

TRANSACTIONS OF THE
MONUMENTAL
BRASS
SOCIETY

VOLUME XVI, PART 1 1997



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Cover: Bowls, from the Cortschoof brass, formerly Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges

Editorial

EVERYONE recalls the first brass they rubbed. It may have been one of the early (or not so early) knights, or some less well-known brass. My first experience of brass-rubbing was during a holiday in Dorset. I was exploring Wimborne Minster in the company of my father when we came across someone taking a rubbing of the London 'B' style brass of King Ethelred of Wessex. He kindly gave us some heelball and paper, and I produced my first, rather grey, rubbing.

Wimborne Minster M.S. I can be studied in a variety of ways. It can be considered stylistically, as a product of the London 'B' workshop. It can be treated as an illustration of royal ceremonial robes. It can be viewed in the context of the cult of Anglo-Saxon saints in fifteenth-century England. It can be cited as an early example of the restoration of a brass. But these scholarly approaches to a brass depend on the constant process of recording, to which all the members of the Monumental Brass Society can contribute.

It was some years before I learnt of the existence of the Society, as a result of finding an odd number of the *Transactions* in an Oxford bookshop. My route to membership illustrates the importance of the *Transactions* as a representative of the Society's work. My predecessor has done much to establish its reputation internationally, and I shall endeavour to maintain the standards he has set. I hope that he will find sufficient time, amid his parochial duties, to make his contribution as an author.

The Bacon Brass at Gorleston, Suffolk

by SALLY BADHAM

THE brasses of the early knights are the most well-known and extensively studied of all medieval monumental brasses. Attention has focused particularly on the fine examples at Stoke d'Abernon, Acton, Trumpington and Chartham. In comparison the brass of an armed figure to a member of the Bacon family in St. Andrew's church, Gorleston, Suffolk (Fig. 1) has received scant attention, with no serious attempt having been made to establish whom it commemorates. Dating this brass is difficult because there is a dichotomy between the dating suggested by the equipment shown and that suggested by other evidence. The brass has most recently been dated by Binski *c.* 1330-40,¹ a date consonant with the current understanding of the development of armour in the fourteenth century. However, all known Bacon males living in or near Gorleston at that time can be positively discounted as having been commemorated by the brass. Stylistic analysis and genealogical, heraldic and documentary evidence considered below suggest a date of *c.* 1305 may be more likely.

History of the brass

The brass and its Purbeck marble slab are now mural on the north side of the chancel, but originally lay in the Bacon chapel at the east end of the south aisle, amongst other indents to members of the Bacon family. The first description of the brass was made by Francis Blomefield on 13 July 1724. His notes, preserved in the College of Arms,² of which there is a near transcript by John Gage in Cambridge University Library,³ refer to 'a Kt cross leggd standing on a boar'. Bound into another volume of Blomefield's Suffolk Collections in the College of Arms are some unrelated and unsigned notes on Gorleston, including a drawing which shows the figure unmutilated (Fig. 2).⁴ These notes evidently post-date the Blomefield notes since they refer to them at the top of the first sheet of this added section; they were probably made by Thomas Martin who is known to have owned the Blomefield volumes.⁵ Another drawing of the complete figure was made by John Ives in

¹ P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', in *The Earliest English Brasses*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), p. 97.

² Francis Blomefield, 'Suffolk Collections', II, College of Arms, London, MS Suffolk 10, f. 78.

³ Cambridge University Library, MS Hengrave Hall 22, f. 78; another set of virtually identical notes is at Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MS 11, f. 54.

⁴ Francis Blomefield, 'Suffolk Collections', I, College of Arms MS Suffolk 9, penultimate page.

⁵ This is clear from notes signed by Thomas Martin at the beginning of the two volumes. As far as volume 9 at least is concerned, the descent of the Suffolk Collections seems to have been Peter le Neve or his amanuensis Thomas Allen; Francis Blomefield, Thomas Martin, John Ives; and thus eventually to the College of Arms. I am grateful to Robert Yorke, Archivist of the College of Arms, for his help in identifying the various hands in this manuscript and for information on its descent.



FIG. 1

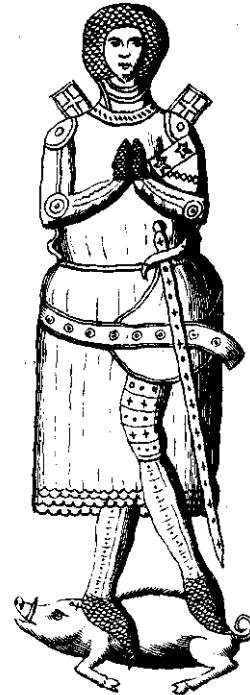
Gorleston, Suffolk M.S. I

Ashford series brass attributed to John Bacon, *c.* 1305



FIG. 2
Gorleston, Suffolk M.S. I

Drawing, probably by Thomas Martin, early 18th century
(College of Arms MS Suffolk 9, penultimate page)
Reproduced by permission of the Chapter of the College of Arms



J. Ives delinavit.

A Boar - in Gorleston Church.

FIG. 3
Gorleston, Suffolk M.S. I

Engraving based on a drawing of 1770 by John Ives
(Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top. Suffolk b.2, f. 243)
Reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library

preparation for his *History of Lothingland*, which was never finished.⁶ The original drawing does not survive, but a copy of the engraving is to be found in the Bodleian Library (Fig. 3).⁷ Although Ives possessed the Blomefield manuscript for a time, it is unlikely that his drawing was derived from the one here ascribed to Martin. He did not purchase the Blomefield manuscripts until 1773-4,⁸ but his own drawing appears to have dated from 1770.⁹

1770 is the latest date at which we can be certain that the figure remained intact. Richard Gough, writing in 1786, does not mention the boar in his description of the

⁶ None of Ives's original material survives, but some of his work was fortunately transcribed by Davy; British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS 19098, f. 376 onwards.

⁷ Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Top. Suffolk b2, f. 243 (extra-illustrated copy of J. Kirby, *The Suffolk Traveller* (Ipswich, 1735)); Gough Maps 41m, f. 34, no. 185. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for bringing the latter reference to my attention.

⁸ *The Chorography of Suffolk*, ed. D.N.J. MacCulloch, Suffolk Record Soc., 19 (Ipswich, 1976), pp. 3-4.

⁹ BL, Add. MS 19098, f. 376 gives the date of 1770 for these notes; a copy of Ives's drawing is at f. 397v.

brass;¹⁰ possibly we may infer that the bottom part of the figure had been lost by then. It had certainly gone by 1810 when John Sell Cotman saw the brass.¹¹ Soon after, the remainder of the brass was nearly lost too. When David Davy visited the church on 12 December 1812 he found only the indent. He recorded that ‘the Clerk of the Parish informed us that the above figure becoming loose was sold by the late clerk to a brazier in Yarmouth for 5s’.¹² Fortunately it was rescued and found its way into Craven Ord’s collection; following his death in 1830 it was purchased by John Gage and returned to the church.¹³ Dawson Turner arranged for it to be refixed into its original slab, which in 1828, together with three other indents, had been moved from the Bacon chapel in order to make a vault for the Astley family. The restored brass and slab were then moved to their current position against the north wall of the chancel.

Description of the brass

The original composition of the Gorleston brass is clear from the indent.¹⁴ The full-length figure of a knight stands under a canopy, on either side of which were two shields and a roundel arranged vertically. A fillet inscription ran round the perimeter of the slab; none of the brass inlay of the inscription survives, nor is the wording known from antiquarian sources. Possibly this part of the brass was taken up when Dowsing’s Deputy, Francis Jessop of Beccles, visited Gorleston in 1643-4, recording the destruction ‘in Bacon’s isle ... [of] brasses with superstitious inscriptions’ amongst many brasses taken up throughout St Andrew’s church.¹⁵

The knight is shown with his hands in prayer, his legs crossed and his feet resting on a boar. He wears a knee-length, sleeveless gown divided at the front, revealing the hauberk, which has a short division at the front, and the gambeson, which has a decorated lower edge. The gown is caught in at the waist by a narrow belt. A coif of mail, the lower edge of which entirely overlaps the neck of the gown, fits closely round his head. Under it can be seen a skull cap with a shallow arched opening over the face. The arms and hands are mail-clad, with besagews at the armpit and elbow and plate vambraces protecting the arms. The legs are also mail-clad, with plate greaves protecting the shins. All the reinforcing plates are edged by a simple line and cusped decoration. Prick spurs are worn. The sword, in a scabbard decorated by quatrefoils alternating with a pair of small circles, hangs at a slightly outwards angle on the right hand side of the figure, with the tip resting against the boar’s rump. The scabbard is attached to the broad sword belt by a diagonal thong attachment.¹⁶ Ailettes, decorated with a cross, are shown at the knight’s shoulders. On his left arm is

¹⁰ R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols. in 5 (London, 1786-96), I.ii, p. 216.

¹¹ J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 2 vols. (London, 1839), II, p. 4.

¹² BL, Add. MS 19098, f. 123.

¹³ BL, Add. MS 19098, f. 125v; Cotman, *Norfolk and Suffolk*, II, p. 4.

¹⁴ Illus. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), II, pl. 18.

¹⁵ *The Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. C.H. Evelyn White (Ipswich, 1885), p. 11.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the various types of scabbard attachment and their dating see C. Blair, ‘The de Vere Effigy at Hatfield Broad Oak’, *Church Monuments*, VIII (1993), pp. 5-9.

a heater-shaped shield, hanging from a narrow guige which passes diagonally across his right shoulder.

The Gorleston brass has most frequently been compared with the fine late Camoys series knight at Pebmarsh, Essex, which commemorates Sir William FitzRalph, who died some time between 1331 and 1338.¹⁷ Certainly both are distinct amongst the early armed figures in displaying plate arm and leg defences, but there are also differences in the armour shown. As noted above, the skull cap on the Gorleston brass has only a shallow arch to the face opening, whereas Pebmarsh shows the skull cap with the sides extending to cover the ears. The latter fully developed type of skull cap is considered by Claude Blair to have been introduced on effigies *c.* 1315.¹⁸ The skull cap shown on the Gorleston brass is transitional between the simple hemispherical skull cap with a straight lower edge common in the second half of the thirteenth century and this fully developed type. It should be noted that a transitional form can also be seen on the Camoys style Purbeck marble incised slab at Titchfield, Hampshire to Sir John de Pageham, d. 1305.¹⁹ The second difference is that the Pebmarsh figure has plate sabbatons, whereas the Gorleston knight's feet are only mail-clad. Finally, the vambraces at Gorleston are of an unusual truncated form, stopping well short of the wrist. These features may show that the armour worn by the Gorleston knight was in some respects less advanced than that of Sir William FitzRalph, though the dating of none is sufficiently closely defined to offer conclusive proof of earlier date.

The Bacon family and their arms in the early fourteenth century

Although it has long been recognised that the arms on the shield, combined with the boar on which the effigy stands, clearly identify the knight as a member of the East Anglian Bacon family, there is no agreed attribution for this brass. It would seem likely that it commemorates someone related to the branch of the family based at Oulton, a few miles south of Gorleston. The pedigree of this family is summarised in Fig. 4 and set out in more detail in the Appendix.

If it is thought that the Gorleston brass dates from the 1330s, the obvious candidate for it might be thought to be Sir Edmund Bacon, the head of family who died *c.* 1336. He was a landholder of significance in East Anglia and elsewhere, was militarily active and had a high public profile, just the sort of person likely to be commemorated by a brass at this time. However, many factors rule Sir Edmund out of contention. Given the family circumstances following his death, it seems unlikely that he would have been commemorated by a monument of any substance. His widow, Margery, was abducted by John de Dalton against her will.²⁰ She subsequently consented to marry her abductor, but without the King's permission, so

¹⁷ M. Burnett, 'The FitzRalph Brass at Pebmarsh', *Essex Archaeology and History*, Third Series, VI (1974), pp. 99-101.

¹⁸ C. Blair, 'The Wooden Knight at Abergavenny', *Church Monuments*, IX (1994), pp. 37-8.

¹⁹ S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*, forthcoming, fig. 7.15.

²⁰ *Calendar of Inquisitions* (subsequently referred to as *CI*), X, no. 82.

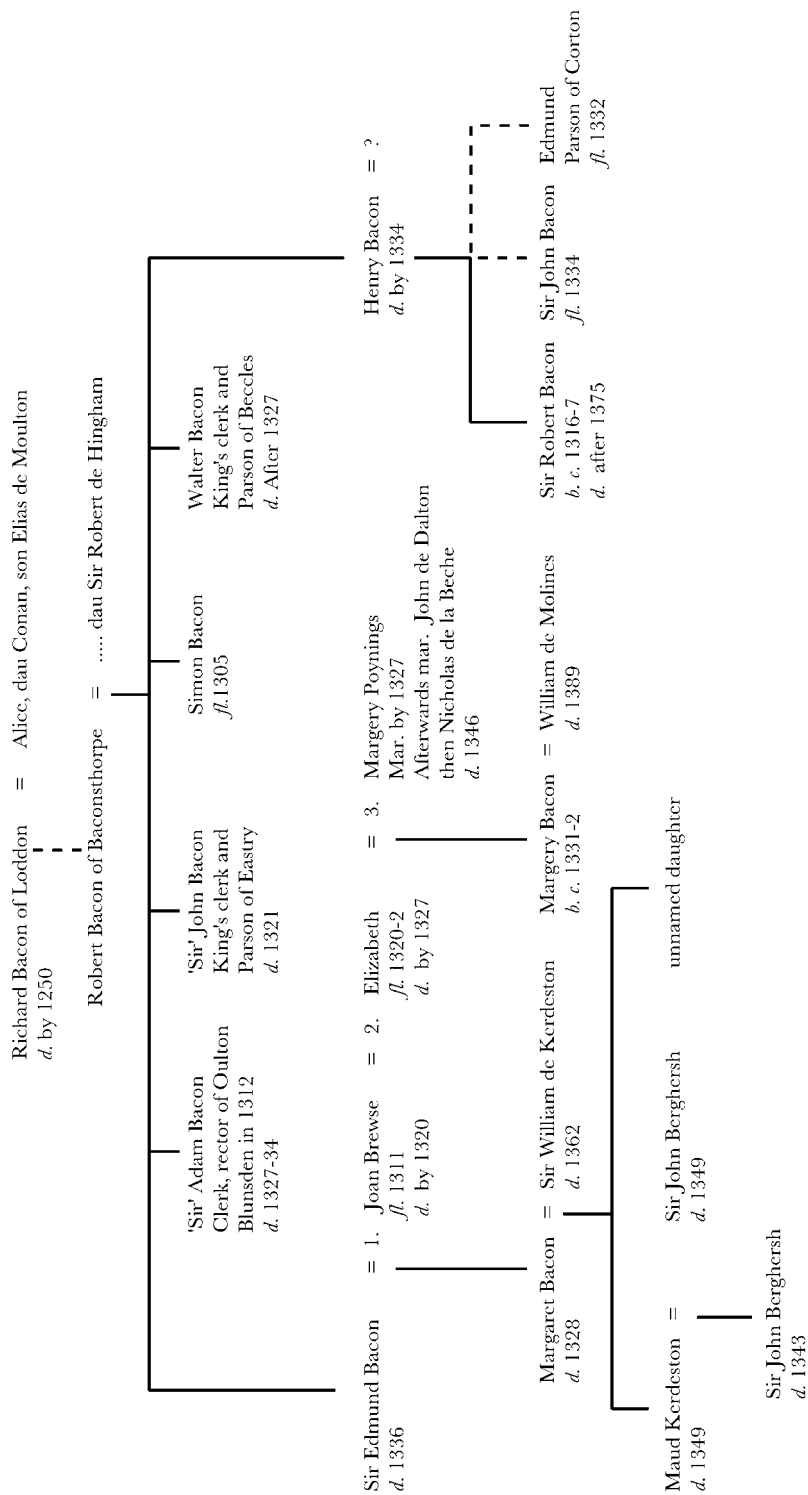


FIG. 4
Pedigree of Bacon of Oulton, Suffolk

her lands and the income they provided were forfeited and they did not return to Edmund Bacon's heirs until 1356, after a lengthy dispute as to their inheritance. As to Edmund's two daughters, one pre-deceased him and the other was only six years old when he died. All his brothers also appear to have pre-deceased him. Who, in these circumstances, would have gone to the trouble and expense of commissioning a large and expensive brass for Sir Edmund? It could be argued that he might well have commissioned the brass in his own lifetime, but if he had, there is no reason to believe that it would have been laid down in Gorleston church rather than at Oulton where one of his brothers is known to have been buried. Although Sir Edmund had extensive land holdings including in Suffolk, there is no evidence for his having held lands in Gorleston or to have had any other connection with the place. Moreover, although many members of the Bacon family were recorded in Weever's list of the names of those registered and buried at Gorleston, Sir Edmund's name is noticeably absent.²¹ Finally, and most crucially, the heraldry on the Gorleston brass does not fit an attribution to Sir Edmund.

The Bacons of Baconsthorpe, to whom Sir Edmund was related, bore *Azure three boars passant or*,²² but this coat does not appear on rolls or seals before the mid-fourteenth century and is thus unlikely to have been used by either him or his father.²³ The arms born by the Oulton branch were *Gules on a chief argent two mullets sable pierced or* (Fig. 5 shows the various versions of the Bacon arms known to have been used in the first half of the fourteenth century). These arms are clearly based on those of St. John (*Argent on a chief gules two mullets or*),²⁴ simply reversing the order of the colours used, a practice that was followed sometimes, as, for example, by the Gobaud tenants of the Wakes.²⁵ Significantly, links can be traced between the Bacon and St. John families. In 1242-3 a Richard Bacon, who may possibly be Sir Edmund's grandfather, held lands in Hampshire of Robert de St. John; he was dead by 1250.²⁶ Sir Edmund is known to have had holdings in Hampshire in the early fourteenth century, which could have been the same manors.²⁷ Moreover, in 1303 Edmund Bacon is recorded as serving in Scotland with Sir John de St. John.²⁸ He appears in the Galloway Roll of 1300 only three entries after John de St. John and in the Stirling Roll of 1304 only two entries after, suggesting that Sir Edmund may well have served regularly under John de St. John.²⁹

²¹ J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 863.

²² J. Corder, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms*, Suffolk Record Soc., 7 (Ipswich, 1965), p. 25.

²³ Ex inf. John A. Goodall.

²⁴ For the arms of Sir John de St. John, d. 1329, see G.J. Brault ed., *Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272-1307)*, *Aspilogia III*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 466, 487.

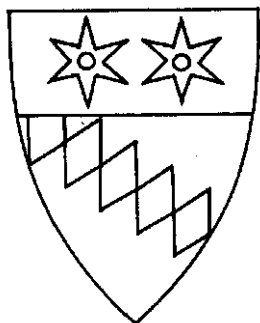
²⁵ Ex inf. John A. Goodall. For other examples see P.R. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 80-1; P.R. Coss, 'Heraldry and Monumental Effigies in the North East', in *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies in the History and Culture of North East England*, ed. T.E. Faulkner (London, 1996), p. 6.

²⁶ *Book of Fees*, II, pp. 693, 1170.

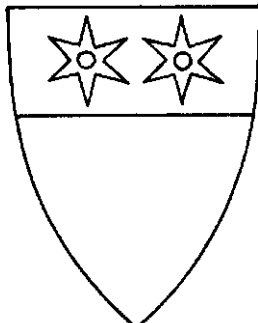
²⁷ The Parliamentary Roll lists Sir Edmund under Hampshire and Wiltshire (BL, MS Cotton Caligula A XVIII, f. 6v).

²⁸ *Calendar of Supplementary Close Rolls 1277-1326*, p. 90.

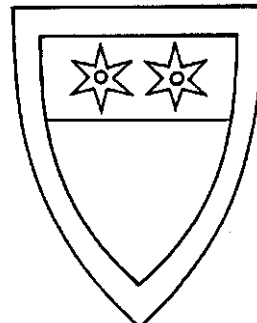
²⁹ Brault, *Rolls of Edward I*, pp. 466, 487.



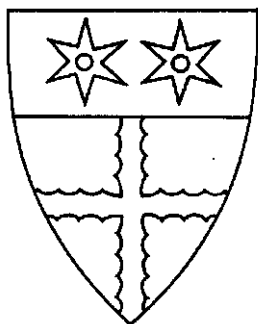
Shield from M.S. I at Gorleston
Gules, a bend fusilly or, on a chief Argent two mullets Sable pierced Or.



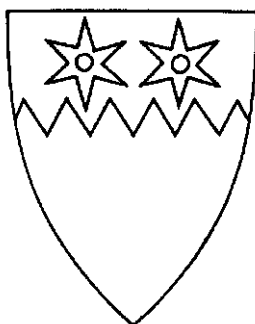
Arms of Sir Edmund Bacon
Gules, on a chief Argent two mullets Sable pierced Or.



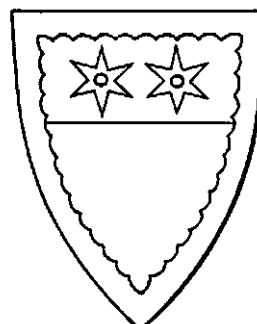
Arms of Sir Robert Bacon
Gules, on a chief Argent two mullets Sable pierced Or, within a bordure Or.



Arms of 'Sir' Adam Bacon
Gules, a cross engrailed [...], on a chief [Argent] two mullets [Sable] pierced [Or].



Arms of Sabine Bacon
Gules, on a chief indented Argent, two mullets Sable pierced Or.



Arms of Sir John Bacon
Gules, on a chief Argent two mullets Sable pierced Or, within a bordure engrailed Or.

FIG. 5

Arms of members of the family of Bacon of Oulton and Gorleston

The arms *Gules on a chief argent two mullets sable pierced or* are not recorded before 1300, when they appear in the Galloway roll for Sir Edmund Bacon.³⁰ He is also recorded as bearing precisely these arms in the Stirling Roll of 1304,³¹ the First Dunstable Roll of 1308,³² the Parliamentary Roll of 1312-14³³ and the Second Dunstable Roll of 1334,³⁴ all contemporary and reliable sources. All traces of coloured mastic have now gone from the arms on the shield borne by the Gorleston knight, but antiquarian notes enable the tinctures to be reconstructed, giving the coat

³⁰ Galloway Roll, College of Arms MS M14, ff. 168-75 (16th-century copy by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, of lost original roll).

³¹ College of Arms MS M14, ff. 269-72 (16th-century copy by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, of lost original).

³² BL, Add. MS 5848, f. 74v (1776 copy by Rev. William Cole of lost original).

³³ BL, Cotton MS Caligula A XVIII, f. 6v.

³⁴ BL, Cotton MS Otho D IV, f. 188 (16th-century copy of lost original).

as *Gules a bend lozengy or, on a chief argent two mullets sable pierced or*.³⁵ This is a differenced version of the arms borne by the Oulton Bacons, which can only be ascribed to a cadet. Sir Edmund was the head of the Oulton branch. Although examples are known of incorrect heraldry being shown on brasses,³⁶ if Sir Edmund or his executors had ordered a substantial monument, it is unlikely that they would have accepted a brass with differenced arms which indicated that he was of lesser status in his family.

The arms of Bacon differenced by a gold bend lozengy is unique to the Gorleston brass. Le Neve,³⁷ Blomefield³⁸ and Ives³⁹ all erroneously claimed that identical arms to those at Gorleston were once on the lost clerical brass to Adam Bacon at Oulton in the upper sinister position, probably all copying from a common source. An antiquarian rubbing of the brass in the Society of Antiquaries, which is annotated to show where traces of the coloured infill survived clearly shows that this coat was *Gules on a chief argent two mullets sable pierced or*.⁴⁰ A drawing of the brass by Jermyn also confirms that the coat shown was the undifferenced Bacon arms.⁴¹ There is no contemporary record in rolls or seals of the arms on the Gorleston brass, but this is not altogether surprising. Rolls tend to record the arms of only those who were militarily active and Goodall has estimated that between a third and a half of arms found on seals and monuments do not occur in the surviving rolls of arms.⁴²

³⁵ Different tinctures from these are given in some antiquarian sources, but they are almost certainly based on an error made by Hervy in the mid-16th century. In his rough visitation notes (BL, Add. MS 4969, f. 80) he gives a bend sable on a field of gules, an odd combination which would have run counter to the basic rules of heraldry. In drawing up the office copy (Society of Antiquaries MS 676, f. 260v), Hervy spotted the obvious error and omitted the tincture.

³⁶ J.A. Goodall, 'Heraldry Depicted on Brasses' in *Brasses as Art and History*, ed. J. Bertram (Stroud, 1996), p. 48.

³⁷ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MS 11, f. 89: bifolium from Le Neve notebook: 'Olton Cha: a Stone wth a circumscrip lost as are 2 coats these 2 y^t remain [sketches of ... a bend of five lozenges, on a chief two mullets and *Gules a cross engrailed, on a chief two mullets pierced*] an effig' of a priest in his robes standing on a lion the largest I ever saw.'. Hengrave Hall MS 2-19 were compiled by John Gage Rokewood and includes material taken from the notebooks of various earlier topographers including Le Neve (J. Blatchly, *The Topographers of Suffolk* (Ipswich, 1976)). At f. 92: a bifolium from another notebook with the sketch of the brass of Adam Bacon with shields: top dexter lost; top sinister a bend of five lozenges, on a chief two mullets pierced; bottom dexter lost; bottom sinister *Gules a cross engrailed, on a chief two mullets pierced*. The latter notes may possibly be from the notebooks of Dr Nathaniel Fairfax which were dismembered by Le Neve and may be the original source of the incorrect description of the arms on the upper sinister shield. It also may be the source of the erroneous statement that the brass had four shields when in fact there were only ever two, one on each side of the priest's head. I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for checking this source on my behalf.

³⁸ College of Arms, Suffolk MS 10, f. 108: 'In the chancell lies a large Stone disrobed of its circumscription on it remain these 2 coats <tricks> a bend lozengy and on a chief 2 rowels and 'gul' a cross engrailed and on a chief 2 rowels. I am grateful to John Goodall for checking this source on my behalf.

³⁹ BL, Add. MS 19098, f. 417v (transcript of Ives's notes by Davy). This has the basic text as in Blomefield (see previous footnote) but inserting the following text: 'At each corner was a shield, those on the dexter side gone: the upper sinister had a bend of lozenges, & on a chief 2 mullets of 6 points pierced: since lost: at the bottom sinister side, a cross engrailed, & on a chief 2 mullets as above'. As noted above (n. 37) both the number of shields and their charges are erroneous.

⁴⁰ Another rubbing of the brass with this shield is in BL, Add. MS 32484 also shows only one shield and this with no bend. Craven Ord's rubbing (British Library, Add. MS 32478, f. 81) unfortunately only shows the figure. John Blatchly has recently discovered in the High Street Museum, Ipswich a dabbing of the shield labelled 'Shield of Bacon in the chest Oulton Church' in a copy of Suckling's *Suffolk*, grangerised c. 1860 by Charles Steward of Blunsden (1798-1870). From this it appears that the shield became loose and was put in the chest for safekeeping before the main figure was stolen.

⁴¹ BL, Add. MS 8184, f. 197v: the drawing shows only one shield remaining, in the upper sinister position, on a chief 2 mullets.

⁴² Personal communication.

However, though we do not have documentary evidence for who bore these arms, many members of the Bacon family can be eliminated as candidates for the Gorleston brass.

Various members of the Bacon family are known to have borne versions of the arms of Bacon of Oulton that differ from those shown on the Gorleston brass. In the Second Dunstable Roll of 1334 Sir Edmund is listed in a block of entries headed by the Earl Marshal; he evidently came to Dunstable as part of a family contingent. His name is followed by Sir John Kerdeston, kin to Edmund's son-in-law, then Sir Robert Bacon, Edmund's nephew and the son of his brother Henry, who bore *Gules on a chief argent two mullets sable pierced or, within a bordure or*, and Sir John Bacon, probably another nephew, who bore *Gules on a chief argent two mullets sable pierced or, within a bordure engrailed or*. Thus neither Robert nor John can be the man commemorated by the Gorleston brass as they both bore the wrong arms. Henry Bacon is probably also ruled out, as it would appear likely that he had also borne the Bacon arms differenced by a gold bordure later adopted by his eldest son.

Adam Bacon is of course ruled out as he was a clerk and was commemorated by the lost brass at Oulton. Additionally he appears to have borne the Bacon arms differenced by a cross engrailed; Le Neve, Blomefield and Ives all record these arms as being on the upper sinister shield on the brass.⁴³ Two other brothers, John and Walter, were also clerics and therefore would not have been commemorated by a brass with an armed figure. Of this generation of the Bacon family, only Simon is left, of whom little is known. This suggests we should look elsewhere for the man commemorated by the brass, seeking a cadet of the Bacon family who had connections with Gorleston and who was probably not militarily active.

Amongst those who were recorded by Weever as being buried at Gorleston were Lady Sabina and her son John Bacon. There is firm evidence for their holding lands in Gorleston. In 1275 Sabina and John jointly held a manor called Ubbmeres in Gorleston and also, with Wymer de Bacon, they held Newton and Cortun.⁴⁴ By the later 1280s John held all the manors alone.⁴⁵ In 1293 he enclosed a way at Reston between Yarmouth and Morfield⁴⁶ and in 1300 a grant was made to John and his heirs of free warren in all his demesne lands at Reston.⁴⁷ Although there is no

⁴³ There is a seal with the coat engraved in G.H. Dashwood ed., *Sigilla Antiqua. Engravings from Ancient Seals ... in the Muniment Room of Sir Thomas Hare Baronet of Stowe-Bardolph* (Stowe Bardolph, 1847), pl. xiv. 3. It was the second seal on a deed by Ste. Belle, Thomas Walgore and John atte Gate dated 1370-1, but the legend was largely lost apart from the opening [S]IGILLV. The cross engrailed and the chief are clear and the text adds that the latter 'appears to be charged with two mullets'. According to College of Arms L10, 20/8 (c. 1520), the coat was *Gules a cross engrailed ermine and on a chief vert two mullets argent*, while College of Arms Wrythe's Book I 27v/15 (c. 1480) and College of Arms L2, 93/3 (c. 1520) have three mullets in chief, all for Bacon. There is no clue as to the tinctures of the arms on Adam Bacon's brass and they may or may not have been identical to those given by these sources. I am indebted to John Goodall for these references.

⁴⁴ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, II, pp. 161, 168. Wymer's relationship to Sabina and John is not known; he cannot have been Sabina's husband as the second entry in the Hundred Rolls refers to Wymer's wife Agnes. There were other men of this name in Gorleston, including in 1280 Henry, son of Richard Bacon (W. Rye, *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (Norwich, 1885), 120).

⁴⁵ In 1285 he was returned in the Book of Aids as holding in Gorleston (W. Rye, *The False Pedigree and Arms of the Family of Bacon of Suffolk* (Norwich, 1919), p. 19). In 1288 John is also recorded at Gorleston and Reston (W. Rye, *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines of Suffolk* (Ipswich, 1900), p. 91).

⁴⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (subsequently referred to as *CPR*) 1292-1301, p. 15.

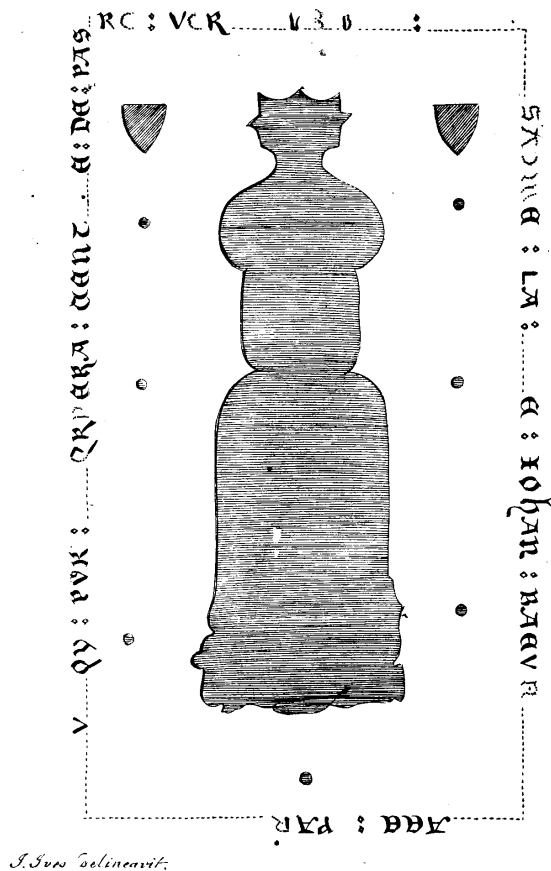


FIG. 6

Arms recorded at Gorleston in 1561 by William Hervy (British Library, Add. MS 4969, f. 80
Reproduced by permission of the British Library

evidence of John having been militarily active, he was described as an esquire⁴⁸ and held a number of appointments. He was a mainpernor in 1288⁴⁹ and a justice of oyer and terminer in 1282, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1303 and 1304.⁵⁰ There are no references after 1 May 1304, suggesting that he may have died shortly after. Although John Bacon cannot be identified beyond doubt as the person commemorated by the Gorleston brass, various factors point to this conclusion.

Who held Gorleston after John is uncertain. Suffling and Coppinger both assert that in 1335 Sir Henry Bacon was enfeoffed of the manor of Reston, which was held of the paramount manor of Gorleston, but their evidence for this was not stated and

⁴⁷ *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (subsequently referred to as *CChR*) 1257-1300, p. 489.

⁴⁸ BL, Add. MS 4969, f. 80.

⁴⁹ *Calendar of Close Rolls* (subsequently referred to as *CCR*) 1279-88, p. 506.

⁵⁰ *CPR 1281-92*, p. 91; *1292-1301*, pp. 447, 547, 548; *1301-7*, pp. 78, 192, 220, 272.

⁵¹ A. Suckling, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk*, 2 vols. (London, 1846-8), I, p. 362; W.A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk*, 7 vols. (London, 1905-11), V, p. 37.

has not been traced.⁵¹ Weever and Davy record that Sir Henry died in 1335 and was buried at Gorleston, but again the evidence on which they base this statement is unknown.⁵² This certainly indicates that a successor of John Bacon as lord of Reston died in the mid 1330s, but we cannot be certain who he was. However, since Hervy records Henry Bacon's arms as having been *Gules on an indented chief or two mullets sable* (see Fig. 6), he cannot be the man commemorated by the Bacon brass. The later descent of the manor is obscure, though it was called Bacon's until the nineteenth century.⁵³

Compositional and stylistic comparisons for the Gorleston brass

Compositional and stylistic comparisons reinforce the contention that the Gorleston brass dates from the first decade of the fourteenth century and commemorates John Bacon, rather than his successor. First the overall composition, including the canopy design, fillet inscription and outline of the figure are best paralleled on a lost brass of a knight from Peterborough Cathedral, known only through a drawing in Dugdale's *Book of Monuments*.⁵⁴ Additionally, both brasses have ailettes, an uncommon feature on brasses, and on both they are drawn angled and lopsided, which is even more unusual. It should also be noted that on both the ailettes bear a St. George cross, rather than the arms of the commemorated. Dugdale labelled the Peterborough brass Sir Joscelyn de Marham, an attribution followed by most subsequent writers, though Dugdale's drawing shows that the fillet inscription actually read 'EDMUND GASCELIN SEYNUR DE MARHAM'. Heseltine attributed it to a member of the Wiltshire family of Gascelin on the basis of the heraldry, but retained the suggested date of *c.* 1330.⁵⁵ Further unpublished research by Saul shows that the only possible candidate is Sir Edmund Gascelin, who married Isabella de Waterville, who held Marholm near Peterborough.⁵⁶ Sir Edmund died in 1307 and this lost brass should therefore be so dated. There are, of course, differences in the pose and equipment of these two brasses, so the compositional similarities alone are insufficient to prove comparable dating. What they do show is that the overall composition of the Gorleston brass is not inconsistent with a date in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

Stylistic comparisons confirm this likely dating. The Gorleston brass presented Binski with a problem since it clearly did not fit with the products of any brass engraving workshop operational in the 1330s. While he felt its general appearance

⁵² Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, p. 863; BL, Add. MS 19098, f. 116.

⁵³ Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, V, pp. 37-8; BL, Add. MS. 19098, ff. 100v, 109v, 111v, 116, 116v.

⁵⁴ Illus. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), pl. 123; P. Heseltine, *The Brasses of Huntingdonshire* (Peterborough, 1987), Peterborough Cathedral no. 20.

⁵⁵ Heseltine, *Huntingdonshire*, pp. 39-40.

⁵⁶ Personal communication. Edmund Gascelin's marriage to Isabella de Waterville is recorded in a Peterborough chronicle (VCH, *Northamptonshire*, II (London, 1906), p. 500). After her death Marholm was divided between Isabella's three daughters by her first marriage to Reginald de Waterville. Gascelin's eldest son, Sir Edmund II (d. 1337), held in Wiltshire, Berkshire and Kent. Thus only Sir Edmund Gascelin I (d. 1307) could have been described as 'Seynur de Marham' on the inscription of the brass. That the shield on the lost brass showed the Gascelin arms with a label is puzzling since Sir Edmund I's father died in 1282, unless the label was an impartible element of the coat rather than a mark of difference.



FIG. 7
Ashford, Kent M.S. I
Ashford style brass, c. 1282



FIG. 8
Gorleston, Suffolk M.S. I
Detail from Ashford style brass, c. 1305



FIG. 9
Horton Kirby, Kent
Ashford style incised slab, attributed to Baldwin de Caundell, instituted 1279
Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill

bore comparison with many Camoys products, he rightly considered that the detail of the figure was self-evidently not in the Camoys style, being weak and stiff in design.⁵⁷ Though Binski did not mention the point, the way the mail is drawn also points to the Gorleston brass having originated from a different workshop. On this brass it is depicted by the so-called 'banded' convention. The choice of how mail was depicted was probably a reflection of how the craftsman had been trained and may be an index to workshop origin. Certainly Camoys and Septvans series knights mostly have the mail drawn naturalistically as interlocking rings with some instead showing a series of short vertical curved strokes. Only the Seymour knights of the 1340s otherwise show banded mail and there are no other similarities between the Gorleston brass and them. Since Binski thought that this brass could be taken to be a reflection of the basic design standards of the main series of London products, he classified it as a Camoys derivative, along with other problem brasses, including the demi-effigy of a priest at Ashford, which he dated *c.* 1340.⁵⁸

It has since been argued that the Ashford brass was a product of the Ashford workshop, a long-lived series of brasses and incised slabs produced in London, probably under the direction of the marbler Master Ralph, between *c.* 1273 and *c.* 1308, and should be dated *c.* 1282.⁵⁹ There are similarities between the Gorleston and Ashford brasses. Both have a tentative feel about both the design and the engraving. On the Gorleston brass this is particularly apparent in the way the sword hilt is drawn and in the unconvincing drapery around the slit of the gown. Ashford style products often have a lop-sided effect as if the figure is slightly turned. On the Gorleston knight, the elbows are at slightly different levels and, as already noted, the ailettes are shown at markedly different levels. However, the facial features are the key. A particularly distinctive feature of the Gorleston knight are the bored-out eyeballs, which precisely parallel the Ashford priest (Figs. 7 and 8). An even closer resemblance of facial features is with one of the later effigial incised slabs from the Ashford series, that from Horton Kirby, Kent, which may well commemorate Baldwin de Caundell, who was instituted in 1297 (Fig. 9). The eyes, nose and mouth are all drawn in a very similar way, in marked contrast to their representation on brasses from other London pattern series of the first half of the fourteenth century. These comparisons would again suggest a date for the Gorleston brass at the end of the Ashford series in the first decade of the fourteenth century, strongly supporting the proposed attribution to John Bacon.

Lost brasses to the Bacon family at Gorleston

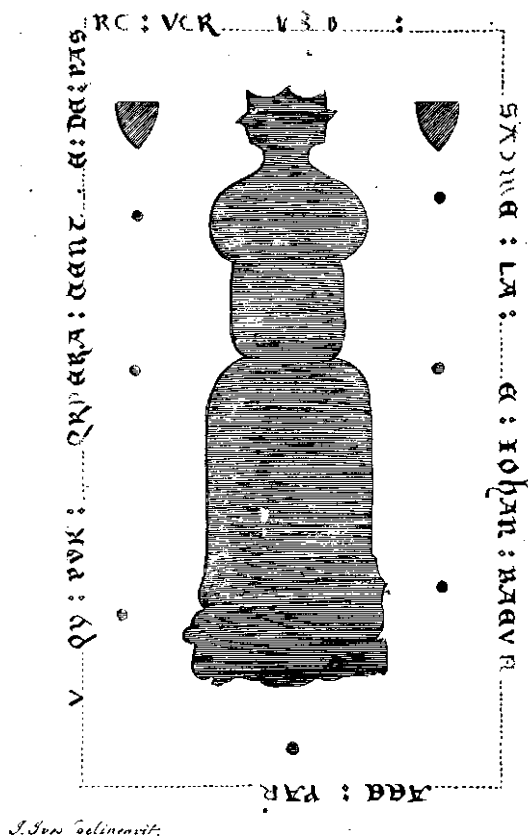
Although all indents were cleared from Gorleston church in the nineteenth century, there is evidence of two other brasses which formerly lay in the Bacon aisle.⁶⁰ In 1643-4 Francis Jessop took up a brass of 'a friar with a shaven crown, praying to God

⁵⁷ Binski, 'Stylistic Sequence', p. 97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-9.

⁵⁹ Badham and Norris, *London Marblers*, forthcoming; *MBS Bulletin*, 65 (1994), p. 98.

⁶⁰ Suckling, *Suffolk*, I, p. 373 refers to four large slabs of Purbeck marble, but other topographers mention only three.



J. Sen delinavit.

FIG. 10

Engraving of lost indent to Sabine Bacon, based on drawing of 1770 by John Ives (Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Top. Suffolk b.2, f. 248)
 Reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library

with these words “Miserere mei Deus”.⁶¹ Eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquaries evidently considered the indent too defaced to draw, though Davy refers to it as ‘another very old stone, which had a figure in brass and an inscription now gone’.⁶²

Of more significance was an indent of a lady adjoining the slab with the military brass. Hervy’s church notes of 1561 record, next to a drawing of the boar and shield from the brass to the Bacon knight, two shields labelled as the arms of Sabine, mother of John Bacon esquire (Fig. 6).⁶³ One shield bore the main Bacon arms and the second a differenced version, *Gules on a bend engrailed two mullets sable pierced or*. All brass inlay had been lost by the time that drawings of the monument were made by

⁶¹ Evelyn White, *Dowsing*, p. 11.

⁶² BL, Add. MS 19098, f. 123.

⁶³ BL, Add. MS 4969, f. 80.

⁶⁴ Pasted in College of Arms, Suffolk MS 9, unfoliated.

⁶⁵ College of Arms, Suffolk MS 10, f. 78.

⁶⁶ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MS 11, f. 54.

⁶⁷ The original drawing does not survive, but engravings from it are in Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Top. Suffolk b2, f. 248 and Gough Maps 41m, f. 34 no. 186. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for the latter reference.

Martin,⁶⁴ Blomefield,⁶⁵ Le Neve⁶⁶ and Ives (Fig. 10),⁶⁷ but the indent was sufficiently clear to enable the composition to be reconstructed. It showed the full-length figure of a lady with her head on a pair of crossed cushions. On each side of her head was a shield, under which were sets of three roundels, arranged vertically. Along the perimeter of the slab ran a Norman-French inscription in individual-inlay Lombardic lettering. The indents were evidently worn and hard to read, as the various antiquaries who recorded it varied in their interpretation of the wording.⁶⁸ However, it can probably be partially reconstructed as reading: ‘... SABINE: LA: MERE: IOHAN: BACVN: ...VOVS: QY: PVR: LALME: PRIERA: CENT: IOVRS: DE: PARDOVN: AVERA: ...’.

Although Sabine appears to have been dead by 1285, the double cushions under the effigy’s head suggests a date for her brass no earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is most unusual for an inscription to describe someone as the mother of a person, rather than the spouse or issue. It implies that Sabine’s brass may have been laid down by John Bacon. Perhaps John was keen to reinforce his status in Gorleston by providing prestigious tombs to his family. The position next to the military brass is strong supporting evidence for the argument that the latter commemorates John Bacon rather than his heir. It is possible that he commissioned both in his lifetime, though not necessarily at the same time. But even if, as is more likely, the military brass were prepared after his death soon after 1304, it nonetheless falls within the Ashford series span. However, it is unlikely that it could have been laid down many years after his death, as the Ashford series appears to have ended *c.* 1308.

Commentary

Whether the attribution of the Gorleston brass at Gorleston to John Bacon is convincing depends crucially on whether plate defences could be found on a monument of *c.* 1305.⁶⁹ The most heavily used sources for dating armour are monuments, illuminated manuscripts and the few extant pieces of equipment. Such visual evidence provides only limited support for such an early date for the Gorleston brass. It has been argued that plate armour of any sort is rarely seen on effigies before the mid-1320s, but the great majority of examples are not closely dated. The lengthy hiatus in royally commissioned effigies between that of 1296 to Edmund Crouchback and that of 1324 to Aymer de Valence compounds the difficulties of dating armour

⁶⁴ Martin (College of Arms Suffolk MS 9): ‘...ISI:~/... SA..ME:LA ...E:IOHAN:BACVN ... / ...ACE:PAR... / ...V...CY:PVR...ORPERA:CENT...E:DE:PA... / ...V...R’ Le Neve (Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MS 11, f. 54: ‘R:V.R...O.S: / :A.E: LA ...E: IOHAN:BACVN... / ...ACE:PAR / ...V...QY:... QRPERA:CENT:E depase’ Ives (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top. Suffolk b2, f. 248): ‘...SA...E:LA...E:IOHAN: BACVN... / ...ACE:PAR... / ...V...QY:PVR:...PRIERA:ENT.....E:DE:PAS / RC:VCR...L.....’ Gage (Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MS 22, f. 72): ‘RI:V:R..OS: / SAIRE: LA...E:IOHAN:BACVN... / :ACE:PAR...: / V...QY:PVR...QRPERA: CENT:EDEPASS /’ Davy (British Library Add. MS 19098, f. 55): ‘...N...NE:L...E:IO...:BA... /ACE... /QY: PVR...RIERA:CENT... DE:PARD...’ Waller (Society of Antiquaries MS 423): ‘M ... JOHANE:LA:FEME:JOHAN:DE:BACON ...’

⁶⁹ I am grateful to Claude Blair and Nick Norman for considerable help with dated examples of effigies and manuscripts showing plate arm and leg defences, though they remain doubtful that a monument with such advanced armour as shown at Gorleston can be dated as early as *c.* 1305.

on effigies in this period. Generally, English military monuments appear to have been conservative in terms of the equipment shown, as if it were considered inappropriate to show the deceased in the forefront of fashion. The archaic nature of early fourteenth-century English armour was specifically commented upon in the chronicle of Jean le Bel, who had been present on Edward III's campaign of 1327 against the Scots.⁷⁰ There are, however, exceptions. Effigies with coats of plates beneath their gowns at Pershore Abbey and the Temple Church are datable to the late thirteenth century.⁷¹ That tomb sculptors varied the type of armour shown on contemporary products is demonstrated by the tomb of Aymer de Valence, d. 1324, in Westminster Abbey; the small equestrian figures in the canopy wear armour comparable to that at Gorleston and notably more advanced than that shown on the recumbent effigy below. Turning to the field of English illuminated manuscripts, plate leg defences of a primitive kind appear in the Trinity College Apocalypse of *c.* 1250⁷² and the St. George figure on folio 3 of the Treatise of Walter of Milemete, produced *c.* 1326-7, wears a well-developed complex of plate comparable to that on the Gorleston brass.⁷³

Continental tombs and other media appear less conservative in terms of the equipment shown. In Italy, plate leg defences are depicted on the equestrian monument of Guilelmus Balnis, d. 1289, in the Convent of the Annunziata, Florence and on jousting knights in a wallpainting of *c.* 1300 in the Museo Civico, San Gimignano, near Florence.⁷⁴ In France, examples with greaves date from the late thirteenth century and the very beginning of the fourteenth century, notably the three-dimensional effigies of Charles d'Anjou, King of Sicily, d. 1295, formerly at the Jacobins, Paris;⁷⁵ Jean II, Duke of Brittany, d. 1305, at Ploërmel, Brittany;⁷⁶ Jean II, Count of Dreux, d. 1309, formerly in the monastery of Longchamp near St. Cloud;⁷⁷ and the lost incised slab to Raoul Souverain, d. 1313, from the abbey of Jouy.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Lecture by Claude Blair at the Church Monuments Society Seminar at Leeds on 10 May 1997.

⁷¹ H.A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980), pls. 52, 98; C. Blair, 'The Conington Effigy: Fourteenth-Century Knights at Conington, Doddington [*sic*, for Dodford] and Tollard Royal', *Church Monuments*, VI (1991), 15 n. 11; and C. Blair, 'The Date of the Early Alabaster Knight at Hanbury, Staffordshire', *Church Monuments*, VII (1992), 8-10.

⁷² Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.16.2, f. 23.

⁷³ Oxford, Christ Church MS 92. See L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, 2 vols. (London, 1986), I, pl. 217, II, pp. 91-3.

⁷⁴ I am grateful to Claude Blair for bringing these examples to my attention.

⁷⁵ Illus. J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e Période, LXXXIV (1974), no. 450.

⁷⁶ Ex. inf. Nick Norman. Illus. J.-Y. Copy, *Art, société et politique au temps des ducs de Bretagne: Les gisants haut-bretons* (Paris, 1986), ills. 10, 11. Greaves were also shown on the lost effigy of Duke Arthur II (d. 1312) at Vannes (*ibid.*, ill. 14).

⁷⁷ Illus. Adhémar, 'Gaignières', no. 565. J. Hurtig, *The Armored Gisant before 1400* (New York, 1979), p. 43 dates this lost effigy to the 1320s, linking it with the tomb of Louis of France (d. 1319), an unidentified tomb from the abbey of Pont-aux-Dames, now in the Louvre, and that of Robert of Artois, work on which is documented as continuing between 1318 and 1320. This grouping was proposed on the basis of a close interrelation between the details of costume and, more importantly, the high level of idealisation of the faces. Whilst there may well be similarities between the latter three, the reasoning for a date in the 1320s, rather than at the end of the previous decade, is unexplained and inexplicable. Moreover, the Longchamp effigy is known only through a drawing made for Gaignières, which appears insufficiently clear for such comparisons to be made, particularly with regard to the facial features. In these circumstances there seem inadequate grounds for postulating a date of carving for the Longchamp effigy other than shortly after the death of the Count of Dreux in 1309.

⁷⁸ Adhémar, 'Gaignières', no. 584.

Examples of plate arm defences are not known on French effigies or slabs before the 1340s, but there is questionably an earlier representation in manuscript illumination. A copy of the *Roman de toute chevalerie* of Thomas of Kent in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS français 24364)⁷⁹ which shows full arm-harness closed in both cannons on some folios is dated by François Avril *c.* 1308-12, which, if correct, would be an extremely early date for such advanced armour.⁸⁰ More reliably dated is the depiction of full plate arm defences on the Spanish effigy of Don Alvaro de Cabrera, made shortly before 1314.⁸¹

However, despite the appearance created by the visual evidence, plate defences were undisputably being worn in England and elsewhere long before the second decade of the fourteenth century. A recent study by Lachaud has provided extensive evidence from a variety of documentary sources demonstrating that while the representation of plate armour on effigies is usually very limited, plate was actually used extensively from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. *Musteleria* (iron calf defences) are recorded as early as 1253 and *jambers* (shin-guards) are mentioned from 1286.⁸² Documentary evidence in the Royal Wardrobe Accounts and elsewhere shows that all manner of plate armour for the limbs and torso was not unusual by the 1290s and from then on is recorded with increasingly frequency. An inventory of 1295 of the arms and armour at Farnham Castle, for example, includes five pairs of plates for the torso, two of which incorporated arm defences, two iron arm defences and five pairs of greaves with knee and thigh defences of plate.⁸³ This evidence, of course, relates to armour worn by the top layer of society and the equipment actually worn by those further down the social scale, such as John Bacon, would not have been so advanced. However, it is a reasonable assumption that the London marblers who made the Gorleston brass would have been familiar with changing fashions of dress and equipment.

The conclusion must be that while it would certainly be very surprising to see a complex of plate at the date of *c.* 1305 here postulated for the Gorleston brass, it is not actually impossible. The alternative of retaining the *c.* 1330-40 date would entail explaining why the brass was engraved in a workshop style that ceased decades

⁷⁹ I am grateful to Nick Norman for bringing this example to my attention.

⁸⁰ F. Avril and P.D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris, 1987), no. 171, pls. LXVIII (f. 32) and LXIX (f. 34v). However, their dating of the manuscript to *c.* 1308-12 appears questionable on the grounds both of the equipment shown on the armed figures and of the heraldry. An unpublished analysis of the shields on f. 1 by John A. Goodall points to a date after 1320. The coat-of-arms of Latimer with the maunches on the shield is for the Braybrook line and critically first occurs in 1322 (Boroughbridge Roll, 52) for Warin (d. 1349), son of Thomas Latimer (d. 1334) and Lora Hastings. The version of the Haccla coat only occurs *c.* 1347 (Styward's Roll, 131). The second Latimer coat is likely to be for Thomas of Norfolk (Boroughbridge Roll, 135). The Huntingfield coat could be for Roger (*c.* 1305-37); Zouche of Harrington for William (*c.* 1321-82); Engaine for John III (*c.* 1323-58); and Bassett for Ralph (1300-41). Amongst the arms blazoned as appearing in the miniatures are several which can be identified, including those of Stapelton, which could be for Nicholas (*c.* 1288-43).

⁸¹ C. Blair, *European Armour* (London, 1958), p. 45.

⁸² F. Lachaud, 'Armour and Military Dress in Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century England', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 344-69.

⁸³ C. Blair, 'Armour and the Study of Brasses', in *Brasses as Art and History*, ed. J. Bertram (1996), p. 194 n. 3. See also Blair, 'Conington Effigy', p. 5.

earlier and identifying a credible candidate from the Bacon family. These difficulties seem even greater than the admitted improbability of advanced plate defences on a very early fourteenth century monument.

It is interesting to speculate as to why the Gorleston brass apparently displays more advanced armour than most three-dimensional monuments of a comparable date. The emphasis on stylistic analysis which has played such an important part in the study of brasses since the 1970s has placed considerable emphasis on the role played by the engravers, perhaps leading us to underestimate the importance of the influence of the patron. A date of *c.* 1305 for this brass would make it the earliest surviving military brass,⁸⁴ of a period before the highly standardised products of the Camoys series were first produced. Brasses were not bought off-the-peg at this time and compositions could clearly be modified to meet the specific requirements of patrons. That a rural esquire like John Bacon might commission a brass is by no means inconceivable. Although many of the early brasses were commissioned to commemorate the higher clergy and members of distinguished knightly families, there was also early patronage of brasses by those further down the social scale. The earliest known brass with effigial representation is the indent to John de Coleivile, d. 1273, in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; although wealthy and influential in Oxford, Coleivile was only a burgess.⁸⁵ Gorleston in the early fourteenth century was no artistic backwater, but rather a flourishing centre of the arts, in which illuminated manuscripts and other artifacts of the highest quality were in circulation.⁸⁶ John Bacon was a man from a junior branch of the Bacon family who may have wished to emulate the prestigious social position of his relatives in the senior branch. His lands in Reston and elsewhere were not old family lands; they were previously held by John and Devorgilla de Balliol. He was making his mark in society and establishing a lineage. Human nature does not fundamentally change and it is the well-established pattern of the *nouveau riche* to indulge in conspicuous consumption and to have a taste for the fashionable and flashy. This may well have been the motivation for John Bacon's choice of a brass showing the latest in armour.

⁸⁴ Possibly the earliest London military brass for which we have evidence was that formerly at Cobham to Sir John de Cobham, who died in 1300. His first wife, Lady Joan, who was dead by 1298, is commemorated by an adjoining brass. The description of Sir John's brass in Glover's manuscript church notes of 1574 in the College of Arms reads 'the stone whereon appeareth the place where the brasse of an auntyent knight hath been with a lion under his foot and at the upper end the arms of Cobham with the Lyons and the lyk on his brest in a great scutcheon of brass'. The description of the shield on his breast is most likely to be interpreted as indicating that he held a heater shaped shield to the front of his body, rather than the larger type of shield curving round the left-hand side of the body shown on most early brasses. The most well-known example of a brass with a heater-shaped shield is the first Stoke d'Abernon knight, now dated 1327, but another is the 1305 Titchfield incised slab. Since figure brasses were being produced as early as 1273 (the indent in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford to John de Coleivile), there is no reason to believe other than that the Cobham knight's brass was laid down shortly after Sir John's death in 1300, possibly at the same time as his wife's brass was commissioned.

⁸⁵ Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs*, forthcoming.

⁸⁶ This includes the Douai Psalter (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 171) and the Gorleston Psalter (BL, Add. MS 49622), both generally believed to have been made for an individual associated with the very church in which the Bacon brass was laid down, though J.A. Goodall, 'Heraldry in the Decoration of English Medieval Manuscripts', *Antiquaries Jnl.*, LXXVII (1997), pp. 179-220 questions the date and intended destination of the Gorleston Psalter. The Swinburne Pyx and Alice de Reydon's Book of Hours (Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.4.17) were commissioned in the early years of the fourteenth century for members of the Reymes family of Whersted, Suffolk. On f. 3v of the latter is the figure of a St. George in armour which, though it lacks plate arm and leg defences, bears an interesting similarity to the Gorleston brass.

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to John A. Goodall for extensive and illuminating discussions on the heraldic, genealogical and antiquarian evidence; to Nigel Saul for generously sharing his unpublished work on the Bacon family of East Anglia; to Ann Dowden for artwork on Fig. 5; and to Claude Blair, John Blatchly, Lynda Dennison, Peter Heseltine, Nick Norman, Nicholas Rogers and Martin Stuchfield for help on various aspects of this paper.

APPENDIX

THE BACONS OF OULTON IN THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

There were families of the name Bacon at several locations in Norfolk and Suffolk, but the most important in the first half of the fourteenth century was based at Oulton, a few miles south of Gorleston. Tracing their descent in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century is complicated by a number of difficulties. The lineage is confused by a fake pedigree drawn up by the Tudor heralds⁸⁷ and nineteenth and early twentieth century pedigrees are evidently erroneous.⁸⁸ The location of deeds relating to the family, if they survive, are not known. The family held few of its lands directly from the Crown; thus there are inquisitions post mortem for only a few members of this family, making dates of death in particular hard to establish. Much of the information used to compile the pedigree in Fig. 5 is thus gleaned from passing references in the printed sources, chiefly the main chancery enrolments. Not all the relationships are fully testified by contemporary sources; where there is any doubt, this has been shown by a dotted line.

Possibly the first known ancestor of the Oulton Bacons was Richard Bacon of Loddon, who married Alice, daughter of Conan, the son of Elias de Moulton.⁸⁹ He may be the same man as the Richard Bacon who held lands in Hampshire, but was dead by 1250;⁹⁰ certainly the Bacons of Oulton also held in Hampshire at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Copinger names him on unstated evidence⁹¹ as the father of Robert Bacon of Baconsthorpe, who married the daughter of Sir Robert de Hingham,⁹² by whom he had six sons,⁹³ the eldest of whom was Sir Edmund Bacon.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Rye, *False Pedigree*.

⁸⁸ Davy's pedigree in BL, Add. MS 19116, f. 33 and Rye's in W. Rye, *Norfolk Families* (Norwich, 1919) both contain relationships which are contradicted in the public records. Although Rye was assiduous in collecting references to members of this family, he exercised little critical discrimination in analysing the data to construct pedigrees.

⁸⁹ Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, V, p. 57.

⁹⁰ *Feet of Fines*, II, pp. 693, 1170.

⁹¹ The heraldic evidence shows a connection between the two families to have been unlikely.

⁹² Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, V, p. 57.

⁹³ Rye, *False Pedigree*, pp. 24-5 also claims that Bacon men named Thomas, William and Robert were also siblings of this generation, but the evidence is, at best, uncertain. Thomas Bacon certainly went abroad at the same time as Adam in 1309 and Edmund in 1322, but none of the documentary references describe them as being brothers. Moreover, the fact that he owned land at Stiffkey and Baconsthorpe suggest that he was of the Baconsthorpe branch, rather than the Oulton branch. William Bacon was of Hertfordshire and thus unlikely to be related to the Oulton Bacons. Robert Bacon was the nephew, not the brother, of Sir Edmund Bacon.

⁹⁴ In 1316 Edmund is described as the son of Robert Bacon of Baconsthorpe in *Feet of Fines*, no. 514.

Sir Edmund Bacon was militarily active and had a high public profile. He is first recorded as performing military service in 1297 in Gascony.⁹⁵ In 1303 he was serving in Scotland with Sir John de St. John, and in 1304 he was present at the siege of Stirling.⁹⁶ There are signs that he was connected with Piers Gaveston (executed in 1312), and from the 1310s he is attested as a household knight of the King.⁹⁷ In 1314 he accompanied Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in Queen Isabella's retinue on an embassy concerning Gascony,⁹⁸ and in the same year he also went on a pilgrimage to Santiago.⁹⁹ In 1315 he again acted for the king, carrying a message from him to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.¹⁰⁰ In 1316 he was directed to Wales on the King's service.¹⁰¹ In 1320 he accompanied Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, on an embassy in France.¹⁰² He returned to Wales on the King's service with the Earl Edmund in 1322.¹⁰³ In August 1322 he accompanied the Earl of Arundel on the Scottish campaign.¹⁰⁴ In 1324 he was summoned as a Knight to the Great Council at Westminster¹⁰⁵ and again went on an embassy with the Earl of Kent.¹⁰⁶ In 1325 he was sent on an embassy to James, King of Aragon, concerning the proposed marriage between the future Edward III and the Infanta Jolant.¹⁰⁷ In the same year saw active service in Gascony in the War of St. Sardos.¹⁰⁸ In 1326 when Queen Isabella's invasion was threatened, he was empowered to arrest shipping in various Norfolk ports and to superintend the sailing of other vessels to Orwell and was himself summoned to join John de Sturmy, Admiral of the Fleet.¹⁰⁹ In 1327, despite Edward's fall, he was still he was named as a king's household knight,¹¹⁰ From 1330 his attendance on the Earl of Kent was rewarded by custody of the manor Beeseby and the Soke of Waltham, Essex.¹¹¹ In 1331 he was appointed as a Keeper of the Peace¹¹² and in the following year was he appointed Keeper of lands in Essex.¹¹³ His last official appointment came in 1334, when he was appointed Keeper of the Half Hundred of Lothingland in Suffolk.¹¹⁴

⁹⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 289. For a summary of the main references to Sir Edmund Bacon see C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 5 vols., Harleian Soc., 80-4 (London, 1929-32), I, pp. 30-1.

⁹⁶ *Calendar of Supplementary Close Rolls 1277-1326*, p. 90; Brault, *Rolls of Edward I*, p. 487.

⁹⁷ J.S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall 1307-1312* (Detroit, 1988), p. 89; Society of Antiquaries MS 120; *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls, Michaelmas 1326 - Michaelmas 1327*, no. 2271.

⁹⁸ *CPR 1313-17*, p. 86.

⁹⁹ *CPR 1313-17*, p. 162.

¹⁰⁰ J.R.S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-24* (Oxford, 1972), p. 93.

¹⁰¹ *CPR 1313-17*, p. 443.

¹⁰² *CPR 1317-21*, pp. 419, 435, 438.

¹⁰³ *CPR 1321-4*, pp. 66, 95.

¹⁰⁴ *CPR 1321-4*, p. 199.

¹⁰⁵ *Parliamentary Writs* (subsequently referred to as *PW*), I, pp. 641, 651.

¹⁰⁶ *CPR 1321-4*, pp. 403-4.

¹⁰⁷ *CCR 1323-7*, pp. 358-9.

¹⁰⁸ *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (subsequently referred to as *CFR*) 1319-27, p. 361.

¹⁰⁹ *PW*, I, pp. 757, 759; *CPR 1321-7*, p. 311.

¹¹⁰ *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls Michaelmas 1326-7*, no. 2271 (ii).

¹¹¹ *CChR 1327-41*, p. 176; *CPR 1327-30*, p. 51; *CPR 1330-4*, pp. 114, 458, 519. On his death Beesby was delivered to the King (*CFR 1327-37*, p. 482).

¹¹² *CPR 1330-4*, p. 144.

¹¹³ *CFR 1327-37*, pp. 293, 396.

¹¹⁴ *CPR 1330-4*, p. 391.

Sir Edmund was also a landholder of significance.¹¹⁵ His main holding in East Anglia was the manor and advowson of Oulton, Suffolk. Though this manor was held by the Bacon family from at least the late thirteenth century, Edmund did not inherit it from his father, for in 1301 Sir John Bacon, whose relationship to Edmund is uncertain, is recorded as presenting to the living of Oulton.¹¹⁶ In 1303, the manor was conveyed to Edmund and his brother Adam Bacon.¹¹⁷ Edmund evidently also held lands at Westhall, for in 1319 he and his brother Adam complained of injury to their mill there.¹¹⁸ In Norfolk he was granted the escheated lands of Robert de Stuteville in Gresham in 1308.¹¹⁹ From at least 1307 Edmund also possessed lands in Essex.¹²⁰ In 1308 he and another brother, John, were granted a licence to empark their wood at Gyngge Mounteney,¹²¹ and in 1309 he was granted in reversion to the manor of Hatfield Peverel.¹²² Additionally, Edmund held lands outside East Anglia. The Parliamentary Roll, *c.* 1310-12, lists him as holding in Hampshire and Wiltshire,¹²³ though there are no further references to these lands. In 1297 he was enfeoffed of the manor of Ewelme, Oxfordshire by his brother John Bacon,¹²⁴ who had himself been enfeoffed of the manor in 1294 together with yet another brother, Henry.¹²⁵

Edmund appears to have married three times. His first wife was Joanna de Brewse,¹²⁶ by whom he had a daughter, Margaret, who married Sir William de Kerdeston.¹²⁷ Joanna was living in 1311, when the manor of Ewelme was settled on Edmund and Joan his wife and the heirs of their body,¹²⁸ but her date of death is not

¹¹⁵ His lordships were listed in 1316 as being in Norfolk, Heydon and Corpusty, Olton and Irmingland, Gresham and Aymerton and Beckham; in Oxfordshire, Ewelme, Huntercombe and Swincombe, Brightwell and Cuxham, Warpsgrove and Easington; and in Suffolk Oulton, Flixton, Blundeston and Lounde and Winesham (*PW*, I, p. 418, II, pp. 307-8, 317, 319).

¹¹⁶ Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, V, 57. It is possible that the John referred to was Edmund's brother, the clerk and parson of Eastry, Kent, even though he is dignified as 'Sir' (presumably 'Dominus' in the original); 'Dominus' was used as a courtesy title for clerks in addition to its alternative meaning of 'knight'.

¹¹⁷ Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, V, p. 57; *CI*, IX, no. 154. Adam, Edward and their heirs were granted a weekly market at Oulton, a yearly fair there and a grant of free warren of demesne lands there in 1307 (*CChR 1300-26*, 80).

¹¹⁸ *CPR 1317-21*, p. 309; Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, p. 140.

¹¹⁹ *CPR 1307-13*, p. 574. In 1318 he received a grant of free warren at Gresham and a licence to crenellate (*CChR*, III, p. 376).

¹²⁰ He received a licence to hunt in Essex Forests in 1307 (*CPR 1301-7*, p. 535).

¹²¹ In 1310 he received a grant of free warren at this manor and Gyngge Joyberd and Gyngge Laudri, also in Essex and at Ewelme and La Dene, Oxfordshire (*CChR 1300-26*, p. 138; *CPR 1307-13*, p. 56). In 1314 he and his brother John complained of unlawful hunting at Gyngge Mounteney (*CPR 1313-17*, p. 148).

¹²² *CPR 1307-13*, p. 187. He received a grant of this manor for life in 1314 (*CPR 1307-13*, p. 293).

¹²³ BL, Cotton MS Caligula A XVIII, f. 6v.

¹²⁴ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 289.

¹²⁵ H.A. Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme* (Oxford, 1858), pp. 19-20.

¹²⁶ *CI*, XI, nos. 19, 21 (p. 13).

¹²⁷ *CI*, X, no. 82. Margaret died in 1328 and was buried at Langley (Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 825). The elder of her two daughters, Maud, married Sir John de Berghersh some time after April 1336 (on 9 and 10 April William de Kerdeston received a grant of the marriage (*CFR 1327-37*, pp. 479, 485)). Maud and John had a son, Sir John (*CI*, X, no. 82), who was born in 1343 (Napier, *Ewelme*, p. 23; he was described as being age 10 in 1356 (*CI*, X, no. 315)). Both Maud and her husband died in 1349; presumably they were victims of the Black Death (Napier, *Ewelme*, 23).

¹²⁸ *CPR 1307-13*, p. 450. The settlement of the related manors of Kingsey, Twithorp and Towersey, Buckinghamshire was confirmed in 1308 (*CI*, XI, p. 12). It was through these settlements that the manor of Ewelme descended to Sir John Berghersh, Sir Edmund Bacon's great grandson and thence to his daughter, Matilda and her husband, Thomas Chaucer (*CI*, X, no. 82; Napier, *Ewelme*, pp. 21-4).

recorded. By 1320, Edmund appears to have re-married, to Elizabeth,¹²⁹ but she probably died a few years later, for by 1326 he was married again, to Margery Poynings,¹³⁰ by whom he had a daughter Margery *c.* 1332,¹³¹ who later married William de Molines.¹³² In 1326 Sir Edmund settled the manors of Hatfield Peverell and Gresham on himself and his wife Margery and their heirs¹³³ and in 1334 he was licenced to settle Oulton on himself and his wife Margery, with the remainder to Sir Robert Bacon and Sir John Bacon in tail.¹³⁴ Sir Edmund died on 6 March 1336.¹³⁵ He was survived by his widow, Margery, who subsequently married successively John de Dalton and Nicholas de la Beche and died in October 1346.¹³⁶

Three of Edmund's brothers were in holy orders. John Bacon was a clerk in the King's service and his name occurs frequently in the years 1278-1321.¹³⁷ He first appears as Attorney to Queen Eleanor in 1278-9.¹³⁸ He evidently continued in the Queen's service in the 1280s¹³⁹ and in 1291 was one of the attorneys for Queen Eleanor's will.¹⁴⁰ In 1291 he was entrusted with the charge of Leeds Casle, Kent, a royal residence.¹⁴¹ He was appointed clerk of the common bench at Westminster on 17 April 1292.¹⁴² In 1307 he became keeper of the rolls of Common Pleas,¹⁴³ in 1309 he was Chief Clerk to the King in the Common Pleas¹⁴⁴ and in 1313 he was named one of the justices of the Common Pleas.¹⁴⁵ In 1316 he attended the Lincoln Parliament¹⁴⁶ and in 1320 he was summoned to a great Council at Westminster.¹⁴⁷ In 1320 and again in 1321 he was one of the Justices appointed to Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.¹⁴⁸ He was also parson of Eastry, Kent.¹⁴⁹ He died in 1321.¹⁵⁰

¹²⁹ In 1320 and 1322 Sir Edmund and his wife Elizabeth were parties to fines in Gresham (*Feet of Fines*, no. 901).

¹³⁰ *CPR 1324-7*, p. 317.

¹³¹ In 1346 she is described as being age 14 or more (*CI*, IX, no. 154); in 1353 as of full age (*CI*, X, no. 82); in 1356 she is described as being aged 20 (*CI*, X, no. 315); and in 1361 as 21 or more (*CI*, XI, no. 21).

¹³² *CI*, X, no. 82; *Calendar of Supplementary Close Rolls 1277-1326*, p. 99.

¹³³ *CPR 1324-7*, p. 317.

¹³⁴ *CPR 1330-4*, p. 564. When in 1303 Edmund and his brother Adam were enfeoffed of this manor, the succession was granted first to Adam and the heirs of his body, then to Edmund and the heirs male of his body, then to the right heirs of Adam. Adam was a clerk and had no heirs and it must have become apparent to Edmund towards the end of his life that he would have no male heirs, so would need to clarify the succession to Sir Robert Bacon and Sir John Bacon.

¹³⁵ In 1353 his date of death was stated as being 6 March 11 Edward III (1337) (*CI*, X, no. 82). However, a succession of references between 9 and 16 April 1336 clearly refer to the late Edmund Bacon (*CFR 1327-37*, pp. 479, 481, 482, 485), indicating that 6 March 1336 was probably when Edmund died.

¹³⁶ Various dates for her death are recorded in the various inquisitions following her death which attempted to unravel the succession to Sir Edmund's estates which she had held in dower and were forfeit to the King following her abduction, rape and subsequent marriage without the King's permission to John de Dalton (*CI*, IX, nos. 154, 155; IX, nos. 235-6; X, nos. 82, 262-6, 314 and 315).

¹³⁷ *DNB*, II (1885), p. 361; G.O. Sayles ed., *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I*, I, Selden Soc., 55 (London, 1936), pp. lx, cxl, cxlix; Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, pp. 97, 104, 115, 127, 136, 138, 149.

¹³⁸ *DNB*, II, p. 361.

¹³⁹ *CPR 1281-92*, p. 420; *CCR 1288-96*, pp. 3, 56.

¹⁴⁰ *CCR 1288-96*, p. 172.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *CPR 1281-92*, p. 485.

¹⁴³ *PW*, II, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ *PW*, I, p. 40.

¹⁴⁵ *PW*, II, p. 60.

¹⁴⁶ *PW*, II, pp. 302, 316, 317.

¹⁴⁷ *PW*, I, p. 220.

¹⁴⁸ *PW*, II, pp. 152, 154.

¹⁴⁹ *CPR 1272-81*, p. 273.

¹⁵⁰ *DNB*, II, p. 361.

Adam Bacon was also a clerk, having been instituted to the livings of Oulton in 1301 and of Blunsden in 1312.¹⁵¹ He resigned both livings in 1318.¹⁵² In 1306 he appeared on behalf of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston before the Council of the Exchequer.¹⁵³ In 1309 and 1310 he went abroad on the King's service.¹⁵⁴ In 1316 he was a justice of oyer and terminer¹⁵⁵ and in 1319 and 1320 he acted as a justice of the assize.¹⁵⁶ The last reference to him is dated 1327¹⁵⁷ and he was almost certainly dead by 1334 when Edmund re-settled the descent of the manor of Oulton.¹⁵⁸ He was commemorated by a brass in Oulton church.

Less is known of the remaining three brothers. Walter Bacon, the last of this generation who took holy orders,¹⁵⁹ was the Parson of Beccles Eudegate in 1297,¹⁶⁰ was created Precentor of the Cathedral Church of Dunkeld in 1298¹⁶¹ and Prebend of Penkridge in 1299.¹⁶² He was appointed King's clerk from 1298¹⁶³ and in 1299 he went to the court of Rome on the King's service.¹⁶⁴ In 1301 he went beyond the seas on the King's service.¹⁶⁵ In 1301-2, he and a fourth brother, Simon, had a house at Dunwich.¹⁶⁶ The fifth brother, Henry, was evidently married and had children, though the name of his wife is not known.¹⁶⁷ In 1324 he was summoned to the Council.¹⁶⁸ He was dead by 1334 when his eldest son, Sir Robert Bacon, who had probably been born *c.* 1316-7, was declared heir to Sir Edmund.¹⁶⁹ Robert was still alive in 1375, but his date of death is not known.¹⁷⁰ Henry may have had two other sons: John, heir to Oulton after Robert, and Edmund, who was presented to the living of Corton in 1332.¹⁷¹ It is not known when either died, but it is unlikely that it was before *c.* 1340, the latest date to have been assigned to the Gorleston brass.

¹⁵¹ C. Morley, 'Catalogue of Beneficed Clergy of Suffolk, 1086-1550', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XXII, pt. 1 (1934), p. 35. He was party to a number of fines in Suffolk in the period 1301-1320 (Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, pp. 104, 115, 136, 143, 146).

¹⁵² I am grateful to Martin Stuchfield for this information, gleaned from the lists of incumbents in the relevant churches.

¹⁵³ *PW*, II, pp. 277, 281.

¹⁵⁴ *CPR 1307-13*, pp. 106, 276.

¹⁵⁵ *PW*, II, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ *PW*, II, pp. 137, 147.

¹⁵⁷ *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls 1326-7*, p. 235.

¹⁵⁸ See note 115. Rye, *False Pedigree of Bacon*, p. 24, gives various other references to Adam Bacon from 1306 to 1345 which clearly relate to a layman rather than a cleric and probably therefore refer to another man of the same name.

¹⁵⁹ There are also a number of contemporary references to another Walter Bacon, a layman.

¹⁶⁰ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 263.

¹⁶¹ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 357.

¹⁶² *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 450.

¹⁶³ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 263; *CPR 1301-7*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁴ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 427.

¹⁶⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 587.

¹⁶⁶ *CPR 1301-7*, p. 232.

¹⁶⁷ His relationship to Edmund and John is documented in 1294 and 1350 (Napier, *Ewelme*, p. 19; *CCR 1349-54*, p. 172; *CI*, IX, no. 154).

¹⁶⁸ *PW*, I, pp. 642, 652.

¹⁶⁹ See note 131. Robert was described as being 30 years and more in 1347 (*CI*, IX, no. 154).

¹⁷⁰ Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, p. 246.

¹⁷¹ Morley, 'Beneficed Clergy', p. 35.

Woodland Pastimes on the Cortschoof Brass and Other Flemish Brasses

by RONALD VAN BELLE

Introduction

THIS paper is a revised version of a talk I gave at the MBS Conference held at the time of the exhibition 'Levende Doden' (The Living Dead) in the Provinciaal Hof, Bruges, in 1992.

Characteristic of many fourteenth-century Flemish brasses is the presence of pictorial panels below the feet of the main figures, depicting secular countryside scenes, contemporary history or mythological imagery.¹ The subjects are rarely religious but tend to be frivolous in character.

The brass of Alan Fleming (d. 1361) at Newark shows hunting scenes, as did those of Michiel van Assenede (d. 1382), formerly at Bruges, and Johann Clingenberg (d. 1356) at Lübeck, destroyed during the Second World War. The brass of Robert Braunch (d. 1364) at King's Lynn shows a peacock feast. The brass of Adam de Walsokne (d. 1349) and his wife Margaret, also at King's Lynn, depicts country scenes. A farmer is represented riding towards a windmill with a sack of corn on his back, in a misguided attempt to relieve the horse of its burden. Elsewhere there is a cornfield with a man being made to 'ride the stang'. The brass of 1350 in Lübeck Cathedral to Bishops Burchard von Serken and Johann von Mul has foot-panels with episodes from the lives of SS. Nicholas and Eligius. The foot-panel of the brass of Wychbold von Culm (d. 1398) formerly at Altenberg has scenes with wodewoses. A further example is the von Zoest brass at Toru, which shows on one side wildmen feasting and on the other what Cameron calls 'woodland pastimes'.²

The Cortschoof Brass

In his article 'Four Civilian Brasses of the Flemish School' Cameron gives only a brief description of the three foot-panels of the Cortschoof (or Corscoef) brass, formerly in the choir of St. Salvator's Cathedral, Bruges.³ The brass was laid down for Jan Cortschoof (d. 1368), son of Beernaert, Jan's wife Cathelijne Voelponts (d. 1361), and their son Colaert Cortschoof.⁴ The brass was damaged by fire in 1839 and

¹ H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), p.62; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 75.

² H.K. Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses of the Fourteenth Century in Northern Germany and their use by Merchants of the Hanse', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXLIII (1986), p. 346.

³ H.K. Cameron, 'Four Civilian Brasses of the Flemish School', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 2 (1987), p. 101.

⁴ L. Devliegher, *De Sint-Salvatorskatedraal te Brugge: Inventaris*, Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, 8 (Tielt, 1979), pp. 102-5. Vermeersch's supposition that Colaert was the father and Jan the son (V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, 3 vols. (Brugge, 1976), II, no. 53) is mistaken. Colaert 'Cordthoof' (i.e. Cortschoof) was still alive in 1408, when he established a charity for prisoners in the Bruges town gaol (J. Gaillard, *Revue pittoresque des monuments qui décoraient autrefois la ville de Bruges* (Bruges, 1850), p. 39).



FIG. 1

Bowls, Cortschoof brass, c. 1368, formerly Bruges, Sint Salvatoriekathedraal
 Copyright Provinciale Dienst voor Cultuur, Brugge

disappeared some years later. Fortunately a dabbling of the lower part is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. A carefully executed drawing was made under the auspices of Dr. L. Devliegher of the Provinciale Dienst voor Cultuur, Bruges, and published with a commentary as well as the full inscription as recorded by the herald Cornelis Gaillaert in 1562.⁵ A detailed study of the dabbling as well as the drawing has enabled me to identify the intriguing scenes in the foot-panels as popular games of the times.

The scenes are as follows:

Middle panel: Bowls (Fig. 1)

The middle panel is the best preserved one, and presents no problem in identification. It depicts a woodland with people playing bowls. This is still popular in Flanders; there are several varieties of rules for the game. The object of the game is to place one's own bowl as near as possible to a given target on the green. The target can be a small pit, a jack or a mark. Players aim so as to deflect their opponents' bowls.⁶ We see one man, half-kneeling, ready to play his bowl to the end of the green, where two men are standing in animated conversation near two bowls they have already played. At the other end two men, one of whom is seated on a bench, are commenting on the game. In the middle, somewhat in the background, are three other men sitting on a bench. They are wearing a short *surcote* or *jaque* and a *chaperon* on the shoulders. Some have long daggers at their sides. The trees forming the woodland are of different varieties.

The margins of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French and Flemish liturgical manuscripts are regularly decorated with lively figures. They often depict

⁵ Devliegher, *Sint Salvatoriekathedraal*, p. 105, fig. 68.

⁶ J. Pluis, *Kinderspelen op Tegels* (Assen, 1979), p. 156; K. Geerts, *De spelende Mens in de Boergondische Nederlanden* (Brugge, 1987), pp. 8, 147, fig. 2; L. de Valaincourt, *Jeux de société* (Paris, [1929]), pp. 353-4.

dragons and fantastic imagery but also realistic scenes such as various games, and are a fruitful source of comparative iconographic material for these foot-panels. Most of the time these scenes seem at first sight to be unrelated to the text and the adjoining illustrations.⁷ Bowls is represented, for instance, in a *bas-de-page* of an early fourteenth-century manuscript in the Municipal Library, Troyes,⁸ and in the Breviary of Margaret de Bar of Verdun, dated 1302 (British Library, Yates Thompson MS 8, f. 37v).⁹ Another example is a *bas-de-page* in a *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais, formerly in the library of the famous Flemish abbey of Ter Doest, and considered to be a product of a Douai workshop of the last quarter of the thirteenth century (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251) (Fig. 2).¹⁰

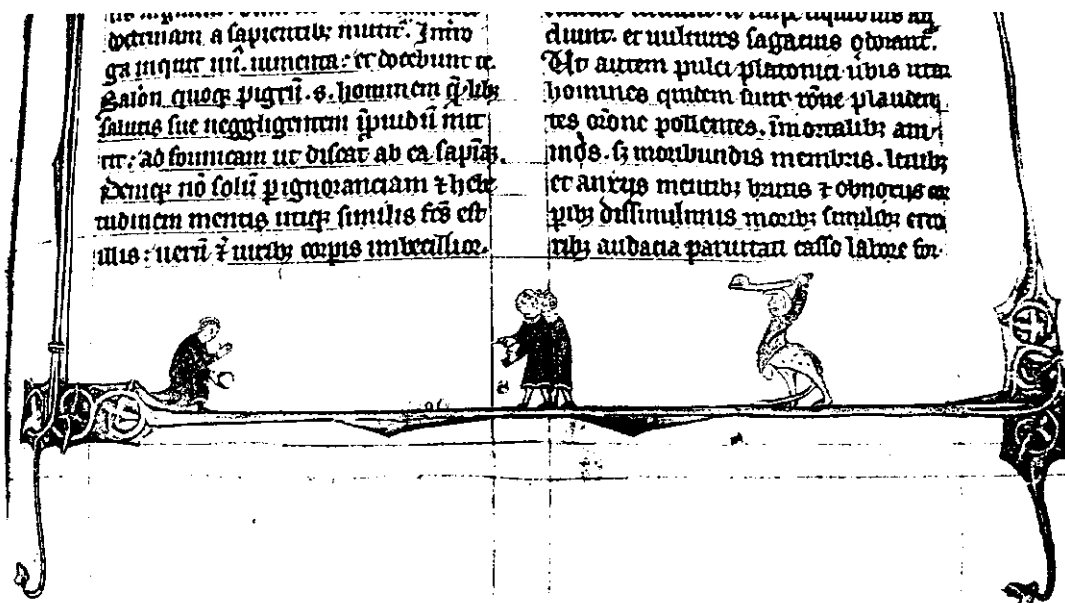


FIG. 2

Bowls, marginal illustration in *Speculum Doctrinale*, early 14th century
Copyright Stadsbibliotheek, Brugge

Right-hand panel: Frog in the Middle (*la grenouille*) (Fig. 3, right)

Two groups of players can be distinguished in a landscape with woodland consisting of a variety of trees and plants. The groups are separated by a seated woman who raises one of her hands in the air. On the right-hand side can be seen a cross-legged man sitting on the ground, surrounded by men and women, in animated discussion. The clue to the identification of this scene is provided by the left wing of a French

⁷ L.M.C. Randall, 'The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare', *Speculum*, XXXVII (1962), p. 358.

⁸ L.M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, Cal., 1966), fig. 89.

⁹ Randall, *Images*, fig. 91.

¹⁰ *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, exhibition catalogue (Brugge, 1981), p. 121; A. Hoste, *De Handschriften van Ter Doest* (Steenbrugge, 1993), p. 44, fig. 12.



FIG.3
'Frog in the Middle', Cortschoof brass, c. 1368

ivory writing-tablet of c. 1375 in the Louvre.¹¹ It represents young people playing a game which is identified by some authors on miniatures with similar scenes as '*qui fêry*' or '*jeu de la mourre*'¹² and by others as '*jeu de la grenouille*'¹³, in English 'Frog in the Middle'.¹⁴ The latter interpretation seems to me to be the correct one. 'Frog in the Middle' was a typical medieval game in which punching, slapping and pulling hair were considered sport. The person who was 'it', the frog, sat on the ground or on a base with his legs crossed. The other players gambolled around him, buffeting him or pulling his hair, and in order to escape from his predicament he had to catch one of the assailants without uncrossing his legs or getting up. Because the frog could not move from his base, the others had ample opportunity to dance about and gesture towards him, trying to pretend that they were about to deliver blows or come within range of being caught.¹⁵ On another ivory panel of the second half of the fourteenth century in the Leroy Collection the 'frog' has managed to seize one of his buffeting opponents by the belt.¹⁶

There are several comparative scenes in illuminated manuscripts. The *bas-de-page* on the Annunciation page in both the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, illuminated c. 1325-8 by Jean Pucelle, and the Hours of Joan II of Navarre shows a game resembling 'Frog in the Middle'.¹⁷ Three other manuscripts show a version of 'Frog in the Middle'. An illustration in the *Chansonnier de Paris* (Montpellier MS 196), a musical manuscript of the late thirteenth century, shows a seated figure apparently

¹¹ V. Gay, *ABC du Moyen Age* (Paris, n.d.), II, pp. 151-2 with fig.; R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, pp. 438-9, II, pp. 1173-4, fig. CXCIV.

¹² Gay, *ABC*, II, p. 151; Koechlin, *Ivoires*, I, p. 438.

¹³ *Les fastes du Gothique: Le siècle de Charles V*, exhibition cat. (Paris, 1981), pp. 196-7, fig. 156.

¹⁴ R.H. Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, N.S., XVI (1958), pp. 269-75.

¹⁵ L.M.C. Randall, 'Games and the Passion in Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux', *Speculum*, XLVIII (1972), p. 249; Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 270; I. & P. Opie, *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 121-3; Koechlin, *Ivoires*, I, p. 419.

¹⁶ Koechlin, *Ivoires*, I, p. 439.

¹⁷ Randall, 'Games', p. 249, fig. 2; Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 270, fig. on p. 271.



FIG. 4

'Frog in the Middle', left wing of a French ivory writing tablet, by the Master of the Louvre Tablets, c. 1375

Copyright Musée du Louvre

covering his eyes with his hands while being buffeted.¹⁸ In the *Romance of Alexander* (Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264), finished in 1344,¹⁹ numerous games are represented in the *bas-de-pages*, including several representations of figures, both boys and girls, sitting cross-legged and being harassed by surrounding comrades (Figs. 5, 6).²⁰ In a Psalter-Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (lat. 14284, f. 63), a player seems to touch the 'frog's' shoulder.²¹ In an illustration in the Bruges *Speculum Doctrinale* two young boys touch the hair of the 'frog' (Fig. 7).²² This game occurs in many more manuscripts.²³ The above manuscripts vary considerably in origin and style: three are Parisian, the rest from different areas of the north of France and from Flanders.²⁴

¹⁸ Randall, 'Games', p. 250, fig. 4.

¹⁹ A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984), no. 74, pl. 178. For a complete facsimile of Bodley 264 see *The Romance of Alexander*, ed. M.R. James (Oxford, 1933).

²⁰ Opie, *Children's Games*, p. 122; Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 272.

²¹ Randall, 'Frog in the Middle' p. 272.

²² Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251, f. 254v.

²³ Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 272. See also Randall, *Images*, figs. 206-8.

²⁴ Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 272.

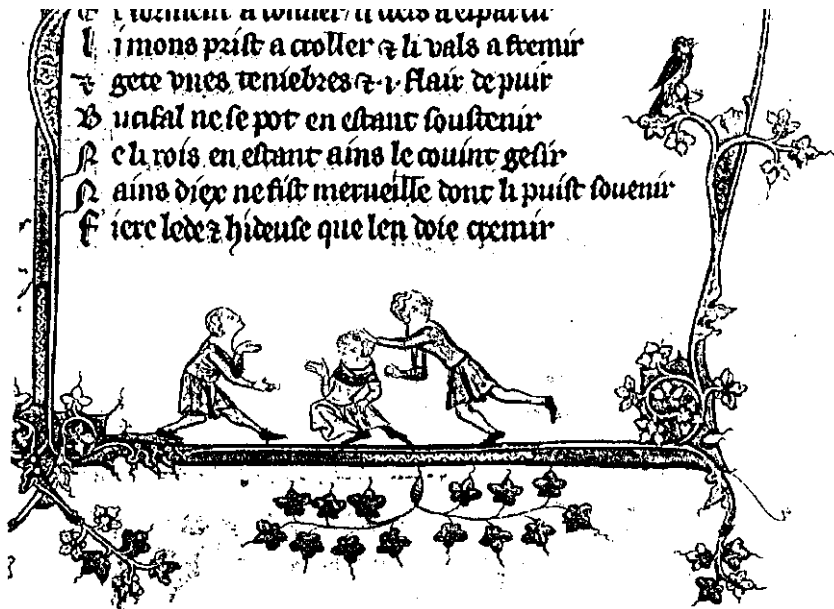


FIG. 5

'Frog in the Middle', marginal illustration in *Romance of Alexander, Flanders, c. 1344*
 Copyright Bodleian Library, Oxford



FIG. 6

'Frog in the Middle', marginal illustration in *Romance of Alexander, Flanders, c. 1344*
 Copyright Bodleian Library, Oxford



FIG. 7

'Frog in the Middle', marginal illustration in *Speculum Doctrinale*, early 14th century
Copyright Stadsbibliotheek, Brugge

The game of 'Frog in the Middle' is also related to the hand game called in French '*qui féry*' and in English 'the bobbid game'.²⁵ The name '*qui féry*' is in fact the abbreviation of '*Je me plaing qui me ferie*'.²⁶ In *L'Espinette amoureuse* Froissart recalls among the pastimes played in his boyhood, that is to say in the 1340s, the games '*kokilles*' and '*qui féry*'.²⁷ The inference is that the object of the game is to guess the identity of the assailants. This game is sometimes linked with the mocking of Christ, as when He was arrested He was crowned with thorns and kicked by His tormentors who asked Him 'who smote thee?' An early fourteenth-century text, *Le Livre de la Passion*, probably from Picardy, contains a specific reference to the mockers playing a game with Christ while saying 'prophétise qui t'a feru' or 'tell us who has struck thee'.²⁸ Sometimes hoods or pieces of cloth are thrown at Christ's eyes and in other examples His head is completely covered by a *chaperon*, as on the wing of an early fourteenth-century ivory polyptych in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.²⁹ Christ is characteristically shown in a resigned pose, His hands crossed in front of Him, as can be seen in many manuscript illuminations (Fig. 8). This suggests that '*qui féry*' was perhaps a variation on 'Frog in the Middle'. Indeed, some illustrations show the

²⁵ Randall, 'Games', p. 252. See also Opie, *Children's Games*, pp. 293-4.

²⁶ Randall, 'Games', pp. 251-2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Randall, 'Games' p. 251.

²⁹ Randall, 'Games', fig. 6.



FIG. 8

'*Prophétise qui t'a feru*', Mocking of Christ, Fitzwarin Psalter, England, 1340s (BN MS lat. 765, f. 10)
 Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

central cross-legged figure in the same resigned pose as Christ, looking straight forward, hands crossed as if tied together, showing not the slightest intention to seize one of his buffeting comrades (Fig. 9). In the *Chansonnier de Paris* the central figure is even covering his eyes. Perhaps the difference between 'Frog in the Middle' (*la grenouille*) and 'the bobbid game' (*qui féry*) lay in the fact that in the first one the 'frog' had to try to seize one of his opponents while in 'the bobbid game' the victim, whether or not hooded or with his eyes covered, had to guess who was pulling his hair or kicking him. In the Cortschoof brass, as the figure does not seem to have his hands crossed in front of him, it is probable that he was playing 'Frog in the Middle'.

Right-hand panel: Hot cockles (*les hautes coquilles*) (Fig. 3, left)

The second group on the right-hand panel is also of great interest. A seated woman is flanked by two persons. A third one is half-kneeling, his face in the woman's lap. A fourth man is holding his hand as if ready to strike the kneeling man from behind.



FIG. 9

Left, Blind Man's Buff; right, 'Qui féry', marginal illustration in *Romance of Alexander, Flanders*, c. 1344
 Copyright Bodleian Library, Oxford

The right wing of the writing-tablet mentioned above gives us a better view of the game (Fig. 10). It represents the hand game called in French 'jeu de hautes coquilles', sometimes confused with another game called 'la main chaude', and in English 'hot cockles'.³⁰ In this game the central player sits or kneels, hiding his head in another's lap, here that of a lovely girl. Somebody in the group gives him a buffet, and he has to identify his assailant. If his guess is wrong the process is repeated; if correct, he changes places with the unfortunate hitter. 'La main chaude' is in fact a variation of this game in which the main player puts one hand behind his back. This hand is struck by the others, whom he tries to identify.³¹ 'La main chaude' remained popular over the centuries and is still performed today. It is mentioned in France in 1657 as a popular children's game under the name of 'le frappe main' (Fig. 11) and in Flanders it is performed, sometimes with variations, under the name of 'Handje plak'.³² Though 'la main chaude' and 'les hautes coquilles' are differentiated on the French ivory writing tablets, they both seem to have been called 'hot cockles' in England. Both hand games must have been very exciting as the young boy to be buffeted is shown putting his head under the *surcote* of the seated girl! The two versions of this buffeting game are regularly depicted in the marginal illustrations of fourteenth-century manuscripts as well as on several other writing tablets. The game is also represented later on tiles, such as the famous series of children's games in St. Janshospitaal, Bruges, datable to

³⁰ *Les fastes du Gothique*, p. 195; Randall, 'Games', p. 249; Opie, *Children's Games*, p. 293. Koechlin, *Ivoires*, I, pp. 419, 438 does not recognise the difference between 'la main chaude' and 'les hautes coquilles' and identifies all the scenes as 'la main chaude'; he further considers that 'qui féry' was the medieval name of 'la main chaude', an opinion which is much disputed.

³¹ *Les fastes du Gothique*, p. 195; Randall, 'Frog in the middle', p. 270; Randall, 'Games', p. 249.

³² Plusis, *Kinderspelen*, p. 136.



FIG. 10

'Hot cockles', right wing of a French ivory writing tablet, by the Master of the Louvre Tablets, c. 1375

Copyright Musée du Louvre

1694.³³ 'Hot cockles' has remained a popular game right up to the present century; in the version '*la main chaude*' it is represented on the cover of a book about games dating from 1929 (Fig. 13). On the Cortschoof brass the '*hautes coquilles*' version of the game is represented. A variation of this game is probably shown in the *Romance of Alexander* (Fig. 14) where we see a person putting his head in a boy's lap. The others are forming numbers with their fingers. Perhaps the kneeling figure has to guess the total of the numbers formed with the fingers. It seems to be mixed with another guessing game, '*la mourre*', described below. Such variations are indicative of the popularity of these games.³⁴

Left-hand panel: Blind Man's Buff (Fig. 15, right)

This scene is more intriguing. Unfortunately it is very worn and the detail which could have assisted its interpretation is erased. There is again a woodland

³³ H. Lobelle-Caluwe, *Memlingmuseum Bruges* (Brussels, 1987), p. 120, pl. on p. 121.

³⁴ There is regularly a mixing of parts of different games. On the several forms of such guessing games see J.W.P. Drost, *Het Nederlandsche Kinderspel voor de Zeventiende Eeuw* ('s Gravenhage, 1914), pp. 41-2.

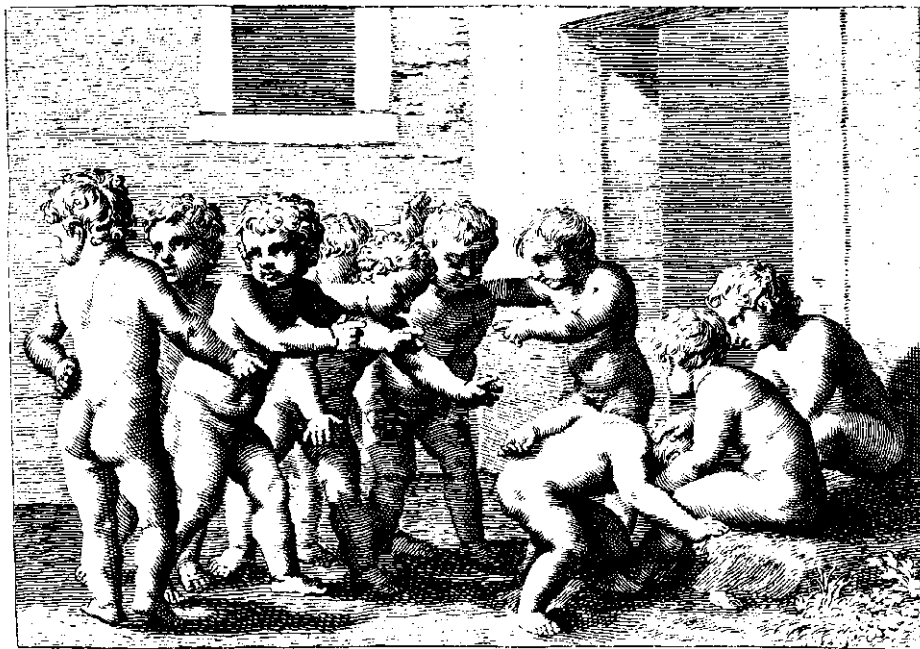


FIG. 11

'Le frappe main', in Jacques Stella, *Les jeux et plaisirs de l'enfance* (Paris, 1657)

background. On the right-hand side, four persons seem to be involved in a strange action. One man, in my opinion hooded, stands quite passively. He is dressed in a short *jaque* and wears a long sword at his side. A young man to the left seems to be hitting his head with an object. On the right-hand side there is another young man holding an object, ready to attack the hooded victim. By careful examination of the games represented in the *Romance of Alexander* (Bodley 264, ff. 70v, 130, 130v) it is possible to identify this game as Blind Man's Buff (Figs. 9, 16).³⁵ This game consisted of a chaser who was blinded by having his hood reversed on his head, hence the alternative names 'Hoodman Blind' or 'the Hoodwinke playe'. The rest of the players, men, women and boys, swarmed about him for the sweet pleasure of giving him a buffet with their own well-knotted *chaperons*. The 'blind man' had a chance of guessing who had attacked him or of seizing one of them. The loser probably then took the place of the 'blind man'. Returning to the Cortschoof brass, I have the impression that a young boy is hitting a hooded figure on the head with his knotted *chaperon*. Behind him is another boy preparing to take his turn. As this part of the brass was very worn, I am not completely sure of the correctness of this identification. The several representations in the *Romance of Alexander* testify to the popularity of this game, which was also enjoyed by girls (Fig. 9).

³⁵ On Blind Man's Buff see Opie, *Children's Games*, pp. 118-9.



FIG. 12

'Hot cockles' (*hautes coquilles*' version), French ivory writing tablet, 14th century
 Copyright British Museum

Left-hand panel: 'Blind pot' (Fig. 15, left)

At the left-hand side of the panel we see a person kneeling near a stand on which is a jar. Behind him another person is watching. In front of him is a man who, I guess, is blindfolded, holding a stick in both hands. He is ready to hit something in front of him. A man standing near him, wearing a *chaperon* with long *cornettes*, has one hand raised. The following interpretation can be proposed. The hooded man with the stick is bending his knees slightly so as to better try to hit the jar he supposes is nearby. This game is still played in France, where it is called '*casse pot*' or, in the town of Auxi, '*cruche cassée*' (broken jar).³⁶ In a book on popular games from the north of France (including parts of Flanders) M. C. Delporte gives a description of this game.³⁷ The principle of the game is that 'he who hits the target wins but sometimes loses'. Sometimes money or sweets were put in the jar, but sometimes, as a joke, water or even a bird. The hooded player had a two-minute limit within which to hit the jar

³⁶ C. Delporte, *Jeux d'hier et d'avant dans le Nord Pas de Calais* (Roubaix, 1981), p. 140.

³⁷ I am most grateful to M. Delporte for the additional information he has provided me with regarding '*cruche cassée*'.

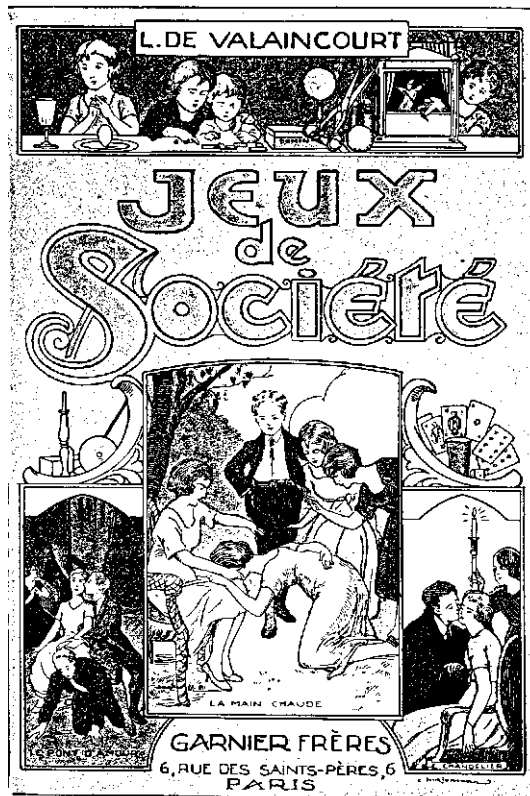


FIG. 13

'Hot cocks' ('la main chaude' version), from *Jeux de société*, 1929

with a stick. He was turned around and was confused by the shouting and contradictory advice as he tried to hit the jar with his stick. If broken the contents became the property of the lucky striker. But sometimes the player was fooled. If it had been filled with water, the contents would run away, or if a bird had been enclosed, it would fly away, to the amusement of the crowd and the discomfiture of the player who thereby won nothing. In Flanders this game was called 'blind pot'.³⁸ A book by Jacques Stella, entitled *Les jeux et plaisirs de l'enfance* (Paris, 1657), represents a number of popular children's games. Among these is an illustration of a game called '*la course du pot*', where a naked blindfolded boy is trying to hit a pot hanging from a tree (Fig. 17).

The von Zoest Brass

Dr. Cameron gives a full description of the brass of Johann von Zoest (d. 1361) and his wife in St. John, Toru.³⁹ He describes in detail the feast of wildmen on the panel

³⁸ Drost, *Nederlandsche Kinderspel*, p. 10.

³⁹ Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses of the Fourteenth Century in Northern Germany', pp. 344-8.

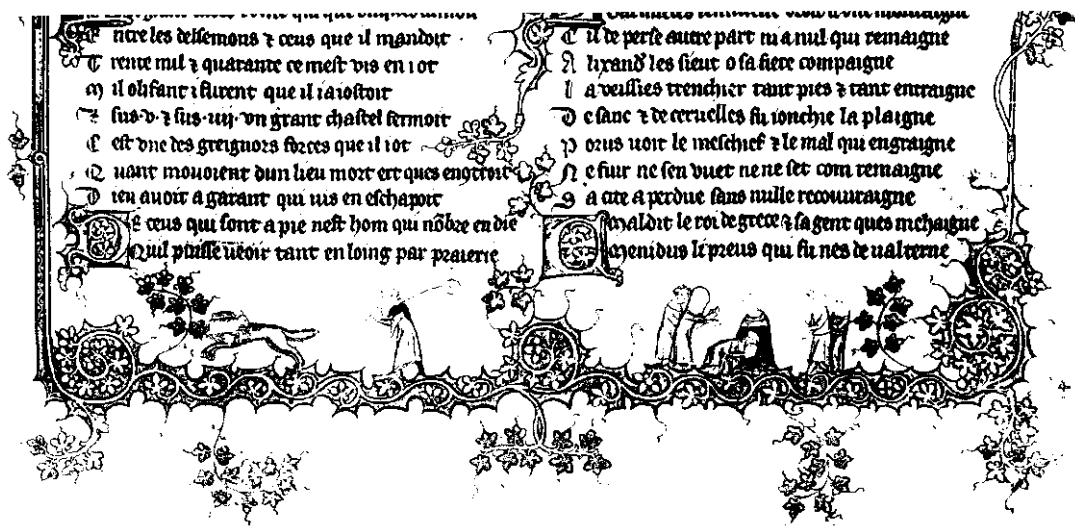


FIG. 14

Mixture of two games, 'hot cockles' and 'la mourre' (?), marginal illustration in *Romance of Alexander*, Flanders, c. 1344
Copyright Bodleian Library, Oxford

underneath the husband's feet. The foot-panel beneath the wife he calls 'scenes of woodland pastimes'. Closer examination reveals that some of the scenes are similar to those on the Cortschoof brass. From left to right they can be described as follows:

'Blind pot' (*cruche cassée*) (Fig. 18)

A man, probably hooded and wearing a *jaque*, is lifting a stick ready to strike. In front of him is a girl dressed in a long *surcote*. She is leaning forward and holding an object in her outstretched arms. This scene is reminiscent of the 'blind pot' game, but instead of a jar on the ground the girl seems to hold some strange object in her hands which could be a small jar (or has the jar been replaced as a joke by a pig's head?). Behind the man with the stick is another girl probably advising the hooded man where to strike with his stick. She holds her right hand lifted as if in warning.

Hot cockles (*hautes coquilles*) (Fig. 19, left)

A young boy, dressed in a short *jaque*, is the central player, kneeling and hiding his head under the long *surcote* of a sitting girl. A young man wearing a *jaque* is standing behind her. On the other side is a man wearing a long cape. On his head is a hat of inverted flower-pot shape, adorned with a long feather. He raises his right hand. There is no doubt that this represents 'hautes coquilles', as shown on the Cortschoof brass.

Frog in the Middle (*la grenouille*) (Fig. 19, right)

A young man dressed in a *jaque* sits in front, his legs crossed. A girl, wearing a long *surcote*, is pulling his hair; she is looking towards a young man in a *jaque* and a *chaperon*



FIG. 15

Left, 'Blind pot'; right, Blind Man's Buff, Cortschoof brass, c. 1368

with a long liripipe. On the other side is another girl, lifting her *surcote* with her left hand so as to assist her movement and lifting her right hand in order to take her turn at buffeting the 'frog'. This scene resembles the representations of '*la grenouille*' on the Cortschoof brass and the ivory tablet (Figs. 3, 4).

Hand game '*la mourre*' (?) (Fig. 20)

The last scene remains a mystery; there are three young men, each in a short *jaque*. The one on the left is wearing a *chaperon*, the long liripipe of which hangs behind him. The boy in the middle is raising both arms in the air. The boys at his sides are also raising one or even both hands. Interpretation of this scene is not certain, but it is perhaps a variation on the guessing game called in French '*la mourre*', which consists of raising quickly the number of fingers indicated by the leader of the game.⁴⁰ It is generally played by two but sometimes by more players, who lift their fist at the height of their face trying to guess the number chosen by their opponent, or the leader of the game. Suddenly they raise one or more fingers while shouting a number. The winner is the one who has shouted the total number of all fingers raised. Sometimes the players have to form with the fingers the number shouted by the leader, and sometimes they have to guess quickly whether the number of fingers he reveals is odd or even. There are many variations in the rules, and it is most likely that the brass depicts a version of this popular hand game.

The van Zynghene Brass

This brass formerly in St. Walburga's church, Bruges commemorated Jan van Zynghene (d. 1372) and his wife Margaret.⁴¹ A detailed study of this brass was

⁴⁰ Drost, *Nederlandsche Kinderspel*, p. 41; Gay, *ABC*, pp. 151-2; E. Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du 16ème siècle*, pt. V (Paris, 1961), p. 353; Valaincourt, *Jeux de société*, pp. 112-3.

⁴¹ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, II, no. 70.

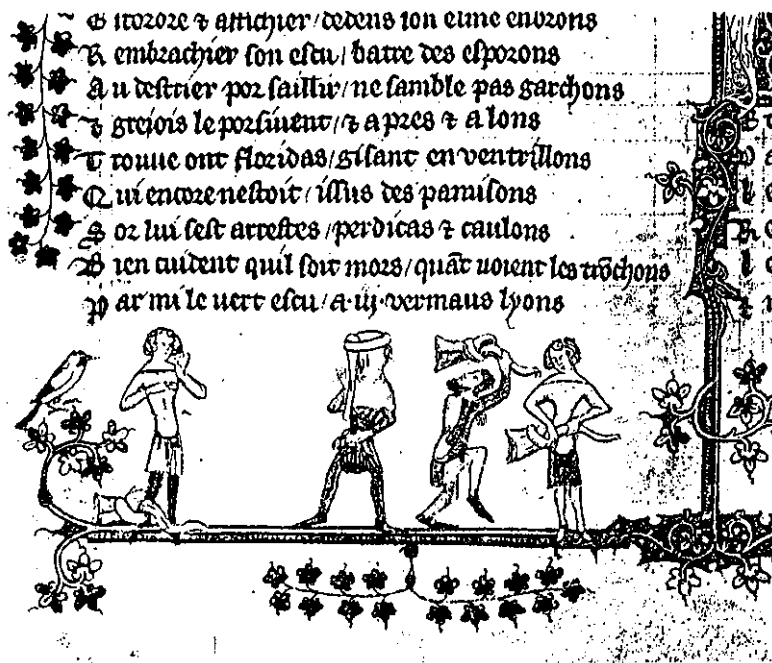


FIG. 16

Blind Man's Buff, marginal illustration in *Romance of Alexander*, Flanders, c. 1344
 Copyright Bodleian Library, Oxford

published by Cameron.⁴² Below each figure is a foot-panel divided into three parts. The foot-panel under Jan van Zynghene represents wodewoses and animals. Cameron described the foot-panel under Margaret's feet as follows: 'The panel below the lady is not familiar enough in subject to be readily identified on this drawing. On the left is apparently a bathing scene with someone immersed up to the neck in water in a woodland surrounding. Next is what could be the same bather, without clothes, being chased by another figure who could be a wildman. They approach other clad figures. On the right side further bathing is in progress.' Dr. Cameron's erroneous interpretation has been much influenced by Gaillard's reproduction of the brass in *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale*, I, pt. 3, *Eglise de Ste.-Walburge* (Bruges, 1867), pl. X. When a drawing was made for Gaillard from the eighteenth-century manuscript 'Grafchriften der Ste Walburgekerke in Brugge', the copyist did not understand the scene in the original and misinterpreted it. The reproduction gives an impression of figures moving in a pond. A close examination of the original drawing (Fig. 20) reveals, however, a completely different iconography. The three scenes are in fact games, in woodland settings as on the Cortschoof brass. They are as follows:

⁴² H.K. Cameron, 'Two Lost Brasses of the Tournai School formerly at Bruges', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 2 (1981), pp. 120-3.

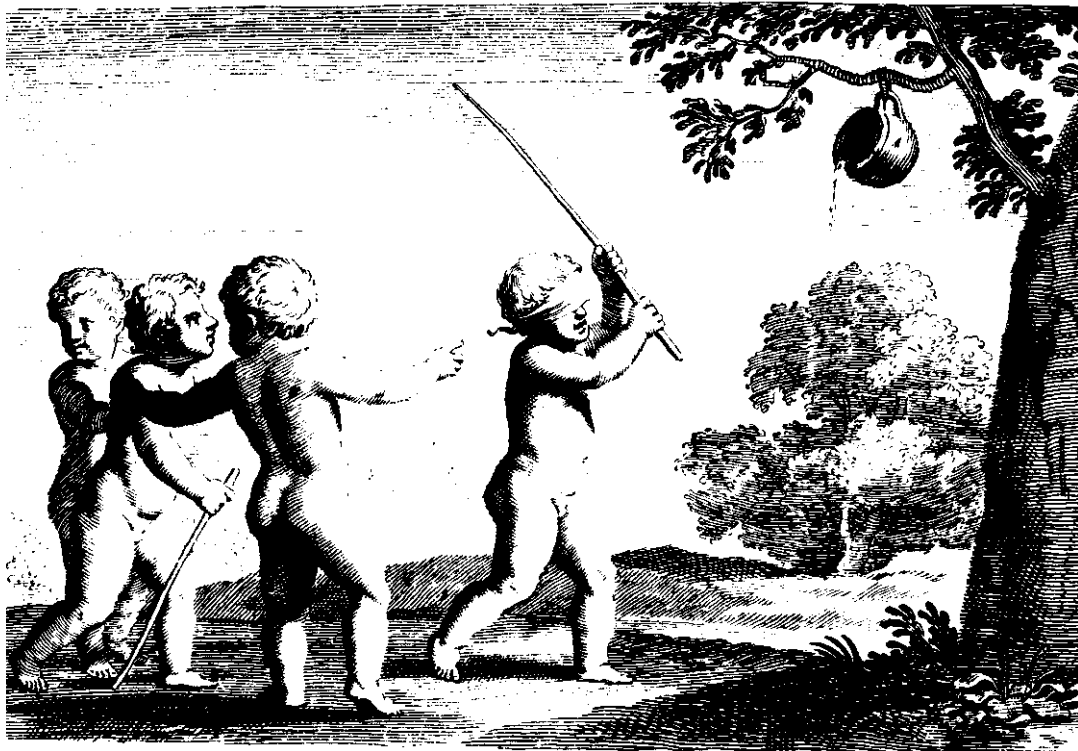


FIG. 17

'La course du pot', in Jacques Stella, *Les jeux et plaisirs de l'enfance* (Paris, 1657)

'Qui fery' ('the bobbid game') (Fig. 21, middle)

In the middle panel there is a boy sitting cross-legged on the ground, flanked by two young boys wearing *jaques*, who are pulling his hair and buffeting him. Next to these boys, on either side, is a young girl dressed in a long *surcote*. At first glance this looks like 'Frog in the Middle', but as the central figure seems rather resigned and passive, I think that it is the hand game 'Qui fery' or 'the bobbid game' which is represented.

'Hot cockles' (*hautes coquilles*) (Fig. 20, right)

The drawing of the right-hand panel looks at first sight somewhat confused but when compared with the French ivory writing-tablet (Fig. 4) the subject becomes clearer. A girl, in a narrow-waisted long *surcote*, is sitting in the centre. A young boy, wearing a short *jaque*, is placing his head, turned towards the viewer, in her lap. She lifts her *surcote* in order to cover his head. To her right a young man helps her to cover the head of the kneeling figure. On her left another person, probably a girl, is waiting to start the game by delivering a blow. There is no doubt that it is the '*hautes coquilles*' version of 'hot cockles' which is shown.



FIG. 18
 'Blind pot', Von Zoest brass, 1361, Toru, Poland
Rubbing by Ronald van Belle



FIG. 19
 Left, 'hot cockles'; right, 'Frog in the Middle', Von Zoest brass, 1361, Toru, Poland
Rubbing by Ronald van Belle

'La moure' (Fig. 20, left)

The left-hand panel shows a boy and a girl sitting cross-legged on the ground. Particular attention has been paid by the designer to the details of the hands. The girl



FIG. 20

'*La mourre*' (?), Von Zoest brass, 1361, Toru, Poland

Rubbing by Ronald van Belle

on the left raises four fingers of her right hand. Her opponent also clearly presents four fingers. I am of the opinion that this is another representation of '*la mourre*'. Despite the fact that the drawing in the manuscript is somewhat simplified, the copyist has nevertheless shown that the games on the brass were depicted very vividly and seem to have been engraved with great skill.

The Significance of the Scenes

Do these secular scenes have a deeper meaning? The interpretation of frivolous drolleries has often been a matter of conjecture. For some authors marginalia were included simply to divert and amuse the reader at prayer.⁴³ Randall points out that for the medieval artist there was a widely understood repertoire of comic and monstrous elements on which he could draw, and that he varied and reinterpreted them endlessly, contrasting them frequently with the serious programmes of miniature cycles or stained glass windows.⁴⁴ For example, the iconography of 'Frog in the Middle' appears in manuscript illustrations with different texts bearing no apparent relation to it. Its representation seems just as dependent on the fancy of the artist as the monsters and drolleries.⁴⁵ But this is not necessarily an absolute conclusion. Marginal rabbits, apes, squirrels and musical angels are sometimes interpreted as allusions to fertility, the Fall of Man and the Redemption.⁴⁶ An

⁴³ Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 269.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 274.

⁴⁶ Randall, 'Games', p. 248.



FIG. 21

17th-century drawing of the right-hand foot-panel of the Van Zynghene brass, c. 1372, formerly in St. Walburgakerk, Bruges. Left, 'la mourre' (?); middle, 'the bobbid game'; right, 'hot cockles'

illustration in an early fourteenth-century Parisian *chansonnier* shows the game 'qui fery' where the central figure covers his eyes with one hand and makes no attempt to defend himself against the onslaught. It is placed in the lower margin at the opening of a motet devoted to scorners of the True Law and their blindness.⁴⁷ In Gothic illustrations of the Mocking of Christ, hoods or pieces of cloth are sometimes thrown at Christ's eyes.⁴⁸ On the wing of an ivory polyptych his head is completely covered by a *chaperon*.⁴⁹ A Parisian cruet, matching a chalice with a Passion cycle on its foot, is adorned with a series of games, including 'Frog in the Middle', together with scenes from the life of the Prodigal Son.⁵⁰ A *Livre de la Passion*, probably from Picardy, contains a specific reference to the mockers playing the game 'Prophétise qui t'a fery' or 'guess who has struck you' with Christ.⁵¹ These and other examples cited by Lillian Randall seem to leave no doubt as to a correlation between the buffeting game and the Mocking of Christ in medieval homiletic and Passion literature.⁵² As she stresses, this concept appears to have crystallised in northern France about 1300, giving rise to

⁴⁷ Randall, 'Games', p. 250.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Randall, 'Games', fig. 6.

⁵⁰ Randall, 'Frog in the Middle', p. 273; Randall, 'Games', p. 250.

⁵¹ Randall, 'Games', p. 251.

⁵² Randall, 'Games', p. 252.

a spate of marginal representations in the following half century, after which it lapsed into obscurity as a visual image.⁵³ These scenes continued to appear with other games as foot-panels on brasses, but full awareness of their original symbolic connotations had probably faded away. A comparison can be made with the representation of lions, dogs and other animals under the feet of the deceased, originally as symbols of evil subdued by the deceased.⁵⁴ Similarly, by including these secular foot-panels the deceased perhaps wished to express his desire to reject frivolity and all earthly pleasures and draw attention to his triumph over the world. Malcolm Norris's observations are very pertinent here: the arrangement of the composition leads the spectator from emblems of earth (foot-panels with secular scenes) and evil (the footrest in the form of a lion, dog or other beast) through the faith of apostles and prophets (often represented in the side niches) to the mediation and guidance of patron saints, the Blessed Virgin and finally to God or Abraham receiving the ascending soul, attendant angels and evangelists' symbols also having their place in this scheme.⁵⁵

(Children's games occur as a motif in the borders of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Flemish manuscripts, such as the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary and the Hours of Albert of Brandenburg, and are the subject of a painting by Pieter Brueghel the Elder, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. In an important article on the iconography of this painting Sandra Hindman has argued that the artist uses the games to present the folly of man, and in particular of marriage.⁵⁶ It may be significant, therefore, that all the brasses with depictions of games commemorate married couples. Ed.)

Conclusion

The representation of games on the foot-panel of the Cortschoof brass seems not to have been an isolated case, as this iconography occurs on two other Flemish brasses. All three date from the same decade and have particular links with Bruges. It has been suggested that the *Romance of Alexander*, which depicts nearly all the games discussed, was illuminated in Bruges. However, both Bober and Dennison have demonstrated that the main artist, Jean de Grise, was active in Tournai.⁵⁷ There is, however, a difference in quality, workmanship and expression between these brasses. The earliest representation of games, on the brass of Johann von Zoest (d. 1361) is of inferior quality and workmanship to the other two. The drawing of the games is cruder, less detailed and less refined than on the Cortschoof brass, giving the

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Norris, *The Craft*, p. 71.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.

⁵⁶ S. Hindman, 'Pieter Bruegel's *Children's Games*, Folly, and Chance', *Art Bulletin*, LXIII (1981), pp. 447-75. The only games common to both painting and brasses are Blind Man's Buff and *Blindpot*. Hindman notes (p. 451) that Blind Man's Buff was played in Antwerp as a courtship game.

⁵⁷ H. Bober, 'Flemish Miniatures from the Atelier of Jean de Grise, MS. 11142 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et de l'Histoire de l'Art*, XVII (1947-8), pp. 15-21; L. Dennison, 'The Artistic Context of Fourteenth Century Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 1 (1986), pp. 1-38.

impression of a servile copy of a model. This impression is accentuated by the worn state of the foot-panels. But the other parts of the brass, including the other foot-panel, are of much higher quality of design. The feast of wildmen is particularly vivid. From the drawing of the lost brass of Jan van Zynghene it can be deduced that the design was very expressive, and of a quality matching that of the Cortschoof brass. The source of inspiration for the game iconography of the foot-panels has, without any doubt, to be sought in manuscript illuminations.⁵⁸ Illustrations such as those in the *Romance of Alexander* probably stimulated the imagination of the designers and brass engravers. The fact that these games are represented on three brasses is proof of the popularity of this iconography. The brasses are also pleasant testimonies to the pastimes of the fourteenth century.

I would like to thank the church authorities of Toru for granting permission for a rubbing of the van Zoest brass, and the authorities of the Bruges library for enabling me to study manuscripts in their care, and for granting permission to reproduce illustrations.

I also wish to thank Professor Lillian Randall for the offprint of her article 'Games and the Passion in Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux', Dr. L. Devliegher for permission to reproduce the drawings of the Cortschoof brass and the Hon. Editor for his assistance.

⁵⁸ On manuscript illumination as a source of inspiration for monumental brasses see Dennison, 'Artistic Context'.

Katharina, Duchess of Guelders

by HANS GERD DORMAGEN

IN the German-Dutch border area lie the towns of Kleve and Nijmegen, whose churches house the well-known brasses of Dukes Johann I and Johann II with their wives (Kleve, Cameron 1, 2) and of Catherine of Bourbon (Nijmegen, Cameron 1). Less well-known is the monumental brass of Duchess Katharina of Guelders (d. 14 January 1497) in the parish church of St. Maria Magdalena, Geldern (Fig. 1).¹

This brass is composed of three plates, the overall dimensions being 1570 x 720 mm; a border inscription is missing and the design is clearly mutilated at top and bottom. It is now fixed to the east wall of the northern lateral choir (the choir of Our Lady); formerly it lay over the vault in the north aisle. In its place there is now an iron-edged tiled area between the pews facing the nave and choir steps.² At a renovation in 1904 the brass was provided with a wooden frame. However, its inscription in Gothic letters gave the wrong year of death (1479) and it has been removed.³ Henrichs gives an illustration with this new inscription.⁴ Starting at the bottom left, it read: Ano . Dom . mcccclxxix . die xxii . Jan. obiit / illustr . catharina / ducis . Adolphi . soror . Gelriae . administrat: / Requiesc. in . Pace. In the corners were placed the symbols of the four Evangelists.

The Duchess has her hands joined in prayer. She is depicted standing on a floor drawn in rather confused perspective in front of an arch, beyond which hangs a curtain with a fringe reaching almost to the floor. Although the Duchess is standing, her head rests on an embroidered pillow. Her face has no individual features. She wears a truncated steeple headdress with two veils, one drawn down to the eyebrows, and the other falling loosely on to her shoulders. The long gown, falling in just a few folds, is held together by a girdle with a long hanging end. The hem scarcely reaches the floor, so that the points of light shoes are visible. A wedge-shaped opening in her gown reveals a plain undergown or cote, which has a high neckline. On her shoulders is a rich collar. Her figure is framed by a mantle fastened by two disc brooches joined by two laces across her breast. Her feet rest on two lop-eared dogs. The figure closely resembles that of Elisabeth of Burgundy on Cameron 1 at Kleve.

Katharina was born in 1439, the youngest daughter of Arnold of Egmond (b. 1410; d. 24 February 1473) and Katharina of Cleves (b. 25 May 1417; d. 1476).⁵ Her

¹ E. aus'm Weerth, *Künstdenkmäler des christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden, Bildnerei*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1857-60), II, p. 12; P. Clemen, *Die Künstdenkmäler des Kreises Geldern, Künstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz* (Düsseldorf, 1891), pp. 156-7; R. Schmitz-Ehmke, *Rheinland, Dehio Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler* (München, 1967), p. 201; H.K. Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe*, rev. edn. (London, 1977), addendum, p. 13; H.P. Hilger, *Die Denkmäler des Rheinlandes, Kreis Kleve* (Köln, 1981), p. 71.

² *Pfarrbrief der kath. Kirchengemeinde St. Maria Magdalena, Geldern, II* (1991).

³ J. Wessel, 'Zwei Katharinen aus Geldern', *Geldrischer Heimatkalender* (Geldern, 1953), pp. 26-32.

⁴ L. Henrichs, *Das alte Geldern. Gesammelte Schriften zur Stadtgeschichte*, ed. G. Hövelmann (Geldern, 1971), Abb. 1 (p. 16).

⁵ D. Schwennicke ed., *Europäische Stammtafeln, Neue Folge*, VI (Marburg, 1978), Tafeln 35, 37.



FIG. 1
Katharina, Duchess of Guelders, 1497
St. Maria Magdalena, Geldern, Germany
Rubbing by Hans Gerd Dormagen

eldest sister Mary married James II of Scotland. In 1423, after the death of Reinald II, Duke of Jülich and Guelders and Count of Zutphen, Arnold was elected his successor by the Estates of Guelders. His mother Maria van Arkel was descended from the family of Jülich. As Arnold was the only thirteen, his father, Johannes of Egmond, acted as Regent until he came of age. The weak Duke Arnold lived in disturbed times.⁶ After a long dispute with his son Adolf he was imprisoned by the latter in 1465 and deposed; he spent six years in prison in the castle of Buren. In 1471 Arnold regained power; in 1472, however, he had to pawn his duchy to Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who occupied Guelders after Arnold's death in 1473.⁷ Charles assigned Burg Geldern to Arnold's widow Katharina of Cleves as a dower house to use for the rest of her life. After Katharina of Cleve's death her daughter Katharina was elected Regent of the Duchy of Guelders by the Estates. She conducted a spirited defence of the rights of her nephew Charles of Egmond, the son of her brother Adolf, who became Duke of Guelders in 1492. In that year he assigned the town and castle of Geldern to her.⁸ She lived in the Burg until her death in 1497, and died unmarried.⁹ She was titular Prioress of the convent of Carmelite nuns at Geldern,¹⁰ and it was in their convent church that she was buried.

The brass was probably commissioned by her nephew Duke Charles, as was that of his mother Catherine de Bourbon at Nijmegen. Malcolm Norris surmised that it was made by the Cologne engraver Wilhelm Loeman, since he detected several stylistic similarities with the brasses at Kleve and Nijmegen assigned to Loeman.¹¹

⁶ On the political history of Guelders in this period see W. Jappe Alberts, *Geschiedenis van Gelderland tot 1492*, I, *Van Heerlijkheid tot Landsheerlijkheid* (Zutphen, 1978), pp. 107-48.

⁷ Wessel, 'Zwei Katharinen', pp. 30-1.

⁸ I.A. Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de Geschiedenis van Gelderland*, 6 vols. in 8 (Arnhem & 's Gravenhage, 1830-75), VI, pt. 1, no. 17.

⁹ F. Nettesheim, *Geschichte der Stadt und des Amtes Geldern* (Krefeld, 1863), p. 174.

¹⁰ (It is worth noting that Carmelites figure in the book of hours made c. 1440 for Katharina's mother, suggesting a family connection with the order (J. Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (London, 1966), pls. 41, 107). Ed.)

¹¹ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), pp. 125-6.

A Pentuple Palimpsest

by JEROME BERTRAM

IN the secularised Oxford church of St. Peter in the East are the scanty remains of a monument of considerable interest, although it has largely escaped notice. The former church is now used as the library of St. Edmund Hall, and the floor is covered with carpet tiles, beneath which are concealed many ledger slabs, one complete, if worn, brass (M.S. I) and the two slab fragments of the Napier brass under discussion here (M.S. II) (Fig. 1). We are accustomed to the phenomenon of 'palimpsests' where an older brass has been recycled for a later one, and a few examples have been noticed of a third use, but here we have the traces of no less than five uses, which must be unprecedented. John Page-Phillips was only aware of one reused plate, and failed to correct Mill Stephenson's misdating of the obverse,¹ so it will be worthwhile looking more closely at this pentuple palimpsest, partly passed over by our past President.

Perhaps it will be best to describe the five memorials in order, the better to disentangle them.

1 We begin probably in the early fifteenth century. A slab of Purbeck marble about 1.30 m wide, and long in proportion, was quarried and sold to a London marbler. Since the slab was very strikingly marked with 'Unio' shells the probability is that it was bought for the 'D' workshop, who seem to have expressed a preference for this type of Purbeck marble. Of this slab only two fragments survive. One is probably the top right corner, and now measures 71 x 59 cm; on it are two lead plugs and two brass rivets in a line down the right side, suggesting the pinnacle of a canopy. The other fragment, 38 x 58 cm, is the lower right corner, and has three empty rivet holes, suggesting a fairly broad foot inscription. The width of the slab implies more than one figure - the whole composition might have been something like M.S. I at Kidderminster, Worcs., though perhaps with only two figures, as on the hypothetical outlines indicated on Fig. 1.

2 We move on to the will of John Chetok, citizen and draper of London, made on 15 March 1505; he desired to be buried 'in the parisshe church of seint Margarete Lothebury in London in our ladychappell under the stone where the body of Elizabeth late my wif lyeth buried'.² A brass inscription was engraved for him by one of the London workshops, probably 'F' (at bottom of Fig. 2). The surviving plate measures 6 x 33 cm, and appears to commemorate only John Chyttok, citizen, and Richard Hawsnard, esquire, but there is reason to believe, as will be seen, that it originally was 43 cm long, in which case there is plenty of room for the name of his

¹ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), 42L, pl.8.

² PCC Holgrove 22, pr. 4 Dec. 1504 (cited in Page-Phillips, *loc. cit.*).

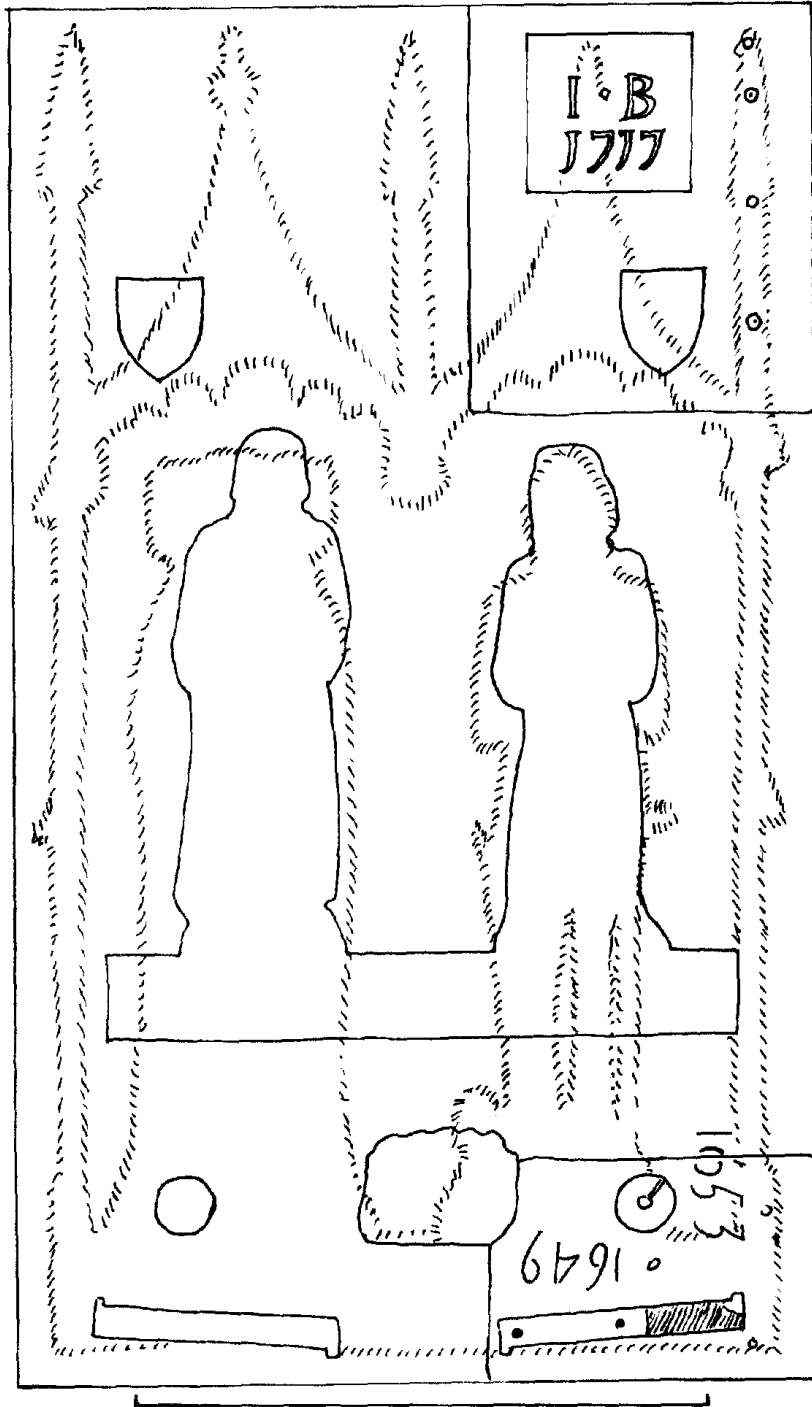


FIG. 1
 St. Peter in the East, Oxford, M.S. II
 Drawing of surviving portions of slab in imaginative
 reconstruction of missing parts of 16th-century brass (solid lines)
 and hypothetical 15th-century brass (hazy outlines).

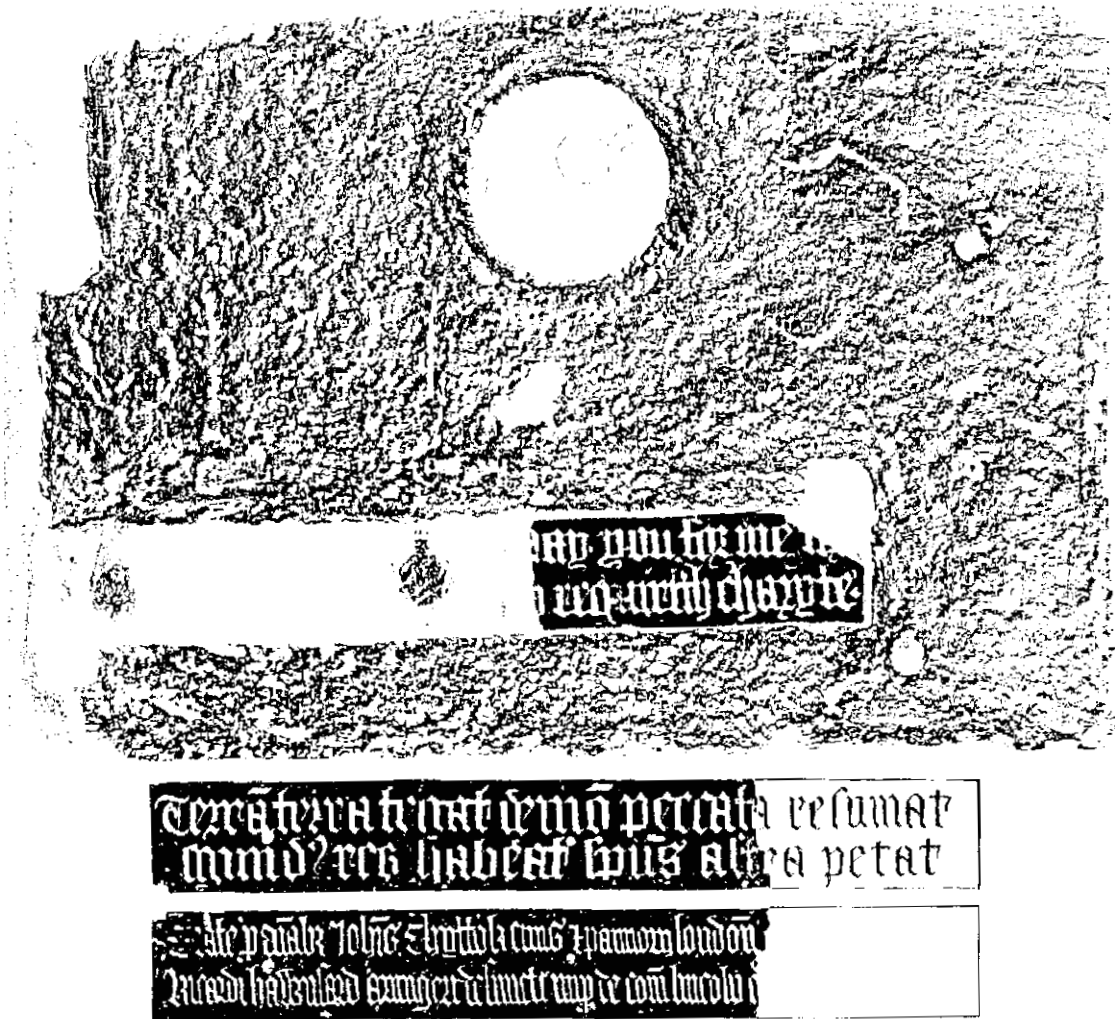


FIG. 2

St. Peter in the East, Oxford, M.S. II

Lower right corner of slab

with obverse and reverse of verses now in Ashmolean Museum

wife on the top line, as well as the usual concluding formula, so we may reconstruct the whole inscription as follows:

*Orate p[ro] a[n]i[m]ab[us] Joh[ann]is Chyttok civis & pannorij london[ensis]
 <et Elizabeth uxor eius, filia>/ Ricardi hawsard armigeri defuncti nup[er] de
 com[itatu] lincoln q[uo]rum animabus propicietur Deus.>*

‘Pray for the souls of John Chyttok, Citizen and Draper of London, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of the late Richard Hansard Esquire, of Lincolnshire, on whose souls may God have mercy.’

We may assume that this inscription was duly positioned in the Church of St. Margaret Lothbury.

3 Slab and brass come together, as one might expect, in the 1540s, after the devastating monastic dissolution and plunder of churches which brought such vast numbers of Purbeck slabs and brass plates to the London workshops for recycling. The slab was planed smooth to remove the original indents, though not deep enough to eliminate all trace of the rivetting. The brass plate, and doubtless others, were turned over and re-engraved. In the case of the Chittock plate it was turned into a scroll, 43 cm long, by soldering on little curls at two corners - the top left corner at the word *Orate* has been filed to take the solder.

Of the composition that resulted, only the lower edge is known for certain. (Fig. 2) The lower right corner of the slab survives, and a drawing in the Hinton MSS shows its relationship to the left corner.³ Side by side were two horizontal scrolls, both 6 x 43 cm. The lefthand one read:

Terra[m] terra tegat demo[n] peccat<a resumat>

Mund[us] res habeat sp[irit]us ast<ra petat>

‘Let the clay cover my clay, let the devil take back my sins;

let the world have my goods, but let my soul seek the skies.’

This scroll, made out of the Chyttok inscription, has been loose for many years. At the beginning of this century it was in Philip Nelson’s possession (M.S. IV); he bequeathed it to the Ashmolean Museum where it is still.

The righthand verses read:

<As you bee, soe was I. P>ray you for me. f<or

As I am soe shall you be, so> requiryth Charyte.⁴

Above each scroll was the indent for a roundel, 11 cm across, between which was the bottom of a small central plate. The surviving corner of the central indent is rounded, suggesting a group of children rather than an inscription. The other fragment of the slab, probably the top right corner, shows the indent for a shield about 17 x 13 cm, now filled in with cement. In between we may postulate at least two main figures and a foot inscription, as imaginatively drawn in Fig. 1.

Both slab fragments are now in the chancel, where they were repositioned in about 1970 as the church was being converted to its present use. The lower corner, with the remains of the English scroll, is on the northern side, immediately inside the eastern doorway; the top corner is a couple of yards further west. Before 1970 both were in the nave. The slab was already broken in the seventeenth century⁵ and all but the verses were lost. Indeed, for a century they disappeared from sight altogether, until the Latin verses were found when some pews were removed in 1833, the English

³ Bodleian Library MSS Rubbings Phillipps / Robinson 793.

⁴ Hinton’s rubbing shows the missing part of the Latin scroll; the missing part of the English one is supplied from ‘*Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*’, composed in 1661-6, by Anthony Wood, ed. A. Clark, III, Oxford Historical Soc., 37 (Oxford, 1899), p. 175.

⁵ Wood, *City of Oxford*, loc. cit.

fragment emerging only in 1883 when the font was moved.⁶ These fragments were dated by Mill Stephenson as c. 1500. Only the Royal Commission spotted the cemented-in shield indent and associated it with the broken scrolls. They too date them to c. 1500.⁷

With the typology of Gothic scripts bequeathed to us by John Page-Phillips we can do better than that. The script of the obverse is his ‘Script 3’, used by the London ‘G’ workshop between 1534 and 1549. The only burial in that period recorded in the registers is of Joan Napier of Holywell, between Michaelmas 1545 and Michaelmas 1546.⁸ Her husband Edward was buried beside her in 1558. Edward was a Master of Arts and fellow of All Souls, and presumably not in orders since he married firstly Joan, widow of William Clare of Holywell, and after her death a second wife, name unknown. He was a benefactor to All Souls College, leaving 26s. 8d. yearly to three poor scholars.⁹ The remainder of the family were buried in Holywell church, and they remained in possession of the manor of Holywell until the late seventeenth century. They were notorious recusants, and their son, Blessed George Napier, was hanged, drawn and quartered in Oxford Castle on 9 November 1610 for being a Jesuit and a priest.¹⁰

4 The Napier family tradition of staunch Catholicism may account for the slab being broken up as early as the mid seventeenth century. That the slab was so broken up is shown by the dates cut on the lower corner, 1649 and <1>653, at right angles to each other, evidently marking burials shortly after the Civil War when stones were commonly reused. The only family represented in the burial register for both dates is Janes: Elizabeth Janes, buried 13 Sept. 1649, and Moses son of Nathaniel Janes, 8 Nov. 1653.⁸

5 A fifth and final reuse of the monument is marked by an inserted tablet of white marble, 27 x 30 cm, incised ‘I · B / 1717’, in the top corner. This must be for James Badger, died 11 May, buried 14 May 1717.⁸ He was a fellow of New College, and master of New College School, ‘a diligent Man, and a good Scholar, & made an excellent Collection of Books.... He married two Wives. The first was a very handsome Woman, & by her he had several Children, four of which are now living. The second wife is likewise living, but he had no child by her. He was in the 57th Year of his Age.’ A mural tablet was placed in the church to his memory.¹¹

⁶ *Jnl. of the Oxford University Brass-Rubbing Soc.*, I, pt. 5 (1898), pp. 257-8; *M.B.S. Trans.*, IV, part 7 (1902), 256.

⁷ RCHM. *City of Oxford* (London, 1939), p. 146, brass 4.

⁸ Registers of St. Peter in the East, transcript in Oxford City Library.

⁹ A. Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1786), p. 264; *idem*, *City of Oxford*, III, pp. 184, 186, 254.

¹⁰ R. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, ed. J.H. Pollen (London, 1924), pp. 307-17.

¹¹ T. Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, VI, Oxford Historical Soc., 43 (Oxford, 1902), pp. 52, 316.

History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546-1555

Part Two: The Brasses (iv)

by ROBERT HUTCHINSON and BRYAN EGAN†

29 See under No. 38.

30 c. 1550 **London, Society of Antiquaries** M.S. X
Lady, facing left, kneeling at prayer desk, mutilated (Fig. 1). From St. Andrew Undershaft, London.

Description: The lady wears a Paris head-dress with veil and a mantle with furred sleeves, cross-hatched to take a coloured resin, over a partlet with zigzag embroidered sleeves and delicately engraved lace cuffs. Around the waist is a girdle, fastened by a brooch, which, no doubt had a pendant hanging from it, but this is hidden by the *prie-dieu*, before which she kneels. This has carved, apparently open-work, quatrefoils at the base with linenfold panelling above, partially hidden by a fringed cloth thrown over the top. An open book with clasps lies before her. The right lower edge of the figure has been torn away. There are two empty rivet holes, abnormally narrow at 3.0 and 3.5 mm diameter. The plate is 2.5 mm thick and blank on the reverse.

Dimensions: 203 x 72 mm.

Illustrated: *MBS Bulletin*, 70 (October 1995) p. 204.

Comment: Philip Whittemore has identified this brass as originating from St. Andrew Undershaft in the City of London¹ by means of a drawing made c. 1810 by Thomas Fisher, now in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the Guildhall Library,² which also shows three shields, two bearing the arms of the Staple of Calais and the Haberdashers' Company, and a prayer scroll surviving. The scroll, with Script 6 lettering, had the prayer: 'And wye out all myne offences' (Fig. 2). A rubbing showing the two shields is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. The plates were originally mural above an altar tomb in the chancel. However, a rubbing by Revd. Æneas Barkly Hutchison, in 1846 (BL Add. MS 32489, f. 471) records, in apparent contradiction of the drawing, a small altar tomb, with all plates lost except for eight female children and the two shields.³

As to the identity of those commemorated, Stow records two possible candidates in his list of those buried in St. Andrew's: 'Iohn Gerrarde Woolman, Merchant of the

† The rubbings and photographs are by Bryan Egan, unless otherwise stated.

¹ P. Whittemore, 'Society of Antiquaries M.S.XI Identified', *MBS Bulletin*, 70 (Oct. 1995), p. 204.

² Dept. of Prints & Drawings, A24/And.

³ BL Add MS 34819, f. 145 has a dabbling of the eight daughters plus the shields with the arms of the Staple of Calais and the Haberdashers'. Ex inf. Mr. Whittemore.



FIG. 1
 Lady, c.1550, from St. Andrew, London
 Now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries
Collection of the Society of Antiquaries

Staple 1546' and 'David Woodroffe Haberdasher, one of the Shiriffes, 1554'.⁴ The date given for Woodroffe is potentially misleading, referring to the year of his shrievalty rather than that of his death. Payne Fisher, writing in 1668, records the date of death: 'David Woodroffe, Sheriff, 1563'.⁵ This is confirmed by the *Diary* of Henry Machyn, merchant tailor (whose business included what today would be called undertaking), which gives a detailed account of Woodroffe's funeral at the end of March 1563.⁶ This identification was accepted by Stephenson, who recorded that 'the 8 daus., together with the arms of the Staple of Calais and the Haberdashers' Co., the remains of the brass to David Woodroffe, haberdasher, 1563, are apparently lost or may be concealed by the organ'.⁷

⁴ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908), I, 145.

⁵ Payne Fisher, *Catalogue of Most Memorable Tombs, Grave stones, Plates, Escutcheons or Achievements in the Demolisht or yet Extant Churches of London*, privately reprinted, (London, 1885), p. 93.

⁶ *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc., 42 (London, 1847), pp. 303-4.

⁷ Stephenson, *List*, p. 308.



FIG. 2

Drawing by Thomas Fisher, c. 1810, of a lost tomb in St. Andrew Undershaft, London, showing a shield and a prayer scroll together with the plate to a lady, c. 1550, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries
Copyright, Guildhall Library

David Woodroffe, haberdasher, was nominated alderman for Bishopsgate Ward on 22 October 1548, was sheriff in 1554-5, and discharged his aldermanry on 5 January 1560 for a fine of £500. He died on 24 March 1563. His will (PCC 21 Chayre) was made on 26 June 1560 and proved on 22 May 1563.⁸ The Woodroffe pedigree identifies his wife as Elizabeth, daughter of John Hill of London, gentleman, by Agnes, daughter of John Mowsdall of London, goldsmith, and gives her date of death as 25 September 1572.⁹ By her he had at least three sons: Sir Nicholas,

⁸ A.B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1908), I, p. 36, II, p. 32.

⁹ O. Manning & W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 3 vols. (London, 1804-14), III, p. 176; *Visitation of London 1568*, ed. S.W. Rawlins, Harleian Soc., 109-10 (London, 1963), p.26.

another haberdasher and alderman, who became Lord Mayor in 1579, Stephen, and Robert. Three daughters are recorded in the 1568 Visitation: Elizabeth, married to George Stonehouse of London, Margaret, married to Anthony Pargetor of London, haberdasher, and Grace, married to Richard Barnes. Stow records that David Woodroffe gave £20 towards the Conduit at Bishopsgate.¹⁰ Elsewhere in Stow's *Survey*, there is a reference to his purchasing a house in Limestreet Ward called 'The Greene Gate', of which he was seised at his death in 1563. It was subsequently sold by Sir Nicholas Woodroffe to John Moore.¹¹

As sheriff, Woodroffe was present at the execution, by burning at the stake, of the Protestants John Rogers and John Bradfield at Smithfield on 4 February 1555 and in July of the same year. The polemicist 'martyrologist' John Foxe attacks his cruel behaviour, contrasting it with that of his fellow sheriff William Chester. 'But what happened? Hee was not come out of his office the space of a weeke, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one halfe of his bodie in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bed-red, not able to move himself, but as he was lifted of other, and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.'¹²

Would it not be surprising that the brass was made and erected at this time as the bed-ridden and stroke-afflicted Woodroffe's thoughts turned inevitably to mortality? Certainly, the style of engraving confirms the plate as a Fermer product - designs became coarser in the succeeding Lytkott style - and the presence of prayer scrolls suggests, strongly, that the plates were laid down during the Marian Counter-Reformation rather than in 1563, within a year of publication of The Thirty-Nine Articles and a new Book of Homilies for reading in churches which contained attacks on 'idolatry'. Perhaps the year of death was added later to the inscription. Alternatively, and less likely, the wife's plate was old stock used up some years later.

Elizabeth Woodroffe's family origin provides a further clue to the identity of those commemorated by this surviving fragment of brass. The third shield shown in the Fisher drawing bears *Sable a fess ermine between two mountain cats statant gardant argent*. These are not the arms of Woodroffe, which are given as *Gules on a chevron argent three stags' heads erased sable, a chief per fess nebuly sable and argent* in the 1568 Visitation of London.¹³ The same Visitation assigns the arms on the tomb to John Hill, Elizabeth's father. He, like Woodroffe, was a haberdasher and a merchant of the Staple at Calais. His will (PCC 22 Hogan) was proved in 1534.¹⁴ A final element of confusion is provided by the Guildhall Library's statement that the Fisher drawing is of the tomb of Sir Thomas Offley: he was a merchant tailor and mayor in 1556 but died in 1580. Clearly the date of death is wrong for the style of the monument and this cannot be a correct identification. Moreover, his arms are *Argent on a cross formée flory azure a lion passant or between four Cornish choughs proper, beaks and legs gules*.

¹⁰ Stow, *Survey*, I, p. 19; II, p. 173.

¹¹ Stow, *Survey*, I, p. 152; II, p. 295.

¹² *Diary of Henry Machyn*, note on p. 395.

¹³ *Visitation of London 1568*, p. 26.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 27.

The altar tomb was probably destroyed at the restoration of the church in 1875.

The authors are extremely grateful to Mr. Whittemore for very generously putting at their disposal the fruits of his researches into this puzzling tomb, and to the Hon. Editor for his help in the identification of the brass.



FIG. 3
Three daughters, c.1550, British Museum
Collection of Society of Antiquaries

31 c. 1550*

British Museum

M.S. II (6)

Three daughters, standing, facing left, feet lost (Fig. 3).

Description: The girls have Paris head-dresses worn over long hair which falls to below their waists. They wear high-necked dresses over partlets with slashed, puffed sleeves and girdles or sashes fastened at the waist with brooches, leaving short ends to hang as inverted 'V's. The area of the plate between the heads is cut-away by cross-hatching. The bottom of the plate, probably a thin strip barely 20 mm deep, is lost. One empty rivet hole remains, cut through by the bottom edge of the plate.

Dimensions: 110 x 103 mm.

Reused: On reverse, part of a shield, *two lions passant* of contemporary date (149L1) which John Page-Phillips suggests may be a workshop waster.¹⁵ It is entirely different from the coat at Hertingfordbury, c. 1550, No. 20. Strangely, Stephenson does not record this as palimpsest in the *List*¹⁶ or on his rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

Discovered by 1875.

¹⁵ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), I, pp. 50-1.

¹⁶ Stephenson, *List*, p. 576.

Illustrated: Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 56 (reverse only).

Comment: Donated to the museum in 1875 by the Revd. W. Sparrow Simpson. (Accession no.75 2-1.4). Stephenson dates the plate as *c.* 1540 but because of its affinity with the design and appearance of other Fermer daughters, this is clearly at least a decade too early.

32 1551 **Ossington**, Notts. (Holy Rood) M.S. I
 Reynold or Reginald Peckham, of Wrotham, Kent, esquire, in armour, and wife (Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Cartwright, by Agnes daughter of Thomas Cranmer); foot inscription, mutilated marginal inscription, indents of two groups of children, three shields (one at north end, now lost) (Fig. 4).

Position: Altar tomb, south side of chancel (Fig. 5).

Description: Peckham, clad in armour at left, is shown bearded, his head resting on a helmet, in the opposite direction to that normally found on Fermer brasses. He stands on a delicately-engraved greyhound, again, abnormally, facing right (Fig. 6). He wears a sword at right, dependent upon a belt fastened by a buckle at the front, with the end looped under itself - a design adopted on armoured Fermer effigies (Fig. 7). The tasset hinges supposedly attaching the tassets to the base of the breastplate are a variation on the usual Fermer design. His wife, facing left, wears a Paris head-dress with pearl edging and veil, a gown over a partlet with deep sleeves fastened at the front by a brooch just visible behind her hands. The delicacy of the engraving, particularly in the design of the sleeves, is impressive and this effigy is one of the finest examples of the Fermer workshop's skill and craftsmanship (Fig. 8). The base of Elizabeth's figure is mutilated at both corners of the base. Both effigies lean away from each other - another hallmark of the Fermer design. Beneath the two main figures are the indents of two groups of children (see below) and a three-line foot inscription in English. Around the slab's chamfer edge is a mutilated marginal inscription missing at the top and at the bottom and with another portion lost almost midway along the surviving strip.

The male effigy has been cracked badly across the throat. There have been a number of separate attempts to lever up and steal the brasses.

Dimensions: Male figure, 608 x 201 mm; female figure, 588 x 202 mm originally; foot inscription, 89 x 610 mm.

Inscriptions: Both Script 6. Foot inscription:

Of your Charite pray for ye Sowlle of Reynolde Peckham of Wrotham
 in the Countie of Kente Esquyer whiche Decessyd the xxith day of
 July in the yere of our Lorde God M CCCCC Li + whose Sowlle God perdon.

The marginal inscription, reading from the west end, is taken from Job 19.25-27, given in the King's Primer of 1545 as the first lesson in the Dirge:

Ryse from the yerthe and shall be Cladde a gayne wy[th this sky]ne, and in my
 owne flesshe I shall se God, whome I my Selfe shall se, and myne eyes...



...and in my name shall I shall be God's witness I shall be God's witness I shall be God's witness I shall be God's witness

Of your charge in the 15th of July of Reynolde peckham of Ossington
 in the countie of Leicestre whiche decessed the xxiij day of
 July in the year of our lord God's grace the whole soule God's pardon

...shall be God's witness I shall be God's witness I shall be God's witness I shall be God's witness

FIG. 4
 Reynold or Reginald Peckham and wife, 1551
 Ossington, Notts., M.S. I



FIG. 5
Altar tomb of Reginald Peckham and wife, 1551
Ossington, Notts., M.S. I

Owen Evans, in his account of the brasses,¹⁷ reported a small strip bearing the words ‘shall loke upon’ at the north end of the tomb. This had been wrongly placed there instead of reading on after ‘myne eyes’ at the angle of the tomb at the south end.¹⁸ The phrase ‘and none ott[her]’ had also been wrongly inserted in the long strip of surviving inscription; it should have come at the end of the text. In the last thirty years, these strips of marginal inscription have disappeared.

Heraldry: Three shields on the front of the tomb. Owen Evans points out that another may exist on the south end, hidden by the wall.¹⁹ A fourth shield on the north end is missing and probably bore *Ermine a fess between three fireballs sable issuant flames proper (CARTWRIGHT)*.²⁰ The remaining arms are:

1. Quarterly 1 and 4, *Ermine a chief quarterly or and gules (PECKHAM)*, 2 and 3, *Gules on a chevron argent three talbots sable (MORANT)*, impaling quarterly 1 and 4, *Argent on a*

¹⁷ H.F. Owen Evans, ‘Palimpsest Brasses at Ossington, Nottinghamshire’, *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 4 (1966), pp. 303-10.

¹⁸ Owen Evans, ‘Ossington’, p. 304. The marginal inscription was relaid wrongly with phrases omitted throughout. The full text should read: ‘[For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth and I shall] / Ryse from the Yerthe and shall be Cladde agayne wy[th this skyne] and in my own Flesshe I shall se God whom I my Selfe shall see and myne eyes/ looke upon and none other...’ Words in square brackets are lost. The symbol ‘/’ signifies a break at the angle of the tomb.

¹⁹ Owen Evans, ‘Ossington’, p. 304.

²⁰ See J.P. Briscoe and H.E. Field, *Monumental Brasses of Notts.*, Pt. 1 (s.l., 1904) (all published).

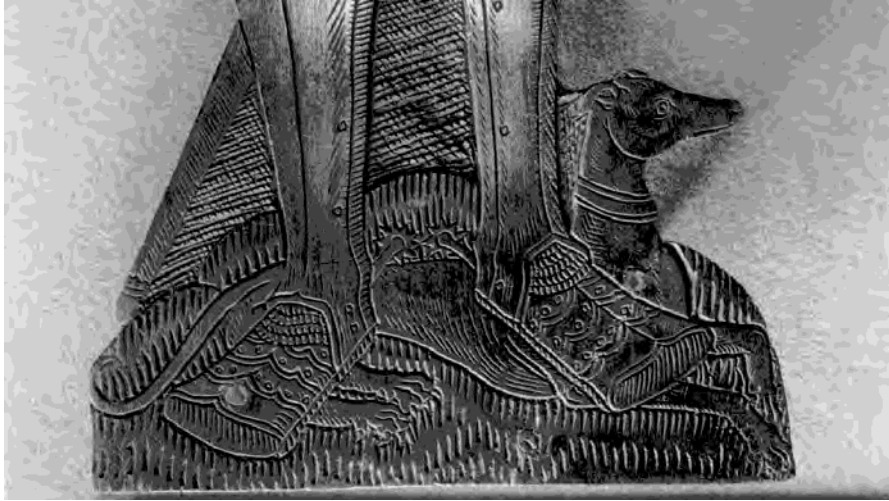


FIG. 6
Greyhound at feet of Reginald Peckham, 1551, after repair of the brass
Ossington, Notts., M.S. I



FIG. 7
Centre part of the figure of Reginald Peckham, 1551
showing sword belt looped under itself
Ossington, Notts., M.S. I



FIG. 8
Elizabeth Peckham, 1551, showing Paris head-dress with
pearl edging, veil and delicacy of engraving in the sleeves
Ossington, Notts., M.S. I

chevron between three cranes azure, three cinquefoils or (CRANMER²¹), 2 and 3, Argent five fusils each charged with an escallop or (ASLECTON).

2. *PECKHAM* quartering *MORANT*.

3. *MORANT*.

Briscoe and Field assign the Morant arms to Burgoyne throughout, but we have followed Owen Evans, who gives the identifications made by Ralph Griffin, in an pamphlet written in 1915.²²

Slab/stonework: Ancaster stone, probably locally supplied, against normal Fermer workshop practice. Appropriated - there are three superfluous brass rivets and although the Peckhams had only one child - a daughter - there are indents for plates commemorating at least five sons and seven or more daughters, cut short in height by a break or crack in the slab. Slab measures 1831 x 818 mm. It is cut through 1194 mm from the top.

The visible side of the tomb has three carved panels inset with tracery and quatrefoils bearing the three shields. The slab is supported on columns at the four corners, as far as can be seen.

Reused: Reverse of shield bearing Morant: blank. Reverse of main figures, parts of a large Flemish effigy of a lady, c.1360 (157L1-2). Reverse of foot inscription: vertical strip of a London 'D' lady with a small dog at her feet with a collar of bells, standing on grass, c.1490 (157L3). Shield, Peckham quartering Morant: part of the lower portion of a London 'F' civilian, c.1510 (157L4-5). Shield, Peckham and Morant impaling Cranmer and Aslecton: centre portion of a London 'F' lady with long girdle and buckle, c.1510 (157L6-7). Marginal inscription 'whome I my Selfe shall se, and myne eyes': portions of a rectangular plate with parts of kneeling figures, and between them, an open Perpendicular tomb or altar ?c.1520, (157L8-9). Lost marginal inscription bearing 'and none ott[her]': a fragment of a quatrefoil border pattern, ?c.1525 (157L10). Reverse of the remainder of the marginal inscription (including the lost strip with 'shall loke upon'): scraped raised letter inscription, c.1500 (157L11-13).

Link: Reverse of figures links with the back of a shield at Sessay, Yorks., No. 14 (156L8).

Discovered 1904 by ?A.E. Frost.

Illustrated: Obverse, R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, 3 vols. (London, 1797), III, p. 174; J.P. Briscoe and H.E. Field, *The Monumental Brasses of Nottinghamshire*, Part 1 (s.l, 1904), p. 23; *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 4 (1966), p. 305. Reverses, Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 59-61, *M.B.S. Trans.*, X, pt. 4 (1966), pl. facing p. 307, p. 309.

Biographical details: Stephenson says Peckham's wife Elizabeth was a member of the Cranmer family, as indicated by the arms, and not Cartwright, although connected

²¹ J. Strype, *Memorials of ... Thomas Cranmer*, (London, 1694) Book 1, p. 126, tells of Henry VIII changing the three cranes in the Archbishop's coat to pelicans, saying that these birds 'should signify unto him that he ought to be ready, as the Pelicans, to shed his Blood for his young Ones brought up in the Faith of Christ', adding 'You are like to be tasted if you stand to your Tackling at length.' The Cranes were borne by Cranmer up to 1543.

²² See Owen Evans, 'Ossington', p. 304.

with them.²³ Griffin maintained she was the daughter of Edmund Cartwright of Ossington, a view later adopted by Stephenson in the *List*. For biographical details of Peckham, see Owen Evans's paper on the brass.²⁴ Peckham fell ill whilst visiting his wife's relatives and died of a sweating sickness on 21 July 1551.²⁵ His wife remarried, in 1554, Richard Richers or Richars.

Comment: This brass has undergone a number of vicissitudes; after the palimpsest discovery in the early years of this century it is recorded as lying loose in 1927. Owen Evans repaired the monument in 1965, and in 1971 Egan was called in to relay the two figures and a shield that had become loose again. In the 1980s an attempt was made to steal the male effigy, cracking and bending the plate at the head, and the base of the female was also prised up. In 1996 Egan repaired the male figure, taking out the bend, repairing two major cracks and fitting reinforcing plates on the reverse at the head and diagonally behind the greyhound at the base. This and the foot inscription were relaid on 16 March 1996.



FIG. 9

Inscription to Elizabeth Wroughton, 'gentelwoman', 1551
Winchester, St. Cross, Hants., M.S. VII. The lower right corner is now lost
Rubbing by the Revd. Herbert Haines, Collection of Society of Antiquaries

33 1551 **Winchester**, Hants. (St. Cross) M.S. VII
Inscription, Elizabeth Wroughton, 'gentelwoman.'

Position: Chancel floor, west end, north side, near chancel steps. At the time of writing, the inscription plate was loose in the Porter's Lodge.

Description: Inscription in three lines of English; the bottom right corner has been broken off. This was present when the Revd. Herbert Haines rubbed the brass in the middle years of the nineteenth-century (Fig. 9).

Dimensions: 89 x 424 mm.

Inscription: Script 6:

Here Lyeth Elisabeth Wroughton Gentelwoman
who Depertyd the xxiiiij day of Maye in the ye[r]
of our Lorde god M CCCCC Li whose soule ihesu par[don]

²³ M. Stephenson, 'Ossington, Notts.', *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 4 (1905), pp. 86-7.

²⁴ Owen Evans, 'Ossington', pp. 308-10.

²⁵ Peckham was a victim of the epidemic that began in Shrewsbury in April 1551, the disease spreading to London and the eastern counties in July and finally diminishing in August. See *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 319.



FIG. 10

Slab to a ?prior, c. 1430, showing half-effigy with crozier, appropriated by inscription to Elizabeth Wroughton, 1551
 Winchester, St. Cross, Hants
Rubbing by Robert Hutchinson

Slab/stonework: Purbeck marble, in good condition, 1683 x 732 mm. Appropriated by the reuse of a slab bearing the indent of an ecclesiastical half-effigy, probably an abbot or prior, in mass vestments, with a crozier seen at the left shoulder, and inscription, c.1430 (Fig. 10). Indents measure, (figure) 260 x 170 mm, (inscription) 90 x 425 mm (154L1). It is interesting to speculate whether the appropriated slab came from the Hospital and the inscription was inserted *in situ*, or whether the normal practice was followed of shipping both slab and inscription from London.

Reused: On reverse, two lines of drapery, indeterminate date (154L2).

Discovered in July 1967. Relaid, December 1967.

Illustrated: Reverse: Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 57.

Comment: The inscription was missing when Hutchinson visited the Hospital in March 1996. It had not been seen for at least six years. Remains of the pitch from the 1967 repair were apparent in the indent, although clearly not enough had been used to create a seal between slab and plate. Fortunately, the porter, Mr. Anthony Dowsett, instituted a search and found the loose inscription, still with one modern rivet attached and pitch on the reverse. It was rescued from the bottom of an old filing cabinet which was destined for sale.

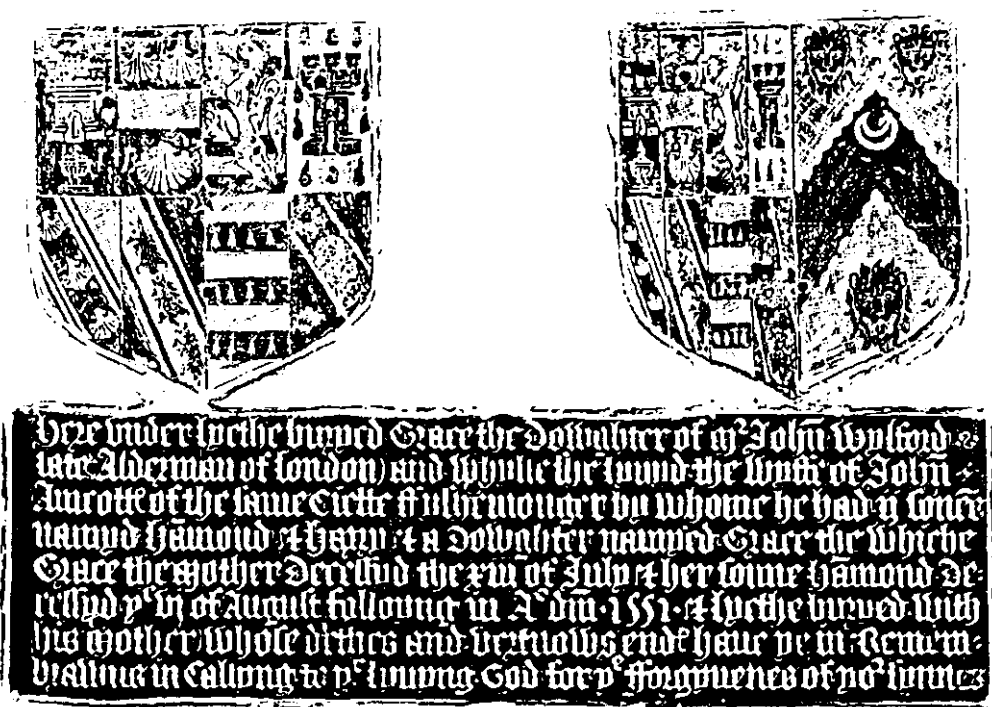


FIG. 11

Inscription and two shields, Grace Amcotts, 1551
Stratford-le-Bow, Middx., M.S. I

From *Trans. London & Middx. Archaeological Soc.*

34 1551 **Stratford-le-Bow**, Middx. (St. Mary) M.S. I
Inscription and two shields to Grace, daughter of John Wylford, Alderman of London, wife of John Amcotts, fishmonger, 1551 (Fig. 11).

Position: Mural, south aisle.

Description: Eight-line inscription and two shields on the back of a mural monument.

Dimensions: Inscription, 142 x 480 mm; shields, 183 x 165 mm.

Inscription: Script 6:-

Here under Lyethe buried Grace the Dowghter of Mr John Wylford late Alderman of London) and whylle she lyvyd the wyffe of John Amcotts of the same Ciette Fyshemonger by whome he had ij sonnes namyd Hammond & Harry & a Dowghter namyed Grace the whiche Grace the Mother Decessyd the xiii of July & her sonne Hammond Decessyd ye vj of August folloyng in Anno domini 1551 & Lyethe buried with his Mother) whose dethes and vertuows ends haue ye in Remembrance in Callyng to ye lyvyng God for ye Forgyvenes of yor synnes

A Type 8 flourish is found at the end of line one.

Heraldry: The dexter shield bears the following quarterings:²⁶

1. *Argent a tower triple turreted between three standing cups covered azure (AMCOTTS).*
2. *Argent a fess between three escallops gules (KENTHORPE).*
3. *Argent four bars gules, a lion rampant sable crowned or (WASTHOUSE).*
4. *Gules a tower triple turreted or within an orle of ten goutts d'eau (HAMBOROUGH).*
5. *Gules on a bend cotised three escallops sable (DAWTREY).*
6. *Argent on a bend cotised sable three griffins' heads erased of the field beaked or (SOLAYE).*
7. *Gules three bars ermine (?KIRTON).*
8. *Argent three chaplets in bend between two bendlets gules (SAXTON).*

The sinister shield bears the above eight quarterings of *AMCOTTS* impaling *Gules a chevron engrailed between three leopards heads or, a crescent on a crescent for difference (WILFORD)*.²⁷

Slab/stonework: The plates are contained in a freestone slab within a two-bay monument with cinquefoiled crocketed and traceried heads, shafted outer jambs and an enriched cornice. Possibly re-used stonework.

Reused: Not yet investigated. The sinister shield seems to be made up of a number of fragments, which may indicate re-use of at least one of these plates.

Illustrated: O.C. Hills, *St. Mary Stratford* (London, 1900), pl.27; RCHM, *East London* (London, 1930), pl.103; *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., XI (1952), facing p. 48.

Biographical details: Grace was one of the beneficiaries of the will of her father, John Wilford, a merchant tailor, who was elected alderman in 1538 and died about February 1551. He is described as of 'St.Bartilmewe the lesse....and Mycham'.²⁸ Her husband came of a Lincolnshire family and his eldest uncle, Sir Henry, a stockfishmonger, had been Lord Mayor in 1548, died in 1554 and was buried in St. Michael's, Crooked Lane.²⁹

²⁶ See H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex', *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., XI (1952), p. 49.

²⁷ For an explanation of the heraldry see Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁸ PCC 9 Bucke.

²⁹ Stow, *Survey*, II, p. 183.

35 1551 **West Drayton**, Middx. (St. Martin) M.S. IV

Inscription in ornamental frame to John Burnell, 1551.

Position: Mural, south aisle. In 1800 Lysons recorded it as partially concealed by a pew.³⁰

Description: Ten-line inscription within an engraved frame with a scalloped pediment above a cornice topped at each corner by pomegranates (Fig. 12).

Dimensions: 330 x 305 mm within hatched surround.

Inscription: Script 1:

Here under fore lyeth buried
John Burnell gentilman some
tyme officer of the Seller to the
moste noble prynce of famous
memorye kyng Henry the viijth
whiche John departed oute of ys
transitorye life the xxij daye of
Auguste in the yere of our lord god
Ml vc li on whose soule and alle
Cristen soules Jhesu haue Marcy.

Variants of Script 6, Type 8 flourishes³¹ occur as terminators on lines four and ten.

Slab/stonework: The brass is fixed to a Purbeck slab within a plain round head and trefoiled spandrels.

Reused: Not yet investigated, although the brass has been removed from its slab in the past. The rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, dated 1864, shows no sign of the studs used to secure the plate reported by Dr. H.K. Cameron in his account of the brass.³²

Illustrated: RCHM, *Middlesex* (London, 1937), pl. 13; H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex', *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XVIII (1955), pl. opp. p. 33.

Biographical details: Burnell probably appears as one of the two diminutive sons on the London 'G' brass to Margaret Burnell, 1529, in the same church. Lysons records a 'capital mansion in this parish with a considerable estate annexed called Rowtheys, stated in an inquisition of the manor (taken in 1587) to have been formerly the property of John Burnell Esq'.³³ It was burnt down in 1778. There is no mention of this property in Burnell's will (PCC 35 Bucke) wherein he is described as 'of the City of Westminster gentylman' and 'late grome and yoman for the Kynge and the Quene's mother in the seller of Kinge Henry the Eight of famous memorie.' Burnell desired that "his bodye to be buried in Christeyn buryall at the discretion of myn executors and a memorial to be upon my grave or nereto the same desiring all Christeyn people to praye for me soule and all Christeyn soules." The inscription demonstrates that his executors faithfully followed his wishes.

³⁰ D. Lysons, *An Historical Account of those parishes in the County of Middlesex, which are not Described in the Environs of London* (London, 1800), p. 38.

³¹ *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 4 (1995), p. 357.

³² Cameron, 'Middlesex', *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XVIII (1955), p. 34.

³³ Lysons, *Middlesex*, p. 36.

³⁴ Where the inscription is shown laid upside down.

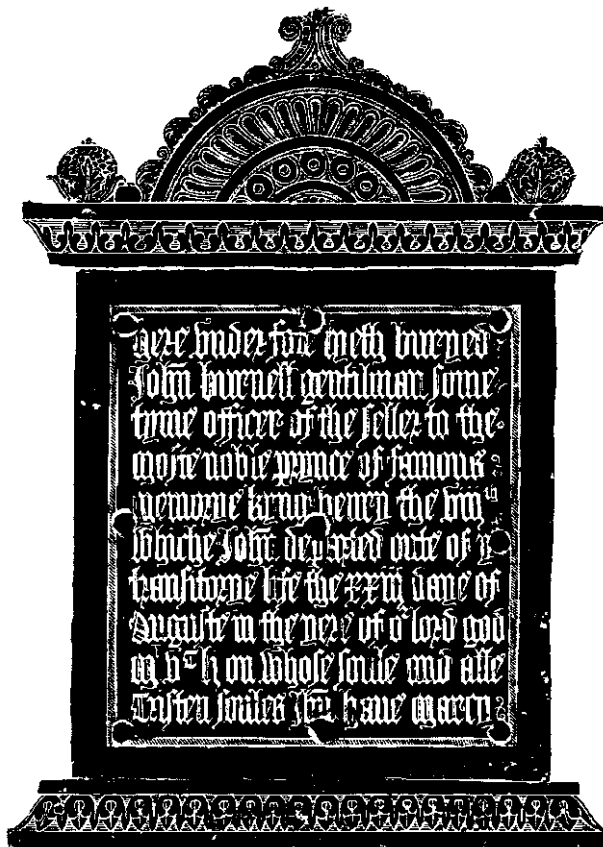


FIG. 12

Inscription to John Burnell, 1551
West Drayton, Middx., M.S. IV

From Trans. London & Middx. Archaeological Soc.

36 1551 **Greystoke**, Cumberland (St. Andrew) L.S.W. VIII
Richard Newport in civilian dress and inscription.

Position: Relaid on floor of south aisle, now moved to the back of the church in a new slab.

Description: Full-face figure of a boy with rather thin legs, standing on a spiky grass mound, both feet now mutilated. He is shown with long hair, worn to below the ears, with a high-necked doublet with frilled edge. Over this is worn a wide-lapelled gown, with square holes through which the arms are thrust. A portion of the plate remains between the head and shoulders to provide more strength to the brass. This, and the area between the lower legs, has been cross-hatched and may have taken some coloured resin (Fig. 13).

Dimensions: Figure, 287 x 92 mm; inscription, 88 x 370 mm.

Inscription: Script 6 in four lines:-

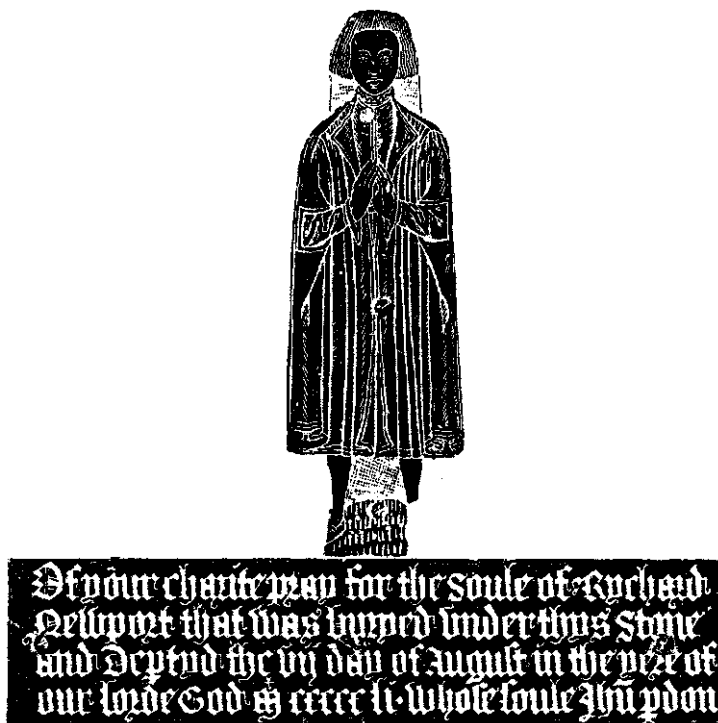


FIG. 13

Richard Newport, 1551

Greystoke, Cumberland, L.S.W.VIII

Of your charite pray for the soule of Rychard
Newport that was buried under this stone
and Departyd the vii day of August in the yere of
our lord God M+ CCCC Li · whose soule Jhu pardon

Slab / stonework: Relaid.

Reused: On reverse of figure and inscription portions of a London 'B' lady in ermine-edged cote-hardie, c. 1430 (153L2-3).

Discovered 1960 by John Page-Phillips.

Link: Links with the reverse of the foot inscription at Blewbury, No. 37 (152L9).

Illustrated: Obverse: J. Page-Phillips, *Children on Brasses*, (London, 1970) fig. 38; R. Bower, 'Brasses in the Diocese of Carlisle', *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Soc.*, XIII (1894), pl. 4; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1998), p. 56. Reverse: *Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 56; *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 1 (1969), facing p. 43; *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1974), p. 418 (showing link with Blewbury); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 56.

(To be continued)

Conservation of Brasses 1994-1995

by BRYAN EGAN

Note: *Full reports of conservation work will be deposited in the Society's archive at Birmingham. Ed.*

Aylesford, Kent

M.S. I, John Cosyngton, 1426. Shield formerly in the collection of John Page-Phillips and bequeathed by him to Aylesford restored to its rightful place at the top left corner of the slab after reference to old drawings, 24 January 1995.

Brabourne, Kent

M.S. I, William Scott, 1433; M.S. II, ?Isabel Scott, 2nd wife of William Scott, 1450; M.S. III, Sir William Scott, 1524; and M.S. IV, Dame Elizabeth Pownynges, 1528, which had been incorrectly relaid in the south chapel in the 1980s, were conserved and relaid in new black marble slabs, 9 August 1994.



FIG. 1
Burford, Oxfordshire
Inscription to John Bartholomew, mercer, 1703
after conservation, 1995

Burford, Oxfordshire

M.S. I, John and Alys Spycer, 1437, conserved and relaid, 8 June 1995. At the same time a copper inscription to John Bartholomew, mercer, 1703, was conserved and relaid in Iroko wood board (Fig. 1). Inscription to Elizabeth Gibson Willis, 1853, conserved *in situ*, 1995. This is a brass, with black, blue and red mastic inlaid in the engraved lines, rather than an enamelled copper plate, as stated in the NADFAS record.

Clerkenwell, Middlesex

M.S. I, John Bell, Bishop of Worcester. Detached crosier-head conserved and relaid, 12 February 1994.

Emberton, Buckinghamshire

L.S.W. I, John Mordon, rector, c. 1410, conserved and relaid, 8 April 1994.



FIG. 2

Etchingam, Sussex

M.S. III, Elizabeth Echyngam, 1452 (engraved c. 1480)
after conservation, 1995



FIG. 3

Etchingam, Sussex

M.S. III, Agnes Oxenbrigg, 1480
after conservation, 1995

Etchingam, Sussex

Surveys in 1989 and 1993 had shown significant deterioration of the brasses since repairs carried out in 1972. M.S. I, Sir William de Echingam, 1388; M.S. II, Sir William Echyngam, 1412, wife Joan, 1404, and son Sir Thomas, 1444; and M.S. III, Elizabeth Echyngam, 1452 (Fig. 2), and Agnes, daughter of Robert Oxenbrigg, 1480 (Fig. 3), were conserved. M.S. II was treated *in situ*, and M.S. I and III were relaid, 11 November 1995.

Everton, Nottinghamshire

M.S. I, Arthur Nevill of Grove, 'Major for King Charles the First and King Charles the Second in the Late Rebellion', 1688, inscription on shield-shaped plate conserved and relaid in Iroko wood board on the south wall of the chancel, 1994.

Fulham, Middlesex

M.S. I, Margaret Svanders, 1529, conserved and relaid in Iroko wood board, 8 February 1994. The plate is 5-6 mm thick. Two Victorian brasses, commemorating Francis Bloomfield, 1860, and Revd. Robert Roy, M.A., 1860, were conserved and relaid at the same time.

Northampton Cathedral, Northamptonshire

Francis Amherst, Bishop of Northampton, 1883, conserved and relaid, 18 January 1995.

Thanington, Kent

M.S. I, Thomas Halles, 1485, conserved and relaid, 19 January 1995.

Conservation of Brasses, 1996

by WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the fifteenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with several projects; to Jerome Bertram for assistance with Chinnor; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Bothamsall, Macclesfield and Sharow; to Michael Taylor for assistance at North Ockendon and Westley Waterless; to Geoffrey Lack for assistance at Yate; to Lucy Lack for assistance at Westley Waterless; to Philip Whittemore for assistance with Chinnor, Sparsholt, Walgrave, Wirksworth and Yate; and to the incumbents and churchwardens of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Chinnor and Westley Waterless; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Bothamsall, Chinnor, Macclesfield, North Ockendon, Westley Waterless and Yate; the Monumental Brass Society at Bothamsall, Chinnor, Macclesfield, North Ockendon, Westley Waterless and Yate; the Nottinghamshire Historic Churches Trust at Bothamsall; the Leche Trust at Chinnor; the South Cambridgeshire District Council at Westley Waterless; and the Sudbury and District Historical Society at Yate.

BOTHAMSALL, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

A lady, c. 1370 (Portfolio of Small Plates Fig. 2). This London (series B) brass, now comprising the half-effigy of a lady (332 x 235 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 4 rivets) and a fragment of marginal inscription, engraved 'nono cuius anime omni' (34 x 282 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 2 rivets), was not recorded in Mill Stephenson's *List*. In a paper written in 1963¹ L.A. S. Butler recorded the discovery of the two plates and a further adjacent fragment of marginal inscription² in the chancel c. 1920 when the chancel floor was lifted. He attributed it to Margaret Buslingthorpe who died at Bothamsall in 1369. The plates were subsequently relaid in the north-east corner of the sanctuary with the effigy laid in the top step and the marginal inscription fragments in the step beneath. The plates had become loose and corroded and I removed them from the floor on 23 January 1996.

After cleaning and re-rivetting I rebated the brass into a Cedar board and this was mounted on the north wall of the chancel on 12 November 1996.

CHINNOR, OXFORDSHIRE

Twelve brasses were removed from their slabs in 1935 and screwed to the chancel walls together with a commemorative plate. The slabs, most of which are not

¹ L.A.S. Butler, 'An Unrecorded Brass at Bothamsall Church', *Trans. of the Thoroton Soc.*, LXVII (1963), pp. 25-7.

² This section has subsequently been lost. It was engraved 'potens deus propicietur amen:' and measured about 35 x 450 mm. Portfolio of Small Plates Fig. 2 includes a tracing of a rough rubbing of this section.

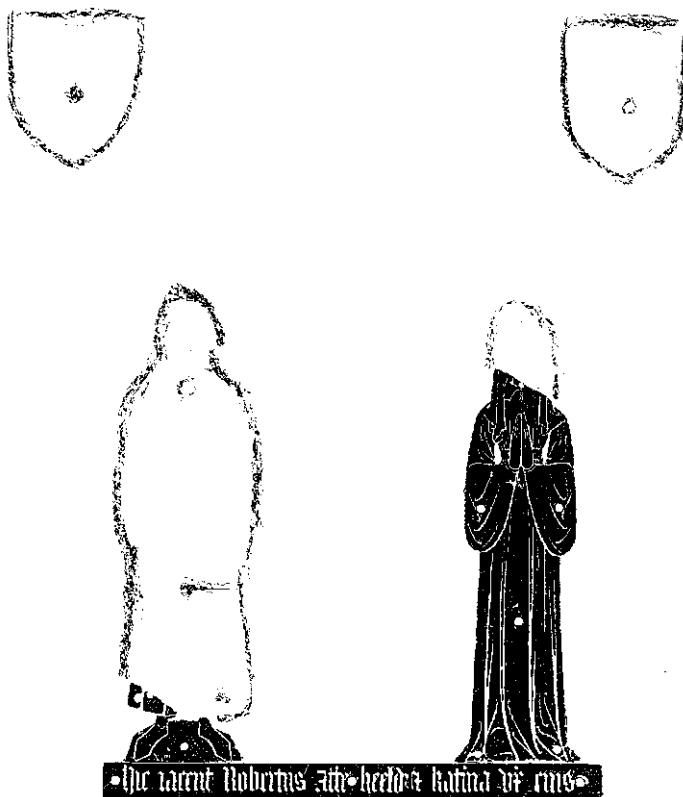


FIG. 1
Chinnor, Oxfordshire.
M.S. X. Robert atte Heelde and wife Katherine, c. 1410
Rubbing by William Lack

original, lie on the floor of the vestry and are now covered by fitted carpet. Two other original slabs lie in the south porch. The brasses had become corroded and vulnerable and in 1995 they were taken down and locked away. I collected them on 19 June 1996. Five of them were conserved before the end of 1996.

M.S. II. John Hotham, 1361.³ This London (series B) brass, comprising a half-effigy in cap and academical dress (610 x 409 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 8 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (96 x 608 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets), had been mounted on the south wall east of the organ. At some stage it had been let into arcading further to the east. The original Purbeck slab (2560 x 950 mm) lies in the south porch and is very worn. After cleaning I repaired a crack in the inscription, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board.

M.S. V. Alexander Chelsye, 1388.⁴ This London (series B) brass comprises a half-effigy in mass vestments (627 x 362 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 8 rivets) and a three-line

³ Illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, III, pl. 36, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 46.

⁴ Illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, III, pl. 36, reprinted in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 66.



FIG. 2

Chinnor, Oxfordshire.

M.S. XI. Nicholas atte Heelde, c. 1410

*Rubbing by Philip Whittemore**Feet of male effigy and right part of inscription from Society of Antiquaries*

Latin inscription (100 x 607 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 4 rivets). A small plate is let in to the lower edge of the inscription and secured with lead. The brass had been mounted on the north wall east of the organ and at some earlier time it had been let into the arcading beside M.S. II. After cleaning I repaired cracks in the effigy, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board.

M.S.X. Robert atte Heelde and wife Katherine, c. 1410 (Fig. 1). This London (series B) brass, now comprising the feet of a civilian effigy (originally about 460 mm tall, now 80 x 115 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 2 rivets), a headless female effigy (originally about 450 mm tall, now 395 x 127 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 5 rivets) and a single-line Latin inscription (37 x 492 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets), had been mounted on the south wall. The original Purbeck slab (now 1205 x 955 mm) lies in the south porch. There are indents for two upper shields, the lower part has been cut away and it is fairly worn. Fig. 1 shows the plates placed in the original slab. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board, lightly outlining the missing parts of the effigies.

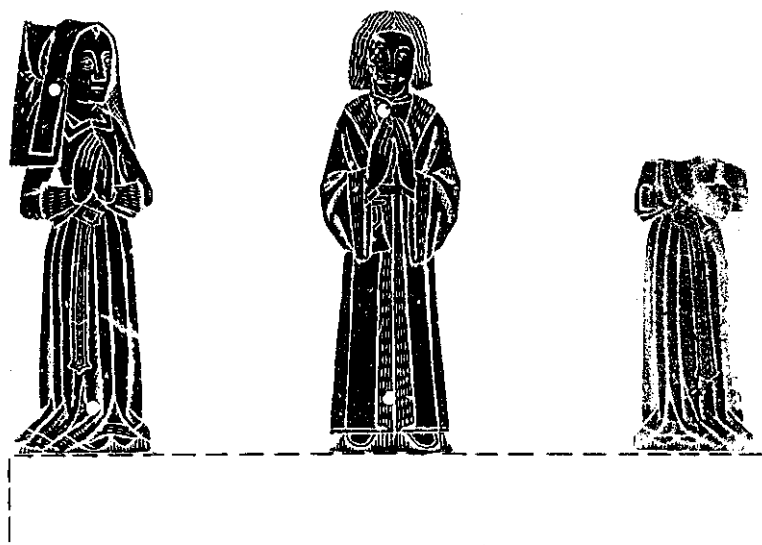


FIG. 3

Chinnor, Oxfordshire.

M.S. XIII. Folke Poffe, wife and son, 1514

*Rubbing by Philip Whittenore**Right female effigy from Society of Antiquaries*

M.S. XI. Nicholas atte Heelde, *c.* 1410 (Fig. 2). This London (series B) brass, now comprising a mutilated civilian effigy (originally about 460 mm tall, now 412 x 123 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 6 rivets) and a mutilated two-line Latin inscription (originally about 490 mm wide, now 71 x 190 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets), had been mounted on the south wall above M.S. X. The effigy of his wife Margery is lost. Fig. 2 shows the feet of the male effigy and the lost part of the inscription from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board, lightly outlining the feet of the male effigy.

M.S. XIII. Folke Poffe, wife and son, 1514 (Fig. 3). This London (series G) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (305 x 95 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets), female effigy (300 x 93 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets) and the effigy of their son (143 x 53 mm,



FIG. 4

Cuxham, Oxfordshire

M.S. I and II. John Gregory and wives Parnel and Agnes, 1506, and Gregory achievement, 17th century

Rubbing by William Lack

thickness 4.1 mm, 2 rivets), had been mounted on the south chancel wall to the west of the organ. The inscription and a second wife are lost but an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries shows the second wife without her head (Fig. 4). After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board, lightly outlining the lost female effigy and inscription.⁵

The boards were mounted on the south wall of the chancel on 15 October 1996.

CUXHAM, OXFORDSHIRE

I removed both brasses for conservation on 23 October 1996.

M.S. I. John Gregory and his wives Parnel and Agnes, 1506 (Fig. 4). This London (series F variant) brass comprises a civilian effigy (456 x 143 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 3 rivets), two female effigies (left 446 x 173 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 3 rivets; right 453 x 167 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (68 x 588 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets). I removed the effigies from the original Purbeck slab (1835 x 935 mm) in the nave. The inscription had already been taken up and the two groups of children had been stolen on 24 July 1995.⁶ Fig. 5 shows these children from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries. Replacement groups of children had been engraved and rivetted by Mr. Richard Quinnell of Leatherhead, Surrey. These two plates comprise a group of five sons (143 x 147 mm) and a single daughter (149 x 55 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets to the effigies and inscription.

M.S.II. Achievement of the Gregory family, 17th century. This plate was removed from the same slab as M.S. I. After judicious flattening and cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in the slab on 29 November 1996.

KING'S LYNN, ST. NICHOLAS, NORFOLK

M.S. I. Inscription to Anne Raylie, 1627 (Fig. 5). I removed this seven-line inscription in English (170 x 399 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 6 rivets) from its slab (560 x 535 mm) in the north aisle on 10 January 1996. It had been relaid on cement and was badly corroded. After cleaning and fitting new rivets I relaid the brass on 27 March 1996.

MACCLESFIELD, ST. MICHAEL, CHESHIRE

L.S.W. I. Roger Legh and his wife Elizabeth, 1506.⁷ This London (series G) brass, the celebrated 'pardon' brass, comprises the kneeling effigies of Roger Legh (255 x

⁵ The size of the inscription was estimated from the arrangement of the effigies in the old rubbing and Anthony à Wood's transcript (*Parochial Collections (Second Part) made by Anthony à Wood and Richard Rawlinson*, ed. F.N. Davis, Oxfordshire Record Soc. (Oxford, 1922), p. 89).

⁶ *MBS Bulletin*, 70 (Oct. 1995), pp. 192-3.

⁷ The brass has been described and illustrated on several occasions, most recently in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cheshire* (London, 1996), pp. 104-5. The brass was drawn when complete by the antiquary Randle Holme in 1660 (BL Harleian MS 2151, f. 18, reproduced in *The Monumental Brasses of Cheshire*) and redrawn by J. P. Earwaker in *East Cheshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1877-80), p. 447. The composite illustration in *The Monumental Brasses of Cheshire* incorporates Earwaker's drawing of the missing plates.

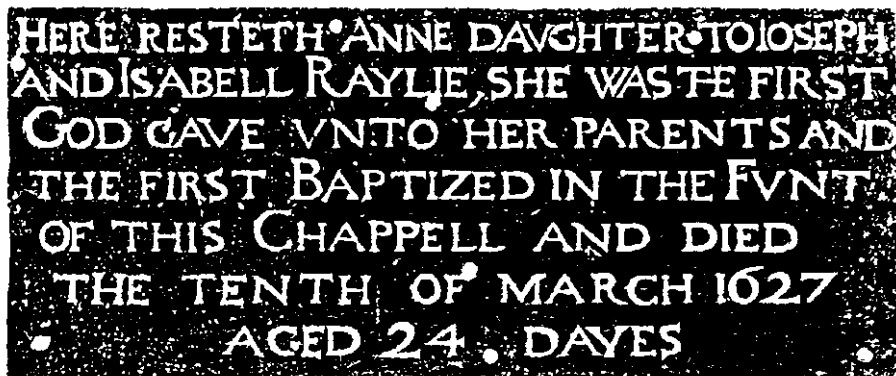


FIG. 5

King's Lynn, St. Nicholas, Norfolk
 M.S. I. Inscription to Anne Raylie, 1627
Rubbing by William Lack

121 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 2 rivets) and six sons (137 x 133 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 1 rivet), a scroll (253 x 56 mm overall, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets), a three-line Latin inscription (98 x 549 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets), the Mass of St. Gregory (189 x 116 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 2 rivets) and the pardon inscription (141 x 131 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 2 rivets). The effigies of Elizabeth Legh and seven daughters, another scroll and two shields have been lost for many years. The brass was originally set in a mural Purbeck slab (720 x 615 mm) which still survives at the east end of the Savage (south) chapel but is badly worn. The brass was removed from its slab at the end of the last century and screwed to a board mounted on the west wall of the Savage chapel. The mounting was vulnerable and the plates had become very corroded. I removed the brass and board on 26 January 1996. After cleaning and repairing a fracture in the scroll, I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board. The missing plates were outlined on the board. The board was mounted on the west wall of the Savage chapel on 9 April 1996.

NARBOROUGH, NORFOLK

M.S. III. John Spelman, 1545. This London (series G) brass, comprising an armoured effigy, a six-line English inscription and two shields lies in the original Purbeck slab on the south side of the sanctuary. I conserved and relaid the whole brass in 1982.⁸ The dexter shield (152 x 136 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 2 rivets) was stolen from the church early in 1994 but was recovered by the police at the end of the year and I collected it on 24 June 1995. It had been levered out from the slab and was slightly distorted. After judicious flattening I fitted new rivets. The shield was relaid on 10 January 1996.

⁸ This earlier work was described in *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 5 (1984), pp. 434-5, and the brass was illustrated in *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 6 (1985), p. 566.

NORTH OCKENDON, ESSEX⁹

Four brasses were removed from the walls of the Poyntz (north) chapel on 10 September 1995. They were vulnerable to theft and had become seriously corroded. The three earlier brasses had been removed from their slabs *c.* 1875 and the slabs discarded.

M.S. I. William Poyntz and wife, 1502. This London (series F) brass now comprises the armoured effigy of William Poyntz (698 x 230 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 7 rivets), the effigy of his wife Elizabeth (706 x 245 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 5 rivets), a four-line Latin inscription (110 x 700 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 4 rivets), groups of six sons (164 x 182 mm, thickness 5.4 mm, 1 rivet) and six daughters (161 x 196 mm, thickness 5.0 mm, 2 rivets), and three shields (upper sinister 152 x 120 mm, thickness 3.9 mm; lower dexter 153 x 125 mm, thickness 4.4 mm; lower sinister 152 x 126 mm, thickness 4.0 mm; each 1 rivet). A fourth shield is lost but is shown on an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries made when the brass lay in its original slab. The three shields each show identical heraldry, POYNTZ impaling SHAW, with the dexter half comprised of brass and the sinister half of lead. From careful examination of the rubbing it was possible to identify their original positions on the brass. When mounted on the wall two shields had been positioned between the effigies and the third between the groups of children.

The two lower shields proved to be palimpsest.¹⁰ The reverse of the lower sinister shield shows part of a fifteenth-century inscription: "Alicia uxor eius qui qui . . . ffebruarii Anno domini" and that of the lower dexter shield shows part of a furred gown, engraved *c.* 1500. After cleaning I fitted new rivets, reinforced parts of the shields and rebated the plates into a Cedar board. The plates were positioned as in the old rubbing and the missing shield was lightly outlined.

M.S. II. Thomasin Badby, 1532. This London (series G) brass, now comprising a female effigy (728 x 177 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 6 rivets), a mutilated five-line English inscription (originally about 620 mm wide, now 122 x 439 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets) and three shields (upper dexter 147 x 129 mm, thickness 2.9 mm; upper sinister 148 x 132 mm, thickness 3.0 mm; lower dexter 148 x 131 mm, thickness 2.8 mm; each 2 rivets), originally lay on the nave floor. A fourth shield is lost but is shown on an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries. The plates had been mounted on the wall with one shield above the effigy and the others on either side of it.

After cleaning I repaired fractures in the effigy and inscription and fitted new rivets. The brass was rebated into a Cedar board with the plates positioned as in the Society of Antiquaries rubbing and with the missing shield and the right end of the inscription lightly outlined on the board.

⁹ M.S. I and II were described and illustrated by M. Christy and W.W. Porteous in their series on Essex Brasses in *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, IX (1903), pp. 149-51, and *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, N.S., IX (1903), pp. 30-2. More recently M.S. I, II and III were described and illustrated by W.J.T. Smith and H.G. Worsley, *Brasses - Thurrock and District* (Boreham, 1970), pp. 39-44, pls. 21, 22.

¹⁰ 'Eighth Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 78 (May 1998), pl. 231, no. L524-1/2.



FIG. 6

North Ockendon, Essex

M.S. III. Inscription and four shields to John Poyntz, 1547

Rubbing by H Martin Stuchfield

M.S. III. Inscription and four shields to John Poyntz, 1547 (Fig. 6). This London (series G) brass, comprising a four-line inscription in English (100 x 464 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets) and four shields (upper dexter 129 x 109 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.1 and 3.3 mm; upper sinister 129 x 108 mm, thickness 3.1 mm; lower dexter shield 129 x 107 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.4 and 3.5 mm; lower sinister 128 x 108 mm, engraved on two plates, thickness 3.2 and 2.5 mm; each 1 rivet) had been screwed to a board on the north wall of the Poyntz chapel.

All the plates proved to be palimpsest.¹¹ The inscription shows a mid to late fifteenth-century weeper under a canopy. The upper dexter shield and the two lower shields each consist of two plates still soldered together. The bottom part of the upper dexter shield shows some drapery, probably linking with the reverse of the inscription. The other parts are cut from late fifteenth-century canopy work and appear to be all from the same brass, again possibly linking with the inscription reverse. The upper sinister shield shows a shield with the arms *Gules a chevron between three pierced mullets or*, possibly for Danvers.

¹¹ 'Eighth Addenda to Palimpsests', pls. 230, 231, L525-1/8.

After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board with the plates being positioned from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

Inscription to Major W.H. Poyntz, 1892. This rectangular plate, engraved with an inscription in twelve English lines and a shield (761 x 456 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 6 rivets) is signed 'GAWTHORP SC LONDON'. It was removed from the east wall of the Poyntz chapel and had become considerably corroded. After cleaning, re-rivetting, polishing and lacquering it was rebated into a Cedar board.

The boards were mounted on 20 January 1996, M.S. I and III on the north wall at the west end of the Poyntz chapel, M.S. II on a pillar in the north aisle and the 1892 inscription on the north wall at the east end of the Poyntz chapel.

SHAROW, YORKSHIRE

Inscription to Margaret and Catherine Mason, 1829 and 1860. This six-line inscription (353 x 1249 mm, thickness 3.1 mm) had been removed from the south wall before being delivered to me on 26 October 1995. It had become considerably corroded and tarnished and I cleaned and lacquered it. The brass was collected from me on 31 January 1996 and has since been remounted in the church.

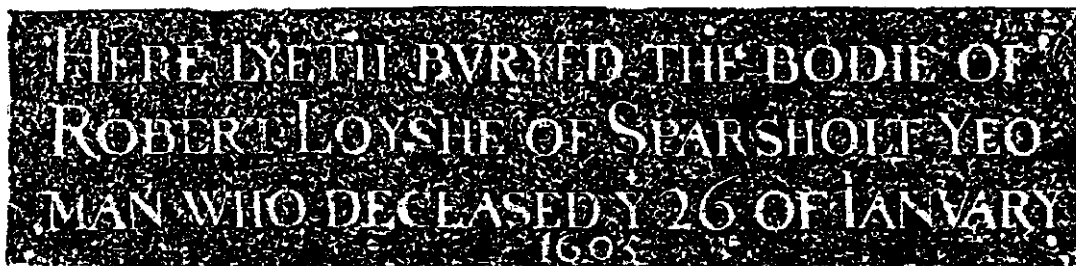


FIG. 7

Sparsholt, Berkshire

L.S.W. IX. Inscription to Thomas Loyshe, 1605

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

SPARSHOLT, BERKSHIRE (now in OXFORDSHIRE)

L.S.W. IX. Inscription to Thomas Loyshe, 1605 (Fig. 7). This London (Johnson style) inscription in three English lines (111 x 452 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets) was found in 1992 during excavations on the site of the north transept.¹² It was discovered still secured to its limestone ledger slab. The brass was collected from Sparsholt on 19 May 1996. After many years in the ground the obverse had suffered considerable corrosion and had become heavily pitted while the reverse, protected by pitch, was in much better condition. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into an Iroko board. On 23 October 1996 the board was mounted on the north wall of the nave as close as possible to the site of discovery.

¹² 'Church Archaeology', *Oxford Archaeological Unit, Annual Report 1991-92* (Oxford, 1992).

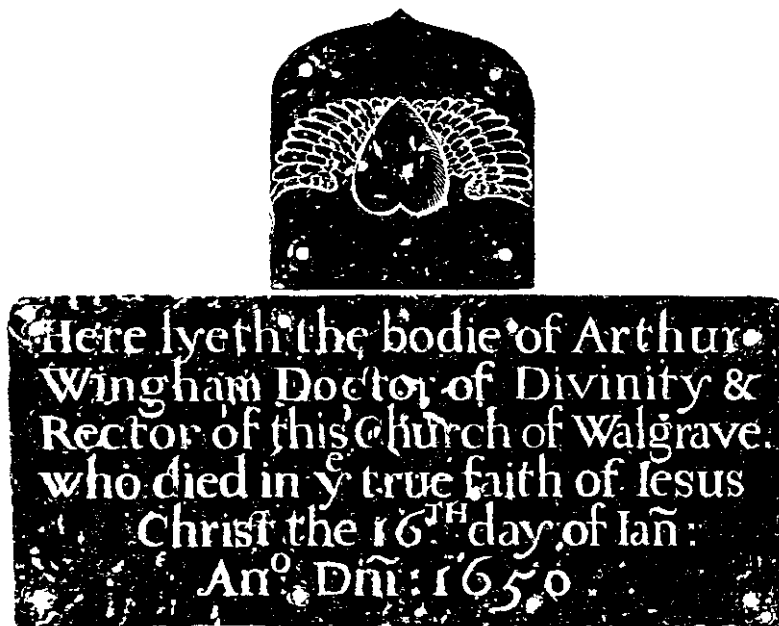


FIG. 8
Walgrave, Northamptonshire
Inscription and shield to Arthur Wingham, 1650
Rubbing by William Lack

WALGRAVE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Inscription and shield to Arthur Wingham, 1650 (Fig. 8).¹³ This six-line inscription in English (173 x 403 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 8 rivets) and shield (46 x 137 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 4 rivets) were taken up from their slab in the chancel by Mandy Lawless, conservator, and delivered to me on 16 September 1996. I cleaned and re-riveted them. They were collected from me on 28 September 1996 and relaid shortly afterwards.

WESTLEY WATERLESS, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

The three brasses were removed from the church on 17 February 1996.

L.S.W. I. Sir John and Lady Alyne de Creke, engraved *c.*1340-5.¹⁴ This celebrated London (Seymour style) brass, now comprising an armoured effigy (163 x 356 mm, engraved on two large plates, thicknesses 3.5 and 3.9 mm and two small plates, thicknesses 3.1 and 3.0 mm, 12 rivets) and a female effigy (1646 x 343 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.8 and 3.5 mm, 10 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (2760 x 1020 mm) in the south aisle. In addition to the two effigies the

¹³ Not recorded by Stephenson but noted in *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt.1 (1952), p. 31.

¹⁴ The brass has been described and illustrated on many occasions (see W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), pp. 240-2).

brass originally comprised a double canopy, six shields and marginal inscription.¹⁵ The slab, in two sections with the joint between them running across the lower part of the effigies, had flaked extensively so that the effigies were totally proud and vulnerable. Indents for some of the missing plates can still be discerned. The two effigies had been previously relaid,¹⁶ the female effigy being secured by large iron nails, and were quite loose.

A few days after the removal of the effigies from the slab, the slab itself was lifted from the floor by Harrison Hill Conservation and transported to their studio in Corby. After it had been dried out and previous wax consolidation removed, the surface was consolidated and the two sections joined with stainless steel dowels. New indents were cut for the effigies.

The plates comprising the effigies were still joined together with rivetted backing-plates, although in the case of the female effigy the rivets proved to be ferrous. After cleaning I replaced these rivets with brass and fitted new rivets to the effigies. I relaid the effigies in the slab at Corby on 23 July 1996. The brass and slab were returned to the church and relaid in the original site on 25 July 1996

L.S.W. II and III. Inscriptions to Giles Alington, 1592, and Susan Alington, 1594. These London (Johnson style) English inscriptions in four and five lines of Roman capitals (120 x 421 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 8 rivets, and 142 x 422 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 8 rivets) were removed from the north aisle wall. They were recorded in 1752 by the antiquarian William Cole on the floor of the chancel.¹⁷ By 1926 they had been taken up and mounted in a wooden frame on the wall of the chancel¹⁸ and subsequently they had been screwed directly to the north aisle wall. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brasses into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the north aisle wall on 17 August 1996.

WIRKSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE

M.S. II. Thomas Blackwall and wife Maude, 1525. This London (series G) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (470 x 144 mm), a female effigy (469 x 135 mm), a three-line English inscription, six sons, one daughter and a scroll, was originally laid in a Purbeck slab (1635 x 740 mm) on the north chancel floor. Subsequently M.S. I, a second brass to other members of the Blackwall family, comprising a civilian effigy (495 x 164 mm), a female effigy (485 x 135 mm), eight sons, ten daughters and two scrolls and engraved *c.* 1510, was added to the slab. The inscription from this latter brass and a shield from M.S. II are lost. About a century ago the slab was lifted from the floor and set against the north wall of the chapel.

¹⁵ The illustration in J. Coales ed., *The Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), fig.102, incorporates rubbings of two lost parts, a section of the canopy and a fillet of the marginal inscription (from BL Add. MSS 9461, f. 70v, and 3478, ff. 14-15).

¹⁶ The male effigy was relaid by K.R. Mabbitt in 1967 (*Field Report* to MBS Council, by H.K. Cameron, 15 July 1967).

¹⁷ BL Add. MS 5819, f. 110.

¹⁸ Stephenson, *List*, p. 66.

The daughter (121 x 44mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 3 rivets) was stolen from the slab *c.* 1985 but was fortunately recovered and was delivered to me in April 1996. The plate had been broken into three pieces and had been polished whilst in private hands. It is palimpsest,¹⁹ the reverse showing part of a Latin inscription reading 'ht juni(?) . . Anna . / . marcij . Anno domini MoC', engraved *c.* 1450. After cleaning I rejoined the sections and fitted new rivets. I reset the plate into the slab on 12 November 1996.

YATE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

I removed twenty brasses for conservation on 16 January 1996. Thirteen of them had been mounted on a board affixed to the angled wall between the south chapel and the nave and six others were loose in the vestry. Many of the plates had become badly corroded. The brasses have been re-numbered chronologically.²⁰

M.S. I. Alexander Staples and two wives, 1590 (Fig. 9). This London (Johnson style) rectangular plate, engraved with a male effigy, two female effigies, six sons, five daughters and a four-line Latin inscription (523 x 666 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 14 rivets), originally lay in the south chapel but was taken up some years ago and mounted at the top right hand corner of the old board. The slab, now cut into three pieces, is set in the floor at the east end of the south chapel. After cleaning the plate I found it was palimpsest with lightly engraved doodles on the reverse.²¹ These comprised two signatures of Thomas Smith, the date 1657 and a curious figure, possibly an angel.

III. Inscription to Mary Walker, 1635. This inscription in five English lines (115 x 241 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board. It was considerably corroded.

IV. Inscription to Adam Bainham, 1669. This ten-line Latin inscription in Roman capitals (228 x 185 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board. It is palimpsest with some trial engraving on the reverse.²²

V. Inscription to Robert Walker, 1676/7. This nine-line Latin inscription (322 x 508 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 12 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board. It was considerably corroded.

VI. Inscription to Hodges Godwin junior, 1677.²³ This inscription in six Latin lines (210 x 327 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been stored in the vestry.

¹⁹ 'Eighth Addenda to Palimpsests', pl. 231, L527-1.

²⁰ They have previously been listed in Stephenson, *List*, p. 157, in the 1938 *Appendix*, p. 751, and in a note in *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt.6 (1949), pp. 295-6. These lists show that they were all (except for nos. XVI, XVIII and XIX) formerly laid in the south chapel. One other brass, the inscription to William Huchenson, 1628, is mounted in the aumbrey and was not conserved.

²¹ 'Eighth Addenda to Palimpsests', pl. 231, L528-1.

²² 'First Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 58 (July 1982), p. v, and 'Eighth Addenda to Palimpsests', pl. 232, M424-1.

²³ Illustrated in *MBS Bulletin*, 75 (June 1997), p. 314.

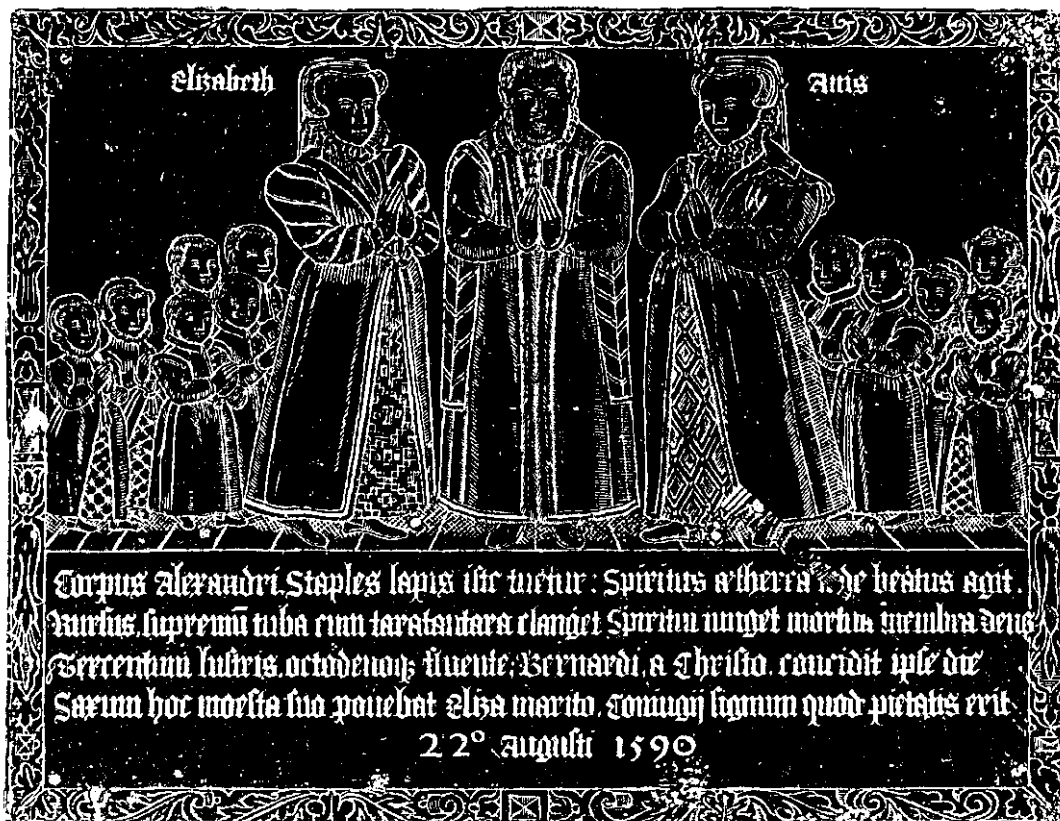


FIG. 9

Yate, Gloucestershire

M.S. I. Alexander Staples and two wives, 1590

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

VII. Inscription to Mary Walker, 1678. This nine-line Latin inscription (304 x 492 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 9 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board. It was considerably corroded.

VIII. Inscription to Jeremy Horler, 1685. This eight-line Latin inscription (240 x 460 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 9 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board. The bottom right corner is broken off across a rivet hole.

IX. Inscription to Sarah and Matthew Smith, 1669 and 1703. This inscription in nine English lines (201 x 299 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board.

X. Inscription and two shields to Gertrude Saunders, 1712 (Fig. 10). This six-line English inscription (249 x 401 mm, average thickness 4.1 mm, 10 rivets) and two shields (*three elephants*: 129 x 176 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 4 rivets; *three elephants* impaling

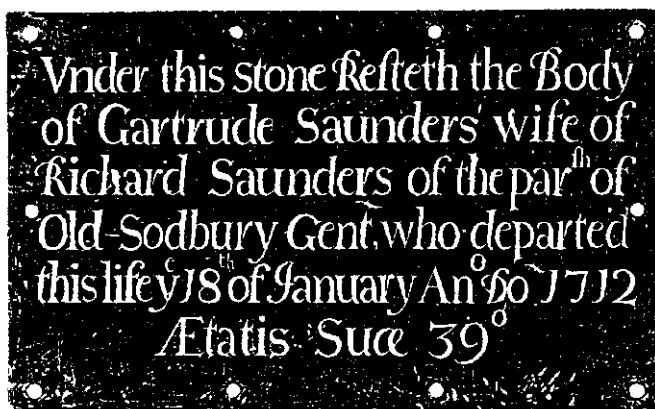
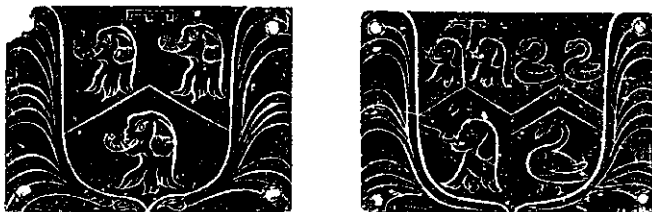


FIG. 10

Yate, Gloucestershire

X. Inscription and two shields to Gertrude Saunders, 1712

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

three swans: 127 x 183 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets) were formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board. The plates were extensively corroded and the top left corner of the first shield had been broken off across the rivet hole.

XI. Inscription to Richard Belsize, 1715. This inscription in five Latin lines (222 x 355 mm, average thickness 5.1 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been stored in the vestry.

XII. Inscription to Elizabeth and Thomas Belsize, 1728. This inscription in eight Latin lines (176 x 368 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 6 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been stored in the vestry. There are hammer marks on the reverse.

XIII. Inscription to Richard Saunders, 1728. This six-line English inscription (247 x 400 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 10 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been mounted on the old board.

XIV. Inscription to Esther Tillie, daughter of Richard Belsize, 1735. This inscription in eight English lines (277 x 451 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 5 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been stored in the vestry. The plate was originally secured with integral cast lugs on the reverse. Both right corners are broken off.

XV. Inscription and shield to George, John and William Mason, 1739. This brass was formerly laid in the south chapel. The inscription in eleven Latin lines (251 x 404 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 4 rivets) had been stored in the vestry and the shield (122 x 183 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 4 rivets) had been mounted on the old board. The inscription is palimpsest, the reverse showing trial engraving.²⁴

XVI. Inscription to Hester Mason, 1729, and husband William, 1740. This inscription in ten Latin lines (368 x 410 mm, thickness 6.5 mm, 8 rivets) was formerly laid in the nave and had subsequently been stored in the vestry. The upper right corner had been covered at some stage and had a considerable accumulation of cement in this area. Removal of this revealed extensive corrosion and pitting of the surface.

XVII. Inscription to Priscilla Mason, 1751. This inscription in seven English lines (260 x 359 mm, average thickness 2.4 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been stored in the vestry.

XVIII. Inscription to Richard Wallington, 1764. This inscription in six English lines (182 x 182 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets) was formerly laid in the nave and had subsequently been stored in the vestry.

XIX. Inscription to Richard Stokes, 1782. On 16 January 1996 I removed this inscription in three English lines (170 x 234 mm, thickness 5.1 mm) from its slab at the east end of the north aisle. It has four securing lugs which are cast integrally with the brass.

XX. Inscription to James Baker, 1796. This inscription in seven English lines (323 x 486 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 5 rivets) was formerly laid in the south chapel and had subsequently been stored in the vestry.

XXI. Inscription to Joseph Bendall, 1829, and his wife Mary, 1841. This inscription in twelve English lines (410 x 358 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 8 rivets) had been mounted on the old board.

After cleaning I repaired a fracture in no. V, fitted new rivets to the brasses and rebated them into four Cedar boards. The boards were mounted murally on 31 August 1996, M.S. I on the angled wall between the south chapel and the nave, two on the south wall of the nave and the fourth on the east wall of the north transept.

²⁴ 'First Addenda to Palimpsests', p. vi, and 'Eighth Addenda to Palimpsests', pl. 232, M425-1.

Review

Martine Plouvier ed., *Laon - Une Acropole à la française*, L'Inventaire général des monuments et des richesses artistiques de la France, Région Picardie - Cahiers du Patrimoine n^o.40 (Amiens, 1995). ISBN 2-906340-17-0

The appearance of a new book about Laon is not something that would be thought particularly noteworthy to members of the Monumental Brass Society, and indeed, save for a review¹ which highlighted a study on the monuments, I would have passed it by myself. However, 21 pages are taken up by a chapter on 'La Sculpture Funéraire du XIII^e au XVIII^e Siècle' by Rémi Bazin, which deals comprehensively with the large number of incised slabs found in the cathedral of Notre-Dame as well as the *gisants* and funeral monuments elsewhere in the town.

This study is remarkable for a number of reasons. Firstly, despite the enormous number of incised slabs that remain in France, it is ironic that there has been a limited amount of work published on them in their native country.² Secondly, the lists compiled by the French authorities in classifying slabs as 'Monuments Historiques' are sometimes inaccurate and cover the country only in piecemeal fashion.³ Thirdly, the list of effigial slabs in France published by Greenhill in 1976⁴ was the fruit of many decades of work, and yet, as he acknowledged himself, it only scraped the surface of what probably existed. He noted 23 effigial slabs in Laon cathedral yet in this study some 195 tomb-slabs are recorded, both extant and lost examples, of which 81, albeit not all with effigies, are still identifiable. These statistics speak volumes when trying to assess how much material remains unknown to us in France. The Gaignières drawings are invaluable in this regard generally but unfortunately they contain nothing on the material at Laon.

For students of church monuments some of the chapter goes over old ground but many interesting aspects are included which deserve wider appreciation.⁵ The first section deals with the destruction of many of the slabs at Laon, one of the prime reasons before the Revolution being an increasing lack of floor space. In 1769 the canons of the cathedral decided to 'rectifier l'encombrement' of the slabs, issuing orders to 'faire lever les plaques de cuivre qui se lèvent sur les tombes de l'église, qui se fendent ou que l'on vole'. As might be expected this destruction continued during the Revolution, as in 1794 the Councils of the district and commune of Laon

¹ Review by D. Sandron, *Bulletin Monumental*, CLIV, pt. 2 (1996), pp. 189-92.

² Two notable exceptions are the publication of the Gaignières drawings in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1974-77); and those of monuments and slabs drawn by Paillot published in the same journal (1986). For further information see J. Coales, 'The Drawings of Roger de Gaignières: Loss and Survival', *Church Monuments*, XII (1997), pp. 14-34.

³ The detailed, exhaustive accounts produced by L'Inventaire (e.g. *Canton de Sombornon* [Paris, 1977]) are a notable exception; but much information is still on file under the Direction du Patrimoine from records made prior to war damage and has not been updated. However, the records have been transferred onto a computer database and printouts of slabs categorised by terms such as date or region can usefully be produced.

⁴ F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976).

⁵ S.E. Rigold, 'Early Indents in Laon Cathedral', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 4 (1966), pp. 275-82, seems to be the only recent attempt which accounts for more than one or two individual slabs at Laon.

demanded fifty feet in length of tombs laid down by the entrance of the former church of Saint-Jean to be ground down to assist in the manufacture of gunpowder.⁶ Other slabs were broken up and used as building stone; one can still detect traces of these monuments here and there amongst the town buildings. From the 1840s, however, there began a period of conservation concentrated on the cathedral and with it an appreciation of the value of funeral monuments so that certain of them were classified by the government as 'Monuments Historiques'. During various restorations several slabs were taken up from the pavement and placed in the side chapels of nave and choir, and others, for no apparent reason were raised into the south tribune and set into the floor there. Consequently, it is difficult to say whether there are any slabs in the cathedral which remain in their original position.

The second section of the paper discusses the chronological distribution of the monuments, though the conclusions are hampered by the fact that so many can no longer be identified nor accurately dated.⁷ Essentially, from the thirteenth century there are on record - 1 *gisant* and 4 slabs (2 remaining); fourteenth century - 2 *gisants* and 7 slabs; fifteenth century - 2 mural tablets and 3 slabs; sixteenth century - 1 inscription and 35 slabs (24 remaining); seventeenth century - 1 inscription, 2 wall monuments and 28 slabs (20 remaining); and from the eighteenth century - 9 slabs (7 remaining). The slabs in the cathedral are almost entirely to canons of Notre-Dame, hardly surprising when one considers the importance of the college of canons in the history of the diocese of Laon; the privilege of burial within the body of the cathedral was granted to them in 1183. Several prelates were also interred within the cathedral but only four slabs remain which might have been to bishops,⁸ and burial of the civil laity there was most exceptional. In the church of the Templars there are three slabs to members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (only one recorded by Greenhill) and other later monuments; and in the church of Saint-Martin there are two *gisants*, three mural monuments and a late epitaph.

M. Bazin then accounts for the ordering and manufacture of the slabs and it is in this section that much interesting material can be found. With restricted burials inside the cathedral it was the chapter of canons which decided who might be commemorated by a slab, and if approval were granted they permitted wording of the inscriptions in certain ways only. For example, an epitaph for the slab of Canon Jean-Charles Mairesse (d. 1775) was submitted by his niece to the college for approval. It was passed, provided a certain phrase 'cy-devant curé de la paroisse de Vorge et doyen du Détroit de Bruyères' was deleted. The niece apparently took no notice and the slab was laid down with the offending passage in place, only for it to be

⁶ It is unclear from this account whether the tombslabs were stacked up outside the church of Saint-Jean to a depth of 50 feet, or whether there were 50 feet in length of slabs in the pavement which were taken up and destroyed. The passage is '50 pieds courants de tombes déposées à la porte de la . . . église de Saint-Jean . . .'.

⁷ Antiquarian evidence is used to assist in the identification of some of the slabs; the most valuable record is that by E. Fleury, *Antiquités et monuments du département de l'Aisne*, IV (Paris, 1882).

⁸ The monument of Bp. Charles de Luxembourg (1510), who was interred under a magnificent plate of brass decorated with enamels, was destroyed at the Revolution; that of Vaentin de Gras (1598) was partly destroyed in 1793 but later identified; as was that of Mgr. de Clermont, originally in the choir and then in the transept. A fourth example, of a prelate from the early-14th century, is identified by Rigold, 'Laon', p.278, fig.1.

erased. In a brief examination of the dimensions of the slabs M. Bazin found a distinct correlation between their size and the relative importance of the deceased - further evidence of the influence of the chapter on funeral monuments and a concept perhaps only rarely considered in Great Britain.

There was sometimes a gap of several years between the death of a canon and the erection of his monument. Canon Jehan Hocquellus died in 1521 and was buried in the cathedral, yet the order by the chapter for his tomb was only given in June 1524 and the slab was actually delivered some eight months later. Further details about its manufacture are also revealed. The agreement specified that there would be engraved 'ung personnaige d'omme d'église, en façon de chanoine, de pareille façon et ouvraige qu'est celle de feu m^e Henry Thiboust, qui est inhumé et enterré en l'église Nostre Dame de Paris,⁹ derrière le ceueur, sauf ung escripteau qui est dessus ses piedz, et au lieu de ce bouter quatre evangelists aux quatre coings, d'albastre blanc, et deux escussons, aux costez, aussi de marbre blanc, esquelz seront engravez les armes de feu m^e Jehan Hocquellus . . .' The engraver was Pierre Prisé of Paris.¹⁰ Other engravers are identified at Laon. The slab of sub-cantor Jean Soucanye (d. 1546) is the only one remaining which is signed and dated, made by the 'tombier' Mathieu Lemoine from the workshop near the Porte Saint-Michel in Paris.¹¹ A slab to Canon Jehan Chaulmont (d. 1557), which is known only from the notes left by Guilhermy¹² was signed by Louis Blanra. A last example is the slab of Canon Lempereur (d. 1618) which was ordered from Martin Damien 'maître sculpteur' living in Laon.

Despite his interest in the sculptors themselves, Bazin makes only a few suggestions in an assessment of similarities in design of the slabs which might point to the development of workshop designs and techniques. The slab of Adam Sarazin (d. 1546), lieutenant of the captain and governors of Laon, originally in the church of Saint-Martin but now in the museum, seems to be a direct copy of the earlier slab to Canon William Cabot (d. 1506) in the cathedral. Both show the deceased in profile, kneeling at prayer on a tiled floor and facing to the dexter side. On other slabs facial details are stylised, for example the face of Canon Claude de Reims (d. 1582) strongly resembles that of his colleague Nicolas de Sains (d. 1626), one of the last effigial slabs at Laon, so the use of cartoons or the direct influence of one slab on the other is probable.

Two types of stone were generally employed for the slabs. One was a coarse limestone from the Paris Basin, probably from around Senlis; and the other was the well-known Tournai marble. Their natural colours made the use of contrasting stone inlays a common technique and although there are no plates of brass or copper remaining there are still many examples of white marble - and rarely coloured composition - to be found in both sorts of stone.

⁹ Illustrated by J. Adhémar, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI^e période, LXXXVII (1976), no.1270.

¹⁰ Greenhill, *op. cit.*, p.37, records that in 1524 Pierre Prisié [*sic*] was contracted to supply a large tomb slab to Louis Jordan, to commemorate a civilian/merchant.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, where several slabs are attributed to 'Jehan le Moyne' at this workshop.

¹² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.f., MS 6101, coll. Guilhermy, t.8, f. 300v ff.

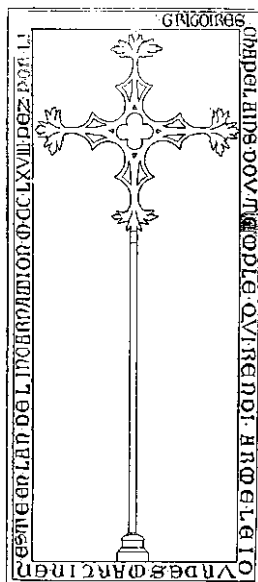


FIG. 1

Laon, France: Incised slab to Grigoires, chaplain of the Temple, d. 1268

Drawing by Eugène Midoux, 1869

The next section provides a brief résumé of the three *gisants* found at Laon, of which two are well known. One is the beautiful, finely carved white marble figure of Jeanne de Flandre, Abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Le Sauvoir-sous-Laon (d. 1334), now in the church of Saint-Martin.¹³ The other is the cadaver of William de Harcigny (d. 1393) now in the Templars' chapel, almost the earliest representation of this type of funeral monument.¹⁴ But the third, in the church of Saint-Martin, seems to have passed without much notice, although it is the oldest, from the early thirteenth century, and is still in remarkably good condition. It displays the semi-relief effigy of one of the Montchâlons family, who were benefactors to that church, in mail and surcoat with shield and sword, his head on a richly decorated cushion and his feet on a small bracket. There is a crude trefoil canopy above with turrets and tiled roofs to either side of the main arch. All three *gisants* are illustrated.

In addition Bazin describes and illustrates two mural tablets sculpted in low relief. The earlier, to Abbot Pierre du Pont (d. 1461), in the church of Saint-Martin, is in Tournai marble.¹⁵ It shows the kneeling abbot being presented to the Virgin and Child by St. Peter.¹⁶ Remarkably, the scene takes place within a part of the abbey

¹³ See *L'Europe Gothique, XII^e - XIV^e siècles*, Catalogue de la 12^e exposition du Conseil de l'Europe (Paris, 1968), no. 140; J. France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art* (Stroud, 1998), p. 155, fig. 103.

¹⁴ E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France - the Late Middle Ages*, (Princeton, 1986), pp. 318-9.

¹⁵ See also J. Brosse ed., *Dictionnaire des Églises de France*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1968), IV D, p. 92.

¹⁶ This type of representation is well known in France and Belgium: the kneeling deceased is presented to the Virgin and Child by his patron saint, the scene usually occurring in a nondescript chamber, and below, an inscription recounts details of bequests to various altars, churches, clergy and so on. An earlier example near Laon, also in Tournai marble, is at Mons-en-Laonnais, to Canon Henri Carpentin (d. 1417) which still retains the simple design popular from the beginning of the 15th century, even though the monument was, in fact, produced some 30 years after Carpentin's death. See J.-P. Ravaux, 'L'église de Mons-en-Laonnais', *Aisne Méridionale - Société française d'archéologie, Congrès Archéologique de France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1994), II, pp.471-2; also L. Nys, 'Incised Wall Tablets in Tournai Stone', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 2 (1993), pp. 90-118.

church, as below it, as if under the pavement, is the recumbent naked corpse of the abbot with crosier and mitre, crawling with worms. The other tablet, to Henriette Chardonne (d. 1491) is in the museum and is a more ambitious composition altogether. The shrouded figure of Henriette is shown emerging from an open tomb in the ground before St. John and the Virgin, baring her breast, who kneel interceding for her with Christ seated above on a rainbow.

The ornamentation and general design of the incised slabs is then described, but although interesting from a chronological viewpoint in comparison with English work, there is nothing much new here. The earliest two slabs, to Canon Hungerus (d.1261) and chaplain Grigoires (d. 1268) are both cross-slabs, the former a relatively plain design of a straight-armed cross with fleur-de-lys terminals and a quatrefoil piercing the intersection. Although engraved only a few years later, the cross on Grigoires' slab (Fig. 1) is a much more elegant thing, having terminals of acanthus foliage, a quadrilobe piercing the intersection and delightful pierced cusps along the arms between intersection and terminals.¹⁷ Cross-slabs are comparatively rare in France and very few were laid down after the start of the fourteenth century, apparently being eclipsed by the preference for richly decorated effigial slabs. These in turn became increasingly elaborate with diapered backgrounds - sometimes highlighted in different coloured stones - and canopy work which incorporated figures of saints, weepers and so on. But from about 1540 the architectural surrounds were radically transformed, so that although the general composition of the slab remained the same, the style is fully Renaissance. For example, the slab of Canon Claude de Reims (d. 1582) shows his figure in vestments in front of a stylobate, the columns of which support an ornate round-headed canopy with an entablature and broken pediment above.¹⁸ Symbols of death - skulls, urns and other allegorical features litter the background and appear at the angles of the marginal inscription, where previously there were the symbols of the evangelists.¹⁹

From the latter half of the sixteenth century the image of the deceased gives way to the use of architectural decoration and symbolic images. The earliest slab without a figure is to Canon Jean Lefebvre (d. 1551) which has a representation of two hands joined together, each emerging from a cloud, with an invocatory scroll above. This type of representation is frequently found in later slabs at Laon, sometimes with the wrists showing the sleeves of the alb and the maniple hanging over the left forearm.

Thereafter the decoration becomes simpler but no less refined. Prominent heraldic features are incorporated on the slabs, there are cartouches or hangings inscribed with texts, together with scrolls and friezes, always accompanied by a skull, long bones and, a typical French feature, tears. Ending the seventeenth century, the slab of Canon Adrien Bertrand (d. 1683) bears, above the epitaph, a plinth with the upper part of a skeleton posed just like a mannequin. The skull has an ugly, mocking

¹⁷ The entire design is very close to the early 14th-century cross-slabs at Exeter Cathedral, to John de Drayton (?1301) and Andrew de Kilkenny (1302) which were made locally. See J. Coales ed., *The Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), pp. 162-3.

¹⁸ The general style of canopies such as this is similar to that of the stone screens enclosing the side chapels of the nave and choir, which date from c. 1570 to c. 1620. With the increasing possibility that slabs of this date were manufactured in Laon it is not unlikely that the repetitive nature of the screen design found favour amongst the slab engravers and was easy to draw upon. See C. Riboulleau, 'Les Clôtures de Chapelles de la Cathédrale', *Laon - Une Acropole à la française*, pp.323-31.

¹⁹ Another early example showing symbols of mortality is the slab of Canon Jean Soucanye (d. 1547).

grin and in his left hand the skeleton holds a scythe; in his right there is a wing, to symbolise the rapidity of death. All around are tears *à la manière des feux follets* - like will o' the wisps.

Two wall-monuments from the seventeenth century are also briefly described by M. Bazin and the paper concludes with an short analysis of the inscriptions found on the slabs.²⁰ As late as 1641 all the epitaphs were written on marginal fillets but from the second half of the seventeenth century the text was engraved in horizontal lines in the body of the slab. Latin was used up to the start of the sixteenth century; from then until 1628 we find French almost exclusively, but thereafter there was a return to Latin. The lettering styles are equally definitive. Lombardic letters are found up to c.1350 after which gothic miniscules were employed. In 1628, with the return to Latin, true Roman capitals were used - some forty years after their adoption in England (although they occur on monuments of 1546 and 1547). As regards the content of the inscriptions, the power of the chapter to dictate what was engraved produced a monotonous collection of epitaphs, their general tenor being related directly to the status of the deceased. Essentially the inscriptions provided the minimum of information until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when much more detail started to be included, noting the particular virtues and qualities of the deceased, their generosity towards the ecclesiastical or civil community of Laon and so on.²¹

This study of incised slabs is well illustrated - one particular feature being the inclusion of an ichnographic plan of the tomb-slabs with a detailed key for attributing those which can still be identified - and brings to light several new pieces of evidence important in an understanding of the production of French slabs. In particular, the concept of an ecclesiastical body governing the size of the slabs, their inscriptions and, presumably, their designs, is unusual and may well be more common than we currently appreciate. What is crucial is that the study was undertaken in the first place, as the rate of decay of incised slabs in France is frightening compared with the speed with which any record of them is made. In this first volume there are other chapters which will be of direct interest to our members, covering building materials; the architecture and decoration of the cathedral; the pre-Revolutionary religious furnishings; the screen and decoration of the choir of the cathedral; the stained glass; the tapestries; and a full account of the bishop's palace and the canonical buildings. The book is of considerable interest to all those with a liking for French ecclesiology and as Laon is one of the most visited cathedrals in France it will provoke much thought and a better appreciation of its furnishings, the building itself and its environs. This book has been seven years in the making; there is ample material for further volumes and another is promised; but will we have to wait seven years for another detailed study of incised slabs to appear?

PAUL COCKERHAM

²⁰ Greenhill, *op. cit.*, I, ch.8, is devoted to an account of inscriptions and lettering on slabs and his conclusions are at slight variance with those here. However, the very restricted nature of the slabs at Laon, in that they were almost exclusively to ecclesiastics, must colour the evidence to a degree.

²¹ The conservatism of the Laon epitaphs is in contrast to what can be found elsewhere, both in England and mainland Europe. See R. Rex, 'Monumental Brasses and the Reformation', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 5 (1990), esp. pp. 389-92.

Obituary

DR. JOHAN BELONJE (1899-1996)

Dr Johan (Jan) Belonje, a leading continental member of the Monumental Brass Society, died in Leiden, Holland on 22 November 1996 at the age of 97.

Jan Belonje was born on 17 June 1899 in Alkmaar, the eldest son of Johannes Belonje, an English teacher, and Alida Bosman. His mother's family owned a shipyard and ferry service, and during his holidays he used to travel on his grandfather's ferry ships. His grandmother felt that his talent for history should be encouraged. She wrote to Mr. Bruinvis, Archivist of the City of Alkmaar, and, as a result, he became a regular visitor to the archives of Alkmaar for more than seventy years from September 1912. He remained grateful for the rest of his life to Mr. Bruinvis, who introduced him to the discipline of palaeography, which constantly served him well, since documentary evidence was the basis of his numerous historical publications.

He went to the University of Leiden in 1922 to study law. While there, because of his strong interest in history, he attended other courses. The historian P.C. Bloys van Treslong Prins advised him to attend courses in history of art and classical archaeology. He obtained his law degree in 1926, and in 1933 was awarded a



Dr. Johan Belonje and his wife, Eline Maria Verfaillie

doctorate in jurisprudence. He had already started to practise as a barrister, and soon took on additional public sector functions, such as the secretaryship of the Civil Welfare Service, since he always had an interest in the improvement of social conditions. He taught at a business school, became Secretary to the Waterways Administration of Schermeer, and was an agent for De Nederlandse Bank, in which post he served until his retirement in 1962. As a result of his work for Schermeer, he became a specialist historian of the regulation of waterways, dykes and sluices, a subject of the utmost importance in Holland, and devoted several works to this subject.

An early fruit of his long friendship with P.C. Bloys van Treslong Prins was their joint publication of the five-volume *Genealogische en Heraldische Gedenkwaardigheden in en uit de Kerken der Provincie Noord-Holland* (Utrecht, 1928-31), which contains an invaluable inventory of incised slabs and other funeral monuments in the province of Noord-Holland. Later volumes in the series to which he contributed dealt with the churches of Drenthe and Limburg. The results of his research were not confined to a specialist readership. In 1941 he published a small illustrated work of 108 pages, called *Steenen Charters (Oude Grafsteenen)*. This work, in a popular pocket series, was such a success that it was reprinted three times. In it he drew attention to incised slabs and the importance of their conservation. It was proposed that he become the Director of Monumentenzorg, an official institution in charge of the care of official monuments, churches, historic buildings and art works of all kinds, but he turned down the offer. In 1927 he was appointed a corresponding member of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.

In 1932 he married Eline Maria Verfaillie, daughter of the dyke-reeve of the district of Koegras, from the town of Den Helder. They had two daughters.

During the Second World War he was appointed an expert to save metal objects of historical value, such as old church bells, from requisition. In 1942 his house was hit by a bomb, which caused considerable damage. Fortunately it was possible to rescue his library from under the rubble.

His appointment as an Honorary Member of the Monumental Brass Society in 1955 pleased him greatly and he always showed much interest in the work of the Society. He himself made a notable contribution to the study of brasses in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands, several of his papers being published in the *Transactions*. Some 900 publications, including articles in about 125 periodicals, are listed in a bibliography of his works compiled by P.S. Teeling and published in 1982 to mark the seventieth anniversary of his first visit to the Alkmaar Municipal Archives. The majority deal with genealogy and heraldry, as well as cognate subjects such as monuments, castles and topographical history. This *corpus* of writings is a fitting monument to him. We offer our sincere condolences to his wife and family.

RONALD VAN BELLE

When our then Vice-President, F.A. Greenhill, began his researches into incised slabs on the Continent in the 1950s, Dr. Belonje was one of the people he was advised to contact. Their correspondence developed into a very close friendship. On his visits to Holland the research was inevitably conducted in the company of Belonje and very often Greenhill stayed in Alkmaar; as a result he became competent in reading and translating Dutch.

After the publication of *Incised Effigial Slabs* in 1976 no more visits were made to Holland, but the correspondence continued until Greenhill's death in 1983. As this was the end of an era, every letter written by Greenhill to Belonje was returned by the latter to the Society's archives.

JOHN COALES

The Editor is grateful to Dr. Harry Tummers and the Regionaal Archief, Alkmaar for information supplied.

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1: Bevis FitzWaryn, d. 1361 (incised slab), Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire (private possession). *Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, 30 August 1948*

This grey sandstone trapezoidal incised slab, 927 mm wide at top, tapering to 787 mm at bottom, the sides 2070 mm long, and 241 mm thick, comes from the Cluniac priory of Monkton Farleigh. The slab was known to Cutts, who published an inaccurate drawing as plate XXI in his *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses* of 1849, but its location was forgotten until the late 1930s, when it was found again by Lady Hobhouse, the then owner of Monkton Farleigh Manor.¹ It shows a cross with cusped tranverse arms with fleury terminals and a cusped circular head, within which is the bust of a bearded civilian wearing a *chaperon*. The marginal inscription, which is a late example of the use of ‘Lombardic’ uncials, reads:

+ HIC : IACET : BUGO : FYT :WA[RY]N : CUIUS : AMME : PROPICIETUR : DEUS :

The person commemorated, Bevis FitzWaryn, held land at Westbury, Wiltshire, according to an inquisition taken after his death on 24 November 1361.² His son and heir Walter was then stated to be aged 13 years and more. On 19 September 1373, when proof of age of Walter FitzWaryn was taken, it was stated that he was baptised at Box church on the feast of the Assumption 1349.³ A quitclaim of 1329 reveals that Bevis had a brother William, and that their mother was called Margery.⁴ William FitzWaryn of Penlegh, Wiltshire, served in the retinue of Reginald de Cobham during the Calais campaign, but there is no evidence that Bevis fought in France.⁵ Nicholas, the father of William and Bevis, had forfeited his estate, lying in the parishes of Bratton and Dilton, Wiltshire, as a rebel in 1322, but it was subsequently restored to the family.⁶

N.R.

Fig. 2: Margaret Buslingthorpe, d. 1369, Bothamsall, Nottinghamshire. *Rubbing by William Lack; lost portions reproduced by tracing from a rough rubbing by L.A.S. Butler*

This is one of three figure brasses in Nottinghamshire discovered this century and not recorded by Mill Stephenson. The others are the lady, *c.* 1390, found beneath the floor at Holme Pierrepont in 1960,⁷ and John Tunstall, 1630, returned to Clayworth

1 Information from unpublished notes by F.A. Greenhill.

2 *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XI, p. 261 (no. 328).

3 *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XIII, p. 258 (no. 288).

4 *Cal. Anct. D.*, VI, C 6377.

5 G. Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais* (London, 1898), pp. 85, 91, 20, 137.

6 VCH, *Wiltshire*, VIII (London, 1965), p. 164.

7 *MBS Portfolio*, VI (1962), pl. 21; fragment of inscription illus. *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 4 (1989), p. 285.

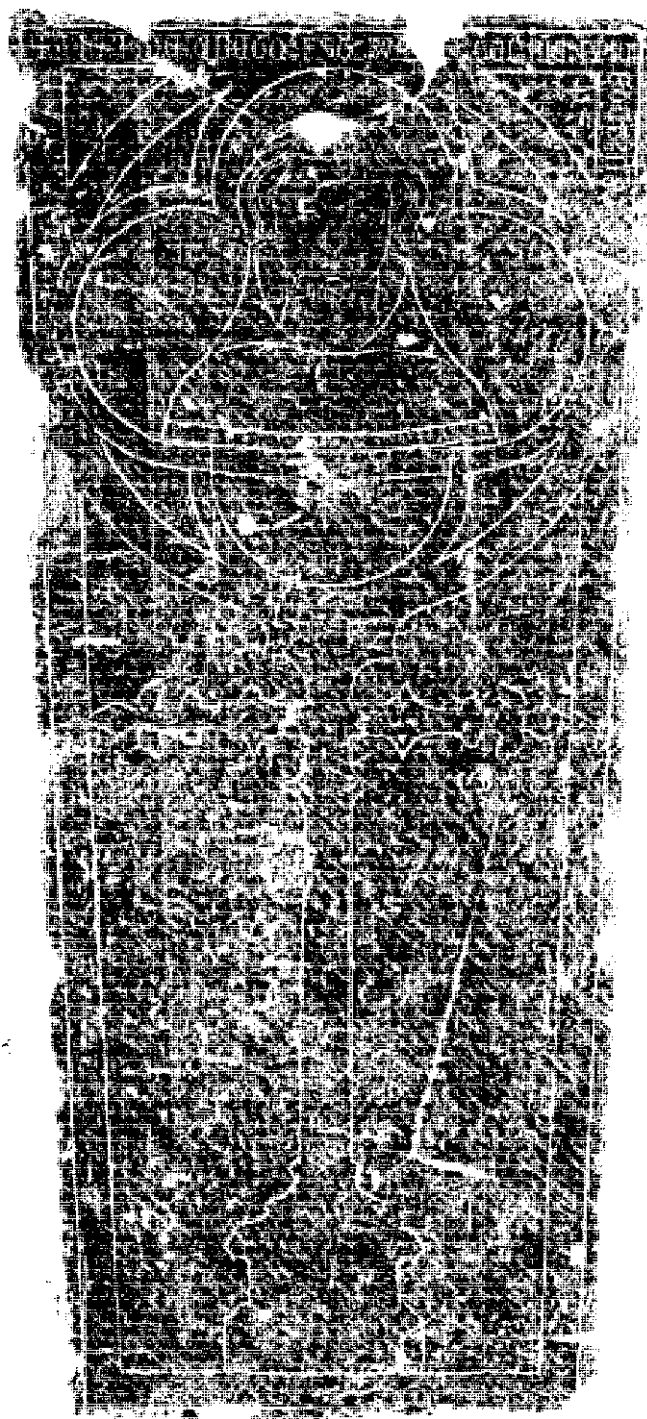


FIG. 1

Bevis FitzWaryn, d. 1361 (incised slab)
Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire (private possession)
Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, 30 August 1948

HOMO QUI
 ANTE
 OMNIPOTENS • TRUS
 QUICQUID
 AMEN



FIG. 2

Margaret Buslingthorpe, d. 1369
 Bothamsall, Nottinghamshire

Rubbing by William Lack; lost portions reproduced by tracing from a rough rubbing by L.A.S. Butler

c. 1959.⁸ The first published account of the Bothamsall brass by L.A.S. Butler in 1963 states that it was discovered c. 1920 when the floor of the chancel, rebuilt in 1845, was raised to incorporate a new high altar.⁹ As his article included only a positive drawing of the figure, this plate is the first accurate record of the surviving fragments of the brass. At the time of discovery, the inscription was in three pieces with a total length of 737 mm, and read ‘...nono cuius anime omni/potens deus propicietur amen:’, followed by two floral sprays. The two pieces of metal with the latter part of the inscription, after the slash, are now lost, and the only rubbing of this portion found so far is a rough one made by L.A.S. Butler, which has been used for the reconstruction by Sally Badham in Fig. 2.

Examination of the reverse during conservation of this London ‘B’ style brass revealed that it was never intended to be a full-length figure.¹⁰ Without an original slab or documentary evidence, it is impossible to determine the original design. Demi-figures surrounded by a marginal inscription are not common, but a contemporary example at Graveney, Kent, M.S. I, includes a double canopy.¹¹ The figure may have been combined with a cross, either incorporated in the head or placed above, as in the indent at Great Hale, Lincolnshire, c. 1350.¹²

The lady has been identified by both Butler and Blair¹³ as Margaret Buslingthorpe, who died at Bothamsall in 1369. She was the daughter and heiress of Sir Richard de Buslingthorpe III (d. between 1361 and 1369), whose brass, engraved c. 1325-40, is at Buslingthorpe, Lincolnshire (M.S. I). The design of the father’s brass - a demi-figure above a shield, now lost, with a separate letter marginal inscription - may have influenced that of his daughter’s, produced some thirty years later.

D.C.

Fig. 3: John, Duke of Bedford, d. 1435, formerly Rouen Cathedral. *Drawing made for Roger de Gaignières (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 20077, f. 9); reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale and Dr. Jenny Stratford*

On 8 March 1437 Louis of Luxembourg, Archbishop of Rouen, and Sir Andrew Ogard and Sir John Fastolf, executors of John, Duke of Bedford (d. 14 September 1435), handed over 1000 *livres tournois* to the college of Clémentins in Rouen Cathedral to buy rents to pay for a perpetual daily Mass for the Duke’s soul.¹⁴ This copper plaque recording the chantry foundation was placed near his tomb on the north side of the choir. It survived the destruction of the Duke’s effigy by the

⁸ D. Chivers, ‘The Recovery of the Tonstall Brass at Clayworth, Notts.’, *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 3 (1988), pp. 241-3.

⁹ L.A.S. Butler, ‘An Unrecorded Brass at Bothamsall Church’, *Trans. of the Thoroton Soc.*, LXVII (1963), pp. 25-7.

¹⁰ On the conservation of this brass see also above, p. 76.

¹¹ *MBS Portfolio*, IV, pl. 6.

¹² *MBS Portfolio*, III, pl. 37.

¹³ J. Blair, ‘The Buslingthorpes and their Monuments’, *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 4 (1978), pp. 265-70.

¹⁴ J. Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435)* (London, 1993), p. 36.

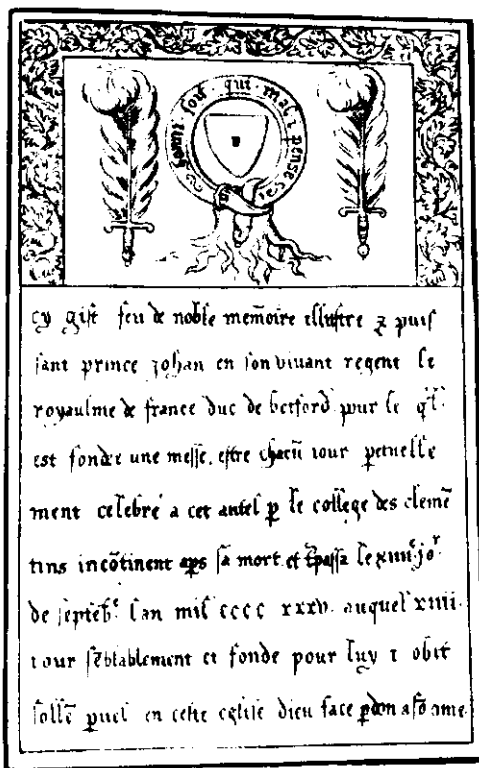


FIG. 3

John, Duke of Bedford, d. 1435
formerly Rouen Cathedral

*Drawing made for Roger de Gaignières (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 20077, f. 9)
Reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale and Dr. Jenny Stratford*

Calvinists in 1562.¹⁵ Above the inscription was the Duke's coat-of-arms, probably enamelled, and missing by 1648, set within a Garter, resting on his badge of a tree root and flanked by ostrich feathers. The plaque was drawn by William Dugdale in 1648 and an engraving based on that drawing was published in Sandford's *Genealogical History* of 1677. Less well known is the drawing made for Roger de Gaignières (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 20077, f. 9).¹⁶ This provides a more accurate record of the *lettre bourguignonne* inscription, and shows a partial border of foliage, rather than the imaginary classical border of the Sandford engraving. Curiously, Gaignière's draughtsman misinterpreted the quills of the ostrich feathers, crossed by scrolls, as sword hilts. By c. 1720 the plaque was in the cathedral library, but it had been lost by 1752.¹⁷

N.R.

¹⁵ Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, p. 31.

¹⁶ It has only been illustrated in J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VIe période, LXXXVIII (1976), no. 1098; and Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, pl. XXIIb.

¹⁷ J. Stratford, 'John, Duke of Bedford, as Patron in Lancastrian Rouen', in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. J. Stratford, British Archaeological Association Conference Trans., 12 (1993), p. 104.

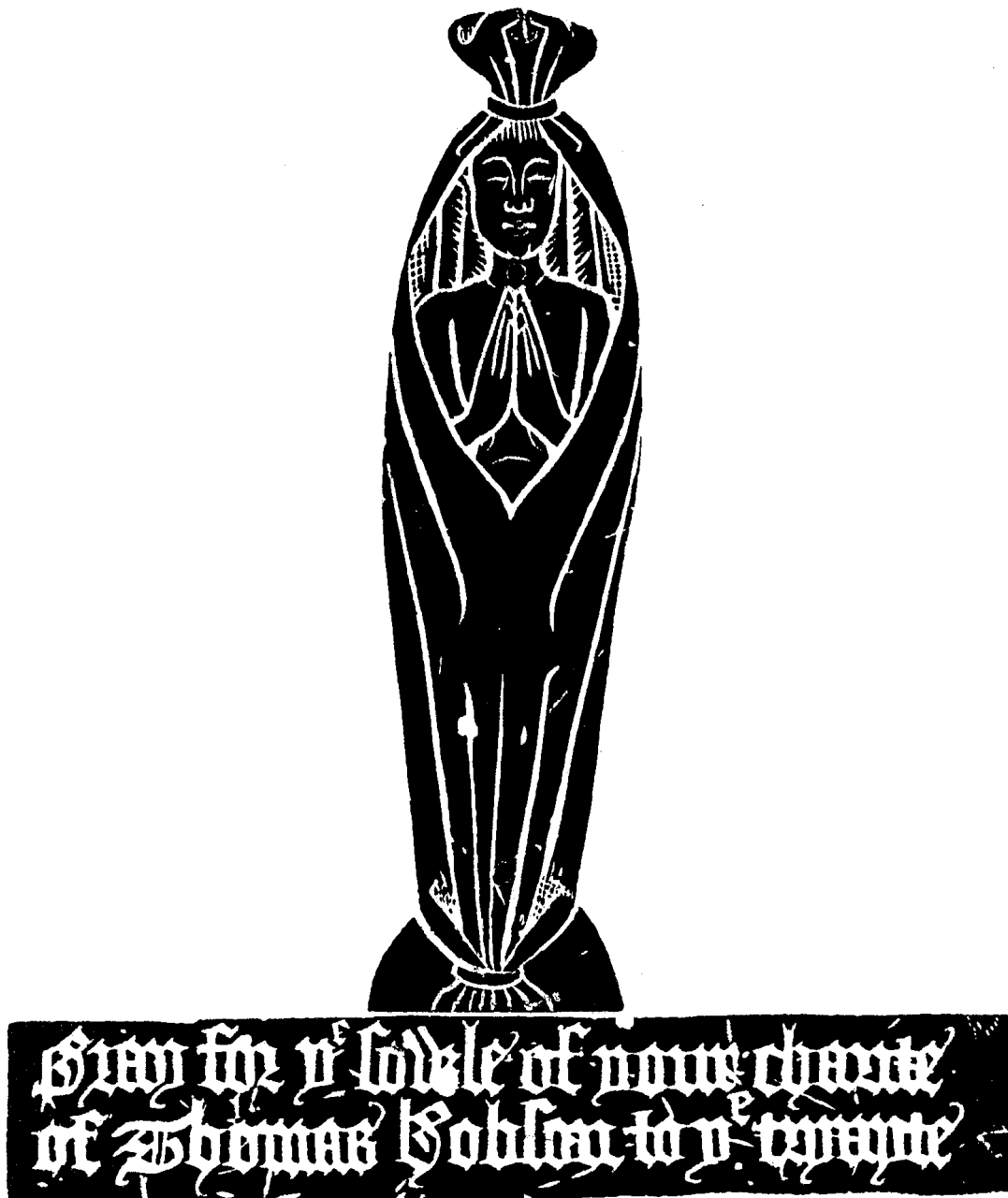


FIG. 4

Thomas Hobson, c. 1490-1500

Frenze, Norfolk, M.S. IV

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 29 November 1997

Reproduced by courtesy of The Churches Conservation Trust



FIG. 5

Gilbert Charles Frederick Harries, d. 1879
 Gelligaer, Glamorganshire
 Rubbing by Patrick Farman, October 1997

Fig. 4: Thomas Hobson, *c.* 1490-1500, Frenze, Norfolk, M.S. IV. *Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 29 November 1997; reproduced by courtesy of The Churches Conservation Trust*

The Norwich 3 style inscription of this shroud brass indicates that it should be dated *c.* 1490-1500, some twenty years earlier than the date proposed by Mill Stephenson.

S.B.

Fig. 5: Gilbert Charles Frederick Harries, *d.* 1879, Gelligaer, Glamorganshire. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman, October 1997*

Gilbert Charles Frederick Harries, the second son of Gilbert Jones of Llanstinan, Pembrokeshire, matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford in 1845, aged 17, and graduated B.A. in 1849 and M.A. in 1852. After serving as a curate at Merthyr Tydfil and as rector of Llandevailog Vach, Breconshire, he became rector of Gelligaer, Glamorganshire in 1862 and remained there until his death on 10 November 1879, aged 51. In 1876 he became Prebendary of Fairwater in Llandaff Cathedral.¹⁸ At Gelligaer he installed an immersion font, in an attempt to attract Baptists to the Anglican church. On the brass he is depicted holding the church of St. Tyfaelog, Pontlottyn, which was built for him by Buckeridge, who also worked at Gelligaer. The face is clearly intended as a portrait. The marginal inscription has texts from Luke 12.40 and 43. This brass was omitted by J.M. Lewis from his survey of Welsh monumental brasses, but is briefly mentioned in the *Buildings of Wales* volume for Glamorganshire.¹⁹ Stylistic similarities to the brass of Abbot Alcock at St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, Kent,²⁰ suggest that this is a product of the Hardman workshops.

P.H. & N.R.

18 *Church Times*, 21 Nov. 1879; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses ... 1715-1886*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1888), II, p. 611

19 J. Newman, *Glamorgan* (Harmondsworth, 1993), pp. 351-2.

20 D. Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (London, 1983), pl. 30.

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No 214336 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.97 General Fund

<i>1996</i>	INCOME	<i>1997</i>
8160	Subscriptions	8429.89
1350	Income tax recovered [Note 1]	0.00
44	Donations	0.00
264	Sales - net	606.86
1309	Events - net	1217.87
	Interest and Investment Income	1521.76
1354	Less share transferred to Malcolm Norris Fund	<u>-60.00</u>
	TOTAL INCOME	<u>11716.38</u>
	EXPENDITURE	
	Publications - Bulletin	3185.28
2500	less Editorial grant	<u>-150.00</u>
		3035.28
755	Meetings	799.26
628	Travelling expenses	535.43
1135	Printing / postages	863.32
72	Subscriptions	74.00
80	Bank Charges	34.50
167	Miscellaneous	579.42
750	Transfer to Conservation Fund	300.00
0	Transfer to Exhibition Fund	665.40
4053	Transfer to Publications Fund	4043.79
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	<u>10930.40</u>
	INCOME FOR YEAR	11716.38
	EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR	<u>10930.40</u>
	Surplus for year - transferred to Balance Sheet	<u>785.98</u>

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No.214366 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.97 Miscellaneous Funds
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PUBLICATIONS FUND

Balance at 31.12.96		4600.00
Cost of 1996 Transactions	-5093.79	
Less publication grant	<u>250.00</u>	<u>-4843.79</u>
Under-reserved for 1996		-243.79
Transfer from General Fund		<u>4043.79</u>
Reserve for 1997 Transactions		<u>3800.00</u>

EXHIBITION FUND

Balance as at 31.12.96	-1365.40	
Cost of facsimiles	<u>-500.00</u>	-1865.40
Transfer from General Fund		<u>665.40</u>
Deficit carried to Balance Sheet		<u>-1200.00</u>

MALCOLM NORRIS FUND

Balance as at 31.12.96		1335.91
Income		0.00
Interest from General Fund		<u>60.00</u>
Surplus carried to Balance Sheet		<u>1395.91</u>

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214366
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.97
Conservation Fund

<i>1996</i>	INCOME	<i>1997</i>
110	Donations	50.00
0	Sale of Printing Blocks	179.50
222	Interest	252.51
750	Transfer from General Fund	<u>300.00</u>
1082	Income for year	782.01
-975	Less Grants approved in 1997 as per Schedule below	<u>-575.00</u>
107	Surplus for year carried to Balance Sheet	207.01

Status of Grant Awards at year ending 31.12.97

Applicant Parish	Unpaid at 1.1.97	Made in 1997	Paid in 1997	Unpaid at 31.12.97
Great Yeldham	75.00			75.00
Lostwithiel	100.00			100.00
Great Yeldham	50.00			50.00
Thrupton	100.00		100.00	
Chinnor	500.00		500.00	
Lidlington	250.00			250.00
St Columb Major	50.00			50.00
Hartlepool	100.00			100.00
Arkesden	50.00			50.00
Strethall	50.00			50.00
Yate	40.00		40.00	
Stokesby	100.00			100.00
Bothamsall	60.00		60.00	
Hickling	75.00		75.00	
Horsham	50.00			50.00
Carlisle		75.00		75.00
Edenhall		100.00		100.00
Rauceby		50.00		50.00
Northolt		100.00		100.00
Perivale (Little Greenford)		150.00		150.00
South Elmham St James		100.00		100.00
TOTALS	1650.00	575.00	775.00	1450.00

Total of Grants unpaid at 31.12.97 carried to Balance Sheet **1450.00**

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214336
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.97

1996	ASSETS:		1997
	CASH AND BANK BALANCES		
	General Fund - Barclays Current a/c	1204.52	
	Barclays Postal a/c	2001.21	
	Barclays Deposit a/c	164.64	
	Girobank	301.43	
4180	First Vermont Bank, USA	<u>276.11</u>	3947.91
11922	National Savings Bank		12568.20
7984	Conservation Fund	<u>7990.78</u>	24506.89
2000 [cost]	Charifund [1337 units]		12958.00
	Less Creditors and Receipts in advance:		
-95	County Series books	-190.00	
-1650	Grants outstanding	-1450.00	
	Prepayments for Cobham Study Day	<u>-460.00</u>	-2100.00
	Add Debtor:		
	Prepayment - 1998 Conference		<u>352.50</u>
			<u>35717.39</u>

	REPRESENTED BY:		
	GENERAL FUND:		
	Accumulated Balance as at 31.12.96	13436.72	
13437	Add surplus for the year	<u>785.98</u>	14222.70
	Unrealised surplus on Investment (Charifund)		10958.00
	CONSERVATION FUND:		
	Accumulated Balance as at 31.12.96	6333.77	
6334	Add surplus for the year	<u>207.01</u>	6540.78
4600	PUBLICATIONS FUND:		3800.00
-1365	EXHIBITION FUND:		-1200.00
1336	MALCOLM NORRIS FUND:		<u>1395.91</u>
			<u>35717.39</u>

8 February 1998

Paul D. Cockerham
Hon. Treasurer

<p>Certificate of Independent Examination: I have examined the various Income and Expenditure accounts of the Monumental Brass Society as identified in the Balance Sheet for the year ending 31 December 1997 and certify they are correct according to the books, vouchers and information supplied to me. 4 June 1998</p>	<p>R.G. Oakley Hon. Independent Examiner</p>
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- Notes: 1. No value has been placed on the Society's library, publications stock and computer equipment.
2. The Grants unpaid are summarized in the Income and Expenditure account for the Conservation Fund.

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