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The Cantilupe Indent in Hereford Cathedral and its Associated Shrine Base Re-assessed

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The indent for the lost brass to St Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282) in Hereford Cathedral is the earliest known full-length figure brass to a cleric in England. Moreover, it is the only known brass to have formed part of a shrine base. The construction consists of two main stone elements with the indent of the brass sandwiched between. Above the slab, the upper stone element has open arcading through which the indent can be glimpsed. Interpreting this artefact presents many problems, a particular issue not previously addressed being why such a cutting-edge and high-status brass should have been more or less hidden from view when one might have expected it to be positioned so that the full composition would be visible in all its glory. The most recent assessments of the shrine base have concluded that the entire construction is of a single date, which would imply that the brass was always in the hidden position it is now. However, close examination of the Purbeck marble slab in which the brass was set during the disassembly and conservation of the shrine base in 1997–8 suggests otherwise.

The indent for the lost brass to St Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282) in Hereford Cathedral has received considerable attention over the years, most significantly in an article in our *Transactions* by Revd E.G. Benson (Fig 1).[1] Cantilupe's brass is of considerable importance for two reasons. It is the earliest known full-length figure brass to a cleric in England and the only one to a canonised saint; there is documentary evidence for it being in place by 1287. Secondly, it is the only known brass to have formed part of a shrine base. The construction, as it is now, consists of two main elements. The lower portion is a rectangular box-like structure. This is topped by the monumental brass which has been stripped over time of virtually all of its inlay, leaving empty indents. According to the church notes of Silas Taylor (1624–78), an English army officer of the Parliamentarian forces and antiquary, the brass was stolen *c.*1652.[2] A single piece of the brass survives and there are two modern replicas which are stored in the Cathedral Archives but not currently on display.[3] Above the slab, the second element has open arcading on three sides into which pilgrims stuck their head or perhaps a limb so as to get as close to the saint as possible (Fig. 2). Interpreting this artefact presents many problems, a particular issue not previously addressed being why such a cutting-edge and high-status brass should have been more or less hidden from view. Pilgrims who put their head between two stone elements could glimpse a portion of the brass, but the full composition is not easily visible in all its glory. The most recent assessments of the shrine base concluded that the entire construction is of a single date, which would imply that the brass was always in the position it is now.[4] However, as will be explained, close examination of the Purbeck marble slab in which the brass was set during the disassembly and conservation of the shrine base in 1997–8 suggests otherwise.

1 E.G. Benson, 'The Cantilupe indent in Hereford Cathedral', *MBS Trans*, 8:7 (1949), 322–9. See also G. Marshall, 'The Shrine of St Thomas de Cantelupe in Hereford Cathedral', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 27 (1930), 34–50.

2 Benson, 'Cantilupe indent in Hereford Cathedral', 324, quoting Taylor's notes (BL, Harley MS 6726).

3 Hereford Cathedral Archives [HCA], 2006/44 (original), 2006/45–6 (replicas).

4 N. Coldstream, 'Report on the Shrine of Saint Thomas Cantilupe', unpublished report, 1998, 9 (available in Hereford Cathedral Library). This interpretation is supported in J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2012), 238.

Fig. 1. The shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral. (photo © Martin Stuchfield)

St Thomas Cantilupe and his canonisation

Thomas de Cantilupe was descended from one of the great baronial families of the thirteenth century.[5] He was born at Hambleden, Buckinghamshire, a son of William de Cantilupe (d. 1251), second baron Cantilupe, an Anglo-Norman magnate and a minister of King John, and his wife, Millicent, countess of Evreux. His kin were well-placed and influential.[6] His uncle, Walter de Cantilupe, was bishop of Worcester from 1236 until his death in 1266. Thomas had four brothers. The eldest, William, third baron Cantilupe, married the co-heiress Eva Braose, thus acquiring the significant Marcher lordship

5 R.C. Finucane, 'Cantilupe, Thomas de [St Thomas of Hereford] (*c.* 1220–82)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/4570 accessed 14 October 2019; Marshall, 'Shrine of St Thomas de Cantelupe, 34–5; D.A.L. Maclean, 'The Cantelupe Family', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 36 (1958), 5–21; N.D.S. Martin, 'The Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford', in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey, (Hereford, 1982), 15–19; M. Tavinor and I. Bass, *Thomas de Cantilupe. 700 Years a Saint* (Eardisley, 2020).

6 For a full account of the Cantilupe family see M. Julian-Jones, 'The Land of the Raven and the Wolf: Family Power and Strategy in the Welsh March, 1199–*c.*1300: Corbets and Cantilupes' (unpub. PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 2015).

Fig. 2. View of the indent through the end arcades of the shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral. (photo © Hereford Cathedral Archives)

of Abergavenny.[7] Hugh was archdeacon of Gloucester and John and Nicholas, were knights. Thomas also had two sisters: Agnes was the wife of Robert, baron St John of Basing, Hampshire, and Juliana married the Marcher lord Sir Robert II de Tregoz of Ewyas Harold. Through these relationships Thomas had significant links with Marcher lords. Thomas's grandfather, William I de Cantilupe, had also been constable of Hereford castle and was active in the March for King John, so the family circle was slowly moving their centre of influence from Buckinghamshire to the Marches. Thomas was educated in Paris and Orléans, became a teacher of canon law at Oxford, and was twice chancellor of the university. Furthermore, he became a canon of Hereford Cathedral and prebendary of Preston in 1274 and was chosen by Bishop John le Breton, as his preferred successor. Hugh le Barber later related in 1307 that the bishop had invited Thomas to preach in the cathedral.[8] In 1275 he was elected bishop of Hereford.

7 Eva's stone effigy survives at Abergavenny Priory.

8 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015, f. 23. I am grateful to Ian Bass for this reference.

Thomas was a trusted adviser of Edward I, attending royal councils at Windsor Castle and at Westminster. Even when differing from the king's opinions, he did not forfeit his favour, although he had significant disputes with others. After the death in 1279 of Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury, a friend of Cantilupe's and formerly his confessor, a series of disputes arose between him and John Pecham, the new archbishop.[9] The disagreements culminated in Peckham excommunicating Cantilupe, who proceeded to Rome to pursue the matter with the pope. He died at Ferento, near Orvieto, Italy, on 25 August 1282.

Cantilupe's flesh was separated from his bones by being boiled; the flesh was buried in the Premonstratensian house of San Severo, Italy.[10] His bones were sent back to Hereford, while his heart was buried at the monastery of the Order of the Bonhommes at Ashridge, Hertfordshire, only twenty-six miles from his birthplace at Hambleden. Archbishop Pecham continued to treat Cantilupe as an excommunicate, despite receiving news that he made his last confession and received absolution before his death and was therefore no longer excommunicate, and refused to allow the burial of the bishop's bones in Hereford Cathedral. Only after further negotiations in which the dead man's cause was upheld by Edmund, earl of Cornwall (who had arranged the burial of Cantilupe's heart at Ashridge), did Pecham, in January 1283, give permission for his burial at Hereford.[11]

Cantilupe's bones were first buried 'before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary' in the Lady Chapel at the east end of the cathedral.[12] This description of the location of his original tomb strongly indicates that it was somewhere in the centre of the chapel, away from the walls and close to the altar. As discussed below, this has important implications for the form of the monument. Cantilupe's bones were only later moved to the north transept where the shrine base is today. On the assumption that he was buried close to the sanctuary of the Lady Chapel, the emergence of a cult would have seriously interrupted the important Marian liturgy; the two were not really compatible. This may have prompted the plan to move the tomb elsewhere.

The driving force behind Cantilupe's canonisation was his great friend and successor as bishop, Richard Swinfield, although the goal was not achieved until 1320, three years after Swinfield's death.[13] Cantilupe appears to have been an exemplary bishop in both spiritual and secular affairs. His charities were large and his private life blameless. He frequently visited his diocese, correcting offenders and discharging other episcopal duties. Yet there were probably additional factors behind the decision to petition the pope to have him canonised, related to Swinfield's desire to enhance and glorify the cathedral and the see of Hereford. By the mid thirteenth century many of the secular and monastic cathedrals of England possessed a major shrine which acted as a focus

9 Finucane, 'Cantilupe, Thomas de'; R.C. Finucane, 'The Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Jancey, 103–24.

10 Martin, 'Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford, 19; Finucane, 'Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', 118.

11 Finucane, 'Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', 122–3.

12 The indulgence granted by the bishop of Worcester in 1285 clearly identifies Cantilupe's original burial place as 'before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in that [the cathedral] church (*cujus corpus altari beate Marie virginis in dicto monasterio ecclesiastice traditur sepulture*)' (HCA, 1420, printed in *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W.W. Capes (Hereford, 1908), 153).

13 Marshall, 'Shrine of St Thomas de Cantelupe', 35, 39; P.H. Daly, 'The Process of Canonization in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Jancey, 125–35.

for pilgrimage and was a valued source of income. Hereford, along with Exeter, Salisbury and Wells, was an exception and needed to find a way to compete.

Swinfield had started his campaign by 7 October 1286, when he wrote to his proctors at the papal curia to enquire whether any miracles were occurring at San Severo, where Cantilupe's flesh was buried.[14] The first formal moves to canonise Cantilupe, however, were not made until 1305, when Pope Clement V appointed commissioners, who began their inquiry in 1307. Although the campaign for Cantilupe to achieve the status of a saint took more than thirty years, an unofficial cult grew up within a few years of his death, before his translation to the north transept on 3 April 1287. The earliest recorded miracle took place on 28 March 1287, when Edith, wife of Robert the Ironmonger of Hereford, after a vision of the saint, was cured of strange behaviour to her family and neighbours and blaspheming against God.[15] Presumably the move was planned before this first recorded miracle; there may well have been others which were not formally recorded. Further miracles took place. At the mass celebrating the translation, John de Massington of Bosbury, who had been blind for two years, invoked Cantilupe's aid to restore his sight and was immediately cured of his blindness.[16] This was followed by a flood of miracles.[17] By the end of Holy week 1287 five recoveries from blindness were witnessed; by May seventy-one miracles had occurred and the figure had risen to 166 by April 1288.[18] By 1300 there were more than 250 miracles and in 1312 the number had reached just over 460.[19]

What caused Cantilupe's cult to evolve from merely local devotion and *fama sanctitatis* was the support it received from both other bishops and the noble families of the Welsh Marches. Pilgrims were encouraged to visit his place of burial by the granting of indulgences from 1285 onwards: by the bishop of Worcester in January 1285, the bishops of Carlisle and London in May that year, and the bishop of Rochester in 1286.[20] After Cantilupe's remains were translated in 1287, other indulgences followed, granted by the bishops of Salisbury in 1289 and Ossory in 1291.[21] It was not for another twenty years that any further indulgences were granted; in 1318 one was granted by the archbishop of Dublin.[22] Finally, following Cantilupe's canonisation, several more were granted between 1320 and 1328.[23]

Building works were also integral to Swinfield's campaign to enhance Hereford cathedral's status by providing a focus for pilgrimage. The inner north porch and the nave aisle, which formed the main entrance to the north transept for pilgrims visiting the shrine, was

14 Daly, 'Process of Canonization', 127–33.
15 Transcribed and translated in the appendix. I am most grateful to Ian Bass and Nicholas Rogers for providing transcripts and translations of selected miracle accounts.
16 Oxford, Exeter College, MS 158 f. 1v.
17 I. Bass, 'Miraculous Marches: The Cult of St Thomas de Cantilupe and the Mortimers', *Journal of the Mortimer History Society*, 1 (2017), 1–18; R.C. Finucane, 'Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their Miracles' in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Jancey, 137–44.
18 I. Bass, 'St Thomas de Cantilupe. Hereford's 3rd Patron Saint', in Tavinor and Bass, *Thomas Cantilupe 700 Years a Saint*, 63–83, at 77.
19 Ian Bass has calculated the total to be 461 (Bass, 'Hereford's 3rd Patron Saint', 76).
20 HCA, 1420, 1422–4. These and subsequent indulgences are calendared in B.G. Charles and H.D. Emanuel, 'A Calendar of the Earlier Hereford Cathedral Muniments', 6 vols, 1955, NRA 6168, available online through The National Archives website.
21 HCA, 1425–6.
22 HCA, 1427.
23 HCA, 1429–30, 1428, 1431, 1421, 1432–3.

constructed *c.*1288–90. The second stage was the north choir aisle and north-east transept, which made a ceremonial route for pilgrims with retrospective effigies of former bishops in arched recesses lining the way.[24] Other planning took place while the hoped-for canonisation was being pursued. The first stage of this was the translation, in the presence of King Edward I, of Cantilupe's remains from the Lady Chapel to the shrine base in the north transept on Holy Thursday, 3 April 1287. This is the surviving structure which we see today. There is a distinct sense of Swinfield taking a gamble in moving the tomb. It all happened in a short space of time, between 1286, when the first overtures to the papacy were made and the move at Easter 1287 in the presence of the king, which itself suggests considerable planning. It is interesting to note that the 1287 ceremony was treated as a translation, a very particular stage in the development of a cult, one that presupposes sanctity.

The accounts of the miracles attributed to Thomas Cantilupe, though recorded twenty years after the events in 1307, provide important evidence about his tomb and its transfer to the north transept. Rather than rely on the abridged seventeenth-century texts printed in the *Acta Sanctorum Octobris 1*, which contain errors, new transcripts and translations of some of the miracles in two manuscripts, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4015 and Exeter College Oxford, MS 158, have been used; they have been made by Nicholas Rogers and are given in full in the appendix. Two miracle accounts show that the shrine base as we see it now was in place by 1287. First, John de Holaurton of Holme Lacy, who had a swelling on his neck the size of an egg was cured after placing his head within one of the niches of the upper element of the shrine base. A witness, John Alkyn, saw de Holaurton going up to the tomb of St Thomas and offering a penny and then placing his head within a stone aperture adjoining the tomb and attached to it.[25] Evidence that the brass was in place in the shrine base by November 1287 is derived from the miracle cure of John Tregoz (co-incidentally Thomas's nephew). On 28 November, while keeping a night-time prayer vigil next to the shrine base, he had a vision of the bishop. As he knelt before the tomb it seemed to him that a bishop robed in white vestments and with a white mitre on his head, but of small dimensions not more than a foot in length, who was preceded by a small white cross, emerged from under the brass image that was set upon Cantilupe's sarcophagus.[26] Nicholas Rogers points out that the terminology used in the Tregoz miracle '*imagine ærea*' is noteworthy. It indicates that the witness (or the writer) was unfamiliar with the manufacture of monumental brasses, and assumed it was a cast effigy, more evidence that at this date monumental brasses were a novelty.

Crucial to understanding what type of structure was described in the contemporary sources is the use of specific key terms, although some were used interchangeably and therefore

24 R. Morris, 'The Remodelling of the Hereford Aisles', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series, 37 (1974), 21–39; P.E. Morgan 'The Effect of the Pilgrim Cult of St Thomas Cantilupe on Hereford Cathedral', in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Jancey, 145–52; P. Lindley, 'Retrospective Effigies, the Past and Lies', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead, (Leeds, 1995), 111–21.

25 Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015 f. 183. See also R. Emmerson, 'St. Thomas Cantilupe's Tomb and Brass of 1287', *Bulletin of the International Society for the Study of Church Monuments*, 2 (1980), 41–5. Emmerson relied on the miracle accounts printed in *Acta Sanctorum*.

26 Exeter College, MS 158 f. 6v, see appendix.

lack precision. '*Tumulum*' and '*tumbam*' mean 'tomb'; '*tumulo*' is translated as 'to cover with a mound, bury, inter, entomb'; '*foramen*' is 'an opening or aperture'; and '*sarcofagum*' is 'a sarcophagus'.[27] Significantly, at no stage is the term '*feretrum*' (shrine) used to describe the construction in the north transept. Caution is needed here, however, as to whether this was treated at the time as a generic term for shrine including its base or more precisely for a reliquary on top of a base. Linked to these points on terminology is evidence regarding the focus of the indulgences, which illustrate changing viewpoints concerning the tomb/shrine base. The first four, dating from 1285–6, were granted for the benefit of Cantilupe's soul offering relaxation of penance for those who prayed for him. This sort of indulgence was widely granted and does not necessarily imply a saintly life. The next two, granted in 1289 and 1291, were for those visiting his tomb and/or contributing to the fabric and were made after the first translation in 1287, by which time the tomb was becoming a proto-shrine base. From 1320, after the canonisation, indulgences refer to praying to rather than for Cantilupe, with the focus being on the benefit to the pilgrim.

Cantilupe's replacement shrine base

Immediately following Cantilupe's canonisation in 1320 a new shrine was planned for him, although its completion was long delayed.[28] Payment was made in December 1320 to John de Worlygworth, a goldsmith who subsequently worked in Exeter, for making ornaments for the shrine. The following March, Master Adam the Marbler of Corfe and London, who was a major producer of brasses and incised slabs, received £10 in part payment for marble supplied for the shrine (*feretrum*) and in 1321 William Sprot was paid £30 for electrum, a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver, with trace amounts of copper and other metals.[29] Most important of all, Michael the image maker of London was given full payment for fashioning the shrine according to an agreement and also his expenses for coming to Hereford and staying there. In 1321 Edward II announced that he would shortly be present at the second translation, but the ceremony was put off because Swinfield's successor, Bishop Orleton, was out of favour with the king, because of his opposition to the Despenser family. In 1337, however, the outlook improved and payment of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) was made for the construction of the new feretory. Even so, it was not until 1349 that Cantilupe's bones were moved, in the presence of Edward III, to a rich, new shrine in the Lady Chapel, thus returning them to the area where they had first been interred and to a position behind the high altar which was a common location for shrines.

At the Reformation in 1538 the new shrine was despoiled and all traces of it have been lost, apart from 'some of the steps leading to it, worn with the footsteps of the faithful' which were found in the nineteenth century and are in store at the cathedral.[30] Cantilupe's bones were dispersed; some are known to be at Stonyhurst Abbey, others, including his skull, at Downside Abbey, and a fragment is at Belmont

27 *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, prep. R.E. Latham, 17 vols (London, 1975–2013), available online https://logeion.uchicago.edu/ accessed 19 October, 2019.

28 Morgan, 'Effect of the Pilgrim Cult', 150–1.

29 J. Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses before the Black Death: Types, Patterns and Workshops', in *The Earliest English Brasses*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), 133–75, at 168–9.

30 R. Shoesmith, *The Shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. Summary Report*, October 1997, 1. See also G.G. Scott, 'Hereford Cathedral', *Archaeological Journal*, 34 (1872), 239.

Abbey.[31] The shrine base which is the main subject of this paper survived the Reformation virtually unscathed, perhaps because it lacked any relics or any physical indication that it had been the earlier shrine to Cantilupe. Had the later shrine base not been constructed, the brass would not have survived for us to enjoy today.

The shrine base

The construction and decoration of the architectural elements of the shrine base are integral to an assessment of Cantilupe's brass and its place within this structure. It is also important to place the 1287 composition within the context of the design of other late-thirteenth century shrine bases in England and the continuing evolution of the latest designs of episcopal tombs. Both the top and bottom elements of the shrine base have spandrels with beautifully carved foliage decoration (Fig. 1). On the lower tier the foliage is totally naturalistic while that on the upper tier has stiff-stalked leaves. Both groups seem to be based on identifiable leaf forms, albeit somewhat stylised. This is typical of the naturalistic phase of foliage sculpture which prevailed in the second half of the thirteenth century, as famously exemplified in the almost contemporary chapter house of Southwell Minster. It is also seen on the shrine base of St Frideswide at Christchurch, Oxford. However, the upper element at the end of the Hereford tomb facing west has spandrels with stylised 'bubble-foliage' which superseded the foliate forms and which Emmerson dates to the fourteenth century.[32] This is stylistic evidence that the shrine base was disturbed in the fourteenth century, presumably a partial dismantling involving some damage that required the replacement of these two spandrel carvings. The canopy may have actually been made in two sections. The north side of the shrine base has just foliage, but on the south side there is a dog-headed animal and a salamander in the top corners. It is odd that these animals were carved on one side and not on the other.

Shrine bases were still developing in form around the time Cantilupe's was produced, thus a fixed form had yet to be settled upon.[33] One type was flat-topped, with openings, often referred to as 'holy holes', which enabled pilgrims to creep as near as possible to the saint's remains to offer their prayers. Examples include the shrine of St Osmund at Salisbury. The other main type comprised flat slabs mounted on arcades of columns, typified by that of St Frideswide in Christchurch, Oxford, again enabling pilgrims to get close to the saint's relics. The surviving Cantilupe shrine base differs from all others in the country in that none of them has figure sculpture on the base or incorporates a brass. This reinforces the possibility that these elements were originally part of Cantilupe's tomb in the Lady Chapel and then incorporated into a shrine base in the north transept. In this context, it is perhaps significant that the Cantilupe shrine base as built by 1287 was referred to in the cathedral

31 I. Barrett, 'The Relics of St Thomas Cantilupe', in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Jancey, 181–6. W. Smith, *The Use of Hereford: The Sources of a Medieval Diocesan Rite* (Farnham, 2015), Appendix II, 713–18 provides a fuller list.

32 Emmerson, 'St. Thomas Cantilupe's Tomb and Brass', 43.

33 Coldstream, 'Report on the shrine'. For an account of shrine bases generally see N. Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 129 (1976), 15–34. See also J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*; B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998) and M. Tavinor, *Shrines of the Saints in England and Wales* (Norwich, 2016).

records and miracle accounts as a 'tomb' and not a 'shrine'.[34]

The design of the completed shrine base plays upon the flexibility in the design of episcopal tombs. A comparison may be made with the tomb of Bishop Bridport (d. 1262) in Salisbury Cathedral. This consists of a figure, albeit in this case carved in stone, on a tomb chest, surmounted by arcades bearing a superstructure. This latter element with its gables and a pitched roof is distinctly suggestive of a shrine. The same elements can be seen in the fourteenth-century shrine of St Alban at St Albans, Hertfordshire, constructed *c.*1305–8. Some tombs for those who had led holy lives appear to have been deliberately shrine-like in appearance, as if to anticipate canonisation, even though a campaign to do so never materialised; Nigel Saul characterised the intention as 'avowedly propagandist'.[35] This form of tomb design is illustrated, for example, by the tombs of Archbishop Walter de Grey (d. 1255) in York Minster and Bishop Peter Aigueblanche (d. 1268) in Hereford, as well as that of Giles de Bridport mentioned above. None was actually considered holy, but the form took on the role of a mark of status. Cantilupe's shrine base was located near Aigueblanche's tomb, both tombs having delicate arched and canopied stonework above the effigial representation.

The brass

The indent which forms the middle of the sandwich between the upper and lower elements consists of the full-length figure of a bishop (Figs 3–4).[36] Only one tiny fragment of the inlay remains, the figure of St Ethelbert, king of East Anglia, (d. 794) to whom the cathedral is dedicated (Fig. 5).[37] The bishop is shown holding a crozier in his left hand and making a blessing with his right, a pose which resembles the image on Cantilupe's seal.[38] It appears that the end of his crozier speared a creature at his feet, probably a lupe or wolf, a punning reference to the Cantilupe name. This may also have an interesting ecclesiastical meaning: the subjugation of the wolf reflects the bishop in a Christ-like role of the Good Shepherd protecting his flock from the metaphorical wolf, Satan.[39] Both the brass and the seal are decorated by fleurs-de-lys, taken from the Cantilupe arms which were later incorporated into the diocesan arms; Thomas was the first bishop of Hereford to refer to his family arms on his episcopal seal.[40] All this is set within a canopy under which were inlaid figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Ethelbert. Finally, a marginal inscription ran around the extreme perimeter of the slab, the canopy shafts running parallel and within the marginal inscription. The stylistic details enable us to ascribe the brass to the London workshop whose products are termed the 'Ashford series'.

34 Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 138, 160 quoting entries from the cathedral fabric roll of 1290–1 for receipts from 'the tomb of the blessed Thomas' (HCA, 2368). The miracle accounts of Exeter College, MS 158 consistently use '*tumbam*' (tomb) and on occasion '*sarcofagum*' (sarcophagus) rather than shrine. The will of Dean Aigueblanche (d. 1320) also refers to the 'tomb' (*fabrice tumba post canonization ejusdem*) (*Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. Capes, 195). This reflects the unofficial nature of the cult before 1320.

35 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 176.

36 For an account of the progressive losses of the brass inlay, see P. Heseltine and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Monumental Brasses of Hereford Cathedral* (London, 2005), 9.

37 M. Tavinor, *Ethelbert King and Martyr. Hereford's Patron Saint* (Eardisley, 2020).

38 E. New, 'The Tomb and Seal of John Trillek, Bishop of Hereford: Some Comparative Thoughts', *MBS Trans*, 19:1 (2004), 2–14, at 6–8; M. Julian-Jones, 'Sealing Episcopal Identity: The Bishops of England, 1200–1300', in *Episcopal Power and Local Society in Medieval Europe, 900–1400*, ed. P. Coss, C. Dennis, M. Julian-Jones and A. Silvestri, Medieval Church Studies 38 (Turnhout, 2017), 239–58.

39 Julian-Jones, 'Sealing Episcopal Identity', 246.

40 Julian-Jones, 'Sealing Episcopal Identity', 244–5.

Fig. 3. The indent in the shrine base to St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral.
(photo © Hereford Cathedral Archives)

The earliest surviving brass from this workshop, which also produced incised slabs, is probably that at Ashford, Kent; it commemorates an unknown cleric, probably the predecessor of Robert de Derby who was instituted in 1282.[41] There is no firm documentary evidence as to when it was engraved, but brasses were usually completed with a year of death, especially those commemorating people of modest status such as this one which features just the head of a priest. The Cantilupe brass, which was likely to have been engraved only a year or two later, was a much more elaborate composition.

The 1997–8 conservation of the shrine base

In 1997–8 the shrine base was taken apart, archaeologically recorded and conserved. The assessment was primarily the work of Ron Shoesmith and Nicola Coldstream, although I was brought in to advise on the indent and lost brass. It was intended to publish a major article on the work, but regrettably this did not materialise; the results only being published in brief reports to the Friends of Hereford Cathedral and related items.[42] During this work, the structure was found to have at its base a trimmed and reused cross slab (Figs 6–7). Could this have been the ledger slab which allegedly marked Cantilupe's original burial in the Lady Chapel? The answer is 'no'. It features a simple, expanded-arm cross, a type most commonly produced in the twelfth

41 S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. 60 (London, 1999), 151–5.

42 Full sets of these are held in Hereford cathedral archives. The most important is N. Coldstream, 'The Shrines of St Thomas Cantilupe and their Significance', *The Friends of Hereford Cathedral Sixty-Fifth Annual Report* (Hereford, 1999), 17–25. The cathedral archives also hold several interim reports by Ron Shoesmith. See also Tavinor, *Thomas Cantilupe 700 Years a Saint*, 51.

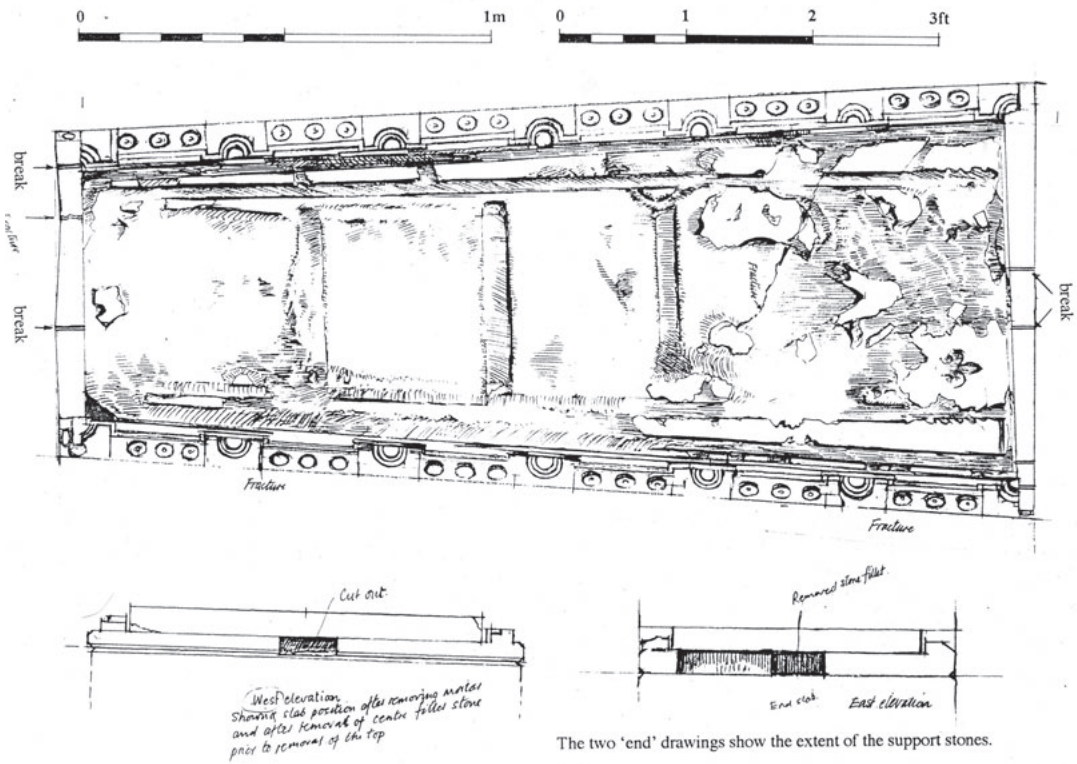

Fig. 4. The indent in the shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral. (drawing © Hereford Cathedral Archives)

century, although a date in the early-thirteenth century cannot be ruled out. This is far too early to have marked Cantilupe's grave.

Miracle accounts provide important evidence about the movement of Cantilupe's tomb from the Lady Chapel to the north transept. They are hard to summarise adequately and the full text and a translation are given in the appendix. The first account, the miracle of Edith, the wife of Robert the Ironmonger, records that on Palm Sunday (30 March) 1287 she went to pray in Saint Mary's chapel at the place in which Thomas's bones were located and from which they were shortly afterwards translated into the tomb in which they were after Easter.[43] This report concerning the preparations for opening of the original burial in St Mary's chapel confirms the timing of the planning for move of Cantilupe's bones to the north transept on 3 April 1287.

The second miracle took place shortly after the first. It concerns the actual removal of Cantilupe's original tomb in the Lady Chapel and specifically details the nature of the coverslab. A witness to the miracle described that the coverslab was heavy, long and wide, 'such as was customary to have placed on the tombs of prelates or nobles'. While those

43 Vat. Lat. 4015, f. 211v, see appendix.

Fig. 5. The brass figure of St Ethelbert from the brass of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral. (photo © Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 6. The trimmed and reused cross slab forming part of the base of the shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral.
(photo © Sally Badham)

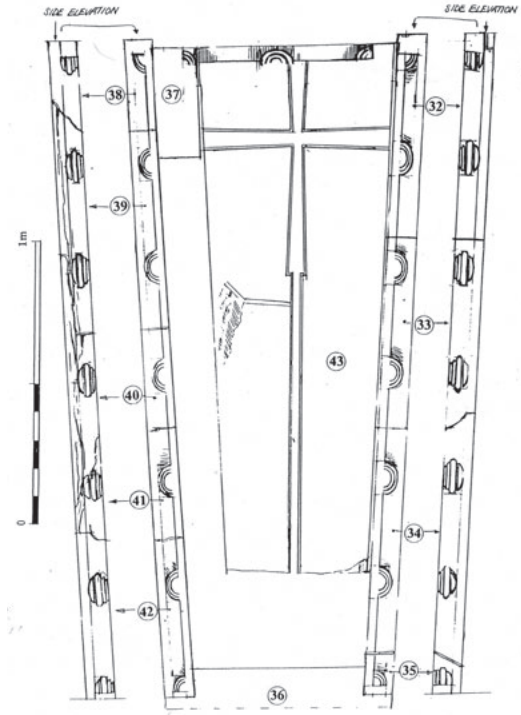

Fig. 7. The trimmed and reused cross slab forming part of the base of the shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral.
(drawing © Hereford Cathedral Archives)

assembled were thinking how to pull back the coverslab, two young squires found that they were able to move the stone sufficiently to partly separate it from the tomb chest and extract the bones with the greatest of ease. Yet after the bones had been taken out and placed in their new home, presumably a reliquary to be placed on top of the stone structure, ten men struggled to move the stone, which had previously been easily moved by two, to its former position.[44] This corroborates that the first tomb was not just set in the floor but was located on top of a tomb chest ('the other hollow stone in which the said bones were resting').

There are thus problems with interpreting this last account as referring to a stone coffin under a ledger slab, as favoured by many authorities on the shrine. The floor of the Lady Chapel is laid immediately above the crypt; for the most part this leaves a void of no more than 228–254 mm deep in which to place a slab and provide a space for the burial of the bones in a coffin.[45] As explained above, Cantilupe's

44 Vat. Lat. 4015, f. 119v, see appendix.

45 Letter copied to Sally Badham from Michael Reardon, cathedral architect, to Ron Shoesmith, cathedral archaeologist, 18 June 1989; Coldstream, 'Shrines of St Thomas Cantilupe and their Significance', 17–25.

bones were first buried 'before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary' in the Lady Chapel at the east end of the cathedral, most likely in the centre of the chapel away from the walls. If a burial of the bones took place here the only likely room for a sub-floor bone casket would have been in the funnel-shaped voids above the columns in the crypt. It is far more likely that Cantilupe's original burial was in a tomb chest located above ground, with a coffin lid on top. It has been argued that this means that his gravestone was replaced in the Lady Chapel.[46] However, this is not necessarily the correct interpretation. The phrase 'its former position' can also be interpreted as meaning on top of the tomb chest in its new location in the north transept.

The 1997–8 conservation gave an unparalleled opportunity for detailed examination and recording of the indent, which I consider throws considerable doubt on the theory that the shrine base was a single-phase construction. When I saw the Purbeck slab removed from the shrine base it was immediately apparent to me that the slab had been trimmed to fit within the red sandstone frame which supports it in the shrine base. The edges and corners were in pristine condition, indicating that the slab had been cut down to fit into the new frame and had not then been subject to wear. On the top and sides a border of about 13 mm was left between the outer side of the fillet inscription and the edge of the slab, compared with 51–76 mm on most other early brasses and indents (Figs 8–9). Even then the slab was evidently too long for the frame, because the bottom edge was trimmed more drastically, right across the indent for the lower edge of the fillet inscription, a vital part of the composition. This part of the top surface is broken but the line of the inner

Fig. 8. Detail of the indent in the shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral, showing trimming to the slab. (photo © Sally Badham)

edge of the indent recess for the fillet can just be seen. One possible explanation of this is that when the slab was ordered from London incorrect measurements might have been given, but this seems implausible. The sides had clearly been professionally cut with a stone saw but left unpolished which would not have been the case had the slab been originally placed on top of a chest tomb. It was surely not originally intended for this position and in 1287 was trimmed to fit in between the upper and lower stone elements of the shrine. As Cantilupe's

46 Coldstream, 'Shrines of St Thomas Cantilupe and their Significance', 23.

Fig. 9. Detail of the indent in the shrine base of St. Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral, showing trimming to the slab. (photo © Sally Badham)

cult developed, within a very few years it was moved to the north transept and converted to a proto-shrine base in the hope that it would enhance the efforts to have him canonised. As noted above, Swinfield moved swiftly to make preparations to support his campaign for Cantilupe's canonisation, including the move and adaptation of the original tomb. The latter was carried out hurriedly and as a result the proto-shrine base was not well-designed and resulted in the Purbeck marble slab being trimmed and the brass being largely hidden from view. It has all the characteristics of a rushed and probably temporary construction.

The inescapable conclusion that the slab was trimmed and the bottom section of the fillet removed before the slab was set in its present position in the shrine base has important consequences for the construction sequence. It provides strong evidence that the lower element of the shrine base was part of Cantilupe's original tomb monument and that the brass was the coverslab referred to in the miracle stories. Both the base and the canopy of the shrine base which rest on the indent are carved from Red Sandstone and were made locally. There may not have been much of a delay between the carving of the two sandstone elements but that the construction sequence had two phases is surely indisputable. It is also very likely that the lower element started out as a tomb chest set up over his original grave in the Lady Chapel with the brass as coverslab. If so, like other examples, it would originally have had a moulded edge which overlapped the edges of

the tomb base by several inches, as found on the brass to Sir Roger de Trumpington (d. 1326) at Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, and this would have had to be trimmed away to fit within the new upper element of the shrine base. Given that this would have happened when the lower part and the brass were moved from the Lady Chapel in 1287, the brass must have been earlier in date, perhaps commissioned not long after Cantilupe's death in 1282. That the shrine base incorporated Cantilupe's original tomb chest and brass as it was set up in the Lady Chapel probably explains why it is so different from other surviving shrine bases.

Interpretation of the structure

On the sides of the rectangular box-like lower element are figures of armed men sitting on plain stone seats with their feet resting on various animals; there are fourteen in total. Differing interpretations of them have been presented by scholars, none of them entirely convincing. There is a tradition that they represent Templars but there is no record of Cantilupe being associated with the order.[47] Marshall suggested that they may have been inspired by soldiers of Christ often shown guarding Easter Sepulchre bases, although most such are later in date.[48] Certainly, it is plausible that the allegorical beasts at their feet may represent fighting sin, as set out in Psalm 91.13, 'thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample underfoot the lion and the dragon'.[49] An early example of such imagery on a monument is the footrest of the effigy to Archbishop Gray (d. 1255) in York Minster. Working on the theory that the entire structure was of one build, dating from before 1287, Nichola Coldstream built on this and interpreted the whole ensemble thus: 'the imagery … is of paradise: the saint, represented in brass, lies within the paradise garden, defended against sin by Christ's battalions'.[50] It might be questioned why a potential saint, 'the Blessed Thomas' required such marked defence against sin but, if the lower chest is part of the original tomb and not designed as a shrine base, her interpretation would be entirely convincing. Yet, if the entire structure was of a single build, why would a costly brass be effectively hidden between the two stone elements? It is more likely that it had been adapted to suit a different function, originally having been a brass which formed part of a monument to a bishop, but subsequently became a shrine to a potential saint. The new evidence cited above supports the argument accepted by most scholars that there were two phases and that the earlier part was the base with the brass atop.

The seated military figures are likely to have been intended to represent specific individuals whose identity would have been indicated by the heraldry on their shields. The charges would have been painted but the detail is long gone, although some traces are shown in a drawing made by Thomas Dingley, *c.*1684 (Fig. 10).[51]

47 Marshall, 'Shrine of St Thomas de Cantelupe', 45; Benson, 'Cantelupe indent', 330.

48 Marshall, 'Shrine of St Thomas de Cantelupe', 45.

49 S. Oosterwijk, 'From Biblical Beast to Faithful Friend: A Short Note on the Iconography of Footrests on Tomb Monuments', in *Our Dogs, Our Selves. Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. L. Gelfand (Leiden and Boston, 2016), 243–60, at 257–8.

50 N. Coldstream, 'The Medieval Tombs and Shrine of Saint Thomas Cantilupe', in *Hereford Cathedral. A History*, ed. G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (London, 2000), 322–30. This interpretation is accepted by Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*, 238, but not by Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 47.

51 T. Dingley, *History from Marble*, ed. J.G. Nichols, 2 vols, Camden Society, old series, 94 and 97 (1867–8), I, clvii. The sketch is somewhat inaccurate. It shows four bays on the end of the lower order, whereas it has only two, as shown in the engraving dated 1796 in R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols in 5 (London, 1786–96), I, pl. viii.

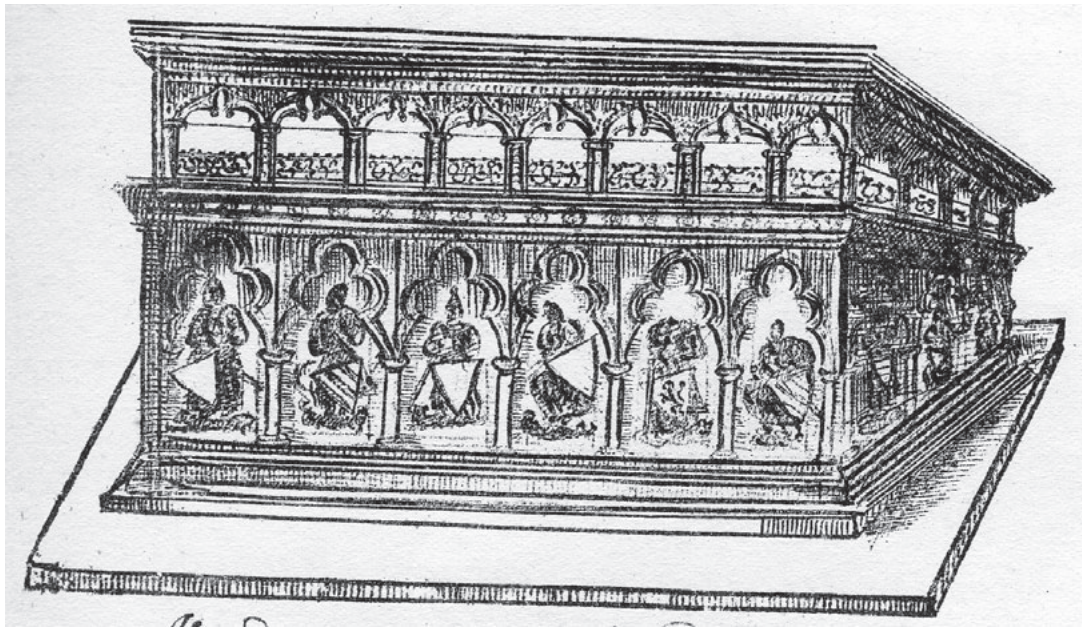

Fig. 10. Drawing by Thomas Dingley of the shrine base of St Thomas Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral, showing heraldry on the shields of the 'weeper' figures.
(T. Dingley, History from Marble, ed. J.G. Nichols, 2 vols, Camden Society, old series, 94 and 97 (1867–8), I, clvii)

Marshall suggested that their attitudes were ones of 'pensiveness and sorrow', while Benson opined that they were 'pictures of his ancestors in their coat armour'.[52] Although Cantilupe came from a distinguished family, the knights are unlikely to be solely weepers, as shown on kinship tombs, as there are no female or clerical figures and we know that both were included among his siblings and other family.[53] Some may have been represented but a related possibility is that the knights could characterise Marcher lords who, being influential in the area and involved in promoting his cult, may well have contributed to the works in the cathedral.[54] It may also be possible that the seated knights represent his own rank as a Marcher lord, since the bishop of Hereford had to provide men in his service to the armies, perhaps in particular in Wales. This display reflected a shift in emphasis of the bishop's earthly duties.[55] An alternative interpretation is that they may represent the knights who held their lands by military service of the diocese of Hereford; the number of tenants corresponds to the number of figures.[56]

The influence of the Cantilupe brass

The new evidence strongly suggests that Bishop Cantilupe was originally memorialised by a form of monument more or less new to

52 Marshall, 'Shrine of St Thomas de Cantelupe', 45; Benson, 'Cantelupe indent', 330.
53 For kinship tombs, see A. McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (University Park (PA), 2000).
54 I am grateful to Madeleine Gray for this suggestion.
55 Julian-Jones, 'Sealing Episcopal Identity', 243.
56 I am grateful to Nigel Saul for this suggestion.

Fig. 11. Tomb of Bishop Richard Swinfield in Hereford Cathedral. (photo © Sally Badham)

England, a large and elaborate monumental brass almost certainly set on a tomb chest with weeper figures, which now forms the bottom element of the extant shrine base, and later the Purbeck marble coverslab with the brass was trimmed to fit into the stage-two structure. It was a thus high-status monument, even in comparison with the memorial to Bishop Aigueblanche, which set the bar very high. This choice of a brass set the trend for some of his successors as bishop. Within his lifetime Richard Swinfield (d. 1317) established his own tomb in the north-east transept, within what is now a normally inaccessible shop store (Fig. 11). It comprises a stone coffin beneath a richly decorated canopy with a carved scene of the crucifixion on the back wall, although there was an indent of a figure brass on the coffin in the time of Thomas Dingley (Fig. 12). Swinfield's identity is recorded by a painted inscription on his tomb.[57] Nothing is known of any monument to his successor, Adam Orleton, who was translated first to Worcester in 1327, then to Winchester in 1333, and so was not buried at Hereford. He was succeeded at Hereford by Thomas Charlton (d. 1344) who was buried

57 F.T. Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (Hereford, 1881), pl. IV.

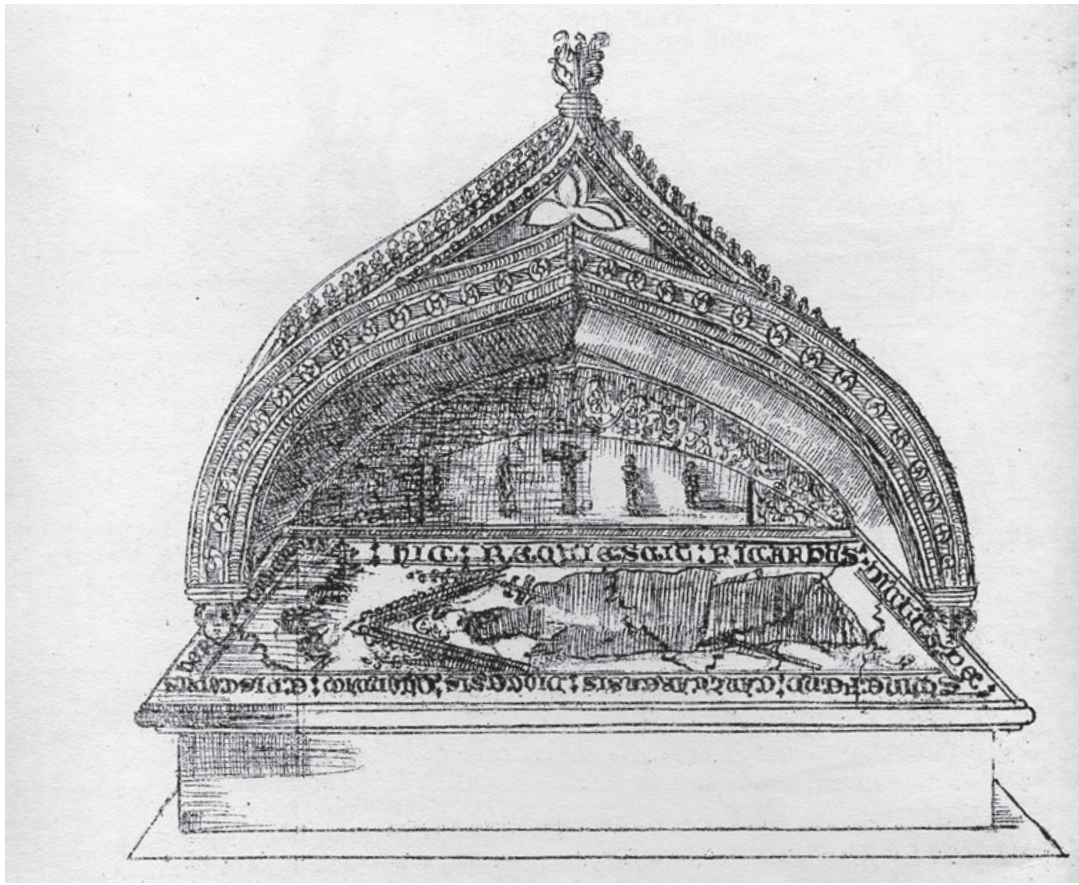

Fig. 12. Drawing by Thomas Dingley of the tomb of Bishop Richard Swinfield in Hereford Cathedral. (T. Dingley, History from Marble, ed. J.G. Nichols, 2 vols, Camden Society, old series, 94 and 97 (1867–8), I, clxxx)

in the north transept of the cathedral, near Cantilupe's surviving shrine, where his stone effigy and canopy survives. Orleton's nephew, John Trillek, was consecrated in 1344 and died in 1360. He is commemorated by a fine, if somewhat restored, figure brass under a canopy which can still be seen in the middle of the choir (Fig. 13). Neither Swinfield's nor Trillek's brasses could have been engraved in the same workshop as Cantilupe's or even each other, but the overall compositions mirrored that of Cantilupe, thus underlining the latter's influence at Hereford. However, all subsequent medieval bishops opted for stone effigies under canopies, like that of Thomas Charlton, breaking the pattern of patronage of brasses set by Cantilupe's monument, although many later canons and dignitaries reverted to memorialisation by brasses.[58] Two brasses, both significantly later in date, nonetheless include

58 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Herefordshire* (Stratford St Mary, Suffolk, 2008), 63–102.

Fig. 13. Rubbing of the brass of Bishop John Trilleck in Hereford Cathedral.
(rubbing © Malcolm Norris)

an image of Cantilupe. That to Archdeacon Richard Rudhale (d. 1476) has at his head images of Cantilupe and St Ethelbert, while the remains of the brass to Precentor William Porter (d. 1524) features a named image of Cantilupe in a sideshaft image. Additionally, the elaborate composition to Dean Edmund Froucetur (d. 1529) has a sideshaft image which may be of St Thomas. The only other monument in the cathedral with an image of Cantilupe is that attributed to Peter de Grandison (d. 1358) which displays restored statues of Cantilupe holding a crozier, as well as St Ethelbert, the Virgin Mary and Christ, St John the Baptist, and Becket.[59]

Memorialisation of other thirteenth-century holy bishops

I hope to have demonstrated that Cantilupe's tomb, comprising just the tomb chest and brass on top, was made soon after his burial in January 1283. This was enhanced by April 1287 with the addition of an upper tier, thus transforming the tomb of a bishop, believed by his successor, who doubtless took a major role in commissioning the tomb, to be a holy bishop, into a shrine base for a hoped-for saint. His original monument thus merits consideration in the context of the memorialisation of other thirteenth-century bishops with a reputation for leading holy lives around whom cults developed, of which there are four.

Bishop Niger of London, also occasionally called 'de Bileye' and known as St Roger of Beeleigh, suggesting that he came from Beeleigh, Essex, died on 12 October 1241.[60]

59 For the latest research on the Grandison monument see the article by B. and M. Gittos in *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and the Arts*, 153 (2021), forthcoming.

60 R.M. Franklin, 'Niger, Roger [Roger le Noir, Roger de Bileye] (d. 1241)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/20193 accessed 19 October 2019.

His heart was taken to Beeleigh Abbey, and the remainder of his body was buried in Old St Paul's Cathedral. During his funeral, an eclipse of the sun occurred, which would have been regarded as a sign of great significance. Both sites became places of pilgrimage and he exhibited remarkable sanctity and was widely revered as a saint, although no formal canonisation took place. His tomb was destroyed when Old St Paul's perished during the Great Fire of London in 1666. Fortunately, it was drawn in 1656 by Wenceslaus Hollar and an engraving of it was reproduced in William Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*.[61] This shows that his monuments comprised what appears to be a plain slab on a tomb chest, within a gabled-roof structure at the top of which was an inscription, presumably carved in stone. This composition is distinctly suggestive of a shrine and is similar to the tombs of Archbishop Grey (d. 1255) in York Minster, Giles de Bridport (d. 1262) at Salisbury and Bishop Aigueblanche (d. 1268) in Hereford mentioned above.

Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln (d. 1253) was another English prelate popularly regarded as a saint, although he was never canonised.[62] He received a high-status monument designed to reflect his reputation. Now lost, it was located in the south arm of the east transept of Lincoln Minster. The antiquary John Leland (d. 1552) observed somewhat vaguely that his tomb chest had an 'image of brasse over it', which was removed and destroyed by 1641.[63] Unlike Cantilupe's memorial, however, it was not a monumental brass. Brasses were not yet made in England in the 1250s. Moreover, marks recorded on the surface of the tomb, chiefly a depression running along its length and a quadrilateral groove within the moulded border, do not correspond to an indent or the grooves cut for reinforcing bars of a monumental brass. Such traces are more likely to have been left by a gilded cast copper alloy effigy resting on a sheet of laton.[64]

Next to be considered is the memorialisation of Richard de Wyche, bishop of Chichester.[65] At his death he was regarded as a holy bishop and he was subsequently canonised. He died at the Maison Dieu, Dover, on 3 April 1253, and his internal organs were removed and placed before the altar in the chapel there. His body was then carried to Chichester for burial, according to his wishes, in the chapel on the north side of the nave, dedicated to his patron and former master St Edmund of Abingdon. Almost immediately after Richard's death miracles were reported at his tomb and in 1262, he was canonised. The solemn translation of his remains to a costly shrine behind the high altar of Chichester Cathedral took place on 16 June 1276. This does not survive. The indent of a lost brass remains at the precise spot of Wyche's burial, the original grave having been preserved as one of the stations of his pilgrimage route in the cathedral. It comprises a full-length figure of a bishop, under a single canopy with angels on pinnacles, supporting an

61 W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from its Foundation until these Times* (London, 1658, repr. 1818), 58, with illustration on unnumbered page after. See also https://www.alamy.com/tomb-of-roger-niger-bishop-of-london-in-old-st-pauls-cathedral-1656-image60104075.html, accessed 19 October 2019.

62 R.W. Southern, 'Grosseteste, Robert (*c.* 1170–1253)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/11665 accessed 19 October 2019.

63 L. Toulmin-Smith, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, 5 vols (London, 1964), V, 122.

64 S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, ''Monumentum aere perennius?': Precious metal tombs in Europe 1280 to 1430', *Church Monuments*, 30 (2015), 7–105; N. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments 1270–1350', in Coales ed., *Earliest English Brasses*, 8–68, at 20.

65 C.H. Lawrence, 'Wyche, Richard of [St Richard of Chichester] (d. 1253)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/23522 accessed 19 October 2019.

effaced device, perhaps the soul in Abraham's bosom, with both foot and marginal inscriptions. More tellingly, the slab is powdered with stars and crescents, which appear to have been derived from Richard's own seal.[66] Many of these elements echo the design of Cantilupe's brass, albeit with greater elaboration. Yet this monument does not date from the time of Richard's death or canonisation, but is a retrospective commission. Stylistic analysis demonstrates that it is a product of the London A precursor group and dates to *c.*1360.[67]

Finally, we turn to William Bytton II (d. 1274) of Wells.[68] Although never acknowledged as a saint by the church, he received the honour of popular canonisation. He was buried in the south aisle of the cathedral, covered with an incised slab of local blue lias. This might be seen as an unduly modest memorial for a holy bishop. Nicholas Rogers has argued, however, that the design reflects an acquaintance with developments in France where incised slabs had greater prestige than in England.[69] He also suggested that it is also possible that, as Bytton was regarded as saintly, the slab was originally intended to be a temporary memorialisation in the hope that he would be translated to a shrine on canonisation.

This survey of the memorialisation of other holy bishops of thirteenth century shows that they received a wide range of monumental types ranging from an incised slab to a gilded cast copper alloy effigy resting on a sheet of laton. No two are similar but most were high-status memorials, which was also the case for Cantilupe. The original tomb chest would have been a fairly run-of-the-mill product had it not been for the prestigious brass on top, which was in the forefront of monumental developments. It was undoubtedly a fitting commemoration for a holy bishop, even though in 1287 it was thought inadequate for a potential saint leading to the upper tier being added to give it a shrine-like appearance. After his formal canonisation in 1320 the modified construction was evidently thought insufficiently prestigious leading to it being superseded by a new, now lost, shrine-base in the Lady Chapel.

Conclusion

This paper has mainly focussed on the construction sequence of the shrine base in the form that it can be seen today. Primarily driven by Bishop Swinfield, the promotion of his cult was supported by fundraising and building works in the cathedral to afford a suitable setting and pilgrimage route for the would-be shrine base. Moreover, even in the decades before Cantilupe's sanctification, notable support was received from several English bishops and from the noble families of the Welsh Marches. Pilgrims were encouraged to visit his place of burial by indulgences granted by bishops in return for prayers offered for him both before and after his canonisation.

The period in which Cantilupe's surviving shrine base was made was one of experimentation in tomb design, particularly those of the episcopate. The tombs of other holy bishops of thirteenth century shows that they received a wide range of monumental types ranging from an incised slab to a gilded cast copper alloy effigy resting on a sheet of

66 J. Bertram, *Monumental Brasses and other Minor Medieval Monuments in Chichester Cathedral* (privately printed, 2010), 6, 20.

67 S. Badham, 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death – a Re-appraisal', *Antiquaries Journal,* 53 (2000), 207–47, at 236.

68 D.G. Shaw, 'Button [Bitton], William (d. 1274)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/4237 accessed 19 October, 2019.

69 Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', 50–1.

laton. No two are similar but most were high-status memorials, which was also the case for Cantilupe. The original tomb chest in the Lady Chapel would have been a fairly standard product had it not been for the prestigious brass on top which was in the forefront of monumental developments. Cantilupe was thus initially memorialised by a tomb with a cutting-edge brass, which was befitting for a baronial bishop with royal connections. As his cult developed, within a very few years the tomb, complete with brass, was moved to the north transept and swiftly converted to a proto-shrine base in the hope that it would enhance the efforts to have him canonised. This adaptation has the characteristics of a rushed and probably temporary construction. Once canonisation was achieved, a much more high-status shrine base in the Lady Chapel was made and his remains translated there. The north transept shrine base remained intact but lost its religious significance. Were it not for this, the base with its remains of one of our earliest brasses would not have survived.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Hereford Cathedral for permission to publish their photographs and drawings taken during the 1997–8 disassembly and conservation and to Rosemary Firman for help with the archival material. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Ian Bass for providing help and information, most especially with manuscript sources and his own unpublished material, which greatly enriched this paper. Nicholas Rogers has carried out a magnificent job in providing authoritative transcripts and translations of key manuscript sources available online. Our editor, David Lepine, has also greatly enriched the text through his editorial input.

Appendix: Accounts of the miracles attributed to Thomas Cantilupe which throw light of the construction of the shrine base, transcribed and translated by Nicholas Rogers

Both manuscripts have been digitised and are available online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS Vat.lat.4015 and https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/d79a9ab1-3737–4595-a27b-fadef5dd0b15/

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015

a) f. 119v

Item narrauit quod quidam maximus lapis & ponderosus & longus & latus sicut consueuit apponi super tumulos prelatorum seu nobilium defunctorum fuisse appositus super locum illum vero porro ossa dicti domini thome in capella beate marie fuerant collocate; et dictus testis et alii amoto cemento cum quo dictus lapis alijs conglutinabantur, cogitarent qualiter possent lapidem reuoluere supradictum & desubtus extrahere dicta ossa; apposuerunt duo ex domicellis ipsius testis manus ad trahendum lapidem supradictum, vt eo aliquantulum seperato ab alio lapide concauo in quo dicta ossa reposita exsistebant, ipsa ossa inde extrahere possent cum tanta facilitate dicti duo domicelli qui non erant corporabilibus viribus multum robusti traxerunt dictum lapidem quantum sufficiebat ac si ligneus extitisse. Et quia secundum commune iudicium dictus lapis non poterat in tantum trahi a quatuor hominibus bene robustis facilitatem mouendi & trahendi dictum lapidem ipse testis et alij circumstantes miraculo ascripserunt facto ad ostensionem sanctitatis dicti domini thome, cui dicta mocio & translacio ossium complaceret. Cum autem facto siue completo officio sepulture & dictis ossibus in nouo preparato eis tumulo collocatis, dictum lapidem sic prius faciliter a duobus motum & tractum ad locum pristinum retrahere et sicut prius collocare uellent vix ad hoc decem homines totis suis uiribus intendentes propter dicti lapidis ponderositatem sufficere potuerunt quamquam secundum dispocionem tumuli & loci in quo lapis predictus iacebat maior difficultas debuisse esse, in prima amocione & traxione ipsius lapidis quam in secunda retraxione et reposicione eiusdem.

Item he recounted that a certain exceedingly great stone, heavy and long and wide, such as it was customary to have placed on the tombs of prelates or nobles, had been placed over that spot where the bones of the said lord Thomas were indeed formerly located in the chapel of Saint Mary; and, the mortar having been removed with which the said stone was cemented to others, the said witness and others were thinking in what way they could roll back the aforesaid and extract the said bones from underneath; two of the squires[70] of the witness himself put their hands to pulling the aforesaid stone, so that when it had been separated a little from the other hollow stone in which the said bones were resting, they were able to extract the bones from there with the greatest of ease. The said two squires, who were not very strong in bodily strength, pulled the said stone as much as sufficed as if it were made of wood. And because according to common judgement the said stone could not be moved so much by four very strong men, this witness and the others standing around ascribed the ease of moving and pulling the said stone to a miracle done to show the sanctity of the said lord Thomas, to whom the said movement and translation of the bones was acceptable. But when the office of burial had been done and completed and the said bones placed in the new tomb prepared for them, ten men exerting all their strength could scarcely pull back the said stone, previously moved and pulled

70 'Domicellus' can be translated as 'squire' or 'page'. The word, from which the archaic English word 'donzel' derives, indicates that they were young.

easily by two, to its original position and place it as it was before on account of the heaviness of the said stone, although on account of the position of the tomb and the place in which the said stone lay there ought to have been greater difficulty in the first removal and dragging of that stone than in its second removal and repositioning.

b) f. 183r

et ipse testis existens in ecclesia herefordiensi, die lune post pascha immediate sequenti fuerunt elapsi xx. anni, vt ut [sic] credit, circa horam tercie uidit predictum Johannem cum suo Gibbo in ecclesia predicta flentem & accedentem ad tumulum dicti sancti Thome & offerentem vnum denarium et uidit ipsum ponentem capud suum intra quoddam foramen lapideum, propinquum dicto tumulo & sibi adherens, & cum tenuisset dictum capud intra dictum foramen tanto tempore quod potuisset dixisse ter orationem dominicam cum salutatione beate marie, extraxit inde caput, teste hoc ipso vidente, & extrahens sibi capucium, sentiens se curatum a dicto Gibbo, quesiuit dictum Gibbum in capucio suo, & cum non inueniret, extrahens sibi tabardum quem portabat indutum, quesiuit dictum Gibbum in sinu suo & non inuenit.

and the said witness [John Alkyn] being in the church of Hereford, on the Monday immediately after Easter, twenty years ago, as he believes, about the hour of Terce he saw the aforesaid John [de Holaurton] with his swelling[71] weeping in the aforesaid church, going up to the tomb of the said Saint Thomas and offering a penny and he saw him placing his head within a certain stone aperture adjoining the said tomb and attached to it, and when he had held his said head within the said opening for the length of time it would take to say three Our Fathers and three Hail Maries, he withdrew his head from there, as this witness saw, and withdrawing his hood, feeling himself cured of the said swelling, he sought the said swelling in his hood, and when he could not find it, taking off the tunic which he was wearing, he looked for the said swelling in his bosom, and did not find it.

c) f. 211v

iuit ad locum in quo ossa dicti sancti Thome erant tunc recondita in capella sancta marie, in ecclesia herefordensis, a qua capella fuerunt postmodum translata in tumulum in quo nunc sunt. & orauit dicta editha aliquamdiu super dictum locum in quo erant tunc predicta ossa recondita, et cum orasset, rediit ad dictum altare crucis, in quo tunc celebrabat missam predictus dominus Gilbertus et sicut mulier in pleno sensu constituta optulit tempore offertorii veniens ad osculandum manum ipsius domini Gilberti vnum denarium et stetit in dicto loco usque ad finem misse.

She went to the place in which the bones of the said Saint Thomas were then stored in the chapel of Saint Mary in the [cathedral] church of Hereford, from which chapel they were shortly afterwards translated into the tomb in which they now are. And the said Edith prayed for some time on the said place in which the said bones were then stored, and after she had prayed, she returned to the said altar of the Cross, at which the aforesaid lord Gilbert [of Chevening, proctor of the canonisation cause]

71 Earlier it is mentioned that the swelling was on the neck and of the size of a large goose egg.

was then celebrating Mass, and at the time of the offertory, coming to kiss the hand of the same lord Gilbert, she offered a penny like a woman settled in her full mind, and stayed in the said place until the end of Mass.

Oxford, Exeter College, MS 158

f. 6v

Item IIII Kalendas Decembris adolescens quidam, nomine Joannes de Tregoz, consanguineus scilicet domini Joannis de Tregoz militis, qui sub latere dextro per quatuordecim annos ante gravi fuerat dolore vexatus, a quo curari non potuit per multiplex adhibitum auxilium medicorum; venit ad tumulum Viri Dei, & juxta illud in oratione pernoctans, circa noctis medium ei manifestissime videbatur, dum genua flecteret ante tumbam, quod quidam Episcopus albis vestimentis indutus, habens etiam in capite mitram albam, parvæ tamen quantitatis, utpote unius pedis longitudinem non excedens, quem parva crux alba etiam præcedebat, egressus est de sub imagine ærea, quæ fusa est super sarcofagum Viri Dei; & cum accessisset ad ipsum, manum dexteram intra locum lateris, sub quo morbus latebat, tam potenter injecit, ut videretur eidem, quod ventrem ejus ab illo latere usque in latus oppositum discerpsisset. Post tactum autem ipsius sibi apparuit, ut juravit, quoddam caput, quasi æthiopis, nigerrimum, serpens super terram inter genua sua; & ecce subito apparuit ei magna fissura in terra, in quam illud caput intravit, quasi absorptum a terra, ita quod nec vestigium inde aliquod appareret. Ipse tamen, qui fuerat infirmus, post hæc quasi per unius horæ spatium jacuit immobilis ad modum illorum, qui cincopim patiuntur; & tunc inventus est ab omni dolore & a spiritu infirmitatis, quam habuerat ab annis quatuordecim, ut probabiliter creditur, per suffragium Viri Dei totaliter liberatus.

Item on 28 November [1287] a certain youth called John de Tregoz, a relative of the lord John de Tregoz, knight, who had been gravely vexed for fourteen years by a grave pain in his right side, from which he could not be cured by the assistance of a multitude of doctors who had been consulted, came to the grave of the man of God. And while he was keeping a prayer vigil next to it, about the middle of the night it seemed most clearly to him while he was kneeling before the tomb that a certain bishop robed in white vestments and also having a white mitre on his head, but of small dimensions, namely not exceeding a foot in length, who was preceded by a small white cross, emerged from under the brass image that was set upon the sarcophagus of the man of God and, when he had drawn near him, thrust his hand into the place in his side under which the disease lay so forcefully that it seemed to him as if his stomach was being mangled from that side to the opposite side. After this touch, however, there appeared to him, as he swore, a certain head, exceedingly black, as if of an Ethiopian, crawling on the ground between his knees. And behold, there appeared to him a great fissure in the ground into which the head entered as if swallowed up by the ground, so that there appeared no trace whatever there. However, after this he who had been ill lay immobile in the manner of those who suffer from syncope for the space of about an hour, and then he was found totally free from all pain and from the spirit of the sickness which he had for fourteen years, as is believed credibly by the intercession of the man of God.

The Recent Discovery of a Flemish Indent at Leatherhead, Surrey

Stephen Freeth and Nigel Saul

In the course of a major reordering of the nave of Leatherhead church in 2018–20 a huge indent was discovered in the north aisle, in three pieces. The colour of the stone shows that it is Tournai marble from Belgium. It is the indent of a large and expensive Flemish brass and has been dated to c.1340 or earlier. Unfortunately, the significance of the discovery was not realised at the time and the slab was reburied before it could be studied properly. Two fragments of brass with fine Lombardic lettering discovered in 1906 probably formed part of its marginal inscription. Initial conclusions that the slab commemorated a lady have been revised and it is now believed to have been the memorial of a priest. Of the five rectors of Leatherhead in the first half of the fourteenth century, Thomas Crosse (d. 1348–9), who served as a royal clerk in Brabant in 1338–9, has the strongest claim to be the priest commemorated by this monument.

The discovery (Stephen Freeth)[1]

Leatherhead parish church is a Grade II* listed building. Its origins go back to the eleventh century, and it was much enlarged in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The advowson was in the hands of the king from 1287 until 1341, when it was granted by Edward III to Leeds Priory, Kent. The priory then remained the patron until the Dissolution.[2] The church was heavily restored by Arthur Blomfield in 1872–3 and 1891.

In 2018–20 the nave, aisles and both transepts were reordered and modernised; the chancel was unaffected. The works started in July 2018, and the church finally reopened on 7 September 2020 after many delays caused by the Covid pandemic. The changes included discarding the Victorian pews, and then digging down around 300 mm to insert a new underfloor heating system. A new stone floor suitable for loose chairs was then installed on top. Heritage Network of Letchworth, Hertfordshire, led by David Hillelson, were the archaeological consultants.[3]

Church re-orderings can harm a historic floor, but this project at Leatherhead was a good one. The Victorian pews were plain and unimportant. The existing floor was wooden parquet of different dates, rotten in places, interspersed with channels and metal grilles for Victorian heating pipes. Digging down was likely to meet hidden features. Much effort was made to anticipate this, including ground-penetrating radar, and test pits dug by hand in areas of concern. In the end, digging down encountered nine brick vaults, one eighteenth-century coffin burial and six buried ledger stones (Fig. 1). One of the ledgers was the indent of a large monumental brass, the focus of this report.

The brick vaults were all eighteenth or nineteenth century, while five of the ledgers dated between 1752 and 1806. This suggested that all six ledgers had been buried later than 1806, most likely during Blomfield's restorations. Everything else was 'loose disturbed fill', probably the soil excavated to construct the vaults. No ancient structural remains were encountered. Some vaults had

1 I am grateful to David Hillelson, archaeologist, for news of the discovery; to Ronald van Belle and John Blair for help with Flemish brasses; and to Derrick Chivers for identifying other comparable slabs, and for the images of Fleet, Lincolnshire, and Chichester Cathedral, Sussex.

2 VCH, *Surrey*, III (London, 1911), 297–300.

3 Their project reference was HN1356.

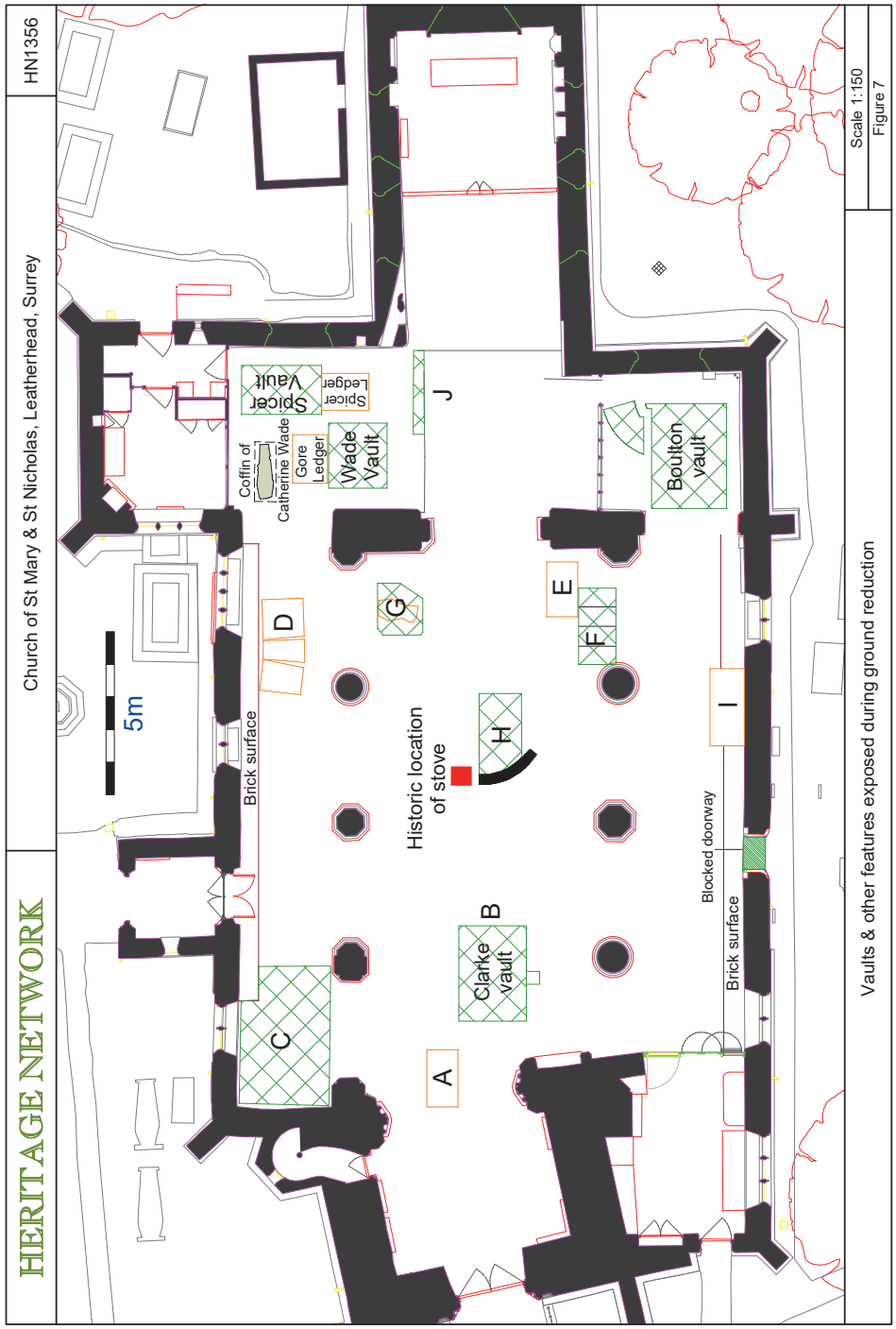

Fig. 1. Vaults and other features uncovered during ground reduction at Leatherhead, 2018–19. (© Heritage Network)

been backfilled with rubble long ago; others, however, were in perfect condition and still contained coffins. Some were also very large, such as the Boulton Vault, 2.7 m long and 2.3 m wide, excluding the access steps. This contained seven coffins. Fortunately, the enormous Vault C in Fig. 1 had been backfilled. The arched brick roofs of four vaults intruded into the 'impact depth' of the new floor. Three therefore had their roofs replaced with flat roofs of modern materials. The fourth, the Boulton vault, was left intact after a change in the plans. The archaeologists, therefore, had a lot to think about. All the coffin plates needed to be recorded, and the coffins needed to be treated with respect. Those whose vault roofs were lowered were carefully protected using airbags.

The indent ('D' in Fig. 1) was discovered in the north aisle, in three pieces (Fig. 2). It is huge, originally 2.67 m long, 1.27 m wide and 0.2 m thick. It was clearly not in its original position. The colour of the stone shows immediately that it is not Purbeck marble, but Tournai marble from Belgium. Here is the indent of a large and expensive Flemish brass. The absence of chamfering or other moulding on its edges shows that it was to be set in the floor, not on a raised tomb. Tournai marble is much tougher than Purbeck, and the indents were well preserved. There is a standing figure beneath a canopy, with a marginal fillet around the entire composition. This contained the inscription. There is no separate inscription plate.

Two further photos from David Hillelson show the slab in greater detail. Fig. 3 shows that there was a large cushion behind the head of the figure, with tassels in the corners. The canopy arch had elaborate cusping, giving it a 'frilly' appearance, though this is not easy to make out. The entablature of the canopy consisted of a large central rectangle above the arch, joined to the canopy shafts by flying buttresses. Fig. 3 also shows how the memorial was constructed. The indents are all for brass plates. There are no deeper indents for, say, the head and hands in composition, as is sometimes found. Also, there are no rivets. The brass plates were held down by their own weight, a sure sign of an early brass. There are therefore several deeper indents for reinforcing bars: across the shoulders of the figure; on the sinister canopy shaft, just above the break in the slab; and three more further up the same shaft, one level with the cushion, and the other two near the top. So, this is an indent of *c.*1350 or earlier.

Fig. 4 shows the lower part of the slab, with another reinforcing bar in the lower part of the sinister canopy shaft.[4] The outline of the lower part of the figure has a slight bulge on the sinister side, just below the break in the slab; and the clothing on the dexter side does not quite reach the ground. Therefore, this is not a man in civil dress. He would have a shorter gown, with his feet visible below. But is the slab for a lady or a priest? The preliminary interpretation, following discussion with the MBS, was that the slab belonged to a lady, and this is the interpretation that was included in David Hillelson's official report. But Derrick Chivers has argued persuasively that it was for a priest. A lady's gown would fall straight to the ground on both sides. As for the bulge, it could be a dalmatic, or the end of a maniple, or the fold of a chasuble. We cannot say for certain.

Figs 3 and 4 also show that the marginal inscription was ornamented with quatrefoils: at the corners; in the middle of the short sides

4 I am grateful to Derrick Chivers for noticing this.

Fig. 2. Tournai marble slab with indents (1.15 m scale).
(photo © David Hillelson, Heritage Network)

Fig. 3. The upper part of the slab.
(photo © David Hillelson, Heritage Network)

(top and bottom); and in the long sides (left and right), dividing each long side into three equal parts. The upper quatrefoils in the two long sides seem to have within them shield-shapes of stone at full height, not cut away. So too does the quatrefoil in the north west corner. Could these have been for painted shields?

Ronald van Belle has dated the slab '*c.*1320–30'. This, of course, is approximate. Jerome Bertram has pointed out that much of the dating of Flemish slabs is by comparison between different examples whose dates are all equally imprecise. If the slab was indeed for a priest, then it is likely to be earlier in date than 1341, when Edward III granted the advowson to Leeds Priory. A vicar or chaplain paid to look after a distant parish church for a monastic house did not normally have a memorial like this.

David Hillelson was able to supply two further images of this slab. One was a photograph taken from directly above. The other was computer-generated from the photographs in Figs 2–4 so as to create a similar view from directly above. Neither was suitable for publication, but they clarified some details, such as the cusping of the arch of the canopy. They have made it possible to produce a scale drawing of the overall design (Fig. 5). The computer-generated image has also been enlarged so as to highlight the upper quatrefoil on the dexter side and what may be a shield within it, left proud and not cut away (Fig. 6).

Fig. 4. The lower part of the slab.
(photo © David Hillelson, Heritage Network)

Surviving indents of other early Flemish brasses offer parallels: slabs at Dundrennan Abbey, Scotland (Fig. 7),[5] for a man in armour and wife, and at Fleet, Lincolnshire (Fig. 8), for a man in civil dress. Both have similar canopy entablatures and similar elaborate cusping on the canopy arch. Note also that the surface of the slab at Fleet is in perfect condition, and yet there are no traces of engraved lines for the man's feet. These therefore were probably painted on the slab. They will have rested against the sleeping dog whose curled outline remains as an indent.[6] No trace remains of any paint, but this use of mixed media reinforces the possibility that the Leatherhead slab had painted shields. A slab in Chichester Cathedral, Sussex, for a priest (Fig. 9) has a slightly different canopy entablature but similar cusping of the canopy arch. The marginal inscription has very similar corner quatrefoils to Leatherhead. Further parallels and much background information can be found in Jerome Bertram's article about Flemish brasses and slabs for British clergy in the last *Transactions*.[7] Of course, he was unaware of this Leatherhead slab.

This indent of a priest of *c.*1340 or earlier was surely laid down originally in the chancel. For some reason no antiquary seems to have noticed it except Rawlinson, in his 1718

5 From a rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, illustrated in *MBS Trans* 8:5 (1947), 168.

6 I am grateful to Derrick Chivers for these details.

7 J.F.A. Bertram, 'The Tournai Trade: Flemish Brasses and Slabs for British Clergy', *MBS Trans* 21 (2020), 5–37.

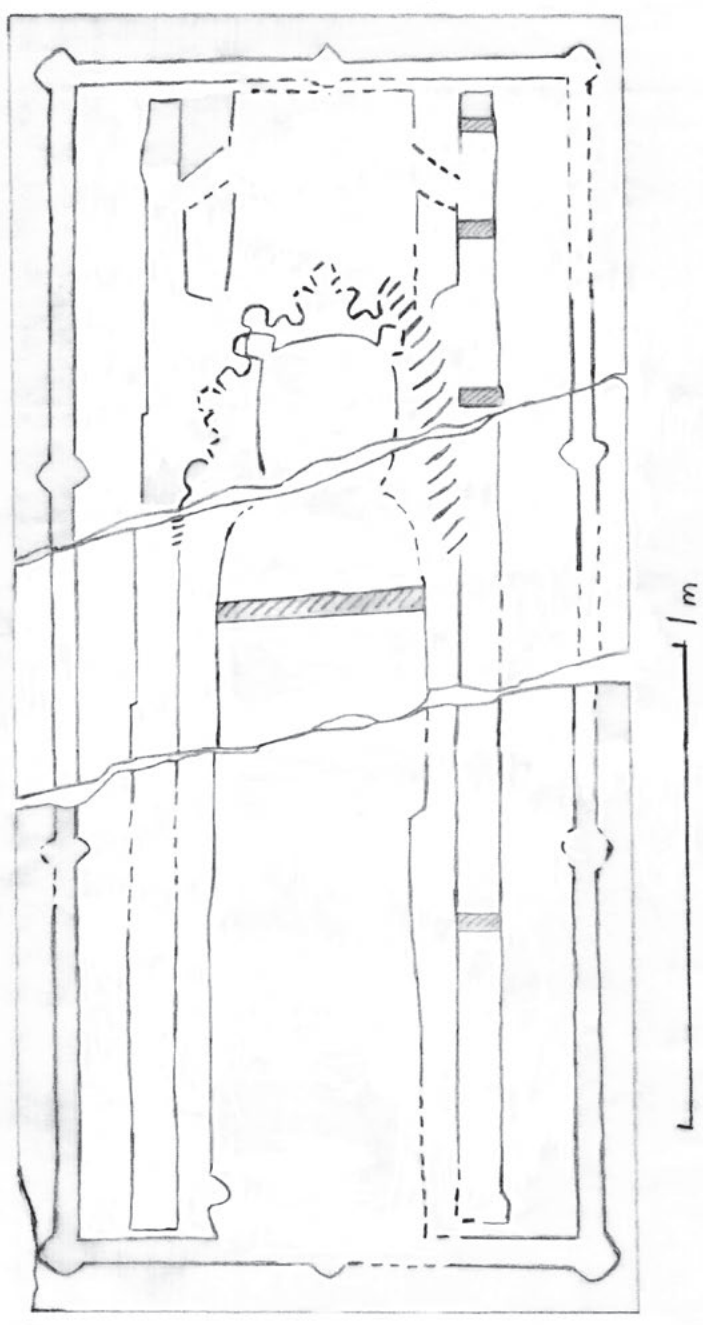

Fig. 5. Scale drawing of the outlines of the indents.
(drawing © Stephen Freeth)

Fig. 6. Detail (computer-generated) of the upper dexter quatrefoil showing what may be a shield, left proud and not cut away. (photo © Heritage Network)

edition of Aubrey's *History of Surrey*: 'before the altar, near the step, … the remains of a stone, stripped of its brass'.[8] Perhaps the slab was hidden from view. The note is by Rawlinson himself, for Aubrey's manuscript draft in the Bodleian Library makes no mention of it.[9]

That is not the end of the story. Two fragments of brass which could derive from this indent still exist, and can now be matched very plausibly with the newly discovered memorial (Fig. 10). They both show Flemish engraving. They were dug up in the churchyard on the north side of the chancel in 1906, and published at the time by P.M. Johnston.[10] Mill Stephenson in his *List of Monumental Brasses* (1926) and in his *Brasses of Surrey* did not notice that these pieces were from a Flemish brass.[11] In his day

8 J. Aubrey, *The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 5 vols (London, 1718), II, 257.

9 Bod Lib, MS Aubrey 4.

10 P.M. Johnston, 'An Anchorite's Cell at Letherhead (sic) Church', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 20 (1907), 223–8 (available online through the Surrey Archaeological Society's website).

11 M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (London, 1921, repr. Bath, 1970), 329. This was originally published as a series of articles in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 25–33 (1912–20).

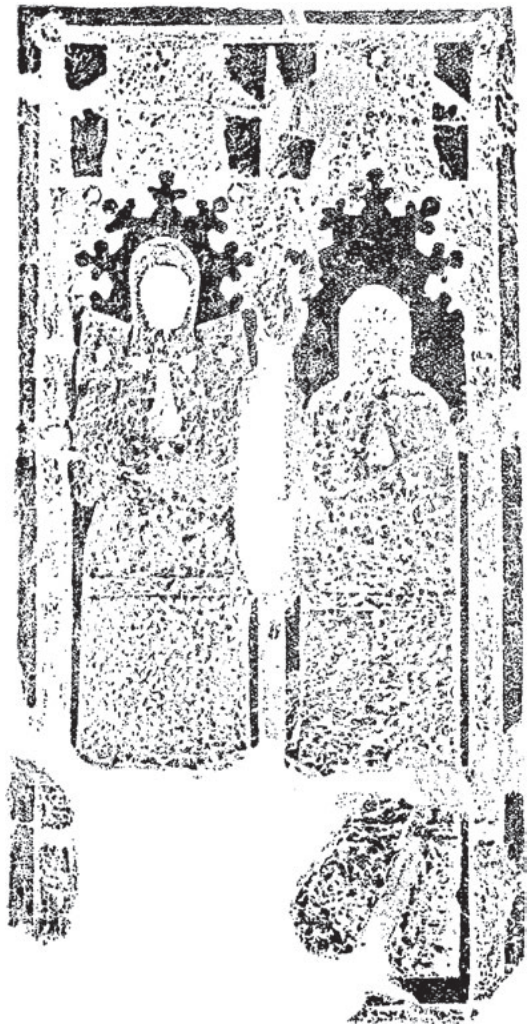

Fig. 7. Indent for a man in armour and wife, Dundrennan Abbey, Scotland.
(Rubbing by FA Greenhill)

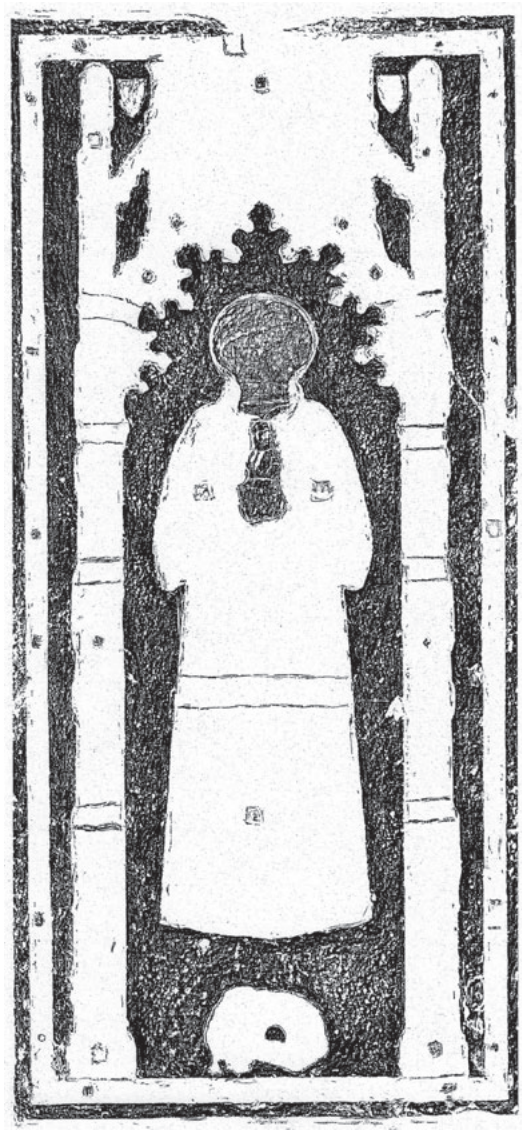

Fig. 8. Indent for a man in civil dress, Fleet, Lincolnshire.
(Rubbing by Derrick Chivers)

the pieces were loose. They have since been fixed in a modern slab on the north wall of the chancel. This was probably soon before 1973, when our member John Blair, who grew up near Leatherhead, published a brief scholarly report. He identified the pieces as Flemish, and noted the reference in Aubrey.[12]

12 W.J. Blair, 'Fragments of an Early Continental Brass in Leatherhead Church', *Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society*, 3:7 (1973), 186–7 (available online on the Society's website).

Fig. 9. Indent of a priest, Chichester Cathedral, Sussex.
(photo © Derrick Chivers)

Fig. 10. Two fragments of brass inscription dug up in Leatherhead churchyard in 1906. (photo © Bookham Camera Club, courtesy of Heritage Network)

The two pieces probably both come from the marginal inscription, where they fit the indents. The shorter one is 135 mm long and the longer one 198 mm. They show fragments of wording in French in a fine Lombardic script, with parts of the words MARGARETE and NOSTRE SEIGNEUR. The longer piece also has a concave end where it adjoined a quatrefoil. The dots between the words are dividers, not the tops of rivets.

It is regrettable that the indent was not studied properly before it was reburied. Heritage Network were misled by the 'frilly' arch of the canopy. They took this to be part of a crown (seeing it from the underneath, so to speak), and suggested an association with a later burial in the church of a serjeant of the royal cellar. The indent was uncovered in August/September 2019 and reburied a couple of months later. It was also relocated slightly to the west, to the east of the north door.

David Hillelson first contacted the MBS on 5 June 2020. Once he understood the slab's importance, he passed on all his photographs. These have made it possible to compile this account. He also placed the photograph in Fig. 2 on the front cover of his final report to the PCC about the archaeology, describing the indent as 'the most important discovery of the project'. His report contains much extra detail about what was found, including photographs of several coffin plates and some spectacular ones of the vaults.[13] As was mentioned earlier, the report describes the indent as for a lady,

13 In addition, the digital project archive has been deposited at the Surrey History Centre in Woking.

although it is now believed to have been for a priest. Unfortunately, the PCC had already rejected his proposal to display the slab in the reordered church, because it could not be attributed to a known individual. But the indent still exists, albeit buried as before.

Thomas Crosse: a candidate for the despoiled slab? (Nigel Saul)

The indent and the surviving fragments of brass fillet inscription between them afford a number of clues to the possible identity of the person commemorated by the despoiled slab. First, there is the non-English, probably Flemish, origin of the memorial, which we can infer from the bold lettering and elaborate serifs of the two remaining fragments of fillet inscription. It seems reasonable to deduce from this that the person commemorated must have been either someone with connections with the Low Countries or someone whose executors did. Second, there is what we know of the outline of the lost figure, which points to either a lady clad in a long mantle or a priest in an almuce or cope. Third, there is the possible date of the slab. The outline of the lost brass inlays and the letter-forms of the remaining fragments of epitaph between them suggest a date in the range of *c.*1320–*c.*1370. The presence of a cushion under the head might perhaps be taken as evidence of a date in the later part of that period. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to be certain on the point.

If the figure is thought to be that of a lady, there is really only one candidate with a claim to be considered and that, as G.H. Smith suggested, is Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Darcy and wife of Sir John d'Argentein.[14] The Argenteins were a wealthy knightly family who in the mid fourteenth century were lords of the manor of Pachesham in Leatherhead, and outside the county held estates in Hertfordshire and East Anglia.[15] If Margaret were indeed the lady commemorated, we would be afforded an immediate explanation for the presence of the letters GARETE – suggesting Margaret – on one of the fragments of fillet inscription. Counting against the hypothesis, however, are two considerations on the other side. First, there is the date of Margaret d'Argentein's death, which is known to have occurred sometime after that of her husband in 1383, and thus too late to fit with a slab of this character. And second is the fact that the d'Argenteins are not known to have had any international connections of the kind that would help to account for the choice of a non-English memorial. Most surviving brasses of foreign origin in England were commissioned by men or women who, by virtue of either their political or trading ties, had the kind of international links that gave them access to the continental market. The two main groups that fall into this category were the merchants and the well-connected senior clergy.

With this point in mind, it is worth turning now to the clergy: specifically, to the incumbents who held the rectorial benefice of Leatherhead in the early to mid fourteenth century. In the period in question we find that there were some four or five men with claims to be considered. These are Alexander de Convers (who was presented in 1303), Robert de Hoton (presented in 1324), Stephen le Blount (presented in 1330), and Thomas Crosse (presented in

14 G.H. Smith, 'History of the church and advowson of St Mary and St Nicholas, Leatherhead', *Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society*, 3:1 (1967), 33–40, at 33.

15 VCH, *Surrey*, III, 295.

1340).[16] Since in these years the crown held the right of nomination to the benefice, there is a fair likelihood that all four were men who had a claim of some sort of royal favour. The first two are both relatively obscure figures of whom not a great deal is known. Their two successors, however, come into a different category. Both were king's clerks – clerks, that is, whose principal employment was in the royal administration; and the claims of each need to be considered in turn.

Stephen le Blount is first encountered in the rolls of the king's chancery at the beginning of Edward II's reign in 1307, when he was appointed escheator (collector of feudal revenues) in Cheshire. He was to hold this office for some three years until 1310, after which the focus of his activities was to switch to the Scottish borders where, after the English defeat at Bannockburn, Edward was struggling to hold back the forces of Robert Bruce.[17] In 1316 he is found acting as receiver of the king's victuals at Newcastle, and in the 1320s in a similar capacity at Berwick-upon-Tweed, apparently combining both offices with that of chamberlain of Scotland.[18] He seems to have developed a measure of expertise in the purveyance of victuals for the king's armies, as he was to be employed in a similar capacity again in the 1330s in the south-west, requisitioning provisions for Sir Oliver de Ingham, the king's seneschal in Aquitaine.[19] At the same time, he was entrusted with commitments in Wales, where he was appointed surveyor of the king's castles in both the northern and southern parts of the principality.[20] He is also recorded as accompanying the king on visits abroad on two occasions, the first in 1313 and the second in 1320, travelling each time as a member of the retinue which Edward took with him when performing homage to the French king for his tenure of Aquitaine.[21] Le Blount's rewards for his years in royal service were surprisingly modest. In 1317 he was presented to the church of Dunbar in Scotland, a living that he must have lost within a few years in the face of the Scottish recovery, and in 1330 to the more valuable living of Leatherhead; he does not appear to have held any cathedral prebends.[22] Le Blount is the only one of the four incumbents for whom we have a will, and it is significant that in it he requests burial at Leatherhead.[23] He died, still in possession of his benefice, in April 1340.[24]

Le Blount's claims to be considered the man commemorated by the despoiled slab seem, on the face of it, relatively strong: he is known to have been an active royal clerk, and his will actually records him requesting burial in Leatherhead church. But for all the superficial

16 *CPR, 1301–7*, 164; *CPR, 1321–4*, 396; *CPR 1327–30*, 497; *CPR, 1338–40*, 469. A list of the incumbents of Leatherhead is to be found in G.H. Smith, 'History of the church and advowson of St Mary and St Nicholas, Leatherhead. Rectors and Vicars', *Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society*, 3:3 (1969), 92–3.

17 *CFR, 1307–19*, 8, 54.

18 TNA, E101/331/9; *CCR, 1313–18*, 482; *CCR, 1327–30*, 473. In 1336 he also served for one year as receiver of the king's victuals at Carlisle (*CCR, 1333–7*, 541).

19 TNA, E358/2, 4; *CPR, 1334–8*, 549; *CPR, 1338–40*, 324.

20 *CPR, 1313–17*, 354; *CPR, 1334–8*, 65; *CCR, 1333–7*, 262.

21 *CPR, 1307–13*, 575; *CPR, 1317–21*, 418.

22 *CPR, 1313–17*, 616; *CPR, 1327–30*, 497, 498.

23 London, Westminster Abbey Muniments 25348; the co-authors are very grateful to Christine Reynolds, the assistant keeper of the muniments, for providing them with a copy of this document. A copy was also enrolled in the Hustings Court of the City of London: *Calendar of Wills of the Court of Husting, London, AD 1258–AD 1688*, ed. R.R. Sharpe, 2 vols, (London, 1890), I, 484.

24 He died very shortly after 25 April 1340, the date of his will, as it was proved on 29 April.

attractiveness of le Blount's claims, there are arguments to be set on the other side. In the first place, it seems that he fell ill very suddenly and died within days of making his will: the document is dated 25 April and it was proved on 29 April; these are hardly circumstances of the sort to suggest that he would have been giving much thought to matters of commemoration. Second, the three executors named in the will are all minor chaplains, none of whom would have had the wide contacts or experience needed to commission a fancy brass from abroad; one of the three, indeed, declined to act and in 1345 had to be replaced by le Blount's brother. Again, it is hard to see here the conditions in which a remarkable foreign brass might have been brought into England.

By contrast, the claims of le Blount's successor, Thomas Crosse, to be considered the man who commissioned the brass seem much stronger. Crosse, like le Blount, was a king's clerk; he rose very much higher in the royal bureaucracy than his predecessor, and he was more richly rewarded. Still more significantly, however, unlike le Blount, he can be shown to have served in the Low Countries, the part of Europe where the brass is likely to have originated. There are good grounds for believing that it is Thomas Crosse who was commemorated by our lost memorial.

Crosse's origins are obscure, but he is known to have been of legitimate birth, and quite possibly he belonged to mercantile rather than gentry society.[25] In the light of an allusive comment made in 1348 by Bishop Grandison of Exeter in the course of a dispute over appointments to Kilkhampton church, it seems that he was of West Country origin, and he may perhaps be the Thomas Crosse who was ordained an acolyte in Exeter cathedral in 1321.[26] Almost certainly he undertook a period of study at Oxford sometime after 1327 but before 1331; there is no evidence, however, that he ever took a degree.[27] He first appears in possession of a benefice in 1327 when he is mentioned as rector of Whitstone, Cornwall, and five years later, already on the rise, he was a candidate for a prebend at Wells.[28] In 1334 he received his first appointment on the nomination of the king when, described as a king's clerk, he was presented to the prebend of Jago, Co. Kildare, in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.[29] Seven months later, by now firmly in royal service, he was appointed a baron – that is to say, a senior clerk – of the exchequer in Dublin.[30] This latter appointment affords some insight into the sort of strengths that his kingly employer considered him to have. In the fourteenth century senior royal clerks may be said to have fallen into two main categories. There were those who excelled principally at law and diplomacy and who drifted towards the privy seal office, where diplomatic documents were drafted, while there were others who were valued for their organisational and financial skills and served in the more administrative offices. Thomas Crosse fell into the latter category. After just a year as a baron, on 6 June 1335 he was promoted to the rank of chief baron of the Dublin exchequer.[31]

25 *Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1307–1326)*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1892), 561, where he is described as '*legitimatus*'. I am grateful to David Lepine for this reference.

26 *Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327–1369)*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, 3 vols, (London and Exeter, 1894–9), II, 1052; *Register of Walter de Stapeldon*, 561. Grandisson appears to have been one of the sponsors of his career, and in 1344 he acted as one of the bishop's three proctors in parliament (*Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, II, 984).

27 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols, (Oxford, 1957–9), I, 518.

28 *Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, I, 28, III, 1373; *CPP*, 4.

29 *CPR, 1330–4*, 507.

30 *CPR, 1334–8*, 22.

31 *CPR, 1334–8*, 122.

His appointment came at a time when the king was actively engaged in recruiting hobelers and men-at-arms in Ireland to augment the forces in Scotland with which he was striving to establish Edward Balliol, the English-backed candidate, on the Scottish throne. Crosse had the responsibility for both victualling and paying the wages of the Irish levies, and for part of the time he based himself at Carlisle, close to the border, arranging for his duties in Dublin to be carried out by deputies.[32]

Crosse was employed in the Irish exchequer for some three years, and in that time evidently made a favourable impression on the king, even if there are occasional hints at tensions in the relationship.[33] On 2 September 1337 he was brought back to England to take up the more senior administrative post of keeper of the great wardrobe.[34] The great wardrobe – to be distinguished from the wardrobe itself, which was a financial office – was a department which met the non-consumption needs of the royal household. Furniture, clothing apparel, tapestries and other hangings for rooms, cloth, silk, canvas, and the all-important twice-yearly liveries of cloth distributed to senior staff in royal pay – these all fell within the responsibility of the great wardrobe. So too did the provision of wax for lighting and the sealing of chancery documents and such non-perishable foodstuffs as spices and dried fruit. In essence, the great wardrobe fell halfway between a storehouse and a modern quartermaster's office; and its keeper had to be a man with both administrative and financial expertise.[35]

Crosse's appointment to the great wardrobe came at an exceptionally demanding time for the staff of the royal administration. In 1337 relations between England and France were deteriorating rapidly and in 1338 war broke out between the two powers following the French king's confiscation of the English-held duchy of Aquitaine. Edward responded to his adversary's action by assembling a big anti-French coalition, forging alliances with the German Emperor and with such Low Countries princes as the margrave of Juliers and the counts of Brabant, Guelders and Hainault. On 16 July Edward crossed with an army of over 4,000 men to Brabant and spent the next two years engaged in desultory warfare along the French border. Anticipating a long absence, he took with him the greater part of the household and governmental administration, including the clothing wardrobe under its keeper, Thomas Crosse. For a full twelve months Crosse's department was based in the wealthy Brabantine city of Antwerp, where Edward established his headquarters.[36] It was doubtless in the course of his stay in that city that Crosse gained a knowledge of the magnificent brasses produced in the Flemish workshops, which then graced the city's churches.

By the autumn of 1340 Edward had abandoned any hope of achieving a military breakthrough

32 *CCR, 1333–7*, 448; TNA, E101/19/25.

33 It is difficult to know what to make of the second letter, enrolled on the patent roll in October 1335, appointing him chief baron of the Dublin exchequer 'during good behaviour', after the first one, issued in June, had appointed him to the same office 'during pleasure' (*CPR, 1334–8*, 175, 122). Another letter which gives pause for thought is the one to the treasurer and barons of the Dublin exchequer on 24 October 1335 instructing them to audit Thomas's account for receipts and livery of money 'causing what is reasonable to be allowed to him … as the king, having confidence in Thomas's fidelity and industry, appointed him receiver of the money to be paid for wages of the men-at-arms, hobelers and archers elected in Ireland and sent to Scotland …' (*CCR, 1333–7*, 448).

34 *CPR, 1334–8*, 490.

35 Some of his accounts for his term of office survive: TNA, E101/389/14; E101/388/8; E101/390/5.

36 T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, 6 vols, (Manchester, 1929–33), IV, 396.

against the French, and on 25 September he agreed a truce with the French king at Esplechin near Tournai. On 29 November he returned with all his forces to England. Crosse himself, along with the staff of the great wardrobe, had almost certainly returned home well before then, probably towards the end of 1339, shortly before Edward made a five-month descent on England to re-energise the agencies of government at Westminster.[37] The legacy of the king's continental responsibilities, however, could not easily be shaken off, and as late as 1343 Crosse was still paying rent for a house in Bruges, where purchases were stored until they could be forwarded to England. In London he found a temporary headquarters for his department in a property belonging to Andrew Aubrey in Milk St, off Cheapside. A year later, however, he moved to more commodious accommodation in William de la Pole's house in Lombard St, and a few years after that a more permanent home was found for the department in quarters in the Tower of London.[38]

By the middle of the 1340s, however, Crosse's association with the great wardrobe had already come to an end. On 1 August 1344, after seven demanding years in the office, he was replaced by John Charnels, previously receiver of the king's monies overseas.[39] Three years later, on 18 March 1347 he was appointed a chamberlain of the English exchequer at Westminster, a position in which he would have drawn on his experience from Dublin.[40] A little over a year after that, in a move which represented a sharp change of direction for him, he was appointed the first dean of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.[41] In an initiative partly inspired by his knowledge of the French royal chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, in August 1348 Edward had reconstituted the twin royal free chapels of St Stephen's and St George's, Windsor, as collegiate foundations served by communities of a dean and canons. Crosse's appointment was probably intended as both an acknowledgement of and a reward for his long years of service to the crown. He was not destined to enjoy the office for long, however, for by January of the New Year he was dead, probably a casualty of the Black Death which was sweeping the country at that time.[42]

In the fashion of the day, Crosse's rewards came largely in the form of the benefices and other ecclesiastical preferments to which he was presented by the king. We have seen that as early as 1334 he had been nominated to the prebend of Jago in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.[43] In the following year he was likewise nominated to a second Irish prebend, that of Loughrea in Clonfert Cathedral.[44] Two years after this he was appointed dean of the collegiate church of St Buryan, Cornwall, and two years after that in turn he was the king's candidate for the benefice of Market Overton, Rutland.[45] In 1340, almost certainly in recognition of his hard work at Antwerp, Edward stepped up the pace of rewards. In April that year he presented Crosse to the highly valuable rectory of Leatherhead, Surrey, which was worth a full £34 13s. 4d. a year.[46] A month earlier he

37 The account for the full year of the great wardrobe's residence at Antwerp ends on 1 October 1339, but that is not to imply that Crosse left the city immediately after that date. As late as September a portion at least of the department was itinerating with the king on his campaign in the Thiérache region (Tout, *Chapters*, IV, 396–7).

38 Tout, *Chapters*, IV, 403–4.

39 *CFR*, *1337–47*, 386.

40 *CPR*, *1345–8*, 265.

41 *CPR*, *1348–50*, 146.

42 *CPR*, *1348–50*, 254.

43 *CPR*, *1330–4*, 507.

44 *CPR*, *1334–8*, 123.

45 *CPR*, *1334–8*, 492; *CPR*, *1338–40*, 199.

46 *CPR*, *1338–40*, 469.

had been appointed to the rectory of Ipplepen, Devon, and in April again he was granted the prebend of Sandford in the collegiate church of Crediton, Devon, and, five months later, that of Woodland in the same church.[47] At some time before November 1340 he had been appointed to the prebend of Chidham in the king's free chapel of Bosham, Sussex.[48] On top of these rewards, in October 1342 he was nominated to the prebend of South Scarle in Lincoln Cathedral and in May 1347 to the benefice of Curry Rivel, Somerset.[49]

For a clerk of Crosse's importance, however, this tally of benefices and preferments, although impressive-looking, did not constitute as ample a portfolio as some royal administrators were able to assemble. Unlike the most successful high-flying royal clerks of the time, Crosse did not make it to a cathedral deanery, much less to a bishopric, and even at the height of his career he was in possession of only two English cathedral prebends; the two prebends in Ireland that he held are unlikely to have brought him much income. Nonetheless, those English churches which he did possess, if not ecclesiastical plums, brought him a respectable enough income. The prebend of South Scarle in Lincoln Cathedral was by far his most lucrative appointment, bringing him an annual income of no less than £40 per annum. Leatherhead church was worth £34 13s. 4d., Chidham £31 13s. 4d., Curry Rivel £20 0s. 0d., Market Overton £17 6s. 8d. and Whitstone a little under £5.[50] Surprisingly perhaps, he is found giving up Leatherhead at the end of 1344 or at the very beginning of 1345 after just four years' occupancy. Three years later, however, he was compensated with the deanery of St Stephen's, Westminster. All told, his entire portfolio by the early 1340s must have brought him an income in excess of £100 a year. Yet, partly because of the heavy expenses which he incurred in the course of his work, he appears at times to have suffered cash-flow problems. In 1336 a mandate was sent to the chancellor instructing him to arrange for Crosse to be presented to the first vacant benefice in the king's gift in consideration of his labours in royal service in Ireland and Scotland.[51] In 1342, after his return from Antwerp, a second mandate was sent to the same effect, and in 1345 another two again, hinting at some desperation on Crosse's part.[52] On two embarrassing occasions he was nominated to vacancies in the king's gift, only to be forced to relinquish them when it was found that another candidate had already been preferred.[53] On yet another occasion, he was forced to abandon a claim to the church of Kilkhampton, Cornwall, after it was found that the bishop of Exeter, who had instituted him, had overlooked the claims of the patron of the benefice.[54] There is evidence that periodically in his career he found himself seriously out of pocket as a result of his work. In March 1340 he was awarded the keeping of some half-dozen alien priories temporarily in royal custody to recompense him for 'the losses which he had sustained in the king's service, especially overseas'.[55] Four years later he suffered loss of

47 *CPR, 1338–40*, 42, 452; *CPR, 1340–3*, 40. It does not appear that he was actually able to enter into possession of Ipplepen (*Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, II, 926).
48 *CPR, 1340–3*, 58.
49 *CPR, 1340–3*, 532; *CPR, 1345–8*, 84.
50 The figures are those recorded in the Pope Nicholas IV Taxation of 1291. See: https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/ under the names of the parishes concerned.
51 *CPR, 1334–8*, 196.
52 *CPR, 1340–3*, 506; *CPR, 1343–5*, 376, 447.
53 *CPR, 1338–40*, 19, 95; *CPR, 1345–8*, 95, 213.
54 *CPR, 1345–8*, 396.
55 *CFR, 1337–47*, 165, 167.

income when he was obliged to give up the lucrative benefice of Leatherhead. When he was finally appointed to the prestigious office of dean of St Stephen's Chapel in 1348, he must have considered it long overdue reward for his years of service to the crown in difficult circumstances.

Unfortunately, Crosse's will has not survived – assuming, that is, that he ever made one – and we cannot be sure where he was buried. Nonetheless, what we know of his career suggests strongly that he was the man commemorated by the lost brass at Leatherhead. The date of his death, almost exactly in the middle of the century, sits very conveniently with the likely date of the slab; that he was a man of relative means and importance would account for the especially opulent nature of the memorial; and his period of residence at Antwerp would provide an immediate explanation for the brass's origin on the Continent.

One very serious obstacle, however, stands in the way of an identification of the despoiled slab at Leatherhead with Thomas Crosse, and that is the curious fact, to which we have already alluded, that he was not actually in possession of the benefice when he died. As we have seen, he is found surrendering the rectory at the end of 1344 or the very beginning of 1345, with a new incumbent, John Olaver, being instituted in February of the latter year in the wake of his departure.[56] The circumstances of Crosse's departure are unfortunately not known precisely, but it is not difficult to reconstruct the general context in which it occurred. From 1287, when the previous holder of the living, the abbot of Colchester, had granted it to the king, the advowson of Leatherhead had been in royal hands, and the monarch of the day had used it to reward clerks of greater or lesser seniority. In October 1341, however, at the request of his mother, Queen Isabella, Edward II's widow, Edward had granted it to Leeds priory, Kent, by way of compensation for damage which the house had suffered in 1321, when Edward II had been besieging the nearby castle.[57] The attraction to the priory of owning a benefice of this sort was the opportunity it afforded to appropriate it – that is to say, to replace the rectory with a vicarage, a move which would enable the house to collect the greater tithes, while the newly installed vicar took only the lesser. Such a change in the status of the benefice would obviously have made it much less attractive to Crosse, and not surprisingly there are clear signs that he fought hard to resist the move: it took as long as four years for the appropriation to take effect. Although the king's grant to the priory had been made back in 1341, in 1344 Crosse was still in post, and it was not until September 1345 that the king was in a position to petition the pope formally to approve the move. By that time, however, Crosse had at last given up the fight.

The fact that Crosse was no longer in possession of the living at Leatherhead at the time of his death does not, however, altogether invalidate the case for identifying the despoiled slab as his. It simply means that he had almost certainly placed the order some years before, when he had expected to be in possession of Leatherhead for life. It was by no means uncommon for medieval clergy to make their commemorative plans early on, while they were still in their prime. They had no issue of their body to whom the task

56 Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, Register of Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, Part 2: 21M65/A1/7, f. 105r.

57 *CPR, 1340–3*, 333, 346, 355–6.

could be entrusted; and they ran the risk, if they were also lacking in siblings or nephews, of not being commemorated at all. Crosse, with considerations of this sort in mind, may well have taken the precaution of ordering a memorial while he still had ample opportunity to do so. If that was the case, then it is likely, bearing in mind the Flemish origin of the slab, that he placed the order sometime during his sojourn in the Low Countries or very shortly afterwards – that is, shortly after he entered into possession of the benefice of Leatherhead.

If we accept the argument that the lost brass was indeed Crosse's, then we are offered two possible explanations for the letters NRE SEIG on one of the two remaining fragments of inscription fillet in the church. One, prompted by the fact that Crosse died sometime around Christmas, is that it refers to 'Our Lord' – in the sense that Crosse died on such-and-such a date either before or after 'the birth of Our Lord'.[58] Counting against this possibility, however, is the objection that there are many saints' days in the run-up to Christmas and just afterwards by reference to which Crosse's death could be more precisely dated. The other possible explanation, perhaps the more likely of the two, is that NRE SEIGN would have been followed by '*le roi*' for '*nostre seigneur le roi*', allowing a reading of 'our lord the king': Crosse, that is to say, would be said to have served as keeper of the great wardrobe of '*nostre seigneur le roi*'. Medieval inscriptions almost invariably recorded the status or main offices of the person commemorated, and this one would surely been no exception. The letters GARETE for 'Margaret', on the other remaining fragment, are more difficult to account for. Tempting though it is to suppose as much, they cannot refer to the feast of St Margaret as the day on which, or close to which, Crosse died, because the date will not fit. Crosse is known to have died sometime between late August 1348, when he was appointed to St Stephen's, and 31 January 1349, when he was replaced as chamberlain of the exchequer by Ralph Brantingham.[59] Yet the feast of St Margaret, queen of Scotland, was celebrated on 8 July and that of St Margaret of Antioch on 20 July.[60]

One possible explanation does, however, present itself. Crosse, as we have seen, spent a whole year in 1338–9 servicing the king's needs when he was based at Antwerp in Brabant. Edward was very keen to secure his position in that county by forging a marital alliance between his son Edward, prince of Wales, and the count's daughter, Margaret. It is not inconceivable that, while in Brabant, Crosse was granted some honorary position in Margaret's household at Edward's behest. If such was the case, then his attachment is unlikely to have lasted beyond 1345 when the count repudiated the English alliance, and we are afforded a possible *terminus ante quem* for the commissioning of the brass.

Another objection to the possible identification of the brass with Crosse might be that the use of French on the epitaph would be highly exceptional for a member of the clerical estate, whose practice was usually to choose Latin, the language of authority and the language of the liturgy. French, the international language of chivalry, is more commonly found on memorials to members of the gentry class: the knights and esquires and their ladies. In the early to mid fourteenth century, however,

58 I am very grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this suggestion.

59 *CPR, 1348–50*, 146, 254.

60 C.R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of History* (London, 1948, rev. 2000), 55.

when French was still a living vernacular in England, inscriptions in a version of French are from time to time found on memorials of the clergy. Examples are afforded by the brasses of William de Rothwell (d. 1361) at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, Walter de Anneforde (d. 1361) at Binfield, Berkshire, Edmund de Brundish, *c.*1360–70, at Brundish, Suffolk, and Adam Ertham (d. 1382) at Arundel, Sussex. Bearing in mind the foreign origin of Crosse's brass, it could perhaps be objected that it is less helpful to look at usage in England than in those areas of northern Europe where the brass is likely to have originated. In these places, however, the pattern is much the same. While Latin undoubtedly predominates on clerical memorials, there is a scattering of examples in French, an example being afforded by the incised slab of Gile de Pegorare, canon of Reims, in Reims Cathedral. If ever there was a time when French was likely to have been chosen by an English cleric, it is precisely in the period in the fourteenth century when Thomas Crosse's brass was commissioned.

The case for associating the slab at Leatherhead with Thomas de Crosse, that busy royal clerk, cannot ever be absolutely conclusive: after all, it rests solely on circumstantial evidence. It does, however, seem a fairly strong one. If we are correct in the identification, then once again may his memory be honoured in the church which he once held.

Piety and Dynastic Memory: The Brass of Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester

Lucia Diaz Pascual

The tomb of Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399), lies inside the chapel of St Edmund in Westminster Abbey. It displays a magnificent brass representing Eleanor, dressed in the simple garments of a widow, standing under an ornate triple canopy surrounded by multiple heraldic reminders of her ancestors and of her husband, Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III (d. 1397). Eleanor was the last heiress of the ancient and powerful de Bohun family, earls of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and at the time of her death her husband had been murdered by order of his uncle, Richard II. Their only son and heir had died shortly before her. Eleanor's well-attested piety must have provided some comfort in her grief, and the design of her brass, with its pious, mournful figure amidst a panoply of heraldic splendour, serves to remind the viewer of her husband's murder as well as ensuring the dynastic memory of her ancient lineage.

The chapel of St Edmund in Westminster Abbey contains the tomb of Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester, countess of Essex (*c.*1368–99), and wife of Edward III's youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397). It is a Purbeck marble altar tomb only 500 mm in height, but it displays one of the most impressive brasses of its time (Fig. 1). Eleanor was the last heiress of the ancient and powerful de Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex. Two years before her death she had experienced the murder of her husband at the hands of his uncle, Richard II, and the forfeiture of all of her family's estates and possessions. Her only son and heir, Humphrey, died within weeks of his mother, as she lay approaching her own death. Eleanor's well-attested piety must have supported her through these vicissitudes, but when she wrote her will two months before her death the desire to ensure dynastic memory weighed heavily on her. She left detailed instructions for her burial, and although she does not mention the style of her tomb, probably left instructions regarding its design. Having survived her husband Thomas by two years, she was probably involved in the design and commissioning of his brass, figuring a unique dynastic composition inspired by the tomb of his father Edward III and commemorating his royal lineage. Eleanor requested burial near her husband, but not with him. Instead, she chose to be commemorated by her own dynastic tomb with a brass celebrating her own lineage. It conveys a haunting image merging the solemnity of her status as a widow with a rich heraldic display that proclaims her great pride in being a de Bohun. In choosing to be buried at Westminster Abbey, instead of Pleshey College, founded by her husband, she ensured that her brass survived through time, contributing to her husband and her family's dynastic memory. Thomas and Eleanor's decision to be represented in a brass was unusual for the peerage, and its imitation by their descendants demonstrates the strength of family and kinship links in guiding the choice of burial commemoration.

Eleanor as heiress

Eleanor de Bohun and her younger sister Mary were the daughters and co-heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1373), earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and his wife, Joan (d. 1419), daughter of Richard Fitzalan (d. 1376), earl of Arundel and Surrey. At the time of Eleanor's birth, the de Bohun family was one of the oldest and longest surviving noble families. The first Humphrey de Bohun had arrived in England with William the Conqueror and his descendants rose to prominence through a combination of royal

Fig. 1. The tomb of Eleanor de Bohun, Westminster Abbey.
(photo © Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey)

service, military prowess, and good marriages, often to heiresses of noble families that had failed in the male line. By 1236, Humphrey IV (d. 1275), the sixth Humphrey de Bohun since the Conquest, held the earldoms of Hereford and Essex and the hereditary office of constable of England.[1] Three generations later Eleanor's great grandfather, Humphrey VII (*c.*1276–1322), had accumulated sufficient titles, wealth and lands to make him an attractive prospect for Edward I's widowed youngest daughter, Elizabeth countess of Holland (1282–1316).[2] This was a glorious moment for the de Bohun family that marked the pinnacle of its dynastic success. Although the couple had seven surviving children, including five sons, their fortune was short lived. Only one son, William, produced a male heir, appropriately named Humphrey, who inherited the earldom of Northampton from his father as well as the earldoms of Hereford and Essex from his uncle, Humphrey VIII (d. 1361). Humphrey IX (d. 1373) had only two surviving children, both daughters, Eleanor and Mary, and at his relatively early death in 1373 the family failed in the male line, leaving the two heiresses to carry on the family's ancient lineage.

Edward III became the girls' guardian and chose to keep the de Bohun sisters within the royal family.[3] By April 1374, one year after their father's death, the king had secured the marriage of Eleanor, then still a child, for his youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock.[4] Thomas was his eighth (but fifth surviving) son. Like any younger royal son at the time, he was in need of an heiress, and his father was in a unique position to provide one. Thomas was granted the office of constable and in June 1380, after Eleanor came of age, he became earl of Essex.[5] The marriage produced one surviving son, named Humphrey after his de Bohun ancestors, and three daughters, Anne, Joan and Isabella. Unfortunately, this was not enough to ensure the continuation of the de Bohun line. By the time of Eleanor's death, in 1399, she had lost both her husband and her only son. Thomas was arrested in 1397 on the orders of his nephew, Richard II, taken to Calais and murdered. At the same time, his goods were forfeited, which meant Eleanor had to suffer the ignominy of having all of her possessions confiscated by the king's men, including her gowns, books, furniture and even such basic things as kitchen utensils and old sheets.[6] Her son Humphrey, earl of Buckingham, accompanied Richard II on his expedition to Ireland, where he was temporarily imprisoned in Trim castle, and died on his return trip to England in September, 1399, only a few weeks before Eleanor.[7] Her

1 N. Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV) de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275)', *ODNB*, online edition, ref:odnb/2775 accessed 26 September, 2019.

2 J. Hamilton, 'Bohun, Humphrey de, fourth earl of Hereford and ninth earl of Essex (*c.*1276–1322), magnate and administrator', *ODNB*, online edition, ref:odnb/2777 accessed 26 September, 2019.

3 *CPR, 1370–4*, 233.

4 *Ibid.*, 66–7, 472.

5 *CPR, 1374–7*, 28, 337; *CCR, 1377–81*, 391–5.

6 V. Dillon and W.H. St John Hope, 'Inventory of the Goods and Chattels Belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and Seized in his Castle at Pleshey, Co. Essex, 21 Richard II. (1397); With Their Values, as Shown in the Escheator's Accounts', *Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1897), 275–308; *CIM, 1392–9*, 223–5; TNA, E 136/77/5.

7 W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London, 1675; repr., New York, 1977), II, 172. Humphrey died on 5 September (W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, eds J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817–30), IV, 141). Eleanor's will, written on 9 August, 1399, remained unchanged after her son's death and we do not know if the news ever reached her (London, Lambeth Palace Library, *Register of Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury* (1396–1414), 1, ff. 163-4I, ff. 163–64; printed in J. Nichols, *A Collection of all the Wills now known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), 177–86; translated in M.M. Bigelow, 'The Bohun Wills, II', *American Historical Review*, 1 (1896), 631–49, at 644–9).

sister Mary, married to Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV, had died in childbirth in 1394, and Eleanor's second daughter, Joan, died within a few months of her mother.[8] Anne and Isabella both survived their parents and siblings. Isabella had been placed as a child in the convent of the Minoresses of St Clare without Aldgate, adjoining her parents' London home, and she later became its abbess.[9] Anne married Edmund Stafford (d. 1403), fifth earl of Stafford, shortly before her father's death, and in 1402 had a son and heir, named Humphrey, who later became the first duke of Buckingham (d. 1460). After Edmund's death, Anne married Sir William Bourchier (d. 1420) and had five children, her eldest son being Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex (d. 1483).[10]

Death and burial

Eleanor wrote her will at Pleshey Castle on 9 August, 1399 and died two months later, on 3 October, indicating that she was gravely ill during that interval. In her will she gave detailed instructions for her funeral and burial site, requesting that her body be buried 'in the church of the Abbey of Westminster, in the chapel of St Edmund the king and St Thomas of Canterbury next to (*juxte*) my lord and husband, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, seventh son of king Edward the third'.[11] This was an unusual request for a member of the de Bohun family which had for many generations been buried first in Llanthony Secunda Priory, Gloucestershire, and later in Walden Abbey, Essex.[12] With two notable exceptions, Eleanor was the only member of the family to be buried at Westminster Abbey.[13] However, Eleanor was married to a prince of royal blood whose family and ancestors had been buried at Westminster, and she understood the advantages of burial at such a magnificent site. Her will requested burial next to or near (the original word '*juxte*' is ambiguous in this respect) the body of her husband Thomas, duke of Gloucester. However, she then adds 'if the body of my said lord should, in time, be removed, I wish my body to repose and stay in the aforesaid chapel and place'.[14] After his imprisonment and murder at Calais, Thomas's body had been brought back to England and conveyed to Eleanor for burial at Westminster by order of the king on 14 October 1397.[15] However, the king must have changed his mind about allowing the burial of his uncle at Westminster because on 31 October he ordered Eleanor to take her husband's body to Bermondsey

8 Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

9 *CPL*, *1396–1404*, 544; M. Carlin, 'St Botolph Aldgate Gazeteer: Holy Trinity Minories (Abbey of St Clare 1293/4–1539', in *Historical Gazeteer of London Before the Great Fire*, ed. D. Keene (London: Institute of Historical Research, Social and Economic Study of Medieval London, 1987; unpub. typescript), 68/1, 1–51, at 8).

10 C. Rawcliffe, 'Anne of Woodstock, countess of Stafford (1382–1438)', *ODNB*, online edition, ref:odnb/54430 accessed 26 November, 2020; C. Rawcliffe, 'Stafford, Humphrey, first duke of Buckingham (1402–60)', *ODNB*, online edition, ref:odnb/26207 accessed 26 November, 2020.

11 Reg. Arundel, I, f. 163r. Thomas and Eleanor were benefactors of Westminster Abbey (A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London, 1971), 84–5).

12 Her daughter Anne (d. 1438) chose to be buried in Llanthony Priory, the first member of her family to be buried there since 1275 (*The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–43*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols, Canterbury and York Society, 42, 45–7 (1937–47), II, 596–7).

13 Humphrey VII (d. 1322) buried his first two children, who died at a very young age, at Westminster Abbey, presumably because of the rights afforded by his marriage to Elizabeth Holland, daughter of Edward I (C. Peers and L.E. Tanner, 'On Some Recent Discoveries in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, 93 (1949), 151–60; see also J. Ward, 'The Wheel of Fortune and the Bohun Family in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History*, 39 (2008), 162–71).

14 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.

15 *Rymer's Foedera*, ed. T. Rymer, 20 vols (London, 1739–45), VIII, 17–30. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rymer-foedera/vol8/pp17–30 accessed 11 January 2021.

Priory instead.[16] At this point, Eleanor may have requested permission to bury Thomas's body at the college of Pleshey, Essex, founded by him in 1395 at the de Bohun family seat of Pleshey Castle.[17] Froissart writes that the duke's body was buried at the college of Pleshey shortly after its arrival in England.[18] If this happened then Eleanor must have negotiated Thomas's reburial at St Edmund's chapel in Westminster shortly thereafter. We know that at the time of her death he was buried somewhere in the south side of Westminster Abbey because, according to Adam of Usk's chronicle, Thomas's body was later moved from the south side of Westminster Abbey to Edward the Confessor's chapel by order of Henry IV at his first parliament, which met on 14 October 1399.[19] Thomas' tomb was placed where it can be found today, between the shrine of St Edward and the tomb of Thomas' mother, Queen Philippa.

Eleanor's will indicates that she believed that her husband's tomb might be moved, but given that her will was written before Henry IV's accession to the throne, it is most likely that her words arose from fears originating in her own experience with Richard II. Having already moved her husband's body twice by order of the king, she may have feared that Thomas's body would be taken out of Westminster Abbey into a more obscure location. The body of her uncle Richard Fitzalan (d. 1397) had been exhumed and reburied at an unmarked spot by order of the king after his burial place at the London Grey Friars became associated with miraculous occurrences.[20] Richard II had every motivation to bury Thomas's body in a place that was less visible and accessible than Westminster Abbey. Eleanor's express instructions that her tomb should remain in St Edmund's chapel even if her husband's tomb was moved indicates a desire to ensure dynastic memory for both her husband and her family. Westminster Abbey was the place where kings and queens were buried and St Edmund's chapel contained the remains of several other members of the royal family.[21] Eleanor wanted not only to lie among them, but also to have her brass seen, her epitaph read, and her and her family memorialised there for eternity. Burial at any other location, including the recently founded college of Pleshey or the traditional de Bohun resting place in Walden Abbey would not have provided her with the same visibility or opportunity for amassing prayers and ensuring eternal remembrance. Although she could not have foreseen the extent of tomb destruction that would be visited upon later generations, this decision showed extraordinary prescience. Only one other de Bohun tomb has survived to the present day, and Eleanor's tomb and brass would almost certainly have been lost had she not been buried at Westminster Abbey.[22]

Eleanor's awareness of her status as an heiress and a royal bride is also evident in the instructions she gave in her will for her funeral.

16 *Ibid.*

17 I am grateful to Nigel Saul for his input regarding this sequence of events.

18 London, BL, Royal MS 18 E II, ff. 348v, 349r (Jean Froissart, *Chroniques* vol. IV, *c.*1480).

19 *Chronicon Adae de Usk AD 1377–1421*, ed. and trans. E.M. Thompson (London, 1904), 39–40, 194–5.

20 C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard, fourth earl of Arundel and ninth earl of Surrey (1346–97), *ODNB*, online edition, ref:odnb/9535 accessed 11 January, 2021.

21 Thomas's siblings, William of Windsor (d. 1348) and his sister Blanche of the Tower (d. 1342); John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall (d. 1336); William de Valence, earl of Pembroke (half-brother of Henry III) (d. 1296); and nine royal infants, children of Henry III and Edward I (C. Steer, 'The Death of Achilles: The Funerary Brass of Sir Humphrey Bourchier', *MBS Trans*, 19:5 (2018), 425–44 at 435).

22 The only other surviving de Bohun tomb is that of Eleanor's great-aunt, Margaret, countess of Devon (d. 1391), in Exeter Cathedral.

She specifies that her body should be covered with a black tapestry with a white cross and an escutcheon of her arms in the middle of the cross, and four round wax tapers and eight plain lamps at the four corners. She further specifies that fifteen poor men, each holding a torch, should surround her coffin, five at the front and five on each side, and that each should be dressed in 'a gown, a hood, and a pair of breeches of good strong blue cloth of deep colour, and let the said gowns and hoods be lined with white'.[23] She ends by stating that all of the tapers, lamps and torches should only be lit around her dead body during the time of the divine service. It is perhaps in this dramatic and detailed account of how she wished her funeral to be conducted, more than anywhere else, that we get a sense of Eleanor's pride in her lineage and the importance she gave to public display and ceremony. Her words conjure an unforgettable image of the burial of a great fourteenth-century noblewoman. Her coat of arms, presumably the same as that shown on her seal and thus featuring the royal arms of England and old France impaling de Bohun, featured prominently in the centre of the white cross on her coffin, for all to see (Fig. 2).[24] Her body, carried by fifteen men into the church, was lit up by a total of twenty-seven candles during the service. Furthermore, it cannot be a coincidence that she chose to dress the fifteen poor men in rich blue cloth lined in white, the

Fig. 2. The seal of Eleanor de Bohun from F. Sandford, A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain (London, 1707).

de Bohun colours.[25] She may have wanted a royal burial at Westminster Abbey, but during her funeral Eleanor wished to remind everyone that she was a member of a great and ancient family dynasty, the de Bohuns.

The brass of Eleanor de Bohun

Eleanor's plain Purbeck marble tomb measures 2440×930 mm. It is only 500 mm in height and has a massive, 130 mm thick, upper slab inset with a finely engraved and highly ornamented brass (Fig. 3).[26] It is a product of

23 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.

24 R.H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals of the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, 2 vols (London, 1981), II, 13; *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950), 167; F. Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain* (London, 1707), 125; TNA: DL 27/328.

25 The de Bohun coat of arms is described in early rolls of arms as *azure, a bend argent with cotises or, between six lioncels or* (*Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272–1307)*, ed. G.J. Brault, 2 vols (London, 1997), I, 78 *passim*; II, 59–61). In practice, silver was usually represented as white, and in most surviving depictions the central bend in the de Bohun arms is white (*Boutell's Heraldry*, ed. C.W. Scott-Giles (London, 1950), 32; *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons, and Knights who Attended King Edward I to the Siege of Caerlaverock in 1300*, ed. and trans. T. Wright (London, 1864), 4).

26 C. Boutell, 'The Mounumental Brasses of London and Middlesex', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1 (1860), 67–112 at 67. Sandford's drawing of her brass predates Boutell's by over a century, but is not as accurate (Sandford, *Genealogical History*, 232).

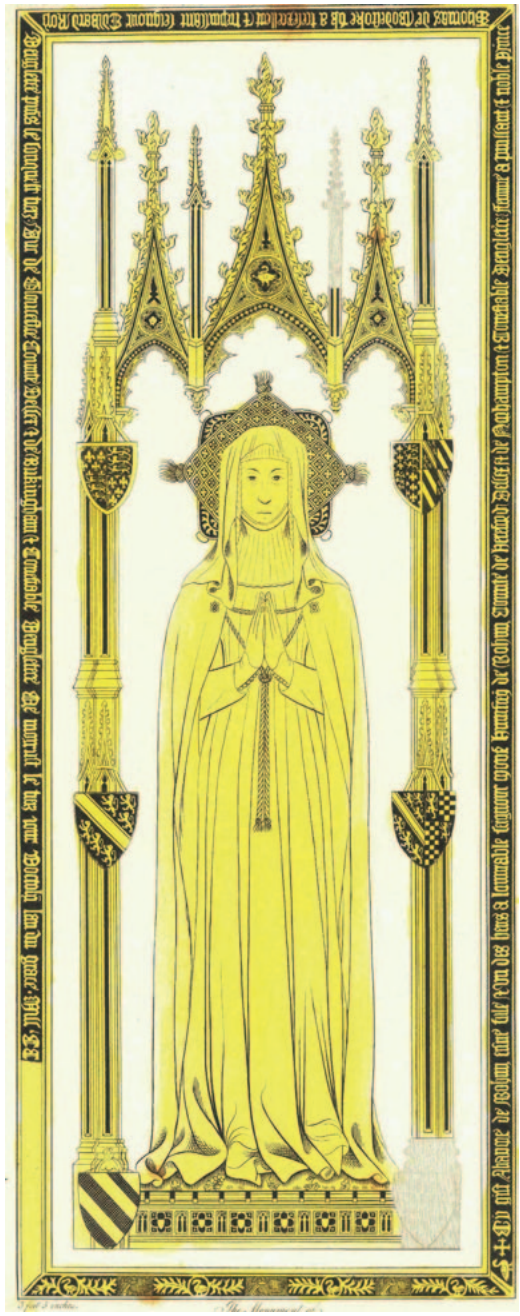

Fig. 3. Engraving of the brass of Eleanor de Bohun from G.P. Harding, Antiquities in Westminster Abbey (London, 1825). (© Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey)

the London B workshop, an atelier with close ties to Richard II's court whose output spanned more than a century beginning in the 1350s.[27] Apart from displaying many of the features associated with this workshop, such as the style of the letters forming her epitaph, the brass originally displayed four pairs of bears' heads at the base of the pinnacles that adorn the top of four shafts rising from the pillars and arches of a triple canopy above her effigy. The pair of heads carved into the smaller shaft on the sinister side is missing along with the shaft, but it was a mirror of its pair on the dexter side. These bear heads are hallmarks of the B workshop and they are also visible in other brasses, such as a surviving fragment of the brass of Sir John Golafre (d. 1396), which stood a few yards from Eleanor's tomb.[28]

The brasses of the London B workshop have been described as relatively austere compared to brasses from earlier periods.[29] However, Eleanor's brass is rich in decorative details. Engraved at its centre is a figure representing Eleanor, hands held together in prayer, wearing a long, flowing gown underneath a mantle. The mantle is gathered around her shoulders and held together by a cord fastened through a circular ring between her hands and hanging down the front of her gown. Her head, forehead, neck and chin are covered by

27 N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: the Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300–1500* (Oxford, 2001), 69. See also, J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses – a New Classification of Military Effigies', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 12 (1949), 70–97.

28 In Golafre's brass, the bears' heads are at the base of the finial of the canopy buttress (N. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey', *MBS Trans*, 15:1 (1992), 19–32). See also the canopy of John Sleford (d. 1401) in Balsham, Cambridge (M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), pl. 56).

29 Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, 70.

a *coverchef*, crimpled veil and pleated wimple (or *barbe*), indicating her widowed status and revealing only the oval of her somber face (Fig. 4). Under the sleeves of her gown, her forearms are wrapped in under-sleeves fastened with rows of tiny buttons. Her representation as a widow is not unusual, but in her case it also serves as a reminder of the unique circumstances surrounding her husband's death, contributing to its historic memory.

Fig. 4. Detail of the brass of Eleanor de Bohun showing her face.
(photo © Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey)

In marked contrast to the simplicity of her garments, the rest of the brass is highly ornamented, including an unusually large number of heraldic references. Eleanor's head rests on two richly embroidered cushions with tassels that lie at odd angles to each other, the upper cushion giving the appearance of an aura around her head. Her entire effigy rests under a triple-arched cusped canopy supported by two long square pillars, drawn to reveal the lateral side and confer a tri-dimensional effect (Fig. 5). Pinnacles adorned with crockets decorate the middle and top end of each pillar. In addition, two large shafts ending in pinnacles with crockets rise from above the pillars and two smaller ones rise from in between the cusped arches, although most of the smaller shaft in the sinister side is now

Fig. 5. Detail of the brass of Eleanor de Bohun showing the figure of a ducally gorged and chained swan in the central pediment of the canopy and the faces of lions on the side pediments, as well as a pair of bear heads protruding from the base of the larger pinnacles on each side. A lion and swan protrude from corbels either side of Eleanor.
(© Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey)

missing. Trailing vines grow along the edges of the three spires rising above the triple canopy. Swans and lions, representing the de Bohun family and Thomas's royal lineage, appear in multiple places throughout the brass. Six large shields decorated the pillars surrounding the original effigy, five of which survive. Eleanor's garments cover her feet and come to rest in between five flowers. Below them, connecting the two side pillars, is a crenellated base decorated with a geometric pattern alternating shields surrounded by quatrefoils and arched double gates.

Nicholas Rogers has suggested that the triple canopy in Eleanor's brass was inspired by Edward III's tomb chest, as it is a two-dimensional representation of the canopies housing 'weepers' on the sides of his tomb, which contain effigies of his children, including Eleanor's husband, Thomas.[30] This certainly appears to be the case because not only does the elaborate triple canopy closely resemble that of the weepers, but the alternating pattern of shields and arched gates in the crenellated base under Eleanor's feet is a smaller but identical version of that seen below the weepers.[31] The shields are now blank but may have been originally painted. The brass of Thomas of Woodstock, discussed below, also had a crenellated base, although it is much simpler in style.

An inscription in relief, written in French, is beautifully engraved in three fillets that surround Eleanor's brass and were originally inlayed with coloured mastic or enamel, traces of which are still discernible. Starting on the lower sinister side of the brass and ending on the dexter side, it proclaims Eleanor's exalted status as the daughter and wife of exceptional men, and reads:

> [swan image] [+] *Cy gist Alianore de Bohun eisne fille et un des heirs a lonurable seignour mons' Humfrey de Bohun Counte de Hereford, Dessex et de Norhampton et Conestable Dengletre, Femme a puissant et noble Prince Thomas de Wodestoke fils a tresexcellent et trepuissant seignour Edward Roy Denglet're puis le conquest tierz, Duc de Gloucestre Counte Dessex et de Bukyngham et Conestable Dengletere Qe morrust le tierz iour Doctobr' lan du [grace Mil. ccc. lxxxxix de gi aisme DIEUX face Mercy, Amen.*
>
> (Here lies Eleanor de Bohun, eldest daughter and one of the heirs of the honourable lord Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and constable of England; wife of the powerful and noble prince Thomas of Woodstock, son of the very excellent and very powerful lord Edward king of England, the third after the Conquest, and duke of Gloucester, earl of Essex and Buckingham and constable of England, who died the third day of October in the year of our Grace 1399, on whose soul God have mercy. Amen.)[32]

It is notable that, despite being married to a prince, Eleanor describes herself first as the daughter and heiress of Humphrey de Bohun, emphasising her status as the co-heiress of an ancient and noble family and, most importantly, establishing the importance of her monument as a reminder of her extinct paternal lineage, contributing to her family's memory and demonstrating Eleanor's profound pride in her ancestral origins. The brass also serves as a reminder of her husband, Thomas of Woodstock. However, her status as royal wife is secondary to her de Bohun identity. This

30 S. Badham, 'Cast Copper-Alloy Tombs and London Series B Brass Production in the Late Fourteenth Century', *MBS Trans*, 17:2 (2004), 105–27 at 122.

31 A similar pattern occurs on the tomb of Richard II.

32 The full inscription was recorded by Weever (J. Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland and the Islands adjacent* (London, 1767), 394).

type of epitaph is not unusual in the tombs of heiresses, but it is most often a result of the woman in question having married someone of lower birth and status.[33] In similar examples of epitaphs where the deceased refers to her father before her husband the reasons differ from those of Eleanor.[34] Often the woman in question was the daughter of a king, but she may also have been a second wife who outlived her husband by many years or was estranged from him at the time of her death.[35] Eleanor's choice of epitaph does not arise from any of these circumstances, and her lineage was not superior to that of her husband. Instead, her motivation arises from the fact that she was the last de Bohun heiress and had lived with this knowledge from a very young age. Her father was the only living male in the de Bohun family and she wanted to ensure her ancient family's dynastic memory.

Eleanor's brass originally had six shields hanging from the two pillars supporting her triple canopy, five of which survive. The top and middle shields on each side are suspended from belts inserted between the crockets at the base of the pinnacles decorating the lateral pillars, and the surviving lower shield on the dexter side hangs from the neck of an angel. On the dexter side the shields represent, from top to bottom: the royal arms of Eleanor's husband, Thomas of Woodstock (old France and England, quarterly, with a silver bordure to differentiate it from his father Edward III); the de Bohun coat of arms of her father Humphrey IX, earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton *azure, a bend argent patterned, cotised or between six lioncels or*; and the shield displaying two bends, one *or* and the other *argent*, which was most likely created or resurrected by Thomas of Woodstock to serve as a reference to the de Bohun earls' hereditary right to be constables of England.[36] This last shield appears in two of Thomas's seals, where the legends make reference to his status as constable (Figs 6 and 7).[37] The coat of arms, *gules, two bends, the one or, the other argent*, has been attributed to Miles, earl

Fig. 6. The seal of Thomas of Woodstock from F. Sandford, A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain (London, 1707).

33 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 295–6.

34 In one example, the epitaph of Elizabeth, countess of Athol, she does not refer to either of her husbands (P. Whittemore, 'The Athol Brass at Ashford, Kent', *MBS Bulletin*, 133 (2016), 650–3).

35 For a discussion of some of these tombs see C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of London, *c.*1240–1540', in C. Barron and C. Burgess eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 20, (Donington, 2010), 117–42 at 128–9.

36 The representation of this shield in the engraving shown in Fig. 3, showing three bends, is inaccurate.

37 These arms also appear as those of the 'Constable of England' in a late fourteenth-century continental armorial, where the background is given as *gules* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 15652–56, f. 58v, http://www.heraldique-europeenne.org/Armoriaux/Gelre/F58v.html accessed 30 September, 2019; S.M. Collins, 'Some English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish Arms in Medieval Continental Rolls', *Antiquaries Journal*, 21 (1941), 203–10).

Fig. 7. The equestrian seal and counterseal of Thomas of Woodstock from F. Sandford, A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain (London, 1707).

of Hereford (d. 1143), from whom the earldom of Hereford and the hereditary right to the constableship was passed to the de Bohuns some time after 1165, although there is no evidence that Miles ever used it.[38]

On the top sinister side of Eleanor's brass the first shield represents Eleanor's arms, showing her husband's arms impaling, quarterly, de Bohun and the constable's arms. These arms are different from those shown on the engraving of Eleanor's seal impression, where the constable's arms do not appear.[39] After Thomas's death, she (or her executors) may have quartered these arms with the de Bohun arms as a further reminder of the de Bohuns' ancient lineage. The second shield on the dexter side represents the arms of Eleanor's mother, Joan de Bohun, bearing de Bohun impaling, quarterly, 1st and 4th *gules, a lion rampart or* (Fitzalan) and 2nd and 3rd, *chequée or and azure* (Warrene).[40] The lower sinister coat of arms has not survived but Sandford details it as being a swan ducally gorged and chained.[41] This is not a coat of arms per se, and its inclusion as a shield is unusual, but not unique.[42]

The significance of the swan as a symbol of the ancient lineage and noble blood of the de Bohun family is underscored by its preeminence in Eleanor's funeral brass. It contains no less than ten swans, both resting and ducally gorged and chained. The pediment in the larger, central canopy above Eleanor's figure contains a ducally gorged and chained swan above the middle arch. Protruding from the side of the sinister pillar holding the canopy is a corbel showing a resting swan. The horizontal filet following her epitaph at the base of Eleanor's brass contains four resting swans encircled by foliage and between them are the remains of chains and crowns that must have been attached to three ducally gorged and chained swans (Fig. 8). A resting swan also precedes the legend encircling the brass, before the cross more commonly inserted prior to the initial word.

38 Miles's seal is reproduced in *Archaeologia*, 14 (1803), 276, pl. XLVII/4.

39 Sandford, *Genealogical History*, 125.

40 Joan de Bohun was the daughter of Richard Fitzalan (d. 1376), earl of Arundel and Surrey, and Eleanor of Lancaster (d. 1372), daughter of Henry, third earl of Lancaster (d. 1345). Her arms can be seen on her seal (TNA, DL 25/3379; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 14; Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 520).

41 Sandford, *Genealogical History*, 232.

42 The brass of Sir Simon de Felbrigg at Felbrigg, dating from around 1413, shows two shields containing his fetterlock badge (Boutell, 'Monumental Brasses', 75).

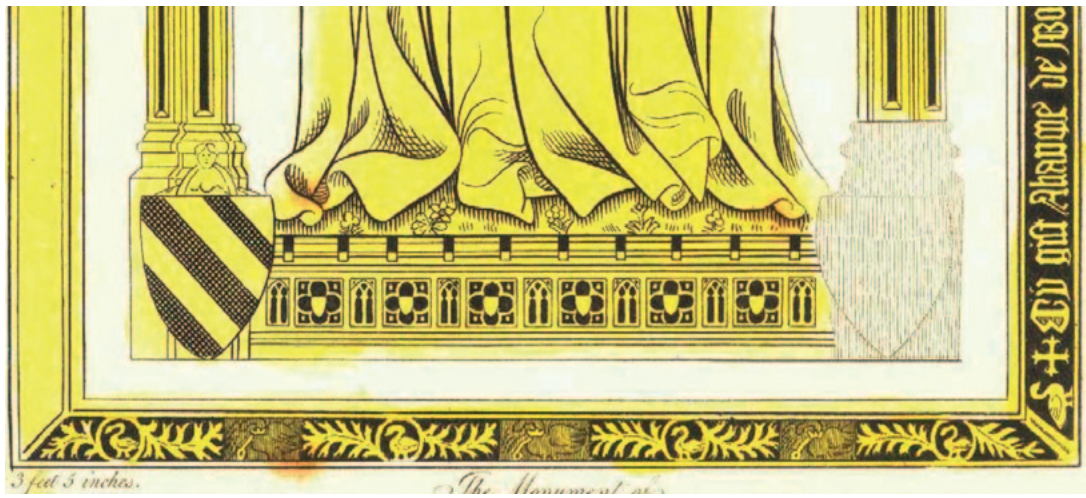

Fig. 8. The pediment of the brass of Eleanor de Bohun showing swans.
(© Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey)

The swan is most likely to have been introduced as a de Bohun family badge by Eleanor's great-grandfather, Humphrey VII (d. 1322). An impression of his equestrian seal made in 1301 shows an image of a resting swan above his coat of arms (Fig. 9).[43] Humphrey VII wished to associate the family with Godfrey de Bouillon, conqueror and first ruler of Jerusalem, who was said to be a direct descendant of the Swan Knight, a mythical warrior identified in a popular legend that probably originated in oral tradition before the twelfth century. Humphrey named his youngest son Aeneas, the middle English version of the Knight of the Swan's name, Helyas (Fig. 10).[44] However, there is no evidence that the swan continued to be used as a badge by Humphrey VII's sons

Fig. 9. The seal of Humphrey VII (d. 1322), TNA, DL 25/1543.
(Reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster)

43 This is the earliest dateable evidence linking the de Bohuns to the swan (TNA, DL 27/42; 25/1543). For a full discussion of the use of the Swan by the de Bohun family see L. Pascual, 'The De Bohun Dynasty: Power, Identity and Piety: 1066–1399' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of London, Royal Holloway, 2017), 59–67, https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/files/27830947/2017diazpascuallphd.pdf.

44 Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

Fig. 10. Illustration of the Swan Knight on a boat led by his swan brother, from the story of the Swan Knight in the Shrewsbury Book.
(© British Library Board, Royal MS 15 E VI, f. 273r)

or his grandson after his death as a traitor in 1322. Although it was used by his daughters, Margaret, countess of Devon, and Eleanor, countess of Ormonde, it rose to prominence again after Eleanor's marriage to Thomas of Woodstock. Thomas adopted this de Bohun symbol, making it his principal badge and adding to it a crown and chain.[45] An impression of one of his personal seals dated 1395 shows an open winged swan standing above Thomas's coat of arms in a way remarkably similar to the design of the counterseal used by Eleanor's great-grandfather, Humphrey VII (d. 1322), except that in Thomas's seal the swan is ducally gorged and chained (Fig. 11).[46]

Eleanor and Thomas's extensive use of the swan is evident in the couple's seals, coats of arms and personal objects. Eleanor's large seal shows two ducally gorged and chained swans on a boat, a reference to the Swan Knight, and in her will she bequeathed to her only son and heir a copy of the '*chevalier au cygne*' (a book about the Swan Knight), and a psalter specifically designated as an heirloom to be passed down the generations, with clasps containing swans, the arms of her father, and those of her grandfather.[47] A large seal of Pleshey College shows Thomas and Eleanor below a central figure of the Trinity with swans below their respective coats of arms. It was meant as a powerful symbol of the union of the ancient line of de Bohun

Fig. 11. The seal of Thomas of Woodstock, TNA, DL 27/170.
(Reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster)

45 Prior to Eleanor's marriage to Thomas, there is no evidence of any de Bohun swans having crowns and chains.

46 TNA, DL 27/170; M. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, 4 vols (Woodbridge, 2009), I, pl. 43.

47 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163.

and the royal line of England.[48] Thomas and Eleanor's homes at Pleshey and London contained many furnishings embroidered with swans, and the inventories of their goods make several references to Godfrey de Bouillon. At Pleshey, one of the largest tapestries of Arras, worth £45, represented Godfrey de Bouillon's conquest of the city of Jerusalem, and the libraries at both Pleshey and London contained copies of the history of Godfrey de Bouillon.[49] Thomas also possessed many items associating him personally with the swan badge.[50]

Thomas's adoption of the swan as his personal badge is probably linked to his position as a younger son.[51] He received the earldom of Essex and the constableship of England in right of his wife, and his revenues throughout his life came mostly from de Bohun lands.[52] In addition, many of his servants were from families that had traditionally served the de Bohuns.[53] This is important to understanding his willingness to identify himself with the de Bohun family, as it helped him to obtain the loyalty and support of men he needed for his military retinue. Yet on another level, the de Bohun family's history, as represented by its heraldic symbols, must also have resonated with Thomas's piety and love of chivalry. The de Bohuns were an ancient family associated with all the chivalric ideals related to crusading and military prowess, and Thomas was particularly drawn to these values. He was a devout man, as shown not only by his attempt in 1391 to go to Prussia on crusade, but more personally by his relationship with the Minoresses next to his London home, his patronage of several religious houses, his devotion to the Trinity, and his foundation of Pleshey College in 1395.[54] He was also the son of Edward III and a man of his time, who was susceptible to the ideals of ancient tradition and the codes of chivalry. His extensive library contained many histories and romances, he wrote a treatise on the order of battle in the Court of Chivalry, and took great pride in being a member of the Order of the Garter.[55]

The last heraldic symbol evident in Eleanor de Bohun's brass is the lion, a royal badge. Lions appear in different guises in Eleanor's brass, although in much smaller number than the swans. The dexter and sinister pediments in the triple canopy above Eleanor's effigy each contain a lion's face, their sardonic expression emphasized by a full mane and a protruding tongue. A full sitting lion, head tilted upwards, also juts from the corbel at the top of the dexter pillar holding the canopy, just above Thomas's shield. This lion, juxtaposed to the swan above Eleanor's shield on the sinister side, represents Thomas's royal lineage. However, the de Bohuns could also lay claim to the lion badge through the marriage of Humphrey VII

48 TNA, DL 25/754/590; TNA, DL 25/743/589 (Pleshey Seals); reproduced in R. Gough, *The History and Antiquities of Pleshey in the County of Essex* (London, 1803), 185.

49 Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory of Goods and Chattels', 288, 303; *CIM, 1392–9*, 223–5.

50 J. Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure* (Woodbridge, 2012), 416; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, II:1, 240, 243; BL, Cotton MS Nero D X, f. 110.

51 Henry IV, who married Eleanor's sister Mary, temporarily adopted his wife's heraldic symbols in combination with his own and Henry V adopted the de Bohun swan as his badge (Pascual, 'De Bohun Dynasty', 145–8).

52 For a discussion of Thomas's finances see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 88–94. See also *CIM*, *1392–9*, 120–2, 130–1.

53 Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 95–6.

54 TNA, DL 41/425 (Foundation Statutes of Pleshey College), printed in Gough, *History and Antiquities*, 175–82, Appendix XXIII.

55 Thomas and Eleanor were benefactors of the abbeys of Westminster, St Albans, Barking and Walden, as well as several other religious houses. For a full discussion of Thomas of Woodstock's character, see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 74–86.

(d. 1322) to Elizabeth, countess of Holland. Three of their children, including earl Humphrey VIII (d. 1361), displayed lions or leopards in their seals.[56] In addition, Eleanor's mother, Joan de Bohun, could also lay claim to royal kinship. Through her mother, Eleanor of Lancaster, she was the great grand-daughter of Edmund Plantagenet (d. 1296), son of Henry III.

The commissioning of Eleanor's brass

Eleanor died two months after writing her will, and the amount of thought she gave to her burial arrangements suggests that she left verbal or written instructions regarding her tomb's design and composition. It is likely that the actual commission and execution of her brass was carried out by Sir Gerard Braybrooke (d. 1429), the first named executor in Eleanor's will. Braybrooke was also an executor of the will of his uncle Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London (d. 1404), and the bishop's triple canopied brass in St Paul's cathedral, now lost but illustrated by Dugdale, looks remarkably similar to Eleanor's, suggesting that it was influenced by the design of her brass (Fig. 12).[57] Bishop Braybrooke had confirmed the statutes of Pleshey College in 1395, and he accompanied Richard II in the expedition to Ireland in 1399 with Eleanor's son and heir, Humphrey. He was also very close to Thomas of Woodstock during his lifetime. His nephew, Gerard was appointed constable of Pleshey castle by Eleanor's mother, Joan, countess of Hereford, for the nine months following Eleanor's death, and remained on Joan's council until her death in 1419, being named as an executor in her will.[58] Given the similarities between the brass of Bishop Braybrooke in old St Paul's

Fig. 12. Engraving of the Brass of Bishop Robert Braybrook, after W. Hollar from W. Benham, Old St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1902).

56 Loyd, *Book of Seals*, 268–69 (Eleanor de Bohun, countess of Ormonde (d. 1363)); Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 13 (Edward de Bohun (d. 1334)); Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 14 and pl. 6 (Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1361)).

57 I am grateful to Nigel Saul for first suggesting this similarity.

58 http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386–1421/member/braybrooke-sir-gerard-ii-1354–1429 accessed 14 May 2015.

Cathedral and Eleanor's brass in Westminster Abbey, it is likely that Sir Gerard played a part in their execution, although Eleanor's mother, Joan de Bohun, who outlived her daughter by twenty years, may also have had considerable input.

Eleanor's brass in the context of her husband's tomb

Eleanor's choice of a brass focusing on her status as an heiress to ensure dynastic memory needs to be seen in the context of her husband Thomas's tomb. Thomas's brass is believed to have been laid down *c.*1399–1400, and this, combined with the sudden and unexpected circumstances of his death in 1397, suggests that Eleanor was involved in his tomb's design and execution.[59] It is impossible to know whether Thomas gave particular instructions for the location or design of his tomb during his lifetime, but his foundation of Pleshey College in 1395 is strong evidence that he intended to be buried there along with his family and descendants. His murder and its consequences for his family may have led Eleanor to alter their original intentions regarding both their final resting place and their tombs.

Eleanor and Thomas were commemorated individually despite dying within two years of each other and despite the fact that Eleanor did not remarry. Their tombs do not have common features and are not the same size.[60] They do not appear to have been designed to be viewed together and, as we have seen, Eleanor requested that her tomb remain at St Edmund's chapel if her husband's tomb was moved. This raises two interesting questions. The first is where Thomas planned to be buried, assuming he expressed a desire for a particular location during his lifetime. This would have presumably influenced the design of his tomb. The second is why Eleanor and Thomas are commemorated individually, his brass focusing almost exclusively on his status as the son of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault.

Thomas was buried in a large grey marble tomb measuring approximately 2743×1372 mm, with a magnificent brass.[61] The brass has not survived but is known from an engraving made in the 1660s, the accuracy of which appears to be confirmed by the surviving indent, revealed in 1998 (Fig. 13).[62] Its central theme is dynastic in design, being a proclamation of Thomas's exalted royal heritage, yet its execution is unique. It displays a relatively small central effigy of Thomas, dressed as a knight of the Garter, below a figure of the Trinity flanked by the Virgin and Child and the figure of a bishop, most likely St Thomas of Canterbury.[63] Thomas does not appear to be wearing armour under his garter robes, which may have been a conscious choice to avoid portraying him as a 'man of war' and instead highlight his piety.[64] Below Thomas's figure, Eleanor is portrayed

59 Thomas would not have been aware of his impending death. He was 42 at the time and the foundation statutes for Pleshey College include prayers for his 'present and future children' (TNA, DL 41/425). However, there are several examples of men and women planning their tombs while still alive, including Thomas's daughter Anne Stafford (*Reg. Chichele*, ed. Jacob, II, 596–7).

60 Her tomb, measuring approximately 2440×930 mm, is significantly smaller than that of her husband.

61 R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols in 5 (London, 1786–96), I, pt 2, 156.

62 M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England*, (Stroud, 2003), 157; Sandford, *Genealogical History*, 230).

63 Pleshey College was dedicated to the Trinity, the Virgin and St Thomas of Canterbury.

64 Most of the nobility were represented with armour until the end of the seventeenth century (S. Badham, 'Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *MBS Trans*, 15:5 (1996), 413–65, at 416). Both of Thomas's grandsons wear armour under their Garter robes in their tomb representations. See discussion below.

as a young woman standing with her hands clasped at her waist and long, flowing hair, in stark contrast to the effigy in her own brass. Above him are his parents, Edward III and Philippa, and surrounding these images on both sides are eleven figures standing below coats of arms arranged in a manner similar to 'weepers'. Most of the legend surrounding the brass had been lost by the time of its reproduction, but the remaining filet on the dexter side reminded the viewer, in French, to pray for Thomas's soul 'morning, noon or evening'.[65] The brass displays twenty coats of arms above its many figures (some of the arms were already lost at the time the brass was drawn) which enables the identification of some of the secular figures on the margins as Thomas's siblings.[66] It is also possible that some of the figures represent Thomas and Eleanor's children.[67] The iconography on Thomas's brass provides a unique example of dynastic tomb commemoration in the fourteenth century, and it appears to have been inspired by the tomb of his father in Westminster Abbey, which is surrounded by 'weeper' figures of all of his children and their coats of arms.[68] This artistic

Fig. 13. Engraving of Thomas of Woodstock's lost brass from F. Sandford, A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain (London, 1707).

65 This recalls the epitaph of his brother, Edward, prince of Wales (d. 1376). Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 158.

66 Of the eleven figures, five can be identified with certainty as Edward III, Philippa of Hainault, Edward Prince of Wales (d. 1376), Edmund Langley, duke of York (d. 1402) and John of Gaunt (d. 1399). The adult female figures are most likely Isabella, countess of Bedford (d. 1379), Margaret, countess of Pembroke (d. 1361), and Mary, duchess of Brittany (denoted by a coronet) (d. 1362) (Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 157).

67 The three surviving figures representing younger children (two on pedestals) have often been identified with Thomas's siblings who died young: William of Hatfield (d. 1337), William (d. 1336) and Blanche (d. 1342). However, it is also possible that the figure on the top right hand corner represents Thomas's son Humphrey, and that there were once additional figures in the twin-arched compartments either side of Eleanor which, together with the existing figures, represented the couple's four daughters (Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 158).

68 Badham, 'Status and Salvation', 426, n. 53; S. Oosterwijk, "A Swithe Feire Grave': the Appearance of Children on Medieval Tomb Monuments', in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium*, eds R. Eales and S. Tyas (Donington, 2003), 172–92, at 184. For a discussion of the origin of weepers on English royal tombs see Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 32–4. Duffy also notes that Thomas's brass is a two-dimensional variation of the dynastic format adopted for the tombs of his parents (*ibid.*,158).

visual connection also contributes to making the brass a permanent reminder of Thomas's status as a son of Edward III, a particularly poignant image to choose as a memorial for posterity in the context of his conflict with his nephew and his untimely death.

It is possible that Thomas intended to be buried at Pleshey College, and that he gave some thought to the position and perhaps the general design of his tomb during its foundation. The fact that his effigy is surmounted by an image of the Trinity, the Virgin and St Thomas of Canterbury, to whom Pleshey College was dedicated, indicates that the brass design may have originally been intended for his tomb at the college. However, Holinshed's claim that his body was conveyed into England 'with all funerall pompe' and buried at Pleshey in 'a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected' seems to be a conflation of Froissart's account of his burial in the 'church that the duke of Gloucester had founded and erected [at Pleshey]' and Adam of Usk's description of his later interment in Westminster Abbey 'with great pomp in the place which the duke had got ready in his lifetime, between the shrine of St Edward and the tombs of his parents'.[69] Ultimately, it is likely that Thomas originally planned to be buried at Pleshey but there does not appear to be any evidence that Thomas designed his own tomb and, given that it was not completed until the time of Eleanor's death, it is most likely that she commissioned it.

When discussing Thomas's actual monument, the first thing to note is the choice of a brass. As has often been noted, at the time of Thomas and Eleanor's death most royal tombs were relief monuments made of stone or alabaster. The choice of a brass was relatively rare among royalty and the peerage, and it is not clear why they chose this form of representation.[70] Perhaps the brass form allowed for more intricate drawings that would have been more difficult or costly to sculpt, and this would be particularly true of Thomas's brass design.[71] The choice of a brass tomb may also have been related to Eleanor's wish to bury her husband near his parents at Westminster, as its height occupied less visual space and the particular choice of design and representation in a two-dimensional setting would not have competed with the free-standing tombs of his parents when placed nearby.[72] Burial at Pleshey would have provided more flexibility in the tomb's design. Cost may also have been an important consideration, particularly considering the financial consequences of

69 *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. H. Ellis, 6 vols (London, 1807), II, 837; BL, Royal MS 18 E II, ff. 348v, 349r; *Usk Chronicon*, ed. Thompson, 194–5. Froissart states that Thomas's body was placed in a lead coffin inside a wooden coffin. When Thomas's tomb was opened in 1808 it contained a lead coffin inside the fragments of a wooden coffin, lending some credence to Froissart's narrative (Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 158).

70 Examples include: Elizabeth, countess of Athol (1375) at Ashford, Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and his wife, Margaret (1406) at St Mary's Warwick, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham and his wife, Anne (1480) at Pleshey, Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex and his wife Isabel (1483) at Little Easton, Essex, Edward, duke of York (d. 1415) at Fotheringhay, and Katherine Swynford and Joan Beaufort at Lincoln Cathedral.

71 A. Adams, 'Revealed/Concealed: Monumental Brasses on Tomb Chests – The Examples of John I, Duke of Cleves, and Catherine of Bourbon', in A. Adams and J. Barker eds, *Revisiting the Monument, Sixty years since Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture*, 160–83 at 162, https://assets.courtauld.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/31140850/Revisiting-The-Monument-Courtauld-Books-Online-lo-res.pdf?_ga=2.166654398.1858026113.1609351105–631951968.1609351105 [accessed 30 December, 2020].

72 For a discussion of space considerations relating to royal tombs at Westminster Abbey see Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 179–80.

Thomas's treason and death. However, Thomas and Eleanor's piety may have had the greatest influence in their choice of a brass, a medium favoured by ecclesiastics that allowed the intricate symbolism necessary for dynastic commemoration while presenting a simplified, more austere visual appearance.[73]

A second question is the highly individual character of Thomas's tomb design. Although Eleanor appears on her husband's tomb, it is not a traditional double brass design in the style seen in many other contemporary and subsequent brasses, such as that of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d. 1401) and his wife Margaret Ferrers, in St Mary's Warwick. Thomas's brass focuses on himself, commemorating his glorious royal lineage and his status as a knight of the Garter. This is at odds with the evidence relating to his image and identity during his lifetime. As we have seen, after his marriage to Eleanor, Thomas embraced a new, augmented identity, resurrecting many of the ancient de Bohun symbols and combining them with his own to create a powerful chivalric image for a new dynasty. Pleshey College was the physical embodiment of Thomas' dynastic ambitions, and the surviving drawings of two of its seals provide additional visual evidence of Thomas' new identity and the motives behind Pleshey College's creation. The seals show Thomas and Eleanor standing or kneeling side by side below a large figure of the Trinity, and their individual coats of arms. In the largest seal, each coat of arms stands at either side of the Trinity above a trefoil and a swan not gorged and chained, both de Bohun symbols (Fig. 14). In the slightly smaller seal, the de Bohun swan stands at the bottom of the seal, wings spread, in between the two coats of arms (Fig. 15). It is striking that both seals give equal importance to

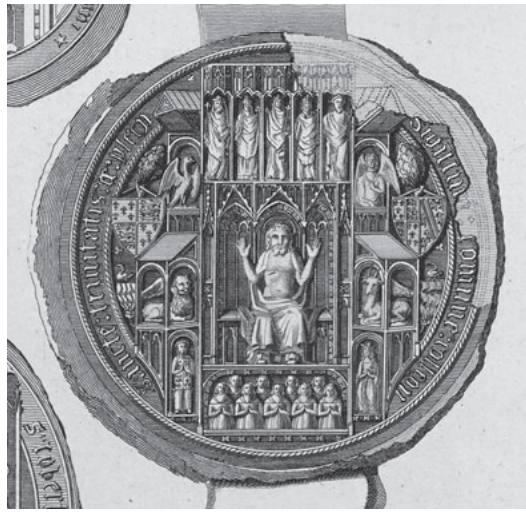

Fig. 14. Large seal of Pleshey College from R. Gough, The History and Antiquities of Pleshey in the County of Essex (London, 1803).

Thomas and Eleanor, and this fact, combined with the symbolism, creates an image making them appear almost as co-founders of the college. Yet the college's foundation statutes do not include Eleanor as a founder and therefore her relative importance in the images related to Pleshey must arise from the fact that it was created using much of the wealth she brought to her marriage as a de Bohun heiress.

In the context of this combined identity, it is notable that Thomas's tomb design concentrates almost exclusively on his royal family. Although Eleanor appears in a niche below him and is one of the few larger, more prominent figures in the brass (along with that of the Trinity and Edward III), she does not appear beside him. Moreover, Eleanor's figure is less that of a mature wife and mother of four children and more that of a young bride, with her hands clasped together in front of her waist and her long hair flowing loose. The

73 See below.

Fig. 15. Smaller oval seal of Pleshey College from R. Gough, The History and Antiquities of Pleshey in the County of Essex (London, 1803).

swans, lions, and constable arms, so prominent elsewhere, are nowhere to be seen, and it is not even certain whether the figures of children represent his own children or his deceased infant siblings. It is almost as if, after Thomas's tragic death and attainder for treason, all that truly mattered was to remind everyone that Thomas was the son of Edward III, a royal prince of the blood, and it is difficult not to view this as a reaction to his murder and the defamation of his character by his nephew Richard II. After his death, Eleanor appears to have given up on the dynastic ambitions envisaged during the creation of Pleshey College. It is telling that her son and heir, Humphrey, was buried with his de Bohun ancestors in Walden Abbey, as was her daughter Joan months later.[74] Instead, Eleanor focused on creating an image for Thomas's brass that commemorated for eternity Thomas's piety and his status as a member of the royal family. This design, however, subsumed her own identity into that of her husband's and did not allow for the commemoration of her de Bohun lineage. Given her status as an heiress and the responsibility of ensuring her family's dynastic memory, Eleanor created a separate, individual brass for her own tomb, emphasising her individual lineage and identity.

Eleanor's brass in the context of her descendants

It is well-established that some medieval families used common materials, form and iconography in their tombs to indicate kinship, association, or allegiance to their lineage, and this appears to be the case with Thomas and Eleanor's descendants.[75] Of the very limited number of chest tombs with brasses associated with the peerage, two others belong to their grandsons. The first is the lost brass of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham (d. 1460) and his wife Anne Neville (d. 1480) in Pleshey College, and the second is that of Sir Henry Bourchier, earl of Eu and Essex (d. 1483), and his wife Isabel Plantagenet (d. 1485) at Little Easton, Essex. It should also be noted that two of Eleanor's great-grandsons, Humphrey, Baron Cromwell (d. 1471), and Sir Humphrey Bourchier (d. 1471) are commemorated with brass tombs located near Eleanor's tomb in St Edmund's chapel, Westminster Abbey.[76]

74 Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 141.

75 These families include the Beauchamps, Cobhams, Cromwells, Bourchiers and Chaucers (Adams, 'Revealed/Concealed', 163; Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*; S. Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group', *MBS Trans*, 17:5 (2007), 423–52).

76 For a discussion of these tombs see Steer, 'The Death of Achilles'.

A fifth brass to Jocosa (Joyce), Lady Tiptoft (d. 1446), at Enfield, Middlesex, was purposely designed to bear a close resemblance to Eleanor's.

Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and his wife, Anne Neville, were buried together under an altar tomb with a double brass at Pleshey.[77] Humphrey, the only son of Anne of Woodstock, Thomas and Eleanor's sole heiress, from her first marriage to Edmund, earl of Stafford (d. 1403), was slain in 1460 at the battle of Northampton, and was probably first buried in the Grey Friars church there.[78] Anne survived her husband by twenty years and remarried, but in her will asked to be buried at Pleshey College with her first husband.[79] In his will, Humphrey requested the substantial augmentation of Pleshey College: lands worth 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) a year, a new chapel dedicated to the Trinity and the Virgin on the north side, and an additional three priests and six poor men, who were to pray for the souls of his family and ancestors.[80] Anne, his principal executor, endowed the college with lands worth 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) a year and probably commissioned the joint brass under which they were buried.[81] The brass is now lost and there is no known record of it, but the slab with its indent was discovered in 1868 and allows a glimpse of the original design.[82] The duke and duchess lay side by side under a very elaborate double triple canopy in two tiers, each triple canopy in the second tier resembling that in Eleanor de Bohun's brass. More importantly, the duke is represented, like his grandfather Thomas, wearing the long full robe of the order of the Garter. His head rests on a tilting helm surmounted by his crest, 'out of a ducal coronet *gules*, a swan's head erect between two wings elevated *argent*'.[83] Anne also wears a full gown, her head resting on a cushion held by angels.[84] The effigies appear to have been remarkably similar to those in the brass commemorating Humphrey's stepbrother, Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex (d. 1483), and his countess Isabel Plantagenet (d. 1484), although the Stafford brass is smaller.[85] Henry was Anne of Woodstock's eldest son from her second marriage to Sir William Bourchier (d. 1420). Like Henry, Humphrey probably wore a suit of armour under his Garter robe, and Henry's head also rests upon a tilting helm surrounded by his crest (a saracen's head wearing an antique cap). Isabel's head, like Anne's, rests on a cushion held by angels, an unusual feature in brasses of this period.[86] It is highly likely that the decision by both Humphrey Stafford and Henry Bourchier to be commemorated with brasses on altar tombs was inspired by the tombs of Thomas and Eleanor, and that they sought to establish a connection with these ancestors in their dynastic tombs by choosing to replicate some of the features of Thomas and Eleanor's brasses. This is most obvious in the Stafford brass, because its location at Pleshey College indicates that Humphrey (and/or his wife Anne) wanted to fulfil his grandfather Thomas's vision of the college as a burial place for his descendants, and Anne would have

77 Harris, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 356.
78 Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 166.
79 Harris, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 356.
80 Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 166.
81 *Ibid*.
82 Illustrated in M. Christy and W.W. Porteous, 'On Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 7:1 (1898), 1–31, at 25–8.
83 Illustrated in Scott-Giles, *Boutell's Heraldry*, 38.
84 Christy, 'Essex Brasses', 25–6.
85 It measures 2134 mm×787 mm (Christy, 'Essex Brasses', 25). Sally Badham has also noted the similarity of the Bourchier brass to that of Ralph and Margaret Cromwell at Tattershall, indicating that it is probably the result of the kinship ties between the families (Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage', 434).
86 Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage', 434. For a discussion of angels holding cushions on brasses see Norris, *The Craft*, 73.

wanted their tomb to act as a visual reminder of Humphrey's grandparents and their ancient lineage.[87] Unfortunately the loss of the brass prevents a more detailed comparison with those of Thomas and Eleanor, but their choice of a brass could also have been influenced by their piety, which may have led them to favour a less visually ostentatious tomb. Humphrey's will requests that his funeral be solemnised 'without any sumptuous costs or charges', and Anne's will expresses a desire to set 'all pomp and pride of the world apart'.[88] The Bourchier brass is too close in date and appearance to the Stafford one for there not to have been a conscious desire to establish a visual family connection at the time it was commissioned, and the fact that Humphrey Stafford was close to his mother and step brothers is further evidence that Henry's choice of a brass tomb was inspired by that of his grandparents and step brother.[89]

Another brass associated with the brass of Eleanor de Bohun is that of Joyce, Lady Tiptoft (d. 1446) in St Andrew's church, Enfield. (Fig. 16).[90] The brass is of an inferior quality, and Joyce herself is represented in stark juxtaposition to Eleanor, wearing opulent heraldic garments, an elaborate horned head dress, and ostentatious jewellery, including a beautiful necklace and prominent ring. Her attire and ornaments have been compared to those of Lady Joan Etchingham's brass at Etchingham, Sussex.[91] However, the brass'

87 At least two of Humphrey and Anne's children were also buried at Pleshey and probably commemorated with brasses in the chapel built by them, but there is no record of their tombs (Gough, *History and Antiquities*, 164, 184; Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 167).

88 Harris, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 295, 356

89 C. Rawcliffe, 'Anne of Woodstock, countess of Stafford (*c.*1382–1438)', *ODNB*, online edition, ref:odnb/54430 accessed 13 January, 2021.

90 Boutell, 'Monumental Brasses', 96.

91 'Meeting Reports: Enfield, Middlesex', *MBS Bulletin* 123, June 2013, 444.

Fig. 16. The brass of Joyce, Lady Tiptoft (d. 1446), Enfield, Middlesex.
(© A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century, William Lack and Philip Whittemore, vol. I, pt 3 (2002))

overall design is so remarkably similar to Eleanor's as to leave no doubt that the person who commissioned it was inspired by Eleanor's brass and wished viewers to be reminded of it. It has the same triple canopy with six shields hanging in exactly the same position as those in Eleanor's brass, and the inscription is similar to Eleanor's. It identifies her as 'daughter and an heiress of Lord Charlton of Powys and also daughter and an heiress of the honourable countess of March, and wife of the great knight John Tiptoft'.

Joyce was the younger of two sisters, daughters and co-heiresses of Edward Charlton, Lord Charlton of Powys (d. 1421) and his wife Alianore Holland, daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent. In 1422 Joyce became the second wife of John, Lord Tiptoft (d. 1443), and she survived him by three years. His tomb, with effigies of himself and his two wives, is in Ely Cathedral.[92] However, Joyce's son, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (d. 1470), appears to have commissioned a brass at Enfield for his mother in the 1460s.[93] His reasons for the design of his mother's tomb are not known but it is most likely that they arose out of a perceived affinity with the de Bohuns arising from family connections, his home, and his office of constable of England. His mother lived in Wroth's Place, Enfield, and was buried in the nearby church of St Andrew. Enfield manor descended to the de Bohuns, forming part of Eleanor de Bohun's lands at her death.[94] The church of St Andrew was held by Walden Abbey, the traditional resting place of the de Bohuns.[95] Through her mother, Alianore Holland, Joyce was, like Eleanor, a direct descendant of Edward I. Furthermore, her grandmother, Alice Fitzalan, was the sister of Joan de Bohun, Eleanor's mother, making Joyce's mother Eleanor's cousin. Yet perhaps most importantly on 7 February, 1462, Edward IV appointed Tiptoft constable of England, an office held by the de Bohun family for several generations and which had not been used since the death of Humphrey, duke of Buckingham.[96] Given the date in which the brass was created it is difficult not to see this connection as the main reason for creating a brass for his mother, a wealthy heiress and descendant of Edward I, that resembled that of his grandmother's cousin and namesake, Eleanor, the last de Bohun heiress and another descendant of Edward I.

The piety of the duchess of Gloucester

Eleanor appears to have been a deeply pious woman beyond the conventions of her time. This is evident from her will, but also from the personalised prayers and the structure of Eleanor's surviving personal psalter which demonstrate that she was an active participant in her faith.[97] Her piety was probably influenced by that of her parents. Her father was a crusader in the Alexandrian campaign

92 M. Ward, 'The Tomb of 'The Butcher'? The Tiptoft Monument in the Presbytery of Ely Cathedral', *Church Monuments*, 27 (2012), 22–37.

93 P. Spring, *Sir John Tiptoft: 'Butcher of England'* (Barnsley, 2018), 54–5, 209–10.

94 D. Lysons, 'Enfield', in *The Environs of London: Volume 2, County of Middlesex* (London, 1795), 278–334. *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-environs/vol2/pp278-334 accessed 8 January 2021.

95 A.P. Baggs, D.K. Bolton, E.P. Scarff and G.C. Tyack, 'Enfield: Churches', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 5, Hendon, Kingsbury, Great Stanmore, Little Stanmore, Edmonton Enfield, Monken Hadley, South Mimms, Tottenham*, ed. T.F.T. Baker and R.B. Pugh (London, 1976), 245–9. *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5/pp245-249 accessed 8 January 2021.

96 *CPR 1461–67*, 74.

97 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 18.6.5.

with Peter I of Cyprus in 1367, and her mother Joan was a generous benefactress of Walden Abbey and is associated with several surviving religious books.[98] It is a commonly held belief that Eleanor took the veil and entered Barking Abbey after the death of her husband but there is no contemporary evidence to support this nor that she was a patron of the abbey or had any special relationship with it. Eleanor wrote her will at Pleshey Castle, and her surviving accounts for the year 1397–8 show that she was busy managing the estates inherited from her father.[99] Perhaps the confusion regarding the last years of her life arose from Eleanor's well-known piety, which made her a prime candidate for seclusion in widowhood, and the fact that Barking Abbey was the preeminent Benedictine house for noblewomen and was located in Essex.

Eleanor's will is further evidence of her piety. Of her seven executors, three were priests, and the prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate was one of the three overseers.[100] This alone shows that she valued her relationship to men of the Church and placed her trust in them. She bequeathed a total of thirteen books to her family, of which nine were religious in theme, including a richly illuminated psalter given to her son Humphrey, a beautiful illuminated manuscript of the Golden Legend given to Anne, a personal psalter given to Joan, and six books given to her daughter Isabella: a French bible in two volumes, a book of decretals, a book of mystery stories, a book containing '*De Vitis Patrum*' and the pastorals of Saint Gregory, and two psalters.[101] Eleanor is one of the few noblewomen in England known to have bequeathed a copy of the Bible, and the number of book bequests in her will exceeds that of most other wills of her time.[102]

Eleanor also bequeathed several religious possessions, with the often-stated intention of eliciting prayers on behalf of herself and her husband. She left her son Humphrey what must have been one of her most precious possessions, described as 'a cross of gold hanging from a chain with an image of the crucifixion and surrounded by four pearls with my blessing as a thing of mine which I have most loved'.[103] Eleanor's mother, Joan, received a pair of coral paternosters 'requesting her blessing each day for my poor soul'.[104] If her mother should predecease her, Eleanor wished the beads to belong to the church of the Minoresses without Aldgate to remain inside the Abbey forever '*pur un memorial de moy*'.[105]

Further insight into Eleanor's piety comes from the intimate knowledge of the religious rituals and prayers surrounding Catholic devotion

98 *Guillaume de Machaut: The Capture of Alexandria*, trans. J. Shirley (Ashgate, 2001), 147 and 167 n. 3. A.I. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', in V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne eds, *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), 163–81 at 167–8.

99 She travelled to her marcher estates in the summer of 1398 (A. Dunn, 'Exploitation and Control: The Royal Administration of Magnate Estates, 1397–1405', in M. Hicks ed., *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England* (London, 2001), 27–43 at 40).

100 Her executors were Sir Gerard Braybrook (d. 1429); Sibilla Beauchamp; John de Boys, steward of her household; Nicholas Miles, rector of Debden; Hugh Painter, chaplain of her free chapel in the castle of Pleshey; William Underwood, vicar of Dedham; and William Newbole. Her overseers were Robert Exeter, prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London; Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; and Thomas de Stanley, clerk of the Rolls (*Reg. Arundel*, I, ff. 163v–164r).

101 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v.

102 J.T. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350–1500', *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library*, 64 (1981–2), 522–48 at 536–7; R.E. Archer, 'Piety in Question: Noblewomen and Religion in the Later Middle Ages', in D. Wood ed., *Women and Religion in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2003), 118–140.

103 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163v.

104 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.

105 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.

that are evident in her will and in her only surviving book, a personalized psalter and book of hours now in the National Library of Scotland.[106] Both make it clear that at least during the last decade of her life, Eleanor was an active participant in her faith, unusually well instructed and knowledgeable. In her will, she demonstrates enormous concern to ensure that the religious observances pertaining to her and her husband be performed in a precise way. Of the thousand masses that she requests from her executors for her soul 'in as short a time after my death as they can', she names four hundred and ninety, and then proceeds to detail how the name of Thomas and herself should be introduced into the masses.[107]

Eleanor's personal psalter, dating from between 1389 and 1397 and analysed in detail by Lucy Freeman Sandler, also indicates that Eleanor was a devout woman beyond the conventional practices of the time. Sandler notes that '[I] ntense awareness of sinfulness and repeated pleas for the Lord's mercy are the leitmotifs of [Eleanor's Psalter], the devotional tone set by the confession before the main text'.[108] This long confession is in the female voice and attributes to the *peccatrix* (sinner) a vast array of sins. One section is based on the seven vices, with numerous subdivisions mentioning all the possible ways in which the sin may be committed. Another section lists the ways in which the five senses might arouse sinfulness.[109] In addition, Eleanor's psalter contains numerous personalized prayers preceding, following and inserted between the manuscript's other contents. They include Eleanor's name or identify her in the female gender as *peccatrix*, and they address God directly, not through his saints.[110] Sandler notes that in Eleanor's Psalter 'the lay owner's participation in the Mass … is dramatically increased, to the degree that the role of participant is nearly merged into that of celebrant'.[111] Eleanor's brass, with its solemn widowed figure, convincingly conveys her piety as much as her high social status and the dynastic memory of the de Bohuns.

Conclusion

The brass of Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester, has survived relatively unscathed for more than six centuries and continues to impress all who see it. Its sorrowful figure lying within a panoply of heraldic splendour is a fitting memory to the last heiress of an ancient and powerful family whose exploits spanned more than two centuries. The tragic circumstances surrounding the last years of Eleanor's life influenced her choice of tomb and its location at Westminster Abbey, ensuring its preservation and allowing us an insight into one of the most beautiful English brasses of the fourteenth century. The design of her brass was carefully thought out and its rich symbolism combines several different themes which, together, form a splendid whole. Eleanor is presented in the austere garments of a widow, conveying her deep piety, and her mournful, almost tragic countenance appears to speak about the sorrow suffered by experiencing the end of her dynasty after losing her husband and son. At the same time, however, the artist wishes to remind us of her status as an heiress and the wife of a prince. She stands within a canopy replicating those of the royal children

106 MS Adv. 18.6.5.
107 *Reg. Arundel*, I, f. 163r.
108 L.F. Sandler, 'The Last Bohun Hours and Psalter', in M.V. Hennessy ed., *Tributes to Kathleen L. Scott: English Medieval Manuscripts and their Readers* (London, 2009), 231–50 at 234.
109 *Ibid.*, 233–44.
110 *Ibid.*, 234.
111 *Ibid.*, 235.

surrounding the nearby tomb of Edward III, her husband among them, and her own figure is surrounded by multiple heraldic references to her lineage as both a de Bohun heiress and a royal wife. Although the exact circumstances of its commissioning and design are uncertain, there can be no doubt that the brass achieved its desired purpose. Its beauty and simplicity continue to ensure that, centuries after their demise, Eleanor and her family are still remembered.

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Brass among Glass: The Tame Family Brasses in Fairford Church, Gloucestershire

John S. Lee

The three brasses of John Tame (d. 1500) and his son Edmund (d. 1534), dressed in armour and surrounded by heraldic shields, form a marked contrast to the distinctive group of brasses of other wool merchants from the Cotswolds, which display sheep, wool sacks and merchants' marks. This article explores the social ambitions of the Tame family and examines why, although they had acquired their wealth from sheep flocks and wool exports, they chose to be commemorated not as prosperous merchants but as armoured knights.

Introduction

St Mary's Church, Fairford is chiefly known for its complete set of late medieval stained-glass windows, a unique survival in an English parish church. They date from the early 1500s and can be attributed to the royal workshop.[1] Fairford is also a rare example of a church completely rebuilt, except for the lower part of its tower, in the later fifteenth century. The church contains fine woodwork, including a nearly complete set of choir and parclose screens and richly carved stalls with an outstanding series of misericords.[2] This study examines the three brasses of the founder, John Tame (d. 1500), and his son Edmund (d. 1534).[3] Forming a marked contrast to the brasses of other Cotswold wool merchants, the Tames were commemorated on their memorials not as prosperous merchants but as armoured knights.

John Tame of Fairford and Cirencester, and his son Edmund, drew their wealth from wool. Both had large sheep flocks, and were members of the Company of the Merchants of the Staple, a monopoly group of English wool exporters.[4] Professor Nigel Saul has noted that wool merchants, particularly in the Cotswolds, had a distinctive preference for brasses over incised slabs or reliefs, and for the products of London workshops rather than those of the provinces, and in this regard, the Tames reflected the preferences of other woolmen.[5] In their design, however, the Tame brasses of Fairford stand apart from this distinct group of monumental brasses of other wool merchants in their region. The characteristics of these wool merchants' brasses in the Cotswolds and other parts of England has been neatly summarised by Saul:

> 'Among those who prospered in trade it is the woolmen who stand out as the most assured and self-conscious. Their monuments are replete with the allusive imagery of their occupation. Merchants' marks are displayed on their shields and woolsacks are shown at their feet, while sheep graze on their

1 J.G. Joyce, *The Fairford Windows: a Monograph* (London, 1872); O.G. Farmer, *Fairford Church and its Stained Glass Windows*, 8th edn, (Bath, 1968); H. Wayment, *The Stained Glass of the Church of St. Mary, Fairford, Gloucestershire* (London, 1984); R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), 209–12; S. Brown and L. MacDonald, eds, *Fairford Parish Church. A Medieval Church and its Stained Glass* (Stroud, 2007).

2 D. Verey and A. Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire I: The Cotswolds* (New Haven, 1999), 361–8.

3 C. Hobson, *The Tames of Fairford* (Much Wenlock, 2013), 39–45; J. Bertram, *The Tame Brasses of Fairford* (privately published, 2019).

4 S. Rose, *The Wealth of England: the Medieval Wool Trade and its Political Importance 1100–1600* (Oxford, 2018).

5 N. Saul, 'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, eds P.R. Coss and M. Keene (Woodbridge, 2008), 169–94, at 175–8; N. Saul, 'The Wool Merchants and their Brasses', *MBS Trans*, 17:4 (2006), 315–35.

grassy bases. There is evidence of a pride in occupation on the woolmen's memorials which affords a direct parallel with the gentry's pride in their own calling, war.'[6]

In contrast, John Tame and his son Edmund are dressed in armour and surrounded by the heraldic shields of their family and those of their wives. The Tame brasses are distinctly different from those of other woolmen, decorated with symbols of the wool trade, which are to be found in many other Gloucestershire churches, including notable examples at Chipping Campden, Cirencester, and Northleach.[7]

This article examines the Tame brasses, what antiquarian visitors over the last five centuries have made of them, whom the Tames may have drawn their inspiration from, and whom they may have inspired, in terms of other brasses of similar style in Gloucestershire. In doing so, it seeks to explain why the Tame family brasses differ so markedly from those of other Cotswold wool merchants, and why in particular were they represented on these monuments not as prosperous merchants but as armoured knights.

The brass of John Tame and wife Alice

Three brasses in Fairford church commemorate the Tame family (Fig. 1). John Tame and his wife Alice are depicted in brass on a chest tomb placed between the chancel and the north or Lady Chapel. Sir Edmund Tame, his two wives and children, are represented on a floor brass in the Lady Chapel and, with a depiction of the Trinity, on a wall brass in the same chapel. John Tame is depicted in armour, alongside his wife Alice Twynihoe, with four shields and a chamfer inscription, on a chest tomb. The tomb chest is of Purbeck marble, with seven shields in round recesses on the sides (Fig. 2). It

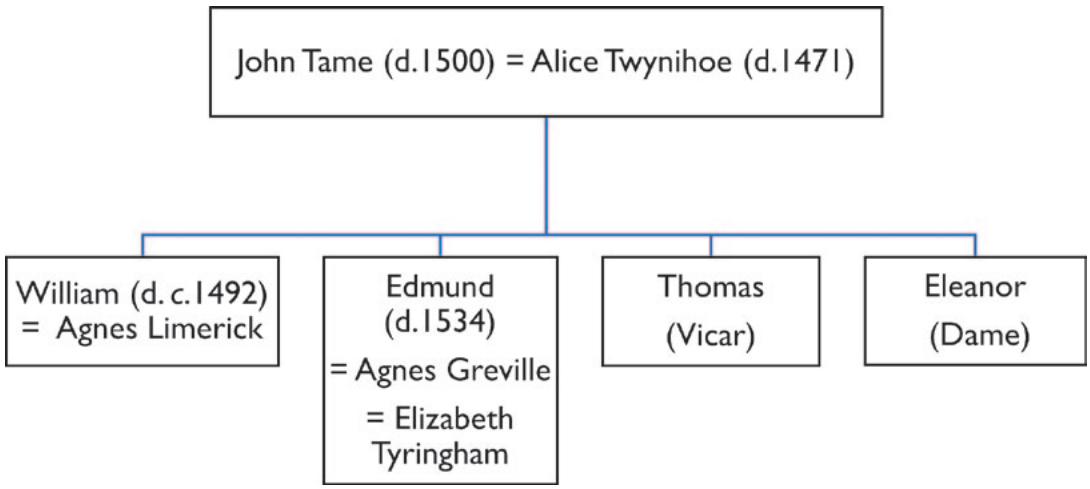

Fig. 1. The Tame family tree.

6 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 263.

7 C.T. Davis, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 1899), 21–5, 89–91; W.C. Fallows, Northleach Brasses (Northleach, not dated, *c.*1980); W. Lack, M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), 314–25.

Fig. 2. The tomb of John Tame, Fairford.
(photo © author)

was placed between the chancel and the Lady Chapel, in the position often reserved for a founder.[8] John Tame's brass is in the style of the London F workshop (Fig. 3). It depicts a semi-profile figure with fine flowing hair, and the placing of the hands and feet are a particularly noticeable features of the series.[9] As a wealthy wool merchant, John Tame probably never wore armour during his lifetime. The armour that he wears on his brass is finely detailed, and includes a lance rest (an L shaped bracket) under the pouldron or shoulder plate that protects his right shoulder. He carries a sword and dagger, and also wears mail. There are spurs on the round-toed sabatons (armed foot coverings). The figure of John Tame measures 960×310 mm and his wife 912×386 mm.

There are two inscriptions. At their feet is a quatrain or stanza of four lines in English, measuring 90×800 mm, reading:

> *For Jh[es]us love pray for me : I may not pray nowe pray ye: With A pater noster and an Ave : That my paynys Relessyd may be*

This is repeated at the end of the marginal inscription. Around the moulded edge of the slab is another brass inscription, measuring 2315×1045 mm and 30 mm wide:

> *Orate pro animabus Joh[ann]is Tame Armigeri et Alicie uxoris eius qui quidem Joh[ann]es obiit octavo die mensis Maii Anno d[omi]ni Millesimo quingentesimo et Anno Regni | Regis Henrici Sept[im]i sextodecimo et predicta Alicia obit vicesimo die | Mensis Decembris Anno Domini Mill[esi]mo CCCC septuagesimo primo quorum a[n]i[m]abus propicietur de[us]. For Jh[es]us love pray for me I may not pray now pray ye | with A pater noster and [Ave that] my paynes relessid may be*

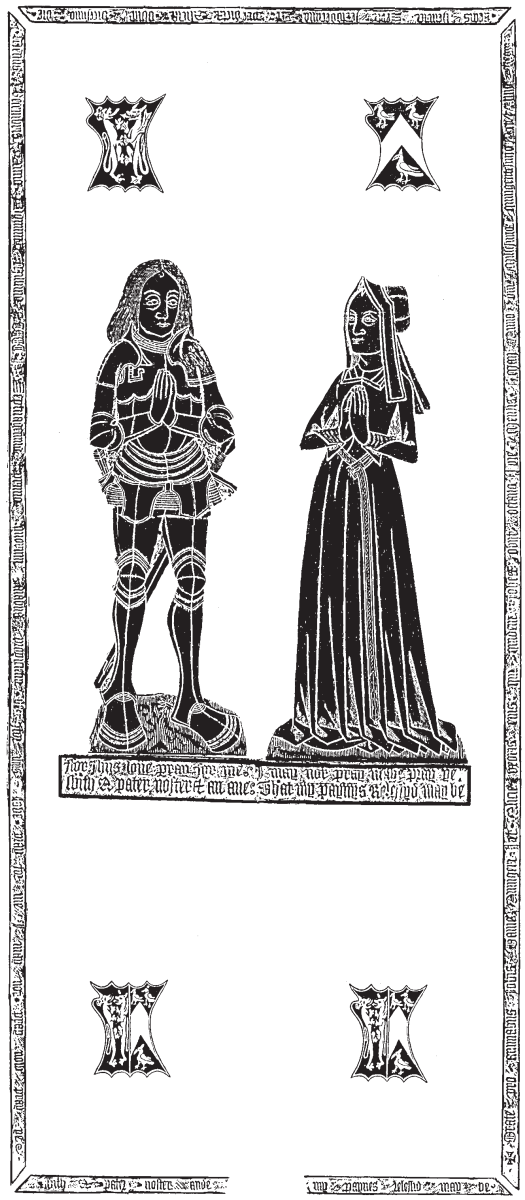

Fig. 3. John Tame (d. 1500) and wife Alice, Fairford, Gloucestershire (LSW.I).
(rubbing © Martin Stuchfield)

8 S. Brown, 'Patronage and Piety in a Late Medieval English Parish: Reading Fairford Church and Its Windows', *Journal of Glass Studies*, 56 (2014), 287–301 at 297.

9 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: the Memorials*, 2 vols, (London, 1977), I, 155.

(Pray for the souls of John Tame esquire and Alice his wife, which John died on 8 May in the year of Our Lord 1500, and in the sixteenth year of King Henry VII. And the aforesaid Alice died on 20 December in the year of Our Lord 1471, on whose souls may God have mercy. For Jesus love pray for me…)

On each corner of the brass is a shield, measuring 185×145 mm. These are the arms of Tame *Argent, a lion azure langued and crowned gules, a dragon vert langued gules combatant* and Twynihoe *Argent, a chevron gules between three poppinjays proper*, the two arms impaled. These were once coloured, and some colour survives on the shields on the sides of the tomb.[10] The arms of Tame and Twynihoe appear both separately and impaled.

Neither John Tame, nor his predecessors, seem to have received a grant of a coat of arms. The earliest known written grant of an award from the College of Arms is to Edmund in 1531.[11] Holt, however, states that these arms were granted to Edmund during Henry VIII's visit to Fairford in 1520, and included, at the suggestion of the herald, a crest of a sheep's head gorged, with two annulets, but this was never used as a crest by the Tames.[12] The ambiguity over John Tame's armorial status may be the explanation why his arms are not depicted consistently in the church. His arms on the brass depict the crowned lion on the dexter (the viewer's left) side, and a dragon on the sinister (the viewer's right) side. These beasts, however, are reversed on two stone carvings of the Tame arms in the church on the west parapet of the church tower and on a stone plaque to the right of the south door under the porch. The beasts are also reversed on Edmund Tame's two floor and wall brasses.[13] By the mid fifteenth century, those who aspired to gentility sought a grant or confirmation of a coat of arms. Heraldry was being linked to gentry status rather than its original military function to provide identification in battle.[14] While a merchant's vocation was not of itself considered genteel, wealth generated from commerce could form an acceptable basis for gentility. Arms were the generally accepted sign that gentility had been established with sufficient security to pass on to the next generation.[15] While John Tame would not have needed an official grant from the College of Arms in order to bear arms, his brass is most likely a retrospective monument commissioned by Edmund to draw attention away from his father's merchant origins and portray him as solid member of the knightly classes. As he was not the eldest son, but apparently the principal heir, Edmund may have been particularly keen to establish the status of his father. The arms in the masonry of the church though, which cannot be as late as the 1520s, suggest that John was using a shield of arms during his lifetime.

Alice Tame, John's wife, was the daughter of John Twynihoe, a merchant of Cirencester. Alice had four children before her early death in 1471 – William, Edmund, Thomas, and Eleanor. This was an advantageous marriage for John Tame, as John Twynihoe was a lawyer

10 Bertram, *Tame Brasses*, 4–5.
11 Hobson, *Tames*, 43.
12 H.F. Holt, 'The Tames of Fairford', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, first series, 27 (1871), 110–48, at 140–1.
13 Hobson, *Tames*, 42–3. On the stone carvings, the beast on the viewer's left side, lacking hind legs, is a wyvern rather than a dragon.
14 N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), 27–9, 256.
15 M. Keene, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c.1300–c.1500* (Stroud, 2002), 125–31.

and administrator who served on commissions of the peace in Gloucestershire and as recorder of Bristol and its member of parliament in 1484. Twynihoe had established a chantry in 1472 dedicated to St Blaise, the patron saint of wool-combers, at the parish church at Lechlade, where he also came to hold two manors. A brass at Lechlade has been identified as that of John Twynihoe, but as he was buried at Cirencester, this seems unlikely.[16] John Tame worked closely with his father-in-law: they were jointly granted the crown lease of Fairford in 1479.[17] In his will of 1486, Twynihoe appointed John Tame as one of his overseers, and left him a violet gown with marten fur.[18]

The Twynihoes also brought the Tames potential links with the royal court through the influential Denys family. John Twynihoe's daughter Edith married Sir William Denys (1470–1533) of Dyrham, Gloucestershire, whose half-uncle Hugh Denys (d. 1511) served as Groom of the Stool to Henry VII. William Denys became a courtier of Henry VIII and high sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1518 and 1526.[19] William's father, Sir Walter (d. 1505), had sold the manor of North Cheriton in Somerset and lands and rights in Gloucestershire and Dorset in 1482 to a group led by John Twynihoe and including John Tame. John Twynihoe paid £600 for the sale. The ties between the Tame and Denys families were strengthened in 1521 when William Denys's daughter Katherine married John Tame's grandson, Edmund Tame the younger (d. 1544).[20]

Although on his brass he was dressed in armour, placed below his coat of arms, and described as an *armigeri* (esquire), John Tame was never knighted. An indictment in the Court of Common Pleas in 1486 described John Tame as 'husbandman, alias merchant, alias gentleman, alias woolman, alias yeoman'.[21] He took only a minor role in the administration of the county, serving as a justice of the peace by 1486.[22] Little is known of John's father, who held several burgage plots in Fairford and may have collected taxes there in 1416.[23] John Tame's only claim to lordship was as lessee of the demesne of the manor of Fairford, taken with his father-in-law in 1479, and which he continued to farm after Henry VII's accession in 1485. In 1532, Edmund Tame secured a lease of this demesne for twenty-one years. After Edmund's death in 1534, his wife Elizabeth assigned it to their son Edmund.[24] In the military survey of 1522, it was recorded that 'the king is lord of the vill' in Fairford, although as Nigel Saul has noted, 'In practice, if not in title, Tame was the lord of Fairford', and 'If any wool or cloth merchant merited representation on his tomb in armour, it was he'.[25] As an *armigeri*, John Tame would have been able to be shown in armour and bear a coat of arms. Although not a knight, the patron

16 Lechlade St Lawrence, LSW.II; Hobson, *Tames*, 8–10; *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 120, n. 9.
17 *CFR, 1471–1485*, no. 473, pp. 157–8.
18 TNA, PROB 11/7/295.
19 K. Barley, ''Man in a Red Hat': St Mary's Church, Fairford, the creation of a remarkable late medieval glazing scheme', unpublished MA thesis, 2 vols, University of York (2015), I, 90–1.
20 *Pedes Finium, Commonly Called Feet of Fines for the County of Somerset, Henry IV to Henry VI [Richard III]*, ed. E. Green, Somerset Record Society, 22 (1906), 212–13; Hobson, *Tames*, 31.
21 E. Power, 'The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century' in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, eds E. Power and M. Postan (London, 1933), 53.
22 Hobson, *Tames*, 14.
23 *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 75; Hobson, *Tames*, 6.
24 *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 75.
25 *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire, 1522*, ed. R.W. Hoyle, Gloucestershire Record Series, 6 (1993), 127; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 236; Saul, 'Wool merchants', 331.

of the brass clearly saw him as belonging to the knightly classes.[26]

Although neither John nor Edmund left any instructions in their wills about their monuments, John made substantial donations to Fairford church, as well as directions for his funeral and burial. His bequests to the parish church included £80 for a suit of fine vestments, £50 for a suit of black vestments and dressing the altar, and £35 for a great fourth bell. He also left smaller sums for two silver censers with a frankincense ship, a silver pax, cross and candlesticks, a mass book, and torches and lights. His funeral must have been a lavish affair, as he set aside the vast sums of £140 for 'all maner of charges about my burying' and £20 for 120 score of priests' Masses. He even left £4 for providing 12 large gowns with hoods for those holding torches at the service.[27] John provided a cash sum of £240 for a chantry, but he later used the money to buy land in Castle Eaton, Wiltshire, for its endowment. After his death there was a dispute over the land but the chantry had apparently been established by 1532, and his son confirmed in his will that lands there were to provide a priest to sing masses for his father and mother, him and his wife, and other friends.[28] John Tame asked to be buried in the north chapel in Fairford church, and his tomb was placed between this chapel, which became known as the Lady Chapel, and the chancel, near the high altar. The tomb with its memorial brass would have provided a focal point for commemoration, carefully placed in a location that ensured that even during religious services the parishioners could remember their obligations to John and his family. Hovering over the tomb on a stone corbel is a Seraphim, the highest of the Nine Orders of Angels, with the other eight represented in the chancel; its presence outside this group representing the gift to Tame of the knowledge of God.[29]

The brass of Sir Edmund Tame and his two wives, Agnes and Elizabeth

John and Alice Tame's children were also socially ambitious, although only their second son, Edmund, is commemorated at Fairford. Their eldest son, William, married Agnes Limerick, heiress of the Gloucestershire manor of Stowell, which settled, after her death, on their son Thomas (d. *c.*1545). Edmund's younger brother Thomas became vicar of Castle Eaton, and their sister Eleanor must have married a knight or gentleman as she is styled 'Dame Eleanor' in her father's will.[30] Edmund, the second son, took his father's wool business and was left much of his wealth. He also followed his father as a justice of the peace, but took other county offices, including serving three times as sheriff of Gloucestershire. A skilful negotiator, he led commissions to settle disputes, in 1514 between Lord Berkeley and Sir Robert Poyntz, and in 1519 between Gloucester Abbey and the city's burgesses. In 1516 he was knighted to become one of Henry VIII's 'knights of the body', attending the king in his private chambers. Edmund also married well. His first wife was Agnes, daughter of John Greville (1447–1507) of Drayton, Oxfordshire and Milcote, Warwickshire. Greville was a justice of the peace for Gloucestershire and Wiltshire and descendant of William Greville (d. 1401), perhaps the richest and most

26 P. Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, eds P. Coss and M. Keene (Woodbridge, 2002), 39–68.

27 TNA, PROB 11/12/22, transcribed in Hobson, *Tames*, 55–7.

28 *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 82; *Fairford Parish Church*, eds Brown and MacDonald, 142; Hobson, *Tames*, 20.

29 *Fairford Parish Church*, eds Brown and MacDonald, 26–7, 44–5.

30 *VCH, Gloucestershire*, IX, 211; Hobson, *Tames*, 8–9.

influential of the Cotswolds wool merchants of his day. Following Agnes's death in July 1506, after just three years of marriage, Edmund married Elizabeth, daughter of John Tyringham, a wealthy family from Tyringham near Milton Keynes in Buckinghamshire.[31] Agnes and Elizabeth appear with Edmund in their respective heraldic mantles on the floor and wall brasses.

Edmund Tame's floor brass is in the Lady Chapel, where he requested burial.[32] It is on a Purbeck marble slab set into the pavement directly before the altar. Edmund is wearing armour with a tabard and his two wives wear patterned frontlets and heraldic mantles (Fig. 4). There is a marginal inscription with shields at the corners, which extends to 2315×1045 mm. Malcolm Norris stated it was 'very likely' that Sir Edmund and one wife were produced *c.*1526, in the London 'debased' F style, and the second wife is of a different, London G style consistent with 1534. The F series of brasses, like that of John Tame, underwent such drastic changes around 1520 that they are classified as 'debased' F. Among these, military figures, like those of Sir Edmund, are fairly numerous. 'Almost all are ugly, clumsily cut, and often carelessly finished', Norris writes. 'The representation has the gay caricature quality of a playing card, though from the number of remaining examples of this series the style was well regarded'.[33] Edmund Tame's brass belongs to a first group of full-face 'recumbent' representations. Edmund is shown in a rather curious arrangement, full face in his upper half, while his legs are viewed from the side. Below Sir Edmund are his two sons wearing long tunics with wide sleeves. Only one son is known, Edmund, and the other probably died in infancy. Beneath Lady Agnes are three daughters, Alice, Margaret and Elizabeth, wearing tight-fitting gowns.

Fig. 4. Sir Edmund Tame (d. 1534) with wives Agnes and Elizabeth and children, Fairford, Gloucestershire (LSW.II). (rubbing © Martin Stuchfield)

31 Hobson, *Tames*, 21–4.
32 TNA, PROB 11/25/228, transcribed in Hobson, *Tames*, 57–8.
33 Norris, *Monumental Brasses*, I, 156.

The marginal inscription reads:

> *Of youre charite pray [for the soul of Edmund Tame] | Knyght Here under buried which decessed the fyrst day of October in the yere of oure Lorde god a thousande CCCCCxxxiiij and for the soule of M[ist] res [blank space] | his first wife which decessid the xxvj day of July an[no] [Domini MCCCCCvj and for] the prosperite of Dame Elizabeth his last wife [on whose soul]es and all [christ]en souls ih[es]u Have mercy amen*

This inscription, requesting prayers for the souls of Edmund and his first wife Agnes and for the 'prosperity of Dame Elizabeth' makes it clear that this brass was installed during Elizabeth's lifetime, before her death in 1545, and the engraver may not have known Agnes's name, as a gap was left for her name on the marginal inscription.[34] The inscription has been repaired, unskilfully. The phrase 'the soul of Edmund Tame' is engraved in a clumsy form. The piece on which 'the prosperite of Dame Elizabeth his last wife' has been inserted is reversed. The meaning of the pointing hand and the small bird at the end of the marginal inscription is unknown. Cecil Davis identified it as a lapwing or peewit, and noted that it was not taken from the armorial bearings of Edmund Tame or his wives.[35] It may have been just a space-filler.

At each corner of Sir Edmund's floor brass is a shield. At the upper left and lower right are the Tame arms, although now very worn. The heraldry is also blazoned on Edmund's tabard. His arms include a crescent in the centre, indicating that Edmund was the second son. At the upper right corner of the floor brass is Tame impailing Greville *Sable, on a cross engrailed or, five pellets within a bordue engrailed of the second*. At the lower left is Tame impailing Tyringham *Azure, a saltire engrailed argent*. The wives also wear their family arms on the mantles.[36] Sir Edmund's arms also appear in St John the Baptist's Church, Cirencester, on a shield held by an angel carved in stone. He was steward of Cirencester Abbey, and had a large house in Cirencester marketplace, with his arms displayed in each window and on the gables.[37]

Edmund wears a T or tau cross – which is associated with St Francis and St Antony of the Desert – around his neck, as do his two wives. However, the presence of identical chains and tau-crosses on a number of other brasses of this period, including those at Childwell, Lancashire (1524) and Ingrave, Essex (1528), suggests there is nothing specific about the chain or the tau.[38] There is, though a similar, square-linked chain, although without the cross, worn by Gideon in the window in the north aisle.[39] In his will, Edmund refers to a 'chaine' that he bequeaths to his son Edmund, who in turn left his 'beste and greatest chayne of goold' to his wife Katherine in 1544. A chain was also specifically mentioned in the goods that Edmund senior bequeathed to his wife.[40]

34 S. Brown, 'Image, Liturgy and the Topography of Devotion: St Mary's Church, Fairford' *Ecclesiology Today*, 35 (2005), 3–22, at 10.

35 C.T. Davis, 'Zoology on Brasses, chiefly from Gloucestershire Examples', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, second series, 7 (1901), 189–204, at 203.

36 A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1909), 289, 488; Bertram, *Tame Brasses*, 11–12.

37 Hobson, *Tames*, 42; J. Maclean, 'The Armory And Merchants' Marks in the Ancient Church of Cirencester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 17 (1892–3), 268–321 at 279.

38 Bertram, *Tame Brasses*, 9–10.

39 See below, Fig. 6.

40 TNA, PROB 11/25/228, PROB 11/30/242.

Sir Edmund Tame with his two wives, children, and depiction of the Trinity

This brass, on the wall of the Lady Chapel, includes a facsimile of the depiction of the Trinity, as the original was sadly stolen in 2002, along with one of the fourteen richly carved late fifteenth-century misericords.[41] Again, Sir Edmund is depicted in armour wearing a tabard, and his two wives both wear heraldic mantles (Fig. 5). All are shown kneeling. The style is London G. The depiction of Edmund Tame measures 913×268 mm and his wives 895×243 and 270 mm. Two brasses to the same individual are found elsewhere, including John Cottesmore, judge, (d. 1439) with his wife at Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire, and Joan Brokes (d. 1487) at Peper Harow, Surrey.[42] The text beneath the figures reads:

> *Hic iacent Edmundus Tame miles et Agnes et Elizabet uxores eius qui | quide[m] Edmundus obiit primo die Octobris An[no] d[omi]ni MVCxxxiiij et An[no] regni | Regis Henrici octavi vicesimo sexto quorum a[n]i[m]arum p[ro]picietur deus A[men]*
>
> (Here lies Edmund Tame knight and Agnes and Elizabeth his wives, the which Edmund died first day of October 1534 and in the 26th regnal year of King Henry VIII, of whose souls may God have mercy. Amen)

In labels above the heads of the three figures are the words:

> *Jesu Lord that made me* (above Sir Edmund)
> *& w[i]t[h] thy blod us bought* (above Lady Agnes)
> *Forgive us our trespas* (above Lady Elizabeth)

The text indicates that this brass was installed after Elizabeth Tame's death in 1545. Above the labels are two shields, one of Tame impaling Greville and the other of Tame impaling Tyringham, and a Trinity image.

The image of the Holy Trinity includes God the Father represented as a king seated on a throne. His right hand is held up in blessing, and his left hand holds a cross on which God the Son is nailed. Above is the dove of the Holy Spirit. The cross is T shaped, like the crosses on neck chains worn by Edmund and his two wives on their other brass. There was a fraternity dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Fairford parish, and because of the use of this iconography on the brass, it has been suggested that the Tames' were among its members.[43] This religious imagery on a wool merchant's brass is unusual. As Nigel Saul has noted, on these brasses in Gloucestershire, virtually all the religious imagery takes second place to imagery of the wool trade.[44] The image of the Mercy Seat was however used by the merchant Thomas Browne in the window of his hospital chapel at Stamford. The imagery was becoming problematic by the date of Edmund's brass. Archbishop Cranmer's faculty seal depicted the Holy Trinity as the Throne of Grace in 1535, but had been replaced by 1539.[45]

Edmund's bequests to Fairford church were on a much smaller scale than those of his father. He left £3 6s. 8d. to the vicar, and £5 to the churches of Fairford and Rendcomb.[46] Edmund's principal focus seems to have been on the latter church, which he rebuilt and glazed between 1503 and 1517. The surviving glass there is fragmentary, but of very high quality, in a classical style and probably later in date and by different Anglo-Netherlandish

41 H.M. Stuchfield, 'Serial Theft of Brasses', *MBS Bulletin*, 91 (Sept. 2002), 631–4.
42 H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), lvi.
43 Brown, 'Patronage and Piety', 299.
44 Saul, 'Wool merchants', 333.
45 S. Crewe, *Stained Glass in England c.1180-c.1540* (London, 1987), 43; M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015), 556.
46 TNA, PROB 11/25/228.

Fig. 5. Sir Edmund Tame (d. 1534) with wives Agnes and Elizabeth and children, Fairford, Gloucestershire (LSW.III). (photo © Christian Steer)

glaziers than those employed at Fairford. Edmund did, however, found a second chantry in Fairford church, supported by a Wiltshire manor worth £7 in 1535, which may have been the chantry dedicated to St Edmund.[47] Anthony Wood, writing in the mid seventeenth century, recorded that some people thought that the George Inn in Fairford, now known as the Bull, was a chantry house for priests to celebrate Masses for the souls of the Tames in the parish church. He noted, 'There is the same effigies of a man cut in stone over the door, as there is on the tower of the said church, perhaps one of the Tames'.[48] Wood, like other antiquarians, was attracted by the brasses and included details in his descriptions of the church.

Antiquarians at Fairford

Antiquarian descriptions reveal how successive generations have interpreted the imagery on the Tame brasses. One of the earliest English antiquaries, John Leland (*c.*1503–52), visited Fairford in 1542, when he may have stayed with the Tame family. His description of the church and the brasses of the Tame family show that these monuments have attracted the interests of antiquarians from an earlier date than even the famed stained glass:

> 'Fairford never florishid afore the cumming of the Tames onto it. John Tame began the fair new chirch of Fairforde, and Edmund Tame finishid it. Both John and Edmund ly buried in a chapelle of the northside of Fairford quier.
>
> *Epitaph: Joannis Tame.*
>
> *Orate pro animabus Joannis Tame armigeri & Aliciæ uxoris ejus. qui quidem Joannes obiit 8. die mensis Maij, ao D.* 1500, *& ano regni Regis Henrici* 7. 16*o Et prædicta Alicia obiit* 20. *die mensis Decembris, Ano D.* 1471.
>
> *Epitaph: Edmundi Tame.*
>
> *Hic jacet Edmundus Tame miles, & Agnes, & Elizabeth uxores ejus. qui quidem Edmundis obiit primo die Octobr. ao D.* 1534 *& ao regis Henr.* 8. 26'.[49]

Leland also wrote that 'Mr Ferrars told me that one of the Tames did make the fair chirch of Fairford', probably referring to George Ferrars (*c.*1510–79), courtier and poet.[50] Edmund Tame's 'very fair house' at Rendcomb Park was also noted by Leland.[51] Although Leland spent six years between 1539 and 1545 touring England and Wales, producing a mass of notes and memoranda, the ambitious series of works that he intended to produce from these records sadly never materialised, as he suffered a severe mental breakdown in 1547. Leland's *Itinerary* was in fact not published until 1710–12. His editor, Thomas Hearne, keeper of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, was impressed by the quality of Leland's information, noting in his diary for 5 July 1716, after visiting Fairford:

> 'I cannot but admire Leland's exactness. I find a strange Accuracy ab[ou]t Fairford and the

47 *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 82; Brown, 'Image', 6; *Fairford Parish Church*, eds Brown and MacDonald, 142; Hobson, *Tames*, 25–7; Verey and Brooks, *Gloucestershire*, 573–4.

48 R. Bigland, *An Account of the Parish of Fairford, in the County of Gloucester; with a Particular Description of the Stained Glass in the Windows of the Church, Engravings of Ancient Monuments, with Inscriptions, &c. &c.* (London, 1791), 12.

49 *The Itinerary of John Leland 1535–43*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols, (London, 1907–10), I, 127.

50 *Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, II, 28. H.R. Woudhuysen, 'Ferrers, George (*c.* 1510–1579)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/9360 accessed 6 June 2019.

51 *Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, I, 130.

> Places thereabouts. Yet he mentions nothing ab[ou]t the painted glass at Fairford'.[52]

Leland was generally a reliable observer, but not infallible.[53] In copying the epitaphs on the Fairford brasses, for example, he omits the inscriptions which beg for prayers, presumably because they were of no interest to him, and neglects to tell us that there is a second brass, with another inscription, to Sir Edmund and his wives (he copies the epitaph from Sir Edmund's wall brass). His statement in another section of his notes that 'Syr Edmund Tame of Fairford up by Creckelade cam oute of the house of Tame of Stowell' is confused. Chris Hobson has shown that the Tame family's links to Stowell near Northleach only date to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, through John Tame's eldest son, William.[54] Even Leland's statement that 'Fairford never flourished afore the coming of the Tames' ignores the town's prosperity from the wool trade during the fourteenth century, although by the 1480s declining borough rents and a lack of tenants for several burgage plots suggest that this prosperity had waned.[55] While Leland probably overestimates the importance of the Tames to Fairford's economic success, this is evidence of his own reliance on the family as his source.

The poet Richard Corbett (1582–1635), who served as bishop of Oxford and Norwich, visited Fairford in the 1630s.[56] In his poem 'Upon Fairford Windows', he records his surprise that Fairford had preserved its glass, although he also observed damage to the brasses there:

> 'Tell me, you anti-saints, why brass
> With you is shorter lived than glass?
> Any why the saints have scap't their falls
> Better from windows that from walles?'[57]

It appears that Corbett had seen the damage to Edmund Tame's wall brass, where inept attempts had been made to remove *quorum a[n] i[m]arum p[ro]picietur deus* (on whose souls may God have mercy) by those who rejected prayers for the dead.

Anthony Wood (1632–95) visited Fairford in 1660 and 1678. An antiquarian, Wood published a history of the university of Oxford in 1674, and a bibliographical dictionary of Oxford writers in 1691–2.[58] The monument to John Tame caught his attention:

> 'Going into the church I saw a raised monument of blew marble built between the chancel and north isle adjoining. On the said tombe are the portractures of a man in armour and a woman, engraven on larg brass plates, with this inscription round the verg…
>
> At the feet of their effigies is this engraven on a brass plate:

52 *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Vol. V: *(1 December 1714–31 December 1716)*, ed. D.W. Rannie, Oxford Historical Society, 42 (1901), 260; *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, ed. J. Chandler (Stroud, 1993), xi–xxiv.

53 J.S. Lee, 'The functions and fortunes of English small towns at the close of the middle ages: evidence from John Leland's *Itinerary*', *Urban History*, 37 (2010), 3–25.

54 *Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, IV, 78; Hobson, *Tames*, 5–6.

55 *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 78.

56 N.W.S. Cranfield, 'Corbett, Richard (1582–1635)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/6292 accessed 6 June 2019.

57 *The Poems of Richard Corbett*, eds J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper, (Oxford, 1955), 156–7, quoted in *Fairford Parish Church*, eds Brown and MacDonald, 71, 143.

58 G. Parry, 'Wood, Anthony [Anthony à Wood] (1632–95)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/29864 accessed 6 June 2019.

> For Jesu's love pray for me
> I cannot pray now, pray ye.
> With a Pater noster and an Ave
> That my panes relesed may be.'[59]
>
> …This inscription with part of the former that began with 'Orate' was taken away in the late war or rebellion and laid up in the vestry, because, forsooth, it savoured too much of popery.'

Like the heads and upper parts of some figures in the stained glass, this had probably been removed to prevent damage from iconoclasm during the Civil War and Commonwealth period. This brass was still displayed in the vestry when Thomas Herne visited in 1716.[60]

The Tame monuments attracted the attention of the three greatest historians of the county in the eighteenth century.[61] They are mentioned briefly in publications by Sir Robert Atkyns in 1712,[62] and by Samuel Rudder in 1763 and 1779.[63] Richard Bigland, who spent the last twenty years of his life collecting monuments and inscriptions in every church in Gloucestershire, published an account of the parish of Fairford in 1791. He recorded all three brasses and included illustrations of the brass of John Tame and the floor brass of Edmund Tame.[64] An illustration also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the same year.[65]

Another illustration of John Tame's brass was published by the Cambridge Camden Society in 1846. The accompanying article was written by Reverend Benjamin Webb of Trinity College, Cambridge.[66] Webb had been assistant curate at Kemerton, Gloucestershire, in 1843–4,[67] about 26 miles north-west of Fairford, and his interest in Fairford may have stemmed from this time. With J.M. Neale, he was instrumental in founding the Cambridge Camden Society in 1839, which became the Ecclesiological Society in 1845. He played a key role in setting out to recreate the architectural and liturgical expression of the Church of England in what came to be known as the Cambridge movement.[68] Of John Tame, he wrote:

> 'He was one of those princely merchants of England who did so much for the prosperity of their country; and he lived in times when men thought it was their first duty to consecrate a great part of their acquired wealth to Him Who gave it them.'[69]

59 *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, &c., Vol. II: (1664–81)*, ed. A. Clark, Oxford Historical Society, 21 (1892), 406.

60 *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, V, p. 247, n. 2; S. Brown, 'Repackaging the Past: the Survival, Preservation and Reinterpretation of the Medieval Windows of St Mary's, Fairford, Gloucestershire', in *Art, Piety and Destruction in the Christian West, 1500–1700*, ed. V. Chieffo Raguin (Farnham, 2010), 91–112, at 103.

61 E.A.L. Moir, 'The Historians of Gloucestershire: Retrospect and Prospect', in *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (Leicester, 1957), 267–90 at 276–84.

62 R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* (London, 1712), 433.

63 S. Rudder, *The History of Fairford Church, in Gloucestershire* (Cirencester, 1763), 15–16; S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (Cirencester, 1779), 445–6.

64 R. Bigland, *Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections, relative to the County of Gloucester: Printed from the Original Papers of the late Ralph Bigland*…, 2 vols, (London, 1791–2), I, Chpt. CXVII; Bigland, *Account of the Parish of Fairford*, 19–21.

65 *The Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1791), 345.

66 Cambridge Camden Society, *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses* (Cambridge, 1846), 115–16.

67 Kemerton became part of Worcestershire in 1931.

68 C.C.J. Webb, revised by J.M. Crook, 'Webb, Benjamin (1819–1885)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/28917 accessed 6 June 2019.

69 Cambridge Camden Society, *Illustrations of Memorial Brasses*, 116.

Webb's description of John Tame as 'princely merchant' neatly summarises a family who owed their wealth to wool but wished to portray themselves to their contemporaries and successors as members of the gentry.

Placing the Tame brasses in a broader context

The Tame family's wealth came from wool, both from their own flocks and from consignments collected from other producers. Cotswold wool was prized for its fine quality and exported to continental Europe largely through a single location, Calais, by a small group of merchant staplers like John Tame. Some impression of the scale of his business can be seen from a case brought to the Court of Common Pleas by John in 1462. This stated that Robert Stowe had failed to pay £40, part of a bond made with John for over £133, which Robert claimed that he had paid in the parish of St Olave, Hart Street, London. The case was finally determined in John's favour in April 1464.[70] In 1473, John Tame sold 96 sacks of wool to an Italian, Gherardo Canigiani, the manager of Lorenzo de Medici's London branch. One of several Cotswold merchants to do so, Tame was owed nearly £312 by Canigiani, part of a total consignment of 711 sacks of wool, worth almost £7,000, which had been transported to Southampton and packed on to Italian galleys.[71] John Tame was the fourth largest wool exporter in the London customs accounts of 1478–9.[72] His business was sufficiently large that he was able to retain, for at least 18 years, the services of Henry Morton in London as his 'factor and attorney' for the wools and fells that he dispatched to the Staple.[73] Edmund Tame shipped 120 sacks 'of his growing and gathering' to the Calais Staple in 1533.[74] John had left bequests to his four shepherds, and Edmund left 500 sheep to his wife. Both men also left money for the repair of roads which they had probably travelled in the course of their business: John left more than £3 to the road by Fairford and Waiten Hill and Edmund left £10 to the road between Cirencester and New Farringdon.[75] Some historians have suggested that the Tames were also clothiers, organising the making and marketing of cloth.[76] These entrepreneurs, who often 'put-out' raw and semi-finished materials to outworkers, increasingly dominated production in Gloucestershire and other textile-making regions.[77] The only known documentary evidence which may support this suggestion is that Edmund's son, also known as Edmund, leased a mill in Ablington to a Cirencester fuller in 1540.[78]

Like many other merchants, the Tames invested part of their wealth in obtaining land. Some property may also have been acquired in the course of their business, as security for

70 TNA, CP 40/803, rot. 308 published in *Court of Common Pleas: the National Archives, CP 40 1399–1500*, eds J. Mackman and M. Stevens (London, 2010), British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/common-pleas/1399–1500 (accessed 24 November 2018).

71 G. Holmes, 'Lorenzo de Medici's London branch', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, eds R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), 273–85, at 279–80.

72 A. Hanham, *The Celys and their World: An English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 245.

73 TNA, C 1/213/73.

74 TNA, SP 1/238, f. 264v, calendared in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, eds J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, 2nd edn, 23 vols in 38 (London, 1862–1932), Addenda, I, Part 1, no. 917, p. 320.

75 TNA, PROB 11/12/22, PROB 11/25/228.

76 Hanham, *The Celys*, 245.

77 J.S. Lee, *The Medieval Clothier* (Woodbridge, 2018), 120–6.

78 Gloucestershire Archives, D269/B/T3.

deferred payment or collateral for loans. John Tame, who had inherited several burgages in Fairford from his father, acquired and rented much property in the town and surrounding countryside, notably the lease of the demesne of Fairford in 1479 with John Twynihoe. Edmund Tame intensified the acquisition of property, including the purchase of manors, such as Rendcomb in 1503, obtaining further lands there in 1508, and exchanging lands with the Knights Hospitaller at Quenington in 1506.[79] By 1522, he owned land in twelve manors worth nearly £92, and a year later, he was assessed at £400, the joint second-highest valuation in the county.[80] Land brought status, as well as additional income, and it also provided space for the Tames to graze their many flocks of sheep.

The Tame brasses differ from those of most Gloucestershire wool merchants, which typically included images of their trade. Take for example, John Fortey, woolman of Northleach, commemorated in 1458 in civilian dress, with no less than six merchant marks among the marginal inscription. He stands, one foot on a sheep, the other on a woolsack. A later brass of 1526 in the same church to Thomas Busshe, woolman, and his wife Joan, include the arms of the Merchant Staplers of Calais, his merchant's mark, sheep and a woolsack.[81]

What of the brasses of John Tame's contemporaries in the Cotswolds? Whilst also funding re-building works in a Gloucestershire parish church, Worcester wool merchant John Camber had a simpler brass to that of John Tame. In the London F style, it depicts Camber in civilian dress. In his will of 1496, Camber had asked to be buried 'within that holy church in whatsoever parish it shall so tyme me to decease', and left 100s. to the same church. It was at Sevenhampton, fifteen miles south-east of Fairford, that he was buried the following year, and his donation probably contributed to the slender tower, south porch, or the insertion of new windows. The window on the north side of the chancel includes the initials JC and the device of a ram, probably a pun on John's surname. An anniversary commemorating his death was funded by property in Prestbury.[82]

John Benet of Cirencester was a clothier who died in 1497. He employed thirteen servants and apprentices, and held houses in Stroud, King's Stanley and Rodborough.[83] His London F style brass in St John the Baptist's Church, Cirencester, depicted John, his two wives and his eight children. Like John Tame's brass, it contained a marginal inscription and a shield in each corner. Three of the shields have been lost but the surviving one depicts Benet's merchant mark.[84] Another clothier, Edward Haliday (d. 1519) and his wife Margery, are commemorated at Minchinhampton, in civilian dress, with an inscription and a merchant's mark. The brass belongs to the same workshop tradition as Edmund Tame's floor brass, the 'debased' London F style.[85]

79 Gloucestershire Archives, T88/9, T88/10, D326/T104.

80 *Military Survey*, 127. Hobson, *Tames*, 47–55 details properties owned, leased or rented by the family.

81 Northleach, LSW.III, LSW.VIII.

82 Sevenhampton, LSW.I; *VCH, Gloucestershire*, IX, 185–6; J.M. Hall, 'The Will of John Camber, 1496', *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries; an Illustrated Quarterly Magazine devoted to the History and Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, 2 (1884), 444–6; J.M. Hall, 'Sevenhampton', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 14 (1889–90), 328–55 at 342–3.

83 TNA, PROB 11/11/94; Lee, *Medieval Clothier*, 68, 125, 200.

84 Cirencester St John the Baptist, LSW.XII.

85 Minchinhampton Holy Trinity, LSW.III. Lee, *Medieval Clothier*, 125.

Robert Hitchman (d. 1519) was one of John Tame's apprentices. He must eventually have become one of his most trusted associates, as he was appointed alongside Edmund Tame as an overseer of John's will. When Robert died in 1519, he left Edmund £11 in cash and twenty sheep, and appointed Edmund as one of his overseers. Robert is probably commemorated by a brass at Lechlade, which depicts a civilian with wife and children and a double tau symbol, probably the family's merchant's mark.[86] Robert's brother, Walter, is buried in Kempsford and his brass includes the same double tau symbol.[87]

Among this distinct group, the Tame brasses of Fairford stand apart. The absence on the Tame brasses of any emblems connected with the wool trade, such as wool sacks or sheep, is unusual. These were found not only on the brasses of wool merchants in the Cotswolds, but also in other wool-producing districts such as Lincolnshire, where John Browne (d. 1442) and his son William (d. 1489) both stand on wool packs on their brasses at All Saints Church, Stamford.[88] Despite being a merchant stapler, John Tame did not display this coat of arms on his brass, like Thomas Busshe of Northleach, John Feld (d. 1477) at Standon, Hertfordshire, and Sir Richard Haddon, mercer (d. 1516) at St Olave, Hart Street, London.[89] Nor does Tame's brass describe him as a merchant of Calais, like that of Robert Whitecombe (d. 1447) at St Mary Magdalene's Church, Newark. Similarly, the arms of the London Drapers' Company can be seen on the brass attributed to John Boston (fl. *c.*1500) in the same church.[90] No merchant marks are shown on any of the Tame brasses, although there may be one carved on Fairford church. John's merchant's mark may appear on the east end of the north facing parapet of the church tower. The central symbol could be a highly stylised letter J. This would have been placed almost directly over the location of his tomb.[91] This aside, there are no other visible symbols of the Tame family's trade on the church building. The other trade emblems on the tower, including scissors, pincers and horseshoes, and gloves and shears, are thought to represent local craftworkers, who may have contributed to the cost of rebuilding.

There are no obvious representations of the Tames or the source of their wealth to be seen in the glazing at Fairford either, although there may be a few subtle clues. The depiction of the Biblical account of Gideon and the fleece (Judges 6.36–40) in a north-aisle window is located immediately outside the Lady Chapel where the Tames were buried (Fig. 6). In the glass, Gideon, like John and Edmund Tame, is depicted dressed in contemporary armour, and at his feet lies a sheep's fleece, the raw material which brought the Tames such prosperity. The Supper at Emmaus (Luke 24.30–1) is shown in a window in the Corpus Christi Chapel (Fig. 7). Christ is seated with an ornamental tapestry behind. The round table is covered with a linen cloth of diaper pattern and has a dish with a bird ready to be eaten, bread, a vessel with a cover, plate and a flagon. The

86 TNA, PROB 11/19/343; Lechlade St Lawrence, LSW.II. It has also been suggested as the brass of John Twynihoe (d. 1510), but he was buried at Cirencester (*VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 120, n. 9).

87 Kempsford St Mary, LSW.I; *VCH, Gloucestershire*, VII, 105; Hobson, *Tames*, 13–14.

88 Stamford, Lincolnshire, All Saints, M.S.I & M.S.II.

89 Northleach, LSW.VIII; Standon (Herts.), M.S.III; London, St Olave Hart Street, M.S.I.; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (Stratford St Mary, 2009), 591.

90 J. Lee, ''Tis the sheep have paid for all': Merchant Commemoration in Late Medieval Newark', *MBS Trans*, 19:4 (2017), 301–27, at 308–10.

91 Hobson, *Tames*, 4, 43.

Fig. 6. Gideon's fleece window, Fairford. (photo © author)

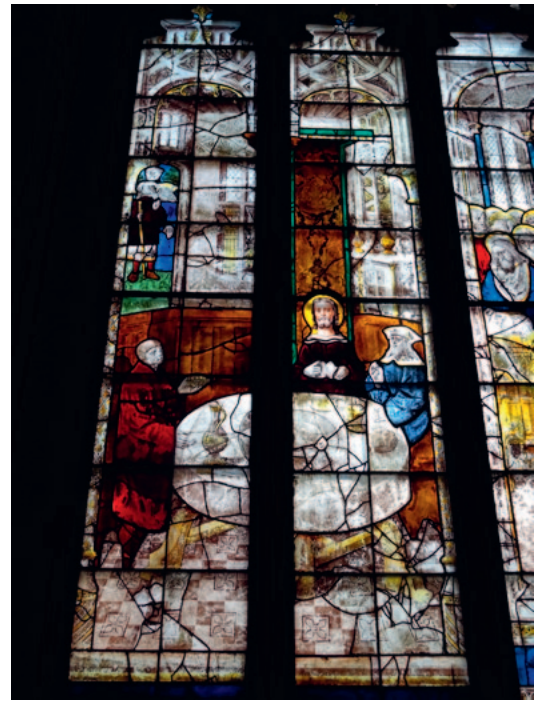

Fig. 7. Supper at Emmaus window, Fairford. (photo © author)

disciple on the left holds a fluted drinking bowl. Behind the head of the disciple on the right stands a chest or sideboard with flagons and plate upon it. This elaborate display of plate seems reminiscent of a mercantile household aspiring to gentry status. Merchants often exhibited plate, which displayed status, could be easily converted to cash or accepted as security for a loan, and was easily distributed as part of the assets of an estate.[92] John Tame left silver to the church and a goblet and mazer to his daughter Dame Eleanor.[93] Fairford parish possesses a wooden mazer bowl, with a deep silver gilt rim, and at the centre, a silver gilt raised boss with a piece of oval crystal (Fig. 8).[94] Dated to *c.*1480–90, this was originally a domestic ceremonial drinking vessel, and may have been owned by John Tame.[95] Edmund bequeathed his best gilt standing cup, gilt salts, his best silver basin, and a dozen spoons to his wife, standing cups to his three daughters, and silver pots to the abbots of Cirencester and Winchcombe.[96]

The Tames' desire to link themselves with illustrious families can also be seen on the

92 Lee, *Medieval Clothier*, 203.
93 TNA, PROB 11/12/22.
94 The mazer is loaned to Gloucester Cathedral Treasury (Acc. No. L48).
95 Gloucestershire Archives, P141/CW/3/22, Notes on the chalice and mazer bowl at Fairford; P141/MI/5/12, Photographs of mazer and chalice. W.H. St. John Hope, 'On the English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers', *Archaeologia*, 50 (1887), 129–196, at 156.
96 TNA, PROB 11/25/228.

Fig. 8. Mazer c.1480–90, owned by Fairford parish, displayed in Gloucester Cathedral Treasury. (photo © Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral)

central tower, where the arms of the Tames are found alongside heraldic shields of the nobility who had owned the manor of Fairford or were patrons of the church – the De Clares, the Despensers and the earls of Warwick.[97] The Tames wanted to linked themselves with these more ancient and aristocratic families – a form of 'genealogy by association'.[98]

Do the Tame brasses perhaps also owe something to royal influence? Scholars have attributed the glazing in Fairford church to the Anglo-Netherlandish glass painters established in Westminster and Southwark. These craftsmen were closely associated with some of the most prestigious royal and aristocratic projects at the turn of the sixteenth century, including Westminster Abbey and King's College Chapel, Cambridge.[99] The Tames may have seen some of this work, while they or their factors were travelling.[100] Another wealthy mercantile family may have commissioned other royal craftsmen shortly afterwards. The executors of Thomas Spring (d. 1523) 'the rich clothier', appear to have used carpenters and carvers familiar with commissions for the royal court for the wooden parclose screen surrounding his tomb in the parish church of Lavenham.[101] Although it has been suggested that the Crown was the patron of the Fairford glazing scheme, the absence of the Tudor rose or other royal symbols would seem to argue against this.[102] The most recent studies by Sarah Brown firmly attribute the rebuilding of the church and the installation of the windows around 1500 to the wealth of John and Edmund Tame.[103] The nearly complete set of choir and parclose screens of *c.*1520 at Fairford, comparable with the screens at Rendcomb, were both probably provided by Sir Edmund Tame too. Both bear the pomegranate, the emblem of Queen Catherine of Aragon, and may have been commissioned specifically to mark a royal visit.[104]

Like their contemporaries, the clothiers John Winchcombe of Newbury (*c.*1489–1557) and William Stumpe of Malmesbury (*c.*1497–1552), the Tames used their mercantile wealth to climb rapidly in society from obscurity to a position where they were rewarded with

97 *Fairford Parish Church*, eds Brown and MacDonald, 15–19.
98 Verey and Brooks, *Gloucestershire*, 362.
99 Wayment, *Stained Glass*, 85–94; Marks, *Stained Glass*, 209–12.
100 C. Burgess, 'Making Mammon serve God: Merchant Piety in Later Medieval England', in *The Medieval Merchant*, eds C. Barron and A. Sutton (Donington, 2014), 183–207, at 190.
101 Lee, *Medieval Clothier*, 248–50; C. Tracy, H. Harrison and L. Wrapson, 'Thomas Spring's Chantry and Parclose at Lavenham, Suffolk', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164 (2011), 221–59.
102 Wayment highlighted the inclusion of the Prince of Wales' feathers in tracery eyelets in three windows in the south nave aisle. It has also been suggested that the windows contain a series of hidden portraits of members of the Tudor court. These ideas are summarised in Verey and Brooks, *Gloucestershire*, 367.
103 Brown, 'Patronage and Piety', 289.
104 Verey and Brooks, *Gloucestershire*, 364, 574.

public offices in their respective counties. Winchcombe and Stumpe reputedly entertained the king, but there is much firmer evidence that Edmund Tame did so.[105] Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth of York, visited Fairford in the summer of 1502 and stayed with Edmund Tame, who served as receiver of the queen's lands in the area.[106] It was this visit, it has been suggested, enhanced perhaps by the marriage of one of the Twynihoe daughters into the Denys family offering an additional link into the court of Henry VII, that ensured royal support for the glazing scheme in the parish church.[107] Henry VIII came to the town in August 1520, offering 5s. 8d. 'at Fairford Master Tamez place', possibly to see the completed stained glass windows.[108] During his stay he would have undoubtedly attended Mass in the church on St Augustine's Day. Sir Edmund was made steward of Fairford for life with £40 per year and his younger son was knighted.[109] Intriguingly, the royal chamber accounts also show that Edmund had dealings with the crown much earlier. In 1500 the king and one of his leading councillors, Sir Reginald Bray, had arranged for him to deliver 150 sacks of wool to them.[110] In March 1501, the king paid £977 7s. 11d. to Tame for 87 sacks of good Cotswold wool and 57 sacks of middle Cotswold wool:

> 'It[e]m payd to Tame for iiij^{xx} vij sakk of gode Cott[es] wull & lvij sak x c[laves] of midd Cott[es] wull & for xiij sakk di x cl[aves] of midd Cott[es] DCCCClxxvij li vij s xj d'[111]

In the context of two royal visits to the Tames at Fairford, was there perhaps a conscious desire on the part of Edmund to choose a fashionable memorial for his parents and to underplay his father's mercantile background? John Tame's brass is one of several semi-profile figures wearing armour which were produced by the London F workshop during the early 1500s. Several of those commemorated by such brasses had close connections with the monarch. Thomas Fowler (d. 1506), squire of the body and gentleman usher of the chamber to kings Edward IV and Richard III, and his wife Edith (d. 1514), gentlewoman to Lady Margaret Beaufort, are commemorated with a brass with four shields and marginal inscription in Christ's College, Cambridge (Fig. 9).[112] There are two examples in Worcestershire: at Mamble one of *c.*1510 to John Blount, esquire, with his son Sir Edward, knight of the body to Henry VII and at Alvechurch one to Philip Chalwyn (d. 1524), gentleman usher to Henry VIII.[113] Tilty in Essex has the brass of Gerard Danet of Bromkinsthorpe in Leicester, (d. 1520), privy councillor and esquire of the

105 For Winchcombe and Stumpe, see Lee, *Medieval Clothier*, 253–4, 266–7.

106 *The Chamber Books of Henry VII and Henry VIII, 1485–1521*, eds M.M. Condon, S.P. Harper, L. Liddy, and S. Cunningham and J. Ross, TNA, E 36/210, ff. 53–55, at www.tudorchamberbooks.org. See also S. Harper, 'Henry VII and Elizabeth of York's Royal Progress, Summer 1502', *Local History News*, 130 (Winter 2019), 8–9.

107 Barley, 'Man in a Red Hat', I, 91–2.

108 *Chamber Books of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, eds Condon et al., TNA, E 36/216, f. 102r.

109 Hobson, *Tames*, 23.

110 *Chamber Books of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, eds Condon et al., BL, Add MS 21480, f. 176v, TNA, E 101/415/3, f. 289v.

111 *Chamber Books of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, eds Condon et al., TNA, E 101/415/3, f. 54r.

112 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), 24–5; S. Powell, 'Cambridge Commemorations of Lady Margaret Beaufort's Household', in *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge*, eds J.S. Lee and C. Steer (Woodbridge, 2018), 123–51, at 128–31.

113 Mamble, M.S.I.; *VCH, Worcestershire*, IV, 284–9; Alvechurch, M.S.I.; *VCH, Worcestershire*, III, 251–7.

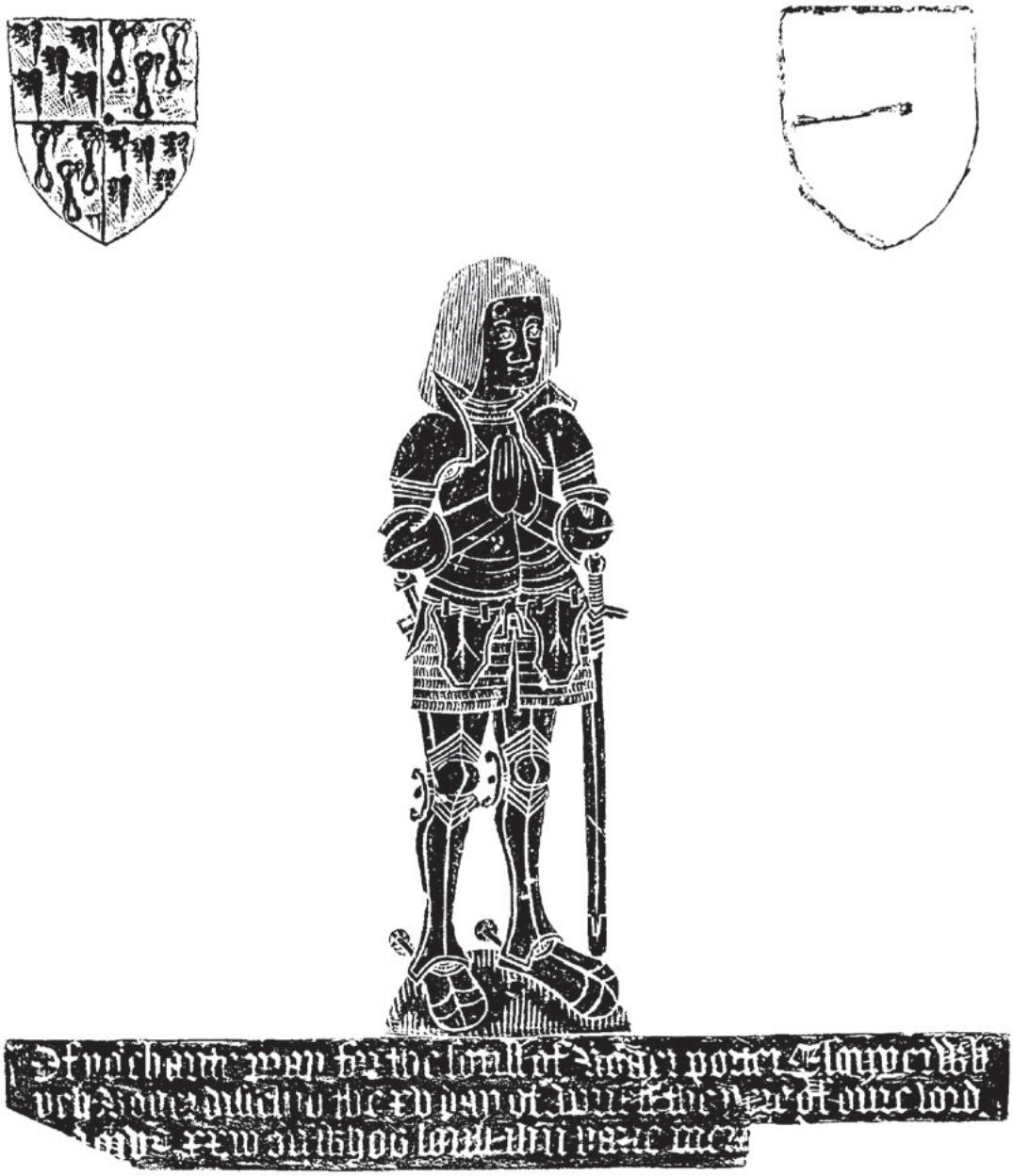

Fig. 9. Roger Porter, 1523, Newent, St Mary, Gloucestershire (LSW.I).
(rubbing © Martin Stuchfield)

body to Henry VIII, probably removed from the London Blackfriars.[114] The Tames were espousing fashionable brasses adopted by those who had served close to the king.

Other contemporary gentry brasses in Gloucestershire are similar to John Tame's. Roger Porter of Newent is depicted in armour, like John Tame, with two shields, one now lost, in a London F style brass (Fig. 10). Roger was a local landowner and lawyer. He had been taxed on £50 of lands and £26 13s. 4d. of goods in 1522. He farmed Newent rectory, held part of Boulsdon manor, and resided at a house known as Porter's Place. His son Arthur held numerous county offices and served as member of parliament. Richard's brother William held the vicarage of Newent and other preferments including the precentorship of Hereford cathedral. Roger asked to be buried before an image of the Virgin at the east end of the lady chapel in 1523 but his brass has been re-set in the east wall.[115] Another important parallel with the Tame brass is that of Sir Maurice Denys, lord of the manors of Alveston and Irdecote, and his son Walter, depicted in armour on their London F style brass at Olveston Church in 1505. Their armour is similar to that worn by John Tame on his brass, but without spurs, and largely concealed by heraldic tabards. Father and son kneel on embroidered cushions. These were the grandfather and father respectively of William Denys, whom John Tame's sister-in-law, Edith Twynihoe had married.[116]

There was an increasing interest in knighthood among aspiring merchants too. In London, richer merchants had assumed the rank of knight from the early fourteenth century, and by the latter part of the century, at least eighty London citizens were using armorial devices. From the reign of Edward IV, knighthoods were increasingly conferred on London aldermen, who began to participate in courtly festivities, drawing the chivalric and mercantile worlds closer together.[117] At Bristol, the town houses of the wealthiest merchants included open halls decorated with arms and armour.[118] It was not unknown for merchants to be represented in armour on their monuments too, even outside these leading cities. Examples include the stone effigy, now mutilated, of John Whitmore, (d. 1374) four times mayor of Chester, at Holy Trinity church in the town; and the brass of John Hawley (d. 1408), merchant and fourteen times mayor of Dartmouth, at St Saviour's, Dartmouth.[119] Nicholas Blackburn senior (d. 1432), a merchant of the Staple, is still shown in his armour in a window of All Saints' Church, North Street, York (Fig. 11), as formerly his eldest son John (d. 1426) was, although John's brass

114 Tilty, M.S.II.; M. Christy and W.W. Porteous, 'Some interesting Essex brasses', *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, 9 (1903), 146–62 at 151–2. The Danet family were lords of the manor of Danet's Hall in Bromkinsthorpe: *VCH, Leicestershire*, IV: *the City of Leicester*, (London, 1958), 380–3.

115 TNA, PROB 11/21/115; Newent, St Mary, LSW.I; *VCH, Gloucestershire*, XII, 86; *Military Survey*, 53; M.K. Dale, 'PORTER, Arthur (by 1505–59), of Newent and Alvington, Glos.', *History of Parliament online* https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509–1558/member/porter-arthur-1505–59 accessed 16 June 2019.

116 Davis, *Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*, pp. 106–9. Olveston, St Bartholomew, LSW.I.

117 S. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (London, 1948), 234–87; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 232–3; C. Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, eds P. Coss and M. Keene (Woodbridge, 2002), 219–41.

118 R.H. Leech, *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (Swindon, 2014), 78–116.

119 F.H. Crossley, 'Medieval Monumental Effigies remaining in Cheshire', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Chester*, 76 (1924), 1–51 at 13–14; S. Rose, 'Hawley, John, the elder (*c.* 1350–1408)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/50130 accessed 6 June 2019.

Fig. 10. Thomas Fowler (d. 1506), squire of the body and gentleman usher of the chamber to Edward IV and Richard III, with wife Edith (d. 1514), gentlewoman to Lady Margaret Beaufort, Christ's College, Cambridge (LSW.I).
(photo © Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 11. Nicholas Blackburn senior (d. 1432), merchant of the Staple, in his armour, in glass at All Saints Church, North Street, York.
(photo © author)

depicted him in civilian dress. An indent at St Mary's Beverley of a brass of two men in armour is probably that of the merchants Henry and Nicholas Holme (d. 1471), although these brothers are known to have enjoyed close links with the earl of Northumberland.[120] Not all successful merchants wanted to access the ranks of the gentry, and relatively few entered it successfully.[121] John Tame's tomb can be seen as challenging convention and offering a 'questioning of these funeral proprieties'.[122]

The growing mercantile interest in knighthood can even be found on the brasses of a few wool merchants of the Cotswolds. The inscription on William Greville's memorial brass at Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire proudly proclaims him to be (in translation) 'late citizen of London and the flower of the wool merchants of all of England'. This style is so reminiscent of the language used to proclaim a knight the flower of English chivalry that it is likely that an intentional comparison was being made between mercantile activities and those of knights.[123] John Ashfield (d. 1507) of Heythrop and Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, wool merchant, is said, at his own expense, to have rebuilt the nave of St Mary the Virgin, Chipping Norton, where he is commemorated by a brass. Now sadly mutilated, it comprised John in armour, his first wife and children, a foot inscription, a Trinity and four shields. His son John Ashfield (d. 1521) and wife Elenor are commemorated in brass at Heythrop in Oxfordshire (Fig. 12). The armed figure of John is a London F style product while his wife is in the London G style. A contemporary three-light window depicts kneeling effigies of the same figures. John appears in armour with a tabard and Elenor in a heraldic mantle.[124] John bequeathed 'a thousand shepe' to his eldest son Humphrey, confirming the

120 S. Badham, 'Commemoration in Brass and Glass of the Blackburn Family of York', *Ecclesiology Today*, 43 (2010), 68–82, at 71–5, 79.

121 S.H. Rigby, 'English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Deference, Ambition and Conflict', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c.1350–c.1500*, ed. P. Brown (Oxford, 2007), 25–39 at 30; A. Rogers, 'Contrasting Careers: William Browne of Stamford and Social Mobility in the Later Fifteenth Century', in *The Medieval Merchant*, eds C. Barron and A. Sutton (Donington, 2014), 93–110.

122 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 236.

123 A.T. Brown, *Rural Society and Economic Change in County Durham: Recession and Recovery, c.1400–1640* (Woodbridge, 2015), 176.

124 Chipping Norton, M.S.VI, Heythrop, M.S.I; J. Moor, 'In Brass and Glass – Heythrop, Oxfordshire', *MBS Bulletin*, 118 (Oct 2011), 356–8.

Fig. 12. John Ashfield (d. 1521) and wife Elenor, Heythrop, Oxfordshire (M.S.I).
(rubbing © Martin Stuchfield)

continuing source of the family's wealth.[125] Like the Tames, the Ashfields styled themselves as esquires and displayed coats of arms on their brasses, but were still engaged in trading wool to which they owed their social status and their wealth.

Conclusion

The Tame family brasses formed the centre of a church newly rebuilt, with fine woodwork and a glazing scheme designed by leading craftsmen. Dressed not as merchants but as knights, the Tame brasses express the social ambitions of their family and their class. The appearance of John Tame's brass was probably determined by his son Edmund, and possibly also Edmund's siblings, Thomas the priest and Dame Eleanor (their elder brother William had died *c.*1492).[126] Their aspirations helped to ensure that their parents were commemorated on their brass in a suitably gentrified style. Edmund, though not the first son, but apparently the principal heir, might have been especially keen to make a claim for the status of his father. Ambitious and eager to establish his position among the county gentry and courtiers, Edmund did not wish to highlight his father's roots in 'trade'. If Holt's tale is correct, Edmund even spurned suggestions to include a sheep's head in his heraldic crest. John's brass could well have been a retrospective installation arranged by his son. John is depicted as a country gentleman, dressed in armour. He had probably never worn a suit of armour in his life. He is surrounded by what are supposed to be his coats of arms, even though these were probably granted only later to his son. His only merchant mark in the church is placed high on the tower parapet, alongside other craftworkers from the local community. And there is not a sheep anywhere in sight.

125 TNA, PROB 11/20/92.
126 Hobson, *Tames*, 19.

Acknowledgements
This is an extended version of a paper given at the Society's General Meeting at St Mary's Church Fairford on 30 March 2019. My thanks to the church for their hospitality; to Jane Houghton for providing detailed references relating to the Tame brasses; to the late Jerome Bertram for sharing his observations on the brasses; to Chris Hobson for sending helpful information on the Tames; to Samantha Harper for sharing references in the Tudor Chamber Books, to Rebecca Phillips, Gloucester Cathedral Archivist, for photographing the Fairford mazer, to Martin Stuchfield and Christian Steer for sharing images; and to Sarah Brown and Rob Kinsey for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

Fig. 1. Man in armour and wife, engraved c.1500, probably Robert Taylboys, 1506, and wife Letitia, Assington, Suffolk (M.S.I). (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Conservation of Brasses, 2019–20

Martin Stuchfield

This is the thirty-fourth report relating to the conservation of brasses by the late William Lack that has been prepared for the *Transactions*. It records the brasses that were in the process of conservation at his death on 30 May 2019. A tribute to William Lack's life and work has also been included in recognition of his achievements. Gratitude is due to Simon Nadin of Skillington Lack to whom William transfered his skills and who played a significant role in ensuring that all outstanding conservation work was completed to an extremely high standard and in a timely fashion. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with all the brasses described below and for funding the facsimile at Bicester; to Derrick Chivers for assistance at Monken Hadley; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation and the Monumental Brass Society at Assington, Bicester, Chesham Bois and Monken Hadley.

Assington, Suffolk

M.S.I. Man in armour and wife, engraved *c.*1500, probably Robert Taylboys, 1506, and wife Letitia (Fig. 1).[1] This Norwich 4 brass, now comprising a male effigy in armour (762 x 254 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 6 rivets) and a female effigy (763 x 284 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 6 rivets), was removed from a modern slab in the nave on 29 October 2018.[2] After cleaning, new rivets were fitted and the brass was relaid in the slab on 10 September 2019.

Bicester, Oxfordshire

Seven brasses were collected on 19 July 2018 having been removed during the 1970s and stored in the church vestry. A further two brasses were also removed.

M.S.I. Inscription to William Staveley, lord of Bygnell, 1498, and wife Alice, daughter and heir of Sir John Fraunces by his wife Isabel, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Plesyngtonn, 1500. This London F four-line Latin inscription in raised letters (110 x 699 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 11 rivets) was formerly mounted on a modern marble frame set into the north wall of the chancel.[3]

M.S.II. Lady, engraved *c.*1510. This London G brass, now comprising a female effigy (468 x 164 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 3 rivets) was formerly affixed to the south wall of the south chapel.[4]

1 The brass is described, illustrated and the attribution discussed in J.A. Christian, 'Identifying the Brasses at Assington, Suffolk', *MBS Trans*, 11:6 (1974), 431–6.

2 The antiquary David Elisha Davy recorded two effigies and an inscription in Latin commemorating Robert Taylboys, 1506, and wife Letitia in 1828. One son, probably three daughters and three shields completed the composition. The upper dexter shield had already been lost. The brass was removed from its original slab and relaid in the floor of the nave probably during the restoration undertaken in 1863 (Christian, 'Identifying the Brasses at Assington', 435).

3 The inscription originally formed part of a much larger composition comprising a civilian and wife, Trinity, 2 scrolls and 4 shields that was located on an altar tomb on the north side of the chancel. Described and illustrated in J. Bertram, *Oxfordshire Brasses, Being an Account of all Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs Extant or Formerly Extant in the County of Oxford* (s.l., lulu, 2019), 35–6.

4 The female effigy formed part of a larger composition comprising a civilian and an inscription. Described and illustrated in Bertram, *Oxfordshire Brasses*, 36. The male effigy was stolen *c.*1972 and is described and illustrated in W. Lack and P. Whittemore, eds., *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, I, pt 4 (March 2003), 23, pl. 31b.

Fig. 2. Inscription with three achievements to Roger Moore, 1574, Bicester, Oxfordshire (M.S.III). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

M.S.III. Inscription with three achievements to Roger Moore, esquire, 2nd son of Moore de la Moote in Oxfordshire, 1551, and wife Agnes, daughter and heir of John Husye, esquire, second son of Thomas Husye of Shapwick, Dorset, who had issue by the said Roger Moore a son Thomas and two daughters Mary, Elizabeth, the which Thomas was one of the 'GENTILMEN · PENSYONERS' to Queen Elizabeth and in her service in Ireland was slain in 1574 leaving no issue; Mary, his eldest sister married Michael Blount of Mapledurham, esquire, and had issue Richard, Thomas, Charles, Katherine, Mary; his second sister Elizabeth married Gabriel Fowler of Tilesworth, Bedfordshire, and had issue Richard, Mary, Agnes, Elizabeth, Jane (Fig. 2). This brass, comprising a lightly engraved and painted fourteen-line English inscription in capitals with three achievements (387–405 x 550–644 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 8 rivets) was formerly affixed to the south wall of the chancel. The plate has suffered slight mutilation with the protruding fixing rings having been lost from the lower dexter and lower sinister corners.[5]

M.S.IV. Inscription to William Hortt *alias* Hart, gentleman, and wife Emme, daughter of Mr Ashton of Croston, Lancashire, esquire,

5 Described and illustrated in Bertram, *Oxfordshire Brasses*, 36–8.

both died 1584, had five sons and four daughters. This London G seven-line inscription in English (590 x 610 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 6 rivets) was affixed with conventional wood screws to a board inside a freestone frame (590 x 610 mm) on the north wall of the nave.[6]

M.S.V. Inscription to Humphrey Hunt, born at Cliffhouse, Lancashire, died 1601, and wife Elizabeth, had five sons and three daughters. This Southwark brass, comprising a six-line English inscription in Roman capitals (163–167 x 473 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets) was also affixed with conventional screws into a freestone frame (550 x 615 mm) set into the south wall of the south aisle.[7]

M.S.VI. Inscription to Rafe Hunte, 'BORNE IN LANKEYSHERE IN Y^E P[A]RISHE OF CHILVE. HE WAS A LONGE DWELLER IN THIS TOWNE OF BISSITER', benefactor to the poor, 1602, had two wives Ellen and Katherine (who had a daughter Anne). This Southwark brass, comprising a five-line English inscription in Roman capitals (134 x 694 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 12 rivets) was formerly affixed to the south wall of the south chapel.[8]

M.S.VII. Inscription to John Lewis, gentleman, 'BORNE IN LYN IN THE COUNTY OF CARNARVON GENT: WHO FOR THE LOVE HE BARE TO THE SAID JOHN COKER DESIRED BY HIS WILL TO BE BVRIED NEERE HIM', died in Oxford, 1612. This Oxfordshire style brass, comprising a seven-line English inscription in Roman capitals (237 x 472 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 4 rivets) had been screwed to the east wall of the nave.[9]

M.S.VIII. Inscription to Richard Clarke, 1624. This Oxfordshire style brass, comprising a three-line English inscription in Roman capitals (277 x 472–479 mm, thickness 9.9 mm, 2 rivets) was affixed to the north wall of the north aisle.[10]

M.S.IX. Inscription to John Coker, 1606, and wife Joan, 1618; Anne, wife of Cadwallader Coker, 1653, aged 82, and second wife Catharine, 1635, aged 36, had issue John, Cadwallader, Frances, William, Catharine, Joan and Elizabeth. This Oxfordshire style brass, comprising a thirteen-line English inscription in Roman capitals (375–380 x 497 mm, thickness 9.9 mm, 10 rivets) had been screwed to the east wall of the nave above M.S.VII.[11]

After cleaning, fractures were repaired in M.S.I and IV, new rivets were fitted to the brasses. M.S.II (together with a facsimile of the male effigy in private possession), III, VI and VIII were rebated into four 'Woodkirk' stone mounts. The stones and brasses were returned and mounted in July 2019; M.S.I, IV and V were refixed in their frames; M.S.II with M.S.VI above on the south wall of the south aisle; M.S.III on the south wall of the chancel; M.S.VIII on the north wall of the north aisle with M.S.VII and IX refixed together on the east wall of the nave as previously.

Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire

LSW.I. Benedict, 'crysome' son of Roger Lee, gentleman, and inscription, *c.*1505 (Fig. 3).[12] This London F brass, comprising an infant in swaddling clothes (87 x 201 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 2 rivets) and a three-line English

6 *Ibid.*, 38.
7 *Ibid.*, 38.
8 *Ibid.*, 39.
9 *Ibid.*, 39.
10 *Ibid.*, 39.
11 *Ibid.*, 40.

12 Described and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (Stratford St Mary, 1994), 37–8.

Fig. 3. Benedict, 'crysome' son of Roger Lee, gentleman, c.1505, Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire (LSW.III). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

inscription (87 x 201 mm, thickness 4.9 mm, 2 rivets) was removed some years ago from the original Purbeck slab (615 x 235 mm) situated in the centre of the chancel under a raised floor installed in 1999 by Brocklehurst Architects with a hatch providing access to the original slab (now 545 visible x 235 mm). Since 2016, the brass has been deposited at the treasury of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. The plates were collected from the church for conservation on 16 January 2018. After cleaning, new rivets were fitted and the two plates were relaid in the slab on 3 March 2020.

Monken Hadley, Middlesex (formerly Hertfordshire)[13]

Four brasses were collected on 19 July 2018 having been removed during late 2016 and stored in the church vestry.

LSW.II. Inscription to Walter Tornor, 1494, and wife Agnes. This London D three-line Latin inscription (76 x 468 mm, 3 rivets) was formerly affixed to the south wall at the east end of the south aisle.[14] The inscription is broken into two parts.

13 Described and illustrated in H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex Part 11: Hackney and Hadley', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1961), 179–93 and in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (Stratford St Mary, 2009), 228, 230–5. Cass stated in 1880 that 'Certain of the brasses … do not occupy the positions originally belonging to them. Several of them, preserved in a closet at the rectory previous to the church's restoration [by G.E. Street, 1848-50] were at that time inserted in the pavement more with an eye to picturesque effect than to the sites from which they had become detached' (F.C. Cass, *Monken Hadley* (London, 1880), 126–7).

14 The brass was originally located on the floor of the south chapel/transept where it was described by Cass almost certainly in the now discarded but surviving cement-filled Victorian indent that formerly contained LSW.III to which this brass does not belong (Cass, *Monken Hadley*, 129–30).

Fig. 4. Group of four daughters from the brass to William Turnour, 1500, in civil dress, and wife Joan, Monken Hadley, Middlesex (LSW.III), prior to conservation. (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

LSW.III. William Turnour, 1500, and wife Joan. This London G brass, now comprising a male effigy (471 x 183 mm, 3 rivets), female effigy (452 x 170 mm, 3 rivets), a three-line Latin inscription (88 x 519 mm, 3 rivets) and a group of four daughters (139 x 132 mm, 1 rivet) was formerly affixed to the south wall at the east end of the south aisle directly below LSW.II (Fig. 4).[15]

The inscription is broken into three parts.

LSW.IV. John Goodeyere, gentleman, 1504 (effigy lost), and wife Joan. This London F brass, now comprising a female effigy (447 x 150 mm, 3 rivets), a two-line Latin inscription (49 x 629 mm, 3 rivets) and two shields (dexter 141 x 120 mm, 3 rivets and sinister 141 x 119 mm, 3 rivets) bearing the arms of Goodyere and anonymous were surface mounted onto a board that was formerly affixed to the south wall of the south chapel/transept.[16]

LSW.V. [Thomas Goodyere, 1518], and wife [Joan Hawte]. This London F brass, now comprising a male civilian effigy (483 x 140 mm, 3 rivets), and a female effigy (471 x 145 mm, 3 rivets) was formerly affixed to the south wall of the chancel.[17]

After cleaning, fractures were repaired in LSW.II and III, new rivets were fitted to the brasses and they were rebated into four boards. The missing parts of LSW.IV and V were lightly outlined on the boards. The boards and brasses were returned on 12 December 2019. LSW.II and V were mounted on the south wall at the east end of the south aisle. LSW.III on the south face of the west south aisle pillar and LSW.IV on the north face of the west north aisle pillar.

15 The brass was originally located on the floor of the south chapel/transept where it was described by Cass almost certainly in the now discarded but surviving cement-filled Victorian indent that formerly contained LSW.II to which this brass does not belong (F.C. Cass, *Monken Hadley* (London, 1880), 129–30).

16 The brass was originally located on the floor of the north chapel where members of the family are buried. It was moved to the south wall of the south chapel at the time of the 1848–50 restoration and was recorded loose at the rectory in 1961. According to a pencilled inscription on the reverse of the board the brass was 'fixed here under window of south chapel, taken from under window, n[orth] chapel, when radiator fixed there' on 30 January 1979 by T. Roels & Sons, builders, of Potters Bar. An indent, probably Victorian, is located under the organ in the north chapel. Rubbings by the Revd Herbert Haines of the lost indents for the male effigy (460 x 165 mm), sons (135 x 135 mm) and daughters (115 x *c.*130 mm) are preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

17 The brass was originally located on the floor of the north aisle and subsequently affixed into the now discarded but surviving cement-filled Victorian indent located in the nave. The inscription and shields have been lost although a rubbing of one shield (152 x 133 mm) bearing the arms of Goodyere *Gules a fess between two chevrons vairo* impaling Hawte *Or a cross engrailed gules* is preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Fig. 5. William Lack (right) working with Simon Nadin of Skillington Lack (left) relaying the brass to Bridget Coo, 1580, and her two husbands at Orford, Suffolk (M.S.IX) on 8 May 2015. (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

The untimely passing of William Lack has deprived the Society of one of its most ardent supporters who made an outstanding contribution to the conservation and study of brasses.

William, who was born on 13 April 1945 at Cambridge, was introduced to brasses by his wife Jenny. They were amongst the first students of the University of East Anglia where, in 1964, William attended the inaurgural Maths course offered by the university.

Following graduation, William and Jenny moved to Shropshire where he joined a small geophysical company. It was Jenny who first developed an interest in brass rubbing, joining the M.B.S. in 1974. Three years later, having held a highly successful brass rubbing exhibition to raise much-needed funds for the Society's Workshop at Cambridge, an invitation for afternoon tea at the home of Dr Keith Cameron (President 1969–85), promptly followed. It was this engagement that changed the course of William's life forever. Dr Cameron, who had assumed responsibility for the repair of brasses from Rex Pearson (President 1960–1), and now in his early 70s, was becoming increasingly anxious to find a successor. William was deemed the ideal candidate and embarked on a prompt and unofficial apprenticeship. Early collaborative projects at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire; Holme Hale and Irstead, Norfolk; Barrow and Cookley, Suffolk; Lambeth, Surrey; and Wensley, Yorkshire, firmly established William's suitability. His skill and industry resulted in him conserving more than one thousand brasses to the highest

of standards, a unique achievement ensuring that a significant part of the nation's heritage is preserved for posterity. It was an enormous comfort to him (and all that care about the welfare of brasses) that he was able to pass his skills onto the next generation in the form of Simon Nadin of Skillington Lack.

William's contribution to brasses was not confined to their conservation. He played a crucial role in facilitating their study by laboriously typing into his computer the entire contents of Mill Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (published in 1926 with an appendix in 1938) amounting to some 800 pages of dense text. It was William's brainchild to use this data to embark, with Philip Whittemore and myself, on what has become known as the *County Series*. Seventeen county volumes (from Bedfordshire to Huntingdonshire) have been published since 1992 that describe and illustrate brasses from the medieval period to the present day. In addition, in 2010 he succeeded Les Smith as Hon. Bulletin Editor. *Bulletin* 113 was the first to appear under his editorship. He was responsible for a total of twenty-nine issues during which period many significant advances and improvements were implemented.

In recognition of his outstanding contribution the Executive Council had agreed to confer Honorary Membership at the 2019 Annual General Meeting but he sadly died six weeks beforehand. His conservation work and contribution to the *County Series* remain as a fitting memorial to a lifetime working with brasses.

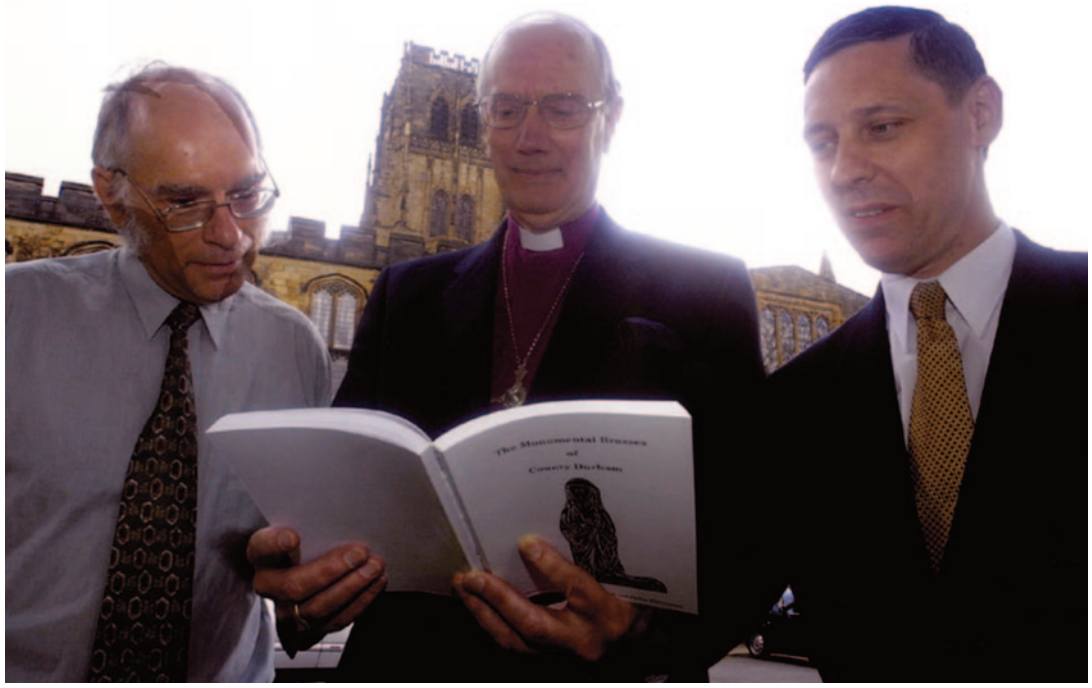

Fig. 6. William Lack (left) with Rt Revd Michael Turnbull, Bishop of Durham (centre) and Martin Stuchfield (right) at the launch of The Monumental Brasses of County Durham on 20 July 2002.

Reviews

Mediaeval Inscriptions: The Epigraphy of the City of Oxford, ed. Jerome Bertram (Oxford Record Society, vol 74, 2020); vii + 240 pp., 19 colour and 10 b/w illustrations; bibliography and indexes; £35 (hardback); ISBN 9780-9-0250-976-4.

Epigraphy – the study of inscriptions – has been much undervalued by historians of medieval England and is not as well-established an academic discipline in Britain as it is in France and Germany. Too often inscriptions have been presumed to be formulaic, unworthy of being recorded and studied for their own sake. Fr Jerome Bertram's collection of the inscriptions of the city of Oxford makes a powerful case for the discipline and its potential in medieval studies.

The Epigraphy of the City of Oxford lists over 300 inscriptions which are carefully recorded using a common template. They are arranged in chronological order from *c.*1100 to 1558/9. Though predominantly drawn from funerary monuments, especially brasses, they range far more widely to include those found in windows, on bells, plate, textiles, vaulting, screens, tiles and astronomical instruments. The same breadth is found in the types of inscriptions recorded. As well as inscriptions on monuments there are records of donors and makers, labels, captions, reported speech, instruction (both sacred and secular) and exhortation. The multiplicity of inscriptions is a reminder of the importance of text in medieval material and visual culture, and the editor's extensive use of antiquarian sources – almost two-thirds of the inscriptions recorded are now lost – is evidence of its former ubiquity.

The inscriptions on sepulchral monuments range from the familiar terse statements of the deceased's name, date of death and a request for prayers – the essential standard components of a medieval inscription – to much more elaborate compositions. From the late fourteenth century epitaphs praising the virtues of the deceased became increasingly fashionable. Polished Latin verse epitaphs were particularly favoured by university-educated clergy and many can still be found in Oxford's college chapels. *Mediaeval Inscriptions* contains an important collection of twenty-two of them. They repay close study for what their standard tropes reveal about clerical culture and the attitudes, values and priorities of these clergy. Alongside unashamed flattery and undisguised vanity – Thomas Cranley (d. 1417), archbishop of Dublin, is described as the 'flower of bishops' and the noted scholar, preacher and gossip, Thomas Gascoigne (d. 1458) as 'a serious man, naturally intelligent, a distinguished doctor' – there are astringent warnings. John Claimond (d. 1537) wrote his own epitaph to warn against 'sweet wealth', 'absurd pageantry' and 'dazzling looks'. There is much more to be learnt about the authorship of these verses and the literary techniques used in them. Readers wishing to do so will find Fr Jerome's *Icon and Epigraphy* (2014) an excellent starting place.

Inscriptions in stained glass windows make up the second largest category listed. Even the humblest of them – labels and donor inscriptions – are crucial in identifying iconographic schemes and patterns of patronage. One of the most well-known of the latter is testament to the vanity of Henry Mamesfield (d. 1328), dean of Lincoln: 'Master Henry Mamesfield made me' appears twenty-four times in the glass he gave to Merton College chapel. Some donor inscriptions, notably those recording the benefactors of Balliol and University colleges and the lost windows in the transepts of Merton College chapel, are sophisticated repositories of history, piety and collective memory. Other types of text in glass include Latin verse prayers in the lost early-

fifteenth century glass at Gloucester College (a monastic college) and a verse history of the university in the now lost great west window in the church of St Mary the Virgin.

The Epigraphy of the City of Oxford is much more than a useful list of inscriptions. A twenty-page introduction, a revised version of the author's article in *Oxoniensia* 58 (2003), sets the inscriptions in their context. Readers will be particularly grateful for the translations of the Latin and French texts and the comprehensive indexing. There are six indexes. As well as the standard topographical and name indexes (both of the deceased and donors), there are indexes of titles and forms of address (from abbess to 'wexchandeler') and heraldry. The inscriptions themselves have been helpfully subdivided into lists of incipits, explicits, prayer scrolls and mottos, stock verses and first lines. Categories of materials also have subsections for ease of searching, and where known workshops are listed.

In short, *Mediaeval Inscriptions* is an exemplary catalogue and an indispensable research tool that will undoubtedly be widely used.

David Lepine

Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, ed. Anne Leader (Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2018); xvii + 342 pp., many b/w illustrations; £86.50 (hardback); ISBN 9781580443456.

The eleven essays brought together in this collection are united by being focused on the nebulous theme of the funerary monuments of people deemed to have been, or at least to have begun life as, members of their country's 'middle class'. That is no more helpful as a term to provide a socio-historical context than is the word 'feudal', also much used by contributors. The collection's weakest point is in fact the failure by most contributors to place their subject-matter in any sort of historical context or to range beyond the specific location of the monuments with which they are concerned.

Five chapters are concerned with Italy. Karen Rose Mathews looks at the re-use of Antique sarcophagi in Pisa's Camposanto and cathedral, from the late thirteenth century onwards; it is unclear how far she has looked into the question of the damage that these sustained in the Second World war. Ruth Wolff considers the representation of doctors of law in Bologna, Treviso and elsewhere in Northern Italy in the fourteenth century. She shows that the earliest tomb of a doctor of law in the classic *doctor in cathedra* form (as touched on by Panofsky in his lectures on *Tomb Sculpture*) is not in Bologna but Treviso, to Bonincontro degli Arpi (d. 1306); she has other early instances, too, that predate the supposed start of this way of representing academics in the lecture room.

The longest contribution of all, by Sandra Cardarelli, publishes extracts from a testament of 1479, with directions for the making of a monument in Siena—which, however, does not survive and may never have been set up. The book's editor, Anne Leader, gives a general account of 'the sepulchralization of Renaissance Florence'. She laments the treatment of women, illustrating the stone floor-slab outside the cathedral which is inscribed simply '*Mvliervm*' ('Of women') and is taken to be a communal female grave, and she then looks at on the 'tomb slab richly decorated with colored marbles and bronze' for Filippo di Michele Arrighi da Empoli (d. 1403) at the church of Santa Croce. This, she states, was installed by him – but since it includes his date of death it would seem more likely to have been commissioned by his widow.

It is not apparent that Meredith Crosbie's paper on two monuments in Venice, to Girolamo Cavazza (d. 1681) and Bartolomeo Mora (d. 1676) has any new information or insights to offer. It is also unclear what readership she has in mind, when one is met by such passages as: 'to celebrate their social ascendance, many of these new nobles commissioned elegant homes known as *palazzi* on the Grand Canal …'.

Christian Steer's discussion of monuments to members of the Company of Merchant Taylors of London will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. Using the evidence of the Greyfriars' register and MS wills, he examines monuments set up in the Greyfriars' church (ten documented memorials to tailors and merchant tailors) and the parish churches of St Dunstan in the West and St Martin Outwich. Two general points stand out from his study. One is the suggestion that the commissioning of brasses may be hidden from us by the relevant testamentary bequest or request being worded as (burial) '*sub lapide*'. Secondly, in his discussion of the marble monument requested in the will of Sir William Fitzwilliam (d. 1534; founder of the Fitzwilliam family of Milton, Northamptonshire), he states that 'analysis of the script' shows that this substantial canopied monument was made between 1548 and 1564, 'which suggests construction during the reign of Queen Mary' – in other words, that there was a deliberate delay in its making until more settled times had (apparently) arrived. This proposal is backed up by precise parallels with both brasses and other stone monuments; overall, it is an interesting idea which well merits further investigation.

Two chapters look at monuments to prominent Burgundians, in the church of Our Lady at Bruges: both Ann Adams and Nicola Jennings and then (separated by over a hundred pages) Harriette Peel, all discuss monuments to members of the Bladelin and de Baenst families. Adams and Jennings also consider the lost monument of Nicolas Rolin (d. 18 Jan. 1462, not in 1461 as stated by them): his memorial seems likely to have been a floor-brass. In the words (not quoted by them) of Pierre Cockshaw, *Le Personnel de la Chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre* … (1982), p. 47 n. 306, '*C'est dans la collégiale Notre-Dame-du-Châtel à Autun que Nicolas Rolin avait été baptisé et c'est là qu'il voulut être inhumé sous une lame de cuivre gravée à son effigie.*' Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk have told me that late last year an archaeological rescue dig on the site of this church unearthed bones accompanied by a golden spur – which may well have been from Rolin's grave. Sadly, there is no trace of his monument, which was stated to have been destroyed in 1794.

As a production, the book is slightly unbalanced. The black-and-white illustrations are printed on the same pages as the text and in many cases are murky or indistinct. Regrettably, there are no plates in colour, while the book's final page of index, 342, is followed by twenty-four blank pages.

Nigel Ramsay

Picturing Death 1200–1600, eds Stephen Perkinson and Noa Turel (Leiden, Brill's Studies on Art, Art History and Intellectual History, vol. 321/50, Brill, 2021); xx + 454 pp., 173 colour illustrations; bibliography and index; €149.00 (hardback); ISBN 978-90-04-43002-0.

Studies in death, dying and devotion are as popular now as they have ever been. Early career scholars and established authors continue to examine the iconography of death in different ways and one important form of display is the funerary monument. This new

book of essays sets out to look at the visual culture of mortality in the round and there is much to interest readers of this journal.

The volume consists of an introduction by the editors which is followed by sixteen chapters. It is a puzzle that there is no 'list of contributors' but some googling reveals a healthy cast list from across the globe. The opening chapter is by Robert Marcoux, a well-known friend of this Society, who has written on incised slabs and their 'invasion' of the parish churches of France from the end of the thirteenth century. There are several full-page illustrations. I particularly enjoyed the discussion on the relationship between the effigy and the corpse through marginal details such as the *elevatio animae* (elevation of the soul), which shows the soul as an infant child lifted upwards and carried away by angels. Other chapters discuss tomb monuments from elsewhere, or aspects of them. Henrike Christiane Lange presents a splendid example of the multiplicity of memory by taking the fabulously wealthy Enrico Scrovegni, who died in 1336, as her focus. In Giotti's *Cappella degli Scrovegni* in Padua there is a frescoed donor portrait of Scrovegni, a polychrome standing statue and a *gisant* upon his tomb. This brings together three important parts of the commemorative unit and is a valuable reminder of the ways in which the dead could be remembered. Once again we are treated to some magnificent images. The essay by Xavier Dectot on the origins and development of the *pleurant* will likewise be of interest to readers. The life-sized images alongside the tomb monument of Philippe Pot, now in the Louvre, are well known but their function as mourners in the funeral procession, shown on earlier examples, again brings with it imagery of the soul carried away to Heaven. It is puzzling that the editors did not cross-reference this to Marcoux's earlier chapter, but more puzzling yet is the use of postage stamp-sized images in this chapter, which is most disappointing. The size of images varies from essay to essay, but they are larger and far more satisfying in the contribution by another friend of the Society, Jessica Barker. Her wide-ranging study, taking in manuscripts, tomb effigies, brasses and the Office of the Dead, neatly and eloquently sets out the interlinked relationship between the image of the dead – whatever its form – and the liturgy. One further essay will be of particular interest to anyone concerned with funerary commemoration and that is the chapter by Noa Turel who writes on the Chichele tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. She explores the innovative aspects of what is usually considered the first *transi* tomb in England (by 1427) and the reasons why a petrified goldsmith clutched at the railings when seeking sanctuary from a baying mob. It was instructive to think about the role of funerary monuments in a different way.

The other chapters in this volume are interesting and informative and the structure of the volume into four distinct sections enables particular themes to be drawn out. The size of some images is a disappointment, and it would have worth cross-referencing the chapters. There are occasional howlers and one author did not follow the stylesheet in their footnotes, which is inconsistent with the others. Nevertheless, this is a valuable and important book, it is full of interesting ideas, the images are embedded with the text and, if nothing else, it places the study of funerary monuments alongside wider questions on the iconography of the dead.

Christian Steer

Jessica Barker, *Stone Fidelity. Marriage and Emotion in Medieval Tomb Sculpture* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2020); xvi + 336 pp., 95 images;

bibliography and index; £50 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-78327-271-6.

Jessica Barker's important new study is innovative in examining the double tomb – the monument of a man and his wife shown lying next to each other – as a commemorative genre in its own right. Barker begins by asking a simple question: why did the loving union of husband and wife become such a popular theme in funerary sculpture in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Rejecting biographical approaches that treat each double monument in isolation, she argues that if monuments to couples are a mark of an exceptionally loving union, then it is hard to explain why they cluster in certain places at certain times. The personal and the specific, she maintains, have to be considered alongside a much broader discussion of conventions, ideas and ideology. Weaving the history of tomb sculpture together with the parallel histories of marriage, gender and emotion, and tracing the reciprocities between ideological, artistic and social change, she shows that double tombs were both representations, giving form to new ideas about marriage, and agents of change, capable of affecting the way in which men and women thought about and behaved in spousal relationships.

Barker argues her case with style and panache, taking her examples chiefly from England, but where necessary from further afield, notably from Portugal. Especially impressive is her discussion of the much-debated hand-holding pose, which she argues represents not the state of matrimony but rather the actual ceremony of marriage, the moment when the joining of hands set the seal on the mutual exchange of consent. Moving from the general to the personal, she notes the prominence of wealthy heiresses among those represented adopting the pose and suggests that part of its attraction to patrons may have been that it drew attention to the transfer of assets from the heiress's family to that of her husband, an argument which is certainly compelling in the context of such English brasses as those at Chrishall, Essex, Herne, Kent, and Nether Heyford, Northamptonshire, all of which honour heiresses.

Equally valuable is Barker's discussion of the two royal tombs which she makes the focus of detailed case-studies, those of King Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in Westminster Abbey and Joao I and his queen, Philippa, at Batalha, Portugal. In the case of Richard and Anne's tomb, Barker highlights the careful choice of imagery which, as she shows, assimilated the marks of spousal affection (the hand-holding pose again) into the language of monarchical power, blurring the boundaries between royal power and love, and pointing to the emotional bond between Richard and Anne as evidence of their 'royal' character. In an equally well-observed discussion of the tomb at Batalha she suggests that the choice of the hand-holding pose may have been prompted by the need to affirm the legality of the couple's union and rebut allegations of its illegitimacy on the grounds that a papal bull of dispensation had not, by the time of the marriage, been obtained (though it was subsequently to be).

Broadly speaking, Barker's arguments are both richly nuanced and persuasive, and her book constitutes a major contribution to the literature on medieval monuments. On a few points, however, what she says may be called into question, and explanations offered which are different from her own. When Barker considers the first appearance of the double tomb at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for example, she eschews the obvious explanation of a link with

the rise of chantry foundations in favour of a more generalised approach involving what she calls 'the increasing personalisation of the monument' and 'a new interest in emotional and psychological character'. The argument is somewhat inchoate in presentation, and the chronological focus is blurred. There is probably much to be said still for the idea of a link with chantries because in the intercession which was offered prayers were sought first and foremost for the founder and his or her spouse, and it would have made sense for them both to be shown on the monument. This is precisely the explanation which Barker herself invokes later when seeking to explain the appearance of the first double tomb at the abbey of St-Denis near Paris.

Doubts may also be expressed about some of what Barker says on the subject of 'queer tombs', those on which a same-sex relationship appears to be celebrated. Barker discusses the tomb slab now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, to two English knights Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvow, on which the men's shields are shown touching one another at the inner corner and their respective arms are represented impaled on each shield. Barker argues that what makes this monument exceptional is that impalement was used to suggest a relationship of love between the two men, citing in support of this view the Westminster Chronicle's use of the verb '*diligebat*', from '*dilectio*' meaning spousal love, to describe the men's relationship and quoting the Chronicle narrative to make Neville the lover and Clanvow the beloved. Tempting as it is to interpret the monument in these terms, it is nonetheless an argument that fails to convince. It is doubtful if '*diligebat*' is to be interpreted here in spousal terms, and Barker mistranslates the Chronicle, unfortunately inverting the roles of Neville and Clanvow. The Istanbul tomb slab is best interpreted, as Maurice Keen showed long ago, as attesting to a relationship of brotherhood-in-arms, a bond of sworn companionship based on mutual affection between knights that constituted a relationship in its own right in the age of chivalric knighthood.

If Barker's book provokes debate, and even the occasional disagreement, that is not to criticise it but rather to recognise its importance and the novelty of its contribution to the subject. It is a lavishly illustrated survey, and it conveniently includes a list of all known hand-holding monuments, many of them brasses. It is a book which deserves to be read by all those with an interest in medieval monuments and their meaning.

Nigel Saul

Kim Woods, *Cut in Alabaster. A Material of Sculpture and its European Traditions 1330–1530* (Turnhout, Distinguished Contributions to the Study of the Arts in the Burgundian Netherlands 3, Brepols/Harvey Miller, 2018); 418 pp., 5 b/w and 194 colour illustrations; bibliography and index; £127.50 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-909400-26-9.

The title of this excellent book might not initially suggest to members of this society that there will be much of interest in it for them. Yet the subtitle, 'A Material of Sculpture and its European Traditions 1330–1530' rather implies the contrary. For this is a wide-ranging and multi-faceted study of the materiality of alabaster, exploring its uses and applications in three primary late-medieval markets: England, Spain, and France and The Burgundian Netherlands.

The book comprises nine chapters, three of which – chapters 3, 5 and 7 – comprise case studies. The first of these explores alabaster

sculptors and their markets, using as exemplars two of the most accomplished late Gothic sculptors who worked in alabaster, the so-called 'Master of Rimini' (*fl.* 1420–30 in, probably, The Netherlands), and Gil de Siloé (*fl.* 1483–96 in Castile). The former specialised in producing altarpiece carvings and exported his work widely. The latter is documented as the artist responsible for three funeral monuments of superlative design and execution, two to royal patrons and the third to a knight. Chapter 5 is an examination of the tombs of Edward II (d. 1327) at Gloucester, Charles the Noble (d. 1425) at Navarre, and Margaret of Austria (d. 1530) at Brou. A web of cross-cultural influences is convincingly identified by Woods as underpinning the choice of alabaster for each of these royal commemorative structures, when other materials may also have been available locally.

'Alabaster tombs usually followed some kind of convention, most of which were flexible enough to accommodate a range of variants and even the possibility of inventive, customised details. The concept of a bespoke tomb goes beyond the personal preferences by demanding something that is, at least in some respects, unprecedented' (p. 263), and in Chapter 7 'Bespoke tombs' Woods examines three such funeral monuments. Each manifests uncommon iconographical elements which force sculptural innovations – for example, the (lost) tomb of René d'Anjou (d. 1480), once in the cathedral at Angers, employed white alabaster and black marble, which combination was novel in Angers but resonated in tombs of the French kings in Saint-Denis, whose regal status René aspired to.

Chapter 6 'Alabaster tombs' will be of interest to our members. Woods contextualises her study in acknowledging a preoccupation of just the élite, initially, in how they were commemorated. The manner in which it was done 'was capable of conveying a visual message to the outside world in terms of social estate, cultural tradition and even allegiances. How it was done mattered, and the choice of materials was crucial […] Alabaster had the distinction of being a rarer and visually more attractive commodity than ordinary stone, and one that demonstrably commanded prestige' (pp. 217–8). Hence, during the golden period of 1330–1530 it became the traditional material for the tombs of the Spanish élite; comparably, in England it was associated with the visual culture of Edward III, filtering down in due course to its use by a wider range of social classes.

In addition to this chapter demonstrating Woods's outstanding knowledge of her object-driven analyses, it is chapters 1, 2 and 4 which to me are particularly fascinating: 'Alabaster as a material of sculpture', 'Makers, markets and methods' and 'The status and significance of alabaster', together lay the foundation for the case studies already discussed. So, refreshingly – at least to this this reviewer – she widens her viewpoint away from the (traditionally Anglophile) Chellaston / Ledsham / Tutbury axis and makes intriguing comparisons with Spain, France and Germany. European trade is examined closely: she looks at products for domestic markets, such as tombs, and those for long distance export, such as alabaster altarpieces and devotional items. Workshop practices and marketing techniques are scrutinised: for example, the fact that many continental alabaster statues are carved in full relief, i.e. with modelled reverses, suggests they were so produced as to be considered for use not only in a conventional way, set against a backdrop, but equally could be mounted on a pedestal to be viewed in the round. Client choice was therefore enhanced. The aesthetics of alabaster are discussed in chapter 4, with

a section on its particular lustre, something so favourably regarded by the religious and secular European élite as to impart a cultural significance to it; white versus polychromy and gender favouritism are also touched upon, the European viewpoint both instructive and inspiring

So far, all very interesting, but what, might the reader of this journal ask, is this book's relevance to brasses? Going back to Woods's introduction, 'This is an art history book that has very little to say about the traditional art historical preoccupations of style and attribution [but] has far more to say on the way that works of sculptors were made and the critical role of the material – alabaster – in that making' (pp. 3–4). The book focuses on a single sculptural medium. So does our society. Woods's subject is alabaster, our is brass (with an apology to the handful of scholars who study incised slabs). The aesthetics of alabaster and brass are not so far apart either: lustre versus gilding / gilding versus polychromy? Brasses too, at the outset, were luxury, expensive monuments purchased by high status individuals: think of Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) at Elsing, or Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d. 1401), and his wife, whose figures in St Mary's church exhibit even now exquisite *pointillé* work – this latter example particularly delicious as the earl's father was commemorated by an alabaster tomb in the same church, its cultural aesthetics evidently rejected by his son![1]

This is not the place to ponder more on this element of materiality yet its aesthetics are fascinating. Tournai incised slabs were a favourite of the Hanseatic merchants of Boston in the early fourteenth century, yet there is nary a one for the merchants of King's Lynn where brasses were favoured instead. In further contrast, brasses are rare in Wales because, as Beibrach has convincingly argued, the material was 'alien' and unfamiliar, and instead patrons favoured stone.[2]

And when reading the chapter on 'Bespoke tombs' I pondered over how many truly bespoke brasses I could think of. Of course, there are many which are idiosyncratic both in terms of design, such as the charming cross brass at Hildersham to Robert Parys (d. 1408) and his wife, and of individuality, such as the renowned 'Terri' at Deerhurst, or the luxuriant beard on the face of a standard London D military figure (1417?) at Mendlesham. Yet truly bespoke brasses and slabs are rare. There is the bizarre brass once at St Nicholas's church, Kings Lynn, to Thomas Waterdeyn (early fifteenth century);[3] the complex iconography of the incised slab and tombchest to Ralph Woodford (d. 1487) at Ashby Folville;[4] the shroud brass to Sir William Catesby (d. 1479) and his two wives at Ashby St Ledgers;[5] Dr Duncan Liddel (d. 1613) seated in his study surrounded by books, in St Nicholas's church Aberdeen; and, of course, there will be more. Yet the overwhelming majority of brasses and slabs both here and

1 Still the best description is by J.G. and L.A.B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century* (London, 1864), pl. 30.

2 R. Biebrach, *Church Monuments in South Wales c.1200–1547* (Woodbridge, 2017), 149–50.

3 See *MBS Trans*, 14:2 (1987), 'Portfolio of Small Plates', 1 at 165.

4 F.A. Greenhill, *The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester, 1958), 27–9, pls XX, XXI; and N. Rogers, '"Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum": Images and Texts Relating to the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgement on English Brasses and Incised Slabs', in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom – Harlaxton Medieval Studies XII*, ed. N. Morgan (Donington, 2004), 342–55.

5 J. Bertram, ed., *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St Ledgers* (London, 2006), 46–60.

on the continent are not bespoke: they are enormously repetitive in their composition and design characteristics. One only has to look through the seventeenth-century drawings of French monuments made for Gaignières, for example, to get an overwhelming sense of their recurring paradigms.[6] Does this say something about the potency of marketing of the brass engravers – like Woods does for her alabaster sculptors – and that bespoke monuments were not encouraged, as the requirements of the clientele were instead made to rotate around a lazily restricted set of ideals? Also, what does this say about connectivity between client and workshop?

Cut in Alabaster is, thus, a thought-provoking book, well researched, informative and, thankfully, clearly written. It is beautifully printed on thick art paper and strongly bound to cope with the weight of the pages. After a delay of five years between writing and production, Woods is to be congratulated on this volume: it is exciting to read or even just to dip in to, the illustrations are generally excellent, and frankly it is a real pleasure to own. One caveat, and that is that the author's photographs of tombs in English churches are 'reproduced with the kind permission of the church'. Should we all be saying that now?

Paul Cockerham

6 Published by J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières: dessins d'archéologie du XVII^{e} siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6ème période* 84 (1974), 1–192; 88 (1976), 1–88; 90 (1977), 1–76.

Monumental Brass Society

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

All communications regarding membership, the general conditions of the Society, etc., to be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Penny Williams, B.A.(Hons.), 12 Henham Court, Mowbrays Road, Collier Row, Romford, Essex RM5 3EN (penny7441@hotmail.com); editorial matter to the Hon. Editor, David Lepine, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 38 Priory Close, Dartford, Kent DA1 2JE (davidnl1455@gmail.com), who will be pleased to supply Notes for Contributors and to discuss proposed articles.

Cover: Detail from the brass commemorating William Foxe, engraved *c.*1552, from Ludford, Herefordshire (LSW.I), now Shropshire. In the course of conserving this brass in 2008, William Lack discovered a very significant palimpsest comprising the lower part of a man in armour, engraved *c.*1335, found on the reverse of the inscription, group of sons, upper dexter and lower sinister shields; it is comparable to the well-known effigy of Sir William Fitzralph, engraved *c.*1331–8, at Pebmarsh, Essex (LSW.I). William considered it to be the most important palimpsest discovery of his career.
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

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