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Cover: Fragment of incised slab to a religious, c. 1350, Aulnois-les-Valenciennes, Nord, France

Editorial

I sometimes get the impression that many students of brasses feel they have got beyond the mere collecting of examples, and that now the task is to analyse and collate the brasses preserved for us and made accessible in the great national collections of rubbings. Occasionally, it is true, a significant unrecorded English brass does come to light - one appears in our "Portfolio" this issue - but by and large it appears there is nothing interesting left to record. This may be why the Mill Stephenson Revision Project never completed its work, although the present series of publications, county by county, is finally achieving that aim.

But now a new situation has arisen. For reasons which it would not be appropriate to explore in this publication, the Church of England appears to be contemplating the closure of a very large number indeed of its parish churches. We hear of plans to suppress two dozen parishes in the City of London, and of comparable cutdowns in every diocese. It is not unrealistic to envisage that many of our mediaeval churches could be closed within the next twenty years. In the present political climate it is unlikely that national or local government will be able to preserve these buildings, and while interested parties should be trying every means to save them, we must be prepared for the worst. Only a selection of the finest redundant churches could possibly be preserved with the resources now available, and the great majority will have to be sold off to become libraries, sports centres or workshops in the cities, and private houses in the country. That could involve the stripping out or covering of nearly all the interior fittings, the destruction or dispersal of mediaeval and post-mediaeval art and artifact on a scale that can only remind one of the worst excesses of the French Revolution.

Obviously it is unlikely that brasses like Trumpington will be destroyed or sold off, but many small brasses will disappear, and many more indents, incised slabs, ledger slabs and other monuments. If we can't save them, at least we can record them, so that future generations will be able to know what they have missed. It is the smaller, less impressive monuments that most need to be recorded, and members of our Society should not be too narrow in collecting only brasses and incised slabs. The modern emphasis on stylistic analysis and iconography has shown us that brasses need to be considered side-by-side with contemporary monuments in other media, as we see in the article by M. Nys in this issue. If you have the opportunity to visit a church at risk, try and make some sort of record of every form of sepulchral monument, for there may never be another chance. At the time of writing there are hopeful plans that an English university is about to set up a centre for the study of brasses and church monuments, and this would act as a repository for rubbings, drawings, photographs and notes. Future generations will have ample time to collate and analyse this material - our own generation may be the last to have any chance of collecting it.

Incised Wall Tablets in Tournai Stone Late Fourteenth and early Fifteenth Century

A Contribution to the Question of the Attribution
of low relief mural carvings in Tournai stone

by LUDOVIC NYS

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IN recent studies of incised monuments in Flanders, in brass or Tournai stone, a distinction is generally made between two categories of work, which met different and complementary uses. One is the incised or inlaid slab, placed horizontally in the paving or above the tomb, occasionally outside the church. The other is the wall tablet (sometimes called an “epitaph”), which was either inserted in the wall or, more rarely, held against the wall by means of iron hooks. In dealing with the question of the origin and attribution of these works, scholars logically considered these together as made by the same craftsmen. No one has ever challenged this approach, because of the obvious common origin, but interesting parallels are also raised between incised wall tablets in Tournai stone and numerous contemporary tablets which are carved in low relief in the same type of stone. Whereas the incised works have attracted little attention, doubtless being considered only of minor importance, the carved reliefs did inspire a controversy which lasted for nearly a century. The debate began in the mid-nineteenth century over the question of possible relationships between these works and the paintings of the early Flemish masters. It was only in the 1920s and 1930s that they were definitely attributed to a specific professional sphere, in this case that of carvers rather than tombmakers or engravers. There remains still some confusion implicit in many studies which rely on stylistic comparisons and therefore often refer to these works incorrectly. It is our thesis that the co-existence in the same region of different workshop traditions of relief carving must have resulted in the emergence of differing iconographic and stylistic characteristics.

The incised wall tablets of Tournai put this question in a new and interesting light, essential indeed to a better understanding of the background to the circle of Tournai tombmakers. This paper considers the attribution of the Tournai carved tablets in low relief. It could be useful to begin with a short survey of existing literature on the subject.

In 1825 eight wall tablets were discovered on the site of the Minorite convent in Tournai, and were collected by the Tournai scholar, Barthélémy-Charles Dumortier. Some time before 1855 Dumortier offered them to Our Lady’s Cathedral, where they were first displayed in the north porch, before being finally positioned in the north choir chapels in about 1870. Dumortier, a naturalist, archaeologist and lawyer, was well aware of the value and importance of these works. He informed Gustaw-Friedrich Waagen, director of the Royal Museum in Berlin, of this discovery,

and the latter published the first study of these works in the Stuttgart *Kunstblatt* in 1848.¹

This study was translated into French and published in 1850 in the two Ghent reviews *La Flandre*,² and *La Renaissance illustrée*.³ For Waagen, one of the first experts on Flemish painting,⁴ there was an obvious connection between these monumental carvings and the work of the early fifteenth-century Flemish painters. The Berlin expert went further in postulating that the carvings indisputably reveal the origin of the tradition developed by the Van Eyck brothers. This question proceeded to dominate the debate among historians in Belgium and abroad until the second world war. Quoting Waagen in 1855, M. Heris saw in these finds from the Tournai Minorite convent an important link which shed new light on the emergence of the work of Van Eyck.⁵ This view was re-iterated by Aumaury de la Grange and Louis Cloquet in their study of artistic production in Tournai, published in 1887,⁶ and by A. Philippi in 1898.⁷

With the rise of the “Flémalle-Campin-Van der Weyden” debate, the argument revived over a stylistic relationship with carved wall tablets. Both supporters and detractors of the thesis of Roger Van der Weyden’s activity in Tournai base their argument on this relationship, whether relevant or not. To support the idea that the painter was trained in Tournai the argument reappears as a *leitmotiv*, for instance in 1886 by Edgar Baes⁸, in 1902 by Hulin de Loo,⁹ in 1906 by Kurt Voll,¹⁰ in 1913 by Fr. Winkler¹¹ and in 1928 by A. Schmarsow.¹² Maurice Houtart, in 1906-7, uses the same argument over the relationship he admits with the work of the Tournai painter Jacques Daret.¹³ Some go further, and talk not only of influence between the professional spheres of carvers and painters, but of actual collaboration between Roger Van der Weyden and the authors of these carved tablets. They even raise the possibility that he himself began work in this profession, whence he progressed to the craft of painter. In 1901 Louis Maeterlinck devoted an article to the particular problem of the relationship which, in his opinion, Van der Weyden must have had with the carvers.¹⁴ He put forward evidence that Robert Campin himself was described as a “sculptor” between 1425 and 1439. For instance he attributes to him the carved tablet to Robert de Quinghien, canon of Antoing, in the collegiate church of the same town. Numerous references to painters employed to colour and gild these stone reliefs serve, in his opinion, only to support this assertion.

¹ Waagen, 1848, no. 1, 1-3; no. 3, 9-10.

² Waagen, 1850 (i).

³ Waagen, 1850 (ii), 101-5.

⁴ Among studies on this subject must be cited Waagen, 1822, 1824, (3 items) and 1825.

⁵ Heris, 1856, 97-102.

⁶ de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887.

⁷ Philippi, 1898, 40.

⁸ Baes, 1886, 26.

⁹ de Loo, 1902, 26.

¹⁰ Voll, 1906.

¹¹ Winkler, 1913.

¹² Schmarsow, 1928.

¹³ Houtart, 1906, 171-4; 1907, 5-8, 32-6, 45-9.

¹⁴ Maeterlinck, 1901, 262-84. The references to Robert Campin as a image-carver come from the accounts of the city of Tournai from 1425 to 1439. P. Rolland has shown that this argument must be disallowed: he considers these references are probably to sub-contracts.

Paul Rolland was one of the last to support the thesis of a relationship between carved Tournai marble tablets and the work of painters, in particular Roger Van der Weyden. His suggestion actually reverses the question, contrary to the hitherto defended theory.¹⁵ He expresses the view that the influence was exercised not so much from the carvers to the painters, but the other way round. To support this assertion, Rolland stresses the iconographic similarities of some reliefs to works by Van der Weyden. Among these of course is the famous *Last Judgment* at Beaune, which had already been compared to the Valois monument at Arras by Canon Van Drival in 1868,¹⁶ and to the Lievin Bleckre tablet now in the choir of Tournai Cathedral, by Adolphe Hocquet in 1912.¹⁷ These parallels are no longer convincing. According to this view, the influence of painters on carvers, through patterns supplied to them, would help to illuminate the “sculptural character” of Van der Weyden’s work, in as much as he, like other painters, was accustomed to complying with the necessities of the chisel. This view opposes Maeterlinck’s claim that Van der Weyden had begun his career as an image-carver. In 1928¹⁸ and 1929,¹⁹ Rolland returns to the “realism” and the “particularly sculptural character” of the Tournai painters. In 1931, in the miscellany offered to Hulin de Loo,²⁰ he goes back to the main idea of a stylistic link between the work of the “Master of Flémalle” and these carved Tournai tablets, thus strengthening the identification of the “Master of Flémalle” with the painter Robert Campin.

As one can see at the end of this survey of writers up to Paul Rolland, the question hinges on the implication that the carved tablets should be attributed to image-carvers or statuaries. Only three authors analyze these works for themselves and not in relation to painting. They are Jean-Marie Van Caloen in 1872,²¹ who describes the carved tablets exhibited in Tournai Cathedral; Eugène Soil de Moriamé, in 1911, who includes these works in his catalogue “Les anciennes industries d’art tournaisiennes”²² and Grete Ring, in 1923, who published an article devoted to these carvings in the *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*.²³ Of these three, only Grete Ring attempts an original and thorough stylistic analysis of these sculptures. Once more, the problem of attribution of these works was shelved.

It is time now to admit that all these authors broadly based their argument on erroneous premises. In 1866 Alfred Michiels came close to answering this question without realising it.²⁴ He denied any direct relationship between these carved tablets and the mature painting of Van Eyck. Only Emile Renders, in 1931, suggested an attribution of these carved Tournai works to tombmakers and not, as hitherto

¹⁵ Rolland, 1932.

¹⁶ van Drival, 1868, 385-91.

¹⁷ Hocquet, 1912, 87.

¹⁸ Rolland, 1928, 103-8.

¹⁹ Rolland, 1929, 356-60.

²⁰ Rolland, 1931, 296-305.

²¹ van Caloen, 1872, 83-103.

²² Soil de Moriamé, 1912.

²³ Ring, 1923, 269-91.

²⁴ Michiels, 1866, 73.

asserted, only to Tournai statuaries.²⁵ Oddly enough, this distinction which I consider crucial and fundamental to the thesis of this paper, has not been observed in recent studies, even those of Robert Didier.

Nevertheless, numerous arguments could be put forward to support the idea of attributing these wall tablets to tombmakers rather than to statuaries, makers of statues and high reliefs. Obviously the first clue is the material, the Tournai stone, classified in the medieval period and until the end of the Ancien Régime as “black marble”. The statuaries on the other hand can be clearly documented as having either used wood, or a white limestone brought to Tournai from Valenciennes and Avesnes-le-Sec, near Cambrai, perhaps also from Lezennes near Lille. Only a few of the tombmakers who worked in black Tournai marble are occasionally described as statuaries or image-carvers. In these cases they were making tombs incorporating recumbent effigies in low relief, and no doubt relief mural panels as well. Tournai stone, with its stratified structure, does not lend itself to high-relief technique. Its hardness, its resistance to wear, and the brilliant polish it sustains makes it on the contrary particularly suitable for slabs, either incised or in low relief.²⁶ The two materials worked at Tournai seem to have determined the production of two categories of work: one was the carving of statues and high reliefs in white limestone or wood, the other, from the twelfth century onwards, was funeral monuments, either incised or in low relief, in Tournai stone. These two types of work no doubt brought about the emergence of two distinct professional circles: the statuaries who worked in wood and white limestone, and the tombmakers who worked Tournai stone in low relief. The latter are sometimes also referred to as “tailleurs d’images”.

Another, more conclusive, argument is based on the existence of wall tablets not in low relief but using the techniques either of sunk engraving or line-incising, or a combination of both. Several of these Tournai marble tablets can surely be attributed to Tournai workshops. Most of them date from the last third of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. They are thus contemporary and slightly earlier than the surviving carved tablets in low relief. Their typological, stylistic and iconographic similarities to the relief tablets as well as several incised slabs attributed to Tournai engravers, is enough in our opinion to support the view that these monuments, including the tablets in low relief, were produced in a single workshop tradition by tombmakers and engravers, distinct from the image-carving tradition which used wood and white limestone in high relief.

One of the oldest of these incised wall tablets, as well as the most famous, is that to Amaury Doupont and his wife Jeanne de Balli, in St Nicholas church, Tournai. (Fig. 1) It must have been made about 1370, and its typology differs little from the traditional arrangement common in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.²⁷ The composition, as always in the case of a married couple, is based on three bays. Here, unusually, the central bay is higher than the others. The Virgin

²⁵ Renders, 1930, 41.

²⁶ On the qualities of Tournai stone, see Camerman, 1944, 1-86, and in particular van Welden, 1965, 149-66.

²⁷ Tournai, St Nicholas, c. 1370, Tournai stone, 59 cm high, 79 cm wide. De la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 154; Cloquet & de la Grange, 1887, 18-40; Soil de Moriamé, 1912, 98; Ring, 1923, 274; Rolland, 1936, no. 95.

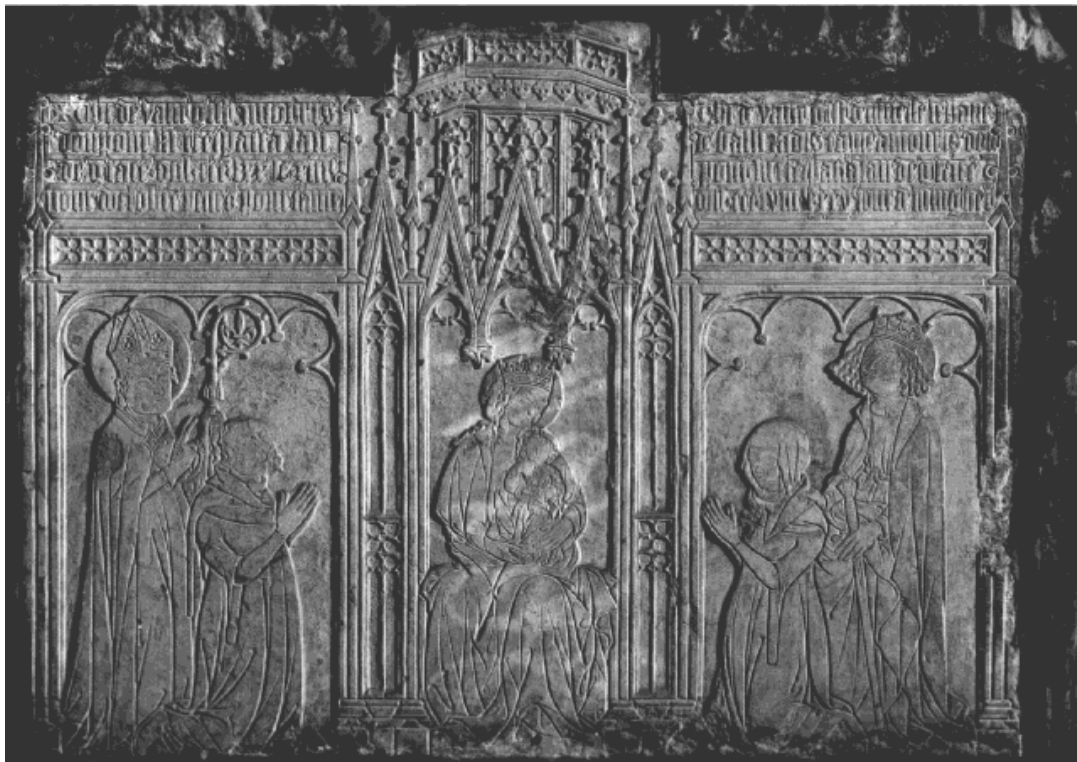


FIG. 1

Tournai, St Nicolas: Amaury Doupont and wife Jeanne de Balli, c. 1370

Photo: I.R.P.A., A 36811

and Child are seated under a triple canopy, with a gable on each face, a form designed to suggest depth. Above is a cornice pierced by quatrefoils. The Child, sitting on his Mother's left knee, is shown writing in an open book which rests on his own knees. According to Jean Squilbeck,²⁸ this is one of the earliest examples of this feature in the Low Countries. Certainly this iconographic theme of the Child writing or holding an open book does appear in several carved tablets traditionally attributed to Tournai workshops. Typical also of Tournai work is the posture of the Virgin sitting on a "chest-bench" without back or arm rests, as described by Robert Didier in his study of the Virgins of Hal and Arbois.²⁹ The main stylistic and iconographic components, the type of chest-bench, the form of the crown, and the full garments with very distinctive falls of the folds, are already shown in this work. There is a undeniable similarity here to the low relief wall tablets. But the architecture also raises interesting parallels with that on brasses attributed by Cameron to Tournai workshops.³⁰ In particular the coping of the triple canopy

²⁸ Squilbeck, 1949, 127-40.

²⁹ Didier et al, 1970, 93-113.

³⁰ See H.K. Cameron's many published works, listed in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 5, pp 460-1.



FIG. 2

Brussels, Royal Museum: Sir Jan van Heere, 1332 and Sir Gerard van Heere, 1398, detail

Illustration from Creeny

with its pierced cornice is reminiscent of the numerous canopies on the brass of Alan Fleming at Newark, *c.* 1360. The same type of canopy appears on the brass of Jean and Gérard de Heere on display at the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels. (Fig. 2) Contrary to the common view which attributes this brass to the Mosanne or Bruges workshops,³¹ it can be associated with the Tournai works by the style of design. The two-storey side-piers which flank the Virgin and Child, and in particular the outline of the pillar bases, justify clear comparisons with incised slabs. This wall tablet must definitely be attributed to the chisel of a slab-engraver.

The tablet to Jean Bruniel (d. 1355), Clemence de Bousies his wife, and their children in St Gery, Maing near Valenciennes, *c.* 1355, (Fig 3) was clearly originally intended to be set into a wall.³² Since the time of Amaury de la Grange and Louis Cloquet in 1887 this tablet has been attributed to the Tournai workshops. It does not yet display any of the traditional components of late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century wall tablets. Even in its dimensions, 173 cm wide and 46 high, it differs from other fourteenth-century reliefs. The characters are shown only as half-effigies, below

³¹ van Caster & op de Beeck, 1968-70, 91-104.

³² Maing, St Gery, *c.* 1355, Tournai stone, 46 cm high, 173 cm wide. See Salembier, 1899, 337-9; Cloquet, 1896, 642-52; Soil de Moriamé, 1912; Greenhill, 1976, pl. 115a.

pointed arches with many cusps. Inscriptions are engraved around these arches and in two lines of text under the figures. The only ornaments are rose-patterns and foils in the spandrels. The technique of raised lines used on the figures, with roughly cut hollows, makes it plausible that coloured cements were inserted. The cusping of the arches and the lettering of the inscriptions again invite comparison with the Heere brass in Brussels (Fig. 2). This monument may seem less relevant because of its typological difference from the Tournai wall tablets, but it does show how a work so similar to incised floor-slabs could be designed to be placed vertically in the wall like the relief tablets. A very similar fragment of a slab to a monk or friar was recently discovered at Aulnois near Valenciennes. (Fig. 4)

Two incised tablets in Tournai stone survive from *c.* 1390, also attributed to the Tournai workshops. That to Canon Jean li Presteriau, in the cloister of the collegiate church at Soignies,³³ (Fig. 5) is closely parallel to the Doupont monument at Tournai. Note in particular the triple canopies each with a crocketed steep gable. The border



FIG. 3

Maing, St Gery: Jean Bruniel, 1355, his wife Clemence de Bousies and children, *c.* 1355

Photo: Albert Meunier

is decorated with a curling foliated tendril, which is also characteristic of Tournai stone slabs from the fourteenth-century Tournai workshops. For instance this border pattern can be seen on the slab of Guillaume du Chasteler and his wife Beatrice de Mortagne, at Moulbaix near Ath in Belgium, dating from *c.* 1380, and on that to Agnes Banette, formerly in the parish church of St James, Tournai. Considering its size, this monument looks more like a small floor-slab than an wall tablet, though the inscription below the composition, in five lines of text, suggests that it was originally placed on the wall. Here again the type of Virgin, this time represented standing, is clearly comparable to those on the low relief productions.

The monument to Brice li Rois, parish priest of St Lawrence at Anstaing, half way between Lille and Tournai, was probably made shortly before 1400.³⁴ (Fig. 6) The deceased is shown in prayer, introduced by the patron of the church, Saint Lawrence, identified by his grill, forming the sinister half of the composition, facing the Virgin and Child enthroned in the dexter bay. The figure is similar to those

³³ Soignies, St Vincent, *c.* 1390, Tournai stone, 118 cm high, 59 cm wide. Delferière, 1935, 141-67.

³⁴ Anstaing, St Lawrence, *c.* 1390, Tournai stone, 66 cm high, 46 cm wide. See Becquart, 1879, 30; Soil de Moriamé, 1912, 98.



FIG. 4

Aulnois-les-Valenciennes: Fragment of slab to a religious, c. 1350; private collection

Photo: Valenciennes Museum

described above, save for the veil over her head and under her crown. The throne, on the other hand, with back and arm-rests bristling with pinnacles, differs from the traditional “chest-bench” type. The canopies are also conceived differently from those on the similar monuments to Doupont at Tournai and li Priesteriaus at Soignies. In both of these there is an obvious attempt at perspective, to represent three-dimensional canopies over statues, whereas this is not the case on the Anstaing tablet. The five-cusped pointed arches which constitute the canopies are typical of those on incised slabs, combining the idea of a roof over the deceased at prayer, and a canopy relating to the symbolic theme of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Furthermore the pattern of triple canopy pierced by trefoils and crowned by a foliated cornice justifies comparison with several incised slabs of around 1400. Only the pinnacles between the gables of the canopy are missing here. Among comparable works are the slab of Jean Dukien and another priest, from the Magdalen church, now in the museum of history at Tournai, (Fig. 7) and that to Jacques Taintenier formerly in St James, Tournai, a tracing of which was published by Louis Cloquet in 1881. The canopies on the slab of Alard de Mortagne and his wife Anne de Woestijne, in St Dennis at



FIG. 5
Soignies, St Vincent: Jean li Presteriau, c. 1390, detail
Photo: the author



FIG. 6
Anstaing, St Lawrence: Brice li Rois, c. 1390
Photo: the author

Geluwe near Kortrijk, *c.* 1370, are also comparable. Here again the technique of incising supports the idea that the slabs were made in an engravers' workshop.

The double canopy on the incised tablet to Willaume de Maude, parish priest, formerly in St Quentin, Tournai and now in a chapel of the Cathedral, reveals some similarity to this type.³⁵ (Fig. 8) We find the same treatment of space, with a three-dimensional effect obtained by means of foreshortened side-bays pierced by lancets, and a trefoil arch supporting each bay of the canopy, thus combining elements from the Doupont and li Rois tablets in Tournai and Anstaing. In contrast, the incised tablets to Jacques Polès, his wife and his parents, *c.* 1400 from the Minorite convent,³⁶ (Fig. 9) and to Nicaise de Grautwaut (d. 1382), his wife and son, at Celles near Tournai,³⁷ (Fig. 10) give less importance to architecture. The positioning of shields above the figures on both examples, and the placing of a canopy only above the seated Virgin on the Polès tablet, show a more pictorial vision, reminiscent of the layout of relief tablets of *c.* 1420. For all that, the design of architecture shows some degeneration from the pattern which was originally derived from the designs of incised slabs.

Finally we can point to the monument of Vincent Brejon, chaplain and vicar of St Omer, (d. 1463), which is undoubtedly of Tournai origin.³⁸ (Fig. 11) The design of the triple canopy, with ogival arches and pinnacled side-shafts, has close parallels to the architecture on the slab of Canon Toussaint de la Ruelle, *c.* 1470, in the same collegiate church.³⁹ (Fig. 12) The funeral accounts of the canons of St Omer, still preserved in the city library, identify the author of two slabs which are now lost as Jacquemart de Rostelegu, engraver of Tournai.⁴⁰ It is therefore plausible that the surviving contemporary works in Tournai stone can be attributed to the same workshop.

It is significant to compare the chronology of surviving incised and relief wall tablets. The Doupont monument in Tournai, *c.* 1370, and the Bruniel monument at Maing, *c.* 1355, are older than the first surviving tablets in low relief which date from *c.* 1390. Examples are the famous tablet to Nicolas de Seclin (Fig. 13) and that of the Cottrell family in Tournai cathedral. The only exception is the well-known monument of Pierre Sacquespée, *c.* 1357, in the museum at Arras (Fig. 14), which is more or less contemporary with the oldest surviving incised tablet, the Bruniel monument. Most historians of medieval sculpture still attribute this piece to the Tournai workshops. This can be confirmed by the type of the seated Virgin with

³⁵ Tournai cathedral, *c.* 1420, Tournai stone, 77 cm high, 62 cm wide. See Soil de Moriamé 1912, 99; Ring, 1923, 276; Rolland, 1936, n. 106; Greenhill, 1976, II, pl. 21a.

³⁶ Tournai Cathedral, *c.* 1400, Tournai stone, 70 cm high, 88 cm wide. See de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 36; Soil de Moriamé, 1912, 98-9; Ring, 1923, 273; Rolland, 1932, 85; Warichez, 1934, 317; and 1936, n. 27; Rolland, 1944, 26; Bauch, 1976, 341.

³⁷ Celles, St Christof, *c.* 1423, Tournai stone, 68 cm high, 81 cm wide. See de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 154-5; Cloquet & de la Grange, 1887, 39; Rolland, 1944, 26; Delestrain, 1984, 190.

³⁸ St Omer, Collegiate Church of Notre-Dame, *c.* 1463, Tournai stone, 70 cm high, 56 cm wide. See Soil de Moriamé, 1912, 99-100.

³⁹ Wallet, 1839, 86; de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 137; Cloquet & De la Grange, 1887, 29; Soil de Moriamé, 1912, 104; Op de Beeck & van Caster, 1964, 193-210; Greenhill, 1976, II, 102; "Dix siècles" 1988, 120, n.51.

⁴⁰ In the 1470s Jacquemart de Rostelegu made the slabs of Thomas de Wespere, (d. 1473) and Jean le Maistre (d. 1473/4), canons of St Omer. See Saint-Omer chapter archives, 2 G 475 (de Wespere) f.7r. and 2 G 476 (le Maistre), f. 28v.



FIG. 7

Tournai, Musée des Antiquités: two priests, 1394 and 1402

Illustration from Greenhill



FIG. 8

Tournai Cathedral: William de Maude, 1418

Photo: I.R.P.A., A 8526

Child, which shows the main characteristics described by Robert Didier. Its size, 219 cm high and 160 wide, and the type of relief carving invite comparisons also with low-relief recumbent effigies made by Tournai tombmakers in the second half of the fourteenth century. An interesting detail is the awkward position of the Virgin, who is apparently seated in front of the chest-bench as if poised in mid-air. This feature, together with the unusual height of the figure, indicates the work of a tombmaker

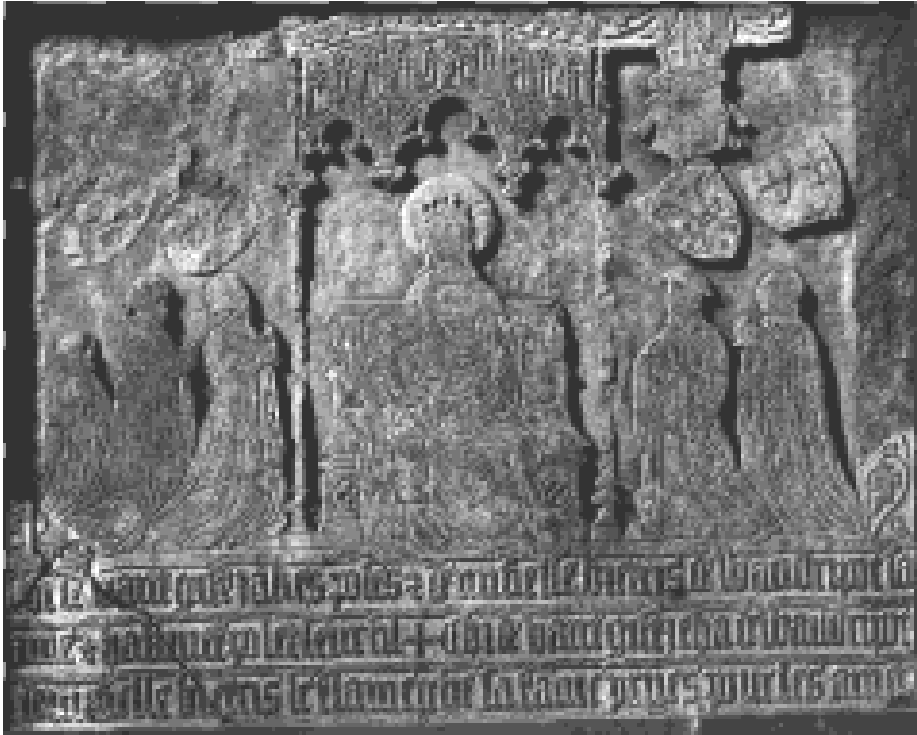


FIG. 9

Tournai Cathedral: Jacques Polès and family, *c.* 1405*Photo: I.R.P.A., A 8149*

rather than an image carver, someone little accustomed to designing figures destined to be seen vertically. Later mural reliefs offer similar indications. For example we may mention the relief canopies on several tombs with recumbent effigies from the second half of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century. There is a significant relationship between such reliefs as the wall tablets of Jacques d'Avesnes, 1409, (Fig 15) and Jacques Taintener, *c.* 1408, in St James church, Tournai, and the recumbent figures of Louis de Lichtervelde and his wife Elizabeth Tollenaere, *c.* 1375, at Coolscamp (Roeselare), or those of Beatrice de Beaussart and her son Guillaume de Melun, *c.* 1410, in Antoing castle. This helps to strengthen our argument over the wall incised slabs.

Contemporary incised wall slabs, attributed to workshops other than those of Tournai, call for the same analysis. This is particularly appropriate for those incised in the so-called "petit granit" marble of Ecaussinnes, between Nivelles and Soignies. The surviving works date from about 1400 to 1450. The two incised wall slabs of Jean de la Flickière (d. 1366) and his family, in St Martin at Horrués, near Soignies,

⁴¹ Horrués, St Martin, *c.* 1400; Ecaussinnes stone, 94 cm high, 58 cm wide. Delférière, 1935, 145.



FIG. 10

Celles: Nicaise de Grautwaut, d. 1382, and family, c. 1423

Photo: the author

probably made c. 1400,⁴¹ (Fig 16) and of Canon Michel li Halier (d. 1405) at the collegiate church in Soignies,⁴² (Fig 17) are manifestly derived from the same model. The design of the canopy architecture is identical save for minor details. However the difference in dimension precludes the use of a template. The account of Canon Michel li Halier's funeral, preserved by the *Cercle archéologique* at Soignies, identifies one of his executors as Canon Adam de Flickière (d. after 1418), probably the son of Jean de la Flickière.⁴³ Presumably he was responsible for commissioning both works.

⁴² Soignies, St Vincent, c. 1405; Ecaussines stone, 93 cm high, 59 cm wide. Delferière, 1935, 145-6; Greenhill, 1976, II, pl. 156a.

⁴³ Soignies, Archives of the Cercle archéologique, *Funeral accounts of the chaplain Michael li Halier* (1405) Document provided by courtesy of Jacques Deveseleer, conservator of the collegiate church at Soignies.



FIG. 11
 St Omer, Collegiate Church: Vincent Brejon, 1463
Photo: the author

Here the canopy architecture is of similar type to that on several incised slabs from Ecaussines workshops, and in a lesser degree to that on the wall tablet of Gossuins Trubert (d. 1449) at Soignies,⁴⁴ (Fig 18), thus supporting the thesis that the tablets were made by engravers. The funerary products of the Ecaussines workshops have not yet been subjected to detailed study. All identified citations of engravers in this area come from the funerary accounts of the canons of Soignies,⁴⁵ of which the oldest

⁴⁴ Delferièrè, 1935, 144.

⁴⁵ Mons, Chapter of St Vincent, Soignies, *Funeral accounts of the canons of Soignies* (15th-16th century), no. 33. See Nazet, 1986.



FIG. 12

St Omer, Collegiate Church: Toussaint de la Ruelle, 1470 (detail)

Photo: the author



FIG. 13

Tournai Cathedral: Nicolas de Seclin (d. 1341) and family, c. 1390-1400

Photo: I.R.P.A.

are from about 1430. The style of canopy architecture shows a similar inspiration to that on Tournai products. Moreover the known names of the late fourteenth century quarrymen, Moreau at Ecaussines, and Morel in Tournai, suggest that the workshop tradition spread from Tournai.⁴⁶

Tournai marble could also be exported rough, and carved by local engravers or statuaries. This is obvious for example in the case of two groups of low reliefs at

⁴⁶ On the Ecaussines quarries, see Baguet, 1895.



FIG. 14

Arras Museum: Pierre Sacquespée (d. 1340) and family, c. 1357

Photo: Girardon (Paris) LA 57157



FIG. 15

Tournai, St James: Jacques d'Avesnes and wives, 1411

Photo: I.R.P.A., A 32781

Amiens and in the neighbourhood of Arras. Among incised wall tablets in Tournai stone, two now in the museum in Lille (Figs 19, 20) and one at Roost-Warendin near Douai (Fig 21), appear to have been made in local workshops in Lille and possibly in Douai.⁴⁷ These works of about 1400, stylistically connected, are variants of models used by the makers of the Doupont and li Presteriau monuments at Tournai and Soignies. Here however these three works can probably be attributed to local engravers who were inspired by Tournai models and perhaps even trained in Tournai workshops. The tablet to an unidentified priest, in the wall of a farm at Roost-Warendin, (Fig 21) seems to be contemporary to the two works in Lille. In

⁴⁷ These three have been hitherto unpublished; information is provided by courtesy of M. Lavallé, conservator of the museum of Fine Arts at Lille: Lille, musée des Beaux-Arts: (1) relief of Jean-Noises (d. 1408) and wife Marie Bonnande, c. 1410; Tournai stone, 87 cm high, 87 cm wide. (2) relief of an ecclesiastic, c. 1400-10; Tournai stone, 76 cm high, 77 cm wide. Roost-Warendin (Douai), from former village church: tablet to an ecclesiastic named Antoine..., c. 1400; Tournai stone with indents for lost brass border and shield, 48 cm high, 70 cm wide.



FIG. 16

Horrués, St Martin: Jean de la Flickière and wife Isabelle de Malin, c. 1400-5

Photo: the author



FIG. 17
Soignies, Collegiate Church: Michiel li Halier (d. 1405)
Photo: the author



FIG. 18
Soignies: Gossuins Trubert (d. 1449), detail
Photo: the author

this crude work we can see the beaded moulding in the gable exemplified in one of the two incised wall tablets in Lille. The principle of the architecture is very different, however, indicating a certain naivety in layout. The impression is given of a church sectioned lengthways, with the façade and chevet shown face-on. It is relevant here to mention the survival at Douai of two contracts of 1325 and 1344 attesting the activity of such workshops at Douai at least in the early fourteenth century.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ See A.M. Douai, FF 672/7034 (Nov. 1325) edited in Brassart, 1880, 61-4, and Dehaisnes, 1886, 261-3; also A.M. Douai FF 674/7370 (April 1344) in Dehaisnes, 1886, 347.



FIG. 19

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Jean Noises (d. 1408) and wife Marie Bonnade, c. 1410

Photo: Lille Museum

Archives are not very communicative about the problem of carved or incised tablets intended to be set in the wall. No surviving incised or low-relief wall tablets can be definitively attributed. Paradoxically the Tournai archives were particularly rich in contracts, but these acts, signed before the deputy mayor or the “voir-juré”, concern only the making of sepulchral monuments like recumbent effigies or horizontal slabs in stone or brass. The only information in the archives comes from funeral accounts in Tournai and Cambrai. The most interesting abstracts of these were published by Jules Houdoy for Cambrai,⁴⁹ and Amaury de la Grange, Louis

⁴⁹ Houdoy, 1880.



FIG. 20

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts: an ecclesiastic, c. 1400

Photo: Lille Museum

Cloquet and Eugène Soil de Moriamé, for Tournai.⁵⁰ Analysis of these documents allows us to strengthen the conclusion already drawn from the study of styles and techniques. In 1494-5 the Tournai engraver Jean Bedet carried out for the tomb of Canon Jean de la Chapelle of Cambrai *...ung epitaphe de marbre noir en quel a une figure d'ung mort tailliet et eslevet sur une natte...*⁵¹ The model was supplied by the painter Gabriel called “le petit”. The word “epitaphe” here refers no doubt to a wall tablet, not to a recumbent figure. The tablet in Tournai stone to Jean Daniaus, c. 1410,

⁵⁰ de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887; de la Grange, 1890, 110-239; Soil de Moriamé, 1912, 24-8.

⁵¹ A.D.N. Lille, Chapter of Notre-Dame, Cambrai, 4 G 1384 (1494-5), f. 16v. See Houdoy, 1880, 272.



FIG. 21

Roost-Warendin: Antoine..., c. 1400

Photo: the author

from the Minorite convent at Cambrai, now in Cambrai museum, shows the body of a friar laid on a mat. This suggests a similar iconography to that on Canon de la Chapelle's tablet. A few years later the same engraver made another tablet for Canon Antoine Legenre of Cambrai (d. 1503), intended to be placed before the tomb against a pillar: *...contra pillarem ante suam tumbam quemdam epitapham sive memoriale...*⁵² The same Jean Bedet executed slabs at the same period for Balthasar Gargatte of Tournai (d. 1503)⁵³ and Canon Gilles Nettelet of Cambrai, ordered in a contract signed on 18 August 1507.⁵⁴ The tombmaker and statuary Jacques de Braibant can be considered a typical case. Probably descended from a family of Dinant in the Mosanne region,⁵⁵ Jacques de Braibant was clearly the leading craftsman in relief sculpture at Tournai around 1400. He is attested in turn as a stone-cutter, a tombmaker (the recumbent effigy in Tournai stone of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, now in

⁵² A.D.N. Lille, Chapter of Notre-Dame, Cambrai, 4 G 1348 (1503).

⁵³ de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 214.

⁵⁴ A.D.N. Lille, Chapter of Notre-Dame, Cambrai, 4 G 930 (1506-7), f.16r. See Houdoy, 1880, 274.

⁵⁵ On this hypothesis, see Nys, 1992, 26.

Cambrai museum, was attributed to him, but erroneously⁵⁶) and as a statuary - for instance in 1478 he carved the white limestone statues for the portal of the Deans' Hall in Tournai.⁵⁷ In 1396 he appears, described as a "slab-cutter", in the building accounts of Tournai, when he carved four gargoyles, a type of sculpture comparable technically to funerary monuments.⁵⁸ The same *maistre Jaque de Braibant* about 1381 made and gilded two wall tablets in low relief *...ycheux tabliaux estre eslevés de grandes ymaiges...*, which had been ordered for the tomb of Vinchant as Vaques and his mother, of Tournai. These were intended to be placed, one in the cloister of the Cathedral, the other in St Peter's, Tournai.⁵⁹ Here it is not possible to determine whether these works were made in Tournai stone or in white limestone. We can cite also the case of the Tournai engraver Alard Génois, attested from 1451 to 1492, who incised the date of death (1474) on the tablet to Canon Guillaume Dufay of Cambrai at the end of the inscription under the composition.⁶⁰ It is probable that the craftsman who completed the inscription was the same who had carved the rest of the wall tablet. Amaury de la Grange and Louis Cloquet in 1887 use the same argument to attribute the famous tablet of Jean du Bois (d. 1438) and his wife Catherine Bernard now in Tournai cathedral to the tombmaker Jean Génois, who is indeed mentioned in connection with the slab in the funerary account of Catharine Bernard. Nevertheless some details in the wording indicate a probable date of around 25 years before, at the time of Jean du Bois' death in *c.* 1440. As Paul Rolland notes in 1924, this attribution must consequently be rejected. Nevertheless in my opinion the sort of argument used by de la Grange and Cloquet can be considered valid. The funeral accounts of Vinchant as Vaques in 1381 already mentioned are particularly informative on contemporary usage, in that the same craftsman was commissioned to produce both slab and wall tablet, in this case an engraver also accustomed to carving low reliefs. The Tournai wills, abstracts of which were published in 1897 by Amaury de la Grange,⁶¹ specify a vertical position for these works, either in a wall or on a pillar near the tomb. Obviously these works were often ordered together. Some indications in the funerary accounts strengthen this hypothesis. For instance, in the account for Jeanne Despars, in 1460, Haquinet Bacus or Bachuc of Tournai, known only as a statuary, executes a wall tablet showing her figure.⁶² This monument - a significant point - is of white limestone, not Tournai marble. No doubt it was a relief tablet, possibly in high relief. Such works do survive in Tournai, among others the famous monument to Jean du Sart (d. 1466) and his wife Marguerite de Guerles, which Jules Destrée in 1901 refused to attribute to a Tournai workshop. The obvious iconographic similarity between the lower fragment of another unidentified monument in white limestone compared to the Prado Descent from the Cross by Van der Weyden, was put forward by Rolland in

⁵⁶ Nys, 1993.

⁵⁷ de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 94, 96.

⁵⁸ See Bozière, 1862, 49-50.

⁵⁹ See de la Grange, 1890, 363.

⁶⁰ see Nys, 1989, 5-24.

⁶¹ de la Grange, 1897, 5-365. On these wills and their interest for the study of monuments, see Cameron, 1984 (ii), 410-23.

⁶² de la Grange & Cloquet, 1887, 214.

1924 to strengthen his thesis of an influence from the painters to the sculptors. However these different works clearly have no direct stylistic connection with the smaller wall tablets in Tournai stone. Obviously they were not the work of craftsmen from the same circle of production, but presumably from the circumstances were made by statuaries rather than tombmakers, engravers or workers in low relief.

Other arguments could still be put forward to support the attribution of these wall tablets in Tournai stone to tombmakers. The importance of the lettering, in which the makers of incised slabs first specialised, confirms the indications already cited. It is in this connection particularly significant that the same lettering appears on incised and low relief wall tablets in Tournai stone in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

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John Blodwell

Rector of Balsham

by REVD. W.N.C. GIRARD

JOHN Blodwell lies buried in Balsham Church, Cambridgeshire, commemorated by a brass obviously designed with his career in mind. (Fig. 1) His grave, in the Nave before the Chancel Screen,¹ is presently unmarked, and the brass was moved during the 1875 restoration to the north side of the Chancel. It was described in 1846 by F.A.P[aley] in the Cambridge Camden Society series² and again in 1896 by R.A.S.M[acalister] in our *Transactions*³ but were neither able to identify the saints nor to give more than a brief outline of the life of the rector commemorated.

Life and Career

To judge from his name, John Blodwell came from the village of Llan-y-Blodwell in Shropshire, where the Church is dedicated to St. Michael. His connection with Balsham probably began in the 1430s. The inscription on the brass states he was “here residing”, and, given his activity within the area, that connection was undoubtedly more than just formal and ante-dated his blindness.

According to dispensations granted to him, he was the son of a priest and an unmarried woman.⁴ To place his birth in the early to mid 1380s would be consistent with his later career. The brass describes him as “a little old man” and when his grave was opened in 1836 his skull was said to be thin and old and having but two teeth.⁵

Though the identity of his parents is unknown, given the St. Asaph connection of at least three of the Blodwells including himself, it is likely he came from a clerical family well established in that Diocese. There is mention of a Bloddyn ap David in 1390,⁶ but this is too early for our John Blodwell and there is nothing to link him to the Blodwells other than an assonance of names and common geography. A David Blodwell was successor both to the Deanery of St. Asaph and a concurrent Canonry of Hereford.⁷ His Cambridge provenance would link him closely to John Blodwell, but he is described as “of noble birth” in a Papal dispensation, so on the face of it he is not kin to John Blodwell.⁸ There is too a Richard Blodwell of St. Asaph Diocese.⁹ There are also lay Blodwells in Cambridgeshire and district: Geoffrey Blodwell,

¹ William Cole, BL Add MS 5807. (Copy in Balsham church).

² Cambridge Camden Society, No. 3, pp. 73-84.

³ *M.B.S. Trans.* II, 239-40.

⁴ *Calendar of Papal Letters* (CPL) 1404 - 1415, vi:315, 1412.

⁵ Cambridge Camden Society, No. 3, pp. 73-84.

⁶ CPL iv:326-7, 1390.

⁷ D.R. Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 1908 and 1913; Vol. I, 318-9, Vol III, 326. A.B. Emden, *Biographical Register for the University of Cambridge up to AD 1500*, p. 66, entry for David Blodwell.

⁸ CPL xi:22-3, 1455.

⁹ Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 203 (entry for Richard Blodwell).

another Geoffrey Blodwell, and Henry Blodwell, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁰ It is possible that all these were related.

It is likely that John Blodwell was ordained in St. Asaph, at least to Minor Orders, and was well qualified in Law: by 1412 he is a Bachelor of Civil Law and studying towards a Doctorate;¹¹ in 1416 he is “Master” yet he is still described as BCL in 1422.¹² By 1429 he is described as Doctor of Canon Law,¹³ and by 1439 he is styled Doctor of Decretals, though that probably relates to judicial function than to qualification.¹⁴

A combination of parentage, patronage and ability probably saw him on his way. He is never described as a “King’s Clerk” even when about the King’s business and it is unlikely he began his career in the Royal Household. A pattern to his life emerges from the sequence of his clerical appointments: early years in Britain, overseas years of training, travel and service to about 1429; followed by an active career in Britain from the 1430s until blindness struck him perhaps in the 1440s; and thereafter the years of his retirement to 1462. In tabular form his appointments were:

1412 Saltwood, Canterbury, provided, not possessed.	
1412 Whiteparish (Whitchurch Canonorum), Salisbury.	1413
1413 Tadmerton, Lincoln, (now Oxford).	1418
1416 Northop (Llaneurgaen), St.Asaph.	
1418 Stratton in the Clay (Sturton le Steeple), York.	1434
1422 Canon of St. Asaph, so described but not recorded.	
1429 Dean of St. Asaph, so described but perhaps from 1418 or 1423; resignation supposed concurrently with Hereford Canonry.	1441
1432 Lichfield Canonry, Prebend of Curborough	1443
1433 Hereford Canonry, Prebend of Wareham & Ayleston	1441
1434 Wells Canonry, Prebend of Combe Septima	1437
1434 Tenby, St. David’s.	
1437 St. David’s Canonry, Prebend of Penffloes.	
1439 Balsham, Ely, so described but probably from an earlier date.	1462

There is no definite evidence of patronage being brought to bear in his favour though he obviously knew how to “work the system” of dispensation and enjoyed Papal confidence at least to 1429, witnessed by the references for his use of dispensations. His early appointments appear in the Calendar of Papal Letters; the later ones in Bishops’ Registers but not in Calendars of Patent Rolls, etc. Wherever he was employed, Rome or England, his career was financed by appointments held in plurality under dispensations.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (CFR) XX:201, 1467; XXI:207, 1480; XXI:260-1, 1483; XXII:15, 1485. *Victoria County History* (VCH) Cambridgeshire, Vol VI, Balsham, p. 133.

¹¹ CPL vi:312, 1412.

¹² *Calendar of Close Rolls* (CCR) Henry V, 1:265, 1416; CPL vii:211-1, 1422.

¹³ CPL viii:148-9, 1429.

¹⁴ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library, XII 1(5).

Although John Blodwell was provided to Saltwood he never gained possession. For two of his benefices, Northop and Stratton, though he gained possession there was a pre-existing “reservation” elsewhere of those benefices, so the position needed to be regularised.¹⁵ The exact circumstances of his Deanery of St. Asaph are not clear, for the Papal Grant of a Confirmation for life in 1429 describes him as already Dean.¹⁶

He received a number of dispensations. One was to hold “compatible” benefices and a later one to hold “incompatible” benefices such as Stratton in York and Northop in St. Asaph Dioceses.¹⁷ Dispensation covered his studies for he was allowed to be Rector of Whiteparish whilst only a Sub-Deacon and a student at a University, probably Bologna.¹⁸ Just what his relationship was with the Deanery of St. Asaph is not clear, for the Cathedral, Bishop’s residence and Canon’s houses had been destroyed by Owen Glendower in the Welsh troubles of 1402 and were to be restored only during the much later Bishopric of Richard Redman, 1471-1495. The likelihood is then that John Blodwell was an absentee Dean. In view of the succession by David Blodwell, perhaps the Deanery was “in the family”. Just like other property, a benefice could be exchanged, so he managed to exchange Stratton for a Wells Canonry in 1434 only to change that again in 1437 for a St. David’s Canonry.¹⁹ On the whole it looks as if he observed the rule of two benefices at a time, in addition to positions of dignity such as Canonries and his Deanery.

After studies at Bologna (the brass says he studied there) it is likely that his contacts gained him his position at the Curia as Abbreviator of Apostolic Letters, dealing with diplomatic correspondence with kings and rulers. The earliest date for that appointment is 1419 and he held it at least to 1429.²⁰

His connection with the Council of Constance is definite at one point for, though not named as a delegate, he does appear under his own name as a member of the canonisation committee of 1415 dealing with the cause of Swedish Saints.²¹ The Council Committee consisted of Cardinals Pierre d’Ailly and Odo Colonna; Jean Gerson, Chancellor of Paris University; Lambert de Gelria and Peter Pulcha of Vienna University; William Clinth and John Blodwell. These latter two may have been part of the Secretariat. In the list of delegates there are a number named simply “John” and two described as “Anglicii et pro Reg. Angl.” - English and for the King of England.²² Perhaps John Blodwell was one of these. There is an English Royal writ for John Blodwell’s return in 1416 that could match someone described as “Anglicus et pro Reg. Angl.”²³ It could also point towards some responsibilities of his on behalf of the King.

¹⁵ CPL vii:211-2, 1422.

¹⁶ CPL viii:148-9, 1429.

¹⁷ CPL vi:314, 1412; vi:415, 1413.

¹⁸ CPL vi:312, 1412.

¹⁹ Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 202-3 (entry for John Blodwell).

²⁰ Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 202-3; PCL viii:148-9, 1429.

²¹ Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum (Ecumenicum Constantiense Concilium 1697*, Vol IV, 712; J. Gallen, “Les causes de Ste. Ingride et des Saints suèdois”, *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vii (1938), 18.

²² von der Hardt, Vol V, p. 52.

²³ CCR Henry V, 1:265, 1416.

The other point at which his presence at the Council might be inferred originates in the background to the calling of the Council. Political considerations weighed as heavily as religious ones. The reform of the Church required the election of a Pope, which might be controlled by French influence over the Cardinals, of whom there were only twenty three. The device hit upon to outmanoeuvre the French was that of voting by “nations” within the Council, of which there were at first the four - France, England, the Empire and Italy, later augmented to five by the addition of Spain. It is highly likely that such a device originated in the mind of an ingenious lawyer, and John Blodwell may have had more of a hand in it than others. The reference on his Brass to “natio quina” may be an allusion to this. His association with such eminent figures at the Council point to his competence. Odo Colonna emerged as Pope out of the Council and there is no doubt about Odo Colonna’s opinion of John Blodwell. It finds later expression in the confirmation of the Deanery in a Papal Letter of 1429:

. . . John Blodwell, who is an abbreviator of apostolic letters, and who in councils and convocations of the clergy and people of the realm of England has laboured and daily labours without wearying for the defence of ecclesiastical liberty and the conservation and increase of the rights of the Roman church . . .²⁴

It is probable that sometime about 1430 John Blodwell was to leave Rome carrying with him that testimonial of Papal approval.

There are also records of activities on behalf of the King. In 1416 he was specifically recalled to Britain by writ of the Crown “on the king’s urgent business”.²⁵ In 1422 there are orders for payment to him of money probably related to expenses on Royal business.²⁶ In 1424 he is one of an embassy to Alfonso King of Aragon.²⁷

There is a possibility that he attended the Council of Basle in the early 1430s. It is said that he acted as proxy for Cardinal Langley, Bishop of Durham, and that the appointment arose out of the need to augment the depleted number of English delegates to that Council, when eight Doctors of Divinity and Law were sent and John Blodwell was one of them.²⁸ But there is nothing to show that he actually attended.

From the 1430s it would seem that he pursued his Church career in England. His appearance within the Diocese of Ely is surely connected with Philip Morgan, bishop 1426-1435, another Welshman and lawyer for whose will he was to act as Co-Executor.²⁹ As far as can be seen he had no recorded official position in the Diocese of Ely and after Philip Morgan’s death in 1435 John Blodwell acted on behalf of the Bishopric in a presentation to Hadstock; in 1439 he acted for the Bishopric in a

²⁴ CPL viii: 148-9, 1429.

²⁵ CCR Henry V, 1:265, 1416.

²⁶ CCR Henry VI, 1:478, 1422.

²⁷ Thomas Rhymer, *Foedera*, ed. T.D. Hardy, 1873, p. 640.

²⁸ Browne Willis, *Survey of St. Asaph*... 1801, vol. I, p. 168; Cambridge Camden Society, No. 3, pp. 73-84.

²⁹ Will of Philip Morgan, No. 454 in *The Register of Archbishop Chichele*, ed. E.F. Jacob, Canterbury & York Society vol. XLII, 1937.

repeated presentation to Hadstock and adjudicated in a patronage dispute concerning the living of St. Botolph, Cambridge where the judicial papers style him “Vicar General, Doctor of Decretals, Dean of St. Asaph and Rector of Balsham.”³⁰

Inference might be drawn from the sequence of his resignations and vacations of office to date his blindness, which his brass says was of long standing, as occurring sometime in the early to mid 1440s. He was Rector of Balsham at the time of his death but it is not clear what else he retained as the record of successors in his benefices is not complete. As for St. Asaph, David Blodwell is noted from 1441, but ratification of his estate as Dean did not take place until 1458 and there must be the possibility that whilst John Blodwell surrendered the concurrent Canonry of Hereford in 1441 he held to the Deanery for a while despite the apparent certainty of all the authorities that he resigned the Deanery in 1441.³¹

There are a few more references, which might be termed domestic. In 1436 with many others he is on the receiving end of a Privy Council request for a “loan” to the King to finance the wars in France; that he was so named must indicate wealth and status.³² In the years 1448 and 1451 a William Hogeekyns of London made over his property there to John Blodwell and others by way of gift; this probably related to security for loans, something like a mortgage rather than any outright donation.³³

He was certainly living at Balsham in 1456 when he suffered the misfortune of a burglary, less of a tribulation than that of his predecessor John Grey a hundred years before who complained of being chased through the village in fear of his life in a fracas in which a servant was killed.³⁴ Twenty five years had passed since Philip Morgan’s death but as late as 1460 he was still acting as an executor. The deed is witnessed by John Anstey according to a power of attorney which would be appropriate for a deed executed on behalf of a man now blind and unable to check documents for himself.³⁵

There can be nothing but speculation about his life at Balsham. He died on the 16th April 1462. Five days later his successor, Richard Bole, received presentation of the vacant Benefice.³⁶ There was every reason to confer the Benefice quickly before someone else asserted a right and no reason for delay. There is no record of a will.

Description of the Brass

The Brass consists of a full-length figure, flanked by two shields (Fig. 2), standing above an inscription, enclosed by a canopy surrounded by a marginal inscription. The sheets of brass available for engraving measured about 94 cm square, the limits being defined by the ability to produce an even sheet of brass by casting. Because of this the brass is made up of a number of plates, divided as following:

³⁰ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library, XII 1(5).

³¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (CPR) Henry VI, 1:464, 1458.

³² Harris Nicolas, *Privy Council Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, iv, 316.

³³ CCR, Henry VI, 5:102, 1448; 5:248, 1451.

³⁴ Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records; CPR Edward III, 10:453, 1356.

³⁵ CCR Henry VI, 6:457, 1460.

³⁶ Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records.



FIG. 2
John Blodwell, detail of head and shields
Length of shields 149 mm

The Border fillet is uniformly 43 mm wide and is in ten lengths, beginning as follows after the words: (a) *Egregius*, 931 mm; (b) *marmore*, 325 mm; (c) *John*, 933 mm; (d) *Hic*, 931 mm; (e) *-spes*, 752 mm; (f) *Qui*, 877 mm; (g) *s Anno*, 372 mm; (h) *Domini*, 937 mm; (i) *Cui*, 938 mm; (j) *miserans*, 745 mm. Overall the fillet encompasses an area of 2·712 by 1·255 m. Within the border fillet the Canopy measures overall 2·510 by 1·045 m, made up of nine plates, the shafts divided under each figure of a saint and the archway. The figure itself measures 1·487 x 0·423 m overall, in three plates, divided 672 mm from the top and 140 mm from the bottom. The embattled base measures 149 x 627 mm, and the foot inscription 544 by 640 mm. The two lead shields measure 149 by 119 mm.

The figure wears a cassock, fur almuce, academic cap and cope, the processional dress of an ecclesiastical dignitary. This would be worn at services other than the Mass, or by attending dignitaries or bishops not themselves celebrating. It just might represent an actual cope in existence, but is much more likely the creation of artistic licence with its decoration of Saints, relevant to John Blodwell's career and devotion. Even the background material is a reference to the arms of Blodwell and of Gray. (Fig 3) It is decorated with lion's heads, technically described as lions' heads langued



FIG. 3

John Blodwell, detail of fabric of cope
Diameter of circle 82 mm

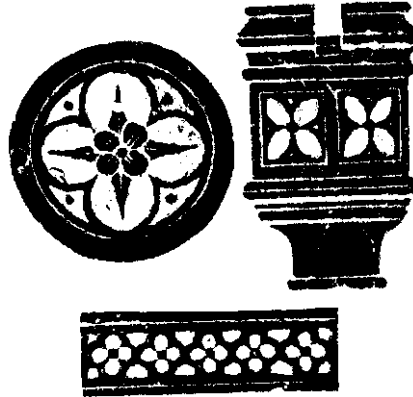


FIG. 4

John Blodwell, details of canopy
Diameter of circle 87 mm

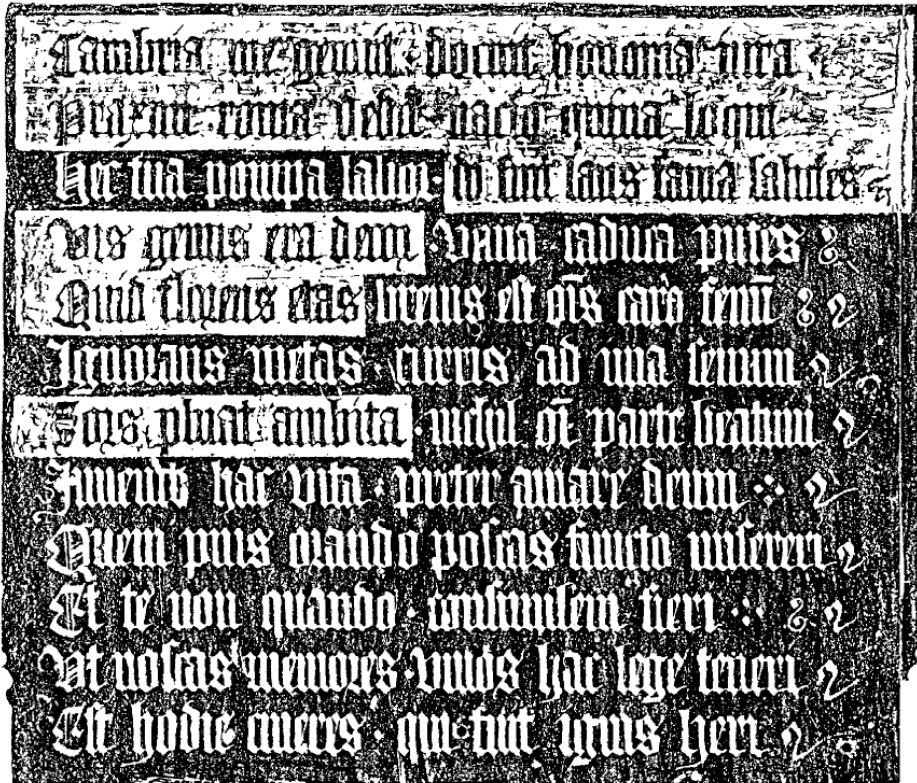


FIG. 5

John Blodwell, detail of foot inscription
Length of inscription 640 mm

(with a tongue) set within voided roundels, invecked on the outer edges. The morse, or clasp, of the cope is simply decorated with a lozenge. The canopy work, with crocketed gables above each saint, is fairly standard of the period, with the typical quatrefoil patterns and the four-petalled rose which is almost a trade-mark of “style B” (Fig. 4).

The saints embroidered on the orphreys of the cope, like those in the shafts of the canopy, each have their appropriate symbols, and are named, though the names in some instances have become so worn as almost to be illegible. They are discussed below.

Flanking the figure’s shoulders are two shields, made of lead, and all but effaced (Fig 2). Blomefield, in 1750, describes them:-

On each side of his Head is a Shield, both alike, seemingly, of a Lion ramp. in a Bordure engrail’d, but they are so worn, I can’t be positive; if so, they are the Arms of Gray Bishop of Ely, who lived in those times.³⁷

Macalister blazons the arms as: dexter *gules a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent* for Gray (Bishop of Ely 1454-1478) and sinister *party per pale argent and gules a lion rampant countercharged* for Blodwell.³⁸ In other words both shields were red and silver, the red colouring evidently being overlaid on the white lead ground. The arms were similar enough to account for Blomefield’s supposing they were both the same.

Lead was also used to represent the white fur of the canon’s almuze, which shows about the figure’s head, and in spaces above and beneath his hands and between the cope itself. Still faintly visible on the lead of the almuze is a cross-hatching to indicate the fur.

The foot inscription (Fig. 5) takes the form of a dialogue in verse and is discussed below. The words are put into the mouths of two speakers, Blodwell on the one hand and an interrogator (Angel, Death, Fate or whatever) on the other. The texts are differentiated by being cut in different techniques, that of Blodwell in relief and the other incised, in bold black-letter script. In his note of 1896 Macalister discusses this convention and refers to a similar textual treatment at Biggleswade.³⁹

The brass is in its original slab of plain Purbeck marble, measuring 2·778 by 1·354 m. Remarkably, it is quite complete, though sadly worn in places. The likelihood is that the brass and slab were ordered during John Blodwell’s lifetime and that he had a hand in the design, the choice of saints depicted and, being skilled in rhetoric, he may well have composed the foot inscription himself. As for the surrounding border inscription that too may have been at least partly composed in advance. Macalister suggested that the brass might actually have been made before Blodwell’s death,⁴⁰ but the brass fits exactly into the sequence of London “B” style brasses at the date of death of 1462, so it must have been made in or around that year.⁴¹

³⁷ Francis Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensis*, 1750, 198-205.

³⁸ *M.B.S. Trans.* II, 239-40.

³⁹ *M.B.S. Trans.* II, 239-40.

⁴⁰ *M.B.S. Trans.* II, 239-40.

⁴¹ Robin Emmerson, “Monumental Brasses: London Design c. 1420-85” in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, CXXXI (1978), p.73.



FIG. 6
John Blodwell, The two Saints John
Height of figures 282 mm

The Inscriptions

The spelling has been expanded since those who know some Latin may not recognise mediaeval spellings and contractions. The text is complete on the brass but there are contractions and omissions of Latin words. Spelling and pronunciation of medieval Latin differ from those of classical Latin. The scansion of these partly accentual elegiac couplets including the date, is, as usual on such inscriptions, idiosyncratic: line five scans as “qui obi/it sex/to||deci/mo die / mensis A/prilis”, the sixth can just about be made to scan if the date is pronounced as letters, not as words, thus: “anno / domini / M||C / C C / L xx / ii”!



FIG. 7
John Blodwell, Saints Peter and Andrew
Height of figures 289 mm

Marginal inscription:

*Egregius doctor, hoc qui Sub marmore pausat,
Joh[a]n[nes] Blodwell, longo tempore c[a]ecus erat.
Hic residens vetulus, decor ecclesi[a]e bonus hospes
Cui deus hospicium sit requiesq[ue] dies.
Qui obiit xij die Mensis Aprilis
Anno Domini Mill[esi]mo cccc lxij
Cui deus [a]eternam det miserans requiem. Amen.*



FIG. 8
John Blodwell, Saints Asaph and Nicholas
Height of figures 292 mm

Foot inscription:

Blodwell: *Cambria me genuit, docuit Bononia iura;
Praxim roma dedit, nacio quina loqui.*

Vox secunda: *H[a]ec tua pompa labor.*

Blodwell

Vis, genus, [a]era, decor.

D[e]o sint laus, fama, salutes,

Vox secunda:

Vana caduca putes

Blodwell:

Quid florens [a]etas ?



FIG. 9.
John Blodwell, Saints Bridget and Winifred
Height of figures 276 mm

Vox secunda: *Brevis est o[mn]is caro f[a]enu[m];*
Ignorans metas, curris ad ima senum.

Blodwell: *Sors pluat ambita ?*

Vox secunda: *nichil o[mn]i parte beatum*
Invenit hac vita, pr[a]eter amare deum;
Quem pius orando poscas functo misereri
Et te, non quando consimilem, fieri
Ut noscas memores vivos hac lege teneri:
Est hodie cineres, qui fuit ignis heri



FIG. 10

John Blodwell, The Archangels Michael and Gabriel
Height of figures 181 mm

This English translation follows the Latin as accurately as possible but in a form familiar to modern readers:

Marginal Inscription

The eminent Doctor John Blodwell rests for a while beneath this stone. He was blind for a long time; while he lived here as a little old man he was an ornament of the Church and gave kind refreshment to his fellow men. May God himself be to him refreshment, light and peace. He died on the sixteenth of April 1462. May God in his mercy give him eternal rest. Amen.

Foot Inscription

Blodwell Wales gave me birth; Bologna taught me the science of law; Rome gave me the practice, five nations taught me to speak.



FIG. 11

John Blodwell, Saints David and John of Beverley
Height of figures 178 mm

Second voice
Blodwell

All this pompous exhibition of yours is a bore.
Praise, fame, good health, strength, rank, long life, surely these things
can be offered to God?

Second voice
Blodwell
Second voice

You might as well think of them as vain and transitory.
What is the flowering of life, then ?

Blodwell
Second voice

All flesh is grass, which soon dies. You do not know the limits of
your course, and you are running on to the utmost point of old age.

Suppose fate itself rains down everything we want ?

The devout man cannot find any happiness anywhere in this life,
except in loving God. Beseech God in your prayers to have mercy
on the dead man; beseech him also that, before you are like him, you
may become aware that living men who are not oblivious are
controlled by this law - the man who was fire yesterday is ashes
today.



FIG. 12
John Blodwell, Saints Thomas of Hereford and Chad
Height of figures 177 mm

The Saints on the Brass

While it is possible that John Blodwell possessed a cope as magnificent as the one he is shown wearing, it is more likely that the design is determined by his career and devotion. Each Saint is named and shown bearing a proper symbol. Some of the names are worn and almost illegible but identifications can now be established.

The Canopy:

- (a) Two Saints John: the Evangelist and the Baptist.
- (b) Two Apostles: SS. Peter & Andrew.
- (c) Two Bishops: SS. Asaph & Nicholas.
- (d) Two women: SS. Brigid & Winifred.



FIG. 13
John Blodwell, Saints Katherine and Margaret
Height of figures 163 mm

(a) The two Johns (Fig. 6) are there because of his own name. The evangelist is shown with a chalice containing a serpent, referring to a legend that he was given a poisoned drink that did him no harm. The Baptist is shown with the book and Lamb from his reference to Our Lord as the “Lamb of God”.

(b) (Fig. 7) Peter represents the Church in general and the Papacy in particular, shown as always with the Key of the Kingdom of Heaven. St. Andrew, with his diagonal cross, perhaps stands for John Blodwell’s canonry at the Cathedral Church of Wells, the only Cathedral dedicated to St. Andrew in England.

(c) (Fig. 8) The St. Asaph connection is obviously to John Blodwell’s Deanery. The saint is obscure, the founder of the church in north Wales, probably in the sixth century. St. Nicholas, the popular patron of children, pawnbrokers and sailors,

probably refers to John Blodwell's connections either with Nicholas Albergati, Bishop of Bologna and later a Cardinal, or Thomas Parentuceli who had studied at Bologna and became Pope under the name Nicholas V in 1447.

(d) The two Celtic women saints (Fig. 9), Brigid and Winifred, befit his Welsh background. St. Brigid (c. 450-523) is regarded as second only to St Patrick in influence over the beginnings of the Irish church, and was founder of the first community of nuns in Ireland. St Winifred, of the seventh century, is particularly associated with Holywell, a short distance from St. Asaph. The women carry croziers as Abbesses, and St Winifred has also the sword of her martyrdom.

The Cope:

- (e) Two Archangels: SS. Michael and Gabriel.
- (f) Two Archbishops: SS. David & John of Beverley..
- (g) Two Bishops: SS Thomas of Hereford & Chad of Lichfield.
- (h) Two Women: SS. Katherine and Margaret.

(e) The church at John Blodwell's birthplace is dedicated to S. Michael. Gabriel, as bearer of God's messages, is appropriate for a man who was a lawyer, trained in rhetoric, and concerned with Papal correspondence. Curiously they are shown as six-winged seraphim on wheels (Fig 10), as often seen on contemporary embroidery, rather than with their usual attributes. Seraphim occur on the earlier brass at Balsham to John Sleaford, 1401, and this may be a deliberate reflection of that brass.

(f) The two shown as Archbishops carry crosses not croziers. (Fig. 11) David, the founder of the church in Wales was given the retrospective rank of Archbishop which he did not hold in life; he is chosen for John Blodwell's Welsh connections and Canonry of St. David's Cathedral. John of Beverley, bishop of York 705-717, (and also given an anachronistic archbishopric), was held in particular devotion by the disabled and probably for this reason chosen by the blind John Blodwell.

(g) (Fig. 12) SS. Thomas Canteloupe, bishop of Hereford 1275-82, died during a dispute with Henry III, and was commemorated by a well known brass. St Chad was briefly Archbishop of York but yielded the see to St Wilfred and settled at Lichfield as bishop, dying in 672. These two appear on account of John Blodwell's Canonries of Hereford and Lichfield.

(h) The two women SS. Katherine and Margaret (Fig. 13) probably appear because of general popular devotion in the Middle Ages, rather than from any particular association with John Blodwell. Both are shadowy figures from the early Church, the one broken on a wheel in Alexandria, the other involved with a dragon in Antioch, hence the emblems seen with each.

I am grateful to Miss E. Cook, Churchwarden of Balsham, for help with the translation of the inscriptions.

The Lady and the Abbot's Tomb at Stowmarket, Suffolk

by DAVID LILLISTONE

OVER the years the indent on a canopied altar tomb in the parish church of St Peter and St Mary, Stowmarket, Suffolk, has been attributed to both an abbot and a noble lady. The Suffolk topographer David Elisha Davy, who visited Stowmarket in 1827 and again in 1834, makes a number of references to the tomb in his church notes, including the following:

There is between the Isle that belongs to the family of Tirrell and Sir John Poley's Pewe, a very faire ancient tombe, but, I cannot learne from any man for whom it was.¹

The chapel at the east end of the north aisle was dedicated to St John the Baptist but is known as the Tyrell Chapel. For four centuries it was the burial place of the Tyrell family from Gipping Hall, the last of whom died in 1891. The canopied altar tomb forms the south side of the chapel, and is popularly called the "Abbot's Tomb". Tradition has long held that the tomb belongs to an abbot of St Osyth in Essex, the manor and two churches then at Stowmarket having been granted by Henry I to the Abbey.

The tomb has suffered much damage over the centuries. Hollingsworth's *History of Stowmarket* contains an etching dated 1843 showing the tomb at its full altar height.² (Fig. 1) In 1865 it was lowered and the top slab (188 x 80 cm) now stands at a height of only 43 cm from the floor.³

According to Hollingsworth, "This monument, though now robbed of its brasses, still preserves the outlines of the monks and nuns who supported the recumbent brazen figure of that Abbot, in whose time the church was completed...."⁴ In support of his conclusion, Hollingsworth produced the drawing (Fig. 1) showing indents of a mitred abbot with twelve small figures of monks and nuns ranged on either side and beneath, and three shields above.

Charles Partridge, writing in *The East Anglian or Notes and Queries* (1905-6) suggests instead that the indents are of Margaret, wife of William Tyrell of Gipping Hall, surrounded by her thirteen children, five sons and eight daughters. He adds intriguingly:

At a first glance you see only seven daughters, but there is an eighth figure, smaller than the others, placed just above and behind the daughter at the top of the row (north-west corner).⁵

Today the top slab reveals no trace of any smaller eighth daughter.

¹ D.E. Davy, B.L. Add. MS. 19,106, fo. 199b.

² Revd. A.G.H. Hollingsworth, *The History of Stowmarket*, 1844, opp. p. 73.

³ Henry E. Wilkes, *History of Stowmarket Parish Church (SS Peter and Mary)*, 1929, 4.

⁴ Hollingsworth, op. cit., 73.

⁵ Charles Partridge, *The East Anglian or Notes and Queries*, Vol. ii (1905-6), 159-60.

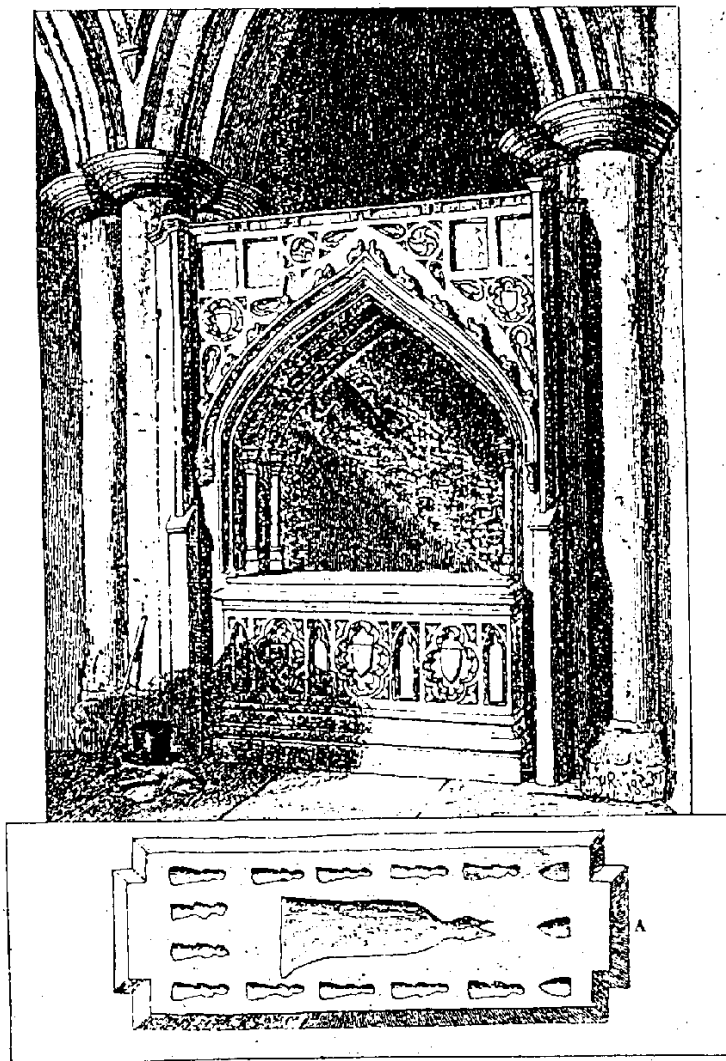


FIG. 1

Drawings of "The Abbot's Tomb" and indents of brasses of mitred abbot surrounded by monks and nuns, from Hollingsworth's *History of Stowmarket*, 1844

Henry Wilkes also opts for Margaret Tyrell and "her twelve surviving children, a thirteenth child who predeceased her having had its appropriate brass with a scrolled inscription on the east under-side of the canopy".⁶

The rubbing (Fig. 2) shows that the central indent, 92 cm high, is of a lady, *c.* 1470, wearing a horned or mitred headdress. Around her are the separate figures of five sons and seven daughters in butterfly-style headdress. The children are 18 cm high, and some of the indents are badly worn. Above the figures are the indents of

⁶ Wilkes, *op. cit.*, 4.



FIG. 2
Margaret Tyrell, c. 1470
Stowmarket, Suffolk
Rubbing by David Lillistone, 1988

three shields, 15 cm high, and around the chamfered edge of the slab there was a marginal inscription (456 x 5 cm). On the east underside of the canopy of the tomb there is an indent of a figure, 18 cm high, with a scroll, 24 cm long, issuing from its mouth. Above the figure there is a small indent, 13 cm high, with a square base and a rounded top, possibly a representation of the Holy Trinity or the Virgin Mary and Christ child. At the west end there is an indent of an inscription (28 x 7 cm).

William Tyrell was the son of Sir John Tyrell (died 1437) of the Manor of Heron, East Horndon, Essex, and his wife Alice Coggeshall, who died in 1422. William married Margaret, daughter of Robert Darcy of Maldon, Essex. A magnificent heraldic scroll, 38 inches wide and 13 feet in length, and now in the private possession of the Tyrell family, provides valuable information on the Tyrells of Gipping. It was originally drawn by a member of the Essex branch of the Tyrells and the author refers to their kinsman Sir Edward Tyrell of Thornton, Buckinghamshire, to whom a copy was sent in 1631. It was added to and certified by the College of Arms in 1727.

The scroll records five sons, James, Thomas, Edward, John and John; and seven daughters, Anna, Margaret (born 1448), Alice (born 1449), Dorothy (born 1458), Margery, Elizabeth and Eleanor ("Alianora"). The dates of birth for Margaret, Alice and Dorothy were discovered amongst some Latin notes on the Tyrells of Gipping scribbled on the pages of a Book of Hours of Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester. The eighth daughter, Mary, mentioned by some sources, may have been the solitary figure on the east underside of the tomb.⁷ Elsewhere, Mary is referred to as being probably the youngest daughter of William and Margaret and an inmate of the Abbey of the Minories without Aldgate, London.⁸ Another daughter Dorothy became the second wife of John Butler (or Boteler) of Watton-at-Stone, Hertfordshire, who died in 1514. The brass of John Butler (M.S. VI) remains but those of his three wives and the inscription have been lost.⁹

Over the centuries the Tyrells have been associated with some of the colourful events in English history, including the death of William Rufus in 1100 while hunting in the New Forest. Sir James Tyrell, the son and heir of William and Margaret, was implicated in the plots of Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, against Henry VII and was beheaded on Tower Hill for treason in 1502. His involvement in the murder of the young princes in the Tower is much disputed.

William Tyrell was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1445-6.¹⁰ On 12 February 1462 he was arrested in Essex for conspiring against Edward IV by corresponding with Margaret of Anjou, wife of the Lancastrian Henry VI. Arrested with William were John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford, the Earl's eldest son Aubrey, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, John Montgomery and John Clopton. Montgomery, Clopton and

⁷ Partridge, *op. cit.*, 160.

⁸ W.E. Hampton, "The Ladies of the Minories". This article was first published in *The Ricardian*, Vol. IV, no. 62 (September 1978), 15-22, and later included in *Richard III, Crown and People*, a selection of essays from *The Ricardian*, Journal of the Richard III Society, March 1975 to December 1981, ed. by J. Petre, pp. 195-202.

⁹ W. F. Andrews, *Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches*, 1903, 150-53.

¹⁰ Josiah C. Wedgewood in collaboration with Anne D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509*, 1936, 893.

Tyrell were brothers-in-law, as they all married daughters of Robert Darcy of Maldon. With the exception of Clopton, the alleged conspirators were hastily convicted of high treason. William Tyrell was beheaded on Tower Hill on 23 February 1462 and buried nearby in the church of the Austin Friars.¹¹

We know virtually nothing about Margaret his wife, the first Tyrell lady to live at Gipping Hall. The name "Margaret" simply remains amongst the fragmentary inscriptions in the medieval stained glass of the Chapel of St Nicholas at Gipping. She was once also portrayed in the late fifteenth-century glass of Holy Trinity church, Long Melford, Suffolk, but all we now have are two coloured drawings of the figure of Margaret by Hamlet Watling (1818-1908) in the Suffolk Record Office.¹² Although information about Margaret Tyrell herself remains somewhat elusive, it seems most likely that she was indeed the lady resting on the "Abbot's Tomb".

¹¹ Cora L. Schofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 1923, Vol 1, 230-33.

¹² Drawings of Margaret Tyrell by Hamlet Watling at the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, 1527/4 and Long Melford Parish Records, FL 509/5/75. These drawings are reproduced in the author's publication, David Lillistone, *The Lady and the Abbot's Tomb in the Church of St Peter and St Mary, Stowmarket, Suffolk.*, privately printed, 1990.

History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546 - 1555 Part One: The Design

By ROBERT HUTCHINSON AND BRYAN EGAN

This paper is written as a memorial to the life and work of the late Major H. F. Owen Evans, M.B.E., F.S.A., 1898-1966, one-time Honorary Secretary of this Society, and his wife, Winifred. Their knowledge, kindness and faith were an inspiration to many at the start of their studies into monumental brasses. Requiescant in pace.

DURING a period of nine years in the troubled middle decades of the sixteenth century, a series of at least eighty brasses was laid down by a group of craftsmen whose skills, both artistic and technical, single out their products as monuments of considerable merit after a time when the art had sunk to a trough of debasement. “Classic” writers on brasses, such as the Revd. Herbert Macklin, dismissed all memorials of this period as “neither attractive nor interesting” and continuing to “deteriorate in workmanship and beauty.”¹ Some later writers have echoed this opinion and, as a result, sixteenth-century brasses, particularly those originating in London workshops, have often been overlooked, apart from being an appendage to the study of reverses.

The group, listed in Table One, has come to be known as the Fermer series, after two brasses of this figure style dated 1552 at Easton Neston, Northants., and Somerton, Oxon., both to members of the Fermer or Fermour family. It forms a totally distinct group of what Malcolm Norris and others call the “G” series of London work. This consists of various figure styles and inscription scripts, running from 1500 to *c.*1590² before being superseded by output from the Southwark workshop of the Dutch emigré sculptor Gerard Johnson.

The Fermer brasses have some unique features: no other group has such precisely defined parameters of production, and few other workshops’ products can be redated by palimpsest link, costume, or documentary evidence, to within a year with any degree of confidence.

This paper is very much an interim report: work remains to be done on the identification of further Fermer brasses, both extant and lost, examination of known examples for evidence of re-use and links, and continued investigation into the structure and practices of brass workshops at this period, including the complex relationships between the group of craftsmen producing figure brasses, and possible

¹ Macklin, Herbert, *Brasses of England*, 1st edition, London 1907, 216, 231. See also his *Monumental Brasses*, 5th edition, London 1905, 17.

² See Norris, Malcolm, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, London 1978, 107, and *The Memorials*, I, 138 and Chapter 12, wherein the sub-groups of the G-series are described. In particular, see also John Page-Phillips, *A Sixteenth-century Workshop*, written in 1958 but only now approaching publication, in which all these styles of brass engraving are discussed in detail. (The name has been spelt in various ways: we here spell it “Fermer” as on the first to be identified, at Easton Neston.)

sub-contractors producing only inscriptions. The Fermer series includes differing script styles on the obverses of brasses linked by palimpsest finds - perhaps an indication of temporary workshop under-capacity? As an example of the benefits of this type of research, many years' stylistic analysis of this figure style by the authors and others has resulted in the discovery of a number of palimpsests (eg. Easton Neston, Blewbury, North Crawley and Chilton,) as well as several unrecorded lost brasses (the secular inscription at Stamford and figures at Aldenham).

In this first part, we discuss the workshop itself, its design and characteristics, set in a historical context. The second part is a descriptive catalogue of the group.

Perhaps the first to identify the figure style were Dr G.H.S. Bushnell and Mr G.A.E. Ruck, in a paper published in 1947.³ Finds of re-used brasses noted in *M.B.S. Transactions* in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s by Major H.F. Owen Evans, Canon David Rutter, our late President John Page-Phillips, Malcolm Norris and the authors quickened interest in the series at a time when stylistic analysis of brasses was becoming increasingly a topic of interest. John Page-Phillips lectured on the workshop at a general meeting of the Monumental Brass Society on 8 January 1955. The first attempt at a full list of Fermers, then numbering 59 brasses, was published by Robert Hutchinson in an appendix to a short paper describing a fragment preserved in the Museum of London,⁴ although John Page-Phillips listed 28 examples to illustrate palimpsest links in the first edition of his *Macklin's Monumental Brasses* in 1969.

TABLE ONE
HANDLIST OF KNOWN FERMER BRASSES
County borders as in Mill Stephenson's *List*

No	Date	Location	M.S.	Type	Reuse
01	1546	Harefield, Middx.	VI	Civilian & wife	P NYI SR
02	1546	Flitton, Beds.	II	Armour & wife	P I
03	1546	Sonning, Berks.	II	Civilian	P
04	1547	Aldenham, Herts.	XI	Shroud	P
05	1547	Stamford, Worcs. Private possession	--	Inscription	Lost
06	1547	Melbury Sampford, Dorset	IV	Chamfer inscr.	? Approp.
07	1548	North Crawley, Bucks.	I	Civilian & wife	P I SR
08	1548	Southwick, Hants.	I	Tomb approp.	P SR
09	1548	Waddesdon, Bucks.	III	Shroud	P
10	1548	Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon.	I	Shroud	P
11	1548	Braunton, Devon	I	Lady	P SR
12	1548	Greystoke, Cumberland	VII	Girl	P
13	c. 1548	Aldenham, Herts.	X	Shields	P I

³ *Northants. Architectural & Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*, 53, 12-13.

⁴ *Trans. London & Middlesex Arch. Society*, 27, (1976) 245-9.

14	1550	Sessay, Yorks.	I	Priest	P
15	1550	Isleham, Cambs.	X	Inscr., 2 shields	I blank
16	<i>c.</i> 1550	Museum of London	I	Shield	P I
17	<i>c.</i> 1550*	Crowan, Cornwall	III	Armour & wife	P I
18	<i>c.</i> 1550	Crowan, Cornwall	IV	Armour & wife	P I
19	<i>c.</i> 1550	Faversham, Kent	XVII	Shield	P I
20	<i>c.</i> 1550	Hertingfordbury, Herts. [Now Soc. of Antiquaries XIX]		Shield	P I
21	<i>c.</i> 1550	Holdenby, Northants.	I	Inscription	2mm blank
22	<i>c.</i> 1550	Holdenby, Northants.	II	Inscr., one shield	I 2mm blank
23	<i>c.</i> 1550	Holdenby, Northants.	III	Inscr., 4 shields	I 2mm blank
24	<i>c.</i> 1550	Holdenby, Northants.	IV	Inscr., 2 shields	I 2mm blank SR
25	<i>c.</i> 1550	Holdenby, Northants.	V	Inscr., 2 shields	? Now lost
26	<i>c.</i> 1550*	Swyre, Dorset	I	Inscr., one shield	? 2mm
27	<i>c.</i> 1550*	Swyre, Dorset	II	Inscr., one shield	? 2mm
28	<i>c.</i> 1550	Acton, Cheshire	--	Armour & wife	Approp. Indent
29	<i>c.</i> 1550	Derelict [Percy Manning coll.]	IV	Daughters	P I †
30	<i>c.</i> 1550	Society of Antiquaries	XI	Lady	Blank
31	<i>c.</i> 1550	British Museum	II(6)	Daughters	P I
32	1551	Ossington, Notts.	I	Armour & wife	P SR
33	1551	Winchester St.Cross, Hants.	VII	Inscription	P SR
34	1551	Stratford-le-Bow, Middx.	I	Inscr., 2 shields	? NYI
35	1551	West Drayton, Middx.	IV	Inscription	NYI
36	1551*	Greystoke, Cumberland	VIII	Civilian	P
37	1551*	Blewbury, Berks.	VI	Armour & wife	P SR
38	1551	Dinton, Bucks.	IV	Armour & wife	P
39	1551	Dinton, Bucks.	V	Armour & wife	P I
40	1552	All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London	XI	Shield	P I
41	1552	Stoke Charity, Hants.	III	Inscription	P ?I
42	1552	Beckenham, Kent	I	Armour & 2 ws.	? NYI
43	1552	Somerton, Oxon.	I	Armour & wife	P SR
44	1552	Easton Neston, Northants.	I	Armour & wife	P SR
45	1552	Horseheath, Cambs.	III	Civilian	? NYI
46	<i>c.</i> 1552	Aldenham, Herts.	--	Civilian & wife	? Lost
47	<i>c.</i> 1552*	Maidstone Museum	IV	Lady	Blank I
48	<i>c.</i> 1552*	Rettendon, Essex	I	Civilian & 3 ws.	? I SR
49	<i>c.</i> 1552*	Ludford, Herefs.	I	Armour & wife	? NYI Approp.
50	<i>c.</i> 1552*	Twyford, Bucks.	II	Armour	P SR
51	<i>c.</i> 1552	Dry Drayton, Cambs.	I	Armour & wife	P
52	1553	Penshurst, Kent	V	Inscr., 8 shields	? NYI
53	1553	Littleton, Middx.	I	Inscr. ,4 roses, sh.	P I

54	1553	Milton, Cambs.	I	Judge and wife	P
55	1553	Gillingham St.Mary, Norfolk	I	Inscription	? NYI
56	1553	St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury, Salop.	--	Armour & wife	? Lost
57	1553	Hainton, Lincs.	III	Armour & wife	? NYI SR
58	1553	Ashby St.Legers, Northants.	VI	Armour	P SR
59	1553	Gt Hampden, Bucks.	II	Armour & 2 ws.	P SR
60	1553	Kirtling, Cambs.	I	Civilian	P
61	1553	Halton, Bucks.	I	Judge & wife	P
62	1553	Shorne, Kent	--	Inscription	P Lost
63	1553	Northiam, Sussex	III	Inscription	P
64	c. 1553*	Upminster, Essex	IV	Lady	? I NYI
65	c. 1553*	Blatherywck, Northants.	I	Armour & wife	P
66	c. 1553*	Willesden, Middx.	VI	Lady	I blank
67	c. 1553*	St.Mellion, Cornwall	I	Armour & wife	P Some 2mm
68	c. 1553*	Watton-at-Stone, Herts.	VII	Lady	? NYI
69	1554	Chilton, Bucks.	I	Inscr. & 4 shs.	P
70	1554	Warminghurst, Sussex	I	Civilian & wife	Blank 2mm SR
71	1554	Banwell, Somerset	III	Civilian & wife	? NYI
72	1554	Gosfield, Essex	IV	Chamfer inscr.	? NYI
73	1554	Ely Cathedral, Cambs.	I	Bishop	? NYI
74	c. 1554*	Charlwood, Surrey	I	Armour & wife	SR 2mm ins.
75	c. 1555*	Clapham, Sussex	V	Armour & wife	? NYI
76	c. 1555*	Woodchurch, Kent	III	Armour & 2 ws.	? NYI
77	c. 1555*	Hitcham, Bucks.	II	Armour	? NYI
78	c. 1555*	Christ Church, Oxford	III	Priest	P
79	1555	Chelsea, Middx.	I	Lady	? NYI
80	c. 1555	All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London	XII	Shield	P I

NOTES

* Redated. [See separate entries in Part Two of this paper.]

P - Palimpsest. Approp - Appropriated tomb. SR - Slab Reused.

I - Incomplete brass. Ind - Indent. ? - Not known whether palimpsest.

2mm - Two millimetre thick plate. Blank - Not engraved on reverse.

NYI - Not yet investigated.

For a discussion of the Crowan brasses, (Nos.17 and 18) see "Fifth issue of Addenda" to *Palimpsests*, 29-30, 1990.

† Some question remains whether these derelict daughters belong to No 38, Dinton, or came from the deserted chapel at Quarrendon, Bucks. Slab and daughters were lost after Manning's death in 1917 (see p. 157).

The eighty monuments identified by rubbings or personal inspection represent a surprisingly high level of productivity for the nine years that the design was produced, given the limited technology available in the mid-sixteenth century. Transport also

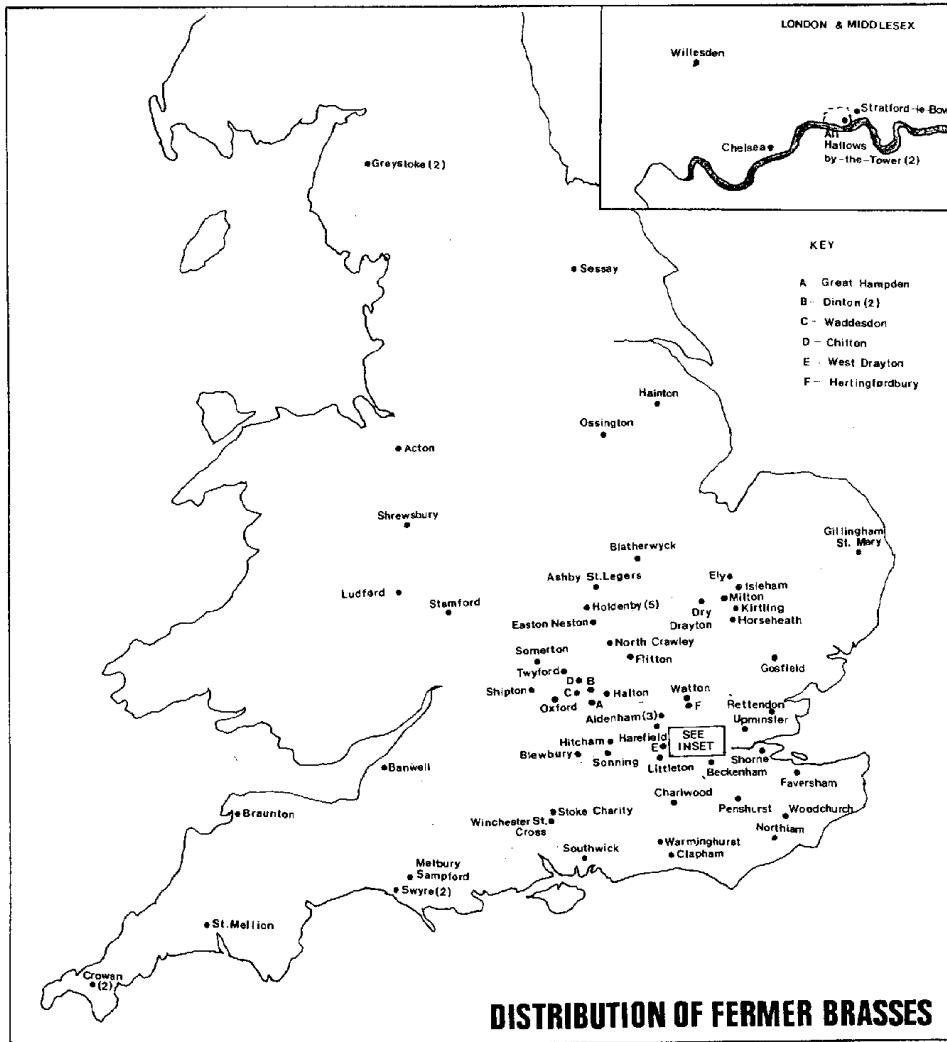


FIG. 1

Map of England shewing distribution of Fermer style brasses so far identified. Where known, the original locations of brasses now in museums are included. .

was difficult, either water-borne or by waggons hauled along poor roads for long distances (*vide* far-flung Cumberland and Cornwall). (Fig.1) As such, the Fermer total rivals (and probably exceeds in any given decade) the output of the prolific London-based "B" series in its heyday of 120 years before.⁵ Unlike the "B" series, however, no two Fermer figures are alike; there is no evidence of stock figures or standard design templates being employed. This, in itself, suggests a further line of potentially fruitful research - the time and effort needed for a workshop to produce one brass,

⁵ Norris, *Memorials*, 73-4.

coupled with variations in the demand, or fashion, for this class of monument. At this stage we can only point to the minimum average output of around nine brasses a year (except 1549) during the Fermer workshop's existence, which surely indicates a large establishment of both masons and artisans in metal.

More pertinent factors affecting productivity levels during this period, perhaps, were the fierce religious and political disturbances in England. The rebellions of 1549 in the West, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, Kett's uprising in Norfolk in the same year, and Sir Thomas Wyatt's later rebellion in Kent in the spring of 1554, may all have affected distribution. David Pill estimates that some 4,000 died in the insurrection in Cornwall and Devon and 3,000 were killed, plus a further 49 executed, in Kett's Rebellion, which was notable for its anti-clerical manifesto and the undertones of revolt, not against a Protestant Government in London, but against the Norfolk gentry.⁶ Communications, if only between patron and workshop, must have been severely disrupted. Whilst conclusions based on the numbers of identified brasses must be statistically dangerous, it may be more than coincidence that no brasses dated 1549 have so far been identified in the series and only five or possibly six in 1554, during the Marian Counter-Reformation. It would be valuable to examine the content of the inscriptions appearing on the Fermer tombs for evidence of the pace of change in religious doctrine during this period. Even though the series provides us with the ability to redate brasses much more precisely, the ground on which to draw firm conclusions remains uncertain. However, from the 42 extant inscriptions and those now lost but whose text is recorded, it may be useful to provide the following analysis:-

TABLE TWO
CONTENTS OF FERMER INSCRIPTIONS

Text beginning	Locations	Period
Of your charity...	Harefield, Greystoke(2), Ossington, Stoke Charity, Warminghurst.	1546-54
Under this stone...	Sonning, Aldenham, Dinton (2), Easton Neston, Ludford, West Drayton.	1546-52
Pray for/Pray for the soul..	Stamford, Isleham.	1547-50
Hic iacet...	Melbury Sampford, Crowan.	1547-50
Orate pro...	North Crawley.	1548
Here restyth in peace...	Southwick, All Hallows, London, Kirtling.	1548-53
Here lyeth etc....	Blewbury, Braunton, Sessay, Holdenby, Swyre (2), Winchester St.Cross, Stratford-le-Bow, Beckenham, Somerton,	1548-53

⁶ Pill, David, *English Reformation 1529-58*, London, 1973, 136-42. See also: A.G. Dickens *The English Reformation*, London, 1967, 306 and F.W. Russell's *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, London, 1859, for a detailed examination of the motivation of the insurgents.

	Gt. Hampden, Twyford, Gillingham St. Mary, Littleton, Penshurst, Hainton, Ashby St. Legers.	
“Personalised”	Waddesdon, Shipton-under-Wychwood, Holdenby (3).	1548-50

When looking at concluding phrases, in 29 instances, spanning the years 1548-1553, there are references to prayers for the soul, a plea for pardon or the anachronistic: “*cuius anime propicietur deus.*” In addition, there are two variations on this theme; the “God bring his Soule to his Salvatio[n] ame[n]” at Stoke Charity, 1552 and at Stratford-le-Bow, “whose dethes and vertuows ends haue ye in Remembrawns in Callyng to ye lyvyng God for ye fforgyvenes of yor synnes”, 1551. In contrast, the first appearance of the stark and factual text of the later Elizabethan and Stuart brasses comes in the two inscriptions at Swyre, preliminarily redated *c.*1550 from Mill Stephenson’s 1505, and at five other locations (All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London, 1552 [lost], Easton Neston, 1552, Gillingham St.Mary, 1553, Ashby St. Legers [inscription lost] 1553 and Kirtling, 1553). Significantly perhaps, at Warminghurst, on the brass to Edward Shelley, 1554, the opening “Of your Charite pray for the Soules...” reappears, as does the termination “whose soules Jesu pdon.” Shelley was one of the four Masters of the Household to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, and his brass was once adorned with a Trinity - one of the latest to be included in the iconography of a brass - and prayer scrolls. His son Edward, (shown on the brass) was martyred in the Catholic cause on 30 August 1588 at Tyburn.

The other side of the coin, of course, was the iconoclastic fury of the Reformation which, whether based on religious or pecuniary motivation, created an environment in which brasses begat brasses, for looted plate and slabs were being sold back to the brass workshops for reuse as new monuments. Several monasteries were dissolved by Wolsey in 1523; smaller and subsequently larger religious houses were ravaged by Henry VIII between 1537 and 1540 and chantries received the same unwelcome attention in 1547, early in the reign of the sickly boy-king Edward VI. The Court of Augmentations sought to organise this legal pillage in a systematic way. Some Victorian antiquaries have left us with a sentimental impression that the workshops continued rather ruefully in the face of this mass destruction. The documentary and palimpsest evidence is to the contrary: here was a supply of cheap material ready to hand for commercial exploitation. Few Fermer plates are blank on the reverse, although mid-way through the workshop’s existence, around 1550, there is some use of 2 mm thick hammered plate - an earlier appearance of this type of metal than hitherto generally believed. Examples are found at Holdenby, Northants.; Great Hampden, Bucks.; St.Mellion, Cornwall; Milton, Cambs. and Chilton, Bucks., although some of this may have been brass spoil re-cycled (by scraping or hammering) rather than new metal.

As Jerome Bertram⁷ points out, whilst monuments of the dead were specifically excluded from destruction under official edict, brasses alone among “superstitious”

objects in the churches had commercial value. “Whereas smashing windows and beheading statues might be fun,” there was little or no profit in the remains. Surely, the high output from the Fermer workshop during these six and a half years of pillage is no coincidence; without this increasing supply of cheap metal, the workshop could not have produced such a series of larger and more prestigious memorials at attractive prices. What is more interesting perhaps, is the appeal of these brasses to families who witnessed the destruction in their parish churches, and in some cases profited from it. At four locations, (Crowan, Holdenby, Swyre and Dinton) affluence made it possible for families to lay down more than one brass concurrently.

Sales of despoiled brass plate feature frequently in Churchwardens’ accounts, although it is frequently difficult to distinguish between despoiled brasses and items of church furnishings. Prices sometimes show a remarkable consistency as at St. Thomas the Martyr, Salisbury in 1547-8, where 36 shillings were received for two cwt of brass “which was upon graves and tombes”⁸ and £3 12s 1d at Wells Cathedral for 310 lb of metal from brasses of bishops in 1549-50.⁹ At Thame, Oxon., where nine surviving brasses, pre-dating 1550, escaped the rapacious attention of churchwardens, “Young the Brasyer” paid 13s 6d for 81 lb of “Brasse and lattayns”, “after the rat of 11d pr pound.”¹⁰ At Wigtoft, Lincs.,¹¹ 8s 4d was paid for “xxiii stone of leten” the same year - a remarkable bargain. The Churchwardens’ Accounts for St Martin’s, Leicester, for 1547, contain the following memorandum: “By the commandment of Mr Mayor and his brethren, according to the King’s Injunctions, in the year of our Lord, 1546, and in the first year of the reign of Edward the Sixth..... Four hundred and a quarter of brass was sold for 19s per cwt to one man; and three hundred weight and three quarters was sold to another at the same price; and one hundred to William Taylor.”¹² In 1551, the plates in St Andrew’s Church, Lincoln, were sold for 40 shillings.¹³ Of more than 100 Surrey churches surveyed in an inventory of church goods in the sixth year of Edward’s reign, 33 recorded thefts of articles since the last Commission of Inquiry in 1548. Five recorded sales of latten,¹⁴ as at Mortlake in 1547, when 150 lb of latten went for 30 s, “solde by the consent of the parishe.” With its greater concentration of churches, it is hardly surprising that London witnessed the worst excesses of commercialism. Here the system of trade (if system there was) can be divided into three categories:-

- (i) transactions directly with the brass workshops and the marblers themselves;
- (ii) the apparent use of “middlemen”, agents, or brokers; probably like “Thomas Kyrrye” who bought “hundrede and xij certen latten” from

⁷ *Last Brasses*, Newton Abbot, 1976, 18.

⁸ Macklin, *Brasses of England*, 306.

⁹ Bouquet, A.C., *Church Brasses*, London, 1956, 262.

¹⁰ Macklin, *ibid*, and Barker, W.R., in *Oxford Journal Mon. Brasses*, I, (1897-9), 137.

¹¹ Haines, Revd Herbert, *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, London & Oxford, 1861, I, ccliii, note.

¹² Nichols, John, *History of Leicestershire*, 1795-1811, I, 570-1, quoted in Haines, *op.cit*, cclii-liii.

¹³ Gough, Richard, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, I, Part 1, 1786, cxxi.

¹⁴ *Surrey Archaeological Collections* IV, 1869, 1-189.

Battersea church, Surrey,¹⁵ or “Wyllys, pewterer, who bought “plattes yet ware ouer gravys stonys” for £4 13s 5d at St Mary Aldermary, London;¹⁶

(iii) direct involvement of the representatives of the bereaved, anxious to find second-hand slabs to commemorate their dead.

In some instances, churchwardens did not bother to record the names of those who purchased the despoiled metal as at St Pancras, Soper Lane, London, where the accounts state in 1552: “It’m to men unknown... certen pictures of Latyn apon graues.”¹⁷ Other extracts from accounts for the same year are of particular interest:

St Dionis Backchurch: Item Soulede iic qr and halfe of marbelers mettall that was upon the graves and upon ye tombes sould in Lad Lane at xxvis viijd the c¹⁸

St Alphege, London Wall: It’m solde all the olde latten that was vpon the graves with other small candylstyckes all weynge ijc ijlb, pryce the C xxixs¹⁹

All Hallows, London Wall: Item sold to Xpofer Stubbes xxxlb weight of mettell which was taken vpon the grauestones and other molumentes at iii d the lb:²⁰

St Faith: Item Solde the tenth daye of ffebruarye (1552) aforesayd to Mistres Crooke wydowe, a marbell stone for a tomble for tenne shillinges

Item the twentyth of ffebruarye solde to Roger Sylvester and Aleyne Gaulyn marblers seven score poundes of olde & broken lattyn for syxe and fortie shillinges & eightpence

Item lykewise solde a lytle awterstone of marbell for three shillinge and fower pence.²¹

The Fermer marblers identified?

As John Page-Phillips points out, it is this last entry for St Faith’s, signed by “John Lewys,” churchwarden and Robert Toye, “deputie to Syman Coston” which has particular significance.²² An inscription to the stationer Richard Tabbe who died 1490 and his wife Agnes on the reverse of a Fermer brass at Great Hampden, Bucks., which is dated a year later than this sale of metal, can be traced back to St Faith’s,²³ a church in the crypt of St Paul’s Cathedral. Significantly too, perhaps, is the

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp 50, 95

¹⁶ Page-Phillips, John, *Palimpsests: the Backs of Monumental Brasses*, I, London 1980, 18.

¹⁷ Walters, H.B., *London Churches at the Reformation*, London 1939, 561.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 242.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 137.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 118.

²¹ *ibid.*, 277.

²² Page-Phillips, John, *op.cit.* I, 18. Our sincere thanks to John Page-Phillips for earlier drawing the significance of this reference to our attention.

²³ Canon Rutter, in *M.B.S. Trans.*, IX, 21, points out that the Stationers used St Faith’s church for the burial of their members “and it is probable that the brass of Richard Tabbe lay there.” Ironically, perhaps, Henry Tabbe, “stayconer” was churchwarden of St. Faith’s in the first year of Edward’s reign; he is described as “newe deceased” by the King’s Commissioners a few years later. (*Vide* Walters, *op.cit.* 275.)

inscription to William Storteford, ob 1416, canon and Treasurer of St Paul's, found on the reverse of a Fermer brass at Twyford, Bucks., dated *c.*1552.

Were Sylvester and Gaulyn therefore responsible for the Fermer series? The theory gains some weight when it is realised that only two workshops producing figure designs were operating in London at this time: the Fermer establishment was by far the most prolific. Unfortunately, the reference to "Mistres Crooke wydowe" in the same church account cannot apply to the Fermer inscription and shields to John Croke at Chilton, Bucks., as his death was in 1554 and so post-dates the sale of the "marbell stone for a tomble."

Curiously, Sylvester and Gaulyn do not appear to have been members of any guild or company²⁴ though one would expect them to belong to the Marblers. The Purbeck tomb bearing the brass to Jane (Gyldeford) wife of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, in Chelsea Church (1555, No.79 in the above list) is obviously by the same hand as the tomb of Chaucer erected by the poet Nicholas Brigham in 1555 in Westminster Abbey.²⁵ One explanation is that they were foreign craftsmen and so precluded not only from membership but from working inside the city boundaries, like the Dutch emigrés of a generation or so later who settled in Southwark and the Strand area.

It is surprising, therefore, that the Fermer brasses are the dominant design in this period - the other possible concurrent London figure style is only represented by a handful of examples, almost certainly with a small overlap in time, and the provincial workshops at this time were very much in decline, at least judging by brasses still extant. Perhaps this is a symptom of the decline of the Marblers' Company which, with only a dozen or so members, was finally absorbed by the Masons three decades later in 1584. If so, the impact of foreign influence on English monumental brass design may have occurred much earlier than previously imagined.

TABLE THREE
TRACEABLE REFORMATION SPOIL

Location/Date	Type/Name	Reverse from	Source
Southwick, 1548	Inscr. ?Christine Bedell 1504	Greyfriars, London	<i>Palimpsests</i> , 3rd Addenda 1986, xv
Waddesdon, 1548	Inscr. William Thomas 1493	St Mary, Aylesbury	Named on reverse of brass
Shipton-under- Wychwood, 1548	Inscr. John Stone 1494	St Mary, Aylesbury	Named on reverse of brass
Twyford, <i>c.</i> 1552	Inscr. Wm Storteford 1416	St Paul's, Cathedral	<i>M.B.S. Trans.</i> V, 227

²⁴ Walters *op.cit.* 63.

²⁵ See Mrs. Katherine Esdaile's essay, "Monumental Sculpture in London," Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM), *East London*, 1930, xxxvi. The Chelsea tomb is illustrated in RCHM, *West London*, 1925, pl 15, and Chaucer's monument in RCHM, *Westminster Abbey*, 1924, pl.95.

Shorne, 1553 Lost	Rect pl. John Hall 1529	Hospital of St Thomas of Acres, London	<i>M.B.S. Trans. IV,</i> 155
Dry Drayton, 1552	Rect pl. John Hall	<i>As above</i>	<i>Palimpsests I, 52</i>
Great Hampden, 1553	Inscr. Rich Tabbe 1490	St. Faith, London	<i>M.B.S. Trans. IX,</i> 20-21
Great Hampden, 1553	Shield, Sir John Tate 1514	St. Anthony, Threadneedle Street, London	<i>ibid, 24</i>
Great Hampden, 1553	Inscr. John Lynde	St. Mary, Aldermay, London	<i>ibid, 25</i>
Halton, 1553	Inscr. John Randolff 147-	?St. Margaret, Westminster,	<i>ibid, 251, 262</i>
Crowan c.1550 (No.18)	Inscr. ...Adams DD 1523	?St. Sepulchre London/Fulham, Middx.	<i>Palimpsests I, 49</i>
Blatherwyck c.1553	Inscr. Katyn Stran[g]eways c.1505	?Blackfriars, London	<i>ibid.</i>
Northiam, 1553	Inscr. Thomas Hastings 1500	?Greyfriars, London	<i>ibid, 54-5</i>
Ashby St. Legers, 1553	Ecclesiastic of order of St. John c.1430	?St. John. Clerkenwell, Middx.	<i>ibid, 101</i>

It will be noted that the predominant source of despoiled material is London churches which supports the belief that the Fermer workshop was London-based.

Palimpsest links with the preceding figure style (originally called "Stafford" by John Page-Phillips,²⁶ and "Gyfford" by Norris,²⁷ e.g. Crowan c.1550, [No.18] probably linked to Edlesborough, Bucks., c.1548, and Aldenham linked to Braunton, 1548, and Charwelton, Northants., c.1548), are another factor. They may indicate the continuance of the same workshop with a different figure style (some design features are common) or alternatively, the purchase of old material from a redundant concern.

The productivity of the workshop, with peaks and troughs in demand or output, may also have been an influence in determining whether or not its products were fixed locally, because the time needed to lay down such large numbers of slabs, if done away from London, would surely disrupt the operation of the workshop. The failure to insert dates in brasses laid down before the subject's death indicates that time, travel, or at the very least, continuity, was always a problem. The existence of

²⁶ Page-Phillips, John, *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*, 2nd edition, London, 1972, 40.

²⁷ Norris, *The Memorials*, I, 158.



FIG. 2

Thomas Goodryke, Bishop of Ely and Lord High Chancellor, 1554

Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire M.S. I

Height of figure 1.49 m

Illustration from M.B.S. Portfolio

locally looted plates and stonework (cf Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon., and Southwick, Hants.) where executors perhaps sent plates to London for re-engraving or arranged for the erection of tombs themselves could support this argument, as does the use of iron rivets other than the copper or brass types employed by the Fermer craftsmen.

The operation of this workshop in times of such religious strife and doctrinal instability has one final area of particular interest to the ecclesiologist: the portrayal of the clergy on these monuments. Three brasses fall into this category: Thomas Magnus, 1550, at Sessay, Yorks., the monument to James Coorthopp, Canon of Christ Church and Dean of Peterborough, redated to c.1555 at Christ Church, Oxford, and most interesting of all, the large and imposing brass to Thomas Goodryke, Bishop of Ely, Lord High Chancellor and a counsellor to Edward VI, 1554, in Ely Cathedral. (Fig. 2)

Archdeacon Magnus is shown wearing traditional choir vestments of cassock, long surplice, almuce and a cope with IESVS engraved prominently on the morse.²⁸ His scalp remains tonsured. All this was within a year or so of publication of the first English *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 which ordered chancels to stay in their accustomed state and the clergy to remain in traditional vestments. The late V.J.Torr remarked that the Sessay brass supports documentary evidence that the pace of change in liturgical practice was slower than popular belief and history books should be “purged of notions that English churches between 1547-53 were picked bare as by vultures.”²⁹ The Second Prayer Book of 1552 prohibited the use of alb, vestment or cope by the clergy, leaving them a surplice, and restricted archbishops and bishops to the rochet.³⁰ Bishop Goodryke, whilst holding a clasped book and the Great Seal to mark his position as Lord High Chancellor, died during the reign of Mary and therefore his brass marks the restoration of traditional vestments, including a rich damask dalmatic beneath the chasuble with the ends of the stole appearing above the tunic. At Christ Church Cathedral, Canon Coorthopp is seen in processional vestments without the cope, thereby exposing the almuce, again probably reflecting the effects of the Marian Counter-Reformation as this vestment is frequently depicted on brasses in this fashion in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The brasses

The Fermer brasses listed in this paper have been identified from examination of brasses *in situ* and of rubbings in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. Some are now sadly lost. The high number extant but incomplete may reflect the fact that most are made up from a “patchwork” of reused metal and so are more liable to loss of component parts.

If one notes the numbers of monuments erected at this period and recorded by writers like Stow, this must represent only a proportion of the total distributed by this workshop - astonishing productivity given that every task, including the scraping-down and re-polishing of large slabs (e.g. Twyford and Ashby St.Legers) was performed with little mechanical assistance. Excluding fragments, twenty-four comprise armoured figures with or without wives, a not unexpected indication of the

²⁸ Illustrated, *M.B.S. Portfolio*, VI, pl. 32, (1963).

²⁹ *M.B.S. Trans.* X, 75.

³⁰ *The Second Prayer-Book of King Edward VI*, London (1888), p.29.

social class erecting brasses, and twenty-one are single or multiple inscriptions, including one previously unrecorded secular plate, now apparently lost, once in private possession at Stamford, Worcs. Ten are civilian figures.

Distribution

Distribution of the series, given in Table Four, is not surprising from a major London workshop among whose clientele were members of the Court.

TABLE FOUR
DISTRIBUTION OF FERMER BRASSES

Bedfordshire	1	Lincolnshire	1
Berkshire	2	London/Middlesex	8
Buckinghamshire	10*	Norfolk	1
Cambridgeshire	6	Northamptonshire	8**
Cheshire	1	Nottinghamshire	1
Cornwall	3	Oxfordshire	3
Cumberland	2	Shropshire	1
Devon	1	Somerset	1
Dorset	3	Surrey	1
Essex	3	Sussex	3
Hampshire	3	Worcestershire	1
Herefordshire	1	Yorkshire	1
Hertfordshire	5	Museums etc.	4
Kent	5	TOTAL	80

NOTES

* Includes No 29 in the Handlist, the derelict group of daughters probably from Dinton, but originally believed to have come from the ruined chapel at Quarrendon, near Aylesbury.

** The high number for Northants. is clearly inflated by the five inscriptions at Holdenby, Nos 21-25.

It is noteworthy that East Anglia and the West Midlands are so poorly represented, given the demise of large-scale production in their local workshops around 1550. Norris³¹ demonstrates that activity ceased at Bury St Edmunds, Coventry and Norwich, with one of the latest examples of Suffolk engraving being the mutilated figure of Anne Duke, 1551 (M.S. VII) at Frenze, Norfolk. He believes it would be an over-generalisation to claim that provincial workshops perished in the religious chaos of Edward's reign but it may be that their main activity was in other crafts, such as glass, which were undermined by the last, violent stages of the Reformation.³² Nonetheless, the high number of surviving Fermer products

³¹ Norris, *The Craft*, 108.

³² Norris, *The Memorials*, I, 195.

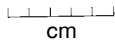


FIG. 3

Head of Sir Richard Catesby, 1553
Ashby St Legers, Northamptonshire M.S. VI
Note the buckle attached to his helmet

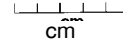


FIG. 4

Head of Thomas Gifford, 1552
Twyford, Buckinghamshire M.S. II
Note different technique for cheekbones

demonstrates that brasses had not gone out of fashion - if anything, they had maintained their popularity, if not increased it - and this absence must be explained partly by civil unrest already described in areas far from London and from under-capacity in the Fermer workshop itself. Perhaps there was just too much business to cope with.

Identification

Whilst no two effigies precisely match each other, certain hallmarks are common throughout the figures of the Fermer series of brasses. The designer always depicted

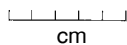


FIG. 5

Head of Sir Humfrey Stafford, c.1553
Blatherwyck, Northamptonshire M.S. I
Arrows denote a joint in the plates



FIG. 6

Head of Henry Bradshawe, Chief
Baron of the Exchequer, 1553
Halton, Buckinghamshire M.S. I

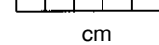


FIG. 7

Head of William Coke, Justice of the
Common Pleas, 1553
Milton, Cambridgeshire M.S. I

faces with protruding eyeballs beneath heavy lids. (Figs. 3 to 7) This was achieved by the cutting or drilling out of a disc of metal to represent the pupil and is best seen in the three full-face effigies at Great Hampden, and the single armoured figures at Ashby St.Legers and Twyford. (Figs. 3 and 4) The eye-brows are drawn together in a stern or serious expression, particularly apparent when the effigies are shown in three-quarter profile. This almost becomes a frown in some instances as at Dry Drayton, Cambs., (Norris interprets this as a "puzzled" expression) and Milton (Fig. 7) in the same county. The treatment of the eyes is in stark contrast to the softer portrayal of preceding and succeeding London figure styles and is repeated even on plates representing children as at St Mellion and Dry Drayton. (Fig. 8) The same

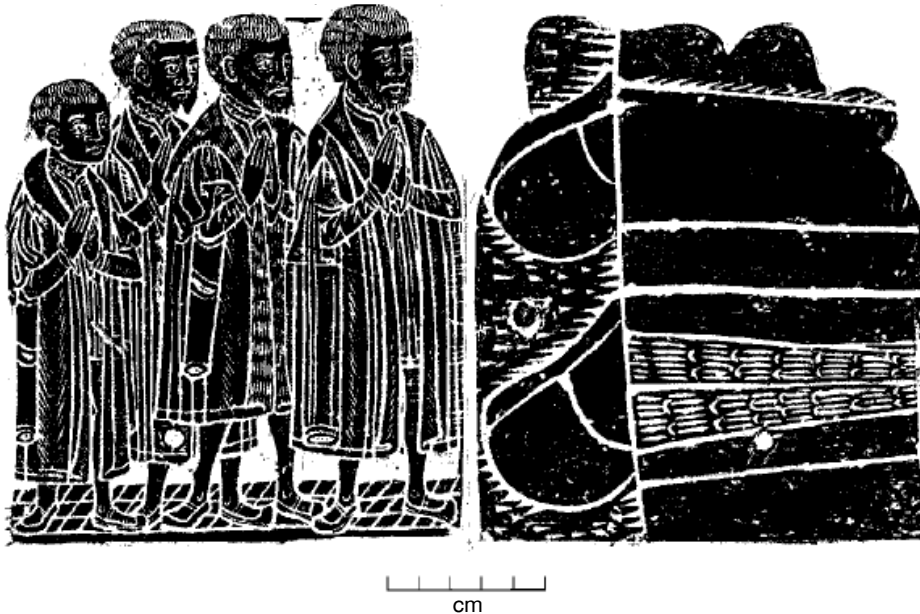


FIG. 8

Sons of a member of the Hutton family, c.1552
 Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire M.S. I
 On reverse the feet of a civilian, c.1520

method is employed on the brass to Johann Luneborch, engraved c.1470 at Lübeck, (illustrated, Fig. 199, in Malcolm Norris' *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*) and in the F-series brasses to the Felds, father and son, (M.S. III) 1477, at Standon, Herts.

While not amounting to real portraiture, for the first time there were attempts to distinguish those commemorated by figure brasses. No two Fermer figures are alike, whether in the length or style of hair, or the absence or presence of a beard. Subjects were portrayed in lively posture and expression. The stereotyped, clear-cut features of earlier London work gives way to the life-like Fermers. Clearly the designer had made a detailed artistic study of expression, facial moulding and structure, as well as anatomy: the shroud brass at Shipton, while no scientific study, is a more realistic picture of the body than skeleton or shroud brasses laid down either before or after.

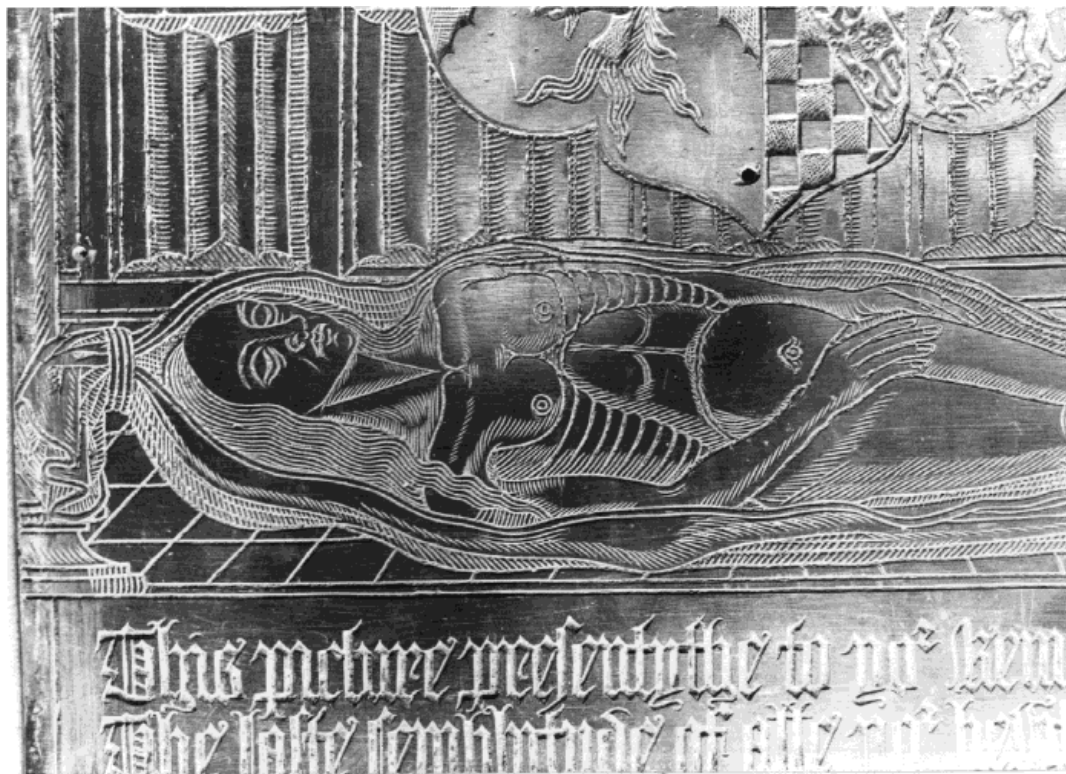


FIG. 9

Detail of Elizabeth Horne, 1548
 Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire M.S. I
Photographed after cleaning in Egan workshop, 1992

(Fig.9) Foreheads were lined, often in an unflattering fashion, as at Watton-at-Stone, Herts., (Fig.10) and St.Mellion, Cornwall, where ears and cheekbones are emphasised and the nose shown crooked and bent. Lips really look like lips, contrasting with the graceful but stylised conventions of two centuries before.

The heads of military effigies rest on visored helmets although they are shown standing. The helmets normally point to dexter, (Easton Neston, Blatherwyck) but occasionally to sinister (Ossington.) Sometimes they are elaborately crested. Some have a buckle at the base. Hair, worn either long (St.Mellion - where poor Peter Coryton is seen to be balding - Blatherwyck, Woodchurch etc) or bobbed (Beckenham) is indicated by vertical wavy lines emanating from the crown. John Hutton at Dry Drayton has a full head of curly hair which gives the impression that the back of his skull is elongated. Children are sometimes shown wearing long and short hair in the same group (St.Mellion and Warminghurst) suggesting plates designed specifically to the client's needs, rather than the already prepared lines of children, cut to fit, of the early years of the sixteenth century. The sons at Dry Drayton have some elements of individuality: one has a forked beard. (Fig. 8)



FIG. 10
 Sir Philip and Elizabeth Butler, c.1553
 Watton at Stone, Hertfordshire M.S. VII
 Height of female figure originally 69 cm
Rubbing by D.A. Chivers, 1980

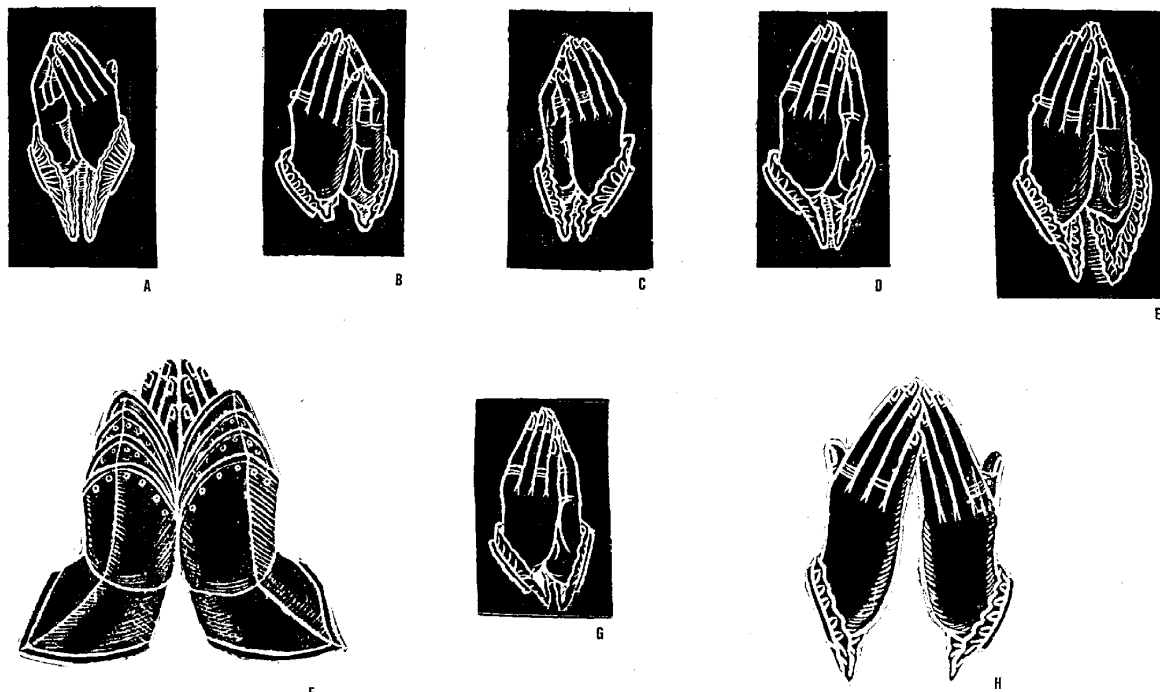


FIG. 11

Hands from Fermer brasses:

- a) Elizabeth Peckham, Ossington. b) William Fermoure, Somerton.
- c) Elizabeth Fermoure, Somerton. d) Sir Humfrey Stafford, Blatherwyck.
- e) ? John Hutton, Dry Drayton. f) Sir Richard Catesby, Ashby St Legers.
- g) Thomas Grenewey, Dinton. h) Thomas Giffard, Twyford.

In some examples the heads of the main effigies crane forward in an almost aggressive manner when facing a partner, producing the hint of a stoop. The trunks seem to sway backwards in some of these double figure brasses, particularly on those memorials produced around 1552. Elbows are carried high, having the effect of bringing the clasped and much be-ringed hands dexter of the centreline of the body. This may be deliberate, to achieve a better display of armour or feminine dress. Proportion is not yet really mastered, however. The figures to the original Fermer brothers at Somerton and Easton Neston, and of William Foxe at Ludford show the trunk and legs much exaggerated and dwarfing the chest. Other brasses are better examples of the draughtsman's art: the figures at Ossington, St.Mellion and Blatherwyck show only the legs larger than they should be. In several instances the sword which hangs on the left side of the body is out of alignment when the scabbard is seen to reappear from behind the trunk.

The treatment of the hands typifies the Fermer attention to detail. (Fig.11) They are clasped, fingertip to fingertip, arching the hands and displaying the nails and knuckles prominently. Rings are featured. The effigy of Sir Richard Catesby at



FIG. 12
 Peter and Jane Coryton, c.1553
 St Mellion, Cornwall M.S. I
 Rubbing by Malcolm Norris



FIG. 13
 William Fermoure, 1552
 Somerton, Oxfordshire M.S. I
 Height of figure 78 cm
Illustration from Oxford Portfolio

Ashby St.Legers wears gauntlets without the usual leather under-gloves (Fig.11f) to show delicately-engraved fingernails. Some hands are over-sized. In later examples, beginning with Twyford, *c.*1552, the fingers are more slender and tapering (cf Woodchurch *c.*1555).

Male figures stand on grass mounds or kneel on tiled floors, except for Richard Fermer, and Robert Alington at Horseheath, who stand on chequered pavements.

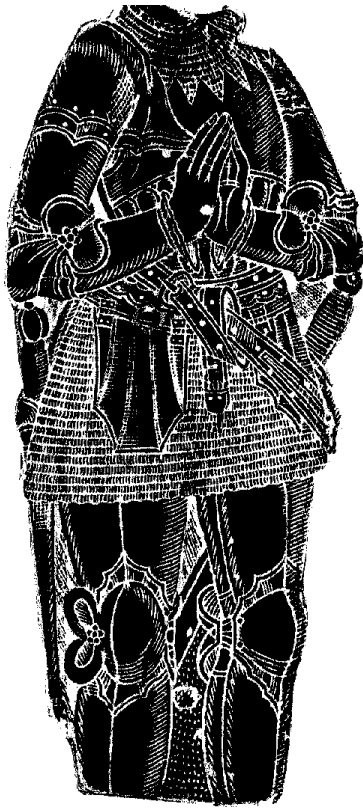


FIG. 14
Thomas Grenewey, 1551
Dinton, Buckinghamshire M.S. IV
Height of figure now 39 cm

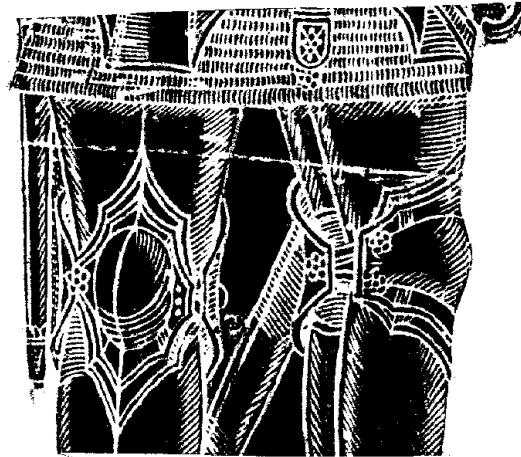


FIG. 15
Detail of knees, Sir Humfrey Stafford, c.1553
Blatherwyck, Northamptonshire M.S. I

The blades of grass at St.Mellion, (where the lady also stands on grass) Dinton, Blatherwyck and Dry Drayton are noticeably “spikey” and arranged in stylised waves. The Ossington and Twyford effigies stand upon dogs, perhaps greyhounds, and Sir Richard Catesby has a punning cat at his feet - alas the cat’s face is lost. Designs were conservative. At Blewbury, John Latton stands on a very old fashioned, almost anachronistic lion, reminiscent of brasses of the mid-fifteenth century, as is the lost Gothic canopy at Ely - the last to appear on a brass. Was this dictated by clients’ tastes, formed by what they had seen on older brasses, or a deliberate design feature?

The armour worn is very strange. (Figs 12-15. Compare with the harnesses of the same period in the Tower, Figs. 16-17.) As the late H. Russell Robinson, assistant keeper of the Royal Armouries at the Tower of London, commented: “The real armour of the period 1548-56 is nothing like the strange harnesses shown in the Fermer brasses and those produced in other contemporary workshops. It is a sad fact that the first half of the sixteenth century is the very worst in the whole history of brass making for representation of armour and not a single example can be used as



FIG. 16
Boy's half-armor, c.1550
Tower Armouries
Crown copyright reserved



FIG. 17
Armor, c.1550
Tower Armouries
Crown copyright reserved

evidence.”³³ The fluted breastplate of Thomas Giffard at Twyford has something of the flavour of Milanese work of the early years of the sixteenth century, but it does seem as though the Fermer designer was aiming for effect rather than accurate portrayal - not surprisingly, given his clients' requirements and pretensions. The late Sir James Mann, in his definitive essay on the nomenclature of armour,³⁴ says pertinently of sixteenth century brasses:

It is surprising to observe how obstinately the designers of brasses clung to old and obsolete fashions. They continued to represent breastplates with placates and pauldrons with high neck guards...

This applies particularly to the Fermer series which has one added idiosyncrasy: where three-quarter profile military figures are shown, the left leg is twisted at the

³³ Letter to R. Hutchinson 29 January 1974.

³⁴ *M.B.S. Trans.* IX, 427.

knee to reveal the rear rivets and fastenings of the poleyn or knee armour in a manner which would not allow the knee to be bent. (Fig.15)

Large, very square-toed sabbatons are worn by armoured figures, and in several instances, the feet are turned at a painful, if not impossible angle to the leg. Spurs are shown in a stylised, five-point star design.

John Page-Phillips, in his valuable revision of *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*,³⁵ demonstrates that the two main clues - almost trademarks - of the four major sixteenth-century English figure styles were hinges attaching the tassets to the breastplate (Fig. 18) and the frills of undergarments seen at the wrist and neck. This alone suggests continuity and perhaps regulation in workshop design and practice over a considerable period.

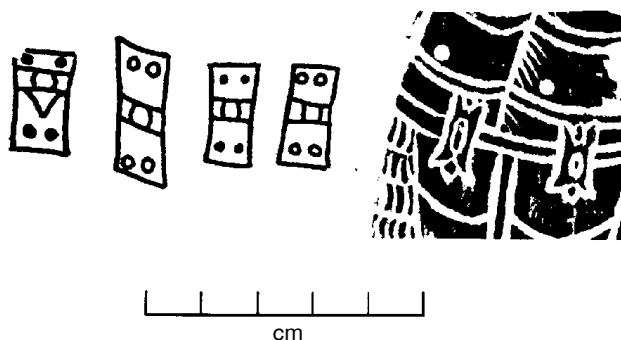


FIG. 18

Tracings of Tasset-hinges from Fermer military figures

Left to right: Blatherwyck, Somerton, Dinton (V), Easton Neston,

and for comparison the hinge from John Gyfford, 1563, Crondall, Hants, of the succeeding "Lytcott" figure style.

The earlier Fermer tasset hinges are rectangular with a rivet at the four corners. These, again, are stylised - nothing like fastenings on surviving armours of the period. Some brasses in the series show a gradual transition into the even more stylised hinge of the succeeding Lytkott figure style, beginning with a "waisting" of the sides.³⁶ At Charlwood, Surrey, (c.1554, redated) the hinge is omitted altogether - perhaps the brass was unfinished? Another Fermer hallmark is the end of the sword-belt looped over itself.

Evangelical symbols, or rather plates of similar shape occupying the traditional position of evangelical symbols at the four corners of a slab, are still to be found on Fermer brasses - another indication, perhaps, of conservative taste in design. (Fig. 19)

³⁵ 2nd edition, London, 1972, 38. See also *A Sixteenth Century Workshop*.

³⁶ Fig.13 (p.178) of Paul Martin's *Armour and Weapons*, (London,1968) is an illustration of a marauder by Jost Ammann c.1550, showing a stylised tasset hinge on his armour similar to those found on the succeeding "Lytcott" figure style. Fermer-type hinges are also found on brasses of other periods, e.g. Thomas Heveningham, 1513, M.S.III at Writtle, Essex (illustrated in this issue, p.208). Lytkott-style hinges are found on a brass at Bayford, Herts., (M.S.II) dated by Mill Stephenson in the List as c.1630 but clearly much earlier, possibly c.1575, (illustrated in Mary Rensten's *Hertfordshire Brasses*, Stevenage, 1982, 16) and at Nettleden, Bucks., where the figure of c.1520 has been appropriated for Sir George Cotton, 1545. (Illustrated, *ibid*, 52.) Hutchinson has a suspicion that the hinges and the rosettes on the armour were added at the appropriation, as indeed, the shields have been altered. At St. Michael Penkivel, Cornwall, the effigy of John Trenoweth, 1497 (M.S.I) also has Lytkott-type hinges. (See Dunkin's *Mon. Brasses of Cornwall*, London 1882, pl.XIX.)



FIG. 19
 William and Alice Coke, 1553
 Milton, Cambridgeshire M.S. I
 Rubbing by Philip Whittimore



FIG. 20

Head of Hutton wife, c.1552
Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire M.S. I
Pedimental headdress with folded-up lappets



FIG. 21

Head of Elizabeth Fermoure, 1552
Somerton, Oxfordshire M.S. I
Headdress with narrower lappels than at Dry Drayton



cm

FIG. 22

Head of Alice Coke, 1553
Milton, Cambridgeshire M.S. I
The Paris headdress with a veil

At St.Mellion, (Fig. 12), the symbols are replaced by quatrefoils bearing heraldic beasts repeated from the shields - a lion, a talbot, a greyhound and a donkey; the motivation behind this possibly the avoidance of any hint of Popery. On the other hand, the symbols at Sessay, Yorks., 1550, bear the Agnus Dei which, with an 'M' superimposed would have formed the rebus of the deceased, Thomas Magnus. The two others bear a columbine, symbolising "Fear of the Lord."³⁷

Women display the same design characteristics as their menfolk; for them too, the same globular eyes, (Figs. 20-22) the careful engraving of the hands. A human touch creeps into the iconography of the brasses when it is seen that when two wives are commemorated, most care has been taken by the designer on the costume of the surviving second wife who clearly would have been responsible for, or had a hand in the arrangements for the brass. Haines³⁸ noticed this at Great Hampden and it is also apparent at Beckenham, Hainton and Woodchurch. Ladies generally wear a girdle with a pomander, or pendant suspended from it; in the latter case, sometimes with 'Jhu' inscribed upon it. (Fig. 23) Jane Foxe at Ludford, c.1552, has the sacred Five Wounds engraved on her pendant. Around the middle of the 1550s, fashions changed and ladies wore dresses, sometimes with false sleeves, fastened by bows over an undergarment or petticoat. A transitional example is the garment worn by Alice Coke, 1553, at Milton, Cambs. On later brasses of the Fermer series, girls wear this form of dress while their mother(s) are dressed in the earlier fashion, a nice, if human attention to detail. The same is true at Blewbury, where Anne Latton wears a

³⁷ For this symbolism, see the obituary roll of Abbot John Islip, ob.1532, on which 14 flowers and their virtues are depicted. This roll, a brief announcing the Abbot's death and intended to be sent around monasteries, has been attributed to Gerard Hornebolt, a Flemish painter sometime employed by Henry VIII (Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, London, 1888, I, 62.) In Fulham, Middx., is a lozenge-shaped brass to Margaret Saunders (or de Vandere or des Vanders) ob. 1529, Hornebolt's wife, and almost certainly designed by him.

³⁸ Haines, *op.cit.*, I, xxxiii.

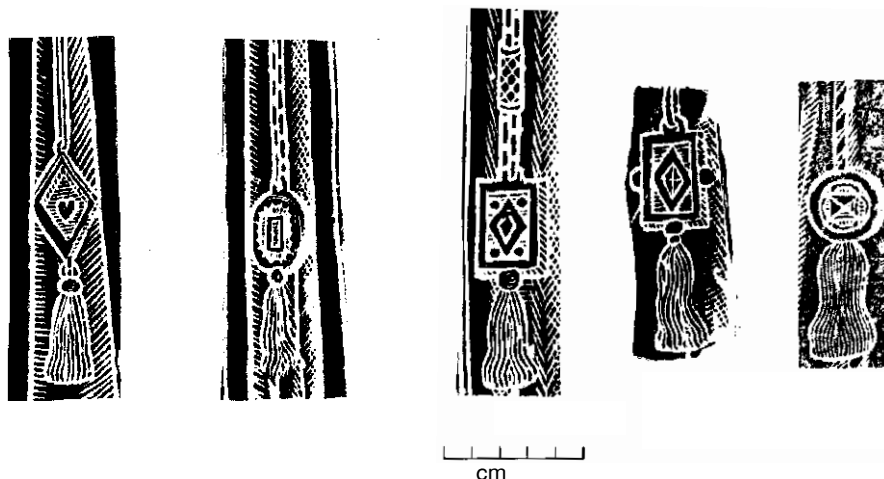


FIG. 23

Pendants worn by female effigies:
Milton, Dry Drayton, Somerton, Dinton (V) and Maidstone Museum

pedimental headdress, a development of the well-known “kennel” type of the early years of the sixteenth century. Her daughters are adorned in the later “Paris” or “Mary, Queen of Scots” caps. Whilst Anne’s effigy may possibly be a waster from the preceding figure style, this same pedimental headdress with the side lappets folded up is worn by several of the Fermer ladies, cf Maidstone Museum. (Fig. 24). At Southwick, where the brass (M.S.I) is appropriated, the plate showing the four daughters of John White and his wife Katherine, consists of two daughters from the original brass of *c.*1520, wearing kennel headdresses with long lappets and two later daughters with shorter versions, although the Fermer designer reproduced their dresses precisely - even the looped sashes worn by each girl. (Fig. 25)

The series is characterised by relatively few brasses to civilians which, of all the monuments, are the worst designed. The much-travelled Edward Myrfin at Kirtling, Cambs., is shown kneeling, facing sinister, wearing long, fur-trimmed robes, the fur indicated by a series of horizontal lines of vertical parallel incisions. The effigies of Robert Alington, at Horseheath in the same county and Richard Newport at Greystoke, Cumberland are broadly similar; full face with robes over a tunic and absurdly spindly legs beneath. (Fig. 26) The Fermer draughtsman seems ill-at-ease with civilian figures, (Fig. 27) possibly because they are smaller, although the same problem does not occur with the figure of Wenefride Newport at Greystoke, nor the shroud at Shipton, which are boldly drawn.

Technical Aspects

The technical aspects of the manufacture of the Fermer series are especially interesting. The workshop used nearly all the known types of rivets to hold the plates down. For the single remaining inscription at North Crawley, Bucks., a mixture of



FIG. 24
Unknown lady, c.1552
Maidstone Museum, Kent
Courtesy Maidstone Museum

different rivet types was employed: drawn wire, spade end, and cast bulbous-ended. Copper rivets were used with the best-quality work, (e.g. Ashby St. Legers and Dry Drayton) which we once believed to be unique to this figure style (Fig. 28) until the discovery of what appears to be a copper pin in the brightly polished figure of John Parker, 1558 (M.S.I) at Willingdon, Sussex. As there are not any cast or drawing marks along the length of the Fermer copper rivets, we believe they must have been cut from sheet or thin ingots of the metal. The copper rivet still remaining in the Museum of London fragment is a good example. Why copper, which involved more



FIG. 25

Daughters of John White, 1548
Southwick, Hampshire M.S. I

Arrows indicate the join where the plates were filed and soldered

effort and time, was used in this way, is a matter for conjecture. There are indications of rivets being filed to size and sheared off at an average length of 22mm with an average diameter of 5mm. Some show signs of having been rivetted out to 6mm to fill in larger holes in reused metal.

Smaller Fermer products used drawn brass wire, spade-ended rivets which had become standard at this period; these must have been considerably cheaper than the copper type. Average size of the drawn brass wire rivet is 17mm long and 4mm in diameter. Iron dowels were used at Ossington and at Southwick to fix the marginal inscriptions and an original one was found at Braunton for the kneeling figure of Elizabeth Chechester - perhaps an indication of local fixing. (Fig. 29)

The lead for the rivet plugs was poured into holes drilled into the slab some 2-2.5 cm deep and tightened around the dowels by using a chisel-shaped tool leaving puncture or stab marks in the lead. (At Blatherwyck, old rivets were reused and new ones fashioned from a brass, to secure the brass when it was moved from the floor to the wall in a local restoration *c.*1600. In this case, possibly uniquely, the lead was poured into holes bored through the thickness of the ironstone slab, from behind at an angle of 45 degrees.) (Figs. 30-31)



FIG. 26

Richard Newport, 1548 (redated to 1551)
Greystoke, Cumberland M.S. VII

Given that the craftsmen took enormous pains to butt on new plates to existing appropriated metal (cf Southwick, Hants.) by filing down the metal to create a “key” for the joining solder, (Fig. 25) it is surprising to find in some cases that no attempt was made to turn over a reused slab where the indents of the former brass still remain, as at Blewbury, Waddesdon, Easton Neston and Somerton. Here, the east end of the table tomb incorporates an indent for a rectangular plate, complete with lead plugs and rivets. In other cases, the slab has been smoothed down, leaving only the rivet tops or empty plug holes as at Ashby St.Legers, Twyford and North Crawley, where the whole slab was reduced in thickness by up to 1.5 cm. Presumably, expense - or perhaps time - was a deciding factor.

Small lead discs were laid beneath plates to support the weight of the brass until the pitch beneath had set. These discs or stops have been found in restoration work at Southwick and Blewbury.

With few exceptions (one being the reverse of the upper half of the figure at Ashby St. Legers) those brasses which have been examined and repaired are all of re-used metal: the St.Mellion monument is made up of 27 fragments, Milton of 22. Use of such a jigsaw of looted metal must indicate periods of scarcity or interruption in supply.



FIG. 27
Anthony Barker, 1546
Sonning, Berkshire M.S. II
Height of figure 28 cm

Old rivet holes in the looted plates were carefully plugged with brass “blanks” or discs as at Stoke Charity and Ossington or with lead, as at Blewbury, Southwick and Chilton. New engraving sometimes runs through these blanks which must indicate an unusual attention to craftsmanship.

In contrast to the effort involved to join plates with lead wipes, the two plates forming the figure at Ashby St.Legers were not soldered together - the makers relying on the pitch and rivets for the security of the brass. At Chilton, the wipe joining two plates to make up a shield bears the imprint of the weave of a cloth, used as a mould

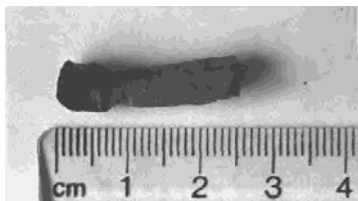


FIG. 28
Copper rivet from Ashby St Legers brass



FIG. 29
Drawn iron wire rivet from Braunton, Devon

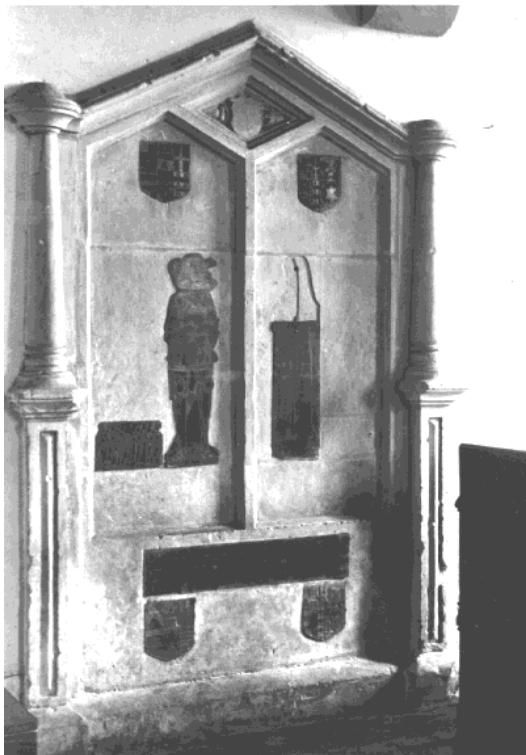


FIG. 30
Stafford monument at Blatherwyck
restored c.1600 using a new slab



FIG. 31
Detail of Stafford monument at Blatherwyck:
showing how lead was poured through holes in the slab
from behind

while the solder hardened. At Dry Drayton, the imprint of letters in the lead wipe was seen, indicating the possible use of a piece of printed paper or vellum as an *ad hoc* 'workshop tool',³⁹ perhaps indicating some degree of literacy amongst the Fermer workmen.⁴⁰ Where the incised lines of the reused metal threatened to break through to the obverse, the metal was coated with lead, as at Easton Neston and Oxford Cathedral.

Coloured pigments were used to enrich the appearance of some of the brasses in the series. (Fig. 32) At Easton Neston red was used in the shields and the crest and lining of the helmet mantling. The incised lines of this brass were also filled with a black pigment. At Warminghurst, red colouring, possibly a wax-like substance, remains in the cross-hatching forming the background to the children and black mastic filled the lines of the inscription. Above, we briefly referred to the use of 2-2.5 mm hammered plate in this series of memorials - earlier than the dates traditionally associated with the introduction of domestic brass plate production in

³⁹ Illustrated in Page-Phillips' *Palimpsests*, II, 62 (159 L12.) We believe that printed paper was used as a moleskin to wipe the soft solder and press it down, causing the impression of the imprinted type to be preserved.

⁴⁰ Against this supposition are the mistakes in some of the inscriptions which may be more than just errors in copying such as the "there" for "these" at Great Hampden and "o" for "e" in the name Haynes at Southwick.

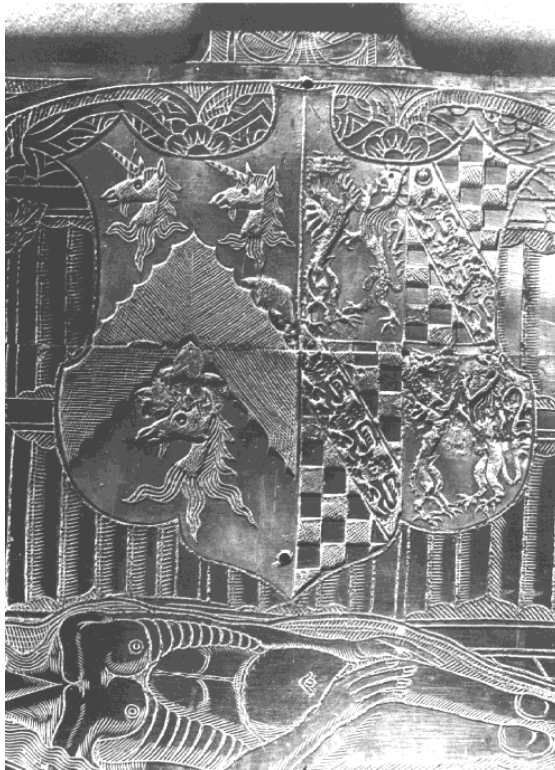


FIG. 32

Shield of Elizabeth Horne, 1548

Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire M.S. I

*Photographed in Egan workshop**The projection at the top, a ribbon-knot, is normally concealed by the wooden frame*

this country. Haines⁴¹ notes the grant of a patent on 17 September, 1565 to William Humfrey, assay master of the mint and Christopher Shutz, “an Almain” to search and mine for calamine, or zinc ore, and use it for making latten products. Similar privileges were granted concurrently to Cornelius Devoz and to Daniel Houghsetter and Thomas Thurland. On 28 May 1568 the company of mineral and battery works was incorporated, and it was re-incorporated in 1584 when the lease of a brass mill at Isleworth was granted to John Brode.

The earliest use of 2 mm plate we have found is on the floor monument to Sir Edward Tame, died 1532 at Fairford, Gloucs., (M.S.II) where the marginal inscription (part later repaired locally) and a portion of the male figure are of hammered plate. Marginal inscriptions in the Fermer series seem to be original hammered plate, rather than recycled material, as at Chilton, St.Mellion and Milton. Elsewhere, the plates were scraped down to the 2-2.5 mm thickness as at Southwick

⁴¹ Haines, *Oxford Manual*, Oxford and London, 1848, viii-ix. More details of this enterprise and the Isleworth mill are given in Page-Phillips' *Palimpsests*, I, 18-19.

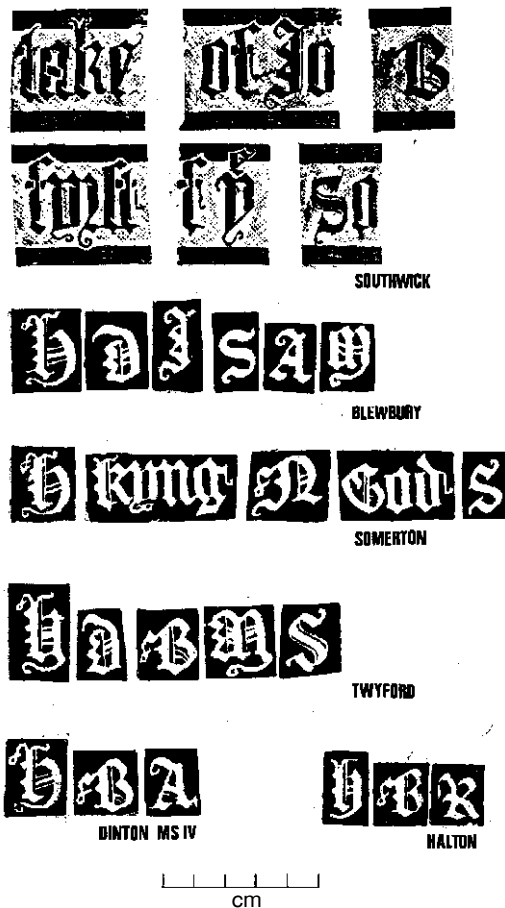


FIG. 33
Examples of "Script 6" used on Fermer brasses.

where the appropriated figures of an armoured man, his wife and a group of daughters of c.1520 averaged 2 mm. The hammer blow marks were clearly seen on taking up the figures. The motivation behind this operation remains unclear but evidence of scraping down is readily apparent from our palimpsest find at Slaugham, Sussex. Here the later inscription (bearing a script occasionally associated with Fermer figures, eg Blatherwyck, West Drayton and Shipton-under-Wychwood) added in 1547 to the brass of Richard Covert (M.S.II, c.1525) had on its reverse, a scraped down inscription to Elizabeth —, a seamstress to Henry VIII, died 1513(?).⁴²

The commemorated

A theory has been advanced that the Fermer workshop catered almost exclusively for adherents of the old, Pre-Reformation faith. Historical evidence, however, rules

⁴² Illustrated, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 44, 133 Ll. The obverse is illustrated in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXIX, 1938, 123.



FIG. 34
Edward Shurley, 1558
Isfield, Sussex M.S. II
An example of a "Nayle" (Style H) brass
Height of figure 45 cm

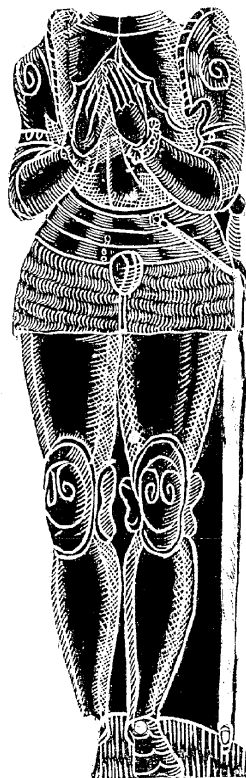


FIG. 35
Unknown, c.1558
Upper Hardres, Kent M.S. IV
An example of a "Nayle" (Style H) brass
Height of figure now 43 cm

against this. It is true that Richard Fermer, of Easton Neston, had his estates seized after being indicted under the Statute of Praemunire, but before his death he recovered the greater portion of his possessions from the Crown. Henry Bradshawe, whose beautiful mural brass is at Halton, Bucks., was appointed Attorney-General in 1545 and became Chief Baron of the Exchequer to Edward. One of his last acts was to witness the King's will in favour of the tragic and doomed Lady Jane Grey. His transition from a position of power and authority to disfavour was clearly very swift and he died very soon after Mary's succession. One cannot really envisage the Fermer workshop - the premier establishment in the realm - chopping and changing their commercial policy so speedily to account for the vagaries of political expediency. Did they consider their client's status at Court as modern business houses inquire into creditworthiness? We think not.

The fact that some of the clientele were adherents of the Old Faith corroborates evidence, as discussed above, that the ripples of the schism with Rome took some time to permeate England, as witnessed by parish records. Some like John Croke, at



FIG. 36

Nicholas Clarke, 1551

Hitcham, Buckinghamshire M.S. II

Height of figure 51 cm

Illustration from The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire

Chilton, and John White, at Southwick, amassed considerable property and wealth from the Dissolution. Some managed to survive the political upheavals and soldier on regardless - like John Shelley, at Warminghurst, Sussex, who was one of the four masters of the household during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary - surely something of a record for tactfulness.

The Crown is mentioned in somewhat cringing terms on inscriptions to members of the Household. At Penshurst, Kent, 1553, we find mention of the "myghtie and famous Prynce Kyng Edward the VIth" and at Hainton, Lincs., 1553 and Blatherwyck, erected *c.*1553, the phrase "Kinge of ffamous memorye Kinge Henry the eight." At Warminghurst, where, we have seen, three Sovereigns had to be accorded proper mention, the inscription refers to "the most victorius Princes Kyng Henry the viiith and Kyng Edward the vith and to oure sou'ayn Lady Qene Marye."

The script

The clear, easily read, and deeply incised Fermer script (Fig. 33) identified by John Page-Phillips as “Script 6” of the twelve Gothic scripts, is associated with all four mainstream London figure styles between *c.*1530 and around *c.*1585, when increasingly, Roman capitals appear on inscriptions with the advent of the Southwark workshops.⁴³ The Fermer script is heavily seriffed with unnecessary and lightly engraved flourishes decorating capital letters like B and H. When raised letters are employed on marginal inscriptions, the ascenders and descenders of the letters intrude on the border, top and bottom. There are occasional mistakes, like the letters inserted in the Latin inscription at Halton - perhaps indicating a mistake in transcribing by an engraver unfamiliar with the words before him.

The rival “script 5” is more condensed and is characterised by a distinctive doubled barred capital S, rather like the modern US dollar symbol. In five cases, Charlwood, Shipton-under-Wychwood, Banwell, West Drayton and Blatherwyck, this script is used in a Fermer composition, suggesting work sub-contracted out.

Another London workshop

Judging by the number of surviving examples, there was a less significant rival workshop operating in London, perhaps overlapping the Fermers by a few years around 1554. This design, associated with the more condensed and less flamboyant “script 7”, ended *c.*1560 and consisted of smaller, rather more clumsy effigies but it also employed re-used metal and 2.5 mm hammered plate.

John Page-Phillips called this the Nayle figure style after the brass to William Nayle, 1557, (M.S.I) at Abington, Northants.⁴⁴ All the figures are primitive and naive and the armoured effigies wear harnesses sometimes with heavy seriffed decoration and cod pieces. (Figs. 34-35) The children on brasses of this workshop, however, are animated and sometimes individually portrayed. Examples are at:-

TABLE FIVE
EXAMPLES OF NAYLE FIGURE STYLE BRASSES

Date	Location	Type	Reused
<i>c.</i> 1550	Cobham, Surrey	Armour	P
<i>c.</i> 1550	Brightwell Prior, Oxon.	Civilian	Lost
1556	Margaretting, Essex	Armour and wife	P
1556	Great Hallingbury, Essex	Inscriptions	?
1557	Low Leyton, Essex	Inscription	?
1557	Burton, Sussex	Inscription	Blank. 2.5mm plate
1557	Standon, Herts.	Armour	P
1557	Abington, Northants.	Inscr. (frag.)	P

⁴³ See, *A Sixteenth-century Workshop*, (forthcoming).

⁴⁴ Malcolm Norris calls this the “H” series, *Memorials*, I, 161, whereas John Page-Phillips calls it the “Nayle” series, *A Sixteenth-century Workshop*.

1558	Willingdon, Sussex	Armour and wife	? 2.5mm plate
1558	Loughton, Essex	Armour and wife (rect. plate)	2.5 mm plate
1558	Great Berkhamstead, Herts.	Inscription	P
1558	Magdalen College, Oxford	Canon	P
1558	Burton, Sussex	Armour & w (frag.)	Blank. 2.5mm plate
1558	Isfield, Sussex	Armour and wife	P
1558	North Mundham, Sussex	Inscription	P SR
c. 1558	Upper Hardres, Kent	Armour	Blank
1559	St. Mary Reading, Berks.	Inscription (figs lost)	? SR

KEY: P = Palimpsest. SR = Slab Reused.

Summary of identifying features of Fermer style

(i) Brasses are almost always made up of reused metal. Slabs and tomb stonework are sometimes appropriated. Two examples - Isleham (No. 15) and Ashby St. Legers (No. 58) are blank or partially blank on the reverse of 3.5mm thick plate, suggesting that this was a case of either old stock of metal or that brass plate imports continued during the 1550s.

(ii) The designs have a careful attention to detail but lack good proportion, particularly in armoured figures.

(iii) Faces are characterised by staring, or bulging eyes, with many lines of expression. Certainly, the subjects are unflattered by the design - they are not shown in youth, or their prime of life.

(iv) Conservatism of design - late use of animals at feet, and evangelical symbols.

(v) Special hinges connecting tasset plates to breastplates on armoured effigies.

(vi) Use of copper rivets on the finest products. Other rivets are cleverly hidden, particularly on inscriptions, with engraving sometimes executed through rivet tops.

(vii) Boldly-executed upper and lower-case script, heavily seriffed, although occasionally, the figure style and other scripts are used together.

Conclusion

At the outset, we described this paper as very much an interim report on our researches into this figure style. Perhaps it has posed more new questions than answered older ones. The short time that this figure style was extant and its high output provides scope, not only for more precise re-dating of brasses, but also investigation into the time taken to produce such memorials and their erection. Much work remains to be done on the correlation between supply of despoiled plate and workshop output. Most important of all are the unanswered questions of the origin of this figure style, which introduced naturalism and a flavour of the Renaissance into English monumental art, and the reasons for its demise. As yet unproven, but surely more than a coincidence, is a possible link between the Reformation plundering of Edward VI's reign and the ascendancy in July 1553 of his

sister and the doctrinal changes that this brought. Were the Fermer brasses, therefore, dependent on their times? Did the design wither and die because it was starved of cheap plate? Yet the succeeding figure style made ample use of reused material during Mary's reign. Why did the script style continue but the Fermer design disappear? What was the relationship between the Fermers and the preceding and succeeding mainstream figure styles?

Some link did exist, as evidenced by a mix of figure styles on the brass to John Newdegate, (M.S.VI) died 1546, at Harefield Middx., and that to Nicholas Clarke, died 1551 but redated *c.*1555, (M.S.II) at Hitcham, Bucks. Here the plate portraying the sons is clearly old Fermer stock. (Fig. 36) There are palimpsest links across the figure styles, described in more detail in the second part of this paper.

Finally, more research needs to be done into why the provincial workshops collapsed at a time when the Fermers enjoyed such high levels of patronage. The answer must lie in the economics of brass supply; only the Fermer workshop could produce high quality products cheaply because of its access to the considerable supplies of spoil in London. But what had happened to the company of Marblers? Were the Fermer series really produced outside the Guild structure, and so possibly foreshadowing the Marblers' final demise when they were absorbed by the Masons in 1584, probably in the teeth of competitive attack from the cheaper but more competent brasses and small alabaster mural monuments that flooded the market from the workshops of Johnson and his fellow Dutch and Fleming refugees.

What is important is that the Fermer workshop brought, for the first time in the supply of English-manufactured brasses, a degree of individuality to match their clients' needs, coupled with a high degree of technical competence in metalwork.

APPENDIX

GYFFORD AND LYTKOTT FIGURE STYLES

As we described above, the Fermer series fits into a succession of distinct figure styles emanating from sixteenth-century London workshops, and grouped under the general "G" classification in John Page-Phillips and Malcolm Norris' works. Most are associated with the same script.

Whilst this is not the place to describe, in detail, the characteristics of these designs, it may be useful to list some examples for comparison with the Fermers. The lists given below are by no means exhaustive.

The "Gyfford" style - naive, rather wooden and with almost bovine expressions in the earliest examples - flourished *c.*1530 to 1547 and has palimpsest links with the early Fermers, but lacks their inventiveness and individuality. The most impressive example is the palimpsest brass to Roger Gyfford and wife, (M.S.III) 1542 at Middle Claydon, Bucks. The succeeding "Lytcott" style also used up Fermer plates and may have overlapped the earlier figure design by a few months, beginning operations in 1554-1555, and giving way to the "Daston" design around 1572. The Lytkott figures become coarse in execution in later years as the effigies become smaller.

Further work is underway on these two figure styles and it is hoped to publish findings at a later date.

TABLE SIX
GYFFORD FIGURE STYLE BRASSES

Date	Location	M.S.	Type	Palimpsest
1532	Amphill, Beds.	V	Armour	?
1532	Camberwell, Surrey	III	Armour & wife	?
1533	Betchworth, Surrey	II	Priest	?
1534	Fairford, Gloucs.	II	Armour & 2 wives	Blank
1535	Wendron, Cornwall	I	Priest	?
1535	Pottesgrove, Beds.	I	Civilian & wife	Blank
<i>c.</i> 1537	Harefield, Middx.	III	Armour & wife	P
1538	Camberwell, Surrey	IV	Armour	P Approp. One blank plate
1539	Thame, Oxon.	VIII	Armour	?
1539	Atherington, Devon	I	Armour & 2 wives	Approp.
1540	Islington, Middx.	I	Armour & wife	P SR
1540	Clovelly, Devon	I	Armour	SR
1540	Addington, Surrey	I	Armour	P
1540	Marcham, Berks.	I	Armour & wife	?Blank
<i>c.</i> 1540	Odiham, Hants.	VI	Armour & 2 wives	P
1541	Bletchingley, Surrey	IV	Civilian & wife	P
1541	Clothall, Herts.	III	Priest	
1542	Middle Claydon, Bucks.	III	Armour & wife	P Approp.
1542	Cheam, Surrey	VII	Civilian & wife	P
1543	West Malling, Kent	III	Lady	P
1544	Croydon, Surrey	IV	Armour & wife	P Frags.
1544	Cople, Beds.	V	Judge & wife	SR
1544	Isleworth, Middx.	II	Inscription	P
1544	Greenford, Middx.	IV	Civilian & wife	P Frags.
1545	Harlington, Middx.	II	Armour & wife	P
1545	Narborough, Norfolk	III	Armour & wife	P
1545	Nettledon, Herts.	I	Inscr. & shields.	Approp.
1545	Lambeth, Surrey	II	Armour	P
1546	Lambourne, Essex	I	Civilian & wife	P
<i>c.</i> 1546	Ellesborough, Bucks.	I	Armour & wife	P
1546	All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London	X	Armour & wife	P
1546	Islington, Middx.	II	Armour & wife	P
1546	Wyddiall, Herts.	II	Civilian & wife	P Approp.
1547	Aldbury, Herts.	II	Armour & wife	?
1547	Faringdon, Berks.	V	Armour & 2 wives	P
<i>c.</i> 1548	Edlesborough, Bucks.	I	Armour & 3 wives	P SR
<i>c.</i> 1548	Charwelton, Northants.	III	Armour & wife	P Approp.
<i>c.</i> 1548	Sonning, Berks.	III	Civilian & wife	P SR

NOTES

P=Palimpsest (including alteration). Approp=Appropriated. SR=Slab reused.
Frag=Fragment.

TABLE SEVEN
LYTKOTT FIGURE STYLE BRASSES

Date	Location	M.S.	Type	Palimpsest
1554	Swallowfield, Berks.	II	Armour & wife	?
1556	Cople, Beds.	VII	Armour & wife Rect.Plate	Blank
1557	West Hanney, Berks.	II	Armour	?
1557	Westerham, Kent	VI	Civilian & 2 wives	P
1558	Chicheley, Bucks.	I	Armour & wife	P
1558	Morley, Derbyshire	IX	Armour & wife	SR
1558	Eaton Bray, Beds.	II	Lady Rect.Plate	Blank
1558	Goodnestone-next -Wingham, Kent	III	Civilian & wife	P Waster
1558	King's College, Cambridge	IV	Academic	?
1558	Acton, Middx.	X	Civilian	?
1559	Thames Ditton,Surrey	I	Armour & wife Rect. Plate	Blank
1559*	West Lavington,Wilts.	II	Armour	P
1559	Tolleshunt D'Arcy, Essex	V	Lady	?
1560	Westminster Abbey, London	XIII	Armour	P Frags
1560	Northolt, Middx.	II	Armour & wife	P SR
1560	All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London	XIII	Armour & wife	Blank
1560	Westminster Abbey, London	XIV	Ecclesiastic	?
c.1560*	St.Columb Major, Cornwall	I	Armour & 2 wives	
1561	Waddesdon, Bucks.	IV	Armour & wife	P
1561	Hillingdon, Middx.	IV	Shield	P Frag
1561	Stratton, Cornwall	I	Armour & 2 wives	?
1562	Denchworth, Berks.	II	Armour & wife	P
1562	Melbury Sampford, Dorset	V	Armour	?
1563	Cople, Beds.	VIII	Judge & wife	Blank
c.1563	Dinton, Bucks.	VI	Civilian & wife	P

1563	Pottesgrove, Beds.	II	Civilian & wife	P
c.1563	Chalfont St Giles, Bucks.	VII	Armour & wife	P
c.1563	Fivehead, Somerset	I	Lady	P
1563	Fryerning, Essex	I	Armour	P Frags.
1563	Crondall, Hants.	II	Armour & wife	?
1564	Eastwick, Herts.	I	Lady	P Frag.
1565	Great Chart, Kent	VI	Armour & wife	P SR
1565	Milton Abbey, Dorset	II	Armour	?
1566	Longworth, Berks.	IV	Lady	?
1567	Shottesbrooke, Berks.	V	Civilian & 3 wives	SR
1568	Burghfield, Berks.	I	Armour & 2 wives	?
1568	Sefton, Lancs.	III	Armour & 2 wives	P
1568	Hawnes (Now Haynes) Beds.	I	Civilian	?

NOTES

* Redated. The brass to John Dauntesay at West Lavington has been redated by Page-Phillips to c.1578 (*Palimpsests*, I, 66-67) on the basis of the reverse of the inscription being associated with Isleham, Cambs., 1574 (M.S.XI) and Norton Disney, Lincs., 1578 (M.S.I). However, the effigy clearly belongs to the earlier Lytkott design and may be old stock, or alternatively, the inscription was added later. The fact that it is blank on the reverse supports this theory. Similarly, the brass at St. Columb Major has been redated on the evidence of affinity with other armoured effigies of this design.

P=Palimpsest. Approp=Appropriated brass. SR=Slab reused.

Acknowledgements

Our grateful thanks are due to a large number of people who have helped with rubbings, advice and discussions on various points on this paper. These include: D.A. Chivers, Martin Stuchfield (for the loan of rubbings), the late Revd. Canon David Rutter, H. Russell Robinson, Mr J.H. Hopkins and the staff of the Society of Antiquaries Library, Maidstone Museum and the Hon. Editors for very helpful suggestions; but above all, John Page-Phillips for long and very enjoyable discussions about sixteenth-century brasses. Finally, we must thank the clergy of those churches where our investigations have led us for their interest and kindness.

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Repairs to Brasses, 1992

By WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the eleventh report on repairs which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Clavering, Orsett, Waltham Abbey and Writtle and for funding the facsimiles at Orsett; to the late J. C. Page-Phillips for palimpsest information; to the Redundant Churches Fund; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Barton Turf, Clavering, Daylesford, Orsett and Waltham Abbey; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Clavering, Daylesford and Salle; and the Monumental Brass Society at Daylesford.

BARTON TURF, NORFOLK¹

M.S.IV. Inscription to John Idewyn, 1497 (Fig. 1). This Norwich (series 3) inscription in 3 Latin lines (79 x 558 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 3 rivets) lies in the original slab (2055 x 905 mm) in the chancel. There is an indent for a missing chalice. The brass became detached from the slab in 1989 and I collected it on 21 April 1992. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid it on 29 July 1992.



FIG. 1

Barton Turf, Norfolk

M.S.IV. Inscription to John Idewyn, 1497 (Fig. 1)

Rubbing by William Lack

¹ Earlier work in the church was described in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), 306.

CLAVERING, ESSEX²

On 14 August 1991 two complete brasses and part of a third were removed for repair.

M.S.I. ——— Songar and wife, *c.*1480 (Fig. 2).³ This London (series B) brass now comprises a mutilated civilian effigy (originally 470 mm tall, now 289 x 136 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets) and a female effigy (438 x 158 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.9 and 3.4 mm, 3 rivets). A three-line Latin inscription, two scrolls, four sons and nine daughters are now lost as is the original slab which lay in the south aisle. The brass was complete when Cole visited the church in 1743.⁴ A rubbing made in 1810 by Thomas Fisher and now in the Society of Antiquaries' collection shows that the scrolls and the sinister half of the inscription were then lost. By 1881 the other half of the inscription and the upper part of the male effigy had been lost and the remaining plates were loose at the Vicarage. In 1925 the brass was on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum and was subsequently mounted on the south aisle wall. The female effigy and the children were later stolen but the female effigy was recovered from private possession in Germany in 1968 and had not been replaced in the church.

After removing corrosion I fitted new rivets, rejoined the two parts of the female effigy and repaired several fractures. I rebated the plates into a hardwood board and lightly outlined the upper part of the male effigy, the two groups of children and two scrolls. The positioning of the plates and the outlines were traced from old rubbings in the Society of Antiquaries.

M.S.III. Thomas Welbore and wife Ursula, 1591 (Fig. 3). This Johnson style brass, comprising the kneeling effigies of Thomas Welbore in civilian dress, his wife Ursula, one son and five daughters, a five-line Latin inscription, two scrolls, four shields and a crest, lies in the original slab in the nave. The upper sinister shield is lost. The only plate repaired was the lower sinister shield (150 x 127 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 3 rivets) which had recently come loose and was collected on 14 August 1991. After removing corrosion I fitted new rivets.

M.S.IV. ——— Day and wife Joan, 1593 (Fig. 4).⁵ This Johnson style brass comprises a civilian effigy (512 x 206 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 7 rivets), a female effigy (501 x 171 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 7 rivets) and an inscription in four English verses and one English line (146 x 459 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets). A group of three sons and one daughter were recorded by Holman *c.*1715⁶ but had been lost by 1743 when William Cole sketched the brass.⁷ According to Holman the brass lay "near the belfry" but the slab is now lost. The brass was loose at the Vicarage in 1912 and on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1925. Since then it had been mounted directly on plaster on the south aisle wall alongside M.S.I. The plates had become

² Earlier work in the church was described in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, pt.1 (1992), 57-8.

³ Described and illustrated by Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous, "Some Interesting Essex Brasses", *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. VII, 1900, 34-5.

⁴ *Brit. Lib. Add. MS.* 5804, f.131.

⁵ Described and illustrated by Christy, Porteous and Smith, *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. XII (1912), 227-8.

⁶ *Visitations of Essex*, 1878, 448.

⁷ *Brit. Lib. Add. MS.* 5804, f.129b and 130.

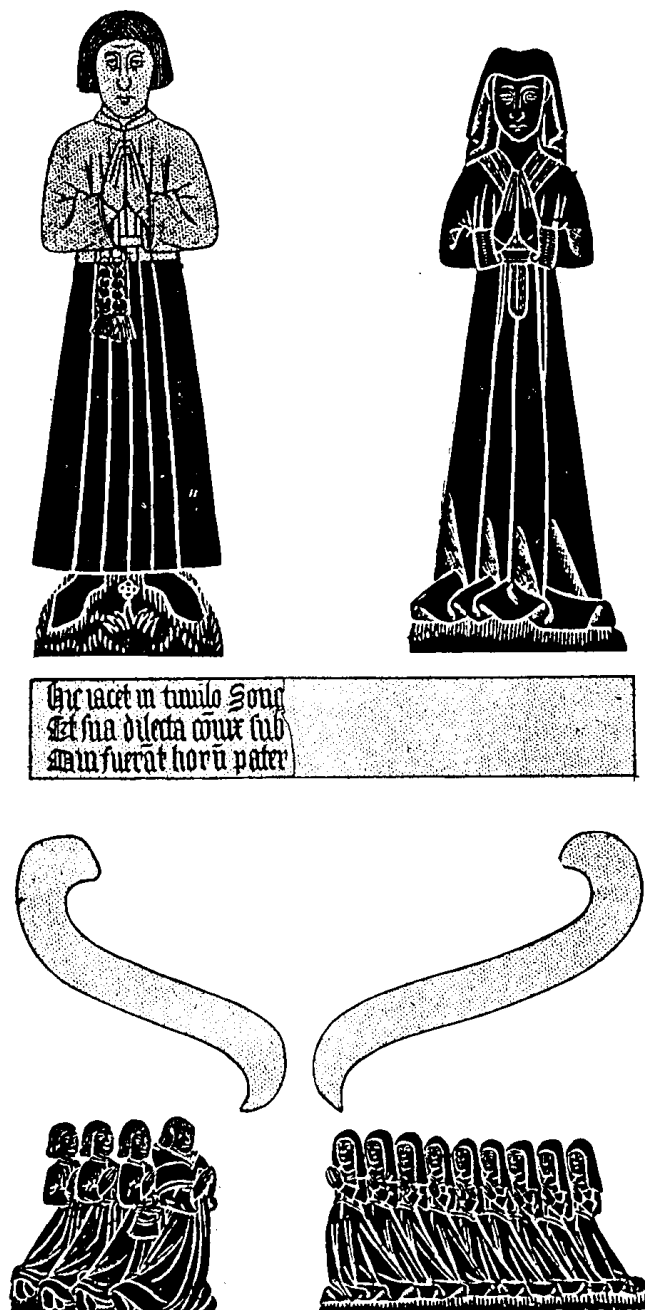


FIG. 2
 Clavering, Essex
 M.S.I. — Songar and wife, c.1480
Illustration from Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.

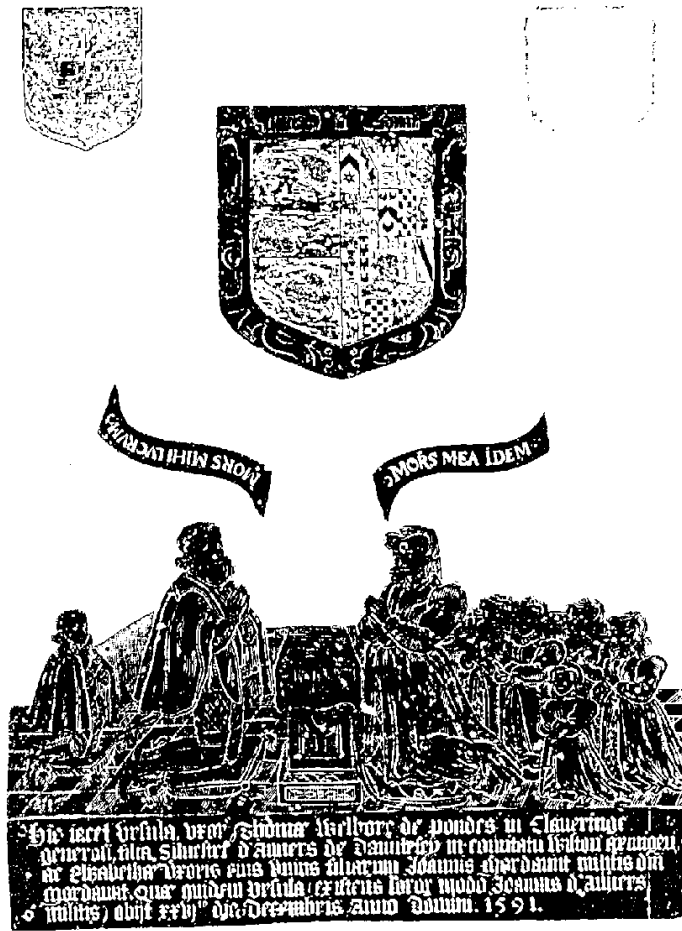


FIG. 3
Clavering, Essex
M.S.III. Thomas Welbore and wife Ursula, 1591
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 4

Clavering, Essex

M.S.IV. — Day and wife Joan, 1593

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield**Outline of missing children from rubbing in Society of Antiquaries*

corroded and there was limewash around the edges. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a hardwood board, positioning them as in an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

On 1 April 1992 I relaid the shield from M.S.III and mounted the boards on the south aisle wall.

DAYLESFORD, WORCESTERSHIRE (now in GLOUCESTERSHIRE)

M.S.I. William Gardiner, 1632 (Fig. 5).⁸ This London brass comprises a civilian effigy (1049 x 539 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 13 rivets), a six-line English inscription (166 x 464 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 6 rivets), four shields (upper dexter 120 x 117 mm, thickness 2.3 mm; upper sinister shield 145 x 120 mm, thickness 2.0 mm; lower dexter 144 x 120 mm, thickness 2.2 mm; lower sinister 144 x 120 mm, thickness 2.1 mm; 3 rivets in each shield) and a marginal inscription (1936 x 784 mm overall, engraved on 6 fillets 50 mm wide, mean thickness 2.4 mm). The brass had been relaid in a new marble slab (2020 x 865 mm) in the chancel *c.* 1860.

I removed the whole brass for repair on 22 January 1992. The original rivet holes had been greatly enlarged and countersunk. When relaid they had been blanked and new rivets had been soldered to the reverses of the plates. The brass had been bedded on plaster-of-paris and there was considerable corrosion on the reverses and around the edges of the obverses. The soldered rivets had begun to fail and in consequence the plates had become loose; I had found the two lower shields completely detached from the slab in 1988.

After removing corrosion I repaired several cracks and fractures, in particular along the lower edge of the inscription. I removed plugs from the rivet holes and fitted new rivets with large heads. The brass was relaid in the slab on 11 and 18 March 1992.

NORWICH, ST. JOHN MADDERMARKET (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)⁹

When the brasses were listed by Haines in 1861¹⁰ they remained in their slabs but had been taken up and mounted murally before 1891.¹¹ By 1926 they had been collected together on boards at the west end under the gallery.¹² After the church became redundant it was used by the Greek Orthodox church for some years and in 1984 the brasses were removed from the church and loaned to the Norfolk Museums Service. The church was vested with the Redundant Churches Fund in March 1990. I collected the brasses from the Castle Museum on 5 April 1991.

M.S.IV. William Pepyr and wife, 1476. This Norwich (series 1) brass now comprises a civilian effigy (717 x 212 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy (687 x 192 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets) and a modern inscription in five English lines (117 x 181 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets). It was originally laid in the chancel but the slab is now lost. An old rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries shows half of the original inscription and a merchant mark.

After removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a hardwood board, the separation between the effigies being obtained from the rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

⁸ Described and illustrated by F. J. Thacker, "The Monumental Brasses of Worcestershire", in *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. iv, (1926-7), 244-5.

⁹ Earlier work in the church was described in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, pt.1 (1992), 60-4.

¹⁰ *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, by Rev. Herbert Haines (1861), II, 144.

¹¹ *A List of Norfolk Monumental Brasses*, by Rev. Edmund Farrer (1891), 64-5.

¹² *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, by Mill Stephenson (1926), 353.



FIG. 5
 Daylesford, Worcestershire (now in Gloucestershire)
 M.S.I. William Gardiner, 1632
 Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

M.S.VI. Helen Caus, 1506. This Norwich (series 6) brass now comprises a female effigy (703 x 216 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 5 rivets), a shield (217 x 191 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 5 rivets) and a modern inscription in six English lines (115 x 182 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 4 rivets). The effigies of her husband Thomas, his first wife Joan and an inscription are lost. The brass was originally laid in the chancel but the slab is lost.

On the dexter side of the shield there are two surplus rivet holes neatly plugged with brass. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a hardwood board.

M.S.VII. John Terry and wife, 1524.¹³ This Norwich (series 6) brass comprises a rectangular plate engraved with a civilian effigy, female effigy, two sons, two daughters and two shields (902 x 655 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 8 rivets) and a twenty line inscription in English engraved on a separate plate (675 x 721 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 7 rivets). The brass was originally laid down in the chancel but the slab is now lost.

After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a hardwood board, positioning them as in an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries which shows the inscription above the effigies.¹⁴

M.S.VIII. John Marsham and wife, 1525.¹⁵ This Norwich (series 6) brass now comprises a civilian effigy (766 x 262 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 5 rivets), a female effigy (733 x 240 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 5 rivets), a bracket (upper part 228 x 390 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 3 rivets; lower part 192 x 152 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 2 rivets), a group of daughters (132 x 164 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 4 rivets) and a modern inscription in five English lines (118 x 181 mm, 1.4 mm, 4 rivets). The inscription, a group of five sons and three shields are now lost but are shown on an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.¹⁶ The group of daughters had been in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries for about a century. They agreed to return these on indefinite loan. The brass was originally laid down in the south aisle but the slab is now lost.

After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a hardwood board, positioning the plates and outlining the missing parts from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

M.S.X. Robert Rugge and wife, 1558 (Fig. 6). This Norwich (series 6 variant) brass now comprises a civilian effigy (957 x 397 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.6 and 3.9 mm, 23 rivets), a female effigy (897 x 380 mm, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 2.8, 2.8 and 3.3 mm, 21 rivets), a group of five sons (238 x 315 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 15 rivets), a foot inscription in seven English lines (398 x 805 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 21 rivets), a mutilated bracket (309 x 191 mm, engraved on two plates both with thickness 2.2 mm), four shields (upper dexter 288 x

¹³ Illustrated in *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, by J. S. Cotman (1839), I, pl.58, p.32, and *A Series of Photolithographs of Monumental Brasses in Norfolk*, by E. M. Beloe (1890-1), pl.18.

¹⁴ This arrangement is confirmed by the illustrations in Cotman and Beloe.

¹⁵ Illustrated in Cotman, I, pl. 59, p. 33.

¹⁶ And also in the Cotman illustration.



FIG. 6
 Norwich, St. John Maddermarket
 M.S.X. Robert Ruge and wife, 1558
 Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield
 Missing plates and positioning from rubbing in Society of Antiquaries

226 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 6 rivets; upper centre 228 x 168 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 6 rivets; upper sinister 279 x 215 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets; lower sinister 235 x 180 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 4 rivets) and two scrolls (upper dexter 103 x 376 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets; lower sinister 103 x 366 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 5 rivets). A group of three daughters, one shield and two scrolls are lost, the latter within the last fifteen years. In addition to these scrolls the illustration shows the lower dexter shield and several fragments from the effigies and bracket from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

The brass is a known palimpsest, the reverses showing parts of at least five brasses, including two large fourteenth-century ecclesiastics, one an abbot.¹⁷ The brass was originally laid in the south aisle. The original slab now lies at the west end under the gallery and is partly covered by the font. It has been cut off across the top shields and now measures 2540 x 1300 mm.

After removing considerable corrosion from the plates I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and rebated these into a hardwood board. I repaired several fractures, particularly in the bracket and in the female effigy which had suffered considerable damage and was in twelve separate pieces. I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a large hardwood board, positioning the plates and outlining the missing parts from the old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection.

The boards carrying M.S.IV, VI, VII and VIII were mounted on the west wall under the gallery on 26 February 1992, the boards carrying M.S.X and the facsimiles were mounted in the north porch on 14 December 1992.

ORSETT, ESSEX¹⁸

Four brasses were removed for repair on 24 July 1991.

M.S.I. Inscription and two groups of children, 1485. This London (series D) brass comprises a two line English inscription (57 x 714 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 4 rivets), a single son (191 x 70 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 1 rivet) and a pair of daughters (185 x 115 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 1 rivet). They are all that remain of the brass to Thomas Latham and wife and had been relaid in a new slab in the chancel with the children positioned above the inscription. In 1990 Martin Stuchfield had found the daughters lying completely loose in their indent. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Inscription recording the benefaction of Thomas Hotofte, 1495. This London (series D) inscription in eight English lines (149 x 635 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 8 rivets) had been screwed to a board on the south wall of the nave. There is a small separate plate let into the main plate and secured with solder. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a hardwood board.

¹⁷ See "Notes on the Palimpsest Brass of Robert Rugge, 1558, in the Church of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich", by Mill Stephenson, in *Trans. Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.*, XIV (1900), 63-9; *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, pt. 6 (1902), 226-30, and *Palimpsests*, by J. C. Page-Phillips, (1980), pls. 147-8, nos. 40N1-15. Comparison of metal thicknesses shows that the lion on 40N13 forms part of the base of the large ecclesiastic (40N5-8), rather than the abbot (40N1-4).

¹⁸ The brasses have been recently described and illustrated by H. Martin Stuchfield in *Essex Jour.*, XXVII (1992), 113-6, and in abridged form in *Panorama* (The Journal of the Thurrock Local History Society), no. 33 (1993), 13-17.

M.S.III. Six daughters, *c.*1520. This London (series G) brass (140 x 172 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 1 rivet) had been displayed in an exhibition case in the nave for many years. The original slab (1505 x 650 mm) lies in the nave and there are also indents for a civilian effigy, female effigy, inscription and four sons. Removal of cement from the indent for the daughters showed that it was in good condition. After cleaning I fitted a new rivet to the plate.

M.S.IV. Civilian, *c.*1535. This London (series G) brass comprises a kneeling effigy (228 x 168 mm, engraved on three plates with thickness 3.3, 3.6 and 2.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a mutilated scroll (now 149 x 196 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets). The plates had become loose and were removed from the original marble frame on the south wall of the north chapel. There are indents for a missing foot inscription and a representation of the Trinity. The surface of the stone is in poor condition and is very fragile. In consultation with the Chelmsford D.A.C. it was agreed that the stone would need specialist conservation and as a temporary measure the brass should be mounted on a hardwood board.

The brass proved to be palimpsest. The reverse of the main plate of the effigy shows the head and hands of a civilian, *c.*1480, the reverse of the dexter shoulder of the effigy shows some chain mail and the scroll is cut from an earlier scroll, *c.*1480. The third plate of the effigy is not palimpsest and there is one surplus hole in the effigy neatly plugged with brass. After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and mounted these on a hardwood board together with a small brass plate recording the donation of the board and facsimiles by Mr Stuchfield. I rejoined the three plates of the effigy and fitted new rivets. The effigy and scroll were rebated into a hardwood board with the missing plates outlined on the board.

On 7 March 1992 M.S.I and III were relaid in their slabs and the three boards were mounted murally, that carrying M.S.II on the south nave wall and those carrying M.S.IV and the facsimiles on the south wall of the north chapel.

SALLE, NORFOLK

I removed two inscriptions from their slabs on 29 July 1992.

M.S.II. Geoffrey Boleyn and wife, 1440.¹⁹ This London (series B) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (640 x 168 mm), a female effigy (611 x 195 mm), three scrolls and a two-line Latin inscription (84 x 611 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2500 x 1230 mm) in the nave. The slab is considerably worn with the indents for two lost groups of children being scarcely discernible. The only plate repaired was the inscription which had become loose and proud. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.XVII. Inscription to Katherine Good, *c.*1530 (Fig. 7). I removed this Norwich (series 6d) inscription in two Latin lines (54 x 66 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets) from the original slab (1285 x 615 mm) in the nave. It had become loose at the sinister end,

¹⁹ Illustrated in *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, CXXXI (1978), 74.



FIG. 7
Salle, Norfolk
M.S.XVII. Inscription to Katherine Good, c.1530
Rubbing by William Lack

the rivet and plug having pulled out of the stone. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 14 December 1992.

SPETCHLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)

I removed the two brasses²⁰ for repair on 21 December 1991.

M.S.I. Shield, 1629. This London-engraved shield (307 x 274 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 6 rivets) had been relaid in a new slab in the chancel and secured with a mixture of steel rivets and screws. It had been bedded directly on cement and the reverse was considerably corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Inscription to William Smyth, 1658. This London-engraved inscription in seventeen Latin lines (539 x 557 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 19 rivets) had been relaid in the same slab as M.S.I and secured and bedded in the same way. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in the slab on 6 May 1992.

TARRANT CRAWFORD, DORSET (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)

M.S.I. Inscription to John Karcaut, fifteenth century (Fig. 8). I removed this three-line Latin inscription (75 x 173 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 2 rivets) from a small board on the south wall on 13 August 1992. It had been secured with two small woodscrews. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and re-secured the brass on 13 October 1992.

WALTHAM ABBEY, ESSEX

Two of the brasses were removed for repair on 4 December 1991.

²⁰ The brasses were described and illustrated by E. A. B. Barnard and J. F. Parker in "The Monumental Brasses of Worcestershire", in *Worcs. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. XVII (1939-40), 1-2.

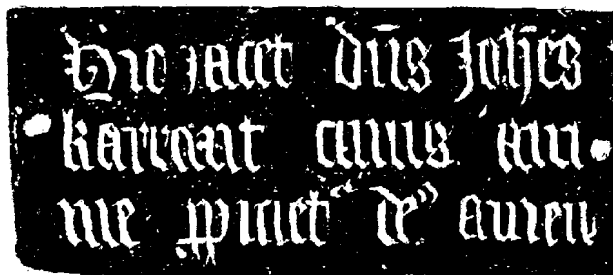


FIG. 8
Tarrant Crawford, Dorset
M.S.I. Inscription to John Karcaut, 15th century
Rubbing by William Lack

M.S.I. Edward Stacy, 1555, and wife Katherine, 1565, engraved c.1585²¹ (Fig. 9). This London (series G) brass consists of a rectangular plate (611 x 402 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 16 rivets) engraved with the kneeling effigies of Edward Stacy, his wife Katherine and their son Francis and an inscription and twelve English verses. The plate was black with corrosion and had been mounted in a modern wooden frame screwed to the south aisle wall. There are hammer marks on the reverse. In addition to the sixteen rivet holes there are small-diameter holes along the sinister and bottom edges. After cleaning I fitted new rivets, repaired a small fracture with solder and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

M.S.III. Inscription, benefaction of Robert Rampston, 1585.²² This London (series G) inscription in nine English lines (177 x 404 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 1.2 and 1.3 mm, 6 rivets) was originally laid down in the south aisle. For many years it was mounted on the south aisle wall but was removed c.1955. In 1980 it was mounted in a wooden frame and recently it had been locked away in the vestry. The two main plates are joined together with a rivetted backing-plate. The brass is thin and fragile and there are several areas of damage, particularly round the rivet holes. There are two small circular plates let in to the main plate and secured with solder. After cleaning I replaced these solder joints which were in poor condition, reinforced three fractures with solder, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

On 20 May 1992 the boards were mounted on the south aisle wall above the steps leading down to the crypt.

WINTERBORNE CAME, DORSET (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)

I removed two brasses²³ for repair on 13 August 1992.

²¹ The design and execution, especially of the inscription and its borders, is consistent with an engraving date of c.1585 at the very end of the 'G' series, the commemoration being retrospective and the wife depicted in an outmoded head-dress. This is contemporary with some other established 'antiquarian' representations as at St. Peter's, Colchester, Lavenham, Suffolk and Thames Ditton, Surrey.

²² One of a series of plates recording benefactions by Robert Rampston. Others survive in Essex at Chigwell, East Ham, Low Leyton, Walthamstow and Woodford and in Middlesex at Enfield. In *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV (1991), p. 533, I described the repair of the inscription at Walthamstow, another equally thin and fragile plate.

²³ Not listed by Mill Stephenson.

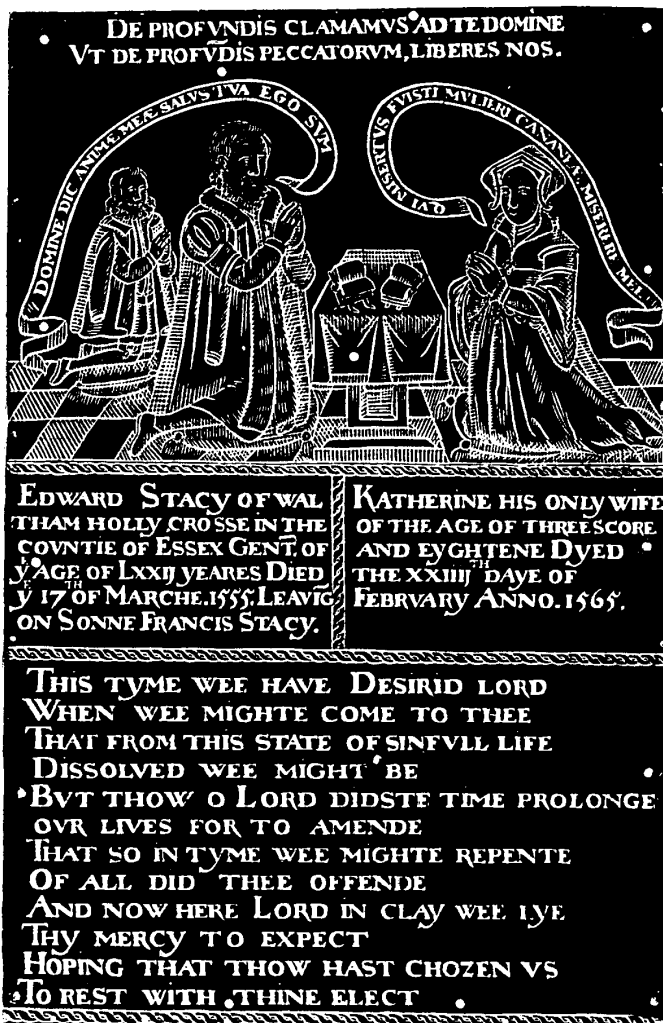


FIG. 9

Waltham Abbey, Essex
 M.S.I. Edward Stacy and wife Katherine, 1565
 Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

Dorothy Miller, 1591. (Fig. 10) I removed this Johnson style brass from the back wall of an altar tomb set against the south wall of the chancel. It comprises a rectangular plate engraved with a kneeling female effigy and a six-line English inscription (365 x 302 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 9 rivets) and an achievement (346 x 287 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 9 rivets). The plates had been reset and secured with modern woodscrews driven into wooden plugs and were very vulnerable. Both plates were considerably corroded. At some stage nine extra rivet holes had been drilled alongside the original holes. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

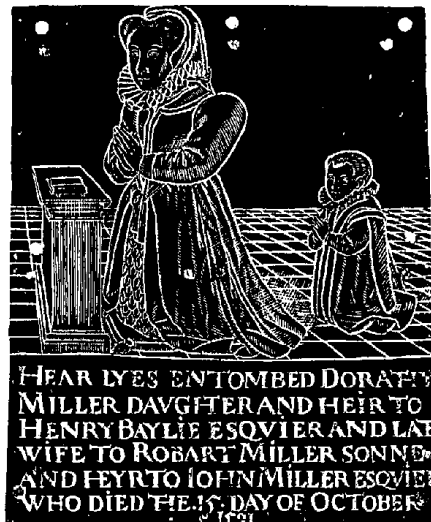
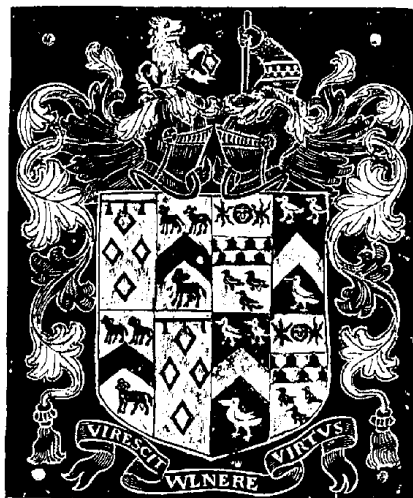


FIG. 10
Winterborne Came, Dorset
Dorothy Miller, 1591
Rubbing by William Lack

Inscription to Charles Notley, 1620. I removed this London-engraved inscription in four lines of Latin (128 x 342 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 6 rivets) from a lozenge shaped slab (measuring 655 x 650 mm) in the nave. It had been relaid and was secured by six screws. The reverse was considerably corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were reset on 13 October 1992.

WRITTLE, ESSEX

Four inscriptions to members of the Usborne family. These four inscriptions, originally mounted on boards in the Usborne Chapel, were being stored in the upper vestry at the time of the fire of 3 April 1991 and suffered considerable damage from the heat. They were delivered to me on 1 February 1992.

The brasses all carry the maker's name, 'CULN GAWTHORP & SONS, LONDON', and are engraved with similar decorated borders. The two earlier brasses, each in six English lines, commemorate Frances Alice Usborne, died 1911 (304 x 607 mm, thickness 1.6 mm) and her husband Thomas, died 1915 (302 x 609 mm, thickness 3.1 mm). The first, reinforced round the edge and across the centre with 30 mm wide 2.2 mm thick strips of brass soldered to the reverse, has the number '3184' engraved on the reverse and the second has '2775' stamped on the reverse.

The other two inscriptions, each in thirteen English lines, commemorate the children of Thomas and Frances Usborne, six sons who died between 1909 and 1961 (688 x 534 mm, thickness 3.4 mm) and six daughters who died between 1871 and



FIG. 11
 Writtle, Essex
 Palimpsest reverse of spacers from Usborne inscriptions
Rubbing by William Lack

1971 (686 x 535 mm, thickness 3.4 mm). The latter has the initials 'YJ' engraved on the reverse. The plates were probably engraved *c.*1930 with some details being filled in later.

The brasses were originally fitted with small spacers soldered to the reverse at each screw hole. During repairs one of the spacers on the inscription to the sons became detached and proved to be cut from an earlier inscription. Removal of other spacers from this brass and the daughters' brass showed more of the inscription, confirming that the two brasses were engraved at the same time. Unfortunately three of the original twelve spacers are lost. The spacers from Thomas' and Frances' brasses were blank. The inscription, shown in fig. 11, reads:

.. erecte(d to t)he Gl(ory) ..

.. John King of L..

.. h)is affectionate a(nd) ..

The spacers and a small explanatory plate will be rebated into a hardwood board which will be mounted in the Usborne Chapel.

The brasses had suffered considerably from the heat of the fire. They had become distorted and any remaining lacquer coating and coloured infill had become damaged and had melted. The heat had caused de-zincification and permanent discolouration in places. After judicious flattening and cleaning, the coloured infill was renewed with enamel paint and six rivets were fitted to each plate. The brasses were polished and lacquered and rebated into hardwood boards, the earlier two into a single board. On 1 July 1992 the boards were mounted murally in the Usborne chapel.

Obituary

JOSEPH ROGER GREENWOOD, F.S.A. (1936-1993)

JOSEPH Roger Greenwood was born on 25th July 1936 in Raynes Park. His family were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and this background had a profound effect on his life. He was educated at the Quaker school at Bootham, just outside the walls of York, sometimes travelling to York from the family home in Wimbledon by bicycle. After leaving school, he spent two years as a hospital porter at St Mary's Paddington as a conscientious objector to national service. He then went up to Worcester College, Oxford, to read history. During 1959, his



final year, he met Ann, his future wife. Following Oxford, he spent a year rubbing brasses before becoming a temporary probation officer. Two years at the London School of Economics gaining diplomas in social work then followed before he became a fully fledged probation officer, a career he pursued in London, Northamptonshire and Norfolk before ill health brought it to a premature end. Roger and Ann were married in 1964, shortly after he embarked on his career, and their children, Kate, Lucy, Alice and Henry were born during the years preceding the family's move to Norwich in early 1974.

Roger joined the Monumental Brass Society in 1952 and in the following years perfected both his rubbing technique and a knowledge of brasses which enabled him to impart his enthusiasm for the subject to many through the medium of courses for the Youth Hostels Association and exhibitions during the years of the brass rubbing boom of the 1960s and 1970s. His approach to the study of brasses followed the pioneering study of engraving styles by J. P. C. Kent although he paid tribute to the lead set over a century earlier by Rev Herbert Haines by entitling his first article in the Transactions *Haines's Cambridge School of Brasses* (1969, published in 1972). In fact, from his home at Wollaston, Northamptonshire, Roger had been simultaneously making a study of Coventry school brasses although as far as publication was concerned, only an article on one brass at Fawsley and a list of Coventry brasses appended to the report of the 1973 Warwick Conference in Bulletin 4 resulted. Shortly thereafter Roger moved to Norwich with the intent of studying Norwich styles of brasses and the work on Coventry was put aside.

As the first editor of the Society's Bulletin, Roger's enthusiasm was instrumental in ensuring its success. He edited the first 22 issues, beginning in 1972 and ending in 1979. These issues are full of little snippets, often reflecting Roger's study of documentary sources, which he continued to contribute after handing over the job of editor, conscious both that there was a limit to how fresh the ideas of an editor could be after more than 20 issues and that he wanted more time for his own research. Some of this research should appear in the Society's book in the future but his work on Norwich styles of brass engraving resulted in the publication of his analysis in *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches*. This book was a joint work with Malcolm Norris published by the Norfolk Churches Trust as part of a series. Although it attracted some criticism for the omission of the brasses of Norwich itself, this was because Norwich had its own churches trust at that time and the authors' brief was to cover the county churches only. The centre page double spread with its illustrated stylistic analysis of East Anglian made lettering styles was a significant innovation and covered Cambridge and Suffolk styles in addition to those of Norwich. Roger had carried out the original analysis using a contraption of his own devising, from which he hung strips with regularly spaced letters from each brass arranged vertically in alphabetical order with gaps for any letters missing from the inscription so that each letter in one strip was on the same level as the same letter on all other strips. He then moved strips from peg to peg until he had them arranged not only like with like but also showing each style's progression. It illustrates Roger's typical approach to such a problem, combining painstaking attention to detail with do-it-yourself. Both were further combined in his approach to the next task entrusted to him by the Society, the revision of Mill Stephenson's *List of Monumental Brasses of the British Isles*. The revision had already been underway for some years but Roger thought the original approach did not produce sufficient detail for such an important initiative. He produced meticulous instructions on how to record brasses and indents and began to publish sheets covering churches in a number of different counties. In addition he also provided guidance on how to make these sheets into a book. Roger's own extensive

notes are largely contained in such home made books. His Norfolk rubbings and notes have been left to the Society.

Roger's discovery both of the will of John Ayleward, parson of East Harling, in which he requested that a marble stone with a distinctive design in brass be bought of William Heyward of Norwich, and of the indent of Ayleward's brass was a major breakthrough in his research. Heyward was a Norwich glazier and Roger's existing interest in medieval glass intensified as he investigated the connections between Norwich made glass and brasses, a quest in which he was aided by David King, who is responsible for the work on the *Corpus Vitrearum* for Norfolk and Suffolk. It was fitting that the last church Roger visited was East Harling and that it was David King who took him there. Roger spent many hours in the Norfolk Record Office, systematically reading his way through the late medieval wills proved in the Norwich Consistory Court and uncovered many examples of brasses being ordered in wills. He also read Norfolk wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and published the will of Thomas Salter, a priest with Norfolk origins who ordered a brass from an unnamed London marbler, in *Norfolk Archaeology*.

Apart from his contributions to the *Bulletin*, Roger published relatively little. A number of short articles on Norfolk brasses appeared in the *Transactions* and elsewhere. On the other hand, a considerable number of his rubbings have been illustrated in the *Portfolio* and more recently in the *Portfolio of Small Plates*. Roger originally aimed to make his rubbings jet black, which he achieved, but more recently he came to realise that on worn and finely engraved brasses, he was losing some detail because of his technique and he consequently adapted it to a lighter but very even tone. In addition to brasses, he also rubbed coal hole covers and, when living in London, he had plenty of opportunity to record these vanishing examples of street furniture. In cooperation with John Page-Phillips, some of the more attractive designs were turned into a series of table mats. In the late 1980s he was filmed by Anglia Television's *Bygones* programme rubbing one of the few coal hole covers remaining in Norwich and discussing them in a studio interview, during which he displayed examples of the plates themselves from his collection. In recent years Roger rubbed many ledger slabs in Norfolk and decorated the front room of his house with some attractive late examples. He had begun to look at seventeenth century examples from a stylistic viewpoint and had identified some made in Norwich. Rather than rub all of the slabs in which he was interested, he photographed many, graduating from an automatic compact camera to an SLR, tackling the challenge of becoming a good photographer with his usual meticulous approach. He took many excellent photographs of medieval glass and painted screens and also delighted in taking informal pictures of his family, friends and colleagues.

Roger was a man of many interests: he made and flew kites, painted stones and made mobiles out of various materials. He listened to the music of J. S. Bach and to two types of music he performed himself, jazz and blues. Those who attended the Norwich Conference of the Society in 1990 will remember him singing his own compositions to the accompaniment of his steel bodied guitar. He was heavily committed to the Society of Friends as a governor, and later chairman of the

governors, of their school at Saffron Walden and also an elder of the Norwich Meeting. During his final illness he turned his attention to his stamp collection at those times when he was able to apply himself to anything. He enjoyed camping and after he moved to Norwich, he spent a camping holiday every year for many years with family and friends at Waxham on the Norfolk coast.

Roger continued to attend both general meetings and the Society's council as often as he could during his illness. He had recovered sufficiently from the initial onset of cancer to return to work before it struck again. He eventually died on 25th May 1993 and lies buried in the Quaker burial ground in Norwich.

JON BAYLISS

AN APPRECIATION FROM THE PRESIDENT

The incremental illness suffered by both our President John Page-Phillips and our Vice President Roger Greenwood, and the passing of Roger so soon after John, has to some extent blurred the loss suffered by the Society with Roger's death. In fact Roger was a lifelong and outstanding scholar of brasses whose energy, vision and challenging style will be very greatly missed. Jon Bayliss has rightly written his obituary and I have no wish to duplicate his appreciation. As President of the Society, as a friend in many undertakings, and as a receiver of invaluable advice and support from Roger I would, however, record the following view of him.

Roger brought three great qualities to the M.B.S. His scholarship was uncompromising, awesomely thorough, and driven by an enthusiasm that gave us his seminal article on the Cambridge Series, important initiatives on Midland and Suffolk brasses, and an analysis of the Norwich engravers and their work which will be of lasting value. His centre-page in the *Brasses of Norfolk Churches* epitomises the modern approach to stylistic analysis. His commitment was infectious, whether as a brass rubber, as a delver in original sources, or in the development of the *Bulletin* which he promoted. The *Mill Stephenson Revision* reflected his zeal to record the facts. None of this was the devoted work of a scholar anxious to make a reputation for personal gain, but on the contrary to encourage and involve others so that every member had an identifiable role. Thirdly was his challenging - at times iconoclastic - approach, a quality he brought to his role in Council, seeking new ways forward and intolerant of complacency. He will be deeply missed, all the more so as so many objectives to which he was devoted are being realised.

Roger wrote relatively little in formal published work but the importance of his contribution must not be underestimated on this account. The advances in the study of memorial brasses from the 1950s are undeniable, and Roger was a major contributor to these. I record this with great affection and respect both to Roger himself and to Ann who quietly contributed so much to his life with us.

MALCOLM NORRIS

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1: Angevine family, Theddlethorpe All Saints, Lincolnshire, M.S. II

Rubbing by Jon Bayliss, 21 August 1984

The only metal remaining of this brass is the lead shield, which Mill Stephenson identified as the arms of Angevine, impaling *a chevron between three mullets*. The figures are apparently of the “Fens 1” series, which was operative between 1408 and 1430,¹ although the profile of the lady’s hairstyle implies a date towards the beginning of the range. The figures were both 61 cm high, the shield is 16 cm long.

Fig. 2: Canon Philip Polton, 1461, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford, M.S. I

Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 2 September 1992

This important brass in an Oxford college has been curiously neglected, apart from a tiny drawing of the figure shown in Kite’s *Wiltshire* (p. 28). Lost portions can be recovered from rubbings in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries and the Bodleian library.² The figure (29 cm. high) is unique in showing the canon’s vestments half-face, revealing the shape of the hood on the cope. The shields are entirely of lead, indicating an argent field: Richard Lee’s visitation notes of 1594 give the molets as azure.³ The slab, of ordinary Purbeck marble, measures 1.84 by 0.78 m and is probably in its original position in the ante-chapel. Philip Polton, whose parents are commemorated at Wanborough, Wiltshire (M.S. I and II) was born *c.* 1395, and proceeded Bachelor of Canon Law in 1428, when he became Archdeacon of Gloucester. He held a number of livings and was a notary public. In Oxford he built and endowed a chapel in St Aldate’s church, and seems to have been a member of the confraternity of All Souls, rather than a fellow as sometimes stated.⁴

I am grateful to the Bursar and Fellows of All Souls for exceptional permission to make a new rubbing for this illustration.

Fig. 3: Thomasina Heveningham and family, 1513, Writtle, Essex, M.S. III

Rubbing by Derrick Chivers, 9 August 1980

This unusual composition was apparently ordered by Thomasina Heveningham to commemorate herself, her three husbands, her parents and her grandparents, all of whom were named in the now lost inscription recorded in 1610 and printed by Christy, Porteous and Smith.⁵

Hic jacet Thomasina filia et heres Thomae Heveningham junioris Armigeri, filii et heredis Thome Heveningham senioris armigeri, et Thomasine consortis sue; qui quidem Thomasina dicta filia et heres primo nupta fuit Thome Berdefeild, secundo Johanni Bedell, et ultimo Waltero Thomas,

¹ Sally Badham, “The Fens 1 Series: an early Fifteenth-Century Group of Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs,” *J.B.A.A.*, CXLII, (1989), 46-62.

² Bodleian MSS Rubbings Phillips / Robinson 723.

³ Bodleian MS Wood D 14, fo. 96.

⁴ Emden, A.B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, O.U.P. 1959, III, 1493-4.

⁵ *Essex Arch. Soc.* New Series Vol. IX (1903), 53.

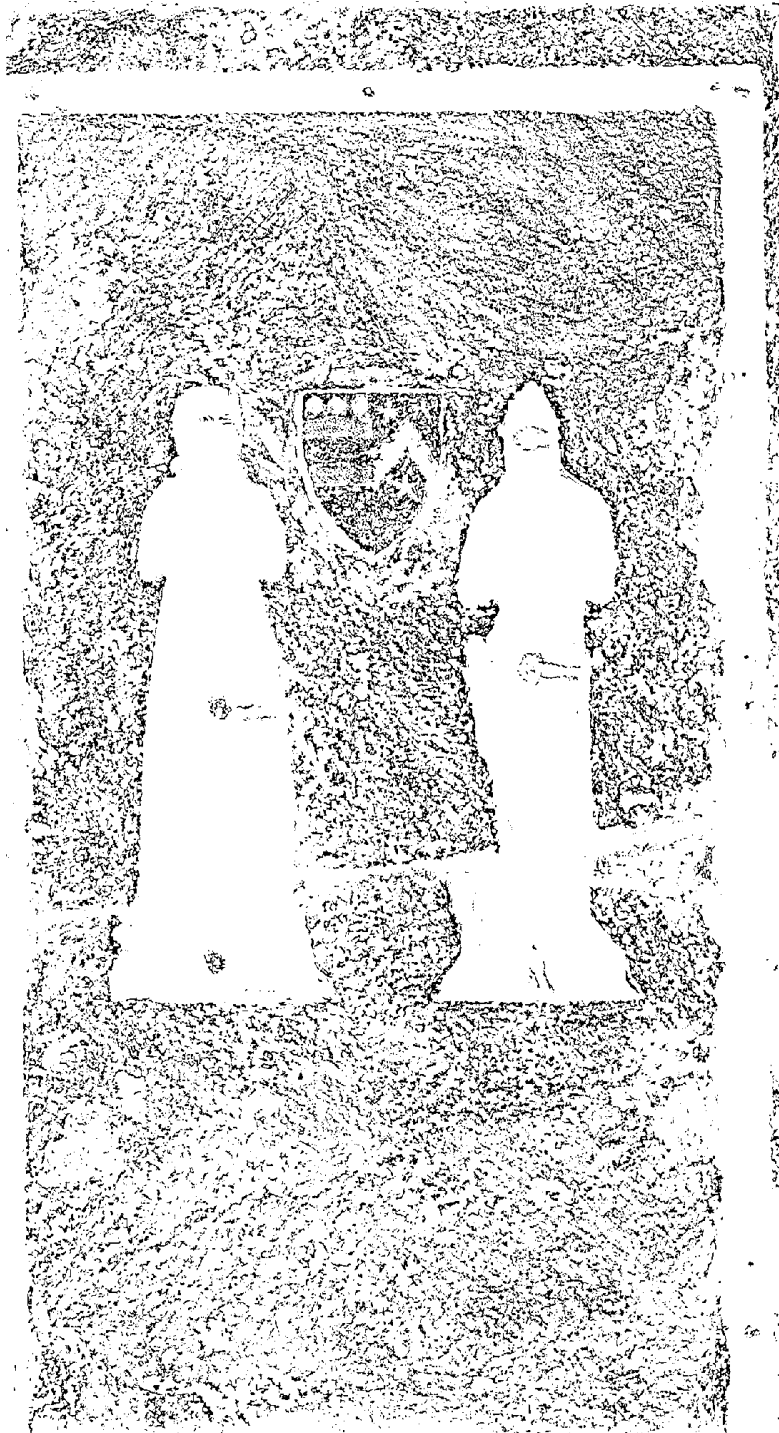


FIG. 1: Angevine family, Theddlethorpe All Saints, Lincolnshire, M.S. II
Rubbing by Jon Bayliss, 21 August 1984

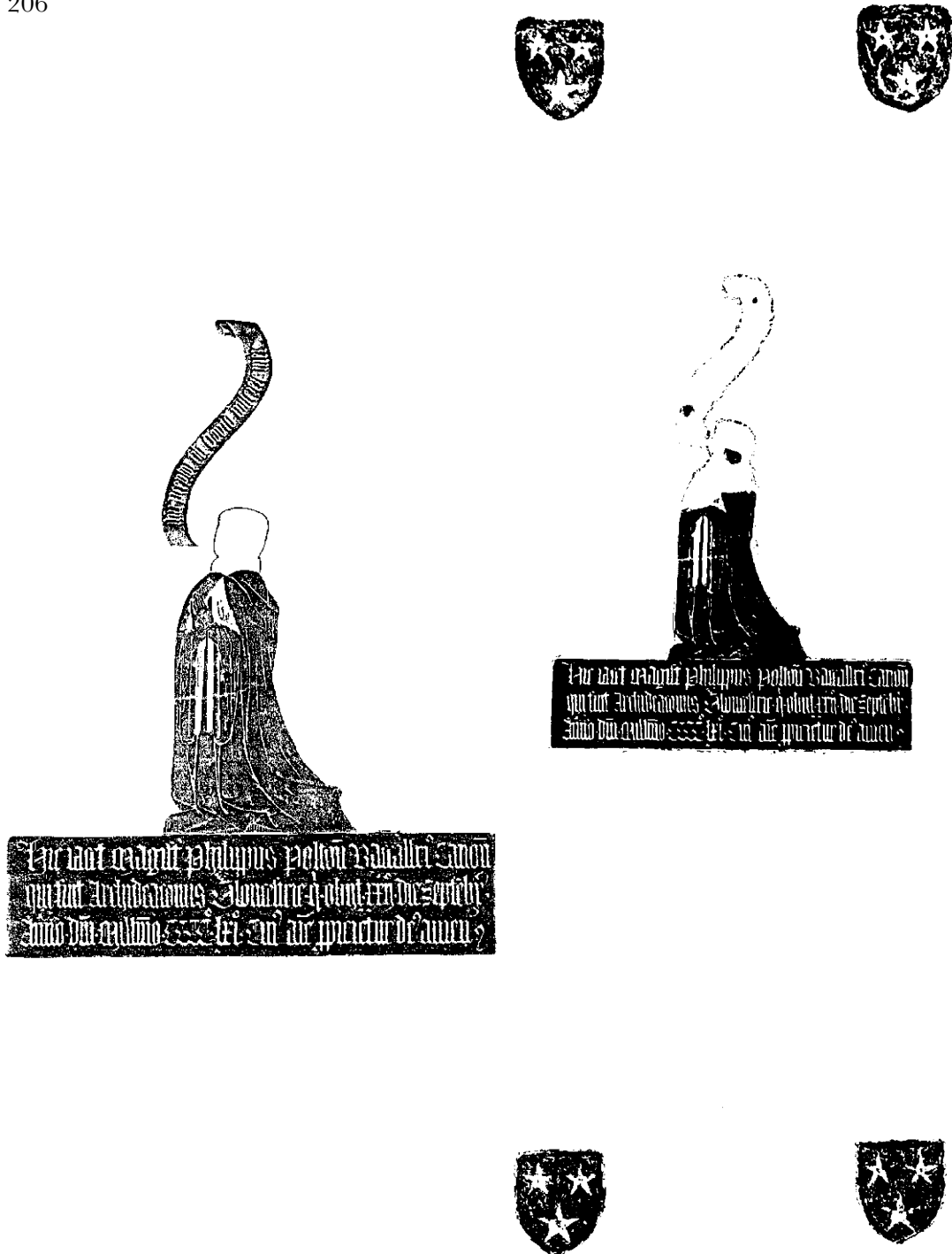


FIG. 2: Canon Philip Polton, 1461, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford, M.S. I.
Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 2 September 1992; inset; figure and scroll reconstructed from old rubbings



FIG. 3: Thomasina Heveningham and family, 1513, Writtle, Essex, M.S. III
Rubbing by Derrick Chivers, 9 August 1980

generosi; et obiit die martis, vicesimo primo Junii 1513; et qui quidem Thomas Heveningham senior et Thomasina consors eius ac Thomas Heveningham junior jacent partim sub isto lapide et partim magis directe coram Imagine Sancti Trinitatis; quorum animabus propicietur deus. (expanded)

(Here lies Thomasine, daughter and heiress of Thomas Heveningham junior Esq., son and heir of Thomas Heveningham senior Esq. and his wife Thomasine. The first mentioned Thomasine, daughter and heiress, married (1st) Thomas Berdefeild, (2nd) John Bedell, (lastly) Walter Thomas, gent., she died on Tuesday 21 June 1513. The above mentioned Thomas Heveningham senior and his wife Thomasine and Thomas Heveningham junior are buried partly under this stone and partly much closer to the image of the Holy Trinity. May God have mercy on their souls.)

The figures presumably represent the lady, her father and her grandparents, while the three husbands have to be content with their coats of arms, shown impaling the paternal arms of Heveningham. The figures, 74 - 78 cm high, are typical, but a pleasing variety is introduced by the variations in posture and details of lappets and girdles, all within the repertory of the early 'G' workshop. The brass is in its original slab of Purbeck marble, 2.435 by 1.220 m, originally in the chancel, then moved to be against the wall of the south chapel, and now on the floor of the north transept.

Fig. 4: Roger Smysinck, 1548, and Goswin Spiegelde, 1793, Domkirche, Münster, Germany

Rubbings by K. Prince

Our former President H.K. Cameron published the only available list of Continental brasses over twenty years ago, without claiming to be definitive, and indeed the most superficial visitor can find many unrecorded brasses, particularly in Germany. Enormous numbers of small brasses survive, many of which combine engraved work with low relief casting making the border line between "brass" and "effigy" difficult to define. In the cathedral of Münster in Nordrhein-Westfalen there are no less than ninety brasses additional to the two in Cameron's list, mostly consisting of inscriptions and heraldry, and ranging in date from 1548 to 1803. Of these, two typical examples are here illustrated. The first, measuring 74 by 69 cm, is to Roger Smysinck, 1548, Dean of the Cathedral, and his brothers Hermann and Frederick and nephew Hermann, all of whom predeceased him. The four shields are partly in relief, as is the surrounding frame. The second is a fine heraldic plate, 56 cm square, again with relief details, to Goswin Antonius Spiegelde von Iesenberg, who held various dignities in the city and died in 1793 aged 81.

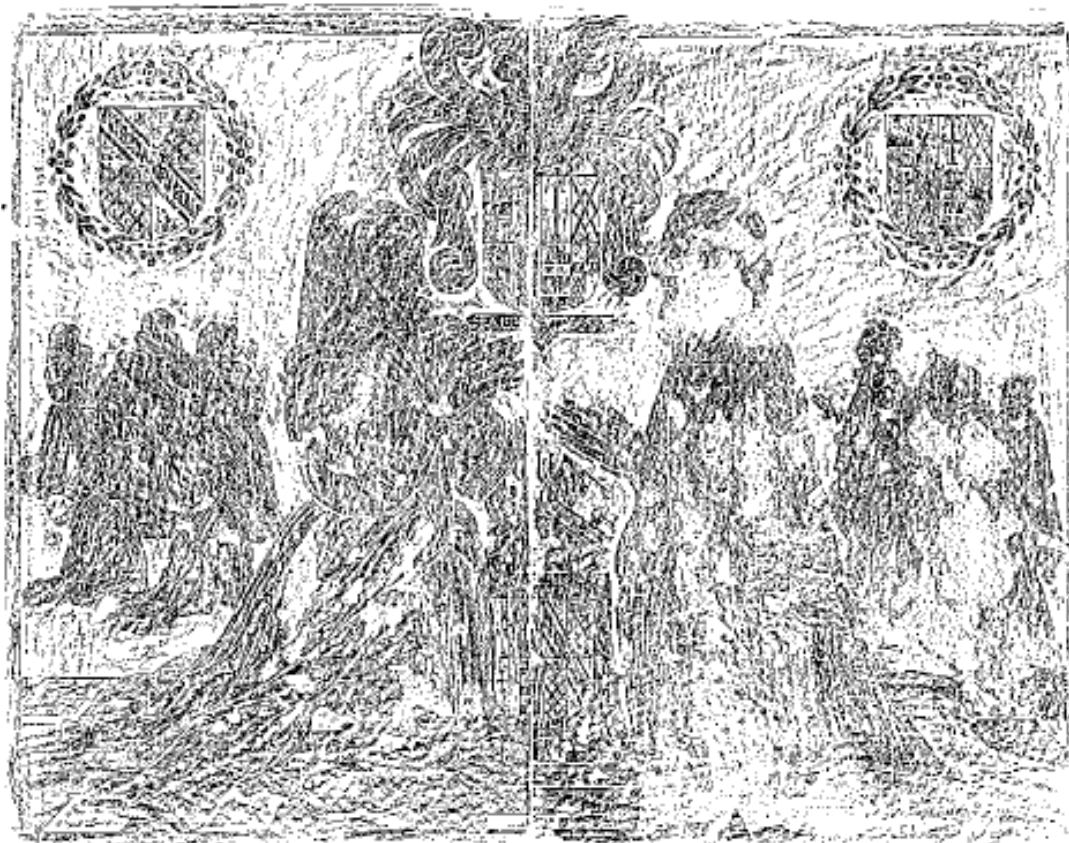


FIG. 5: Sir William and Mary Norreys, 1592, Bray, Berkshire
Rubbing by Francis Randolph, 26 Feb., 1971

Fig. 5: Sir William and Mary Norreys, 1592, Bray, Berkshire
Rubbing by Francis Randolph, 26 Feb., 1971

This important incised slab, presumably a product of the Southwark school, has deteriorated considerably since this rubbing was made - it clearly should not be rubbed again but deserves recording.⁶

It shows a Gentleman Usher of the Order of the Garter in his Garter mantle over armour, confronting his wife and accompanied by their twelve children and heraldry; a familiar arrangement in an unfamiliar medium. It is cut on two panels of black touch, together measuring 67 by 86 cm. The inscription in capitals is on a similar black panel 24 by 69 cm, and both are set in a elegant frame of alabaster 1.56 by 1.07 m, with a shallow pediment flanked by grenades, and bearing scrolls "VIVIT POST FVNERA VIRTVS" and "PENITENDVM EST NAM MORIENDVM

⁶ The badge of the Garter alone is reproduced in Jim Bracken's *Order of the Garter* 1991, 79, which shows how much has decayed.

EST". It is on the wall of the North Aisle.

The inscription records in English the full career of Sir William Norreys, and his death on 16 April 1591, but his wife is named only in Latin: she was Mary, the daughter of Blessed Adrian Fortescue, Knight of St John, who was put to death by Henry VIII for denying the Royal Supremacy on 10 July 1539.⁷ She records that she had the monument made at her own expense in 1592.

*WILLIAM NORREYS OF FIFILD IN BRAY ESQ^R WHO WAS VSHER OF THE
P'LIAMENT HOWSE & OF THE / NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, A
GËTLËMA PENCIONER, COMPTROLER OF THE WORKS OF WINDESOR
CASTLE / & P'KS THER, & KEEPER OF FOLLIJHON PARKE. W^{CH} OFFICES HE
HAD BY 1^E GIFTE OF QWEEN MARIE & / ENJOYED THEIME DVRRINGE LIFE,
MOST FAITHFVLLY SERVINGE HIS NOBLE SOVERAINE QWEENE /
ELIZABETH, A IVSTICE OF PEACE OF BARKSHERE EVER OF HONEST
BEHAVIOR & GOOD REPVTATION / FAVORINGE THE VERTWS PLESVRINGE
MANNIE HVRTINGE NONE, DIED AT HIS HOWSE OF FIFELD 16 APRILIS /
1591 AT THE AAGE OF 68 YEARS AFTER HE HAD BË MARIED 43 YEARS &
HAD ISSVE 6 SONNS & 6 DAWGHTERS / & IS INTERRED BY HIS
AWNCESTORS VNDER THE STONE GRAVEN WTH HIS ARMES, HEARBEFOR
LIINGE.*

*INNOCVVS VIXI, SI ME POST FVNERA LÆDAS,
COELESTI DOMINO LACTA (SCELESTE) LVES.
MARIA EX FORTESCVRV FAMILIA ADHVC SVPERSTES VIDVA RELICTA
SVPRADICTI WILLIELMI / NORREYS HOC MONVMENTV SVIS EXPENSIS
OPTIMO SVO MARITO DEFVNCTO CVRAVIT FIERI / 1592*

Fig. 6: William Watkinson and family, 1614, Bugthorpe, Yorkshire North Riding
Rubbing by Patrick Farman, 1991

It is not often that we can introduce our members to an unrecorded English figure-brass, but this fine representation of a Jacobean family has only recently been discovered. It is clearly a product of the Southwark school, of a type that was much more popular twenty years or so earlier. Like many Southwark brasses, it is set in an elaborate stone surround with coloured heraldic shields, very high up on the church wall. The inscription appears to be unfinished, and it seems a further date of death should have been added. The plate measures 496 x 597 mm.



FIG. 6: William Watkinson and family, 1614, Bugthorpe, Yorkshire North Riding
Rubbing by Patrick Farman, 1991

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY GENERAL FUND

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1992

	1991	1992		1992		1992
792			<i>Payments</i>			
12,727		4,717.99	8	1989 Transactions (Vol. XIV, Pt. 4)		5,416.12
2,879		14,149.43		1990 Transactions (Vol. XIV, Pt. 5)		6,405.53
2,000		2,878.69	2,811	Bulletins		2,509.00
		2,000.00	563	Meetings		576.46
		23,746.11	137	Mill Stephenson revision and publication		—
			1,427	Other printing, stationery and postage		1,005.57
			551	Travelling expenses		468.70
			145	Subscriptions		74.00
			101	Insurance		—
			—	Typewriter purchase		181.40
6,392		6,059.79				16,636.78
959		124.18		Balance at 31st December 1992		(832.98)
331		489.90	4,718	Cash in hand and at bank		15,345.23
667		158.98	14,149	National Savings Bank		—
171		368.39	2,879	12½% Treasury Stock 1992		2,000.00
411		2,201.68	2,000	Charifund		—
2,119		9,402.92				16,512.25
		£33,149.03				£33,149.03

H. M. Stuchfield
Hon. Treasurer

R. G. Oakk
Hon. Audit.

13th February 1993

Audit Certificate: I have examined the Receipts and Payments Account of the Monumental Brass Society General Fund for the year 1992, and certify that it is correct according to the books, vouchers, and information supplied to me.

26th February 1993

Notes:

1. No value has been placed on the Society's library, stock of publications and computer equipment.
2. At 31st December 1992 the Society was still due to produce the 1991 and 1992 Transactions for which the estimated liability amounted to approximately £13,000.00.
3. At 31st December 1992 the value of the Charifund holding was worth £7,511.26 (1991: £6,465.06).

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NOTE: Contributors are solely responsible for all views and opinions contained in the Transactions, which do not necessarily represent those of the Society.