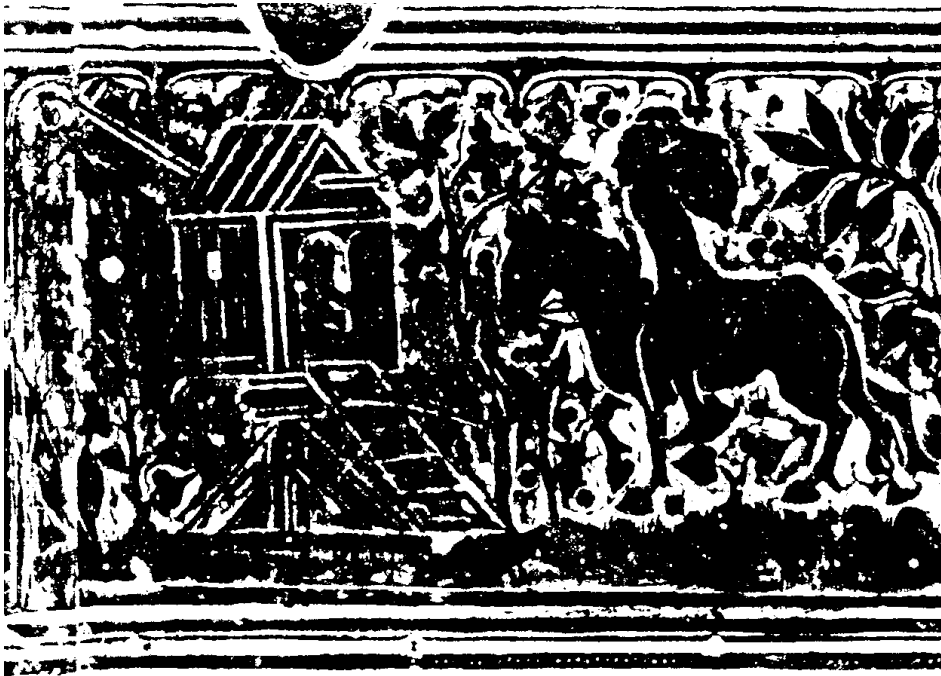


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Cover: Detail from the Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn

# The World of Folly: The Foot-panels of the Walsokne Brass and the Persistence of their Iconography over the Centuries

## Part One

by RONALD VAN BELLE

### *Introduction*

Characteristic of fourteenth-century Flemish brasses is their decoration with fantastic imagery or grotesques and the inclusion of decorative foot-panels. These panels, under the feet of the deceased, show narrative scenes of daily life, games, feasts, hunting activities or episodes from the lives of saints.<sup>1</sup> The panels under the feet of Adam de Walsokne (d. 1349), a wealthy wool-merchant of King's Lynn, and his wife Margaret have attracted the attention of writers.<sup>2</sup> John Sell Cotman confessed that 'the story at their feet is to me perfectly unintelligible'.<sup>3</sup> Cameron published a superb study of the Walsokne brass, including the foot-panels, in which he said 'country scenes of some jollity are shown', but did not provide any interpretation of the deeper meaning of the scenes.<sup>4</sup> He referred to the nice touch of medieval humour on the panel below Adam's feet and considered the scenes beneath the lady's feet as 'various country games ... in progress'. I believe, however, that there is a different, symbolic interpretation for the various scenes.

### *The Humane but Idiotic Sack-bearer*

Under Adam's feet is a panel showing a windmill, with its door open, towards which rides a man on a donkey (or possibly a horse) (Fig. 1a and b). He bears a heavy sack on his back, so as to relieve his beast of its burden! Folk tradition has long enjoyed pinning a reputation for idiotic behaviour on to groups of people; in particular, virtually every European country knows of districts or villages allegedly populated entirely by ninnies. A late-twelfth-century text by a monk of Peterborough, cited by Waller and placed by Malcolm Jones in the folk tradition, attributes to the people of

<sup>1</sup> R. van Belle, 'Woodland Pastimes on the Cortschoof Brass and Other Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 1 (1997), pp. 26-47.

<sup>2</sup> On the Walsokne brass, see J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of the most remarkable of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk* (London, 1819), pp. iii, xxii; J.G. and L.A.B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1864), pls. 11, 12; L. Edwards, 'The Historical and Legendary Background of the Wodehouse and Peacock Feast Motifs in the Walsokne and Braunche Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 7 (1949), pp. 300-11; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, pp. 28-30, II, fig. 31; H.K. Cameron, 'The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXVI (1979), pp. 151-72, esp. pp. 1538, pls. XXXV, XXXVIII, XXXVIII A, XXXIX-XLIV; N. Wilkins, 'The Birds, the Bishop and the Music of Brass', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 3 (1988), p. 213. On the windmill, see J.S.P. Buckland, 'The Walsokne Brass, King's Lynn, 1349, and its Windmill', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 5 (1990), pp. 342-52; M. Jones, 'Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art I: Proverbial Follies and Impossibilities', *Folklore*, C, pt. 2 (1989), pp. 206-7.



FIG. 1a

Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn, left-hand foot-panel  
*Rubbing by Ronald van Belle*



FIG. 1b

Walsokne brass, c. 1349, St. Margaret, King's Lynn, left-hand foot-panel  
*Illustration from Waller*

Norfolk several follies that are, in fact, popular international motifs.<sup>5</sup> By the late Middle Ages, the list of their proverbial follies had been transferred to the people of the Nottinghamshire village of Gotham, and has led to the term ‘Gothamite’ being used for the tales told of all such idiot villagers. Among the stories told at the expense of the men of Norfolk is the following: ‘Ad forum ambulantes diebus singulis, saccum de lolio portant in humeris, jumentis non noceant’ (on the days when they go to market, they carry the sacks of grain on their shoulders, so that their horses should not suffer).<sup>6</sup> The ‘Humane Rider’, to use Malcolm Jones’s name, is found with surprising frequency over much of western Europe over the centuries.<sup>7</sup>



FIG. 2  
Sack-bearer on a donkey, Portail des Libraires, Rouen, 13th century  
*Photograph by Ronald van Belle*

<sup>3</sup> Cotman, *Norfolk*, p. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Cameron, ‘King’s Lynn’, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, ‘Folklore I’, p. 206; M. Jones, ‘The depiction of proverbs in late medieval art’, in *Europhras 88, Phraséologie Contrastive: Actes du Colloque International 12-16 mai 1988*, ed. G. Greciano (Strasbourg, 1989), pp. 212-3. Many of the subjects discussed here are also covered in M. Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2002), which appeared after this article had been submitted for publication.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, ‘Folklore I’, p. 207, citing the ‘Descriptio Norfolciensium’ printed in *Early Mysteries, and Other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1838), pp. 93-8; Cameron, ‘King’s Lynn’, p. 356.

<sup>7</sup> Jones, ‘Folklore I’, p. 207; M. Jones, ‘Proverbial Follies in Late Medieval Art and Literature’, *The Profane Arts/Les Arts Profanes*, V, pt. 1 (1996), pp. 87-90; M. Jones, ‘“Slawpase fro the Myln-Whele”: Seeing between the Lines’, in *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre, Lancaster, 13-19 July, 1989*, ed. M. Twycross (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 242-58.



FIG. 3

Sack-bearer on a donkey, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 78.D.40, f. 143  
 Copyright Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

The sack-bearer motif occurs on the thirteenth-century *Portail des Libraires* in Rouen, though without a windmill (Fig. 2). Similar examples can be found in manuscripts, especially in the fourteenth century. Examples are in the *Saint Graal* written and illuminated by Piérart dou Tielt in Tournai in 1351 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 5218) and an Amiens Missal of 1323 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 78.D.40) (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> A marginal scene in a Book of Hours of c. 1300, possibly made in Maastricht, shows a man on an ass holding the sack on his head instead of his shoulders, thereby underlining the absurdity of the situation.<sup>9</sup> In the Smithfield Decretals, written in Italy but illuminated in England in the 1330s, a woman holds a sack on her head as she walks towards a windmill.<sup>10</sup> There is a possible reference to the idiotic sack-bearer in the *First Shepherds' Play* of the Wakefield Pageants, which was probably already in the repertoire in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The sack-bearer is also depicted on the title-page of a German parodic sermon published in 1524.<sup>12</sup>

The iconography also occurs on a number of pewter badges discovered in the Netherlands. These secular badges were complementary to the huge series of pilgrim badges.<sup>13</sup> The ones with a mill and a man carrying a sack are of various designs.

<sup>8</sup> Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 206 and fn. 83; H. Martin, 'Une caricature du roi Jean (Piérart dou Thielt)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 103 (1909), fig. 20; Jones, 'Slawpase', p. 244.

<sup>9</sup> BL Stowe MS 17, f. 89v (L. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), fig. 696).

<sup>10</sup> BL Royal MS 10 E.IV, f. 70v (Randall, *Images in the Margins*, fig. 698).

<sup>11</sup> Jones, 'Slawpase', pp. 242-3.

<sup>12</sup> Jones, 'Slawpase', p. 244.

<sup>13</sup> H.J.E. van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij, *Heilig en Profaan: 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen*, Rotterdam Papers, 8 (Cothen, 1993), Afb. 577-80. On secular badges see also A.M. Koldeweij, 'Sacred and profane: medieval mass-produced badges', in *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe*, ed. G. de Boe and F. Verhaeghe, Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference, 5 (Zellik, 1997), pp. 135-7; D. Bruna, 'Les enseignes du "Musée de Cluny"', in *ibid.*, pp. 131-4.



FIG. 4  
Pewter badge of a sack-bearer, c. 1375-1425,  
Van Beuningen collection



FIG. 5  
Foolish sack-bearer on a corbel of the 'Vierschaer',  
Mechelen, c. 1375. Copyright ACL

Two of them represent a man, with a sack on his head, riding an ass towards a windmill (Fig. 4).<sup>14</sup> Two other badges, one damaged, show only the farmer with sack on his head riding an ass.<sup>15</sup> These badges, dated 1375-1425, must have been made in large numbers.<sup>16</sup>

A sack-bearer is carved on one of the wooden corbels of the *Vierschaer*, the courtroom of the aldermen in Mechelen (Fig. 5).<sup>17</sup> He is shown as a farmer, a chaperon on his head, holding a sack on his shoulder as he rides a donkey towards a post-mill. Unfortunately the corbel is somewhat damaged. From the city accounts it can be established that these corbels were carved c. 1375-8.<sup>18</sup> The other corbels represent such subjects as Daniel in the lions' den, the sacrifice of Isaac, Samson and the lion, Campaspe riding Aristotle, and two musicians, one playing the bagpipes, the other singing while holding a ladle. It has been suggested that some of these refer to the combat between Virtues and Vices.<sup>19</sup>

In England the foolish sack-bearer is found on a Bristol Cathedral misericord of c. 1520, where it is a woman who is carrying the corn (Fig. 6),<sup>20</sup> on one of the roof-

<sup>14</sup> Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, Afb. 579, 580.

<sup>15</sup> Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, Afb. 577, 578.

<sup>16</sup> Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, p. 248.

<sup>17</sup> H. Coninx, 'Les sculptures de la salle du "Vierschaer" à l'ancienne Maison Echevinale de Malines, actuellement depot des Archives', *Bulletin du Cercle Archéologique et Littéraire de Malines*, X (1900), p. 42, fig. 10; J. Squilbeck, 'Les sculptures de l'ancienne maison échevinale de Malines', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, V (1935), pp. 329-33.

<sup>18</sup> D. Roggen, 'Het Beeldhouwwerk van het Mechelse Schepenhuis', *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, III (1936), p. 87.

<sup>19</sup> Coninx, 'Les sculptures de la salle du "Vierschaer"', pp. 36-50; Squilbeck, 'Les sculptures de l'ancienne maison échevinale de Malines', pp. 329-33.

<sup>20</sup> Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 207; Jones, 'Slawpase', p. 244, fig. 1; G.L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1969), p. 46; for an illustration, see J.C.D. Smith, *Church Woodcarvings: A West Country Study* (Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 31.



FIG. 6  
Sack-bearer on a misericord, Bristol Cathedral, c. 1520  
*Photograph by Ronald van Belle*



FIG. 7  
Sack-bearer on a misericord, Belmonte, Spain  
*Copyright Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Barcelona*



FIG. 8  
Sack-bearer on a misericord formerly in St.-Spire, Corbeil  
*Drawing from Millin's Antiquités Nationales*



FIG. 9  
Sack-bearer on a misericord, Saint-Martin, Champeaux  
*Copyright Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites*

bosses in the cloister of Norwich cathedral, carved c. 1415,<sup>21</sup> and on an early sixteenth-century bench-end at Lyng, Somerset.<sup>22</sup>

A sack-bearer adorns one of the misericords in the collegiate church at Belmonte in Spain, which were made for Cuenca cathedral in 1460 (Fig. 7).<sup>23</sup> The motif was also carved on a misericord in the church of St.-Spire, Corbeil, now destroyed, of which there is a drawing illustrating the description by Millin in his *Antiquités*

<sup>21</sup> For an illustration, see E.W. Tristram, *The Cloister Bosses* (Norwich, 1938), p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> For an illustration, see P.P. Wright, *The Rural Benchends of Somerset* (Amersham, 1983), p. 104, pl. 135.

<sup>23</sup> Jones, 'Proverbial Follies', pp. 88-9; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 207; I. Mateo-Gomez, *Temas profanos en la escultura gòtica española: Las silleras de coro* (Madrid, 1979), p. 27.



*Nationales* (Fig. 8).<sup>24</sup> The other misericords at St.-Spire represented scenes referring at first sight to daily life, such as a shoemaker, a carpenter and a harvester, but a third of them seem to have had a moral content, while others were clearly mocking. Among them was a depiction of a man lying on the ground, as if crushed by the weight of the world resting on his back (a similar scene occurs in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*), rats devouring a globe, a bishop holding a bauble, three jesters, the central one a woman who exposes a breast (probably '*la Mère-sotte*'), and two men playing the game of '*pet-en-gueule*'.<sup>25</sup> Two other surviving French misericords depicting the 'humane rider' are at Saint-Martin, Champeaux, Seine-et-Marne (Fig. 9) and Notre-Dame, La Guerche-de-Bretagne.<sup>26</sup>



FIG. 10

Drawing by Wunder of sack-bearer from 'L'Aventure de Sylvain Bouton - Conte Tourangeau' *Magasin Pittoresque*, 1886

Even in modern times the idiotic sack-bearer retained his fascination. There is an illustration of him by Wunder in Grand-Carteret's *Les Mœurs et la caricature en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Suisse*, published in 1885. The same drawing by Wunder also illustrates the story 'L'Aventure de Sylvain Bouton - Conte Tourangeau', printed in the *Magasin Pittoresque* of 1886 (Fig. 10).<sup>27</sup> The miller Bouton loaded two sacks on his ass. The parish priest rebuked him for his lack of charity towards the poor animal, so

<sup>24</sup> A.L. Millin, *Antiquités Nationales ou Recueil des Monuments* (Paris, 1791), p. 20, fig. XXII.15. See also 'Les miséricordes de Saint Spire à Corbeil', *Magasin Pittoresque* (1834), pp. 148-9; J.F. Champfleury, *Histoire de la Caricature au Moyen Age et sous la Renaissance* (Paris, 1875), p. 240; Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 207.

<sup>25</sup> Millin, *Antiquités Nationales*, fig. XXII.

<sup>26</sup> Jones, 'Folklore I', p. 207; Jones, 'Proverbial Follies', p. 90, fig. 6; J. Messelet, 'La collégiale Saint-Martin de Champeaux', *Bulletin Monumental*, LXXXIX (1925), p. 276; C. Lindahl ed., *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs and Customs* (Santa Barbara, 2000), p. 335 with fig.

<sup>27</sup> J. Girardin, 'L'Aventure de Sylvain Bouton - Conte Tourangeau', *Magasin Pittoresque* (1886), pp. 316-8.

he put the two sacks on his own back, but after a few steps felt exhausted. He argued with his talking donkey: 'Two sacks are too heavy for you, even one is too heavy for me when I need to walk, but once I have mounted on your back I will be able to carry both'. Blanchet the donkey, taking everything on his back, complained loudly that the miller had become too heavy, probably because of an over-large lunch.

### *Conclusion*

Without doubt the humane but idiotic sack-bearer always symbolised the folly of man. From the copious examples cited above it is clear that the humane sack-bearer, in all its diversity, was a very popular and much-appreciated theme of the world upside down in late medieval and early modern Europe.

### *Related Sack-bearers and Windmills*

There are further marginal illustrations involving mills and sack transport.<sup>28</sup> A marginal illustration in the Luttrell Psalter (East Anglia, c. 1340) shows how a sensible farmer transports his sack. He approaches a post mill, whipping his mount, while sitting on a grain sack that serves as a saddle. A miller standing at the entrance of the mill relieves a woman walking up the steps of her heavy burden.<sup>29</sup> A marginal



FIG. 11

Sack-bearers and windmill, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 838, f. 55, late 13th century  
 Photograph by Ronald van Belle

<sup>28</sup> The earliest reference to a windmill in Flanders is a confirmation of 1183 by Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, to the abbey of St.-Winnoksbergen that nobody might possess there, without permission of the abbot, either a watermill (*molendinum aquaticum*) or a windmill (*molendinum quod vento movetur*) (P. Bauters, *Van zadelsteen tot zetelkruier: 2000 jaar molen in Vlaanderen* (Gent, 1998), p. 124). The earliest depiction of a windmill is in an Aristotle, *Meteorologica* of c. 1255 (Cambridge University Library, MS Ec.2.31, f. 130). Other early representations are those in the Windmill Psalter of the 1280s (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.102) and *Le Vieil Rentier* of c. 1290 (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1175).

<sup>29</sup> BL Add. MS 42130, f. 70v (Randall, *Images*, fig. 697).



FIG. 12

Sack-bearer and windmill, Brugge,  
Stadsbibliotheek, MS 251, f. 149  
*Photograph by Ronald van Belle*



FIG. 13

Windmill scene from the *Romance of Alexander*, 1338-44,  
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 264, f. 81  
*Copyright Bodleian Library*

illustration in a martyrology from the abbey of Notre-Dame-des-Prés near Douai, dating from the late thirteenth century, shows a man carrying a heavy sack on his back to a windmill. Behind him a heavily laden donkey approaches whipped by its driver, who holds the animal by the tail (Fig. 11).<sup>30</sup> A *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais from the abbey of Ter Doest near Bruges, dating from c. 1265-75, contains a remarkable series of marginal images. One of them represents a post-mill towards which a man bent under a heavy load is walking (Fig. 12).<sup>31</sup> Among the *bas-de-pages* of the *Romance of Alexander*, illuminated by Jehan de Grise in Tournai between 1338 and 1344 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 264),<sup>32</sup> there are two windmill scenes. On f. 49 a young woman is sitting in front of a windmill while gesticulating with her hands. A young boy with a sack on his shoulders ascends the steps of the windmill. On the right is a horse grazing.<sup>33</sup> On f. 81 a man carries a sack to a post-mill; a boy mounts a horse and brandishes his whip. The door of the mill is open, allowing a glimpse of a sack being filled with meal (Fig. 13).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Randall, *Images*, fig. 699.

<sup>31</sup> *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament: Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de Eeuw*, exhibition catalogue (Brugge, 1981), pp. 121-2, pl. 7.

<sup>32</sup> For a full facsimile of Bodley 264 see *The Romance of Alexander*, ed. M.R. James (Oxford, 1933).

<sup>33</sup> *Romance of Alexander*, ed. James, pp. 17-18.

<sup>34</sup> *Romance of Alexander*, ed. James, p. 26.

Whereas the representation of the idiotic sack-bearer is obviously related to human folly, the views of mills with sack-bearers, human or animal, just seem to reflect scenes of daily life. But is this so? At first sight there is not the slightest link between the marginal scene in the Douai Martyrology and the text, which tells of the torture and execution of Saints Gregory, Lucian and Anastasia under the Emperor Maximianus. But all the other marginal scenes in this martyrology are indeed related to the text, showing either events from the lives of the saints or from relevant biblical texts. So there must be a link, perhaps indirect, between word and image in this case. A clue is provided in the later writings of the Flemish hermit and mystic Jan van Leeuwen.<sup>35</sup> He gives an interesting dialogue between a master Eggaert (Meister Eckhart) and an anonymous layman in which the question is raised of how a simple peasant or craftsman needs to live. The answer, freely translated, reads: 'Thus it behoves the good, righteous peasant and all good artisans to live with patience and acceptance, like the donkey that carries sacks to the mill. The donkey has to carry the heavy sacks all day long and is tired from work; in addition he has to endure sorrow and bad treatment. He has to suffer numerous cracks with the whip and on top of this he receives scarcely any food. Well now, in the same way man ought to endure life patiently just like the donkey that brings sacks to the mill. Even if he had to suffer insult as well as heavy beating, man has to remain entirely patient and not seek revenge.'<sup>36</sup> Similar *exempla* were perhaps already in use in the previous century. This seems to be confirmed by an image in the Rothschild Canticles, a devotional manuscript produced in the region of Thérouanne around 1300. The miniature (f. 10) represents a hermit looking down from his window at a donkey followed by a man holding a whip. A load lies on the ground under the donkey's feet. This illustration has been connected with the account in the *Verba seniorum*, under the rubric '*De humilitate*', of the monk Pastor and his desire to visit the venerable Nestor. At the end of the conversation, Nestor compares the virtuous monk to an ass that never complains, no matter how heavy its burden or afflictions. The elderly monk concludes by citing Psalm 72.23: 'I am become as a beast before thee: and I am always with thee.'<sup>37</sup> The images of the sack-bearing man and the heavily loaded donkey which is being whipped in the Douai Martyrology allude perhaps to the sufferings endured by the three saints. A similar explanation can also be applied to the Bruges *Speculum Doctrinale* and the *Romance of Alexander* where there is also no direct link between image and text. Here, too, an allegorical allusion to the patient endurance of all suffering may be presumed.

<sup>35</sup> Born c. 1314 in Afflighem, Brabant; died 1378 in the monastery of Groenendaal near Brussels.

<sup>36</sup> C.G.N. De Vooys, 'De dialoog van Meester Eggaert en de onbekende leek', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., VII (1910), p. 215; P.J. Meertens, *De Lof van den Boer: Der Boer in de Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche Letterkunde van de Middeleeuwen tot 1880* (Amsterdam, 1942), pp. 16-17; P. Huys, 'De molenaar en de ezel: een laat-middeleeuwse allegorische voorstelling', *Molenecho's*, XVII (1989), p. 172; E. Matt Kavalier, 'Pieter Bruegel's Fall of Icarus and the Noble Peasant', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* (1986), pp. 83-98.

<sup>37</sup> J.F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven, 1990), p. 148, fig. 8. In addition it should be mentioned that Sloth (*Acedia*) was considered one of the deadly sins, and was sometimes represented as a peasant riding a donkey.

*Millers in sayings, proverbs and songs*

Millers had a bad reputation, which lasted for centuries. The peasant taking his wheat to the miller had to rely on the good faith of the latter as to the quantity of flour he received in return for the quantity of wheat he had entrusted for milling. As the miller had a form of monopoly abuses were frequent.<sup>38</sup> Flemish proverbs give an idea of the execrable reputation the millers enjoyed, since they were put on the same level as the most despicable of society, as in the proverb ‘*een woekereer, een meuleneer, een wisseleer, een tolleneer, zijn de vier evangelisten van Lucifer*’ (a usurer, a miller, a money changer, a toll gatherer are the four evangelists of Lucifer).<sup>39</sup> Comparing a miller to a usurer is not very flattering as there were regularly church and other interdicts promulgated against usurers and pawnbrokers. Other proverbs have in the course of time underlined the bad reputation of millers, such as ‘Hundred bakers, hundred millers, hundred tailors, three hundred thieves’, but also ‘All millers are no thieves although they bear the name’.<sup>40</sup> Several other sayings and writings blame millers for their rapacity.<sup>41</sup> They were reproached for withholding too much of the grain as a fee for their milling. A late medieval Flemish song complains: ‘*Den molenaer van den mele, als hi ter molen doet, schept diepe, God weet hoevele, van den edele lantman goet*’ (The miller of the meal, when he operates the mill, draws too deep, God knows only how much, of the noble peasant’s property).<sup>42</sup> In a sixteenth-century Flemish riddle book the author asks: ‘Why does the stork never put its nest on a mill?’ The answer is: ‘Because it would be too worried that the miller would steal its eggs’.<sup>43</sup> The author persists: ‘What is the best of the windmill? It is that the sacks cannot speak, otherwise they would often get the miller into difficulty’.<sup>44</sup>

A fifteenth-century French misericord in the collegiate church of Saint Evroult in Mortain represents a man dressed in a robe with a chaperon and bearing a sack on his back (Fig. 14). He is generally considered to be a monk, but he does not seem to be tonsured.<sup>45</sup> Behind him is a windmill. He is riding backwards on a diabolic

<sup>38</sup> T. Enklaar, *Varende Luyden: Studien over de middeleeuwse Groepen van Onmaatschappelijken in de Nederlanden* (Assen, 1937), p. 61; W. Danckert, *Unehrlche Leute: Die verfeimten Berufe* (Bern, 1963), pp. 128-45; H. van den Bossche, ‘Molenspreekwoorden’, *Molenecho’s* (1991), pp. 35-8; P. Huys, ‘Waarom gaat de ooievaar niet op de molen nesten? (Molenaars in oude volksgezegden)’, *Molenecho’s* (1991), pp. 39-42; P. Bauters, *Vlaamse Molens* (Antwerpen, 1978), p. 100; P. Huys, ‘Molenaars en “Multerrecht”’, *Molenecho’s*, XV (1987), p. 35; A. Bicker Caarten, *De Molen in ons Volksleven* (Leiden, 1958), p. 16. On old proverbs relating to mills and millers, see *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalter*, ed. S. Singer (Berlin, 1999), pp. 256-62.

<sup>39</sup> P.J. Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1856-70), II, p. 96.

<sup>40</sup> Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek*, II, pp. 96, 125; *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, pp. 261-2.

<sup>41</sup> Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek*, II, p. 96; Danckert, *Unehrlche Leute*, pp. 128-30. This reputation lasted even in the 17th century; the poet Constantijn Huygens wrote that if you had to hang all the millers who steal, it would be the end of the profession (C. Huygens, *Koren-Bloemen*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1672), II, p. 120).

<sup>42</sup> G. Kalf, *Het Lied in de Middeleeuwen* (Leiden, 1883), p. 411. In a poem of 1672 the question is raised of why no miller has ever been hanged. The reason is that if you had to hang all who stole, it would be the end of the miller’s profession (Bicker Caarten, *De Molen in ons Volksleven*, p. 16).

<sup>43</sup> *Een Nederlands Raadselboek uit de zestiende eeuw*, ed. W.L. Braekman (Brussel, 1985), pp. 45, 48, quoting ‘*Een nieu Clucht Boecxken ...*’, printed in Antwerp c. 1600, but with a first edition probably of c. 1549.

<sup>44</sup> Kalf, *Lied*, p. 411; Braekman, *Raadselboek*, p. 48.

<sup>45</sup> L. de la Sicotière, ‘Les stalles à l’église de Mortain (Manche)’, *Bulletin Monumental*, V (1839), p. 374. It is also described as such by D. and H. Kraus, *The Hidden World of Misericords* (New York, 1975), p. xii; Champfleury, *Caricature*, pp. 239-40.



FIG. 14

Sack-bearer riding a monster, misericord from Saint-Evrault, Mortain, 15th century

Photograph by Ronald van Belle

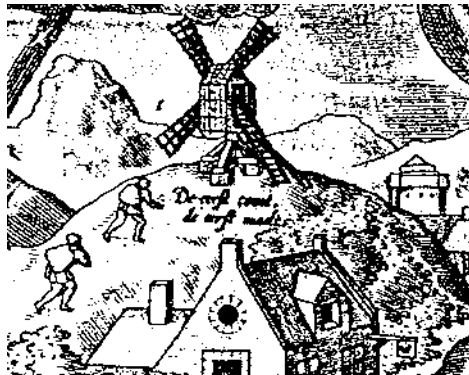


FIG. 15

Sack-bearers walking to a mill, from *De Blauwe Huyck*, engraving by J.A. Doetinchem, 1577

monster, the claws and mouth of which emerge from under his flowing clothes. The backwards rider, in my opinion perhaps a miller, who carries a heavy sack, looks backwards as if fleeing from the windmill in the background, the scene of his crime. The fact that he rides a monster seems to suggest an evil action, perhaps an allusion to the thievishness of millers. By his action he is disturbing the world order.

In a pageant of the Chamber of Rhetoric of Antwerp in 1563 there was, among the many groups, one which showed a hay cart as a satire on the egotism and cupidity of mankind, preceded by a panel criticising millers and other craftsmen: *'Muelders, wevers, cleermakers ist niet sots, hebben gern veel stoffen & luttel beschots'* ('Millers, weavers and tailors, is it not madness, they like to have a lot of goods but what they supply back is much reduced').<sup>46</sup>

Sack-bearers walking to a mill occur in an etching of 1577 by J.A. Doetinchem, depicting Flemish proverbs. Its title, *'De Blauwe Huyck'* ('The blue cloak'), refers to deceit and the vanities of the world. The sack-bearers are in the upper right-hand corner, with the proverb *'de eerst comt de eerst maelt'* ('the one who arrives first will receive the first opportunity to grind his meal'), meaning that the world is for the fast (with a sexual *double entendre*) (Fig. 15).<sup>47</sup>

There are many other Flemish proverbs related to mills and donkeys, such as *'Everybody will have to go to the mill with his sack'*,<sup>48</sup> *'One sees also asses which never bear a sack'*, *'He goes enough to the mill, the one who is sending his ass there'*, *'There are mules who bear asses'* and *'Many a one bears a sack but calls his neighbour an ass'*.<sup>49</sup> Several of these proverbs were already known in the fifteenth

<sup>46</sup> L. Lebeer, *'De Blauwe Huyck'*, *Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, VI (1940), p. 159.

<sup>47</sup> Lebeer, *'Blauwe Huyck'*, pp. 186-7, fig. 171.

<sup>48</sup> Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek*, II, pp. 489-90. Recorded by the late sixteenth century (*Horae Belgicae: Altniederländische Sprichwörter nach der ältesten Sammlung*, ed. A.H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben (Hannover, 1854), p. 30, nr. 478.



FIG. 16

Pewter badge, miller with raised fingers at entrance of mill, 14th century, Van Beuningen collection

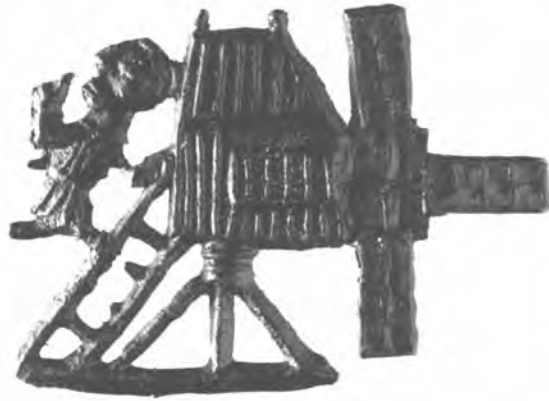


FIG. 17

Pewter badge, miller with raised fingers, 14th century, Van Beuningen collection

and sixteenth centuries, and it is not impossible that some may be linked to the marginal scenes. Mills stood on town walls, at a distance from other craftsmen, or out in the open fields, in order to catch the wind better. Thus the miller lived somewhat on the margin of society, but because of his skill could not be avoided by society.<sup>50</sup> Mills were sometimes used as places of assignation or even as brothels, a further reason to despise millers.<sup>51</sup> Millers had a reputation as womanisers and seducers. The Flemish word ‘malen’ (‘to mill’) also has an erotic connotation, meaning ‘to have intercourse’.<sup>52</sup> Some late medieval Flemish songs gathered in the Antwerp song-book of 1544 allude explicitly to this, such as ‘Miller do you want to mill me’, probably dating from the fifteenth century, which reads: ‘Miller if you want to mill me, so mill my corn well, push a little bit deeper, it makes me feel better, it is not a children’s game, yes it would be great damage if the corn were to be spilled on the field, as it is valuable money’.<sup>53</sup>

The meal-pouch of the miller is sometimes also used in the figurative sense in a sexual connotation, just as many bagpipe representations in marginal illuminations and in literature allude to the phallus.<sup>54</sup> Some secular badges of a similar type to

<sup>49</sup> Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek*, II, pp. 95, 189.

<sup>50</sup> Danckert, *Unehrliche Leute*, p. 129; Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, p. 255.

<sup>51</sup> Danckert, *Unehrliche Leute*, pp. 130-4. On gossip, see also the proverb ‘Het is molengerucht’ (It is a mill rumour) (Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek*, I, p. 95). See also Kalf, *Lied*, pp. 410-13; R. van Daele, ‘Die burse al sonder naet’, in *Literatuur en Erotiek*, ed. R. van Daele et al. (Leuven, 1993), p. 43.

<sup>52</sup> E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnederlands Woordenboek* (s-Gravenhage, 1885-1941), p. 1061.

<sup>53</sup> *Antwerper Liederbuch vom Jahre 1544*, ed. A.H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben (Hannover, 1855), pp. 271-2; Van Daele, ‘Die burse al sonder niet’, p. 44.

<sup>54</sup> Kalf, *Lied*, p. 411; Van Daele, ‘Die burse al sonder niet’, pp. 43-4. In several songs in the Antwerp song-book reference is made to the meal-pouch (e.g. *Antwerper Liederbuch*, pp. 73, 74). On the bagpipe, see also J. Gagne, ‘L’Erotisme dans la musique médiévale’, in *L’Erotisme au Moyen Age*, ed. B. Roy (Montreal, 1977), p. 91; E.A. Block, ‘Chaucer’s Millers and their Bagpipes’, *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), pp. 239-43; Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, p. 293.

those mentioned above show just a windmill with the miller at the door or on the steps raising fingers in the air (Figs. 16, 17).<sup>55</sup> The lifted fingers of millers on these badges raise some questions. Could they have an erotic connotation?<sup>56</sup> It must be remembered that a significant number of secular badges are explicitly erotic.<sup>57</sup> It is, in my opinion, probable that the fingers are raised in a mocking sign called the 'fig gesture' (in Italian '*fica*' and in German '*feige*'). This gesture, perhaps one of the most common in western Europe, possesses an obscene significance derived from its being often considered as a visual metaphor of the sex act.<sup>58</sup> Mocking signs or obscene gestures occur in large numbers as amulets and are often depicted in the Mocking of Christ.<sup>59</sup> It is clear that there is not one single explanation for representations of mills, millers and sack-bearers, but that, depending on the context, different interpretations can be given. Ambiguity and a diversity of meanings are often characteristic of late medieval art, especially when there is an erotic content.

### *Mills in the work of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*

The negative image of millers is also reflected in the work of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, notably in his etchings. In a drawing of 1557 and the corresponding engraving, entitled *Gula* (Gluttony), one of the series of Seven Deadly Sins of 1558, there is, on the right-hand side of the engraving, a mill in the form of a man's face, one eye replaced by a window and with an all-devouring mouth (Fig. 18).<sup>60</sup> Men bring corn sacks to the mouth, and still more sacks lie outside ready to satisfy the insatiable appetite of the 'man-mill'. The owl on top of the mill suggests lechery, deceit and folly.<sup>61</sup> Through the left ear of the 'man-mill' is a stake with a can, a typical symbol of lechery.<sup>62</sup> There is no doubt that this scene is a satirical allusion to the rapacity of millers and the link between lechery and mills.

In the engraving entitled 'The Misanthrope', from the series of 'Twelve Flemish Proverbs', by Jan Wierix after a painting by Pieter Bruegel, the philosopher-misanthrope, who complains that the world is full of fraud, is shown being robbed by

<sup>55</sup> Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, Afb. 582-4.

<sup>56</sup> On obscene gestures, see L. Hansmann and L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Amulett und Talisman: Erscheinungsform und Geschichte* (München, 1966), pp. 204-7; P.F. Moxey, 'Pieter Bruegel and the Feast of Fools', *Art Bulletin*, LXIV (1982), p. 640; R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1993). Jones, 'Slawpase', p. 244 and fn. 26, sees in it a form of self-derision.

<sup>57</sup> M. Jones, 'The secular badges', in Van Beuningen and Koldewey, *Heilig en Profaan*, pp. 99-109. See also A.M. Koldewey, ' Erotische insignes en een Roman de la Rose-handschrift', in *ibid.*, pp. 110-114.

<sup>58</sup> Hansmann and Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Amulett und Talisman*, pp. 203-7, Abb. 634-56; W.L. Hildburgh, 'Images of the human hand as amulets in Spain', *Jnl of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII (1955), pp. 67-89; Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, pp. 197-201; L. Röhrich, *Das große Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 1991-2), I, pp. 427-30.

<sup>59</sup> Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, pp. 199-202.

<sup>60</sup> Champfleury, *Histoire de la Caricature*, pp. 240-1; R. Marijnissen, *Bruegel: Het volledige oeuvre* (Antwerpen, 1988), p. 92.

<sup>61</sup> The owl is an important symbol in Bosch's works and also occurs in Bruegel's *oeuvre*. On the symbolism of the owl, see P. Vandenbroeck, 'Jheronimus Bosch zogenaamde Tuin der Lusten I', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1989), pp. 95-128.

<sup>62</sup> D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch* (Den Haag, 1949), p. 158; H.W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952), pp. 123, 127, 166, 178.





FIG. 18  
‘Man-mill’, detail from *Gala*, engraving after  
Pieter Bruegel, 1558



FIG. 19  
*The Misanthrope*  
engraving by Jan Wierix after Pieter Bruegel

the world (Fig. 19).<sup>63</sup> Travellers are attacked and despoiled of their possessions. On the left a man is carrying a corn sack into a mill. The inscription round the edge reads: ‘+ *De sulck draecht rou om dat de weerelt is onghetrou, Die meeste ghebruijcken minst recht en reden, Weijnich leefster nou also hij leven sou, Men rooft men treckt elck steeckt vol gheueijsde seden*’, which can be translated freely as ‘This one is in mourning because of the untrustworthiness of the world, Most use no right or reason, Few live as they ought to live, Some rob, some take, everybody is full of hypocritical manners’. The mill is chosen by the artist as representative of the deceit of the world in general.

### *Riding the Stang and other Rides*

#### *The Walsokne stang rider and humiliating rides*

Next to the mill scene is another country scene. Through a field of wheat a man is riding the stang to the amusement of two fashionably dressed men standing by (Fig. 1a, b). This scene is probably an example of punishment by ridicule, which was very widely used in medieval and even early modern Europe.<sup>64</sup> One type was the mock ride with ‘charivari’ or ‘rough music’, which was a noisy, often masked demonstration, organised by companies of youngsters to humiliate some wrongdoer

<sup>63</sup> Marijnissen, *Bruegel*, pp. 360-4. The engraving is based on the ‘Misanthrope’ painting of 1568, now in the Museo Nazionale Capodimonte, Naples.

<sup>64</sup> R. Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil’, *Viator*, IV (1973), pp. 153-76; M. Jones, ‘Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art II: Sexist Satire and Popular Punishments’, *Folklore*, CI (1990), p. 75.

in the community.<sup>65</sup> Another was riding backwards, a punishment that is attested in a wide variety of contexts. It was often imposed in the fourteenth century on men who showed cowardice and particularly on husbands whose wives used to beat them.<sup>66</sup> Over the centuries this mock punishment was imposed for a great variety of reasons, on such people as adulterers, impostors, quack physicians, incontinent widows, brutal husbands or lewd women.<sup>67</sup> Despite church condemnation 'rough music' remained popular even into the twentieth century.<sup>68</sup> The humiliating ride could be on an animal such a donkey, horse, ram or pig, on a stang or wooden pole, on a wooden horse or in a cart.<sup>69</sup> The French '*sociétés joyeuses*' or 'abbeys of misrule' as they called themselves made liberal use of such punishments, acting like courts and applying their mock jurisdiction.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> C. Du Cange defines 'charivari' as an activity full of noise and shouting related mainly to a second wedding. He also notes occurrences in 1337, where reference is made to the use of a mask, and in 1365, as a punishment for concubinage (C. Du Cange, *Glossarium novum ad scriptores mediæ ævi* ..., ed. P. Carpentier, 4 vols. (Paris, 1766), I, col. 923). See also the international colloquium held in Paris in 1977, the proceedings of which, with extensive bibliography, were published in *'Le Charivari': Actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris (25-27 avril 1977) par l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et le Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique*, ed. J. Le Goff and C. Schmitt (Paris, 1981). See also V. Alford, 'Rough Music or Charivari', *Folklore*, LXX (1959), pp. 505-18; E.P. Thompson, "'Rough Music": le charivari anglais', *Annales Economies Sociétés*, II (1972), pp. 285-312; N.Z. Davis, 'The reasons of misrule: youth groups and charivaris in sixteenth-century France', *Past and Present*, L (1970), p. 42; L. Stock, 'Charivari', in *Medieval Folklore*, ed. Lindahl, pp. 159-62; R. Pinon, 'Les noms du Charivari en Wallonie et accessoirement en Picardie', *Annales du Cercle Royal d'Histoire et d'Archéologie d'Ath et de la région et musées Athois*, XLIX (1982-83), pp. 365-417; M. Ingram, 'Ridings, rough music and the "Reform of popular culture" in early modern England', *Past and Present*, CV (1985), pp. 79-113; E.K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford 1903), p. 153. On Dutch publications concerning 'Charivari' see the special issue *Charivari in de Nederlanden: Rituele sancties op deviant gedrag*, ed. G. Rooijakkers and T. Romme, *Volkskundig Bulletin*, XV, pt. 3 (Oct. 1989), as well as W.L. Braekman, *Spel en kwel in vroeger Tijd: Verkenningen van charivari, exorcisme, toernij, spot en spel in Vlaanderen* (Gent, 1990); M. Jacobs, 'Charivari en volksgerichten: Sleutelfenomenen voor sociale geschiedenis', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, XII (1986), pp. 389-92; M. Sacre and A. De Cort, *Volksspelen en Volksvermaken in Vlaams-België* (Merchtem, 1925), p. 180; A. Blok, 'Charivari's als purificatie ritueel', in *Charivari in de Nederlanden*, p. 266; T. Poedt, 'Mahomeds en Ketelmuziek', *De Brabantse Folklore*, V, no. 29 (1926), pp. 193-9; M. Grindberg, 'Charivaris au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance', in *'Le Charivari'*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, pp. 141-7.

<sup>66</sup> Davis, 'The reasons of misrule', p. 45; Jones, 'Folklore II', p. 75.  
<sup>67</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, p. 153; Thompson, 'Charivari anglais', pp. 293-5; P. De Win, *De schandstraffen in het wereldlijk strafrecht in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden van de Middeleeuwen tot de Franse tijd bestudeerd in Europees perspectief* (Brussel, 1991), p. 36; Mellinkoff, 'Riding Backwards', p. 175.

<sup>68</sup> F. Lebrun, 'Le charivari à travers les condamnations des autorités ecclésiastiques en France du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *'Le Charivari'*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, pp. 221-8; Thompson, 'Charivari anglais', p. 293; Grindberg, 'Charivaris', in *'Le Charivari'*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, p. 141.

<sup>69</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, pp. 152-3; M. Ingram, 'Le charivari dans l'Angleterre du XVI<sup>e</sup> et du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *'Le Charivari'*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, p. 253; N.Z. Davis, *Les cultures du peuple rituels, savoirs et résistances au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1971), pp. 168, 180, 228, 320. R. Vaultier, *Le Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans d'après les Lettres de Rémission du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris, 1965), p. 40, mentions a quarrelsome couple in Senlis in 1376 who were each made to ride an ass. He cites other instances of this punishment, including a case in 1393 in Sainte-Marie-des-Champs where a man was asked to ride backwards on a donkey while shouting that it was in fact his neighbour who was beaten by his wife (pp. 40-1). On the ride in a cart, the exposure of a puppet and the donkey ride in modern times in Belgium, see J. Vandereuse, 'La promenade infamante sur une âne', *Folklore Brabançon*, XXIX (April 1926), pp. 169-80; J. Vandereuse, 'La promenade infamante sur une âne', *Folklore Brabançon*, IC-C (Dec. 1937), pp. 271-2; Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, pp. 39-50. In seventeenth-century Ghent the wooden horse was used for adulterers, wholes and criminals (L. Lievevrouw-Coopman, 'Het Scherp Examen: Een Bladzijde uit de Geschiedenis van het Oud Strafrecht te Gent', *Oostvlaamse Zanten*, XVI (1941), pp. 15-62; M. Jacobs, 'Charivari: Aanzet tot interdisciplinaire studie van volksgerichten in Vlaanderen', *Oostvlaamse Zanten*, LXI, nr. 2 (1986), pp. 85-7. On such rides, see also Jacobs, 'Charivari en volksgerichten', p. 382; De Win, 'Schandstraffen', pp. 180-5; C.R.B. Barrett, "'Riding Skimmington" and "Riding the Stang"', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, I (1895), pp. 59-68. For an illustration of a backwards ride on a ram, see Mellinkoff, 'Riding Backwards', pp. 168-9.

<sup>70</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, p. 153; Davis, 'The reasons of misrule', p. 43; M. Grindberg, 'Carnaval et société urbaine XIV-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles: Le royaume dans la ville', *Ethnologie française*, IV, pt. 3 (1974), pp. 215-44; H. Pleij, 'Volksfeest in toneel in de middeleeuwen I', *Revisor*, IV (1977), pp. 326, 333, fn. 45, 46, 47; Davis, *Les Cultures*, pp. 162-8.

*Riding the ass and riding backwards*

Riding the ass and riding backwards are persistent elements in the folk tradition of Europe and western Asia.<sup>71</sup> It is a theme of humiliation and a symbol of evil.<sup>72</sup> It was linked to the previously mentioned ‘charivari’, often associated with beaten husbands or second marriages, the reason here being resentment at the inappropriate removal of someone from the pool of eligible young people by an older widow or widower.<sup>73</sup> The donkey ride was also a widely applied punishment for prostitutes, pimps, procuresses, and also for husband- and wife-beaters, adulterers and scolds.<sup>74</sup> In antiquity the penalty for adultery could vary from death to all kinds of mutilation including castration, branding or simply the payment of a fine as well as other forms of humiliation.<sup>75</sup> One of these was riding naked on a donkey, which is attested around the ancient Greek world, as for instance in Lepreon in Triphylia, the Aeolian city of Cyme and Pisidia in Asia Minor.<sup>76</sup> Plutarch wrote about the donkey ride for adulterous women and the exposure of adulterers.<sup>77</sup> In medieval times a much applied humiliating punishment was that of the backwards ride where the culprit was seated on a donkey or horse so as to face the horse’s tail, which was sometimes held in the hand.<sup>78</sup>

The first reference to riding backwards comes from eighth-century Constantinople, but its use is probably older. Pope Gregory V imposed this punishment *c.* 998 on anti-pope John XVI.<sup>79</sup> The anti-pope, who was made to wear his clothes inside out, had to face the tail of the donkey he was riding. According to legend, a similar donkey ride was imposed upon the wife of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in Milan.<sup>80</sup> The proliferation of the motif in art from the thirteenth century onwards parallels the increase in secular themes in the same period. In the upper margin of a French manuscript of *c.* 1280 an irreverent artist has placed a mitred figure seated backwards on an ass, the tail of which he holds up, perhaps an allusion to the humiliating ride (or possibly a representation of the ‘fool-bishop’ of

<sup>71</sup> The backwards ride is also known in Turkey, where it is the subject of popular stories (Jones, ‘Folklore II’, p. 75). Vandereuse, ‘La promenade infâmante’ (1937), pp. 271-2, mentions a backwards ride on a camel in India, citing Abou Haso, *Les plus beaux contes* (Paris, n.d.), p. 23. For another backwards ride on a camel, see Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, p. 155. In one of the tales from the *Thousand and One Nights*, a Jew who wanted to convert a Muslim is put backwards on a donkey (Braekman, *Spel en kavel*, p. 40).

<sup>72</sup> Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, pp. 153-76.

<sup>73</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326; A. van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*, I (Paris, 1943), pp. 247, 583-648; Davis, ‘The reasons of misrule’, pp. 52-3; Davis, *Les cultures*, pp. 162-8.

<sup>74</sup> Ingram, ‘Ridings’, pp. 92-3; Thompson, ‘Charivari anglais’, p. 295; De Win, ‘Schandstraffen’, pp. 36-9; Braekman, *Spel en kavel*, pp. 39-50; Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, pp. 163-4.

<sup>75</sup> P. Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’Adultère et les courses à corps nus’, *L’Ethnographie*, XXXI (1935), pp. 7-36. On ‘virilia amputata’ in cases of adultery, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326.

<sup>76</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’Adultère’, pp. 19-21; P. Schmitt-Pantel, ‘L’âne, l’adultère et la cité’, in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, pp. 117-22; Vandereuse, ‘La promenade infâmante’ (1926), p. 177.

<sup>77</sup> Vandereuse, ‘La promenade infâmante’ (1926), p. 177; Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’Adultère’, p. 19.

<sup>78</sup> The donkey was considered as a stupid, ignorant and lazy animal and was also a symbol of the sinning and lustful man (De Win, ‘Schandstraffen’, pp. 36-9). Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326 gives several examples of backward-facing riders.

<sup>79</sup> M. Boiteux, ‘Dérision et deviance à propos de quelques coutumes romaines’, in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, pp. 238-50; Braekman, *Spel en kavel*, p. 40. For other examples see also Jones, ‘Folklore II’, p. 76; Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, pp. 154-5.

<sup>80</sup> Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, p. 155; Braekman, *Spel en kavel*, p. 40.



FIG. 20

Bishop seated backwards on a donkey

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carnival festivities) (Fig. 20).<sup>81</sup> English medieval misericords from the fourteenth century onwards, at Wells, Hereford and Bristol provide examples of backwards rides. [To these can be added the naked man riding backwards on a donkey in the recently discovered Macclesfield Psalter. *Ed.*]<sup>82</sup> A continental example of the fifteenth century is at Aarschot, where a Jew, easily recognisable by his hat, is sitting backwards on a hybrid monster, rather than a donkey, symbolising evil.<sup>83</sup>

In 1387 in the city of Amiens the prince of fools was elected as usual around Christmas by the young citizens. Fools hooded and dressed in green and yellow served as a mock court. Six jesters, riding backwards on asses while holding their tails, escorted the pageant. The fools mocked their fellow townsmen: for instance, grocers for selling fake wax or cinnamon without taste, quack doctors, and above all deceived or beaten husbands. These fools also had the privilege of organising charivaris.<sup>84</sup> A document of 1362 mentions that youngsters threatened a fiancé that they would organise a ‘chalivalie’ if they did not receive some money because his future bride had been married twice; it ended in a general scuffle.<sup>85</sup> In 1475 in Harfleur youngsters are said to have organised rough music for Pierre Daron and his new wife, as she was a widow. Pierre, angered, drew his sword.<sup>86</sup> Often there was a friendly settlement in the form of wine or money but in some cases the charivari

<sup>81</sup> Jones, ‘Folklore II’, p. 76; Randall, *Images*, fig. 87.

<sup>82</sup> Illustrated in S. Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 17).

<sup>83</sup> L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique, fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande* (Paris, 1910), p. 151 with fig.; Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, p. 172, fig. 14; C. Grössinger, *The World Upside-Down: English Misericords* (London, 1997), figs. 7 (Bristol), 55 (Wells), 56, 57 (Hereford); Jones, ‘Folklore II’, pp. 75-6.

<sup>84</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 91.

<sup>85</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 30.

<sup>86</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 30.

ended in a straight battle and even manslaughter. In 1417 some villains started rough music in front of the home of a fiancée. Her father protested as she was a virgin and had never been married before. In the ensuing quarrel the father administered a fatal blow to one of the villains.<sup>87</sup> From the above documents it can be deduced that charivari was mainly intended for second marriages, long disapproved of by society. Prostitutes, who exercised their profession publicly, were sometimes condemned to ride an ass through the streets of the city, their faces turned to the animal's tail.<sup>88</sup> The seventeenth-century jurist Simon van Leeuwen in his work on criminal procedure mentioned that the backwards ride was applied for adultery in the cities of the northern Netherlands. The culprit bore a mitre on his head (probably with an explanatory text) and a distaff for the men or a wooden gavel for the women. They were walked through the city and banished from the country.<sup>89</sup> In 1376 in Senlis a quarrelsome couple expressed their fear 'to be forced to mount the donkey the face turned to the tail' and as such to be dishonoured forever.<sup>90</sup> In 1393 in Vernon-sur-Seine, France, Jehanne had beaten her husband Guillaume du Jardin as a result of gossip; villagers decided that Vincent, the closest neighbour, should ride the ass through the village and make penitence in the name of the beaten husband.<sup>91</sup> But the neighbour, who was a friend of the couple, refused, arguing that it was bad to defame them. So a bystander took an ass from the said Vincent and riding it with his face turned to the tail through the village shouted loudly that it was for the husband the wife had beaten. The dispute ended in court. In 1404 in Cocherel, Eure, France, the men of the village went to a neighbouring village to acquire a donkey in order to organise a ride for a beaten husband as they used to do with husbands beaten by their wives.<sup>92</sup> In 1417 in the town of Marennes a man, more brave outside than at home, threatened another man that, if he found him, he would rip him open with a knife and pull his guts out because he had openly said that his wife had beaten him and that he should ride the donkey.<sup>93</sup> There is a full account of the '*chevauchée*' of a tanner in Lyon in 1517 after 'good and serious inquiry' because he was beating his wife.<sup>94</sup> In 1594 the '*suppôts du seigneur de la coquille*' ('the agents of the lord of the misprint'), an association of printers, requested the authorities for permission to continue their public activities, their preferred exercise being the backwards walk on a donkey of beaten husbands.<sup>95</sup>

Petit de Julleville refers to two publications about 'rides' in the city of Lyon, one of 1566 and one of 1578, entitled '*Recueil de la chevauchée faicte en la ville de Lyon le dix-*

<sup>87</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 31-3.

<sup>88</sup> C. Gaignebet, *Le Folklore obscene des enfants* (Paris, 1974), p. 53.

<sup>89</sup> J.B. Canaert, *Bijdragen tot het oude Strafrecht in België* (Brussel, 1829), p. 150.

<sup>90</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 40.

<sup>91</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326; Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 40-1; Vandereuse, 'Promenade infamante' (1926), p. 180.

<sup>92</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326; Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 41.

<sup>93</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326; Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 41.

<sup>94</sup> Vandereuse, 'Promenade infamante' (1926), p. 178; Davis, 'The reasons of misrule', p. 65.

<sup>95</sup> L. Petit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1885), p. 243.



FIG. 21

Parade on an ass of a husband beaten by his wife, from Claude Noiret  
*L'origine des Masques ... et Charivary* (Langres, 1609)

*septième de novembre 1578, avec tout l'ordre tenu en icelle*, recounting the promenading of more than twenty-four husbands.<sup>96</sup> There was also a comedy written in 1579 mocking Hélié du Tillet, Master of the waterways and forests of France, which refers to donkey rides since the Master used to be beaten by his wife.<sup>97</sup> Noiret speaks in 1609 about the 'disgraceful' backwards ride as still applied in many regions of France (Fig. 21).<sup>98</sup> The backwards ride of the husband beating his wife is attested in Gastel, Brabant and other places in present-day Belgium during the seventeenth century and in 1700 in Dijon.<sup>99</sup> This custom of the mock ride of the beaten husband lasted in France until the end of the nineteenth century as is attested in Santerre where it was applied to people who were the subject of scandal.<sup>100</sup> The culprit or his accomplice was seized, bared to his shirt and placed head to tail on a donkey and taken for a burlesque walk through the streets of the village. Obscene songs were composed for the occasion.<sup>101</sup> In the north of France during the month of August there was the feast of the '*Durmenés*' ('hard ruled') where the beaten husbands were taken for a ride through the village on asses conducted by their wives and preceded by a band and young boys.<sup>102</sup> In the south-west of France this ride was called

<sup>96</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens*, pp. 244-58; Davis, 'The reasons of misrule', p. 45.

<sup>97</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens*, pp. 209-14.

<sup>98</sup> C. Noiret, *L'Origine des Masques* (Langres, 1609), in Petit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens*, pp. 207-9.

<sup>99</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens*, pp. 206-7; L. Destrait, 'Moeurs et coutume aux XVme et XVIe siècles', *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Soignies*, XV (1995), pp. 104-5.

<sup>100</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens*, pp. 244, 258.

<sup>101</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 42. See also R. Trexler, 'Correre la terra: Collective Insults in the Later Middle Ages', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Age*, XCVI (1984), pp. 888-9.

<sup>102</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 42; Vandereuse, 'Promenade infamante' (1926), pp. 173-85 with fig.; A. van Gennep, *Le Folklore de la Flandre et du Hainaut Français* (Paris, 1935), I, pp. 98-100; Brackman, *Spel en kwel*, pp. 40-3.

‘*assouade*’.<sup>103</sup> Arnold van Gennep, in his remarkable work about folklore in French Flanders and Hainaut, gives several examples of riding the ass, sometimes backwards, in those regions.<sup>104</sup> In short, riding an animal backwards has been one of the most widespread and persistent elements in the folk tradition of Europe and western Asia since antiquity.<sup>105</sup>

*The naked race and other forms of humiliating exposure*

The statutes of Dauphiné of 1164 and other *coutumiers* or ‘records of customs’ mention that a person caught in adultery should be exhibited naked or pay a fine of 60 sous.<sup>106</sup> In Agen the condemned adulterers walked through the city tied to each other and had to pay a fine. Article 20 of the customs of Clermont-Dessus of 1262 specify that the culprits will have to walk through the city completely naked, the woman walking in front while holding a rope attached to the testicles of the man and shouting ‘he who conducts himself thus, will be treated the same way’. The same is attested in Martel in Limousin, where ‘*trahetur per genitalia*’ (‘dragged by his genitals’) is specified, and elsewhere.<sup>107</sup> In some cases the culprit could pay off his infamous walk. King Louis IX sentenced one of the captains of his army to be drawn by the whore with whom he had been caught through the camp, just in his shirt, with a rope tight around his virile member, the object of his sin.<sup>108</sup> At St.-André near Avignon in 1292 both naked adulterers (the woman was allowed to be scantily clothed) were beaten with cudgels and forced to race through the city; this punishment seems to have been common practice in the South of France in the Middle Ages.<sup>109</sup> Sometimes both culprits were whipped and sometimes the woman had to beat the lover during the humiliating race.<sup>110</sup>

During the fifteenth century attempts were made to substitute other punishments, such as feathering or ducking in a river, sometimes in an iron cage, but these had limited success.<sup>111</sup> Cases of ducking in the river Lot at Cahors are documented and an iron cage is still exhibited in the city museum.<sup>112</sup> However, the customs of Béarn of 1551 still specify the naked race through the city as a

<sup>103</sup> Vandereuse, ‘Promenade infâmante’ (1926), p. 179; van Gennep, *Manuel de Folklore*, pp. 98-100; Brackman, *Spel en kwel*, p. 44.

<sup>104</sup> Van Gennep, *Manuel de Folklore*, pp. 95-100.

<sup>105</sup> Vandereuse, ‘Promenade infâmante’ (1926), pp. 177-85; Davis, ‘Les cultures’, p. 164; Jones, ‘Folklore II’, p. 75.

<sup>106</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 31.

<sup>107</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 31; De Win, *Schandstraffen*, p. 29; Grindberg, ‘Charivaris’, p. 146; Pinon, ‘Les noms du Charivari’, pp. 406-7; C. Gaignebet and D. Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1985), p. 53, where the author also shows a fourteenth-century drawing of a naked man with a rope around his genitals being dragged by a naked woman, preceded by a trumpet-blowing herald and followed by an armed guard. See also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, V, p. 28, ‘De poena adulterii’, where this is discussed.

<sup>108</sup> De Win, *Schandstraffen*, p. 29; Gaignebet and Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire*, p. 52.

<sup>109</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, cols. 86-7; J.-M. Carbasse, ‘“Currant nudi”: la repression de l’adultère dans le Midi médiéval (XIIIe- XVe siècle)’, in *Droit, Histoire et Sexualité*, ed. J. Poumarède and J.-P. Royer (Paris, 1987), pp. 83-102.

<sup>110</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 32.

<sup>111</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 33. On ducking see also Ingram, ‘Ridings’, p. 82; Röhrich, *Große Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, III, p. 1346.

<sup>112</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 33 n. 5.



FIG. 22

Lustful man cooled off by a woman, misericord, Walcourt, c. 1510. Copyright Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels



FIG. 23

Man dragged by his genitals by a woman, misericord, Walcourt, c. 1510. Copyright Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels

punishment, and a 1596 edition of the customs of Clermont-Dessus en Agenais records the naked race, which is even illustrated by an expressive drawing showing a woman dragging her lover by his sex.<sup>113</sup> Two sixteenth-century misericords in Walcourt are interesting in this respect. The first represents a lustful man with his naked genitals in his hand being cooled off by a mocking woman who throws water on him (Fig. 22).<sup>114</sup> The second misericord suggests his punishment as the man, with a 'hands up' gesture, is being dragged by a woman by a rope round his genitals (Fig. 23).<sup>115</sup> This scene suggests that the naked race punishment may have been imposed in the province of Namur as well. The naked race (*nudus cum nuda*) seems to be attested in Europe from the mid twelfth century until the seventeenth century.<sup>116</sup> The progress of public morality facilitated its disappearance as it was seen as offensive that the nudity of the culprit should be exposed to the jeering of the

<sup>113</sup> Saint Yves, 'Le Charivari de l'adultère', p. 34.

<sup>114</sup> [An alternative interpretation is that it depicts an ale-wife 'watering' the beer. *Ed.*]

<sup>115</sup> Maeterlinck, *Le Genre Satirique*, pp. 187-8, fig. 114.

<sup>116</sup> De Win, *Schandstraffen*, p. 33; Trexler, 'Correre la terra', pp. 888-9. The naked race of the adulterous German woman is attested by Tacitus. This race was also used by the Saxons (A. Bricteux, 'Le châtimeut populaire de l'infidélité conjugale', *Revue anthropologique*, XXXII (1922), p. 327, fn. 1.



public.<sup>117</sup> Another example of ducking is to be found in a judicial pardon of 1392 referring to Héliete of the village of Laleu-la-Pallice near La Rochelle.<sup>118</sup> Héliete, the wife of Jehan Huguet, was told that she would be ducked by the ‘company of youths’ with other wedded men and women of the village who had committed adultery during the year. She was so afraid that she intended to flee the country and was imprisoned after stealing money for her journey. Ducking was also a common village punishment at an earlier period in Esplat, France, for taming shrewish wives.<sup>119</sup> At Beauriens near Laon in 1377 villagers proposed to put Geraumin Marmin on a cart as his wife had beaten him.<sup>120</sup> Other forms of humiliating folk punishment were those of ‘riding the stang’, skimmington, riding the ladder, riding the pole and riding the hatch, and also ducking, bridling, parading in a barrow, or making men carry ridiculous objects such as distaffs.<sup>121</sup> In the French town of Ham in the middle ages there was a prince of fools whose court capered on wicker horses. He organised charivaris where the beaten husbands went round on carts and the women going to market had to kiss his blackened bauble or pay a fine.<sup>122</sup> Du Cange mentions a judicial pardon of 1479 referring to the feathering of an adulterer according to custom.<sup>123</sup>

In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German plays women make fun of their husbands and lovers. In one a ravisher is first required to be made an ‘ass’ and told from now on to carry his own sacks to the mill.<sup>124</sup> The next judge condemned him to be forbidden to sleep with his wife for three years and to be carried on a stang to the pig mire. In another play the court councillor requests that the lover be ducked naked in the mud of the pig swamp. Another punishment that is demanded is that the man who seduced a married woman should be exposed in the market with his ‘eleventh finger’ naked. Women would light candles around with the aim of preventing him from committing evil deeds in the future. Another man, his hair smeared with pitch, was exposed at a pillory.<sup>125</sup> In all these cases the wrongdoer has to undergo a humiliating punishment, a kind of purification ritual, which forced him to return to the moral standards of the community.<sup>126</sup> That such rituals were enacted is suggested by a Nuremberg edict of the second half of the fifteenth century: ‘And also we forbid, that nobody, whosoever he might be, can smear somebody with

<sup>117</sup> Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 34.

<sup>118</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 9-10. See also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 87.

<sup>119</sup> Davis, ‘The reasons of misrule’, p. 56, fn. 48.

<sup>120</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. xvii-xviii.

<sup>121</sup> Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, p. 164 n. 52, referring to the *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. ‘Ride’ and ‘Stang’; Jones, ‘Folklore II’, pp. 70, 73-5, 77; Davis, ‘The reasons of misrule’, p. 52; R.C. van Caeneghem, ‘Geschiedenis van het strafrecht in Vlaanderen van de XIe tot de XVe eeuw’, *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, X (1954), pp. 196-7; Saint Yves, ‘Le Charivari de l’adultère’, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> Vaultier, *Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>123</sup> De Win, *Schandstraffen*, p. 34.

<sup>124</sup> M. De Roos, ‘“Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren”’: Chivaresk drama op de grens van middeleeuwen en nieuwe tijd’, *Volkkundig Bulletin*, XV (1989), p. 326.

<sup>125</sup> De Roos, ‘Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren’, pp. 326-7.

<sup>126</sup> De Roos, ‘Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren’, pp. 327-30.

tannin, ashes, feather or other dirt'. This ordinance suggests a smearing of culprits with dirt or feathers in the manner still applied in the Dutch part of Brabant during the twentieth century.<sup>127</sup>

Another shameful punishment in the Netherlands for inappropriate behaviour was that of drawing the plough. In the play '*Die Frauenschender Vasnacht*' the seventh judge is of the opinion that the man who harms a woman or assaults her honour should fight the infidels for thirty years, go on his knees for twenty years and draw the plough for ten years.<sup>128</sup> The punishment of drawing the plough was required, for instance, of Jan van Es of Oss in Noord-Brabant, who objected to it.<sup>129</sup> In Lenten plays it is seven unmarried girls who had to draw the plough because they had not fulfilled their duty towards the community by marrying and bearing children.<sup>130</sup> Some of these plays expressed a pronounced misogyny, as women are considered as sinners and shrews. The fact that men played the role of women must have added to the satirical aspect. Common to these plays is that they call to order those who have deviated from the sexual norm.<sup>131</sup> A woodcut of 1532 illustrating the comedy '*Die Hausmaid im Pflug*' shows six women pulling a plough being driven on by young boys.<sup>132</sup>

In England, a shameful ride is represented in the initial of a charter of Edward III to the City of Bristol of 1347.<sup>133</sup> This charter granted the right to construct a cage for prisoners and to incarcerate in it evildoers and disturbers of the peace in the city. The authorities were also empowered to punish bakers found guilty of selling short-weight bread by drawing them through the streets on a hurdle. The upper part of the initial shows some men being driven inside the prison cage after having committed an offence. The lower part shows a man, handcuffed, a round stone hanging round his neck, being drawn on a sledge. That it is a baker condemned for selling short-weight bread is suggested by the scales in the initial, which are clearly out of balance. The round form of the stone is reminiscent of the hand mill-stones used in the household; others see in it a reference to the mill-stone of the Gospels.<sup>134</sup> The hurdle or sledge ride was carried out in the Low Countries and is also recorded at Abbeville in the fourteenth century.<sup>135</sup> Stone-bearing is widely attested in the Low Countries and Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest record, dating from 1158, is from Avesnes-sur-Helpe in Hainaut.<sup>136</sup> At Damme near

<sup>127</sup> De Roos, 'Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren', p. 327.

<sup>128</sup> De Roos, 'Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren', p. 328.

<sup>129</sup> De Roos, 'Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren', p. 328; T. Romme, 'Charivari rituelen in de Meierij. De zaak Jan van Es te Oss', *Volkskundig Bulletin*, XV (1989), pp. 335-50.

<sup>130</sup> De Roos, 'Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren', p. 328.

<sup>131</sup> De Roos, 'Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren', p. 329.

<sup>132</sup> De Roos, 'Een ezel kent men aan zijn oren', p. 327.

<sup>133</sup> Illustrated in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski, exhibition catalogue (London, 1987), p. 451.

<sup>134</sup> De Win, 'Schandstraffen', p. 69.

<sup>135</sup> De Win, 'Schandstraffen', pp. 34, 39, 40, 41.

<sup>136</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, IV, col. 52, speaks about 'lapides catenos ferre'. This punishment was also applied to those who committed adultery (*ibid.*, V, p. 28). See also De Win, 'Schandstraffen', pp. 41-2, 53; Van Caeneghem, 'Geschiedenis van het strafrecht', p. 198; J. Gessler, 'Le port des pierres de justice', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XXI (1942), pp. 113-39; Jones, 'Folklore II', fn. 38.

Bruges the stones still hang on a wall of the town hall as a deterrent to evil-speaking women. This punishment was nearly always applied to women who were scandalmongers or who caused injury or insult.<sup>137</sup> There is a mention of a man bearing a stone as a punishment for adultery at Hasselt in Limburg in 1539.<sup>138</sup> A miniature in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves of c. 1440 depicts a woman dressed in dark clothes bearing a stone on her breast and on her back and with a paper hat with an explanatory text on it.<sup>139</sup>

There were other humiliating forms of exposure in the Low Countries, such as being made to wear the ‘wooden cloak’, a typical punishment for lechery first recorded in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, sitting on a wooden horse, or in a wooden cage, standing at a pillory, sitting in a hanging basket or being exposed on a ladder.<sup>140</sup> Drawing on a sledge was the punishment meted out in fourteenth-century Mechelen to usurers and food hoarders.<sup>141</sup> The Museum Hof van Busleyden in Mechelen still possesses a wooden punishment horse, but the earliest reference to such rides in Mechelen dates from the eighteenth century.<sup>142</sup>

### *Riding the Stang and Riding Skimmington*

Both ‘riding the stang’ and ‘riding skimmington’ are used to describe the infamous ride in England. Common in England from at least the sixteenth century was a variant of the backwards ride called skimmington.<sup>143</sup> In general it consisted of a ludicrous procession accompanied by loud rude music, using an animal, mens’ shoulders, a wooden horse or a stang on which the victim or a substitute could ride. Many examples of such humiliating rides are recorded up to the nineteenth century.<sup>144</sup> On the continent this custom faded away after the French Revolution as the new authorities considered it as completely out of date and the Church as scandalous and sinful.

Chambers considers riding the stang as a form of village punishment of wide application at the borderline between play and jurisprudence.<sup>145</sup> This punishment was common to England and France, where it can be traced back under the names

<sup>137</sup> De Win, ‘Schandstraffen’, p. 42; Van Caeneghem, ‘Geschiedenis van het strafrecht’, p. 198.

<sup>138</sup> De Win, ‘Schandstraffen’, p. 67; L. Maes, *Vijf eeuwen stedelijk strafrecht* (Antwerpen, 1947), pp. 430-2; Van Caeneghem, ‘Geschiedenis van het strafrecht’, p. 198.

<sup>139</sup> D.A. Berentz, *Het Werk van de Vos: Samenleving en Criminaliteit in de late Middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 1985), p. 113 with fig.; Van Caeneghem, ‘Geschiedenis van het strafrecht’, p. 197; J. Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, 1966), pl. 109.

<sup>140</sup> De Win, ‘Schandstraffen’, pp. 29, 186-9, 190-203, 228; Canaert, *Bijdragen tot het oude Strafrecht*, pp. 52-3, 146-50; Van Caeneghem, ‘Geschiedenis van het strafrecht’, pp. 196-7; Gessler, ‘Pierres de justice’, pp. 136-7; Braekman, *Spel en kweel*, p. 46.

<sup>141</sup> Maes, *Vijf eeuwen*, p. 432; Gessler, ‘Pierres de justice’, pp. 136-8.

<sup>142</sup> De Win, ‘Schandstraffen’, pp. 80-90, 180-5, 226-8; Maes, *Vijf eeuwen*, pp. 432-3.

<sup>143</sup> Thompson, ‘Charivari anglais’, pp. 285-312. See also Ingram, ‘Ridings’, pp. 79-113; Ingram, ‘Le charivari’, in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, pp. 251-64; Mellinkoff, ‘Riding Backwards’, p. 163.

<sup>144</sup> J. Vandereuse, ‘Een oud gerechtelijk gebruik: De ontorende tocht op een ezel’, *De Brabantsche Folklore*, V, nr. 29 (1926), pp. 173-85; M. Jacobs, ‘Charivari in Vlaanderen (18de-20ste eeuw)’, *Spiegel Historiae*, XXI, nr. 6 (1986), pp. 292-8. [In Thomas Hardy’s *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is an account of a skimmington, the shock of witnessing which causes the death of Lucetta Farfrae. *Ed.*]

<sup>145</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, pp. 152-3.



FIG. 24

Man with stone round neck being dragged on a hurdle, BL Royal MS 10 E.IV, f. 94  
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‘charivari’ and ‘chevauchée’.<sup>146</sup> Misers, hen-pecked husbands, shrews and unchaste women were among those punished in this way, as were the parties to second or third marriages.<sup>147</sup> Sometimes the victim had to ride a pole or wooden post, a hobby horse or an ass facing the tail.<sup>148</sup> Barrett distinguishes between ‘riding skimmington’ and ‘riding the stang’. He admits similarities in the ritual, but according to him ‘riding the stang’ was a method of holding up to public contempt the errant husband or unchaste wife, whereas ‘riding skimmington’ was intended to satirise the husband-beater and scold.<sup>149</sup> In ‘riding the stang’ the offender or a substitute (sometimes his next-door neighbour) was seated astride a long stang borne on the shoulders of two men and paraded round the village, often followed by a mock band, to universal ridicule.<sup>150</sup> Sometimes a ladder or a donkey replaced the stang or sometimes an effigy was borne on a cart.<sup>151</sup> The word ‘skimmington’ has been connected with the huge skimming ladle supposed to be carried by the wife who had beaten her husband.<sup>152</sup> Among the Goths a pole of infamy, or *nidstaeng*, was set up when either husband or wife erred; the person on whose account the post was erected was called *niding*, and held for ever infamous.<sup>153</sup> It is recorded that, following the denunciations of the bard Egill Skallagrim, a *nidstaeng* was erected for King Eric Bloodaxe of Norway (937-940), who was forced to abdicate and flee the kingdom.<sup>154</sup> The earliest

<sup>146</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, p. 153.

<sup>147</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, p. 153; Davis, ‘Les cultures’, pp. 168-9.

<sup>148</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, col. 326, s.v. ‘Asinus caudam in manu tenens’, with reference to several examples.

<sup>149</sup> Davis, ‘Les cultures’, p. 228.

<sup>150</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, pp. 152-3.

<sup>151</sup> Barrett, “‘Riding Skimmington’ and ‘Riding the Stang’”, pp. 58-9.

<sup>152</sup> V. Alford, ‘Rough Music or Charivari’, *Folklore*, LXX (1959), p. 508. On the origin of the name ‘skimmington’ see also Davis, ‘Les cultures’, p. 228.

<sup>153</sup> Barrett, “‘Riding Skimmington’ and ‘Riding the Stang’”, p. 59.

<sup>154</sup> Barrett, “‘Riding Skimmington’ and ‘Riding the Stang’”, p. 59.



FIG. 25

Naked man carried on a pole by two other naked men, BL Royal MS 10.E.iv, f. 93

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mention of skimmington occurs in Stow's *Survey*: 'Shrove Monday 1562, at Charing Cross, was a man carried of four men, and before him a bagpipe playing, a shawm, and a drum beating, and twenty links burning about him. The cause was his next neighbour's wife beat her husband; it being so ordered that the next should ride about the place to expose her'.<sup>155</sup> Sometimes the culprit was represented by an effigy and sometimes by a next-door neighbour. Rough music could be provided by such things as kettles, bones and cleavers. It may be presumed that 'riding the stang' is an earlier form of the punishment than the more delicate and symbolic skimmington riding.<sup>156</sup> A marginal illustration on f. 94 of the Smithfield Decretals, illuminated in England in the 1330s, shows a man seated on a hurdle with a stone on a cord round his neck being dragged along by a horse led by another man (Fig. 24). As mentioned above, this was a familiar punishment especially for traitors and for bakers who sold short measure.<sup>157</sup> The preceding page likewise represents what is almost certainly a scene of punishment. Two naked men carry a third, also naked, sitting astride a pole and playing pipe and tabor (Fig. 25). The fact that all three are naked makes it virtually certain that they are all exposed to public opprobrium. In the Luttrell Psalter of c. 1340 a naked man holding a bladder (of the type that in Flanders was filled with dried peas in order to make a noise) is carried on a stang by two other men (Fig. 26).<sup>158</sup>

One of the most famous representations of a charivari is that on the plaster bas-reliefs in the Great Hall at Montacute House, Somerset, built around 1600 by Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls and Speaker of the House of Commons

<sup>155</sup> J. Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. J. Strype, 2 vols. (London, 1720), I, Bk. I, p. 258.

<sup>156</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, p. 154.

<sup>157</sup> Jones, 'Folklore II', pp. 77-8.

<sup>158</sup> Jones, 'Folklore II', p. 78, fn. 100.

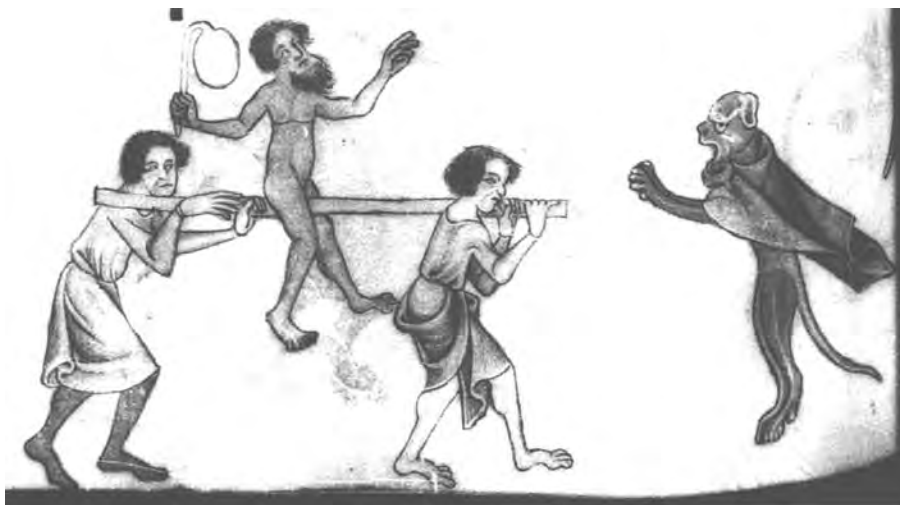


Fig. 26  
Man borne on a pole, BL Add. MS 42130, f. 69v  
*Copyright British Library*



FIG. 27  
Husband beaten by wife and 'Skimmington ride', Great Hall, Montacute House, Somerset, c. 1600  
*Copyright English Heritage.*

(Fig. 27).<sup>159</sup> A woman is shown hitting her husband on the head with a shoe. That this husband has no say in the household is clear since he is looking after a child, an occupation that was exclusively the province of women at that time. To the right the skimmington ride of the hen-pecked husband, on a pole carried by two men, to the music of pipe and tabor, is depicted. The wife appears to be witnessing the procession and villagers are shown making hilarious comments.

<sup>159</sup> Barrett, "Riding Skimmington" and "Riding the Stang", pp. 64-5; Ingram, 'Ridings', p. 106; Ingram, 'Le charivari', in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, pl. 2; Jones, 'Folklore II', pp. 72, 78.

*The Device of the Chamber of Rhetoric of Poperinge, West Flanders*

The Chambers of Rhetoric played an important role in the social and cultural life of Flanders. They performed plays and graced events such as processions, pageants and entries of sovereigns.<sup>160</sup> They were organised like the other guilds and placed their



FIG. 28

Device of the Chamber of Rhetoric 'Langhoirs Victorinen', Poperinge, 1561,  
detail of Ghybe bearing a sack riding a donkey

*Photograph by Ronald van Belle*



FIG. 29

Device of the Chamber of Rhetoric 'Langhoirs Victorinen', Poperinge, 1561,  
detail of man on hurdle carried through cornfield

*Photograph by Ronald van Belle*

<sup>160</sup> J.J. Mak, *De Rederijckers* (Amsterdam, 1944); W.N.M. Hüsken, 'The Fool as Social Critic: The Case of Dutch Rhetoricians' Drama', in *Fools and Folly*, ed. C. Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1996), pp. 112-13; M. Caenen, *500 jaar koninklijke kamer van rhetorica Langhoirs Victorinen Poperinge*, catalogue (Poperinge, 1991); W.S. Gibson, 'Artists and Rederijckers in the Age of Bruegel', *Art Bulletin*, LXIII (1981), pp. 426-46; J. Lemahieu, 'De koninklijke Rederijckerskamer Langhoirs Victorinen van Poperinge bestaat 500 jaar (1491-1991)', *Aan de Schreef*, XXI, nr. 2 (1991), pp. 34-56. H. Pleij, 'Van keikoppen en droge jonkers. Spotgezelschappen, wijkverenigingen en het jongerengericht in de literatuur en het culturele leven van de late middeleeuwen', *Volkskundig Bulletin*, XV (1989), pp. 297-315, argues that several Chambers of Rhetoric evolved from youth companies. For a more detailed study of this Chamber of Rhetoric and its device, see R. van Belle, 'Het Rederijckersblazoen van de Langhoirs Victorinen te Poperinge', *Biekerf*, CI (2001), pp. 218-40.

Chambers under the protection of a patron saint. The town of Poperinge once had five Chambers of Rhetoric, including that of the ‘Langhoirs Victorinen’ (‘Long ears of St. Victor’).<sup>161</sup> The Chamber received its patent in 1531 from the principal Chamber of Yper, but it was already active in 1491, and is still extant.<sup>162</sup> Each Chamber had a symbolic coat of arms with a device. This device personified the Chamber in question and was often in the form of a rebus full of symbols or sophisticated allusions. It was displayed at all performances of the Chamber and was hung in a place of honour in the meeting room of the guild.<sup>163</sup> The device of this Poperinge Chamber is remarkable in many ways. It represents in the upper corner the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending from clouds. Under it is a scroll bearing the date 1561 and the motto ‘VICTOR REDDIT SPIRITUS’ (‘The victor gives up the spirit’). The word ‘spirit’ is an allusion to the Holy Spirit while ‘victor’ refers to St. Victor, both present on the device. The patron saint is represented in the middle as a knight. To the left of him is a man riding a donkey and bearing a sack on his shoulders, to spare his animal the burden (Fig. 28). The stirrups are irons for hanging cooking pots while his whip is a fire tong. At his belt is a large purse and on his back is a lantern. In the background is a post-mill. The miller, standing at the door, seems to be courting a woman. In the distance is a walled city. To the right of St. Victor is a man on a hurdle carried by four farm-workers through a cornfield (Fig. 29). The man is dressed in the same white and yellow clothes as the sack-bearer. On his head is a broad-brimmed straw hat, and he holds a pair of spectacles. He gives the impression of a landlord inspecting his property; he is perhaps the owner of the large farm in the background. At the bottom is the coat-of-arms of Poperinge. The patent of 1531 gives a brief description of the device, but it only speaks of St. Victor and the sack-bearer, who is called ‘HEER GYBE’.<sup>164</sup>

The patron saint of the Chamber, represented in the centre of the device, is Victor of Marseilles, a Roman soldier who was martyred in 290 or 303.<sup>165</sup> The Emperor Maximianus ordered him to be crushed between two mill-stones, but the stones broke into pieces and in the end the saint was beheaded. Because of this he is the patron saint of millers and is often represented with a sword and holding a small windmill. This is the primary reason for the windmill in the device.

Several explanations have been given for the origin of the name ‘Ghybe’, some based on historical events while others draw on more or less fantastic symbolism.

<sup>161</sup> Caenen, *500 jaar*, p. 4; A. van Elslander, ‘Lijst van Nederlandse rederijderskamers uit de XVe en XVIe eeuw’, *Rederijkerstudien*, V (Gent, 1969), p. 45.

<sup>162</sup> A. Verwaetermeulen, ‘De Ghybe-gilde te Poperinghe’, *Biekorf*, XXXVII (1931), p. 193; Caenen, *500 jaar*, p. 8.

<sup>163</sup> V. Arickx, ‘Blazoenen en Deviezen van de westvlaamse Rederijderskamers’, *West Vlaanderen*, XII (1963), pp. 246-60; V. Arickx, ‘Verdwenen Blazoenen van westvlaamse Rederijderskamers’, *Biekorf*, XXXIV (1963), pp. 233-9; Caenen, *500 jaar*, p. 8.

<sup>164</sup> Caenen, *500 jaar*, pp. 8-9; Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, p. 15. The patent has been published in full in Van Belle, ‘Rederijdersblazoen’, pp. 237-8. The description reads: ‘eenen SINTE VICTOR aen deen zyde ende aen dander zyde eenen ghenaeamt HEER GYBE sittende op eenen ezele met eenen sack op sijn hoof’ (a Saint Victor on one side and on the other side a so-called Sir Gybe sitting on a donkey with a sack on his head).

<sup>165</sup> C. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l’art populaire* (Paris, 1867), pp. 78, 481, 558, 657; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1938), pp. 619-20; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Rom/Freiburg, 1968-76), VIII, cols. 557-8; L. Reau, *Iconographie de l’Art Chrétien*, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris, 1955-9), III.3, pp. 1320-1.



None is credible and all ignore the folklore aspects of the motif.<sup>166</sup> A linguistic approach can be made to the question. The name ‘Ghybe’ is perhaps to be explained by reference to the old verb ‘*gijbelen*’, which means to ridicule, mock or fool.<sup>167</sup> On the other hand, Du Cange includes the definition: ‘Giba, Onus, fascis statuae quantitatis, nostris Balot, alias Gibe’ (Giba, Charge, package of a given quantity, or in the vernacular bale or ‘Gibe’).<sup>168</sup> Du Cange then gives several examples related to bales of cloth. It may be significant that Poperinge was an important place of cloth production. But the exact meaning of the name ‘Ghybe’ remains unresolved.

Poperinge, like other towns, had a ‘jester guild’ called the ‘Ghybe guild’, the origin of which may be found in the Chamber of Rhetoric of the Langhoirs Victorinen.<sup>169</sup> Many Chambers of Rhetoric had a fool or jester to enliven their meetings.<sup>170</sup> Jester guilds such as that of the ‘*Blauwe Schuit*’ (Blue Boat) were already being formed in the fourteenth century.<sup>171</sup> It is said that such mock guilds could be the continuation of the jesters at the Feast of Fools, and have their ultimate origin in the antics at the Roman Saturnalia or feast of the Calends.<sup>172</sup> But some of their customs could also be linked to primitive features of peasant communities.<sup>173</sup>

A ‘Sir Ghybe’ was chosen as the headman of the Poperinge guild, which was also called the ‘guild of the cobble-stone’.<sup>174</sup> The people of Poperinge have long had a reputation for being ‘hard-headed’, and still bear the epithet ‘keikoppen’ or ‘cobble-

<sup>166</sup> S.E., ‘Van den Poperingschen Kei’, *Rond den Heerd*, XXI (1886), pp. 213, 223; J. Opdedrinck, *Poperingana* (Poperinge, 1898), pp. 43-4; J. Opdedrinck, ‘Poperinghe et son caillou’, *Annales du Comité Flamand de France*, XX (1892), pp. 227-33; N. De Pauw, ‘Ypre jeghen Poperinghe angaende den verbonden’, *Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie* (Gent, 1899), pp. xv-xvii; J.T. De Raadt, *Les soubriquets des communes Belges* (Bruxelles, 1904), pp. 46-7, 211; Braekman, *Spel en kavel*, p. 15; Verwaetermeulen, ‘De Ghybe-gilde’, pp. 195-6. On the significance of ‘Ghybe’ see also M. Smeyers, ‘Lubert Hautschild, abt van de Brugse Eeckhoutabdij (1393-1417): Over handschriften, planeten en de toekomst van Vlaanderen’, *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, LV (1995), p. 84.

<sup>167</sup> E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnedderlandsch Woordenboek*, 11 vols. (‘s-Gravenhage, 1882-1941), II, col. 1943.

<sup>168</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, pp. 613-14.

<sup>169</sup> Verwaetermeulen, ‘De Ghybe-gilde’, p. 196; Braekman, *Spel en kavel*, p. 16.

<sup>170</sup> Gibson, ‘Artists and Rederijkers’, p. 440. At the ‘Landjuweel’ pageant in Antwerp in 1561, Juerken, the fool of the chamber of the Violinen, appeared seated on a horse flanked by other fools, one of the them playing a jawbone fiddle (J. Grauls, *Volkstaal en volkleven in het werk van Pieter Bruegel* (Antwerpen, 1957), fig. 14). In 1551 a famous gathering of fools from all over the country took place in Brussels. The principal fool of Brussels, called Master ‘Oom’, processed through the streets seated on a donkey and followed by all the other fools. The performances and festivities lasted several days. See W. van Eeghem, ‘Rhetores Bruxellenses (16de eeuw)’, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, XV (1936), pp. 74-78; R.H. Marijnissen, ‘De Eed van Meester Oom: Een Voorbeeld van Brabantse Jokkernij uit Bruegels Tijd’, in *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt*, ed. O. von Simon and M. Winner (Berlin, 1979), pp. 51-61. Bruegel later designed a print called ‘The Feast of Fools’, with folly and deceit as the main subject (R.H. Marijnissen, *Bruegel: Het Volledige oeuvre* (Antwerpen, 1988), pp. 112-13; P.F. Moxey, ‘Pieter Bruegel and the Feast of Fools’, *Art Bulletin*, LXIV (1982), pp. 640-9; Maeterlinck, *Le Genre Satirique*, p. 205, with fig.). Kortrijk had a Chamber of Rhetoric called the ‘Barbaristen’ (after St. Barbara), which bore the motto ‘God feeds many fools’, and on their device were, among other motifs, two fools’ heads (*De Spelen van Zinne vertoond op het Landjuweel te Gent van 12-23 Juni 1539*, ed. L.M. van Dis and B.H. Erné (Antwerpen, 1939), p. 290).

<sup>171</sup> Enklaar, *Varende Luyden*, pp. 41-2, 85. On the ‘*Blauwe Schuit*’, see H. Pleij, *De Blauwe Schuit* (Muiderberg, 1981).

<sup>172</sup> M. Meslin, ‘La fête des kalendes de janvier dans l’empire romain’, *Latomus: Revue d’Études Latines*, CXXV (1970), pp. 120-3; Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, pp. 74-93, II, pp. 291-305; Enklaar, *Varende Luyden*, pp. 41-2.

<sup>173</sup> Davis, ‘The reasons of misrule’, p. 47; Davis, ‘Les cultures’, p. 164.

<sup>174</sup> Caenen, *500 jaar*, p. 6. On the stone of folly, see R.H. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere, *Hiëronymus Bosch: Het Volledige oeuvre* (Antwerpen, 1988), pp. 110-11; A.M. Koldeweij, *De ‘Keisnijing’ van Hiëronymus Bosch* (Utrecht, 1991); L. Lebeer, *Beredeneerde Catalogus van de Prenten naar Pieter Bruegel de Oude* (Brussel, 1969), pp. 85-6, 182-3.

stone heads'.<sup>175</sup> The guild was dissolved in 1653 by order of King Philip IV but the figure of Sir Ghybe remained even after the French Revolution.<sup>176</sup> This fools' guild organised a yearly parade on the occasion of the fair at Poperinge.<sup>177</sup> Sir Ghybe appeared seated on a horse or donkey, his head facing the tail, holding a velvet cushion with a cobble-stone on it. He was surrounded by a mock guard of 'Gibeanen', that is, the followers of Sir Ghybe.<sup>178</sup> This guard was armed with brewers' forks, bread boards, brooms and various kitchen utensils, all objects used for rough music. From a court case relating to an incident in 1653 involving an alderman much can be learned about the activity of Sir Ghybe. The alderman, who had already been involved in a dispute the year before, had thrown the cobble-stone, the precious jewel of the fools' guild, on to the open fire of the inn where the members used to gather. The stone shattered in several pieces and the members of the guild considered this a great crime. At the yearly appearance of Sir Ghybe those people who had committed offences were brought before Sir Ghybe and his court. Thus it happened that the alderman was sentenced to be drawn through the town on a horse-drawn sledge. The 'court' sentence was to be proclaimed in the form of a poem posted at all the corners of the town, as was the custom. However, the culprit had the opportunity to commute the sentence by giving some money or a barrel of beer or other gifts in kind. The alderman promised to buy off the sentence, but fled the town and brought a complaint to the Council of Flanders about the dishonour to his rank. Although the 'Ghybe' court disappeared as a result of Philip IV's sentence, the pageant of Sir Ghybe remained.<sup>179</sup> A poem of 1772 gives a description of it and mentions that the cobble-stone is a symbol of folly and Sir Ghybe the cobble surgeon.<sup>180</sup> A horse had replaced the donkey but the stirrups were still pot irons and the spurs ladles. In addition there was a lantern around the neck of the horse, which was said to show the right way on the road.

The lantern motif is a very old one, occurring for instance in the story of the philosopher Diogenes who used one in daylight to look for an honest man. The lantern appears in Bruegel engravings such as *Everyman*, which criticises egotism and greed. The text below contains three Flemish proverbs, which stress that everybody is only looking after himself, everybody looks to his own profit, everybody tries to get as much as possible for himself, and furthermore than nobody knows himself, which is a criticism of the blindness of people who do not see their own faults.<sup>181</sup> This reference to the blindness of people is perhaps the real sense of the lantern on the rider's back on the Poperinge device. The use of a lantern in daylight in the manner

<sup>175</sup> Opeddrinck, *Poperingana*, p. 43; P.L. van Eck, 'Twee keien', XIX (1907), pp. 159-63; A. Verwatermeulen, 'Poperingsche Keikoppen', *Biekorf*, XXXVII (1931), pp. 322-6; Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, p. 20; De Pauw, 'Ypre jeghen Poperinghe angaende den verbonden', p. xv.

<sup>176</sup> Van Belle, 'Rederijkersblazoën'.

<sup>177</sup> Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, pp. 16-22, 38-9, 50-5.

<sup>178</sup> Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, pp. 26, 39-47.

<sup>179</sup> Van Eck, 'Twee keien', pp. 159-63; Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, pp. 17, 39, 50.

<sup>180</sup> Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, p. 20.

<sup>181</sup> Grauls, *Volkstaal*, pp. 175-88; G. Calmann, 'The Picture of Nobody: An Iconographic Study', *Jnl of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIII (1960), pp. 67-93.

of Diogenes later became proverbial in Flanders for ‘*Dwaesheit*’ or ‘Foolishness’.<sup>182</sup> As to the purse of the Ghybe figure on the device, the poem of 1772 also mentions that Ghybe was bearing a large purse that contained a ‘proud Sir Ghybe’, probably a fool’s bauble or miniature jester. The purse can also refer to everybody’s search for his own profit.<sup>183</sup> A broadsheet of 1703 shows a jester, with a large purse at his belt and holding a basket, both of which are being filled with miniature jesters. Above his stick are spectacles.<sup>184</sup> At the yearly *Mariale Ommegang*, the Marian procession on the first Sunday of July, and on special occasions Sir Ghybe still appears riding backwards on his donkey through the streets of Poperinge.

Since the man in the broad-brimmed hat on the hurdle is dressed in the same way as Sir Ghybe, both figures may well represent one and the same person. Why is he carrying spectacles? A study of the representation of spectacles in the sixteenth century reveals three reasons for their presence.<sup>185</sup> First there is the functional one of improving the sight. Many engravings depict people wearing spectacles while carrying out their work, such as a printer correcting proofs. The second meaning is a laudatory one, referring to the great age, respectability and scholarship of the wearer. In this category fall paintings of a bespectacled St. Jerome, and also, in my opinion, the spectacles of Canon Joris van der Paele in Jan van Eyck’s *Van der Paele Madonna* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum). The third meaning is satirical. In popular opinion spectacles were a symbol of folly. Bruegel often represents spectacles in the context of deceit; as stupidity makes man blind to deceit.<sup>186</sup> The spectacles of the man on the hurdle are probably also to be seen in this context. In his stupidity he does not realise the ridiculousness of his situation.

Both the sack-bearer and the rider are dressed in white and yellow. Yellow and green or white and yellow were colours traditionally used by jesters, so perhaps both represent Sir Ghybe.<sup>187</sup> Yellow was also the colour of the despised in society, such as whores, Jews and cuckolds.<sup>188</sup> In French the expression ‘*jaune cocu*’ or ‘yellow cuckold’ is still common. The miller at the entrance to the mill is courting Ghybe’s wife. There are several expressions in French and German which associate a head covering with the cuckold husband, such as ‘to give a white hat to someone’ or the verb ‘*coiffer*’, literally to put on one’s head. In Sweden and Germany the hat is a broad-brimmed one, perhaps alluding to the blindness of its wearer.<sup>189</sup> It should be

<sup>182</sup> Calmann, ‘Picture of Nobody’, pp. 60-103, citing H. Poot, *Het Groot Natuur- en Zedekundigh Werelttoneel*, 3 vols. (Delft, 1743-50), I, s.v. ‘Dwaesheit’.

<sup>183</sup> Braekman, *Spel en kwel*, p. 51.

<sup>184</sup> *Verzamelaars en Verzamelingen: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1798-1997*, ed. M. van Delft et al. (Zwolle, 1998), p. 20.

<sup>185</sup> J.C. Margolin, ‘Des lunettes et des hommes ou la satire des mal-voyants au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisation*, XXX (1975), pp. 375-90.

<sup>186</sup> Calmann, ‘Picture of Nobody’, p. 66; Moxey, ‘Pieter Bruegel and the Feast of Fools’, p. 640.

<sup>187</sup> Peit de Julleville, *Les Comédiens*, p. 147.

<sup>188</sup> M.C. Leber, *Coup-d’oeil sur les médailles de plomb, le personnage de fou, et les rébus dans le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1833), pp. 71-2, citing Coronato Occolti, *Trattato de’ colori* (Parma, 1568), p. 45; M. Lever, *Le sceptre et la marotte: Histoire de fous de cour* (Paris, 1983), pp. 54-5. On the negative aspects of the colour yellow, see H. Pleij, *Kleuren van de Middeleeuwen* (Den Haag, 1994), pp. 66-9; L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, ‘Les fous et les bouffons; leur office et leur rôle, à la cour des comtes de Flandres, à Bruges et ailleurs’, *La Flandre*, XII (1881), p. 93.

<sup>189</sup> P. Falk, ‘Le couvre-chef comme symbole du mari trompé. Etude sur trois mots galloromans’, *Studia Néophilologica*, XXXIII (1961), pp. 39-68.



FIG. 30  
Woman selling windmills, detail of *St. Joriskerkmis*,  
engraving after Bruegel, 1559

noted that the man on the hurdle has a broad-brimmed hat. Woman's deceit and the stupidity of the cuckold were popular subjects in drama of the period.<sup>190</sup> Verses in Joris Hoefnagel's *Emblemata* of 1569 about the 'patient horn-bearer' are illustrated by a man, handcuffed, bearing amazingly large antlers and riding a mule, while his wife, the upper part of her body naked but for clothes held against her breast, rides another donkey and beats her husband with a bunch of twigs.<sup>191</sup> Also relevant is a proverb cited in 1709: '*Die daar heft een dansend wyf, En daar toe een zeer krank lyf, En een doorgang in zyn koornen, Die left zelden zonder hoornen*' (He who has a dancing wife, and does not enjoy good health, and has a passage through his corn, lives seldom without horns).<sup>192</sup>

The mill in the Poperinge painting is not only the attribute of St. Victor but also a symbol of folly. Windmills were typical children's toys in the Middle Ages. The jester society of Jutphaas shows in its mid-sixteenth-century coat-of-arms a jester's hat with ass's ears and bells, the bauble and windmills.<sup>193</sup> A jester's hat surmounts these arms, in a parody of the helmet of normal heraldry. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*

<sup>190</sup> On the deceit of women, see *Dat Bedroch der Vrouwen (Vroege Volksboeken uit de Nederlanden)*, ed. L. Braekman (Brugge, 1983). See also the poem 'Een goede boerde' (H.E. Moltzer, *Van Vrouwen ende van Minne: Middelnederlandsche Gedichten uit de XIVde en XVde eeuw*, Bibliotheek van de Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde, 4-5 (Groningen, 1871), pp. xvi, 37-40) and the popular play 'Een Cluyte van Playerwater of van den man diet dwater haelde' (L. van Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en toneelvertooningen op het einde van de middeleeuwen* (Gent, 1912), pp. 88-90, as well as 'De Buskenblaser' (Hüsken, 'The Fool as Social Critic', p. 116).

<sup>191</sup> R. van Roosebroeck, *Patentia, 24 politieke emblemata door Joris Hoefnagel 1569* (Antwerpen, 1935), p. 22, pl. IX. See also M. Jacobs, 'Charivari in Europa: een historisch en comparatief perspectief', *Volkkundig Bulletin*, XV (1989), pp. 287-8. An eighteenth-century engraving depicts a similar 'horn-bearer' punishment in Venice (Vandereuse, 'Een oud gerechtelijk gebruik', p. 185, fig. on p. 188).

<sup>192</sup> *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medi Aevi*, ed. Singer, p. 199.

<sup>193</sup> H. Pleij, 'Het gebruik van spotteksten bij volksfeesten', *Spiegel Historiae* (1983), pp. 562-8; H. Pleij, 'Van Vastenavond tot Carnaval', in *Vastenavond - Carnaval: Feesten van de omgekeerde wereld*, ed. M. Mooij (Zwolle, 1992), pp. 16-17, afl. 4-5.

the mill is linked with 'folly, madness and stupidity'.<sup>194</sup> The Flemish proverbs '*'t zijn maar molentjes*' (these are but windmills) and '*hij loopt met molentjes*' (he runs with windmills) refer to acts of folly or caprices and mean that somebody is not too well in his mind.<sup>195</sup> In the *St. Joriskerkmis*, a Bruegel engraving of 1559, a woman searching for lice in a man's hair sells children's toy windmills (Fig. 30).<sup>196</sup> The engraving moralises on the misrule associated with festivities, and so the toy windmills appear to allude to human folly.<sup>197</sup> A painting attributed to Pieter Balten, which was recently auctioned in Brussels, reproduces very accurately all the details of this engraving and is perhaps based on a now lost original painting by Pieter Bruegel.<sup>198</sup> The small toy windmills are painted in red with yellow sails. In the foreground is a jester, dressed in red and yellow, accompanied by children. He holds a woven basket (or possibly a net) over his shoulder and a toy windmill in his hand. In the engraving the jester seems to hold a net but the windmill is not present. If it is a net rather than a basket, no doubt this fool intends in his proverbial folly to catch the wind in this net. A fool depicted in La Perrière's emblem-book of 1539 tries to do the same, with equal lack of success.<sup>199</sup> There is another Flemish proverb that relates windmills to folly: '*Hij is zoo zot als een drilnoot*' (he is as mad as a nut-mill (literally a drilled nut)).

There was a common children's toy in Flanders in the form of walnut with a hole drilled in it, and an axle and a coiled string inserted. Sails were attached to the outside and by pulling the string they were set in motion (Fig. 31). Children playing with windmills may well illustrate folly as children's games were sometimes equated with foolish activities.<sup>200</sup> In the marginal scene for the Penitential Psalms in a late-fifteenth-century French Book of Hours, children playing with windmills wear fool's caps.<sup>201</sup> In the 1563 Antwerp pageant, mentioned previously, there was a man on horseback covered with corn, holding a windmill as a symbol of madness. Several paintings of village scenes by Pieter Bruegel the Younger show fools with the typical foolscap holding toy windmills.<sup>202</sup> This evidence suggests that the inclusion of the windmill on the device of the Chamber of Rhetoric of Poperinge was a deliberate allusion to folly.

<sup>194</sup> In Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of Uytbeeldingen des verstands ...* (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 479, folly and madness are symbolised by miniature windmills. During the wedding party of a Lombard in Ghent in 1577, hooded young boys appeared holding small windmills and distributing parchment strips on which the Lombard was accused of usury. This ludicrous intervention had a fatal outcome as one of the boys was murdered (J.H. Darings, 'Over de Lombaerden en Bergen van Barmhartigheid in België', *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche Taal en Letterkunde*, VI (1842), p. 350).

<sup>195</sup> F.A. Stoett, *Nederlandsche Spreekwoorden, Spreekwijzen, Uitdrukkingen en Gezegden*, 2 vols. (Zutphen, 1943), II, pp. 37-8; A. Huizinga, *Spreekwoorden en gezegden*, ed. H. Schuurman (Baarn, 1994), nr. 6756.

<sup>196</sup> Marijnissen, *Bruegel*, p. 114.

<sup>197</sup> The toy windmill is also considered to be a symbol of folly in 'The Concert in the Egg', by a follower of Bosch (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts), in which the woman holds a toy windmill (Vandenbroeck, 'Jheronimus Bosch zogenaamde Tuin der Lusten I', p. 109). For an illustration, see J. Koldewey, P. Vandenbroeck and B. Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch: Alle schilderijen en tekeningen*, exhibition catalogue (Rotterdam, 2001), p. 70, ill. 155.

<sup>198</sup> Auction of 11-12 May 1999, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels.

<sup>199</sup> G. de La Perrière, 'Le theatre des engins', in *Emblemata Handbuch zu Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. A. Henkel and A. Schone (Stuttgart, 1967), cols. 1451-2.

<sup>200</sup> S. Hindman, 'Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games: Folly and Chance', *Art Bulletin*, XLIII, no. 3 (Sept. 1981), pp. 449-51.

<sup>201</sup> Hindman, 'Children's Games', p. 451, fn. 24.

<sup>202</sup> *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngen - Jan Brueghel der Älter, Flämische Malerei in 1600, Tradition und Fortschritt*, exhibition catalogue (Lingen, 1997), nr. 143, fig. on p. 419, detail of 'Village Feast with Theatrical Performance', 1616, and nr. 144, fig. on p. 421, detail of 'Dance around the Maypole', 1643.



FIG. 31

The apostle James the Less as a boy playing with a drilled nut, detail of Master Jan, *The Holy Kindred*, c. 1515, Maria-ter-Heide, Brasschaat, Belgium

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### *The Backwards Rider and the 'Fools of Bruges'*

When the future Emperor Charles V made his triumphal entry into Bruges in 1515, the city organised an impressive pageant. The city authorities commissioned a detailed record of it, which was published with woodcut illustrations.<sup>203</sup> There is also an illustrated manuscript account of the pageant (Vienna, Österreichisches

<sup>203</sup> *La tryumphante Entrée de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges*, ed. C. Carton, *Recueil de Chroniques, Chartes et autres Documents concernant l'Histoire et les Antiquités de la Flandre-Occidentale*, 3me série (Brugge, 1849), a reprint of Gilles de Gourmont's publication of 1515. The account, by Remi du Puys, has been published in facsimile in S. Anglo, *La tryumphante Entrée de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges, 1515* (Amsterdam, 1973).



FIG. 32

Triumphal entry of the future Emperor Charles V into Bruges, with man riding backwards,  
Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2591  
*Copyright Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek*

Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2591).<sup>204</sup> One of the miniatures shows the St.-Kruis gate at nightfall, ablaze with torches and decorated with the arms of Prince Charles. The Prince and his entourage proceed in the foreground and are welcomed by footmen of Bruges, carrying blazing torches on staves and, finally, by a figure, mounted backwards on an ass, whose upper half is encased in a kind of blazing castle (Fig. 32). This backwards rider is unique to the manuscript version and does not occur in the corresponding woodcut, nor is there any allusion to him in the narrative.<sup>205</sup> The meaning of this illuminated backwards rider remains mysterious but must have been understood by the onlookers. The organisation of the festivities was entrusted to the local rhetoricians, so the rider is probably a fool of the rhetoricians providing a humorous note during this official visit. By this mock ride he perhaps represents the

<sup>204</sup> The manuscript was formerly in the possession of Mary of Hungary, the sister of Charles V. The miniatures are illustrated in Anglo, *Tryumphante Entrée*, who compares them with the woodcuts published by Gilles de Gourmont.

<sup>205</sup> Anglo, *Tryumphante Entrée*, p. 11.

fool lighting the world. Another suggestion is that he is wearing the wooden cloak, an instrument of ridicule.<sup>206</sup> Bruges was very famous for its fools and its inhabitants are still called 'Fools of Bruges'.<sup>207</sup> This epithet is said to have been given to its citizens around 1560 on the occasion of one of the yearly Holy Blood processions. The clergy, civic dignitaries, guilds and various associations used to participate in the procession. Between the marching groups were the governors of the madhouse of Sint-Huibrecht-ten-Dulle, followed by the unfortunate inmates of the institute. With their grimaces, uncoordinated gestures and extravagances these poor mad people more than once disturbed the religious procession and are said to have been the origin of the epithet. But there are other explanations given for the origin of this name.<sup>208</sup> Once the aldermen of Bruges asked Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, for permission to build a new madhouse. The Duke replied, smiling: 'Close the city gates and you have your madhouse!' Others put this reply in the mouth of the Emperor Charles V. On the other hand the archers of Bruges, as well as the rhetoricians, long had fools in their service, who accompanied them at ceremonies. They were even allowed to gambol in the Holy Blood procession. The fools participated in competitions in other cities, and it seems that they were particularly successful. The city accounts regularly refer to gifts to the fools from the count of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy and other lords. Philip the Good maintained several court fools, both at Dijon and Bruges. These fools accompanied the Duke during his visits to the towns of Flanders and provided entertainment for the local populace. It was the custom to grant a fee to these 'fools of Bruges'. So the inhabitants of Bruges probably got their nickname from the Burgundian court fools.<sup>209</sup>

### *Conclusion*

From the above examples we can conclude with a high degree of certainty that the stang ride on the Walsokne brass represents a humiliating ride of the type popular from antiquity to the beginning of the twentieth century. Such an event could on the one hand reinforce community values, and on the other criticise the political order.<sup>210</sup> This theme fits in perfectly with the other world upside-down motifs of the foot-panels. The mock ride was a way of ridiculing those who had transgressed basic social rules. In such punishments by means of ridicule and humiliation, the aim was to exploit reversal order, to degrade the offender and, by implication, to reassert correct order in the community.<sup>211</sup> By such forms of exposure those who might be tempted to err were intimidated. It made them think twice about the dishonour that would stay with them for the rest of their life.

<sup>206</sup> In the 'Costumen' or customary usages of Ghent there is mention of a punishment of a fool of the 'Oosterlighe' (the Hanseatic merchants), who was condemned to stand in the pillory, his head shaven, wearing a wooden cloak. He was further condemned to wear a yellow robe in perpetuity, but this punishment could be lifted by the supply of twenty heavy stones to the city (Verwijs and Verdam, *Middelnederlands Woordenboek*, III, col. 1366).

<sup>207</sup> Cornelissen, *Nederlandsche Volkshumor*, p. 169; De Raadt, *Sobriquets*, pp. 17, 34.

<sup>208</sup> Cornelissen, *Nederlandsche Volkshumor*, pp. 169-71; De Raadt, *Sobriquets*, p. 34. On fools in Bruges see also A. Viaene, 'Zotten en innocenten van der stede van Brugge', *Biekorf* (1934), pp. 47-9.

<sup>209</sup> Gilliodts-Van Severen, 'Les fous et les bouffons', pp. 89-108.

<sup>210</sup> Davis, 'The reasons of misrule', p. 41.

<sup>211</sup> Jones, 'Folklore II', p. 78.



# The London C Workshop

by SALLY BADHAM

FROM the Black Death to the mid-fifteenth century, the London marblers operated a virtual monopoly over the production of brasses in England. For most of this period, there were only two suppliers at any one time: the London B workshop, based in Bowyer Row, St. Paul's Churchyard; and first the A workshop and then its successor, the D workshop, based in Fleet Street in the vicinity of St. Dunstan-in-the-West.<sup>1</sup> The burgeoning demand for brasses, however, led to other London suppliers entering the market, though none of their pattern series lasted longer than the working life of a single craftsman. One such was the London C series; although Kent's first listing of twelve military brasses attributed to this workshop included six brasses since identified as being from the Fens 1 series.<sup>2</sup> To the reduced total of six military brasses listed by Kent can be added many civilian and clerical brasses, indents, wasters, other palimpsest fragments and lost brasses known from antiquarian rubbings and drawings. The forty-eight brasses in this series, produced over a thirty year period, are listed in the Appendix.

## *The brasses made before c. 1390*

The first surviving firmly dated brass in the fully developed London C style is the striking composition at Stoke Fleming, Devon to John Corp, d. 1391, and his granddaughter, Eleanor, but the workshop appears to have been established over a decade earlier. The plinth of the canopy of the Corp brass is palimpsest, having on the reverse an inscription to an unknown rector of All Hallows, Barking, London, in a lettering style dissimilar to the script on London A and B series brasses of the 1370s and 80s (Fig. 1). The most likely explanation is that this is a workshop waster, perhaps produced early on in the life of the C workshop.



FIG. 1

Inscription to an unknown rector of All Hallows, Barking, London, on the reverse of Stoke Fleming, Devon, LSW.I

<sup>1</sup> S. Badham, 'The man at Saint Brides who was "no klenely portrayer" and some other London marblers' workshops', *MBS Bulletin*, 92 (Jan. 2003), pp. 650-3; N. Saul, 'The Contract for the Brass of Richard Willoughby (c. 1471) at Wollaton (Notts.)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, L (2006), pp. 166-93.

<sup>2</sup> J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental brasses - a new classification of military effigies c. 1360-1485', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series, XII (1949), pp. 80-1, 95; S. Badham, 'The Fens 1 series: an early fifteenth-century group of monumental brasses and incised slabs', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXLII (1989), pp. 46-62.





FIG. 3  
Sir Nicholas Burnell, d. 1382, Acton Burnell, Shropshire



FIG. 4

Raulin and Margaret Brocas, Sherborne St. John, Hampshire  
*Rubbing: Derrick Chivers*

of the Brocas children's gowns. It is interesting that somewhat similar drapery lines can be seen on some Series A brasses, including the *c.* 1370 civilian at Deddington, Oxfordshire. An impression of depth is created on the hem drapery of Margaret Briggs's gown by the use of feathering to the main lines, used again on the Torryngton and Corp brasses, as well as on later brasses including the Victoria and Albert Museum Trinity (Fig. 6) and the unknown lady at Holme Pierrepont.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest of the military brasses assigned to this series by Kent is Sir Nicholas Burnell's 1382 brass set on a tomb chest of local stone at Acton Burnell, Shropshire (Fig. 3). Some aspects of the styling of this brass, however, appear atypical, including the heavy canopy, the swaying stance of the figure with its disproportionately large chest and the sword slung behind the body, features which appear to have led Malcolm Norris to doubt whether it was truly a C product.<sup>5</sup> These characteristics are also found on the indent with two armoured figures at Great Barsham, Norfolk, which Ron Fiske has convincingly attributed to Sir Thomas Felton, K.G., d. 1381,

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 72.

<sup>5</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: the Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, pp. 55-6. The only other broadly contemporary extant brass sharing the characteristics of the Acton Burnell brass is the puzzling figure to Sir John Russell, d. 1405, at Strensham, Worcs. The canopy and lettering, however, are mainstream Series A styling and on the reverse of the figure is a workshop waster of a lady, again evidently a Series A product of the early fifteenth century. Why the military figure should copy so closely the knight at Acton Burnell produced in the 1380s is, however, difficult to explain.



FIG. 5  
Margaret Briggs, d. 1374, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire  
*Rubbing: Stan Budd*



FIG. 6  
Trinity, Victoria and Albert Museum

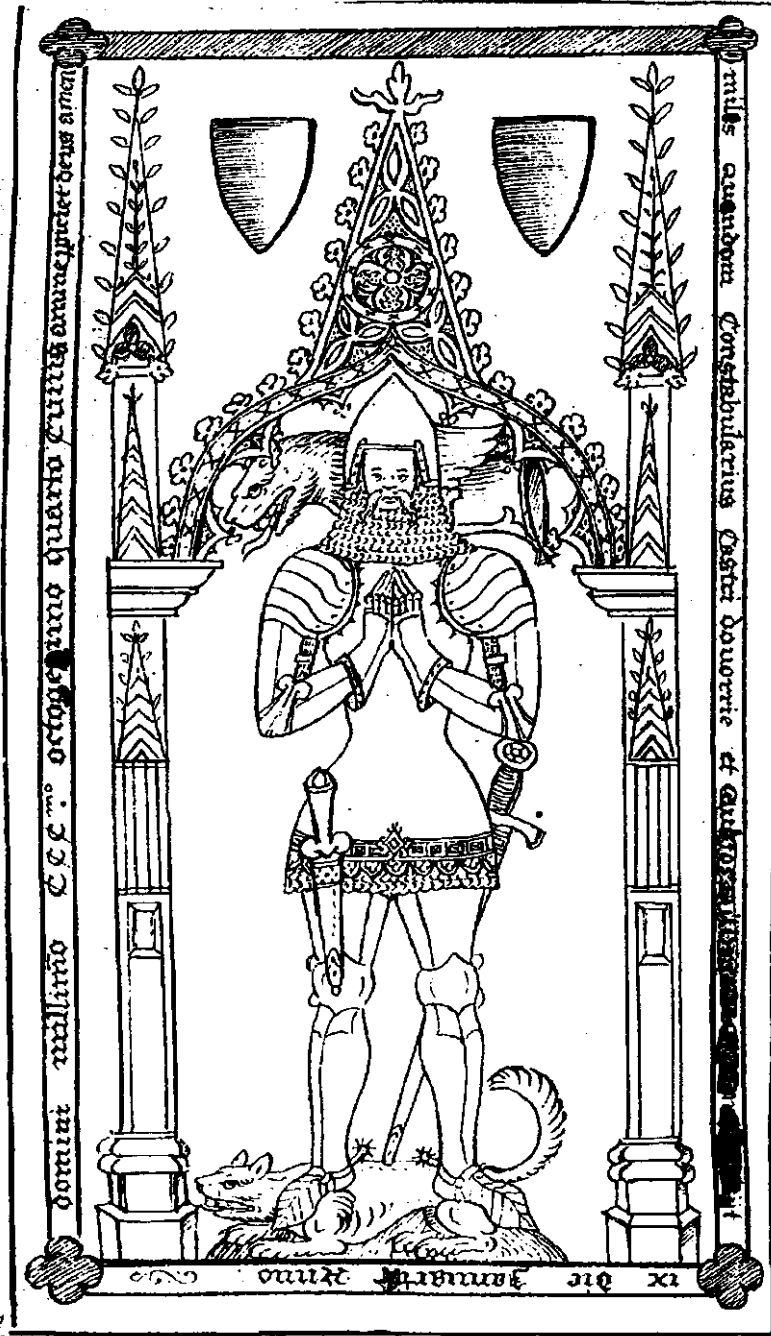
and his son Robert who pre-deceased him.<sup>6</sup> The slab is thought to have been moved at the Dissolution from Little Walsingham Priory, where Felton's widow was granted a licence in 1385 to found a chantry. The way the head is positioned high under the canopy arch and the position of the sword on these two examples are also paralleled on the lost 1384 brass once in St. Mary de Castro, Dover Castle to Sir Robert Ashton, governor of Dover Castle, known only from a seventeenth-century drawing by Dering (Fig. 7).<sup>7</sup> By the standards of antiquarian drawings, it is of high quality, with many of the hallmarks of Series C work, including the elaborate bottom to the jupon and the splayed feet, being immediately apparent.

A final military brass with these characteristics is to be found, somewhat surprisingly, in Iona Cathedral.<sup>8</sup> The well-preserved indent shows the same top-heavy figure, slanted sword and dagger and a lion of identical outline. Of the inlay only a small portion of the left foot and the lion's rump survives, but this is virtually

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Ron Fiske for letting me see his article, 'An important indent for a lost brass in All Saints church, East Barsham, Norfolk' prior to its publication in *Norfolk Archaeology*, XLIV (2005), pp. 713-7. The indent is illustrated in *Portfolio Plates*, no. 99.

<sup>7</sup> London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 497A (Original notes and drawings made by or for Sir Edward Dering of monuments and arms in churches in Kent, 1628-34), f. 55. I am grateful to Nigel Saul for bringing this example to my attention.

<sup>8</sup> F.A. Greenhill, 'Scottish Notes (V)', *Trans. MBS*, X, pt. 5 (1967), pp. 419-22, figs. 3-4. Greenhill identified the slab as being of Tournai marble, but the brass was clearly not Flemish work. It is likely that the brass was sent out loose from the workshop and set locally at Iona, perhaps taking advantage of an old slab. See also K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman, *Later Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 40, pl. 17A.



*On a plate of brass set up before of high altar this  
 figures and inscription for st Robert Ashton*

FIG. 7

Lost brass to Sir Robert Ashton, d. 1392, St. Mary de Castro, Dover  
 Drawing: London, Society of Antiquaries MS 497A. f. 155



FIG. 8

Remaining fragment of brass attributed to John MacDonald, 1st Lord of the Isles, d. 1387

Iona Cathedral, Scotland

Photograph: Martin Stuchfield

identical to the comparable portion of the Acton Burnell brass (Fig. 8). Whom the brass commemorated is uncertain. Sacheverell recorded a tradition that the slab was thought to have been for a member of the MacLeod family.<sup>9</sup> Greenhill thought the brass most likely commemorated either a member of the Clan MacLeod or a MacDonald.<sup>10</sup> Although Malcolm MacLeod, d. 1370, is known to have been buried on Iona, he can probably be ruled out as the brass is unlikely to date from the before the mid to late 1380s. More credence must be given to the possibility that the brass could have been to one of the MacDonald Lords of the Isles; a high status clan, they were patrons of Iona with whom Richard II established links as part of his policy of nurturing ties with ‘the wider realm’.<sup>11</sup> This could perhaps explain the presence of a London-made brass on Iona. The most likely candidate is John MacDonald, 1st Lord of the Isles, who died in 1387 and was buried on Iona.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> W. Sacheverell, *An Account of the Isle of Man, with a voyage to I-Columb-Käll*, Manx Society, 1 (Douglas, Isle of Man, 1859), p. 101 (not MacLean, as stated by Steer and Bannerman).

<sup>10</sup> Greenhill, ‘Scottish Notes’, pp. 421-2. His account of the Clan MacLeod is in some respects at odds with the account in Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, pp. 201-13 (Appendix II: the Lords of the Isles: Historical Background).

<sup>11</sup> N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997), 291-2.

<sup>12</sup> Accounts as to where on Iona John MacDonald was buried conflict. A papal mandate of 1444 refers to Alexander, Lord of the Isles, having threatened to remove elsewhere from the monastery ‘the relics and bones of his progenitors who are buried therein’, but which ancestors were not specified (Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, p. 209). Against this is the evidence of the manuscript Book of Clanranald in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh which says that John was buried in the Chapel of St. Odhran, also known as Reilig Odhráin (Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, p. 209). The chapel itself is tiny, although it has a significant burial ground known as the ‘Ridge of the Kings’. Could there be a possibility that if John had been buried there, he nonetheless had a high status monument in the Abbey church, where more prayers would be likely to be said for his soul? An alternative, suggested in Greenhill, ‘Scottish notes’, p. 422, is that because the restored part of the brass had a label attached recording that it was taken from the Ridge of the Kings in 1831, the slab was originally in Iona Cathedral, removed to St. Odhran’s before 1688, then returned to its original location in the cathedral.



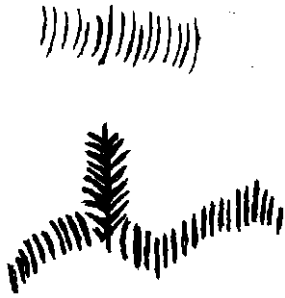


FIG. 9  
Patterns of grass at foot on  
London C effigies



FIG. 10  
Lined London C facial features

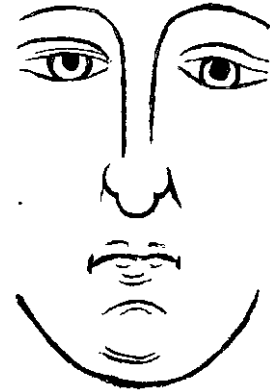


FIG. 11  
Serene London C facial features

A comparable elaborately ornamented canopy to those at Acton Burnell and East Barsham, albeit with the figures positioned lower beneath it, once adorned the Torryington brass, though the canopy is known only from antiquarian drawings.<sup>13</sup> Close examination of these canopies shows that they are based on the type of canopy seen on London A brasses, but with the addition of heavy groining beneath the arch. The outline of the canopy on the indent in St. Edmund, Salisbury is again similar;<sup>14</sup> other later canopies, including the idiosyncratic ‘ship’s prow’ design at Stoke Fleming and Dittisham, follow different patterns.

The inscriptions on the Corp and Torryington brasses, which are in the chunky script with ornamented majuscules characteristic of Series C brasses, as analysed below, provide the final link between this group of brasses and indents and the fully-established C workshop. The Sherborne St. John brass has fewer, simpler majuscules, but this script too is characteristic of Series C products.

### *London C brasses after c. 1390*

By the time the Stoke Fleming brass was made in the years following John Corp’s death in 1391, the characteristic series C style had become fully established. The remaining products of this workshop display greater consistency, enabling the key features to be summarised more briefly. All show the figures in a fully-frontal pose, the men with large, splayed feet, often standing on a grassy mound, with the grass depicted by a series of short parallel lines, occasionally in undulating patterns to indicate uneven ground (Fig. 9). The faces have wide, staring eyes, a bulbous nose and many show a prominent chin. The heavily-lined faces with furrowed brows,

<sup>13</sup> R. Hutchinson ed., *Drawings of Monumental Brasses and Incised Slabs by the Waller Brothers 1837-44* (London, 2001), pp.13-14, pl. 21.

<sup>14</sup> RCHM, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury*, I (London, 1980), pl. 48. I am grateful to David Cook for bringing this indent to my attention.



FIG. 12

Brass to William Groby, junor d. 1398, with inscription from brass to his father, William Groby, senior, d. 1396,  
High Halstow, Kent  
*Rubbing: Janet Whitham*

which have often been remarked upon as characteristic of C brasses, appear on most male effigies (Fig. 10). Indeed it is chiefly these facial features that enable the Trinity in the Victoria and Albert Museum to be assigned to the C workshop (Fig. 6). However, they are not shown on all C brasses; serene features broadly akin to those of contemporary Series A brasses (Fig. 11) were employed on brasses to men at Chinnor, High Halstow (Fig. 12), Mildenhall, Blickling (Fig. 19), Baginton and the civilian in Martin Stuchfield's collection, as well as on all female effigies.<sup>15</sup>

The lettering of Series C inscriptions is characterised by highly decorative majuscules (Fig. 13). In some respects the script is rather archaic. Several inscriptions

<sup>15</sup> See *Portfolio Plates*, no. 80 (Chinnor); P. Heseltine, 'Brasses and Indents at Mildenhall, Suffolk', *MBS Trans.*, XII (1976), pp. 128-37, fig. 1 (Mildenhall); N. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey' *MBS Trans.*, XV, pp. 19-32, fig. 6 (Baginton); and S. Badham and M. Stuchfield, 'A Civilian of c. 1400 in Private Possession', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 3 (1999), pp. 207-20, fig. 1 (civilian in Martin Stuchfield's collection).



FIG. 13  
London C lettering

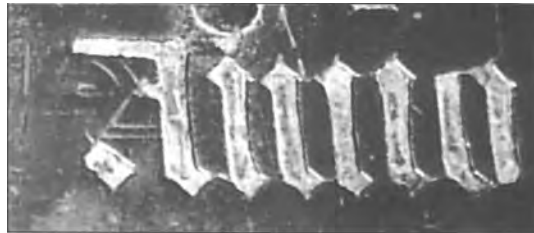


FIG. 14  
Detail of inscription to William Groby, junor d. 1398, High Halstow, Kent

begin with crosses and unusually at this late date some Lombardic majuscules are retained amongst the Gothic forms, notably the H and L. Two main forms of A were employed, one open topped and the other with a banner-like extension to the left with a face or other decorative device drawn in the angle. On some examples, such as High Halstow, the engraving of the face is so faint it can be seen only by examining the brass itself (Fig. 14). Similar faces sometimes appear on the letters I and J. The H and O often enclose an oakleaf, as does the G on the Morley brass and the P on the Stoke Fleming brass. These conceits may have been inspired by the

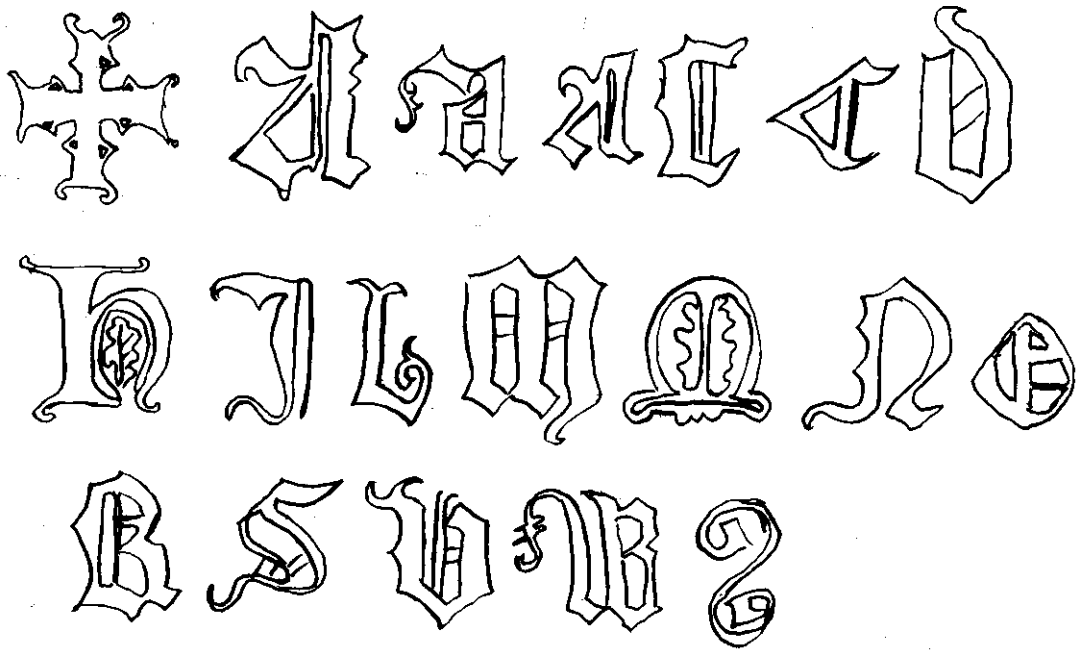


FIG. 15  
London A lettering c. 1385-95



FIG. 16  
London B lettering c. 1385-95



FIG. 17

William and Isabel Overbury, Letchworth, Hertfordshire

lettering of contemporary illuminated manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> Other distinctive features are the square forms of D, G, N and Q; the split form of S and the spiny outlines of many majuscules. Line-fillers and word separators are rare on Series C brasses; the only two are the foliage trail on the Blickling inscription (Fig. 19) and the device combining a Lombardic M and the lower part of a rose used as a word separator at Playford.<sup>17</sup>

Interestingly, the shapes of several of these Series C letter majuscules and the oak-leaf motif appear to derive from the script on Series A brasses of the late 1380s

<sup>16</sup> For majuscules decorated with foliage, see K.M. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1485*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), I, figs. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 and pls. 2, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19 amongst others. See *ibid.*, I, figs. 24, 26, 29 for majuscules with faces.

<sup>17</sup> The word separator at Playford is almost certainly a Marian device, though no precise parallel can be traced. Many Marian motifs incorporate a Lombardic M, often crowned. In medieval devotions and poetry Our Lady is widely associated with both red and white roses by different chains of association, and they often appear in carols and Marian iconography. This word separator is unlikely to have been part of the workshop's standard repertoire, but would have been specifically requested by Felbrigg or his executors, presumably because he had a particular devotion to the Virgin. In East Anglia the symbols and devices featured in the flushwork exterior decoration of churches commonly includes a related Marian device, combining all the individual letters of MARIA. Only one, on St. John Baptist church, Garboldisham, Norfolk also features a rose, but differently from the Playford word separator (J. Blatchly and P. Northeast, *Decoding Flint Flushwork on Suffolk and Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich, 2005), pp. 8, 36-8). Another parallel for a religious device used as a word separator on a marginal inscription is found on the London A brass to Sir John Whylocotes, 1410, at Great Tew, Oxon.; the motto 'IN ON IS AL', evidently symbolic of the Trinity, is represented on hand-held scrolls; the device also appears in the oculi of the double canopy.

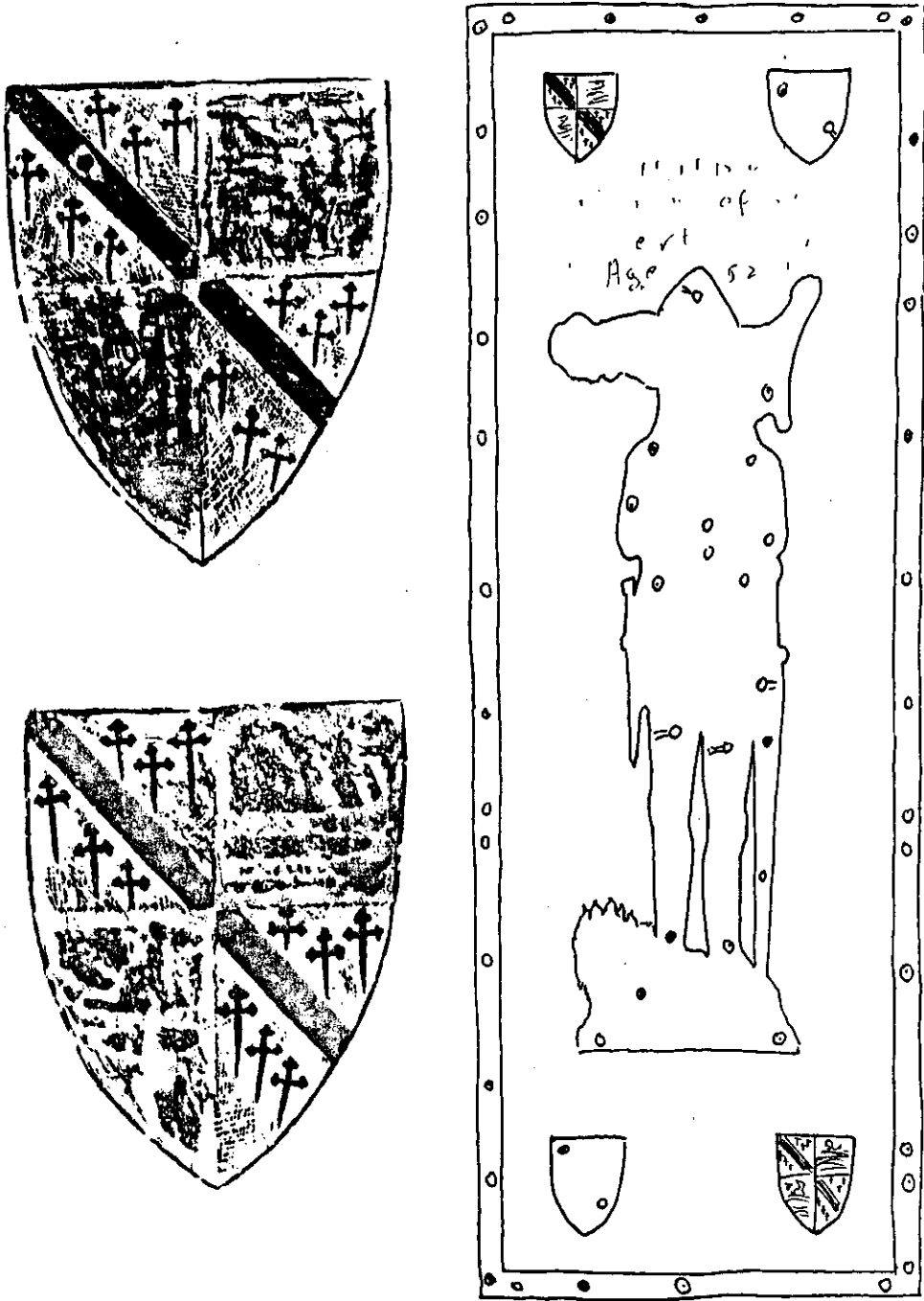


FIG. 18

Indent attributed to Sir William Drayton, d. 1398, Dorchester, Oxfordshire

*Drawing: Jerome Bertram*



FIG. 19  
Sir Nicholas Dagworth, 1401, Blickling, Norfolk  
*Photograph: Malcolm Norris collection*

and early 1390s (Fig. 15), though the A script has more differences from than similarities to the C script. Series A inscriptions developed more fully Gothic forms in the early fifteenth century, although retaining the Lombardic H enclosing an oak-leaf; in contrast the C script remained virtually unchanged. No such parallels can be traced with the more refined Series B scripts, which had become almost purely Gothic in form by *c.* 1390 (Fig. 16). The Series C minuscule letters are less useful as diagnostic features, though they are generally distinctively chunkier than their Series A and B counterparts; on a handful of inscriptions, however, as at Letchworth (Fig. 17), the script is thinner and more elegant, though still retaining the essential C characteristic outlines.

The figures, like the inscriptions, are characterised by their highly ornamented appearance. The military brasses are typified by those at Dorchester (Fig. 18), Playford and Blickling (Fig. 19). Kent included amongst their diagnostic characteristics the tall bascinet, the large gussets of mail at the armpits and insteps, the decorative lower edge of the jupon (scalloped or with an oak-leaf decoration), the distinctive grip of the sword consisting of transverse lines supplemented by diagonal threads and the widespread feet with sharply curved points to the sabbatons. The sword belts are also generally heavier than their A or B counterparts; there is a variety of designs with square, round or diamond-shaped sections which appear contemporaneously. Many of these features were copied by the Fens 1 Series, although the figures from the latter workshop are bulkier and more rounded in outline. There are other differences: London C brasses show the knees at different levels; the Fens 1 haubergeon sags at the crotch, unlike its C counterpart; and the fixing buckles of the arm and leg defences are superimposed on the line of cusped decoration on the Fens brasses. Both workshops showed the knights resting their feet on a lion, but the C pattern shows the lion with slanting eyes, a closed mouth and a tail with copious quantities of curly hair.<sup>18</sup>

There is a degree of development in the pattern used for the military effigies, the most significant aspects of which appear to be the positions of the sword and dagger. The examples produced in the 1380s, discussed above, have the dagger hung at an angle in front of the figure and the sword acutely slanted behind the legs. On the 1392 Chinnor brass the angle at which the sword is swung is less acute, though the dagger is similarly positioned. The only other firmly attributed examples dating from this decade are the brass at Mere to Sir John Bettesthorpe and the indent at Dorchester to Sir William Drayton (Fig. 18), both of whom died in 1398. Both figures have the sword and dagger hanging parallel to the legs, characteristics which continued to the end of the series. Another diagnostically useful feature is the position of the lion's tail. On all examples after *c.* 1398 (as well as earlier compositions at East Barsham and Dover) it is shown upright between the sword and the right leg of the figure. On the Chinnor brass it is upright between Cray's legs, while the Iona indent, the 1382 brass at Acton Burnell and

<sup>18</sup> For further differences between the London C and Fens 1 patterns, see Badham, 'Fens 1'.



the 1398 indent at Dorchester all show the tail curled over the lion's back to give a smooth outline to his rump.

The remaining two armoured figures, neither of which is firmly attributed, can be dated approximately through comparison with the positions of the sword, dagger and lion's tail. The lost brass at Mildenhall had a vertically hung sword with the lion's tail parallel to it and the dagger at a raking angle, but the latter was hung behind and not in front of the figure as on early examples. The latter feature might well be a development that occurred between the production of the 1392 Chinnor brass and the 1398 Dorchester indent. The indent at Salisbury also shows the dagger at a raking angle, though we cannot know whether it hung behind or in front of the figure. The lion's rump on this example, unlike the lost Mildenhall brass, has a smooth outline, which conceivably suggests it was the earlier of the two. There are no known candidates for the Salisbury indent, but the lost Mildenhall brass may have commemorated a member of the Hethe family of Little Saxham, Suffolk. A significant feature of the brass was that the figure sported a collar with an ermine collared and under a crown, a device of either Henry IV or his second wife, Joan of Navarre. Peter Heseltine suggested the brass was to Thomas Hethe, d. 1414, who served John of Gaunt, Henry IV's father, and asked in his will to be buried in the porch of Mildenhall church.<sup>19</sup> However, as argued below, the C series probably ceased *c.* 1407. If this brass were to Thomas, it would thus have had to have been commissioned in his own lifetime, but a brass this prestigious is highly unlikely to have been placed other than in the main body of the church. There are other members of the family who are possible candidates. Nigel Saul has suggested that the collar perhaps points to the commemorated being Thomas's father, Sir John Hethe, d. 1392, who was a Lancastrian retainer, or Thomas's elder brother Robert, d. 1396, though his Lancastrian links were looser.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately the stylistic evidence is incapable of providing a precise dating within such a brief time-span, hence a definite attribution cannot be given.

The civilian brasses are varied in type. Most full-length figures are life-size, as at Stoke Fleming, Checkendon and the lost civilian from Shrewsbury, although the delightful example at Hereford is a diminutive figure that was originally in the head of a cross.<sup>21</sup> Demi-effigies include examples at Letchworth (Fig. 17) and Ickleford (Fig.

<sup>19</sup> Heseltine, 'Mildenhall', p. 132.

<sup>20</sup> Pers. comm.

<sup>21</sup> The Checkendon brass is illustrated in Oxford Portfolio of Monumental Brasses, pt. II, no. 2 (Dec. 1899). The lost Shrewsbury civilian is illustrated from a drawing made by Revd. Edward Williams in 1793 (BL, Add. MS 21,236, ff. 74, 83) in M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in Shropshire' *Archaeological Jnl*, LII (1895), pp. 47-98, opp. p. 76. H. Owen, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 2 vols. (London, 1825), II, p. 288 shows that the composition also included a single, heavy canopy and two shields, apparently with merchant's marks. For the Hereford civilian, see S. Badham, 'The Brasses and Other Minor Monuments', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (London, 2000), fig. 101. A rubbing of part of the cross-head is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London; and was drawn in H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1861), p. 164, though the part of the cross-head shown is different from that in the Antiquaries' rubbing. The entire composition, although inaccurately drawn, is in Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc., 94 (London, 1866), p. clxv.



Berkshire, shows him in mass vestments; the facial features, drapery and overlapping mittens mark it out as a product of the C workshop. Although it is a particularly poorly-proportioned figure, a comparison with John de Swinstead's superb brass of 1395 at Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire shows to how great an extent the fine details of this design from the C workshop were also based on a London A prototype.

Of the ladies, only Marion Somer at Ickleford is shown in widow's weeds (Fig. 20). The majority of the remainder display two types of dress. Those at Letchworth (Fig. 17), Ickleford (Fig. 20), Wrentham (Fig. 21), Shottesbrooke and Lambourne all wear high-necked gowns with either tight or loose sleeves, fastened by a series of buttons down the front and gathered in a series of narrow folds to a narrow fur trim, over an undergarment with tight buttoned sleeves ending in mittens. On the examples at Wrentham and Shottesbrooke, the overgown is caught in at the waist by a decorative belt with a long pendant end. The ladies at Holme Pierrepont, Stoke-by-Nayland (Fig. 22) and Baginton are dressed in a sideless surcote, over which is a cloak fastened with a cord fixed to decorative diamond-shaped fixings at the shoulders. The Holme Pierrepont lady has a series of 'bull's-eye' buttons down the front, seen earlier on the square-necked gowns worn by Margaret Brocas and Eleanor Corp; these buttons are not unique to Series C brasses, being seen on some Series A products, including St. Saviour, Dartmouth and the palimpsest reverse at Strensham, Worcestershire.

Most of the ladies wear beautifully delineated nebulée headdresses, although various forms of ornamented nets are shown at Stoke Fleming, Wrentham and Shottesbrooke. The last known Series C brass to a lady shows Margaret Bagot with her hair bound in cauls at the sides of her head. She rests her head on a pair of brocaded pillows, as does Margaret Pennebrygg at Shottesbrooke. Terriers, wearing collars of bells, frolic in the ample drapery at the foot of the ladies' gowns at Baginton and Holme Pierrepont, a revival of a feature first seen on the Torrington brass at Berkhamsted. Terriers also feature on brasses from the A and B workshops, but the animals are not identically drawn; the B animals are leaner than their C counterparts and appear singly, whereas those on Series A brasses are almost always shown in pairs with one looking up and the other backwards.

Overall the majority of the Series C ladies present an attractive, highly ornamented appearance. They are significantly less standardised than the A and B products. Yet, despite the variety of costumes depicted, common features such as the facial features, overlapping mittens and luxurious drapery with feathered ends to the fold lines mark them out as Series C products.

### *The end of the Series C workshop*

The surviving fifteenth-century brasses from the C workshop include ten produced between 1401 and 1407. After this, there is a gap before the last example in the series: the inscription at Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire, to William Wyot and his



FIG. 21  
Ele Ufford, 1400, Wrentham, Suffolk  
*Rubbing: Janet Whitham*



FIG. 22  
Katherine Clopton, 1402, Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk  
*Photograph: Martin Stuchfield.*



FIG. 23

William Wyot, d. 1410, Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire

kinsman, John Wyot, d. 1410 (Fig. 23). The whole of the first line and the section of the second line up to the word ‘Marie’ on this brass have all the characteristics of the assured inscription style of Series C, but the remainder is poorly planned, becoming increasingly cramped, with the final ‘Amen’ squeezed between the two lines of script. This is unparalleled in any other Series C brass, the remaining inscriptions being uniformly well planned. There are two possible explanations. First, this brass may have been produced at a period of crisis in the workshop, when quality control had broken down, perhaps because of the death of a key figure. Secondly, whilst the parts of the date were not left blank and added later, it may be that the section of brass after ‘obiit’ had been left blank, in the expectation that it would have been completed in the conventional manner with ‘xx die xx mensis Anno domini MCCCCxx cuius animabus propicietur deus amen’, for which there would have been enough space; but instead the later engraver committed to the more complex wording ‘in die Assu(m)pc(i)o(n)is b(eat)e marie (15 August)’ before realising it would leave inadequate room for the closing prayer. Whatever the case, it thus appears likely that the series came to an abrupt end in or shortly after 1407.

### *The craftsmen*

Although the highest concentration of series C products is in the Home Counties, overall they have a widespread distribution, with examples as far afield as Devon, Shropshire, Derbyshire and even Scotland (Fig. 24). This points to London as their likely place of origin; it is thus amongst the London marblers that we must seek the craftsmen responsible for these brasses. There is no evidence directly linking a specific craftsman to any of these brasses, but circumstantial evidence indicates that the most likely candidate is John Mapilton.

As explained above, Series C appears to have come to an abrupt end *c.* 1407. This was the year of Mapilton’s death. In his will, proved on 2 August, he described himself as ‘citizen and marbler of St. Dunstan’s, Fleet Street’, an area associated with brass engraving in the fifteenth century and beyond.<sup>24</sup> It appears from the absence of appropriate references in John’s will that he and Agnes had no children to whom he could leave his business. At his death, his mother, a sister and four brothers were still living, although most may still have resided in their native Elvaston, close to Derby. The exception may have been John’s

<sup>24</sup> J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, revised edn. (Gloucester, 1984), p. 194.

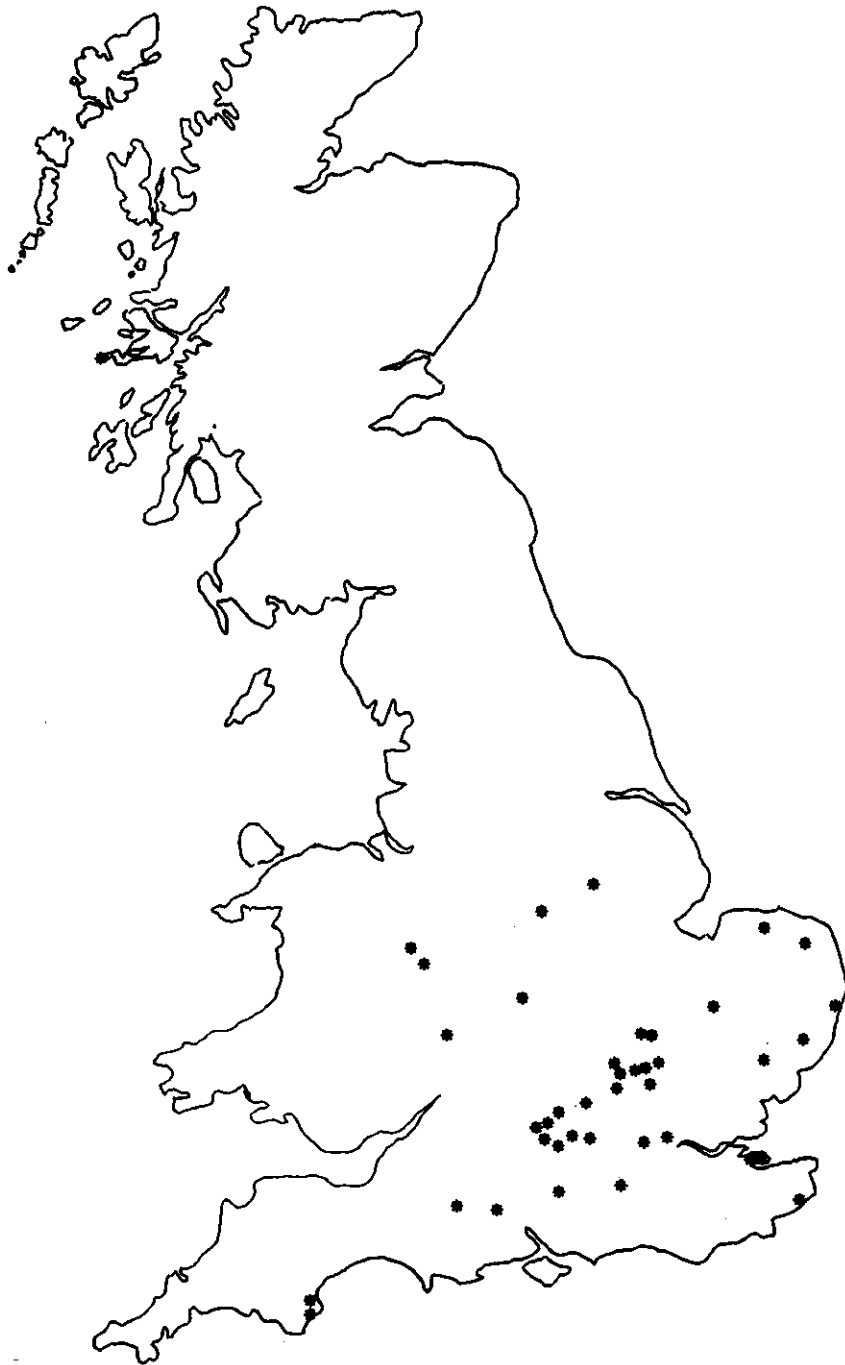


FIG. 24  
Distribution map of London C products

brother Thomas, identified by Harvey as the mason and marbler of that name active from 1408 until his death in 1435, but, although he was a legatee of the brass engraver Stephen Lote in 1417, it is unlikely that Thomas was himself involved in the brass engraving trade.<sup>25</sup> From 1408 to 1416 he was master mason of Durham Cathedral, so would not have been in a position to continue his brother's business. Moreover, the evidence is consistent with John's business having been dismantled after his death. John directed that all his marble stones (*petras meas marmoreas*) were to be sold by his executors, his widow Agnes, Thomas Mallyng, a mason, and William Mirton. His premises in Fleet Street were also disposed of by his widow in 1407 following her re-marriage to Robert Fann, a Skinner.<sup>26</sup> John's will refers to two apprentices, William Pychard and Walter Showe, but nothing more is known of them.

John Mapilton's premises had been acquired only in 1395-7, but it is entirely possible that he was working as a brass engraver before then, if not in the parish of St. Dunstan, then elsewhere.<sup>27</sup> Sadly, there are few other references to him, but such as there are demonstrate his association with other marblers who may have produced brasses as well as trading in other Purbeck marble goods. The earliest known reference to Mapilton is particularly intriguing. On 10 June 1390, a pardon of outlawry was granted to him for not appearing before the Justices of the Common Bench to answer John Edward, citizen of London, for retaining in his service Edmund Brecham, who had left John Edward's service without leave, and for refusing to restore him when required to do so.<sup>28</sup> John Edward, a mason and marbler active from the 1380s until the first decade of the fifteenth century, may well have been the last master of the London A series. This certainly suggests a strong link between Mapilton and the brass engraving trade.

In 1393 Mapilton was involved in a case brought due to the refusal of Thomas Adam to return goods, including 4 piers of marble, 8 molours for preparing painters' colours and 'divers books belonging to the trade of a painter', which Robert Durham 'had committed to his charge by the hand of John Mapilton in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry'.<sup>29</sup> Durham (also known Durram and Dereham) was variously described as a painter and a glazier; his association with Mapilton lasted until 1407, when Mapilton brought a case against him for having departed from his service before the term agreed. Durham's origins are uncertain; as Jon Bayliss has shown, there was more than one craftsman of that name working at this time, but it is most likely that the one with which we are concerned was the son of Hugh le Penytor of Durham, whose apprenticeship was transferred in 1386 to Thomas Canon.<sup>30</sup> Although Canon, a member of the long-established family of marblers from Corfe

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>29</sup> J. Bayliss, 'Notes on London Marblers', *MBS Bulletin*, 11 (1976), p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*



Castle, Dorset, was described as ‘marbler of Corfe’, it does not necessarily mean that he was solely resident there; many marblers operated from both Corfe and London. His occupation of marbler has led various scholars to suggest that Canon was a producer of brasses, though his interests were not limited to this.<sup>31</sup> He also traded in freestone sculpture, for in 1385 he was paid £30. 6s. 8d. for supplying the thirteen statues of kings carved from Reigate stone with Totternhoe crowns still to be seen today in Westminster Hall.<sup>32</sup> As these are evidently the work of more than one hand, the implication is that Canon had a sizeable team of sculptors and other craftsmen working for him.<sup>33</sup> Durham’s apprenticeship may have trained him primarily for the polychrome decoration of statuary and other sculpture, but he would probably also have been capable of producing designs for brasses. Perhaps this was his role within Mapilton’s workshop.

### *Assessment*

The brasses listed in the Appendix which were made after *c.* 1390 form a clear and distinctive group, which can readily be interpreted as products of a workshop separate from the established A and B ateliers. With the characteristics of the C style so ill-formed in the brasses produced before that date, however, it would be inadvisable not to question whether the argument can be sustained for them also having been made in the newly-established workshop. Although there are many features which link these early brasses to the fully established C series, the lettering on the Stoke Fleming, Acton Burnell and Sherborne St. John brasses providing an especially compelling link, it has to be admitted that they are a disparate group.

There are various possible explanations of this. As demonstrated above, the early C brasses have many features in common with Series A products. Moreover, documentary evidence apparently links Mapilton, the likely C master, and his workman, Edward Brecham, with the likely last master of the Series A workshop. It could be that Mapilton himself was formerly in the employ of John Edward and produced these brasses while working in the A establishment, only moving out and setting up for himself *c.* 1390. It is certainly true that design and quality control was looser in the A workshop than in the B atelier and that their products are thus the more variable. Alternatively, it might be that this group of brasses was produced in a separate workshop newly established around 1380, in which, during the first decade that it was in operation, there was a high degree of experimentation. Perhaps the similarity between early C and A products might have resulted from Mapilton poaching Brecham, a key member of the Series A personnel. Inferences such as these can be drawn from this limited evidence only with circumspection. Nonetheless, it has to be said that this early group of brasses has more in common

<sup>31</sup> 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. 78.

<sup>32</sup> Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Lindley, ‘Ricardian Sculpture’, p. 79.

with the fully-established C products than with their Series A counterparts. It is for this reason that the latter explanation is considered the more likely and these early brasses are thus listed here as Series C products.

The Series C master was remarkably successful in challenging the long-established supremacy of the Series A and B workshops in the production of monumental brasses at the turn of the fifteenth century. Although many of the brasses are to men and women of only local importance, from the 1380s onwards the workshop attracted an increasing number of high status patrons, amongst the earliest of whom may have been the widow of the Garter knight, Sir Thomas Felton. As Nigel Saul has demonstrated, many of Richard II's chamber knights chose to be commemorated by Series C brasses.<sup>34</sup> The first of them to die, in 1392, was John Cray of Chinnor. Why his executors chose the C workshop for his brass may never be known, but the brass must have made a favourable impression, for Sir George Felbrigge, Sir Nicholas Dagworth and Sir William Bagot, with all of whom he was associated, followed suit. Arnold Brocas also fits into this group of courtier knights, for he was a kinsman of Richard II's knight Sir Bernard Brocas, whose children, Raulin and Margaret, are commemorated by a Series C brass at Sherborne St. John.<sup>35</sup> With this clientele, the C workshop looked set to prosper, yet it ceased abruptly around the time that Bagot's brass was made. This cannot have been because the business was failing, as it self-evidently was not, reinforcing the likelihood that it was Mapilton's death that had triggered the crisis. If he had had a son to succeed him, the London-based brass engraving industry might have been rather different in the fifteenth century.

### *Acknowledgements*

I am very grateful to Nigel Saul for helpful and stimulating comments on this paper. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Jerome Bertram, Derrick Chivers, William Lack, Martin Stuchfield and Janet Whitham for assistance with the illustrations.

<sup>34</sup> Saul, 'Golafre', pp. 31-2.

<sup>35</sup> Sir Bernard Brocas was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey and commemorated by a relief effigy of questionable authenticity on a tomb chest with a brass fillet inscription. The latter is in Series A lettering, not C like the brasses to his kin. Perhaps this part of the monument was sub-contracted by the craftsman who produced the remainder of the monument.

## APPENDIX: LIST OF LONDON C BRASSES

Items in square brackets are now lost; those in italics are not in their original location; dates in square brackets are derived from sources other than the brass itself.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Commemorated</i>	<i>Date</i>
St. Albans, St. Michael, Herts. I	John & Maud Pecok	
<i>Dale Abbey, Derbs. lost rev.</i>	unknown lady	
Great Berkhamsted, Herts. III	?Margaret Briggs	1374
Cople, Beds. III rev.	John Veal	1375
<i>Stoke Fleming, Devon I rev.</i>	unknown rector	
Great Berkhamsted, Herts. I	Richard & Margaret Torryngton	[1349 & 1356]
<i>East Barsham, Norfolk indent</i>	Sir Thomas Felton & son, Thomas	1381
Acton Burnell, Shrops. I	Sir Nicholas Burnell	1382
Sherborne St. John, Hants. I	Raulin & Margaret Brocas	
[St. Mary de Castro, Dover Castle]	Sir Robert Ashton	1384
Iona Cathedral, Scotland	?John MacDonald	1387
Marsworth, Bucks. I	John & Christine Seelk	
Dittisham, Devon indent	unknown civilian	
Stoke Fleming, Devon I	John and Eleanor Corp	[1361] & 1391
Chinnor, Oxon. VII	John Cray	1392
Cholsey, Berks. II	John Gate	1394
Hereford Cathedral IV	unknown civilian	1394
Guildford St Nicholas, Surrey I	Arnold Brocas	1395
St. Edmund, Salisbury, Wilts. indent	unknown armoured figure and lady	
Mildenhall, Suffolk I	?Sir John or Robert Hethe	
Dorchester, Oxon indent	Sir William Drayton	1398
Mere, Wiltshire I	John Bettesthorpe	1398
<i>Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks. I rev</i>	Johane de Clynton	[post 1382]
Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks. I	Roger Campendene	1398
High Halstow, Kent	William Groby senior	[1396]
High Halstow, Kent I	William Groby junior	1398
Broughton, Bucks. I	Agnes de Broughton	1399
Letchworth, Herts. I	William & Isabel Overbury	after 1399
Ickleford, Herts. I	Thomas & Marion Somers	after 1399
Wrentham, Suffolk I	Ele Ufford	1400
Playford, Suffolk	Sir George Felbrigge	1400
<i>Private possession H.M. Stuchfield</i>	unknown civilian	
Holme Pierrepont, Notts. I	unknown lady	
<i>Clavering, Essex V rev.</i>	unknown armoured figure	
<i>Victoria &amp; Albert Museum, London</i>	unknown Trinity	
Shrewsbury, St. Alkmund, Shrops.	unknown civilian	

<i>Reading, Berks. III rev.</i>	unknown armoured figure	
<i>Friston, Sussex I rev.</i>		
Blickling, Norfolk I	Sir Nicholas Dagworth	1401
Shottesbrooke, Berks. I	Margaret Pennebrygge	1401
Ippolyts, Herts. I	Robert and Alice Poydres	1401
Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk I	Katherine Clopton	1402
Broughton, Bucks. II	John de Broughton	1403
Morley, Derbyshire II	Ralph & Godythe de Stathum	1403
East Hagbourne, Berks. I	Clarice Wyndesore	1403
Checkendon, Oxon. I	John Rede	1404
Lambourne, Berks. I	John & Agnes de Estbury	1406
Baginton, Warws. I	Sir William & Margaret Bagot	[1401]&1407
[Langley Marish, Bucks. I]	William Wyot	[1410]

# The Brass of John and Elizabeth Vampage at Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire

by JEROME BERTRAM

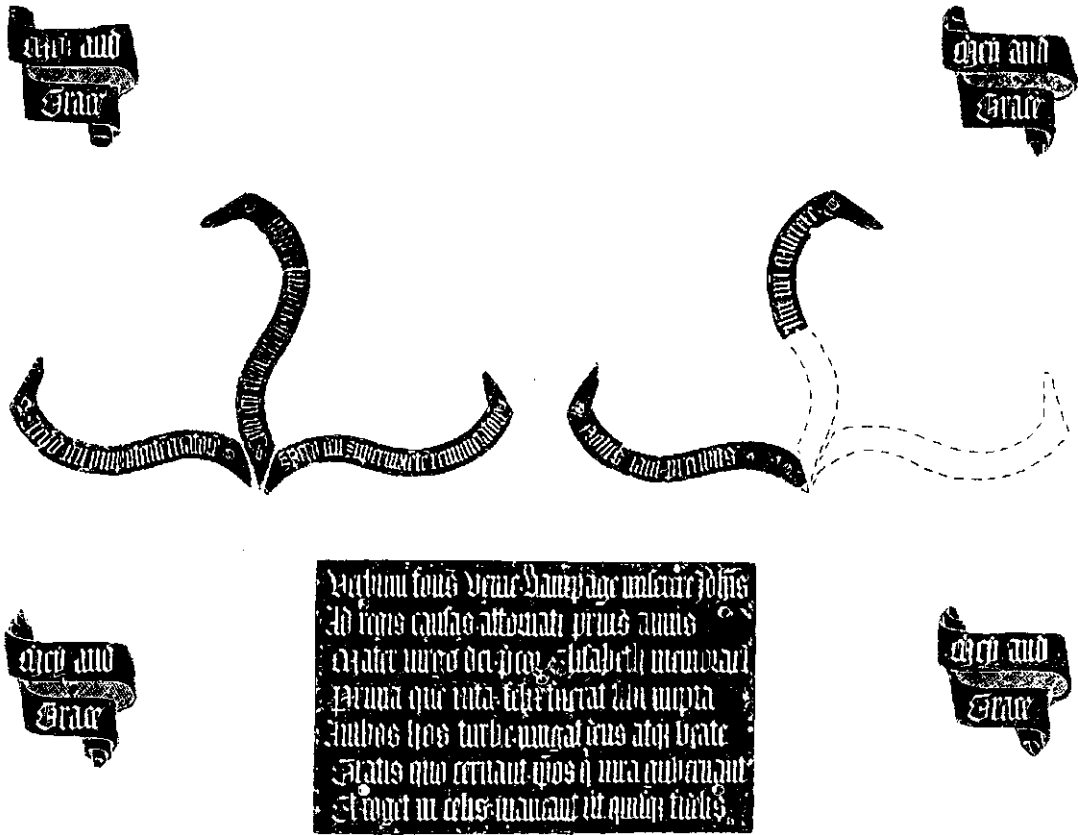


FIG. 1  
Surviving plates of the Vampage brass, Minster Lovell

THE scattered fragments of a curious brass have long been dispersed around the church of St. Kenelm in Minster Lovell. Prior to the nineteenth-century restorations, it lay on the floor of the north transept, where it was seen by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquaries, but was lost to sight under pews during the nineteenth century. During the restoration it was broken up: the verses were set in a small freestone slab on the floor of the north transept, the slab was broken into three pieces, two of which were set as a step outside the west door, and the scrolls were for a time kept loose in the vestry, before being fastened to a board

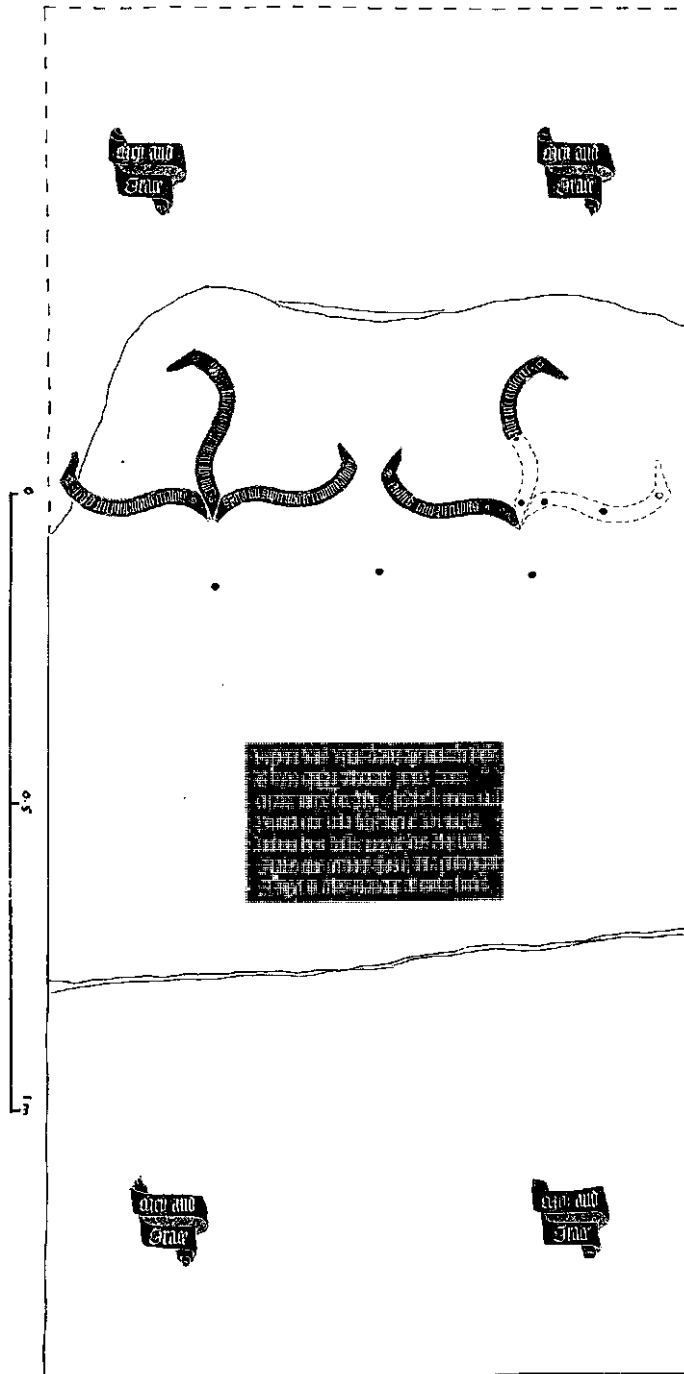


FIG. 2  
The surviving plates arranged according to the rivet plugs on the original slab

in 1900 by W. Gawthorp, at the expense of the Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society, and mounted on the wall of the passage connecting the nave with the north transept.<sup>1</sup> During the time they were loose, one of the scrolls was treasured by the sexton 'for the purpose of raking out the stove, a function to which its curvature was very conveniently adapted'.<sup>2</sup>

It has been possible to reconstruct the original appearance of the brass with reference to the pattern of rivets on the surviving portion of the slab, a mid nineteenth-century rubbing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and notes taken by the antiquaries Richard Lee, Richard Symonds, and Anthony Wood. The first record of the brass is in Richard Lee's 1574 visitation notes, with a rough sketch of the shield, clearly showing the floriated tressure, and the crest, a spotted dog, with a note that was finally transcribed by F.G. Gurney for Greening Lamborn as *ermyns argente Vanpages an attorney as*. (The 1871 Harleian Society publication places this shield among those on the alabaster tomb of William, Lord Lovell, and describes it as having a simple bordure: they were unable to read the note, and so simply ignored it.)<sup>3</sup> Richard Symonds in *c.* 1644 says there was a shield in each corner, and one 'towards the upper end, with mantle, helme, and creast', 'sans pictures of bodyes'. He gives the text of the verses and the 'motto in divers severall scrowlls', and draws 'the one of the four shields remayne'.<sup>4</sup> Anthony Wood in *c.* 1660 gives the motto 'Mercy and Grace' twice, then the verses, then the motto again twice, and then the three complete scrolls.<sup>5</sup> Hinton's notes of *c.* 1800 do not mention the brass at all.<sup>6</sup> A rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' collection, made when the slab was obscured by pews, and parts of the brass covered, shows the relationship of the scrolls, though the accompanying sketch implies there were three 'Mercy and grace' scrolls across the top.

The slab is of ordinary pale grey Purbeck marble, 1040 mm wide and now measuring 1790 mm at the longest point; about another 500 mm are missing at the top end. There are no indents, but many lead rivet plugs survive, one brass rivet, and several empty plug holes. It is obvious that the verses were in the middle, under two bunches of scrolls. Beneath the bunches is a single lead plug on each side, almost certainly to hold a heart.<sup>7</sup> A single plug in the centre between the presumed hearts must have held the crested shield drawn by Lee and Symonds. Plugs in the lower corners, and doubtless the lost upper corners, must have held the four short scrolls.

<sup>1</sup> 'Notes', *Oxford Jnl of Monumental Brasses*, II, pt. 1 (1900), pp. 45-6; W.E. Gawthorpe [sic], 'Restorations of Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 1 (1934), p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> E.A. Greening Lamborn, 'The Lovel Tomb at Minster', *Oxfordshire Archaeological Soc. Report*, LXXXIII (1937), p. 17 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian MS Wood D.14, f. 5; illustrated in Greening Lamborn, 'Lovel Tomb', pl. 4; see also E.A. Greening Lamborn, 'The Lovel Tomb at Minster', *Notes and Queries*, CXCH (1947), pp. 49-50, and, *The Visitations of the County of Oxfordshire*, ed. W.H. Turner, Harleian Soc., 5 (London, 1871), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> BL Add. MS 17,062, f. 20v; Richard Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*, ed. C.E. Long, Camden Soc., 74 (London, 1859), p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Bodleian MS Wood E.1, f. 60; Anthony à Wood and Richard Rawlinson, *Parochial Collections*, ed. F.N. Davis, pt. 2, Oxfordshire Record Soc., 4 (Oxford, 1922), p. 217.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bertram, 'A Regency Collection of Brass Rubbings', *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 1 (1975), pp. 90-100.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. brasses at Souldern and Caversfield, Oxfordshire.

This means that Symonds must have been mistaken in saying there were shields at each corner.

The brass is of London workmanship, from the 'B' tradition, and has been dated by Sally Badham as between 1430 and 1450, with a strong preference for the beginning of that range. The inscriptions read as follows:

*Verbum fons venie Vampage miserere Joh(ann)is*

*Ad regis causas attornati prius annis*

*Mater virgo dei p(re)cor Elisabeth memorari*

*Prima que uita felix fuerat sibi nupta*

*Ambos hos turbe iungat deus atq(ue) beate*

*Gratis quo cernant ip(s)os q(u)i iura gubernant*

*Et roget in celis maneat ut quisq(ue) fidelis.*

*Credo deu(m) o(m)nipotente(m) creatore(m)*

*Colo deu(m) clementem redemptorem.*

*Spero deu(m) Superviue(n)te(m) remuneratore(m).*

*Nobis iam precibus*

*... Jh(es)u n(ost)ri Miserere.*

.....

*M(er)cy and Grace.*

(O Word and fount of forgiveness, have mercy on John Vampage, who in former years was attorney of the King's causes. O Virgin Mother of God, I pray you remember Elizabeth, who was happily married to him in the first flush of her life. May God also join them both together to the blessed throng, by his grace. May they look towards God, whose laws govern them, and may each faithful one pray that they may remain in the heavens. I believe in God almighty the Creator; I worship God the merciful redeemer; I hope in God the overshadowing remunerator. To us now, at the prayers of ....., Jesus have mercy on us ....) The text was apparently not copied accurately by the engraver: the last two lines of verse hardly make sense (*qui* must be meant for *cuius*) and the third scroll must be intended to read *supervenientem*.

The heraldry of the shield is quite clear from Lee and Symonds' drawings, being *Azure an eagle displayed argent within a tressure flory*, for Vampage.<sup>8</sup> The crest appears to be: *a dog (? or wolf) sejant, its tail wrapped around its body*, which is not otherwise recorded. Lee's note *ermyns argente* must refer to the dog: if he means that it was silver with black spots, it is an ordinary Dalmatian, but if he really means 'ermine', i.e. black with silver spots, then it is an unusual creature.

The name John Vampage appears five times in six generations in the pedigree given by Nash.<sup>9</sup> The likely candidate for this brass is the second John, who married Elizabeth Walker, was escheator in Worcestershire in 1422, 1430, 1431, 1432 and 1439, also assessor of tax in 1436, deputy sheriff in 1428 and 1433, and guardian of

<sup>8</sup> See also *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, II, ed. T. Woodcock, J. Grant and I. Graham (London, 1996), p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> T. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, 2 vols. (London, 1781-2), II, p. 183.



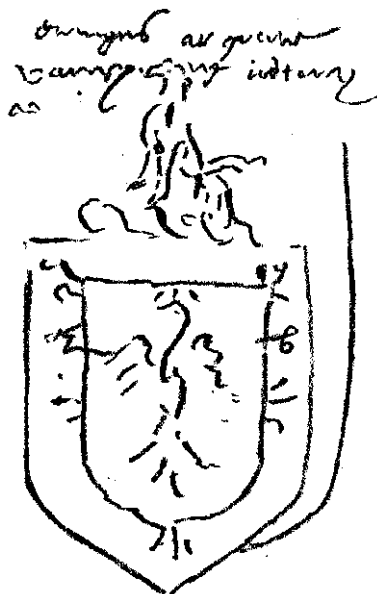


FIG. 3

Shield and crest of Vampage from Bodleian MS Wood D.14, f. 5

the temporalities of the Bishopric of Worcester in 1435. He was dead before 1446, when John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, proved his will as executor, his widow and co-executor Elizabeth having already re-married John Stanley.<sup>10</sup> Their son and heir, Sir John Vampage of Pershore, is mentioned in many later documents. The most likely explanation for the elder John's involvement with Minster Lovell is that being in the royal service he acted as agent for Queen Jean of Navarre, who was given the manor on the sequestration of alien priories in 1414, and held it until her death in 1437.<sup>11</sup> The brass was presumably made during this period, while John Vampage was still alive, so that a date in the early 1430s is very plausible. The church was probably completely rebuilt by William, Lord Lovell, who leased the manor from 1441 onwards, but even if the brass had been laid in the old church, the fact that it was so new, and that Elizabeth Vampage was still alive at least in 1446, would account for its preservation in the new church.

Dimensions: Verses 260 x 410 mm; long scrolls 240 mm long, short scrolls 120 x 140 mm. Slab now 1790 x 1040 m.

Date of Rubbing: 21 September 1974, slab drawn 10 July 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Greening Lamborn, 'Lovel Tomb', p. 17; Sally Badham, pers. comm.

<sup>11</sup> A.J. Taylor, 'The Alien Priory of Minster Lovell', *Oxoniensia*, II (1937), p. 114.

# Hermann Blankfordt

by HANS-GERD DORMAGEN



FIG. 1  
Hermann Blankfordt, d. 1554  
formerly St. Columba, Cologne  
*Photograph: Rheinisches Bildarchiv*

Of the numerous brasses of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries that were in the Rhineland, only a few survived into the twentieth century. Most of them were sold in the course of time for the value of their metal and melted down or were destroyed by military action. One of these was a fine plate in the parish church of St. Columba in Cologne, the origins of which go back to the Carolingian period. The church is first mentioned in documents in 980,<sup>1</sup> just at the time when medieval Cologne had started to develop. The brass, in memory of Hermann Blankfordt, who was parish priest from 1542 to 1554, remained in the church until the night of 29 June 1943 when a large part of central Cologne was laid waste by bombs and the church of St. Columba was destroyed.

The plate was on a pillar on the south side of the choir.<sup>2</sup> It was rectangular, 750 mm high and 580 mm wide, and had traces of former gilding (Fig. 1). In the lower half of the brass kneels the deceased in the dress of the Rector of a University. He wears a wide mantle reaching to the feet with a collar covering the shoulders. His hands are clasped in prayer and he kneels before a prie-dieu, on which lies an open book with writing on its pages. Only a few words can be deciphered: 'TVO SECVNDVM MISERICORDIA ... NOMEN ... IDEO DILEXI MANDATA TVA' (Ps. 118). The background consists of a simple curtain. Before Blankfordt is a shield, which is charged not with arms but with the monogram Hb. Underneath runs a line of text: OBIIT ANNO DOMINI 1554 DIE 12 OCTOBRIS.

In the upper half is a tall chalice, in the middle of an eight-line inscription:

FRANGVNTVR FACILI CRISTALLINA POCVLA CASV,  
 LABVNTVR PROPERE MORTIS IN ANTRA BONI.  
 HEV QVAM PRAEPROPERO VENERANDVS ET INCLYTVS ICTV  
 HERMANNVS BLANFORT FRACTVS INIVIT HVMVM.  
 OPTIMVS ILLE DEI CVLTOR, DOCTISSIMVS ILLE.  
 SCRIPTVRAE DOCTOR SACRAE, OPERITVR HVMO.  
 HAC TELLVRE QVIDEM TERRENV M CORPV S OPERTVM EST,  
 VIVVS IN AETHEREA SPIRITVS ARCE MICAT.<sup>3</sup>

The whole composition is framed by two bulbous columns with short pillar bases, from the top of which spring Renaissance foliage.

### *University Career*

On 31 October 1524 Hermann Blankfordt matriculated in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Cologne,<sup>4</sup> which took its name from the seven liberal arts, namely Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. At

<sup>1</sup> E. Hegel, *St. Kolumba in Köln*, Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte, 30 (Siegburg, 1996), p. 31; O. Oppermann, *Rheinische Urkundenstudien*, I (Bonn, 1922), p. 440 f. (Charter of Archbishop Warin, 25 October 980).

<sup>2</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> P. Clemen ed., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, 6. Bd., IV. Abt., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln* (Düsseldorf, 1916), p. 219 f.; Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> H. Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 7 vols. (Bonn, 1892-1919; repr. Düsseldorf, 1979-81), II, p. 870 (nr. 543, 544): Hermann Blankenfort de Wullen (Ahaus district, in the Deanery of Münster); Blankfordt was often also known as 'Hermannus Monasteriensis'.

first one mainly attended lectures in Logic (Dialectic). Exercises in Rhetoric and Grammar were given principally in the *Bursen* (student hostels). On 16 November 1525 Blankfordt took his examination and ended his basic studies with the degree of *Baccalaureus*.<sup>5</sup> The syllabus in the main course of studies was dominated by natural philosophy. Apart from seminars in Physics, the syllabus consisted mainly of disputations, which were however extremely formalised in the way they were learned. Five chosen examiners (*Temptatores*) conducted an aptitude examination before the following Licentiate examination. These usually took place on 3 February. If the candidate passed, the Vice Chancellor of the University selected four examiners for the examination, which then took place between the middle of February and the beginning of March.<sup>6</sup> On 4 April 1527 Blankfordt, as a pupil of Magister Johann de Venlo, Regent of his Laurentianer *Burse*, was awarded the degree of *Magister artium*.<sup>7</sup>

Because the Arts Faculty possessed no dedicated teaching building, the *Bursen* were particularly important as living and studying communities. The statutes of the Cologne Arts Faculty of 1398 had already made it compulsory for students to belong to a *Burse*. Regents of Arts governed all aspects of life in the originally small colleges. Income was derived from the regular fees paid by the scholars. Additional university teaching, a *Repetitorium* or refresher course, was increasingly taking place in the *Bursen*. On the one hand this was the result of a desire for increased control of the scholars, and on the other it meant that the scholars' fees were paid to the *Bursen*. 'Grossbursen' were created by mergers and generous foundations, made mainly by the Regents themselves.

Several *Bursen* adhered to specific philosophical tendencies. Blankfordt's spiritual home was the Laurentianer *Burse*, named after an early Regent, Laurentius Buninch.<sup>8</sup> This *Burse* followed the philosophical Realism of Aristotle as interpreted by Albertus Magnus, which they developed in narrow, and sometimes hair-splitting, opposition to another large *Burse*, the Montaner.<sup>9</sup> This uncompromisingly conservative Albertinism of Cologne was unsuited to the changed requirements of the times and certainly had no hope of influencing them.<sup>10</sup>

As holder of a Master of Arts degree, Blankfordt had the right to teach in the Faculty of Arts and at the same time, on his modest stipend, to start his course of studies at the Theological Faculty. Thus, he lectured at the Laurentianer *Burse* from 1528 to 1543,<sup>11</sup> and also, from 1530 to 1550, in the Faculty of Arts,<sup>12</sup> of which he was

<sup>5</sup> Keussen, *Matrikel*, II, p. 870; G.-R. Tewes, *Die Bursen der Kölner Artisten-Fakultät bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, 1993), pp. 15 ff., 71; E. Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte*, I, *Die alte Universität* (Köln, 1988), p. 113 ff. Whilst in Paris a two-year course of study was required before the Baccalaureate examination, the Cologne statutes already allowed an earlier admission.

<sup>6</sup> Tewes, *Bursen*, p. 15 ff.; Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> See n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> H. Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln: Grundzüge ihrer Verfassung und Geschichte* (Köln, 1934), pp. 345-6.; Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 93 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 344.

<sup>10</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 87; Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 189 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Tewes, *Bursen*, p. 450 ff.; Keussen, *Matrikel*, II, p. 870.

<sup>12</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 532.

Dean from 9 October 1531 to 23 March 1532 and again from March 1539 to 19 March 1540.<sup>13</sup>

The Theology curriculum consisted of a basic course, lasting six years and leading to the Baccalaureate, followed by an advanced course. During the latter the Bachelor, under the supervision of a Magister, read cursorily through the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. These 'lectures' were probably a method of practising public speaking and a preparation for future preaching.<sup>14</sup> Blankfordt obtained the Theological Baccalaureate in 1533 and the Licentiate in 1535 at the age of thirty.<sup>15</sup>

Blankfordt spent the whole of his further academic career in Cologne. From 29 November 1543<sup>16</sup> to 24 March 1545<sup>17</sup> he was Rector of the University. This election process took place exceptionally in November, since his predecessor, Johann de Busco, had died prematurely.<sup>18</sup> The election was held in the Franciscan convent,<sup>19</sup> that had stood since 1245 in the immediate vicinity of St. Columba. A prerequisite for election was celibacy; in all the statutes it was stipulated that the candidate should be a Magister or Doctor. The rector was elected by the Deans of the four Faculties, the so-called *Intrantes*.<sup>20</sup> In 1549/1550 Blankfordt was elected Dean of the Theological Faculty.<sup>21</sup>

The new community of the Jesuits was treated with suspicion by the Council of the City of Cologne. Blankfordt used his influence as Rector of the University to allow nine members of the Society to matriculate in June 1544 and to have the right of habitation in Cologne.<sup>22</sup> Although he was initially a patron of the Jesuits, he later became a determined opponent when he realised that their privileges undermined the rights of the parish clergy.<sup>23</sup>

In 1550 he was awarded a Doctorate in Theology.<sup>24</sup> The conferment of the doctorate (*Promotio*) consisted of three parts: the *Vesperia*, an extended disputation on the eve of the Promotion; the *Aula*, the actual act of conferring the degree, consisting of a further disputation; and the *Resumpta*, a speech on the following day, again on the theme of the *Aula*.<sup>25</sup> In 1550 he also became Professor in the Theological Faculty, a position he held until his death.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 497.

<sup>14</sup> Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 142 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 89 f.; Tewes, *Bursen*, p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> Keussen, *Matrikel*, II, p. 982. His *Intrantes* were: m. noster Theod. Halverius; Herm. Hammonius, dr. iur.; Joh. Isenborg, dr. med.; Bern. Afflensis, b. theol. (Art. Dek.-Buch, IV, 228b).

<sup>17</sup> Keussen, *Matrikel*, I, p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 398. Keussen (*ibid.*, p. 126) cites as fixed dates for the original quarterly election 25 March (Annunciation), 29 June (Peter and Paul), 9 October (Denis) and 21 December (Thomas); in the course of the 16th century, however, a yearly changeover developed.

<sup>19</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 81.

<sup>20</sup> Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 69 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 418; Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 89, cites 1550/51 as the period.

<sup>22</sup> J. Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens 1542-1582* (Bonn, 1896), p. 22 ff.; Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 297 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, p. 219, n. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 89 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 430.

He was again elected Rector, taking office on 28 June 1553<sup>27</sup> for one year, as was customary in the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> His term ended on 28 June 1554. Two days later, on 30 July 1554, he was again made Dean of the Theological Faculty;<sup>29</sup> he died in office, on 12 October 1554, aged just 48.

### *The Parish Priest*

A settlement between Cathedral Provost Engelbert and the officials of the parish of St. Columba in Cologne had ensured that this was since 1212 the second Cologne parish with a limited right to elect the parish priest.<sup>30</sup> By a bull of 28 May 1425 Pope Martin V conceded a renewal of this privilege to the congregation, again with the proviso that the patronal right was vested in the Cathedral Provost. Also the course of the election was stipulated. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the parish the four churchwardens and nine electors who were selected by members of the parish chose a candidate who then applied to the Cathedral Provost to be inducted.<sup>31</sup> Pope Julius II confirmed this privilege on 26 November 1503 to the parish council and the parish congregation. The Pope expressly paid tribute to the commitment of more than 10,000 gold gulden that the congregation had spent on the renovation of the dilapidated church of St. Columba.<sup>32</sup>

The Laurentianer *Burse* possessed a house for the purposes of accommodation and teaching in Schmierstraße,<sup>33</sup> the present-day Komödienstraße, in the parish of St. Columba. As a result of many years of teaching in this *Burse* Hermann Blankfordt was well known to the leading families of the parish, especially as their children were probably numbered among his scholars.

When Arnold Nikolaus van Damme, who had held the post of parish priest for almost forty years, died in 1542,<sup>34</sup> Hermann Blankfordt was nominated by the four churchwardens and the nine deputies. The close connection between St. Columba and the Laurentianer *Burse* was here particularly significant. Not only van Damme was a Laurentianer, but also at least one of the churchwardens, Jasper Eichmeister.<sup>35</sup> After the Cathedral Provost Georg Duke of Brunswick had inducted him, a week

<sup>27</sup> Keussen, *Matrikel*, II, p. 1074. His *Intrantes* were: Henr. A Tongri, prof. theol., presb. Can. Eccl. Col.; Henr. A Vuch, dr. iur., can. S. Andree; Jac. Hoichstraten, m. art., lic. Theol., can. S. Andree; medicus abfuit.

<sup>28</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 399.

<sup>29</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 419.

<sup>30</sup> H. Schaefer, *Inventare und Regesten aus den Kölner Pfarrarchiven*, II, Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, 76 (Köln, 1903), p. 149, nr. 7; Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 55.

<sup>31</sup> Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 158 ff., nr. 53, 56 and 57; Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 174 ff., give a precise description of the process of an election in 1689.

<sup>32</sup> Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 179, nr. 152.

<sup>33</sup> H. Keussen, *Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Köln, 1898-1910), II, 108 b 17/18; Keussen, *Universität*, p. 346.

<sup>34</sup> Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 192, nr. 232 (1542 August 18) Notary Balthasar Kirchhellen de Piscina recorded the inventory of goods in the house of the deceased clergyman Arnold van Damme with Hermann Blankfordt and several other persons as trustees (see also Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 194, nr. 240).

<sup>35</sup> Tewes, *Bursen*, p. 777: the merchant venturer family of Eichmeister belonged to the political ruling class in Cologne. Jasper Eichmeister had entered the Laurentiana and determined for his degree under Johannes de Venlo (as did Blankfordt in 1527; see n. 7). From 1529 to 1550 he was active as a councillor in Cologne; from 1542 he is mentioned as a churchwarden at St. Columba.

later, on 30 August, Blankfordt took the oath to fulfil his obligation to be resident as a parish priest and also to fulfil his other obligations responsibly.<sup>36</sup>

A parish priest in the city of Cologne did not receive a regular stipend. Therefore an important source of income were burial fees, Mass endowments and legacies. The mendicants were in direct competition with the parish priest, especially in this case the Franciscans and the Brothers of the Cross, who were based in the parish. When they undertook burials in their churches, they were required to pay part of their fees and bequests to the parish priest.<sup>37</sup>

Thus it was financial motives in particular that led Blankfordt and his predecessor as parish priest of St. Columba to gain an academic degree in theology and to enter the Theological Faculty as a professor. Most teaching positions in the university brought with them a canonry in one of the eleven collegiate churches in Cologne, although a requirement for these benefices was an academic degree in theology or canon law.<sup>38</sup>

The reciprocal duty of the parish priest of St. Columba was to give lectures, which Hermann Blankfordt, in contrast to many of his predecessors, conscientiously undertook. In 1553, therefore, Archbishop Adolf von Schauenburg (1547-56) requested his consideration by the commission which was to appoint one of the most coveted priest-canonries of the first degree in Cologne Cathedral. A further consideration was that, at a time of plague in Cologne, Blankfordt had conscientiously carried out his duties as parish priest.<sup>39</sup>

In 1543 he was already a canon of St. Mariengraden<sup>40</sup> and St. Andreas.<sup>41</sup> All things considered, Blankfordt must have received a good income. Firstly, he received the fees of the *Bursen* scholars and the arts students, then, in addition, the church fees, and from 1550 the salary of a university professor. Furthermore, he lived in a tax-free presbytery with a garden, which the parish put at his disposal. At any rate, in 1552 he was in a position to assign to the Cathedral Chapter 200 gulden in return for an income of 8 Oberland gulden.<sup>42</sup>

Hermann Blankfordt became the parish priest of St. Columba in the very year in which the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied (1477-1552, Archbishop 1515-47), invited the Alsatian reformer, Martin Bucer (1491-1551), to preach in the Minster at Bonn. Bucer first preached there on 17 December 1542, intending to resume after Christmas. In the interim, Blankfordt preached in his place, having been sent by the Cologne Cathedral Chapter to Bonn by way of protest. He was no

<sup>36</sup> Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 193, nr. 233 and 234.

<sup>37</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 81; L. Ennen and G. Eckertz, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 6 vols. (Köln, 1860-79), II, nr. 273.

<sup>38</sup> Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 90.

<sup>39</sup> H. Keussen, *Regesten und Auszüge zur Geschichte der Universität Köln 1388-1559*, Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln, 36, 37 (Köln, 1918), nr. 3521; Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 91. This commission consisted of one representative of the University and four representatives from the City of Cologne.

<sup>40</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 44.

<sup>41</sup> Keussen, *Matrikel*, II, p. 982.

<sup>42</sup> Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 197, nr. 254 (3 August 1552).

match, however, for Bucer's speeches in favour of the Reformation and his intervention was a failure.<sup>43</sup>

He must, however, have been a well known and successful preacher, his name having been put forward as early as the end of 1538, when the Counts of East Friesland, wanting to reintroduce Catholicism, asked the University of Cologne to send them experienced preachers.<sup>44</sup> In 1543, together with auxiliary bishop Johann Nopel, he was invited to give a weekly sermon in Cologne Cathedral.<sup>45</sup>

### *Church Reform and Reformation*

Originally Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, had followed a thoroughgoing Catholic policy. From the mid 1530s, under the controlling influence of his Chancellor Johannes Gropper he strove for reforms, which at first followed a thoroughly Catholic line, but after 1540 increasingly tended towards Protestantism. When he then in December 1542 introduced Martin Bucer and in May 1543 also brought Melanchthon to Bonn, the connection with Gropper was severed. But in the end the introduction of the Reformation into the Archdiocese of Cologne failed; one of the causes was the energetic intervention of the Emperor Charles V, who could not remain indifferent to the Archdiocese becoming Protestant. Archbishop Hermann von Wied, who had been excommunicated by Pope Paul III on 16 April 1546, resigned his office on 25 February 1547, following the installation by imperial commissioners of the former coadjutor Adolf von Schauenburg as Archbishop and Elector on 24 January 1547.<sup>46</sup>

In this problematic and crucial situation Herman Blankfordt, as already mentioned, became Rector of the University on 29 November 1543.

For a long time the City Council of Cologne and the University had been opposed to recognisable protestantising tendencies. The Theological Faculty of the University had Luther's writings examined and had condemned them as heretical as early as 30 August 1519; on 12 November 1520 all available writings and books were burnt on the Cathedral square in the presence of representatives of the University and the Emperor Charles V.<sup>47</sup> Then in 1528 Theodor Fabricius was forbidden to teach.<sup>48</sup> In 1543, at the request of the University, the Council dismissed the lawyer Johannes Oldendorp,<sup>49</sup> who left the City and then taught in Marburg. In 1545, another lawyer, Sibert Louvenberg, who was also Counsellor to

<sup>43</sup> A. Franzen, *Bischof und Reformation: Erzbischof Hermann von Wied in Köln vor der Entscheidung zwischen Reform und Reformation* (Münster, 1971), p. 80 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Tewes, *Bursen*, p. 450; Keussen, *Regesten*, nr. 3136, 3140 and 3141.

<sup>45</sup> Schaefer, *Inventare*, p. 194, nr. 239 (14 December 1543).

<sup>46</sup> This is not the place for close consideration of this extremely difficult state of affairs. For detailed discussion, see K. Varrentrapp, *Hermann von Wied und sein Reformationsversuch in Köln* (Leipzig, 1878); Franzen, *Bischof und Reformation*.

<sup>47</sup> Keussen, *Regesten*, nr. 2776 and 2805; Franzen, *Bischof und Reformation*, p. 25 ff.; J.F.G. Goeters, 'Der katholische Hermann von Wied', *Monatshefte für Evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes*, XXXV (1986), p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Keussen, *Regesten*, nr. 2899, 2908, 2938, 3031; Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 266, with further examples.

<sup>49</sup> Keussen, *Regesten*, nr. 3207 and 3288.



Archbishop Hermann von Wied, was forbidden to teach on account of his Evangelical views.<sup>50</sup>

While reform-minded professors were expelled, full support was given to the Catholic Church. The spokesman for the university on numerous occasions was the Carmelite Provincial, Eberhard Billik, who had been a professor in the Faculty of Theology since 1540.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, quite a high proportion of the professors of theology at Cologne were mendicants. Throughout 1543, the University, on some occasions with the support of the Council and the Cathedral Chapter, pressed the bishop to dismiss the reformer, Martin Bucer, albeit in vain.

In Blankfordt's period of office, the University conducted voluminous correspondence with princes, bishops, chapters and other universities. Above all it canvassed for their assent to the appeal that the Pope and Emperor Charles V brought against the Archbishop on 9 October 1544.<sup>52</sup>

From 1545 the University required at matriculation an oath to the Catholic confession of faith. Those who renounced the Catholic faith were threatened with the deprivation of academic rights and privileges.<sup>53</sup>

Adolf von Schauenburg immediately annulled the innovations introduced by his predecessor, although he, too, recognised the need for reforms. These, however, he intended to introduce according to the ideas and guidelines of Emperor Charles V. A total of six regional diocesan synods had prepared a provincial council, which took place from 11 March to 6 April 1549, and at which Blankfordt played a decisive role. Together with the parish priest of St. Martin, he was a deputy of the parish priests of the city of Cologne.<sup>54</sup> He also took part in visitations of the religious foundations in the Imperial City of Cologne, intended to give evidence of irregularities in the life of the clergy. He is mentioned as visitor of the minster of St. Gereon on 7 February and of the abbey of St. Pantaleon on 2 March 1549.<sup>55</sup>

### *Summary*

One can rightly say that, at a municipal level, Hermann Blankfordt was a thoroughly well-known and influential man. His position as parish priest of the largest and most populated parish<sup>56</sup> in the city emphasized his importance. In addition, the three wealthy merchant families who lived in his parish, Rinck, Westerburg, who had amassed great riches from trade with England, and

<sup>50</sup> Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, pp. 267, 275; Keussen, *Universität*, p. 462 ff., nr. 216 and 224.

<sup>51</sup> Keussen, *Universität*, p. 430, nr. 201.

<sup>52</sup> Meuthen, *Alte Universität*, p. 277 ff.; Keussen, *Regesten*, nr. 3264, 3268, 3270, 3275, 3277, 3278, 3281, 3282, 3289, 3292-4, 3300, 3323, 3324.

<sup>53</sup> L. Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 5 vols. (Köln and Neuss, 1863-1880), IV, p. 496 ff.; Keussen, *Regesten*, nr. 3304.

<sup>54</sup> H. Foerster, *Reformbestrebungen Adolfs III. Von Schaumburg (1547-1556) in der Kölner Kirchenprovinz*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 45/46 (Münster, 1925), p. 43 n. 93.

<sup>55</sup> Foerster, *Reformbestrebungen*, p. 28 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Approximately 6000-8000 parishioners (according to an estimate of 1426) comprised about a fifth of the population of the city (Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, p. 94).

Wasserfass, who had long held influential municipal offices and had been mayor at regular intervals, would have ensured that Blankfordt gained a hearing in high places.

As Rector of the University he asserted his conservative Roman Catholic standpoint and influence just at the time when Archbishop Hermann von Wied wanted to introduce the Reformation instead of the originally conceived church reforms. In cooperation with the Cologne City Council and the Cathedral Chapter, although for different motives, he was a cog in the works that contributed to the collapse of this attempt. He then took a leading role in opposing it once more under the Archbishop's successor, Adolf von Schauenburg. At this time he worked closely with the Archbishop's chancellor Johann Nopel, who was also auxiliary bishop of Cologne and Provost of St. Andreas.

The sources frequently emphasize his consciousness of duty and his enthusiasm for work. It was not without reason that the University recorded its regret at his early death. The costly memorial brass which was put up in his parish church also bears witness to his untiring activity.

# Oxfordshire Styles II and III

by JEROME BERTRAM

## II: The Royal Stag

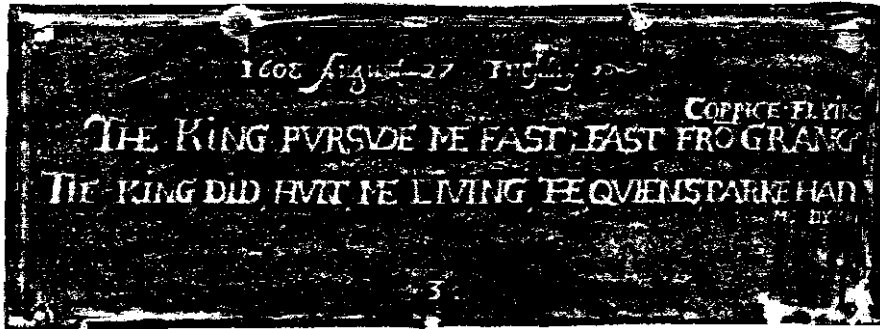


FIG. 1

A royal stag, 1608, Ditchley House, Oxfordshire  
*Rubbing by the author, 28 May 1998*

WHEREAS the first local style of brass engraving was the execrable series of clumsy workmanship, unfit for display in public, that I attributed to the ‘Drunken Marbler’,<sup>1</sup> the second series moves in much more exalted circles, and was able to advertise ‘By appointment to His Majesty King James, and to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales’. It comprises a small group of brasses, mostly inscription plates without figures, and being centered on the city of Oxford surely must have been made there.

Brasses attributed to this series are:

- 1602 North Marston, Bucks., Roger Saunders. *Southwark plate with kneeling figure and desk; shield and inscription added locally.*
- 1608 Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, Three Royal Stags.
- 1610 Ditchley Park, Three more Royal Stags.
- 1610 Islip, Oxfordshire, John Aglionbie. (?)
- 1612 St. Aldate, Oxford, Arthur Strode. *Southwark plate with kneeling figure and desk on tiled pavement; shield and inscription added locally.*
- 1613 Piddington, Oxfordshire, Katherin Hussey.
- 1613 St. Peter in the East, Oxford, Abel Wilcox (lost).
- 1616/7 Magdalen College, Oxford, Robert Honiman.
- 1617 St. Michael, Oxford, John Pendarves, *figure.*
- 1617 Walton, Bucks., Elizabeth Pyx.

<sup>1</sup> J. Bertram, ‘Oxfordshire Styles I: The Drunken Marbler’, *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 5 (2002), pp. 475-87.

- 1618 St. Michael, Oxford, Gregory Martin.  
 1625 St. Peter in the East, Oxford, John Stronge.  
 1625/6 Islip, Oxfordshire, James Harrackes. (?)  
 1627 Sparsholt, Berkshire, Thomas Todhunter.  
 1637 Cropredy, Oxfordshire, Priscilla Plant.



FIG. 2  
 John Pendarves, 1617, St. Michael, Oxford

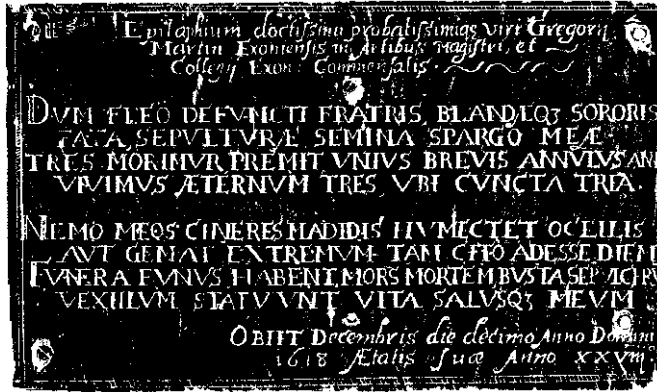


FIG. 3  
Gregory Martin, 1618, St. Michael, Oxford

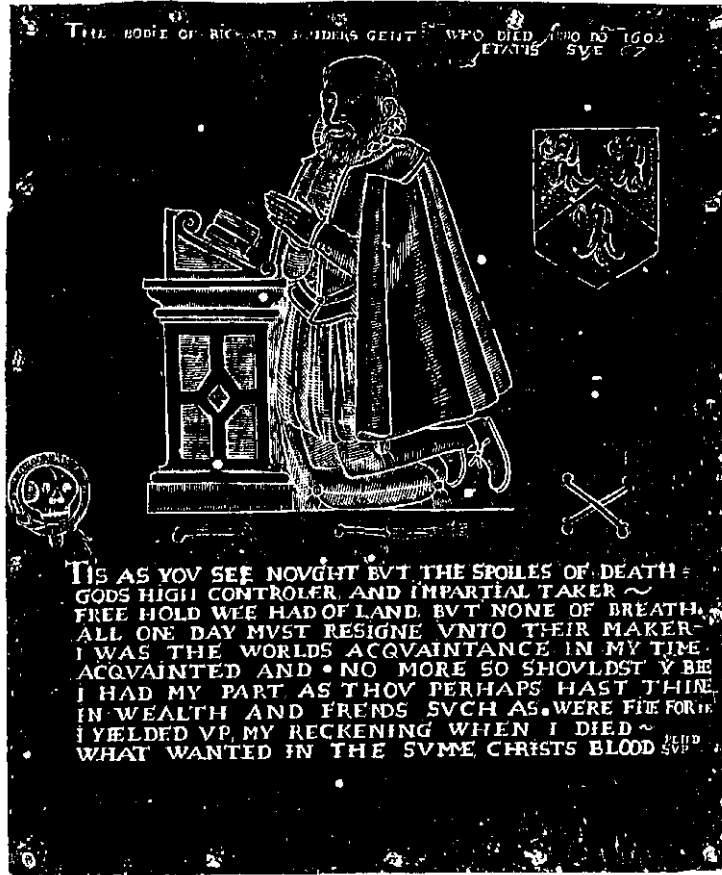


FIG. 4  
Richard Sanders, 1602, North Marston, Bucks  
*Illustration from LSW Buckinghamshire*

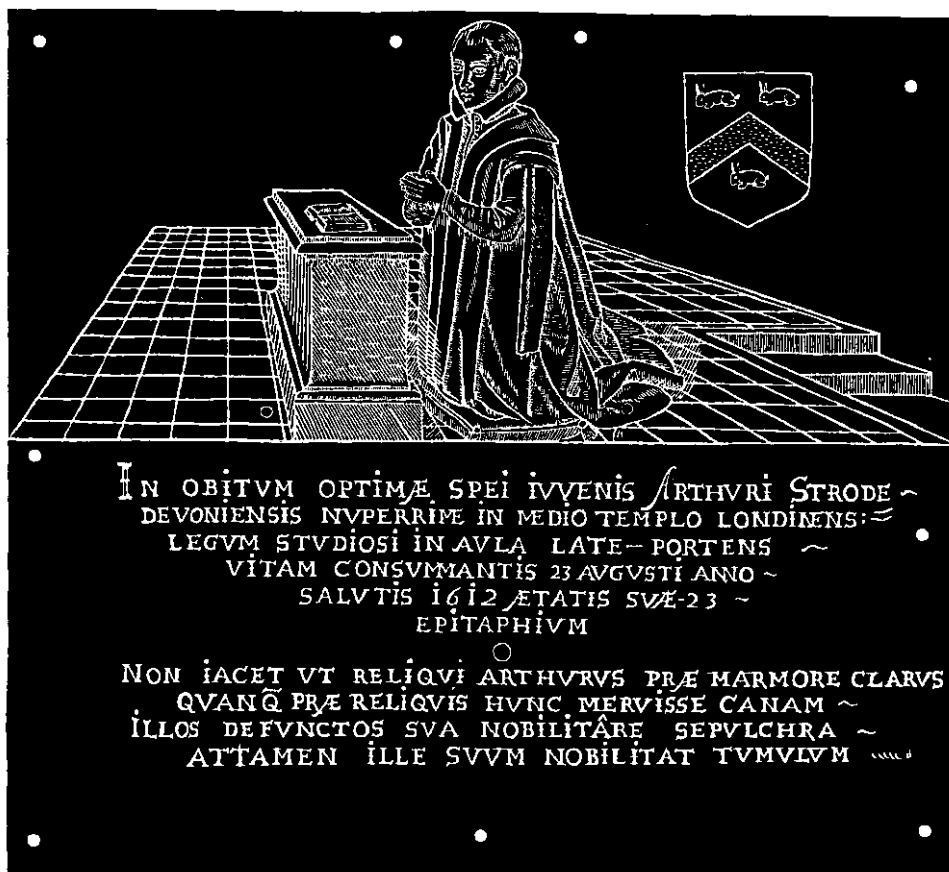


FIG. 5

Arthur Strode, 1612, St. Aldate, Oxford

The series of small plates at Ditchley Park, still displayed in the saloon under a series of mounted antlers, was described in our *Transactions* by Admiral Harris.<sup>2</sup> There are six inscriptions to red deer killed by the King or the Prince of Wales, all in the same lettering (Fig. 1). The border and the script is immediately recognisable on the little brass to John Pendarves at St. Michael's church, Oxford (Fig. 2), and the inscription to Gregory Martin in the same church (Fig. 3). From those one can proceed to identify others in the series, both in Oxfordshire and the contiguous counties.

The plates are usually bordered by two lines between which is a close hatching. The script includes an Italic lower case, where the initial A descends well below the line. Of the numbers, the 1 often has a hook to the left at the top and to the right at the bottom, and may have a dot above it. The Roman upper case has several unusual characters: initial B and R can both have the bow curling above the upright,

<sup>2</sup> M.G.T. Harris, 'Brass Plates at Ditchley Park, Oxon', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 3 (1994), pp. 282-6.

I has a small cross-bar, and in medial position usually has a dot above it. Several letters, C, E, F, G and S, have a little flourish at the top. Letters may be conjoined, particularly H and E.

There is only one figure among the undoubted members of the series. The brass to John Pendarves shows him in academic dress with a preposterous ruff, standing up and disputing in a pew. The perspective of the pew has gone badly wrong, but the figure is quite competently drawn. At North Marston, the earliest in the series, the kneeling figure looks like ordinary Southwark work, but the shield and lettering do not (Fig. 4). The characteristic Italic A appears in the date, and the dotted and crossed I in the Roman lettering; the shield is angled at the bottom rather than curved as normal. The characteristic border is missing, but I think we can safely put the inscription and arms into the local workshop. Exactly the same applies to the brass of Arthur Strode in St Aldate, Oxford; the figure looks like Southwark work, the shield and inscription local (Fig. 5).

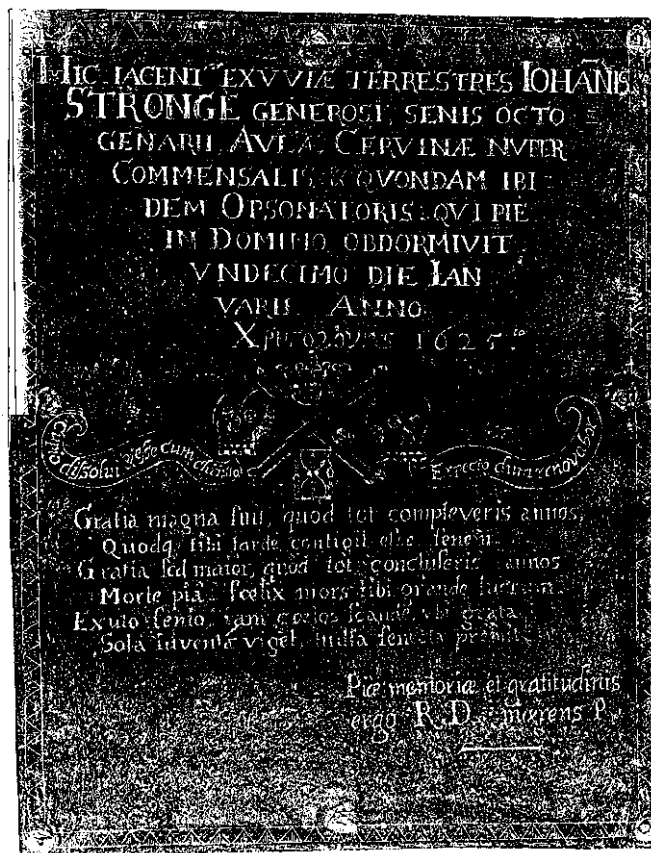


FIG. 6

John Strong, 1625, St. Peter in the East, Oxford (now library to St. Edmund Hall)  
*Rubbing in Society of Antiquaries collection*

This is not the first time I have observed the phenomenon of metropolitan engraving supplemented with a local inscription; the little skeleton brass at Crondall, Hants., is of good Southwark design, as is the verse underneath it, but the name and date are clearly added by an amateur.<sup>3</sup> Can we conclude that the Southwark workshops were prepared to provide unfinished brasses, sent out for a local craftsman to add the inscriptions? Or did they hire out their templates so that a local man could engrave a 'Southwark' style figure? That seems less likely, for they would surely have hired out the lettering books as well.

The North Marston brass has a skull and bones, very similar to those on the later one in St. Peter in the East, which also provides the only example of the style's Greek lettering. Here the border is more elaborate (Fig. 6). Two uncertain examples are the ones at Islip, where the brasses have been treated in such an extraordinary way that it is very difficult to make out the shape of the letters: the inscription has been overpainted in thick white paint, which makes a clear rubbing impossible.

It is a small series, but, apart from the King, its clients included several members of the University of Oxford, who were obviously not dissatisfied with their choice of local talent over London prices.

### III: The Sleeping Preacher

The third Oxfordshire local style is well known, and has already been sufficiently described by Robert Hutchinson in our *Transactions*, so it is not necessary to say more here.<sup>4</sup> It is the bizarre series of lightly-engraved plates attributed to Dr. Richard Haydocke, the 'Sleeping Preacher'. His claim to be able to preach while asleep was challenged to public scrutiny, in which he failed to impress King James I; it is perhaps for that reason he was not entrusted with the engraving of the Ditchley plates.

The list is as follows:

- 1608 Tingewick, Bucks., Erasmus Williams.
- 1616 Queen's College, Oxford, Henry Robinson.
- 1616 Carlisle Cathedral, Henry Robinson.
- 1616 Queen's College, Henry Airey.
- 1616 Bletchley, Bucks., Thomas Sparke.
- 1618 New College, Oxford, John Halswell (lost).
- 1618 Wells Cathedral, Somerset, Humfrey Willis. (?)
- 1619 Shorwell, Isle of Wight, Elizabeth Bampfield. (?)
- 1622 St. Cross, Holywell, Oxford, Elizabeth Franklin.
- 1623 New College, Oxford, Thomas Hopper.
- 1627 New College, Oxford, Esdras Booth. (?)

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated in J. Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> R. Hutchinson, 'Dr. Richard Haydocke, Brass Engraver and "Sleeping Preacher"', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 396-401.



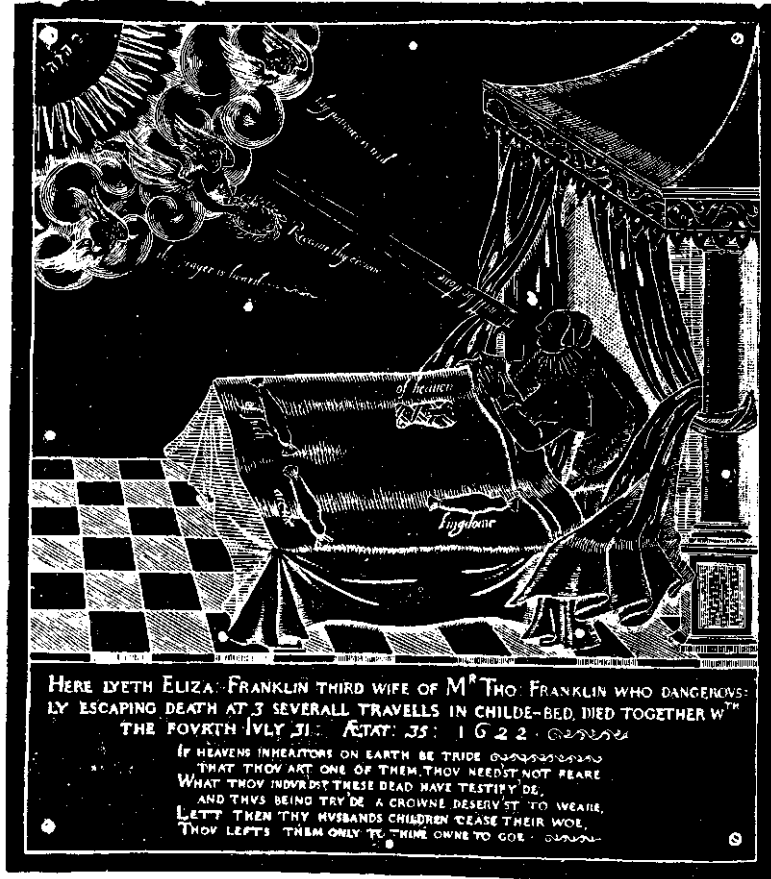


FIG. 7

Elizabeth Franklin, 1622, St. Cross, Holywell, Oxford  
*Illustration from MBS Trans., VII (1938), p. 222*

The lettering on the Haydocke brasses is similar to that on the previous series, though without the persistent crossed I, and altogether more even. The figures and symbols are of extraordinary complexity, and have often been commented upon. The light engraving means that it is almost impossible to get a satisfactory rubbing, and the best illustrations have been achieved by the drastic method of detaching the brasses from the wall and inking them like a printing plate, offsetting the impression to give a positive image.<sup>5</sup>

Of the uncertain attributions, St Cross, Oxford I (Fig. 7), Shorwell and Wells are probably designs by Haydocke, executed by a less skilled hand. Other lightly engraved brasses have sometimes been attributed to Haydocke, but there were many engravers of copper plates in England, all of whom could have easily turned their hand to memorial plates.

<sup>5</sup> The illustrations in Hutchinson's article, and in LSW *Buckinghamshire* and *Cumberland* were achieved in this way.

*Erratum*

In the previous article (*MBS Trans.*, XVI (2002), p. 475), a date of 1500/1 was given to the King's Sutton indent, making it significantly earlier than any other in the series; this was due to reading the inscription as *anno Domini M CCCCC, vicesimo quinto mense Januarii* (A.D. 1500, the 25th day of the month of January). It could of course also be read as *anno Domini M CCCCC vicesimo, quinto mense Januarii* (A.D. 1520, on the fifth day of the month of January), which brings it nicely into the series. It could even be *anno Domini M CCCCC vicesimo quinto, mense Januarii* (A.D. 1525, in the month of January). The lack of punctuation in medieval inscriptions can often leave dates seriously ambiguous.

*Sad Addendum*

To celebrate the millennium, the good parishioners of Bletchingdon had their church entirely repaved in Bletchingdon stone. As a result the indent of Edward Hilton, described in the previous article, has disappeared.

# A Brass to Samuel Richardson

by DAVID MEARA

IN the crypt of St. Bride's church, Fleet Street, in the City of London, there is a rectangular inscription plate, at present placed in the small chapel at the east end. It is a memorial brass to the memory of Samuel Richardson, popularly known as 'the Father of the English Novel'.

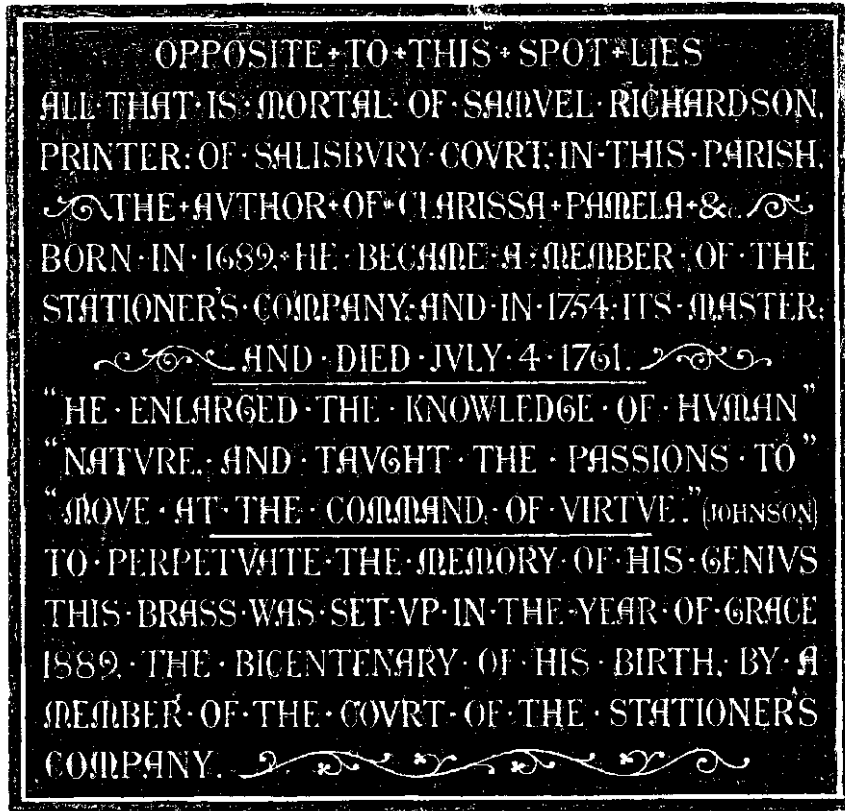


FIG. 1

St. Bride, Fleet Street, London. Samuel Richardson (d. 1761), engraved 1889

*Rubbing by the author*

The plate, which measures 490 x 510 mm, shows signs of slight buckling and scarring from the bombs that destroyed the interior of the church on 29 December 1940. It was originally placed on the north wall of the nave in 1889 and was found amongst the debris after the air-raid in the ruins of the burnt-out church. Fortunately it was rescued and cleaned and has found a home, with other remnants of the pre-Blitz church, in the crypt.

Samuel Richardson was born in Derbyshire in 1689 where his father, a joiner, had recently settled. From early days he showed a precocious gift for writing, often as a young man being asked by the young ladies of the district to write letters on their behalf. His parents could not afford to send him into the Church, so instead he became apprenticed to a printer in the City of London.<sup>1</sup> Eventually he set up his own business in Fleet Street. By 1724 he had removed to Salisbury Court and here he carried on his business until his death in 1761. Dr. Johnson often visited him there, where he had a famous argument with the painter Hogarth. Richardson's reputation as a printer was high, and he secured the printing of the journals of the House of Commons. But it is as a man of letters that he is chiefly remembered. In 1740 he published his first novel *Pamela*, which Alexander Pope asserted would do more good than twenty sermons. He made the novel form respectable, and therefore acceptable to the burgeoning middle classes. He became such a celebrated author that when Madame de Staël came to London she knelt on his tombstone and kissed it, murmuring 'Je t'adore'.<sup>2</sup>

On his death, and in accordance with his wishes, his body was laid in the church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, under the shadow of which he had spent most of his working life. His grave was half-way down the centre aisle, marked by a grave slab and inscription. The stone survived the war-time bombing and stands in the churchyard against the east wall of the church. It is described in the Survey of London as a ledger stone of black marble.<sup>3</sup> The inscription reads:

Here Lyeth interred the body of  
**MARTHA**  
**THE BELOVED WIFE OF**  
**Samuel RICHARDSON**  
 who departed this life  
 January the 23<sup>rd</sup> 1730-31.  
 Here also lye the Bodies of  
**WILLIAM and SAMUEL**  
 two of their Sons  
 who died  
 William the 10<sup>th</sup> day of May 1730  
 Samuel the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of October 1732  
 Here also lieth Interred the Body of  
**THOMAS VERRIN RICHARDSON**  
 the beloved and hopeful Son of  
**WILLIAM RICHARDSON and Nephew of the said**  
**SAMUEL RICHARDSON** who departed this life

<sup>1</sup> Richardson's first wife was Martha, the daughter of John Wilde, printer of Aldersgate Street, to whom Richardson had been apprenticed. His second wife Elizabeth was a sister of James Leake, a bookseller of Bath (*ODNB*, XLVI, pp. 845-54).

<sup>2</sup> D. Morgan: *Phoenix of Fleet Street: 2000 years of St Bride's* (London, 1973), p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> W.H. Godfrey, *The Church of Saint Bride, Fleet St*, Survey of London, 35 (London, 1944), p. 88.

November the 8<sup>th</sup> 1732  
in the sixteenth year of his age.  
Also here lieth the Body of  
Mr SAMUEL RICHARDSON  
OF THIS PARISH  
who died July the 4<sup>th</sup> 1761 Aged 72 years  
Mrs Eliz<sup>th</sup> RICHARDSON  
Died the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1773  
Aged 77 years.

After the end of the Second World War it was decided that St Bride's should be restored, but before work began the Rector and Churchwardens agreed that excavations should be made to discover what lay under the floor of the church. The excavation was led by Professor W.J. Grimes and began in 1953, uncovering nearly two thousand years of history, and many previous burials, including the grave of Samuel Richardson. His coffin survived, although much battered as a result of the excavations (Fig. 2). It was lead-lined, and some of its original outer covering survived, consisting of a wood casing covered in fabric with studded decoration. The remains from the coffins and crypts were all removed and were the subject of a detailed study led by Professor Frederick Wood-Jones of the Royal College of Surgeons, who declared them to be one of the most important collections in the world. The collection of 2000 skeletons, dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth

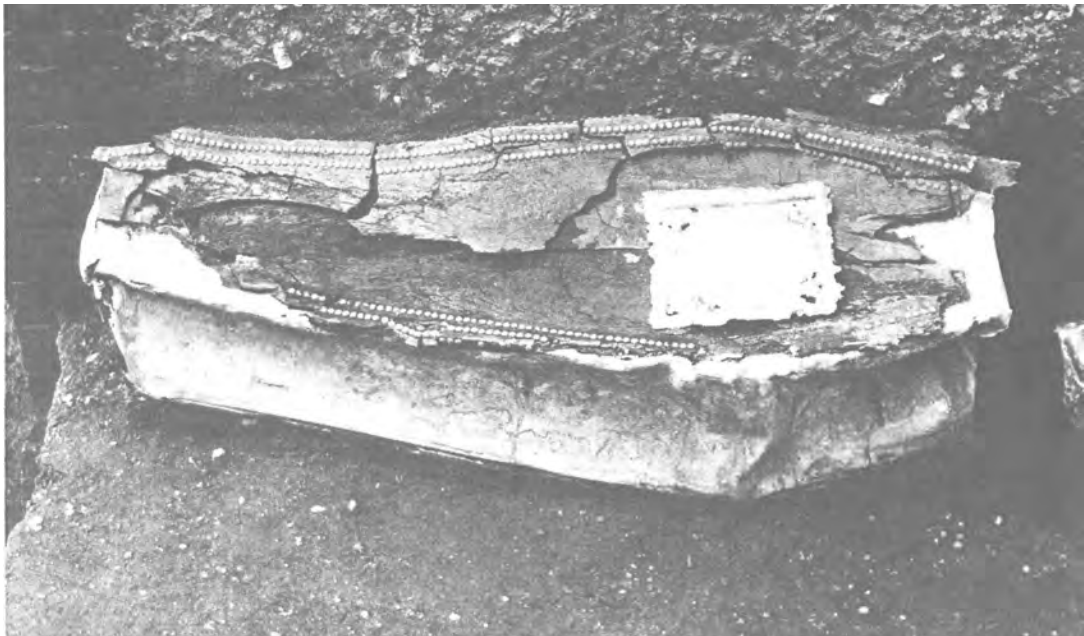


FIG. 2  
Coffin of Samuel Richardson, as revealed in the excavations of 1953

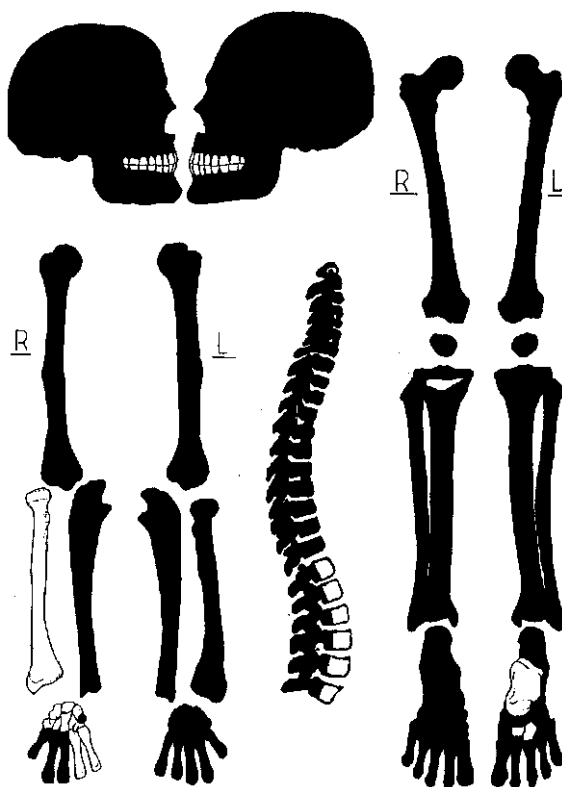


FIG. 3

Drawing of parts of the skeleton of Samuel Richardson

centuries, remains in the vaults of the church, including that of Samuel Richardson. They have been catalogued, and Richardson appears as no. SB244 (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> According to medical analysis he had several fused vertebrae and bad periodontal disease.<sup>5</sup>

The coffin plate also survives, and is on display in the crypt museum. The inscription reads:

Mr Samuel Richardson  
Died 4<sup>th</sup> July 1761  
72<sup>nd</sup> year

The brass inscription plate set up to perpetuate Richardson's memory<sup>6</sup> thus links together his gravestone, his coffin, coffin-plate and skeleton, and reminds us of a notable printer and the originator of the 'novel of the heart'.

<sup>4</sup> Archives of St. Bride's church, Fleet Street. Catalogue of Skeletal Finds.

<sup>5</sup> J.L. Scheuer and J.E. Bowman, 'The health of the novelist and printer Samuel Richardson (1689-1761): a correlation of documentary and skeletal evidence', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, LXXXVII (1994), pp. 352-5. The authors suggest that Richardson suffered from diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH).

<sup>6</sup> Sadly the donor of the plate is not recorded in the court minute book of the Stationers' Company, nor any details of the commission.

# Conservation of Brasses, 2003

by WILLIAM LACK

**T**HIS is the twentieth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Banwell, Chester-le-Street, Cley-next-the-Sea, Owermoigne and Radwell and for funding the facsimile at Cley-next-the-Sea; to Michael Taylor for assistance at Cley-next-the-Sea and Radwell; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Banwell, Blockley, Cambridge (St. Mary the Less), Chester-le-Street, Cley-next-the-Sea, Haughton-le-Skerne, Owermoigne and Radwell; the Monumental Brass Society at Blockley, Cambridge (St. Mary the Less), Chester-le-Street, Cley-next-the-Sea, Little Hadham, Haughton-le-Skerne, Owermoigne and Radwell; and the Morris Fund of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Banwell.

## BANWELL, SOMERSET.<sup>1</sup>

Two brasses were removed from their slabs on 10 August 2002.

**M.S. I.** Civilian and wife, *c.* 1480. This London (series D) brass, comprising a male effigy in civilian dress (465 x 134 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) and a female effigy (473 x 197 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1838 x 910 mm) at the east end of the nave. There is an indent for a lost foot inscription (56 x 382 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. III.** John Blandon, 1554, in civil dress, and wife Elizabeth. This London (series G) brass, comprising a headless civilian effigy (originally 468 mm tall, now 416 x 134 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line English foot inscription (94 x 526 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (1705 x 1060 mm) on the floor of the crossing from the east end of the nave to the south aisle adjacent to no. I. There are indents for a lost female effigy (460 x 140 mm), a group of two sons (140 x 80 mm) and a group of two daughters (135 x 75 mm). The slab has been twice reused as it also contains fifteenth-century indents for the base of an effigy and an inscription (75 x 495 mm) and immediately above the effigies the indent for a lost inscription (85 x 240 mm) in four lines of Roman capitals to Thomas Morse, 1608 (illustrated by Connor from a rubbing in the collection at the Society of Antiquaries of London). After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the effigy and fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 20 November 2003.

<sup>1</sup> The brasses were described and illustrated in A.B. Connor's series 'Monumental Brasses in Somerset', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Soc.*, XCVII (1952), pp. 135-6, 138-40, repr. in one vol. (Bath, 1970), pp. 325-6, 328-30; and *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 1 (2003), pp. 63-4.

BLOCKLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE (now in GLOUCESTERSHIRE)<sup>2</sup>

Three brasses were removed from their slabs on 17 October 2001.

**LSW.IV.** Inscription to Francis Martyn, 1713. This inscription in twenty Latin lines (386 x 290 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 14 rivets) was taken up from a black marble slab (2090 x 910 mm) on the north side of the newly-built choir stalls. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

**LSW.V. and VI.** Inscriptions to Ann Martyn, youngest daughter of Francis Martyn, 1727, and Elizabeth Martyn, his widow, 1748. These inscriptions in twenty-one and nine English lines respectively are both engraved on lozenge-shaped plates (451 x 449 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 15 rivets; and 419 x 348 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a cedar board.

The boards were mounted on the north side of the chancel arch on 13 March 2003.

CAMBRIDGE, ST. MARY THE LESS<sup>3</sup>

I removed two brasses from their slabs on 28 September 2003.

**LSW.I.** John Holbrook, 1436. This London (series E) brass now comprises the lower part of an effigy in academic dress (originally 1525 mm, now 915 x 555 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 12 rivets) and a fragment of the six line Latin inscription (originally 145 x 715 mm, now 145 x 95 mm) which lie in the original Purbeck slab (1970 x 1080 mm) in the chancel. The slab has indents for a marginal inscription with Evangelists' symbols at the corners, a triple canopy and a large scroll over the head of the effigy. Only the effigy was removed for conservation. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**LSW.II. Doctor of Divinity, c.1500.**<sup>4</sup> This Cambridge brass now comprises a three-quarter length effigy in academic dress which was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (1520 x 1230 mm) in the chancel. There is an indent for a lost foot inscription (100 x 580 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 5 December 2003.

## CHESTER-LE-STREET, COUNTY DURHAM.

**LSW.I.** Alice Lambton, 1430.<sup>5</sup> This London (series D) effigy (723 x 331 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 7 rivets) is all that survives of the brass to William Lambton and

<sup>2</sup> The brasses were listed and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), pp. 48, 51-2.

<sup>3</sup> The brasses were listed and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1991), pp. 69, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Recently identified by Catherine Hall as William Burgoyne, Master of Peterhouse (d. 1523).

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of County Durham* (London, 2002), p. 31.



wife.<sup>6</sup> It was removed from the south wall of the chancel some years ago and subsequently kept in the church safe. It was collected from the church on 29 March 2003. After cleaning and fitting new rivets it was rebated into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the south aisle wall on 26 December 2003.

### CLEY-NEXT-THE-SEA, NORFOLK<sup>7</sup>

Eight brasses were removed for conservation on 21 September 2002.

**M.S. I.** Civilian and six sons<sup>8</sup>, *c.* 1460.<sup>9</sup> This London (series D) brass, comprising a mutilated male effigy (originally 643 mm tall, now 548 x 192 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 4 rivets) and a group of six sons (184 x 153 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 2 rivets), was removed from the original slab (2160 x 800 mm) at the west end of the south aisle.<sup>10</sup> The slab has worn indents for a female effigy (630 x *c.* 180 mm), a group of six daughters (170 x 155 mm), a foot inscription (70 x 660 mm), a shield (*c.* 150 x *c.* 150 mm) and four scrolls (70 x 115 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. II & III.** Henry Barn[abe], in civil dress, and inscription (mutilated), *c.* 1460.<sup>11</sup> This Norwich (series 1) brass, now comprising a male effigy (493 x 141 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 3 rivets) and the left-hand end of a two-line Latin foot inscription (originally 475 mm wide, now 50 x 184 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1555 x 850 mm) which is laid east to west on the north aisle floor.<sup>12</sup> There is an indent for a female effigy (470 x *c.* 140 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. IV.** Inscription to John Symondis, 1505, and two wives, Agnes, 1482, and Margaret (Fig. 1). This Norwich (series 4) five-line Latin inscription (189 x 613 mm, thickness 4.2 mm, 5 rivets) had been mounted on an oak board mounted on the South Aisle wall.<sup>13</sup> After cleaning and fitting new rivets the brass was rebated into a cedar board.

<sup>6</sup> The brass, originally comprising the effigy of William Lambton, his wife Alice, a foot inscription and a shield, was laid down in the south aisle. The inscription and shield were recorded by Robert Glover in the 1575 Visitation of Durham (College of Arms, Philipot MS 11 P).

<sup>7</sup> C.L.S. Linnell, 'The Brasses at Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 5 (1947), pp. 196-202, describes the brasses and in particular notes their positions in 1716 from the Frere MS held by the Norwich and Norfolk Archaeological Society.

<sup>8</sup> Listed under M.S.II in M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 328.

<sup>9</sup> Illustrated in Linnell, 'Cley', p. 197.

<sup>10</sup> The brass was recorded in the nave in 1716; in 1890 it was loose in the vestry (E. Farrer, *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the county of Norfolk* (Norwich, 1890), p. 18); and in 1926 Mill Stephenson recorded it as mural in the south aisle where it had been bolted to an iron bar which was screwed to a board hung on the wall. The male effigy and six sons were relaid in the original slab by Rev. C.J.L. Linnell in 1946. The group of daughters were in the private possession of Mr. Bayfield of Norwich in 1861 and subsequently in the Bolingbroke Collection. They were eventually acquired by Strangers' Hall Museum, now part of the Norwich Museums Service (accession no. 135.922.423).

<sup>11</sup> Illustrated in Linnell, 'Cley', p. 198.

<sup>12</sup> The plates were loose in the vestry in 1890 and by 1926 had been mounted in the south aisle with M.S.I. They were relaid by Linnell in 1946.

<sup>13</sup> The inscription was recorded in its original slab at the east end of the south aisle in 1716. It was loose in the vestry in 1890 and by 1926 had been mounted with M.S.I, II and III. It was subsequently mounted on the board by Linnell in 1946.

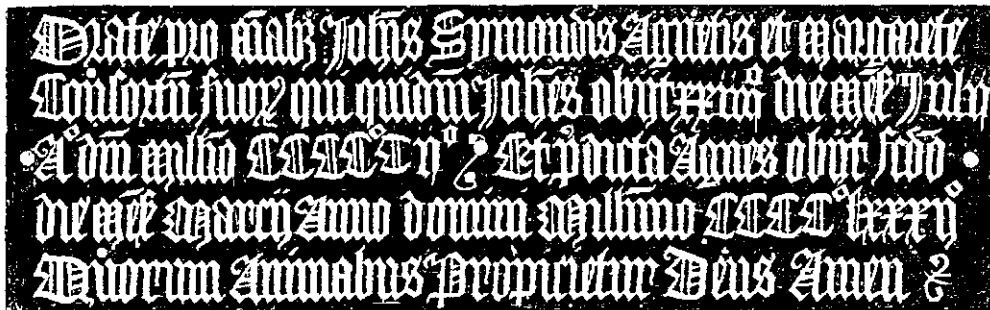


FIG. 1

Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk

M.S. IV. Inscription to John Symondis, 1505, and 2 wives, Agnes, 1482, and Margaret

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

**M.S. V.** John Symondes, 1508, and wife Agnes, 1512.<sup>14</sup> This London (series G) brass now comprises a male effigy in shroud (978 x 267 mm overall, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 4.1 and 4.4 mm, 8 rivets), a female effigy in shroud (987 x 253 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 4.3 and 4.6 mm, 8 rivets), a three-line English foot inscription (123 x 904 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 4 rivets), four sons (smallest 234 x 76 mm, largest 239 x 79 mm, average thickness 4.4 mm, 2 rivets each), four daughters (smallest 237 x 71 mm, largest 243 x 80 mm, average thickness 4.2 mm, 2 rivets each), a single line inscription identifying the children (47 x 970 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 4 rivets), and nine scrolls (smallest 62 x 135 mm, largest 65 x 140 mm, average thickness 4.1 mm, 1 rivet each). These plates were taken up from the original slab (2650 x 1190 mm), containing indents for four roundels (168 mm diameter), at the east end of the south aisle. The inscriptions are ‘inverted’ so as to be read from the east. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. VI.** John Yslyngton, S.T.P., c.1520 (effigy stolen in 1999).<sup>15</sup> This Norwich (series 4) brass, now comprising a two-line Latin inscription (73 x 388 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1550 x 650 mm) which is laid north to south on the north aisle floor immediately to the west of nos. II & III. The slab has indents for an effigy (416 x 147 mm) and four roundels (83 mm diameter). The effigy was stolen between April 1999 and 10 December 1999, having been covered for protection whilst restoration work was carried out on the North Aisle windows. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. VII.** Inscription to Robert Tayllar, 1578; palimpsest.<sup>16</sup> This London (series G) three-line English inscription (83 x 257 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 4 rivets), mutilated at

<sup>14</sup> Illustrated in J.F.A. Bertram ed., *Brasses as Art and History* (London, 1996), p. 84, fig. 67; A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (1956), p. 126, fig. 79; J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 2 vols. (London, 1839), II, p. 52, pl. 110; and E.R. Suffling, *English Church Brasses* (London, 1910, reprinted Bath, 1970), frontispiece

<sup>15</sup> Illustrated in Cotman, *Engravings*, p.47, pl.96; H. Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London, 1906, repr. Bath, 1970), p. 105; *MBS Bulletin*, 86 (Jan. 2001), p. 525; and Suffling, *English Church Brasses*, p. 222.

<sup>16</sup> Illustrated in Linnell, ‘Cley’, p. 201 (obverse and reverse) and J.C. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), 253L1-2, pl. 101 (reverse).

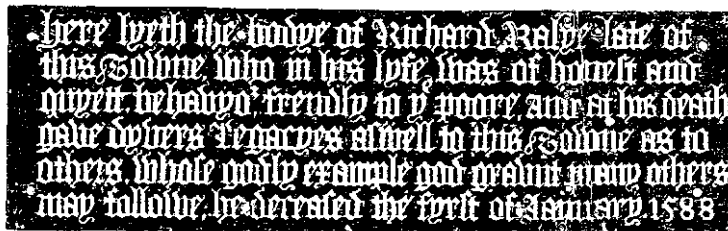


FIG. 2

Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk

M.S.VIII. Inscription and text to Richard Rayle, 1588

*Rubbing by William Lack*

the top corners, was removed from an oak frame mounted on the south aisle wall immediately west of M.S. IV.<sup>17</sup> It is a known palimpsest, the reverse being engraved with worn canopy work of Flemish origin, *c.*1370. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse and rebated the brass, the facsimile and a small commemorative plate into a cedar board.

**M.S. VIII.** Inscription and text to Richard Rayle, 1588 (Fig. 2). This Johnson brass, comprising a six-line English inscription (137 x 451 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 1.6 and 2.1 mm, 8 rivets) and a three-line English text (76 x 208 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets), was removed from the original slab (1465 x 690 mm) at the west end of the south aisle. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**M.S. IX.** Inscription to Thomas Greve, 1613 (Fig. 3). This Johnson four-line English inscription in Roman capitals was taken up from the original slab which is

<sup>17</sup> The plate was loose in the vestry in 1890 and was later fixed to the same iron bar as M.S.I, II, III and IV before being mounted by Linnell in 1946.

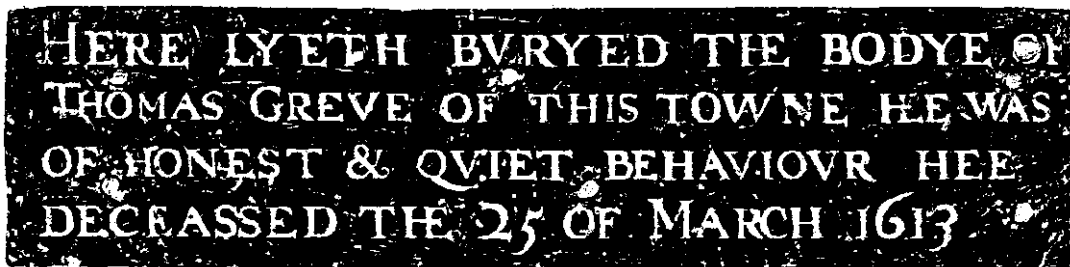


FIG. 3  
Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk  
M.S.IX. Inscription to Thomas Greve, 1613  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

laid north to south at the west end of the nave against the north wall.<sup>18</sup> After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs and the two boards mounted on the south aisle wall on 30 and 31 October 2003.

#### EALING, MIDDLESEX.

**M.S. I.** Richard Amondesham and wife Katherine, *c.* 1490.<sup>19</sup> This London (series D) brass comprises a kneeling effigy in civilian dress with three sons (492 x 330 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 11 rivets), a kneeling female effigy with six daughters (494 x 325 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 10 rivets), a two-line Latin inscription (59 x 813 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 7 rivets) and a renewed shield (148 x 117 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets). It was originally mounted murally in the north aisle. When the church was rebuilt in 1866 the brass was mounted on an oak board and this was mounted murally on the north wall. During the recent restoration work the board and brass were removed from the wall and were delivered to me on 3 January 2003. After cleaning and repairing fractures I fitted new rivets.

A new slab of York stone measuring 710 x 960 mm was procured by Kenward and Sons. On 13 May 2003 after they had cut indents for the brass I relaid it in this stone in their workshop at Greenford. The brass and slab were mounted murally in the church later in the month.

**Inscription recording reconstruction and consecration of the church in 1866.** This three-line inscription (108 x 625 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 10 screws) was removed from the church and sent to me in March 2003. After cleaning and polishing the plate was lacquered. It was delivered to the church on 13 May 2003.

<sup>18</sup> The brass was recorded in the north aisle by Farrer in 1890.

<sup>19</sup> Described and illustrated by H.K. Cameron in 'The Brasses of Middlesex', pt. VI (Ealing and Edgware), *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.* XIX (1956-8), pp. 18-20. It has also been illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, V (1938), pl. 23, repr. in *Monumental Brasses: the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 238.



FIG. 4  
 Little Hadham, Hertfordshire  
 M.S.I. Richard Warriner, c. 1470  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

#### LITTLE HADHAM, HERTFORDSHIRE<sup>20</sup>

Five brasses were removed from the church on 23 April 2003.

**M.S. I.** Richard Warriner, c. 1470 (Fig. 4). This badly-worn London (series sub B) brass, comprising an effigy in cope (331 x 117 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line inscription in English (71 x 272 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 3 rivets) had been set in a modern slab on the south wall of the nave together with a brass plate commemorating its removal from the floor in 1903. A similar modern plate is laid in the original slab (1440 x 615 mm) which still lies on the nave floor and is badly worn. After cleaning I rejoined the head of the effigy and fitted new rivets.

**M.S. II.** Man in armour and wife, c. 1485.<sup>21</sup> This London (series F) brass comprises an armoured effigy (685 x 255 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 6 rivets), a female effigy (678 x

<sup>20</sup> The pre-1700 brasses have been described by W.F. Andrews, *Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches* (Hertford, 1886), p. 20, 2nd edn. (Ware, 1903), pp. 66-7, and by W. Minet, 'The brasses in the church of Little Hadham', *Home Counties Magazine*, VI (1904), pp. 98-100.

<sup>21</sup> J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses - A New Classification of Military Effigies c. 1360 - c. 1485', *Jnl. of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, XII (1949), pl. XIV, fig. 135.

231 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets) and a group of four daughters (210 x 117 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 1 rivet). These were removed from the floor at the same time as M.S. I and set into a new slab on the south wall of the chancel together with a commemorative plate. A similar modern plate is laid in the original slab (1835 x 700 mm) which lies on the chancel floor and is badly worn. After cleaning and repairing fractures I fitted new rivets.

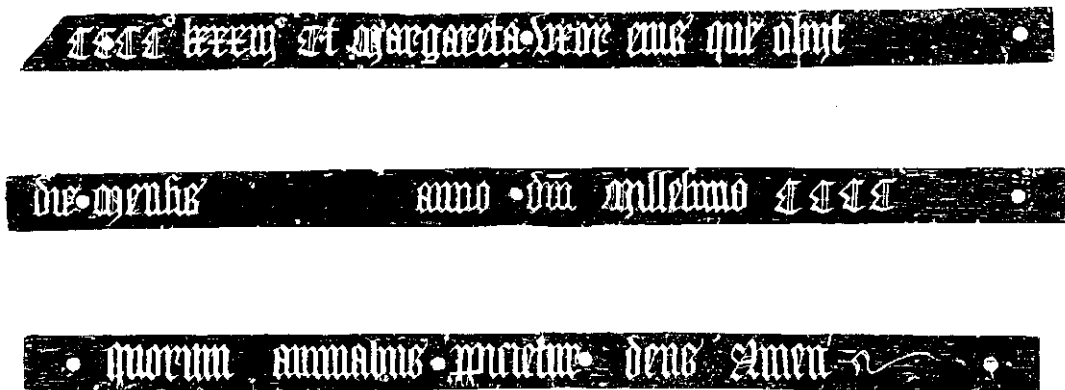


FIG. 5

Little Hadham, Hertfordshire  
M.S.III. Three fillets of chamfer inscription, 1483  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. III.** Three fillets of chamfer inscription, 1483 (Fig. 5). These London (series F) fillets (largest 33 x 617 mm, average thickness 3.3 mm, 10 rivets in total), discovered under the chancel floor late in the nineteenth century, have been mounted on a new slab immediately below M.S. II together with a commemorative inscription of similar shape to the fillets. After cleaning and repairing a fracture I fitted new rivets.

**The Bury inscriptions.** These three inscriptions, commemorating Frances Eliza Bury, 1902 (610 x 456 mm), Rev. Guy F. Bury, 1911 (458 x 304 mm) and James Marshall Bury, 1920 (757 x 505 mm) are mounted on the south wall of the sanctuary. The first and third were removed from the wall on 23 April 2003. They were cleaned, polished and lacquered.

The brasses were reset on 2 July 2003 and the 1911 plate was cleaned and lacquered *in situ*.

#### HAUGHTON-LE-SKERNE, COUNTY DURHAM,

**LSW.I.** Dorothy Cholmondeley, 1592.<sup>22</sup> This Johnson brass, comprising a female effigy holding two babies in swaddling clothes (440 x 192 mm, thickness 1.3 mm,

<sup>22</sup> Described and illustrated by J.G. Waller, 'Notes on some Brasses in the Counties of Northumberland and Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, XV (1892), p. 85 and pl. opposite p.84, and illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *County Durham*, p. 94.

8 rivets), an inscription in seven English lines and one Latin line (135 x 435 mm, thickness 1.1 mm, 8 rivets), six English verses (125 x 435 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 8 rivets) and a shield with motto (177 x 132 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 1 rivet), was removed from the south wall of the nave at the entrance to the chancel where it had been mounted directly on plaster.

The board was mounted on the south aisle wall on 26 December 2003.

#### OWERMOIGNE, DORSET.

**LSW.I.** Inscription to John Sturton, 1506, and **LSW.II.** Inscription recording removal of window in 1883.<sup>23</sup> This London (series F) two-line English inscription (101 x 580 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets) and the conjoined modern plate (114 x 200 mm overall, maximum thickness 5.0 mm, 3 rivets) were removed from the south chancel wall on 4 August 2002. The modern plate is 'stepped' with the thinner upper part fitted behind the Sturton inscription and rivetted to it through two of the original rivet holes. After cleaning and fitting new rivets the brasses were rebated into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the south chancel wall on 1 March 2003.

#### RADWELL, HERTFORDSHIRE.

Three brasses were removed from their slabs on 5 October 2002.

**M.S. I.** William Wheteaker, wife Joan and son Thomas, 1487 (Fig. 6). This London (series D) brass, comprising a male effigy in civilian dress (328 x 114 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 2 rivets), a male effigy in mass vestments (290 x 97 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 2.8 and 4.2 mm, 2 rivets), a female effigy (304 x 126 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 2 rivets) and a twoline Latin inscription (44 x 515 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (1460 x 595 mm) on the south side of the sanctuary. There is an indent for a missing scroll (85 x 275 x 25 mm). The brass was covered by pews for many years and was only 'rediscovered' and uncovered in 1875. The civilian effigy was stolen on 16 December 2000 but was subsequently offered for sale and recovered. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the ecclesiastical effigy and fitted new rivets.

**M.S. II.** John Bele, 1516, and wives Anne and Agnes (Fig. 7). This London (series G) brass, comprising a male effigy in civilian dress (382 x 127 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets), two female effigies (left-hand 377 x 145 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 3 rivets; right-hand 380 x 136 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets), a threeline English inscription (93 x 457 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets) and a group of two sons (128 x 70 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 1 rivet), was taken up from the original (cutdown) Purbeck slab (710 x 620 mm remaining) at the east end of the nave. There is an indent for a group of two daughters (130 x 60 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

<sup>23</sup> Illustrated by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Dorsetshire* (London, 2001), p. 140.



FIG. 6

Radwell, Hertfordshire

M.S.I. William Wheteaker, wife Joan and son Thomas, 1487

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

**M.S. III.** Elizabeth Parker, 1602.<sup>24</sup> This brass, comprising a female effigy (658 x 227 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 15 rivets), a seven line English foot inscription with three line English verse in Roman capitals (211 x 442 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 10 rivets) and one shield (163 x 131 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 5 rivets), was taken up from the original slab (1450 x 680 mm) on the north side of the sanctuary. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

After the indent of M.S. III had been recut, the brasses were relaid on 16 April 2003.

<sup>24</sup> Illustrated in R.J. Busby, *Beginner's Guide to Brass Rubbing* (London, 1969), pl. 7, opp. p. 48; *MBS Portfolio*, V, pl. 30, repr. in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 391; and M. Rensten, *Hertfordshire Brasses: a guide to the figure brasses in the churches of Hertfordshire* (Stevenage, 1982), p. 60, fig. 49.





FIG. 7

Radwell, Hertfordshire

M.S.II. John Bele, 1516, and wives Anne and Agnes

*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

## WILLIAN, HERTFORDSHIRE.

**Inscription to Charles Sworder, 1819-1889, and inscription to Emma Sarah, wife of Charles Sworder, 1819-1902.** These two inscriptions (438 x 597 mm and 413 x 597 mm) are both mounted on black marble slabs on the south wall of the nave. They were cleaned and lacquered *in situ* on 29 January 2003.

**Inscription to Lewis William Denman, 1821-1907.** This inscription (305 x 610 mm), engraved by Gawthorp, London, was removed from the south wall of the chancel on 29 January 2003. After cleaning and lacquering it was re-mounted on 19 March 2003.

## Portfolio of Small Plates



FIG. 1

Thomas de Germegni, d. 1342/3

The Cloisters Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1926 (26.63.22)

*Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*

**Fig. 1:** Thomas de Germegni, d. 1342/3 (incised slab), The Cloisters Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1926 (26.63.22). *Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*

Among the many medieval treasures housed in The Cloisters, the neo-Romanesque museum overlooking the Hudson river in New York, is a French incised slab given by Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. in 1926, the year after The Cloisters opened to the public.<sup>1</sup> The slab, 6 ft. 6 in. x 3 ft. 6 in. (1981 x 1067 mm), depicts a priest in Mass vestments, beneath a crocketed trefoil arch, above which two angels swing censers. The marginal inscription, in Lombardic capitals, reads: YCI GIST MESIRE THOMAS DE GERMEGNI JADIS CHAPELAIN DE LA CHAPELLE DE S. LADRE DE MIAVZ QVI TREPASSA LAN DE GRACE M CCC & XLII LE MARDI VEILLE SAINT VINCENT PRIEZ POVR LVI. (Here lies master Thomas de Germegni sometime chaplain of the chapel of St. Lazarus of Miauz who died the year of grace 1342 on Tuesday the eve of St. Vincent [21 January 1343]. Pray for him.)

In the brief notice of the monument by Joseph Breck it is described as ‘work of the Île-de-France’. The simple crocketing of the canopy, supported by slender colonnettes, is somewhat old-fashioned for 1343. The form of canopy, devoid of a pediment, can be matched among the Gaignières drawings on incised slabs of between 1276 and 1334.<sup>2</sup>

The provenance of the slab prior to its acquisition by the Rockefellers is not recorded, but it most probably came from the chapel of St. Lazarus named in the inscription. According to Breck, ‘Miauz’ is Meaux, twenty-five miles north-east of Paris. There was a leper hospital, the Maladerie, dedicated to St. Lazarus, just outside Meaux, to the east, on the Trie-de-Port road. It was in existence by 1153. In 1262 administration of the hospital was granted to the canons regular of Val des Ecoliers. In 1542 the Maladerie was united with the Hotel-Dieu, but its buildings were still in use for contagious diseases in 1731, when Dom Toussaints Du Plessis published his history of the church of Meaux.<sup>3</sup> By 1865 it had become the location of a factory.<sup>4</sup>

Nicholas Rogers

**Fig. 2:** Sir Richard Assheton, d. 1507, and wife Isabel, Middleton, Lancashire, M.S. I. *Rubbing: Patrick Farman*

The brasses in Middleton church are the largest collection in Lancashire or Cheshire. They have all been collected in one place in the sanctuary before the altar.

<sup>1</sup> J. Breck, ‘New Accessions at The Cloisters’, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXI, no. 5 (1926), p. 118; F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), II, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, ‘Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e période, LXXXVIII (1976), nos. 348, 428, 438, 503 and 692. No. 730, of 1342, is similar, but has a more ogival canopy.

<sup>3</sup> T. Du Plessis, *Histoire de l’église de Meaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1731), I, pp. 230-3; II, p. 631.

<sup>4</sup> A. Carro, *Histoire de Meaux* (Meaux, 1865), p. 77.

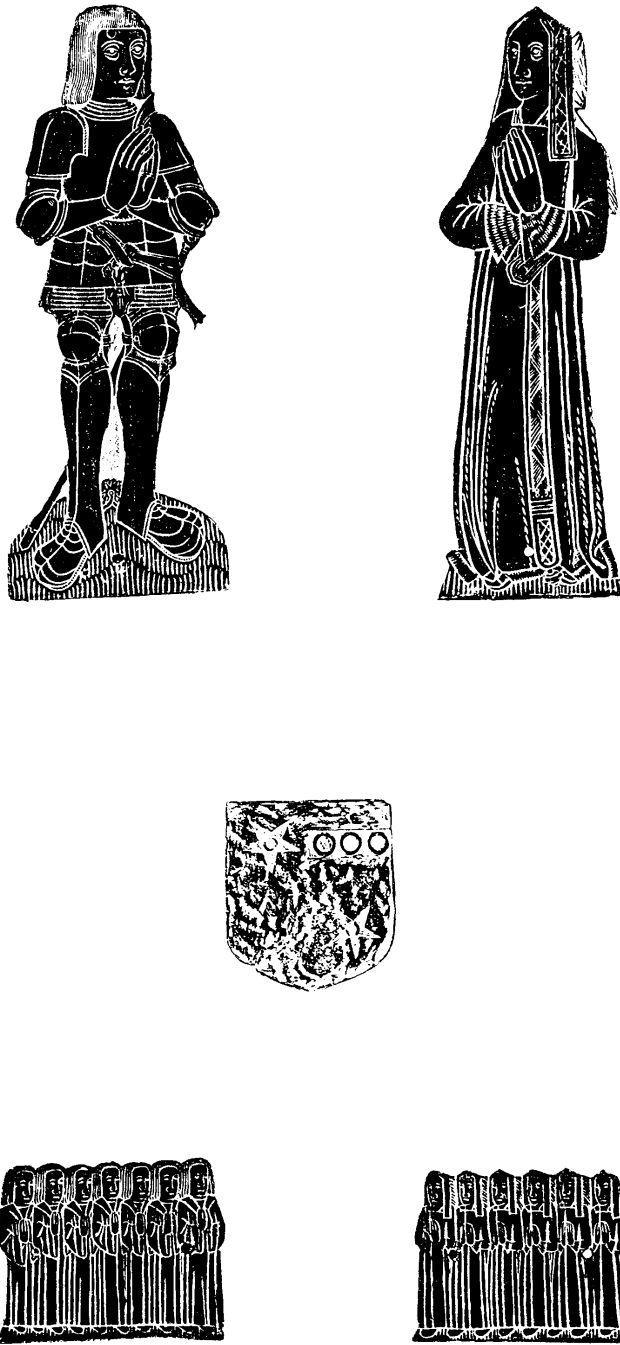


FIG. 2  
Sir Richard Assheton, d. 1507, and wife Isabel  
Middleton, Lancashire, M.S. I  
*Rubbing: Patrick Farman*

Thomas Dunham Whitaker in his *History of Whalley* describes their previous position: ‘The choir has three aisles [*sic*], of which the middle and north aisle belong to the Rector and that on the south to the lords of Middleton, full of brasses, slabs, and mural monuments, some of which are unhappily covered with modern pews .... The present Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Durnford) when Rector of Middleton 1835-1870, having removed all the brasses from the chapels, pews and aisles, placed them in the chancel, with a view to their preservation, but unhappily they cease to indicate the precise spot where the several members of the Assheton family found their last resting-place’.<sup>5</sup>

However, their original location was noted by Whitaker on his visit to the church before Dr. Durnford’s ‘reorganisation’: ‘On a flat marble slab, beneath the stairs, are two brasses, one of the Parliamentary General of the Lancashire forces, Ralph Assheton, the other of Elizabeth Kaye, of Woodsome, his wife ... In the middle of the principal choir are two brasses, somewhat older than the present church and family chapel ... The first of these still bears two entire figures; one of a knight in plate-armour, the second of a lady in a square coiffure, together with the arms of Assheton quartering Barton of Middleton, but no inscription. ... Near this, to the north, is another, with three figures in brass, and a groove for a fourth. [In] the north choir under the founder’s arch, opening into the principal choir, is a tomb and brass of Edmund Assheton’.<sup>6</sup>

The Assheton family first came to Middleton after Sir Ralph Assheton married the Barton heiress Margery in 1439. Previously the Asshetons had been major landowners in the Ashton under Lyne area. Indeed, Sir Ralph was known as the Black Knight for his oppression of the peasantry and until the 1960s the tradition of ‘Riding the Black Lad’ continued in Ashton as local people remembered his actions. ‘An effigy in black armour was paraded through the town accompanied by loud music and jeering, and was pelted with stones and rubbish as it went. The bearers then placed it in the pillory, where it was pelted some more, before being shot to oblivion’.<sup>7</sup> Sir Ralph was strongly linked to the Yorkist cause; after King Richard III’s accession he was made a knight of the king’s body, and in October 1483 became Vice-Constable of England. He played a prominent part in the suppression of Buckingham’s rebellion. He was still alive in 1486, but had died by 1490, when his second wife married John Bourchier.<sup>8</sup>

It was because of this noteworthy career that in the nineteenth century M.S. I. was wrongly attributed to Sir Ralph Assheton rather than his son Sir Richard.<sup>9</sup> However, the heraldry of the brass shows the arms of the Asshetons quartering

<sup>5</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley, and Honour of Clitheroe*, 4th edn., revised and enlarged by J.G. Nichols and P.A. Lyons, 2 vols. (London, 1872), II, pp. 147-8.

<sup>6</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, II, pp. 148-9.

<sup>7</sup> Q. Cooper and P. Sullivan, *Maypoles, Martyrs and Mayhem: 366 Days of British Customs, Myths and Eccentricities* (London, 1994), p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, II, p. 151; J.L. Thornely, *The Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire* (Hull, 1893), pp. 79-80; *ODNB*, II, pp. 682-3.

<sup>9</sup> Thornely, *Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 74.

Barton of Fryton, clearly referring to Sir Richard, the son of a Barton heiress.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately there is no clear date for Sir Richard's birth. The staunchly Yorkist tradition of his family was continued through his marriage to Isabel, the daughter of John Talbot, esq., of Salesbury in Lancashire, who had been involved in the treacherous capture of King Henry VI in 1465.<sup>11</sup> Their marriage articles are dated 29 July 1480. Sir Richard served with distinction in the Scottish Wars and was knighted for his service. He died on 20 April 1507, his inquisition post mortem being taken on 25 August 1507.<sup>12</sup> His wife Isabella died in March 1531. The brass, which seems to be a London F variant, with the wife resembling a London G pattern,<sup>13</sup> most probably dates from the 1510s.

Of Richard and Isabel's children, depicted on the brass, Sir Richard, his heir, was knighted at Flodden in 1513 and rebuilt the church at Middleton, Margaret married John Hopwood, Alice married three husbands, detailed below, and Dorothy was the wife of Robert Holt of Stubley.

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**Fig. 3:** Edmund Assheton, d. 1522, Middleton, Lancashire, M.S. II. *Rubbing: Patrick Farman*

The second brass at Middleton depicts a priest in mass vestments, holding a chalice with a host inscribed with the sacred monogram 'Ihs'. The identification of this brass is made easier by the survival of the inscription: Hic jacet Magister Edmundus Assheton Rector istius ecclesie qui obiit vicesimo die mensis augusti anno domini Millesimo cccc vicesimo secundo littera dominicalis E cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen. (Here lies Master Edmund Assheton, rector of this church, who died on the 20th day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord 1522, and the Dominical Letter E. On whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.)

Some details of Edmund Ashton's academic career can be recovered from the Cambridge Grace Books.<sup>14</sup> He was admitted as a questionist<sup>15</sup> in 1473; in 1474-5 he forfeited a caution for not determining; in 1476-7 he was granted a grace that three years and three autumn terms in Civil Law and one year in Arts should suffice for entry in Civil Law; in 1491-2 a grace that five years in Civil Law and two years in Canon Law should suffice for entry in Canon Law; by 1496 he was a Bachelor of Canon Law. On 5 May 1496 he was admitted as rector of Middleton.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The arms are: 1 & 4, [Argent] a mullet [sable] pierced of the field (Assheton); 2, Ermine on a fess [gules] three annulets [or] (Barton); 3, ?a chevron.

<sup>11</sup> Thornely erroneously identified the Talbots as being the Shrewsbury family (Thornely, *Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 74).

<sup>12</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, II, p. 152.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols (London, 1977), I, p. 157, for similar hybrid brasses at Denchworth and Heythrop.

<sup>14</sup> A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> An undergraduate in the last term before taking his B.A.

<sup>16</sup> Between Thomas Assheton in 1492 and Dr. Richard Assheton, who died in 1800, there were ten members of the family who acted as rector of Middleton (Whitaker, *Whalley*, II, p. 150).



Hic uult magister Edmundus Assheton clericus ihesus pater  
 qui obiit vicesimo die mensis augusti anno domini millesimo  
 vicesimo secundo ita diuinus & an? alius pater deus shury.

FIG. 3

Edmund Assheton, d. 1522  
 Middleton, Lancashire, M.S. II

*Rubbing: Patrick Farman*

Who the brass commemorates is easy. Who Edmund was proves to be more difficult. His age suggests that was most probably a son of Sir Ralph Assheton. If so, he would be the Edmund who, together with his brother John, assaulted two royal servants in 1484.<sup>17</sup> However, he could be a member of another branch of the family. It is also possible that he was the 'Edward Assheton, clerk', who with William Wood chaplain claimed that 'they not Sir Richard Assheton at his death were seised of land now held by the escheator in Middleton'.<sup>18</sup>

In *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* Herbert Haines made a telling slip in listing brasses in Warwickshire 'evidently engraved by local artists' when he included Middleton, 1522. Middleton in Warwickshire has two brasses, both attributed to Coventry workshops, but neither is of 1522. Haines clearly had the brass of Edmund Assheton in mind and the brass does indeed appear to be Coventry work, the

<sup>17</sup> *ODNB*, II, p. 682.

<sup>18</sup> Greater Manchester Record Office E7/5/2/1.

lettering of the inscription identifying it as belonging to a small series fitting between Series 2 and 3. The style of the figure has much in common with those in Series 3 and the brass dates from only a year before the first brass in that series with a credible date, that of Anne Odyngsale, died 1523, at Compton Verney, Warwickshire. The engraved lines ending in triangular shapes on the figure's mass vestments are characteristic of Coventry 3 work. They presumably derive from German prints and can also be found on some London work from the same period. While Middleton was a long way from Coventry and there are no obvious links between the Assheton family and the city at this date, southern Lancashire was in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

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**Fig. 4:** Alice Laurence, née Assheton, d. 1531, and husbands John Laurence, Richard Radclyffe and Thomas Bothe, Middleton, Lancashire, M.S. III. *Rubbing: Patrick Farman.*

M.S. III commemorates Alice Laurence, née Assheton, who was the daughter of Sir Richard Assheton (M.S. I). There is no record of her birth but her first marriage settlement is recorded, dated 9 November 1501, between Sir Richard Assheton and Richard Radcliffe of Radcliffe, esq.: 'Richard Radcliffe should grant dower lands of £40 clear yearly value and that Sir Richard Assheton should pay 400 marks by 18 twice yearly instalments, to cease on Alice's death, and half to be repaid if she dies within three years without male issue'.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Richard Radcliffe of Radcliffe Tower was dead within two years because on 28 November 1503 another marriage settlement had been drawn up between Sir Thomas Lawrence and Sir Richard Assheton whereby 'Sir Thomas would provide his brother John with an estate of £40 clear yearly which would revert to his heirs on the couple's death'. This settlement was dependent on the marriage taking place before Christmas 1503 and Sir Richard producing the title deeds to the land that Alice Radcliffe held in the inheritance of her previous husband Richard.<sup>20</sup> Alice married a third time to Thomas Bothe of Hackensall, knight, but there are no details of this settlement. Alice died in 1531 but it is not clear whether her third and final husband predeceased her. In 1529 Thomas Bothe is recorded as holding the manors of Hakenshowe and Presowe.<sup>21</sup>

The brass originally showed Alice with all three husbands (the first now only an indent), with a foot inscription and shields at all four corners, of which only the upper two survive. It appears to be a product of one of the small provincial workshops operating in the years running up to the Reformation. This particular workshop, as yet unidentified, was most probably based in the north or in Coventry.

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<sup>19</sup> Greater Manchester Record Office E7/6/1/2.

<sup>20</sup> Greater Manchester Record Office E7/6/1/5.

<sup>21</sup> E. Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, rev. edn., ed. John Harland, 2 vols. (London, 1868-70), II, p. 541. Presowe is the modern-day Preesall on the Fylde coast.



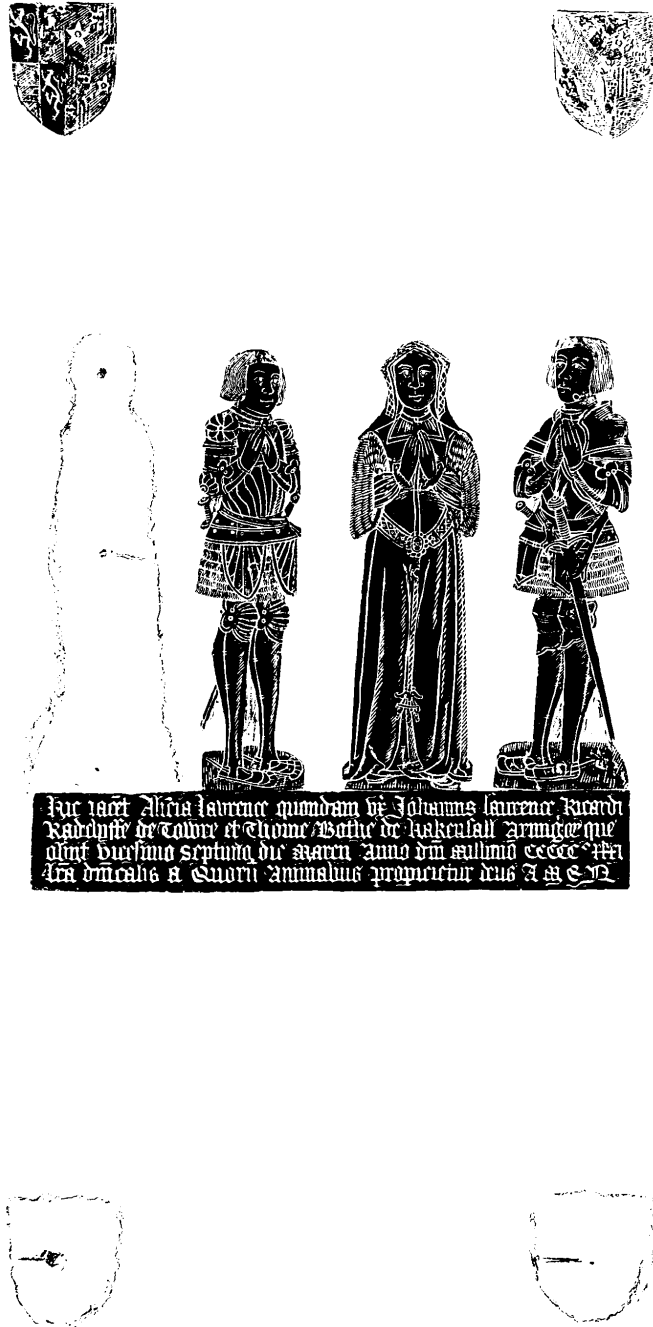


FIG. 4  
Alice Laurence, née Assheton, d. 1531, and husbands John Laurence, Richard Radclyffe and Thomas Bothe  
Middleton, Lancashire, M.S. III  
*Rubbing: Patrick Farman*



FIG. 5  
A daughter, c. 1635  
Derelict (formerly Messrs. Warner, London).  
*Rubbing: Cambridge Collection of Rubbings*

**Fig. 5:** A daughter, c. 1635, Derelict (formerly Messrs. Warner, London). *Rubbing: Cambridge Collection of Rubbings.*

This figure of a girl, dressed in a gown with long hanging sleeves, a standing band,<sup>22</sup> and an arched hood, is first recorded by Haines in 1861, when it was in the possession of Messrs. Warner, brass and bell founders, of Jewin Crescent, London.<sup>23</sup> The other six brasses listed by Haines as at Warners were purchased by the Society of Antiquaries in 1916, but this figure vanished without trace. The collection of brasses held by Warners had presumably come to them as scrap metal and it is significant that none has been linked with a church, suggesting that they had been discarded before the extensive recording of brasses by means of rubbings. Three of them were already at Warners in 1840.<sup>24</sup>

There are close matches for this figure among the daughters on M.S. VI at Walkern, Herts., which is attributable to Francis Grigs. The Walkern brass commemorates Anne Chapman, who died in 1636, and a date in the mid 1630s is reasonable for the Warners figure, even though the costume belongs more to the 1610s or 1620s.

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<sup>22</sup> This type of collar, known in Spain as a 'golilla', can be seen on the Bellasis monument of 1615-16 in York Minster (C.W. Cunnington and P. Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, 3rd edn. (London, 1972), fig. 30).

<sup>23</sup> H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1861), II, p. 235.

<sup>24</sup> On Warners and its collection of brasses, see S. Freeth in *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, ed. W. Lack and P. Whittemore, I, pt. 5 (2004), pp. 34-5.

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