall Mall', who had bought it at the sale of Mr. Adderley of Camberwell. *Guide to the Medieval Room* (London, 1907), p. 41, (new edn., 1924), p. 275; *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 2 (1987), p. 169.

Museum accession number: 1853,10-031.

Refs.: *Archaeological Jnl*, XI (1854), 31; R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design c. 1420-85', *JBA*, CXXXI (1978), pp. 50-78, esp. p. 77; Haines, *Manual*, II, 232; *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 292.

N.B. Emmerson, as above, redates this figure c. 1485 on stylistic grounds (London F). Stephenson, *List*, p. 576, dated it 'c. 1480'.

(6) Priest in mass vestments with chalice and wafer, *c.* 1475-6, small. Purchased by the Museum in October 1911 for £2 8s. from Edgar Smith, 'dealer in antiques', 13b Berkeley Street, London. *MBS Trans.*, XIV, part 2 (1987), p. 168.

Museum accession number: 1911,1024.1.

Refs.: R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design *c.* 1420-85', *JBA*, CXXXI (1978), pp. 50-78, esp. p. 78; *Kelly's London Directory* (1911).

N.B. Emmerson, as above, redates this figure *c.* 1475-6 on stylistic grounds (London F). Stephenson, *List*, p. 576, dated it '*c.* 1480'.

(7) Blessed Virgin Mary kneeling at a desk with scroll, *Ecce An Cella domini*, part of an Annunciation, *c.* 1485. From Grantchester, Cambridgeshire, where the slab remains at the east end of the south aisle with indents for a civilian and wife, inscription, one child, scrolls, Annunciation and four shields. Possibly for Thomas Lacy, 1505, and wife. Identified in 1995 by Philip Whittemore, on the basis of the indent (*ex inf.* William Lack). Lost from the church in Cole's time (mid 18th century). Found in a cellar in Silver Street, Cambridge, in 1804. Later [late 1850s?] in the possession of Mrs Greef, King's Parade, Cambridge. In 1861 in the possession of [John] Edlin, Cambridge (Haines, *Manual*, II, 233). Sold at auction by Messrs Puttick and Simpson on 19 November 1903, with Mr. Edlin's other brasses. This one apparently purchased by Fenton & Co., [dealers,] 33 Cranbourn St., London S.W. Sold by them to the Museum in June 1904 for £6. *Anastatic Drawing Society* (1855), pl. 12; *Guide to the Medieval Room* (London, 1907), p. 41, (new edn., 1924), p. 268; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 141.

Museum accession number: 1904,0627.1.

Refs.: BL, Add. MS 5805, f. 138 (church notes of William Cole, mid 18th century); *Gent. Mag.*, 1802, I, p. 36; Haines, *Manual*, II, 233; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 140 (LSW. 14 under Grantchester); *MBS Trans.*, III (1897-9), p. 24, V (1904-9), pp. 22 and 292, VIII (1943-51), p. 226.

N.B. Contemporary directories list John Edlin, architect and surveyor, and Robert Greef, plumber and glazier, in King's Parade in 1855. In 1858 John Edlin Esq., architect and surveyor, and Mrs. Ann Greef, plumber and painter, share the same address at 4 King's Parade. In 1865 John Edlin is at 5 King's Parade, while Mrs. Greef remains at number 4. See *Craven & Co.'s Commercial Directory of the County of Huntingdon and Town of Cambridge* (1855); *Post Office Directory of Cambridge, Norfolk and Suffolk* (1858); *idem* (1865).

For further discussion and illustration see pp. 371-4 above.



FIG. 3

Priest in mass vestments, c. 1475-6. BM MME 1911,1024.1

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(8) Man in armour. From M.S. II at Caversfield, Oxon. (transferred from Bucks. in 1844), for John Langston, 1506, and wife Amice. Identified by Robin Emmerson in 1977. Still at the church in July 1820. Presented to the Museum in March 1861 by **A.W. Franks**, when it was 'said to have been bought at a sale in an old house in London'. R. Emmerson, 'A missing brass figure from Caversfield identified', *Oxoniensia*, XLII (1977) plate XIIA; *Girls' Own Paper*, XV, p. 26; G. Lipscomb, *History of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1847), II, p. 599.

Museum accession number: 1861,0304.1.

Refs.: Emerson, 'Caversfield', pp. 264-5; Lipscomb, *History of Buckinghamshire*, II, p. 599.

For further discussion and illustration see p. 382 above.

(9) Nicholas le Brun, bailiff of Jeumont, 1547, rectangular plate with Crucifixion, Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene, emaciated effigy on a mattress below; the inscription mentions his wife Françoise du Fosset, d. 1531; French work. Probably from Jeumont, France. Purchased by the Museum in April 1875 for £30 from Mr. Thomas [Miller] Whitehead, [solicitor], 8 Duke Street, St James'. *Archaeological Jnl.*, XLVIII (1891), p. 287; *MBS Portfolio*, V (1935-52), pl. 6; *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 340; Norris, *Craft*, pl. 194.

Museum accession number: 1875,0402.1.

Refs.: *Kelly's London Directory* (1875); Norris, *Memorials*, I, pp. 109-10.

(10) Upper half of a man in armour with tabard with arms and quarterings of Fitzwilliam, c. 1550; head gone. Possibly the original figure of Sir William Fitzwilliam, 1534, from M.S. I at Marholm, Northants. Presented to the Museum in November 1854 by Edward Hawkins [the Keeper of Antiquities], who had apparently bought it in London for the Museum. *Guide to the Medieval Room* (London, 1907), p. 77, (new edn., 1924), p. 31; *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 2 (1981), p. 159 (from an 'improved' rubbing); *Annual Report of Peterborough Natural History, Scientific and Archaeological Society 1928-9*, pls. xviii (the brass at Marholm) and xix (this fragment).

Museum accession number: 1854,1125.1.

Refs: *Archaeological Jnl.*, XII (1855), pp. 82-3; M. Davies, *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London: Court Minutes 1486-1493* (Stamford, 2000), 159, n.272 (for biographical details of Sir William Fitzwilliam); R.H. Edleston, 'Monumental Brasses', in *Annual Report of Peterborough Natural History, Scientific and Archaeological Society 1928-9*; H.F. Owen Evans, 'The Brass of Sir William Fitzwilliams and Wife at Marholm, Northants', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, part 2 (1981), pp. 155-62.

N.B. This fragment was believed by Owen Evans to be the upper part of the kneeling figure of Sir William Fitzwilliam, d. 1534, from his brass at Marholm, Northants. (M.S. I). This comprises an altar tomb with brasses. Unfortunately the evidence for the original tomb has been obscured by the restoration in 1674 by Lord Fitzwilliams of several of the brass plates, including the upper part of Sir William: see

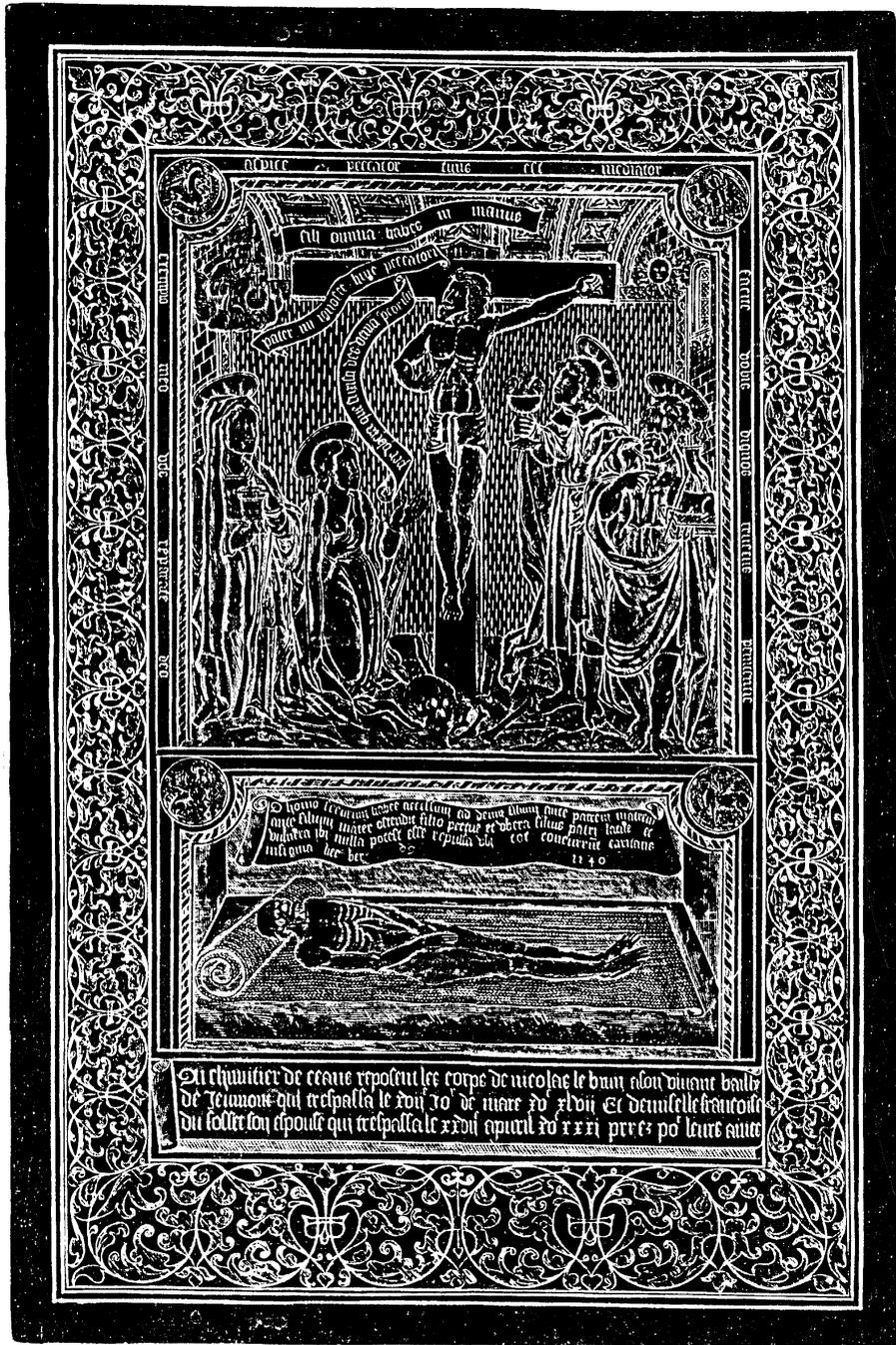


FIG. 4

Crucifixion with saints and cadaver, Nicholas le Brun, d. 1547, and w. Françoise du Fosset, d. 1531.
 BM MME 1875,0402.1

Rubbing by Walter Mendelsson, 12 August 1997

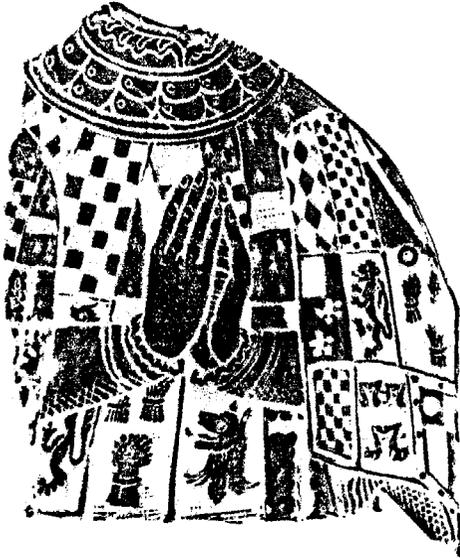


FIG. 5
Upper half of man in armour
with Fitzwilliam tabard, c. 1550
BM MME 1854,1125.1
Rubbing in Cambridge Collection



FIG. 6
Civilian, c. 1600, BM MME 1902,0522.1
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

the illustrations in Edleston, pl. xviii, and Owen Evans, p. 157, fig. 2. If this present fragment is indeed an original piece from this tomb, it has survived loose for an enormous period of years since 1674; it appears to be some ten to fifteen years later than the engraving of the wife's figure; and from its design could perfectly well come from a standing, not a kneeling, figure. A comparison of its outline with the (slightly fanciful) upper part of the man's figure as restored can hardly be conclusive, since the new piece need not have followed the original in its outline any more than in its design. Perhaps this fragment comes from another brass at Marholm or elsewhere to a later member of the family. For example M.S. I at Clayworth, Notts., comprises an inscription (effigy lost) for Humfrey Fitzwilliam, esq., 1556, and wife Anne, 1558: for an illustration see *Trans. Thorton Society*, XIII (1910), p. 15 (inscription only).

(11) Civilian, *c.* 1600. Purchased by the Museum in May 1902 from Mr Edgar Smith, 'antique furniture dealer', of Blyburgate Street, Beccles, Suffolk, for £2 10s.

Museum accession number: 1902,0522.1.

Refs.: *Kelly's Directory of Lowestoft & Kirkley with Beccles & Neighbourhood* (1902) lists Edgar Smith of Blyburgate Street as a private resident. However he is probably the same person as 'Edgar Smith, antique furniture dealer, Newgate Street', who appears in the commercial list. Several individuals appear in both the private and commercial lists.

(12) Kneeling lady in heraldic mantle, *barry nebuly*, with ermine collar, *c.* 1540, local, probably Lincolnshire work; palimpsest, on reverse a portion of canopy work with the crowned head of the Virgin, Flemish, *c.* 1400-20. Very probably from M.S. I at South Kyme, Lincs., for Gylbert Taylboys, Lord Taylboys, 1530, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount. This brass comprised two kneeling figures, foot-inscription, scrolls and ?Trinity, all now lost except the foot-inscription, which remains in the original slab. The heraldry of this present figure matches that seen on the lady's figure by Gervase Holles *c.* 1640, and its outline and the positions of the rivet-holes upon it also fit the indent in the slab. Also, both foot-inscription and slab are palimpsest, like this figure. Identified by Ann Dowden in 1990. It is not known when the figure left the slab, but it seems never to have been rubbed *in situ*. In 1861 in the possession of 'Christopher Smyth, Esquire (?)' (Haines, *Manual*, II, 235). Owner unknown in 1900, and again at the time of Stephenson, *List* (1926), and therefore listed on p. 588 as 'Derelict' I (13). Sold at auction at Cheltenham in 1989 as part of the Summerfield Collection. Purchased by the Museum in January 1990. *British Museum Magazine* (Summer 1990), p. 45 (obv.); *MBS Bulletin*, 55 (Oct 1990), p. 468 (obv.); *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 314 (obv. and rev.), XIV, pt. 5 (1990), p. 357 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 28, no. 99L1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1990,0105.1.

Refs.: R.E.G. Cole ed., 'Lincolnshire church notes made by Gervase Holles, A.D. 1634 to A.D. 1642', *Lincoln Record Society*, I (1911), p. 186 (from BL Harleian MS 6829); A. Dowden, 'The Return of Lady Blount', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 5 (1990), pp. 356-9; Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 235; G.E. Jeans, *A List of the Existing Sepulchral Brasses in Lincolnshire* (Horncastle, [1889]-1895), p. 37; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 43, no. 99L1; J. Page-Phillips, *Fifth Addenda to Palimpsests* (issued with *MBS Bulletin*, 55 (Oct 1990), p. 29; J. Page-Phillips, 'The Nebuly Coat of Mistress Blount', *MBS Bulletin*, 55 (Oct 1990), pp. 467-8; J. Page-Phillips, *Sixth Addenda to Palimpsests* (issued with *MBS Bulletin*, 58 (Oct 1991), pp. 36-7.

II. CHILDREN

(1) Seven daughters, *c.* 1480; palimpsest, on reverse the hands of a large figure of a lady, *c.* 1375. Presented to the Museum in Feb 1875 by the **Revd. W. Sparrow Simpson** D.D., 119 Kennington Park Road. *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 6, no. 32L1 (rev).

Museum accession number: 1875,0201.2.

Refs.: *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 208; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 36, no. 32L1.



FIG. 7

Seven daughters, *c.* 1480, obv.; fragment of a lady, *c.* 1375, rev.
 BM MME 1875,0201.2
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(2) Four daughters, *c.* 1490; palimpsest, on reverse a portion of a group of sons, *c.* 1450, much hammered away. In 1916 in the possession of **Dr. Philip Nelson**, M.D., F.S.A. Liverpool. Purchased from him by the Museum in April 1920. *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 6, no. 35L1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1920,0415.2.

Refs.: *Palimpsests*, I, p. 36, no. 35L1.

(3) Two children, skeletons in shrouds, the eldest of a group, *c.* 1500. Presented to the Museum in July 1906 by **C.H. Read**, F.S.A. [later Sir Hercules Read].

Museum accession number: 1906,0714.2.



FIG. 8

Four daughters, c. 1490, obv.; portion of a group of sons, c. 1450, rev.

BM MME 1920,0415.2

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 9

Two children, skeletons, c. 1500.

BM MME 1906,0714.2

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 10

Four daughters, c. 1500. BM MME OA.7114

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(4) Four daughters with long hair, c. 1500. Source unknown, but certainly acquired before 26 February 1909, the date of a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection, and probably after 1892.

Museum accession number: OA.7114. [N.B. The OA, or Old Accession, series was begun in 1939 to tidy up material already held by the Museum but with no reference

numbers. This particular number was allocated in 1981. *Ex inf.* John Cherry.] This plate was not included by A Oliver, A.R.I.B.A. in his careful and thorough list of the brasses in the Museum in *The Antiquary*, XXV (1892), pp.197-9. It was therefore probably acquired after that date.



FIG. 11

Three sons, c. 1540-50, obv., portion of seven sons, c. 1500, rev.

BM MME 1875,0201.3

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(5) Three sons, c. 1540-50, feet gone, worn and broken; palimpsest, on reverse a portion of seven sons, c. 1500. From the same brass as II (6) below. Presented to the Museum in Feb. 1875 by the **Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson**, D.D., 119 Kennington Park Road. *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 27, no. 95L1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1875,0201.3.

Refs.: *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 208; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 43, no. 95L1.

N.B. Page-Phillips in *Palimpsests* ascribes this plate to Abbots Langley, Herts., probably on the basis of an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection. This shows an unknown brass of a civilian and wife, c. 1540, with the outline of a lost foot-inscription, and with two groups of children, comprising this present group of three sons, and the group of three daughters described at II (6) below. The rubbing is marked faintly in pencil, 'Abbots Langley, Presented by Rev C...' The rest is illegible. It is clear that Mill Stephenson knew of the rubbing, for it is marked in his hand, but he appears not to have trusted it, for this brass does not appear in his *List* under Abbots Langley. Curiously, Page-Phillips does not ascribe II (6) below to Abbots Langley, and dates it c. 1550.

(6) Three daughters, *c.* 1540-50, feet gone; palimpsest, on reverse part of a shield bearing *Two lions passant*, now almost hammered away. From the same brass as II (5) above. Presented to the Museum in February 1875 by the **Revd. W. Sparrow Simpson**, D.D., 119 Kennington Park Road. *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 56, no. 149L1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1875,0201.4.

Refs.: *Palimpsests*, I, p. 51, number 149L1.

N.B. Stephenson, *List*, p.576, did not notice that this plate was palimpsest, although the Museum accession register mentions the reverse.



FIG. 12
Three daughters, *c.* 1540-50
BM MME 1875,0201.4
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 13
Daughter with flowing hair, *c.* 1480
BM MME 1933,0406.167
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(7) Daughter with flowing hair, ?local, East Anglian work, *c.* 1480. Acquired before 1909 by **R. Garraway Rice**, F.S.A. Bequeathed by him in 1933 to the Museum. *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 4 (1995), p. 353 (an illustration of an identical figure in Barbican House Museum, Lewes, for which see below).

Museum accession number: 1933,0406.167.

Refs.: R. Hutchinson, 'Notes on Sussex Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 4 (1995), pp. 339-54; *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 422; Stephenson, *List*, p. 585, where this figure appears as M.S. III in R. Garraway Rice's possession; M. Stephenson, *Appendix to the*

List of Monumental Brasses (London, 1938), where this figure is listed under the British Museum.

N.B. There is a possibility that this figure is not the original, but one of a number of facsimiles (casts) made *c.* 1910 of various small brasses by Robert Miller Christy, the authority on Essex brasses. Miller Christy made casts of two Garraway Rice brasses, the broken upper part of the figure of Denis Slon, priest, 1485, from Buxted, Sussex (M.S. II), and this figure of a daughter (M.S. III). A cast of each may be seen in Chelmsford Museum, part of a gift of six facsimiles by Revd. J.F. Williams in 1935 (accn 63/1935), the other four being of Essex interest. Garraway Rice's bequest in 1933 to the Sussex Archaeological Society's Museum at Barbican House, Lewes, included another cast of the upper part of Denis Slon (the original had been returned to Buxted in 1925), and another figure of a daughter, identical to that in the British Museum. The Barbican House daughter's figure, however, exhibits various features, particularly on the reverse, which suggest it might be the original and not a cast. It has not yet been possible to compare the British Museum and Barbican House daughter's figures in detail, to determine the question.

III. INSCRIPTIONS

(1) Inscription, John Bernard, treasurer and residentiary of Wells, 1459. From Wells Cathedral. Recorded by Davis *c.* 1809 'under a seat near St. Mary's Chapel'. Acquired later by **A.W. Franks**, and presented by him in May 1880 to the Museum.

Museum accession number: 1880,0513.4.

Refs.: A.B. Connor, 'Monumental Brasses in Somerset, Part VI', *Proc. Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, LXXXII (1936), pp. 171-202, esp. pp. 171 and 199; A.B. Connor, *Brasses in Somerset* (Bath, 1970, being a reprint of his earlier articles in one volume), pp. 83, 111; J. Davis, *A Concise History of the Cathedral Church of St Andrew in Wells* (Salisbury, 1809); *MBS Bulletin*, 7 (Oct 1974), p. 11.



FIG. 14

Inscription, John Bernard, d. 1459, from Wells Cathedral. BM MME 1880,0513.4

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 15

Inscription, Walter Browning and wife Melocint, 1473, obv., portion of marginal inscription, c. 1400, rev.

BM MME 1903,0724.1,2,3,4,5

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

(2) Inscription, Walter Browning and wife Melocint, 1473, local, Norwich school; palimpsest, on reverse a portion of a marginal inscription with shield bearing (?) a merchant mark, Flemish, c. 1400; much worn and broken. From Trunch, Norfolk, where the indent remains in the middle alley of the nave. 'In private possession' in 1847, according to Boutell, and already identified as from Trunch. Purchased in April 1855 at the **Goddard Johnson** sale by Mr. **T.G. Bayfield** of Norwich, who still had it in 1890. Purchased by the Museum in July 1903, after Bayfield's death, along with VI (4 and 5) below, from Miss F.J. Bayfield, 44 Bracondale, Norwich. C. Boutell, *Monumental Brasses and Slabs* (London, 1847), pp. 40 (mark), 149 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 140, no. 5N1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1903,0724.1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Refs.: Boutell, *Brasses and Slabs*, pp. 40-1, 149-50; E Farrer, *Norfolk Brasses* (Norwich, 1890), p. 114; Haines, *Manual*, II, 232; *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), pp. 244-5, 323, 325; Norris, *Craft*, pp. 86-7; Norris, *Memorials*, I, 269; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 78, no. 5N1; J. Page-Phillips, *Addenda to Palimpsests* (issued with the *MBS Bulletin*, (June 1982), p. v.

N.B. Norris argues in *Craft* that the devices on the shield may not be original, but merely doodles, or embellishments during the time that the brass was in private hands. *Palimpsests*, too, suggests they are doodles. This present author disagrees, after making a close examination of the plate in 1981, which in any case is in five pieces, and an unlikely subject for embellishment. The engraving of the devices seems regular, and similar in character to the rest of the Flemish engraving. It is probably original.

The obverse of the plate was also carefully examined by this author in 1981, and the names of the deceased deciphered afresh, as above. Mill Stephenson in *MBS Trans.*, IV, pp. 244-5, gave 'Walter Bownyng (?) or Bowmont (?) and wife Melicint (?)', but when he wrote, the plate was temporarily lost. He therefore offered a combination of the readings of Boutell ('Bowmont') and Farrer ('Bownyng (?)'). By the time he published his *List* (1926), he had settled on Farrer's reading, and we may assume he had re-examined the plate personally. 'Bowmont' was certainly wrong (the last letter of the man's surname is a 'g'), and should not have been followed by Page-Phillips in *Palimpsests* (1980). Page-Phillips accepted the present author's new reading of 'Brownyng' in *Addenda to Palimpsests* (1982).



FIG. 16

Inscription, Robert Wode, c. 1500, obv., fragment of shrouded figure, c. 1500, rev.

BM MME 1907,0309.1

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(3) Inscription, Robert Wode, damaged, c. 1500; palimpsest, on reverse the feet of a shrouded figure, also c. 1500, probably a waster; small. From Thorington, Suffolk: see *Topographer and Genealogist*, I (1846), p. 485. Sold at auction on 13 December 1905, lot 207, by Messrs Puttick and Simpson amongst the effects of W. Cole Plowright of Swaffham, a Norfolk collector, and purchased by Mill Stephenson. He presented it to the Museum in March 1907. Identified as from Thorington at some date between 1907 and 1926, when Stephenson published his *List*. *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 233 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 157, no. 9M1 (rev).

Museum accession number: 1907,0309.1.

Refs.: *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), pp. 233-4; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 87, no. 9M1; *Topographer and Genealogist*, I (1846), p. 485.

(4) Inscription, John Bowes, rector of Aldebury, 1517. From Albury, Oxon. Identified by Mill Stephenson *c.* 1920. Albury church was demolished and rebuilt in 1833, and this plate is likely to have come on to the market at that date. Listed by Haines in 1861 in the possession of **A.W. Franks** of the British Museum, who had purchased it at a sale in London. Presented by him to the Museum in August 1862.

Museum accession number: 1862,0825.2.

Refs.: F.N. Davis, 'Parochial Collections made by Anthony Wood and Richard Rawlinson (First Part)', *Oxfordshire Record Society*, II (1920), p. 5; Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 233.

N.B. The figure of a priest in mass vestments, blessing chalice and wafer, that is now LSW. IX in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology, belongs very probably with this inscription. The priest's figure was for many years thought to be from the chapel of North Weston in the parish of Thame, Oxon., but this may well have been wishful thinking on the part of its former owner, Dr. F.G. Lee, who had purchased it near Aylesbury in the late 1850s. Dr. Lee's ancestors came from North Weston, which is the adjacent village to Albury. Anthony Wood saw just such a priest's figure, now lost, at Albury in the 17th century. Certainty is of course impossible in the absence of a rubbing of the priest's figure when it was still at the church. For the priest's figure see J. Bertram, 'Lost Brass Identified', *MBS Bulletin*, 74 (Feb 1997), p. 282; Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 233, under 'Rev. F.G. Lee'; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 44, and illustration on p. 41; F.G. Lee, *History of Thame Church, Oxon* (privately printed, 1883), col. 290; Stephenson, *List*, p. 584, under 'the late Percy Manning, F.S.A.'; and the Oxfordshire Record Society volume cited above.

For further discussion and illustration see pp. 382-386 above.

(5) Inscription, Rouland Monoux, *c.* 1570, in 10 English verses. From Edmonton, Middx., from a lost brass formerly in a stone frame on the north wall of the north chapel, where the indent remains. Most of the brass remained *c.* 1800, and was drawn by Thomas Fisher. It showed Monoux kneeling, in armour, bareheaded, with two sons, and his wife (head lost), also kneeling, with five daughters, together with a foot-inscription [i.e. this present plate] and a heraldic achievement. Two scrolls, and a device on a rectangular plate were already lost. By 1819 only this present plate and the heraldic achievement remained in the slab. This present plate was donated to the Museum in May 1866 by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of Manuscripts at

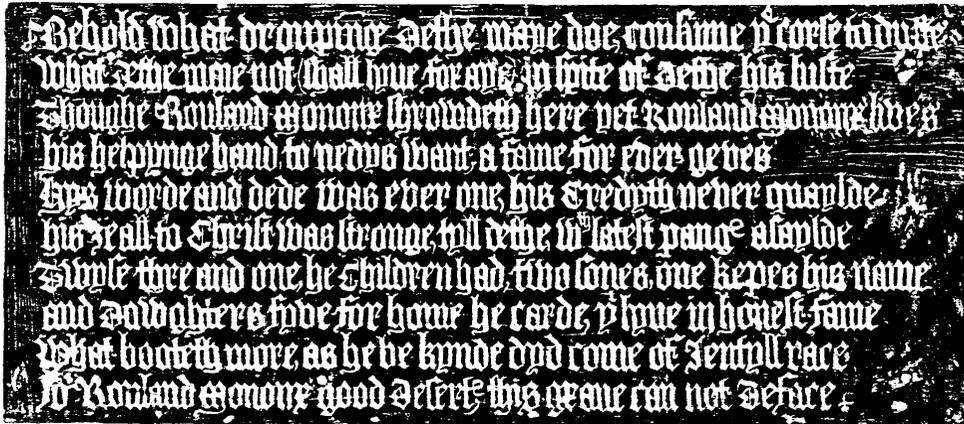


FIG. 17

Inscription, Rouland Monoux, c. 1570. BM MME 1866,0519.1

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

the British Museum, shortly before he retired in July of the same year. From the reference in the accession register to Robinson's *History of Edmonton* (1819), it seems that it had already been identified with Edmonton. Guildhall Library, Prints & Maps Section, extra-illustrated copy of D. Lysons, *Environs of London*, III (London, 1795), at pp. 262-3 (Fisher drawings, c. 1800, one showing the whole composition, and another showing the brass plates alone); H.K. Cameron, 'Edmonton', in 'The Brasses of Middlesex VII', *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XIX (1956-8), pp. 106 (inscription), and between 103-4 (indent).

Museum accession number: 1866,0519.1.

Refs.: E. Brand, 'An Edmonton Brass in the British Museum', *Middlesex & Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, II (1896), pp. 141-2; Cameron, 'Edmonton', pp. 97-107; D. Lysons, *Environs of London*, III (London, 1795), p. 263; W. Robinson, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Edmonton* (London, 1819), p. 100.

N.B. Cameron describes the drawings made of this brass c. 1800, now in Guildhall Library, as 'cruder than Fisher'. This is true at first sight, but the extra-illustrated Lysons in Guildhall Library contains other drawings too, of the other brasses, of the stone tombs with indents for brasses, and of the 17th-century stone mural monuments, which collectively exhibit every sign of being by Fisher. There can be little doubt that the two drawings of the Monoux brass are also his work.

Ethert Brand joined the M.B.S. in 1894 and was Hon. Secretary in 1897-8, but resigned after twelve months and was no longer a member in 1899. In *Middlesex & Hertfordshire Notes and Queries* he says that the inscription plate was picked up in a second-hand shop by A.W. Franks, who deposited it in the British Museum, but could not find whence it came. This appears to be incorrect. Perhaps Brand had

spoken informally to Franks, who might well have said something of this nature with reference to other brasses which he had presented to the Museum many years before.

Robinson's *History of Edmonton* is very precise in its descriptions of the various brasses in the church in 1819, stating whether they were on the wall or the floor, and whether or not they had figures. For the Monoux brass, Robinson refers only to this present inscription-plate and the heraldic achievement, and we may reliably conclude that these alone remained at that date. The same cannot be said for Lysons (1795), whose references to the brasses at Edmonton are sketchy. He too refers to just the Monoux inscription-plate and heraldic achievement, but may simply have ignored the kneeling figures.

Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Museum: 'a brilliant antiquarian, ... an exceptionally difficult man, whose obsessive hatred of [Sir Henry] Ellis [the Principal Librarian] and [Antonio] Panizzi [the Keeper of Printed Books] amounted almost to mania...' (E. Miller, *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum* (London, 1973)).



FIG. 18

Inscription, Agnes Barton, d. 1571. BM MME 1875,0201.1

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

(6) Inscription, Agnes Barton, wife (1) of Robert Blowfield, (2) of Nicholas Haward, gent., 1571. In the late 1840s in the possession of 'W.S. Simpson Esq., Queens' College, Cambridge'. (An early rubbing in the Cambridge Collection is annotated to this effect, and can be dated between 1847, when Simpson entered Queens' College, and 1851, when he was ordained deacon.) The brass is fixed to a board, on the back of which Simpson wrote, 'Believed to have been taken from one of the Churches (S. James most probably) Bury St. Edmunds, about 1848.' So far, this attribution remains unconfirmed. Presented to the Museum in February 1875 by **Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson**, D.D., 119 Kennington Park Road.

Museum accession number: 1875,0201.1.

IV. SHIELDS

(1) A fine enamelled shield bearing Gernon, *Pily wavy argent and gules*, c. 1300. Found on the site of Leez Priory, Essex, in 1907, and subsequently preserved at the house. Presented to the Museum in October 1923 by M.E. Hughes-Hughes Esq., of Leez Priory. *Trans. Essex Archaeological Society*, N.S., X (1909), p. 212; *Heraldic Catalogue, Burlington Fine Arts Club* (London, 1916), pl. 13; *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XXII (1907-9), p. 118 (colour pl.).

Museum accession number: 1923,1018.1.

Refs.: *Trans. Essex Archaeological Society*, N.S., X (1909), pp. 211-4; *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 340; *RCHM Essex, II: Central and S.W.* (London, 1921), p. 160; *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XXII (1907-9), pp. 117-19.

(2 and 3) Two shields, Rickhill, and Rickhill impaling Coventry. From M.S. III at Northfleet, Kent, for William Rickhill, esq., in armour, and his wife Katherine, 1433. Lost from the church during a restoration c. 1845. These shields were in 1905 in the possession of **Frederick Arthur Crisp**, F.S.A., and already identified as from Northfleet. Sold at the Crisp sale at Sotheby's, January 1923, and acquired by **Sir Hercules Read**, who gave them to the Museum in March 1923. Ralph Griffin, 'Northfleet', in 'Monumental Brasses in Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXXII (1917), pp. 60 (shields), 61 (whole composition, from a sketch by Thomas Fisher, c. 1800).

Museum accession numbers: 1923,0303,1 and 2.

Refs.: Griffin, 'Northfleet', pp. 36-75; *Heraldic Catalogue, Burlington Fine Arts Club* (London, 1916), p. 7, nos. 14 and 18.

For further discussion and illustrations see pp. 349-61 above.

(4) Shield, Ideley quartering Drayton and Segrave. From M.S. III at Dorchester, Oxon., to Piers Ideley and two wives, c. 1470. Listed by Haines in 1861 in possession of 'J.J. Howard, Lee, Kent'. Still in his possession in 1893, when he was living at Blackheath. He died in 1902. In 1916 this shield was in the collection of **Frederick Arthur Crisp**, F.S.A., and identified as from Dorchester. Sold at the Crisp sale at Sotheby's, January 1923, and acquired by **Sir Hercules Read**, who gave it to the Museum in March 1923.

Museum accession number: 1923,0303.3.

Refs.: Haines, *Manual*, II, 233; *Heraldic Catalogue*, *Burlington Fine Arts Club* (London, 1916), p. 8, no. 19.

N.B. Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., was a herald and genealogist. Some time Maltravers Herald Extraordinary, he was a member of Council of the Harleian Society, and an editor of heraldic visitations. **Frederick Arthur Crisp** acted as his assistant. He died on 18 April 1902. His collections were sold at auction by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson after his death, and are now scattered. The largest remaining group of papers is believed to be that in Guildhall Library. See the brief obituary in *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XIX (1901-3), p. 105. Further information has been supplied by Guildhall Library, and is gratefully acknowledged.

For further discussion and illustration see pp. 378-381 above.

(5) Merchant's mark with initials 'BS'. From M.S. III at Holy Trinity, Guildford, Surrey, comprising an inscription plate and merchant's mark for Baldwin Smythe, 1557. Only the inscription now remains in the church. Identified by Mill Stephenson, *c.* 1915. Presented to the Museum in June 1866 by the Trustees of the Christy Collections. M Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (Guildford, 1921), p. 263 (whole composition); *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXVIII (1915), p. 97 (whole composition).

Museum accession number: 1866,0627.145.

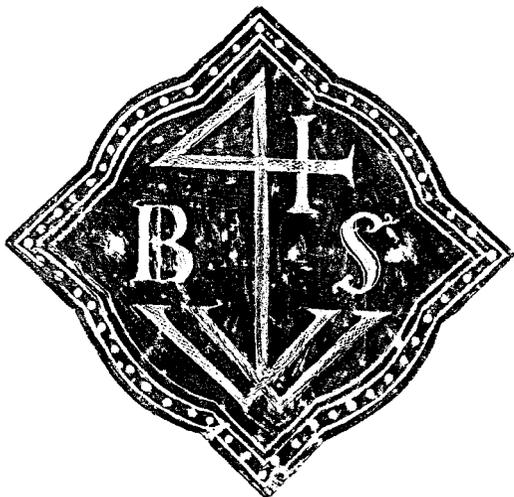


FIG. 19
Merchant's mark of Baldwin Smythe
from Guildford, Surrey
BM MME 1866,0627.145.
Rubbing by R.H. D'Elboux

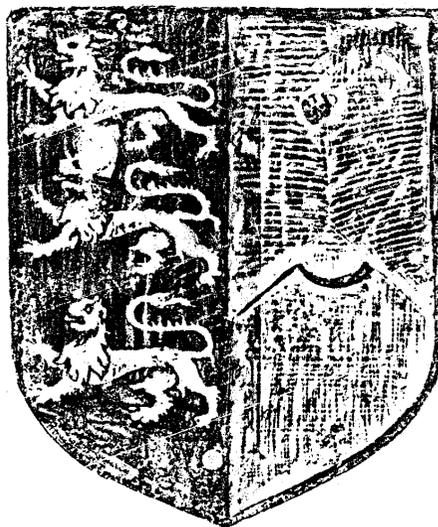


FIG. 20
Shield, Carew impaling Chapman, from Stone, Kent.
BM MME 1923,0303.5
Rubbing by Mill Stephenson

Refs.:— *Archaeological Jnl*, XLVIII (1891), p. 287; BL, Add. MS 6167, f. 238; Stephenson, *Surrey*, pp. 261-4; *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXVIII (1915), pp. 95-8.

N.B. The four Christy Trustees, of whom A.W. Franks was one, probably purchased this item at Franks' request. The Trustees were responsible for the ethnographical collection and related endowment fund of Henry Christy (d. 1865), who had made his money from towelling, a huge success at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Christy was not interested in brasses. I am grateful to John Cherry for these details.

(6) Shield, Carew impaling Chapman. From M.S. V at Stone, Kent, an inscription and four shields for William Carew, esq., 1588. Only the inscription remains in the church. Listed by Haines in 1861, when it was already identified as 'probably' from Stone, in the possession of 'Mr. Thomas Bateman of Youlgrave [*sic*], Derbyshire'. Thomas Bateman (1821-61), of Middleton Hall and Lomberdale House near Youlgrave, is the best-known of Derbyshire's nineteenth-century archaeologists, and assembled a large collection at Lomberdale House. At his death in 1861, aged only 39, the collection was kept together by provision of will until its sale was at last authorised by the Court of Chancery in 1893. Bateman had acquired this shield by purchase before 1855: see his published catalogue of his collection at ref. 'N.I.39' on p. 175. The shield was part of lot 267 at the sale of his collections at Sotheby's on 15 June 1893, together with the head of a man (now Cambridge Museum LSW. VIII). (Another brass, the figure of a civilian *c.* 1600, is now in Glasgow Museum.) Purchased by G.R. Harding, a dealer, of 34 Charing Cross Road. In 1916 in the possession of **Frederick Arthur Crisp**, F.S.A. Sold at the Crisp sale at Sotheby's, January 1923, and acquired by **Sir Hercules Read**, who gave it to the Museum in March of that year.

Museum accession number: 1923,0303.5.

Refs.: [T Bateman], *A descriptive catalogue of the antiquities and miscellaneous objects preserved in the museum of Thomas Bateman at Lomberdale House, Derbyshire* (Bakewell, 1855); *D.N.B.* (for Bateman); Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 235; *Heraldic Catalogue, Burlington Fine Arts Club* (London, 1916), p. 10, no. 26; G.A. Lester, 'Thomas Bateman, Barrow Opener', *Derbyshire Archaeological Jnl*, XCIII (1973), pp. 10-22, which includes a portrait drawing.

(7) Shield, Ryce quartering *Two lions passant gardant*, 16th century. From Widford, Herts. Probably from a brass to Simon Ryce of Widford, d. 1530. Identified before 1926, from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection. Purchased by the



FIG. 21
Shield, Ryce. BM MME 1875,0120.5
Rubbing in the Cambridge Collection



FIG. 22
Shield, Mercers' Company. BM MME 1875,0120.6
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

Museum in January 1875 with various other items, including brasses I (2) and IV (8), from Messrs. Rollin & Feuardent, numismatic dealers of Paris and London, who had bought them at the **J.G. Nichols** sale at Sotheby's.

Museum accession number: 1875,0120.5.

(8) Shield, Mercers' Company, 16th century. Purchased by the Museum in January 1875 with various other items, including brasses I (2) and IV (7), from Messrs. Rollin & Feuardent, numismatic dealers of Paris and London, who had bought them at the **J.G. Nichols** sale at Sotheby's. A rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection has a note by Mill Stephenson wondering whether this brass too, like (7) above, might be from Widford, but there is no evidence to support this. R. Marks and A. Payne, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c. 1800* (London, 1978), 65, cat. no. 116; A.F. Sutton, *I Sing of a Maiden: The Story of the Maiden of the Mercers' Company* (London, 1998), p. 32.

Museum accession number: 1875,0120.6.

(9) Shield, Fitzadrian, broken and repaired, c. 1540; palimpsest, on reverse a merchant's mark, 15th century. Found in the churchyard of Betchworth, Surrey, c. 1854. For many years in the possession of Mr. **Albert Way** (d. 1874). Presented to the Museum in March 1901 by Mill Stephenson. *Archaeological Jnl*, XII (1855), p.

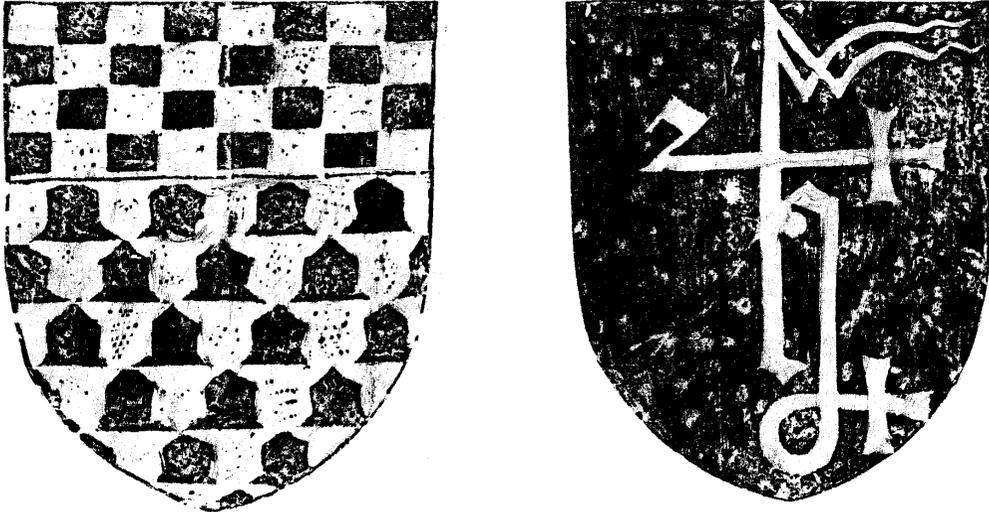


FIG. 23

Shield, Fitzadrian, obv., merchant's mark, rev. BM MME 1901,0309.1

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

293; *Gent. Mag.*, 1855, I, p. 270; *Guide to the Medieval Room* (London, 1907), p. 77, (new edn., 1924), p. 274; *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 275 (obv. and rev.), VI (1910-14), p. 332 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 27, no. 96L1 (rev.); M Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (Guildford, 1921), p. 45 (obv. and rev.); *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XV (1900), p. 28, and XXV (1912), p. 77 (all obv. and rev.).

Museum accession number: 1901,0309.1.

Refs: *Archaeological Jnl*, XII, pp. 293-4; *Gent. Mag.*, 1855, I, pp. 269-71; Haines, *Manual*, II, 198 (under Betchworth); *Palimpsests*, I, p. 43, no. 96L1; Stephenson, *Surrey*, pp. 44-6; *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XV (1900), pp. 28-9, XXV (1912), pp. 76-8.

(10) Shield, Skipwith, *Barry of six in chief a greyhound courant*, 16th century. Probably from St. Peter's, St. Albans, Herts. A rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection bears a note by Mill Stephenson that the arms are those of Skipwith of St. Albans, granted in 1507, and a reference to BL Lansdowne MS 874, f. 56. R Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, II (London, 1796), p. cccxxxv, refers to a slab in the south transept bearing a group of children, a scroll, and a shield of this description, and indents of two figures in shrouds with scrolls. Given to the Museum in July 1906 by **C.H. Read**, F.S.A. [later Sir Hercules Read].

Museum accession number: 1906,0714.1.

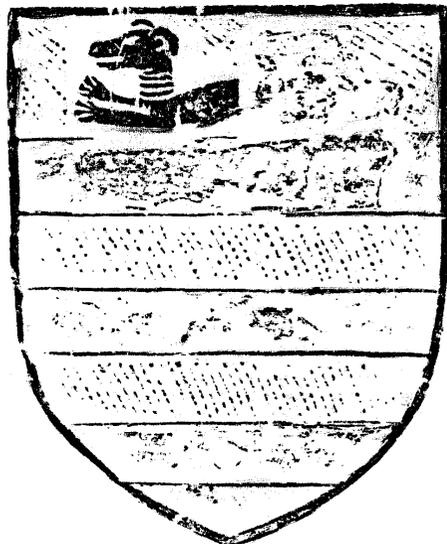


FIG. 24
Shield, Skipwith. BM MME 1906,0714.1
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

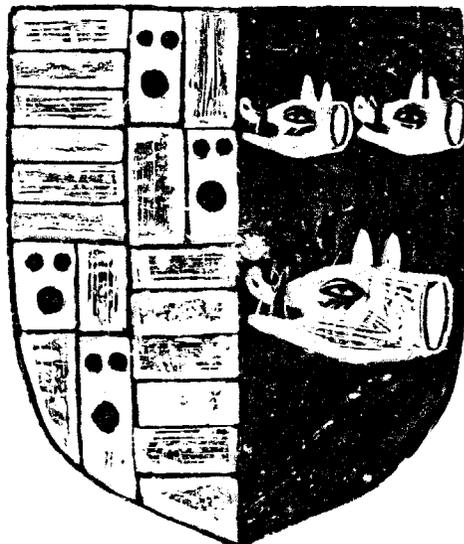


FIG. 25
Shield, from Fulbourn, Cambs. BM MME 1905,0215.1
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(11) Shield, *Quarterly 1 & 4, Barry of six, 2 & 3, Quarterly 1 & 4 three roundels, impaling Three boars' heads*, 16th century. From Fulbourn, Cambs. Recorded there in the mid 18th century by William Cole. Formerly in the Chantry House, Newark. Later sold at the Tuxford Hall, Notts., sale in December 1904 as lot 688, which fetched £1. 10s. Given to the Museum in February 1905 by **C.H. Read**, F.S.A. [later Sir Hercules Read]. BL Add. MS 5820, f. 10v (Cole drawing); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 133.

Museum accession number: 1905,0215.1.

Refs.: BL Add. MS 5820, f. 10v (church notes of William Cole, mid 18th century); Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 134 (LSW. 19); *MBS Trans.*, III (1897-9), p. 19, V (1904-9), p. 73.

(12, 13) Two shields, Lathom quartering Ardalle, and Goldsmiths' Co., 16th century. From Upminster, Essex. Discovered shortly before 1856 under pews in the north chapel. Still at Upminster in July 1859 (Haines, when one of them may have been in the possession of 'Mr. Johnson, of Gaines'. Purchased in 1886 or 1887 from a Mr. Fison by Revd. C.R. Manning, M.A., F.S.A., rector of Diss, Norfolk (see the Birchfield correspondence). In 1890 in the possession of **Revd. Edmund Farrer**,

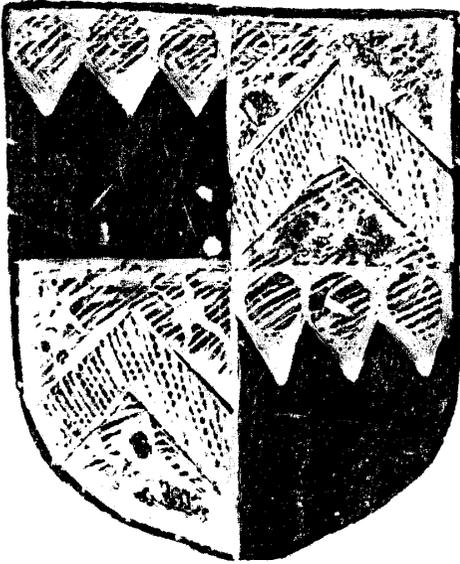


FIG. 26
Shield, Lathom quartering Ardalle
BM MME 1920,0415.3
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

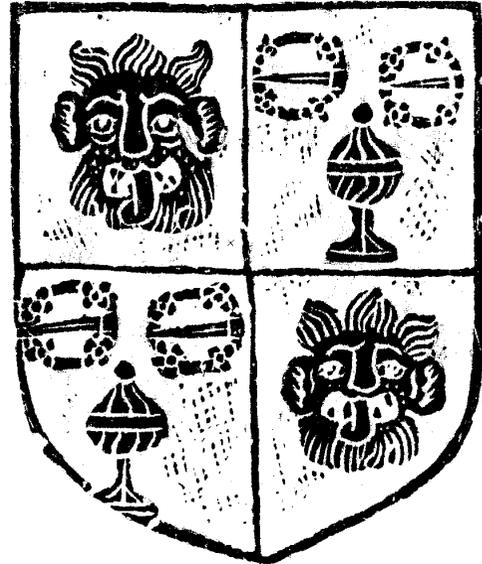


FIG. 27
Shield, Goldsmiths' Company
BM MME 1920,0415.4
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

Curate of Rickinghall, Suffolk, near Diss, who was probably given them by Manning. He correctly identified them as from Upminster, but wrongly linked them to M.S. VII, which is of 1626. Farrer still had them in 1916, but during that year they passed into the hands of **Dr. Philip Nelson** of Liverpool. Purchased from him by the Museum in April 1920. *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., XI (1911), p. 144; *Heraldic Catalogue*, Burlington Fine Arts Club (London, 1916), pl. 4 (Goldsmiths' Co.).

Museum accession numbers: 1920,0415.3 and 4.

Refs.: *Archaeological Jnl.*, XIII (1856), pp. 105 and 181-2; Boston Collection, Birch-Field correspondence; *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., XI (1911), pp. 143-4; E. Farrer, *Norfolk Brasses* (Norwich, 1890), p. 115; *Heraldic Catalogue*, p. 8, nos. 16 and 20; T.L. Wilson, *Sketches of Upminster* (London, 1856), p. 53; T.L. Wilson, *History and Topography of Upminster* (Romford, 1881), p. 77.

N.B. Revd. Edwin Richard Boston (d. 1986) was rector of Cadeby cum Sutton Cheney, Leicestershire, 1959-86. He was an enthusiast for steam railways, building the 'Cadeby Light Railway' in the rectory garden, and for monumental brasses. His large collection of rubbings, his own and other people's, was presented to the Monumental Brass Society by his widow in 1990. With them are over 150 letters written between 1861 and 1894 from Revd. C.G.R. Birch, rector of Brancaster, Norfolk, to Revd. J.E. Field, vicar of Benson, Oxon., concerning brass rubbing

expeditions and research. See J. Page-Phillips, 'The Boston Collection', *MBS Bulletin*, 55 (October 1990), pp. 463-5. I am grateful to Richard Busby for the reference to these two shields.

Revd. Charles Robertson Manning, M.A., F.S.A. (1825-99), was rector and patron of Diss, Norfolk, 1857-99. He was joint Hon. Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1852-95, an original member of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, and a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute. While still an undergraduate, he had published *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in England* (London, 1846), the first attempt at a comprehensive listing of English brasses. He died 2 February 1899. See R.J. Busby, *Companion Guide to Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (London, 1973), pp. 216-7; S.J. Plunkett, 'The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology: Its Life, Times and Members', *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, XXXIX, pt. 2 (1998), pp. 165-207, esp. p. 170, and the photograph at fig.43.

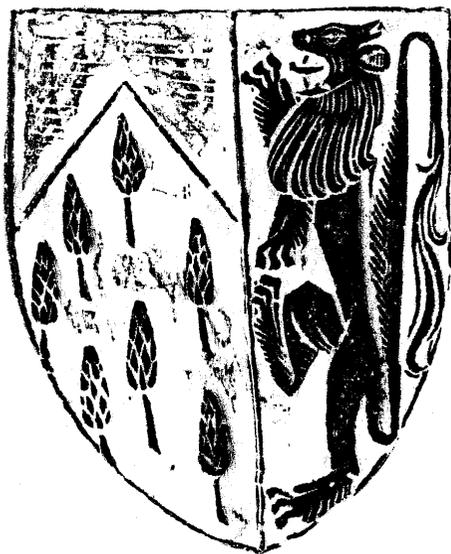


FIG. 28

Shield, Stokes of Taverham, from Taverham,
Norfolk. BM MME 1923
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 29

Shield, *Three Moses' heads*. BM MME 1881,0909.6
Rubbing in Cambridge Collection

(14) Shield, Stokes of Taverham impaling a lion rampant, local work, style Norwich-3a. From M.S.I at Taverham, Norfolk, an inscription and four shields for John Stok, gent., 1486. Only the inscription now remains in the church. Identified in 1975 by J.R. Greenwood from Tom Martin's church notes of 1735 in Norfolk and Norwich Record Office. All four shields formerly in the possession of A.W. Morant, F.S.A., some time City Surveyor of Norwich, who purchased them in Norwich. The other three shields are now in the Norwich Museum. This shield later in the possession of **Frederick Arthur Crisp**, F.S.A., who had it by 1894. Sold at the Crisp sale at

Sotheby's, January 1923, and acquired by **Sir Hercules Read**, who gave it to the Museum in March 1923. *Heraldic Catalogue, Burlington Fine Arts Club* (London, 1916), pl. 4.

Museum accession number: 1923,0303,4.

Refs.: R. Greenwood and M. Norris, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (Holt, Norfolk, 1976), p. 51; *Heraldic Catalogue*, p. 8, no. 15; *MBS Bulletin*, 8 (Feb 1975), p. 16; NNRO, Rye MS 17, vol. IV, f. 12.

(15) Shield, *Three Moses' heads*, on a quatrefoil, foreign, ?early 15th century. Presented to the Museum in September 1881 by **A.W. Franks**. Said to have been acquired by him in Constantinople.

Museum accession number: 1881,0909.6.

Refs.: A. Oliver, 'Notes on Brasses in the London Museums: British Museum', *Antiquary*, XXV (1892), pp. 197-9.

V. EVANGELISTS' SYMBOLS



FIG. 30
Evangelist's symbol, St. Luke.
BM MME 1854,1212.4
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

(1) St. Luke on a quatrefoil. Always said to be from M.S. I at Salisbury Cathedral, for Bishop Robert Wyvil, 1375, though no rubbing appears to be known showing this piece *in situ*. In 1848 in the possession of **Edward James Willson** of Lincoln (d. 1854), and exhibited by him, together with V (3) below and probably VI (1/3) also, in the temporary museum assembled for the Archaeological Institute's annual Congress in Lincoln in that year. Identified as from the Wyvil brass by Haines, it seems, who in 1848 made a note to that effect in his own copy of his 1848 *Manual*. Later in the possession of **Albert Way**, esq., who sold it to the Museum in December 1854. (It was entered in the accession register as from the Wyvil brass.) The Wyvil brass has been

illustrated many times; for a list of illustrations up to 1926, see Stephenson, *List*, p. 534.

Museum accession number: 1854,1212.4.

Refs.: MS note in H Haines' own copy of his *Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses* ['Oxford Manual'] (1848), in the possession of Peter Heseltine, to whom I am grateful for this information; *MBS Bulletin*, 12 (June 1976), p. 16; *Royal Archaeological Institute Proceedings - Lincoln 1848*, p. lii.

(2) St. John on a roundel, *c.* 1520. Presented by the **Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson**, D.D. in February 1875.

Museum accession number: 1875,0201.5.



FIG. 31

Evangelist's symbol, St. John. BM MME 1875,0201.5
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 32

Evangelist's symbol, St. John. BM MME 1854,1212.5
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(3) St. John on a quatrefoil, *c.* 1490. In 1848 in the possession of **Edward James Willson** of Lincoln (d. 1854), and exhibited by him, together with V (1) above and probably VI (1/3) also, in the temporary museum assembled for the Archaeological Institute's annual Congress in Lincoln in that year. Later in the possession of **Albert Way**, esq., who sold it to the Museum in December 1854.

Museum accession number: 1854,1212.5.

Refs.: *Royal Archaeological Institute Proceedings - Lincoln 1848*, p. lii.



FIG. 33

Fragment of inscription, obv., portion of evangelist's symbol, St. John, rev.
 BM MME 1905,1102.20
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(4) Fragment of inscription on a lozenge-shaped plate, ?local, ?mid 16th century; palimpsest, on reverse part of the Eagle of St. John from a rectangular plate, Flemish, ?15th century. Presented to the Museum in November 1905 by **C.H. Read**, F.S.A. [later Sir Hercules Read]. 'Found in or near Lincoln.' *MBS Bulletin*, 51 (June 1989), p. 374 (obv. and rev.); *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 233 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 157, no. 11M1 (obv.); J. Page-Phillips, *Addenda to Palimpsests* (issued with the *MBS Bulletin*, June 1982), pl. 188, no. 11M1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1905,1102.20.

Refs.: this plate was wrongly described in Stephenson, *List*, p. 577, as an evangelist's symbol with an earlier inscription on the reverse, i.e. the wrong way round, hence its listing within this category. This was followed in *Palimpsests*, I, p. 87, no. 11M1, but corrected in *Addenda to Palimpsests*, p. v.

(5) St. Mark on a quatrefoil, 16th century; palimpsest, cut from a shield with Throckmorton impaling Spiney, ?15th century. Formerly in the possession of Samuel Willson, curiosity dealer, Bear Street, Leicester Square, who sold it and a bronze candlestick base to the Museum in June 1854 for a total of £1 9s. The shield on the reverse may possibly come from M.S. I at Fladbury, Worcs., for John Throckmorton, esq., 1445, and widow Eleanor Spiney. If so, this is a unique example of palimpsest reuse of part of a brass which still exists. Unfortunately four of the five shields on this brass were restored in the 19th century, and all evidence of its former condition destroyed. If the Fladbury origin is correct, the obverse ought to

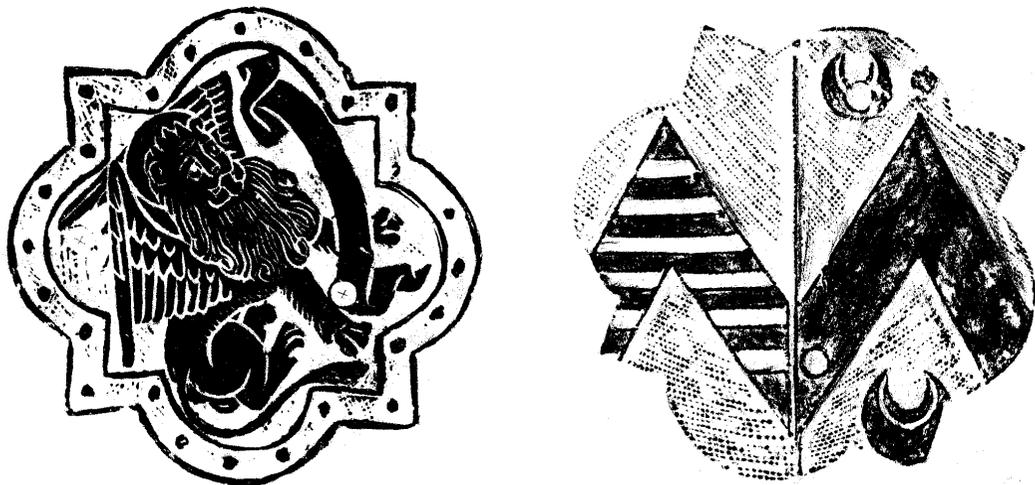


FIG. 34

Evangelist's symbol, St. Mark, obv., portion of Throckmorton shield, rev.

BM MME 1854,0609.2

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

come from a local brass in the Coventry area. However it may be that the attribution is far-fetched, and that the shield (which cannot be precisely dated) is from another monument to the same family. J Bertram ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), fig. 115 (rev.); *Guide to the Medieval Room* (London, 1907), p. 42, (new edn., 1924), p. 268 (obv.); H. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, 7th edn. (London, 1953), p. 133 (obv. and rev.); *MBS Bulletin*, 4 (Dec 1973), cover (obv and rev); *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 209 (obv. and rev.), XIV, pt. 4 (1989), p. 321 (obv. and rev.); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 157, no. 10M1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1854,0609.2.

Refs.: P. Cockerham, 'The Shields on the Tomb of John Throckmorton, 1445, at Fladbury, Worcestershire', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 4 (1989), pp. 318-23; *Kelly's London Directory* (1854); *MBS Bulletin*, 5 (Feb. 1974), p. 17; *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), p. 309; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 87, no. 10M1.

VI. FRAGMENTS

(1) Five Lombardic letters, A, D, N, M, T, late 13th or early 14th century, as follows:

(1/1) Lombardic letter A. Style 'Main Group size III', 35 mm high, 1-1.5 mm thick. Often said to have been 'found in London', but this is a misreading of the Museum

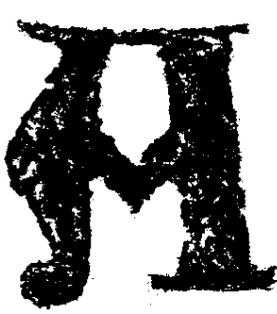


FIG. 35
Lombardic letter A
BM MME 1856,0923.3
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 36
Lombardic letter D
BM MME 1868,0904.34
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

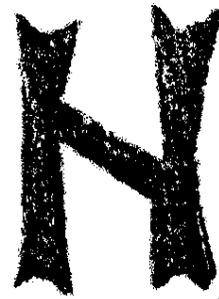


FIG. 37
Lombardic letter N
BM MME 1854,1212.7
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002

accession register. Purchased with nine other items (Roman and medieval oddments) from W. Edwards in September 1856. Museum accession number: 1856,0923.3.

Refs.: J. Coales ed., *The Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), p. 200 (under 'City of London, source unknown'); J Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass* (London, 1987), p. 26, no. 128.

(1/2) Lombardic letter D. Style 'Main Group size II', 42 mm high, 1-2 mm thick.. Found in London. Presented by **A.W. Franks**, September 1868. Museum accession number: 1868,9-4,34.

Refs:- Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 200 (under 'City of London, source unknown'); Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass*, p. 26, no. 128.

(1/3) Lombardic letter N. Lincolnshire style 'A', 38 mm high, 1.5-2 mm thick. Possibly from Lincoln Cathedral. Formerly in the possession of **Edward James Willson** of Lincoln (d. 1854), and almost certainly the same letter N as was exhibited by him, together with V (1) and (3) above, in the temporary museum assembled for the Archaeological Institute's annual Congress in Lincoln in 1848. Later in the possession of **Albert Way**, esq., who sold it to the Museum in December 1854. S. Badham, J. Blair and R. Emmerson, *Specimens of Lettering from English Monumental Brasses* (London, 1976), no. 64; J. Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses before the Black Death', in *Collectanea Historica: Essays in Memory of Stuart Rigold*, ed. A. Detsicas (Maidstone, 1981), p. 260, fig.57d; Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 148. Museum accession number: 1854,1212.7.

Refs.: Badham, Blair and Emmerson, *Specimens*, Part 1; Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses before the Black Death', in *Collectanea Historica*, p. 257; Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 197 (under Lincoln Cathedral); Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass*, p. 26, no. 135; *Royal Archaeological Institute Proceedings - Lincoln 1848*, p. lii.

(1/4) Lombardic letter M. Style 'Main Group size I', 50 mm high, 2 mm thick.. Formerly in the possession of **Edward James Willson** of Lincoln (d. 1854), who may have acquired it after 1848, since it was not exhibited by him alongside his other brasses at the Archaeological Institute's annual Congress in Lincoln in that year (see V (1) and (3), and VI (1/3) above). Later in the possession of **Albert Way**, esq., who sold it to the Museum in December 1854. Badham, Blair and Emmerson, *Specimens*, no. 17; Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses before the Black Death', in *Collectanea Historica*, p. 260, fig.57e; Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 148. Museum accession number: 1854,1212.6.

Refs.: Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass*, p. 26, no. 128.

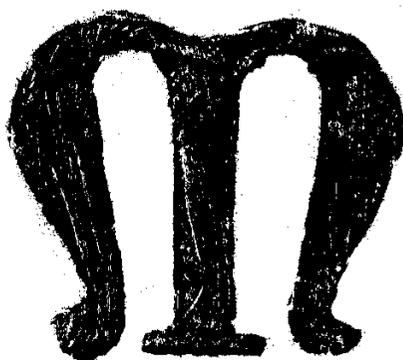


FIG. 38

Lombardic letter M. BM MME 1854,1212.6
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002



FIG. 39

Lombardic letter T, from Lincoln
 BM MME 1867,0320.27
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002

(1/5) Lombardic letter T. Style 'Main Group size I', 49 mm high, 2-2.5 mm thick. Purchased amongst other items from Capt. Arthur Trollope (1810-80), the Lincolnshire antiquary (*ex inf.* John Cherry). Found in Lincoln. Possibly one and the same as the letter T, 'found near East Gate, Lincoln', exhibited by Mr Dudding in the temporary museum formed for the annual Congress of the Archaeological Institute in Lincoln in 1848; however see also VI (1b/5) below. Badham, Blair and Emmerson, *Specimens*, no. 21. Museum accession number: 1867,0320.27.

Refs.: Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 198 (under 'Lincoln, source unknown'); Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass*, p. 26, number 128.

(1a) Sixteen Lombardic letters (A, C, D, E x 4, G x 2, H, K, N, S, T V Y) and 7 stops, with a fragment of Purbeck slab bearing indents for the letters 'AYG', early 14th century. Said to have been found in London in 1908. Probably from the site of the Greyfriars in Newgate Street. Bequeathed by **R. Garraway Rice**, F.S.A. in April 1933. Badham, Blair and Emmerson, *Specimens*, no. 38 (letter K); Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 148 (letter K); *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XXII (1907-9), pp. 360, 361 (2 illustrations). Museum accession numbers:- 1933.0406.165 (letters and stops) and 166 (fragment of slab).

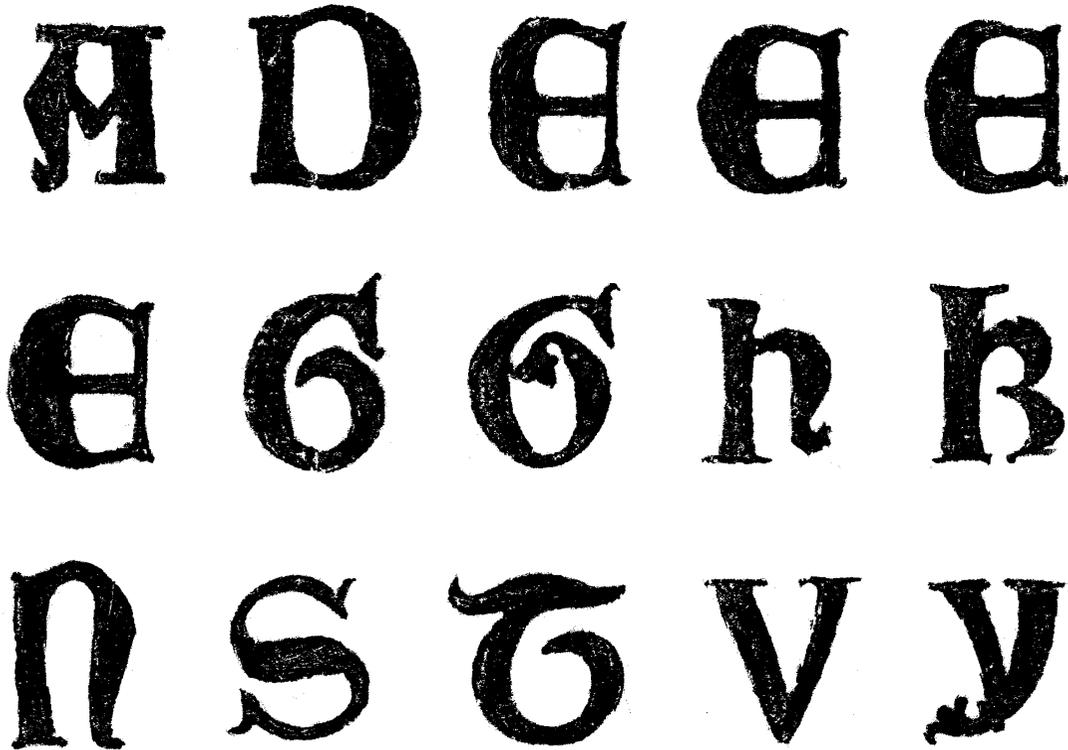


FIG. 40

Lombardic letters, from London. BM MME 1933,0406.165
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002

Refs: Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 199; *MBS Trans.*, V (1904-9), p. 422; Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass*, p. 26, no. 128; *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XXII, pp. 359-61; Stephenson, *List*, 585, where these all appear as M.S. I in R. Garraway Rice's possession.

N.B. The Museum accession registers include three Lombardic stops, OA.7115. The OA series was instituted in 1939 to tidy up various items with no references or provenance. This particular OA reference was allocated in 1981 (*ex inf.* John Cherry). The three stops have not been located, and may be a double-listing of three of the seven stops bequeathed by Garraway Rice. They have not been listed separately here.

(1b) Five Lombardic letters, A, C, M, S, T, early 14th century, as follows:

(1b/1) Lombardic letter A, 45 mm high, 1.5 mm thick. This letter was found during the excavations on the site of Whitby Abbey, Yorks., in 1924-5. It has the distinctive

horned flat top of late 13th-century York separate-inlay inscriptions, and closely resembles an A found at Middleham Castle (Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 142, fig. 148G). Museum accession number: W.639.

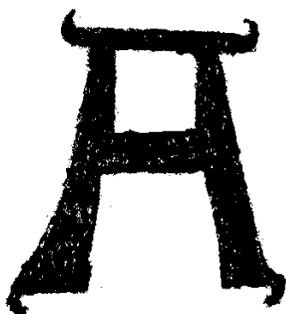


FIG. 41
Lombardic letter A, from Whitby Abbey
BM MME W.639
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002

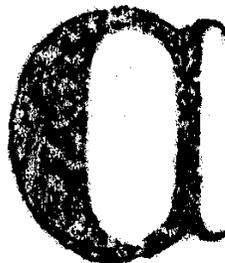


FIG. 42
Lombardic letter C, from London
BM MME 1877,0116.30
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002

(1b/2) Lombardic letter C. Style 'Main Group size III', 37 mm high, 1-2 mm thick. From the Thames, London, 1866. Presented by **A.W. Franks**, Jan 1877. Museum accession number: 1877,0116.30.

Refs.: J Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 200 (under 'City of London, source unknown'); J Page-Phillips, *Witness in Brass* (London, 1987), p. 26, no. 128.

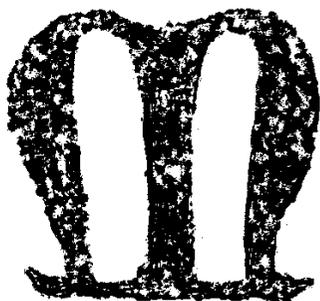


FIG. 43
Lombardic letter M, from Oxford
BM MME 1954,1209.1
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002



FIG. 44
Lombardic letter S
BM MME 1958,0401.173
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002

(1b/3) Lombardic letter M. Style 'Main Group size II', 43 mm high, 1.5-2 mm thick. Found in Oxford at the Old George Hotel, Cornmarket St, August 1910. Given to the Museum in December 1954 by J. Hunt, esq., Lough Gur, Holy Cross, Kilmarnock, co. Limerick. Museum accession number: 1954,1209.1.

Refs.: J. Coales ed., *Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), p. 206 (under 'Oxford, individual Lombardic letters of unknown origin').

(1b/4) Lombardic letter S, 35 mm high, 2 mm thick. Museum accession number: 1958,4-01,173.

(1b/5) Lombardic letter T. Style 'Main Group size I'. 'From Lincoln Cathedral.' This letter has not yet been traced at the Museum, and its Museum accession number is unknown. Possibly one and the same as the letter T, 'found near East Gate, Lincoln', exhibited by Mr Dudding in the temporary museum formed for the annual Congress of the Archaeological Institute in Lincoln in 1848; however see also VI (1/5) above. Badham, Blair and Emmerson, *Specimens*, no. 20; Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses before the Black Death', in *Collectanea Historica*, p. 260, fig.57e; Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, fig. 148.

N.B. These illustrations are all derived from the same source, which John Blair (personal communication) believes was a rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

Refs.: *Royal Archaeological Institute Proceedings - Lincoln 1848*, p. lii.

(2) Two portions of canopy pediment [which join together] and 2 finials. From M.S. I at Northfleet, Kent, for Peter de Lacy, rector, 1375. Lost from the church during a restoration c. 1845. One piece of pediment was already identified in 1888, and presented to the Museum in April of that year by J.G. Waller. The other three pieces 'fell into the hands of a collector, and at his death they all appeared in a London auction room' (Ralph Griffin, writing in 1917. The name of the collector is unknown). The three pieces were already identified in 1905, when they were in the possession of **Frederick Arthur Crisp**, F.S.A. (d. 1922). Sold at auction on 16 November 1922 after his death, as part of lot 70, and bought by Fenton and Sons (dealers), 33 Cranbourn Street, who sold them to the Museum. J. Alexander and P. Binski ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400* (London, 1987), no. 463 (direct photo. of larger (1922) piece of pediment); R. Griffin, 'Northfleet', in 'Monumental Brasses in Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXXII (1917), pp. 38 (finials), 44 (drawing by Thomas Fisher, c. 1800, showing composition nearly complete); J. Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense* (London, 1788), pl. 28, p. 135 (whole composition).

Museum accession numbers: 1888,0412.1 and 1922,1205.1-3.

Refs.: Griffin, 'Northfleet', pp. 36-75; C.R. Manning, *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in England* (London, 1846), p. 44.

N.B. Stephenson, *List*, failed to mention the fragment of pediment presented by Waller.

For further discussion and illustrations see above, pp. 349-361.

(3) Upper part of a lady, *c.* 1490. Purchased (amongst more than 100 other items) from Dr. [Gideon] Mantell [1790-1852, the Sussex geologist and fossil collector] in October 1839.

Museum accession number: 1839,1029.121.

Refs.: *D.N.B.* (for Mantell).



FIG. 45
Upper part of a lady, *c.* 1490
BM MME 1839,1029.121
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth



FIG. 46
Feet of a man, obv., fragment of canopy work, rev.
BM MME 1903,0724.6
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(4) Feet of a man, very small; palimpsest, on reverse canopy work, Flemish, *c.* 1370. From M.S. I at Barrow, Suffolk, for John Crosyer, parson, 1569. Another part of the figure of John Crosyer is now VI (8) below, and to avoid repetition further details are given under that entry alone. First identified by R.H. Pearson in 1931 as belonging with VI (8), at that time in private hands. Both pieces identified as from Barrow by S. Freeth in 1974. This piece is probably one of the 'two small fragments of inscriptions [*sic*] with Flemish engraving on the reverse' in the possession of **T.G. Bayfield** of Norwich in 1861 (Haines, *Manual*, II, 232). Still in his possession in 1890 (see Farrer's expansion of Haines' text, in *Norfolk Brasses* (1890), p. 114). Purchased by the Museum in July 1903, after Bayfield's death, along with III (2) and VI (5), from Miss F.J. Bayfield, 44 Bracondale, Norwich. *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 324 (obv. and rev.). For further illustrations see VI (8) below.

Museum accession number: 1903,0724,.6.

Refs.: E. Farrer, *Norfolk Brasses* (Norwich, 1890), p. 114; *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), pp. 323-4; Museum accession register (note concerning letter from R.H. Pearson, 1931). For further references see VI (8) below.



FIG. 47

Fragment of inscription, 16th century, obv., fragment of inscription, Flemish, 14th century, rev.

BM MME 1903,0724.7

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(5) Fragment of inscription, 16th century, curious, possibly local work; palimpsest, on reverse two letters of a marginal inscription, Flemish; very small. This piece is probably one of the 'two small fragments of inscriptions with Flemish engraving on the reverse' in the possession of **T.G. Bayfield** of Norwich in 1861 (Haines, *Manual*, II, 232). Still in his possession in 1890 (see Farrer's expansion of Haines' text, in *Norfolk Brasses* (1890), p. 114). Purchased by the Museum in July 1903, after Bayfield's death, along with III (2) and VI (4), from Miss F.J. Bayfield, 44 Bracondale, Norwich, when this plate and III (2), but not VI (4), were entered in the accession register as having been acquired at the '**Goddard Johnson** sale, April 1855'. *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 81, no. 204L1 (rev.); J Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999), p. 23 (rev, shown linking with other palimpsests from Pottesgrove, Beds., and Chalfont St Giles, Bucks., which is not proven).

Museum accession number: 1903,0724.7.

Refs.: E. Farrer, *Norfolk Brasses* (Norwich, 1890), p. 114; *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), pp. 323-4; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 59, no. 204L1.

(6) Fragment of a lady's arm; palimpsest, on reverse a few letters of a marginal inscription in Latin, Flemish, *c.* 1420. From the brass formerly at Wimbish, Essex, for Joan Strangman, 1578. (The date of the brass was recorded *c.* 1710 by William Holman.) This originally comprised figure, foot-inscription, three other inscriptions and three shields. By the mid nineteenth century, when Joseph Clarke rubbed it, only the upper part of the lady, including this piece, and two inscription plates remained. By 1861, when A.H. Brown made a rubbing, the lady's figure had



FIG. 48

Fragment of lady's arm, obv., fragment of inscription, Flemish, rev.

BM MME 1875,0201.6

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

completely disappeared. The slab was probably covered at the 1872 restoration, and nothing now remains in the church. This fragment was listed by Haines in 1861 in the possession of Rev W.S. Simpson, London, when it was already identified as from Wimbish. Simpson appears to have already had it by the late 1840s: an early rubbing in the Cambridge Collection records it in the possession of 'W.S. Simpson Esq.', i.e. before his ordination as deacon in 1851, and appears to be contemporary with another rubbing of one of his brasses (III (6) above) made when he was still an undergraduate at Queens' College, Cambridge. (He entered the College in 1847.) Presented to the Museum in February 1875 by **Revd. W. Sparrow Simpson**, D.D., 119 Kennington Park Road. *Essex Archaeology and History*, XI (1979), p. 122 (Joseph Clarke's rubbing); *MBS Trans.*, III (1897-9), pp. 262 (Joseph Clarke's rubbing), 263 (obv. and rev. of this fragment); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 89, no. 224L1 (rev., with rev. of rest of upper part of figure, now lost); J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999), p. 29 (rev., with rev. of rest of upper part of figure, now lost).

Museum accession number: 1875,0201.6.

Refs.: Essex Record Office, T/P 195/17 (Holman's church notes, c. 1710); S. Freeth, 'The Brass-Rubbings in the Society's Collections', *Essex Archaeology and History*, XI (1979), pp. 119-23 (for details of the Brown and Clarke rubbings); Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 64; *MBS Trans.*, III (1897-9), pp. 262-4, IV (1900-3), p. 118, X (1963-8), pp. 477-8; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 61, no. 224L1.



FIG. 49
Fragment of a small male figure
BM MME 1852,0504.2
Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

(7) The shoulder and part of the cape and hood of a small figure of a man, full face, ?15th century; very small. Found near Battersea. Purchased by the Museum in May 1852 from Henry Briggs, with various other items.

Museum accession number: 1852,0504.2.

Refs.: The description of VI (7) in Stephenson, *List*, p. 578, is very brief and cryptic: 'A tiny fragment'. However, this present piece appears with II (6) and VI (1), (3) and (6) on an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection, which may well have been the basis for the *List* entry.

N.B. Henry Briggs was a labourer involved in gravel digging and other works along the Thames. He sold miscellaneous items, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, to the Museum on 38 occasions between 1843 and 1859. His finest hour came in July 1857 when he discovered the Battersea Shield, a magnificent Iron Age show shield made between 350 and 50 B.C., for which the Museum paid the huge sum of £40.

(8) Fragment from the centre of a priest in gown and scarf; palimpsest, on reverse canopy work, Flemish, *c.* 1370. From M.S. I at Barrow, Suffolk, for John Crosyer, parson, 1569. The brass originally comprised a figure with foot-inscription, a second inscription above, and two scrolls. Only the inscriptions now remain in the church. (These too are palimpsest, one reverse having more of the same Flemish brass of *c.* 1370, as does a reverse of M.S. IV at Goodnestone-next-Wingham, Kent.) The feet of the figure of John Crosyer are now VI (4) above, and until broken away from this present fragment were one continuous plate. In recent years the Museum has rejoined the two pieces together. First identified by R.H. Pearson in 1931 as belonging with VI (4) above. Both pieces identified as from Barrow by S. Freeth in 1974. Both pieces still at the church in 1828, when they were rubbed by Davy. Lost from the church by 1838. In July 1924 in the possession of P.J. Thornhill, Beeches, Staines, whose address had changed by 1931 to 24 Victoria Park, Dover. Purchased by the Museum from his widow in October 1954 for £10, probably because of the link with VI (4) above. (Thornhill's other brasses not already returned to their churches of origin were purchased by Bushnell for the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology.) *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 3 (1982), p. 225 (obvs. and revs. of both pieces together); *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 88, no. 215L1-2 (*ditto*). See also VI (4) above.

Museum accession number: 1954,1003.1.

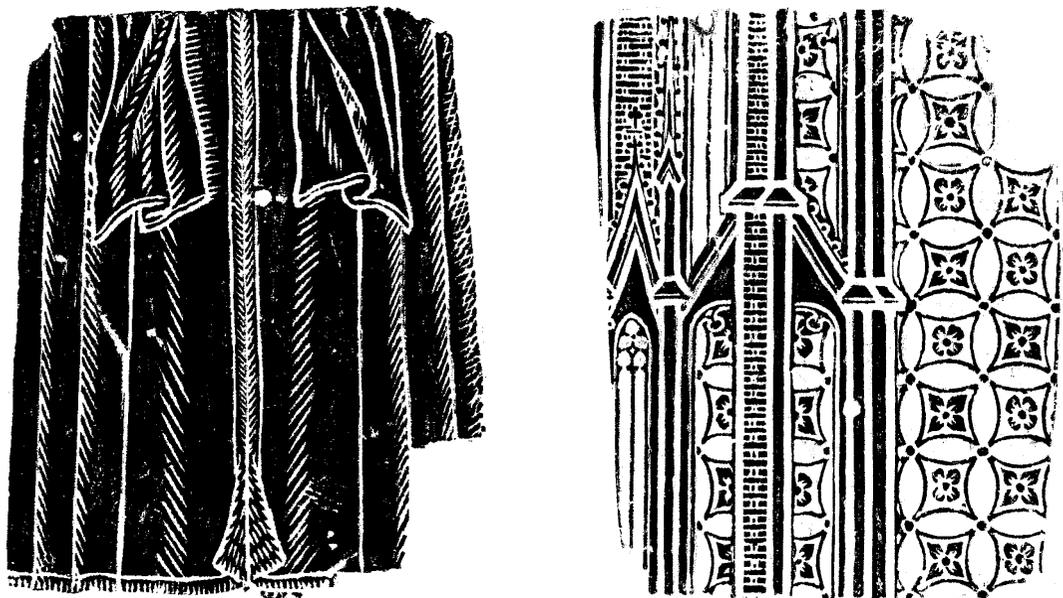


FIG. 50

Fragment of a priest in gown and scarf, obv., canopy work, Flemish, rev., from Barrow, Suffolk
BM MME 1954,1003.1

Rubbing by Stephen Freeth

Refs.: BL Add. MS 32484, f. 190 (rubbing by Davy); H.K. Cameron and J. Page-Phillips, 'The Brass of John Crosyer at Barrow, Suffolk', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 3 (1982), pp. 224-31; J. Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Suffolk: Thingoe Hundred* (London, 1838), pp. 25-6; *MBS Bulletin*, 8 (Feb 1975), p. 16; *MBS Trans.*, IX (1952-62), p. 287; *Palimpsests*, I, p. 60, no. 215L1-2; Stephenson, *List*, p. 586, where Thornhill's piece of the man's figure is given as M.S. V in his possession. See also VI (4) above.

N.B. Little is known of P.J. Thornhill, other than that he lived at Bromley, Kent (1919), Staines, Middlesex (1924) and later at Dover (1931), and that he possessed various brasses: see Stephenson, *List* (1926), pp. 585-6.

(9) Circular Tudor weight, 50 mm across, with crowned 'h', c. 1540; palimpsest, on reverse a fragment of inscription in Latin, c. 1490. Probably found in the Thames mud, c. 1987. Purchased by the Museum in October 1988 from A.H. Baldwin & Sons (London coin dealers). J. Bertram ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), fig. 105 (obv. and rev.); *MBS Bulletin*, 48 (June 1988), 314 (obv. and rev.); J. Page-Phillips, *Fifth Addenda to Palimpsests* (issued with the *MBS Bulletin* for Oct 1990), pl. 210, no. M489/1 (rev.).

Museum accession number: 1988,1005.1.

Refs.: R Busby, 'A Tudor Palimpsest Weight', *MBS Bulletin*, 48 (June 1988), pp. 314-5; T.B. Curtis, 'A Tudor Palimpsest', *Spink Numismatic Circular*, XCVI (4), (May 1988), p. 114; J. Page-Phillips, *Fifth Addenda to Palimpsests*, p. 32, no. M489/1.

*

The Museum also holds three facsimile brasses, given in March 1909 by 'Miller Christy Esq., 115 Farringdon Road E.C.'. This was Robert Miller Christy, the expert on Essex brasses, who made a number of casts of brasses (see II (7) above). At the time of accessioning in 1909 these facsimiles were stated to be copies from originals then owned by Messrs. Warner and Sons, Spitalfields Foundry, Jewin Crescent, London. The Warner brasses, six in all (save one small item now lost) were subsequently acquired by Ralph Griffin, Mill Stephenson and Lt.-Col. Croft Lyons, who presented them to the Society of Antiquaries in February 1916: see *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XXVIII (1915-16), p. 24. The facsimiles are as follows:-

Upper part of a lady, *c.* 1520 (Society of Antiquaries M.S. VIII). 1909,0316.1.

Civilian, *c.* 1510 (Society of Antiquaries M.S. VI). 1909,0316.2.

Man in armour, *c.* 1480 (Society of Antiquaries M.S. III). 1909,0316.3.

*

The following plates are probably not monumental, and only summary details are provided here. In each case, a brief description is followed by the Museum accession number:

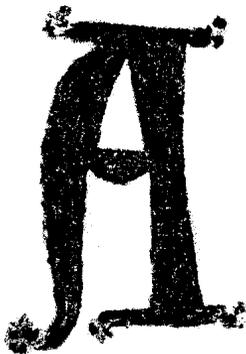


FIG. 51
Lombardic letter A
BM MME 1877,0116.29
Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers, 19 June 2002



FIG. 52
Textura letter M
BM MME OA.7252
*Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers
19 June 2002*



FIG. 53
Crowned Lombardic letter T
BM MME 1856,0923.4
*Rubbing by Nicholas Rogers
19 June 2002*

Lombardic letter A with trefoil ends and five attached rivets, 66 mm high, 1 mm thick. Presented by **A.W. Franks**, January 1877. 1877,0116.29.

Textura M, probably 19th century. Source unknown. OA.7252. [The OA series was begun in 1939 to tidy up various items with no references or provenance. This particular OA reference will have been allocated in the 1980s or later. *Ex inf.* John Cherry.]

Crowned Lombardic T. It has three holes for attachment, and is possibly a badge. Purchased in September 1856 from 'W. Edwards' along with nine other Roman and medieval oddments. (One of them was the Lombardic letter A, definitely monumental, listed as VI (1/1) above.) 1856,0923.4.

Small inscription plate, finely yet crudely engraved in coarse *textura* on the front, with a brief continuation of the same text on part of the reverse. ?Dedication plate of a German cathedral or monastery. Given by **A.W. Franks** in August 1880. 1880,0820.15.

Brief Notes on Collectors

These notes are not intended to be comprehensive, but to give basic details and minimise cross-referencing in cases where a particular collector owned a number of brasses now in the British Museum.

Where a collector owned one brass only, no separate notes are attempted here, and the reader is merely referred to the relevant entry in the list of brasses in the Museum.

BATEMAN, Thomas (1821-61). **Brass IV (6)**.

BAYFIELD, Thomas Gabriel, of 44 Bracondale, Norwich. Apparently a wealthy private collector. At the time of the 1881 census, when he was aged 64, he was secretary to the Magdalen St. Institute for the Indigent Blind, Norwich, of which his wife Harriet was matron. Apart from this, little is known about him, other than that he owned seven brasses in 1861 (Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 232). He still had them in 1890 (E. Farrer, *Norfolk Brasses* (Norwich, 1890), p. 114). Four of these were subsequently passed to Revd. W.F. Creeny, and were found amongst Creeny's effects after his death: see *Norfolk Archaeology*, XIII (1895-8), pp. 359-60. The others disappeared for a while after Bayfield's own death, but were eventually purchased by the British Museum from Bayfield's daughter in 1903. Bayfield appears in *Kelly's*

Directory of Norfolk (1896) in the 'Court' listing for Norwich, but probably died soon after. He appears not to have been a member of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. **Brasses III (2); VI (4 and 5).**

CRISP, Frederick Arthur (1851-1922). Collector and genealogical publisher. F.S.A. and J.P. Lived at Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk, and the Manor House, Godalming. Lord of the Manor of Godalming, and Patron and Lay Rector of Capel, Surrey. Born Walworth, Surrey, 27 June 1851, the son of the late Frederick Augustus Crisp of Playford Hall, Suffolk, and his wife Sarah, daughter of John Steedman of Walworth. His fortune apparently came from the family business, Joseph Steedman & Co., makers of patent medicines. Assisted Joseph Jackson Howard, who owned brass IV (4), in publishing early heraldic visitations. Died 25 April 1922, aged 70. His collections were sold at Sotheby's after his death. See *Who Was Who, 1916-28*; obituary in *The Times*. **Brasses IV (2, 3, 4, 6 and 14); VI (2).**

FARRER, Revd. Edmund, F.S.A. (1847-1935). Parish priest and antiquary. Member of C.U.A.B.C. and M.B.S. Curate of Rickingham Inferior, Suffolk, 1890-6; Rector of Hinderclay, Suffolk, 1896-1915. His Norfolk and Suffolk rubbings are now in the Society of Antiquaries. For many years editor of the *East Anglian Miscellany*. Author of *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Norfolk* (Norwich, 1890), and *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Suffolk* (Norwich, 1903). See R.J. Busby, *Companion Guide to Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (London, 1973), pp. 198-9; S.J. Plunkett, 'The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology: Its Life, Times and Members', *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, XXXIX, pt. 2 (1998), pp. 165-207, esp. p. 182; *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XIX (1901-3), p. 277. **Brasses IV (12 and 13).**

FRANKS, Augustus Wollaston (1826-97). Collector and museum curator. Educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge. B.A. 1849, M.A. 1852. Acted as secretary in 1850 of the Archaeological Institute's Medieval Exhibition, held at the Royal Society of Arts. Following this he was taken on as an assistant in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, with a brief to build up a British collection. In 1866 he was appointed the Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography, a position he held until retirement in 1896. F.S.A. 1853, and also Director 1858-67, 1873-80, and President from 1891. K.C.B. 1894. A man of substantial private means, he lavished gifts of precious objects upon the Museum, in particular the Franks Casket (8th century Northumbrian), Chinese and Japanese porcelain, and in 1892 the late-14th-century enamelled Gold Cup of the Kings of France and England, part of the English royal treasury from Henry VI to James I. His early (undergraduate) brass rubbings were given in 1848 to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; the rest, numbering some 3000, were given in 1875 to the

Society of Antiquaries. See M. Caygill and J. Cherry ed., *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London, 1997); *D.N.B.*; DM Wilson, *The Forgotten Collector: Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum* (London, 1984). **Brasses I (8); III (1 and 4); IV (15); VI (1/2), (1b/2) and two of the non-monumental plates listed at the end.**

HOWARD, Joseph Jackson (d. 1902). **Brass IV (4).**

JOHNSON, Goddard. Antiquary, of Norwich. Baptised at Shipdham, Norfolk, on 6 November 1777, the son of Goddard and Sarah Johnson (I.G.I.). Died at Dereham on 10 April 1860, aged 83. Little has been discovered about him save the brief obituary in *Norfolk Archaeology*, VI (1860-4), pp. v-vi. A contributor to early volumes of that same journal, on Roman or other antiquarian topics. **John Gough Nichols**, with Johnson's permission, exhibited a brass ring found near Norwich to the Society of Antiquaries on 11 March 1858: see *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1st series, IV (1856-9). There was a sale of his collections in April 1855, which included two brasses, both purchased by **T.G. Bayfield** of Norwich. Presumably the sale took place in Norwich. **Brasses III (2); VI (5).**

MANNING, Revd. Charles Robertson (1825-99). **Brasses IV (12 and 13).**

NELSON, Philip (d. 1953). M.D., F.S.A. Antiquary. Lived for many years before his death at Beechwood, Calderstones, Liverpool. Some time Hon. Secretary and Vice-President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society. In 1939 he owned more than fifteen brasses, in spite of having sold off almost all of his collection as listed by Stephenson in 1926. Very few of the brasses he possessed in 1939 have been traced since his death. See the obituaries in *Antiquaries Jnl*, XXXIII (1953), p. 274; *Trans. Historical Society for Lancashire and Cheshire*, CIV (1953), p. 173. **Brasses I (4); II (2); IV (12 and 13).**

NICHOLS, John Gough (1806-73). Antiquary and publisher. Grandson of John Nichols (1745-1826), who was the proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the author and publisher of the *History of Leicestershire* (London, 1795-1809). Son of John Bowyer Nichols (1779-1863), who published many of the 19th-century county histories. The family assembled a huge collection of brasses, easily the largest mentioned in Haines, *Manual*, in 1861 (II, p. 234). J.G. Nichols' collections were sold at Sotheby's in December 1874. For John, John B. and John G. Nichols see *D.N.B.* **Brasses I (2); IV (7 and 8).**

PUGIN, Augustus Welby Northmore (1812-52). **Brass I (1).**

READ, Sir (Charles) Hercules (1857-1929). Art connoisseur. A protege of **A.W. Franks**, from whom he obtained his first appointment, as an assistant in the ethnographical collections of Henry Christy. Transferred to the British Museum in 1883, as an assistant to Franks, whom he succeeded in 1896. Retired 1921. Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries 1892-1908, and President 1908-14, 1919-24. Knighted 1912. See *D.N.B.* **Brasses II (3); IV (2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 and 14); V (4).**

RICE, Robert Garraway. F.S.A. (1891), and also some time a member of Council, Vice-President 1924-6, and Local Secretary for Sussex. Also J.P. Formed a large collection of antiquities, many of them bequeathed in his will to the British Museum, the Sussex Archaeological Society and elsewhere. Left half his estate to the Society of Antiquaries. Died 10 January 1933, aged 80. See *Antiquaries Jnl*, XIII (1933), pp. 300-1, 353-4, 357. **Brasses II (7); VI (1a).**

SPARROW SIMPSON, Revd. Canon William (1828-97). Parish priest, archivist, librarian and musician. Educated privately and at Queens' College, Cambridge. Curate of St. Mark's, Kennington, 1852-5, and of Great and Little Chesterford, Essex, 1855-7. Rector of St. Matthew Friday Street with St. Peter Westcheap, City of London, from 1857. The small population of the parish left him much time for antiquarian pursuits. Received the Bishop's permission in 1868 to reside at 119 Kennington Park Road, outside his parish, as the rectory was too small for his growing family. Moved in 1881 to Amen Court, where his study was the room over the archway. In 1882 he became in addition the incumbent of St. Vedast Foster Lane with St. Michael le Querne, when St. Vedast's was united with St. Matthew's in that year. Minor Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1861. Librarian of St. Paul's from 1862. F.S.A. 1868. Hon. Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library from 1869, and in 1873 awarded Lambeth D.D. for his work there. Succentor of St. Paul's 1876-85. Author of many works on the Cathedral and its history, including editions of texts from the Cathedral archives. In 1875 he presented six brasses to the British Museum, the largest single gift of brasses to the Museum during the 19th century. Oddly, only one of these (the fragment from Wimbish, Essex) was mentioned by Haines in 1861, though Sparrow Simpson undoubtedly possessed at least one of the others in the late 1840s. Died of influenza, 28 March 1897. See *Crockford's Clerical Directory*; W.J. Sparrow Simpson, *Memoir of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson D.D.* (London, 1899). **Brasses II (1, 5 and 6); III (6); V (2); VI (6).**

THORNHILL, P.J. **Brass VI (8).**

WAY, Albert (1805-74). Only son of Lewis Way of Stanstead Park near Racton, Sussex. Educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge. B.A. 1829, M.A. 1834. F.S.A. 1839, and Director 1842-6, when he left London and moved to

Wonham Manor, Reigate. One of the founders and Hon. Secretary of the Archaeological Institute, and responsible for the temporary exhibitions at the Institute's annual Congresses. Mentor thereby of **A.W. Franks** [I am grateful to John Cherry for this detail]. Assisted or advised many early students of brasses such as Boutell, the Wallers and Haines. According to C. Boutell, *Monumental Brasses and Slabs* (London, 1847), p. 147, he coined the term 'palimpsest' for re-used brasses. Died at Cannes. See *D.N.B.*; R.J. Busby, *Companion Guide to Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (London, 1973), pp. 240-1. **Brasses IV (9); V (1 and 3); VI (1/3 and 1/4).**

WILLSON, Edward James (1787-1854). Catholic architect and antiquary. Friend and correspondent of Augustus Charles Pugin and his son Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (who owned brass I (1)). Wrote the text for A.C. Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1821-3), and also helped with the text of *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, vols. I-II (London, 1831-6). Played a considerable part in the conversion of A.W.N. Pugin to Roman Catholicism in June 1835. His younger brother Robert was the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Hobart Town, Tasmania, and built several churches in his diocese to A.W.N. Pugin's designs. See *D.N.B.*; P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright ed., *Pugin* (New Haven, 1994), pp. 23, 30-1, 92, 105, 167, 246. **Brasses V (1 and 3); VI (1/3 and 1/4).**

Concordance of British Museum Registration and Mill Stephenson Numbers

by NICHOLAS ROGERS

THIS checklist is primarily intended to provide a concordance of registration numbers in the Department of Medieval and Modern Europe (MME), formerly the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, with the numbering system devised by Mill Stephenson and followed by Stephen Freeth in his list above (pp. 394-442). The main sequence is arranged in chronological order according to the official date of accession. The OA (Old Accession) series lists items held by the Museum which did not receive a registration number when first acquired. The prefix 'W' refers to material excavated at Whitby Abbey.

MME Number Mill Stephenson

OA.7113	I(3)	Compasses, <i>c.</i> 1600; palimp., on rev. Thomas Quaythed, 1440s. ¹
OA.7114	II(4)	4 daus. with long hair, <i>c.</i> 1500.
OA.7252		<i>Textura</i> letter M, 19th cent.
1839,1029.121	VI(3)	Upper part of a lady, <i>c.</i> 1490.
1852,0504.2	VI(7)	A tiny frag. of drapery, 15th cent., from Battersea.
1853,0221.1	I(1)	Bishop or abbot under a canopy, French, <i>c.</i> 1345-50, prob. from Charterhouse, Paris. ²
1853,1003.1	I(5)	Civilian with pouch and hood, feet lost, <i>c.</i> 1485.
1854,0609.2	V(5)	Ev. symbol, St. Mark, on quatrefoil, <i>c.</i> 1500; palimp., cut from shield, Throckmorton impaling Spiney.
1854,1125.1	I(10)	Upper half of man in armour with Fitzwilliam tabard, <i>c.</i> 1550.
1854,1212.4	V(1)	Ev. symbol, St. Luke, ?from Bp. Wyvil, 1375, Salisbury Cathedral.
1854,1212.5	V(3)	Ev. symbol, St. John, on quatrefoil.
1854,1212.6	VI(1)	Lombardic letter M, 14th cent.
1854,1212.7	VI(1)	Lombardic letter N, late 13th cent., ?from Lincoln Cathedral.
1856,0923.3	VI(1)	Lombardic letter A, 14th cent.
1856,0923.4		Crowned Lombardic letter T, ?non-monumental.

¹ See pp. 362-9.

² See pp. 327-48.

- 1861,0304.1 I(8) John Langston, in armour, 1506,
from Caversfield, Oxon.
- 1862,0825.2 III(4) Inscr., John Bowes, 1517, from Albury, Oxon.³
- 1866,0519.1 III(5) Inscr., Rouland Monoux, 1571,
from Edmonton, Middx.
- 1866,0627.145 IV(5) Mcht. mark, initials B.S., 1557,
from Holy Trinity, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1867,0320.27 VI(1) Lombardic letter T, 14th cent., from Lincoln.
- 1868,0904.34 VI(1) Lombardic letter D, 14th cent.
- 1875,0120.4 I(2) Quadrant/sextant, *c.* 1600; palimp., on rev. John
Mervin, 1430s.⁴
- 1875,0120.5 IV(7) Shield, Ryce quartering *Two lions passant guardant*,
16th cent., from Widford, Herts.
- 1875,0120.6 IV(8) Shield, Mercers' Co., 16th cent.
- 1875,0201.1 III(6) Inscr., Agnes Barton, w. (1) of Robert Blowfild,
(2) of Nicholas Haward, gent., 1571,
?from St. James, Bury St. Edmunds.
- 1875,0201.2 II(1) 7 daus., *c.* 1480; palimp., on rev. hands of a large
fig. in sideless cote hardie, *c.* 1375.
- 1875,0201.3 II(5) 3 sons, *c.* 1540-50, feet gone,
?from Abbots Langley, Herts.; palimp., on rev.
portion of 6 sons, *c.* 1500.
- 1875,0201.4 II(6) 3 daus., feet gone, *c.* 1540-50; palimp., on rev.
portion of shield, *Two lions passant*.
- 1875,0201.5 V(2) Ev. symbol, St. John, on roundel.
- 1875,0201.6 VI(6) Frag. of lady's arm, from Joan Strangman, 1578,
Wimbish, Essex; palimp., on rev. a few letters of
marg. inscr., Flemish, *c.* 1420.
- 1875,0402.1 I(9) Crucifixion, saints, and cadaver, Nicholas le Brun,
1547, and w. Françoise du Fosset, 1531,
from Jeumont, France.
- 1877,0116.29 Lombardic letter A, ?non-monumental.
- 1877,0116.30 VI(1*b*/2) Lombardic letter C, 14th cent., from London.
- 1880,0513.4 III(1) Inscr., John Bernard, treasurer of Wells, 1459,
from Wells Cathedral.
- 1880,0820.15 Dedication plate, German, late 15th cent.
- 1881,0909.6 IV(15) Shield, Three Moses' heads, ?French,
?early 15th cent.

³ See pp. 382-6.

⁴ See pp. 362-9.

- 1888,0412.1 (and VI(2) Portion of pediment and 2 finials
1922,1205.1-3) from Peter de Lacy, d. 1375, Northfleet, Kent.⁵
1901,0309.1 IV(9) Shield, Fitzadrian, c. 1540; palimp., on rev. mcht.
mark, 15th cent., from Betchworth, Surrey.
- 1902,0522.1 I(11) Civilian, c. 1600.
1903,0724.1-5 III(2) Walter Browning and w. Melocint, 1473,
from Trunch, Norfolk; palimp., on rev. portion
of marg. inscr. with mcht. mark, Flemish,
c. 1400.
- 1903,0724.6 VI(4) Feet of John Crosyer, 1569; palimp., on rev. frag.
of canopy, Flemish, c. 1370,
from Barrow, Suffolk.
- 1903,0724.7 VI(5) Frag. of inscr., 16th cent., palimp., on rev. 2 letters
of marg. inscr., Flemish, 14th cent.
- 1904,0627.1 I(7) BVM at desk from Annunciation, c. 1485,
from Grantchester, Cambs.⁶
- 1905,0215.1 IV(11) Shield, Quarterly, *Two bars*, and *Quarterly*, on the
first and fourth three roundels, impaling *Three boars'*
heads, 16th cent., from Fulbourn, Cambs.
- 1905,1102.20 V(4) Frag. of Lat. inscr., mid 16th cent., palimp., on
rev. Ev. symbol, St. John, on quatrefoil,
Flemish, c. 1520.
- 1906,0714.1 IV(10) Shield, Skipwith, 16th cent.
1906,0714.2 II(3) 2 children, skeletons in shrouds, c. 1500.
1907,0309.1 III(3) Inscr., Robt. Wode, c. 1500,
from Thorington, Suffolk; palimp., on rev.
waster, feet of shrouded fig.
- 1911,1024.1 I(6) Priest in mass vestments with chalice and host,
c. 1475.
- 1920,0415.1 I(4) Civilian, c. 1460.
1920,0415.2 II(2) 4 daus., c. 1490; palimp., on rev. portion of a
group of sons, c. 1450.
- 1920,0415.3-4 IV(12), (13) Shields, Lathom quartering Ardalle, and
Goldsmiths' Co., 16th cent., from Upminster,
Essex.
- 1922,1205.1-3, see 1888,0412.1
1923,0303.1-2 IV(2), (3) Shields, Rickhill, Rickhill impaling Coventry,
1433, from Northfleet, Kent.⁷

⁵ See pp. 349-61.⁶ See pp. 371-4.⁷ See pp. 349-61.

1923,0303.3	IV(4)	Shield, Idley quartering Drayton and Segrave, <i>c.</i> 1470, from Dorchester, Oxon. ⁸
1923,0303.4	IV(14)	Shield, Stokes of Taverham impaling <i>Lion rampant</i> , 16th cent., from Taverham, Norf.
1923,0303.5	IV(6)	Shield, Carew impaling Chapman, 1588, from Stone, Kent.
1923,1018.1	IV(1)	Shield, Gernon, enamelled, <i>c.</i> 1300, from Leez Priory, Essex.
1933,0406.165	VI(1a)	16 Lombardic letters and 7 stops, 14th cent., from London (?Greyfriars). ⁹
1933,0406.167	II(7)	Dau. with long hair, <i>c.</i> 1480.
1954,1003.1	VI(β)	Frag. from centre of John Crosyer, 1569, in gown with scarf; palimp., on rev., canopy work, Flemish, <i>c.</i> 1370, from Barrow, Suffolk.
1954,1209.1	VI(1b/3)	Lombardic letter M, 14th cent., from Oxford.
1958,0401.173	VI(1b/4)	Lombardic letter S, 14th cent.
1988,1005.1	VI(9)	Weight, <i>c.</i> 1540; palimp., on rev. part of Latin inscr., <i>c.</i> 1490.
1990, 0105.1	I(12)	Lady Elizabeth Blount, <i>c.</i> 1540, from South Kyme, Lincs., palimp., on rev. canopy work with crowned female saint, Flemish, <i>c.</i> 1400-20.
W.639	VI(1b/1)	Lombardic letter A, late 13th cent., from Whitby Abbey.

⁸ See pp. 378-81.

⁹ The related fragment of Purbeck slab with indents for the letters 'AYG' is 1933,0406.166.

Review

Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996). 224 pp. ISBN 0714105619

My favourite juxtaposed representations of death are a pair of sixteenth-century brasses a few feet but whole worlds away from each other in the south aisle of the parish church of Cley, on the north Norfolk coast. The larger, grander and, to readers of these *Transactions*, probably the more familiar of the two, is a splendid shroud-brass, c. 1512, commemorating John Symondes and his wife Agnes, their children gathered below them (Fig. 1). Master and Mistress Symondes are depicted as corpses in their winding-sheets, surrounded by scrolls bearing the message 'Now thus'. An English inscription, inserted like the scrolls upside down in the slab, asks, 'of your charite', for prayers for the repose of their souls. A few yards away is, in visual terms at any rate, a more modest Elizabethan memorial, commemorating another Cley worthy, three generations on (Fig. 2). Its inscription runs 'Here lyeth the body of Richard Ralph late of this Towne, who in his lyfe was of honest and quyett behavvor, frendly to the poore, and at his death gave dyvers legacyes aswell to this Towne as to others, whose godly example God graunt many others may followe. He deceased the fyrst of January 1588.' A smaller brass plate adds below in commentary, 'From corruption to incorruption wee shall all be changed.'

If medieval death has a history, it could be said to have come to an end somewhere in the seventy-five years separating these two memorials. The indicative 'thus' of the Symondes brass carries an enormous theological and cultural weight, for it ties the commemoration of the dead inexorably to the image. The pathos of the effigies is the point of the tomb, and the spiritual plight of the Symondes is conveyed by the deployment of the macabre image of their decaying corpses as a representation of their need of their neighbours' prayers. The whole thing, of course, is double edged: Mr. and Mrs. Symondes are represented thus as a mark not merely of their spiritual neediness, but also (and maybe first), as a mark of their material consequence in the community of Cley, a sign of their wealth. Their brass was a status symbol as much as a cry for help. Richard Ralph's memorial encodes no such ironies or tensions: it is, uncomplicatedly, the case for the canonisation, and though it too plays with the idea of corruption, it is only to remind us that Richard Ralph is destined for higher things, and will reap the rewards of his godliness. The paradoxes of the macabre have been abandoned in favour of a more straightforward and more hectoring message.

Paul Binski does not mention Cley, and indeed barely mentions brasses, but his book is intensely alert to the paradoxical character of the representation of death. Paradox, indeed, is rather his speciality: this lively book originated in a series of



FIG. 1

John and Agnes Symondes, Cley, Norfolk, M.S. V

Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 2
Richard Ralph, Cley, Norfolk, M.S. VIII
Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield

introductory lectures to American Art History students, designed to sketch in some of the religious and cultural contexts of medieval religious art and architecture. It thus has all the merits, and some of the defects, of a scintillating undergraduate lecture series, rather than a comprehensive text-book. It is sparky, witty, packed with jokey asides and intriguing allusions, both to fashionable theory and to beautiful artefacts, it is never dull, and it fairly crackles with ideas. It could have done with a sterner editor, however, since some of the jokes are truly terrible, forgivable as asides, a little cringe-making in print. Nothing but word play, for example, warrants the characteristically breezy remark, *a propos* the well-known incident of St. Hugh of Lincoln's theft of a portion of the relic of St. Mary Magdalene by biting it off, that 'as dog eats dog, so saint eats saint'. Not all of the more seriously proposed ideas come into focus, either: I puzzled for a long time over the precise meaning of the claim that 'black is the colour of unconsciousness' (can that be why clergy and academics favour it?).

The book begins with an introduction providing an overview of early Christian attitudes to the body, much indebted to Peter Brown's work on the meaning of the cult of relics, and emphasising the radical distinction between the antique pagan conviction that the significance of a person's life, and their interaction with others, came to an end with death, and the Christian belief that the dead continued to have a story, and continued to relate to the living, either as intercessors and patrons or as clients and the beneficiaries of prayer. This made Christian death, in Binski's words, 'a sacral process', and the book as a whole shows a special and enriching interest in the ritual contexts of death, mourning and material commemoration.

Accordingly, Chapter 1 concerns itself with 'ways of dying and the rituals of death' the *ars moriendi* and the ceremonies surrounding burial and anniversaries. This chapter, which draws heavily on social anthropology and has a good deal about rites of separation and the like, also offers more straightforward and valuable discussions of the shape of medieval funeral ceremonies, with a special (and unsurprising) emphasis on aristocratic and royal burials, including a lengthy section, written with evident relish, on the division or evisceration of royal and saintly corpses. Chapter 2, on 'Death and Representation,' concentrates on tombs, their positioning, design and imagery. Unsurprisingly from the historian of Westminster Abbey, this is one of the strongest and most original parts of the book: devotees of the medieval brass will enjoy Binski's fascinating discussion of the changing role of effigies or representations of the individual dead, from a generalised image which accommodated the deceased into a type, to portraits which 'interrupted the symbolic discourse of the medieval tomb', shifting the balance of the Christian burial towards the values of the surface, 'vanitas and impermanence and hence mortality'.

The Macabre is the subject of Chapter 3, once again a fascinating and original discussion, which explores the role of the macabre, and notably of the *transi*

tomb, as one element in the tomb-crowded medieval church. Binski's point is that earlier medieval tomb effigies idealised and in a sense denied death; the *transi* tomb subverted this idealisation by reasserting the fact of mortality and corruption, what he calls in a characteristic joke, the 'skeleton in the cupboard of medieval funerary art'. Binski's line here, it should be noted, is in marked contrast to some other recent discussions of the macabre in the age of the Black Death, such as John Aberth's *From the Brink of the Apocalypse*, which argue that *transi* tombs should be read not as assertions of mortality, but as expressions of medieval eschatological and apocalyptic hope, a 'perfectly balanced union of two sensibilities, mortification and glorification, fear and hope, that make up the process of death and resurrection'. Binski is sensitive to and knowledgeable about the centrality of religion in medieval representations of death, but this part of his argument strikes an interestingly secular note.

Binski's final chapter deals with the afterlife: judgement and the end of judgement, heaven, hell and purgatory. Rich in allusion to visual material from the Torcello mosaics to the portals of Chartres and St. Denis, perhaps the most valuable section of this chapter is Binski's long exploration of the reasons for the non-representation of purgatory. By and large the root cause here must be, as Binski accepts, the binary oppositions of light and dark, good and bad, and their scriptural reflections in apocalyptic sheep and goats, saved and damned. He prefers a more complex account, however, in which purgatory is invisible because it represents the transition of Christian eschatology, from an external system of punishments and rewards to a fully internalised annexation of all human action into a religious framework. Purgatory was invisible because it was everywhere, abstract and interiorised, 'the final pilgrimage of the mind'. I was not sure I fully understood this intriguing suggestion, and some more straightforward explanations suggest themselves. Visions of purgatory, from the least sophisticated to the glories of Dante's *Comedia*, envisage the punishments of purgatory as being fitted to the sins which have provoked them. Pride brings crushing humiliation, gluttony or drunkenness is punished by famine and drought, and so on. In purgatory, such punishments are, at their worst, tit for tat, at their best, as in Dante, the therapeutic reversal of the symptoms of a disease, '*solvendo il nodo*', dissolving the knot. But these are also and inevitably the representations of the pains of hell: the angry pierced by blades, the covetous force-fed with molten gold. How do you draw a picture of hope, how can one represent the difference between therapeutic and merely punitive retribution, except, as in the medieval illumination on the cover of Binski's book, by depicting the souls of the purged leaving their fiery prisons?

As all this suggests, this is not a book to give to the slow-witted, or even the bright beginner in search of elementary coverage of all they need to know about death in the Middle Ages. All studies of medieval death run the danger of a sort of snobbery of the dead, since most deaths leave no trace: as an art historian, Binski is

inevitably specially drawn to the tombs and mausolea of the rich and powerful. His book is a little too allusive, a little too self-consciously critically sophisticated, to serve as a basic text-book, and I wonder what that American class made of their brilliant and entertaining English professor. With so vast a coverage in so slim a space, every specialist will spot something omitted or too patly presented. But when all that is said, this is a hugely enjoyable and sometimes challengingly original book, for which we are greatly in Binski's debt. The handsome pictures are well chosen, advancing the argument as well as decorating the text.

EAMON DUFFY

Obituaries

WALTER MENDELSSON, F.S.A. (1930-2000)

WOLFGANG (later anglicised to Walter) Mendelsson was born on 6 May 1930 in Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, in south-west Poland), the son of Franz (later anglicised to Frank), a shipping agent. Together with his older brother, Steven, he spent his early childhood in Breslau, where he attended the Jewish Grammar School. When the pressure on the Jewish population grew, his parents arranged for the two boys to be on one of the Kindertransports to this country. Arriving at Harwich, in March 1939, they were hosted by relations in Margate before being joined in the late summer by their parents who managed to flee the Nazi tyranny just thirty-six hours before war was declared and all borders closed.

Walter was evacuated shortly afterwards to Brownhills, a suburb of Walsall, where he won a scholarship to the King Edward VI Grammar School at Lichfield. During this period he spent many happy drawing hours in the cathedral where, no doubt, his love of ecclesiastical buildings and their contents originated. At this time he also developed a lifelong interest in Dr Samuel Johnson and a passionate association with Wolverhampton Wanderers football club! By contrast the subsequent requirement to complete National Service in the Army was a tiresome



Walter Mendelsson in 1996 telling King Hussein of Jordan how moved he had been by the King's speech at the funeral of Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin.

experience and memories of the camp at Bicester particularly painful. Walter's ambition upon discharge was to pursue a career in the graphic arts field and indeed two apprenticeships with large London agencies were offered. Regrettably these opportunities could not be taken up as financial support from his family was not available. Walter joined Pilot, his uncle's firm of stationers in Mallow Street, north of the City, where the unfortunate demise of the business in 1984 robbed him of a directorship and shareholding in the company. After a while he was appointed Assistant Finance Officer at The Royal Institute of International Affairs, in which position he served until retirement in 1997. Given his long-standing interest in the Middle East, a highpoint during his service at the Institute was a meeting with King Hussein of Jordan in 1996.

Walter was particularly keen to ensure that the horrors endured by the Jews during the Second World War should not be forgotten. He spent much of his retirement working for the Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish History in London, visiting schools across the country to share his experiences of life in Nazi Germany with children of all ages. These occasions provided a great sense of personal satisfaction as he related well with the younger generation.

In 1954 he married Eva Cohn which resulted in a happy and devoted relationship producing two sons and one daughter. David, the eldest, has taken up residence in Israel having completed National Service in the Army, whilst Susan studied art and married a prominent orthopaedic surgeon. Jonny, the youngest, has inherited his father's love and talent for art and also passionately supports the Wolves!

Walter's interest in church monuments was all the more remarkable because of his Jewish background. As an insatiable reader of broadsheet newspapers he chanced upon an article in the Sunday Times in the winter of 1960 under the general heading, 'Mainly for Children'. The article, sub-titled 'The Gentle Art of Brass-Rubbing', captured his imagination and he wrote immediately to the then Hon. Corresponding Secretary, Major H.F. Owen Evans (Hon. Secretary 1961-6). The purchase of Macklin's Monumental Brasses and a visit to view the collection of rubbings at the Victoria & Albert Museum only served to fuel the enthusiasm which was gaining momentum. With some apprehension he decided to launch his rubbing career on 10 December 1960 by obtaining an impression from Sir John d'Abernon, c.1327, the brass featured in the Sunday Times article!

Walter joined the Society on 7 January 1961, having been proposed by Owen Evans and Augustus White, following payment of the £1 subscription! His first General Meeting on 11 March was overshadowed by the announcement of the death of the President, Reginald H. Pearson, some thirteen days previously.

Walter set about travelling the length and breadth of Britain, mainly by public transport, pursuing this new-found hobby which was to become such an integral part of his life. He was a most fastidious rubber, taking considerable time and trouble to

complete each composition. The late Malcolm Norris recognised the quality and care of his work and featured Walter rubbing the Wylliams brass (M.S.IV) at St. Helen's Bishopsgate in *Your Book of Brasses*, published in 1974. Indeed, the title of 'The World's Slowest Rubber' was only conferred upon the writer of this obituary following Walter's retirement from regularly rubbing brasses to photograph monuments!

In 1969 he was elected to the Executive Council and immediately involved himself in two of the Society's important innovations. In September of the following year a meeting took place at the West London home of the late John Page-Phillips for the 'instruction and appointment of Regional Controllers' who were to undertake a full-scale revision of Mill Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* which had been published in 1926 with a posthumous Appendix in 1938. The ambitious proposal to revise this magnum opus necessitated the recruitment of field-workers who would not only check the original entries but also include indents, modern figure brasses and inscriptions up to the year 1850 by visiting every church of every denomination. It was structured so that field-workers would report to regional controllers who in turn would submit record sheets and report to the Main Controller. Walter was appointed to this latter position and also acted as controller for those areas without a regional controller. His administrative skills, commitment, and energy ensured that the project aroused much interest. By 1977 the first volume



Walter Mendelsson in May 1966 rubbing the brass of Sir William Tendring, 1408, at Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk.

for the county of Warwickshire appeared with Stan Budd and Nancy Briggs performing the tasks of Regional Controller and General Editor respectively. Regrettably, rising printing costs precluded the appearance of successive volumes.

The second initiative was the annual Conference. The first was held at Somerville College, Oxford (1969) followed by Norwich (1970). Walter, during his first term on Council, assumed responsibility as registrar for Canterbury (1971) and Bristol (1972) and performed this function for both Conferences and Excursions on many occasions over the years. Having demonstrated his abilities, he briefly served as Hon. Membership Secretary at a time when the popularity of brasses was at its zenith and the membership of the Society exceeded 1200. He succeeded John Coales as Hon. Secretary in 1974 and fulfilled this role with distinction in his own inimitable way for a twenty year period during which the Society celebrated its centenary. Upon retirement his outstanding contribution was rewarded with a life Vice-Presidency.

Walter's modesty precluded committing his vast knowledge to print, for he rather preferred to act unselfishly as a facilitator and prime motivator in encouraging others. This was particularly evident in connection with the founding of the Church Monuments Society. The M.B.S. had remained very focused on brasses until this period, to the extent that even the study of Victorian brasses was neglected by all but a handful of people. An increasing number of scholars were frustrated by this introverted approach, having come to the realisation that brasses required study in a wider context. Walter, with his extensive artistic interests, was one such individual and consequently was present at a symposium in 1978 which led to the establishment of that Society. He served two three-year terms on their Executive Council and latterly, despite poor health, was Assistant Treasurer. He was most supportive of all conservation projects and was instrumental in ensuring that important work on the alabaster monuments at Harewood and Ryther took place.

Numerous organisations benefited from his support. He was an enthusiastic member of the Richard III Society and the Arms and Armour Society in addition to several county archaeological societies.

In 1997 his standing in the antiquarian world was acknowledged with election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, an honour of which he was proud but typically felt he did not deserve.

In a characteristically unselfish act, Walter, realising that his time was limited but fighting desperately to live long enough to celebrate his seventieth birthday, permitted the hospital to experiment in the hope that he might help others. Riddled with cancer, which is no respecter of human rights, he stoically summoned up sufficient courage and reserves to retain his dignity and self-respect until he passed away on 29 January 2000 with the family he loved in close attendance.

H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD

JOHN PHILIP COZENS KENT, B.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., F.S.A. (1928-2000)

JOHN Kent is best known among students of monumental brasses for his first publication 'Monumental brasses - a new classification of military effigies, c. 1360-c. 1485', which was published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XII (1949), pp. 70-97. He was Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum from 1983 to 1990 and was the world's leading authority on the coinage of the late Roman Empire. A full bibliography of his writings will appear in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 2002. Obituaries can be found in *The Daily Telegraph* (25 October 2000) and *The Times* (24 November 2000); these give full details of his major contributions to numismatics and archaeology.

He was born on 28 September 1928 in Palmer's Green, Middlesex, the only child of a senior railway official and a civil servant. He was educated at Minchenden Grammar School and University College, London, and took his B.A. in 1949. He completed his Ph.D. on 'The office of the Comes Sacrarum Largitionum' (the chief financial officer of the late Roman Empire) in 1951. After National Service he was appointed to the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum in 1953.

As a boy he made use of his bicycle and the family's concessionary fares on the railways to research monumental brasses. This research resulted in the essay that he submitted to win the British Archaeological Association's Reginald Taylor Prize and Medal in 1948. He divided military effigies into six groups, lettered A-F. These he considered to represent workshops. Later scholars have criticised details and modified his conclusions, but this study stands as a basic work of analysis of the grouping of late medieval brasses.

He died on 22 October 2000.

JOHN CHERRY

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214336
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.00

General Fund

<i>1999</i>	INCOME	<i>2000</i>
8044	Subscriptions	6660.79
0	Income Tax recovered	0.00
20	Donations	0.00
234	Sales – net	651.80
376	Events – net	888.99
1666	Interest and Investment Income	1760.13
<u>- 57.00</u>	Less share transferred to Malcolm Norris Fund	<u>- 26.00</u>
	<u>1609</u>	<u>1734.13</u>
<u>10282</u>	TOTAL INCOME	<u>9935.71</u>
	EXPENDITURE	
2602	Publications – Bulletin	2918.49
0	Membership List	625.00
830	Meetings	826.85
610	Travelling Expenditure	506.85
802	Printing / Postage	491.12
64	Subscriptions	60.00
11	Bank Charges	19.50
114	Miscellaneous	17.00
-	Transfer to Conservation Fund	0.00
<u>5000</u>	Transfer to Publications Fund	<u>4000.00</u>
<u>10732</u>	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	<u>9464.81</u>
10282	INCOME FOR YEAR	9935.71
<u>10732</u>	EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR	<u>9464.81</u>

<p>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214366 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.00 Miscellaneous Fund</p>
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PUBLICATIONS FUND

Reserve for 1998, 1999 Trans. and Occasional Series at 31.12.99	9476.26
Production costs of 1998 Transactions	<u>-3464.07</u> 6012.19
Donation to Transaction costs	150.00
Transfer from GF for Transactions 2000	<u>4000.00</u>
Reserve for 1999, 2000 Transactions & Occasional Series	<u>10162.19</u>

MALCOLM NORRIS FUND

Balance as at 31.12.99	1328.78
Donation	20.00
Accrued interest	26.00
Archival expenses	<u>-752.13</u>
	<u>622.65</u>

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214366
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.00
Conservation Fund

<i>1999</i>	INCOME	<i>2000</i>
50	Donations	131.80
0	Bequest (T. Felgate)	1000.00
167	Interest	225.79
100	Transfer from General Fund	<u>0.00</u>
317	Income for year	1357.59
-1000	Less: Grants approved in 2000 as per Schedule below	-825.00
450	Grants no longer required	150.00
<u>-233</u>	Surplus / deficit for year carried to Balance Sheet	<u>682.59</u>

Schedule of Grant Awards at year ending 31.12.00

Applicant Parish	Unpaid at Jan.1, 00	Made in 2000	Paid in 2000	Grants not required	Unpaid at Dec.31, 00
Stokesby	100.00			100.00	
Horsham	50.00			50.00	
Northolt	100.00				100.00
Perivale	150.00				150.00
Gt. Yeldham	125.00		125.00		
Cranbrook	75.00		75.00		
Wrotham	150.00				150.00
Mendlesham	70.00				70.00
Metfield	150.00				150.00
Compton	50.00				50.00
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
Sharnbrook		75.00	75.00		
Steeple Bumpstead		50.00			50.00
Monkton		75.00			75.00
Aldborough		150.00			150.00
Feering		50.00			50.00
Tideswell		100.00			100.00
Whitchurch		100.00			100.00
Chiseldon		75.00			75.00
Houghton-le-Spring		150.00			150.00
TOTALS:	1870.00	825.00	375.00	150.00	2170.00

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214336 BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.00

1999	ASSETS:		2000
	CASH AND BANK BALANCES		
	General Fund – Barclays Current a/c	2191.84	
	Barclays Postal a/c	7800.53	
	Girobank	124.93	
9735	First Vermont Bank	<u>307.97</u>	<u>10425.27</u>
13890	National Savings Bank	14570.66	
8434	Conservation Fund	<u>9416.27</u>	<u>34412.20</u>
14187	Charifund (1337 Units)		15665.63
	Conference Payments		
	Ewelme (2001)	10.00	
1140	Hull (2001)	<u>300.00</u>	<u>310.00</u>
	Less Creditors		
-208	County Series Books c/f.	-207.67	
	US sales	-90.00	
-1870	Grants outstanding	<u>-2170.00</u>	<u>-2467.67</u>
<u>45308</u>			<u>47920.16</u>
	REPRESENTED BY:		
	GENERAL FUND:		
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.99	15752.52	
15752	Plus surplus for the year	<u>470.90</u>	<u>16223.42</u>
12187	Unrealised surplus on Investments (Charifund)		13665.63
	CONSERVATION FUND:		
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.99	6563.68	
6564	Plus surplus for the year	<u>682.59</u>	<u>7246.27</u>
9476	PUBLICATIONS FUND:		10162.19
1329	MALCOLM NORRIS FUND:		<u>622.65</u>
<u>45308</u>			<u>47920.16</u>

28 August 2001

M.A. Paige-Hagg
Hon. Treasurer

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

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214336
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.01

General Fund

<i>2000</i>	INCOME	<i>2001</i>
6661	Subscriptions	6874.50
0	Income Tax recovered	0.00
0	Donations	20.00
652	Sales – net	861.20
889	Events – net	848.29
1760	Interest and Investment Income	1791.08
<u>- 26</u>	Less share transferred to Malcolm Norris Fund	<u>- 27.00</u>
<u>1734</u>		<u>1764.08</u>
<u>9936</u>	TOTAL INCOME	<u>10368.07</u>
EXPENDITURE		
2918	Publications - Bulletin	2584.85
0	- Web Site (www.mbs-brasses.co.uk)	278.71
625	Membership List	0.00
827	Meetings	712.00
507	Travelling Expenditure	533.55
491	Printing / Postage	903.23
60	Subscriptions	60.00
20	Bank Charges	16.50
17	Miscellaneous	00.00
0	Transfer to Conservation Fund	1000.00
<u>4000</u>	Transfer to Publications Fund	<u>4000.00</u>
<u>9465</u>	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	<u>10088.84</u>
9936	INCOME FOR YEAR	10368.07
<u>9465</u>	EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR	<u>10088.84</u>
<u>471</u>	Surplus for year – transferred to Balance Sheet	<u>297.23</u>

<p>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214366 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.01 Miscellaneous Fund</p>
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PUBLICATIONS FUND

Reserve for 1999, 2000 Trans. and Occasional Series at 31.12.00	10162.19
Production costs of 1999 Transactions	-3897.72
Production costs of O.S. no. 2 "Waller Drawings"	- <u>799.25</u> <u>5465.22</u>
Transfer from GF for Transactions 2001	<u>4000.00</u>
Reserve for 2000, 2001 Transactions & Occasional Series	<u>9465.22</u>

MALCOLM NORRIS FUND

Balance as at 31.12.00	622.65
Accrued interest	27.00
	<u>649.65</u>

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214366
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.01
Conservation Fund

<i>2000</i>	INCOME	<i>2001</i>
132	Donations	15.00
1000	Bequests	0.00
226	Interest	178.34
0	Transfer from General Fund	<u>1000.00</u>
1358	Income for year	1193.34
-825	Less: Grants approved in 2001 as per Schedule below	-1300.00
150	Grants no longer required	250.00
<u>683</u>	Surplus / deficit for year carried to Balance Sheet	<u>143.34</u>

Schedule of Grant Awards at year ending 31.12.01

Applicant Parish	Unpaid at Jan.1, 01	Made in 2001	Paid in 2001	Grants not required	Unpaid at Dec.31, 01
Northolt	100.00			100.00	
Perivale	150.00			150.00	
Wrotham	150.00		150.00		
Mendlesham	70.00				70.00
Metfield	150.00				150.00
Compton	50.00				50.00
Tingrith	75.00				75.00
Wantage	100.00				100.00
Chelmsford	75.00		75.00		
Albury	175.00		175.00		
Little Hadham	125.00				125.00
Newnham	100.00				100.00
Chastleton	100.00		100.00		
Steeple Bumpstead	50.00		50.00		
Monkton	75.00				75.00
Aldborough	150.00		150.00		
Feering	50.00				50.00
Tideswell	100.00				100.00
Whitchurch	100.00				100.00
Chiseldon	75.00				75.00
Houghton-le-Spring	150.00				150.00
Ugley		50.00			50.00
Stutton		100.00			100.00
Stoke-by-Nayland		500.00			500.00
Cley-next-the-Sea		175.00			175.00
Chester-le-Street		50.00			50.00
Auckland, St. Helen		75.00			75.00
Bishopton		100.00			100.00
Easton		250.00			250.00
TOTALS:	2170.00	1300.00	700.00	250.00	2520.00

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214336 BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.01

2000	ASSETS:	2001
	CASH AND BANK BALANCES	
	General Fund – Barclays Current a/c	1076.36
	Barclays Postal a/c	9804.54
	Girobank	44.41
10425	First Vermont Bank	<u>145.27</u> 11070.58
14571	National Savings Bank	15196.27
9416	Conservation Fund	<u>9909.61</u> 36176.46
15666	Charifund (1337 Units)	14536.53
310	Conference Payments	0.00
	Less Creditors	
-298	County Series Books c/f.	-297.67
	for year	5.14
	“Death, Art and Memory”, sale or return	-900.00
	Unpaid meeting and printing costs	-456.00
<u>-2170</u>	Grants outstanding	<u>-2520.00</u> -4168.53
<u>47920</u>		<u>46544.46</u>

REPRESENTED BY:

	GENERAL FUND:	
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.00	16223.42
16223	Plus surplus for the year	<u>279.23</u> 16502.65
13666	Unrealised surplus on Investments (Charifund)	12536.53
	CONSERVATION FUND:	
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.00	7246.27
7246	Plus surplus for the year	<u>143.34</u> 7389.61
10162	PUBLICATIONS FUND:	9465.22
623	MALCOLM NORRIS FUND:	650.45
<u>47920</u>		<u>46544.46</u>

5 September 2002

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 years ended 31st December 2000 and 31st December 2001, which are set out on pages 458 to 465, 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

16th September 2002

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.