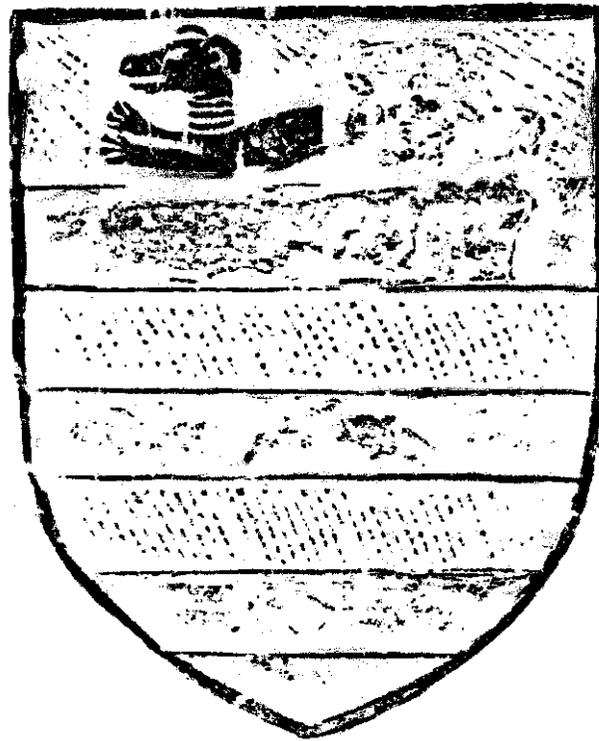


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Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

Two Rediscovered Fragments of Monumental Brasses from Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway

by ØYSTEIN EKROLL

Nidaros Cathedral

TRONDHEIM, Norway's third city, was in the Middle Ages called Nidaros ('the mouth of the river Nid'). It was founded in 997 by King Olaf I, and rebuilt by King Olaf II Haraldsson (1015-28). This king lost his kingdom to King Canute the Great, and went into exile in Russia. He returned in 1030 to try to regain his kingdom, but was killed in the battle at Stiklestad on 29 July. His body was buried in secret outside the small town, but was disinterred one year later, when the rumours that he was a saint had grown so strong that they could no longer be ignored. He was duly canonised by popular acclamation, and his body was enshrined in the town's only church, St. Clement's.

Soon afterwards, a chapel was built over the site of his grave. The present cathedral stands on this site, the main altar occupying the spot where his grave was situated. In 1152/53 Norway was made an archbishopric, with Nidaros as the new archbishop's seat. The cathedral was gradually rebuilt and enlarged, but the position of the high altar remained unchanged. Above and behind the high altar stood the shrine of St. Olaf, whose relics were encased in three wooden coffins, each covered with gilt silver plates and precious stones.

Surrounding the saint's shrine were the graves of the royal family of Norway, who favoured this cathedral as their final resting place until *c.* 1200, when Nidaros was eclipsed by Bergen as the royal seat. Nidaros Cathedral received its last royal burial in 1240. Between 1302 and 1380 the royal chapel of St. Mary the Virgin in Oslo was the royal burial place.

The cathedral was throughout the Middle Ages the burial place for the Norwegian archbishops, the canons of Nidaros and the local nobility. In 1531 it was devastated by a fire. The rebuilding had hardly begun when the Reformation of 1537 robbed it of the greater part of its income and treasures. Nidaros was deprived of its saint and its archbishop. The shrine of St. Olaf ended in the crucibles of the Royal Mint in Copenhagen. The cathedral was degraded to a provincial see among more than a dozen in the new Lutheran State Church of Denmark-Norway. The nave was left in ruins, and was not rebuilt until the twentieth century. The eastern half of the cathedral was rebuilt economically and in 1585 became a parish church.

As a result of the fire and the rebuilding, all the medieval gravestones were damaged or destroyed. Most of the monuments were broken and reused as building

stones or floor slabs. During the restoration that lasted from 1869 to 1969, hundreds of fragments were found and pieced together. Since 1999 the most interesting stones have been on permanent display in the cathedral crypt.¹

A large majority of the gravestones are trapezoidal marble stones with a chamfered edge, on which the inscription is placed. On the surface the decoration is incised with shallow lines, sometimes in the form of a cross and sometimes with a representation of the deceased. The latter can be in two forms, either standing in a frontal position or kneeling in the lower half of the stone in prayer to a saint (St. Mary, St. Olaf), who is depicted on the upper half of the stone. It seems clear that these incised slabs are inspired by brasses, but made in a cheaper and local material by the stone masons of the cathedral workshop.

Brasses in Nidaros Cathedral?

The restoration and excavations in the cathedral had never given any indication that brasses had ever existed there. Even if the costly metal had been robbed, one would have expected to find remains of gravestones with indents of brasses. It was therefore somewhat unexpected when two fragments of engraved latten found in the adjacent Archbishop's Palace were identified as belonging to Flemish brasses. The first fragment was found in 1964 during excavations in the north wing, and the second in 1994 during excavations in the south wing. Both are now on permanent display in the new museum that was built on the site. Neither was originally recognised as a brass. They were thought to be parts of metal fittings or decorations. In my work on the gravestones, however, I was able to identify them as parts of brasses, an identification which has been confirmed by greater authorities on the subject. The explanation for the fragments being found in the Archbishop's Palace is probably that the metal was destined for the crucibles in one of the archbishop's workshops, probably after the fire of 1531.

The two fragments seem to come from two different brasses, their style being somewhat different. Fragment A (Fig. 1) measures 90 x 95 mm. It consists of the corner of one of the plates that formed a large monument. On the left-hand side there is the joint for the adjoining plate. It shows two prophets, one very fragmentary, with pointed caps. One holds in his left hand a scroll to which he points with his right hand. Both are framed by a cusped round-headed arch. The arches and the background pattern to the right are similar to the brass of Prince Witzlav in Oslo.

Fragment B (Fig. 2) measures 61 x 109 mm, and contains no figural representation, only architectural ornament. To the right is one side of a large gable with a crocket, perhaps a canopy framing the deceased. To the left are two narrow gabled buttresses, between which are two cusped arches, simpler than those on fragment A. The decoration between the gables of the buttresses seems to represent a roof.

¹ Ø. Ekroll, *Her hvilir...: Nidarosdomens gravsteinsutstilling* (Trondheim, 2001).



FIGS. 1 and 2. Two fragments of monumental brasses, 14th century
Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway

Other Scandinavian Brasses

The existence of at least two monumental brasses can be explained by the fact that Nidaros was the archiepiscopal seat. In this poor region only the archbishops would have the resources and contacts to order such monuments from abroad. Only one other brass of this type is known in Norway. Fragments of it were found in the ruins of St. Mary's church, the medieval royal chapel in Oslo.² It probably covered the grave of Prince Witzlav of Rügen, the father-in-law of King Håkon V, who died in 1302 during a visit to Oslo. This brass must have been executed *c.* 1350-60 by the same Flemish workshop that produced the well preserved brass of King Erik and Queen Ingeborg in Ringsted Abbey, Denmark. Svanberg suggests that this brass was given by Witzlav's great-grandson, King Magnus Eriksson, who was crowned king of Norway in this church in 1337.³ He was married to Blanca of Namur, and thus had direct connections to the region where the brasses were produced. Magnus's sister Eufemia was married to the Duke of Schwerin, an area where high-quality Flemish brasses are also found.

Another more modest brass from Bergen consists of a brass shield, 550 x 450 mm, set in a large limestone slab. It commemorates the Hanseatic merchant Gotfried Zak, who died in 1361.⁴ Others may have existed in the now completely destroyed cathedrals of Oslo and Bergen.

Even in the more affluent countries of Denmark and Sweden, where more medieval art has been preserved, there is a distinct lack of medieval brasses. The magnificent Ringsted brass stands out as the only Flemish brass surviving in Denmark, but a few more are known from eighteenth-century records.⁵ They were all made on a more modest scale. In Sweden just a few brasses are known, together

² F.A. Greenhill, 'Monumental Brasses in Norway', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 1 (1963), pp. 2-4, fig. 1; B.C. Lange, 'Fyrst Witzlav likevel?', *Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring, Årbok*, 133 (1979), pp. 123-30.

³ J. Svanberg, *Furstebilder från Folkungatid* (Skara, 1987), p. 194.

⁴ S. Grieg, *Middelalderiske byfund* (Oslo, 1933), p. 144; Greenhill, 'Norway', p. 6, fig. 5.

⁵ Svanberg, *Furstebilder*, p. 185.

with a Flemish black marble incised slab in Uppsala Cathedral. It commemorates the parents of St. Bridget, and is dated to the 1320s.⁶

These Flemish brasses all seem to be dated to a relatively short period *c.* 1320-60, when the royal families of Scandinavia were strong and powerful, and had ambitions to play a role on a par with other royal dynasties in Northern Europe. Their burials and memorials were inspired by continental European fashions, especially those of Flanders, which was the most developed part of Europe in the fields of art and industry.

The connections between Scandinavia and Flanders grew stronger towards the end of the Middle Ages, with direct trading and export of textiles from Flanders. There is, however, no evidence of more export of brasses. In the later fourteenth century Gotlandic limestone slabs became very popular and were exported all over Scandinavia, together with baptismal fonts from the same island. This may explain the lack of further Flemish brasses. The Gotlandic slabs soon developed a standardised design with Evangelists' symbols in the four corners and a commemorative inscription along the sides. Depictions of people became rare, being replaced by coats-of-arms or religious symbols. This type of gravestone kept its popularity until the sixteenth century.

⁶ Svanberg, *Furstebilder*, p. 190.

A Chrysom Brass at Sheriff Hutton, Yorks.

by SOPHIE OOSTERWIJK

THIS small brass, now rather worn, consists of two separate plates: the upper plate with the chrysom effigies is quadrangular with a slightly rounded top, measuring 270 x 176 mm, while the rectangular inscription plate below measures 175 x 320 mm. It is a product of the Yorkshire Series 3 workshop.¹ The brass is located on the floor in the nave of the parish church of St Helen and Holy Cross at Sheriff Hutton, set in a slab of Egglestone marble.² It was described by Mill Stephenson in 1903 and again in 1926.³ Malcolm Norris also referred to it in 1977 as a York-style example of a chrysom brass, austere in its treatment when compared to the Yelverton brass at Rougham, Norfolk.⁴ However, few other authors have mentioned it, and no illustration ever appears to have been published in brass literature.⁵

According to the epitaph, the brass commemorates Dorothy and John Fenys, who died in 1491. The Latin epitaph was recorded by Roger Dodsworth in August 1623 and amended by Mill Stephenson, who kept the original spelling and abbreviations as follows:

Hic Dorethea ffenys cu' f're Joh'e quiescit
In celis lauro Donat' uterq₃ virescit
Thomas Dacre Baro sua consors
Anna parentes Illor₃ fuera't clara
virtute fruentes A° d'ni 1491 ⁶

Stephenson proposed that these were the children of Sir Thomas Fiennes or Fenys, Lord Dacre, and his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Humphrey Bouchier of Beningborough. *The Complete Peerage* claims that Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre, was 'aged 12 and more in 1484' and that he married Anne Bouchier 'probably around 1492'; in view of the date of 1491 on this brass, the approximate year of marriage needs to be corrected.⁷ Even so, it seems likely that Dorothy and John were the

¹ S. Badham, 'Monumental Brasses: The Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in *Medieval Art and Archaeology in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson, BAA Conference Trans., 9 ([London], 1989), p. 182.

² Personal communication from Mr. Geoff Blacker to Miss Sally Badham. See also J.G. Blacker, 'The Use of Egglestone Marble in Durham Cathedral', *Durham Archaeological Jnl*, XIV-XV (1999), pp. 119-30.

³ M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XVII (1903), p. 318; also M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 558.

⁴ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 209.

⁵ Most other authors have instead focussed solely on the brass of Mary Hall and her infant son (d. 1657) at Sheriff Hutton, e.g. H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1861), p. 229; J. Page-Phillips, *Children on Brasses* (London, 1970), p. 95.

⁶ Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the North Riding', p. 318; Roger Dodsworth, *Yorkshire Church Notes 1619-1631*, ed. J.W. Clay, *Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Record Series*, XXXIV (1904), pp. 175-176. As he explained in a footnote, Stephenson relied for the word 'Baro' on Dodsworth's reading of the text. Author's translation (with many thanks to Dr. James Binns for checking it): Here Dorothy Fenys rests with her brother John. Both flourish in heaven, having been given a laurel wreath. Thomas Dacre, Baron, and his wife Anne were their parents who rejoiced in their shining virtue. Anno Domini 1491

⁷ G.E. C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs and H.A. Doubleday, IV (London, 1916), pp. 9-10.



FIG. 1

Dorothy and John Fenys or Fiennes, d. 1491, Sheriff Hutton, Yorkshire (North Riding).

Rubbing by M. Norris (slightly retouched)

couple's first children, which adds poignancy to the monument and its epitaph. Thomas Fiennes died on 9 September 1533 and was buried at Hurstmonceaux; his will is dated 1 September 1531. His wife Anne was still alive on 29 September 1530. Thomas was succeeded as Lord Dacre by his grandson Thomas, son of Thomas Fiennes (d. 26 October 1528) and Jane Sutton, daughter of Edward, Lord Dudley.

The Fenys children's appearance as swaddled 'chrysom' effigies suggests that they died in early infancy; in view of the single year of death, they may even have been twins.⁸ The fact that they are both referred to by name suggests that they survived long enough to have been baptized. The effigies are shown side by side as elongated cocoons bound with the typical criss-cross bands of this period;⁹ the bundle around the feet, which occurs on many other chrysom figures, is lacking here. The relatively small heads with open eyes appear to be uncovered and lie on tasselled rectangular pillows. The slightly rounded top of this brass cuts through the outer top corners of the pillows, thereby eliminating the tassels.

There is a persistent misunderstanding about chrysom brasses, which are traditionally described as infants who were buried in their baptismal cloth, having died before their mother's churching.¹⁰ There was a medieval custom to return this 'chrisom' cloth to the church on this occasion, unless the baby had already died. Yet the term 'chrysom', 'chrisom' or 'chrisomer' has had different meanings over the centuries.¹¹ In the medieval period, it could also be used to denote innocent infants of any age, without necessarily referring to dead infants buried in their baptismal clothes. It would be hard to prove that these effigies are indeed shown wearing a particular 'chrisom' cloth, although some do indeed feature a cross on the forehead or breast. The fact that the Fenys children are shown with their eyes open as if alive, and wrapped in the usual swaddling clothes of living infants, suggests that they are presented as living infants awaiting the Resurrection, in much the same way as knights depicted in full armour or ladies in fashionable dress. Some sixteenth-century chrysom effigies even show a slightly later swaddling stage with the arms left free. These figures thus wear clothes appropriate to their earthly status and age, and should not be confused with shroud brasses, although there is some room for

⁸ This is not the case with the other double chrysom brass at Rougham, Norfolk, where John and Roger Yelverton are recorded as having died in 1505 and 1510, respectively.

⁹ Later brasses may instead show infants encased in horizontal bands, an example being the lost brass of Peter Best (d. 1585) at Merstham, Surrey.

¹⁰ Compare, for example, Norris, *Memorials*, I, p. 209, but see the discussion in S. Oosterwijk, 'Chrysons, Shrouds and Infants on English Tomb Monuments: A Question of Terminology?', *Church Monuments*, XV (2000), pp. 44-64. Another recent article on the subject is W. Coster, 'Tokens of Innocence: Infant Baptism, Death and Burial in Early Modern England', in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. B. Gordon and P. Marshall (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 266-87. The traditional misinterpretation is perpetuated in N. Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, 2001), p. 102, fig. 36, describing the brass of Elyn Bray (d. 1516) at Stoke D'Abernon in Surrey as wearing 'her chrisom cloth to show that she died baptized but before her mother's churching'.

¹¹ See Oosterwijk, 'Chrysons, Shrouds and Infants', pp. 44-64. The terminological confusion was also discussed in T.G. Norris, 'Remarks on the Brass Memorials of Chrisom Children', *Trans. of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Soc.*, III (1849), pp. 35-46.

interpretation in the case of young John Manfield on the triple Manfield brass of 1455 at Taplow in Buckinghamshire.¹²

Figures of swaddled children may appear on monuments with their mother, especially if she died in childbirth, a famous example being the brass of Anne Astley (d. 1512) at Blickling, Norfolk. They also occur as weepers amongst their surviving siblings, often matching them in size for visual balance. The Fenys brass at Sheriff Hutton is among the earlier independent chrysom memorials; most surviving examples date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The monument not only illustrates the affection in which these two late-medieval infants were held, but also points to the parents' belief in their children's salvation. The Latin epitaph describes the young siblings as flourishing in heaven, after receiving laurel wreaths in token of their deaths in a state of holy innocence. Such wreaths were to become a not uncommon attribute of deceased children in seventeenth-century art, signifying eternal bliss.¹³

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Miss Sally Badham and Dr. Phillip Lindley for their help and advice.

¹² Further confusion may arise from the fact that shrouded corpses in Romanesque art are often shown bound with criss-cross bands, e.g. the figure of Lazarus in the Winchester Psalter, and the fact that the words 'swathed' and 'swaddled' were sometimes used as synonyms for 'shrouded'.

¹³ Influenced by Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593), Dutch portraits of the seventeenth century often show deceased children as angels in heaven carrying such wreaths: compare *Pride and Joy: Children's Portraits in the Netherlands 1500-1700*, ed J.B. Bedaux and R. Ekkart. (Ghent, 2000), cat. nos. 28, 58, 78, 79 and 82. In Classical Antiquity, sarcophagi often featured mourning putti holding wreaths of flowers. On the other hand, J. Wilson, 'Holy Innocents: Some Aspects of the Iconography of Children on English Renaissance Tombs', *Church Monuments*, V (1990), pp. 58-59, associates the (laurel) wreath with virginity. Garlands of flowers were, of course, traditionally worn by brides and may be observed as tokens of (heavenly) virginity on many female brasses, such as the half-effigy brass of Margaret Brocas at Sherborne St John in Hampshire (c. 1360) or the lost 1510 brass at Hungarton in Leicestershire of Mary Cave, wife of Brian Cave, lord of Ingarsby.

Oxfordshire Styles I: The Drunken Marbler

by JEROME BERTRAM

A schoolboy named Ned Lawrence once visited Waterperry church to rub the brasses. He found that he had to tear up the pews to get at one of them, doing so with a ruthless abandon of splintering woodwork and a short laugh. What he uncovered (Fig. 1) was so horrible that he very soon gave up brass-rubbing altogether and devoted himself to Crusader Castles and tearing up railway lines instead.¹ Mill Stephenson dignifies the brass in question with the useful adjective 'local', but we are not to imagine that this designates a fine school of engraving comparable to Yorkshire Series 0 or Norwich 4. Oxfordshire Style I is so gruesome that we can only give its perpetrator the name of 'The Drunken Marbler'.

Sixteen probable products of this workshop have been identified so far. All but two of them are in Oxfordshire or close to its borders, so it is far more likely that they originated in or around Oxford than anywhere else, even though the two outriders have already attracted the label of 'West country' work. In date order, these are the following (with notice of the stone type where known):

1500/1	King's Sutton, Northants.	Thos Weston & wives	forest
1518/19	Dorchester, Oxon.	Aungnes Bedford	Purbeck
1520	Merton College, Oxford	Simon Mollond	lias
1524	Stanton St. John, Oxon.	Anne Scene	
1526 ?	New College, Oxford	Thos. Wolmer	freestone
1527 ?	Waterperry, Oxon.	Walter Curson & wife	lias
1528	Hutton, Som.	Thos. Payne & wife	'smooth grey'
1529	Doynton, Glos.	Wm. atte Wode & wife	lias
1530	Lambourne, Berks.	Thos. Garard	
1530	Bletchington, Oxon.	Edw. Hilton	Purbeck
1530-5	Westcott Barton, Oxon.	Robt. Fenton	forest
1536	Tidmarsh, Berks.	Wm. Dale & wife	Purbeck
	Northleach, Glos.	? a priest	freestone
	King's Sutton, Northants.	? a priest	forest
	All Saints, Oxford	Civilian & 2 wives	
	Islip, Oxon.	Civilian & 2 wives	'blue marble'

Of all these, the brass survives, in part, of only five: Waterperry, the two in Berkshire, and those in Doynton and Hutton. Rubbings exist for the one from Stanton St. John, and the indents for all the others except All Saints, Oxford and Islip. Clearly the first

¹ T.E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, preface by M. Haag (London, 1992), p. 5.

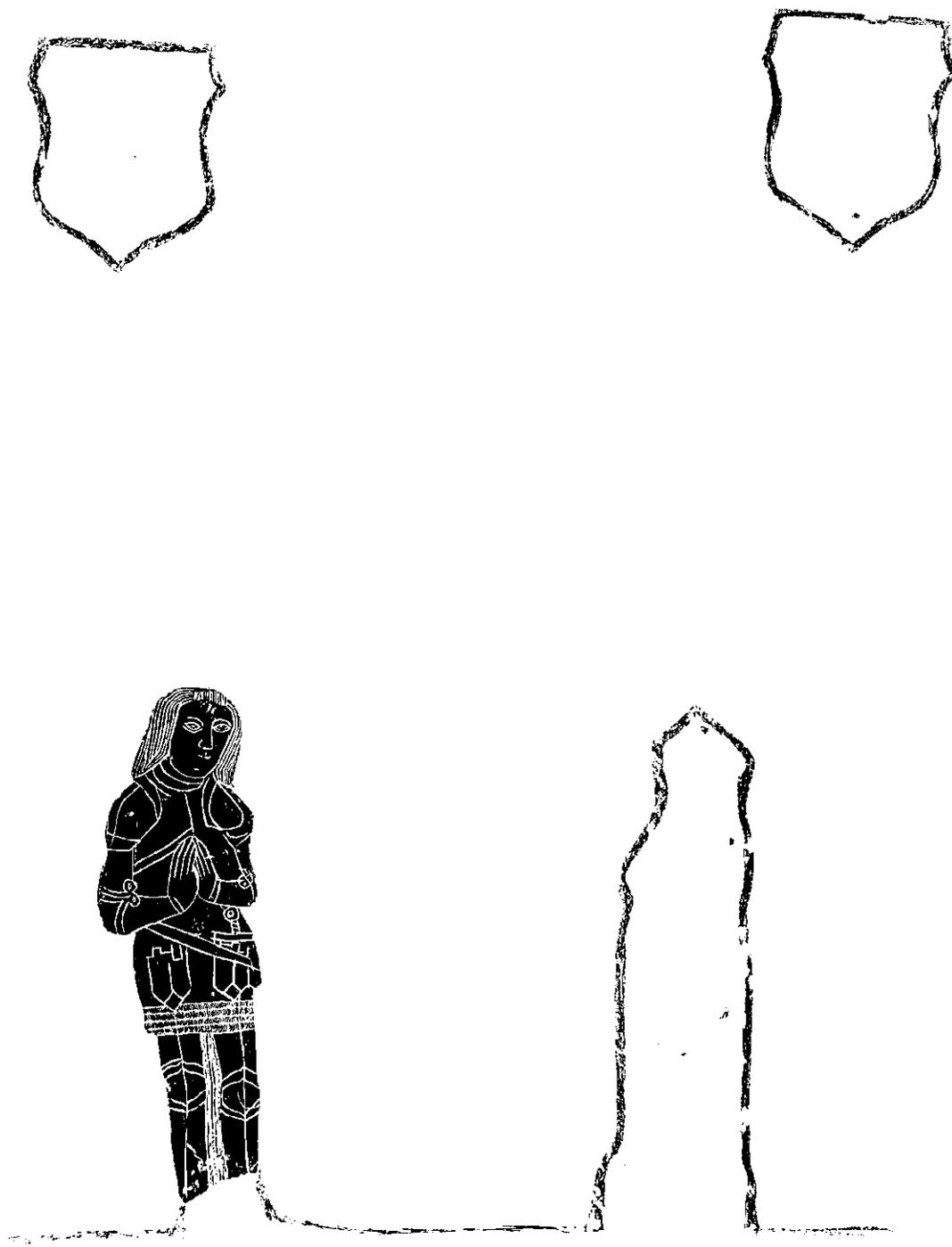


FIG. 1
Waterperry, Oxon., M.S. III. Walter Curson & wife, 1527

one at King's Sutton is seriously out of sequence, so we must assume that, like so many brasses, it was made long after the date of death of the principal figure. The others all come within a span of seventeen years, quite long enough for such a designer to have been on the loose.

We should, perhaps, distinguish between the designer and the engraver. The actual cutting of the metal is reasonably competent, as is the preparation of the stone. The setting of the metal in the stone was not well done – on the mural slab at Northleach there were no rivets at all, and some of the other indents reveal a lack of understanding of good riveting. The design is frankly appalling. Clearly the draftsman did not possess a set square, and had a very curious pattern-book for lettering. But patterns he did have: the faces at Doynton and Waterperry were clearly cut from the same template, and the lettering is consistent on the five known inscriptions. The inscriptions, both surviving and lost, all have slightly unconventional phrasing, the English ones very unconventional spelling. Designs otherwise are more or less conventional, except for the smaller indent at King's Sutton, which is bizarre; our designer had at least seen professionally-made brasses.

The variety of stones used for these brasses is remarkable. Three appear to be in a West-country blue lias: those at Doynton, Waterperry and Merton College. Connor records the Hutton brass as in 'a smooth grey stone', probably therefore also a lias.² That agrees with the obvious fact that the engraver had some West-country connection. At Dorchester, Bletchingdon and Tidmarsh we find normal Purbeck marble, even though Bletchingdon is a major source of the Jurassic 'forest limestone' used for the indents at King's Sutton and Westcott Barton. Hinton notes that the Islip indent was 'blewe marble' which usually means Purbeck. Finally an oolitic freestone was used for the Northleach brass, and for the indent at New College suspected of belonging to this series. Unfortunately when the indent at All Saints was drawn in 1973 we did not appreciate the value of recording stone types, and it is now destroyed or buried.

To take the brasses in order, the earliest is the large indent at King's Sutton (Fig. 2), showing three adult figures, an inscription and children, which is clearly the slab recorded by Anthony Wood as 'a man in a long furd gowne betw his first wife on ye right & 2 wifes on the left, ... underneath in brass 3 sons & 7 daughters a kneeling -- several proportions toren out -- no ar(m)es on ye mon'. He gives the inscription as follows:

*Orate pro animabus Thome Weston, Agnetis, Elizabethae et Agnetis uxorum ejus, qui Thomas obiit mortem, anno Do(min)i M CCCCC vicesimo quinto, mense Januarii, de quoru(m) ani(ma)b(us) p̄ripitietur Deus.*³

Another indent nearby, in the same local forest limestone, shows what appears to be a monstrance or reliquary (Fig. 3); it may represent a priestly son of the family, who had his own and his parents' brass made some time in the 1520s or 30s.

² A.B. Connor, *Monumental Brasses in Somerset* (Bath, 1970), p. 226, cf. pl. LXXXIII.

³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood D 4, f. 69.

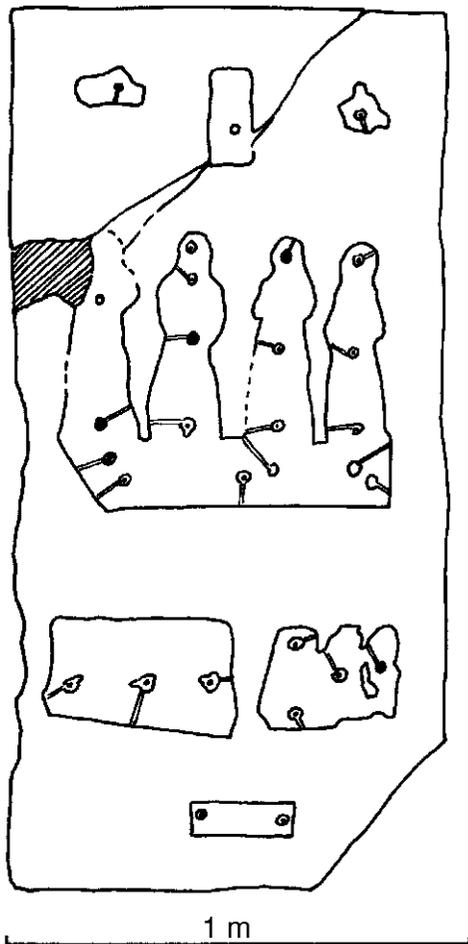


FIG. 2
King's Sutton, Northants., Thos Weston & wives, 1500/1

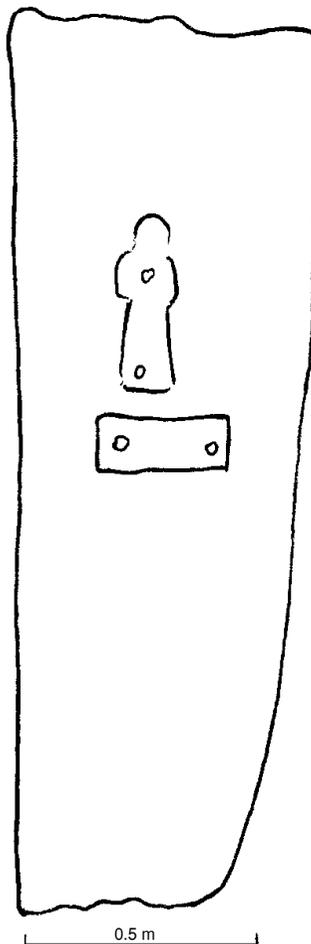


FIG. 4
Dorchester, Oxon., Aungnes Bedford, 1518/19

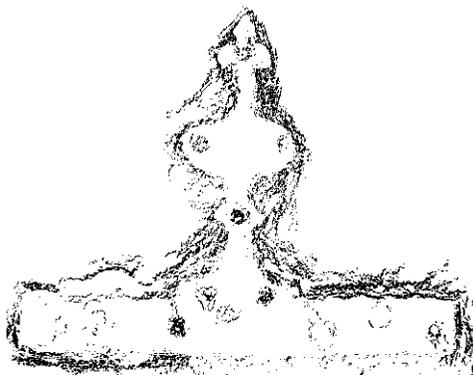


FIG. 3
King's Sutton, Northants., ? a priest, n.d.

At Dorchester, Richard Lee abstracted only the central part of the inscription, to *Aungnes bedford, w(hi)ch died the vi day of Jeneare m d xviii*.⁴ The peculiar spelling confirms the attribution to this style, already suspected from the irregular shapes of the indent, a standing figure of a woman over an inscription, in the south aisle, on a roughly shaped piece of stone (Fig. 4).

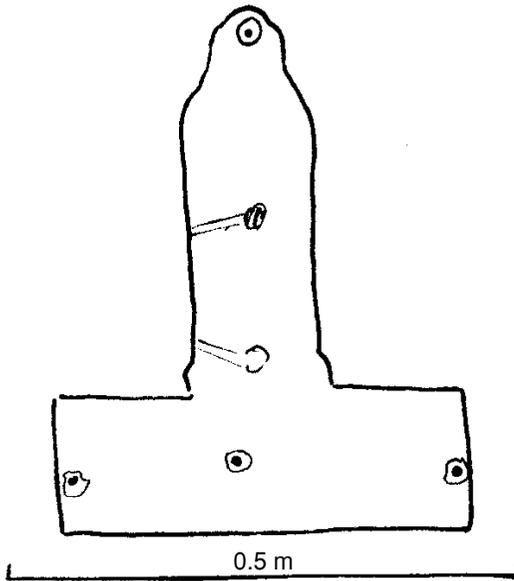


FIG. 5
Merton College, Oxford, Simon Mollond, 1520



FIG. 6
Stanton St. John, Oxon., Anne Scene, 1524

The indent already identified by Alan Bott as that of Simon Mollond at Merton College shows a misshapen figure in academics over an inscription, set too far down in a blue lias slab (Fig. 5). Wood gives the inscription, where again spelling is bizarre:

*Pray for the solle of Master Mollond Bachelor of Divinity and Felo of Marten College and laytt Fycar of Syntt Petree in the est, whyche hys departed the yere of owre Lord A. MCCCCXX.*⁵

A lost palimpsest brass from Stanton St. John consisted of an inscription (Fig. 6) cut on the reverse of the shoulders of a female figure of the early fourteenth century:

Prey for þe soll of anne scene / w(hi)ch departed þe ere of owre / lorde a m CCCC xx iii

This brass is not mentioned by any of the antiquaries, and was only found at Stanton in about 1869; it was last seen in 1912.⁶ A curiosity is the conflation of the *thorn* letter in 'the' with the 'y' missing from the word *yere*.

⁴ Visitation of 1574, in Bodleian MS Wood D 14, f. 114 (cf. *The Visitations of the County of Oxford...*, ed. W.H. Turner, Harleian Soc., 5 (London, 1871), p. 110).

⁵ A. Bott, *Monuments in Merton College Chapel* (Oxford 1964), p. 16; J. Bertram, 'The Lost Brasses of Oxford', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 4 (1972), pp. 237-8.

⁶ P. Manning, 'Palimpsest Brasses from Quarrendon, Bucks., and Stanton St. John, Oxon.', *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, II (1912), pp. 155-7; J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), 15M1 (pl. 157).

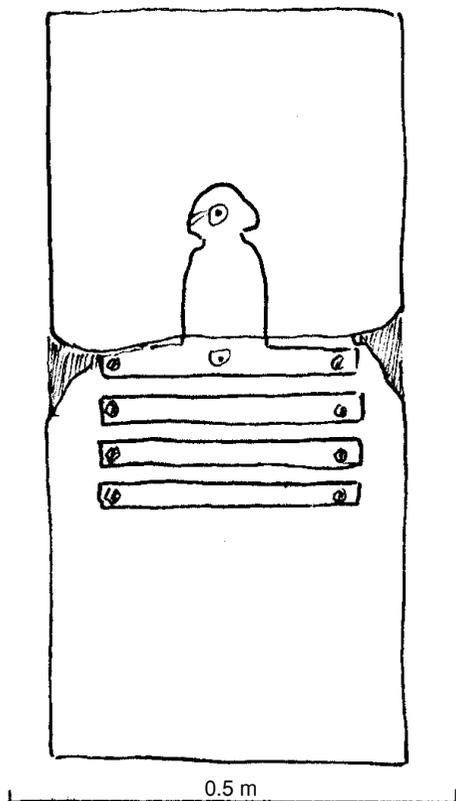


FIG. 7
New College, Oxford, ? Thos. Wulmer, 1526

One which may well fit into the series at this point is the indent at New College, which we formerly identified as that of John Wulle, 1447.⁷ It is in freestone, and very curiously shaped, having the inscription on four separate slips of brass (Fig. 7). This is altogether too improbable for 1447, and it does look like a product of our style, so we must look for a lost New College brass within the date range. A good candidate is that to Thomas Wulmer, 1526, with a Latin inscription:

*Orate pro anima Thome Wulmer, Artium Magistri ac hujus Collegii quondam
Socii, qui obiit xxiv die mensis Septembr(is) an(no) M D xxvi &c.*

Alternatively there are some undated verses recorded by Wood, which would fit nicely on the four slips of brass:

*Suppliciter Christum rogo, quisque precetur ut istum
Quem tegit hec petra, non tangant tartara tetra.*⁸

Our paradigm brass at Waterperry (Fig. 1) probably belongs at this point. It has long lost its shields and inscription, and the female figure, though a rubbing at the

⁷ Bertram, 'Lost Brasses of Oxford', p. 242.

⁸ Bertram, 'Lost Brasses of Oxford', pp. 244, 247.



FIG. 8

Hutton, Som., M.S. II. Thos. Payne & wife, 1528

From Monumental Brasses in Somerset

Antiquaries' library shows one shield, totally effaced and obviously of lead. Anthony Wood tells us there were two groups of children, nine daughters and eight sons.⁹ That in itself is enough to make one think it likely that the brass represented Walter and Isabel Curson, who certainly had eight sons, and appear to have been unsure about the number of their daughters: the adjacent stained glass window shows the entire family kneeling in heraldic splendour, with eight sons and six daughters, while the well-known recycled brass originally in the Austin Friary at Oxford, later moved to Waterperry, showed the eight sons with seven daughters. It seems likely, then, that this brass was made on the death of Walter Curson in 1527, when the window was also made, whereas the brass for the Friary cannot have been made until after 1534 when the effects of Holy Trinity Priory in London were sold off.¹⁰ The Curson arms had an argent field, which would agree with the lead shield.

⁹ Anthony a Wood and Richard Rawlinson, *Parochial Collections (Third Part)*, ed. F.N. Davis, Oxfordshire Record Soc., 11 (Oxford, 1929), p. 319.

¹⁰ Window illustrated in P.A. Newton, *The County of Oxford: A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass* (London, 1979), pp. 205-6; recycled brass in Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, L70 (pl. 16) and Appendix 6 (pls. 215-16).

The brass at Hutton is by far the most elaborate and best preserved of the series, a mural composition with kneeling figures and heraldry (Fig. 8). The inscription is more orthodox, but has some unusual spellings like the others:

*Pray for þe soules of Thomas payne squier & / elyzabeth hys wiffe which
departid þe xiiith day / of august þe yere of o(u)r lord god M° CCCCC° xxvij.*

Nearby at Doynton is another substantially complete brass, with two figures above an inscription; shields, scrolls and symbols are lost, and there were clearly insufficient rivets to retain them (Fig. 9). The inscription is badly spaced in the last line, but does seem all to have been cut at the same time:

*Pray for the sowle of Wyll(ia)m atte Wode and margaret hys wyfe the / dawter
of thoms abarkeley scqueyer wiche deyt þe xxiii day of / iune the yer of yowre lord
God a M CCCCC xxix.*

The attempt at spelling 'esquire' is the most original yet.



FIG. 9

Doynton, Glos., M.S. I. Wm. atte Wode & wife, 1529

Returning to the Oxford region, the inscription at Lambourne (Fig 10), which has lost its slab, reads:

*Of your cheryte pray for the sowle of thomas garard / whyche departtyd in the yer
of ower Lorde a M cccc and / xxx of hoys sowle ihus have marcy.*



FIG. 10
Lambourne, Berks., LSW. IV. Thos. Garard, 1530
From The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire

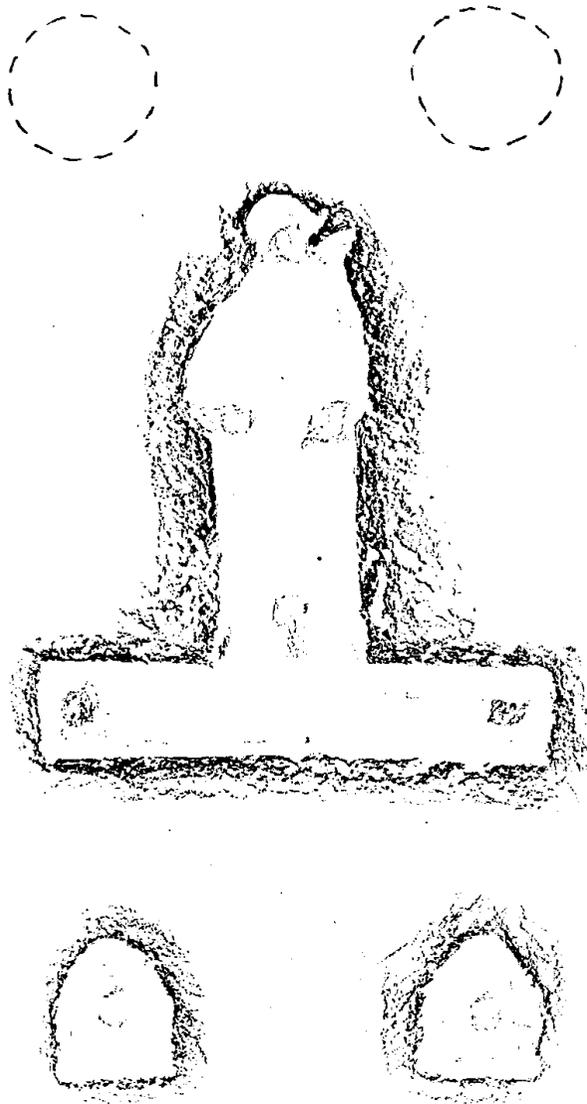


FIG. 11
Bletchington, Oxon., Edw. Hilton, 1530

The brass at Bletchingdon is lost, but Wood gives the inscription:

*Obitus M(agist)ri Edwardi Hilton in sacra / theologia Baccalaurei, quondam
socii / aulae regine in Oxon(ia) et rectoris istius / eccl(es)ie, necnon eccl(es)ie de
Cherlton / sup(er) Otmor, qui obiit decimo quinto die / Julii an(no) dom(ini) M
CCCCC XXXI cujus a(n)i(m)e / p(ro)pitietur Deus.¹¹*

The text was obviously carefully dictated, and our engraver could only indulge his passion for original spelling in the place name, Charlton on Otmoor, but the indent shows the familiarly irregular outlines, two shields upside down, and a curious excrescence on the left shoulder of the figure, which might be a parrot but is probably the tip of a scroll held in his hands (Fig. 11).

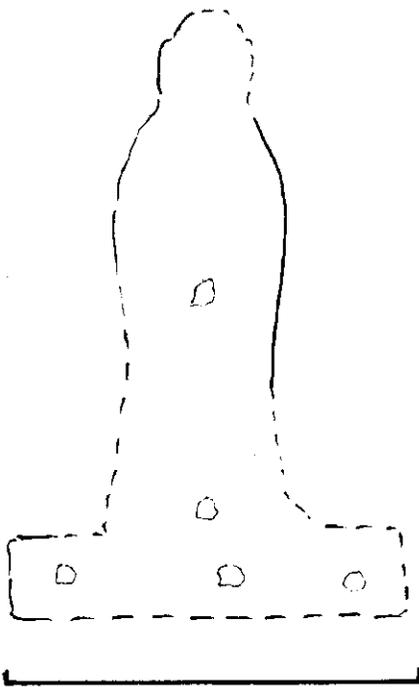


FIG. 12

Westcott Barton, Oxon., Robt. Fenton, 1530-5

A very similar outline of a priestly figure over an inscription (Fig. 12) appears at Westcott Barton, on a free-standing table tomb in the churchyard, one of a series of late medieval churchyard tombs common in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire; the probable attribution is to Robert Fenton, rector between 1526 and 1535; he was notorious for dissolute living and neglect of his cure, which might explain a churchyard burial.¹²

¹¹ Bodleian MS Wood E 1, f. 244.

¹² *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531*, ed. A. H. Thompson, 2 vols., Lincoln Record Soc., 33, 35 (1940, 1944), I, p. 130; II, p. 54; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), p. 202; VCH, *Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1983), XI, p. 80.

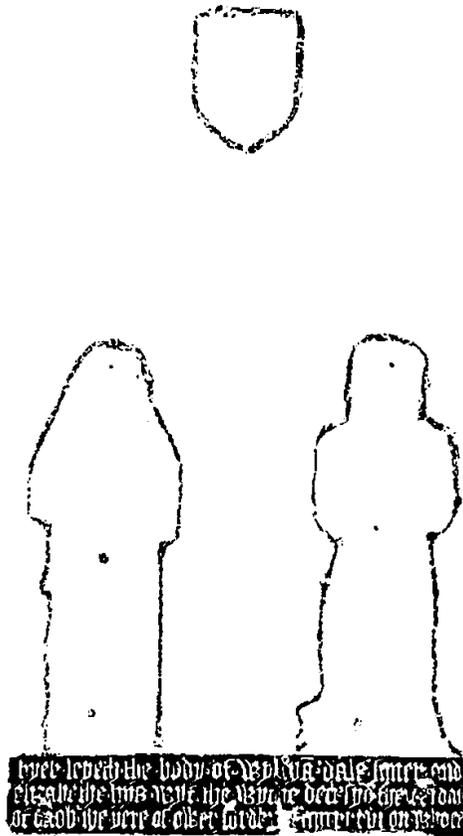


FIG. 13
 Tidmarsh, Berks., LSW. III. Wm. Dale & wife, 1536
 From *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire*

The last in the series is at Tidmarsh, where indents for two figures stand over an inscription, with children and a Trinity also lost (Fig. 13):

*hyer leyeth the body of Wyllya(m) dale squer and / elizabete hys wyf the wyche
 decesyd the xxi dai / of octob(er) the yere of ower lorde [m] cccc xxxvi on whoes
 / [soules god have mercy]*

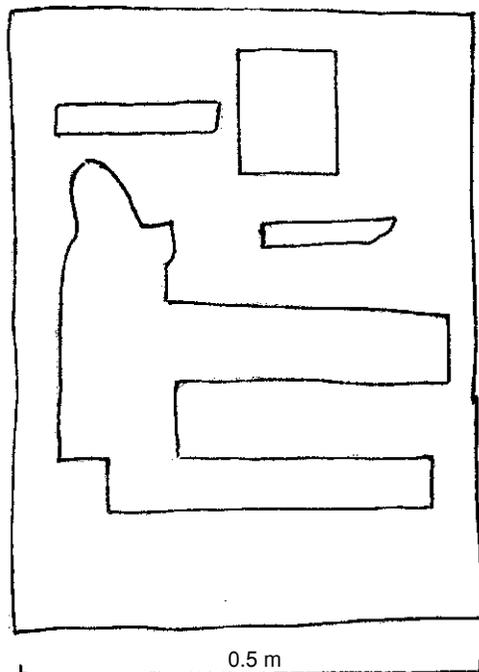


FIG. 14
Northleach, Glos., ? a priest, n.d.

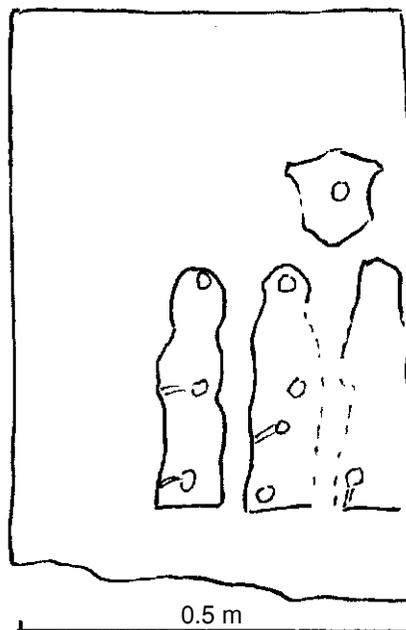


FIG. 15
All Saints, Oxford, Civilian & 2 wives, n.d.

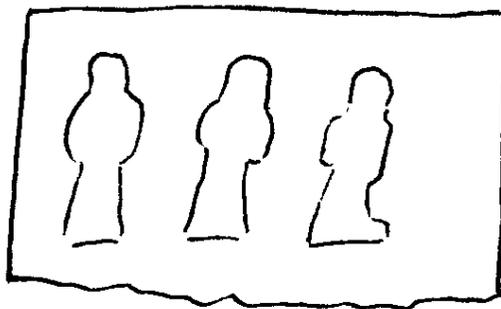


FIG. 16
Islip, Oxon., Civilian & 2 wives, n.d.

There remain three more undated indents. The one at Northleach is very peculiar, but presumably belongs with this series, for there is nowhere else for it to go. It shows a standing figure in some sort of pointed cap, possibly academic, with four irregularly shaped scrolls or inscriptions, and a rectangle, presumably a Trinity or the like (Fig. 14). There are no rivet holes, and no record of who was commemorated. One of the indents found when All Saints' Church, Oxford, was being converted into a library shows three very irregularly shaped figures, evidently a

man with two wives. The shield is of the same peculiar shape as those on the Hutton and Waterperry indents (Fig. 15). Hutton tells us there were thirteen sons and eleven daughters, whose indents were already lost in 1973.¹³ The last indent is known only from a sketch in the Hinton manuscripts; it was in the north aisle of Islip church, and the irregular outline of three figures suggests this too may belong to our group (Fig. 16).¹⁴

In searching for the culprit responsible for these revolting brasses, we can look at the records of masons working in Oxford in the early sixteenth century.¹⁵ As we have seen, the fact that the designer was eccentric or drunk does not mean that the actual mason was not properly qualified; he certainly knew how to handle the difficult blue lias stone. There are two possibilities: the first is William Gatman, who worked at Magdalen College, and charged seven pence for a floor slab to go over Mr Goodherd in the chapel in 1517. However if this means William Goberd, who died in 1515, and most of whose brass survives, it is ordinary London work, originally set in ordinary Purbeck marble. A more promising possibility is John Lubyns, who worked at Cardinal College between 1524 and 1528, was still alive and working at Hampton Court in 1537, and, most interestingly, may have come from Somerset. A mason based in Oxford, but with Somerset connections, able to acquire the lias stone, and to execute the two commissions in the West country, seems the most likely, and John Lubbins may well be the name of the Drunken Marbler.

¹³ Bertram, 'Lost Brasses of Oxford', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 5 (1973), pp. 336-7.

¹⁴ Sketched in Bodleian MS Top. Oxon. b. 220, f. 30

¹⁵ E.A. Gee, 'Oxford Masons, 1370-1530', *Archaeological Jnl*, CIX (1952), pp. 54-131.v, and MS Don. d 140, f. 85.

British Museum IV (10) Skipwith Shield: An Additional Note

by WILLIAM LACK and PHILIP WHITTEMORE

AMONG the monumental brasses in the British Museum is a shield of arms measuring 147 x 120 mm bearing the arms of Skipwith of St. Albans: [*Gules*] *three bars [argent] in chief a greyhound courant per pale [or and ermine] collared [azure]* (Fig. 1).¹ It will be seen that the bars use lead for the argent 'metal', the remaining bars having the surface hatched in order to receive the necessary red colouring. This would probably have been of vermilion bound with rosin, or a mixture of rosin and beeswax. Three lines of engraving around the hound's neck form the collar which would probably have been filled with azurite. The forequarters of the dog were originally gold, and this would have been achieved by either polishing the brass or gilding the surface. The hindquarters are of lead, and the ermine spots would have been painted on. No colouring now remains. The shield is dateable to *c.* 1500-1520. Nothing is known of its history prior to its being donated to the British Museum in 1906 by the then Keeper of the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, Charles Hercules Read.²

In all probability the shield originated from the church of St. Peter, St. Albans, where a number of Skipwith family monuments were recorded prior to the rebuilding of the old church between the years 1801-1803. The church originally

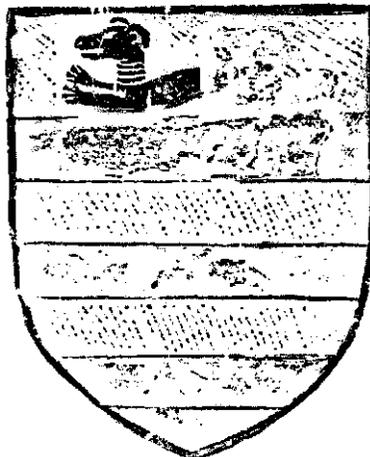


FIG. 1
Skipwith Shield (BM MME 1906,0714.1)
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

¹ S. Freeth, 'A List of Brasses in the British Museum', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 4 (2000-2001), p. 419.

² Donation recorded in the Department's register of acquisitions which in pencil associates the shield with the family of Skipwith of St. Albans.

contained not only a number of Skipwith monuments, but also various brasses.³ These were recorded pictorially by Thomas Baskerfield,⁴ in 1789, and Thomas Trotter,⁵ who visited St. Peter's ten years later. The brasses they recorded disappeared either during the last decade of the eighteenth century or during the first four or five years of the nineteenth century.⁶ Clutterbuck says that many inscriptions were defaced, and others entirely removed in 1799,⁷ while Morgan says that the gravestones in the chancel and transepts were thrown out of the church in 1803 to be used as building materials or left in the churchyard to suffer the effects of time and weather.⁸

John Weever records three inscriptions (see Appendix) to members of the Skipwith family: a rhyming inscription to Richard Skipwith, 1420, an undated inscription to John Skipwith and wife Joan, and one other, to George Skipwith, also undated.⁹ Weever says that further inscriptions to members of the family are to be found in the church, but they are defaced. Chauncy,¹⁰ who visited the church at the end of the seventeenth century, notes the same three inscriptions as Weever. Salmon adds one further Skipwith inscription to the list, that to William Skipwith and wife Joan, 1480.¹¹ Richard Gough adds one further Skipwith brass.¹² In the south transept he recorded two brassless figures (indents) in shrouds with scrolls, a group of children with a scroll and one remaining shield, bearing the arms of Skipwith. Unfortunately the inscription was missing.

Baskerfield provides a reference to what may be the shield now in the British Museum.¹³ In April 1799 he noted, in the south transept, 'a long stone which seems to have been pompously ornamented with Brass, of which all that remains is a Shield of the Arms of Skipwith ... this is the only vestige of the Family of Skipwith remaining'.

Among the manuscripts in the Hertfordshire Record Office are a number of drawings showing lost brasses from St. Peter's church made by Henry George

³ See M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), pp. 194-5.

⁴ BL Add. MS 9063. The illustrations show drawings of brasses to William Victor, 1486 (f. 203), a priest in mass vestments, c. 1410, with rose (f. 204) and the surviving brass (M.S. I) to Roger Pemberton, esq., 1627, and wife Elizabeth (f. 205v).

⁵ BL Add. MS 32351. Trotter's drawings show a priest holding a chalice, c. 1460 (f. 209), M.S. I, an indent for a floriated cross with IL marginal inscription to Edith le Vineter (f. 211), and John Atkyn, glover, 1449 (f. 213). Four drawings, possibly by Thomas Fisher, in BL Add. MS 16966. show a priest, c. 1410 (f. 16), a priest with chalice, c. 1460 (f. 17), William Victor and wife (effigy missing) and inscription, 1486 (f. 18), and John Atkyn and wife, (inscription mutilated), 1449 (f. 19). Rubbings are in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. An impression of the inscribed rose, taken from the plate itself is in Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols. In 5 (London, 1786-1796), II, pt. 1, p. cccxxxv. The plate was supposedly given to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and cannot now be found. See *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, I, no. 2 (June 1897), p. 80, and *ibid.*, no. 3 (December 1897), pp. 124-5. See also F. Conquest Clare, 'The "Rose" Brass in St. Peter's, St. Alban's', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt.8 (1951), pp. 368-9, and *ibid.*, IX, pt. 1, (1952), p. 11.

⁶ For a description of the work carried out on repairing the old church see *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1806), ii, 617-618; E.W. Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, VII (London, 1808), pp. 96-9, and R. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, 3 vols. (London, 1815-27), I, pp. 116-17.

⁷ Clutterbuck, *Hertford*, I, p. 122.

⁸ See W. Carey Morgan, 'St. Peter's Church, St. Alban's', *S. Alban's & Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, N.S. I (1895-1902), p. 171.

⁹ J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), 579-80.

¹⁰ H. Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (London, 1700), p. 473.

¹¹ N. Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire* (London, 1728), p. 90.

¹² Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments* II, pt. I, p. cccxxxv.

¹³ BL Add. MS 9063, f. 199v.

Oldfield (fl. 1787-1805) for Oldfield's patron, John Meyrick.¹⁴ One of Oldfield's drawings shows the arms of Skipwith, although the greyhound as depicted looks suspiciously like a lion passant.¹⁵ A note with the drawing says that a figure and inscription originally accompanied the shield, but when the drawing was taken they were already lost.¹⁶

But is the shield recorded by Gough and Baskerfield the shield that is now in the British Museum? Baskerfield's and Oldfield's descriptions of the brass are slightly at variance with each other. Both record a shield bearing the Skipwith arms. Baskerfield notes that the slab had been 'pompously ornamented with brass', which tells us nothing, other than the fact that the other pieces of brass had been lost. Oldfield is a little more helpful; he says that both a figure and inscription could be seen on the slab, but unfortunately he does not elaborate on this description. Gough's description further complicates the matter, as he describes two effigies in shrouds. It seems strange that Oldfield did not mention the figure he recorded as shrouded. Perhaps he did not recognise the shape of the indent, or possibly the slab had become worn, thus obliterating the edge of the indent.¹⁷

The Skipwith arms were granted to one William Skipwith, esquire, by Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, and Roger Machado, alias Richmond, Clarenceux, King of Arms, in 1507.¹⁸ This would accord with the date of the shield, which from its shape and style of engraving can be dated to *c.* 1500-1520. The Skipwith inscriptions that have been recorded with definite dates (Richard, 1420, and William, 1480) are too early, given that the arms were granted in the opening years of the sixteenth century. A likely candidate for the monument to which the shield belongs is William Skipwith, who was Sheriff of Hertfordshire between the years 1503 and 1505. It would seem likely that this is the same William Skipwith who in 1507 was granted the arms mentioned above.¹⁹ It must remain a matter of speculation as to what happened to the shield prior to its acquisition by the British Museum. From all the evidence presented, it would seem that the shield originated from St. Peter's church, but there seems little possibility of identifying with certainty the brass from which it came.

Producing a pedigree from the inscriptions recorded by Weever, Chauncy and others has not proved easy, but from the available records the following is suggested.

¹⁴ See H.C. Andrews, 'Henry George Oldfield and the Dimsdale Collection of Herts Drawings', *East Herts. Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, XI, pt. 3 (1942), pp. 212-24. See also H.R. Wilton Hall, 'Notes and Memoranda on some Hertfordshire Churches at the beginning of this Century', *S. Albans & Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, N.S. I (1895-1902), pp. 29-52, esp. 49-50. The Oldfield MS illustrates all the brasses mentioned in footnote 5.

¹⁵ Salmon, *Hertfordshire*, p. 90, describes the greyhound as a lion passant sable.

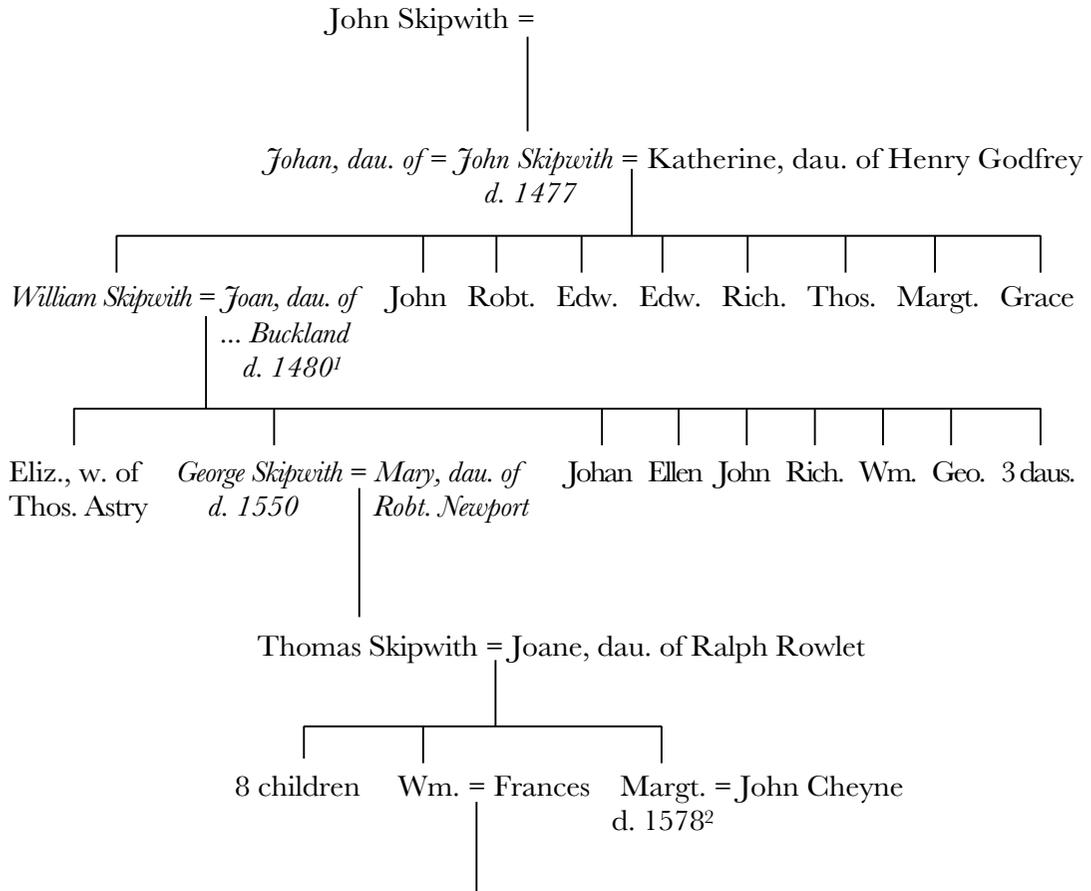
¹⁶ Oldfield MS Vol. VIII, 375.

¹⁷ Other possible factors include poor light or part of the slab being covered, making recording impossible.

¹⁸ *The Visitations of Hertfordshire, made by Robert Cooke ... and Sir Richard St. George ...*, ed. W.C. Metcalfe, Harleian Soc., 22 (London, 1886), p. 20. See also BL Harl MS 1433, ff. 17v, 18v; 1504, ff. 8, 56 and 56v; 1546, ff. 40v and 41 and 6147, ff. 40, 40v and 41, all of which are slightly different to the published pedigree.

¹⁹ Chauncy, *Hertfordshire*, p. 23; *Hertfordshire Families*, ed. D. Warrand (London, 1907), p. 282. No further information regarding William Skipwith has come to light as yet. We are grateful to Richard Busby for this suggestion.

²⁰ *St Albans Wills 1471-1500*, ed. S. Flood, Hertfordshire Record Publications, 9 (1993), p. 38.



¹ Possible date of death of wife.

² Brass in King's Langley church, Herts.

FIG. 2

Suggested Skipwith Family Tree

Those commemorated by brasses are shown in italics

John Skipwith, who died in 1477, desired to be buried in the church of St. Peter where his (unnamed) wife was already buried.²⁰ A tenement belonging to John Skipwith in St. Peter's Street, St Albans, was left to his surviving wife Katherine for the remainder of her life, which would suggest that John Skipwith was married twice. The residue of his goods was bequeathed to his sons, William and John.

A family tree on f. 56v of British Library, Lansdowne MS 874 shows William and John as the two eldest sons of John Skipwith, who is himself recorded in the manuscript as being the son of John Skipwith.²¹ Six other children of John Skipwith

²¹ The manuscript lists monuments to the following members of the Skipwith family, but does not record whether they were brasses: Elizabeth, wife of William Skipwith, n.d.; George, son of William Skipwith, 1550; William Skipwith, n.d., and Richard Skipwith, late fellow of New inne, 1446 (sic).

junior are also recorded in the manuscript. A suggested pedigree of the Skipwith family is shown above (Fig. 2).

The authors would like to thank Richard Busby, for his helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper, and John Cherry.

APPENDIX

Skipwith Inscriptions formerly in St. Peter's church, St. Albans

*Richard Skipwith, Fellow of New Inn, 1420, aged 20.*²²

In the yere of Crist on thowsand fowr hundryd ful trew with fowr and sixteen
 I Rycharde Skipwith gentylman in birth, late fellow of new Inne.
 In my age twenty on my sowl partyd from the body in August the sixteenth day.
 And now I ly her abiding Gods mercy vndyr this ston in clay,
 Desiring yow that this sal see, vnto the Meyden prey for mee
 That bare both God and man.
 Like as ye wold that oder for yee shold,
 When ye ne may nor can.

*William Skipwith, esq., and wife Joan, 1480.*²³

Orate pro Animabus Will. Skipwith Arm. & Joannæ consortis ejus1480.

*John Skipwith and wife Joan, n.d.*²⁴

Hic duo consortes Skipwith que Ioanna Ioannes
 Compansant vna, generosui & vnus, et alter:
 Vt pariter pausant in pace precare quiescent,
 Tu qui metra legis, sic quod requiescere possis.

*George Skipwith, esq., n.d.*²⁴

Hic iacet Georgius Skipwith Ar.

²² Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, p. 579; Chauncy, *Hertfordshire*, p. 473; Salmon, *Hertfordshire*, p. 90.

²³ Salmon, *Hertfordshire*, p. 90.

²⁴ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, p. 580; Chauncy, *Hertfordshire*, p. 473; Salmon, *Hertfordshire*, p. 90.

An American Collection of Books on Brasses

by PETER J. HESELTINE and BARBARA D. HENRY

ONE of the best holdings of early books and articles on brasses in the United States is the Monumental Brasses Collection, housed in the Rare Books and Special Collections Department of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. This collection was the gift of an anonymous collector in 1913. It had first been offered to the Rector of the University, Thomas Shahan, in 1910 when the donor, a businessman, said: 'I have a great deal of traveling before me, hence the decision to part with my books, which is no little wrench, as you can easily understand'. It was not until three years later that the books were actually sent to the library. In a letter to Shahan that year, the donor is quite insistent that the gift be anonymous, although his bookplate and signature are in many of the books. (We have respected his wishes.) This letter goes on to say: 'I have devoted over twenty years to the collection of these books and pamphlets and to the compilation of the bibliography, the manuscript of which goes forward to you, and I am sure you can understand that the parting of these things, into which I have put so much time, labor, thought and love, causes not a few pangs. I am rejoiced, however, to know that the collection will pass into scholarly hands, and the work I have done will not be lost'. Unfortunately, this manuscript was either not deposited or has been lost.

The proposed bibliography of brasses is referred to several times in notes in the collection. It was in card index form, stored in a six-drawer mahogany cabinet. This never reached the University, although several attempts have been made to track it down at various times.

A prospectus was issued which read:

Mobile, Alabama, USA, PO Box 54

TO SECRETARIES OR MEMBERS OF COUNTY OR LOCAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ARCHITECTURAL OR KINDRED SOCIETIES,
EDITORS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS, LOCAL NOTES
AND QUERIES, ETC., IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The undersigned appeals for help or assistance in compiling a complete record of all known articles upon, illustrations of, or references to MONUMENTAL BRASSES in Europe, especially in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This Record, when approximately complete, will be issued at a moderate cost, entirely at his own expense, and not for the purpose of financial profit, by the undersigned, under the title of

“A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MONUMENTAL BRASSES”

There would seem to be a great need of such a work, and as far as can be ascertained, nothing of the kind has ever been published. For some years the

undersigned has been collecting material for this work, which has all been recorded and arranged by means of the **CARD INDEX SYSTEM** of the **AMERICAN LIBRARY BUREAU**. It is now desired to check this as far as possible prior to publication, and thus insure as much accuracy, both in record and in detail, as can be hoped for in a first edition, hence this appeal to the Officers and Members of County or Local Societies, Editors of Archaeological Publications, Local Notes and Queries, and others, in whose volumes, so much that is of deep and permanent interest on this subject, is stored away and often inaccessible.

Suitable acknowledgement will be cheerfully and gratefully made of any assistance given, in the Preface or introduction to the book, which, it is hoped, will be ready for publication within twelve months from this date. Neither time, pains or expense have been spared so far to insure the production of a Volume which will be of interest and practical value, not only to those specially interested in the study of these particular memorials of the dead, but to all those interested in the broad field of Archaeology generally, and now the co-operation of friends is asked, so as to make the work as perfect as possible.

It should be added that the writer possesses and has collated all the well known publications and volumes dealing particularly with this special subject, including all the publications of the C. U. A. B. C., the Monumental Brass Society, The Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society, (now The Oxford Antiquarian Society), Haines, Boutell, Waller, Cotman, Kite, Farrer, Belcher, Davis, Stephenson, Franks, Cambridge Camden Soc., Hudson, Jeans, Beloe, Bower, Badger, Dunkin, Stothard, Weever, etc. etc. What are chiefly needed are references from **NOTES AND QUERIES**, **GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE**, **ARCHAEOLOGIA**, **ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL**, **PROCEEDINGS SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES** (subsequent to 1900) and from the publications or Proceedings of County or Local Archaeological, Architectural, Natural History or Ecclesiological Societies, Field Clubs, etc.

The writer would be glad to hear from any one willing to undertake special local research, and will be glad to advise of any work already done in or for that special neighborhood.

On the other side will be found directions for making records and notes. **ACCURACY** and **DETAIL** are especially needed, and all communications should be legibly and plainly written or typed. All communications should be addressed as above.

Information will be gratefully received and acknowledged by

The other side reads:

**DIRECTIONS FOR MAKING BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORDS
OF ARTICLES, ETC., ON MONUMENTAL BRASSES.**

The following order should be observed:

- (1) Exact transcript of **TITLE** of article **IN FULL**.
- (2) Author's name (or names) with title, degrees, etc. in detail.
- (3) List, **IN DETAIL**, of all Plates and Illustrations;

Note: Full information of these is very essential.

A statement of the **NUMBER** only of plates or illustrations is of little use, each plate or illustration should be quoted in full, and if possible, also state the nature of it, i.e. whether a photo-lithograph, steel or copper plate, or woodcut. If it be colored, this fact is to be especially noted. The name of the engraver or illustrator is useful but not essential.

- (4) **EXACT TITLE** of Volume or Periodical in which appearing, together with **DATE**. This latter is very important.
- (5) Exact reference to pagination, e.g. pp 20-41. A reference to the initial page only is not of much value, as it conveys no idea of the length or importance of the article. Where articles are serial, full reference to each part of the issue should be given, thus really treating each as a separate article.
- (6) Exact Date of volume or Periodicals, audit a Magazine the number of same and the month of issue in addition to the year date should be carefully recorded.

In cases where articles on some particular church or parish appear, not primarily written about the Brasses thereof, but describing or illustrating them, the title of article and author's name should be recorded as above, together with details of illustrations (if any) of the Brasses **ONLY**, and the name of the **COUNTY** in which the Church or Parish is situated should be added, so as to avoid any doubt or confusion. From the above details in this order, all cross-references will be made and compiled [*sic*, for compiled].

The Monumental Brasses Collection comprises 165 items. An inventory undertaken in 1997 disclosed several missing items, probably lost during the period between acquisition by the University and the establishment of a formal department and a move to secure quarters in 1983. A full list of the collection is available from the authors. Many of the notes that follow are taken from descriptions in this list and from letters and papers which are a part of the collection.

The collection contains the main publications from Weever's *Sepulchral Monuments* onwards, as well as a large number of pamphlets. Where the collection is of significance is in the additional letters and notes it contains. We have not listed the

standard works and offprints of articles from archaeological publications unless there is an additional note of interest. Many of the items were given to the donor by their authors, others were purchased in Liverpool, London, Oxford (James Parker), Washington (Brentano's) and at Sotheby's. There are numerous signed copies.

E.W. Badger, *The Monumental Brasses of Warwickshire* (Birmingham, 1895). Signed by the author and interleaved with many comments and additions, clippings and rubbings. It was bound up for the donor in 1899.

W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905). This includes a letter dated 8 November 1907 by the author's brother, H. Tarwell Belcher, with copies of inscriptions made by him to add to Volume II. The letter includes a number of items that are not contained in the second volume. They are, however, contained in *Monumental Brasses Remaining in the County of Kent in 1922* by Ralph Griffin and Mill Stephenson. Belcher refers to an earlier letter from the donor speaking of a hurricane from which he had suffered. He also mentions a letter he wrote to his brother that had formed a catalogue of the 169 rubbings exhibited in Rochester for a visit by the Kent Archaeological Society in 1886. The donor had received Volume II rather late as W.D. Belcher was away in Holland at the time of the order; 'when he goes, he is often away six weeks at a time'.¹

C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854). This contains a manuscript index in Alfred Heales's hand, together with his bookplate. Heales was the author of a number of papers on individual churches and appears to have corresponded at some length with the donor.

C. Boutell, *Monumental Brasses and Slabs* (London, 1847). This contains notes by the donor together with a sheet of comment by FCH on the statement about the figure of Thomas Leman, 1534 (M.S. III at Southacre, Norfolk) disagreeing with Boutell. The statement in Boutell comments on the lack of a tonsure on the brass to this ecclesiastic. Boutell notes that in 1534 the authority of the Pope in England was renounced by Parliament and, consequently, the tonsure was no longer worn. Boutell's woodcut is inaccurate and the tonsure is clearly shown. FCH is almost certainly the Catholic antiquary the Very Revd. Frederick Charles Husenbeth (1796-1872).²

C. Boutell, *The Monumental Brasses of England: A Series of Engravings on Wood* (London, 1849). A note by the donor comments: 'This work occupies a very important place in the literature of monumental brasses but the only reference and illustrations which can be made for it is as Boutell's Series and it is generally very difficult to locate a plate referred to.... This copy has been used by me in the compilation of my Bibliography of Monumental Brasses and all these plates entered in the Plate Index of same 1906'. This is the first of a number of references to a proposed bibliography.

¹ We are grateful to Les Smith for checking the Kent notes.

² On Husenbeth see D.O. Hunter-Blair, 'Frederick Charles Husenbeth', *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 16 vols. (New York, 1907-14), VII, pp. 589-90.

- R. Bower, *Brasses of Carlisle Diocese* (Kendal, 1894). A gift of the author to the donor; there are four letters from Bower loose in the volume. This is the pamphlet produced by T. Wilson of Kendal, reprinted from the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, XIII (1893), pp. 142-151. Bower, according to his letters of 1899, had so few copies of his paper left (the Society having destroyed the plates) that he would only send one to the donor in exchange for another paper on brasses. Eventually one was sent from America (probably the *Oxford Brass Rubbing Society Journal*) and the donor received his copy. Bower also attached a sketch of the heart brass at Arthuret, Cumberland (LSW. I) with a request for information about it.
- Cambridge Camden Society, *Illustrations of the Monumental Brasses of Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1840-6). The authors of the essays are identified and there are notes by the donor in front. The authors were: C.H. Hartshorne (Trumpington), A.J.B. Hope (Buxted and Horsmonden), J.J. Bevan (Minster), T. Thorp North Mimms), J.M. Neale (West Grinstead, Cowfold and Ely), F.A. Paley (Irnham and Balsham), T.P. Boulbee (Wixford), C.R. Manning (Gunby), C.H. Hodson (Broadwater), B.W. Webb (Standon, Fairford and Chigwell), J.G. Young (East Horsley), E.J. Carlos (Dagenham), R.D. Duffield (Wivenhoe (both)), J.J. Smith (Trinity Hall), M.H. Bloxham (Winwick), E.T. Codd (Tideswell), W.H. Mill (Christ's College).
- W.F. Greeny, *A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1884). There are a number of marginal notes.
- E.H.W. Dunkin, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1882). 'All plates entered in Plate Index and all notes collated and entered. August 26, 1906. Book finished. A.R.'
- E. Farrar, *A List of the Monumental Brasses Remaining in the County of Norfolk* (Norwich, 1890). Interleaved with annotations; there are two letters from Farrar pasted in. There is a separate book of the plates from the large paper edition that was bound for the donor by James Parker, Oxford.
- H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 parts (London, 1861). Pasted on the endpaper of Part I: 'These notes have been pasted in this copy of Haines, embody many additions and corrections in the List and further contain a complete cross reference to the publications of the MBS and the Oxford Brass Soc. Dec. 1899'. On the flyleaf is a note about the review or notice in *Notes and Queries*. Pasted in are several extraneous plates. Bound at the end of Part I, as directed by the donor, is the note on the proposed publication of *The Monumental Brasses of Europe* by W.H. Weale, which never appeared.
- Alfred Heales. Letter dated 20 May 1897 listing the pamphlets he was giving to the donor.
- G.E. Jeans, *A List of the Existing Sepulchral Brasses in Lincolnshire* (s.l., 1895). There are additional notes by the donor bound in and a note that the copy was sent by the editor, the Revd. Canon Hudson, 13 November 1897. There is a letter from Clare J. Hudson hoping that the donor would assist in re-editing the list and notes.

G.E. Jeans. Four letters from Jeans between 1897 and 1906 written at Shorwell Vicarage, Isle of Wight, on the loan of his materials on the Lincolnshire brasses. In September 1897, he pointed out that the donor was experiencing difficulty in up-dating the list because the Editors of *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* were so busy they left letters unanswered. (A supplement and addenda were eventually published.) Jeans by this time was the incumbent at Shorwell where he believed he had two brasses of considerable value. He had recently taken the brass to one of his predecessors (Richard Bethell, 1518 (M.S. I)) from the encaustic tiles in which it had been set and restored it to its old matrix in a slab on the north side of the altar steps. Writing in November 1897, on the notepaper of the Isle of Wight Rose Society, he notes that the Bethell slab had been re-used by the widow of another of his predecessors, John Godsall, 1732, as a memorial to her husband.

H.W. Macklin, *The Brasses of England* (London, 1907). There are notes and marks by the donor on this copy which was bought in Liverpool in 1907. In a separate envelope are inserts of notes by the donor, reviews and a pencil copy of bibliographic notes from the *Archaeological Journal*.

Monumental Brasses. This volume of pamphlets, now unfortunately missing, was collected and bound by Haines, and purchased after his death in 1872 by J.D.T. Niblett. It was sold after Niblett's death by a Mr. Williams of Moseley, whence it passed into the possession of Mr. Samuel Timmins, a noted archaeologist and Shakespearian authority. After his death it was sold to Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodges and purchased by the donor in 1899 at the library sale of a portion of Timmins' library. It includes clippings relating to the Timmins sale.

Monumental Brasses of Devonshire. Folio volume of notes on brasses, effigies and tombs bound for the donor. There are two pages of manuscript notes about the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society in which he observed that the Society had a close resemblance to the Cambridge Camden Society but seems to be of a more solid nature. 'A study of the Transactions or Publications of both is really necessary to a proper understanding and appreciation of some of the extraneous results and influences of the Oxford Movement. These articles were collected by me and bound up in this form for my special use and purpose'. List of contents.

St Dunstan Society English Church Exhibition. The catalogue (Price sixpence) for this exhibition in 1901 at the Brighton Church Congress contains seventeen reproductions of brasses. We are not aware of any other copies of this item. There is a brief reference to the catalogue in the *MBS Transactions*, IV, p. 218, that notes that the illustrations were mostly from blocks used by Haines. The exhibition, which was held in the Atheneum Hall, North Street, Brighton, must have been one of the earliest public exhibitions of brasses in the country, although it did include other objects designed 'to illustrate those Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer which state "and the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past"'. Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., lent the figure of Archbishop Cranley, 1417, New College, Oxford (M.S. II) and other rubbings were from Mill

- Stephenson. The authors of the catalogue, Percy Dearmer and W.H. St. John Hope, comment that the rubbings 'may be of value to those who desire to have some permanent record of the Ornaments of the Ministers as were in the Church of England in the days before her rubrics were ignored'.
- Scrapbook.* Contains a miscellaneous collection of material probably by C.T. Davis (author of *Gloucestershire Brasses*), mainly printed but including letters to the *Daily Post* on the cleaning of the Beauchamp brasses at St Mary's, Warwick and letters to *The Standard* in 1889 on vandalism and mistreatment of brasses.
- Scrapbook.* Large folio scrapbook of rubbings, plates, etc., mainly from *The Builder*, put together by the donor.
- Mill Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Shropshire* (London, 1895). Presented to the donor by the author. This is the article in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Soc.*, 2nd Ser., VII (1895), pp. 381-442, reprinted in pamphlet form by Harris and Sons.
- Mill Stephenson. Letter dated 7 November 1897 refusing help for the donor in compiling his bibliography, stating that he has no such list even of his own work. Suggests 'you want the run of a large library where all the Transactions of the Archaeological Societies are kept and this I fancy you will find only in London'.
- J.L. Thornley, *Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire* (London, 1893). Contains the bookplate of Edward Lewton Penny of Bermuda, 1885. Has notes and marks by the donor.
- J.G. Waller and L.A.B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th Century* (London, 1842-64). Topographical index by the donor loose in volume. Page of notes on headed paper. Possibly bound for the donor by George Gregory, Bath.

The collection is accessible to those with a serious interest and may be found at the Mullen Library, Catholic University of America, 620 Michigan Ave., N.E., Washington DC 20064.³

³ The Mullen Library is open Monday-Friday, 10-5. The Curator, one of the authors of this article, may be contacted by e-mail: henry@cua.edu.

John Sell Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk

by SALLY BADHAM and RON FISKE

with an Appendix by DERRICK CHIVERS

JOHN Sell Cotman's *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk* and *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Suffolk*, both completed in 1819, were the first publications to be devoted exclusively to monumental brasses, but have never really been given the recognition they deserve. Victor Rienaeker, one of Cotman's biographers, wrote of them dismissively: 'Turning the pages of *Sepulchral Brasses*, one deplores that necessity forced Cotman slavishly to trace upon the plates those formal, predetermined lines of the craft of dead centuries'.¹ While Cotman's other major biographer, Sydney Kitson, described the pencil drawings of brasses, such as that to Robert Braunche at King's Lynn, as 'a marvel of accurate and patient draughtsmanship',² he also regarded this work on brasses as a regrettable diversion on the part of one who is now seen as the most gifted and versatile watercolourist of the Norwich School of painting. The view that Cotman's etchings, particularly those of monuments, were of little artistic merit was shared by many other twentieth-century commentators on Cotman's work. The notable exception was Andrew Hemingway, though his more positive view of Cotman's etchings was based mainly on the architectural prints.³ Like other of Cotman's biographers he barely touched on *Sepulchral Brasses*. Indeed, until Ralph Griffin published a pamphlet in 1937, many writers, both on Cotman and on brasses, had overlooked the fact that the Suffolk plates first appeared in 1819.⁴ Even Popham, who provided a detailed listing of 370 of Cotman's other engravings, including some never published, thought it unnecessary to list individually the contents of the collection of over 160 etchings of brasses.⁵ Antiquaries, however, value the works more highly, recognising that they contain largely accurate etchings of many brasses which have since been lost or mutilated. One of these, John Chambers, commented 'perhaps our feeble voices may be allowed to bear testimony to the antiquarian research and the correctness of drawing, which pervades this publication; a work highly interesting to the antiquary

¹ V. Rienaeker, *John Sell Cotman 1782-1842* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1953), p. 25.

² S. D. Kitson, *The Life of John Sell Cotman*, 2nd edn. (London, 1982), p. 182.

³ A. Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi': Cotman's Architectural Prints", *Walpole Society*, XLVIII (1982), pp. 210-44.

⁴ R. Griffin, *Cotman's Suffolk Brasses* (privately printed, 1937) gives much useful information on the 1st edn., but is far from complete in his exposition of the history of this work.

⁵ A.E. Popham, 'The Etchings of J.S. Cotman', *The Print Collectors Quarterly*, IX, no. 3 (October 1922); reprinted in Rienaeker, *Cotman*, pp. 111-15.



FIG. 1
Drawing of John Sell Cotman by Horace Beevor Love (1780-1838)
Photograph by Sotheby's; copyright Ron Fiske (now with the Castle Museum, Norwich)

and man of taste'.⁶ An examination of the circumstances leading to the conception and the convoluted history of the publication of the Norfolk and Suffolk volumes is thus long overdue.

⁶ [J. Chambers], *A General History of Norfolk intended to convey all the information of a Norfolk Tour*, 2 vols., sometimes 3 (Norwich, 1829), p. 202.

Cotman's Life

John Sell Cotman (Fig. 1) was born in Norwich on 16 May 1782.⁷ Although in later years, he was to give the impression that his father, Edmund, was a wealthy silk merchant who lived in a villa with elegant gardens in Thorpe, Norwich, he was actually brought up in considerably humbler circumstances. At the time of the artist's birth, Edmund was probably working as an assistant to his elder brother, John, a hairdresser, a profession he continued until the late 1790s, and though Edmund later became a draper and lived in Thorpe, his business was never prosperous or his house grandiose. John Sell Cotman won a free place at the Norwich Grammar School in 1793; on leaving the school it has been assumed that he worked briefly in his father's shop. Though he had received no formal training in drawing, by his mid teens Cotman was a keen amateur artist with ambitions to make his career in this field. The earliest of his drawings to survive, now in the British Museum, is dated 1794, when Cotman was just twelve. In 1798 he moved to London and obtained employment, probably in a menial capacity, first at Rudolph Ackermann's drawing academy, The Repository of Arts, 101, The Strand, and later at a similar establishment in Adelphi Terrace, run by Dr. Munro. He continued to spend much of his spare time drawing and painting watercolours, becoming an active, and then leading, member of the Drawing Society, and first exhibited at the Royal Academy at the age of eighteen. In the same year he went on the first of his two tours of Wales, making many drawings, and on his return worked independently, supporting himself by producing drawings to be sold in the print shops of the Soho district. From 1802 to 1805 he joined his friend from the Drawing Society, Paul Munn, in producing drawing copies for the use of amateurs, which were sold from the Munn brothers' Bond Street stationer's and printseller's shop. During this period, tours of Yorkshire and trips home to Norwich provided further inspiration for his compositions.

By the end of 1806 Cotman abandoned his struggle for fame and fortune in London and returned to Norwich, opening a school for drawing and design in Wymer Street. This venture proved only marginally financially viable, as Cotman found himself unable to compete successfully, either as a drawing master or as a painter of local scenery, with the established Norwich master, John Crome. His attempt to establish a circulating library of drawing copies was also discontinued due to the low level of patronage. On 6 January 1809, Cotman married Ann Miles, a farmer's daughter from Felbrigg. Perhaps then his eye was caught by the splendid collection of brasses at Felbrigg, five of which he was to illustrate in *Sepulchral Brasses*. Following the birth of their first child, Miles, in February 1810, Cotman began the search for some other source of income besides his tenuous earnings as a drawing master.

⁷ This section is based mainly on Kitson, *Cotman*, whose biography is the most complete and accurate account of Cotman's life. Rienaecker, *Cotman*, pp. 11-35; J. Reeve, *Memoir of John Sell Cotman* ([Norwich]: Norwich Art Circle, 1888, revised and separately issued in 1911), repr. with additions and corrections in Rienaecker, *Cotman*, pp. 59-86; and *DNB*, XIII (London, 1887), pp. 285-7 are other useful sources.

For the twelve years from 1810, Cotman devoted much of his time to producing engravings for commercial publications.⁸ He had first experimented with etching, using the soft-ground technique,⁹ in 1801, but did not consider etching as a commercial proposition until 1807 when the renowned artist J.M.W. Turner issued the first plates of his *Liber Studiorum*, to which Cotman was a subscriber. The romantic antiquarian movement, pioneered by figures such as Richard Gough, John Carter and John Britton, had led to an upsurge of interest in architectural antiquities, particularly of the medieval period, and it was this rich new field from which Cotman hoped to benefit. One of his objectives was to make sufficient money to enable him to escape the drudgery of teaching and instead concentrate his energies on establishing himself as an artist of repute. He also craved the financial independence to indulge his acquisitive nature. His frequent impulsive purchases, particularly of paintings and volumes of prints, led him into debt and extreme anxiety throughout his life. He also believed the etchings would make his reputation. Writing to his friend Francis Cholmeley on 5 March 1811, he declared 'I feel I have a Horse that will carry me nearer to the temple of Fame than I ever was.'¹⁰ His first independent commercial venture, [*Miscellaneous*] *Etchings*, twenty-six plates (twenty-four plus illustrated title and dedication pages) of picturesque architecture in Yorkshire and elsewhere, the plates dated between September 1810 and July 1811 (dedication plate), attracted a subscription list of over 212. Though this and his other commercial ventures achieved only limited success, he remained enthusiastic about this type of work for many years, even in 1821 applying for the post of draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries.¹¹

From the time Cotman returned to Norwich in 1806, he became increasingly close to Dawson Turner, whom he had known since at least 1804 and who was to become a key influence on Cotman's work, particularly after the Cotmans moved, at Turner's urging, to Southtown, Yarmouth, in 1812. Turner, a well-to-do banker of Yarmouth, was a keen botanist, antiquary and topographer and a member of many learned societies, but he is best remembered today for his impressive library and as a liberal patron, particularly of Crome and Cotman.¹² During Cotman's twelve years in Yarmouth, he acted as drawing master to Turner's talented wife and daughters whom Turner encouraged to produce drawings and etchings for his extra-illustrated copy of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, now in the British Library.¹³

⁸ A list of his published engravings, complete except for the omission of Norfolk and Suffolk *Brasses* (summarised only) is in Popham, 'Etchings', reprinted in Rienaecker, *Cotman*, pp. 127-9.

⁹ In this technique, the normal etching ground comprising beeswax, asphaltum and Burgundy pitch, has tallow added to it to soften it and a grained paper is stretched over the grounded copper plate. The subject is drawn with a pencil on this paper, causing the tacky ground to adhere to the paper and exposing the copper where the lines are drawn and finally the plate is bitten in acid so that the print exactly reproduces the line made by pencil on paper. See M. Hardie, 'Cotman as Etcher', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXI (July 1942), p. 176.

¹⁰ North Riding Record Office, Northallerton, ref. ZQG; Hemingway, 'English Piranesi', p. 212.

¹¹ Hemingway, 'English Piranesi', p. 213.

¹² *DNB*, LVII (London, 1894), pp. 334-5.

¹³ BL, Add. MS 23013-62, Dawson Turner's interleaved and annotated copy of F. Blomefield, *Essay towards a Topographical History of Norfolk*, 2nd edn., 11 vols. (London 1805-10), a large paper copy extended to 50 vols. Ron Fiske has recently suggested that it was originated by Turner's brother-in-law, William Palgrave (*The Provincial Booksellers Fairs Association's Millennium Exhibition of Book Collection Catalogue* (2000), p. 14). In addition Dawson Turner had an interleaved and annotated copy of the 2nd edn., comprising 40 octavo volumes arranged in hundreds, now in Ron Fiske's collection (hereinafter referred to as Bl./D.T./R.C.F.).

This was a busy time for Cotman. In 1811, with his [*Miscellaneous*] *Etchings*, he had issued a prospectus for *Specimens of Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*, which was to comprise sixty plates in ten equal quarterly parts. This timescale proved overly ambitious; many subscribers lost interest and, by 1818, had fallen away. It was then completed with a different title: *A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*. The idea was Cotman's own, but Turner encouraged him in this venture and was the author of the printed notes accompanying it. In 1818 and 1819 Cotman's drawings for the two-volume *Excursions in Norfolk* were published while his slim volume, *Antiquities of St. Mary Chapel at Stourbridge, near Cambridge*, followed in 1819. In 1817 and 1818 he had undertaken tours of Normandy which resulted in Dawson Turner's *A Tour in Normandy* in 1820. In this his drawings were etched by Mrs. Dawson Turner, whereas he himself undertook the plates for the magnificent two-volume *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, with Dawson Turner's text, published in 1822. Even so, the book proved a disappointment financially. In the meantime his *Specimens of Norman and Gothic Architecture in the County of Norfolk*, begun in 1817, received little support and failed to materialise as a 'work' until the one hundred prints, together with his other architectural etchings, were finally published in 1838 by Henry Bohn.

During the period when Cotman came under Turner's influence, Cotman embarked on several projects for publications of hard-ground etchings of architectural and other antiquities. Although the finished plates sometimes resembled engravings, not least those in the misleadingly entitled *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, Cotman never used a graver, but always drew with an etching needle and then bit the copper plate in acid.¹⁴ These volumes of etchings were issued in parts, initially with considerable enthusiasm and industry, but then with growing apathy as new ventures appeared far more appealing. Consequently, despite his prolific overall output – between 1817 and 1822, in addition to his duties as a drawing master, and his work as a painter, Cotman produced over 500 etchings¹⁵ – he almost always fell behind the promised schedule of delivery for his more ambitious enterprises, irritating his subscribers and thus circumscribing his ability to complete the undertaking successfully. His *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, discussed in detail below, suffered such a fate.

It was not just Cotman's lack of business sense and inability to adhere to publication schedules that contributed to the failure of most of his commercial ventures. The problem was largely in the nature of his work as guided by Dawson Turner. Cotman was by nature a creative artist, best suited to producing picturesque views, hence the limited success of his [*Miscellaneous*] *Etchings* and his *Liber Studiorum*, which latter comprised forty-eight of his soft-ground etchings when published by

¹⁴ Hardie, 'Cotman as Etcher', p. 176.

¹⁵ Popham, 'Etchings', lists 370 prints individually plus 111 Norfolk *Brasses* and 47 Suffolk *Brasses*, totalling 528 prints, but this list is incomplete.

Bohn in 1838. However, in his quest for material reward, Cotman allowed himself to be drawn into a different field, for which he did not have such an outstanding talent. His etchings of architectural details lacked the supreme precision and accuracy of the trained archaeological draughtsman, as exemplified by the work of his contemporary, Charles Alfred Stothard. Some of his etchings of brasses are inaccurate in details or show only an incomplete composition, though this may not have been as apparent in his day as it is now when numerous reproductions of rubbings are widely available. Moreover, the contents of works such as his Normandy venture were too varied to suit many antiquaries, ranging from romantic views of churches to fine details of carving.

Disillusioned, Cotman finally abandoned his hopes of achieving financial independence by publishing etchings and returned to Norwich in 1824, attempting once again to make a living through his talents as a watercolourist and drawing master. He received some recognition, being elected in 1825 an associate exhibitor of the Society of Painters in Water-colours (now the Royal Society). However, due to the depressed economic circumstances of the time and his continued inability to live economically, he had by 1826 fallen into penury, ill-health and despair. But he continued to struggle to earn a reasonable living. In 1833 the Norfolk and Suffolk Institution held its last exhibition, which was a sad blow to Cotman, who had used these annual exhibitions as a showcase for his talent as an artist and teacher of drawing. Due to the influence of his friend, J.M.W. Turner, in 1834 he was appointed drawing master at King's College, London, with the grandiose title of Professor of Drawing, a position he held until his death on 24 July 1842. He was buried in the churchyard at St. John's Wood Chapel, Marylebone, on 30 July, where his gravestone can still be seen. By the end of his life, Cotman had achieved some critical respect, but not financial reward. There was little demand for the small watercolours of unpretentious subjects that Cotman produced and his prolific output further reduced the monetary value of his individual works until long after his death, when the true worth of his genius was finally recognised.

Cotman's Method of Producing Etchings of Brasses

Dawson Turner encouraged Cotman to become interested in brasses soon after his removal to Yarmouth in 1812. Cotman appears to have made his first etching of a brass on 1 January 1813, though it was never published. Two copies of this untinted trial etching are known to the authors, one in the possession of John Blatchly and one in the Norwich and Norfolk Archaeological Society.¹⁶ It features the figures from the lost 1364 brass to Sir Miles and Lady Joan Stapleton at Ingham, Norfolk (Fig. 2). Compared with the illustration of the complete brass Cotman published in his Norfolk volume (Fig. 3), it is a crude and ill-proportioned representation. It is not known whether this etching was based on a rubbing, but a detailed comparison

¹⁶ It is bound in with a collection of drawings of brasses by the Revd. Thomas Talbot in the Norwich and Norfolk Archaeological Society's Library at Garsett House, Norwich.

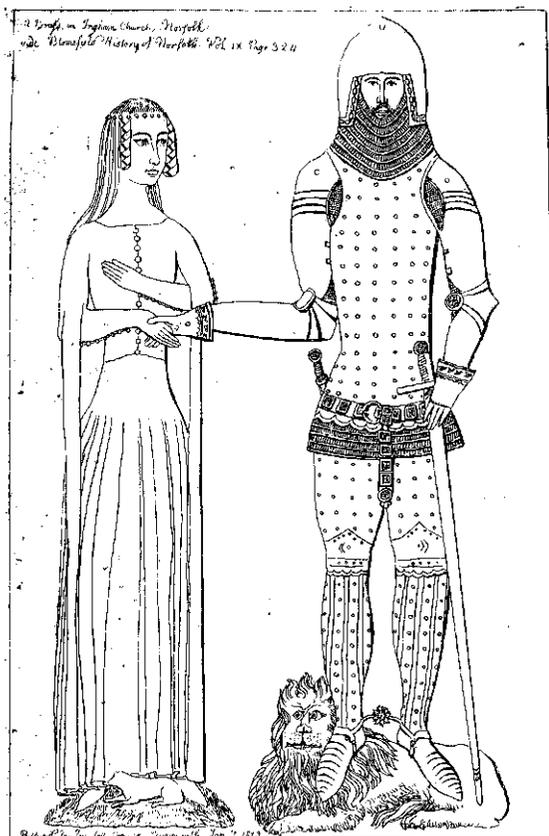


FIG. 2

Etching dated 1 January 1813 by Cotman of the lost 1364
brass to Sir Miles and Lady Joan Stapleton
at Ingham, Norfolk,
in the collection of John Blatchly

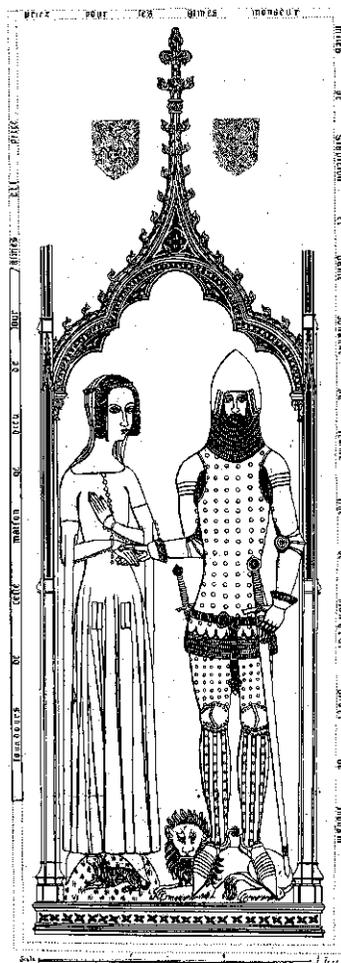


FIG. 3

Cotman's published etching of the lost 1364
brass to Sir Miles and Lady Joan Stapleton
at Ingham, Norfolk

shows it was clearly not derived from the drawings made for Gough and by Stothard. The drawing from which this etching was prepared is not known to survive, but it gives the impression of having been drawn freehand, a method ill-suited to the production of accurate copies. It was seemingly replaced when, as explained below, Cotman obtained a rubbing of the brass from Revd. Thomas Talbot later the same year. Cotman clearly learnt from this experiment, for his published etchings were produced by a more systematic method, based on careful, scaled drawings taken from rubbings. The various stages are illustrated by the rubbing, drawing and published plate for the brass at Hockwold, shown in Figs. 4-6.



FIG. 4
 Rubbing by Thomas Talbot of the lost 1532 brass
 to Amfelice Tendall from Hockwold, Norfolk
Reproduced by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London



FIG. 5
 Drawing by Cotman of the lost 1532 brass
 to Amfelice Tendall from Hockwold, Norfolk
 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of
 Prints and Drawings H.7.b).
 Note how Cotman has omitted shading and
 cross-hatching shown on the original rubbing
 in fig. 4. *Reproduced by permission of the
 Victoria and Albert Museum*



FIG. 6
 Cotman's published etching of the lost 1532 brass
 to Amfelice Tendall, from Hockwold, Norfolk

On 20 April 1813, Cotman and Dawson Turner visited Ingham church, accompanied by Turner's two eldest daughters and two others (perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Gunn). They rode over 'on purpose, to see the antiquities in the church and particularly the sepulchral brasses' which they 'had frequently heard reported as the finest in the county'.¹⁷ In the event they were disappointed. They discovered that, about the year 1800, when the church was repaired, the brasses had been 'left exposed to the depredations of all vagabonds and scoundrels who stole these beautiful remains of antiquity and sold them for old metal'. However, the disappointment of this visit was soon overcome. Writing to Dawson Turner shortly after, Cotman informed him that he had had a three-hour meeting with Dr. Sutton, Dr. Sayers and the Revd. Mr. Talbot.¹⁸ The last gave him what he described as impressions, but were in fact graphite rubbings, of several brasses including five taken from those destroyed at Ingham. 'Oh Joy!!!', his ebullient hand declares.

Dr. Sayers and the Revd. Thomas Talbot were, like Dawson Turner himself, old pupils of the Paston School at North Walsham. Others who helped Cotman with his work, the Revd. Edward Edwards, the Revd. Thomas Dade, the Revd. John Homfray and the Revd. William Spurdens, also had connections with this school and may possibly have developed an interest in brasses as schoolboys.¹⁹ Certainly, Thomas Talbot's interest in brasses dated from that period; one hundred of his drawings of brasses taken from his own rubbings, executed in 1793-4 when he was just sixteen, were presented to the Norwich and Norfolk Archaeological Society in 1932 and are preserved in the Society's Library at Garsett House, Norwich.²⁰ Many of these show brasses also drawn by Cotman and it is interesting to compare the two interpretations. Cotman generally gives a more accurate overall impression regarding dimensions and the style of the brass, but too often shows only part of the composition and omits detail such as shading.

To produce his etchings, Cotman worked from rubbings, first drawing a carefully measured grid on the rubbings, usually at four-inch intervals, but varying this to a one- or two-inch grid for small brasses or a six-inch grid for large ones, with the squares numbered down the left-hand side. He then drew a scaled-down copy in pencil using a similarly-numbered grid with the same proportions. Cotman used a similar system, probably using a viewing wire grid, for some of his architectural views.²¹

¹⁷ BL/D.T./R.C.F. vol. 29, p. 323.

¹⁸ Cotman's letter is inserted in one of Dawson Turner's copies of the Norfolk volume, cited in Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, *Catalogue of the Remaining Portion of the Library of Dawson Turner* (London, May 1859), item 539, and now in Ron Fiske's collection (hereinafter referred to as Cot. Norf./D.T./R.C.F.). Cotman did not date the letter but Turner dated it 14 July 1813.

¹⁹ See list of pupils in C. Forder, *A History of Paston School*, 2nd edn. (North Walsham, 1975), pp. 84-7.

²⁰ H.O. Clark, 'An Eighteenth-century record of Norfolk Sepulchral Brasses', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXVI (1938), pp. 85-102.

²¹ *Vide* his drawings of Mintlyn church in Bradfer-Lawrence's extra-illustrated copy of Charles Parkin, *A Topographical History of Freebridge Hundred and half in the County of Norfolk* (Lynn, 1722), Ron Fiske's collection.

It has been widely assumed that Cotman mostly made his own rubbings as a basis for his etchings, but the evidence does not support this. Many of the rubbings Cotman used as a source for his Norfolk drawings are preserved in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of London. They are graphite rubbings, made on small pieces of thick, high-quality paper, with the pieces pasted together to show the full composition. Often the montage of separate pieces of paper was trimmed to follow the outline of the brass. Many of them still have the numbered grid drawn on in Cotman's hand. The paper is not all of one type; most are laid paper, but some unlaidd sheets have been used. A number of the sheets are watermarked; the most common watermarks are Britannia, a fleur-de-lys, and a shield and garter with a crown above.

A number of the rubbings have been attributed, by Mill Stephenson amongst others, to Cotman, but they were almost certainly produced by Talbot. The collection includes the rubbings of the Ingham brasses which Cotman recorded that he had been given by Talbot and others rubbed in an identical way on identical paper, some of them signed and dated 1793 by Talbot, but with a grid superimposed by Cotman. In total there are seventy-nine graphite rubbings of this type in the Norfolk section of the Antiquaries' collection; a full list compiled by Derrick Chivers is at Appendix A.

Though Cotman did not consider all the rubbings, particularly those of inscription brasses, suitable for reproduction, he evidently made considerable use of Talbot's work. Of the Norfolk brasses he illustrated, twenty-six are taken from Talbot rubbings in the Antiquaries' collection and a further thirteen are of subjects previously drawn by Talbot and for which Cotman may have used a now lost Talbot rubbing. Cotman acknowledged his indebtedness to Talbot in his preface, stating that 'without the unwearied researches and equal liberality of [Talbot], a great proportion of its [the volume's] most valuable contents would never have been in his possession, indeed could never have been known to him'. Talbot's Norfolk rubbings were apparently supplemented by those of other antiquaries.²²

It may, however, remain the case that Cotman made some rubbings himself. The collection of rubbings in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge includes amongst its treasures, rubbings, attributed to Cotman, of the figures of Sir Ralph Shelton and his wife from Great Snoring, Norfolk, showing parts of the knight's figure now lost.²³ They appear to have been rubbed with a dirty piece of leather on small sheets of paper with a Britannia watermark with a countermark 'BN' in double-lined capitals. Cotman illustrated this brass, in a near-identical state

²² In the foreword to the 1st edn. of the Norfolk volume, Cotman thanked for providing impressions of brasses and contributions to his researches: Revd. Thomas Dade, Revd. John Homfray, Revd. James Layton, Revd. Thomas Kerrich, Revd. William Spurdens, Revd. John Grove Spurgeon, Revd. Thomas Talbot, Dawson Turner and Revd. Richard Turner.

²³ G.E.A. Ruck, 'Centenary of a Collection', *MBS Trans.*, VIII (1949), pp. 220-33. The knight's figure is illustrated in pl. 4.

of preservation, in his Norfolk volume.²⁴ It is particularly cited in the introduction as once having been partly enamelled and some plates of it were specially printed on drawing paper and coloured by hand.²⁵

Most of the etchings of Suffolk brasses were taken from rubbings lent by the Suffolk topographer, Revd. David Davy, another friend of Dawson Turner. In a letter to Turner, dated 26 December 1815, Davy wrote:

I have this day packed up and sent off to Mr Cotman all the rubbings off from Suffolk brasses in my possession. I only wish they were more numerous; but, upon mustering my whole stock of figures I can find no more than 28. Some, I hope, will be thought worthy of engraving; one, that in Yoxford, of being re-engraved, the impression already published, not being very correct. It would give me much pleasure to be the means of forwarding Mr C in his work, which as you observe is a very interesting one, and one which should, for the honour of the County, be made as compleat as possible.²⁶

Most of Cotman's drawings of brasses are preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum.²⁷ Others are in the Castle Museum, Norwich²⁸ and some of other monuments, including many unpublished drawings, are in the Ashmolean Museum.²⁹ The drawings include some which were never

²⁴ Cotman's drawing omits an entablature beneath the figures which is clearly seen on the rubbing of the knight.

²⁵ As extra illustrations to the Introduction in Cot.Norf./D.T./R.C.F. and Stubbs's portfolio copy, now in Ron Fiske's collection.

²⁶ Letter inserted in Cot. Norf./D.T./R.C.F. In a volume of proof plates now owned by Joan Corder (hereinafter referred to as Cot.Suff./D.E.D./J.C.) Davy annotated the proof of the brass at Yoxford M.S. I (Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926) (hereinafter referred to as M.S.), which was dated 1814, 'John Norwich Esq., died 1418', but when the plate was first issued in 1816 and re-issued in 1819 Cotman used the original plate with the unamended caption 'A brass in Yoxford Church, Suffolk. 1814 drawn, etched and published by J.S. Cotman Jnr'. It was not until the 2nd edn. was published by Bohn in 1839 that Davy's correction to the caption was made.

²⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum, Print Room pressmarks D.1507.1889 - D.1590.1889. This collection of 84 drawings was bought from N. Jackson in 1889 for £21.

²⁸ The Castle Museum, Norwich holds 10 drawings of brasses attributed to Cotman. Four are very clearly in his hand; these are listed in Appendix B. The six remaining drawings fall into three groups. Two drawings (catalogue nos. 1951.235.244:F Blickling, Norfolk M.S. IV and 1951.235.526:F Blickling, Norfolk M.S. VIII) depict the same subjects as two other, indisputably Cotman, drawings in the collection. The study of Blickling N.S. IV accurately shows a group of 11 sons, whereas Cotman's drawing and engraving both erroneously show only 9. Moreover they are drawn in ink with a single colour wash, whereas the known Cotman drawings of brasses are always in pencil. This suggests that it is very doubtful that they are by Cotman. Three other drawings appear to be the work of a single hand (catalogue nos. 1951.235.242:F Blickling, Norfolk M.S. III; 1951.235.275:F Salthouse, Norfolk M.S. I and a demi-effigy of a lady c. 1450, probably the lost brass of Halwyse Charlys from Salthouse (information taken from Roger Greenwood's notes in possession of MBS taken from the c. 1735 Frere MSS of Holt Hundred and a manuscript description of the church by Blomefield dated 16 August 1748); and 1951.235.278:F Thwaite, Norfolk M.S. I). Blickling M.S. III was etched by Cotman, but the etching was not taken from this drawing; there are small variations, including more detailed facial features on the etching. The other two drawings are not of subjects known to have been etched by Cotman. All three are in ink with a single colour wash. It is possible, but unlikely, that this group of drawings is Cotman's work. The final item (catalogue no. 1954.138, Todd 10, Humbleyard, 97:F Ketteringham, Norfolk M.S. IV) is a rough pencil sketch not like Cotman's usual drawings of brasses intended for publication. It was attributed to Cotman by Arbour in 1971, but this attribution may be questionable.

²⁹ The drawings of the other monuments in the Ashmolean Museum Print Room, Oxford are in an album of drawings by J.S. Cotman and his pupils, catalogued as Norfolk drawings Vol. 1. In addition to the Cotman drawings, there are copies of Cotman's drawings of monuments by Mrs. Dawson Turner and Hannah Sarah Turner. The drawing of King's Lynn M.S. II was for many years in the collection of Sydney Kitson; on his death it was left to R.I.B.A., who in turn sold it to the Yale Centre. Despite enquiries of many major libraries, museums and art galleries it has not proved possible to trace any other surviving drawings of brasses by Cotman.

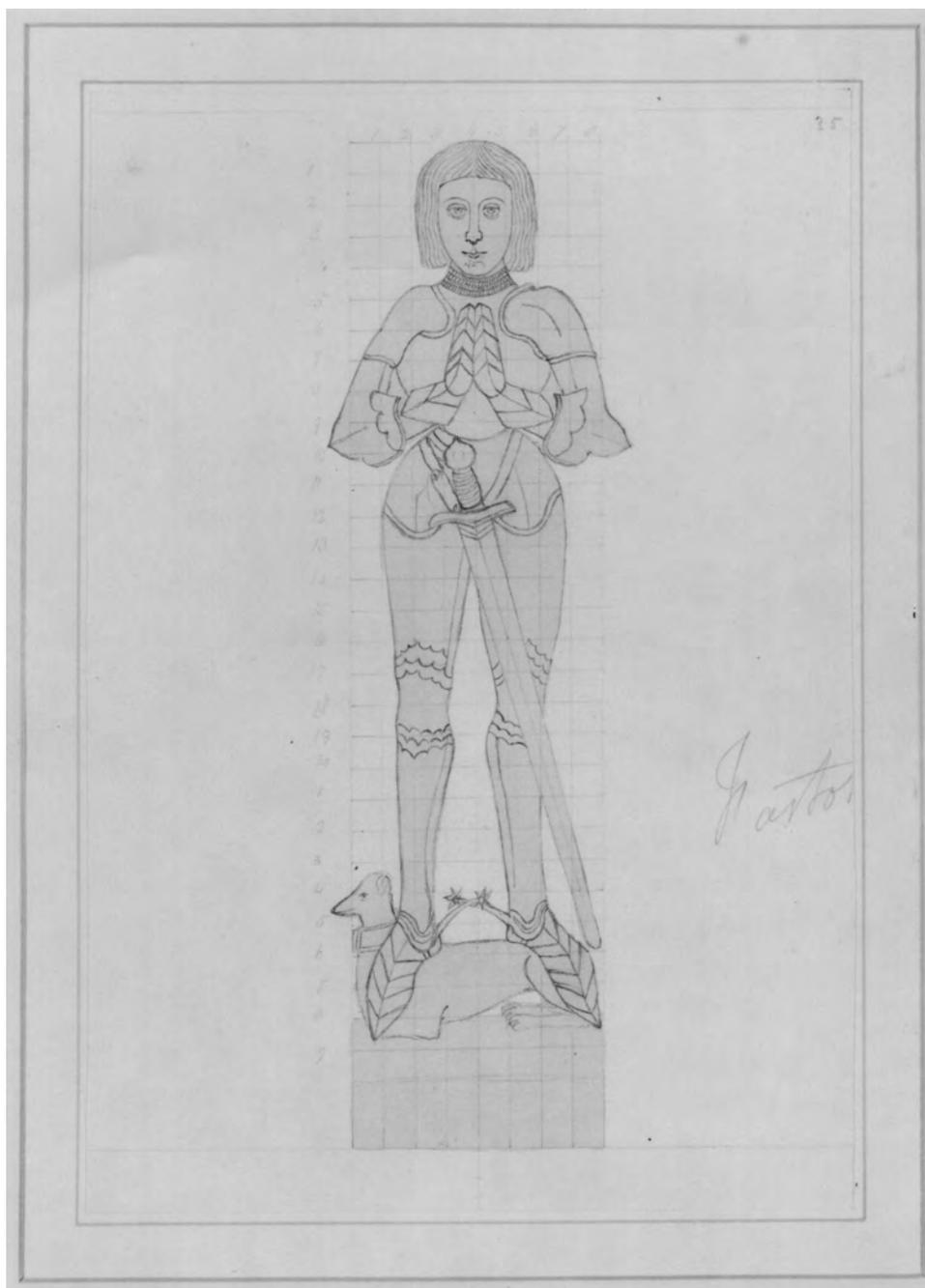


FIG. 7

Unpublished drawing by Cotman of the knight from the lost 1489 brass to John and Katherine Fastolff from Oulton, Suffolk (Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings H.7.c)

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published, such as the figures from the lost 1489 Fastolff brass at Oulton, Suffolk (Fig. 7) and the 1440 brass to the Boleyn family at Salle, Norfolk, which latter is important as it is the only known illustration showing two groups of children, now lost (Fig. 8). A full list of the known surviving Cotman drawings of monuments is at Appendix B. On some the grid is very clear, but on others it has been virtually erased. Sometimes Cotman scrawled notes on the family's heraldry or related to the production process, such as 'prepare this for the copper' or the date a proof was prepared. From this finished drawing the details were transferred to a copper plate and proofs produced. Finally, the plates were printed for publication, though there was often a gap of several years between proofing and final publication. For example, the drawing of Wrentham, Suffolk M.S. II is dated April 8th 1816, the etching is dated 1817, but, as the dated paper wrapper makes clear, the plate was not issued until 1819.

The surviving drawings vary in quality. Those of large and elaborate brasses in particular are beautifully drawn, as exemplified by that of Sir Hugh Hastings's 1347 brass at Elsing, Norfolk (Fig. 9), which shows many parts since lost, including the weeper image of Lawrence Hastings, never returned to the church after John Fenn took it 'to get it more securely fixed' in 1783. While the Revd. Thomas Dade sent him 'an impression of the Elsing figure',³⁰ unless the impression was an old one, possibly even that taken by Sir John Cullum and Fenn in 1781,³¹ it is more likely that Cotman used Carter's drawing as a basis for his own.³² Other of Cotman's drawings appear hastily and inaccurately drawn. Perhaps the worst example of Cotman's draughtsmanship is the etching of the c. 1480 knight at Swaffham, Norfolk, who is depicted wearing a ruff rather than the mail collar shown on the brass! Cotman clearly rejected this plate for publication, but Bohn included it in the Appendix to the second edition of Cotman's work, published in 1839 (Fig. 10). However, the main difference normally apparent on Cotman's drawings is that he tended to omit or grossly simplify shading shown on the original brass (cf. Figs 4-6). All but one of these drawings of brasses are of Norfolk and Suffolk subjects. The exception is an undated drawing of Trumpington, Cambridgeshire M.S. I, perhaps made during his study of nearby St. Mary's Chapel, Stourbridge, fortunately preserved in Stubbs's portfolio copy of the Norfolk volume in Ron Fiske's topographical collection (Fig. 11).

On all but one of the drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and one of those in Norwich Castle Museum which appears to be drawn by Cotman, the area of brass plate was hand-tinted a pale greenish-yellow, perhaps copied from Talbot, who used a light yellow wash over his finished drawings.³³ In addition, all heraldry,

³⁰ Dade's letter to Dawson Turner, 28 April 1815, in Cot.Norf./D.T./R.C.F.

³¹ Preserved in BL, Add. M. 32479, Norfolk f. 3; see V.J. Torr, 'A Guide to Craven Ord', *MBS Trans.*, IX (October 1952), pp. 80-91 and (July 1954), 133-4, esp. p. 142.

³² J. Carter, *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1780), pls. opp. p. 12, 37.

³³ The exception is the drawing of Shernborne M.S. I, which is completely untinted. The areas depicting brass on the published plate are tinted, however. The drawing is also ungridded and these differences from his normal style raise the question whether this drawing is actually by Cotman. The published plate is very similar to Basire's etching after Revd. T. Kerrich's drawing. As Kerrich helped Cotman, possibly he supplied the drawing.



FIG. 8

Unpublished drawing by Cotman of the 1440 brass to Geoffrey Boleyn and family at Salle, Norfolk, showing two groups of children now lost (Castle Museum, Norwich, Department of Prints and Drawings 1951.235.423:F)

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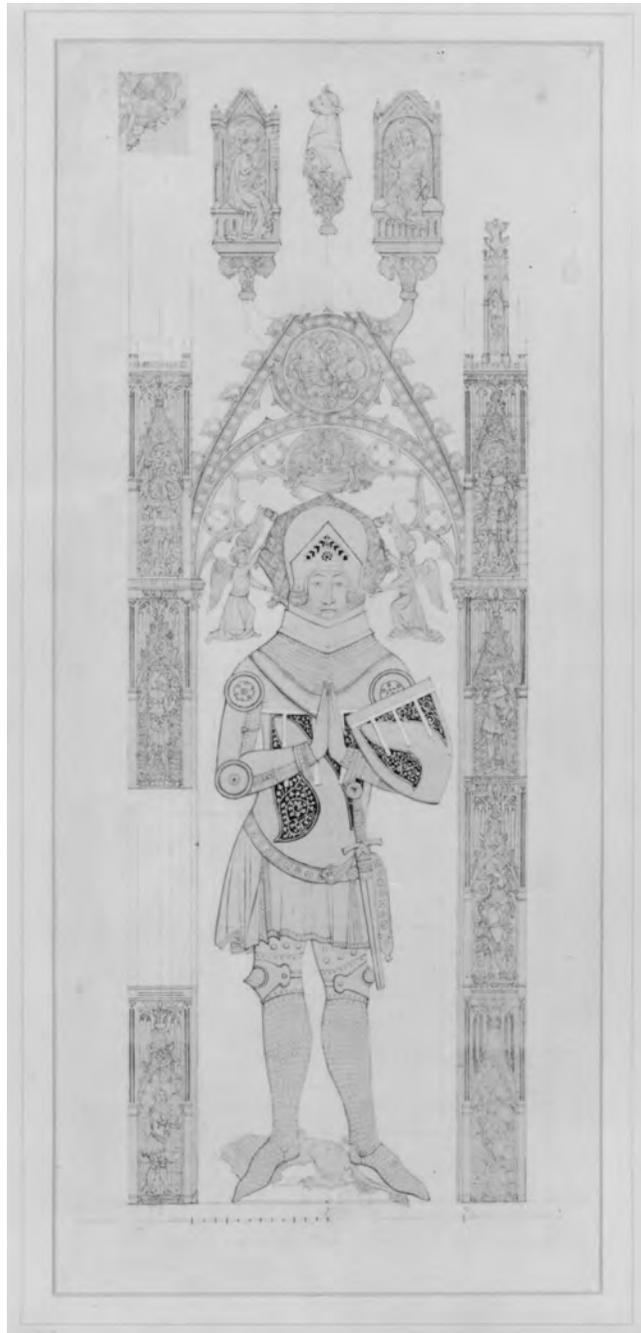


FIG. 9

Drawing by Cotman of the 1349 brass to Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk, showing many parts now lost
(Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings H/7/b)

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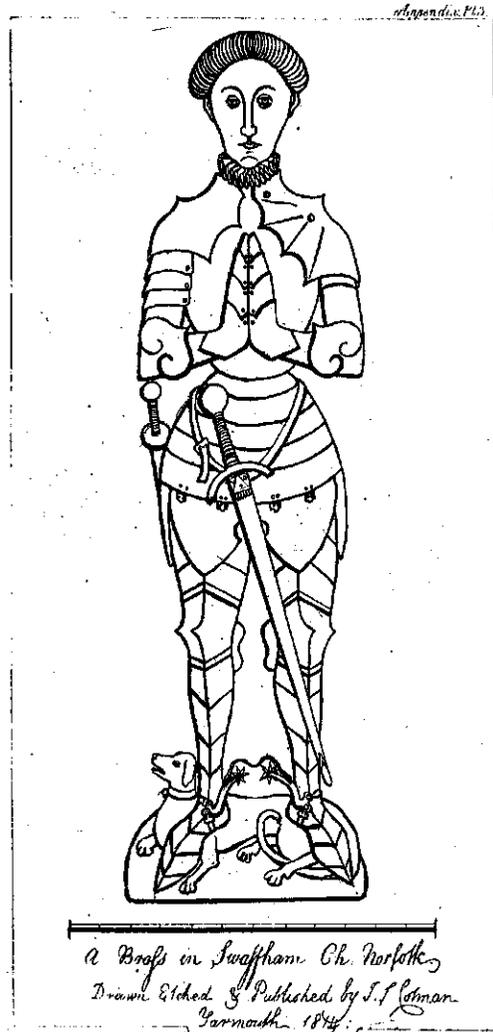


FIG. 10

Cotman's published etching of the c. 1480 brass to an unknown knight at Swaffham, Norfolk, who is here depicted as wearing a ruff, rather than the mail collar shown on the brass

including heraldic tabards and gowns, were hand-coloured, as sometimes were other details, such as the backgrounds to the figures of St. Faith on M.S. VII at St. Lawrence, Norwich (now returned to Horsham St. Faiths, Norfolk) and of the Virgin and Child on M.S. III at Southacre, both of which backgrounds are tinted blue; these areas are cross-hatched on the brass and it may be that some of the original colouring survived in Cotman's day. The most elaborately coloured of these drawings are those of Ketteringham M.S. II, on which the colouring survives, Felbrigg M.S. III, Playford M.S. I and Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. IV.

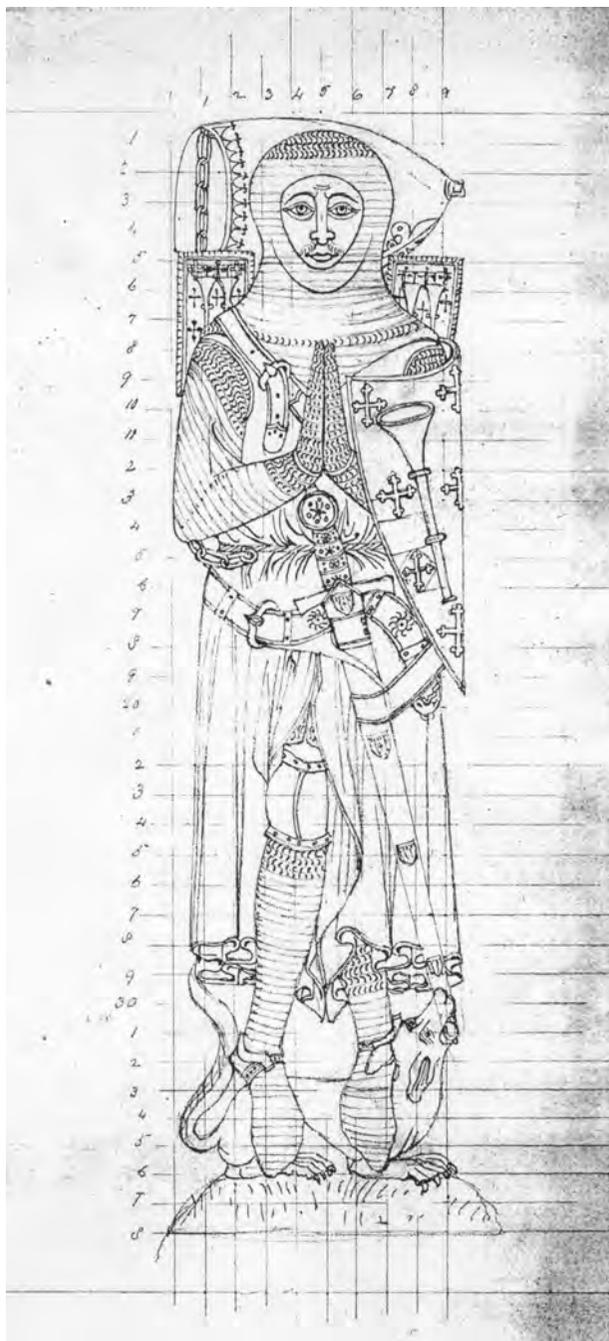


FIG. 11
Cotman's unpublished drawing of the 1326 brass to Sir Roger II de Trumpington
from Trumpington, Cambridgeshire
Copyright Ron Fiske

In accordance with the prospectus, the first edition plates were mostly produced on Imperial Quarto (30 in. x 22in., twice folded).³⁴ Elongated subjects were printed on Royal Folio (24 in. x 19 in., once folded) with their tops folded over to suit the main format, while the two King's Lynn plates required a larger, indeterminate-sized sheet, which needed to be twice folded.³⁵ The off-white paper used had a very slight greyish hue, printed in a black ink which harmonises well with the paper. With the exception of Bylaugh, Norfolk M.S. I and the incised slab to John Pell, at Dersingham, Norfolk, virtually all copies of the book show the areas of brass were hand-tinted a light yellowish-grey to resemble the original colour of the brass, as on the drawings. Apart from Sir Ralph Shelton's brass previously mentioned, there is no indication that Cotman's original intention was to hand-colour the published etchings with the correct tinctures of the heraldry and other details where coloured inlay survived, as Stothard was later to do to such effect. The only fully coloured Cotman etchings to be published were those colour-printed of Frenze M.S. VI and Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. IV, which formed the frontispieces to the later Bohn editions.

Some isolated prints occur without tinting. In particular, two first edition copies of the Norfolk volume known to the authors are unusual in that large numbers of the illustrations are untinted.³⁶ This is puzzling, particularly given that there is no doubt, based on the wording of the prospectuses and wrappers, that the decision to tint the plates was taken at the outset and subscribers would thus expect to have been sent tinted plates. It is clear, because of the slight colour variations, that the tinting was done by hand and that because of the accuracy, relative to the bitten line, the tinting must have been done after the etching. It is not known whether the tinting was done locally or whether it was done in one of the specialist workshops where prints were mass-coloured, usually by children, though the latter is perhaps more likely. It could be conjectured that near or after the end of the run Cotman might have avoided the expense of sending late orders for tinting. Perhaps he issued some late copies, including these two non-standard volumes, to non-subscribers on the basis that a mixture of tinted and untinted plates was all that was then available.

Cotman did not carry out all the etching work single-handed. His output of prints was so large and his health so poor that from spring 1814 onwards he had to

³⁴ A few 'large paper' copies with increased margins may have been produced. Dawson Turner seemingly had such a copy of the Norfolk and Suffolk brasses, with 173 plates, which Messrs. Puttick and Simpson offered for sale at auction in May 1859, lot 543.

³⁵ Dawson Turner, who had five copies of 'The Brasses' had a special Royal Folio Norfolk, and a Royal Folio Norfolk and Suffolk volume in which the plates (presumably with the exception of the two King's Lynn plates) were not folded. The first of these 'tall' copies, Cot/Norf./D.T./R.C.F., was later re-bound and converted to the usual size. The other was sold by S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson in March 1853, lot 800. It was described in the catalogue (*Catalogue of the Principal Part of the Library of Dawson Turner*) as having 151 plates which, being printed on drawing paper, was 'unique'. It is thought that this is the copy (hereinafter referred to as Cot. Norf./D.T./C.S.L.L.) described by C.L.S. Linnell, 'Some Notes on Cotman's Brasses', *MBS. Trans.*, IX (April, 1958), pp. 329-30. Linnell's brief description makes no mention of the size of his copy and, among other problems, says the King's Lynn plates were on India, not drawing, paper. If so, which seems doubtful, they would have been difficult to press and must have been unique.

³⁶ An incomplete copy of the 1st edn., bought unbound, now in the collection of Philip Whittemore, containing 49 untinted proof plates and 56 tinted published plates (hereinafter referred to as Cot. Norf./P.W.). Another copy, offered for sale in spring 2002 by Staniland booksellers of Stamford, Lincs., also had a large number of untinted plates; ex. inf. Derrick Chivers.

hand over the more routine parts of the process to assistants, as he noted in a letter dated 1 June 1817 to Francis Cholmeley. Apologising for not having written since 1813, Cotman explained:

In the spring when my health returned the disorder fled to my eyes upon which a slight operation was performed preparatory to one of a more serious nature for which I had not the courage to submit - they have continued very bad through the Year since which time I have done very little with them, having employed apprentices - and only finished the works - and sketched abroad. With these Apprentices, I have finished ... Norfolk Brasses - 100 plates, Suffolk ditto about 40³⁷

Though Cotman was a self-styled publisher, he was not an engraver by trade and his helpers could not have been formally apprenticed to him, but acted more as pupils *cum* assistants. Henry Davy was one such assistant and Hemingway has suggested that Edmund Girling and Frederick Crome, the second son of Crome Senior, might have been others.³⁸

Chronology of the Publication of the First Edition of Sepulchral Brasses

Judging from the dates on the finished etchings, Cotman was busy at work on the plates for *Sepulchral Brasses* throughout 1813. Once he had amassed a good number of drawings, he issued at least two prospectuses for the work. The first and fuller version, which is undated, was devoted to this work alone and consisted of a folded sheet, giving four pages of slightly larger than A4 size.³⁹ The first side announced the price and title of the work and the outlets through which the parts would be available (Fig. 12). The second side gave a list of seventy-six subscribers and the third side was a sample etching, of Clippesby M.S. III, dated 1813. The second prospectus was dated November 1814 (Fig. 13) and was a single sheet, on the back of which was a prospectus for the intended *Specimens of Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*.⁴⁰ By this time the list of subscribers had grown to 113 and more undoubtedly followed. Dawson Turner, as Cotman's patron and to whom the volumes were dedicated, subscribed

³⁷ North Riding Record Office, ref. ZQG; Hemingway, 'English Piranesi', pp. 223-4.

³⁸ Hemingway, 'English Piranesi', pp. 224-7.

³⁹ We are grateful to John Blatchly for providing us with a copy of this prospectus.

⁴⁰ Two copies of this prospectus are bound in an incomplete, but very interesting, volume of Cotman's *Norfolk*, with wrappers for parts I and III to XVI, originally owned by J. Woodward of Diss and currently in the possession of Jerome Bertram (hereinafter referred to as Cot. Norf./J.W./J.F.A.B.); perhaps this copy, owned by 'F.H.B.' in March 1901, with a binding of around that date, was the '16 parts in original wrappers' offered in Tomkin's library sale in 1895, lot 1152. 'F.H.B.' was possibly F.H. Barclay, who had a good library of books on Norfolk, though the volume is less finely bound than other items known to have been in his library.

⁴¹ Turner evidently later added to this number, for his sale catalogues list a total of five copies. One of Turner's copies of *Norfolk* (Cot. Norf./D.T./C.L.S.L.) was, in the 1950s, in the possession of Revd. C.L.S. Linnell, but it has not proved possible to trace the current location of the volume. Turner's second copy of *Norfolk* is in Ron Fiske's collection (Cot. Norf./D.T./R.C.F.). Dawson Turner's annotated copy of Cotman's *Suffolk*, probably item 801 in the 1853 sale, is in Sally Badham's possession (hereinafter referred to as Cot. Suff./D.T./S.F.B.). The volume originally had inserted an autographed letter by the author, but this was removed sometime between 1853 and 1999; however, other notes on the flyleaf written by Dawson Turner, together with an invoice for the 1840 restoration of Gorleston M.S. I, survive (S. Badham, 'The Bacon Brass at Gorleston: a Correction and an Amplification', *MBS Bulletin*, 84 (May 2000), pp. 496-7). Another important association copy of the Norfolk volume, that originally owned by the Revd. John Grove Spurgeon, whom Cotman acknowledged in his preface for assistance with the Norfolk volume, is currently in the possession of Ms Joan Wright of Scarborough, Ontario, Canada.

TO BE PUBLISHED BY SUBSCRIPTION,
IN QUARTERLY NUMBERS,
EACH CONTAINING SIX IMPERIAL DRAWING QUARTO PLATES,
PRICE SIX SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE,
TINTED,
TO REPRESENT THE ORIGINALS,
ENGRAVINGS
OF
THE MOST REMARKABLE
OF
THE SEPULCHRAL BRASSES
IN
NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK;
TENDING TO ILLUSTRATE THE
ECCLESIASTICAL, MILITARY, AND CIVIL COSTUME
OF
Former Ages,
AS WELL AS
To preserve Memorials of the most Ancient Families
IN THESE COUNTIES.

BY JOHN SELL COTMAN,

AUTHOR OF A VOLUME OF MISCELLANEOUS ETCHINGS, AND OF THE
ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF NORFOLK.

A great part of the Drawings are already made, and it is hoped that the first Number may speedily appear, and that the others may follow in regular succession; the whole, it is calculated, will form a handsome Quarto Volume.

Printed and Published by J. KEYMER, Yarmouth, by whom Subscriptions are received; also, by BOYDELL and Co., Cheapside, and COLNAGH and Co., Cockspur-street, London; by STEVENSON, MATCHETT, and STEVENSON, BACON and Co., J. and W. FREEMAN, and J. THURTELL, Norwich; RAW, Ipswich; and at the AUTHOR'S, Southtown, near Yarmouth, where any Communications tending to the advancement of the Work will be most thankfully received.

YARMOUTH, November, 1814.

TO BE PUBLISHED BY SUBSCRIPTION,
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Simon Wilkin, esq.
Thomas Munro, M. D.
William Fulgrave, esq.
Mrs. Richard Ferris.
Miss Lloyd.
— Jane Lloyd.
Robert Cory, jun. esq.
Richard Howard, esq.
M. Elwin, esq.

Henry Jermyn, esq.
D. E. Davy, esq.
Mr. John Varley.
— Cornelius Varley.
Henry Reeve, M. D.
Robert Reeve, Esq.
J. C. Fisher, esq.
Lewis Marcell Cotman, esq.
Mr. Henry Davy.
Francis Sayers, M. D.
E. R. Pratt, esq.
C. A. Stothard, jun. esq.
Francis Cholmeley, esq.
Miss Cholmeley.
Mr. Henry Cave.
Michael Tabourgh, esq.
Messrs. T. and W. Freeman, printers.
P. S. Munn, esq.
John Britton, esq.
John Nichols, esq.
Mr. William Stevenson.
— George Barrrell.
— John Thirde.
W. G. esq.
Thomas Mills, esq.
R. Pettward, esq.
Thomas J. Woodward, esq.
Mr. Shalders, bookseller.
Messrs. Longman and Co., booksellers.
Messrs. Colnaghi and Co., printers.
Mr. Tripshook.
Robert Wilkinson, esq.
John Cartwright, esq.
Mr. Raw, bookseller.
— Deck, bookseller.
— Pigge, bookseller.
— Keymer, bookseller.

FIG. 13

Second prospectus, dated November 1814, for Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses*

generously; he is listed as having two copies and his wife a further one.⁴¹ Other subscribers included members of the East Anglian aristocracy and clergy, antiquaries, such as David Davy and Henry Jermyn, and fellow artists and engravers, including Charles Stothard and John Britton.

The work was issued in parts, each of six plates, priced at six shillings and six pence per part. Each part was enclosed in a printed paper wrapper, mostly brown, but sometimes green.⁴² Cotman planned to issue the parts quarterly; though the first eight parts are undated,⁴³ it seems likely that the first part was issued early in 1814. A full list of the contents of each of the parts and, where known, their dates of engraving and issue, is at Appendix C. The first four parts of the work were initially entitled on the wrappers *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*. In them, Cotman issued twenty Norfolk etchings and four Suffolk ones. By the time Parts V and VI were issued as a double part in a single paper wrapper, probably in 1815, Cotman had changed his mind about the coverage of the volume. The words 'and Suffolk' were omitted from the title for this and subsequent parts and, in an address on the inside paper wrapper, Cotman explained:

The Author of this work, not aware at its commencement of the magnitude of his task, had intended to have comprized in a single volume the SEPULCHRAL BRASSES of Norfolk and Suffolk. In proceeding, however, he has found so great a number, and these in general so curious, that he has been induced, with the concurrence of his friends, to restrict to Norfolk the present volume, intending that, immediately after its completion, it should be succeeded by another equally limited to the sister county. Such a deviation from his original plan will, he flatters himself, prove agreeable to his subscribers in general; as enabling him more fully to display the riches of the two counties, both eminently abounding in this, one of the most interesting branches of antiquarian research, while any person who wishes to possess only a single volume, may, at moderate expense, be certain of procuring all the best specimens of the kind that the county comprizes. ... The Author entertains a confident hope that the present volume will be brought to a close shortly after Christmas, at which time he purposes replacing with Norfolk subjects, the four Suffolk ones published in his early numbers, and furnishing, by way of introduction, a short historical essay upon the use of these memorials, accompanied by a double index; the one chronological to enable his subscribers to arrange the plates in their proper order; the other with more reference to costumes, as divided into military, ecclesiastical and civil. These indexes it is his intention also to accompany with brief notices of the persons

⁴² Two sets of slightly different paper wrappers have been examined in detail by the authors. The paper wrappers for parts I and III-XIV are preserved in Cot.Norf./J.W./J.F.A.B. Another copy with wrappers for 16 parts, bought from the Castle Bookshop, Colchester (*A Catalogue of Books relating to East Anglia Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridge* (Summer 1988), item 260) is in the collection of Ron Fiske (hereinafter referred to as Cot.Norf./C.B./R.C.F.). A copy of the Norfolk volume 'in numbers complete' (and therefore presumably with wrappers) was offered in John Penrice's library sale 3-12 March 1845. The paper wrappers for *Suffolk* are illustrated in Griffin, *Cotman's Suffolk*, opp. p. 4 and opp. p. 8.

⁴³ The wrappers for parts IX to XII in Cot.Norf./C.B./R.C.F. are also undated.

and families represented, with remarks upon the peculiarity of the figures, and with such inscriptions, as, though now reft from their places, may be collected from the writings of Weever, Gough or Blomefield. ...⁴⁴

Having decided to reduce the scope of the work, Cotman evidently had revised wrappers reflecting the change in content printed for future issues of the early numbers. The early version of the wrappers for Parts I to IV refers to the work as covering brasses of 'Norfolk and Suffolk' (Fig. 14); in the later versions this was replaced by 'the county of Norfolk' (Fig. 15). In addition one of the publishers, Raw of Ipswich, was omitted from the list of outlets at the bottom of the page after Part IV was issued. This may have been because the change would obviously affect sales in Suffolk,⁴⁵ though as a subscriber Mr. Raw might have been particularly aggrieved not to receive the Suffolk plates.

A further double issue was made for parts VII and VIII, and single numbers followed in 1816 for IX to XII. Two further double numbers were issued in October 1816: parts XIII and XIV, with the promised four additional Norfolk plates to replace the Suffolk ones (Letheringham M.S. I, Yoxford M.S. I, Gorleston M.S. I and Braiseworth M.S. I), and parts XV and XVI. This brought the number of plates to ninety-six, or one hundred including the four cancelled Suffolk plates, and it appears from Cotman's letter of 1 June 1817 to Francis Cholmeley, quoted above, that he had initially decided to finish the plates at that number. Three copies of the book known to the authors have this number of plates without title page and text.⁴⁶ Certainly, the work was then halted. Cotman undertook two extensive tours of Normandy in 1817 and 1818, so it was not until 1819 that a final quadruple issue of Parts XVII to XX, with 14 plates, the title page, dedication to Dawson Turner and other letterpress, was issued, presumably limited to those subscribers still impatiently awaiting the promised text and indexes.

The letterpress did not follow in the form Cotman envisaged in his address of 1815. The proposed chronological index of plates was omitted, presumably as it was superfluous, as the list of plates with notes on the individual brasses was arranged in chronological order, with the exception of the cadaver and skeleton brasses which were placed at the end. The costume-based index was also abandoned, an alphabetical index by surname being provided instead, though this fails to cross-refer

⁴⁴ This change of plan left only twenty Norfolk plates issued at that point. Cot.Norf./P.W. has on the plate of Ketteringham M.S. I (the first plate issued in Part I), an annotation in Cotman's hand reading 'only 20 Plates in the first four numbers. J.S.C.'. Most collectors discarded the four cancelled Suffolk plates, but a few retained them and had them bound with the Norfolk volume. Some subscribers discarded all but the Gorleston plate, which was not re-issued in the same form in the Suffolk volume; one of Sally Badham's 1st edn. copies of the Norfolk volume has this discarded plate bound in at the back.

⁴⁵ It is interesting to compare this matter with the difficulties Blomefield experienced with the distribution of his Norfolk work in parts in the 1730s (see D. Stoker, *The Correspondence of the Reverend Francis Blomefield (1705-1752)*, Norfolk Record Society, 55 (1992)). In his time, the East Anglian booksellers were given 1/6th commission (compared to London 1/4th) for taking subscriptions, collecting and delivering each part. Stoker explains the problems which eventually caused Blomefield to deal with the East Anglians himself. If, as seems likely, circumstances were little different in the 1810s, Mr Raw of Ipswich may well have seen little gain in selling Norfolk books to Suffolk clients.

⁴⁶ Two of these, Pugin's copy, now in Ron Fiske's collection, and Cot.Norf./J.W./J.F.A.B., have 100 plates. The other volume, without the letterpress, Cot. Norf./C.B./R.C.F., also owned by Ron Fiske, has the 96 Norfolk plates complete with wrappers and 8 miscellaneous plates.

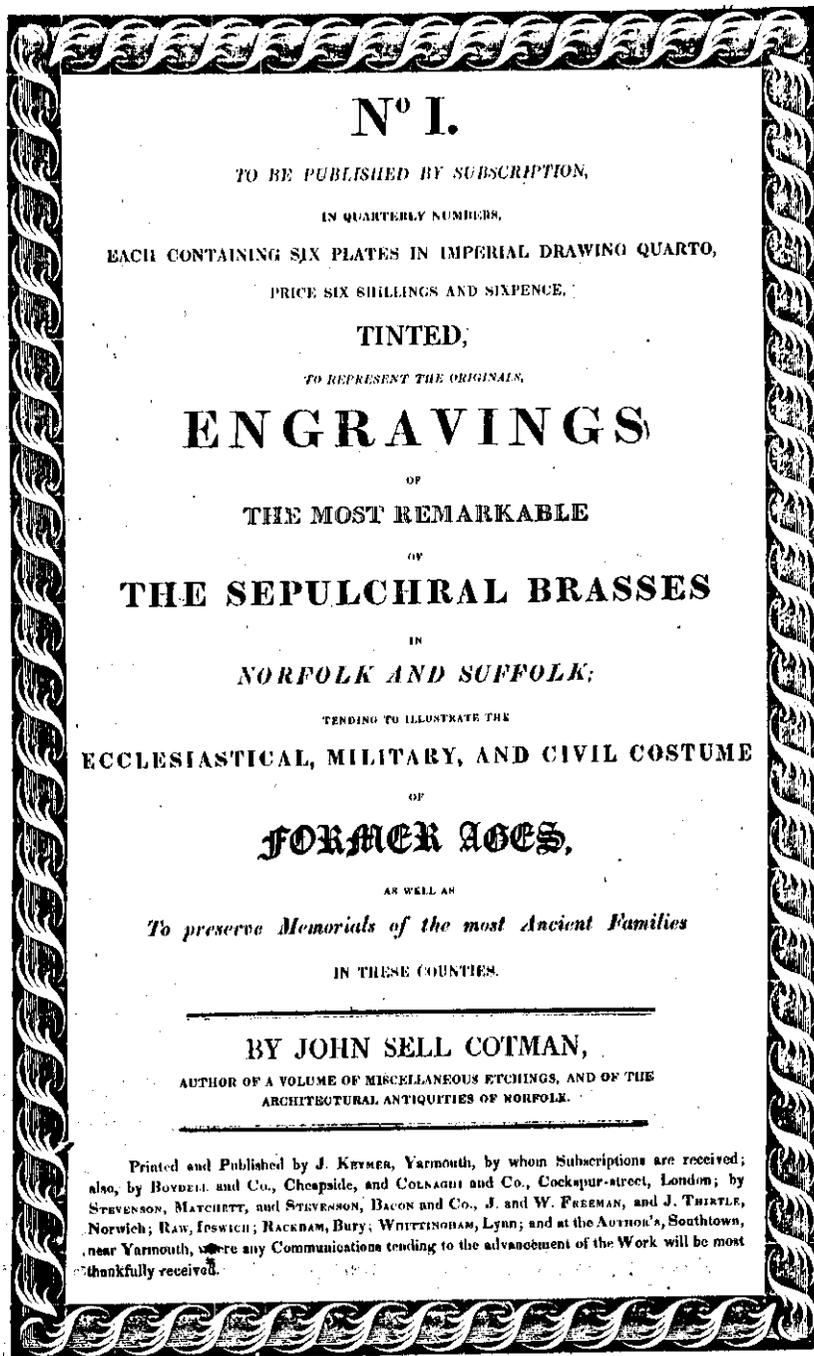


FIG. 14

First version of the paper wrappers for Part I of Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses*, referring to the work as covering Norfolk and Suffolk

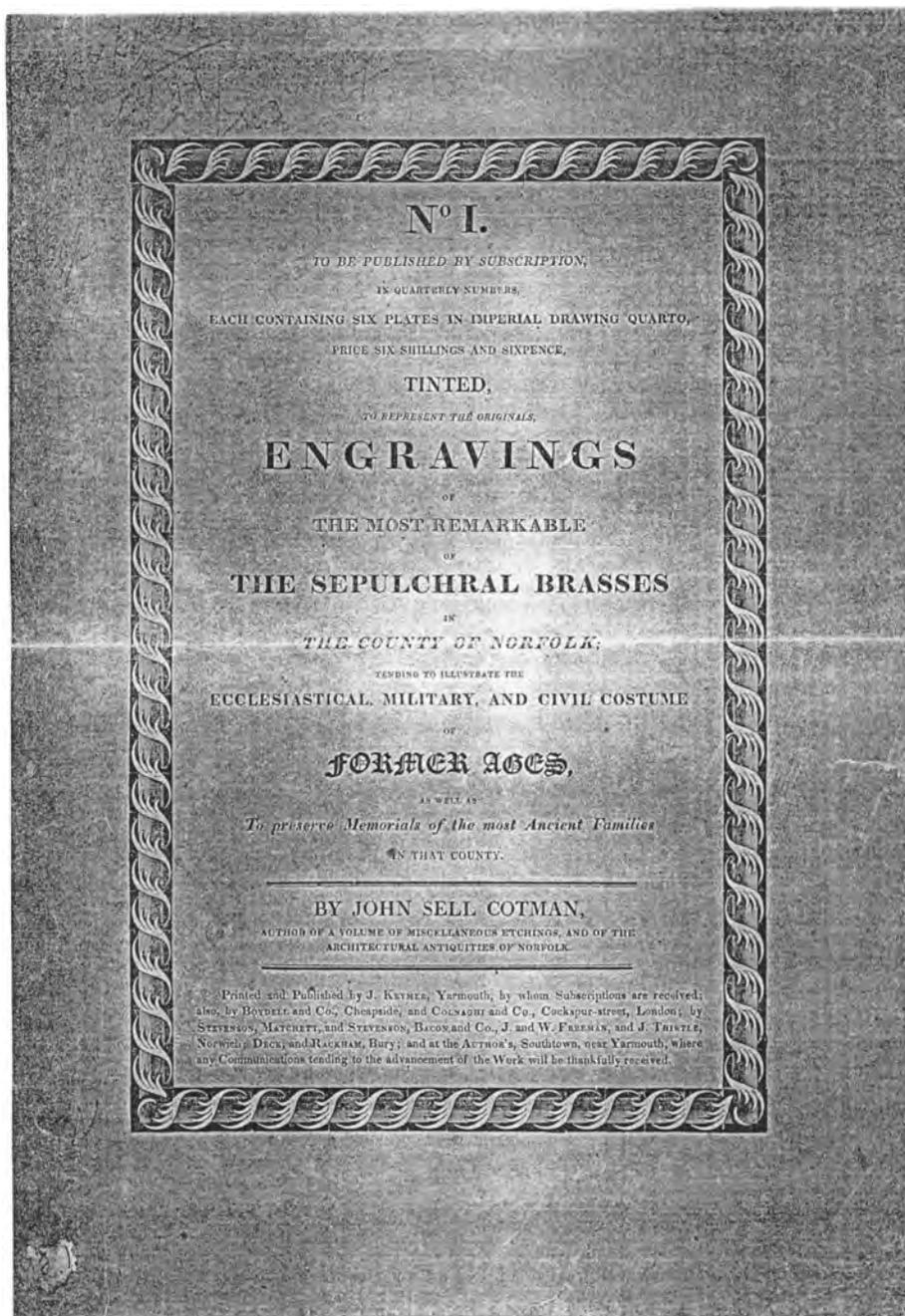


FIG. 15
Second version of the paper wrappers for Part I of Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses*,
limiting the scope of the work to the county of Norfolk

to the list of plates. With his local printer, J. Keymer of Yarmouth, who had been responsible for parts issued up until at least October 1816, gone or in decline, Cotman placed the printing in the hands of the up-and-coming Yarmouth printer, C. Sloman,⁴⁷ and the publishing with John and Arthur Arch in London.⁴⁸ The introduction, usually misattributed to Dawson Turner, was in fact written by James Layton, curate of Catfield, Turner's friend and collaborator.⁴⁹ Layton tried to let down Cotman lightly over some serious mistakes, but it did not escape the artist who, in his Preface, rather pointedly, reserved his thanks to him 'for whatever may be interesting in a literary point of view', while giving credit for 'valuable contents' to others.

The additional plates issued in 1819 included two large plates of King's Lynn M.S. I and II, sent rolled to subscribers, which were invariably folded on binding. Thus a total of 111 Norfolk plates were engraved by Cotman (excluding the trial etching of the lost 1364 Ingham brass) but only 109 brasses appeared in the list of plates and 110 in the index (Felbrigg M.S. I was given two separate entries in the index). Turner noted on the flyleaf of his Norfolk volume formerly in the possession of the Revd. Mr. Linnell '... the plate of Sir Jno Curzon [Bylaugh M.S. I] is inserted, which is wanting in almost every other copy, not having been published with the book, tho' enumerated in the List of plates, so that the work is imperfect without it.'⁵⁰ In fact, though this plate is missing from many copies, it is not quite as rare as Turner suggested.⁵¹ All known copies of this plate are completely untinted. In addition tinted plates of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich M.S. II and the lost *c.* 1460 civilian and wife from St. Mary Coslany, Norwich were, according to Turner, 'originally engraved for the work, but not published with it'.⁵² Certainly neither appears in the list of plates or index, but the Coslany brass was issued in Part III. These two plates occur more often than that of the Bylaugh brass, but copies of the first edition with all 110 plates are consequently rare. In addition, some subscribers, notably Dawson Turner, supplemented their copies with additional plates, by Cotman and others, of brasses and other monuments in Suffolk and elsewhere.

As regards the Suffolk engravings, the paper wrapper for Parts XIII and XIV, dated October 1816, announced at the bottom that 'A small selection of Suffolk brasses are in the greatest forwardness and will be ready for Publication in March 1817.' There appears to have been more aspiration than truth in this statement, for, as is apparent from the dates of engraving on the published plates, only four Suffolk plates, which were engraved in 1814, were complete at this time.

On 13 April 1815 Dade wrote to Dawson Turner 'I hope when Cotman begins his volume of Suffolk brasses he will not forget my Uncle R's figure of D...

⁴⁷ Sloman had already taken part in the publication of Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*, 1818, and was also engaged on *Antiquities of St. Mary's Chapel, at Stourbridge* in 1819.

⁴⁸ John and Arthur Arch had also taken on the publication of Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*; see A. Hemingway's amendments to Kitson's account in *Walpole Soc.*, XLVI (1978), pp. 164-85.

⁴⁹ A note in Cot. Norf./D.T./R.C.F.; see also C.J. Palmer, *The Perustration of Great Yarmouth*, 3 vols. (Great Yarmouth, 1872-5), I, p. 307.

⁵⁰ Linnell, 'Cotman's "Brasses"', p. 329. The Langley Hall copy of the Norfolk volume, now in Ron Fiske's collection, has a pencil annotation on the Bylaugh plate 'cancelled plate' and has a line ruled through it in the index.

⁵¹ Cot. Norf./D.T./R.C.F. has this plate, as do a number of other copies owned by or known to the authors.

⁵² Linnell, 'Cotman', p. 330.

Wingfield',⁵³ but this is probably the plate of Anthony de Wingfield, one of those already etched in 1814. Very little seems to have been done in 1815 as it was not until December that Davy sent his rubbings to Cotman, though Cotman made his drawings of them soon after. In 1816, on 21 May and 6 and 17 September, he sent bundles with proofs of forty-five plates, including some which were not published until the second edition, to Davy for his collection;⁵⁴ and annotations on the surviving drawings show him to have proofed others in 1816. Even so, there was another delay before Cotman made more progress on the Suffolk plates, for it was not until 4 June 1817 that Cotman had finished with the rubbings and returned them to Davy.⁵⁵ The thirty-eight plates, which, together with the four produced in 1814, were all that Cotman produced, were engraved in 1817, but Cotman waited a further two years before issuing them.

Parts I-III and IV-VI of the proposed Suffolk volume were published in 1819, as is evident from the dated paper wrappers. These contained thirty-six plates, including three of the four plates originally issued in 1814 in the early 'Norfolk and Suffolk' parts. However, Cotman did not reissue the original plate of Gorleston M.S. I, which showed the figure only and in reverse, having been taken from an impression, rather than a rubbing (Fig. 16). Instead, he prepared a new plate, with the figure the correct way round and also showing the indent. Consequently, copies of the original plate are very rare.

According to Dawson Turner only thirty-six plates (in six parts) were 'published'; as Cotman's patron and a reliable contemporary source, his statement carries weight. However, Lowndes refers to seven numbers, but qualifies this by adding 'unfinished and without letterpress'.⁵⁶ No wrappers for a Part VII are known to survive, although some of the loose plates from this intended part have been found in antiquarian printsellers. Three copies of Cotman's *Suffolk* with all forty-two first edition plates, but no original wrappers, are held by the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library and Bury St. Edmunds Record Office.⁵⁷ The Norfolk Library Services may have had a first edition *Suffolk*, but it cannot be traced.⁵⁸ The fact that most of the few

⁵³ Letter inserted in Cot.Norf./D.T./R.C.F.

⁵⁴ Volume of proof plates in the possession of Miss Joan Corder; see also D.E. Davy, *A Journal of the Excursions through the County of Suffolk 1823-1844*, ed. J. Blatchly, Suffolk Record Society, 24 (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ W.T. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, new edn. by H.G. Bohn, 6 vols. (London, 1856), I, p. 532.

⁵⁷ CUL, Ii.9.36 has an original wrapper bound in, but with a piece of paper pasted over where the part number would have been, the text of which cannot unfortunately be recovered with either ultraviolet or white light. This has the first 36 plates bound in the order in they are known to have appeared, with the additional 6 plates at the end, the order of which is that given in Appendix C (but which was inaccurately given in Griffin, *Suffolk Brasses*). At the end, two photocopies of the wrappers to Parts I-II and IV-VI have been tipped in. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 325, with the bookplate of Sir Francis Douce, has no wrappers and the 42 Suffolk plates in an apparently random order. Bury Record Office 0.55.9 has 42 plates but no wrappers.

⁵⁸ Cot.Norf./J.W./J.F.A.B. has a note on the flyleaf, probably dating from the early 20th century, recording that this copy had been collated in comparison with a copy in the Norwich Free Library; the implication from this is that they held a 1st edn. with Suffolk plates. Most 1st edn. *Suffolk* copies are bound separately, but some have these plates bound at the end of a 1st edn. *Norfolk*, despite the binding title referring only to Norfolk. The Colman collection at Norwich Library included a 1st edn. *Norfolk*, but whether this incorporated Suffolk plates is not known. Unfortunately, Norfolk Library Services are unable to locate this volume.



FIG. 16

Cotman's first published etching of the brass to a knight of the Bacon family at Gorleston, showing the figure only and in reverse, having been taken from an impression.

copies known to survive are limited to the plates in the first six parts supports Dawson Turner's statement and gives rise to the question whether the other six plates were officially released as a publication.⁵⁹ No further plates, title page or letterpress were ever issued by Cotman. Dawson Turner gives his account of the reasons for this in a note on the flyleaf of his copy of the Suffolk volume, which is annotated in Turner's hand as containing only thirty six plates:

This Volume contains all that ever was published by Mr Cotman of his Suffolk Brasses. He began the work with the intention of making it a companion to the Norfolk Brasses, and hoped to carry it to the same extent; for assistance in material and particularly in letter-press, he trusted to Henry Jermyn and D. E. Davy Esq., then engaged in writing the history of the county. But the first of these gentlemen died and the second failed; and Mr Cotman, disappointed, was obliged to stop; a natural consequence of which was, that his subscribers became discontented and angry, in that almost every No. he had issued was returned on his hands. This book is therefore already very rare. Imperfect as it is, it is of great interest, containing specimens both earlier and later than are to be found in Norfolk.⁶⁰

It is not entirely clear what Turner meant by Davy having 'failed'. Perhaps he felt that Davy did not provide Cotman with sufficient rubbings to work from or let Cotman down by failing to produce the promised letterpress, though it would have been difficult for Davy to do this until the full contents were known. Certainly there are indications that by Part VII, Cotman was short of source material. His engraving of Acton M.S. I was almost certainly not taken from a rubbing; the original drawing, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is unusual in that it is not drawn on a numbered grid and not all the details, notably the mail, have been properly drawn in. Moreover, the published plate (Fig. 17) bears an uncanny resemblance to that already published by Gough (Fig. 18).⁶¹ Davy, however, put the blame for the premature cessation of the Suffolk volume squarely on Cotman's shoulders. On a leaf at the front of his bound volume of proof plates, Davy wrote:

The greater part of these etchings were from rubbings, in pencil, made by me; & as they were at various times struck off, Mr Cotman sent me impressions of them. They were not published in regular form by Mr Cotman, it having been his intention, at a convenient time to enlarge the number of them; this time, however, never seems to have arrived; & it was not till the year 1838

⁵⁹ First edition copies limited to 36 plates include Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Don. B.19 (presented by Ralph Griffin) and Society of Antiquaries volume entitled on the spine *Norfolk Brasses*, but which has all the Norfolk plates bound together with the first 36 of the Suffolk plates; to which some additional 1st edn. plates previously held loose in the prints collection have recently been tipped in. Cot.Suff./D.T./S.F.B. is again limited to the first six parts. Another volume in the British Library (Guillede Layton's copy, presented by Ralph Griffin) has the first 36 plates and also has two separate and smaller-sized plates from the proposed Part VII bound in with it. Bodleian Library MS G.A. Norf. C13 has the first 24 Suffolk plates bound with all but two of the Norfolk plates). The Langley Hall copy of the Norfolk and Suffolk volume in Ron Fiske's collection also has 36 plates with one additional duplicate.

⁶⁰ Note at the front of Cot.Suff./D.T./S.F.B. This note is dated 1826, but the flyleaf was previously annotated '36 plates Dawson Turner 1818' suggesting that Turner received his plates before they were formally issued.

⁶¹ We are grateful to Derrick Chivers for bringing this comparison to our attention.

Pl. XV. p. 115.



Robert De Bures, Acton Church, Suffolk

FIG. 17

Cotman's published etching of the 1331 brass to Sir Robert de Bures at Acton, Suffolk, possibly copied from Gough's plate of the brass shown in Fig. 18



ABrase, in Acton church, Suffolk.

FIG. 18

Gough's plate of the 1331 brass to Sir Robert de Bures at Acton, Suffolk

that the plates coming into the possession of Mr Henry G. Bohn, he published them as they now appear. Some trifling alterations were made in the inscns. on them, according as they became better understood.⁶²

Whichever explanation lies closer to the truth, the outcome was that Cotman abandoned his plan to publish the rest of the Suffolk volume and also his interest in brasses.

The Second and Third Editions of Sepulchral Brasses

In the course of the 1820s and 1830s, Cotman disposed of the materials he had used in preparing the plates for *Sepulchral Brasses* and other of his publications. On 1 May 1824 he sold many of his drawings through an auction at Christie's in order to pay for his removal from Yarmouth to Norwich and for the furnishings of his new house.⁶³ This auction included the bulk of his Normandy drawings and a number of the drawings of Norfolk monumental brasses. The drawings fetched on average only twelve shillings and six pence apiece, the total net proceeds to Cotman being £165 6s. 4d. According to Kitson, Cotman also sold the Norfolk rubbings; he claimed that many of them were priced in Cotman's handwriting - the larger ones at four shillings and six pence apiece and the smaller ones at three shillings and six pence⁶⁴ - but no such prices have been found on the rubbings in the Society of Antiquaries collection. Finally, Cotman sold over 400 copper plates. He first put them up for sale at an auction on 10-12 September 1834 at his house in St. Martin's Plain, Norwich, prior to his removal to London, but they failed to reach the reserve Cotman had put upon them.⁶⁵ He subsequently received an offer of £300 for them from a broker at Norwich, but declined as he thought they would be used in 'a disreputable manner'. In the last week of 1835 Cotman entered into negotiations with Henry Bohn, the publisher, who initially offered £50, but later settled for £100, an average price of only five shillings apiece. Cotman was deeply aggrieved that he had let the copper plates go for so low a price, writing to Dawson Turner that the plates of King's Lynn M.S. I and II 'could not be engraved for less than two hundred pounds'.⁶⁶

In 1838 Bohn published revised editions of *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*. The printing arrangements repeated Cotman's revised plan of 1815 to provide subscribers the option of buying one or both county parts. Thus the green morocco bindings divided the two counties between two separate volumes, a thick volume 1 for Norfolk and a slimmer volume 2 for Suffolk, both dated 1838. Both volumes had a printed colour frontispiece, the Norfolk one featuring Frenze M.S. VI and the Suffolk volume one of Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. IV. The Norfolk volume misattributed the introduction to Dawson Turner and added notes from Sir Samuel Meyrick, Albert Way and Sir Harris Nicholas. A supplement

⁶² Davy, *Journal*, pp. 12-13.

⁶³ Kitson, *Cotman*, pp. 248-9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 323-4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 182.

of six plates of monumental effigies was added,⁶⁷ with letterpress by Way and Meyrick; some of these plates had previously been included in *Specimens of Norman and Gothic Architecture in the County of Norfolk* and *Specimens of Castellated and Ecclesiastical Remains in the County of Norfolk*, but the plates of the Mautby knight and the Wood Dalling priest had not been published by Cotman. The volume concluded with an appendix of seven additional plates of Norfolk brasses not used for the first edition, with a description by Dawson Turner, and an index. The Suffolk volume contained forty-seven plates of Suffolk brasses, forty-two from the first edition issued and proposed to be issued in parts, and five others previously unpublished. The letterpress for Suffolk was written specifically for the second edition and, though unsigned, Bohn's acknowledgements make it clear that David Davy was the author.⁶⁸ Davy was also able to ensure that some changes were made, mainly to the attributions, in the captions,⁶⁹ though Cotman was still alive in 1838, the hand of the corrections does not resemble his.⁷⁰

Finally, in 1839, Bohn issued what is in actuality a third edition of Cotman's work, with the brasses of the two counties in two equally-sized volumes bound in maroon morocco, to match the volumes he republished of Cotman's *Etchings of Norfolk Antiquities*; it is this edition which is most commonly found. The first volume begins with two title pages, the first dated 1839 and the second 1838, followed by the frontispiece (with a hand-applied varnish overlay), preface, introduction and letterpress on the Norfolk etchings and eighty-one of the Norfolk plates. The second volume begins with Norfolk material, namely the remaining thirty Norfolk plates, the supplement of relief effigies, the appendix and the index. The second volume then continues with a separate title page for Suffolk, dated 1838, and the frontispiece (with a hand-applied varnish overlay), both taken from the second edition, and, with a fresh pagination, the Suffolk letterpress on the Suffolk brasses and forty-seven plates.

The second and third edition plates were given individual plate numbers at the top corresponding with the order of the descriptions in the letterpress (for a correlation with the order of issue in the first edition, see Appendix C). A white paper was used and the areas of brass were printed in a bright yellow, similar to that used by Thomas Fisher in his early nineteenth century drawings of Bedfordshire and Kentish brasses.⁷¹ Most of the etchings of effigies were tinted a pale yellow; however,

⁶⁷ These plates of relief effigies depicted Sir Walter de Mauteby at Mautby; a knight and lady dated by Claude Blair to the 1340s, traditionally attributed to Sir William Gerbrygge and his wife at Wickhampton (two plates, one a general view, possibly not by Cotman, and the other showing the effigies and shields); unknown priests at Houghton and Wood Dalling; and Robert Anguish at Walsingham. Plates showing other Norfolk tombs published elsewhere by Cotman include an unattributed tomb chest and canopy at Raveningham, an unattributed tomb canopy at North Creak, and views of Sir Roger l'Estrange's tomb chest at Hunstanton. Like the plates of brasses, these illustrations are not always entirely accurate. A comparison of the Wickhampton drawings and photographs kindly provided by Mark Downing shows Cotman made a number of errors, including the type of scabbard attachment and the knee defences.

⁶⁸ Davy, *Journal*, p. 12.

⁶⁹ These are detailed in Griffin, *Suffolk Brasses*, pp. 7-9.

⁷⁰ Davy, *Journal*, p. 13.

⁷¹ T. Fisher, *Collections Historical, Genealogical and Topographical for Bedfordshire* (London 1812-16); T. Fisher, *Monumental Remains and Antiquities in Bedfordshire* (London, 1826); a collection of Kentish engravings is in the Society of Antiquaries of London.

the Houghton priest is untinted and the Walsingham monument combines a bright yellow with an ink-shaded grey effect to distinguish between the two types of stone on the monument. One of the engravings of effigies is dated 1816 and two 1817, the remainder being undated. As the copper plates had already been well-used by Cotman, the impressions are increasingly less crisp in the second and third editions. Overall, therefore, the second and third edition plates are aesthetically less pleasing than those of the first edition, but they have the compensating merits of greater completeness and lesser rarity.

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We are grateful to Jerome Bertram, Claude Blair, John Blatchly, Richard Busby, Derrick Chivers, Joan Corder, John Coales, Mark Downing, Stephen Freeth, Melvyn Paige-Hagg, Nicholas Rogers, Martin Stuchfield, Norma Watt and Philip Whittemore for considerable help and advice in preparing this paper.

We are also most grateful to William Lack, who, shortly before publication, brought to our attention his first edition of Norfolk and Suffolk, previously in the ownership of Dr. H.K. Cameron, which contains an amalgam of parts originally issued to Rev. Dr. Bulwer, who appears in the 1814 list of subscribers, and a Mr. Heydon who subscribed later. This volume is complete, apart from the dedication and the elusive last six Suffolk plates, and includes most of the wrappers for both Norfolk and Suffolk. Critically it includes the wrapper for the quadruple issue of Parts XVII-XX for Norfolk, of which, despite extensive searching, we had previously failed to find a copy. This has enabled us to fill in several small, but important gaps in the history of Cotman's publication of *Sepulchral Brasses*.

**APPENDIX A: GRAPHITE RUBBINGS OF NORFOLK BRASSES PROBABLY MADE BY TALBOT
AND USED BY COTMAN IN THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON**

by DERRICK CHIVERS

<i>Location</i>	<i>Drawn by</i>		<i>Etched by Notes</i>
	<i>Talbot</i>	<i>Cotman</i>	
Barnham Broom M.S. I 1467			Includes lost part of inscription; rubbing cut out
Brisley M.S. III 1531		3	Includes lost head; rubbing cut out; grid lines
Burgh St. Margaret lost 1540			Lost inscription; rubbing cut out & mounted
St. Andrew North Burlingham lost 1508			Lost inscription
St. Andrew. North Burlingham lost 1527			Lost inscription
Carlton Rode 1657			Ledger slab to Thomas Talbot; rubbing cut out
Colby M.S. V, c. 1520	3		Includes lost chalice; rubbing dated 1793; rubbing cut out
Great Cressingham M.S. II 1509		3	Includes 2 lost shields and inscription; rubbing cut out; grid lines
Great Cressingham M.S. III 1518		3	Includes lost inscription; grid lines
Crostwight lost c. 1470			Lost lady; 2 copies, one with grid lines
Elsing M.S. I 1349		3	Parts only; signed Talbot; Britannia and Furness & Co. watermarks
Great Fransham M.S. II			Includes lost inscription; grid lines
Hockering lost 1559			
Hockwold lost 1532		3	Lost lady and children; laid paper; grid lines; rubbing cut out
Ingham M.S. I		3	
Ingham M.S. II		3	
Ingham M.S. 2		3	Grid lines
Ingham M.S. 4		3	Grid lines
Ingham M.S. 5		3	Grid lines
Ketteringham M.S. I	3	3	Includes lost knight; grid lines; gartered shield & crown watermark
Ketteringham M.S. IV	3		Grid lines, gartered shield & crown watermark
Ketteringham lost 1485	3		Lost inscription; mounted; signed Talbot
Ketteringham lost 1635			Lost inscription; mounted, signed Talbot
Knapton lost 1486	3		Lost inscription; dated 6 October 1793
Knapton lost 1498	3		Lost inscription; dated 6 October 1793
Knapton lost c. 1500	3		Lost inscription; dated 6 October 1793
Ludham M.S. XII	3		Fleur-de-lys watermark
Mattishall M.S. IV	3		Grid lines; gartered shield & crown watermark; rubbing cut out
Merton M.S. VI		3	Crowned hunting horn watermark
Necton M.S. I		3	Grid lines, crowned horn and GR watermarks; rubbing cut out

Necton M.S. II		3	Grid lines, crowned horn and GR watermarks
Necton M.S. IV			Grid lines, crowned horn and GR watermarks; rubbing cut out & mounted
Necton M.S. V			Grid lines; rubbing cut out
Necton M.S. VI		3	Grid lines, crowned horn and GR watermarks; rubbing cut out
Norwich, All Saints lost <i>c.</i> 1500	3		Lost inscription; rubbing cut out & mounted
Norwich, St. Andrew M.S. VI	3		Grid lines, partly mounted
Norwich, St. Clement lost <i>c.</i> 1460	3		Lost civilian & inscription; grid lines; unlaid paper
Norwich, St. Gregory lost 1502			Lost inscription; grid lines; mounted
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. II		3	Thick unlaid paper
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. III		3	
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. IV			Thick paper
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. VIII	3	3	Includes Grocers arms; thick unlaid paper; grid lines; rubbing cut out
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. IX	3		Thick unlaid paper
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. X		3	Sons & scroll only on rubbing; Britannia and Band watermarks
Norwich, St. Lawrence M.S. VII		3	Thick unlaid paper, grid lines on figure of St. Faith only
Norwich, St. Lawrence M.S. VIII	3	3	Laid paper; Britannia & G.R. watermarks; grid lines
Norwich, St. Lawrence M.S. XI			Laid paper, Britannia watermark
Norwich, St. Mary Coslany lost <i>c.</i> 1460	3	3	Thick unlaid paper; grid lines
Norwich, St. Michael Coslany lost 1513			Lost lady; laid paper; cut out
Norwich, St. Michael Coslany lost			Incised Lombardic inscription
Norwich, St. Stephen M.S. II	3	3	Laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark; faint grid lines
Norwich, St. Stephen M.S. VI?	3		Laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark; faint grid lines
Norwich, St. Stephen lost, 1418	3	3	Lost civilian; laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark; faint grid lines
Norwich, St. Stephen lost 1457	3	3	Lost shroud; laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark; faint grid lines; cut out
Norwich, St. Stephen lost 1500			Lost shield; laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark; faint grid lines
Norwich, St. Swithin lost 1497			Lost inscription; laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark
Norwich, St. Swithin lost 1516	3		Lost inscription; laid paper, fleur-de-lys watermark
Great Snoring M.S. I		3	Faint impression of lost knight and shields; Britannia watermark
Swanton Abbot M.S. I	3		Laid paper; signed Talbot 26 October 1793; grid lines
Swanton Abbot M.S. II	3		Laid paper; signed Talbot 26 October 1793; grid lines
Swanton Abbot M.S. IV			Laid paper; signed Talbot 26 October 1793; grid lines
Tibenham M.S. I			Laid paper
Trunch lost			Lost shield; laid paper
South Walsham M.S. 1			Lost chalice & inscription; laid paper; Britannia watermark
South Walsham M.S. 2			Lost chalice & inscription; laid paper; Britannia watermark
South Walsham M.S. 3			Lost inscription; laid paper; Britannia watermark
South Walsham M.S. 4			Lost inscription; laid paper; Britannia watermark
South Walsham M.S. 5			Lost inscription; laid paper; Britannia watermark

South Walsham M.S. 6		Lost inscription; laid paper; Britannia watermark
Little Walsingham M.S. 2		Lost chalice & inscription; laid paper from ledger with red margins
Worstead M.S. 1	3	Lost civilian; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 2	3	Lost civilian; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 3	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 4	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 5	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 6	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 7	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 8	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark
Worstead M.S. 9	3	Lost inscription; laid paper; dated 7 October 1793; MB watermark

APPENDIX B: SURVIVING COTMAN DRAWINGS OF BRASSES AND OTHER MONUMENTS

<i>Monument</i>	<i>2nd Ed. Pl. No.</i>	<i>Collection & Pressmark</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Brasses			
Norfolk			
Antingham M.S. III	I.74	V&A H.7.b	Grid; shs. coloured, blazon of Foliot arms
Blickling M.S. II	I.13	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Blickling M.S. IV	I. 23	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid. Shows 9 sons, not 11
Blickling, M.S. IV		Castle Museum 1951.235.424:F	Grid; no tint; drawing never published
Blickling M.S. VIII		Castle Museum 1951.235.243:F	Grid; drawing never published
Cley M.S. V	II.110	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Cley M.S. VI	II.96	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Creake, North M.S. I	I.41	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Great Cressingham M.S. I	I.45	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Great Cressingham M.S. III	II.110	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Elsing M.S. I	I.1	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; arms coloured; illus. Fig. 9
Felbrigg M.S. III	I.15	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; shs., banner & parts of armour coloured
Feltwell M.S. II	I.54	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Frenze M.S. II	I.50	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; shs. coloured
Frenze M.S. III	I.53	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; sh. coloured
Harling, West M.S. I		Castle Museum 1951.235.310:F	Grid; drawing never published
Harling, West M.S. II	I.37	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; sh. coloured
Hellesdon M.S. II	II.94	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Hockwold lost 1532	II.37	V&A H.7.b	Grid; illus. Fig. 5
Honing M.S. I	I.44	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Hunstanton M.S. I	I.38	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Ingham M.S. I	I.22	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Ingham M.S. II	I.30	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Ingham M.S. 1	I.4	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; blazon of arms above canopy
Ketteringham M.S. II	I.40	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; shs., tabard & mantle coloured
Kimberley M.S. I	I.29	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Kings Lynn M.S. I	I.2	Yale Centre for British Art	Ill. Kitson figs. 77-8 & Rienaecker pl. 69
Merton M.S. VI	I.75	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; sh. coloured; lower pt. fig. sketched in
Narborough M.S. IV	I.69	V&A H.7.b	Grid; sh. coloured
Narborough M.S. VII	I.81	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; shs. coloured
Necton M.S. VII	II.85	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Newton Flotman M.S. I	I.79	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid

Norwich, St. Andrew M.S. VI	II.102	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Norwich, St. Ethelred M.S. I	IIA4	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Norwich, St. George Colegate M.S.I	I.28	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Norwich St. John Maddermarket M.S.II	I.26	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. X	I.70	V&A H.7.b	Grid; sh. & merchants mark coloured
Norwich, St. Lawrence M.S.VII	II.97	V&A H.7.b	Grid; background St. Faith coloured blue; brass now at Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk
Norwich, St. Peter Mancroft M.S.III	I.77	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Norwich, St. Stephen lost 1457	II.107	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Little Plumstead M.S. IV	I.76	V&A H.7.b	Grid; sh. coloured
Reepham M.S. I	I.12	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid
Rougham M.S. V	I.82	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid; shs. coloured
Salle M.S. I		Castle Museum 1951.235.423:F	Grid; no tint; drawing never published; shows lost children; illus. Fig. 8
Salle M.S. V	II.108	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Sculthorpe M.S. I	I.31	V&A H.7.b	Grid; note 'prepare for the copp[er]'
Shernborne M.S. I	I.24	V&A H.7.b	Midline, but no grid
Snettisham M.S. II	II.90	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Southacre M.S. III	II.102	V&A H.7.b	Grid; background to Virgin coloured blue; note 'etched'
East Tuddenham M.S. I	I.42	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Upwell M.S. I	II.109	V&A H.7.b	Grid
West Lynn M.S. I	II.99	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Suffolk			
Acton M.S. I	S1	V&A H.7.c	No grid; chief of sh. coloured; 'proved April 14th 1816'
Barrow M.S. II	S28	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured
East Bergholt M.S. I	S46	V&A H.7.c	Grid, sh. coloured
Darsham M.S. III	S47	V&A H.7.c	Faint grid
Debenham M.S. I	S11	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Denstone M.S. I	S25	V&A H.7.c	Grid; tabard coloured; inscr. transcribed, but not shown
Denstone M.S. II	S18	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured
Easton M.S. I	S9	V&A H.7.c	Grid; dated 'April 15th [1816]'
Easton M.S. II	S34	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured
Easton M.S. III	S36	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Eyke M.S. I	S12	V&A H.&.c	Grid
Gorleston M.S. I	S2	V&A H.7.c	Grid; indent with drawing of figure pasted on top
Ipswich, St. Peter M.S. I	S38	V&A H.7.c	Grid, sh. coloured; dated 'April 8th 1816'
Melton M.S. I	S13	V&A H.7.c	Grid

Middleton M.S. II	S39	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Oulton M.S. 2		V&A H.7.c	Grid; knight only; drawing never published; illus. Fig. 7
Oulton M.S. 2		V&A H.7.c	Grid; lady only; drawing never published
Petistree M.S. I	S.33	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Playford M.S. I	S6	V&A H.7.c	No grid; tabard, parts of armour and canopy coloured
Sibton M.S. I		V&A H.7.c	Grid; poor quality drawing never published
Sibton M.S. III	S30	V&A H.7.b	Grid
Sotterley M.S. V	S26	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Sotterley M.S. VI	S29	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured; 'proved May 3rd 1816'
Sotterley M.S. VII	S32	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured
Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. I	S4	V&A H.7.c	No grid; 'proved April 15th 1816'
Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. II	S.8	V&A H.7.c	Grid; 'proved March 25th 1816'; notes on other brasses
Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. IV	S24	V&A H.7.c	Faint grid; shields & mantle coloured
Stoke-by-Nayland M.S. VII	S45	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Ufford M.S. I	S19	V&A H.7.c	Grid erased
Woodbridge M.S. I	S37	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured; 'proved May 3rd 1816'
Wrentham M.S. I	S7	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Wrentham M.S. II	S35	V&A H.7.c	Grid; sh. coloured, dated 'April 8th 1816'
Yoxford M.S. IV	S17	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Yoxford M.S. IX	S40	V&A H.7.c	Grid
Yoxford M.S. X	S41	V&A H.7.c	Grid; bust of son roughly sketched & untinted
Yoxford M.S. XI	S42	V&A H.7.b	Faint grid

Cambridgeshire

Trumpington LSW. I R. Fiske Grid; illus. Fig. 11

Other monuments

Norfolk

Blickling		Castle Museum 245.235.951	Sir Edward Clere's tomb, 1605
Castle Rising		Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 11	Coffin lid in churchyard
Chedgrave		Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 14	Coffin lid
Houghton	Supp. IV	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 13	Dated 1817, unknown priest
Hunstanton		Cartwright Hall, Bradford 1925-012	South side tomb Sir Roger l'Estrange
Knapton		Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 15	2 coffin lids
Loddon		Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 17	Coped coffin lid
Moulton		Ashmolean, Album I, no. 17	Coped coffin lid
Narford		Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 7	Dated 1815, coffin lid
Narford		Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 10	Coffin lid

Norwich Cathedral
Repps
Sloley
Stanhoe
Thurlton
Thurlton
Upwell
Wickhampton

	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 18	Coped coffin lid
	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 16	Coffin lid
	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 9	Coffin lid
	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 12	Coffin lid
	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 6	Coffin lid
	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 8	Coffin lid
	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 21	Two coffin lids, 1 coped
Supp. III	Ashmolean, Album 1, no. 5	Dated 1813, attrib. Sir William Gerbrygges & wife

**APPENDIX C: COTMAN'S ENGRAVINGS OF THE BRASSES OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK
IN ORDER OF FIRST PUBLICATION**

<i>No. Location and Mill Stephenson ref.</i>	<i>Commemorated</i>	<i>Date etched</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>1st ed. pl.</i>	<i>2nd ed. pl.</i>
Part I Norfolk and Suffolk					
1.1. Ketteringham, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir Henry Grey, 1492	1814	Shows lost knight, inscription & shield	38	I.40
1.2. Clippesby, Norfolk M.S. III	John Clippesby, 1594	1813		82	I.84
1.3. Letheringham, Suffolk M.S. I	Sir John de Wyngefeld, 1389	Jan 1814	Reissued with Suffolk plates	-	S5
1.4. Felbrigg, Norfolk M.S. VI	Jane Coningsby, 1608	1814		87	II.89
1.5. West Lynn, Norfolk M.S. I	William Owlawe, 1499	1814		97	II. 99
1.6. Shotesham, Norfolk M.S. I	Edward Whyte, 1528	1814		59	I.61
Part II Norfolk and Suffolk					
2.1. Reepham, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir William de Kerdeston, 1391	1814	Shows figures only	12	I.12
2.2. Necton, Norfolk M.S. VII	Mary Rust, 1596	1814		83	II.85
2.3. Ingham, Norfolk M.S. 2 and 5	Joan Stapleton, 1385	1814	All now lost	11	I.11
2.4. Ingham, Norfolk M.S. 4	Ele Stapleton, c. 1420	1814	Entire brass now lost	20	I.20
2.5. Ingham, Norfolk M.S. II	Sir Miles Stapleton, 1466	1814	All but part of canopy now lost	27	I.30
2.6. Ingham, Norfolk M.S. 1	Sir Brian de Stapilton, 1438	1814	Entire brass now lost	4	I.4
Part III Norfolk and Suffolk					
3.1. Yoxford, Suffolk M.S. I	John Norwiche, 1428	1814	Reissued with Suffolk plates	-	S10
3.2. Norwich, St. Peter Mancroft M.S. III	Peter Rede, 1568	1814		76	I.77
3.3. Brisley, Norfolk M.S. III	John Athowe, 1531	-	Shows lost head of priest	99	II.101
3.4. Norwich, St. Mary Coslany	Unknown, c. 1460	1815	Brass lost; not in list of plates or index	111	I.25
3.5. Gorleston, Suffolk M.S. I	?John Bacon, c. 1305	1814	Figure only, reversed, taken from impression	-	-
3.6. Blicking, Norfolk M.S. II	Sir Nicholas Dagworth, 1401	1814	Shows lost parts inscription, sword & dagger	13	I.13
Part IV Norfolk and Suffolk					
4.1. Merton, Norfolk M.S. VI	Thomas de Greye, 1562	1814	Shows 3 lost shields & inscription complete	74	I.75
4.2. Braiseworth, Suffolk M.S. I	Alexander Newton, 1569	1814	Reissued with Suffolk plates	-	S.27
4.3. Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. X	Robert Rugge, 1558	-	Shows lost merchants mark	69	I.70
4.4. Norwich, St. Stephen	Richard Poryngland, 1458	1815	Entire brass now lost	105	II.107
4.5. Frenze, Norfolk M.S. III	Dame Joan Braham, 1519	1814		51	I.53
4.6. Felbrigg, Norfolk M.S. V	Thomas Windham, 1599	1814		85	I.87
Parts V and VI Norfolk					
5.1. Norwich, St. Stephen M.S. II	Thomas Bokenham, 1460	1815	Shows civilian only	25	I.27
5.2. Norwich, St. Stephen	John Danyel, 1418	1815	Entire brass now lost	17	I.17
5.3. Frenze, Norfolk M.S. II	John Blenerhaysett, 1510	1815		48	I.50
5.4. Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. VII	John Terry, 1524	1805	[sic.; ?1815]	56	I.58
5.5. Norwich, St. Andrew M.S. IV	Robert Gardener, after 1506	1815	Wrongly attributed to William Layer, 1531	63	I.67

5.6	Great Cressingham, Norfolk M.S. III	John Abarfeld, 1518	1815	Shows lost inscription	98	II.100
6.1	Felbrigg, Norfolk M.S. IV	?daughter of Elizabeth Windham née Washbone, c. 1480	1815	Omits shield; for attribution see R.W. Ketton-Cremer, <i>The Church of St. Margaret, Felbrigg</i> (Norwich, 1953), p. 21	54	I.56
6.2	Heigham, Norfolk M.S. III	Thomas Holl, 1630	1815		89	II.91
6.3	Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. II	John Todenham, c. 1450	1815	Not in list of plates or index	110	I.26
6.4	Hockwold, Norfolk	Amfelice Tendall, 1532	1815	Entire brass now lost	63	I.64
6.5	Norwich, St. Clement M.S. I	Margaret Pettwode, 1514	1815		50	I.52
6.6	Stokesby, Norfolk M.S. II	Edmund Clere, 1488	1815	Omits shields	33	I.36
Parts VII and VIII Norfolk						
7.1	Necton, Norfolk M.S. VI	Robert Goodwyn, 1532		Shows lost group of 3 daughters	64	I.65
7.2	Great Cressingham, Norfolk M.S. I	Richard Rysle, 1497	1815		43	I.45
7.3	Kimberley, Norfolk M.S. I	John Wodehows, c. 1530	1815		26	I.29
7.4	Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. VIII	John Marsham, 1525	1815	Shows lost groups of sons & daughters	57	I.59
7.5	Necton, Norfolk M.S. I	Ismayne Wynston, 1372	1815	Shows lost inscription	6	I.6
7.6	Felbrigg, Norfolk M.S. I	Symond de Felbrigg, d. 1351 and Roger de Felbrig, c. 1380	1815	Depicts father and son and their wives	8	I.8
8.1	West Harling, Norfolk M.S. II	William Berdewell, c. 1490	1815	Omits shield	35	I.37
8.2	Cley, Norfolk M.S. V	John Symondes, 1512	1815	Omits 8 scrolls	108	II.110
8.3	Norwich, St. Margaret M.S. I	Anne Rede, 1577	1815	Omits shield	79	I.80
8.4	Burgh, Norfolk M.S. I	John Barton, 1608	1815		102	II.104
8.5	Norwich, St. Lawrence M.S. VII	Geoffrey Langley, 1437	1815	Shows lost figure of St Faith	95	II.97
8.6	Blickling, Norfolk M.S. III	Roger Felthorpe, 1454	1815	Shows lost corner of inscr.; erroneously shows 9 sons, not 11	23	I.23
Part IX Norfolk						
		1816				
9.1	Norwich, St. Andrew M.S. VI	John Clark, 1527	1815	Shows lost effigy & 3 shields	58	I.60
9.2	Southacre, Norfolk M.S. III	Thomas Leman, 1534	1815		100	II.102
9.3	Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk M.S. I	Henry Notingham, c. 1405	1815		14	I.14
9.4	Little Plumstead, Norfolk M.S. IV	Sir Edmund Warner, 1565	1816		75	I.76
9.5	Necton, Norfolk M.S. II	Phelippe de Beauchampe, 1383	1815	Shows lost shield & marginal inscr.	9	I.9
9.6	Great Snoring, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir Ralph Shelton, 1424	1815	Shows brass nearly complete	19	I.19
Part X Norfolk						
		1816				
10.1	Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir William Calthorp, 1420	1815		18	I.18
10.2	Antingham, Norfolk M.S. III	Richard Calthorp, 1562	1815	Shows lost small inscr.	73	I.74
10.3	West Harling, Norfolk M.S. III	William Berdewell, 1508	1814		47	I.49
10.4	Elsing, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir Hugh Hastyngs, 1347	1815	Shows brass almost complete	1	I.1
10.5	Norwich, St. John Sepulchre M.S. III	John Browne, 1597	1815	Shows lost achievement	84	II.86
10.6	Merton, Norfolk M.S. III	William de Grey, 1495	1815		53	I.55

Part XI Norfolk		1816			
11.1	Sculthorpe, Norfolk M.S. I	Henry Unton, 1470	1815		28 I.31
11.2	Narborough, Norfolk M.S. VII	John Spelman, 1581	1815		80 I.81
11.3	Great Cressingham, Norfolk M.S. II	William Eyre, 1509	1816	Shows lost 2 shields	46 I.48
11.4	Erpingham, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir John de Erpingham, c. 1415	1816		5 I.5
11.5	Rougham, Norfolk M.S. III	William Yelverton, c. 1510	1815		31 I.34
11.6	Rougham, Norfolk M.S. V	William Yelverton, 1481	1815		81 II.82
Part XII Norfolk		1816			
12.1	Narborough, Norfolk M.S. VI	John Eyer, 1561	1815		71 I.72
12.2	Hellesdon, Norfolk M.S. II	Richard Thaseburgh, 1389	1816		92 II.94
12.3	Blickling, Norfolk M.S. VI	Anne Boleyn, 1479	1816		30 I.33
12.4	Newton Flotman, Norfolk M.S. I	Richard Blonevyle, 1571	1816		78 I.79
12.5	Norwich, St. George Colegate M.S. I	William Norwiche, 1472	-		34 I.28
12.6	Paston, Norfolk M.S. I	Erasmus Paston, c. 1570	1816		67 I.68
Parts XIII and XIV Norfolk		October 1816			
13.1	Southacre, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir John Harsick, 1384	1815		10 I.10
13.2	Norwich, St. Lawrence M.S. VIII	Thomas Childes, 1452	1816	Shows lost inscr.	104 II.106
13.3	Norwich, St. Giles M.S. I	Robert Baxter, 1432	1814		21 I.21
13.4	Hunstanton, Norfolk M.S. I	Edmund Grene, c. 1480	1816	Omits shield	36 I.38
13.5	Loddon, Norfolk M.S. VII	Katherine Sampson, 1546	-		109 II.111
13.6	Great Ormesby, Norfolk M.S. I	Alice Clere, 1538	1816	Shows lost inscr. & shield	65 I.66
14.1	Ingham, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir Brian de Stapilton, 1438	1815	Shows brass almost complete	22 I.22
14.2	Honing, Norfolk M.S. I	Nicholas Parker, 1496	1815		42 I.44
14.3	Raveningham, Norfolk M.S. I	Margaret Wyllughby, 1483	1816		32 I.35
14.4	West Barsham, Norfolk M.S. II	Edward Gournay, 1641	1816		87 II.93
14.5	Necton, Norfolk M.S. III	William Curteys, 1499	1815	Wrongly labelled Holme Hale, misdated 1490; omits lady and gives inaccurate scale	37 I.39
14.6	Stokesby, Norfolk M.S. IV	Ann Clere, 1570	1815	Shows lost upper part lady & 1 shield	77 I.78
Also included 4 extra plates to replace engravings of 4 Suffolk brasses					
E.1	Ketteringham, Norfolk M.S. II	Thomas Hevenyngham, 1499	1816	Coloured enamelling to shields remains	44 I.46
E.2	Sprowston, Norfolk M.S. I	John Corbet, 1559	1815	Shows lost upper part knight	70 I.71
E.3	Blickling, Norfolk M.S. XIX	Anne a Wode, 1512	1815		49 I.51
E.4	Narborough, Norfolk M.S. IV	Sir John Spelman, 1545	1816		68 I.69
Parts XV and XVI Norfolk		October 1816			
15.1	Dersingham, Norfolk	John Pell, 1607	1816	Incised slab; untinted	86 II.88
15.2	Cley, Norfolk M.S. VI	John Yslyngton, c. 1520	1815	Figure stolen Autumn 2000	94 II.96
15.3	Salle, Norfolk M.S. V	John Brigge, 1454	1816		106 II.108

15.4	Fakenham, Norfolk	Henry Newman, c. 1490	1816	Entire brass now lost	103	II.105
15.5	Frenze, Norfolk M.S. X	Mary Bacon, 1587	1816	Brass in the text under entry for M.S. VI	61	II.83
15.6	Loddon, Norfolk M.S. VIII	Henry Hobart, 1561	1816		72	I.73
16.1	Sherborne, Norfolk M.S. I	Thomas Sherborne, 1458	1816		24	I.24
16.2	North Creake, Norfolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1500	1816		39	I.41
16.3	Kings Lynn, Norfolk	Robert Attelath, 1376	-	Brass now lost; shows effigy only	7	I.7
16.4	Frenze, Norfolk M.S. VI	Thomas Blenerhaysette, 1531	1816	Shows lost 4 shields & restored effigy	62	I.63
16.5	Great Ormesby, Norfolk M.S. IV	Sir Robert Clere, 1529	1815	Shows lost 2 shields	60	I.62
16.6	Hunstanton, Norfolk M.S. III	Sir Roger le Strange, 1506	1816		45	I.47
Parts XVII and XVIII, issued together with Parts XIX and XX, Norfolk 1819, order of plates unknown						
-	Dunston, Norfolk M.S. I	Clere Talbot, 1649	-	Civilian only	90	II.92
-	Great Fransham, Norfolk M.S. I	Geoffrey Fransham 1414	-		16	I.16
-	Surlingham, Norfolk M.S. I	John Alnwik, 1460	1814		96	II.98
-	Feltwell St. Mary, Norfolk M.S. II	Margaret Mundford, 1520	1815		52	I.54
-	Norwich, St. Edmund	Anne Hawte, 1523	1815		-	I.57
-	Norwich, St. Stephen M.S. X	Thomas Capp, 1545	1815		101	II.103
-	Snettisham, Norfolk M.S. II	John Cremer, 1610	1815		88	II.90
-	East Tuddenham, Norfolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1500	1815		40	I.42
-	Felbrigg, Norfolk M.S. III	Sir Symon Felbrygge, 1416	1816		15	I.15
-	Narborough, Norfolk M.S. I	Henry Spelman, 1496	1816		-	I.43
-	Rougham, Norfolk M.S. IV	John & Roger Yelverton, 1510	1816		107	II.109
-	Upwell, Norfolk M.S. I	?William Mowbray, 1428	1817		93	II.95
Parts XIX and XX, issued together with Parts XVII and XVIII, Norfolk 1819						
19.1	Kings Lynn, Norfolk M.S. I	Adam de Walsoken, 1349	1818		2	I.2
19.2	Kings Lynn, Norfolk M.S. II	Robert Braunche, 1364	1818		3	I.3
Letterpress: title page, dedication, historical introductory essay and double index						
Engravings in 2nd edition only						
-	Norwich, St. Lawrence	Unknown, c. 1410 & c. 1490	1815	Upper parts of two lost brasses	II. App.1	
-	Norwich, St. Giles M.S. II	Richard Purdance, 1436	1814	Omits bottom of figures & inscription	II. App.2	
-	Swaffham, Norwich M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1480	1814		II. App.3	
-	Norwich, St. Etheldred M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1485	1815	Formerly in St. Peter Southgate	II. App.4	
-	Frenze, Norfolk M.S. V	Jane Blenerhayseytt, 1521	1815	Shows lost 3rd shield	II. App.5	
-	Loddon, Norfolk M.S. IX	James Hobart, 1609	1816		II. App.6	
-	Worstead, Norfolk M.S. III	?Sir Robert Camond, c. 1500	-		II. App.7	
Other engravings known to have been made by Cotman before 1820 but not generally issued for the 1st edition						
-	Bylaugh, Norfolk M.S. I	Sir John Curson, 1471	1814	Listed but engraving not usually present	29	I.32
-	Norwich, St. John Maddermarket M.S. II	John Toddenham	1815	Not in list of plates or index	110	I.26
-	Ingham, Norfolk	Sir Miles de Stapleton, 1364	1 Jan 1814	Shows figures only	-	-

Parts I, II and III Suffolk		1819			
1.1	Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk M.S. II	Sir William Tendring, 1408	1817		1 S.8
1.2	Eyeke, Suffolk M.S. I	John Staverton, c. 1430	1817	Proof to Davy 6.9.1816	2 S.12
1.3	Woodbridge, Suffolk M.S. I	John Shorland, 1601	1817		3 S.37
1.4	Easton, Suffolk M.S. III	Radcliff Gerrarde, 1601	-		4 S.36
1.5	Yoxford, Suffolk M.S. IX	Anthony Cooke, 1613	-		5 S.40
1.6	Braiseworth, Suffolk M.S. I	Alexander Newton, 1569	1814	Reissue of Norfolk & Suffolk plate 4.2	6 S.27
2.1	Ipswich, St. Peter, Suffolk M.S. I	John Knapp, 1604	1817		7 S.38
2.2	Debenham, Suffolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1425	1817	Proof to Davy 17.9.1816	8 S.11
2.3	Yoxford, Suffolk M.S. X	Christian Foxe, 1618	1817		9 S.41
2.4	Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk M.S. I	Katherine Tendring, 1402	1817		10 S.4
2.5	Eyeke, Suffolk M.S. II	Henry Mason, 1619	1817	Proof to Davy 6.9.1816	11 S.43
2.6	Lowestoft, Suffolk M.S. 6	Thomas Annott, 1577	1817	Entire brass now lost	12 S.31
3.1	Darsham, Suffolk M.S. III	Anne Bedingfield, 1641	1817		13 S.47
3.2	Middleton, Suffolk M.S. II	Anthony Pettow, 1610	1817	Omits lady; proof to Davy 21.5.1816	14 S.39
3.3	Sotterley, Suffolk M.S. VII	Thomas Playters, 1572	1817		15 S.32
3.4	Pettistree, Suffolk M.S. I	Francis Bacon, 1580	1817	Proof to Davy 21.5.1816	16 S.33
3.5	East Bergholt, Suffolk M.S. I	Robert Alfounder, 1639	1817	Proof to Davy 21.5.1816	17 S.46
3.6	Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk M.S. IV	Katherine Howard, c. 1535	1817	Shows lost inscr. & 3 shs.; proof 17.9.1816	18 S.24
Parts IV, V and VI Suffolk		1819			
4.1	Easton, Suffolk M.S. II	John Wingfeld, 1584	1817		19 S.34
4.2	Denstone, Suffolk M.S. II	Drury lady, c. 1530	1817	Proof to Davy 21.5.1816	20 S.18
4.3	Yoxford, Suffolk M.S. XI	Joan Weld, 1618	-	Omits lower half effigy & inscr.	21 S.42
4.4	Oulton, Suffolk M.S. I	Adam de Bacon, c. 1330	1814	Entire brass now lost	22 S.3
4.5	Yoxford, Suffolk M.S. I	John Norwiche, 1428	1814	Reissue of Norfolk & Suffolk plate 2.1	23 S.10
4.6	Sotterley, Suffolk M.S. V	Christopher Playters, c. 1630	1817		24 S.26
5.1	Sotterley, Suffolk M.S. III	Unknown, c. 1480	1817	Proof to Davy 6.9.1816	25 S.16
5.2	Denstone, Suffolk M.S. I	Henry Everard, 1524	1817	Omits 2 shields; proof to Davy 6.9.1816	26 S.25
5.3	Barrow, Suffolk M.S. II	Sir Clement Heigham, 1570	-		27 S.28
5.4	Sibton, Suffolk M.S. VII	Edmund Chapman, 1626	1817		28 S.44
5.5	Letheringham, Suffolk M.S. I	Sir John de Wyngefeld, 1389	Jan 1814	Reissue of Norfolk & Suffolk plate S 1.3	29 S.5
5.6	Easton, Suffolk M.S. I	John Brook, 1426	1817		30 S.9
6.1	Wrentham, Suffolk M.S. II	Humphrey Brewster, 1593	1817		31 S.35
6.2	Sibton, Suffolk M.S. III	Edmund Chapman, 1574	1817	Shows lost part inscr.; omits verses	32 S.30
6.3	Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk M.S. VII	Dorothy Mannock, 1632	1817		33 S.45
6.4	Melton, Suffolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1530	1817	Labelled Metton	34 S.13
6.5	Playford, Suffolk M.S. I	Sir George Felbrigg, 1400	1817	Shows lost sections canopy & inscr.	35 S.6
6.6	Gorleston, Suffolk M.S. I	?John Bacon, c. 1305	1817	Revised version showing indent	36 S.2

Additional plates in proposed Part VII, date of issue and order unknown, but listed here in the order of CUL 1i.9.36

7.1	Sotterley, Suffolk M.S. VI	Thomas Playters, 1572	1817	Proof to Davy 6.9.1816	-	S.29
7.2	Yoxford, Suffolk M.S. IV	Tomesin Tendryng, c. 1480	1817	Shows indents of 3 lost shields	-	S.17
7.3	Sotterley, Suffolk M.S. II	Thomas Playters, 1479	1817	Shows 2 lost shields	-	S.15
7.4	Wrentham, Suffolk M.S. I	Ele Bowet, c. 1400	1817		-	S.7
7.5	Acton, Suffolk M.S. I	Sir Robert de Bures, c. 1331	1817	Shows part of indent of inscr.	-	S.1
7.6	Ufford, Suffolk M.S. I	Symon Brooks, 1488	1817	Proof to Davy 17.9.1816	-	S.19
Engravings in 2nd edition only						
	Carlton, Suffolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1480	1817	Proof to Davy 17.9.1816	-	S.14
	Carlton, Suffolk M.S. II	Unknown, c. 1490	1817		-	S.20
	Hawkedon, Suffolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1510	1817		-	S.21
	Middleton, Suffolk M.S. I	Unknown, c. 1500	1817	Shows indent of inscription	-	S.22
	Worlingham, Suffolk M.S. II	Nicholas Wrenne, 1511	1817	Shows lost sh. & ind. inscr.; proof 6.9.1816	-	S.23

Portfolio of Small Plates

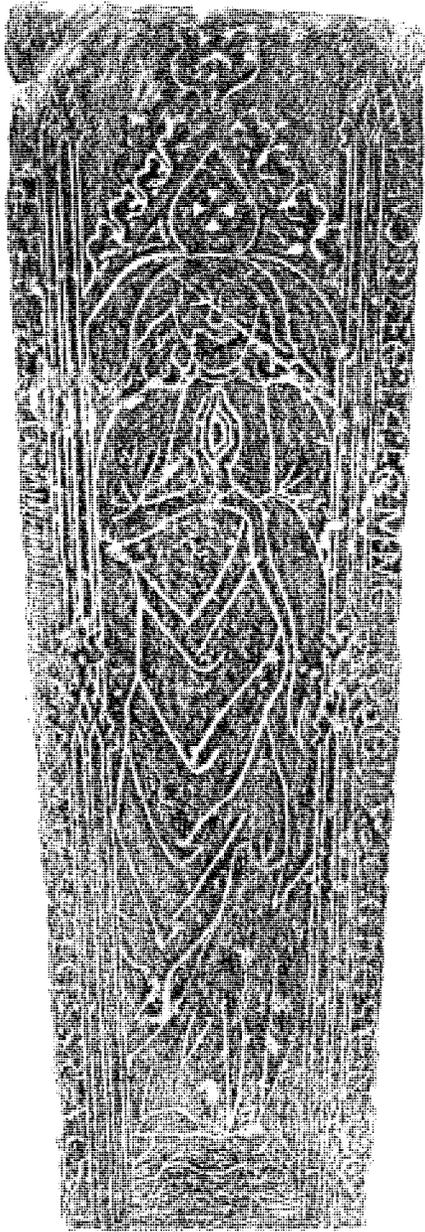


FIG. 1
Maud de Chisenel, c. 1330 (incised slab)
Standish, Lancs.
Rubbing by Patrick Farman

Fig. 1: Maud de Chisenel, *c.* 1330 (incised slab), Standish, Lancs. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

The Anglo-Norman inscription on this curious local slab (1630 x 400-560 mm) reads: MAUD KY FV¹ LA FEMME ROBERD DE CHESEN... IOVRS DE PARDOVN ... AVERA P.... The top and bottom of the slab have been trimmed off. The Chisnall family held a manor in the township of Coppull in the parish of Standish.² Maud was possibly the wife of Robert who was the father of Roger de Chisnall, a plaintiff in 1324.³ At one time the slab was at the east end of the nave, partly hidden by the platform on which the reading-desk stood.⁴ It was then moved to the north chapel, and now lies in the chancel.

P.F.

Fig. 2: Elizabeth Shilford, d. 1401/2, Goring, Oxfordshire, M.S. II. *Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 10 September 1998*

The inscription on this London B brass is a remarkable combination of an English epitaph with a Latin prayer invocation. The date of death is given as ‘the day of seynt paul[s] co[n]v[er]cio[n]’, i.e. 25 January. According to T.R. Gambier-Parry, it commemorates Elizabeth, daughter of John Loveday, wife first of Henry de Aldrington (d. 1375, Goring, M.S. I) and secondly of John Shilford, a London merchant, whom she married in 1378.⁵

The figure measures 570 x 180 mm, the canopy fragment 450 x 280 mm and the marginal inscription 1390 x 540 mm. Very worn indents remain for the canopy shafts and two shields, 150 x 130 mm, on either side of the canopy finial. The slab is of Purbeck marble, 1660 x 700 mm, now set on the north wall of the chancel. The face in the I of Ih[es]u (Fig. 3) is reminiscent of that on the contemporary brass at Shottesbrooke, Berks., M.S. II (Fig. 4), though of a different style.



FIG. 3
Face in initial letter
Goring, Oxon., M.S. II



FIG. 4
Face in initial letter
Shottesbrooke, Berks., LSW. II

¹ 'V' over an 'E'.

² VCH, *Lancashire*, VI (London, 1911), p. 226.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 226 n. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵ *A Collection of Charters relating to Goring, Streatley and the Neighbourhood*, ed. T.R. Gambier-Parry, 2 vols., Oxfordshire Record Soc., 13-14 (Oxford, 1931-2), p. liii, frontispiece to vol. II.

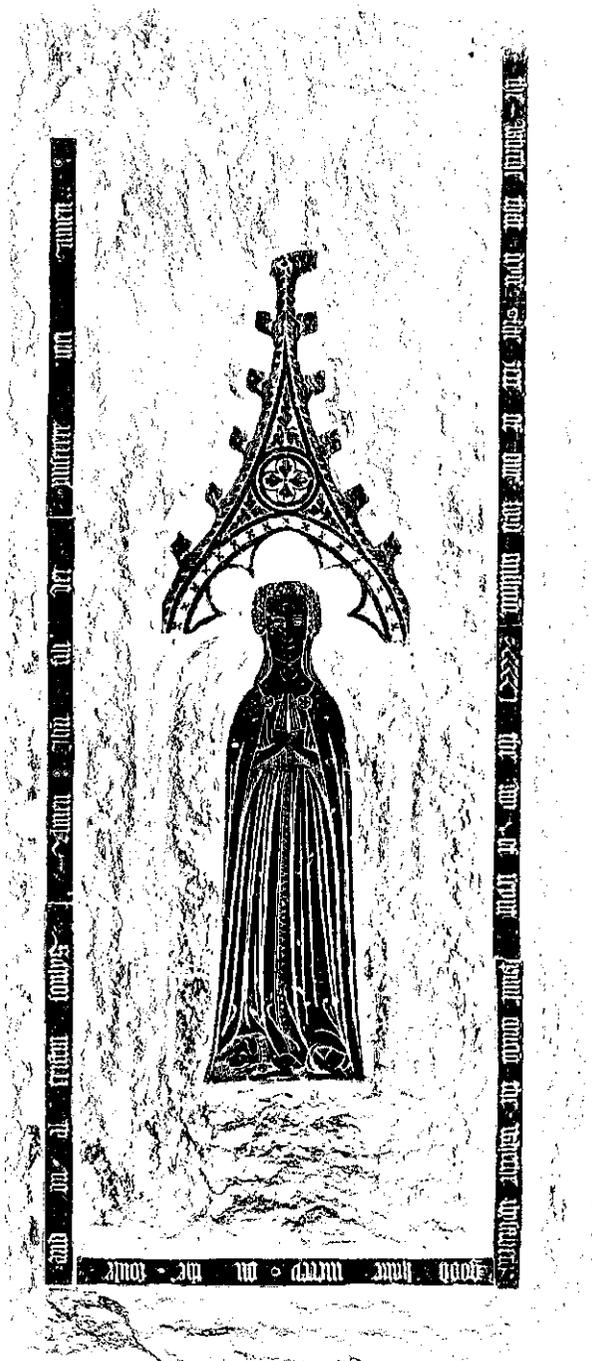


FIG. 2

Elizabeth Shilford, d. 1401/2, Goring, Oxfordshire, M.S. II
Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 10 September 1998

The inscription, in *textura*, reads: ... / the wheche that deyde the 3ere of our Lord Mill[esi]mo CCCI the day of seynt paul co[n]u[er]cio[n] the wheche ilysabeth / good haue mercy on the soule / and on al cristin soullys Amen : Jh[es]u fili dei miserere mei Amen.⁶

J.B.

Fig. 5: Hugo and Agnes ...er, 1498 (incised slab), Northorpe, Lincs. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

This incised slab (1470 x 750 mm) was first discovered at a restoration in 1905 and fixed to the north wall of the nave. However, almost immediately, *c.* 1907, the organ was placed in front of it. When the organ was restored in the 1970s, it came to view again. One of the churchwardens paid for it to be remounted on the south wall of the nave. The slab is local work, and can be compared with others in Lincolnshire, at Swineshead, Huttoft and Sedgebrook. The circular, halo-like cushions are worthy of note.

P.F.

Fig. 6: Thomas Leedes of North Milford, d. 1602 (incised slab), Kirkby Wharfe, Yorks. (W.R.). *Rubbing by Patrick Farman*

This incised slab is mural on the south wall of the chancel at Kirkby Wharfe, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Thomas's wife, unnamed on the slab, was Ann Scargill.⁷ The shield between the couple is [*Argent*] *a fess* [*gules*] *between three eagles displayed* [*sable*] (Leedes), impaling *Ermine a saltire engrailed* [*gules*] (Scargill).

P.F.

⁶ Wood gives the first word alone as 'Hie', possibly really 'Hie[re]'.

⁷ York, Borthwick Institute, YM/D/SN/43.



FIG. 5

Hugo and Agnes ...er, 1498 (incised slab)
Northorpe, Lincs.

Rubbing by Patrick Farman

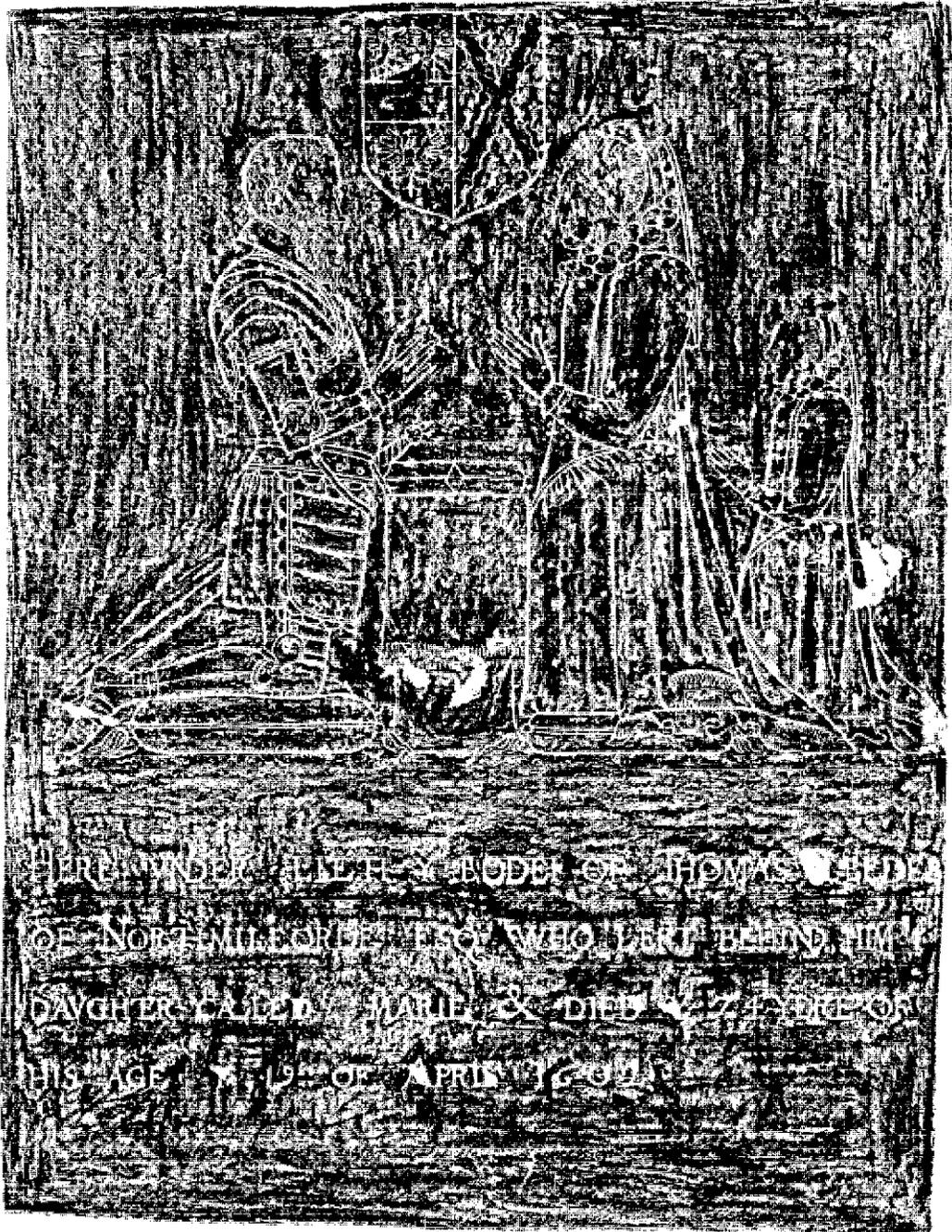


FIG. 6
 Thomas Leedes of North Milford, d. 1602 (incised slab)
 Kirkby Wharfe, Yorks.
Rubbing by Patrick Farman

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No. 214336 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.02 General Fund
--

2001	INCOME	2002
6875	Subscriptions	6397.59
20	Donations	52.05
0	Income Tax recovered	0.00
0	Publications grant	750.00
861	Sales (net)	320.41
848	Events (net)	- 435.71
1791	Interest and Investment Income	1441.63
<u>- 27</u>	Less share transferred to Malcolm Norris Fund	<u>- 26.78</u>
1764		1414.85
10368	TOTAL INCOME	8499.19
	EXPENDITURE	
2585	Publications - Bulletin (net)	2804.44
279	- Web Site (www.mbs-brasses.co.uk)	1141.00
712	Meetings	1112.00
534	Travelling Expenditure	684.95
903	Printing / Postage	841.12
60	Subscriptions	63.00
16	Bank Charges	6.00
0	Miscellaneous	249.50
1000	Transfer to Conservation Fund	500.00
<u>4000</u>	Transfer to Publications Fund	<u>4000.00</u>
10089	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	11402.01
10368	INCOME FOR YEAR	8499.19
<u>- 10089</u>	less EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR	<u>- 11402.01</u>
279	Deficit/Surplus for year – transferred to Balance Sheet	- 2902.82

<p>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214366 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.02 Miscellaneous Fund</p>
--

PUBLICATIONS FUND

Reserve for 2000, 2001 Trans. and Occasional Series at 31.12.01	9465.22
Grant received for Occasional Series no. 2, "Waller Drawings"	750.00
Part of production costs of 2000/2001 Transactions	- <u>2165.93</u> <u>8049.29</u>
Transfer from General Fund for Transactions 2002	<u>4000.00</u>
Reserve for 2000/2001 and 2002 Transactions & Occasional Series	<u>12049.29</u>

MALCOLM NORRIS FUND

Balance as at 31.12.01	649.65
Accrued interest	26.78
	<u>676.43</u>

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No. 214366 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.02 Conservation Fund

2001	INCOME	2002
15	Donations	120.00
178	Interest	64.41
1000	Transfer from General Fund	500.00
1193	Income for year	684.41
-1300	Less : Grants approved in 2001 as per Schedule below	-1375.00
250	: Grants no longer required	595.00
<u>143</u>	Surplus / deficit for year carried to Balance Sheet	-95.59

Schedule of Grant Awards at year ending 31December 2002

Applicant Parish	Unpaid @ 01/01/02	Made in 2002	Paid in 2002	Not required	Unpaid @ 31/12/02
Medlesham (98)	£70.00			£70.00	
Metfield (98)	£150.00			£150.00	
Compton (98)	£50.00			£50.00	
Wantage (99)	£100.00			£100.00	
Little Hadham (99)	£125.00			£125.00	
Tideswell (00)	£100.00			£100.00	
Tingrith (99)	£75.00		£75.00		
Newnham (99/02)	£100.00				£100.00
Feering (00)	£50.00		£50.00		
Monkton (00)	£75.00				£75.00
Whitchurch (00)	£100.00				£100.00
Chiseldon (00)	£75.00		£75.00		
Houghton-le-Spring (00)	£150.00				£150.00
Ugley (01)	£50.00				£50.00
Stutton (01)	£100.00				£100.00
Stoke-by-Nayland (01)	£500.00		£500.00		
Cley-next-Sea (01)	£175.00				£175.00
Chester-le-Street (01)	£50.00				£50.00
Auckland, St. Helen (01)	£75.00				£75.00
Bishopton (01)	£100.00				£100.00
Easton (01)	£250.00		£250.00		
Barton (01)	£75.00		£75.00		
Surlingham (01)	£75.00		£75.00		
Bobbingworth (01)	£75.00		£75.00		
Church Knowle (01)	£100.00		£100.00		
Wappenham (01)	£100.00		£100.00		
Owermoigne (02)		£50.00			£50.00
Felsted (02)		£50.00			£50.00
Thorington (02)		£150.00			£50.00
Blockley (02)		£200.00			£200.00
Radwell (02)		£75.00			£75.00
Beddington (02)		£50.00			£50.00
Hull, St. Mary (02)		£150.00			£150.00
TOTALS	£2,945.00	£725.00	£1,375.00	£595.00	£1,600.00

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214336 BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.02

2001	ASSETS:	2002
	CASH AND BANK BALANCES	
	General Fund - Barclays Current a/c	3355.48
	General Fund - Barclays Postal a/c	5005.08
	A&L (Girobank)	71.01
<u>11071</u>	Vermont Bank a/c	<u>159.05</u> 8590.62
15196	National Savings Bank	15652.15
0	COIF Deposit a/c	1000.00
9910	Conservation Fund	<u>9204.16</u> 34446.93
14536	Charifund (1337 Units)	12238.50
	Less Creditors	
-293	County Series Books c/f.	- 292.53
	US sales	- 34.83
- 900	“Death, Art and Memory” sale or return	- 900.00
-456	Misc. unpaid costs	0.00
<u>-2520</u>	Grants outstanding	<u>-1600.00</u> -2827.36
<u>46544</u>		<u>43858.07</u>

REPRESENTED BY:

	GENERAL FUND:	
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.01	16502.65
16503	Less deficit for the year	<u>- 2902.82</u> 13599.83
12536	Unrealised surplus on Investments (Charifund)	10238.50
	CONSERVATION FUND:	
	Accumulated balance as at 31.12.01	7389.61
7390	Less deficit for the year	<u>- 95.59</u> 7294.02
9465	PUBLICATIONS FUND:	12049.29
650	MALCOLM NORRIS FUND:	<u>676.43</u>
<u>46544</u>		<u>43858.07</u>

25 August 2003

M.A. Paige-Hagg
Hon. Treasurer

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

Independent Examiner's Report

To the trustees/members of the Monumental Brass Society

This report on the accounts of the Monumental Brass Society for the year ended 31st December 2002, 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 Acthave 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

14th September 2003

INDEX TO VOLUME XVI

Index of Places

UNITED KINGDOM

BEDFORDSHIRE

Clifton, 377
Cople, 234
Hatley Cockayne, 377
Luton, 364
Yelden, 364

BERKSHIRE

Blebury, 72, 157-63, 257, illus. 158-60
Cookham, 116
Lambourne, 209, 475, 482, illus. 483
Little Wittenham, 381
Shottesbrooke, 207, 209, 547, illus. 547
Sonning, 254
Sparsholt, 85, illus. 85
Tidmarsh, 475, 477, 485, illus. 485
Uffington, 116
Windsor, St. George's Chapel, 116

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Chalfont St. Peter, 137
Dinton, 163-9, illus. 164, 165, 168
Emberton, 74
Halton, 245
Langley Marish, 209
Leckhampstead, 169
Lillingstone Dayrell, 374
Marsworth, 201
Milton Keynes, 364, illus. 365
Quarrendon, 166
Taplow, 474
Turweston, 364, illus. 365
Twyford, 171, 257-9, illus. 258

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Bottisham, 234, 235
Brinkley, 370, 375-7, illus. 376
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 259; Museum of
Archaeology and Anthropology, 166, 385, 412, 417,
illus. 165, 384
Dry Drayton, 259-62, illus. 260
Ely, Cathedral, 235, 238, 265, 287, 374
Fulbourn, 420, illus. 420
Grantchester, 370, 371-4, 399, illus. 371, 372
Horseheath, 248-50, illus. 249
Isleham, 378
March, 374
Trumpington, 234, 512, 538, illus. 516
Westley Waterless, 86-7, 231, 234

CHESHIRE

Macclesfield, St. Michael, 81-2

CORNWALL

St. Columb Major, 189-90

CUMBERLAND

Carlisle, Cathedral, 270-1
Edenhall, 180
Greystoke, 71-2, 254, illus. 72

DERBYSHIRE

Ashbourne, 116
Derby, Cathedral, 269
Kedleston, 186-7
Norbury, 234, 238
Walton on Trent, 385
Wirksworth, 87-8

DEVON

Exeter, Cathedral, 367

DORSET

Bindon, 234, 236
Milton Abbas, 234, 235, 236
Wimborne Minster, 1, 286

DURHAM

Durham, Cathedral, 234, 237-8
Hartlepool, 185, illus. 185

ESSEX

Arkesden, 177
Barking, 236-7, 284
Bowers Gifford, 234
Chrishall, 142
Coggeshall, 369
Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum, 124
Gosfield, 117-31, illus. 119-21, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130
Great Yeldham, 194, illus. 193, 194
Hornchurch, 244
Leez Priory, 415
Loughton, 247
North Ockendon, 83-5
Pebmarsh, 6, 231, 234, 236, 238
Rettendon, 252, 254, illus. 254
Stifford, 190
Strethall, 192
Tolleshunt D'Arcy, 147-56, illus. 148-50, 152
Upminster, 313, 420-1, illus. 421
Waltham Abbey, 141-2, 234, 235, illus. 142
West Hanningfield, 195, 198, illus. 197
Wimbish, 313, 433-4, 441, illus. 434

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Cirencester, 374
Deerhurst, 276-7

Doynton, 475, 477, 482, illus. 482
 Duntisbourne Abbots, 294, 297, illus. 295, 296
 Duntisbourne Rouse, 297
 Northleach, 475, 477, 486, illus. 486
 Tewkesbury, 234
 Yate, 88-91, illus. 89, 90

HAMPSHIRE

Beaulieu, 234
 King's Sombourne, 207
 Southwick, 256
 Stoke Charity, 171-4, 243, illus. 172
 Thruxton, 192, 194
 Titchfield, 6, 236, 284
 Winchester, Cathedral, 286; St. Cross, 66-8, 136, illus. 66, 67

HEREFORDSHIRE

Burghill, 396
 Hereford, Cathedral, 209, 211, 230, 234, 235, 237, 286, 287, 312, 374
 Little Hereford, 195, illus. 196
 Ludford, 254-7, illus. 256

HERTFORDSHIRE

Albury, 374
 Aldenham, 250-2, illus. 251
 Digswell, 288
 Hertingfordbury, 60
 Hinxworth, 288
 Letchworth, 209, 211, illus. 210
 Little Hadham, 374
 St. Albans, Abbey, 234, 235, 374; St. Peter, 419, 488-92, illus. 420, 488; St. Stephen, 374
 Sawbridgeworth, 236
 Walkern, 369
 Widford, 417-18, illus. 418

ISLE OF WIGHT

Shorwell, 498

KENT

Ashford, 15, 235-6, 287, illus. 14
 Aylesford, 73
 Beckenham, 174-6, illus. 175
 Brabourne, 73
 Chartham, 234, 236, 284
 Cobham, 234
 Goodnestone-next-Wingham, 435
 Graveney, 104
 Hever, 234
 High Halstow, 211
 Horton Kirby, 15, illus. 14
 Leeds, Priory, 132-8, illus. 133
 Lesnes, 236
 Lynsted, 289, illus. 291
 Maidstone, Museum, 252, illus. 253
 Minster-in-Sheppey, 238

Northfleet, 349-61, 415, 431, illus. 351-9
 Penshurst, 262-4, illus. 263
 Ramsgate, St. Augustine's Abbey, 108
 Rochester, Cathedral, 374
 Saltwood, Kent, 234
 Shorne, 261
 Stoke, 236
 Stone, 417, illus. 416
 Thanington, 75
 Ulcombe, 132-8, illus. 133
 West Wickham, 237, 283
 Westwell, 237, 286

LANCASHIRE

Standish, 547, illus. 546

LEICESTERSHIRE

Leicester, St. Martin, 240

LINCOLNSHIRE

Ashby Puerorum, 240
 Buslingthorpe, 104
 Great Hale, 104
 Huttoft, 549
 Lincoln, 428, illus. 428
 Northorpe, 549, illus. 550
 Sedgebrook, 549
 Snarford, 190, illus. 191
 South Kyme, 314, 404
 Spalding, 139, 141, illus. 140
 Swineshead, 549

MIDDLESEX AND LONDON

Clerkenwell, 74
 Edmonton, 311, 412-14, illus. 413
 Fulham, 75
 Hackney, 147
 Harrow, 343, illus. 343
 Littleton, 264-6, illus. 265
 London, All Hallows Barking-by-the-Tower, 169-71, illus. 170; British Museum, 60-1, 303-446, 488-92, illus. 60, 303-446 passim, 488; Greyfriars, 368, 428-9, illus. 429; Holy Trinity Priory, 481; London Museum, 235; Old St. Paul's Cathedral, 374; St. Alban Wood Street, 288; St. Andrew Undershaft, 56-60, illus. 57, 58; St. Christopher-le-Stocks, 284, illus. 285; St. Margaret Lothbury, 51, 54, illus. 53; St. Michael, Crooked Lane, 368-9; Society of Antiquaries, 56-60, 306, illus. 57; Thames, 430, illus. 430; Victoria and Albert Museum, 236, 284, 306, illus. 285; Westminster Abbey, 266, 279; Westminster, St. Margaret, 374
 Stratford-le-Bow, 68-9, illus. 68
 West Drayton, 70, illus. 71

NORFOLK

Antingham, 294, 536, 541
 Barnham Broom, 533

- Blickling, 211, 474, 536, 541, 542
 Brampton, 200-2, illus. 200-2
 Brisley, 533
 Burgh St. Margaret, 533, 541
 Burnham Thorpe, 541
 Bylaugh, 517, 525, 543
 Carlton Rode, 533
 Cley, 447, 536, 541, 542, illus. 448, 449
 Clippesby, 518
 Colby, 533
 Crostwight, 533
 Dersingham, 517, 542
 Dunston, 543
 East Bradenham, 177-8, illus. 178
 East Tuddenham, 537, 543
 Elsing, 231, 234, 236, 238, 315, 321, 326, 512, 533, 536, 541, illus. 514
 Emneth, 234, 235
 Erpingham, 542
 Fakenham, 543
 Felbrigg, 502, 515, 525, 536, 541, 543
 Feltwell, 536
 Feltwell St. Mary, 543
 Frenze, 108, 181-4, 517, 530, 536, 543, illus. 106, 183, 184
 Great Cressingham, 533, 536, 541, 542
 Great Fransham, 181, 533, 543, illus. 182
 Great Ormesby, 542, 543
 Great Snoring, 509, 534, 541
 Harpley, 234, 238
 Heigham, 541
 Hellesdon, 536, 542
 Hockering, 533
 Hockwold, 506, 533, 536, 541, illus. 507
 Holme-next-the-Sea, 541
 Honing, 536, 542
 Horsham St. Faith, 515
 Hunstanton, 536, 542, 543
 Ingham, 505-6, 508, 509, 525, 533, 536, 542, 543, illus. 506
 Ketteringham, 515, 533, 536, 542
 Kimberley, 536, 541
 King's Lynn, St. Margaret, 26, 517, 525, 530, 536, 543; St. Nicholas, 81, illus. 82
 Knapton, 533
 Little Plumstead, 537, 541
 Little Walsingham, 535
 Loddon, 542, 543
 Ludham, 533
 Mattishall, 533
 Merton, 533, 536, 541
 Narborough, 82, 536, 542, 543
 Necton, 533-4, 536, 541, 542
 Newton Flotman, 536, 542
 North Burlingham, St. Andrew, 533
 North Creake, 536, 543
 Norwich, All Saints, 534; St. Andrew, 534, 537, 541; St. Clement, 534, 541; St. Edmund, 543; St. Etheldred, 537, 543; St. George Colegate, 537, 542; St. Giles, 542, 543; St. Gregory, 534; St. John Maddermarket, 525, 534, 537, 541, 543; St. John Sepulchre, 541; St. Lawrence, 288, 515, 537, 534, 541, 542, 543; St. Margaret, 541; St. Mary Coslany, 525, 534; St. Michael Coslany, 534; St. Peter Mancroft, 537; St. Stephen, 534, 537, 543; St. Swithin, 534
 Paston, 542
 Ravingingham, 542
 Redenhall, 234, 235, 236
 Reepham, 537
 Rougham, 471, 537, 542, 543
 Salle, 512, 537, 542, illus. 513
 Sculthorpe, 537, 542
 Sharrington, 202
 Shernborne, 537, 543
 Snettisham, 537, 543
 South Walsham, 534-5
 Southacre, 496, 515, 537, 541, 542
 Sprowston, 542
 Stokesby, 541, 542
 Surlingham, 543
 Swaffham, 512, 543, illus. 515
 Swanton Abbot, 534
 Taverham, 422-3, illus. 422
 Tibenham, 534
 Trunch, 410-11, 534, illus. 41
 Upwell, 537, 543
 West Barsham, 542
 West Harling, 536, 541
 West Lynn, 537
 Worstead, 288, 535, 543
- NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
 Cranford St. Andrew, 274-6, illus. 274, 275
 Easton Neston, 124, 244-8, 257, illus. 245, 246
 Everdon, 235
 Higham Ferrers, 234, 288
 King's Sutton, 475, 477, illus. 478
 Marholm, 401, 403
 Northampton, Cathedral, 75
 Peterborough, Abbey, 13, 235
 Rothwell, 237
 Sudborough, 364, illus. 365
 Walgrave, 86, 234, 235, illus. 86
 Weekley, 234, 235
- NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
 Bothamsall, 76, 101, 104, illus. 103
 Clayworth, 101, 403
 Everton, 75
 Hawton, 235
 Hickling, 186

- Holme Pierrepont, 101
 Newark, 26, 329, illus. 330
 Ossington, 61-6, illus. 62-4
- OXFORDSHIRE
 Albury, 311, 382, 385-6, 412, illus. 384
 Aston Rowant, 234
 Bletchington, 475, 477, 484, illus. 483
 Burford, 73, illus. 73
 Caversfield, 311, 382, 400, illus. 383
 Checkendon, 209, 211
 Chinnor, 76-81, 178-80, 211, 286, illus. 77, 78, 79, 180
 Cuxham, 81, illus. 80
 Dorchester, 378-81, 415-16, 475, 477, 479, illus. 379, 380, 476
 Godstow, Abbey, 306
 Goring, 547-9, illus. 547, 548
 Hardwick Mill, 235
 Islip, 475, 477, 487, illus. 486
 Oxford, All Saints, 475, 477, 486-7, illus. 486; Ashmolean Museum, 54, 306-7, illus. 53; Austin Friars, 135, 481; Bodleian Library, 307; Christ Church Cathedral, 20; Magdalen College, 187-9, 487, illus. 188; Merton College, 237, 284, 475, 477, 479, illus. 479; New College, 475, 477, 480, illus. 480; Old George Hotel, 430, illus. 430; St. Peter in the East, 51-5, illus. 52, 53
 Pyrton, 235-6
 Somerton, 173, 241-4, 257, illus. 242
 Stanton St. John, 475, 477, illus. 477
 Waterperry, 135, 475, 477, 480, illus. 476
 Westcott Barton, 475, 477, 484, illus. 484
- RUTLAND
 Normanton, 267-9, illus. 267, 268
- SHROPSHIRE
 Shrewsbury, St. Alkmund, 207
- SOMERSET
 Chelvey, 289, illus. 290
 Hinton St. George, 374
 Hutton, 475, 477, 482, illus. 481
 Wells, Cathedral, 235, 409, illus. 409
- SUFFOLK
 Acton, 231, 234, 236, 528, 537, 545, illus. 529
 Ampton, 139, 141
 Barrow, 432-3, 435-6, 537, 544, illus. 432, 436
 Benhall, 292, 294, illus. 292, 293
 Braiseworth, 522, 544
 Brundish, 360
 Bury St. Edmunds, St. James, 141
 Carlton, 545
 Darsham, 537, 544
 Debenham, 537, 544
- Denstone, 537, 544
 Dunwich, 235
 East Bergholt, 537, 544
 Easton, 537, 544
 Eyke, 537, 544
 Gorleston, 2-25, 233, 234, 522, 526, 537, 544, illus. 3, 4, 14, 527
 Hawkedon, 545
 Hollesley, 234
 Ipswich, St. Clement, 186; St. Mary le Tower, 288; St. Peter, 537, 544
 Letheringham, 235, 522, 544
 Lowestoft, 254, 544
 Melton, 187, 537, 544
 Mendlesham, 280-1, illus. 280
 Metfield, 281, illus. 281
 Middleton, 538, 544, 545
 Mildenhall, 211
 Oulton, 10, 11, 25, 233, 234, 236, 512, 538, 544, illus. 511
 Petistree, 538, 544
 Playford, 515, 538, 544
 Sibton, 538, 544
 Sotterley, 538, 544, 545
 South Elmham, St. James, 277, illus. 278
 Southolt, 280-1, illus. 280
 Stoke-by-Nayland, 234, 236, 515, 517, 530, 538, 544
 Stonham Aspell, 190, 192
 Thorington, 411-12, illus. 411
 Ufford, 538, 545
 Westleton, 234, 238
 Woodbridge, 538, 544
 Worlingham, 545
 Wrentham, 512, 538, 544, 545
 Yoxford, 510, 522, 538, 544, 545
- SURREY
 Betchworth, 418-19, illus. 419
 Compton, 271-4, illus. 272, 273
 Guildford, Holy Trinity, 416-17, illus. 416
 Lingfield, 364, 366, 367, illus. 365
 Shere, 364
 Stoke d'Abernon, 234
- SUSSEX
 Buxted, 409
 Cowfold, 135
 Etchingam, 74, illus. 74
 Trotton, 138, 234
 Warbleton, 136
- WARWICKSHIRE
 Baginton, 209
- WILTSHIRE
 Boyton, 234
 Edington, 116

Fovant, 277, 279, 374
 Monkton Farleigh, 101, illus. 102
 Salisbury, Cathedral, 113-16, 230, 423-4, illus. 423
 Steeple Langford, 235

WORCESTERSHIRE

Fladbury, 425
 Kidderminster, 51

YORKSHIRE

Ingleton, 186
 Leeds, Temple Newsam House, 267-9, illus. 267, 268
 Londesborough, 269
 Middleham Castle, 430
 Sawley, 234
 Sessay, 65, 166
 Sharow, 85
 Sheriff Hutton, 471-4, illus. 472
 Sprotborough, 281-2, illus. 281, 282
 Whitby Abbey, 429-30, illus. 430
 York, Minster, 231, 234, 236

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh, St. Giles' Cathedral, 180-1
 Glasgow, Museum, 417

WALES

Gelligaer, Glamorganshire, 108, illus. 107

PRIVATE POSSESSION

Page-Phillips, John, 73
 Stuchfield, H. Martin, 207-20, illus. 208, 210, 217-20

OVERSEAS

BELGIUM

Bruges, Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, 26-38, 46-7, 341, illus. 27, 29, 40; St. Walburga, 26, 40-4, 341, illus. 45
 Brussels, Musée de la Porte de Hal, 240
 Ghent, Bijlokmuseum, 234, 238
 Liège, Cathédrale Saint-Paul, 198, illus. 199
 Vielsalm, Luxembourg, 240

DENMARK

Ringsted Abbey, 230, 231, 330-1, 333, 335, 344, 469, illus. 331-2
 Roskilde, 240

FRANCE

Beauvais, Cathedral, 341, illus. 342
 Châlons-sur-Marne, Cathedral, 195, 341, illus. 341
 Châtillon-sur-Seine, 289
 Epernay, 347, illus. 345
 Jouy, 18

Laon, Cathedral, 92-7; Museum, 94, 96; Saint-Martin, 93, 94, 95; Templars, 93, 95

Meaux, Cathedral, 345

Noyon, Cathedral, 238

Paris, Chartreuse, 339, 347, illus. 339, 346; Collège des Bernardins, 337, illus. 338; Notre-Dame, 94; Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, 387-93, illus. 388, 389, 391; Sainte-Geneviève, 339, illus. 340

Rouen, Cathedral, 104-5, illus. 105

Tours, 306

GERMANY

Altenberg, 26

Erfurt, Cathedral, 146

Geldern, 48-50, illus. 49

Ingolstadt, Moritzkirche, 385

Kleve, 48, 146

Lübeck, Cathedral, 333, 337, 342-3, illus. 334, 343; Petrikirche, 26; 337, 338, 342, illus. 336

Paderborn, 221-8, illus. 222, 224, 225

Schwerin, Cathedral, 342

Stralsund, 330-1, 333, illus. 331

Xanten, 143-6, illus. 144, 145

NETHERLANDS

Nijmegen, 48

NORWAY

Bergen, 469

Oslo, Royal Chapel of St. Mary, 467, 469

Trondheim, Archbishop's Palace, 468; Nidaros Cathedral, 467-8, illus. 469

POLAND

Torun (Thorn), St. John, 26, 38-40, 46, illus. 43

PORTUGAL

Leça do Balio, 333, illus. 334

SPAIN

Bilbao, Museo Vasco, 329, illus. 330

Castro Urdiales, 329, illus. 330

Seville, Museo Arqueológico, 338-9

SWEDEN

Jättendal, 239-40, illus. 239

Stockholm, State Historical Museum, 239-40, illus. 239

Uppsala, Cathedral, 240, 470

UNITED STATES

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 370, 375-7, illus. 376

GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUME XVI

- Abarfield, John, 541
 Abbot, Thomas, 192
 Abbots Langley, Herts., 407
 Acton, Suff., 231, 234, 236, 528, 537, 545, illus. 529
 Adam of Corfe, 284
 Adderley, Mr., 398
 Albury, Herts., 374
 Albury, Oxon., 311, 382, 385-6, 412, illus. 384
 Alcock, Abbot Wilfred, 108
 Aldenham, Herts., 250-2, illus. 251
 Aldrington, Henry de, 547
 Alexander, John, 162; Richard, 162
 Alfouder, Robert, 544
 Alington, Alice, 249; Ann, 249; Beatrix, 249; George, 249; Elizabeth, 249; Frances, 249; Sir Giles (d. 1586), 248-9; Giles (s. of Robert), 249; Giles (d. 1592), 87, 249; James, 249; John, 249; Margaret (w. of Robert), 249; Margaret (dau. of Robert), 249; Susan, 87; Robert, 248, illus. 249
 Alnwik, John, 543
 Alphew, John, 171
 Altenberg, Germany, 26
 Amanieu, Guillaume, 341, 347, illus. 341
 Amcotts, Grace, 68-9, illus. 68; Sir Henry, 69; John, 68-9
 Amherst, Francis, bp. of Northampton, 75
 Ampton, Suff., 139, 141
 Anna, duchess of Jülich-Berg, 226
 Annot, Thomas, 544
 Antingham, Norf., 294, 536, 541
 Arch, John & Arthur (Publishers), 525
 Arkesden, Essex, 177
 Armiger, Margaret, 280-1, illus. 280
 Arnold of Egmond, 48
 Arundel, Thomas, archbp. Of Canterbury, 137-8
 Arundell, Anne, 189; Elizabeth, 189; Sir John, 189; John (d. 1633), 189; Katherine, 189;
 Ashbourne, Derbs., 116
 Ashby Puerorum, Lincs., 240
 Ashford, Kent, 15, 235-6, 287, illus. 14
 Ashmole, Elias, 157, 161
 Askham, William, 369Astley, Anne, 474
 Assenede, Michael van, 341
 Aston Rowant, Oxon., 234
 Athowe, John, 540
 Attelath, Robert, 543
 Augerant, Jean d', bp. of Beauvais, 341, illus. 342
 Aylesford, Kent, 73
 Babington (Babyngton), Adam, 364, illus. 365; Ralph, 186
 Bacon, heraldry, 8-13, illus. 9, 12; pedigree, 21-5, illus. 7; Adam, 10, 11, 23, 25, 233, 544; Alice, 21; Sir Edmund, 6, 8-10, 11, 21-4; Edmund, s. of Henry, 25; Elizabeth, 24; Francis, 544; Sir Henry, 12-13; Henry, 11, 25; Joanna, 23; Sir John, 11, 23; John, 11-12, 16-17, 540, 544; John, s. of Henry, 25; John, bro. of Edmund, 23, 24; Margery, 6, 24; Mary, 543; Richard, 8, 21; Sir Robert, 11, 24, 25; Robert, 21; Sabine, 11, 16-17, illus. 16; Simon, 25; Walter, 25
 Badby, Thomasin, 83
 Badger, James, 55
 Badham, Sally, 'The Bacon Brass at Gorleston, Suffolk', 2-25; 'Suffolk 1 Indents at Spalding, Lincolnshire and Waltham Abbey, Essex', 139-42; 'A Civilian of c. 1400 in Private Possession' (with H. Martin Stuchfield and Peter Northover), 207-20; 'John Sell Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk' (with Ron Fiske and Derrick Chivers), 500-45
 Baginton, Warws., 209
 Bagot, Sir William, 209, 211
 Bainham, Adam, 88
 Baker, James, 91
 Baldry, Alice, 288; Thomas, 288
 Baldwin & Sons, A.H., 436
 Balnis, Guilelmus, 18
 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 32
 Barking, Essex, 236-7, 284
 Barnes, Grace, 59; Richard, 59
 Barnham Broom, Norf., 533
 Barrow, Suff., 432-3, 435-6, 537, 544, illus. 432, 436
 Bartholomew, John, 73
 Barton, Agnes, 414, illus. 414; John, 541
 Baskerfield, Thomas, 489, 490
 Basynge, William de, prior of Winchester, 286
 Bateman, Thomas, 417
 Bauldry, Sir Thomas, 174
 Baxter, Robert, 542
 Bayfield, F.J., 410, 432-3; Harriet, 438; Thomas Gabriel, 313, 410, 432-3, 438-9, 440
 Beauchamp (Beauchampe), Philippe de, 541; Richard, bp. of Salisbury, 116
 Beaulieu, Hants., 234
 Beaumont, Lewis de, bp. of Durham, 237-8
 Beauvais, France, Cathedral, 341, illus. 342
 Beche, Nicholas de la, 24
 Beckenham, Kent, 174-6, illus. 175
 Becker, Alice, 171; John, 171
 Bedford, John, duke of, 104-5, illus. 105
 Bedford, Aungnes, 475, 479, illus. 478
 Bedingfield (Bedingfeld), Anne, 544; Robert, 153
 Bel, Jean le, 18
 Belcher, H. Tarwell, 496; W.D., 496
 Bell, Jane, 185, illus. 185; John, bp. of Worcester, 74
 Bell, Richard, bp. of Carlisle, 270-1
 Belle, Ronald van, 'Woodland Pastimes on the Cortschoof Brass and Other Flemish Brasses', 26-47
 Belsize, Elizabeth, 90; Richard, 90, 91; Thomas, 90
 Bendall, Joseph, 91; Mary, 91
 Benhall, Suff., 292, 294, illus. 292, 293
 Berdewell, William (d. c. 1490), 541; William (d. 1508), 541

- Bergen, Norway, 469
 Berkeley, James, bp. of Exeter, 367
 Bernard, John, 409, illus. 409
 Bertram, Jerome, 'A Pentuple Palimpsest', 51-55; 'The Jättendal Fragment', 239-40; 'Fragments from Oxfordshire', 378-86; 'Oxfordshire Styles I: The Drunken Marbler', 475-87
 Bertrand, Adrien, 96
 Betchworth, Surr., 418-19, illus. 419
 Bethell, Richard, 498
 Bettenham, John, 124, 126
 Bilbao, Spain, Museo Vasco, 329, illus. 330
 Billing, Mary, 374
 Bindon, Dorset, 234, 236
 Binski, Paul, 'An Analysis of the Length of Plates used for English Monumental Brasses before 1350', 229-38
 Birch, C.G.R., 421
 Birger Persson, 240
 Blackwall (family), 87-8; Maude, 87; Thomas, 87
 Blanca of Namur, 469
 Blangy, Jean de, bp. of Auxerre, 347, 348, illus. 346
 Blanra, Louis, 94
 Blenerhaysett, Jane, 184, 543, illus. 184; John, 540; Ralph, 181-2; Thomas, 543
 Bletchington, Oxon., 475, 477, 484, illus. 483
 Blewbury, Berks., 72, 157-63, 257, illus. 158-60
 Blickling, Norf., 211, 474, 536, 538, 541, 542
 Blomefield, Francis, 2, 10, 373
 Blonevyle, Richard, 542
 Bloomfield, Francis, 75
 Blount (Blownt), Sir John, 404; Sir Richard, 169
 Blowfild, Robert, 414
 Bohn, Henry, 504, 505, 512, 530, 531
 Bokenham, Thomas, 540
 Boleyn, Anne, 542; Geoffrey, 512, illus. 513
 Bond, Agnes, 169-71, illus. 170; William, 169-71
 Bonemilch, Bishop Johannes, 146
 Boston, Edwin Richard, 421
 Bothamsall, Notts., 76, 101, 104, illus. 103
 Bottisham, Cambs., 234, 235
 Bourbon, Catherine de, 48, 50
 Bower, R., 497
 Bowers Gifford, Essex, 234
 Bowes, John, 311, 382, 385-6, 412, illus. 384
 Bowet, Ele, 545
 Boys, John de, 154, 155, 156
 Boyton, Wilts., 234
 Brabourne, Kent, 73
 Braham, Joan, 182, 540, illus. 183
 Braiseworth, Suff., 522, 544
 Brampton, Norf., 200-2, illus. 200-2
 Brampton, arms, 201, illus. 202; Charles, 202; Edward (d. 1622), 200-2, illus. 200; Edward (s. of Edw.), 202; Joan, 200-2, illus. 200
 Brand, Ethert, 413
 Brandon, Anne, 264
 Brandon and Ritchie (architects), 350
 Braunche, Robert, 26, 342, 344, 543
 Bray, Alice, 202
 Brewster, Humphrey, 544
 Bridget, St., 470
 Brigge, John, 542
 Briggs, Henry, 305-6, 435
 Briggs, Nancy, 'Gosfield, Essex' (with H. Martin Stuchfield), 117-31; 'Tolleshunt D'Arcy Revisited' (with H.K. Cameron), 147-56
 Bright, William, 366
 Brighton Church Congress, 498-9
 Brinkley, Cambs., 370, 375-7, illus. 376
 Brisley, Norf., 533
 Britton, John, 115, 503, 521
 Brokesby, Bartholomew, 137, 138
 Brook, John, 544
 Brooks, Symon, 545
 Browne, John, 541; Sir William, 244
 Brownynng, Melocint, 410-11, illus. 410; Walter, 410-11, illus. 410
 Brueghel, Pieter, the Elder, 46
 Bruges, Belgium, St. Janshospitaal, 34; Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, 26-38, 46-7, 341, illus. 27, 29, 40; St. Walburga, 26, 40-4, 341, illus. 45
 Brun, Nicholas le, 312, 401, illus. 402
 Brundish, Suff., 360
 Brussels, Musée de la Porte de Hal, 240
 Buckeridge (architect), 108
 Buckler, J.C., 189
 Bülow, Heinrich von, bp. of Schwerin, 342; Ludolph von, bp. of Schwerin, 342
 Bures, Sir Robert de, 545
 Burford, Oxon., 73, 273-4, illus. 73
 Burgh St. Margaret, Norf., 533, 541
 Burghill, Herefs., 396
 Burlington (family), 269
 Burnell, John, 70, illus. 71; Margaret, 70
 Burnham Thorpe, Norf., 541
 Bury St. Edmunds, Suff., St. James, 141
 Buslingthorpe, Lincs., 104
 Buslingthorpe, Margaret, 76, 101, 104, illus. 103; Sir Richard de, III, 104
 Buxted, Sussex, 409
 Bylaugh, Norf., 517, 525, 543
 Byssenhaye, Gilles de, 198, illus. 199
 Cabot, William, 94
 Cabrera, Don Alvaro de, 19
 Calthorp, Richard, 541; Sir William, 541
 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 259; Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 166, 385, 412, 417, illus. 165, 384
 Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 311
 Cameron, H.K., 'Tolleshunt D'Arcy Revisited' (with Nancy Briggs), 147-56
 Campden, John de, 136

- Camond, Sir Robert, 543
 Camoys, Thomas, lord, 138
 Canon, Jean, 198
 Cantilupe, St. Thomas, 230, 235, 237, 286, 287
 Capp, Thomas, 543
 Carew, William, 417, illus. 416
 Carlisle, Cumb., Cathedral, 270-1
 Carlton, Suff., 545
 Carlton Rode, Norf., 533
 Carman, John, 288
 Carter, John, 503
 Cartwright, Agnes, 61; Edmund, 61
 Cassy, Alice, 276-7; Sir John, 276-7
 Castell, Blanche, 264-6, illus. 265
 Castle Rising, Norf., 538
 Castro Urdiales, Spain, 329, illus. 330
 Caundell, Baldwin de, 15, illus. 14
 Cavendish (family), 269
 Caversfield, Oxon., 311, 382, 400, illus. 383
 Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., 137
 Châlons-sur-Marne, France, Cathedral, 195, 341, illus. 341
 Chanbrant, Eudeline, 195
 Chapman, Edmund (d. 1574), 544; Edmund (d. 1626), 544
 Chardonne, Henriette, 96
 Charles d'Anjou, king of Sicily, 18
 Charles, Nicholas, 288
 Chartham, Kent, 234, 236, 284
 Chastelvilain, Marguerite de, abbess of Argensoles, 347
 Châtillon, Jean de, 289
 Châtillon-sur-Seine, 289
 Chaulmont, Jehan, 94
 Chauncy, H., 250, 489
 Checkendon, Oxon., 209, 211
 Chedgrave, Norf., 538
 Chelmsford, Museum, 409
 Chelsye, Alexander, 77-8
 Chelvey, Som., 289, illus. 290
 Childes, Thomas, 542
 Chinnor, Oxon., 76-81, 178-80, 211, 286, illus. 77, 78, 79, 180
 Chippendale, Thomas, 268-9
 Chirche, Reignold, 139
 Chisenel, Maud de, 547, illus. 546; Robert de, 547; Roger de, 546
 Chivers, 'Two French Incised Slabs in the British Museum', 387-93; 'John Sell Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk' (with Sally Badham and Ron Fiske), 500-45
 Cholmeley, Francis, 503, 518, 522
 Chrishall, Essex, 142
 Christy, Henry, 311-12, 417; Robert Miller, 409, 437
 chrysom brasses, 471-4
 Chyttok (Chetok), Elizabeth, 51, 53; John, 51, 53, illus. 53
 Cirencester, Glos., 374
 Clare, William, 55
 Clark, John, 541
 Clayworth, Notts., 101, 403
 Clere, Alice, 542; Ann, 542; Edmund, 541; Sir Robert, 543
 Clerkenwell, Middx., 74
 Cley, Norf., 447, 536, 541, 542, illus. 448, 449
 Clifton, Beds., 377
 Clingenberg, Johann, 26, 337, 338, 342, illus. 336
 Clippesby, Norf., 518
 Clippesby, John, 540
 Cloville (Clouville), Isabel, 195, 198, illus. 197; John, 195, 198, illus. 197
 Clutterbuck, R., 489
 Cobham, Kent, 234
 Cobham, Reginald de, 101
 Cockerham, Paul, review of Martine Plouvier ed., *Laon – Une Acropole à la française*, 92-7
 Coggeshall, Essex, 369
 Coggeshall, Margaret, 117
 coins, 367, illus. 368
 Coket, John, 139
 Cokyn, William, 377
 Colby, Norf., 533
 Colchester, Essex, Colchester and Essex Museum, 124
 Cole, William, 87, 259, 373, 375, 399, 420
 Coleville, John de, 20
 Colthrop (Calthorpe), Bartram, 294; Margaret, 294
 Compton, Surr., 271-4, illus. 272, 273
 Coningsby, Jane, 540; William, 249
 Cook (Cooke), Anthony, 544; James, 294, 297
 Cookham, Berks., 116
 Cople, Beds., 234
 Corbet, John, 542
 Cornewall, Thomas, 131
 Cortewille, Louis, 306
 Cortschoof, Colaert, 26; Jan, 26
 Cosyngton, John, 73
 Cotman, Ann, 502; Edmund, 502; John, 502; John Sell, 5, 500-45, illus. 501, 506, 507, 511, 513-16, 519, 520, 523, 524, 527, 529; Miles, 502
 Cowfold, Sussex, 135
 Craddock, Paul T., 'Some Analyses of Medieval Monumental Brasses', 315-26
 Crane, Thomas, 368
 Cranford St. Andrew, Northants., 274-6, illus. 274, 275
 Cranmer, Thomas, 61
 Gray, John, 179, 211
 Creke, Alyne de, 86-7; Sir John de, 86-7
 Cremer, John, 543
 Crisp, Frederick Arthur, 415, 417, 422, 431, 439; Frederick Augustus, 439; Sarah, 439
 Cristemas, John, 179, illus. 180
 Crome, Frederick, 518; John, 502, 503
 Crostwight, Norf., 533
 Crosyer, John, 432-3, 435-6, illus. 432, 436

- Cullum, Sir John, 512
 Cureton, Henry O., 364, 395, 397
 Curteys, William, 542
 Curzon (Curson), Alice, 186-7; Isabel, 481; Sir John (d. 1471), 525, 543; Sir John (d. 1496), 186-7; Walter, 135, 475, 481, illus. 476
 Cussans, John Edwin, 252
 Cutts, Edward Lewes, 101
 Cuxham, Oxon., 81, illus. 80

 Dacre, Anne, lady, 471, 473; Sir Thomas Fiennes, lord (d. 1533), 471, 473; Thomas Fiennes, lord (d. 1541), 473
 Dade, Thomas, 508, 512, 525
 Dagworth, Sir Nicholas, 211, 540
 Dale, William, 475, 485, illus. 485
 Dalton, John de, 6, 24
 Damien, Martin, 94
 Danvers, John, 382; Margaret, 382
 Danyl, John, 540
 Darcy, Anthony, 147-56, illus. 148, 149; Elizabeth (d. 1536), 147, illus. 148; Elizabeth (d. 1559), 153; Katherine, 155; Thomas, I, 153; Thomas (d. 1625), 155
 Darsham, Suff., 537, 544
 Daunce, Alice, 157; Sir John, 157
 Davy, David, 5, 192, 510, 521, 526, 528, 531; Henry, 518
 Dawbeney, Christopher, 202; Phillipa, 202
 Dayrell, Margaret, 374
 Deane, William, 126
 Debenham, Suff., 537, 544
 Deerhurst, Glos., 276-7
 Dennison, Lynda, review of Sally Badham and Malcolm Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*, 283-7; 'Flemish or French?: A Fragment of a Pontifical Brass in the British Museum', 327-48
 Denstone, Suff., 537, 544
 Derby, Cathedral, 269
 Dersingham, Norf., 517, 542
 Digswell, Herts., 288
 Dinton, Bucks., 163-9, illus. 164, 165, 168
 Dodsworth, Roger, 471
 Dorchester, Oxon., 378-81, 415-16, 475, 477, 479, illus. 379, 380, 476
 Dormagen, Hans Gerd, 'Katharina, Duchess of Guelders', 48-50; 'The Brass of Sibert van Ryswick at Xanten, Germany', 143-6
 Dormer, Mary, lady, 262-3; Sir William, 262-3
 Doughty, George Brownlow, 190
 Downe, Richard, 254
 Dowsing, William, 375
 Doynnton, Glos., 475, 477, 482, illus. 482
 Drury (family), 544
 Dry Drayton, Cambs., 257, 259-62, illus. 260
 Duff, Joanna, 173; Peter, 173
 Duffy, Eamon, review of Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, pp. 447-52
 Dugdale, William, 13, 105
 Duke, Ambrose, 294, illus. 293; Dorothy, 292, 294, illus. 292; Edward, 292, 294, illus. 292; Edward, bart., 294; Elizabeth, 294, illus. 293
 Dunston, Norf., 543
 Duntisbourne Abbots, Glos., 294, 297, illus. 295, 296
 Duntisbourne Rouse, Glos., 297
 Dunwich, Suff., 235
 Durham, Cathedral, 234, 237-8

 East Bergholt, Suff., 537, 544
 East Bradenham, Norf., 177-8, illus. 178
 East Tuddenham, Norf., 537, 543
 Easton, Suff., 537, 544
 Easton Neston, Northants., 124, 244-8, 257, illus. 245, 246
 Echingham (Echyngham), Elizabeth, 74; Joan, 74; Sir Thomas, 74; Sir William (d. 1388), 74; Sir William (d. 1412), 74
 Edenhall, Cumb., 180
 Edinburgh, St. Giles' Cathedral, 180-1
 Edington, Wilts., 116
 Edmonton, Middx., 311, 412-14, illus. 413
 Edlin, John, 313, 370-1, 373, 375, 399; William James, 370
 Edwards, Edward, 508; W., 311, 427, 438
 Egan, Bryan, 'History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546-1555, Part Two (iv)' (with Robert Hutchinson), 56-72; 'Conservation of Brasses 1994-1995', 73-5; 'Part Two (v)' (with Robert Hutchinson), 157-76; 'Part Two (vi)' (with Robert Hutchinson), 241-66
 Ekroll, Øystein, 'Two Rediscovered Fragments of Monumental Brasses from Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway', 467-70
 Elisabeth of Burgundy, duchess of Cleves, 48
 Elliot, H.L., 117, 121, 126
 Elsing, Norf., 231, 234, 236, 238, 315, 321, 326, 512, 533, 536, 541, illus. 514
 Ely, Cathedral, 235, 238, 265, 287, 374
 Emberton, Bucks., 74
 Emneth, Norf., 234, 235
 Engaine, Thomas, 377
 Epernay, France, 347, illus. 345
 Erfurt, Germany, Cathedral, 146
 Erik Menved, king of Denmark, 330-1, 333, 469, illus. 331
 Erpingham, Norf., 542
 Erpingham, Sir John de, 542
 Estbury, John de, 209
 Etchingham, Sussex, 74, illus. 74
 Ethelred, king of Wessex, 1
 Eton College, Bucks., 366
 Eufemia, duchess of Schwerin, 469
 Everard, Henry, 544; Thomas, 274

- Everdon, Northants., 235
 Everton, Notts., 75
 Evesham, Epiphanius, 201
 Exeter, Cathedral, 367
 Eyer, John, 542
 Eyke, Suff., 537, 544
 Eyre, William, 542
- Fakenham, Norf., 543
 Farman, Patrick, 'An Heraldic Engraved Brass Coffin-Plate to Bridget, Lady Heathcote - a Product of Thomas Chippendale's London Workshop?' (with Peter Hacker), 267-9
 Farrer, Edmund, 420-1, 439
 Fastolf (Fastolff), Sir John, 104; John, 512, illus. 511
 Felbrig (Felbrygge), Sir George, 544; Roger de, 541; Sir Symon, 543; Symond de, 541
 Felbrigg, Norf., 502, 515, 525, 536, 541, 543
 Felthorp, Roger, 541
 Feltwell, Norf., 536
 Feltwell St. Mary, Norf., 543
 Fenn, John, 512
 Fenton, Robert, 475, 484, illus. 484
 Fenton and Sons, 431
 Fenton & Co., 358, 399
 Fenys (Fiennes), Dorothy, 471-4, illus. 472; Jane, 473; John, 471-4, illus. 472; Thomas, 473
 Fermer (Fermoure), Anne, 244-5, illus. 245; Elizabeth, 241, 244, illus. 242; Sir John, 247; Katherine, 244; Richard, 124, 243, 244-8, illus. 245, 246; Thomas, 244; William, 241-4, illus. 242; *see also* Richards (alias Fermer)
 Fernandes, Francisco, 338
 Ferrandes, Martin, 329, 330, 337, illus. 330
 Field, J.E., 421
 Fisher, Payne, 57; Thomas, 56, 283, 349, 354, 356, 412, 413, 531, illus. 353, 355, 356
 Fiske, Ron, 'John Sell Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk' (with Sally Badham and Derrick Chivers), 500-45
 Fison, Mr., 420
 Fitzadrian (arms), 418-19, illus. 419
 FitzRalph, Sir William, 6
 Fitzsymonds, Orlando, 194, illus. 194
 FitzWaryn, Bevis, 101, illus. 102; Margery, 101; Nicholas, 101; William, 101; Walter, 101
 Fitzwilliam, Anne, lady, 264; Anne, 403; Elizabeth, 281; Humfrey, 403; Sir William (d. 1534), 401; Sir William, 264; William, 281
 Fitzwilliams, Lord, 401
 Fladbury, Worcs., 425
 Fleming, Alan, 26, 329, illus. 330
 Fletcher, George, 170
 Florence, Annunziata, 18
 Fontaine, Gillette de la, 393, illus. 388
 Fossebrok (Fosbroke), John (d. 1418), 274, illus. 275; John (d. 1602), 274, illus. 276; Maud, 274, illus. 275
- Fosset, Françoise du, 401
 Fovant, Wilts., 277, 279, 374
 Fox, Richard, 177
 Foxe, Charles, 256; Christian, 544; Edmund, 256; Jane, 254-7, illus. 256; William, 254-7, illus. 256
 Franks, Augustus Wollaston, 306, 309-13, 327, 400, 409, 412, 423, 427, 430, 439-40, 442
 Fransham, Geoffrey, 181, 543
 Freeth, Stephen, 'The Brasses of the British Museum: A Historical Survey', 305-14; 'A List of Brasses in the British Museum', 394-442
 Frenze, Norf., 108, 181-4, 517, 530, 536, 543, illus. 106, 183, 184
 Frith, William, 207
 Froissart, Jean, 32
 Fulbourn, Cambs., 420, illus. 420
 Fulham, Middx., 75
 Fyndern, Agnes, 122; Sir William, 122
- Gage, John, 2, 5
 Gaignières, Roger de, 105, 390, 391, illus. 339-42, 344, 346, 392
 Gaillaert, Cornelis, 27
 games, 44-6; blind man's buff, 35-6, illus. 34, 40, 41; blind pot, 37-8, 39, illus. 40, 42, 43; bowls, 27-8, illus. 27, 28; le frappe main, 34, illus. 36; frog in the middle, 28-33, 39-40, illus. 29-32, 43; hot cockles, 33-5, 39, 42, illus. 29, 35, 37, 38, 43, 45; la mourre, 40, 43-4, illus. 44, 45; qui fery, 32-7, 42, illus. 33, 34, 45
 Garard, Thomas, 475, 482, illus. 483
 Gardener (Gardynner), John, 192; Robert, 540
 Gascelin, Sir Edmund, 13
 Gatman, William, 487
 Geldern, Germany, 48-50, illus. 49
 Gelligaer, Glamorganshire, 108, illus. 107
 genealogical rolls, 367, illus. 368
 Gennyn, Margaret, 271, illus. 272; Thomas, 271, illus. 272
 Gerhard, duke of Jülich, 226
 Gernon, arms, 415
 Gerrarde, John, 56; Radcliff, 544
 Ghent, Belgium, Bijlokeuseum, 234, 238
 Giffard, Thomas, 257-9, illus. 258; Thomas (d. 1512), 259
 Girling, Edmund, 518
 Glasgow, Museum, 417
 Gloucester, Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of, 156, 366; Thomas of Woodstock, duke of, 156, 366
 Goberd, William, 487
 Goddard, Guybon, 202
 Godfrey, Richard, 377
 Godsall, John, 498
 Godstow, Oxon., Abbey, 306
 Godwin, E.W., 350; Hodges, 88
 Goldsmiths' Company (arms), 420-1, illus. 421
 Goodall, Joseph, 364, 396
 Goodnestone-next-Wingham, Kent, 435

- Goodrich (Goodryke), Thomas, bp. of Ely, 265
 Goodwyn, Robert, 541
 Goring, Oxon., 547-9, illus. 547, 548
 Gorleston, Suff., 2-25, 233, 234, 522, 526, 537, 544, illus. 3, 4, 14, 527
 Gosfield, Essex, 117-31, illus. 119-21, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130
 Gotlandic slabs, 470
 Gough, Richard, 4, 271, 306, 364, 419, 489, 490, 503, 506, 528
 Gournay, Edward, 542
 Grantchester, Cambs., 370, 371-4, 399, illus. 371, 372
 Graveney, Kent, 104
 Great Cressingham, Norf., 533, 536, 541, 542
 Great Fransham, Norf., 181, 533, 543, illus. 182
 Great Hale, Lincs., 104
 Great Ormesby, Norf., 542, 543
 Great Snoring, Norf., 509, 534, 541
 Great Yeldham, Essex, 194, illus. 193, 194
 Gref, Ann, 370-1, 373, 399; Robert, 399
 Greene (Grene), Edith, 117, 121-2; Edmund, 542; John, elder, 121; John (d. 1473), 117, 118-22, illus. 119-21
 Gregory, arms, 81, illus. 80; Agnes, 81, illus. 80; John, 81, illus. 80; Parnel, 81, illus. 80
 Greneway, Anthony, 169; Elizabeth, 163-7, illus. 164; Joan, 166, 167-9, illus. 168; Richard, 163, 165, 166, 167-9, illus. 168; Thomas, 163-7, illus. 164, 165
 Gretton, Richard de, 236
 Grey (Greye), Sir Henry, 540; Thomas de, 540; William de, 541
 Greystoke, Cumb., 71-2, 254, illus. 72
 Grigoires, chaplain, 96, illus. 95
 Grise, Jean de, 46
 Groby, William, junior, 211
 Grudgefield, William, 277, illus. 278
 Guildford, Surr., Holy Trinity, 416-17, illus. 416
 Gunn, Mr. & Mrs., 508
 Gurnay, John de, 238

 Hacker, Peter, 'An Heraldic Engraved Brass Coffin-Plate to Bridget, Lady Heathcote - a Product of Thomas Chippendale's London Workshop?' (with Patrick Farman), 267-9
 Hackney, Middx., 147
 Haines, Herbert, 66
 Hakebourne, Richard de, 284
 Håkon V, king of Norway, 469
 Halles, Thomas, 75
 Hallewin, Bernard de, 393, illus. 389, 392
 Halton, Bucks., 245
 Hansart, Anthony, 374; Katherine, 374
 Harcigny, William de, 95
 Harcourt, Michael, 169
 Harding, G.R., 417
 Hardman, Messrs., 108, 189
 Hardwick Mill, Oxon., 235
 Harpley, Norf., 234, 238
 Harries, Gilbert Charles Frederick, 108
 Harrington, Sir James, 263-4; Lucy, lady, 263
 Harris, Thomas, 349
 Harrow, Middx., 343, illus. 343
 Harsick, Sir John, 542
 Hart Son Peard & Co., 131
 Hartlepool, Dur., 185, illus. 185
 Hasele, John, 366
 Hastings, Sir Hugh, 315, 321, 326, 512, 541, illus. 514; Lawrence, 512
 Hatley Cockayne, Beds., 377
 Haward, Nicholas, 414
 Hawkedon, Suff., 545
 Hawkins, Edward, 309, 310, 401
 Hawkwood, Sir John, 117
 Hawsard, Richard, 51, 53, illus. 53
 Hawte, Anne, 543
 Hawton, Notts., 235
 Haynes, Thomas, 118
 Heales, Alfred, 496, 497
 Heathcote, Bridget, Lady, 267-9, illus. 267; Sir John, 268
 Heelde, Katherine atte, 78, illus. 77; Margery atte, 79; Nicholas atte, 79, illus. 78; Robert atte, 78, illus. 77
 Heigham, Norf., 541
 Heigham, Sir Clement, 544
 Helledon, Norf., 536, 542
 Hellinx, Jean, 198
 Helyon, Isabel, 121, 122; John, 117, 121; Phillippa, 121
 Henry, Barbara D., 'An American Collection of Books on Brasses' (with Peter J. Heseltine), 493-9
 heraldry, 8-13, 59, 63, 65, 69, 83, 84, 89-90, 117, 120, 122-4, 128-30, 143, 155, 161, 164-5, 169-71, 173, 174-6, 201, 226, 241-3, 246-7, 248, 256, 257, 261, 262-4, 266, 268, 294, 354, 393, 401, 404, 415-23, 488-92, illus. 9, 12, 58, 68, 84, 90, 121, 123, 129, 130, 144, 158, 164, 170, 172, 175, 183, 184, 185, 202, 225, 242, 245, 255, 258, 260, 263, 265, 267, 291, 293, 294, 354, 403, 416, 418-22, 481, 488
 Hereford, Cathedral, 209, 211, 230, 234, 235, 237, 286, 287, 312, 374
 Hertingfordbury, Herts., 60
 Hervey, Emmotte, 243; Simkin, 243
 Hervy, William, 13, 16, illus. 12
 Heseltine, Peter J., 'An American Collection of Books on Brasses' (with Barbara D. Henry), 493-9
 Hevenyngham, Thomas, 542
 Hever, Kent, 234
 Hewitt, John, 310, 398
 Hickling, Notts., 186
 High Halstow, Kent, 211
 Higham Ferrers, Northants., 234, 287
 Highland Light Infantry, 181
 Hill, Agnes, 58; John, 58, 59
 Hilton, Edward, 475, 484, illus. 483

- Hinton St. George, Som., 374
 Hinxworth, Herts., 288
 Hobart, Henry, 543; James, 543
 Hobhouse, Lady, 101
 Hobson, Thomas, 108, 183, illus. 106
 Hockering, Norf., 533
 Hockwold, Norf., 506, 533, 536, 541, illus. 507
 Hokelem, Thierry de, 198
 Holl, Thomas, 541
 Hollar, Wenceslas, 115
 Holles, Gervase, 404
 Hollisley, Suff., 234
 Holman, William, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 147, 155, 433
 Holme-next-the-Sea, Norf., 541
 Holme Pierrepont, Notts., 101
 Homfray, John, 508
 Honing, Norf., 536, 542
 Hoore, Thomas, 288
 Hoquellus, Jehan, 94
 Horler, Jeremy, 89
 Hornchurch, Essex, 244
 Horseheath, Cambs., 248-50, illus. 249
 Horsham St. Faith, Norf., 515
 Horton Kirby, Kent, 15, illus. 14
 Hotham, John, 77
 Houghton, Norf., 532, 538
 Hövener, Albrecht, 330-1, 333, 337, 338, 342, 344, illus. 331
 Howard, Joseph Jackson, 415-16, 439; Katherine, 544
 Howes, Christopher, 288
 Huchon, John, 132
 Hudson, Clare J., 497
 Hughes-Hughes, M.E., 415
 Humberstone, Richard, 369
 Hungerford, Sir Thomas, 266
 Hungerus, canon of Laon, 96
 Hunstanton, Norf., 536, 538, 542, 543
 Hunt, Ellen, 130-1; J., 430; William, 130-1
 Huntingfield, John de, 283
 Husenbeth, F.C., 496
 Hutchinson, Æneas Barkly, 56
 Hutchinson, Robert, 'History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546-1555, Part Two (iv)' (with Bryan Egan), 56-72; 'Part Two (v)' (with Bryan Egan), 157-76; 'Part Two (vi)' (with Bryan Egan), 241-66
 Huthenne, Bishop Paulus, 146
 Huttoft, Lincs., 549
 Hutton, Som., 475, 477, 482, illus. 481
 Hutton, Anne, 259-62, illus. 260; John, 259-62, illus. 260
 iconography: Annunciation, 371, 373, 374, illus. 371, 372; Apostles, 151, 153, illus. 149, 150, 152; country scenes, 26; hunting scenes, 26; peacock feast, 26; saints' lives, 26; scientific instruments, 362, illus. 363; wodewoses, 26, 41; *see also* games
 Idley (Ideley), Alice, 381; Anne, 381; Elizabeth (w. of Peter), 381; Elizabeth (dau. of Peter), 381; Joan, 381; John, 381; Peter, 378-81, 415-16, illus. 379, 380; Sibile, 381; Thomas, 381; William, 381
 Ingeborg, queen of Denmark, 330-1, 469, illus. 331, 332
 Ingham, Norf., 505-6, 508, 509, 525, 533, 536, 542, 543, illus. 506
 Ingleton, Yorks., 186
 Ingolstadt, Germany, Moritzkirche, 385
 inlays, 320-4, 326, illus. 324
 Ipswich, Suff., St. Clement, 186; St. Mary le Tower, 288; St. Peter, 537, 544
 Isleham, Cambs., 378
 Islip, Oxon., 475, 477, 487, illus. 486
 Ives, John, 2, 10
 Janes, Elizabeth, 55; Moses, 55; Nathaniel, 55
 Jättendal, Sweden, 239-40, illus. 239
 Jean II, duke of Brittany, 18
 Jean II, count of Dreux, 18
 Jean V, count of Vendôme, 345, illus. 344
 Jeanne de Flandre, abbess of Le Sauvoir-sous-Laon, 95
 Jeans, G.E., 498
 Jeumont, France, 401
 Jepson, Bishop Niels, 240
 Jermy, Isabel, 281, illus. 281; John, 281, illus. 281
 Jermyn, Sir Ambrose, 292, 294; Henry, 521, 528
 Jessop, Francis, 5, 15
 Joachim, William, 297
 Johann I, duke of Cleves, 48, 146
 Johann II, duke of Cleves, 48, 145, 146
 Johann III, duke of Cleves, 145, 146
 John, Lewis, 118
 Johnson, Goddard (fl. 1777), 440; Goddard (d. 1860), 410, 433, 440; Sarah, 440
 Jones, Gilbert, 108
 Jouy, France, 18
 Katharina, duchess of Guelders, 48-50, illus. 49
 Katharina of Cleves, 48
 Kedleston, Derbs., 186-7
 Kerdeston, Sir John, 11; Margaret de, 23; Sir William de, 23; Sir William de (d. 1391), 540
 Kestevene, William, 337
 Ketteringham, Norf., 515, 533, 536, 542
 Ketton, John, bp. of Ely, 238
 Keymer, J., 525
 Kidderminster, Worcs., 51
 Kidwelly, Geoffrey, 381
 Kimberley, Norf., 536, 541
 King's Lynn, Norf., St. Margaret, 26, 517, 525, 530, 536, 543; St. Nicholas, 81, illus. 82
 King's Sombourne, Hants., 207
 King's Sutton, Northants., 475, 477, illus. 478
 Kingsmill, John, 174
 Kirton, Edmund, abbot of Westminster, 266

- Kleve, Germany, 48, 146
 Knapp, John, 544
 Knapton, Norf., 533, 538
 Knightley, Mary, 248; Sir Richard, 248

 Lack, William, 'Conservation of Brasses, 1996', 76-91; 'Conservation of Brasses, 1997', 177-94; 'Conservation of Brasses, 1998', 270-82; 'Grantchester and Brinkley: Two Lost Brasses Identified' (with Philip Whittemore), 370-7; 'British Museum IV (10) Skipwith Shield: An Additional Note' (with Philip Whittemore), 488-92
 Lacy, Peter de, 354-61, 431, illus. 355-9; Thomas, 373-4, 399
 Lakenham, Henry, 284
 Lambard, John, 288
 Lambourne, Berks., 209, 475, 482, illus. 483
 Lamp, Reinhard, 'The Brass of Rupert of Jülich-Berg, Bishop of Paderborn', 221-8
 Lampet, Amy Julia, 131; W.E.L., 131
 Langley, Geoffrey, 541
 Langley Marish, Bucks., 209
 Langston (Langstone), Amice, 382, 400, illus. 383; John (d. 1435), 382; John (d. 1506), 382, 400, illus. 383
 Laon, France, Cathedral, 92-7; Museum, 94, 96; Saint-Martin, 93, 94, 95; Templars, 93, 95
 Latton, Alys, 159; Anne, 157-63, illus. 158, 160; Anne (dau. of John), 159; Anthony, 157, illus. 159; Barthylmew, 157, illus. 159; Dorothy, 159; Elizabeth, 159, 162; Fryswithe, 159; Jane, 159; John (d. 1548), 157-63, illus. 158, 160; John (s. of John), 157, illus. 159; John (II) (s. of John), 157, illus. 159; John (s. of William), 162; Margaret, 159; Mary, 159; Susane, 159; Thomas (d. 1503), 157; Thomas (s. of John), 157, illus. 159; William, 157, 162, illus. 159
 Lawrence, T.E., 475
 Layton, James, 525
 Leça do Balio, Portugal, 333, illus. 334
 Leckhampstead, Bucks., 169
 Lee, Ambrose, 165; F.G., 385, 412; Richard, 378
 Leedes, Ann, 549, illus. 551; Thomas, 549, illus. 551
 Leeds, Kent, Priory, 132-8, illus. 133
 Leeds, Yorks., Temple Newsam House, 267-9, illus. 267, 268
 Leez Priory, Essex, 415
 Lefebvre, Jean, 96
 Legge, Cecily, 181, illus. 182
 Legh, Elizabeth, 81-2; Roger, 81-2
 Leicester, St. Martin, 240
 Leman, Thomas, 496, 541
 Lemoine, Mathieu, 94
 Lempereur, Canon, 94
 Le Neve, Peter, 10
 Lenoir, Alexandre, 347; Alexandre-Albert, 347
 Lesnes, Kent, 236
 Letchworth, Herts., 209, 211, illus. 210

 Letheringham, Suff., 235, 522, 544
 Liège, Belgium, Cathédrale Saint-Paul, 198, illus. 199
 Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks., 374
 Lincoln, 428, illus. 428; Cathedral, 427
 Lingfield, Surr., 364, 366, 367, illus. 365
 Lipscomb, G., 163, 164, 165
 Little Hadham, Herts., 374
 Little Hereford, Herefs., 195, illus. 196
 Little Plumstead, Norf., 537, 541
 Little Walsingham, Norf., 532, 535
 Little Wittenham, Berks., 381
 Littleton, Middx., 264-6, illus. 265
 Loddon, Norf., 538, 542, 543
 Loeman, Wilhelm, 50, 146
 Londesborough, Yorks., 269
 London, All Hallows Barking-by-the-Tower, 169-71, illus. 170; British Museum, 60-1, 303-446, 488-92, illus. 60, 303-446 passim, 488; Greyfriars, 368, 428-9, illus. 429; Holy Trinity Priory, 481; London Museum, 235; Mercers' Company, 287-8; Old St. Paul's Cathedral, 374; St. Alban Wood Street, 288; St. Andrew Undershaft, 56-60, illus. 57, 58; St. Christopher-le-Stocks, 284, illus. 285; St. Margaret Lothbury, 51, 54, illus. 53; St. Michael, Crooked Lane, 69, 368-9; St. Michael Paternoster Royal, 368; Society of Antiquaries, 56-60, 306, 437, illus. 57; Temple Church, 18; Thames, 430, illus. 430; Victoria and Albert Museum, 236, 284, 306, illus. 285; Westminster Abbey, 18, 266, 279; Westminster, St. Margaret, 374
 Long, John (d. 1538), 250-1; John (s. of John), 251; William, 251
 Longchamp, France, 18
 Loughton, Essex, 247
 Loveday, John, 547
 Lovekyn, John, 369
 Lovet, Elizabeth, 248; Thomas, 248
 Lowe, Horace Beevor, illus. 501
 Lowestoft, Suff., 254, 544
 Loyshe, Thomas, 85, illus. 85
 Loze, Gilbert de, 198
 Lübeck, Germany, Cathedral, 333, 337, 342-3, illus. 334, 343; Petrikirche, 26, 337, 338, 342, illus. 336
 Lubyns (Lubbins), John, 487
 Luda, William de, bp. of Ely, 287
 Ludford, Herefs., 254-7, illus. 256
 Ludham, Norf., 533
 Luton, Beds., 364
 Luxembourg, Louis of, archbishop of Rouen, 104
 Lye, William, 350-1, illus. 351
 Lymsey, John, 147
 Lynsted, Kent, 201, 289, illus. 291
 Lysle, Sir John, 192, 194

 Macclesfield, Cheshire, St. Michael, 81-2
 Machyn, Henry, 57, 176

- Madden, Sir Frederic, 412-13, 414
Magnus Eriksson, king of Norway, 469
Maidstone, Kent, Museum, 252, illus. 253
Maidstone, John, 134, 136-7; Richard, 137; William, 132-8, illus. 133
Mairesse, Jean-Charles, 93
Malet, Jean de, 337, illus. 338
Mautby, Norf., 531
Maltravers, Henry Fitzalan, lord, 126
Malyns, Esmoun, 179; Isabel, 179; Reginald (d. 1430), 179-80; Reynald (d. 1385), 178-9
Manning, Charles Robertson, 420-1, 422; Percy, 165-6
Mannock, Dorothy, 544
Mansfield, John, 474
Mantell, Gideon, 305, 432
manuscripts: Antwerp, Mus. Mayer van den Bergh, lat. ix.67, 46; Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek 251, 28, 30, illus. 28, 32; Cambridge, Trinity College R.16.2, 18; University Library Dd.3.57, illus. 367; London, BL Yates Thompson 8, 28; Montpellier 196, 29, 33; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters 54.1.2, 29, 335; Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Bodley 264, 30, 35, 36, 46, 47, illus. 31, 34, 39, 41; Douce 180, 335; Christ Church 92, 18; Paris, B.N. fr. 167, 348; fr. 24364, 19; lat. 765, illus. 33; lat. 14284, 30; nouv. acq. lat. 3145, 29, 335, illus. 335; Troyes, Bibl. Municipale, s.n., 28; Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg (Sotheby's 2001), 46
March, Cambs., 374
Margareta, duchess of Jülich, 226
Marholm, Northants., 401, 403
Marshall, Edward, 189, 201
Marsham, John, 541
Marsworth, Bucks., 201
Martin, vicar, 284
Martin, John, 135, 136; Thomas, 2, illus. 4
Mary of Guelders, Queen of Scotland, 50
Mason, Catherine, 85; George, 91; Henry, 544; Hester, 91; John, 91; Margaret, 85; Priscilla, 91; William, 91; William (d. 1740), 91
Mattishall, Norf., 533
Maulyverer, Thomas, 282, illus. 282
Mayne, Cyril, 271
Meaux, France, Cathedral, 345
Mechtild of Hesse, duchess of Kleve, 146
Melton, Suff., 187, 537, 544
Mendlesham, Suff., 280-1, illus. 280
Mercers' Company (arms), 418, illus. 418
Merton, Norf., 533, 536, 541
Mervin, Elizabeth, 364, 396, illus. 363; James, 364, 396, illus. 363; John, 364, 396, illus. 363; Margaret, 364, 396, illus. 363; Thomas, 364, 396, illus. 363
metallography, 211, 212-16, 314-20, 324-6, illus. 217-20
Metfield, Suff., 281, illus. 281
Meyrick, John, 490; Sir Samuel, 530, 531
Mézières, Philippe de, 347
Middleham Castle, Yorks., 430
Middleton, Suff., 538, 544, 545
Mildenhall, Suff., 211
Millet, Jeanne, 393, illus. 392
Milton Abbas, Dorset, 234, 235, 236
Milton Keynes, Bucks., 364, illus. 365
Minster-in-Sheppey, Kent, 238
Molines, Margery de, 24; William de, 24
Mollond, Simon, 475, 479, illus. 479
Mone, Guy, bp. of St. Davids, 134
Monk, Bp. James, 279
Monkton Farleigh, Wilts., 101, illus. 102
Monoux, Rouland, 311, 412-14, illus. 413
Montchâlons (family), 95
Moore, John, 59
Mordaunt, Sir John Mordaunt, 2nd lord, 124
Morden, John, 74
More, John de la, 286
Moulton, Norf., 538
Mowbray, William, 543
Mowsdall, John, 58
Mul, Johann von, bp. of Lübeck, 26, 333, 337
Mundford, Margaret, 543
Munn, Paul, 502
Murray, James Stewart, earl of, 180-1

Namain, Gilles van, 342
Napier, Edward, 55; Bl. George, 55; Joan, 55
Narborough, Norf., 82, 536, 542, 543
Narford, Norf., 538
Necton, Norf., 533-4, 536, 541, 542
Nelond, Thomas, 135
Nelson, Philip, 54, 313, 397, 405, 421, 440
Nevill, Arthur, 75
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 370, 375-7, illus. 376
Newark, Notts., 26, 329, illus. 330; Chantry House, 420
Newman, Henry, 543
Newport (Neuport), Richard, 71-2, illus. 72; William de, 236
Newton, Alexander, 540, 544
Newton Flotman, Norf., 536, 542
Nichols, John, 440; John Bowyer, 440; John Gough, 312, 364, 396, 418, 440
Nicolas, Sir Harris, 530
Nidaros see Trondheim
Norbury, Derbs., 234, 238
Normanton, Rutland, 267-9, illus. 267, 268
Norreys, Sir William, 241
North Burlingham, Norf., St. Andrew, 533
North Creake, Norf., 536, 543
North Ockendon, Essex, 83-5
North Weston, Oxon., 385, 412
Northampton, Cathedral, 75
Northfleet, Kent, 349-61, 415, 431, illus. 351-9

- Northleach, Glos., 475, 477, 486, illus. 486
 Northorpe, Lincs., 549, illus. 550
 Northover, Peter, 'A Civilian of c. 1400 in Private Possession' (with Sally Badham and H. Martin Stuchfield), 207-20
 Norwich, All Saints, 534; Cathedral, 539; St. Andrew, 534, 537, 541; St. Clement, 534, 541; St. Edmund, 543; St. Etheldred, 537, 543; St. George Colegate, 537, 542; St. Giles, 542, 543; St. Gregory, 534; St. John Maddermarket, 525, 534, 537, 541, 543; St. John Sepulchre, 541; St. Lawrence, 288, 515, 534, 537, 541, 542, 543; St. Margaret, 541; St. Mary Coslany, 525, 534; St. Michael Coslany, 534; St. Peter Mancroft, 537; St. Stephen, 534, 537, 543; St. Swithin, 534
 Norwiche, John, 540, 544; William, 542
 Nottingham, Henry, 541
 Noyon, France, Cathedral, 238
 Obituaries: Johan Belonje, 98-100; Walter Mendelsson, 453-6; J.P.C. Kent, 457
 Offley, Sir Thomas, 59
 Ogard, Sir Andrew, 104
 Olaf II, St., king of Norway, 467
 Oldfield, Henry George, 489-90
 Oliver, John, 132
 Olofsson, Jöns, 239
 Oosterwijk, Sophie, 'A Chrysom Brass at Sheriff Hutton, Yorks.', 471-4
 Ord, Craven, 5, 378
 Oskens, Henry, 306
 Oslo, Royal chapel of St. Mary, 467, 469
 Ossington, Notts., 61-6, illus. 62-4
 Oulton, Suff., 10, 11, 25, 233, 234, 236, 512, 538, 544, illus. 511
 Overbury, William, 209, illus. 210
 Owtlawe, William, 540
 Oxenbrigg, Agnes, 74, illus. 74; Robert, 74
 Oxford, All Saints, 475, 477, 486-7, illus. 486; Ashmolean Museum, 54, 306-7, illus. 53; Austin Friars, 135, 481; Bodleian Library, 307; Christ Church Cathedral, 20; Magdalen College, 187-9, 487, illus. 188; Merton College, 237, 284, 475, 477, 479, illus. 479; New College, 475, 477, 480, illus. 480; Old George Hotel, 430, illus. 430; St. Peter in the East, 51-5, illus. 52, 53
 Paderborn, Germany, 221-8, illus. 222, 224, 225
 Page, Bridgit, 177-8, illus. 178
 Page-Phillips, John, 73
 Pageham, Sir William de, 6, 284
 Paley, William, 271
 palimpsests, 51-5, 60, 65, 67-8, 72, 83, 84, 88, 120, 122-4, 126, 147-56, 161-2, 165-6, 168, 171, 173, 181, 192, 243, 247, 257-9, 261, 266, 271-4, 362-9, 396-7, 405-8, 410-11, 418-19, 425-6, 432-4, 435-7, illus. 52, 53, 67, 120, 123, 127, 149, 150, 152, 273, 363, 405-7, 410-11, 419, 425-6, 432-4, 436
 Palmer, Thomas, 136
 Pairement de Narbonne, 347
 Pargetor, Anthony, 59; Margaret, 59
 Paris, Chartreuse, 339, 347, illus. 339, 346; Collège des Bernardins, 337, illus. 338; Jacobins, 18; Louvre, 29, illus. 30, 35; Notre-Dame, 94; Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteaux, 387-93, illus. 388, 389, 391; Sainte-Geneviève, 339, illus. 340
 Parke, Richard, 289
 Parker, Nicholas, 542
 Paston, Norf., 542
 Paston, Erasmus, 542
 Payne, Thomas, 475, illus. 481
 Peaycock, Thomas, 369
 Pebmarsh, Essex, 6, 231, 234, 236, 238
 Peckham (Pekham), Elizabeth, 61-6, illus. 62-4; Reginald, 61-6, illus. 62-4; Thomas, 173
 Pell, John, 517, 542
 Penbrygge, Margaret, 209
 Penshurst, Kent, 262-4, illus. 263
 Pershore Abbey, Worcs., 18
 Peryn (Peryent), George, 174
 Peterborough, Abbey, 13, 235
 Petistree, Suff., 538, 544
 Pettow, Anthony, 544
 Pettwode, Margaret, 541
 Philipot, John, 349
 Pinnock (Pynnok), Agnes, 273; Elizabeth, 273; Elizabeth (d. 1496), 273-4, illus. 273; Ellen, 273; John (d. 1474), 273; John (d. 1487), 273-4, illus. 273; John (d. 1490), 273; Margery, 273; Thomas, 273
 plate size, 229-38
 Playford, Suff., 515, 538, 544
 Playters, Christopher, 544; Thomas (d. 1479), 545; Thomas (d. 1572), 544, 545
 Pledger, Thomas, 249
 Ploërmel, Brittany, 18
 Plowright, W. Cole, 411
 Poffe, Folke, 79, 81, illus. 79
 Pomard, Hugues de, bp. of Langres, 339, illus. 340
 Pont, Pierre du, 95
 Pontlottyn, Glamorganshire, 108
 Poore, Richard, bp. of Salisbury, 114, 115
 Portail, Jean du, 339, illus. 339; Simon du, 339, illus. 339
 Porter, William, 374
 Poryngland, Richard, 540
 Powell, David, 117, 122, 124, 126, 128, 151, 155
 Powlett, Sir William, 244
 Pownynoges, Elizabeth, 73
 Poynings, Sussex, 134
 Poynings, Sir Thomas, 134
 Poyntz, Elizabeth, 83; John, 84, illus. 84; W.H., 85; William, 83
 Prestwick, William, 136
 Price, Ann, 294, illus. 295; Ann (b. 1751), 297; Betty, 297; Mary, 294; Sabina, 297; Thomas, 294, illus. 295; Thomas (b. 1747), 297

- Prisé, Pierre, 94
 Pugin, Augustus Charles, 442; Augustus Welby Northmore, 309-10, 327, 347, 387, 395, 442
 Purdance, Richard, 543
 Puttick and Simpson, Messers., 399, 411, 416
 Pyrton, Oxon., 235-6
- Quarrendon, Bucks., 166
 Quinnell, Richard, 81
 Quythed (Whitehead), Thomas, 362, 364, 366, 397, illus. 363
- Raguier, Hémon, 390-1, 393, illus. 388, 391
 Rainsford, Sir Laurence, 266
 Ralph of London, 15, 287
 Ralph, Richard, 447, illus. 449
 Ramsey, John, III, 284
 Ramseye, Adam, 179
 Ramsgate, Kent, St. Augustine's Abbey, 108
 Ravensingham, Norf., 542
 Raw, Mr. (bookseller), 522
 Raylie, Anne, 81, illus. 82
 Read, Sir (Charles) Hercules, 313, 354, 405, 415, 417, 419, 420, 423, 425, 441
 Rede, Anne, 541; George, 277, 279, 374; John, 209; Peter, 540
 Redenhall, Norf., 234, 235, 236
 Reepham, Norf., 537
 Reims, Claude de, 94, 96
 Repps, Norf., 539
 Rettendon, Essex, 252, 254, illus. 254
 Reviews: Martine Plouvier ed., *Laon Une Acropole à la française*, by Paul Cockerham, 92-7; Sally Badham and Malcolm Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*, by Lynda Dennison, 283-7; Anne F. Sutton, *I Sing of a Maiden*, by Nicholas Rogers, 287-8; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, by Eamon Duffy, pp. 447-52
 Rice, Robert Garraway, 408-9, 428, 441
 Rich, Anne, 126; Sir Hugh, 124-6, illus. 125; Richard Rich, 1st lord, 124
 Richards (alias Fermer), Thomas, 243
 Richers, Richard, 66
 Richmond, Isabel, 171; John, 171
 Rickhill, arms, illus. 354; Katherine, 351, 415, illus. 352, 353; William, 351, 415, illus. 352, 353
 Ringsted Abbey, Denmark, 230, 231, 330-1, 333, 335, 344, 469, illus. 331-2
 Robinson, Edward, 276; Henry, bp. of Carlisle, 271; William, 276
 Rochester, Kent, Cathedral, 374
 Rogers, Nicholas, review of Anne F. Sutton, *I Sing of a Maiden*, 287-8; 'Two Palimpsest Roundels', 362-9; 'Concordance of British Museum registration and Mill Stephenson Numbers', 443-6
 Rolf, Anne, 117; Margaret, 117; Thomas, 117-18
 Rollin & Feuardent, 312, 366, 396, 418
 Roper, Elizabeth, 289, illus. 291; John, 1st Baron Teynham, 289
 Roskilde, Denmark, 240
 Rothwell, Northants., 237
 Rouen, Cathedral, 104-5, illus. 105
 Rougham, Norf., 471, 537, 542, 543
 Routh, Martin Joseph, 189
 Roy, Robert, 75
 Rugge, Robert, 540
 Rupert II, prince-elect of the Palatinate, 226
 Rupert of Jülich-Berg, bp. of Paderborn, 221-8, illus. 222, 224, 225
 Rust, Mary, 540
 Ryce, Simon, 417-18, illus. 418
 Rye, Roger, 136
 Rysle, Richard, 541
 Ryswick, Arndt von, 146; Derick von, 145; Heinrich von, 145; Sibert von, 143-6, illus. 144, 145; Wolter von, 146
- Sadd, John, 118
 Sains, Nicolas de, 94
 St. Albans, Herts., Abbey, 234, 235, 374; St. Peter, 419, 488-92, illus. 420, 488; St. Stephen, 37
 St. Columb Major, Cornw., 189-90
 St. John, Sir John de, 8, 22; Nicholas, 169; Robert de, 8
 St. Leger, Sir Anthony, 136; Ralph, 132; Sir Thomas, 135
 St. Poll, Mattathia, 190, illus. 191
 Saint-Rémy, Guillaume de, 345
 Salisbury, Cathedral, 113-16, 230, 423-4, illus. 423
 Salle, Norf., 512, 537, 542, illus. 513
 Saltwood, Kent, 234
 Salmon, Nathaniel, 489
 Sampson, Katherine, 542
 San Gimignano, Museo Civico, 18
 Sarazin, Adam, 94
 Saul, Nigel, 'William Maidstone at Ulcombe and Leeds', 132-8
 Saunders, Gertrude, 89-90, illus. 90; Richard, 90
 Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 236
 Sawley, Yorks., 234
 Sayers, Dr., 508
 Scene, Anne, 475, 477, illus. 477
 Schairdt, Gertrud von, 145
 Schwerin, Germany, Cathedral, 342
 Scott, Isabel, 73; William, 73; Sir William, 73
 Sculthorpe, Norf., 537, 542
 Sedgebrook, Lincs., 549
 Septvans, Sir Robert de, 284
 Serken, Burchard von, bp. of Lübeck, 26, 333, 337, illus. 336
 Sessay, Yorks., 65, 166
 Seville, Spain, Museo Arqueológico, 338-9
 Shahan, Thomas, 493
 Sharow, Yorks., 85
 Sharrington, Norf., 202

- Shelton, Sir Ralph, 509, 517, 541
 Shere, Surr., 364
 Sheriff Hutton, Yorks., 471-4, illus. 472
 Sherlock, Randal Hopley, 186
 Shernborne, Norf., 537, 543
 Shernborne, Thomas, 543
 Shilford, Elizabeth, 547-9, illus. 547, 548; John, 547
 Shorland, John, 544
 Shorne, Kent, 261
 Shorwell, I. of Wight, 498
 Shottesbrooke, Berks., 207, 209, 547, illus. 547
 Shrewsbury, St. Alkmund, 207
 Sibton, Suff., 538, 544
 Siday, Margaret, 192
 Sidney, Nicholas, 264; Sir William, 262-4, illus. 263
 Simon of Ghent, bp. of Salisbury, 230
 Skipwith, arms, 419, 488, 490, illus. 420, 488;
 pedigree, 491; George, 489, 492; Joan (w. of John),
 489, 492; Joan (w. of Wm.), 489, 492; John, 489,
 492; Katherine, 491; Richard, 489, 490, 492;
 William (d. 1480), 489, 490, 492; William
 (fl. 1503-7), 490
 Sloley, Norf., 539
 Sloman, C., 525
 Slon, Denis, 409
 Smith, Edgar, 399, 404; Matthew, 89; Sarah, 89;
 Thomas, 88
 Smith, Leslie A., 'Change and Decay at Northfleet,
 Kent: The Fate of the Brass of Peter de Lacy
 (d. 1375)', 347-61
 Smyth, Christopher, 404
 Smythe, Baldwin, 416-17, illus. 416
 Snarford, Lincs., 190, illus. 191
 Snettisham, Norf., 537, 543
 Somerton, Oxon., 173, 241-4, 257, illus. 242
 Sondes, Thomas, 187-9, illus. 188
 Sonning, Berks., 254
 Sotterley, Suff., 538, 544, 545
 Soucanye, Jean, 94
 South Elmham, Suff., St. James, 277, illus. 278
 South Kyme, Lincs., 314, 404
 South Walsham, Norf., 534-5
 Southacre, Norf., 496, 515, 537, 541, 542
 Southolt, Suff., 280-1, illus. 280
 Southwick, Hants., 256
 Souverain, Raoul, 18
 Spalding, Lincs., 139, 141, illus. 140
 Sparrow, Augusta Rosalie, 131; Basil, 131; Julia, 131;
 Lucy Margaret, 131; Valentine Arthur George John,
 131
 Sparrow Simpson, William, 61, 313, 405, 407-8, 414,
 424, 434, 441
 Sparsholt, Berks., 85, illus. 85
 Spelman, Henry, 543; Sir John, 542; John (d. 1545),
 82; John (d. 1581), 542
 Sprotborough, Yorks., 281-2, illus. 281, 282
 Sprowston, Norf., 542
 Spurdens, William, 508
 Spycer, Alys, 73; John, 73
 Standish, Lancs., 547, illus. 546
 Stanhoe, Norf., 539
 Stanton St. John, Oxon., 475, 477, illus. 477
 Staples, Alexander, 88, illus. 89
 Stapleton (Stapilton), Sir Brian de, 540, 542; Ele, 540;
 Joan, 505-6, 540, illus. 506; Margaret, 180; Sir
 Miles, 505-6, 540, 543, illus. 506; William, 180
 Staverton, John, 544; Richard, 169
 Steedman, John, 439
 Steeple Langford, Wilts., 235
 Stephenson, Mill, 313, 411, 418, 499
 Sternberg, Simon II von, bp. of Paderborn, 223
 Stifford, Essex, 190
 Stockholm, State Historical Museum, 239-40, illus. 239
 Stok, John, 422, illus. 422
 Stoke, Kent, 236
 Stoke-by-Nayland, Suff., 234, 236, 515, 517, 530, 538,
 544
 Stoke Charity, Hants., 171-4, 243, illus. 172
 Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 234
 Stokes, Richard, 91
 Stokesby, Norf., 541, 542
 Stone, Kent, 417, illus. 416
 Stone, Nicholas, 201
 Stonehouse, Elizabeth, 59; George, 59
 Stonham Aspell, Suff., 190, 192
 Storteford, William, 258
 Stothard, Charles Alfred, 505, 506, 517, 521
 Stow, John, 369
 Stralsund, Germany, 330-1, 333, illus. 331
 Strange, Sir Roger le, 543
 Strangman, Joan, 433-4, illus. 434
 Stratford-le-Bow, Middx., 68-9, illus. 68
 Street, George Edmund, 163
 Strethall, Essex, 192
 Strype, J., 170
 Stuchfield, H. Martin, 124, 207-20, illus. 208, 210,
 217-20; 'Gosfield, Essex' (with Nancy Briggs),
 117-31; 'A Civilian of c. 1400 in Private Possession'
 (with Sally Badham and Peter Northover), 207-20
 Stutfield, Blanche, 375; Jane, 375; William, 370,
 375-7, illus. 376
 Stutville, Richard, 377; Thomas, 377
 Style, Brydgett, 174-6, illus. 175; Edmund, 176;
 Edward, 176; Elizabeth (mother of Humphrey), 176;
 Elizabeth (w. of Humphrey), 174-6, illus. 175; Sir
 Humphrey, 174-6, illus. 175; John, 176; Mary, 176;
 Nicholas, 176; Oliver, 176
 styles and workshops: Fermer, 56-72, 157-76, 241-66;
 London C, 209-11; Oxfordshire I, 475-87; Suffolk I,
 139-42
 Sudborough, Northants., 364, illus. 365
 Summerfield, Ronald, 404
 Surlingham, Norf., 543
 Sussex, Frances, countess of, 264; Thomas, earl of, 264

- Sutton, Dr., 508
 Svanders, Margaret, 75
 Swaffham, Norf., 512, 543, illus. 515
 Swanton Abbot, Norf., 534
 Swineshead, Lincs., 549
 Symondes, Agnes, 447, illus. 448; John, 447, 541, illus. 448
 Symonds, Elizabeth, 194, illus. 193; Elizabeth (d. 1666), 194, illus. 194; Richard, 194, illus. 193; Richard (antiquary), 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 371, 373, 378, illus. 129, 379
 Talbot, Clere, 543; Thomas, 506, 508, 509, 512
 Taplow, Bucks., 474
 Tatton-Brown, Tim, 'The Salisbury Cathedral Consecration Crosses', 113-16
 Taverham, Norf., 422-3, illus. 422
 Taylboys, Elizabeth, lady, 404; Gilbert Taylboys, lord, 404
 Tendall, Amfelice, 541, illus. 507
 Tendring (Tendryng), Katherine, 544; Tomesin, 545; Sir William, 544
 Terry, John, 540
 Tewkesbury, Glos., 234
 Tey, Henry, 122; Margaret, 122
 Teynham, lord, 201
 Thanington, Kent, 75
 Thaseburgh, Richard, 542
 Thiboust, Henry, 94
 Thorington, Suff., 411-12, illus. 411
 Thornhill, P.J., 435-6
 Thorpe, John, 349, 350, 351, 356; William, 288
 Throckmorton, Eleanor, 425; John, 425
 Thruxton, Hants., 192, 194
 Thurlton, Norf., 539
 Thynne, Anne, 171
 Tibenham, Norf., 534
 Tichbourne, Edmund, 294
 Tidmarsh, Berks., 475, 477, 485, illus. 485
 Tillie, Esther, 91
 Titchfield, Hants., 6, 236, 284
 Toddenham, John, 541, 543
 Tolleshunt D'Arcy, Essex, 147-56, illus. 148-50, 152
 Tornay, Joan, 190, illus. 191
 Torun (Thorn), Poland, St. John, 26, 38-40, 46, illus. 43
 Tours, France, 306
 Trollope, Arthur, 428
 Trondheim, Norway, Archbishop's Palace, 468; Nidaros Cathedral, 467-8, illus. 469
 Trotter, Thomas, 489
 Trotton, Sussex, 138, 234
 Trumpington, Cambs., 234, 512, 538, illus. 516
 Trumpington, Roger II de, illus. 516
 Trunch, Norf., 410-11, 534, illus. 410
 Tunstall, John, 101
 Turner, Dawson, 5, 503-4, 505, 508, 510, 518, 522, 525, 526, 528, 530, 531; J.M.W., 503, 505; Mary, 504
 Turweston, Bucks., 364, illus. 365
 Tuxford Hall, Notts., 420
 Twyford, Bucks., 171, 257-9, illus. 258
 Tye, John, 186
 Tylney, John, 167, 169; Reginald, 169
 Uffington, Berks., 116
 Ufford, Suff., 538, 545
 Ulcombe, Kent, 132-8, illus. 133
 Unton, Henry, 542
 Upminster, Essex, 313, 420-1, illus. 421
 Uppsala Cathedral, Sweden, 240, 470
 Upwell, Norf., 537, 539, 543
 Valence, Aymer de, 18
 Vasques Pimentel, Estevão, 333, illus. 334
 Vaughan, Anne, 266; Francis, 266; George, 266; Sir Hugh, 264, 266
 Veldon, James, 367
 Vendôme, Saint-Georges, 345, illus. 344
 Verdun, Matilda de, 238
 Vielsalm, Luxembourg, Belgium, 240
 Voelponts, Cathelijne, 26
 Wale, Matilda le, 154; Robert le, 154
 Walgrave, Northants., 86, 234, 235, illus. 86
 Walker, Mary (d. 1635), 88; Mary (d. 1678), 89; Robert, 88
 Walkern, Herts., 369
 Waller, J.G., 165, 358, 366, 431; L.A.B., 358, illus. 357; Malyn, 174; Margery, 174; Mary (wife of Rd.), 174; Mary (child), 174; Mary (gentlewoman), 174; Richard, 171-4, illus. 172; Richard (father), 174; Stephen, 174; Thomas, 174; William, 174
 Wallington, Richard, 91
 Walsokne, Adam de, 26, 543; Margaret de, 26
 Waltham, John de, bp. of Salisbury, 279
 Waltham Abbey, Essex, 141-2, 234, 235, illus. 142
 Walton on Trent, Derbs., 385
 Walworth, Margaret, 369; Sir William, 368-9
 Warbleton, Sussex, 136
 Warner, Sir Edmund, 541
 Warner and Sons, Messrs., 437
 Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America, Monumental Brasses Collection, 493-9
 Waterperry, Oxon., 135, 475, 477, 480, illus. 476
 Waterville, Isabella de, 13
 Way, Albert, 310, 418, 423, 424, 427, 428, 441-2, 530, 531; Lewis, 441
 Weale, W.H. James, 198
 Webber, William, 360
 Weekley, Northants., 234, 235
 Weever, John, 8, 250, 349, 354, 489
 Weld, Joan, 544
 Welles, John, 288
 Wells, Som., Cathedral, 235, 409, illus. 409
 Wenemaer, Willem, 238

- Wenman, Henry, 243; Richard, 259; Sir Thomas, 259; Ursula, 259
- Wensley, Simon de, 337, 342, illus. 336
- Wentworth, Anne (w. of Sir Roger), 122; Anne (w. of Sir John), 124, 126-8, illus. 127, 129, 130; Henry, 124; Sir John, 124, 126-30, illus. 127, 129, 130; Sir Roger, 122
- West, children, illus. 365; Edward, 201; William, 364
- West Barsham, Norf., 542
- West Drayton, Middx., 70, illus. 71
- West Hanningfield, Essex, 195, 198, illus. 197
- West Harling, Norf., 536, 541
- West Lynn, Norf., 537
- West Wickham, Kent, 237, 283
- Westcott Barton, Oxon., 475, 477, 484, illus. 484
- Westermeyer, Bishop Wolfgang, 146
- Westleton, Suff., 234, 238
- Westley Waterless, Cambs., 86-7, 231, 234
- Weston, Thomas, 475, 477, illus. 478
- Westwell, Kent, 237, 286
- Whall, Phillippa, 202; Thomas, 202
- Whaplode, William, 137
- Whitby Abbey, Yorks., 429-30, illus. 430
- White (Whyte), Edward, 540; Thomas, 268
- Whitehead, Thomas Miller, 401; *see also* Quythed
- Whittemore, Philip, 'Grantchester and Brinkley: Two Lost Brasses Identified' (with William Lack), 370-7; 'British Museum IV (10) Skipwith Shield: An Additional Note' (with William Lack), 488-92
- Wicbold, bp. of Culm, 26
- Wickhampton, Norf., 539
- Widford, Herts., 417-18, illus. 418
- Wilford, Agnes, 124; Elizabeth, 124; James, 124; Joan, 124; Robert, 122-4, illus. 123; William, 124
- Wilhelm, duke of Jülich-Berg, 221
- Williams, J.F., 409
- Willis, Browne, 163; Elizabeth Gibson, 73
- Willson, Edward James, 311, 423, 424, 427, 428, 442; Robert, bp. of Hobart Town, 442; Samuel, 425
- Wyllughby, Margaret, 542
- Wimbish, Essex, 313, 433-4, 441, illus. 434
- Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 1, 286
- Winchester, Hants., Cathedral, 286; St. Cross, 66-8, 136, illus. 66, 67
- Winchester, Sir William Paulet, marquess of, 174
- Windham, Elizabeth, 541; Thomas, 540
- Windsor, St. George's Chapel, Berks., 116
- Wingfield (Wyngefeld), Anthony de, 526; Sir John de, 540, 544; John, 544
- Wingham, Arthur, 86, illus. 86
- Wirksworth, Derbs., 87-8
- Witzlav, prince of Rügen, 468, 469
- Wode, Anne a, 542; Robert, 411-12, illus. 411; William atte, 475, 482, illus. 482
- Wodehows, John, 541
- Wolston, Sir Guy, 176
- Wood, Anthony, 385, 412, 477, 479, 480, 481, 484
- Wood Dalling, Norf., 531
- Woodbridge, Suff., 538, 544
- Woodroffe, David, 57-9; Elizabeth, 58-9; Sir Nicholas, 58-9; Robert, 59; Stephen, 59
- Worlingham, Suff., 545
- Worstead, Norf., 288, 535, 543
- Wrenne, Nicholas, 545
- Wrentham, Suff., 512, 538, 544, 545
- Wroughton, Elizabeth, 66-8, illus. 66, 67
- Wulle, John, 480
- Wulmer, Thomas, 475, 480, illus. 480
- Wyche, John, 364, 366, illus. 365
- Wylford, John, 68-9
- Wynston, Ismayne, 541
- Wyvil (Wyville), Robert, bp. of Salisbury, 116, 423-4, illus. 423
- Xanten, Germany, 143-6, illus. 144, 145
- Yarford, Sir James, 176
- Yate, Glos., 88-91, illus. 89, 90
- Yelden, Beds., 364
- Yelverton, John, 471, 543; Roger, 471, 543; William (d. 1481), 542; William (d. c. 1510), 542
- York, Minster, 231, 234, 236, 237
- Yoxford, Suff., 510, 522, 538, 544, 545
- Yslyngton, John, 542
- Zak, Gotfried, 469
- von Zoest, Johann, 26, 38-40, 46, 337, illus. 43
- van Zynghene, Jan, 40-1, 47; Margaret, 40-1

ERRATA

p. 42, line 7, for 'Fig. 20, right' read 'Fig. 21, right'

p. 43, line 1, for 'Fig. 20, left' read 'Fig. 21, left'

p. 209, line 12: for 'Sir William Baginton' read 'Sir William Bagot'

TRANSACTIONS OF THE MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY

VOLUME XVI, PART 5, 2002

	PAGE
ØYSTEIN EKROLL Two Rediscovered Fragments of Monumental Brasses from Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim, Norway	467
SOPHIE OOSTERWIJK A Chrysom Brass at Sheriff Hutton, Yorks.	471
JEROME BERTRAM Oxfordshire Styles I: The Drunken Marbler	475
WILLIAM LACK and PHILIP WHITTEMORE British Museum IV(10) Skipwith Shield: An Additional Note	488
PETER J. HESELTINE and BARBARA D. HENRY An American Collection of Books and Letters about Brasses	493
SALLY BADHAM and RON FISKE John Sell Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk	500
PORTFOLIO OF SMALL PLATES	546
ACCOUNTS	552
INDEX	557

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