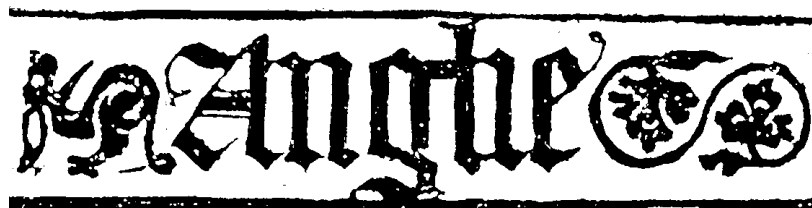


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Cover: Details from chamfer inscription to Cardinal Langham, d. 1376, Westminster Abbey

Cast Copper-alloy Tombs and London Series B Brass Production in the Late Fourteenth Century

by SALLY BADHAM

THE most sumptuous of the royal tombs in the Plantagenet mausoleum at Westminster Abbey are those with cast gilt copper-alloy figures. These have traditionally been misleadingly called relief ‘gilt-bronze’ effigies. Although the material out of which they are fabricated has never been analysed, they are not bronze, i.e. a copper-tin alloy, but almost certainly, like the effigy at Warwick to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, latten, i.e. a copper-zinc-tin-lead alloy.¹ Latten is also the material from which monumental brasses were made, a connection which has led to many writers on brasses to link the manufacture of the two and to speculate whether the craftsmen responsible for the royal effigies also made brasses.

In his *Manual* of 1861, Haines wrote:

It is just possible that the names of some of the artists of brasses may be preserved among those of the contractors for the metal effigies cast in relief of Richard II., Henry VII., and their Queens, at Westminster Abbey ... The contract for the first was taken in 1395, by “Nicholas Broker et Godfrey Prest, Citeins et Copersmythes de Loundres” ... It is evident that too few of these rare and expensive monuments were required to render the production of them a separate trade. They would, therefore, very likely have been made, when occasionally required, by the principal manufacturers of the sepulchral brasses, which were the only metal monuments in general use. This conjecture is confirmed by a close resemblance between the minute diaper-work on the robes of the effigy of Anne of Bohemia at Westminster, and that on the armorial bearings of the brasses of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1401, and his Countess, 1406, at St. Mary’s, Warwick.²

In linking the coppersmiths with the production of brasses, as in much else, Haines set the tone for most discussion on the subject for the following hundred years. Indeed, even as late as 1997, Phillip Lindley, who has added greatly to our understanding of the royal copper-alloy effigies, commented that ‘the masterly tooling [on Richard and Anne’s effigies] reminds us that Broker and Prest were major figures in the production of monumental brasses in this period’.³ However,

¹ For a detailed discussion of medieval copper-alloy terminology and the work of the various associated trades, see C. Blair and J. Blair, ‘Copper Alloys’, in *English Medieval Industries*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay (London, 1991), pp. 81-106, including, at p. 82, the composition of the Warwick effigy. Although the royal effigies were conserved before being returned to the Abbey after their wartime evacuation, H.J. Plenderleith told Dr. Claude Blair that the opportunity was not taken to have them analysed.

² H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861, repr. Bath, 1970), pp. xxvi-xxviii.

³ P. Lindley, ‘Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture’, in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. D. Gordon, L. Monnas and C. Elam (London, 1997), p. 69.

researches since the 1970s, by John Blair and Robin Emmerson amongst others, have consistently shown that in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries London brass production was in the hands of the marblers, not metalworkers.⁴ How can this apparent inconsistency be reconciled? Perhaps the time is ripe for a re-examination of the evidence linking those who made the late-fourteenth-century royal copper-alloy tombs with the production of other monuments, including monumental brasses.

Edward III's tomb

Unlike the royal tombs of France, there is little consistency in the commemorative style of English royal tombs, but if there is one tomb that embodies the Plantagenet vision of kingship, it is that of Edward III, d. 1377.⁵ The visual imagery reflects the sentiments expressed in the inscription, which, in translation, praises Edward thus:

Here is the glory of the English and the flower of kings past, the model for future ones, merciful king and peace-bringer to the people, Edward III. He reigned for fifty years, the invincible leopard [a reference to the leopards in the arms of England], a powerful Maccabean king in war, successful in life, he revived the kingdom through honesty, he ruled potent in arms. May he now be a heavenly king in Heaven.⁶

The glittering gilt cast latten figures contrast with the dark Purbeck marble tomb chest – a stunning combination of rich magnificence appropriate to a great king. Edward is shown as an austere, idealised, regal figure, originally wearing a crown and holding a rod and sceptre as emblems of kingship. As Paul Binski has pointed out, there is a remarkable similarity between the tomb and the miniature showing the funeral of a king in the *Liber Regalis*, reinforcing the image of Edward as the model of kings.⁷ The side shafts of the canopy surround on the latten base plate held figures of praying angels, the company of heaven, in which he was to reign celestially according to the inscription.

Cast latten figures of Edward's children with their arms beneath adorn the tomb chest, reminding us that this is in essence a dynastic monument.⁸ In this, it reflects earlier tombs at Westminster which have images of family members in the niches, including those of Aveline de Forz, Countess of Lancaster, d. 1274; Edmund, Earl of

⁴ R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design c. 1420-85', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXXXI (1978), pp. 50-78; J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London, and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Jnl*, LX (1980), pp. 66-74; J. Blair, 'Purbeck Marble', in *English Medieval Industries*, ed. Blair and Ramsay, pp. 41-56.

⁵ RCHM, *London, I, Westminster Abbey* (London, 1924), pp. 30-1, pls. 54-6. For the techniques used, see H.J. Plenderleith and H. Maryon, 'The Royal Bronze Effigies in Westminster Abbey', *Antiquaries Jnl*, XXXIX (1959), pp. 87-90.

⁶ Translation taken from Lindley, 'Ricardian Sculpture', p. 73. The Latin inscription reads: 'Hic decus anglorum flos regum preteritorum - Forma futurorum - rex clemens pax populorum - Tertius Edwardus - regni complens jubilem - Invictus pardus - bellis pollens Machabeus - prospere dum vixit - regnum probitate revixit - armipotens rexit - jam celo celice rex sit'. See also P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 197-9.

⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 196; Westminster Abbey MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), f. 33v.

⁸ A. McG. Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, Pa., 2000), pp. 62-132.

Lancaster, d. 1296; Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, d. 1324; and John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, d. 1336. It may also have been presaged by the tomb of his father, Edward II, in Gloucester Cathedral. The tomb chest has alternating large and small niches, now empty of images. Morganstern has plausibly suggested that the large niches, which have shields above, probably held figures of family members.⁹ In this, as in much else, such as the choice of gilt-latten previously used for the tombs of Henry III, Queen Eleanor of Castile and the Black Prince, Edward III's tomb was essentially conservative, perhaps with the intention of emphasising continuity in the royal line.

Detailed contracts for other comparable medieval tombs, including those of Richard II, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Margaret Beaufort and Henry VII, show that such commissions were the work of a team of collaborating craftsmen.¹⁰ Although there is no documentary evidence as to those responsible for Edward III's tomb, it has been suggested that John Orchard, lattener of London, may have cast the effigies. In 1376, he had been paid £5 for six copper angels for the tomb of Edward's queen, Philippa of Hainault.¹¹ In 1377, the year of Edward III's death, Orchard rented a house and garden in Tothill Street, Westminster, suggesting that he had another major commission at the Abbey.¹² However, it is improbable that this commission was Edward's tomb, as such evidence as we have points to it having been made nearly a decade later. In April 1386, a cargo of Purbeck marble 'for the tomb of King Edward III at Westminster Abbey' was carried by the ship '*La Margarete*' from Poole to Westminster.¹³ Moreover, as shown below, there is a close similarity between the lettering style on Edward's tomb and that on brasses from the mid 1380s. Yet Orchard, who lived until at least 1395, nonetheless remains a strong contender for casting the latten figures.¹⁴

Contracts for other comparable tombs indicate that separate craftsmen would have been responsible for the Purbeck marble tomb chest, owing to the very different craft skills required. For this, the prime candidate is Henry Yevele, who was involved in many royal building projects and royal and other prestigious monumental commissions. The detailed design of Edward's tomb chest parallels Purbeck marble tomb chests for which there is documentary evidence of Yevele's involvement, including those at Westminster to Cardinal Langham and Richard II, discussed below.¹⁵ Therefore, the likelihood is that Orchard and Yevele were the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁰ P. Lindley, "'Una Granda Opera al mio Re': Gilt-Bronze Effigies in England from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXLII (1990), pp. 112-30; updated in P. Lindley, 'Collaboration and Competition: Torrigiano and Royal Tomb Commissions', in P. Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 47-72.

¹¹ J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, rev. edn. (Gloucester, 1984), p. 220.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 127; Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 361.

¹⁴ The suggestion that Orchard was responsible for casting Edward's effigy and also that of the Black Prince was first made in W.R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen* (London, 1906), p. 289; see also Lindley, 'Collaboration and Competition' p. 67 n. 83.

¹⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 197.

main craftsmen involved in making Edward's monument. However, it is important to remember that the tomb would undoubtedly have been commissioned and paid for by Richard II and that other evidence suggests that he was the type of patron to express a keen interest in details of the design.

Richard II's tomb

Richard commissioned his own tomb and evidently took a close personal interest in its construction: in March 1396 he stood the craftsmen a drink 'for forming two images of copper, in likeness of the King and Queen'.¹⁶ The trigger for its commissioning was the death of his much-loved first wife, Anne of Bohemia, in June 1394. Already during his reign, sumptuous tombs had been provided for his grandfather, Edward III; his father, Edward the Black Prince, d. 1376, in Canterbury Cathedral; his mother, Princess Joan, d. 1385, at the Greyfriars, Stamford; and his elder brother, Prince Edward, d. 1371, at Kings Langley, Hertfordshire. The last two do not survive. Joan's effigy was probably the 'goodly image of copper and gilt ... laid upon marble' recorded by Dr. London, the royal commissioner at Stamford in 1539.¹⁷ The form of Prince Edward's monument, commissioned in 1391, is unknown, but the cost of £66. 13s. 4d., though insufficient for a cast latten tomb, certainly suggests a fine monument, perhaps with an alabaster effigy.¹⁸

For Richard's own tomb, the detailed contracts dated April 1395 survive.¹⁹ One contract with the masons Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote was for making the Purbeck marble tomb chest, at a cost of £250, with a £20 bonus if the work were well and loyally done. A separate contract was made with two London coppersmiths, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, for gilt-latten work, to be made 'according to a pattern shown to them' and not therefore their own design, the cost of which was £400. This entailed making the two crowned images of the King and Queen, a table on which they would lie, canopies with double pilasters, two lions to go under the King's feet, an eagle and a leopard to go under the Queen's feet, eight figures of angels to flank the main effigies, twelve images of saints for the niches in the tomb chest, enamelled shields for the tomb chest niches, and finally the inscriptions on the chamfer of the tomb chest, the text of which would be supplied to the coppersmiths. Between 1398 and 1399 a further £300 was paid for the gilding. This brought the total cost to a staggering £970.

¹⁶ F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer* (London, 1837), p. 263.

¹⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), p. 3.

¹⁸ Devon, *Issues*, pp. 244, 248. Isabel of Castile, Duchess of York (d. 1392), was buried in the Friars Preachers' church, King's Langley, Herts., by the order of Richard II (*Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae*, ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1866), pp. 184-5). She was commemorated by a brass on a tomb chest; see H.C. Baker, 'The Royal Tomb at King's Langley, Herts, and the Indented Slab believed to be for Isabel of Castile', *MBS Trans.*, XI (1972), pp. 279-83.

¹⁹ PRO, E.101/473/7, printed in T. Rymer, *Foedera*, 3rd edn., 10 vols. (The Hague, 1739-45), III, pt. 4, pp. 105-6.

There are significant differences between the design of this tomb and that of Edward III, made only little over a decade earlier. While Edward's was in essence austere and conservative, Richard's was innovatory and highly decorative. Not only was this the first royal tomb showing both king and consort, but they were shown holding hands; a tribute to the love Richard bore for Queen Anne.²⁰ The tomb canopy and the garments worn by Richard and Anne are richly decorated with pointillé work. The robes of the King are powdered with the initials R and A and three royal badges: the white hart, the Planagenet broomscod and the sunburst. Again this strongly reflects Richard's taste, as the Wilton Diptych, which was probably commissioned by Richard himself, shows the same imagery, stippled to replicate pointillé work.²¹ This demonstrates a conscious striving for the luxurious effect of contemporary, fashionable, high-quality jewellery produced by the Paris goldsmiths, which Richard favoured.²² The rich pointillé work on the tomb was thus probably Richard's personal choice, rather than necessarily being a reflection of the usual working style of Broker and Prest.

The inscription on Edward's tomb emphasised his kingly virtues and prowess in war. In contrast, Richard's begins (in translation):

Prudent and elegant, Richard the second by right, conquered by fate, lies here depicted under this marble. He was truthful in discourse and full of reason. Tall in body, he was prudent in mind as Homer. He favoured the Church, he overthrew the proud and threw down whoever violated the royal prerogative. He crushed heretics and laid low their friends. Oh merciful Christ to whom he was devoted; Oh Baptist, whom he venerated, may you by your prayers save him.²³

This reflects the political difficulties of the latter part of his reign in particular, but also emphasises his right to the throne and his confidence in the validity of his actions, whilst also betraying his vanity concerning his personal appearance. It is intensely personal and essentially justificatory, surely reflecting Richard's own sentiments.

Unlike Edward's tomb, Richard's is not a dynastic monument. The niches in the tomb chest held, not figures of relatives as 'weepers', but images of saints. There may

²⁰ For a recent assessment and detailed illustrations of Richard II's tomb, see Lindley, 'Ricardian Sculpture', pp. 61-74.

²¹ Gordon, Monnas and Elam ed., *Regal Image*, figs. 36-9, pls. 10-13.

²² M. Campbell, 'White Harts and Coronets: The Jewellery and Plate of Richard II', in *Regal Image*, ed. Gordon, Monnas and Elam, pp. 95-114, esp. pp. 109-10.

²³ Anne's inscription continues: 'Under this broad stone Anne now lies entombed. While she lived, she was the wife of Richard the Second. She was devoted to Christ. She was well known for her good deeds: she was prone to give gifts to the poor. She calmed quarrels and helped pregnant women. Beautiful in body, gentle and fair in expression, she offered aid to widows, and medicine to the sick. She died in the year 1394, the seventh of June, Amen'. Translation taken from Lindley, 'Ricardian Sculpture', p. 72. The Latin reads: 'Prudens et Mundus - Ricardus jure Secundus, per fatum victus - jacet hic sub marmore pictus. Verax sermone - fuit, et plenius ratione: Corpore procerus - animo prudens ut Omerus. Ecclesie favit - elatos suppeditavit, Quemvis prostravit - regalia qui violavit. Obruit hereticos - et eorum stravit amicos. O Clemens Christe - cui devotus fuit iste; Votis Baptiste - salves quem pretulit iste. Sub petra lata - nunc Anna jacet tumulata, Dum vixit mundo - Ricardo nupta secundo. Christo devota - fuit hec factis bene nota: Pauperibus prona - semper sua reddere dona; Jurgia sedavit - et pregnantes relevavit. Corpore formosa - vultu mitis speciosa. Prebens solamen viduis, egris medicamen: Anno milleno - ter C, quarto nonageno Junii septeno - mensis, migravit amen'.

be several reasons for this. The couple were childless, and in the latter part of his reign Richard's close relatives, notably Bolingbroke and Gloucester, had posed a serious political threat to him. Finally, Lindley has suggested that, together with the figures of angels flanking the effigies, the company of saints reflects Richard's propensity to envisage himself in a heavenly court, rather than the earthly one which had caused him such difficulties.²⁴ It is not unlike the imagery of the Wilton Diptych, which shows Richard in the company of John the Baptist and the saintly English monarchs, Edmund and Edward the Confessor, having presented to the Virgin and Child a banner with the Cross of St. George and an orb with a map of England at the top held by one of a company of angels who all wear Richard's badge of the white hart.²⁵

Finally, there can be little doubt that Richard and Anne's effigies are relatively early instances in medieval monumental art of portraiture, perhaps another reflection of Richard's vanity.²⁶ Documentary evidence confirms that likenesses were required, though these would have been approved royal images presenting the couple as Richard wished the world to view them, rather than 'warts and all' portraits. The contracts stipulated that his effigy was to be 'conterfait le Corps de nostre Seigneur le Roy' and the payments for the effigies are specified as having been made 'ad similitudinem dictorum nuper Regis et Regine Anne contrafact[am]'.²⁷ This is confirmed by the striking resemblance between the head of Richard on the tomb and other approved royal images on the Wilton Diptych and the portrait in Westminster Abbey of Richard enthroned.²⁸ All these portraits accord with the Monk of Evesham's description of Richard as of average height, with golden hair and a face which was pale, rounded and somewhat feminine.²⁹ Moreover, as explained above, Richard viewed and approved the figures when the casting of them was complete.

Thus, Richard's tomb closely reflected his own self-image and tastes, even as far as the wording of the inscription and the detailing of the decorative pointillé work. The contracts show that, while the coppersmiths Broker and Prest carried out the casting, they were not responsible for the design, which was instead given to them. Various suggestions have been made as to the identity of the designer. Gordon has

²⁴ Lindley, 'Ricardian Sculpture', p. 64.

²⁵ Gordon, Monnas and Elam ed., *Regal Image*, pls. 2-3.

²⁶ Stylised portraiture may be a feature of some other effigies, particularly high-status examples. I am indebted to Brian and Moira Gittos for pointing out that the effigies to Archbishop Walter de Gray, d. 1255, in York Minster and Silvester de Everdon, Bishop of Carlisle, d. 1254, in the Temple Church, London, are virtually identical in most respects but have very different facial features, suggesting that the carvers may have been representing the features of the deceased. Of the royal tombs, that to Philippa of Hainault is the most clear-cut example, but others may display stylised portraiture. Although Edward III's effigy is, for the most part, an idealised figure of a king, the facial shape, long hair and beard probably reflect Edward's appearance in life and may have been a flattering interpretation of his death mask. The funeral effigies, which survive at Westminster Abbey, were certainly likenesses, Edward's being made from a death-mask, which shows the physical effects of the stroke he suffered.

²⁷ J. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych - A Re-Examination', *Archaeologia*, XCVIII (1961), p. 8 n. 6.

²⁸ Gordon, Monnas and Elam ed., *Regal Image*, pls. 2, 23.

²⁹ C.A. Barron, 'Richard II: Image and Reality', in D. Gordon, *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London, 1993), p. 19.

tentatively proposed the artist of the Wilton Diptych as the designer of Richard's tomb.³⁰ The evidence of comparable projects, such as Richard Beauchamp and Margaret Beaufort's copper-alloy tombs, indicates that a painter was almost always employed to produce the 'pattern' for the tombs.³¹ Several contracts show that next, preparatory to the casting, a wooden pattern was carved. However, it is unlikely that such artists had full artistic freedom in designing the tomb; they were just interpreting someone else's vision. Certainly in the case of Margaret Beaufort's tomb, the evidence shows that a number of designs were produced and discussed with various people, including Torrigiani, who was to cast the copper-alloy figure.³² Doubtless, a similar procedure was involved for Richard II's tomb, with Richard himself directing the overall conception, but advised by someone familiar with the production of tombs. Most scholars agree that the most likely candidate for this advisory role is Henry Yevele, Richard's master mason and consultant from 1387/8 for the building of the new nave of Westminster Abbey.³³

Links between the copper-alloy tombs and brasses

Of the many writers who have speculated that the craftsmen responsible for these royal effigies also made brasses, only Malcolm Norris has examined the question of whether any could be linked with specific London pattern series of brasses. His comments, published in 1977, but written several years earlier, before much of the evidence linking marblers with the production of brasses was in print, were circumspect.³⁴ He was undoubtedly influenced by the contrasting nature of the two monuments, as highlighted above. Norris tentatively suggested that Edward's tomb had affinities with Series A and Richard's with Series B, and thus that Orchard could have been responsible for Series A brasses and Broker and Prest for Series B brasses. Significantly, Norris indicated that the lettering style on the tombs was the key to reaching firmer conclusions. At first sight, the lettering styles of the two monuments appear to differ, reinforcing the view that they could each be linked with one of the leading London brass engraving workshops. Yet closer examination dispels that view.

The lettering on Edward III's tomb is in a bold and simple *textura* with Lombardic majuscules (Fig. 1). There are very close similarities between the forms of individual letters and those from brasses made in the 1380s, confirming the thesis that the style of lettering was that used for contemporary monumental brasses (Fig. 2). However, the letter forms are those used by Series B, those of Series A being significantly different.³⁵ This analysis indicates that Norris's suggestion that Edward's effigy should be linked with the Series A workshop is incorrect.

³⁰ Gordon, *Making and Meaning*, p. 63 n. 9.

³¹ For painted and wooden patterns, see Lindley, 'Collaboration and Competition', pp. 62-70.

³² Lindley, 'Collaboration and Competition', p. 70, charts the gradual evolution to 'autograph design' of high-status tombs in the sixteenth century.

³³ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 205.

³⁴ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, pp. 52-3.

³⁵ For the early development of Series A and B, including the lettering style, see S. Badham, 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death - a Reappraisal', *Antiquaries Jnl*, LXXX (2000), pp. 210-43.

† Hic decus anglorum flos regum preteritorum: i
 forma futurorum rex clemens pater populorum: Genui
 is Edkardus regni complens iubileum:

FIG. 1

Inscription from the northern side of the tomb to Edward III, Westminster Abbey
Rubbing by Derrick Chivers

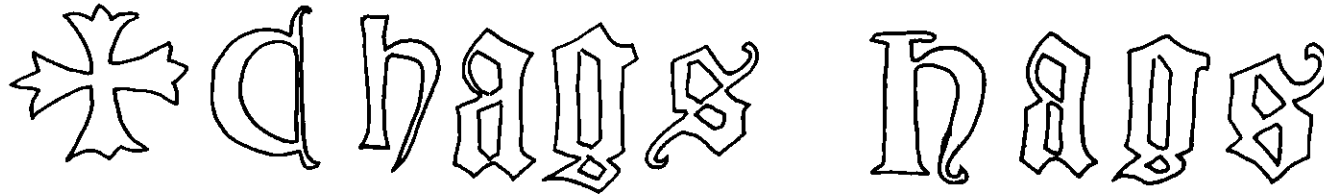


Lettering from the tomb of Edward III, made c. 1386



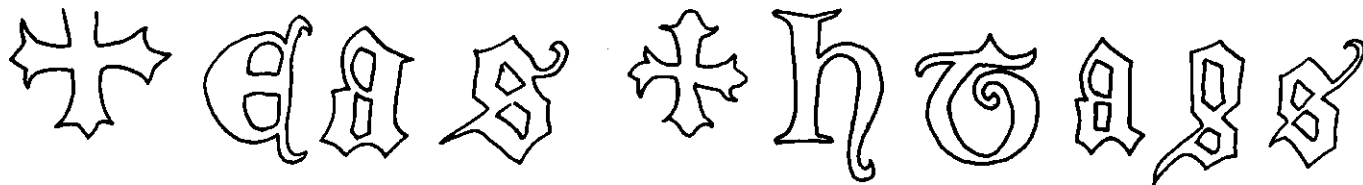
Windsor, Berkshire c. 1380

Felbrigg, Norfolk c. 1380



Winchester St. Cross, Hampshire 1382

Cottenham, Yorkshire 1383



Southacre, Norfolk 1384

Hellesdon, 1389

FIG. 2
Comparison between the lettering on the tomb of Edward III's tomb, made c. 1386, and London B brasses

† Prudens & mundus Ricardus hinc secundus
 Per fatum victus: iacet hic sub marmore pictus
 Verax sermone: fuit et plenus ratione
 Torpore procerus: animo prudens ut omnis
 Ecclesie fuit: status suppeditavit
 Quamvis prostravit: rajaha qui violavit

Obvicit hereticos: & cor stravit amicos
 Clemens xpe: cui devotus fuit iste
 Votus Baptiste: salves quem petulit iste

† Sub petra lata: vivit Anna iacet tumultata
 Dum vivit mundo: Ricardus in pta secundo
 Xpo devota: fuit hec factis bene nota
 In superbus pona: seipsum reddere dona
 Jurona sedavit: et pregrantes relevavit
 Torpore formosa: Vultu mitis spemosa

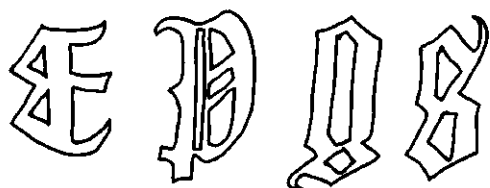
Prebens solamen: viduus regis in ducam
 Anni mileno: mccc. quarto nonagesimo
 Anni septimo: mensis migravit anno

FIG. 3

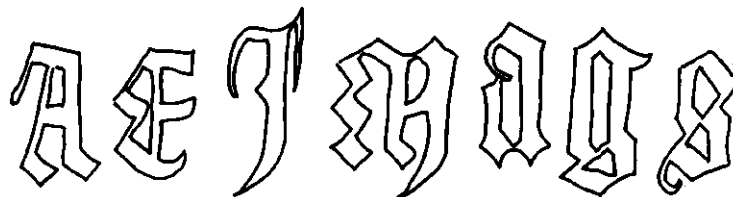
Inscription from tomb to Richard II, Westminster Abbey
 Rubbing by Derrick Chivers



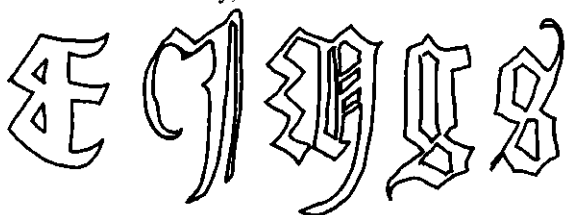
Lettering from the tomb of Richard II, made 1398



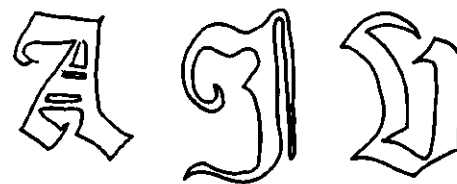
Westminster Abbey, London 1399



Hever, Kent 1399



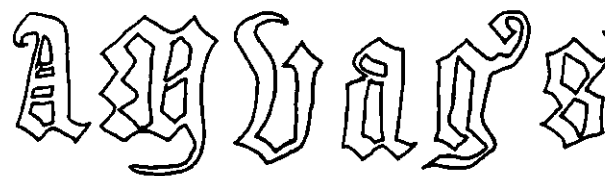
Waltham, Lincolnshire c. 1400



Hurstmonceux, Sussex 1402



Hartley Westpall, Hampshire 1407



Rainham, Essex 1409

FIG. 4

Comparison between the lettering on the tomb of Richard II, made 1398, and London B brasses



FIG. 5

Section of inscription from tomb to the Black Prince, Canterbury Cathedral
Rubbing by Les Smith

The lettering on Richard II's tomb is more decorative and employs Gothic majuscules (Fig. 3). Again, comparison of the individual letter forms with those on brasses dating from the late 1390s and early 1400s shows the script used was that of Series B (Fig. 4). In the years between 1386, when Edward's tomb was made, and 1399, when Richard's was completed, the style of lettering employed on Series B brasses had developed significantly, most especially in the replacement of Lombardic majuscules by Gothic forms. The contracts for Richard's tomb state that Broker and Prest were to cast the inscription, but that the text was given to them. It thus appears likely that a pattern was provided, which showed the precise layout and letter shapes.

Another monument commissioned in Richard's reign, that for his father Edward the Black Prince at Canterbury, also has a latten inscription. There are no contracts for this tomb, which was probably made shortly after Prince Edward's death in 1376, but his will specifies its form in considerable detail, including the wording of the inscription.³⁶ There is no documentary evidence naming the craftsmen involved, but once again, Henry Yevele and John Orchard are regarded as the most likely candidates.³⁷ The Black Prince's Purbeck marble tomb chest is an example of the London version of the Perpendicular style and has been attributed to Yevele, who was the leading exponent of that style in the late fourteenth century.³⁸ The cast latten effigy showing the Prince in armour compares with Edward III's

³⁶ For the Black Prince's will, see H. Macklin, *The Brasses of England* (London, 1907), pp. 63-4.

³⁷ C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, R. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), p. 496.

³⁸ J. Harvey, *Henry Yevele* (London, 1944), p. 34; Wilson, 'Medieval Monuments', p. 496.

EHURT VAGS

Lettering from the tomb of the Black Prince, 1377

EHRA S

Aveley, Essex 1370

EA S

Necton, Norfolk 1372

EA S

Findon, Sussex 1374

EHVAGS

Goring, Oxfordshire 1375

EHVAGS EHVAGS

St. Lawrence, Norwich, Norfolk 1375

Hellesdon, Norfolk 1389

FIG. 6

Comparison between the lettering on the tomb of the Black Prince, d. 1377, and London B brasses

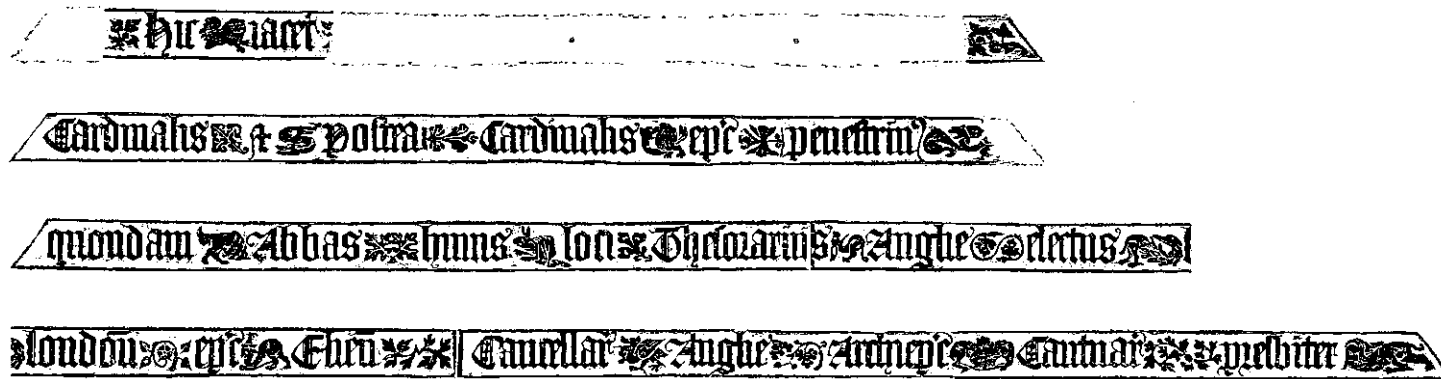


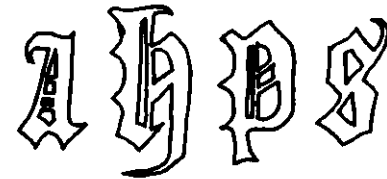
FIG. 7
 Inscription from tomb to Cardinal Langham, Westminster Abbey
Rubbing by Derrick Chivers



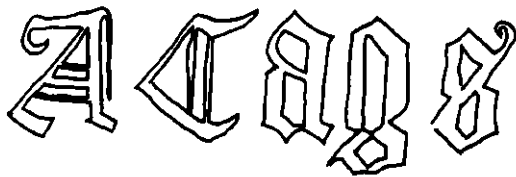
Lettering from the tomb of Cardinal Langham, 1395



Etchingham, Sussex 1388



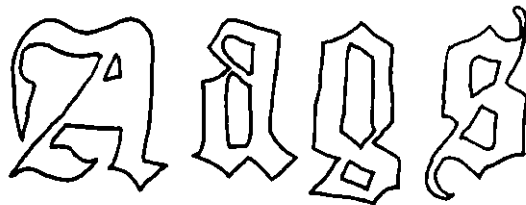
Hellesdon, Norfolk 1389



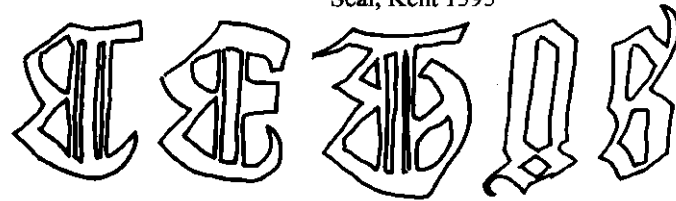
Cobham, Kent 1395



Seal, Kent 1395



Westminster Abbey, London 1396



Westminster Abbey, London 1399

FIG. 8
Comparison between the lettering on the tomb of Cardinal Langham, made c. 1394, and London B brasses

monument in its cool restraint. The inscription style - *textura* with Lombardic majuscules - again closely mirrors that on Edward's tomb (Fig. 5). Once more, the individual letter forms are matched on brasses from the 1370s (Fig. 6). And, yet again, it is London B brasses, not those of Series A, which provide the comparisons.

One final monument which also needs to be considered is that to Cardinal Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in 1376, but twelve years later his body was brought to Westminster for reburial. Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote collaborated in making the monument, which features a tomb chest with an alabaster effigy and a latten inscription on the chamfer (Fig 7).³⁹ They received an instalment of £20 for the work in November 1394.⁴⁰ Yevele had previously produced other monuments with alabaster effigies, including the double monument in Old St. Paul's to Richard II's uncle John of Gaunt, made following the death in 1369 of his first wife, Duchess Blanche.⁴¹ In 1374 alabaster for the tomb was ordered from Tutbury, and Yevele and Thomas Wrek, a London mason, received £108 in part payment of £486 for making the tomb.⁴² As with the other monuments, a comparison between the letter forms and those on brasses dating from the 1390s reveals that the inscription style is that of the Series B workshop (Fig. 8).

As Haines noted, the fine pointillé work with which Richard II's tomb is decorated subsequently found its way on to the finest brasses of the early fifteenth century, including the 1401 double brass at Warwick to Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his countess Margaret. Another, more elaborate example of pointillé is on the palimpsest reverse of the Latimer inscription at North Crawley, Bucks., showing a portion of a lady in heraldic mantle with the arms of Beauchamp and Newburgh.⁴³ It perhaps commemorated Juliana, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, or Elizabeth, daughter of Guy Beauchamp, both of whom died unmarried *c.* 1420. As well as the pointillé decoration, this prestigious brass featured applied relief crosses, gilding and silvering. Both these brasses were Series B products. No brasses from other workshops are known to have had similar decoration. Thus, although pointillé decoration was fairly common around this time, it is tempting to speculate that this form of decoration found its way on to brasses as a result of the workshop's involvement in the making of Richard II's tomb.

Henry Yevele

The evidence adumbrated above thus links Henry Yevele with four monuments ranging in date from 1377 to 1399, all of which incorporate latten inscriptions in a lettering style which compares closely with that of Series B brasses.⁴⁴ In Yevele's will,

³⁹ RCHM, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 44, pl. 83.

⁴⁰ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 364.

⁴¹ For this and other tombs attributed to Yevele, see Harvey, *Yevele*, pp. 66-7 and Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 360.

⁴² Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 360.

⁴³ R. Hutchinson and B. Egan, 'History Writ in Brass - the Fermer Workshop Part II (i)', *MBS Trans.*, XV (1994), pp. 273-5.

⁴⁴ The tomb of Sir Bernard Brocas, d. 1400, in Westminster Abbey also combines a relief effigy with a latten inscription, but the latter is Series A work.

dated 1400, he refers to his lease of a tenement in St. Paul's Churchyard, where the London B workshop is known to have been based in the fifteenth century, together with 'all my marble and latten goods and my tools therein'.⁴⁵ Admittedly, the latter are not specifically described as brass engraving tools and could have been mason's tools, but the combination of marble and latten goods is suggestive. The conclusions are thus inescapable: first, that Yevele was closely involved in the brass engraving trade and, secondly, that it was the Series B workshop with which he was linked.

Henry Yevele was the very antithesis of the anonymous medieval craftsman of popular myth. Though a mason by trade, he was the most important architect of the late fourteenth century and was variously the Black Prince's mason, master mason for Westminster Abbey and King Richard's master mason.⁴⁶ He was admitted to the freedom of London in 1353. At this time the London masons had no regular guild or fraternity to administer their craft; as a result, disputes often arose between the hewers - the 'aristocracy' of the trade - and the more lowly layers and settlers. When a congregation was held in 1356 at the Guildhall to ordain articles for the trade of masons, Yevele was one of the six representatives of the hewers chosen by the trade, an indication of his standing, even so soon after he had begun trading in London.⁴⁷ At about the same time, Yevele transferred to Westminster, where he was the chief mason employed on the prestigious work at St. Stephen's Chapel and was warden there until 1359.

Yevele's involvement with the court brought him many influential clients, a number of whom became key patrons of the Series B workshop. They included Lord Cobham, for whom Yevele acted as architect for various projects; in the last twenty years of the fourteenth century, five members of the Cobham family at Cobham and Lingfield were commemorated by brasses, all Series B products.⁴⁸ Amongst the nobility, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Berkeley at Wootton-under-Edge and Lord Ferrers at Merevale were all commemorated by Series B brasses. There are also the Series B brasses to members of the court circle in Westminster Abbey: John of Waltham, d. 1395; Sir John Golofre, d. 1396; Thomas of Woodstock, d. 1397; Robert de Waldeby, d. 1398; and Eleanor de Bohun, d. 1399.⁴⁹ Finally, Katherine Swynford, wife of John of Gaunt, d. 1403, was commemorated by a Series B brass

⁴⁵ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 365.

⁴⁶ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, pp. 358-66; Harvey, *Yevele*; A.D. McLees, 'Henry Yevele, Disposer of the King's Works of Masonry', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, XXXVI (1973), pp. 52-71. However, these two scholars differ significantly in their interpretation of the evidence, notably Yevele's direct involvement in the manufacture of the works for which he contracted, McLees seeing him more as a 'mason contractor'.

⁴⁷ Harvey, *Yevele*, p. 21.

⁴⁸ N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 48-9, 109-10.

⁴⁹ Richard II was personally responsible for the decision that Waldeby and Waltham should be buried among the kings in Westminster Abbey (Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 200). Nicholas Rogers, in a lecture at the MBS Study Day at Westminster Abbey on 18 September 2004, suggested that Eleanor's brass was probably commissioned by her chief executor, Gerard Braybrooke, brother of Sir Reginald Braybrooke, who was commemorated by a Series B brass of c. 1408 at Cobham, Kent. Their uncle, Bishop Braybrooke, d. 1404, had a brass at Old St. Paul's, London; the engraving on p. 84 of Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658) shows it to have been a Series B product with a canopy closely akin to Eleanor's brass. Gerard Braybrooke was also buried in St. Paul's; though the form of his monument is unknown, the likelihood is that it also was a brass.

formerly in Lincoln Cathedral.⁵⁰ Under the direction of John Ramsey III, Series A had been the more prolific of the two London brass engraving workshops in the 1350s and 1360s. After his death in 1371, it was undoubtedly Yevele's position and connections that enabled the Series B workshop to replace A as the market leader and the choice of magnates.⁵¹

The nature of Yevele's role in the B workshop is problematic. Yevele's ownership of marble, latten and tools in his workshop in St. Paul's Churchyard certainly implies a closer involvement than just sub-contracting at will any brass engraving work required in his projects. However, Yevele did not live near the workshop in St. Paul's Churchyard, which was not the only property he owned or rented. Instead, he resided in the parish of St. Magnus and prepared his own monument in the chapel of St. Mary in the church of St. Magnus, London Bridge.⁵² Although Yevele was working in London from 1353, his earliest recorded involvement in tomb manufacture dates from 1375, when he received the part payment for the monument to John of Gaunt and his first duchess to be set up in Old St. Paul's, London and when he also acted as surety for a ship, the *Margarete* of Wareham (the same ship that was to carry the marble for Edward III's tomb in 1386), arrested at Poole *en route* to London, while carrying two high tombs of marble for the Earl of Arundel and his wife and a 'great stone' for William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester.⁵³ The 'great stone' suggests a Purbeck marble slab, but its nature and purpose are unclear. Possibly it was the cover slab of the Purbeck marble tomb chest on which lies the alabaster effigy of Bishop Edington, d.1366, but the slab was perhaps more likely to have held a brass.⁵⁴

Yevele may well have had a hand in the design of the London B brasses; it is tempting to speculate that the airy elegance of the Series B canopy designs might owe something to his expertise as an architect. Certainly, Nicholas Rogers has pointed out that the tripartite canopy on Eleanor de Bohun's brass is a two-dimensional representation of the canopies housing the 'weepers' on Edward III's tomb chest that is attributed to Yevele.⁵⁵ Yevele might also have designed some of the more prestigious and unusual Series B commissions, such as the lost brass commemorating Thomas, Duke of Woodstock.⁵⁶ Its complex architectural design, with figures of Thomas's family in canopied niches, is a novel reinterpretation of Edward III's dynastic tomb chest design, and the embattled top-structure - a feature of other Series B brasses - closely mirrors the form of the tester over Richard II's

⁵⁰ J.H. Harvey, *Catherine Swynford's Chantry*, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, 2nd series, no. 6 (Lincoln, [1972]). Buckler's drawing of the indent (fig. 9) clearly shows that the brass was a London B product.

⁵¹ Badham, 'Black Death', pp. 231-2.

⁵² Harvey, *Medieval Architects*, p. 365. John Stow (*A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (London, 1908), I, p. 212) noted the monument, but gave no indication as to its nature. I am indebted to Christian Steer for this reference.

⁵³ Harvey, *Medieval Architects*, p. 360.

⁵⁴ P. Lindley, 'The Medieval Sculpture of Winchester Cathedral', in *Winchester Cathedral 900 Years*, ed. J. Crook (Chichester, 1993), p. 109 and fig. 9.13 for Edington's tomb.

⁵⁵ Lecture at the Monumental Brass Society Study Day at Westminster Abbey on 18 September 2004.

⁵⁶ Illustrated in M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: the Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 20.

tomb. However, with such a busy architectural practice, it could be thought that Yevele would not have had time for day-to-day management of the brass engraving workshop. And we know, as explained below, that other marblers were also involved in the Series B workshop.

One interpretation might be that Yevele was what in modern terms we would term ‘a managing director’, his role consisting largely of acting as a channel of patronage. Yet if that were so, why did he own tools, which suggests operational involvement? An alternative explanation might be that what we term ‘the Series B workshop’ might have been not a single discrete firm but an alliance of independent businesses, operating from different premises, but following the same range of designs. Under such a scenario, Yevele and the other known London B brass engravers might all have run their own businesses, and all might have had an operational role therein. Or the truth may be something quite different. Such evidence as we have is very limited and the inferences drawn from it must thus be treated with considerable circumspection. Much depends on the nature of the ‘patterns’ on which the designs of individual brasses were based, and whether they were exclusive or passed between different businesses or craftsmen. It is unlikely that we will ever be certain precisely how the London brass engraving operation functioned.

Other Series B craftsmen

Documentary evidence gives the names of other craftsmen involved in the London B workshop. In 1376 Henry Lakenham undertook to make a freestone effigy and Purbeck marble tomb chest with brass shields and chamfer inscription for Sir Nicholas Loveyne. John Blair has demonstrated stylistic links between the design of this tomb and a series of Purbeck marble tomb chests, all with Series B brasses.⁵⁷ Lakenham’s likely association with the Series B workshop is strengthened by the fact that William West, a known producer of Series B brasses in the fifteenth century, is named as Lakenham’s apprentice in his will of 1387.⁵⁸ Although it is not known where Lakenham had his workshop, West was based in premises in St. Paul’s Churchyard.⁵⁹ Lakenham resided in St. Faith’s parish, probably in the area between the great cemeteries of St. Paul’s and the Greyfriars, but could, like Yevele and West, have based his business in St. Paul’s Churchyard.⁶⁰

It is likely that Henry Lakenham took over as the Series B master from his father, Richard.⁶¹ The latter also worked as a marbler and was operational from at least 1355/6, when he supplied figures for St. Stephen’s Chapel, which is also around the time that Yevele was first involved in these works. Although no surviving documentary evidence links Richard Lakenham and Yevele, it is inconceivable that

⁵⁷ Blair, ‘Lakenham’.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵⁹ Emmerson, ‘London Brasses’, pp. 66-7.

⁶⁰ Blair, ‘Lakenham’, p. 67.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

they did not know each other. Perhaps they jointly established the Series B workshop, which began in the 1350s?⁶²

Stephen Lote

What of the other craftsmen involved in making the tombs of Edward III and Richard II? Stephen Lote, described variously as mason and lattener, is another likely candidate for involvement with the brass engraving trade. His collaboration with Yevele on the tombs of Richard and Cardinal Langham is indicative of a closer involvement between the two. Lote was warden under Henry Yevele of the new lodge of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1381/2 and apparently acted as Yevele's assistant in connection with the new nave at Canterbury Cathedral, both receiving a robe of the suit of the esquires of the Prior of Christ Church in 1398.⁶³ In the same year, the two were witnesses to a deed executed in Wennington, Essex.⁶⁴ When Yevele died in 1400, Stephen Lote acted as one of his executors.⁶⁵ Subsequently, Lote succeeded Yevele as the King's master mason at Westminster and the Tower of London, positions he held until his death.⁶⁶

This close involvement with Henry Yevele does not in itself link Lote with the brass engraving trade, but evidence that he was so linked comes from Lote's will, for it provides the vital information that on his death in 1417 Lote was engaged upon the monument to Edward, Duke of York, d. 1415. Lote left Thomas Mapilton, another mason, 13s. 4d. a year for four years from his shops 'situate in the great cemetery of the church of St. Paul, London, in which John Parker and Walter Lucy dwell so that he be friendly and well disposed in the making of the tomb of the Duke of York'.⁶⁷

In his will, the Duke of York asked that he should be buried 'in the parochial church within my college of Fotheringhay, in the middle of the choir, near the steps, under a flat marble'.⁶⁸ Leland recorded it thus at Fotheringhay: 'apon [his] tumberlyth a flat marbil stone with an image flatt yn brasse'.⁶⁹ This makes it clear that the Duke was commemorated by a tomb chest with a brass on the cover slab; there is now no sign of the tomb chest, but the slab survives.⁷⁰ Much of the indent is covered by the replacement monument commissioned by Elizabeth I, but enough can be seen to show that it was a Series B product. It has a figure in armour under an embattled canopy; an architectural feature only found on London B brasses at this time. The precise outline suggests the closest comparison is with the canopy on the

⁶² Badham, 'Black Death', pp. 223-4.

⁶³ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 187.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁶⁸ H. Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), I, p. 187. The original wording 'une plat Pere de Marble' is quoted in M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003), p. 206.

⁶⁹ *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L.T. Smith, 5 vols. (London, 1906-10, repr. 1964), I, p. 5.

⁷⁰ For a full account of the tomb see P. Whittemore, 'The Brass of Edward, Duke of York, d. 1415, at Fotheringhay, Northants.', below, pp. 128-31. See also P. Lindley, "'Disrespect for the dead"? The Destruction of Tomb Monuments in Mid-Sixteenth-Century England', *Church Monuments*, XIX (2004), p. 70, figs. 11, 12.

1419 brass at Linwood, Lincolnshire, to John Lyndewood and his wife Alice, though the Fotheringhay version is heavier and would have had figures in the sideshafts. Of the figure, only the sword protrudes, but its shape appears identical to that on the *c.* 1416 brass to Sir Simon Felbrygge at Felbrigg, Norfolk. The Duke of York rested his head on a helm, only the base of which can be seen (with the brass inlay of the tassel at the end intact); this can be compared with the figure of Sir Peter Courtenay, d. 1409, in Exeter Cathedral. All these brasses are Series B products, thus tying the Fotheringhay indent firmly to this series.

Although Lote's documented responsibility for this Series B brass provides the final link between him and the B workshop, the extent of his involvement appears uncertain. Like Yevele, he was heavily occupied as the King's Master Mason and was working at the same time as William West, a known Series B master. Lote's position was perhaps analogous to that of Yevele, but what this was we do not know.

Neither John Parker nor Walter Lucy, both named in Lote's will as dwelling in the shops in St. Paul's Churchyard, appear to have been masons or marblers. John Parker was probably a grocer, though several men of that name appear in the records.⁷¹ Walter Lucy was consistently described as a haberdasher and later recorded as the neighbour of William West, the marbler and Series B master, whose premises were to the west of the cathedral, in one of the three tenements on the north side of Bower Row and to the east of Paternoster Alley.⁷² Lucy was associated with West in 1417 and 1430 and recorded as a tenant in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1453.⁷³ Admittedly, the London Companies were full of people who followed occupations other than the nominal one, so it is not impossible that Parker and Lucy were involved in the monumental trade. However, it may be that they were mentioned in the will solely as an aid to specifying the precise location of Lote's shops, because they traded from the adjoining premises. If this were so, it would indicate that Lote's Series B workshop was located in the central tenement of the block of three. Significantly, West also operated from this tenement, and probably therefore Henry Lakenham as well. This certainly demonstrates locational continuity of the main Series B workshop over an extended period. It perhaps also points to Series B having been a discrete firm operating from a single set of premises, though it is not impossible that other, as yet unknown, Series B collaborators could have been situated elsewhere.

One of the more intriguing bequests in Lote's will was that Thomas Mapilton was left 'my whole bed in my chamber at Shene palace and all patterns that be

⁷¹ It is possible that he was the John Parker mentioned in PRO, E40/2622 (Grant by William Beverch, Edmund Twyne and John Parker, citizens and grocers of London, to John Danyell, of Edelmeton, Middlesex, Maltman, and John Canon, citizen of London, of a croft and grove called 'Cathale' in South Mimms and the lane called 'New Lane', 14 January 1425).

⁷² PRO, SC8/346 refers to Walter Lucy of London, haberdasher. For the evidence for the location of the workshop, see S. Badham, 'The man at St. Bride's who was "no klenely porttrayer" and other London Marblers' Workshops', *MBS Bulletin*, 92 (January 2003), pp. 650-2 and esp. fig. 2.

⁷³ Emmerson, 'London Design', p. 67.

there', as well as the terms still to come from Lote's apprentice, John Stothey.⁷⁴ What was the nature of these 'patterns'? Could they have been patterns for monumental brasses, or were they just for mouldings and other architectural components? The latter is more likely. Sheen Palace had been destroyed in the 1390s on the orders of Richard II, following Anne of Bohemia's death there in 1394, but re-building commenced in 1414 on the orders of Henry V.⁷⁵ Lote was the Master Mason for the works, thus strongly suggesting that the patterns stored at Shene would have been for architectural components. Moreover, Mapilton, who was appointed as the King's Master Mason in 1421, was only ever described as 'mason', not 'marbler', and, as yet, no evidence is known to link him with the monumental trade.⁷⁶

John Orchard, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest

Thus, of the craftsmen involved in making the late-fourteenth-century cast copper-alloy royal tombs, it is the marblers, Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote, who can be proved to have been involved in the manufacture of monumental brasses. Yet what of the coppersmiths, John Orchard, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, whom earlier writers have linked with the production of brasses? If they too were brass engravers, is the Series B workshop not getting a bit overcrowded?

The production of the royal tombs involved bringing together a team of craftsmen from various trades, who would not necessarily have worked together on a regular basis. There is no known evidence to indicate that Orchard, Broker or Prest were otherwise associated with Yevele or any other known brass engraver.

Broker and Prest continued their close involvement; Broker's will of 1425, which shows him to have been a man of great wealth, refers to bequests of tenements to Godfrey Prest and also John Preste, perhaps a relative of Godfrey's, who is named as Broker's workman and also described as a coppersmith and citizen.⁷⁷ Broker left instructions for his burial in the church of St. Alban, Wood Street, in which parish he must have had his forge ('le forge domus mansionis mee'). This would locate his workshop in the far north of the City of London, about three-quarters of a mile distant from the London B workshop. Broker also left bequests of latten, but this was scrap ('Burrell de Auricalco platis Roughycasted'), not sheet metal for engraving brasses, though it is possible that he and other coppersmiths bought the off-cuts of sheet metal left over from monumental brass production for melting down and re-casting into other latten objects. He left to the church of St. Alban a thurible and a 'vane', both of latten ('auricalcus'), and perhaps of his own manufacture.

⁷⁴ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, pp. 194-6. Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, pp. 206-7, refers to the documentary evidence linking Lote with the making of this brass, but also makes deductions not entirely warranted by the evidence linking Thomas Mapilton with brass engraving.

⁷⁵ *History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages*, ed. H.M. Colvin, 2 vols., (London, 1963), II, pp. 998-1000.

⁷⁶ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 188.

⁷⁷ London, Guildhall Library, MS 9171/3, f. 157. The grant of probate is incomplete and does not include a date. I am grateful to Claude Blair for information on the contents of Broker's will, dated 10 January 1424/5.

It is difficult to be certain precisely what work medieval coppersmiths and other trades working with copper-alloy products would have been engaged upon. Theoretically coppersmiths originally worked with the hammer, while casting was carried out by the potters (later called brasiers), bellyeters, founders and, possibly, the latteners.⁷⁸ The London Coppersmiths' Ordinances, approved in 1423, show that its members generally concerned themselves with personal adornments and small-scale semi-precious items, leaving the heavier cast goods to the brasiers and founders.⁷⁹ Broker's and Prest's involvement with casting Richard II's effigy was an exception to this. Coppersmiths might also have had experience of decorative techniques, as such finishes were used to adorn their products. However, it should not be assumed that such decoration was necessarily carried out by the same craftsmen who produced the basic product. In the post-medieval period there were specialist chasers and engravers and the same may have been true in the Middle Ages, though no positive evidence for this is known.⁸⁰

It is possible that coppersmiths or others, notably latteners, might occasionally have been involved in engraving or finishing some brasses. Certainly there is documentary evidence dated 1403 of a lattener, John Dromegode, being paid for making and engraving a latten seal, an activity closely analogous to brass engraving.⁸¹ Medieval craftsmen were prepared to carry out whatever work their customers asked of them if they could get away with it, even if it infringed the rights of members of other Companies. The City of London records are full of complaints about such infringements. Yet there is no evidence to indicate that brass engraving was regularly carried out by the medieval London coppersmiths.

Conclusion

In 1977, Norris opined that 'the relationship of [Orchard, Broker, Prest, Lakenham, Mapilton and others] to Henry Yevele could have a strong bearing on the problems posed by the contrasting patterns of English brasses in the latter half of the fourteenth century'.⁸² This is indeed the case, but tracing these relationships shows that in the search for the late-fourteenth-century brass engravers, the coppersmiths, Orchard, Broker and Prest, are red herrings, and we must look to Yevele, Lote and other marblers as the men who were responsible for the brasses we admire so greatly.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Claude Blair, Sophie Oosterwijk and Nigel Saul for helpful comments on this article and to Derrick Chivers, William Lack and Les Smith for assistance with the illustrations.

⁷⁸ Blair and Blair, 'Copper Alloys', p. 95.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁸⁰ *Pers. comm.* Claude Blair.

⁸¹ C. Blair, 'An Early 15th Century London Latoner', *MBS Bulletin*, 38 (February 1985), p. 129. For a discussion of whether latteners might have been involved in the brass engraving trade, see N. Rogers, 'A Plea for Latoners', *MBS Bulletin*, 38 (February 1985), pp. 130-1.

⁸² Norris, *Memorials*, I, p. 53.

The Brass of Edward, Duke of York, d. 1415, at Fotheringhay, Northants.

by PHILIP WHITTEMORE

THE college of the Annunciation and St. Edward the Confessor was founded at Fotheringhay by Edmund of Langley, 1st Duke of York (d. 1402). In 1411 his son Edward obtained papal licence to amalgamate the college with the parish church, and shortly afterwards began the construction of a new collegiate church, which was also to serve as a burial-place for the House of York. Following the dissolution of the collegiate foundation at Fotheringhay in 1548, the choir lay derelict until 1573, when it was dismantled. The letters patent authorising Sir Edmund Brudenell of Deene to demolish the choir also empowered him to move the tombs of Edward, Duke of York and Duchess Cecily to the parish church; in the event he caused replacement tombs to be put up at the east end of the nave.¹ Somewhat at variance with these documented events is the tradition recorded by Fuller that, after the dissolution, the bodies of Richard, Duke of York (d. 1460) and his wife Cecily (d. 1495) ‘lay in the Church-yard without any Monument, until Queen Elizabeth coming thither in Progress, gave order that the bodies be re-interred in the Church’.² In an early account of the reburial it is recorded that their bodies had been wrapped in lead. Cecily had about her neck a silver ribbon to which was attached a pardon that was still legible.³ Two identical tombs, with Corinthian columns, heraldic panels, and falcon and fetterlock badges were placed in the chancel to their memory. That on the north side commemorates Richard and Cecily; that on the south side Edward.⁴

Under Edward’s monument is a portion of a Purbeck marble slab on which is visible part of an indent showing a man in armour (Fig. 1). All that can be seen is a small section of the sword, the quillion, and the base of a helm, which still retains a brass tassel (Fig. 2). Over the figure was an embattled canopy, which probably contained saints in niches, while a marginal inscription with quatrefoils at the corners completed the composition. The dimensions are: slab, 2728 x 560 mm; marginal inscription 2500 x 400 x 46 mm; quatrefoil 105 x 105 mm; canopy 2560 x 385 mm; helm 250 x 110 mm; tassel 50 x 30 mm.

Traditionally, the indent has been assigned to Edward, 2nd Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt on 25 October 1415. He was one of only two recorded English aristocratic casualties at the battle.⁵ His entrails were interred at Fressin, and his

¹ RCHM, *County of Northampton*, VI, *Architectural Monuments in North Northamptonshire* (London, 1984), pp. 64-6.

² T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), pt. I, p. 291.

³ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), p. 153. [Peacham’s informant, Humphrey Cruse, was born in Fotheringhay c. 1564. *Ed.*]

⁴ RCHM, *North Northamptonshire*, p. 71, pl. 52.

⁵ On Edward, Duke of York, see R. Horrox in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004), XVII, pp. 801-3. John Leland (*The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L.T. Smith, 5 vols. (London, 1906-10), I, p. 5) records the circumstances of his death thus: ‘... Edward desired of king Henry [V] to have the forewarde of the batel, and had it; where be much hete and thronged, being a fatte man, he was smouldered to death...’ i.e. he was suffocated. However, Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (London, 1677), p. 364, gives a conflicting account of his death. He says that he was ‘leading the vanguard, consisting of Archers (which place, out of heroick courage, he had made sute for) he paid a part of the price of that notable victory with his life; his corps after the battle being found among the spoils miserably hacked and defaced...’

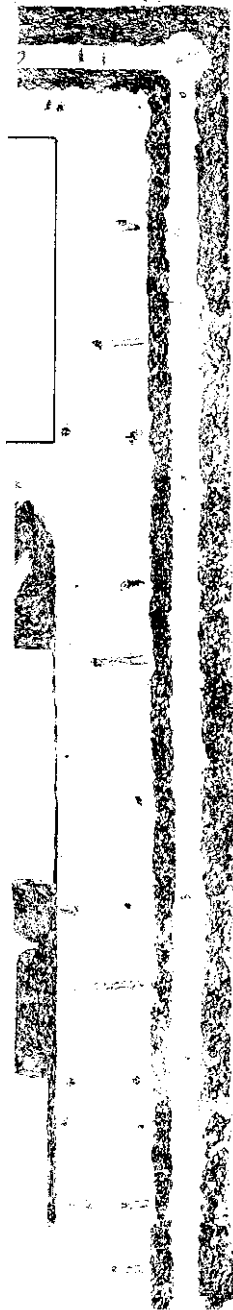


FIG. 1
Supposed indent for the brass
to Edward, Duke of York, d. 1415
Fotheringhay, Northants.
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore



FIG. 2
Tassel from the supposed brass
to Edward, Duke of York, d. 1415
Fotheringhay, Northants.
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

remains returned to England, where they were buried at Fotheringhay on 1 December. His will directed that he should be buried in the middle of the choir, before the steps of the choir under a flat marble stone (*en mye le quer soubz une plat pere de marbre, c'est assavoir ad gradum chor).*⁶ This is confirmed by John Leland writing in the 1530s, who recorded the tomb at the time of his visit to the church. It was 'yn the bodie of the quire, apon whose tumbe lyth a flat marbil stone with an image flat yn brasse'.⁷ Unfortunately, he does not elaborate upon this description. The slab originally formed part of an altar tomb, for the one visible side of the stone is chamfered.

In all probability Edward's effigy was similar to those of Bartholomew, Lord Bouchier (d. 1409), at Halstead, Essex, whose brass was engraved *c.* 1415;⁸ Sir Thomas de Skelton (d. 1416), at Hinxton, Cambs.;⁹ and John Knyvet (d. 1417), at Mendlesham, Suffolk.¹⁰ All three brasses show men in complete armour. The Bouchier and Skelton effigies are series 'B', while that to Knyvet is series 'D'. The indent at Fotheringhay has been identified by Sally Badham as belonging to series 'B'.¹¹

It is highly probable that Stephen Lote, who was entrusted with the production of Edward's tomb, was also the designer of the new choir at Fotheringhay, begun in 1414. Lote died in 1417/18, and the work of completing the tomb was left to Thomas Mapilton.¹²

Royalty never chose to be commemorated by brasses; they were not grand, or impressive enough, for their status. However, a small number of the higher aristocracy, related by birth or marriage to royalty, chose such a monument.¹³ Besides Edward, Duke of York, the following are all known to have had a brass. Only two now survive. Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399), has an elaborate series 'B' brass in Westminster Abbey.¹⁴ Her husband, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1397) had one of the most interesting brasses ever produced. Among the figures in the composition that can be identified with any degree of certainty are those of Edward III, Philippa of Hainault, Edward, Prince of Wales, Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, John of Gaunt and a further representation of Eleanor de Bohun.¹⁵ Edmund of Langley's wife, Isabel of Castile (d. 1393), was originally buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, King's Langley, Herts., and her tomb subsequently removed to King's Langley church, during the reign of Elizabeth I.¹⁶ John of Gaunt's third wife, Katherine Swynford (d. 1403), had a brass in

⁶ J. Nichols, *A Collection of all the wills...of Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), pp. 217-23.

⁷ Leland, *Itinerary*, I, p. 5.

⁸ Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), I, p. 302.

⁹ Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 302.

¹⁰ Illustrated in M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 41.

¹¹ See above, pp. 124-5.

¹² J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, rev. edn (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 187-9.

¹³ On these, see also J. Bertram, *Lost Brasses* (Newton Abbot, 1976), p. 166.

¹⁴ Illustrated and described in J.S.N. Wright, *The Brasses of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 13-15.

¹⁵ Wright, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁶ See H.C. Baker, 'The Royal Tomb at King's Langley, Herts, and the Indented Slab believed to be for Isabel of Castile', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 4 (1972), pp. 279-83.

Lincoln Cathedral that was recorded by William Dugdale.¹⁷ The tomb was unusual, in that it comprised a double monument, consisting of two slabs on a single base, commemorating Katherine and her daughter, Joan Beaufort. It still survives, but at some date has been dismantled and made into two separate tombs. Edward, Prince of Wales (d. 1471), son of Henry VI, was interred in the abbey church of Tewkesbury, following his death in the battle that year. Thomas Dingley claimed that he was buried beneath the abbey tower, his grave being marked by a marble slab, 'the brass wherof hath bin pickt out by sacrilegious hands.' He drew the slab which shows a figure (in ?civilian dress) standing beneath a single canopy with four shields, and a single scroll, all within a marginal inscription.¹⁸ The stone is now lost. The other surviving brass is that to Anne, Duchess of Exeter (d. 1475/6), the sister of Edward IV, and her husband Sir Thomas St. Leger (d. 1483), in St. George's chapel, Windsor. It is of curious workmanship, and was probably produced by goldsmiths, for it is etched, rather than engraved.¹⁹

¹⁷ BL.Add. MS. 71474, f. 107.

¹⁸ T. Dingley, *History from Marble*, II, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, 97 (London, 1868), p. cccxlvii. See also N. Rogers, 'The Cult of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.*, CI (1983), pp. 187-9.

The Guildford Tomb in Chelsea Old Church

by PHILIP WHITTEMORE

ON f. 58 of British Library Lansdowne MS 874 is a rather crude early-seventeenth-century drawing of the tomb commemorating Lady Jane Guildford, Duchess of Northumberland, d. 1555/6, in the More Chapel, Old Church, Chelsea (Fig. 1).¹ Recently, the brass, fixed to the back plate of the tomb, has been shown to belong to the Fermer workshop series.² The tomb is now badly damaged, and the chest that stood in front of the back panel is lost, as is the canopy and the four pendant arches. The Guildford tomb belongs to a series of such tombs that were produced in London in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.³ A nineteenth-century drawing of the tomb, at one time in the collection of Sir Edward Coates, Bt., is reproduced in the *Survey of London* (Fig. 2).

The drawing in the Lansdowne manuscript shows the tomb complete, but, due to the total lack of perspective, it is difficult to interpret. The tomb-chest was shorter than the canopy, and was decorated with shields in quatrefoils that may have had brass shields attached to them. This shortened chest would have allowed space for the recitation of prayers for the soul of the deceased. The cornice is now lost, but originally seven shields were fixed to it (see below).

Lady Guildford wears a heraldic mantle bearing quarterly of six, 1, Guildford impaling Halden; 2, West; 3, La Warr; 4, Cantelupe; 5, Mortimer; 6, Grelle. Much original colouring still remains. Immediately in front of the effigy was a lozenge (now lost), surmounted by a coronet, which bore the Duchess's arms. Above the inscription is a circular brass with the arms of Sir Edward Guildford within a Garter (omitted in the illustration): 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). To the left of the inscription, in front of the sons, was a further 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). The arms on the cornice, which were in lozenges surmounted by coronets, were (starting from the left): 1, Guildford; 2, Halden; 3, West; 4, La Warr; 5, Cantelupe; 6, Mortimer; 7, Grelle.

Somewhat surprisingly, the inscription is not of brass, but of alabaster,⁴ and is in nineteen lines of Roman Capitals, the words separated by stops, that read:

¹ For a full description of the tomb see W.H. Godfrey, *The Parish of Chelsea*, Survey of London, 7, pt. 3 (London, 1921), pp. 36-8, pls. 61-6.

² R. Hutchinson and B. Egan, 'History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546-1555, Part Two: The Brasses (vii)', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 1 (2003), pp. 74-6.

³ See B. Cherry, 'Some New Types of Late Medieval Tombs in the London Area', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London*, ed. L. Grant, British Archaeological Association Conference Trans. for the year 1984 (1990), p. 146.

⁴ For an illustration, see Godfrey, *Chelsea*, pl. 62.

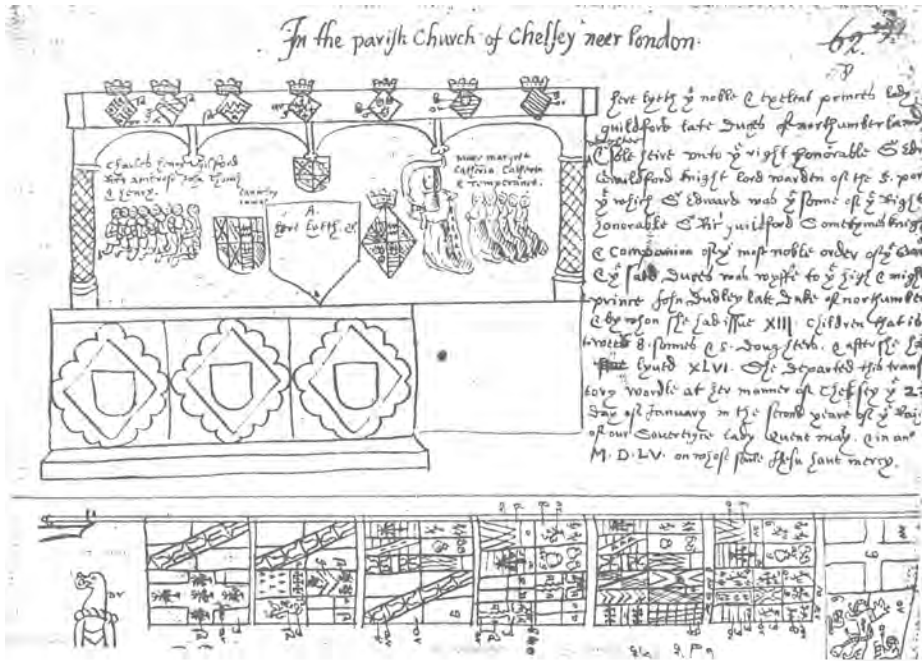


FIG. 1

Drawing of the tomb of Lady Jane Guildford, Duchess of Northumberland, d. 1556, Chelsea Old Church
BL Lansdowne MS 874, f. 58

Here lyeth y^e right noble and excellent Prynces
 Lady Iane Gvyldeford late Dvches of Northv[m]=
 berland daughter and sole heyre vnto y^e right
 honorable S[i]r Edward Gvyldeford Knight Lord
 Warden of ye Fyve Portes which S[i]r Edward
 was Sonne to. y^e right honorable S[i]r Richard
 Gvyldeford some tymes Knight and Compa=
 nion of y^e most noble Ordre of y^e Gartor and
 the said Dvches was Wyfe to the right high
 and mighty Prince Iohn Dvdley late Dvke
 of Northv[m]berland by whome she had yssew
 xiii. children that is to wete viii. sonnes and
 v. dawghters and after she had lyved yeres
 XLVI. she departed this transitory world at
 her maner of Chelse xxii. daye of Ianvary in
 y^e second yere of y^e reigne of ovr so=
 vereyne lady Qyene Mary the
 first and in A^o MDLV. On
 whose sovlv Iesv have m[e]rcy

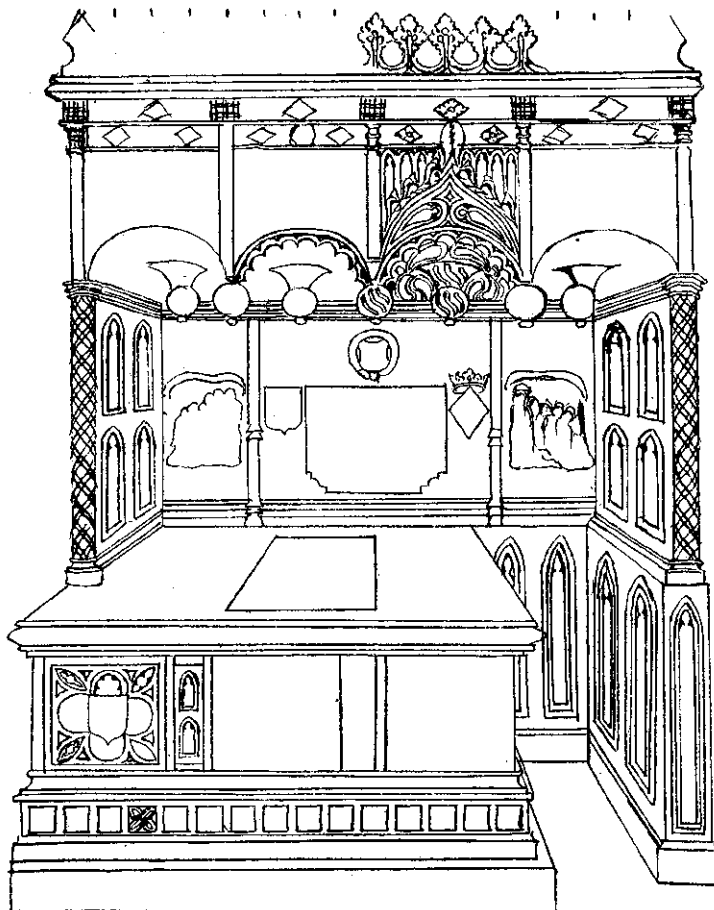


FIG. 2

Drawing of the Guildford tomb, formerly in the collection of Sir Edward Coates, Bt.
(from *Survey of London*, 7, pt. 3, pl. 64)

Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, was the daughter of Sir Edward Guildford, of Halden, Kent, and his first wife, Eleanor, daughter of Thomas West, 8th Baron West and 9th Baron de la Warr. In 1525 she married John Dudley, who was her father's ward. She was a member of Anne Boleyn's privy chamber and, like many in Anne's circle, was sympathetic to Protestantism. From about 1548 she suffered from ill health, and at one stage surgeons considered amputating one of her legs. Jane's husband, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was implicated in the plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne of England. Dudley had arranged her marriage to his son Guildford in May 1553, and as Edward VI lay dying, she had been proclaimed queen, but she lacked popular support in the country. Following the arrest of her husband the Duchess of Northumberland was sent to the Tower, but was released soon afterwards. She survived the execution of her husband on 22 August 1553 and that of her son Guildford and his wife the following

February, living at her manor house in Chelsea, where she died on 15 January 1555/6. She was buried on 1 February.⁵

In her will she asks ‘that little solemnitie be made for me, for I had ever have a thousand-foldes my debtes to be paid, and the poor to be given unto, that any pomp to be showed upon my wretched carkes: therefore to the wormes will I go, as I have before written in all points, as you will answer yt before God. And if you breke any one jot of it, your wills hereafter may chance to be as well broken. After I am departed from this worlde, let me be wonde up in a sheet, and put into a coffin of woode, and so layde in the ground with such funerals as parteyneth to the burial of a corse. I will at my years mynde have such divyne service as myne executors think fit; nor, in no wise to let me be opened after I am dead. I have not lived to be very bold afore women, much more wolde I be lothe to come into the hands of any lyving man, be he physician or surgeon.’ To the Duchess of Alva, lady in waiting to Queen Mary, she bequeathed her ‘green parrot, having nothing else worthy of her’.⁶

The Duchess of Northumberland’s funeral was recorded by Henry Machyn:

The j day of February was buried the duchess of Northumberland at Chelsea where she lived, with a goodly herse of wax and pensils, and escocheons, two baners of armes, and iiij banners of images, and mony mornars, and with ij haroldes of armes. Ther was a mageste and the valans, and vj dosen of torchys and ij whyt branchys, and alle the chyrche hangyd with blake and armes, and a canepe borne over her to the chyrche.⁷

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

⁵ On Jane Dudley, see D. Loades, ‘Dudley, John, duke of Northumberland’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004), XVII, pp. 83-4.

⁶ A.J.C. Hare, *Walks in London*, 6th edn., 2 vols. (London, 1894), II, p. 314.

⁷ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc., 42 (London, 1848), p.81.

The Incised Slab to an Architect at Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Maritime¹

by PAUL COCKERHAM

IN the early seventeenth century Henri IV of France surveyed the church of Notre-Dame at Caudebec-en-Caux, overlooking the Seine, and pronounced ‘Voilà la plus belle Chapelle que j’ai encore veuë’.² The church had been founded in 1267, but had fallen into disrepair during the vicissitudes of the Hundred Years’ War and the subsequent English occupation of the region.³ In 1426 Henry VI, King of England and France, gave permission for wood to be taken from his nearby forests, and the rebuilding of the church in Flamboyant Gothic style commenced.⁴

What we see today is, therefore, what was built during the second half of the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century. The church consists of a nave and two continuous side aisles divided into chapels, no transepts, and a polygonal apse with an ambulatory from which more chapels radiate. The tower is situated towards the west end of the south aisle and the main entrance is at the west end, with the typical arrangement of three doors over which are ranged sculpted voussoirs. The architect of this fine building, one Guillaume Le Telier (d. 1484), is commemorated by a small incised slab (495 x 800 mm), now mounted murally in the easternmost chapel (Fig. 1). Made from a local limestone, it is in good condition. A thirteen-line French inscription forms much of the design. To the left of this block of text is a grinning skeleton holding and pointing to a pair of compasses and a square, and on the opposite side is an unfurling scroll with a ground-plan of a church, with some builders’ tools below.

The inscription reads:

‘Cy deuant git guillame le telier natif de
Fontaines le pin pres Fallaize en son uiuant maitre
macon de cette eglise de caudebec quj par lespace
de trente ans ou plus en a eu la conduite
pendent lequel temps a acheue loo et
coupelles avec le hault de la nef dicelle eglise

¹ I am very grateful for the help of Dr. Lisa Jefferson and Mr. John Coales in the preparation of this paper.

² T. Duplessis, *Description Geographique et Historique de la Haute Normandie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1740), I, p. 8.

³ For a full history of the church and various - historiographically interesting - accounts of its depredations and restorations see J.B.D. Cochet, *Les Églises de l'Arrondissement d'Yvetot*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1852), I, pp. 1-48; *idem*, *Répertoire Archéologique du Département de la Seine-Inférieure* (Paris, 1871), pp. 485-94; A. Jourdain, *L'Église Notre-Dame de Caudebec-en Caux - Petit Guide* (Caudebec-en-Caux, 1938); *Dictionnaire des Églises de France*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1966-71) IVB, pp. 37-8; and Y. Bottineau-Fuchs, *Haute-Normandie Gothique - Architecture Religieuse* (Paris, 2001), pp. 113-120. The definitive work would appear to be W.A. Steinke, ‘The Flamboyant Gothic Church of Caudebec-en-Caux: A Neglected Masterpiece of French Medieval Architecture’, PhD dissertation, New York University (1982).

⁴ Cochet, *Répertoire Archéologique*, p. 487. The start of the rebuilding programme is recorded by an inscription by the tower, ‘L’an mil CCCCXXVI fu ceste nef cy commencée, Santé Dieu doint et bonne vie a bienfaiteurs et paradis’; see R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture Religieuse en France à l'Époque Gothique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926), I, pp. 170-1.



FIG. 1
 Incised slab of Guillaume Le Telier (1484) [19th-century restoration]
 Caudebec-en-Caux, France
 Photograph by Paul Cockerham

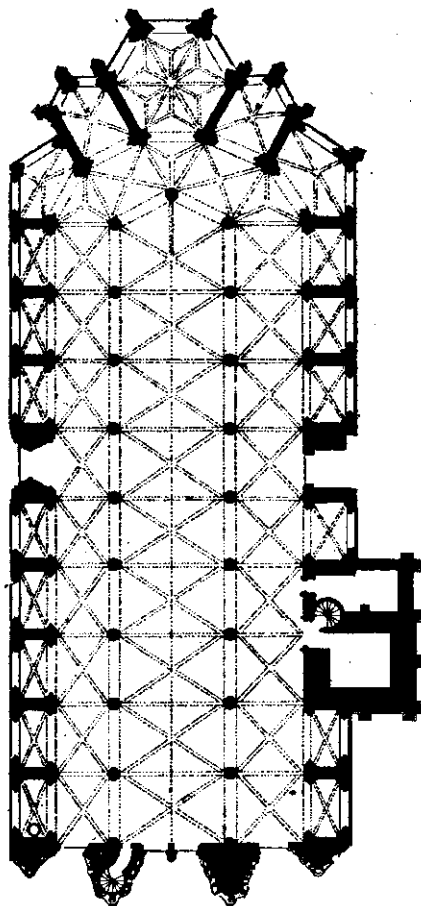


FIG. 2

Plan of the church of Notre-Dame, Caudebec-en-Caux

(from R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture Religieuse en France à l'Époque Gothique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926), I, p. 200)

plus a fonde et esleue tout le ceur et chappelles
 entour icelle et leue jusque aux pre(i)mieres allees
 avec la clef pendante de ceste p[re]sente chapelle et
 trespasa le premier jo[ur] de septembre lan mil
 iiii^[C] quatre vings et quatre ou delaiissa sept
 solz six deniers de rente a ceste presente eglise
 pries dieu pour son ame amen'

In translation: Here before [you] lies Guillaume Le Telier, a native of Fontaines le Pin near Falaise, during his lifetime master mason of this church of Caudebec, who for thirty years and more was in charge of it, and during this time he finished the 'O' and the vaults(?), along with the top part / ceiling(?) of the nave of this church, and further he laid the foundations and built all the choir and its adjoining chapels, and raised these up to the

first-floor galleries / walkways [triforium level?] with the hanging keystone of this present chapel. And he died on the first day of September the year one thousand four hundred eighty-four, when he bequeathed seven sous and six deniers [7s.6d.] of rent to this same church. Pray God for his soul, amen.⁵

The details of this major fifteenth-century reconstruction of the church are thereby put on record as the work of Guillaume Le Telier, who seems to have taken over in the middle of the fifteenth century (1484, the year of his death, less thirty years and more). At Caudebec he devised a novel method of reconciling the desire for a rounded apsidal east end with the geometric regularity, the sense of height and the architectural exuberance inherent in the Flamboyant Gothic style. The easternmost chapel is an unusual hexagonal structure, the central keystone of the vault - 'la clef pendante de ceste presente chapelle' - being over four metres high and weighing seven tonnes;⁶ due west is a single, central pillar which acts as a pivot from which other apsidal chapels radiate, themselves opening back directly into the side chapels of the aisles (Fig. 2).⁷ After Guillaume's death the uppermost parts of the apse were completed in 1491, the treasury and tower completed around 1520, and shortly after, the nave was extended by two bays to the west, with Guillaume's rose-window ('l'oo') and tympanum duly reset.⁸ Despite this protracted construction programme the entire building gives an impression of architectural unity reinforced by the overwhelming presence of the stained glass, the chronology of which neatly charts the stage-by-stage completion of the fabric.⁹

So much for the achievements of the man; but what of his memorial? It hardly seems to do him justice, particularly when compared to the large and elaborate effigial slabs commissioned for other architects, such as Hues Libergier (1263) at Rheims, and the de Bernevals (c.1440) at Rouen.¹⁰ The social status of an architect implied by these memorials

⁵ The precise meaning of the inscription is unclear when specifying the architectural details. 'L'oo' refers to the rose window, 'coupelles' to 'cupolas' or vaults, and 'allees' most likely means 'aisles', literally the 'wings', as elevated walkways, and thus most likely the triforium of the choir.

⁶ *Dictionnaire des Églises de France*, IVB, p. 38.

⁷ This ingenious arrangement of the ambulatory broadly resembles the contemporary building of Saint-Maclou, Rouen, and may have been based on the slightly earlier church of Saint-Pierre, Caen, only a short distance from Le Telier's birthplace at Fontaines le Pin. See *Dictionnaire des Églises de France*, IVB, pp. 32-3; Bottineau-Fuchs, *Haute-Normandie Gothique*, pp. 116, 244-7, 339-43; L.E. Neagley, 'The Flamboyant Architecture of St-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style', *Jnl of the Soc. of Architectural Historians*, XLVII (1988), pp. 374-96.

⁸ Bottineau-Fuchs, *Haute-Normandie Gothique*, pp. 114-20. Since its completion the church has been damaged in successive conflicts - by assaults by the Protestants in 1562 (duly recorded by an inscription on the north wall near the door), and the Revolution, when much of the fabric and statuary were destroyed. All of this was eclipsed by the considerable destruction during the Second World War, necessitating a full restoration, underway by 1950.

⁹ See Cochet, *Répertoire Archéologique*, pp. 488-9; M. Callias Bey et al ed., *Les Vitraux de Haute-Normandie: Recensement des Vitraux Anciens de la France*, VI (Paris, 2001), pp. 280-7. For instance the English influence on the first stage of the building is well known, the patron of the earliest surviving glass being one Fulke Eyton, an English army captain active in the locality from 1435 to 1447; see Jean Lafond, 'The English Window at Caudebec-en-Caux', *Jnl of the British Soc. of Master Glass Painters*, XII (1955-6), pp. 42-7. The date of this window fits neatly with the start of Le Telier's involvement in the building.

¹⁰ The slab of Hues Libergier, architect of Saint-Nicaise, Rheims, is now in the cathedral (illustrated by F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), II, pl. 105c); and the double effigial slab to Alexandre de Berneval, master of works, and his son Colin, is at Saint-Ouen, Rouen (illustrated Greenhill, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 117b). They are large and fine monuments; and there is another similarly lavish example at Saint-Ouen to an anonymous architect, for which see A. Masson, *L'Église Abbatiale Saint-Ouen de Rouen* (Paris, 1927), pp. 69-70; and Greenhill, *op. cit.*, I, 207-8.

was on a par with that of wealthy merchants, rich and powerful ecclesiastics, and officers of the King - which classes formed the typical clientele of the slab workshops in the Île-de-France and Rouen. But Guillaume Le Telier had no royal patronage compared to Alexandre de Berneval, who was 'maistre des oeuvres de machonnerie du roy nostre, sire ou bailliage de Rouen'.¹¹ He was, moreover, a local boy made good, born near Falaise (about sixty miles south-west of Caudebec going by a maritime route), and so with perhaps little architectural experience other than that gleaned from studying the late-Gothic rebuilds of many of the churches in the surrounding countryside.¹² Thus he was one of the last of a certain breed - that is as someone who blended the roles of 'l'architecte concepteur' with 'l'architecte d'exécution'.¹³ Succeeding him at Caudebec, for instance, there was an immediate conflict of interest between the newly appointed architects and the forced adoption of their new designs to a pre-existing, partially constructed building.

Guillaume Le Telier's monument seems a modest effort for a man whose life's work was the very fabric of the church itself.¹⁴ Whilst this raises an initial query as to the slab's authenticity, it is the plan of the church delineated on the slab which is curious. It shows the church not as when Le Telier built it, but as it is today, with extra bays of the nave which were only decided upon and constructed thirty years or so after his death. On the other hand, the imagery is convincing. Firstly, the skeleton neatly equates the icon of Death - which here brandishes the deceased's tools of trade, the compasses, rather than a scythe - with that of the decaying, mortal body of the architect himself. This personalisation of Death blends the living with the dead; and in the same genre, the animated figure of Death allied with, but contrasting to, the deceased's dead body, resonates in the drama of the *danse macabre*, which seems to have had a particular following at Caudebec. As Mâle has it, 'there is no doubt that the *danse macabre* was danced in the church of Caudebec in the late fourteenth century ... Did Death play a part at Caudebec? Did a corpse enter the ring of dancers, take one of the living by the hand and lead him

¹¹ Masson, *Saint-Ouen*, p. 68. There was a considerable overlap in the late medieval period between the functions of patrons and architects, which was particularly telling in realising the social status of the architect himself. For instance patron and architects are memorialised together in the late-thirteenth / early-fourteenth century labyrinth once in Rheims Cathedral, where the figure of Archbishop Aubry de Humbert is in the centre, surrounded by those of four master masons of the cathedral, one at each corner. This imagery crystallised the interdependency of the driving forces of the construction of such complex and expensive buildings; as in Le Telier's epitaph, he was one such driving force. For the Rheims labyrinth see P. Demouy, *Notre-Dame de Reims: Sanctuaire de la monarchie sacrée* (Paris, 1995), pp. 16-20. For a full exposition of the functions and inter-relationships of patrons, architects, masons and sculptors at this period see P. du Colombier, *Les Chantiers des Cathédrales* (Paris, 1953), pp. 26-93.

¹² A. de Caumont, *Statistique Monumentale du Calvados*, 5 vols. (Caen, 1846-67), IV, pp. 524-6. Characteristically though, Norman architects did not seem to move far but lived and practised very much in their native area; see A. Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Les édifices religieux et le décor architectural à l'époque flamboyante', in *Art et société en France au XIV^e siècle*, ed. C. Prigent (Paris, 1999), pp. 161-2.

¹³ A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Histoire de l'Architecture Française: Du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1995), p. 398.

¹⁴ On his deathbed he desired to be buried in 'the great chapel of Notre-Dame, and in a convenient place in this chapel he wanted an epitaph which recorded his work and legacy, to be in his everlasting memory'; Cochet, *Églises d'Yvetot*, pp. 20-1. The itemisation of such things on the inscription - like the annual donation of 7 sous 6 deniers paid from the rent of a house which he owned - was quite commonplace at this time; see P. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York, 1981), pp. 277-81.



FIG. 3
Rubbing of the incised slab of Abbot Jehan de Blaisy (1439)
Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye, France

toward a tomb?’¹⁵ If so, the grinning skeleton, assuming the mantle of an architect, would have been all the more poignant to the inhabitants who knew and respected the church’s builder when alive, whether they were literate or not.¹⁶

Secondly, the depiction of set-square, plumb-line, mallet and trowel is topical and realistic. The use of such symbols on monuments dates from before the adoption of effigies and is extended from the more commonly encountered shields, helms, swords, crosiers and so on, as personal motifs depicted on slabs.¹⁷ But concomitantly, with the reduction of the living effigy to that of a decaying corpse or skeleton, so these were themselves sometimes invested with emblems of status, blending mortality and Death with even greater emphasis. What more haunting than to see, for instance, the figure of a skeleton as Death, but holding a crozier? King Death or Abbot? (Fig. 3) This uncertainty was equally hammered home at Caudebec. The depiction of tokens of the man’s profession was certainly fashionable at that time and in keeping with the overall harmony of the composition.

Lastly, features such as the venerable appearance of the stone - some of the mastic is missing - and the epigraphy of the inscription, engraved in relatively free Gothic minuscule script, are highly plausible. They suggest that if the monument is not contemporary with Le Telier’s death (because the plan of the church is as it was only in the sixteenth century) then it was erected soon after the building works were completed.

But this slab is in fact a very good nineteenth-century restoration! As the abbé Cochet tells us:

The manuscript account of the abbé Miette confirms that the present stone is not the original one. The old one was broken around 1815 by moving a confessional onto it. “But the churchwardens (says the venerable ecclesiastical chronicler) were so proud of the lavish decoration of their church, that they did not hesitate to engrave another. This was only fitting, for Guillaume Letelier, amongst others, could easily be identified as one of the original benefactors of their church.” It is clear, therefore, that

¹⁵ E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France - The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* (Princeton, 1986), p. 330. Mâle’s evidence is a pre-Revolution manuscript account by the Abbé Miette of a document from the archives of Caudebec church, which describes a religious dance drama held there in 1393 (now Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 2215, Y39, f. 69).

¹⁶ The standard text on the subject is K. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi-Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1973), *passim*. Interestingly, she illustrates (p. 61) the tomb to Robert Touse (1422) once in Rouen Cathedral, depicting a worm-eaten skeletal body, so the funereal aspects of such imagery were being utilised on monuments in this region at an early date. Further visual comparisons are discussed in Groupe de Recherches sur les Peintures Murales, *Vifs Nous Sommes - Morts Nous Serons. La Rencontre des trois morts et des trois vifs dans la peinture murale en France* (Vendome, 2001), *passim*; and the sociological impact discussed by Ariès, *Hour of Our Death*, pp. 110-23.

¹⁷ The Gaignières drawings identify a number of such slabs, for instance that of Jean de Cain, abbot (1470), who was commemorated by a slab engraved with just a crozier, enclosed within a marginal inscription, once at Ourscamp (Oise); and Pierre de Montreal (1474), abbot, had a similar slab once at Perseigne (Sarthe); see J. Adhémar, ‘Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières: Dessins d’Archéologie du XVII^e Siècle - II’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXVIII (1976), pp. 23, 25. Numerous examples of slabs with symbols are illustrated by J. Mercier, *Les Dalles Tumulaires de l’Église Saint-Pierre de Bar-sur-Aube en Champagne* (Bar-sur-Aube, 1989); equally, the porch of the church of Bay-sur-Aube (Haute-Marne) is paved with slabs incised with depictions of axes and other woodcutting tools; the village is in the middle of a heavily-forested area. Such inferences must have been sustained by a wide understanding of this kind of symbolism without words.

this stone dates from our own [19th] century. But, one might ask, is it a faithful reproduction of the original slab? We have to presume so, but with no evidence to confirm it one way or the other, and around 1820 we know how frequently, at Caudebec as much as anywhere else, what unscrupulous activities were passed off as conservation. There is more to say. Clearly, the inscription laid down initially by the churchwardens could not have been produced until the early sixteenth century, after the enlargement and final completion of the church; that is to say, after he had built it up to the 'O', and subsequent to which it was evidently necessary to extend the church further. As we know for certain that it was lengthened in 1517, so the plan on the graveslab could not have been designed in 1484. And as the deciding factor we have the confession of M. Le Sage, in which he declared himself to be the designer of the funereal figure and the accessories.¹⁸

The story is clear therefore. There was originally a tombstone in the easternmost chapel of Caudebec for Guillaume Le Telier, its architect, that chapel being his personal 'pièce de résistance' and where he wanted to be buried. The monument found today is a concoction of early-nineteenth-century invention based on fact. The highly plausible design belies its recent origins,¹⁹ and as such, this slab is mounted harmoniously inside a church which itself is outwardly a homogenous masterpiece of Flamboyant Gothic. On the other hand, with the structural damage it endured from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, is Le Telier's dream construction now as effectively flawed or restored as his own slab? And thereby arises a quandary to tease us all - how much is original, and how much restored, whether in building, painting or sculpture - and is it, and should it be, necessarily so easy to tell?²⁰

¹⁸ Cochet, *Églises d'Yvetot*, p. 20.

¹⁹ There are, however, a few pointers to the slab's recent origins in the inscription. 'Git' is perfectly acceptable for 'lies', but in the fifteenth century one might have expected 'gist'; and the lack of an abbreviation for 'et' in the year date is also most unusual. Secondly, as regards the reading of the first word of the sixth line as 'couppelles' then this has proved problematic in the past. 'Sousyelles' has been suggested (Cochet, *Églises d'Yvetot*, p. 19), suggesting side windows, or flanking windows to the rose; but the first letter, although looking like an 's' as incised elsewhere, also resembles a 'C' which can take that long form in the fifteenth century. The 'y' of 'souslyelles' is not like the 'y' of 'Cy' and there is no way that an 's' can be missing here after the third letter, so 'couppelles' is a better interpretation. The reference to vaults or cupolas seems the best meaning here. It is possible that the nineteenth-century inciser was copying the original fifteenth-century inscription, saw an initial 'c' as an 's' and for the 'p' he just formed it somewhat differently; the occasional backwards 's' and some of the 'r's are also strangely drawn for the purported date of 1484. I am most grateful to Dr. Jefferson for her finely tuned interpretation of this epigraphy.

²⁰ Whilst several examples of 'faked' brasses and slabs in England are known, those on mainland Europe in general remain to be described. However, Dr. Jefferson has discovered that *Toulouse et l'art médiéval de 1830 à 1870*, exhibition catalogue, Musée des Augustins (Toulouse, Oct. 1982 - Jan. 1983), pp. 65-9, recounts the activities of Alexandre Du Mège, who, when he could not find tombs and tombstones which he thought ought to exist, had them made. Details are given here of his fakes (very convincing in some cases, less so in others). The slabs for Jean de Cardaillac, Pierre de Saint Martial, Vital de Castelmauron, Dominique de Florence and Auger de Madron are all fakes. It seems that the slab in the Cathédrale St-Nazaire in Carcassonne supposedly of Simon de Montfort is also a fake of Alexandre Du Mège.

Conservation of Brasses, 2001-2002

by WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the nineteenth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Albury, Aldborough, Asgarby, Bobbingworth, Easton, Eton College, Feering, Lidlington, Steeple Bumpstead, Stoke-by-Nayland, Stutton, Surlingham and Tingrith and for funding the facsimiles at Aldborough and Bobbingworth; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at South Hilton; to Michael Taylor for assistance at Albury, Aldborough, Easton, Stoke-by-Nayland, Stutton and Surlingham; to the Churches Conservation Trust; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Archdeacon of Oxford at Chastleton; the Council for the Care of Churches at Church Knowle, Lidlington, Marston Morteyne, Wappenham and Withybrook; English Heritage at Newnham; Epping Forest District Council at Bobbingworth; the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Albury, Aldborough, Barton, Bobbingworth, Church Knowle, Easton, Feering, Lidlington, Newnham, Steeple Bumpstead, Stoke-by-Nayland, Stutton, Surlingham and Wappenham; Lidlington Parish Council and Mid-Bedfordshire District Council at Lidlington; the Monumental Brass Society at Albury, Aldborough, Barton, Bobbingworth, Chastleton, Chiseldon, Church Knowle, Easton, Feering, Lidlington, Newnham, Steeple Bumpstead, Stoke-by-Nayland, Stutton, Surlingham, Tingrith and Wappenham; and the Morris Fund of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Easton, Steeple Bumpstead and Stoke-by-Nayland.

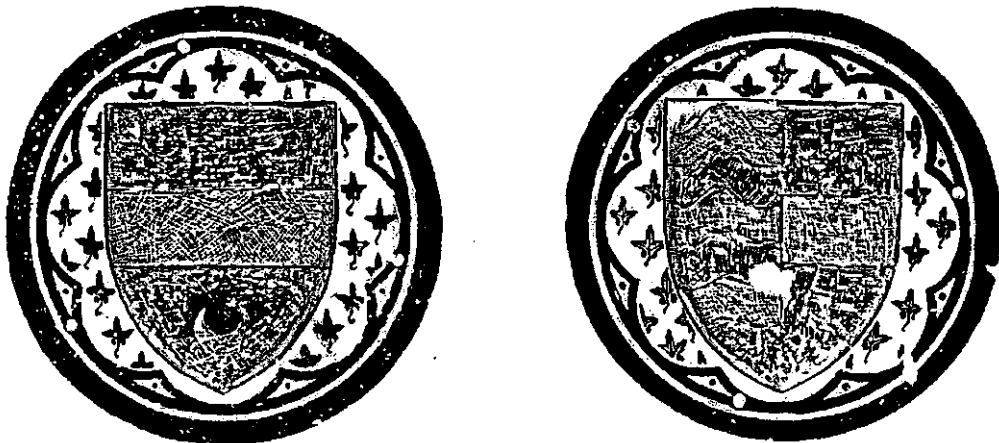


FIG. 1

Albury, Hertfordshire

M.S. II. Two roundels from the brass of John Barley, 1420, and wife Joan Pateshull, 1419

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

ALBURY, HERTS.¹

Five brasses were removed for conservation on 15 April 2000.

M.S. II. Two roundels from the brass of John Barley, 1420, and wife Joan Pateshull, 1419 (Fig. 1). These two roundels (left, bearing Pateshull, 182 x 182 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 3 rivets; right, bearing Barley impaling Pateshull, 180 x 180 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets) were set into the plaster on the south aisle wall early in the twentieth century. They were removed from the wall some years ago and subsequently kept in the church safe. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board.

M.S. III. Thomas Leventhorpe, 1588, and wife Dorothy, 1574, and **M.S. VI**, shield bearing the arms of Leventhorpe impaling Barley (Fig. 2). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a male effigy (539 x 186 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 7 rivets), female effigy (506 x 195 mm thickness 1.6 mm, 7 rivets), a seven-line Latin foot inscription (157 x 448 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), a plate bearing six-line Latin verses (137 x 463 mm, thickness (180 x 340 mm overall, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 1.5 mm and 1.3 mm, 8 rivets) and a shield (180 x 156 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets), originally lay in the sanctuary. It was taken up in the mid-nineteenth century and the shield, listed separately by Mill Stephenson, was mounted on the north aisle wall and the other plates on the south aisle wall. The plates were set directly on plaster and had become corroded. They had been secured with rivets soldered to their reverses. The bottom right-hand corner of the female effigy and a small triangular piece of the inscription are lost. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board, arranging them as in an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection.

M.S. IV. John Scrogs, 1592, wife Mary Burton and son Edward (Fig. 3). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a rectangular plate (varying from 1.5 to 2.2 mm), a four-line English foot inscription in capitals (135 x 515 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets), a skull with Latin verse (98 x 148 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets) and two shields (upper left, bearing Scrogs, 151 x 124 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 3 rivets; upper right, bearing Burton, 150 x 123 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (1600 x 798 mm) at the west end of the Nave. A wasted version of the inscription is known on the palimpsest reverses of the children from the brass to William Browne and wife, 1595, at Cookley, Suffolk (Fig. 4).² After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. VII. Two shields from brass to Francis Gunter, 1585, and wife, Jane Lloyd (Fig. 5). These two shields, bearing the arms of the Skinners' Company (163 x

¹ The brasses were described and partly illustrated in H.C. Andrews, 'Sidelights on Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches', *East Herts. Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, VIII, pt. 2 (1930-31), pp.155-75.

² J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (London, 1980), pl. 132, 310L1, and 'Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 30 (July 1982), pl. 185, 310L2. I described the conservation of this brass in 'Repairs to Brasses 1979-81', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt.4 (1983), p. 308.



FIG. 2
Albury, Hertfordshire
M.S. III and VI. Thomas Leventhorpe, 1588, and wife Dorothy, 1574
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

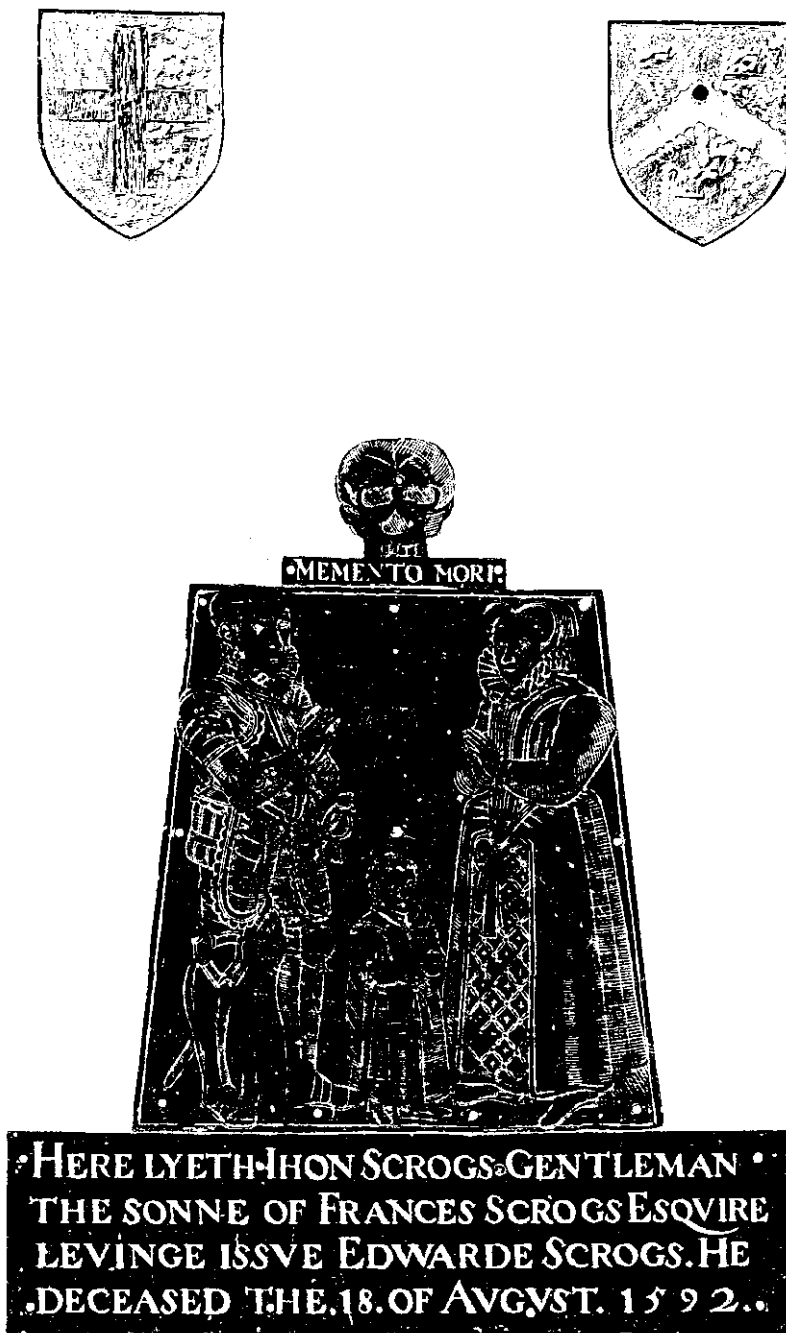


FIG. 3

Albury, Hertfordshire

M.S. IV. John Scrogs, 1592, wife Mary Burton and son Edward.

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

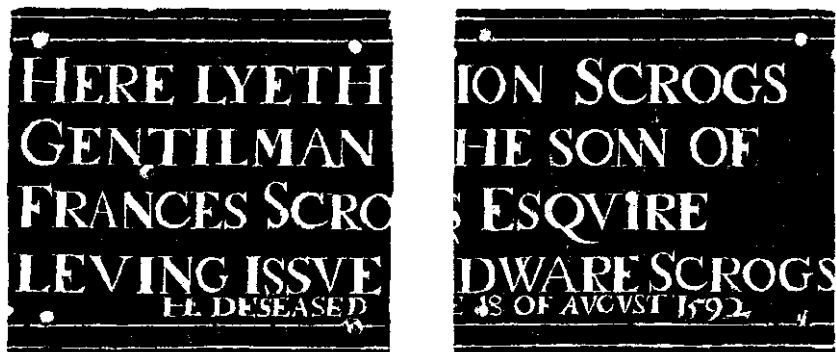


FIG. 4

Cookley, Suffolk

M.S. I. William Browne and wife, 1595; palimpsest reverse of children

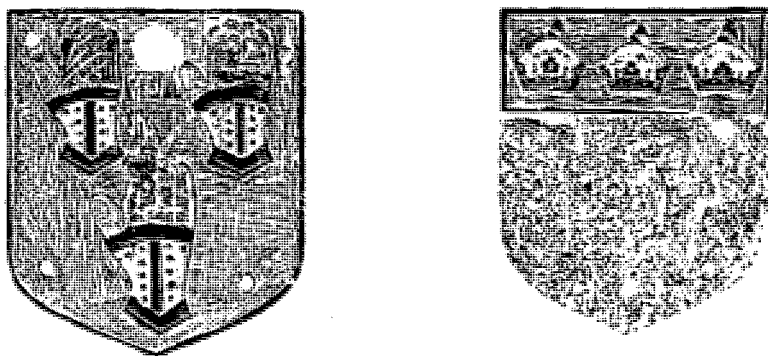
Rubbing by William Lack

FIG. 5

Albury, Hertfordshire

M.S. VII. Two shields from brass to Francis Gunter, 1585, and wife, Jane Lloyd.

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

137 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 1.5 mm and 2.6 mm, 3 rivets) and the arms of Gunter (175 x 150 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 4 rivets), were removed from the north aisle wall where they had been mounted directly on the plaster. They were not securely mounted and had suffered considerable corrosion. In the Society of Antiquaries' Collection there is an early nineteenth century rubbing of two other shields from this brass. These bear the arms of the City of London and Gunter impaling Lloyd. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the shields into a Cedar board.

On 15 May 2001 M.S. IV was relaid in its slab, the board carrying M.S. VII was mounted on the north aisle wall and the other two boards were mounted on the south aisle wall.

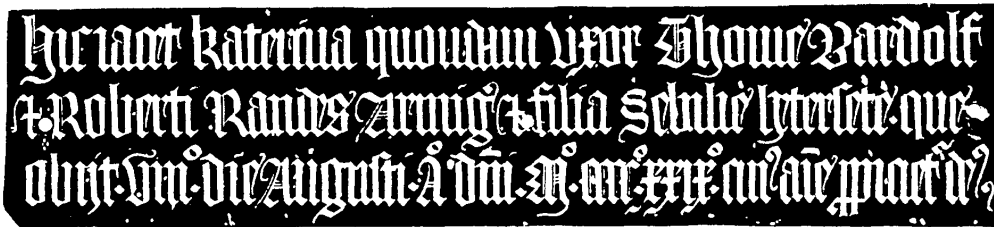


FIG. 6

Aldborough, Norfolk

M.S. I. Clement Herward, 1427; obverse and palimpsest reverse

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*ALDBOROUGH, NORFOLK³

Four brasses were removed for conservation on 7 October 2000.

M.S. I. Inscription to Clement Herward, 1427 (Fig. 6). This London (series D) three-line Latin inscription (108 x 475 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the north aisle wall. It had been screwed directly onto the plaster and was considerable corroded. It proved to be palimpsest, the reverse being a complete inscription in the 'series D' script to Katherine Bardolf, 1429, which had never been laid down. This inscription reads: "Hic iacet Katerina quondam uxor Thome Bardolf / & Roberti Randes Armig(er) & filia Sebilie hetersete que / obiit viiiº die Augusti A(nn)o d(omi)ni Mº CCCC xxixº cui(us) a(n)i(m)e p(ro)piciet(ur) de(us)". After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the reverse and fitted new rivets to the inscription. I rebated the brass, the facsimile and a small commemorative brass plate into a Cedar board.

M.S. III. Anne Herward, 1485. This Norwich (series 3) brass, comprising a female effigy (665 x 239 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 5 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (60 x 477 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (1980 x 925 mm) at the east end of the nave. There are indents for four shields (153mm x 120mm). The plates were insecure and corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

³ The brasses have not been fully described but they have been illustrated on several occasions, for example in E. Farrer, *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the county of Norfolk in 1890*, pl. 1, p. 1, pl. 2, p. 2, and more recently in J.R. Greenwood and M. Norris, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (Holt, 1976), figs. 21 and 22, p. 25.

M.S. IV and V. Richard Richards, 1493. This Norwich (series 3) brass comprises a civilian effigy (910 x 210 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 8 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (53 x 380 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 4 rivets). The effigy had been relaid in a slab (1835 x 910 mm) which contains an indent for an inscription (60 x 362 mm) and had become fractured into two parts, the upper plate was completely loose in its indent and both plates were corroded. The inscription was removed from the north aisle wall where it had been mounted above M.S. I and secured with screws. At some stage it had been broken into three pieces and repaired with solder joints, one of which had failed. A small section is lost at one of the fractures. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the inscription into a Cedar board.

On 16 July 2001 M.S. III and IV were relaid in their slabs and the two boards were mounted on the north aisle wall.

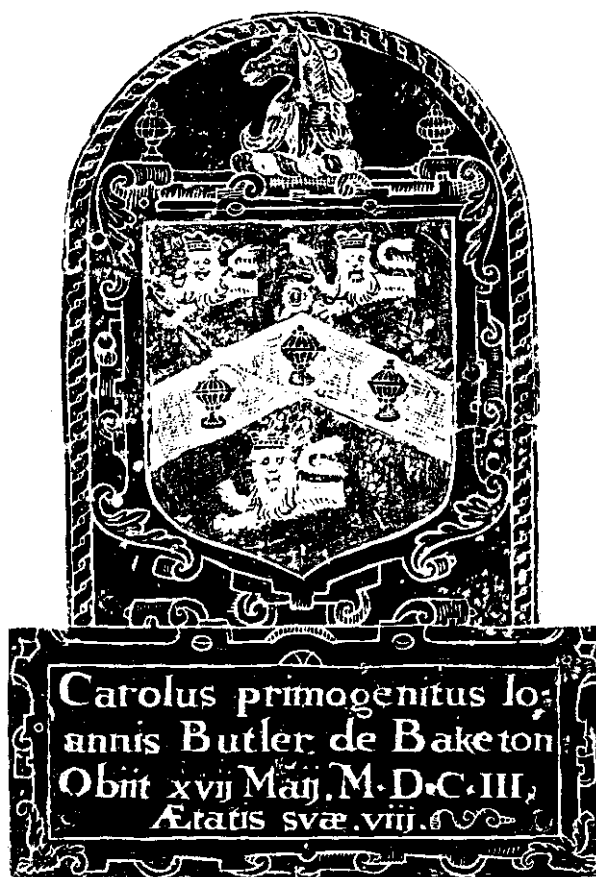


FIG. 7
 Asgarby-by-Sleaford, Lincolnshire
 M.S. I. Inscription with shield to Charles Butler, 1603
Rubbing by William Lack

ASGARBY-BY-SLEAFORD, LINCS.

M.S. I. Inscription with shield to Charles Butler, 1603 (Fig. 7). I removed this Johnson-style brass (322 x 219 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 9 rivets) from a stone frame on the south wall of the chancel on 1 July 2002. The plate was loose with several rivets lost and a recent failed attempt had been made to remove the brass. At some stage it had been fractured into two parts and repaired with a rivetted ferrous backing-plate. After removal of this plate I cleaned the brass, rejoined the two plates and fitted new rivets. The brass was reset in its frame on 7 November 2002.

BARTON, CAMBS.

LSW.I. John Martin and wife Margaret, 1602.⁴ This Johnson-style brass, comprising a male effigy (274 x 97 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 5 rivets), female effigy (270 x 91 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 5 rivets) and an inscription in six Latin lines (156 x 383 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 6 rivets), lies in the original slab (1725 x 915 mm) at the west end of the chancel. It was not well-secured and I removed it from the slab on 14 November 2001. On this day a stonemason from Messrs. Fairhaven of Anglesey Abbey deepened the indents in the most worn areas of the slab. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and relaid the brass on 3 December 2001.

BOBBINGWORTH, ESSEX⁵

Two brasses were removed for conservation on 5 October 2001.

M.S. I. Inscription and achievement to William Bourn, 1581. This London (series G, script 12) brass, comprising a seven-line Latin inscription (170 x 396 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 9 rivets) and an achievement bearing the arms of Bourne (209 x 178 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 4 rivets), had been mounted directly on plaster on the north wall of the chancel. The plates had been secured with screws and were considerably corroded. The inscription was broken into six pieces, with the last line set into the wall upside down. The inscription proved to be palimpsest, the reverse showing part of a Flemish border, engraved *c.* 1480. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, rejoined the pieces of the inscription, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board. The facsimile and a commemorative brass plate were rebated into a separate board.

M.S. II. Inscription and 2 shields to Robert Bourne, 1639. This brass, comprising an eight-line English inscription in Roman capitals (251 x 524 mm, thickness 1.7 mm,

⁴ The brass was described in C.J.P. Cave, O.J. Charlton and R.A.S. Macalister, 'The Brasses of Cambridgeshire', *MBS Trans.*, II (1892-6), p. 242. It has been illustrated in P. Heseltine, *The Figure Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1981), no. 6, and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 11.

⁵ The brasses were described and illustrated by M. Christy, W.W. Porteous and E.B. Smith, ed. R.H. D'Elboux, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, pt. II (London, 1951), pp 52-4, and in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* (London, 2003), pp. 68-9.

10 rivets) and two shields (left, bearing Bourne impaling Medeley, 205 x 172 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets; right, bearing Bourne, 201 x 171 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 4 rivets), had been mounted directly on plaster on the south wall of the chancel. They were secured with screws and considerably corroded. It is probable that the two shields were transposed when the brass was removed from the sanctuary area when the chancel was rebuilt in 1841. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a Cedar board.

The boards were mounted in the chancel on 26 April 2002.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

LSW.III. Robert Haccombeyn, 1528.⁶ This Cambridge brass, comprising an effigy in almuce (944 x 311 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 6 rivets), a scroll (534 x 146 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 3 rivets), the upper right shield (151 x 126 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 2 rivets) and a marginal inscription (1860 x 805 x 52 mm, engraved on eight fillets with thicknesses between 4.3 and 5.6 mm, 22 rivets) with corner Evangelists' symbols (upper right 129 x 131 mm, thickness 5.3 mm, 1 rivet; lower left 131 x 130 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 1 rivet; lower right 134 x 131 mm, thickness 5.3 mm, 1 rivet), lies in the original Alwalton (?) slab in Side Chapel Q. In recent years the chapel has been used as a store but has now been opened up to the public. Most of the plates had worked proud of the slab and had become vulnerable. There are indents for a second shield and foot inscription which have been lost for many years. The upper left corner of the slab is covered by a desk and consequently the Evangelist's symbol at this corner is inaccessible. I removed all the other plates from the slab on 11 October 2001. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 29 November 2001.

CHASTLETON, OXON.

I removed one brass and parts of two others on 16 January 2001.

M.S. I. Katherine Throckmorton, 1592.⁷ This Johnson-style brass, comprising a female effigy (323 x 121 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 5 rivets), an inscription in six English lines (141 x 464 mm), an inscription in three English lines (63 x 267 mm overall, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 1.4 mm and 1.6 mm, 3 rivets), five sons (158 x 243 mm), five daughters (157 x 223 mm), an achievement (174 x 145 mm) and a lozenge (150 x 125 mm), had been relaid in a sandstone slab (1290 x 710 mm) in the nave. I took up the effigy and the lower inscription which were loose and vulnerable. The smaller plate of the inscription proved to be palimpsest, the reverse

⁶ The brass was described in Cave, Charlton and Macalister, 'Cambridgeshire', pp. 268-9, and has been illustrated in Heseltine, *The Figure Brasses of Cambridgeshire*, no. 14, and Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 34.

⁷ Described and illustrated by Paul Cockerham, 'Chastleton, Oxfordshire—the Family History Behind a Monumental Brass', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 6 (1991), pp. 448-66.



FIG. 8
Chastleton, Oxfordshire
M.S. I. Katherine Throckmorton, 1592; palimpsest reverse of part of inscription
Rubbing by William Lack

being cut from a mid fifteenth-century inscription reading ‘... London... /... daye of...’ (Fig. 8). After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, rejoined the two parts of the inscription and fitted new rivets.

M.S. II. Edmund Ansley, 1613, and wife (Fig. 9). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a male effigy (431 x 185 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 7 rivets), a mutilated female effigy (409 x 146 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 7 rivets), an inscription in five English lines (140 x 379 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 8 rivets), seven sons (124 x 293 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 6 rivets), five daughters (126 x 112 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 4 rivets) and a mutilated scroll (445 x 68 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 4 rivets), had been relaid in a sandstone slab (1260 x 720 mm) in the nave. I removed the whole brass from the slab. There are hammer marks on the reverses of the plates. The female effigy is mutilated at the lower left and the top of the scroll is broken off across a rivet-hole. After cleaning I repaired fractures in the male effigy and fitted new rivets.

M.S. III. Inscription and shield to William Bankes, 1676 (Fig. 10). This brass, comprising an inscription in eight English lines (232 x 468 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 6 rivets) and a shield (168 x 125 mm), lies in the original black slab (1575 x 860 mm) at the west end of the nave. I collected the inscription which had become detached from the slab some years before and was kept locked away in the vestry. After cleaning I fitted new rivets to the inscription.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 20 March 2001.

CHISELDON, WILTS.

M.S. I. Francis Rutland, 1592, and wife Mary (Fig. 11).⁸ This Johnson-style brass, comprising a male effigy in civilian dress (327 x 132 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets),

⁸ The brass was described and the male effigy illustrated by E. Kite, *The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (London, 1860, repr. Bath, 1969), pp. 72-4). At that time the two groups of children were already lost.



FIG. 9
 Chastleton, Oxfordshire
 M.S. II. Edmund Ansley, 1613, and wife
Rubbing by William Lack

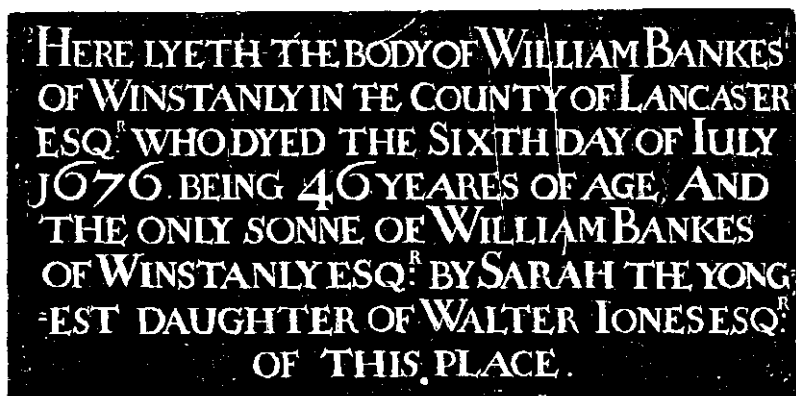
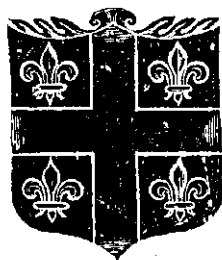


FIG. 10

Chastleton, Oxfordshire

M.S. III. Inscription and shield to William Bankes, 1676

Rubbing by William Lack

a female effigy (321 x 131 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 4 rivets) and a five-line English inscription (108 x 438 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 6 rivets), lies in the original slab (1125 x 660 mm) on the south side of the sanctuary. The slab is worn and there are almost effaced indents for groups of four sons (140 x 125 mm) and ?two daughters (135 x 130 mm). The brass was loose and corroded and I removed it on 15 May 2002. After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets. I relaid the brass on 17 July 2002.

ST PETER'S, CHURCH KNOWLE, DORSET

LSW.I. John Clavell and two wives, 1572.⁹ This London G (Daston, script 10) brass now comprises eight separate plates which had been re-set in three

⁹ The brass was described and illustrated in W. de C. Prideaux, 'The Ancient Memorial Brasses of Dorset', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Field Club*, XXXIV (1913), pp. 164-6, and most recently in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Dorsetshire* (London, 2001), pp. 54-5.



FIG. 11
 Chiseldon, Wiltshire
 M.S. I. Francis Rutland, 1592, and wife Mary
Rubbing by William Lack

compartments at the back of a canopied altar tomb at the east end of the north aisle. In the central compartment are the kneeling armoured effigy of John Clavell (303 x 200 mm, 8 rivets), a two-line English inscription (57 x 384 mm, 4 rivets) and an achievement (218 x 168 mm, 4 rivets); in the left-hand compartment the kneeling effigy of his first wife Millicent with three sons and one daughter (281 x 258 mm, 7 rivets) and a shield (151 x 121 mm, 3 rivets); and in the right-hand compartment the kneeling effigy of his second wife Susan (282 x 182 mm, 6 rivets), a three-line English inscription (68 x 407 mm, 4 rivets) and a shield (154 x 122 mm, 3 rivets). The inscription to Millicent is lost.¹⁰ The plates had suffered from corrosion round their edges and were secured with conventional woodscrews. There were residues from polish in recessed areas and the heraldic charges on the shields and achievement had been coloured with relatively modern paint.

It was decided that the brass should be cleaned by the Conservation Centre in Salisbury. I removed the brass and delivered it to Salisbury on 31 October 2001. Miss Sarah Stanley cleaned the plates and removed corrosion, polish residues and some paint, and coated them on both sides with *Incralac* lacquer. I collected the cleaned brass from Salisbury on 12 March 2002. I fitted new rivets and reset the brass in the monument on 14 May 2002.

EASTON, SUFFOLK¹¹

The three brasses were removed from their slabs on 16 March 2002.

M.S. I. Man in armour, c.1425, possibly John Brook, 1426 (Fig. 12). This London D brass now comprises a male effigy (669 x 202 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 9 rivets) which had been relaid in a black marble slab oriented north-south on the chancel floor. There are no indents for an inscription or for the missing parts of the sword and dagger. The plate had been secured with conventional screws and was not well bedded. After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets.

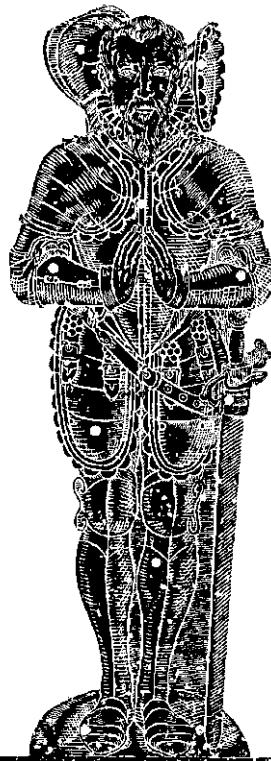
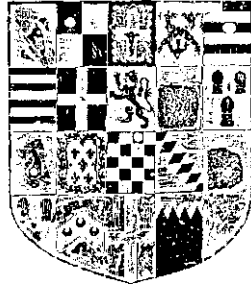
M.S. II. John Wingfield, 1584 (Fig. 13). This Johnson-style brass, comprising an armoured effigy (675 x 237 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 10 rivets), a six-line English inscription (176 x 486 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 9 rivets) and a shield (255 x 219 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 6 rivets), had been relaid in a black marble slab oriented north-south on the chancel floor immediately to the south of M.S. I. The plates had been secured with screws and were not well bedded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

¹⁰ Following the publication of *The Monumental Brasses of Dorsetshire*, Jerome Bertram has proposed that a mutilated inscription, recorded in the library at Wimborne Minster by Stephenson in 1926 (illustrated in *Dorsetshire*, p. 250), was part of the original inscription to Millicent Clavell. This plate has the same height as the inscription to Susan Clavell, commences in identical fashion and is engraved in the same lettering style.

¹¹ The brasses were illustrated in J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Suffolk* (London, 1838), pls. 9, 34, 36, and have been described and illustrated more recently in T.M. Felgate, *Knights on Suffolk Brasses* (Ipswich, 1976), figs 9., 42, *idem*, *Suffolk Heraldic Brasses* (Ipswich, 1978), pls. 18, 19, and *idem*, *Ladies on Suffolk Brasses* (Ipswich, 1989), fig. 11.



FIG. 12
Easton, Suffolk
M.S. I. Man in armour, c. 1425, possibly John Brook, 1426
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield



Here lyeth John Wingfield of Eton knight one
of the barons of Thomas Wingfield late of
great Dunham in the county of North esquier
whiche sayd John Wingfield dyed and was
buried in the month of January and in the
yere of our lord God .1584

FIG. 13
Easton, Suffolk
M.S. II. John Wingfield, 1584
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 14
 Easton, Suffolk
 M.S. III. Radcliff Wingfield, 1601
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S.III. Radcliff Wingfield, 1601 (Fig. 14). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a female effigy (930 x 386 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 20 rivets), a six-line English inscription (200 x 661 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 14 rivets) and two shields (left 167 x 137 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 4 rivets; right 165 x 135 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets), had been relaid in a black marble slab on the north side of the chancel. The plates had been secured with screws and were not well bedded. After cleaning I repaired two fractures in the effigy and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 1 November 2002.

ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL, BUCKS.

Four brasses were removed for conservation on 5 September 2000.

LSW.XXI. Thomas Allen, 1636.¹² This brass, comprising a kneeling effigy in gown (634 x 375 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 11 rivets) and a nine-line Latin inscription (318 x 613 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 14 rivets), had been mounted murally on the east wall of the ante-chapel. A small portion on the right-hand side of the inscription is lost. The original black marble slab (2000 x 1110 mm) lies on the floor but is very worn. The plates had been secured by conventional woodscrews driven into wooden plugs. They had become badly corroded, predominantly due to the proximity of flower arrangements. A recent unsuccessful attempt to clean them had removed the patina in places and left them unsightly. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

LSW.XCV. Inscription with emblems of penguin volant, eagle, sheaves of corn and butterfly to Augustus Ralli, 1872. This rectangular plate (452 x 452 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 4 rivets) had become corroded and difficult to read and had been recently removed from the east wall of the north porch where it had been secured with screws driven into wooden plugs. While awaiting refixing some corrosive cleaning fluid was spilt on the plate and this caused damage to the lower part. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. and polished and lacquered the plate.

LSW.CCCXVI. Inscription with shield to George William Lyttelton, 1883-1962. This copper plate (266 x 260 mm, thickness 2.7 mm) had become tarnished and unsightly and was removed from panelling on the west side of the ante-chapel. The plate was cleaned, polished and lacquered.

Inscription with achievement to Reginald Arthur Egerton, 1886-1904. This memorial comprises an embossed copper plate (407 x 203 mm, thickness 1.1 mm) on which are fitted five coloured metal plates which comprise the achievement. Part of the mantling on the right-hand side had become detached and proud. The composition was removed from panelling on the west side of the ante-chapel close to LSW.CCCXVI. The five metal plates proved to be secured to the copper plate with

¹² Illustrated by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p. 85.

short studs and nuts. I dismantled the plates and re-soldered two of the studs. After light cleaning I re-assembled the memorial.

The brasses were re-secured on 30 January 2001.

FEERING, ESSEX

LSW.I. Inscription to Judith Aylett, 1623.¹³

This inscription in three Latin lines with eight English verses (253 x 463 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 10 rivets) had been nailed to the chancel wall above the north door and was considerably corroded and vulnerable. When it was removed on 10 February 2001 several pages from a contemporaneous prayer book were found to be acting as a spacer behind it. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the chancel wall above the north door on 9 October 2001.

SOUTH HILTON, CO. DURHAM

I collected two brasses from Messrs Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker in Harrogate on 19 May 2000. They had become corroded and unsightly and had been removed from the nave wall shortly before. The brasses, **LSW.I.** Inscription recording re-opening of church in 1880 (914 x 611 mm, thickness 2.6 mm) and **LSW.II.** Inscription to James W. Outterside, 1889 (453 x 610 mm, thickness 2.3 mm), were both engraved by N. Joseph of Sunderland. The plates were cleaned, lightly polished and lacquered. They were collected from me in March 2001 and remounted in the nave.

KIRK SANDAL (SANDAL PARVA), YORKS.

M.S. I. William Rokeby, 1521.¹⁴ This brass now comprises a three-line Latin inscription (95 x 587 mm) and three scrolls (mouth scroll 226 x 55 mm, upper left 125 x 188 mm, lower right 125 x 192 mm) and these are set at the back of an altar tomb in the north chapel. A kneeling effigy, a representation of Our Lord in glory, two other scrolls and two shields are lost. In 2002 the altar tomb was dismantled and conserved by Hanna Conservation and I cleaned the surviving plates in their slab on 23 April.

LIDLINGTON, BEDS.

LSW.I. William Goldyngton and wife, *c.* 1505.¹⁵ This London G brass originally comprised a civilian effigy (763 x 212 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 4 rivets), female effigy

¹³ Illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Described in M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the West Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl.*, XV (1897-8), pp. 46-7.

¹⁵ The brass was described in H.K. St. J. Sanderson, 'The Brasses of Bedfordshire', *MBS Trans.*, II (1892-6), pp. 196-7, and in Grace Isherwood, *Monumental Brasses in the Bedfordshire Churches* (London, 1906), p. 44. It was illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), p. 62.

(755 x 255 mm), a Trinity, two sons (280 x 110 mm), four daughters (298 x 161 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivet), two scrolls, four shields (130 x 105 mm) and a marginal inscription (2180 x 910 mm overall; surviving fillet 28 x 731 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 6 rivets) with corner Evangelists' symbols (95 mm diameter). The brass was laid down in the chancel of the old church.

An engraving made in 1828 by Thomas Fisher¹⁶ and a late 19th-century rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' Collection in London¹⁷ both show the brass almost intact, with only the upper right Evangelist's symbol, upper right shield, the right scroll and two sections of marginal inscription being lost.

A new church was built in 1886 and the old church gradually became ruinous with parts of the brass becoming lost. By 1945 only the male effigy and the upper fillet of the marginal inscription had survived and these were removed from the slab and screwed to a board which remained loose in the new church until 1997. The group of daughters had been taken from the slab before 1945 and were eventually purchased by John Page-Phillips in 1975. They are palimpsest, with a group of sons of similar date on the reverse, probably wasted work.¹⁸ When *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* was published in 1992 the daughters were immediately recognised by Malcolm Norris as originating from Lidlington. After John Page-Phillips' death his widow Barbara generously offered to return the plate to the church provided the other parts were also conserved. It was decided that the lost parts should be replicated in resin and Michael Ward was commissioned for this work. I collected the board on 17 November 1999. The surviving fillet of marginal inscription had been sawn into three pieces to fit the board and six extra holes had been drilled for screws.

After cleaning the original plates I fitted new rivets. The plates and facsimiles were rebated into a large Cedar board and arranged as in the Society of Antiquaries' rubbing with missing parts lightly outlined. The facsimile of the palimpsest reverse and a commemorative plate commemorating John Page-Phillips and the various funding bodies were rebated into a second board.

The boards were mounted on the east wall of the south chapel on 4 September 2002.

MARSTON MORTEYNE, BEDS.

LSW.I. Thomas Reynes and widow Alice, 1451.¹⁹ This London B brass, comprising an armoured effigy (941 x 260 mm), a female effigy (911 x 304 mm, thickness

¹⁶ Thomas Fisher, *Monumental Remains and Antiquities in Bedfordshire* (London, 1828), no.14, reproduced in *Lidlington, A Historical Guide through the Bedfordshire Village of Lidlington* (1997), p 10.

¹⁷ Reproduced in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, p. 62.

¹⁸ Illustrated in *Palimpsests*, pl. 8, 41L1.

¹⁹ Described by Sanderson, 'Bedfordshire', pp. 203-4, illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VII (1976), pl. 38, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses, the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (1988), pl. 173, and Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, p. 73. The male effigy and upper centre shield were relaid by Bryan Egan in 1970 (B. Egan and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Repair of Monumental Brasses* (Newport Pagnell, 1981), p. 14).

3.9 mm, 7 rivets), a two-line Latin inscription (78 x 763 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 7 rivets), a group of sons (213 x 224 mm) and two shields (upper centre 145 x 118 mm; upper right 146 x 118 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 1 rivet), lies in the original Purbeck slab (2015 x 1030 mm) on the north side of the sanctuary. A group of daughters and three other shields are lost.²⁰ I took up the female effigy, inscription and upper right shield on 30 January 2002. The effigy and inscription had been previously relaid and were secured by screws. The inscription had been broken into two pieces and repaired with a rivetted backing-plate. After cleaning I re-secured the backing-plate and fitted new rivets. The plates were relaid in the slab on 21 March 2002. I cleaned the other plates and also LSW.I (Walter Papley, 1420) *in situ*.

NEWNHAM, HERTS.

M.S. I. Joan Dowman, 1607 (Fig. 15).²¹ This Johnson-style brass, comprising a female effigy (683 x 261 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 10 rivets), a mutilated seven-line inscription (203 x 622 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 12 rivets), one son (201 x 104 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 4 rivets), six daughters (engraved on two plates, the larger 134 x 283 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets; the smaller, engraved with a single daughter 114 x 50 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 1 rivet) and a shield (182 x 146 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 5 rivets), lies in the original slab (1850 x 850 mm) on the north side of the sanctuary. I took up the brass on 3 October 2002. The brass had become loose and the inscription, badly damaged and bent up at the left end, had been weighted down with a section of paving stone. I found a detached piece of the inscription beneath the plate when it was taken up. The single daughter was probably engraved later than the rest of the brass. After cleaning I reinforced the left end of the inscription, rejoined the detached plate and fitted new rivets. On 11 December 2002 I relaid the brass and cleaned M.S. I (a civilian with two wives, *c.* 1515) *in situ*.

STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD, ESSEX

LSW.I. Inscription to Sir Thomas Bendishe, 1627.²² This lightly-engraved coffin plate in eleven English lines (145 x 197 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 14 rivets) was removed from the east respond of the north aisle arcade on 19 August 2000. It was secured with screws and had been covered by a sheet of perspex which had caused corrosion. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the east respond of the North Aisle arcade on 17 March 2001.

²⁰ Two of the lost shields are shown in the illustration in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, being reproduced from an old rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries.

²¹ Described in W.F. Andrews, *Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches* 2nd ed. (Ware, 1903), pp. 90-1, and in Mary Rensten, *Hertfordshire Brasses* (Stevenage, 1982), p. 53, but never previously fully illustrated.

²² Illustrated in Christy, Porteous and Smith, *Essex*, pt. II (1951), p. 61, and in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p. 111.

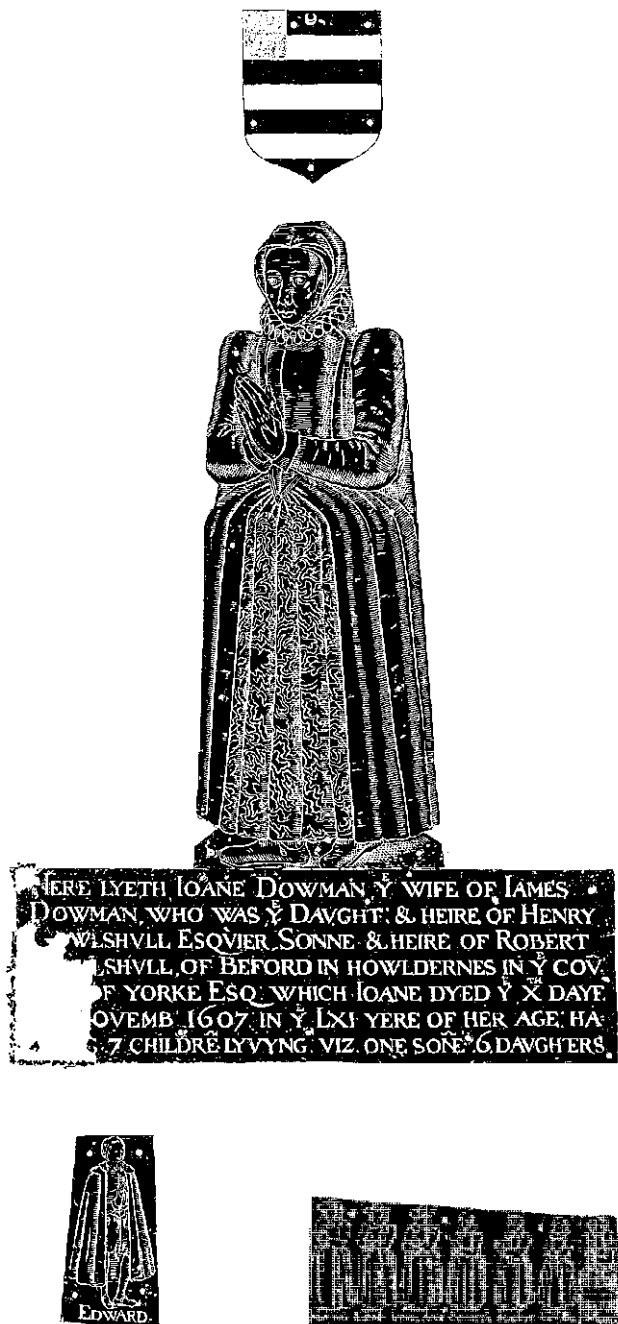


FIG. 15
Newnham, Hertfordshire
M.S. I. Joan Dowman, 1607
Rubbing by William Lack

STOKE-BY-NAYLAND, SUFFOLK

Six brasses were removed for conservation on 8 April 2001.

M.S. I. Lady in mantle, *c.* 1400, possibly Katherine, widow of Sir Thomas Clopton and wife of Sir William Tendring, died in 1402.²³ This London C brass, now comprising a mutilated female effigy (1204 x 314 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.7 mm and 3.2 mm, 13 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck marble slab (2065mm x 845mm) in the south chapel. The headdress and the lower corners of the effigy are slightly mutilated and there is an indent for a foot inscription (80 x 715mm). After cleaning I rejoined the two plates and fitted new rivets.

M.S. II. Sir William Tendring, 1408. This celebrated London D brass now consists of an armoured effigy (1806 x 570 mm, engraved on four plates with thicknesses 4.6, 3.9, 4.3 and 2.6 mm, 40 rivets) which was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (3090 x 1255 mm) in the south chapel. There are indents for a single canopy (2692 x 840 mm), two shields (left 216 x 188 mm, right 213 x 174 mm) and a marginal inscription (2870 x 1044 x 35 mm) with corner Evangelists' symbols (145 x 145 mm). After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets.

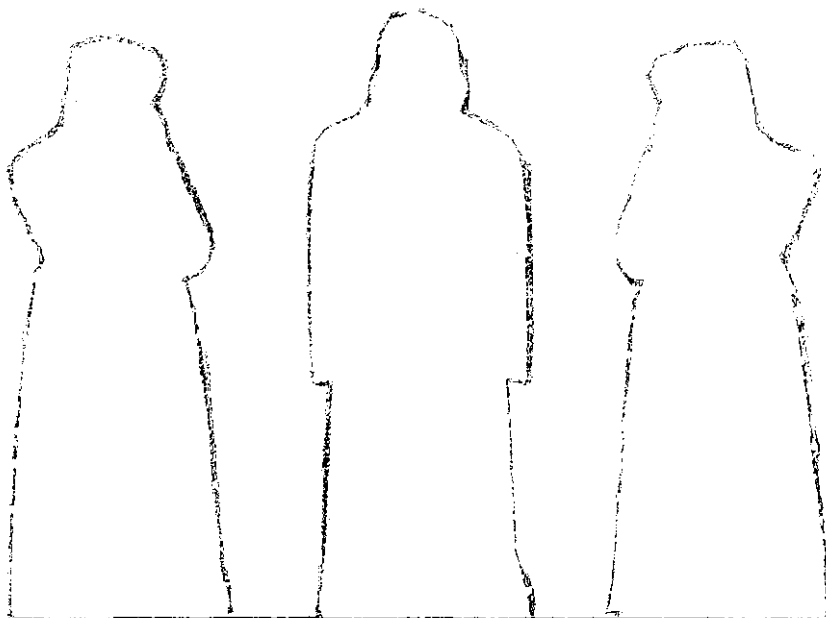
M.S. IV. Lady Katherine Howard, engraved *c.* 1535.²⁵ This well-known London G brass now comprises a female effigy in heraldic mantle (970 x 312 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 10 rivets) and upper right shield (185 x 150 mm, thickness 5.0 mm, 2 rivets) and these were taken up from the original Purbeck marble slab (2330mm x 1170mm) on the south chapel floor. There are indents for a foot inscription (*c.* 150 x 810mm), lower left shield (185mm x 149mm), lower right shield (187mm x 153mm) and upper left shield encircled with the Garter and surmounted by a coronet (250mm x 230mm). The effigy was stolen on 8 May 1971 and recovered shortly afterwards. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. V. Remains of brass to Francis Mannok and two wives, 1590 (Fig. 16). This Johnson-style (script 13) brass, now comprising an eight-line Latin inscription, a group of one son and five daughters (192 x 285 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets), a group of one son and three daughters (190 x 210 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 7 rivets) and two shields (upper left 182 x 162 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 4 rivets; upper right 179 x 160 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 4 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1680mm x 1020mm) in the north chapel. There are indents for a male effigy (583mm x 208mm), left-hand female effigy (560mm x 207mm) and right-hand female effigy (562mm x 212mm). After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the left shield and fitted new rivets.

²³ Illustrated in Cotman, *Suffolk*, pl. 4, p. 5; Felgate, *Ladies on Suffolk Brasses* (London, 1989), fig. 33, p. 82; E.R. Suffling, *English Church Brasses* (London, 1910, reprinted 1970), p. 133.

²⁴ Illustrated on numerous occasions, e.g. A.C. Bouquet, *European Brasses* (London, 1967), pl. 35; Cotman, *Suffolk*, pl. 8, p. 8; Felgate, *Knights on Suffolk Brasses*, fig. 5, p. 38; Suffling, *English Church Brasses*, p. 57; H. Trivick, *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1969), p. 179.

²⁵ The brass has often been illustrated, e.g. Cotman, *Suffolk*, pl. 24, p. 15; H. Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London, 1906, reprinted 1970), p. 280; Felgate, *Suffolk Heraldic Brasses*, pl. 45, p. 124; Felgate, *Ladies on Suffolk Brasses*, fig. 34, p. 84; Suffling, *English Church Brasses*, p. 117.



Hic jacet Franciscus Mannok armiger, duas quæ habuit
 vxores ex priore quidem vnū filiū et quinq; suscepit filias.
 Ex altera vero vnū filiū et tres filias. Obijt 3 die Mensis No-
 uembris A^o Dni .1590. A^o ætatis 68. Labitur occulte ætas
 Quid dant diuitia Crassi Cræliue talenta
 Quid iuuat immensus tantus et orbis honor
 Omnia vilescunt quæ mors rapit ore voraci
 Virtutis folida .vita perennis erit



FIG. 16
 Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk
 M.S. V. Remains of brass to Francis Mannok and two wives, 1590
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

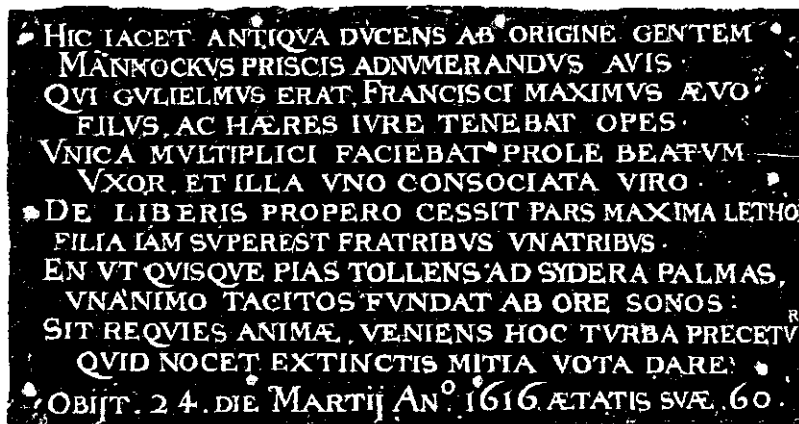


FIG. 17

Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk

M.S. VI. Inscription to William Mannock, 1616

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S. VI. Inscription to William Mannock, 1616 (Fig. 17). This thirteen-line Latin inscription (228 x 431 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 10 rivets) was removed from the north wall of the north chapel. It had been stolen at the same time as M.S. IV and recovered shortly afterwards. It had been surface mounted on a wooden panel and secured with incongruous dome-headed screws. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board.

Inscription recording dedication of window in memory of Charles Martin Torlesse, 1881. This inscription in three English lines (178 x 1375 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 5 rivets) was removed from its position below the window in the north aisle. It was heavily tarnished and also corroded at the right end. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and lacquered the plate.

The board was mounted on the north wall of the north chapel on 15 December 2001. After the indents for the effigies of M.S. I and IV had been deepened, the floor brasses were relaid, M.S. I and IV on 22 March 2002 and M.S. II and V on 7 June 2002. The 1881 inscription was reset on 31 March 2002.

STUTTON, SUFFOLK

Five brasses were removed on 20 April 2002.

LSW.I. Inscription to John Smythe, 1534 (Fig. 18).²⁶ This Suffolk 4 three-line English inscription (101 x 457 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 6 rivets) was taken up from a re-used slab (1445mm x 730mm) at the east end of the Nave. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

²⁶ The prayer clauses were effaced in 1644, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. T. Cooper (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 86, pl. 37b).

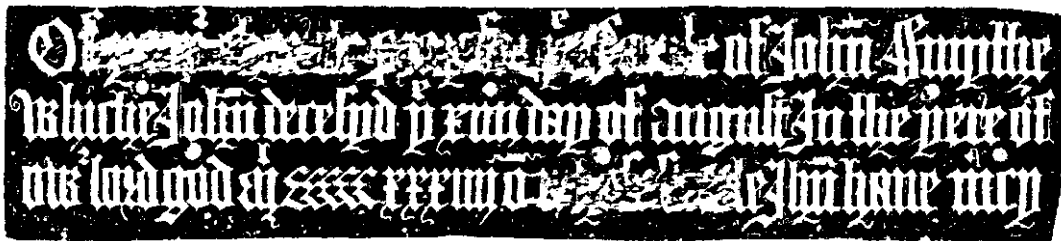


FIG. 18
Stutton, Suffolk
LSW.I. Inscription to John Smythe, 1534
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

Inscription to Thomas Hill Jones, 1909. This eleven-line English inscription with one-line verse under a single canopy (916 x 61mm, thickness 3.2 mm) was removed from a green marble stone on the north wall of the Nave. The plate had been secured by five domed screws. After cleaning I lacquered the brass.

Inscription to 2nd Lieutenant Edward James Cutting, 1918. This nine-line English inscription with regimental badge (382 x 610 mm, thickness 2.2 mm) was removed from an oak board mounted on the north wall of the Nave. It was secured by six domed screws and had become corroded and unsightly. After cleaning I lacquered the brass and rebated it into a Cedar board.

Inscription to Hubert Granville Revell Reade, 1938. This seven-line English inscription with elaborate border (305 x 457 mm, thickness 3.2 mm) was removed from a black marble stone on the south wall of the Nave. It had been secured by four domed screws and had become corroded and unsightly. It was cleaned and lacquered

Inscription to Charles Ling, 1943. This nine-line English inscription (302 x 381 mm, thickness 3.2 mm) was removed from a black marble stone on the north wall of the Nave. It had been secured by four domed screws and was corroded, particularly around the screw holes. It was cleaned and lacquered.

On 29 November 2002 M.S.I was relaid in its slab, the board was mounted on the north wall of the nave and the other three brasses re-secured in their slabs with the original screws.

SURLINGHAM, NORFOLK

Three brasses were removed on 19 May 2001.

M.S. I. John Alnwik, vicar, 1460 (Fig. 19). This London D brass, comprising an effigy in academic dress (641 x 193 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 5 rivets) and a four-line Latin inscription (116 x 393 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 3 rivets), had been relaid in a



FIG. 19
 Surlingham, Norfolk
 M.S. I. John Alwik, vicar, 1460
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

slab (1720mm x 845mm) at the west end of the chancel with the head of the effigy towards the altar and had been secured with large iron rivets. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. II. Inscription and chalice to Richard Louhawkys, rector, 1513 (Fig. 20). This Norwich 6b brass, comprising a two-line Latin inscription (58 x 459 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets) and a chalice (149 x 61 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1025 x 760 mm visible) at the east end of the chancel. The chalice, mutilated at the bottom right corner, was secured by large iron rivets. The inscription, broken into two pieces, had previously been found entirely loose and removed for safe keeping. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S. III. Inscription to Audrie Syr and Alice Walisch, c.1520 (Fig. 21). This London two-line Latin inscription (originally 50 x 360 mm, now 50 x 313 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (1640 x 670 mm) which is oriented north to south at the west end of the nave.²⁷ After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 12 October 2001.

TINGRITH, BEDFORDSHIRE

LSW.I. Robert Hogeson, 1611.²⁸ This Johnson-style brass, comprising an arched plate engraved with a kneeling effigy, inscription and shield (506 x 367 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 17 rivets) was removed from the nave wall on 8 September 2001.²⁹ After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the nave on 6 April 2002.

WAPPENHAM, NORTHANTS.³⁰

I removed three brasses from their slabs on 31 July 2001.

M.S. II. Sir Thomas Billyng, 1481, and wife Katherine, 1479. This London D brass now comprises a male effigy in judicial robes (originally 1225 mm tall, now 869 x 336 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 10 rivets), a female effigy (originally 1135 mm tall, now 841 x 315 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 7 rivets), a foot inscription in three

²⁷ It was discovered loose in the drawer of the altar table by Mill Stephenson in 1925 and later re-appeared at Bawburgh where it was given to Rev. C.L.S. Linnell, the rector of that parish. Mr Linnell subsequently arranged for the plate to be returned and relaid in c.1945 (*MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 3 (1945), p. 105).

²⁸ Described in Sanderson, 'Bedfordshire', pp. 287-8, and by Isherwood, *Bedfordshire*, p. 63. It has been illustrated by Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Bedfordshire*, p.95.

²⁹ It was originally mounted low down in the north-east corner of the chancel where it was recorded by Sanderson and Isherwood. By 1926 it had been moved to its present position (M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 12).

³⁰ The brasses have never been fully described and illustrated. They were all illustrated in a series of crude drawings in Franklin Hudson, *The Brasses of Northamptonshire* (London, 1853), unpaginated. M.S. II was illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VI (1968), pl. 58, reprinted in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 216. M.S. II and V were originally laid down at nearby Biddlesden Abbey in Buckinghamshire and were moved when the abbey was demolished in 1704 (G.P. Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 3 vols. (London, 1847), II, p. 543, III, p. 460).

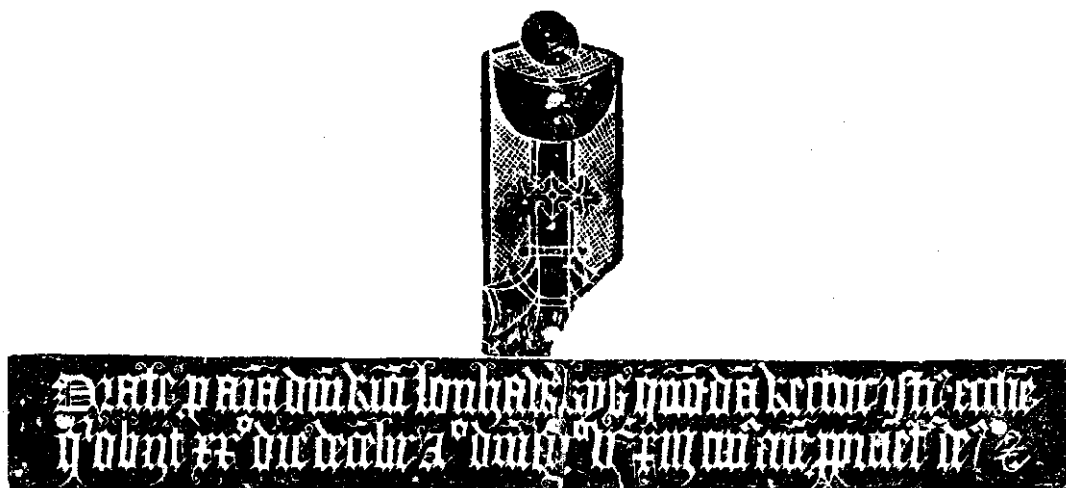


FIG. 20

Surlingham, Norfolk

M.S. II. Inscription and chalice to Richard Louhawkys, rector, 1513

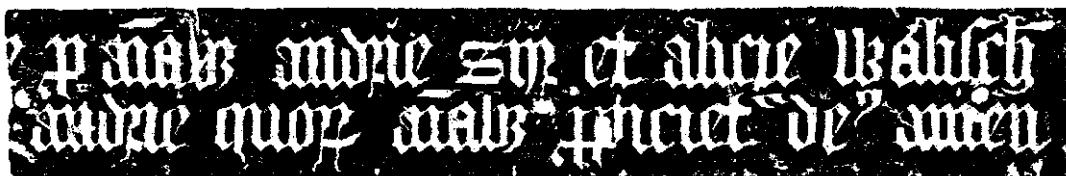
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

FIG. 21

Surlingham, Norfolk

M.S. III. Inscription to Audrie Syr and Alice Walisch, c.1520

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

Latin lines (106 x 920 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 5 rivets) and ten scrolls (55 x 115 mm), and these lie in the original Purbeck slab (2375 x 1325 mm) in the nave. The lower parts of both effigies, five sons, four daughters and six other scrolls are lost. I took up the effigies, inscription and two scrolls. The inscription is engraved on two plates and there is a small plate let into the right part. After cleaning I repaired fractures in the male effigy, re-soldered the small plate in the inscription and fitted new rivets.

M.S. III. Constance Butler, 1499 (Fig. 22). This London F brass, comprising a female effigy (312 x 102 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (75 x 330 mm), lies in the original Purbeck slab (710 x 605 mm) at the east end of the south aisle. The central rivet of the female effigy had sprung and I removed this plate. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

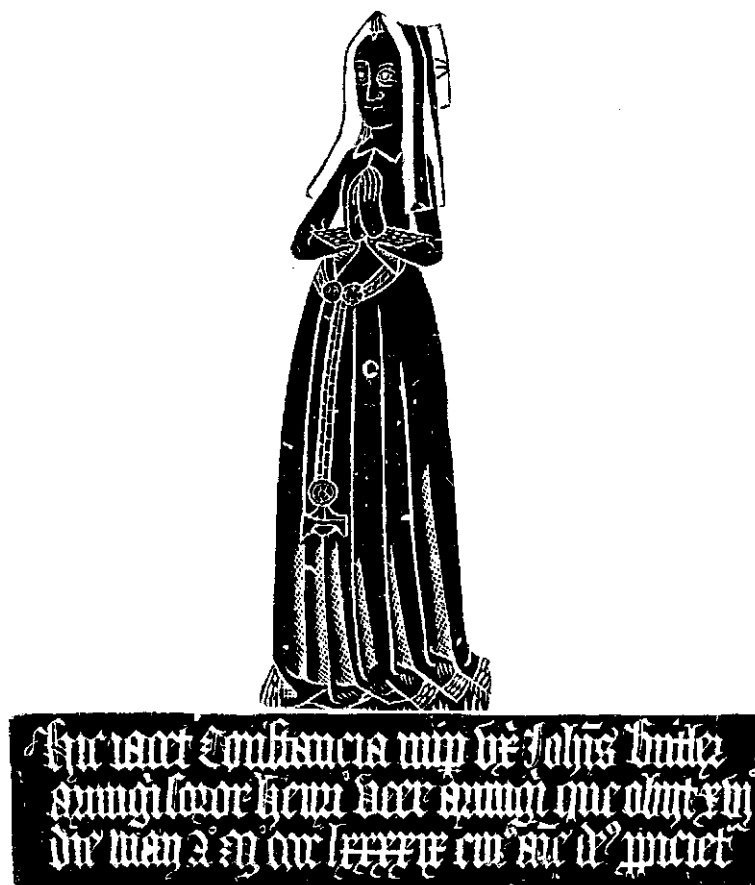


FIG. 22
 Wappenham, Northamptonshire
 M.S. III. Constance Butler, 1499
Rubbing by Jenny Lack

M.S. V. Thomas Lovett and wife Elizabeth, *c.* 1500 (Fig. 23). This London F brass, comprising an armoured effigy (387 x 123 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy (380 x 134 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets), an inscription in two Latin lines and three lead shields (upper left 132 x 111 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 1 rivet; lower left 132 x 112 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 1 rivet; lower right 132 x 111 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 1 rivet), was taken up from its slab (1500 x 690 mm) at the east end of the south aisle. One other shield is lost. There are fractures and “blow holes” at the base of the male effigy and at the right-hand end of the inscription. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the inscription, repaired fractures at the base of the male effigy and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 25 September 2001.



FIG. 23
 Wappenham, Northamptonshire
 M.S.V. Thomas Lovett and wife Elizabeth, c. 1500
Rubbing by William Lack



FIG. 24
 Withybrook, Warwickshire
 M.S. I. Civilian, c. 1520, possibly Richard Wright, 1521
Rubbing by William Lack

WITHYBROOK, WARWICKSHIRE

M.S. I. Civilian, c. 1520, possibly Richard Wright, 1521³¹ (Fig. 24). This Coventry series 3 brass now comprises a civilian effigy (426 x 136 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets) and this had been removed from its slab and mounted on the wall on the south side of the nave.³² On 23 February 2000 I found it be secured by a single nail and removed it from the wall. The plate is very worn and battered and the lower left edge is fractured and jagged. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a Cedar board. The board was mounted on the wall on the south side of the nave on 9 August 2001.

³¹ Sir William Dugdale recorded an inscription in the nave to Richard Wright, 1501, and his wife Elizabeth (*The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, originally published in 1656, 2nd edn. (London, 1765), I, p 216). Dugdale presumably misread the date of 1521; he recorded that Richard Wright was alive in 1518 when he made the purchase of the lordship of Hoppesford with his son Humphrey.

³² The brass originally comprised a male effigy, female effigy, two groups of children and an inscription. By 1886 only the male effigy survived and this still lay in the original slab in the nave (*Birmingham Weekly Post*, 27 Feb. 1886). By 1894 it had been taken up and was recorded as loose (*MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 3, p. 107). In the collection at the Society of Antiquaries there is a rubbing of the effigy which was made in November 1917. An annotation on this rubbing notes that the brass was already 'screwed on the south wall of the nave close to the chancel arch' at that date. The slab appears to be lost. There are two slabs on the floor of the porch. One of these has worn indents for a civilian and wife, inscription and two groups of children but the effigy does not fit this indent and the rivet patterns do not correspond. The second slab has indents which are too worn to decipher accurately.

Portfolio of Small Plates



FIG. 1
Andrew Jonis (Jones) and his wife Elizabeth, c. 1497 (incised slab)
Hereford Cathedral
Photograph: Martin Stuchfield, 20 August 2005

Fig. 1: Andrew Jonis (Jones) and his wife Elizabeth, *c.* 1497 (incised slab), Hereford Cathedral. *Photograph: Martin Stuchfield, 20 August 2005.*

This fine alabaster slab is a well preserved late-fifteenth-century product of the Midlands alabaster workshops. It still retains substantial remains of black mastic infilling to the lines, which enables the intricate design to be seen to advantage. Its position on a tomb-chest in the crypt is undoubtedly original, it having been recorded there by Dingley.¹ Until at least 1381 the crypt had housed an altar to St. Anne, but it subsequently became a charnel house.² As recorded in the inscription on the slab, Jonis restored the chapel to its original function and established a chantry there.

Jonis is shown in a long gown bound at the waist by a narrow belt from which hangs a large gypcière. He rests his feet on a cider barrel, a reference to his trade. His wife wears a horned headdress. Her gown is cut low on the shoulders to reveal the underbodice and is held in at the waist by a girdle with a scalloped-shaped pendant at its hanging end. They stand beneath an elaborate vaulted and embattled double canopy, the central shaft of which is drawn on the diagonal to give a three-dimensional impression. Above the heads of the couple are scrolls with texts in English, presumably specially requested. They read:

*Reme(m)b(er) thy life may not eu(er) i(n)dure
That thou dost þiself therof art þu sewre
But and þu leve þi wil to oth(er) me(n)is cure
A(n) þu have it aft(er) it is but a ve(n)tur.*

The marginal inscription reads: *Hic jacet Andreas Jonis quo(n)dam m(er)cator hui(us) civitatis et Elizabet uxor eius qui hanc domu(m) carniarie diu desolata(m) de nouo re edificauit et repauit erga festu(m) om(nium) s(an)c(t)or(um) anno d(omi)ni MCCCC xcviij. Eciam ad tu(n)c b(e)n(e) et laudability(er) ordinauit capellanum futuris temporibus in eade(m) celebratur p(ro) a(n)i(mabus) benefactori(bu)s praedictis et om(nium) fidelium defu(n)ctorum quor(um) a(n)i(m)ab(us) propicietur deus amen.* (Here lies Andrew Jonis, once merchant of this city, and his wife Elizabeth; he rebuilt and repaved this charnel house which had long been derelict, in time for the feast of All Saints 1497; he also then well and laudably instituted a chaplain to celebrate in ages to come therein for the souls of the aforesaid benefactors and of all the faithful departed, on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.)

The Jonis slab is the finest of the alabaster slabs dating from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries remaining in the county, a number of which are nonetheless of special interest. The earliest is the 1473 example at Stretton Sugwas commemorating Richard Greneway and his wife, Margaret.³ Although nearly twenty-five years separate the production of these two examples and the ladies sport different headdresses, continuity in workshop design is demonstrated by the

¹ T. Dingley, *History from Marble compiled in the Reign of Charles II*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Part 1, Camden Society, 94 (London, 1867), p. cciii.

² G. Aylmer and J. Tiller ed., *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (Hereford, 2000), p. 225.

³ F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), II, fig 119b.

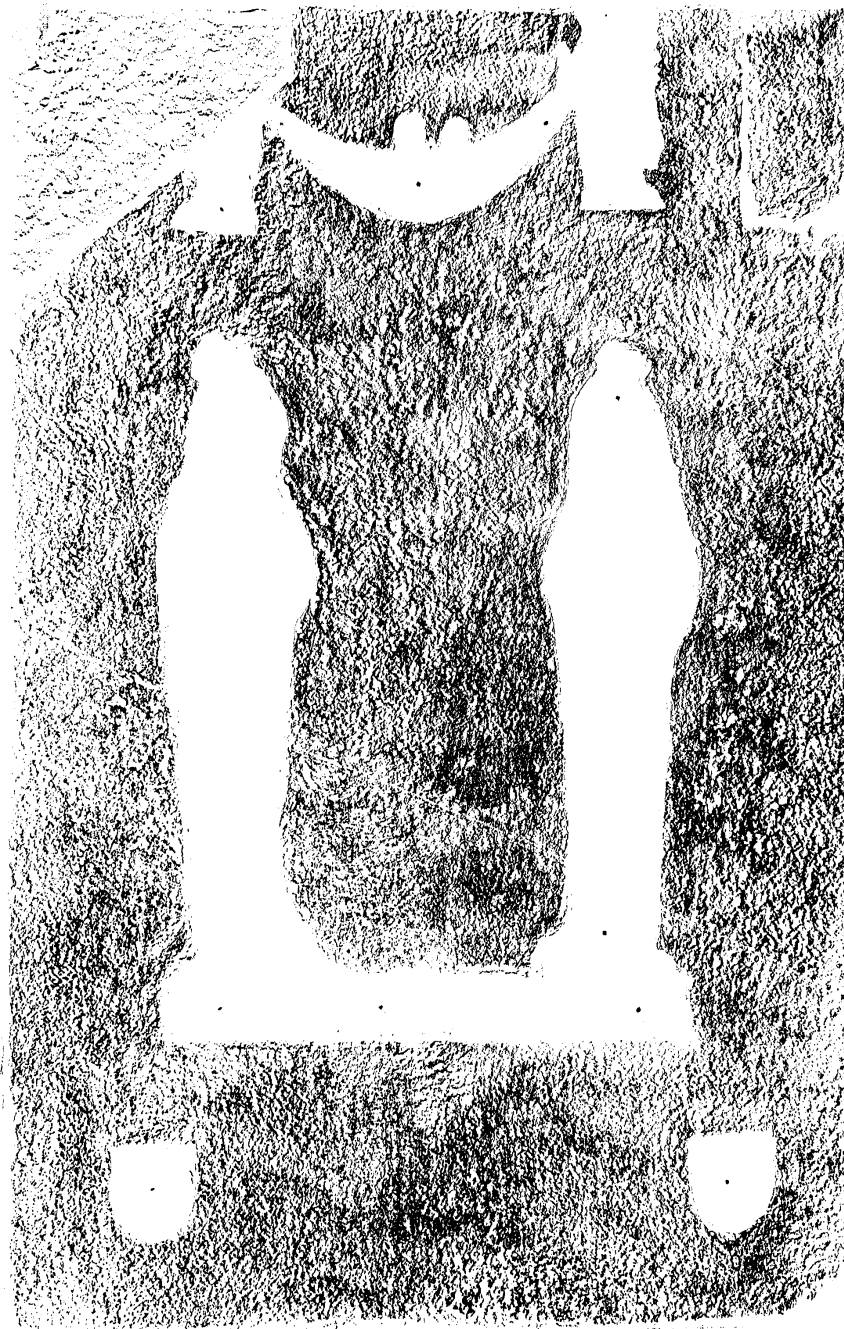


FIG. 2
Indent of double shroud brass, c. 1490-1500
Boston, Lincolnshire
Rubbing by Jane Houghton, 2004

similarity of the slightly naïve drawing of the faces and the details of the canopies. The early-sixteenth-century alabaster slabs in Herefordshire have less appeal in terms of design, but two demonstrate interesting techniques. Examples at Turnastone and Aymestrey date to the same year and have similar figures of knights and ladies under simple canopies. The former, to Thomas Apparri (d. 1522) and his wife Agnes (date of death left blank), has parts of one of the shields and the lady's headdress and cuffs recessed to take black infill.⁴ Even more unusual is the Aymestrey slab commemorating Sir John Lingden (d. 1506) and his wife Elizabeth Burgh (d. 1522); although worn, this example is noteworthy for the figure of the lady, which, instead of being incised, is carved in very low relief.⁵

Sally Badham

Fig. 2: Indent of double shroud brass, *c.* 1490-1500, Boston, Lincolnshire. *Rubbing by Jane Houghton, 2004.*

Cadaver monuments were traditionally regarded as reflecting the morbidity of late medieval society, but it is now recognised that many incorporate resurrection imagery. Most such brasses depict the physical resurrection of all the dead on the Day of Judgement, most famously the 1486 Spryng brass at Lavenham, Suffolk and the 1516 Fettiplace brass at Childrey, Berkshire, on both of which the dead are depicted rising from their coffins. On other examples, including John Brigg's 1454 brass at Salle, Norfolk and that to Robert Brampton, engraved *c.* 1490, at Brampton, Norfolk, the dead are shown casting aside their shrouds.

However, the iconography on this indent at St. Botolph's church, Boston, is a rare example on shroud brasses showing the salvation of the individual soul. The two cadavers, probably commemorating a merchant and his wife, are shown slightly turned towards each other. At the top of the slab is a winding sheet, with the heads of the couple protruding, being carried to heaven by a pair of winged angels. Two shields, perhaps originally bearing merchant's marks, and a foot inscription complete the composition.

Cadaver indents are often difficult to date or assign to a specific workshop. However, this slab is of the spine-bearing oolitic limestone commonly used to set brasses made in Norwich and Boston. The outline of the shrouded figures does not compare closely with any of the dozen surviving Norwich-made cadaver brasses. There are no known shroud brasses of the small Fens 2 series made in Boston in the late fifteenth century, but the clumsy delineation of the angels on the slab at St. Botolph's is reminiscent of this workshop's products, many of which feature religious iconography. Could this unknown Boston couple have turned to their local brass-engraving workshop for their monument?

Sally Badham

⁴ Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, fig. 88a; S. Badham, "'A new feire peynted stone': Medieval English Incised Slabs?", *Church Monuments*, XIX (2004), p. 32, fig. 10.

⁵ I am grateful to Claude Blair for drawing this unusual feature to my attention.

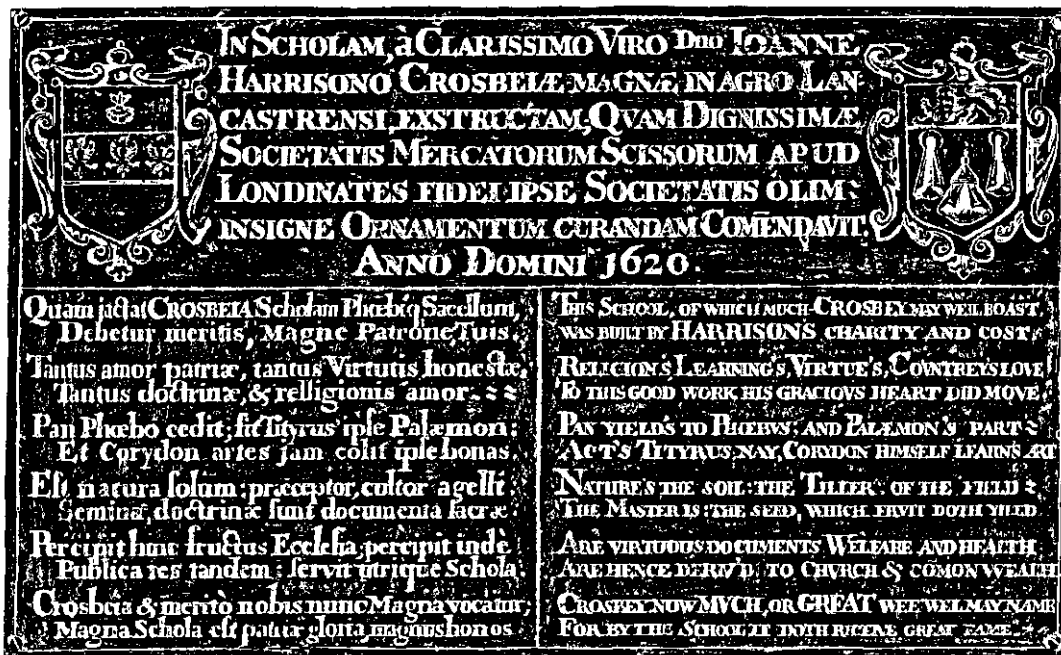


FIG. 3

Harrison benefaction plate, [1655]
 Merchant Taylors' School for Boys, Great Crosby, Lancashire
Rubbing by Patrick Farman

Fig. 3: Benefaction plate with Latin inscription, six Latin and six English couplets, and shields of Harrison and Merchant Taylors' Company, [1655], Merchant Taylors' School for Boys, Great Crosby, Lancashire. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman.*

This brass plate was not listed by Mill Stephenson, and appears not to have been noticed previously by our Society. It commemorates the founding in 1620 of a grammar school for boys at Great Crosby in the parish of Sefton, Lancashire, under the terms of the will of John Harrison, late citizen and merchant taylor. Harrison made the Merchant Taylors' Company the trustees of his benefaction. The brass plate was originally fixed within the porch of the early-seventeenth-century school building (now part of Merchant Taylors' School for Girls), above the front door. It was moved to the new building when the boys' school moved to its present site in 1878. It is still there, screwed to a board in the entrance hall.

The Latin inscription at the top of the plate, the Latin couplets, and their translation into English couplets, were all probably composed by Edward Mollinex, headmaster from 1652 until 1660.

Unusually, we know the name of the engraver of the plate. The accounts of Harrison's Charity, part of the Merchant Taylors' Company archives now at Guildhall Library, record the payment of £3 to a John Goddard in 1654-5 for the 'ingravinge of Mr

Harrisons Armes to be sett up at Crosby schoole in Lancasheere'. This was followed in 1655-6 by a further £4 to Goddard 'in full for engraveing of Mr Harrisons brasse plate for Crosby schoole', plus two shillings for 'portage' to Crosby 'and other things', presumably fixing (London, Guildhall Library, MS 34261).

John Goddard, also a merchant taylor, is known to have engraved various portraits, title pages and book-illustrations, as well as a set of *The Seven Deadly Sins*. One of his best-known works is the portrait of Charles I that formed the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*. He was apprenticed on 17 January 1630/1 to the engraver Robert Vaughan, another merchant taylor, and made free on 4 September 1639.⁶ Vaughan, according to Laurence Worms, 'is known for well over one hundred separate engravings, including over sixty portraits. Through a long career, lasting until after the Restoration, he was one of the most prolific engravers of the period.' By this date the Merchant Taylors had lost most of their direct connection with tailoring, and a number of engravers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to have found the Company a congenial home. The most famous was perhaps William Hogarth, apprenticed through the Company in 1715.⁷

The entrance hall of the present Boys' School also contains a fine Victorian brass with the arms of the Merchant Taylors' Company, commemorating the opening of the building by the Countess of Derby in June 1878. The Company had paid for both the site and the buildings. The Company continued to govern the Boys' School, and also the Girls' School (which it founded in 1888), until 1909.⁸

Stephen Freeth

Fig. 4: Rev. James Worswick, d. 1843, St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne, LSW.I. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman.*

James Worswick, born in Lancaster in 1771, was the nephew of two professors at the English College at Douai, and himself began his studies for the priesthood there, but following the suppression of the College by the French revolutionaries he completed his studies at Crook Hall, Durham. Following his ordination as a priest in 1795 he was appointed to Newcastle where he remained until his death on 7 July 1843.⁹ Together with the future Bishop Riddell he was a leading spirit in the project to build St. Mary's and died during its construction.¹⁰

The brass, designed by Pugin, the architect of St. Mary's Cathedral, and made by John Hardman in 1844, consists of a floriated cross, with the Agnus Dei in the base and

⁶ London, Guildhall Library, MSS 34038/10, p.125; 34017/4.

⁷ For further details, see L. Worms, 'Maps, Prints, Presses and the Merchant Taylors in the Seventeenth Century', *London Topographical Record*, XXVIII (2001), pp. 153-66. On Goddard, see also L. Worms in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004), XXII, pp. 542-3.

⁸ For Crosby School, see H.M. Luft, *A History of Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, 1620-1970* (Liverpool, 1970); this includes a brief mention of this plate and of the payments to John Goddard at pp. 70-1. For the Merchant Taylors' Company, see M Davies and A Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds, 2004).

⁹ J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols. (London, 1885-1902), V, pp. 593-4.

¹⁰ *Saint Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne: A Short Guide* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1998), pp. 3-4.

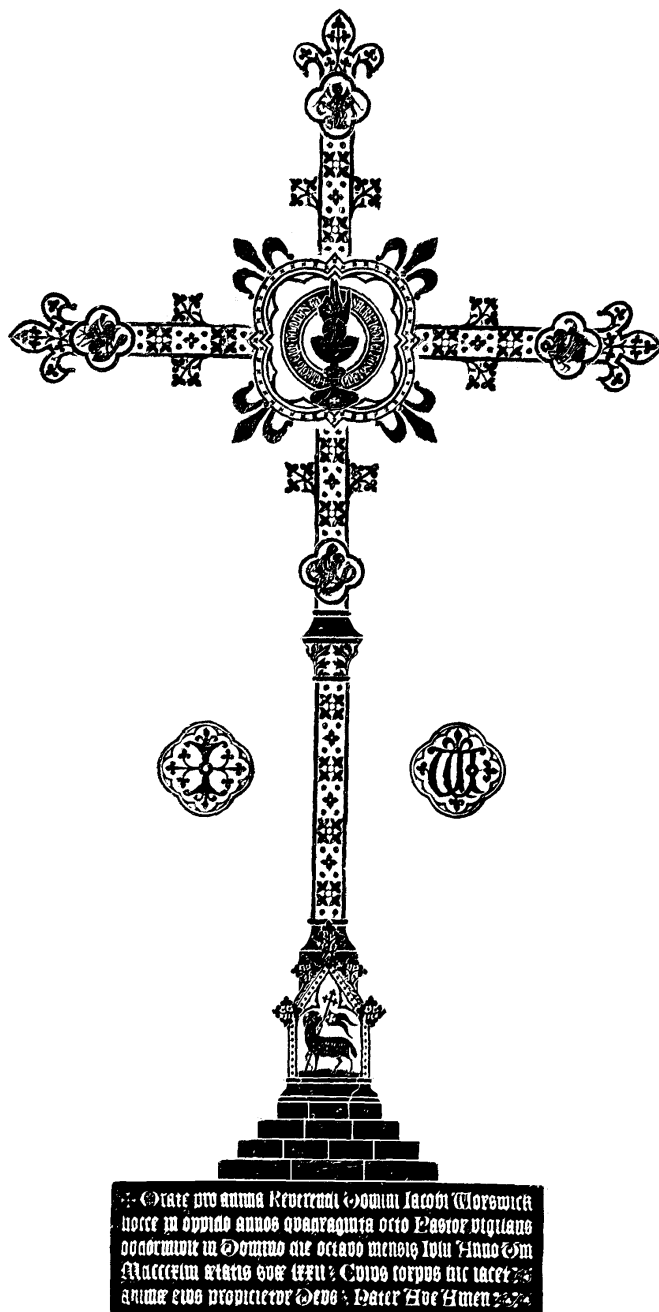


FIG. 4
 James Worswick, d. 1843
 St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne, LSW.I
Rubbing by Patrick Farman



FIG. 5
Bishop William Riddell, d. 1847
St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne, LSW.II
Rubbing by Patrick Farman

Evangelists' Symbols at the ends of the arms.¹¹ At the centre of the cross is a blessing hand, a chalice and host, encircled by an inscription reading (in translation): 'The Lord chose him to offer to Him the sacrifice of praise'. On either side of the cross are quatrefoils bearing the initials I and W. The foot inscription reads (in translation): 'Pray for the soul of the Reverend Mr James Worswick, a watchful shepherd in this town for forty-eight years. He fell asleep in the Lord on the eighth day of the month of July in the year of our Lord 1843, aged 73, whose body lies here. On his soul may God have mercy. Pater. Ave. Amen'. The design is one much favoured by Pugin in the early 1840s. Similar examples are at Kenilworth, Albury and Alton.¹² The brass originally lay in the sanctuary but following the 1983 reordering of the Cathedral it was moved to a position in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, on the north side of the altar.¹³

Peter Hacker and Nicholas Rogers

Fig. 5: Bishop William Riddell, d. 1847, St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne, LSW.II. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman.*

William Riddell was born at Felton Park, Northumberland, on 5 February 1807, the third son of Ralph Riddell. After studying at Stonyhurst and Rome, he was ordained priest in 1830. For a time he was secretary to Cardinal Weld, but in 1832 he moved to Newcastle, to assist Revd. James Worswick. In 1843 he was appointed coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District and consecrated Titular Bishop of Laganania. On 11 August 1847 he succeeded Bishop Mostyn as Vicar Apostolic, but died shortly afterwards, of typhus contracted while visiting the sick during an epidemic, on 2 November 1847.¹⁴ He was buried, together with Fr. William Fletcher, another victim of the typhus epidemic, in a mausoleum on the south side of St. Mary's Cathedral.¹⁵

This brass, like that of James Worswick, was designed by Pugin and made by Hardman in 1849.¹⁶ Bishop Riddell is shown in pontifical vestments under a canopy. The foot inscription reads (in translation): 'The Good Shepherd gives his life for his sheep'. The marginal fillet reads: Pray for the soul of William Riddell, Bishop of Laganania [Longonensis], who died on All Souls Day A.D. 1847, aged 40. On whose soul and the souls of all the faithful departed may God have mercy. Amen.' The brass was originally in the centre of the sanctuary and, like the Worswick brass, was moved to the Blessed Sacrament Chapel after the 1983 reordering.

Peter Hacker and Nicholas Rogers

¹¹ D. Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses* (London, 1991), p. 84. The brass cost £32.

¹² Meara, *Pugin*, figs. 35, 38, 40.

¹³ V. Bartley, 'The Blessed Sacrament Chapel memorial brasses', *Sursum Corda*, 27-28 (Sept. 2004-Feb. 2005), p. 18.

¹⁴ W. Maziere Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland A.D. 1585-1876* (Rome, 1877), pp. 344-6; Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary*, V, pp. 418-19; M. Morris and L. Gooch, *Down Your Aisles: The Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle 1850-2000* (Hartlepool, 2000), pp. 10, 14.

¹⁵ *Saint Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne: A Short Guide*, p. 7; M. Champion, 'The Bishop Riddell Memorial Appeal', *Sursum Corda*, 27-28 (Sept. 2004-Feb. 2005), p. 5.

¹⁶ Meara, *Pugin*, p. 90. The brass cost £70.

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Monumental Brass Society

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