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Cover: Sons, from brass of Edward and Joan Brampton, 1622,
Brampton, Norfolk, M.S. V

The Salisbury Cathedral Consecration Crosses

by TIM TATTON-BROWN

SALISBURY Cathedral once possessed a unique collection of nineteen or twenty brass consecration crosses on the exterior and interior of the walls of the lower part of the building (Fig. 1). With one possible exception they have all been robbed, and had perhaps disappeared by the seventeenth century, but the indents for nine floriated crosses on circular slabs (*c.* 75 cm in diameter) still survive *in situ*, on the external walls and buttresses of the cathedral at about 7½ feet above ground level. They have holes in them (some still containing lead) for dowel pins by which the vertical brass crosses were fixed in position (and an additional dowel-hole, probably for a candle-holder, below the crosses). A few fragments of these dowels remain *in situ*, as do some very small traces of paint. Internally eight other brass consecration crosses were fixed in indented cross-shaped channels cut into the ashlar masonry. A ninth (now hidden by a curtain) was painted on the east wall above the Trinity altar. The surrounding area of flat wall was apparently painted (heavily repainted in the nineteenth century), so that superficially these consecration crosses look like the

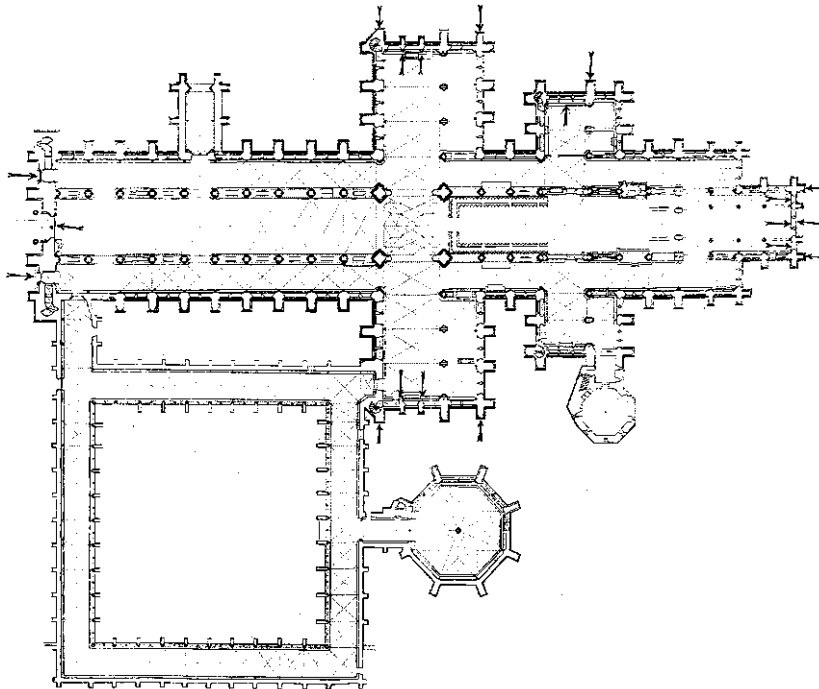


FIG. 1. Plan of Salisbury Cathedral, showing position of the consecration crosses

external ones. All the internal crosses, however, lack the moulded quatrefoil within a moulded roundel. The mouldings are here replaced by painted lines on the flat wall. In the north-east transept the filled-in indent survives on the north wall, and the surrounding area has not been repainted. There was probably another indent in the south-east transept, but its presumed position is behind the monument to Bishop Burgess (d. 1837).

It appears, therefore, that Salisbury Cathedral originally had three consecration crosses both outside and inside each of its north, east and south walls, suggesting that all were associated with the construction of the eastern arm of the cathedral, which was completed before work on the nave was very far advanced. To complete the usual full complement of twenty-four crosses (twelve outside and twelve inside) there should have been six crosses (three on each side) on the west front. Today only three are visible, two outside and one inside.

The indents have been studied by three people: J.H. Middleton,¹ E.S. Dewick,² and John Blair.³ Blair suggested that these crosses related to the consecration of the cathedral in 1258 or to the 'reconsecration in 1280'. He also suggested that the crosses in the Trinity Chapel could be contemporary with the consecration of the three eastern chapels in 1225. However, all the external roundels, which are more heavily fixed with lead fastenings (Fig. 2), are an original part of the masonry of the lower walls, and were not inserted at a later date. It seems more likely that the external brass crosses at least were put into specially made circular stone discs at the time of construction in the earlier part of the thirteenth century. In fact, five or more (and probably all nine) of the eastern external crosses are likely to have been placed in their present positions as part of the ceremonies on 28 April (St. Vitalis's day) 1220, when the Bishop, Richard Poore, laid three 'memorial' stones - one for Pope Honorius, a second for the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, and a third for himself. A fourth stone was laid by William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, and a fifth by his wife Ela, Countess of Salisbury, 'a woman deserving of all praise, for she was filled with the fear of the Lord'. A little later (also probably in 1220) other stones were said to have been laid, as we are told in William de Waude's Chronicle;⁴ these were presumably the stones on the transepts. The two external crosses on the west front, on the small external gables over the two aisle doorways, are also almost certainly original crosses, though the moulded outer circles and quatrefoils were restored by Scott in the 1860s. Middleton in 1882 calls them 'sham consecration

¹ J.H. Middleton, 'On Consecration Crosses, with Some English Examples', *Archaeologia*, XLVIII, pt. 2 (1885), pp. 458-60, pls. XXXV, XXXVI. On the consecration of churches see also J. Wordsworth, *On the Rite of Consecration of Churches, especially in the Church of England* (London, 1899); P. de Puniet, 'Dedicace des églises', in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, IV.1 (Paris, 1920), cols. 374-405; R.W. Muncey, *A History of the Consecration of Churches and Churchyards* (Cambridge, 1930).

² E.S. Dewick, 'Consecration Crosses and the Ritual connected with them', *Archaeological Jnl*, LXV (1908), pp. 1-34. The Salisbury examples are discussed on pp. 15-17.

³ W.J. Blair, 'The Consecration-Cross Indents of Salisbury Cathedral', *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 1 (1975), pp. 16-20.

⁴ *Vetus Registrum Sarisberniense alias dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi*, ed. W.H. Rich Jones, 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1883-4), II, p. 13.

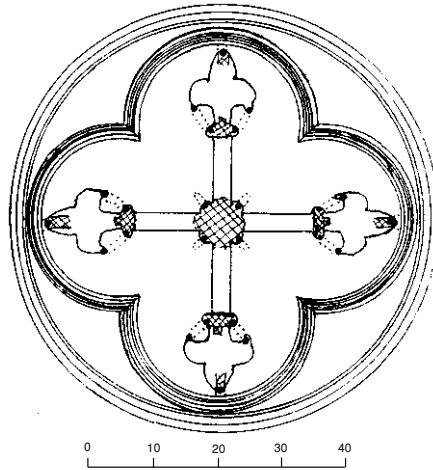


FIG. 2. Salisbury Cathedral
External consecration cross indent
Drawing by John Blair

crosses', but Hollar's late seventeenth-century engraving of the cathedral from the west shows them,⁵ and they are just visible on a mid-nineteenth-century photograph. Britton's 1814 drawing does not, however, show them. Close examination does, however, just reveal a trace of the indent in the south cross, and more importantly at least two lead dowel plugs. The ghost of the indent and some dowel-holes can also be seen in the northern cross, so there can be no doubt that these two circular stone discs are original.

Eight of the nine internal brass indents have been cut into the plain ashlar masonry, as we have seen, so these could have been put in place as late as 1258. However, the crosses are stylistically similar to those on the outside of the cathedral, so that they are much more likely to date from earlier in the thirteenth century. Apart from the three crosses in the west front, all the others are likely to have been inserted before or during 1225, when the three eastern chapels were consecrated. The single cross over the west doorway may have been flanked by two others in the blind arcade, where they are now covered by large seventeenth- and eighteenth-century monuments, but there is no evidence for this, or that there was another central cross on the outside of the west front.

All the external consecration crosses are similar, except for that on the south-east buttress of the great south transept, which is not a brass cross in a roundel, but an elaborately carved floriated cross in stone on a diamond-shaped stone. On the top right-hand side of this cross, now very worn, there was once part of a carved quatrefoil within a roundel. It is possible that this more elaborate cross is the one Bishop Poore laid for Pope Honorius, though it is as likely that the three stones laid

⁵ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III (London, 1673), pl. opp. p. 375 (Pennington 1060).

by the bishop were those outside the east front. One brass cross may actually survive *in situ* on the middle buttress to the south-east transept where it was soon afterwards covered up by the west wall of the vestibule to the treasury/muniment building. Only probing, or perhaps the use of a metal-detector, will provide an answer.

If my suggestions are correct, then the external roundels are by far the earliest brass-indents to survive in Britain (dating from well before brasses were laid in tomb slabs). Blair also points out that the external brasses must have been fixed in place in the stone discs in a horizontal position, because only in this way could the lead have been run in.⁶ These stone discs, with the brasses already fixed in place, are likely, therefore, to have been prepared just before the ceremony on 28 April 1220.

One should note, moreover, that small brass consecration crosses (usually five in number) were, at an early date, laid into the top of altars. A surviving undated example is at Cookham, Berkshire. A fine brass plate, dated 1241, recording the consecration of an altar is at Ashbourne, Derbyshire.⁷ Stone altars were once ubiquitous, but most were destroyed at the Reformation. Consecration crosses on buildings (sometimes incised, but often just painted on) are much rarer, and the survival of a nearly complete set of early-thirteenth-century indents for brass consecration crosses at Salisbury Cathedral is of exceptional importance.

Two other almost complete sets of indents for consecration crosses are at the churches of Uffington, Berks., and Edington, Wilts., both in the medieval diocese of Salisbury. The Uffington crosses are mid-thirteenth-century, while the Edington crosses were perhaps those consecrated in 1361 by Robert Wyville, Bishop of Salisbury, whose magnificent brass survives in the 'Morning Chapel' of the cathedral, and it is likely that the inspiration for these consecration crosses came from Salisbury Cathedral. It is also worth noting that St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, has a unique set of stone consecration crosses, consisting of a crucifix set on a 'rose-en-soleil', which must have been put in place *c.* 1475 at the beginning of the building work on the new chapel.⁸ It is surely no coincidence that the man in charge of this work as surveyor, who also became Dean of Windsor in 1478, was Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury from 1450 to 1481.⁹ Windsor, even though it was intended to be a huge private chantry chapel for Edward IV, was at that time in the extreme north-east corner of the diocese of Salisbury. Beauchamp may have got the idea of incorporating elaborate consecration crosses from Salisbury Cathedral.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to my wife, Veronica, for word-processing this article, and also to Dr. John Blair and Dr. Jane Geddes for helpful comments.

⁶ Blair, 'Consecration-Cross Indents', p. 18.

⁷ Cf. J. Coales ed., *The Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), pp. 10-11, fig. 3.

⁸ W.H.St.J. Hope, *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*, 2 vols. (London, 1913), II, p. 408, fig. 27. See also M. Bond, 'The Crucifix Badges of St. George's Chapel', *Annual Report of the Friends of St. George's* (1954), pp. 8-15, who did not, however, think of them as consecration crosses.

⁹ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, I, p. 238.

Gosfield, Essex

by NANCY BRIGGS and H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD

ALL the brasses at Gosfield, apart from that of Thomas Rolf (M.S. I), have suffered major vicissitudes, recorded by such antiquaries as Richard Symonds in 1637, William Holman, *c.* 1721, the Revd. David Powell, between 1810 and 1820, and the Revd. H. L. Elliot, who was vicar of Gosfield between 1871 and 1920.¹

M.S. I. The brass of Thomas Rolf, 1440, has always been in the chancel; it was described by Symonds as on an altar tomb adjoining the south wall. He gives the wording on the label (280 x 40 mm) above the effigy as *Ora pro me Sca Katerina*. Sketches are given of the four existing stone shields on the side of the tomb: *a raven*, possibly for Rolf; *a lion rampant within a bordure*, possibly for Greene of Widdington, although the lion is not crowned or counterchanged; *a cross between four escallops*, for Coggeshall; *a raven*. By Holman's time the label had been lost, but he describes the brass shield (125 x 85 mm) as 'a cornish chough in brass'. The position of the monument is described as under the south window. Powell, who visited the church twice, described the tomb as on the step of the altar against the east wall; the brass shield is not mentioned. Both Elliot and the Royal Commission suggest that the tomb chest must have been moved from its original position, probably when the Wentworth (north) chapel was built and the chancel widened on the south side, *c.* 1560.

Rolf was probably responsible for the building of the chancel and nave *c.* 1435.² The chancel arch has a moulded label with stops carved with angels holding shields: *a raven*, for Rolf; *a chevron with three escallops thereon*, for Hawkwood. Rolf's wife, Anne, was apparently descended from Sir John Hawkwood, lord of the manor of Sible Hedingham. Elliot suggested that the shields on the sides of the tomb may have represented the marriages of Rolf's two daughters. Edith, daughter of Anne, married John Greene of Widdington (M.S.II), as her second husband, while Margaret, daughter of Rolf's wife Margaret, may have married into the Coggeshall family after 1444. If this theory is accepted, it would suggest that the tomb was erected after Margaret's marriage and the death of Edith's first husband, John Helyon, in 1450; the marriage to Greene took place before 18 April 1451.³

The inscription in ten rhyming hexameters (148 x 704 mm) has been translated more than once, notably by the Revd. Andrew Clark of Great Leighs. The date of death is given as 27 June 1440. 'A lawyer by profession, here Thomas Rolf rests by

¹ College of Arms MS Symonds Essex Vol. 2, pp. 669-72; Essex Record Office (hereafter ERO), T/P 195/14; British Library, Add. MS 17460, ff. 146-152; ERO, D/P 165/28/2 (*Gosfield Parish Magazine*, Oct. 1886, March 1887).

² C.A. Hewett, *Church Carpentry* (London, 1982), pp. 26-7.

³ ERP, T/P 195/12; P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 1768), II, pp. 287, 378; *Cal. Pat.* 1446-52, p. 427; *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 6 vols. (Colchester & Oxford, 1899-1993), IV, p. 34. This paragraph owes much to Mr. C.R. Starr.

diseases cut down: to him may Christ be rest. Money gave he in plenty, both to wretches, of defiled ways, in prison languishing and to maids goods of free gift. Among lawyers like a flower he shone out . . .’ Clark pointed out that ‘dedit’ (third line of left hand column) has not been correctly cut, the ‘e’ having been omitted and inserted by cutting a little stroke for it in the middle of the first ‘d’. The inscription does not mention the rebuilding of Gosfield church or the foundation of Rolf’s chantry, which was in existence by Easter 1444.⁴

Rolf is shown in the costume of a serjeant at law (993 x 325mm), having held the office since 1416. Professor J. H. Baker has pointed out that the Rolf brass is unique in depicting the serjeant’s ‘collobium with two tongues, such as doctors of law wear in certain universities’, as described by his fellow serjeant, Sir John Fortescue; the bottom edge of Rolf’s furred hood is also visible. The brass has been frequently illustrated.⁵ Some doubt is cast on the veracity of the statement in the inscription that he ‘shone out like a flower among lawyers’ by a document in the Petre archives reciting the evidence sworn by Thomas Haynes in the Court of Chancery in July 1432. Haynes had been a servant of John de Vere, whose aunt, Alice de Vere, was the first wife of Lewis John, a Welsh merchant who acted as financier to the Lancastrian kings and settled in Essex at West Horndon. On 26 December 1431, whilst Lewis John was in Paris for the coronation of Henry VI as king of France, Haynes was seized at the manor of Dullingham in Cambridgeshire by the Earl of Oxford’s men and carried to Hedingham Castle, where he was placed in the dungeon. There he was approached by Rolf, accompanied by John Sadd, parson of Lavenham, and the earl’s steward. Rolf and Sadd swore that Lewis John was dead and Rolf threatened Haynes with ‘indignacion of my lorde and also perpetuell prison’ if he did not swear before a notary that he and Lewis John had unjustly deprived the earl of some of his land, including the manor of Dullingham. After Lewis John’s return from France, Haynes retracted the false statement about the land, which he had made under duress.⁶

M.S. II. (Fig. 1) Symonds and Holman describe the remains of the brass to John Greene of Widdington, 1473, second husband of Edith, daughter of Thomas Rolf, in similar terms. The Purbeck slab (2485 x 933 mm) is probably in its original position in the nave, which was not affected by alterations to the church, c.1560. The effigy (895 x 240 mm) is described by both antiquaries, Holman adding ‘his hands lifted in a posture of devotion’ and giving the wording of the scroll (72 x 420 mm) as:

Provideant cuncti sic Transit Gloria mundi

The marginal inscription with four roundels (2265 x 815 mm), possibly evangelical symbols, was already incomplete by 1637.

⁴ A. Clark, ‘Gosfield: Thomas Rolf’s Brass, 1440’, *Essex Review*, XXVI (1917), pp. 41-4.

⁵ *MBS Portfolio*, III, pl. 53; M. Christy, W.W. Porteous and E.B. Smith, ‘Some Interesting Essex Brasses’, *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, N.S., XIV (1908), pp. 41-3, fig. 2; L. Edwards, ‘The Professional Costume of Lawyers illustrated chiefly by Monumental Brasses’, *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 4 (1937), pp. 145-64 (illus., p. 146), 245; *MBS Bulletin*, 51 (June 1989), p. 376.

⁶ ERO, D/DP T1/2070; A.D. Carr, ‘Sir Lewis John - a Medieval London Welshman’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXIII (1967), pp. 260-70, esp. 265-6.

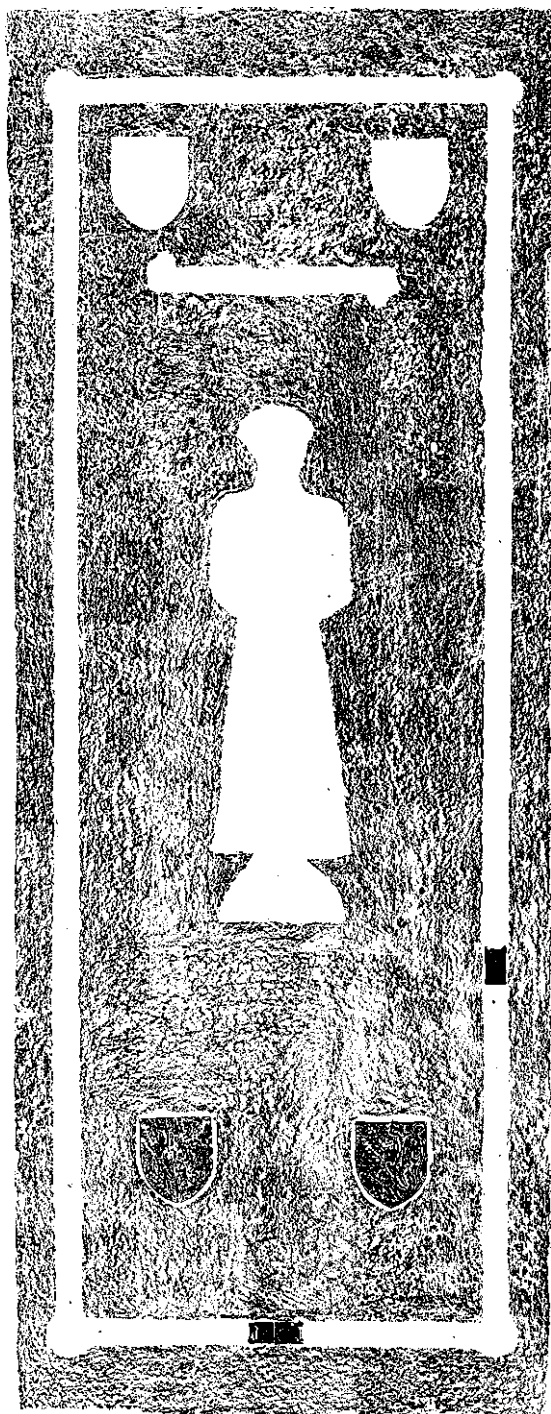


FIG. 1
M.S. II, John Greene of Widdington, 1473,
second husband of Edith, daughter of Thomas Rolf.

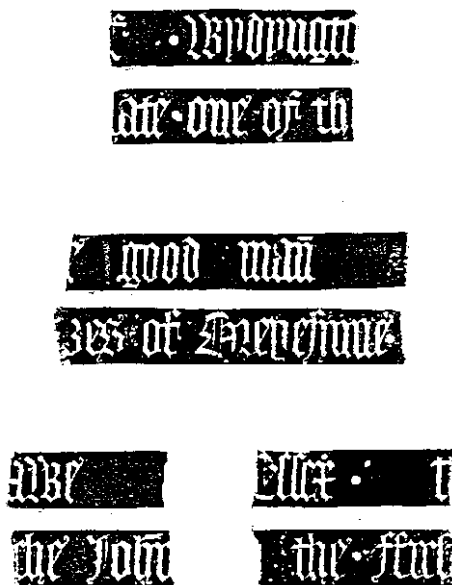


FIG. 2

M.S. II. Obverse and reverse of four fragments of marginal inscription from the brass to John Greene of Widdington, 1473, second husband of Edith, daughter of Thomas Rolf. Reproduced by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London

... Wydyngton [Widdington] *the good man of Lawe of Essex* . . .
dyled the First of May in the yeare of o^r Lord MCCCC Lxxiiij
And . . . whose soule god have mercy

The words in bold italics were not recorded by Holman, who, however, starts the inscription 'of Wydyngton'.

Four palimpsest fragments of the inscription were loose at the vicarage in 1914; the reverse is obviously a workshop waster and may well relate to the obverse. On this assumption part of the inscription may be reconstructed by collating the rubbings at the Society of Antiquaries (Fig. 2) with the records made by Symonds and Holman.

of Wydyngton the good man of Lawe of Essex t . . . the whiche
 John dyed the First of May in the yeare of our Lord MCCCC
 Lxxiiij And on whose soule god have Mercy

This leaves one phrase from the reverse unaccounted for:

[l]ate one of the[e] [fello]wes of Greysinne

Symonds sketched four shields: (i) *lion rampant*; (ii) *lion rampant impaling three ravens*; (iii) as (ii); (iv) as (i). Holman's description can be related to Symonds', but is not entirely clear; (i) defaced, probably Greene, *gules a lion rampant parted argent and sable, crowned or*; (ii) *party per pale*, Greene and Rolf (one half torn off); (iii) as (ii), also half torn off; (iv) as (i). The lion rampant should have been blazoned, *party fesswise*, as on the surviving shields. This brass was not described by Powell or listed by Haines, so it is

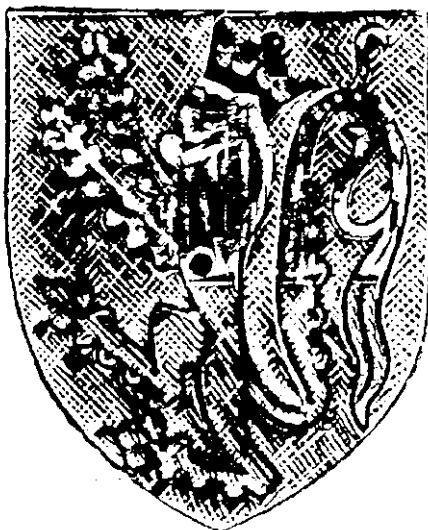


FIG. 3

M.S. II. Lower sinister shield bearing the arms of Greene from the brass to John Greene of Widdington, 1473, second husband of Edith, daughter of Thomas Rolf.

not possible to determine when the effigy and scroll were lost. Writing in 1887, Elliot refers only to the two lower shields, Greene (Fig. 3) and Greene impaling Rolf (153 x 124 mm); the marginal inscription was missing, but he had four palimpsest fragments of it at the vicarage in 1914, when he sent Mill Stephenson a rubbing with that of a second Rolf shield. By 1927 the third shield had disappeared, although the fragments of inscription were still at the vicarage.⁷ When Mrs. Rita Grimes recorded the brasses at Gosfield in May 1972 only the two lower shields and three small fragments of inscription were on the slab; the remains of letters on two fragments (70 x 38 mm and 52 x 38 mm) are impossible to identify whilst that on the third (45 x 38 mm) may possibly be deciphered as 'e'.

Edith, daughter of Thomas Rolf by his second wife, Anne, married firstly John Helyon, who died in 1449/50; they had two daughters, Phillippa and Isabel. Edith's second husband, John Greene, is described by Morant, following Holman, as a lawyer brought up under Edith's father and as the third son of John Greene of Widdington. Elliot, however, suggests that the heraldry indicates that he was the eldest son. In the absence of an admissions register for Gray's Inn before 1521, it is not possible to say whether he was a member. In April 1451, after the marriage, he is described as John Greene of Gosfield; a reference to John Greene of Widdington in 1455 may be either to his father or to his younger brother of the same name. John Greene of Gosfield (d. 1473) was a member of the commission of the peace for Essex between 1448 and 1472. In 1468, as one of the arbitrators in a case involving the

⁷ J.C. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), pl. 156, no. 5M1-4.

Prior of Blackmore, Greene was described as 'learned in the law'. He served as knight of the shire for Essex in 1455/6 and 1460/1, being chosen as Speaker on 8 October 1460.

Edith, who died on 1 June 1498, had two daughters by Greene: Agnes, wife of Sir William Fyndern, who was holding the Greene property in Widdington at his death in 1516, and Margaret, wife of Henry Tey, who held the manor of Hawkwoods in Sible Hedingham. Isabel Helyon predeceased her mother, but her daughter, Anne Tyrell, who married Sir Roger Wentworth, ultimately inherited the Rolf estates, including 'Rolf Chantry' in Gosfield church.⁸

M.S. III. (Fig. 4) The remains of the brass to Robert Wilford, merchant taylor of London, 1545, were described more fully by Holman than by Symonds, who only saw the two shields of Wilford and Wilford impaling Fermer on a flat stone on the north side of the chancel, the inscription being covered by a pew. Holman recorded the composition as lying in the north chapel, just under the first arch opposite the north door. The gravestone of blue marble had a shield at each corner, each having a small inscription above, and an inscription in the centre which read:

*Of you[r] Charitie pray for the soule of Robert / Wylford Merchant Taylor
of London which / Decessed ye xviii Day of Septembr' Ano / Dni 1545 on
whos Soule and all Chrystyn Soules*

Holman commented 'The last line broke off'.

The upper shields were *Gules a chevron engrailed or between three leopards faces or 2 and 1 with a crescent and on it a martlet between the two leopards faces for a difference for Wilford and Wilford impaling Argent on a fess sable three anchors or between three lions heads erased gules langued azure for Fermer*. Holman recorded the inscriptions over these two shields: Wilford, *In welth [remember poverty]* (mutilated); Wilford impaling Fermer, *In pleasure remember paine*. The lower shields bore the arms of the City of London and of the Merchant Taylors Company. Holman recorded a fragment of inscription over the latter, *In all things remember [God]*.⁹

Only the impaled coat and main inscription remained at the time of Powell's visit, but later in the nineteenth century this shield (155 x 134mm) was sold as old iron, being restored to the church by Mr. Minter of Halstead, c.1905; both Mill Stephenson and the Royal Commission refer to it as loose in the vestry, c.1914; it had been mounted on an oak panel.¹⁰ One of the authors was alerted to the fact that a 'heraldic plaque' was due to be sold as lot 15 in the 'Works of Art' sale at the London auction rooms of Phillips on 12 December 1990. The object was successfully acquired and identified as the shield bearing the arms of Wilford impaling Fermer. Surprisingly, it transpired that the plate was palimpsest with another shield on the

⁸ Soc. of Antiquaries, rubbings; Morant, *Essex*, II, pp. 287, 380-1, 566; *Feet of Fines for Essex*, IV, pp. 45, 50; *Cal. Pat. 1446-52*, pp. 427, 589; *1452-61*, p. 665; *1461-67*, p. 564; *1467-77*, p. 613; *Cal. Close 1461-68*, p. 453; J. Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889* (London, 1889); J.C. Wedgwood ed., *Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509*, 2 vols. (London, 1936-8), I, pp. 391-2; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, II, pp. 27-30.

⁹ The authors are grateful to Fr. J.F.A. Bertram for suggesting the possible wording in square brackets.

¹⁰ H.L. Elliot, 'Gosfield Church and Hall', *Essex Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, N.S., XII, pt. 4 (1912), p. 308; RCHM, *Essex*, I (London, 1916), p. 103.

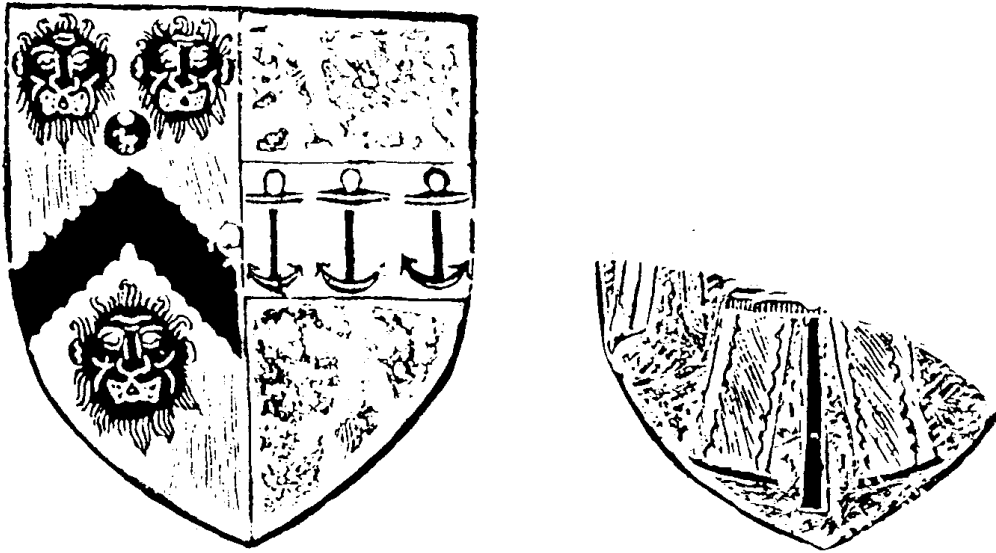


FIG. 4

M.S. III. Shields bearing the arms of Wilford impaling Fermer (A) and Merchant Taylors' Company (B) comprising the remains of the brass to Robert Wilford, 1545, and wife Joan, daughter of Sir Richard Fermer.



FIG. 5

M.S. III. Reverses of (A) and (B), showing the arms of *Fretty or and argent(?)*, for Goswyn impaling 1 and 4, *Argent three lozenge buckles gules*, for Jerningham, 2 and 3, *Gules three bars gemel or, a canton argent*, for FitzOsborne, late 15th or early 16th century.

reverse side bearing the arms of *Fretty or and argent(?)*, Goswyn impaling 1 and 4, *Argent three lozenge buckles gules*, for Jerningham, 2 and 3, *Gules three bars gemel or, a canton argent*, for FitzOsborne, of late 15th or early 16th century date.¹¹ John Goodall subsequently established a link with the fragment of palimpsest shield (85 x 115 mm) deposited in the Colchester and Essex Museum¹² which had been discovered by Mr. Christopher Mann of Braintree whilst using a metal detector on farm land adjacent to the churchyard wall in 1978. This piece, containing the lower part of the arms of the Merchant Taylors Company, is without doubt one of the lower shields described by Holman with the reverse side¹³ possessing an identical coat to the shield obtained at auction (Fig. 5). With the cooperation of G. M. R. Davies, of the Colchester and Essex Museum, the fragment was released on long-term loan and rebated into a hardwood board (460 x 460 mm) together with facsimiles of the reverse side and both sides of the complete shield. A plate inscribed: THIS FRAGMENT OF SHIELD RETURNED BY/ THE COLCHESTER CASTLE MUSEUM/ AND A FACSIMILE OF A SHIELD FROM THE MONUMENTAL/ BRASS COMMEMORATING ROBERT WILFORD, 1545/ TOGETHER WITH A FACSIMILE OF THE REVERSE ENGRAVING/ WAS PROVIDED BY H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD/ OF COGGESHALL, ESSEX. OCTOBER 1991 was also affixed to the board which was mounted on the wall of the north chapel on 7 December 1991.¹⁴

Robert Wilford was the fourth son of James Wilford and Elizabeth, daughter of John Bettenham of Pluckley, Kent; his mother appears to have been the sister of Anne Wentworth (M.S. V). Wilford's wife, Joan, was the daughter of Richard Fermer of Easton Neston, Northants., described in his will and on his brass (M.S.I) as 'esquire'. Shortly after Robert's death Joan married Sir John Mordaunt, later 2nd Lord Mordaunt. In his will, drawn up on 18 September 1545, Wilford asks 'to be buried in the parish Church of Gosfelde'. Robert Wilford, esquire, was buried at Gosfield on 19 September.¹⁵ After Robert's death, his third brother, William, married Agnes, widow of Henry Wentworth, second son of Sir John Wentworth, at Gosfield on 18 January 1545/6.¹⁶

M.S. IV. (Figs. 6 and 7) The chamfer inscription to Sir Hugh Rich, K.B., son of Richard, 1st Lord Rich, 1554, on an altar tomb in the north chapel was recorded by Symonds, Holman and Powell; it was already mutilated by 1637 and the words shown in italics had disappeared by Powell's time and those in square brackets had gone by 1887.

¹¹ 'Sixth Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 58 (Oct. 1991), pl. 213, no. L418-2.

¹² Accession no. T221.1987.

¹³ Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, pl. 169, no. 62M1.

¹⁴ *MBS Bulletin*, 58 (Oct. 1991), p. 59; 59 (Feb. 1992), p. 537; *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 1 (1992), pp. 59-60.

¹⁵ W.C. Metcalfe ed., *The Visitations of Essex 1552-1634*, 2 vols., Harleian Soc., 13, 14 (London, 1878-9), I, p. 18; W.B. Bannerman ed., *The Visitations of Kent*, Harleian Soc., 74 (London, 1923), p. 29; information from Dr. W.E. Church; J.J. Howard and H.F. Burke, *Genealogical Collections illustrating the History of the Roman Catholic Families of England*, Pt. 1 (London, 1887), pp. 2-3, 25; PRO, PROB. 11/30/39 (for extracts, see Jackson and Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 30); ERO, D/P 165/1/1, 165/28/2.

¹⁶ ERO, D/P 165/1/1; W.L. Rutton, 'Wentworth, of Gosfield, Co. Essex', *Essex Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, N.S., III (1889), p. 211.



FIG. 6
M.S. IV. Altar tomb in the north chapel showing the south and east sides of the chamfer inscription to [Sir Hugh Rich, K.B.], son of Sir Richard Rich, Lord Rich, 1554, and wife Anne, daughter and heir of Sir John Wentworth.



FIG. 7
M.S. IV. Altar tomb in the north chapel showing the north side of the chamfer inscription.

Here lyeth Sir Hewe Ryche knyght. . . (south side of tomb — 34 x 2440 mm/ three pieces) to Sur Rychard Ryche Lorde Ryche whoe Maryed Anne the Dowghter and Ayre of Sur John Wentworth Knyght which sayd Sur Hewe (east side — 34 x 1102 mm/two pieces) dyed wyth out Issue the Fyrst daye of Novembr, in (north side — 34 x 763 mm/ one piece) the yere of oure Lorde [God A] Thousande Fyve Hundred Fyfty and [Four] which Sowle Almyghty God send joyfull rest

Symonds, Holman and the Royal Commission all indicated that the blank shields on the sides and ends of the tomb were stone, although Powell appears to refer to all the brass being ‘tore off’ the shields. The Royal Commission mentioned rivet holes and suggested that the tomb chest may have been reused.¹⁷

Anne Rich was married again in 1555 to Henry Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers, son of the Earl of Arundel; he died at Brussels on 30 June 1556. She retained her title when she married William Deane of Dynes Hall, Great Maplestead. Lady Maltravers died on 5 December 1580 and was buried by her wish in the tomb of her first husband at Gosfield on 10 January 1580/1.

Elliot suggested that the tomb may have been moved to its present position in front of the steps to the Georgian Hall pew at the west end of the Wentworth chapel. The stone slab had been broken and not joined with due care and the tomb does not stand square with the walls of the chapel. Elliot’s theory is confirmed by Holman’s description of the tomb as in the middle of the chapel and by Powell’s sketch, which clearly shows the tomb, with its three stone shields, standing in the centre of the chapel to the left of the easternmost north window and behind the Wentworth tomb, shown in its present position. The church was restored in 1856, but the work is not documented. Elliot suggested that the tomb’s original position may have been in the area occupied in 1887 by Mr. George Courtauld’s pew.¹⁸

M.S. V. (Fig. 8) The remains of the brass to Sir John Wentworth, 1567, and his wife, Anne, daughter of John Bettenham of Pluckley, Kent, esquire, are on an altar tomb under the eastern arch between the chancel and the Wentworth chapel, built by Sir John, *c.* 1560; Powell noted the date 1561 on the roof beam of the nave. The original external appearance of the chapel was revealed by repairs in 1956.¹⁹ Sir John’s will, drawn up on 8 October 1566, requested burial in the north aisle of Gosfield church ‘in the tomb which I have already prepared’; it has been suggested by both Powell and the Royal Commission that the tomb, bearing a slab with rivet holes for brasses, possibly including a triple canopy, is probably of late fifteenth century date (Fig. 9).²⁰ In 1637 Symonds recorded the complete chamfer inscription:

¹⁷ RCHM, *Essex*, I, p. 103; F. Chancellor, *The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* (London, 1890), p. 138, pl. XLII.

¹⁸ Rutton, ‘Wentworth’, pp. 213-4; M. Christy, ‘The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth through Essex and the Houses in which she stayed’, *Essex Review*, XXVI (1917), p. 121; Morant, *Essex*, II, pp. 380-1; ERO, D/P 165/1/1, D/P 165/28/2 (*Gosfield Parish Magazine*, Jan., March 1887).

¹⁹ G.J. Bragg, ‘Discoveries at Gosfield Church’, *Essex Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, N.S., XXV, pt. 2 (1958), pp. 264-6.

²⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/10/29, abstracted F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex Gentry and Merchants* (Chelmsford, 1978), pp. 45-8; RCHM, *Essex*, I, p. 103.



FIG. 8

M.S. V. Altar tomb under the eastern arch
between the chancel and the Wentworth chapel
showing the south side of the chamfer inscription
with the surviving shields and achievement *in situ* to
Sir John Wentworth, 1567, and wife Anne,
daughter of John Bettenham of Pluckley, Kent, esq., [1575].



FIG. 9

M.S. V. Altar tomb bearing a slab with rivet holes for brasses,
possibly including a triple canopy, probably of
late 15th century date.

Photograph courtesy of Bryan S. H. Egan

[Here lyeth Sr John Wentworth Knight and Dame Ann] his Wyfe which Sr John deceased (south side of tomb — 40 x 1570 mm/two pieces) this present worlde the xvth daye of September in the yere of oure Lord God 1567. And the said Dame Ann (north side — 40 x 705 mm) departed this worlde the daye of In the yere [and] whose soules God pardon

The words shown in italics have disappeared. By Holman's time the portions in square brackets had been lost although Powell records the first section giving the names of the deceased. The surviving wording was recorded by Chancellor. The attribution of the inscription to the Fermer Workshop will be discussed in a forthcoming paper by Robert Hutchinson and Bryan Egan.

The Gosfield parish register records the burials of both Sir John (1 October 1567) and Dame Ann (30 November 1575). Her mother, Anne Bettenham, had also been buried at Gosfield on 31 July 1540.²¹ Dame Anne's will requested burial in the chancel next to the body of her husband in the tomb prepared for the same.²² The difference in wording between the two wills is explained by the tomb's position under the arch between the two parts of the church.

Symonds (Fig. 10) described six shields on the side of the tomb: Wentworth; Wentworth with a crescent for difference impaling Bissett; blank, presumably lost; Wentworth quarterly of 8: (i) Wentworth; (ii) Bissett; (iii) Despenser; (iv) Goushill; (v) Dronsfield; (vi) Wentworth with a crescent for difference; (vii) Tiptoft; (viii) Badlesmere; Wentworth quarterly of 14: (i) Wentworth; (ii) Bissett; (iii) Dronsfield; (iv) Goushill; (v) Tiptoft; (vi) Badlesmere; (vii) Howard; (viii) Helion; (ix) Nortoft; (x) Swynborne; (xi) Botetourt; (xii) Gernon; (xiii) Rolf; (xiv) Wentworth with a crescent for difference impaling Bettenham; Wentworth quarterly of 14 with crest. The shield with 8 quarterings represents the paternal ancestors of Sir Roger Wentworth (d. 1539), father of Sir John, while the additional quarterings on the other shield relate to the ancestors of Anne Tyrell (d. 1534), wife of Sir Roger. Holman referred to four shields having been on each side of the tomb with two at the lower end, which like those on the north side had been removed. He provided descriptions and sketches of four shields. None of these includes any described by Symonds, apart from the shield with the crest. The second shield mentioned by Holman is Wentworth quarterly of 14 impaling Bettenham, described as 'the first pale [Wentworth] exactly the same coats only some differences in the placing of them'. It is not clear from his description of the third shield whether it includes the Bettenham impalement, since it is described as 'exactly the same as the second of some little difference in the order of the Coats or marshalling of them'. The fourth shield was quarterly of 15: (i) Wentworth; (ii) Bissett; (iii) Dronsfield; (iv) Despenser; (v) Tyrell; (vi) Helion; (vii) Nortoft; (viii) Swynborne; (ix) Goushill; (x) Tiptoft; (xi) Badlesmere; (xii) Howard; (xiii) Botetourt; (xiv) Gernon; (xv) Rolf. By 1817-1820 notes, probably by Thomas Astle, show that there were three shields left, one being that with the crest and the other two having the Bettenham

²¹ Chancellor, *Monuments*, p. 213, pl. LXX.

²² PRO, PROB.11/18/46, abstracted Emmison, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-9.

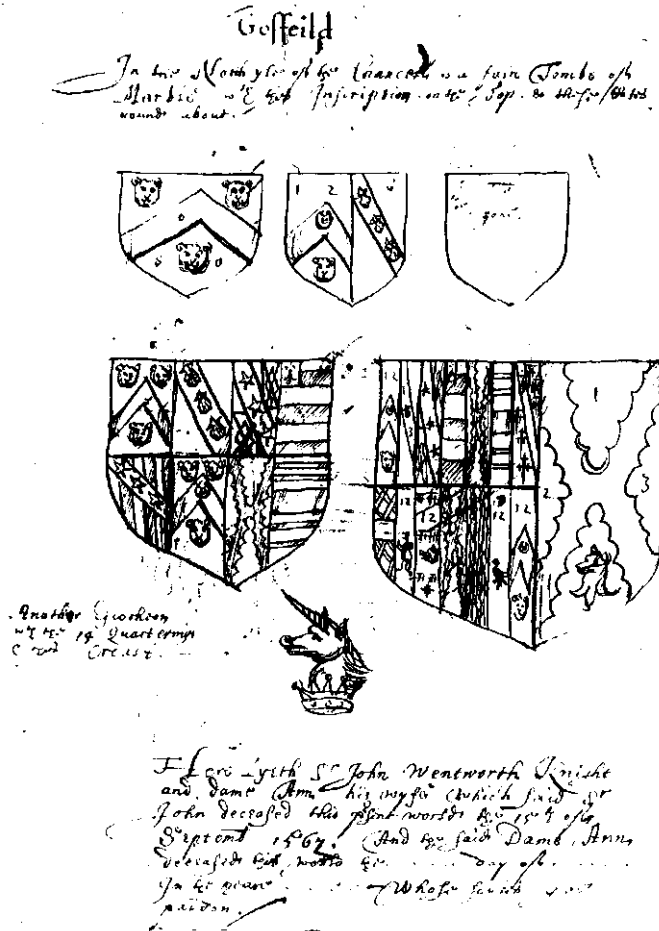


FIG. 10

M.S. V. Description by the antiquary Richard Symonds in 1637
of the six shields on the side of the altar tomb and inscription to
Sir John Wentworth, 1567, and wife Anne,
daughter of John Bettenham of Pluckley, Kent, esq., [1575].

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impalement; this agrees with Powell's description. The quarterings are as follows: (i) *Sable on a chevron, between three leopards' heads or, a crescent gules, surmounted of another argent for double difference, for Wentworth;* (ii) *Gules on a bend argent three escallops azure, for Bissett;* (iii) *Paly of six sable and argent on a bend gules three mullets or, for Dronsfield;* (iv) *Quarterly argent and gules, in the 2nd and 3rd quarters a fret or, over all on a bend sable three mullets of the first, for Despenser;* (v) *Barry of six or and azure, a canton ermine, for Goushill;* (vi) *Argent a saltire engrailed gules, for Tiptoft;* (vii) *Argent a fess between two bars gemel gules, for Badlesmere;* (viii) *Gules on a bend azure between six crosses crosslet fitchy argent an ermine spot for difference, for Howard;* (ix) *Gules a fess or between two frets argent, for Helion;* (x)

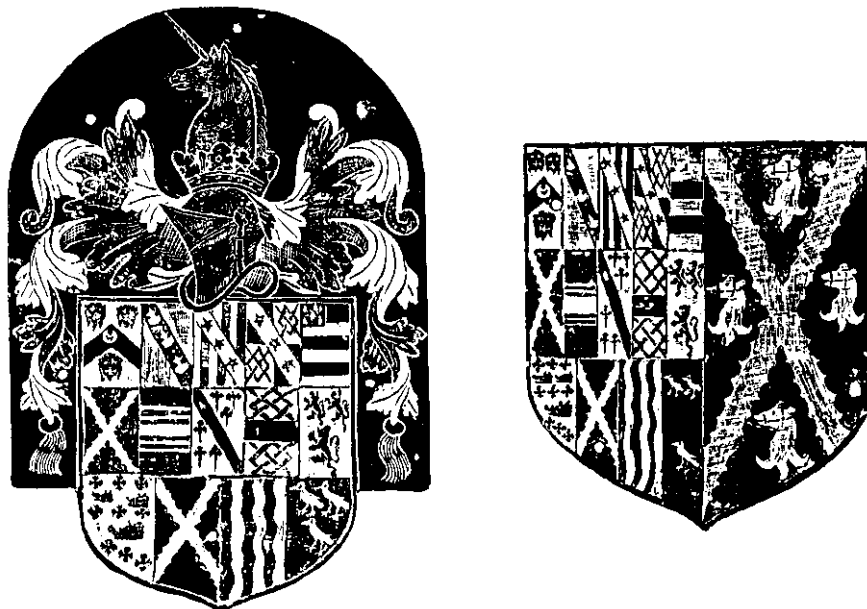


FIG. 11

M.S. V. The achievement bearing Wentworth quarterly of 14 and one of the shields with Wentworth impaling Bettenham formerly on the south side of the Wentworth altar tomb.

Sable three lions rampant or, for Nortoft; (xi) *Gules crusily and three boars' heads coupéd argent* for Swynborne; (xii) *Or a saltire engrailed sable*, for Botetourt; (xiii) *Paly wavy of six argent and gules*, for Gernon; (xiv) *Argent three ravens close sable*, for Rolf. The arms of Bettenham are, *Argent a saltire engrailed sable between four bears' heads erased of the last muzzled or*.

The achievement (292 x 198mm) and the two impaled shields (184 x 163mm) (Fig. 11) were stolen from the south side of the Wentworth altar tomb during the week of 8-15 October 1944. The Revd. G. Montagu Benton, pointed out that 'the brasses were easily removable as they were fastened, comparatively loosely, to wooden plugs'. Early in 1991, all three were offered to Christie's by an antique-dealer who had acquired them some years earlier during a visit to the United States of America. Claude Blair was approached for identification and, having established their provenance, the auction house declined to proceed with a sale following which one of the authors successfully managed to negotiate their purchase.²³

Documentary evidence suggests that other brasses may have been laid down in Gosfield church during the sixteenth century. Symonds and Holman both recorded an inscription on 'a flat stone' in the nave:

Here lyeth buried William Hunt one of the Coroners of this Shire &
Ellen his Wyfe had yssue Eleven Children He dyed 12 of August 1552
And Ellen dyed 12 of September 1578

²³ *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 4 (1946), p. 158; *MBS Bulletin*, 58 (Oct. 1991), p. 529.

The parish register records the burials of William on 12 August 1552 and his widow on 12 September 1578. Hunt's will, describing himself as a yeoman, was made the day before his death and requests burial 'As nere to the buryall place of my father as may be within the Churche doore'; 3s. 4d. was left for the 'brekyng of the ground & pavyng Ageyn for the same'. The will mentions five sons and five daughters.²⁴ It is, of course, possible that the inscription was on a ledger rather than on a brass. Thomas Cornewell, priest of Gosfield, drew up his will on 1 October 1561, requesting his sister and executrix to buy a stone commonly called a great stone and cause it to be laid over his grave with this epitaph *Eram quod es sum quod fueris et ideo precor.*²⁵ He was buried at Gosfield on 10 May 1564.²⁶

A mural brass on the east wall of the nave (754 x 784 mm) commemorates Basil Sparrow of Gosfield Place (d. 21 September 1880) and four of his children by his wife, Julia Scratton: Lucy Margaret, d. 4 January 1869, aged 10; Augusta Rosalie, d. 6 June 1870, aged 5; Valentine Arthur George John, d. 16 July 1872, aged 16 and Amy Julia, wife of the Revd. W. E. L. Lampet, d. 19 August 1876, aged 26, who was buried in Great Bardfield churchyard. This brass, engraved by Hart Son Peard & Co. of London and Birmingham, is well-engraved with a Gothic border incorporating evangelical symbols; a small panel contains the arms of Sparrow impaling Scratton, with the crest of Sparrow. The 'black-letter' inscription has rubricated capitals.

²⁴ ERO, D/P 165/1/1; D/ABW 18/134.

²⁵ F.G. Emmison, *Essex Wills (England)*, I (Washington, D.C., 1982), p. 306 (no. 988).

²⁶ ERO, DIP 165/1/1.

William Maidstone at Ulcombe and Leeds

by NIGEL SAUL

WILLIAM Maidstone's brass at Ulcombe, Kent (M.S. I) (Fig. 1), large and elaborate as it is, has received relatively little scholarly attention. Belcher reproduced the brass in 1905 in the second volume of his *Kentish Brasses*; but in the ninety years since, it has been overlooked.¹ To an extent the brass has been the victim of its location. Ulcombe is chiefly famous for the brass of Ralph St Leger and his wife (M.S. III), the quintessential brass of the 'Yorkist' period and one of the most frequently reproduced.² Maidstone's brass, incomplete and less appealing to illustrators, has suffered from its neighbour's fame. None the less, it is a fine and impressive piece. Like the St. Leger brass, it is an example of London style 'D's work at its best, ornate and well engraved. Maidstone is shown in armour under a single canopy with an invocatory scroll issuing from his mouth. A four-line foot inscription with entablature forms the base and a marginal inscription surrounds the whole. In more than a few respects the brass is remarkable. For a mere esquire's memorial it is an exceptionally lavish piece: small civilian figures are more usual than canopied compositions for men of this rank. Moreover, it is notable for its marks of religiosity. Somewhat unusually for this date, the marginal inscription carries the famous resurrection text from Job 19.25-7. And finally, there is the mystery as to why the brass is here at all. Ulcombe was a property of the St. Leger family, and the north chapel, where the brass lies, is the St. Legers' chapel. William Maidstone was not of the St. Legers' kin. So who was he, and what is he doing there?

A vital clue to the resolution of these issues is provided by Maidstone's will, which he made three days before his death on 8 April 1419.³ The document is in most respects unexceptional. Maidstone's bequests were few. He left five copes, a vestment (a term which usually refers to a set of mass vestments), and a 'paxbred' to Leeds Priory. He left a cup adorned with an image of the Virgin Mary to St. Katherine's Abbey, near the Tower of London.⁴ He cancelled a couple of debts owed to him by his cousin John Oliver and one John Huchon;⁵ and finally he made a bequest of 120s. to his godson, who was Oliver's son. These are terms of common enough character. What is remarkable about the will is less the arrangements that he made for the

¹ W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905), II, plate 454.

² *Wonderful Britain*, ed. J.A. Hammerton, 4 vols. (London, 1928-9), IV, 1487; *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, ed. M. Clayton (London, 1968), pl. 23; J.F.A. Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England* (Newton Abbot, 1971), 87; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1972), fig. 10 (p. 209); *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984*, introduced by M.W. Norris (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 196.

³ Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills, PROB 11/2B, f. 128.

⁴ This presumably refers to the Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower, rather than the nearby Cistercian abbey of St. Mary of Graces.

⁵ The Huchons appear to have been a family of Dartford origin (*Cal. Close*, 1364-8, pp. 66, 69, 185). In the early fifteenth century, however, members of the family are found elsewhere: for example, one Thomas Huchon resided at Uckfield, Sussex (*Cal. Close*, 1413-19, p. 49). John Huchon, presumably the beneficiary of Maidstone's will, was a co-feoffee for an estate at Boughton Malherbe, the next village to Ulcombe (*ibid.*, pp. 73, 376).



FIG. 1
Ulcombe, Kent M.S. I
William Maidstone, 1419

disposal of his worldly goods than his intended place of burial. Maidstone did not request burial in the church of Ulcombe. Rather, he chose Leeds Priory - or to be precise, the chapel of St Stephen, next to the Priory.

For a Kentish gentleman, the choice of Leeds as a burial place is an understandable one. Leeds was an Augustinian house with close links with the local gentry. It had been founded in the early twelfth century by a Kentish knight, Sir Robert Crevequer.⁶ Maidstone's brother John, whom he named as one of his executors, was a canon there. It is clear that his brother's connections were an influence on him. Bequests to the house figure in his will, and he provided for 12d. to be given to each of the canons after the celebration of his obsequies. Maidstone's friend and associate Guy Mone, the bishop of St. Davids, and a fellow Kentishman, was also buried there.⁷ Maidstone's request for interment at Leeds was not lightly made.

So how did the brass find its way to Ulcombe? A couple of suggestions can be made. One possibility is that at the last minute Maidstone changed his mind. Repenting of his earlier decision, he made a new will with instructions for interment at Ulcombe. Such a suggestion, however, is unlikely. There is no evidence that Maidstone made a new will; moreover, since he died only days after making the will now in the register, he would have had little opportunity to do so. On general grounds, it is unlikely that he would have changed his mind. He was closely connected with Leeds through his brother, and his attachment to the house is evident from his bequests. It might be added that the canons of Leeds themselves had a strong interest in ensuring that he was buried in their midst; for, were he not, they would forfeit the 12d. each to which they were entitled at his obsequies.

An alternative explanation is that Maidstone's testamentary wishes were overridden, perhaps by next of kin who wanted his body to be interred in a parish church close to their place of residence. Such changes engineered by kin were not unknown. The Sussex knight Sir Thomas Poynings, who died in 1375, requested burial at St. Radegund's Abbey in Kent, but was in the event buried in the family mausoleum at Poynings in Sussex.⁸ Again, however, the balance of probability is against the idea. On the evidence of his will, Maidstone lacked any close kin. Tellingly, there are no references in it to a wife or children. It is possible, of course, that his wife had predeceased him, but the absence of any reference to issue strongly suggests that he was unmarried. From the affectionate reference to Oliver's son, his godson, it might be supposed that he saw him as the son that he never had. The argument for the possible involvement of the family falls to the ground. The only family involvement was that of his brother; and it was precisely this which resulted in the choice of burial place at Leeds.

The suggestion of a change of plan is also undermined by the absence of any traceable connection between William Maidstone and Ulcombe. Ulcombe, as we

⁶ VCH, *Kent*, II, (London, 1926), pp. 162-5.

⁷ Mone requested burial at Leeds in his will of 17 August 1407 (Lambeth Palace Library, Register of Archbishop Arundel, I, ff. 246v-247). He appointed Maidstone as one of his executors.

⁸ *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. N.H. Nicolas, 2 vols. (London, 1826), I, pp. 92-3, 122.

have seen, was the seat of the St. Leger family, who had held the manor since the late eleventh century.⁹ Maidstone had no tie of kinship with the St. Legers, and the only record of his dealings with them suggests that he and they were at odds: in July 1410 he and Sir Thomas St. Leger had to enter into a bond that neither would do or procure harm to the other.¹⁰ Moreover, there is no evidence that Maidstone acquired lands anywhere near the village.¹¹ His will was made at 'Gravene', which is probably Graveney, near Faversham, some ten miles to the north-east. Graveney was the seat of the Martin family, and John Martin, later a justice of common pleas, was one of his executors.¹² Presumably Maidstone had acquired a small estate in the area. It is unlikely that he would have considered burial at Graveney itself because the church there was very much the mausoleum of the local lords - the Martins and their predecessors the Fevershams and the Botillers.¹³ Burial in the surroundings of his brother's convent of Leeds would have struck him as more congenial.

With the possibility of Maidstone's burial at Ulcombe ruled out, how are we to account for the brass's presence in the church today? The most likely explanation is that it was moved to Ulcombe at the Dissolution. The distance from Leeds to Ulcombe is only four miles. If a major monument or brass in the priory were being saved from destruction, Ulcombe would be the obvious place to which to move it. It is well known that monuments were salvaged from monastic churches at the Reformation. The brass of Walter Curzon and his wife was removed from the Austin Friars, Oxford, to Waterperry a few miles away, while the celebrated brass of Thomas Nelond was carried all the way from Lewes Priory to Cowfold.¹⁴

There is one important piece of evidence which lends support to this suggestion. The brass clearly does not belong to the tomb on which it is now placed. Almost certainly, when at Leeds the brass was on the floor. Two features suggest this: firstly, the thickness of the slab, which is far thicker than was usual for a slab on a tomb; and, secondly, the absence of a chamfered edge to the slab. Usually, when a marginal inscription was set in a slab on a tomb, it was recessed into a chamfer. Here it is not; it is flush with the surface. Although tomb and slab are reasonably matched in size - the slab is only slightly larger - the tomb clearly is later. Unfortunately, it exhibits few if any features which afford a precise clue to dating: the quatrefoil on the south side

⁹ E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols. (Canterbury, 1797-1801), V, pp. 388-91; R.C. Stone, 'Ulcombe, Ireland and the St Legers', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XCI (1975), p. 114.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1409-13, p. 121. Unfortunately, no indication is given of what lay behind the dispute, but it may have related to another which was still rumbling two years later. In November 1412 Maidstone and a group of villagers from Ulcombe jointly entered into recognisances to abide by an arbitration panel's award on all complaints and actions between them (*ibid.*, p. 401).

¹¹ A search of the Feet of Fines for Kent in the Public Record Office failed to uncover any purchases of land by Maidstone.

¹² This is the John Martin commemorated by the splendid style 'B' brass of 1436 (M.S. IV).

¹³ For the descent of the manor, see Hasted, *History of Kent*, VII, pp. 31-2. For the brasses, see R. Griffin and M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Kent in 1922* (Ashford and London, [1923]), pp. 113-4; B. Egan, 'Conservation of Brasses 1989-1993', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 5 (1996), pp. 513-4.

¹⁴ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), I, p. 40; C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses, Part II', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 77 (1936), p. 152. Other monuments in Lewes Priory were moved at the Dissolution to Chichester Cathedral (H. Tummers, 'The Medieval Effigial Tombs in Chichester Cathedral', *Church Monuments*, III (1988), pp. 26-36).

containing a shield is unhelpful, but the likelihood is that it dates from the later fifteenth century when the north chapel was built.¹⁵ Further to the west in the chapel is a very similar tomb with which it forms a pair. The latter is without an effigy; and the 'aidstone' tomb was presumably of similar condition until the brass was placed on it. It is difficult to say who was responsible for moving the brass. That it was a descendant of the commemorated seems unlikely given his lack of kin. The most plausible candidate is Sir Anthony St. Leger, the lord of Ulcombe, who bought the priory site in 1550. St. Leger's involvement would conveniently account not only for the removal to Ulcombe but also for the brass's placing in the family chapel. Possibly the brass was the only monument, or the only monument of significance, in St Stephen's chapel, and it may be that St. Leger had an antiquarian interest in relics from the past.¹⁶ If responsibility for the rescue were indeed his, there is an irony to be enjoyed: he was preserving the memory of one with whom his forebears had been at daggers drawn.

The brass's successful weathering of the Reformation conveniently raises the second problem - its religiosity. The signs of piety on the brass are striking. Admittedly, the point should not be overdone. There are no figures of saints. Nor is there a representation of the Trinity nor any other mark of personal devotion. However, an invocatory scroll issues from Maidstone's mouth, and the Vulgate rendering of Job 19.25-7 occupies the whole of the marginal inscription.¹⁷ Features of this sort were not routinely included on brasses. The text from Job is most commonly found in this period on brasses of ecclesiastics. An early instance comes from the brass of John de Campden, 1410, at St. Cross, Winchester, while closer to Maidstone's time is the striking example of William Prestwick at Warbleton, Sussex, where the text appears on the orphreys of the priest's cope.¹⁸ The inclusion of such explicitly religious references points strongly to the influence of the client on the commission. But who in this case may be considered the client? The brass, although it commemorates Maidstone, is unlikely to have been ordered by him. There can be little doubt that it was laid after his death: the inclusion of the date of death on the inscription strongly points to this. The working assumption must be that the brass was ordered by the executors - John Martin and his wife, Roger Rye, Thomas Palmer, and John Maidstone, the deceased's brother. In that case, the question arises

¹⁵ For the dating of the chapel, see J.E. Newman, *West Kent and the Weald* (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 562-3. The arms on the shield are unidentifiable. Strangely, they are not those of the St. Legers, *Azure fretty argent a chief gules*.

¹⁶ It is unclear where exactly the chapel of St. Stephen stood. The reference to it in Maidstone's will makes it sound a free-standing building - like perhaps the '*capella ante portas*' at Merevale, Warws. There is no mention of it in P.J. Tester, 'Excavations on the Site of Leeds Priory. Part I - the Church', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XCIII (1977), pp. 33-45, or *idem*, 'Excavations on the Site of Leeds Priory. Part II. The Claustral Buildings and other remains', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XCIV (1978), pp. 75-98.

¹⁷ The Job text appears in the form in which it was used in the Responsories after the First and Sixth lessons of Matins for the dead. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for advice on this.

¹⁸ For these and other examples, see A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (London, 1956), pp. 162-4; S. Badham, 'Status and Salvation: the Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 5 (1996), p. 448. The Resurrection text formed the main element in the lost brass of Bishop Richard Gravesend (d. 1279) in Lincoln Cathedral (N. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments, 1270-1350', in *The Earliest English Brasses. Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), p. 57, fig. 46).

of whose piety it is that is mirrored in the brass? Is it Maidstone's, or his executors'? It might be objected that the distinction is an unreal one: that the executors would have acted in response to the known, or declared, wishes of the deceased. However, this is unlikely. Maidstone gave no indication of intensity of piety in his will; his pious bequests, as we have seen, were few and conventional; and there is no evidence that he was unduly concerned for his soul. It makes better sense to attribute the religiosity of the brass not to William but to the executor closest to him, his brother John. John was not only a clerk, a canon regular; as a member of the house which his brother chose as his resting place he had prime responsibility for arranging burial. It was almost certainly his deeply felt sense of piety which found expression in the brass's intensely religious character.

One problem then remains. Why did John consider his brother deserving of such a splendid and elaborate memorial? It was not as if the Maidstones were a family of any particular consequence. They were not manorial lords; nor were they of ancient or distinguished lineage.¹⁹ What could have justified such a brass, and who could have paid for it?

Maidstone's career is ill-documented. His parentage and background are unknown, and the Maidstone surname is a common one. It is possible that he is to be associated with the family of Maidstone of Isleworth, Middlesex. In 1409 Richard Maidstone of Isleworth, an exchequer clerk, was granted custody of a royal escheat, and one William Maidstone 'of London' appeared alongside him as a mainpernor - a relationship that implies kinship.²⁰ However, the appearance later in the same year, again as a mainpernor, of one William Maidstone 'of Kent' suggests that there may have been two men of the name.²¹ Very likely the most convincing explanation of William's origins is the most obvious: namely, that he was born at Maidstone, Kent, and took his name from there. Circumstantial evidence supports this view. Maidstone was a major property of the archbishops of Canterbury, who had a palace there, and William made his career in the archbishops' service. William was one of the estate's administrators. His was a familiar type in late medieval England - the ambitious layman with a grounding in law and a taste for administration who did well for himself ministering to the needs of the mighty. William Whaplode, Cardinal Beaufort's steward, commemorated by a brass at Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., provides another example.²² When Maidstone entered the service of the archbishops is not clear, but certainly by 1409 he was a senior official. In that year, with Bartholomew Brokesby, the estates steward, he acted as one of Archbishop Arundel's mainpernors

¹⁹ Maidstone was evidently armigerous because there were two shields on the brass, both now lost. Before Henry V's reign the assumption of arms was relatively unregulated, and esquires had been using arms (as opposed to their lords' arms) since at least the mid-fourteenth century.

²⁰ *Cal. Fine R.*, 1405-13, p. 154. For the Maidstones of Isleworth, see *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols. (Stroud, 1992), III, pp. 666-9.

²¹ *Cal. Fine R.*, 1405-13, p. 161.

²² W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p. 29. Whaplode was proud of his connection with Beaufort; it is noted on his inscription. For his career, see *The House of Commons*, IV, pp. 822-4; G.L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort. A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 360-1.

for a lease of the royal manor of Towncourt in Sheen.²³ By 1411 at the latest he was also retained by the monks of the cathedral priory, and the fee of £46. 13s. 4d. paid to him was by far the highest granted that year.²⁴ There is evidence that towards the end of Archbishop Arundel's life he was among the prelate's most trusted confidants. In 1414, when the archbishop made his will, he named him as one of his executors.²⁵ Maidstone's connections with the archbishopric provided him with a point of entry into local government. For the year 1416-17 he served as the royal escheator for Kent.²⁶ However, he never served as sheriff or as a justice of the peace; nor, unlike Brokesby, was he ever elected to parliament. Perhaps he did not seek such distinction; equally possibly, his duties did not allow him time.

A knowledge of Maidstone's career offers assistance in the interpretation of his brass. In the first place, its splendour becomes easier to understand. Maidstone was an active and well-connected man locally. He was clearly a figure of some means, with an annual income of perhaps £80 or more. Although not a knight, he could hold his own with the knights; and he was a member of the county elite. Secondly, it becomes apparent why he is shown in armour. It might be supposed that a decidedly unmilitary figure like Maidstone would be shown in civilian attire; but service to a great lord conferred gentility, and gentility justified the commemorated being shown in armour.²⁷ Finally, the generous scale of his brass can be understood. Maidstone's local importance qualified him for a decently large memorial. All the same, Maidstone was not born to a distinguished lineage: he did not count as a magnate or baron. Consequently, the brass is not a prestige commission. It is hardly of comparable scale to Lord Camoys' great monument at Trotton: the male figure is only 34 inches long, and the whole composition stretches to barely 6 feet. Maidstone was an esquire who had done well for himself, and the brass reflects his achievement. But he was only a middling figure; he never became a major proprietor. The brass reflects the limits to his horizons.

²³ *Cal. Fine R.*, 1405-13, p. 161. For Brokesby, see *The House of Commons*, II, pp. 371-3. Maidstone's connection with Guy Mone, the bishop of St. Davids, suggests wider, and perhaps earlier, experience of ecclesiastical administration. In 1407 Maidstone was one of Mone's executors (Lambeth Palace Library, Register of Archbishop Arundel, I, ff. 246v-247).

²⁴ W.P. Blore, 'Recent Discoveries in the Archives of Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LVIII (1945), p. 32. I am grateful to Leslie Smith for this reference. The document recording the payment is the Prior's Account Roll, xviii.1. As Blore notes, some of the persons named are tradesmen (e.g. 'Thomas Melyour pictori'), and the payments probably represent settlement of bills. But some of the payments are definitely retaining fees. This is indicated by the payment in one case of arrears from the previous year: '*Petro Halle pro arrearagis anni precedentis* £6 6s 8d'.

²⁵ *Sede Vacante Wills*, ed. C.E. Woodruff, Kent Records, 3 (1914), p. 85. Another of the executors was Bartholomew Brokesby, for whom see above, n. 18. Maidstone drew on the archiepiscopal staff for his own executors. Roger Rye, one of his nominees, was steward of the liberty of the archbishops of Canterbury (F.R.H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society* (London, 1966), p. 396).

²⁶ *Cal. Fine R.*, 1413-22, 169, p. 228.

²⁷ Whaplode, Beaufort's steward, is likewise shown in armour (see Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Buckinghamshire*, p. 30).

Suffolk 1 Indents at Spalding, Lincolnshire and Waltham Abbey, Essex

by SALLY BADHAM

THE workshops which operated in Bury St. Edmunds from *c.* 1470 to *c.* 1550 mainly produced modest compositions, with standing figures rarely exceeding 20 inches in height, accompanied by a rectangular inscription and, occasionally, sets of shields. The exception was the Suffolk 1 workshop, which was probably produced in Bury St. Edmunds under the direction of Reignold Chirche, a bell-founder who took over the Bury bell-foundry around 1470 and operated it until his death in February 1498/9.¹ The surviving brasses of this series include both standing and kneeling figures, and indent evidence demonstrates that they also produced more elaborate compositions with devotional imagery. Most known Suffolk series 1 products are found within a thirty-mile radius of Bury, but the two indents described in this note are located surprisingly far distant from the workshop.

Spalding, Lincolnshire

The church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Spalding, Lincolnshire contains an interesting series of late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century indents. Most are Norwich products, but the largest and finest is from the Suffolk 1 series. The slab, which lies at the east end of the nave, is not of the usual limestone used for Suffolk 1 brasses, but a brown shelly limestone with distinctive calcitic sea-urchin spines, the size and shape of match sticks; this stone was used extensively for the matrices of East Anglian brasses and has been identified as probably originating from the Great Oolite limestones of the Peterborough/Stamford area.² This choice of stone suggests that the plates were sent out loose and set locally in the slab. The main features of the elaborate inlay were the figures of a civilian and lady kneeling in prayer on either side of a cross, the outline of which shows Christ on the cross and a group of figures at its base (Fig. 1). At the base of the cross was a shield, doubtless containing a merchant's mark. The remainder of the composition included a daughter and a group of four sons, evangelistic symbols at the corners of the slab and three foot inscriptions.

The outline of the main figures corresponds closely to other products of the Suffolk 1 workshop, particularly the brass of 1483 to John Coket and his wife at Ampton, Suffolk.³ No other known Suffolk 1 product includes a Crucifixion,⁴ but

¹ S. Badham, 'The Suffolk School of Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 1 (1980), pp. 41-67; S. Badham and J. Blatchly, 'The Bellfounder's Indent at Bury St Edmunds', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, XXXVI (1988), p. 291.

² R. Firman, 'Lost Brasses and Newly Found Marbles', *Church Monuments Soc. Newsletter*, XI, no. 2 (Winter 1995-6), pp. 34-6.

³ Illus. Badham and Blatchly, 'Bellfounder's Indent', fig. 47.

⁴ Monuments featuring Crucifixions were a prime target for iconoclasts and thus rarely survive. Examples include a palimpsest fragment of a *c.* 1460 brass of London workmanship at Waddesdon, Bucks. (M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), fig. 236), a French brass of 1547 to Nicholas le Brun in the British Museum (M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 194), and an incised slab at Vadstena, Sweden to Philippa, daughter of Henry IV of England and wife of Eric XIII of Sweden (F. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), II, pl. 160).

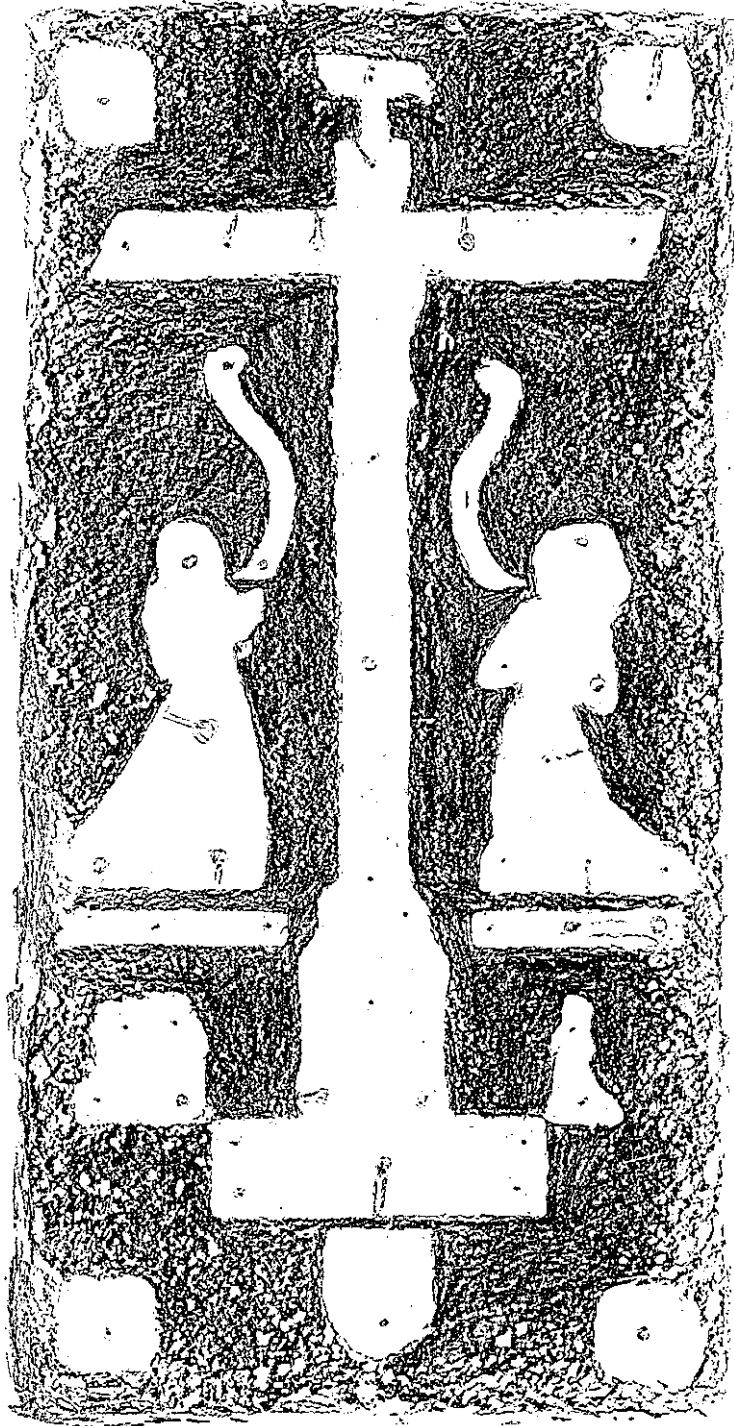


FIG. 1
Unknown civilian and wife, *c.* 1480, Spalding, Lincolnshire

some incorporate comparable devotional iconography. The bell-founder's indent in St. James, Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk features a pair of kneeling figures praying to a Trinity on a canopied bracket and another very similar lost indent from the same church included a saint on a canopied bracket.⁵ The identity of those commemorated by the Spalding indent is unknown and there appear to be no antiquarian notes recording this slab. Of the eleven known products of the Suffolk 1 series that have been identified, only three can be firmly dated; these span the period 1475-83, but the workshop was almost certainly in operation for much longer than that. Thus, though the Spalding indent most likely dates to *c.* 1480, a date anywhere in the range 1470-99 is possible.

Why this unknown merchant chose to be commemorated by a brass made in Bury St. Edmunds is puzzling.⁶ A brass-engraving workshop operated in south Lincolnshire, probably at Boston, from the late 1480s to *c.* 1510.⁷ That the Spalding merchant or his executors did not patronise this local source suggests that he died before the Fens 2 workshop was established. However, good quality brasses were being produced in Norwich from *c.* 1450⁸ and the indent evidence suggests that others in Spalding were turning to these workshops for their monuments in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Possibly the merchant commemorated by the Suffolk 1 indent had family or trading links with Bury St. Edmunds which explain his choice.

Waltham Abbey, Essex

Amongst the fine London-produced indents at Waltham Abbey, Essex is another unusual product of the Suffolk 1 series. The slab, which is mural in the south aisle, is of Purbeck marble, again suggesting that it was set locally rather than at the workshop in Bury. The slab, measuring 485 x 355 mm, is far smaller than conventional medieval tomb covers; possibly it was cut down, but it may always have been a mural monument of this size. The composition comprises a plate inscription, above which figures of a civilian and wife kneel in prayer (Fig. 2). The outline of the figures is again very close to the Ampton brass and the St. James, Bury and Spalding indents, suggesting a likely date of *c.* 1480. Between the two figures is a shaft, shaped like that at St. James, Bury, but rather shorter, supporting a plate of irregular outline on which was doubtless engraved religious imagery of some sort. A Trinity can be ruled out as all known examples have a much more regular outline. The curved protrusion on the lower right side of the feature might suggest a scroll or Christ sitting on a rainbow, but in both cases a matching shape on the left would be expected. Christ's Resurrection was another popular choice, most examples having an irregular outline;⁹ possibly such a scene was shown here.

⁵ Illus. Badham and Blatchly, 'Bellfounder's Indent', figs. 43 and 44.

⁶ Later Bury products are, however, to be found in Lincolnshire, at Horncastle, Winthorpe and Ingoldmells.

⁷ S. Badham, *Brasses from the North East* (London, 1979), pp. 21-2.

⁸ R. Greenwood and M. Norris, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (Holt, Norfolk, 1979), pp. 14-35.

⁹ See, for example, the Resurrection on Slaugham, Sussex M.S. II; illustrated J. Bertram, 'Orate pro anima; some Aspects of Medieval Devotion Illustrated on Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 4 (1983), pp. 321-42, fig. 7.



FIG. 2
 Unknown civilian and wife *c.* 1480, Waltham Abbey, Essex
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield and Michael Taylor

Suffolk school brasses are found in Essex, but almost exclusively in the north of the county. The only other Suffolk I product there is at Chrishall, some twenty-five miles north of Waltham Abbey. Given the proximity of the London workshops, the civilian commemorated by this indent must have had some family or trading connection with Bury which influenced his patronage of the Suffolk 1 workshop.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to Martin Stuchfield for details of the Waltham Abbey indent and for making the rubbing illustrated in Fig. 2.

The Brass of Sibert van Ryswick at Xanten, Germany

by HANS GERD DORMAGEN

THE history of the Dom at Xanten, formerly a collegiate church and now a parish church, goes back to the late Roman period. In the second half of the fourth century a church in honour of St. Victor was built over the grave of Christian martyrs.¹ The very name of the town, derived from ‘*Ad Sanctos*’, refers to this *martyrium*.

In the cloisters are a number of stone memorial slabs and epitaphs to the canons, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, the majority from the first half of the sixteenth century. Though much weathered, they provide a remarkable example of the development of classicizing Renaissance motifs on the Lower Rhine. In the Dom itself only one monument has survived, perhaps owing to the importance of the subject (Fig. 1). It was originally situated in the south outer choir aisle before the steps of the rood altar. The brass figure and inscription have been set in a new blue-stone slab, 310 mm long, situated before this choir aisle on the outer wall of the south aisle. The old slab is set in the west wall of the cloisters before the north entrance.² The figure is 146 x 67 mm (maximum) and the frame (including the quatrefoils) is 303 x 183 mm. The border is 31 mm wide.

The deceased is shown with smooth hair, covering the ears, and a flat bonnet. The collars of two undergarments are visible. Over them he wears a gown³ with broad, full sleeves, and a fur collar covering the shoulders. Draped over his left arm is an almuce. The gown falls almost to the ground, but reveals his wide-toed shoes. There is a coat of arms on each side of his feet. On the left is that of the Ryswick family: [*Or*] a curved branch with three vetch flowers; on the right is that of the de Mol family: [*Gules*] three piles vair, on a chief [*or*] three cinquefoils [*gules*].

A separate Latin inscription in raised letters with a hatched background, set between decorated borders, runs: *Anno Mcccc xl die 22 / mensis Junii Obiit venerabilis et magnificus dominus Sibertus de Ryswick Aldensalensis Clivensis et Sanc/ti Cuniberti Coloniensis prepositus / ac huius Canonicus et Thesaurarius ecclesiarum In ecclesia Traiectensi Archidiaconus. Cuius anima in Christo quiescat.* The date of death was added, indicating that the brass was commissioned in Sibert’s lifetime. The inscription is interrupted at the corners by quatrefoils with the symbols of the Evangelists (from top left: Matthew, John (Fig. 2), Mark, Luke). The surface of the brass was damaged in the Second World War; it is also slightly worn, especially at the bottom of the inscription.

¹ W. Bader, *Der Dom zu Xanten*, I (Kvelaer, 1956), p. 18 ff.

² Bader, *Xanten*, I, p. 185.

³ On the gown see P. Post, ‘Herkunft und Wesen der Schaub’, *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, N.F., I (1923-5), p. 47; E. Thiel, *Geschichte des Kostüms* (Berlin, 1968), p. 274.



FIG. 1
Sibert van Ryswick, 1540
Dom, Xanten, Germany
Rubbing by Hans Gerd Dormagen

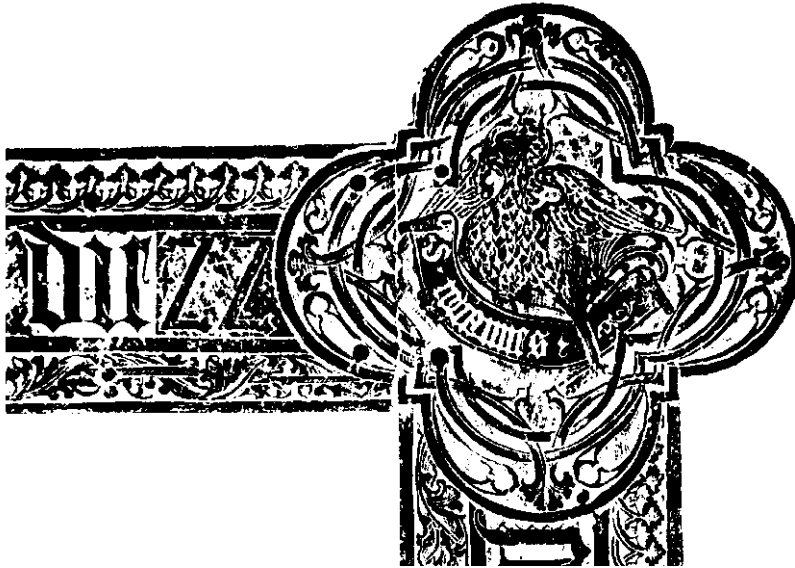


FIG. 2
Detail of symbol of St. John, Ryswick brass
Dom, Xanten, Germany
Rubbing by Hans Gerd Dormagen

Sibert was a son of the ducal receiver Derick (Theodorus) von Ryswick of Kalkar and Gertrud von Schairdt.⁴ In 1487 he matriculated at the University of Cologne.⁵ He was parish priest of Kalkar from 1491 to 1501 and again from 23 September 1524. From 1498 to 1518 he was a canon of the collegiate church of St. Clement, Wissel, and was also Provost from 1495 to 1520. He was a canon of Xanten from 1508. His natural son, Heinrich, was born there in 1510 and also became a canon of Xanten. Sibert was also Provost of Oldenzaal in the Netherlands (1518-40), Provost of St. Kunibert, Cologne (1520-38), Provost of St. Maria, Kleve (1520-40), and Archdeacon of Utrecht. In 1533, at the instigation of Duke Johann III of Cleves, he was made Treasurer of the collegiate foundation of St. Viktor in Xanten.

Sibert's political career at the Cleves court began in 1498 when he became ducal secretary. From 1504 he is recorded as counsellor to Johann II.⁶ He was a signatory to the treaty which Johann II and his son Johann III, at that time Duke of Jülich-Berg, made with Charles V on 25 November 1519. Under Johann III he was Chancellor of Kleve-Mark from 1529 to 1533, then, until his death, counsellor to the Duke.⁷ He died on 22 June 1540.

⁴ H.M. Schleicher, *Die genealogisch-heraldische Sammlung des Kanonikus Joh. Gabriel von der Ketten in Köln*, IV (Köln, 1986), pp. 286-7.

⁵ Bader, *Xanten*, p. 185. I can find under 1487 only Arnold and Cyfridus Ryswick of Kalkar as students in the arts faculty (H. Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, II, 1476-1559 (Bonn, 1919), p. 394 (nos. 394162 and 394163)).

⁶ Johann II is commemorated by a brass in the Marienkirche, Kleve (Cameron 2).

⁷ Bader, *Xanten*, p. 185; *Das Stift zu Xanten* (Köln, 1986), p. 62.

In 1520, together with his brothers Wolter and Arndt, he donated six Brussels tapestries to the church at Xanten, which still hang above the choir-stalls. One of them bears the same pair of arms as the brass.⁸

Perhaps the close connection of Sibert to Dukes Johann II (d. 1521) and Johann III (d. 1539) influenced his choice of monument. In the former collegiate church of St. Mariae Himmelfahrt in Kleve is the brass made for Duke Johann II and his wife Mechtild of Hesse (d. 1505). Johann II had earlier commissioned a gilt brass for the tomb of his father Johann I (d. 1481) from the Cologne engraver William Loeman. This, too, survives in the church at Kleve.⁹

The design of the brass with the cut-out figure and the surrounding border is unusual for the Rhineland. It is found more frequently in central and southern Germany, although there the figure of the deceased is always in relief (e.g. Bishops Johannes Bonemilch (d. 1510), Paulus Huthenne (d. 1532) and Wolfgang Westermeyer (d. 1568), all in Erfurt Cathedral.¹⁰

⁸ H.P. Hilger, *Der Dom zu Xanten* (Königstein im Taunus, 1984), p. 17, col. pls. on pp. 60, 72; *Das Stift zu Xanten*, p. 62.

⁹ H.P. Hilger, 'Grabdenkmäler der Häuser Jülich, Kleve, Mark und Ravensburg', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte*, exhibition catalogue (Kleve, 1985), pp. 188-92.

¹⁰ F. Bomschein, 'Die Erfurter Weihbischöflichen Grabplatten des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, XLIV (1992), pp. 147-76.

Tolleshunt D'Arcy Revisited

by the late H. K. CAMERON and NANCY BRIGGS

THE restoration of the brasses at Tolleshunt D'Arcy in 1978-9, following discoveries in the church during building work in the summer of 1977, has not hitherto been recorded in *Transactions*. Cameron's conservation report, drawn up in 1979, is printed in bold type. These discoveries necessitated the revision of an earlier account.¹ Cameron's conservation file for Tolleshunt D'Arcy, containing the original typescript of his article and associated papers, will be deposited in the Society's archives at the University of Birmingham.

The first discovery (Fig. 1) took place in the chancel near the south wall. A slab (1590 x 775 mm visible) held indents of a man in armour (614 x 183 mm) and his wife (620 x 208 mm) with a foot inscription (118 x 575 mm) and four shields (upper left 150 x 134 mm, upper right 154 x 140 mm, lower left 158 x 135 mm, lower right 152 x 131 mm); three circular indentations between the figures suggest plug holes may have existed at some time. It has been suggested that the indent could be as early as c. 1490, but no monument of this date has been recorded. Mrs. Rita Grimes pointed out similarities to the lost brass of John Lymsey and wife, 1545, Hackney, Middlesex (M.S. II).² This slab was subsequently moved to a position adjacent to the south wall. It could well represent the brass to Anthony and Elizabeth Darcy, laid down on her death in 1536, although Holman described the inscription as marginal.

Restoration in the north or Darcy chapel revealed two more stones with indents, one of which was lifted and set against the west wall of the chapel. This stone, originally used for the palimpsest frame of fourteenth-century Flemish origin (M.S. I), had been adapted to accommodate the brass for Anthony Darcy and his inscription (M.S. IV) and four shields (M.S. VII) of which only two now survive (Fig. 2). The slab was broken when it was discovered.

The vicar, the Revd. Norman A. Thorp, contacted the Society to enquire whether it was feasible to reinstate the Anthony Darcy brass in this stone. A visit was made to the church on 29 July 1977 in company with Mr. and Mrs. Harry Grimes to meet the vicar and churchwarden. It was established that no existing brass in the church belonged to the newly uncovered stone in the chancel [thus confirming the view expressed by Miss Nancy Briggs]. The stone recently uncovered in the Darcy chapel appeared to be Antoining stone and likely therefore to have housed originally the Flemish palimpsest fragments. It had been mounted

¹ N. Briggs, 'The Brasses of the Darcy Family at Tolleshunt D'Arcy, Essex', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 7 (1960), pp. 338-53.

² H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), p.ccxvii; rubbing in Society of Antiquaries collection.

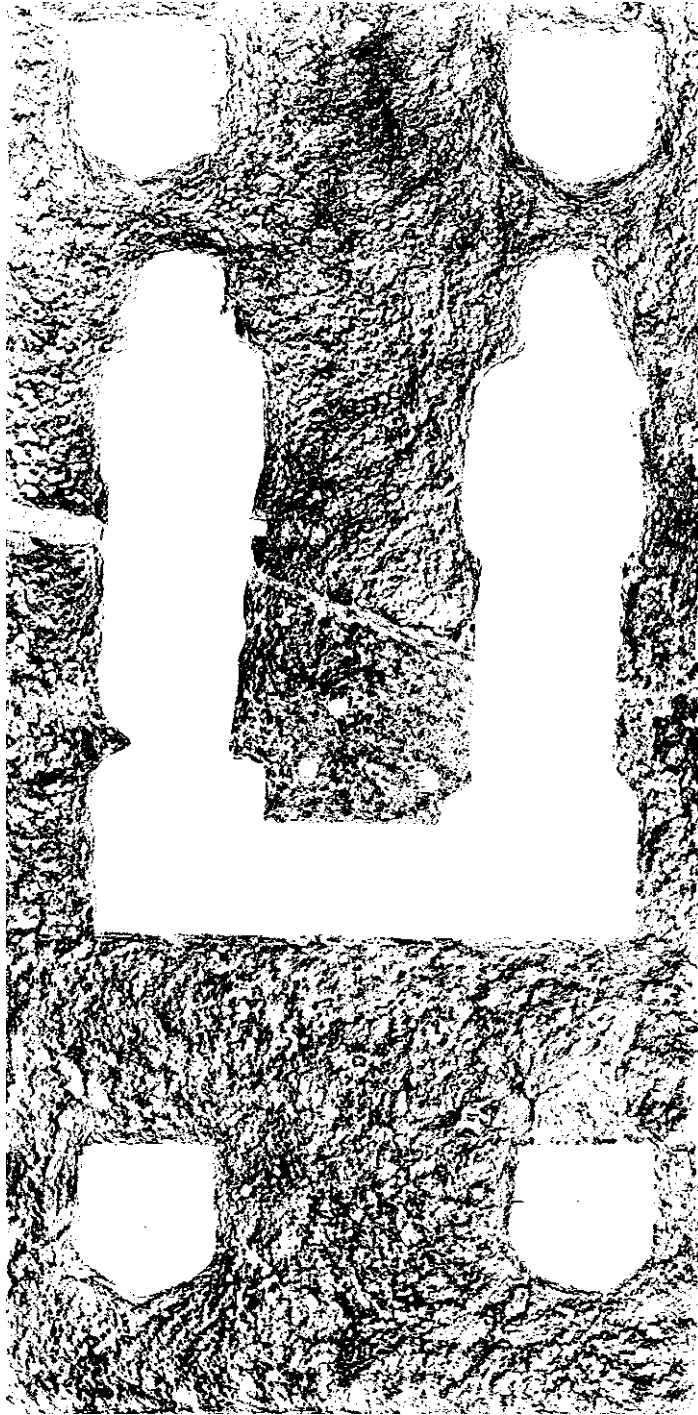


FIG. 1
Indent of lost brass to Anthony Darcy and wife Elizabeth, 1536.
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield and Michael A. Taylor, 1999

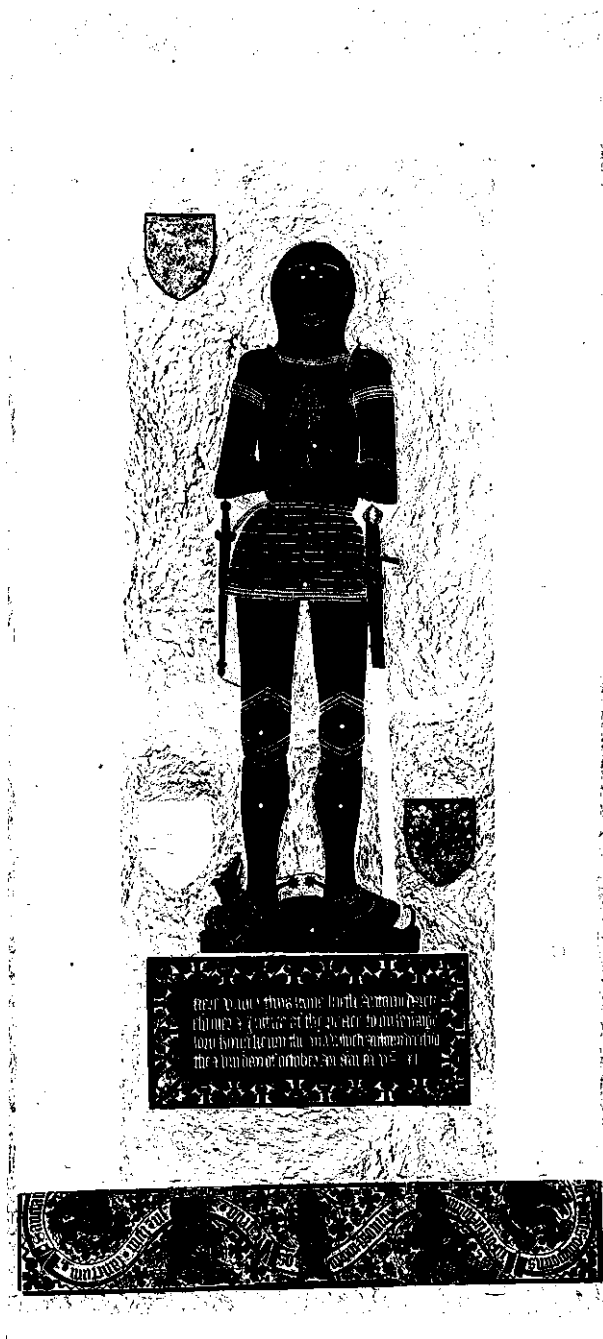


FIG. 2

M.S. I, IV, VII. Brass to Anthony Darcy, 1540,
 showing relationship of effigy, inscription, two shields and Flemish fragment
 of Apostles' Creed to original slab, discovered 1978.

Rubbing by Derrick A. Chivers, 1978, before remounting of brasses on boards

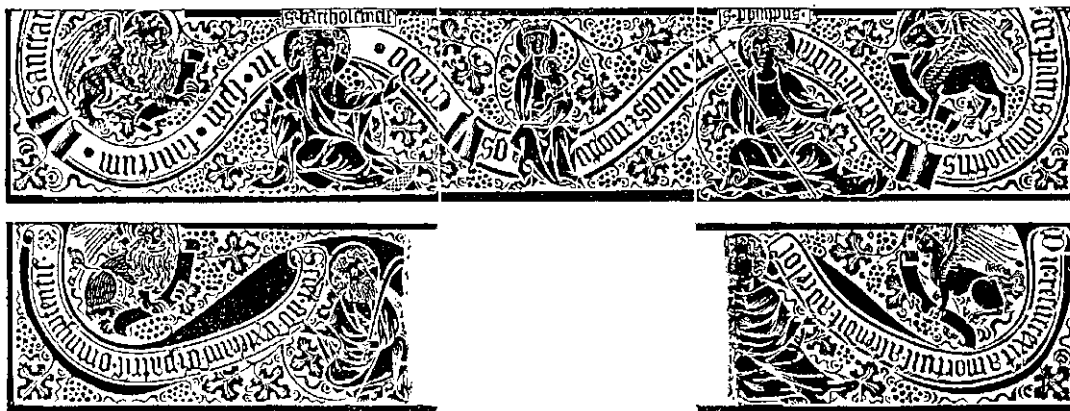


FIG. 3

M.S. I. Portion of the Flemish border with seated figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Philip and St. Bartholomew and clauses from the Creed on the obverse side (top).

Portions of a similar design showing figures of St. James the Less and St. Thomas only on the reverse side (bottom).

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 1974

vertically against the west wall of the chapel. Both stone and wall were damp and I was reluctant to recommend putting any brass in this stone until it had dried out or, better, been cleaned of the calcium salts it was likely to contain. As the condition of the church obviously required expensive repairs it was recommended that an application for a grant towards the cost of repairing the brasses should be made to the Council for Places of Worship. An approximate estimate of £200 was proposed.

The application was received at the Council for Places of Worship in January 1978, but this had now expanded to taking down all seven brasses and remounting them on new boards. At the meeting on 11 January of the Metals Sub-Committee of the Conservation Committee it was agreed to set aside the sum of £300 to cover the extra work involved in this request.

At the July meeting at the church the vicar had taken down the Flemish palimpsests from the oak board on which they had been mounted in 1927. The reverse sides were covered by a dry green corrosion, a vivid example of the effect of oak on brass. We have long advised that oak is an unsuitable wood for the mounting of brasses because of the presence of gallic acid and other tannins which attack this metal. Here, in a period of fifty years, is excellent visual evidence for this advice. These pieces and the inscription plate to Anthony Darcy, which is also palimpsest, were brought to Cambridge for careful cleaning and conservation.

The three pieces of Flemish border (M.S. I.) are particularly interesting palimpsests (Fig. 3). They formed the base of a large rectangular frame of a type common in the Low Countries from the late fourteenth to the

sixteenth centuries. They fit the indent in the stone recently uncovered during the repair to the Darcy chapel and were no doubt associated with a late fourteenth-century memorial of Flemish make which may or may not have been laid originally in this church. The stone was adapted to the use of Anthony Darcy in about 1540, so it may well have been taken from a monastic church in the neighbourhood at the time of the Dissolution. There is nothing on the three remaining pieces of brass to indicate in any way who was commemorated. They are part of a frame of brass depicting the apostles with their emblems and with their appropriate phrase from the Creed. That they are at the bottom of the frame is evident from the thick border line along the lower edge of all three pieces. On the piece at the right-hand corner is the winged ox of St. Luke and the seated figure of St. Philip holding a cross in his right hand and touching his scroll with his left hand³. The previous scroll, belonging to St. James the Less, has the words: *dei patris omnipotens* and is around the evangelist's symbol. The words of St. Philip, on the scroll he is touching, read: *Inde venturus [est] iudicare*. The rest is on the centre plate on which is a seated and crowned Virgin with the Child held in her left arm. She appears to be sitting on the scroll with the remainder of St. Philip's words: *vivos & mortuos*. The left-hand piece shows the winged lion, evangelistic symbol for St. Mark, around which winds the scroll on which is inscribed the Creed in raised blackletter. Also on this piece is the seated figure of St. Bartholomew. He carries the flaying knife, symbol of his martyrdom, in his right hand while his left hand is touching or holding the scroll on which is his part of the Creed: *Credo in spiritum sanctum*. The first word of the next phrase *sanctam*, being St. Matthew's phrase, is also engraved on this piece of metal. This suggests that the extent of the wording of the Creed was too great to be accommodated around the figures of the apostles alone, but needed intermediate figures to help spread it out. The evangelistic symbols provided this at the corners.

A further interesting feature is that each apostle is identified not only by his symbol and by his portion of the Creed, but by a label immediately above his figure with his name. The background to the design is a vine with leaves and grapes.

When the Revd. David Powell visited Tolleshunt D'Arcy in the early nineteenth century, he took impressions of the existing fragments, which were all that remained of the Creed, and associated them with the brass to Anthony Darcy.⁴ The late A. C. (Gus) Edwards produced a conjectural restoration of the Creed with the Holy Trinity at the top, balancing the surviving Virgin and Child at the bottom (Fig. 4).

³ For the importance of the fragment's portrayal of St. Philip as a beardless young man with a long-stemmed cross botonée in the identification of apostles on Flemish brasses, see H.K. Cameron, 'Attributes of the Apostles on the Tournai School of Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), pp. 287-8, fig. 1. pl. VA.

⁴ N. Briggs, 'Chapter and Verse: Documentary Sources for the Study of Monumental Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 6 (1968), p. 481.

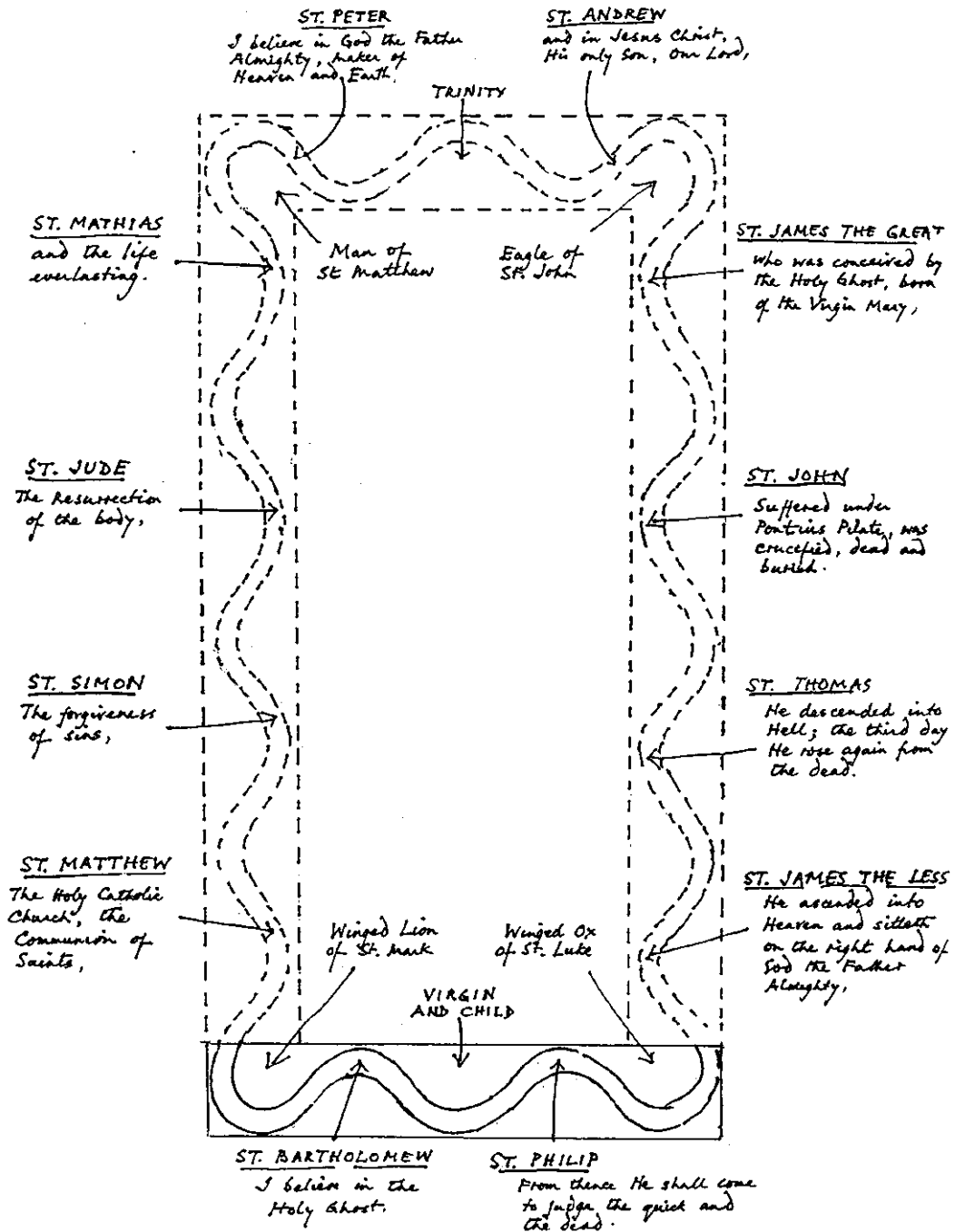


FIG. 4

Conjectural reconstruction of Apostles' Creed (surviving lower fragment, M.S. I) from the brass to Robert and Matilda le Wale, 1362, reused for Anthony Darcy, 1540 (M.S. IV).

Reconstruction by the late A. C. Edwards, 1980

The fascination of this brass is enhanced by the reuse of the two larger pieces. What has been described above is undoubtedly the final arrangement, but the two corner pieces had been engraved first on what is now the reverse side with closely similar designs which must quickly have been recognised as faulty and in error. The waving band on which the Creed was to be engraved was evidently left blank until the figures and vine background was finished. On these reverses the inscriptions had then been cut in blackletter on a different curve from the band already provided. Even so the wording had become too remote from the figure of the appropriate apostle. Thus in the bottom right-hand corner, while the figure must be intended for St. Thomas, though he has no name attached nor is there evidence of his spear, the self-contained scroll has room only for the last half of his phrase (shown underlined): *descendit ad inferos, tertia Die resurrexit a mortuis*; followed by the first three words, *ascendit ad celos* that belong to St. James the Less. On the left-hand corner piece with the lion of St. Mark is the figure of St. James the Less holding his fuller's club, and on his scroll the rest of his words: *Sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis*. On neither of the scrolls on these reverses are any abbreviations used and it is evident that they had only reached St. Thomas and St. James the Less when they were already at the bottom of the frame. The sweep of the original band intended for the inscription evidently required an intermediate piece such as was provided by the piece with the Virgin and Child on it; indeed the band matches perfectly. Yet the inscription as it had been cut was continuous from the piece with Thomas to that with James and did not require the intermediate piece of the band. The cutting and engraving of the reverse sides is in pristine condition. The edges are sharp and there has been no honing or polishing of the surface such as was probably applied to finished products. It is, for example, easy to make a good heelball rubbing of the obverse sides, but extremely difficult to make a good rubbing from the reverse sides, clean and sharp as they are in appearance.

The other piece of brass taken back to Cambridge was the inscription plate for Anthony Darcy (M.S. IV), giving the date of his death as 18 October 1540. The inscription is London work, which Robert Hutchinson suggests has affinities with Script 6, although the completely consistent use of the 2-shaped 'r' is an unusual feature. The affinities with Script 6 and the non-religious wording of the inscription might suggest a date later than 1540. However, there is no suggestion of Protestant sympathies in Anthony Darcy's conventionally phrased will, drawn up on 24 October 1539, almost exactly a year before his death. The unusual choice of a cross brass to commemorate Anthony's son, Thomas Darcy I and his third wife, Elizabeth, erected after her death in 1559, is probably due to her second husband,

⁵ Described and illustrated, M. Christy, W.W. Porteous and E.B. Smith, 'Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S. XII, pt. 3 (1912), pp. 249-51.

Robert Bedingfeld.⁵

The length of the inscription did not require the full size of the plate of metal used and was, therefore, confined within a surround of elaborate foliage design. It is not, however, well spaced within the frame. This plate is also reused metal; on the reverse is an inscription in Latin commemorating Robert and Matilda le Wale who both died on the same day, 28 July 1362. Robert and Matilda le Wale have not been identified, but William Woods suggested to the late John Page-Phillips that 'le Wale' should be translated as 'the Walloon'. It is possible that they died in the plague of 1361-2. However, this outbreak is said to have chiefly affected children and may have lessened in virulence by the end of July 1362, although it has also been suggested that after 1348 there was a shift in the period of high mortality from the winter to the late summer.⁶ The measurements of the reverse of the inscription plate and the position of the five rivets on the slab confirm that it must have been used originally for the burial of Robert and Matilda le Wale. The raised letter inscription is of Flemish workmanship, but its lower-case lettering and failure to occupy the whole plate suggests that it was not made by the same craftsman as the lettering of the Creed.⁷

Replicas of this reverse and of the two reverses described earlier were prepared in brass-loaded polyester resin, from moulds of silicone rubber taken directly from the brasses. The brasses, after cleaning, were fitted with brass studding of sufficient length to allow mounting on new boards with the obverse sides showing. They were passed to Harry Grimes, a member of the Society skilled in conservation work. During 1978 he took all the remaining brasses from the church and, in due course, mounted them all on teak-faced plywood. The brass to John de Boys and his wife (M.S. II) presented some problems. The knight's figure, already missing the top of the bascinet and parts of the sword, had clean breaks across the legs. It was decided that it was unnecessary to join these with a backing plate if they were being mounted on wood. The lady's figure on the other hand was badly cracked and this was taken to Cambridge and a plate was soldered across the back.

The surviving brass to Anthony Darcy (M.S. IV) is extraordinary. He had already caused one brass to his memory and to that of his wife to be laid in the chancel at the time of her death in 1535/6. In his will made in 1539 it is made clear that he wished burial in the north chapel. There remains of this later memorial the inscription cut on the back of a fourteenth-century Flemish inscription; two of an original four shields

⁶ J.C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 229, 231; J.F.D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 126-30; J.C. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy* (London, 1977), p.25.

⁷ The palimpsest inscription is reproduced in *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 110; J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), II, p. 26 (91 L3).

(M.S. VII) which are also palimpsest; and a figure in armour which is most crudely drawn, being for the most part copied from the much earlier brass to John de Boys (M.S. II) in the same church. This figure is engraved on a thick piece of metal, but there is no earlier engraving on the reverse side. Malcolm Norris suggested that the figure and that of Katherine Darcy (M.S. III), 1535, could be North Essex work.⁸

The four shields (M.S. VII) were also palimpsest. The surviving two both bear the arms of Darcy and were mounted on a board in 1938.⁹ The palimpsest shield lost before 1938 was probably that bearing Darcy impaling FitzLangley.¹⁰ No information is available on the loss of the fourth fragmentary palimpsest shield, although it probably also disappeared before 1938.¹¹ A fifth shield bearing Darcy, *Argent three cinquefoils gules, a crescent for difference* (M.S. VII), loose in the church chest in 1912, has also been lost. This mutilated shield was similar in size (146 x 126 mm) and has an identical border to the surviving shields, although shallowly engraved on very thin plate. It would not fit any other existing indent, but may have been associated with the inscription to Thomas Darcy of Langbrooks (M.S. VI), who died on 12 March 1624/5.¹²

From the evidence adduced in the earlier paper this Anthony Darcy was a proud man and it seems inconceivable that he would have tolerated such a memorial to himself. It seems likely to have been provided by a descendant, possibly purloining the stone and some of the brass from a nearby monastic church. Tiptree Priory, nearby, was one of the smaller monasteries dissolved by Cardinal Wolsey in 1526; it was occupied by the prior and one other canon. In 1515 Anthony Darcy had claimed the right as lord of the manor to appoint the prior, but the Priory did not pass into the hands of the Darcy family until 1547.¹³ This delay, taken in conjunction with the small size and poverty of the house, suggests that this fine Flemish brass may well have come from elsewhere. This seems more likely since the existing Darcy chapel was only erected in the late fifteenth century, at least a century after the death of Robert and Matilda le Wale. **Since the discovery of the slab in the Darcy chapel, it is now clear why Holman completed his description of the brass of Anthony Darcy with the words: *Round the edge is the creed in Latin.* Holman's accuracy, already supported by the Revd. David Powell, is vindicated, at least on this occasion.**¹⁴ **Indents for the new figure with the shields were cut in the Antoining stone without, it would seem, removing the Flemish frame-type**

⁸ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses, The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p.191.

⁹ The surviving shields are reproduced in *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), p. 112 (nos. 1 and 3) and Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, p. 26 (91 L5, 6, 7).

¹⁰ Stephenson, *Appendix*, p. 745; reproduced *MBS Trans.*, IV (1990-3), p. 112 (no. 2) and Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (91 L4).

¹¹ Reproduced *MBS Trans.*, IV, p. 112 (no. 4) and Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (91 L8, 9).

¹² Described and illustrated, Christy, Porteous and Smith, 'Some Interesting Essex Brasses', p. 249.

¹³ *VCH, Essex*, II, pp. 164-5; P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (London, 1768), II, p. 140.

¹⁴ The Holman MSS have been deposited in the Essex Record Office; for Tolleshunt D'Arcy, see T/P 195/7.

brass already in the stone; the inscription plate was re-used.

A further meeting took place at the church on 30 March 1979 at which Harry Grimes handed over all but one of the brasses and replicas suitably mounted. The brass to Anthony Darcy with its shields and inscription was completed on a board and returned to the church shortly after. By 24 April 1979, a local helper, Mr. Hoare, had completed the fixing of all the boards to the walls of the Darcy (north) chapel.

A second slab uncovered in the Darcy chapel was very badly flaked and was covered again. The Revd. Norman A. Thorp recorded the indent of a shield (165 x 165 mm) near the base of the slab but did not mark any remains of rivets. The slab (1981 x 762 mm) could possibly be that of John de Boys (M.S. II), 1419, described by Holman as on a marble stone of great length. Anthony Darcy's request to be buried in the north chapel between John de Boys and John's wife implies that the two brasses may not have been on the same slab. It also suggests that the brasses were in the Darcy chapel by 1539, although they would have had to be moved from their original position unless the chapel was rebuilt, rather than erected, in the late fifteenth century. John de Boys' career in the service of Thomas of Woodstock and subsequently as steward and executor of Eleanor de Bohun suggests that the small size (originally about 735 mm) did not reflect his importance.¹⁵

Acknowledgement is made of the assistance of H. Martin Stuchfield, Derrick A. Chivers and the late Gus Edwards in providing illustrations and suggestions.

¹⁵ A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London, 1971), pp. 96, 97, 182; J. C. Ward, *The Essex Gentry and the County Community in the Fourteenth Century* (Chelmsford, 1991), pp. 12, 19; N. Saul, *Richard II* (Yale, 1997), p. 179n.; *Cal. Pat.*, 1416-22, pp.105-6.

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

by ROBERT HUTCHINSON AND BRYAN EGAN¹

37 1551* **Blewbury, Berks.** (St. Michael and All Angels) L.S.W. VI
John Latton of Chilton, esq., d. 1548, in armour with tabard and wife, Anne, with six sons, now lost, (named on an inscription beneath) and nine daughters, also named. Shield and inscription (Fig. 1).

Position: Floor, north side of chancel. The seventeenth-century antiquary Elias Ashmole recorded the brass on the ‘South side of the Middle Ile’ at the foot of an altar tomb bearing the brass of Latton’s sister Alice and her husband Sir John Daunce, surveyor general to Henry VIII, 1523 (L.S.W. V) and close to the brass of a man in armour and two wives (probably Thomas Latton of Upton, 1503), *c.* 1515 (L.S.W. IV).² The inscriptions to both the latter (now lost) and to John Latton and wife were covered by the clerk’s seat in Ashmole’s day.

Description: The figure of John Latton stands on the left, in armour and tabard, the metal cut away to take coloured waxes to depict his arms. A small diagonal piece of metal is missing from the left side of his head. He stands on a fiercely-countenanced lion with a curly tail, strangely facing right - an old-fashioned, if not anachronistic, design at this period, when figures are normally depicted standing on mounds of grass. Indeed, the design of the lion resembles those associated with the early decades of the fifteenth century. Was it deliberately copied from an earlier brass to meet the particular, if not pretentious, requirements of Latton’s executors? If so, was the original brass copied for reproduction, using ink and paper, thus giving a ‘reversed’ impression, subsequently traced onto the metal?

Latton’s wife, Anne, facing him on the right, wears a pedimental head-dress with the lappets folded up on either side of the head, a furred gown over a partlet, and a girdle fastened at the waist with a jewelled brooch, with another depending from it on a short chain. The left portion of her body, including the arm, is lost.

Beneath the inscription, is an indent for six sons, with another inscription plate recording their names: Wyll(ia)m • Thomas • Anthony • / John • Barthylmew & John • /. A rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries made *c.* 1855 by the Revd. Herbert Haines (Fig. 2), shows the lower half of the sons still in existence wearing long gowns with their arms thrust through slits, and the fashion of the 1550s of long false sleeves. By then, the safety of the plate was clearly precarious as there

¹ The rubbings and photographs are by Bryan Egan, unless otherwise stated.

² E. Ashmole, *The Antiquities of Berkshire*, 3 vols. (London, 1723), II, p. 305.



FIG. 1
John Latton, d. 1548, and wife Anne, redated to 1551
Blewbury, Berks., L.S.W. VI

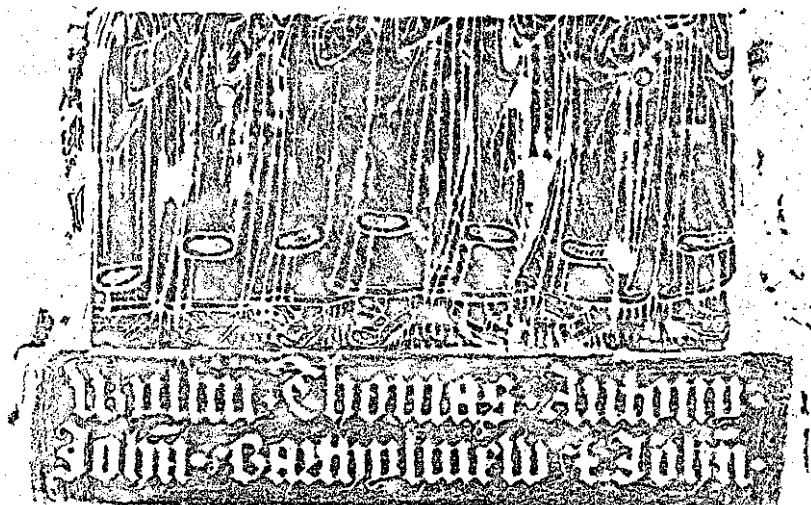


FIG. 2

Lower half of six sons from the Latton brass (L.S.W. VI), Blewbury, Berks.

Rubbing by the Revd. Herbert Haines

Collection of the Society of Antiquaries

was already one empty hole, where the rivet had sprung, and a solitary raised rivet. Pitch remains in the indent of the sons' plate.³ On the right is a plate bearing nine daughters wearing the 'Paris' head-dress and long, hanging sleeves of the fashion that carried on into the mid-1550s. A degree of facial individuality has been given to the group by the engraver. As with the sons, a small plate beneath records the daughters' Christian names: Alys • Elizabethe • Mary • / Margaret • Dorathie • ffryswithe / Jane • Susane • and • Anne/. At the end of lines one and three are two flourishes, Type 1 'swirls' and Type 3 'branch'.⁴ One shield remains of two originals.⁵

A late eighteenth century water-colour of the brass in Hutchinson's possession, possibly by Charles Tomkins,⁶ shows the brass with figures intact and half the sons' plate remaining (Fig. 3), with the addition of the handle of a dagger on the left side of John Latton's figure. The children's figures are, however, drawn carelessly.

Inscription: Script 6 in four lines of black letter within a single line border:

Here lyeth John Latton late of Chilton Esquyer and
Anne his wyfe which John Dyed the xxxith day of
Maye in the yeaere of our Lord God Mⁱ CCCCC xlviii
On whose Soule Jesu have Mercy Amen

³ W.H. Richardson, 'Notes on Blewbury', *Trans. of the Newbury District Field Club*, IV (1886-95), p. 56, reports the remains of the sons still extant then.

⁴ For a list of these flourishes used by Script 6 inscriptions associated with the Fermer design, and illustrations of the various types, see *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 4 (1995), p. 357.

⁵ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), p. 18, say three other shields have been lost. There is an indent for only one more, and Ashmole, *loc. cit.*, records one shield remaining.

⁶ See R. Hutchinson, 'A Book of 18th Century Drawings of Brasses', *MBS Bulletin*, 73 (1996), p. 263. The artist's identity was suggested by Dr. John Blatchly (*MBS Bulletin*, 74 (1997), p. 285).



In Bleabury Church, Berkshire.

FIG. 3

A late eighteenth-century watercolour of the Latton brass, possibly by Charles Tomkins, showing the figures intact and half the plate representing the sons remaining

At the end of lines two and four are two further stylised flourishes. A Type 8 'vertical termination' ends line two and a Type 1 'swirls' finishes the last line.

Dimensions: Male figure 452 x 172 mm; female, 451 x 162 mm. Inscription 124 x 495 mm.

Heraldry: Shield with named quarterings: 1, *Party argent and sable a saltire engrailed and party erminees and ermine (LATTON)*;⁷ 2, *Argent three fusils in fess sable (PERCY)*; 3, *Argent three bends wavy sable (ESTBERY or ISBERY)*;⁸ 4, *Ermine three crossbows gules. (SICHEVILE)*.

The engraver appears to have made an error in blazoning *PERCY*: Arthur Credland kindly points out that ancient *PERCY* should more properly be *Azure five fusils conjoined in fess or*, but only three fusils are shown.

Slab/Stonework: Various writers have assumed that the indent of a female effigy between the two main figures represented a second wife. Richardson describes the 'effigy of a man between or with two wives but there is now only one wife and stone evidently shows there has been some shifting about of the brasses'.⁹ Stephenson and Morley also deduce that the indent is for a second wife,^{10 11} and Ashmole even reports the 'Figures of a Man in Armour lying also *between* (authors' italics) his two Wives', but in this he may have confused his notes between John Latton's brass and L.S.W. IV, adjacent at that time. Clearly the indent represents a 'London F' lady in a sharply-pointed kennel or early pedimental head-dress, facing left, of c. 1510. The 670 x 1630 mm Purbeck slab, probably cut down, has been appropriated for use for the Latton brass with the later inscription filling all or part of the earlier inscription's indent. There is no suggestion of a second marriage by John Latton¹² and, furthermore, no physical evidence for any movement of the plates from one position to another on the slab.

Re-used: Reverse of lady, in two pieces. Largest portion blank but almost certainly re-used. Rivet holes varied between 4.5 mm and 6 mm in diameter and some had been re-used by the Fermer workshop; one contained a sheared-off rivet, not apparent on the obverse, all of which indicates that it was old plate, re-used for this tomb. Lead had been used to flood the engraving lines on several of the reverses to strengthen the plates. Small portion of right elbow, measuring 100 x 350 mm, has on its reverse part of an inscription, c. 1430 (152L7). Reverse of male effigy (except feet): civilian holding rosary over thumb, c. 1480 (152L2). Reverse of male feet: indecipherable one line of engraving but metallurgical analysis links it with 152L2 (no number). Reverse of shield: full-face head of a lady with wimple, c. 1400 (152L1). Reverse of major portion of inscription: Lady in cote-hardie with brooch, c. 1430 (152L9). Reverse of small portion of inscription: fragment of drapery and feet of dog, c. 1430 (152L8).

⁷ H.T.Morley, *Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (Reading 1924) p. 43, blazons *LATTON* as *Per pale argent and sable a saltire engrailed erminees and counter changed*. See VCH, *Berkshire*, III (London, 1912), p. 284.

⁸ Incorrectly blazoned in our paper on the Blewbury brass (*MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), p. 415).

⁹ Richardson, 'Blewbury', p. 56.

¹⁰ Stephenson, *List*, p. 16; Morley, *Berkshire*, p. 43. The indents in his illustration, p. 42, are inaccurately given.

¹¹ Ashmole, *Berkshire*, II, p. 305.

¹² *MBS Trans.*, XI (1975), p. 425, provides the Latton lineage.

Reverse of names of children: linking portions of side-shafts of canopy, *c.* 1430 (152L5/6). Reverse of daughters: (larger) central portion of a civilian in furred gown, *c.* 1500 (152L3) and (smaller) major part of the head of a man, *c.* 1465 (152L4).

The smaller portion of the inscription was discovered to be palimpsest by William Richardson in the early 1880s¹³ and the major find was by Hutchinson and Egan on 30 March 1974.¹⁴

Link: Reverse of inscription links with No. 36, Greystoke, Cumberland. (153L2-3).

Biographical details: See *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 424-5. John Latton, who had served as one of the commissioners of the peace in Buckinghamshire in 1547, had amassed considerable property, as evidenced by a Licence of Descent, by bill of the Court of Wards, on 27 May 1549 to William, his son and heir, concerning lands in England, Wales, Calais and the Marches held of the King in chief by knight's service.¹⁵ On 1 December 1552 there was a grant of an annuity of ten marks to Richard Alexander, esq., in the manor of Kingston Bagpuize and lands in the same parish and in 'Northstrete, Fyfelde and Northmore, Berks., and Oxon., in the king's hands by the minority of John Latton, son and heir of William Latton deceased, with the custody of and marriage of the heir'.¹⁶ William's sister, Elizabeth, married a John Alexander.¹⁷

Comment: The figure of the lady is a product of the preceding 'Gyfford' figure style,¹⁸ cruder and more stylised, and the evidence of the sheared-off rivet attached to the plate when lifted suggests re-use of a very old workshop waster or, more likely, the more recent utilisation of a brass ripped up during the turbulent 'cleansing' of the churches in Edward VI's reign. If the latter was the case, the original brass could only have lain in its slab for five or six years before re-use. The jigsaw of small fragments comprising this brass may indicate a temporary shortage of plate from churchwardens' sales of metal. Certainly, fitting together odd-shaped pieces of metal and filing down and soldering the butt-joints between plates must have proved taxing for the Fermer workmen. In the case of the small piece joined to the male figure, the joint was first soldered, then the hole drilled to take the new rivet. To lay the Latton brass, the workshop used both cast brass rivets with square ends, and the drawn-wire type, with the ends hammered into a spade shape. All were 17 mm in length. No copper rivets were found - unusual for a Fermer product. The workshop also used round and square pieces of lead (9 mm in diameter and 1.5 mm for the former, and 7.5 mm diameter and 3.0 mm thick for the latter), below the plates - five for the female figure - to level and support the metal in the indents while the pitch beneath set.

¹³ Richardson, 'Blewbury', pp. 56-7: 'A fragment of this brass came loose a short time ago, and I then discovered it to be a palimpsest, but I hope this fragment has been replaced, as I took care to mention it to the vicar'. It was - but stuck down with cement.

¹⁴ B.S.H. Egan and R. Hutchinson, 'A Palimpsest Find at Blewbury, Berks.', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 413-26.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1548-9, 337.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1550-3, 230.

¹⁷ Egan and Hutchinson, 'Blewbury', p. 425.

¹⁸ Hutchinson and Egan, 'Fermer Workshop', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt.2 (1993), pp. 180-81.

Illustrated: H.T. Morley, *Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (Reading, 1924), p. 42 (obv. only); B.S.H. Egan and R. Hutchinson, 'A Palimpsest Find at Blewbury, Berks.', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 414, 417-423 (obv. and rev.); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London 1980), II, pls. 56-57 (rev. only); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), pp. 20-21 (obv. and rev.).

38 1551 **Dinton, Bucks.** (SS. Peter and Paul) L.S.W. IV

Thomas Grenewey esq., d. 1539, in armour, effigy lost at neck and below the ankles, and wife Elizabeth, d. 1538, with inscription. (Fig. 4). Three daughters (see below), and two shields lost. One shield probably from L.S.W. V (no. 39) relaid with this brass. Engraved at the same time as no. 39.

Position: Relaid, chancel floor. This, and the brass to Thomas's son, Richard, were formerly set 'in a large black marble at the south door of the entrance to the chancel', according to the antiquary Browne Willis, who died in 1760.¹⁹ Lipscomb found them 'near the south wall' of the chancel in 'a very large slab'.²⁰ All the Grenewey brasses were torn from their slabs and banished to the vestry in the restoration of the church by George Edmund Street in 1868, transposing the two male figures from the two Grenewey memorials in the process. The figures were restored to their correct positions when the brasses were lifted and repaired by R.H. Pearson in 1944 and relaid in a new sandstone slab in 1949.

Description: The male figure, missing at the neck and below the knees, but clearly clean-shaven, wears a representation of armour that, in common with most sixteenth century brasses and all the Fermer armoured effigies, is an inaccurate portrayal of the armours of the period. Thomas is shown wearing a standard or collar of mail, bordered with points, overlaying a breastplate possibly in two parts, with the lower area, or placate, fluted. The exaggerated shoulder piece or pauldron is ridged and with a high neck guard. The frilled edging of a shirt or doublet appears beneath the mail and armour at neck and wrists. In common with the other Fermer armoured figures, the sword which hangs from the body is out of alignment with the scabbard when it reappears from behind the trunk.²¹ A very long bladed dagger is worn on the right hip. The metal between the legs is stippled, caused by shallow incisions with the engraver's burin. Grenewey's wife wears a pedimental head-dress with the lappets folded up and a gauze-like veil dependent behind. A close robe with long hanging sleeves is worn over a partlet, with embroidered neck and sleeves with bands and ruffles. A decorated girdle is secured around the waist by a clasp, from which hangs a tasselled pomander or jewel.

¹⁹ *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 6 (1949), p. 282, quoting Bodleian Library MS. Willis fo. iv, 27-28. The wording of Richard Grenewey's inscription confirms that interment was made under the same slab.

²⁰ G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols. (London, 1847), II, p. 150. Lipscomb describes the two shields and group of daughters as being present. The male figure then had the same degree of damage. Strangely, he does not mention the inscription, although he records that to the son, Richard.

²¹ Lipscomb, *loc. cit.*, mistakes the sword quillon for a pouch.



FIG. 4

Thomas Grenewey esq., d. 1538, and wife, Elizabeth, d. 1539, engraved 1551
Dinton, Bucks., L.S.W. IV

Inscription: In three lines of Script 6:

Here under thys stone Lyethe buried the Bodyes of Thomas Grenewey
Esquier / whiche Decessyd y^e xxijth day of Aprill Anno domini M^l ccccc^o
xxxvij and Elizabeth hys wyff / whiche Decessyd the xxiiij day of Maye
Anno domini M^l ccccc^o xxxix whose soules ihesu pardon

Dimensions: Male effigy, (now) 383 x 174 mm. Female effigy, 573 x 184 mm.
Inscription: 79 x 734 mm.

Heraldry: Lipscomb records two lost shields: 'On the dexter side, these arms, *Within a bordure Barry of eight. Barry of four: on a chief three green parrots.* On the sinister side, the same arms impaling *a fess charged with three lilies or fleur de lis*'.²² The remaining shield,

²² Lipscomb, *loc. cit.*



FIG. 5

Lost group of three daughters, probably from brass to Thomas Grenewey and wife, engraved 1551, Dinton, Bucks., formerly in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Illustration from Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses

which probably belongs to no. 39, bears: *Two bars, in chief three green parrots within a bordure gobony (GRENEWAY)*, misread by the Victoria County History as *Gules a fesse and a chief or with three martlets vert in the chief*,²³ although Burke's Armory blazons *GREENWAY* as *Gules a fess or on a chief of the second three martlets vert, within a bordure gobonated argent and azure*. J.G. Waller visited Dinton on 7 May 1839 and recorded only Richard Grenewey's brass in the chancel.²⁴ His dabbing of the shield on Richard's brass, which shows a portion missing at the point,²⁵ is endorsed: '*Or two bars gules, in chief, three popinjays proper, a bordure gobonated azure and sable for Grenewey*'. The other coat mentioned by Lipscomb is, as yet, unidentified.

Slab / Stonework: Original slab lost.

Re-used: Reverse of male figure and upper portion of female effigy: portions of a large priest in a cope and fur almuce, c. 1460 (155L2-3), linking with the reverses of the brass to Richard Grenewey and wife, no. 39 (see below). Reverse of inscription: strip from the right side of a brass to a lady with a lapdog with a collar of bells, c. 1420 (155L10). Reverse of shield: torso of a man in armour, with hands and pommel of sword, worn at the front of the body, showing at lower edge, c. 1465 (155L8). Lower portion of female figure: canopy work with the Yorkist badge of a rose-en-soleil as centrepiece, c. 1480 (155L9).

This brings us to the question of the lost daughters (Fig. 5), once allegedly at Quarrendon, Bucks., then owned by Ambrose Lee and later by Percy Manning, and no. 29 in our handlist of Fermer brasses.²⁶ This group of three daughters is shown

²³ VCH, *Buckinghamshire*, II (London, 1908), p. 280.

²⁴ As did Manning in his *List of Monumental Brasses Remaining in England* (London & Cambridge, 1846) although, confusingly, he records only 'Richard Grenewey Esq. (mutilated)'.
²⁵ Society of Antiquaries MS 423, 'Waller Church Notes', II, f. 195. The damage is not present on the extant shield. Either the damaged one belonged to Richard Grenewey's brass, or it was repaired in the 1940s' restoration.

²⁶ *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 2 (1993), pp. 143-5.

wearing 'Paris' head-dresses with over-gowns slashed and puffed sleeves over partlets. The left-hand daughter wears long false sleeves and a square pendent with a tassel hanging from the belt. There is one empty rivet hole in the centre of the plate. They measure 152 x 108 mm. On the reverse are portions of canopy work, showing three pairs of crockets on a single pinnacle, fifteenth century, probably *c.* 1480 (155L1). Unusually, the space between the crockets is filled with cross-hatching. Almost certainly, there is a link with the canopied reverse of Elizabeth Grenewey, although a substantial portion of brass is missing between the two fragments. As such, Page-Phillips designated the fragment 155L1, linking it with the Dinton finds.²⁷

Manning had suggested that this fragment (which he dated *c.* 1535) came from the ruined chapel at Quarrendon, Bucks., where it belonged to the lost brass of Sir Robert Lee, d. 1539.²⁸ F.G. Lee, in a note to a poem on the chapel, written in 1874, said he had in his possession 'a group of three children taken from a Purbeck marble slab now used as a cottage hearth stone'.²⁹ Manning was shown the site of this cottage in July 1899, about 50 yards west of the chapel and was told that it had been pulled down some 20 years previously.³⁰ This is the origin of the long-standing but apparently specious claim that Quarrendon was the home of this plate. Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore date the daughters as *c.* 1551 to match the date of the Dinton brass.³¹

The group of daughters disappeared after Manning's death in 1917 but turned up again in the Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Anthropology. Sadly, they seem to be lost again; searches in 1972 and 1981 failed to find them.

Discovered 3 April 1944 by Canon David Rutter and R.H. Pearson. Daughters discovered by 1875.

Link: Reverse of inscription links with that behind the inscription at Sessay, no. 14, 156L1. Reverse of male figure and major portion of female links with reverse of Richard and Joan Grenewey, no. 39, 155L4-5. Reverse of lower portion of female figure probably links with reverse of daughters, no. 29, 155L1.

Biographical details: Thomas, like many of the local gentry, was appointed commissioner of the peace for Buckinghamshire on 6 December 1536,³² and was a serjeant-at-arms at the court,³³ although there is no reference to him holding this office in the inscription. In March 1534 he is identified as 'bailiff of Wyndon', Bucks., paying an annual fee of £3 0s. 8d., in a list of 'fees and annuities going out of divers honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands and tenements' granted by Henry to Queen Anne

²⁷ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), I, p. 51.

²⁸ P. Manning, 'Palimpsest Brasses from Quarrendon, Bucks., and Stanton St. John, Oxon.', *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, II, no. 3 (1912), pp. 153-5. This date is given by Stephenson, *List*, p. 584.

²⁹ Lipscomb, *Buckingham*, II, p. 407, describes the ruined chapel and adds: 'In a cottage near the site of the Chapel, a hearth-stone still remains, evidently formed out of an ancient sepulchral slab from which brasses have been torn'. This apparently was not the indent of a lady *c.* 1510 in a pedimental head-dress, illustrated by Jerome Bertram in *Rare Brass Rubbings from the Ashmolean Collection* (Oxford, 1977), no.5, which was part of the cellar floor of the cottage owned by a Mr. Edward Ferry in 1900.

³⁰ Manning, 'Palimpsest', p. 154.

³¹ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Brasses of Cambridgeshire*, (London, 1995), p. 44.

³² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 565.

³³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 566.

Boleyn.³⁴ A year later, he and his son Richard were granted leases of the manors of lordships of 'Syngeburgh and Agmondesham, Wooderow and the demesne lands of Buckeland and one virgate of land and three quarters in Bucklond called Dycons, the parcel of lands of the late earl of Warwick' for 21 years at the annual rent of £26 9s. 0½d. on surrender of a patent granted 13 years before to Thomas alone. His wife's family has not been identified.

Illustrated: D.C. Rutter, 'Palimpsest Brasses at Dinton, Buckinghamshire', *MBS Trans.*, VIII (1949), pp. 277-8 (obv. and rev.); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), II, pls. 57-9 (rev. only.); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), pp. 62-3. Daughters: *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, II, pt. 3 (1912), p. 153 (obv. and rev.); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), II, pl. 58 (rev. only); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 42 (obv. and rev.).

39 1551 **Dinton, Bucks.** (SS. Peter and Paul) L.S.W. V
Richard Grenewey esq., son and heir of Thomas Grenewey, d. 1551, in armour and wife Joan, daughter and heiress of John Tylney of Leckhampstead esq., inscription, ?shield(s) lost, or one misplaced with no.38. Engraved at same time as no. 38. (Fig. 6), presumably on the instructions of Richard's executors.

Position: Relaid, chancel floor, on same slab as no. 38.

Description: Richard Grenewey is seen in similar armour to that of his father, no. 38, and the effigy is of like appearance, save that he is bearded. He is in wide-toed sabbatons with 'star' spurs, on typically spikey grass. Behind the head is a helmet, functioning as a pillow, although strangely it does not appear on the right side of the head. Was this an error in design? The handle of his dagger is wreathed. The effigy, in common with many Fermer figures, 'sways' to the left. The figure of the wife, Joan, is now unfortunately headless, but she apparently wore a 'Paris' head-dress. It shows her in the later fashion of an embroidered dress with puffed and slashed shoulders and sleeves and long hanging false sleeves. Hanging just above her feet is a square tasselled pendant, although it is has been suggested elsewhere that this may be a book of hours.³⁵ There is no suggestion of a girdle - was this another engraver's error, or would it have been hidden by her gown?

Inscription: In four lines of Script 6:-

Here under thys Stone also Lyethe buried the Body of Rychard
Grenewey Esquier / Sone and heyer of Thomas Grenewey Esquier
whyche Decessyd the xxi^t day of January / in the yere of oure Lorde God
M CCCC Li & Johne hys wyffe Dough=/ter and heyer onto John
Tylney of Lekhamsted Esquier whose Soule Jhesu perdon

Words in the first two lines have been crammed together with little space between them. The Victoria County History wrongly read the father-in-law's name as 'Bulney'.

³⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vii, p. 146.

³⁵ D.C. Rutter, 'Palimpsest Brasses at Dinton, Buckinghamshire', *MBS Trans.*, VIII (1949), p. 282.



FIG. 6

Richard Grenewey and wife Joan, 1551
Dinton, Bucks., L.S.W. V

Dimensions: Male effigy: 611 x 200 mm. Female (now): 534 x 183 mm. Inscription: 730 x 104 mm.

Heraldry: See no.38.

Slab/Stonework: Original slab lost.

Re-used: Reverse of male effigy: lower central portion of priest in cope and fur almuce, c. 1460 (155L5). Reverse of female effigy: portion of same priest brass (155L4). Reverse of major portion of inscription: vertical strip of central portion of lady, c. 1400 (155L6). Reverse of small piece of inscription: small fragment of canopy work, ?c. 1480 (155L7).

Discovered, 3 April 1944 by Canon David Rutter and R.H. Pearson.

Link: Reverses of effigies link with those of the main figures of no. 38.

Biographical details: Richard Grenewey faithfully served the crown in Buckinghamshire, being appointed a commissioner of the peace for the county on 26 May 1547,³⁶ appearing in a list, dated 15 July 1547, of those furnishing 'great horses' for military service,³⁷ and the following year, signing a certificate of muster for three hundreds of Aylesbury.³⁸ His loyalty was amply rewarded. In 1541, he was granted Missenden Abbey and Rectory.³⁹ However, in fulfilment of Henry VIII's will, a grant, dated 17 March 1550, gave Princess Elizabeth the site of Missenden Abbey,⁴⁰ and after Grenewey's death, the office of porter of Wallingford Castle, held by Grenewey and Richard Staverton, was granted to Nicholas Seynt John, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners, together with the office of steward of the lands of Wallingford Priory, also previously held by the two men.⁴¹ On 15 February 1553, a grant was made to the King's servant, 'Richard Blownt, knight, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, of the custody of a third part of the manors of Hukcote and Agmondesham Woodrowe, Bucks., and of all the lands in Hukcote, Agmondesham Woodrowe, Charesly (Chearsley), Stonebisshopston, Walridge, Denton, Magna Kemble, Parva Kemble, Rysburgh, Upton, Oving and Missenden, Bucks., and of a messuage in London to the yearly value of £20 5s. 4d., in the king's hands by the minority of Anthony Grenewey, son and heir of Richard Grenewey, esquire ... who held of the King in chief, also the custody and marriage of the heir'.⁴² Richard is described in the documents as a gentleman usher of the king's, but like his father, there is no mention of this post in the inscription, probably because of local resentment towards the crown and court following the insurrection in Buckinghamshire in 1549 and fears of consequential damage to the monuments.

He married Joan, heiress of John Tylney, son of Reginald Tylney (whose brass is at Leckhampstead, Bucks.), acquiring the lordship of Great Leckhampstead and patronage of the church there by the marriage. Soon after Grenewey's death, she married Michael Harcourt.⁴³

Illustrated: *MBS Trans.*, VIII (1949), pp. 279-80 (obv. and rev.); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London 1980), II, pls. 57-9 (rev. only); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994) pp. 62-3 (obv. and rev.).

40 1552 **London, All Hallows Barking-by-the-Tower** M.S. XI
Shield, *BOND* impaling *ALPHEW* and *PETTTT*, the remains of brass of Agnes, widow of William Bond, d. 1552/3 (Fig. 7). Inscription and three shields lost.
Position: Now mural, North aisle. When the church was burnt out by Luftwaffe incendiary bombs on the night of 29 December 1940, the brass was on the floor of the

³⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1547-8, 81.

³⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547-53, 15.

³⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547-53, 28.

³⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 726.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1549-51, 238.

⁴¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1550-3, 294.

⁴² *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI, V*, 1547-53, 1-2.

⁴³ B. Willis, *The History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred and Deanery of Buckingham* (London, 1755), p. 205.

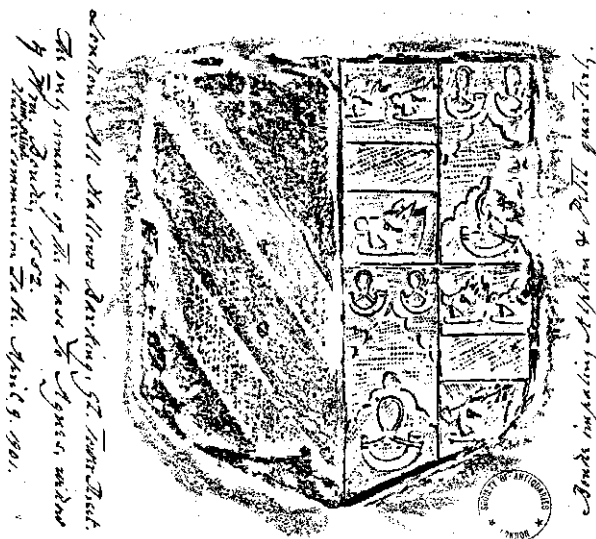


FIG. 7

Shield, *BOND* impaling *ALPHEW* and *PETTIT*, the remains of the brass to Agnes Bond, 1552
 All Hallows Barking, London, M.S. XI
 Rubbing by Mill Stephenson
 Collection of the Society of Antiquaries

chancel behind the altar, relaid in a 'small stone' measuring 1090 x 863 mm.⁴⁴ Strype, in the eighteenth century, records the inscription as hard by a floorslab to Anne Andrews, d. 1606, 'before the entrance to the vestry'.⁴⁵

Description: A scaled drawing of the original slab by George Fletcher in 1733 shows indents of two shields below that of an inscription with two shields remaining at the top.⁴⁶ The drawing indicates that the slab measured *c.* 1575 x 745 mm and the inscription was *c.* 570 x 110 mm. Three rivets apparently remained in the inscription indent and one each at the centre of the indents of the lower shields.

Inscription: Script unknown:

Here resteth the body of Agnes Bonde widowe sumtyme wyff
 to Willm Bonde esquier which William and Agnes had
 issue betwixt them 8 sonnes and 8 daughters which Agnes
 deceased the 4 day of February in the year of our lorde god
 MDCCCCCLII.

This version appears in the Survey of London volume on All Hallows, derived from Fletcher's account. Strype's version differs in some details but more significantly, adds at the end '*Cujus animae etc.*'

Dimensions: 159 x 136 mm.

⁴⁴ *The Parish of All Hallows Barking (Part II)*, Survey of London, 15 (London, 1934), p. 70. See also A. Oliver, 'Monumental Brasses in the City of London', *The London and Middlesex Notebook*, I (1891-2) p. 80, where it is described as 'under altar'.

⁴⁵ J. Strype, *Survey of London* (London, 1720), Book II, p. 34.

⁴⁶ *Parish of All Hallows Barking (Part II)*, pl. 80.

Heraldry: Remaining shield: *Argent two bends and in chief a crosslet sable (BOND)*, impaling quarterly of four, 1 & 4, *Argent a fess between three boars' heads sable (ALPHEW)*, 2 & 3, *Argent a chevron engrailed gules between three bugle-horns sable (PETTIT)*. The upper dexter shield bore the arms of *BOND*, the upper sinister and lower dexter *BOND* impaling *ALPHEW* quartering *PETTIT* and the lower sinister *ALPHEW* quartering *PETTIT*. The Waller church notes in the Society of Antiquaries blazon the arms as *Argent two bends sable in chief a cross crosslet of the last (BARON)* impaling quarterly 1 & 4, *ALPHAGE* and *PETTYT*, but this is clearly incorrect.⁴⁷

Re-used: Reverse of one half of remaining shield: fragment of a priest in mass vestments, c. 1330 (162L1).

Discovered: c. 1951, by R.H. Pearson.

Link: with reverse of upper portion of armoured figure at Twyford, Bucks., c. 1552, no. 50 (161L7).

Biographical details: Agnes, daughter and coheir of John Alphew of Boreplace, Chiddingstone, Kent, by Isabel, daughter of John Pettit, was widow of William Bond, clerk of the Green Cloth to Henry VIII, who d. 1523. In her will, dated 1 September 1546, and proved 8 February 1551/2,⁴⁸ she desired to be buried in All Hallows Barking and left bequests of silver to her daughters Anne Thynne, widow,⁴⁹ Isabel, wife of John Richmond, and Alice, wife of John Becker. She held a tenement south of the Bell in Mark Lane, in the City of London.⁵⁰

Illustrated: *The Parish of All Hallows Barking (Part II)*, Survey of London, 15 (London, 1934), p. 70 (obv.); C.G. Misselbrook, *The Monumental Brasses of All Hallows By-The-Tower* (London, 1964), p. 17 (obv.); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), pl. 63 (rev. only).

41 1552 **Stoke Charity, Hants.** (SS. Mary & Michael) M.S. III
Inscription and two shields (one shield mutilated), Richard Waller esq., 'late lord of this towne' (Fig. 8).

Position: ?Relaid, floor of N. chapel.

Description: A small portion of the inscription, which is in two portions, has been lost on the left-hand side. It has been suggested that the brass originally included an effigy. B.W. Greenfield, in his description of the brass in 1895, says that 'all that remains of this mutilated brass now lies in the pavement of the mortuary chapel affixed, probably when the body of the church was restored by Sir William Heathcote, Lord of the Manor, in 1847 ... and cemented upon a flagstone of Purbeck marble. ... They are probably remnants of an effigial brass at the foot of which they were placed'.⁵¹ There is, however, no sign of an indent above the inscription. One shield is badly mutilated with a piece of the metal lost at lower right.

⁴⁷ Society of Antiquaries MS 423, II, f. 27.

⁴⁸ PCC 5 Powell.

⁴⁹ She appears on the Gyfford-style brass in All Hallows to her husband William, d. 1546, one of the masters of the household to Henry VIII and the editor of the first complete edition of Chaucer's works. She was his second wife.

⁵⁰ *Parish of All Hallows Barking (Part II)*, p. 71.

⁵¹ B.W. Greenfield, 'Old Stoke Charity', *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, III, pt. 1 (1895), pp. 4-5.

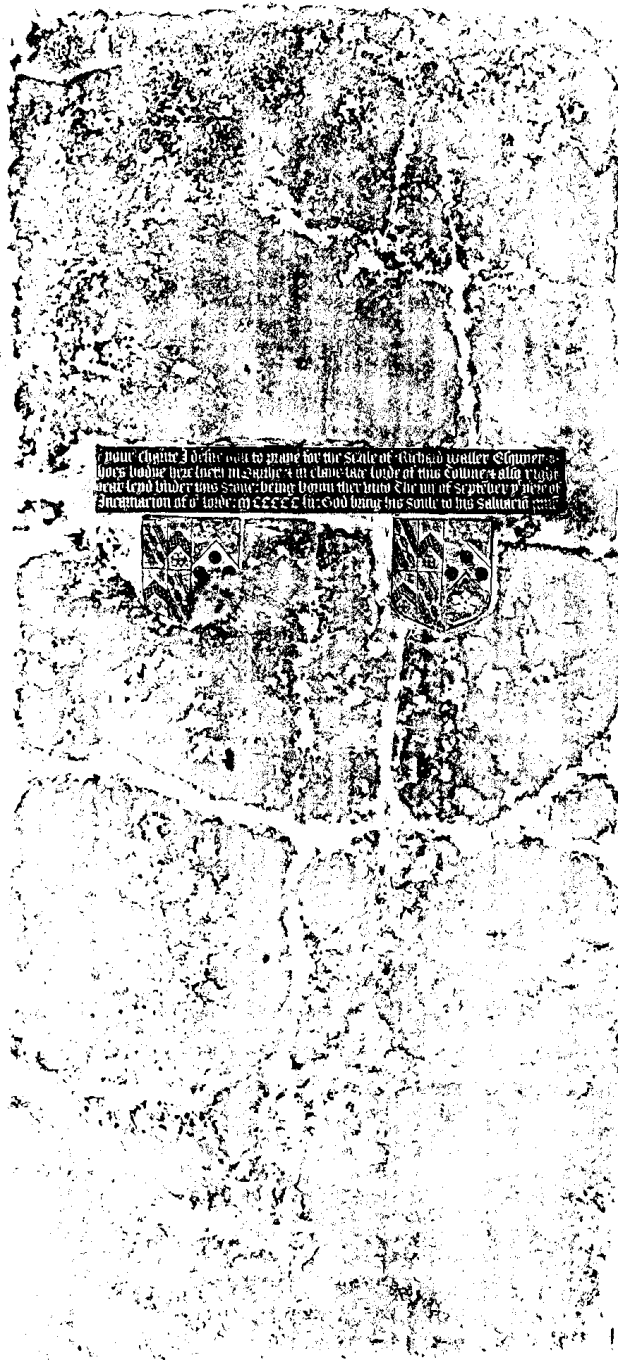


FIG. 8
 Inscription and two shields, Richard Waller, 1552
 Stoke Charity, Hampshire, M.S. III
Rubbing by Robert Hutchinson

Inscription: Script 6 in three lines:

(O)f your charite I desire you to praye for the Soule of Richard Waller
Esquyer / (w)hoses Bodye here lyeth in Earthe & in claye. late Lorde of
this Towne & also right / (H)?year leyd under this Stone: being boryn
therunto The iiiio of September y^e yere of / (y^e) Incarnacion of *our* lorde:
MCCCC lii: God bring his Soule to his Salvacion amen

His date of date has been given as 7 September 1551, although the parish registers state he was buried on 4 September 1552, which accords with the date of death given on the brass.⁵²

Dimensions: Inscription now 669 x 95 mm. Shields 165 x 140 mm. Inscription between 3.5 and 3.7 mm in thickness.

Heraldry: Both bear the same arms: Quarterly 1 & 4, *Sable three walnut leaves or between two bendlets argent* [WALLER]; 2 & 3, *Azure a chevron or fretty sable between three crosses moline* [LANSDALE] impaling *Argent on a chevron between three cinquefoils azure as many bezants* [HAMPTON].

Slab/stonework: Purbeck slab, 1980 x 889 mm, badly cracked. Original lead plugs and rivets were removed at the restoration.

Reused: On reverse of larger portion of inscription: blank except for a few letters at one edge, including a capital 'S', and 'I' dating from perhaps *c.* 1480. (163 L1) which is likely to be the left edge of an inscription rather than a workshop waster. The remainder has been obscured by filing down in the re-use. Reverse of smaller portion of inscription: the remnants of another in four lines of English verse: '(...) Worldly Joy Layde me her/ (... ?Thom)as Pekham Squyer somtyme my feer/ (...)e be my helpe mayde modyr and Wyfe/ (..)e in thy hondes I lefte my lyfe./' again *c.* 1480, and probably associated (163L2). If so, the large expanse of unengraved metal on the left is puzzling, as superficially the inscription looks unfinished, still awaiting separation from the original metal stock. The dating, however, precludes the re-use of a workshop waster. A rivet hole on the right-hand side of the blank plate was carefully plugged, almost certainly by the Fermer workshop, and this, together with one open hole, must indicate that this was an integral part of the original design, perhaps used in a rood screen. Reverse of shields: three portions of a Latin inscription to Peter Duff and Joanna his wife, 'Orate *pro Animabus Petri Duff & Joan(nna u)xoris eius / que Joanna obiit XI^o die Julii Ann(o) (Domini) Millesimo / CCCCC^o xxxii^o (C)uius Anime propiciet(ur) Deus amen.*' (163L2-5). We have been unable to trace the church where this inscription was originally laid down. Reverse of remainder of shields: two portions of a lady, facing left, *c.* 1500 (163L6-7).

Discovered April 1955 by John Page-Phillips. Inscription repaired and relaid in 1995 by William Lack.⁵³

Link: Portions of lady behind shields link with the lower portion of a lady, *c.* 1500 (164L2), on reverse of a shield from the Fermer brass at Somerton, no. 43.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵³ *MBS Trans.*, XV (1996), p. 509.

Biographical details: Richard was born about 1515, one of seven sons and five daughters of Richard Waller and Mary, daughter of John Kingsmill of Basingstoke, Judge of the Common Pleas.⁵⁴ He succeeded his grandfather in March 1525/6 and besides manors and lands in Wiltshire, Staffordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Sussex and Berkshire, he was seized in fee of the manors of Olstoke, Lasham, Deepdene in the New Forest and Shalfleet in the Isle of Wight, and in Weston, Micheldever, East Stratton, Burcote, Northington, New Alresford, Itchenstoke and Kings Worthy in Hampshire. He married Margery, daughter of Sir William Paulet of Basing, Hants., afterwards Master of the Wards, Great Master of the King's Household 1544-9; Lord Treasurer 1549-50, and later created Marquess of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire and Baron St. John of Basing. By will, dated 1 September 1547, disposing of his personal estate, Waller gave 20s. to Old Stoke Charity church; an annuity of five marks for life to his brother Thomas; 50 marks to his sister Malyn towards her marriage and £10 to his wife's gentlewoman Mary Waller. The residue was to be divided between his wife, his sons William and John and Mary his infant daughter.⁵⁵ Another will, dated 1 July 1544, disposed of his real estate, making provision for his wife and his sons William and Stephen. At his death, William, his heir, was aged '14 years and more' and was made a ward of the King.⁵⁶ He was to become Sheriff of Hampshire in 1571-2.

Illustrated: *MBS Trans.*, IX, 333-4; Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), II, pl. 64 (rev. only).

42 1552 **Beckenham, Kent** (St. George) M.S.I

Sir Humfrey Style, kneeling in armour and a tabard, facing two wives, also kneeling, in heraldic mantles, (1) Brydgett, daughter of Sir Thomas Bauldry, mayor of London, d. 1548, with six sons and three daughters and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of George Peryn (Peryent), with one son and one daughter; inscription and four shields (Fig. 9).

Position: Mural, south wall of south chapel within tomb.

Description: Sir Humfrey is shown with hair just covering his ears, clean-shaven, kneeling to right, with a chain around his neck. His tabard bears quarterly, 1 and 4, *Sable a fess engrailed or fretty sable between three fleurs-de-lis within a bordure of the second (STYLE)*, 2 and 3, Quarterly, i and iv, *Argent a wolf passant sable (WOLSTON)*, 2, *Argent three turnpikes sable (WOULSTON)*, iii, *Argent on a chevron sable between three goat's heads erased azure as many billets or (YARFORD or YERFORD)*.⁵⁷ The effigy kneels on a cushion, upon a tiled floor, the rivetted square-toed sabbatons clearly seen. Sir Humfrey's two wives kneel facing, both wearing similar costume: heraldic mantles over partlets with square-linked chains about their necks. Both also wear 'Paris' head-

⁵⁴ W. Berry, *County Genealogies. Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Hants.* (London, 1833), pp. 44, 109.

⁵⁵ PRO, PCC Tashe 31. Proved 24 April 1554. Mary was born in 1546.

⁵⁶ Greenfield, 'Old Stoke Charity', p. 12. In *Cal. Pat. Edw. VI, V*, 1547-53, 5, there is a grant, dated 2 May 1553, of a £40 annuity to William's maternal grandfather, the Marquess of Winchester, 'by the minority of William Waller, son and heir of Richard Waller, deceased', together with custody and marriage of the heir.

⁵⁷ D. Christie-Murray, *Heraldry in the Churches of Beckenham* (privately printed, Rochester, 1954), p. 51.



FIG. 9

Sir Humfrey Style and two wives, 1552, Beckenham, Kent

Drawing by J.G. Waller

Collection of Society of Antiquaries

dresses with veils, although the second wife's is more ornate. The engraver has given the children of the first wife some individuality in hair-style and costume.

The tomb has three blank worn stone shields which were originally probably painted with the arms of *STYLE* and quarters, *STYLE* impaling *BAULDREY* and *STYLE* impaling *PERYN* (See below).

Inscription: in four lines of Script 6:

Here under Lyethe buried the Ryght Woorshyppfull Syr Humfrey Style knyght & dame Brydgett his fyrst wyff / Dowghter unto Sir Thomas Bauldry sometyme maior of the Cite of London, leavyng behynd hyme alyve his second / wyff Dame Elizabeth dowghter unto George Peryn Esquyer, *which* Sir Humfrey decessyd the 7 day of Aprill Anno domini · 1552 / and ye sayd dame Brydgett Decessyd the ix daye of June Anno domini · 1548 · (on whose soules and all Christen Jesu have mercy)⁵⁸

The last phrase was erased, probably very soon after the brass was erected, because of the so-called 'Popish' sentiments expressed. Arabic numerals are used for the husband's date of death and the year of death of the first wife, although strangely, roman numerals are used for her day of death.

⁵⁸ Christie-Murray, *Beckenham*, p. 41, reads the erased portion as 'on whose soules will Christ Jesu have pity' although the letters still to be discerned do not conform to this reading, nor does the space available.

Dimensions: Male figure, 350 x 236 mm; 1st wife, 307 x 350 mm; 2nd wife, 312 x 270 mm. Inscription 870 x 95 mm.

Heraldry: Four shields, from dexter to sinister, the arms of *STYLE*; *STYLE* and quarters, *STYLE* impaling *Sable on a chevron engrailed between three demi-griffins couped or as many mantlets gules (BAULDREY)*; and *STYLE* impaling *Gules three crescents argent (PERYN of Hertford.)*.

Re-used: Not yet investigated but almost certainly palimpsest: there are indications of engraved lines on the reverse showing at the edges of the plates.

Biographical details: Sir Humfrey, knighted by Henry VIII at Boulogne, was the son of John Style, of the Draper's Company, London, and Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Guy Wolston, who married, secondly, Sir James Yarford, Lord Mayor of London, 1519-20. Hasted says Style procured a grant of arms from Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, on 28 March 1529, and gives a pedigree which names only Edmund, Oliver and Nicholas as children of the first marriage and Mary and Edward (who died in infancy) of the second.⁵⁹

Henry Machyn, merchant-tailor and 'undertaker', records Sir Humfrey's funeral in his diary: 'The xij day of Aprell [1552] was bered ser Umffrey [Style⁶⁰] kyght, with a standard and a penon, and a cott armur and sword, elmett and mantylles, and vj dosen of skoychyons,⁶¹ meny gownes gyffyn to the powre and the ryche, and a [great] dolle, and with a harold, and bertred at the towne, and the [company] of the Clarkes wher ther syngyng, and ther was [a great] dener boyth to ryche and the powre'.⁶²

Illustrated: W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, I (London, 1888) p. 18, no.36; H. Macklin, *Brasses of England* (London, 1907), p. 241 (male figure only); J. Mann, *Monumental Brasses* (Harmondsworth, 1957), front cover (male figure only).

(To be continued)

⁵⁹ E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 4 vols. (Canterbury, 1778-99), I, p. 86.

⁶⁰ The surname is missing in the original fire-damaged MS but supplied by BL Harleian MS 895, f. 16.

⁶¹ Achievements painted on small panels of metal, silk or paper, similar to hatchments.

⁶² *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc., 42 (London, 1848), pp. 16-17.

Conservation of Brasses, 1997

by WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the sixteenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with several projects in Essex and Suffolk; to Jean Arthur for assistance at St. Giles, Edinburgh; to Jerome Bertram for assistance with Chinnor; to John Blatchly for assistance with St. Clement, Ipswich; to Paul Cockerham for assistance with St. Columb Major; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance with Hartlepool, Ingleton, Melton and Stonham Aspell, and especially to Peter Hacker for financial assistance at Hartlepool; to Joanna Lack for assistance at Hickling, Kedleston and Magdalen College, Oxford; to Michael Taylor for assistance at several churches in Essex and Suffolk; to Philip Whittemore for assistance with Chinnor; to the Churches Conservation Trust; to the Norfolk Churches Trust Ltd.; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Chinnor; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Arkesden, Chinnor, Edenhall, Hartlepool, St. Columb Major, Stifford, Strethall, Thrupton and Great Yeldham; Hampshire County Council at Thrupton; the Leche Trust at Chinnor; and the Monumental Brass Society at Arkesden, Chinnor, Edenhall, Hartlepool, Hickling, St. Columb Major, Stifford, Strethall and Great Yeldham.

Full reports on this conservation work will be deposited in the Society's archive at Birmingham.

ARKESDEN, ESSEX

M.S. I. Richard Fox, 1439.¹ This London (series D) brass now comprises an armoured effigy (905 x 252 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 8 rivets) which is laid in the original Purbeck slab (1930 x 890 mm) on the floor of the south aisle. The slab, originally on an altar tomb in the south chapel, has indents for a foot inscription (100 x 515 mm) and four shields (140 x 112 mm) and has flaked badly. The effigy was completely loose and was removed from the slab on 25 August 1997. Part of the sword is lost. The tip of the right elbow is engraved on a separate plate with thickness 3.8 mm. After cleaning this plate was re-joined to the main plate and new rivets were fitted. The effigy was relaid on 16 December 1997.

EAST BRADENHAM, NORFOLK

M.S. I. Inscription to Bridgit Page, 1646 (Fig. 1). I removed this inscription in four English lines and five English verses (159 x 276 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 6 rivets) from

¹ Described and illustrated by M. Christy and W W Porteous, 'On Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., VII, pt. 1 (1898), pp. 1-3; and more recently in *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, ed. R.H. D'Elboux, pt. 1 (London, 1948), pp. 8-9. Christy and Porteous quote the inscription and blazon of three shields, based on the Wood Hall MS of 1639.

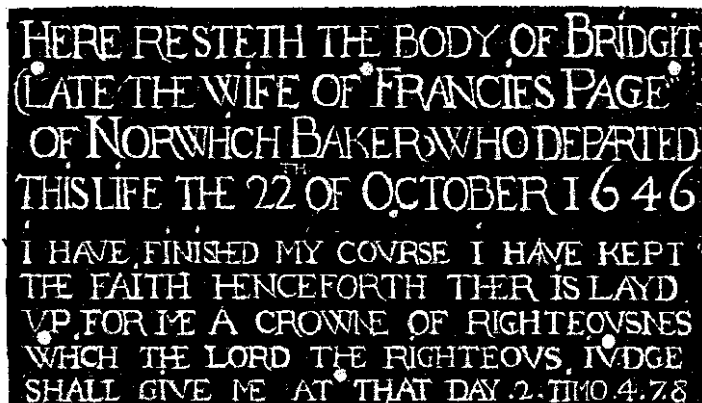


FIG. 1
 East Bradenham, Norfolk
 M.S. I. Inscription to Bridgit Page, 1646
Rubbing by William Lack

its slab (1435 x 680 mm) in the south aisle on 31 October 1996. It was loose and corroded. It had been relaid twice, on the first occasion being bedded on plaster-of-paris and more recently being stuck down with Araldite. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 17 December 1997.

CHINNOR, OXFORDSHIRE ²

Twelve brasses were removed from their slabs in 1935 and screwed to the chancel walls together with a commemorative plate. They 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 in 1996.³ The slabs, most of which are not original, lie on the floor of the vestry and are now covered by fitted carpet.

M.S. III. Reynald Malyns and two wives, 1385.⁴ This London (series B) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (1155 x 300 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.7 and 3.6 mm, 14 rivets), two female effigies (left 1092 x 290 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.2 and 3.2 mm, 13 rivets: right 1128 x 288 mm, engraved on three plates, thicknesses 3.4, 3.2 and 3.1 mm, 11 rivets) and a mutilated single-line Anglo-Norman inscription (originally about 39 x 1030 mm, now 39 x 773 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 3.1 and 3.3 mm, 5 rivets), had been mounted on the north wall to the west of the organ. The lead butt-joints between the main plates of the effigies had all failed. There are two plates let into the main plates of the right-hand female effigy and there are several several damaged and cracked areas in the lower plate of this effigy which had been repaired with solder. An old rubbing in the

² Several of the brasses have recently been described and illustrated by J.E. Titterton, 'The Malyns Family and their brasses at Chinnor, Oxon', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 3 (1994), pp. 225-35.

³ *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 1 (1997), pp. 76-9, 81.

⁴ Illustrated *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 3 (1994), p. 230.

Society of Antiquaries shows the lost sword handle, the missing part of the inscription and the indent for a lost shield. After cleaning I rejoined the head of the right-hand female effigy and re-joined one of the small plates let into this effigy. I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board, lightly outlining the sword handle and the right-hand end of the inscription.

M.S. IV. Esmoun de Malyns and wife Isabel, *c.* 1385.⁵ This London (series B) brass, comprising the half effigy in armour (430 x 268 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets), the half effigy of his wife (417 x 233 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets) and a two-line Anglo-Norman inscription (68 x 660 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 3 rivets), had been mounted on the north wall east of the organ. An old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries shows a missing shield. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

M.S.VI. Lady, *c.* 1390.⁶ This London (series B) half effigy in widow's dress (428 x 267 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 4 rivets), possibly of the Malyns family, had been mounted on the south wall east of the organ. The effigy of her husband and the inscription are lost. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

M.S. VII. John Cray, 1392.⁷ This London (series C) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (1426 x 502 mm, engraved on three plates, thicknesses 3.7, 3.5 and 3.4 mm, 21 rivets) and a shield (171 x 134 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets), had been mounted on the north wall immediately east of M.S. III. The lead butt-joints between the plates of the effigy had all failed. The strip from the base of the effigy had been mounted separately below it. An old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries shows the missing sword hilt and two sections of marginal inscription. After cleaning I rejoined the dagger handle, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board, lightly outlining the missing parts of the sword.

M.S.VIII. Inscription to Adam Ramseye, *c.* 1400.⁸ This two-line Anglo-Norman inscription (83 x 242 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 3 rivets) had been mounted on the north wall immediately west of M.S. IV. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

M.S.IX. Inscription to John Cristemas, *c.* 1400 (Fig. 2). This two-line Anglo-Norman inscription (69 x 266 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 2 rivets) had been mounted on the north wall between M.S. IV and V. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board with M.S. VIII.

M.S. XII. Reginald Malyns, 1430.⁹ This London (series B) brass, comprising the central part of an armoured effigy (now 352 x 260 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 4 rivets)

⁵ Illustrated *ibid.*, p. 232.

⁶ Illustrated *ibid.*, p. 235.

⁷ Illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VI (1953-69), pl. 56, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 80.

⁸ Illustrated *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 3 (1994), p. 233.

⁹ Illustrated *ibid.*, p. 234.



FIG. 2
Chinnor, Oxfordshire
M.S. IX. Inscription to John Cristemas, c. 1400
Rubbing by William Lack

and a three-line Latin inscription (102 x 440 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 3 rivets), had been mounted on the south wall between M.S. II and VI. There is no known rubbing of the missing parts of the effigy. The bottom edge of the effigy is fractured while the upper edge is chamfered, indicating that the head had been on a separate plate. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the effigy, fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a cedar board.

Inscription recording removal of brasses from the vestry in 1935. This five-line English inscription (89 x 146 mm, thickness 3.8 mm) had been mounted on the north wall immediately west of M.S. III. I rebated the plate into the same board as M.S.VIII and IX.

The boards were mounted on the north wall, those carrying M.S. III and VII on 27 January 1997 and the other four on 24 April 1997.

EDENHALL, CUMBERLAND

L.S.W. I. William Stapilton and wife Margaret, 1458.¹⁰ This London (series D) brass, comprising an armoured effigy in heraldic tabard (910 x 335 mm), a female effigy (684 x 254 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 4 rivets) and an inscription in three Latin lines (65 x 610 mm), lies in a marble slab (2245 x 1150 mm) on the chancel floor. On 19 July 1997 I removed the female effigy which had become loose and vulnerable. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid the plate on 10 November 1997.

EDINBURGH, ST. GILES' CATHEDRAL.

I removed two brasses on 21 July 1997.

M.S. I. Inscription to James Stewart, 1569.¹¹ This brass, engraved by the goldsmith James Gray, comprises a rectangular plate, engraved with the seated figures of Religion and Justice, an achievement and an inscription in Latin (560 x 800 mm,

¹⁰ Described and illustrated by R. Bower, 'Brasses in the Diocese of Carlisle', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Arch. Soc.*, XIII (1893), pp. 142-3, pl. I; and more recently by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1998), pp. 48-9.

¹¹ David Laing, 'Notice respecting the Monument of the Regent Earl of Murray, now restored, within the Church of St Giles, Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, VI, pt. 1 (1864-5), pp. 49-55, pl. VII.

thickness 3.2 mm, 6 rivets). It had been reset in a large monument, rebuilt in 1865, in the Murray Chapel and mounted about 10 feet from the ground. It was secured with screws and was loose and vulnerable. It is a known palimpsest, the reverse showing the central part of a fine Flemish brass, engraved *c.* 1520.¹² After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the reverse and rebated this into a light oak board. I fitted new rivets to the brass.

Highland Light Infantry Boer War Memorial. This plate (746 x 422 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 6 screws), screwed to a stone frame on the north wall, had become tarnished and unsightly. After cleaning I polished and lacquered the plate.

Both brasses were re-secured on 13 October 1997. The board carrying the facsimile was mounted on the east wall of the Murray Chapel directly opposite the brass.

GREAT FRANSHAM, NORFOLK

I removed parts of the two brasses on 2 May 1995 and 31 October 1996.

M.S. I. Geoffrey Fransham, 1414.¹³ This London (series B) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (1518 x 475 mm), a single canopy (2230 x 722 mm overall), a mutilated marginal inscription (2350 x 1093 mm overall) and two shields (150 x 122 mm), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2510 x 1210 mm) in the sanctuary. The only parts conserved were the canopy pediment (678 x 569 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.4 and 3.2 mm, 7 rivets), the left-hand canopy shaft (2152 x 85 mm, engraved on four separate plates, thickness 3.2, 3.4, 3.5 and 3.2 mm, 11 rivets) and two fillets of marginal inscription (the larger 595 x 36 mm, thicknesses 4.1 and 3.5 mm, 6 rivets). There are identifying Roman numerals engraved on the reverses of the marginal inscription fillets. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the pediment and two sections of the left-hand shaft and fitted new rivets.

M.S. II. Cecily Legge, *c.* 1500 (Fig. 3). This Norwich (series 3) brass, now comprising a shrouded effigy (472 x 103 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 3 rivets) and a fragment of scroll, lies in the original slab (1680 x 730 mm) at the west end of the nave. Fig. 3 shows the greater part of the inscription which is completely lost, reproduced from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection. I removed the effigy which was proud and loose. After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets. The plates were relaid on 20 February 1997.

FRENZE, NORFOLK

I removed parts of four brasses on 9 January 1996.

M.S. I. Ralph Blenerhaysett, 1475. This Norwich (series 1) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (681 x 176 mm), a three-line Latin inscription (76 x 394 mm,

¹² R.H. Pearson, 'A Palimpsest Brass in St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh', *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 130-5; and J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), 29M1, p. 89, pl. 163.

¹³ Illustrated by E.M. Beloe, *A Series of Photolithographs of Monumental Brasses ... in Norfolk* (King's Lynn, 1890-1), pl. 9.

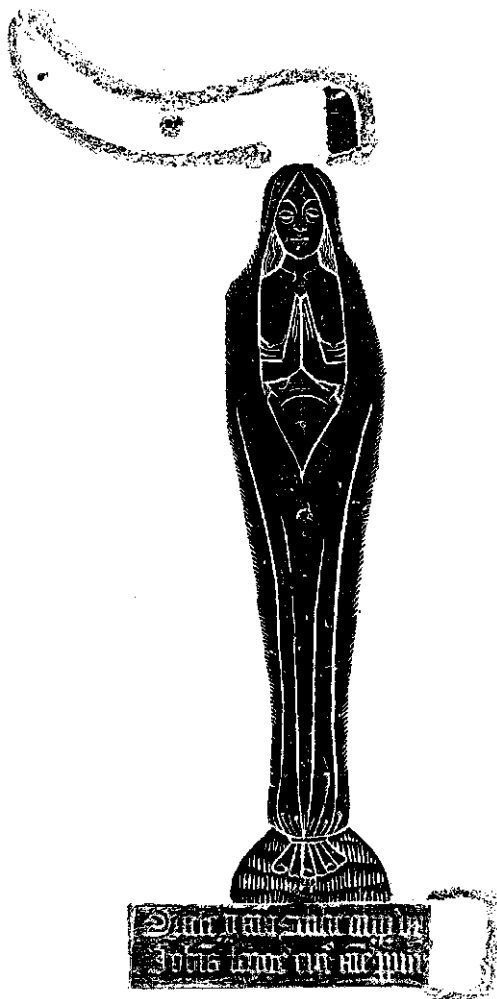


FIG. 3

Great Fransham, Norfolk
M.S. II. Cecily Legge, c. 1500
Rubbing by Jenny Lack

Inscription from rubbing in collection of Society of Antiquaries

engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.9 and 3.4 mm, 2 rivets) and four shields, lies in the original slab (1915 x 810 mm) in the sanctuary.¹⁴ The slab is oriented north-south. The only part conserved was the inscription. After cleaning I rejoined the two plates and fitted new rivets.

M.S. III. Dame Joan Braham, 1519 (Fig. 4). This London (series G) brass, comprising a female effigy in widow's dress (704 x 260 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 5 rivets), an inscription in three Latin lines and three shields, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2170 x 965 mm) at the west end. I removed the effigy and left-hand shield (164 x 141 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 2 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

¹⁴ The lower left shield was conserved in 1983, see *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 5 (1984), p. 431.

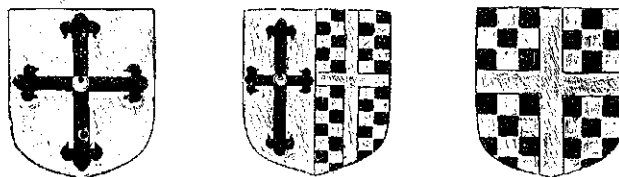


FIG. 4
 Frenze, Norfolk
 M.S. III. Dame Joan Braham, 1519
Rubbing by Jenny Lack

M.S. IV. Thomas Hobson, *c.*1520.¹⁵ This Norwich (series 3) brass, comprising a shrouded effigy (280 x 71 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 2 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription, lies in the original slab (1415 x 540 mm) in the nave. I removed the effigy which had been bedded on putty and was not secured by any rivets. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

¹⁵ Illustrated in *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 1 (1997), p. 106.



FIG. 5
 Frenze, Norfolk
 M.S. V. Jane Blenerhaysett, 1521
Rubbing by Jenny Lack

M.S. V. Jane Blenerhaysett, 1521 (Fig. 5). This London (series G) brass, now comprising a female effigy (708 x 201 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 4 rivets), an inscription in four English lines and two shields, is laid in the original slab (1209 x 960 mm) in the nave. The third mutilated shield is mounted on a board with M.S. IX in the sanctuary. The only part conserved was the effigy. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid on 21 February 1997.



FIG. 6
Hartlepool, Co. Durham
M.S. I. Jane Bell, 1593
Rubbing by William Lack

HARTLEPOOL, COUNTY DURHAM

M.S. I. Jane Bell, 1593 (Fig. 6).¹⁶ This Johnson style brass comprises a female effigy engraved on a rectangular plate (597 x 212 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 11 rivets) and an inscription in seven English lines and four English verses with a lozenge of arms (246 x 537 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 12 rivets). The brass was originally laid in the chancel floor but was taken up before the Second World War and mounted on the wall of the north aisle. It was removed from the wall *c.* 1990 and kept locked away. The brass was collected by Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker and handed over to me on 12 November 1996. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the inscription, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the north aisle on 25 February 1997.

¹⁶ Illustrated and briefly described by J.G. Waller, 'Notes on some Brasses in the Counties of Northumberland and Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, N.S., XV (1892), p. 85, pl. XIa.

HICKLING, NOTTS.

M.S. I. Ralph Babington, 1521.¹⁷ This London (series G) brass comprises an effigy in mass vestments (485 x 157 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets), a six-line Latin inscription (185 x 557 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets), a scroll (150 x 320 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 4.1 and 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) and two shields (left 147 x 129 mm, thickness 4.1 mm; right 149 x 130 mm, thickness 3.9 mm; each 1 rivet). On 29 July 1997 I took the brass up from the original slab (1400 x 750 mm) in the chancel. The effigy and inscription had been previously relaid and secured by screws. After cleaning I rejoined the two plates of the scroll and fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in the slab on 23 September 1997.

INGLETON, YORKS.

Inscription to Randal Hopley Sherlock, 1875. This inscription in two English lines (153 x 1216 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 6 screws) was taken down from the west wall of the tower in the summer of 1996, subsequently collected by Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker and delivered to me on 12 November 1996. It had become considerably corroded and tarnished. After cleaning, polishing and lacquering it was returned to the church and re-secured.

IPSWICH, ST. CLEMENT

M.S. I. John Tye, 1583, and two wives. This brass, comprising a civilian effigy (510 x 175 mm), two female effigies (left 495 x 185 mm; right 480 x 195 mm), an inscription in five English lines (128 x 615 mm), two groups of children, an achievement and two shields, lies in the original slab (1930 x 1030 mm) in the nave. One other shield is lost. The only parts conserved were the two shields (upper right 141 x 117 mm, thickness 1.8 mm; lower right 140 x 117 mm, thickness 1.4 mm; each 3 rivets) which were taken up from the slab on 15 July 1996. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the lower shield, plugged surplus holes and fitted new rivets. The shields were relaid on 29 March 1997.

KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE

L.S.W. I. Sir John Curzon, 1496, and wife Alice.¹⁸ This London (series D variant) brass, originally comprising an armoured effigy (660 x 211 mm), a female effigy (623 x 249 mm), four sons, eight daughters, two shields and a marginal inscription, is laid in a Purbeck slab in the chancel. The slab has been cut down on the right side and the bottom part is covered by the chancel step, the exposed area measuring 1685 x 770 mm. By 1910 the group of sons and most of the marginal inscription had

¹⁷ Described and illustrated by C.L. Hulbert, 'Radulph Babyngton, 1521; Hickling, Notts.', *MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 2 (1892), pp. 60-2; and by J.P. Briscoe and Rev. H.E. Field, *The Monumental Brasses of Nottinghamshire*, pt. I (s.l., 1904), pp. 6-8.

¹⁸ Described and illustrated by H.E. Field, 'The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire', *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 5 (1906), pp. 103-5; and by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire* (London, 1999), pp. 126-7.

become lost and these were renewed together with a new inscription which was let into the lower part of the slab. In about 1984 the two shields and the renewed group of sons were stolen. In 1988 I conserved and relaid the effigies, the daughters and one fillet of marginal inscription.¹⁹ In 1996 the upper right shield (168 x 144 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets) was offered for sale in an antique shop in Wirksworth and was purchased by John Cherry of the British Museum. When he had identified it as originating from Kedleston²⁰ he generously gave it to the Churches Conservation Trust and it was delivered to me in March 1997. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid the shield on 11 September 1997.

MELTON, SUFFOLK.

M.S. I. Civilian, wife and ?son, *c.* 1430.²¹ This London (series B) brass, comprising the effigies of a civilian (originally 935 mm tall, now 750 x 240 mm), a lady (920 x 280 mm) and a priest in academics (930 x 270 mm) under a mutilated triple canopy, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2350 x 970 mm) in the nave. The feet of the civilian, the inscription, a scroll, four shields and nearly all of the canopy work are lost. The only part conserved was a small fragment of the right-hand canopy pediment (154 x 88 mm, thickness 3.4 mm) which came loose from the slab some years ago. It was collected from the church by Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker and handed to me on 12 November 1996. After cleaning I soldered two rivets to the reverse and relaid the fragment on 29 August 1997.

OXFORD, MAGDALEN COLLEGE

On 20 March 1997 I took up the plates and carried out some work *in situ*.

M.S. II. Thomas Sondes, 1478 (Fig. 7).²² This London (series D) brass comprises an effigy in academic dress (938 x 277 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.9 and 3.5 mm, 6 rivets), a single-line foot inscription (36 x 253 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 1 rivet), a fragment of scroll (39 x 119 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 1 rivet), the lower right shield (158 x 126 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 1 rivet) and the mutilated marginal inscription (1525 x 825 mm overall, engraved on five fillets, various sizes, the largest 630 x 39 mm, thicknesses 3.1, 2.8, 2.5, 3.3 and 3.2 mm, 13 rivets). Fig. 7 shows two other fragments of the scroll and part of the lower right Evangelist's symbol, reproduced from a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection. The brass lies in the original slab in the south aisle of the ante-chapel. The slab has been cut down at the top and the bottom and now measures 1535 x 920 mm. The plates had been relaid and secured with steel woodscrews; I removed them from the slab on 20 March

¹⁹ *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 4 (1989), pp. 284-5.

²⁰ *MBS Bulletin*, 74 (Feb. 1997), p. 282.

²¹ The effigies are illustrated by E.R. Suffling, *English Church Brasses from the 13th to the 17th Century* (London, 1910, reprinted Bath, 1970), p.177, figs. 107-9.

²² Described and partly illustrated by R.T. Günther, *A Description of Brasses and other Funeral Monuments in the Chapel of Magdalen College* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 4-5. On Thomas Sondes see A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9), III, p. 1729. He was the son of William Sondes of Throwley, Kent. His will (PCC 35 Wattys) was made on 4 Oct. and proved on 16 Oct. 1478.



FIG. 7
Oxford, Magdalen College
M.S. II. Thomas Sondes, 1478
Rubbing by William Lack

Fragments of scroll and Evangelist's symbol from rubbing in collection of Society of Antiquaries

1997. After cleaning I rejoined the two plates of the effigy, repaired a fracture in the scroll and fitted new rivets.

Martin Joseph Routh, 1854.²³ This brass, designed by J.C. Buckler and engraved by Messrs. Hardman of Birmingham, commemorates an early supporter of the Tractarians, who died in his hundredth year, after having been President of Magdalen College for sixty-three years.²⁴ It comprises an effigy in cassock and surplice (1000 x 365 mm), a canopy (1790 x 702 mm), two shields and a marginal inscription (1956 x 896 mm), lies in the original slab (2145 x 1070 mm) in front of the altar in the chapel. The brass is secured by rivets soldered to the reverse. On 20 March 1997 I re-secured the bottom of the left-hand canopy shaft and collected the upper left shield (140 x 119 mm, thickness 2.5 mm) which had become detached. The shield is made of lead. After cleaning I fitted a new rivet.

The plates were relaid on 29 September 1997.

ST. COLUMB MAJOR, CORNWALL²⁵

I took up parts of two of the brasses on 18 August 1997.

L.S.W. I. Sir John Arundell, 1545, and wives Elizabeth and Katherine. This London (series G) brass,²⁶ comprising an armoured effigy, two female effigies, six shields, two daughters, a headless son and a mutilated marginal inscription, lies in the original Purbeck slab (2220 x 1170 mm) on the south side of the chancel. The parts conserved were the male effigy (754 x 253 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 9 rivets), both female effigies (left 692 x 302 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 12 rivets; right 709 x 287 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 10 rivets), the group of daughters (293 x 115 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 3 rivets), the upper right shield (209 x 178 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 3 rivets), the large shield below the male effigy (218 x 204 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 6 rivets), and two fillets of the marginal inscription from the right side (657 x 39 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 4 rivets, and 927 x 40 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets). After cleaning I repaired fractures in two of the effigies and one of the marginal fillets, and fitted new rivets.

L.S.W. III. John Arundell, 1633, and wife Anne. This brass, comprising an armoured effigy, a female effigy, a nine-line inscription in Latin, groups of four sons and seven daughters, an achievement and two shields, lies below L.S.W. II, a very similar brass commemorating John Arundell's father. Both brasses were engraved at the same time, probably by Edward Marshall, and lie in a black marble slab (2045 x 990 mm) in the south chapel. The only parts conserved were the male effigy (631 x 212 mm, thickness 5.0 mm, 5 rivets), the female effigy (626 x 240 mm, thickness 6.9 mm, 7 rivets) and the group of daughters (200 x 185 mm, thickness 4.6 mm,

²³ Günther, *Magdalen College*, p. 75.

²⁴ For biographical details see *DNB*, XLIX (London, 1897), pp. 324-6; R.D. Middleton, *Dr. Routh* (Oxford, 1938).

²⁵ The brasses were described and illustrated by E.H.W. Dunkin, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1882, reprinted Bath, 1969, pp. 27-31, 75-8, pls. XXVII, LVI, LVII), and by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1997), pp 107-10.

²⁶ Probably engraved c. 1565; see M.W. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (London, 1977), I, p. 224, n. 7.

4 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets, including one soldered to the reverse of the male effigy.

The brasses were relaid on 27, 30 and 31 October 1997.

SNARFORD, LINCOLNSHIRE²⁷

I removed the three brasses on 30 April 1997.

M.S. I. Inscription to Joan Tornay, 1521 (Fig. 8). This locally-engraved²⁸ four-line Latin inscription (87 x 376 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 5 rivets) was removed from its slab (2250 x 950 mm) in the north chapel between 1895 and 1926 and mounted on the east wall of the north chapel. It was exceedingly vulnerable, being only secured with two nails. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. II. Inscription to Mattathia St Poll, 1597 (Fig. 9). This inscription in twenty Latin verses (390 x 413 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 12 rivets) was removed from the original slab (640 x 475 mm) on the south wall of the chancel. There are indents for an effigy, possibly a kneeling lady (175 x 90 mm) and a shield (120 x 100 mm). After removal of the brass, the slab was taken out by Messrs. Harrison Hill, conserved and reset. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets.

Inscription to George Brownlow Doughty, 1743. This coffin-plate inscription in five Latin lines (282 x 282 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 4 rivets) had been mounted on the north wall of the nave and secured with nails. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

The brasses and board were reset on 10 December 1997, M.S. I being relaid in the original slab.

STIFFORD, ESSEX

M.S. I. Priest, *c.* 1480.²⁹ This London D brass now comprises the shrouded effigy of a priest (502 x 113 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 3 rivets) and this was removed from the original slab (1580 x 665 mm) in the nave on 15 November 1997. The slab is worn; there are indents for a foot inscription (95 x 425 mm) and a scroll (260 x 150 mm) which have been lost for many years. The effigy had become loose and vulnerable. After cleaning and fitting new rivets the plate was relaid on 16 December 1997.

STONHAM ASPALL, SUFFOLK

Group of three daughters, *c.* 1520. This Suffolk (series 3a) plate (144 x 122 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 4 rivets) was in private hands for many years. After it was

²⁷ Described by G.E. Jeans, *A List of the Existing Sepulchral Brasses in Lincolnshire* (Horncastle, 1895), pp 60-1.

²⁸ Probably a late variant of the Fens 2 series; see Sally Badham, *Brasses from the North East* (London, 1979), pp. 21-3.

²⁹ Described and illustrated by M. Christy and W.W. Porteous, 'On Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., VII, pt. 3 (1899), pp. 245-6; and by William J.T. Smith and H.G. Worsley, *Brasses of Thurrock and District* (Boreham, 1970), p. 64, pl. 7). Christy and Porteous tentatively attributed the brass to Robert Oldfield, rector until 1485.

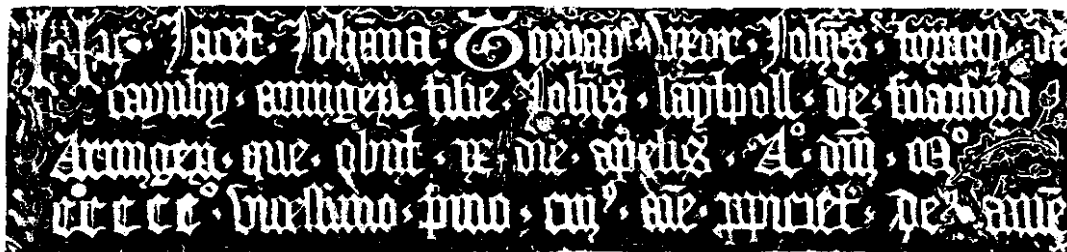


FIG. 8
 Snarford, Lincolnshire
 M.S. I. Inscription to Joan Tornay, 1521
Rubbing by William Lack

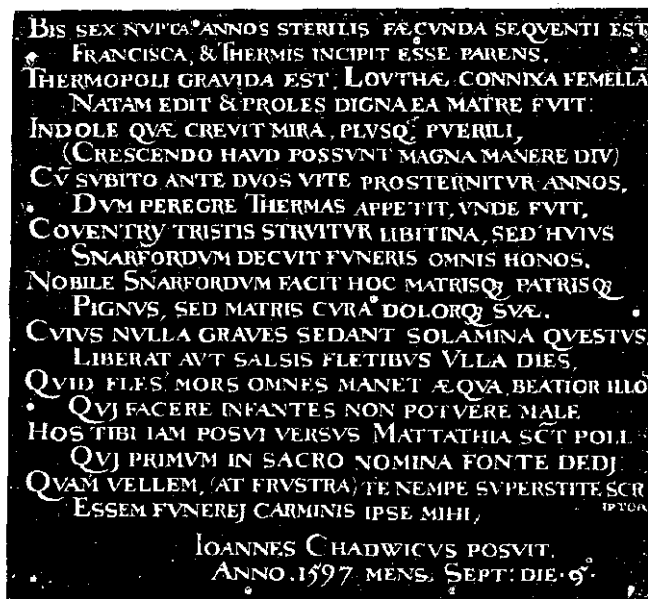
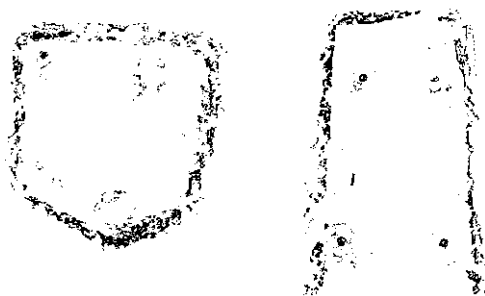


FIG. 9
 Snarford, Lincolnshire
 M.S. II. Inscription to Mattathia St Poll, 1597
Rubbing by William Lack

illustrated in the *Bulletin* in 1992³⁰ it was identified as being from Stonham Aspall.³¹ The slab (1590 x 650 mm) lies in the chancel and bears indents for a lady (265 x 115 mm) and an inscription (75 x 430 mm). The lower part of the lady was recorded and illustrated by Davy in 1824.³² The owner of the plate agreed to return it to the church. It was collected by Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker and handed to me on 12 November 1996. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid the plate in the slab on 29 March 1997.

STRETHALL, ESSEX³³

The three brasses were removed from their slabs on 29 March 1997.

M.S. I. Priest, *c.*1480. This London (series D) brass, now comprising an effigy in academic dress (694 x 230 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 3 rivets), was removed from its original slab (1630 x 840 mm) in the chancel. The inscription is lost and a later inscription (M.S. III) had been laid in its place. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. II. Inscription to John Gardyner and wife, 1508. This London-engraved raised-letter inscription in six English lines (138 x 683 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 8 rivets) was removed from an altar tomb on the north side of the chancel. It had been secured by eight conventional screws. There are hammer marks on the reverse. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. III. Inscription to Thomas Abbot, 1539. This Cambridge school four-line inscription in English (122 x 370 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 6 rivets) had been relaid at the foot of M.S. I. It was fractured and badly corroded. It is a known palimpsest, the reverse being a complete inscription in four Latin verses to Margaret Siday, engraved *c.*1460.³⁴ After cleaning I repaired the fracture and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid and reset on 16 December 1997.

THRUXTON, HAMPSHIRE

M.S. I. Sir John Lysle, *c.*1425.³⁵ This fine London (series D) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (1510 x 462 mm), a triple canopy (2349 x 847 mm overall), a marginal inscription in Latin (2580 x 1086 mm) and four shields (150 x 125 mm), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2740 x 1280 mm) at the foot of the sanctuary step. The brass is largely complete, the only losses being a section of canopy shaft and pinnacle, two fragments of the canopy pediments and two sections of the sword. On 21

³⁰ *MBS Bulletin*, 59 (Feb. 1992), p. 539.

³¹ W. Lack and P. Whittemore, 'Three Notes', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 3 (1994), pp. 251-3.

³² BL Add MS 32482, f. 91, illustrated *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 1 (1980), pl. Va, opp. p. 56, and XV, pt. 3 (1994), p. 253.

³³ The brasses have been described and illustrated by Christy and Porteous, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-8; and *idem*, 'On Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, V (1899), pp. 15-6, 18. More recently M.S. I and III were described and illustrated by W. Lack and P. Whittemore, 'Strethall, Essex: A Note on the Palimpsest Brass', *Essex Journal*, XXX, no. 2 (Autumn 1998), pp. 52-3.

³⁴ *Palimpsests*, 3C1, p. 85, pl. 155.

³⁵ Described by C.J.P. Cave, 'A List of Hampshire Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VI, pt. 1 (1910), pp. 27-8, and illustrated *MBS Portfolio*, II (1900-1905), pl. 8, reprinted in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 149.

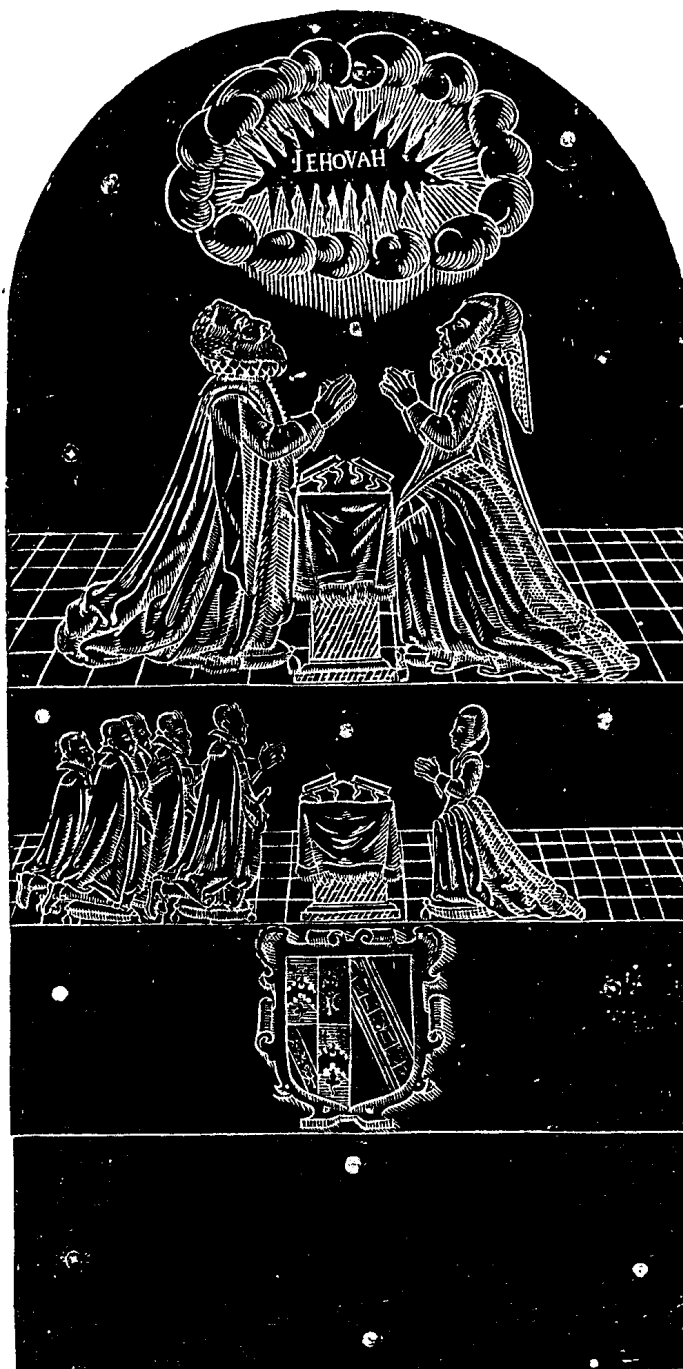


FIG. 10
Great Yeldham, Essex
M.S. I. Richard Symonds and wife, 1612
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

January 1997 I removed seven plates from the slab and collected one other which had come loose previously. These comprised three sections of marginal inscription (the largest 40 x 597 mm, thicknesses 2.9, 2.5 and 4.7 mm, 6 rivets) and five pieces of canopy work (the largest 542 x 27 mm, thicknesses 3.0, 3.5, 3.4, 2.7 and 4.2 mm, 10 rivets). After cleaning, I repaired fractures in one plate and fitted new rivets, including three soldered to the reverses. The plates were relaid on 12 March 1997.

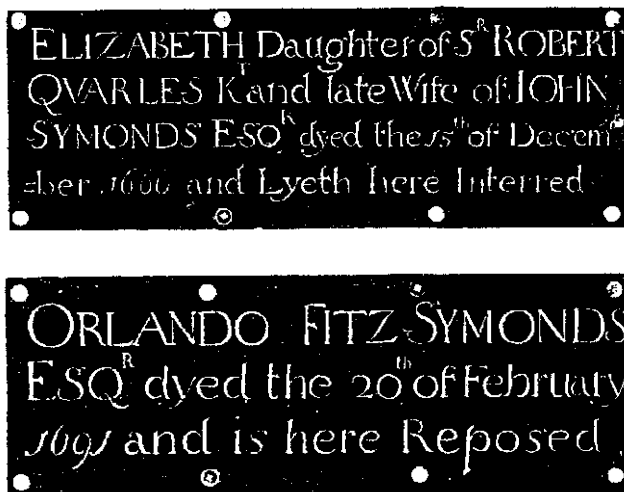


FIG. 11

Great Yeldham, Essex

M.S. II and III. Inscriptions to Elizabeth Symonds, 1666, and Orlando Fitzsymonds, 1691

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

GREAT YELDHAM, ESSEX

The three brasses were removed from the church on 20 January 1996.

M.S. I. Richard Symonds and wife, 1612 (Fig. 10).³⁶ This London arched plate (668 x 330 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 15 rivets), engraved with the kneeling effigies of Richard Symonds, his wife Elizabeth, five sons, one daughter and a shield, had been screwed directly to plaster on the west wall of the south chapel. The mounting was clearly vulnerable and the plate had become badly corroded. There is space below the effigies for an inscription but this has not been filled in.

M.S. II and III. Inscriptions to Elizabeth Symonds, 1666, and Orlando Fitzsymonds, 1691 (Fig. 11). These inscriptions in four and three lines of English (107 x 303 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 8 rivets, and 108 x 307 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets) had been mounted below M.S. I and were in similar condition. After cleaning and fitting new rivets, I rebated the plates into a cedar board. This was mounted on the respond in the north east corner of the south chapel.

³⁶ Described and illustrated by M. Christy and W.W. Porteous, 'Some Interesting Essex Brasses', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., IX, pt. 1 (1903), pp. 66-7.

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1: A lady, early 14th century (incised slab), Little Hereford, Herefordshire.
Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, 26 September 1944

This brownish-grey sandstone trapezoidal incised slab lies under an arch on the north side of the chancel.¹ It is 2286 mm long, 546 mm wide at base, probably about 610 mm wide at top, where it is built a few inches into the wall, and 102 mm thick. It shows a lady, her head on a cushion, a lion under her feet. To the left of the head is a shield with traces of indented or dancettée lines, the coat being probably *Barry dancettée of four*. The figure is clad in kirtle, surcote and mantle, the train of the surcote being gathered up under the left elbow, exposing part of the kirtle skirt. The hands are placed one above another, a curious treatment found on some contemporary continental slabs. The head is unfortunately much perished and in part obliterated, but enough remains to identify the headdress; the hair is netted, a linen band (*barbette*) drawn up tight round the sides of the face, crowned by a band of stiffened linen worn like a coronet, with a long veil placed on top of the head and falling in folds behind. This headdress, without the veil, appears on many contemporary foreign incised slabs; Creeny illustrates several, the latest in date being that of Eudeline Chanbrant and her daughters, 1338, in Chalons-sur-Marne Cathedral,² but the style goes well back into the late thirteenth century.³ The foot of the slab is somewhat perished, but the engraving being deep, the whole of the design is clear, save for part of the head. Some of the lines still retain traces of a yellowish pigment.

F.A.G.

Fig. 2: Isabel Cloville (Clouvill) and son John, d. 1361, West Hanningfield, Essex.
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

Though slightly worn, and lacking the demi-figure of John Cloville, this brass in the south aisle of West Hanningfield church is a good example of work from the third quarter of the fourteenth century. It has been identified by Sally Badham as a product of the London 'A' workshop. The Anglo-Norman inscription, the precatory clause of which has been lightly deleted, reads:

Isabele Clouuill e Iohan son fitz gisent icy: le quele Iohan morust le
xxiii iour doctobre lan de grace M:CCC:LXI: dieu de lour almes eit merci

John's effigy was missing by 1768. The inscription was removed in about the 1860s, rediscovered in the 1880s, and not finally replaced until 1905.

Isabel Cloville is believed to have built the south aisle *c.* 1330; the window opposite the brass contains a version of the Cloville arms: *Argent two chevrons sable, each*

¹ RCHM, *Herefordshire*, III, *North-West* (London, 1934), p. 66, pl. 78. The slab is here dated as late as *c.* 1340.

² W.F. Creeny, *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1891), pl. 41.

³ For further discussion and examples see F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), I, pp. 234-5, 237.



FIG. 1
A lady, early 14th century (incised slab)
Little Hereford, Herefordshire
Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill, 26 September 1944



Isabel cloville & John son de, gisant en le quel John moult le
XXII jour d'octobre lan de grace m. CCC. LXI dieu de tout adre ait mrr

FIG. 2

Isabel Cloville (Clouville) and son John, d. 1361

West Hanningfield, Essex, M.S. I

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

*charged with five nails or.*⁴ John Cloville was appointed to the commission of the peace for the county of Essex and the liberty of the hundred of Rochford on 21 March and 2 June 1361.⁵ It is likely that he and his mother fell victim to the outbreak of the plague that year.

I am grateful to Sally Badham for help with this brass.

N.R.

Fig. 3: Gilles de Byssenhaye, Dean of St. Paul, Liège, d. 1444 (incised slab), Cathédrale Saint-Paul, Liège. *Rubbing by W.H. James Weale (Victoria and Albert Museum E.1499-1922); reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum*

This rubbing from the Weale collection, given to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1922 by Miss Frances E. Weale, was possibly made by W.H. James Weale during a visit to Liège in January 1859 to gather material for his projected work *The Monumental Brasses of Northern Europe*.⁶ The slab (2160 x 1080 mm), of black marble, commemorates Gilles de Byssenhaye, dean of the collegiate church of St. Paul, Liège, which became the cathedral of Liège following the demolition of the church of St. Lambert during the French revolutionary régime. Gilles was buried before the altar of St. Lambert, on the north side of the church, but the slab is now to be found in the east walk of the cloisters, where several incised slabs to canons of St. Paul's are gathered.⁷ It depicts the deceased in mass vestments, holding a chalice, under a canopy. This composition was popular with the canons; other examples are those of Thierry de Hokelem (d. 1427), Gilbert de Loze (d. 1425), and Jean Canon (d. 1529).⁸

The marginal inscription reads:

Hic Jacet venerabilis vir bone memorie / Dominus Egidius byssenhaye
Decanus et canonicus huius ecclesie sancti pauli leodiensis augumen/tator
redditum duarum fundacionum / presentis capelle Qui obiit anno domini
M.cccc.xliiii. mensis junii die xvi orate pro eo.

Gilles de Byssenhaye, a Liégeois by birth, was elected dean following the murder of his predecessor, Jean Hellinx, by Italian brigands hired by his adversary in a case at the Roman Curia. Gilles carried out major repairs to the deanery and restored at his own expense the archives and registers of the church. Shortly before his death he addressed the canons, urging them to perpetuate the good name (*honestas*) of St. Paul's, to avoid discord and not to offend God in anything.⁹ He made arrangements for an annual payment of a rent of 5 *muids* 4 *setiers* for the commemoration of his anniversary.¹⁰

N.R.

⁴ B.G. Hall, *The Cloville Brass (1361)* (West Hanningfield, s.d.).

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1362-4, pp. 64, 65.

⁶ L. van Biervliet, *De Brieven van W.H. James Weale aan Jozef A. Alberdingk Thijm 1858-1884* (Brugge, 1991), p. 22.

⁷ O.-J. Thimister, *Histoire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Paul actuellement Cathédrale de Liège*, 2nd edn. (Liège, 1890), pp. 299, 543.

⁸ Thimister, *Saint-Paul*, pls. opp. pp. 348, 353, 362.

⁹ Thimister, *Saint-Paul*, pp. 298-9.

¹⁰ The terms of this bequest are set out in a charter of 1445 (O.-J. Thimister, *Cartulaire ou recueil de chartes et documents inédits de l'église collégiale de Saint Paul* (Liège, 1878), pp. 350-1).



FIG. 3

Gilles de Byssenhaye, Dean of St. Paul, Liège, d. 1444 (incised slab)
Cathédrale Saint-Paul, Liège

Rubbing by W.H. James Weale (Victoria and Albert Museum E.1499-1922)

Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum



FIG. 4

Edward Brampton, d. 1622
Brampton, Norfolk, M.S. V

*Reversed impression from 'squeeze' in the possession of the Sussex
Archaeological Society Library at Barbican House, Lewes*

Reproduced by kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society



FIG. 5

Joan (Jone), wife of Edward Brampton, d. 1622
Brampton, Norfolk, M.S. V

*Reversed impression from 'squeeze' in the possession of the Sussex
Archaeological Society Library at Barbican House, Lewes*

Reproduced by kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society

Figs. 4-7: Edward Brampton and wife Joan, daughter of Christopher Daubeney, of Sharrington, Norfolk, both d. 1622. Brampton, Norfolk, M.S. V. *Reversed impressions from 'squeezes' in the possession of the Sussex Archaeological Society Library at Barbican House, Lewes; reproduced by kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society*



FIG. 6

Sons, from brass of Edward and Joan Brampton, both d. 1622
Brampton, Norfolk, M.S. V

*Reversed impression from 'squeeze' in the possession of the Sussex Archaeological Society Library at Barbican House, Lewes
Reproduced by kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society*

The Sussex Archaeological Society Library at Barbican House, Lewes, has in its possession a folio album of illustrations of brasses, predominantly from Norfolk and Suffolk, donated late in the nineteenth century. Among them are unidentified 'squeezes' (or impressions taken with ink on dampened paper) of these figures, probably made in the late eighteenth century. Blank rivet holes indicate the badly damaged plates were loose at the time of making the 'squeezes'. Fortunately, an impression of the arms associated with the brass (*Gules a saltire between four crosses crosslet fitchée argent* (Brampton) impaling *Argent five fusils in fess in chief two martlets respecting each other* (Daubeney)) allows it to be identified as the apparently previously unillustrated brass to Edward Brampton and wife at Brampton, Norfolk. This is confirmed by a rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

The brass presents some interesting features. The delicacy of design raises it above the standards of normal shop work produced in London at this time and suggests it is the work of a skilled engraver. The brass is too early for attribution to the Marshall workshop; Edward Marshall only became free of the Masons' Company in 1626/7. Furthermore, the lines lack the clarity and precision of Marshall's *oeuvre*. It is suggested, therefore, that this is the work of Nicholas Stone or Epiphanius Evesham. Of these, I would perhaps favour Evesham, as the portrayal of the sons in particular has similarities with his signed monument and brass to Edward West, 1618, at Marsworth, Bucks., and with the monument of Lord Teynham at Lynsted, Kent. The angle of the arms is striking, as is the animation of the figures.



FIG. 7

Shield, from brass of Edward and Joan Brampton, both d. 1622
Brampton, Norfolk, M.S. V

*Reversed impression from 'squeeze' in the possession of the Sussex Archaeological Society Library at Barbican House, Lewes
Reproduced by kind permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society*

The Antiquaries' rubbing of the brass, dated 18 June 1884, shows the female effigy at left, an inscription beneath the main figures, the sons below the female and an indent for a group of girls at bottom right. The wife's head-dress is unusual and is reminiscent of Dutch designs of the period. The inscription, in five lines of Roman capitals, reads:

Here lye the bodies of Edward Brampton esq
and Ione his wife davght.' to Christopher Dav=
bene of Sharrington in Norfolke Esq they lived
married abovt 48 yeares, and had issve 6 sonnes
three davghters · bothe dyed Anno Dni 1622

Two sons and two daughters lived to inherit Brampton's estate. The eldest son, Charles, who married in 1625, died without issue as did his brother Edward, and the estate descended to Phillippa, married to Thomas Whall of Catton, Norfolk and Alice, whose husband, a Mr. Bray, sold it, around 1650, to the antiquary Guybon Goddard, Serjeant at Law and Recorder of Lynn.¹¹

Joan Brampton also appears on the Johnson style brass at Sharrington, Norfolk (M.S. VII), to her parents Christopher Dawbeney, d.1587, aged about 60, and his wife Phillippa, who erected it in 1593.¹²

My thanks to Geoffrey Fisher, of the Conway Library, and to Adam White, for consultations about this brass.

R.H.

¹¹ F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1805-10), VI, pp. 435-6.

¹² J.M. Blatchly, 'The Brasses of Sharrington, Norfolk', *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 2 (1976), pp. 166-7, fig. 2.

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No. 214336 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.98 General Fund
--

<i>1997</i>	INCOME	<i>1998</i>
8430	Subscriptions	8040.68
0	Income Tax recovered	2058.26
0	Donations	279.35
606	Sales - net	772.36
1217	Events - net	1125.56
1522	Interest and Investment Income	1935.07
-60	Less share transferred to Malcolm Norris Fund	<u>-84.00</u>
	TOTAL INCOME	<u>14127.28</u>

EXPENDITURE		
3035	Publications - Bulletin	2743.67
799	Meetings	1127.73
535	Travelling Expenses	646.60
863	Printing / Postages	676.52
74	Subscriptions	64.00
35	Bank Charges	31.50
579	Miscellaneous	57.56
300	Transfer to Conservation Fund	600.00
665	Transfer to Exhibition Fund	600.00
4044	Transfer to Publications Fund	<u>5600.00</u>
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	<u>12147.58</u>

INCOME FOR YEAR **14127.28**

EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR **12147.58**

Surplus for year - transferred to Balance Sheet **1979.70**

<p>MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY Registered Charity No. 214366 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING 31.12.98 Miscellaneous Funds</p>
--

PUBLICATIONS FUND

Balance as at 31.12.97	3800.00
Part production costs of 1997 Transactions	-956.06
Publication Grant	150.00
Transfer from General Fund	<u>5600.00</u>
Reserve for 1997 and 1998 Transactions	<u>8593.94</u>

EXHIBITION FUND

Balance as at 31.12.97	-1200.00
Transfer from General Fund	<u>600.00</u>
	<u>-600.00</u>

MALCOLM NORRIS FUND

Balance as at 31.12.97	1395.91
Interest from General Fund	<u>84.00</u>
	<u>1479.91</u>

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214366
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31.12.98
Conservation Fund

<i>1997</i>	INCOME	<i>1998</i>
50	Donations	95.00
180	Sale of Printing Blocks	50.00
253	Interest	305.57
300	Transfer from General Fund	<u>600.00</u>
782	Income for year	1050.57
575	Less Grants approved in 1998 as per Schedule below	<u>-795.00</u>
207	Surplus for year carried to Balance Sheet	255.57

Status of Grant Awards at year ending 31.12.98

Applicant Parish	Unpaid at Jan. 1 98	Made in 1998	Paid in 1998	Unpaid at Dec.31 98
Gt Yeldham	75.00			75.00
Lostwithiel	100.00			100.00
Gt Yeldham	50.00			50.00
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	
Stokesby	100.00			100.00
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	150.00			150.00
S. Elmham S James	100.00			100.00
Cranbrook		75.00		75.00
Wrotham		150.00		150.00
Shotesham S Mary		100.00		100.00
Ashby S Legers		50.00		50.00
Benhall		150.00		150.00
Mendlesham		70.00		70.00
Metfield		150.00		150.00
Compton		50.00		50.00
TOTALS:	1450.00	795.00	375.00	1870.00

Total of Grants unpaid at 31.12.98 carried to Balance Sheet **1870.00**

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY
Registered Charity No. 214336
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31.12.98

<i>1997</i>	ASSETS:	<i>1998</i>
	CASH AND BANK BALANCES	
	General Fund - Barclays Current a/c	-1019.76
	Barclays Postal a/c	11092.30
	Girobank	262.93
3948	First Vermont Bank, USA	<u>222.55</u> 10558.02
12568	National Savings Bank	13325.90
7991	Conservation Fund	<u>8666.35</u> 32550.27
12958	Charifund [1337 units]	13209.56
	Less Creditors:	
-190	County Series books	-207.67
-1450	Grants Outstanding	<u>-1870.00</u> <u>-2077.67</u>
		<u>43682.16</u>

REPRESENTED BY:

	GENERAL FUND:	
	Accumulated Balance as at 31.12.97	14222.70
14223	Add surplus for the year	<u>1979.70</u> 16202.40
10958	Unrealised surplus on Investment (Charifund)	11209.56
	CONSERVATION FUND:	
	Accumulated Balance as at 31.12.97	6540.78
6541	Add surplus for the year	<u>255.57</u> 6796.35
3800	PUBLICATIONS FUND:	8593.94
-1200	EXHIBITION FUND:	-600.00
1396	MALCOLM NORRIS FUND:	<u>1479.91</u>
		<u>43682.16</u>

2 May 1999 Paul D. Cockerham
Hon. Treasurer

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 1998 and certify that they are correct according to the books, vouchers and information supplied to me.
 17 August 1999 R.G. Oakley
Hon. Independent Examiner

Note: No value has been placed on the Society's archives, library and publications stock.

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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.