Monumental Brass Society

JUNE 2018



BULLETIN 138

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Hon. Treasurer's notice

On 1st January all subscriptions for 2018 became due. Please send £25.00 (associate/student £12.50, family £35.00) to the Hon. Treasurer, Robert Kinsey, 18 Haughgate Close, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 1LQ. Payment can be made using the *PayPal* system via mbs_brasses@yahoo.com or make cheques payable to the 'Monumental Brass Society'. Many thanks to all those members who have completed Gift Aid forms. Any U.K. tax-paying member can enable the Society to reclaim tax on their subscription. Complete and send in the form that can be downloaded directly from www.mbs-brasses.co.uk. U.S. members preferring to pay in dollars can send a cheque for U.S. \$45.00 to Shirley Mattox at 1313 Jackson Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.

Featured brass



Detail from the monumental brass commemorating Richard Qwadryng, esq., 1511. This Cambridge-style brass, formerly situated on the North Aisle wall of Outwell church, Norfolk, has recently been returned to St. Peter's church at Lenton, Lincolnshire after a period of some 183 years. Rev. William Hardwicke, vicar of Lenton from 1824-35, was also rector of Outwell from 1803 until his unfortunate death on 25th April 1838. Hardwicke fell from a footbridge while crossing the Wisbech canal at Outwell and drowned. It is likely that he took the Qwadryng brass with him when he left Lenton! (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Personalia

We welcome as new members:

- **David Palmer**, 5 Sarsens Close, Cobham, Gravesend, Kent DA12 3DA (Family).
- Katharine Shearing, Peartree Cottage, West Street, Barford St. Martin, Salisbury, Wiltshire SP3 4AH.

It is with very deep regret that we report the death of **Christine Havelock** who had been a member of the Society since 1976.

Cover: detail from the monumental brass commemorating William Goche, rector, 1499, from Barningham, Suffolk (M.S.I). Style: Suffolk 1. (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Saturday, 14th July 2018 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING ROCHFORD, ESSEX

Please note that the formal business of the Annual General Meeting will be held in St. Andrew's church, Rochford at **11.00a.m.**

The afternoon meeting commencing at **2.00p.m.** is being held in association with the Essex Society for Archaeology and History and the Rochford Hundred Historical Society. **David Andrews** will speak on *Rochford Church and Hall: An Introduction* followed by **Martin Stuchfield** on *Moving target: the chequered history of the Thomas Stapel brass.* A third lecture by **Matthew Hefferan** entitled *Thomas Stapel, Sergeant-at-Arms to Edward III: Household service and social mobility in 14th century England* will conclude the meeting. The meeting has been arranged to celebrate the recent introduction of the brass to Thomas Stapel, 1371, from the nearby redundant church at Sutton. Please see enclosed flyer.

St. Andrew's church is located off Hall Road, Rochford. The postcode for satellite navigation is SS4 1.NW. The nearest station is Rochford (served from London: Liverpool Street) which is adjacent to the church.

Saturday, 29th September 2018 STUDY DAY COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT

Our Hon. Editor, David Lepine has organised this important Study Day. The lectures will take place in Cobham College and will include **Nigel Saul** who will speak on *The Cobham Brasses: Context and Meaning*; **Clive Burgess** on *Cobham College in Context*; and **Jerome Bertram** on *The Clerical Brasses.*

The cost for the day will be $\pounds 30.00$ (members) and $\pounds 35.00$ (non-members). Please see enclosed booking form.

Saturday, 27th October 2018 at 2.00p.m. GENERAL MEETING *TOTTENHAM, MIDDLESEX*

The autumn General Meeting will be held at All Hallows church, Tottenham. Said to be one of the oldest buildings in Haringey, being built in the 12th century, it is reputed to have been given to Tottenham by David I of Scotland. It was linked to the nearby Bruce Castle owned by the Bruce family and now a museum. Having the Tottenham cemetery behind, it sits in an unexpected oasis of peace provided Spurs are not playing!

John Laverick will open the formal part of the meeting with *A History of All Hallows*, with **Philip Whittemore** speaking on the lost brasses. **Stephen Freeth** will discuss the remaining epitaph to Jeffrye Walkdine, skinner, Merchant Adventurer and member of the Muscovy Company. **David Meara** will speak on *William Butterfield of this Parish* and focus on some of the brasses he designed. Butterfield was buried in the nearby cemetery in 1900.

A comprehensively illustrated booklet, as a sequel to that produced for Edmonton, will be available free to members attending the meeting.

The church of All Hallows is situated in Church Lane, Tottenham. The postcode for satellite navigation is N17 7AA. The nearest station is White Hart Lane (served from London: Liverpool Street) which is 0.5 miles or approximately a ten minute walk. The church will be open from 12 Noon and nearby Bruce Castle Museum at 1.00p.m.

Monumental Brass Society

Tottenham, Middlesex



Stephen Freeth, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore

MEETING REPORTS

Edmonton, Middlesex – 28th October 2017



All Saints Church, Edmonton. (photo: © Janet McQueen)

All Saints, Edmonton is usually locked, but when I strode in on the afternoon of 28th October I was greeted cheerfully and quickly signed a waiver so that I could climb the tower. Never one to miss an opportunity, I scribbled my signature and hastened up after the already ascending party. The tower's recent refurbishment looked handsome but my eyes were drawn to the horizon: the cranes and landmarks of the City and Canary Wharf silhouetted against the crisp afternoon sky, Alexandra Palace above the trees, and the growing shape of Tottenham Hotspur's new football stadium. In the churchyard below the maples were just starting to turn and carefully tended grass wound between weathering gravestones. For a relative newcomer with no knowledge of Edmonton, it made an auspicious start to an enjoyable, enlightening afternoon.



Left to right: Challe Hudson, Jon Bayliss and Tony Weston at the top of All Saints' tower. (photo: © Janet McQueen)

After gathering for a welcome and introduction from Martin Stuchfield, we meandered pleasantly through the history of All Saints' church with Robert Musgrove, a member of the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society. Remnants of its Norman history, discovered during construction of the south aisle in 1889, now adorn the wall beside the tower. The majority of the structure is 15th century - it was a sizeable parish church for the time. Although prosperous local merchants supported it handsomely through the mid-16th century, it began deteriorating in Elizabethan times. A local attempt at restoration, undertaken in the 18th century without the blessing of the diocese, replaced its medieval stone tracery windows with wooden sashes and encased the walls in brick. These efforts were discovered and halted before the tower could be similarly mistreated. Later decades saw a Victorian neo-gothic revival makeover, with the box pews and raised galleries around the sides replaced by the more egalitarian pews used today. Several windows were damaged during World War II. Although the congregation's size and affluence have waxed and waned over the centuries, this is clearly a loved and tended building today.



Philip Whittemore addressing the meeting. (photo: © Janet McQueen)

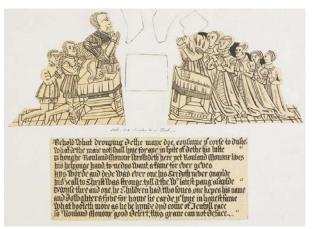
Then, thanks to **Lucy Varah** who stepped in for her housemate **Helen Walton**, we got to know the famous inhabitants of the nearby cottage: Charles and Mary Lamb. These beloved writers resided here during their later years in this private 'madhouse', complete with a 'bedlam closet' for Mary's most violent fits. Despite their working-class background, through education and hard work they rose socially and enjoyed the company of such literary elites as Coleridge and Wordsworth. Both brother and sister suffered from mental illness, Mary most heavily; an episode caused her to murder her own mother with a kitchen knife. Despite the sorrows and hardships of their lives, they cared tenderly for one another, and rest eternally in a shared grave in the churchyard.

During a pleasant interlude we shared Tottenham Cake, coffee and tea, and chatted with members of the Enfield Society, the Edmonton Hundred Historical Association, and the Enfield Archaeological Society. Local historian Joe Studman led more tours of the tower.

We reconvened to delve into the brasses and indents with **Philip Whittemore**, joint author of the booklet on the brasses produced for the day (see *Bulletin* 137, p.739). He introduced some of the lost brasses and tombs recorded by antiquaries, which spanned the 14th to 17th centuries. Surviving brasses include civilian figures dating from c.1500 to 1616, now all detached from their stones and mounted on the walls of the nave near the tower; only some of their indents survive.



Indent for the brass to Rouland Monoux, d. 1579/80, and wife. (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)



Fisher drawing of the Monoux brass. (drawing: © Society of Antiquaries of London)

Examining some monuments requires more than a polite glance: part of a late 14th-century cross slab hides under the entrance mat by the north door, and the cover slab of a 15th-century monument is set into the chancel floor while additional remnants of the tomb adorn the south aisle wall. The largest wall monument, to John Kirton, 1530, and his wives, has lost its brasses, but the traceried front and carved stone shields are still crisp. The slab for the Monoux brass, 1579/80, retains clear indents; the inscription is now in the British Museum and the effigies are known from Fisher drawings at the Society of Antiquaries and elsewhere. I was delighted by the depth of information presented about the monuments and the people they represented, most especially those brasses and inscriptions no longer available for study, and heartily recommend the booklet for those seeking further information.

We concluded the afternoon with a delightfully illustrated photographic ramble through Edmonton's history with **Howard Medwell**, a London Blue Guide. We tracked Roman roads and mysterious witches, looked at historic maps of the area, and examined the effect of the railway line on Edmonton's growth as a working-class suburb. Historic photographs of 19th-century industrial buildings along the River Lee as well as post-war building programmes made a fascinating, if speedy, visual tour of the surrounding community.

Additional thanks to Janet McQueen for organising the meeting, and to Irene Money, the verger, who helped with arrangements.

Eton College – 21st April 2018



Eton College Chapel. (photo: © Alamy)

The little Thames-side town of Eton, overlooked by the hilltop castle at Windsor, was the venue for the April General Meeting. For 575 years the town has been synonymous with its College, whose buildings are now scattered throughout the town and whose chapel and early buildings dominate the northern end of its High Street. It was a privilege to be there, to observe the 324 brasses, be shown the archives in the early Tudor range, and to have excellent speakers and guides to the chapel building and its unique murals.

The main meeting was held in the old Upper Schoolroom in the 1694 range closing the great courtyard and facing the High Street. Access to it and the chapel is via a massive 17th-century staircase. The seven-bay long flat-ceilinged school room had panelling covered with carved names and dates, some of them palimpsest, continuing to the present day. Two benches ran the whole length down either side, with various masters'/ushers' desks at either end and half way. The similar pattern at Bristol Grammar School (where the 2017 A.G.M. was held) was two centuries later. Marble busts of worthies looked down from all around.

The first talk was by **Philippa Martin**, Keeper of Fine and Decorative Art at the College, who spoke on the wall paintings. These date from c.1477-87 and are unexpected and different. In 1560 the college barber was paid 6s. 8d. to obliterate them, many of the faces being scraped away. The murals were found behind panelling and stalls in 1847, recorded, then covered by stalls until 1923.



The College arms in stone, 1845.

They are oil paintings, not frescos, in grisaille monochrome, and are Netherlandish in style. Today 20 metres of them remain on each of the north and south walls, with scenes reading from east to west, but the upper tier of paintings is now lost, having been scraped away in the mid-19th century. The history of the paintings is as interesting as the paintings themselves over 500 years, ideas of liturgical furnishings have changed as have the ideas of suitability of content. That they survived to be conserved in 2010 is a wonder; sadly the rest have been destroyed by the actions of people over the last 450 years. They are the most important late mediaeval wall paintings in Europe. The iconography of the pictures is not now readily understood. The upper tier had scenes from the miracles of the Virgin Mary after her death, but these are lost. The lower remaining murals come from The Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine. This mediaeval popular book was a long



Wall painting: The Emperor's Departure, from the sequence 'The Legend of the Empress Falsely Accused'.



The great court with the statue of the founder, Henry VI. The Archives are to the left of the archway in the 1517 Lupton's Range. (photo: © Alamy)

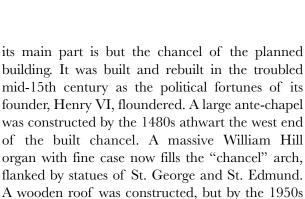
hagiography from the late 13th century. It was printed in England by Caxton at the time the murals were painted. One long sequence is of the apocryphal *Empress Falsely Accused* who, finally vindicated, ends life as a nun. The details of the architectural frames are discussed at https://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n05/charles-hope/ at-eton.

Nicholas Orme then discussed thirteen brasses with school connections. Interestingly, although many brasses show those who had founded schools, some of the few brasses showing schoolmasters do not mention the fact, perhaps because this status was so common. One such was to Robert Londe of St. Paul's, Bristol, 1462. A palimpsest at nearby Denham, on the brass of John Pike, 1440, has a shield with a birch and knobbed stick saltire and the letters M I P S (Magister Iohannes Pike Scholaster). The four at Eton are to schoolmasters who later achieved a higher status. Scholars can be found within groups of children, as at Radnage, Buckinghamshire (LSW.I), where several sons are shown holding books. But there are only four individual brasses to schoolboys. Thomas Heron, 1517, of Little Ilford, Essex, is a stock brass, but individualised with an inkpot and penner; John Stonor, 1512, three miles from Eton at Wraysbury, in cassock and unusual headdress, is identified not in his inscription but by his unusual cassock dress; 15-year-old John Kent, 1435, of Headbourne Worthy, Hampshire, is identified as a scholar of the new College at nearby Winchester; at Winchester College is a 19th-century copy of the brass to John Bedell, 1498, which records him as a pupil.



John Stonor, 1512, Wraysbury, Buckinghamshire (LSW.I). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

After visits to the College Archives in the 1517 range by Lupton where varied documents and pictures were on display for us, we went to the chapel to view the brasses and murals. Time was spent in the ante-chapel, where the west wall is covered with rectangular plates to old Etonians 10/16/1102018111



founder, Henry VI, floundered. A large ante-chapel was constructed by the 1480s athwart the west end of the built chancel. A massive William Hill organ with fine case now fills the "chancel" arch, flanked by statues of St. George and St. Edmund. A wooden roof was constructed, but by the 1950s this had deteriorated so was replaced by a pseudo fan-vaulted roof in concrete which is actually suspended, not supported. It is very impressive, and it is not until one looks at the fan vaulting in the Lupton chantry that the differences between 15th- and 20th-century work strike home. In this little chapel are Burne-Jones tapestries and a small, recently donated exquisite Pietà from North Germany. In the centre of his chantry is the serene brass to Roger Lupton, the influential Tudor provost, wearing a Garter badge as he was a canon of Windsor. We were able to examine the brass lectern of 1480 with the symbols of the evangelists on its slopes, the John Piper and Evie Hone post-war stained glass, the wooden skeleton in the sanctuary monument to Provost Murray 1623, and the massive black marble altar supported by great bronze evangelistic symbolic figures which was a memorial to the South African War.

Our fourth speaker was Ewan Rogers from The National Archives who discussed some of the influential characters at both Eton and St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Both institutions were founded by Henry VI, but in the 1460s following regime change and his deposition both, as well as King's College, were at risk. They survived. Lupton, as a canon of Windsor and chaplain to Henry VII and VIII, was influential and responsible for much building at Eton as well as for founding Sedbergh School at his birthplace. He died in 1540, having transferred his assets abroad, following political machinations. His brass, though large and fine, is modest for a man of his wealth.

Our thanks go to our Secretary, Janet McQueen for organising the meeting, to our three speakers, and to the Provost of Eton College for allowing us to meet in the College.

Roger Lupton, 1540 (LSW.XI). (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Buckinghamshire)

from the 19th and 20th centuries, many of whom were killed in wars. The great variety of design and the quality of these plates was notable. All but one of the older brasses had been taken from their slabs in the 19th century and questionably fixed to the east wall of the ante-chapel. The majority of the engraving had been filled with mastic where none would have been.

Tom Oakshott, organist and Chapel Verger, then gave a history of the chapel with its many changes in features and design. The chapel is entered at first-floor level, and the great size of

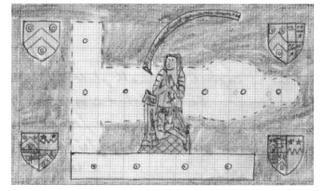
Joining the Dots

Palimpsest brasses are well known: antiquaries have detected and enjoyed them for centuries. More are to come, and John Page-Phillips even published a list of 'Future Palimpsest Discoveries' identifying those brasses most likely to be of re-used metal. (See his Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth-Century Workshop (M.B.S., 1999).) Not so often have we observed the re-used stones, though they are probably just as common. You only have to look carefully at any Purbeck marble slabs containing brasses dating from between 1545 and 1560 to start seeing spots before your eyes, the filed-down rivets and filled-in plug holes of earlier brasses. The surface of the slab was usually smoothed down to take off any actual indents (though there are exceptions, such as the Harefield slab I illustrated in the last Bulletin), but to remove all trace of the rivet-holes would take off too much material, leave the stone too thin to be safe.

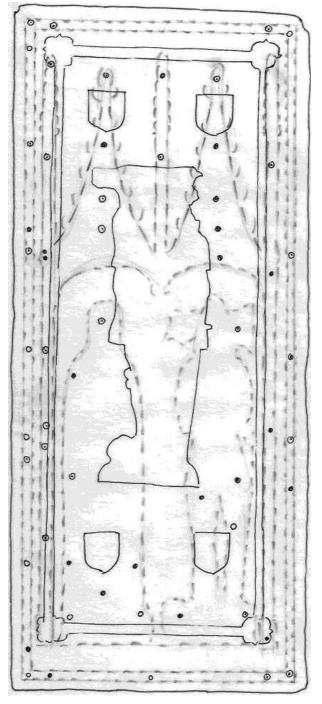
The game is to join up the dots to see if the shape of the first brass can be reconstructed. Here are some examples, including ones outside the normal date-range.

John Goring, 1520, Burton, Sussex

Well before the date you might expect, this harmless little London-made brass in a small West Sussex church is set in a slab with a pattern of rivets. Once you turn it sideways, it is easy to interpret it: a full-length figure, over a foot inscription. It could be from almost any date in the hundred years before it was used for John Goring, but one wonders how it came to be available long before even Henry VIII had thought of dissolving monasteries. Could it come from one of the ones sacrificed to Wolsey's ambition?



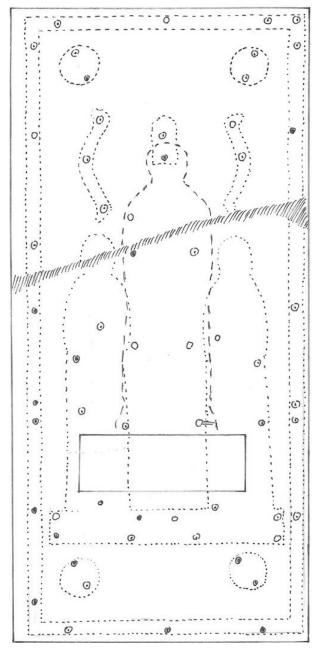
John Goring, 1520, Burton, Sussex (M.S.I).



Sir Richard Catesby, 1552/3, Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire

Sir Richard Catesby, 1552/3, Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire (M.S.III).

This brass is a well-known palimpsest, right in the most likely date-range for such misuse of monastic plunder. There are portions of an interesting brass to a Knight of St. John on the reverse. It comes from the famous 'Fermer' workshop in London; they took advantage not only of a brass probably from the Commandery in Clerkenwell, but also of an old slab. The pattern of rivets yields a major brass, a military figure and wife under a double canopy within a marginal inscription, probably from the first quarter of the 15th century. That slab is less likely to come from Clerkenwell, but there was no shortage of closed churches in and around London. (The drawing was prepared for *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St. Ledgers* (M.B.S. (2006), p.31.)



Richard Stondon, c.1555, St. Alban's Cathedral, Hertfordshire (LSWXIX and 96).

Richard Stondon, c.1555, St. Alban's Cathedral, Hertfordshire

Here is another brass from Queen Mary's time, a priest of the now secularised Abbey, whose effigy is lost but whose inscription survives. Slabs from thousands of suppressed monasteries were available to the London marblers, and this one shows a pattern of rivets for two standing figures, a foot inscription, scrolls leading to a religious emblem, four roundels or shields, and a marginal inscription to contain the whole. It might be late 15th or early 16th century. There is no reason to think it came from St. Albans in the first place, in fact the probability is that it did not, since the later brass was laid into it in a London workshop. (Illustration prepared for Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Hertfordshire* (2010), p.479.)

John Gage and his wives, 1595, Firle, Sussex

This is surprisingly late, one might think, for a re-cycled slab, but there is a reason for that. As is well known, John Gage commissioned a series of chest-tombs with effigies and brasses for his family from Gerald Johnson in Southwark. He took most trouble over his own brass, insisting that the ladies' hats should be suitable, and even sending one to the workshop for Johnson to draw. In the correspondence he mentions that he can supply the slabs. (See Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (1978), p.93.)

If you look at the monuments in Firle church, you can see that all the side panels of the tombs, and the plinths below the chests, as well as the cover-slabs holding the brasses, have smoothed-down rivets or plug-holes. The brasses of John Gage and his wives cover the central portion of their slab, but the rivets easily suggest four shields and a marginal inscription.

Where did Gage get the slabs? That, for once, is documented. Not far from Firle was once the great church of South Malling College, a peculiar of the Archbishops of Canterbury. When it was suppressed in 1547 the site was granted to Sir Thomas Palmer, but a survey dated 1-2 Philip and Mary (1555) was taken by Edwarde Gage Esq and others:

Item there is also in the Flowre off the sayde churche and chauncelle, xxix marbyll stones, wherin were Images and scrypturs of brasse, the which brasse ys betten owtt and stollyn, the whyche stones and paving left as extemyd, nevertheles, to be worthe xx^s.

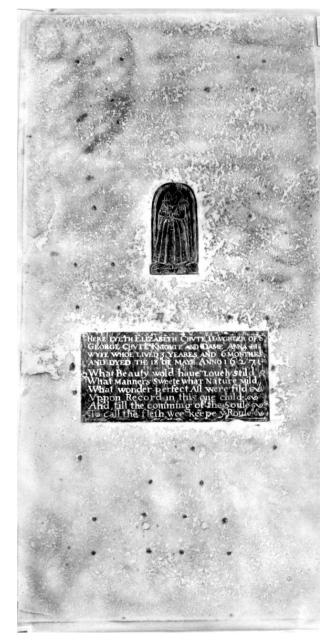


John Gage and two wives, 1595, Firle, Sussex (M.S.VI).

Twenty-nine indents of brasses, yours for just $\pounds 1!$ But a little later, on 20th February 1555/6, we find that, *Mr Gage paid xxxiijs iiijd for marble stones.* $\pounds 1$ -13-4d, a good deal more. Obviously he thought he had a use for them – and his son John put them to that use. (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XXI, pp.178-82.)

Elizabeth Chute, 1627, Sonning, Berkshire

This one is even later, and a very odd brass indeed. Rather touching, a little girl aged three and a half, but what workshop produced it? It does not match



Elizabeth Chute, 1627, Sonning, Berkshire (LSW.VII). any of the identified series of that date and where on earth did they find the stone? It is Purbeck marble, strongly marked with Unio shells, and covered with filed-down rivets (emphasised on the dabbing).

This one is for you to connect up! Remember that the slab may not be complete, and it may be inverted or sideways in relation to the secondary use.

Try tracing the illustration and see if a recognisable pattern emerges when you ignore the later brass and concentrate on the spots.

Further Indents at York Minster

In his recently published book, *Brasses and Slabs* in *York*, Jerome Bertram briefly describes two indents in York Minster that were the products of a local workshop.¹ Now side by side on the wall of the north choir aisle, they commemorate Bishop John Hatton, 1516, and Dean Bryan Higden, 1539. Neither are mainstream York products and, as Jerome suggests, the frames in which the brasses were set mimic London products of the same date.² London examples at that date were more likely to be made of Purbeck, whilst the stone used at York is a fine-grained grey limestone.³

The earlier indent commemorates Bishop John Hatton, 1516 (Fig. 1). At the top of the frame is a row of diamond-shaped leaves, below which are two quatrefoils, and small arched panels beneath which were fixed square brass plates, four on each side. At the base are three quatrefoils. In the centre is the indent of a kneeling mitred bishop. Before him is an angular scroll, while either side of the figure were two arched devices. Below the figure was an inscription, while behind the bishop's indent was a smaller kneeling figure from whose mouth extended a scroll. The inscription originally read 'Hic jacet dom. Johannes Nigropontens episcopus



Fig.1. Indent for Bishop John Hatton, 1516.

Eborum suffrageneus archidiaconus Nottinghamie et prebendarius prebende de Uskelfe qui obiit xxv die mensis Aprilis an. Dom. 1516.'⁴

The second indent is to Dean Bryan Higden, 1539, and the setting is similar to Hatton's slab but more elaborate (Fig. 2). At the top is a line of diamondshaped leaves below which is a row of arches that is held up by arched panels which originally had brass inserts. Below are three quatrefoils that once held brass plates, the outer ones circular, with that in the middle lozenge-shaped. In the centre is the kneeling



Fig.2. Indent for Dean Bryan Higden, 1539.

figure of Higden, a Trinity, two shields, and an inscription that originally read 'Of your charitie pray for the soule of Master Bryan Higden, sometime dean of this metropolitical church, and residentiary of the same by the space of xxiii yeares, which departed to the mercy of almighty God the fifth of June in the yere of our Lord God 1539.'⁵

In his account of the Minster's monuments, Francis Drake includes an illustration of Higden's



Fig.3. Engraving of the brass to Bryan Higden by Francis Drake. (engraving: © Society of Antiquaries of London)

brass (Fig. 3). He is shown kneeling before a prie-dieu, wearing an elaborately decorated cope, the orphreys of which were ornamented with lozenges. His hands were raised in prayer. On either side of the figure were two shields. Drake's illustration is incorrect as it includes a scroll in place of the Trinity indent, as well as other errors.

Immediately in front of the Hatton slab in the aisle is a small stone lectern placed at right angles to the wall. In the surface are six rivets to hold a brass plate, although no indent for it was cut. Midway between the Hatton and Higden indents and St. Stephen's Chapel is a cream-coloured slab that has an indent for a four or five line inscription (Fig. 4). Immediately outside the chapel is a further slab, also cream, that has an indent for a two line inscription. Incised on the surface are the initials M (or H) D and N 7 (Fig. 5). Two further slabs near the entrance to All Saints' Chapel also have indents for inscriptions. Further indents were discovered during remedial work to strengthen the tower in 1967.⁶

In 1645 an order was issued by the Minster authorities that all loose brasses must be sold.



Fig.4. Indent in the North Choir Aisle.



Fig.5. Indent in the North Choir Aisle. The red marks on the slab are impurities in the stone.

One that fell foul of the authorities at this date was the inscription to John Moore, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, 1597, that only survived by being converted into a weathercock.⁷ James Torre, the York antiquary, when compiling his list of brasses and indents in the Minster between 1670-87 recorded that the brass to John Hatton had already lost its brass plates.⁸

The Minster was repaved between 1731 and 1738 and the majority of the brass-bearing slabs removed.⁹ As an inspection of the interior shows, some of these slabs were cut up and reused in the decorative design incorporated between the larger black and white tiles, as can be seen on the north side of the nave. In the fifth bay are three pieces of Purbeck marble with lead plugs. Elsewhere in the Minster are a number of pieces of Egglestone marble that have been incorporated into the floor design. These probably once formed parts of slabs that held brasses.

As noted above, the design of Higden's slab is unusual with its semi-circular arches at the top of the slab. This poses the question – where was the monument made, and do any further examples exist? I do not know of any other indents having such a distinctive characteristic, but the monument to John Strelley, 1501, and wife at Strelley, Nottinghamshire, shows a number of the features shown on Higden's memorial.¹⁰ This monument used the tomb of Richard Willoughby, 1471, at nearby Wollaton as a model. Here the canopy arches are not so pronounced as at Strelley, but a similarity is evident.

Could Lincoln be the source of the York indents and the monuments at Strelley, Wollaton and the lost brass to John Willoughby, 1515, and wife also at Wollaton? The latter was produced by the 'marbler' John Hippis of Lincoln, who lived for a time at Newark.¹¹ Hippis had an earlier connection with York, for in 1508 he was paid £10 13s. 8d. for supplying a marble stone for the Minster treasurer, Martin Collins. James Torre described this as a blue marble slab about four yards long with cinquefoils bearing evangelists' symbols, with an inscription at the head of the stone with two shields at the foot of the slab.¹²

Clearly Hippis had a reputation for producing brasses and monuments in the Midlands and the North-east. Hopefully further examples can be identified.

Philip Whittemore

- 1 J. Bertram, Brasses and Slabs in York (Lulu, 2017), p.8.
- 2 Bertram, p.8.
- 3 I. Pattinson and H. Murray, *Monuments in York Minster* (The Friends of York Minster, 2001), p.26.
- 4 F. Drake, *Eboracum* (London, 1736), p.501. Nigropontus is the medieval name for the island of Euboea, off the eastern coast of Greece, its name being used for suffragan bishops.
- 5 Drake, p.496.
- 6 S. Badham and J. Dent, 'New Light on Lost Brasses in York Minster', M.B.S. Trans., XIX, pt.3 (2016), pp.235-48.
- 7 'A Brass Weathercock, formerly on York Minster', M.B.S. Trans., V, pt.1 (1904), pp.48-50.
- 8 J.F. Williams, 'The Brasses of York Minster', M.B.S. Trans., VII, pt.8 (1942), p.350. See also Yorkshire Arch. Jour., XVIII (1900), pp.33-34.
- 9 Drake, plan of the cathedral before its restoration, p.493.
- 10 N. Saul, 'The Contract for the Brass of Richard Willoughby (d. 1471) at Wollaton (Notts.)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, L (2006), fig.7, p.192 for an illustration of the Strelley monument.
- F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* (Boydell Press, 2005), p.15. For the Willoughby indenture see S. Badham, *Brasses from the North East* (Phillips and Page, 1979), p.23.
- 12 Badham, Brasses from the North East, p.23.

Flemish Brasses in Funchal Cathedral, Madeira

These photographs (Figs.1-3) were taken by my sister Penny Freeth during a recent holiday in Madeira. The cathedral in Funchal contains the Flemish brass of a man and his wife in civil dress, separately inlaid, within a frame inscription with quadrilobes in the corners (now lost). This is traditionally attributed to João Esmeraldo, 1536, and his second wife, 1545. The cathedral also contains six further slabs of Flemish origin, three of which bear or bore brass plates, the others having inscriptions incised directly in the stone.

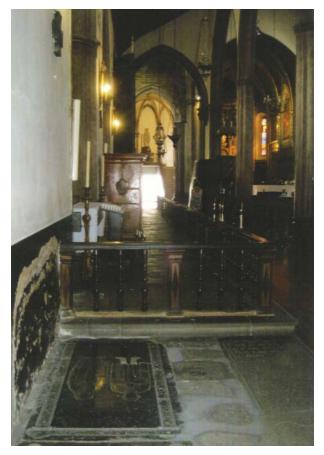


Fig.1. General view of the Esmeraldo brass looking east, Funchal Cathedral, Madeira. (photo: © Penny Freeth)

Roland Op de Beeck described the Esmeraldo brass briefly in the *Transactions* for 1965, with a poor illustration, in his account of the Flemish brasses surviving in Portugal (X, pt.3, pp.151-66). A close reading of his text suggests that he used earlier work by Pedro Vitorino, and did not visit Funchal himself. H.K. Cameron made and published a rubbing of the Esmeraldo brass in February 1975 (*M.B.S. Portfolio*, VII, pt.6 (Dec. 1975), pl.36). He later published a detailed description of all seven Flemish slabs in the cathedral, illustrating all those other slabs which had borne brass plates, together with a location plan (*M.B.S. Trans.*, XII, pt.4 (1978), pp.284-94). The *Portfolio* plate dated the Esmeraldo brass as '16th century'. However when the *Portfolio* plates were reissued as one volume to celebrate the centenary of the Society, this was revised to 'c.1550', which is surely better (*Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (1988), pl.344).

Cameron's rubbing of the Esmeraldo brass shows the missing portions of the composition, but only faintly. Penny Freeth's photographs are therefore instructive (Figs. 1 and 2). The whole composition is impressive and in good condition, with a pleasing contrast between the remaining brass inlays and the dark blue stone. The indents of the legs and feet of the man's figure can be seen clearly, along with



Fig.2. João Esmeraldo, 1536, and wife, Funchal Cathedral, Madeira. (photo: © Penny Freeth)



Fig.3. Flemish indent in entrance porch, Funchal Cathedral. (photo: © Penny Freeth)

the rivet holes and the depressions for the backing strips of the frame inscription. The slab is still by the north door, with the feet of the two figures pointing east. Cameron explains that this is not its original position, but the result of a reordering of the cathedral in the 18th century. Close-up photographs, not reproduced here, show one further detail, not mentioned by Op de Beeck or Cameron: the man has his eyes open, and his wife has her eyes closed. This suggests that the brass was for Esmeraldo's first wife, not his second wife who outlived him. If we are correct in dating the engraving to c.1550, the brass was perhaps commissioned after his death by one of his children by his first wife.

Fig.3 shows the huge Flemish slab (2705 x 1420 mm) in the entrance porch of the cathedral (Cameron's slab no.7; see his measured drawing on p.290). This bears the indents of a central rectangular plate within a wide marginal inscription with quadrilobes in the corners. The slab is very worn, and cracked across, but we can see the indents for the various backing strips, and what may be rivet holes. (Cameron was also able to spot two remaining rivets.) Everyone entering the cathedral must walk across this slab, and Cameron expressed concern that the indents, already very worn, were 'likely to be obliterated in the near future'. This seems to have been pessimistic. The photograph shows more backing strips in the frame inscription than in Cameron's drawing.

Stephen Freeth

New Fragments of Brasses at the Museum of London

I have recently seen two new brass fragments at the Museum of London. Both were discovered by mudlarks metal-detecting on the foreshore. The first was donated to the museum in 1984, but appears to have been unnoticed until now. The second is a new discovery, and a palimpsest, and remains the property of the mudlark, though the Museum hopes to acquire it. I am most grateful for access to these items to Kate Sumnall, former Finds Liaison Officer and Community Archaeologist; to John Clark, formerly Senior Curator, Medieval; and to Hazel Forsyth, Senior Curator, Medieval and Post-Medieval. I also thank Derrick Chivers for his advice and suggestions about the second fragment.

Inscription fragment, c.1425

This tiny inscription fragment in Latin, no more

than 70mm in any dimension, was given to the museum in August 1984 by a mudlark (A.G. Pilson, now deceased), who had found it at Billingsgate. Its museum reference is 84.304. The only words that can be read are *uxor e[ius*, i.e. *his wife*. The lettering is in pristine condition, suggesting that it was once on a raised tomb. The fragment is bent upwards slightly in the lower right. The bottom, horizontal edge is original.



Another brass fragment was found at Billingsgate by another mudlark in 1982, and remains in private hands. This was a shield of the pre-1512 arms of the Fishmongers' Company (see the illustration in *Bulletin* 84 (May 2000), p.488). It is tempting to associate both fragments with the church of St. Botolph Billingsgate, destroyed in the Great Fire and not rebuilt, which stood a few yards inshore. St. Botolph's was a wealthy church with wealthy parishioners, many of whom were members of the Fishmongers' Company, but certainty is impossible.

Palimpsest inscription, c.1470-90



Obverse of the palimpsest inscription.

This measures 59 x 120 mm, and was found on the foreshore at Battersea Park in 2016. The Museum hopes to acquire it. The obverse (later side) can be identified by its later lettering and greater wear, and is London work, in Latin, c.1470-90. It commemorated — Warde, probably William Warde, and his wife Ali— (Alicia or Alianora?). It reads:

-s Warde & alip[..]ciet' de' am-

p[..]liei ae am-

Much, perhaps all of the rest of the inscription can be supplied from common form, giving something like: *Hic iacent Willelmus Warde & ali*[-] uxor eius / quorum animabus propicietur deus amen (Here lie William Warde and ?Alice/?Eleanor his wife, / on whose souls may God have mercy amen.)

Normally the text would include at least one date of death. However it is not easy to see how this text can have been longer. The surviving metal appears to come from near both the start of the inscription (*Hic iacent*) and its end (*amen*). Perhaps the inscription was very short and simple. The inscription may have been laid down in Battersea parish church, but could have arrived at the find spot through later dumping. If from Battersea, there is no mention of it in the various county histories of Surrey from the 18th century onwards, so it was lost before that date.

The reverse (earlier) side is also London work, of c.1450. This too was an inscription in Latin. It commemorated John D— and at least one other person (because the Latin grammar is in the plural), probably a wife or wives. The date of reuse (c.1470-90) suggests that John D—'s memorial was destroyed not through religious iconoclasm, but through the reordering of a busy urban church. This earlier inscription reads, with abbreviations extended:

> iace(n)t Joh(ann)es d[]ro a(n)i(m)as a[b]sol[



Reverse of the palimpsest inscription.

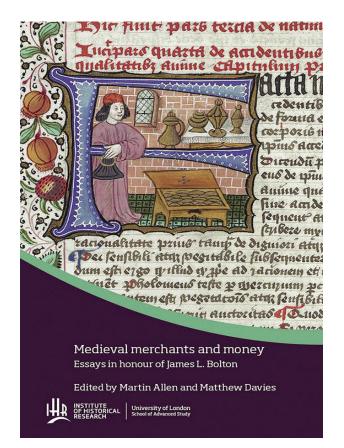
The fragmentary first word of the second line can be read through a close study of the metal. We have a letter with a long descender, and above it an abbreviation mark consisting of a short vertical line. Both are obscured by the broken edge. The letter with the long descender is likely to be a q, and the abbreviation mark indicates a missing letter *i*. The combination of the two is the standard abbreviation for *qui*, the *u* being understood, giving -quiro, almost certainly requiro. The inscription can now be expanded to something like the following: Hic iacent Johannes d/- et... / quorum requiro animas absolvat deus amen (Here lie John d- [and ...] / Whose souls I ask that god may absolve amen). This inscription too may have been quite short. However there are many possible ways in which the text could have continued for some distance beyond what we have, perhaps on separate plates which were not recycled for the obverse. We know already that the first line contained the name of at least one other person, probably a wife; it could then have extended to provide at least one date of death. The second line will have needed to balance it in length. This could have been filled in with further religious phrasing, something like ... absolvat deus de sua magna misericordia et eis propicietur amen (may absolve of his great mercy and have pity on them), and/or a line filler.

Notes on Books, Articles and the Internet

Christian Steer, 'For quicke and deade memorie masses': merchant piety in late medieval London', pp.71-92 in *Medieval merchants and money: Essays in honour of James L. Bolton*, eds. Martin Allen and Matthew Davies (London; Institute of Historical Research. 2016. ISBN 9781909646162). Also available on open access online at the Humanities Digital Library: http:// humanities-digital-library.org/index.php/hdl/ catalog/book/merchants.

Examining urban commemoration in the London parish of St. James Garlickhithe, this essay forms part of a collection exploring the activities of merchants, their trade and identities. Boasting seven perpetual chantries, two fraternities, anniversary services and obits, as well as a remarkable library of liturgical, devotional, and musical works, this riverside parish was both a popular address for city merchants and a 'hot spot' for commemorative activities.

Steer carefully traces the relationship between funerary monuments and commemorative practices within the parish. Although written records do not describe the form of monuments within the church, wills indicate that they were a mixture of incised slabs and commemorative brasses. The brass of merchant Richard Lyons, 1381, imported from overseas, must have been one of the most impressive (see also Nicholas Rogers, 'The Lost Brass of Richard Lyons', M.B.S. Trans., XIII, pt.3 (1982), pp.232-6). It certainly caught the eye of antiquarians. John Stow described the 'picture on this gravestone very fair and large', and John Weever recorded its text, which read in translation that Lyons 'was beheaded during the raging of the mob' and 'perished through the people's fault . . . by a doleful death. On the feast of St. Basil [14th June], while the mad people were in control'. Accompanying this striking monument, Lyons intended six chantry chaplains to serve at an altar before the rood, as well as providing furnishings for the altar and rood-beam, demonstrating his desire to be buried and commemorated in one of the most prestigious locations in the church. His monument also shows how the parish had been a flashpoint during the Peasants' Revolt, and that



Lyons' executors wished to record his violent death during these disturbances, possibly because he had died unshriven.

The parish benefited from the efforts and energy of its rector for almost half a century, William Huntingdon, 1455, illegitimate son of John Holland, the half-brother of Richard II. Huntingdon appears to have played a key role in defending the parish's interests, intervening in a dispute with a neighbouring church over the location of the anniversary for vintner William Hervy, and working to restore the foundation of vintner John de Oxenford, 1342. Three of Oxenford's executors had died in quick succession before arrangements could be finalised to endow three perpetual chaplains to celebrate daily at his tomb, as Oxenford had directed. Finally in 1446, Huntingdon and his churchwardens were granted property to endow this chantry.

Through its chantries, library and other assets, St. James Garlickhithe came to resemble a college. This valuable case-study shows how a London parish contained, in Steer's words, a 'commemorative jigsaw' (p.72). Memorial brasses formed some of the many pieces of the complex picture of commemorative activities and monuments by which the dead were to be remembered.

John S. Lee

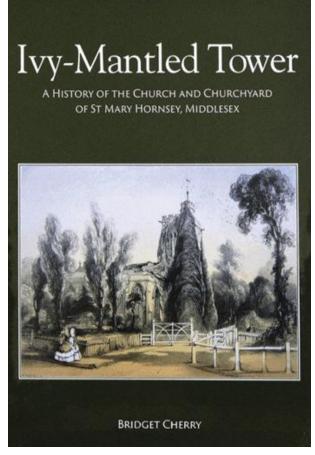
Bridget Cherry. Ivy-Mantled Tower: a History of the Church and Churchyard of St. Mary, Hornsey, Middlesex. (Hornsey Historical Society. $\pounds 15.00 + \pounds 2.50$ P&P. 2015. ISBN 978-0905794532). 138 pages; 202 illus. Hardback.

Only the medieval bell tower now remains of this church, the late Victorian church to which it was attached (built in 1889) being demolished in 1969. The book not only covers the history of the various churches on the site, but their monuments and the three brasses that still remain. The latter were recorded and illustrated by H.K. Cameron in 'The Brasses of Middlesex. Part 18: Hornsey (including Highgate)' in *Trans. of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society,* XXVIII (1977), pp.309-14. One of these, recorded in the book above, is the well-known chrysom brass of John Skevington, c.1520.

The author is a Vice-President of the above society, but probably better known as joint author and editor of some revised editions of the Pevsner 'Buildings of England' series. For details of how to obtain the book see the Hornsey Society's web-site https://hornseyhistorical.org.uk/ivy-mantledtower-hornsey.



John Skevington, c.1520, Hornsey, Middlesex (M.S.II).



Reprints:

For those not familiar with reprints (or Print on Demand items) listed on web-sites like Amazon, they can prove a handy way of obtaining out of print classic works on brasses, not generally available in their original edition, or brought together as compilations from journal articles. The name of Mill Stephenson is synonymous with sound research and good illustrations, as well, of course, with his famous List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles (1926) and Appendix (1938), itself reprinted by the Society in one volume in 1964. Two such items by Stephenson recently listed on Amazon are (1) A List of Palimpsest Brasses Great Britain (Forgotten in Books, \pounds 18.95 (hardback); \pounds 9.59 (pbk). March 2018. 13-978-1331590699) ISBN 250pages. (2) Monumental Brasses in Shropshire (Forgotten Books. £,17.67 (hardback); £,9.59 (pbk). Feb 2018. ISBN 13-978-1334406454). 158 pages.

The latter has also been available in a larger paperback format from SCS Publishing, 2nd edn, edited and with addenda by Paul Remfry (\pounds 11.95, 2009. ISBN 13-978-1899376836). 115 pp.

What is not always clear is the quality of the reprints (which can be very variable), or which, if any, of the above editions reproduce the original illustrations (apart from on the cover of the latter). Also, for titles costing under £10.00, postage will be added by Amazon, unless you are signed up to Amazon Prime. A quick search of their site will also reveal other titles by Stephenson in both original editions and reprints.

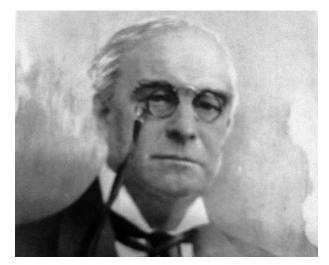
Many volumes of journals in which articles by Stephenson occur can also be viewed free on the Internet Archive, including sometimes whole issues or parts of early *M.B.S. Transactions, Surrey Archaeological Collections* and others. Where a whole volume of our *Transactions* can be found, articles by many other authors can also be read – but all dating from before 1914. Several county societies like Middlesex and Surrey have also made back issues of all their journals available free on-line, whilst others are only accessible through membership of academic libraries and institutions.



Sir John D'Abernon II, c.1327, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey (M.S.I). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

Looking back:

The re-dating of the early series of military brasses is now well established. In the case of Sir John D'Abernon I, M.S.I. Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey], for many years dated 1277, this is now attributed to Sir John D'Abernon II, 1327, son of the above. Who first questioned the date of the brass is not clear, but one early reference to re-dating I have found is in an article published in 1947 by C.H. Hunter Blair (1863-1962). In it he says: 'the heater-shaped shield and armour generally suggest that it is rather the brass of his son John, who holding a knight's fee in Surrey was destrained for knighthood 26 June 1278, who served in the Scots wars between 1297 and 1322, was M.P. for Surrey 1297 and 1309 . . . and died on 20 November 1327'.



C.H. Hunter Blair, 1863-1962.

In an apparently unrelated article, 'Northern Knights at Falkirk, 1298', Archaeol. Áliana, 4th Series, XXV (1947), pp.68-114, Hunter Blair illustrates the brass from Waller (in Plate III) whose date of 1277 triggered the above suggestion. Malcolm Norris refers briefly to the above article, dismissing it as 'important, but its context was eccentric, and its basis was not further explored or substantiated.' [See *The Earliest English Brasses* (M.B.S., 1987), 'Views on the early Knights, 1786-1970', p.5.] Should he have given Hunter Blair more credit? Was he indeed the first to question the date?

I am very grateful to the following for information or copy received: William Lack, John S. Lee, David Lepine and Hilary Wheeler.