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Cover: St. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar, brass to Mettell van Ceunbach, 1531, Linz, Rhineland

Two Unknown Brasses in the German Rhineland

by Dr RAINER BROCKMANN

BOTH these brasses, which are not mentioned in Cameron's *List*, are to be found in small cities south of Bonn. They are both no longer in their original place, and therefore difficult to find.

Linz, St Martin (Fig. 1)

The rectangular brass of Mettel van Ceuncbach in the old church of St Martin, Linz, measuring 63 by 49 cm, was located for decades on the south tower pillar at about 120 cm above ground level. It was held in place by four iron cramps, two on the upper and two on the lower borders. Now, since the old church has been closed for restoration, the brass plate has been kept for nearly twenty years in the priest's house among other antiquities.

The deceased, Mettel van Ceuncbach, was the wife of the customs officer Hermann Hoin, registered as *Beseher* in the list of citizens of Linz in the year 1532.

The upper part of the brass shows Saint Martin with the beggar. The saint, who is depicted with an aureole, is riding on his horse, and dividing his coat with his sword. He does not look at the kneeling beggar at his side, but looks towards the onlooker. His head gear is compatible with the style of the Renaissance period. The posture of the horse shows us that the engraver did not intend to show an enclosed static scene, since by the lifting of the horse's left forefoot the impression is given of forward movement.

The poor beggar, dressed in a simple cloak, is kneeling on wooden stump feet, and on his left side leans upon a crutch, which is set under his shoulder. He is looking sorrowfully at the saint, and stretches out his right hand to him in hopeful anticipation of a charitable gift.

The whole scene is depicted in a very natural setting: the saint is riding on his horse on a simply portrayed ground surface, and the beggar too is kneeling on this ground. The background of the picture is formed by a masonry pattern, very distinctly designed and engraved. The choice of this scene on the brass of Mettel van Ceuncbach is easy to understand when we remember that St Martin is the patron of this old church.

Beneath the scene of Saint Martin and the beggar, the lower half of the brass is filled with an inscription in six lines. Each line is separated from the next by a narrow bar, which is raised or embossed in the same way as the letters themselves. The background is cross-hatched, thus forming a long rectangle for each line.

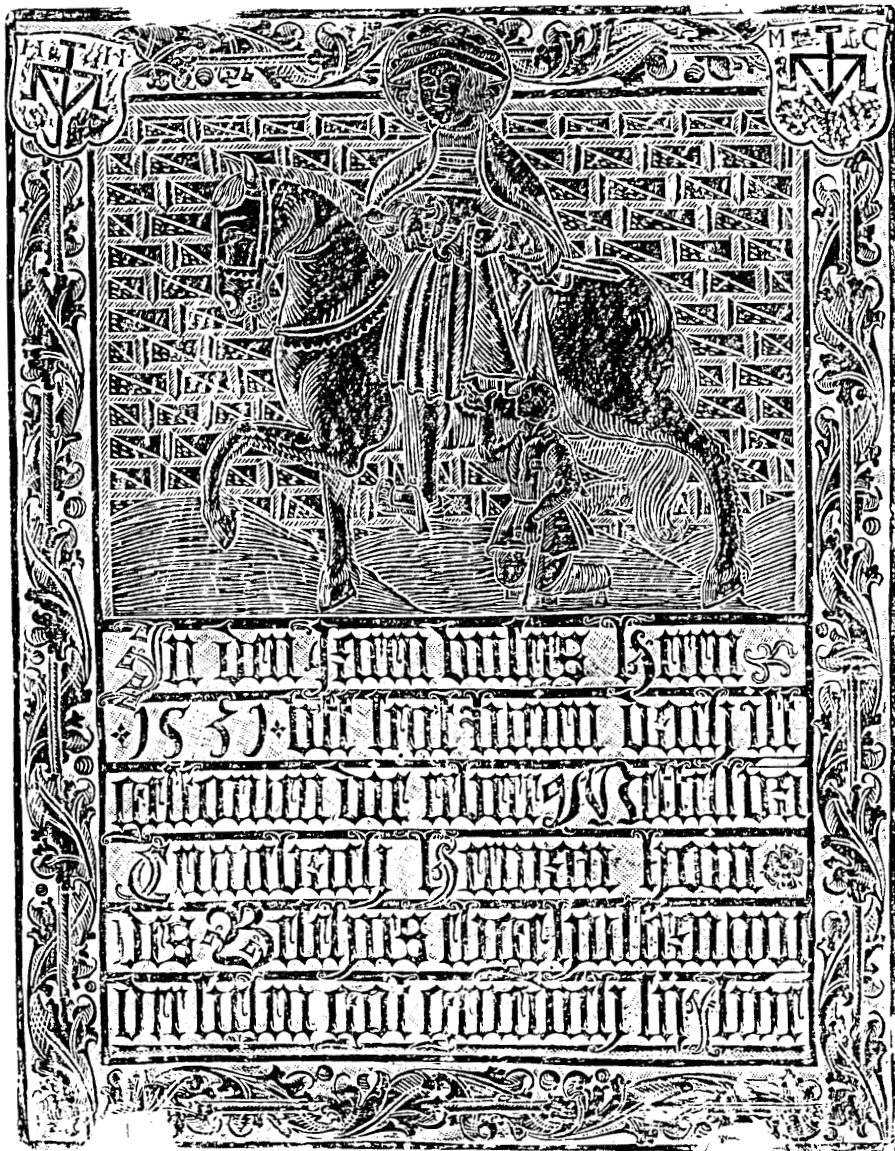


FIG. 1

Mettell van Ceunbach, 1531, Linz, Germany.

Rubbing by Dr R. Brockmann

The lettering style is a typical late-Gothic script, in which the initial letters are in majuscule form, and therefore richly decorated. At the end of a line or after a clause are other decorations, such as a leaf ornament at the end of the first line, or a rosette at the end of the fourth.

The six-line German inscription, which is not always easy to read, is as follows:

*In den Jaren unsern Heren / 1531 uff sent lucien dach ist / gestorven die erbere
Mettell va[n] / Ceuncbach Herman hoin / des Besehers elige husfrauwe / der
sielen got genedich sy Ame[n].*

(In the Year of Our Lord 1531, on St Lucien's day [7 January], died the honourable Mettell van Ceuncbach, dear wife of Hermann Hoin the Inspector; may God have mercy on her soul, Amen.)

Both the picture of St Martin and the inscription are surrounded by a 4 cm wide border adorned with a climbing plant turning clockwise round a staff. This staff is interrupted at the upper two corners by coats of arms, both of the same outline, and both inclined slightly towards the other. The shield in the upper left corner bears the device of the Hoin family, indicated by the two letters in the upper corners, H H, doubtless meant for Hermann Hoin. The shield in the upper right corner differs only slightly from the counterpart, the device is very similar. The two initials, M C, likewise in the upper corners, signify Mettel van Ceuncbach.

The brass of Mettel van Ceuncbach is in its form and shape typical of German brasses in the first half of the sixteenth century. These adopt in certain respects designs and features typical of an earlier period, particularly the lettering, but at the same time they make use of ornaments and decorations which derive from the Renaissance.

There is no indication of the place of origin of this brass, but the quality of work indicates that it was not made in Linz itself.

Neuwied Castle (fig. 2)

Thirty kilometres south of the town of Linz, in the castle of Neuwied, is another brass which is not recorded in Cameron's book. This engraved brass inscription, measuring 63 by 46 cm, is the last surviving fragment of a large double monument for Graf Wilhelm von Wied-Isenburg, died 1462, and his wife Philippa von Hexburg, died 1472. Its original location was in the monastic church of Rommersdorf, which in former times was the place of burial of the Wied family.

Graf Wilhelm von Wied-Isenburg lived from 1399 to 1462, and was by his first marriage husband of Margarethe von Moers, by his second marriage husband of Philippa von Loen and Heinsberg-Hexburg, who survived her husband by ten years.

During the seventeenth century the monument was re-erected in the right aisle, because it obstructed the view through the choir to the high altar.¹ According to a description dated 15 November 1820 it was still intact and in its place then.² The oldest illustration in Fischer, from 1775, shows the monument of Graf Wilhelm and his wife erroneously with the wrong inscription plate: this plate belongs to the

¹ Clemen, Paul, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, vol 16, part 2 (Kreis Neuwied), Düsseldorf, 1940, 379.

² Fürstlich Wiedisches Archiv (F.W.A.), Neuwied, Schloß 3-14-4; see also Fischer, *Geschlechtsregister*, 1775.

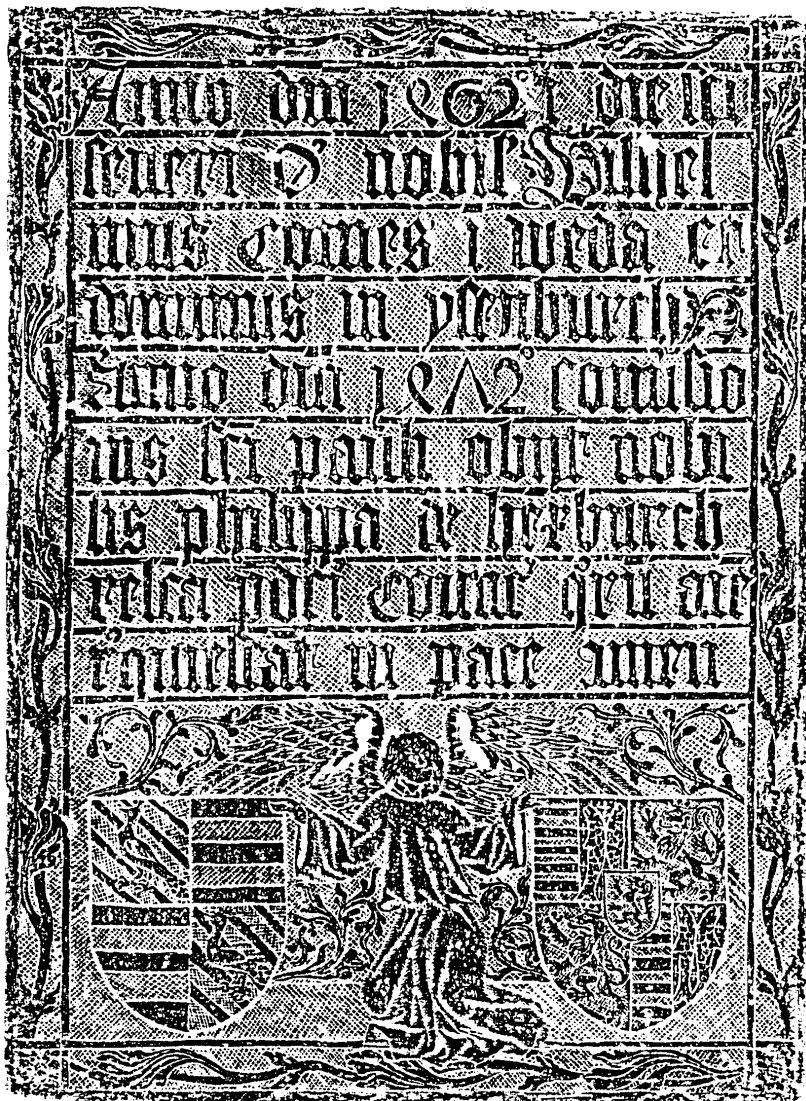


FIG. 2

Wilhelm von Wied-Isenburg and Philipa von Hexburg, 1472
 Schloß Neuwied, Germany.
Rubbing by Dr R. Brockmann

adjacent mural monument of Graf Salentin V of Isenburg, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, who died in 1610. His stone monument, which shows him kneeling with his wife,³ was still in 1820 above the monument of Graf Wilhelm.⁴

³ He resigned his Archbishopric and married in 1577.

⁴ F.W.A. 14-14-4.

At the end of 1820 all the monuments of the monastic church (which since 1815 had belonged to the Prussian State, together with all the monastic buildings, and were sold during that period) were relocated in the new mausoleum of the Wied family in Dierdorf, with the exception of the double monument of Graf Wilhelm, which was lost. Presumably the tomb-chest was covered with many small brass plates on the sides, all of which, with the fortunate exception of the inscription plate, were probably hammered off, stolen and melted down because of their metal value.

The brass inscription plate was brought to Dierdorf in 1820 without the other now lost parts of the monument, but with all the other intact memorials, and was placed for more than seventy years over a tombstone of the fourteenth century, to which it could not possibly belong stylistically.⁵ After the Dierdorf mausoleum was broken into in 1892 the brass inscription plate was copied in marble and the metal plate was brought to the Castle of Neuwied for fear of another burglary. Subsequently the brass was moved to Monrepos Castle, where it remained for several decades.⁶ Now this brass once again adorns the Prince's room in Neuwied Castle; it is not permanently fixed there but rests on the ground leaning against the fireplace besides a fire-back.

It is in very bad condition: on the reverse one may see evidence of its violent removal from the wall, and eight notches on the outer border seem to be traces of an earlier mounting. On the front the colour is not consistent or uniform, but rather looks as if black paint has been spilt onto it. There is also verdigris on parts of the border, and traces of rust on the lower left side, signs of the plate being in a bad condition. It deserves a proper cleaning and a more worthy setting.

The greater part of the plate is occupied by a nine-line Latin inscription, in Gothic miniscule lettering, which gives details of the deceased persons and their date of death. It reads as follows:

*Anno d[omi]ni 1462 i[n] die s[an]c[t]i / severi O[b]iit nobil[is] Wilhel / mus
Comes i[n] weda et / dominus in ysenburch. / Anno d[omi]ni 1472 conv[er]sio /
nis s[an]c[t]i pauli obiit nobi / lis philippa de hexburch / rel[i]c[t]a p[re]d[i]c[t]i
Comit[is] q[u]oru[m] a[n]i[m]e r[e]quiesca[n]t in pace amen.*

(In the Year of Our Lord 1462 on St Severus' day [22 October] died the noble Wilhelm, Graf von Wied and Lord of Isenburg. In the Year of Our Lord 1472 on the day of the Conversion of St Paul [25 January] died the noble Philippa von Hexburg, widow of the aforesaid Graf. May their souls rest in peace, Amen.)

The inscription is in raised lettering, and the different lines are separated by raised bars; the background is cross-hatched.⁷ In the lower third of the plate is engraved an angel holding the shields of arms of Wied-Isenburg and of Hexburg on

⁵ Clemen, p. 379 and 94.

⁶ See Clemen, vol. 16, part 2; it was still there in 1940.

⁷ Compare the brass of Nikolaus Cusanus in Kues, 1488.



FIG. 3
 Wilhelm von Wied-Isenburg and Philipa von Hexburg, 1472
 Schloß Neuwied, Germany.
 Detail of angel's face

either side. His large broad wings overshadow these shields, and the feathers reach to the outer border of the panel. His wide garment, with many folds, overlaps the border with its leaf ornament, and the pattern of folds reveals that the angel is in movement towards the left.

Around the inscription and the shield-bearing angel is a leaf ornament about 3 cm broad, with alternating small and large leaves. This ornament, which stands out in high contrast to the hatched background, is interrupted by a flower in each corner.

This plate must have been made soon after the death of Philippa of Hexburg, together with the double monument already described; it is not of such high quality as the plate at Linz, some sixty years its junior. The finer details, such as the coats of arms, the face and especially the hands of the angel, and the surrounding leaf ornament are evidence of a not too skilful handling of the tools. A date of manufacture in or soon after 1472 is confirmed by the form of Gothic lettering. There is no indication of where this brass was designed or engraved.

An Incised Effigial Slab at Helland, Cornwall: Evidence for a Bodmin workshop ?

by PAUL COCKERHAM

Introduction

IT is the general way of things that we sort and categorize artefacts into some semblance of order: the detailed stylistic analyses of brasses, initiated by Kent in 1949 but not fully developed until 25 years or so later, are proof enough of this.¹ His classification is valuable in that it helps to show fluctuations of activity of the engravers of particular memorial types, leading to attributions of craftsmen, their organization and working practices, and generally provides a structure whereby our understanding of these memorials is deepened. To some extent these ideas and methods can be applied to other branches of medieval art - though the wide geographical distribution of brasses, their facility for being accurately copied and reproduced, and the sheer numbers which have survived, all combine to make them an ideal candidate for such study. Every now and then, however, one is faced with an effigy or inscription that does not, at first glance, conform to a pattern, and often therefore attributed to a novice or inexpert provincial workman - the proverbial "one-off". It is these atypical memorials which frequently provoke speculation as to their authorship and the reasons for their production.

In contrast with brasses, the wider study of incised slabs has been unjustly neglected and, although the products of three workshops have been firmly identified,² no detailed *corpus* of slabs in the U.K has yet appeared, let alone the results of widespread systematic analysis.³ In Cornwall one type of such memorial is peculiar to the county: there is a series of monuments, frequently with effigies boldly incised or sculpted in flat or low relief on large slabs of the native slate, which constitute a quite distinct body, isolated by their geography and hence their material, form and

¹ These are incorporated, enlarged and discussed by M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses - The Memorials* (2 vols., London, 1977); the same author gives an up-to-date summary in "Later Medieval Monumental Brasses: an urban funerary industry ...", in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns - Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992), 185-88.

² J. Bayliss, "Richard Parker 'The Alablasterman' ", *Church Monuments* V (1990), 39-56; and "Richard and Gabriel Royley of Burton-upon-Trent, Tombmakers", *Ibid.* VI (1991), 21-41; these two papers attribute precisely a number of incised slabs in the Midlands. Additionally, Sally Badham has identified an independent group of slabs in the east of the country. See S.F. Badham, "The Fens I Series: An Early Fifteenth-Century Group of Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs", *J.B.A.A.*, CXLII (1989), 46-62. F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs* (2 vols., London, 1976), I, ch.1, identifies several engravers and schools of workmanship not only in England but in Europe as well.

³ Greenhill's pioneering work led to his compilation of a list of *effigial* slabs in "Latin Christendom": *op. cit.*, II, currently being revised and enlarged by J. Coales. There is no widespread compilation of cross slabs, inscriptions or other memorials classified as incised slabs, though in the north of England, Ryder is making progress with this work. See P.F. Ryder, *The Medieval Slab Grave Cover in County Durham* (Durham, 1985), and *Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in West Yorkshire* (Wakefield, 1991).

craftsmanship.⁴ The bulk of them were produced for roughly 120 years from the early 1560s onwards, after which hanging wall monuments and headstones gradually took their place. The earliest such memorials appear in a form already fully evolved, in the main comprising large tomb chests rather clumsily made up of thick rectangular slabs of a soft grained, dark grey slate. The top slab usually bears a sizeable figure of the commemorated freely carved in very low relief, with lavish heraldic and ornamental displays on the front, sides and backplate; in general there is also an inscription and verses beautifully incised in an ornate black-letter script.⁵ By the early 17th century this boldness of conception is beginning to fade, with the use of smaller figures and a reduction of the entire memorial to a single piece of slate, originally on the floor but now often found fastened to the wall at eye height. These are worked in very low or flat relief, or simply engraved, with figures of the person(s) commemorated and their families within an ornamental surround. Alternatively there might be a panel bearing verses and heraldry; or, at its simplest, a marginal inscription in black-letter. These last examples show a partial return to the commonest form of memorial (excluding brasses) found in the county prior to the Elizabethan effigial tombs, as a number of late fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century slabs survives, with inscriptions and/or crosses, engraved with varying expertise. Although they are of local stone the designs are similar to those in Devon and further afield at this time, and so they represent part of a national trend which extended to Cornwall rather than the *Volkskunst* (as Pevsner would have it)⁶ of the Elizabethan monuments.

The isolated existence in Cornwall of a pre-Reformation incised effigial slab of slate is remarkable therefore, and this paper attempts to explore the historical context in which it was produced.

The Memorial to 'Vmfrey Calwodly'

On the floor of the south chapel of St Helena's church, Helland, adjacent to, and with its long side parallel with the chancel, is a large rectangular slab of dark grey slate (172 x 83.5cms) with a highly polished, worn surface. It bears the incised figure of a man dressed as a civilian in a full, flowing gown depicted by straight, vertical folds, open in front and reaching to the ankles. It has long, hanging false sleeves, his arms passing through slits towards the shoulders with his hands represented together at prayer; there is no belt at the waist. On his feet, which are splayed outwards, are clumsy broad-toed shoes. His head and neck have a smoothly curved outline, continuous with the contour of both shoulders and enclosing the regular oval of his face; presumably he had long straight hair reaching to the shoulders, the fine detail of which, like the facial features, has been worn away. There is no footrest, so the figure appears suspended in space. (Fig. 1)

⁴ There is a handful of similar examples in Devon, for example, at Kelly (1594), Sydenham Damerel (1634), Whitchurch (1626).

⁵ A good example is the tomb chest at Talland to John Bevill (1579), illustrated by C.S. Gilbert, *An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall* (2 vols., Plymouth Dock, 1817-20), II, facing p.920.

⁶ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Cornwall* (2nd. edn. revised by E. Radcliffe, Harmondsworth, 1970), 22.



FIG. 1
 Rubbing of incised slab of Vmfrey Calwodly (c.1535?)
 Helland, Cornwall

To either side of his head is a shield, each quite worn, but that on the dexter shows sufficient detail to be recognized as the arms of Calwodely: (*Az.*) *a pair of wings conjoined in lure (arg.) over all on a fess (gu.) three bezants.*⁷ The sinister shield bears Calwodely impaling, (*Az.*) *a bend (or) with a label for difference, for Carminowe.*⁸

There is a very worn marginal inscription in English black-letter, within lines, starting at the top dexter corner and running clockwise. It reads as follows:

⁷ S. Baring-Gould and R. Twigge, *An Armory of the Western Counties* (Exeter, 1898), 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.



FIG. 2

“The Gravestone of Humphry Calwodely, in Helland Church”
after Maclean

“Yow schall pray for / the Soule of Vmfrey Calwodly son & ayre of
[Thomas] Cal / wodly & Eliz. daughter / [& ayre to Otes Colyn]”

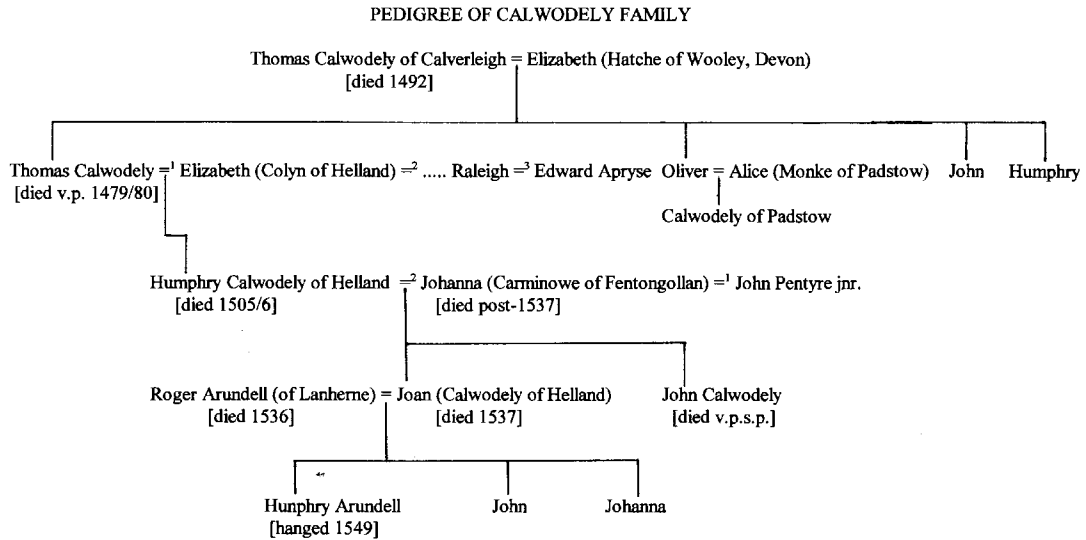
The unreadable words in square brackets are taken from Maclean’s careful transcription.⁹ He found the slab close by the south wall of the south chapel, just inside the priest’s door, presumably the same place where Gilbert saw it fifty years earlier. Even then it must have been very worn as the inscription is wildly misconstrued: “On the floor of the south aisle is a large moor-stone table, with a coarsely engraved effigy of a man, and the arms of Calwoodley impaled with those of Carminowe : part of the inscription is worn out and the remainder runs thus: ‘Yow saints pray for the soule of William Calwoodley, sonne and heire of ----- Calwoodly’.”¹⁰ Polsue¹¹ also gives an account of the slab, and the most recent is by

⁹ Sir J. Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the County of Cornwall* (3 vols., London and Bodmin, 1873-79), II, 15; his illustration is a good representation of the slab showing detail which is now worn out. (Fig. 2)

¹⁰ Gilbert, *op. cit.* II, 619. D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia - III - Cornwall* (London, 1814), 132, also record this slab but with the same confused transcript of the inscription; probably Gilbert copied the Lysons brothers.

¹¹ [J. Polsue], *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (4 vols., Truro, 1867-72), II, 168.

Bizley,¹² which shows that despite a radical restoration of the church fabric in the late 19th century it appears to have come to no harm and was replaced close to the original site in the south chapel.



Sources: Sir J. Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the County of Cornwall* (3 vols., Bodmin and London, 1873-79), II
 J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Cornwall, comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1530, 1570 & 1620* (Exeter, 1887)
 J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Devon, comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1531, 1564 & 1620* (Exeter, 1895)

FIG. 3
 Pedigree of Calwodely Family of Devon and Cornwall

Calwodely Family History (Fig. 3)

The Calwodely family originated from the parish of that name, now Calverleigh, near Tiverton in Devon¹³ where they were the local gentry but with considerable political standing as well. The Colyn family enjoyed a similar status in Helland having settled there in the late fourteenth century after a marriage to a local heiress.¹⁴ The Colyn line was also to fail however and the family heiress, Elizabeth Colyn, would no doubt have appeared quite an advantageous match for Thomas Calwodely jnr., the eldest of

¹² A.C. Bizley, *The Slate Figures of Cornwall* (Marazion, 1965), 56-7; her drawing is rather vague and she notes "Very worn, carving scarcely legible". This is in contrast to Greenhill's comment in his copy of Mrs Bizley's book (*penes* J. Coales), which reads "It made a fair rubbing in 1959!"
¹³ For brief accounts of the Devon family see, Rev. R. Polwhele, *The History of Devonshire* (3 vols., London, 1797-1806), III, 380-1; D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia - VI containing Devonshire* (2 vols., London, 1822), I, p.clxxxvii; G. Oliver and P. Jones (eds.), *A View of Devonshire . . . by Thomas Westcote, Gent.* (Exeter, 1845), 514; J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Devon . . . 1531, 1564 and 1620* (Exeter, 1895), 132.
¹⁴ One John Colyn was twice Sheriff of Cornwall, in 1388 and 1392 and later generations sat in Parliament for Lostwithiel and Launceston; see Maclean, *op.cit.*, II, 36, and J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421* (4 vols., Stroud, 1992), II, 640-1. I am grateful to Dr Nigel Saul for this latter reference.

the four sons of Thomas Calwodely, an astute politician with a demanding family to provide for. The marriage was an arranged one as Elizabeth's father Otes Colyn died in 1463 when she was only ten years old; that prior arrangements had been made is obvious when considering the terms outlined in his inquisition post mortem.¹⁵ He conveyed all his lands to Thomas Calwodely snr. in trust for Elizabeth, and also ensured that in the meantime the rents and profits of the lands were to be used by him for Elizabeth's benefit. Consequently, when she and Thomas Calwodely jnr. eventually married, the manors of Helland, Helset and Cassacawn were carried into that family. Thomas jnr. followed his father into politics but died prematurely in 1480 before his career could really develop.¹⁶ A son, Humfrey, was born c.1472¹⁷ but there was no other issue.

In his will¹⁸ Thomas Calwodely jnr. wished to be buried by his mother in the church of the Dominican Convent, Exeter, which was the resting place of other important persons,¹⁹ and not at his adopted residence of Helland. His wife Elizabeth and his brother John were appointed executors, assisted by his father; but there is no mention of his son Humfrey, nor of any property - presumably because Thomas predeceased his wife and father, by whose rights he enjoyed it. Elizabeth Calwodely married again, firstly to one ... Raleigh, and presented in her own right as his widow to Helland church in 1494; and lastly to Edward Apryse, who presented to Helland church in 1499.²⁰

In 1492 Thomas Calwodely snr. died and the inquisition held after his death declared Humfrey, his grandson, to be his nearest kinsman and heir.²¹ Thomas' lands in and around Calverleigh in Devon were modest, appraised at £5 only, but due to Humfrey's minority their custody was granted to the keeping of one John Ryse, clerk, and for a short time also Humfrey was his ward.²² After he came of age, and presumably into this inheritance, Humfrey married Johanna, the daughter of John Carmynowe of Fentongollan and widow of John Pentyre jnr. by whom no doubt he came into a handsome dowry;²³ thereafter he settled in Helland, to some extent independent but also probably enjoying his mother's considerable local influence, estate and income.

¹⁵ Maclean, *op. cit.*, II, 8. The lands in Helland were valued at £16 per year.

¹⁶ For example, in 1450 Thomas snr. had been appointed into the lucrative position of receiver-general of the lands late of Lord Tiptoft in Somerset and Dorset; in addition he was an escheator for Devon and Cornwall, a freeman of Exeter and M.P. for Exeter and Totnes many times between 1449 and 1483. He was Mayor of Exeter and a J.P. for the county of Devon, and probably made a substantial amount of money as a reward for services in the Coventry Parliament as receiver of all Devon and Cornwall lands of the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, in 1459. Thomas jnr. sat as the M.P. for Totnes in 1478. See J.C. Wedgwood and A.D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509* (London, 1936), 150-1.

¹⁷ He is described as aged 20 years plus on the death of his grandfather in 1492 (see note 20 *infra*).

¹⁸ Devon Record Office, *Register of Bishop Fox*, fo.126r; the will was made on 1 March 1479/80 and proved on the 24th of that month.

¹⁹ G. Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (Exeter and London, 1846), 335.

²⁰ Maclean, *op. cit.*, II, 38.

²¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Second Series* (3 vols., London, 1898-1956), III, 354.

²² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII, 1485-1494* (London, 1914), 466. Presumably Humfrey's future stepfather, Edward Apryse, was a relative of this guardian.

²³ Maclean, *op. cit.*, II, 41; the marriage settlement was dated January 1493/4.

Another branch of the Calwodelys had settled around Padstow in north Cornwall; two of them were convicted of kidnap in 1495, such lawlessness being not unsymptomatic of the times. Events in Cornwall came to a head when contributions towards the heavy taxation voted by Parliament in January 1497 to finance Henry VII's Scottish war began to bite. Some of his northern cousins' restlessness obviously rubbed off on Humfrey, as he seems to have abandoned his father's and grandfather's political astuteness and instead taken up the cause of Michael Joseph, who is credited with having started the uprising of 1497 from his native village of St Keverne. A body of Cornishmen travelled eastwards to Kent, gathering support from gentlemen and yeomen the while, but after a pitched battle at Blackheath the Cornish were forced to surrender. A second rebellion later that same year fuelled by the mercurial Perkin Warbeck was put down by the King's forces at Exeter; retribution swiftly followed with commissioners despatched to receive the submission of the county.²⁴

Whether he actually took part in the fighting or not, among those attainted because of his connections with the rebellions was Humfrey Calwodely of Helland, 'gentilman', and as a result his lands and privileges were forfeited.²⁵ This was not as great a disaster as it might have been, because with his mother still alive the lands of the Colyn family were held not to be in his possession. Even so, Roger Holand, as one of the King's Commissioners, was granted the lands previously belonging to the Calwodelys and a splendid list it makes. Included are

the manors of Caddebury and Calwodeley with the advowson of the church of Calwodely, co. Devon, with all lands in Caddebury, Calwodely, Westmere, Chestecombe, Tyverton, Bulkeworth, Temple, Middlecote, Fenne and Rakynford, the city of Exeter and in the fee of St Sativola outside the eastern gate of the same city . . . late of Humphrey Calwodely . . . 'gentilman', attainted of his treason in the parliament of 25 January, 19 Henry VII, and were held for life by Elizabeth late the wife of Edward ap Rice and late the wife of Thomas Calwodeley the younger, father of the said Humphrey and son and heir of Thomas Calwodely the younger.²⁶

Chastened by this punishment Humfrey presumably returned to Helland and lived quietly thereafter. A daughter, Joan, had been born *c.*1496,²⁷ but there is no record of other children who survived to maturity. By 1506, however, she had inherited the Colyn lands around Helland after the death of her father Humfrey and that of her grandmother Elizabeth Apryse.²⁸ This rich inheritance was increased in

²⁴ See W.J. Blake, "The Cornish Rebellion of 1497", *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, XX, part 1 (1915), 67; for a general overview of these historical events in the county, see A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (London, 1941), ch. VI. Many of the lesser gentry - those smaller landed families which stood on the border between gentry and yeomanry, were involved in the rebellions. As Rowse puts it, these families "sprang from the Cornish people themselves, and had Cornish names; they would naturally have more sympathy with the common folk to whom they were allied ..." : *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁵ *Rotuli Parliamentorum: The Rolls of Parliament, Edward IV - Henry VII* (6 vols., London, 1783), VI, 545.

²⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII, 1485-1509* (2 vols., London, 1914-16), II, 443.

²⁷ Maclean, *op. cit.*, II, 9.

²⁸ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Second Series* (3 vols., London, 1898-1956), III, 101. This inquisition (taken 24 June 1506) named Humfrey Calwoodeley as deceased and his daughter Joan as the kinswoman and heir of his mother Elizabeth Apryse; no precise date of death of Humfrey can be established therefore but it must have been shortly before 1506.

July 1508 when the attainder on her father's lands in Devon was reversed, and later extended with restoration 'both in blood and possessions' - her father's pardon morally as well as financially being thereby completed.²⁹

With this settlement, based primarily in land but also with a steady income derived from numerous tin workings and tolls, Joan Calwodely would appear to have been a most attractive participant in the upper middle class marriage stakes. It is not surprising therefore to find her wooed into the rich and powerful Arundell family, her husband being Roger Arundell, one of the sons of Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne.³⁰ Her jointure was further increased in 1520, for on the death of another Humphrey Calwodely - a cousin from one of the Devon branches in East Stoodleigh - she was held to be his kinswoman and nearest heir.³¹ Joan and Roger Arundell had one child of note, Humphry Arundell, and otherwise appear to have spent their time uneventfully at Helland, where in 1525 Roger was assessed to the subsidy on lands to the value of £40 per year, one of the largest amounts in the Hundred of Trigg.³² Roger died in 1536, his son and heir Humphry then already of age³³ and so was able to take possession; Johanna died shortly after on 28 September 1537 and was found seized of the manor of Over Helland with the advowson of the church, all of which Humphry duly inherited.³⁴ Unfortunately he seems to have taken after his grandfather's character because he took an active part in the Cornish insurrection of 1549. This time there was no mercy, and he was convicted, attainted, and executed as a rebel, his entire estates being forfeit to the Crown.³⁵

Discussion

This slate slab is the earliest such memorial in the county and at the outset, if it was engraved and laid down soon after Humfrey's death, a date of *c.*1505 seems not unreasonable. However, Greenhill initially dated it *c.*1520 but later revised his opinion to *c.*1535, presumably on the evidence of the changes in the appearance of the gown, open down the front, with false sleeves introduced.³⁶ Stylistically these are useful features as they are found on effigies in both stone and brass mostly after 1525, and a rough comparison of the Helland figure with others of two and three dimensions elsewhere in the country reveals more similarities: the widely splayed feet

²⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII, 1485-1509* (2 vols., London, 1914-16), 527, 622.

³⁰ J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Cornwall 1530, 1573 & 1620* (Exeter, 1887), 5.

³¹ Inquisition post mortem of Humfrey Calwodely (1521): P.R.O., ref. C142/36/32. This is in complete contrast to Humfrey's will (1520) which leaves the majority of his estate to his wife Elizabeth, and Cecily and Margaret Calwodely - his relationship with these last two ladies is unclear: P.R.O., ref. PROB11/20, p.124rh., proved 31 October 1521.

³² T.L. Stoate, *Cornwall Subsidies in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Bristol, 1985), 93. Roger Arundell was one of the Commissioners for the Hundred of Trigg; *Ibid.*, 153.

³³ Inquisition post mortem of Roger Arundell (1537): P.R.O., ref. C142/58/77.

³⁴ Inquisition post mortem of Joanna Arundell (1538): P.R.O., ref. C142/59/28.

³⁵ Maclean, *op. cit.*, II, 9; for a general account see H. M. Brown, *The Church in Cornwall* (Truro, 1964), 46-8.

³⁶ MS. Notebook of F.A. Greenhill *penes* J. Coales; he saw and rubbed the slab in 1959. In his *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, 18, he uses the later date.

in blunt-toed shoes and the long, smooth-contoured hair are just two.³⁷ Locally produced civilian effigies in comparative material are virtually non-existent, however. There is only a handful of sculptured civilian effigies in Devon and Cornwall and only two date with certainty from the early sixteenth century.³⁸ Additionally, though brasses were a more popular form of memorial, with a scattering of figures found throughout the county, they are all at this date of London manufacture (and hence rather unexciting 'routine' work). A single civilian figure of the early sixteenth century survives at St Minver (1517) and there is an indent for one at Bodmin (c.1515),³⁹ but although the compositions are similar to that of the Helland slab - comprising a single figure with 2 shields above the head and the whole surrounded by an inscription on a fillet - the brass figure shows the gown with the front edges and cuffs turned back to reveal the fur inside, which was the fashionable design adopted prior to the advent of false sleeves.⁴⁰

Leaving aside the costume and overall design of the Helland slab, an epigraphic analysis of its inscription is not immediately helpful in establishing its date due to the poorly defined letters, and again, an apparent lack of comparative material. Black-letter script was widely used during the majority of the sixteenth century on brasses and incised slabs, the letters broadening out again after being tightly compressed

³⁷ See H. Druiitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London, 1906 [repr. Bath, 1970]), 212, who identifies the introduction of false sleeves around 1520. H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (2 vols., Oxford and London, 1861 [repr. Bath, 1970]), I, 239, provides a few earlier examples of the appearance of openings in the upper sleeves, but generally the costume as adopted by the Helland figure is not seen until c.1530. According to Greenhill the earliest depiction of false sleeves on an incised slab occurs at Burford, Shropshire (1516 - but probably engraved later, from the evidence of the twisted Renaissance-style colonettes to either side of the figure) which is a peculiar memorial of local production, being engraved on a sheet of lead. Following this they occur on a slab of 1526 at Ashby-de-la-Zouche, Leicestershire, and thereafter their use is not uncommon: see Greenhill, *op. cit.*, I, 224; II, pl.143c; also F.A. Greenhill, *The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester, 1958), p.26, pl.XXXV. In addition, a close sculptural comparison can be made with the anonymous alabaster effigy at Newport, Shropshire (c.1520 [Pevsner] or c.1530-40 [Gardner]) which clearly shows the same long flowing gown reaching to the feet and the false sleeves nearly as full as those on the Helland figure: see N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Shropshire* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 217-8; A. Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England* (Cambridge, 1940), p.77, pl.300. (To help decide the issue, D.H.S. Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire* [2 vols. in 10 parts, Wellington, 1894-1912], II, 612, attributes the effigies to John Salter and his wife Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Otley of Pitchford; the will of John Salter was proved in the P.C.C. in 1532, which coincides neatly with Gardner's appraisal.) Another example of false sleeves occurs on one of the weepers on the tomb of Sir Richard Knyghtley (c.1535), Fawsley, Northamptonshire, of Burton workmanship, though here there is a slight fashion change with the gown now shorter: see L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain - The Middle Ages* (2nd. edn., Harmondsworth, 1972), pl.192. And in English stained glass yet further comparison can be made, as at Waterperry, Oxfordshire, there are donor figures of Walter Curzon and family (c.1527) among which a kneeling group of sons wear full blue gowns with arm slits clearly shown: see P.A. Newton, *The County of Oxford - A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass* [C.V.M.A., Great Britain Vol. I] (London, 1979), pp.202, 206, pl.47(a).

³⁸ The closest is the recumbent figure of Thomas Andrew, Mayor of Exeter (1518), at St Mary Arches, Exeter, whose gown appears to incorporate openings at the elbows - but this garment may simply reflect his mayoral status, and his tomb overall is a lavish work: see W.H.H. Rogers, *The Antient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon* (Exeter, 1877), p.30, pl.XXII (South Devon); also B.F. Cresswell, *Exeter Churches* (Devon Notes and Queries, V, part II - 1908), 93-4. Another example is at Morchard Bishop, Devon, supposedly to William Eyston (1505) and his wife, but the male effigy has no gown; see Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp.358-59, pl.XVII (North Devon).

³⁹ Both are illustrated by E.H.W. Dunkin, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1882 [repr. Bath, 1970]), pls.XXIV, LXII, fig.10. The Bodmin indent, now in the North Chapel, is in very poor condition and less remains now compared with Dunkin's drawing. See also, Maclean, *op. cit.*, I, 173; and A.G. Sadler, *The Indents of Lost Monumental Brasses in Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset and Wiltshire - Appendix* (Worthing, 1980), 3.

⁴⁰ See also the civilians at Probus (1514) and St Breock (c.1520), illustrated by Dunkin, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIII, XXV.

during the fifteenth century.⁴¹ An examination of inscriptions in other media reveals that black-letter was widely employed at the start of the sixteenth century and continued in use thereafter, but that other forms developed in parallel. Choosing examples of dateable provincial workmanship, a bench-end of 1489 in the Lawrence House Museum, Launceston, bears an inscription in black-letter;⁴² the inscription on the cornices of the wooden roof at Golant (c.1509) is in a neat, angular but squat script; as is that on a desk at Coldridge, Devon (1511). By contrast, towards the middle of the century, those inscriptions which occur on West Country bench ends show a tendency for Lombardic or Roman capitals to be used, as seen on the inscription identifying the work of Robert Daye at Alton, recently re-dated to c.1540/50,⁴³ and in general there is considerable variation in the scripts employed by West Country masons and carvers around this time. For example, the beautiful stone Easter sepulchre at Tarrant Hinton, Dorset, (c.1536) has many Renaissance features including a frieze with an inscription in well-formed Roman capitals;⁴⁴ this lettering is not unlike that used at St Mawes' castle, Cornwall, (1540-3) where a series of inscriptions composed by John Leland is neatly incised below the parapets.⁴⁵ Ignoring Court influence, 'revived Lombardics' are found early on (1511-24) at St Mary's, Launceston;⁴⁶ incorporated into the elaborate monument to Richard Coffin (1523) at Heanton Punchardon, Devon;⁴⁷ on the screen at Marwood, Devon, where there is use of several Renaissance-style motifs;⁴⁸ and again on bench ends at Bere Regis, Dorset, (1547).⁴⁹ In contrast, an Easter Sepulchre at Woodleigh, Devon, (1526-7) bears an inscription in black-letter;⁵⁰ there is a black-letter inscription (1530) on the tower parapet at Fontmell Magna, Dorset;⁵¹ the panels of the gallery fronts above the screen at Atherington, Devon, are painted with post-Reformation shields

⁴¹ Greenhill, *op. cit.*, (1976), I, 315. He noted a brief period of "revived Lombardics" occurring c.1530, and a changeover to Roman Capitals c.1580. See also, R. Rex, "Monumental Brasses and the Reformation", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, part 5 (1990), 376-94, esp. 390.

⁴² J. Mattingly, "The Dating of Bench Ends in Cornish Churches", *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, New Series II, I part 1 (1991), 58-72, esp.59.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 60-1.

⁴⁴ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments [R.C.H.M.], *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Dorset* (5 vols., London, 1952-84) IV - North, p.97, pls.76-7.

⁴⁵ John Molton, the King's master mason, is generally credited with the design of the building's architectural features and was doubtless conversant with the Renaissance fashions from overseas circulating at Court; see H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works, 1485-1851* (6 vols., London, 1973-82), IV part 2, 596. The Tarrant Hinton example is difficult to explain, although the parish was monastic, the priest was a prebendary of Salisbury, and there was a royal tomb once at Tarrant Keynston close by; there may well have been, hence, some Court influence here as well.

⁴⁶ Pevsner, *Cornwall*, (see note 5 *supra*), pp.96-7, pl.24.

⁴⁷ J. Stabb, *Devon Church Antiquities I* [all published] (London, 1909), 76-9; also B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Devon* (2nd. rev. edn., London, 1989), p.477, pl.52.

⁴⁸ F.B. Bond and Dom B. Camm, *Roodcreens and Roodlofts* (2 vols., London, 1909), pp.333-4, pl.125b; also Cherry and Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 563. This screen is difficult to date precisely because although the inscription records its donation by Sir John Beaupel, rector in 1520, there is no further record of a priest until 1560. A date probably in the second quarter of the sixteenth century is likely and stands comparison with similar Renaissance-style work at Atherington and Lapford.

⁴⁹ R.C.H.M., *op. cit.*, II, part 1 - South East, 17-8.

⁵⁰ P. Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, 1987), 122-3; Cherry and Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 920.

⁵¹ R.C.H.M., *op. cit.*, IV - North, 22.

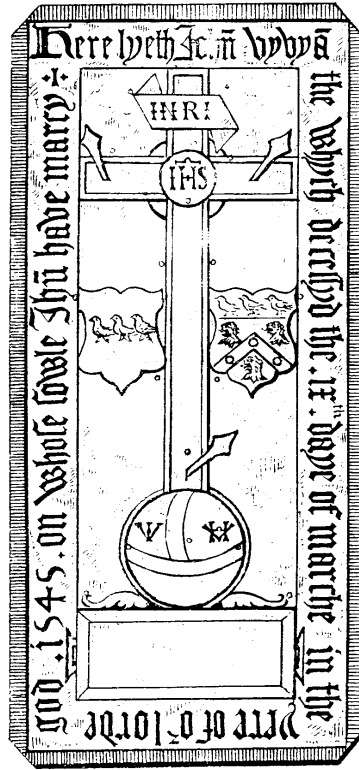


FIG. 4

Incised slab of John Vyvyan (1545)
Bodmin, Cornwall

from *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* V, part 18 (1876), facing p.343

and inscriptions in black-letter;⁵² and the Whiddon tomb (1575) at Chagford, Devon, also bears many Renaissance features but has an inscription in black-letter.

These examples from architecture and fittings are necessarily few and randomly spaced, and they are rare in Cornwall, but they suggest that in the south-west towards the mid-sixteenth century the universal use of black-letter was giving way to a mixture of styles, which disorder went unresolved until the end of that century. The cause of this confusion is not difficult to surmise: the religious turmoil and iconoclasm of that time produced profound changes in previously settled workshops of all sorts when they were also coming to terms with innovative artistic influences from further afield. Trends of steady patronage, especially ecclesiastical, were broken; probably there was an increase in itinerant craftsmen.⁵³ And despite its remoteness, the evidence already

⁵² Bond and Camm, *op. cit.*, II, p.291, pl.75b; Cherry and Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 139. Again, this screen is hard to date as the design is plainly Perpendicular with Renaissance-style detailing, suggesting a date in the first half of the sixteenth century. However, as the painted inscriptions mention Queen Elizabeth they must have been added later, post-1560.

⁵³ M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain - 1530 to 1830* (2nd. edn. rev. by J. Physick, London, 1988), chs.1 and 2.

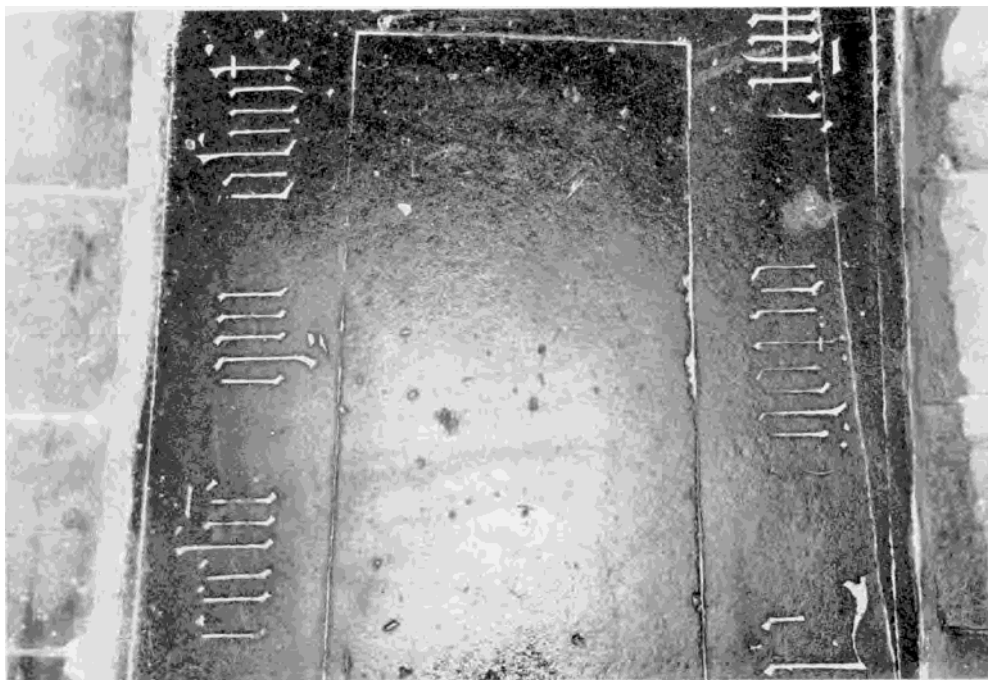


FIG. 5
Incised slab of John Gody (1485)
Lanivet, Cornwall

put forward suggests that these changes also occurred in Cornwall; in this case therefore, the use of black-letter on the Helland slab points only to a date probably in the first half of the sixteenth century. However, a series of non-effigial incised slabs can be identified in the county, commencing in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and terminating before 1550, and an appraisal of their lettering style shows many similarities with the Calwodely inscription at Helland.

In the parish church at Bodmin are several large fragments of rectangular slabs with black-letter marginal inscriptions within parallel line fillets.⁵⁴ Their styles vary and some are difficult to date precisely but in general the scripts use quite elongated, narrow, rather ill-defined letters with a pronounced loop to the capital 'H', a rounded capital 'S' tilting forwards slightly; a long forward oblique tail to the minuscule 'y' and a long backward oblique first downstroke of the minuscule 'w'. They are best displayed in a mature form on the handsome cross slab to John Vyvyan (1545) which has survived in almost mint condition (Fig. 4);⁵⁵ an early style is found on a slab at

⁵⁴ They were recorded in detail by Maclean, *op. cit.*, I, 158-78; when Greenhill visited in 1933 he found the floor slabs had been "tidied up" and laid down irregularly in the North Chapel (as now) where many are obscured by the altar and various impedimenta.

⁵⁵ This slab is an unusual one, being of local, dark, ?Catacluse stone - it seems unlike the slate typically used - and has a number of brass rivets on its surface, proving it once held brasses, but which were removed and the slab shaved down and engraved; see Dunkin, *op. cit.*, 98.



FIG. 6
Portion of inscription from the tomb of Sir John Colshull (1483)
Duloe, Cornwall

Lanivet, to John Gody (1485)⁵⁶ (Fig. 5); fifty years later, another Bodmin slab, possibly for the Hearle family (1536), shows how much the lettering has degenerated; and a similar example, in superb condition, is a cross-slab to John Roskarrok (1537) not far away at St Endellion. (Fig. 7)⁵⁷ These last two memorials show best of all the kind of letter form distinctly matched by the inscription at Helland, suggesting that Greenhill's date of *c.*1535, based on costume, is eminently sensible. Thereafter, as workshop(s) were threatened by the monastic dissolution and the advent of the Reformation, so fewer finished memorials were produced, by itinerants or worse, and it is not until Elizabeth's reign that we see expert craftsmanship again and the use of a black-letter script of great confidence and exuberant style.⁵⁸ For example at Whitstone is a slate slab crudely incised with a cross and marginal inscription in capitals to "...yell Persone de Whytstone" (1535); at Lanlivery is a granite slab lightly engraved with a cross and tilting shield with a marginal inscription in well formed Roman capitals (1547);⁵⁹ there are similar inscriptions - but with dreadful effigies - on the post-Reformation slabs (*c.*1563) to the Treffrys at Fowey;⁶⁰ and as an instance to

⁵⁶ This rather worn slate slab, presumably engraved locally, bears a style of black-letter script virtually identical to that beautifully incised on a piece of Purbeck marble which acts as the top slab to the tomb of Sir John Colshull (1483) at Duloe (Fig. 6), (compare the majuscule 'A' on both slabs [arrowed]). It suggests that there was an engraver of great skill working in Cornwall at this period; with time, however, the lettering degenerated as others took up the craft. The author is currently making a detailed appraisal of the fifteenth and sixteenth century incised slabs in the county.

⁵⁷ Other examples may be found at Laneast, Launceston (St Thomas' and St Stephen's), Tywardreath, Week St Mary, and there are several too fractured to warrant detailed recognition. Known lost examples were at South Hill and St Winnow.

⁵⁸ The carver Peter Crocker was responsible for several large, splendid tombchests and individual slabs in Cornwall, beautifully produced in a technique which combined engraving with low relief sculpture. His work so far identified dates from 1578 to *c.*1600; see Bizley, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 173 [note 12 *supra*].

⁵⁹ Illustrated by E.L. Cutts, *A Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages* (London, 1849), p.71, pl.XXX.

⁶⁰ P. Cockerham, "The Early Treffry Monuments at Fowey: a Re-appraisal", *Church Monuments*, X (1995), 20-36.



FIG. 7
Incised slab of John Roskarrok (1537)
St Endellion, Cornwall

crown them all, at East Budleigh, Devon, is a ?mid-sixteenth century slab to Johanne Raleigh with a cross and marginal inscription in reversed capitals.⁶¹

So much for the epigraphy, placing the Helland memorial in the mainstream of a school of slab engraving *c.*1535; but what influence might suddenly have led to the production of an effigial slab when others in the same *genre* were purely symbolic or simple inscriptions? The proximity to Bodmin of many slabs suggests that some form of monumental workshop was established there, using slate from quarries on the north coast close to Padstow and so easily transportable up the River Camel.⁶²

⁶¹ Illustrated by G. Oliver, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon* (3 vols., Exeter, 1839-42), II, facing p.64. Devon is a county where there are many slabs engraved with marginal inscriptions, often with crosses but rarely effigies; the literature on the subject, however, is sparse. See Rogers, *op. cit.*, 253-56; B. Cresswell *et al.*, "Sepulchral Slabs with Crosses in Devon Churches", *Devon & Cornwall Notes and Queries*, X (1918-19), 1-9, 65-80, 150-52; Greenhill's MS. notes of his exploratory tours are also extremely valuable. The large numbers listed in Exeter Cathedral and the city's churches point to it being a most popular form of memorial in that area. For the cathedral see J.W. Hewett, "Remarks on the Monumental Brasses, and certain Decorative Remains in the Cathedral Church of St Peter, Exeter, to which is appended A Complete Monumentarium", *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Association*, III (1849), 90-138; also, V. Hope, MS. Monumentarium of Exeter Cathedral, Exeter Cathedral Library.

⁶² N.J.G. Pounds, "Buildings, Building Stones and Building Accounts in South-West England", in D. Parsons (ed.), *Stone: Quarrying and Building in England A.D. 43-1525* (Chichester, 1990), 228-32.

Cornwall is a county in which workable stone is rare: generally, a customer had to appreciate the balance between the increased costs of transporting slate to the workshop (but the lower costs and greater expertise of using it there), compared with the low costs of using local stone - granite - with the difficulty in working it and a poor end result.⁶³ When a flourishing organization with efficient transport of stone already existed, other options would have been a poor choice. Some explanation of my use of the term 'monumental workshop' is here called for. The existence of a group of slabs, albeit similar to each other, or showing progressions in style, is not necessarily sufficient evidence to suggest that they were all produced in the same workshop, yard or wherever. It is, hence, an assumption that this was the case, and that a group of engravers worked together as a team. Another possibility is that there may have been a number of suitably talented individuals in the area, each of whom produced slabs in their own shop and in their own style - but working in close proximity to each other, fashion and public opinion would dictate that to survive financially by continuing to attract custom, they would have produced reasonably similar work from the point of view of both style and quality. Documentary evidence to support either picture does not appear to have survived and although my enquiries have been extensive they have not been exhaustive. Bearing this *caveat* in mind therefore, I am content to use the term 'monumental workshop' because it is convenient to describe one or a number of closely-linked producers in Bodmin of incised slabs.

Bodmin was once an important ecclesiastical centre boasting a Franciscan friary, and an Augustinian priory famous for the shrine of St Petroc, as well as a large parish church.⁶⁴ In 1479 the townspeople decided to rebuild the church from scratch in a massive enterprise paid for by local guilds, and as a result, a concentration of craftsmen in various disciplines must have formed in the town in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ What more natural therefore than that some of these should stay on after the bulk of the construction work was done - perhaps restricted by new family ties - and either continue in their employment doing piecemeal smaller commissions for both religious and secular patrons,⁶⁶ or else by turning their hand to something related but different. Even a small building project would have provided many months of continuous work for a skilled mason, but the turnover of such

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 236. These geological restrictions also suggest the locations of two other stone workshops in Cornwall. The "Master of St Endellion" is attributed with several pieces in Padstow, St Endellion, St Issey and St Merry, (Pevsner, *op. cit.*, passim) and Hartland, Devon, (Cherry and Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 473) using the Catacluse stone from near Padstow; and several tombs attributable to Peter Crocker are centred upon Looe, with slate possibly brought by ship from north to south coast (see note 58 *supra*).

⁶⁴ D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (2nd. edn., Harlow, 1971), 148, 223; see also C. Henderson, "Notes on Bodmin Priory", in A.L. Rowse and M.I. Henderson (eds.), *Essays in Cornish History* by Charles Henderson (Oxford, 1935), 219-28.

⁶⁵ The building accounts have been published *in extenso* (J.J. Wilkinson [ed.], "Receipts and Expenses in the building of Bodmin church A.D. 1469 to 1472", *Camden Society* N.S. XIV [1875], 1-49), but for the essence of them see Maclean, *op. cit.*, I, 150-8.

⁶⁶ For example, the wooden seating, pulpit and a screen were not contracted for until 1491, to be completed by 1495; see J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects - A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1984), 207.

commissions would have been limited. On the other hand, whilst a simple tomb slab would not have produced much income for the engraver, the foreseeable turnover must have been quite large.⁶⁷ This might well explain the virtual absence of any such cross slabs or inscriptions much earlier than this period (late fifteenth century) but would account for the steady trickle which occurs thereafter.

This resurgence in the town's fortunes was given added impetus by the appointment of Prior Vivian in 1508, his links with the town going back to his ordination as a canon of Bodmin in 1493. "He was a powerful figure, the last on a grand scale of the old order, a Cornishman holding much preferment in the county."⁶⁸ In 1517 Vivian was appointed bishop of Megara to act as suffragan to bishop Oldham in Exeter, and thereafter he seems to have behaved as Cornwall's own prelate, living in great state at Bodmin and his country house at Rialton, near Newquay.⁶⁹ This is not to say that the town and church were always in complete concord - far from it,⁷⁰ but the importance of the Priory (and Vivian personally) as a centre of patronage and artistic workmanship should not go underrated. When Vivian died in 1533 the old order was indeed changing, but he was afforded the greatest respect, being buried in state in the Priory church where a magnificent tomb of black Catacleuse stone was erected over his grave, and later moved to the parish church on the Priory's demise. For a Bodmin workshop there could have been no more prestigious commission than this and the tomb is as fashionable and lavish as could then be devised.⁷¹ Whilst the figure is as one might expect, the onset of the Renaissance is given due artistic attention in the use on the tomb chest of panels with roundels containing the figures of the Evangelists and shields held by cherubs, separated by coarse Italianizing balusters, and the surrounding legend is incised in a bold 'revived Lombardic' style lettering.⁷² The sculpture is surprisingly up-to-date therefore, and forms part of a disparate group of tombchests which were among the first to adopt Renaissance elements piecemeal, not really typical of the English output at this time; perhaps because there was no tradition of effigial or three-dimensional tomb-making at Bodmin it was easy for these new features to be so readily adopted.⁷³ Possibly the workshop was acquainted with the ideals of Renaissance art via Vivian himself: he was an educated man and as bishop was frequently at Court.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ The force of this simplified argument ignores, for example, necessary abilities such as literacy, managerial skills and so on. As regards the cost of a slab, Greenhill found that in 1516 an effigial slab could be had for as little as 30 shillings, so simple inscriptions with crosses would not have been expensive: *op. cit.* (1976), I, 18.

⁶⁸ L.S. Snell, *The Suppression of the Religious Foundations of Devon and Cornwall* (Marazion, 1967), 76-7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Maclean, *op. cit.*, I, 133-4.

⁷¹ Illustrated by F.H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D.1150-1550* (London, 1921), 121; and from another angle as the frontispiece to Snell, *op. cit.*

⁷² Pevsner, *op. cit.*, pp.42-3, pl.38.

⁷³ J.G. Mann, "English Church Monuments, 1536-1625", *Walpole Society* 21 (1932-3), 6-7; B. Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (London, 1980), 59-61.

⁷⁴ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 vols., Oxford, 1957), III, 1951, gives a brief account of Vivian's life. Later on, two close family members also went to Oxford and returned to Cornwall: A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), 596.

Alternatively, a specialist tomb-maker (perhaps from Exeter?)⁷⁵ might have been commissioned to assist with the design and execution of the tomb in Bodmin. Whatever the case, these Renaissance features were the first to be used in Cornwall, but they were not immediately adopted throughout the slab workshop as its later work continued to use a black-letter script and relatively simple designs.⁷⁶

This lengthy digression aims to place the Calwodely slab in context. Engravers in Bodmin steadily produced a number of incised slate memorials of crosses and inscriptions from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century.⁷⁷ When Prior Vivian's tomb was commissioned however, to be a work of great distinction and expense, so radically different was it from what had gone before and what followed, that the manufacturers of tomb-slabs, unhindered by convention, readily demonstrated their ability to incorporate new artistic influences in a novel form of tomb production. And yet they later appeared to return to their mundane, low cost output for routine commissions by the ordinary townsfolk. Might the Helland slab also have been an individual commission from an engraver who having seen or been involved with Prior Vivian's effigy, was now ready to experiment? He took as his model the up-to-date fashion of the false-sleeved gown but retained the conventional black-letter inscription; the simple arrangement of the effigy with two shields and marginal inscription was well known from London-made brasses.

One more factor should be discussed - the motive behind the commemoration. Having identified the date of Humfrey's death of 1505/6 as being too early for this slab to have been made, then there are no obvious commemorative dates until 1536/7 when Roger Arundell and Johanna his wife, Humfrey's daughter and son-in-law, both died.⁷⁸ However, Humfrey's wife Joan was still alive at this time,⁷⁹ and perhaps once more reflecting the mood at Bodmin and elsewhere - "the old order changeth" - she commissioned the incised slab as a remembrance of her husband and the last link of the Calwodelys and her own family the Carminowes, with Helland; this date would coincide neatly within the range already proposed. It is a fanciful theory, admittedly, but not outrageously so. Indeed, the heraldry displayed is uncomplicated and the arms of the families well recognized. The monument's inscription is simple and

⁷⁵ There are three notable monuments in Exeter which were produced at roughly the same time, seemingly earlier than Vivian's tomb: for Sir John Speke (1518), Bishop Oldham (1519), both in the cathedral, and Mayor Thomas Andrews (1518) in St Mary Arches; and there is a related one at Heanton Punchardon (1521). Whilst the effigies are dissimilar the tomb-chests and architectural surrounds closely share many features, in particular the angels holding shields. This is a relatively commonplace accessory, but is reproduced in almost identical form on Vivian's tomb in Bodmin, in the central panels of the north and south sides of the tomb-chest. Is this Exeter influence or a common source? See M. Swanton (ed.), *Exeter Cathedral - a Celebration* (Exeter, 1991), 162-64, 205; Cresswell, *op. cit.*, (note 37 *supra*) p.94; Cherry and Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p.477, pl.52.

⁷⁶ There were some changes; for example the shields on the slab to John Vivian (1545) are of the "splayed" tilting form as on the Prior's tomb; and the woodwork carvers only started to use Renaissance features by c.1540 at the earliest: see J. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, (note 39 *supra*).

⁷⁷ It is not possible to estimate the number of lost effigial slabs but it is probably very few, if any. J. Bertram, *Last Brasses* (Newton Abbot, 1976), 52, concluded that "Cornwall, about as remote as one can get and tending to be recusant and royalist ... retained virtually its entire complement of medieval brasses." Slabs are greatly more fragile and less valued than brasses so are more likely to have been vandalised; even so, if there had been a number of effigial slabs one might have expected more than a single example to have survived.

⁷⁸ Maclean, *op. cit.*, II, 39. A cousin, Honour, the wife of Robert Calwodely of Padstow, was buried there in 1522 and was commemorated by an inscription (Maclean, *ibid.*, 40) but this is unfortunately now lost. A stylistic analysis would have been interesting.

⁷⁹ Maclean, *ibid.*, 9, based on the inquisition post mortem of Johanna Arundell (1537) which found "Elwyn [sic] her mother being then still alive ..." though this name does not tie in with the pedigree so far established.

direct: "You shall pray for the soul of Vmphrey Calwodely, son and heir of Thomas Calwodely and Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Otes Colyn". There is no mention of his wife (perhaps because she, as the sponsor, was still alive?) or his family, but only his immediate ancestry, importantly that from which the estate of Helland descended to him. Strangely, also, there is no date, which appears to have been an intentional omission as there is no space remaining on the fillet. In a detailed analysis of the wording of inscriptions on brasses, contrasting their intent pre- and post-Reformation, Rex identified that prior to the Reformation inscriptions contained four essential items. Firstly, there was a reference to the body or soul of the departed; then came his name; thirdly, the date of death; and lastly a plea to God for mercy on his soul. The purpose of the memorial is therefore quite clear: to secure prayer for that particular departed soul. The significance of including the date of death was perhaps that it was an economical and permanent reminder either of the 'obit' - an annual requiem mass celebrated on the anniversary of the death of the person in question - or at the very least some form of special remembrance on that yearly date.⁸⁰

At Helland it is not unreasonable to propose that the precise date of Humfrey's death had been forgotten, when, 30 years later, a monument was prepared. Its purpose however is unmistakable and the opening phrase of the inscription "You shall pray for the soul of Humfrey Calwodely" is commanding.

Conclusion

To return to the tenet of the Introduction: it is relatively easy to categorise material when there is an abundance of it, but to account for the individual effort can be more difficult. Sometimes the explanation is that whoever ordered the monument had connections with another area of the country, and there is a set there of stylistically related memorials. Here though, it is likely that the Calwodely slab was made in Bodmin during a particularly successful and experimental period during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and engraved with an effigy as a special request, by someone unaccustomed to depicting figures in slate. Possibly too, similar commissions never came to fruition with the religious upheavals and intolerances which occurred shortly thereafter, or perhaps the skill and confidence died with that Bodmin craftsman. In any event it is not until Elizabeth had reigned for over 20 years that the production of effigial monuments in Cornwall was resumed, with the magnificent tombs by Peter Crocker.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to David Cook and William Lack, who have commented on earlier drafts and made many useful suggestions, and particularly to John Coales, not only for providing me with material from F.A. Greenhill's notebooks in his possession, but also for making many useful comments at an early stage in preparation. I am, as usual, heavily indebted to my father for much assistance with the basic research, and I am most grateful to the churchwardens of Helland, during an interregnum, for allowing me to study the slab at my leisure.

⁸⁰ Rex, *op. cit.*, 377-9 (see note 38 *supra*).

Notes on Sussex Brasses

By ROBERT HUTCHINSON

THE county of Sussex is fortunate that a succession of antiquaries has recorded its brasses over the last two centuries and thus have preserved, for posterity, some of the losses that have occurred. Their notes and drawings contain a wealth of interest, but sadly, little of it has been published. These notes discuss some of these losses and also other points of interest among brasses still extant.

Buxted, East Sussex (St. Margaret the Queen). This church contains the beautiful brass to Britell Avenel, rector, c.1408, depicted as a half-effigy in mass vestments within the diapered head of a floriated cross. When the Sussex antiquary, Sir William Burrell, visited the church sometime in the late 1770s or early '80s in preparation for his (alas! unwritten) history of Sussex, he noted a marginal inscription to a predecessor of Avenel's, Sir John de Lewes, in the chancel that he had built:-

'Sire Johan de Lewes ki ci git, tut cest Chauncellere fit.

Taunt eum Persone fui, Dieu de sa alme eut Merci...'¹

The indent for a floriated cross, later copied for the Avenel brass, remains today, unfortunately covered by a fitted carpet.

In the south aisle is a wooden, glazed case, recorded by Mrs. C. Davidson-Houston in her *Sussex Monumental Brasses*², containing fragments from a number of brasses that have survived a precarious past. M.S.III is a roughly square portion of brass forming the legs of a man in armour, c.1460, 7.2 cm long and 7.3 cm wide, broken off immediately above the poleyns and again at the lower point of the greaves. The brass is said to have originally been in the south aisle and was found, with some of the other remnants in the case, in the rectory barn in the mid-nineteenth century. The removal of the fragment revealed a length of sword down the sinister side, missing in Mrs. Davidson-Houston's illustration,³ which also incorrectly shows them as two separate pieces of brass. In fact, the surface of the brass between the legs has been cut away, leaving metal which may originally have held some wax colouring (Fig. 1). Enough remains to suggest that the legs belong to the London 'B' group of brasses, comparable to the complete effigies of Henry Rowdell, 1452, at Northolt, Middx.,⁴ and Richard Trevet *alias* Hasywode, 1441, at Stratfield Mortimer, Berks., 1441.⁵ On this basis, the Buxted fragment should possibly be re-dated a decade earlier to c.1450. However, on the *verso* of Sir William's notes on Buxted church, is

¹ B.L., Add. MS. 5697, f.173r.

² *Sussex Archaeological Society Collections* (hereafter *S.A.C.*), LXXVI-LXXX (Lewes, 1935-39).

³ *S.A.C.*, LXXVI (1935), 112. The fragments were clearly rubbed whilst still held by the wooden frame.

⁴ Illustrated in Dr. H. K. Cameron's "The Brasses of Middlesex", *Trans. London & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, XXXV (1984), 110.

⁵ Illustrated in William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), 99, and H.T. Morley's *Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (Reading, 1924), 158.



FIG. 1
Fragment of a brass to an armoured figure
London 'B' series, redated to c.1450
Buxted, East Sussex



Johannes Atwell et Isabella uxoris.



FIG. 2
Drawing of lost brasses
Buxted, East Sussex
B.L. Add. MS. 5697, f.173v



FIG. 3
Worn effigy of Denis Slon, priest, 1485
Buxted, East Sussex

a crude sketch of a man in armour (Fig. 2, top), which, from the design of the poleyns and greaves, is almost certainly this lost figure shown in its entirety but, unlike the examples at Northolt and Stratfield Mortimer, is bareheaded and without a lion at his feet.

The case also contains the worn (and at the head, nearly effaced) brass to Denis Slon, priest, 1485, (M.S.IV) in mass vestments and holding a chalice. The plate is broken into two, diagonally below the hands and a small piece at the base is lost. There are two empty rivet holes in the upper part, at the forehead and immediately below the hands (Fig. 3). The plate, 32.1 cm in length and 10.2 cm wide, is of London 'D' type; it was found in the church chest in 1924 but the upper portion was immediately lost and quickly found its way into private possession. This was returned to the church by Garraway Rice (of whom, more anon) in September 1925.⁶ The lost inscription is recorded in the Burrell MS.⁷:-

'North Isle. In the old Black Letter -
Hic jacet Dominus Dionicius Slon. qui. obiit
XVII die Decembris, anno Domini
M.CCCCLXXXV. cujus animae propitiatur Deus. Amen.'

An account of the church and its monuments in 1857, noted the presence of a "small half figure of a priest holding a chalice, mutilated," still in the north aisle,⁸ presumably the Slon brass, and it later and ambiguously records the part of a brass of a priest preserved at the rectory, together with other fragments including "a knight (all) found in the rectory barn."⁹ The Burrell MS. gives a sketch of a figure of a priest, which from the chasuble, stole and the alb, is clearly that of Slon. Curiously, no hands are depicted and the figure is shown wearing a pointed cap, similar to those worn by doctors in academical habit (Fig. 2, bottom), probably a misinterpretation of the tonsure.

The glass case also contains a mutilated inscription (M.S.VII) to Thomas Smith Esquire, 1558 and wife Anne, 2.0 mm thick and blank on the reverse. In the library of the Sussex Archaeological Society¹⁰ at Barbican House, Lewes, is a rubbing of the indents of a civilian and wife, with a poor heelball rubbing of this inscription stuck over the indent of the foot inscription (Fig. 4). There seems no doubt that this inscription should be associated with the lost figures as it has Script 6 lettering¹¹ and the effigies clearly belong to the 'Lytcott' figure design¹². The male figure, at dexter, 43.7 cm high and 13.9 cm wide, apparently had long, bobbed hair, probably wore an ankle-length furred gown and was partially turned to sinister. The rubbing shows two

⁶ The Sussex Archaeological Society Museum has in its possession a replica, probably in steel, of the upper portion of Slon's effigy, presumably made for Garraway Rice.

⁷ B.L., Add. MS. 5697, f.173r.

⁸ Revd. Henry R. Hoare, *S.A.C.*, IX, 215.

⁹ Hoare, *op.cit.*, 216. Reportedly found under rubbish in a bay of the barn.

¹⁰ Held in the 'Miscellaneous Portfolio.'

¹¹ See: John Page-Phillips, *A Sixteenth-Century Workshop*, written in 1958 but now forthcoming.

¹² Robert Hutchinson and Bryan Egan: "History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop. Part One", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 2 (1993), 180-83.

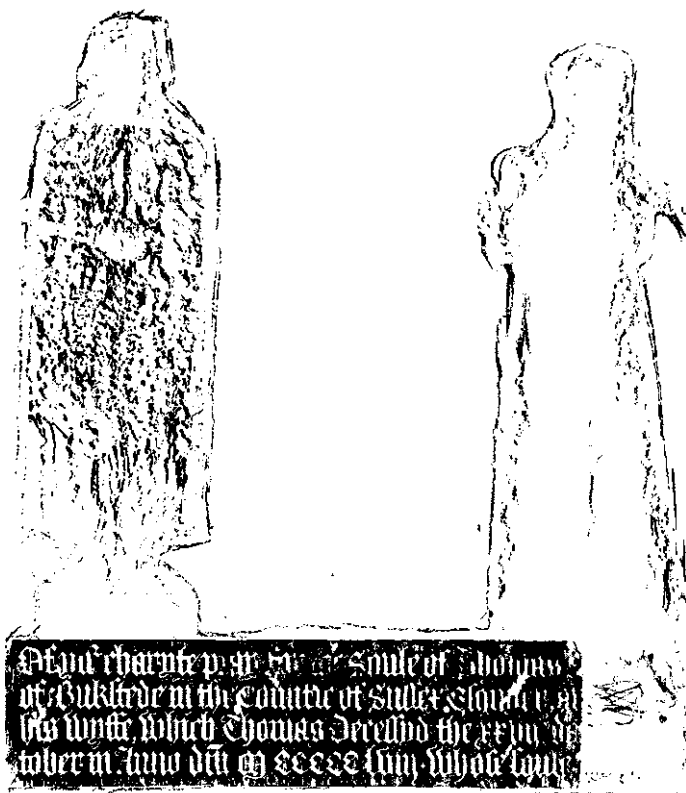


FIG. 4

Lost indents of a civilian and wife from the 'Lytcott' workshop, Thomas Smith, 1558, and wife, Anne
Buxted, East Sussex

Two shields wrongly attached to the top of the rubbing are not shown

From a rubbing in the collection of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes

'runners' on the dexter side of the indent with lead remaining in the rivet holes. By the shape of the indent, the female figure, 41.7 cm high and 14.0 cm wide, wore a 'Paris' head-dress and a gown with clearly-defined puffed sleeves at the shoulders. The rubbing is endorsed in ink, "Buxted church, Sussex. W.H.B."- almost certainly William Henry Blaauw, (1793-1870), one of the founders of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1846, its first secretary, and editor of the first eight volumes of its *Collections*.¹³ The date of the rubbing may be around the 1840s-50s, a decade or so after the first use of heelball in recording brasses. This is an unexpected venture into rubbing by Blaauw, a sound antiquary and historian whose published works give no hint of this interest, save for admonitory comment on the notorious Cambridge Camden Society hoax by John Mason Neale¹⁴ concerning the 'funeral' of

¹³ *S.A.C.*, LXXXV (1946), 15.

¹⁴ For more on this hoax, see Dr. H.K. Cameron's "Cambridge and the Study of Monumental Brasses", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XII, part 3 (1977), 222.

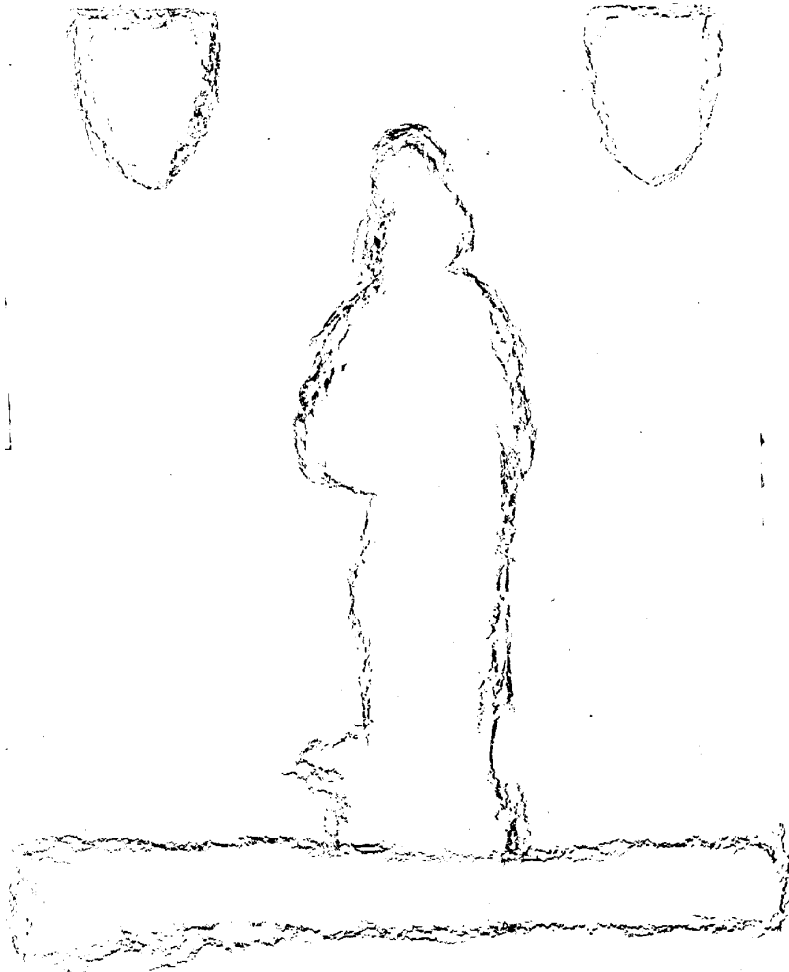


FIG. 5. Lost indent of a brass to an armoured figure, possibly c.1490
Buxted, East Sussex

From a rubbing in the collection of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes

Prior Thomas Nelond, in volume one of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* in 1848, and the fact that his name appears in the original subscribers' list to the Wallers' *Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th Century*. Attached to the top of the rubbing is another sheet of paper with two shields - survivors from two other separate brasses. This is incorrect - as is a pencilled annotation, in a later hand, identifying the indent as that of the lost brass to John and Isabella Attewelle, 1438. The slab is now sadly lost¹⁵ possibly when north and south aisles were re-roofed in 1884.

¹⁵ See A.G. Sadler, *The Lost Monumental Brasses of Sussex* (1988), 23. Mr Sadler searched the church in 1967/68. The Revd. Jerome Bertram also had a fruitless search for the Mill Stephenson Revision. See *M.S.R. Sussex*, 1.17 (1986).

The inscription, now measuring 41.3 cm in length and 10.2 cm in height, has a small portion missing at the sinister edge. The Burrell MS., noting the inscription in the “Cross Isle”, supplies the missing portion in brackets¹⁶:-

‘Of yo^r charyte pray for the Soule of Thomas (Smith)
of Bukstede in the Countie of Sussex Esquyer, an(d Anne)
his wyffe, which Thomas Decessyd the xxvijth da(y of Oc)
tober in Anno dñi M CCCCC Lvij · whose soule (Jesu pardon)’

A “portion of the brass of Thomas Smith” was preserved at the Rectory in 1857.¹⁷ Anne Smith appears in an abstract of an indenture between Thomas Pownde of Surrey and William Morley of Glynde and Anthony Stapleye of Framfield, dated November 20, 1573:

“Ann Smythe in her widowhood deviseth and appointeth by her will an yearly annuity of six pounds 13s 4d to be for ever granted out of the farme of Wyke in the County of Sussex unto certain poore of the several towns and parishes of Lewes, Hove and Buxtede to commence immediately after her death.”¹⁸

The Sussex Archaeological Society also possesses a rubbing of a second lost indent from Buxted, also apparently done by Blaauw (Fig. 5). On the back of the rubbing, is an endorsement in a later hand, identifying it as “Sussex, Buxted” but wrongly dating it as 1558. It shows the outlines of two shields, a single effigy and a thin inscription which could only have comprised two lines. It apparently was in the north aisle¹⁹ in the mid nineteenth century. The figure measures about 165 cm in height and 52.6 cm wide; the inscription, 6 cm high and 59 cm wide. Neither of the shields preserved in the glass case, WARNETT,²⁰ from the lost brass to John Warnett and wife, 1496, or ?NEWENHAM²¹ fit the indents. Sadler suggests the indent is of an armoured figure²² and the thinness of the indent in the area of the legs confirms this view. The shape of the effigy and shields indicates a probable date of c.1490. The scale is incompatible with the fragment of military figure that survives.

¹⁶ B.L., Add. MS. 5697, f.173r. It is inaccurately given by Mrs. Davidson-Houston, *S.A.C.*, LXXVI (1935), 114.

¹⁷ Hoare, *op.cit.*, 216. This fragment is now lost.

¹⁸ Greville Cooke, *A Chronicle of Buxted* (Uckfield, 1960), 57.

¹⁹ Hoare, *op.cit.*, 216. “In the north aisle is the matrix of another small brass figure....”

²⁰ *Argent, fretty vert over all a stag springing sable, attired or* - a punning device (“Ware net!”) for Warnett, the family recorded at Framfield, East Sussex, in the 1633 Visitation. The fret is visible behind the stag. See Burke’s *General Armory* (London, 1844). From the lost brass to John Warnett of Furnival’s Inn, 1486 and wife Joan, 1496, formerly in the south aisle. The lost inscription is given in B.L., Add. MS. 5697, f.173r.-

‘Orate pro animabus Joannis Warnett, Benobs - unius
Sociorum de Furnivall Inn, qui obiit XVII die Octobr AD
M.DCCCC.LXXXVI et Johanna uxoris ejus, quae obiit VII^o
Die Junij Ano Domini millesimo CCCCLXXXVI. quorum
Animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.’

In the Burrell MS. the word ‘Benobs’ is underlined with a series of dots as if the writer was doubtful as to his reading. Probably a misread contraction of “generosi et”.

²¹ *Argent, a cross gules over all a bend, azure.* See *S.A.C.*, LXIX (1928), 217. Newnham in Buxted and Maresfield was an ancient fee and gave its name to the family which later possessed Maresfield Park (*S.A.C.*, XXIV (1872), 193).

²² Sadler, *op.cit.*, 24.



FIG. 6

Holy Trinity from the brass to John Shelley esquire and wife, 1526-7
Clapham, West Sussex

The Burrell MS. contains an identified sketch (Fig. 2, middle) of a further lost brass of the figures of a man and a wife, John and Isabella Attewelle, referred to in the account of the church in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* in 1857. Then, the empty matrices were in the south aisle but are now also lost. The Burrell sketch shows the man in civilian dress, with furred gown, collar and buckle shoes and the lady wearing a kerchief headdress and a high-waisted dress, almost completely



FIG. 7
Head and shoulders of the effigy of John Shelley, (M.S.IV)
Clapham, West Sussex
Note the damage from ?four hammer blows

identical in design to the London ‘B’ series figures to a civilian and lady, M.S.IV, probably Thomas Carew and his sister Isabel, 1434, at Beddington, Surrey.²³

Burrell gives the inscription as:

‘Hic jacent Johannes Attewelle & Isabella Uxor ejus XII.
die mensis Maij Anno Domini M.cccc.xxxviii. quorum’

Clapham, West Sussex (St. Mary the Virgin) M.S.IV. The well-known brass to John Shelley esquire and wife, 1526-7, contains a Holy Trinity as part of its composition (Fig. 6). Previous writers have maintained that the Trinity is, in the words of Mrs Davidson-Houston,²⁴ “much worn”. However, even a cursory examination demonstrates that this is *not* the case: it is very finely engraved - in direct contrast with the main figures with their rather bold, if not naive and coarse, design (Fig. 7). Only the county historian, Cartwright, provides an accurate indication of the true state of affairs in his illustration by the Chichester engraver Thomas King²⁵ (Fig. 8). The

²³ Illustrated in Stephenson’s *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (1921, repr. Bath, 1970), 32.

²⁴ *S.A.C.*, LXXVII (1936), 142.

²⁵ E. Cartwright, *The Parochial History of the Rape of Bramber in the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (London, 1830), II, part 2, facing p.84.



FIG. 8

The Shelley brass engraved by Thomas King of Chichester for Edmund Cartwright's *Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber in the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (London, 1830)

iconography of the plate is familiar: God the Father, in a cope, wears the Papal triple crown, seated on a throne. He holds God the Son crucified between His knees with God the Holy Spirit represented as the Holy Dove. At the foot of the Cross is an orb.²⁶ The difference in engraving techniques and the delicacy of portrayal of the Trinity are indications that this plate is by a different, more skilled hand than the stiff, stereotyped shopwork of the main figures, linked to the London 'F' series of brasses.²⁷ This raises the question of specialisation in devotional subjects by an

²⁶ See H.F.Owen Evans, "The Holy Trinity on Brass", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 3 (1982), 208-23.

²⁷ Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (London, 1977), I, 156. Norris suggests it is likely that the brass was "put in hand after Elizabeth Shelley's death in 1513."

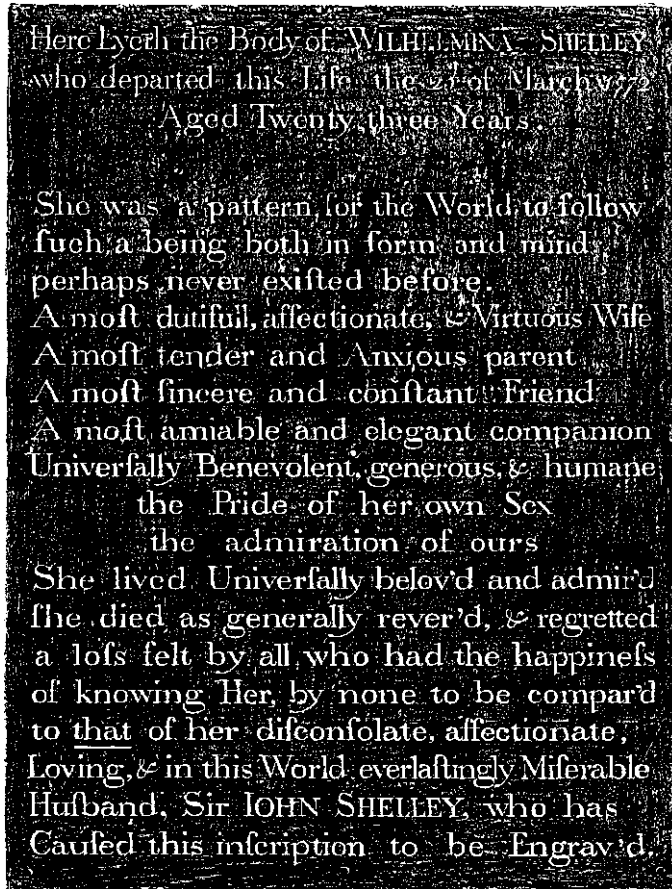


FIG. 9

Inscription to Wilhelmina Shelley, 1772
 Clapham, West Sussex
Rubbing by Sally Hutchinson

engraver, or even perhaps a sub-contracting establishment as religious subjects could be stock items, bought in by the main brass workshops. Sadly, there are not enough surviving Trinities to provide enough sound evidence to prove this notion.

Cartwright says that the brass was said to have been dug up when the chancel was repaired “and to its concealment, we are probably indebted for the representation of the Trinity; which, had it been exposed, would not have escaped the zeal of the reformers.”²⁸ The plate has been damaged, as has the face of the male effigy, by several hammer blows.

An important inscription at Clapham, not mentioned in Mill Stephenson’s *List* because of its late date, is also illustrated here (Fig. 9). The plate, of dark

²⁸ Cartwright, *op.cit.*, 84. Probably in the eighteenth century when the chancel roof was repaired. The very late Trinity on the Fermer brass to another Shelley at Warminghurst, across the South Downs from Clapham, is lost.

olive-brown metal, 75.9 cm by 58.1 cm is set in a white marble slab 124.6 cm by 70.5 cm, on the floor on the south side of the chancel, immediately before the altar step. It was first recorded in these pages by our Hon. Editor, when an associate member of this Society.²⁹ The inscription reads:-

Here Lyeth the Body of WILHELMINA SHELLEY
who departed this Life the 20 of March J772

Aged Twenty three Years.

She was a pattern for the World to follow
such a being both in form and mind
perhaps never existed before.

A most dutifull, affectionate & Virtuous Wife

A most tender and Anxious parent

A most sincere and constant Friend

A most amiable and elegant companion

Universally Benevolent, generous, & humane

the Pride of her own Sex

the admiration of ours

She lived Universally belov'd and admir'd

she died as generally rever'd, & regretted

a loss felt by all who had the happiness

of knowing Her, by none to be compar'd

to that of her disconsolate, affectionate,

Loving, & in this World, everlastingly Miserable

Husband, Sir IOHN SHELLEY, who has

Caused this inscription to be Engrav'd.

The plate is slightly bowed and is beginning to be affected by corrosion. Whilst too firmly bedded in the slab to enable a measurement, it seems only to be around 2 mm thick. Its dimensions seem to preclude a palimpsest reverse, except possibly for a workshop 'waster'. Wilhelmina was the daughter of John Newham Esq., of Maresfield Park, a descendant of the Newenhams of Buxted. The property was conveyed to Sir John Shelley, fifth Bart., on the marriage.³⁰ He was keeper of the records in the Tower of London and Treasurer of the King's household as well as M.P. for Shoreham and was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1766. He later married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Woodcock. Incised in the slab beneath is the following inscription:-

Also Lyeth the Body

of George Shelley Esq^r, Son

of Sr. John and Lady Shelley

who departed this Life the J4th

of September J772

Aged one Year and seven Months

²⁹ *M.B.S. Trans.*, X, part 4 (1966), 318.

³⁰ *S.A.C.*, XXIV (1872), 193. See also W. Berry's *County Genealogies - Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Sussex* (London, 1830), 70.

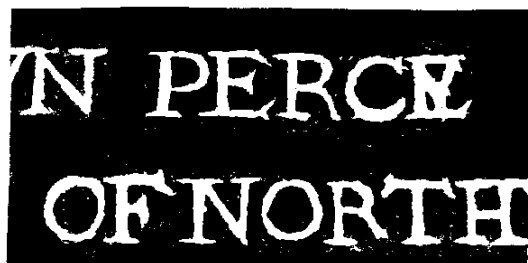


FIG. 10
Engraver's error in coffin-plate inscription to
Algernon Percy, 10th. earl of Northumberland, 1668
Petworth, West Sussex

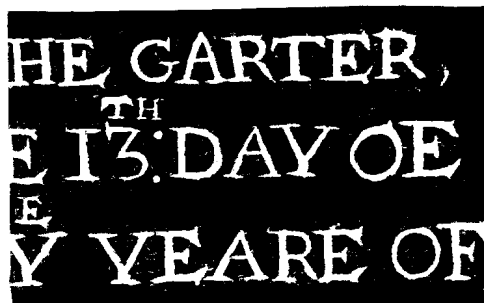


FIG. 11
Second error in the inscription to Algernon Percy, 1668
Petworth, West Sussex

Note the use of a 'J' for the digit '1' in the dates - a common practice in monumental engraving in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The engraving on the plate looks as if it was by a different hand from that responsible for the epitaph on the slab.

Petworth, West Sussex (St. Mary the Virgin). Within the north, or St. Thomas' chapel are a number of brass coffin plates collected together on a mural plaque on the east wall and commemorating members of the Percy family, Earls of Northumberland, buried in the vault beneath. One of these is an inscription, 30.5 cm by 24.2 cm, to Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland, who died in 1668, aged 66. (M.S.VIII is the memorial inscription on the floor to the same person). He was Lord High Admiral of England in 1637 and sided with Parliament in the Civil War, although he opposed the trial and execution of Charles I. He was also responsible for the care of the King's children "whom he always treated with the utmost kindness and care."³¹ The engraver made a bad fist of his work as the nine lines contain two curious errors. The first (Fig. 10) occurs in the surname where a 'Y' has been re-engraved over an erroneous 'E' and the second (Fig. 11), apparently unnoticed, is the mis-spelling of 'of', substituting an 'E' for 'F'.

M.S.X is a coffin plate, 23.7 cm by 17.7 cm, to Joceline, 11th Earl of Northumberland, which Mrs. Davidson-Houston found "too much worn to reproduce" in her work on Sussex brasses.³² In fact, it is in good condition and is here reproduced as Fig. 12. The inscription is interesting as it gives the date in both the English and reformed Gregorian calendars:-

Within this Coffin / is the Bodie of the / Right Hon^{ble} : IOCELI= / NE Earle
of NORTHUM= / BERLAND who Dyed / at TURIN in SAVOY / the 21/31
of May in the / yeare of our Lord / J670 who was the / jjth Earle, and the 29th /
Lord PERCY of his / Familie aged aboute / 26 Yeares

³¹ Revd. F.H. Arnold, *Petworth: a sketch of its History and Antiquities* (1864), 34.

³² *S.A.C.*, LXXIX (1938), 89.

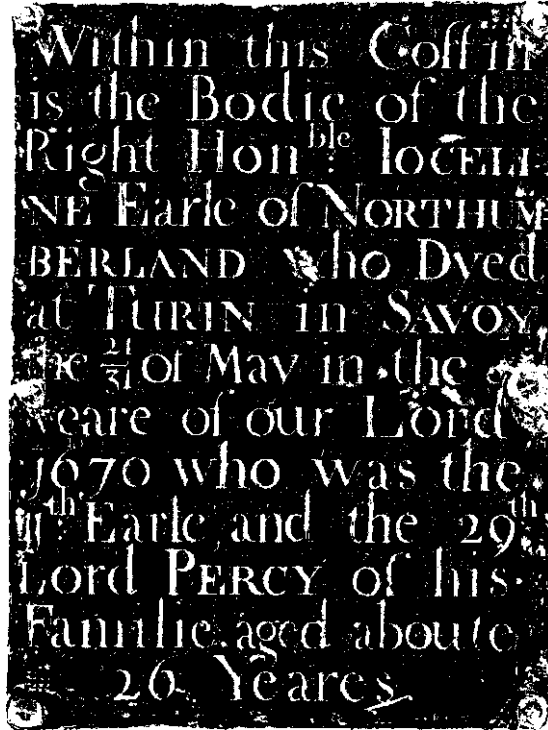


FIG. 12

Coffin plate to Joceline, 11th Earl of Northumberland, 1670, (M.S.X)
Petworth, West Sussex

He was buried on July 14, 1670.³³ The plate, which is 1.5 mm thick, has two stab marks in the metal in the upper centre portion firstly, in the 'w' of "who Dyed" and secondly around the dexter and sinister retaining screws.

What may have confused Mrs. Davidson-Houston is a second inscription to Joceline, 27.8 cm high and 36.8 cm wide, to be found among the same mural arrangement of coffin plates. This is certainly much corroded and difficult to rub, if not to decipher. Curiously, there is no reference to it in her entries on Petworth, nor is there in Mill Stephenson's *List*, possibly because of doubts as to whether it really is brass. Fig. 13 shows this plate which probably was fixed to an inner coffin. Interestingly, the guide lines for the engraver to insert the text are still to be seen and there is a contradiction in the age given of the earl:-

This is the bodie of the Right / Honourable Joceline earle of / Northumberland that died at / Turin in Piemont the 21/31 of May 1670 / in the twentyfifth yeare of his age / who was the Eleventh Earle and / Twentyninth Lord Percy of his / Familie

³³ J. Dallaway and E. Cartwright, *The Parochial Topography of the Rape of Arundel in the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (London, 1832), II, 338.

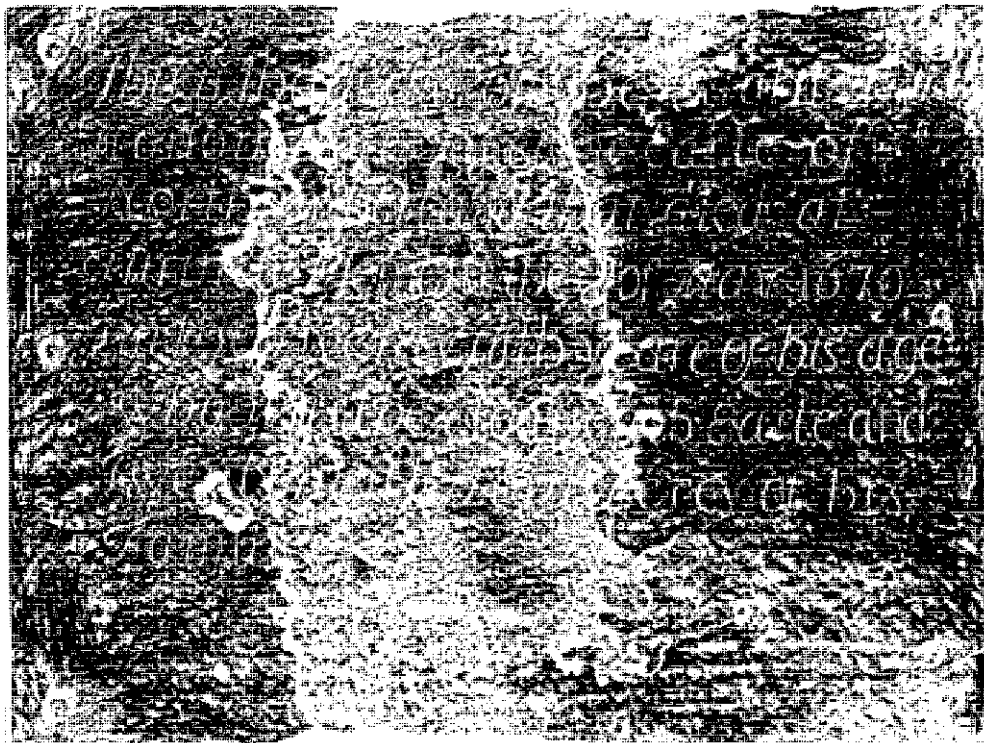


FIG. 13

Second coffin plate to Joceline Percy

Note the guidelines for the engraver

Probably fixed to a second, inner coffin, and removed from the vault below the north chapel of the church

(The explanation of the Earl's untimely death in Piedmont is found in the diaries of Anthony Wood, who tells us:

"May 1670. This month Josselin, earl of Northumberland, died at Turin in Italy aged 26 or therabouts. When he came from Rome he must needs call at Bologna to see the duke of Northumberland [self-styled, actually the son of Sir Robert Dudley] and his incomparable beautifull daughter married to an Italian marquess, governour of Ancona by the sea side. He lives at Ancona, she at Bologna, 100 miles distant. They are in a meane condition, so that she lives as 'twere by her body. The earl of Northumberland tarried there 12 dayes for her sake; and tarrying there longer than he should do, made with so much hast to France where he left his countess that he died (with overheating himself) by the way, viz. at Turin." - *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford Historical Society, Vol. II (1892), 193. Ed.)

Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes, East Sussex. The Society's Museum has a small brass of a full-face daughter with very long, flowing hair. The plate has a single (empty) rivet hole and a diagonal scratch or crack across the hair



FIG. 14
Effigy of a daughter with flowing hair, redated to c.1480
Possibly East Anglian in origin
Sussex Archaeological Society Museum, Lewes

and lower jaw (Fig. 14). It is recorded in Mill Stephenson's *List* in the 'Private Possession' section where it is item III under R. Garraway Rice, London and described as "Daughter, 7 by 2 (inches) with flowing hair, c.1500." It came into the Society's possession in 1933 by bequest of Garraway Rice, former Vice-President of the Sussex Archaeological Society, and local secretary for Sussex for the Society of Antiquaries. The inventory of the bequest merely states: "Two miniature brasses"³⁴ although there is no trace of a second brass from this source.

Associated with this plate in the Society's collection are "brass rivets and six dumps (*sic*) of lead for fixing rivets from the monumental brass of Sir William Goring 1555 (*sic*) Burton." It is known that Garraway Rice had undertaken some repair work at Burton, West Sussex, in 1920 from the discovery of a label behind the inscription to Mary Goring, 1694 (M.S.VI) by Hutchinson and Egan in 1986³⁵

³⁴ *S.A.C.*, LXXV (1934), p.lix.

³⁵ Revd. Jerome Bertram, "Brasses and Monuments at Burton, Sussex", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, part 4 (1989), 313.

although there has been no suggestion that the Goring brass had been touched; indeed lead plugs and rivets remain today in the indent of the kneeling figure.

The plate of the single daughter depicts her full-face, wearing a high-waisted dress with low neckline and long, almost wild hair - probably indicating that she was unmarried. The dress suggests an earlier date, perhaps two decades before the previously accepted *c.*1500, and the workmanship is not indicative of London origins. Compare with the single, small effigies of Joan, daughter of John Lord Strange and his wife, 1509, at Hillingdon, Middx.,³⁶ and the maiden lady with flowing hair *c.*1520 at Shere, Surrey,³⁷ both London products. Clearly, the plate, which would have not been associated with other daughters, emanates from a local workshop, possibly East Anglian.

The other brass in the possession of the Sussex Archaeological Society is the centre section of a London 'F' civilian in furred gown with large purse *c.*1510, already illustrated in these *Transactions* as a derelict fragment.³⁸ This plate of dark metal, 17.3 cm long and 14.5 cm wide, was included in the Every Collection of Sussex ironwork bequeathed to the Society during the Second World War.³⁹ It bears the accession number 44.24.244, still has pitch remaining on the back, and also a series of stab marks around the hands. Stephen Freeth has drawn attention to the origin of this plate⁴⁰ which is from the lost brass to Thomas Brampton and wife, 1511, formerly in the south chapel at Northfleet, Kent. A Thomas Fisher drawing of the brass, made *c.*1800, published in an article by Ralph Griffin in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXXII (1917), 71, shows the slab also with indents for a wife, three sons, one daughter and a foot inscription. The headless effigy of the male then measured *c.*51 cm by 19 cm and was still present in the church in 1837 when it was recorded by J.G. Waller.

Acknowledgements: The two rubbings of the lost Buxted indents are reproduced with kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society. Special thanks are due to that Society's Hon. Librarian, Joyce Crow, to the Revd. Jerome Bertram, Hon. Editor of these *Transactions*, for drawing their existence to my attention, and finally to the Revd. Richard Wolley, Rector of Buxted, for allowing me access to the brass fragments in his church. The Burrell drawings of the lost brasses to an unknown armoured figure and John and Isabella Atteweale at Buxted are illustrated by permission of The British Library.

³⁶ Illustrated: *Monumental Brasses: Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), no. 275, and in Dr. Cameron's article on the Hillingdon brasses in *Trans. London & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, XXVII (1976), fig.1, facing p.264.

³⁷ Stephenson, *op.cit.*, 460.

³⁸ *M.B.S. Trans.*, X, part 4 (1966), 312, where the date is given as *c.*1500.

³⁹ An article on the collection of Ald. John Every, a Lewes ironmaster, in *S.A.C.*, LXXXIII (1943), 121-136, makes no mention of the brass fragment.

⁴⁰ *M.B.S. Bulletin*, 7 (October 1974), p.11.

History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546 - 1555 Part Two: The Brasses (ii)

By ROBERT HUTCHINSON AND BRYAN EGAN

THE conventions used in this continuation of our descriptive catalogue of identified Fermer brasses are as described in Part Two (i) of this paper which was published in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 3 (1994), 263.

09 1548 **Waddesdon**, Bucks., (St. Michael and All Angels) M.S.III
Hugh Brystowe, parson, 1548, in shroud with an inscription with 16 curious English verses.

Position: Chancel floor.

Description: Full-face effigy with eyes closed, in an edged shroud which, like Aldenham (No.04) falls open above the waist and below the knees to reveal a naked and emaciated corpse. Strangely, the shrouded figure is depicted as standing, or rather perched, upon a small grassy mound with stylised “waves” of grass (Fig. 1). A portion of the top knot is lost.

Inscription: Script 6, with a series of seven different types of flourishes engraved as “space-fillers” at the end of each line:-

Som tyme I was Persone here
 Of thys Church of Wadson
A bove the space of Forty yere
 Elect unto the First Porcyon
A thowsand Fyve hundreth forty and ayght
 The xxvij day of Nouember
Ned^e must I goo God graunt me y^e way strayght
 Com was my tyme I myght tary no longer
Hugh Bristowe was my name
 I was so Called of many a one
By crewell dethe my body was slayne
 And brought to my grave under this stone
Besecheyng Criste to have Mercy
 On my pore Sowle and all Cristen
Desyeryng you of youre Charyte
 To say our Lordes prayer Amen

There is a space between the ‘A’ and ‘bove’ in the second line. Were the initial capital letters engraved first? There is also confused engraving in the last word of line

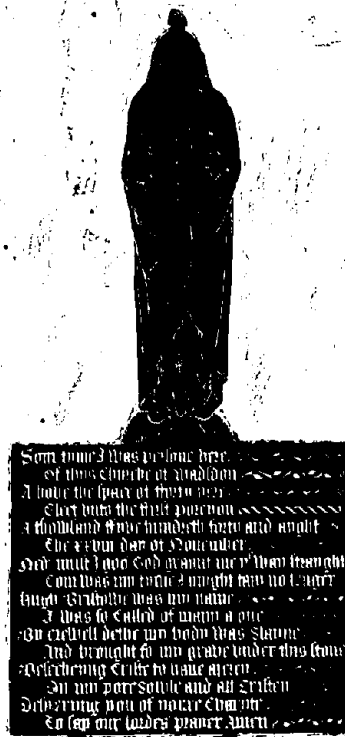


FIG. 1

Hugh Bristowe, parson, 1548
 Waddesdon, Bucks., M.S.III
Rubbing by Bryan Egan

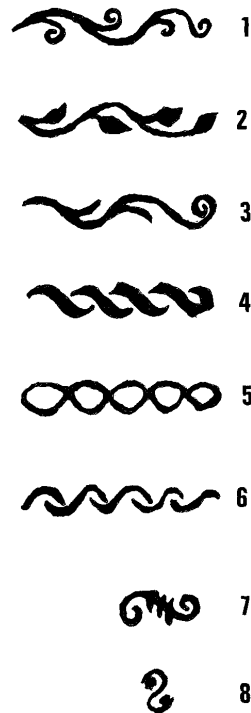


FIG. 2

Flourishes associated with Script 6 inscriptions

Type 1 - swirls. Type 2 - leaves. Type 3 - branch. Type 4 - chain. Type 5 - circles. Type 6 - waves. Type 7 - short termination. Type 8 - vertical termination. All except No. 8 (Braunton) traced from the inscription at Waddesdon.

eight, where the engraver began carving an 'e' rather than an 'o' in 'longer'. For discussion on the accuracy of the date of death, see below under the *Biographical details* section. As regards the flourishes, the designs may have been taken from a standard pattern book. One style, type 1, (Fig. 2) adorned with swirls, occurs five times on the Waddesdon inscription, and another, type 2, seemingly with leaves at the terminations rather than swirls, three times. The flourishes may only be associated with the Script 6 design, as such devices occur with this script throughout its existence, up to the late 1570s. Flourishes of the same type are found on other Fermer products, eg. Blewbury and Milton. Variations on these designs are found on Script 5 inscriptions such as Shipton-under-Wychwood.

Dimensions: Effigy, 55.4 cm height, 15.1 cm width. Inscription, 42.0 cm width, 36.1 cm height.

Slab / Stonework: Purbeck slab, 179 cm in length, 79 cm in width, appropriated. The pattern of rivets indicate that the previous brass may have comprised two main figures with an inscription, children and shields, probably late fifteenth-century. The slab almost certainly has been reduced in width.

Reused: Reverse of effigy: vertical central portion of a priest in a cope with quatrefoil decoration and almuce, c.1410 (142L1). Reverse of inscription: major portion of an inscription in 21 lines recording a deed poll confirming a grant of land to the wardens of the guild of St. Mary, Aylesbury, Bucks., in 1493/4:

To all true feithfull & cristen peple whiche shall see · heere · behold · or rede · thi(s) / Agnes · þe wiffe of hy' sende gretynge in our lord everlastyng · Be hit know(n) /gyven granted & co'fermed by Chartre & season therof delyverd to Willia' Basse(?t) / Marstres or Wardeyns of þe guyld or of þe Bretherhede otherwyse called þe ff / Mary our Lady of Ayllesbury xvi Acres of lande Medues & pastures lying de /Aylesbury & Walton in þe pysshe of Aylesbury in maner forme & co'dicion / of þe said Maistres by the'selff or by theyre attones what so evir they be þ / our lady of Aylesbury after þe Maner & usage of þe Chirche of Salesbury s /sowles of þe said Willia' Thomas & Agnes his wiffe diriges yerely þe xx / & al wey to endure & on þe Morowe þe masses in lyk wyse · Than they t(a) / wt this also that they gyve unto þe vicary of þe said chirche yerely · for þe / other prestes & clerkes syngyng þe premisses ij s yerely · at þe place · & / said Maisters or theirs attorneys · whiche for þe tyme shall be to supvid /theyre labores to be done ij s That then þe forsaide landes · Medues · feeld / þe same Maisters & to theos Successoures for evirmore And yf default be u /p'misses · at eny day · or on' þe Morowe aftre eny of þe dayes · or of eny of þ(e) / is p'mysed this owght to be done & kept That then we þe forsaide Willia' T / (homas & Agnes) will & grant that þe Wardeyns or þe Maistres of þe forsaide p'isse Chirche o / (f)..... be take in to theyre handes all þe forsaide xvj Acres of lande Medues & pastu / (res) resceyve season in þe same · to fynde þe diriges & Masses in man' & forme wt / successoures in þe office of þe said Chirche do & contynue þe same be tyme/ (142L2)

Discovered by Egan on 10 April, 1971. On the reverse of the Fermer shroud brass at Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon., 1548, (No.10), is an inscription confirming the grant of other property to wardens of the same guild.

Biographical details: Bristowe was presented to the living on 22 May 1504 by Sir Hugh Conway. His successor, William Batherne, was instituted on 10 April 1549, on the presentation of the King. Lipscomb, quoting MSS. in the possession of the antiquary Browne Willis¹ gives Bristow's will, dated 4 December, 1549, (*sic* - surely an error for 1548?) and proved eleven days later; in which case, the month of death on the inscription should be December rather than the previous month, and, in addition, there must be suspicion over the accuracy of the day of death as well. The priest directs his body to be buried in the "Queere of Waddesdone", bequeaths legacies to Richard Browne and each of his children and 20s. to each child of John Turney and

¹ George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (4 vols., London, 1847), I, 496.

of Richard Cripplande's wife; also to Roger Cratemander's children (which Roger married the niece of Cripplande). Bristow also left 6s 8d to his god-daughter Joane Lamburn and 11d to every other of his god children; to Master Gubberdyn to pray for him, 5s; the residue to Ralph Palmer, his executor.²

Illustrated: Obverse and reverse: Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore: *Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), 227; Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, I (London, 1847), 510 (poor drawing of obverse but showing top knot of shroud complete). Reverse: Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests, The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, II (London, 1980), pl.52.

Comment: The local origins of the reused metal for the palimpsest inscription are perhaps significant - Waddesdon is just five miles from Aylesbury. Did Ralph Palmer, the executor, procure the plate himself and send it to London for the engraving of the priest's brass? As described above, another plate emanating from the guild of St. Mary at Aylesbury, is behind the Fermer shroud brass at Shipton-under-Wychwood (No.10), some 35 miles, as the crow flies, from the source of the metal. As we have seen, the workshop producing the Fermer designs was prolific in output³ during its short period of operation, and so possibly could not spare the resources for roving purchases of Reformation spoil. The almost total incidence of London origins for known traceable palimpsest metal confirms that London represented the major source of reusable plate during the first six years of the Fermer establishment. Unless workshop personnel were in the vicinity to lay down a brass themselves and heard of the sale, it does seem more probable that both plates for Waddesdon and Shipton were snapped up at a local sale by executors and sent to London for re-engraving. The metal became available a year or so after the dissolution of the Chantries in 1547⁴ and Lipscomb records the King's grant of lands in and around Aylesbury "late belonging to the fraternity of the Blessed Mary" in 1553,⁵ including land in Walton, mentioned in the Waddesdon reverse.

10 1548 **Shipton-under-Wychwood**, Oxon., (St. Mary) M.S.I
Rectangular plate to Elizabeth Horne, née Tame, depicting a recumbent figure in a shroud, with English verses, shield.

Position: Now mounted on an Iroko board, mural, south chapel, with a resin replica of the reverse displayed alongside.

² Lipscomb also describes a dispute after Bristow's death, concerning tithes from lands in Waddesdon, Warmeston and Westcote, due to three portionists, "commonly and indifferently styled Rectors". Each portionist had claim on a plot of land, called Priest's Acre - hence the reference in the inscription to the "First Porcyn". The Rector of Waddesdon had the largest share in two closes adjoining his house. In Elizabeth's reign, the Queen, by patent, "reciting concealment by Hugh Bristowe, Robert Lee and Richard Huntingdon (the three portionists), demised the tenths of the portions with all oblations, obventions, pensions, altarage etc., to Richard Stenhouse, from Ladyday, 1570, for 21 years at £15 an acre per annum for each portion". *Ut supra*, 494.

³ Hutchinson and Egan, *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 2 (1993), 143-47.

⁴ 1 Edw. VI cap 14. The affluent Fraternity of the Town of Aylesbury was founded by licence on 10 December 1424 by John Singleton Esq., and John Baldwin the elder and younger.

⁵ Lipscomb, *op.cit.*, II, 62.

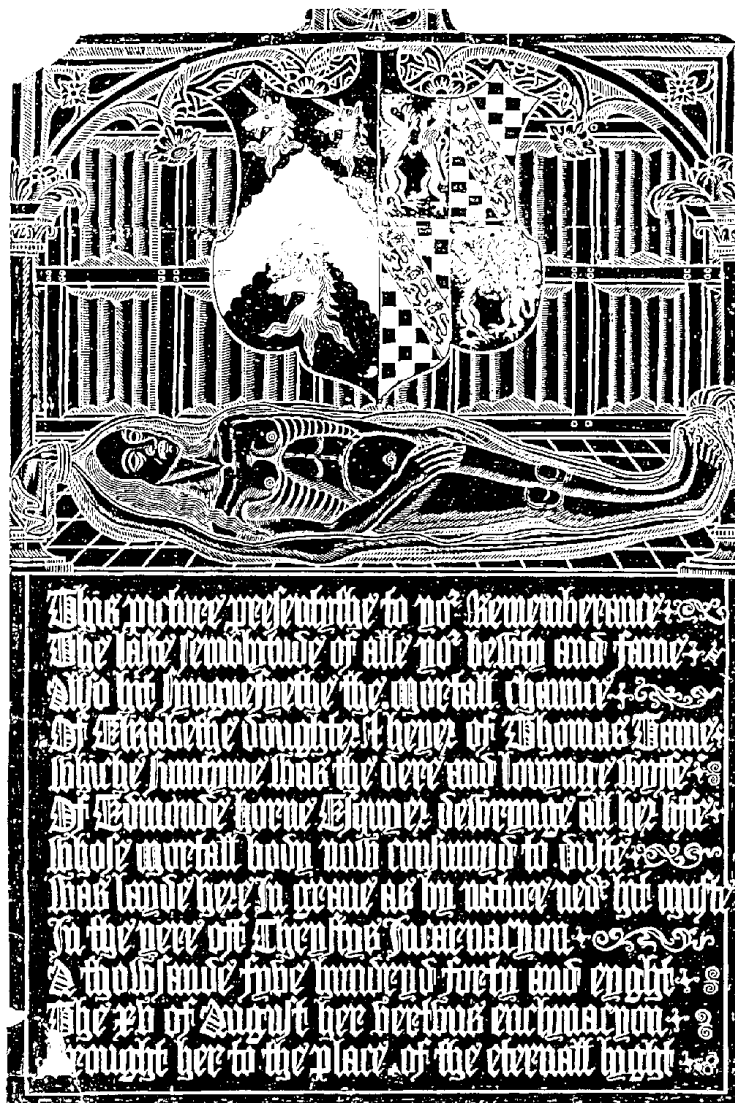


FIG. 3

Rectangular plate to Elizabeth Horne, 1548, with Script 5 inscription
Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon., M.S.I

Rubbing by Bryan Egan

Description: Female figure, lying in a shroud, thrown open to reveal an emaciated corpse, naked from head to toe, hands resting on the top of her thighs. The effigy has long hair and eyes closed. There is a tiled floor within a Renaissance classical arch, with linenfold panelling behind and a shield immediately above. The inscription is below this scene. The figure is boldly executed and remarkably well drawn: note the

(M)ary o^r lady of ayllesbury aftyr y^e man' & usage of y^e church(e) of Salesbury sole 'ply to be kep(t) / (so)nge for y^e sowles of the said John & Aylse hys wyffe dyryges yerely the xxij day of / (A)pryll i' tyme to come & alwey to endure & on ye morowe the messes in lykewyse the(n) / (?The)y to enioye y^e seyde mese w^t this also that (?they) geve unto y^e vicarye of y^e seide church(e) / (ye)rely for y^e tyme beyng viii^d & distribute to other p'stys & clarkys syngyng the / (m)asses ij^d yerely at y^e place & days aforesayd & moreov' if the seyde masters or / att'neys whiche for y^e tyme shall be to sup'vide or ou'see the p'mysse take for y^e / (la)burs ij^d that then the foreseyde Mese w^t thaptyuncys holy remayn to the seyde / (m)asters & y^e successors for ev'more & if defaute be made yn the p'mysse or in aney of / (the)m' at any day o^r on y^e morrowe after aney of theys days o^r of aney of y^e morrowys a / (for)seyd yn whiche as it is p'mysed it owth to be done & kept y^t then ye forseyd john & / (Al)ys my wyffe aforeseyd wyll & graunte y^t the Wardens o' the masters of y^e sayd p'yshe church(e) / (of) ayllesbury whiche for y^e tyme shall bee take ynto y^e handes all y^e forseyd mese (wt th)et apporte / (nc)es y^t they receyve season yn y^e same to fynde y^e dyrges & masses i' mann^r & forme wi' wrtyn' / they & y^e successors i' the office of y^e sayd church(e) do co'tynewe y^e same on tymes ev'more to e'dure / (143L1)

Discovered by 1899.

Link: None known. See, however, brass No.09, above.

Illustrated: Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig.241; *Oxford Portfolio of Mon. Brasses*, I, part 2 (1899), pl.6, (obverse and reverse); *Palimpsests*, II, pl.52, (reverse); *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 2 (1993), 158 (portion of effigy) and 174 (shield).

Comment: Script 5 is found on several other Fermer products, e.g., Charlwood, Banwell, West Drayton and Blatherwyck, where the obvious Fermer designs confirm the close links between this figure style and the script.

11 1548 **Braunton**, Devon (St. Brannock) M.S.I
Lady Elizabeth Bowcer, daughter of John [Bourchier, 1st] Earl of Bath, wife of Edward Chechester, esquire, 1548.

Position: Now replaced in the original appropriated slab, on floor of the south or Lady Chapel, in front of the altar steps. Formerly mural, effigy on a hinge, mounted on a wooden board above the slab, with the following inscription:

REINSTATED / BY AGNES CHICHESTER , LADY HARTLAND /
25 APRIL 1908

Description: Lady, facing dexter, wearing a pedimental head-dress with the lappets turned up, and a closely buttoned partlet with extravagantly-frilled cuffs, beneath another garment with slashed sleeves. Over all is a gown with long, furred sleeves. At the waist is a sash from which hangs an ornate pendant. She kneels at a prayer-desk

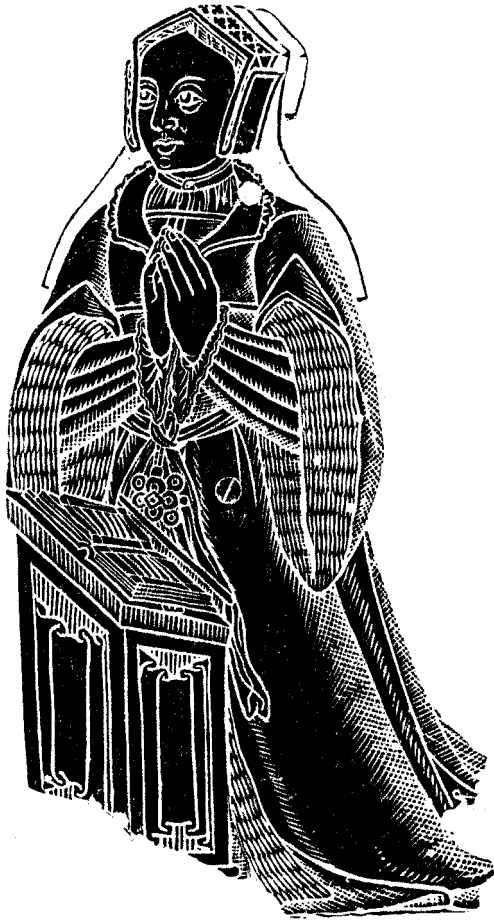


FIG. 4
 Lady Elizabeth Chechester, 1548
 Braunton, Devon, M.S.I
Rubbing by Bryan Egan



FIG. 5
 Chechester brass relaid in its original appropriated slab
 Braunton, Devon, M.S.I
Rubbing by Bryan Egan

with linenfold panelling and an open book laid upon it. The lower dexter portion of the desk is missing (Fig. 4). Her hands are delicately engraved but there are no rings on her fingers. The inscription, slightly mutilated at the bottom dexter corner, has type 8 flourishes at the end of lines 1 and 2.

Inscription: Script 6 in four lines of black letter:-

Here lyethe Lady Elyzabethe Bowcer Daughter of John Erle /
of bath & sumtyme wyffe to Edwarde Chechester Esquyer the /
whyche Elyzabethe Decessyd the xxiiijth day of August in the / yere
of o^r Lorde God m⁺ v^c xlviiij · Apon whose soule god haue M^{cy} /

The 'd' and 'e' of 'Lorde' in the last line have been joined to save space. As this occurs close to the dexter edge of the inscription, this may be an indication of how the letters and spaces were traced out for the engraving process.

Dimensions: Figure 34.1 cm in height, 17.2 cm width. Inscription, 61.6 cm width, 11.1 cm in height.

Slab/Stonework: Appropriated Purbeck slab with incised cross on steps with chamfered arms (135L1) within single-line border, ?c.1450, 191.5 cm height and 67 cm width, probably reduced in width on both sides (Fig. 5). The brass effigy is superimposed on the cross 9 cm from its new base, the original steps having been partially destroyed by the insertion of the new inscription. The earlier memorial slab may also have had a fillet inscription, now gone, and, almost certainly, a small brass inscription now obliterated at the base of the cross.

Reused: Reverse of inscription: part of a large, boldly-incised effigy of a canon wearing an almuce, c.1330 (135L2). Reverse of effigy: head of figure wearing a bascinet and mail, worn, (or possibly scraped down) c.1370 (135L3). Discovered by 1861.

Link: Reverse of inscription links with that behind the inscription from the 'Gyfford' style brass at Charwelton, Northants., c.1548 (134L5) and the reverse of the Fermer brass at Aldenham, Herts., c.1548, No. 13 (136L1). Reverse of lady probably links with the reverse of a portion of the Gyfford style figure of a judge at Narborough, Norfolk, 1545 M.S.III (L435-2), discovered in 1982. This is the first instance of a suspected palimpsest link being established with the assistance of a computer list of reused fragments, in this case through analysis by William Lack. See John Page-Phillips' *2nd Addenda to Palimpsests* (1985), p. ix.

Biographical details: Lady Elizabeth was the fourth daughter of John Bouchier, 10th. Lord Fitzwarren and 1st. Earl of Bath, and Cicely, daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater. She married Edward Chechester (arms, *Chequy or and gules, a chief vairé*) of Raleigh, near Barnstaple, North Devon.

Illustrated: Fig. 5 shows the present state of the brass after it was returned to its original appropriated slab by Egan in 1987. Obverse, *Trans. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, VI (1852), pl.7. Reverse, *Palimpsests*, II, pl.46, and *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, part 3 (1994), 252.

Comment: This is a further example of the transition from the Gyfford workshop designs to the Fermer style, with confirmatory palimpsest link, possibly utilising old

despoiled plate found in the workshop. The size and shape of Reformation spoil must have been an important factor in determining how it would be reused and when; shields, for example, clearly were ideally suited for turning over and using again as shields and at times of short supply odd pieces would have been soldered together to create the desired new plate. Conversely, when large quantities of spoil were available, odd fragments could end up at the bottom of a pile of plates, overlooked for some time. This makes palimpsest links between transitional figure styles the more interesting but surely makes redating, purely on this basis, a little less safe.

The design of the Braunton brass is intriguing - a rare instance of a lone figure kneeling at a prayer desk. Perhaps the fact that Elizabeth Bowcer faces dexter is an indication that her plate was originally made for a larger monument or composition that included a male kneeling figure that was never completed or delivered and was later utilised for her brass.



FIG. 6

Wenefride Newport, redated to 1548
 Greystoke, Cumberland, M.S.VII
 Reverse of effigy, centre portion of a small lady, c.1420
Rubbing by Bryan Egan

12 1548* **Greystoke**, Cumberland (St. Andrew) M.S.VII

Wenefride Newport, 1547, small figure of a girl with an inscription.

Position: Relaid in local limestone slab, mural, west end of nave. Originally on the floor of the south aisle.

Description: Full face effigy of a girl with long, flowing hair beneath a Paris head-dress, wearing a partlet with frilled cuffs beneath a gown with puffed sleeves at the shoulders. Around the waist is a belt or sash with a very small ornament or pendant hanging from it. The front of the dress opens to show an underskirt (Fig. 6).

Inscription: Script 6 in four lines of English:-

Off your charite pray for y^e Soule of Wenefride
Newport whose bones lyeth under this Stone
whiche Dep'tyd the ix daye of Decemb^r Anno
dúi m^t ccccc^o xlvii whose Soule Jhù perdon

Dimensions: Effigy, 19.5 cm in height, 7.5 cm in width. Inscription, 36.8 cm in width, 10.1 cm in height.

Reused: Reverse of inscription: blank. Reverse of effigy: worn, centre portion of a figure of a small lady with veiled head-dress and close-fitting sleeves, c.1430 (153L1). Discovered by Page-Phillips in 1960.

Illustrated: Obverse, *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Arch. Society*, XIII, pl.7, p.147; Page-Phillips, *Children on Brasses* (London, 1970), fig.37. Reverse, *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, part 1 (1969), facing p.43, *Palimpsests*, II, pl.57.

13 c.1548 **Aldenham**, Herts., (St. John the Baptist) M.S.X

Shield and one half of another, the remains of the brass to Ralph Stepney esquire, 1548.⁷ Armoured figure and inscription lost.

Position: Formerly on altar tomb in chancel. Relaid on chancel floor immediately under the sedilia in the nineteenth century; now on nave floor at west end.⁸

Description: One complete shield remains in the slab which also bears the indent of a full-face armoured figure with long hair, the head not resting on a helmet, standing on a shallow mound, rather than on an animal. Half a shield, at dexter, listed by Stephenson as framed in the vestry,⁹ was later held in the church safe. It was replaced in the slab by Egan on 8 July 1972.

Inscription: Weever¹⁰ provides the text of the lost inscription:-

Here lyeth Raph Stepney Esquyre, the first Lord of the Lordshyp of
this Towne of Aldenham, and Patron of this Church. Who dyed 3.
Decemb. 1544. [sic] on whos sowl Iesu haue mercy. Amen.

Dimensions: Shields originally 16.2 cm height, 14.4 cm width. See *Slab/Stonework* below.

⁷ The date given in Stephenson's *List*, 1544, is corrected to 1548 in the *Appendix*, 759, although John Page-Phillips, in *Palimpsests*, I, 49, retains the earlier date but says engraved c.1548.

⁸ W.F. Andrews, *Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches*, 2nd. edition, (Ware & London, 1903), 26. See J.E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, Hundred of Dacorum (London, 1879), 254.

⁹ Stephenson, *ut supra*, 178.

¹⁰ J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments...* (London, 1631), 592.

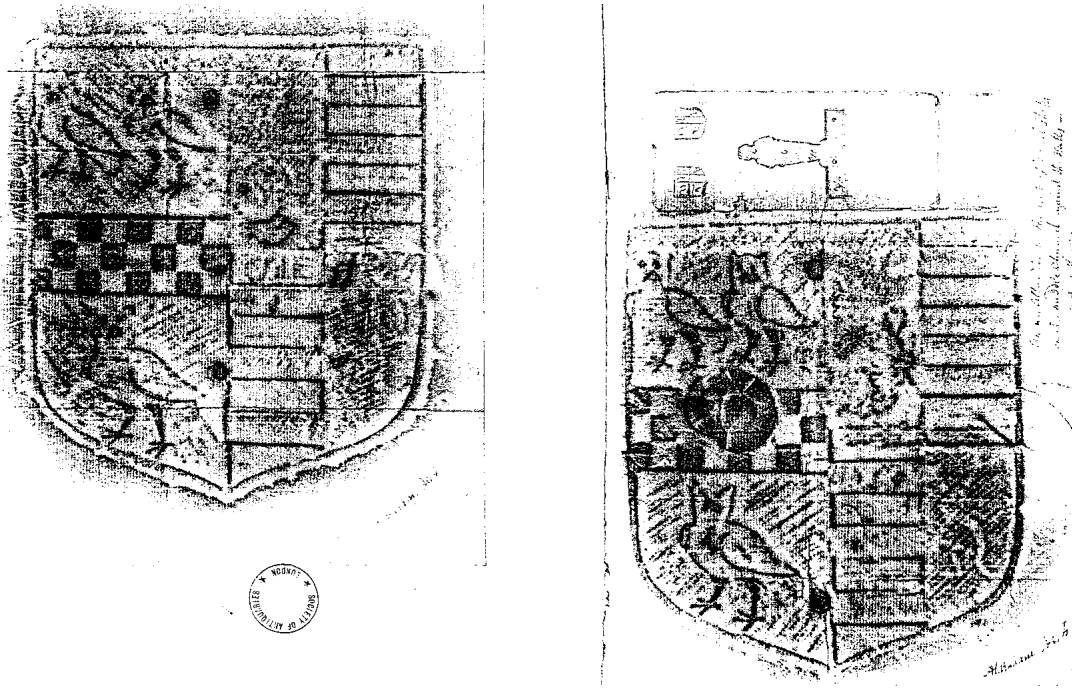


FIG. 7

Two shields from the brass of Ralph Stepney, c.1548
Aldenham, Herts., M.S.X

From a dabbing dated 4 October 1810, in the collection in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries

Slab / Stonework: In the collection of the Society of Antiquaries is a rubbing of this slab which shows the indent of the effigy, 47 cm in height, 17.7 cm in width, over an inscription, probably four lines in length, 13.5 cm in height and 51.5 cm in width. The rubbing, dated 26 March 1862, shows the shields intact, wrongly dates the “effigy of a knight” as c.1500, and places the slab as being within the altar rails. Fig. 7 is taken from an earlier dabbing in the Antiquaries’ collection, dated 4 October 1810 from the Phillipps’ collection. It includes a small sketch of the slab, described, according to a note, as then being “on an Altar Tomb.... in the Middle Chancel against the Stalls.” A strange “blob” of lead or perhaps wax shows on this dabbing in the centre of a shield which is missing in the later rubbing. In its present state, the slab has clearly been cut down.

Heraldry: *Gules, a fess chequy or and azure between 3 owls argent (STEPNEY of Prendergast, Co. Pembroke) impaling Argent, a lion rampant tail forked sable (CRESSY) quartering Ermine 3 bars gules (HUSSEY).*

Reused: Reverse of whole shield: drapery of a canon in almuce, c.1330 (136L1). Reverse of half shield: part of a group of sons, c.1500 (136L2).

Half shield discovered to be palimpsest by 1900. (Rubbing by Mill Stephenson in

Society of Antiquaries' collection is dated 8 May 1901.) The whole shield was found by Egan on 18 March 1971 to be reused.

Link: 136L1 links with the reverse of a portion of inscription (134L5) from the Gyfford style brass at Charwelton, Northants., c.1548 (M.S.III) and part of the inscription (135L2) from Braunton, Devon, No.11, above.

Biographical details: On 10 August 1547, the manor of Aldenham was granted by Henry VIII to Ralph Stepney, or Stepnith, and Joan his wife, daughter and heir ofCressy. This was three years prior to Weever's reported date of Stepney's death. Cussans,¹¹ quotes *B. L. Harleian MS.* 1546, f.876, where the inscription is transcribed but the year of death given as "five hundred fitye & eight." The original scribe, however, had some doubts as to the decade, having first written a capital 's' for 'sixty' then over it a capital 'f' for 'fifty'. Bearing in mind a later grant of arms, Cussans believes that 1548 is the correct date. The lordship of Aldenham was sold in 1588 by 'Powle Stepneth', a great, great grandson of Ralph, to Sir Edward Cary.

14 1550 **Sessay**, Yorks. (St. Cuthbert) M.S.I
Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of the East Riding and Rector of Sessay, 1550, with scroll, inscription, four quatrefoils, and a shield beneath the inscription.

Position: Chancel floor.

Description: Full-length, full-face effigy wearing a cassock, surplice, almuce and cope, the hood of which appears on the shoulders (Fig. 8). The morse attached to the cope is inscribed IESVS in near-Roman capital letters. From the hands issues a scroll bearing the legend "Jesu fili dei miserere mei" in black letter. At the four corners of the slab are quatrefoils, the upper dexter and lower sinister bearing the device of the Holy Lamb with a cross and the lower dexter and upper sinister, the stalk and flower of the columbine. Both lower quatrefoils are laid upside down. The shield, charged with the arms of Magnus, has the motto: "As God Wyll."¹²

Inscription: Script 6 in three lines:-

Here lyethe Master Thomas Magnus Archdeacon of thest Rydyng /
in the Metrepolitan Chyrche of Yorke & p'son of this Chyrche whiche /
Dyed the xxvijth day of August A° dúi M° cccc° L· whose soule god p'dn

Dimensions: Effigy, 64·8 cm in height (including scroll) and 21 cm width. Inscription, 62·2 cm in width, 8·9 cm width.

Heraldry: Shield, *Bendy of six, vert and gules, on a fess or, a lion passant guardant between two cinquefoils, gules, of the second (MAGNUS).*¹³

Slab / Stonework: Type not known. Unmeasured.

Reused: Reverse of effigy: (apart from head), blank. Reverse of inscription: part of a large figure of a lady, c.1420 (156L1). Reverse of head and scroll: portion of a civilian

¹¹ Cussans, *op.cit.*, 241.

¹² Before the Victorian restoration of Sessay church, there was glass in the windows containing Magnus' rebus, an Agnes Dei with an 'M' superimposed. The motto "As God Wyll" was also present and "the herbage was full of columbines". See Tonge's *Visitation* (Surtees Society, XLI, fn., p.59).

¹³ Mill Stephenson, "Monumental Brasses in the North Riding", *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, XVII (1903), 313. Burke's *General Armory* gives *Bendy of six, vert and gules, on a fesse, or, a lion passant guardant between two cinquefoils ppr.*



Here lieth the walter Thomas magna Archdeacon of the East Riding
in the cathedrale church of York & prior of this church who he
died the xxvij day of August A. M. 1550. Whole soule god p'lon



FIG. 8
Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of the East Riding and Rector of Sessay, 1550
Sessay, Yorkshire, M.S.I
From Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Trans.

wearing a furred gown, c.1520 (156L2). Reverse of upper sinister and lower dexter quatrefoils: linking sections of a priest in a cope bearing initials 'J' and 'E', c.1425 (156L3-4). Reverse of remaining quatrefoils: linking drapery from the base of a figure, c.1480 (156L5-6) and a doodle, or workshop waster, with a Roman capital 'D'¹⁴ (156L7). Reverse of shield: drapery from a brass of Flemish origins to a lady, c.1360 (156L8).

Discovered March, 1902, by W.J. Kaye (?).

Link: Reverse of inscription links with the reverse of the inscription to Thomas Grenewey, 1551, at Dinton, Bucks., (No.38) (155L10) and the reverse of the shield links with the reverse of the figures at Ossington, Notts., 1551, (No.32) (157L1-2).

Biographical details: Thomas Magnus was the son of John and Alice Magnus and was born at Newark-upon-Trent.¹⁵ Possibly apocryphal accounts suggest that his father was an innkeeper at whose home some Yorkshire clothiers stayed while on a wool-buying mission. Becoming interested in the obviously intelligent son, they assisted in his education.¹⁶ Later, Magnus found a patron in Robert Brown, Receiver to Wolsey,¹⁷ and it was, no doubt, due to his efforts that Magnus was selected as one of the Cardinal's ambassadors to the Emperor Charles V to solicit his support in Wolsey's candidacy for the Papacy in 1523. Magnus obtained the archdeaconry of the East Riding in 1504, followed by a stream of pluralities, including a canonry of Windsor. He was a chaplain to Henry VIII for almost all his long reign but more in name than fact as he was continually engaged on state business, mainly in Scotland where, as ambassador in 1524-25, he failed to achieve a diplomatic marriage for his royal master.¹⁸

In 1529 Magnus founded the free school at Newark and in 1535 he was active in promoting Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy throughout the East Riding, accompanied by an Austin friar, reportedly an eloquent preacher.¹⁹ Amongst other offices, he was warden of the College of Sibthorpe, Notts., which, after the Dissolution, was granted to him and Richard Whalley Esq.

Illustrated: *M.B.S. Portfolio*, VI (1953-1969), pl.32 (obverse); *Portfolio Plates* (1988), no. 342; *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, part 8 (1903), 305 (obverse), 307 (reverse); *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, XVII (1899), 310 (obverse), 311 (reverse); *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 58, 59, 60, (reverse); Trivick, *Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses* (London and New York, 1969), fig.217, p.84 (columbine on quatrefoil). The same detail appears as fig.98 in Trivick's *Picture Book of Brasses in Gilt* (London, 1971).

¹⁴ Stephenson regarded this as Lombardic. *Ut supra*, 314.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ A garbled version of this story has been stamped with the authority of Fuller (vide *History of the Worthies of England*) to the effect that Magnus was found as an infant, abandoned in the porch of Newark church by clothiers and that 'Magnus' was a corruption of 'Thomas Among Us'. The legend has been quoted as the source of the saying, "Nine Tailors Make a Man", although this is more generally regarded as having its origins in the nine tolls of the passing bell rung to mark the death of a male parishioner.

¹⁷ A chamfer inscription and shields to Brown (*ob.* 1532) and his wife is M.S.V at Newark.

¹⁸ A position more of dignity than comfort. "The people there cursed him openly in the street, charging him with being a magician who had, by his arts, blighted the vines in France and Flanders and who was now, with an evil eye, overlooking Scotland." *State Papers Henry VIII*, IV, part iv, p.404.

¹⁹ *M.B.S. Trans.*, X, part 2 (1964), 75.

Comment: Late appearance of the full use of processional vestments and the tonsure on a brass to an ecclesiastic.

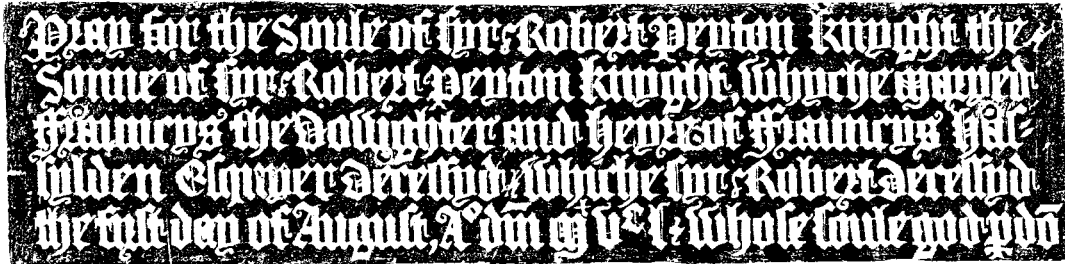


FIG. 9

Script 6 inscription to Sir Robert Peyton, 1550
Isleham, Cambs., M.S.X
Rubbing by Bryan Egan

15 1550 **Isleham**, Cambs. (St. Andrew) M.S.X
Inscription (two shields lost) to Sir Robert Peyton, 1550.

Position: On floor of south transept.

Description: Five line inscription in English (Fig. 9). In volume II of his *Sepulchral Monuments* Gough describes the Isleham monuments (pp. 286-94) and records one shield remaining.

Inscription: Script 6 in five lines:-

Pray for the Soule of Syr Robert Peyton Knyght the
Sonne of Syr Robert Peyton Knyght, whyche Maryed
Frauncys the Dowghter and Heyre of Frauncys Has=
sylden Esquier Decessyd whiche Syr Robert Decessyd
the first day of August, A° dñi M^t v^c l. whose Soule god pdò

Dimensions: Inscription, 49.7 cm in width, 12.4 cm in height. Metal 3.4 mm thick. Indents of lost shields, 16.5 cm by 14.5 cm.

Heraldry: Shields lost. Peter Heseltine, in the recently published *Mill Stephenson Collection of Shields* gives them as Peyton impaling Heselden, therefore they could be blazoned, *Sable, a cross engrailed or, a mullet argent, in dexter chief (PEYTON) and Argent, a cross flory sable, thereon a mullet argent (HASSELDEN).*

Slab/Stonework: Purbeck, 222 cm in height and 95 cm in width. Shield indents are at the top, or west end of the slab, whilst the inscription is laid to be read from the west. This was the original arrangement.

Reuse: Despite the thickness of the plate, the reverse of the inscription is blank. Brass taken up on 22 August 1986 by William Lack. New rivets fitted. Reportedly repaired and relaid in 1961 by K.R. Mabbitt.²⁰

Biographical details: Peyton was Sheriff of the county. His eldest son, Robert, was knight of the shire in 1556-7 and High Sheriff in 1566.²¹ He asked his executors to "place a stone on my grave with two scocheons".²²

²⁰ William Lack, "Repairs to Brasses, 1987", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIV, part 3 (1988), 224.

²¹ See *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, part 2 (1900), 75.

²² Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire*, (London, 1995), 168.



FIG. 10

Upper portion of a shield, ?from the brass to Sir James Wilford, 1550. from the demolished church of St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange
Museum of London, M.S.I
Museum of London photograph



FIG. 11

Reverse of upper portion of shield, part of an inscription to Richard..... ?poulterer and wife, c.1475
Museum of London, M.S.I
Museum of London photograph

16 c.1550 **Museum of London** M.S.I
Upper portion of a shield, said by Mill Stephenson²³ to “have been found in the City” [of London], broken in three places. Accession number on reverse, 1929.16, on obverse, 8875.

Position: Not applicable.

Description: Still retains one copper rivet from the Fermer re-use. The lower edge of the reverse has been heavily filed into a chamfer to take the lead ‘wipe’ to join this plate to the lost lower portion of the shield. The dexter side, where metal has been cut away to receive a coloured infill, is now completely broken into two fragments (Figs. 10 and 11).

Dimensions: Fragment measures 14.3 cm in width and 9 cm in height.

Heraldry: The shield shows two coats impaled, at dexter, *WILFORD* which may be blazoned *Gules, a chevron engrailed between 3 leopards heads or, overall in chief a label azure*. The impaled coat is difficult to identify. The fragment is said to be probably from the brass to Sir James Wilford of Hartridge, Cranbrook, Kent,²⁴ who died in 1550 and was buried in the now demolished church of St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange in the City’s Broad Street ward.²⁵ If the whole shield represents the arms of Sir James, then it would be: *Quarterly 1 and 4, Barry of 6 per pale argent and gules counterchanged (BARRETT)²⁶ 2 and 3, Argent, three lions rampant 2 and 1 gules, and as many cross crosslets 1 and 2 sable (BELLHOUSE)*.

²³ Stephenson, *List*, 578. Listed under ‘London, Guildhall Museum’.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, 2nd edition (London, 1603), 186. Stow records burials in the same church of James Wyllford, tailor, 1499, “one of the shiriffes...appoynted by his Testament, a Doctor of Diuinitie everie good Fryday for ever, to preach there a sermon of Christes passion, from 6. of the clocke, till 8 before noone, in the said church” and John Wilford, merchant tailor and alderman, 1544. The Wren church on this site was demolished in 1891.

²⁶ Barrett is normally *Barry of 4 per pale argent and gules counterchanged*. Our thanks to Sir Colin Cole, late Garter Principal King of Arms for help with this heraldry.

Reused: Reverse: portion of an inscription, London work, c.1475, in Latin:-

‘...quòdm ?Civis et Pull(etarius)
 (ux)or ei’ qui quid’m Ric(us obijt)
 (men)sis Septembris Anno (domini)
 (q)uorum a’i’ab’z p’piciet’ d(eus Amen)’ (150L1)

Discovered by 1900. It would seem that the plate formed the sinister portion of the original inscription, save for a piece of metal about 25 mm in width which was sliced off the right hand margin. The complete inscription must have measured only about 30 cm in width which must preclude associated figures of a man and wife.²⁷

Translation: “..... once citizen and ?poulterer.... his wife, which Richard died.... month of September in the year of our Lord..... on whose soules may God have mercy. Amen.”

Biographical details: The Wilford family is recorded in Surrey and Essex visitations, apparently originating in Devon. In Stratford-le-Bow church, Middx., is an inscription to Grace, daughter of the merchant tailor John Wylford who was elected a City alderman in 1538. Her monument, dated 1551, is No.34 in this catalogue of Fermer brasses. Sir James married Joyce (daughter of John Barrett of Aveley, Essex²⁸), who is referred to in his will²⁹ dated 18 November 1550 and proved eight days later: “my body to be buried at the discretion of my executrix my beloved wyf Dame Joyce”.

Illustrated: Obverse and reverse, *Trans., London & Middx Arch.Society*, XXVII (1976), facing p.248.

Comment: The use of a copper rivet is strongly suggestive of Fermer origins, as is the delicate, high quality engraving of this fragment. The *Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum* (London, 1908), No.220, p.336, provides no additional information or provenance, although the later accession number painted on the brass is something of a mystery.

(To be continued)

²⁷ Robert Hutchinson, “A Palimpsest Brass at the Museum of London”, *Trans. London & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, XXVII (1976), 246.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 245.

²⁹ P.C.C. 28 Coode. See *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, part 5 (1902), 209.

Conservation of Brasses, 1994

By WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the thirteenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the Transactions. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with several projects and for funding the facsimiles at Willingale Doe; to Father Jack Pack and the late Malcolm Norris for financial assistance at St Decuman's; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for their help at East Markham and Winwick; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Barton Turf, Chattisham, and East Markham; English Heritage at Willingale Doe; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Boothby Pagnell, Chattisham, Covenham St Bartholomew, East Markham, Stonham Aspell, Willingale Doe and Winwick; the Monumental Brass Society at Chattisham, East Markham and Winwick; the Nottinghamshire Historic Churches Fund and the Barbara Whatmore Charitable Trust at East Markham; and the St Andrew's Conservation Trust at St. Decuman's.

BARTON TURF, NORFOLK ¹

M.S.V. Inscription to John Kocke, 1512 (Fig. 1). I removed this Norwich (series 6a) inscription in two Latin lines (60 x 295 mm, thickness 5.9 mm, 2 rivets) from its slab (1505 x 565 mm) in the nave on 29 July 1992. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid the brass on 8 February 1994.



FIG. 1

Barton Turf, Norfolk

M.S.V. Inscription to John Kocke, 1512.

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

BOOTHBY PAGNELL, LINCOLNSHIRE

M.S.I. Inscription to Katherine Harrington, 1623 (Fig. 2). This London-engraved plate (252 x 478 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 10 rivets) comprises a six-line inscription in English and three shields. It had been re-secured with conventional screws in the

¹ Earlier work in the church was described in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 4 (1983), 306, and XV, pt. 2 (1993), 184.

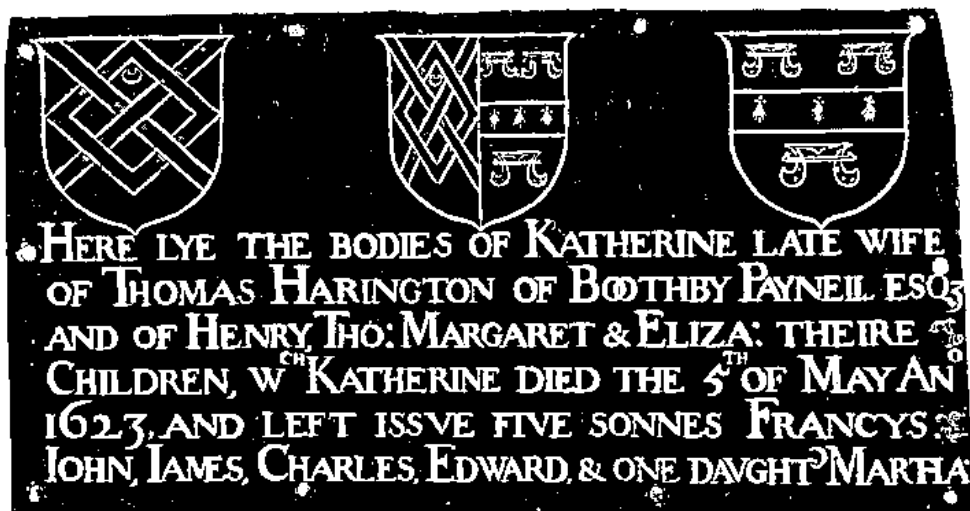


FIG. 2

Boothby Pagnell, Lincolnshire.
M.S.I. Inscription to Katherine Harrington, 1623
Rubbing by Philip Whittenore

original stone frame (510 x 680 mm) on the south wall of the north chapel. I removed it on 7 February 1994 and, after cleaning and fitting new rivets, reset it on 19 May 1994.

CHATTISHAM, SUFFOLK

M.S.I. Marie Revers, 1592 (Fig. 3). This Johnson-style brass now comprises the effigy of Marie Revers (330 x 119 mm, thickness 1.1 mm, 6 rivets), an inscription in four English lines of Roman Capitals (97 x 507 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 6 rivets) and a group of three sons and seven daughters (163 x 323 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 8 rivets), the effigy of John Revers having been lost for many years. The brass was removed for conservation on 15 October 1994. The inscription and group of children still lay in the original slab (1480 x 680 mm) in the chancel and had become corroded and loose. The female effigy had been taken up before 1903 and subsequently screwed to a board mounted on the south wall of the chancel. After cleaning and fitting new rivets all three plates were relaid in the slab on 2 December 1994.

COVENHAM ST BARTHOLOMEW, LINCOLNSHIRE

M.S.I. John Skypwyth, 1415.² This York (series 1b) brass comprises an armoured effigy (852 x 267 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 8 rivets) and an inscription in two Latin lines (77 x 584 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets). The top of the bascinet and two shields

² Illustrated in *Monumental Brasses - The Memorials*, by Malcolm Norris (1977), fig. 113, and *Brasses from the North East*, by Sally Badham (1979), pl. 14b.

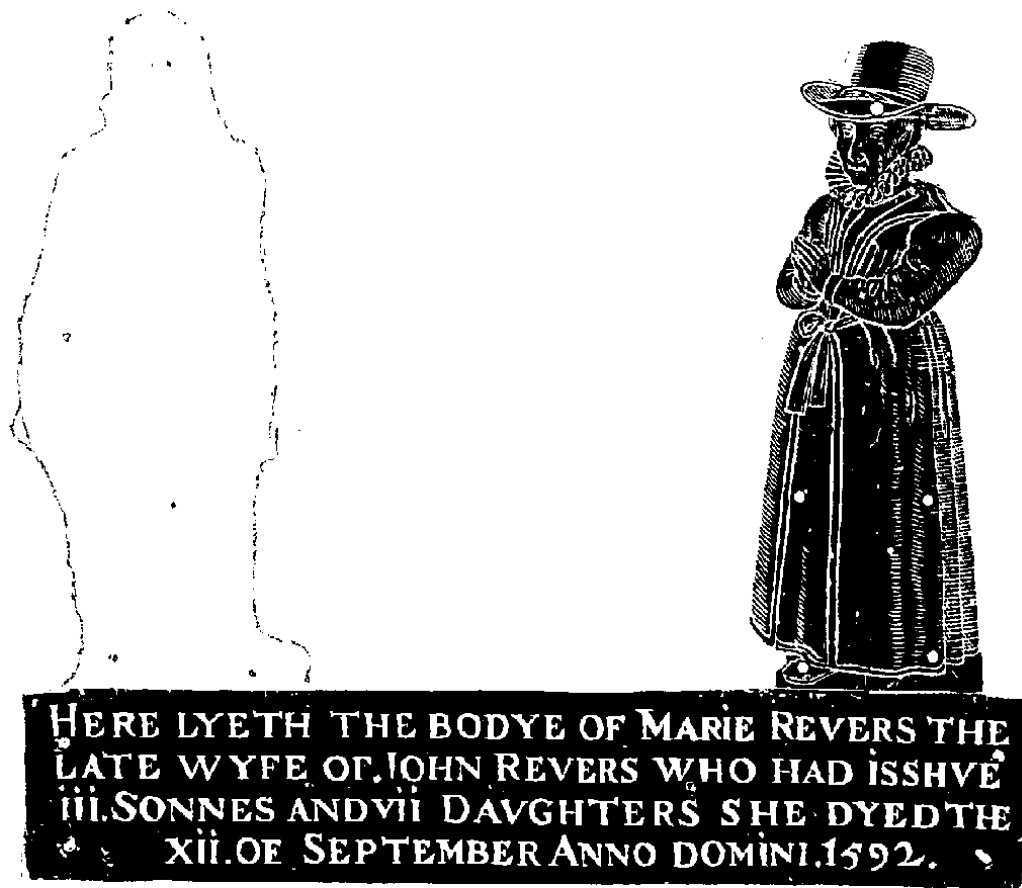


FIG. 3
Chattisham, Suffolk
M.S.I. Marie Revers, 1592
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

are lost. When the church became redundant the brass was taken up from its slab (2700 x 1145 mm) in the chancel and mounted murally in the neighbouring church of Covenham St Mary. It was subsequently removed from St Mary's and delivered to me on 25 August 1993. After cleaning and repairing a fracture in the sinister ankle I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in the original slab on 19 May 1994.



FIG. 4
Headley, Hampshire
M.S.I. Civilian and wife, c.1510
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

HEADLEY, HAMPSHIRE

M.S.I. Civilian and wife, c.1510 (Fig. 4).³ This London (series G) brass comprises a civilian effigy (375 x 118 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) and a female effigy (386 x 138 mm, thickness 5.0 mm, 3 rivets). It is not known where in the church this brass was originally laid down or who it commemorates. By 1908 the inscription had

³ Described in the "Monumental Brasses of Hampshire", by C. J. P. Cave, *M.B.S. Trans.*, V, part 10 (1908), 308.

become lost and the figures had been removed from their slab and mounted murally in the chancel. They were removed from the wall some years ago and relaid in modern slabs close to the font. They were taken up and then delivered to me on 29 April 1994. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The plates were relaid on 1 June 1994.

LEIGH-ON-SEA, ESSEX

M.S.V. Richard Chester and wife, 1632 (Fig. 5).⁴ In 1984 I conserved this fine brass, probably by Edward Marshall, and relaid it in its non-original sandstone slab in the chancel. Full details of this work can be found in an earlier paper.⁵

The recent re-ordering of the chancel area involved covering over the brass and slab and it was decided that the brass should be relaid in a new slab of Portland stone (1525 x 915 mm) in the north aisle. On 12 October 1994 the brass was removed from the sandstone slab. After re-rivetting it was relaid in the new slab on 1 December 1994.

EAST MARKHAM, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

M.S.I. Dame Millicent Meryng, 1419.⁶ This London (series D) brass comprises the effigy (1364 x 432 mm, engraved on three plates with thicknesses 3.7, 3.6 and 2.8 mm, 25 rivets) and a marginal inscription (1672 x 737 x 33 mm, engraved on five original fillets with mean thickness 3.2 mm and two renewed fillets with mean thickness 3.6 mm, 29 rivets). Two shields on either side of the effigy's head are lost. The brass was originally laid down in the nave. By 1861 the marginal inscription had become mutilated and the two shields had been lost.⁷ In 1887 the brass was taken up, parts of the marginal inscription were renewed (one fillet has "1887 A. W. LOWE RETD DERBY" incised on the reverse) and it was relaid in a new slab (1950 x 975 mm) in the Lady Chapel (south aisle) with the outlines of the two lost shields shown on the slab. The plates had been secured by conventional woodscrews, several extra holes being drilled and all the holes countersunk to accommodate the screw heads. After cleaning I repaired fractures and fitted new rivets.

Inscription commemorating the re-cutting of inscriptions to members of the Williamson family by Sir Hedworth Williamson in 1894. This six-line inscription (112 x 248 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 2 rivets) had come loose from its slab in the chancel. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

Inscription to George Stanley King, 1918. This nine-line inscription (305 x 611 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 4 screw holes) was found at East Markham station. It is

⁴ Described and illustrated by Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous, "Some Essex Brasses illustrative of Stuart Costume", *The Antiquary*, xxxix (1903), 177.

⁵ *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 6 (1985), 523.

⁶ Described by J. P. Briscoe and H. E. Field in 1904 (*Monumental Brasses of Nottinghamshire*, part 1, pp. 9-11) and by J. Bramley in 1913 (*Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, XVII, 128-9). It has been illustrated several times, e.g. *M.B.S. Portfolio*, II (1900-1905), pl. 56, recently reprinted in *The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (1988), pl. 129.

⁷ *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, by Rev Herbert Haines, II (1861), 162.



VNDERNEATH THIS STONE LYETH BVRYED THE BODY OF
 RICHARD CHESTER OF THIS FISH MARINER WHO WHILEST
 HE LIVED WAS ONE OF THE ELDER BROTHERS OF THE TRINITY
 HOVSE & WAS M^R. OF THE SAID SOCIETY IN THE YERE OF
 OVR LORD 1615 HE LIVED IN MARRIAGE WTH ELIZAB^H. HIS
 WIFE ABOUT 19 YEERES BY WHOM HE HAD ISSVE 4
 SONNS & ONE DAUGHTER OF W^{CH} NVMBER ONLY
 GEORGE AND ROBT CHESTER HIS SONNS & ELIZABETH
 HIS DAUGHTER SVRVIVED HIM HE DECEASSED THE 4TH DAY
 OF APRILL 1632. & HIS SAID TWO SONNS GEORGE AND
 ROBT PLACED THIS STONE HERE IN REMEMBRANCE
 OF THEIRE SAIDE DECEASSED FATHER



FIG. 5

Leigh-on-Sea, Essex

M.S.V. Richard Chester and wife, 1632

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

not known where it was originally positioned. It is signed "HART SON PEARD & CO LD". After cleaning and polishing the plate was lacquered.

M.S.I and the Williamson brass were relaid on 14 September 1994. The King brass was handed over to be mounted murally in the church.

OXFORD, NEW COLLEGE ⁸

I removed parts of nine brasses for conservation on 7 July 1994.

M.S.I. Richard Malford, 1403.⁹ This London (series B) coped effigy (1231 x 398 mm, engraved on two plates with thickness 3.2 and 3.6 mm, 19 rivets) lies in the original Purbeck slab (2110 x 850 mm), the foot inscription and a scroll being lost. The effigy had been relaid and was loose. The plates had been rivetted with brass rivets to steel clamps, the ends of which were bent down and embedded in the slab. After cleaning and removing the clamps I rejoined a small piece from the bottom sinister which had previously come loose.

M.S.VI. Scroll, the remains of the brass to Hugh Holes, 1430. This brass originally comprised an effigy (455 x 150 mm), inscription (100 x 455 mm), two shields and two scrolls.¹⁰ Only the upper scroll (214 x 286 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 3 rivets) survives and I removed this from the original Purbeck slab (2110 x 845 mm).

M.S.VII. William Hautryve, 1441.¹¹ This London (series E) brass, comprising an effigy in academical dress (942 x 278 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 13 rivets), an inscription in three Latin lines (97 x 599 mm) and a scroll, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2130 x 980 mm). The lower part of the effigy was loose and proud and I took this plate up. The area around the neck is damaged so that the head is detached from the body.

M.S.XII. Thomas Hylle, 1468.¹² This London (series B) brass, comprising an effigy in academical dress (825 x 297 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets), an inscription in four Latin lines (109 x 632 mm) and a scroll, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2170 x 685 mm). The only part conserved was the effigy, the lower part of which was very loose and could be lifted from the slab.

M.S.XIV. Richard Wyard, 1478.¹³ This London (series F) effigy in academic dress (755 x 292 mm) lies in the original Purbeck slab (1545 x 880 mm). The foot inscription and scroll are lost. I took up the upper part of the effigy (658 x 239 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 3 rivets) which was loose and only held by one rivet.

M.S.XX. John Rede, 1521.¹⁴ This London (series F) brass, comprising a coped effigy (828 x 235 mm) and an inscription in three Latin lines (107 x 593 mm, thickness

⁸ The brasses were described by H C P Dobrée in 1897, "A Catalogue of the Brasses in New College both past and present", *Oxford Jour. of Mon. Br.*, I, 41-67.

⁹ Illustrated in *The Memorials*, pl. 83.

¹⁰ The composition is drawn in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, part 4 (1972), 240.

¹¹ Illustrated in *Oxford Jour.*, I, 48.

¹² The effigy is illustrated in *The Memorials*, pl. 169.

¹³ Illustrated in *Oxford Jour.*, I, 94.

¹⁴ Illustrated in *Oxford Jour.*, I, 56.

4.3 mm, 3 rivets), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2480 x ?1000 mm) which is partly covered on the north side by wooden staging. The only part conserved was the inscription which was completely loose at the dexter end.

M.S.XXI. Bishop John Yong, c.1525.¹⁵ This London (series F) brass, comprising a headless effigy (originally about 1220 mm tall, now 955 x 352 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 9 rivets) and a four-line Latin inscription (162 x 620 mm), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2495 x 1135 mm). The lost head, a rubbing of which is preserved in the Hinton-Hunt collection in the Bodleian Library,¹⁶ was originally joined to the body by chamfering and soldering the butting edges. I took up the effigy which was loose, three rivets having pulled through or become lost.

M.S.XXII. Walter Bailey, 1592.¹⁷ This Johnson style brass, comprising an effigy in civil dress (752 x 361 mm), an inscription in six Latin lines and ten Latin verses (424 x 548 mm), an achievement (261 x 218 mm) and a mutilated marginal inscription (2342 x 1060 mm overall), lies in an appropriated Purbeck slab (2460 x 1180 mm). The only parts conserved were two fillets of marginal inscription (upper dexter 735 x 46 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivet; lower sinister 774 x 45 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 4 rivets), both of which had become loose and been re-secured with screws.

M.S.XXV. Anthony Aylworth, 1619.¹⁸ This Johnson style brass, comprising an effigy in cap and gown (793 x 340 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 14 rivets), an inscription in two Latin lines and eight Latin verses (235 x 473 mm), a shield (183 x 158 mm) and a mutilated marginal inscription (2065 x 866 mm overall), lies in the original slab of Sussex marble (2290 x 1070 mm). I took up the effigy which was not well secured, several rivets having pulled through and one having been replaced by a screw.

After cleaning and repairing fractures I fitted new rivets to the various plates and they were relaid in their slabs on 29 September and 11 October 1994.

ST DECUMAN'S, SOMERSET

M.S.I. Sir John Wyndham and wife, 1571¹⁹ (Fig. 6). This London (series G) brass, comprising the armoured effigy of Sir John Wyndham (763 x 231 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 10 rivets), the effigy of his wife Elizabeth (766 x 267 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 9 rivets) and two large inscription plates (dexter, in 35 English verses, 556 x 386 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 10 rivets; sinister, in one English line and twenty-one English verses, 412 x 365 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 9 rivets), lies on an altar tomb between the chancel and the (north) Wyndham chapel. The tomb was originally canopied, the

¹⁵ Illustrated in *Oxford Jour.*, I, 91.

¹⁶ Illustrated in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XII, part 1 (1975), 99.

¹⁷ Illustrated in *Oxford Portfolio*, II, part 1 (1950), pl. 5.

¹⁸ The effigy and inscription are illustrated in *Ancient Memorial Brasses*, by E. T. Beaumont (1913), 112.

¹⁹ Described and incompletely illustrated by A. B. Connor in part XV of "Monumental Brasses of Somerset" in *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XCII (1946), 78-83 and pl. VI, reprinted in one volume in 1970, pp. 251-6 and pl. LXXXVIII. The inscriptions are full of mastic which makes rubbing very difficult and these were omitted from Connor's illustration.



FIG. 7
 Stonham Aspell, Suffolk
 M.S.I. John Metcalfe, 1606
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

canopy having being dismantled in 1972; the cover slab (2035 x 930 mm) is apparently a local sandstone. I removed the brass on 16 April 1994. The plates were secured with nails driven into wood plugs and were extremely loose and alarmingly easy to remove. The sinister elbow of the female effigy is engraved on a separate plate joined to the main plate with solder, a crack on the sinister side of the skirt is plugged with solder and the sinister inscription has three small plates let into it. Both inscriptions have had extra holes drilled in them at some stage and most of these were blanked with brass. After cleaning and replacing some of the solder joints I fitted new rivets and blanked surplus holes. The brass was relaid on 22 June 1994.

STONHAM ASPALL, SUFFOLK

M.S.I. John Metcalfe, 1606 (Fig. 7). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a civilian effigy in gown and scarf (465 x 175 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 7 rivets) and a seven-line inscription in capitals (183 x 515 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), lies in the original slab (1730 x 860 mm) in the nave. The plates had come loose and the lower part of the effigy could be lifted clear of the slab. They were taken up for conservation on 9 October 1993. After cleaning and fitting new rivets the brass was relaid on 7 February 1994.

WILLINGALE DOE, ESSEX ²⁰

Two brasses were removed from their slabs on 11 June 1994.

M.S.I. Thomas Torrell, 1442. This London (series B) brass originally comprised an armoured effigy, an inscription and four shields and was laid down in the north aisle. By the turn of the century only the effigy (934 x 287 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 9 rivets) and the lower sinister shield (145 x 118 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 1 rivet) remained and they were covered by a stove which was “causing permanent injury to the brass”.²¹ By 1926 the slab (originally 2325 x 890 mm), had been removed from the floor, cut down with the removal of the bottom part (including the lower shield indents) and mounted with clamps on the north wall of the chancel, the shield being replaced in the upper dexter indent. The slab, now measuring 1675 x 860 mm, is badly worn and there are several fractures. The plates were loose, proud and not well bedded. The lower part of the effigy was badly corroded, no doubt arising from the period under the stove. After cleaning I repaired fractures at the bottom sinister corner of the effigy and fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Anne Sackville, 1582. This London (series G) brass, comprising a female effigy (614 x 253 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.7 and 2.7 mm, 7 rivets), a mutilated foot inscription (137 x 490 mm overall, originally engraved on three plates, the centre now lost, each surviving plate 2.7 mm thick, 6 rivets) and four identical shields (upper dexter 170 x 147 mm, thickness 3.6 mm; upper sinister 170 x 148 mm, thickness 4.0 mm; lower dexter 170 x 147 mm, thickness 3.7 mm; lower sinister mutilated 171 x 133 mm, thickness 3.4 mm; 2 rivets) was removed from the original slab (1895 x 875 mm) on the south side of the sanctuary immediately adjacent to the Wiseman monument. The plates were loose and in need of relaying.

When taken up, the whole brass proved to be palimpsest, the reverse being cut from six separate Flemish brasses (Fig. 8). The reverses of the two parts of the effigy showed the top corner of a rectangular plate brass, engraved *c.*1500 and 14 lines of a large raised letter Flemish inscription, engraved *c.*1490, more of which has been

²⁰ The brasses were described and illustrated by Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous (“Some Interesting Essex Brasses”, *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., VIII (1901), 284-5, and IX (1903), 46-7.

²¹ *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., VIII, 284.

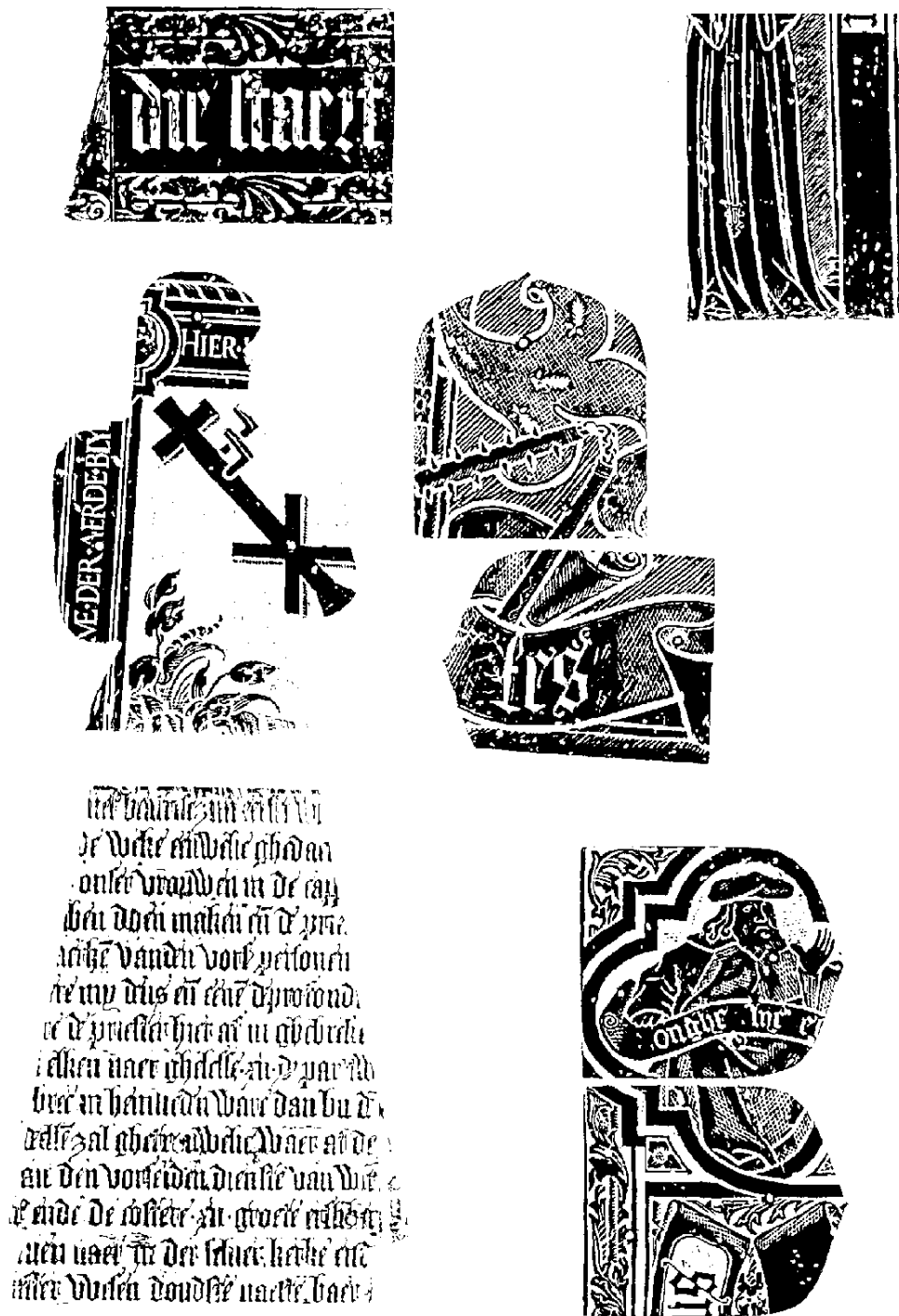


FIG. 8
 Willingale Doe, Essex
 M.S.II. Palimpsest reverse of Anne Sackville, 1582
 Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

found at Isleham. Cambs., St. Edmund Hall Library, Oxford, and Harlow, Essex.²² The reverses of the two parts of the inscription show part of a worn border inscription, engraved *c.*1500, and the small effigy of a lady with a fragment of border inscription from a rectangular plate, engraved *c.*1430. The reverses of the two upper shields link together to form the upper dexter corner of a rectangular brass showing a bearded man within a quatrefoil and the end of a double curving scroll border inscription, engraved *c.*1550. The reverses of the two lower shields link together and show a knotted club and chain and part of a scroll, engraved *c.*1530.

After cleaning I rejoined a small piece from the dexter side of the lady's skirt, found when the Wiseman monument was dismantled prior to conservation by Messrs. Harrison Hill, and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were reset in their slabs on 2 December 1994.

WINWICK, LANCASHIRE

M.S.I. Peers Gerard, 1492.²³ This London (series G) brass, comprising an armoured effigy in tabard (1441 x 565 mm), a four line English inscription (152 x 970 mm), a mutilated triple canopy, two shields and one son, is laid in the original Purbeck slab (3015 x 1330 mm) in the north chapel. One other shield is lost. Three plates, the son (178 x 65 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 1 rivet), the base of the sinister canopy shaft (200 x 110 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 2 rivets) and a fragment from the dexter shaft (106 x 39 mm, thickness 3.7 mm), had been detached from the slab for some time. On 12 May 1994 I collected these plates and took up the centre shield (173 x 133 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 1 rivet), the base of the dexter canopy shaft (197 x 105 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 2 rivets) and three finials (dexter 170 x 44 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 1 rivet; centre 232 x 65 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets; sinister 170 x 51 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 1 rivet).

After cleaning I fitted new rivets, including one soldered to the reverse of the fragment. The plates were relaid on 17 June 1994.

²² *Palimpsests*, by J. C. Page-Phillips (1980), pl. 103, nos. 236L3, 237L8 and 238L1.

²³ The brass has been described and illustrated by J. G. and L. A. B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th Century* (1864), pt. 12, and 1975 reprint, no. 49, and J. L. Thornely, *The Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1893 and 1975 reprint, pp.63-9.

Conservation of Brasses 1984-1988

By BRYAN EGAN

NOTE: *Full detailed reports of conservation work will be deposited in the Society's new archive at Birmingham. The following summary of work done in past years will enable a permanent record to be available of when particular brasses were conserved and what discoveries ensued. All references to palimpsests are to John Page-Phillips, Palimpsests, the Backs of Monumental Brasses, 1980, and to five "Appendices" published with the M.B.S. Bulletin, 1982-91. Ed.*

Albury, Surrey.

M.S.I, John Weston, 1440; M.S.II, Anthony Duncombe, 1709; and some of the 19th-century Drummond brasses were conserved and relaid, 23 October 1985.

Bainton, Yorkshire.

M.S.I, Roger Godeale, 1429, conserved and relaid, 21 October 1988.

Blisworth, Northamptonshire.

M.S.I, Roger Wake, 1503, conserved and relaid, 8 June 1988. (See *M.B.S. Trans.* IX, part ix (1962), 489-92.)

Braunton, Devon.

M.S.I, Elizabeth Bowcer, 1548, conserved, replicas made of palimpsest reverses (135 L), and relaid in original slab which was appropriated, bearing an incised cross, 13 May 1987. (See this issue, pp. 362-5.)

Brundish, Suffolk.

M.S.I, Esmound de Burnedishe, *c.*1360; M.S.II, John Colby, 1559 (discovered to be palimpsest, 486 L); M.S.III, John Colby, 1540 (discovered to be palimpsest, 487 L); M.S.IV, Francis Colby, *c.*1570 (male figure now in Philadelphia Museum of Art, 282 L; female figure discovered to be palimpsest, 282L), all conserved and relaid, 18 June 1988.

Buckland, Hertfordshire.

M.S.I, Alice Boteler, 1451; M.S.II, William Langley, 1478; M.S.III, John Gyll, 1499; M.S.IV, Joan Gyll, *c.*1500; all conserved and relaid, 14 September 1985. The group of sons of no. III are palimpsest (455 L).

Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire.

M.S.I, John Dryden, 1584. The effigy had been stolen, and other plates were found loose in Canons Ashby House; these were conserved and relaid on 30 May

1984. At the same time M.S.II, John Dryden, 1631, III, Sir Erasmus Dryden, 1532, and two Victorian inscriptions were conserved and repaired.

Canterbury, St Paul, Kent.

M.S.I, John Twyn, 1581 (discovered to be palimpsest, 461 L); George & Kath. Wyndham (M.S. private possession Nelson VII, returned to church 1926), both conserved and relaid, 9 November 1985.

Carshalton, Surrey.

M.S.III, Walter Gaynesford, 1493 (discovered to be palimpsest 473 L), conserved, facsimile of reverse made, and relaid, 12 March 1988.

Clerkenwell, Middlesex.

M.S.I, John Bell, 1556, conserved and relaid, 14 November 1987. (The crosier-head which had been in Hereford Cathedral, (M.S.XXIX,7) masquerading as a canopy finial, was replaced with the figure by Derrick Chivers in 1994.)

Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, Sir John Reynes, 1428; L.S.W. II, John Reynes, c.1500, both conserved and relaid, 29 May 1987.

Clovelly, Devon.

M.S.I, Robert Carey, 1540 and M.S.III, George Carey, 1601, as well as a Georgian crosier brass were conserved and re-riveted, 24 July 1984. An unrecorded shield was found in the (appropriated) slab of no I, though probably from no. III.

Cooling, Kent.

M.S.I, Feyth Cobham, 1508, conserved and relaid, 14 June 1986.

North Crawley, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, Robert Latymer, 1548 (discovered to be palimpsest, 460 L, see *M.B.S. Trans.* XV, part 3 (1994), 271-5), conserved and deposited at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, November 1988.

Deene, Northamptonshire.

M.S.I, Sir Edward Brudenell, 1584; M.S.III, John Brudenell, 1606; 19th-cent. inscr. to Samuel Taylor, all conserved and refixed, 21 June 1984.

M.S.II, Sir Thomas Brudenell, 1586, conserved and relaid, 16 July 1985.

Three winged bronze horses and marg. inscr., commemorating the Earl of Cardigan, 1868, conserved and replaced, 31 October 1986.

Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire.

L.S.W. I, Jane Bray, 1539 (palimpsest, 83L) and L.S.W. II, Jane Bray, 1558, conserved, replica made of palimpsest reverse, and relaid on new board, 3 June 1986.

Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, John Rufford, 1540 (effigies stolen 1983); L.S.W. II, John Piggott, 1592; L.S.W. III, Henry Brugis, 1647; L.S.W. IV, John Swynstede, 1395 (laid in indent of 14th century armed figure); L.S.W. V, John Kyllingworth, 1412, all conserved and relaid, 4-5 April 1985. (The "Rose Brass" remained in the bank from which Nos. IV and V were returned after a period of safe-keeping when the church was declared redundant.)

Ermington, Devon.

M.S.I, William Strachleigh, 1591/2 (found to be palimpsest, 462 L), conserved and relaid, 21 March 1986. Although now in a stone frame in north transept, it probably was originally at the back of altar-tomb in south chapel.

Felbrigg, Norfolk.

M.S.I, Symond de Felbrigg and family, *c.*1380; M.S.III, Sir Symon Felbrigg, 1416; M.S.V, Thomas Wyndham, 1512; M.S.VI, Jane Conyngsby, 1612, all suffering from damp and neglect, were conserved and relaid, 18-30 June 1987.

Girton, Cambridgeshire.

L.S.W. I, William Maister, 1492 and L.S.W. II, William Stevyn, 1497 both conserved and relaid, 13 November 1986. L.S.W. 7 (M.S.III) was stolen about 1978.

Great Hampden, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. II, Sir John Hampden, 1553; L.S.W. III, Griffith Hampden, 1594; L.S.W. IV, William Hampden, 1597; L.S.W. V, William Hampden, 1612; L.S.W. VI, Jerome Horsey, 1626; conserved and conserved, replicas made of palimpsest reverses of no. II (167 L), and all relaid, 7 August 1987.

Harpham, Yorkshire.

M.S.I, Thomas de St Quintin, 1418 and M.S.II, Thomas de St Quintin, 1445, conserved and relaid, 22 October 1988.

Hatley Cockayne, Bedfordshire.

L.S.W. I, Armed figure, with L.S.W. VIII, palimpsest scroll, *c.*1430 (468 L); L.S.W. II, sons and daughters, *c.*1430; L.S.W. III-IV, Cockayne, *c.*1490; L.S.W. V, Edmund Cockayne, 1515; L.S.W. VI-VII, William Cokyn, 1527, all conserved and relaid, 27 August 1986.

Hornsey, Middlesex.

M.S.I, Richard Ruggenale, c.1420; M.S.II, John Skevington, c.1520; M.S.IV, Thomas & Thomas Priestley, 1615, all conserved and relaid 17 November 1984. Part of the inscription of No II proved to be a 19th century restoration: this brass was set in a new stone with outline of missing shield incised. No IV was palimpsest (323 L), and a replica of the reverse was mounted with this and no. I.

Houghton Regis, Bedfordshire.

L.S.W. I, John and William Waleys, 1410 (surviving half-effigy stolen c.1980) and L.S.W. II, William Walley, 1509 were conserved and relaid 18 December 1984 (no. II in a new slab); a fibreglass replica of the stolen figure was provided.

Islington, Middlesex.

M.S.I, Robert Fowler, 1540 and M.S.II, Henry Savill, 1546, conserved, replicas made of palimpsest reverses (97 L and 129 L), and relaid, 30 November 1985.

Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire.

L.S.W. I, William Jackman, 1597; L.S.W. II, Francis Welles, 1636; L.S.W. III, Katherine Whitlock, 1649 (discovered to be palimpsest, 463 M), conserved after fire and relaid, 15 November 1988.

Great Linford, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, Roger Hunt, 1473, was conserved and relaid, 17 August 1984.

Lullingstone, Kent.

M.S.I, John de Rokesle, 1361; M.S.II, Sir William Pecche, 1487; M.S.III, Alice Baldwyn, 1533; M.S.IV, Elizabeth Cobham, 1544 (discovered to be palimpsest, 479 L); M.S.V, Anne Harte, 1594 (long thought lost, rediscovered 1987. It has a 19th-cent. inscr. engraved on the back recording its discovery in Kingsland, Herefs., 1830). All conserved and relaid, no V with a facsimile of its reverse mounted on a board, the others in original slabs, 17 January 1988.

Monkleigh, Devon.

M.S.I, John Seyntleger, 1509 and M.S.III, James Coffyn, 1566, conserved and relaid, 1 March 1985. (Fig. 1)

Mursley, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, Cecily Fortescue, 1570 (discovered to be partly palimpsest, 491 L), with 19th-century shield, conserved and relaid, 30 November 1988.



FIG. 1
James Coffyn, 1566
Monkleigh, Devon, M.S.III
Photograph by Bryan Egan

Odiham, Hampshire.

M.S.I, Civilian & wife *c.*1460 (his head found to be a 19th-cent. restoration); M.S.II, William Goode, 1498; M.S.III, John Haydok, 1504; M.S.IV, Thomas Chapman, 1522; M.S.V, Civilian *c.*1530; M.S.VI, Richard Vass, 1542 (palimpsest, 102 L); M.S.VIII, Edward Seager, 1640. All conserved and relaid, 27 June 1988.

Sanderstead, Surrey.

M.S.I, John Awodde, 1525 (partly palimpsest, 62 L) and M.S.II, Nicholas Wood, 1586 (palimpsest 302 L) both conserved and relaid, 31 May 1985.

Sonning, Berkshire.

L.S.W. II, Anthony Barker, 1546 and L.S.W. III, William Barker, 1549, (both palimpsest, 124 L and 144 L) conserved and relaid, 22 September 1987.

Southwick, Hampshire.

M.S.I, John White, 1567, one shield conserved and relaid, 1 June 1985. (See M.B.S. Trans. XIII, part v (1984), 453-4, and XV, part ii (1994), 275-81.)

Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire.

M.S.I, Robert Hayton, 1424; M.S.II, shield, 15th cent., conserved and relaid, 5 September 1986.

Thornton, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, Robert Ingylton, 1472, and L.S.W. II, Jane Ingylton, 1557 were conserved and relaid, 19 April and 30 December 1984. The inscr. of no. II proved to be palimpsest (451 L).

Thurleigh, Bedfordshire.

L.S.W. I, Man in armour, *c.*1420 and L.S.W. II, Edmund Daye, 1590, conserved and relaid, 4 May 1988.

Trotton, Sussex.

M.S.I, Marguerite de Camoys, *c.*1310-19. An engraver's doodle was found on the back (E.E.B. fig. 178). The figure was provided with anchors to hold it more securely, and relaid, 26 October 1985.

Tyringham, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, John Teringham, 1484; L.S.W. II, scroll; L.S.W. III, Mary Tyringham, 1508; L.S.W. IV, Thomas Tyringham, 1594, all conserved and relaid in new boards, 16 May 1986.

Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire.

L.S.W. I, Roger Dynham, 1490, partly conserved and relaid, 28 February 1985.

Obituary

**MALCOLM WATSON NORRIS, B.A., M.Soc.Sc., Ph.D., F.S.A.
(1931-1995)**

MALCOLM Watson Norris was born on 25 May 1931 at Harrow, the second son of Ernest, an Education Officer in the London County Council, and Dora Norris (née Watson). His early childhood was spent in Middlesex until heavy bombing resulting from the War necessitated evacuation to Bath where he lived with his grandmother and attended a school run by his aunts. Malcolm subsequently attended Quainton Hall preparatory school before moving to Merchant Taylors' School where his interest in the study of monumental brasses was first fostered.



Malcolm completed National Service in the Royal Air Force from where he went up to St. John's College, Oxford with a Sir Thomas White scholarship to read Modern History, in 1951. At Oxford he won a Blue for Chess and represented the county of Middlesex in the all-England Championships.

Malcolm joined the Colonial Administrative Service in 1956 and worked in Tanganyika (as it then was) as a district officer and, after Independence, in the

Ministry of Local Government of Tanzania. During these years he indulged his passion for antiquities in helping Father Gervase Mathew and Sir Mortimer Wheeler and others in their research into the 15th to 19th century Arab settlements of the Swahili coast, at Kilwa and elsewhere.

In 1965 he joined the newly formed Institute of Local Government Studies at the University of Birmingham and was seconded successively to universities in Nigeria, Ethiopia and Malaysia to help establish public administration programmes. Published fruits of these sojourns included one book — *Local Government in Peninsular Malaysia*. Malcolm returned home to Worcestershire in 1977 and continued to teach international courses for public servants in Birmingham. Malcolm ably directed the Department of Development Administration at Birmingham University for a decade, sustaining its growth as a centre of international study and repute. The work required frequent advisory visits to countries as diverse as Sudan, Uganda, Indonesia and Romania. Malcolm's contribution to the University culminated in his appointment as Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science.

In 1961 he married Lauriston Betteridge Newman at Arusha in Tanzania. Robert, born in July 1963, heralded the arrival of the first of six extremely talented children. This was particularly in evidence when the B.B.C. featured Laurie, together with Robert, Rufus, Vivienne, Duncan, Hilary and Meriel, in a television programme entitled 'Families make Music', immediately upon the family moving to their large Georgian house at Lark Hill, Worcester, the city which was to be their home for the rest of Malcolm's life, although he and Laurie moved to smaller premises when the adult children dispersed.

Malcolm was also a keen churchman and regularly worshipped at St. Martin's Church in Worcester. He served on the Diocesan Synod and during Christian Aid Week in May 1993, Malcolm contributed his wisdom, humility, sensitivity and love of God to a series of 'Prayer for the Day' programmes on B.B.C. Radio 4.

Malcolm joined the Society in 1955 at the age of twenty-four and embarked upon an association which culminated in his all too brief period as President. Immediately his scholarship became apparent with a contribution to the *Transactions* during his first year of membership concerning the brasses at Zeitz, East Germany. In July the following year he was awarded the Reginald Taylor Medal by the British Archaeological Association for his article 'The Schools of Monumental Brasses in Germany'.

Malcolm's desire to explore the brasses in Iron Curtain countries was assisted greatly by one of his tutors (a former card-carrying Communist) who invoked the assistance of friends to effect an invitation from the East German Ministry of Youth & Culture for a visit to be undertaken during late 1954. Malcolm was assisted in this and other exciting endeavours by Hubert Allen, a life-long friend and a fellow member of the Society, who spoke German and drove a 1932 Austin Ten!



Dr Malcolm Norris returning an angel from the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, at Elsing, Norfolk, which he had brought from an antique dealer and indentified

It is not surprising that Malcolm's inquiring mind should be captivated by the discovery of palimpsest brasses. Although his contemporary, the late John C. Page-Phillips, was the leading authority on this subject, Malcolm recorded discoveries in the *Transactions* at Colby, Norfolk (1955), Norwich, St. Swithin (1955), Ingham, Norfolk (1956), Middle Claydon, Buckinghamshire (1956), Crowan, Cornwall (1959), Lambourne, Essex (1962), Pettaugh, Suffolk (1962), Wendron, Cornwall (1962) and Wyddial, Hertfordshire (1966).

Malcolm's enthusiastic scholarship of the general subject was reflected in the appearance of his first book, *Brass Rubbing*, published in 1965. I vividly remember

sitting in my local reference library as a schoolboy reading this book repeatedly whilst admiring the clarity of the illustrations with the ambition of personally rubbing as many as possible of the brasses depicted therein. Malcolm's interest in continental brasses was clearly evident with examples from Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Holland and Poland represented. The 'List of Outstanding Brasses' also encompassed the continent. It was not until 1968 that I received my copy as a Christmas present by which time the book had been reprinted every single year following publication!

As a youngster imbued (or even obsessed) with the new found interest of monumental brasses and heavily influenced by Malcolm's book I was prompted to write to him overseas soliciting information of one kind or another. A prompt reply was always forthcoming whether from Kuala Lumpur or Dar es Salaam which (like his many secretaries) I always encountered the utmost difficulty in reading!

Malcolm's contribution to scholarship was recognised with his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1970.

Malcolm's second book entitled, *Your Book of Brasses*, co-written with Michael Kellett, was published in 1974. Whilst intended as an introductory volume the chapter devoted to the often problematical area of photography was a welcomed innovation. It was this latter area that Malcolm pioneered, demanding the very best results and amassing an unsurpassed photographic archive.

In 1976, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches*, written jointly with our late Vice-President, J Roger Greenwood, was published as part of a series by the Norfolk Churches Trust. This extremely readable publication is extensively illustrated with a combination of rubbings and more importantly the use of direct photographs which clearly show the brasses in their context and detail which a rubbing may not otherwise reproduce. Of particular significance is the centre double-page table setting out a 'Stylistic analysis of East Anglian made lettering styles' and the list of Norfolk Brasses (excluding Norwich) where individual brasses have been stylistically classified. Whilst largely the product of Roger Greenwood's researches this area of study was one in which Malcolm became the leading authority. It has been said that Malcolm's knowledge of style and almost photographic memory for identifying brasses and incised slabs was in part due to the disorganised arrangement of both his extensive collection of rubbings and photographs which necessitated him spending hours searching through to locate a desired object.

Returning from overseas in 1977 the delightfully named Bumblehole Cottage at Fockbury, near Bromsgrove, Worcestershire became the family home. This tranquil timbered cottage formed an ideal setting for his collection of armour and antique furniture and was adored by Malcolm. It was in this environment that he completed his *magnum opus*, which would ensure that his name would endure with such notable antiquaries as Haines, Macklin and Stephenson. *Monumental Brasses*, his greatest achievement and contribution appeared in the form of the two volume *Memorials*,

published in 1977, and the companion volume *The Craft* which appeared one year later. The arrival of these superbly illustrated volumes heralded the first published attempt seriously to provoke a wider stylistic analysis of this form of memorial and was acknowledged with a Doctorate in Fine Arts of the University of Birmingham.

Malcolm's interest in incised slabs was no less diminished for undoubtedly the late F. A. Greenhill, a close friend from 1959 until his death in 1983, was a considerable influence. Indeed it was of particular pleasure to Malcolm that the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation posthumously published the *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln* in 1986 to which he himself had contributed. Malcolm, in collaboration with Sally Badham and John Coales, was utilising Greenhill's manuscripts to work on companion volumes covering the counties of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire until his death.

Malcolm was elected a Vice-President of the Society in 1982 but his attendance at General meetings and those of the Executive Council were minimal due to his enforced professional commitments abroad. Malcolm was duly elected as the Society's eleventh President on 14th November 1992 the very day that John Page-Phillips, his predecessor and close friend, tragically passed away after a long illness borne with fortitude and courage.

The Society immediately benefited from Malcolm's presence, most notably his wisdom, influence and vision. It was Malcolm's long held ambition that the Society should have a centre of permanence, an ideal cherished during the 1970s and very nearly realised with the establishment of a centre in London. The concept long since abandoned, and in an unfavourable climate of deep depression, he utilised his patience, natural powers to motivate and shrewd negotiating skills to nurture and eventually bring to fruition a centre for the Society at the University of Birmingham. Strategically located in the centre of the country, and subsequently named the 'Malcolm Norris Memorial Records Research Centre' to perpetuate his memory, this facility will provide a permanent repository for a variety of material, including rubbings and eventually the Society's library, which will assist students of the subject to develop new lines of research.

Malcolm's scholarship and personality were never more evident than with the revival of the Excursion. Support for this annual event had gradually ebbed away to the point where abandonment was seriously contemplated. Malcolm immediately introduced the concept of visiting a country home, improved publicity, produced an informative hand-out and led two successive excursions to Oxfordshire which were fully supported. In most churches visited he would characteristically impart his knowledge with his eyes closed!

Malcolm's modesty, easy manner and ability to treat everybody on an equal footing manifested itself most obviously with another of his initiatives, the Society's 'Crown and Commonwealth' exhibition held in his home city between June and November 1996 to commemorate the Civil War. From the inception numerous

members spontaneously volunteered to contribute material from all corners of the kingdom. A personal letter of thanks received in Malcolm's inimitable handwriting was sufficient to ensure that the recipient was fully motivated.

In what was unknowingly the twilight period of his life he contributed a chapter entitled 'Later medieval monumental brasses: an urban funerary industry and its representation of death' to the book *Death in Towns* replete with his, by now legendary, abundance of high quality direct photographs. Malcolm also wrote the introductions to the first four fully-illustrated county volumes covering Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire providing a perpetual source of encouragement to William Lack, Philip Whitemore and myself.

Malcolm passed away on 28 May 1995 after a short illness at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Edgbaston three days after his sixty-fourth birthday with the family he so dearly cherished in close attendance.

Malcolm's achievements will long endure in the memories of those who were associated with him who are united in their grief for a larger than life character, highly respected and very much loved.

H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1: Dame Joan Clopton, c.1430, Quinton, Gloucestershire (now Warwickshire) M.S. I.

Rubbing by Dr. Nigel Saul, 1972

Although well within Warwickshire, Quinton is historically in Gloucestershire, where it will be found in Mill Stephenson and in Davis. This elegant series 'D' brass to a vowess shows Joan, widow of Sir William Clopton, stepson of Thomas Crewe of Wixford, Warwickshire; William died in 1419 and has an alabaster effigy in Quinton church. Three years later Joan made an enfeoffment of her estates - presumably she took vows shortly after that. She was the second daughter and co-heiress of Alexander Besford, alias Pearsford of Besford, Worcestershire.¹ The canting pears in the arms of Besford appear in the inscription as well as on the heraldry. The brass was probably commissioned by one of her half-sisters; one of them, Agnes, had connections with John Throckmorton who is commemorated by a series 'D' brass at Fladbury, Worcestershire. The brass lies at the east end of the south aisle on an altar tomb, which bears the inscription *T. Lingen me reparavit, Anno 1739*. Lingen, a descendent of the Cloptons, was undoubtedly responsible for the apparently perfect condition of the brass, at least the shields being restorations. The figure is 91 cm tall, the inscription measures 1.90 by 0.70 m.

Fig. 2: Head of Bishop Henri d'Avaugour, 1446, Musée de Berry, Bourges (incised slab inlay).

Rubbing possibly by Mill Stephenson, in Antiquaries' collection

This rubbing from the collection of the Society of Antiquaries was exhibited at the Annual General Meeting on 19 November 1994, with a plea for some idea of its provenance and identification. It shows the mitred head of an ecclesiastic, whose face is engraved with considerable skill, giving the appearance of a venerable and authoritative man; in contrast, the decoration of the mitre is rather crude. A date in the latter half of the fifteenth century seems not unlikely but published comparative material is rare. The only clue for an attribution comes from a manuscript note at the bottom, "Musée de Bourges", and above this, in Mill Stephenson's hand, "white marble". It is unclear whether Mill's note is educated comment or whether he had first hand knowledge of this head and was responsible for the rubbing. There is no record of it in the catalogue of the collection.

Contact with the Musée de Bourges established that they did indeed possess this head among their collections. It was deposited there in 1836 by M. Haignieré, of Saint-Amand, who had taken it up from the tombstone of Henri d'Avaugour,

¹ The biographical notes in Cecil T. Davis, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (Bath, reprinted 1969), pp. 30-33, are highly unreliable and best avoided.



FIG. 1
 Dame Joan Clopton, c.1430
 Quinton, Gloucestershire (now Warwickshire) M.S. I
 Rubbing by Dr. Nigel Saul, 1972



FIG. 2
 Head of Bishop Henri d'Avaugour, 1446
 Musée de Berry, Bourges (incised slab inlay)
Rubbing possibly by Mill Stephenson, in Antiquaries' collection

Archbishop of Bourges, in Noirlac Abbey.² It was he, as Archbishop of Bourges, who baptised Louis XI, King of France, although he eventually resigned his position in 1436 in favour of Jean Coeur, son of the illustrious but unfortunate “argentier” of Charles VII. He retired to the abbey of Noirlac where he died on 13 October 1446.

An incised slab still remains in the choir of the abbey church there (according to the Musée), though not in its original place, its approximate dimensions being eight feet four inches in length, four feet one inch wide, and eight inches thick. The stone was quarried at Charly, on the Marne east of Paris, and is engraved with a figure of the archbishop in full pontificals with his head and hands originally inlaid in white marble. The inscription runs:

HIC IACET DEFVNCTVS BONAE MEMORIAE DOMINVS HENRICVS
 DAVAVGOVR QVONDAM BITVRICVS ARCHIEPISCOPVS,
 AQVITANIAE PRIMAS, QVI OBIIT DIE XIII MENSIS OCTOBRIS
 ANNO DOMINI 1446. REQVIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN.

² *Annonces berryères* (No.13), Jeudi, le 22 septembre 1836.

From this fragment of the effigy only it is difficult to estimate where the slab might have been produced. It is not unlikely, however, that such a lavish monument was a product of the school of engravers based in Champagne, whose work Greenhill notes as showing the commemorated “as he had been in the full flow of his health and strength . . . alive and vivid”, with a human quality about the face - most certainly the effect produced by this detail of the slab.³

The 1836 report ends on an intriguing note, justifying the donation of the head to the Musée: “This superb religious monument, an object of veneration by our ancestors, and on which nowadays ‘plaster’ is made for the production of porcelain, will perish without mercy from the hands of vandals if the Musée does not hurry to extend a helping, secure hand”. This refers to a period after 1822 when the abbey was used as a porcelain factory and the church housed numerous firing ovens. Noirlac was classified as an “Historic Monument” in 1862 but thereafter it was used to house refugees and acted as a hospital during the Second World War; it was only in 1975 that an enormous restoration project was commenced which has in effect preserved the entire structure of the abbey.⁴ It is now an international cultural centre where concerts, expositions and conferences are held; with these many visitors it would be a satisfactory ending to a mystery for Mill Stephenson if a rubbing or other record could be made of the main part of this incised slab.

PAUL COCKERHAM

Fig. 3: Sir John and Lady Joanna Cheyne, 1468 (now lost), Drayton Beauchamp, Buckinghamshire, L.S.W. 9.

Drawing by Browne Willis

Among the manuscript collections of Browne Willis, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford is a description and illustration⁵ (Fig. 3a) of the now lost brass to Sir John Cheyne, 1468, and his wife Joan that formerly lay in the church of Drayton Beauchamp, Buckinghamshire. This was illustrated and described in *Transactions* by Sally Badham and John Blair.⁶

Various antiquarians have visited Drayton Beauchamp, and from their notes it is possible to add considerably to the published information on the brass. The Revd. William Cole has left the most complete description.⁷ He saw it on the pavement near the altar, i.e. in the chancel, and he noted that it comprised “the effigies of a woman with a lion engraven at her feet; on her left Hand was the effigies of a man, & a canopy over both their heads, & 3 coats of Arms, & an Inscription at their feet, & also another round the verge; all which except the effigies are torn off. Tradition says this Gentleman signilized himself in the Holy Land” From this description it will be seen that the brass was in the same condition when Willis recorded and drew it.

³ F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs* (1976), I, 35-6.

⁴ B. Peugniez, *Routier des Abbayes Cisterciennes de France* (1994), 267-9.

⁵ Bod. Lib. MS. Willis, XI, 149-51.

⁶ Sally Badham and John Blair, “Some Lost Buckinghamshire Brasses recorded by Browne Willis”, *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 1 (1980), 25-26.

⁷ B.L., Add. MS. 5840, f.21r.

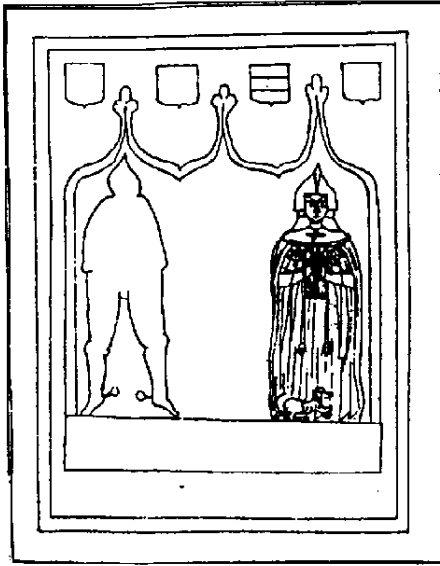


FIG. 3a
 Sir John and Lady Joanna Cheyne, 1468 (now lost)
 Drayton Beauchamp, Buckinghamshire, L.S.W. 9
Drawing by Browne Willis

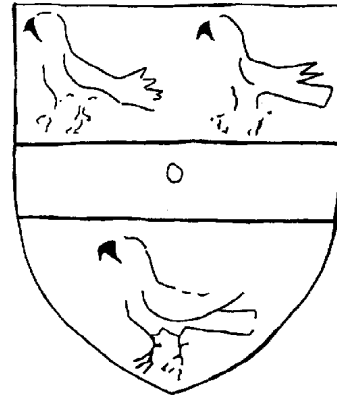


FIG. 3b: Arms of Fitz Marmaduke
From an impression by D. T. Powell

Cole gives what appears to be a garbled version of the inscription (marginal?) from an unidentified source dated 1599.⁸

Sub hoc marmore human-tier Corpora Strennil / miitis di Johis Cheyne & Da
 Johanna / Consortis siu, qui Fervore Fidei succensus, / inter Saraccnos
 duros suotinuuit Labores; / ubi celebros inter Militae suae Triumphos /
 quendam immanissimum Gigantem in Duello / Capite privavit et Vita: ob
 quam Victoriam / apud Christi Sepulcrum caractere merito / insignitus et
 militari: Sub quo dapsilis / largam gubernans Familiam Annum com- / plevit
 55. Tandem circa aetatis suae Annum / Centesimum A°. Dúi 1468, 15 die
 Augusti / Dien clausit Quorum Animabus &c.

Which may be translated as :-

Under this marble are interred the bodies of a doughty warrior Sir John Cheyne and Lady Joanna, his spouse. Moved by his religious zeal, he fought hard against the Saracens. There amongst his other military triumphs he slew a certain most ferocious giant by slicing off his head in a duel. For this he received a deserved military honour at the Tomb of Christ. Under this sign while governing a large and prosperous household he completed his 55th year. Eventually his last day came to an end in the hundredth year of his life on 15th August 1468. A.D. For their souls etc.

⁸ B.L., Add. MS. 5840, f.21v, Monumenta Antiquitatis quae passim in Templo Draytonae Bechampiae A° Dúi 1599 etiamm extant et conspicua habentur Anno Regni Dae Eliz: Reginae excepto Insignia.

Early in the nineteenth century the Reverend D.T. Powell visited the church and briefly described the results of his visit.⁹ It would appear that the effigy of the lady had disappeared and only the shield recorded by Willis remained. Powell took an impression of this shield (fig. 3b);¹⁰ it bears the arms of Fitz Marmaduke, [*Gules*] *a fess between three popinjays* [*Argent*].

George Lipscomb's description, published in 1847, gives the impression that all the brass work had disappeared and that only the indent remained in the chancel.¹¹

As late as 1925 the Victoria County History¹² mentions the existence of the slab with the indents, although in reality it must have been removed from the church many years before.

Little is known about Sir John Cheyne.¹³ He was the younger son of Roger Cheyne, d. 1415, and Agnes, daughter of - Charlton of Swakeley juxta Uxbridge. He married firstly Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Fitz Marmaduke, who died circa 1445. She was shown with her husband on the now lost brass. Sir John's second wife was Agnes,¹⁴ daughter of Sir Nicholas Cogenhoe. She died in 1494.

We would like to thank the Bodleian Library and the British Library for permission to reproduce the items in figures 3a and 3b.

WILLIAM LACK & PHILIP WHITTEMORE

Fig. 4: Female figure, early sixteenth century, Terling, Essex.

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield and Michael A. Taylor, 1995

The Rochester brasses situated in the south aisle of the delightful parish church at Terling, dedicated to All Saints, have previously been the focus of attention in these *Transactions*.¹⁵

During the early part of 1995 the wooden floor of the 15th century south aisle was renewed and associated works undertaken by Bakers of Danbury Limited, a specialist firm of local builders. Whilst this work was being carried out the wooden floor at the north-east end of the south aisle and the front row of pews was temporarily removed. In the void under the pew platform the remains of a Purbeck marble slab were discovered by the builders who promptly informed David D. Andrews, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., Historic Buildings Officer of the Essex County Council Historic Buildings and Conservation Section. Dr. Andrews contacted the authors and on Saturday, 11th February 1995 a brief examination of the slab was undertaken, accompanied by Paul Cockerham. It was possible to procure a poor rubbing which was sufficient to identify the indent as that pertaining to the upper portion of an early 16th century female effigy wearing full-frontal pedimental head-dress (390 x 138 mm

⁹ B.L., Add. MS. 17456, f.144v.

¹⁰ B.L., Add. MS. 17456, f.145r.

¹¹ George Lipscombe, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckinghamshire* (4 vols., London, 1847), III, 335.

¹² Victoria County History, *Buckinghamshire*, III, 344.

¹³ Details from B.L. Add., MS. 5840, f.20r.

¹⁴ Victoria County History, *Buckinghamshire*, III, 342, suggests that Agnes was the daughter of William Lexham.

¹⁵ *M.B.S. Trans.*, IX, part 8 (1961), 429-437

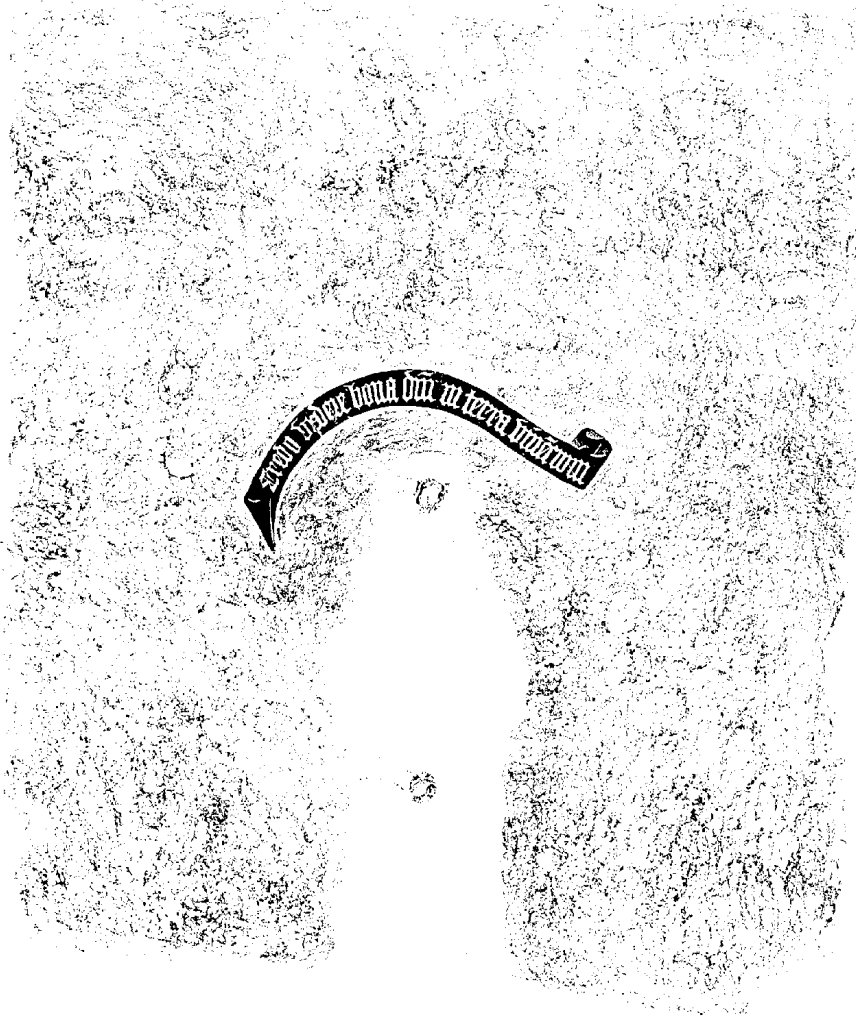


FIG. 4

Female figure, early sixteenth century

Terling, Essex

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield and Michael A. Taylor, 1995

remains) and a scroll (27 x 273 mm) in Latin inscribed “Credo videre bona Domini in terra vivencium” which emanates from the Vulgate of Psalm 26, Verse 13.¹⁶ A meeting with the incumbent, Rev. John M. Hall, and the authors took place the following day whereupon it was agreed to remove the slab from its confinement.

¹⁶ For other examples of this version of the Creed see Dunton, Buckinghamshire (M.S.I.), illustrated by Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (1994), p. 72; Hinxworth, Hertfordshire (M.S.II.), illustrated in *M.B.S. Portfolio*, I, part 3 (1895), pl. 5; Great Greenford, Middlesex (M.S.I.), described and illustrated by Dr. H.K. Cameron, *London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XX (1960), 61-63; and Ickenham, Middlesex (M.S.I.), described and illustrated by Dr. H.K. Cameron, *London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XXX (1979), 138-140.

Accordingly on Monday, 13 February 1995 the remains of the slab (782 x 648 mm) were removed from under the floor joists with the welcome assistance of Graham Davis of Bakers of Danbury. The slab was placed on bearers to facilitate drying out prior to conservation and affixing to the north aisle wall.

The manuscripts of the noted antiquaries Richard Symonds (1637) and William Holman (c.1721) have been consulted with the outcome that this memorial is without provenance and was probably discarded during the major restoration of 1857.

NANCY BRIGGS & H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD

Fig. 5: Richard Atkinson, 1574 and wives, St. Peter in the East, Oxford, M.S. IV.
Rubbing by R. Thomas, before 1921

Although the reverse of this brass has frequently been illustrated¹⁷ the obverse is not well known. The church is now used as the library of St. Edmund Hall. The Purbeck marble altar-tomb supporting this brass, originally in the north chapel, is now set north-south in the chancel. All the slabs making up the tomb, including the cover-slab, bear filed-down rivets indicating re-used stone. Richard Atkinson was Mayor of Oxford in 1548, 1549, 1553, 1559 and 1567,¹⁸ and is shown wearing a gown with coloured lapels and a heavy short mantle with fur lining. The two wives were Annes or Agnes (buried 8 or 18 May 1569, by whom he had all his children; she was the last heiress of the Birmingham family) and Joane Barton (whom he married on 3 September 1570).¹⁹ The sinister wife, presumably Joane, has been missing since 1921. The brass is of the “Daston” style, with “script 9” lettering. The wives are both 50 cm high, the mayor 57 cm, the inscription measures 12 by 71 cm, and the cover slab of the tomb 1.83 by 0.91 m.

Fig. 6: Sir Hastings Keyt, 1645/6, Stow on the Wold, Gloucestershire, (incised slab).
rubbing by Christina Reast, 1995

As the tide of war turned irrevocably against the King, in March 1645/6, Lord Astley began to retreat from Worcester towards Oxford with two thousand horse and foot. Letters and orders miscarried, and the Parliamentary garrisons of Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry and Evesham gathered in pursuit of Astley’s troops. They marched all night, and near Stow the Parliamentarians they fell upon Astley’s wearied troops.²⁰ Among those who fell was Hastings Keyt, whose family came from north Berkshire (brasses in East Hagbourne and East Lockinge) and were thus in a position to have a monument made for him in Stow church. It lies in front of the altar and although not of the highest quality is of great interest as an effigial slab to a civil war officer in armour with sash, and with his helmet and arms at the top of the slab. It is of black limestone, and measures 2.36 by 0.95 m.

¹⁷ e.g. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 99, 103 (237 L)

¹⁸ A. Clark (ed.), *Wood’s City of Oxford*, III (1899), 29-32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 178, 254-5; John Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (1823), Banbury Hundred last page.

²⁰ Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford 1839), Book IX, 632.



FIG. 5
 Richard Atkinson, 1574, and wives
 St. Peter in the East, Oxford, M.S. IV
Rubbing by R. Thomas, before 1921



FIG. 6
Sir Hastyns Keyt, 1645/6
Stow on the Wold, Gloucestershire, (incised slab)
rubbing by Christina Reast, 1995

Monumental Brass Society

Registered Charity No. 214336

General Fund

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1994

	1993	1994	1993	1994
Balance at 1st January 1994:				
Cash in hand and at bank	(833)	(3,174.34)	9,820	3,043.00
National Savings Bank	15,345	10,112.17	2,160	2,334.82
Charifund	2,000	<u>2,000.00</u>	640	<u> </u>
		8,937.83	598	297.90
			285	346.40
			820	<u> </u>
			68	708.71
			<u> </u>	<u>62.00</u>
			—	<u>800.00</u>
				7,592.83
Receipts			Payments	
Subscriptions	5,211	9,692.21	1993 Transactions (Vol. XV, Pt. 2)	
Donations	61	135.00	Bulletins	
Sale of publications	502	318.06	Conference	
Fund raising effort	167	30.85	Meetings	
Conference	—	1,807.67	Travelling expenses	
Interest	875	<u>844.65</u>	Other printing, stationery and postage	
		12,828.44	Subscriptions	
		<u>£21,766.27</u>	Transfer to Conservation Fund	
			Balance at 31st December 1994	
			Cash in hand and at bank	1,479.83
			National Savings Bank	10,693.61
			Charifund	<u>2,000.00</u>
				14,173.44
				<u>£21,766.27</u>

11th February 1995

H. M. Stuchfield
Hon. Treasurer

Audit Certificate: I have examined the Receipts and Payments Account of the Monumental Brass Society General Fund for the year 1994, and certify that it is correct according to the books, vouchers, and information supplied to me.

24th February 1995

R. G. Oakley
Hon. Auditor

Notes:

- No value has been placed on the Society's library, stock of publications and computer equipment.
- At 31st December 1994 the Society had a maximum outstanding balance payable of £1,741.00 in respect of the 1993 Transactions and was still due to produce the 1994 Transactions for which the estimated liability amounted to approximately £3,690.00.
- At 31st December 1994 the value of the Charifund holding was worth £8,804.14 (1993: £10,081.91).

TRANSACTIONS OF THE MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY

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