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# Monumental Brass Society

(Founded in 1887 as the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors)

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All communications regarding membership, the general conditions of the Society, etc., to be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, H. Martin Stuchfield, Esq., F.S.A., Lowe Hill House, Stratford St. Mary, Suffolk CO7 6JX; editorial matter to the Hon. Editor, Nicholas Rogers, Esq., M.A., M.Litt., F.S.A., c/o The Muniment Room, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge CB2 3HU, who will be pleased to supply Notes for Contributors and to discuss proposed articles.

Cover: Head of a lady, *c.* 1440; the palimpsest reverse of a shield, the remains of the brass to Alderman Philip Dennys, 1556, All-Hallows-by-the-Tower, London.

## Editorial

**D**ILIGENT readers will notice that this is the first issue of the *Transactions* since 1890 not to contain the annual accounts of the Monumental Brass Society. Now that the accounts are published in permanent form as part of the Annual Report, which is sent to all members and deposited in the Society's archives, the decision has been taken to liberate the five pages which they occupy for more articles.

The balance sheet of the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors for 1889-90 occupied less than a page. Subscription income amounted to £5 12s. 6d. (of which £4 5s. consisted of Life Compositions) and the cost of printing and posting an issue of the *Transactions* was £4 12s. In 1890 the *Transactions* were not part of the basic entitlement of membership, since £5 1s. was derived from its sale to members. At that time, postage was a penny, beer tuppence a pint, and a return ticket from London to Oostende 11s. 3d. Since 1890 the cost of printing has increased by an ever greater ratio than that of beer, although members do get a larger, more fully illustrated journal. In 1984 the *Portfolio*, introduced in 1894, had to be suspended because of the costs of production and posting. However, William Lack and Philip Whittemore have revived it as an annual publication on a subscription basis. Their venture, which provides a useful outlet for large compositions such as Flemish brasses, deserves every encouragement. For the generality of brasses there is the Portfolio of Small Plates, included in the *Transactions*. The Editor welcomes offers of rubbings or photographs of brasses or incised slabs of any date.

Conservation has been at the heart of the Society's activities since its foundation, as is manifested most amusingly in the correspondence with the Vicar of Godmersham published in the first volume of *Transactions*. The Society gives grants towards the restoration of brasses and does all it can to facilitate conservation work. An important aspect of all conservation is the adequate recording of work carried out. Restoration often provides the opportunity for discoveries about workshops and their working methods, of which palimpsests are the most spectacular. The *Transactions* serves as a convenient journal of record in this respect.

# Elizabeth Beaumont, Countess of Oxford (d. 1537): Her Life and Connections

by JENNIFER WARD

THE brass of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford in Wivenhoe parish church (Fig. 1) shows us a resplendent figure, highly conscious of her noble status. Her heraldic mantle and the four shields of arms testify to her natal and marital connections. Beside her lies the smaller figure of her first husband, William, Viscount Beaumont and Lord Bardolf. The tomb of her second husband, John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, who was buried in Colne priory church, has not survived.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth was not herself a member of the higher nobility by birth, belonging rather to the lesser peerage. Her father, Richard Scrope, was the second son of Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton, Yorkshire, and he married Eleanor Washbourne, the daughter of a Worcestershire esquire, in the Earl of Warwick's chapel at Sheriff Hutton in 1467. Richard died shortly before the battle of Bosworth, leaving a family of nine daughters and one son who predeceased him.<sup>2</sup> His lands lay mainly in Yorkshire and County Durham, and he left all his property to his wife provided that she did not remarry. In fact she married Sir John Wyndham of Felbrigg in Norfolk, so, according to the terms of Richard's will, she held Market Weighton, Yorkshire, and Langley Castle, County Durham, for life, while Bentley in Yorkshire was to be sold to provide dowries for some of his daughters. Sir John Wyndham purchased Bentley, Hangthwaite in Adwick le Street and Market Weighton for £1000, which was divided up between Mary, Jane and Katherine Scrope after his death.<sup>3</sup> Eleanor's second marriage helps to explain why there is a strong East Anglian element in her daughters' marriage alliances.

Nothing is known of the childhood of Elizabeth, who was probably the eldest daughter and may have been born about 1468. Her future, however, was to be greatly influenced by the events of the Wars of the Roses. The Scropes of Bolton were for the most part in favour of the Yorkist kings. Elizabeth's uncle, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, fought alongside Edward IV at the battle of Towton in 1461, although both he and his brother Richard sided with Warwick in the rising against Edward in 1470; Richard's lands were subsequently confiscated by the King, but

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Martin Stuchfield for inviting me to give this paper at the Monumental Brass Society's Conference at Colchester on 29-31 August 2003, and Nancy Briggs and Ann Dowden who brought their brass rubbings of the Countess.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Scrope's will was dated 4 April 1485. His daughters' dates of birth are unknown, but it is generally presumed that Elizabeth was the eldest. Neither Nicolas's nor Foster's genealogy mentions Margaret, but her will identifies her as a daughter of the family (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. James Raine jnr., III, Surtees Society, 45 (1865), pp. 297-9, 338; *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, ed. N.H. Nicolas, 2 vols. (London, 1832), II, p. 60; J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1874), II, unpagged).

<sup>3</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, pp. 297-9; N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), II, pp.470-1, 579-87; *Cal. Close*, 1500-9, pp. 129, 211, 220; H.A. Wyndham, *A Family History 1410-1688: The Wyndhams of Norfolk and Somerset* (Oxford, 1939), p. 26.



FIG. 1  
Elizabeth Beaumont, Countess of Oxford, LSW.III, Wivenhoe, Essex  
*Illustration from The Monumental Brasses of Essex*

presumably only temporarily. John became a member of the council of Richard, Duke of Gloucester from 1475, and both John and Richard were brought south when Richard became King. John continued to be a royal councillor, while Richard was on the commission of the peace for Hertfordshire in 1483, and his will indicates that he had interests in the Scrope lands in Sawbridgeworth since he wanted the vicar there to celebrate a Requiem Mass for his soul.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, Elizabeth's future husbands were committed Lancastrians. The twelfth Earl of Oxford and his eldest son were executed in 1462 for plotting against Edward IV. Although John de Vere was allowed to succeed as the thirteenth Earl and was created a Knight of the Bath at the Queen's coronation, he was temporarily imprisoned in the Tower of London on suspicion of plotting against the King in 1468, and the following year he joined Warwick's rebellion. Beaumont was attainted after the battle of Towton, and like Oxford joined Warwick's rising. The two men fled to Scotland after the battle of Barnet of 1471. Beaumont joined Oxford when the Earl seized St. Michael's Mount in 1473; both were captured and spent the rest of the Yorkist period in prison, Oxford escaping only shortly before the battle of Bosworth. Henry VII's victory led to recovery of lands and status, Oxford enjoying a prominent position at court, and the close relationship between the two men continued into the Tudor period.<sup>5</sup>

It was at this juncture, on 24 April 1486, that Elizabeth Scrope made her first marriage to William, Viscount Beaumont, thus moving into the higher nobility.<sup>6</sup> William was nearly fifty (he was born in 1438), and Elizabeth about eighteen. Beaumont's previous marriage to Joan Stafford, daughter of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, had been annulled in 1475, Beaumont alleging that they were within the prohibited degrees of relationship and that he had been forced into the marriage.<sup>7</sup> There may well have been other problems, and it became apparent soon after his marriage to Elizabeth that he was suffering from some form of mental illness. The King took over responsibility for managing Beaumont's inheritance, leaving him no power to make grants of land without royal consent. It had come to the King's notice that Beaumont had not the 'sadness nor discretion' to manage himself and his livelihood, and he had wasted and alienated a large part of it. The fear was that he would waste the rest.<sup>8</sup> The Earl of Oxford was appointed custodian of the lands, an appropriate choice in view of the two men's earlier activities. Further steps were taken in the parliament of 1495 when provision was made for looking after Beaumont's person, to ensure that he did not behave to the dishonour of the king.

<sup>4</sup> C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 26, 36, 58, 141, 144, 150, 157, 200-2; C. Ross, *Richard III* (London, 1981), pp. 48-9, 118-21, 160; R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study in Service* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 199; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), p. 309; *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, pp. 297-9; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 218; VCH, *Hertfordshire*, III, ed. W. Page (London, 1912), p. 337.

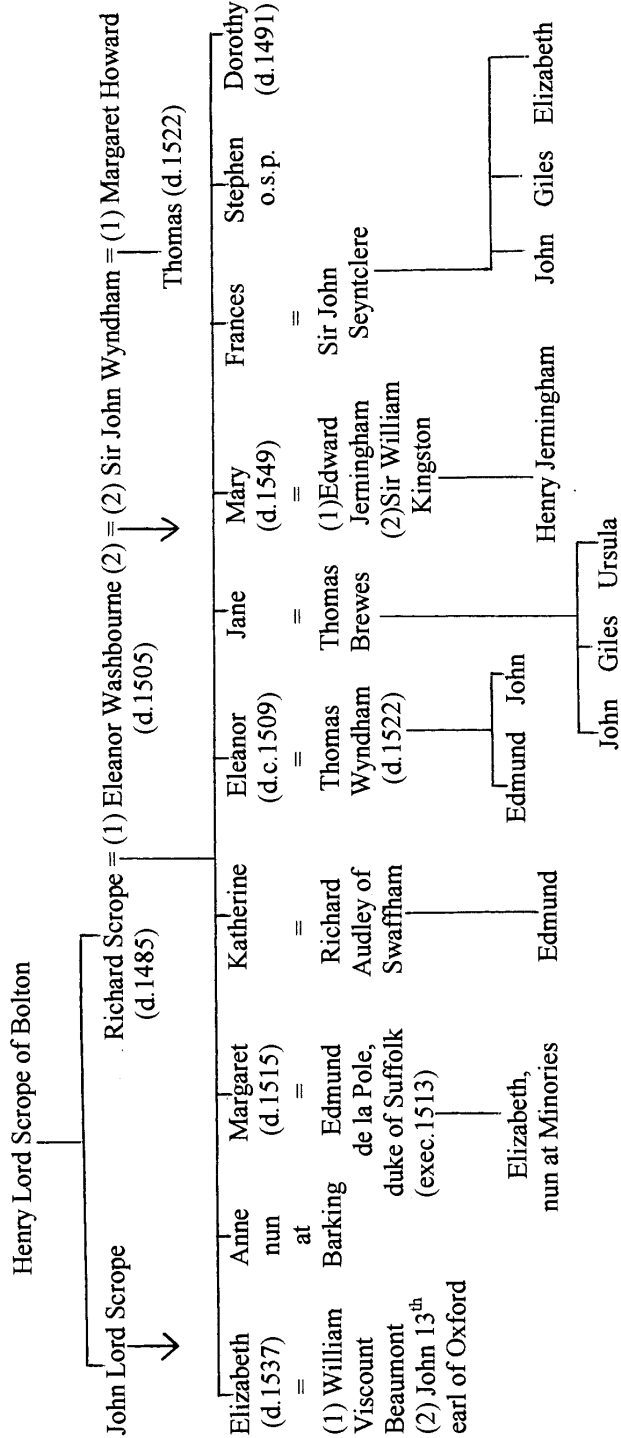
<sup>5</sup> Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 43, 65-6, 122-3, 130-5, 143, 147, 157-8, 164-8, 176, 192; C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, 2 vols. (London, 1923), I, pp. 149-50, 165, 220, 580; II, pp. 85-9; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 6 vols. (London, 1783), V, pp. 476-83; VI, pp. 145-9, 280-3; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 418. For the valuation of Beaumont's lands after his attainder, see The National Archives, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), C.145/318/8.

<sup>6</sup> G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs *et al.*, 14 vols. (London, 1910-59), II, pp. 62-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Papal Regs.* xiii (2), 1471-84, pp. 485, 627-8; *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, pp. 355-6; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, pp. 34, 117; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), g.682, no. 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, VI, pp. 389, 483; *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, p. 222.

Family Tree



The children of the sisters of Elizabeth Beaumont Countess of Oxford have only been included if they are referred to in the paper.

Beaumont died at the Earl of Oxford's manor of Wivenhoe in 1507, leaving no children to succeed him.

Nothing is heard of Elizabeth during her marriage to Beaumont, but it is likely that she and her natal family got to know the Earl of Oxford and his wife, Margaret Neville, well. Weever records an inscription in Castle Hedingham church to Elizabeth's sister Dorothy Scrope who died in 1491, presumably at the castle.<sup>9</sup> When their mother Eleanor died in 1505, she bequeathed a gold and diamond cross to the Earl, and a ruby ring to his wife.<sup>10</sup> The strong links within Elizabeth's family and between them and the de Veres were maintained throughout Elizabeth's life.

It was therefore understandable that the deaths of Margaret Neville and Beaumont should shortly be followed by the marriage of Oxford and Elizabeth. The exact date is uncertain, but the marriage certainly took place between November 1508 and April 1509.<sup>11</sup> The Earl, born in 1442, was slightly younger than Elizabeth's first husband, but there was still an age gap of about twenty-five years between them. The Earl's testament, drawn up on 10 April 1509, throws some light on his relationship with Elizabeth. He referred to her as his 'moost loving wife', bequeathing her a substantial amount of plate, clothing and chapel and household furnishings. The latter included a tapestry of the history of Griselda - was this the sort of humble and obedient wife that Elizabeth was, or was expected to be? 'My moost derest wife' headed the list of the Earl's executors. The Earl hoped for a son who would inherit items connected with his office of Great Chamberlain, including his perquisites from royal coronations.<sup>12</sup> In fact, no child was born, and on the Earl's death in 1513 the succession passed to his nephew John (d. 1526).

Elizabeth did not remarry after the death of her second husband, and spent the remaining twenty-four years of her life as a widow. Her dower lands made her a wealthy woman. She contributed 500 marks (£333. 6s. 8d.) to the loan of 1522, and her property was assessed at £940 for the subsidy of 1527. In contrast, John, Earl of Oxford (d. 1540) was assessed at £740 (he was somewhat impoverished by having to provide for two dowagers, the widows of his two predecessors), while Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex was assessed at just over £568.<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth's Beaumont dower comprised manors and advowsons mainly in the east Midlands and East Anglia. Her dower from the Earl of Oxford was assigned in the summer of 1513, and the property again was mainly in East Anglia.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 621.

<sup>10</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/15/1; N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, II, p. 471.

<sup>11</sup> The Earl of Oxford's settlement on Elizabeth was dated 28 November 1508, and the marriage had taken place by the time he drew up his testament on 10 April 1509 (PRO, C.142/28/83; W.H.St.J. Hope, 'The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford,' *Archaeologia*, LXVI (1915), pp. 275-348.

<sup>12</sup> Hope, 'Last Testament', pp. 281, 283-4, 287.

<sup>13</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii (2), no. 2483, p. 1049; *ibid.*, iv (2), p. 1331.

<sup>14</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (London, 1810-28), III, p. 103; the Beaumont dower comprised manors and advowsons in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Sussex, and single manors in Hertfordshire, Hampshire and Middlesex, together with property in Westminster and the parish of St. Giles, London. This dower was granted to the Earl of Oxford and Elizabeth for her lifetime in December, 1509, and was confirmed in parliament after the Earl's death. Her Oxford dower was assigned in the summer of 1513 after the escheator of Essex had taken Elizabeth's promise not to marry without royal licence. The dower lands lay mainly in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Middlesex (PRO, C.142/28/153-6).



The inventory drawn up after Oxford's death points to a lavish and luxurious lifestyle, and this apparently continued during Elizabeth's widowhood. During the early years, Elizabeth was still closely connected with Henry VIII's court. Her marriage to the Earl of Oxford had given her a public role on great occasions, as when she, along with the rest of the nobility, had attended the King's coronation. In 1514, Elizabeth was named Lady Mistress in the household of Henry VIII's sister Mary when it was planned to take Mary to Flanders to marry the 'prince of Castile', the future Emperor Charles V. In fact, Mary married Louis XII of France, and Elizabeth was present at the wedding.<sup>15</sup> She was also present at a banquet held in the royal palace at Greenwich on 7 July 1517, and was in attendance on the Queen at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. The following year, 'the old Lady Oxford' was being considered as a suitable person to take charge of Princess Mary 'if she could be persuaded'. Wolsey expected her to refuse on grounds of ill health, and in the event Sir Philip Calthorpe and his wife were appointed.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of age and possible ill health, Elizabeth remained in touch with Wolsey and later with Thomas Cromwell, and continued to send gifts to the king.<sup>17</sup> An incident in July 1528 may be revealing as to her character. Wolsey approached her with a request for stone and flints from Harwich, presumably for building his college at Ipswich. Elizabeth informed him that the only stone there comprised the foreland, which protected the town from erosion. She offered him as much stone as could be safely spared. Wolsey took offence, and Elizabeth 'caved in', letting him have as much stone as he wanted in spite of the danger to the town.<sup>18</sup> Wolsey also showed his annoyance in April 1530, after his fall from power, when he made inquiries as to why the ships conveying his goods to the North had put in at Wivenhoe. He was told that wind and weather were unfavourable, but that 'my old lady of Oxford' had urged the sailors to make all speed; she had also entertained the captain and his companions to supper.<sup>19</sup>

During the early 1530s, Elizabeth made offices on her estates available to Thomas Cromwell, such as the positions of bailiff and park-keeper at Great Bentley in 1531. In 1534, when Cromwell was seeking further patronage, she told him that leaseholders were not dismissed at the end of their term but given a new lease. However, she assured him that after a lease's expiry she would favour any servant of his who would live on the estate concerned.<sup>20</sup> This letter, like the one about Harwich, points to a certain pliancy in Elizabeth; she appears not to have had the strong personality which would have enabled her to stand up to those in authority. Yet she was aware of the power exercised by men like Cromwell, and it was probably a shrewd move to leave him a bequest of £10, desiring him to be the supervisor of her will.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, i (2), nos. 2656(4), 3348(3).

<sup>16</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, ii (2), p. 1098; *ibid.* iii (1), p. 245; *ibid.* iii (2), nos. 1437, 1439, 1533, 1673.

<sup>17</sup> Gifts of cheeses were made to the king in 1530 and 1532 (*L. & P.Hen. VIII*, v, pp. 752, 761).

<sup>18</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, iv (2), nos. 4484, 4548.

<sup>19</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, iv (3), no. 6343; A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1953), pp. 274, 276.

<sup>20</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, v, no. 679; *ibid.* vii (1), no. 1372.

<sup>21</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; H.W. Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth Widow of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford', *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc.*, New Series, XX (1933), p. 16. The will was drawn up on 30 May 1537, less than a month before her death on 26 June 1537.

As a widow, Elizabeth was not only responsible for running her lands, but meeting her public obligations, as when in 1514 she raised a contingent of fifty men for Henry VIII's war in France.<sup>22</sup> It was essential for her to build up her connections with the local gentry, particularly round Wivenhoe, since Wivenhoe Hall appears to have been her main residence. Such a network implied a two-way relationship: Elizabeth offered patronage and valuable connections with the nobility and royal court, while the gentry provided service and expertise. Her receiver (financial officer) was John Danyell of Messing who in October 1528 was exempted from being made sheriff anywhere in England while he was in the service of the Countess. He was named as an executor of the Earl of Oxford's testament of 1509, and it was he who was sent, along with Wolsey's receiver, to examine the cliff at Harwich in 1528. Elizabeth's appreciation of his service is apparent in the bequest of a new silver-gilt standing cup with a cover, weighing 37<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> ounces and worth £10, and he was appointed one of her executors. Another member of the local gentry with whom Elizabeth had a close connection was Sir John Seyntclere, who married her sister Frances and held St. Clere's manor in St. Osyth and other lands in north-east Essex. He was bequeathed a silver basin and ewer with gilt chasing and the Oxford arms at the bottom of the basin, weighing 106 ounces, and he too was one of the Countess's executors.<sup>23</sup>

Wivenhoe Hall has now been demolished, but it was described by Philip Morant in the eighteenth century as a 'large and elegant seat, having a noble gatehouse, with towers of great height, that served as a sea-mark'.<sup>24</sup> There was a substantial rebuilding in 1844, and the only Tudor part remaining at the time of the survey by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in the early twentieth century was the north wing. This was partly timber-framed and partly brick, and was dated to *c.* 1530. Was Elizabeth responsible for the building? Her will mentioned a fire, and Cromwell is referred to in 1534 as pitying her losses. No place-name is given, but Wivenhoe was probably meant, so it is possible that new building took place in the last years of Elizabeth's life. The gatehouse mentioned by Morant was probably erected after her death.<sup>25</sup>

Elizabeth's household was commensurate with her status. The exact size of the household is not known, but, as was frequently the practice, she arranged for her servants to receive one year's wages after her death, and for her retainers to receive one more yearly remembrance. Many of those working in her hall, chamber and chapel were named in her will, such as John Fabyan, marshal of the hall, who was bequeathed twenty nobles. Nine women serving in the Countess's chamber were left sums of money; Elizabeth's clothing, except for her jewels and velvet and satin gowns, was to be divided among six of them. One of the Countess's maidens,

<sup>22</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, i (2), no. 2763.

<sup>23</sup> *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, iv (2), no. 4896(16), 4484; Hope, 'Last Testament', p. 287; PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 12, 13, 16.

<sup>24</sup> P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols. (Chelmsford, 1816), II, p. 188.

<sup>25</sup> RCHM, *Essex*, 4 vols. (London, 1916-23), III, p. 234; VCH, *Essex*, X, ed. J. Cooper (Oxford, 2001), p. 281; *L. & P.Hen. VIII*, vii (1), no. 1372; PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', p. 12. I would like to thank Nancy Briggs for her help over the building of Wivenhoe Hall.

Katherine Christmas, was bequeathed a crystal and gold rosary, her mother Meriel receiving a diamond ring.<sup>26</sup> It was still customary for boys and girls of the elite to receive part of their education in a noble household, and the Christmas family was the wealthiest in Colchester and in process of transition from clothiers to gentry.

Two chaplains were named in the will; an earlier chaplain, Thomas Westley (d.1535) is commemorated by a brass in Wivenhoe church,<sup>27</sup> and was rector of Little Oakley for the last three years of his life. Robert Skynner, one of the chaplains receiving a bequest, had been rector of Little Oakley from 1520 to 1532, and of Great Oakley from 1532 until his death five years later. Both livings were in the gift of the Countess. Elizabeth's almoner, Dr. Cronkker, was left two silver-gilt salts which were inscribed with a verse of Scripture. This may be Robert Cronkar (or Crunkhorn) who studied at the University of Cambridge in the first decade of the sixteenth century, became a doctor of divinity, and ended his life as rector of Offord Darcy, Huntingdonshire, from 1542 to 1558.<sup>28</sup>

One family in particular stands out among the household bequests. The Rither family had long been in the Countess's service. John Rither was comptroller of the household, and both he and his wife Margaret received bequests of silver and furnishings; both were named among the executors. Their daughter Elizabeth was the Countess's goddaughter, and she and her brother were left £5 each. The largest bequest went to Margaret Rither the elder 'for the true and faithful service that she of long continuance has done to me'. She was bequeathed 100 marks in cash (£66. 13s. 4d), two silver-gilt salts decorated with the emblem of the Garter, bed-furnishings including a counterpane with pictures of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Giles which lay on the Countess's bed, green tapestries with the Garter and the Oxford arms that hung in the Countess's chamber, and brass and pewter vessels.<sup>29</sup>

Late medieval and Tudor testators normally made their principal bequests to the nuclear family, to husband or wife and to the children of the marriage. In Elizabeth's case this was not possible, and the will is highly unusual in the number of bequests made to the extended family. The de Veres and her sisters' families were all treated with generosity. There is however only one reference to a Beaumont connection and one to a member of the Scrope family. A bequest of three silver-gilt goblets and £5 in cash was left to John Beaumont, esquire, and £5 in cash to the Countess's cousin, Dame Margaret Scrope. The former may be the John Beaumont who had property in Leicestershire and London. Anthony Stapleton, who was left £10 towards his education in the common law, may have come to Elizabeth's notice through Yorkshire or de Vere connections.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 13-15.

<sup>27</sup> W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* 2 vols. (London, 2003), II, p. 826, illus. on p. 824.

<sup>28</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 14-15; J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: Part 1, From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-7), I, p. 423; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 171.

<sup>29</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 14, 16.

<sup>30</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 13-14; S.T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509-58*, 3 vols. (London, 1982), I, pp.405-6; III, pp. 374-5.

Elizabeth had business dealings with the de Veres, and her will points to a close relationship with John, fifteenth Earl of Oxford (d.1540) and his children; his second wife, Elizabeth Trussell, had died in 1527, and he never remarried. Bequests to the Earl included tapestries and embroidered cushions and bed-hangings, some of them recently purchased; the silver included a great shaving basin weighing eighty ounces, and in special remembrance Elizabeth left him her little gold cross, containing a piece of the true cross, which she wore round her neck every day. Jewellery and books were left to the Earl's children. Lord Bulbeck, his brother Aubrey, and his sister Elizabeth were the Countess's godchildren, and valuable bequests were made to two other daughters as well. The bequests reinforced the Countess's connections with the Howard and Darcy families; Frances de Vere was the wife of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey (d.1547), and Elizabeth of Thomas first Lord Darcy, whose tomb is in St. Osyth parish church. Elizabeth also remembered her sister-in-law, the widow of Sir George de Vere, and her daughter.<sup>31</sup>

The close bonds between Elizabeth and her sisters dated from their youth, and may have been strengthened by her experiences, her childlessness, and the East Anglian marriage alliances made by the family. Of the sisters, Dorothy died in 1491, and Anne became a nun at Barking before her father's death; she was the only sister to be mentioned by name in his will. Their mother, Eleanor Wyndham, died in 1505, and her will, in contrast to her first husband's, left individual bequests to most of her Scrope daughters.<sup>32</sup> Eleanor spent the end of her life as a lodger in the nunnery of Carrow outside Norwich, her daughter Jane probably living with her. Clothing and household furnishings were bequeathed to her daughters Elizabeth, Eleanor, Mary, Jane and Katherine, and £10 to her daughter Anne. Of the six, only Elizabeth and Eleanor were married at the time when the will was drawn up.

Eleanor had married Thomas Wyndham, son of her stepfather, Sir John, by his first marriage to Margaret Howard. It was probably through the Wyndhams that Margaret Scrope married Edmund de la Pole who succeeded as Duke of Suffolk in 1491. Her marital history ended in tragedy. On Suffolk's outlawry, his friends were arrested, and Sir John Wyndham was tried for high treason and executed in 1502. Suffolk himself was attainted, imprisoned and ultimately beheaded in 1513. Margaret died two years later, and in her will left bequests to her sisters Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, Jane and Frances; Eleanor had died *c.* 1509, and it is likely that Katherine had also died. Katherine had married Richard Audley of Swaffham, Norfolk; Jane Thomas Brewes of Little Wenham, Suffolk (whose brass is to be seen in the parish church);<sup>33</sup> Frances Sir John Seyntclere; and Mary Edward Jerningham of Somerleyton, Suffolk, and subsequently Sir William Kingston of

<sup>31</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 11-12.

<sup>32</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, pp. 297-9; PRO, Prob. 11/5/1; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, II, pp. 470-1. The two daughters not mentioned by their mother were Margaret and Frances. She referred to a daughter Frances Wyndham who received a very similar bequest to the Scrope daughters, and was also due to be paid a sum of money by Thomas Wyndham. It is possible that this is really a reference to Frances Scrope who would have been due a dowry payment from her share of the Scrope inheritance.

<sup>33</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 216.

London and Gloucestershire. Close relationships among the sisters were maintained, and are reflected in Elizabeth's will. Mary and Jane were present when the will was drawn up; both were executors, as was also Sir William Kingston, and they and Frances all received bequests. All three sisters were still alive when Mary drew up her own will in 1546, leaving bequests to Jane and Frances; Mary died three years later.<sup>34</sup>

Elizabeth's bequests to her sisters, brothers-in-law, and their children were valuable in themselves and also contributed to the status and prestige of her sisters' families by emphasising their connection with the de Veres. In an age when alliance and display mattered, a connection with the higher nobility was of great importance. Thus, Sir William Kingston was bequeathed two silver flagons with the Oxford arms, and his wife Mary a silver basin and ewer with gilt chasing, and the Countess's gold goblet with the Oxford badges. Jane received a bed of black velvet and scarlet cloth, a great goblet engraved with the Oxford badges which she had given to the Countess after the fire, and a silver basin and ewer with gilt chasing with the Oxford arms at the bottom of the basin. Frances was left a silver-gilt cup, and a bed of black velvet and black satin. On a more personal level, Mary and Jane were to divide the Countess's samplers equally between them, Mary having the first choice. Some of the bequests were religious: Sir William Kingston was to receive the Countess's Jesus of diamonds, gold and pearls, Mary her book with the gold and pearl cover (possibly a book of hours), and Jane the gold cross belonging to her father which she used to wear round her neck.

Bequests to nieces and nephews comprised silver, gold, jewels and cash, and again had political, family and religious significance. The Jerningham, Brewes, Audley, Wyndham and Seyntclere families were all remembered. Henry Jerningham, for instance, was left £10 in cash, and the Countess's great balas ruby set in gold with an enamelled white and red rose, and three hanging pearls; the inclusion of the Tudor emblem is significant. Edmund Jerningham was bequeathed £50 in cash and a silver-gilt goblet with the Beaumont and the Countess's arms on the cover. Giles Seyntclere, her godson, was to receive a gold cross with the letters I.N.R.I. The Countess was especially concerned over the marriage of Elizabeth Seyntclere, probably her goddaughter. In addition to silver and clothing, she was given £60 towards her dowry (which her father owed the Countess) together with a further £40.<sup>35</sup>

All these circles derived from Elizabeth's natal and marital families and from the neighbouring gentry overlapped and interacted. At the time of Elizabeth's death in 1537, all were having to come to terms with the changes of the Henrician Reformation, the break with Rome and the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. Protestant ideas were infiltrating court and country. Elizabeth, however, was

<sup>34</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/18/6; Prob. 11/27/11; Prob. 11/32/23; B.J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 173-4; Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509-58*, II, pp. 443-4, 470-1; III, pp. 675-6; Nicolas, *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, II, p. 60; Wyndham, *A Family History*, pp. 27-9.

<sup>35</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 12-13. The letters on the cross translate as 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.'

traditional in her attitudes to family and religion, and there is no sign in her will of any interest in the New Learning or secular books. Her high opinion of her status is reflected in her palimpsest brass in Wivenhoe church. Her heraldic mantle bore the arms of her natal family, Scrope quartering Tiptoft. The shields on either side of her head combined her natal and marital families, one depicting the arms of William Viscount Beaumont impaling Scrope quartering Tiptoft, and the other having the de Vere arms quartering Howard impaling Scrope quartering Tiptoft. It was through a marriage into the Howard family that Wivenhoe had come into the hands of the de Veres. Two shields of Scrope quartering Tiptoft were placed in the canopy. The Countess's history was summarised in the inscription which also asked for prayers.<sup>36</sup>

The gold cross round her neck, mentioned in her will, has been defaced, but it exemplifies her attachment to traditional religion, as do her relics, images and rosaries. Like many people in the late Middle Ages, much of her devotion centred on the Virgin Mary and on the Passion of Christ; an image of Our Lady of Pity and a diamond ring with the five joys of the Virgin Mary were mentioned in her will. Little is known of any religious activity during her widowhood. Morant quotes an inscription on the brick tower of the church at Tilbury-juxta-Clare, 'Elizabeth Countess of Oxford, the year of Our Lord 1519, built this steeple'.<sup>37</sup> Her will provided for her burial in Wivenhoe parish church beside her first husband, and a simple funeral. She did not wish doles to be distributed since the rich as well as the poor resorted to funerals to receive them. Instead, she wanted her executors to distribute sums of money to neighbouring parishes for the relief of the poor and impotent. Money was also to be distributed to the poor in the parishes where she had property and was patron of the living. Her wedding ring was bequeathed to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Walsingham and money from its sale was to be given to the poor of the town. Elizabeth also left 6s. 8d. each to several gaols for the benefit of poor prisoners. The residue of her goods was to be distributed among her most needy and poor servants and used in other works of charity for the benefit of her own soul, and the souls of her parents, husband, and all other Christians.

Within eleven years of her death, Requiem Masses and prayers for the dead were to be abolished, but they were typical of noble wills of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Elizabeth wanted an anniversary Requiem Mass at her month's mind with the poor people in attendance in all the local parishes which received money for their poor; great importance was attached to the prayers of the poor. This Mass was to be celebrated for the souls of her parents, husband and herself, and for all Christian souls; the husband of whom she was probably thinking was William Viscount Beaumont. In addition, 200 Masses were to be sung soon after her death for her own, her parents' and her husband's souls.

<sup>36</sup> The brass is made up of parts of two earlier monuments. The Tiptoft inheritance came to the Scropes by marriage in the late fourteenth century (Nicolas, *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, II, pp. 59, 81; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, XII, part 2, pp. 97-8; A. Dowden, *The Monumental Brasses of St. Mary's Church, Wivenhoe* ([Wivenhoe], 1991); Lack, Stuchfield and Whitemore, *Essex*, II, pp. 823, 826).

<sup>37</sup> Morant, *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, II, p. 336.

Prayers for her soul were very much in Elizabeth's mind in her bequests to religious houses. Down to the time of the Dissolution, it was usual to leave money to the friars, and Elizabeth singled out the Dominican friars of Cambridge, Sudbury and London, the Franciscan and Crutched friars of Colchester, and the Augustinian friars of Clare and Norwich. The Requiem in the Dominican church of London was to commemorate her father as well as herself since he was buried there; likewise, her mother was to be remembered at the Augustinian church in Norwich. Bequests to monastic houses were made for family reasons and also according to the reputation of the house. In addition to Walsingham, which was still popular with pilgrims, she chose Barking where her sister had been a nun, and the houses of Minoreesses (Franciscan nuns) in London and Denny, Cambridgeshire; her sister Margaret was buried with her husband at the London church, and her niece, Ursula Brewes, was possibly a nun at Denny. Ursula was left 40s. to pray for the Countess's soul. The abbey of Syon and the Charterhouses of Sheen and London all enjoyed a high reputation down to the Dissolution. Syon received the Countess's best white silk altar cloth for the high altar. Finally, a bequest was made to three scholars at Cambridge to pray for her and her parents; this mirrors a bequest by her mother for an honest priest to celebrate Requiem Masses for her soul for two years in the university of Cambridge.

Two parish churches were singled out in the Countess's will. She bequeathed a blue silk cope to the chantry in Dennington church, Suffolk, where there was a Beaumont connection. Her father-in-law, John, first Viscount Beaumont, acquired the title of Lord Bardolf by marriage, and his wife's father, Sir William Phelip, Lord Bardolf, was buried at Dennington. The parish church of Wivenhoe received a much more lavish bequest of vestments and altar cloths, together with the Countess's best chalice. A piece of ecclesiastical embroidery in the Victoria and Albert Museum may come from this bequest. It dates from the early sixteenth century, and depicts Christ on the Cross; the shield at the foot has the de Vere arms quartering Howard impaling Scrope quartering Tiptoft. Some of these goods may well have been sold by the churchwardens in 1550 and 1551 to the Earl of Oxford, and the money spent on the poor.<sup>38</sup>

Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford was about seventy years old when she died. In one sense, she died at the end of an era. She had grown up in the age of overmighty nobles and the Wars of the Roses, an age very different from the strong rule imposed by the Tudors. The religious institutions and practices which were part of her heritage and daily life were already being dismantled in 1537 and were to disappear over the next fifteen years. Yet her pride in lineage and status, and her role in family and locality were traits which were to continue in gentry and noble society well into the modern period.

<sup>38</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/27/11; Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 9-11; VCH, *Essex*, X, p. 291; G.M. Benton, 'Ecclesiastical Embroidery associated with Elizabeth Countess of Oxford; early sixteenth century', *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc.*, New Series, XX (1930-1), pp. 97-9; H.W. King, 'Inventories of Church Goods, 6 Edward VI', *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc.*, New Series, III (1889), pp. 54-6.

# Foot Inscriptions on Three Lincolnshire Brasses

by REINHARD LAMP

**M**EDIEVAL monumental brasses have been studied closely from diverse aspects, but their inscriptions have not always been given the full attention they deserve. Some of these texts - those which are not stereotypical - reveal impressive religious fervour, and have passages of a poetic strength and beauty that are a joy to discover. The decipherment and translation of a text is a rewarding struggle in itself, but in order to bring out its character fully, more is needed than the sole translation; only explanatory comment and stylistic appreciation can do it justice. In this light the following article deals with three Latin inscriptions to be found in Lincolnshire.

## Tattershall M.S. II

### *PERSON COMMEMORATED*

The monumental brasses in the collegiate church of Holy Trinity, Tattershall,<sup>1</sup> may be accounted among its principal glories. The brasses were originally in the chancel, but were transferred into the north transept in 1909, in the course of restoration work. The wooden ceiling of this part of the church has since become the roosting place of the county's largest - and well-protected - colony of bats, whose droppings have unfortunately pockmarked the surface of the brasses.<sup>2</sup>

Among the seven surviving brasses is that to William Moor (Moore, More),<sup>3</sup> priest of the Lincoln diocese,<sup>4</sup> who was made Warden (or Provost) of Tattershall College in 1444. He was the second holder of this office, as the inscription records, and remained in that function until his death, which occurred on 19 October 1456. One of Moor's duties was to supervise the schooling of the choristers and all sons of the baron's and the college's tenants, which was to be free of charge - showing the founder's appreciation of the importance of education.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The church was established as a collegiate foundation by Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell in 1439 (N. Pevsner and J. Harris, *Lincolnshire*, 2nd edn., revised by N. Antram (London, 1989), p. 743). The college consisted of six minor priests, six lay clerks, and six choristers, headed by a priest-provost, or warden (the title varies).

<sup>2</sup> In 2000 - at the author's instigation - light table-like metal-framed plastic covers were made for the brasses, safeguarding them without impeding the air-flow around them or hindering viewing.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumental Brasses, The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Moor was Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, by 1430 (probably vacated in 1435); M.A. by 1430; B.Th. by 1444; D.Th.; Rector of St. Nicholas, Colchester, 1435-38; Vicar of Higham Ferrers 1437-44; Canon of York and Prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi, 1444 till his death (A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 410). I am grateful to Dr. M. Rogers, Archivist of the Lincolnshire Archives, for information about William Moor.

<sup>5</sup> Information on Tattershall Church and College is from *Walk-About Guide for Visitors*, B. Parson (Tattershall, 1989).



*DESCRIPTION OF BRASS*

The relatively small but beautiful brass (839 x 605 mm overall) lies in the north-western part of the north transept, and is in pristine condition, apart from the stippling caused by the bat droppings. It shows a priest in mass vestments, wearing a chasuble over an apparelled alb. The apparels have the same quatrefoil adornment as the amice, stole and maniple. The priest's vestments flow in fine folds, which give the figure great liveliness, owing to their bold asymmetrical arrangement. Shadows are conveyed by hatching and cross-hatching.

There is a foot inscription of twelve lines of Latin verse, arranged in two blocks of six, with separator scrolls, and containing a fair amount of abbreviation. The lettering is incised Gothic minuscules, the beginnings of lines and initials of names having decorated capitals.

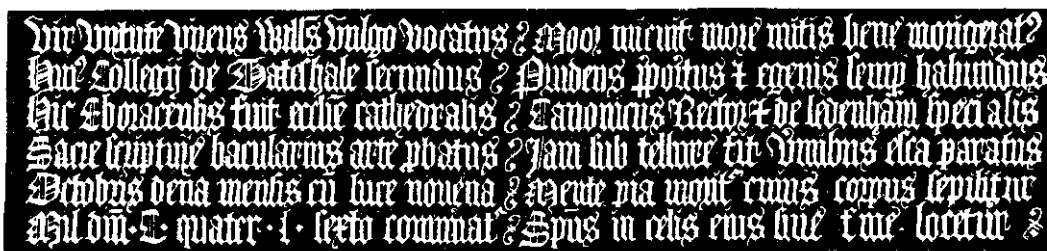


FIG. 1

Tattershall, MS. II, detail of inscription to William Moor  
*Illustration from MBS Portfolio*

*TRANSLITERATION OF THE FOOT INSCRIPTION*

<u>Legend:</u>	<u>Is in the inscription:</u>	<u>Signifies:</u>
<u>underlining</u>	a superscript-bar	an abbreviation mark
<i>italics</i>		ligature
&	a 't'-like logogram	et, or -que
^	a flourish	an abbreviation mark
þ	with a dot either side of descender	-per
pp	with a flourish before descender	pro-
pp	'pp' in a ligature	praep-
§	a scroll	line separator mark
i		an undotted 'i', or any of the minims of 'u, n, m'

1a Vir virtute virens Wills, bulgo vocatus §  
 b Moor micuit more mitis bene morigerat ^  
 2a Hu^ Collegii de Tateshale secundus §  
 b Prudens pp^oi^ tus & egenis semp habundus

- 3a **Hic Eboracensis fuit ecclie cathedralis §**  
 b **Canonicus Rector & de ledenham specialis**
- 4a **Sacre scripture bacularius arte p̄batus §**  
 4b **Jam sub tellure fit v̄<sup>u</sup>mibus esca paratus**
- 5a **Octobris dena mensis cu luce nobena §**  
 b **Mente pia morit<sup>u</sup> cuius corpus sepelitur**
- 6a **Mil<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> C quater L sexto conuuat<sup>u</sup> §**  
 b **Sp̄us in celis eius sine fine locetur. §**

*TRANSCRIPTION AND EXPANSION*

(Expansions are in brackets, corrections in square brackets. Uncertain reading is underlined.)

- 1a Vir virtute virens Will(helmu)s vulgo vocatus §  
 b Moor micuit more mitis bene morigerat(us)
- 2a Hui(us) Collegii de Tateshale secundus §  
 b Prudens (praep) o(s)itus et egenis semp(er) [.]abundus
- 3a Hic Eboracensis fuit eccl(esi)[æ] cathedralis §  
 b Canonicus, Rector(que) de Ledenham specialis
- 4a Sacr[æ] scriptur[æ] bac[ca]la[u]rius arte p(ro)batus §  
 b Jam sub tellure fit v(er)mibus esca paratus
- 5a Octobris dena mensis cu(m) luce novena §  
 b Sp(irit)us in c[æ]lis eius sine fine locetur §
- 6a Mil[lesimo anno] d(o)m(ini) C quater L sexto co[n]miniat(a) §  
 b Mente pia morit(ur) cuius corpus sep[e]litur

*CLEAR TEXT*

(Appropriate punctuation marks added; last lines arranged to make sense.)

- 1a Vir virtute virens, Willhelmus vulgo vocatus, §  
 b Moor micuit more mitis bene morigeratus,
- 2a Huius collegii de Tateshale secundus §  
 b Prudens praepositus et egenis semper abundus.
- 3a Hic Eboracensis fuit ecclesiae cathedralis §  
 b Canonicus, Rectorque de Ledenham specialis,
- 4a Sacrae scripturae baccalaurius arte probatus §  
 b Jam sub tellure fit vermibus esca paratus.
- 5a Octobris dena mensis cum luce novena §  
 6a Millesimo anno domini C quater L sexto conminiata, §  
 5b Mente pia moritur. Cuius corpus sepelitur,  
 6b Spiritus in caelis eius sine fine locetur. §

*TRANSLATION*

- 1 This man, resplendent in virtue, in the world going by the name of William Moor, shone with decency, mild and considerate as he was.
- 2 He was the second – and happily-chosen – provost of this college of Tateshal, circumspect, and ever generous to the poor.
- 3 He was canon of the cathedral church of York and special rector of Ledenham,
- 4 As an academic was well versed in Holy Scripture - but now, under this floor, is being prepared as a meal for the worms.
- 5/6 At sunset of the 19th of October in the year of the Lord 1456 he died, in pious frame of mind. His body was buried, but may his spirit without end be housed in the heavens.

*COMMENTS ON THE ENGRAVER*

The lettering is clear and beautiful, showing great art and competence on the part of the engraver, although the last word of line 2b contains a marbler's error, an *h* being added to *abundus*. There is also a fancy rendering of the word *baccalaureus* in line 4a; that, however, appears elsewhere in inscriptions. And he might have been a little confused in the case of *conminiata*, with its many minims.

The omission of *anno* in the date-line 6a is strange, but this is not due to the engraver's incompetence – it is of the author's doing; the prosody could not take extra syllables.

The text is made up of six coupled lines, which are intended to be read consecutively, not blockwise. However, the last two lines must not be taken as double entities, for as such they would not make sense, but blockwise. Is it the result of inattention on the part of the engraver, who may have been accustomed to the blockwise arrangement? Anyway, there is proof sufficient in the text that the craftsman did not always understand what he was engraving.

*EXPLANATORY COMMENTS*

Line 1b: *morigerari* means 'to resign oneself to accepting the will of others', but in medieval Latin *bene morigeratus* means 'having a good character' - 'considerate' may be regarded as a rendering covering both meanings.

Line 2a: The first, and obvious, meaning of *secundus* is 'second', but there is the rarer one of 'opportune, fortunate', and the double sense may well have been intended here; the patron must have been more than happy to have William Moor, who probably was overqualified for the post. Therefore the translation gives both meanings.

Line 6a: The word *conminiata* is a conjecture. The original is incomplete and not easily legible, owing to its seven near-identical minims. This reading only adds the letter 'n' to the prefix *con*; it respects the rhyme scheme and the rhythm, but it is somewhat of a

nonce-word, *miniatus* means “painted red”, *conminiata* is an intensification, ‘painted quite red’. Thus the word could convey the reddening of the evening light at sunset.<sup>6</sup>

### STYLISTIC APPRECIATION

The poem is made up of two hexameters per long-line, but the metre is not kept up flawlessly at the *cæsura*. Here, instead of a stressed last syllable the word often ends on a short syllable, as in *more*, *tellure*. Such departure from correct prosody may be explained as analogous to the treatment of the last syllable of a hexameter, where the poet has this liberty of choice. We will call this phenomenon ‘*cæsura*-licence’.<sup>7</sup> Therefore this in no way detracts from the quality of the text.

In the following, the underlined syllables carry the stress.

- 1a Vir virtute virens Willhelmus, vulgo vocatus, §  
 b Moor micuit more mitis bene morigeratus,  
 2a Huius collegii de Tateshale secundus §  
 b Prudens praepositus et egenis semper abundus.  
 3a Hic Eboracensis fuit ecclesiae cathedralis §  
 b Canonicus, Rectorque de Ledenham specialis  
 4a Sacrae scripturae bacalaurius arte probatus §  
 b Jam sub tellure fit vermibus esca paratus  
 5a Octobris dena mensis cum luce novena §  
 6a Mil domini C quater L sexto convivata §  
 5b Mente pia moritur cuius corpus sepelitur  
 6b Spiritus in caelis eius sine fine locetur . §

Lines 1a and 1b are extremely unusual in that the author here contrives to make (almost) every word begin with the same letter - *v* in the first, *m* in the second half - and, amazingly, chose his words to start out on the same first syllable three times per half line. However, he soon realised that such an exploit cannot be kept up for very long (perhaps also that it is far from beautiful), and continued the alliterative style in a less obtrusive and whimsical manner, and more convincingly.

Another formal effect is the scheme of end rhymes, by which he paired the two halves of his long-lines, and intensified the system towards the end with additional internal rhymes each in lines 3a, 4a, 5a, 5b and 6b.

The stylistic means of contrast precipitates the deceased’s high functions and the praise of his character, and the holiness of Scripture, down to earth, to complete annihilation, with the stark image of the worms busy at their meal. Also, there is the opposition between the finality and destruction in the burial ground on the one hand, and the pious mind, the uplifted spirit, and infinity on the other.

<sup>6</sup> In her new church guide, *The Monumental Brasses of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall* (Tattershall, 2004), Sally Badham reads this word as a form of *communerare*, meaning ‘count fully’ - also a viable conjecture from the point of view of the sense, but here several visibly different letters would have to be added to the original.

<sup>7</sup> I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness for this insight, and generally for help with the prosody - in this poem as in the others - to my Latinist friend Hans-Peter Blecken, OStR.

One can therefore say that erudition has gone into the making of this poem, together with conscious artistic composition, which at times is quite impressive, though sometimes exaggerated in its effects.

## All Saints, Stamford, M.S. II

### *PERSONS COMMEMORATED*

This brass commemorates William Browne, d. 1489, and his wife Margaret, d. *c.* 1460. William was the son of John Browne, a wealthy wool merchant of the Staple of Calais. John and his wife Margery also have a brass in the church (M.S. I), now mural on the east wall of the north aisle. In *c.* 1475 the two sons, John and William, also wool merchants, contributed very generously to the enlarging and embellishment of the church of All Saints, Stamford, where their parents had been laid to rest. The upper walls, windows and the roof are their work; John the younger commissioned the beautiful spire. William, 'a man of very wonderful richness', founded Browne's Almshouses in Broad Street, an institution that is still operating today.

### *DESCRIPTION OF BRASS*

The brass (2216 x 1067 mm overall)<sup>8</sup> lies on the floor, in the south-eastern corner of the chapel, in its original position.<sup>9</sup> There is a good deal of mutilation to deplore: one entire half of the double canopy, and the top of the remaining right one, the shields and the left side shaft are all missing, and the right-hand buttress lacks its finial. The marginal inscription, which probably gave the names and dates of death of the commemorated, is lost.

Yet the figures and the base are in good condition.<sup>10</sup> Husband and wife stand praying, William on two wooolsacks that indicate his trade, bareheaded, his hair close-cut above the ears, clad in a fur-lined gown and mantle, Margery in a close-fitting gown and mantle, wearing a veil over her horned headdress, a small pet dog sitting on her right foot. Above their heads are prayer scrolls: William has '† me spede', the '†' being a symbol for Christ, and Margery's reads: 'Der lady help at nede'. Within the tracery of the canopy gable is the Brownes' heraldic emblem, a stork, here shown displayed, nesting. It is a pun, because Margaret was the daughter of John Stokk.<sup>11</sup>

Underneath the figures is a long foot inscription (Fig. 2): twelve lines of Latin verse, arranged 2 x 6, with the same design between the two text blocks: the stork, this time standing on a woolsack, with the Brownes' motto in miniature script above the bird (Fig. 3).

The lettering is incised Gothic minuscules, only line initials having capitals. The engraving is very precise. Roughly drawn scrolls mark the line ends.

<sup>8</sup> *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 187.

<sup>9</sup> In his will of 17 February 1489, William directed that his body be buried in this chapel (information from All Saints church).

<sup>10</sup> There are, however, some scratches right across Margaret's head, stemming from the past malpractice of pushing a piano across the brass for concerts.

<sup>11</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 93.

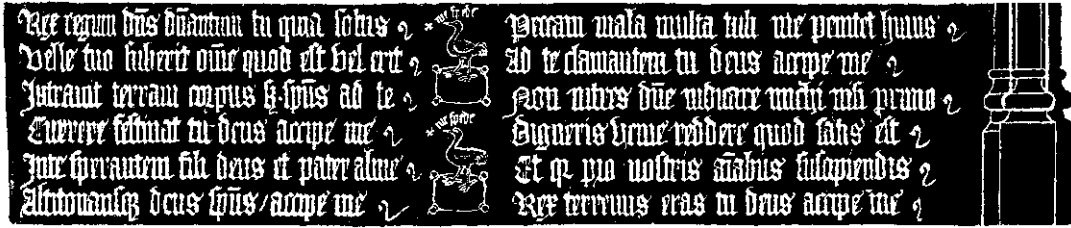


FIG. 2

All Saints, Stamford, M.S. II, detail of inscription to William and Margaret Browne  
*Illustration from MBS Portfolio*



FIG. 3

Storks on wool sacks, from the brass of William and Margaret Browne  
*Rubbing by Reinhard Lamp*

### TRANSLITERATION OF THE FOOT INSCRIPTION

Legend:  
underlining

1

§

3

2

§

Is in the inscription:  
 a superscript bar

resembling an 'r'  
 a scroll

Signifies:

an abbreviation mark  
 an undotted 'i', or any of the  
 minims of 'u, n, m'  
 sed (?)  
 -ue  
 -uia (?) -ui (?)  
 line separator mark

- 1 **Rex regum d̄ns dn̄antum tu quia solus §**  
 2 **Velle tuo suberit ome quod est vel erit §**  
 3 **Intrauit terram corpus § . sp̄us ad te §**  
 4 **Currere festinat . tu deus . accipe me §**  
 5 **In te sperantem fili deus et pater alme §**  
 6 **Altitonansq; deus sp̄us / accipe me §**  
 7 **Peccavi mala uulta tuli me penitet huius §**  
 8 **Ad te clamantem tu deus accipe me §**  
 9 **Non intres d̄ne iudicare uiichi nisi primo §**  
 10 **Digneris venie reddere quod satis est §**  
 11 **Et q; pro nostris aibus suscipiendis §**  
 12 **Rex terrenus eras tu deus accipe me §**

*TRANSCRIPTION AND EXPANSION*

(Expansions are in brackets, corrections in square brackets. Uncertain readings are underlined.)

- 1 Rex regum d(omi)n(u)s d(omi)nantum tu quia solus §  
 2 Velle tuo suberit om(n)e quod est vel erit §  
 3 Intravit terram corpus (sed) sp(irit)us ad te §  
 4 Currere festinat tu deus accipe me §  
 5 In [ ] te sperantem, fili deus et pater alme §  
 6 Altitonansq(ue) deus sp(irit)us accipe me §  
 7 Peccavi mala multa tuli me p[æ]nitet huius §  
 8 Ad te clamantem, tu deus accipe me §  
 9 Non intres d(omi)ne iudicare mi[ ]hi nisi primo §  
 10 Digneris veni[æ] reddere quod satis est §  
 11 Et q(ua) pro nostris a(n)i(m)abus suscipiendis §  
 12 Rex terrenus eras tu deus accipe me §

*CLEAR TEXT*

(Appropriate punctuation marks added. Text arranged according to the versification.)

- 1 Rex regum, dominus dominantum, tu quia solus -  
 2 Velle tuo suberit omne quod est vel erit.  
 3 Intravit terram corpus, sed spiritus ad te  
 4 Currere festinat - tu deus, accipe me!

- 5 In te sperantem, fili deus et pater alme,  
 6 Altitonansque Deus spiritus - accipe me!
- 7 Peccavi, mala multa tuli - me pœnitet huius!  
 8 Ad te clamantem, tu deus, accipe me!
- 9 Non intres, domine, iudicare, mihi nisi primo  
 10 Digneris veniæ reddere, quod satis est.  
 11 Et quia pro nostris animabus suscipiendis  
 12 Rex terrenus eras, tu deus, accipe me!

*TRANSLATION*

- 1 Since Thou alone art King of kings, Lord of lords -  
 2 All that is and will be shall be subjected to Thy will.  
 3 My body entered the earth, but my spirit to Thee  
 4 Hastens to run. Thou God, accept me,  
 5 Who put my hope in Thee, Son God, gentle Father,  
 6 And God Holy Ghost thundering from on high - accept and receive me.
- 7 I have sinned, I have done much evil, and rue this.  
 8 Thou God, accept and receive me, who am calling out to Thee!
- 9 Enter not, Lord, in judgment, unless beforehand  
 10 Thou deignest to give me of Thy redeeming grace, which is enough.  
 11 And since for the sake of the salvation of our souls  
 12 Thou, King, wast on earth, receive me, my God!

*EXPLANATORY COMMENTS*

Line 1: *dominantum*: In classical Latin *dominantium* would have been normal, but in poetry the ending *-um* instead of *-ium* is current.

Line 2: In medieval Latin, the word *velle*, ‘to will, intend’, can be used as a substantive.<sup>12</sup>

Lines 3/4: The original has: *Intravit terram corpus sz . spiritus ad te Currere festinat*, and much depends on the correct expansion of this logogram ‘sz .’<sup>13</sup> A well-founded guess is *sed*, ‘but’, which marks the contrast appropriately.

Line 4 and others: *accipe* has the two essentially different meanings of ‘receive’ and ‘accept’, neither of which should be missing in a translation.

Line 11: *quia* (‘since, as’) is expanded from *q̂* - but it could also be *qui* (‘who’). Prosodic criteria cannot determine the choice between them, and the option here is

<sup>12</sup> *Velle* usually appears in the accusative, but here it is dative and, interestingly, the noun is still uninflected.

<sup>13</sup> It is tempting to read ‘sz’ as *sanctus*, especially since the following word is *spiritus*, which would make it ‘the Holy Ghost’. However, it would not make sense: the Holy Ghost cannot be seen as ‘hastening to Thee’.



for the latter, because it seems more plausible to see the longer word thus abbreviated, but conversely the sentence could also be translated as:

And, Thou, who for the salvation of our souls  
Wast King on earth, God, accept and receive me.

### *STYLISTIC APPRECIATION*

Each block of text comprises three distichs<sup>14</sup> in the classical style, therefore there is no rhyme in most verses, but lines 1,2, and 11 do have so-called leonine, i.e. internal rhymes, the last word rhyming with the word before the cæsura. The poem scans very well - cæsura-licence being taken in the case of *domine* (line 9).

### *Prosody*

Abbreviations must be read expanded. (Underlined syllables carry the stress.)

- 1 Rex regum, dominus dominantum, tu quia solus - §
- 2 Velle tu suberit omne quod est vel erit. §
- 3 Intravit terram corpus sed spiritus ad te §
- 4 Currere festinat - tu deus, accipe me! §
  
- 5 In te sperantem, fili deus et pater alme §
- 6 Altitonansque deus spiritus - accipe me! §
  
- 7 Peccavi, mala multa tuli - me pænitet huius! §
- 8 Ad te clamantem, tu deus, accipe me! §
  
- 9 Non intres, domine, iudicare, mihi nisi primo §
- 10 Digneris venia reddere quod satis est. §
- 11 Et quia pro nostris animabus suscipiendis
- 12 Rex terrenus eras, tu deus accipe me!

The style sometimes seems to spurn logical cohesion, breaking off one idea to take up another, thereby allowing a free stream of thought and stressing the importance of feeling. However, the text is distinctively, and most meaningfully, structured. The most striking order is achieved through the repeated outcry of *tu deus, accipe me* at the end of units, which breaks up the poem into four groups: a stanza of four lines each at the beginning of the first block and at the end of the second. The two other groups are couplets, namely one at the end of the first block, and the other at the beginning of the second, each ending with the same supplication.

These couplets resemble each other in their textual and even syntactical structure, the first (lines 5 and 6) beginning with an apposition to *me*, in the form of a

<sup>14</sup> Hexameters and pentameters in alternating lines.

present participle (*sperantem*), the second having this construction at the beginning of its second line (*clamantem*, in line 8).

Apart from this formal grouping there are other elements of structure, an important one being that of opposition. There is opposition of time: *est vel erit*; of body and spirit: *corpus - spiritus*; of movement, first downwards, then up: *intravit - currere festinat*; of guilt and repentance: *peccavi, mala multa tuli - me pœnitet huius*; of judgment and remission of sin: *iudicare - mihi ... digneris veniæ reddere*; of God's reign on earth and the uplifting of souls: *pro nostris animabus suscipiendis - rex terrenus eras*.

Another element of structure is equilibrium. The first and the last lines begin with the same word, *rex*. Also the third line in each block contains the same word, namely forms of *intrare*. And then, significantly, all four units end in the same way, with an appeal to God and the plea of *accipe me* - a most impressive effect contrived by this finely wrought text-grouping.

The poem, a very unusual and moving text, one long prayer for salvation. Symmetry is its pervading structural force, which produces a harmonious cohesion, for all its affective commotion, and the intensity and earnestness of personal feeling is its main substance. The text breathes the religious fervour of the psalms. Although written in a classical metre, the inscription may quite happily be read as prose, which in modern ears might even be found to enhance its extraordinary hymnic power.

## Linwood M.S. I

### *PERSONS COMMEMORATED*

The beautiful and remote church of St. Cornelius at Linwood has several monuments of interest. There is an incised slab with the much-worn remains of Lombardic lettering, between two large figure brasses of the fifteenth century. The more recent one (M.S. II) commemorates the wool merchant John Lyndewode the Younger (d. 1421).<sup>15</sup> It has a foot inscription in finely engraved raised Gothic lettering which is so severely mutilated (the second plate missing entirely) that it defies translation.<sup>16</sup> The other is to John Lyndewode the Elder (d. 27 January 1419) and his wife Alice, the inscription on which is our object. He, too, was a very wealthy wool merchant, and a generous benefactor to churches and to the poor in the county where he worked.<sup>17</sup> He also left £10 for a monument to be erected in his memory.

<sup>15</sup> In his will, proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 2 December 1421, he asked to be buried alongside his father's grave in Linwood church.

<sup>16</sup> Information about John Lyndewode has kindly been provided by Dr. Mike Rogers, of the Lincolnshire Archives. His source was G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire, IV (Lincoln, 1985), p. 181. However, Dr. Rogers warns that the author may have confounded the two John Lyndewodes.

<sup>17</sup> He was 'one of those who found great prosperity in wool production. His estates lay on the western edge of the Wolds near Market Rasen, land which he held of Sir Thomas Beaumont. At the time of his death in 1419 he left cash and possessions valued well in excess of £500, not including any dwelling-houses or other buildings he owned. Of this he bequeathed £54 6s. 8d. to various churches, mainly on the northern Wolds and in the Ancolme valley, which may represent the area of his business operations. The sum of £60 went to the poor of Linwood and its

The brass to the elder John Lyndewode has a shield with a canting coat of arms, displaying lime-tree leaves - a pun on his name. One might deduce from this fact that he was an armiger, or esquire, and thus lord of the manor, but there is nothing to confirm this.<sup>18</sup>

### *DESCRIPTION OF THE BRASS*

The impressive brass to John and Alice Lyndewode (2230 x 1049 mm overall)<sup>19</sup> lies on the floor, against the west wall of the north aisle. Parts of the buttress shafts and three of the four shields are missing, and there is some wear, especially of the upper parts of the figures in the base. Apart from that, the brass is in good condition. The same, unhappily, cannot be said of the slab itself, which is in a pitiable state. Damp has seriously affected the stone, which is crumbling and flaking, causing the brass to stand proud. Conservation is required urgently.

The two figures are seen praying: John, on a woosack, bareheaded, Alice wearing a widow's wimple and veil. They stand under a double canopy filled with delicate tracery, under an entablature ornamented with a quatrefoil frieze and topped with a brattishing of clover-like trefoils. Beside the left-hand finial there is a shield: a chevron between three lime-tree leaves (tinctures unknown).

Below the figures, in an embattled base gallery, stand seven small figures in arcaded niches, very worn,<sup>20</sup> but recognizably four male, the centre one wearing a canon's gown, and three female. In the base runs a prayer text.

Underneath all is a foot inscription, a work of outstanding beauty in itself (Fig. 4). It is made up of ten lines of Latin verse, arranged in two blocks of five, side by side. There are some abbreviations and logograms. The lettering is in Gothic minuscules, only the beginnings of lines having capitals, in raised characters, the words being separated by small devices of varied shape and great delicacy, and graceful garlands of roses and vine-leaves (the latter possibly symbolic of life after death) serving as line-end fillers.

### *PRAYER LINE BELOW THE CHILDREN'S FIGURES*

**Hos ... septem ... natos ... fac alme ... Deus ... tibi ... gratos**

parish, plus a further 20d. to each needy person: was he a generous benefactor or a man with a conscience who recognized that his wealth had been gained at the expense of many neighbouring smallholders?' (Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, p. 181).

The author here regards the rich wool merchant's 'conscience' about having maltreated the poor smallholders as the reason why he should have given away so much of his fortune to charity. That, however, is a serious misinterpretation of the medieval mind. Charity was necessary for the functioning of society, since only church foundations and rich sponsorship provided help for the needy and thus kept society from breaking down, since the state as yet had few social obligations. Also, charity was seen as a key to salvation, so it held an enormous importance in the minds of Christian people, not only at the moment of their deaths, but throughout their lives. Is Platt's misrepresentation of this essential aspect of medieval culture rooted in the social romanticism typical of our age?

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Rogers informs me that there had been a manor house in the middle of Linwood village (to the east of the church, according to Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p. 528), and that the family, being very rich, may be expected to 'have lived in a substantial house', but that he can find no proof of such a connection. Nor can he 'locate a pedigree or coat of arms which definitely relates to this family'.

<sup>19</sup> *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 128.

<sup>20</sup> One wonders what might have caused the wear at this spot only, the rest being in a much better state. The faces of the principal figures are less clear than the rest, too, but nothing comparable to the almost complete disappearance of the upper parts of the gallery of children. Did people walk over this part of the brass? Why?

With the exception of the central one, each figure has one word underneath it, the whole text forming a hexameter, with a marked rhyme system that links the last word not only to the middle, with an internal rhyme, but also to the first word. This is a foretaste of the great proficiency of the writer which we are going to encounter in the text proper.

*TRANSLATION*

Gentle God, make these seven children acceptable to Thy grace.

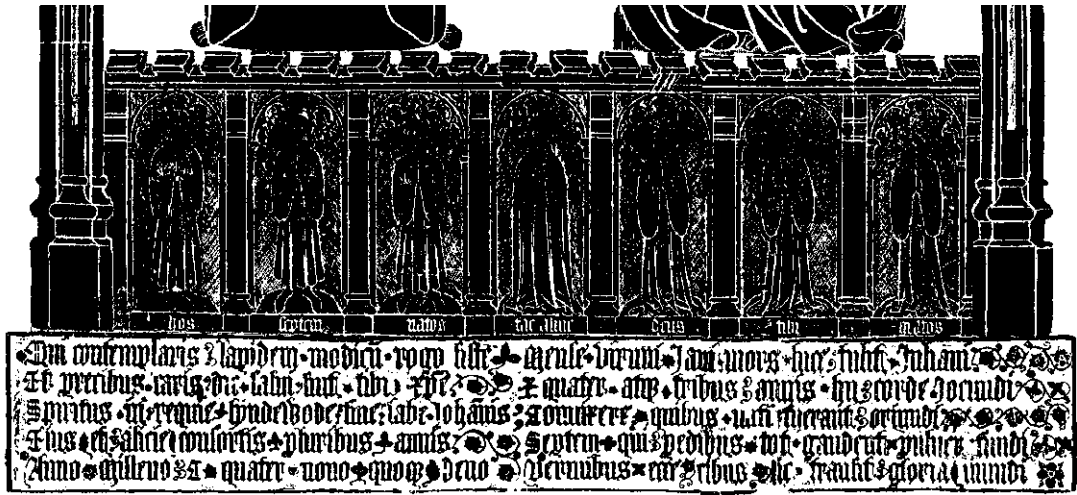


FIG. 4

Linwood M.S. I. Lower part of brass to John and Alice Lyndewode, 1419

*Illustration from MBS Portfolio*

*TRANSLITERATION OF THE FOOT INSCRIPTION*

Legend:

underlining

double underlining

l

^

q3

§

Is in the inscription:

a superscript bar above the letter(s)

unclear or difficult reading

a flourish

a scroll line

Signifies:

an abbreviation mark

an undotted 'i', or any of the minims of 'u, n, m'

an abbreviation mark

'que'

separator mark

- 1 Qui contemplaris lapidem modicu rogo liste §
- 2 Et precibus caris die salvi sint tibi Xpe §
- 3 Spiritus in requie lyndewode sine labe Johannis §

- 4 **Eius et alicie confortis pluribus annis §**  
 5 **Anno milleno C quater nono quoq; deno §**
- 6 **Mense virum Jani mors luce tulit Juliani §**  
 7 **X quater atq; tribus annis hu corde Jocundi §**  
 8 **Convixere quibus nati fuerant oriundi §**  
 9 **Septem qui pedibus tot gaudent puluer<sup>^</sup> fundi §**  
 10 **Vermibus ecce cibus sic transit gloria mundi §**

*TRANSCRIPTION AND EXPANSION*

(Expansions are in brackets, corrections in square brackets. Uncertain readings are underlined.)

- 1 Qui contemplaris lapidem modicu(m) - rogo - siste, §  
 2 Et precibus caris dic salvi sint tibi, Christe, §  
 3 Spiritus in requie [L]yndewode sine labe Johan(n)is §  
 4 Eius et [A]lici[æ], consortis pluribus annis. §  
 5 Anno milleno C quater nono quoq(ue) deno
- 6 Mense virum Jani mors luce tulit Juliani. §  
 7 X quater atq(ue) tribus annis, hi corde jocundi, §  
 8 Convixere; quibus nati fuerant oriundi §  
 9 Septem. Qui pedibus tot gaudent pulver(e) fundi §  
 10 Vermibus ecce cibus ... Sic transit gloria mundi. §

*CLEAR TEXT*

(Appropriate punctuation added; text arranged according to the versification.)

- 1 Qui contemplaris lapidem modicum - rogo - siste,  
 2 Et precibus caris dic salvi sint tibi, Christe,  
 3 Spiritus in requie Lyndewode sine labe Johannis  
 4 Eius et Aliciae, consortis pluribus annis.
- 5 Anno milleno C quater nono quoque deno  
 6 Mense virum jani mors luce tulit Juliani.
- 7 X quater atque tribus annis, hi corde jocundi,  
 8 Convixere; quibus nati fuerant oriundi  
 9 Septem. Qui pedibus tot gaudent pulvere fundi  
 10 Vermibus ecce cibus ... Sic transit gloria mundi.

*TRANSLATION*

- 1 I beg you, who are contemplating this unostentatious stone, pause awhile,  
 2 And say with loving prayers that safe be with Thee, Christ,  
 3 In their rest, and unharrowed, the souls of John Lyndewode, a man without  
 a blemish,  
 4 And of Alice, the sharer of his destiny, his wife of many years' standing.
- 5 In the year one thousand four-hundred nine and ten (1419),  
 6 In the month of January - on Saint Julian's day - death carried the man  
 out of the light.
- 7 For forty-three years did these two, in the kindness of their hearts,  
 8 Live together, and unto them had been born offspring  
 9 Seven. Those many who enjoy their freedom of movement - like these two  
 here, see - will lie in the dust of the ground,  
 10 A meal for the worms. Thus vanishes the glory of the world.

*EXPLANATORY COMMENT AND STYLISTIC APPRECIATION*

This poem is written in Latin hexameters, with only few deviations from the strict classical metrical rules ordering the calculation of length of syllables. The prosody can be presented as follows, bearing in mind that underlined syllables are stressed, and that the Roman ciphers must be read as letters:

- 1 Qui contemplaris lapidem modicum rogo siste §  
 2 Et precibus caris dic salvi sint tibi, Christe, §  
 3 Spiritus in requie Lyndewode sine labe Johannis §  
 4 Eius et Aliciae, consortis pluribus annis. §  
 5 Anno milleno C quater nono quoque deno  
 6 Mense virum jani mors luce tulit Juliani. §  
 7 X quater atque tribus annis, hi corde jocundi, §  
 8 Convixere; quibus nati fuerant oriundi §  
 9 Septem. Qui pedibus tot gaudent pulvere fundi §  
 10 Vermibus ecce cibus ... Sic transit gloria mundi. §<sup>21</sup>

The poem's main formal attraction lies in its rhyme scheme. Thus lines 1 & 2, and 3 & 4 respectively, are paired with interior caesura-rhyme and end-rhyme, constituting a first stanza, and another stanza comes at the end, with lines 7-10, which share the same double rhyme (interior caesura- and end-rhyme) - four times the same rhyme, one

<sup>21</sup> 'Faulty', or rather unorthodox, prosody: line 3: *spiritus*, as a genitive, is a long syllable, however, here it must be short, and accordingly the line does not scan. line 5: *ce* (for the Roman cipher 'C', meaning a hundred) should be a long syllable; here it must be short. line 7: *tribus* is really two short syllables, but here *bus* must be read as a long one. Both *requie* (line 3) and *tribus* (line 7) come under caesura-licence.

system within and another at the end of the lines. Straddling the two text blocks come lines 5 & 6, the end and the beginning of a block respectively, which have each a leonine rhyme, and thus constitute the linkage of the two blocks. Altogether, the rhyme scheme is a formidable poetic feat, which has the effect of underlining the earnestness of the thoughts and intensity of feelings expressed.

The text is full of stylistic subtleties, which greatly enriches its poetic substance. In line 1, *modicum* serves two functions, meaning 1) ‘a little’ in medieval Latin,<sup>22</sup> thus serving as an adverb for *siste*; but 2) at the same time - in the classical acceptance of the word - being an adjective for *lapidem*, meaning ‘adequate, not out of proportion’, fittingly translated by ‘unostentatious’. The meaning, then, balances evenly between these two equally valid readings, by which means a covert compliment is paid to the man’s character.

The same admirable linguistic skill is shown in line 3, where *sine labe* is, firstly, syntactically in concord with *in requie*, ‘in rest, free from perdition’, but secondly the position within the name makes it tend to mean ‘without a blemish’ - again the meaning lies between both readings, and again that implies a delicate tribute to John Lyndewode’s character. One has the feeling that the man would not have liked to be overtly lauded, and, moreover, that the author of this poem knew this.

In line 4, the poet significantly avoids calling Alice *uxor*, the standard formula on monuments for ‘wife’, and prefers *consors*, which really means ‘sharer of one’s destiny’, and is a much more intimate word, full of respect and endearment.

The second word in line 6 is *viruni*, with all letters, including the last one, clearly engraved, but is evidently a marbler’s error; there is no such word in the Latin language, neither classical nor medieval. It should be *virum*, and as such provides the direct object, which otherwise would be missing.<sup>23</sup>

In the same line, *luce* means ‘out of the light’ (creating an impressive image), but also ‘on the day’ - yet one more example of the characteristic double function of a word in this poet’s style.<sup>24</sup>

Again in line 6: *Juliani* is a calendrical allusion. In the Sarum calendar the standard feast of St Julian in January is that of Julian, the first bishop of Le Mans, on 27 January.<sup>25</sup>

In line 7: *hii* instead of *hi*, perhaps as an (unnecessary) inverted analogy to *i* for *ü(ei)*, strangely enough often seen on inscriptions.

<sup>22</sup> I am indebted for this information to my friend Hans-Peter Blecken, OStR.

<sup>23</sup> The engraver here quite possibly had difficulty reading the author’s manuscript. Such misapprehension is quite understandable, seeing the great similarity of the Gothic letters ‘u’, ‘n’, ‘m’, ‘i’, which all have the same minims, especially if the author was unsystematic about dotting his ‘i’s, as is the case in our text - the best example is *tibi*, where one of the ‘i’s is dotted, the other is not.

<sup>24</sup> I owe this insight to Jerome Bertram.

<sup>25</sup> F.G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (St. Louis, Mo., 1924), p. 571; D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1997), p. 279.

<sup>26</sup> To the best of the author’s knowledge, the phenomenon is rare. An intercessory prayer of this type occurs also on the inscriptions to Rupert von Jülich-Berg (Paderborn), William de Rothewelle (Rothwell, Northants), Richard Bertlot (Stopham, Sussex), Thomas Cailey (West Bradenham, Norfolk), John Sleaford (Balsham, Cambs), and John Asger senior (St. Laurence, Norwich).

In lines 8 and 9 respectively, *quibus* and *qui* should be regarded as demonstrative, not as relative, pronouns, each opening as they do a new main clause.

*Pedibus*, in line 9, is the most cryptic element of the text. The poet's insistence on the feet is surely not meant to be taken literally, but must be understood figuratively, perhaps to mean 'mobility', 'freedom', or 'life quite generally' - but the line does remain obscure, unfortunately.

In line 10 an ellipse may be conjectured, adding *postea, ut isti* ('later, like these two here'), in order to construe some more clarity into this impenetrable line, for want of a better solution - but there is no satisfaction for the translator here.

Apart from this unhappily obscure ending, this text possesses much intellectual appeal and literary attraction, has passages of striking poetic beauty, and is, all in all, a fine poem.

### *AUTHORSHIP*

The author is, of course, and typically of authors of medieval inscriptions, anonymous, but some information about him can be gleaned from the text, so that his shape is dimly outlined.

It is easy to see that he was a consummate Latinist and masterful verse-writer, but he was also a poet, who ingeniously contrived these floating double meanings, thereby creating a strong undercurrent of intention and greatly enhancing the substance of the poem. As a person of such great culture he probably was a churchman.

Secondly, one feels that the author knew John and Alice Lyndewode personally, perhaps even having been very close. There are hints and direct statements about these people's characters and way of life; there is a tell-tale choice of words showing filial loyalty and affection, a revealing reticence where others indulge in loud praise, which bespeaks familiarity with their character; there is this third person in the first line of the text interceding for the deceased, saying *rogo*, 'I beg you' - a rarity in inscriptions - , which breathes authority and seems to stem from some high ecclesiastical dignitary<sup>26</sup> All in all, the impression that most clearly informs the poem is that of contained intimacy, respect and love.

These factors, taken together, point to the Lyndewodes' son William as the author. William Lyndewode, the village's most illustrious son, was born *c.* 1375, and became a high-ranking ecclesiastical politician and successful diplomat in the king's foreign service. Furthermore, he was a renowned authority on canon law, being the author of the *Provinciale*, a summary of synodal legislation in the province of Canterbury. He was made bishop of St. David's shortly before his death in 1446, and was buried in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.<sup>27</sup>

If this conjecture is correct we would here have a rare case of a medieval epitaph attributable to its author.

<sup>27</sup> *DNB*, XXXIV (London, 1893), pp. 340-2. I am indebted to Nicholas Rogers for this information.



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

by ROBERT HUTCHINSON and BRYAN EGAN\*

54      1553      **Milton, Cambs.** (All Saints)      LSW.I  
William Coke, esq., Justice of the Common Pleas, in judicial robes, and wife Alice with two sons and three daughters, achievement, eight Latin verses, four Evangelists' symbols and a marginal inscription.

*Position:* Recorded by Francis Blomefield on table tomb at north-east corner of chancel before 1750;<sup>1</sup> now on chancel floor.

*Description:* The male figure, on the left, wears a hood and cape or mantle, with a tight-fitting coif on the head.<sup>2</sup> Much of the metal depicting the coif was cut away to take a coloured resin. A beaded purse hangs from his belt. His wife wears the newly fashionable Paris head-dress and a gown, fastened at the front with bows, with puffed shoulders and long false sleeves. She has a diamond-shaped tasselled pendant, adorned with a tiny heart, hanging low from her waist.

Above and between them is a large achievement. The presence of prayer scrolls emanating from the two main figures, directed towards this plate, may suggest a late design substitution, during manufacture, of more politically acceptable heraldry, rather than religious symbolism, such as a large Trinity. The executors also decided that the scrolls should bear innocuous proverbs rather than any religious exhortation. The male figure's scroll reads, appropriately for a lawyer's brass, 'Plebs sine Lege Ruit' ('A people without law come to grief')<sup>3</sup> and the female's 'Mulier casta dos pulcherrima' ('A chaste woman is the most beautiful dowry')

Below the main figures are groups of two sons and three daughters, engraved with a remarkable degree of individuality: the daughters wear different pendants and two have false sleeves with separate designs. The daughters' plate is slightly mutilated at the bottom right.

At the four corners are beautifully engraved symbols of the Evangelists - a late appearance of these components on a brass, signifying conservative taste amongst Coke's wife and executors. If they had opted for religiously neutral iconography with

\* The rubbings are by Bryan Egan, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> F. Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensi* (Norwich, 1750), p. 174. Cole recorded it as such on 26 July 1744 (see W.M. Palmer ed., *Monumental Inscriptions and Coats of Arms from Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 124). His drawing of the tomb is in BL, Add. MS 5807, f. 6v.

<sup>2</sup> On the serjeant's coif and habit see J.H. Baker, *The Order of Serjeants at Law*, Selden Soc., Supplementary Series, 5 (London, 1984), pp. 67-83. For a description of judicial costume as portrayed on brasses see L. Edwards, 'The Professional Costume of Lawyers illustrated chiefly by Monumental Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VII (1934-42), pp. 97-108, 145-64.

<sup>3</sup> This was the motto engraved upon the rings of the serjeants created at the general call in 1552 (Baker, *Order of Serjeants at Law*, pp. 169, 478).

the achievement and scrolls, it is surprising that these symbols remain. Perhaps it was too late to omit these from the brass

*Inscription:* Marginal inscription in Script 6:

[Orate pro anima Gulielmi Coke]<sup>4</sup> Armigeri unius Justiciariorum domini Regis de Communi Banco Qui Obijt vicesimo Quarto die Augusti / Anno domini Millesimo Quingentesimo / Quinquagesimo Tercio Et pro Bono Statu Alicie Uxoris Euis Que Monumentum fieri fecit /

Translation: 'Pray for the soul of William Coke esquire, one of the lord King's justices of the Common Bench, who died 24 August 1553, and for the good estate of Alice his wife, who caused this monument to be made.'

Line terminator type 8 is used as a spacer between 'Tercio' and 'Et' in the long left-hand strip of inscription and a type 1 flourish concludes the inscription on the same length of metal.<sup>5</sup>

The foot inscription, in Latin verses, is placed upside down, to be read from the west, in eight lines of Script 6:

Marmore sub duro Gulielmus Cocus humatur:  
 Judex iusticia notus ubique sua.  
 Ingenio valuit Doctrina, cognitione,  
 Nec non et magna peditus eloquio.  
 Vir bonus, atque pius magna pietate coruscans,  
 Virtutum semper verus aluminus erat.  
 Nunc merito vita defunctum lugimus, eheu  
 Hoc moriente viro nemo dolore caret

Translation: 'William Coke lies buried under this hard marble, a judge famous everywhere for his justice. He was strong in intellect, learning and understanding and moreover was endowed with great eloquence. A good and devout man, he was outstanding for his great devotion and he was always a true student of the virtues. Now, alas! we rightly mourn him, bereft of life, for no one can be without grief at his death.'<sup>6</sup>

Again, line terminators from the Script 6 pattern book are used on this inscription. Type 1 ends line two; type 2, line three; an elongated type 7, line four; type 8, line seven and a truncated type 3 in the final line.<sup>7</sup>

*Dimensions:* Male figure: 601 x 194 mm; female, 569 x 192 mm; foot inscription, 185 x 419mm; achievement, 352 x 219 mm.

*Heraldry:* *Per pale argent and sable, three wolves' heads erased counterchanged.* (COKE or COOK). Crest: *A wolf's head erased, per pale argent and sable.*

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck slab, 2150 x 885 mm, apparently not re-used.

*Re-used:* Reverse of Latin verses: worn Flemish or French raised letter marginal

<sup>4</sup> Missing words supplied by Blomefield. These had gone when Cole visited the church.

<sup>5</sup> *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 4 (1995), p. 357.

<sup>6</sup> Our thanks go to the Revd. Fr. Jerome Bertram for his invaluable help in translation.

<sup>7</sup> *MBS Trans.*, XV, p. 357.

inscription ‘Q<sup>or</sup> tu cum superis : vivas....la’ with canopy pinnacle work and a twisted leaf pattern, *c.* 1380, (169L1). Small corner of Latin verses: fragment of a lady, *c.* 1500 (169L2). Achievement: centre portion of civilian with hands and sleeves, *c.* 1480 (169L3). Sons and daughters: two portions of inscription to ‘[Richa]rd Coriton quondam rector / .....[obi]it xxix<sup>o</sup> die mensis May Anno domini / .....[?150]iv<sup>o</sup> Cuius anime prop[ri]cietur deus a[men] / ’ (169L4-5). Reverse of crest: fragment of right end of inscription ‘...[i]ate /.....[i]ord M<sup>t</sup> /.....[ame]n / ’ with three leaves as decoration, *c.* 1500 (169L6). Wife and upper Evangelists’ symbols: blank. This plate is only 2 mm thick and is probably recycled Reformation spoil. Male figure, lower Evangelists’ symbols and marginal inscription not examined, but 2 mm thick, and probably blank on reverse.<sup>8</sup>

Discovered by John Page-Phillips and R.H. Pearson, 1957.

*Link:* Larger piece forming Latin verses links with reverse of sons at St. Mellion, Cornwall, *c.* 1553, no. 67 (168L13).

*Biographical details:* Coke was born at Chesterton, Cambs., and purchased the manor of Milton from the Earl of Derby during the reign of Henry VIII. He was admitted to Gray’s Inn in 1528 and called to the bar two years later. He was nominated Reader in Lent 1544, but the plague raging in London prevented him from performance of that duty. He was again nominated in the autumn of 1546 after being summoned during the previous Trinity Term to assume the *coif*. The date 3 February 1547 was fixed for him and five others to receive this degree but King Henry’s death on 28 January disrupted proceedings and new writs were issued, returnable the day when, at the request of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, they would stage their feast in Lincoln’s Inn hall. Members of Gray’s Inn presented Coke with eight pounds of gold as a mark of their regard at the dinner.<sup>9</sup>

On 22 October 1550 Coke was appointed one of the king’s serjeants at law and on 16 November 1552 succeeded Sir Edward Molyneaux as a judge of the Common Pleas.

Coke was one of the judges who examined Bishop Tunstall of Durham in October 1552, and on 31 March the following year the London mercer and undertaker Henry Machyn records him riding ‘in a coat of velvett with a cheyn of gold and with flowres’ in a procession with the Sheriff of London and the ‘lord of myssrulle’.<sup>10</sup>

Such happy days were short-lived. On 6 July 1553 Edward VI died after naming Lady Jane Grey as his successor, but the staunch Catholic Mary swept to power thirteen days later. Among those who signed the letters patent in favour of Lady Jane, Coke was one of the first to be committed to the Tower, on 27 July, and he died less than a month later, on 24 August.

<sup>8</sup> J.C. Page-Phillips, ‘A Palimpsest at Milton, near Cambridge’, *MBS Trans.*, X, pt. 1 (1963), pp. 16-18.

<sup>9</sup> E. Foss, *The Judges of England*, 9 vols. (London 1848-64), V, p. 298.

<sup>10</sup> J.G. Nichols, *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (London, 1848), p. 33.

*Illustrated:* C. Boutell, *Monumental Brasses of England* (London, 1847) (obverse); P. Heseltine, *The Figure Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (Eaton Socon, 1981), no. 61 (after Boutell); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 191; *MBS Trans.*, VII, 156 (male effigy only); VIII, pl. XVI (between pp. 232-3); X, p. 17 (reverses); XI, p. 409 (link with St.Mellion); XV, pp. 156 (head of male effigy), 166, 167 (head of female effigy); J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), II, pl. 70.

55      1553      **Gillingham St. Mary, Norfolk** (St. Mary)      M.S. I  
 Inscription in six lines of English black-letter, John Everard and wife Dorothy, daughter of John Chauncey of Chauncey Tower, Northampton.  
*Position:* Chancel step.

*Description:* This inscription, 409 x 119 mm, has been wrongly included in the Fermer series as its lettering is Script 10, which evolved from the Fermer Script 6 around 1560 and is remarkably similar. Points of difference are the capital and lower case 'h' which have different hooks on the 'descenders'.<sup>11</sup> On this evidence, the Gillingham brass should now be redated just after 1560 and must be deleted from the list of Fermer brasses in *MBS Trans.*, XV, p. 145. Norfolk should also be removed from the county distribution list on p. 155.

56      1553\*      **Shrewsbury, Salop.** (St. Alkmund)      LOST  
 George Pontesbury, in armour and mantle, d. 1550, and wife Jane (d. 1553), a daughter of Sir Richard Lacon, with foot inscription. Marginal inscription, five (out of six shields), two (out of four) name scrolls, all added in 1636.  
*Position:* Once on monument in chancel (?a table tomb). Some components reported loose in a closet on the north side of the church, 4 October 1793. The following year, a gentleman went to St. Alkmund's to copy the inscriptions 'for fear they should be destroyed by the workmen' and found that some had been sold by order of the churchwardens to a brazier.<sup>12</sup> The inscription was copied but the remainder was probably already lost.

*Description:* Knowledge of this brass comes from an engraving in Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury* (Fig.1),<sup>13</sup> a tiny drawing of the male figure by the Revd. Edward Williams and a 'squeeze' of the foot inscription in the British Library.<sup>14</sup> It was later described by Mill Stephenson in his series on Shropshire brasses.<sup>15</sup>

The bare-headed and bearded male figure, on the left, is clad in armour, worn beneath a mantle, possibly aldermanic robes, similar to the brass, two decades later,

<sup>11</sup> J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999), pp. 28-30.

<sup>12</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXIV (1794), pt. ii, p. 1086 and quoted by H. Haines, *Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), p. cclvii. Three figures and a merchant mark from the brass in this church to Margery Humfreton and her two husbands, c. 1500, survived in the possession of a Mr. Smith of Radbrook, near Shrewsbury, until at least 1860.

<sup>13</sup> H. Owen and J.B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 2 vols. (London, 1825), II, pl. opp. p. 289.

<sup>14</sup> BL, Add. MS 21236, ff. 91-2.

<sup>15</sup> M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in Shropshire', *Archaeological Jnl*, LII (1895), pp. 83-5.

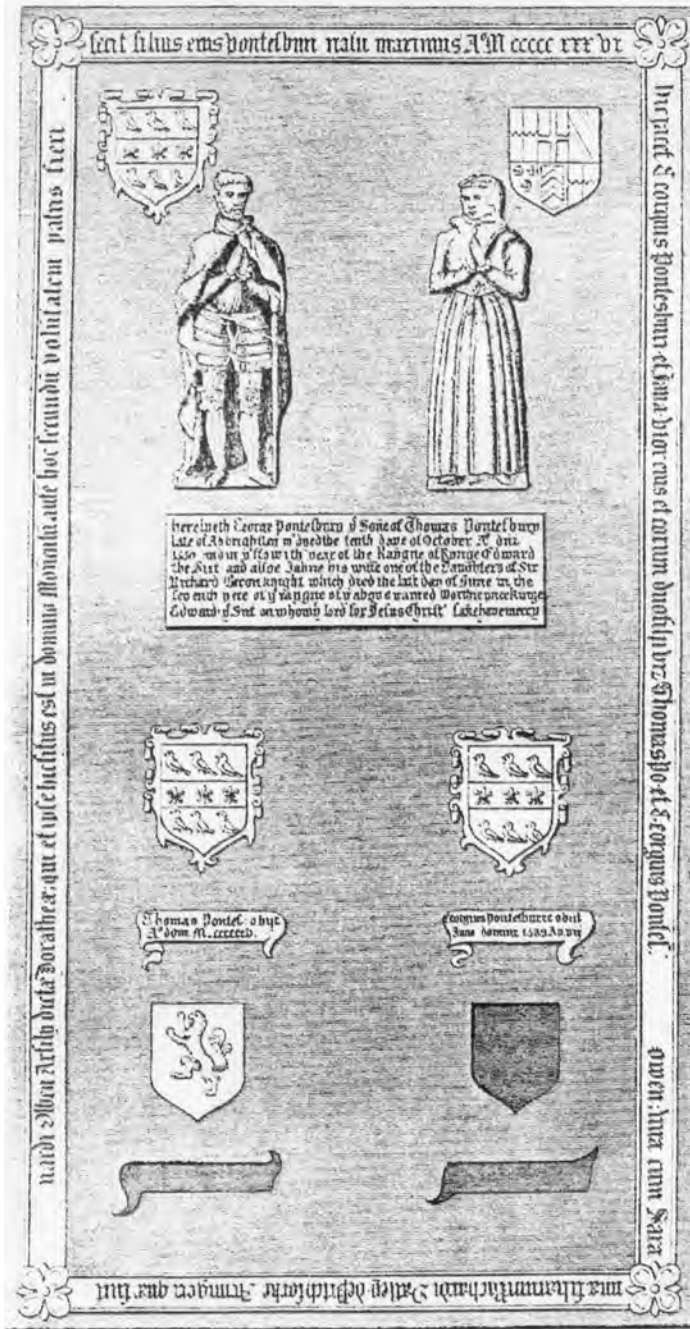


FIG. 1

Lost brass to George Pontesbury, d. 1550, and wife, with later marginal inscription and scrolls formerly St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury

From Owen and Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury

to Sir William Harper in St. Paul's, Bedford. The design looks later than the Fermer series and this may be a later addition. His wife, facing, wears the Paris head-dress.

Six shields, four of them with descriptive labels or scrolls beneath, and a marginal inscription in black-letter, with roses instead of evangelical symbols, were added in the antiquarian taste in 1636 by a great-grandson, Pontesbury Owen.

*Dimensions:* Not known.

*Inscription:* The foot inscription has seven lines of Script 6:

Here lyeth George Pontesbury ye Sone of Thomas Pontesbury  
Late of Adbrightye w<sup>ch</sup> Dyed the tenth daye of October A<sup>o</sup> *domini*  
1550 (and in y<sup>e</sup> ffowrth yere of the Raygne of Kynge Edward  
the sixt) and also Jahne his wife one of the Daughters of Sir  
Richard Lacon knight which Died the last day of June in the  
seventh yere of y<sup>e</sup> raygne of y<sup>e</sup> above named worthie *prince* kinge  
Edward y<sup>e</sup> sixt on whom y<sup>e</sup> Lord for Jesus Christ' sake have marcy.

This transcription comes from the 'mirror' image of the inked-in squeeze and corrects earlier versions that are inaccurate in detail. A type 8 terminator ends line two.

The later marginal inscription reads:

Hic jacet Georgius Pontisburi et Jana uxor eius et eorum duo filii viz.  
Thomas Po: et Georgius Pontes: [necnon Dorothea] Owen una cum Sara /  
una filiarum Richardi Oatley de Pitchforke Arimigeri quae fuit / [Edw]ardi  
Owen Ar filii dictae Dorotheae qui et ipse hic situs est in domino  
*Monumentum* autem hoc secundum voluntatem patris fieri / fecit filius eius  
Pontesburi natu maximus A<sup>o</sup> M CCCCC XXXVI.

Translation: 'Here lies George Pontesbury and Jane his wife and their two sons, namely Thomas Pontesbury and George Pontesbury and also Dorothy Owen, as well as Sara, one of the daughters of Richard Oatley of Pitchforke, esquire, who married Edward Owen, esquire, son of the said Dorothy, who rests here in the Lord. Pontesbury his eldest son caused this monument to be made in accordance with his father's will, 1536 [sic]'.<sup>16</sup>

The seventeenth-century engraver botched this inscription and the two surviving labels associated with the shields. Owen and Blakeway's engraving transcribes them as 'Thomas Pontes. obijt / A<sup>o</sup> *domini* MCCCCCV' and 'Georgius Pontesbury obiit / Anno 1589 Ap. vij'. In two cases, the engraver got the year wrong - omitting a 'C' in the year given in the marginal inscription and in the label for Thomas Pontesbury. In addition, Richard Oteley was of Pitchford, Salop, not 'Pitchforke' although this may be an error in transcribing the inscription.

*Heraldry:* Upper dexter and two centre shields: *Sable on a fess between three martlets or as many fleur-de-lys azure* (PONTESBURY). Upper sinister: Quarterly of six: 1 and 6, *Quarterly per fess indented ermine and azure* (LACON); 2, .....*a cross engrailed* ....(?); 3, *Or a bend cotised sable* (HARLEY); 4, *Azure three round buckles or* (REMEVILLE); 5, ....*two chevrons within a bordure engrailed*... (?). Lower dexter: *Or a lion rampant gules* (OWEN).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This version of the OWEN arms is normally blazoned *Argent a lion rampant sable ducally crowned gules*. See B. Burke, *The General Armory* (London, 1884), p. 768.

The lower sinister shield, lost in the seventeenth century, apparently bore *Argent on a bend azure three oat sheaves or* (OTELEY).

*Reused:* Not known.

*Biographical details:* George Pontesbury was the son of Thomas, of Adbrightlee, merchant of the Staple of Calais, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Grafton. George and his wife had three children, as described above, but the male line died out with Thomas and George.



FIG. 2

Tomb to Sir Thomas Hennege, d. 1553, wife Katherine and daughter Elizabeth  
Hainton, Lincs.

*After John Page-Phillips's A Sixteenth Century Workshop*

57 1553 **Hainton, Lincs.** (St. Mary) M.S. III  
 Sir Thomas Henneage, d. 1553, kneeling in armour with tabard (upper half renewed), and wife Katherine, with daughter Elizabeth, both in heraldic mantles, with two scrolls, three shields and a raised-letter foot inscription.

*Position:* On small table tomb, mural, chancel (Fig 2).

*Description:* The upper portion of the male figure was renewed in the nineteenth century,<sup>17</sup> colouring applied and the engraved lines of the entire composition filled with mastic, which hampers a good rubbing being taken. Sir Thomas is shown on the left, in armour and tabard, kneeling at a faldstool on a tiled floor. His gauntlets lie crossed beside the cushion upon which he kneels. The tabard bears HENEAGE quartering PRESTON<sup>18</sup> impaling SKIPWITH. His wife, with their daughter kneeling behind, wears a mantle bearing the same arms.

A scroll issuing from the male figure reads: 'Pater de coelis Deus Miserere nobis' (God the Father in Heaven have mercy on us) and that from the female: 'Fili Redemptor mundi miserere nobis' (Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy on us). The iconography at Hainton has clear similarities with that of the Fermer brass at Beckenham, Kent (no. 42) and the use of the gauntlets in the design is repeated at Clapham (no. 75).

*Inscription:* Six lines of Script 6:

Here under lieth Sir Thomas Henneage Knight Chief Gentilman of the Prevey Chamber to ye / Kinge of ffamous memorye King Henry the Eight Sonne and heyre of John Henneage Esquier / who married Kateryne daughter of Sir John Skipwyth knight whiche Sir Thomas and Kate- / ryn had Isshu Elizabeth now being wyffe to the right honorable the lorde Willoughbye / of Parham. the said Sir Thomas Henneage departed this life the xxj<sup>th</sup> of August in the / yere of our Lorde God m<sup>l</sup> ccccc liij upon whose soul Ihesu have mercy Amen.

*Dimensions:* Male figure, 400 x 300 mm; female, 410 x 310 mm; daughter 390 x 310 mm; inscription, 780 x 1415 mm.

*Heraldry:* Dexter shield: *Or a greyhound courant sable between three lions' faces azure, a bordure engrailed gules*<sup>19</sup> (HENEAGE) quartering *Gules three garbs or* (PRESTON). Centre shield: *Argent three bars in gules in chief a greyhound courant sable* (SKIPWITH). Sinister shield: HENEAGE quartering PRESTON impaling SKIPWITH. This is a curious portrayal of family heraldry and the prominence given to the Skipwith arms may reflect the local importance of this family.

On a shield cut on the face of the tomb-chest are the initials 'S.T.H.K.', perhaps for 'Sir Thomas Henneage, knight'. 'T.H' is repeated on each finial of the Purbeck canopy.

<sup>17</sup> A rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries shows the brass before restoration.

<sup>18</sup> Not RESTON as G.E. Jeans has it in 'A List of the Existing Sepulchral Brasses in Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, supplement (1895), p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> Lions' faces blazoned as *gules* in *Lincoln Record Soc.*, XXXI (1936), p. 156. Burke, *Armory*, p. 478 gives *leopards' heads azure* for HENEAGE of Hainton.



*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck tomb reused in a hotchpotch of carved stones, probably from a number of monuments. Centre shield placed in indent of a Trinity.

*Reused:* Not yet investigated.

*Illustrated:* W. Lack and P. Whittemore, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, 2004, pl. XLVIII; Page-Phillips, *Sixteenth Century Workshop*, p.6 (tomb, showing reused stonework).

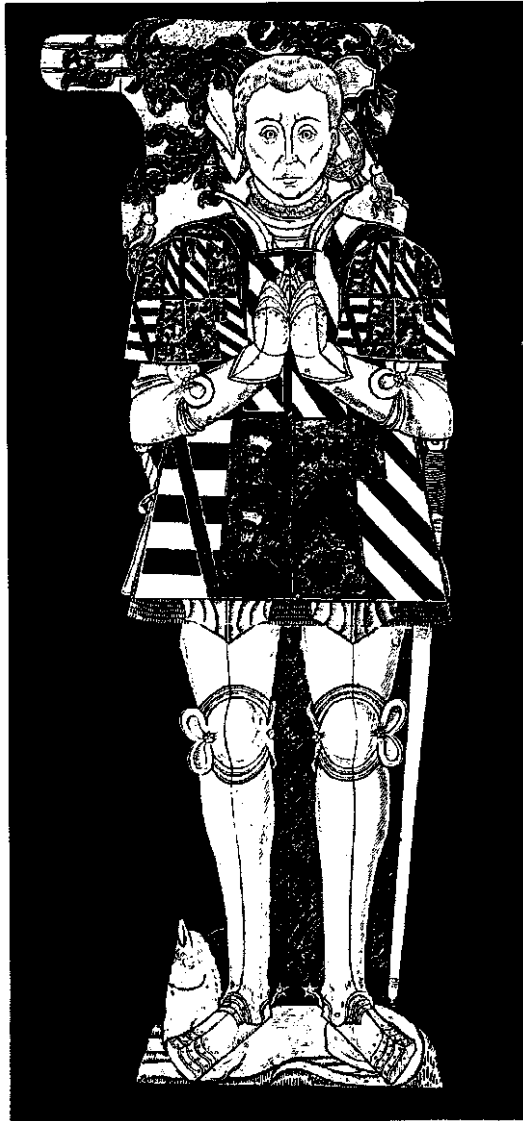


FIG. 3  
Sir Richard Catesby, d. 1553  
Ashby St. Legers, Northants.

58 1553 **Ashby St. Legers, Northants.** (St. Mary) M.S. VI  
 Sir Richard Catesby, in armour and tabard, standing upon a punning cat (Fig. 3).  
 Four shields, marginal inscription and four Evangelists' symbols lost by *c.* 1780, when  
 pews were constructed in the church.

*Position:* On floor of north aisle, formerly Trinity aisle, at east end.

*Description:* The brass has been described fully by Frank Greenhill.<sup>20</sup>

*Inscription:* Provided by John Bridges, from notes probably taken in 1719-23.<sup>21</sup>

Here lyeth Syr Richarde Catesbye Knt. who dyed iv. Marcii vij.<sup>o</sup> of Edw.  
 VI. He married first the daughter of Sir John Spencer Knt. by whome he  
 had yssue William, Thomas, George, John, Isabell, Jane, and ii. he married  
 Elizabeth daughter of William Astell Esq; and by hir had Richarde,  
 Edmond, Edward, Jane and Elizabeth, and iii. he married the daughter of  
 Edmund Lord Bray, and by her had only Anne.

Note the absence of any religious content in the inscription text.

*Dimensions:* Figure, 1245 x 435 mm.

*Heraldry:* Arms emblazoned on the tabard: Quarterly of eight: 1 and 6, *Argent two lions passant guardant sable crowned or* (CATESBY); 2, *Bendy of eight or and azure a bordure gules* (MONTFORT of Lapworth, Warwickshire);<sup>22</sup> 3 and 8, *Bendy of eight or and sable a canton ermine* (BISHOPSTON);<sup>23</sup> 4, *Azure an eagle displayed argent* (WILCOTES); 5, *Or three barrulets gules, over all a bend azure* (BRANDESTON), 7, *Argent a chevron engrailed between three escallops sable* (TRILLOW).

The crest above the mantled helmet bears: *On a torse argent and gules, an antelope's head coupé at the neck argent between the attires or two battleaxes proper.*

*Slab/stonework:* Bethersden marble slab, 2705 x 1199 mm. The slab is also appropriated with a total of 54 polished-down rivet holes and lead plugs scattered over its surface. Many are outside the indents of the marginal inscription, suggesting a very large original composition, the design of which seems impossible to establish.

*Reused:* Upper portion of figure: blank - but 5 mm plate, suggesting unused imported metal. Behind a portion of the helmet mantling: a fragment of an armoured figure, *c.* 1470 (172L1). Lower portion of figure: bottom half of large effigy of an ecclesiastic standing on a lion, wearing the elaborately tasselled cross pendant of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, *c.* 1430 (172L2). The order was dissolved in England in 1540 and this may be from the priory church at Clerkenwell, London.<sup>24</sup>

Discovered: 12 September 1972 by Bryan Egan.

<sup>20</sup> F.A. Greenhill, 'Some Additions to the Northamptonshire List (III)', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 9 (1962), pp. 512-16.

<sup>21</sup> J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ed. P. Whalley, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1791), I, p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> From the marriage of John Catesby, d. 1437, to Margaret, daughter and coheir of William Montfort by Rose, daughter and coheir of Sir Hugh Brandeston.

<sup>23</sup> Sir William Catesby, d. 1470, married, as his first wife, Philippa, daughter and coheir of William Bishopston, of Bishopston, Warwickshire.

<sup>24</sup> It was kept as a store for tents and military equipment until 1550 when the structure was undermined and blown up and the stone used for the construction of the Lord Protector's Somerset House in the Strand.

The indents of the 45 mm wide marginal inscription are only just over 2mm deep, suggesting the use of recycled metal.

*Link:* None known.

*Biographical details:* Sir Richard was the grandson of the notorious supporter of Richard III, William Catesby, Speaker of the Commons in 1484, who was executed at Leicester after the battle of Bosworth. He was sheriff of Leicestershire and Warwickshire in 1540-41 and 1545-46, holding the same office for Northamptonshire in 1542-43 and later in 1550-51. By his will, dated 1 March 1552, made 'being somewhat sick in body' he left twenty shillings 'to the poor man's chest of Legers Ashby and of the town where I shall be buried'.

*Comment:* This is the second largest effigy and one of the finest in the Fermer workshop's output. Copper rivets were used throughout to secure the brass.

*Illustrated:* *MBS Portfolio*, VI, pt. 5, pls. 3a and b (obverse); *MBS Trans.*, XII, p. 102 (obverse and reverse); *ibid.*, XV, pp. 156 (head of effigy), 160, fig. 11f (hands); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 70, 71 (reverses only); *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, ed. J. Bertram (Stroud, 1996), figs. 127-28 (lifting of brass).

59      1553      **Great Hampden, Bucks.** (St. Mary Magdalene)      LSW.II  
Sir John Hampden, in armour, and two wives, Elizabeth *née* Savage, with three daughters, and [Philippa, daughter of John Wilford of London], three shields, and foot inscription (Fig. 4).

*Position:* Chancel floor.

*Description:* Sir John stands full-face between his two wives in the standard and inaccurate Fermer portrayal of armour, his head resting upon a helmet. His first wife stands on the left, wearing a pedimental head-dress and an overgown over a partlet with false sleeves. A diamond-shaped pendant hangs from her waist. Her three daughters, unusually placed between her and her husband's effigy, wear more fashionable costume. The second wife, on the right, wears the *à la mode* Paris head-dress, an overgown with puffed shoulders and an elliptical tasselled pendant. Unsurprisingly, more care has been taken by the engraver in the way she is depicted; indeed, the first wife's face is rather unflattering. Was it old stock?

*Inscription:* Three lines of Script 6:

Here Lyeth buried Sir John Hampden Knyght and Elizabeth Savage his  
furst wyfe / which *sir* John Dyed the xx<sup>th</sup> day of December in the yere of our  
Lorde God a Thow / sand fyve Hundreth fyfye and there;<sup>25</sup> On whose  
Soules Jesu haue Mercy amen.

A type 8 line terminator ends the final line.

*Dimensions:* Male figure, 646 x 182 mm; left-hand female, 519 x 195 mm; right-hand female, 510 x 195 mm.; inscription, 77 x 783 mm.

*Heraldry:* Dexter shield: *Argent a saltire gules between four eagles azure* (HAMPDEN), quartering *Or a pheon azure* (SIDNEY), *Argent on a chief gules two stags' heads cabossed or*

<sup>25</sup> Engraver's error for 'three.'



FIG. 4  
 Sir John Hampden, d. 1553, and wives Elizabeth, with three daughters, and Philippa  
 Great Hampden, Bucks.

(POPHAM) and *Azure six lions rampant three and three or* (LEYBOURNE) impaling *Argent a pale fusily sable* (SAVAGE).<sup>26</sup> Centre shield: HAMPDEN quarterly, as in the dexter shield. Sinister shield: HAMPDEN impaling *Gules a chevron between three leopards' faces or, an annulet for difference* (WILFORD).

*Reused*: Reverse of inscription, in two portions: Another to Richard Tabbe, 1490: 'Hic Jacet Ricardus Tabbe Civis et Stacioner London & Agnes vxor eiu[s] / Qui quidem Ricardus obiit xxj die mensis decembris Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC / lxxxx<sup>o</sup> et dicta Agnes obiit --- die --- A<sup>o</sup> domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC --- quorum animabus propicietur [deus]' ('Here lies Richard Tabbe, citizen and stationer of London, and Agnes his wife, which Richard died 21 December 1490 and the said Agnes died --- 14 --- on whose souls may [God] have mercy') (167L1). Probably from St. Faith's, below St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Fragment of shield, *Of six pieces or and gules, three choughs gules, a molet or in chief for difference* (TATE) (167L2). For Sir John Tate, mercer, lord mayor of London in 1514, who was buried in St. Anthony Threadneedle Street that year, 'under a fair monument by him prepared'.<sup>27</sup> Daughters and sinister shield: portions of a Trinity, *c.* 1500 (167L3-4). Centre shield and part of sinister shield: three parts of a man in armour, *c.* 1510, (167L5-7). Half dexter and sinister shields: Inscription in elegant raised letters with flowered border to John Lynde, *c.* 1450, 'Here lyith before our lady of pytty / John Lynde and hys wyffe Margery / on whoos sowlys Jesu haue mercy / & of your charyte pater [noster] & an Ave. (167L8-9; possibly from St. Mary Aldermary, London, where Lynde was churchwarden).

The three main effigies were not taken up at the time of the palimpsest discovery, on 27 June 1949, by David Rutter and R.H. Pearson.<sup>28</sup> The figures are of thin metal and are unlikely to have engraving on the reverse.

The slab has also been appropriated. Rivet holes and lead plugs for a large brass, possibly with two main figures, remain on the polished-down slab.

*Links*: None known.

*Biographical details*: Sir John Hampden was a loyal servant to the Crown, serving as Sheriff of both Buckinghamshire and Berkshire in 1528. Henry VIII sent him a special appeal for assistance during the northern rebellion in 1536 and three years later he was one of the officials appointed to receive Anne of Cleves - the plain and dull 'Mare of Flanders' - at Calais, *en route* to her short-lived marriage to Henry. He married in 1537 Elizabeth Savage, daughter of Sir John Savage, a member of the Archbishop of York's household, killed at Boulogne, and secondly, Philippa, daughter of John Wilford. His will, dated 21 June 1553, directs that he should be buried in the chancel of St. Mary Magdalene, near the Lady Elizabeth, his late wife, and named as executrix his 'well-beloved wife' Philippa. It mentions land and tenements in Kimble, Westbury and Kidlington, Oxon., and his cousin, John Hampden, his 'heir-male apparent' was bequeathed manors at Hampden Magna and Bledlow.

<sup>26</sup> Inherited from DANIELS.

<sup>27</sup> John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. J. Strype (London, 1720), II, p. 263.

<sup>28</sup> D.C. Rutter, 'Palimpsest Brasses at Great Hampden, Buckinghamshire', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 1 (1952), pp. 17-26.

*Illustrated:* G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols. (London, 1847), II, p. 290 (obverse); *MBS Trans.*, IX, pp.18-19, 22-3; Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 67 (reverses); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), pp. 108-9 (obverse and reverse).

60      1553      **Kirtling, Cambs.** (All Saints)      LSW.I

Edward Myrfin, gentleman, in civilian dress, kneeling at a faldstool, foot inscription, two shields.

*Position:* Mural in stone frame, covered by glass, chancel, described by Cole, when he visited the church on 10 August 1752: 'on the north Wall about the middle is an old handsome mural Monument in the Wall of spotted Marble with the Effigies [*sic*] of a Man on his Knees before a desk...'.<sup>29</sup>

*Description:* The bearded figure kneels on a tiled floor, facing left, dressed in a fur-edged over-gown, worn over a tunic or shirt. A book lies on the sloping top of a prayer desk, drawn with poor perspective. Two shields are on either side, with a deep foot inscription beneath (Fig 5).

*Inscription:* In twelve lines of Script 6:

Here restith the Cors of Edward Myrfin Gentilman  
 Borne in y<sup>e</sup> Citie of London · Educatid in good vertu and  
 Lernyng Traveled through all the Countreis and Notable  
 Cities, Princes Courtes with other famose places of Eu=  
 Rope and lykewise of y<sup>e</sup> Iles of grece & soe to the Turkes  
 Courte then being in the Citie of Haleppo on the Borders  
 betwene Armenia · and Siria and soe Retournyng through  
 Jury to Jerusalem & soe to Damasco and from thence pas=  
 sing by diverse Countreis with sondrye Adventures Arived  
 at lengeth in his owne Natyve Citie where shortly after  
 he Endid his liffe in the yere of our Lorde God on · M · CCCCC  
 ffyfte and three and in the xxvij yere of his Age.

Type 8 terminators end lines one, six and ten. A type 4 flourish ends the final line.

*Dimensions:* Effigy, 338 x 240 mm; inscription, 264 x 470 mm.

*Heraldry:* The two shields bear: [*?Or*] on a chevron ... a crescent ... in dexter chief a mullet ....<sup>30</sup>

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck frame, 698 x 557 mm.

*Reused:* Not yet investigated but looks like thin plate and so is unlikely to be palimpsest.

*Biographical details:* Little is known of this well-travelled young man whose inscription reads like a Cook's tour. A Thomas Myrfine, son of George Myrfine of Ely, was Master of the Skinners' Company in 1515; he became alderman of Bishopsgate ward and lord mayor of London in 1518. After his death, his widow married Sir Edward

<sup>29</sup> Palmer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> Burke, *Armory*, p. 690 gives *Or on a chevron sable a mullet argent* for MIRFIN.

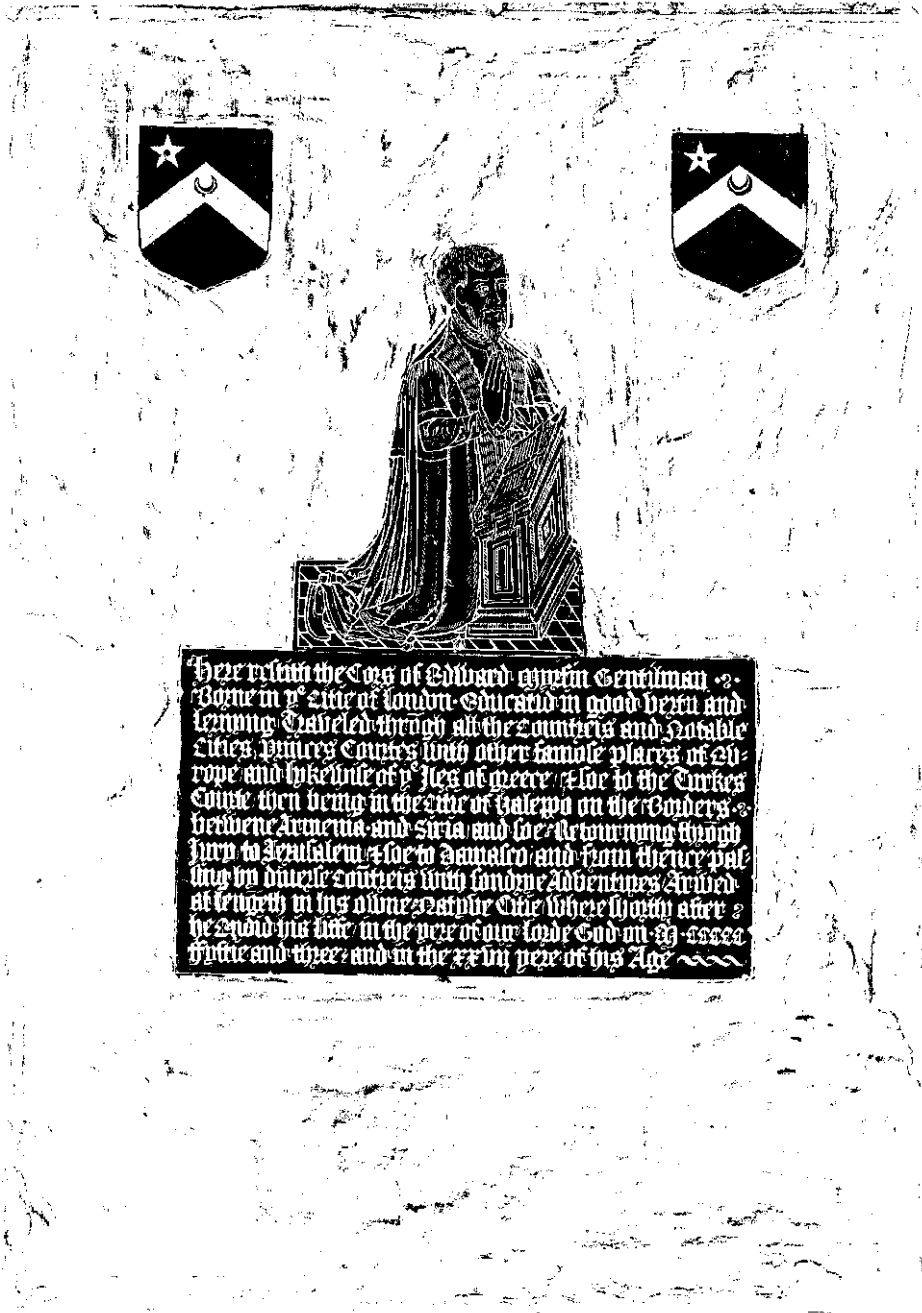


FIG. 5  
 Edward Myrfin, d. 1553  
 Kirtling, Cambs.

North of Kirtling. The same lord mayor was a great-grandfather to both Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden.<sup>31</sup>

*Illustrated:* Heseltine, *Cambridgeshire*, no. 45; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 173.

61      1553      **Halton, Bucks.** (St. Michael and All Angels)      LSW.I  
Henry Bradschawe, esq., chief baron of the exchequer, in judicial robes, and wife Joan [Hirst] with four sons and four daughters, all kneeling, foot inscription, one shield.

*Position:* Relaid on an elm board, mural, chancel. Before 1813, mural, north wall of the chancel.

*Description:* Both figures kneel on tiled floors before prayer desks, similar but squatter to that seen on the preceding brass at Kirtling (no. 60). The bare-headed male figure, on the left, with four sons kneeling behind, wears judicial robes with the hood thrown back. The female, with four daughters also kneeling behind, wears a veiled Paris head-dress, with the metal cut away to take a coloured resin. She has an over-gown with puffed shoulders and long false sleeves. The daughters wear similar costume. One shield is positioned above the figures and a three-line foot inscription is placed below (Fig. 6).

*Inscription:* Three lines of Script 6:

Orate *pro animabus* Henrici Bradschawe Armigeri Capitalis Baron Scaccarij /  
domini Regis & Johane vxoris eius qui quidem Henricus obiit xxvij<sup>o</sup> / die Julii  
Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> v<sup>c</sup> liij. & Anno vij<sup>o</sup> Regni Regis Edwardi vj<sup>ti</sup> cuius anime  
*propicietur deus*

Translation: 'Pray for the souls of Henry Bradschawe esquire, chief baron of the lord king's exchequer, and Joan his wife; which Henry died on the twenty-seventh day of July in the year of Our Lord 1553 and in the seventh year of King Edward VI's reign; upon whose souls may God have mercy'.<sup>32</sup>

*Dimensions:* Male and sons, 257 x 255 mm; female and daughters, 252 x 271 mm; inscription, 82 x 533 mm.

*Heraldry:* Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Argent two bends sable on a chief or a fleur de lys between two demi roses gules* (BRADSHAW); 2 and 3, *Party bendwise azure and argent a cross crosslet azure* (GOURNAY), quartered with *Argent on a cross sable five lozenges argent* (BRIGHTWELL of Chearsley), impaling *Argent a hearse (six batons interlaced) azure* (HURST).

A (?seventeenth-century) vandal has scratched the initials 'R.P' in the lead representing *argent* in the latter coat.

*Reused:* Reverse of male and shield: Portions of the feet of a large civilian from 'Gyfford' workshop, wearing square-toed shoes and standing on 'spiky' grass with plants, c. 1540, and blank piece of plate (166L1-3). Inscription, another in three Latin lines, in three pieces: 'Hic [ia]cent Johannes Randolff Armigeri qui obiit --- die mensis

<sup>31</sup> *Trans. MBS*, IV, pt. 2 (1900), p. 77

<sup>32</sup> This method of dating is used in Exchequer records. The 'vij' was omitted and had to be inserted.





FIG. 6

Henry Bradschawe, chief baron of the exchequer, d. 1553, and wife  
Halton, Bucks.

--- / Anno domin[i] MCCCC° lxx° ---- et Margareta vxor eius que obiit vltimo die mensis Septembris / M° CC[C]CXIX°. Et Anno Regni Regis Edwardi iiii<sup>ti</sup> post [conqu]estum Anglie ix° quorum Animabus propicietur.' (166L5-7) ('Here lie John Randolff, esquire, who died ---- / 147- and Margaret his wife, who died on the last day of September 1469 and in the ninth year of the reign of King Edward IV after the conquest of England, on whose souls may (God) have mercy.'). Wife: Middle section of priest in surplice and furred almuce, c. 1510 (166L4). Daughters: Lower portion of civilian, c. 1500 (166L8).

The Randolff inscription may commemorate an usher of the Receipt to Henry VI, who died in 1489-90 and was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster. As Canon Rutter points out, if this is the case, it is ironic that the brass should have been appropriated, sixty-three years later, for a memorial to an officer of his own department.<sup>33</sup>

Discovered: July 1950 by David Rutter.

*Link:* The plate bearing the civilian's feet links with the reverses of the man and woman at Easton Neston, 1552, no. 44 (165L17-18).

*Biographical details:* Bradschawe was the eldest child of William Bradschawe, gentleman, whose curious bespoke 'Gifford' style brass, dated 1537, at Wendover, Bucks., was stolen in 1980. He was Commissioner for the Survey of Chantries in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1546 and became chief baron of the exchequer on 21 May 1552. One of his last actions was to witness Edward VI's will in favour of Lady Jane Grey. He died nine days after Mary's accession and six days before her arrival in London and was therefore spared her wrath. His will asked that he be buried in Halton church 'where the Sepulcre was wont to stande and my Armes and baners there to be set vpp'.<sup>34</sup> His wife Joan was buried at Noke, Oxon., where a Johnson-style brass, dated 1598, commemorates her and her first husband William Manwaringe, of East Ham, Essex, together with Bradschawe.<sup>35</sup>

*Illustrated:* Lipscomb, *Buckingham*, II, p. 225 (obverse); *MBS Trans.*, VII, p. 243; *ibid.*, IX, pp. 257 (obverse), 258 (reverse); *ibid.*, XV, p. 156 (head of male figure); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 67-8 (reverses); Lack, Stuchfield and Whitemore, *Buckinghamshire*, p. 100 (obverse and reverse).

62      1553      **Shorne, Kent** (St. Peter and St. Paul)      LOST  
Inscription to Edmund Page, gentleman, d. 1550, who at the time of his death had five sons and two daughters by Eleanor, his wife then living. Formerly in nave, but lost between 1812 and 1828. Known from a dabbing by Thomas Fisher, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and his subsequent drawing,<sup>36</sup> done when the brass was in the chancel, and another, in the Alexander Collection (Phillips MS 3448, f. 107), dated 12 June 1810 and endorsed 'Loose brass found in Shorne church near Rochester' (Fig. 7).

*Inscription:* Six lines of Script 6:

Here Lyeth Edmonde Page Late of Shorne Ge[nt which dyed]  
the vij day of February in the v<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reygne o[f Kynge Edward]  
the syxt, and in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lord God M<sup>i</sup> CCCC L. On [whose soul Jhu]  
haue Mercy, who had att the tyme of his dethe v So[nnes and ij]  
Dowghters that ys to say Thomas Elyzabeth, William [George, Lionell]  
John and Agnes by Elenore his onely wyfe then li[ving]

Missing words supplied from John Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense* (London, 1769), p. 760.

<sup>33</sup> D.C. Rutter, 'A Find of Palimpsests at Halton, Bucks.', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 5 (1955), p. 251.

<sup>34</sup> Rutter, 'Halton', pp. 253-59.

<sup>35</sup> Illustrated in Rutter, 'Halton', p. 264.

<sup>36</sup> Also in BL, Add. MS. 32372, f. 124

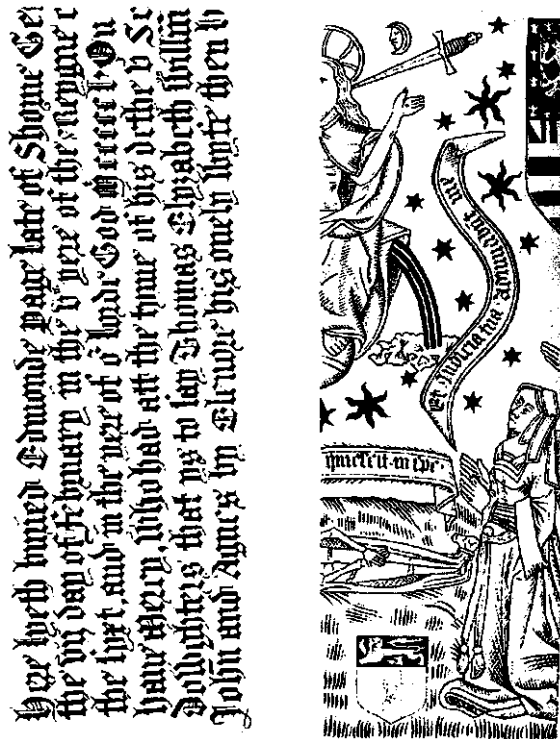


FIG. 7  
 Lost inscription to Edmund Page, d. 1550, engraved c. 1553, and reverse  
 formerly Shorne, Kent  
 from a drawing by Thomas Fisher, c. 1805  
 Collection of the Society of Antiquaries

*Dimensions:* Extant on dabbling, 610 x 152 mm.

*Reused:* Reverse, smaller portion, in two pieces, inscription in English verses: 'And when lyffe is past / But of our good dedys / Wherefore we pray yow / John Hall & Kateryne / Which 34 yer were' (1529) (160L1). Larger portion, more of the same brass, a rectangular plate showing a recumbent shroud, with a lady in a pedimental head-dress kneeling, facing left, praying to a figure of Our Lord in Majesty, seated on a rainbow, a sword by his mouth, with stars, moons and estoiles and a sword in the sky. Her scroll reads: 'et judicia tua adjuvabunt me'. A portion of another, horizontal scroll reads: '...[re]quiescit in spe'. Below is a small shield bearing *Barry nebuly argent and azure on a chief gules a lion passant gardant or* (STAPLE OF CALAIS).<sup>37</sup> A small portion of a larger shield is above the lady's figure, bearing, Quarterly, 1, *Gules a wyvern or on a bordure azure eight fleur de lys and eight lions rampant passant or* (HALL); 2, (Lost); 3, *Barry, the chief paly, the corners gyronny argent and azure, an escutcheon argent* (MORTIMER); 4, (Lost) (160L2).

<sup>37</sup> Wrongly given as arms of city of Rochester in *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXI, pt. 1 (1801), p. 497 and repeated in *MBS Trans.*, IV, pt. 4 (1901), p. 155.

The iconography of the rectangular plate comes directly from the *Apocalypse*, 1, vv. 16-17. This is almost certainly the brass to John and Katherine Hall, parents of the chronicler Edmund Hall of Gray's Inn. By his will, dated 1529, John desired to be buried in the hospital of St. Thomas Acres, London, dissolved on 20 October 1538.<sup>38</sup> In 1542 the church was granted to the Mercers' Company. The brass was probably torn up in the Edwardian purges and found its way back to the Fermer workshop for recycling. Katherine Hall died in 1557 and was buried in St. Benet Sherehog, London.

Discovered: 1801.

*Link:* Hall inscription links with Dry Drayton, no. 51, *c.* 1552 (159L10).

*Biographical details:* A 'Daston' figure-style brass, dated 1583, survives at Shorne to Page's wife, Elynor, only daughter and heir of John Hearnden of Shorne, who later married John Allen, gentleman.<sup>39</sup> His eldest son, Thomas, also has an inscription in Roman capitals in the church, dated 1558 but engraved much later.<sup>40</sup>

63      1553      **Northiam, Sussex**      M.S. III

Inscription, Richard Sharp, gentleman, much worn (Fig. 8).

*Position:* Once on window ledge of south aisle, now mural on a board, north chapel. Loose in March 1909 and recorded as lost after 1963 in *Palimpsests*.

*Inscription:* Three lines of Script 6:

Orate *pro* anima Ricardi Sharp generosi qui obiit decimo  
(die Januarii)<sup>41</sup> anno domini milesimo quingentesimo quin-  
quagesimo tertio cuius anime propicietur deus Amen.

Translated: 'Pray for the soul of Richard Sharp, gentleman, who died the tenth day of January A.D. 1553, on whose soul may God have mercy, Amen.'

*Dimensions:* 470 x 76 mm.

*Reused:* Inscription in three lines of black-letter '... Thomas Hastynges quondam ciuis et piscinarius London qui obiit / .... anno domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> vj Et Angnes vxor eius que obiit / .... [men]sis desember anno domini M<sup>o</sup> V<sup>c</sup> quorum animabus propicietur deus amen.' ([Here lies] Thomas Hastynges, sometime citizen and fishmonger of London who died... A.D. 1506 and Agnes his wife, who died ....December 1500, on whose souls may God have mercy.) (174L1). Hastings, in his will, described himself as of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, London and Friars Minors.

Discovered by 1938.

*Biographical details:* Sharp married Alice, daughter of Nicholas Tufton, coroner of Hastings Rape in 1535, who died in 1538 and has a figure brass in Northiam church.

<sup>38</sup> VCH, *London*, I (London, 1909), p. 494.

<sup>39</sup> Illustrated in W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905), II, p. 124, no. 415. A mutilated inscription to John Herenden, 1527, formerly in the south chapel, is also now lost.

<sup>40</sup> Illustrated in Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, p. 123, no. 413.

<sup>41</sup> The month is now completely illegible but is supplied from a transcript made by Sir William Burrell in 1777 and now in BL, Add. MS 5697, f. 95.

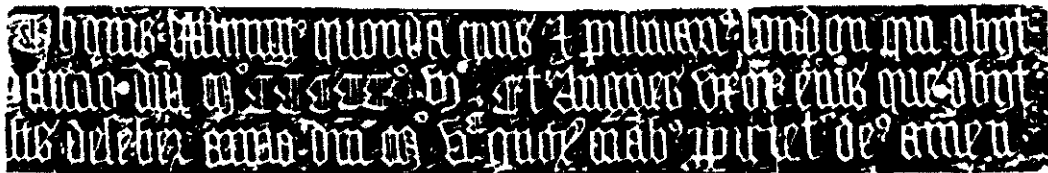


FIG. 8

Inscription, Richard Sharp, gentleman, 1553, and reverse  
Northiam, Sussex

*After Sussex Archaeological Collections*

*Illustrated:* C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXIX (1938), p. 78 (obverse and reverse); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 71 (reverse only).

64      c. 1553\*      **Upminster, Essex** (St. Laurence)      LSW.IV  
Lady, holding a book, c. 1553.

*Position:* Mural, north aisle.

*Description:* Lady, wearing a Paris head-dress and a dress with a furred collar, elaborately puffed and slashed shoulders and sleeves with long false sleeves, holding a book. A square pendant hangs from her waist. She faces left and was clearly part of a larger composition (Fig. 9).

Mill Stephenson gives a possible identification as Elizabeth, wife of Ralph Latham esq., 1557,<sup>42</sup> and Wilson says the original tomb had the figure of a man in armour, his wife and seven sons and five daughters beneath.<sup>43</sup> However, the quality and delicacy of the engraving, particularly in the portrayal of the face, warrants this effigy's inclusion in the Fermer figure style.

*Dimensions:* 462 x 170 mm.

*Reused:* Blank on reverse. 2 mm thick plate.

*Illustrated:* *Antiquary*, XXXVIII (1902), p. 6; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), II, p. 739.

<sup>42</sup> M. Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 138. Latham was a citizen and goldsmith of London. His wife was a daughter of Sir William Roche.

<sup>43</sup> T.L. Wilson, *History and Topography of Upminster* (Romford, 1880-1), p. 75.

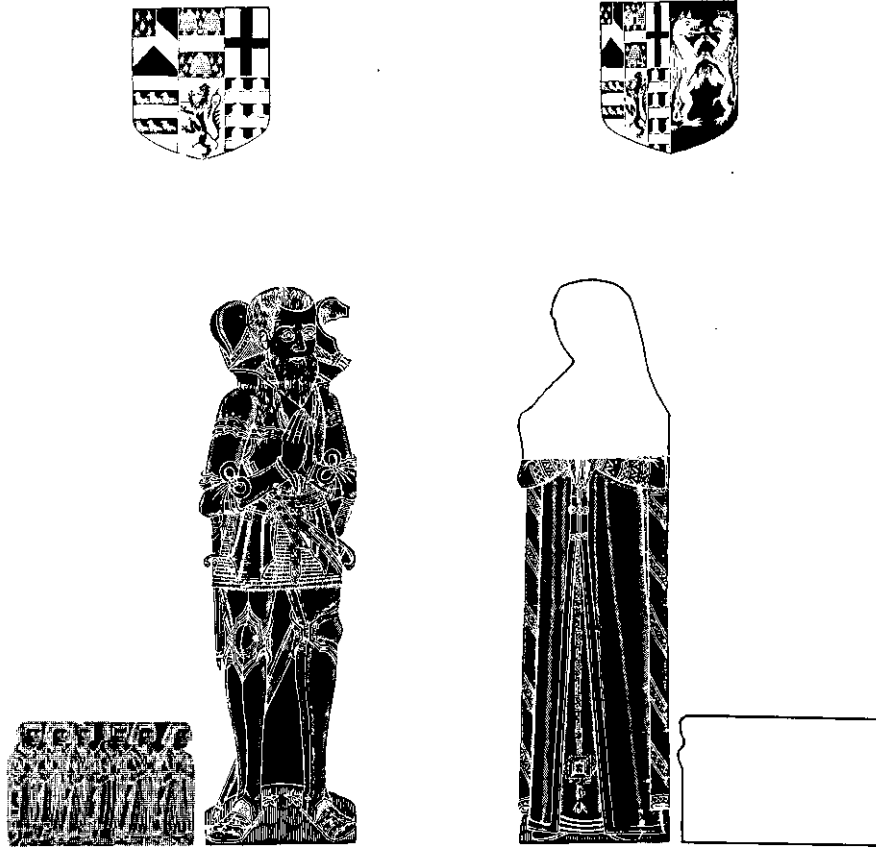


FIG. 9  
 Lady holding a book, c. 1553  
 Upminster, Essex  
*Rubbing by Derrick Chivers*

65      c. 1553\*      **Blatherwyck, Northants.** (Holy Trinity)      M.S. I  
 Sir Humfrey Stafford, d. 1548, in armour, and wife Margaret (Tame), upper part of  
 her effigy lost, with six sons, daughters lost, four shields and foot inscription.

*Position:* Now mural, north chapel. Once on the floor.

*Description:* Male figure, bearded, stands on the left in armour with six sons behind,  
 some with bobbed hair. Wife, on the right, wears a dress, fastened with clasps, with  
 an elaborate design on the arms and long false sleeves. A square tasselled pendant  
 hangs from her waist (Fig. 10).



here lieth buried Sir Humfrey Stafford knight one of the Barons for the  
body to the late King of famous memory King Henry the first & as he hath his  
Wife Margaret here of Sir Humfrey Stafford knight which Humfrey has since died  
the first day of August the first year whose soules you take to his grace Amen.



FIG. 10  
Sir Humfrey Stafford, d. 1548, and wife Margaret, c. 1553  
Blatherwyck, Northants.

*Inscription:* Four lines of Script 5:

Here under lyeth buried sir Humfrey Stafford knyght one of y<sup>e</sup> Esquyers for the body to the late kyng of famous memorye kyng henry the viij & Margaret his wyfe sone & heire of sir Humfrey Stafford knyght whiche Humfrey his sone dyed y<sup>e</sup> viij day of Maye Anno M<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> xlvij whose soules Jhesu take to his marcy Amen.

*Dimensions:* Male figure, 652 x 186 mm; female, (originally) 658 x 174 mm.

*Heraldry:* Upper and lower dexter shields: Quarterly of six: 1, *Or a chevron gules a canton ermine* (STAFFORD); 2, *Ermine a fess sable between three frays or* (FRAY); 3, *Azure a cross argent* (AYLESBURY); 4, *Azure two bars argent each charged with three martlets gules* (BURDETT); 5, *Per chief gules and azure a lion rampant or* (HASTINGS); 6, *Vair three bars gules* (?KEYNES). Upper and lower sinister, the same, impaling *Argent a dragon vert and a lion azure crowned gules combatant* (TAME).

*Slab/stonework:* Relaid in late sixteenth century in new ironstone slabs in a carved frame in local oolitic limestone. The plates were fixed by pouring molten lead from behind through holes cut through the slab.

*Reused:* Reverse of male figure and wife: part of a civilian and four portions of a lady, with dog wearing a collar of bells, all probably from the same brass, *c.* 1430 (141L1-5). *Inscription:* drapery from right-hand side of figure, *c.* 1460 (141L6), and centre and lower portion of three sons, *c.* 1470 (141L7). Upper sinister shield: two pieces with unrecognisable engraving (141L8). Other shields: linking portions of an inscription, partially destroyed by filing down, '[He]re [un]dyr th[is marble? St]one [lyeth wtn th]ys to[ombe Jasper] / ffyloll & Johanne h[is] wife the why[ch] Jasper was brody[r] / [un]to Katyn Stran[g]ways wedowe that her lyeth whom. / causyd thys tombe to be made oonlye I[n] the extent that every / cristyn bodye specially of theyre kynred lynage or acqueyta[nce] / sight thereof the [o]thyr & o... & pray for the / be remembryd &...' (141L10-12). In her will, dated 21 July 1504, Katherine Strangways wished to be buried in the Blackfriars, London, at the discretion of her brother Jasper Filoll 'to see our tombes made as belongith for his [her husband's] degre and myn'.<sup>44</sup> Sons: worn Trinity, late fifteenth century. (141L13).

The eight rivets used to refix the brass in the late sixteenth century were cut from another brass. Two are parts of a face (141L14).

Discovered by Bryan Egan, 1970.

*Comment:* Script 5 made its first appearance in association with the Fermer style at Shipton-under-Wychwood (no.10), 1548, and reappears late in the series, beginning here at Blatherwyck and continuing at Banwell and Charlwood.

Redated on resemblance of male figure's design to the effigy of Peter Coryton at St.Mellion and the later costume depicted on the wife's brass.

*Illustrated:* *MBS Portfolio*, VII, pt. 4 (1973); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls. 48, 50, 51; *MBS Trans.*, XV, pp. 156 (male face), 160, fig.11d (male hands), 173 (tomb).

<sup>44</sup> Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, I, pp. 49-50.





FIG. 11

Lady, engraved c. 1553, possibly Frances née Welles, first wife of Edmund Roberts, d. 1560  
Willesden, Middx.

Rubbing by Frank Wheaton

66      c. 1553\*      **Willesden, Middx.** (St. Mary)      M.S. VI  
Lady, kneeling, with two sons and four daughters. Lower left-hand corner missing (Fig. 11).

*Position:* It was returned in 1917 by the family of a former recumbent who retained it after the 1852 restoration of the church.<sup>45</sup> In or about 1923 it was mounted on the south wall of the nave. Now mural, chancel, in a new slab and relaid again by Bryan Egan in August 2000.

*Description:* Lady kneeling facing left, wearing Paris head-dress, dress with puffed and slashed shoulders and long false sleeves. Immediately behind her are two sons in civil dress and bobbed hair and four daughters in Paris head-dresses.

Clearly, the plate belongs to a larger brass with another figure or figures as part of the composition. Valentine attributes the brass to Frances *née* Welles, first wife of Edmund Roberts, d. 1560, and conjectures that the plate became superfluous and was ousted from the church when a later brass to Roberts and his two wives (M.S. IV) was erected in 1585.<sup>46</sup> It may be that the original brass merely had figures

<sup>45</sup> C. Wadsworth, 'Willesden Mother and Children', *MBS Bulletin*, 72 (June 1996), pp. 241-2.

<sup>46</sup> K.J. Valentine, 'The Roberts Family of Willesden', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXXVI (1989), pp.183-8.

of Roberts and his first wife, kneeling and facing each other. It seems more likely that the brass remained in the church; moreover, 1560 looks too late by a few years for a design that clearly has Fermer hallmarks in the excellence and boldness of the engraving technique of the main figure, as well as a much earlier feel to the design of the sons. In dating the brass, the late V.J. Torr correctly compared it to the Fermer products at Maidstone Museum (no. 47, redated here to *c.* 1552) and Charlwood, (no. 74, also redated to *c.* 1555).<sup>47</sup> However, Frances did have two sons and four daughters and the identification thus seems convincing.

*Dimensions:* 329 x 260 mm (allowing for mutilation).

*Reused:* 2mm plate, blank on the reverse.

*Illustrated:* *MBS Trans.*, VII, p. 285; *MBS Bulletin*, 72 (June 1996), p. 242.

67 *c.* 1553\* **St. Mellion, Cornwall** (St. Melanus) LSW.I

Peter Coryton, esq., d. 1551, in armour, and wife Jane, with seventeen sons and seven daughters, three shields, four symbols and marginal inscription.<sup>48</sup>

*Position:* Relaid on a wooden board, mural, south aisle.<sup>49</sup> Since *c.* 1700, the brass, in its original slab, had been secured to the south wall of the nave. Probably originally on a table tomb, as indicated by the lack of wear on the plates.

*Description:* The balding, bearded figure of Coryton stands in armour on the left, facing his wife, who wears a none-too-fashionable pedimental headdress. Possibly this was a stock figure. Three shields are above and the plates representing the children below. At the corners of the marginal inscription are small plates, in lieu of Evangelists' symbols, bearing heraldic animals repeated from the shields - a lion, a talbot, a greyhound and a donkey or jackass. Presumably these subjects were chosen, instead of the normal Evangelists' symbols, to avoid damage to the brass from religious reformers.

*Inscription:* Marginal inscription in Script 6:

+ Here under lyethe the Bodye of Petter / Coryton Esquyer whiche Dyed the xxiii<sup>th</sup> daye of Marche in yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde God M<sup>t</sup> CCCC Li and Jane his wyffe, Daughter & Ere / unto John Tregasso whyche Jane Dyed the / --- day of ---- in the yere of our Lorde God M<sup>t</sup> CCCC ---- Of whose soull<sup>e</sup> God have M<sup>'</sup>cy; which had betwene the(m) xxiiii Children

*Dimensions:* Male, 656 x 195 mm; female, 616 x 213 mm.

*Heraldry:* Dexter shield: Quarterly of ten; 1, *Argent a saltire sable* (CORYTON); 2, *Argent on a chevron sable between three cinquefoils gules three horse-shoes argent* (FERRERS); 3, *Gules two lions passant argent collared or* (BODULGATE); 4, *Argent a fess azure between three estoiles argent* (CATHUTER); 5, *Per saltire argent and sable* (DEVIOCK); 6, *Azure two greyhounds*

<sup>47</sup> V.J. Torr, 'An Unrecorded Lady at Willesden, Middx.', *MBS Trans.*, VII, p. 284.

<sup>48</sup> The record number of children by one wife, represented on brasses. See Page-Phillips, *Children on Brasses*, (London, 1970), p. 16. Twenty-four children by one wife are also shown on a *c.* 1520 brass at Burnham, Bucks. (LSW II), but the sons there have now been lost.

<sup>49</sup> J. Polsue, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, 4 vols. (Truro, 1867-72), III, pp. 307-8 records the brass in the south transept: 'Over this tomb hang a sword, helmet, dagger, and spur.' This was presumably noted before the restoration of the church in 1862.

*courant argent* (ROWE); 7, ?....*a chevron... between three griffins' heads erased...* (?); 8, *Gules two wings conjoined argent a mullet for difference* (REYNEY); 9, ?....*an oaktree growing out of the base... surmounted by a fess..., a crescent for difference* (?); 10, ?....*a Cornish chough...* (?). Sinister shield: Quarterly 1 and 4: *Argent a chevron gules between three talbots azure* (TREGASSO); 2, *Gules a mule passant argent* (MOYLE); 3, *Argent a chevron between three eagle's legs erased sable* (BRAY). Centre shield, the arms on the dexter shield impaling those on the sinister shield.

*Reused*: Reverse of major portion of male and female figures: priest in cope, c.1430 (168L1-2). Reverse of centre shield: Latin vv., '...us habenas / ...quia scencio penas / ...[ex]emplum moriendi / ...[tem]pus adest miserendi / ... me que rogato / ... chi proximus huic tumulto' c. 1430, possibly associated with the priest (168L3). Dexter shield: centre portion of torso of man in armour, c.1465 (168L4). Daughters: lower portion of a lady, c. 1470 (168L5), a line of drapery of indeterminate date (168L6), a tiny piece of metal with indeterminate engraving, no date (168L7). Right foot of male: another indeterminate piece of engraving, no date (168L8). Head of male: centre portion of civilian in furred gown, showing hands, c. 1510 (168L9). Foot of female: three lines of inscription, c. 1490, 'Kateryn Sprygonell..... tyme doug[?hter]..... / John Sprygonell of London goldsmyt[h]...../ Anne his wyfe on whos soule Ihesu haue m[ercy]....' (168L10). Possibly from the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, London. Sinister shield (in two pieces): three lines of inscription ' [John] and An[ne].... wyfe which John.../ ...[ou]re lord M<sup>t</sup> CCCCC And the said Anne / ... [L]ord M V<sup>c</sup> V on whose soullis ihesu haue mer[cy]...', 1505 (168L11-12). Sons: Canopy work with St. Peter holding a key, worn, Flemish or French work, c. 1380 (168L13).

The marginal inscription is made up of 14 pieces of 2 mm thick metal, blank on the reverse. The entire brass comprises a jigsaw of 27 pieces, reflecting a shortage of metal during manufacture.<sup>50</sup>

Discovered: 1967 by Bryan Egan and John Page-Phillips.

*Link*: Reverse of sons (168L13) links directly with raised-letter Latin inscription on reverse of the Latin verses at Milton, Cambs., no. 54, 1553 (169L1).

*Biographical details*: Coryton was the son of Richard Coryton of West Newton, Cornwall, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Reyney of Eggesford, Devon. The property came into the family on the marriage of Isolda, daughter and heiress of John de Ferrers, to John Coryton, esq., of Lifton, Devon, in 1314. The subject of the brass, aged around 30 at his father's death, married Jane, daughter and heir of John Tregasso of St. Erme, Cornwall. His son and heir, Richard, married Anne, second daughter of Richard Coode of Morval, and died about 1566. The male line became extinct on the death of Sir John Coryton in 1739.<sup>51</sup>

*Illustrated*: E.H.W. Dunkin, *Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1882), pl. XXIX (obverse); *MBS Trans.*, XI, pp. 409-11 (reverse); Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pls.

<sup>50</sup> J.C. Page-Phillips, 'A Palimpsest Discovery at St. Mellion, Cornwall', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 407-12.

<sup>51</sup> E.H. Dunkin, *Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London 1882), p. 33; Polsue, *Cornwall*, p. 309.

68-70 (reverse); *MBS Trans.*, XV, p.161 (obverse); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1997), pp. 136, 138 (obverse, reverse).

68        *c.* 1553\*        **Watton-at-Stone, Herts.** (St. Mary and St. Andrew) M.S. VII  
Upper part of a lady, two shields and mutilated marginal inscription, remains of the brass to Sir Philip Butler, d. 1545,<sup>52</sup> and wife Elizabeth. Another shield probably belonging to this brass relaid in a new stone in north chapel.

*Position:* Nave floor in front of chancel steps.

*Description:* The indent of the lost male figure indicates that it was in armour, standing sideways facing left, and was probably bareheaded without a helmet behind its head. The base was a grass mound. Only the upper two-thirds survives of the brass to his wife, on the right, and this portrays her in a less than flattering light: her face is lined and creased. She wears the veiled Paris head-dress and the familiar gown with puffed and slashed shoulders and long false sleeves. The top portion of a square pendant appears just above the break in the figure.

*Inscription:* Small fragment of marginal text in Script 6:

.....knight late Lorde of Wodhale which deceased t[he]....

The strip of metal is unusually wide for a marginal inscription: 45 mm.<sup>53</sup>

*Dimensions:* Male indent, 725 mm x 225 mm, female, 700 mm (of which 510 mm remains) x 215 mm.

*Heraldry:* Upper dexter shield: *Argent on a chief vert a tace between two pierced mullets or* (DRURY). Lower sinister shield: *Argent a sword in bend sable* (KILPEC) quartering *Gules a fess chequy or and sable between six crosslets argent* (BUTLER). Third shield: BUTLER quartering KILPEC.

*Biographical details:* Philip Butler (Boteler) was the son of John Butler and his second wife, Dorothy, daughter of William Terrell of Gipping. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Drury of Hawstead and had twelve sons and seven daughters.<sup>54</sup> He was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1537-8. He died on 28 March 1545 seised of the manor of Wodehall with the advowson of the church of Watton, the manor of Aston (with the advowson of the church), the manor of Sele, in Hertford, and lands in Sacomb and Bengeo. He was succeeded by his son, Sir John, then aged 31.<sup>55</sup>

*Illustrated:* *MBS Trans.*, XV, p.159; M. Rensten, *Hertfordshire Brasses* (Stevenage, 1982), fig. 74, p. 86.

*Comment:* The costume of the wife, with ruff, Paris head-dress, and false sleeves indicates a much later date than 1545, the traditional date assigned to this brass.

<sup>52</sup> N. Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire* (London, 1728), p. 217 wrongly says he died in 1549; the date of death was 28 March 1545.

<sup>53</sup> It is 40 mm wide at Ossington, Notts, no. 32, 1551 and Chilton, no. 69, 1554.

<sup>54</sup> Salmon, *Hertfordshire*, p. 217.

<sup>55</sup> J. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, 3 vols. (London 1870-81), II, Hundred of Broadwater, p. 169.

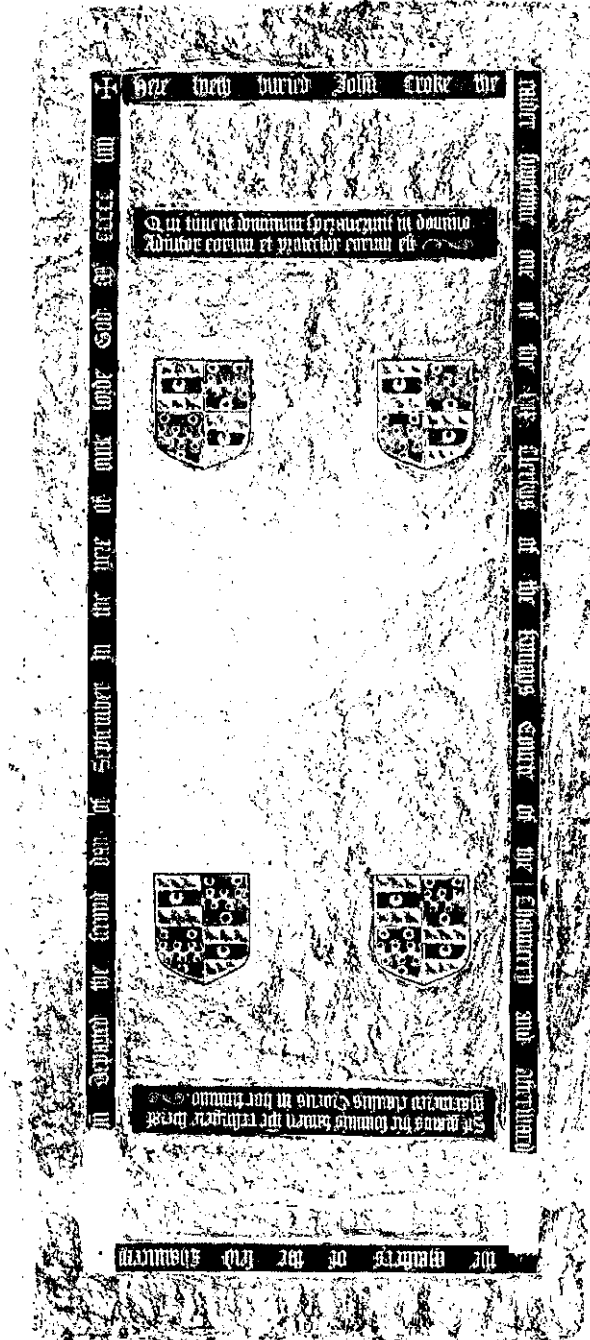


FIG. 12  
John Croke the elder, d. 1554  
Chilton, Bucks.

69 1554 **Chilton, Bucks.** (St. Mary) LSW.I

Marginal inscription, slightly mutilated, four shields and two other inscriptions, John Croke 'the ealder'.

*Position:* Floor of south chapel.

*Description:* Wide marginal inscription with small losses to lower left and right strips. Within, two plates with Latin texts, one designed to be read from the east, the other from the west. Between these are four shields. The bottom end of the slab, measuring about 200 mm deep, appears to have been sliced off at some time and then replaced, possibly accounting for the damage (Fig. 12).

*Inscriptions:* All Script 6:

+ Here lyeth buried John Croke the / ealder sumtyme one of the six Clerkys of the Kyngys Courte of the Chauncery and afterward [one of] / the Maisters of the seid Chauncery / [which Joh]n Departed the second day of September In the yere of oure Lorde God M<sup>c</sup>CCCC liiii.

The initial cross is engraved at the end of the final strip of marginal inscription, indicating an omission in the engraving or an afterthought. Missing words supplied from Sir Alexander Croke, *The Genealogical History of the Croke Family* (London, 1832).

Top inscription: Qui timent dominum speraverunt in domino /

Adjutor eorum et protector eorum est.

Translation: 'Those who fear the Lord have hope in the Lord, their helper and protector'. A type 3 flourish terminates the second line.

Bottom inscription: Sit gravis hic somnus tamen ipse resurgere sperat /

Marmereo clausus Crocus in hoc tumulo

Translated: 'May his sleep be sound here. Nevertheless, Croke in this marble tomb hopes to rise again.' A type 7 flourish ends line two.

*Dimensions:* Marginal inscriptions 1700 x 630 x 40 mm; inscriptions 65 x 510 mm.

*Heraldry:* Four shields bearing, Quarterly 1 and 4, *Gules a fess between six martlets argent, a crescent for difference* (CROKE of Chilton); 2 and 3, *Argent on a fess nebuly between three annulets gules six bezants* (HEYNE).

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck marble, 1855 x 790 mm.

*Reused:* Reverse of upper dexter and sinister shields: portions of figure wearing a judge's robes, *c.* 1440 (175L5-6). A weave of cloth or paper was used to help the lead solder wipe set in joining these fragments to form the upper dexter shield. Lower dexter: Part of the centre section of a civilian, showing part of face and hands, *c.* 1510 (175L1), and a small piece with indeterminate engraving (175L2). Lower sinister: part of a lady, *c.* 1440 (175L3), possibly associated with the original brass to a judge.

Discovered: 1974 by Bryan Egan.<sup>56</sup>

*Biographical details:* Croke purchased Chilton in 1529, the year he was appointed comptroller of the Hanaper. He became clerk of inrolments in 1534 and a serjeant at law twelve years later. He was elected M.P. for Chippenham in 1547 and became master in chancery in 1549.

<sup>56</sup> M. Rawlins and B. Egan, 'A Non-Figure "Fermour" Brass at Chilton, Bucks.,' *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 1 (1975), pp.105-13.

*Illustrated: MBS Trans., XII, pp 106, 110-11 (obverse and reverse); Page-Phillips, Palimpsests, II, pl. 72 (reverse); Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Buckinghamshire, p. 43.*

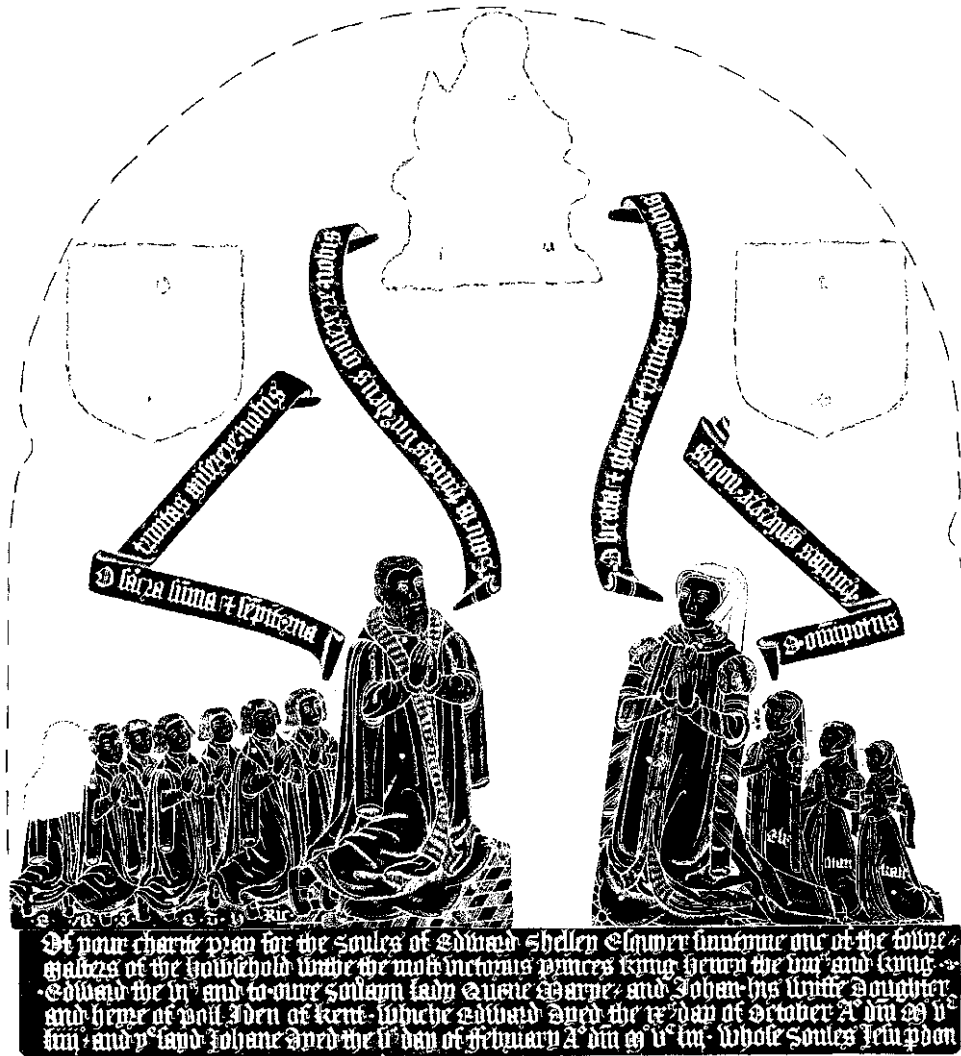


FIG. 13

Edward Shelley, d. 1554, and wife Joan  
Warminghurst, Sussex  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

70      1554      **Warminghurst, Sussex (Holy Sepulchre)**      M.S. I  
Edward Shelley, esq., in civil dress, and wife Joan, with seven sons (one mutilated) and three daughters, inscription, four prayer scrolls, but two shields and a Trinity lost (Fig. 13).

*Position:* In a carved arched Purbeck frame, mural, north wall of chancel.

*Description:* Shelley, on the left, is shown kneeling on a tiled floor, heavily bearded, wearing a furred gown, his sons kneeling behind him, each one identified by the initial letter of his Christian name at his feet. The last son is mutilated, with the head deliberately cut off. This is Edward who was martyred in the Catholic cause at Tyburn on 30 August 1588. The mutilation may have been the action of a herald who was ordered to destroy the monument to a traitor.<sup>57</sup> Facing is the figure of his wife, wearing a Paris head-dress and a bowed dress with long false sleeves. The three daughters, kneeling behind her, are identified by their names engraved on their gowns. The male scroll reads: 'Sancta trinitas unus deus miserere nobis' (Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy upon us). The wife's scroll is inscribed: 'O beata et gloriosa trinitas Miserere nobis' (O blessed and glorious Trinity, have mercy upon us). That above the sons reads 'O sacra summa et sempiterna trinitas Miserere nobis' (O holy, mighty and everlasting Trinity, have mercy upon us) and that above the daughters: 'O omnipotens trinitas Miserere nobis (O Almighty Trinity, have mercy upon us).

The brass retains some colouring - red in the cross-hatching forming the background to the sons and daughters. Mastic is preserved in some of the lettering.

*Inscription:* Five lines of Script 6:

Of your charite pray for the soules of Edward Shelley Esquyer sumtyme one  
of the fowre / Masters of the Howsehold withe the most victorius Princes  
Kyng Henry the viii<sup>th</sup> and Kyng / Edward the vi<sup>th</sup> and to oure Souerayn lady  
Quene Marye, and Johan his wyffe Doughter / and heyre of Poll Iden of  
Kent · whiche Edward Dyed the ix<sup>th</sup> day of October Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> V<sup>c</sup> / liiii<sup>o</sup>  
and y<sup>e</sup> sayd Johane Dyed the v<sup>th</sup> day of ffebruary Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> V<sup>c</sup> liii<sup>o</sup> ·  
whose Soules Jesu pardon

*Dimensions:* Male figure, 306 x 410 mm; female, 298 x 290 mm; inscription, 107 x 770 mm.

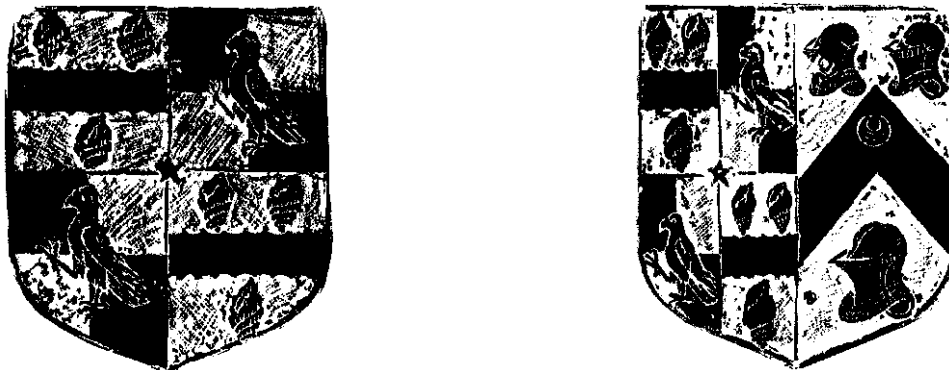


FIG. 14  
Lost shields from Warminghurst, Sussex

<sup>57</sup> Our thanks to Revd. Father Jerome Bertram for this suggestion.



*Heraldry:* Two shields lost (Fig. 14). The dexter bore, Quarterly 1 and 4, *Sable a fess engrailed between three wheel shells or* (SHELLEY); 2 and 3, *Quarterly or and azure, a falcon argent* (MICHELGROVE). The sinister bore, Quarterly, SHELLEY and MICHELGROVE impaling *Azure a chevron between three close helmets or, a crescent on the chevron for difference* (IDEN). The shields were stolen in June 1931, the dexter being returned to the Bishop of Lewes a month later. After being refixed, it was stolen again.

*Slab/stonework:* Carved Purbeck frame, 1080 x 945 mm, with Gothic cresting, side columns and plain spandrels. Possibly appropriated: four holes above the arch have been filled.

*Reused:* When taken up for repair and refixing by William Lack in April 1988, the metal was found to be blank on the reverse and with thicknesses of between 1.4 and 2.1 mm.

*Biographical details:* Edward was a son of John Shelley I, d. 1526, whose brass is at Clapham, across the South Downs from Warminghurst, a brother to Sir William Shelley, the judge. His wife was daughter and heiress to Paul Iden who has a figure brass dated 1514 at Penshurst, Kent (M.S. II).

*Illustrated:* C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXX (1939) p. 135; *MBS Trans.*, XIV, p. 294.

71      1554      **Banwell, Somerset** (St. Andrew)      M.S. I  
John Blandon, in civil dress, head lost, effigies of wife Elizabeth, and two sons and two daughters lost, foot inscription.

*Position:* On floor of crossing from east end of nave to south aisle.

*Description:* The headless male effigy is on the left, wearing furred robes over a doublet (Fig. 15). It closely resembles that at Horseheath, Cambs., 1552 (no. 45), although the missing head with an elongated skull must have been similar to that of Richard Hutton at Dry Drayton, c. 1552, at Dry Drayton. It must have been torn off with considerable force as a jagged piece of metal remains, projecting from the neck.

The indent of Blandon's wife suggests she must have been wearing a different form of head-dress from the 'Paris' style usual at this time, perhaps a 'mob' cap like Malyn Harte, 1557, at Lydd, Kent.

*Inscription:* Three lines of Script 5:

Pray for y<sup>e</sup> soules of John Blandon & Elizabeth his wyfe whos<sup>e</sup>  
body lyeth here buried whiche John decessed y<sup>e</sup> seconde day of  
September Anno M<sup>i</sup> V<sup>c</sup> liiij on whose soules Jhesu haue Marcy amen.

*Dimensions:* Male, (when complete) 470 x 89 mm; female indent, 457 x 127 mm; inscription, 527 mm x 96 mm.

*Slab/stonework:* 1705 x 1007 mm. The slab was later reused by a locally fixed brass inscription to Thomas Morse, 1608, 240 x 93 mm, now lost. At the top, are the indents of a two- or three-line inscription and the bottom portion of a demi-figure, possibly a later insertion, rather than a contemporary appropriation.

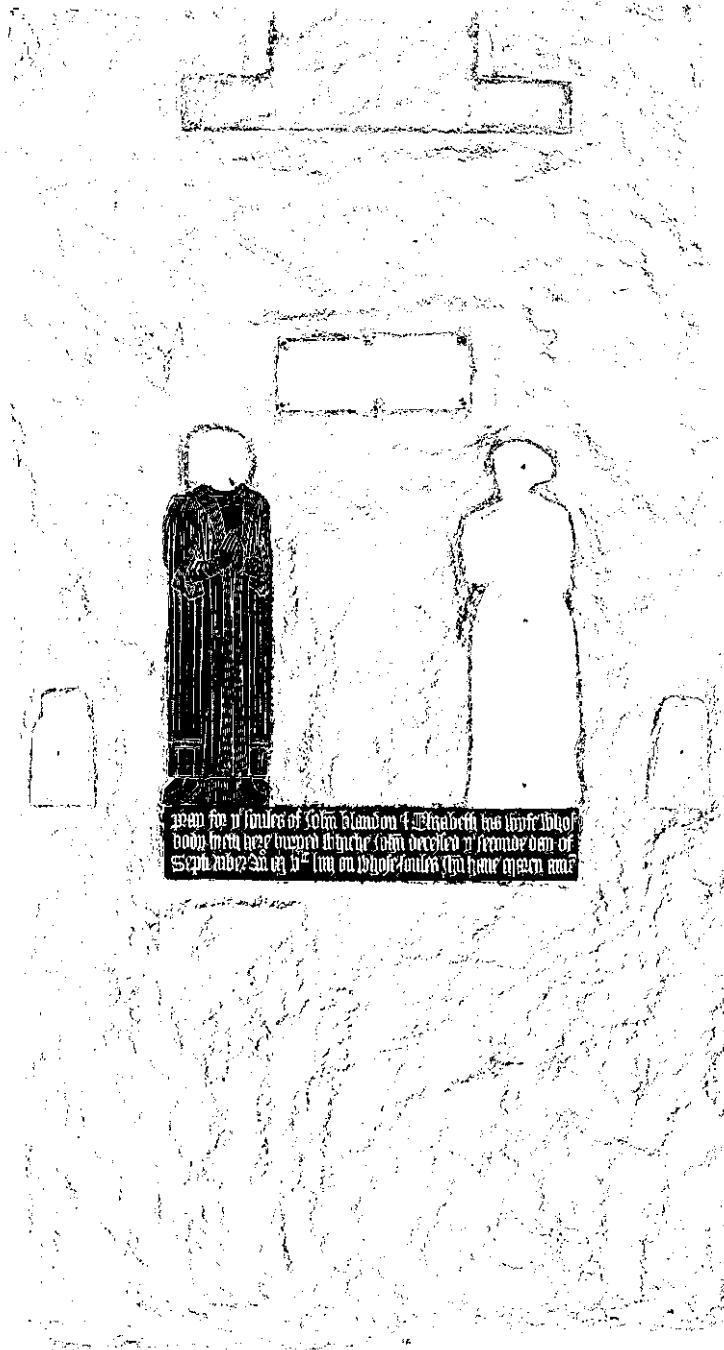


FIG. 15  
John and Elizabeth Blandon, 1554  
Banwell, Somerset

*Reused:* When taken up for repair and refixing by William Lack in August 2002, the metal was found to be blank on the reverse and with thicknesses of between 1.6 and 1.7 mm.

*Illustrated:* A. Connor, *Monumental Brasses in Somerset*, repr. (Bath, 1970), p. 329.

72      1554      **Gosfield, Essex** (St. Katherine)      LSW.IV

Mutilated chamfer inscription on appropriated Purbeck marble altar tomb to Sir Hugh Rich (Ryche), K.B., son of Sir Richard Rich, Lord Rich. Inscription lost on west side, as is a portion of the north side.<sup>58</sup>

*Position:* Table tomb, north (Wentworth) chapel.

*Description:* Chamfer inscription.

*Inscription:* Script 6.

[Here lyeth Sir Hewe Ryche knyght] /.....to Sur Rychard Ryche Lorde Ryche whoe Maryed Anne the Dowghter and Ayre of Sur John Wentworth Knyght<sup>59</sup> whych sayd Sur Hewe / dyed wyth out Issue the Fyrst daye of Novembr, in / the yere of oure Lorde [God A] Thousande Fyve Hundred Fyfty and [four] [which Sowle Almyghty God send joyfull rest.]

Already mutilated by 1637. Missing words in brackets supplied from account in *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 2 (1998), p. 126.

*Dimensions:* 34 x 2440 mm (south side), 34 x 1102 mm (east side), 34 x 763 mm (north side).

*Slab/stonework:* RCHM suggests tomb-chest may have been appropriated.<sup>60</sup> Slab cracked laterally just over half way down.

*Illustrated:* F. Chancellor, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* (London, 1890), pl. XLII; *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 2 (1998), p.125, figs. 6, 7; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p. 288 (tomb).

73      1554      **Ely Cathedral, Cambs.**      LSW.I

Thomas Goodrich (Goodryke), bishop of Ely, d. 1554, in episcopal vestments, holding a Bible and the Great Seal, canopy and foot inscription lost, two scrolls (four others lost), four shields lost, marginal inscription mutilated, two roses at corners (two others lost).

*Position:* Floor, south choir aisle. Originally in the choir, north of the second pier of the choir arcade and alongside the grave of Richard Cox, bishop 1559-81.

*Description:* Bishop Goodrich stands full-face in full pontificals and mitre, his right hand grasping his crozier, the left holding a Bible with the Great Seal of England, as Lord Chancellor to Edward VI. The Gothic canopy - the last to be shown on an English brass - is lost, as is the foot inscription. The slab is 'powdered' with scrolls, two of which remain.<sup>61</sup> The four in the upper portion of the slab were probably

<sup>58</sup> See N. Briggs and H.M. Stuchfield, 'Gosfield, Essex', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 2 (1998), pp. 124-6.

<sup>59</sup> See chamfer inscription and two shields, 1567, in the same church.

<sup>60</sup> RCHM, *Essex*, I, p. 103.

<sup>61</sup> A third is shown on a rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

based on his motto, *Si Deus nobiscum quis contra*, whilst the lower two bore his name. At each corner were Tudor roses, with small versions of the Evangelists' symbols at their hearts, two of which remain.

*Inscription:* Script 6 in raised lettering. Bentham shows most of the marginal inscription intact:<sup>62</sup>

[Thomas Goodricus annos plus minus viginti Ecclesie hujus Episcopus hoc loco / Sepultus est. Duobus Anglie illustrissimis Regibus, variis et Religionis et Reipublice muneribus pergratus fuit;] foris enim apud exteros Principes sepe legatus, Domi quidem Cum Regi Edwardo euis nominis sexto aliquamdu / consiliaruis extitisset magnus tandem Anglie factus cancellarius; Charior ne / Principi propter singularem prudentiam an amabilior populo propter integritatem et abstinentiam fuerit, ad indicandum est perquam, difficile, Obiit x<sup>o</sup> die Majj [Anno a Christo nato Millesimo (quingentisimo) quinquagesimo quarto. Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos.]

Trefoils and a type 8 flourish have been inserted as spacers in the text.

*Dimensions:* Figure, 1504 x 452 mm.

*Heraldry:* Arms on the lost shields were: quarterly 1 and 4, *On a fess gules between two lions passant sable a fleur de lys argent between two crescents or* (GOODRICH); 2 and 3, *Argent on a chevron engrailed between two trefoils slipped sable three crescents or* (WILLIAMSON).<sup>63</sup>

*Slab/stonework:* Brown limestone, not Purbeck, 2330 x 1015 mm. Possibly appropriated.

*Reused:* Not yet investigated although the small portion missing at the left shoulder of the effigy may be an indication of reuse.

*Biographical details:* Goodrich was born about 1484, the second son of Edward Goodrich of East Kirby, Lincs., and his third wife, Jane, sole daughter and heiress of Thomas Williamson of Boston. He was a pensioner of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of Jesus in 1510. In 1529 Goodrich was appointed one of the Syndics to return an answer from the University on the lawfulness of Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine. His support of the Crown was rewarded with the presentation to the rectory of St. Peter's Westcheap, London, by Cardinal Wolsey. Goodrich was later appointed canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster and made a chaplain to the King. In April 1534 he was elected to the see of Ely, where he almost immediately imposed his Protestant reforming zeal. In 1541 he ordered the destruction of 'all images & bones of suche as the Kyng's people resorted and offered unto'.<sup>64</sup> After being appointed to the Privy Council, he undertook a number of diplomatic missions and was made Lord Chancellor in 1551. At Queen Mary's accession, the seals were taken from him and he died at Somersham on 10 May 1554.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> J. Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1771), pl. XXV.

<sup>63</sup> *MBS Trans.*, III, pt. 2 (1898), p. 92.

<sup>64</sup> Bentham, *Ely*, p. \*37.

<sup>65</sup> Bentham, *Ely*, pp. 189-91.

*Illustrated: Illustrations of Monumental Brasses (Cambridge, 1846), facing p. 12; MBS Portfolio, IV, pl. 15; C. Boutell, Monumental Brasses and Slabs (London, 1847), pp. 100, 101; C. Boutell, The Monumental Brasses of England (London, 1849); Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Cambridgeshire, p. 107; MBS Trans., XV, p. 153.*



FIG. 16

Nicholas Saunde and wife, c. 1554, Charlwood, Surrey

Rubbing by Robert Hutchinson

74      c. 1554\*      **Charlwood, Surrey**      M.S. I  
 Nicholas Saunder, in armour, and wife Alys, kneeling, with four sons and six daughters, all standing, two shields, crest in a lozenge, two scrolls and a foot inscription (Fig 16).

*Position:* Mural in a carved Purbeck frame, south wall of chancel.

*Description:* Saunder, on the left, is bearded and bareheaded, and kneels at a faldstool, his sons standing in civilian dress behind. From his mouth is a scroll inscribed 'In te domine speravi' with a variation on a type 7 flourish filling the remainder of the scroll. His wife, facing, wears a pedimental head-dress with the metal cut away to take a colour resin. Her scroll reads: 'Miserere mei deus' with a similar flourish. Above each figure is a shield and between these is a plate bearing the Saunder crest: *On a wreath argent and sable, a demi-bull salient per pale gules and sable, armed, eared and horned, argent and or counterchanged, about his neck a collar gemel or, holding between his forelegs a stalk of alisander,*<sup>66</sup> *leaved vert, budded or.* As at Milton, it is likely this lozenge is a late substitution for a plate with religious iconography.

*Inscription:* Five lines of Script 5:<sup>67</sup>

Here is buried Nicholas Saunder Esquyer and Alys his wyfe  
 doughter of John Hungate of the Countey of yorke Esquyer Fa  
 ther and Mother to Thomas Saunder knyght y<sup>e</sup> kynges remem  
 berancer of thexcheker whiche Nicholas decessed the xxix day of  
 August in y<sup>e</sup> firste yere of y<sup>e</sup> Reigne of Quene Mary Anno M<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> Liii  
 The engraver, tight for space, elided 'the' and 'excheker' in the fourth line.

*Dimensions:* Figures, 255 x 260 mm; inscription, 540 x 140 mm.

*Heraldry:* Dexter, Quarterly 1 and 4, *Sable a chevron ermine between three bulls' heads cabossed argent* (SAUNDER); 2 and 3, *Or three lions passant in pale sable* (CAREW). Sinister, *Gules a chevron engrailed between three hounds sejant argent, the chevron charged with a mullet...for difference* (HUNGATE).

*Slab/stonework:* Carved arched Purbeck slab, 839 x 660 mm, appropriated. Holes have been plugged on each side-shaft.

*Reused:* Inscription 2 mm thick and blank on reverse. Figures not investigated.<sup>68</sup>

*Biographical details:* See *MBS Trans.*, XI, pp. 404-6.

*Comment:* The inscription plate was clearly sub-contracted by the Fermer workshop. It was probably laid down first during manufacture, using very little pitch. Its workmanship is very poor; in several places, the engraver had cut through the thin plate.

*Illustrated:* *MBS Trans.*, XI, pp. 403, 405; M. Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, repr. (Bath, 1970), pp. 113, 115 (crest).

<sup>66</sup> Also called horse parsley.

<sup>67</sup> Script 5 is also used with Fermer style figures at Shipton-under-Wychwood and later at Blatherwyck and Banwell.

<sup>68</sup> B.S.H. Egan and R. Hutchinson, 'The Saunder Brass at Charlwood, Surrey', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 402-6.

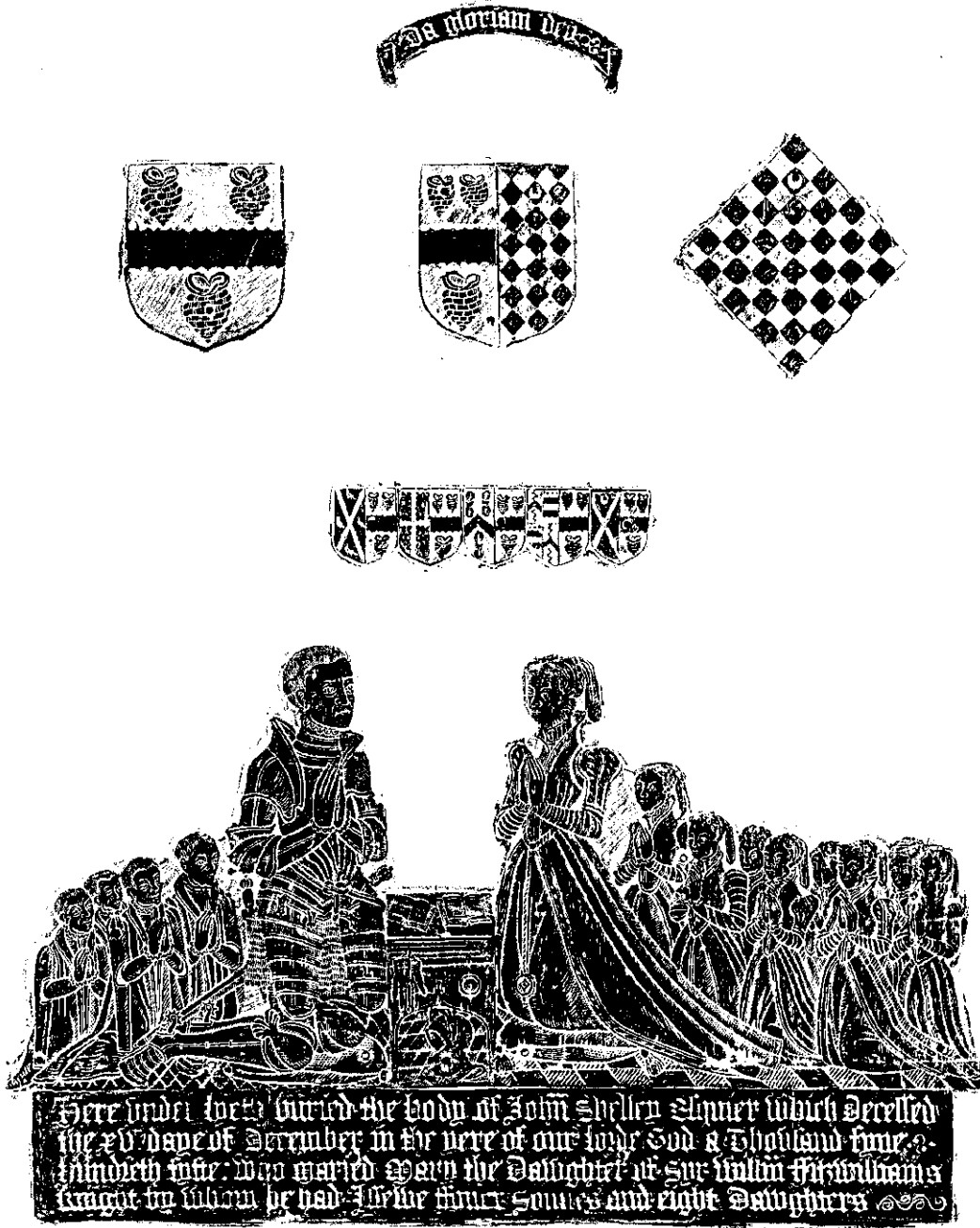


FIG. 17  
John Shelley [III], d. 1550, and wife, engraved c. 1554  
Clapham, Sussex  
*Rubbing by Robert Hutchinson*

75            *c.* 1555\*            **Clapham, Sussex** (St. Mary)            M.S. V

John Shelley [II], esq., died 1550, with four sons, [William, John, Richard, James] and wife, Mary, daughter of William Fitzwilliams of Milton and Gainspark, with eight daughters [Bridget, Eleanor, Elizabeth, Mary, Margaret, Anne, and two others, unnamed], with inscription and two large shields, a lozenge, and five small shields (Fig. 17).

*Position:* Relaid in a new limestone slab at the restoration of the church, mural, south wall of chancel.

*Description:* The figures kneel on a tiled pavement with a small desk between them on which are hung Shelley's gauntlets. Beneath the table lies his helmet, with visor raised; on top two open books with clasps. The main figure is bare-headed and clad in armour, worn over a mail skirt. Behind him, his four sons kneel in civilian dress of fur-edged robes. Mary and her daughters kneel facing, clad in Paris headdresses and over-dresses with puffed sleeves at the shoulders. A small pendant hangs from her waist. At the top of the slab is a small curved scroll, inscribed 'Da gloriam Deo' or 'Give glory to God'. Below are two shields and a heraldic lozenge, still retaining some vestiges of colour.

The figures and inscription, together with the five small shields and the dexter larger shield, were conserved and relaid by B.S.H. Egan in March 2000.

*Inscription:* in four lines of Script 6:

Here under lyeth buried the Body of John Shelley Esquier which Deceased  
the xv<sup>th</sup> daye of December in the yere of our Lorde God a Thousand fyue  
Hundreth fyfte: who married Mary the Dawghter of Syr William Fitzwilliams  
Knight by whom he had Issewe ffouer Sonnes and eight Dawghters

A type 8 terminator and a type 1 flourish occur at the end of lines two and four.

*Dimensions:* Male, 265 x 300 mm; female, 334 x 289 mm; inscription, 655 x 89 mm.

*Heraldry:* At dexter is: *Sable a fess engrailed between three whelk shells or* (SHELLEY). At centre is SHELLEY impaling *Lozengy argent and gules with two crescents for difference* (FITZWILLIAMS). At sinister on the lozenge is emblazoned the arms of FITZWILLIAMS alone.

Between these and the figures are five small shields showing the heraldry of the daughters' marriages: Elizabeth Shelley = Thomas Guilford, *Or a saltire between four martlets sable* (GUILFORD) impaling SHELLEY; Eleanor Shelley = Thomas, son and heir of Sir John Norton of Northwood, Kent, *Ermine a cross engrailed gules* (NORTON) impaling SHELLEY; Mary Shelley = George Cotton of Warblington, Hants., *Azure a chevron between three hanks of cotton argent* (COTTON) impaling SHELLEY; Bridget Shelley = John Hungerford of Wilts., *Quarterly of four, 1 and 4, Per pale indented gules and vert a chevron or* (HEYTESBURY), 2 and 3, *Sable two bars argent in chief three roundels argent* (HUNGERFORD) impaling SHELLEY; Margaret = Edward Gage of Bentley, Framfield, Sussex, *Gyronny of four argent and azure a saltire gules, a crescent for difference* (GAGE) impaling SHELLEY.

The heraldry does not include a reference to the marriage of Anne, the remaining named daughter, which logically would have occurred after her father's death and the erection of the brass. However this is not so: she married Sir Richard



Shirley of nearby Wiston, who died in 1540, and Anne's figure appears, together with the Shelley arms, on a tomb (probably carved in Chichester), in Wiston church.

*Reused:* The inscription is made up of three plates, 2 mm thick, and is blank on the reverse. The metal is so thin that in places the engraver cut through. The dexter shield, while in two pieces, is also not palimpsest.

*Biographical details:* John Shelley, by his will made on 8 August 1550 and proved on 27 April 1551, left John Walle 'parson of Clapham, my best gelding next unto those geldinges as I have given and willed to my brother Richard Shelley'.<sup>69</sup> The curate, John Briston or Burstone, was to receive a pension of '13s 4d yerely during the tyme as he shall dwell and do syrvyce unto the said... John Walle to praye for my fathers soule, my soule and all Christen soules'. Shelley also left his personal chaplain, Robert Brygges, 'four markes yerely oute of my Mannour of Knell in the Countie of Sussex.... during his lyfe to praye for my soule'.

In February 1548, when there was a threat of French invasion, Shelley was named, together with his uncle Edward at Warmingham (no.70), as one of the Commissioners of Muster for the Rape of Bramber in Sussex, charged with organising local militia forces. He was appointed to remain at home in case of invasion in 1548 and in July that year paid for one horse and one light cavalryman for the king's service. After his death, his son William was named heir.

*Illustrated:* *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXVII (1936), p. 145.

76      c. 1555\*      **Woodchurch, Kent** (All Saints)      M.S. III  
Thomas Harlakynden, esq., d.1558, in armour, with six sons, and two wives, Elizabeth [Watno], d. 1539, with three daughters and Margaret, with one daughter, all kneeling, three shields and inscription (Fig. 18).

*Position:* Now mural on a wooden board, chancel. Before 1863, mural, north wall of chancel, within a canopied Bethersden marble tomb,<sup>70</sup> now destroyed.

*Description:* Harlakynden, a high-browed figure with bobbed hair, wearing armour, kneels on a tiled floor before a panelled faldstool. His two wives wear curiously outdated fashions of the pedimental head-dress, the first wife a version without the side flaps folded up. The figures look deliberately dated but the content of the inscription indicates manufacture during the reign of Mary. As such, they should be regarded as a transitional design.

*Inscription:* Four lines of a Script 6 variant:

Here under this Tombe Restithe In the mercy of God the bodyes of Thomas Harlakynden / esquier Elizabeth and Margaret his wyves Trustyng on the Resurrecyon at the last day which / Thomas decessyd the 25 day of August Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> VC lvij and y<sup>e</sup> sayd Elizabeth dyed y<sup>e</sup> vij day of Aprell / Anno M<sup>o</sup> VC xxxix And Margaret decessid y<sup>e</sup> day of Anno M<sup>o</sup> VC on whose soules Jhesu haue mercy.

<sup>69</sup> PRO, PCC Bucke, f. 12.

<sup>70</sup> E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 4 vols. (Canterbury, 1778-99), III, p. 108 n. g.



FIG. 18

Thomas Harlakynden, d. 1558, and two wives, Elizabeth [Watno], d. 1539, and Margaret, with children,  
Woodchurch, Kent

After Belcher

The engraver has become badly confused over the spelling of 'resurrection'. The dates of Harlakynden's death are squeezed into the inscription, indicating a later insertion, and manufacture during his lifetime.

*Dimensions:* Male effigy, 311 x 311 mm; first wife: 313 x 229 mm; second wife: 311 x 264 mm; inscription: 112 x 875 mm.

*Heraldry:* Shields seem to have been moved from their original position. Sinister: *Azure a fess ermine between three lions' heads erased or* (HARLAKENDEN); Centre: HARLAKENDEN impaling ?...*a cross engrailed ermine or* (?WATNO); Dexter, HARLAKENDEN impaling, *Argent a pierced mullet* (?).

*Reused:* Not yet investigated.

*Biographical details:* Thomas Harlakenden was son and heir of Roger Harlakenden, d. 1523. He married firstly Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watno of Warminghurst, Sussex, who d. 1539, and secondly Margaret, daughter of ---- and widow of ---- Draper, who died between 1566 and 1568 and was buried in St. Andrew Undershaft, London, with her first husband.<sup>71</sup>

*Illustrated:* Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, I, p. 106, no. 218.

<sup>71</sup> G. Steinman Steinman, 'Pedigree of Harlakenden, of Kent and Essex', *The Topographer and Genealogist*, I (1846), p. 230.

77      *c.* 1555\*      **Hitcham, Bucks.** (St. Mary)      LSW.II

Four sons in civilian dress and two daughters in Paris head-dresses only (daughters lost) from brass to Nicholas Clarke esq., d. 1551, in armour, one shield, scroll lost, foot inscription.

*Position:* Formerly on table tomb, now on chancel floor.

*Description:* The full-face armoured figure belongs to the succeeding Lytkott figure style and as such should be redated to *c.* 1555. The children however are clearly old Fermer stock.

*Dimensions:* Sons 164 x 122 mm. A rubbing of one daughter is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. This plate measured 161 x 65 mm.

*Reused:* The inscription is obviously palimpsest. Not yet investigated.

*Illustrated:* Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Buckinghamshire*, p. 116; *MBS Trans.*, XV, p. 177.

78      *c.* 1555\*      **Christ Church, Oxford**      M.S. III

James Coorthopp, [canon of Christ Church, dean of Peterborough], d. 1557, in processional vestments, foot inscription slightly damaged and marginal inscription mutilated.

*Position:* On floor, north choir aisle. Once in Lady Chapel.

*Description:* Coorthopp is full-face in cassock, a surplice with long sleeves hanging almost to his knees, with an almuce and a tippet with six tassels showing in front. Beneath is an inscription in twelve Latin verses, partially mutilated, and above and to right are remnants of a complex marginal inscription with one remaining small plate bearing an angel with a scroll instead of an Evangelist's symbol.

*Inscription:* Foot inscription in eight lines of raised letter in Script 6:

[S]iste viam moriture deo me respice, frater  
 Qui sum talis eris; vermibus esca rue[s]  
 [In]genium, musae, pietas, amor, ista fuerunt  
 Viventis comites et morientis opus  
 [N]emo diu quaeras cures bene vivere quivis  
 Nam bene quisq; potest vivere, memo di[u]  
 [Q]ui sapit asidue mortem meditetur et hora[m]  
 Cogitet extremam semper adesse sibi

Translation: 'Stop here, you who will one day die in God. Think of me as a brother. As I am, so will you be. You will become bait for worms and will rot. Intellect, poetry, piety and love were my companions in life and my need as I died. Let no one seek to live a long life, instead strive to live well, whoever you are. Everyone has the power to live a good life, but no one a long one. He is wise who always has his mind on death and always believes his last hour is at hand.'

Gutch's edition of Anthony Wood's *History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1786), p. 489 provides the complete marginal inscription:

Anno Cum fatis cedens Courthoppius tempore justo Domini  
 Mortuus in Chriso jame tenet astra poli ) 1557  
 Mensis Vita paret mortem mors veræ janua vitæ

Mors Christi nobis vita salusque fuit Julii die 19  
 Qui moriturus erit Christo per sæcula vivet  
 Grata quies aderit, guadia summa feret  
 Nascitur omnis peccato mortuus: una  
 Post cineres virtus vivere sola facit

Translation: 'In the year of the Lord 1557, on the 19th day of July, Courthope yielded to the fates at the appointed hour. He died in Christ and lives amongst the stars. Though life prepares us for death, this is the beginning of true life, just as Christ's death was life and salvation. He who dies in Christ shall live for evermore in delightful rest and he shall win the highest joys. Every man is born dead through sin: virtue alone can give us life after the ashes of death.'

*Dimensions:* Effigy: 787 x 306 mm; foot inscription, (now) 240 x 411 mm.

*Slab/stonework:* Purbeck slab, 2292 x 1016 mm.

*Reused:* On reverse of foot inscription in two pieces, centre portion and legs of man in armour, c. 1510 (183L1-2). Effigy: greater part of a priest in cope, c. 1440 (183L3).

*Discovered:* (inscription) ?H.F.Owen Evans, 1938; (effigy) William Lack, 3 April 1986.

*Biographical details:* Courthope, who was born in 1517, the third son of John Courthope of Ward's or Goddard's Green, Kent, became a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford in 1534, Canon of Christ Church in 1547 and Dean of Peterborough in 1549.<sup>72</sup>

*Illustrated:* H. Haines, *Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), p. lxxx; H.J. Clayton, *The Ornaments of the Ministers as shown on English Monumental Brasses*, Alcuin Club Collections, 22 (London, 1919), p. 71; J. Arthur, *Memorial Brasses...in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford* (Oxford, [198-?]), p. 14.

79      1555      **Chelsea, Middx.** (All Saints)      M.S. I  
 Lady Jane Guyldeford, Duchess of Northumberland, d. 1555, in heraldic mantle, kneeling with eight sons (lost) and five daughters, also kneeling, two (out of three) shields remaining. Inscription cut in alabaster.

*Position:* Mural at back of altar tomb in south (More) chapel.

*Description:* The female figure kneels on the right, wearing a mantle bearing quarterly of six, 1, GUILDFORD impaling HALDEN; 2, WEST; 3, LA WARR; 4, CANTELUPE; 5, MORTIMER; 6 GRELLE. (See below.) She wears a jewelled and veiled Paris head-dress, the metal cut away to take a coloured resin. Behind her kneel five daughters, similarly attired. The plate originally included at least one more daughter but this was cut off during manufacture, leaving a suspiciously straight edge. Above the daughters is a scroll in raised letters in Script 6: 'Mary, Margaret, Katerin, Kateryn & Temperancs' (Fig. 19). On the left is the indent for eight sons, now lost. Above them is a scroll bearing their names in raised lettering: 'Charls, Harry, Gilford, Robert, Ambros, John, Thomas & Harry'.

<sup>72</sup> *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, I (1897-99), p. 277; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), p. 143.



FIG. 19

Lady Jane Guildford, Duchess of Northumberland, d. 1555, with daughters  
Chelsea, Middx.

*After a rubbing by H.K. Cameron in Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*

*Heraldry:* Over the alabaster inscription is a circular plate with the arms of Sir Edward Guildford within a Garter: Quarterly 1 and 4, *Or a saltire between four martlets sable* (GUILDFORD); 2 and 3, *Argent a bend engrailed gules and a chief sable* (HALDEN). At dexter is a shield bearing GUILDFORD and HALDEN quarterly, impaling quarterly, 1, *Argent a fess dancetty sable* (WEST); 2, quarterly, i and iv, *Gules a lion within an orle of crosslets fitchy argent* (LA WARR) ii and iii, *Azure three leopards' heads jessant-de-lis argent* (CANTELUPE); 3, *Barry of six or and azure, on a chief of the first two pallets between two base esquierres of the second overall an inescutcheon ermine* (MORTIMER); 4, *Gules three bendlets enhanced or* (GRELLE).<sup>73</sup> The missing shield bore the Duchess's arms, surmounted by a coronet.

*Slab/stonework:* The tomb is only a remnant of what was a fine monument, preserved in two drawings reproduced in the *Survey of London*, 7, pt. 3 (1921) as pls. 64, 65. It resembled the tomb of Chaucer in Westminster Abbey, erected by Nicholas Brigham in 1556. The slab may be appropriated.

*Reused:* Not yet investigated.

*Biographical details:* Lady Jane was the only child and heiress of Sir Edward Guildford of Halden and Rolvenden in Kent. She married Sir John Dudley, later Duke of

<sup>73</sup> W.H. Godfrey, *Chelsea*, Survey of London, 7, pt. 3 (London, 1921), p. 37; H.K. Cameron, 'Brasses of Middlesex: Chelsea', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XI (1953), p. 149.

Northumberland who was granted the manor of Chelsea by Edward VI in 1553. She still lived there after his attainder and was buried on 1 February 1555/6. The elder Harry was killed at the siege of Boulogne and Guildford was beheaded with his wife, Lady Jane Grey. Robert became the Earl of Leicester.

*Illustrated: Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc., XI (1953), facing p. 149.*

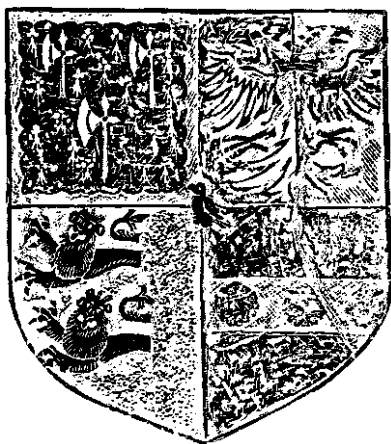


FIG. 20

Arms of Dennys, from brass to Philip Dennys, d. 1556,  
but possibly engraved c. 1555  
All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London  
*Rubbing by Derrick Chivers*



FIG. 21

Head of a lady, c. 1440, palimpsest  
All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London

80      c. 1555      **All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London**      M.S. XII

A shield, remains of the brass to Alderman Philip Dennys, d. 1556 (Fig. 20).

*Position:* Now mural, north aisle. Original mural slab remains on east wall of north chapel.

*Description:* The monument originally had two lozenges, the shield positioned below and between them with an inscription below that. The shield bears: Quarterly, 1, Ermine three battleaxes and a border engrailed gules (DENNIS); 2, Party argent and sable a double-headed eagle counter-coloured and collared with a crown or (LOVEDAY); 3, Gules two demi-leopards or (HATCH); 4, Argent on a fess azure three escallops argent (PYE). Overall, a martlet for difference.

*Inscription:* Strype, in his edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, gives the lost inscription as: Of your charity pray for the soul of Philip Dennis of London esq., whose body lyeth buried before this stone who died 3 day of September 1556.

*Reused:* On reverse, head of lady, c. 1420 (177L1) (Fig. 21).

*Discovered:* ?1940 by R.H. Pearson.

*Link:* Reverse of inscription at North Crawley, Bucks. (no. 7, 1548) (L460).

*Illustrated:* Obverse: *Survey of London*, XV (pt. II) (London, 1934), p. 58; MBS Visit to All Hallows by the Tower brochure (June 2000) (showing slab, from a drawing in the Guildhall Library by Thomas Fisher). Reverse: Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, II, pl. 72.

# A Note on the Castell Brass at Littleton, Middlesex

by PHILIP WHITTEMORE

IN 1800 Daniel Lysons described the brass of Lady Blanche Castell (d. 1553), second wife of Sir Hugh Vaughan, ‘who lyeth buried at Westmynster’, at Littleton, Middlesex. The brass, when he found it, was on the chancel floor.<sup>1</sup> Mill Stephenson, in his *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, says that it was originally on an altar tomb, but does not provide any clarification or reference to qualify his statement.<sup>2</sup> Stephenson’s lead has recently been followed by Robert Hutchinson and Bryan Egan in their account of the brass, which belongs to the Fermer Workshop series.<sup>3</sup>

Stephenson was correct in saying that the brass was originally sited on an altar tomb. The evidence for this comes from British Library Lansdowne MS 874, a collection of early seventeenth-century church notes by Nicholas Charles, Henry Saint George and others. The illustration on f. 74v shows an altar tomb, the lower part of which appears to have been made of brick. The inscription was set in the middle of the cover-stone, with the canting arms of Castell (*Argent three castles gules, a fleur-de-lis azure in fess point for difference*) placed immediately below it, and a rose at each corner of the slab (Fig. 1).

Thanks are due to the British Library for permission to reproduce the illustration in Figure 1.

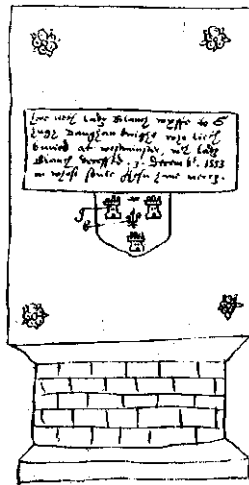


FIG. 1

Drawing of the tomb of Lady Blanche Castell, 1553, Littleton, Middx.  
BL Lansdowne MS 874, f. 74v

<sup>1</sup> D. Lysons, *An Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex, which are not described in the Environs of London* (London, 1800), p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> See *MBS Trans.* XVI, pt. 3 (1999), pp. 264-6.

# Conservation of Brasses, 1999-2000

by WILLIAM LACK

**T**HIS is the eighteenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Beeston Regis, Benhall, Chelmsford Cathedral, Colchester St. James, Matching, Reepham, Great Shelford and Shotesham St. Mary and for funding the facsimiles at Colchester St. James and Reepham; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Ripley; to the late Donald Lack for assistance at Tideswell; to Lucy Lack for assistance at Tideswell; to Michael Taylor for assistance at several churches in East Anglia; to the Churches Conservation Trust; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Council for the Care of Churches at Wantage; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Ashby St. Ledgers, Benhall, Chelmsford Cathedral, Colchester St. James, Matching, Maulden, Reepham, Ripley, Sharnbrook and Wantage; the Manifold Trust at Wantage; the Monumental Brass Society at Ashby St. Ledgers, Benhall, Chelmsford Cathedral, Colchester St. James, Matching, Maulden, Sharnbrook, Wantage and Whitchurch.

## ASHBY ST. LEDGERS, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

**M.S. I.** Thomas Stokes, 1416, and wife Ellen.<sup>1</sup> This London (series B) brass comprises an effigy in civilian dress (343 x 107 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy (328 x 128 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets), three-line Latin inscription (102 x 517 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 4 rivets), two scrolls (left 204 x 64 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 3 rivets; right 205 x 68 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 2.6 mm and 2.7 mm), four kneeling sons (230 x 176 mm), twelve kneeling daughters (250 x 228 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets) and a canopy with super-canopy (1008 x 445 mm overall, engraved on nine plates with thicknesses varying from 2.7 mm to 3.9 mm). A representation of the Trinity, originally laid within the super-canopy, and two upper shields are lost. On 10 February 1999 I removed the whole brass with the exception of the group of sons from the original Purbeck slab (1540 x 795 mm exposed) at the east end of the south aisle. The lower part of the slab and the group of sons are covered by a wooden platform. After cleaning I repaired fractures, fitted new rivets and relaid the brass in the slab on 1 April 1999.

## LITTLE BARFORD, BEDFORDSHIRE<sup>2</sup>

**LSW.I.** Thomas Perys, 1535, and wife Agnes.<sup>3</sup> This Cambridge-engraved brass, comprising a civilian effigy (294 x 96 mm, engraved on two plates each with

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VII (1981), pl. 69, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Vested in the Churches Conservation Trust.

<sup>3</sup> Described by H.K. St. J. Sanderson in 'The Brasses of Bedfordshire', *MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 2 (1893), p. 39; illustrated in T. Fisher, *Monumental Remains and Antiquities in the County of Bedford* (London, 1828), no. 3, and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), p. 7.



thickness 4.6 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy (290 x 91 mm, thickness 4.9 mm, 2 rivets) and a three-line English inscription (118 x 506 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets), lies in the original slab (1830 x 770 mm) in the nave. There is an indent for another inscription (395 x 270 mm) below the foot inscription. The male effigy came loose and was removed from the slab for safe keeping in August 1998. On 1 February 2000 I collected the male effigy and removed the other plates from the slab. Immediately after this the slab was lifted from the floor, conserved and relaid on a lead membrane. After cleaning and fitting new rivets, the brass was relaid in the slab on 20 March 2000. The two plates of the male effigy had never been joined together and I relaid them separately.

## BATH ABBEY

I removed two brasses from the south wall of the sanctuary on 16 February 1999.<sup>4</sup>

**M.S. I.** Sir George Ivy, 1639, and wife Susanna. This locally-engraved rectangular plate, engraved with ten small kneeling effigies, two shields and an inscription in 23 English lines (588 x 590 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 23 screws), had become considerably corroded and the central area was fractured.

**M.S. II.** Inscription to Jane Denny, 1639. This inscription in eleven Latin lines (362 x 592 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 20 screws) had also become badly corroded.

After repairing the fractures in M.S. I and cleaning the plates, they were re-secured on 21 April 1999.

## BEESTON REGIS, NORFOLK

Four brasses were removed from their slabs on 11 December 1999.



FIG. 1  
Beeston Regis, Norfolk  
M.S. I. Symbol of St. Luke, late 15th cent.  
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

**M.S. I.** Symbol of St. Luke, late fifteenth century (Fig. 1). This Norwich (series 1) brass, originally comprising the effigy of a priest and four Evangelists' symbols encircled by inscriptions, is laid in the original slab on the south side of the chancel. The upper part of the slab, with the symbol of St. Mark still *in situ*, is covered by choir stalls. The exposed area of the slab measures 600 mm x 925 mm. The lower right symbol of St. Luke (140 x 126 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.8 and 2.9 mm, 2 rivets) had been relaid and secured with screws. After cleaning and rejoining the plates I fitted new rivets.

<sup>4</sup> The brasses were described and M.S. I was illustrated in A.B. Connor's series 'Monumental Brasses in Somerset', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Soc.*, XCIV (1948-9), pp. 129-34, reprinted in one volume (Bath, 1970), pp. 274-9.

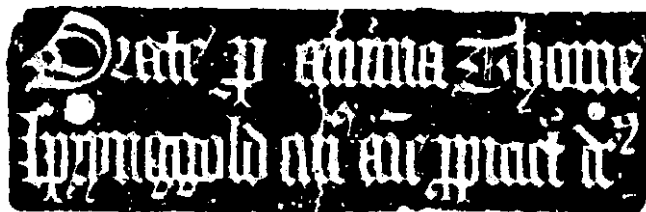


FIG. 2  
Beeston Regis, Norfolk  
M.S. III. Inscription to Thomas Sprynggold, c. 1500  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

**M.S. III.** Inscription to Thomas Sprynggold, c. 1500 (Fig. 2). This Norwich (series 3) two-line Latin inscription (59 x 185 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (1760 x 750 mm), partly covered by choir stalls, on the south side of the chancel. It had become broken into two pieces and had been relaid and secured with screws. After cleaning and rejoining the two plates I fitted new rivets.



FIG. 3  
Beeston Regis, Norfolk  
M.S. IV. Inscription to Thomas Hook, 1522  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

**M.S. IV.** Inscription to Thomas Hook, 1522 (Fig. 3). This Norwich (series 4) two-line Latin inscription (44 x 318 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the original slab (1760 x 780 mm), partly covered by choir stalls, on the north side of the chancel. It had been relaid and secured with screws and was badly corroded. It had been relaid incorrectly so as to be read from the west rather than the east. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. V.** John Deynes, 1527, and wife Katherine.<sup>5</sup> This well-known Norwich (series 6) brass, comprising a male effigy in civilian dress (563 x 199 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 2 rivets), a female effigy (557 x 185 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 2 rivets) and a four-line Latin inscription (153 x 540 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 4 rivets) was recorded by Revd. Herbert Haines in 1861 on a table tomb in the north aisle.<sup>6</sup> By 1890 it had been relaid in the current slab (1865 x 900 mm) on the chancel floor.<sup>7</sup> The original

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated in E. Farrer, *A List of the Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Norfolk* (Norwich, 1890), pl. 5, opp. p. 7; *MBS Portfolio*, VI (1965), pl. 41, reprinted in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 308; and R. Greenwood and M. Norris, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (Holt, 1976), pl. 18, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861; repr. Bath, 1970), II, p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> Farrer, *Norfolk*, p. 7.

composition also included a depiction of a death's head.<sup>8</sup> The brass had become loose and vulnerable to theft. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 10 February 2000.



FIG. 4

Benhall, Suffolk

M.S. I. Inscription to Edward Glemham and wife Mary, 1571

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

## BENHALL, SUFFOLK

Three brasses were removed from their slabs on 27 February 1999.

**M.S. I.** Inscription to Edward Glemham and wife Mary, 1571 (Fig. 4). This London (series G) five-line English inscription (121 x 422 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets) had been embedded into the plaster on the north wall of the sanctuary and had become considerably corroded. After cleaning I repaired two fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board.

**M.S. II.** Edward Duke, 1598, and wife Dorothy.<sup>9</sup> This Johnson-style brass comprises an effigy in civilian dress (625 x 212 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 1.6 and 1.5 mm, 9 rivets), a female effigy (597 x 192 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 9 rivets), an inscription in four English lines (116 x 602 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), ten sons (156 x 351 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets), six daughters (156 x 249 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 6 rivets) and three shields (dexter 175 x 146 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets; centre 176 x 147 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets; sinister 173 x 145 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 4 rivets). It was originally laid in the nave,<sup>10</sup> but had been relaid in a modern slab on the chancel floor. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the male effigy, repaired fractures and fitted new rivets.

<sup>8</sup> This was illustrated in M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 244). In his companion work, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (London, 1977), pp. 209-10, Norris says: 'Part of this memorial, when on a high tomb, was a very large skull, a symbol of death, fixed to a side. This skull now lies on the floor near the figures. It is life size, heavily shaded and engraved on thin metal, and is perhaps a later addition'. There is now no sign of this in the church.

<sup>9</sup> Described and illustrated in T.M. Felgate, *Suffolk Heraldic Brasses* (Ipswich, 1978), pl. 5, pp.44-5; illustrated in *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 2 (1999), p. 292.

<sup>10</sup> E. Farrer, *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Suffolk* (Norwich, 1903), p. 7.

**M.S. III.** Ambrose Duke, 1610, and wife Elizabeth, 1611.<sup>11</sup> This Johnson-style brass comprises an armoured effigy (505 x 165 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 1.7 and 1.8 mm, 11 rivets), a female effigy (513 x 166 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 9 rivets), a six-line English inscription (152 x 598 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 10 rivets) and one shield (152 x 131 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 4 rivets). It was taken up from the original slab (1605 x 1110 mm) which lies in the sanctuary and is concealed beneath the altar. It is accessible by a removable section of the platform. The brass was not well-secured and there were runs of lead round some of the plates. The female effigy had become corroded. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the male effigy, repaired fractures and fitted new rivets.

M.S. I was mounted on the north wall of the chancel and M.S. II and III were relaid in their slabs on 6 October 1999.

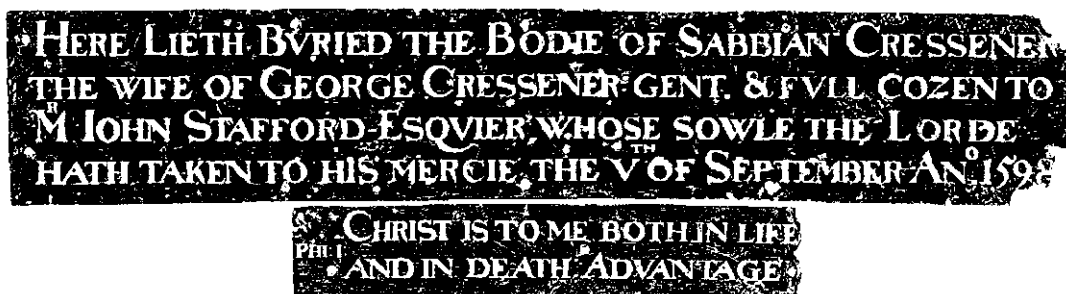


FIG. 5  
Blatherwyck, Northamptonshire  
M.S. II. Inscription to Sabbian, wife of George Cressener, 1598  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

## BLATHERWYCK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE<sup>12</sup>

**M.S. II.** Inscription to Sabbian, wife of George Cressener, 1598 (Fig. 5). This Johnson-style brass comprises an inscription in four English lines (117 x 651 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 8 rivets) and a smaller plate below with two lines of text (56 x 312 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 2 rivets) which were laid in a slab (1800 x 920 mm) at the east end of the south bank of choir stalls. In the centre of the slab there are indents for an earlier brass which comprised a 290 mm kneeling effigy and a foot inscription (65 x 310 mm). These indents are filled with cement and partially covered by a coffin slab. The plates had become seriously corroded, were not well-bedded and were bent up round the edges. I removed them from the slab on 14 September 1999. After cleaning, repairing fractures and fitting new rivets the plates were relaid in the slab on 5 October 1999.

<sup>11</sup> Described and illustrated in Felgate, *Suffolk Heraldic Brasses*, pl. 6, pp.46-7; illustrated in *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 2 (1999), p. 293.

<sup>12</sup> Vested in the Churches Conservation Trust.

## CHELMSFORD CATHEDRAL, ESSEX

**LSW.I.** Inscription and text to Martha, wife of Thomas Williamson, gent., 1610, and **LSW.II.** Inscription to Thomas Williamson, 1614.<sup>13</sup> These two Johnson-style brasses comprise an eight-line English inscription (183 x 350 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 10 rivets) and a four-line plate of English text (107 x 349 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets), and a seven-line English inscription (121 x 348 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 10 rivets). They were originally mural in the south aisle, were loose in the cathedral library in 1933 and mounted on a single oak board on the wall of the inner north aisle in 1958. The brasses were screwed to the board and had been regularly cleaned with metal polish. The board and brasses were removed from the wall on 10 June 2000. After cleaning and fitting new rivets the plates were rebated into two Cedar boards and these were mounted on the wall of the inner north aisle on 25 November 2000.

COLCHESTER, ST JAMES, ESSEX<sup>14</sup>

The two brasses were removed from their slabs on 3 July 1999.

**LSW.I.** John Maynard, 1569. This London (series G, Lytkott style) brass, comprising a male effigy (547 x 177 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 7 rivets) and a four line English inscription (118 x 448 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 4 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1840 x 785 mm) on the chancel floor. There is an indent for a missing lozenge. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**LSW.II.** Ales Maynard, 1584. This Johnson-style brass, comprising a mutilated female effigy (originally 465 mm tall, now 366 x 183 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 7 rivets) and a mutilated inscription in five English lines (131 x 401 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 8 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1565 x 850 mm) on the chancel floor. The head of the effigy and the missing part of the inscription have been renewed on 3.3 mm thick blank brass plate and these were presumably made when the brass was relaid. A rubbing made in 1846 and now in the collection at the Society of Antiquaries in London shows the inscription complete. The brass is a known palimpsest and a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries shows that this was discovered in about 1921.<sup>15</sup> The reverse of the effigy shows drapery from an angel's arm, engraved *c.* 1510, which was part of a large Flemish brass, more of which has been found on the reverse of the brass to William Strachleigh, 1583, at Ermington,

<sup>13</sup> Both brasses have been illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* (London, 2003), p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> The brasses were described and illustrated in M. Christy, W.W. Porteous and E. Bertram Smith, 'The Monumental Brasses of Colchester', *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc.*, N.S., XIII (1915), pp 41-4, and at that time were mounted murally in the south chancel aisle. They were originally laid down in the chancel and were removed from their slabs in the second part of the nineteenth century. At some time after 1926 they were relaid in their slabs and two new parts were fabricated for M.S. II. They have recently been illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p.185.

<sup>15</sup> J. Page-Phillips, *The Palimpsests* (London, 1980), pp. 72-3, pl.127 (296L1-2).

Devon.<sup>16</sup> The reverse of the inscription shows part of the border of a Flemish brass, engraved *c.* 1580. After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the reverses and these were mounted on a hardwood board together with a commemorative plate. I also mounted an existing electrotype of the reverse of the inscription on another hardwood board. I repaired a fracture in the inscription with solder and fitted new rivets to the brass.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 11 February 2000. The board carrying the facsimile was subsequently mounted in the north aisle and the board carrying the electrotype was mounted in the sacristry.

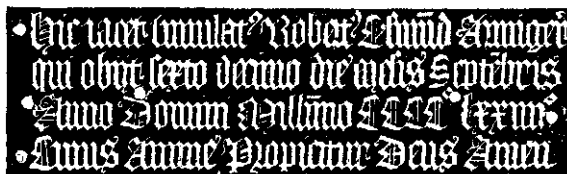


FIG. 6

Ewelme, Oxfordshire

M.S. VII. Inscription to Robert Esmund, 1474

*Rubbing by William Lack*EWELME, OXFORDSHIRE<sup>17</sup>

Three brasses were removed from their slabs on 10 May 2000.

**M.S. VII.** Inscription to Robert Esmund, 1474 (Fig. 6). This London (series D) four-line Latin inscription (106 x 354 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets) was removed from the original slab (1770 x 763mm) at the west end of the north aisle. There is a

<sup>16</sup> 'Third Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 44 (Feb. 1987), p. xx, pl. 199 (L463-1/3).

<sup>17</sup> The brasses were briefly described in W.R. Barker, 'A Catalogue of the Brasses in Ewelme Church, Oxfordshire', *Oxford Jnl of Mon. Brasses*, I, pt. i (1897), pp. 11-23.

worn indent for a shield (150 x 130 mm) above the inscription. The plate had been relaid and secured with large iron rivets and was bedded on cement which had caused corrosion. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

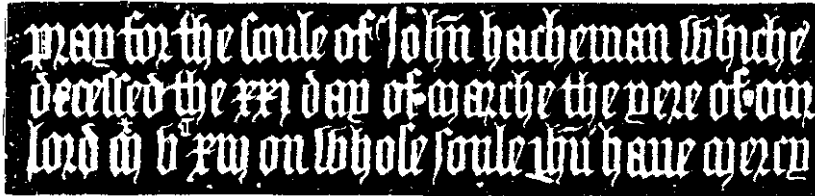


FIG. 7

Ewelme, Oxfordshire

M.S. X. Inscription to John Hacheman, 1513

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. X.** Inscription to John Hacheman, 1513 (Fig. 7). This London (series F) three-line Latin inscription (103 x 442 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the original slab (1630 x 580 mm) at the west end of the north aisle to the west of M.S. VII. The original rivets had sprung and the plate was loose. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

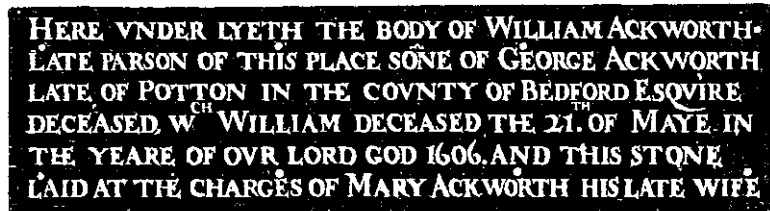


FIG. 8

Ewelme, Oxfordshire

M.S. XVII. Inscription and achievement to William Ackworth, 1606

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. XVII.** Inscription and achievement to William Ackworth, 1606 (Fig. 8). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a six-line inscription (150 x 560 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets) and an achievement (226 x 203 mm), lies in the original slab (1975 x 805 mm) in the chancel. I took up the inscription which had become very loose, several of the rivets having sprung. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 14 June 2000.

### MATCHING, ESSEX

**LSW.I.** John Ballett, 1638, and wife Rose.<sup>18</sup> This London brass comprises a male effigy in civilian dress (725 x 293 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 9 rivets), a female effigy (691 x 297 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 9 rivets), a five-line English inscription (309 x 738 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 10 rivets), an achievement on an oval plate (82 x 419 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 6 rivets), two sons (217 x 132 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 4 rivets) and six daughters (220 x 184 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 4 rivets). It was removed from its slab in the chancel many years ago and mounted on the plaster wall of the north aisle. The plates had become seriously corroded, there was limewash around their edges and they were loose and vulnerable, some of them only secured with plasterboard nails. It was removed for conservation on 30 May 1998. After cleaning and fitting new rivets the brass was rebated into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the north aisle wall on 2 March 1999.

### MAULDEN, BEDFORDSHIRE<sup>19</sup>

Two brasses were removed from their slabs on 7 October 1999.

**LSW.I.** Richard Faldo, 1576, and wife Amphelice Chamberlin. This Johnson-style brass comprises an armoured effigy (614 x 270 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 10 rivets), female effigy (607 x 273 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 10 rivets), a single line foot inscription in Latin (40 x 632 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 5 rivets), two groups of four sons (left-hand 152 x 85 mm, thickness 1.1 mm, 3 rivets; centre 165 x 112 mm, thickness 1.0 mm, 5 rivets), an achievement (254 x 202 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 6 rivets), four shields (upper dexter 129 x 107 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets; upper sinister 130 x 108 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 3 rivets; lower dexter 128 x 107 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 2 rivets; lower sinister 128 x 108 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a mutilated chamfer inscription (1700 x 763 x 40 mm overall; fillet across top of composition 40 x 773 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 5 rivets). These are set in the original slab (1850 x 800 mm) which was originally on a table tomb in the north aisle and is now mounted vertically against the east wall of the north aisle. The slab also has an

<sup>18</sup> The brass was briefly described and illustrated by M. Christy and W.W. Porteous, 'Some Essex Brasses illustrative of Stuart Costume', *The Antiquary*, XXXIX (1903), p. 233, fig. 12. It has recently been illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p. 497.

<sup>19</sup> The brasses were described in Sanderson, 'Bedfordshire', pp. 205-7, and have been illustrated recently in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, pp. 71 and 75.



indent for one lost daughter and is incised with an inscription and a shield with crest. I removed the whole brass with the exception of two surviving fillets of marginal inscription from the left-hand side which were well-secured and relatively inaccessible. After cleaning I rejoined two small plates at the base of the male effigy and fitted new rivets to the brass.



FIG. 9

Maulden, Bedfordshire

LSW.II. Anne Faldo, 1594

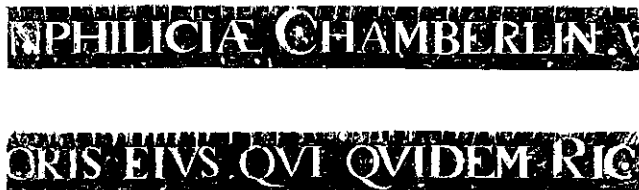
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield; shield from rubbing in Society of Antiquaries*

FIG. 10

Maulden, Bedfordshire

LSW.II. Anne Faldo, 1594; palimpsest reverse of inscription

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

**LSW.II.** Anne, daughter of Richard Faldo, 1594 (Fig. 9). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a female effigy (271 x 226 mm, thickness 1.0 mm, 6 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (76 x 387 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 1.5 and 1.6 mm, 6 rivets), was removed from the original stone frame which is mounted immediately above LSW.I. The slab contains an indent for a lost lozenge (160 x 160 mm).<sup>20</sup> The two plates comprising the inscription proved to be palimpsest (Fig. 10), being cut from a wasted version of the marginal inscription from LSW.I and reading 'NPHILICLÆ CHAMBERLIN V / ORIS EIUS QVI QVIDEM RIC'. After cleaning I produced a mould of the palimpsest reverse,<sup>21</sup> rejoined the two parts of the inscription and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were reset in the slabs on 11 and 17 November 1999.

### REEPHAM, NORFOLK

Six brasses and parts of another were removed from the church on 11 December 1999.

**M.S. I.** Sir William de Kerdeston, 1391, and wife Cecily.<sup>22</sup> This London (series B) brass, comprising a mutilated male effigy in armour, female effigy, much mutilated double canopy and marginal inscription, lies in the original Purbeck marble slab at the east end of the chancel. The only parts taken up were five sections of canopy work, (various sizes, thickness between 2.9 and 4.0 mm, 9 rivets) and the paws of the lion (61 x 124 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets). The left-hand finial had previously become detached from the slab and kept in the safe and the other plates were bedded on concrete. After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets.

**M.S. III.** Inscription to John Jeckes, 1577.<sup>23</sup> This Norwich-engraved six-line Latin inscription (138 x 210 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets) was taken up from a reused slab (1110 x 545 mm) at the east end of the north aisle. The slab has an indent for an earlier inscription (58 x 347 mm). The brass is a known palimpsest,<sup>24</sup> the reverse showing part of a classical pillar and cut from a large Flemish plate engraved *c.* 1550, more of which has been found on a reverse in St Margaret Westwick, Norwich.<sup>25</sup> After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, repaired two fractures and fitted new rivets. The facsimile and a commemorative plate were rebated into a Cedar board.

<sup>20</sup> Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, p. 71 from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>21</sup> A resin cast was produced from this mould and incorporated into a facsimile of the brass produced by Michael Ward for the church.

<sup>22</sup> Illustrated in J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 2 vols. (London, 1839), I, pl. 12, p. 10; E.M. Beloe, *A Series of Photolithographs of Monumental Brasses in Norfolk* (King's Lynn, 1890-1), pl. 11; and Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses of Norfolk Churches*, p. 5. The effigies and parts of the canopy were conserved by Bryan Egan in 1970 (B.S.H. Egan and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Repair of Monumental Brasses* (Newport Pagnell, 1981), p. 42).

<sup>23</sup> Conserved and relaid by Bryan Egan in 1970 (Egan and Stuchfield, *Repair of Monumental Brasses*, p.42).

<sup>24</sup> *Palimpsests*, p. 83, pl. 151 (48N1). The discovery of this palimpsest in 1954 was described and illustrated by J.F. Williams and C.L.S. Linnell, 'Whitwell and Reepham, Norfolk', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 4 (1954), pp. 164-7.

<sup>25</sup> *Palimpsests*, p. 83, pl. 151 (47N3-5).

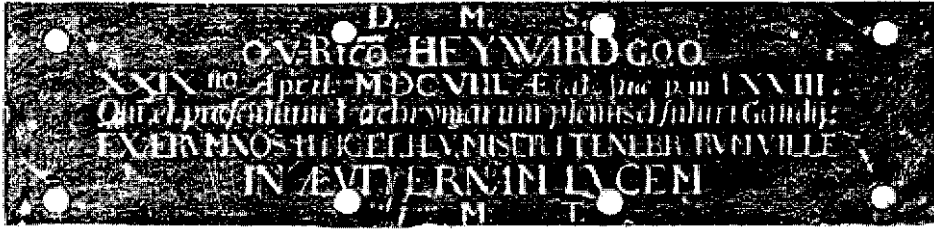


FIG. 11

Reepham, Norfolk

M.S. IV. Inscription to Richard Heyward, 1608

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. IV.** Inscription to Richard Heyward, 1608 (Fig. 11). This ?Norwich-engraved five-line Latin inscription (84 x 357 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 8 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (630 x 720mm) at the east end of the North Aisle. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**Three window plates to Edward Repps Jodrell, 1882, and window plate to Dame Lucinda Emma Maria Jodrell, 1885.** The first three identical plates (455 x 78mm, thicknesses 2.3 to 2.5 mm) were removed from window splays on the north side of the chancel and under the west window on the south side. The fourth plate (451 x 77 mm, thickness 2.4 mm) was removed from the window splay under the east window on the south side of the chancel. They were all considerably tarnished and were loose, their back-soldered rivets being in poor condition. The plate under the west window on the south side had been re-secured with blue-tac. The plates were cleaned and new rivets were secured to their reverses. They were lightly polished and lacquered.

The floor brasses were relaid on 16 May 2000. Redecoration of the church caused a delay in the return of the Victorian plates and the facsimile board until 19 May 2001. The board was mounted on the east wall of the north aisle close to the slab.

## RIPLEY, YORKSHIRE

**M.S. IV.** Inscription with verses to Anna Ingilby, 1640 (Fig. 12), and **M.S. V.** Inscription with achievement to Sir William Ingilby, 1682 (Fig. 13).<sup>26</sup> I collected these two plates, which had already been removed from the east wall of the north chapel, on 9 January 1999. They comprise an inscription in four Latin lines and four Latin verses (278 x 495 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 10 rivets) and a seven-line Latin inscription with achievement of the Ingilby family (393 x 317 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 10 rivets) (varying from 2.0 to 2.7 mm). The plates had already been cleaned by

<sup>26</sup> Described in M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the West Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XV, pt. 1 (1898), pp. 40-1. At that time he described both brasses as 'lately replaced in the church, and now mural on the east wall of the Ingilby Chapel'.

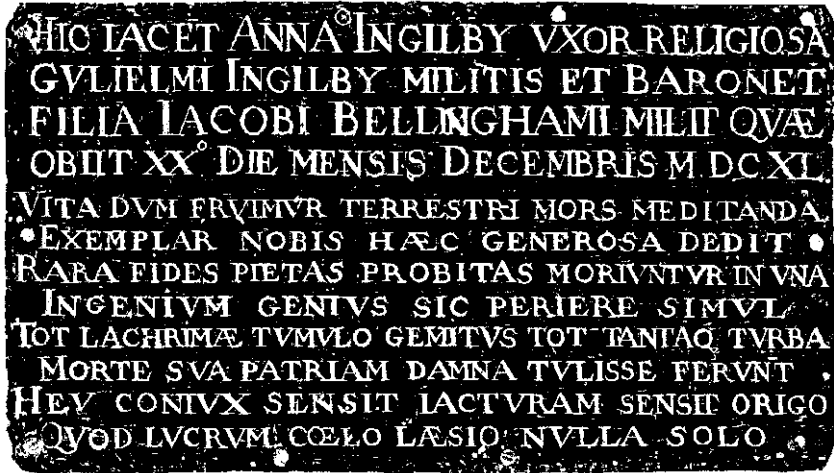


FIG. 12

Ripley, Yorkshire

M.S. IV. Inscription with verses to Anna Ingilby, 1640

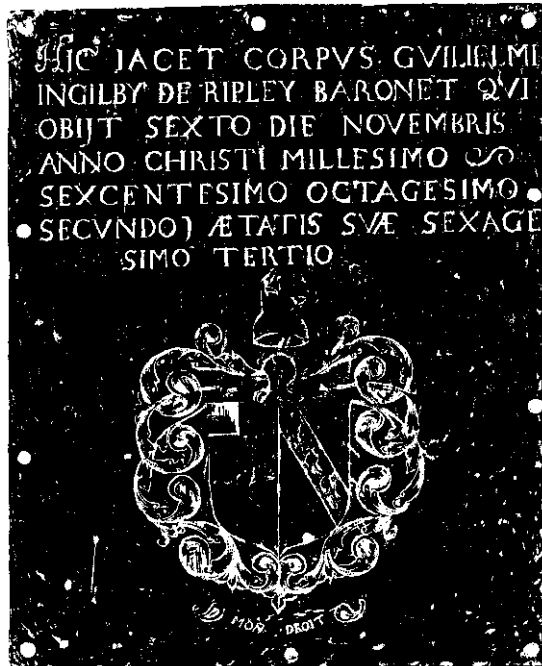
*Rubbing by William Lack*

FIG. 13

Ripley, Yorkshire

M.S. V. Inscription with achievement to Sir William Ingilby, 1682

*Rubbing by William Lack*

severe abrasion. After further cleaning I repaired a fracture in M.S. IV, fitted new rivets to the brasses and rebated them into a single Cedar board. The board was mounted on the east wall of the north chapel on 19 May 2000.

### SHARNBROOK, BEDFORDSHIRE

**LSW.I.** William Cobbe and wife Alice, both died 1522, and their son Thomas.<sup>27</sup> This London (series F) brass, comprising a female effigy (459 x 153 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets), two effigies in civilian dress (William 442 x 143 mm, thickness 4.3 mm; Thomas 447 x 142 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a four-line English inscription (128 x 543 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 4 rivets), was removed from the floor of the south aisle on 16 October 1999.<sup>28</sup> It had been secured with woodscrews and was corroded. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the inscription, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board.<sup>29</sup> The board was mounted on the north wall of the sanctuary on 31 August 2000.

### GREAT SHELFORD, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Following the theft of LSW.III, the inscription to John Redman, 1558, on 8 August 1998, H. Martin Stuchfield was invited to visit the church and examine the brasses. Subsequently I was commissioned to conserve two vulnerable plates and these were removed from their slabs on 19 December 1998.

**LSW.I.** Thomas Pattesle, 1418.<sup>30</sup> This brass, comprising the upper part of an effigy in cope (originally 1240 x 425 mm, now 865 x 343 mm), a single canopy much mutilated (originally 2355 x 760 mm, now 1003 x 555 mm) and two shields (dexter 128 x 104 mm; sinister 130 x 105 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 1 rivet), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2488 x 1163 mm) in the sanctuary. The lost lower part of the effigy is known from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>30</sup> The only part conserved was the sinister shield which was loose and vulnerable.

**LSW.II.** Shield, the remains of the brass to Henry Rysley, 1511.<sup>31</sup> This brass, comprising a shield bearing the arms of Risley (166 x 156 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 3 rivets), lies in the original grey marble slab (1715 x 710 mm) at the west end of the

<sup>27</sup> Described in Sanderson, 'Bedfordshire', p. 277; illustrated in Fisher, *Monumental Remains and Antiquities in the County of Bedford*, no 21; and Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, p. 85.

<sup>28</sup> The brass was originally laid in a slab (1695 x 670 mm) which is now mounted against the west wall of the north chapel. This slab has indents for a circular plate above the effigies and a group of six children below the inscription. The indents in this slab show that the effigy of Alice was originally laid on the left-hand side of her husband and son and with the feet of the effigies butting against the inscription. In the most recent relaying the female effigy was laid between the two male effigies and there was a gap between the effigies and the inscription. Fisher's illustration of 1828 shows that the brass was then laid in the original slab. By 1860 the plates had been removed from the slab and were loose at the rectory (Haines, *Manual*, II, pp. 8-9) but by 1895 they had been relaid in the original slab in the nave close to the chancel arch but with their heads to the east. They were taken up again c. 1984 and relaid in paving slabs in the south aisle.

<sup>29</sup> The plates were arranged on the board as in the original slab.

<sup>30</sup> Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 207.

<sup>31</sup> Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 205.



FIG. 14  
Shotesham St. Mary, Norfolk  
M.S. I. Edward Whyte and wife Elizabeth, both died 1528  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

nave. There are cement-filled indents for an armoured effigy (680 x 205 mm) and a foot inscription (80 x 380 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The two shields were relaid in their slabs on 3 March 1999.

### SHOTESHAM ST. MARY, NORFOLK

**M.S. I.** Edward Whyte and wife Elizabeth, both died 1528 (Fig. 14).<sup>32</sup> This Norwich (series 6c) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (760 x 233 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 6 rivets), female effigy (753 x 253 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 6 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (57 x 470 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original marble slab (2330 x 1200 mm) in the chancel on 2 December 1998. There are indents for four lost shields. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in the slab on 3 March 1999.

### TIDESWELL, DERBYSHIRE<sup>33</sup>

Four brasses were removed from their slabs on 25 October 1999.

**LSW.I.** Sir Sampson Meverell, 1462, restored in 1702. This London (series B) brass originally comprised a Trinity, foot inscription, one large shield, four smaller shields, four corner scrolls and a marginal inscription with Evangelists' symbols at the corners. Most of the plates were renewed in 1702 by Anthony Wall. I took up the Trinity (original, 472 x 323 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 5 rivets), foot inscription (renewed, 175 x 369 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 2 rivets), three shields (upper sinister, blank restoration, 147 x 120 mm, thickness 5.2 mm, 1 rivet; lower sinister, original, 146 x 118 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 1 rivet; lower centre, original, 209 x 166 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 1 rivet), four fillets of the marginal inscription (all renewed, top left fillet 638 x 74 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 3 rivets; centre left 662 x 73 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 3 rivets; bottom left 79 x 435 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 2 rivets; bottom right 79 x 424 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 2 rivets) and the upper right scroll (original, 225 x 74 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets) from the original slab (2300 x 1175 mm) which lies on a table tomb in the chancel. The scroll was loose and the other plates had been secured with ferrous rivets or screws and were not well-bedded. The renewed foot inscription and one of the sections of marginal inscription proved to be palimpsest. The reverse of the foot inscription showed part of another inscription, also engraved by Anthony Wall. This proved to be part of a previous restoration of the inscription

<sup>32</sup> When the brass was illustrated by J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of the Most Remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk* (London, 1819), pl. LV, the shields were evidently already lost. The blazons of three of them are known from an anonymous manuscript of c. 1605 (P. Heseltine, *Heraldry on Brasses: The Mill Stephenson Collection of Shields of Arms on British Brasses at the Society of Antiquaries* (Godmanchester, 1994), p. 72).

<sup>33</sup> The brasses have been described and illustrated by G.A. Lester, *Brasses and Brass-Rubbing in the Peak District* (Sheffield, 1971), pp. 4-16, 44-9; and *The Brasses of Tideswell* (church guide, reprinted from Lester); they are also illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire* (London, 1999), pp. 203-5, 209. J.M.J. Fletcher published two papers on the brasses: in 'Sir Sampson Meverill of Tideswell, 1388-1462', *Jnl of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Soc.*, XXX (1908), pp. 1-22, and 'Bishop Pursglove of Tideswell', *op. cit.*, XXXII (1910), pp. 1-32.

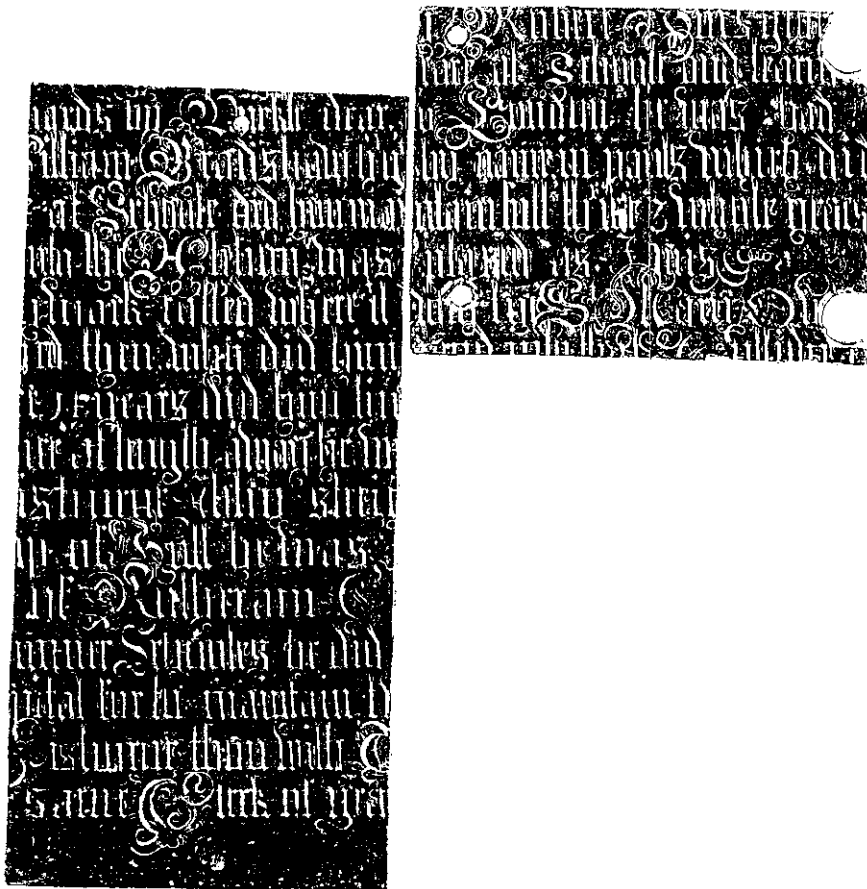


FIG. 15

Tideswell, Derbyshire

Link between palimpsest reverses from LSW.I and LSW.39

*Rubbing of LSW.I by William Lack; rubbing of LSW.39 from Society of Antiquaries*

from the Pursglove brass. The ‘sharpness’ of the reverse engraving suggests that this was never laid down. Fig. 15 shows this reverse and the link with another palimpsest plate, the reverse of LSW.39, an inscription to Laurence Brierley, 1680,<sup>34</sup> cut from an adjoining section of the inscription. This used to be mounted in a hinged frame on the north wall of the chancel but was lost about twenty years ago. The reverse of the bottom right fillet of the marginal inscription showed an incompletely engraved version of the obverse, engraved on two lines rather than three. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the scroll and fitted new rivets to the plates.

**LSW.II.** Robert Lytton and wife, *c.* 1500. This London (series G) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (709 x 191 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 6 rivets), female effigy (688 x 256

<sup>34</sup> Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, p. 209.



mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 5 rivets), two fragmentary scrolls (left-hand now 67 x 42 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 1 rivet; right-hand now 198 x 65 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets) and a mutilated marginal inscription (1890 x 707 mm overall, engraved on eight fillets with thicknesses between 3.5 and 4.0 mm, 24 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (2205 x 925 mm) in the south aisle. The fillets of the marginal inscription are engraved with identifying notches on their reverse edges identifying their positions. The male effigy and right-hand scroll had at some stage been fractured and repaired. After cleaning I re-repaired these fractures, repaired two other fractures in the male effigy and fitted new rivets to the brass.

**LSW.III.** Bishop Robert Pursglove, 1579. This London (series G) brass, comprising an episcopal effigy (1000 x 382 mm), an inscription in twenty English and two Latin verses (345 x 572 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 18 rivets) and a marginal inscription (1790 x 957 mm overall) with Evangelists' symbols at the corners, lies in the original slab (1965 x 1140 mm) on the north side of the chancel. The brass lies in a quiet area away from foot traffic. I removed the inscription which had come loose along the top edge and become bent up and also the lower right Evangelist's symbol (162 x 163 mm, part renewed, thickness 1.4 mm, 5 rivets), part of which was held by screws. The inscription is engraved on very thin plate and is distorted and fractured. Several extra small holes had been drilled round the edge in previous attempts to secure the plate and for this reason a small nail had been driven obliquely under the base of the effigy to overlap the top edge of the inscription. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the Evangelist's symbol, repaired fractures in the inscription and fitted new rivets.

**LSW.XXV.** Samuel Andrew, 1900. This large rectangular plate (1143 x 1625 mm, thickness 3.7 mm), produced by Messrs Gawthorp of London and engraved with the recumbent effigy of a priest under a canopy with an eight-line inscription below, was taken down from the north wall of the chancel. The lacquer coating was breaking down and the plate was beginning to corrode, particularly along the bottom edge. After cleaning and light polishing, the plate was treated with Renaissance wax.

The floor brasses were relaid on 7 and 15 December 1999 and LSW.XXV was resecured on 14 March 2000.

## WANTAGE, BERKSHIRE

**LSW.I.** Priest, 1372.<sup>35</sup> This London (series A) brass, now comprising the half effigy of a priest in mass vestments (592 x 352 mm, thickness 3.2 mm), was originally laid down in the chancel,<sup>36</sup> and was removed from its slab before 1861.<sup>37</sup> I removed the

<sup>35</sup> Described and illustrated by C.T. Morley, *Monumental Brasses of Berkshire*, (Reading, 1924), pp. 217, 219; and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), pp. 151-2.

<sup>36</sup> Capt. Richard Symonds visited the church c. 1645 and recorded part of the marginal inscription: 'quond(a)m Vicari(u)s istius eccl(es)ie qui obiit sexto die Mai an(n)o Mill(es)imo CCCLXXII cuius anime propicietur Deus' (BL, Harleian MS 965, f. 77).

<sup>37</sup> The effigy was recorded in the north aisle in Haines, *Manual*, II, p. 17.

effigy from a pillar on the south side of the north chapel on 29 April 1999. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the effigy into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the sanctuary on 10 May 2000.

**LSW.VII.** John Laforey Butler, 1848. This brass, comprising a decorated cross on three steps (953 x 142 mm, shield (156 x 129 mm) and marginal inscription (1520 x 562 x 61 mm), is set in a black marble slab (1570 x 610 mm). It was removed from a low table tomb in the north aisle by Michael Eastham in 1998. I re-secured the bottom strip of marginal inscription (61 x 562 mm, thickness 3 mm, 3 back-soldered rivets) on 29 April 1999. The brass and slab have subsequently been mounted against the north wall of the north aisle.

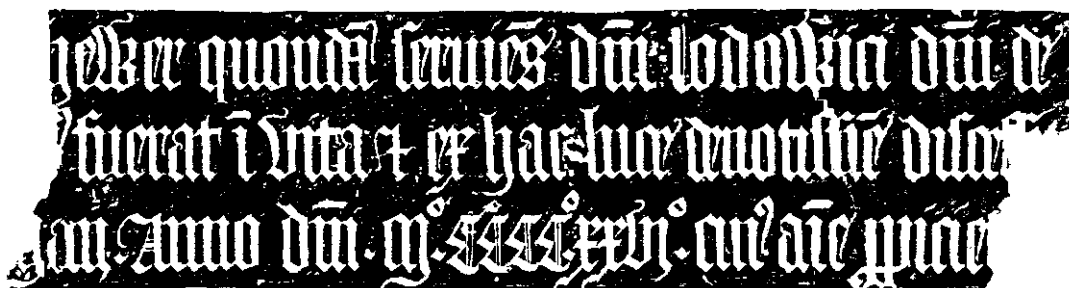


FIG. 16

Whitchurch, Oxfordshire

M.S. I. Thomas Walysch and wife, c. 1426; palimpsest reverse of inscription

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

### WHITCHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE <sup>38</sup>

Four brasses were removed on 31 May 2000.

**M.S. I.** Thomas Walysch and wife, c. 1426.<sup>39</sup> This London (series E) brass comprises an armoured effigy (573 x 193 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy (525 x 204 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 3 rivets), a mutilated three-line Latin inscription (now 122 x 424 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets) and four shields (upper dexter 150 x 121 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets; upper sinister 151 x 127 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 2 rivets; lower dexter 151 x 122 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 2 rivets; lower sinister 150 x 123 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets). It was recorded in the chancel in 1861 by Revd. Herbert Haines and his rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries of London shows the brass in its original slab.<sup>40</sup> The brass had been mounted on the south wall of the chancel by 1899 and on the north side of the chancel arch before 1926. It was removed from the wall early in 1997. The

<sup>38</sup> The brasses were described in P. Manning, 'Monumental Brasses in the Deanery of Henley-on-Thames', *Oxford Jnl. of Mon. Brasses*, I, pt. vi (1899), pp 304--6.

<sup>39</sup> Illustrated in *Oxford Portfolio*, I, pt.2 (1899), pl. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Haines, *Manual*, II, p 175.

inscription, which is now more mutilated than when illustrated in 1899, is palimpsest, the reverse being cut from an unused Latin inscription, dated 1426 (Fig. 16). After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass and facsimile into a Cedar board.<sup>41</sup>

**M.S. II.** Roger Gery, 148-, engraved *c.* 1455.<sup>42</sup> This London (series D) brass, comprising an effigy in mass vestments (757 x 220 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets), a scroll (346 x 34 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.8 and 3.7mm, 3 rivets), a four-line Latin inscription (112 x 754 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 3 rivets) and a shield (162 x 137 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets), was recorded by Richard Rawlinson in the mid-eighteenth century on a table tomb in the chancel.<sup>43</sup> It was removed from its slab before 1899 and mounted on the north wall of the chancel but by 1926 the effigy, scroll and inscription had been relaid in a new slab (1300 x 830 mm) on the north side of the sanctuary and the shield had been mounted between the upper shields of M.S. I on the east wall. The shield was removed from the wall early in 1997. The plates in the floor slab had been secured with 12 mm diameter rivets set in wood plugs and they had been bedded on plaster-of-paris. After cleaning I fitted new rivets, extending the large rivets just described, and rebated the brass into a Cedar board.

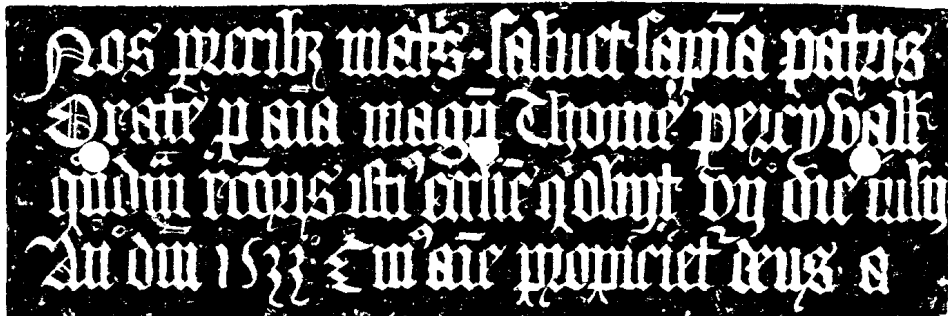


FIG. 17

Whitchurch, Oxfordshire

M.S. III. Inscription to Thomas Percyvall, 1533

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. III.** Inscription to Thomas Percyvall, 1533 (Fig. 17). This London (series F variant) four-line Latin inscription (117 x 351 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets) was noted by Haines in the nave.<sup>44</sup> By 1899 it had been mounted murally in the chancel and by 1926 mounted on the north side of the chancel arch. It was removed from the wall early in 1997. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated it into the same board as M.S. II.

<sup>41</sup> The shields were arranged in accordance with the rubbing by Haines rather than the arrangement in the *Portfolio* plate.

<sup>42</sup> Illustrated in *Oxford Portfolio*, I, pt. 5 (1901), pl. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.400 c, f. 27.

<sup>44</sup> Haines, *Manual*, II, p 175.

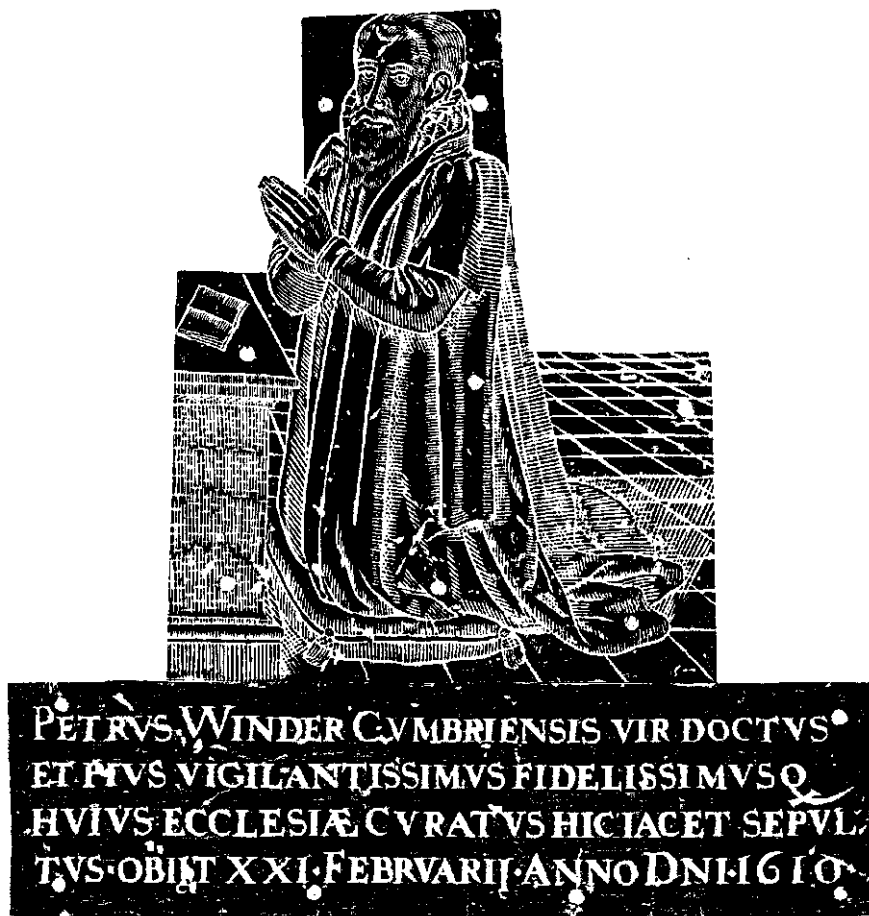


FIG. 18  
Whitchurch, Oxfordshire  
M.S. IV. Peter Winder, 1610  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. IV.** Peter Winder, 1610 (Fig. 18). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a kneeling effigy (271 x 217 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 8 rivets) and a four-line Latin inscription (95 x 345 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 6 rivets), was originally mounted externally on the north wall. When the church was rebuilt and the north chancel aisle added in 1858 it was effectively brought inside the church. It was moved to the north side of the chancel arch before 1926 and I removed it from the wall on 31 May 2000. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into the same board as M.S. I.

A commemorative plate was rebated into the board carrying M.S. II and III. The two boards were mounted on the north side of the chancel arch on 13 July 2000.

## Portfolio of Small Plates

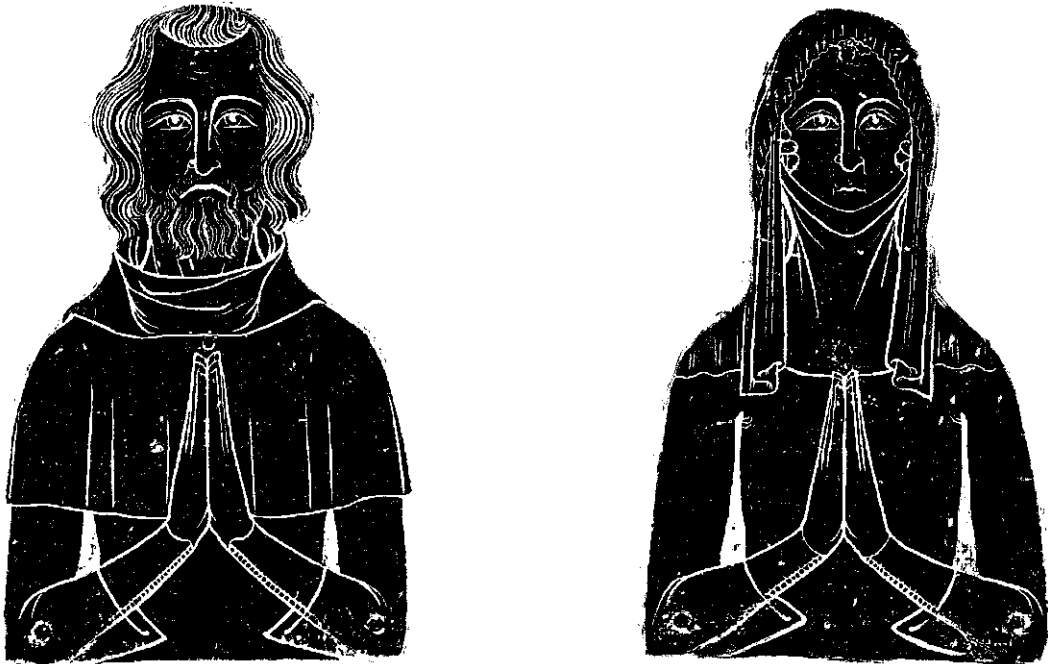


FIG. 1

A civilian and wife, c. 1355  
Upchurch, Kent, M.S. I  
*Rubbing by Nigel Saul, 2003*

**Figs. 1 and 2:** A civilian and wife, c. 1355, Upchurch, Kent, M.S. I. *Rubbing by Nigel Saul and drawing by Thomas Fisher.*

The brass of a civilian and his wife at Upchurch, Kent (Fig. 1), is a relatively rare example of a figure brass of the 1350s. It can be attributed to the workshop of London style A. Each of the figures is attired in a *cote hardie* with plain sleeves, reaching half way between elbow and wrist, beneath which is worn an undertunic extending to the wrists. Below the figures, there was originally a one-line epitaph, a part of which survived to the 1870s and which appears in a Fisher drawing, but is now lost (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> The brass has been illustrated at least three times before, most effectively by Sally Badham as an accompaniment to her article in the *Antiquaries Journal*.<sup>2</sup> What none of the illustrations shows, however, is the engraver's error on the

<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Derrick Chivers for alerting me to the drawing of the brass by Thomas Fisher in the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>2</sup> W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1888-1905), I, p. 105 (no. 214); M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), ii, no. 25; S. Badham, 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death - A Reappraisal', *Antiquaries Journal*, LXXX (2000), p. 221.

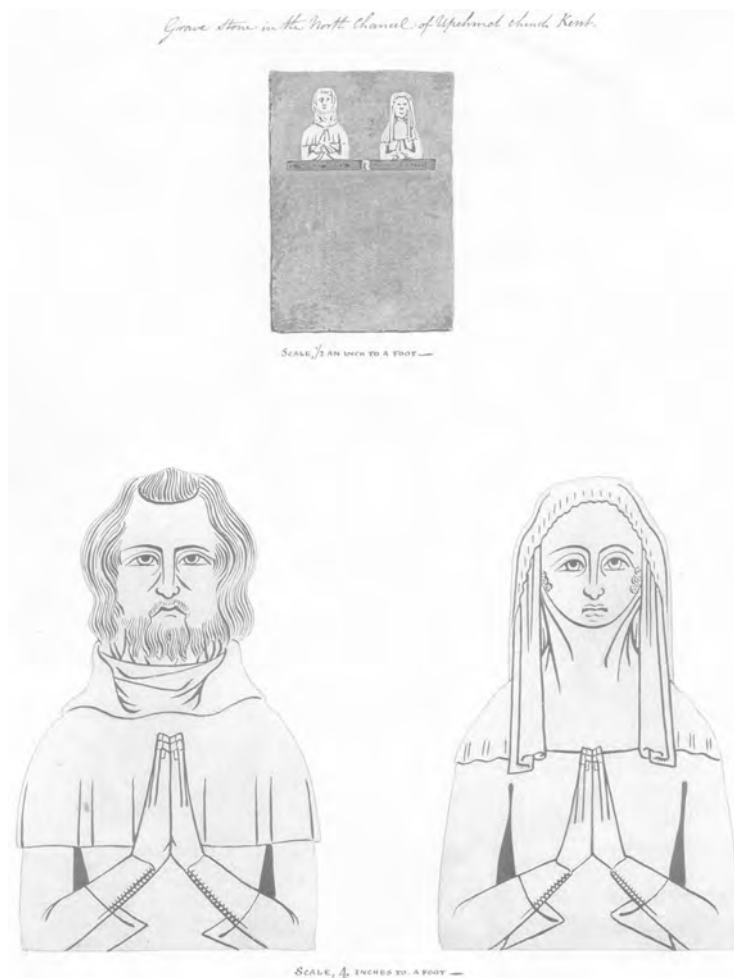


FIG. 2

A civilian and wife, c. 1355

Upchurch, Kent, M.S. I

*Drawing by Thomas Fisher, Society of Antiquaries*

lower arms of both figures. The error can be seen clearly in the accompanying illustration, taken from a rubbing made in 2003. Mistakenly, the engraver has carried the row of undertunic buttons towards the elbow, beyond the point where it should be concealed under the *cote hardie*. Partial scratching away of the buttons indicates an attempt to rectify the error. The engraver's mistake did not show up on the earlier rubbings because, before conservation some thirty years ago, the brass was badly corroded. This is evident from the rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries made in 1877.<sup>3</sup> The brass was engraved in a period when the output of

<sup>3</sup> Yet it is not apparent from the illustration in Norris, *Memorials*, which is presumably from a rubbing heavily 'touched up'.

the London workshops was low. In many ways, it can be considered a brass of high quality. It is of admirable design, and the engraving is bold. However, the fact that it left the workshop with a serious error points to poor managerial control. Perhaps there is evidence here of the difficulties encountered in maintaining standards in the wake of the Black Death. In the absence of the epitaph, it is not clear whom the brass commemorates. A strong candidate, however, is Bartholomew de Thanet, a member of a minor landowning family in the parish, who appears to have died in or before 1358.<sup>4</sup> The brass is now mounted on a board in the north aisle. Both figures are 370 mm in height.

Nigel Saul

Fig. 3: Thomas de Greye, esq., 1562, Merton, Norfolk, M.S. VI. *Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 19 and 24 December 1981.*

The church of St. Peter, which stands in the grounds of Merton Park, contains a series of six brasses commemorating various members of the de Grey family.<sup>5</sup> This brass, a product of the Norwich 6 workshop, is located in a Jacobean family pew at the east end of the south aisle. The composition comprises a mutilated armoured effigy, inscription and sinister shield. The dexter shield and another, abutting the inscription centrally, have been lost. The five-line English inscription reads:

Here lyeth Intoumbed the bodie [of Thomas] degreye Esquior Sonne and  
 heyre of Edmund / degreye Esquior who deceased th[e 12 of May] 1562.  
 And had to his first wife Anne Euerode / Daughter of henrye Euerode o[f  
 Linsted in] Suffoke Esquior And to his second wife / Temperance the  
 Daughter of [Sir Wymonde] Carewe of Anthonye in Cornewall / Knighte  
 whose soule god p[ardon].

The words in brackets, now lost, are reproduced from an engraving by Cotman.<sup>6</sup> This engraving of 1814 indicates that the effigy was mutilated at this time although the three shields were complete. The now lost dexter shield was emblazoned with the arms of de Grey (*Azure a fess between two chevrons or*) impaling Everard (*Gules on a fess between three estoiles argent, three mullets sable*) while the lower shield bore de Grey quartered with Baynard (*Argent a fess between two chevrons azure*). The surviving sinister shield bears de Grey impaling Carewe (*Or three lions passant sable, the centre one charged with a mullet on the shoulder for difference*). Blomefield records the brass in the same state as Cotman.<sup>7</sup>

The left-hand end of the inscription became detached from the stone during the 1890s. It was found to be palimpsest, bearing on the reverse the feet of a man in

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of the Archives of All Souls College*, ed. C. Trice Martin (London, 1877), p. 67: an extent of the lands held by John de Thanet, 29/30 Edward III, previously held by Bartholomew de Thanet. Bartholomew de Thanet, who was active in the land market in Upchurch in the 1340s, makes his last appearance in 1358 (*ibid.*, p. 61).

<sup>5</sup> M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 347.

<sup>6</sup> J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (London, 1839), I, p. 40, pl. 75.

<sup>7</sup> F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), II, p. 305.

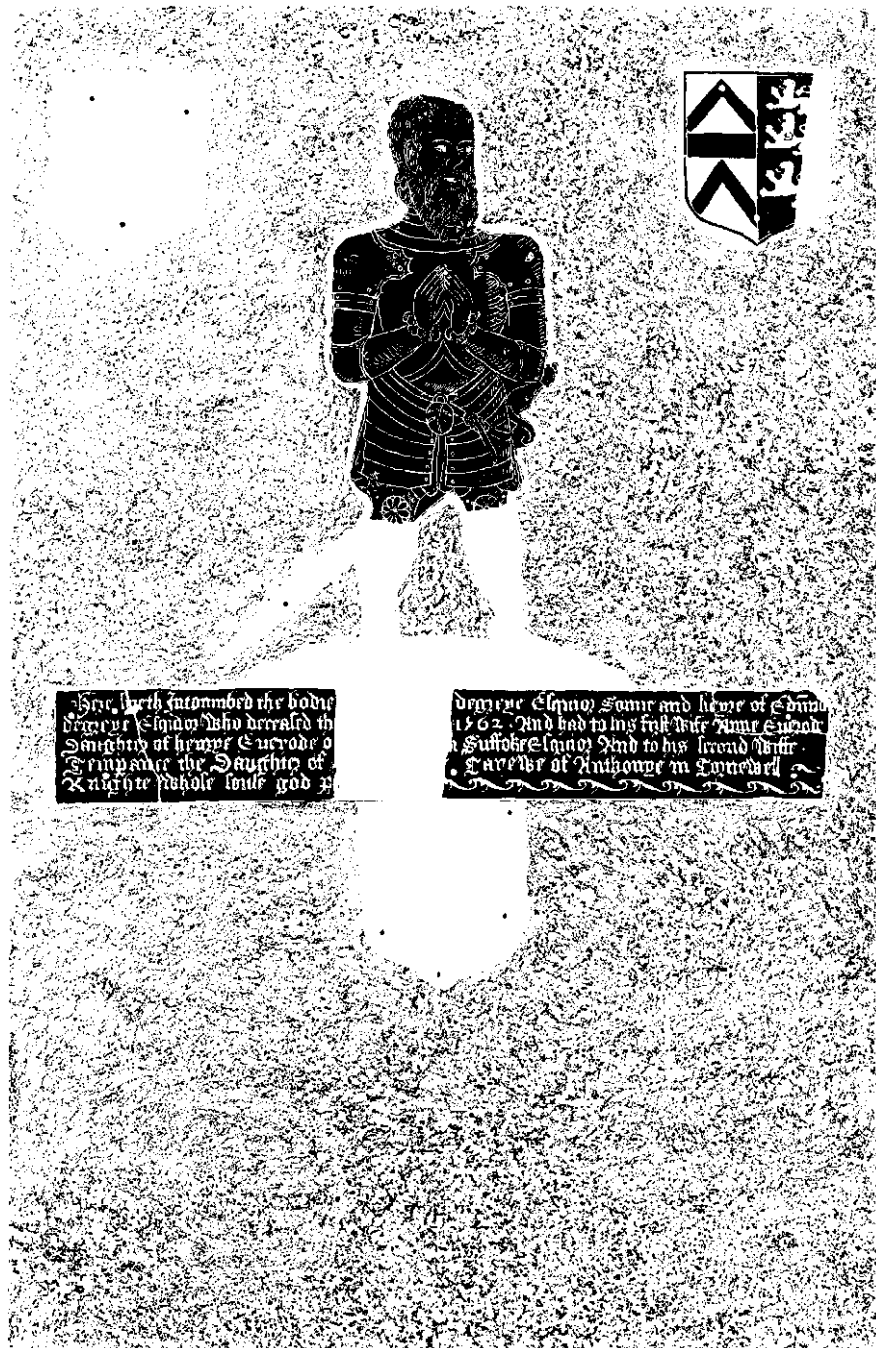


FIG. 3

Thomas de Greye, esq., 1562

Merton, Norfolk, M.S. VI

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield, 19 and 24 December 1981*



armour resting on a lion, *c.* 1390.<sup>8</sup> I visited the church on 14 August 1979 and detected that the various elements of this memorial were loose. A site meeting subsequently took place with the incumbent and the Hon. Richard de Grey on 25 October 1981. This resulted in the patron of the living, John de Grey, 9th Baron Walsingham, granting permission for the brass to be conserved. The inscription and the remaining shield were removed on 19 December. The right-hand end of the inscription yielded the face, hands, furred cuffs and part of the dress of a lady, *c.* 1480, whilst the shield contained the face and finger-tips of a priest in mass vestments, *c.* 1350.<sup>9</sup> The brass was conserved by Bryan S.H. Egan and relaid on 4 June 1982.<sup>10</sup>

Thomas, *b.* *c.* 1530, was the son and heir of Edmund de Grey (d. 1547) and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Spelman (M.S. IV).<sup>11</sup> He married firstly Anne, daughter and heir of Henry Everard of Linsted, Suffolk, and secondly, Temperance, daughter of Sir Wymonde Carewe of Anthony, Cornwall, by whom he had no issue and who outlived him.

H. Martin Stuchfield

**Fig. 4:** Albert Harry Hodd, d. 1871, All Saints, Wigan, Lancs. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman, 2002.*

On the north-west side of the south pillar of the chancel arch in All Saints, Wigan, is this impressive kneeling figure in eucharistic vestments.<sup>12</sup> Its design incorporates motifs typical of the Aesthetic movement: the vase of lilies, the background of stylised daisy sprays and the geometric corner ornaments. Albert Harry Hodd, M.A., born in Brighton in 1834, after studying at University College, Durham, of which he was a Fellow, was ordained deacon in 1858 and priest in 1859 by the Bishop of Lichfield. He served as a curate first at Chesterton, Staffs., then at St. Leonard's, Bilston, Staffs., and finally, from 1865, at All Saints, Wigan. He married Louisa Child at Carshalton, Surrey, on 29 September 1868. He was noted for his work on behalf of the Church Choral Association, of which he was secretary. His career was cut short when he died suddenly of a heart attack on 6 August 1871. Shortly after his death a letter came offering him a substantial living in the gift of the Earl of Bradford. After a service that included the 'Dead March' from Handel's *Saul*, a Psalm sung to Gregorian chant, and Mr. Hodd's favourite hymn, 'O Paradise', the remains of the deceased were conveyed by train to Brighton for interment.<sup>13</sup>

Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker

<sup>8</sup> *MBS Trans.*, IV (1900-3), pp. 223-4; M. Stephenson, 'Palimpsest Brasses in Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XV, pt. 1 (1903), pp. 68-9.

<sup>9</sup> J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), p. 83 (44N1), pl. 149; 'Second Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 38 (Feb. 1985), p. x (44N2-3), pl. 189.

<sup>10</sup> *MBS Trans.*, XIII (1984), p. 450.

<sup>11</sup> S.T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509-1558*, 3 vols. (London, 1982), II, p. 252.

<sup>12</sup> G.T.O. Bridgeman, *The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan in the County of Lancaster*, 4 vols., Chetham Soc., New Series, 15-18 (Manchester, 1888-90), IV, p. 714.

<sup>13</sup> Bridgeman, *Wigan*, IV, p. 728; *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1870* (London, 1870), p. 343; *Wigan Observer*, 11 August 1871, p. 5. We are grateful to Mr. Butler of Wigan Heritage Service for providing a copy of the last.

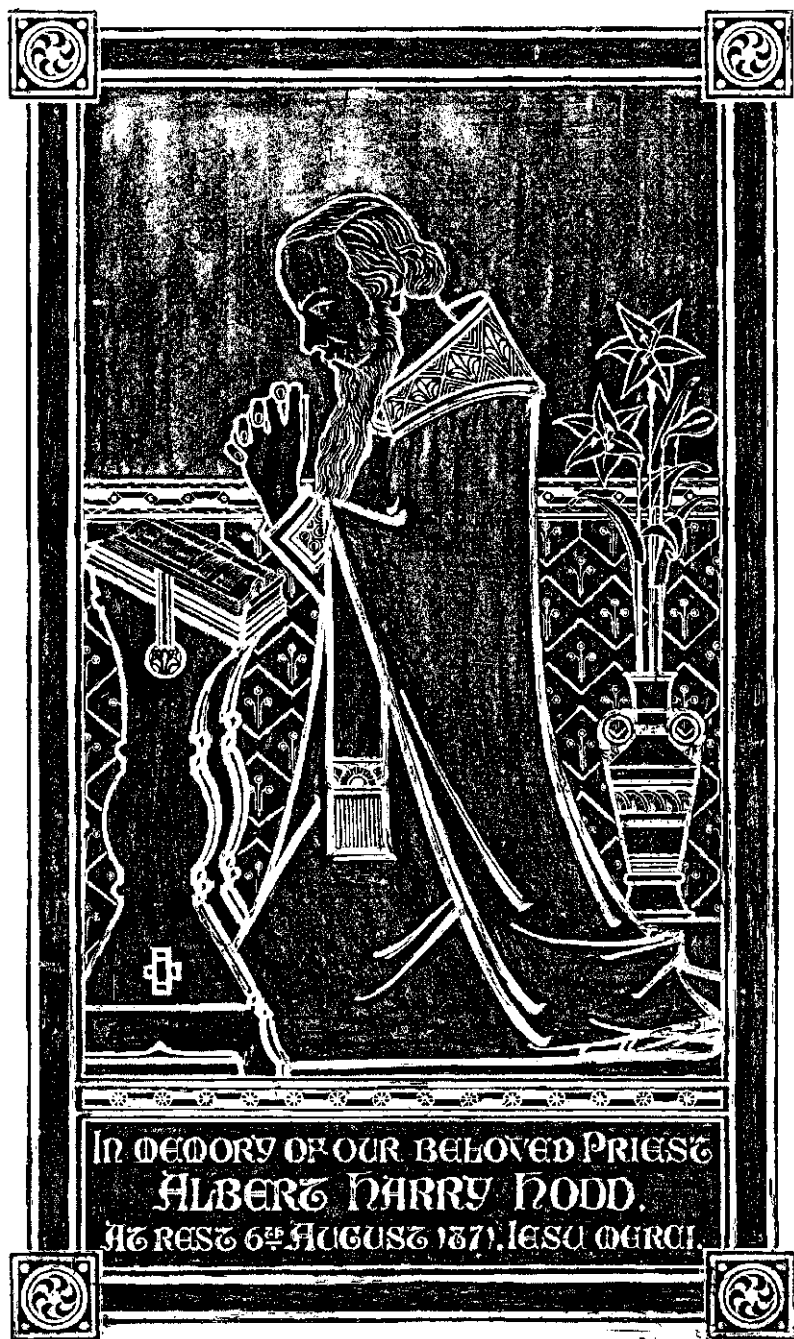


FIG. 4

Albert Harry Hodd, d. 1871

All Saints, Wigan, Lancs.

*Rubbing by Patrick Farman, 2002*

TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
**Monumental Brass Society**

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