

Monumental Brass Society

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TRANSACTIONS

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Bishops, Deans and Canons: Commemorative Contexts Across Two Centuries at Exeter Cathedral Paul Cockerham	277
‘Tis the sheep have paid for all’: Merchant Commemoration in Late Medieval Newark John Lee	301
Edward Courtenay and his Brass in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford Nicholas Orme	328
Kateline d’Ault and the Angels: the Brass of Kateline d’Ault (d. 1461) in St. James’, Bruges Harriette Peel	333
An Aristocratic Brass in Late Fifteenth-Century England Lynda Pidgeon	358
Conservation of Brasses, 2016 William Lack	370
Review	379

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Bishops, Deans and Canons: Commemorative Contexts Across Two Centuries at Exeter Cathedral

Paul Cockerham

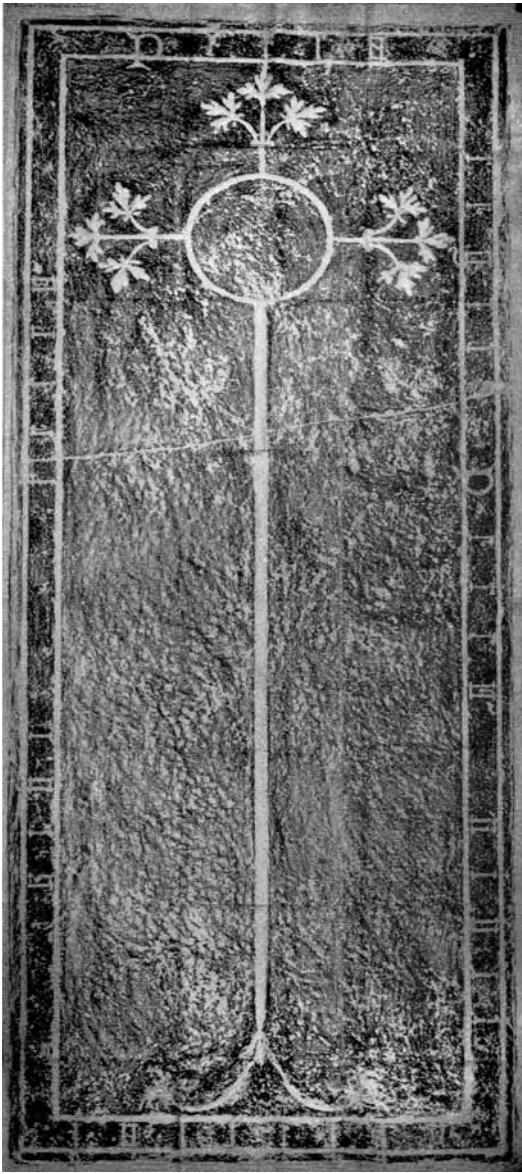


Fig. 1. Rubbing of incised slab of Bishop Quinil (d. 1291).
(from V. Hope, 'Peter Quinil, Bishop of Exeter (1291)',
MBS Trans., X, pt. 4 (1967), opp. p. 294).

On the floor of the centre aisle of the Lady Chapel in Exeter Cathedral is a large slab of Purbeck marble incised with a floriated cross, with a blank roundel at the intersection of the arms, and a marginal inscription in well-spaced Lombardic letters: '*Petra / tegit Petru(m) nihil / officiat / tibi tetru(m)*' (A rock covers thee Peter: may nothing harm thee) (Fig. 1).¹ This humble gravestone for Bishop Peter Quinil (d. 1291) – humble compared to the majestic three-dimensional and coloured effigy of his predecessor Bishop Bronescombe (d. 1280) – in fact makes complete sense when contextualised in its location. We know that it is Quinil's monument from a deed of the Chapter which expressly stated of him that '*cujus corpus ante altare beatae Mariae humatum quiescit*' (whose body lies buried before the altar of the Blessed [Virgin] Mary).² And in view of this, Hingeston-Randolph suggests 'perhaps it was felt that the, even then, glorious Church was, itself, his best and fittest Memorial; for the "*Sic Monumentum requiris, circumspice*", which marks the resting place of another famous Architect, may fairly be applied to the distinguished Prelate', for under Bronescombe

- 1 This slab is LSW.38; see also G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter: and a History of the Cathedral* (Exeter, 1861), pp. 49, 192-93; V. Hope, 'Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter (1291)', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt.4 (1967), pp. 294-95; and V. Hope and J. Lloyd, *Exeter Cathedral*, rev. A. Erskine (Exeter, 1988), p. 103, where they remark that 'This pun on the name Peter, which means a rock or a stone, is reminiscent of the similar play on the word which occurs in the New Testament: "Thou art Peter and upon this rock will I build my church" (Matthew 16.18)'.
- 2 *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (A.D. 1257-1280) and Peter Quinil (A.D. 1280-1291), Bishops of Exeter, with some records of the Episcopate of Thomas de Bytton (A.D. 1292-1307)*, ed., F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London and Exeter, 1889), p. xxii.

and Quinil the cathedral had undergone a radical rebuild of the eastern end, massively increasing the area available for intra-mural burials.³

Hence, around 140 years after Quinil's death, Canon Martin Lercedekne (d. 1433) was able to request in his will that '*lego corpus meum sacre sepulture in capella Sancti Gabrielis infra ecclesiam cathedralem Exonie, prout alias erat michi concessum et registratum in scaccario*' (I leave my body to sacred burial in the chapel of St. Gabriel in the cathedral church of Exeter, as was otherwise conceded to me and registered in the [cathedral] exchequer).⁴ His tomb slab, incised with a formulaic inscription in textura script, remains in St. Gabriel's chapel, in accordance with his wishes. Yet Quinil's overseeing of the building works, celebrated in his enigmatic epitaph, ensured that successive clerics like Lercedekne were able physically to be interred within the cathedral, St. Gabriel's being one of a number of chapels clustered around the new presbytery, sanctuary and Lady Chapel. The contrasts and similarities in how two-dimensional monuments – brasses and incised slabs – were used at Exeter by distinct groups of clergy, dating from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, form the subject of this paper.

The early monuments to deans

By the middle of the thirteenth century the Romanesque plan and structure of the late twelfth century cathedral – the second building on the site which had in turn replaced the original Anglo-Saxon minster – were proving too restrictive for the bishop and a body of

clerics that had swiftly come to exceed the original twenty-four canons. Moreover, as Nicholas Orme suggests, Bishop Bronescombe travelled frequently between Exeter and London with numerous clergy in attendance, and would have been only too well aware of the majestic new cathedral building at Salisbury which manifested the best of the latest Gothic architectural style, emphasising the limitations of his own building all the more acutely.⁵ An enormous project was undertaken to increase the scale of the entire east end of the church, giving firstly, expansion to accommodate the growing complexity of the rituals of the liturgy, including processions; secondly, increased space for side altars and chantry foundations; thirdly, the opportunity to construct a large and enhanced Lady Chapel, particularly important in view of the increasing reverence of the Virgin Mary; and lastly, more space for intra-mural burials. The custom at Exeter followed those at other cathedrals with the presbytery and sanctuary reserved for the burial of bishops (including accommodating their tomb monuments which needed to be translocated from the Romanesque building). The size and scale of the surrounding chapels and ambulatory was now sufficient to allow the burial of those able to sponsor chantries (both lay and religious patrons) as well as members of the cathedral chapter, such as deans, treasurers, precentors and chancellors.⁶

The first known monument to a cleric of this status is that to Dean Serlo, who was probably buried in the chapter house. He was the first dean of Exeter, his position as head of the body of canons being created in 1225

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1413-43*, ed., E.F. Jacob, 4 vols, CYS 42, 45-7 (London, 1943-7), II, p. 476; also calendared and translated by J. Maclean, *The History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, 3 vols, (London and Bodmin, 1879), III,

pp. 275-76; see also *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter*, eds, D. Lepine and N. Orme, Devon and Cornwall Record Society 47 (2003), p. 84.

⁵ N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral. The First Thousand Years, 400-1550* (Exeter, 2009), pp. 42-43, 94-100.

⁶ *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, pp. 25-32.

by Bishop Brewer, who also engineered the construction of a new chapter house to facilitate more effective governance of the rapidly-expanding ecclesiastical community. Serlo died in office in 1231, and until the building was restored in 1970, a flat tombstone of thirteenth-century appearance thought to be his was located only a few feet away from its west door.⁷ Located equidistant between the north and south walls it was uninscribed, coffin-shaped, and of Purbeck marble, and although seemingly unprepossessing, the possibility that an inscription was originally painted on cannot be discounted.⁸ It is significant that he was commemorated physically by a tombstone, because it must have been felt that as head of the chapter he ought to be. Secondly, this was a powerful manifestation of the increasing importance of the chapter as the force behind the commissioning of the first non-episcopal monument there, and something also recognised in the establishment of an obit for Serlo. He not only had a physical monument therefore, but a formally recognised verbal mechanism of commemoration as well, just like the bishops.⁹ Thirdly, it demonstrates a continuing link between

Purbeck and Exeter, following the examples set by earlier bishops, such as the monuments for Henry Marshal (d. 1206) and Simon of Apulia (d. 1223), whose effigies are in Purbeck.¹⁰ Lastly, either by choosing or being elected for commemoration in the chapter house he was establishing a remembrance in his own demesne: just like the bishops' effigies in the choir of the old cathedral, he was effectively in his own choir, his own place of authority and prestige, with his tombstone in the floor of where he presided, surrounded by canons in death just as he had been in life, and encouraging their intercessory prayer. There was also an element of personal humility in that this was no three-dimensional tomb as for the bishops, but a simple slab, with the memento of the dead dean repeatedly in physical contact with his canons every time they processed in and out, literally walking over his grave.¹¹ By this means he was perpetually a part of the brotherhood. However, Serlo's interment in the chapter house, despite its highly appropriate and prestigious location, was not mimicked as far as we know with any form of material commemoration

7 Hope and Lloyd, *Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 20-21; *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, p. 103.

8 For a discussion of painting on incised slabs see S. Badham, "A new feire peynted stone": Medieval English Incised Slabs?", *Church Monuments*, 19 (2004), pp. 20-52, esp. pp. 23-27. It is also noteworthy that in 1321-2 the sum of 11d. was paid to a painter working in the cathedral for writing 550 letters on the entablature of the high altar; and in 1323-24, 5d. was paid for writing 250 letters around the bishop's throne: A.M. Erskine, ed., *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279-1353*, 2 vols, Devon and Cornwall Record Society 24, 26 (1981-3), I, pp. 145, 147. It seems possible that a slab was purchased for him direct from the Isle of Purbeck, and that a commemorative inscription (with or without other details such as a cross or an effigy) painted on it at the cathedral: both the working systems and the availability of the craftsmen suggest this.

9 D. Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore?" Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds, C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XX (Donington, 2010), pp. 58-74 at p. 71.

10 Hope and Lloyd, *Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 98-102; and for a dated but still valuable account of the early tombs see H.E. Bishop and E.K. Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter* (Exeter, 1922), pp. 118-30. See also G. Dru Drury, 'The Use of Purbeck Marble in Mediaeval Times', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 70 (1948), pp. 74-98, at pp. 88-9.

11 See D. Lepine, "A stone to be layed upon me": The Monumental Commemoration of the Late Medieval English Higher Clergy', in *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed., M. Penman (Donington, 2013), pp. 158-70, at pp. 163-64.



Fig 2a. Cross slab and brass of Precentor John de Dreyton
(d. by 1301) – chapel of St. Andrew and St. Katherine.
(photo.: © John Allan and Gary Young)

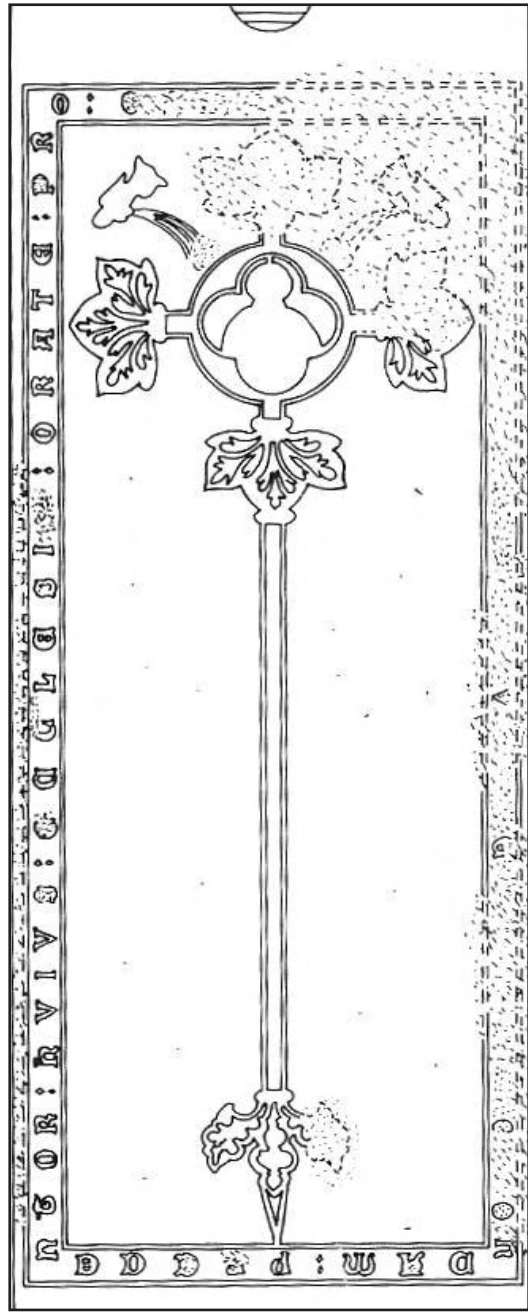


Fig 2b. Cross slab and brass of Precentor John de Dreyton
(d. by 1301) – chapel of St. Andrew and St. Katherine.
(drawing: © John Blair)

by his successors, although there are numerous records of their obits.¹²

Perhaps this deficit can be explained by the uncertainty over suitable locations for burial resulting from the reconstruction of the east end of the cathedral; it was not until the start of the fourteenth century, some seventy years after Serlo's death and commemoration, that the ambulatory and side chapels were finished, and it appears that little time was lost in appropriating this newly acquired space for individual burials and physical memorialisation. Principal among these are two Purbeck marble slabs on the floor of the chapel of St. Andrew and St. Katherine off the north side of the ambulatory. This chapel is a beautifully decorated structure, with ornately sculpted bosses in the vault which is supported by clusters of thin shafts in turn accommodating canopied piscinas for the two altars.¹³ In the north-west corner is a staircase which would have led to the treasury, so there would have been a constant passage of individuals through the chapel. The fact that it was a thoroughfare was no doubt a significant factor in encouraging two higher clergy to be commemorated there by floorslabs decorated with brasses of remarkable elegance and

beauty, Precentor John de Dreyton (d. by 1301) [LSW.39] (Figs 2a, b),¹⁴ and to Dean Andrew Kilkenny (d. by 1302) [LSW.40] (Figs 3a, b).

Apart from the sheer quality of design of these early brasses it is very fortunate that the probate inventory and accounts for Andrew Kilkenny (1302–15) have survived.¹⁵ Worth a not inconsiderable £916 18s. 0³/₄d. when he died, Kilkenny was related to the clerical dynasty of which William de Kilkenny was an important figure – bishop of Ely and chancellor to Henry III – so Andrew was well placed from birth to advance through the clerical hierarchy. However, it is the expenses of his tomb which concern us here most (Fig. 4).¹⁶

Looking at these two slabs in more detail, and taking Dreyton's as the better example because of its superior surface preservation, the design is one of a wheel-headed cross enclosing a conventional bust; indents are quite clearly cut into the slab, so the composition must have been of brass, but there is no evidence of any fixing mechanism such as rivets (Fig. 5). The shaft of the cross appears to have been worked in two thin pieces of metal as strips, although the depth cut away to house the metal is quite shallow (Fig. 6). Foliate finials were

12 U. Radford, 'An Introduction to the Deans of Exeter', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 87 (1955), pp. 1-24, at pp. 1-3; *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, *passim*. Possibly this deficit also relates to a certain hubris of the dean and chapter amid allegations of the sale of benefices, forging of documents, and other irregularities, taking place during the episcopate of Bishop Blondy (d. 1257), duly investigated by his successor Bishop Bronescombe (Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 38).

13 For information on the sculptural attributes of this chapel see A.K. Henry and A.C. Hulbert, *Exeter Cathedral keystones and Carvings – a Catalogue Raisonné*, online at <http://hds.essex.ac.uk/exetercath/docs/catalogue/cat67.htm> [accessed 11 June 2017].

14 There is a small element of doubt in this attribution to Dreyton (*Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme,

pp. 67, 72; V. Hope, 'Two Incised Slabs with Indents in Exeter Cathedral', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 2 (1964), pp. 102-6; and J. Blair, 'English-Made Brasses and Indents before 1350: A Summary List', in *The Earliest English Brasses, Patronage, Style and Workshops, 1270–1350*, ed., J. Coales, (London, 1987), pp. 180-215, at p. 185). See also V. Hope, *Monumentarium* [a list of cathedral monuments] (1956), MS in Exeter Cathedral Library, p. 135.

15 *Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, II, pp. 318-19, fully transcribed and translated in *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, pp. 171-202.

16 While these sums relate purely to the Kilkenny slab that for John de Dreyton is so similar that virtually the same expenses must have been involved for Dreyton's monument.



Fig. 3a. Cross slab and brass of Dean Andrew Kilkenny (d. by 1302) – chapel of St. Andrew and St. Katherine. (photo.: © John Allan and Gary Young)

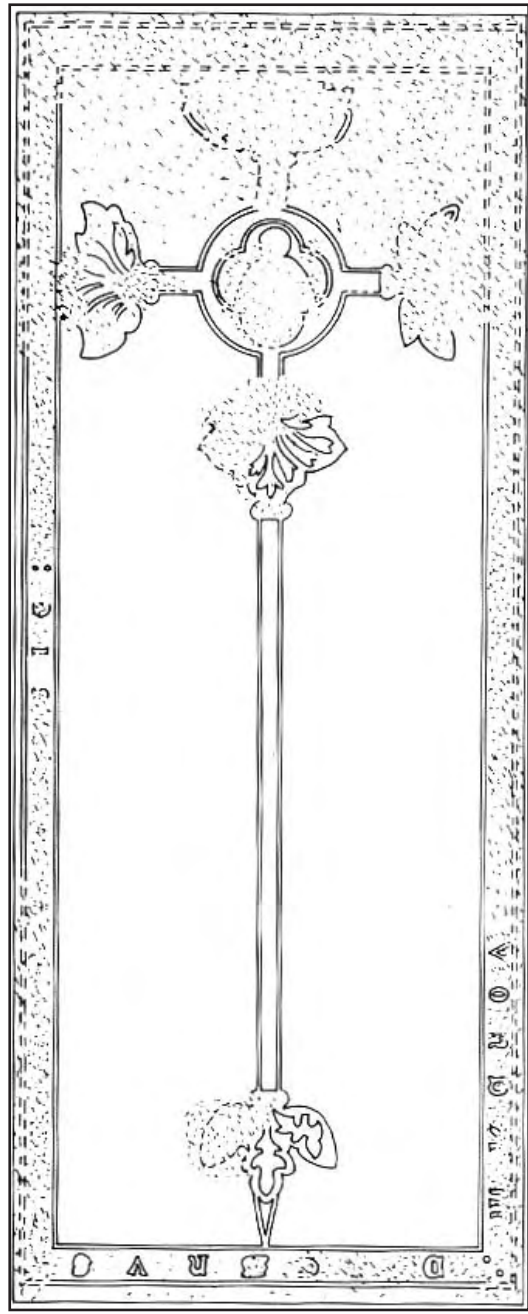


Fig. 3b. Cross slab and brass of Dean Andrew Kilkenny (d. by 1302) – chapel of St. Andrew and St. Katherine. (drawing: © John Blair)

Tomb Expenses	
For expenses about the burial, both carpentry and metalwork, one coffin of stone, one chest of lead and other necessities	28s 8d.
For one stone placed over the deceased and the expenses of a messenger going to buy it	13s. 4d.
For the expenses of a cart to seek the stone at the quarry	10s.
For the wages of Master John the artist (<i>pictoris</i>) for drawing (<i>pertactand</i> ¹⁷) a cross on the said stone and lettering around it and for wages of two masons cutting them (<i>ad ingravad</i> ¹⁸) for 15 days	6s 10d.
For paving made round the said stone	4d.
For metal brought for the cross and lettering	17s. 1d.
For the wages of John le Horner for making and putting the cross and letters on the stone	£4
Also for the mastic (<i>mistico</i>) bought for this work	4s. 2d.
For painting one table (<i>tabula</i>) in front of the altar of St. Andrew	13s. 4d.
For whitewashing (<i>dealbanda</i>) in the chapel of St. Andrew	10½d.
Total	£8 14s 7½d.

Fig. 4. Expenses for the tomb of Dean Andrew Kilkenny

partly incised in the Purbeck marble, with areas of stone therefore piercing through the brass, allowing the dark marble to form a sharp contrast with the (presumably) gilded brass, something possibly adapted from Quinil's slab (Figs 7a, b).¹⁷ The letters were not cast individually but cut to a template from a sheet of brass, which in view of the use of brass plate for other elements of the design would

have been the logical production technique. The sum of 4s. 2d. was paid for mastic – which equates to a colossal 66 lbs of pitch – suggesting that very thick beds of it were liberally employed to stick the brass components into the indents, as well as some added to the incised lines of the bust to provide visual contrast.¹⁸ Because of the absence of any form of fixing mechanism perhaps it was presumed that

17 Complicated by the fact that elements of Quinil's slab have been recut, chiefly the letters of the inscription, the floriated terminals of the cross arms are unusually and intricately incised. F.A. Greenhill's opinion of this slab was that 'the treatment of the foliated ends of the cross, which are executed in very slightly recessed relief (or, more correctly, slightly sunk incised work) suggest that these, at any rate, could hardly have contained brass, though the deep hollows by which the stem and the curious circular centre are delineated may well

have contained some form of filling, but whether of brass or some kind of cement or colouring matter it is not now possible to determine' (F.A. Greenhill, MS British Incised Slabs (Non-Effigial), vol. 2, pp. 24-8, *penes* P. Cockerham).

18 In 1299/1300, 13 lbs of pitch were purchased for 12d. and in another account 3s. 6d. was spent on 56 lbs of pitch, making the cost of 1 lb of pitch – essentially mastic – around ¾d. (*Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, I, pp. 9, 11).



Fig. 5. Indent of the cross head and bust; slab of John de Dreyton (d. by 1301).
(photo.: © John Allan and Gary Young)

liberal quantities of mastic were going to be adequate to secure the metal.

The extent of the co-operation between John the artist for the drawing and John le Horner for the metalwork is difficult to surmise. However, the total sum paid for the artist's work and two masons was only 6s. 10d., and as a mason's wages hovered around 2s. per week in the early fourteenth century, two masons working for fifteen days would have absorbed a considerable amount of this sum, for cutting out the indents for the cross and letters and for John the artist for the design.¹⁹ Either the artist was cheap therefore – and that seems unlikely when 13s. 4d. was paid for the painting of a *tabula* – or his input was marginal. Perhaps his involvement was restricted to the production of a cartoon of the design, or

19 *Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, I, *passim*; see also L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1992 edn), pp. 68-73.

20 *Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, I, pp. 149, 151.

21 *Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, II, pp. xix-xx, 175-211.

he sketched it out on the slab, using faint guidelines or drill holes to help the masons achieve the desired result. Yet his wages were a fraction of those of John le Horner the metalworker, who was evidently an expensive craftsman. In context, in 1323/4 two carvers ('ymaginator') were paid 3s. 5d., although for what we are not told; in the same period £1 19s. 0d. was paid to a carver from London for carving images; and 5s. 0d. was paid for the carving of four heads for the vault of the cloister – presumably bosses of some kind.²⁰



Fig. 6. Indent of the cross shaft: slab of John de Dreyton (d. by 1301).
(photo.: © author)

Master Roger, master mason, received an annual payment of £6 in 1299/1300; his successor had £6 13s. 4d.; and painters, painters of images and similar craftsmen were only rarely paid more than 2s. 0d. per week, or around £5 per annum.²¹



Fig. 7a. Floriated terminal on the cross slab of Peter Quinil.
(photo.: © author)



Fig. 7b. Floriated terminal on the cross slab of John de Dreyton.
(photo.: © author)

Precise comparisons are hard to tease out, complicated also in that fees paid to craftsmen for specific commissions frequently included the costs of the raw materials as well. The closest comparison of the fee paid to John le Horner for his input on what was a relatively modest brass, is with engravers of seal matrices, hence, those craftsmen frequently working in base as well as precious metals. For instance, in 1307 a seal engraver was paid £5 for a small seal of absence, and another was paid £4 in the

same year for a privy seal; both of these were royal commissions for Edward II. In 1332 the sum of £5 was paid to a goldsmith in London for a Chancery seal.²² Once thought of as having relatively little social and economic standing, it has recently been argued that in fact seal engravers were well respected and prosperous, and because of the similarity of materials and techniques used, as well as the fee charged, the argument could be extended to include the activities of John le Horner.²³

22 H.S. Kingsford, 'Some English Medieval Seal Engravers', *Archaeological Journal*, 97 (1940), pp. 155-79.

23 J. McEwan, 'Making a mark in medieval London: the social and economic status of seal-makers', in *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed., P. Schofield, (Oxford, 2015), pp. 77-88.

Working in Exeter to engrave the two brasses, he can therefore be evaluated as a high class, highly skilled craftsman, and in no way to be perceived as on the same social scale as the painters, image makers, and even the master mason. In view of this, the similarity of iconography between seals and tomb monuments, particularly brasses, is hardly surprising, and it emphasises the possibility of multi-media craftsmen, with seal engravers possibly engraving brasses and vice-versa.²⁴

Reflecting the social kudos of the brass engraver, looking further at the tomb expenses emphasises just how costly the metal was: 17s. 1d. for the raw material, presumably the brass sheet(s), which was 3s. 9d. more expensive than the cost of the stone itself as well as paying a rider to go to Purbeck on a return trip to liaise with the quarry there. The commission of le Horner and the use of brass itself, elevates this monument into a totally different league of prestige commemoration compared to the use of a simple slab, whether or not incised with inscriptions and figures.²⁵ True enough, his estate could afford it without question, but by being purposefully memorialised on the floor of the chapel of St. Andrew – a saint to whom Kilkenny had a particular devotion – this status-exemplifying monument, located in a chapel screened off from the ambulatory, was, paradoxically, constantly walked on by his fellow clergy.

Apart from increasing the expediency of intercessory prayer, magnified anyway by the very visibility of the slab, there is also the likelihood, similar to Dean Serlo's slab, that by being buried and commemorated in that particular locus Kilkenny was acting as a guardian to the Treasury. Those intent on entering it would have to step over his dead body forever memorialised by his slab, with his bust in gilded brass looking back at them as if in life, expressing the sentiment that they should be answerable not just to the ultimate authority via their financial dealings but before they got that far, to him. Was this heightened visibility also maximised by the whitewashing of the chapel, for 10½d., the better to illuminate the slab, as well as giving greater contrast and prominence to the *tabula* on the wall at the head of the slab? The dedication of this chapel by 1299 was under the auspices of Kilkenny when he was dean, and such was his devotion to this saint, possibly because they shared the same name, that his executors comprehensively equipped it so that vestments, sacred vessels, an altar frontal and linen, all perhaps personalised in some way, might be used in the performance of his obit and other services of remembrance.²⁶

The Exeter fabric accounts also record in 1310/11 the purchase of six metal rings from John le Horner for 12s. 0d., to decorate marble columns,²⁷ perhaps an idea adapted

24 See E.A. New, 'Episcopal Embodiment: The Tombs and Seals of Bishops in Medieval England and Wales', in *The Prelate in England and Europe, 1300–1560*, ed., M. Heale, (York, 2014), pp. 191–214; *Idem*, 'The Tomb and Seal of John Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford: some comparative thoughts', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 2–14.

25 This is something that I have also found in an analysis of the relative costs of brasses and incised slabs prepared by the Flemish artists in Bruges in the early to mid fourteenth century (P. Cockerham, 'Incised Slab Commissions in Fourteenth-century Boston', in

'*The beste and fayrest of al Lincolnshire*'. *The Church of St. Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments*, eds, S. Badham and P. Cockerham, (Oxford, 2012), pp. 74–99, esp. pp. 85–89.

26 D.N. Lepine, "'Getting and Spending": the Accumulation and Dispersal of a Thirteenth-Century Clerical Fortune', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 136 (2004), pp. 37–70 at p. 66.

27 *Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, I, p. 59. This establishes the price of a single ring at 2s. 0d., the same as employing a mason for a week, and again illustrative of the high cost of the metal.

from Salisbury Cathedral where they ring the Purbeck columns below the capitals on one of the doorways in the west front. Le Horner had access to latten therefore; maybe it was he who cast these rings, using copper from the mines of Devon or Cornwall, or was it from the raw imported material? And maybe he also rolled it into sheets, used in the Dreyton and Kilkenny slabs? He was also possibly one of a family of Exeter freemen, with several named as Horn/Hornere successively listed at the end of the thirteenth century, including a 'John, sone of Richard Horn' admitted on 2 September 1297.²⁸

With Horner responsible for the metalwork and John the artist for the design (however minor his input), there remains the question of where did the design of these two brasses originate. A convenient exemplar would have been the slab to Bishop Peter Quinil (d. 1291) which had been newly laid down in the Lady Chapel, already discussed. But that said, what is the precursor for this in Exeter – and it is tempting to look for inspiration in Purbeck itself. It is not inconceivable that one of the numerous thirteenth-century cross-head motifs produced by the marblers there was elaborated to produce Quinil's design, and then it is only a short leap of faith to incorporate a bust at the intersection.²⁹ The arrival in London around

1305 of Adam de Corfe, who was by then already a fully-fledged marbler and who attracted an instant clientele there, suggests that during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries he was likely to have been active in Dorset – so could he have been responsible for the elaboration of the Purbeck cross head designs, and the incorporation of the brass? Were these more complicated ideas for the Kilkenny and Dreyton slabs transmitted to Exeter directly from Corfe, maybe via the rider who visited the quarry to get the stone (as specified in the accounts), John the artist incorporating these features and transmitting them to John le Horner?³⁰

Two-dimensional monuments to bishops

We are faced with a similar conundrum in an examination of the brass and slab [LSW.48] of Bishop Thomas Bitton (d. 1307), Quinil's successor.³¹ This monument was originally in the central part of the presbytery floor, but in 1763, when it still appeared to retain its brass inlays, the slab was removed and the brasses lost when the floor was completely re-laid in tiles from the steps of the high altar west to the pulpitum. Cut down, it was relocated 'In the South Aisle opposite Bishop Cotton's monument', i.e. on the south side of the south choir aisle, adjacent to where the Cotton monument is now located.³²

28 *Exeter Freeman 1266–1967*, eds, M.M. Rowe and A.M. Jackson, Devon and Cornwall Record Society Extra Series 1 (1973), pp. 1, 5.

29 S. Badham *et al.*, 'Survey of Purbeck Marble Coffin-Shaped Slabs', *Newsletter of the Church Monuments Society*, 10.1 (Summer, 1994), pp. 4–11, particularly the illustration on p. 5.

30 For information on Adam of Corfe and his production of 'Camoy's-style' brasses and slabs, see S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1994), pp. 27, 46ff.

31 Hope, 'Monumentarium', p. 44.

32 This is taken from John Carter's plan which shows it there: London, BL, MS Add. 29943 f. 97r. However, in correspondence between Dean Jeremiah Milles

(1762–84) and his predecessor Charles Lyttelton (Dean 1748–62), of 25 August 1764, both state that the slab was placed in the 'Cross Ile', i.e. the crossing (London, BL, Stowe MS 754, p. 137, quoted in Hope, 'Monumentarium', p. 44). For plans of the presbytery floor pre- and post-renovation, see Exeter Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Archives, 4038 (plan of ledger stones in the choir c. 1763), and 4708 (removal of ledger stones from the choir c. 1763). What was once mistakenly taken to be Bitton's slab was a large slab of Purbeck marble laid down close to the north transept, at the west end of the north choir aisle, but there are no indents on the visible surface and it is certainly the right side up as masons saw the rough underside in the 1960s/70s – D. Lepine, *pers. comm.*

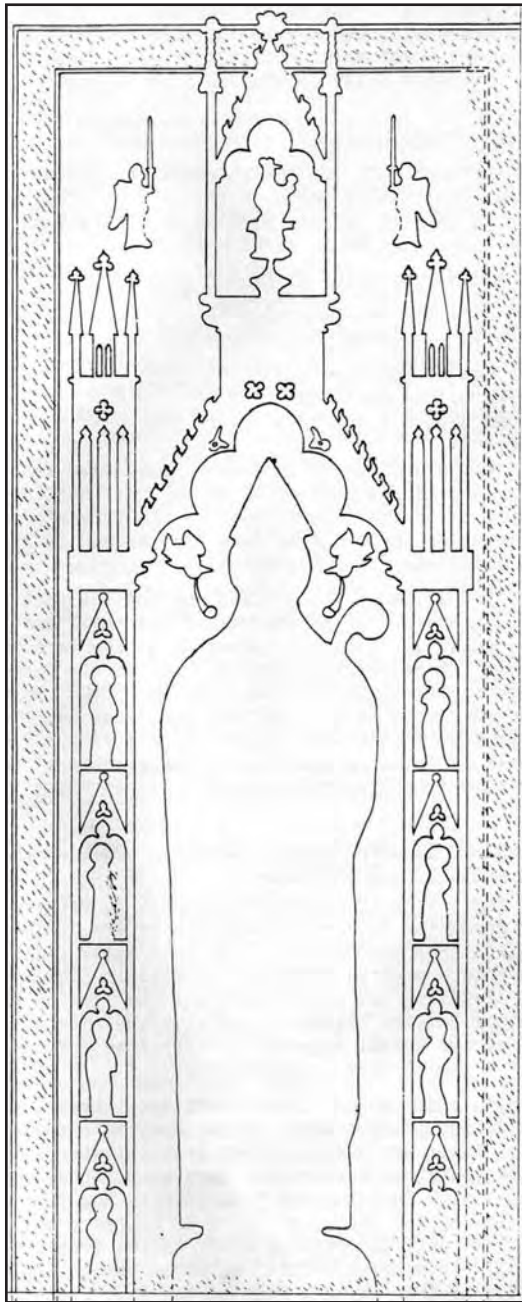


Fig. 8. Drawing of indents on the brass to Bishop Thomas Bitton (d. 1307).
(drawing: © John Blair)

As for Dean Kilkenny, Bitton's funeral expenses have also survived, they itemise £3 spent on 'one plain marble stone', and £16 13s. 4d. paid for 'preparing the same with images, a canopy [*tabernaculo*] and metal lettering around the edges'.³³ The dimensions of the slab have been estimated at 13ft 6in x 5ft 1in (412 x 155 cm), making the relative costs of the Bitton and Kilkenny slabs very close: Kilkenny's works out at around 10.8 pence per square foot of Purbeck; Bitton's at 10.4 pence per square foot; so either Bitton's executors were well advised in allowing this sum for a slab of the size they thought appropriate, or the quarry supplied what they could for the money.

Paul Binski has looked closely at Bitton's slab and the antiquarian evidence for the appearance of the brass, which he says 'does not make full sense in the context of London products of this period', because of several factors: the thickness / width of the sideshafts and the peculiar way in which the pinnacles are formed; the heavy tabernacle above the figure, presumably of the Virgin Mary and Child, which has no antecedents in London brasses; lastly, the figure silhouette is bulky and unlike the slender, elongated figures normally found around that time (Fig. 8).³⁴ No metalworker or mason is named in the accounts, but it is tempting to persist with an Exeter craftsman, particularly as the sum paid for the imagery is distinct from that for the slab (as per the Kilkenny accounts), hence involving two separate businesses or craftsmen, unlike London products where a marbler was responsible for slab and brass.

33 *Accounts of the Executors of Richard Bishop of London 1303 and of the Executors of Thomas Bishop of Exeter 1310*, eds, W.H. Hale and H.T. Ellacombe, Camden Society, New Series, 10 (1874), pp. 22-4.

34 P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', in *Earliest English Brasses*, ed., Coales, pp. 69-131, at pp. 77-8.

Perhaps John the artist and / or John le Horner continued their co-operation within ten years of producing Kilkenny's brass – and maybe not even as long as that, as we have no means of establishing the year date of manufacture of Kilkenny's brass, or that of Bitton.

What, again, is the model for this brass? The three features distinctly specified by the executors are, firstly, an effigy of the bishop; secondly, a canopy or *tabernaculum*, however one might interpret the Latin; and lastly, separate metal letters for a marginal inscription. The effigy and inscription are potentially routine, with sufficient models of bishops' effigies in Exeter to have informed a brass engraver, for example that of Bishop Bronescombe (d. 1280) is particularly good; and we already know that John le Horner was adept at separate letter metal inscriptions. It is the tabernacle and canopy that are odd. Was the model the same as that used for the bishop's wooden throne at Exeter, the wood for which was being ordered by 1312–13, with presumably its planning and conception taking place well before that?³⁵ An examination of the throne demonstrates the incorporation, in three sides, of buttresses projecting up from the lower canopy structure, each to form a large statue housing, sufficient to accommodate a life-size figure, sheltered by a straight-sided gabled vault at the base of the canopy's finial stage.³⁶ Thomas de Witney, who was an apprentice mason at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1292–94, and then about a decade later was in Winchester Cathedral working on the stalls there, was summoned to Exeter to advise on the throne of honour for the bishop.

As Charles Tracy surmises, 'the resulting throne is redolent of the expertise of which Witney had already gained experience. The novel semi-structural ogee arches and the intersecting tracery of the spire, for instance, already suggest an intimate collaboration with a specialist joiner' (Fig. 9).³⁷

To my mind there is much of the woodwork design in the conception of the brass tabernacle above Bitton's head and the peculiar terminating finials above the canopy side shafts, and, at what will have been an exciting time at Exeter with the culmination of the rebuilding programme, there must have been an exuberant mélange of designs and ideas circulating between craftsmen for the brass engraver to draw upon. For instance, the glass of the east window was set up in the first decade of the fourteenth century, with the figures in the principal range standing under elaborate multi-tiered canopies, adding to the design mix as being not dissimilar to Bitton's brass. The architectural enclosures of the figures of St. Barbara, St. Martin and the Virgin Mary in the centre, and those of St. Margaret, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine, on the north side, are particularly evocative of the *tabernaculum*.³⁸ Equally intriguing are what an antiquarian account of the brass from the late eighteenth century describes as 'two angels holding tapers in their hands, one on each side of her [the Virgin Mary in the *tabernaculum*], and on each side of the Bishop's head was an angel in a flying posture with censers in their hands'; all this in addition to the figure of the bishop 'mitred and robed ... [and] ... on each side of the stone were several small figures of saints ... [and] ... over the Bishop's head the

35 C. Tracy, *Britain's Medieval Episcopal Thrones* (Oxford, 2015), chapter 2.

36 Tracy, *Episcopal Thrones*, Figs 2.1.3, 2.1.4, and Tip-in 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

37 Tracy, *Episcopal Thrones*, p. 39.

38 C. Brooks and D. Evans, *The Great East Window of Exeter Cathedral – A Glazing History* (Exeter, 1988), pp. 18, 19.



Fig. 9. The Bishop's Throne.

(from J. Britton, The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Exeter (London, 1826), pl. XI)

Blessed Virgin with the Infant in her arms' (Fig. 10).³⁹ While angels flying above the canopy swinging censers around the head of the principal figure are not unusual attributes, with many examples evident on indents of early fourteenth century brasses in Camoys-style prototypes – as at Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, c. 1306 – and reaching a flamboyant apotheosis on the superb brass to Bishop Louis Beaumont (d. 1333) in Durham Cathedral. However, the figures of angels holding tapers in their hands are rare in English work of this period. Even a trawl through the eighteenth-century drawings of French monuments made for Roger de Gaignières to identify foreign comparators throws up very few – notably on two incised slabs from the 1270s in Rouen.⁴⁰ There are clear resemblances also between the architectural details of some Rouen-made late-thirteenth-century incised tomb slabs and the glass at Saint-Ouen.⁴¹ Bulk glass as raw material was purchased for Exeter from Rouen in 1317–18;⁴² and the design of the canopywork of the existing sedilia at Exeter and the proposals for the high altar reredos, both under

construction between c. 1316 and c. 1325, retain the hexagonal plan commonly used in late-thirteenth-century French image housings, with sculptures of small lions acting both as arm rests and supports for the elegant brass pillars supporting the architectural superstructure



Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the brass to Bishop Bitton (d. 1307). (drawing: © Michael Swanton)

39 M.J. Swanton, 'Some Exeter Cathedral Documents', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 115 (1983), pp. 123–31, at pp. 126–9. A sketch of the indent of Bitton's brass by John Carter is London, BL, MS Add. 29943 f. 97r. The quote is from a letter from Carter to an antiquarian solicitor Pitman Jones of Exeter, undated and now unfortunately lost, known only from a transcript made c. 1850 and now Exeter, Devon Record Office, MS 30 f. 11v; a transcript is attached to Hope's 'Monumentarium', p. 44.

40 These are two incised slabs (both now missing), originally in the church of Saint-Ouen, to Emmeline, the wife of Martin Pigache (d. 1279), and Marguerite de Preuilli (d. 1275.) (J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières: dessins d'archéologie du XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6^{ème} période, 84 (1974), pp. 1–192, Figs 362, 363).

41 J. Bugslag, 'Early Fourteenth-Century Canopywork in Rouen Stained Glass', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed., J. Stratford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 12 (1993), pp. 73–80.

42 *Accounts of the Fabric*, ed., Erskine, I, p. 98.

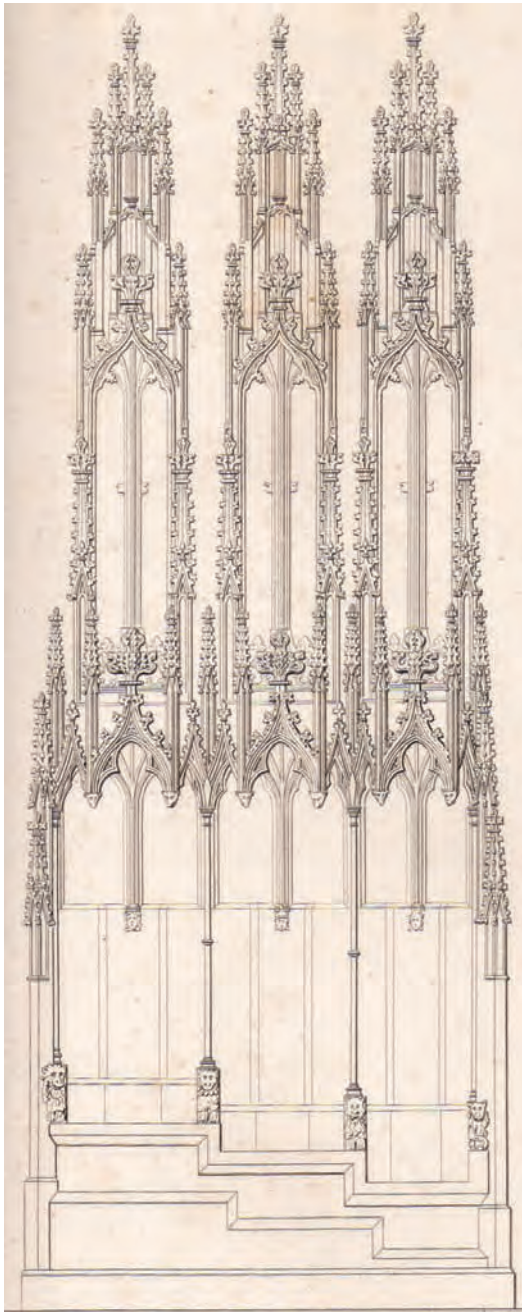


Fig. 11. Drawing of the sedilia.
 (from *Transactions of the
 Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, I (1843), pl. 20*)

– rare in early fourteenth century England, and their use usually indicative of direct French Rayonnant influence.⁴³

There is clear evidence at this time of craft contacts between Exeter and Rouen therefore, and, hence, the inherent probability of design adaptation and borrowing. It is certainly not unfeasible to propose that certain unusual design elements of Bitton's brass were based on French models, and if the Bitton brass were of Exeter manufacture – which seems sensible – then in addition there would have been few if any pre-existing conventions of brass design and manufacture to adhere to as workshop practice, which might have stifled this originality.⁴⁴ There is also the tantalising possibility that John le Horner was involved directly with the construction of the sedilia, in that its brass pillars may well have been supplied by him, in the same way he supplied the brass rings for the decoration of the marble columns (Fig. 11). Of the two pillars,

43 Tracy, *Episcopal Thrones*, p. 35. See also P. Morris, 'Exeter Cathedral: A conjectural reconstruction of the fourteenth-century altar screen – F', *Antiquaries Journal*, 23 (1943), pp. 122-47, at pp. 134-5; V. Sekules, 'The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral', in *Medieval Art & Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, ed., F. Kelly, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 11 (1991), pp. 172-79. The sedilia are illustrated in the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, I (1843), pls. 20-2.

44 Nicholas Rogers traces other possible French influences on the design of this brass, such as a similarity of the finials of the side shafts comparable to the lantern-like tourelles on the incised slab of Milon de Basoches, bishop of Soissons (d. 1290), once at the abbey church of Longpont (Oise), illustrated in Adhémar and Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières', Fig. 426; and that Bitton's pose, possibly holding a book rather than in an attitude of benediction, is resonant of French examples (N.J. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments, 1270–1350 – III – A Survey of English Episcopal Monuments', in *Earliest English Brasses*, ed., Coales, pp. 38-65, at pp. 52-3.)

one is thought to be original and, if ever done, a metallurgical analysis of this and the brass fragments remaining on the de Dreyton slab would provide further information on possible origin(s) of the metal.⁴⁵

What is undeniable is the resonance between this brass, particularly the tabernacle and the rest of the architectural surround, and the bishop's throne. This is even more acute when one considers that Bitton was buried and commemorated by this gigantic slab in the most prominent position in the newly-rebuilt choir, his figure depicted in rich episcopal vestments with mitre and crosier, standing under the tabernacle and with two angels with candles, the brass and slab ornamented with fifty cut stones,⁴⁶ and with the brilliance of the newly-glazed east window behind. Compare that image with those of his successors in life, in all their bejewelled regalia, seated in the throne under the same canopied images, and even more resoundingly with two acolytes bearing large candles and two more with thuribles, according to the Salisbury rite, as they processed in the choir. Such imagery was particularly apt at the enthronement of a new bishop.⁴⁷ There was visible continuity of the power and authority of the episcopacy therefore: there was the old, deceased bishop permanently personified and forever present at masses said at the high altar, resonating in the appearance of his ever-changing successors in life, such that the persona may have changed, but the role and divinity were to endure.

The brass also served as another tool in maintaining the emphasis on devotion to the Virgin Mary, with her image over Bitton's head in the tabernacle, and looking due east, her sculpted figure in the central part of the high altar reredos – gilded, painted, and with silver-gilt crowns – with over all, her representation in richly coloured glass in the centre of the east window, and of course going beyond that, in the chapel dedicated to her.⁴⁸

The tombstones of canons

But to return to the title of this paper – how did the body of canons memorialise themselves physically? During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which was the period when the fashion for some kind of grave marker was at its height, it is an established view that they were commonly memorialised by flat gravestones, which meant that they could be laid down along walkways, close to altars, shrines, images, and in places where a three-dimensional tomb would have been physically obstructive (Fig. 12).⁴⁹ The pattern of interment and commemoration manifested by an analysis of the wishes expressed in their wills and other contemporary documents, ensured that the canonical brotherhood persisted in death as well as in life, perhaps first seen in the burial of Dean Serlo in his chapter house, and Dean Andrew Kilkenny by the steps leading up to the treasury. How many were commemorated like this is impossible to say, as although residentiary canons were highly likely to be buried in their cathedral

45 The illustration of the de Dreyton slab in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Devonshire* (London, 2000), p. 127, identifies the fragments of metal remaining.

46 The funeral expenses identify 'For 50 cut stones bought for the said tomb – 5s.', presumably as decoration of both the brass figure, being inserted into cut out spaces in his mitre, crosier and gloves, for instance, as well as possibly inserted between words in the inscription. See also Tracy, *Episcopal Thrones*, Fig. 2.1.2 p. 28, for a

plan of the presbytery featuring the relative locations (and interactions) of graves and liturgical fittings.

47 C. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 49 (procession on Christmas Day), 86-7 (procession on Easter Day), 106 (rite for the enthronement of a bishop).

48 Morris, 'Exeter Cathedral', p. 142.

49 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages. History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 183-6.

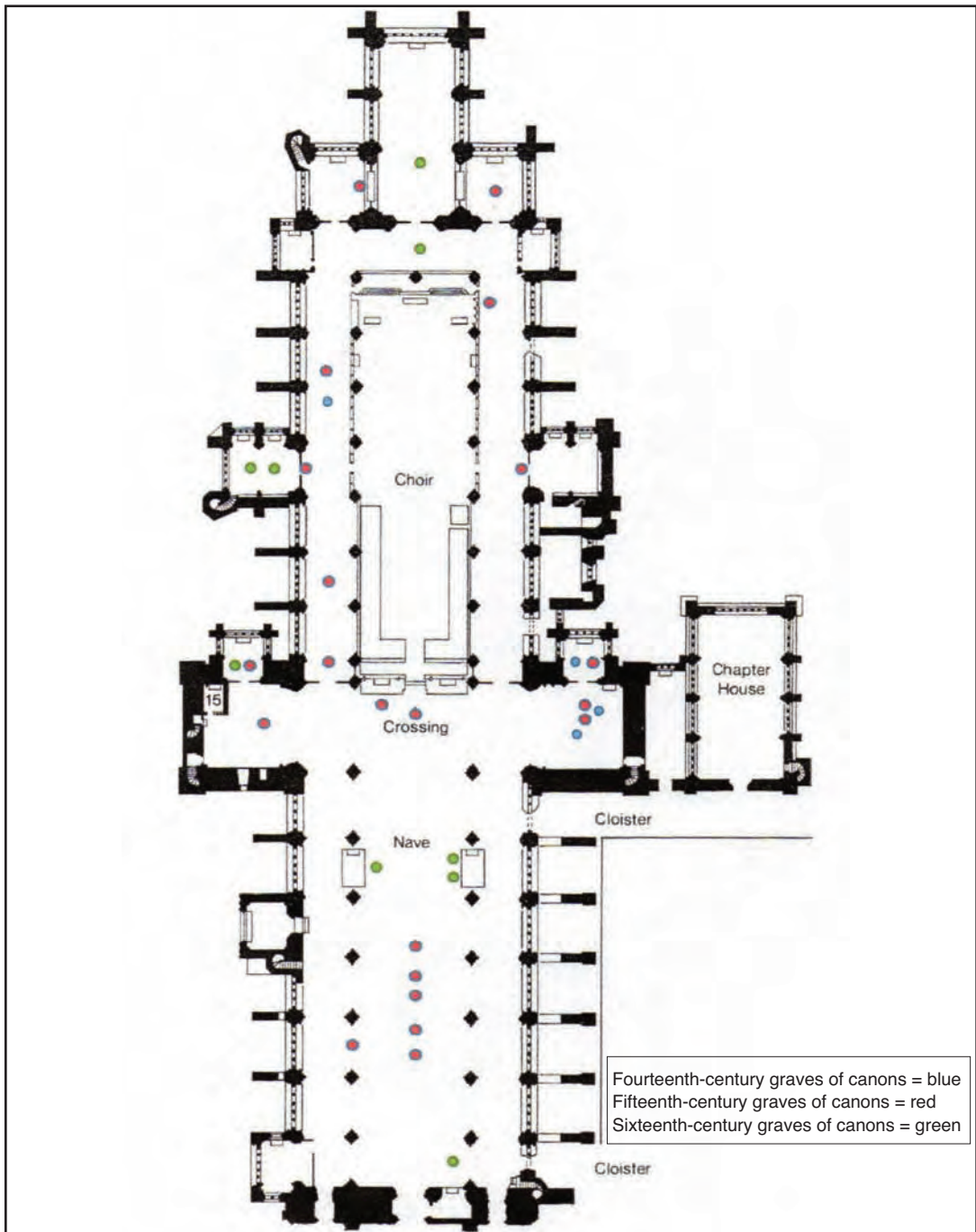


Fig. 12. Plan of the cathedral with the locations of canonical burial sites surmised from their wills

(and non-residentiary canons equally likely to be buried elsewhere), the number of canonical slabs remaining is much reduced from what one might expect even allowing for natural attrition.

Ultimately, the chapter decided on location. For instance, Canon John Flower (d. 1463) requested burial in the cathedral according to the will of his brother canons, and if they agreed, ‘in one side or ambulatory outside the choir’.⁵⁰ Dean Henry Webber (d. 1477) willed to be buried ‘in the north ambulatory, which place was assigned to me by the [cathedral] chapter’ – yet in fact he was held in such esteem by the chapter that he was interred and his gravestone placed in the presbytery, just south of that of Bishop Bitton, and a much more sanctified spot.⁵¹ Precentor Roger Bolter (d. 1436) asked to be buried in the cathedral ‘at the feet of the tomb of Anna Fylham (mother of William Fylham, chancellor, who died in 1429) if the canons and my co-brethren are willing to offer this concession’.⁵² In the same way that family relationships were marked by burials concentrated in a particular locus, there was also a sense of the continuity of an office persisting after death, seen, for instance, with the cathedral chancellors. Robert Bosoun, chancellor (d. 1400), wanted to be buried ‘in the nave ... next to the burial place of Master John Wyllet, formerly chancellor, that is to say on the south side of the same Master John’.⁵³ And chancellor Richard Rotheram (d. 1455) requested burial ‘next to the tomb of Master John Snetisham, the last chancellor ...

my predecessor’.⁵⁴ Snetisham himself (d. 1448) wanted to be buried ‘as near the pulpitum as possible’ and hence in a location which would have given his grave (and that of Rotheram) maximum exposure to the canons as well as the general public, as they gathered in front of the pulpitum peering into the choir.⁵⁵ Did this desire for familial/canonical proximity also lead necessarily to a new slab being laid down? Could a supplementary inscription simply have been added to the earlier graveslab, which, if that were then lost, would go some way to account for the dearth of individual slabs?

What of the monuments themselves? At this period they are exclusively gravestones, and as the remaining examples are generally worn, some broken and others misplaced or covered up, they form a lacklustre *corpus*.⁵⁶ Formulaic inscriptions reciting names, positions and dates of death are incised in *textura* script around the perimeter of the slab. That to Precentor Thomas Harrys (d. 1511) is typical: ‘*Deus misereatur anime Magistri Thome Harryes, Canonici atque quondam Cornubiensis Archidiaconi et Well' thesaurarii ac huius Ecclesie Precentoris qui obiit ultimo die decembris anno domini millesimo ccccc xi*’ (Lord have mercy on the soul of Master Thomas Harrys, canon, once archdeacon of Cornwall and treasurer of Wells, and precentor of this church, who died the last day of December 1511). In his will of 1 November 1511 he asked to be buried in the cathedral ‘before the image of the Blessed Mary in the south part of the said church’. His gravestone

50 *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, p. 70.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

56 Hope’s ‘Monumentarium’ forms a basic catalogue; his work was quarried in 1963 by F.A. Greenhill, who added the information to his notes on incised slabs in the cathedral recorded in 1930, that is prior to the bomb damage sustained in the south choir aisle and chapel of St. Mary Magdalene and St. James (F.A. Greenhill, *MS British Incised Slabs (Non-Effigial)*, vol. 2, pp. 24-8, and Vol. 4, pp. 263-76, *penes* P. Cockerham).

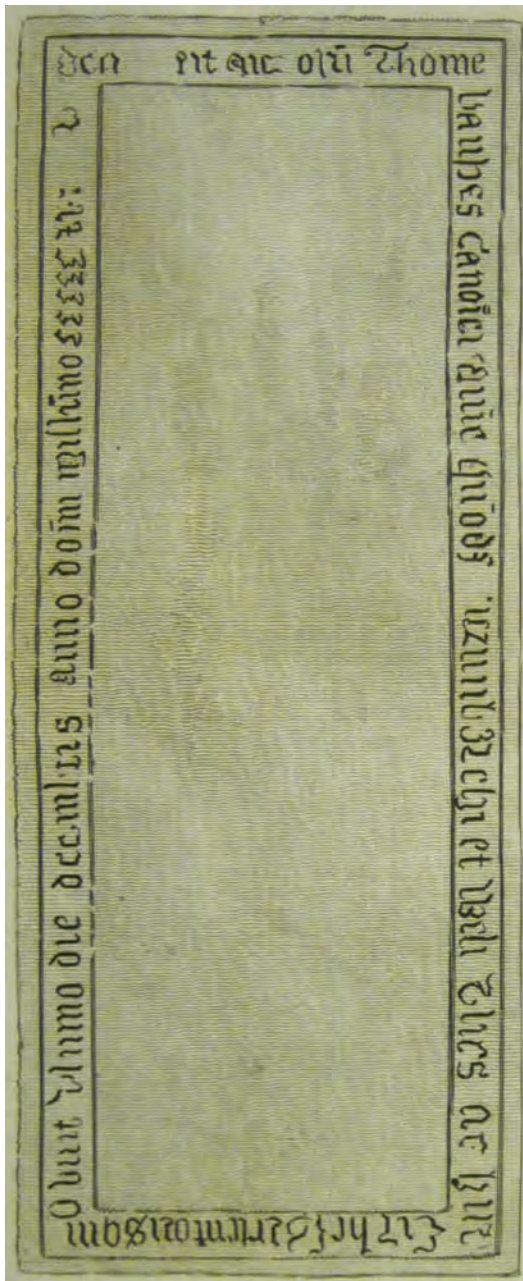


Fig. 13. Tomb slab of Canon Thomas Harryes (d. 1511)
— south retrochoir.

(from R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*
(London, 1796) II, pl. CXXVI, opp. p. 367)

is now close to the wall painting of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the south part of the retrochoir and probably in or near its original position (Fig. 13).⁵⁷

Several slabs have exceptional features, such as that to Canon Richard Helyer (d. 1446) in the north ambulatory, in which the incised letters were filled in with lead (Fig. 14). Presumably the letters were cut into the stone first and molten lead poured into the incisions, rather than individual letters cut from a lead sheet and then inserted, as the surface wear of the slab highlights the way in which the lead has run into the irregularities of the incisions (Fig. 15). One cannot be certain however, because lead is such a soft material it may be that the continual pressure of feet on the letters compacted it into the imperfections in the stone.⁵⁸ The Purbeck slab (LSW.46) to Richard More, archdeacon and treasurer (d. 1517) in the south part of the retrochoir, also has a metal inlay, with a small brass scroll once inserted in the body of the slab (Fig. 16). The depth of the indent and the brass fixing look routine work, and there are other gravestones with evidence of brass incorporation (LSW.43, 44, 47). Were these slabs sent from Purbeck to London for an inscription to be incised and brass to be inlaid; or were they sent direct to Exeter from Purbeck and other quarries, and a London or provincial brass incorporated? Is it all Devon work and a brass scroll produced by Exeter, and / or reused from another monument?

57 *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, p. 76.

58 The same technique was practised to a limited extent in the prolific thirteenth- and fourteenth-century incised slab workshops at Châlons-en-Champagne (Marne, France), in both lettering and incised lines. I am not proposing another link between Exeter and France, but simply putting forward the idea that such techniques were known in England, yet seemingly used by one or two craftsmen only, rather than being mainstream practice.



Fig. 14. Tomb slab of Canon Richard Helyer (d. 1446) – north choir aisle.
(photo.: © author)



Fig. 15. Tomb slab of Canon Richard Helyer, close up of the lead lettering – north choir aisle.
(photo.: © author)



Fig. 16. Tomb slab of Treasurer Richard More (d. 1517) with the brass indent – south retrochoir.
(photo.: © author)

Something which is outside the scope of this paper is an analysis of the scripts used in these slabs, which may well identify their London or provincial origins; yet if a London source from the marblers was patronised, why were there not more canonical brasses commissioned, as there were at cathedrals such as Lincoln and Hereford – both establishments equally remote from the capital? As Saul identifies, canons were wealthy and important cathedral dignitaries for whom physical memorialisation would have been attractive, yet it is striking that the majority in Exeter appear to have followed what became the established norm there and chose nondescript stones incised with simple inscriptions only.⁵⁹ In Hereford, Lincoln and St. Paul's cathedrals for instance, the canons

59 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 183-6.

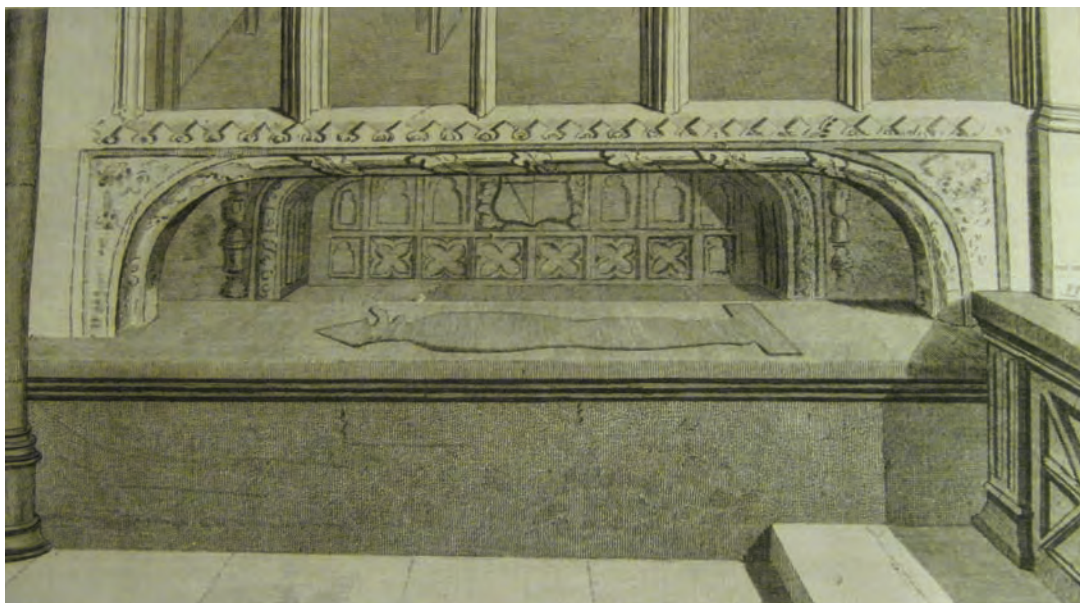


Fig. 17. Raised tomb of Bishop Edmund Lacy (d. 1455) with the slab and brass indent on top – north side of the presbytery. (from R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* (London, 1796) II, pl. CXXVI, opp. p. 367)

were frequently commemorated by lavish effigial brasses with canopies and sets of Latin verses.⁶⁰ Was this continued simplicity a mark of canonical dignity, combined with an element of humility as their graves were walked upon – something also redolent of the locations of the tomb-slabs of Dean Serlo, Dean Kilkenny and Precentor Dreyton? Were they also perhaps nervous of overshadowing or rivalling episcopal tombs? And equally, did the lack of individualisation of the slabs – without effigies and other personalisa – increase the

ease with which they could be appropriated?⁶¹

The effigial brass (LSW.42) of Bishop Edmund Lacy (d. 1455) appears to have been standard London work, judging from the crisply assured outlines of the indents (Fig. 17);⁶² and one can only hazard a guess at the craftsmen responsible for the brass (LSW.49) to Bishop Thomas de Brantingham (d. 1394). He was buried ‘under a chapel builded by himself in the body of the church. The chapel was lately demolished, but the stone, sometime inlaid with brass,

60 See P. Heseltine and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Monumental Brasses of Hereford Cathedral* (London, 2005); D. Lepine, “Pause and pray with mournful heart”: Late Medieval Clerical Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral’, *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 15-40; C. Steer, ‘The Canons of St. Paul’s and their Brasses’, *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 3 (2016), pp. 213-34.

61 Contextualised by Lepine, “A Stone to be layed upon me”. A notable exception to this trend for modest canonical monuments is the London-made brass (LSW.II) to Canon William Langeton (d. 1413), yet this should really be treated as an addition to the lavish

three-dimensional tomb of Langeton’s patron, Bishop Stafford, rather than as a typical canonical monument; see P. Cockerham, ‘Lineage, Liturgy and Locus: The Changing Role of English Funeral Monuments’, in ‘One Thousand Years of English Funeral Monuments’, ed., S. Badham, *Ecclesiology Today*, 43 (2010), pp. 7-28, at pp. 7-12.

62 See A.G. Sadler, *The Indents of Lost Monumental Brasses in Cornwall, Devon & Somerset* (Worthing, 1975), pp. 7-8; *Death and Memory*, eds, Lepine and Orme, p. 82.



Fig. 18. Rubbing of the indent of the brass to
Bishop James Berkeley (d. 1327)
— south side of the presbytery
(from W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore,
The Monumental Brasses of Devonshire
(London, 2000), p. 128)

only remains to testify it; for his epitaph is worn, or rent away with the brass.⁶³ From this it appears that Brantingham constructed a chantry chapel for himself within the body of the cathedral between pillars of the nave, so with this degree of commemorative sophistication a mainstream (London) source for a brass seems likely. While links with London brass workshops were maintained, the canons persisted in their provincial patronage, the manufacture of brasses in Exeter probably terminating after the production of that to Bishop James Berkeley (d. 1327), which comprises a peculiar outline of a bust of the prelate; the low mitre and a short inscription at the bottom are clear, set within

63 *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX* by Thomas Westcote, gent., eds, G. Oliver and P. Jones (Exeter, 1845), p. 167; George Oliver was present in 1832 at the opening of Brantingham's tomb (*Lives of the Bishops*, p. 92).

a roundel (Fig. 18).⁶⁴ The workshop responsible for the brass can only be surmised, but it is set on a roughly constructed Purbeck marble tombchest, and one would have expected simply better quality all round if this were London work. But there is a lacuna between these early-fourteenth-century brasses and the next monuments to appear in this two-dimensional form approximately a century later. Returning to my earlier point, were canons not memorialised by graveslabs during the fourteenth century, as after all, the rebuilding of the cathedral had finished by the middle of it? If they were, were the stones reused in some way, turned over and re-engraved and obscuring the original purpose, or merely cleared out to make way for new ones?

Conclusion

Clearly, during the early fourteenth century in Exeter there was a period of approximately three decades when two-dimensional memorialisation enjoyed extremes, from the magnificence – in both scale and imagery – of Bishop Bitton's brass, to the more humble effort for Bishop Berkeley. Yet these tombslabs of Quinil and Bitton, and Berkeley's low tombchest, were merely the latest in a carefully co-ordinated medieval arrangement of episcopal monuments, which, as Chris Brooks has argued, were one tool in the promotion of episcopacy itself: 'Exeter's architecture becomes an argument in the ideology of episcopacy. Its physical elaboration, the multiplied richness of vaults, piers, and mouldings, exemplified the temporal splendour that was a type of celestial splendour'.⁶⁵ One can only imagine the

64 Sadler, *Indents of Lost Monumental Brasses*, p. 8; Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', p. 53.

65 C. Brooks, 'Exeter Cathedral', in 'The Exeter Area', ed., N.H. Cooper, *Supplement to the Archaeological Journal*, 147 (1990), pp. 24–33, at p. 33.

experiences of William of Worcestre in 1478, carefully pacing out the cathedral's dimensions, and around half a century later, John Leland painstakingly recording the inscriptions on many of the episcopal tombs.⁶⁶ As they stood in the middle of the presbytery, Bitton's superb brass would have been in front of them with other bishops' tombs to either side, and the east window, reredos, sedilia and bishop's throne all forming a luxurious mass of exquisite workmanship, elaboration, colour and imagery, combined with an architectural verticality rising to the heavens. In the face of this, and manifested by the plainness of their tombstones, there was no way that the canons could, or did, compete.

Acknowledgements

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⁶⁶ *Itineraries of William Worcestre*, ed., J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp. 116-17; *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed., L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols, (London, 1964 edn), I, pp. 226-38.

‘Tis the sheep have paid for all’: Merchant Commemoration in Late Medieval Newark

John Lee

This article relates the sources of mercantile wealth to conspicuous commemorative consumption in the late medieval town of Newark-on-Trent and its outlying villages. Merchants in the wool and cloth trades were the principal local benefactors, paying for the reconstruction of churches, providing for the fabric and furnishings and establishing personal chantries and memorials to aid their way to salvation. The church of St. Mary Magdalene in Newark contains the magnificent Flemish brass commemorating the wealthy wool merchant, Alan Fleming (d. 1361), alongside brasses to drapers John Boston (fl c. 1500) and William Phyllypott (d. 1557), and surviving chantry chapels to Thomas Meryng (d. 1500) and Robert Markham (d. 1508). At the nearby churches of Holme and North Muskham, wool merchant John Barton (d. 1491) paid for extensive rebuilding, commissioning new glazing and organising a remarkable – and distinctive – cadaver tomb. An examination of the commemorative intentions of these wealthy burgesses of Newark reveals new light on mercantile piety in late medieval England.

Introduction

‘I thanke God, and ever shall. Tis the Sheepe hath payed for all.’

This inscription, which once decorated a window of the manor-house of wool merchant John Barton (d. 1491) of Holme (four miles north-east of Newark), neatly summarises the source of wealth which funded many of the commemorative activities and objects

within late medieval Newark-on-Trent and its surrounding villages.¹ The church of St. Mary Magdalene, the only parish church in medieval Newark, was the focal point for much of this commemorative practice. During the later middle ages, merchant benefactors helped rebuild this church on a spectacular scale and furnish it with chantries, tombs and memorial brasses. This article explores the different aspects of merchant piety and commemoration in and around the town, and the wool and cloth trades which funded much of this conspicuous commemorative consumption.

The late medieval wool and cloth trades

Sheep farming, which required far less labour than the cultivation of crops, expanded rapidly after the English population halved during the fourteenth century as a result of the Black Death of 1348-9 and subsequent outbreaks of plague. At Newark, mortality in 1349 had been so high that an extension to the churchyard had been required.² English wool was eagerly sought by textile industries across continental Europe, but especially from the cloth-working cities of the Low Countries. Newark lay within easy access of several regions of high-quality wool production in the Midlands,³ and as Simon Jenkins has noted, ‘Wool was the oil of medieval Europe, and the uplands of England were its principal oilfield’.⁴ Like North Sea oil, medieval wool was a lucrative commodity for English governments.

1 R. Thoroton, *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: republished with large additions*. By John Throsby, 3 vols, (Nottingham, 1796), III, p. 157. Available online at <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/search/series/thoroton-notts> (accessed 11 Dec 2015).

2 B.M. Pask, *Newark Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene* (Newark, 2000), p. 32.

3 D. Jenkins, ed., *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 2003), I, pp. 186–7.

4 S. Jenkins, *England's Thousand Best Churches* (Harmondsworth, 1999), p. xvi.



Fig. 1. Map showing Newark-on-Trent and the surrounding area, c. 1540. West is at the top.
(BL, Cotton Augustus MS I.i 65)
(© British Library Board)

Customs payable on wool exports were introduced in 1275 and raised significantly in the 1330s to finance war with France. By the later fourteenth century, these customs duties were starting to markedly discourage the export of English wool and enable English cloth makers to source wool more cheaply than their foreign competitors. As a consequence, English wool exports declined over the fifteenth century as they were increasingly diverted into supplying the growing domestic cloth industry. Aided by these customs duties on wool exports, the English textile industry gradually penetrated the overseas markets of

Gascony, the Mediterranean, the Baltic and the Low Countries. Exports grew dramatically from less than 2,000 cloths in 1350 to over 50,000 by 1440, to 75,000 by 1500, and nearly 140,000 by 1544. During the course of the fifteenth century though, export markets narrowed to become increasingly focused on the trading axis between London and Antwerp, and larger cloth-making towns such as Colchester, Coventry and York faced increasing competition from smaller towns and villages in areas such as the Cotswolds, the Stour Valley of Suffolk, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁵

5 J.S. Lee, 'Crises in the Late Medieval English Cloth Trade', in *Crises in Economic and Social History: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. A.T. Brown, A. Burnham

and R. Doherty (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 325-49. See also J.S. Lee, *The Medieval Clothier* (forthcoming, 2017).

The economy of late medieval Newark

The fall in wool exports, and the growing concentration of cloth exports on the Antwerp market, was detrimental to east coast ports such as Boston and has been described as having had equally damaging repercussions on inland towns in the East Midlands.⁶ Newark's role however as a service centre as well as a mercantile hub, may have helped the town to buck the apparently general trend for towns in the Trent and Nene river systems to decline in the later Middle Ages.

Newark is in a key geographical location at a crossing point of major roads and the River Trent, which since medieval times has formed a geographical, administrative and psychological barrier between the north and south of England. Both Matthew Paris's maps of *c.* 1250 and the Gough map of *c.* 1360 show Newark on the principal route from London to the north. At Newark this route, later known as the Great North Road, met the Fosse Way with its branches linking the county towns of Leicester and Nottingham to the cathedral city of Lincoln.⁷ Newark's strategic importance as the 'key to the north' was to lead to three sieges during the Civil War.

Although Newark may have been established as a fortified town in the ninth century, the development of the medieval town owed much to Bishop Alexander the Magnificent of Lincoln (1123–48), who secured grants from Henry I to construct the castle and the bridge, divert the King's Highway (Castlegate) and establish a five-day fair. It was probably Bishop Alexander who re-planned the town on a grid layout around the large market place. The market was operating by 1154–6, and another fair was granted in 1215.⁸ A survey of the town in 1225–31 reveals that it spread beyond the circuit of the old borough, into extensive suburbs known as the 'new' or 'outer' boroughs.⁹ By 1377, Newark was about the thirty-fourth largest town in the country, with a population of between 2,000 and 2,200, compared to Nottingham with 2,600 and Lincoln with 6,500.¹⁰

The bridging of the River Trent made Newark an important crossroads at the junction of the Fosse Way and the Great North Road. A map of *c.* 1540 (Fig. 1) depicts Newark bridge together with nearby bridges at Muskham and Kelham crossing the two branches of the Trent.¹¹ As Simon Surfleet noted in 1364/5, 'Newark is a greate towne and a

6 S. Rigby, 'Medieval Boston: Economy, Society and Administration', in *The Beste and Fayrest of al Lincolnshire: The Church of St. Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments*, eds, S. Badham and P. Cockerham, British Archaeological Reports (Oxford, 2012), pp. 22–8; J.V. Beckett, *The East Midlands from AD 1000* (London, 1988), pp. 89–94; D. Palliser, ed., *Cambridge Urban History of Britain, I: 600–1540* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 633.

7 J. Samuels, F.W.B. Charles, A. Henstock and P. Siddall, 'A Very Old and Crasey House': The Old White Hart Inn, Newark, Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 100 (1996), p. 19.

8 Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516 website, entry under Newark: <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> (consulted 16 Oct 2015).

9 English Heritage, 'The Urban Development of Newark: a Dendrochronological Approach', Report 95/2002; A. Arnold and V. McMillan, 'The Development of Newark-on-Trent 1100–1750, as Demonstrated through its Tree-Ring Dates', *Vernacular Architecture*, 35 (2004), pp. 50–62; P. Marshall, 'Improving the Image: the Transformation of Bailey into Courtyard at the 12th Century Bishop's Castle at Newark, Nottinghamshire', *Chateau Gaillard*, 21 (2004), pp. 203–14.

10 Palliser, ed., *Cambridge Urban History, I*, p. 758.

11 C.R. Salisbury, 'An Early Tudor Map of the River Trent in Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 87 (1983), pp. 54–9.

Thorowfayre'.¹² A number of inns developed to serve travellers, including the fine surviving example of the Old White Hart. Dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, this inn has a three-storey front range of 1451 facing onto the Market Place with an impressive decorative elevation including small figures of saints within its canopied niches.¹³ Recent building analysis has discovered that construction methods in the town were more sophisticated than previously thought, with the use of jetties as early as the 1330s. Tree-ring dating has identified a peak of building activity in the early to mid-fourteenth century, with four clearly datable buildings, then a hiatus in building activity between buildings of 1353 and 1410–30, attributed to the Black Death and later outbreaks of plague, followed by a larger construction peak during the mid-fifteenth century, with five new buildings and two adaptations. The Governor's House on Lombard Street, dated to c. 1474, with its splendid three-storey frontage, with each floor jettied out beyond the one below, is one of the most ornate timber-frame frontages in the county.¹⁴

Newark seems to have maintained diverse trading links in a range of commodities, probably aided by being a key crossroads, river crossing, and transshipment point on the regional road network. Wool and agricultural produce carried from Nottingham by boat was often transferred to cart at Newark for

onward carriage to the port of Boston.¹⁵ Longer-distance trading links also developed. The Southampton brokage books record tolls on carts entering and leaving this south coast port, whose hinterland extended into much of southern and midland England. The brokage books reveal John Chalcroft dispatched seven consignments of lead from Newark and one from Shrewsbury to Southampton in 1477–8. Chalcroft sent woad, a dye used in cloth-making, and hides, from Southampton to Newark in 1461–2 and 1477–8, as well as other consignments of woad to Lincoln and Chesterfield.¹⁶ There was some cloth produced and marketed at Newark but the quantities were never large. The ulnage accounts, records of a tax levied on cloth sales, show Newark merchants selling cloths in 1402, including Thomas Ferror, who founded a chantry in the parish church. There are occasional references to weavers, dyers, fullers, and fulling mills in documents relating to the town, but merchants distributing wool and cloth feature far more prominently, and several of these men, including wool merchants Alan Fleming and Robert Whitecombe and drapers John Boston and William Phyllypott, are commemorated in the town's parish church.¹⁷

Merchant commemoration

Merchant commemoration in late medieval Newark centred on the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene, and included the

12 Pask, *Newark*, p. 50.

13 Samuels et al., "A Very Old and Crasey House", pp. 19–54. N. Pevsner, rev. E. Williamson, *The Buildings of England: Nottinghamshire* (2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1979), pp. 192–3, 196. For the role of late medieval inns more generally, see J.N. Hare, 'Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350–1600', *Journal of Medieval History*, 39 (2013), pp. 477–97.

14 English Heritage, 'The Urban Development of Newark'; Arnold and McMillan, 'Development of Newark'; J. Mordan, *Timber-Frame Buildings of Nottinghamshire* (Nottingham, 2004), pp. 28–9.

15 A. Cameron, 'William de Amyas and the Community of Nottingham, 1308–50', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 75 (1971), p. 72.

16 J. Hare, 'Southampton's Trading Partners: Beyond Hampshire and Wiltshire', in M. Hicks, ed., *English Inland Trade 1430–1540* (Oxford, 2015), p. 109, and J. Hare, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', in Hicks, ed., *English Inland Trade*, p. 163.

17 C. Brown, *A History of Newark-upon-Trent*, 2 vols, (Newark, 1907), I, pp. 178, 189–90, 219.

commissioning of funerary monuments, including tomb chests and memorial brasses, endowing chantry priests, and donations to fund almshouses or other public works. As the parish covered the whole town and the only religious houses in the town were the hospital of St. Leonard and the friary of the reformed branch of the Franciscan Order known as the Observant Friars, founded c. 1499, there were few other focuses for commemoration.¹⁸ The scale and nature of commemoration across English society in the later middle ages reflected the belief that souls could be released from Purgatory through masses, prayer, works of penance, charity and alms-deeds. There was ‘a cult of living friends in the service of dead ones’.¹⁹ Recent research highlights the range of commemorative practices within specific urban communities, including those of Bristol, Norwich, Boston, Coventry, York and London.²⁰ Work is also revealing that merchants, like the gentry and aristocracy, were generally orthodox in terms of their religious beliefs, willing to engage in works of religious instruction, invest in the liturgy, and to rebuild and embellish parish churches where

they wished to be buried. Their wealth, taste and superior connections enabled merchants to commission impressive new buildings and obtain high-quality furnishings.²¹

Brasses and tombs

The brass to Alan Fleming (Fig. 2) in the church of St. Mary Magdalene is a notable example of the wealth and superior connections that merchants could use to obtain striking commemorative objects of the highest craftsmanship.²² Alan Fleming (d. 1361) was a wool merchant and substantial property owner in Newark who, like many wealthy merchants, founded a chantry in the church in 1349. At 2845 x 1702 mm, his brass is one of the largest in England. It was a product of the Tournai school, among the finest and largest medieval memorial brasses ever produced, which were supplied to many towns in Flanders and northern France, and northern Germany. Indents of two other Flemish brasses remain in Newark, a smaller one depicting a female figure with a canopy and inscription and a larger male indent. These may commemorate Dame Alice Fleming, Alan’s

18 VCH, *A History of the County of Nottingham*, II, pp. 146-7, 167-8.

19 J. Bossy, ‘The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200–1700’, *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), p. 43.

20 For an excellent overview see C. Burgess, ‘Obligations and Strategy: Managing Memory in the Late Medieval Parish’, *MBS Trans.*, XVIII (2012), pp. 289-310. Studies of urban commemoration include C. Burgess, ‘“Longing to be prayed for”: Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages’, in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds, B. Gordon and P. Marshall, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 44-65; C.M. Barnett, ‘Commemoration in the Parish Church: Identity and Social Class in Late Medieval York’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72 (2000), pp. 73-92; *Church of St. Botolph, Boston*, eds, Badham and Cockerham; C. Steer, ‘Monuments of the Dead in Early Franciscan Houses, c. 1250–c. 1350’, in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224–c. 1350)*, ed., M. Robson (Leiden, 2017); C. Steer, ‘For quicke and deade memorie masses’: Merchant

Piety in Late Medieval London’, in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, eds, M. Allen and M. Davies (London, 2016) and his ‘Burial and Commemoration in Medieval London, c. 1140–1540’ (Unpublished University of London Ph.D., 2013). The Society’s 2015 Conference in Norwich revealed a wealth of different approaches used by the medieval burgesses and local gentry to memorialise themselves in life and death and some papers arising from this will appear in a future *Transactions*.

21 C. Burgess, ‘Making Mammon Serve God: Merchant Piety in Later Medieval England’, in *The Medieval Merchant*, eds, C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton (Donington, 2014), pp. 183-207; D. Harry, ‘William Caxton and Commemorative Culture in Fifteenth-Century England’, in *Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed., L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 63-80.

22 P. Cockerham and J. Bertram, *Alan Fleming’s Brass at Newark* (Lulu, 2017).



*Fig 2. Alan Fleming, 1361, Newark, Nottinghamshire (M.S.I).
(photo.: © Cameron Newham)*



Fig. 3. Detail of merchant mark from Alan Fleming's brass.
(photo.: © author)

wife, and their son Thomas. Approximately fifty to sixty brasses of the Tournai school exist, or are known from illustrations or written accounts. In England, other examples survive in St. Margaret's, King's Lynn, of mayors Alan de Walsokne (d. 1349) and Robert Braunche (d. 1364); at Topcliffe, Yorkshire, of merchant Thomas de Topclyff (d. 1362) and his wife Mabel (d. 1391); and at Newcastle-upon-Tyne of mayor Roger Thornton (d. 1429) and his wife Agnes (d. 1411).²³ All these men appear to have

had mercantile trading links and it is striking that Flemish brasses were also used by Hanse merchants elsewhere, particularly in Baltic ports.²⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner considered that the Fleming brass was 'the most spectacular reminder of this commercial orientation of Newark' to wool and cloth.²⁵

Now residing in the north choir aisle, the Fleming brass was originally fixed to his tomb in the Trinity chapel in the south transept. In the centre of the borders running along the two longest sides is Fleming's merchant's mark (Fig. 3). This appears to consist of a monogram of the letters A and F within a roundel headed by a crown, from which rises a five-armed cross symbol, a rune, reflecting the Hanse trade with Nordic countries where such runes were still in use. Similar merchants' marks are recorded in fourteenth-century documents in Bruges.²⁶ Merchant marks, which signified the ownership or origin of goods, and by association the reputation of the merchant, were often used like heraldic devices as a visual mnemonic to encourage remembrance. These marks often became family rather than personal emblems, although the most socially ambitious merchants were keen to acquire a proper coat of arms.²⁷

In light of the similarity of the mark on Fleming's brass to similar merchant marks in Bruges, it is tempting to speculate as to whether

23 H.K. Cameron, 'The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn', *Archaeological Journal*, 136 (1979), pp. 151-72; H.K. Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses to Civilians in England', *Archaeological Journal*, 139 (1982), pp. 420-40; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols, (London, 1977), I, pp. 27-32, 35-9.
24 H.K. Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses of the Fourteenth Century in Northern Germany and their use by Merchants of the Hanse', *Archaeological Journal*, 143 (1986), pp. 331-51; P. Cockerham, 'Hanseatic Merchant Memorials: Individual Monuments or Collective 'Memoria'?', in *Medieval Merchant*, eds, Barron and Sutton, pp. 392-413.

25 Pevsner, *Nottinghamshire*, pp. 180, 188.

26 Pask, *Newark*, pp. 197-8; Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses to Civilians', 423. The rune is the Nordic version of the *hagal*. I am most grateful to Jerome Bertram for this insight.

27 P. Cockerham, 'Incised Slab Commissions in Fourteenth Century Boston', in *The Church of St. Botolph, Boston*, eds, Badham and Cockerham, pp. 91-2; N. Saul, 'The Wool Merchants and their Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XVII (2006), p. 335.

Alan was himself Flemish. Alan first appears in the Newark records in 1339 and became a considerable property owner in the town.²⁸ It seems likely, although no conclusive proof has yet been found, that Alan was a migrant from Flanders, possibly one of the Flemish weavers invited over to England to settle by Edward III in 1331. Following the forced departure of nearly 1,500 rebels, most of whom were involved in the cloth industry, from the county of Flanders in 1351, Edward III issued letters of protection to all those who wished to establish themselves in England. Although for many years historians have been sceptical of the impact of this migration on the English cloth industry, recent research is reappraising their role.²⁹ In the fifteen years after 1351, 126 people from the Low Countries migrated to Colchester, contributing to the development of the cloth industry there. In many cases, these immigrants were identified as ‘Flemyng’ in the Colchester court records.³⁰ Around fifty Flemish artisans, predominantly weavers, are known to have resided in London in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. One Flemish exile was admitted to the freedom of King’s Lynn in 1351, and Flemish weavers, dyers, fullers, tailors and merchants became freemen of York during the 1340s and 1350s.³¹ A pardon was given to James de Hunteburgh, ‘Flemyng’, who killed Walter Blyth in self-defence in Bestwood near Nottingham in 1363.³² Some Flemings may also have settled

in Newark, such as weaver William Tonour of Newark, described as a from Braban (Brabant), who was acquitted of killing another Newark man in 1367.³³

Alan Fleming was depicted on his brass under a triple canopy with his hands folded in prayer, wearing a closely fitted tunic, short hood with cape, and pointed shoes. The plainness of his costume contrasts with the elaborate decorative surrounds. Above his head, Fleming’s soul is elevated by God the Father surrounded by angels, with patronal saints to either side. The divide between Heaven and Earth is emphasised by images of weepers by his side, and scenes of hunting by his feet. The inscription includes words of the Creed from Job 19: 25-7 recited in the daily Office of the Dead by the chantry priest.³⁴ The brass therefore operated as a prominent *aide-memoire* for the chantry priest, and others who attended the daily offices and masses, as well as being a direct request to any observer to offer prayer for Fleming’s soul.³⁵

Robert Whitecombe (d. 1447), merchant of Calais was commemorated on a brass in the north choir aisle, where the indent survives. It included an inscription and merchant’s mark. The inscription (Fig. 4), measuring 76 x 688 mm and rather worn, is now in the church library.³⁶ It reads:

28 Cameron, ‘Flemish Brasses to Civilians’, p. 425.

29 H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1965), pp. 8-21.

30 B. Lambert and M. Pajic, ‘Drapery in Exile: Edward III, Colchester and the Flemings, 1351–1367’, *History*, 99 (2014), pp. 733-53.

31 B. Lambert and M. Pajic, ‘Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London’, *Journal of British Studies*, 105 (4) (2016), pp. 1-25; Heaton, *Yorkshire Woollen*, p. 15.

32 *Cal. Pat. R. 1361–4*, p. 392.

33 Brown, *History*, I, pp. 181, 189; TNA, JUST 3/142, m. 29.

34 See below, Appendix 1.

35 P. Cockerham, ‘Alan Fleming and his Brass – Context and Meaning’, unpublished paper given at the Society’s General Meeting at the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Newark-on-Trent on 17 October 2015.

36 This brass was recently rediscovered by Martin Stuchfield and I am very grateful to him for these details. He advises that it has not proved possible to find the brass of Whitecombe’s merchant mark (147 x 117 mm) despite an extensive search.



Fig. 4. Richard Whitecombe, 1447, Newark, Nottinghamshire (M.S.II).
(rubbing © Martin Stuchfield (inscription) and Society of Antiquaries of London (merchant's mark))

Hic iacet Robertus Whitecoumbe, quondam Mercator ville Calesie, qui / obiit iii^o die Nouembris Anno domini MCCCCxlvii^o Cuius anime propicietur deus Amen

(Here lies Robert Whitecombe, once merchant of the town of Calais, who died on the third day of November in the year of Our Lord 1447, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.)

Several brasses of merchant staplers survive in England, including examples at Standon, Hertfordshire, and St. Olave, Hart Street, London, while the company arms also appear in stonework at Holme church near Newark marking the patronage of stapler John Barton.³⁷

37 Sir Richard Haddon, mercer (d. 1516) at St. Olave, Hart Street, London and John Feld (d. 1477) at Standon (Herts) (Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), pp. 196, 310.

The Staplers were a monopoly company of English exporters, incorporated in 1354 under the governance of a mayor. The Crown maintained a wool staple, through which exports were compelled to be taken, and from 1363 this was fixed at Calais. This system enabled the king to collect customs more easily, and wool buyers to benefit from surveillance by the Crown and the Company of the Staple. Merchants could travel in groups and organise convoys, and through their powerful corporation they secured privileges and protection.³⁸

Another brass, now in the chapel of the Holy Spirit in St. Mary Magdalene's, has been attributed to John Boston (fl. c. 1500) (Fig. 5).

38 E. Power, *The Wool Trade in Medieval English History* (London, 1941), pp. 49-57.



Fig. 5. John Boston, 1551,
Newark, Nottinghamshire (M.S.VII).
(photo.: © Cameron Newham)

This London G series brass comprises two plates, a man in civilian dress and a damaged shield of the Drapers' Company. These seem likely to be the remaining parts of a brass recorded by Robert Thoroton in 1677 who noted, 'In the North aisle two Portraits, with the Drapers' Arms over them' and an inscription, now lost.³⁹ John Boston was descended from a family of mercers in Newark and Lincoln in the fifteenth century who had made many bequests to the church and endowed two chantry priests in the church. The brass has a mutilated shield, which as Thoroton identified, is the emblem of the London Drapers' Company.⁴⁰ The blazon refers to the Virgin Mary, under whose protection the Brotherhood of Drapers was founded, and when the coat of arms was granted in 1439, Garter King of Arms explained their derivation:

In honour of the very glorious Virgin and Mother Mary who is in the shadow of the sun and yet shines with all clearness and purity, I have devised in the blazon three sunbeams issuing from three flaming clouds crowned with three Imperial crowns of gold on a shield of azure.⁴¹

The London Drapers' Company encompassed a range of members, from smaller traders with drapers' shops to merchants who exported wool and cloth. The Company gradually developed extensive powers to regulate the cloth trade

39 See below, Appendix 1.

40 W. Lack, 'Repairs to brasses 1986', in *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 2 (1987), pp. 128-9; Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, I, p. 393; Pask, *Newark*, pp. 199, 312-13. The Drapers' Company arms are also on a brass of Sir George Monoux (d. 1543) in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Walthamstow (Mill Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brassess*, p. 139).

41 P. Hunting, *A History of the Drapers' Company* (London, 1980), pp. 54, 61. <http://www.thedrapers.co.uk/Company/History-And-Heritage/Coat-of-Arms.aspx> (accessed 11 Dec 2015).



Fig. 6. William Phyllypott, 1557,
Newark, Nottinghamshire (M.S.VII).
(photo.: © Cameron Newham)

in London, including a monopoly over the retail sale of cloth in the city, controlling the fairs and setting the ‘Drapers’ ell’, or standard measure, by which all cloth was sold. Attracted by these privileges, the company drew a number of members from outside London, including men from Boston, Bristol, Cornwall,

Coventry, Devon, Dudley, Ely, Essex, Exeter, Hull, Maldon, and Norfolk in 1517.⁴²

The importance of the cloth trade as a source of mercantile wealth was also expressed in the funerary brass of William Phyllypott (c. 1504-57), from the third generation of a family of drapers. In his will of 1557 he requested burial in the Trinity chapel of Newark church under a memorial ‘with certen remembrances of it graven in latten metall of som godlie texte’.⁴³ His monument provides an example of the commissioning of brass memorials during the Catholic revival of Mary’s reign. It still survives but now lies in the Holy Spirit Chapel (Fig. 6).⁴⁴ Phyllypott is depicted in a fur-lined gown with hanging sleeves on a London G series brass. The feet and part of the gown have been lost. Beneath the figure, also in brass, is a surviving five-line inscription written in English.⁴⁵ Thoroton records two further related inscriptions, now lost, one on the same stone, to John Phyllypott (d. 1514), and the other on a free-stone at the vestry door, to draper John Phyllypott junior (d. 1519) and Margaret his wife.⁴⁶ The inscription on the grave was not the only epitaph for the dead and texts commemorating the deceased were placed on different media, including glazing (examined below).

The church of St. Mary Magdalene also contains two tomb chests commemorating town worthies. A marble tomb chest of Robert Brown (d. 1532) is now in the Lady Chapel, but was originally sited in the south transept or Trinity Chapel. The brass inscription on the top of the tomb lists the many offices in the town and county that Brown held.

42 A.H. Johnson, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, 4 vols, (Oxford, 1914–22), II, pp. 258-9.

43 York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, Will Register XV, f. 1. William’s father, Thomas, made a will proved in 1513 (York Will Register VIII, f. 110).

44 Lack, ‘Repairs to brasses’, pp. 128–30.

45 See below, Appendix 1.

46 See below, Appendix 1.



*Fig 7. John Barton's tomb, Holme.
(photo.: © Cameron Newham)*

Hic jacet Robertus Browne, Armiger, & Agnes uxor ejus. Nuper Aldermannus Gildæ S. Trinitatis hujus Ecclesiæ, & Constabularius Castellî, & principalis Senescallus libertatis hujus villæ, ac etiam Receptor tam Thomæ Wulsy, Cardinalis Ebor. quam Domini Johannis Longlandi Episcopi Lincoln. præterea Vicecomes Com. Nottingham & Derby, & insuper Custos Rotulorum tam in Com. Nottingham, quam in partibus de Kesteven in Com. Lincolnie. Qui quidem Robertus obiit 10 die mensis Decembris, Anno Domini 1532. Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus.

(Here lies Robert Brown, esquire, and Agnes his wife, lately alderman of the guild of the Holy Trinity of this church, and constable of the castle, and principal steward of the freedom of this town, and also receiver of both Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, and lord John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, besides sheriff of the counties of Nottingham & Derby & also keeper of the rolls in both the county of Nottingham and the parts of Kesteven in the county of Lincoln. Which Robert died 10th day of the month of December in the year of Our Lord 1532. On whose soul may God have mercy.)

A tomb chest in the south transept which has no visible inscription now, is believed to be that of Anthony Forster (d. 1559), the last alderman of the Trinity Guild and the first alderman of the incorporated borough. He requested in his will for a marble stone to be placed on his grave ‘with the arms and pictures of him and both his wives graven upon the same’.⁴⁷ Forster was a major sheep owner, holding 723 sheep at one time, which may have led

him to attempt to enclose the ‘Pyggysleys’ in the demesne lands of Newark in 1535. This resulted in a riot and Forster and his servants being temporarily driven out of town.⁴⁸

Alongside the surviving mercantile brasses and monuments in the church at Newark, there was once a host of other memorials, now lost, but recorded by Robert Thoroton in the seventeenth century. Some of these lost memorials commemorated other craftsmen including a baker, draper, barber and wax chandler, tanner, and upholsterer, showing something of the range of businesses that operated within the town. Others were monuments to local gentry and clergy, including Thomas Griffeth, gentleman (d. 1519), vicars John Burton (d. 1475), and John Smythe (d. 1521) and chaplains and brothers Simon Bentley (d. 1530) and Stephen Bentley.⁴⁹ Mercantile monuments therefore lay alongside other members of the parish community.

Newark merchants were also commemorated in neighbouring parish churches. Wool merchant John Barton (d. 1491) is commemorated by a fine clothed effigy with its cadaver below in the church of St. Giles at Holme, near Newark, that he had enlarged, adding a south chancel choir as his mortuary chapel (Figs. 7-8).⁵⁰ Barton is shown wearing a long civic gown with a purse pocket and rosary: he bequeathed a coral rosary in his will. At his feet is his rebus, a barrel or tun with a bar across it. Alongside Barton is his wife Isabella. Beneath the couple is a single small emaciated cadaver, holding

47 York, Will Register XV, pt. 3, f. 302, quoted in Pask, *Newark*, p. 40.

48 Pask, *Newark*, p. 67; C.J. Black, ‘FORSTER, Anthony (by 1501–59), of Newark-upon-Trent, Notts.’, in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509–1558*, ed., S.T. Bindoff, 3 vols, (London, 1982), II, pp. 157-8.

49 See below, Appendix 1.

50 N. Truman, ‘The Barton Family of Holme-by-Newark’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 40 (1936), pp. 1-17; N. Truman, *Holme by Newark Church and its Founder* (Gloucester, 1946); N. Truman, ‘Medieval Glass in Holme-by-Newark Church’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 39 (1935), pp. 92-118.



Fig. 8. Cadaver, John Barton's tomb, Holme.
(photo.: © author)

a shroud over its genitals. Instead of the confident inscription thanking God that 'the sheep have paid for all' in the window of his manor house, he included the moving exhortation from Job 19:21:

*Miseremini mei miseremini mei saltem vos amici
mei quia manus domini tetigit me*

(Pity me, pity me, you at least, my friends,
for the hand of the Lord has touched me.)⁵¹

It has been suggested that the choice of cadaver tomb may have been an expression of extravagant piety through a relatively new,

striking and costly memorial, and possibly also an attempt to emulate the split-level cadaver tomb that Barton may have seen erected at nearby Southwell Minster of either Archbishop William Booth (d. 1464) or Archbishop Laurence Booth (d. 1480) (the exact identity of the archbishop has not been satisfactorily resolved).⁵² The cadaver tomb was derived from continental models and was adopted in England in the 1420s. The decaying body represented the soul suffering in Purgatory.⁵³ In 1454, John Barton was one of the merchants of the Staple assessed for a subsidy for shipping wool, which he was to pay in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull.

51 Pevsner, *Nottinghamshire*, pp. 145-6, 211-12; Southwell and Nottingham Church History Project: <http://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/holme/history.php>

52 P.M. King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb in fifteenth-century England', unpublished D. Phil thesis, (University of York, 1987), p. 406. The tomb in Southwell Minster was destroyed in 1784 but is illustrated in Sir William Dugdale's 'Book of Monuments' (1640-1) (BL Add. MS 71474, f. 84v).

53 R. Marks and P. Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), pp. 94-5, 442; P. Cockerham and N. Orme, 'John Waryn and his Cadaver Brass, formerly in Menheniot Church, Cornwall', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 41-56; D. Harry, 'A Cadaver in Context: the Shroud Brass of John Briggie Revisited', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 2 (2015), pp. 101-11.

Barton was later described as a merchant of North Muskham, where he rebuilt the chancel and north aisle.⁵⁴ In his will, Barton left 100 marks and all his land and tenements in Newark, Northgate and Osmundthorpe near Newark to his son Richard. His body was to be buried in the chapel which he had recently erected in Holme.⁵⁵ Barton's cadaver tomb, like the memorial brasses and tomb chests of Newark merchants, highlighted the mercantile status while emphasising the transitory nature of life and the need for intercession for the deceased.

Chantries

Wealth derived from wool and cloth enabled some to found chantries. The wealthy could afford to leave endowments to employ one or more priests to celebrate daily or weekly masses for their souls.⁵⁶ Many were of temporary duration of a few years but others were perpetual foundations, requiring an investment of at least £100 in order to support an appropriate annual income to maintain a chantry priest. The importance of these ancillary chaplains meant a much richer liturgy could be enjoyed by the parish, which benefited from this good deed of the dead, while the patron enjoyed the intercessory advantage on their pathway to salvation. One founder, Simon Surfleet, a chaplain of the Corpus Christi altar, founded two chantries in 1364/5 because, 'the vicare and his parisshe prieste was not suffyciente to serve the Cure, to the intente that ij Chaunterie priests shuld say masse mattyns and other divyne service, and to praye for the founders soulls and all Crystian solls.'⁵⁷

Thomas Ferror (fl. c. 1400), cloth merchant, founded a chantry in 1402 with three other men for a priest to 'kepe the quier at mattyns, Masse and Evensonge', to say Requiem Mass one day per week, Mass of Our Lady one day per week, and the Mass of the Blessed Trinity every Sunday. He was yearly to celebrate a trental of masses for the souls of the founders and all Christians. The chantry was endowed with six messuages, three cottages and 40d. in rent.⁵⁸

Twenty-one chantries are known to have been founded in Newark parish church between 1286 and 1505. This was an exceptionally large number rivalling many cathedrals.⁵⁹ Several were founded by individuals who had made their fortunes in wool and cloth (see Table 1). Alan Fleming's wife, Dame Alice, endowed a chantry house for chantry priests to reside in. Each priest was to perform a daily *Placebo*, *Dirige* and requiem mass for the souls of Alice and Alan and all Christian souls. The priests were not organised into a college, as was sometimes the case elsewhere, although they were regulated by a set of rules.⁶⁰

Two 'cage' chantries, chantry chapels encased by stone screens, remain in the church, those of Thomas Meryng (d. 1500) to the north of the high altar (Fig. 9), and of Robert Markham (d. 1508), to the south of the high altar. Thomas Meryng was a younger son of Sir William Meryng of Mering and established himself as a sheep farmer, as he gave 'all my clipped wole and all my flock of shepe' for the 'edefying and bildyng of the

54 *Cal. Pat. R. 1452-61*, p. 212; *Cal. Pat. R. 1467-77*, p. 316.

55 *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 4, Surtees Society, 53 (1868), p. 61.

56 C. Burgess, 'Chantries in the Parish, or "Through the Looking-glass"', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* [JBA], 164 (2011), pp. 100-29.

57 Brown, *History*, I, p. 223; TNA, E 301/13; A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Chantry Certificate Rolls for the County of Nottingham', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 18 (1914), pp. 139-40.

58 Brown, *History*, I, p. 219; Pask, *Newark*, pp. 51-2, 314.

59 Pask, *Newark*, pp. 43-57.

60 Pask, *Newark*, p. 54.

Name	Date	Trade	Form of commemoration
William and Isabella Durrant	(fl. <i>c.</i> 1300)	Wool merchant	chantry (1326) at altar of St. James
William and Beatrice Wanesley	(fl. 1336)	Wool merchant	chantry (1351) at altar of St. Katherine the Virgin
Robert de Caldwell	(fl. <i>c.</i> 1350)	Wool merchant	chantry (1349) at altar of Corpus Christi; chantry (1379) founded by executors at altar of Holy Trinity
Alan Fleming	(d. 1361)	Wool merchant	chantry (1349) in chapel of Corpus Christi; brass
Robert Whitecombe	(d. 1447)	Merchant of Calais	brass
Thomas Ferror	(fl. <i>c.</i> 1400)	Cloth merchant	chantry (1402) at altar of Holy Trinity
Henry and Katherine Forster	(fl. <i>c.</i> 1400-51)	Draper	chantry (1443) at altar of Holy Trinity
Nicholas Pennythorn	(fl. 1480s)	Mercer	church fabric
John Boston	(fl. <i>c.</i> 1500)	Draper	brass
William Phyllypott	(<i>c.</i> 1504-57)	Draper	brass, window, almshouse

Table 1: Medieval merchant benefactors in St. Mary Magdalene Church, Newark-on-Trent.
(source: Pask, Newark)

abovesaide chappell'. He bequeathed tenements, closes and an acre of meadowland in Newark to support a perpetual chantry priest and he left careful instructions for the priest to celebrate divine service in the choir daily, to celebrate mass on principal feasts, to say the requiem mass and the mass of Our Blessed Lady on other days each week, and to recite a detailed liturgy throughout the week:

'to say every Sunday, Tuysday, and Thursday the antem *Ne reminiscaris*, the vii psalms of pennance, the Lateny, The Colettes *Inclina, Miserere, Fidelium* and every Monday in the weke, Wednesday, Friday & Setturday Comendacion, *Placebo* with *Dirige*.⁶¹

61 York Will Register XIII, f. 327r, transcribed in Pask, *Newark*, pp. 332-4.



Fig. 9. Meryng chantry chapel and Alan Fleming brass.
(photo.: © author)

His brother, Alexander, also requested to be buried in the chapel in 1506, and a kinsman John Meryng left detailed instructions in 1541 to fulfil Thomas Meryng's will.⁶² The chapel has two bays with transomed openings and a battlemented parapet. On the outside of the chapel, the panels contain the arms of the Meryng, Neville, Leek and Bekering families.⁶³

The chantry chapel of Robert Markham stands opposite the Meryng chantry, and was established by his will of 1505.⁶⁴ The Markhams were a gentry family from Cotham, south of Newark. Robert's father,

Robert (d. c. 1476) was a Yorkist supporter, and was made Knight of the Bath by Edward IV after the battle of Towton. The younger Robert (d. 1508) married Elizabeth Meryng, daughter of Sir William Meryng.⁶⁵ Thoroton describes the chantry as having an arch of freestone with an inscription, inviting prayer for Robert and Elizabeth Markham.⁶⁶ On the outside are the arms of the Markham, Meryng and Bozam families. Two early sixteenth century painted stone panels at the south-east end of the chapel depict the Dance of Death (Fig. 10). A richly-dressed gentleman, perhaps portraying Robert Markham, vainly dips his hand into his

62 York Will Register XI, f. 693; Pask, *Newark*, pp. 52-3.

63 G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, 1947), p. 227; J. Luxford, 'The Origins and Development of the English 'Stone-Cage' Chantry Chapel', *JBAA*, 164 (2011), pp. 39-73.

64 York Will Register VI, ff. 207-8.

65 D.F. Markham, *A History of the Markham Family* (London, 1854), pp. 14-15.

66 See below, Appendix 1.



*Fig. 10. Dance of Death, Markham chantry.
(photo.: © author)*

purse as Death holds out a flower to him with his right hand in a parody of courtship, and ominously points to the earth below. A similar image is found in a window in St. Andrew's church, Norwich, where Death is depicted dancing with a bishop. This formed part of a series of *memento mori* images and may have been the gift of grocer Nicholas Colich (d. 1502), whose merchant's mark was in each window. In both churches, the image conveys the transitory nature of life that even wealth could not buy off, a reminder to the observer of their own mortality.⁶⁷

Church fabric

The fabric of the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene reflects the mercantile wealth of late medieval Newark. Pevsner has described the building as 'Among the two or three dozen grandest parish churches of England', and its spire is thought to be the fifth tallest in the country.⁶⁸ The nave arcade, clerestory and north aisle date from the mid fifteenth century, the chancel, choir aisles and retro-choir were completed in the late fifteenth century, and the transepts, vestry and porches in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹

Works to the fabric of parish churches were another form of charity, benefaction and commemoration. Many donors left sums for general use, such as Nicholas Pennythorn, a Newark mercer, who bequeathed 46s. 8d. for the fabric of the church in 1487. Others made specific gifts, which included carving, glazing, statues, screens, metalwork, embroidery and books, to promote reciprocal prayer and

commemoration. Items were given, often with a specific liturgical function, such as vestments, vessels, hangings and hearse cloths that would associate the donor with ceremonies observed within the church.⁷⁰ In 1443, John de Boston, mercer, gave a pair of latten candelabra worth 40s., while Robert Law left a silk and gold ornament to the altar of the Holy Trinity in 1455. John Smyth, chaplain, bequeathed a vestment of damask and a silver crucifix to the altar of St. Nicholas in 1467 'to remain there for every in memory of me', and John Burton, vicar, gave 'a ring with a gem of the Crucifixion and other jewels...in perpetual memory of me and my parents'. Baker William Fowcher left a bequest for choir stalls in 1524. Church bells reminded parishioners of the need for intercession. In Newark, Elizabeth Carlton bequeathed 21d. 'for the ringing of the bells for my soul' in 1468, and by 1552 the church tower contained five bells.⁷¹

The medieval glazing in Newark church has mostly been lost apart from fragments reassembled in the east window of the chapel of the Holy Spirit. Sir William Dugdale recorded many of the earlier stained-glass windows during his inspection of the church in 1641. Several contained the armorials of local gentry families, and there was a donor image dating to 1490 of Thomas Meryng, who had endowed a chantry in the church, and Elizabeth his wife, formerly in the east window in the choir (Fig. 11). Meryng had established himself as a sheep farmer and wool dealer, but he emphasised his gentry status in the window by his depiction in full plate armour with

67 Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/publications/digital/norfolk/sites/norwichstandrew/history.html> (accessed 11 Dec 2015); S. Oosterwijk, 'Of Corpses, Constables and Kings: The Danse Macabre in Late Medieval and Renaissance Culture', *JBAA*, 157 (2004), pp. 61-90; Pask, *Newark*, p. 134.

68 Pevsner, *Nottinghamshire*, p. 183.

69 Southwell and Nottingham Church History Project: <http://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/newark-st-mary/hhistory.php> (accessed 11 Dec 2015).

70 Burgess, 'Obligations and Strategy'.

71 York Will Registers, II, f. 67, IV, ff. 54, 104A, IX, f. 282. Pask, *Newark*, pp. 37-9, 40, 65, 184.



Fig. 11. Thomas Meryng, Elizabeth his wife, and their daughter (top), and his mother (lower left) in the east window of the choir, Newark, drawn in 1641 (BL, MS Add. 71474, f. 88r).
(© British Library Board)



Fig. 12. Glass at Holme church with John Barton's merchant mark, initials and rebus.

(photo.: © author)

a heraldic surcoat, together with an image of his mother, a member of another prominent gentry family, the Nevilles of Rolleston.⁷² Another window in Newark, now lost, was given by draper William Phyllypott with an inscription.⁷³ These memorial windows served alongside Phyllypott's brass and Meryng's chantry to collectively perpetuate their memory.

Three windows at North Muskham church contain glass incorporating a barrel or tun, the rebus of the merchant stapler John Barton who rebuilt the chancel and north aisle. Barton's rebus is also found in the surviving medieval glass in the tracery at the top of the

second light of the window at the eastern end of the south choir aisle at Newark, and in the window of the south chancel choir that Barton had added to St. Giles' Church at Holme. In the latter window, above his tomb, Barton's rebus is joined by his initials, his merchant's mark, and a modern inscription, reproducing the original, which appeals to the reader to pray for his soul and that of his wife (Fig. 12).

Guilds

Merchants were often members of parish fraternities. These provided a surrogate extended family which individuals were obliged to remember through prayers, masses

72 BL, Add. MS 71474, ff. 87r-89r; A.B. Barton, 'The Stained Glass of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire 1400-1550', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2004), pp. 48-9, 386-92.

73 See below, Appendix 1.

and memorials. Guild members were assured of a public funeral and regular commemoration. Although it has been suggested that such guilds acted as centres of political and economic networking, recent research on St. Mary's guild at Nottingham has suggested that any connection between the guild and commercial relationships was probably entirely coincidental, and that the guild's primary focus was religious.⁷⁴

No trade guilds are known to have existed in medieval Newark, but several religious guilds or fraternities operated including Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, and St. Mary's. The wealthiest town guild was that of Holy Trinity, whose membership in the 1540s included Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, members of the king's household, and a chaplain to the archbishop of York. In the absence of a borough corporation, guild officers played a leading role in the town's affairs, and when the borough finally received its charter in 1549 the last alderman of the Trinity guild became the first alderman of the new corporation. The guild had been granted property during the thirteenth century, and met in a guildhall, first referred to in 1334. On the patronal festival, guild members processed to the church and performed plays portraying Biblical events. Payments were made in 1540 to the man who carried the dragon, and in 1541 to actors and to the bearer of the banner.⁷⁵

Guilds were granted bequests in order to provide commemoration. Holy Trinity guild,

for example, was granted thirty-two acres of land in the fields of Newark and Northgate in 1471 provided that the three chaplains annually said mass in the parish church of Langford for the souls of John Graa and Emeline his wife, of William Moore clerk and Robert Edenham.⁷⁶ For other members who could not afford to endow a chantry themselves, guilds provided corporate commemoration for their members.

Guilds provided focal points for commemoration. The chapel of the guild of Holy Trinity lay within the south transept of St. Mary Magdalene's. A desirable burial place for the 'great and the good' of Newark, it included the chantries of wool collector Robert de Caldewell (fl. c. 1350), cloth merchant Thomas Ferror (fl. c. 1400), draper Henry Forster (fl. c. 1400-51) and his wife Katherine. The brass commemorating wool merchant Alan Fleming lay on the east side of this chapel. Robert Brown asked to be buried before the image of the Holy Trinity. Towering above the chapel was the great south window of the south transept given by draper William Phyllypott in 1539.⁷⁷

Public works

Many testators in the middle ages also made provision in their wills for public works such as almshouses, hospitals, schools, bridges, roads, and water supplies, believing that they were performing a religious act through these bequests.⁷⁸ In Newark, Thomas Meryng left bequests to endow his chapel 'or else to the making of bridges in divers places on the

74 R. Goddard, 'Medieval Business Networks: St. Mary's Guild and the Borough Court in Later Medieval Nottingham', *Urban History*, 40 (2013), pp. 3-27.

75 Pask, *Newark*, p. 59; G. Parsloe, 'The Growth of a Borough Constitution: Newark-on-Trent, 1549-1688', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 22 (1940), pp. 171-98.

76 Pask, *Newark*, p. 59.

77 Pask, *Newark*, pp. 40, 52, 315; Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, I, p. 393.

78 E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 367-8; J.S. Lee, 'Piped Water Supplies Managed by Civic Bodies in Medieval English Towns', *Urban History*, 41 (2014), pp. 369-93.

causeway of Kelham'.⁷⁹ There were several legacies from Newark residents to repair the road between Newark and Kelham in the fifteenth century, including gifts from mercers Richard Davy and John de Boston.⁸⁰ Robert Brown bequeathed rents 'to the use of the commonwealth of the town of Newark, whether it should be for the reparation of the church there, or any good works to be done... as mending of highways, as should be thought most expedient.'⁸¹ William Phyllypott left property with an income of £11 14s. yearly after the death of his wife to the alderman and his assistants, to maintain a house and chapel he had recently built in Coddington Lane (now Bedehouse Lane) for five poor men. He left other properties in Newark and surrounding villages yielding over £16 to support these almshouses. The poor men were to worship in their chapel daily, saying three *Paternosters*, three *Ave Marias* and one Creed in honour of the Trinity. The almshouses have been demolished but the chapel remains, and its roof timbers have recently been dated to 1554.⁸²

St. Leonard's Hospital in Newark, which had been founded by bishop Alexander of Lincoln in the twelfth century, was endowed by William Durant of Newark (fl. c. 1300), collector and receiver of wool for the king. In 1311 he obtained licence to grant two messuages and 20 acres of land in Newark, Balderton, and Hawton to the hospital. The hospital in return was to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in its church in honour of the Blessed Virgin and for the souls of William and Isabel his wife, Ivo his father, and all his ancestors. In 1343, William's executors added two priests to the seven already serving the

collegiate church at Sibthorpe (five miles south-west of Newark) to pray for William, Isabel, and others.⁸³

The most famous Tudor benefactor to Newark though, was not a merchant but a cleric and diplomat. Thomas Magnus (1463/4–1550) was born in Newark and through the patronage of Thomas Savage, archbishop of York, entered royal service as a chaplain to Henry VII, was appointed archdeacon of the East Riding in 1504, and became an important diplomat and administrator to Henry VIII. Magnus re-established the grammar school in Newark and established a song school to provide music for services in the parish church in 1532. The two priests, one to teach grammar and the other to teach song, also acted as chantry priests, as they were to pray daily for the souls of Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth, Henry VIII, Queen Katherine Howard, Prince Edward, Magnus, his father and mother, and three sisters. The endowment also made provision for an obit for Magnus, his father and mother, at which the masters of the grammar and song schools and their scholars were to be present. Magnus died at Sessay, Yorkshire, where he was buried beneath a portrait brass which survives in the chancel floor of the parish church.⁸⁴ A school at Newark had existed as early as 1238, and is documented in the 1330s and the fifteenth century. From the 1440s onwards, benefactors increasingly founded or re-founded grammar schools to provide free tuition. The founders included all the higher ranks of society, including bishops and the nobility, down to parish clergy, urban burgesses, and rural yeomen. Magnus was following the example of other benefactors like John Colet

79 Pask, *Newark*, p. 332.

80 Brown, *History*, I, p. 172.

81 Pask, *Newark*, p. 66.

82 English Heritage, 'Newark', pp. 249-50.

83 VCH, *Nottinghamshire*, II, pp. 150-2, 167-8.

84 C.A. McGladdery, 'Magnus, Thomas (1463/4–1550)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online*: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17786?docPos=9> (accessed 11 Dec 2015); Pask, *Newark*, pp. 236, 306, 317; VCH, *Nottinghamshire*, II, pp. 204-7.

and Thomas Wolsey who had endowed and made free of fees the grammar schools in their native towns.⁸⁵

Conclusion

Reviewing the merchant benefactors of medieval Newark shown in Table 1, it is clear that the majority of the town's wool merchants were to be found in the fourteenth century, and that cloth merchants, mercers and drapers predominated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This reflects the declining importance of the wool trade and the growing ascendancy of the cloth trade in the national as well as local economy. The scale of mercantile commemoration in Newark is indicative of the wealth that was being generated through local trade and should warn against making assumptions that all towns in this region were in decline in the later middle ages, particularly when coupled with the surviving architectural evidence for the rebuilding of several urban properties in an ornate and sophisticated style.

Not all the benefactions in Newark were made by traders in wool and cloth. Churchmen gave significant donations, such as Simon de Surfleet who founded two chantries in 1364/5, and Thomas Magnus who founded a song school and re-established the town's grammar school. By the sixteenth century, other craftsmen were also being commemorated, as Thoroton's list of monuments in the church, now mostly lost, records. Memorial brasses to local gentry, vicars, chaplains and craftsmen could be found alongside those of merchants. The glazing contained images and inscriptions of merchant donors together with the heraldry of the gentry families, and flanking the high altar were the chantries of a sheep farmer and local

gentleman. We can observe, as Christian Steer has found in the London parish of St. James Garlickhythe, a 'commemorative jigsaw' in which different forms of commemoration, reflecting fashion and personal preferences, served the interests of the living and the dead, and which can be examined in parishes like Newark-on-Trent.⁸⁶

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Appendix 1: Medieval monuments in St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Newark recorded by Robert Thoroton in 1677

'In the South aisle there is a very large Marble, overlaid very much with Brass, excellently cut, whereon is the Portaiture of a Man with several Sentences out of Scripture in Latin, And

Hic jacet Alanus Fleming, qui obiit. Anno 1373 [error for 1361], in die S. Helene cujus anima per Dei misericordiam requiescat in pace. Amen.

(Here lies Alan Fleming, who died on St. Helena's Day in the year of Our Lord 1361. May his soul through the mercy of God rest in peace, Amen.)

85 N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 229-54, 361; VCH, *Nottinghamshire*, II, pp. 199-209.

86 Steer, "For quicke and deade memorie masses".

[The inscription continues:

‘Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum et rursus circum dabor pelle mea et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius’.

I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise again at the last day from the earth, and shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh shall see God, my Saviour, whom I, myself, shall behold and mine eyes shall look upon, and not another.]

On a high Marble Tomb in Brass, upon the upper Edge.

Hic jacet Robertus Browne, Armiger, & Agnes uxor ejus. Nuper Aldermannus Gilde S. Trinitatis hujus Ecclesie, & Constabularius Castelli, & principalis Senescallus libertatis hujus ville, ac etiam Receptor tam Thomæ Wulsy, Cardinalis Ebor. quam Domini Johannis Longlandi Episcopi Lincoln. præterea Vicecomes Com. Nottingham & Derby, & insuper Custos Rotulorum tam in Com. Nottingham, quam in partibus de Kesteven in Com. Lincolnie. Qui quidem Robertus obiit 10 die mensis Decembris, Anno Domini 1532. Cujus anime propitiatur Deus.

(Here lies Robert Brown, esquire, and Agnes his wife, lately alderman of the guild of the Holy Trinity of this church, and constable of the castle, and principal steward of the freedom of this town, and also receiver of both Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, and lord John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, besides sheriff of the counties of Nottingham & Derby & also keeper of the rolls in both the county of Nottingham and the parts of Kesteven in the county of Lincoln.

Which Robert died 10th day of the month of December in the year of Our Lord 1532. On whose soul may God have mercy.)

On a Grave-stone in the middle of the Quire.

Hic jacet Willielmus Boshom, Armig. qui obiit Anno Dom. 1469, Sept. 21, die. Cujus anime propitiatur Deus. Amen.

(Here lies William Boshom, esquire, who died in the Year of Our Lord 1469 on 21 day of September. On whose soul may God have mercy Amen.)

The Arms, three Bird-bolts.

At the South East corner of the Choir there is a Chantry Chapel, and in it a Monument of — Markham, over which there is an Arch of Free-stone, and on the side of that:

Orate pro animabus Roberti Markham, Armigeri, & Elizabethæ uxoris ejus.

(Pray for the souls of Robert Markham esquire, and of Elizabeth, his wife.)

On the outside of it several Arms coarsely cut, Markham impaling Mering, Bozome, Markham, &c.

At the bottom of the great East Window,

Thom. Mering, & Elizabeth. ux. ejus hanc fenestram fieri causaveruntM.CCCC0 [nona] gesimo.

(Thomas Mering & Elizabeth his wife caused this window to be made 1490)

At the bottom of the Great South Window of the Cross aisle, called Trinity Chapel,

wherein are the Arms of *England* and *France* quarterly, and Deincourts, beforementioned.

Orate pro bono statu Willielmi Phelypot, & Johanne uxoris ejus & omnium sororum. . . & benefactorum. nunciatoris beat. Marie virginis qui istam fenestram fieri fecerunt, Anno Domini M.CCCCC. tricesimo nono.

(Pray for the good estate of William Phyllypott and Joan his wife and of all ... sisters...& benefactors... blessed Virgin Mary who caused this window to be made in the year of Our Lord 1539.)

On a Brass Plate in the out aisle is the Portaiture of William Phyllypot, in an Alderman's Furr'd Gown, and below it.

Here under this Stone lyeth buried the body of William Phyllypot, Marchant, and Elizabeth his wyffe; which William decessyed the viii, day of May, yn An. Dom. M.CCCCC.L. VII. whose dethe desyryng youe all to have in rememberans, calling to God for mercy.

On the same Stone above.

The eight day of July 1514, was buried the body of John Phyllypot, Grandfather to this William Phyllypot.

At the Vestry door on a Free-stone.

Hic jacet Johannes Phelypot, Junior, Draper, & Margareta uxor ejus; qui quidem Johannes obiit 23 Augusti, Anno Dom. 1519. Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.

(Here lies John Phyllypott junior, draper, & Margaret his wife, which John died 23 August in the year of Our Lord 1519.

On whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.)

In the Choir upon a Grave-stone.

Hic jacet Robertus Whitecoumbe, quondam Mercator villæ Calaisie, qui obiit III Novembr. Anno Dom. M.CCC.CXVII. Cujus animæ, &c.

(Here lies Robert Whitecombe, once merchant of the town of Calais, who died on the third day of November in the year of Our Lord 1447, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.)

On a Marble, formerly almost covered in Brass,

Hic jacet Magister Johannes Burton, Doctor Sacræ Theologiæ, quondam Vicarius istius Ecclesiæ, qui obiit tertio die Februarii. Anno Dom. 1475. Cujus, &c.[anime p[ro]piciet[ur] deus Amen]

(Here lies John Burton, doctor in Sacred Theology, once vicar of this church, who died on the third day of February, in the year of Our Lord 1475, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.)

Hic jacet M. Johannes Smythe in legibus Baccalaureus, quondam Vicarius de Newark, Et Vicariatus sui XL.III. Prebendarius de Lynchaster, ac Rector Kellam, qui obiit 14 die mensis Augusti, Anno Dom. 1521, Cujus, &c.

(Here lies Master John Smythe, bachelor of laws, once vicar of Newark, and vicar 44 prebend of Lynchaster, and rector of Kelham, who died 14 day of the month of August in the year of Our Lord 1521, on whose etc.)

On a Brass Plate,

Orate pro animabus Simonis Bentley, Capellani beati Nicholai, & Domini Stephani Bentley, Capellani S. Trinitatis fratrum quiescentium; qui quidem Simon obiit 21 die Jun. Anno Dom. 1530. Quorum animabus, &c.

(Pray for the souls of Simon Bentley, chaplain of the blessed Nicholas, and Master Stephen Bentley, chaplain of the Holy Trinity, brothers at rest; which Simon died 21 day of June in the year of Our Lord 1530. On whose souls etc.)

In the North aisle two Portraits, with the Drapers' Arms over them,

Orate pro animabus Johannis Bostone, Merceri, & Willielmi Boli, filii dicti Johannis. Qui Willielmus obiit 4 die Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1551. Quorum animabus, &c.

(Pray for the souls of John Boston, mercer, and William Bole, son of the said John. Which William died 4 day of April in the year of our Lord 1551. On whose souls etc.)

Pray for the Soule of Thomas Griffeth, Gentleman, which decessed the V. day of March, Anno Dom. M.V. XIX On whose Soule JHU [Jesus] have mercy. Amen.

There are very many Epitaphs and Verses besides these, which to avoid prolixity I must abbreviate, or omit, and therefore shall only name the persons, and time of their deaths.

Willielmus Grene, Baker, obiit Mar. 20, 1529, Cujus, &c.

Lambart Watson, Draper, dyed Sept. 1, 1530. On whose, &c.

Beatrix Lawe, obiit Nov. 14, 1450.

Nicholas Penythorne

William Symson, Upholstor 1546.

Henricus Fawconer, & Margareta ux. Hen. ob. Apr. 11, 1480.

William Hodgekynson, Barber, and Wax-chandler, Aug. 27, 1529.

John Beke, Waxchandler, dyed Jan. 12, 1512.

Agnes his wife died Jan. 24, 1533.

Alice, the wife of Nicholas Tomson, Feb. 23, 1540.

Hugh Kelsterne, Draper, Alderman, died July 9. 1563.

Alles his wyffe died before him, Anno Dom. 1539.

In the South aisle on a Brass Plate,

On another,

Hic jacet Robertus Eurion, Tanner, Katherina, Agnes & Johanna uxores ejus; qui quidem Robertus obiit ultimo die Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539, Quorum, &c....

(Here lies Robert Eurion, tanner, Katherine, Agnes and Joanna his wives, which Robert died the last day of November in the year of Our Lord 1539. On whose etc.)

Note: Only monuments which Thoroton has dated to before 1560 are quoted in this extract. Source: Thoroton, *Thoroton's History*, I, pp. 392-6.



Fig. 1. Edward Courtenay, engraved c.1450, Christ Church, Oxford (M.S.I).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Edward Courtenay and his Brass in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford

Nicholas Orme

Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford, formerly the priory church of St. Frideswide, contains the tomb of a young man, datable to the mid third of the fifteenth century, named Edward Courtenay.¹ It consists of a ledger-stone of grey Purbeck marble inset with brasswork comprising an effigy, a coat of arms, and an inscription (Fig. 1). The effigy is of good quality with carefully engraved elements. It represents a young man, beardless and with his hair in the short 'clubbed' fashion of the mid fifteenth century. He is dressed in a gown with a high collar, loose sleeves with cuffs, and a belt around his waist from which hangs a falchion (a short sword). His hands are joined in prayer and his high pointed boots rest on a drop-eared hound of the Beagle kind. Above his effigy is the coat of arms of the Courtenay family of Devon (*label of three points on three torteaux*), differenced with three mullets on each of the three points. Below his feet is an inscription in two lines:

*Hic iacet Edwardus Courtenay filius Hugonis /
Courtenay fratris Comitis Devon cuius anime
propicietur deus*

(‘Here lies Edward Courtenay, son of Hugh Courtenay brother of the earl of Devon, on whose soul may God have mercy.’)

The inscription bears no date of death, but the family relationships enable the young man to be

identified and his death to be calculated within a period of about seven years. The earl of Devon mentioned was Edward Courtenay, the third member of his family to hold the title. He was born in 1356-7 and succeeded his father Hugh in 1377 at the age of twenty, holding the earldom until his death in 1419. Edward’s brother Hugh was younger. His date of birth is not recorded but was probably within a few years of Edward’s; he died in 1425. Hugh received the dignity of knighthood and was allocated a portion of family property which he augmented through three marriages.² His first wife Elizabeth was the daughter of Sir William Cogan and widow of Fulk Fitzwaryn by whom she had a daughter; she had no surviving issue with Hugh. He then married Philippa, daughter and coheir of Sir Warin Lercedekne, heiress of Haccombe, Devon, which became Hugh’s principal residence. They had two daughters, Joan and Eleanor, the former of whom lived to inherit Philippa’s properties. Hugh’s third wife was Maud, daughter of Sir John Beaumont, a woman considerably younger than her husband since she survived his death by over forty years. This marriage finally produced two sons: Edward, the elder, and a younger brother Hugh.

Sir Hugh’s family links and estates are most fully revealed in the series of inquisitions post mortem which followed his death on 5 March 1425. Edward, his heir, was then

1 C.H. Blakiston, ‘Monumental Brasses and Matrices in the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford’, *Journal of the Oxford University Brass-Rubbing Society*, I, pt. 6 (May 1899), pp. 272-3; M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926; repr. 1964), p. 410; J. Arthur, *Christ Church, Oxford: A Guide to the Memorial Brasses* (Oxford, [1992]), p. 6;

W. Lack, ‘Repairs to Brasses, 1989’, *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt.5 (1990), p. 424.

2 On Hugh’s marriages and descendants, see J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Cornwall* (Exeter, 1887), p. 107, and idem, *The Visitations of the County of Devon* (Exeter, 1889-95), p. 245.

aged nine (or eight in one inquisition), suggesting that he was born in 1415-17. A collection of manors in Devon, including Goodrington, Paignton, South Allerton, Stancombe, and Stokenham in the South Hams and Shobrooke near Exeter were in the hands of feoffees for the use of Hugh and his wife Maud, and were probably destined to pass to Edward, minus Maud's third share as her dower. The manors of Hinton and Mudford, Somerset, and Corton with a chantry chapel in the parish of Portesham, Dorset, seem to have been Edward's inheritance too. Others of Hugh's lands had been held in the right of his former wives, and these passed respectively to Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Hankeford, granddaughter of Hugh's wife Elizabeth, and to Joan and Eleanor the offspring of his wife Philippa.³

On the death of his father, Edward passed into the wardship of the king but it is not known who became his guardian or whether his family purchased that right, as sometimes occurred. On 21 May 1425 the crown ordered the escheator of Somerset and Dorset to assign dower for Maud from Edward's lands in the presence of his 'next friends', meaning such members of his family as would protect his interests.⁴ On the following 20 June an order was given to convey to these friends some lands held by socage tenure in Somerset, to hold (together with their revenues) until the boy came of age.⁵ Edward was still alive on 1 May 1431 when the escheator of Dorset was told to deliver to his friends the manor of Corton and the advowson of its chantry, again

to keep on his behalf.⁶ He would then have been aged between fourteen and sixteen. It seems likely that he died during the next five to seven years, in other words during the 1430s either from an illness or an accident.⁷ Depending on his year of birth, he would have reached the age of twenty-one in 1437-9, terminating his wardship and allowing him to succeed to the property held in feudal tenure. If this had happened, one would expect some documentation in respect of his subsequent death, such as an inquisition post mortem, and none is recorded. It appears that he died under the age of twenty-one and that his brother Hugh succeeded him beneath the tutelage of whoever held the wardship in 1437-9.

Edward's death must have taken place in or near Oxford, and his family evidently sought to ensure that he received due honour as a knight's son and the nephew of an earl. His branch of the Courtenays was relatively wealthy and his mother Maud, as we shall see, made a will with many bequests. His tomb, as has been mentioned, is of high quality in terms of the ledger-stone and the execution of the brasswork. It now lies in the Lady Chapel – the middle aisle of the three that stand north of the cathedral choir – but it was originally in what is now called the Latin Chapel, the outermost of these aisles.⁸ This was the site of the shrine of St. Frideswide, the priory's resident saint, and therefore a place of honour in which to be buried.⁹ The Courtenay arms are to be found in one of the Lady Chapel's windows, but in their present state they are the normal arms of the family rather than

3 *Cal. Inq. p. m. 1422-7*, pp. 400-5.

4 *Cal. Close R. 1422-9*, p. 171.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

6 *Cal. Close R. 1429-35*, p. 85.

7 On possible epidemics at this time, see C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1965), I, pp. 227-9

8 On the original siting of the tomb and the window glass, see Anthony Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* [1661-6], ed., A. Clark, 3 vols, Oxford Historical Society, 15, 17, 37 (1890), II, pp. 174, 177.

9 On the location of the shrine, see J. Blair and others, 'Saint Frideswide's Monastery at Oxford: archaeological and architectural studies', *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), pp. 1-258 at 95-7, 245-6, 252, 254.



Fig. 2. Courtenay arms in the Latin Chapel
of Christ Church, Oxford
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

those born by Edward (Fig. 2). There may have been an interval between the young man's death and the purchase of the brass, however, because the clubbed hair is more typical of brasses made during the 1440s, 50s, and 60s. The lack of a date of death may indicate such an interval, but equally a date may have been thought unnecessary if the priory was committed to saying prayers for Edward's soul each year.

Oxford offered a choice of appropriate burial places for a man of knightly status, including the abbeys of Osney and Rewley, four friaries, and the parish churches. The selection of St. Frideswide may have reflected Edward having lived there or close by, but the priory had acquired, or was acquiring, west-country connections. In about 1436, around the time of his death, there was a dispute between the university and its students from the diocese of Exeter. When students from particular regions

joined together to hold a feast day, they were expected to attend the university church of St. Mary to hear mass. Those of Exeter diocese held their feast on the day of St. Peter's Chair, 22 February (Peter being one of the patron saints of Exeter Cathedral), but on this occasion they refused to go to St. Mary and held their mass at St. Frideswide, causing the university to complain to its patron and the current head of the government, Humphrey duke of Gloucester.¹⁰ Later, at least two other notable west-countrymen asked to be buried in St. Frideswide in their wills: the Cornishman, Dr Reginald Mertherderwa, in 1448 and the Somerset-born dean of Wells, Nicholas Carent, in 1467.¹¹

There remains the question why Edward Courtenay was in or near Oxford when he died. If, as seems probable, he was still in wardship to a guardian, he could simply have been passing through or staying in the vicinity. The earls of Devon owned manors in Oxfordshire, notably Stanton Harcourt, and also in Buckinghamshire which Edward might have been visiting, although these were rather remote outliers of the earls' estates. But an attractive possibility is that he was spending time in Oxford at a grammar school or with a 'commercial' tutor who taught French and the common law, or even following the lower part of the university arts course including the study of logic. These pursuits were compatible with growing up as the eldest son in a knightly family: the status in which Edward is depicted on his brass, with his falchion and his hunting dog.

Wealthy lay students rarely appear in records because they did not spend long in the

10 *Epistolae Academicae Oxon*, ed., H. Anstey, 2 vols, Oxford Historical Society, 35-6 (1898), I, pp. 133-5.

11 *Cornish Wills 1342-1540*, ed., N. Orme, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 50 (2007), p. 76; *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383-1500)*, ed., F. W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society, 16 (1901), p. 211.

university environment or take degrees, but they certainly existed. Chaucer's son Lewis was studying at Oxford at the age of ten in 1391; he later became a squire in a noble household. Alexander de la Pole, a younger son of the earl of Suffolk, went to Cambridge in his teens in 1417 before following a similar path and being knighted. Three eldest sons of peers are recorded as doing the same at the time of Edward's death or shortly afterwards. Robert Hungerford had lodgings in University College, Oxford, with a tutor in 1437–8 when he was nine. John Tiptoft followed him at the same college, again with a tutor, in 1441–4, while Henry Holland stayed with a group of servants at King's Hall, Cambridge, in 1440–2.¹² All went on to lay careers in adulthood. It may be that school education was becoming more fashionable in the 1420s and 30s as a preparation for life as a nobleman or gentleman. This was the time when the young King Henry VI was learning Latin and apparently enjoyed the experience so much that after reaching adulthood, he began the foundation of Eton College in 1439.¹³

The Courtenay family certainly tried to ensure that Edward was commemorated at St. Frideswide's in accordance with his rank. How far he was remembered there or by his

family afterwards is hard to say. His brother Hugh was killed, fighting with the Lancastrians, at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 and his will does not survive. That of their mother Maud who died in 1467, however, is extant. She never remarried and latterly lived as a boarder in St. Nicholas Priory, Exeter. Her will is long and detailed, implying much personal wealth, but it says little about her family, even Hugh who was still alive.¹⁴ It included a bequest of a vestment to the Courtenays' chantry chapel at Corton in return for prayers for her husband, herself, and their children, but she did not mention the latter by name. She also left the residue of her goods to maintain a priest 'unto school... at Oxford', yet this can hardly have been triggered by memories of Edward, for she stipulated that the priest should pray only for her husband, her parents, and her other benefactors. After those who knew him died, he was largely forgotten. In the mid seventeenth century, the Courtenays (now represented by the younger branch of the family at Powderham in Devon) commissioned an elaborate genealogy of their family. It lists a great many people with their coats of arms, but Edward is not among them.¹⁵ Only his brass survives to keep alive his memory.

12 N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: the Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London and New York, 1984), p. 71.

13 On this subject, see Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 232-6, and idem, 'The Medieval Schools of Cambridge, 1200-1550', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 104 (2015), pp. 132-3.

14 TNA, PROB 11/5/336.

15 Powderham, Devon, Archives of Lord Devon, 'Civil War Roll'.

Kateline d'Ault and the Angels: the Brass of Kateline d'Ault (d. 1461) in St. James', Bruges

Harriette Peel

This article will examine the brass epitaph of Kateline d'Ault in St. James', Bruges – an unusual surviving example of fifteenth-century Flemish commemorative brasswork. Kateline died young in 1461 but her memorial was commissioned c. 1468, designed to form part of the new chapel in St. James' granted that year to Kateline's father, the prominent merchant, Colart d'Ault. It depicts Kateline as a virginal bride in heaven being presented to Christ, her bridegroom (not shown), by two figures described as her brother and her guardian angel. Aside from its extremely good condition and technical virtuosity, the epitaph's most striking features are the large speaking banderoles above each of the three figures; prefixed by an 'A', 'B' and 'C' and thus intended to be read in a certain order, the texts lead the viewer through the narrative of Kateline's former destiny as a joyful bride on earth, her acceptance of God's superior plan for her in heaven, and her greater future as a bride of Christ. Kateline's epitaph draws extensively on late medieval concepts of commemoration and childhood with unusual detail and sophistication. It is a monument both to her life and eternal memory and to the ideas about theology, memory, gender and the family that existed in the society that she and her father, the patron, represented.

In the church of St. James in Bruges one finds one of the finest extant examples of fifteenth-century Flemish brasswork. This is the effigial memorial of Kateline d'Ault, a local girl who died in Bruges in 1461 (Fig. 1). It is an exceptionally finely rendered, well preserved work, whose iconography is both complex and illuminating. This article will address the commission and design of the d'Ault brass.

Taking its lead from the unusual imagery and inscriptions that the brass presents, a new assessment of its form and function focusses on Kateline d'Ault herself, as both daughter, sister, and young girl.

The d'Ault memorial depicts three figures who stand side by side on a tiled floor and in front of a fringed, foliate cloth of honour that is supported above them by six small angels in a starry sky. It is unclear if these angels are simply holding up the cloth of honour, or whether the swags of cloth they bear are preparation for the carrying of souls to heaven, though the composition suggests the former. A girl who appears as a royal bride is the central of the three figures, and is a head taller than her companions. This is Kateline d'Ault; and she is identified by a band of text in the gothic miniscule that runs along the sides of the brass, setting out her date of death and parentage:

Here lies buried young lady (*joncvrouwe*)
Kateline / Daughter of Colart Daut who he
had with young lady (*joncvrouwe*) Kateline /
sGroote who was his wife / She departed
this world in the year / M CCCC and LX
on the sixth day in February. Pray to God
for her soul.¹

This inscribed border is punctuated by six quatrefoil medallions. These show the four evangelists, and at the mid-point of the two long sides, her father's coat of arms on the dexter side – a white cross on a black background, and her mother's on the sinister side – the d'Ault cross

1 *'Hier . leghet . begraven . joncvrouwe . Kateline . / F(ilia) . Colaert . Daut die hij hadde bij joncfr(ouwe) Kateline sGroote(n) zinen wive wijlen was. / die . versciet . van . deser*

. weerelt . Int . jaer . / m . c c c c . ende lx . op . den . vi . sten . dach . in . Sporkele . Bid . Gode . over . de . ziele'.



Fig. 1. Kateline d'Ault (d. 1461), engraved c. 1468, St. James' Church, Bruges.
(photo.: © author)

impaled with the de Grootte double-headed eagle. The whole is finally bordered by a single-strand foliated vine motif.

The d'Ault memorial is 1520 mm x 900 mm, and 10 mm deep. This makes it smaller than other Bruges brasses that commemorate adults, but it is proportionally wider to accommodate the extensive imagery, the three main figures and their large banderoles.² The brass itself is of high material quality, its bright golden colour the result both of extensive polish and a particular yellowness to the alloy.³ Its formal stylistic vocabulary is that of the most refined extant fifteenth-century Bruges brasses. It has a similarly sensitive and detailed engraving of line to describe realistic figurative and decorative forms, and precise use of bold outlines that achieve movement and expression despite the hardness of the medium. The hair, jewellery, clothing and angels' wings are particularly finely detailed, with a high level of textural differentiation.

Stylistically, the d'Ault brass aligns broadly with the highly decorative effigial brass tradition of late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century Bruges, such as the well-known memorials to

Wouter Copman (d. 1387), and Joris de Munter and his wife Jacqueline van der Brugghe (d. 1439 and 1423), both from St. Saviour's Cathedral in the city (Figs. 2 and 3).⁴ They share long, elegant figures, and faces characterised by narrow-set eyes and long aquiline noses, whose bulbous, pointed tips connect upwards along the line of the nose to high-set eyebrows framing downward-looking hooded eyes; and finally, distinctive pursed lips set above chins that are outlined with an upward semi-circle.⁵ Van Belle has made a case for the existence of a particular Bruges workshop spanning the 1460s to the 1480s that was responsible for the brass memorials of Kateline d'Ault, Gildhof van Haluin and his wife Joanna van Gistele (d. 1460 and 1439 respectively), Lodewijk Bonin (d. 1479) and his wife and daughter, and Pieter Bichts (d. 1485) with his two wives and several children.⁶ However, an alternative case can also be made for the likely common origin of Kateline's brass and two earlier, and more finely rendered, similarly linear and texturally decorative brasses: the fragmentary memorial of Jan Clays and Kateline de Hondt (d. 1445 and 1463 respectively) (Fig. 4), and the highly decorative design of the memorial of Maertin de Visch (d. 1452).⁷

2 V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, 3 vols, (Bruges, 1976), II, p. 101. The damaged brass from St. Giles' Bruges churchyard with three figures is 290 x 172 cm (Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, pp. 127-30); the brass of Joris de Munter (d. 15 May 1439) and Jacqueline van der Brugghe (d. 7 April 1423) is 2510 x 1420 mm and the brass of Wouter Copman (d. 18 December 1387) is 2520 x 1340 mm (Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, pp. 89-92).

3 S. Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford, 2008), p. 97.

4 R. van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten en Memorietaferelen met Persoonsafbeeldingen in West-Vlaanderen: een inventaris, funeraire symboliek en een overzicht van het kostuum* (Bruges, 2006), p. 148; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, pp. 89-92.

5 On Bruges brasswork see J.W. Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands* (Ghent; New York, 1994), p. 186; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols, (London, 1977), I, pp. 100-11;

M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 48; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, I, p. 238.

6 For the memorial of Gildhof van Haluin (d. 1460) and Joanna van Gistele (d. 1439) see van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, cat. no. Out. 2A, p. 388; for the memorial of Lodewijk Bonin (d. 1479), Marie Baert (d. second half 15th century) and Marie Bonin (d. 1483) (2900 x 1720 mm) see van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 357, figs. Nwp 2A and 2B; and for the memorial of Pieter Bichts (d. 1485) and his first and second wives (2915 x 1770 mm) see van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, cat. no. Ett. 1, pp. 263-5.

7 Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 208-9, and van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 357, figs. Nwp 2A and 2B, and p. 157, fig. Bru 27; the Clays/Hondt angel (Nwp 2B) is compositionally and stylistically extremely similar to a seated carved wooden angel from c. 1459-78 in the Memlingkamer of the Sintjanshospitaal in Bruges.

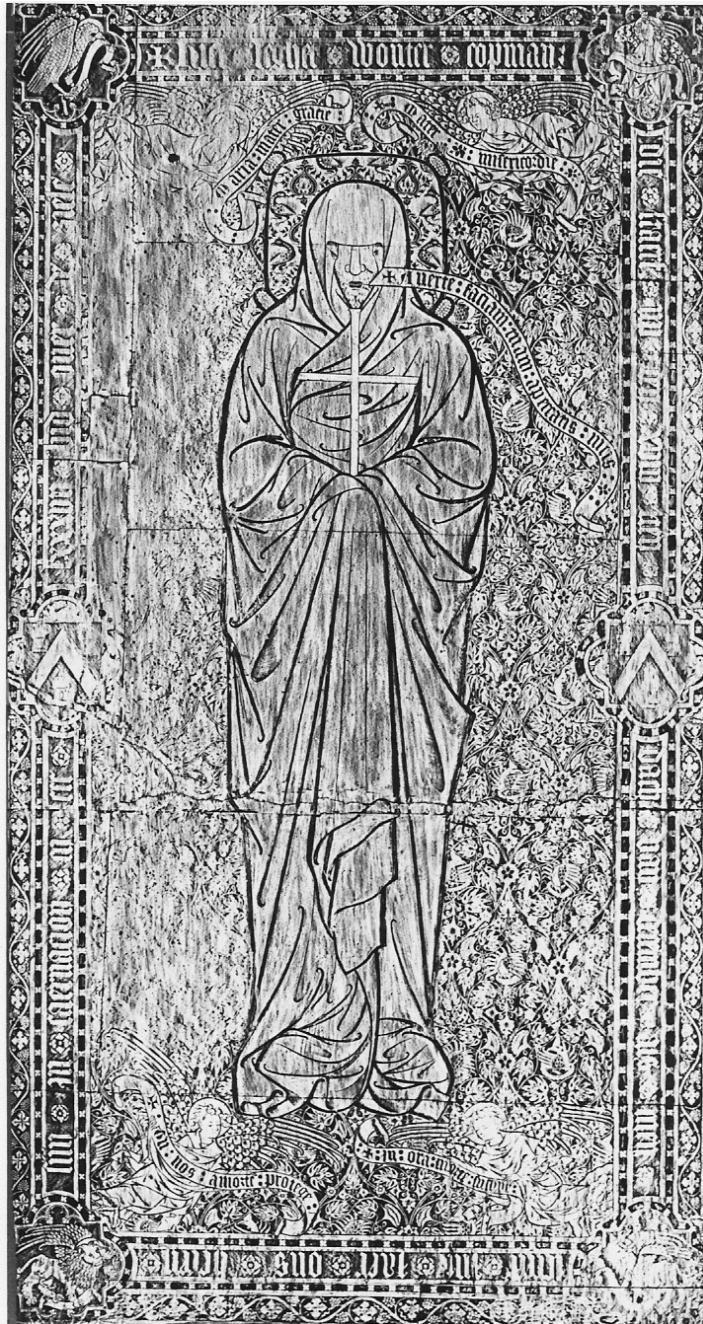


Fig. 2. Wouter Copman (d. 1387), St. Saviour's Cathedral, Bruges.
(rubbing taken c. 1910 – photo: © Ronald van Belle)



Fig. 3. Joris de Munter (d. 1439) and Jacqueline van de Brugge (d. 1423), St. Saviour's Cathedral, Bruges.



Fig. 4. Angel from the (lost) brass to Jan Clays (d. 1445) and Kateline de Hondt (d. 1463), Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. 9163 (formerly in the Church of Our Lady, Nieuwpoort). (photo: © KIK-IRPA, Brussels)

Kateline d'Ault's elaborate ceremonial costume is that of a royal bride. She wears a cutaway supertunic and open surcoat that is clasped by two jewelled brooches; a double-strand jewelled collar adorns her slender shoulders, and a small purse and geometric linked chain hangs from the belt that sits low on her hips. Kateline's long, unbound hair falls in tightly curling waves behind her shoulders. Her head is adorned by an elaborate fretted and jewelled diadem with leaves poking out of it, suggestive of the additional placement of a crown of roses or laurels.⁸ Her crown marks the compositional centre of the memorial, and its prominence is enhanced by the way it has been set against the undecorated underside of a banderole above Kateline's head.

Two additional figures stand either side of the girl, each loosely holding the edge of her robe in a gesture that could be regarded as proprietorial, protective, presentational, or all three. Both wear a single textured black armband on their other arms. A young male figure with short hair stands at Kateline's right, and is identified as her brother by text on the cornette of the chaperon that sits on his shoulder. This identified him as 'haar broeder', or 'her brother', referring to Kateline in the centre. The brother wears a tightly pleated full-length houppeland with enlarged shoulders and a fur trim, with a short ceremonial sword at his waist. On her other side is an angel in a large hooded alb, its large feathered wings folded tightly behind its shoulders and extending upwards behind its head, framing an embellished halo and a luxuriant mass of tightly curled hair that is centrally adorned by a large jewel. Mirroring Kateline's brother, the angel wears a sash over his left shoulder. The inscription on his sash similarly informs the viewer of his role

in the imagery, and that he is in fact Kateline's guardian angel: 'haren goeden enghele'. Each of these figures is accompanied by an inscribed banderole that curls upwards above them. These are marked A-B-C, which strongly suggests that the texts were designed to be read in a particular order: from the brother at the right of the brass, left to Kateline and then finally the angel on her other side.

A [her brother]

Ghy waert ter weerest gheordineirt / Een brund te wezen gheexalteirt / Zustre nu hevet de dood belet

(You were called into the world / To be a joyful bride / Sister, now death has put an end to that)

B [Kateline]

Broeder in rusten hii avizeirt / Gods wete die al dat leeft passeirt / Die wist vowaer te voughene het

(My brother who passed on before has this advice / God's knowledge which transcends all that lives / Has decreed that it be so)

C [the angel]

Vrienden ten baet gheargrieirt / Bij die in gloryen jubileirt / Verkiest haer als brund ter hoochster wet

(Friends, you who have the great Fortune / To be taken unto Him in Heaven / Have her chosen as bride before the highest law)

The memorial's 'speaking banderoles' thus begin to narrate Kateline's fate. As the border inscription has told the viewer, Kateline was the child of Colart d'Ault and Catharine de Groote. It is known that Colart was a prosperous alum and woad merchant who originated from Amiens,

8 H. Rousseau, *Frottis de tombes plates: catalogue descriptif* (Brussels, 1912), p. 117, n. 55.

100 miles south west of Bruges. Kateline was one of Colart d'Ault and Catharine de Groot's three children. Her siblings, known from the Bruges Orphans Register entry for Catharine de Groot's death in 1453, were Jan ('*Hannekin*') and Margareta ('*Grietkin*').⁹ Kateline's date of birth is not known, but her age can be extrapolated from further investigation into her parents' biographies. There is unfortunately no record of when Colart married Catharine de Groot, but he only became a citizen of Bruges in September 1435, having been born in Amiens, and since Catharine de Groot was from a Bruges rather than Amiens family it is unlikely that they married before then.¹⁰ It is equally unlikely, therefore, that any of their children were born before at least 1436. However, it is known from her own epitaph that Catharine de Groot died in 1453.¹¹ Given that her daughter died in 1461, Kateline was at most seventeen – and no younger than eight – when she died. Furthermore, the 1453 Bruges Orphans' Register suggests that Kateline d'Ault was her parents' second child; and it is therefore reasonable to assume that Kateline d'Ault died between

the ages of eleven and fifteen. That Kateline was no older than her early teens when she died is corroborated by Viaene's belief that her parents married *c.* 1440, which would make her 10 or 11 years old.¹² After Catharine de Groot died in 1453, Colart d'Ault had remarried by 1456, and quickly had seven offspring with his second wife, Magdalena de Baenst before his death in 1471.¹³

On 6 October 1468, Colart d'Ault and his second wife Magdalena de Baenst were granted burial rights and the right to erect an altar in a new chapel in the newly extended south aisle of the wealthy parish church of St. James by its pastor and church wardens. This was a small chapel near the choir that was dedicated to St. James, patron saint of the church, but the couple were allowed their own choice of dedication for the altar itself – to Our Lady of the Nine Choirs of Angels and St. Michael, and they were additionally allowed to install a bench before the altar.¹⁴ It was here that Kateline d'Ault's brass was first recorded in 1824, set into the floor. An elaborate brass

9 Bruges, Stadsarchief [henceforth 'SAB'], *Wezenregisten, Sint-Niklaas 4e Boek* (1439-85), fol. 134: '*hannekin, kathekin en grietkin Colards dauts kinden den hy hadde by joncvrouwe Kateline de Groot*'. Whenever a child in fifteenth-century Bruges lost a parent, the surviving parent, or if the child was fully orphaned then an appointed member of the wider family, was responsible for registering the child's rightful property within forty days of the parent's death.

10 A. Viaene, 'Retoricijnse Graftschriften Uit de Kring van Anthonis de Roovere', *Biekorf*, 62 (1961), pp. 353-59; J. Godard, 'Les Picards à Bruges au XV^e siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 1 (1947), pp. 10-22.

11 Catharine de Groot and Colart d'Ault's epitaph has the following inscription: '*Sepulture van Colart d'Ault geboren van amiens die starf anno 1471. Den 13en Laume [?]. Hier leghet jo[.civ.] catharine, fa. Philips de Groot colart d'aults wyf was, die overleet int Jaer 1453 op den 18 dagh in huymaent*' (Handschrift de Hooghe, Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, MS 449, vol. 3, p. 174); Viaene,

'Retoricijnse Graftschriften', p. 354; W.H.J. Weale, 'Note Sur Les Lames Funéraires En Cuivre Conservées à Bruges', *Bulletin de La Gilde de Saint Thomas et de Saint Luc*, 13 (1900), p. 162; W.H.J. Weale, 'Hiérarchie Des Anges', *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), pp. 18-22; J.J. Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc: ou, Leur magistrature et leur noblesse avec des données historiques et généalogiques sur chaque famille*, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1857), II, pp. 172-3; J.J. Gailliard, *Éphémérides Brugeoises, ou relation chronologique des évènements qui se sont passés dans la ville de Bruges, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Bruges, 1847), p. 247.

12 Viaene, 'Retoricijnse Graftschriften', p. 356.

13 *Het Oud Archief van de Kerkfabriek van Sint-Jacob te Brugge (XIII^e-XIX^e eeuw)*, ed., W. Rombauts, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1986), II, p. 119: Magdalena de Baenst is mentioned as Colart's wife in a charter recording annual rent donations to St. James', Bruges, of 4 August 1456 (SAB, *Regeste* no. 458, inv. nr. 921).

14 *Het Oud Archief*, ed., Rombauts, II, pp. 129-30, charter no. 37, inv. no. 544.

memorial commemorating Colart and his two wives can still be found in the church of St. James in Bruges; it was almost certainly their tomb plate, but will be referred to more generally as a memorial. The document does not specify burial space for any additional family members, although Rotsaert has claimed that Kateline was buried in the d'Ault chapel.¹⁵

The dating of Kateline d'Ault's memorial requires consideration, typically being ascribed to 1461.¹⁶ Kateline may have died that year, but there is no evidence to suggest that her memorial was then commissioned straight away. It was another seven years before her father acquired the family chapel in 1468. The date of the reconstruction in St. James' means it was highly unlikely that Colart d'Ault installed any memorials in the church prior to being granted his chapel in 1468 – regardless of not yet having a specific family site to put them in. No other memorials in St. James' are dated to the main period of the church's reconstruction during the later 1450s and 1460s, and Colart was in fact one of the first parishioners to be granted a new chapel in the remodelled church. The only other person to be granted a chapel in the newly re-modelled church in 1468, the chapel of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, was Jan van Messem, governor of the church, and his wife Lisebette van de Banck.¹⁷ The document granting Colart and Catherine use of the chapel in 1468 explicitly mentioned that it was in 'recognition of the many donations that both spouses had made towards construction work on the church'

(*dit wegens de milde schenkingen die de beide echtelieden hebben gedaan voor de bouwwerken aan de kerk*), a reference to the major rebuilding and renovation of the later 1450s and 1460s.¹⁸ There is no evidence that Colart d'Ault commissioned his daughter's brass prior to 1468. He had no known connections with other churches where it could have been installed in the interim whilst St. James' was under construction. In addition, it was entirely common for a memorial of this type to be retrospective by a number of years. The other known brass in the d'Ault chapel, that of Catharine de Groote (d. 1453) and Colart himself (d. 1471) was created at the point of Colart's death, eighteen years after Catharine de Groote's, for example.

A strikingly high proportion of the city's memorials that depict family groups were commissioned for St. James'. This may reflect a strong desire amongst many such patrons to promote their immediate family through their own devotional expenditure and civic prominence. The church's earliest family-group memorial was that to members of the van Themseke family, copper inlaid into stone, commemorating a father (d. 1450), mother (d. 1464) and son (d. 1454); since the son died ten years before his mother we can reasonably assume that he was still young.¹⁹ The memorial to St. James' governor, Jan van Messem, is dated to 1473, and was a figurative memorial plate that commemorated him, his wife, daughter and granddaughter in the chapel of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows

15 J. Rotsaert, 'De Kapel van Colaert d'Ault in de Sint-Jacobskerk te Brugge', *Het Brugs Ommeland*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1963), p. 21: Rotsaert states that Kateline was buried in the d'Ault chapel, but there is no documentary evidence for this either way.

16 Norris dates the brass to 1460, presumably because he has not taken into account the adjustment required for Kateline's given date of death from 1460 to 1461 (n. s.) (Norris, *The Memorials*, I, p. 39).

17 *Het Oud Archief*, ed., Rombauts, I, p. 22.

18 A. Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300-1520* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 123-4, n. 93; S. Franke, 'Between Status and Spiritual Salvation: The Portinari Triptych and Tommaso Portinari's Concern for His Memoria', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 33 (2007), pp. 123-44.

19 Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, p. 180.

that he was granted burial and devotional use of in 1468.²⁰ This was followed soon after by the *Portinari Altarpiece* (c. 1475-7), which depicts three of Tommaso Portinari and Maria Baroncelli's young children, and certainly hung for a period of time in the mid-1470s in the church before being transported to Florence in 1483.²¹ In 1484, the merchant and later political dissident Willem Moreel was granted a chapel for his family in St. James', with its altar dedicated to St. Christopher, St. Giles and St. Maurus and the family-group triptych that he commissioned from Hans Memling followed soon after. The last known fifteenth-century family group commemoration here was the Wielant family brass memorial that commemorated father, mother and young son, all of whom died in 1486.²²

St. James' was the parish church of the wealthiest part of Bruges, and its worshippers and donors included the city's leading noblemen and merchants. No less a figure than Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, showed a keen interest in the rebuilding of the church, presumably owing to its proximity to the ducal palace, the *Prinsenhof*, which he had expanded in 1455 at the expense of three houses in the parish.²³ He heard masses in the church in 1469, 1471 and 1472, and offered large sums of money to the ongoing church

works.²⁴ The impetus behind the high incidence of family memorials in the church in this period may lie in the close relationship between St. James' and the court in the period; what relatively little precedent there was for portraits of children in the Franco-Flemish territories at this point came predominantly from royal commissions.²⁵ As long as the founders' descendants could afford the upkeep, close family members could both luxuriate in and enhance the original patron's status in an elite and prominent church such as this, during their lifetimes and in perpetuity.

However, Kateline's memorial stands apart from other known Bruges examples. Firstly, whilst there are four late medieval brasses that commemorate women individually, those of Griele van Ruwescuere (c. 1410), Colijne Baers (d. 1475), Liisbette Cassenbroote (d. 1482), and Margriete van Rije (d. 1513), only one of these, that of Liisbette Cassenbroote, was for a member of the laity.²⁶ The same proportions hold true for the brasses of lone women across Flanders, and this is largely because women who had not entered holy orders would typically be commemorated with their husbands. As she was too young to have married, Kateline d'Ault's case is unusual. The composition of her memorial, with three figures side by side, aligns it with

20 Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, pp. 259-61.

21 M.L. Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation* (London, 2008); Franke, 'Between Status and Spiritual Salvation', p. 144; M.L. Koster, 'New Documentation for the Portinari Altar-Piece', *The Burlington Magazine*, 145 (March 2003), pp. 164-79.

22 Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, p. 328; K. Arndt, 'Zum Werk des Hugo van der Goes', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 63 (1964), p. 97, n. 91.

23 Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, p. 18.

24 Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, p. 249.

25 There are a number of extant portraits of both Margaret of Austria and Philip the Fair as children

from the 1480s and 1490s for example, indicating the political significance of distributing his image. See especially R.E.O. Ekkart and J.B. Bedaux, *Pride and Joy: Children's Portraits in the Netherlands, 1500-1700* (Amsterdam, 2000), p. 86.

26 Memorials of Griele van Ruwescuere (d. 1410), brass, 438 x 268 mm, Beigijnhof, Bruges (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 147); Colijne Baers (?) (d. 1475), brass, 845 x 1075 mm, St. John's Hospital, Bruges (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, pp. 163-4); Liisbette Casenbroote (d. 1482), no longer extant but formerly brass, 1085 x 2005 mm (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 164); Margriete van Rije (d. 1513), brass, 620 x 420 mm, Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 181).

several examples of memorials to men with their first and second wives or, quite commonly, an adult child who has chosen to commemorate himself in a retrospective memorial to his predeceased parents.²⁷ However, the individual commemoration of young children was entirely atypical. There is only one other example of a memorial to a fifteenth-century Flemish child, that of a swaddled, diminutively-named infant – Bernaerdkin van den Eyghene (d. 1478).²⁸

Therefore, it has been suggested that the most likely explanation for the creation of the elaborate memorial to young Kateline d'Ault, and in particular its unusually extensive inscriptions, was as a reflection of her father's literary associations. In the brief catalogue entries in the surveys of brasswork that the d'Ault brass appears in, it is generally mentioned that Kateline's father had a connection with the celebrated Bruges rhetorician Antheunis de Roovere.²⁹ The unusual A-B-C banderoles have led to an assumption of an external intellectual influence on the texts, and de Roovere is indeed often

credited with composing the much longer, acrostic epitaph of Pieter van Muelenbeke c. 1480.³⁰ Colart d'Ault had worked with de Roovere in 1463 on the entry of Philip the Good and his sister Agnes into Bruges; the two had collaborated on a tableau depicting the goddess Venus.³¹ However, textual analysis of de Roovere's approach to death in other works, especially his famous poem *Van der Mollenfeest* (The Feast of the Moles), has shown that the texts definitely attributed to de Roovere conversely present death as a raw reality along the lines of *danse macabre* imagery.³² This is in strong contrast to the idealized, heavenly view of death in the commemorative imagery of the d'Ault memorial that instead prioritises unification with God in heaven.³³ It is also unlikely, if not impossible, that so renowned a scholar would have worked on so short and intellectually simplistic a text.

In the only other examination of the d'Ault brass, Lavaert argued that Kateline d'Ault's depiction was an explicit conflation with imagery of St. Catherine of Alexandria's

27 The following memorials: a memorial to three unknown individuals, probably two men and a woman c. 1470, 2570 x 1355 mm, had been in the former church of 's-Heerwillemskapelle but is no longer extant (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 399); Antheunis de Coorenloose (d. 1447), Bernard de Coorenloose (d. 1479) and Marie de Coorenloose (d. 1471), stone with brass inlay, 1500 x 1750 mm, Church of Our Lady, Nieuwpoort (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, pp. 358-9); Lodewijk Bonin (d. 1479), Marie Baerdts (d. second half 15th century), Marie Bonin (d. 1483), stone with (missing) brass inlay, 2900 x 1720 mm, exterior wall of St. Giles Church, Bruges (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 166); Pieter Bichts (d. 1485) with his first and second wives and six small figures of children under their feet, stone with (missing) brass inlay, 2915 x 1770 mm, St. Elooïis Church, Ettelgem (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, pp. 263-4).

28 Van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, pp. 262-3. Van Belle also references the memorial of Rycquaert Fockedeys (d. 1522) which has a small figure who appears to have been a child, but whose age is not certain, stone,

880 x 590 mm, formerly St. Pharaïldis Church, Oostkerke (no longer extant) (van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 380).

29 Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, p. 230; Van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 161; *Kunst na het leven: grafmonumenten van de middeleeuwen tot in de 19e eeuw* (Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen, 1983), sec. 3; J.B. Oosterman, 'Anthonis de Roovere Het Werk: overlevering, toeschrijving en plaatsbepaling. Bijlage 2 en 3 door J. B. Oosterman', *Jaarboek de Fonteyne*, Jaargang 1997-8 (1999), p. 93; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, p. 230; Viaene, 'Retoricijne Grafschriften', p. 356.

30 Van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 161.

31 J. Lavaert, 'Het Mystick Huwelijk van...Kateline Daut, Een Bijdrage Tot de Iconografie van Een Koperen Grafplaat in de St.-Jacobskerk Te Brugge', *Biekorf*, 73 (1983), pp. 394-410; Viaene, 'Retoricijne Grafschriften', p. 256.

32 R.P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries; a Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (Assen, 1971), p. 65.

33 Lavaert, 'Het Mystick Huwelijk', pp. 409-10.

mystic marriage with Christ, neatly explaining the seemingly unusual marital iconography of the d'Ault brass, with the fact that the saint was Kateline's namesake providing a convenient mechanism by which to directly associate the two.³⁴ St. Catherine was certainly one of the most popular female saints in the visual culture of fifteenth-century Flanders, and numerous depictions of her with a crown attest to the popularity of her exalted position amongst the most prominent virgin saints, rather than her royal birth. Whilst this is a seductive interpretation of Kateline's own unusual iconography, the St. Catherine proposition fails to take into account two important factors. It ignores the accompanying presence of Kateline's brother and her guardian angel, and in doing so produces a limiting interpretation of this work as a straightforward memorial to a female figure.

The unusual imagery of Kateline d'Ault's memorial – her own depiction, and that of her guardian angel and then her brother – will instead be analysed in order to determine why this young girl was afforded such an elaborate memorial and why it took the form that it did. Consequently, we will return to the issue of Kateline's father's commission of his daughter's brass, and the effect of his own biography on the earthly and spiritual ambitions that informed the brass's form and function, for as the prominent fourteenth-century Flemish theologian, Jan van Ruusbroec (1293-1381) explained:

'Christ says: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; and in this vision consists our eternal joy, our reward, and our entrance into bliss'.³⁵

Kateline

'You were called into the world to be a joyful bride... now death has put an end to that'

The d'Ault brass glorifies Kateline at the end of her short life: her brother states that she was destined to be a 'joyful bride' on earth, and she is then described by her guardian angel as now 'taken unto Him in heaven...[and] chosen as bride before the highest law'. However, it is in the physical preciousness of both the brass, and the figures' outfits and setting within it, that her virtues of youth, virginity and attendant moral purity that she embodies are elevated physically.³⁶ The visualization of Kateline's transcendent position as bride of Christ that has been created for her brass memorial surpasses any earthly reality of marriage, for, as Bernard of Clairvaux wrote in Sermon 27:

What qualities can we find within the framework of this passing world that can equal the radiance of a soul that has shed its decrepit, earthly body, and been clothed in heaven's loveliness, graced with the jewels of consummate virtue, clearer than mountain air because of its transcendence, more brilliant than the sun? ... What are they but pearls in the jewelled raiment of the Bride, shining with unceasing radiance?³⁷

34 Lavaert, 'Het Mystiek Huwelijk', p. 400.

35 *John of Ruysbroeck: The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage; The Sparkling Stone; The Book of Supreme Truth*, trans. C.A. Wynschenk, eds. C.A. Wynschenk and E. Underhill (London, 1951), p. 39.

36 See especially A.K. Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York, 2014); M.J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation,*

Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200 (New York, 1998); M.J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (New York, 1990); J.F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998).

37 A.W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1990), p. 127.

St. Bernard's text demonstrates that the late medieval concept of female spirituality emphasized a particularly tangible nature, because it was intrinsically linked to virginity as the corporeal expression of moral virtue. A panoply of religious texts likened virginal female bodies to flowers, jewels, 'more desirable than gold, more precious than silver', 'clearer than mountain air, more brilliant than the sun'.³⁸ As Jan van Ruusbroec discussed in a widely-circulated sermon known as the 'Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage', this purity of the heart is 'an adornment of all inwardness' and his text contains highly detailed descriptions of the material luxuriousness associated with moral and physical virtue.³⁹ Ruusbroec spoke extensively on virginity, and did so in lush descriptive terms that evoke the decorative splendour of Kateline d'Ault's memorial:

Purity of body is likened to the whiteness of lilies and to the cleanness of the angels. In withstanding, it is likened to the redness of roses and to the nobleness of martyrs. If it is kept for the love and the glory of God, it is perfect. And so, it is likened to the sunflower, for it is one of the highest ornaments of nature.⁴⁰

The luxuriousness of Kateline's presentation on her memorial as a crowned and richly adorned bride of heaven thus draws her culturally and aesthetically close to the numerous texts

associated with female hagiography in this period. 'Rejoice therefore, daughter of Zion, and exult, daughter of Jerusalem!', Christ is reported as saying to St. Juliana of Cornillon on her deathbed, 'Neither roses nor lilies will be missing from your crown: roses as a sign of martyrdom, lilies for the privilege of virginal brightness'.⁴¹

The prominence of Kateline d'Ault's magnificent foliate crown is an emphatic part of this demonstration of her moral status, further emphasizing – together with her long unbound hair – that she died a virgin. It was commonly believed that a worthy soul would be given a crown on reaching heaven. As the early fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish theologian, Jean Gerson, wrote in his treatise *Poenitemini de la chasteté*, 'Your virginity... will be singled out and crowned with a divine crown in paradise'.⁴² The cultural capital associated with the crown given to pure souls is exemplified by the description of Satan's final assault on the dying man in the *Ars Moriendi*, a widely-disseminated fifteenth-century treatise on death and dying that served as a guide to the end of life and the afterlife. The demon's trump card in his battle for each soul that took place between good and evil forces on the person's deathbed was his seduction of the soul to evil by an appeal to man's pride: 'you who have had faith, hope and charity. Ah you are not like those men who, after a life of crime, repent on their deathbed.

38 *Living Saints of the Thirteenth Century: The Lives of Yvette, anchoress of Huy; Juliana of Cornillon, Author of the Corpus Christi Feast; and Margaret the Lame, anchoress of Magdeburg*, ed., A.B. Mulder-Bakker, (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 275-6; Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 27 (Astell, *Song of Songs in the Middle Ages*, p. 127).

39 *John of Ruysbroeck: The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, trans., C.A. Wynschenk, p. 39.

40 *John of Ruysbroeck: The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, trans., C.A. Wynschenk, p. 38. Origen was

the first to express this (Origen: *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, trans., R.P. Lawson, eds, J. Quastern and J.C. Plumpe (New York, 1957), p. 234).

41 *Living Saints*, ed., Mulder-Bakker, p. 287.

42 D.C. Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (New York, 1987), pp. 228-9.

Why you are a saint; you deserve a crown'.⁴³ Kateline's intended, 'joyful' state as a bride on earth, in conjunction with that of her new position as a bride of Christ, presents her at the intersection of the secular and divine.⁴⁴

Kateline's youth too is intimately connected to this hagiographic trope. The idea of girls 'chosen' by Christ, as in the case of Kateline d'Ault who was 'chosen as bride before the highest law' was ubiquitous in late medieval accounts of female spirituality. Whereas men were considered at their peak between their mid-twenties and mid-forties – with an apogee at thirty-three, Christ's age at His resurrection – the female perspective always relates the idea of a 'perfect age' of maidenhood as being a girl's teens, the age at which Kateline d'Ault died. Of the female virgin martyrs whose ages are explicitly mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, all are in their teens when they die – Christina (tortured from age 12), Agnes (13), Margaret (15), Catherine (18). Young saints Faith (12), Eulalia (12), Emerentiana (17) were not included in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, but were part of popular hagiographic culture nonetheless.⁴⁵ Like Kateline d'Ault, these women were at the age of *adolescentia* (maidenhood), old enough to marry under medieval canon law, but

still considered youths.⁴⁶ The focus of these texts tends to be firstly on an exceptional religious zeal displayed during childhood followed either by refusal to marry, celibate marriage, or marriage and children then devout widowhood. Certainly, there is no suggestion of women's moral inferiority – they were celebrated as examples and exemplars of moral virtue, both because of, and in spite of, their youth and gender.

The guardian angel

'Friends, you who have the great fortune to be taken unto Him in heaven have her chosen as bride before the highest law'

The prominence of the angel at Kateline's right side, identified as 'her guardian angel', appears to be unique among southern Netherlandish funerary monuments, but is entirely in keeping with its general memorial culture. What role does this unusual companion play in Kateline d'Ault's memorial?

The belief in individual higher powers guarding each person had roots in pre-Christian belief, and was then quickly articulated by the very earliest Church Fathers as a battle between good and evil for every Christian soul; in c. 248 AD, Origen of Alexandria had defined the

43 E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: the Late Middle Ages: a Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources* (Princeton, 1986), p. 353. There is some evidence that girls could be buried with a floral chaplet in the later fifteenth century (A. de la Grange, 'Choix de testaments tournaisiens antérieurs au XVIe siècle', *Annales de la société historique et archéologique de Tournai*, 2 (1897), pp. 5-26). Many thanks to Ann Adams for this reference. See also van Belle, *Vlakke Grafmonumenten*, p. 547.

44 On virginity, Jean Gerson explained quite pragmatically that it was considered 'the most beautiful part of the holy church, and merits the hundredfold fruit, while widowhood only sixty, and marriage thirty' (Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, p. 226). See also the

German theologian Johannes Nider, who wrote that 'the married state promises sanctity with only a thirty-fold reward whereas virginity brings a hundred-fold reward' (J. Dahmus, 'Preaching to the Laity in Fifteenth-Century Germany: Johannes Nider's "Harps"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34 (1983), pp. 55-68).

45 P. Healy Wasyliv, *Martyrdom, Murder, and Magic: Child Saints and Their Cults in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2007).

46 K.M. Phillips, 'Maidenhood as the Perfect Age of a Woman's Life', in *Young Medieval Women*, eds, K.J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge and K.M. Phillips, (New York, 1999), pp. 1-15.

pre-Christian terms *angeloi* and *daimones* as people's 'good' or 'bad' angels.⁴⁷ Guardian angels became enshrined as a fundamental tenet of Christianity, and an important description of a guardian angel's function is found in Jacobus de Voragine's *vita* of St. Michael, the leader of the angels, in the *Golden Legend*.⁴⁸ On guardian angels he explained that:

The good angel is deputed to an infant in the womb and immediately after birth, is with him or her in adult life... devils deceive the mind by false reasoning, entice the will by seduction, and overpower virtue by violence. Therefore, it was necessary that a good angel be deputed to each man as guardian, to instruct and direct him against falsehood, to exhort and incite him to good and defend him against cajolery, and to protect him against violent oppression.⁴⁹

The illumination of a prayer to a guardian angel, or *Sequitur de proprio angelo* in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves from c. 1440 illustrated this particularly clearly, as the armed good angel battles a winged demon for the soul of a shrouded corpse in a makeshift coffin on the ground below them.⁵⁰ The guardian angel in this image closely resembles the battle-ready St. Michael, a conflation of the broader battle between good and evil that each person played a part in. All guardian angels were seen to have two further clear roles, and Kateline d'Ault's own angel is clearly shown to embody both such

roles in her memorial. Firstly, in life, the angel was to guide the person towards a path of moral rectitude, and secondly, at death, its role was to guard the person's soul against demons, or 'bad angels', and consequently escort the soul (assuming it had not succumbed to these evil forces) into the afterlife. A 1483 *Scala Coeli* (Ladder of Heaven) woodcut illustrates this shared journey that a guardian angel could take through life with their particular charge, showing the path along which people progress towards God.⁵¹ The person is guided by their angel through confession, satisfaction, detestation of vices, practice of virtues, firm resistance to temptation, purity of heart, love of God, and then contemplation, whilst constantly tempted off the ladder by devils. The woodcut grew out of a fourteenth-century text by Johannes Gobi (d. 1350), and its transition to print attests to the popularity of the guardian angel concept in Northern Europe.⁵² Kateline's memorial usefully, unusually, elucidates the guardian angel's roles. It is clear that the guardian angel concept had a far greater part to play in both the late medieval hagiography of women and girls, and funerary culture in general, than has previously been discussed.

Throughout the *Golden Legend* guardian angels functioned as a taxonomy indicating moral purity and specifically a person's need for physical protection. For example, of the 164 *vitae* in the *Golden Legend*, twenty-five are about female saints, and over a third of these

47 R. Cline, *Ancient Angels: Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire* (Leiden, 2011), p. 4.

48 *The Golden Legend* was certainly the most influential and widely circulated of the medieval hagiographies and amongst one of the most widely disseminated of all medieval texts (S.L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, Wn., 1985), p. 208).

49 J. de Voragine: *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans., W.G. Ryan (Princeton, 2012), chap. 145, pp. 587-97.

50 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.917/945, p. 206.

51 *Scala Coeli* woodcut (295 x 207 mm): 2b in Jacobus Eber, *Scala Coeli* (Strasbourg, 1483).

52 R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215- c. 1515* (New York, 1995), p. 195.

often short texts prominently feature the women's guardian angels, those of saints Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, Catherine, Euphemia, Margaret, Mary Magdalene, Christina, Savina. Particularly noteworthy are those of saints Agnes, Cecilia and Catherine, three of the most influential late-medieval female hagiographies. St. Agnes is reported as having said to the devil: 'I set nothing by thy menaces, for I have this angel which is keeper of my body'.⁵³ St. Cecilia similarly stated:

I have an angel that loveth me which ever keepeth my body whether I sleep or wake and if he may find that ye touch my body by villainy or foul and polluted love, certainly he shall anon slay you.⁵⁴

And finally, the life of St Catherine described how the saint:

commended herself totally to God, and at once an angel of the Lord stood by her side and admonished her to stand firm, assuring her that she could not be defeated by these people, and more than that, she would convert them and set them on the road to martyrdom.⁵⁵

The contrast with the *Golden Legend's* 151 male saints is very striking: just three male *vitae* include guardian angels, those of saints Anthony, Vincent and Sebastian. The visualization of Kateline's d'Ault's relationship with her guardian angel, and its role in presenting her in heaven, did not preclude a similar relationship for male charges, rather a closer association with women or the young was seen to service a greater need. The guardian angels of women, young and old,

symbolized their uniquely close connection to the divine that was founded on the preservation of their virginity: their moral and physical state.

Consequently, guardian angels were also considered to have a particular duty of care towards the young. Recent scholarship has acknowledged that 'guardian angels are often held to have a special connection with children', but has not explored this association in any depth.⁵⁶ Specific associations between guardian angels and children, especially female, as demonstrated by Kateline and her own angel, are almost entirely historiographically unspoken, perhaps because they appear to be instinctive. However, this aspect of angels' earthly role had sound Biblical foundations, unlike many other props of medieval mortuary ritual. It originated in Christ's discussion of little children in Matthew 18:10: 'For I say unto you that their angels do always behold the face of my Father in Heaven'. Biblical angels were also particularly associated with infants and infancy, and angels proclaimed the births of John the Baptist (Luke I: 11-20) and Jesus Christ (Luke I: 26-38), and advised Joseph on the nature of Mary's Child (Matthew I: 20-21). The imagery of the d'Ault memorial appears to have drawn on an iconography of the virtues and glorifying benefits of youth, femininity, and the close association of these two with the angelic that was common currency in late medieval Flemish thought.

Kateline d'Ault's memorial, with its prominent use of speaking banderoles, illuminates a further, communicative, relationship between people and their angels during the earthly, first stage of the relationship. Angel (*angelos*) was a

53 De Voragine: *The Golden Legend*, trans., W.G. Ryan, chap. 24, pp. 101-4.

54 *Ibid.*, chap. 169, pp. 704-9.

55 *Ibid.*, chap. 172, pp. 720-7.

56 V. Rees, *From Gabriel to Lucifer: A Cultural History of Angels* (London, 2013), p. 172.

term that originally referred to the general idea of a messenger, although with specific operations between the earthly and the divine; and it was used by Homer *c.* 700 BC to describe the human messengers sent to the god Achilles.⁵⁷ Speaking banderoles are included in illuminations of ‘Prayers to a Guardian Angel’ in late medieval books of hours with considerable regularity, emphasizing the functional relationship that individual and angel were engaged in, and demonstrating the individual’s responsibility to keep close contact with their angel for moral succour, direction and advice. Numerous illuminations from ‘Prayers to a Guardian Angel’ in books of hours illustrate the relationship between individuals and their guardian angels in life, and show that great emphasis was given to representing the communication between them. A Bruges book of hours illuminated by Willem Vrelant *c.* 1460 depicts the male donor kneeling at a *prie dieu* in prayer to his guardian angel.⁵⁸ A banderole above the angel’s head states: *si vis vitam serva mandata* – the angel is repeating Jesus’s advice for all good Christians from Matthew 19:17, ‘If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments’, and thus acts as guide through Christian life. *The Hours of Margaret Beaufort c.* 1430-40 similarly includes an illumination of a donatrix kneeling in prayer whilst engaged in conversation with her guardian angel. The woman’s scroll reads: *sub umbra tuarum protége me* (Protect me beneath the shadow of your wings), whilst the guardian angel replies: *dominus custodiat te ab omni malo* (The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil) –

the pair demonstrating that they are bound in a contract of mutual obligation during her life.⁵⁹

Two other of the best-known brass funerary monuments from late medieval Bruges also include speaking banderoles between individuals and their angels. The great fourteenth-century brass monument to Wouter Copman (d. 1387), and the later monument to Joris de Munter (d. 1439) and Jacqueline van der Brugghe (d. 1423), both in St. Saviour’s Cathedral, Bruges, show the figures recumbent and shrouded, with an angel protectively positioned at each of the four corners of the brass (Figs 2 and 3). Wouter, Joris, Jacqueline and their angels talk to each other about the promise of protection in life and at death, and safe passage to God in the afterlife. The memorial of Lodewijk Bonin, his wife and daughter, similarly includes an angel beneath each figure, with texts above them commending the three deceased figures to heaven.

A guardian angel’s apogee came in the second stage of its relationship with the individual, at death, when it was time to guide its charge’s soul to heaven.⁶⁰ This particular role requires that the individual has paid heed to its guardian angel’s guidance up the ‘ladder of heaven’ throughout their life. For most late medieval southern Netherlanders, a clear picture of what would await their souls after death was visualised by texts such as the *Pèlerinage de l’Âme* (Pilgrimage of the Soul) composed by Jehan de Diguelleville *c.* 1355-58, and translated into almost every European

57 Cline, *Ancient Angels*, p. 3.

58 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.387, f. 71v.

59 R. Krug, *Reading Families: Women’s Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, 2002), p. 73.

60 John Chrysostom (*c.* 347-407) in his ‘Second Homily on Lazarus’, stated that the soul required angels as escorts to reach heaven (Cline, *Ancient Angels*, p. 96).

language over the following century.⁶¹ It tells the story of the narrator's soul's journey after leaving the body, and describes a trial to be undergone to by each soul wherein a devil and the guardian angel debate with each other over the defendant's eventual destination. Diguelleville's text here vividly describes queues of defendant souls and their guardian angels waiting in corridors nearby to be led into the courtroom.⁶² The scriptural basis of this final journey is found in Malachi 3:1 ('Behold, I [God] send my angel to prepare the way before me') and Exodus 23:20 ('Behold, I [God] send an angel...to guard you on your way and bring you to the place I have prepared'). Originally this referred only to the souls of martyrs – 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord' being the relevant Apocalypse text from Revelation 14:13. However, a shift took place in the early medieval period, when the *Suscipiat* and *Subvenite* prayers recited just prior to and following a person's death were composed, extending the angelic escort of worthy souls to all the departed faithful not just martyrs or saints.⁶³ The *Subvenite*:

come to his assistance, ye saints of God,
meet him ye angels of the Lord, receiving
his soul, offering it in the sight of the
Most High

was followed by the *Suscipiat*: 'May Christ, who has called thee, receive thee and may the angels

conduct thee into Abraham's bosom', and then the eventual, hopeful, *In Paradisum*:

May the angels lead you into Paradise in
their assembly, may the martyrs receive you,
and bring you into the holy city, Jerusalem.
May the choir of angels receive you, and
care for you in Abraham's bosom, and with
Lazarus, once a beggar, may you have
eternal rest.⁶⁴

This was followed by a steady extension of the symbol of a Christian soul's journey to heaven, even to those who required time in Purgatory.

A guardian angel's third and final duty was to guard the individual's body and their grave, and here the viewer is shown Kateline's angel visualised with her in heaven, but also presented literally at the memorial itself. The angel and Kateline's brother hold her gown in a gesture of presentation to the heavenly community of '*friends...who had had the great fortune to be taken unto Him in heaven*', but also one of protection. Kateline's brother's mention of her intended role as wife on earth reminds the viewer that whilst she is now visualized as immortal in heaven, her earthly body nonetheless remains on earth and continues to be watched over by the angel, to ward against violation, theft or movement. This took its lead from early Christian funerary culture, and

61 R.C. Wegman, 'The Testament of Jean de Saint Gille (d. 1501)', *Revue de Musicologie*, 95 (2009), pp. 7-36. A copy is known to have been owned by the famous Burgundian court composer Guillaume Dufay (d. 1474), who held a prebend in St. Donatian's, the largest collegiate church in Bruges (J.M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280-1390* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 363, n. 70).

62 Wegman, 'The Testament of Jean de Saint Gille', pp. 15-16.

63 J.M. Hammond, J.A. Wayne Hellmann and J. Goff, *A Companion to Bonaventure* (Leiden, 2014), p. 292; D. Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1998), p. 204; P. Sheingorn, "'And Flights of Angels Sing Thee to Thy Rest": The Soul's Conveyance to the Afterlife in the Middle Ages', in *Art into Life*, eds. C. G. Fisher and K. L. Scott (East Lansing, 1995), pp. 155-82.

64 P. Marshall, 'Angels around the Deathbed: Variations on a Theme in the English Art of Dying', in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, eds. P. Marshall and A. Walsham (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 83-103.

suggests an intuitive Christian concern to be commemorated in the company and security of angels, the Biblical precedents for which were Gospel accounts of the angels at Christ's grave.⁶⁵

A third- or fourth-century epitaph from a tomb in Melos describes the patron's concern to look after the bodies of his deceased female relatives:

In the Lord
 The elders worthy of the entire tomb,
 Asklepes
 And Elpizon and Asklepidotos and
 Agaliasis
 Deaconess and Eutuchia having led a
 virginal life and Klaudiana
 Having led a virginal life and Eutuchia
 their mother
 Rest here, and upon this full grave
 I adjure you by the very angel standing by
 Lest you dare place anyone inside.
 Jesus Christ aid the writer and his
 entire family.⁶⁶

The man responsible for this epitaph, 'the writer', places particular emphasis on the attributes of his female relatives – Agaliasis the deaconess and Eutuchia 'having led a virginal life', and Klaudiana 'having led a virginal life' and Eutuchia 'their mother'. He glorifies himself and the male family members also buried in the tomb through these women's virginity, or the secondary but still virtuous state of motherhood, reminding us of how fundamental this hierarchical view was in the Christian

conception of female physicality (Matthew 13:3-8).⁶⁷ Jan van Ruusbroec acknowledged this mutual relationship between exemplars of moral purity and those who encountered them: 'Christ says: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; and in this vision consists our eternal joy, our reward, and our entrance into bliss'.⁶⁸ Kateline d'Ault's memorialisation alongside the elect in heaven may well be seen to have beneficently projected divine protection over her family as well.

From cradle to beyond the grave, the emphasis on the angelic in the d'Ault brass clearly reflected both recognition of and respect for the supreme power of angels as intercessors with God, whether in relation to individual devotion, or connection with deceased family members in heaven.

Kateline's brother

On Kateline's left side, equal in stature and importance to the angel at her right, is a boy identified on the memorial as her brother. His prominence on the memorial opens up an examination of sibling relationships in late medieval devotional culture, on which there is very little existing scholarship.⁶⁹ There are other examples of memorials that depict siblings without their parents, but not many. The most interesting is the 1360 brass memorial to Everaert, Christine and Wouter Goderyck from the Dominican convent in Bruges, in which Christine Goderyck is depicted between her two brothers. The 1456 brass memorial to the children of Anselm Adornes (now lost) in Bruges' Jerusalem Chapel is also an

65 Keck, *Angels and Angelology*, p. 204.

66 Cline, *Ancient Angels*, pp. 102-3.

67 Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, p. 226. See also Johannes Nider: 'the married state promises sanctity with only a thirty-fold reward whereas virginity brings a hundred-fold reward' (J. Dahmus, 'Preaching to the Laity', p. 63).

68 *John of Ruusbroec: The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, trans., C.A. Wynschenk, p. 39.

69 See especially C. Larrington, *Brothers and Sisters in Medieval European Literature* (Rochester, N. Y., 2015); F. Griffiths, 'Siblings and the Sexes within the Medieval Religious Life', *Church History*, 77 (2008), pp. 26-53.

interesting precedent.⁷⁰ The English corpus is more fruitful, perhaps due to better survival rates. The 1388 brass memorial to the sons of Sir John Salisbury in Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, showed four small figures praying upwards towards a central devotional figure (missing) with two angels either side, both the boys and the angels had speaking banderoles projecting from their prayer-clasped hands.⁷¹ An unusual little brass epitaph at Sherborne St. John, Hampshire, *c.* 1360 states: 'Raulin Brocas and Margaret his sister lie here / May God in his Grace have mercy on their souls'; and finally the Mansfield brass *c.* 1455 in Taplow, Buckinghamshire, commemorates three young siblings.⁷²

The d'Ault memorial differs from these in that it only commemorated one of the children. It is possible that the brother's presence there may have served as his proxy-memorial, although he is not afforded any sort of epitaph of his own within this brass that would suggest this. The memorial functions as a joint commemoration in the loosest sense of presenting him as another deceased child of Colart d'Ault and Catharine de Groote. As the brother is not named in any of the inscriptions, and without any documentary evidence that he was at one stage commemorated individually, his role in her memorial must primarily be treated as a symbolic one, focusing on his immediate position as a heavenly companion and advisor: '*my brother who has passed on before has this advice...*', as Kateline states. The fact and nature

of his inclusion in his sister's memorial provides a conceptual link between the imagined heavenly state that Kateline is shown in and the physical object of the brass in the d'Ault family chapel in St. James'.

Although he mirrors the guardian angel compositionally, we should also observe that Kateline's brother's role on the brass is different. He stands directly beside his sister rather than slightly behind her as the angel does and, being apparently larger than the angel, his figure overlaps with Kateline's. His inclusion, and differentiation, taps into a rich seam of medieval theological discussion about the close bond between brothers and sisters. Griffiths has observed that there was a persistent appearance of female siblings in the recorded *vitae* of holy men in medieval Christendom, and by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one increasingly encounters the belief that a male saint should have a spiritually intimate and enriching relationship with his sister.⁷³ Holy men such as Gregory of Nyssa, Leander of Seville and Benedict are described as recognizing deep spirituality in their sisters, both aiming to guide their sisters' spiritual lives and profit from close relationships with these pious women.⁷⁴ Leander of Seville famously encouraged his sister Florentina's physically pure life. In Leander's view, Florentina's spiritual power derived from her future inheritance as a bride of Christ, and he clearly expected to benefit from the relationship. Describing her variously as the 'the better part of our body', 'my shelter in Christ', 'my security',

70 Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, p. 61; R. Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges*, 4 vols, (Woluwe-Saint-Lambert, 1960-1), III, pp. 138-9.

71 H.W. Macklin, *The Brasses of England* (London, 1907), fig. 65.

72 '*Raulin Brocas et Margarete sa sour gisount ici / Deu pour sa grace de lour almes eyt m(er)ci ame(n).*' (Norris, *The Craft*, cat. 168). It is wrongly described as being to 'a man and his wife' in F. Madden, B. Bandinel and J. Gough Nichols, *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 8 vols, (London, 1834-43), VIII, p. 394. On the Mansfield brass see Norris, *The Memorials*, II, cat. no. 97.

73 Griffiths, 'Siblings and the Sexes', p. 35.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

Leander explicitly asks Florentina to intercede for him with Christ in heaven, clearly expecting to benefit from their close relationship:

Dearly beloved sister... through which I doubt not that I shall be purified of the uncleanness of my sins...Held in the Bridegroom's embraces, you may ask and obtain pardon for me. Your love in Christ shall be my indulgence, and however little hope of forgiveness I have, if the sister whom I love shall be married to Christ, and... you will be my comfort and solace, then, the punishment that is due me for my errors may possibly be relieved by the intercession of your chastity.⁷⁵

Such sibling relationships were an influential part of late medieval hagiography, and similar stories are to be found in the lives of Gregory of Nyssa and his sister Macrina, Pope Damasus I and his sister Irene, and the sixth-century saints Caesarius and Caesaria.⁷⁶

Instead of, or perhaps in addition to, serving as a proxy-memorial to her deceased brother, Kateline d'Ault's memorial draws upon the mutual heavenly utility within a family that was an established tradition of medieval hagiography. It draws a clear connection to Kateline's family relationship that in turn re-emphasizes the effect of viewing her at an intersection between heavenly and actual worlds. In a way that might not be possible were Kateline depicted alone, the inclusion of her brother once again draws interpretation of this memorial back towards its relationship and utility to the d'Ault family as a whole.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 32-4.

77 Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 152-3.

78 Godard, 'Les Picards', p. 17.

79 *Comptes de L'argentier de Charles Le Téméraire, Duc de Bourgogne*, eds, A. Greve and É. Lebailly, 5 vols,

Colart d'Ault and his daughter's memorial

Reconstruction of Colart d'Ault's biography reveals a specific significance that the St. James' chapel and its attendant commissions held for him and his family when he was granted rights to the space in October 1468.

Kateline's father's initial interest in moving to Bruges from Amiens in the early 1430s appears to have been to work as a moneychanger, as part of an industry that had been established in the city since the late thirteenth century.⁷⁷ By 1443 he had acquired one of the valuable *wissel op vier wielen* (exchanges on four wheels) that allowed him to operate freely throughout the city, and by 1448 he was referred to in an Amiens record as one of Bruges' leading traders.⁷⁸ On 5 May 1468, almost exactly five months before obtaining his chapel, Colart d'Ault lost his place near the top of Bruges' socio-economic network. On that date, Charles the Bold granted a total monopoly on alum, Colart's primary interest, to the Medici. The duke promised that Bruges' supply of alum would henceforth only be sourced from the pontifical mines, and the city's alum merchants were required by this treaty to put their stores of alum up for sale, presumably to guarantee that any in circulation was entirely of pontifical origin. Only the Medici agents continued to operate the valuable alum trade. Colart d'Ault, until then at the head of that industry, was left with large quantities of alum to offload quickly, at a loss at the Whitsunday fairs early the next month in Antwerp, Wervick and Bruges.⁷⁹ Ironically, the Medici went on to experience fatal financial problems in Bruges over the

(Paris, 2001-14), II, no. 571 and no. 576; J. Finot, *Le Commerce de l'alum dans les Pays-Bas et la bulle encyclique du pape Jules II en 1506* (Paris, 1903), pp. 421-2. Whitsunday falls on the seventh week after Easter Sunday, which in 1468 was 20 April, and thus Whitsunday occurred the weekend of 7-8 June 1468.



Fig. 5. Albrecht Cornelis, *The Coronation of the Virgin* Altarpiece, c. 1517-22, St. James' Church, Bruges.
(photo: © Jozef Sedmak)

subsequent decades.⁸⁰ However, this came too late to restore Colart d'Ault's fortunes; he died in 1472.

The decision to commission objects of such great expense and luxury as the two brass memorials, one for his daughter Kateline and one for himself and his first wife, after so dramatic a shift in his fortunes and position, has considerable resonance. It was perhaps never more important for Colart d'Ault to project an image of himself as the wealthy merchant at the nexus of power and influence in Bruges that he had so recently been – and to extend this image to his family via the publicly visible space and contents of his chapel in St. James'. It is also worth speculating on that fact that the forced liquidation of his alum assets meant that Kateline's father was suddenly in a position to lavish money on a costly and extensive chapel project.⁸¹

The dedication of the altar in the chapel to Our Lady and the Nine Choirs of Angels in 1468 was nonetheless unusual. An increase in the popularity of dedications to Our Lady in other iconographic guises is certainly discernible in fifteenth-century Bruges. All of the other new or rededicated chapels to Our Lady in Bruges in this period were also in St. James', the chapel of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows established in 1468 by Jan van Messem, the chapel of Our Lady of the

Visitation established in 1488, and the chapel of Our Lady of Grace established in 1490.⁸² Brown has identified that between 1420 and 1480, half of all endowments in Bruges churches were for feasts associated with the Virgin Mary, or the life, passion and other cults of Christ.⁸³ However, there are no other known examples of altars in Bruges from this period with a dedication to Our Lady of the Nine Choirs of Angels.

There is no evidence of the original altarpiece between the chapel's founding in 1468 and 1519, after which Albert Cornelis' celebrated *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece (Fig. 5) adorned the altar in the d'Ault chapel.⁸⁴ However, Weale noted in St. James' a fifteenth-century statue of St. Michael brandishing a flaming sword with the dragon under his feet (Fig. 6) which probably came from this chapel given that there were no other chapels nor altars dedicated to St. Michael in Bruges in this period.⁸⁵ Cornelis' triptych was commissioned by the Guild of St Francis (the guild of the *Mutsreders*, or bonnet makers) in 1517 after it had taken final control over its administration from d'Ault descendants in 1512.⁸⁶ The Guild had acquired the rights to the d'Ault chapel in 1492, a year after Magdalena de Baenst's death in 1491.⁸⁷ In 1512, the chapel then passed over fully to the Guild.⁸⁸

80 R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank* (Washington D.C., 1999), pp. 348-55.

81 I am grateful to Dr. Douglas Brine for this interesting suggestion.

82 Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, pp. 259-61; Gaillard, *Inscriptions Funéraires*, I, p. 288.

83 Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, p. 118.

84 D. Tamis, 'The Genesis of Albert Cornelis' "Coronation of the Virgin" in Bruges', *The Burlington Magazine*, 142 (November 2000), pp. 672-80; Rombauts, *Het Oud Archief*, I, p. 25; Weale, 'Hiérarchie des anges'.

85 See the Belgian Art Links and Tools (BALaT) website <http://balat.kikirpa.be>, photo library no. 88157. Accessed 01.04.16.

86 *Het Oud Archief*, ed., Rombauts, II, p. 159: charter nr. 458, inv. nr. 546, 1 September 1492.

87 Gailliard, *Éphémérides Brugeoises*, p. 247.

88 The chapel languished throughout the seventeenth century and in 1694 was taken over by the Guild of Hostellers and rededicated to St. Zaccheus, their patron saint (*Het Oud Archief*, ed., Rombauts, I, p. 25). *Het Oud Archief*, ed., Rombauts, I, pp. 246-8, the act is dated 1 September 1492.



Fig. 6. *St Michael and the Devil*, c. 1450, polychromed wood, St. James' Church, Bruges. photo: © KIK-IRPA, Brussels)

There has been considerable examination of Cornelis' altarpiece, and yet none of the authors discuss any connection between Cornelis' choice of subject matter and the original choice of dedication of the altar by Colart d'Ault in 1468. As the 1492 transfer document makes clear, the terms under which Magdalena de Baenst transferred patronage of her husband's chapel to the Guild of St. Francis had stipulated: 'the altar should forever remain dedicated

to Our Lady of the Nine Angelic Choirs'.⁸⁹ Even though the guild now had full patronage of the Chapel, and were no longer obliged to adhere to the original conditions of transfer, now twenty years old, their commission of a large altarpiece with Angelic Choirs iconography by Cornelis would appear to have been an attempt to complement existing imagery. The angelic iconography in the d'Ault Chapel was certainly extensive. As well as the six smaller angels that are depicted at the top of Kateline's brass and the full-size guardian angel that stands beside her and her brother, various angels are known to have featured on Colart d'Ault's figurative memorial with Catharine de Groote. When Kateline's guardian angel is depicted as saying '*Friends, you who have had the great fortune to be taken unto Him in heaven*', it is as if he speaks to these fellow angels directly rather than conceptually. These were visual manifestations of the '*friends*' from the heavenly community, from the nine choirs of angels, who had '*chosen her [Kateline] as bride before the highest law*', rather than Christ or God.

Kateline's virginity, considered 'the cousin of the angels' in this period, here the result of her youth, made her the ideal subject for a family chapel.⁹⁰ Furthermore, her memorialization alongside the angels and elect in heaven may well be seen to have beneficently projected divine protection over her family as well.

The flowing forth of God always demands a flowing back, for God is a sea that ebbs and flows, pouring without ceasing into all His beloved according to the need and the merits of each...The rich and enlightened man shall distribute gifts to all the angelic

⁸⁹ 'dat dit altijd zal moeten toegewijd blijven aan O. L. Vrouw der negen Engelenkoren'.

⁹⁰ L. Sangha, *Angels and Belief in England, 1480-1700* (London, 2012), p. 20; Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, p. 226.

choirs, and all spirits, each in particular according to its own merits, out of the richness of his God and out of the generosity of his own ground; which is illuminated and overflowing with great and wonderful gifts.⁹¹

Jan van Ruusbroec's text acts as a prism through which to reinterpret and make sense of the complex memorial of young Kateline d'Ault (d. 1461), and to conclude this article. His words make plain how critically beneficial angelic devotion was considered by the pious late medieval patron. In commissioning a memorial that presented the image of his deceased daughter Kateline in heavenly conference with her guardian angel and the

young brother who died before her, and with the wider heavenly community referred to by the guardian angel and depicted throughout the other objects in the chapel, Colart d'Ault projected an idealized message of filial unity and utility that aimed to glorify the d'Ault family and their new chapel. The employment of angelic imagery in the iconography of Kateline d'Ault's memorial, and the family's chapel in general may have been unusually extensive, but the complementary emphasis on family evident in the creation, design and devotional utility of Kateline's brass situated Colart's ideas about his chapel's meaning well within the context of fifteenth-century devotional and theological culture.

91 *John of Ruysbroeck: The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, trans., C.A. Wynschenk, pp. 38-9.



*Fig 1. St. John's Church, Hillingdon.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

An Aristocratic Brass in Late Fifteenth-Century England

Lynda Pidgeon

In 1509 Jane, Lady Strange paid for her father's memorial brass to be placed over his tomb in Hillingdon parish church. Depicted on the tomb beside her father was her mother Jacquetta Wydevile and between them a small image of Jane herself. This paper explores her illustrious ancestry, the choices that could have been made for the burial of her father, and offers an explanation for the choice of Hillingdon and a brass.

In St. John's Church, Hillingdon there is a memorial brass to John, Lord Strange and his wife Jacquetta Wydevile (Fig. 1). Tucked between them is the small image of their only surviving child Jane, Lady Strange (d. 1514).¹ This brass is a rare survival of a memorial to a member of either family as most were probably destroyed during the Reformation. All that remains of the tomb of Jacquetta's grandfather, Richard Wydevile, is the indent of his brass at All Saints, Maidstone, Kent, which was close to his manor of the Mote (Fig. 2).² Richard's father John is buried in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Grafton, Northamptonshire, on the family's principal manor. They were also patrons of Grafton Hermitage, a small Augustinian house which was given to the Augustinian Abbey of St. James in Northampton by Thomas Wydevile in his will made in 1437. There is no evidence that the hermitage was used for family burials but they used St. James' as a family burial place. In his will made in 1490, Sir Richard Wydevile, third earl Rivers, requested burial in St. James', in a 'place made



Fig. 2. Drawing of tomb of Richard Wydevile, All Saints, Maidstone, Kent.

ready there'. There are no other surviving memorials of the Le Strange family, although there are some indications that they were buried in religious houses. It is therefore particularly striking that John, Lord Strange was buried in a parish church: most of the medieval nobility were interred in a family mausoleum established in monasteries and religious houses. This article seeks to understand why John was buried in Hillingdon church and what dynastic events influenced this.

1 The name Joan or Jane is the female version of John. While Jane is often referred to as Joan, I have used Jane as this is how she was named in her will.

2 H.L. Smith, 'Notes of Brasses Formerly Existing in Dover Castle, Maidstone and Ashford Churches (From

the Surrenden Collection), *Archaeologia Cantiana*, I (1858), between pp. 178-9. This illustrates a drawing of the brass from the Surrenden MSS. I am grateful to Derrick Chivers for this reference.



*Fig. 3. John, Lord Strange and Jacquetta Wydevile, Hillingdon, Middlesex (M.S.I).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Major restoration work on the church, mostly carried out in the nineteenth century, means that all that now survives of John's memorial is the brass on its marble slab, placed against the wall at the west end of the south aisle (Fig. 3). The brass, which measures 1815 x 787 mm, is embedded on a 100 mm thick marble slab.³ Once placed in its marble slab it would have been slightly larger, there is a chamfered edge along the top which has been removed from the remaining three sides. Placed on top of a table tomb it would have dominated the space in the chancel. Weever's transcription of the inscription gives John's death as 15 October 17 Edward IV (1477).⁴ Either he made an error or the date given on the tomb was wrong. John died on 16 October, 19 Edward IV (1479).⁵ John is depicted in armour 'contemporary with the date of engraving', his wife beside him. They stand on a grassy mound and between them is the small image of Jane, about 210 mm high. Part of the canopy and supporting column is missing. The embattled super canopy and lower dexter side shaft are also missing.⁶ The brass is thought to be a product of the early London G workshop and is one of four 'of the greatest brasses of the early Tudor period', the most notable being that of William, Viscount Beaumont (d. 1507) at Wivenhoe, Essex. The figure of John, Lord Strange is 'well engraved, and a convincing

representation of armour, though the centrally hung tasset is peculiar'.⁷ Given the similarity of design to the Beaumont brass, the Le Strange brass looks as though the engraver made the mistake of engraving the mail skirt into the area that should have depicted two hanging tassets.

Fortunately, a number of antiquarians recorded the tomb, which put together, provide more information about his monument and its original location within the church. Bishop John Rawlinson wrote a brief description of the tomb when he visited Hillingdon on 15 April 1718, noting that it was 'a fair marble tomb of three foot & nine inches high, and two foot five inches wide, and in length six feet & ten inches, in the middle of the chancel'.⁸ Gough writing in 1796 copies much of Weever but does provide more detail on the brass and its location:

In the chancel just before the rails ... lies a slab which once lay on an altar tomb ... On it under a double canopy with roses in the pediments and purfled finials is the figure of a knight, bareheaded, in strait hair, plate armour, mail gorget and skirts, sword hanging down at left side, hands bare and elevated. By his side a lady in the veil headdress, mantle and kirtle, furred cuff. Between them a small figure of their only daughter and heir habited like her mother but in a different headdress.⁹

3 H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex Part 17: Hillingdon', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 27 (1976), pp. 257-70.

4 J. Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1767), p. 299.

5 Cameron suggests that the depiction of Jacquetta was emphasised in the inscription because John had married a second wife. He quotes an entry in the patent rolls dated 26 February 1481 which mentions Anne, 'late the wife of the said John'; she is also mentioned in connection with Roger Kynaston (*Cal. Pat. R. 1476-85*, p. 218). This must be a misreading of the entry or a scribal error; Jacquetta was still alive at this date and John had pre-deceased her. However, Jacquetta was dead by 1509 when the

tomb was ordered, and was presumably buried elsewhere, but Jane wished her parents to be commemorated together.

6 Cameron, 'Brasses of Middlesex', p. 257.

7 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, vol. 1 (1977), p. 157. I am grateful to Derrick Chivers for this reference.

8 B.J. Enright, 'Rawlinson's Proposed History of Middlesex, 1717-1720', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 19 (1958), pp. 44-51; Bod. Lib. MS Rawl., D.896 ff. 2, 3. I am grateful to Derrick Chivers for this reference.

9 R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols, (London, 1786-96), II, pt. 3, p. 370.

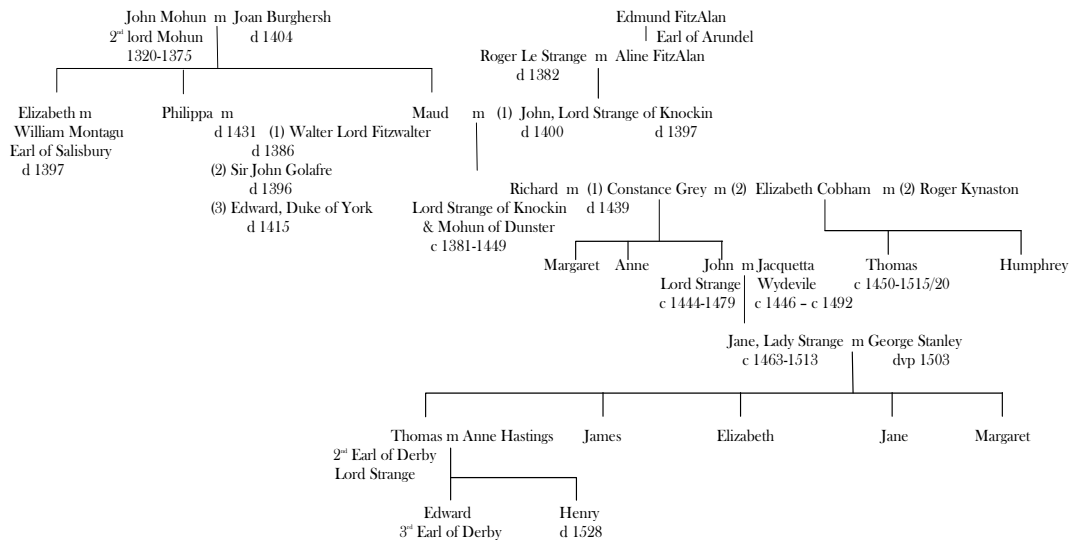


Fig. 4. The Le Strange Family.

The tomb had been destroyed between the visits of Rawlinson and Gough, although the brass appears to have remained in the same position in the chancel, but embedded in the floor.¹⁰ Neither Rawlinson nor Weever described the actual tomb, and there is no heraldry on the brass, which was presumably displayed on the sides of the tomb. Jane was unlikely to have missed the opportunity to demonstrate the heraldry of the Le Strange family, of which she was the last representative, or her relationship to the royal family, which was clearly set out in the inscription. The inscription which once surrounded the brass was recorded by Weever in 1631:

Sub hac Tumba jacet nobilis Johannes dominus le Strange, dominus de Knocking, Mohun, Wasset, Warnell et Lacy, et dominus de Colham, una cum pictura Jagnette, quondam uxoris sue que quidem

Jagnetta fuit soror Elizabethae regine Anglie quondam uxoris regis Edwardi quarti qui quidem Johannes obiit xv die Octobris Anno regni regis Ed. quarti xvii quam quidem tumbam Johanna domina le Strange, una cum pictura Jagnette ex sumptibus suis propriis fieri fecit MCCCCCIX

(Beneath this tomb lies the noble John, Lord le Strange, lord of Knocking, Mohun, Wasset, Warnell and Lacy, and lord of Colham, with a picture of his wife Jacquetta, which Jacquetta was the sister of Elizabeth queen of England, the wife of Edward IV. The said John died the fifteenth day of October in the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward IV. The which tomb, with a picture of Jacquetta, Joan, Lady Strange had made at her own expense 1509).

¹⁰ In his talk to the MBS meeting at Hillingdon on 12 April 2014, Derrick Chivers suggested the tomb may have been destroyed in 1743 when the Earl of Uxbridge's monument was installed, or 1775 when the Carr monument was repaired.

The inscription makes it clear that John was buried beneath the tomb, but also notes that Jacquetta, ‘sister of Elizabeth, one time queen of England’, was only pictured on it.¹¹ Where Jacquetta is actually buried is unknown. While Weever’s account provides some history of the Le Strange family, he gives no description of the tomb.

Why then was a tomb made for John, Lord Strange in the parish church at Hillingdon thirty years after his death? This can best be explained by a combination of the sharp decline in the fortunes of the Le Strange family and the paternal devotion of his daughter Jane. The Le Strange family has been called one of ‘the greatest [families] never to receive an earldom’, whereas the Wydeviles came to prominence following the marriage of Elizabeth, Jacquetta’s eldest sister, to Edward IV (Fig. 4).¹² The Wydevile family have since suffered from a poor reputation, due, in part, to their portrayal by the chronicler ‘pseudo Worcester’, who continually emphasised the ‘displeasure’ of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick with the family and the many marriages arranged for them by Edward IV.¹³ As the Wydevile family fortunes rose, any greatness that the Le Strange family may have had appears to have waned in the fifteenth century. A male heir was vital to the survival of any great family in the middle ages, and while many families failed through lack of a male heir, others could be brought down by having an heir that was a minor.

Both fates befell the Le Strange family. Both John and his father Richard were minors when their fathers died, and their mothers both made unfortunate marriages which damaged the family estate. By the time he died in 1479 John had substantial debts which were still being paid by his grandson in the sixteenth century. Before examining John and Jacquetta it is therefore relevant to look at John’s parents and grandparents, because it was during this time that the family’s fortunes began to decline and it fell into debt.

John’s grandfather, another John, died on 28 July 1397, leaving as his only heir his son Richard, a minor aged sixteen. His mother, Maud, married Sir Nicholas Hauberk soon after but died in September 1400. Events suggest that Hauberk, who was granted custody of Richard and his lands in February 1401, took advantage of a widow with a young heir.¹⁴ He was reluctant to give up the lands and profits, keeping them until 1404 beyond Richard’s coming of age and damaging Richard’s income in the process.¹⁵ It was also at this time that Richard discovered he was a less wealthy heir than was expected. When Richard finally succeeded as Lord Mohun of Dunster in 1431 on the death of his last surviving aunt, the only property to go with the title was the manors of Codecombe, Somerset, and Whichford, Warwickshire.¹⁶ Richard had married Joan, also known as Constance, daughter of Lord le Grey by 9 October 1408.¹⁷ In 1416/17 they became

11 Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, II, pt. 3, p. 370. Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 193. W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses* (Upminster, 1979), pp. 115-16.

12 C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1996), p. 64.

13 *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*, ed., J. Stevenson, 2 vols, Rolls Series 22 (London, 1861), II, pt. 2, pp. 783-8.

14 TNA, SC8/116/5773.

15 *Cal. Inq. p.m. 1399-1405*, p. 320.

16 *Cal. Fine R. 1413-22*, pp. 183-4.

17 H. Le Strange, *Le Strange Records* (London, 1916), p. 340. A papal dispensation was required because they were related within the forbidden degrees, but it is unclear which Lord Grey was her father.

involved in a costly dispute over precedence when going into church which resulted in the death of Thomas Petwardyn.¹⁸ The incident cost Le Strange 1,000 marks in damages.¹⁹ Such a large fine only added to their financial problems and Richard had to mortgage some of his manors to help meet his debts. Following Constance's death in 1439 Richard married Elizabeth Cobham, daughter of Sir Richard Cobham of Sterborough Castle.²⁰ In November 1446 and January 1447 Richard and Elizabeth re-confirmed the arrangements made on his mortgaged manors.²¹ It therefore seems that they were still in debt, although a more pressing need to secure the future of the mortgaged properties may have been the birth of Richard's son and heir John in May 1444.

Richard died in August 1449, and his five-year-old son John succeeded him as eighth Lord Strange of Knockin and fourth Lord Mohun of Dunster. The family had their second minority in two generations, though there is no evidence that John's wardship had been granted to anyone. John was married to Jacquetta Wydevile, a child of four (b. c. 1446) by 27 March 1450 when his mother Elizabeth enfeoffed the manor of Middleton, Oxfordshire, to feoffees for the benefit of John and Jacquetta, 'his wife' and their heirs.²² Failing to learn from what had happened

during her own husband's minority, Elizabeth quickly found a second husband, Roger Kynaston of Middle and Hordley, Shropshire. Their son Thomas was born shortly before she died on 11 February 1454. John's wardship was then granted to John Sutton, Lord Dudley.²³ A member of the royal household, he enjoyed the patronage of Henry VI, Roger had acquired Middle Castle, Shropshire, through his marriage to Elizabeth, which had been her jointure, and he retained possession of it against the rights of her heir John.²⁴

The relationship between John and his step-father Roger Kynaston was far from amicable. On 21 September 1462 aged eighteen John was given licence to enter into his possessions, being 'nearly of full age', but Kynaston still held Middle Castle in November 1466.²⁵ Although John successfully petitioned the king for Kynaston's arrest in 1467 it is unclear if he was ever caught or forced to make redress.²⁶

John's estates were encumbered with his father's debts.²⁷ Their lands in the Marches had been subjected to attack during periods of political unrest and much of the property was devalued. The depredations of Kynaston and Hauberk had further depleted John's annual income. Between 1463 and 1469 John was being pursued for debts.²⁸ In June 1470 he

18 *A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483* (Llanerch, 1995), p. 105. M.J. Bennett, 'John Audelay, Life Records and Heaven's Ladder', in *My Wyl and My Wrytyng: Essays on John the Blind Audelay*, ed., S. Fein, (Kalamazoo, 2009), pp. 33-6 provides more detail on the case.

19 Bennett, 'John Audelay', pp. 30-53.

20 Bennett, 'John Audelay', pp. 45-6.

21 TNA, CP25/1/191/28 no. 28 available at <www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk> (accessed 4 July, 2014); *Cal. Pat. R. 1446-52*, p. 62.

22 *Cal. Pat. R. 1446-52*, pp. 311-12.

23 *Cal. Fine R. 1452-61*, p. 82. This was amended on 18 July to include payment of £10 which Dudley

had agreed with the treasurer (*Cal. Fine R. 1452-61*, pp. 85-6).

24 W. Burson, 'The Kynaston Family', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, series 2, 6, pp. 209-15. After Elizabeth Le Strange's death he married Elizabeth Grey, sister of Richard Grey, lord Powis; they had a son Humphrey.

25 *Cal. Pat. R. 1461-67*, p. 200; Burson, 'Kynaston Family', p. 212.

26 TNA, PRO, SC8/141/7009.

27 Le Strange, *Le Strange Records*, p. 344.

28 *Cal. Close R. 1461-68*, pp. 247, 251; *Cal. Close R. 1468-76*, pp. 87, 98.

covered these debts by granting the income from two water mills and a house in Denham, Buckinghamshire, to his debtors but still had outstanding debts.²⁹ By 1475 the situation Le Strange found himself in was getting desperate and it was the queen who finally stepped in and came to his aid. In February 1475 the properties which had been used by John to pay his debts were enfeoffed to members of the queen's inner circle, including her sons Richard, duke of York and Thomas Grey, and her brother, Anthony Wydevile. This included the property in Denham, Buckinghamshire, as well as the manor of Colham with its attached lands in Uxbridge and Hillingdon, Middlesex. It was agreed the feoffees would receive £40 a year from the properties for fifteen years, which they would then disperse to John's creditors. John's total debt now amounted to £592 18s. 10d.³⁰

With a settlement in place for their debts John and Jacquetta made provision for their souls. Given their straitened circumstances it is not surprising that they turned to the abbot of Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire. The Le Stranges had been generous benefactors of the abbey in the late thirteenth century which led to them being considered as founders.³¹ In 1342 Roger Le Strange had granted the abbey the advowson of Hanmer church, Shropshire, in return for a perpetual chantry for prayers for himself and his family.³² It would appear that there was a question over the validity of this grant; therefore,

John confirmed what his ancestor had given, in return for the same benefits from the abbot. On 1 December 1476 Abbot John Ludlow established a chantry in the abbey for John and his wife. During their lives 'a canon appointed by the abbot' would say a daily mass for them at St Anne's altar and after their deaths 'requiem mass would be celebrated every Wednesday, and a special collect, *Placebo* and *Dirge* said daily for the souls' of John, Jacquetta, his parents Richard and Elizabeth and Richard's first wife Constance. John and Jacquetta would be 'prayed for in all abbey services during their lives' and their anniversaries observed 'like the founder's'.³³ The agreement reinforced the abbey's right to Hanmer and cost John and Jacquetta nothing, but it did confirm their rights to the prayers which had been established for the founders.

John died in October 1479, leaving as his heir his only child Jane. If he made a will, it does not survive. Within a year Jane was married to George Stanley, son of Thomas Stanley, later earl of Derby.³⁴ We do not know when Jacquetta died, and again we have no will. She was dead by 4 Aug 1492 when an inquisition was taken following the death of her brother Richard, third earl Rivers (d. 6 March 1491). His heirs are listed as his sister Katherine and the surviving children of his deceased sisters. Jane wife of George, Lord Strange, 'daughter of Jacquetta, another sister', was listed as aged fifteen plus.³⁵

29 *Cal. Close R. 1468-76*, p. 123; TNA, C131/239/4, C131/73/2, C131/242/7, C241/254/68 and C241/258/49.

30 *Cal. Close R. 1468-76*, pp. 381-2.

31 *The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed., U. Rees, (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 10, 13; VCH, *Shropshire*, II, pp. 62-70. They had given valuable grants to the abbey since the reign of Henry II.

32 *Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed., Rees, pp. 109-110.

There appears to have been a dispute between the abbot and Richard Le Strange in 1414 when Richard presented the priest to Hanmer. The court case, pursued by the abbot to prove his right to present, found in his favour.

33 *Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed., Rees, pp. 101-4.

34 Le Strange, *Le Strange Records*, pp. 346-7.

35 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, vol. I, no. 681.

According to the inscription on the brass, Jane arranged for a tomb to be made for her father in 1509. With no surviving will for John we cannot know his wishes. There were a number of religious establishments associated with the Le Strange family where he could have chosen to be buried. Although he had renewed the Le Strange chantry at Haughmond, there is no evidence to suggest he wanted to establish his tomb there as well. From Jane's will we learn that the Le Strange family also had family mausoleums in religious houses in Bicester and Shrewsbury, so there were a number of options available to him. Like Jane, he may have requested burial close to where he died. This would have had a practical benefit as lack of money would have precluded the expensive carriage of his body for burial elsewhere. Lack of money may also explain why a tomb was not made for him until 1509, some thirty years after his death.

Hillingdon parish church had the advantage of being part of the Le Strange manor of Colham and was located close to the London to Oxford main road, and therefore had easy access to both their Bicester estates and to London.³⁶ According to John Leland, writing in May 1542 when he visited Uxbridge, 'the Erle of Darby's house stondith on the hither side of this stream (i.e. Colebrook) about a mile above the bridge'.³⁷ The house Leland saw must have been rebuilt for the Le Strange family at some time after 1449, when it was described as beyond repair.³⁸ We know that John was at Colham in October 1478 from a letter he wrote

to William Stonor.³⁹ Therefore, it is likely that he died on his manor at Colham, Middlesex, hence his burial in the local parish church of St. John rather than one of the religious houses which were close to his manors at Bicester and Shrewsbury.

In her will made on 6 July 1513 Jane requested burial if 'it please my maker to sende for me here or in these p[ar]ties in Hillingdon church by my lorde my Fadre'. If she died at Bicester then she wished to be buried in 'my monastery of my Towne of Burcetor' beside her grandfather, if in the marches of Wales, then amongst her ancestors in the friary at Shrewsbury.⁴⁰ Which friary in Shrewsbury is not stated, but her executors and family would have known which one she meant. In the nineteenth century part of a monumental shaft was discovered in Castle Street, Shrewsbury, inscribed with a memorial to a Le Strange.⁴¹ The nearest friary to Castle Street was the Dominicans, but there is no hint in her will of a particular association with a friary in Shrewsbury. She did however leave 20s. yearly to the Franciscans in London to sing mass and say prayers for her for twenty years, which suggests a preference for them. In addition, she left 40s. for the four orders of friars in London to pray for her. She also provided for prayers in the parish church of Hillingdon for the souls of her father, mother, husband and herself for twenty years.⁴²

36 VCH, *A History of the County of Middlesex*, IV, pp. 55-69; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol4/pp55-69> (accessed 16 May 2015).

37 *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed., L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols, (London, 1907-10), I, pp. 107-8.

38 VCH, *Middlesex*, IV, pp. 69-75; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol4/pp69-75> (accessed 22 March 2014).

39 E. Noble, *The World of the Stonors: A Gentry Society* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 102.

40 TNA, PROB 11/17/536.

41 N. Baker, *Shrewsbury: An Archaeological Assessment of an English Border Town* (Exeter, 2010), p. 189.

42 TNA, PROB 11/17/536.



Fig. 5. *Jane, Lady Strange, Hillingdon, Middlesex (M.S.I).*
(photo.: © Lynda Pidgeon)

Jane seems to have taken great care over her parents' memorial, and if she was not buried with her father, she is represented beside him, just as her mother was (Fig. 5). Jane showed no desire to be buried with her husband, George Stanley, who was buried in St. James Garlickhythe, London, close to his mother, Eleanor Neville.⁴³ The Stanley's had a family mausoleum at Burscough Priory in Lancashire, where Thomas Stanley, first earl of Derby was buried, and this is where

43 Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 193.

44 *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed., N.H. Nicolas, 2 vols, (London, 1826), II, pp. 589-90.

Jane's eldest son, Thomas the second earl, wished to be buried if he died in the county. If not, he wished to be buried at Syon Abbey or the college of Ashridge in Buckinghamshire. Thomas died at Colham in May 1521 and was buried at Syon.⁴⁴ There is only one memorial in Hillingdon church to a member of the Stanley family. This is to Henry, Jane's grandson who died on 29 June 1528. The surviving heraldry on his brass gives an idea of what Jane might have included on her father's tomb (Figs. 6-7). While three of the quarters on Henry's shield represent the Stanleys, the fourth relates to his grandmother's family. This quarter is itself quartered, Quarterly (1) and (4) Gules two lions passant Argent for Le Strange, (2) Argent a fess and canton Gules, Wydevile and (3) Or a cross engrailed Sable, Mohun.⁴⁵



Fig. 6. *Henry Stanley, 1528, Hillingdon, Middlesex (M.S.II).*
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

45 *Drawings of Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs by the Waller Brothers 1837-44*, ed., R. Hutchinson (London, 2001), p. 38. Henry also featured as Brass of the Month in May 2014, <http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/brassofthemothmay2014.html> (accessed 25 May 2015).



*Fig. 7. Henry Stanley, 1528, Hillingdon, Middlesex (M.S.II).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

The brass was probably in the chancel, but as with the Le Strange tomb, was moved when the chancel was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, and placed against the south wall.⁴⁶

Jane's will indicates those places where she generally resided, and probably reflects a pattern established by her parents. Knockin had been the traditional family home, although the circumstances of life in the Marches may have made Bicester and Colham more congenial. The manors had been in the family since at least 1335/36 when they were inherited from Eubulo Le Strange.⁴⁷ The places where the family lived reflect the sites of their burial, and Jane's repeated desire was to be buried, 'amongt myn auncestours', the place only being contingent upon where she died.⁴⁸ The choice of St. John's for her father's burial therefore becomes less unusual.

It has been suggested that the 'nobleman often preferred to be the major figure, in death as in life, within a small world revolving around himself ...' where the parish church 'was overwhelmed by his eternal presence'.⁴⁹ In John's case it was also the pragmatic choice based on closeness to where he died. Jane ensured that he had a suitable memorial. Its position in the chancel would have made the tomb highly visible to everyone entering the church. Burial in his parish church would have elicited the prayers of his local community, friends and servants, and is where Jane would have expected her father to be ever present, thus giving him an importance in death which he does not appear to have had

in life. What is clear from Jane's will is that she was very proud of her paternal family. Her primary concern was to ensure burial amongst members of her family, wherever she happened to die, thus being forever associated with them in death. Her Le Strange ancestors were of greater importance to her than her husband's family. Jane was conscious of the fact that she was the last of the Le Strange line, and this was how she wished to be remembered. The Le Strange family and their important connections would undoubtedly have been commemorated around the tomb of her father, in the same way that the Stanleys ensured their family connections were recorded on Henry's tomb, which included both of Jane's parents in the heraldry. Even if this aspect of her father's tomb is now missing, it is still recorded in the church thanks to the family she had no desire to be associated with in her own death.⁵⁰

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Christian Steer, for his advice on a first draft of this paper and suggestions for useful references, and also for his help in clarifying my thoughts over the possible burial place of Jane Le Strange. I am particularly grateful to Derrick Chivers, who not only allowed me to see his notes on the brasses at Hillingdon, but very kindly took the time to meet with me and discuss his findings and the relevant references.

The editor is most grateful to The Richard III and Yorkist History Trust for a generous grant towards the publication costs of this article.

46 Cameron, 'Brasses of Middlesex', p. 260.

47 D. Lysons, *An Historical Account of Those Parishes in the County of Middlesex which are not described in the Environs of London* (London, 1800), pp. 150-61.

48 TNA, PROB 11/17/536.

49 J.T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise* (London, 1972), p. 85.

50 A more detailed history of the Le Strange family and the Wydevile marriage has been published in L. Pidgeon, 'A Strange Marriage: Jacquetta Wydevile and John Lord Strange', *The Ricardian*, 27 (2017), pp. 131-46.



*Fig. 1. Man in armour, c. 1415, probably Sir Robert Tye, 1415, Barsham, Suffolk (M.S.I).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Conservation of Brasses, 2016

William Lack

This is the thirty-second report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with all the brasses described below and for funding the facsimile at Wormingford; to Hugh Guilford for assistance at Orkney; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Banham, Barsham, New Buckenham, Darlton (now East Drayton), Gloucester St. Nicholas, Houghton-le-Spring, West Monkton, Rettendon, Wormingford and Wroxham; the Heritage Lottery Fund at Chalgrove; Hugh Guilford at Orkney; and the Monumental Brass Society at Banham, Barsham, New Buckenham, Chalgrove, Darlton (now East Drayton), Gloucester St. Nicholas, Houghton-le-Spring, Rettendon, Wormingford and Wroxham. Collaboration with Skillington Workshop has continued apace and during the year I worked with Simon Nadin¹ on the brasses at Barsham, Chalgrove, Darlton (now East Drayton), Houghton-le-Spring, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Rettendon and Winchester, St. Cross. The work at Barsham and Corpus Christi College, Oxford was carried out under the trading name of *Skillington Lack*.

Banham, Norfolk

LSW.I. Inscription to Dame Elizabeth Mowntney, prioress [of Thetford Nunnery,

1518]. This Suffolk 3a three-line inscription in English (100 x 375 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 4 rivets) was removed from its original non-Purbeck slab (1725 x 650 mm) at the east end of the nave on 29 May 2015. It had been re-secured with conventional screws and was vulnerable to theft. The unusual positioning of the rivet-holes and the corresponding holes in the slab show that it has always been laid so as to be read from the west instead of from the east as is more customary. The slab also contains an indent for a lost inscription in Latin (80 x 325 mm).² After cleaning and re-rivetting, the brass was relaid in the slab on 21 April 2016.

Barsham, Suffolk

M.S.I. Man in armour, c. 1415, probably Sir Robert Tye, 1415 (Fig. 1).³ This London D brass now comprises the effigy of a man in armour (1228 x 355 mm, engraved on two plates originally joined at the knees with chamfered lead butt-joints: upper 862 x 323 mm, thickness 3.7 mm; lower 366 x 355 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 14 rivets). The effigy is mutilated with the upper portion of the dexter knee missing and the sword having lost its hilt, pommel, sinister end of the cross-guard and majority of the scabbard. The Purbeck marble slab (2135 x 970 mm) has worn indents for the lost marginal inscription (1925 x 740 x 40 mm) with quadrilobes at each corner (155 x 155 mm).

1 S. Nadin, 'Commissioning a new Brass Workshop', *MBS Bulletin*, 134 (Feb. 2017), pp. 670-1.

2 The two inscriptions were removed from Thetford after the dissolution. Both plates were recorded as loose in c. 1730 and c. 1735 by the antiquaries Thomas Martin and Francis Blomefield (F. Blomefield,

History of Norfolk, 11 vols, (London, 1805-11), I, p. 357). The Latin inscription is now lost.

3 Since 1845 at least four attributions have been proposed and these have been described and discussed in J. Blatchly, 'The Much-Attributed Military Brass at Barsham, Suffolk', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, (1986), pp. 39-43.

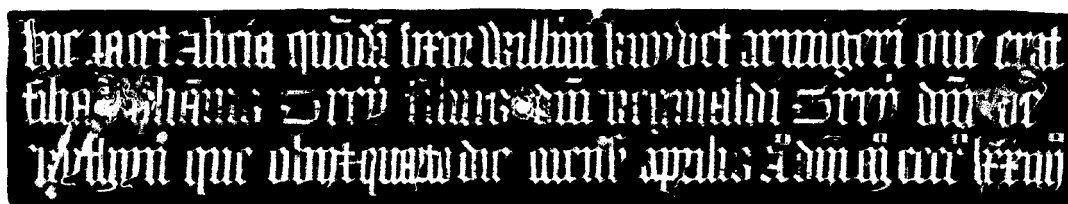


Fig. 2. Inscription to Alice Knyvet, 1474,
New Buckenham, Norfolk (LSW.I).
(rubbing: © Martin Stuchfield)

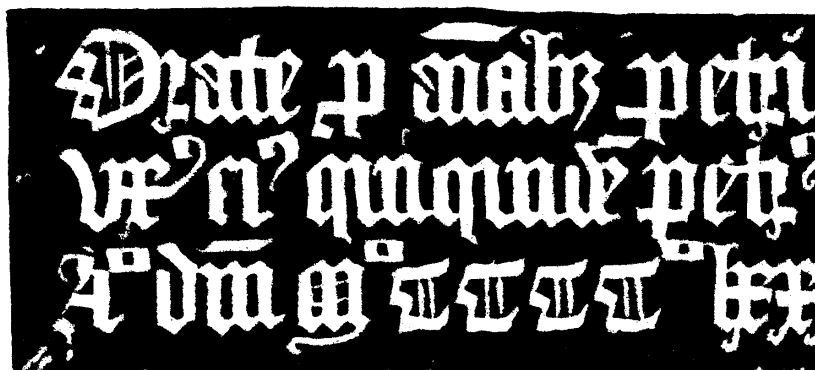


Fig. 3. Inscription to Peter ———, 147–, and wife, 148–,
New Buckenham, Norfolk (LSW.II).
(rubbing: © Martin Stuchfield)

After cleaning, a fracture in the dagger handle was repaired and new rivets were fitted, including one soldered to the reverse close to the broken sword handle. The brass was relaid in the slab on 14 December 2016.

New Buckenham, Norfolk

The two brasses, which had been loose in the vestry since at least 1902, were collected on 18 May 2015.⁴

LSW.I. Inscription to Alice Knyvet, 1474 (Fig. 2). This Norwich 1 inscription in three Latin lines (78 x 419 mm, thickness 1.3 mm,

3 rivets) had become considerably corroded. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted and it was rebated into a cedar board.

LSW.II. Inscription to Peter ———, 147–, and wife, 148– (Fig. 3). This mutilated Norwich 2 inscription in three Latin lines (now 85 x 189 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 1 rivet) was also considerably corroded. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted and it was rebated into the cedar board with LSW.I.

The board was mounted on the north chancel wall on 24 May 2016.

⁴ M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 326.

Chalgrove, Oxfordshire⁵

The three brasses were removed from their slabs in the chancel on 5 May 2015.

M.S.I. Inscription to Thomas Barentyn, 1402. This mutilated London A one-line French inscription (originally 33 x 480 mm, now 33 x 359 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 2 rivets) was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (1810 x 800 mm) at the west end of the chancel.⁶ There is an indent for a shield (150 x 125 mm). After cleaning, a fracture was repaired and new rivets fitted.

M.S.II. Reginald Barantyn, 1441. This London D brass comprises a male effigy in armour (905 x 240 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 8 rivets), a two-line Latin inscription (72 x 515 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets) and a shield 137 x 115 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 1 rivet). The effigy and inscription were removed from the original Purbeck slab (1690 x 750 mm) to the south-east of M.S.I and the shield from the dexter indent below the inscription of M.S.III. The three plates had been secured with conventional woodscrews which were easily removable, leaving them vulnerable to theft, and they were also poorly bedded. Part of the sword guard and the lower part of the sword blade are lost, with these losses occurring before 1897. The shield indent of this brass is virtually effaced. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted, including one back-soldered to the lower part of the sword hilt.

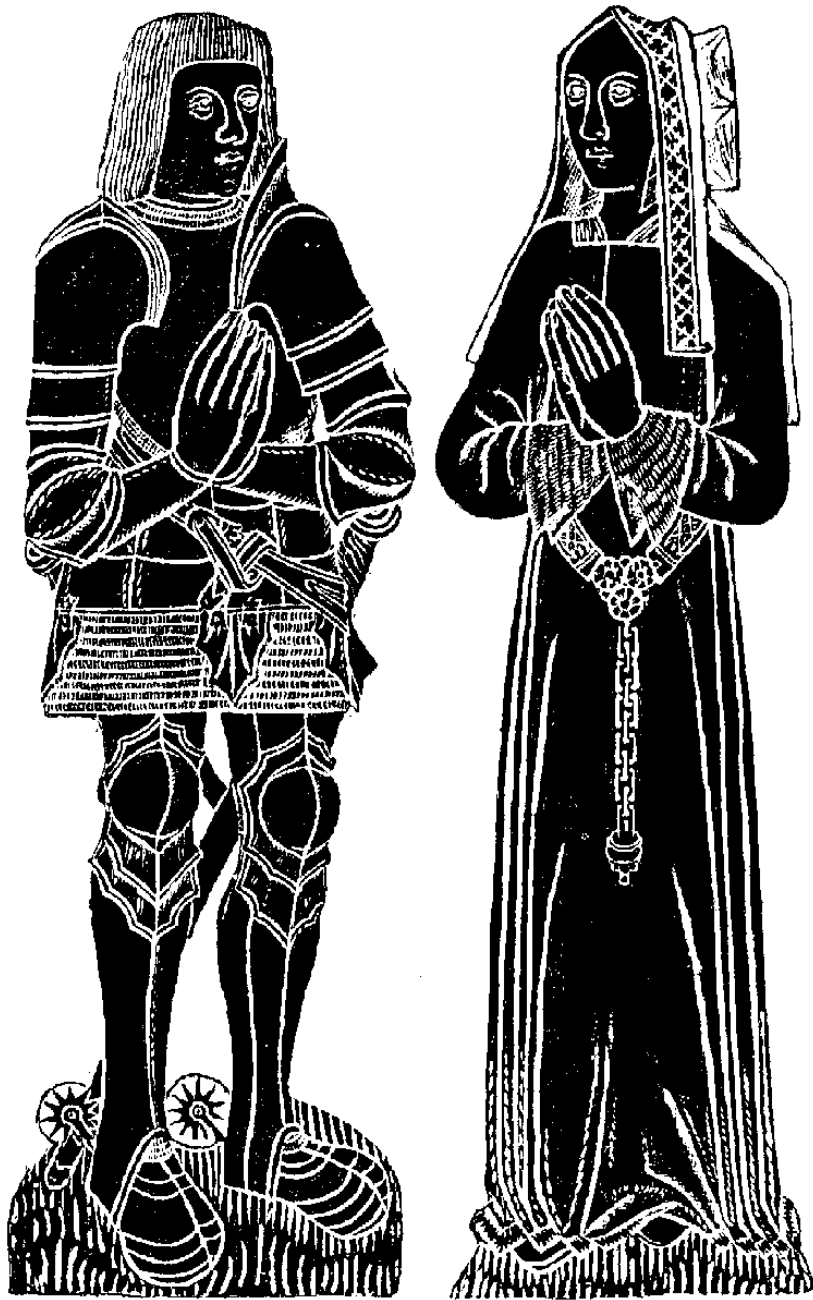
M.S.III. Drew Barantyn, 14[53], and wives Joan and Dame Beatrix. This London D brass, comprising a male effigy in armour (877 x 250 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 7 rivets), two very similar female effigies (dexter 825 x 242 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 4 rivets; sinister female effigy 820 x 280 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 4 rivets) and a mutilated three-line inscription in Latin (originally 72 x c. 600 mm, now 72 x 515 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 4 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (c. 1735 x c. 975 mm) which lies immediately north of M.S.II. Three shields below the inscription are lost. The three effigies had been secured with conventional screws and the whole brass was vulnerable and inadequately bedded. The male effigy is very similar to that of M.S.II and the lower part of the sword blade is also broken off and lost. The lower sinister corner of the sinister female effigy is broken off and lost. The losses to the male effigy, sinister female effigy, the inscription and the centre and dexter shields had occurred by 1897 and the sinister shield was still extant when the brass was recorded by Mill Stephenson in 1926.⁷ After cleaning, new rivets were fitted, including one back-soldered to the lower part of the sword hilt.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 1-2 August 2016. The shield indent of M.S.II was re-cut and the shield relaid in it.

5 A major conservation and refurbishment project was carried out in 2015-6. The brasses were described by H.G. de Watteville, 'Monumental Brasses in the Churches of Stadhampton, Chalgrove and Waterperry, Oxon.', *Journal of the Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society*, I, pt. 3 (1897), pp. 113-5, and described and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, eds, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, III, pt. 4 (2016), p. 28 and pl. XXXIII, and III, pt. 5 (September 2017).

6 The brass was already mutilated when noted by the antiquary Richard Rawlinson c. 1720 and was recorded by de Watteville in 1897 as locked in the vestry. It was incorrectly relaid in an inverted position in the slab c. 1900.

7 The brass is shown more complete in *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, III, pt. 5, pl. XLIII (September 2017).



*Fig 4. Man in armour and wife, c. 1510,
formerly Darlton, now East Drayton, Nottinghamshire (M.S.I).
(rubbing: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Darlington, Nottinghamshire

(now in East Drayton, Nottinghamshire)

M.S.I. Man in armour and wife, c. 1510 (Fig. 4).⁸ This London F brass, now comprising a male effigy in armour (709 x 219 mm, thickness 4.9 mm, 6 rivets) and a female effigy (708 x 202 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 4 rivets), was removed from a modern slab on the north wall of the sanctuary on 25 June 2015. It had been secured with conventional screws and was heavily corroded. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted and the brass rebated into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the chancel of the neighbouring church of St. Peter's, East Drayton on 16 June 2016.

Gloucester, St Nicholas⁹

Two brasses were removed on 27 July 1989.

LSW.I. Inscription to Nicholas Sancky, 1589, and wife Elizabeth. This twelve-line English inscription in Roman Capitals (230 x 476 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 9 rivets) had been mounted in a modern wooden frame on the north wall at the east end of the south aisle and secured with two woodscrews set in plastic rawlpugs. The plate, which had become heavily corroded, is slightly mutilated with a triangular sliver being lost at the upper right-hand end. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted and the brass rebated into a cedar board.

LSW.III. Inscription recording commencement of Ellis's Sunday Morning Lectures in 1795. This brass (385 x 514 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 4 rivets) was removed from its original slab (495 x 620 mm) immediately above LSW.IV (an inscription to Mary Smith, 1805) high on the north wall of the north aisle. It had become seriously corroded and illegible from the ground. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted.

The brasses were returned to the church on 31 August 2016. The board carrying LSW.I was mounted on the north wall at the east end of the south aisle slightly east of the previous position, and LSW.III was reset in its slab.

Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham

LSW.I. Margery Belassis, 1587.¹⁰ This Southwark (Cure style) brass, comprising a rectangular plate engraved with a kneeling female effigy, eight sons, four daughters and a shield bearing the arms of Belassis impaling Errington (330 x 514 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 16 rivets), and a separate plate engraved with an eight-line English inscription in Roman capitals (205 x 517 mm, thickness 1.1 mm, 9 rivets), was removed from the original slab (650 x 615 mm, thickness 50-80 mm) on the east wall of the south transept on 20 July 2007.¹¹ After cleaning, new rivets were fitted to the

8 The brass was described and illustrated in J.P. Briscoe and H.E. Field, *The Monumental Brasses of Nottinghamshire* (Nottingham, 1904), p. 28. It was probably removed from the floor during the rebuilding of the nave and chancel in 1863, and Briscoe and Field recorded the two plates as mounted in separate wooden frames hanging in the tower. They were still in this position when recorded by Mill Stephenson in 1926 (*Monumental Brasses*, p. 394) but were moved to the chancel soon after this (Mill Stephenson, *Appendix to a List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1938), p. 787).

9 Vested in the Churches Conservation Trust. The work on the brass has been described in R. Tucker, 'Historic Brasses return to Gloucester', *MBS Bulletin*, 133 (Oct. 2016), p. 654.

10 Described and illustrated in H.L. Robson, 'Church Brasses', *Antiquities of Sunderland*, XXI (1954), p. 18 and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of County Durham* (2002), p. 105.

11 The brass and slab were originally located on the south wall of the chancel.

brass. The slab was removed from the church by Skillington Workshop on 25 February 2015. After conservation the brass was relaid in the slab on 24 September 2015. The brass and slab were reset on the east wall of the south transept by Skillington Workshop on 21 June 2016.

Marston Morteyne, Bedfordshire

LSW.VII. Thomas Tylecote and wife Elizabeth, 1898. This brass, comprising an inscription with three shields beneath a plain cross (1215 x 607 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 9 back-soldered rivets), was collected on 3 August 2016. It was formerly mounted on the north chancel wall but in 2010 was found to be very loose and was removed and kept locked away. After cleaning and fitting new rivets, the brass was mounted on a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north chancel wall on 21 December 2016.

West Monkton, Somerset

M.S.I. Henry Abyndon, 1438.¹² This London E half-effigy in academical dress (340 x 199 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 6 rivets) was discovered in the church safe in 1944 and nothing of its history is known before that date. It had been screwed to a board together with a modern commemorative plate and the board affixed to the north wall of the chancel. The board was removed from the wall and delivered to me on 23 June 2015. After cleaning and fitting new rivets the effigy

was rebated into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the chancel on 5 April 2016.

The Italianate Chapel, Orkney

Inscription recording the gift of Stations of the Cross by Domenico and Maria Chiochetti in 1964.¹³ The chapel was built during World War II by Italian prisoners-of-war on Lamb Holm overlooking Scapa Flow. The inscription (153 x 255 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 4 rivets) was removed in April 2015 and delivered to me later in the year. It was considerably corroded and had been secured with Araldite. After cleaning and re-rivetting, the plate was lacquered and mounted on a cedar board. The board was mounted in its original location in June 2016.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College¹⁴

M.S.I. John Claimond, first president of the college, 1537, engraved *c.* 1530.¹⁵ This London F brass, comprising a slightly mutilated emaciated effigy in shroud (originally 800 x 181 mm, now 740 x 181 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 9 rivets), a renewed inscription in twelve Latin verses (206 x 708 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 8 rivets) and a mutilated marginal inscription in Latin (originally 1762 x 914 x 40 mm overall, the largest of 4 surviving fillets 831 x 39 mm, mean thickness 1.3 mm, 17 rivets), was removed from the original Purbeck slab (1990 x 1140 mm) on the south side of the ante-chapel on 25 August 2016. The mutilated original

12 Described and illustrated in A.B. Connor, 'A Half-Effigy in Academical Dress, recently found at West Monkton, Somerset' in *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 2 (1944), pp. 67-9, and in *Monumental Brasses in Somerset* (1970), pp. 360-2 (originally published in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 90 (1953), pp. 79-81).

13 H. and S. Guilford, 'A Memorial Brass on Orkney', *MBS Bulletin*, 135 (June 2017), p. 687.

14 A major refurbishment of the chapel was carried out in 2016.

15 The brass was described and both inscriptions illustrated by G.O. Smith in *Journal of the Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society*, II, pt. 1 (1900), pp. 40-2, and illustrated together with the original inscription in *Oxford Portfolio*, II, pt. 5 (1955), pl. 4. Three fillets of the marginal inscription had become loose and were relaid by H.F. Owen Evans in 1953 ('Notes from Oxford', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 3 (1954), pp. 201-2). He also cleaned and re-framed the original inscription.

inscription (201 x 706 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 10 rivets) in a glass frame was collected from the bursar's office. After repairing fractures, new rivets were fitted including one back-soldered at the top of the effigy. The original inscription was rebated into a cedar board. On 6 October 2016 the brass was relaid in the slab and the board delivered to the Clerk of Works to be mounted by the maintenance team.

Rettendon, Essex

LSW.I. Civilian and two wives, *c.* 1535.¹⁶ This London G (Fermer) style brass now comprises a mutilated civilian effigy (originally 443 x 125 mm, now 429 x 125 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 3 rivets), two female effigies (left-hand 421 x 116 mm, thickness 1.3 mm; right-hand 426 x 112 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 3 rivets) and a group of three sons and four daughters (112 x 185 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 2 rivets). It had been re-secured with conventional screws in the original Purbeck slab (1675 x 635 mm) which is now against the north wall of the north chapel. The slab has indents for four lost plates, another female effigy from the extreme right of the composition (420 x *c.* 110 mm), an inscription (115 x *c.* 570 mm), a group of ?2 sons and 2 daughters (112 x 95 mm) and a group of ?4 sons and 4 daughters (112 x 190 mm).¹⁷ After cleaning and rejoining a detached plate

to the left-hand female effigy, new rivets were fitted. The brass was reset in the slab on 22 April 2016.

Winchester, St. Cross

LSW.I. John de Campeden, [1382].¹⁸ This fine London B brass, comprising an effigy in cope (1809 x 554 mm), two shields and a marginal inscription (2338 x 869 x 37 mm overall), lies in the original Purbeck slab before the high altar. During the Society's visit on 16 July 2016 it was noted that the upper left-hand Evangelistic symbol (101 x 102 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 1 rivet) was lying loose in its indent. This was delivered to me on 26 July 2016. After cleaning, a crack was repaired and a new rivet fitted. The symbol was relaid in the slab on 21 December 2016.

Wormingford, Essex¹⁹

Two brasses were removed from their slabs on 2 May 2016.

LSW.I. Civilian in livery collar, *c.* 1460; possibly Thomas Bowden, 1460. This London B brass, now comprising a civilian effigy (557 x 169 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 3 rivets), was removed from the original Purbeck marble slab (1840 x 755 mm) which has indents for a lost inscription (70 x 510 mm) and two shields (140 x 110 mm). After cleaning, new rivets were fitted.

16 The brass was described and illustrated by Miller Christy, W.W. Porteous and E. Bertram Smith in their series 'Some Interesting Essex Brasses' in 1903 (*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, N.S., IX, pp. 32-5 and in *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore (London, 2003), pp. 370-1.

17 The slab has highly decorated cable-moulded edges and is of late-12th century origin. It was formerly situated in the chancel and was probably moved to its present location during the restoration of the church in 1898. When the antiquary Samuel Dale visited the church in 1719 he found the brass complete apart from the inscription (*Essex Record Office*, T/P 195/9).

18 The brass was described by C.J.P. Cave in his series 'List of Hampshire Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VI, pt. 6 (1912), pp. 143-4, and illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, IV, pl. 7, reprinted pl. 60, and more recently in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, (Suffolk, 2007), p. 372.

19 The brasses have been described and illustrated by R. Miller Christy, G. Montagu Benton and W.W. Porteous in *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, N.S., XVI (1910), pp. 283-7, and *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, pp. 837-9. The brasses lay in their original slabs which had been moved from the nave floor at the restoration in *c.* 1870 and set into the west wall of the tower.



Fig. 6. Palimpsest reverse of lady after cleaning, Wormingford, Essex (LSW.I).
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

LSW.II. Civilian and 2 wives, *c.* 1580. This London G brass, now comprising a civilian effigy (408 x 145 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 3 rivets) and two female effigies (left-hand 385 x 145 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets); right-hand 388 x 147 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets), was removed from the

original Purbeck slab (1460 x 655 mm) which has indents for a lost inscription (170 x 565 mm) and two groups of children (left-hand 170 x 145 mm; right-hand 175 x 130 mm). The brass was found to be palimpsest (Fig. 6), the reverses being cut from the effigies of a civilian and wife, part of a large Flemish brass, engraved in *c.* 1540. These link with other palimpsest reverses found at Bradfield, Essex, *c.* 1579; Harrow, Middlesex, 1579; Rufford, Lancashire, *c.* 1579; and Thames Ditton, Surrey, 1580.²⁰ The dating on the Harrow and Thames Ditton brasses suggests that LSW.II was engraved *c.* 1580, rather than *c.* 1590 as thought by earlier writers. After cleaning, resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses were produced and mounted on a cedar board together with a commemorative plate. A small separate plate was rejoined to the left-hand female effigy and new rivets were fitted to the brass.

During the autumn the slabs had been re-positioned at the west end of the north aisle by Suffolk Masonry Services. On 15 December 2016 the brasses were reset in their slabs and the board was mounted on the north wall of the north aisle.

Wroxham, Norfolk

LSW.I. Inscription to Margaret Booth, 1632. This locally-engraved three-line English inscription with six English verses (185 x 394 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 6 rivets), removed from the sedilia on the south wall of the chancel during a recent redecoration, was collected on 10 June 2015. After cleaning and re-riveting, the brass was rebated into a cedar board and this was mounted on the south wall of the chancel on 24 May 2016.

²⁰ A reconstruction is illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, eds, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, III, pt. 5 (September 2017), pl. XLV.

Reviews

Matthew Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2016); xii + 251 pp., 10 colour plates, 2 maps, 10 b/w images; 2 appendices, bibliography and index; £50 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-78327-115-3

Matthew Ward's study of the medieval livery collar is the first book-length study of one of the most instantly recognisable symbols of the fifteenth century elite, and at its core is an extensive database of livery collars depicted on church monuments in England, Wales and Ireland up to c. 1540. The book is divided into two parts. Part I is a survey of what livery collars were, how they were used and what they symbolised. Part II offers detailed studies of two groupings of livery collars on church monuments in Derbyshire and Wales. There are two useful appendices, one of which consists of ten genealogies of the families discussed in part II. The second is a list of livery collars on church monuments in England, Wales and Ireland based on the list compiled by C.E.J. Smith which Ward has added to and revised.

Livery collars began their political and cultural life as potent symbols of John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV in the form of the collar of 'SS'. They were distributed at the same time as livery badges, which were greatly opposed by parliament at the end of the fourteenth century. Badges were abolished amid great controversy, but livery collars became a legally protected symbol of the crown. As they became a part of the establishment they lost their controversial nature, and instead became important and easily recognisable symbols of allegiance and royal service. During the Wars of the Roses, with the establishment of the house of York on the throne, the royal livery collar changed and was formed of suns and roses. After the

defeat of Richard III and Henry VII's accession to the throne, the collar of 'SS' was restored. Depictions of these different livery collars on tombs, as demonstrated by Ward, reflected these dynastic changes through the fifteenth century.

At the outset of his book, Ward lays out his ambition to offer a revisionist study of the livery collar in both its forms, primarily using art-historical analysis of surviving tombs. He asserts that other (mainly documentary) evidence will be secondary to the study. However, it is clear as the book progresses that despite these intentions, much of the study relies heavily on evidence other than depictions on tombs. Indeed, it is not until the end of both chapters 4 and 5 that there is any detailed analysis of the depictions on the tombs themselves; it is rather awkwardly and abruptly placed there and does not add much to the anticipated discussion. This is a rather disappointing end to the promise offered by part I of the book, which lays out interesting and exciting theoretical analysis of the role of the livery collar. Indeed, part I is the highlight of the book, especially chapters 1 and 2 which give a full account of the livery collar that has not been attempted at this length before.

Of enormous value in this study is the appended list of church monuments (pp. 199-212). Unfortunately, Ward's analysis of the full list is confined to seven pages at the beginning of chapter 4, and it demonstrates that there is much more that could and should be said about this topic. The two maps that show the spread of tombs depicting livery collars are likewise under-utilised (the key to map 2, frustratingly abbreviated, is explained on p. 102). For example, the London tombs are not mentioned despite their equal share of Lancastrian and Yorkist collars. What do

they show about the relationship between a donor and recipient when local ties are not in play, as they are in county settings? And how do counties and regions dominated by Lancastrian SS collars, such as Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire fit into the picture? It is also notable that the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire have been studiously avoided. Understandably the entire database could not be covered in intricate detail, and hopefully there will be a greater use of it in future work by Ward.

A dedicated study of the medieval livery collar has been long in the waiting. Ward's approach is admirable in its ambition, but it was perhaps not necessary to make strident statements about his approach in the Introduction when the first half of the book is somewhat

conservative in its approach, and in the second half is quite prosaic. Ward's conclusions are also quite muted: definite conclusions cannot be made about the motivations behind the depictions of livery collars on tombs, and that these symbols of allegiance may just have been indicators that local gentry simply wanted to be depicted as part of a group and were not overt political symbols of allegiance. However, for those interested in the book primarily for its analysis of church monuments and the livery collars depicted on them, this is a useful volume and is a positive contribution to the study of medieval tombs. Overall, there is certainly much more that can be explored by Matthew Ward that will hopefully address some of the questions raised by opening this debate.

Jessica Lutkin

Monumental Brass Society

(Founded in 1887 as the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors)

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Cover: Detail of the brass to Henry Abyndon, S.T.P., rector, 1438, West Monkton, Somerset (M.S.I.).
(*photo.*: © *Martin Stuchfield*)

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Bishops, Deans and Canons: Commemorative contexts Across Two Centuries at Exeter Cathedral Paul Cockerham	277
Tis the sheep have paid for all': Merchant Commemoration in Late Medieval Newark John Lee	301
Edward Courtenay and his Brass in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford Nicholas Orme	328
Kateline d'Ault and the Angels: the Brass of Kateline d'Ault (d. 1461) in St. James', Bruges Harriette Peel	333
An Aristocratic Brass in Late Fifteenth-Century England Lynda Pidgeon	358
Conservation of Brasses, 2016 William Lack	370
Review	379

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