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Cover: Detail from incised slab of Frédéric, Abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert near Liège

Two Incised Slabs from the Abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert near Liège

by HADRIEN KOCKEROLS

IN the course of embankment work on the site of the former abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert at Seraing, two fragments of incised slabs were brought to light which immediately attracted attention by reason of their exceptional manufacture and iconography. They have been deposited in a warehouse of the Walloon Region, awaiting a suitable place of preservation.

The Cistercian abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert was founded in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, on a site near the right bank of the river Meuse, about six miles upstream as the crow flies from the city of Liège. A large abbey church was built towards the middle of the century; shortened in the following centuries, it was doomed to demolition in 1750. A new abbey church was then erected on the site as an integral part of a new architectural composition of which the abbot's palace survives. This church and almost all the medieval buildings were destroyed in 1802 to make way for industrial buildings housing a glassworks, now destroyed in their turn.[1]

It is on the site of the eighteenth-century abbey church, now not traceable on the ground, that the two fragments of incised slabs were brought to light under the foundations of the pillars of the church.[2]

The prosperity which the Low Countries enjoyed from the middle of the eighteenth century encouraged the modernisation of numerous churches. Tiles of various marbles, which the recent development of industrial sawing made fashionable, replaced the old pavements, and the discarded incised slabs were regularly salvaged as building material for public works or simply for use in foundations, as in this case. Abbot Gérard-Joseph de Harlez (1748-1789) discarded the funerary monuments of the old abbey church, effacing the tangible memory of his predecessors and of the distinguished benefactors of the abbey, even Jean d'Eppes (d. 1238), Prince-Bishop of Liège, who was held to be their founder. The two slabs brought to light came from the medieval abbey church; their inscriptions are in fact noted in a seventeenth-century collection of epitaphs, among the entries relating to the abbey of Val Saint-Lambert.[3] One commemorates a doctor called Frédéric, the other a lady called Egela, widow of Wéric des Fontaines, and her relative Guillaume.

[1] L. Ledru, 'Les vicissitudes de la construction du Monastère du Val Saint-Lambert', *Chronique archéologique du Pays de Liège*, XV (1924), pp. 21-7.

[2] The excavations carried out in 2002 by the Division du Patrimoine, Direction de l'archéologie, Service de Liège, of the Walloon Region, have enabled the plan of the abbey church to be established in general. The excavation report, 'Evaluation du potentiel archéologique de l'abbatiale de l'abbaye du Val-Saint-Lambert (n° DGATLP/Dpat/SALg/VSL/Abb/2002/01)', compiled by Nancy Verstraelen, October 2003, gives in plate 11 a reconstruction of the estate map. In July 2004, an investigation in a limited area of the church, commissioned by the Walloon Region and carried out by J. Dupagne, resulted in the discovery of the fragments of the two incised slabs. J. Dupagne, 'Notice sur les relevés archélogiques effectués à l'abbatiale du Val-Saint-Lambert en août 2004', December 2004, gives the approximate location, these finds having taken place after the archeological investigation.

[3] *Recueil d'épitaphes de Henri van den Berch, héraut d'armes Liége-Looz, de 1640 à 1666*, ed. L Naveau de Marteau and A Poullet, 2 vols. (Liège, 1925-8). The two fragments are nos. 1529 and 1533.

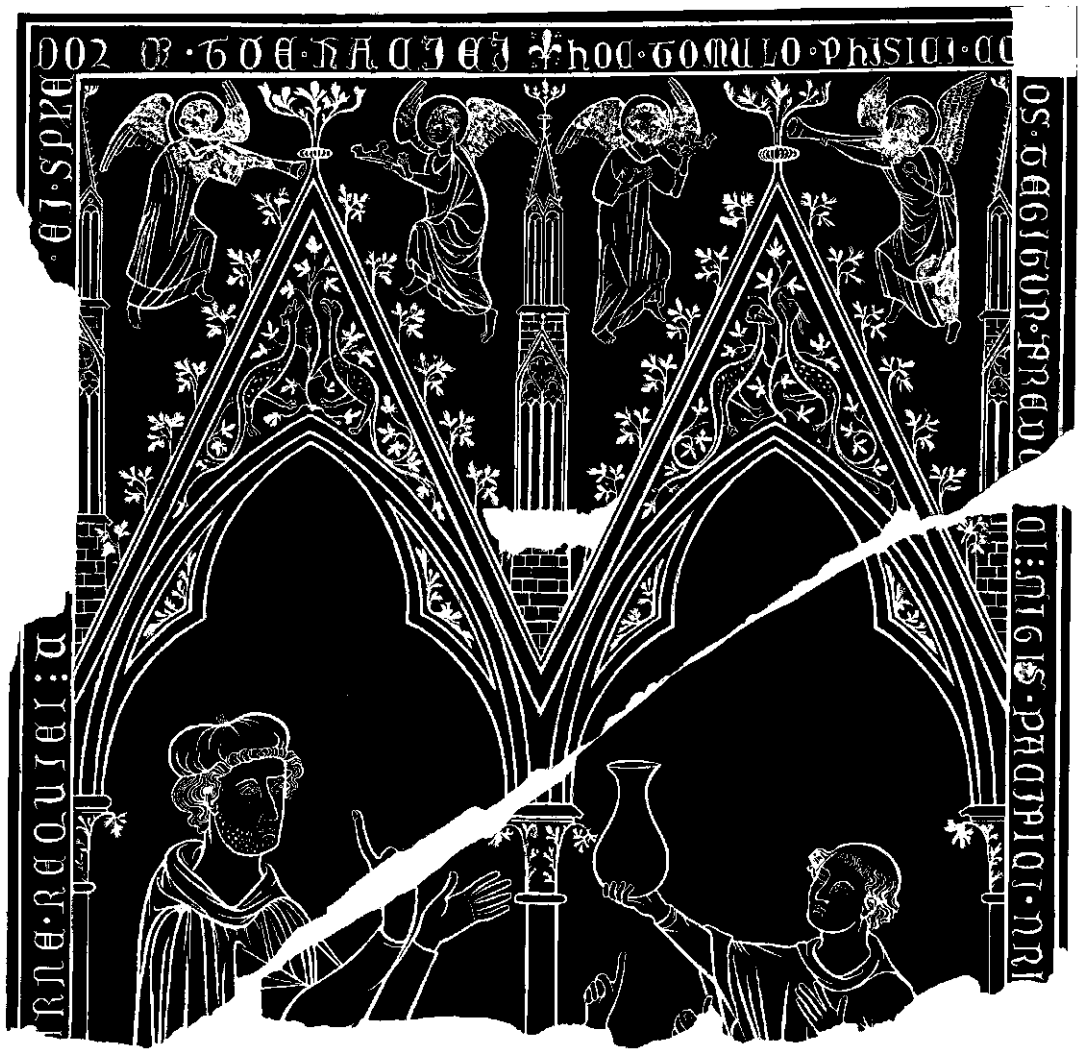

FIG. 1
Incised slab of Frédéric
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

Frédéric

Master Frédéric, doctor (*fisicus*) and canon of St. Martin's, Liège, is mentioned in a deed of 14 April 1270, in which his nephew Nicholas, who was leaving on an overseas journey, conveyed an annuity to the abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert.[4] A dean of St. Martin's, Liège, called Frédéric, is mentioned in three deeds of the chapter of St. Martin, of 18 March 1271, 9 July 1303 and 19 June 1307 and in a 1296 deed of

[4] J.G. Schoonbroodt, *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des archives de l'abbaye du Val-St-Lambert lez Liége*, 2 vols. (Liége, 1875-80), I, no. 311 (p. 112).

the chapter of St. John's, Liège.[5] In these four deeds he is not styled a doctor but presides over a court. If these refer to the same Frédéric, he was not yet dean in 1270 and his period of office as dean was at least thirty years; an uncle in 1270, he would have been in his sixties or seventies at the time of the last mention. Although it has been suggested that these documents refer to one and the same person,[6] there are reasons to doubt this. It is recorded that in 1256 the abbey had a doctor among its personnel.[7] Frédéric is not mentioned in the obituary of the abbey.[8] On the other hand, most importantly, he was buried at Val-Saint-Lambert and the epitaph engraved on his tomb, which does not mention the office of dean but his status as a physician, the usual term at this period for a doctor, was composed by the monks of Val Saint-Lambert, who classed him as an intimate friend. Here follows the text of the inscription, a funeral eulogy composed of three elegiac distiches:[9]

HOC TOMULO[10] PHISICI CORPUS TEGITUR FREDERICI
MITIS, PACIFICI, NostRI [SPECIALIS AMICI.
FRUCTUS HONESTATIS, IN EGENOS COR PIETATIS
IPSUM DITAVIT FORIS INTERIUSQUE BEAVIT.
FILI CHRISTE DEI FAC AETERNAE REQUI]EI
UT PAX DETUR EI SPLEnDORQUE TUE FACIEI.
This tomb contains the body of Frédéric, the doctor,
A mild, peaceful man and our special friend.
Merciful of heart for the poor, he enriched himself
With the fruit of honesty he made happy both near and afar
O Christ, Son of God, grant him eternal rest
So that he may know peace and the splendour of your face.

During removal from the excavation the slab broke in two pieces. Together they measure 1650 mm in height and 1700 mm in width, representing a little more than the upper half of the complete slab. The stone is Visé limestone, commonly called '*Pierre de Meuse*'. The slab is not worn but has suffered, probably during removal, when it was scraped by a rough surface, in such a way that a good part of the the engraved lines have knocked edges. The reproduction from the rubbing (Fig. 1) is touched up so as to eliminate this damage.

The composition, the technique and the decoration of the slab point us immediately to the last quarter of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. Peculiarities of composition and iconography merit further comment. The habitual and almost universal iconography of the period, that of the recumbent

[5] J.G. Schoonbroodt, *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartes du chapitre de Saint-Martin, à Liége* (Liège, 1871), nos. 95, 146, 150; L. Lahaye, *Inventaire analytique des chartes de la collégiale de Saint-Jean l'Evangéliste à Liége*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1921-33), no. 237.

[6] C. Renardy, *Les maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège: Répertoire biographique*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 232 (Paris 1981), no. 146 (p. 224).

[7] Ledru, 'Vicissitudes', p. 22.

[8] I am grateful to Mme Stéphanie Denoël, of the Archives de l'Etat at Liège, for her research in this document.

[9] Lost parts of the inscription, between brackets, as recorded by the herald Van den Berch (*Recueil d'épitaphes de Henri van den Berch*, no. 1529).

[10] *Sic*, for TUMULO.

FIG. *2*
Incised slab of Frédéric, detail of head
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

figure of the deceased, or *gisant*, is replaced by a scene with three persons. On the left is the doctor, bearded, wearing a *pileus* and a *cappa* with the hood turned down (Fig. 2). He is seen in three-quarter view, his two hands raised, the right index finger pointing upwards, the left hand indicating a phial presented by a second figure, a young tonsured cleric. A third figure, seated at bottom right, raises his right hand and points with his index finger towards the phial, while part of another hand suggests a fourth figure, also seated.

The scene represents a uroscopy. The medieval doctor 'scrutinises the urine', as taught by Hippocrates. He makes a diagnosis about the state of health of the patient and consequently as to the proximity of death. In the medical iconography of uroscopy the doctor holds the flask, called a '*motula*' in his hand, or else it is the patient who presents it to him. The gesture of the doctor who 'scrutinises the urine' remained an attribute of the iconography of the doctor, even when medical diagnosis had developed in different ways. As an emblem of the doctor's profession, one still finds this gesture on sixteenth-century monuments.[11]

[11] E.g. the monument of the Pistoris family, 1527, at St. Thomas, Leipzig, and the incised slab of Jaspar Quirijsen, d. 1532, Tholen, Zeeland, Netherlands (F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), II, pl. 41a).

The iconography, diverging from the usual *gisant* accompanied by emblems of status, is a scenography, something which, with rare exceptions,[12] is confined in the Middle Ages to the tombs of professors or teachers. Moreover, those examples only occur from the mid fourteenth century onwards.[13] In this respect it should be noted that the rare known incised slab with a scenic representation of a doctor, that of Guibert de Celsoy, dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris in 1360 and doctor to three kings of France, depicts him as a professor and not in the practice of medicine; the scene is, moreover, modelled on that of a professor of theology, Guillaume de St Remy, at Meaux.[14] Whatever the discipline, it is the act of teaching which is represented. Following the same logic, the scene represented on the incised slab of Frédéric would be one of teaching rather than medical practice. Indeed, despite the fact that the third figure is largely missing, the gestures make it clear that it is a scene of teaching.

The fame of Frédéric as a doctor-teacher has not come down to us, except for his monument which depicts him as such. It should be noted, however, that the Abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert owned a medical manuscript of the twelfth century.[15]

But, just as the theologian-teacher is a metaphorical figure of the Church as the sole deposit of revelation, the incised slab of Frédéric the doctor allows for a second reading, that of spiritual medicine. The multiple meanings of things and gestures in the Middle Ages encourage us to see in this scene a symbolic image: the doctor takes care of the physical body, weighing up its hope of earthly life, just as the soul will be examined at the moment of death and weighed for its deeds. This theme is found allusively or explicitly both in iconography and texts. 'They that are in health need not a physician, but they that are ill', says Christ (Matthew 9:13). The sick sinful man seeks healing of the body and health of the soul by means of pilgrimage, a metaphor for life. On a pilgrim badge, of the end of the twelfth century, can be read a supplication to St. Remaclus: CORPORIS AC ANIMAE TOLLIS VITIOSA REMACLE (You, O Remaclus, take away the defects of body and mind).[16] On the shrine of St. Domitian at Huy, one of the inscriptions on the cresting is GRATIA DIVINA MEDICVS FVIT.[17] In a French miniature of the early fourteenth century (Fig. 3), one can read, above the image of doctors in the same attitude as Frédéric, the words MEDICI MINISTRI DEI.[18] The medical comparison extends to doctors.

[12] A slab dated 1307, at Lyon, represents the penitentiary of the archbishop chastising a penitent, in a composition without an architectural frame (Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 25a).

[13] E.g. J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières: Dessins d'archéologie du XVIIe siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., LXXIV (1974), pp. 1-192; LXXXVIII (1976), pp. 1-88; XC (1977), pp. 1-76, nos. 781, 906, 907 916; Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, pls. 38, 43b. [But it is possible that pupils were shown in the missing portion of the incised slab of a seated schoolmaster with birch, of *c.* 1260, at Arpajon (Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 43a) *Ed.*].

[14] Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, I, pp. 117-18, II, p. 109.

[15] Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, MS 2419-31. Cf. *Wibald, abbé de Stavelot-Mamédy et Corvey (1130-1158)*, exhibition catalogue (Stavelot, 1982), no. 41.

[16] I am grateful to M. Albert Lemeunier for drawing my attention to this badge, kept in the Musée Communal, Huy.

[17] A. Lemeunier, *La châsse de saint Domitien de Huy et sa restauration* (Huy, 2005), pp. 9-10.

[18] The *Canon* of Avicenna translated by Gerardus of Cremona, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 14023, f. 1v. On this MS, illuminated in Paris *c.* 1320, see M.-J. Imbault-Huart, *La medicine au moyen age à travers les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1983), pp. 44, 190.

FIG. 3.
Doctors, miniature in the *Canon* of Avicenna translated by Gerardus of Cremona
(Paris, BN, MS latin 14023, f. 1v, detail)

Another French illumination of *c.* 1530 treats the theme in a very imaginative way: Christ the pharmacist is seen behind his counter, writing out a prescription for his two patients, Adam and Eve, naked in his dispensary.[19] Beyond the commemoration of the dead doctor, the funerary monument obviously suggests a second reading, stemming from the image of the doctor. The iconography of this slab is exceptional; there is no other example known.[20]

The setting within which the scene is engraved also presents a peculiarity. The double canopy which houses the scene, bisecting it with a central column, is not necessary for a single effigy and seems to have been conceived independently of the figures. The scene demanded by the iconographic programme, requiring considerable breadth, could thus be accommodated on a stone pre-engraved with a design of a double arch. In fact, numerous examples demonstrate that compositions

[19] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 1537, f. 82v, *Chants royaux sur la Conception, couronnés au Puy de Rouen de 1519 à 1528* (Imbault-Huart, *La medicine au moyen age*, p. 162, pl. on p. 163).

[20] The loss of the majority of continental medieval monuments is partly compensated for by antiquarian records, the most important one being the Gaignières Collection. I have not, however, found any similar representation.

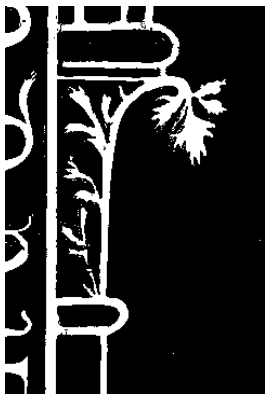

FIG. 4
Incised slab of Frédéric, detail of capital
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

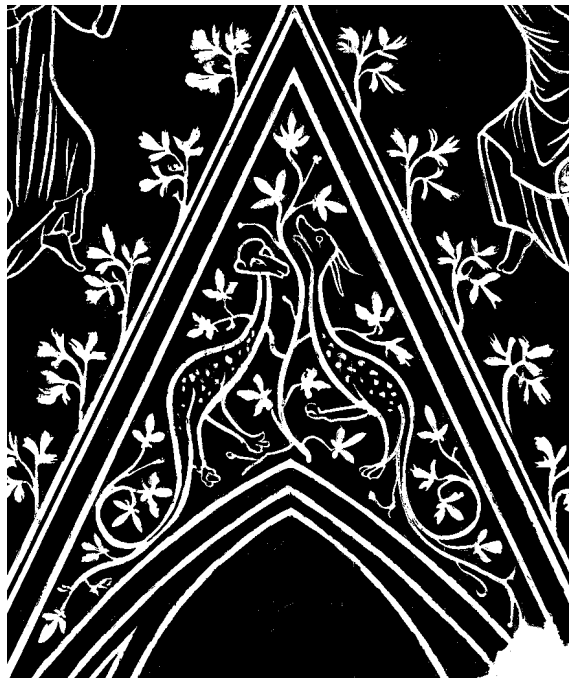

FIG. 5
Incised slab of Frédéric, detail of right-hand gable
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

are often assemblages of architectural and figural designs, conceived independently of one another, the architecture often being 'prefabricated'.[21]

The arches of the canopies present the usual outline for the period 1270-1290: perfectly geometric, the ribs forming an equilateral triangle and having their soffits subdivided by segments of a circle of which the radius equals half the side of the triangle. This simple and harmonious layout derives from contemporary architecture. The arches rest on a central column and two half-columns, which bond the composition to the outer frame.

The capitals with leaf decoration are of an uncommon type: the profile of the capital is formed by the vine branch itself (Fig. 4). The vine does not have any fruit, its leaves are quite young. The same motif of young vine leaves occurs on the slopes, the tympanum and the finial of the gable, as well as in the spandrels. The motif, carved with real dexterity, recalls the freshness of the discovery of nature in the mid thirteenth century, to which bear witness both the style of the sculpture of Rheims Cathedral, soon widespread in Europe, and the writings of Albertus Magnus, who, in his *De naturalibus* abandons the symbolic description of plants to say what he sees with his own eyes.[22]

[21] This is also confirmed by a miniature, often reproduced, in BL, Add. MS. 10292, f. 55v, depicting a customer in the workshop of a tomb-maker where carvers engrave a slab with just architectural decoration.

[22] A development discussed in N. Pevsner, *The Leaves of Southwell* (London, 1945).

The decoration of the gable, normally a rose window, here takes the form of vine tendrils in which are lodged two facing animals, the tails of which end in and merge with the tendrils (Fig. 5). These are dragons, a motif encountered in the vocabulary of Mosan monuments, where they are most often placed in the spandrels or the tympanum of a trefoil arch.[23] They refer to the forces of evil that have been conquered. Dragons are also found crushed under the feet of effigies and even with tails ending in stylised foliage as on Frédéric's slab (Fig. 6).[24]

FIG. 6
Incised slab of Georges de Niverlée, 1266, Niverlée, detail (from Creeny)

The architectural decoration is completed by another element, equally exceptional in the architectural repertoire of Mosan monuments: the pinnacles which normally flank the gables are here of such a size and show such constructional detail that one could call them towers. They consist of a massive base supporting a traceried storey, surmounted by an octagonal lantern.

[23] Slab of Humbiers Corbeau, 1298, at Awans (prov. Liège); slab of Daniel van Hoorn, 1298, at Vechmaal (prov. Limburg) ; slab of Edmund von Wörth, 1296, at Rijkhoven (prov. Limburg); fragment of a slab of an anonymous person, lost, formerly Walcourt (prov. Namur).

[24] Slab of Georges de Niverlée, 1262, at Niverlée (prov. Namur)

FIG. 7
Incised slab of Frédéric, detail of angel
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

Flanking each gable are pairs of angels. Their iconography is also decidedly exceptional. In the Mosan region in the thirteenth century the angels who welcome the deceased in Paradise swing censers.[25] Here one sounds the trumpet of the Last Judgement and the other hastens to present a crown to the elect (Fig. 7).[26] 'Be thou faithful unto death: and I will give thee the crown of life' (Apocalypse 2:10).

The inscription presents several rhyme games: bisyllabic rhymes, 'ICI' at the cæsura and the end of the first two lines, and a leonine rhyme as well, 'EI', repeated in the last two lines. As to the form of the inscription, it is incised in uncials, the words separated by stops and the verses by a vertical line of three stops. The outline of several letters seems hesitant, even faulty. The beginning of the inscription in the middle of the upper side is marked by a fleur-de-lis (Fig. 8). It replaces the cross

[25] In some cases the angels hold candles; they can be found at Rouen, on the slab of Mahaut du Chastelier, *c.* 1280, together with an angel placing a crown on the head of the dead (W.F. Creeny, *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe, from Rubbings and Tracings* (Norwich, 1891), no. 22).

[26] Another example is present on the slab of Mahaut du Chastelier.

FIG. 8
Incised slab of Frédéric, detail of inscription
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

which normally features in this position, but a reminder of the cross is provided by the motif of four groups of stops, placed in saltire. This motif does not seem to be simple decoration; it should be interpreted in the late Romanesque tradition where the crosses adorning coffin lids are edged with balls symbolising the fruit of the Tree of Life, which is the cross. The sculptor seems to end the engraving of the text with regret, adorning the last two 'I's with elaborate flourishing.

The quality of the design and the workmanship of the engraving bear witness to a talented marbler. The iconographic programme, marked by original choices, off the beaten track, is the work of a distinct personality. By means of its epitaph referring to 'our special friend', the work indicates the monastic community as the patron. But there is a third party involved, the person who drew the scene of Frédéric teaching, who was without doubt a painter or miniaturist.

The mention of the doctor Frédéric in 1270 refers to a living man, and thus provides a *post quem* for the making of the slab. Stylistic analysis provides a date range. The quality of the work obliges one to compare it with works of equal quality and to ignore those which are derivative or mediocre. Only a limited number are to be taken into account. The three slabs reproduced here are representative: the Templar Gérard de Villers, 1273 (Fig. 9),[27] the chaplain Guillaume, 1284 (Fig. 10),[28] and Bishop Edmund von Wörth, 1292 (Fig. 11).[29] The first shows an arch with a still experimental design, the second a well-balanced design, close to that of Frédéric's slab, and on the third the arcade has a less severe profile and the columns are replaced by segmented piers. These three monuments illustrate the evolution of architectural representation on Mosan slabs during the last quarter of the century.

[27] Slab of the Templar Gérard de Villers, 1273, at the church of Saint-Pierre,Villers-le-Temple, from the old chapel of the Temple commandery (Creeny, *Incised Slabs*, no. 20; H. Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan - Arrondissement de Huy - Tombes et épitaphes 1100-1800* (Malonne, 1999), no. 2, with bibliography).

[28] Slab of the chaplain Guillaume, 1284, from Ardenelle, kept in the town hall of Sombreffe, but unfortunately restored (A. Bequet, 'Les tombes plates de l'ancien comté de Namur', *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, XIV (1877), pl. V; H. Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan - Arrondissement de Namur - Tombes et épitaphes 1000-1800* (Malonne, 2001), no. 18, with bibliography).

[29] Slab of Edmund von Wörth, Bishop of Courland, suffragan of Liège, d. 1292, from the chapel of the castle of the commandery of Vieux-Joncs (Aldebiezen) at Rijkhoven (prov. Limburg), now preserved in the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Geboorte, Rijkhoven (R.H. Edleston, *Illustrations of Incised Monumental Slabs on the Continent of Europe, from rubbings and tracings: A supplement to Creeny* (Darlington, 1944), pl. 36; E. van Caster and R. Op de Beeck, *De grafkunst in Belgisch Limburg* (Assen, 1981), no. 4, with bibliography).

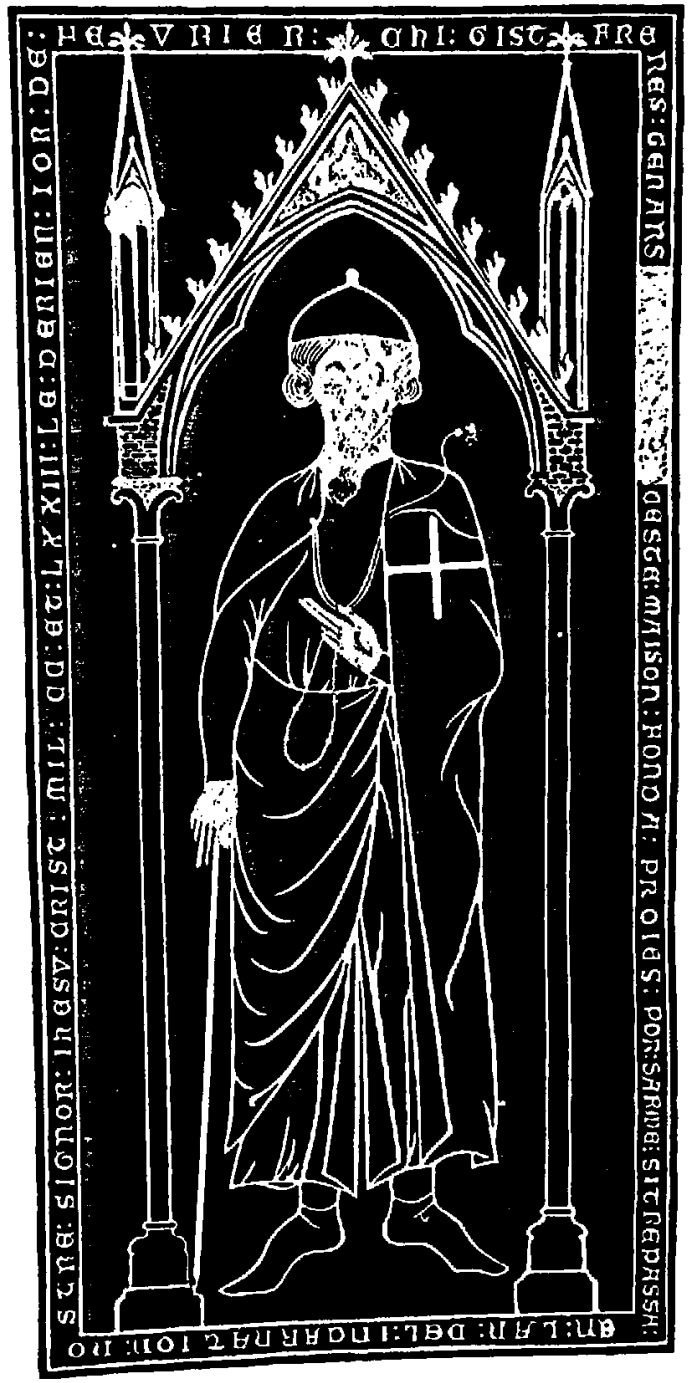

FIG. 9
Incised slab of Gérard de Villers, 1273 (from Creeny)

FIG. 10
Incised slab of the chaplain Guillaume, 1284 (from Bequet)

FIG. 11
Incised slab of Bishop Edmund von Wörth, 1292 (from Edleston)

The distinctive motif of naturalistic foliage is present on the capitals of the 1284 slab and on the slopes of the gable of the 1292 slab; it is still to be found in 1298 but then decays.[30] A final observation is that Frédéric's slab does not follow the fashion of the 1270s, where the flesh of figures is treated in the *champlevé* technique (as on the 1273 slab), nor that of the 1290s, where the flesh is rendered by marble inlay (as on the 1292 slab). In conclusion, Frédéric's slab is datable to the last quarter of the thirteenth century or even a little earlier, most probably between 1270 and 1290. This dating makes it very unlikely that the doctor Frédéric mentioned in 1270 is the same as the Frédéric, dean of St. Martin, who was still alive in 1307.

Egela and Guillaume

The slab was recovered from the excavations broken into eight pieces, which when assembled measure about 1580 x 1540 mm, representing roughly the upper half of the original slab. Of Visé limestone, it is partly incised in the *champlevé* technique. The epitaph informs us that Egela (Angèle) is the widow of Wéric des Fontaines and that the young man on her left is her relative Guillaume, without indicating the degree of consanguinity. It seemed important to the writer of the epitaph to indicate that Egela was the mother of four brave knights, something not at all common. Here follows the text on the tombstone, completed between square brackets from the record of the herald Henri van den Berch.[31]

UXOR (W)ERRICI DE FONTANIS [IACE]T ICI
EGELA SIC DICTA MIGRA[VIT CARNE RELICTA;
QUATUOR ISTA FUIT MATER GENEROSA VIRORUM
QUOS SUB MILITIA DECORAVIT LAUS ANIMORUM
IS CONSANGUI]NEUS [HIC] WILLELMus REQUIESCIT
QuOS TU PONE DeuS Ubi LUX SiNe FINE DIESCIT.
Here lies the wife of Wéric des Fontaines
The widow Egela has left what is called the flesh.
She was the noble mother of four men
Praise of souls decorated them in their military service.
Here rests her relative Guillaume
O God, place them where the light shines eternally.

In passing, the rhyming scheme of the distiches should be noted: each verse consists of a bisyllabic rich rhyme, such as 'ICI' et ICTA'. The last line has concatenated rich rhymes: 'EUS', 'IESCIT'.

The chronicler Jacques de Hemricourt reports of a knight called Wéry des Fontaines that he had three sons who were knights.[32] If this refers to the husband of

[30] This motif, which is still present in 1298 on the slab of Humbier Corbeau at Awans (prov. Liège), survives in an impoverished and more schematic form on a number of slabs near Tongeren and Liège; transformed into twigs, it is still used on the corbels, associated with crocketted capitals.

[31] *Recueil d'épitaphes de Henri van den Berch*, no. 1533.

[32] *Œuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt*, ed. C. de Borman, 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1910-31), I, p. 246, no. 443.

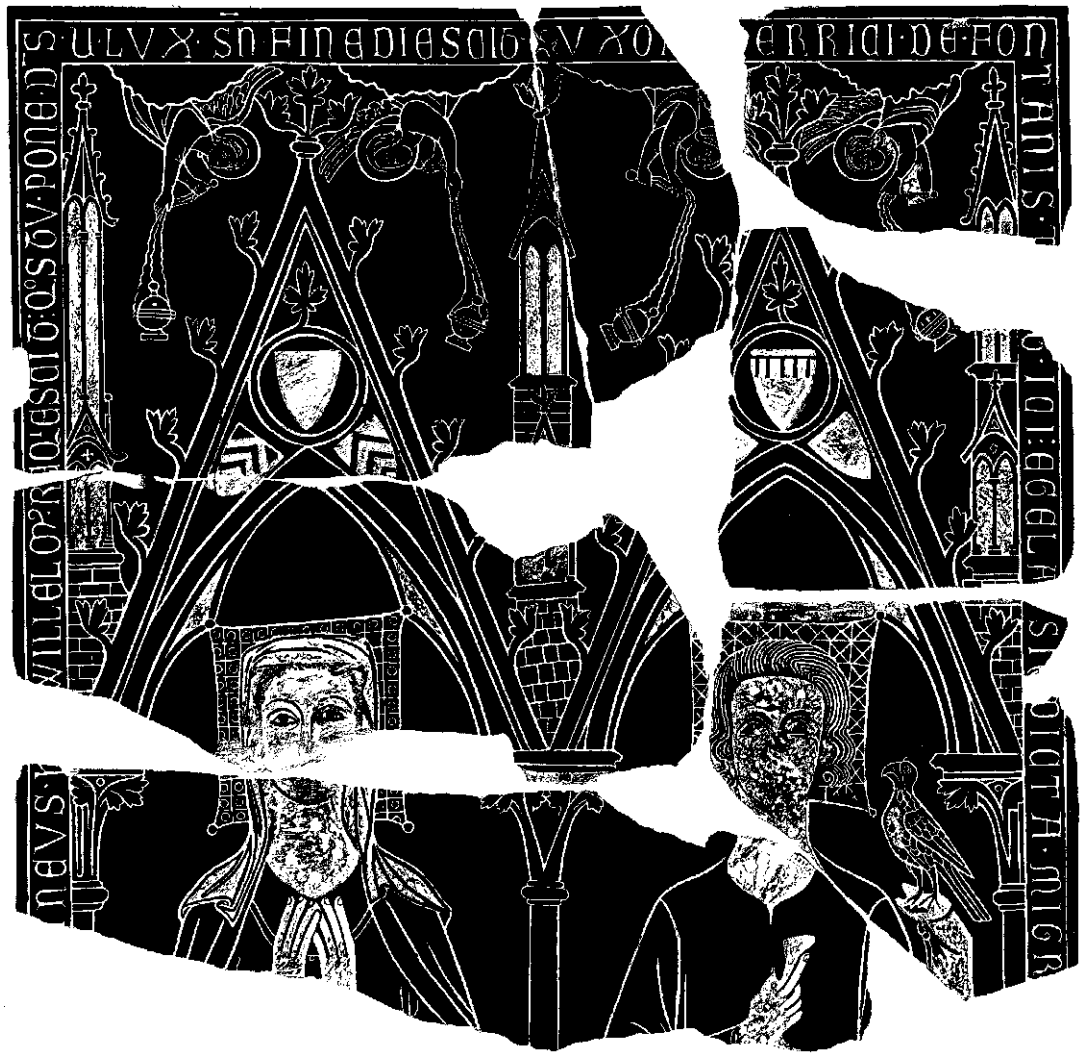

FIG. 12
Incised slab of Egela and Guillaume
Rubbing: H. Kockerols

Egela, which is probable, she became a widow after 1253, when Wéry des Fontaines is last mentioned. Two of her sons were adults in 1239, so Egela must have been born at the latest around 1200, and it would be difficult to place her death after 1280. Her grandson Godefroid, rector of the University of Paris, died in 1306 or 1307.[33] In records of other knights of the same name at the Dominicans in Liège, the identification of the deceased is confined to noting that they belong to a knightly family.

[33] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 247, 248.

The interest of this tomb slab lies in various peculiarities of iconography and composition, which are to be placed in the context of the evolution of Mosan funerary sculpture.

The first element which attracts the attention is that the slab is a double one, with two recumbent effigies housed in a double canopy. Until *c.* 1270 the incised slab is strictly individual; it is only concerned with one person, male or female. Slabs with two effigies first appear in the Mosan area in the 1270s: Willame and Ricarde, 1273, at Huy;[34] a lady and knight (mother and son?), 1277, at Seilles;[35] and Libert and Marie, 1283, at Liège.[36] An earlier one can be seen at Ghent, a father and daughter, dated 1271.[37]

Egela has her eyes wide open; her head is covered with a veil which falls on her shoulders, revealing a little of her hair. She wears over her robe, which leaves her neck bare, an open cloak, held in place by a cord. Her hands, of which the thumbs are supposed to be holding the cord of the cloak, are turned with the palms towards her breast, her long, tapering fingers slightly parted, in a gesture suggesting reflection and contemplation. Her head rests on a square cushion, ornamented by four tassels at the corners, with a pattern of small squares each containing a ring. Guillaume, his eyes open, has the face of a young man with amply curled hair. He wears a tunic open at the neck. In his right hand, before his breast, he holds an indistinct object, which could be the hood of the falcon he holds on his raised left hand.[38] The cushion under his head is similar to Egela's, but the squares are filled with saltires.

This iconography calls for two observations. Effigies sculpted in the round or in high relief are represented with the head supported by a cushion, as would be done for a dead person. Transposed into two dimensions on an incised slab, this arrangement does not have any sculptural reason, and so is often ignored. The motif of the cushion seen here is a rare exception at this date, which highlights the experimentation of representation in two dimensions, inspired by relief tombs.[39]

The gesture of the lay recumbent figure, practically fixed by 1300 in the attitude of prayer, with hands joined, is here presented in a variant form. Egela's gesture seems to reduce the contrast with Guillaume's pose, which is not one of prayer or recollection. Falconry was much valued by the nobility and writings on the subject were widespread. The young man is represented in the pride of life. One can see

[34] Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires - Huy*, no. 3.

[35] Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires - Namur*, no. 16.

[36] H. Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan - Arrondissement de Liège - Tombes et épitaphes 1000-1800* (Malonne, 2004), no. 52, with bibliography.

[37] Creeny, *Incised Slabs*, no. 17.

[38] [Or, by analogy with the lost slab of Jean de Sancerre, formerly at Barbeau, it could be a tidbit to feed to the hawk. *Ed.*]

[39] Another example is the slab of Nicolas des Armoises, 1303, at Séchaut (Ardennes, France). The design of the architectural frame shows clearly that it is an imitation of a tomb in high relief. For other examples of recumbent effigies with a cushion, see Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières', although it is not always possible to tell whether or not the tomb is in relief.

here an expression of fondness for the young man, perhaps deceased at an early age. Although falconry was widespread, its representation on an incised slab is rare.[40]

A third factor regarding the iconography concerns the heraldic decoration. The coat of arms is a non-religious motif, which appears as an outsider in the design of the incised slab. As long as heraldic motifs, indicating the lineage and status of the person, are confined to the shield or the surcoat, they do not play a part in the composition. Heraldry becomes involved in the development of iconographic compositions. Shields are placed first of all on either side of the head of the *gisant* or at the top of the composition, displacing angels. The place that the coat-of-arms occupies on the slab of Egela and Guillaume is, it would seem, unique in the Mosan region. It occupies a place of eminence in the gable rose. The fact that this position for the coat-of-arms was apparently not repeated gives the impression that it was considered improper and questionable.

These observations on the iconography shed a light on contemporary developments in funerary art, weaknesses according to Emile Mâle, who was of the opinion that all that did not correspond to a certain image of idealised piety robbed these monuments of greatness.[41]

Censing angels, emerging from clouds, complete the iconographic programme. They are placed in a standard framework: arches resting on columns, covered by gables and with tall pinnacles. In this instance the gables rest directly on the abacus of the capital, thereby necessitating enormous capitals to support the ensemble. The gables were set out before the arches, which, consequently, are not perfectly centred. Further details are worth noting. The cusps of the arch are drawn as though bumping into the corners of the cushions. In drawing the pinnacles, the designer allowed himself the fantasy of imagining three different pinnacles. The drawing of the base of the central pinnacle is evidently the result of a workshop error. Vine leaves, more schematically drawn than on Frédéric's slab, adorn the capitals, the gable slopes and the finials.

In the absence of a date in the inscription, it is the technique which allows one to propose a date for the work. The *champlevé* technique used above all for flesh, and also for the shields and tracery lights, is analogous to the *champlevé* in goldsmith's work. The surface between the lines of the design is hollowed out and then filled with coloured material. The cavities that can be seen here in the foreheads and necks of the figures were designed to ensure the good adherence of this coloured material. The use of this technique was of fairly short duration. The earliest examples preserved in the Mosan region are the slab of Gérard de Villers, 1273 (Fig. 9),[42] and a fragment of a slab, *c.* 1275-1285, at Huy[43]. Examples from the Scheldt

[40] A fine effigy of a youth with a falcon is that of Conte Chase-Conee, of Sienne Laviele, 1303, at Arpajon (Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, pl. 109a). Another slab, of a horseman with a falcon, is preserved at Saint-Memmie (Marne, France) (Creeny, *Incised Slabs*, no. 10). For two other lost slabs see Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières', nos. 153, 154.

[41] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration*, 5th edn (Paris, 1949), p. 405.

[42] See note 27.

[43] Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires - Huy*, no. 3, with bibliography.

region are some fifteen years earlier: the slab of an anonymous layman, 1258, at Arras,[44] and two slabs at Ghent, dating from 1271 and 1272.[45] The technique, which proved to be difficult and costly, was abandoned and replaced from around 1280 by that of white marble inlays for flesh, as can be seen in the slab of Gobert at Fosses-la-Ville.[46] Subsequently this technique will again be used, but only to enhance other motifs, such as the trimmings of sumptuous garments, as on the slab of Canon Jean Magnus, 1302, at Saint-Barthélemy, Liège.[47] If the slab of Egela and Guillaume is considered rightly as a work of above average quality, its design belongs more to the *avant-garde* of artistic development. Consequently its execution is no later than 1280, and should be placed in the period 1260-1280.

This study ends with a question. The second half of the thirteenth century sees the blossoming of a funerary art in the form of incised slabs both dependent on and independent of statuary, both in Tournai and the Scheldt basin and in the Meuse basin. Certain indications suggest that the influence of Tournai was the motor for the development of this art in the Mosan region; in other words, that the Mosan tomb-sculptors were trained in Tournai, and even that Tournai exported its craftsmen. The disappearance of the vast majority of works leaves us with few firm points for discussion. Are not the two incised slabs from Val-Saint-Lambert, which overturn our understanding of the period, evidence enough to reassess our viewpoint?

[44] *Monuments funéraires XIIe - XVIIIe siècle. Collection du Musée d'Arras*, exhibition catalogue, Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Arras (Arras, 1993), p. 14 (Inv. 879.5.1).

[45] Creeny, *Incised Slabs*, nos. 17, 18.

[46] Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires - Namur*, no. 17, with bibliography.

[47] Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires - Liège*, no. 36.

The Wool Merchants and their Brasses

by NIGEL SAUL

THE brasses of the wool merchants are among the most celebrated and distinctive of all surviving memorials to members of the medieval merchant class. About three dozen woolmen's brasses survive, the majority of them in Gloucestershire, the rest in Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire and the city churches of London. The brasses have long attracted attention for their rich display of merchants' marks and other insignia relating to the wool trade (Fig. 1). For all their undoubted importance, however, they have been accorded remarkably little scholarly attention as a group. The main reason for this is that the documentary sources for the wool merchant community are relatively few. Only one substantial archive has come down to us for a family involved in the trade, that of the Celys, although recently a smaller archive has been identified for a woolman of Upper Ditchford, Glos., Thomas Heritage.[1] By comparison with many of the nobility and gentry, the wool merchants remain a shadowy, almost an impenetrable, group. The

FIG. 1
John Fortey, woolman, d. 1458, Northleach, Glos.
detail of his feet resting on a sheep and a woolsack

[1] *The Cely Letters, 1472-1488*, ed. A. Hanham, Early English Text Society, 273 (London, 1975). The business archive of Thomas Heritage, in the Westminster Abbey Muniments, is currently being studied by Professor C. Dyer.

largest single body of source material for the reconstruction of their religious and social worlds is the corpus of wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Nearly two dozen wills for the woolmen and their wives have come down to us from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the absence of more intimate sources, it is from these documents that we must recover something of the networks and nexuses which provided the social context of commemoration. It is, of course, from the wills too that we learn something of the strategies for the afterlife of which the merchants' commemorative arrangements formed a part.

The brasses of the woolmen - the 'broggers', as they were known - have come down to us as the products of a particular set of historical circumstances. It is by no means coincidental that the series begins in or around the 1390s.[2] In the half-century before that a revolution had occurred in the trade which brought about the emergence of a class of native traders. The wool merchants were essentially middlemen.[3] Their business was to buy up the woolclip from the producers - chiefly the great monasteries and demesne lessees - and sell it on to the exporters or local clothiers. Before the late fourteenth century such an intermediate class had scarcely existed. The normal marketing arrangement had been for the great producers - in particular, the Cistercian abbeys - to buy up all the wool in their area (the *collecta*) and sell it to the exporters directly. These exporters were in most cases Italians, members of a trading community who had established an early dominance in the market through their sophisticated credit systems. After the 1350s, however, the Italians gradually withdrew, following a series of bankruptcies, paving the way for the emergence of the English merchant class. The rise of the native middlemen was greatly assisted by changes in the market for wool which took place at this time. Before the mid fourteenth century the bulk of the wool clip had been exported, principally to the manufacturing cities of Flanders and Italy. In 1336, however, Edward III had imposed a heavy tax on wool exports, the *maltolt*, which sharply increased the cost of the wool to foreigners, while giving their English rivals the opportunity to undercut them in price. More of the wool now stayed in England. On the supply, or grower, side there was also a major change. In the fifteenth century the class of wool growers rapidly expanded following the leasing of the demesnes and the entry of many small-scale producers into the market. The Cotswold wool merchants were accordingly called into existence as a group of intermediaries linking together the enlarged network of buyers and sellers. They bought from a diversified producer community and sold to customers who included both local clothiers and

[2] The three earliest extant woolmen's brasses are those of John Curteys (d. 1391) at Wymington, Beds., William Grevel (d. 1401) at Chipping Campden, Glos., and an unknown merchant, probably Thomas Adynet (d. 1409) at Northleach, Glos. On the last brass see S. Badham, 'Thomas Adynet and his Brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire', below, pp. 347-53.

[3] For the role of the woolmen and the historical background to the brasses, see E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941); and, in more detail, *eadem*, 'The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century', in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. E. Power and M.M. Postan (London, 1933), pp. 39-90; J.J. Simpson, 'The Wool Trade and Woolmen of Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, LIII (1931), pp. 65-97. T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977), is mainly concerned with the period before 1400.

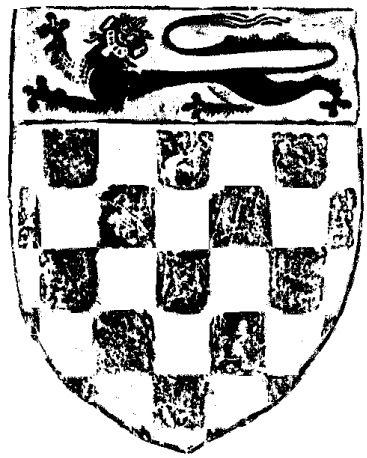

FIG.. 2
Arms of the Staple of Calais
from brass to John Feld, 1474, and son John, 1477, Standon, Herts.

exporters based in London. Among the latter group were to be numbered the Cely family, whose correspondence with their main Northleach supplier, William Midwinter, does so much to illuminate the working of the wool trade.

By the late fifteenth century the majority of those engaged in the wool trade were affiliated to the fellowship of exporters known as the Company of the Staple of Calais. The arms of the Staple are a familiar feature of many wool merchants' brasses. There are good examples at Thame, Witney, Standon (Fig. 2) and St Olave, Hart St., London. The Staple had been set up as a solution to the problem of how to organise the trade to secure the maximum financial advantage for the king. Within a few years of its imposition, the *maltolt*, Edward III's tax on wool exports, had established itself as a major constituent of English royal revenue. In a twelve-month period it raised nearly twice as much as a single levy of the fifteenths and tenths on moveable property, the other mainstay of royal revenue. Without the income from this source the king would have found it impossible to wage war in France on the scale that he did. The wool tax, however, was not only hugely lucrative; it carried another advantage: it could be used as security for the raising of loans. When a lender advanced money to the king, he could be assigned repayment out of receipts of the subsidy. If the export trade were to be used in this way, however, it had to be organised in such wise as to guarantee an uninterrupted flow of taxation. To this end, in 1363 a company of merchants was established at Calais, the Company of the Staple, to whose members the sole right of exporting the bulk of English wool was granted. The Company, which was initially of limited size, grew by the fifteenth century to be a powerful monopolistic enterprise of several hundred traders with responsibility not only for trade but for enforcement of the bullion regulations. The pride which the Staplers took in their membership of the Company is shown by their

enthusiasm for displaying its arms on their memorials. The Company's blazon, *Barry nebuly argent and azure on a chief gules a lion passant gardant or*, provided clear witness to the commemorated's standing in his mistery.

So strong is the link between the 'wool churches' and the woolmen's brasses in the popular imagination that it is easy to forget that many of the brasses are not those of woolmen at all; they are those of clothiers. In a big urban church like Cirencester, 'the cathedral of woolgothic'[4], the brasses of the woolmen are not uncommonly outnumbered by those of clothiers. Even at Northleach, essentially a rural collecting centre, there is a brass to a tailor, William Scors, and a dyer and merchant, John Fortey.[5] The activities of the more important woolmen were by no means confined to the gathering and selling of wool. Woolmen might trade as clothiers, drapers and dyers, just as clothiers might keep sheep for grazing. In those areas where the cloth industry flourished - notably in Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Devon in the south-west, and Norfolk and Suffolk in the east - brasses to clothiers survive in great number. Notable examples are found at Tiverton, Devon, Bradford on Avon, Wilts. (Fig. 3), Lavenham, Suffolk, and Coggeshall, Essex.

The rise of the rural cloth industry was closely related to the changing fortunes of the later medieval wool trade. In the thirteenth century cloth making had been concentrated largely in the big towns of eastern England - notably York, Beverley, Lincoln and Northampton. By the final decades of the century, however, this long-established industry was in decline. Competition from the larger-scale producers of Flanders was eating into markets, while pressure for higher wages from the weavers and other artisans had the effect of forcing up costs. The industry came close to collapse. Yet in the late middle ages it was to experience a remarkable revival. The main reason for this was the protection afforded to native producers by the wool tax, the *maltolt*. The imposition of this heavy tax sharply increased the cost of the raw wool to the Flemings and Italians, while at the same time allowing native producers, who paid tax at a lower rate, to undercut their rivals. At first, the English tended to specialise in the production of cheaper cloths, where they enjoyed a comparative price advantage; in the early fourteenth century, for example, a speciality was the production of uniforms for the English armies in Scotland. In later years they began to diversify, producing higher-quality cloths, which challenged the Flemings in markets which they had traditionally dominated. The geographical distribution of the later medieval cloth trade was very different from that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Whereas earlier the trade had been concentrated in the towns, now it was found predominantly in rural or semi-rural locations such as the Stroudwater valley in Gloucestershire and Bradford on Avon and Castle Combe in Wiltshire. It has been argued that the move to the countryside was prompted by a

[4] The phrase of Simon Jenkins, *England's Thousand Best Churches* (London, 1999), p. 209.

[5] Power, 'Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century', p. 53. On his brass Scors has scissors at his feet. He is described as a draper in 1418 (BL, Add. Ch. 40004).

FIG.. 3
Thomas Horton, Bradford upon Avon, Wilts.

desire to use fast-flowing country streams to drive fulling mills. But it is doubtful if this was the case. Equally, if not more, important to the clothiers was the opportunity afforded to cut labour costs. In the old-established towns the power of the artisan guilds made cost cutting very difficult; in the countryside, however, some of the manufacturing processes, those of fulling and carding for example, could be farmed out to part-time female workers, who could be paid less. The prosperous clothiers who are famous to us from their brasses - men like Thomas Horton at Bradford on Avon and Thomas and John Paycocke at Coggeshall - were the great entrepreneurs of the trade. Thomas Horton, whose brass at Bradford includes his merchant's mark, was a largely self-made man. The younger son of John Horton, a minor clothier of Lullington, Somerset, he built up a substantial business in and around Bradford. By the end of his life he owned property at Rode, North Bradley, Trowbridge, Tilshead and Chippenham, all in north Wiltshire.[6] Leland tells us that

6 The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/23, ff. 155v-156.

he built a 'very fair house' on the north-east side of Bradford churchyard. He also owned country manor houses outside Bradford at Westwood and Iford. It was at Westwood that he made his will on 14 August 1530.[7]

The rich material prosperity of late medieval England owed much to the boom in the wool and cloth trades. The splendour of the wool churches of Northleach, Cirencester and Chipping Campden provides ample witness to that. The profits of the trade, however, were not equally distributed. There were wide variations in the quality of wool on the backs of England's sheep, variations reflected in their value. Two price lists for wool have survived from the second half of the fifteenth century. The earlier of the two is contained in a schedule attached to a parliamentary petition of 1454. This shows that the most valuable wool was that of the Welsh Marches and the Leominster area. Highly esteemed for its fineness, this was priced at 14 marks per sack. Of comparable quality was Cotswold wool, which came next, valued at 12½ marks: 'Cotswold' in this sense described a type of wool, not merely a geographical area. There was a considerable gulf between these wools, which stood in a class of their own, and a group of others clustered together in price. High Lindsey wool from Lincolnshire was valued at 8½ marks, Low Lindsey, young Cotswold, and Herefordshire apart from Leominster at 8 marks; and Cley, Newark, Lindsey marsh, Holland and Banstead all at 7 marks. Thirty other lesser grades, including those of Middlesex, Yorkshire, Kent and Sussex, rounded off the list at prices between 4½ marks and £2. 10s. 0d. The second schedule - from later in the fifteenth century - broadly confirms the evidence of the first. The most highly esteemed wool was again that of the Welsh Marches, valued here at 20 marks per sack. Cotswold fine closely followed at 18 marks. Then came the fleeces of Lindsey and Berkshire at 16½ marks, Norfolk at 11½ marks, and at the bottom Yorkshire at 10½ marks. Given the high regard in which the wool of the Welsh Marches was held, it is perhaps surprising that no woolmen's brasses are to be found in the churches of that area. There can be little doubt of the prosperity of the leading Shropshire March town, Ludlow: it is well attested by the size and splendour of its parish church. Yet neither at Ludlow nor elsewhere in Shropshire or Herefordshire are there any woolmen's brasses. It is at least possible that such brasses once existed but have since been lost; there is no indication, however, of the existence of any in the antiquarian sources.[8] It could perhaps have been the case that the woolmen were commemorated by some other kind of memorial - perhaps by incised slabs (common in the west Midlands), which are less durable than brasses. The most likely explanation, however, is a quite different one; it is to be found in the local marketing arrangements. The bulk of the Marcher clip came from the backs of sheep on the

[7] For Thomas Horton, see E. Kite, *The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (London, 1860; repr. Bath, 1969), pp. 51-3; D. Sutton, *Westwood Manor, Wiltshire* (London, 1986), pp. 11-13.

[8] Until the eighteenth century there was a brass in St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, to Thomas Pontisbury (d. 1514), a burgess of the town, on which he was referred to as a merchant of the Staple of Calais (M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in Shropshire', *Archaeological Jnl*, LII (1895), p. 82. Not all Staplers, however, were wool merchants.

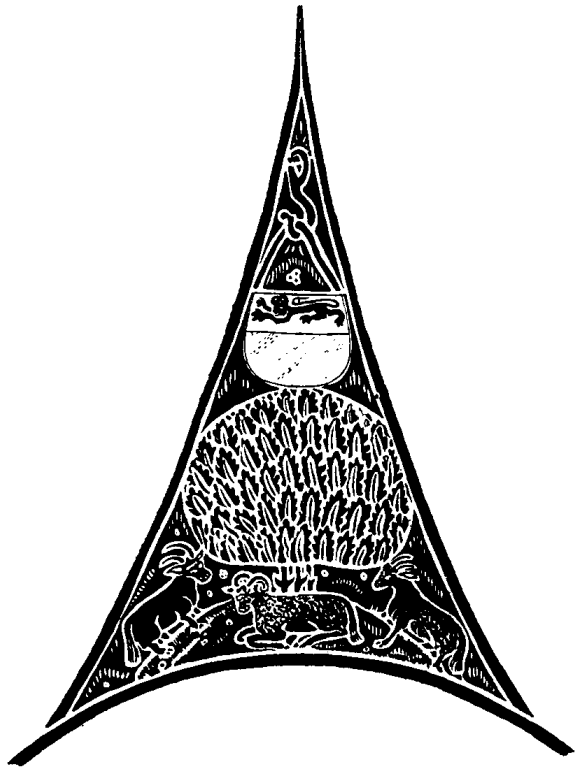

FIG.. 4
Three sheep beneath a bush, with the arms of the Staple of Calais above,
from the brass of Thomas Bush, d. 1525, Northleach, Glos.

estates of the great magnates. It is likely that such wool was sold directly either to foreigners or to merchants in London.[9] Local traders such as dyers and tailors may have had a sideline in sheep grazing and wool buying, as they did in Gloucestershire. However, they did not make it the main focus of their interests. In the late thirteenth century there was one outstanding woolman in the area: Laurence de Ludlow, the builder of Stokesay castle, who advised Edward I on the financing of his French war.[10] But a sharply defined class of middlemen probably never came into existence in the way that it did further south.

A notable feature of the wool merchants' brasses is their remarkable coherence as a group. For nearly a century and a half they exhibited broadly the same character. To state the most obvious point - they are, indeed, brasses; few sculpted memorials are found, the main exception being William de la Pole's reputed

[9] Thus in the 1370s Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, one of the richest Marcher landowners, disposed of his clip to the wealthy London merchant John Philpot (C. Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and Credit, Public and Private: the Earls of Arundel, 1306-1397', *English Historical Review*, CVI (1991), p. 19).

[10] Laurence met his death at sea, appropriately in a ship laden with wool, and is commemorated by no known monument.

monument in Holy Trinity, Hull, consisting of alabaster effigies on a chest. The merchants whom they commemorate are almost always shown in civilian attire, the only exception being John Tame of Fairford, who is shown in armour.[11] A particular delight is taken in the display of imagery relating to the wool trade: sheep, wool sacks and tools. On virtually all the brasses the inclusion of merchants' marks is *de rigueur*; while on the epitaphs great care is taken to include details of trade and occupation as evidence of status. Together, the brasses make a remarkably homogeneous and self-conscious group of memorials. In the case of no other occupational grouping do we find so distinctive a commemorative profile.

A further observation can be made in this connection. It is striking that nearly all of the woolmen's brasses are products of the big London workshops. The great majority of them belong to the three main series of 'B', 'D' and 'F'. The woolmen's patronage evidently had no effect in stimulating local production in any of the wool growing or cloth making areas. This lack of any local impact is not altogether surprising. The woolmen's links were principally with exporters based in the capital. As we know, William Midwinter of Northleach dealt with the Celys, whose business was based in Mark Lane, near the Tower.[12] By the fifteenth century, London had established itself as England's leading commercial centre and it was by far the most important port for the export of wool to Calais. Since the woolmen dealt with London businessmen, it is only to be expected that they would turn to London engravers for their brasses. It is for this reason that the strength of demand for brasses in Gloucestershire never led to the establishment of a brass producing workshop in, say, Bristol. The Cotswold woolmen did remarkably little of their business through the port of Bristol. It is true that the Stroudwater clothiers engaged in considerable trading activity in the town, in particular in the importing of dyestuffs. But the clothiers' links, like those of the woolmen, were principally with the capital. In ordering their memorials they followed the initiative of their associates and kinsfolk, who placed orders with engravers in London.

There was another reason for the homogeneity of taste in memorials. In the areas where they resided in greatest number the woolmen formed a remarkably closely knit community. The great majority of the leading Cotswold woolmen were very well known to one another. They were linked by business ties, some, indeed, having started their careers as the partners or apprentices of others; they intermarried, and they served one another in the office of feoffee or executor. The range of connections can be illustrated by examples taken from the families commemorated by brasses in the Cotswolds. At Northleach the Midwinters were related by marriage to their neighbours, the Bushes. Alice, John Bush's widow, married William Midwinter, the Celys' supplier; and surviving them both, she named her son Thomas Bush (d. 1526) as executor of her will. The Bushes in their turn were related to the Wenmans of

[11] For Tame, see below, pp. 330-2.

[12] A. Hanham, *The Celys and their World: An English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 8, 317.

FIG.. 5
Richard Wenman and two wives, 1500, Witney, Oxon.

Witney, Oxon. Alice's daughter Agnes married Richard Wenman, a woolman and clothier, who is commemorated by a brass in Witney church (Fig. 5).[13] The wool merchant community, moreover, was widely ramified. A number of the leading families established more than one branch. The Fortey family, for example, ran businesses in both Cirencester and Northleach. The senior branch was based in Cirencester, where they were dyers, while in the fifteenth century a junior branch was established at Northleach. John Fortey of Northleach (d. 1458) became a leading figure in his adopted village, where he rebuilt the nave of the church; yet he never forgot his Cirencester kin, naming one of them, a namesake John, as an executor.[14] Over in the eastern Cotswolds there were likewise two branches of the Hickman family. Robert Hickman (d. 1519) was based at Lechlade, while Walter (d. 1521), probably his younger brother, lived at nearby Kempsford. The Hickmans had ties of association with the Tames of Fairford, a few miles from Lechlade. Robert Hickman began his career as John Tame's apprentice and was later to serve as his executor, while Edmund Tame served as Walter Hickman's overseer.[15] Further west, there was a rich network of ties linking the Cirencester woolmen and clothiers and their counterparts of the industrial Stroudwater valley. John Benet, a Cirencester dyer who died in 1497, left a bequest to Edward Haliday of Minchinhampton, a cloth-making town close to Bisley where he held lands.[16] Benet and Haliday are both commemorated by brasses, the former at Cirencester, the latter at Minchinhampton.

The evidence of wills gives the impression of a community which, despite its involvement in long-distance trade, was remarkably localised in character. The leading families were all related to one another. When they established junior branches it was generally in villages in their own neighbourhoods; and when they invested in land it was in settlements close to their main centre of operations. If the point can be raised in objection that this picture is derived largely from evidence from the central Cotswolds, it is nevertheless one which finds support further north. One of the leading woolmen of Chipping Campden was William Gibbes, who is commemorated by a brass there. For two generations the interests of the Gibbes family were concentrated almost entirely in villages around Chipping Campden. William himself (d. 1484) held property at Hidcote, Honington and Bircote, his father, Thomas, at Mickleton and his son, another Thomas, at Honington again.[17] There is little indication that close relations existed between the Campden men and the merchants further south.[18]

[13] For these connections see Alice's will (PRO, PROB 11/13, f. 229) and Thomas Bush's (PRO, PROB 11/21, ff. 303- 303v).

[14] PRO, PROB 11/4, ff. 182-182v.

[15] PRO, PROB 11/19, f. 185; PROB 11/ 20, f. 155v; *Life, Death and Art. The Medieval Stained Glass of Fairford Parish Church*, ed. S. Brown and L. MacDonald (Stroud, 1997), p. 137.

[16] PRO, PROB 11/11, ff. 90-90v.

[17] *The Register of the Gild of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist of Stratford-upon-Avon*, ed. J.H. Bloom (London, 1907), pp. 96, 135, 141, 156.

[18] But one Richard Midwinter, presumably a member of the Northleach family of that name, was settled at Chipping Campden in the 1460s. He was a member of the Holy Cross Guild at Stratford on Avon (*Register of the Gild of the Holy Cross*, p. 138).

FIG.. 6
John Lyndewode, 1419, and wife Alice, Linwood, Lincs.

Most woolmen probably ran small- to medium-sized businesses; it is the elite who are commemorated by the brasses. In every generation, however, there were always one or two woolmen whose activities far exceeded those of their peers in scale, and whose memorials consequently were altogether grander in conception. In Lincolnshire in the early fifteenth century the dominant figure in the trade was the Lindsey merchant, John Lyndewode of Linwood. John's brass in Linwood church is one of the grandest to a wool merchant anywhere in England (Fig. 6). It shows him and his wife under a soaring canopy and super canopy with a row of children in an arcaded base beneath; John's feet, predictably, rest on a woolsack. John is revealed in his lengthy will to have been an extremely wealthy man.[19] He set aside the enormous sum of £400 to pay for intercessory prayers for his soul. Moreover, he made generous provision for his family: he left no less than £300 to his wife, £200 to his two sons, and £100 to his daughter. The evidence of his will suggests that his business empire was extensive. In a revealing bequest he left £10 to be distributed between the churches of the thirty parishes where he bought wool.[20] On his death in 1420 management of the business was taken over by his son John, whose brass rests beside his.[21] This John's feet too are shown resting on a woolsack. It is likely that both brasses were commissioned in the 1420s by the elder John's son William, the distinguished canonist, who is shown in the row of children in his father's arcaded base.[22] The elaborate inscriptions, which are one of the most notable features of the memorials, were probably composed by him. The influence of William as client and executor, however, has to be weighed against that of the two subjects themselves. It is the identity of these men as wool merchants which makes the most forceful impression on the viewer. If, as seems likely, William ordered the brasses, he took full account of how his father and brother would have wished to be remembered.

A figure of still greater importance, active in the previous generation, was William Grevel of Chipping Campden (Fig. 7). Not for nothing was Grevel referred to on his brass as 'the flower of the wool merchants of all England'. His house, which survives in Campden High Street, has the airs and graces of a gentleman's residence. Grevel was sprung from a family of Campden husbandmen and graziers. His father, Richard Grevel, had probably engaged in the wool trade in a modest way.[23] William's own activities were to make him by far the most successful Gloucestershire merchant of his generation. He specialised in buying up the clips from the neighbouring estates of the bishop of Worcester and the earl of Warwick. The

[19] *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1938-1947), II, pp. 183-6.

[20] By comparison, Alice, William Midwinter's widow, and her husband's successor in the business, when making a similar bequest, left money to ten parishes where she was accustomed to buy wool (PRO, PROB 11/13, f. 229).

[21] John is usually said to have died in 1419. Since the medieval year began and ended in March, however, and he died in either January or February, the year should actually be 1420 (*Register of Henry Chichele*, II, p. 662). His son died in 1421; for his will, see PRO, PROB 11/2B, f. 413v).

[22] For William, see A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 379-81. He was bishop of St David's from 1442 to his death four years later. The brasses are both of London style 'D'.

[23] For the family background, see C. Whitfield, *A History of Chipping Campden* (Windsor, 1958), pp. 52-3.

FIG.. 7
William Grevel, 1401, and wife Marion, Chipping Campden, Glos.

accounts of these landowners allow us occasionally to glimpse him engaged in his business.[24] In 1384 he paid £133 for fourteen and a half sacks of wool from the bishop of Worcester's manor of Blockley. In 1389 he paid the bishop almost exactly the same sum for that year's clip from the manor; on this occasion he acted with a partner, Francis Ion', probably an Italian. In the 1390s he is found buying from the earl of Warwick. In 1397 he paid £143 for the clip of some 4,000 sheep, which filled some 15 or 16 sacks. For the most part, he disposed of the wool to the Italian family of Cambini, who bought for the cloth manufacturers of Tuscany. The Cambini regarded Grevel as the most important woolman in the Cotswolds. In a letter to Francesco Datini in 1402, a year after Grevel's death, one of the Cambini, commenting on recent sheep murrain in the Cotswolds, remarked that in times past Grevel alone had disposed annually of some 300 sacks.[25]

Grevel's brass is conceived on an appropriately ambitious scale for a man of such wealth and standing. Nine feet long and with near life-size figures, it shows the deceased and his first wife under double canopies with a panelled base and an epitaph surrounding the whole. Although the brass was commissioned by Grevel's executors - his date of death is given on the epitaph - the engravers probably followed specifications which he had laid down in advance. One very unusual feature points to this. In design terms, the brass is conceived as two single-canopied brasses merged together. Separating the two figures is a tall shaft reaching up to the canopy which confines each of the commemorated in his or her own space. Normally there is no architectural feature separating the figures; in some cases, indeed, the figures are shown holding hands. Here the aesthetic effect is to give each of the two commemorated his or her own individual memorial. This is an effect reinforced by the highly distinctive structure of the epitaph. Unusually for a double brass, this is composed of two separate epitaphs - one for William, flanking his figure, the other for Marion, flanking hers, and each beginning 'Hic iacet'. If the brass was actually engraved after Grevel's death, it probably embodies ideas which originated with the living Grevel himself. It is not inconceivable, indeed, that a draft contract had been prepared in advance. John Smith, a Coventry lawyer, was to draw up such a draft contract a century later: in his will he referred to an indenture for a monument which had 'not yet been sealed'.[26] If Grevel had done much the same, he may have been spurred to this action by the death of his wife Marion in 1386. Highly suggestive in this connection is the desire to accord Marion her own independent identity.

Grevel's brass is also remarkable for the light which it sheds on his aspirations and self-image. Particularly noteworthy is the emphasis placed on his distinction as a merchant. While no woolsack is positioned beneath his feet, his merchant's mark is displayed prominently in the two canopy pediments. At the same time, on the

[24] E.B. Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 92-4.

[25] Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords*, p. 94. Another Cotswold woolman who is known to have sold to Italian dealers is Thomas Adynet, probably the man commemorated by the brass of *c.* 1409 at Northleach (Archivio di Stato di Firenze (Prato), 664/308922, a letter of 20 September 1402 (I am grateful to Helen Bradley for this reference)).

[26] PRO, PROB 11/13, f. 47v.

surrounding epitaph there is the famous boast, already noted, that he was 'the flower of the wool merchants of all England'. Grevel's status and importance are also attested by mention of his citizenship of the city of London - a relative rarity on a brass of this date. Yet alongside these tokens of trading pride there is also evidence that Grevel was not entirely content with his identity as a woolman and merchant; he had higher social ambitions. Along the top is a row of shields which attests his entry into the ranks of the armigerous. Grevel's arms, *Sable on a cross engrailed or five pellets within a bordure engrailed, a mullet in the dexter quarter for difference*, are those which were to be borne by his descendants as earls of Warwick. Grevel had been active from the 1380s in establishing himself as a landed proprietor. In 1385 he acquired the manor of Lasborough, near Stow on the Wold and, in the next decade, those of Meon, near Campden, and Milcote, near Stratford-on-Avon.[27] By the time of his death in 1401 he held a string of manors, smaller estates and parcels of land in Gloucestershire and neighbouring counties.[28] Grevel's brass captures him at the moment of making the transition from trader to country gentleman. In its display of imagery are included both the merchant's mark, his symbol as a woolman, and his coat of arms, the mark of gentility. In this respect, the brass is closely paralleled by that of a near contemporary, John Curteys at Wymington, Beds. Curteys was another wealthy merchant who had made the transition from trade to landed proprietorship.[29] On his brass, too, a merchant's mark and a coat of arms are displayed side by side.

In Grevel's case the appetite for social advance probably owed something to a good second marriage. After Marion's death in 1386 he wedded Joan, daughter of the wealthy mercenary knight Sir John Thornbury.[30] This somewhat unlikely alliance seems to have had its origins in Grevel's commercial interests in Italy, where Thornbury had fought in the papal wars of the 1370s. Joan's roots lay in the country gentry, the Thornburys being landholders in east Hertfordshire.[31] Grevel probably aspired to membership of the elite social world into which his wife had been born.

Yet, despite this, the main spur to his personal and family ambition was probably another factor - his success as a dynast. Grevel is known to have sired no fewer than six sons, all, or nearly all, of whom survived to adulthood or near adulthood. He made landed provision for at least four of them: Lewis, the eldest, was assigned the largest portion of the estate, the remaining lands being divided mainly between John, who acted as one of his father's executors, and

[27] *History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols. (Stroud, 1992), III, p. 240.

[28] *Ibid.*; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, XVIII, 1-6 Henry IV (1399-1405)*, ed. J.L. Kirby (London, 1987), no. 621.

[29] Curteys came from Higham Ferrers, Northants. He made a fortune in London and in his later years returned to the Midlands to settle at Wymington, Beds., near the Northamptonshire border (*A Calendar of the Cartularies of John Pyel and Adam Fraunceys*, ed. S.J. O'Connor, Camden Society, 5th series, 2 (London, 1993), pp. 6n, 143). On his brass he is described as a Stapler (W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), p. 103).

[30] *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, III, p. 240; IV, pp. 591-2.

[31] They held the manor of Little Munden. Joan's parents are commemorated by a tomb there with a display of heraldry on the sides.

William.[32] It was unusual for a family of wool merchants successfully to establish themselves as a gentry lineage. It is true that a number of them invested in land, usually in the immediate neighbourhood of their home town: John Benet of Cirencester had lands in villages to the west of Cirencester; Thomas Bush of Northleach exceptionally acquired estates as far afield as Oxfordshire and Wiltshire.[33] The estates which these men built up, however, rarely remained in the families' hands for very long. The main problem, as with the burgess elites, was the high rate of extinction in the male line. In the 1480s William Caxton declared that, in the capital, families rarely maintained a position in the merchant elite for as many as three generations.[34] Sylvia Thrupp has shown that for many London aldermanic families a figure of two generations would be more accurate.[35] In London society for much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries parents were rarely left with more than two heirs in the direct male line. In the countryside the position was probably little different.[36] If a merchant lineage did succeed in establishing itself among the gentry, it would probably be a matter of only two or three generations before a daughter carried the inheritance into other hands. The grim reality of genetic failure claimed a heavy toll.

Among the small number of families which succeeded in following the Grevels into the gentry were some commemorated by brasses: the Dormers of Thame, the Wenmans of Witney, and the Tames of Fairford. The most famous of these, and certainly the most significant for its artistic legacy, are the Tames.[37] John Tame, who died in 1500, is celebrated as the builder of Fairford church. His memorial brass lies on a tomb in the honorific position to the north of the high altar at Fairford. Remarkably, it shows him in armour, the attire of a country gentleman. The mode of representation is unique for a woolman still engaged in the trade at the time of his death. In the circumstances, however, the seemingly presumptuous choice was not altogether inappropriate. Tame, like Grevel, had succeeded in establishing himself and his family in the ranks of the country gentry. In origin, the Tames were a family of fairly undistinguished background. John senior, the Fairford man's father, had been a husbandman and grazier at Stowell, to the south of Northleach.[38] John himself moved, perhaps in the 1450s, to Cirencester, where he built up a successful business in wool and cloth. By 1461 he had acquired sufficient of a fortune to win

[32] *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, III, p. 240. Lewis eventually settled at Drayton, Oxon., where he is commemorated by an incised slab.

[33] PRO, PROB 11/ 11, f. 90-90v; PROB 11/21, ff. 303-303v. Thomas Adynet of Northleach had lands at Dowdeswell, Pegglesworth, Notgrove,Whittington, Guiting and Chedworth, all on the Cotswold plateau (Lambeth Palace Library, Register of Archbishop Arundel (hereafter Lambeth, Reg. Arundel), II, f. 37v; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1389-92*, pp. 357-8.

[34] S. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Chicago, 1948), p. 191.

[35] *Ibid*., pp. 199-200. For mercantile replacement rates more generally, see C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976), p. 99.

[36] One example is striking. It is clear from his will that Thomas Adynet, the leading figure in Northleach *c.* 1400, died without issue: no sons or daughters are mentioned, and the main legatee is his widow Agnes. The only other relative mentioned is one William Packer of London, called 'my relative' (*meo cognato*) (Lambeth, Reg. Arundel, II, ff. 37v-38).

[37] But the Tames only survived as gentry for three generations.

[38] For what is known of Tame's career, see S. Annesley, 'Fairford and the Golden Fleece', in *Life, Death and Art*, ed. Brown and MacDonald, pp. 13-29.

the hand in marriage of Alice Twynihoe, a member of a local legal family. In the 1470s, for reasons not altogether clear, he then transferred his interests from Cirencester to Fairford. In 1479, in partnership with his father-in-law, he took a lease on the demesne lands at Fairford, a manor in the temporary custody of the Crown.[39] In the absence of a resident manorial lord, he acted in many ways as if he were lord himself. In the years that followed he acquired estates in Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and as far afield as Kent. His entry into the ranks of the gentry found recognition in his appointment as a justice of the peace in Gloucestershire in 1486.[40] If any wool or cloth merchant merited representation on his tomb in armour, it was he.[41] In the next generation his son went one step further. In the two brasses which he commissioned for himself in the Fairford Lady Chapel, he had himself and his two wives all represented in heraldic costume.

The grandest and most visible monument to John's proprietorship in Fairford is the church, which he embarked on rebuilding towards the end of his life. Since no documentary evidence relating to the fabric has survived, it is difficult to date the construction programme with any precision. Leland, generally a reliable witness, reported that John 'began the fair new church', and a building campaign in John's later years would be consistent with stylistic features linking the structure with Oxford buildings of that time.[42] In the early sixteenth century John's son embarked on a second campaign, which gave the church its liturgical fittings and the magnificent stained glass windows for which it is famous. The church offers powerful evidence both of John's sense of place and the pride which he felt in his social position. A notable feature of the exterior of the tower is the elaborate programme of secular sculpture which adorns it. There are emblems of the wool and cloth trades - scissors, gloves, shears and other tools - and, mixed in with them, a series of shields bearing the arms of successive lords of the manor: the de Clares, Despensers, Nevilles - and, lastly, the Tames. Anna Eavis has suggested that the sculptural scheme was commissioned by Sir Edmund as a tribute to his father and in an attempt to associate the Tames with the earlier lordships. The elder Tame would undoubtedly have approved of his son's gesture. For all his responsibility for reconstructing the church, his priorities seem to have been largely secular. Certainly, in his will there is no evidence that he was a man of any great piety.[43] He set aside the sum of £240 for the establishment of a chantry - given his money-making, perhaps, a necessary insurance for his soul. Most of his other pious bequests consisted of vestments and liturgical equipment for use in the church. He showed little or no interest in the cult of the saints; nor, besides the bequest of a single missal to the church, did he afford any indication of a taste for reading. Given what his will

[39] *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1471-85*, pp. 157-8.
[40] *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1485-94*, p. 487; *1494-1509*, p. 640.
[41] Note the presence on his tomb of shields of arms, not merchants' marks.
[42] *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L.T. Smith, 5 vols., repr. London, 1906-10, repr. 1964), I, p. 127. A. Eavis, 'The Church', in *Life, Death and Art*, ed.Brown and MacDonald, pp. 30-48.
[43] Tame's will is printed in *Life, Death and Art*, ed. Brown and MacDonald, Appendix 1.

tells us about him, it is entirely understandable that he should have made no provision for the inclusion of religious imagery on his tomb. John's cultural world seems to have been lacking in manifestations of the more refined spirituality of the age. When he rebuilt Fairford church, it was principally out of a desire to leave a physical witness to his standing in the world. It would be wrong to deny that religious influences were mixed in his mind with secular; but it is surely the secular influences which were uppermost.

The apparent absence of profundity in Tame's religious personality is paralleled in the outward piety of other members of the wool merchant community. Only rarely in the woolmen's wills do we find any evidence of a sensibility influenced by the most active or critical beliefs of the age. Hardly ever do we come across a bequest which suggests an inclination by the testator to reflect or turn inwards.[44] The great majority of the arrangements which the woolmen made in their wills are utterly conventional. Almost without exception they provided in routine ways for intercessory prayers for their souls. For example, Robert Hickman (d. 1519), a wealthy Lechlade woolman, made provision for a priest to say Masses for his and his wife's souls for seven years after his death, assigning £6 yearly for the clerk's stipend.[45] Where appropriate, money was set aside for building funds, usually for parish churches: William Grevel left £100 for the fabric fund of Chipping Campden church and John Fortey £300 for that at Northleach.[46] In a few cases, provision was made for educational endowment: John Fortey provided for a local youth, Richard Skarvell, to study at Oxford under the supervision of one Henry Barefoot.[47] One or two testators made provision for good works: Robert Page (d. 1440) of Cirencester provided for the repair of the road at Eaton, near Cricklade, of which he presumably had unhappy memories.[48] These matter-of-fact provisions represent the practical testamentary responses of practical men. More remarkable are the conspicuous silences of the wills. Hardly ever do we find any bequests made to the mendicant orders - not even by merchants whose interests extended far beyond their own local areas.[49] Only rarely are books mentioned in the wills: on just one occasion was a book the subject of a testamentary bequest.[50] Most conspicuously of all, and in

[44] Some two dozen wills if the wills of a few wives are included too.

[45] PRO, PROB 11/19, ff. 185.

[46] Lambeth, Reg. Arundel, I, f. 183; PROB 11/4, f. 182. It is no longer believed that Grevel's bequest paid for the building of the present Campden church, which dates from sixty or seventy years after his time. In 1503 Alice, widow of William Midwinter, left £10 to 'the Wardens of the work and reparacions of the parisshe church of Northlecche', presumably for completion of the present fabric (PRO, PROB 11/13, f. 229). Thomas Adynet, a wealthy man, left the meagre sum of 40s. for the roofing of Northleach church (Lambeth, Reg. Arundel, II, ff. 37v-38).

[47] PRO, PROB 11/4, ff. 182r-183v.

[48] PRO, PROB 11/3, f. 215v. His work in repairing roads was also recorded on the inscription of his brass (the inscription is now lost, but see C.T. Davis, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 1899; repr. Bath, 1969), p. 40). Good works of this sort are also recorded on the inscription to Thomas Fortey and William Scors at Northleach.

[49] A notable exception was John Fortey, a man with wide connections, who left 20s. to each of the four orders of friars in Gloucester (PRO, PROB 11/4, ff. 182-183v). Bequest to the monks are equally rare. This is perhaps not surprising in Cirencester, where relations between the abbey and the townsmen were sometimes tense. Thomas Adynet, the wealthiest man in Northleach at the beginning of the century, left £10 to Tewkesbury Abbey (Lambeth, Reg. Arundel, II, f. 38).

[50] The missal in the will of John Tame.

contrast to the practice of the gentry, the woolmen hardly ever provided for the establishment of perpetual chantries.[51] There may well be a perfectly simple explanation for this last phenomenon, which finds a parallel in wills of the burgess class.[52] In a substantial urban church such as Cirencester it was usual for the merchant community to make intercessory provision collectively through guilds. At Cirencester itself the mighty nave is surrounded by a constellation of chapels of the town's guilds or fraternities. Whether or not collective provision was made in the churches of more rural centres such as Northleach is by no means clear; it is possible, however, that it was not. There are admittedly dangers in drawing too many hard-and-fast conclusions from the testamentary evidence. Wills give only a very incomplete picture of testators' piety. As Clive Burgess has reminded us, they rarely afford insight into the religious provision which testators had made in their lifetimes.[53] Nonetheless, when, as in this case, we have the evidence of some two dozen wills, it is difficult not to avoid the obvious conclusion: that the woolmen were not naturally given to expressions of deep spirituality.

The conclusion is one which finds support in the evidence of their memorials. As the evidence of the Gloucestershire 'County Series' volume shows, on virtually all the 'wool' brasses religious imagery takes second place to the imagery of the wool trade.[54] It is true that religious imagery is not entirely absent. At Northleach, for example, John Fortey's brass exhibits some highly unusual imagery: breaking the long sides of the epitaph is a series of ivy medallions, each with seven leaves and seven bunches of fruit - a clear reference to the Apocalypse, which is always associated with the number seven.[55] The involvement of John's associate, Henry Barefoot, at Oxford may well provide an explanation for this singular feature. On all the other Northleach brasses such religious imagery as finds a place is entirely conventional.[56] On all but two of the series there are the standard evangelistic symbols at the corners. On most of the later brasses there are either speech scrolls or mottoes with the words 'Jesus mercy, Lady help'. The pattern that is visible on the Northleach brasses is equally noticeable on the brasses of the other wool churches. At Cirencester, on only two of the nearly two dozen brasses is religious imagery accorded any prominence. In each case, the imagery, on two kneeling compositions of *c.* 1500, is of the lily pot, associated with scenes of the Annunciation.[57] At

[51] The main exception is Thomas Horton (d. 1530), the Bradford on Avon clothier, whose brass survives. For his chantry in Bradford church, see Kite, *Wiltshire*, p. 52.

[52] At Hull, for example (P. Heath, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R.B. Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 209-229).

[53] C. Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-30. The point which Burgess makes is applicable particularly in the case of William Grevel, whose will is singularly brief and uninformative for so wealthy a man.

[54] W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), *passim*.

[55] R.K. Morris, *Brass Rubbings: Catalogue for an Exhibition*, Maltwood Museum of Historic Art, University of Victoria (Victoria, B.C., 1970), p. 22.

[56] The Northleach brasses are all illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*.

[57] Cirencester V, XIV (Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*, pp. 132, 140).

Lechlade and Kempsford, to the east of Cirencester, are two early sixteenth-century brasses on which the Tau cross appears; these memorials, however, both to members of the Hickman family, may be the products of a single commission.[58] On the four 'wool' brasses at Chipping Campden, a less ornate group than their counterparts at Northleach, there is no religious imagery at all. We have to go outside Gloucestershire, to neighbouring Oxfordshire, to find a Trinity on a 'wool' brass, that of Richard Wenman and his wives, *c.* 1500, at Witney (Fig. 5).

The striking absence from the 'wool' brasses of religious and scriptural imagery is the more remarkable for coming at a time when patrons' devotional preferences played an increasing role in shaping the design of their monuments. With wider literacy encouraging the growth of a more personalised piety, the choice of religious imagery on memorials increasingly reflected patrons' regimes of reading and tastes in saintly devotion. The remarkable popularity of Marian imagery on tombs was a natural product of the growth of devotion to the Virgin, a notable feature of the popular religion of the period. At the same time, the fashion for including figures of saints such as St. Michael, St. Christopher and St. John the Baptist reflected the genuine affection felt for the saints and the widespread lay confidence in their ability to shorten the trials of purgatory. Such up-to-date devotional touches, however, are almost entirely absent from the wool merchants' brasses, elaborate though many of them are. The woolmen saw investment in the trappings of piety principally as an expression of personal or communal pride. Reflection, contemplation, and the rigours of penitential piety appear largely to have passed them by.

Every medieval memorial brass performed two main functions: it was at once a witness to status and a spur to intercession by the living. On the wool merchants' brasses it is the former function - witness to status - which seems to be to the fore. The intercessory discourse, so powerful on many other late medieval memorials, is here less evident. Indeed, the remarkable devotional trends of the age, which have recently attracted such attention from historians, hardly figure at all. It is naturally tempting to seek an explanation for these characteristics. One possible reason might be that it was uncommon for wool merchants to employ personal chaplains. Thomas Adynet and the two John Linwoods, father and son, provide the only recorded exceptions; and all three, significantly, have left lengthy wills.[59] In most woolmen's households there was no one in holy orders in a position either to shape personal devotion or to assist in the drafting of wills. It is possible, however, that there may have been deeper forces at work. Were the woolmen perhaps less interested in the literature of devotion than the gentry and nobility? Did they have less time for

[58] Walter Hickman of Kempsford (d. 1521) was almost certainly the younger brother of Robert Hickman of Lechlade (d. 1519) (PRO, PROB 11/19, ff. 185-185v; PROB 11/20, ff. 155-155v). It is possible, though unlikely, that the cross is actually a merchant's mark.

[59] Adynet refers in his will to his chaplain John Stowe (Lambeth, Reg. Arundel, II, f. 38); the elder Linwood likewise refers to a chaplain, one James, presumably the James Wymarke who acted as executor of the will of his son a couple of years later (*Register of Henry Chichele*, II, p. 183; PRO, PROB 11/2B, f. 413v). The elder Linwood's is by far the longest of the merchants' wills. It is tempting to see in it the influence not so much of his chaplain as of his son William, the canonist and future bishop.

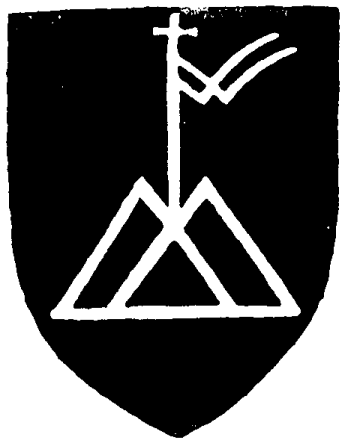

FIG.. 8
Merchant's mark from the brass to a woolman and wife, *c.* 1485, Northleach, Glos.

reading? Or did they perhaps have less time for reading than their wives? Did the nature of their lives in commerce incline them to a different sort of piety from that of the landed classes? These are questions which we may be tempted to raise, but to which we can give no certain answer.

The woolmen's brasses focus our attention on a merchant group with markedly individual tastes in lifestyle, piety and funerary commemoration. The brasses are of especial value in capturing for us something of the group's cultural ambivalence and reticence in religious expression. The evidence pointing to their cultural ambivalence is particularly striking. These memorials commemorate members of the trader class, yet they are located chiefly in rural, not urban, churches. They commemorate men and women who lived in the countryside, yet those men and women stood apart socially from their neighbours in the gentry. The quality of ambivalence is most clearly visible in the display of merchants' marks, which is one of the characteristics of the brasses. The use of such marks as a kind of proto-heraldry attested the woolmen's pride in their mercantile success. Yet their obvious keenness to acquire armigerous status shows that they hardly saw them as a substitute for the real thing: those with social ambition wanted the respectability of a proper coat of arms. As a group, the woolmen occupied a unique position in late medieval England. Poised between town and country, trade and gentility, they belonged neither wholly to the one cultural space nor the other. They are best seen as standing at the intersection of the overlapping worlds of gentry, townsmen and merchants. It is unfortunate that in the absence of family archives their private lives and their cultural tastes and thoughts for the afterlife are all largely hidden from us. It may be through their memorial brasses that we come to know them best.

Eghard I von Hanensee, d. 1405, Hildesheim Cathedral

by REINHARD LAMP

The Site

The medieval town of Hildesheim is situated at the foot of the Harz mountains and thus profited from direct access to the rich and varied mines of that range, which were the source of great wealth for the whole region. The town became an important place of copper-alloy production, with many eminent works of art stemming from its workshops, which decorated not only the town's own churches, but were also exported to other parts of Germany, and even abroad. Many of these have disappeared through vandalism, negligence, greed, and war action, but those that remain have earned Hildesheim a place on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This tradition continues into present times, receiving new impetus through the need for reconstruction after the war, with many impressive modern bronze works of art adorning its churches.

The centre of Hildesheim suffered almost complete destruction by bombing on 22 March 1945.[1] The cathedral lay in ruins, but by wise foresight most of the splendid works of art had been stored safely by the Cathedral Chapter in 1942. Thus it was possible to put back Bishop Bernward's magnificent bronze doors of 1015, fifteen feet high, each of which was cast in one piece, and his colossal bronze triumphal column with scenes from the life opf Christ.[2] There is also a fine bronze font of around 1225,[3] and in the chancel hangs a huge circular brass candelabrum, of between 1055 and 1065, with the most delicate figurative and decorative designs.

In addition, the cathedral and the adjacent museum are full of cast-bronze epitaphs and funerary monuments, among which are some brasses.[4] Originally that of Eghard I von Hanensee (Figs. 1, 4-6) lay in the chapel underneath the western tower, the so-called Altes Paradies, together with two others commemorating further members of his family.[5] When in 1718 the old tower was taken down, the brass was transferred to the cloisters, and at present it is mural in a room of the administrative quarters of the Dom-Museum. There it is not accessible to the general public.[6]

[1] On the destruction and restoration, see U. Knapp ed., *Der Hildesheimer Dom: Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau*, Kataloge des Dom-Museums Hildesheim, Bd. 2 (Petersberg, 1999).

[2] On the doors, see P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800-1200*, 2nd edn (New Haven, 1994), pp. 115-21, pls. 158-61, 167; on the column, see *ibid.*, p. 121, pls. 164-6.

[3] On the font, see S. Wolfsbauer, 'Das Taufbecken im Hildesheimer Dom', in U. Knapp ed., *Ego sum Hildensemensis: Bischof, Domkapitel und Dom in Hildesheim 815 bis 1810*, Kataloge des Dom-Museums Hildesheim, Bd. 3 (Petersberg, 2000), pp. 164-78.

[4] On the monuments, see C. Wulf, 'Der Hildesheimer Dom als Grablege', and *eadem*, 'Verzeichnis der erhaltenen Grabdenkmäler und -Fragmente am Hildesheimer Dom', in *Ego sum Hildensemensis*, pp. 245-87, 288-320.

[5] A. Bertram, *Die Bischöfe von Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1896), p. 97.

[6] On the brass of Eghard I, see A. Zeller ed., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Hannover, II, Regierungsbezirk Hildesheim, 4, Stadt Hildesheim. Kirchliche Bauten* (Hannover, 1911), nr. 66 (p. 144), Taf. XVII, Fig. 105; H.K. Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (London, 1970), p. 55 (no. 2), Wulf, 'Verzeichnis', p. 290 (G12), Abb. 254; C. Wulf and H.J. Rieckenberg, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Hildesheim*, Die Deutschen Inschriften, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2003), nr. 126, Abb. 96.

FIG. 1
Eghard I von Hanensee, d. 1405, Hildesheim Cathedral
Photograph: Dom-Museum Hildesheim

FIG. 2
Eghard II von Hanensee, d. 1460, Hildesheim Cathedral
Photograph: Dom-Museum Hildesheim

FIG. 3
Eghard III von Hanensee, d. 1494, Hildesheim Cathedral
Photograph: Dom-Museum Hildesheim

Exhibited beside it is the plate to Eghard II von Hanensee (d. 1460) (Fig. 2).[7] He held the office of provost. He was noted for improving the Hospital of Our Lady and financing the construction of the Antoniuskapelle. He is clad in dalmatic and alb, with an unusual high-crowned cap, and holds a book, with an image of Christ on a rainbow on the cover. The man has a very individual face, full o f character, quite possibly a portrait. At the top is a crocketted ogee arch, at the bottom a couché shield with the family coat of arms, a strutting cock (a pun on the name: Hahn = cock in German). The effigy is surrounded by a marginal text, which is worn in places. At the corners are the Evangelists' symbols in roundels. The metal is a warm reddish brown, the alloy obviously having a high percentage of copper.[8]

Both plates have undergone restoration and are bracketed to the wall, with a spacer allowing for free airflow around the metal. Rubbing is not allowed.

In the upper cathedral-cloisters, also not accessible to the general public, is a third monument, to Archdeacon Eghard III von Hanensee (d. 1494) (Fig. 3),[9] the nephew of Eghard II. He enrolled at Erfurt University in 1452, later richly endowed the adjacent Antoniuskapelle, and by 1480 was archdeacon.

This monument is of cast bronze, and is in low relief. It shows the priest in Mass vestments, holding a chalice and a Host, again with the canting coat of arms - the cock - at his feet. A marginal prose inscription, in raised lettering, surrounds the effigy, and there are roundels with symbols of the Evangelists at the corners.

Eghard I von Hanensee

Eghard I von Hanensee is documented from the time of his enrolment as a student at Prague University in 1387, where he acquired the degree of *baccalaureus in decretis*. In 1389 he is recorded as Archdeacon of Schmedenstedt, in 1401 he became cathedral-provost, and in 1404 Archdeacon of St. Andreas.

He had an unfortunate end. On 16 September 1403 he was incarcerated by his bishop in the episcopal castle of Steuerwald. The reason is somewhat shrouded in mystery. Georg Elbers writes that Eghard was an honourable man, of great academic culture, and full of zeal in his office, who in defence of the rights of his church accused his bishop, Johann III, of bad conduct and squandering church property. He was in consequence seized by force within the cathedral precinct, 'as if he had broken the peace', and carried away to prison, where he died two years later. Therefore, he writes, the people murmured that he had been murdered. In the presence of a large congregation of the Cathedral dignitaries and dependents, and also delegates of the people of Hildesheim, the bishop formally protested his innocence and offered to compurge himself, but was acquitted after deliberation.[10]

[7] Zeller, *Kunstdenkmäler*, nr. 64 (p. 143), Taf. XVII, Fig. 106; H.K. Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (London, 1970), p. 55 (no. 3), Wulf, 'Verzeichnis', p. 291 (G15), Abb. 256; Wulf and Rieckenberg, *Inschriften der Stadt Hildesheim*, nr. 174, Abb. 97.

[8] [Wulf calls the alloy 'Zinnbronze' (Tin-bronze) rather than 'Messing' (Brass) but gives no analytical evidence to support this differentiation. *Ed.*]

[9] Zeller, *Kunstdenkmäler*, nr. 65 (p. 143), Taf. XVII, Fig. 107; Wulf, 'Verzeichnis', p. 292 (G16), Abb. 257; Wulf and Rieckenberg, *Inschriften der Stadt Hildesheim*, nr. 211, Abb. 98. The monument to Eghard III von Hanensee, being in low relief, is not listed in Cameron's survey.

[10] G. Elbers, cited by Bertram, *Bischöfe*, p. 86.

Another record may throw a different light on the priest's fate. According to a document printed in the *Repertorium Germanicum*, an envoy to Johann III was captured by Eghard's servants and friends and robbed of his money and letters, which event provoked the suspected instigator's imprisonment.[11]

Such a proceeding, however, seems incompatible with the character drawn by Elbers, nor is it borne out by the inscription, which praises him for his culture and justice. Even in the absence of further records it is possible to reconcile the two versions. It is particularly noteworthy in the second account that the envoy's letters were of interest to the assailants. Was the attack perhaps an interception of documents necessary to reveal the bishop's underhand dealings? At any rate, the unhappy priest seems to have been remembered with respect by the people.

Description of the Brass

The brass, 1915 x 765 mm, shows a standing figure vested in alb and dalmatic. The sole ornamentation is the decoration of the hem of the alb with roughly-drawn roundels, and the maniple with simple geometric patterns. His head, crowned by a skull-cap, rests upon a tasselled cushion, beneath which there seems to be yet another, probably placed diagonally, of which only the top tassel shows.[12]

He holds a large book decorated with the figure of Christ seated on a rainbow. His vestments fall in graceful folds and swirl around pointed shoes, between which rests a couché shield showing the strutting Hanensee cock.

From corbels on either side of his head rises an ogee arch with complex sub-cusping. It has crockets that, instead of the traditional vine-leaves, take the form of oak-leaves.[13]

The figure is surrounded by marginal inscriptions. At the top is a scroll held at the left end by an angel, and the other sides are filled with double lines of text. This is decorated with line-fillers of great variety and imagination, delicately drawn: floral ornaments, a dragon, and at top left a lily vase and acanthus leaves (Fig. 5). In the corners are medallions filled with the Evangelists' symbols: Matthew, top left; John, top right; Luke, bottom left; Mark, bottom right.

The overall design is most impressive, but unfortunately the brass is worn from the middle upwards, particularly at the top, so as to render the upper parts of the

[11] 'Henricus Lechting clericus Paderbornensis a cardinale ad processus in civitate Hildesemensi destinatus a tribus satellitibus vel familiaribus Eghardi captivatus pecunia et litteris spoliatus est. Qua de causa Eghardus et satellites a Johanne electo Hildensemensi incarcerati sunt'. (Heinrich Lechting, cleric, of Paderborn, had been sent by the cardinal to attend trials in the town of Hildesheim, but was held up by three servants or friends of Eghard's and robbed of his money and letters. Therefore Eghard and his henchmen were imprisoned by Johann, bishop-elect of Hildesheim.) (*Repertorium Germanicum*, 2, ed. G. Tellenbach, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1933-61), col. 244 ff, cited in Wulf and Rieckenberg, *Inschriften*, II, p. 359).

[12] In the author's opinion, the tassel at the top of the skull-cap really belongs to a second cushion, because it so closely resembles the other tassels. The unusual position has probably misled earlier writers (Bertram, *Bischöfe*, p. 87; Zeller, *Kunstdenkmäler*, p .144) into believing that it is part of the skull-cap, but that would have been a most unconventional addition. [Another interpretation is that there is one bolster-like cushion with tassels at the corners and the centres of the long sides. *Ed.*]

[13] Oak-leaves appear on the canopies of incised slabs in northern Germany. Examples include Helenburg von Warendorp, d. 1316, in the Warendorp-Kapelle, Lübeck Cathedral, and the slab to two priests lying in the south transept there.

FIG. 4
Eghard I von Hanensee, d. 1405, Hildesheim Cathedral
Drawing from F.M. Kratz, Der Dom zu Hildesheim *(Hildesheim, 1840), Taf. 9a*

FIG. 5
Eghard I von Hanensee, d. 1405, Hildesheim Cathedral, detail of oak-leaf crockets and lily-pot and acanthus line-fillers
Photograph: Kevin Herring

inscription and the scroll illegible. Furthermore, the metal is in poor condition. In several places at the sides damage has been repaired by soldering strips of brass on to the plate. Portions of the brass, on the edge and elsewhere, have broken away, and the metal looks brittle. The thickness is irregular, the left-hand side being noticeably thinner than the right.

The Marginal Texts

The lettering is in raised Gothic minuscule, with some capitals. As the author was not able to make a rubbing, the transcription presented is Wulf's.

I) Prayer scroll at the top

It is now illegible, and Wulf needed to rely on the transcription by Bertram.

a) [sit] domino gratus . cum justis salvificatus [14]

May he find grace with God and be saved together with the just.

[14] Bertram, *Bischöfe*, p.87. The first word, [sit], is probably Bertram's conjecture or expansion.

II) Marginal inscription on the other sides[15]

b1)	1	M C bis binis annis domini quoque quinis
	2	U[irtu]tum nardus [fe]sto ghertrudis eghardus
c1 / d1)	3	Stirpe hanense natus / Uir provydus arte docatus
	4	[H]ilde[n]semensis ac prepositus uelid ensis
b2)	5	Ecclesie iura defendens non sine cura
	6	Dono certe dei moriens datur hic requiei
c2 / d2)	7	Hinc succurre pia / nunc te rogo virgo maria
	8	Ne penis detur sed cum sanctis glorietur

Translation [16]

1 In the year of the Lord one thousand double two-hundred and five [1405],
2 On the feast-day of St. Gertrude died Eghard, the sweet-scented flower of virtues,
3 Of the family of Hanensee, a circumspect man, an authority in his academic domain - a piece of gold -
4 And head of the chapter of Hildesheim. Like a sword,
5 With great zeal, he defended the rights of the church.
6 His death came surely through a gift of God, and he is here delivered to his rest.
7 Therefore help now, I pray Thee, holy Virgin Mary,
8 That he might not be abandoned to the punishments, but grow in esteem in company of the holy ones.

Comment

2 *nardus* The nard is an aromatic plant, of Eastern origin, supposedly *Nardostachys jatamansi* (spikenard), from which an ointment was made and used by the ancients. Also, the ointment itself.

St. Gertrude's feast-day is 17 March.

3 *docatus* The word does not exist in classical Latin, and therefore has become an object for conjecture, with fancy expansion and translation ensuing.[17] There is, however, no need to alter the word. In medieval Latin can be found the spelling of *doctor* instead of *ductor*, 'leader', and *docatus*, for *ducatus*. The latter word means 1) 'leadership, particularly in matters spiritual'; 2) 'gold piece, ducat'. Both meanings are incorporated in author's translation.

4 *velut* Bertram records *velid* and reads *velut* (p. 87), and Wulf very justifiably follows him; there seems, indeed, to have been some error on the part of the engraver.

[15] Brackets and spelling follow Wulf and Rieckenberg, *Inschriften*, p. 358.
[16] Author's translation.
[17] Bertram transcribes correctly, but is fanciful in his translation: *arte docatus* appears as 'Gewandtheit', i.e. 'agility'; the word *arte* is disregarded entirely. Zeller also has *docatus*, but gives no translation. Wulf conjectures *dotatus*, 'gifted, endowed', instead of *docatus,* and translates 'learned in sciences'.

6 *dono dei* 'by a present of God's'. Eghard's death is here seen as having come as a relief from imprisonment.
7 *huic* The word is illegible nowadays. Bertram has *hinc*, 'therefore', which makes good sense. It is borne out by the meticulous drawing done in 1840 (Fig. 4).
8 *gloriari* 'grow in praise'.

Stylistic Appreciation

The scroll is a hexameter, and the marginal text is a poem consisting of eight hexameters, all of excellent scansion, but departing sometimes from the classical rules. Thus, in vv. 4 and 5, the cæsura-words *hildensemensis* and *iura* respectively are made to end on a long syllable before the cæsura, when both are really short. This, however, is due to a more liberal interpretation of the rules in medieval Latin poetry.

The poem is structured with a rhyme-system. In the following, the cæsuræ are marked and sound-affinities are laid bare. Symbols in the left and right margins show relationships within the respective hemistichs, in the cæsuræ between them.[18]

1	↓	↔↔	M C bis binis annis	↔	domini quoque quinis	↓
2	↓		Virtutum nardus	↔	festo ghertrudis eghardus,	↓
3	↑		Stirpe hanense natus,	↔	vir providus, arte docatus,	↑
4	↑		Hildensemensis	↔	ac prepositus, velut ensis	↑
5			Ecclesiæ iura	↔	defendens non sine cura	↓
6			Dono certe dei	↔	moriens datur hic requiei.	↑
7			Hinc succurre, pia	↔	nunc te rogo virgo maria,	
8			Ne pœnis detur	↔↔	sed cum sanctis glorietur.	

The verses are linked with bisyllabic leonine rhymes, i.e. each verse-end rhymes with its hemistich-word. Also, vv. 2 and 3 are paired by means of the same rhyme,[19] and are flanked by vv. 1 and 4 which again have identical rhymes; thus the first four verses are bound together in a stanza. In addition, there is also occasional interior rhyming.

The syntactical structure is most complex. Verses 1-6 form one long sentence, the lines running on, with appositions bringing one piece of information after the other, and using participle-constructions that introduce new verbs, so that the style is given verve and elegance.

Another characteristic of the poet is his use of metaphorical language. In v. 2, the deceased is likened to a sweet-smelling plant, in order to describe the man's gentleness; moreover, this is done by means of the rhyme-words (*nardus – Eghardus*), which cause an even stronger affinity. A second instance is the word *docatus* (v. 3), for *ducatus*, which contains the double-meaning of 'leadership' and 'gold coin, or ducat'. The choice of this metaphor is intended to underline the sterling quality of the man's

[18] Arrows in the left margin concern the first hemistich, in the right margin the second. Double arrows in the middle show interrelation between the two hemistichs. The parts of text that correspond in rhymes are marked.
[19] The words quinis and ensis do not really rhyme, because the first is a long, and the second a short vowel, so they do not sound alike. But this is irrelevant, because in medieval Latin poetry visual rhyme is considered sufficient.

FIG. 6
Eghard I von Hanensee, d. 1405, Hildesheim Cathedral, detail of head
Photograph: Kevin Herring

character. A third instance is the simile of *ensis*, 'sword', which alludes to the priest's rectitude and courage. The last image is *donum*: we witness Eghard being given 'a present'

In v. 7 the poet addresses himself directly to the Virgin Mary with an intercessory request on behalf of the deceased.

The various literary qualities of this text combine to make it a very fine poem.

Before the damage done to this brass by wear and neglect it was certainly a thing of great beauty.

Acknowledgements

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Thomas Adynet and his Brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire

by SALLY BADHAM

THE identity of the man commemorated by the oldest brass at Northleach has long been an enigma (Fig. 1). No inscription remains or is recorded in antiquarian sources to tell us whom it commemorates. Most hand-lists describe it just as being a brass to an unknown wool-merchant in civilian dress and wife of *c.* 1400, although Malcolm Norris re-dated it to *c.* 1395.[1] The Victoria County History volume for the Northleach area of the Cotswolds suggested that the brass might commemorate Thomas Adynet, but this was mentioned only tentatively in a footnote.[2] The purpose of this short article is to examine this suggestion.

Only the two figures of a civilian and wife remain and the indent is lost, so we cannot be sure how elaborate the original composition was. However, E.L. Cutts, writing in 1852, said 'over the effigy is an elegant canopy ... which adds much to the beauty and sumptuousness of the monument'.[3] The male figure contains two clues as to the person commemorated. The first is the woolpack beneath his feet which identifies his trade; but that is not a great help as many woolmen operated from the Northleach area. The other clue is the Lombardic letter T at the end of the man's girdle. The T could be for Thomas, but it could equally well be the initial letter of the surname of the man commemorated. Both indicators of identity are consistent with the brass being to Thomas Adynet, but they do not prove that he is commemorated by the brass.

Next, the likely date of the brass needs to be examined. Adynet died in November 1409, but the brass has always been dated at least a decade before that. Could it be later than previously thought? It was produced in the London A workshop, which was established in the mid-1330s and continued in operation under a succession of masters until *c.* 1410. Hence if the brass was made immediately following Adynet's death it would have been one of the very last brasses made by the London A workshop. That this is possible is confirmed by a comparison with a series of London A civilian brasses dating from the period 1405-10. None of them is identical to the Northleach brass because London A did not produce carbon copies of their designs. Each brass was an individually-designed product using a basic repertoire of features. A variety of hairstyles and costume are shown. Some examples are very grand, others are modest brasses in which the design is simplified and often apparently produced by a less competent engraver.

The first comparator is the lost brass from Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, to Edmund Cook (d. 1409).[4] It is an example from the bottom end of the range, but

1 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), II, fig. 80.
2 Victoria County History, *A History of the County of Gloucester*, IX, (Oxford, 2001), p. 140 n. 20.
3 E.L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London, 1872) p. 522.
4 Illustrated in J. Bertram, *Rare Brass Rubbings from the Ashmolean Collection* (Oxford, 1977), no. 6.

FIG. 1
Brass to Thomas Adynet (d. 1409) and his widow, Agnes, Northleach, Glos.

the bare head, facial features, gown, baselard and splayed feet are very like the features shown on the Northleach brass, albeit on a modest scale. The memorial to John Barnstaple (d. 1411) from the Trinity Almshouse chapel at Bristol has been restored, the inscription being a replacement.[5] The effigy, however, appears untouched and, like Edmund Cook's brass, the comparison in design with Northleach is apparent despite the poor quality of the engraving. Both these brasses are much smaller in scale than the Northleach figure, hence less detail could be included. The slightly larger-scale brass at Owston, Yorkshire, is evidently a special composition, as Robert de Haitfeld and his wife Ada (d. 1409) are shown holding hands.[6] He wears a gown with baggy sleeves caught in at the wrists and is shown with bushy hair at the sides of the head; yet, despite these differences, again there is a strong resemblance to the Northleach brass. The brass of 1409 to Roger Keston at Astwood, Buckinghamshire, is close in terms of hair and costume to the Owston brass, but a much finer product with beautiful detailing.[7] In this sense it is a better comparator for the Northleach brass, but it is also smaller in scale and thus cannot match up to it in terms of the detail shown.

For closer exemplars in terms of the scale of the composition and thus of the quality of detailed design and engraving, it is necessary to turn to two brasses traditionally dated slightly earlier. The first is that at Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire, commemorating John Catesby (d. 1405) and his widow Emma.[8] Although the costume and hair of the male figure are not identical to that on the Northleach brass, the strong similarities between both male and female effigies are evident. The closest parallel with the Northleach monument is, however, provided by a brass at Cirencester, Gloucestershire, to a vintner and his wife.[9] The inscription is mutilated; his name is missing but his wife was 'Margeria'. The girdle on this brass, tied in an identical knot to that at Northleach, is beautifully decorated and with a Lombardic letter G at the end. The similarity of both figures to the brass at Northleach is so compelling that the two brasses must be very close in date. Given the crucial importance of the Cirencester brass in helping to determine the date of the Northleach brass, it is frustrating that it seems impossible to establish the identity of the commemorated, although it is evident that he was someone of wealth and importance. The history of Cirencester in the early fifteenth century is not well documented and there are few wills.[10] John Cosyn, who made his will in 1403, was the most important man in Cirencester at the turn of the century, and asked to be buried in Cirencester church, but the brass cannot be to him as neither his Christian

5 Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), pp. 90-1.

6 Illustrated in S. Badham, 'Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *MBS Trans.*, XV (1996), p. 418, fig. 3.

7 Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p. 6.

8 Illustrated in J. Bertram ed., *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St. Ledgers* (London, 2006), pl. 4, fig. 4.

9 Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Gloucestershire*, p. 128

10 Pers. comm. Nigel Saul.

name nor his surname begins with a G as shown on the girdle.[11] Another possible candidate, whose name does fit, is John Gedney, one of Cosyn's executors, and presumably therefore another senior figure in the town who might well also have been buried in Cirencester church. Unfortunately we do not have a date of death for him. Nor do we know either man's occupation, although it would be surprising if either were a vintner; men of their eminence in Cirencester at the beginning of the fifteenth century must surely have been in the wool or cloth trade. The brass includes a worn shield with what appears to be the old arms of Bristol, suggesting that the merchant was connected with that city. E.A. Fuller suggested that the brass commemorates a member of the Gotorest family of Bristol, wine-merchants who were apparently connected with Cirencester, but no individual member of this family has been pinpointed as likely to have been commemorated by the brass.[12]

These comparisons demonstrate that a date of 1409 for the Northleach brass is entirely possible, adding to the strength of the case for the brass commemorating Thomas Adynet. The Northleach brass was a top-of-the-range product: the design and the engraving are both first class and the background of the girdle was recessed to take coloured inlay, further enhancing the composition. The brass was thus a relatively expensive memorial, to which only a wealthy Northleach merchant could have aspired. Furthermore, the scale of the monument suggests that the person commemorated placed importance on prayers being said for the speedy passage of his soul though Purgatory. There is evidence that Adynet fits this profile of a rich and pious leading woolman of Northleach.

At the turn of the fifteenth century, Northleach was one of the main markets for Cotswold wool.[13] The town's position was evidently convenient for the collection and distribution of the wool clip from a wide area of the hills. In the 1370s and 1380s Cotswold woolmen from other towns, such as Burford, Cirencester, Stow-on-the-Wold and Chipping Campden, came to Northleach to buy wool at the annual three day fair in June. Consequently, Northleach's leading inhabitants in the late Middle Ages were a small group of woolmongers, the middle-men who bought from the individual producers of wool and sold it in bulk to the London merchants who operated through the Staple of Calais. In the late fourteenth century, various Italian families traded directly with the Cotswolds, notably the Datini of Prato and later of Florence.[14] Their detailed business records have survived and show that Francesco Datini especially frequented Northleach, amongst other towns. In one document in the Archivio de Prato, Florence is an entry dated 20 September 1402, with the name 'Tomaso Adnitto mercatore'.[15] Hence, it is clear that, like William Grevel of

[11] The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/2A.

[12] C.T. Davis, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 1899, repr. Bath, 1969), p. 18.

[13] D. Hurst, *Sheep in the Cotswolds: The Medieval Wool Trade* (Stroud, 2005), *passim*.

[14] Hurst, *Sheep in the Cotswolds*, pp. 109-18. On p. 117, discussing the role played by Francesco Datini, Hurst comments: 'Perhaps he did business with the unknown wool merchant whose brass in Northleach church is dated c. 1400'.

[15] Archivio di Stato de Firenze (Prato), Excerpt 664/308922, 20 September 1402. I am grateful to Nigel Saul for providing me with a copy of this entry discovered by one of his research students. The copy is, however, too poor to decipher the content apart from the name.

Chipping Campden whose brass of 1401 describes him as 'the flower of the wool merchants of all England', Adynet dealt with the Italians, underlining his high status amongst the Cotswold woolmen. As is the norm with merchants, there is not a great deal about him in the public records. As a wealthy man, in 1397 he was able to loan 50 marks to the Crown, a sizeable sum, albeit only one sixth of the sum lent by William Grevel.[16] He also owned land in several Gloucestershire parishes apart from Northleach, including in Saintbury, Dowdswell, Notgrove, Upthorpe, Burford and Pucklechurch (near Bristol), although he disposed of a number of these properties in 1391.[17]

Thomas Adynet left a will, made on 11 November 1409 and proved on the penultimate day of the same month.[18] Disappointingly, although he asks to be buried in Northleach church, there is no reference to his memorial. Perhaps he had already ordered it, although there is no proof of that. However, the remainder of his testamentary provisions underline his wealth and piety. In addition to disposing of his land and tenements, Thomas made monetary bequests totalling nearly £130. It is thus clear that his involvement in the wool trade had enabled Adynet to amass a considerable fortune. He might well have agreed with the sentiment immortalised in glass in the window of a house at Holme, Nottinghamshire built by a member of the Barton family: 'I thank God, and ever shall, it is the sheep that paid for all'.

Thomas was survived by his widow, Agnes, whom he left well provided for, bequeathing her £20 and the residue of his property not otherwise bestowed outright. In addition she inherited a life interest in all his lands and tenements in Northleach, but only so long as she remained single. The couple appear not to have had any surviving issue; the only other kin referred to in Thomas's will are William Packer of London and John Packer of Cirencester, to each of whom he left 100s. There are bequests to his three servants totalling £5. 6s. 8d. and a total of £35. 10s. to various friends. Having no other dependents to provide for, Thomas was free to use the remainder of his wealth to his own benefit.

Many of the remaining provisions of Thomas's will underline his piety and his strong desire to ensure the swift passage of his soul through Purgatory. The first point of significance is that he had his own confessor, John Stowe, who was one of his executors and to whom Adynet left £10. This was very exceptional; of the wool merchants whose wills survive, only one other refers to a personal confessor.[19] Thomas also placed emphasis on good works. It is very likely that as a leading citizen of Northleach he would have contributed in his lifetime to the lavish remodelling of the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which began in the late fourteenth century at which time the tower was built and the south porch added. Certainly, in his will he

[16] *Cal. Pat.* 1396-99, p. 182; Hurst, *Sheep in the Cotswolds*, p. 74.

[17] *Cal. Close* 1398-92, pp. 357-8.

[18] Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Arundel, II, ff. 37v-38r. I am grateful to Nigel Saul for bringing this will to my attention.

[19] Information from lecture given to the MBS by Nigel Saul at the Northleach Study Day on 16 September 2006. The other wool merchant whose will reveals that he had a personal confessor was John Lyndewode (d. 1419), whose brass survives at Linwood, Lincolnshire (PRO, PROB 11/2B, ff. 179v-180).

left a sum of 40s. towards the roofing of Northleach church.[20] He also made a number of other bequests to the church, including his (or more precisely his confessor's) best set of vestments; 40s. to the high altar for tithes forgotten and offerings not carried out; 12d. to each light in the church; and 6s. 8d. to William Horsley, formerly vicar of Northleach.[21] In addition, he left 20s to Northleach's mother church of Worcester; this is the customary bequest to the cathedral church of the diocese in which the testator lived, Northleach being in the diocese of Worcester until the time of Henry VIII.

Adynet's generosity regarding the upkeep of churches, which of course would also benefit his soul, extended far beyond his own parish church. He left 6s. 8d. to each of the sixteen churches at Cutsdean, Temple Guiting, Guiting Power, Notgrove, Stow-on-the-Wold, Cheltenham, Charlton Kings, Whittington, Dowdeswell, Shipton, Compton Abdale, Chedworth, Upper Swell, Lower Swell, Tormarton and Long Newnton. The geographical spread of these churches and the religious houses also mentioned in his will illustrates just how wide Adynet's interests spread throughout the Cotswolds and beyond. Yet generous though Adynet was, the number of churches benefiting was significantly fewer than the '100 churches nearest to Northleach' each of which received the same sum of 6s. 8d. in the will of John Fortey (d. 1458), the leading Northleach woolmonger in the mid-fifteenth century.[22]

Adynet clearly expected to have a lavish funeral and made provisions in his will which would encourage a large attendance. Each priest attending would receive 7d. He left £10 to be distributed amongst the poor on the day of his burial; and three dozen pieces of black cloth 'of the greater price' and three dozen pieces of black cloth 'of the lesser price' to be distributed amongst his friends and the poor. Thomas was also mindful of the beneficial effect on his soul of supporting the poor and needy. He left 20s. to the hospital of St. John at Cirencester and 6s. 8d. to the hospital of St Cecilia in the same town - the latter may be a new dedication for St. Laurence's leper hospital, after it became an almshouse for women in 1336.[23] In Gloucester, the hospital of St Mary Magdalene received 6s. 8d. and the hospital of St. Bartholomew 13s. 4d.

Other bequests made by Adynet would enable him to enjoy the benefit of organised intercession. He seems to have an especial regard for Benedictine houses. Accordingly, he left 33s. 4d. to the nuns of the Priory of Kington St Michael, Wiltshire; and £10 to the abbot and convent of Tewkesbury, arguably the most

[20] The will does not specify which part of the church roofing was being funded. The chancel dates from the fourteenth century and the nave from later in the fifteenth. Selena Balance, whose knowledge of the architectural development of Northleach church is unparalleled, believes that the roofing of the tower was probably what Adynet helped finance.

[21] Selena Balance advises me that it is not known how many lights there were in Northleach church, although there was certainly an altar to St. Anthony, perhaps in the north aisle. In addition, there would undoubtedly have been a gild chapel for the woolmen; this is believed to have been at the east end of the south aisle in a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, although confirmatory documentary evidence is lacking.

[22] PRO, PROB 11/4, ff.191v-192v.

[23] I owe this suggestion to Nicholas Rogers. The dedication does not appear in D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), p. 352.

important religious house in the Cotswold area at that time. Additionally, he ensured that organised intercession took place in Northleach church, directing that his executors sell goods from his estate to the value of £40 and that this sum should be devoted to the maintenance of his priests to celebrate Mass for the health of his soul until the entire £40 was spent. He also directed that his executors should sell his reversion of his tenement in Burford after the death of his wife, disposing of the proceeds as would seem best for the health of his soul. Finally, after the death of Agnes or on her remarriage, he directed that all his lands and tenements in Northleach should be sold for the good of his soul.

It is very clear from these testamentary provisions that Thomas Adynet was a pious man, anxious to ensure that, through good works and prayer, his soul would be speeded through the pains of Purgatory. Indeed, comparisons with the wills of other wool merchants suggests that he was probably quite unusual in exhibiting such piety.[24] It is entirely consistent with this that he would have ensured that he was commemorated by a large and prominent monument, like the brass under consideration, to attract the prayer of the Christian faithful.

To sum up the case for the brass having been made to commemorate Thomas Adynet: stylistically it dates to the time of Thomas's death in 1409; the identifiers of woolpack and letter T on the girdle are consistent with his name and trade; and he fits the profile of a wealthy and pious, leading woolmonger of Northleach. There are few brasses to woolmen to equal this splendid monument and it is very pleasing that at long last we know the names of the couple whom it commemorates.

Acknowledgements
I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for translating Adynet's will and to Selena Balance and Nigel Saul for other help and advice.

[24] Information from lecture given to the MBS by Nigel Saul at the Northleach Study day on 16 September 2006.

The World of Folly: The Foot-panels of the Walsokne Brass and the Persistence of their Iconography over the Centuries Part Two

by RONALD VAN BELLE

Man wrestling with a Bear

The foot-panel under Margaret de Walsokne has scenes which at first sight do not appear to have any relation to each another (Fig. 1c and d). The first is a man fighting a bear. This motif occurs both in church decoration and in manuscript illumination. On the west front of the church at Andlau, Alsace, *c.* 1150-60, there is a knight with shield and sword fighting a bear, and in the apse of the thirteenth-century church at Schöngrabern, Austria, there is a mounted knight engaged in a similar combat.[1] A rather worn panel of the socle of the fourteenth-century central portal of Sens Cathedral depicts a man wrestling with a bear.[2] At Rouen Cathedral a decorative panel shows a man wearing a hood wrestling with a bear (Fig. 2).[3] A fight with a bear also occurs on a capital in the church of Notre-Dame la Daurade, Toulouse.[4] The bear motif occurs in the Lyre Psalter, from Normandy, of the second half of the twelfth century, which shows David killing the lion and the bear that threatened his flocks. In the same way David fights both animals on the ivory cover of the Melisende Psalter, of 1131-44 (BL Egerton MS 1139).[5] The Tickhill Psalter (New York, Public Library, MS Spencer 26), written for the Augustinian Priory of Worksop, Notts., between 1303 and 1314, has a full-page Tree of Jesse with a *bas-de-page* of scenes from the life of David.[6] On the right David is represented twice, once killing a bear and once destroying a lion, which were threatening his flock. The letter B of the 'Beatus vir' in the Breviary of Philip the Good (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9511, f. 252) represents David killing the lion while the bear lies already dead on the ground. In the Christian world the bear was considered as a symbol of the devil.[7] St. Augustine speaks in Sermon XXXVII about David's fight: 'Leo et ursus a David occisi diabolus a Christo spoliatus' (The lion and the bear killed by David are the devil dethroned by Christ). Furthermore, he states that David is hereby the prefiguration

1 V.H. Debidour, *Le bestiaire sculpté du Moyen Age en France* (Paris, 1961), p. 207, figs. 254, 290; L. Stauch, 'Bär', in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. O. Schmitt, I (Stuttgart, 1937), col. 1443, Abb. 2.

2 Debidour, *Le bestiaire sculpté*, fig. 254.

3 Stauch, 'Bär', col. 1443.

4 Stauch, 'Bär', col. 1443.

5 J. Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (London, 1997), pp. 82-3, fig. on p. 82; A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1939), p. 9, fig. 7.

6 Illustrated in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1987), p. 451, fig. 568.

7 L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris, 1955-9), I, p. 111; Stauch, 'Bär', cols. 1442-6; E. Kirsch, *Lexikon der Christlichen Theologie* (Freiburg, 1968), p. 242.

FIG. 1a
Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn, left-hand foot-panel
Rubbing by Ronald van Belle

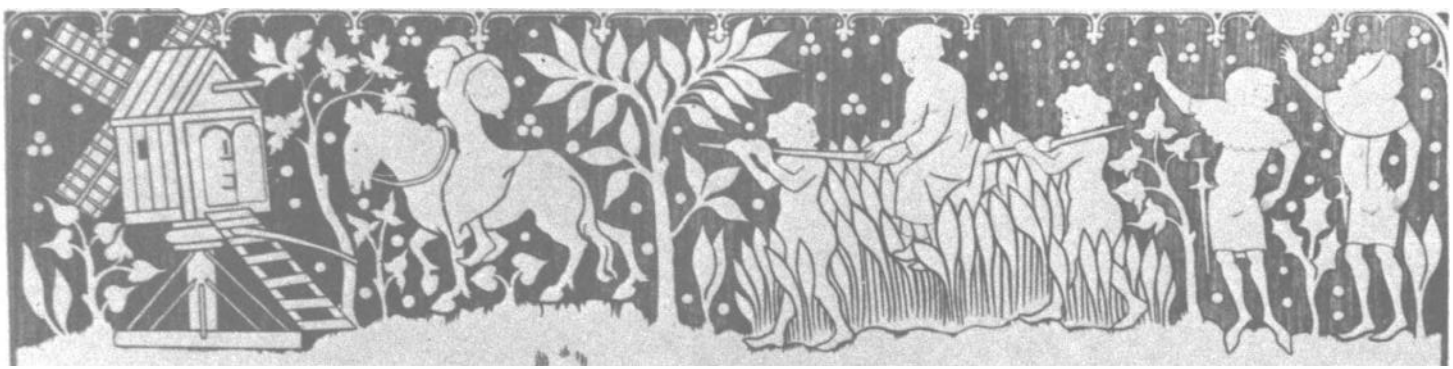

FIG. 1b
Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn, left-hand foot-panel
Illustration from Waller

FIG. 1c
Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn, right-hand foot-panel
Photograph by Ronald van Belle

FIG. 1d
Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn, right-hand foot-panel
Illustration from Waller

FIG. 2
Man wrestling with a bear, Rouen Cathedral
Photograph by Ronald van Belle

of Christ.[8] According to Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), the bear sometimes represents the devil and sometimes cruel rulers.[9] The man fighting or killing the bear is, therefore, often identified as David and in a broader sense as a symbol of the fight against evil (cf. I Sam. 17, 34) and thus as the personification of Fortitude.[10] Artists often used battle scenes as a basis for dynamic representations of the conflict between Virtues and Vices. The picture cycle originated in the fifth century, in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and continued right through the Middle Ages as an expression of the struggle in man's soul.[11] The representation of the Virtues and Vices is part of the classic decoration of French Gothic cathedrals.[12] In I Samuel 17, 37, David also expresses his unshaken confidence in the Lord: 'The Lord, which has saved me from the claws of the lion and the bear, He will save from the hands of this Philistine'. Thus this image forms an antithesis to one of the following scenes, that of the snail combat, which, as will be seen, is a symbol of cowardice.

One of the natural characteristics of the bear is that he likes honey and sweet fruits such as the wild strawberry. This inclination has led him to become a symbol of carnal appetite. In one of his discourses St. Bonaventure remarks: 'In urso caro significatur sequitur, enim mel sicut caro voluptatem' [It follows that the bear signifies the flesh, for honey like flesh stands for luxury].[13] In the Bible the bear is represented as wrathful and

8 Stauch, 'Bär', col. 1442.
9 Stauch, 'Bär', col. 1446.
10 Stauch, 'Bär', cols. 1442-3.
11 Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, pp. 1-26.
12 E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle en France* (Paris, 1948), pp. 203-55.
13 Stauch, 'Bär', cols. 1446-7; Kirsch, *Lexikon*, p. 243; I. Mateo Gómez, *Temas profanos en la escultura gótica española: las sillerías de coro* (Madrid, 1979), p. 95.

luxurious and because of this he is in Christian iconography the symbol of wrath, violence and lust.[14] A wildman confronting a bear full of lust, as can be deduced from his ithyphallic state, is clearly represented on the early sixteenth-century stalls of Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.[15] Medieval symbolism also presents positive aspects of the bear, such as the caring attitude of the mother bear towards her young.[16]

But what is David fighting the bear doing in the company of other representations of the world upside down? It is my opinion that there is another interpretation that can be given of this motif as shown on the Walsokne brass. The scene, which clearly depicts a man and bear wrestling, calls to mind the activities of medieval entertainers, who were frequently illustrated in the margins of manuscripts with all manner of animals. Entertainers of all kinds were very popular in late Roman times.[17] They were in favour at the Roman imperial court and were adulated by the common people. The Church of the first millennium was not very open to such frivolous pastimes, which were linked to the causes of Roman decadence.[18] For centuries moralists denounced such spectacles. Edicts of various councils vigorously denounced the activities of all kinds of entertainers.[19] Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, in his 'Capitula ad presbiteros' of 852, refers explicitly to bear spectacles: 'Nec plausus et risus inconditos et fabulas inanes ibi referre aut cantare praesumat, nec turpia joca cum urso vel tornacibus ante se facere permittat' [He should not preside over applause and disorderly laughter or the telling or singing of idle tales, nor allow unseemly games with a bear or acrobats to be performed in his presence]. [20] In the life of St. Poppo (d. 1048) there is a description of what was considered by the Church to be a scandalous spectacle, which took place *c.* 1025: 'It happened in those times that the imperial palace enjoyed the play of entertainers and the King and his court were amusing themselves with that kind of spectacle. As such a naked man whose members had been smeared with honey was exposed to bears. The man was tremendously worried for his life, that once the honey had been consumed, they would start on his body'.[21] The Church's disregard for all kinds of performances by secular entertainers was regularly confirmed. The entertainer was viewed as at the bottom of the social ladder and his performances as base and sinful.[22] As a wanderer through the world, his universe was opposed to the rigidity and stability of medieval society. The fact that he was 'useless' justified his exclusion from society and the community of the faithful.[23] Unlike peasants who toiled,

[14] Stauch, 'Bär', cols. 1446-7.

[15] Gaignebet and Lajoux, *Art profane*, p. 85; RCHM, *London*, I, *Westminster Abbey* (London, 1924), p. 70, pl. 218 (S. side, upper range, third bay (1)).

[16] Stauch, 'Bär', cols. 1444-5.

[17] E. Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen age* (Paris, 1910), pp. 10-16; J.D. Ogilvy, 'Mimi, scurrae, histriones: entertainers of the early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, XXXVIII (1963), pp. 603-19.

[18] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, pp. 10-12.

[19] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, pp. 12-19, 26, 272-4; Gaignebet and Lajoux, *Art profane*, p. 85.

[20] E.K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford 1903), pp. 275, 330; Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, pp. 18-19, 26, 272-4.

[21] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, p. 274; H. Pleij, 'Volksfest en toneel in de middeleeuwen, II, Entertainers en akteurs', *De Revisor*, IV (1977), p. 35.

[22] C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale (XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles)', *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, XXXIV (1979), pp. 914-15.

[23] J. Leclercq, '"Ioculator et saltator": S. Bernard et l'image du jongleur dans les manuscrits', in *Translatio studii: Manuscript and Library Studies Honoring Oliver L. Kapsner, O.S.B.*, ed. J.G. Plante (Collegeville, Minn., 1973), pp. 130-1; Casagrande and Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs', pp. 913-28.

nobles who fought or clerics who prayed, entertainers gave themselves up to futile work, which was illicit in the eyes of the Church. At the edge of Christian society, entertainers were considered monstrous. Surrounded by animals and demonic creatures, they lost their human dignity. They were just a 'thing', like dice, cards, or wine, all dangerous instruments of sin.[24] Both clergy and laity were exhorted not to tolerate scandalous amusements at which dancers and bears appeared.[25] The animals were sometimes considered as symbols and personifications of the vices of the entertainers.[26] The *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun refers to a debate between a master and a pupil, the former mentioning that entertainers should not expect any hope of salvation, as they are ministers of Satan.[27] John of Salisbury devoted a whole chapter of his *Policraticus* to entertainers and actor*s*, reminding readers that Holy Communion should be refused to them.[28] Conrad, a chanter in Zurich in 1275, compares them to leeches and classifies entertainers among the most despicable, the falle, the lame and the blind.[29] St. Augustine's saying that to give to entertainers is to sacrifice to demons was repeated by Thomas of Cantimpre, who added: 'There are two professions which are sinful through and through, prostitutes and entertainers'. So the entertainer was considered as a person destined for perdition who had renounced his salvation in order to devote himself to diabolic enterprises.[30] It was the task of the good prince to drive them away from his court and of the Church to warn the faithful of the danger to their souls.[31] Despite edicts and the condemnation of moralists, entertainers exercised their profession with increasing success, even in ecclesiastical venues. By the thirteenth century even the clergy were taking part in their shows.[32]

Entertainers of all kinds occur on twelfth-century corbels on churches in Saintonge and Poitou, including the bear and his tamer, who are represented between pairs of lovers, jesters, lewd scenes and human faces, including representations of the carvers. The context is certainly negative, and is reminiscent of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who uses entertainers as a metaphor of sin in his sermons.[33] The increasing success and greater social acceptability of entertainers is reflected in manuscript illumination; musicians, acrobats and animal trainers about in the margins of twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts. A number show bears performing all manner of tricks.[34] In a twelfth-century volume of St. Jerome from Rochester Cathedral Priory (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.4.7, f. 75), a tamer is shown teaching the alphabet to a bear standing on its hind legs.[35] The Romance

[24] Casagrande and Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs', p. 914.
[25] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, pp. 19, 29, 277; Casagrande and Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs', p. 915.
[26] M. Goodich, *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 6.
[27] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, p. 26; K. Mayer, 'The Eight Gregorian Modes on the Cluny Capitals', *Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1952), p. 87.
[28] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, p. 27.
[29] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, p. 27.
[30] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, pp. 27-8.
[31] Casagrande and Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs', p. 915.
[32] Faral, *Les jongleurs en France*, pp. 29-31, 61-65, 86, 88 n. 3, 157, 253-4, 290-1; Casagrande and Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs', p. 915.
[33] N. Kenaan-Kedar, 'Les modillons de Saintonge et du Poitou comme manifestation de la culture laïque', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, XXIX (1986), pp. 315-20, 329.
[34] Randall, *Images*, p. 18.
[35] Leclercq, '"Ioculator et saltator"', p. 130 with fig. Other representations of bears are listed on pp. 138-41.

FIG. 3
Entertainer wrestling with a bear, from the *Romance of Alexander*, 1338-44, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 264, f. 81
Copyright Bodleian Library

of Alexander has several marginal scenes with entertainers and animals performing tricks, such as a goat dancing on two legs, or a horse performing on his fore or hind legs.[36] One of the scenes shows a man wrestling with a bear, while an assistant plays the flute and drum; on the other side is a chained monkey. The wrestling scene is nearly identical to a decorative panel in Rouen Cathedral (Fig. 3).[37]

Taking the above into account, it is my belief that some of the representations of bear wrestling, such as Rouen and the Walsokne brass, refer explicitly to the corrupting spectacle of entertainers rather than David fighting the bear in order to protect his flock. These representations perhaps warned viewers against the frivolity and lust that such spectacles aroused, which was considered the work of the devil.

The same theme is taken up in later wood-carvings. At Plasencia in Spain a tamer holding a stick and performing with a bear is carved on a choir-stall armrest.[38] A carving on the fifteenth-century choir-stalls of Seville Cathedral represents a fool dancing with a

[36] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, ff. 91v, 117v.
[37] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, f. 96v.
[38] Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, p. 331, fig. 306.

bear, while a centaur fights a basilisk and a boy rides a dog. The bear and the fool refer probably to 'voluptuousness' and the fugitive pleasures of life.[39] On a misericord at Zamora two bears are eating avidly some fruit; here too the same meaning of earthly pleasure is intended.[40] On a German misericord the devil takes the form of a bear and tempts a fasting monk with a delicious meat dish.[41] All these motifs refer to earthly pleasures which endanger salvation in the afterlife.

Conclusion

The motif of a man fighting a bear on the Walsokne brass can be explained as David fighting the bear, and as such symbolising Fortitude and the fight against evil. It could form an antithesis to the snail combat, another motif on this foot-panel. But in my opinion it does not refer to David but to entertainers and the corrupting vanity of all spectacles, serving as an exhortation to avoid all such, which were considered the work of the devil, troubling the soul, exciting lust, creating confusion and putting the world upside-down. By putting this scene under their feet those commemorated wanted perhaps to express their rejection of worldly spectacles and their striving for higher values.

Youths playing at Cudgels

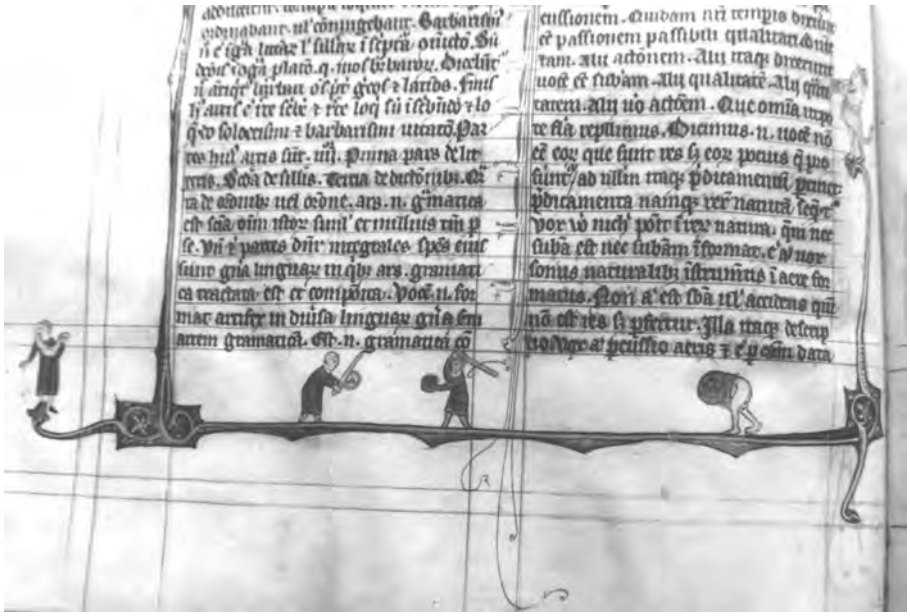

FIG. 4
Youths fighting with sword and shield, Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251, f. 54
Photograph by Ronald van Belle

39 Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, p. 95, fig. 77.
40 Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, p. 95, fig. 79.
41 J.K. Steppe, *Wereld van vroomheid en satire: Laat-Gotische koorbanken in Vlaanderen* (Kasterlee, 1973), p. 51 and fn. 95, citing H. Sachs, *Mittelalterliches Chorgestuhl von Erfurt bis Stralsund* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 38.

The boys with swordsticks: children's games?

Two young boys are shown playing at cudgels or swordsticks (Pl. 1c, d). As Cameron pointed out, the sticks have no hilts but have chamfered pointed ends.[42] The real sense is obscure at first sight, but in my opinion it is not just a representation of an innocent children's game but, like the previous motifs, has a deeper significance. A marginal illustration in a *Speculum Doctrinale* (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251, f. 54) also represents youngsters fighting with swords and small round shields (Fig. 4). The bas-de-pages of many manuscripts represent similar subjects, which at first sight seem to be just children's games. An example is in the Psalter of Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, of the second half of the thirteenth century (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 10607, f. 12v).[43] It has been suggested that Bruegel, by painting children's games, may have wished to illustrate folly.[44] Late medieval texts used childhood to connote a state devoid of thought, lacking in understanding, and synonymous with folly, and this view continued until the seventeenth century.[45] Children's games were similarly equated with thoughtless and sometimes foolish activity, as is evidenced by the use of the word '*kinderspel*' in Flemish literature and proverbs.[46] So, fighting or playing boys can symbolise foolishness, as sometimes seems to be the case in manuscript illuminations.[47] But there could be other explanations.

The Psychomachia

Much older examples of fighting men than those on the Walsokne brass are to be seen on Romanesque fonts, where they are considered to represent the Psychomachia, or battle between Virtues and Vices. The twelfth-century font in the church at Hejde on Gotland represents two men armed with sword and shield.[48] The same motif of two fighting men appears on several other fonts, such as Vermand and Vias. There are other examples in Germany, and also at Eardisley and Wansford in England.[49] Armoured knights tilting are probably variations on the same subject. They occur on the west front of the church at Andlau, Alsace, mentioned previously.[50] Fighting men with large shields also occur on an early twelfth-century capital in the church of Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat (Fig. 5).[51] On other fonts the Psychomachia takes the form of well-armed Virtues standing on defeated Vices.[52] It is possible that the fighting men represent a modern variation on this battle.

Fighting men can perhaps also be explained metaphorically. In the St. Albans Psalter in Hildesheim there is a marginal drawing of fighting knights as well as the image of David on the Beatus page.[53] In the related gloss, we are told that the combat scene must be taken

42 H.K. Cameron, 'The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXVI (1979), p. 156.
43 F. Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts: An Iconographical Study* (Umeå, 1984), pp. 132-3.
44 S. Hindman, 'Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games: Folly and Chance', *Art Bulletin*, XLIII, no. 3 (Sept. 1981), pp. 447-75.
45 Hindman, 'Children's Games', p. 448.
46 Hindman, 'Children's Games', p. 449.
47 Cameron, 'King's Lynn', p. 156.
48 Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts*, p. 132.
49 Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts*, p. 133.
50 Debidour, *Le bestiaire sculpté*, fig. 257.
51 R. Fage, 'L'église de Saint Léonard et la chapelle du Sépulcre', *Bulletin Monumental*, LXXVII (1913), p. 52, with fig.
52 Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts*, pp. 132-3.
53 O. Pächt, C.R. Dodwell and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter (Albani Psalter)* (London, 1960), pp. 149-51, pl. 41.

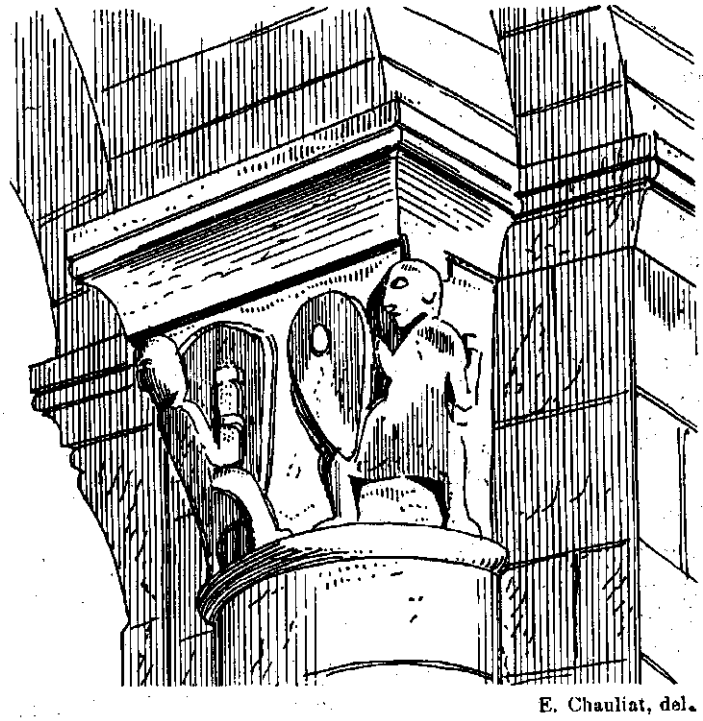

FIG. 5
Fighting men, capital, Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat
Drawing by E. Chauliat

as a simile of the spiritual combat. As these horsemen are armed with sword, lance and armour, so Christ's warriors must arm themselves with repentance and charity. Life is a constant struggle with the old fiend, between Holy Church and the Antichrist. But instead of the ferocity of the worldly warrior, the *Miles Christianus* makes wisdom and tranquillity of mind his weapons. The basic metaphor of the *bellum spirituale* is practically as old as Christianity. In Ephesians 6 St. Paul speaks about the armour of God, the sword of the spirit, the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation. Honorius of Autun, in the chapter 'De bello spirituali' of his *Gemma Animae*, makes a different use of the metaphor, explaining the Mass symbolically in terms of a battle. For the writer of the gloss in the St. Albans Psalter the unending inner struggle has become pre-eminently the distinguishing feature of that section of the Christian community which has renounced secular life altogether, namely monks.[54] In the eleventh-century revival of asceticism, the theme of the spiritual battle is a favourite one. Peter Damian repeatedly uses it in his writings, such as his sermon 'De spirituale certamine' [On the spiritual battle]. Finally, there is an elaborate comparison between the 'Miles temporalis' and the 'Miles spiritualis' in an early twelfth-century English tract.[55]

[54] Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, p. 149.
[55] Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, pp. 149-50.

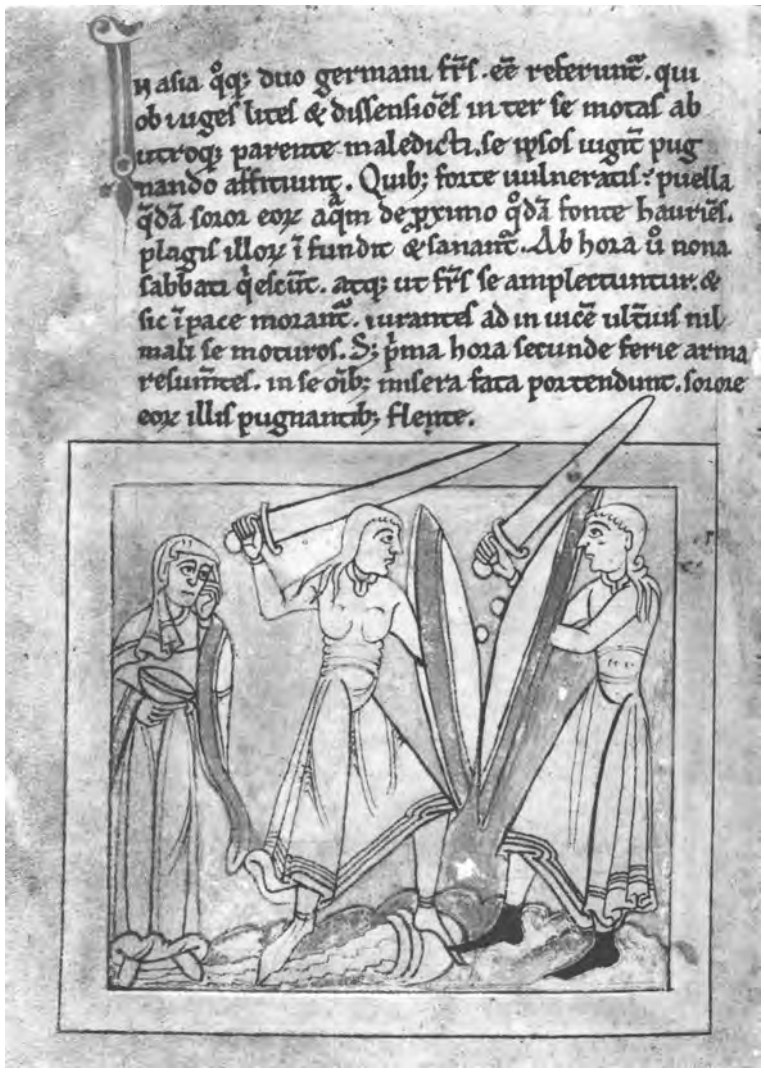

FIG. 6
Fighting brothers, from the *Marvels of the East*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 614
Copyright Bodleian Library

The fighting men and the Marvels of the East

Another possible literary source for the fighting men is the twelfth-century *Marvels of the East* (Oxford, Bodleian MS Bodley 614). There it is stated that there are in Asia two brothers who, having been cursed by their parents, are perpetually fighting (Fig. 6).[56] When they chance to be wounded, their sister draws water from a neighbouring spring, pours it on their wounds, and they are healed. From the ninth hour of Saturday they rest,

[56] M.R. James, *Marvels of the East* (Oxford, 1929), p. 30 with fig.

embrace each another as brothers, and remain at peace, swearing that they will never again hurt one another; but at the first hour of Monday they take up arms again and threaten each other with all manner of evil, while their sister weeps at their fighting.

The fighting brothers and social disorder

In his work *Vander verkeertheyt der werelt* (About the wrongness of the world) the Flemish writer Jan Boendale (*c.* 1282-1350) refers to what is going wrong in the world in his time.[57] He first of all quotes Christ's prophecy that at the end of time nation sgall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom (Mark 13:8), and then mentions that 'when brother will fight brother, and the child will contest the rights of its father ... and the fear of the Lord will be put aside, and malice will oppose wisdom and justice will be put behind and everybody will look after his own profit then it will be for certain that the end of the world is there'. The author further refers to ecclesiastical and social discord: 'the nephew is making war on his uncle and the brother against the brother, the child against his father and his mother; nobody is ashamed about his evil actions ...; the one who does good is mocked, the humble is considered as mad. But humility is the key of wisdom ... everything is put upside-down in those days and the fear of God is banished'. In this passage Boendale refers twice to fighting between brothers. In '"A armes égales"', F.M. Besson investigates the meaning of carvings of fighting men in twelfth-century France and Spain.[58] According to him these represent social violence in the universal order. He describes several reliefs depicting confronting civilians armed with shield and cudgel, used by non-noble civilians for judicial combat in the twelfth century. However, he argues that these carvings do not represent duels or just games as has sometimes been suggested. Studying representations of 'the fight with identical weapons' in their context, he concludes that this combat represents social violence, which is contrasted with adjacent images of the fight against evil, often represented by a man fighting a dragon. The cudgel and shield of 'civilian' violence are the opposite of the arms of professional warriors, guardians of the sole 'legal' violence in society. This 'civilian' violence, breaking up Christian society, is a disorder in the world order and as such an additional illustration of the world upside-down. The youth of the combatants is worthy of note. Youth in both the city and the countryside in the late Middle Ages seems to have been considered as 'violent, brutal and aggressive'.[59] Groups of young people roamed city streets and villages for action; games were often the flashpoint for violent confrontations, which sometimes even led to manslaughter. In a case of 1449 involving youths from Hénin-Liéthard, one of them pushed the other, urging: 'Allons jouer ensemble bastonner l'un contre l'autre' [Let's play

[57] F.A. Snellaert, *Nederlansche gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw van Jan Boendale, Hein van Aken en anderen* (Brussel, 1869), pp. 370-1.

[58] F.M. Besson, '"A armes égales": Une representation de la violence en France et en Espagne au XII siècle', *Gesta*, XXVI (1987), pp. 113-26.

[59] D.M. Nicholas, 'Town and countryside: Social and Economic Tensions in Fourteenth-Century Flanders', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, X (1967-68), pp. 458-85; R. Muchembled, 'Die Jugend und die Volkskultur im 15. Jahrhundert. Flandern und Artois', in *Volkskultur des Europäischen Spätmittelalters*, ed. P. Dinzelbacher and H.-D. Mück (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 35-58; R. Muchembled, *La violence au village: Sociabilité et comportements populaires en Artois du XV au XVIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 1989); J. van Gerven, 'War, Violence and an Urban Society: The Brabantine Towns in the Later Middle Ages', in *Secretum Scriptorum: Liber alumnorum Walter Prevenier*, ed. W. Blockmans, M. Boone, T. de Hemptinne (Leuven, 1999), pp. 183-211.

together beating each other with sticks].[60] The two youths on the Walsokne brass are clearly involved in a violent confrontation and could thus refer to this latent youth violence that was often putting daily life upside-down.

Conclusion

The fighting youths on the Walsokne brass were preceded over a century earlier by the motif of fighting men. In my opinion they are not just scenes of daily life, not just children's games. The iconography can be explained as a late version of the battle between Virtues and Vices, influenced by contemporary writing, such as that of Jan Boendale, about social violence, which was seen as turning the world upside-down. If today it is difficult to discern the precise meaning, the full implications would have been readily intelligible in the fourteenth century. We can be sure that it refers to the foolishness of the world upside-down, as do all the other iconographical motifs of the Walsokne brass.

The Snail Combat

The following scene was described by Cameron as 'a mound ... with what looks to be a seated animal on the top. It is very like a large snail. A man riding a horse and with a shield on his left arm has just passed this object and is looking back. Had he been holding a spear or lance this might well have been target jousting'.[61] There is, as we will see hereafter, a more correct and complex interpretation of this motif.

The snail combat in manuscript illumination

Towards the end of the thirteenth century there appeared in the margins of north French illuminated manuscripts the motif of a man in combat with a snail. The theme and variants thereof became very popular within a few years in Flemish and English marginal illuminations and also in Italy and to a lesser extent even in Spain. Lilian Randall dealt with the matter at some length in 'The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare', in which she examined over seventy marginal representations in twenty-nine manuscripts.[62] Roger Pinon, in his article 'From Illumination to Folksong: the Armed Snail, a Motif of Topsy-Turvy Land', in which he examined the theme in songs and folk tales down to the present day, listed thirteen further manuscripts with a total of eighteen more snail combat illustrations.[63] To this list I am able to add nine more manuscripts, bringing the total in manuscripts to ninety-five; there are probably even more to be identified.[64]

[60] Muchembled, 'Die Jugend und die Volkskultur', p. 41.

[61] Cameron, 'King's Lynn', p. 156.

[62] L.M.C. Randall, 'The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare', *Speculum*, XXXVII (1962), pp. 358-67.

[63] R. Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong: the Armed Snail, a Motif of Topsy-Turvy Land', in *Folklore Studies in the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Folklore Society*, ed. V.J. Newall (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 76-113. The manuscripts identified by the author are listed in appendix 4, pp. 98-100. On the motif, see also G. Baist, 'Assaillir la limace', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, II (1878), p. 304; A. Tobler, 'Assaillir la limace', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, III (1879), p. 99; M. Jones, 'Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art I: Proverbial Follies and Impossibilities', *Folklore*, C, pt. 2 (1989), pp. 208-09**.** I wish to thank Professor M. Jones of the University of Sheffield for having put at my disposal a copy of the part of his unpublished doctoral thesis concerning the snail combat. See also R. van Belle, 'Une contribution à l'iconographie du limaçon', in *Sixième congrès de l'association des cercles francophones d'histoire et d'archéologie de Belgique et LIIIe congrès des cercles d'archéologie et d'histoire de Belgique, Congrès de Mons, 24, 25, 26 et 27 août 2000, Actes* (Mons, 2002), III, pp. 769-83.

[64] The additional manuscripts and monumental representations that I have identified are asterisked.

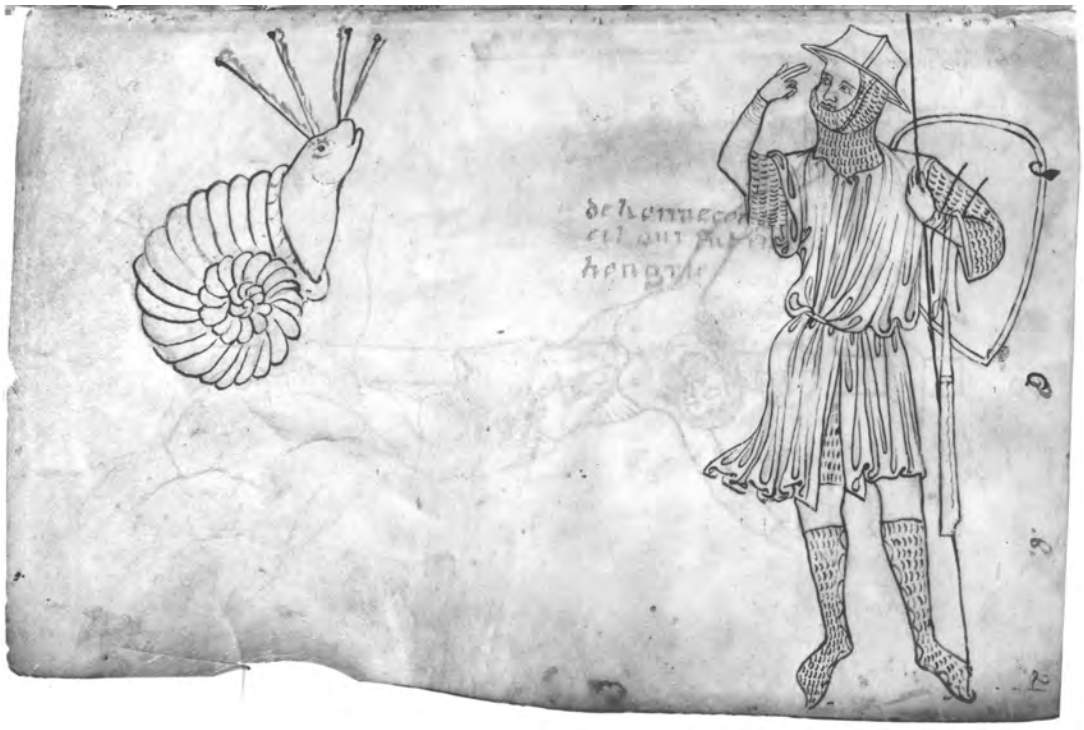

FIG. 7
Armed man and snail, sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 19093, f. 2v
Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale

The motif occurs in the margins of several types of liturgical and devotional manuscripts, as well as in romances, and ranging in artistic quality from relatively provincial works with limited ornamentation to superb productions with elaborate marginal programmes.[65] Although apparently unrelated to immediately adjoining illustrations or texts, the motif often appears in marginal programmes dominated by '*monde renversé*' or 'topsy-turvy' themes.[66] There is little difference in the motif from country to country. The most common form of representation is of a fully armed warrior confronting a snail, the horns of which are extended and often pointed like arrows.[67] The warrior is sometimes armed like a knight, but sometimes we find civilians, both men and women, attacking the animal with a great variety of weapons.

The earliest example in a manuscript is in the famous sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, of the second quarter of the thirteenth century, where a warrior stands in front of a giant snail with long horns (Fig. 7).[68] *A copy of the *Speculum Doctrinale* by

[65] J.F. Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature au moyen âge* (Paris, 1875), p. 41; Randall, 'Snail', p. 358.
[66] Randall, 'Snail', p. 358; R. Pinon, 'La polysémie symbolique de la limace et de l'escargot dans le langage en Occident', *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux*, 2 vols. (Montpellier, 1978), II, p. 1055; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80.
[67] Randall, 'Snail', p. 359. See also Randall, *Images*, pls. 27, 158, 225, 239, 241, 307-11.
[68] Jones, 'Folklore I', pp. 208-9.

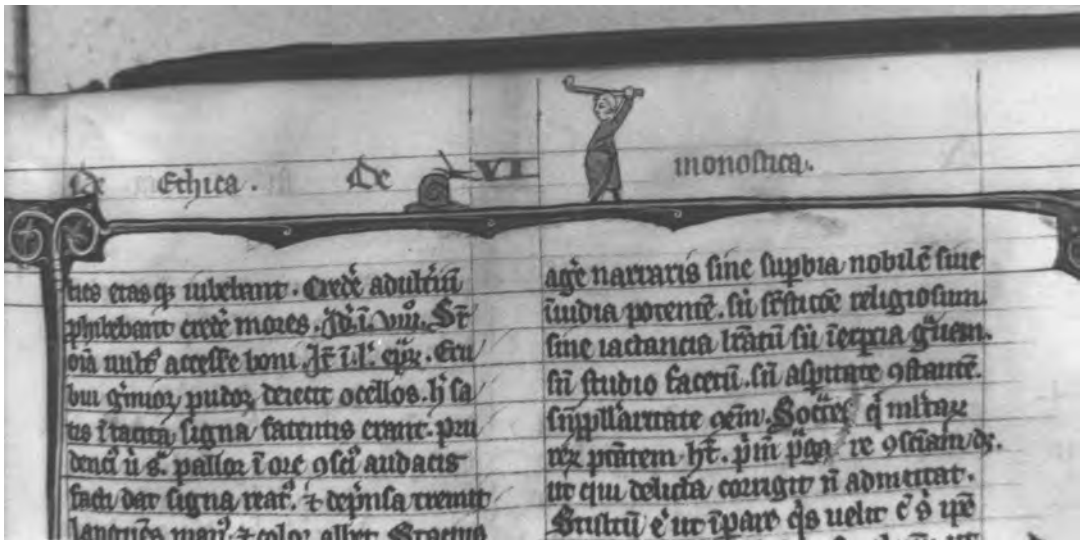

FIG. 8
Boy confronting a snail with a 'kolf' stick, Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251
Photograph by Ronald van Belle

Vincent of Beauvais, from the Cistercian Abbey of Ter Doest near Bruges, executed about 1265-1275 (Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251) has marginal scenes of daily life, games and hybrid monsters.[69] One illustration shows a civilian threatening a snail with his 'kolf' stick (Fig. 8).[70] *In the *Histoire d'outremer et du roi Saladin*, executed in Arras *c.* 1290 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 12203, f. 1), a similar bas-de-page represents a boy threatening a snail with a club.[71] In a copy of Alexander of Villa Dei, *Doctrinale puerorum* (Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 80), dating from the end of the thirteenth century, which once belonged to the famous Cistercian monastery of Orval, a youngster is fighting a snail with sword and shield.[72] A manuscript illuminated in a Genoese monastery attests the wide diffusion of the theme by the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. It was perhaps transmitted via a northern intermediary since the founder of the monastery, Leonardo de Fieschi, owned a Cambrai psalter, acquired while he was provost of St. Donatian in Bruges from 1295 to 1304, which contains no fewer than six versions of the theme.[73] In the Leonardo de Fieschi Psalter a warrior holding a shield in one hand lifts his sword with the other, ready to transfix the horrible creature.[74] *In the Rothschild Canticles (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 404), a devotional manuscript made in the Thérouanne region *c.* 1300, one marginal illustration shows a civilian attacking a snail. A

69 *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, exhibition catalogue (Brugge, 1981), pp. 121, 122; A. Hoste, *De Handschriften van Ter Doest* (Steenbrugge, 1993), p. 44.

70 The game of 'kolf', in French 'jeu de la crosse', was a very popular game in Flanders and France, comparable to hockey (R. Vaultier, *Le Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans d'après les Lettres de Rémission du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris, 1965), pp. 191-2; M. Sacré and A. De Cort, *Volksspelen en Volksvermaken in Vlaams België* (Merchtem, 1925), pp. 37-8).

71 P.M. De Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)* (Paris, 1985), pl. 53.

72 *Orval, Neuf siècles d'histoire, 1070-1970*, exhibition catalogue (Orval, 1970), p. 1978, fig. 87.

73 L.M.C. Randall, 'The Fieschi Psalter', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIII (1960), pp. 27-47; Randall, 'Snail', p. 359.

74 Randall, *Images*, fig. 309; Randall, 'Snail', p. 358.

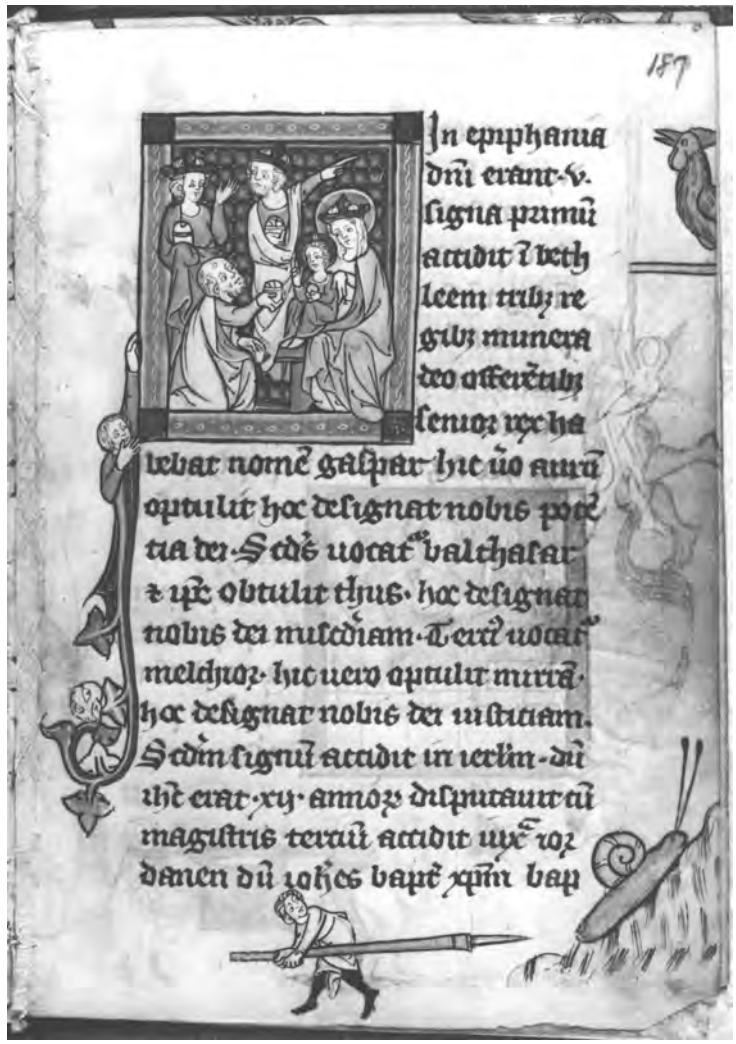

FIG. 9
Young man attacking a snail with a *Goedendag*,
New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 404, f. 187
Copyright Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

giant snail with horns pointed like arrows climbs a hill, and is attacked by a young boy with a typical Flemish weapon called a *Goedendag*, used by the commoners of the city militia, consisting of a club bound with iron and provided with a spike (Fig. 9).[75]

Men at arms, knights or civilians confront the snail, attacking him with all kind of weapons on foot or on horseback. In one of the illustrations of Lancelot of the Lake, the knight lifts up his lance and seems to hesitate to charge the monster positioned on a small

[75] On this MS, see J.F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven, 1990).

FIG. 10
Knight charging a snail, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 1173, f. 168
Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale

mound.[76] In a copy of the romance *Tristram*, a warrior with a lance stands still, while a 'centaur' knight, half man and half horse, charges the monster at full gallop.[77] *****In a margin of a treatise about chess by Nicolas de Nicolaï (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 1173, f. 168), a helmed knight on horseback executes a brilliant passage of arms with his lance against a snail sitting on a mound which takes an aggressive attitude (Fig. 10). A woman brandishing her distaff seems to encourage the knight in his enterprise. In other illustrations, on the contrary, the woman implores the man-at-arms not to dare to attack such a strong opponent and to break off the combat. In a book of hours of the use of Thérouanne, of the end of the thirteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 14284, f. 15v), a woman begs a warrior not to attack a snail sitting on a mound. In a fourteenth-century missal of the use of Rome, from Amiens, illuminated by Pierre de Raimbeaucourt (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 78 D 40), a woman holding a distaff and spindle pulls back a heavily armed man by the skirts of his surcoat (Fig. 11).[78] The warrior, holding a slingshot, stands behind a large shield decorated with a comical dog head and faces a giant aggressive snail.

Some of the scenes show the knight, full of fear of the snail, dropping his sword, as in a Flemish psalter of the first quarter of the fourteenth century (Copenhagen, Kongelige

[76] Randall, 'Snail', fig. 2.
[77] Randall, *Images*, figs. 310, 721.
[78] L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique, fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande* (Paris, 1910), p. 56.

FIG. 11
Confrontation with a snail, Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 78 D 40
Copyright Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag

Bibliotek, GKS MS 3384, f. 160),[79] or, as in a book of hours of the Duc de Berry, of *c.* 1400 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 919), being disarmed by the snail, which takes away his lance and shield.[80] Finally, the knight even kneels submissively before his diminutive foe, imploring mercy, as in a marginal scene in the Gorleston Psalter (BL Add. MS 49622, f. 162v) of the 1310s.[81]

Some of the illustrations represent hybrid creatures, half man, half animal, who attack the snail, as in the Ormesby and Queen Mary Psalters.[82] In the Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, illuminated by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy and other Parisian artists in the 1370s, under a miniature representing a Requiem Mass, a hybrid warrior protected by a shield attacks a snail.[83] In another variant, a dog riding a hare charges with his lance a hare riding a snail.[84] Sometimes it is an animal, such as a

79 Randall, *Images*, pl. 307.
80 Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 98.
81 Randall, *Images*, pl. 308; Randall, 'Snail', p. 359; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 98.
82 For the Ormesby Psalter (Bodleian MS Douce 366), see Randall, *Images*, pl. 239; for Queen Mary's Psalter (BL Royal MS 2 B.vii), see G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, 1912), pl. 183.
83 De Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi*, pl. 116.
84 Randall, *Images*, pls. 27, 225.

monkey, cat or hare which confronts the snail, while in its turn the snail sometimes has the head of a dog, a dragon, a ram or some other animal as it emerges from its shell.[85] Occasionally it is not a snail but a hare or rabbit from which the warrior flees in terror.[86]

Within a short period after its emergence in the margins of manuscripts, the snail combat motif became an accepted element of medieval imagery.[87] Like many other subjects popularised in marginal illuminations the snail combat gradually disappeared in the course of the fourteenth century, to be revived with special applicability to contemporary events at the end of the fifteenth century. Thus it was used as an illustration in the *Grand Compost et Calendrier des Bergers* to ridicule the recently established peasant militia.[88]

*In the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry a knight on top of a tower repels with his spear a snail which is climbing up.[89] *A margin in *Le livre de la propriété des choses*, by Bartholomeus Anglicus, illuminated in Bruges *c.* 1470, probably by Philippe de Mazerolles, and once belonging to Louis de Gruuthuse, represents a fashionably dressed man attacking a snail with a club.[90] The lower border of the same page shows a knight attacking a small boar with his sword. *In the margin of the Hours of Alheyt van Limberghen, of 1491, a man in a short jacket spears a snail.[91] *A snail combat is also represented in a Catalan Diurnal (Barcelona University Library, MS 760, f. 23), dating from the 1420s or 1430s (Fig. 12).[92] Here the motif occurs alongside images from the Bestiary or from fables and proverbs, as well as Christological themes. The hybrid warrior, armed with a lance, attacks a snail sitting on a leaf. The satirical origin was probably unknown to the Catalan reader of the fifteenth century, who would have regarded the illustration as a product of an unbridled imagination.

Snail iconography on monuments

Depictions of the snail combat in carvings and paintings are less well known. The motif was carved on the now fragmentary thirteenth-century rood-screen of Chartres Cathedral. A man is shown dropping his boar-spear, sword and shield, and fleeing at the sight of a giant snail (Fig. 13).[93] Decorative panels on the main entrance of Lyon Cathedral, carved around 1310, show men-at-arms fighting dragons and other monsters.[94] Among them are a knight defending himself with his sword from a snail (left-hand doorway, left side, first row) and a knight with raised axe threatening a dog-headed giant snail (left-hand doorway,

85 Randall, *Images*, pl. 158.
86 Randall, *Images*, pls. 300, 355.
87 Randall, 'Snail', pp. 358-9.
88 Randall, 'Snail', p. 359.
89 *Les Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, *Musée Condé, Chantilly*, intr. J. Longnon and R. Cazelles (London, 1969), fig. 73.
90 *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, pp. 246-9, pl. 28.
91 P.M. Le Blanc and J.M.M. Hermans, 'Een verlucht handschrift uit Oost-Groningen. Het getijdenboek van zuster Alheyt van Limbergen (1491)', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XXXVI (1985), p. 187, fig. C91.
92 G. Boto and J. Molina, 'Satire et comique dans l'illustration marginale. Un manuscript du gothique international catalan', in *Flanders in a European Perspective, Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (Leuven, 1995), p. 158.
93 Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle*, p. 263, n. 124; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80.
94 L. Begule, *La cathédrale de Lyon* (Lyon, 1913), p. 66; Randall, 'Snail', p. 359; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80 (where the panels are erroneously referred to as lost).

FIG. 12
Hybrid and snail, Barcelona University Library, MS 760, f. 23
Photograph by Ronald van Belle

right side, fourth row) (Fig. 14). On a wooden draughts piece in the British Museum, of *c.* 1320, a knight with a lance and shield fights a snail standing on a stone tower.[95]

A snail combat decorated one of the window tympana on the front of the *Maison du Miroir* at Dijon, dating from the early thirteenth century, but with additions carved in 1400 by the famous Claus de Werve.[96] A drawing of 1767 shows in the arch at far right a warrior in full armour fighting a giant snail (Fig. 15). A similar motif is said to have adorned the arch of the castle entrance at Dijon.[97] In the Musée du Petit Palais at Avignon is a series of six fourteenth-century painted wooden panels, removed from the ceiling of a house in the centre of Avignon. One of them shows a helmeted knight with shield and sword fighting a monstrous snail (Fig. 16).[98]

In Spain, a snail combat decorates the stone balustrade of the fourteenth-century pulpit in the north choir aisle of Barcelona Cathedral (Fig. 17).[99] The motif also inspired

95 Baist, 'Assaillir la limace', p. 304; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80, pl. 5.

96 On the *Maison du Miroir*, seeH. Chabeuf, 'La Maison du Miroir ou des Chartreux à Dijon', *Revue de lArt Chrétien*, 5e série, X (1899), pp. 112-18; Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle*, p. 263, n. 124; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80; P. Camp, 'Les imageurs bourguignons de la fin du Moyen-Age', *Les Cahiers du Vieux-Dijon*, nr. 17-18 (Dijon, 1990), p. 100. The earliest reference dates from 1265; the Carthusians acquired the property in 1413.

97 Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80.

98 J. Girard, *Catalogue du Musée Calvet* (Avignon, 1924), ref. 11-12.

99 I am grateful to Professor I. Vandevivere, of the University of Louvain-La-Neuve, for drawing my attention to this carving.

FIG. 13
Man fleeing from a snail, rood screen of Chartres Cathedral
Copyright Inventaire Général Centre S.P.A.D.E.M.

FIG. 14
Knight and snail, *c.* 1310, Lyon Cathedral
Photograph by Ronald van Belle

FIG. 15
Knight and snail, formerly Maison du Miroir, Dijon
Copyright Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon

wood carvers, appearing on Spanish, as well as English, misericords. A helmeted warrior bearing a sword and probably also a shield (which has disappeared) attacks a snail on a misericord at Talavera de la Reina (Fig. 18).[100] A similar motif, unfortunately very mutilated, adorns a misericord at Belmonte.[101] At Barcelona Cathedral, on a misericord carved by Pere Sanglada between 1394 and 1399, a naked man bearing lance and shield rises from a shell in order to attack a giant snail.[102] The support of a Beverley misericord of 1520 shows an armed man spearing a disproportionately large snail.[103] Pinon cites a misericord in Bristol Cathedral depicting a large slug with a pack tied to its back and two men, one brandishing a flail.[104] Malcolm Jones demonstrated clearly that this image was not related to the snail combat but was probably inspired by a popular proverb:

> What can it avayle
> To dryve forth a snale,
> Or to make a sayle
> Of a herynges tayle?[105]

[100] Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, p. 54, pl. 25. The misericords were carved by a German sculptor.
[101] Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, p. 54.
[102] Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, p. 54, pl. 28.
[103] G.L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1969), p. 174, fig. 17; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 208.
[104] J.C.D. Smith, *Church Woodcarvings: A West Country Study* (Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 31; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 80; Jones, 'Folklore I', pp. 208-9.
[105] Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 210.

FIG. 16
Knight and snail, Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon
Copyright Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon

The meaning of the motif

While the principal connotation of the motif seems to be the mocking or exemplification of human cowardice, other interpretations have been proposed.[106] Perhaps the earliest was that of the Comte de Bastard, who identified the emergence of the snail from its shell as a symbol of the Resurrection after finding an archer shooting a snail depicted on the same page as the Raising of Lazarus in two French books of hours.[107] Another *raison d'être* was proposed by Champfleury, who cited the snail's voracity in the vineyard as a possible explanation for its universal unpopularity.[108] For Maeterlinck the theme reflected the struggle between the lower classes and the aristocracy.[109] He saw it as a satire of the powerful who from their castles laugh at the threats of the poor people whom they exploit.

[106] Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 210. See also the philological interpretation of C. Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires ou de la literature du colportage*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1854), I, pp. 146-7; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 109, note 43.

[107] Comte de Bastard cited in Randall, 'Snail', p. 360; L. Charbonneau-Lassay, *La mystérieuse emblématique de Jésus Christ: Le Bestiaire du Christ* (Brugge, 1940), p. 928; M.A. Dollfus, 'Les mollusques terrestres dans l'art et l'archeologie', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1978-1979, pp. 30-9. See also Randall, 'Snail', p. 361, concerning the discovery of snail shells in Roman and Merovingian tombs, suggesting a connection between the snail, death and resurrection.

[108] Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature au moyen âge*, pp. 40-1, citing Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires*, I, pp. 116-20; Randall, 'Snail', p. 360. There exists a specific iconography of the voracious snail. A snail devouring a leaf occurs on a 15th-century misericord in the church of La Trinité, Vendôme. Two snails are represented on the 16th-century misericords at Mantes-la-Jolie (D. and H. Kraus, *The Hidden World of Misericords* (New York, 1975), figs. 12, 80). A voracious snail is also present on a misericord at Yuste (Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, fig. 24).

[109] Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique, pp. 55-6, fig. 69; Randall, 'Snail', p. 360.*

FIG. 17
Man and snail, detail of pulpit, Barcelona Cathedral
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According to Charbonneau Lassay, the motif illustrates 'one of those medieval legends where a giant snail protects a wonderful castle'.[110] Attempts to identify such a story have been without success.[111] Charbonneau Lessay was probably confused with the '*Débat des gens d'armes et d'une femme contre un lymasson*', that occurs in the *Grand Calendrier et Compost des Bergers*, printed in 1488 and afterwards, in which the recently created rural militia is ridiculed.[112] The 'Woman with Bold Courage', armed with a distaff, addresses a snail, with extended horns, standing at the top of a watchtower on a castle, and accuses him of ravaging the vines. Emboldened by her example, the men-at-arms promise to storm the

[110] Charbonneau-Lassay, *La mystérieuse emblématique de Jésus Christ*, p. 929.
[111] Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 81. I have been equally unsuccessful in finding such a story.
[112] Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires*, I, pp. 117-18, fig. on p. 117. For two other versions, see Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 81, pls. 7, 8.

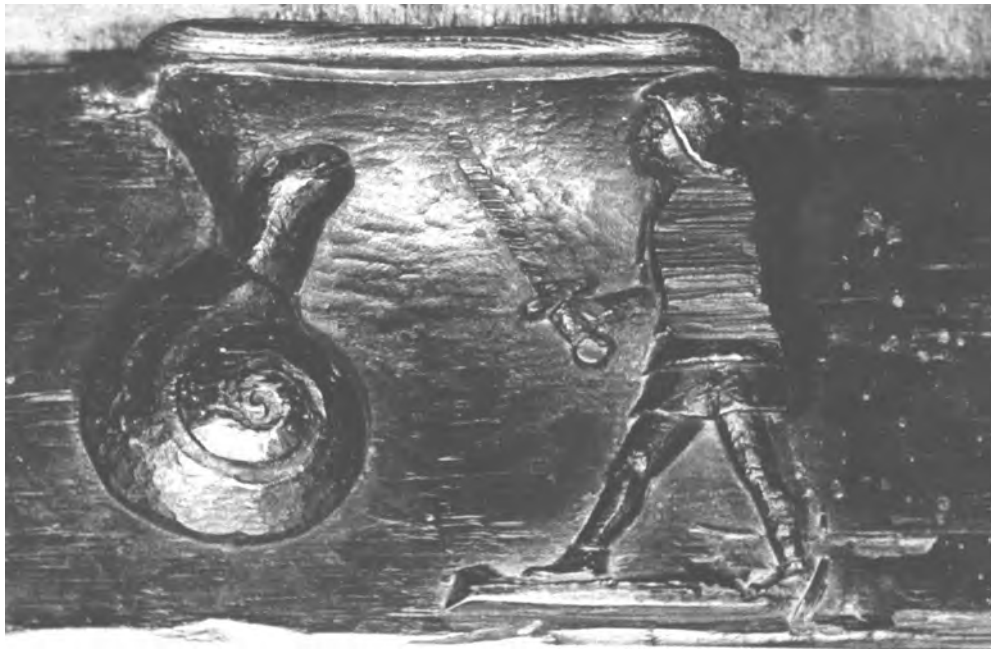

FIG. 18
Man and snail, misericord, Talavera de la Reina
Copyright Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Barcelona

castle, despite the snail's menacing stance, and to eat the animal in a sauce which no Lombard ever tasted before. The snail answers that it will not be intimidated and that its horns are like those of an ox. The snail is no longer the instrument of mockery directed at a knight but characterises the discontent of the oppressed. Without ruling out the possible validity of the above interpretations, the principal association of the motif with the vice of cowardice must be examined more closely.[113]

Cowardice was often symbolised by a warrior who drops his sword at the mere sight of a hare.[114] The motif was used in a religious context in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for example in the decoration of the porches of Amiens and Chartres, in the context of the Psychomachia.[115] On several facades it is juxtaposed with a seated figure of Fortitude.[116] The merging of the snail and hare motifs may be observed in a late thirteenth-century miniature in the *Ars d'amour, de vertu et de boneurté* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 95438, f. 117), showing two frightened men, one dropping his sword, flanking a hare and a snail. This illustrates the chapter '*que choses sont a cremir et en ques choses nient cremir nest mie force*' ('which matters need to be

[113] Randall, 'Snail', p. 360; Jones, 'Folklore I', pp. 203, 208-9.
[114] Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle*, pp. 238-41; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203.
[115] Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle*, pp. 238-41 with fig. For the snail in exempla as a symbol of cowardice, see G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 190; Randall, 'Snail', p. 360; Pinon, 'La polysémie', p. 1056; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203.
[116] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, p. 75 ff., figs. 72a, 73a, 76; Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle*, figs. 65-7, 70; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203.

FIG. 19
Frightened men with hare and snail, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 95438, f. 117
Copyright Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels

feared and which matters do not need to be feared according to my strength') (Fig. 19).[117] A slightly later copy of the text retains the same composition, followed in the chapter on Shamelessness by a representation of two men armed with sticks confronting a snail, placed significantly in the centre foreground, while a hare issues from a more distant hillock (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9548, ff. 97,

[117] Randall, 'Snail', p. 361.

148).[118] There is no doubt that by the end of the thirteenth century, the snail was an established element of the iconography of Cowardice.

The snail in literature

In secular literature, mainly in France, there is often a reference to the snail. For example, in the *Roman de Renart* there is a reference to twenty-four tailors, who decide to kill a snail.[119] The arms for this enterprise are listed: 'Everybody bears either stck, or mace, or flail, or club or axe, they shall fight the snail well'. In the *Conte du Graal (Perceval)* by Chrétien de Troyes, it is said 'never in Lombardy was there such an intrigue about attacking a snail'.[120] In the continuation of *Perceval* by Gerbert de Montreuil occurs the comment: 'You come straight from Lombardy; you are quite bold for having killed the snail! Was it with a dagger or a mace that you did kill the horned beast?'[121] In the *Image de Pierre* we read 'he feared the dwelling and the place more than a Lombard a snail' and in *Galien le Restoré* 'I am not a Lombard who flees because of a snail'.[122] These texts allude to the Lombard who attacks a snail in order to prove his courage, but by so doing demonstrates that he is, in fact, a coward and a poltroon. The French expression 'Assaillir la limaçe' ('to assault the snail') has the same meaning.[123] From the middle of the twelfth century onwards, Lombards are cited as prototypes of non-chivalrous comportment in general, to the extent that the adjective 'Lombard' sometimes even took on the significance of cowardice.[124] Thus, in the *Roman de Thèbes*, composed shortly before 1150, we read 'With helmet attached and shield at the neck, this one does not look like a coward or a fool' (*Ne semble pas Lombart ne fol*).[125] In the story of Ogier it is remarked: 'They are Lombards, it was testified to me that as warriors they are not worth a penny'.[126] The perpetuation of the theme was given further impetus by a pseudo-Ovidian poem, *De Lombardo et Lumaca*, which appeared towards the end of the twelfth century and survives in at least twenty-five manuscripts.[127] In this version a simple Lombard peasant encounters a 'heavily armed' snail; while the gods encourage him to fight the beast, with promises of great rewards, his wife, appalled by her husband's recklessness, pleads with him for her sake and that of the children not to embark on such a dangerous mission, which

[118] Randall, 'Snail', p. 361.

[119] *Le Roman de Renart*, ed. N. Fukumoto, N. Harano and S. Suzuki (Tokyo, 1983), verse 3008.

[120] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le conte du Graal (Perceval)*, ed. C. Mela (Paris, 1990), verse 5872. I am grateful to Professor W. van Hoecke for this and the following literary references.

[121] Gerbert de Montreuil, *La continuation de Perceval*, ed. M. Williams, Les classiques français du Moyen Age, 28 (Paris, 1922), verse 4407.

[122] 'L'Image de Pierre', in *La vie des Pères*, ed. F. Lecoy, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1987), verse 8507, and *Galien le Restoré*, ed. E. Stengel, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete des Romanischen Philologie, 84 (Marburg, 1890), p. 307, line 29.

[123] Baist, 'Assaillir la limace', pp. 303-5; Tobler, 'Assaillir la limace', pp. 98-102; 'Tristan ménestrel, extrait de la continuation de Perceval part Gerbert', ed. J.L. Weston and J. Bedier, *Romania*, XXXV (1906), pp. 479-530; W. Benary, 'Zu assaillir la limace', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXXIV (1910), pp. 137-9; E. Lomatzsch, 'Mitteilungen IV', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXXIX (1912), pp. 454-9.

[124] Randall, 'Snail', p. 363.

[125] *Roman de Thèbes*, ed. L. Constans, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1890), verse 3312. See also Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 77.

[126] Tobler, 'Assaillir la limace', p. 77.

[127] For a recent edition with commentary, see *De Lombardo et Lumaca, Commedie latine del XII et XIII secolo*, ed. M. Bonacina, IV, Pubblicazioni dell'Instituto di Filologia classica e medievale dell'Università di Genova, 79 (Genova, 1983), pp. 95-135.

neither Hercules, Achilles nor Hector would have dared undertake. At the end, following the advice of the gods, he destroys the monster. Some miniatures seem to illustrate this version (Fig. 11). Two manuscripts in Vienna contain a short prose epistle of the thirteenth century where an Italian requests his friend to come and help him in his struggle against a snail.[128] He repeatedly writes: 'I encountered a terrible monster the like of which I have never seen before'. These quotations demonstrate that this literary theme of the snail as a symbol of illusionary courage was widespread in its Latin form among the literature, and in the vernacular diffused to all layers of French society.[129]

The theme of the snail in folklore

The motif of the snail can be traced both visually and verbally for several centuries, ending with nineteenth century examples such as humorous folktales about peasants terrified at meeting a snail in the road, and children's rhymes from France, Germany and Britain describing battles between snails and humans, the latter being generally cowardly.[130] Roger Pinon describes how the motif is even used at the present time as a beehive decoration in Slovenia.[131]

The historical origin of the theme

The confrontation with a snail features from the mid twelfth century onwards in tales told by the French at the expense of the Italians. Commenting on the deplorable passion for hunting and fighting on the part of the English, John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticus* of 1159, cites as no more ridiculous the alleged terror of the Emilians and Ligurians at the sight of a snail.[132] Two generations later the same inference appears in Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Occidentalis*, where he describes the characteristics of the various nationalities at the University of Paris.[133] The English are portrayed as heavy drinkers, the Flemish as gay and lavish revellers, the Lombards as avaricious, malicious and cowardly (*imbelles*). A complaint by Odofredo, lecturer in law at Bologna, who was affiliated to the University of Paris from 1228 to 1234, against the defacing of university walls by slanderous charcoal graffiti, confirms that by 1230 the snail had become an established vehicle in university circles for French ridicule of the Italians.[134] Giovanni Villani describes in his *Istorie Fiorentine* of 1320 how the French laughed at the Lombards, saying that they were afraid of a slug or a snail.[135] Snail, slug and tortoise were indiscriminately used to caricature not only Lombards, Ligurians and Emilians, but also Italians in general.[136] The word Lombard came to mean 'coward' and 'traitor'.[137]

[128] This letter is published in *De Lombardo et Lumaca*, ed. Bonacina, pp. 134-5.
[129] Randall, 'Snail', p. 362.
[130] *Horae Belgicae II: Niederländische Volkslieder*, ed. A.H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben (Hannover, 1856), pp. 243-4, nr. 132; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 209.
[131] Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', pp. 101-05.
[132] Randall, 'Snail', p. 362.
[133] Tobler, 'Assaillir la limace', p. 101; Randall, 'Snail', p. 361; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 78.
[134] Randall, 'Snail', p. 362; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', pp. 76-7.
[135] Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 76.
[136] Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 77.
[137] Tobler, 'Assaillir la limace', p. 101.

The reason for the association of this personification of cowardice with the Lombards seems to lie in an event of remarkably far-reaching consequences, the Lombards' inexplicable and catastrophic flight before Charlemagne in 772.[138] The total unexpectedness of the Lombards' panic, completely contrary to their customary ferocity in battle, served to glorify the heroic image of Charlemagne. The Lombard debacle was occasioned by Pope Hadrian II's appeal to Charlemagne for aid against Desiderius, King of the Lombards, who had seized certain papal territories. Having rejected all proposals for peaceful settlement, Desiderius prepared for battle but fled at the sight of the Frankish army without exchanging a blow. The Frankish triumph was also celebrated in *chansons de geste*.[139] At what date the snail became part of this legend it is difficult to determine, although the association of Lombards with snails doubtless existed in oral tradition before appearing in writing in the mid twelfth century.[140] According to the Italian philologist Novati, the association derives from its depiction in miniatures. The German Romanist Baist traces its origin to the itinerant troubadours. Both authors recognise the desire to slander the Lombards as the cause of the dissemination of the motif.[141] The weakness of Novati's hypothesis is patent; it seems likely that the illumination derives from the slander and not vice versa, since very few people would have seen the miniatures.

What motivated the rash of marginal snail-combat representations between c. 1290 and 1325, as well as the host of literary references between 1150 and 1325?[142] Why was the snail combat repeatedly depicted when many analogous literary themes were rarely, if ever, represented? How can the virtually simultaneous appearance of the motif in marginal iconography in France, Flanders and England be explained? The answer lies in the establishment of Lombard usurers and pawnbrokers throughout Northern Europe during the course of the thirteenth century. It seems that from the first half of the thirteenth century onwards, the Lombards and the citizens of Asti had systematically imposed their financial practices in France and neighbouring territories. Their monopolistic power by the end of the century in the commercial centres of France, the Netherlands and England testifies to the rapidity of their expansion.[143] Although usury was considered a crime by the church, even abbeys were not safe from its effect. The terms 'Lombard' and 'usurer' became synonymous in documents for the remainder of the Middle Ages.[144] Protests against the ever-widening sphere of the Lombards' influence were voiced with remarkable international unanimity, by critics such as

[138] Randall, 'Snail', p. 364.

[139] Randall, 'Snail', pp. 364-5; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 76. A *Vita Hadriani* of the 11th century refers to the cowardice of King Desiderius and his army.

[140] Randall, 'Snail', p. 365; Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', pp. 76, 77, 79.

[141] Pinon, 'From Illumination to Folksong', p. 79.

[142] Randall, 'Snail', p. 365.

[143] C. Pitton, *Les Lombards en France et à Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1892-3); F. Donnet, 'Les Lombards à Termonde et dans quelques villes des Pays-Bas', *Oudheidkundige Kring van Dendermonde, Gedenkschriften*, 2e reeks, VIII (1900), p. 128; L. Gauthier, *Les Lombards dans les Deux-Bourgognes* (Paris, 1907), p. 23; E. Sabbe, 'De Lombarden te Kortrijk in de XIIIe, XIVe en XVe eeuwen', *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, LXVII (1924), pp. 174-80; Randall, 'Snail', pp. 365-6.

[144] Snellaert, *Nederlandsche gedichten*, p. 421; Gauthier, *Les Lombards*, pp. 305-8. On usury and the position of the Church, see J. Le Goff, *La bourse et la vie* (Paris, 1986).

Matthew Paris, Dante, Boccaccio and Froissart.[145] But despite innumerable complaints about their rapacity and deceitfulness, the Lombards' services were constantly in demand. With the exception of church ornaments and regalia, almost any object from household furnishings to priceless jewels could be pawned. In fact, it was claimed that as long as there was any hope of making a profit the Lombards would deal in anything, even one's health. Anti-Lombard feeling was general. They were detested by the humble as by the rich, who held them responsible for all their problems.[146] This feeling was so strong that Count Henry III of Brabant ordered in his last will of 1260 'that the Jews and the Cawersyns (another name for the Lombards) of Brabant should be destroyed and exterminated so that not a single one should be left'.[147] The Count's command was not carried out, and rulers often found the assistance of the Lombards necessary in the administration of their treasuries.[148] As bankers, the Lombards played an essential role in economic development.[149] The predilection for the snail combat can be explained by the strong current of anti-Lombard sentiment. The marginal drawings could be interpreted at will either as a general representation of cowardice or as a specific allusion to the despised Lombards.[150]

Like many other subjects popular in marginal illumination around 1300, the snail combat gradually lost its appeal to be revived with special applicability to contemporary events at the end of the fifteenth century.[151] Thus, as we have seen, it was used in the *Grand Compost et Calendrier des Bergers* to ridicule the recently established peasant militia. On its reappearance the motif was no longer linked to anti-Lombard sentiment but was used as a symbol of Cowardice.[152] As such it occurs on a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Pietà now in the museum at Louvain-la-Neuve.[153] On the side of the bench on which the Virgin sits holding the dead body of her Son there is carved a hill with a tree in which a pilgrim, frightened by a giant snail, has taken refuge, leaving his terrified dog and his pilgrim staff and scrip at the foot of the tree (Fig. 20). The image of the man terrified by a snail was used by preachers for moral reflection. In *La Somme le Roi*, the influential Dominican Frère Laurent (d. 1302), writing about pusillanimity, observes: 'Cesti ressemble à celi qui n'ose enter el sentier de bonne voie pour la limaçon qui li montre ses cornes'.[154] As early as 1340 this was a literary commonplace in English:

[145] Randall, 'Snail', p. 366.
[146] Randall, 'Snail', p. 366.
[147] J. Laenen, 'Usuriers et Lombards dans le Brabant au XVe siècle', *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1904, pp. 128, 130.
[148] Gauthier, *Les Lombards*, p. 31; Laenen, 'Usuriers et Lombards', p. 137; Donnet, 'Les Lombards à Termonde', pp. 127-9.
[149] J.H. Darings, 'Over de Lombaerden en Bergen van Barmhartigheid in België', *Belgisch Museum voo*r de Nederduitsche Taal en Letterkunde, VI (1842), pp. 333-72; R. De Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges. Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers: A study in the origins of banking* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 346.
[150] Randall, 'Snail', p. 366.
[151] Randall, 'Snail', p. 366.
[152] Randall, 'Snail', pp. 359-60.
[153] I am grateful to Professor I. Vandevivere for drawing my. attention to this statue and also for providing information about it. See also Van Belle, 'Contribution'. A date in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is suggested by the costume.
[154] D.C. Tinbergen, *Des Conincx Summe*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde, 2 vols. (Leiden, [1900-07]), pp. 15-19, 253-4; G. Grenthe, *Dictionnaire des sources historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1907), col. 2771; T. Kaeppelli and E. Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Romae, 1970-93), III, pp. 63, 64.

FIG. 20
Man frightened by a snail, detail of Pietà, Musée de Louvain-la-Neuve
Copyright Musée de Louvain-la-Neuve

'Tho anlikneth than thet ne dar naght guo ine the pethe vor thane snegge thet seaweth him hornes' (You resemble him who dares not go on the path (for fear) of the snail that shows him his horns).[155] A lesser known contemporary image of cowardice is preserved in Gauthier de Metz's *Image du monde* of the mid thirteenth century in which pusillanimity, the sixth root of Sloth, is typified by fear when faced with a snail.[156] The fact that the coward on the Louvain-la-Neuve statue is represented as a pilgrim is no surprise. In many literary works the believer is regarded as a kind of spiritual wanderer (*peregrinus*) who must undergo a series of trials in his quest for salvation, as in *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*, by Philippe de Mézières, written about 1386-9, or Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, dating from 1330-1.[157] In the latter work, which was translated into English, among other

[155] Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIème siècle*, p. 241; M. Jones, Doctoral thesis, citing Whiting S419, 'To be afraid of a snail'
[156] Randall, 'Snail', p. 361.
[157] Grenthe, *Dictionnaire des sources historiques*, cols. 614-16, 1144-6; Goodich, *Other Middle Ages*, p. 14.

languages, there is mention of the snail, which is not considered a dangerous enemy, for its horns are of no use and even retract at a little straw. In these examples the morality of cowardice is the dominant theme.

Conclusion

The snail motif was once very popular and can be found depicted from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. It can also be traced verbally for several centuries with even nineteenth-century examples in the form of humorous folktales about peasants terrified at meeting a snail in the road.[158] The motif was a vehicle for satire and moral comment. In this light, how is the snail combat on the Walsokne brass to be interpreted? As mentioned previously, the snail motif appeared in marginal programmes dominated by the 'World Upside-down'. The snail combat was originally a satirical attack on the alleged cowardice of the Lombards, and the popularity of this motif can be explained by widespread anti-Lombard sentiment as a result of their financial activities. Eventually it became merely a symbol of cowardice. The image on the brass closely resembles those in manuscript illuminations. The story of the knight frightened by a snail must have been still current as an exemplum in Tournai in the fourteenth century, in order to attract the attention of the engraver. The original allusion to the Lombards was probably not yet forgotten, but it is unlikely that its inclusion on the brass had an explicit satirical meaning. The main purpose was the moral one of representing cowardice as part of the 'World Upside-down'.[159]

Man carrying a Horse or Ass

On the outer right-hand side of the foot-panel is a man carrying a saddled animal on his back, perhaps a horse or possibly, as Waller suggests, an ass (Pl. 1c, d).[160] This 'World Upside-down' folly occurs in the margins of three manuscripts. In a Psalter with a calendar of St. Peter's Abbey, Ghent (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 5), of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, we see a man, naked but for underpants and a cap, carrying a saddled horse on his back while wading through water, perhaps so as to avoid his horse becoming wet (Fig. 21).[161] This scene could refer to a specific fable or proverb, the sense of which is not now clear. Malcolm Jones has suggested that it may be an illustration of the maxim that 'you may lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink', a proverb attested to as early as the twelfth century in England.[162] In my opinion

[158] Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203.

[159] It should be noted that there are many other unrelated snail representations. For instance there is a curious one where the snail symbolises the virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In an Annunciation by Francesco del Cossa, of *c.* 1470-2, at Dresden, a snail is shown crawling across the pavement. Franz von Retz, in his *Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis beatae Mariae*, gives the rationale for this symbol: 'If the dew of the clean air can make the sea snail pregnant, then God in virtue can make His mother pregnant'. Dürer used the snail for this purpose in the Book of Hours of Maximilian I (H.S. Ettlinger, 'The Virgin Snail', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI (1978), p. 316, fig. 44b, c & d). For other explanations, see Pinon, 'La polysémie', pp. 1055-74; Mateo Gomez, *Temas profanos*, pp. 52-4; Randall, 'Snail', p. 361.

[160] Cameron, 'King's Lynn', p. 156; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203.

[161] Randall, *Images*, fig. 373; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203 n. 39.

[162] Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203.

FIG. 21
Man carrying a horse across water, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 5, f. 147
Copyright Bodleian Library

this explanation, although not impossible, seems less convincing as the man is in his underpants, thus underlining the intention of the idiotic but humane horse bearer, to wade through the water in order to avoid his horse becoming wet. A related medieval popular story (traceable back to Horace) tells of the stupid peasant who waits for the water of a river to finish running in order to cross dryshod.[163] An identical iconography is to be found in a marginal illumination in a mid-fourteenth-century Franco-Flemish manuscript of *Le voeux du paon* by Jacques de Longuyon (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Glazier 24, f. 8) (Fig. 22).[164] An early-fourteenth-century Flemish manuscript in Copenhagen (Kongelige Bibliotek, MS 3384, f. 69v), shows a similar motif: a fully dressed man carrying a horse on his back walks towards a river (Fig. 23).[165] The Walsokne brass is very worn but

[163] A.P. Orban, 'Het spreekwoordelijk beeld van de "rusticus", de boer in de Middeleeuwen', in *Gewone mensen in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. R.E.V. Stuip and C. Vellekoop (Utrecht, 1987), p. 77.
[164] Randall, *Images*, fig. 328; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203 n. 39.
[165] Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 203 n. 40.

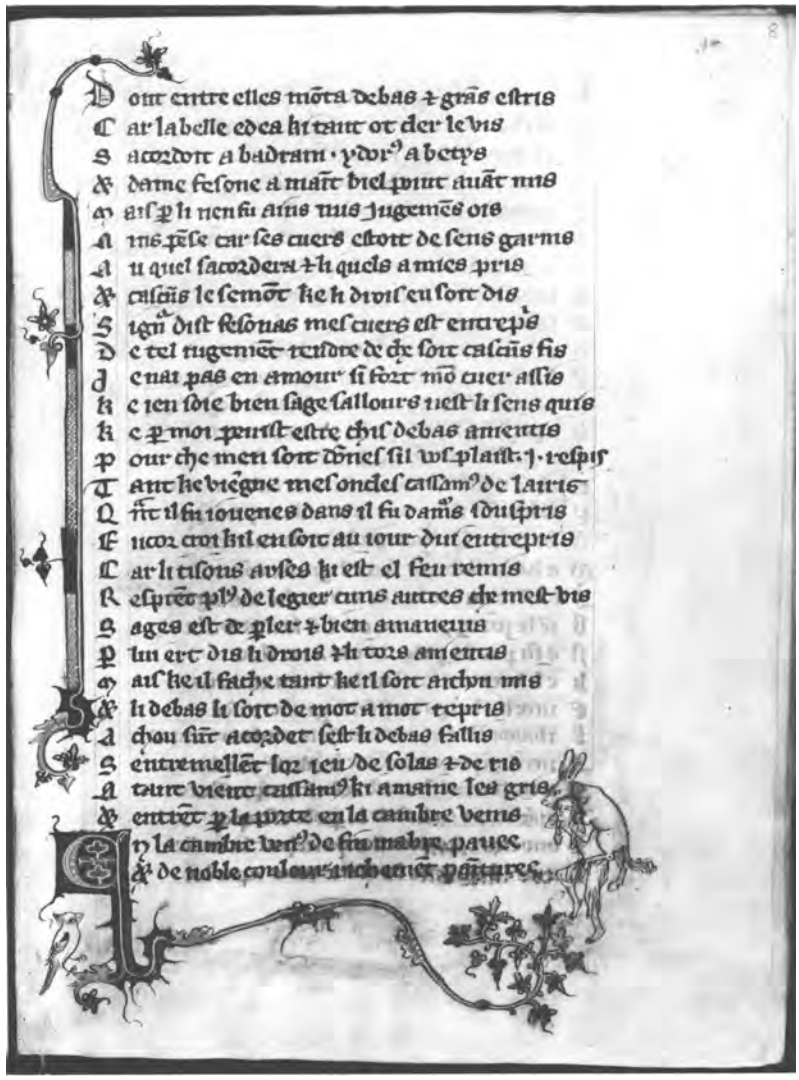

FIG. 22
Man in underpants carrying an ass, *Le voeux du paon*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G.24, f. 8
Photograph by Joseph Zehavi

I believe that the man is represented as wading through a river. It is perhaps a tale of folly, like that of the idiotic but humane sackbearer, but seems to have been less popular since it was not so often represented.

The ass on a man's back

Prints by A. and J. Wierickx on the theme of the world upside-down and similar Italian and Spanish engravings of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, entitled '*Cosi va il*

FIG. 23
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 3384, f. 69v
Copyright Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

mondo alla riversa', include the motif of a man carrying an ass on his back.[166] Underneath one of these prints is the comment '*Perche indiscreto vedi il molinaro che per giumenta serve al suo somaro*' or, freely translated, 'You see, because of his misrule, the miller serves as beast of burden for his mare'.[167] Is there any link between this and the Walsokne brass and contemporary manuscript illuminations? At first sight there does not seem to be any continuity in the subject over the centuries. It is clear that this inversion creates disorder and disturbs the proper functioning of the world. There also exists a German version

[166] L. Lebeer, 'De Blauwe Huyck', *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, VI (1940), pp. 161-229; D. Kunzle, 'Bruegel's Proverb Painting and the World Upside Down', *Art Bulletin*, LIX (1977), pp. 197-202; D. Kunzle, 'World Upside Down: The Iconography of a Eurpean Broadsheet Type', in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, ed. B.A. Babcock (Ithaca, 1978), pp. 39-94; H.F. Grant, 'Images et gravures du monde à l'envers, dans leurs relation avec la pensée et la literature espagnole', in *L'Image du monde renversé et ses representations littéraires et para-littéraires de la fin du XVIe siècle au milieu du XVIIe* (Paris, 1979), pp. 22-3, figs. 1, 2.

[167] Lebeer, 'De Blauwe Huyck', pp. 215, 224, fig. on p. 217.

called 'Mundus Perversus'.[168] Among other absurdities is depicted a man bearing an ass on his back.[169] This scene is captioned in Latin and German: '*Asinus in vir equitat. Ein Man da geht als wie ein thier Der esel auf ihn reidet*' (The ass mounts the man. A man who acts like an animal is ridden by a donkey).[170] In other words, whosoever acts like an animal is more stupid than an animal. Prints of the World Upside-Down continued in popularity to the nineteenth century and were often given to children.[171] They had an educative function in representing a world where proper social relations, such as between man and woman, master and pupil, or doctor and patient, were not respected.[172] One nineteenth-century example shows a man with a horse on his back, with the comment: 'Ziet hier het paard de Man berijden, Daar't zo gaat syn't verkeerde tijden' (See here the horse is riding the man, If this is the case it means the world is upside down).[173]

The father, his son and the ass

Among the fables of Jean de la Fontaine is one entitled 'The miller, his son and the ass' (Livre III, fable 1), which is illustrated by an engraving showing a miller carrying his ass on his back (Fig. 24).[174] This fable is considered one of La Fontaine's masterpieces; however, the author confesses that he borrowed the subject from *La Vie de Malherbe* by Racan.[175] In fact the story can be traced back in the West to the thirteenth century and is assumed to be derived from an Oriental source.[176] The earliest version has been attributed to Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), but this is incorrect.[177] Reference is made to the story in Sebastian Brant's *Esopi appologi*, where it is presented as a fable of Aesop, but that is without foundation.[178] There are at least three Latin versions of the fable, as well as vernacular ones; in some instances an elderly holy man and a young monk are substituted for the peasant (or the miller) and his son. The texts include such famous collections of exempla as *Les contes moralisés* of the Franciscan Nicholas Bozon, compiled shortly after 1320, the *Alphabetum narrationum*, formerly attributed to Etienne of Besançon, but now usually assigned to Arnoldus of Liège, and some versions of the *Dialogus creaturarum* and the *Ci nous dit.*[179] The story tells how a father (in some cases a miller) journeys with the intention of selling his old ass in the city. He rides the ass while his son follows. Onlookers say how wrong it is that the poor child has to walk. So the father dismounts and the son takes his place. Now people criticise the fact that the young boy sits on the ass while the old man is tiring himself, so the son dismounts and both walk.

168 Lebeer, 'De Blauwe Huyck', pp. 224-5, fig. 217.
169 L. Dresen-Coenders, *Helse en hemelse vrouwen*, exhibition catalogue (Utrecht, 1988), pp. 31-7.
170 Lebeer, 'De Blauwe Huyck', p. 225.
171 Lebeer, 'De Blauwe Huyck', pp. 31-7; R. Chartier and D. Julia, 'Le monde à l'envers', *L'Arc*, LXV (1976), pp. 43-53.
172 Dresen-Coenders, *Helse en hemelse vrouwen*, pp. 31-7.
173 Dresen-Coenders, *Helse en hemelse vrouwen*, p. 36.
174 Jean de la Fontaine, *Oeuvres completes, Fables, contes et nouvelles*, ed. J.P. Collinet (Paris, 1991), p. 105.
175 La Fontaine, *Fables*, p. 44.
176 *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, frère mineur*, ed. L.T. Smith and P. Meyer (Paris, 1889), p. 284; Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, p. 151.
177 C.M. Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 44-5; Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, p. 286.
178 Armstrong, *Moralizing Prints*, p. 44.
179 *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, pp. 284-7; Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, p. 151; *Ci nous dit: Recueil d'exemples moraux*, ed. G. Blangez, 2 vols. (Paris, 1979).

FIG. 24
The miller, his son and the ass, from Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables*

Now passers-by mock the stupidity of these country people who have a donkey but prefer to tire themselves. So both climb on the ass's back. Now the crowd ridicule them for unmercifully overloading the donkey that way. The father, in utter despair at the criticism, exclaims ironically: 'Now the only thing left to me is to carry the ass on my own back'.[180] In the earliest version, by Bozon, this is just a remark, but in later texts the father carries out what he proposes. The moral is summed up by the rubrics in the exempla: 'One should not always believe what one hears' and 'The words of flatterers and detractors should not be heeded'.[181]

The earliest visual representation of this fable is a drawing in the Rothschild Canticles. On f. 2 the father and son (or perhaps a holy man and his younger companion) are carrying the donkey fastened to a pole, while two diminutive gesticulating figures below the upturned animal represent the onlookers to whose advice the two carriers foolishly gave credence (Fig. 25). An illustration of the story occurs among the 812 images in the *Ci nous dit* of *c.* 1330 (Chantilly Musée Condé, MSS 26-27). The miniature shows father and son sitting on the donkey and being ridiculed by the onlookers. The text does not, however, refer to them carrying the animal. A woodcut of 1544 by the Dutch engraver Cornelis Anthonisz shows the narrative in progress with comments at the bottom. The

[180] *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, pp. 158-9; *Ci nous dit*, ed. Blangez, I, pp. 284-5.
[181] *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, pp. 157; Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, p. 151.

FIG. 25
Holy man and helper carrying an ass,
New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 404, f. 187
Copyright Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

moral is given at the end: 'No one on earth can please everybody. So just sharpen your mind to good works. Carry out your deeds according to God's wish'.[182] In Erhard Schön's woodcut of 1531, father and son, in utter despair at never being able to please their critics, end absurdly by killing the ass in order to get rid of the problem (Fig. 26).[183] Another tale of folly relates how four men carry their horse in order to prevent it from trampling down the field.[184] The motif is even found in the modern folk tale *Lazy Jack*.[185]

[182] Armstrong, *Moralizing Prints*, pp. 44-5, 48-9, 125-30, fig. 23 a-b. The last scene is missing in the edition of 1544 but is present in another edition in the Royal Library, Brussels.
[183] Armstrong, *Moralizing Prints*, p. 45, fig. 63.
[184] I am grateful to H.J.E. Van Beuningen for putting at my disposal etchings, from an unidentified source, illustrating this story.
[185] Jones, *Profane Arts*, p. 90.

Conclusion

The idiotic ass carrier motif on the Walsokne brass is probably a general allusion to the foolishness of men, based on an as yet untraced popular story, although related stories are attested at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

FIG. 26
Father and son carrying and then killing their mount, woodcut by Erhard Schön, 1531

Summary

The occurrence of scenes of folly in fourteenth-century art is no surprise. The reversed world had long been a literary theme, as for instance in 'Florebat olim studium', one of the *Carmina Burana.*[186] The theme of this poem is that there is no order any more and youths neglect to prepare themselves for their future tasks in society.[187] That the world is upside down appears as a complaint over the centuries.[188] In Chrétien de Troyes's *Cliges*, of about 1170, the author declares that it seemed to him that the dog fled from the cow and the tortoise chased the beaver, and 'si vont les choses a anvers' (so go things upside-down).[189]

In Jan Boendale's *Vander verkeertheyt der werelt* the author criticises all that is going wrong in the world:

> Men wear clothes so short that their genitals become visible, women wear long clothes but so tight fitted that they show shamelessly all the forms of their body with which they seduce men. The same applies to the sweetness of music, which has been diverted and is in dissonance. Because of this those who sing at present

[186] *Carmina Burana*, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1930-41), I, pt. 2, pp. 7-8.
[187] H. Pleij, *Dromen van Cocagne: Middeleeuwse fantasiën over het volmaakte leven* (Amsterdam, 1997), p. 395.
[188] Pleij, *Dromen*, pp. 394-6; H. Pleij, *Op belofte van profijt: Stadsliteratuuren burgermoraal in de Nederlandse letterkunde van de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1991), p. 45; S. Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft', *Past and Present*, LXXXVII (1980), pp. 98-127; E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1993), pp. 94-8; Snellaert, *Nederlandsche gedichten*, pp. 372-3.
[189] Randall, *Images*, p. 6.

> most in dissonance are those who are considered as singing best. So as we can see from what has been told here all is going in the wrong direction. This is a sure sign that Doomsday is approaching.[190]

The same complaint occurs in a poem in the Gruuthuse manuscript from Bruges, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, which begins: 'I have no idea how to behave. The world is turned upside-down. Infidelity increases and loyalty decreases'.[191] In *The Pardoner's Tale* Chaucer alludes to depravity and folly in a Flemish context:[192]

> In Flanders whilom was compaignye
> Of yonge folk that haunteden folye,
> As riot, hazard, stywes, and tavernes, ...

Many texts in medieval literature warn against disturbance of the vested order.[193] According to the Church Fathers, the world was created by God in a rational hierarchical order. After the Fall, man became a prisoner of his bestial appetites. The *mundus inversus* (inverted world) became even a *mundus perversus* (perverted world), full of follies and absurdities of all kinds.[194] One of the ways of instructing man in the consequences of the Fall was to show what would happen if the chaos and disorder of the World Upside-Down, which is in fact the reign of the devil, came about.[195] Thus man is encouraged to look for order, as created by God, who leads to eternal life. This is the message of the Walsokne brass, where we see foolishness, shame, vice, cowardice, internecine fights (?or combat between Virtue and Vice) and stupidity.

It is also important to point out the two text panels, with a two-line inscription in Lombardic lettering, below the foot-panels of the Walsokne brass, which summarise the moral to be drawn from them. They read: 'CVM FEX CVM LIMVS CVM RES VILISSIMA SVMVS VNDE SVPERBIMVS AD TERRAM TERRA REDIMVS' (We are made of dung, of clay and the most despicable material, whence we are full of pride; earth we shall return to earth). This is a reminder of man's folly and pride, despite his frailty.

The origins of the motifs of World Upside-Down iconography are quite diverse. Some, such as the snail, stem from socio-cultural events, while others are rooted in popular tales, which were likewise transformed into exempla. Cesarius of Heisterbach records Abbot Gerard's complaint that his listeners only awoke to hear fables.[196] To attract their full attention he had to start with stories and use anecdotes to rekindle the flagging interest of his audience. The twelfth century saw the diffusion of a wide variety of anecdotal material, both in the church by means of exempla, and in daily life through *fabliaux*.[197] The

[190] Snellaert, *Nederlandsche gedichten*, p. 373.
[191] Pleij, *Dromen*, pp. 396.
[192] H. Pleij, 'Van keikoppen en droge jonkers. Spotgezelschappen, wijkverenigingen en het jongerengericht in de literatuur en het culturele leven van de late middeleeuwen', *Volkskundig Bulletin*, XV (1989), pp. 148-50.
[193] H. Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Literatuur en stadscultuur in de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 135-50.
[194] Grant, 'Images et gravures du monde a l'envers', pp. 17, 19, 29.
[195] H. Pleij, 'Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval', in *Vastenavond - Carnaval, Feesten van de omgekeerde wereld*, ed. C. De Mooij (Zwolle, 1992), p. 27.
[196] C. Grössinger, *The World Upside-Down: English Misericords* (London, 1997), p. 85.
[197] Randall, *Images*, p. 8.

visual manifestation of themes popularised through *fabliaux* and exempla can most clearly be observed in manuscripts from the mid thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century. These themes were developed in other media, including brasses.[198] The exuberant decoration and drolleries of a superbly engraved brass were intended to arouse curiosity and provoke discussion.

There is no doubt that, as Mâle suggested, illuminated manuscripts formed an important source of inspiration for artists in the decorative arts,[199] including the designs of monumental brasses.[200] The engraver will probably have received clear instructions regarding the overall design, but the question remains as to whether he may have been able to express himself freely in the foot-panels. The complexity of the iconography suggests that he received some guidance, but it is likely that he was given *carte blanche* for the vivid and humorous details of the scenes.

In conclusion, it can be proposed that the iconography of the foot-panels of the Walsokne brass derived from moralised anecdotes of the type popularised by the Franciscans and Dominicans in the thirteenth century, in order to enliven their sermons.[201] The scenes are stereotypes of human folly, some representing role reversals between man and beast, some adynata or impossible tasks, and others tales of stupidity. The scenes were undoubtedly more intelligible at the time, when the anecdotal or socio-political context of the images was known.

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[198] D. Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 200.

[199] On the relationship between marginal imagery and the text, see S.K. Davenport, 'Illustrations direct and oblique in the margins of an Alexander Romance at Oxford', *Jnl of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIV (1971), pp. 83-95.

[200] On the relationship between manuscripts and brasses, see L. Dennison, 'The Artistic Context of Fourteenth Century Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 1 (1986), pp. 1-38. On the links between miniatures and misericords, see C. Grössinger, 'English misericords of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and their relationship to manuscript illuminations', *Jnl of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVIII (1979), pp. 97-108.

[201] Randall, *Images*, pp. 7-8.

Conservation of Brasses, 2004

by WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the twenty-first report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Beddington, Blockley, Cheam, Felsted, Hornchurch, Newcastle, Rawreth, Thorrington and Willian, and for funding the facsimiles at Thorrington; to Tony Fox for assistance at Hull; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Hull and Newcastle; to the Churches Conservation Trust; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Barton-le-Clay, Beddington, Blockley, Felsted, Hornchurch, Middleton, Newcastle, Northorpe, Rawreth, Thorrington and Willian; and the Monumental Brass Society at Barton-le-Clay, Beddington, Blockley, Felsted, Hornchurch, Middleton, Newcastle, Rawreth, Thorrington and Willian. Funding was also provided at East Carlton by the Council for the Care of Churches and the Heritage Lottery Fund; at Hornchurch by the Essex Branch of the Western Front Association, the Hornchurch Branch of the Royal British Legion, the Royal Naval Association 'Double Seven Committee' and the family of Frederick Chester; and at Middleton by the Friends of Middleton Parish Church.

BARTON-LE-CLAY, BEDFORDSHIRE

The three brasses were collected on 13 February 2004.[1] They had been removed from their original slabs, probably in the middle of the nineteenth century, and mounted in a new stone affixed to the north wall of the chancel. In 2001 an alabaster figure was stolen from the church and an attempt was made to steal the brasses. Shortly after this the brasses were removed from the slab for safe keeping, resin facsimiles were made of the plates and the facsimiles secured into the slab with the screws previously used to secure the brasses.

LSW. I. Inscription to Philip de Lee, [1349]. This London (series A) two-line Latin inscription (53 x 607 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets) had become fractured into two parts. Part of the original slab (430 x 780 mm) lies in the churchyard outside the blocked north door.

LSW. II. Richard Biey, 1396. This London (series B) brass comprises a half-effigy in Mass vestments (306 x 191 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets) and a mutilated two-line Latin inscription (originally about 365 mm wide, now 48 x 313 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets). The original slab (1110 x 650 mm) lies in the churchyard immediately west of the slab of LSW. I.

[1] The brasses were described by F.W. Kuhlicke, 'The Brasses at Barton, Beds.', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 3 (1945), pp. 96-8, and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), p. 7.

LSW. III. Unknown civilian, c. 1490. This London (series D) effigy (354 x 114 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets) had been fractured into two parts.

After cleaning I repaired the fractures in LSW. I and LSW. III and fitted new rivets to the brasses. On 28 April 2004 the facsimiles were removed from the slab and the brasses secured in their place.

BEDDINGTON, SURREY

M.S. I. Roger Elmebrygge, 1437.[2] This London (series D) brass comprises an armoured effigy (1000 x 355 mm overall, engraved on four plates with thicknesses 3.3 mm, 4.0 mm, 2.5 mm and 4.6 mm, 17 rivets), a mutilated inscription in eight Latin verses (240 x 468 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 5 rivets) and four shields (upper left-hand 160 x 125 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 2 rivets; upper right-hand 150 x 120 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 2 rivets; lower left-hand 150 x 120 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 2 rivets; lower right-hand 155 x 125 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 2 rivets). It was taken up from a Victorian cement slab,[3] mostly covered by choir stalls on the south side of the Chancel, on 19 September 2003. The upper left-hand and lower right-hand shields are of lead and were both mutilated and fractured. After cleaning I repaired six fractures in the effigy, reinforced the two lead shields with polyester resin and glass-fibre and fitted new rivets.

A new slab of Portland stone (1525 x 1065 mm, thickness 75 mm) was procured by Messrs. Kenward and Sons of Greenford and they cut indents for the plates. The brass was relaid in the slab at Greenford on 16 March 2004. The slab was laid in the chancel floor at Beddington on 18 March 2004.

BLOCKLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE (now in GLOUCESTERSHIRE)

LSW. I. Philip Warthym, 1488.[4] This Coventry 1 brass, comprising a kneeling effigy in academical dress (469 x 258 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets), a foot inscription in four Latin verses (102 x 488 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, rivets) and a scroll (249 x 75 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1735 x 760 mm) in the chancel on 12 October 2004. There is an indent for a lost Blessed Virgin Mary and Child (250 x 90 mm) and a chalice and marginal inscription are incised on the slab. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in its slab on 1 December 2004.

[2] The brass was described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson, 'A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXV (1912), pp. 65-7, later printed in one vol. (1921) and repr. (Bath, 1970), pp. 33-5.

[3] It had been conserved and relaid by Mr Bryan Egan in 1967, B.S.H. Egan, 'Repairs', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), p. 122.

[4] The brass was described and illustrated by F.J. Thacker, 'The Monumental Brasses of Worcestershire', *Worcestershire Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, N.S., III (1925-6), pp. 117-19) and also illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VI (1969), pl. 65, repr. in *Monumental Brasses, the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (1988), pl. 231, and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), p. 49.

EAST CARLTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Mary Grace Palmer, 1853. This brass (917 x 457 mm overall) comprises an elaborate cross on three steps, a foot inscription, two shields and a decorated arch-shaped border and is set in a stone frame (1070 x 610 mm) on the south wall of the Palmer Chapel. After the frame and the other Palmer monuments had been conserved by the Skillington Workshop Ltd. I cleaned the brass *in situ* on 10 March 2004.

CHEAM, LUMLEY CHAPEL, SURREY[5]

On 14 March 2003 I took up three brasses and parts of four others which had been relaid in four concrete slabs in a jumbled fashion. I also collected M.S. VII which had previously been removed from the chapel.

M.S. I. A civilian, *c.*1390.[6] This mutilated London (series A) effigy (1320 x 346 mm overall) was originally laid in the south aisle of the old church. It now comprises two plates which had been relaid in a concrete slab on the north side of the chapel.[7] The centre of the effigy and the inscription are lost. The upper part of the effigy (588 x 341 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 9 rivets) was taken up from the slab.

M.S. III. John Compton, 1450, and wife Joan, 1458.[8] This London (series B) brass, originally laid at the west end of the north aisle of the old church, comprises the half effigies of a man in civilian dress (240 x 145 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets) and his wife (230 x 151 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 2 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (101 x 585 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 4 rivets). The plates had been relaid in the large concrete slab on the south side of the chapel, the effigies in the centre of the slab and the inscription at the top. I took up all three plates.

M.S. IV. William Wodeward, 1459.[9] This London (series B) brass, originally laid 'near the south door' of the old church, comprises a half effigy in civil dress (184 x 118 mm) and a two-line Latin inscription (67 x 402 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets). I took up the inscription which had been relaid in the southern concrete slab.

M.S. V. John Yerde, 1449, engraved c.1470-80.[10] This London (series D) brass, originally laid in the south aisle of the old church, now comprises a small armoured effigy (172 x 54 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 2 rivets) and two shields (100 x 89 mm and 100 x 88 mm). I took up the effigy which had been relaid in the centre of the

[5] The chapel was built in 1597 on the north side of the chancel of the old church. When the new church was built in 1864 and the old church demolished, the chapel survived as a separate building and the nine surviving pre-1700 brasses were gathered together in the chapel. Mill Stephenson described the brasses in *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, pp. 119-35, and illustrated the figure brasses in their original arrangements.

[6] Illustrated in Stephenson, *Surrey*, p. 120.

[7] The lower part (480 x 346 mm) was relaid by Bryan Egan in 1970, B. Egan and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Repair of Monumental Brasses* (Newport Pagnell, 1981), p. 52.

[8] Illustrated in Stephenson, *Surrey*, p. 126.

[9] Illustrated in Stephenson, *Surrey*, p. 127.

[10] Illustrated in Stephenson, *Surrey*, p. 123, complete with rubbings of the lost female effigy and inscription in the Society of Antiquaries' collection.

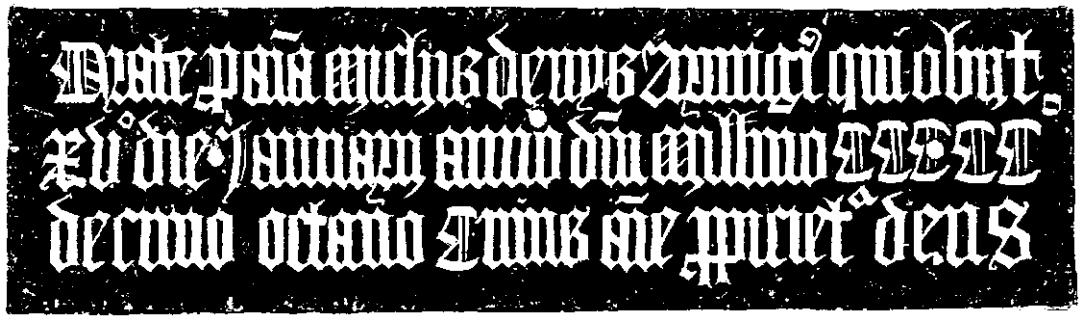

FIG. 1
Cheam, Surrey
M.S. VI. Inscription to Michael Denys, 1518
Rubbing by William Lack

southern concrete slab. It proved to be palimpsest, the reverse showing a single line of engraving.[11]

M.S. VI. Inscription to Michael Denys, 1518 (Fig. 1). This London (series G) three-line Latin inscription (113 x 407 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets), originally laid at the east end of the south chancel of the old church, was taken up from the southern concrete slab.

M.S. VII. Thomas Fromond, 1542, and wife Elizabeth.[12] This London (series G) brass, originally set in an altar tomb on the south wall of the south chapel of the old church, comprises a kneeling civilian effigy with six sons (230 x 261 mm, engraved on two plates both with thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets), a kneeling female effigy with four daughters (221 x 271 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.0 and 2.8 mm, 3 rivets), a four-line inscription in English (95 x 589 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets), a Trinity (145 x 105 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 1 rivet) and a shield (141 x 113 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 1 rivet). The original arched slab, which is very worn, lies on the floor. The brass was discovered to be palimpsest late in the last century, being cut from seven separate plates.[13] They were subsequently set in a board mounted on a swivelling bracket on the north wall so that both sides could be seen. This bracket and the brasses were removed from the chapel prior to my visit.

M.S. VIII. Inscription and two shields to Bartholomew Fromoundes, 1579. This London (series G) brass, originally laid in the nave of the old church, comprises an inscription in three Latin lines (92 x 390 mm, engraved on two plates, thickness 2.5 mm, 3 rivets) and two shields (140 x 121 mm and 140 x 119 mm). I took up the inscription which had been had been relaid above M.S. VI in the large southern concrete slab. The whole brass is palimpsest.[14]

[11] Illustrated in 'Ninth Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 104 (Jan. 2007), p. liv, pl. 236 (27L2).
[12] Illustrated in Stephenson, *Surrey*, pp. 129.
[13] J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), p. 44, pl. 30 (104L1-7).
[14] Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, p. 69, pls. 114, 115 (268L1-2).

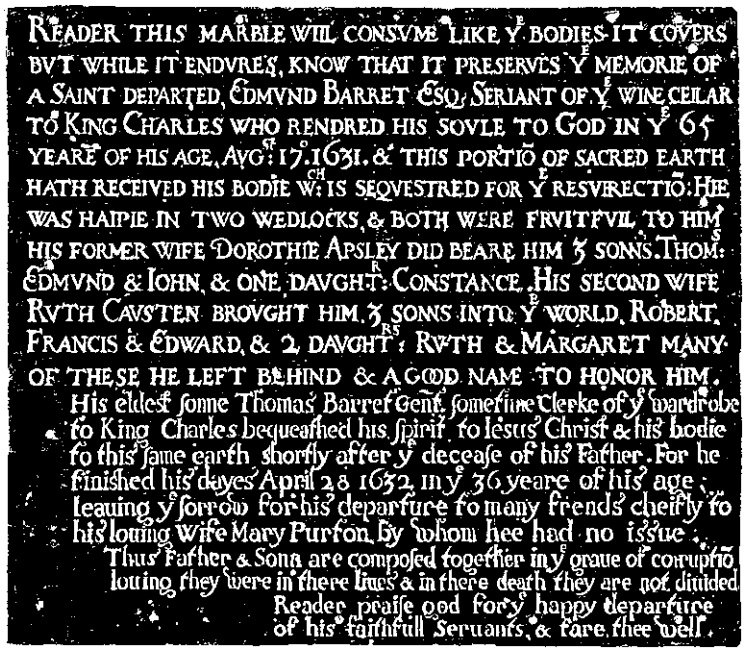

FIG. 2
Cheam, Surrey
M.S. IX. Inscription to Edmund Barrett, 1631, and his son Thomas, 1632
Rubbing by William Lack

M.S. IX. Inscription to Edmund Barrett, 1631, and his son Thomas, 1632 (Fig. 2). This twenty-two line English inscription (460 x 522 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 15 rivets), originally laid in the north aisle of the old church, was removed from the west wall.

After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses of M.S. VII and rebated these into a cedar board. I repaired a fracture in M.S. I and fitted new rivets to all the brasses. M.S. VII and M.S. IX were rebated into two cedar boards. On 18 August 2004 the floor brasses were relaid in their slabs and the three boards were mounted on the west wall.

FELSTED, ESSEX

LSW. III. Inscription to Thomas Ryche, 1564. This London (series G) inscription (89 x 383 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the original Purbeck slab (1705 x 780 mm) in the south-east corner of the South Chapel on 30 November 2002. There is an indent for an effigy in swaddling clothes (308 x 157 mm).[15] The slab is concealed beneath removable oak boards forming a trap-door in a platform built in 1990. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 13 February 2004.

[15] The illustration in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* (London, 2003), p.263, shows the effigy from a dabbing by Thomas Fisher in 1809, now in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

HORNCHURCH, ST. ANDREW, ESSEX

Four brasses, which had been previously removed from the walls of the church, were collected by Martin Stuchfield on 7 June 2004. These brasses are **LSW. XIX.** Inscription with regimental insignia to Private Frederick John William Chester, 1900 (maker's name J. WIPPELL & COMPY EXETER & LONDON, 533 x 609 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 5 rivets), **LSW. XXIII**. Inscription with verse to Lieutenant Charles Henry Bearblock, 1915 (maker's name A & N C.S.L. LONDON, 458 x 760 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets), **LSW. XXIV.** Inscription with verse to Fleet Surgeon Walter James Bearblock, 1916 (maker's name A & N C.S.L. LONDON, 458 x 762 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets) and **LSW. XXV.** Inscription to 2nd Lieutenant George William Franklyn, 1917 (maker's name A & N C.S.L. LONDON, 382 x 687 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets). After removing corrosion, polishing, lacquering and fitting new rivets the brasses were rebated into four cedar boards. The boards were returned to the church and re-dedicated at the Remembrance Day Service on 14 November 2004.

HULL, ST. MARY LOWGATE

M.S. I. John Haryson and two wives, 1525.[16] This London (series G) (script 1) rectangular plate, engraved with the kneeling effigies of John Haryson, his two wives Alys and Agnes, three sons, a (defaced) Trinity and a raised letter inscription in five English lines (454 x 453 mm, thickness 4.2 mm), was formerly set in an oak frame and hung on the east wall of the south aisle. This mounting left the brass vulnerable to theft and it was removed from the wall about thirty years ago and subsequently kept in the church safe. It was delivered to me by Mr. Tony Fox on 13 December 2002. After cleaning I soldered eight rivets to the reverse and rebated the plate into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the east wall of the north chapel on 27 February 2004.

MIDDLETON, LANCASHIRE[17]

I removed four brasses and part of another from their slabs in the sanctuary on 31 March 2004.

M.S. I. ?Sir Richard Assheton, 1507, and wife Isabel. This London (series F variant) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (462 x 275 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy (466 x 152 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivets), seven sons (142 x 177 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets), six daughters (136 x 170 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 2 rivets)

[16] Described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the East Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XII (1893), pp. 219-20, and *MBS. Trans*., X, pt. 3 (1965), p.188.

[17] The brasses were described and illustrated by J.L. Thornely, *Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire* (Hull, 1893; repr. Wakefield, 1975), pp. 71-80, 145-52, 201-8, 259-67 and 289-314. The illustrations in this work were produced from engravings and are inaccurate and incomplete. The three earlier brasses were recently described and illustrated in *MBS Trans*., XVII, pt.3 (2005), pp.289-95.

FIG. 3
Middleton, Lancashire
Palimpsest reverse of M.S. II. Edmund Assheton, 1522.
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

and a shield (153 x 132 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 1 rivet), had been relaid in a slab (1630 x 750 mm). The indent for a lost foot inscription is almost effaced.

M.S. II. Edmund Assheton, 1522. This Coventry 3 brass, comprising an effigy in mass vestments (585 x 211 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 5 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (76 x 592 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 4 rivets), had been relaid in a grey marble slab (1630 x 950 mm) Both plates were found to be palimpsest, being cut from a large effigy engraved in the early 14th century and probably produced by a workshop in York (Fig. 3).

M.S. III. Alice Laurence, 1531, and two husbands. This northern-engraved brass, now comprising a female effigy (520 x 150 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets), two armoured male effigies (left-hand 508 x 118 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 3 rivets; right-hand 523 x 155 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets), a four-line Latin inscription (116 x 690 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 4 rivets) and two upper shields (left-hand 151 x 122 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 2 rivets; right-hand 149 x 124 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 2 rivets), was taken up from the original grey marble slab (1660 x 930 mm visible). There are indents for a third armoured effigy and for two lower shields.

M.S. IV. Richard Assheton, 1618, and wife Mary (Fig. 4). This London-engraved brass, comprising a civilian effigy (463 x 206 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 6 rivets), a female effigy (458 x 220 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 6 rivets), a six-line Latin inscription (145 x 577 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 11 rivets), six sons (207 x 259 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 4 rivets), two daughters (192 x 131 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets) and two shields (left-hand 149 x 132 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets; right-hand 153 x 133 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets), had been relaid in a non-original slab (1920 x 910 mm visible). The original black marble slab lies in the south chapel and is oriented east-west.

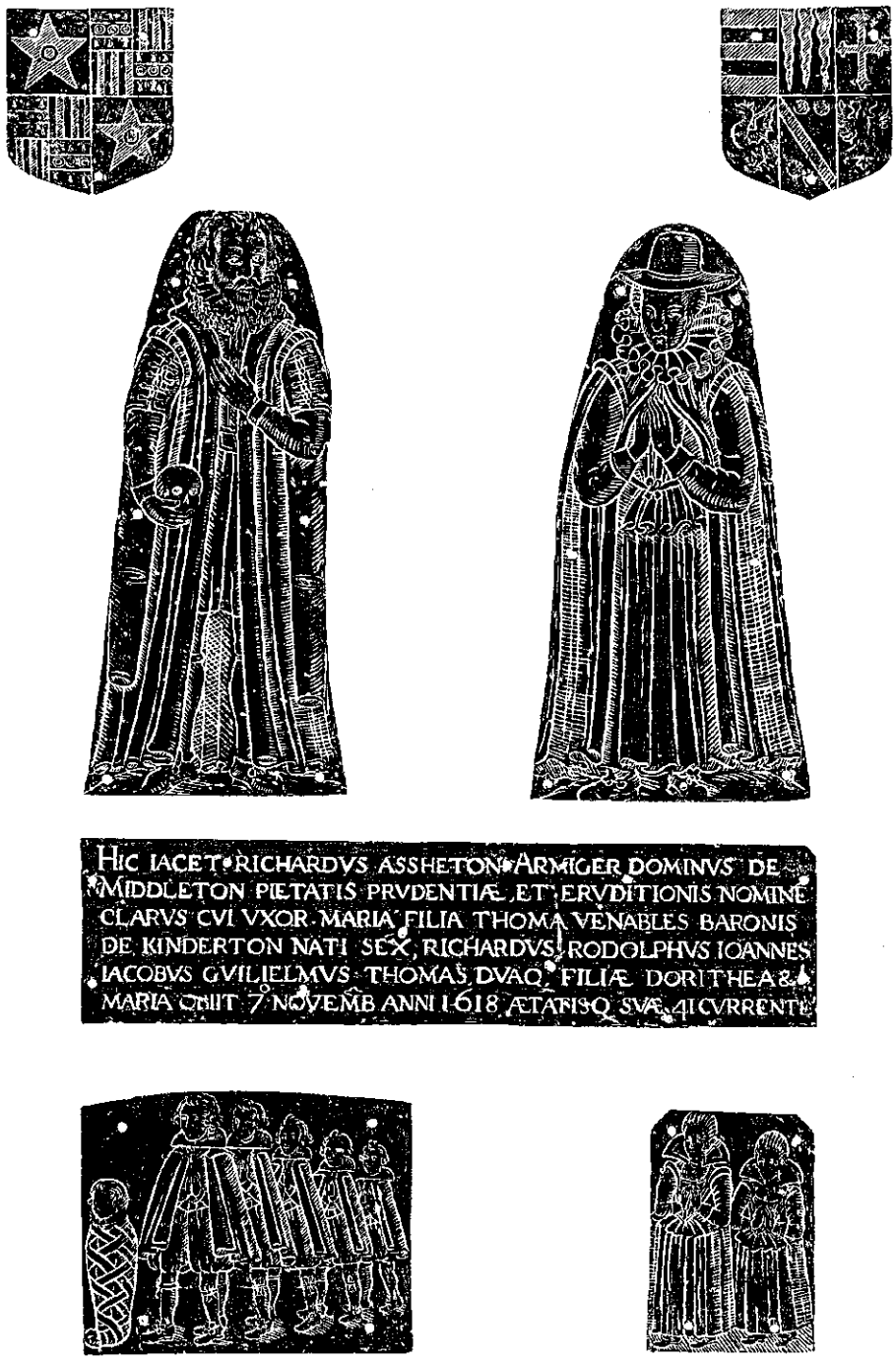

FIG. 4
Middleton, Lancashire
M.S. IV. Richard Assheton, 1618, and wife Mary
Rubbing by William Lack

M.S. V. Ralph Assheton, 1650, and wife Elizabeth. This York-engraved (?) brass, comprising a male effigy (445 x 239 mm), a female effigy (436 x 234 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 8 rivets), a nine-line Latin inscription (296 x 730 mm), three sons (216 x 165 mm), three daughters (225 x 165 mm) and two shields (upper left-hand 232 x 197 mm, upper right-hand 235 x 209 mm), lies in the original black marble slab (1615 x 840 mm visible) (photo 20). The only plate removed was the female effigy.

After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverse of M.S. II and mounted these on a cedar board. I repaired fractures in the right-hand male effigy from M.S. III and the female effigy from M.S. V and fitted new rivets to all the brasses. The brasses were relaid in their slabs over three days, on 26 May, 2 June and 9 June 2004. I also removed lacquer from the other plates and the slab of M.S. V and from the inscriptions to Samuel Sidebottom, 1752, and his son Samuel, 1758, also laid in the sanctuary. The board carrying the resin facsimile was subsequently mounted on the north wall of the sanctuary.

NEWCASTLE, ST. MARY'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL

One complete brass and part of another were removed on 28 February 2004.

Cross, inscription and two roundels to Rev James Worswick, 1843.[18] This brass, comprising a decorated cross on three steps (engraved on eight plates, 1525 x 850 mm overall, thickness 2.5 mm, 18 rivets), a five-line Latin inscription (175 x 566 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 4 rivets) and two roundels (each 128 mm diameter, thickness 2.5 mm, 1 rivet), was designed by A.W.N. Pugin and engraved by John Hardman and Co., Birmingham.[19] It was removed from the original slab (1840 x 930 mm) in the north-east corner of the north chapel. After cleaning I fitted new rivets to two plates which had been re-secured with screws and back-soldered rivets to the other plates.

Bishop William Riddell, 1847.[20] This brass, comprising an effigy in episcopal vestments with mitre and crozier (1032 x 330 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 9 rivets), a single canopy (1602 x 497 mm), a two-line Latin inscription (102 x 612 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 3 rivets) and a marginal inscription (1836 x 759 x 34 mm), was also designed by Pugin and engraved by Hardmans.[21] The effigy and inscription were taken up the black marble slab (1845 x 920 mm) in the south-east corner of the north chapel. After cleaning I fitted new back-soldered rivets.

The brasses were relaid on three days, on 9 and 10 November and 10 December 2004.

[18] Described and illustrated in MBS Trans., XVII, pt. 2 (2004), pp. 181, 184, and fig. 4, p. 182.
[19] D.G. Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1991), p.84).
[20] Described and illustrated in MBS Trans., XVII, pt. 2 (2004), p. 184, and fig. 5, p. 183.
[21] Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

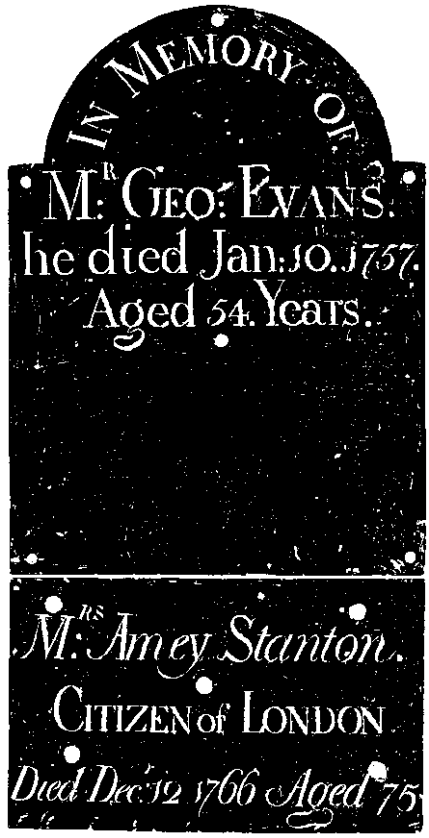

FIG. 5
Northampton, St. Peter
Inscription to George Evans, 1757, and Inscription to Mrs Amey Stanton, 1766
Rubbing by William Lack

NORTHAMPTON, ST. PETER

I removed two brasses on 22 September 1999. These comprise an **Inscription to George Evans, 1757** (in four English lines engraved on a plate with a central arch, 419 x 303 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 6 rivets) and an **Inscription to Mrs. Amey Stanton, 1766** (in three English lines, 188 x 303 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 5 rivets) (Fig. 5). These lay conjoined in a single slab (1070 x 830 mm) on the nave floor. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. After E. Bowman and Sons Ltd. had deepened the indents, I relaid the brasses on 1 September 2004.

NORTHORPE, LINCOLNSHIRE

M.S. I. Francis Yerburgh and two wives, 1595 (Fig. 6). This Johnson-style brass, now comprising a mutilated male effigy in civilian dress (615 x 219 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 12 rivets) and two mutilated female effigies (left-hand originally about

FIG. 6
Northorpe, Lincolnshire
M.S. I. Francis Yerburgh and two wives, 1595; indents for achievement and inscription omitted
Rubbing by William Lack

570 mm tall, now 429 x 170 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 9 rivets; right-hand 569 x 182 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 10 rivets), was taken up from the original sandstone slab (1960 x 765 mm) in the chancel on 1 September 2004. The slab, which is not in good condition, has indents for a missing foot inscription (165 x 610 mm), a child on the left-hand side (155 x 40 mm), a child on the right-hand side (150 x 45 mm) and an achievement above the effigies (195 x 165 mm).[22] After cleaning I repaired fractures in the male effigy and left-hand female effigy and fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 24 March 2004.

[22] When the brass was described by G.E. Jeans, *A List of the Existing Sepulchral Brasses in Lincolnshire*, (Horncastle, 1895), p.45, 'The effigies of the husband and the child on his left, and the lower half of the wife on his right are at present loose, and preserved in the church chest'. When Mill Stephenson recorded the brass in 1926 (*A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, p. 288), the male effigy had evidently been relaid and he noted that one of the children was 'loose at the vicarage in 1922'.

RAWRETH, ESSEX

Three inscriptions[23] were removed from the north wall of the chancel on 15 November 2003.

LSW. I. Inscription to Thomas Hasteler, 1527, and wives Alys, Elynor and Joan. This London (series F) three-line English inscription (96 x 596 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets) was formerly laid down in the now demolished south aisle.

LSW. III. Inscription to Richard Hayes, 1600, and wife Alice. This Johnson-style inscription in five English lines (126 x 467 mm, thickness 1.1 mm, 8 rivets) is all that remains of a brass which originally comprised two effigies, the inscription and two groups of children and lay on the nave floor.

LSW. IV. Inscription to Rebecca Listney, 1602. This Johnson-style six-line English inscription (162 x 522 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 8 rivets) was formerly laid on the floor of the nave.

The three plates were heavily corroded. After cleaning I repaired fractures in LSW. III and fitted new rivets. The three inscriptions were rebated into a cedar board and this was mounted on the chancel wall on 30 December 2004.

THORRINGTON, ESSEX

Two brasses[24] were removed on 12 July 2003.

LSW. I. Inscription to John Deth, 1477, and wife Margery, 1483. This London (series F) three-line Latin inscription (67 x 476 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from its original Purbeck slab (1800 x 730 mm) in the tower about twenty years ago and had been kept in the church safe. After cleaning I repaired a fracture with a soldered backing-plate and fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 13 February 2004.

LSW. II. The remains of the brass to John Clare, 1564, and wives Joan and Katherine. This London (series G) brass, now comprising the right-hand female effigy (460 x 158 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 6 rivets), a mutilated seven-line English inscription (originally 153 x c. 510 mm, now 153 x 403 mm, engraved on two plates with thickness 2.7 and 2.5 mm, 7 rivets), two sons (129 x 88 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 2 rivets), three daughters (127 x 95 mm, thickness 1.1 mm, 2 rivets), a scroll (103 x 278 x 28 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 6 rivets) and two shields (left-hand 131 x 108 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 2.7 and 3.1 mm, 2 rivets; right-hand 131 x 108 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.1 and 3.0 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (1845 x 640 mm) in the North Chapel. The

[23] Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p. 565. The original positions of the brasses were recorded in the Holman MS. in Essex Record Office. They were subsequently mounted on the wall of the south aisle and in 1847 H.W. King recorded them loose in the church chest, see *Ecclesiae Essexienses*, now in Essex Record Office. They were later mounted on the chancel wall, probably at the 1882 restoration.

[24] Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p. 710.

FIG. 7
Link between palimpsest reverses of
Fryerning, Essex M.S. I
and Thorrington, Essex M.S. I
Rubbings by H. Martin Stuchfield

plates were loose, vulnerable and corroded and the central part of the inscription had become detached from the slab in 1991. The slab is partly covered by the organ, is badly worn and has been made up with cement. There are effaced indents for a male effigy and a left-hand female effigy. When the antiquary William Holman visited the church *c.*1722-9 the brass lay in the chancel and he recorded the inscription complete, a device of a death's head under the scroll and the loss of the male effigy.[25]

When the brass was taken up it was found that the inscription, scroll and both shields were palimpsest.[25] The reverses of the two surviving parts of the inscription are cut from the lower part of a female effigy, engraved *c.* 1450, and link with the reverse of M.S. I at Fryerning, Essex (Fig. 7).[26]

After cleaning, I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and rebated these into a cedar board. I repaired fractures in the female effigy, inscription, group of daughters, left-hand shield and scroll, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north aisle wall on 18 December 2004.

WILLIAN, HERTFORDSHIRE

M.S. I. Richard Goldon, 1446.[27] This London (series B) brass, comprising an effigy in mass vestments (470 x 151 mm, mean thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) and a mutilated two-line Latin inscription (originally about 530 mm wide, now 64 x 295 mm, mean thickness 4.2 mm, 2 rivets), was removed from the north wall of the chancel on 21 November 2003. The brass was originally laid in the chancel and was covered for many years before being 'rediscovered' in 1870. It was then taken up and mounted on the

[25] Holman MS in Essex Record Office.
[26] Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, p. 59, pl. 83 (206L1-2) and 'Ninth Addenda to Palimpsests', p. liv, pl. 236.

FIG. 8
Willian, Hertfordshire
M.S. I. Richard Goldon, 1446
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

wall. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board with the missing part of the inscription lightly outlined. The board was mounted on the north chancel wall on 14 February 2004.

[27] Described by W.F. Andrews, *Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches*, (Hertford, 1886), p. 51, 2nd. edn. (Ware, 1903), p. 157, and more recently by Peter Harkness, *All Saints . . . and Sinners, the story of a village church* (1999), pp. 11-12. A drawing of the brass in the original slab showing the inscription complete was made by H.G. Oldfield in *c.*1804. This drawing, now in Hertfordshire County Record Office, was reproduced by Mr. Harkness, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1
Adelheid von Schepenstede, d. 1312
Sankt-Annen Museum, Lübeck
Bildarchiv Foto Marburg

Fig. 1: Adelheid von Schepenstede, d. 1312 (incised slab), Sankt-Annen Museum, Lübeck (Nr. 7430). *Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.*

In addition to its rich collection of brasses Lübeck possesses several important early incised slabs. Among those now preserved in the Sankt-Annen Museum is that of Alheidis or Adelheid von Schepenstede, originally in the Franciscan St.-Katharinenkloster.[1] The slab, 1760 x 860 mm, is a fine fossiliferous Gotland limestone, which is commonly used for incised slabs in northern Germany. It depicts a woman in a sideless cote, wearing a veil and a fur-lined mantle. On either side of her head are angels swinging censers and above her soul is shown received into Abraham's bosom. She stands beneath a canopy with a distinctive rosette and interlace pattern on the arch. In the upper corners of the composition are two shields: dexter, *Party per fess dancetty three kleeblattern, two in chief and one inverted in base* (Schepenstede)[2]; sinister, *A lion rampant* (von Elpen), impaling *A fess checky* (Lennepen). The entire background is semy of pierced eight-pointed stars.[3] The marginal inscription, in Lombardic capitals, reads: ANNO D*OMI*NI M CCC XII I*N* DIE S*AN*C*T*E CECILIE V*IRGINIS* O*BIIT* ALHEID*IS* DE SCEPE*N*STEDE OR*ATE* P*RO EA.* (Adelheid von Schepenstede died on St. Cecilia's day [22 November] the year of Our Lord 1312. Pray for her.) In squares at the corners are Evangelists' symbols, a notably early example of this motif on a monument. The general composition derives from French incised slabs of the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Adelheid was a member of a prominent burgher family, two of whom, Johan van Schepenstede (d. 1340) and his son, also called Johan (d. 1388), were city councillors.[4] Her incised slab was originally situated in the parlour in the east walk of the cloister of the St.-Katharinenkloster, perhaps indicating that she paid for that part of the building. The younger Johan van Schepenstede endowed an altar in the Katharinenkirche.[5]

Nicholas Rogers

Fig. 2: William and Alice Reyneford, 1487, Great Tew, Oxford, M.S. II. *Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 4 March 1999.*

The fragments of this brass, originally in the chancel floor, are now mural on a board, conserved by William Lack in 1985.[6] Originally there were two figures, a man probably in armour, the 'lady erect holding in her hand a book'; between them

1 F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), I, p. 236, II, p. 174; K. Krüger, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Grabdenkmäler in Lübeck, Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg (1100-1600)* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 491-2.

2 The same arms occur on the seal of Johan van Schepenstede (M. Lutterbeck, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Lübeck, 2002), p. 360).

3 Interpreted by Greenhill as flower-heads.

4 Lutterbeck, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck*, pp. 359-63.

5 Lutterbeck, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck*, p. 363.

6 W. Lack, 'Repairs to Brasses, 1985', *MBS Trans.* XIV (1986), pp. 60-1.

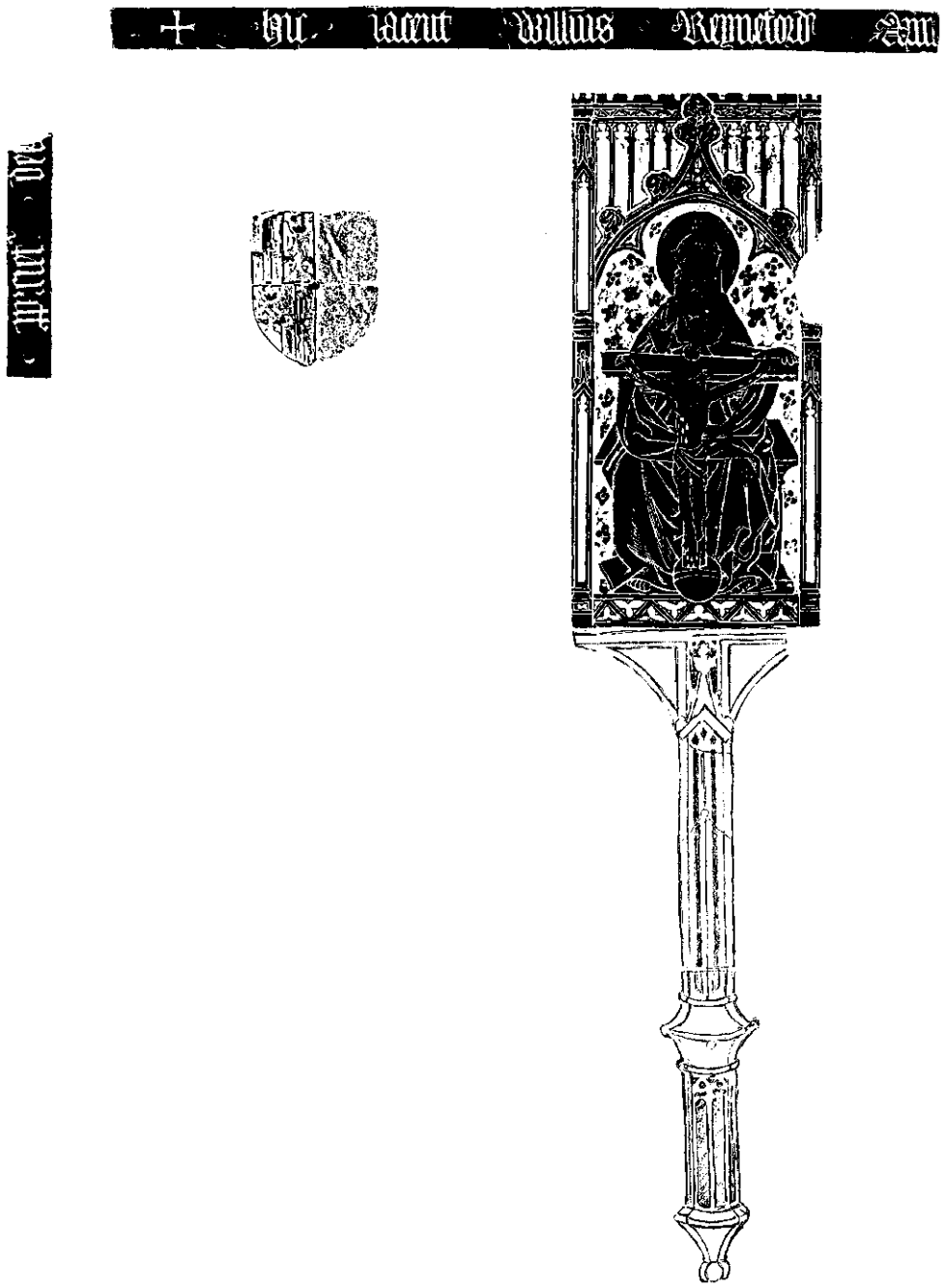

FIG. 2
William and Alice Reyneford, 1487
Great Tew, Oxford, M.S. II.
Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 4 March 1999

was a bracket rising from a corbel, supporting a square-topped tabernacle enclosing a Trinity against a flowery background; there were at least three shields, and a marginal inscription with corner quatrefoils of Evangelists' symbols. All that now survives is one shield, the Trinity and two fragments of inscription. The lady was apparently still there in 1574, when the heraldry was recorded by Richard Lee;[7] the bracket, two symbols and slightly more of the inscription were recorded in 1812 by Henry Hinton.[8] A rubbing of the bracket is in the Bodleian Library.[9]

The inscription reads: *Hic iacent Will(el)m(u)s Reyneford Arm[iger nuper / D(omi)n(u)s istius ville ... / ... / ...]p(ro)piciet(ur) deu[s].* (Here lie William Rainsford, Esquire, late Lord of this Manor .... may God have mercy.)

Heraldry: I: *Argent a cross sable* (Rainsford), impaling *Azure an eagle displayed argent, ducally gorged or* (Wilcotes); II: *Argent on a bend sable three martlets of the field* (Anne), impaling *Gules three lions passant argent* (possibly Gifford); III (surviving): Rainsford quartering Wilcotes, impaling Anne quartering Gifford.

William Rainsford was the son of Elizabeth, daughter of John Wilcotes and wife of Henry Rainsford. The same three shields were formerly in a window.[10]

The Trinity measures 440 x 210 mm, the bracket was 520 mm long; the shield 130 x 110 mm; the inscription fragments 35 x 680 mm and 200 mm. The inscription is said to have been originally 2.58 x 1.06 m. Not even the Trinity has ever been illustrated before.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 3: Michel and Margaretha Keczman, 1559, Nürnberg, Johannisfriedhof, no. 198. *Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 19 September 2006.*

The Johannisfriedhof is one of the two great cemeteries outside the walls of Nürnberg, in which literally thousands of brass inscriptions mark grave-slabs from the early sixteenth century to the early twenty-first. Those dating from before 1600 have all been catalogued by Peter Zahn for the Deutschen Inschriften commission.[11]

The rectangular plate, 383 x 322 mm, comprises an inscription in raised *Fraktur* across the top, above a crucifix flanked by two canted shields; a second inscription in raised letters with a small shield has been added later across the bottom.

The first inscription reads: *Michel Keczman verschiedt Im 1559 / Jar amm tag Sant Dionisius / Margaretha Keczmanm Verschi=/edt an S. Viets tag Im 1550 Jar / denen Vnd Allen got genedig seij _* (Michael Keczmann died in the year 1559 on St. Denis' day [9

7 Oxford, Bodleian MS Wood D. 14, f. 59.
8 Oxford, Bodleian MS Don. c. 90, ff. 517, 525.
9 Oxford, Bodleian MSS Rubbings Phillipps / Robinson 846.
10 Oxford, Bodleian MS Wood E. 1, ff. 114-114v.
11 P. Zahn, *Die Inschriften der Friedhöfe St. Johannis, St. Rochus und Wöhrd zu Nürnberg*, Die Deutschen Inschriften, 13 (München, 1972). The Keczmann brass is no. 904 (p. 255). See *MBS Bulletin*, 102 (2006), pp. 33-4. See also *Curiosa: Handwerker-Epitaphien Patriziergräber, St Johanniskirchhof Nürnberg*, (Nürnberg, 2004), available from the Germanisches Museum, Nürnberg.

FIG. 3
Michel and Margaretha Keczman, 1559
Nürnberg, Johannisfriedhof, no. 198
Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 19 September 2006

October]. Margaret Keczmann died on St. Vitus' day [15 June] in the year 1550. May God be merciful to them and to all.)

Heraldry: dexter, *Three sabres crossed and encircled by a coronet*; sinister, *a serpent crowned.*

The additional inscription reads: *Hans Grüber Uhrmacher Regina sein Ehwirtin / und Ihrer Erben Begrebnijs Anno 1617.* (The grave of Hans Grüber, watchmaker, Regina his wife, and their family, A.D. 1617.)

Heraldry: *Two spades crossed in saltire.*

It was not unusual for the grave-slabs to be appropriated for later burials, though in most cases by fixing additional inscriptions, rather than re-cutting the original ones. Zahn has identified the original inscription as the work of Workshop B and the 1617 addition as a product of Jakob Weinman's workshop.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 4: Charles Middlehurst, d. 1848, St. Mary's Catholic Church, Wigan, Lancs. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman, 1995.*

St. Mary's, Wigan, an important example of Regency Gothic, is one of two chapels built in Wigan in 1818-19 to accommodate the large Catholic population of that town.[12] Charles Middlehurst, born in 1792 and educated at Ushaw, was the first priest of St. Mary's, Wigan, serving it from 1819 until his death of a fever, contracted during a parish visit, on 19 January 1848.[13] The composition, based on the Prestwyk brass at Warbleton, Sussex,[14] is the work of an unidentified engraver. The discordant sans serif lettering of the foot inscription would not have been used on a Hardman brass of this date.

Nicholas Rogers

[12] J.A. Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire: From Reformation to Renewal, 1559-1991* (Chichester, 1994), p. 85; R. Pollard and N. Pevsner, *Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 665-6, pls. 41, 43.

[13] C. Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914: A Working List* (Downside Abbey, 1993), p. 148.

[14] Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses. Part V', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXX (1939), pp. 132-4.

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