

TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
**Monumental Brass Society**

VOLUME XVII, PART 5 2007



# Monumental Brass Society

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

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

Cover: Katherine Quatremain (d. 1342), from M.S. I, Thame, Oxon. *Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*

## Editorial

**B**RASSES are too often seen in black and white. The utility of rubbings as a means of studying brasses can blind us to the subtle gleam of latten, the occasional glint of gilt surfaces, the faint traces of coloured inlay or the unwelcome hues of verdigris and bat urine. The *Transactions* first experimented with colour in 1952, when bicoloured printing was used for H.F. Owen Evans's paper on the Fermer brass at Easton Neston. Red and black were also used for his article, 'The Resurrection on Brasses', published in 1970. The first proper colour plates illustrated Sally Badham's 1985 study of stone types. More recently, in 1999, colour was used for the first time for an illustration of a brass as well as for metallurgical samples. This issue provides further examples of the use of colour illustrations of brasses and their context. It is hoped that, in future, whenever the occasion demands and finances allow it, colour plates will be included in *Transactions*. But monochrome rubbings will still provide the backbone of illustrative material. Here all members of the Society can potentially make a contribution by providing illustrations for the Portfolio of Small Plates.

This issue of the *Transactions* is dedicated to the memory of John Coales. A regular feature of Council meetings was his keen-eyed correction of the draft minutes. This was symptomatic of his concern for historical accuracy. As a young art historian I learned much about the craft of editing when, as a contributor to *The Earliest English Brasses*, I was edited by John. Over the years I benefited much from his quiet advice and support. As I correct the proofs of this issue, I half expect to hear a voice saying 'page 417, line 1, spelling mistake'.



John Coales at his investiture by H.M. The Queen at Buckingham Palace  
as an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (O.B.E. – Civil Division) on 28 February 2007

## Obituary

### JOHN COALES, O.B.E., F.S.A. (1931-2007)

**J**OHN Coales was born on 12 May 1931 at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, the only child of Major John Leslie Coales, J.P., and Florence Marion, third daughter of John Alexander Webster of Aylesbury. He commenced his education in Newport Pagnell before attending the nearby Swanbourne House Preparatory School and then to St Edward's School, Oxford. John was not university educated, although he undoubtedly possessed sufficient capability, for this tradition did not run in the family. In any event, his future was preordained; in 1948 he joined the family corn-milling business of Francis Coales & Son, founded by his great-grandfather, Francis Coales (1821-1909), and his second son, Walter John Coales (1860-1927), by means of the acquisition in 1885 of an established firm of corn merchants, Hives & Son of Newport Pagnell.

The business flourished under the custodianship of John's father, John Leslie Coales (1896-1976), his uncle Francis William Coales (1859-1949), and an astute businessman, Tom Page of Bedford, together with Gerald Agnew, a highly committed and successful salesman-cum-representative. The business of Albert Gudgin & Son Limited was acquired in 1929 and with it the Cowper Mills at Olney. Further acquisitions at Bedford and Tring also took place as the direction of the business was manoeuvred from that of flour millers to a supplier of balanced animal feeds for farmers. Further expansion and modernisation of the Newport mill followed during the early 1960s. However, at its zenith a series of disasters befell the business. Firstly, the Tring mill was destroyed by fire in 1964, a similar fate befell the Olney mill a year later and in December 1973 an explosion took place in the boiler room of the Newport mill. The resultant fire destroyed a considerable part of the premises. Coinciding with these unfortunate events was the political turmoil of the Edward Heath government, culminating in the country being crippled by the effects of the miners' work-to-rule, which led to a three-day working week and regular power cuts. With John Leslie now aged 77 and John himself facing the herculean task of resurrecting the business, especially without any heirs, the decision was taken reluctantly to close down and liquidate the assets.

Conscious of his lineage, and in a desire to perpetuate the family name, John utilised a considerable proportion of the proceeds to establish the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation ('F.C.C.F.') at the end of 1975. The objects of the Foundation were to provide grants or loans to meet the cost 'of antiquarian research by archaeological or other methods' and to assist with 'the repair or restoration of any ecclesiastical or other buildings from time to time opened to public view which shall have been built before the year 1875' with preference given to churches and their contents located in the counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and

Hertfordshire where most of the business of Francis Coales and Son was conducted. However, John decreed that no territorial restriction should apply to the conservation of monuments and monumental brasses. The Foundation celebrated its coming-of-age in 1996 at Milton Keynes, whose church had received financial support from the Foundation. Indeed, over the more than thirty years that the Foundation has been in existence several million pounds of aid has been given in support of our heritage. It was therefore entirely fitting that John was appointed an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire in the 2007 New Year's Honours List for services to Conservation.

John took the decision in 1977, shortly after closing down the business and establishing the Foundation, to move from Newport Pagnell to The Mount at Somerton, Somerset. Although he diligently served as Chairman of the St. Andrew's Conservation Fund and as a member of the Wells Cathedral Fabric Fund, his heart and mind always reverted to his roots. In recent years two of the three trustee meetings of the F.C.C.F. were held at the home of his goddaughter, Ruth Pibworth and her husband Gary, at Warrington, a strategic location in Buckinghamshire where the county borders Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. Following lunch, John was at his happiest visiting churches in the locality to view at first hand where the Foundation's money had or would be spent. I invariably performed the role of chauffeur and listened avidly as John reminisced about a bygone era - memories of cycling around churches in his childhood. The first requirement was to walk around the outside of the building irrespective of the prevailing weather conditions! John's recall also extended to practically every farmstead and its occupants replete with an account of their association with the business or one of his forbears. These excursions invariably concluded with tea at the home of a regular grant recipient with whom strong links had been established until they became a member of his extended family.

John, as a teenager, spent many enjoyable holidays visiting churches throughout the Home Counties in the company of his relative, the Revd. Ronald Bale, curate of Newport Pagnell and subsequently



John Coales outside the church at Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, 2006.

vicar of Buckingham. This absorbing pastime became more focused through his association with the Revd. J.F. Williams, of Norwich, who encouraged him to join the Monumental Brass Society in 1956. John served as Honorary Secretary of the Society from 1966 to 1974, being rewarded with a Vice-Presidency and election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London upon retirement. He skilfully edited *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350* which was published in 1987 to mark the Centenary of the Society and, following an interregnum, was appointed as Patron in 2002 in succession to Dr. Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury.

I first met John when I was a fledgeling member of the Monumental Brass Society at the tender age of thirteen in 1970. I was passionate about brasses and set myself the ambition of rubbing the select series of Flemish brasses to be found in England. The crowning glory was the magnificent fourteenth-century brass commemorating Abbot Thomas de la Mare at St. Albans Abbey. The Dean and Chapter had taken the decision some years earlier to devolve responsibility for granting permission to the Honorary Secretary of the Monumental Brass Society. I made application to Mr. Coales and was advised that prior to such permission being granted it would be necessary to submit a portfolio of my work at a General Meeting for vetting. This was arranged and, accompanied by my mother, I duly attended the meeting. Upon arrival my confidence was boosted on taking the view that my work compared favourably to that displayed on the walls of the meeting room. At the appropriate time I approached the dais on which John, as Secretary, and the then President, Dr. Keith Cameron (an original trustee of the F.C.C.F.) were seated. My rubbings were scrutinised and it was generally agreed that they were of a sufficient standard. However, I received a crushing blow when advised that age militated against me and it was recommended that I should reapply in a few years time! I have yet to do so.

Some years later, whilst holding office in the Society, I was overheard referring to the renowned antiquary, Mr. F.A. Greenhill, as Frank Greenhill. John in his inimitable manner advised me that mere mortals must refer to him as 'Mr. Greenhill'. Greenhill was acknowledged as 'the most devoted scholar of incised memorial slabs in Europe' serving as President of the Monumental Brass Society for just three short years before electing to stand down in 1964 to concentrate on his two-volume *magnum opus*, entitled *Incised Effigial Slabs*, which appeared in 1976. John was prominently acknowledged in the work and developed a very keen interest in this field of antiquarianism. Indeed, John, in collaboration with our late President, Dr. Malcolm Norris, and our late member, Harold Jones of Market Harborough, utilised money left in trust by Greenhill to publish, under the aegis of the F.C.C.F., a posthumous volume on the incised slabs to be found in the county of Lincolnshire. John derived enormous enjoyment from his many expeditions to northern France in a quest to discover additional incised effigial slabs with his

companions - Gerald Wyld and our Vice-President, Dr. Paul Cockerham - the latter performing the role of interpreter and retriever of church keys. John established a separately designated Greenhill Fund within the Foundation to ensure that research into this somewhat neglected field would continue in perpetuity.

Elsewhere he served on the council of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society and was a founder member of the Church Monuments Society. He became an honorary member of the Northamptonshire Record Society and also the Wolverton & District Archaeological Society. He was especially pleased that the British Archaeological Association should acknowledge his contribution with a Vice-Presidency.

In later life he devoted his energies to matters genealogical - another interest inherited from his father and his great-aunt, Miss Margaret Annie Coales. John was immensely proud of his lineage particularly his 16th century descent from the Northamptonshire village of Aldwinckle. His considerable collection of documents, photographs and memorabilia was painstakingly assembled and published in 2000 as *Twelve Generations: Gleanings from the Coales Family Archives* - a 'door-stop' volume running to some six hundred pages.

John's brusque manner, combined with his unremitting desire to set down perceived shortcomings in letter form, is legendary. Many utility companies and professional firms have suffered from a Coales bombardment! However, beneath this veneer was an entirely different personality - a shy, thoughtful, generous and kind person. John worked in mysterious and sundry ways - often in complete anonymity. Numerous people in their time of need have good reason to be grateful to him.

Special mention should be made of Gerald Wyld, whom John met in the early 1970s whilst holidaying on a cruise ship. They instantly established a rapport with Gerald initially obtaining employment as a maintenance man at the firm's Newport mill. Gerald soon became a valued and indispensable companion moving into The Elms at Newport and subsequently accompanying John to Somerset.

John was patently aware of his mortality and at the outset of ill health began the awesome task of setting his affairs in order. The end was mercifully short. John was tended to the last by those who loved and cared for him. He eventually slipped peacefully away at 1.45 a.m. on Saturday, 6 October 2007. He was brought back home and laid to rest in the grave of his parents in the Old Cemetery at Newport Pagnell on 17 October following a funeral service conducted in the parish church by the Revd. Brian Wilcox, an F.C.C.F. trustee. - *Requiescat in pace.*

H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD



# Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group

by SALLY BADHAM

IT is generally recognised that choices for monumental commemoration were subject, amongst other factors, to influence from the commemorative preferences of others in the circles in which the deceased moved. It is not unusual for monuments to individuals linked by blood or friendship to show commonality of design. In some cases this was specifically requested, as for example in the case of Mary, Lady Roos, who in 1394 left 100s. for ‘a marble stone for my tomb’, probably an incised slab, at Rievaulx, Yorkshire, ‘like the one that lies over Lady Margaret de Orby, my grandmother in the church of St. Botolph [Boston]’.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, directed in his will of 1372: ‘my body to be buried in the Church of St. Paul’s, London, where a tomb is to be made for me ... as like as possible to the tomb of Elizabeth de Burgh who lies in the Minories, London without Aldgate, and I give for the making of the said tomb cxl li’.<sup>2</sup> Other examples, such as the taste for cadaver monuments shown by a significant number of Lancastrian adherents, can be discovered only by examining the lives of the commemorated.<sup>3</sup> Evidence can also be found of brasses to those bound by ties of kinship or association having been made in the same workshop. For example, many of Richard II’s chamber knights, including Sir John Cray, Sir George Felbrigge, Sir Nicholas Dagworth and Sir William Bagot, chose to be commemorated by Series C brasses.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Nigel Saul has shown how the Cobham family of Cobham and Sterborough patronised first the London A workshop, then changed their allegiance to London B.<sup>5</sup> In this paper I aim to show how a similar pattern of shared patronage, with examples of comparable designs or brasses commissioned from the same workshop, could extend much wider across a kinship group, by examining the brasses commissioned in the later fifteenth century by the Cromwell and Bourchier families.

## *The Cromwells and their collegiate church at Tattershall*

On 14 July 1439 royal assent was given to Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell’s collegiate foundation at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, the crowning glory of which was to be the magnificent church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St.

<sup>1</sup> J. Ward ed., *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry 1066-1500* (Manchester, 1995), p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), I, pp. 87-8.

<sup>3</sup> P. King, ‘The English Cadaver Tomb in the late Fifteenth Century: Some Indications of a Lancastrian Connection’, in *Dies illa: Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. J.H.M. Taylor (Liverpool, 1984), pp. 45-56; S. Badham and N. Saul, ‘The Catesbys’ Taste in Brasses’ in *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St Ledgers*, ed. J. Bertram (London, 2006), pp. 36-75.

<sup>4</sup> N. Saul, ‘The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey’ *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 1 (1992), pp. 19-32; and S. Badham, ‘The London C Workshop’, *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 3 (2005), pp. 248-50.

<sup>5</sup> N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2001), *passim*.



FIG. 1

Collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall, Lincolnshire

Peter the Apostle, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, which replaced the earlier church of St. Peter and St. Paul (Fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> The change of dedication further marked out the new establishment as a Cromwell church; Lambley, Nottinghamshire, where Ralph's ancestors were buried, was also dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The Tattershall establishment was to consist of a warden, six priests, six clerks and six choristers, with an almshouse for thirteen paupers attached to the College. The main purpose of the College was for prayers to be said for the souls of King Henry VI, Ralph, his parents, friends and benefactors and especially his grandmother, Maud Bernack, who had brought Tattershall and other Lincolnshire manors to the Cromwell family. Ralph himself was then forty-five and perhaps might have been thought to have possessed all that life could offer.<sup>7</sup> He was at the zenith of a glittering political career, his talents for diplomacy and administration having earned him a position on the King's Council and also as Treasurer of England from 1433 to 1443. Although his place in history has been overshadowed by his more colourful contemporaries, such as Warwick the Kingmaker, Cromwell's continuity of service in local and central government over thirty-five years was a

<sup>6</sup> R. Marks, *Stained Glass of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity at Tattershall* (New York, 1984), pp. 12-29.

<sup>7</sup> For Cromwell's life, see E.M. Myatt-Price, 'Ralph, Lord Cromwell (1394-1456)', *Lincolnshire Historian*, II, pt. 4 (1957), pp. 4-13; Marks, *Tattershall*, pp. 12-14; S. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 95-8; and *ODNB*, XIV, pp. 353-5.

rare achievement in the troubled years of conflict between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions and is a testament to his political acumen. He in addition commanded immense wealth; in part this was inherited or gained through marriage, but also he was ruthless in seizing opportunities made available to him through his position as one of the great officers of state to acquire lands, wardships, reversions and other fruits of patronage and power. On his death his extensive estates were valued at some £2000 per annum.

Yet, if Ralph's public life was blessed, his private life held disappointments. By 1424 he had married Margaret, daughter of John, Lord Deincourt. She was one of the two co-heiresses of the baronies of Deincourt and Grey of Rotherfield and she brought to Ralph estates in four counties. However, she failed to give him a child. By 1439, after fifteen years of marriage, Ralph had doubtless reconciled himself to the fact that with his death the direct line would fail. For many years he had the consolation that the name would continue with heirs in the male line. At the time he founded the College at Tattershall he expected to be succeeded by Sir Robert Cromwell, son of his uncle, Sir William Cromwell (d. 1428). Indeed, under his first will dated 1 May 1431 Cromwell had named Robert, then in his wardship, as the person to whom the remainder of his most important estates was devised.<sup>8</sup> Unhappily, on 23 May 1442 Robert died. Lord Cromwell still had living a nephew, Henry Stanhope, the son of his sister Maud and her husband, Sir Richard Stanhope of Rampton, but he too predeceased his uncle, dying in 1453.<sup>9</sup> This left as Ralph's only heirs Maud and Joan, the daughters of his sister Maud, neither of whom could inherit the barony.

Up to the early 1450s, progress on the collegiate establishment had been slow and the college was functioning within the old parish church on only a modest scale; in his second will dated 18 December 1440 he referred to his desire to be buried in the choir of the church 'and that the said Collegiate Church of Tattershall shall be newly built and constructed', indicating that the rebuilding was still to be carried out.<sup>10</sup> The deaths of Henry Stanhope and subsequently of Ralph's wife, Margaret, on 15 September 1454, acted as prompts for Ralph to speed up progress with his foundation by diverting more of his wealth into this project in a codicil to his will dated 30 September 1454.<sup>11</sup>

Ralph had long been an extravagant builder, lavishing money on many projects: he built manor houses at South Wingfield and Collyweston, and funded work on the

<sup>8</sup> Magdalen College, Oxford, Archives, Miscellaneous 359. I am grateful to Simon Payling for bringing this reference to my attention.

<sup>9</sup> For the Stanhope family, see Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 47-9, 81-2, 240. R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (London, 1677), pp. 247, 283, tells us that Henry Stanhope, the only son of Richard and Maud Stanhope, died without issue, 12 Aug. 31 H. 6. [1453] and was buried at Lambley. The information may have been taken from a monument to Henry, but if so no details of it are given. In the 1797 edition (III, p. 247), John Throsby adds nothing to the above, but illustrates two incised cross-slabs, to Elizabeth [Stanhope], dau. of Thomas Talbot, 1455; and to Sir Richard Stanhope, 1451 (?) (rather garbled) and his wife Johanna, 1410 (?), but no illustration is known of Henry Stanhope's monument.

<sup>10</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, Part II, Surtees Society, XXX (Durham, 1855), p. 197 ('quousque dicta ecclesia Collegiata de Tatteshall de novo sit edificata et constructa').

<sup>11</sup> Marks, *Tattershall*, pp. 16-17.

rare achievement in the troubled years of conflict between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions and is a testament to his political acumen. He in addition commanded immense wealth; in part this was inherited or gained through marriage, but also he was ruthless in seizing opportunities made available to him through his position as one of the great officers of state to acquire lands, wardships, reversions and other fruits of patronage and power. On his death his extensive estates were valued at some £2000 per annum.

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<sup>11</sup> Marks, *Tattershall*, pp. 16-17.

churches at Lambley, Randby, Welby and the former Templar preceptory at Temple Bruer.<sup>12</sup> At Randby, there was formerly an inscription to him reading: 'Pray for the soul of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, who began this work A.D. 1450'.<sup>13</sup> However, his most extensive project was the creation at his principal residence at Tattershall of an ensemble of castle – built between 1434 and 1446, replacing a thirteenth century castle – and college on the same lines as the great Yorkist establishment at Fotheringhay and the equivalent Lancastrian enterprise, St. Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, which was demolished at the Dissolution.

Ralph, 3rd and last Baron Cromwell, thus channelled a significant portion of his great wealth into ensuring that for all time prayers would be said for himself and his kin. His work at Tattershall was to be a grand statement of the status of the Cromwell family; he left his legacy, not in flesh and blood, but in stone, brass, glass and – to medieval Christians most importantly of all – perpetual prayers. Sadly, the 1547 dissolution of the chantries frustrated this aspect of his plans. Iconoclasm and the vicissitudes of time have also eroded Ralph's legacy – the many altars and images with which Holy Trinity church was adorned are gone, the spectacular glazing, for which the building was in essence a skeleton, is greatly depleted and Ralph's own brass is missing many plates (Fig. 2). Nonetheless, what remains keeps green the memory of Ralph and his family.

### *Monuments to the Barons Cromwell*

Ralph's grandmother had ensured that she and her husband, Ralph, 1st Baron Cromwell, were appropriately commemorated at the place of his burial in Holy Trinity church, Lambley, Nottinghamshire, by a Fens series alabaster incised slab, now virtually effaced. Ralph was keen to ensure that his parents, who were also buried at Lambley, were also suitably commemorated, albeit rather belatedly. His 1454 will reads: 'I will and request that the parish church of Lambley, including its new chancel, shall be completely rebuilt at my expense, and that a marble slab with two pictures in brass shall be prepared and laid decently over the grave of my father and mother'.<sup>14</sup> The brass does not survive, although there is every reason to believe that his executors carried out his wishes, given that they completed the related rebuilding of Lambley church and provided Ralph's monument in his new collegiate foundation largely built after his death. The new Perpendicular church at Lambley, built under his executors' instructions, has his badge of the Treasurer's purse and gromwell leaves on stone panels on the exterior. The work was carried out sometime in the 1470s, the new church being dedicated in 1480.<sup>15</sup> This suggests a date for the

<sup>12</sup> Marks, *Tattershall*, p. 14. For Lambley, see R. Marks, 'The Re-Building of Lambley Church, Nottinghamshire, in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, LXXXVII (1983), pp. 87-9.

<sup>13</sup> 'Orate pro anima Domini Radulphi Crumwell qui incipit hoc opus Anno Domini 1450.' (*Lincolnshire Church Notes made by Gervase Holles, A.D. 1634 to A.D. 1642*, ed. R.E.G. Cole, Publications of Lincolnshire Record Society, 1 (Lincoln, 1911), p. 174).

<sup>14</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Part II, pp. 199-200. 'Et volo et ordino quod ecclesia parochialis de Lamley cum cancello ejusdem novo sit edificata et constructa de bonis meis; et quod unus lapis marmoreus cum duabus ymaginibus de aurocalco ordinatur et super sepulchrum patris et matris meorum ibidem decenter ponatur'.

<sup>15</sup> Marks, 'Lambley'.

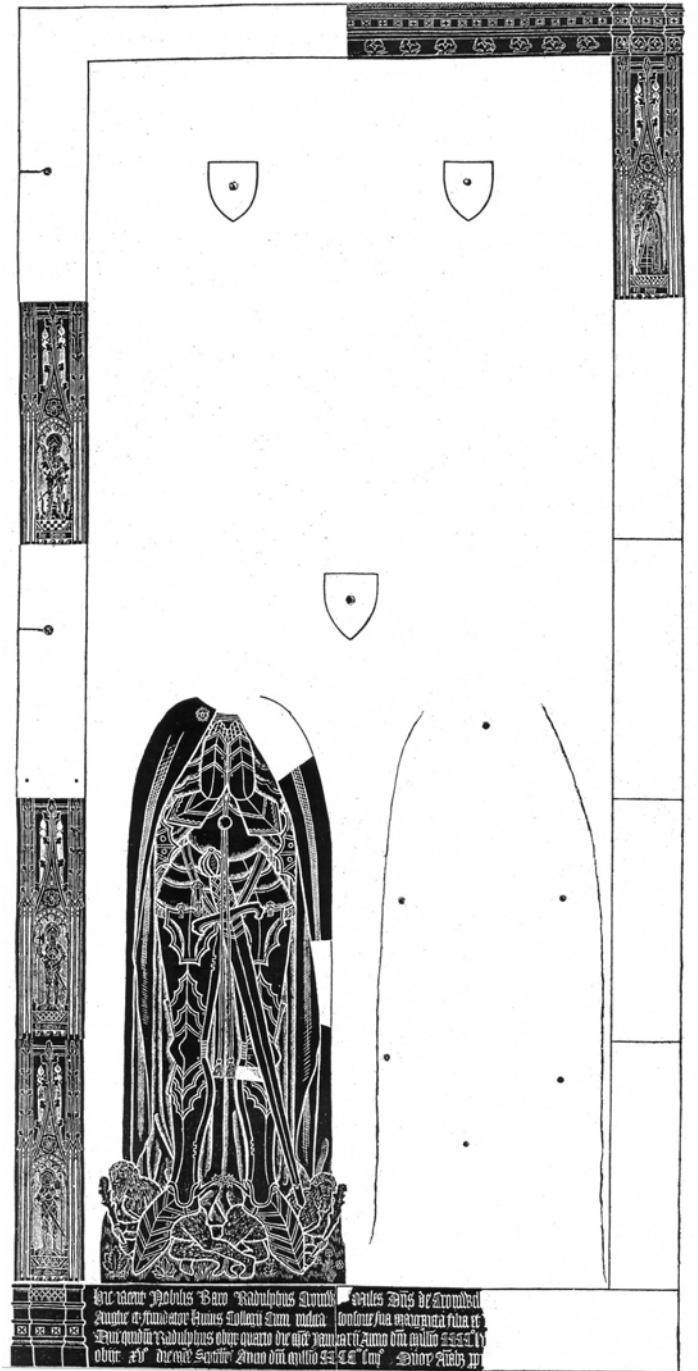


FIG. 2

Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell, d. 1455/6, and his wife Margaret Deincourt, d. 1454, Tattershall, Lincolnshire

presumed brass in the mid to late 1470s. It is a reasonable assumption that its composition would have resembled the other Cromwell family brasses discussed below.

Often collegiate foundations such as Ralph Cromwell's at Tattershall were crowned by the provision of a lavish and prominent monument with carved effigies commemorating the founder. However, Ralph chose personally to be commemorated by a brass. His first will, made in 1431, directed: 'And another thing: I will that my tomb shall be made of marble stone, with my image impressed upon it, well and decently, in gilt copper alloy, and it shall be of the height of one yard'.<sup>16</sup> It may be assumed that his proposed place of burial was Tattershall, although this is not explicitly stated in what survives of the poorly preserved will. Ralph subsequently changed his mind about having a tomb chest with brass, instead deciding on a floor brass. In the 1454 codicil to his second will, he directed: 'I also request that my own tomb shall be of marble, with a picture of myself and one of Margaret my late wife set therein, made of brass and decently decorated, in the chancel of the said Collegiate Church of Tattershall, specifically on the north side of the chancel near the high altar, as I have arranged during my lifetime, and that this tomb shall be made and constructed level with the paving there'.<sup>17</sup> The wording, 'as I have arranged during my lifetime', implies that he had left clear directions as to his burial place and perhaps also the form of his monument. The position in front of the high altar, in the part of the church used by the chantry chaplains, the nave being for parochial use, was conventional, but the deliberate choice of a floor brass ('level with the paving') is perhaps unexpected for one of his status. Possibly personal piety and a desire not to interfere with the liturgical function of the church informed Ralph Cromwell's decision to eschew a tomb chest with relief effigies.

Baron Cromwell's brass, like all medieval monuments, shared the dual functions of celebrating the worldly status of the deceased while also, and more importantly, soliciting prayers to ease the passage of the soul through Purgatory. Yet, as reflected in the concluding stanzas of the fifteenth century lyric poem 'The Mirror of Mortality', probably written by one of the chaplains of the College, it also brought home to the observer that death is the great leveller even for those such as the Cromwells:

This worthi lorde of veray polyce,  
Ser Raufe lorde Cromwell, Remembringe here vpon  
ffor all his lordship and gret stately fe,  
Knowinge by resoun of oder Recous none,  
ffor all his castells & toures hie of stone,  
ffor hime and for my lady, like as ye se,

<sup>16</sup> Magdalen College, Oxford, Archives, Miscellaneous 359: 'Volo quod tumba mea sit facta de petra marmorii cum Imagine mea desuper impressata bone et decenter de latona deaurata et fiat de altitudine unius virge'.

<sup>17</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Part II, pp. 199-200. 'Item volo quod tumba mea sit facta de petra marmorea, cum ymagine mea et ymagine Margaretae nuper uxoris meae desuper impressatis de auricalcho decenter ornatis in cancello dictae ecclesiae Collegiatae de tattershall, videlicet, in boreali parte ejusdem cancelli juxta summum altare ibidem, sicut idem in vita mea appunctavi, et quod tumba illa fiat et construat equaliter cum pavimento ibidem.'

This towmbe prouyded, ayene that thei shall gone.  
 In gracios houre gode graunte hir passage be!  
 Muse in this mirrou of moralite,  
 Both olde and yonge that lokene here opone,  
 Lyfte vp your hertly eie, be-holde and se  
 These same right worthi, restinge vndire the stone.  
 Deuoutly pray for heme to criste alone,  
 That gyltles for hire gylte sterfe one a tre,  
 heme to preserue frome all hire gostely foone,  
 And send him pees in perpetuite. Amen.<sup>18</sup>

Although Ralph's brass is now mutilated, its original composition is recorded in an antiquarian drawing formerly in Revesby Abbey library (Fig. 3). The monument was a magnificent celebration of status and lineage, bearing witness to Ralph's worldly aspirations. The three shields recorded the illustrious families of Cromwell, Tattershall and Deincourt from which the couple were descended.<sup>19</sup> The inscription is partly lost. Only the first third is *in situ*; in 2003 another section was discovered in a cupboard at Tattershall, together with a small section of the canopy border. The text of the full inscription is, however, known from antiquarian sources. The opening proclaims the high status of the pair: 'Here lies that Noble Baron, Ralph Cromwell, knight, former Treasurer of England and founder of this Colledge; together with his consort Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Lord Deincourt ...'.<sup>20</sup> The pair stand beneath a complex triple canopy with saints in the sideshafts. Ralph wears a mantle over armour. His depiction in military attire is appropriate for one who began his career as a 'strenuous knight', participating in the capture of Harfleur and Caen and fighting at Agincourt, but more generally it shows his status as a member of the nobility. Margaret is shown in the ceremonial robes of a peeress. Yet there is a discrepancy here. She wears a butterfly headdress, which did not become fashionable until a decade after her death in 1454. Moreover, rather than the plain armour common in the mid 1450s, that worn by Ralph is notable for the V-shaped flutes and elegant forms which characterise High Gothic armour of the 1470s and later. It is clearly a posthumous commemoration, but why was its commissioning delayed and when was it made?

<sup>18</sup> C. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (London, 1939), pp. 243-5, taken from BL, Harley MS 116. The notes on the poem at pp. 339-40 point out an ambiguity in the stanzas quoted here which at one point imply that Lord and Lady Cromwell were still living, but later refer to them as resting in their tomb. This is undoubtedly the result of artistic licence; since their monument is appropriately described as a 'stone', it seems unlikely that the poem could have been written before the brass was laid down in the mid 1470s. I am very grateful to Simon Payling for bringing this poem to my attention.

<sup>19</sup> *Lincolnshire Church Notes made by Gervase Holles*, pp. 139-40 records the charges on the upper two shields as: 1. Cromwell quartering Tattershall; 2. Deyncourt. The Revesby Abbey drawing shows the third shield to have borne Cromwell quartering Tattershall and impaling Deyncourt.

<sup>20</sup> The full inscription read: 'Hic iacent Nobilis Baro Radulphus Cromwell Miles Dominus de Cromwell [quondam Thesaurarius] Anglie et ffundator Huius Collegii Cum inclita consorte sua Margareta filia et [una heredum domini dayncourt] Qui quidem Radulphus obiit quarto die mensis Januarii Anno domini millesimo cccc° lv° [et predicta Margareta] obiit xv die mensis Septembris Anno domini millesimo cccc° liiii° Quorum animabus propic[ietur] deus Amen'.



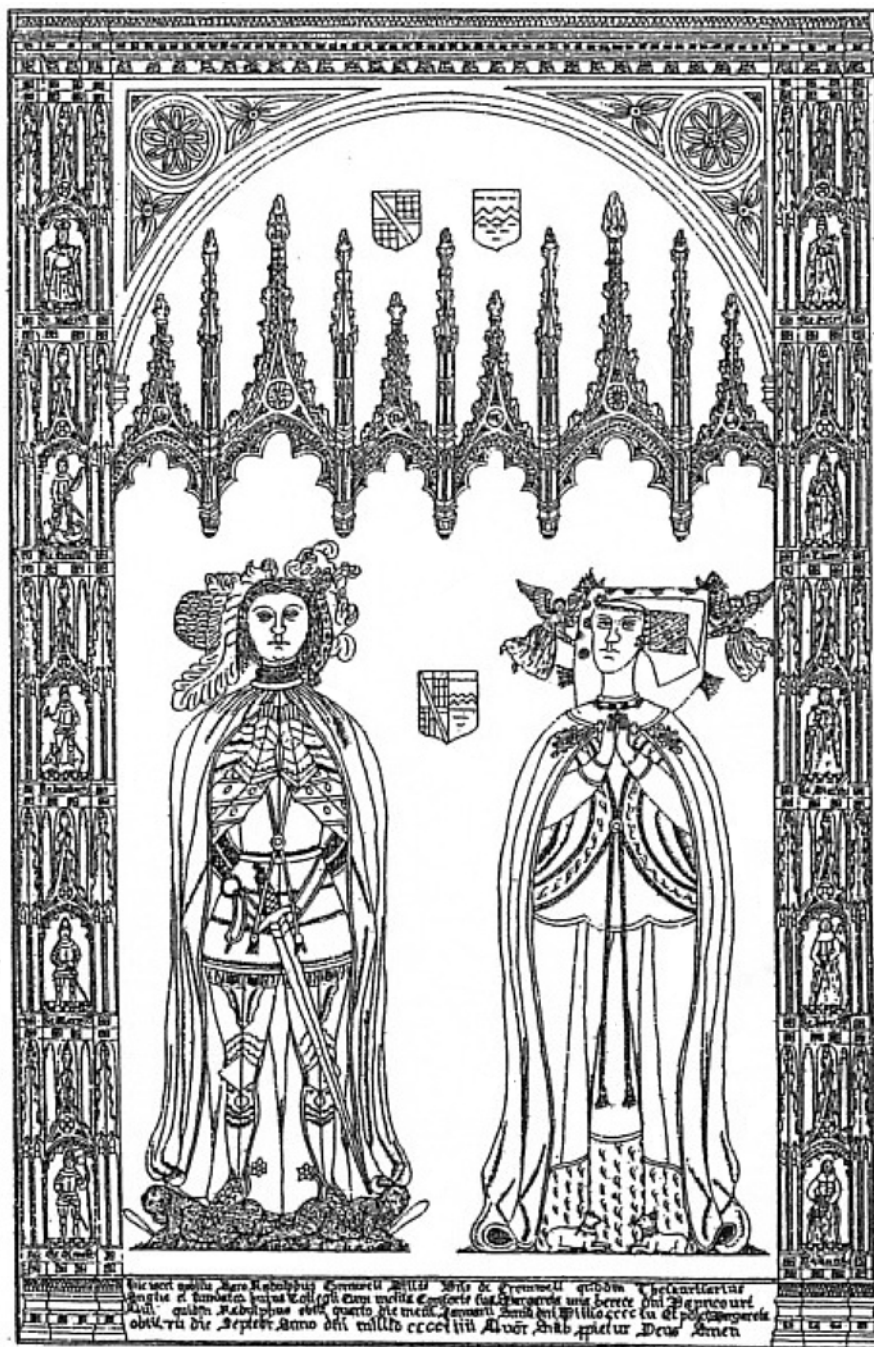


FIG. 3

Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell, d. 1455/6, and his wife Margaret Deincourt, d. 1454, Tattershall, Lincolnshire  
 Drawing: formerly Revesby Abbey Library (after *MBS Trans.*, V (1908), p. 328)

Ralph Cromwell directed in his will that he should be buried in the old church, but that when the fabric was rebuilt his body should be moved to the middle of the new choir. Hence, his brass could not be laid until the chancel of the new church was complete. Gaps in the building accounts mean that we do not know when the church was started, but building accounts drawn up by Richard Holingworth, clerk of the works, for the period Christmas 1475 to Christmas 1476 show that at this time the nave was well under way, implying that the chancel was then complete.<sup>21</sup> This fits perfectly with the style of the brass, which is a D product of the mid 1470s.



FIG. 4

Purbeck marble tomb chest to Sir Henry Bouchier, K.G., Viscount Bouchier and Earl of Eu and Essex, d. 1483, and his countess, Isabel Plantagenet, d. 1485, Little Easton, Essex

*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

<sup>21</sup> Marks, *Tattershall*, pp. 21-2.



FIG. 5  
Figure of Sir Henry Bourchier, K.G., Viscount  
Bourchier and Earl of Eu and Essex, d. 1483,  
Little Easton, Essex

*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

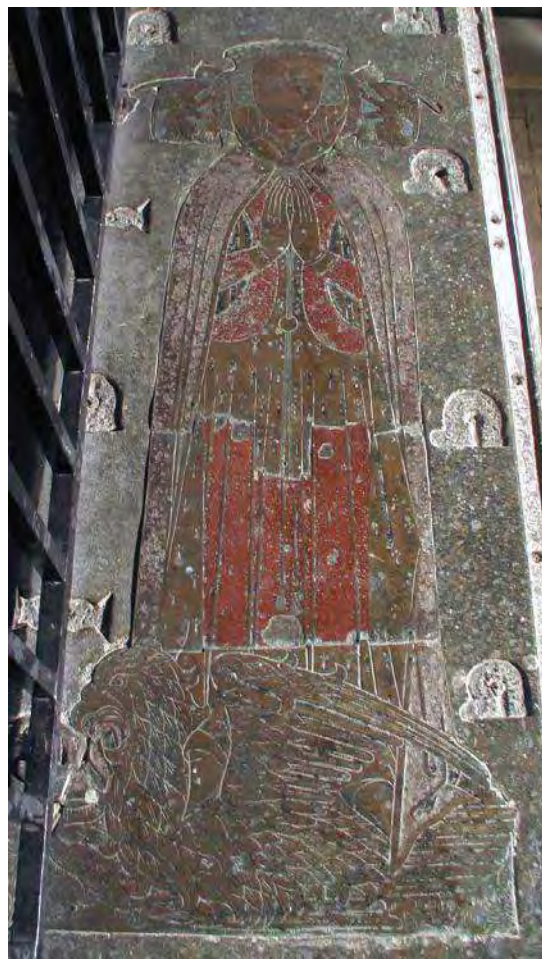


FIG. 6  
Figure of Sir Henry Bourchier's countess,  
Isabel Plantagenet, d. 1485, from their brass at  
Little Easton, Essex

*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

### *Brasses to the Bourchier family and their kin*

The closest comparison for Cromwell's monument is with the fine brass on a Purbeck marble tomb chest to Sir Henry Bourchier K.G., Viscount Bourchier and Earl of Eu and Essex (d. 1483), and his countess, Isabel Plantagenet (d. 1485), aunt of King Edward IV (Figs. 4-6). Stylistic comparisons with other brasses suggest that it was made while they were still living, probably in the mid 1470s. Originally located in the Lady Chapel at Beeleigh Abbey, Essex, the tomb was rescued by their descendant, Henry Bourchier, fourth and last Earl of Essex, following the dissolution of the Abbey in 1536.<sup>22</sup> It now stands between the chancel and south chapel of Little



FIG. 7

Detail of head of Sir Henry Bourchier, K.G., Viscount Bourchier and Earl of Eu and Essex, d. 1483,  
from his brass at Little Easton, Essex  
*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

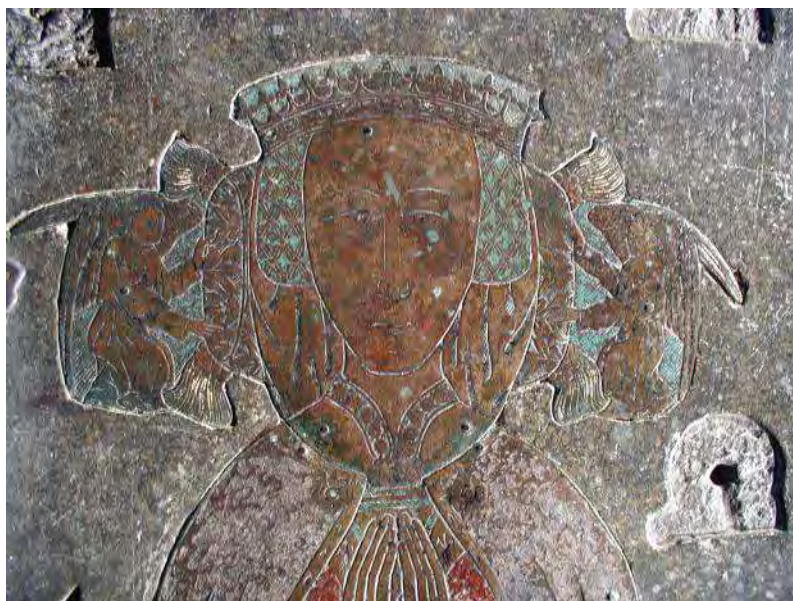


FIG. 8

Detail of figure of Sir Henry Bourchier's countess, Isabel Plantagenet, d. 1485,  
from their brass at Little Easton, Essex  
*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

Easton parish church, in a position comparable to that it occupied at Beeleigh. The tomb chest is well preserved, although the eight shields which once adorned it, together with two more on the canopy pediment, have been lost. The marginal inscription on the chamfer was gone by Weever's time and no antiquarian record of it is known.

There are differences between the two brasses. Bouchier's lacks a canopy, instead having a slab which was powdered with scrolls, garters, Bouchier knots and fetterlocks, the badge of Edward Plantagenet of Langley, fifth son of Edward III; sadly none of the inlay of the powdering devices remains. Moreover, the main figures at Little Easton are gilded and richly inlaid with coloured inlay (Figs. 5–8). Isabel's figure is particularly colourful: she wears a mantle of purple over a scarlet sideless surcote faced with ermine (Fig. 6). Although the figures on the Tattershall and Little Easton brasses are closely comparable, the armour worn by the men being almost identically drawn, each has a degree of personalisation. Isabel Bouchier's connection with the house of York is shown by the collar of suns and roses adorning each figure; Isabel's has attached a [white] lion couchant, the badge of the earldom of March (Fig. 8). All four effigies have creatures at their feet, but they vary. Cromwell has a pair of hairy wodehouses or wild men armed with clubs and his wife had a pair of terriers frolicking in her hem drapery; while Bouchier and his countess each have a prominent eagle, the family device from the time of Richard II, at their feet. Both Cromwell and Bouchier are shown in elaborate armour with a mantle over, and have their heads resting on helms surmounted by their respective crests. Cromwell's crest was a panache of feathers, while Bouchier's is a saracen's head wearing an antique cap; the mantling on the latter is billetty on the upper side and on the underside semée of water-bouquets, in allusion to the arms of Bouchier and Loveyne (his paternal grandmother). The costume worn by the two countesses is also alike, although they wear different headdresses; Isabel Bouchier wears a low coronet ornamented with thirteen leaves, while Margaret Cromwell is shown in a butterfly headdress. Both rest their heads on cushions held by angels, an uncommon feature. These comparisons are compelling, but that Cromwell and Bouchier had similar brasses is very unlikely to be coincidental. The most important distinction between the two brasses is that Bouchier wears the garter, to which Cromwell was not entitled. However, close examination of Ralph's figure shows that a piece of the brass has been cut out where a garter would have been (Fig. 9). Could the two brasses have been prepared side by side in the workshop and the garter erroneously copied on to the figure intended for Cromwell?

<sup>22</sup> Other members of the Bouchier family appear also to have chosen Beeleigh as their burial place. In 1496 Sir John Bouchier requested in his will to be buried at Beeleigh 'near my Lord father and my Lady mother, beneath their sepulture and tomb; and there I will have a tomb made for me, and both my wives, according to my degree'. His instructions were followed, but not immediately. In 1498 his widow, Dame Elizabeth Bouchier, required by her will that her late husband's bones be brought from Stebbing parish church (some 18 miles away) to Beeleigh Abbey to be buried with hers under a tomb which was to be constructed 'twixt the Choir and the foresaid Chapel of Our Lady' and next the tomb of her late father-in-law Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex (Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, pp. 422, 436-7). No record of either tomb is known.



FIG. 9  
Figure of Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell, d. 1455/6, from his brass at Tattershall, Lincolnshire  
*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

Henry Bouchier was born into a higher rank of the nobility than Cromwell and was descended from royalty, his mother, Anne, previously the widow of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, being Thomas of Woodstock's daughter.<sup>23</sup> Henry's father, Sir William Bouchier, Count of Eu, was a grandson of Robert Bouchier, 1st Lord Bouchier, but his marriage to Anne was crucial in explaining the family's rise.<sup>24</sup> Although he was not in direct line of succession to the barony of Bouchier, Henry nonetheless succeeded to it on the death in 1433 of his kinswoman, Elizabeth, Lady Bouchier. Like Cromwell, he undertook military service in France, in his case as a military commander with the Duke of Bedford's army in 1427, as part of Henry VI's coronation expedition in 1430 and in 1441 in support of his brother-in-law, Richard, Duke of York, who appointed him captain of Neufchâtel and governor-general of the marches of Picardy. As a reward for his military services he was created Viscount Bouchier during the parliament of 1445-6 and elected knight of the Garter in 1452. He was created 1st Earl of Essex at Edward IV's coronation in 1461. Again like Cromwell, he subsequently exercised his skills as a diplomat and administrator to build a career as a great courtier. In 1454, during York's first protectorate, Bouchier was appointed to the King's Council and was at various times Treasurer of England, the longest spell being from 1471 until his death in 1483.

Although Bouchier was some fifteen years younger than Cromwell, they thus moved in the same circles, but their association had become closer as a result of Bouchier's dynastic ambitions in acquiring wives for his sons from the ranks of the peerage. His third son Humphrey married Joan Stanhope, Cromwell's niece and co-heiress. This marital link is probably a key factor in explaining why the two men should have been commemorated by similar brasses commissioned from the same workshop at about the same time.

In his analysis of London-made brasses, Kent linked one other brass with the Tattershall and Little Easton examples: the brass on a carved tomb chest at Broxbourne, Hertfordshire to Sir John Say (d. 1478) and his first wife, Elizabeth (d. 1473), daughter of Lawrence Cheyne of Fen Ditton, Cambridgeshire (Figs. 10-11).<sup>25</sup> Although both Sir John and his lady are shown in effigy, the inscription makes clear the tomb was set up by Sir John as a monument to Elizabeth alone.<sup>26</sup> The tomb stands on the north side of the south chancel chapel, separating it from the chancel.

<sup>23</sup> For Bouchier's life, see *ODNB*, VI, pp. 815-16.

<sup>24</sup> J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), pp. 628-9, notes that a canopied altar tomb on the north side of the chancel at Little Easton was thought by Brooke to commemorate Sir William Bouchier and his wife Anne, although Vincent, who may be more reliable, places the location of the couple's burial as at Llanthony, near Gloucester. In Weever's day this tomb had a cover slab with what the description suggests is a brass with a man and woman with prayer scrolls, although there is no mention of this in F. Chancellor, *The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* (London, 1890), p. 80. The surviving heraldry shows it to be a monument to a member of the Bouchier family, but one of an earlier generation.

<sup>25</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), p. 96.

<sup>26</sup> The inscription is mutilated, but read '+ Here Lyeth Dame Elizabeth Sometyne wyf to Sir John Say Knight Daughter of Laurence Cheyne Esquier of Cambrigge Shire a Woman of noble blode and most noble in gode Maners which decessed the xxv day of September The yere of oure Lord A M<sup>o</sup> CCCC lxxiii and entired in this church of Brokesborn abydyng The bodye of hir said Husband whose Soules God Bryng to Euer lasting blisse' (J.G. Waller and L.A.B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1864), no. 45).



FIG. 10

Tomb chest to Sir John Say, d. 1478, and his first wife, Elizabeth, d. 1473, Broxbourne, Hertfordshire

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

In fact, the chapel was built specifically to house this monument. A contract was made on 25 June 1476 between Sir John Say and Robert Stowell for lengthening the south aisle of the church eastwards and other related works at a cost of £24; it included the following specifications for the tomb chest and a grave to be covered by a marble stone:

a Tombe of Fre Stone [vij?] fote of lenght at the lest and [ij and interlined] an halff of brede and ij fote of height or more as it can be thought good by thadvyce of a marbler w<sup>t</sup> moldyng therupon and a range of caters and scochyns to be made to ley a stone of marbyll thereupon. Also he shall make another Cestre afor the awter of the same for to leye a marbyll stone upon to be leyd flat upon the ground.<sup>27</sup>

Robert Stowell (*fl.* 1452, d. 1505) was at various times master of the stonemasons at Windsor Castle and master mason of Westminster Abbey, but also had a private practice.<sup>28</sup> At the time the contract was made Stowell lived close to Westminster Abbey in Tothill Street, but the available evidence suggests that he worked solely as a mason and was not involved in the marblers' trade. Although he evidently made the tomb chest at Broxbourne, which, with quatrefoils enclosing shields, follows

<sup>27</sup> The National Archives (PRO), Ancient Deeds D. 2638; L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540: a Documentary History* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 537-8.

<sup>28</sup> J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, rev. edn. (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 286-8.





FIG. 11

Sir John Say, d. 1478, and his first wife, Elizabeth, d. 1473, Broxbourne, Hertfordshire

*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

closely the design specified, the wording of the contract makes clear that the Purbeck marble cover-slab with its brass inlay would have been sub-contracted or separately contracted, in this case to the London D workshop. The effigial representation on this monument, particularly the armoured figure, is very similar in design to those on both the Cromwell and Bouchier brasses. The Broxbourne brass also paralleled the latter in the lavish use of coloured inlay. This resemblance is again almost certainly not accidental.

John Say was another courtier and administrator, his most remarkable achievement being that he was the only man to serve as Speaker in both a Lancastrian and a Yorkist parliament.<sup>29</sup> He was loyal to each dynasty in turn and remembered both Henry VI and Edward IV in his will, referring to the former 'in whose service I was brought up and preferred'.<sup>30</sup> Unlike Cromwell and Bouchier, Say came from gentry stock, although he was almost certainly related to James Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele (d. 1450), in whose company he was often recorded. He was an esquire for most of his life, only being knighted *c.* 1462. Initially associated with the regime of John de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, he later received preferment due to the patronage of Henry Bouchier. He served as Bouchier's deputy as clerk of the treasurer in 1455-56, 1460-62 and 1475 until his death in 1478; he was one of the first laymen to have held this office and one of the first who had not previously served in any minor office in the exchequer. Say was also linked to Bouchier by kinship: his step-daughter Agnes married another Humphrey Bouchier, the Earl of Essex's nephew. Moreover, Sir John's brother, William, Dean of St. Paul's, London (d. 1468), was the chief beneficiary of a chantry established in 1502 in the chapel of St. Faith underneath St. Paul's Cathedral; those whose souls were to be prayed for included members of Say's own family, but also Henry, 2nd Earl of Essex and his wife Mary, the daughter of Sir William Say and thus the Dean's great-niece, providing more evidence of links between the Bouchier and Say families.<sup>31</sup> William Say was buried in the undercroft of St. Paul's, but the form of his lost monument is unknown.<sup>32</sup>

As Cromwell, Bouchier and Say were thus linked by both kinship and association, it is entirely explicable that they would have chosen similar memorials

<sup>29</sup> For John Say's life, see *ODNB*, XLIX, pp. 155-6; and Waller and Waller, *Series of Monumental Brasses*, no. 45.

<sup>30</sup> PRO, PROB 11/6 (P.C.C. 35 Wattys).

<sup>31</sup> W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), pp. 117-8, says that the chantry was founded 17 Henry VII in a chapel in St Faith's Church [underneath St Paul's] where the body of William Say, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of St Paul's was buried. This was for one priest to perform divine service for the soul of Say and for the good estate of Sir William Say, knight [the son and heir of Sir John Say], Henry, Earl of Essex [grandson and heir of Henry Bouchier, 1st Earl of Essex] and his wife Mary [daughter of Sir William Say], William Blount, Lord Mountjoy and his wife Elizabeth and for their souls following their deaths. The chantry was also to benefit the souls of Sir John Say Kt. and Elizabeth, parents of Sir William, and those of John and Edward, sons of Sir William. It was further to include Thomas, Leonard, Anne, Elizabeth, Katherine and Mary, children of Sir John and Elizabeth Say and also Robert Shirbourne, Dean of St. Paul's when this chantry was founded. Sir William Say was in the household of his uncle, Dean Say (H. Kleineke and S. Hovland, 'The Household and Daily Life of the Dean in the Fifteenth Century' in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, ed. D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (New Haven, 2004), p. 167). He died in 1529, being survived by his co-heiresses, Elizabeth Blount and Mary Bouchier (H. Kleineke and S. Hovland, *The Estate and Household Accounts of William Worsley Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1479-1497*, London Record Society, 40 (London, 2004), p. 168). I am grateful to Christian Steer for these references.

<sup>32</sup> *Survey of London written in the year 1598 by John Stow*, ed. W.J. Thomas (London, 1842), p. 126, says that Dean Say's monument was in the Jesus Chapel.

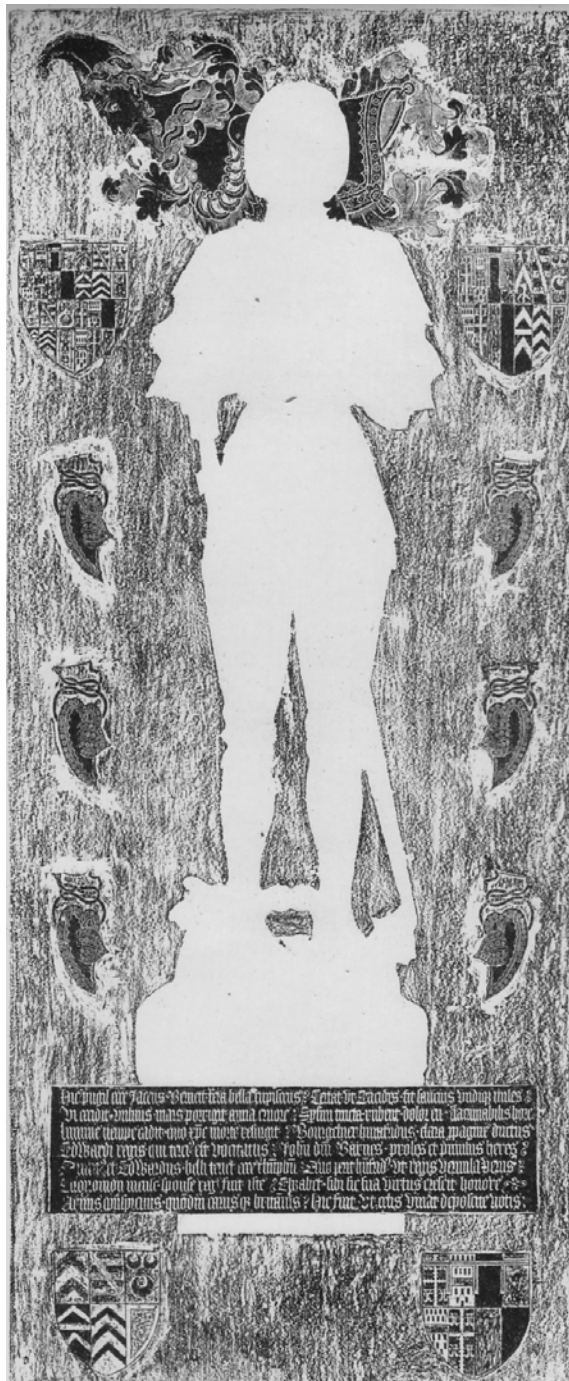


FIG. 12

Humphrey Bourchier, d. 1471, Westminster Abbey, London

and even patronised the same brass engraving workshop. However, these were not the only brasses that the kin of Baron Cromwell and the Earl of Essex commissioned from the London D workshop in the 1470s.

Possibly the earliest brass commissioned by the Bouchiers from the London D workshop was that commemorating Humphrey Bouchier, who was chief carver to Queen Elizabeth Woodville. He was the eldest son of John Bouchier, Lord Berners, K.G., the Earl of Essex's younger brother, Joan Stanhope's cousin by marriage and Sir John Say's son-in-law. He was killed at the Battle of Barnet in 1471 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Parts of his brass survive on his low Purbeck marble altar tomb in the chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas the Martyr (Fig. 12). The lettering style of the inscription and the outline of his lost effigy mark it out as a Series D product very similar in design to the prestigious brass to his uncle and aunt at Little Easton. The slab is powdered with Bouchier knots, a design feature linking it with the brass subsequently laid down to his uncle and aunt. It is unlikely, however, that the effigy was enamelled like those on the Little Easton brass, as the surviving helm with the crest of a Saracen's head and the shields appear instead to have had coloured mastic inlays.

Joan Stanhope's husband Humphrey, the eldest son of the Earl of Essex, created 1st Lord Bouchier of Cromwell on 25 July 1461 by his cousin Edward IV, died ten years later at Barnet. Weever records that he too was buried in Westminster Abbey.<sup>33</sup> His monument does not survive, nor is there any antiquarian record of it, but it seems plausible that it too was a London D brass ordered at the same time as the brass to his cousin and namesake. We may speculate that the family was agreeably impressed by these commissions and that this prompted others of the kinship group to commission their own brasses from the same workshop.

Another of Henry Bouchier's sons, Sir Thomas Bouchier (d. 1491), and his wife Isabel Barre (d. 1488) were also commemorated in brass at Ware, Hertfordshire. Weever recorded the inscription on their monument. It read: 'Hic iacet Thomas Bouchier miles filius Henrici comitis Essex ac Isabella uxor eius nuper comitissa Devon filia et heres Iohannis Barry militis qui obit .... [1491] et Isabella ob 1 die Marcii 1488 quorum animabus...'.<sup>34</sup> Salmon recorded an altar tomb under an arched recess in the north transept as having had an indent of unspecified form, which might have been the Bouchier monument.<sup>35</sup> However, no trace of the tomb chest or indents remains.<sup>36</sup>

The monumental patronage of the Series D workshop by the Cromwell-Bouchier kinship group went wider than just the provision of brasses. To the north

<sup>33</sup> Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, p. 705.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 543-4.

<sup>35</sup> N. Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire* (London, 1728) p. 248: 'an Altar Tomb of black Marble, Arms and Inscription defaced. At the End hath been a Shield Lozengewise. This I take to be the Epitaph in *Weaver*. Hic iacet Thomas Bouchier, ... etc.'

<sup>36</sup> W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses* (Upminster, 1979), p. 88, refers to the altar tomb in terms that suggest it survived then, but this may have been taken from written sources rather than personal inspection; the MBS Mill Stephenson revision visit in the 1970s could locate no such tomb or indent. Martin Stuchfield's visit in 2005 for the County Series volume on Hertfordshire confirmed its loss.



FIG. 13  
Tomb, which also functioned as an Easter sepulchre, to Cardinal Thomas Bouchier, d. 1486,  
Canterbury Cathedral, Kent

of the high altar in Canterbury Cathedral is the tomb, which also functioned as an Easter sepulchre, to Cardinal Thomas Bouchier, a younger brother of the earl of Essex, d. 1486 (Fig. 13). Christopher Wilson has demonstrated that the stylistic affinities of this monument are all with works in the vicinity of London.<sup>37</sup> Significantly, the chamfer of the Purbeck marble tomb chest has a brass fillet inscription, the lettering on which shows it was made by the D workshop (Fig. 14).



FIG. 14

Detail of lettering from the tomb to Cardinal Thomas Bouchier, d. 1486, Canterbury Cathedral, Kent  
*Photograph: Les Smith*

### *Brass to Maud, Lady Stanhope*

With the last brass commissioned from the London D workshop by this kinship group, we move back to Tattershall, for the brass in question commemorates Maud Stanhope, the elder niece of Ralph, Baron Cromwell and, together with her sister Joan, his co-heiress (Fig. 15). She was a woman of immense wealth and high position, but her life was marred by tragedy. She was thrice widowed, twice as a result of the troubled times in which she lived. Her second husband, Sir Thomas Neville, died at the Battle of Wakefield in 1460 and her last husband, Sir Gervase Clifton, was a casualty of the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. This last blow was followed closely by the attainting and beheading of Lord Welles, the husband of her only child Joan. Maud evidently spent much of her widowhood supporting the completion of her uncle's collegiate foundation at Tattershall. Her testamentary bequest to the College of three lucrative manors in return for her obit and daily Masses for herself, her husbands, parents, sister and uncle led to her being named as a co-founder of the College.<sup>38</sup>

An examination of the inscription on Maud's brass shows that her date of death in 1497 was filled in, so the brass was evidently made in her own lifetime. This is

<sup>37</sup> C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments' in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), pp. 482-5.

<sup>38</sup> Marks, *Tattershall*, p. 28; PRO, PROB 11/11 (P.C.C. 17 Horne).

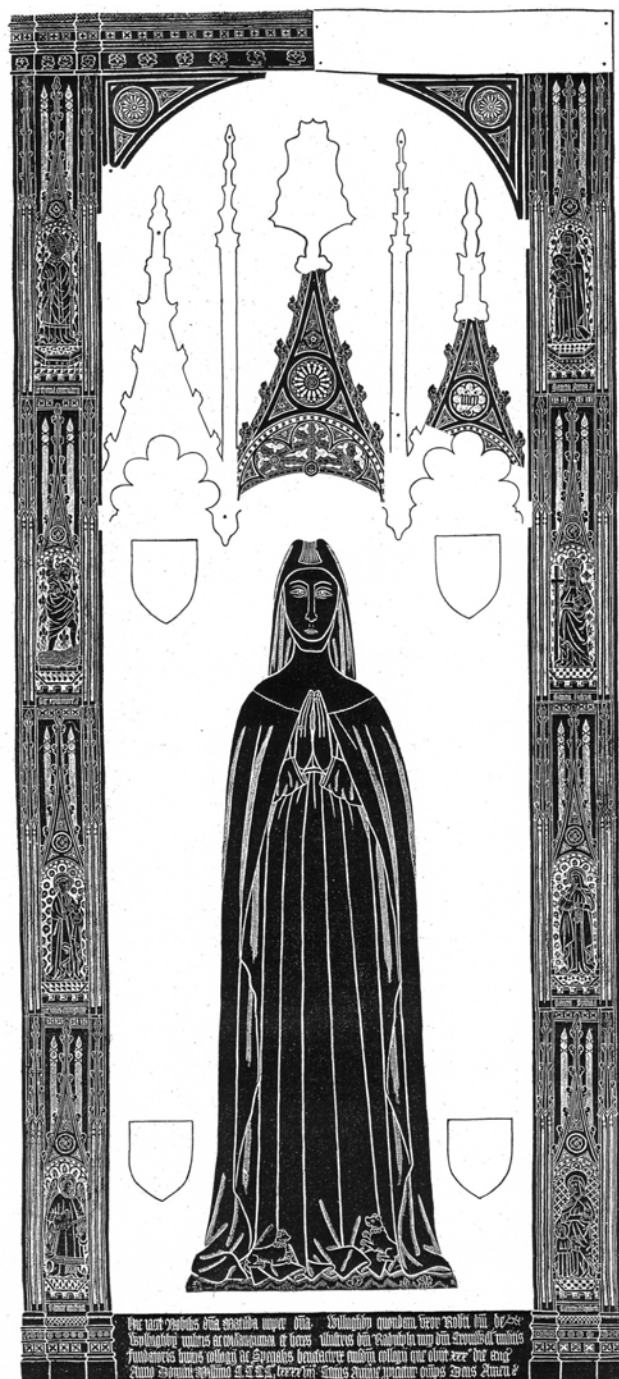


FIG. 15  
 Maud Stanhope, d. 1497, Tattershall, Lincolnshire

confirmed by her will, made in 1487, in which she requested burial in Tattershall church before the high altar on the right hand of her uncle, Ralph, Lord Cromwell 'under a stone ready provided by her'.<sup>39</sup> She thus ensured she was buried in a position of honour and was commemorated by a brass designed to her own specification, which gives a clear indication of how she wanted to be remembered. She is shown garbed as a widow and was surrounded by shields which proclaimed her distinguished descent and the three eminent families into which she married.<sup>40</sup> The inscription gives more evidence of her self-image and shows that she valued most highly her first marriage alliance. It names her as 'the noble lady Matilda, the late Lady Willoughby, being the wife of Robert, Lord Willoughby, knight, and a relation and heiress of the famous Ralph, late Lord Cromwell, knight, founder of this College; she was a particular benefactor of the College'.<sup>41</sup>

It is thus clear that Maud's brass was made before 1487, but can the date be pinpointed more precisely? The strong likelihood is that Maud placed the order for her own brass about the same time as her uncle, Ralph Lord Cromwell's brass was commissioned. Both are series D products and the designs are very similar, with large figures and shields placed under elaborate canopies with saints in the sideshafts. The overall appearance of the canopies on these two brasses is not the same, but fine details of the design, such as the canopy borders and the inscription style, are identical (Fig. 16). This likeness suggests that Maud's brass also was made in the mid 1470s. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the brass to Ralph's parents at Lambley was probably also part of this bulk commission and may have been similar in composition to that of the Treasurer. The Cromwells and their kin must have been a significant source of income for the D workshop at this time.

### *Brass to Joan, Lady Cromwell*

The final brass surviving at Tattershall to a member of this family is the brass of Maud's sister, Joan, which originally lay before the high altar to the left of Ralph's brass (Fig. 17). There has been a degree of confusion over the date of death on this brass (Fig. 18); however, she died in 1479, not 1490, as proved by documentary evidence which records that she was dead by September 1481.<sup>42</sup> Joan's brass follows

<sup>39</sup> G.E. Jeans, *A List of the Existing Brasses in Lincolnshire*, Supplement to Lincolnshire Notes and Queries (1895), p. 17; M. Stephenson, 'Brasses in Tattershall Church, Lincolnshire', *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 11 (1909), pp. 374-5.

<sup>40</sup> *Lincolnshire Church Notes made by Gervase Holles*, p. 140, and Stephenson, 'Tattershall', p. 374, record the shields as bearing: 1. Stanhope quartered with Cromwell and Tattershall (her parental arms); 2. Willoughby quarterly with Bec impaling Stanhope quartered with Cromwell quartering Tattershall (for her 1st marriage to Lord Willoughby d'Eresby); 3. Montagu quarterly with Monthermer and quartered with Stanhope and Cromwell impaling Tattershall (for her 2nd marriage to Sir Thomas Neville); 4. Clifton impaling Stanhope quartered with Cromwell quartering Tattershall (for her 3rd marriage to Sir Gervase Clifton).

<sup>41</sup> The full inscription reads: Hic iacet Nobilis domina Matilda nuper domina Willughby quondam uxor Roberti domini de Willughby militis ac consanguinea et heres illustris domini Radulphi nuper domini Cromwell militis fundatoris huius collegij [sic] ac Specialis benefactrix eiusdem collegij que obiit xxx° die augusti Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC° Lxxxvij° Cuius Anime propicietur omnipotens Deus Amen. (Here lies the noble lady Matilda, the late Lady Willoughby, being the wife of Robert, Lord Willoughby, knight, and a relation and heiress of the famous Ralph, late Lord Cromwell, knight, founder of this College; she was a particular benefactor of the college, and died on the 30th of August A.D. 1497; on whose soul may God Almighty have mercy Amen.)

<sup>42</sup> Magdalen College, Oxford, Archives, 127/44. I am grateful to Simon Payling for this reference.





FIG. 16

Comparison of detail of canopy sections from the brasses to Ralph Cromwell (above) and Maud Stanhope (below)

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

the same pattern as those to her uncle and sister, with a single figure, dressed in the ceremonial robes of a peeress, and a splendid display of heraldry. The lost arms recorded her lineage and marriage alliances.<sup>43</sup> Although, after the death of her first husband, Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Bouchier de Cromwell, Joan remarried, in the inscription she is named as 'Joan, Lady Cromwell', doubtless because of the prestigious nature of her alliance with the King's cousin.<sup>44</sup>

The commissioning of this brass was long delayed; stylistically, it dates from the mid 1490s. In many ways the composition is a typical Cromwell commission, but, unlike the brasses to her uncle, sister, husband and parents-in-law, it is not a Series D product. The naïve style of engraving and the stone in which it is set – a local spine-bearing oolite rather than Purbeck marble – mark it out as a product of the Norwich 3 workshop, perhaps an odd choice for a member of such a distinguished family. Why? The answer lies with her second marriage, to Sir Robert Radclyffe, of Hunstanton, Norfolk, who outlived Joan, dying in 1498. Doubtless it was his local connections which led him to recommend the Norwich brass engravers, but did he also determine the design of Joan's brass?

<sup>43</sup> *Lincolnshire Church Notes made by Gervase Holles*, p. 140, and M. Stephenson, 'Brasses in Tattershall Church, Lincolnshire', *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 10 (1908), p. 336, record the shields as bearing: 1. Quarterly France quartering England, Bouchier, Louvain and Cromwell quartering Tattershall, over all a label of 5 points (for her 1st marriage to Sir Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Bouchier of Cromwell); 2. Radclyffe impaling quarterly Cromwell quartering Tattershall (for her 2nd marriage to Sir Robert Radclyffe); 3. Quarterly Stanhope and Tattershall; 4. Quarterly Stanhope and Cromwell quartering Tattershall.

<sup>44</sup> The full inscription reads: *Orate pro anima Johanne domine Cromwell que obiit decimo die marcii Anno domini millesimo CCCC° lxxxx cuius anime propicietur deus amen.* (Pray for the soul of Joan, Lady Cromwell, who died the tenth of March, A.D. 1490, on whose soul may God have mercy Amen).



FIG. 17  
Joan, Lady Cromwell, d. 1479, Tattershall, Lincolnshire



FIG. 18

Detail of inscription from brass to Joan, Lady Cromwell, d. 1479, Tattershall, Lincolnshire

*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

Joan's brass is a most atypical Norwich 3 product, suggesting that it was not a stock type, but one specified in great detail by the person who placed the order for it. No other surviving Norwich 3 brass or indent is canopied or has a figure this large. It is doubtful whether her widower played a large part in commissioning the brass; he is not even named in the inscription, although his arms were shown. It is more likely that Maud Stanhope determined the composition of Joan's brass. It would surely have been important to her that Joan's brass was a fitting companion to those by which it would lie in front of the high altar. The similarities in composition of Joan's monument to the brasses commissioned by Maud for her uncle and herself are compelling factors in favour of Maud's involvement.

#### *Canopy design of the Cromwell brasses*

The common workshop origin of all but the last of these brasses is not the only aspect of the Cromwell family brasses that shows a pattern in the patronage of these brasses. Another, that has never been specifically addressed, is the design of the canopies, with sideshafts populated by saints. It is clear that the saints shown were chosen with particular care, reflecting the personal piety of each of those commemorated. The reason some were chosen is evident, a number of them relating to the collegiate church itself.

Many of the saints had widespread popularity, but what governed the choice of several of the saints shown is that they were included in the dedication of the new

foundation; this is true of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter the Apostle on Ralph's brass; and St. John the Evangelist on Maud's brass; and the Blessed Virgin Mary on Ralph and Joan's brasses. The Virgin also had an altar dedicated to her in the south transept where the brasses now lie. An image of her was on Maud's brass, occupying the place of honour at the apex of the centre pinnacle of the canopy; significantly an image of the Virgin would have been placed to the right of the high altar, in line with the original position of Maud's brass. All three brasses also included St. Anne, to whom there was an altar in the north aisle.

Other saints shown are more out of the ordinary. St. Helena featured on Maud's brass. She was venerated because of her share in finding the True Cross, as celebrated in surviving glass panels at Tattershall; her representation on Maud's brass was probably due to the church having had a relic of the True Cross in the Holy Cross chapel of the old church. Also depicted on Maud's brass was St. Zita (Sitha) of Lucca; for a local Italian saint she was surprisingly popular in late medieval England.<sup>45</sup> She appears in a significant number of Lincolnshire calendars. This is undoubtedly due to a relic of St. Zita having been brought in 1448 to the Knights Hospitallers' commandery at Eagle, not far from Tattershall.<sup>46</sup> Joan's brass also includes more unusual saints, not widely venerated in Lincolnshire, notably St. Edmund, the martyred king of East Anglia, and St. Dorothy, whose cult was more established in Germany and the Netherlands, but who had begun to appear on East Anglian roodscreens by the late fifteenth century. Their inclusion is explained by Joan's second marriage to Sir Robert Radclyffe of Hunstanton, Norfolk and by the fact that the brass was made in the Norwich 3 workshop.

There may have been two other brasses with inhabited sideshafts at Tattershall. One was the brass to John Gygur (d. 1504); only the effigy now remains but in 1762 Richard Gough recorded that Gygur's brass also had a canopy filled with saints, suggesting that the monument could have been a conscious imitation of the brasses to the Cromwell family.<sup>47</sup> In addition, Holles's church notes record a brass of which no trace remains:

Next under [Joan's brass] another fayre monument of blew marble (as the former) with the picture of one also inlayd in Brasse, adorned rounde about w<sup>th</sup> a border of some curious workmanship in Brasse, w<sup>th</sup> the pictures and names of some prophets of the Old Testament, and other saints and some Saxon Kings as Edmund, Edward, Ethelred, Ethelbert: there is noe Inscription, onely this ensueing Escoccheon on either side of him – a chevron between 3 bugle horns ... two roses slipped.<sup>48</sup>

Hollis describes the figures in the sideshafts as Saxon kings, but all are also saints. It is unfortunate that Holles did not say whether the figure shown was a knight, a

<sup>45</sup> On her cult in England, see C.M. Barron, 'The Travelling Saint: Zita of Lucca and England', in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2003 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. P. Horden (Donington, 2007), pp. 186-202.

<sup>46</sup> R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 103.

<sup>47</sup> R. Gough, *Sepulchral monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1786-96), I, p. 179.

<sup>48</sup> *Lincolnshire Church Notes made by Gervase Holles*, p. 141.

civilian or a priest, but it must have commemorated someone of importance for him to have been buried in this prime position in the Cromwell mausoleum. Could it have commemorated another Cromwell connection? No inscription is recorded; the only clue to the identity of the person commemorated is the shield bearing 'a chevron between 3 bugle horns ... two roses slipped', but these arms are not on record. Simon Payling has tentatively suggested that Holles might have confused the water bourgets of the Bouchiers for bugle horns.<sup>49</sup> Joan had a son, Ralph, by Lord Bouchier. There is only one reference to him in the records, when in 1470 he was admitted with his mother to the Corpus Christi guild at Boston. Sadly, Ralph survived his father by only a few months. Could the lost brass be for this youth, who must have been brought up at Tattershall? It is perhaps only of marginal likelihood, but all other family members investigated can be ruled out.

Joan's second husband, Sir Robert Radclyffe, remarried and died in 1498. In his will he asked to be buried in the chancel of Hunstanton church, Norfolk. He directed: 'I woll that my tombe be made w<sup>t</sup> freestone and a marble ston thereupon with the Image of myne owne person in Laton gilte w<sup>t</sup> the arms of me and of my ij wifes', that is a tomb chest with a brass on top.<sup>50</sup> Sadly it does not survive, nor do any antiquarian notes describe it. But there are grounds for suspecting that it may well have been another 'typical Cromwell design' with saints in the sideshafts. Sir Robert Radclyffe's brass may have gone from the chancel at Hunstanton, but some medieval tombs remain there, most notably the brass on a freestone tombchest to Sir Roger l'Estrange, who died in 1505. The families certainly knew each other; Robert and John le Strange having acted as executors for Radclyffe. L'Estrange's brass was locally made, coming from the Norwich 4 workshop, but it is as different from the normal Norwich 4 product as Joan Cromwell's brass differed from the run-of-the-mill Norwich 3 brasses. It has a fine canopy with inhabited sideshafts, although the figures depicted are ancestors, not saints. Nevertheless, it is very tempting to speculate that the design might have been inspired by the lost brass to Sir Robert Radclyffe and that his lost brass thus had inhabited sideshafts just like the Cromwell brasses at Tattershall.

Canopies with inhabited side shafts were a most unusual design feature on brasses to the laity at this time. Apart from the Cromwell family monuments, in the period *c.* 1370 to *c.* 1500, only thirty-one known brasses and indents feature saints in the sideshafts, and of these brasses all but twelve commemorate members of the higher clergy (see Appendix). Nevertheless, this design feature is characteristic of all the Cromwell family brasses. From where did the Cromwells get the idea of inhabited sideshafts? Five brasses in Lincolnshire – at Gedney, Lincoln, Louth and Boston – could conceivably have acted as inspiration for the design, but none is a likely prototype. Instead, we need to look further afield.

That one of the earlier examples of this type is the indent at Fotheringhay to Edward, Duke of York, who died in 1415, is surely not mere chance. As explained

<sup>49</sup> Personal communication.

earlier, one of the most likely models for the ensemble of castle and collegiate church at Tattershall was the great Yorkist mausoleum at Fotheringhay. Ralph and Maud must have known it, from which we can infer that they also saw the once fine brass to the Duke of York. Most of the indent is now hidden under the replacement tomb provided by the order of Elizabeth I, but enough remains to show that it had a heavy canopy with saints in the sideshafts.<sup>51</sup> The Duke of York's brass was quite possibly the model on which Ralph's brass and those of Maud and Joan were based.

### *Conclusion*

This parallel, together with the similarity which has been demonstrated between Ralph's brass and those to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex and Sir John de Say, suggests that the monuments at Tattershall were aping those of some of the greatest families in the land, a comparison which would not have been lost on their contemporaries. The collegiate church in which the Cromwells lay, together with the adjacent castle, were based on similarly prestigious models. All formed a grand statement recording for their peers and for posterity the high standing of the Cromwell family. The Cromwell line may have failed, prayers may no longer be said for their souls, but half a millennium later they are nonetheless remembered, thanks to the collegiate foundation and the brasses.

### *Acknowledgements*

I am grateful to Martin Stuchfield for providing many of the illustrations for this article. William Lack has been of considerable assistance in providing information for the list of saints in sideshafts 1370-1500. I am also indebted to Jerome Bertram, Simon Payling, Nicholas Rogers, Nigel Saul and Christian Steer for information and help.

<sup>50</sup> PRO, PROB 11/11, ff. 184v-198. I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for a transcript of the will. Amongst his bequests of interest are 'to the Image of our Lady in Tatersale college my litell bee or elles to the peynting and the gilding of the saide Image of our Lady v marces after the myndys and disposicion of Master John Gygur lately there warden or after any other wurshipfull man being n the same Rome'.

<sup>51</sup> P. Whittemore, 'The Brass of Edward, Duke of York, d. 1415, at Fotheringhay, Northants.', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 2 (2004), pp. 128-31.

**Appendix: Brasses with saints in sideshafts, 1370-1500  
(excluding examples at Tattershall)**

Note: examples to the laity in italics

- Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, Bishop John Barnet, 1373 (indent)  
 Durham Cathedral, Prior John Fossour, 1374 (lost)  
 Rochester Cathedral, ?Bishop Thomas of Brinton, 1389 (indent)  
*Gedney, Lincolnshire, ?de Roos or Thorpe lady, c. 1390*  
 Westminster Abbey, Bishop John of Waltham, 1395  
 Maidstone, Archbishop William Courtenay, 1396 (indent)  
*Boston, Lincolnshire, Walter Pescod, 1398*  
 Canterbury Cathedral, unknown archbishop or prior, late 14th cent. (indent)  
 Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Dean Thomas Eyre, 1400 (lost)  
 Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, unknown priest, c. 1400 (lost)  
*Lincoln Cathedral, unknown lady, c.1400* (indent)  
*Louth, Lincolnshire, unknown civilian and wife, c. 1410* (indent)  
*Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland, Robert Thornton, 1411*  
 Hawkesbury Upton, Gloucestershire, ?Abbot Thomas Upton, 1413 (indent)  
*Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, Edward, Duke of York, 1415* (indent)  
 Durham Cathedral, Prior John de Hemingburgh, 1416 (lost)  
 Maidstone, Kent, John Wotton, Master of College, 1417 (indent)  
 Rochester Cathedral, ?Bishop Richard Yong, 1418 (indent)  
*Boston, John Nutting and wife, 1420*  
*Boston, Lincolnshire, John Gull, 1420* (indent)  
 Haddenham, Cambridgeshire, unknown bishop, c. 1450 (indent)  
 Durham Cathedral, Bishop Robert Neville, 1457 (indent)  
 Balsham, Cambridgeshire Dr John Blodwell, 1462  
*Well, Yorkshire, George Neville, 1st Lord Latimer, 1469* (indent)  
 Belchamp Water, Essex, unknown priest, c. 1470 (indent)  
 Hereford Cathedral, Archdeacon Richard Rudhale, 1476  
 Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, John Newcourt, c. 1485 (lost)  
 Peterborough Cathedral, Abbot William de Ramsey, 1496 (lost)  
*Barnack, Northamptonshire, unknown ?widow, late 15th century* (indent)  
 Canterbury Cathedral, unknown ?prior, c. 1500 (indent)

# The Quatremain Mausoleum at Thame, Oxfordshire

by KELCEY WILSON-LEE

TWO monumental brasses resting on top of table tombs in the church of St. Mary at Thame, Oxfordshire, originally caught my eye because of the unusual composition of the older monument, on which two couples are depicted on a single slab. Built to commemorate two succeeding generations of the Quatremain dynasty of North Weston manor, near Thame — Thomas Quatremain, his wife Katherine, their son Thomas, and his wife Joan — these brass figures were engraved around 1420 (Figs. 1-3).<sup>1</sup> The monument was commissioned by Richard, third son and eventual heir of the younger Thomas, probably shortly after the death of Joan, but significantly post-dating the deaths of Thomas the younger and both of Richard's grandparents. A very long span between the date of an individual's death and the installation of a permanent memorial to him or her should certainly have incited criticism of the Quatremain heirs if Margaret Paston is to be believed.<sup>2</sup> However, any societal pressure for a monument to the Quatremain must not have been severe, as the elder generation depicted on the monument (both husband and wife) died as early as 1342 and no monument was erected to them for eighty years.<sup>3</sup> If it never became necessary to construct a memorial to Thomas and Katherine Quatremain during the fifty-six years that their son Thomas was lord of North Weston manor, why were they finally memorialised by a permanent sepulchral monument made at the time of their daughter-in-law's death? Furthermore, why was the construction of a memorial to the younger Thomas, who died in 1398, delayed by over twenty years after his death?

Perhaps one reason why it was not immediately necessary to commission a monument to Thomas the younger upon his death was that Masses were almost certainly being said for the souls of the family at one or both of the altars at the private chapel of St. James, attached to the Quatremain manor house at North Weston by 1390.<sup>4</sup> The younger Thomas's two eldest sons, John and Guy, were buried at St. James's, though it is unknown whether or not monuments in the chapel commemorated them.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, although the timing of the brass in Thame church probably coincides with the death of Joan, the creation of a monument

<sup>1</sup> M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Five years after the death of John Paston I, Margaret wrote to her son, John III: 'It is a shame, and a thing that is much spoken of in this country, that your father's grave stone is not made. For God's love, let it be remembered and purveyed for in haste' (*Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* ed. N. Davis, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2004), I, no. 212).

<sup>3</sup> Norris calls this brass 'of a patently posthumous category' (Norris, *Craft*, p. 65).

<sup>4</sup> The chapel had at least two altars in the late-medieval period, to St. James and St. Mary (F.G. Lee, *The History, Description, and Antiquities of the Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Thame* (London, 1883), col. 289).

<sup>5</sup> VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VII (London, 1962), p. 205; only one monument, a brass to a priest, was recovered when the chapel was torn down c.1800, although many coffins were removed (Lee, *Thame*, cols. 289-90).





FIG. 1

Katherine and Thomas (both d. 1342), Thomas (d. 398), and Joan (d. c. 1420) Quatermain, M.S. I, Thame, Oxon.

*Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*



FIG. 2  
Katherine Quatremain (d. 1342),  
from M.S. I, Thame, Oxon.  
*Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*



FIG. 3  
Joan Quatremain (d. c. 1420),  
from M.S. I, Thame, Oxon.  
*Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*

commemorating family members who had been long dead could not have been solely for the benefit of the deceased's souls. Nor does the *c.*1465 date of the monument remembering Richard Quatremain (who commissioned both brasses) suggest that the primary reason for its creation and placement was to provide for his and his wife's souls, as Richard and Sybil died in 1477 and 1483 respectively (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> Instead, the composition of the chapel as a whole suggests that Richard Quatremain may have been equally as interested in the secular benefits of crafting a mausoleum to his family in the south transept of Thame church as he was concerned with the spiritual advantages of the chapel.

The south transept of Thame church has lost much of its medieval character; evidence of two of the three altars which formerly filled this space has long since been removed, while the remaining altar to St. Christopher has been converted into a twentieth-century war memorial. The monuments which formerly dominated the space have also been pushed to the extremities of the transept to enable its use as a modern worship space.<sup>7</sup> If we are to understand any spiritual or secular benefits

<sup>6</sup> For the dating of this 'Yorkist brass', see Norris, *Craft*, p. 135.

<sup>7</sup> The oldest altar in the transept, consecrated before the mid-fifteenth century, was dedicated to St. John the Baptist; while the Altar of All Souls, where obits were read, was situated between the south aisle and the transept (Lee, *Thame*, cols. 20, 23).



FIG. 4  
 Sibyl (d. 1483) and Richard (d. 1477) Quatremain and Richard Fowler (d. 1477),  
 M.S. II, Thame, Oxon.  
*Rubbing: Oxford Portfolio*

which Richard Quatremain may have perceived in the establishment of a family mausoleum in the south transept, the space must be reconstructed as it was in the mid-fifteenth century.

Thame church underwent two significant rebuilding projects in the first half of the fifteenth century. The first, beginning about 1404, saw the tower extended upwards, which necessitated the thickening of the tower piers for added support. The second project was the reconstruction of the north transept, which took place in 1442, and which is documented in the surviving churchwardens' accounts.<sup>8</sup> The south transept was also significantly altered, probably at this same time, by the extension of the east wall about six feet eastwards.<sup>9</sup> Five years after the addition to the south transept, a new altar was installed at the extended east wall as part of the guild and chantry chapel, dedicated to St. Christopher, founded by Richard and Sybil Quatremain.<sup>10</sup>

Certainly by the late 1440s, we can be sure of the basic shape of the south transept and the location of its three altars. However, placing the two Quatremain brasses into this space is made difficult by the fact that no pre-Reformation location for the two table tombs is known. We cannot be sure of the original placement of the 1420 monument, as its existence pre-dates the foundation of the chantry of St. Christopher and, although all of those depicted on the brass are thought to have been buried within the church at Thame, the locations of their interments within the church are unknown.<sup>11</sup> The monument could not have been in its present location before about 1845, as until this date a door from outside the church entered the south transept at its western wall, the precise present location of the table tomb.<sup>12</sup> The Quatremains may initially have been buried in the chancel, and their monument may have rested from its creation until 1447 in the *ad sanctos* space around the high altar; the brass would therefore have been moved sometime after this to the south transept. However, perhaps more likely, given the presence of the altar of St. John the Baptist in the transept and the proximity to the altar of All Souls, where obits were read, the two generations of Quatremains were buried in what was already considered something of a family chapel in the south transept. If this were the case, the natural location for their monument would be near the altar of St. John the Baptist, near the south-east pillar of the tower. Furthermore, such a location would not necessarily have been immediately affected by the 1447 foundation of the chantry of St. Christopher, and the monument may have

<sup>8</sup> W.P. Ellis ed., 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St. Mary, Thame', *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Jnl*, VII (1902), pp. 116-9, VIII (1902), pp. 24-30.

<sup>9</sup> Lee, *Thame*, col. 12, suggests that the south transept was extended when the tower was built, but the VCH's assertion that the east window of the south transept is very similar to that of the north transept indicates that the transept was probably extended at about the same time as the north transept, though there are no surviving accounts for this as in the case of the north transept (VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VII, p. 206).

<sup>10</sup> VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VII, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> The now-effaced inscription on the brass to the two Thomases (recorded in BL, Cotton MS Cleopatra C.iii, f. 3v) stated that all four of the individuals commemorated were buried at Thame Church (W. F. Carter, *The Quatremains of Oxfordshire*, (Oxford, 1936), p. 17).

<sup>12</sup> Lee, *Thame*, col. 181.

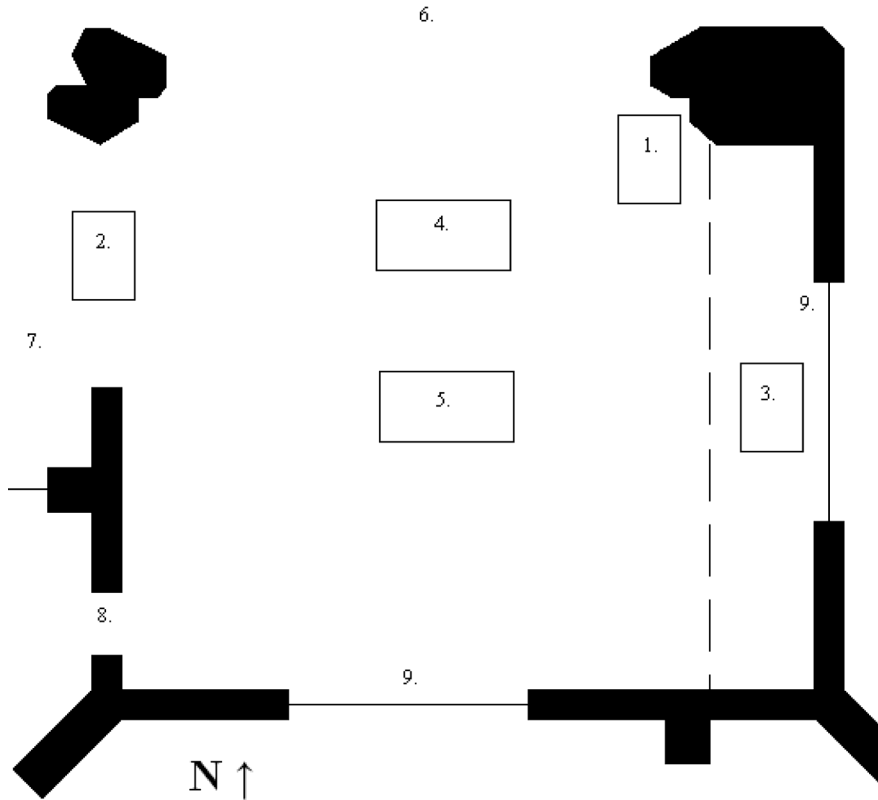


FIG. 5

Author's drawing of south transept, Thame Church, in the mid-fifteenth century (not to scale)

1. Altar of St. John the Baptist
2. Altar of All Souls
3. Altar of St. Christopher
4. Monument to Thomas and Katherine, and Thomas and Joan Quatremain
5. Monument to Richard and Sybil Quatremain
6. Tower crossing
7. South aisle
8. Door from south transept to outside

remained in the same position, near the altar of St. John, until the Reformation.<sup>13</sup> The earliest known location of the two monuments places the table tomb to the two Thomas Quatremains in the centre of the transept and that of Richard Quatremain in its present location, under the arch separating the transept from the tower crossing.<sup>14</sup> Considering the prestige and spiritual benefits of the *ad sanctos* space in

<sup>13</sup> The VCH suggests that after the foundation of the chantry chapel, the 'tombs of the Quatremains were placed before the new altar', but fails to give a source for this statement or to account for the fact that the monument to Richard Quatremain post-dates the chantry's foundation by almost two decades (VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VII, p. 206).

<sup>14</sup> The monuments are shown in these positions in a drawing by J. C. Buckler in 1821, printed in Lee, *Thame*, between cols. 164-5; both monuments were moved to rest near the east wall of the transept during a renovation of the church in 1845 and were probably placed in their current positions after the renovations were complete (Lee, *Thame*, cols. 180-1).



FIG. 6  
Richard Fowler (d. 1477), from M.S. II, Thame, Oxon.  
*Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*

pre-Reformation burial practices, a central location within the south transept, located between three altars, would have been an ideal placement for the monument to the two Thomas Quatremains. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that a man like Richard Quatremain, who had founded a private chantry and commissioned his own monument to rest inside the chapel during his lifetime, would agree to placing his monument anywhere but immediately in front of the chantry altar. Therefore it is probable that, when Richard Quatremain's monument was completed around 1465, both tombs sat alongside one another somewhere near the centre of the south transept (Fig. 5).

We can retrace the steps that Richard Quatremain took as he built the mausoleum to his family's honour. But why did he feel such a memorial to his dynasty was necessary? Close inspection of his brass does offer a clue in the form of a third, unidentified, armoured figure on the monument, placed below Richard and his wife Sybil in the position traditionally reserved for a child (Fig. 6). Some early writers have naturally assumed this figure represents a son, but Richard and Sybil are not known to have had any children, much less a son who reached a mature age, as is suggested not only by the armour the figure wears, but also his comparable size to the principal figures.<sup>15</sup> Instead, it seems likely that this figure represents the man whom Leland calls Richard Quatremain's godson, the man whom, by 1460, Quatremain had probably already decided would become heir to North Weston manor: Richard Fowler.<sup>16</sup> Though Fowler is unidentified in the inscription on the monument, it is possible that he may have been acknowledged by one of the missing heraldic shields on the tomb.<sup>17</sup> The image of Fowler as heir presumptive to Richard Quatremain on the latter's 'living' monument at Thame belies the truth of Quatremain's situation — that he was facing the extinction of his line — and hints at the drastic measures he would take to prevent the disintegration of his estate.

The Quatremains had resided at North Weston since the twelfth century, and, as profitable marriages in the generations immediately preceding Richard had added significantly to the family's estates, the family were well-placed at the death of Thomas Quatremain, the younger, in 1398.<sup>18</sup> Thomas left three sons, John, Guy,

<sup>15</sup> Carter, *Quatremains*, p. 54, calls the figure a 'presumed' son, of whom he has found no evidence, and whom he does not consider important enough to require further research; Lee, *Thame*, p. 92, simply mentions the figure as the son of Richard Quatremain; Lupton goes further, stating that the figure represents Richard's son John, but does not give any clue about his source for naming the son (H. Lupton, *The History of Thame and its Hamlets* (Thame, 1860), p. 78). For normal patterns of depicting children who died young or in infancy on their parents' tombs, see S. Oosterwijk, "'A Swithe Feire Graue': the Appearance of Children on Medieval Tomb Monuments", in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. R. Eales and S. Tyas (Donington, 2003), pp. 172-92, esp. pp. 179, 181-2.

<sup>16</sup> Confidence in Leland's assertion that Quatremain stood as godfather to Richard Fowler is not inspired by his mistake in naming Fowler's father as Thomas, rather than William, and suggesting that the relationship between Quatremain and the senior Fowler was that of master to servant, rather than familial — the two men were brothers-in-law (*The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed. L.T. Smith, 5 vols. (London, 1906-10), I, pp. 114-15; VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VII, pp. 310-12. Cf. Rycote Settlement Deed (BL Harleian MS 4031), summarised by Lee, *Thame*, col. 300).

<sup>17</sup> Only two of the original four shields on the face of Quatremain's tomb were recorded by the antiquary Richard Lee, and neither of these depicted the arms of Fowler. However, Fowler's arms did appear alongside those of Quatremain in the glass at the St. James chapel, North Weston (Lee, *Thame*, cols. 127, 289).

<sup>18</sup> Carter, *Quatremains*, pp. 12, 15-16.

and Richard, as well as two daughters, Maud and Elizabeth. John, the eldest brother, never came into his inheritance, dying at the age of twenty in 1403.<sup>19</sup> The second brother, Guy, proved his age in 1409 and held the estates until his own death, aged about 26, in 1414. Richard had never expected to inherit and had been studying law in London. His age was twenty-two at the time of Guy's death when he succeeded to North Weston Manor. The next year, he married Sybil, the daughter of Nicholas Englefield and Joan Rycote, and a co-heiress of nearby Rycote Manor, who significantly increased Richard's landholdings.

Although he initially remained in London, Richard became more closely involved with Oxfordshire business and politics in the 1430s, residing at Rycote Manor, rather than at the North Weston manor of his ancestors.<sup>20</sup> He was introduced into county political society by John Cottismore, the brother-in-law of his sister Maud, and rapidly made connections with the county's leading men, including Drew Barentyne and Thomas Chaucer.<sup>21</sup> In the 1440s, Richard's influence expanded beyond Oxfordshire and he formed relationships with nationally important figures, such as Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Ralph, Lord Cromwell.<sup>22</sup> When the Quatremains founded the guild and chapel of St. Christopher at Thame in 1447, their trustees included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquess of Suffolk.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Quatremain was associated with Richard, Duke of York, from the 1450s.<sup>24</sup> Through the patronage of the house of York, Quatremain held the positions of Justice of Peace and Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, served as a Knight of the Shire, and in 1467 and 1474 was referred to as a member of the king's council.<sup>25</sup>

However, the political successes which marked Quatremain's career were not mirrored in his domestic life. Certainly by the 1450s Richard must have been aware that he would be the last of the Quatremain dynasty unless Sybil suddenly died, leaving him free to remarry a younger woman. It is therefore not a coincidence that during this decade Richard Fowler began to act alongside Quatremain, first as co-fee in 1457.<sup>26</sup> The two men continued throughout the 1460s and 1470s to hold positions jointly, such as their joint stewardship of Woodstock, Handborough, Stonesfield, and Wootton. In this same period, they also jointly oversaw the selling and trading of Quatremain lands for others, and Fowler accrued the Thame manors of Tettesworth and Moreton, as well as lands and messuages in North Weston.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> J.T. Driver, 'Richard Quatremains: a 15th-century Squire and Knight of the Shire for Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, LI (1986), pp. 87-103, at 88.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>24</sup> Driver, 'Richard Quatremains', pp. 95-7. The importance of Quatremain's relationship with the house of York is alluded to in the inscription on his monument: 'That with rial Princes of Counsel was true and wise famed / To Richard Duke of York and after with his sone Kyng Edward the iiiii named'.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 95-100.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-9.

<sup>27</sup> Driver, 'Richard Quatremains', pp. 96-9; *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Escaetarum*, 4 vols. (London, 1806-28), IV, p. 384.



The behaviour of Quatremain towards Fowler (his wife's nephew and, at least by 1465, the husband of his great-niece) in the 1460s suggests that by this date Quatremain had already decided that Fowler would be his heir. In 1454, Sybil's manor of Rycote was resettled upon Richard and Sybil Quatremain, their heirs, her heirs, his male heirs, and with remainders to Richard Fowler (eldest son of Sybil's sister Cecily), his heirs, and so forth.<sup>28</sup> Probably around 1460, North Weston Manor was also resettled. This time, after Richard and Sybil and the heirs of their bodies, the manor would descend to Richard Fowler and his wife Joan, granddaughter of Quatremain's eldest sister, Maud.<sup>29</sup> The date of Joan Danvers' marriage to Richard Fowler is not known, nor does the birth date of their only surviving child (1466) necessarily help determine the matter. However, as Joan was two generations younger than Richard Quatremain, it seems unlikely that she was born much before her brother Thomas, in 1437, and she may have been several years younger than him; therefore, a marriage date in the late 1450s or early 1460s seems likely. Richard Fowler's own birth date is easier to surmise. He was the eldest son of Cecily Rycote, who was born in 1403, and he must have reached his maturity by 1457, when he and Quatremain appear acting together as co-feofees, therefore he is likely to have been born about 1425.<sup>30</sup> Acceptance of this date would mean that Fowler remained unmarried until his mid-thirties. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that the marriage between Joan Danvers and Richard Fowler had been carefully planned by Richard Quatremain, and that Fowler was deliberately waiting to marry the one heir of Quatremain to whom he was in no way related (see Fig. 8).<sup>31</sup> Further evidence that Quatremain was interlinking his family with his wife's is found in the marriage of Joan's brother Thomas to Richard Fowler's sister Sybil.

But if Richard Quatremain did arrange the marriage of his chosen successor to his great-niece in order to legitimise the resettlement of North Weston, this would not have immediately solved the succession problem, because without a resettlement the manor would not simply pass intact to Fowler even if he were married to one of Quatremain's heirs. After all, there were many other heirs, including Joan Danvers' brother, Thomas, and her cousins descended from her mother's sister, Elizabeth: the Botelers, Walronds, Rous, Fetyplaces, and Forsters. Thomas Danvers was still living in 1477, when he was listed first among the heirs to all Quatremain's estates in his Inquisition Post Mortem other than those which had been resettled upon Richard Fowler, with remainders to the cousins listed above.<sup>32</sup> Conversely, the resettlement

<sup>28</sup> BL, Harleian MS 4031; summarised by Lee, *Thame*, col. 300.

<sup>29</sup> See Fig. 4; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII* [hereafter referred to as *IPM: Henry VII*], 3 vols. (London, 1898-1955), III, p. 306.

<sup>30</sup> Driver, 'Richard Quatremains', p. 96.

<sup>31</sup> Fowler was related to Richard Quatremain's sister Elizabeth by affinity (she was married to his grandfather), and although ecclesiastical laws did not prohibit the marriage of Fowler to her Beke children (there was no affinity between step-sisters such as Cecily Englefield and the Bekes), the proximity of affinity may have precluded any possibility of marriage between Fowler and any of the Beke daughters (see C.P. Sherman, *Roman Law in the Modern World*, II, *Manual of Roman Law*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1924), § 466.

<sup>32</sup> Lee, *Thame*, col. 299.



FIG. 7

Englefield impaling Quatremain and Breton quarterly, for Elizabeth Quatremain, wife of Nicholas Englefield, from M.S. II, Thame, Oxon.

*Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*

deed of North Weston does not even mention Thomas Danvers. Instead it gives the remainder of the estate, after Richard and Joan Fowler, to those cousins descended from Quatremain's second sister Elizabeth (Fig. 7).<sup>33</sup>

A clue to Quatremain's motivation for the resettlement of North Weston Manor upon Richard Fowler may be glimpsed in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Joan Fowler, Richard Fowler's widow, which recites from the original settlement deed made by Quatremain that the manor should descend to the Fowlers' male heirs, followed by their female heirs:

(but without partition, the whole property to descend to the eldest daughter and the heirs of her body, without any partition being made among the heirs female of such daughter, and, in default of issue of the eldest daughter, to the second eldest daughter on the same conditions).<sup>34</sup>

This division of property is precisely what would have occurred upon Quatremain's death without resettlement, and the precise language of the clause suggests the importance placed upon the issue in the original resettlement deed. By the resettlement, Richard Quatremain was guarding the North Weston estate against

<sup>33</sup> *IPM: Henry VII*, III, p. 306; Lee, *Thame*, col. 300.

<sup>34</sup> *IPM: Henry VII*, III, p. 306.

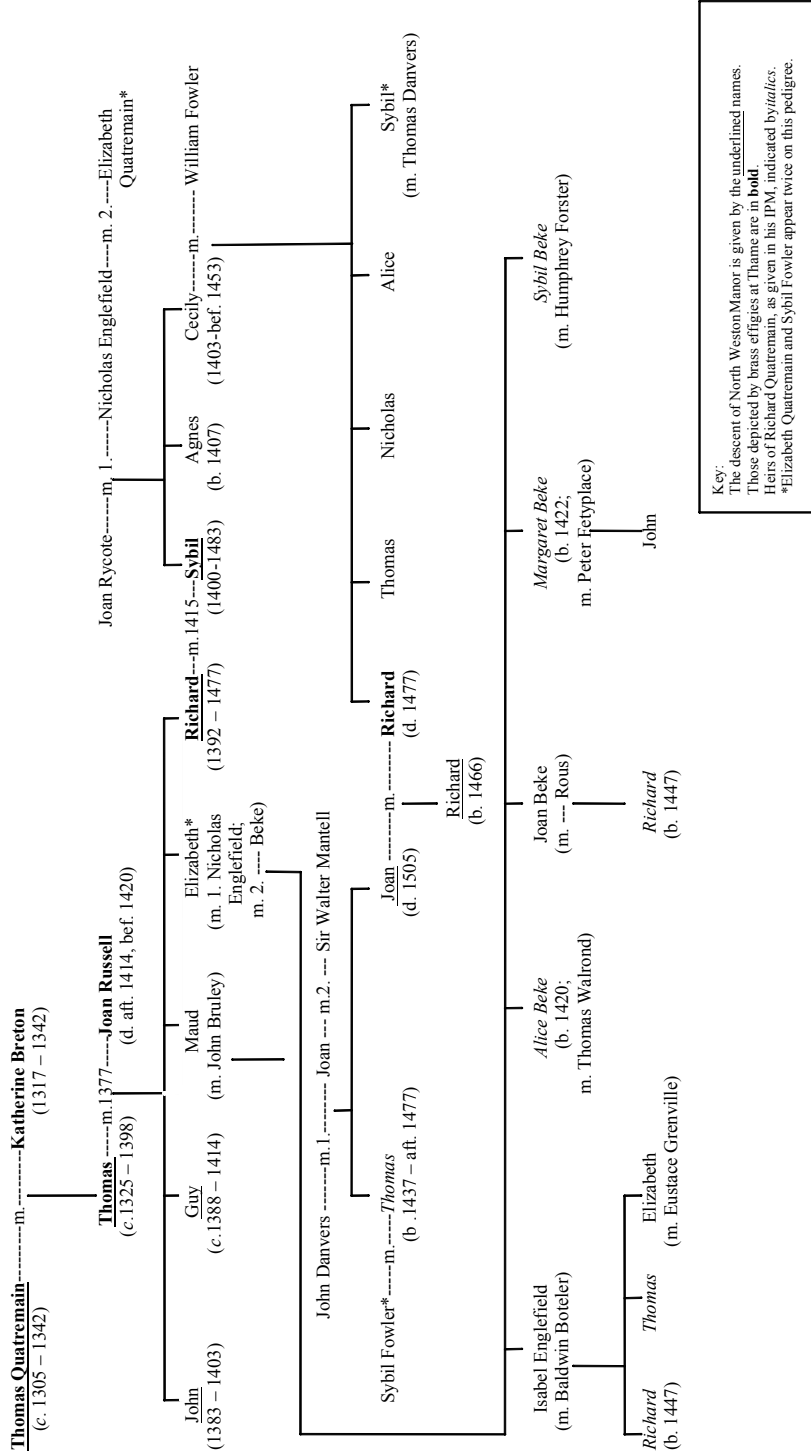


FIG. 8  
 Pedigree of the Quatremain Family of North Weston Manor

division among the heirs of his two sisters. It is also possible that his choice of Richard Fowler as heir meant Quatremain felt equally strongly about maintaining the connection between the North Weston lands he inherited and the Rycote lands he added by his own marriage.

Richard Quatremain's careful planning secured the descent of North Weston Manor in one piece, not to Richard Fowler as he had planned (Fowler pre-deceased Quatremain in 1477), but to Fowler's son, another Richard.<sup>35</sup> Preventing the estate's fracture was clearly of great importance to Richard Quatremain, who had inherited as the only male left in his line when both of his older brothers died unexpectedly and without producing any heirs. The importance of preventing the fracture seems even to have superseded the desire to prevent the estates leaving the family, as Richard Quatremain effectively disinherited his own nephews in favour of his wife's. Perhaps the marriage between Richard Fowler and Joan Danvers was even arranged in an attempt to appease this situation. Quatremain's actions suggest that he must have been acutely aware of the helplessness of his position after he and Sybil failed to produce heirs. His response was to control every aspect of his estates' descent, despite the inherent difficulties, through the precise manipulation of marriages, inheritances, and legal documents.

The monumental programme in the south transept of Thame Church is a visual record of how Richard Quatremain viewed the dynastic progression of his North Weston estates. It is not coincidental that, though he always lived at his wife's Rycote Manor, he chose to be buried near his own family's seat in Thame. Nor is it by chance that his monument and that to his ancestors were placed within the public space of the parish church rather than the private chapel of St. James. The three generations of Quatremains represented on fine memorials in the chantry chapel founded by Richard created a strong image of lineal fortitude, effectively masking the truth: that the dynasty was in its death throes. Even the problem of Richard's childlessness was disguised in the figure of Richard Fowler, positioned like a son below his parents.

Reconsidering the earlier monument, it is tempting to suggest that already by 1420 Richard felt heavy pressure to produce an heir; he had married shortly after his succession in 1415 but, after five years of marriage, no child has been born to Richard and Sybil. Even if this was not yet the case, he would have been highly conscious that his death would mean the partitioning of the estate to his sisters and their heirs. This may indicate why Richard included his long-deceased grandparents on the tomb, to bolster local feeling of the seemingly eternal nature of Quatremain lordship. Its position in the south transept would then have dictated where Richard chose to place his chantry chapel and, in turn, his own monument.

This later brass was commissioned over a decade before Richard's death, which is a clear indication that he desired to have full control over its content. Structurally,

<sup>35</sup> Driver, 'Richard Quatremains', p. 101.

the monument is not unusual, though it does incorporate a lengthy English poem around the border, boasting of Quatremain's connection to the Dukes of York and his foundation of the chapel to St. Christopher (in case anyone had forgotten). Only the third figure, given the absence of a son, is uncommon, and the inclusion of this figure must have been part of the motivation for the early creation of the memorial. When complete, the powerful imagery of this second brass projects the future of the Quatremain line of North Weston beyond the life of Richard, estate intact. The composition of the whole chapel represents four generations of dynastic continuity and stability when, in fact, the situation was starkly different.

Quatremain's is not the only monumental brass to publicly display dynastic fortitude in the face of extinction — Joan Cobham's 1434 brass in Kent shows six sons at her feet, though she was succeeded by a daughter (her sole surviving child) — nor is his the only multi-generational family mausoleum conceived within one generation.<sup>36</sup> However, the chapel and its monuments do serve as a visual testimony to the great efforts Richard Quatremain made to ensure the passing of his North Weston estates intact to the heir of his choosing. At Thame, the conscious and conspicuous use of memorialisation for secular purposes is clear. While it would be naïve to suggest that the tombs in St. Christopher's chapel aided the legal process of transferring North Weston manor unbroken to Richard Fowler's heir following the death of Quatremain, it is not implausible that the imagery played some part in effecting local conceptions about the rightful descent of the Quatremain estates.

<sup>36</sup> N. Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 116-17.

# Friedrich of Saxony, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order (1498-1510)

by HANS GERD DORMAGEN

## *Biography*

Duke Friedrich was born on 25 October 1474 in Meissen, the third son of Duke Albrecht the Courageous of Saxony, founder of the Albertine line of the House of Wettin, which ruled until 1918, and of Sidonie, a daughter of the Hussite king of Bohemia, George of Podiebrad. His elder brothers were Duke Georg the Bearded (b. 27 August 1471, d. 17 April 1539) and Duke Heinrich the Pious (b. 16 March 1473, d. 18 August 1541). As a younger son he was destined for an ecclesiastical career from an early age, and received a good humanist education, which probably began in Leipzig in 1486.<sup>1</sup> Friedrich spent 1491 to 1495 in Italy. He studied mainly law at the universities of Bologna<sup>2</sup> and Siena.<sup>3</sup> In 1495 he visited the *Reichstag* at Worms with his close friend Dr. von Watt.<sup>4</sup> Then followed a three-year stay at the court of Berthold von Henneberg, Archbishop of Mainz, ending in 1498.<sup>5</sup>

In 1492, at the age of 19, he already had the rank of minor canon of Würzburg. On 31 March 1492 he became a canon of Cologne Cathedral, succeeding his brother Georg, who had resigned in his favour. In 1494 he became a canon of Mainz, but resigned this office in 1498, as he did in Würzburg. In Cologne he had resigned his canonry by 1508.<sup>6</sup> Previous efforts by his father, with the help of King Maximilian, to have him elected Coadjutor in Würzburg had been in vain. It was not only financial provision for younger sons that led the princes of that time to strive for ecclesiastical preferments. They were also concerned to increase the political influence of the dynasty. Thus Duke Albrecht ruled in Saxony, although on account of his constant military campaigns for King Maximilian, he had already appointed his son Georg as regent in 1488. In 1499 his second son, Heinrich, took charge of Friesland, although he was only able to hold it until 1500.

<sup>1</sup> W.M.P.W. Dudzus, *Paulus von Watt, Kanzler des Hochmeisters Friedrich von Sachsen und 18. Bischof von Samland (+ 1505)*, phil. Diss. Bern, 1939 (Bühl, Baden, 1939), p. 11; Dudzus surmises that Friedrich began his university education in Leipzig and cites J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergang der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, IX (Königsberg, 1839), p. 248; and O. Schreiber, 'Die Personal- und Amtsdaten der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ritterordens von seiner Gründung bis zum Jahre 1525', *Oberländische Geschichtsblätter*, III (1913), Heft XI-XV, p. 745. Another opinion is that of P. Oberländer, *Hochmeister Friedrich von Sachsen (1498-1510). 1. Teil. Wahl und Politik bis zum Tode König Johann Albrechts von Polen*, phil. Diss. (Berlin, 1914), p. 23, who confirms that Duke Friedrich was indeed educated at Leipzig from 1487, but points out that he never matriculated at the University.

<sup>2</sup> G.C. Knod, *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289-1562)* (Berlin, 1899), p. 471, Nr. 3196.

<sup>3</sup> Oberländer, *Hochmeister Friedrich von Sachsen*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10024 (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 10180/16, f. 18r-v.

<sup>5</sup> Dudzus, *Paulus von Watt*, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> W. Kisky, *Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Weimar, 1906), p. 77 (Nr. 256); for details about the rights and income of the minor canons at Bamberg, which would probably have been similar to conditions at Würzburg, see J. Kist, *Das Bamberger Domkapitel von 1399 bis 1556* (Weimar, 1943), pp. 40-46.

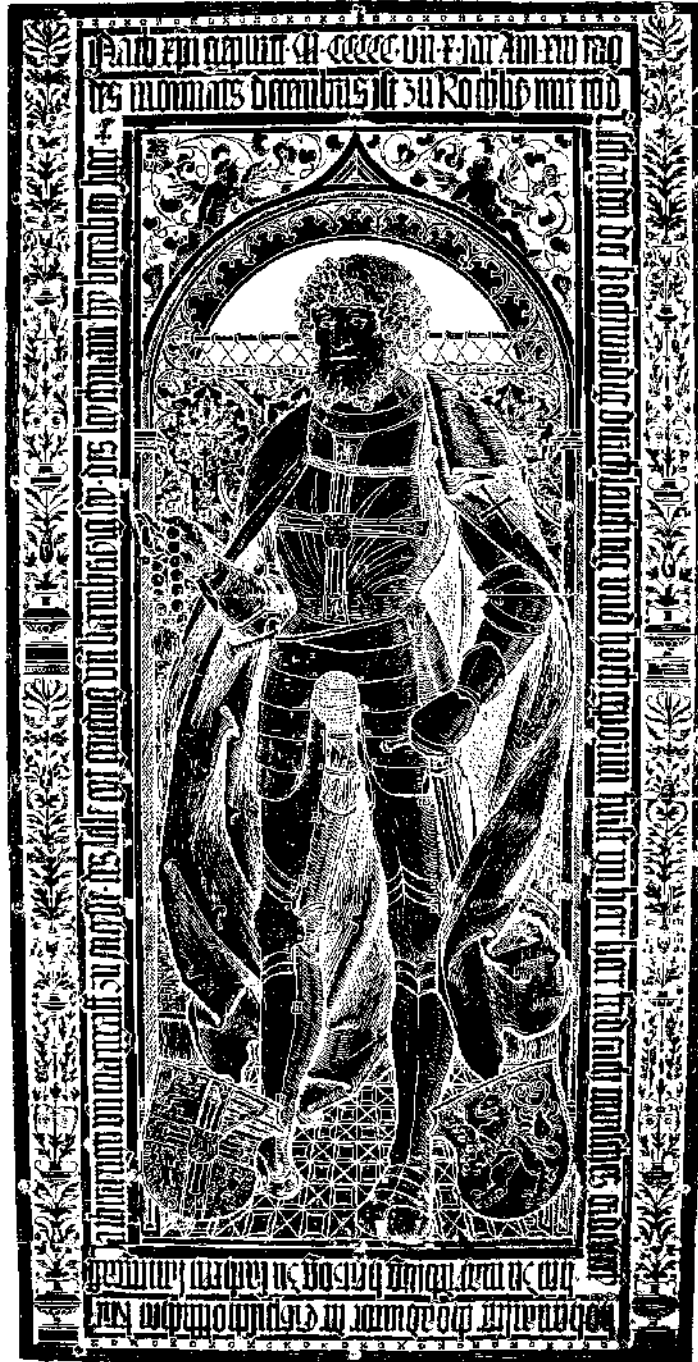


FIG. 1  
Friedrich of Saxony, d. 1510  
Meissen Cathedral  
*Rubbing: the Author*

It was therefore very opportune when the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, Johann von Tiefen, nominated Friedrich as his successor and intended to resign himself. It is possible that the marriage of Duke Georg of Saxony with Barbara, sister of the Polish King Jan I Olbracht, in November 1496, gave the first impetus to this idea. A decisive role was played by *Großkomtur* Count Wilhelm von Isenburg, whom von Tiefen had appointed as his *locum tenens* before he set out on 1 June 1497 to support the King of Poland against the Turks.<sup>7</sup> The Grand Master died during this campaign, and the disinclination of Wilhelm von Isenburg to become Grand Master himself, but to translate von Tiefen's plans into action, led to the opening of negotiations. The decisive discussions ended on 6 April 1498 in Königsberg. It is clear from the instructions of the Saxon delegation that they had the authority to conclude an agreement, but only on acceptable conditions, especially with regard to Friedrich's income.<sup>8</sup> The Order had set the stipend of the Grand Master at 20,000 Rhenish guilders. This was to be arrived at by adding the proceeds from two commanderies to the previous income of a Grand Master.<sup>9</sup>

After the agreement appointing Friedrich as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order had been successfully concluded and he was about to leave for Prussia, his father assured him that, if he should lose his office of Grand Master and be driven out of Prussia, in order to guarantee a suitable standard of living in Saxony he would be entitled to a town with a castle and a quarter of the annual proceeds of the hereditary lands as compensation.<sup>10</sup>

On 28 September 1498 Duke Friedrich, accompanied by his brother Georg and four hundred horsemen, entered Königsberg. On the following day he was received into the Teutonic Order, elected Grand Master and installed in office.<sup>11</sup> This was an innovation. Up till then, according to the constitutions, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights had been elected from among the brothers who were outstanding major office-holders, as were the *Deutschmeister* and the Master of Livonia, the two other branches of the Order.

In the autumn of 1504 Grand Master Friedrich was elected by the Cathedral Chapter of Magdeburg as Coadjutor of Archbishop Ernst von Wettin (b. 26 June

<sup>7</sup> E. Joachim and W. Hubatsch, *Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525*, Pars I: *Regesten zum Ordensbriefarchiv*, Vol. 2: 1455-1510 (Göttingen, 1950) (hereafter *Regesta I*, 2), Nr. 17979.

<sup>8</sup> Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10024 (Geheimes Archiv), loc. 9944/11, ff. 17r-21v. The delegation consisted of Hans Birke von der Daube, Herr zu Mühlberg; Hofmeister Dietrich von Schleinitz; Job von Dobeneck, Provost of Zschillen; and Cäsar Pflug.

<sup>9</sup> Printed in *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. L. Arbusow (hereafter *LEKUB*), Abt. 2, Band 1 (*Ende Mai 1494-1500*) (Riga & Moscow, 1900; repr. Aalen, 1981), Nr. 661: Königsberg, 6 April 1498 (Friday before Palm Sunday), pp. 491-3; *Regesta I*, 2, Nr. 18024.

<sup>10</sup> Printed in *LEKUB* 2, 1, Nr. 705: Koblenz, 19 August 1498 (Sunday after the Assumption); thus Friedrich, as was usual when assuming an ecclesiastical office, was in a position to renounce his inheritance from his father (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10001 (Ältere Urkunden), loc. 9263 (Duke Friedrich's letter of renunciation)); Duke Georg consented to the agreement in Königsberg on 5 October and Duke Heinrich on his return from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land on 9 December 1498 (Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens*, IX, pp. 247, 249).

<sup>11</sup> 'Paul Pole's Preussische Chronik', ed. M. Toeppen, in T. Hirsch, M. Toeppen and E. Strehlke, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, V (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 173-288, at 212.



1464, d. 3 August 1513). He was thus placed next to his cousin, with the right to succeed him. This initiative appears to have been undertaken by Duke Georg of Saxony without the knowledge of the Grand Master. On 2 December 1504 the Chapter requested Pope Julius II to confirm the appointment,<sup>12</sup> which he did on 6 April 1505.<sup>13</sup> The Grand Master, however, stressed the fact that he had accepted the post on the recommendation of the Order's Councillors for the present on condition that he would be allowed to become Coadjutor while retaining his position as Grand Master.<sup>14</sup> He received a papal dispensation for this on 22 October 1506.<sup>15</sup>

Whether it was entirely the usual desire for an accumulation of preferments or perhaps the uncertain position of the Grand Master and the fear that he would lose his position, which caused Duke Georg to be active on his brother's behalf, cannot be ascertained from the correspondence and other surviving documents. In any case, it would have been a considerable increase of power for the Albertine Wettins if Duke Friedrich had actually become in addition Archbishop of Magdeburg.

On 26 May 1507 Friedrich returned to Saxony, having appointed four regents in Prussia for the time of his absence.<sup>16</sup> He went first to Weissensee, and then spent the last years of his life at Rochlitz, dying there of dropsy after a short illness on 14 December 1510 at the age of only 37. In the same month his body was taken to Meissen and buried there in the cathedral.<sup>17</sup>

The Armoury of the State Art Collections in Dresden possesses probably the only remaining suit of armour of a Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.<sup>18</sup> The light construction indicates that it is a ceremonial armour that was not intended for warfare. It is uncertain, however, whether it should be attributed to Grand Master Friedrich of Saxony or his successor, Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> E. Joachim and W. Hubatsch, *Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525, Pars II: Regesten der Pergament-Urkunden aus der Zeit des Deutschen Ordens* (Göttingen, 1948) (hereafter Regesta II), Nr. 3839; Prince Adolf von Anhalt, provost; Dr. Günther von Bünau, dean; Albert Klitzing, senior; Bernhard von Veltheim; Balthasar von Neustadt, chamberlain; Dietrich Klitzing, governor; Dr. Sigismund Pflugk; Albert von Arnstedt, scholar; Heinrich von Stammern; Joachim Klitzing, cantor; Baldewin von Zerbst; Dr. Johann von Thumen; Johann Zcicing, Professor of Theology, and Friedrich von Asseburg, canons; Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens*, IX, pp. 316, 321.

<sup>13</sup> F.W. Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, I (Magdeburg, 1845), p. 456.

<sup>14</sup> *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. L. Arbusow, Abt. 2, Band 3 (1506-1510) (repr. Aalen, 1981), Nr. 41, para. 4: 30 April 1506, Grand Master Friedrich to the Master of Livonia.

<sup>15</sup> *Regesta I*, 2, Nr. 19146; *Regesta II*, Nr. 4631 (Imola, XI kal. Nov. Pont.3); Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens*, IX, p. 333 n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> M. Toeppen, *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, V (1458-1525) (Leipzig, 1886), p. 786; Hiob von Dobeneck, Bishop of Pomesania; Günther von Bünau, Bishop of Samland; Simon von Drahe, *Großkomtur* of the Teutonic Order; and Graf Wilhelm von Isenburg, senior Marshal.

<sup>17</sup> 'Paul Pole's Preussische Chronik', p. 214, gives as the date of death the Sunday after St. Lucy (14 December 1510); see also Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden 10024 (Geheimes Archiv), loc. 9943/17, f. 58 (letters of Duke Georg to Niclas Pflug and Dr. Dietrich von Werterde).

<sup>18</sup> Inventory No. M 142; weight 2.8 kg; consisting of a globular breastplate, backplate, collar of four lames, fauld and culet of four lames, and tassets of four lames. The breast- and backplate bear the Grand Master's cross. The breastplate bears in a horizontal band above the cross the as yet undeciphered letters of a motto 'GVDMTTE'.

<sup>19</sup> M. von Ehrenthal, 'Die fürstlich Radziwillsche Rüstammer zu Nieswiez', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde*, II (1900-1902), pp. 142-5; A. Rohde, 'Der Hochmeister-Harnisch im Staatlichen Historischen Museum zu Dresden', *Prussia: Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz*, XXIX (1931), pp. 279-82, with plate; A. Nowakowski, *Arms and Armour in the Medieval Teutonic Order's State in Prussia* (Łódź, 1994), p. 72, fig. 23. Nowakowski interprets the initials as signifying 'Gratia Verbumque Domini Manet Tibi Eternum'.



FIG. 2

Armour of a Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Armoury, State Art Collections, Dresden

### *Historical Background*

After a thirteen-year war with Poland, the Teutonic Order was obliged by the Second Peace of Thorn, on 19 October 1466, to cede its western region to Poland.<sup>20</sup> The area remaining to the Order corresponded approximately to the present-day East Prussia. But still more serious than the loss of their economically stronger region were the legal conditions imposed on the Order by the Treaty. Each newly elected Grand Master was obliged, within six months of his election, to swear an oath of allegiance to the King of Poland. A prime obligation of the Grand Master was also to be the provision of auxiliary troops for the Polish king. This treaty never obtained

<sup>20</sup> For English-speaking readers, a good summary history of the Teutonic Order to 1560 is to be found in D. Seward, *The Monks of War* (London, 1972), pp. 91-132.



FIG. 3  
The State of the Teutonic Order after 1466  
Map: S. Bollmann

full legal force, however.<sup>21</sup> In the following years it became a goal of the Grand Master's policy to reverse these conditions. These efforts were assisted by the fact that neither the Curia nor the Emperor recognised the Treaty. The Order's lack of political power prevented a revision of the Treaty, however. So the four Grand Masters in the period from 1466 to 1497 had to be prepared, although unwillingly, to swear the oath. Mercenary captains, who had been employed in the thirteen-year war, owing to the lack of money at the end of the war, had to be content firstly with promissory notes and mortgages, then with comprehensive land transferences. This led to the creation of a new, economically strong nobility in the *Ordensland*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Printed in *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Weise, 3 vols. (Königsberg (and Marburg), 1939-69), II (1955), Nr. 403; E. Weise, 'Die staatsrechtlichen Grundlagen des Zweiten Thorner Friedens und die Grenzen seiner Rechtmässigkeit', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, III (1954), pp. 1-25.

<sup>22</sup> L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen nach dem 2. Thorner Frieden*, phil. Diss., Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, 9 (Frankfurt, 1975), p. 10.

The private property of the office-holders of the Order was consolidated; their positions were increasingly seen as sinecures and their economic position appeared considerably better than that of the Grand Master, who was no longer involved in a positive economic development. His freedom of action was thus very limited.

As supreme head of the Order, the Grand Master, according to the statutes of the Brethren, was financially dependent on the office-holders and was in addition only a *primus inter pares*. The secularisation of the knights of the Order repeatedly led to their opposing him as a class. They did not behave as if they were members of a common order. As a secular ruler, the Grand Master was also dependent on the governing classes of the country, whose right to veto taxes and to have a say in matters concerning the state limited his possible courses of action. The position of the Grand Master was therefore weak internally in many respects.

It was also increasingly the case that the elected Grand Master came from the lower nobility, whereas many of the nobles in the Order and the country were of higher birth. Johann von Tiefen had recognised this problem. His recommendation of a member of a German princely house was designed to free the Grand Master from this socially inferior position and also to improve his position vis à vis the King of Poland.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Foreign Policy of Grand Master Friedrich*

Right at the beginning of his Mastership, Grand Master Friedrich was faced with the demand of the Polish King Jan I Olbracht that he should swear the oath of allegiance to him. He did not reject this idea absolutely, but throughout his whole time in office attempted delaying tactics and negotiations. After a few years both Jan I Olbracht and his successor, Alexander Jagiellon, died, before their patience had been exhausted and they had finally made up their minds to enforce their demand militarily. In 1506, Sigismund I, the brother of his two predecessors, succeeded to the Polish throne. He too immediately demanded the swearing of the oath by the Grand Master. Friedrich's delaying tactics were aided by the perpetual threat of warfare on the eastern and southern borders of the Polish kingdom from Russians, Tartars and Turks.

A brief digression to events in the German Empire should help explain the situation in the *Ordensland*. Dynastic interests had drawn King Maximilian's attention to southern Europe; the King of Bohemia and Hungary had promised him the succession there by treaty. The other main focuses of Maximilian's policy were in northern Italy and in the south-west of the Empire. In 1499 a Swiss military success led to their *de facto* independence from the Empire. Louis XII used this favourable moment for the conquest of Milan. For many years Maximilian's military and financial power was exhausted by war with Venice and the French. He was also involved in constant clashes with Louis XII in Burgundy and the Netherlands.

<sup>23</sup> Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 151.

In Germany itself the turn of the sixteenth century was marked by the consolidation of the territorial states. The Electors and princes, and also the other estates, regarded the *Reichstag* as a basis for accomplishing their ideas of reform and exploited the weakness of the King of the Romans. Under these circumstances, the north-east, including the *Ordensland*, was for King Maximilian and the princes of the Empire only a border territory of limited interest. Grand Master Friedrich several times received verbal support; after he was able to describe the difficult position of the Order in Prussia in a speech at the Reichstag in Worms in 1509, he received diplomatic assistance.

Thus the Grand Master, with the help of Emperor (since 1508) Maximilian I, finally succeeded in bringing the problem of the oath of allegiance for him as a prince of the Empire, and the other conditions of the Treaty of Thorn, into the international arena. It was intended that, at a conference in Poznań in July 1510 the initial stages of an agreement would be made. As, however, the King of Poland insisted on an acceptance of the conditions, while the Grand Master denied their legal validity, no agreement was reached. War was then prevented by the death of the Grand Master in December of the same year.

### *Domestic Policy of Grand Master Friedrich*

The domestic policies of Grand Master Friedrich were very successful. He reached his decisions with the assistance of experienced advisers. On the one hand he surrounded himself with a group of office-holders and Commanders (*Komturen*) who were well acquainted with the inner workings of the Order. The actual government he managed by consulting secular advisors, whom he had brought with him from Saxony, and by including local Estates in the government. Thus he succeeded in enacting important laws and creating institutions which outlived his rule, laying foundations on which later Grand Masters could build.

Of importance is the enactment of the *Landesordnung* (Collection of laws) of 1503,<sup>24</sup> a collection of sovereign statutes drawn up in earlier times, which by their legal decrees controlled many areas of life, especially for the common people. Left out, however, were the merchants involved in foreign trade and the nobility, as well as controversies between them and the Order.

A main priority of Grand Master Friedrich was the creation of a uniform legal system. The partitioning of the western part of the *Ordensland* in 1466 required a rearrangement of the judicial system. Friedrich eventually created in 1506 an upper court (*Landesgericht*) with quarter-day arrangement on the Saxon model.<sup>25</sup> This court

<sup>24</sup> K. Neitmann, 'Die Landesordnungen des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Landesherrschaft und Ständen', in *Die Anfänge der ständischen Vertretungen in Preußen und seinen Nachbarländern*, Schriften der Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 16 (München, 1992), pp. 60-81; Thomas Berg, *Landesordnungen in Preußen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (jur. Diss., Bonn, 1998), Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung, Bd. 17 (Lüneburg, 1998), p. 19 ff.

<sup>25</sup> H. Fischer, 'Das Quatember- oder Hofgericht zu Königsberg (1506-25)', *Altpreußische Forschungen*, II (1924), pp. 41-69. The court derived its name from the days on which it met four times a year. The Ember days are the Wednesday to Saturday after *Innocentii* (the First Sunday of Lent), Whitsun, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September) and St. Lucy (13 December) (H. Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, ed. Th. Ulrich, 10th edn. (Hannover, 1960), p. 16).

of appeal, which did not finally come into operation until 1517, made superfluous the previous customary elaborate appeal court hearings in Magdeburg.

A third, forward-looking regulation, the 'War and Defence Law', which concerned the defence of the country, was drawn up in 1507.<sup>26</sup> In view of the perpetual threat presented by Poland, this determined exactly which duties the towns and the nobility should undertake in case of war.

*The Brass of Grand Master Friedrich in Meissen Cathedral*

After the death of Elector Friedrich the Warlike in 1428, the *Fürstenkapelle* (Chapel of the Princes), built in front of the west door of Meissen Cathedral became the burial place of the princely house of Wettin until 1539. Around his raised tomb, the construction of which is placed by Michael Kirsten between 1435 and 1440, are grouped the monuments of his descendants.<sup>27</sup>

Grand Master Friedrich of Saxony, a great-grandson of Elector Friedrich, also found his last resting place here. The grave, set into the pavement, is covered by a large sandstone slab, in which is set the brass (Fig. 1). The brass is composed of eight plates with an overall dimension of 232 x 115 mm; this corresponds to approximately 4 x 2 Saxon ells of 56.6 mm.



FIG. 4  
Cherub, from the brass of Friedrich of Saxony  
*Rubbing: the Author*

<sup>26</sup> *Regesta* I, 2, Nr. 19197.

<sup>27</sup> M. Kirsten, 'Die Tumba Friedrichs des Streitbaren', in *Das Portal an der Westurnfront und die Fürstenkapelle*, ed. E. Hütter *et al.*, *Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, Bd. 1 (Halle, 1999), pp. 301-17, at 308.

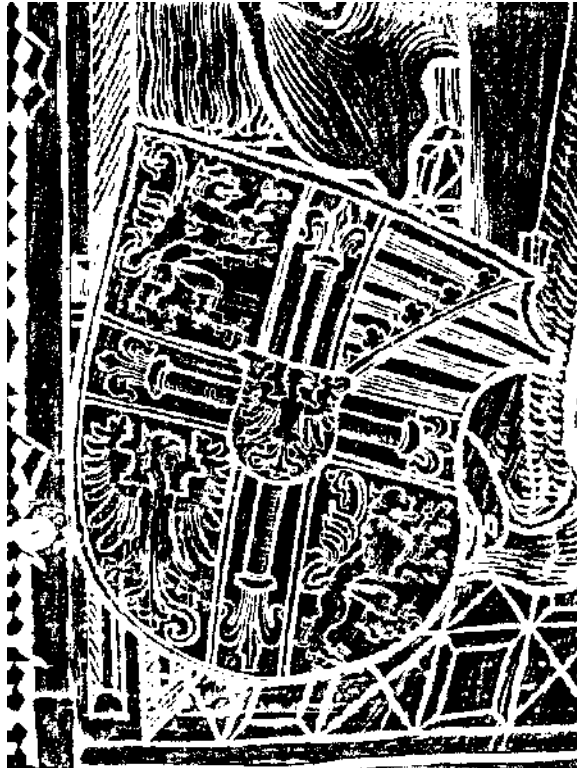


FIG. 5  
The arms of Friedrich of Saxony as Grand Master  
*Rubbing: the Author*

The figure of the Grand Master is shown stepping out from a niche, with his left foot forward. The niche has a round-headed arch ornamented with late Gothic crockets and supported by two slender columns. The spandrels of the arch contain foliage motifs and winged cherubs (Fig. 4). The inner arch indicates a bare space beyond. A curtain with a pomegranate pattern, suspended from a curtain pole at head height, covers the background. It ends in a fringe above the tiled floor, which is drawn in perspective.

At the feet of the figure are two tournament shields *couché*, of which the dexter (Fig. 5) bears the quarterly Saxon arms: 1, Landgraviate of Thuringia; 2, Duchy of Saxony; 3, Palatinate of Saxony; 4, Margraviate of Meissen, over all the cross of the Grand Master.<sup>28</sup> The sinister bears the arms of Meissen.

The Grand Master is in full armour, with the mantle of the Order with a black Latin cross, open at the front, over his shoulder, waving violently in the wind. His gloved left hand rests on the pommel of his sword, his right holds a rosary. The

<sup>28</sup> A.B.E. von der Oelsnitz, *Herkunft und Wappen der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1198-1525*, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung, 1 (Königsberg, 1926), p. 80; on pp. 27-38 he describes the arms and their origin and development in detail.



FIG. 6  
Head of Friedrich of Saxony  
*Rubbing: the Author*

globular breastplate of the armour is also engraved with the cross of the Order. He is shown bare-headed, with curly hair and a full beard (Fig. 6). Duke Friedrich's hairstyle is delicately ruffled and seems almost artificially arranged. Comparison can be made with several heads of the same period in the work of Lucas Cranach the Elder,<sup>29</sup> whom Cornelius Gurlitt identified as the designer of this monument.<sup>30</sup> But as Michael Kirsten has pointed out other contemporaries with similar motifs, this idea must still be regarded as hypothetical.<sup>31</sup>

Little considered hitherto as the possible model for the monument is a picture of Grand Master Friedrich that was in Königsberg Cathedral until 1945 and which

<sup>29</sup> M. Böhlitz, 'Altargemälde von Lucas Cranach dem Älteren, Lucas Cranach dem Jüngeren und ihren Schülern im Chemnitzer Raum', in H. Marx and I. Mössinger, *Cranach: Gemälde aus Dresden*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz, 13 November 2005-12 March 2006 (Köln, 2005), pp. 18-43, pls. 11 (St. Bartholomew from the left wing of the feast-day side of the Kunigundenaltar, Zwickau) and 14 (Adam, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig).

<sup>30</sup> C. Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in Sachsen*, 40, *Meißen (Burgberg)* (Dresden, 1919), p. 332.

<sup>31</sup> M. Kirsten, 'Die Grabplatten in der Fürstenkapelle', in *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle*, ed. E. Hütter *et al.*, pp. 319-46, at 333.





FIG. 7  
Grand Master Friedrich of Saxony, formerly Königsberg Cathedral  
(after Anderson)

can definitely be regarded as a portrait (Fig. 7).<sup>32</sup> It greatly resembled the image of Friedrich on the Meissen brass; however, it is still uncertain whether this painting was known to the artist. The painting also showed the Grand Master wearing a mantle blown by the wind, standing on a tiled pavement and stepping out of a round-headed niche. Instead of a rosary, however, he held in his right hand his sword resting against his shoulder. Kurt Forstreuter places the picture before 1510;<sup>33</sup> this date may be supported by the laminated, somewhat more pointed toes of the sabatons of the armour,

<sup>32</sup> E. Anderson, 'Das Bildnis des Hochmeisters Friedrichs III., Herzogs von Sachsen, im Dom zu Königsberg', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreußen*, XV (1941), pp. 56-59.

<sup>33</sup> K. Forstreuter, 'Bildnisse von Hochmeistern des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter', in *Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden: Festschrift zu Ehren Sr. Exzellenz P. Dr. Marian Tumler O.T. anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstages*, ed. K. Wieser, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 1 (Bad Godesberg, 1967), pp. 1-14, at 8.

Although the image on the Meissen brass shows the Grand Master wearing sabatons of the later broad-toed ‘bear-paw’ form, this armour too has late Gothic elements, for example the pointed poleyns. The Meissen brass could thus be dated to immediately after the death of the Grand Master, perhaps as early as 1511.

Friedrich’s monument is in a series with the almost contemporary brasses of Duchess Sidonie (d. 1510) in Meissen and of Andreas Szamotulsky (d. 1511) in Szamotuly, Poland, which harmoniously combine Gothic architecture with early Renaissance motifs; the inscription fillet of Friedrich’s brass, for example, is flanked on both long sides by a broad margin, containing antique-style vases from which vegetable motifs grow. These brasses, of high artistic quality, are attributed to the workshop of Peter Vischer the Elder in Nuremberg and may have been made in collaboration with his son of the same name, who had returned from a journey to Northern Italy by 1509.<sup>34</sup>

The German inscription on the brass is in Gothic minuscule and starts at the top left. Only the initial letter ‘N’, a few versals and ‘M.CCCCC’ in the date are written in Gothic majuscules. The inscription is in two lines at the top and bottom and a single line at the sides. It reads:

Nach xpi gepurt M.CCCCC. vn(d) x iar Am xiv tag / des monnats  
decembris ist zu Rochlicz mit tod / v(er)schaiden der hochwirdig  
durchleuchtig vnd hochgepornn furst vn(d) herr herr friderich tewtsches<sup>35</sup>  
ordennß / hohemaister choadiutor der Ertzpischhofflichen kirc / hen(n) zu  
maydeburg hertzog zu sachxen lantgraff / In thuringen vn(d) marggraff zu  
Meysse(n) . des selle got genedig vn(d) barmhertzig sey . des leychnam hy  
begraben ligt.

[After the birth of Christ 1510 years, on 14th day of the month of December the reverend, serene and high-born prince and lord Lord Friederich Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Coadjutor of the Archiepiscopal Church of Magdeburg, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen died at Rochlitz. May God be merciful and compassionate to his soul; his body lies buried here.]

The script is cramped; there is scarcely any space between the letters. Thus the inscription is even more difficult to read than Gothic ones usually are (owing to the separation of the component parts). The ‘r’ is here, as often on Vischer brasses, written as an ‘i’ (a short shaft with a short stroke above), although only within words.<sup>36</sup> The ligature ‘ar’ is used twice and here the ‘r’ is fully formed (a shaft with a flag-like stroke); in another ligature, ‘ggr’, the ‘r’ is shown only as a short stroke. These characteristics are not found on the contemporary brass of Duchess Sidonie;

<sup>34</sup> L. Justi, ‘Vischerstudien’, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIV (1901), pp. 36-53, at 50.

<sup>35</sup> Gurlitt and Kirsten read this word as ‘teun(?)sches’. However, on this brass the ‘u’ within words occurs several times with a separately standing shaft with no connection to the previous letter, as the upper end of the shaft terminates with a quadrangle. Here one can follow M. Donath, *Die Grabmonumente im Dom zu Meissen* (Leipzig, 2004), p. 379, even when the ‘t’ displays no cross-bar.

<sup>36</sup> A similar form can be seen on the advertisement sheet of the early 15th-century scribe Johann vom Hagen (A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge, 2003), pl. 17).

its script is larger and more spread out; ‘r’ and ‘i’ are also interchanged in the middle of words.

Döbner assumed that the early flat Meissen brasses from the Vischer workshop, as well as the contemporary low relief monuments, were cast, and not engraved. He was of the opinion that in this case it would have been easier to prepare the six small plates of the surround as wax models.<sup>37</sup> However, the brasses are clearly engraved, not cast. Workshop practice is demonstrated by the accounts and other documents of Hans Hilliger relating to several brasses in the mausoleum of the Albertine Wettins in Freiberg Cathedral. He writes, for example, about the brass of Elector Christian II (d. 23 June 1611): ‘15 Ctr: 49 lb: is the weight of the plate, on which were engraved the image (*Contrafactur*) of Christian the second of most praiseworthy and Christian memory, together with Latin and German script and accompanying coats of arms and compartments.’<sup>38</sup>

Brass is an alloy of approximately 80-85% copper, 10-15% zinc, 2-3.5% lead, 1-2% tin, with traces of iron, nickel, silver, antimony, arsenic and cobalt.<sup>39</sup> A higher copper and lead content keeps the metal soft and easy to cut; a larger amount of zinc produces the yellowish colour but makes the alloy hard. The brass of Grand Master Friedrich consists of a material with a high copper but low zinc and lead content, and, according to Riederer, corresponds to the Nuremberg brass used for other works from the Vischer workshop at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

Comprehensive restoration measures in Meissen Cathedral made possible work on the brasses in the *Fürstenkapelle* in the period from early 1999 to May 2001. When Grand Master Friedrich’s brass was examined a loss of metal both at the rivet-holes and in other areas was identified. Some resulted from tiny hollows formed when the plate was cooled after manufacture; others represented war damage. In the nineteenth century the back had been conserved with a layer of bitumen. This remained intact and was left in place. Damaged areas of the sandstone matrix were repaired and provided with new holes. These holes were filled with lead and the fastening rivets were then inserted.<sup>41</sup>

The Monumental Brass Society is most grateful to the A.V.B. Norman Trust for a grant to meet the cost of translating this article.

<sup>37</sup> A.W. Döbner, ‘Peter Vischer-Studien’, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, IX (1892), pp. 165-95, at 180.

<sup>38</sup> Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden 10001 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), loc. 9864/9, f. 1r.

<sup>39</sup> J. Riederer, ‘Metallanalyse der Messinggrabplatten im Meißen Dom’, in *Die Grabmonumente im Dom zu Meißen*, ed. M. Donath (Leipzig, 2004), pp. 112-24.

<sup>40</sup> Riederer, ‘Metallanalyse’, p. 120.

<sup>41</sup> J. Dornheim, ‘Die Restaurierung der Grabplatten in der Fürstenkapelle’, *Ecclesia Misnensis. Jahrbuch des Dombau-Vereins Meißen*, IV (2001), pp. 44-50.

# A Koranic Inscription in an English Church: The Kingsley Brass at Eversley, Hampshire

by PHILIP WHITTEMORE

THE church of St. Mary's, Eversley, Hampshire, contains three brasses to members of the Kingsley family, the most important of which is that to Mary Henrietta Kingsley, the African explorer, who died in 1900 (LSW.IX).<sup>1</sup> The brass (681 x 958 mm) is set in the wall of the north aisle in a slab of black marble (805 x 1103 mm) (Fig. 1). Although not immediately apparent, the design of the brass is full of symbolism which will be described below.



FIG. 1  
Brass to Mary Henrietta Kingsley, d. 1900, Eversley, Hants.  
*Photo.: R.J.L. Smith, Much Wenlock*

<sup>1</sup> W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Stratford St. Mary, 2007), pp. 123, 125.

The inscription, in twelve lines of capitals, reads:

To the Glory of God  
and the Beloved Memory of  
Mary Henrietta Kingsley  
Traveller and Author  
Daughter of George Kingsley, M.D., and Mary his wife  
and niece of Charles Kingsley sometime rector of this Parish  
born 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1862 in the parish of Islington  
died 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1900 at Simon's Town, Cape Colony.  
where she was ministering to the needs of the fever-stricken  
prisoners taken in the Boer War, and buried at sea with naval honours.  
"Talent de bien faire."

This Brass was erected by her brother Charles George Kingsley, her uncle William Bailey  
and her cousins Maurice Kingsley, Rose Kingsley and Mary St. Leger Harrison.

Frank Smith & Co. London

To the right of the inscription is a palm tree, one branch of which is broken,<sup>2</sup> while surrounding the inscription, in raised Arabic script, within cartouches decorated with arabesques, and set off by red colouring, is a text from the Koran: Sura 113, verses 1-3, which relates to *al-Falaq* or The Dawn:

I betake me for refuge to the Lord of Daybreak  
Against the mischief of his creation;

And against the mischief of the first darkness when it overspreadeth.<sup>3</sup>

Verses from Suras 113 and 114 (called *al-mu'awwadhātān* - the two that preserve) were used as *tilsam* or talismans, and were used as protection against ill-luck, and were often carried in small bags or pouches, in locketts, purses, around the neck, or even fastened to the arm or attached to head-gear. Verses from Sura 113 were used as protection against the ills of the flesh.<sup>4</sup>

Why an Islamic inscription? Given the distance in time since the brass was commissioned and engraved, only some general observations can be made. Mary clearly had an affinity with Islam. She had not been brought up as a Christian and only infrequently had she been into churches. She seems to have given some thought as to there being any form of supreme Deity, for in a letter to Robert Nassau, written in August 1899 she writes: 'If I could believe in that God of mercy you believe in...I would. I cannot see him, or feel him...but I can see, hear and feel that terrific God of Justice, of infinite power, infinite knowledge and I worship him...'<sup>5</sup> She is more emphatic about her beliefs, when in March 1900, she wrote, 'never sneer or laugh at [the] native form of religion - a pantheism

<sup>2</sup> Possibly this represents a member of the genus of the raffia palm. In Christian religion the palm symbolises triumph, while in Islamic tradition it represents rest and hospitality.

<sup>3</sup> J.M. Rodwell, *El-Kor'ān; or The Koran* (London, 1876). For a slightly different translation of the Sura, see G. Sale, *The Holy Koran* (London, 1822), p. 386.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. P.J. Bearman *et al.*, 2nd edn., 12 vols. (Leiden, 1960-2005), X (1999), fascicules 171-172, pp. 500-502, esp. 501.

<sup>5</sup> D. Birkett, *Mary Kingsley: Imperial Adventuress* (Basingstoke, 1992), p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> S. Gwynn, *The Life of Mary Kingsley* (London, 1932), p. 267.

which I confess is a form of my own religion'.<sup>6</sup> When, on occasion, Mary swore, something she had 'inherited' from her father, she would invoke Allah, in preference to the Christian God.<sup>7</sup>

Some consideration should be given to the influence of Islamic art, and in particular tile-work, on the design of the brass. It is very similar to part of a tile design that can be found in the Alhambra, Granada, but in this case it is incorporated with eight pointed stars and other ornate patterns.<sup>8</sup> In the Al-Sahrij, Fez, Morocco, a *zellij* panel in the *medersa* courtyard consists of an interlocking pattern over an eight pointed star motif. Similarly, the inscription also copies inscriptions that can be found incorporated as dados or in string courses. The interlacing pattern of the inscription on the brass is called *tawriq* or palmette, and fills up what would otherwise be blank space.

Mary Kingsley was born on 9 October 1862, just four days after her parents, George Kingsley and Mary Bailey, married in Islington parish church. This was kept secret from her for a large part of her life, she being told that she had been born two years after her parents' marriage. She had a far from conventional upbringing, with no schooling, and having to look after her invalid mother, while her father travelled the world, often being away for months, and sometimes years at a time. A brother, Charles (Charley) was born in 1866. The family lived successively at Highgate (where a near neighbour and close friend was Lucy Toulmin Smith),<sup>9</sup> Bexleyheath, Kent (in 1879), and while Charley was at university, the family moved to Cambridge (1886).

Both of Mary's parents died within months of each other in 1892, and these events liberated her for the first time in her life. Once the funeral arrangements had been completed, she moved with Charley back to London, to Addison Road, Kensington, which was to remain her home for the rest of her life. In 1893, with Lucy Toulmin Smith, she went on a short trip to the Canary Islands. On her return to London she set about planning her next trip, a voyage to West Africa, sailing from Liverpool in August 1893. On this voyage she visited Sierra Leone, Liberia, Accra, Bonny, and various other places, travelling as far south as Cabinda. Whenever time and opportunity allowed she collected examples of fish, which she preserved in alcohol, to be presented on her return to the British Museum. She was also a great observer of native religious customs of the areas she visited. She ended her first African journey in January 1894.

Her second African adventure started in December 1894 when she visited Fernando Po; she spent time with the Scottish missionary Mary Slessor at Calabar. She then sailed from Lagos to the French Congo, and canoed up the Ogooué river from Lambaréné, as far as the Alemba river. She then travelled from Azingo across the wildest of country to

<sup>7</sup> Burkett, *Mary Kingsley: Imperial Adventuress*, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. G. Degeorge and Y. Porter, *The Art of the Islamic Tile* (Paris, 2002), pp. 57, 63.

<sup>9</sup> *ODNB*, LI, p. 243.

the Remboué river, staying with the natives in their villages. She was the first white woman to climb Mount Cameroon, leaving her *carte-de-visite* at the summit.

Returning to England she wrote two books about her African experiences, *Travels in West Africa* (1897) and *West African Studies* (1899). Both of these books were best sellers and Mary was soon lecturing all over England to packed auditoria, eager to hear what she had to say about her travels.

She returned to Africa for a final time in March 1900, not for another journey of exploration, but as a nurse (she had done a short nursing course prior to her first African journey) to care for Boer prisoners of war at Simon's Town.<sup>10</sup> She was only there for two months before she caught enteric fever, then rife among the prisoners, and subsequently died on 3 June 1900. She was given a military funeral the following day, before being buried at sea in accordance with her wishes.<sup>11</sup>

Mary Kingsley was not a true explorer in the Victorian sense of the word. The parts of Africa in which she travelled had been opened up by the colonial powers years before she set foot in Africa,<sup>12</sup> but she did things her way, paying her way by trading and staying with the natives, and not being totally reliant on missionaries, whom she generally held in low esteem. She took the natives she met at face value, and was interested in their culture, and religion. She learnt to handle native canoes (no mean feat) on the fast flowing rivers, often when conditions were bad, being thrown into the water, and had to hope that she would manage to make the riverbank before crocodiles attacked her first. All this was while wearing a long black dress (her chosen colour) and laced boots, the everyday dress of a Victorian lady. She was, it must be remembered, a young woman tackling the hardships of exploration in Africa on her terms. Quite clearly she was a woman ahead of her time.<sup>13</sup>

Mary Kingsley's monument is unique in having a Koranic inscription engraved on it. What is even more astonishing is that it was placed in an English church.<sup>14</sup> Whoever it was that originally designed the brass had clearly done a great deal of research into the Islamic aspects that went into its design.<sup>15</sup> Full credit must also be

<sup>10</sup> See M. Davies, *It's only me: Mary Kingsley and Health in the Tropics* (The author, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Her coffin bore an engraved plate that read: 'Mary H. Kingsley / Aged 35 / Died at Simon's Town / Whilst Nursing Boer Prisoners of War / June 3, 1900'. It should be noted that her real age was 37.

<sup>12</sup> [The motto 'Talent de bien faire', incorporated in the main inscription, was that of Prince Henry the Navigator, who initiated European exploration in Africa in the 15th century. The motto can be seen below his portrait in the *Crónica dos Feitos da Guiné* (Paris, BnF, MS Portugais 41, f. 5v). He was a favourite hero of Mary Kingsley. *Ed.*]

<sup>13</sup> For biographies of Mary Kingsley, see S. Gwynn, *The Life of Mary Kingsley* (London, 1932); K. Frank, *A Voyager Out: The life of Mary Kingsley* (Boston, 1986); D. Birkett, *Mary Kingsley: Imperial Adventuress* (Basingstoke, 1992). See also D.J. Birkett, 'Kingsley, Mary Henrietta (1862-1900)', in *ODNB*, XXXI, pp. 712-14.

<sup>14</sup> A much earlier inscription in Perso-Arabic script was that on the tomb of Hodges Shaughsware, a Persian merchant, who was buried in August 1626 in unconsecrated ground in Petty France, just outside the churchyard of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London. An engraving of his tomb can be found in Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey* (London, 1720), Book II, Chapter VI, p. 94.

<sup>15</sup> The case can be made for Mary St. Leger Kingsley (Lucas Malet) being behind the commissioning of the brass. She was cousin to Mary Henrietta, and at one time lived near her in London. They remained on good terms throughout their lives. In her youth Mary St. Leger Kingsley had trained as an artist at the Slade School of Art until she gave it up in 1878-79, and concentrated on becoming a writer. Clearly she would be the one person who would have had an insight into Mary Henrietta's thoughts. She also had a house built at Eversley in 1905-06.

extended to the firm responsible for its production, Frank Smith & Co.<sup>16</sup> Thus Mary's brass must be seen as one of the most important examples of brass design produced during the first decade of the twentieth century.

The Kingsley family had a particular liking for brasses engraved by Frank Smith & Co. On the south wall of the nave at Eversley is a large brass plate commemorating the novelist Charles Kingsley, 1875, and his wife Frances, 1891, placed by their daughter Rose Georgiana Kingsley (LSW.VII).<sup>17</sup> This is much less elaborate than the monument to their niece, Mary, the inscription being accompanied by two shields of arms. It is not known if the brass recording the restoration of the church in 1875 in memory of Charles Kingsley, now on the wall of the north aisle (LSW.V), is a Frank Smith product as it is unsigned. At Clovelly, Devon, there are another two brasses to members of the family, again both Frank Smith products. One is to the memory of Charles Kingsley, son of Charles Kingsley, rector of Clovelly, and his wife Mary Lucas, and was placed in the church in 1893 by Mary St. Leger Harrison and her husband, Revd. William Harrison. It comprises a simple inscription with an achievement. The other is to Revd. William Harrison, vicar of Clovelly, d. 1897, and was placed by parishioners and friends.<sup>18</sup> He was husband of Charles Kingsley's daughter, Mary St. Leger Kingsley, better known as the author, Lucas Malet.

I am grateful to Sara Beer and Michael Davies for their comments and suggestions concerning various aspects of this article.

<sup>16</sup> The firm first appears in Post Office Directories in the mid 1850s at 13 Southampton Street, Strand, and continued there until about 1905 when it amalgamated with Messrs. Wippell. Frank Smith & Co. were suppliers of church furnishings, as well as brasses, many of their products being inscriptions. A catalogue of the company, in the National Art Library, shows that the firm also produced effigies, although no known figures by the firm have, so far, been identified. The catalogue in the NAL mentions two brasses that were produced by the company, c. 1886-88. One in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, commemorating Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn (d. 1885) comprised an inscription surrounded by laurel leaves and various emblems of the Royal Horse Guards. The second brass was in Gloucester Cathedral, and commemorated Judge Sumner. A correspondent, writing in the *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 18 December, 1887, describes the monument as 'a very fine work of art; and the engraver has succeeded in producing a life-like portrait of the late Judge'. Unfortunately, the brass now appears to be lost, for it was not found during the recent survey of the Cathedral's brasses published in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), pp. 213-221. No records for the company appear to have survived.

<sup>17</sup> This memorial was placed in the church in 1895 (Diocesan Record Office (Hampshire Record Office) 21M 65/138 F/2), with a retrospective faculty being granted in December 1896. No faculty was obtained for placing the brass to Mary Henrietta in Eversley church. The brass was certainly in place by November 1901. See *The Nursing Record and Hospital World*, XXVII (23 Nov. 1901), p. 426, for a report regarding the placing of the brass in the church.

<sup>18</sup> W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Devonshire* (London, 2000), p. 66. I am grateful to Revd. Andrew Richardson, incumbent of Clovelly, for details of the brasses.



# Conservation of Brasses, 2005

by WILLIAM LACK

**T**HIS is the twenty-second report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Bishopton, Bruisyard, Lacock, Merton, North Walsham and Watford; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Bishopton; to Michael Taylor for assistance at Bruisyard; to Philip Whittemore for assistance at Watford; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Bishopton, Bruisyard, Hoby, Lacock, North Walsham and Watford; the Monumental Brass Society at Bishopton, Bruisyard, Hoby, North Walsham and Watford; and the Morris Fund of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Bruisyard. Funding was also provided at Hoby by Leicestershire County Council.

## BISHOPTON, COUNTY DURHAM

Two brasses were removed from the church on 28 February 2004.<sup>1</sup>

**LSW.I.** Revd. Ralph Tatham, vicar, 1822, also his son Charles, 1827, and grandfather Ralph, 1742. This brass, comprising a cross (988 x 466 mm, thickness 2.5 mm) and marginal inscription (1213 x 608 x 54 mm, engraved on 4 plates, thickness 2.5 mm), was taken up from the original slab (1345 x 730mm) at the east end of the chancel. The plates were originally secured by lugs soldered to their reverses but these fixings had deteriorated and two of the fillets of the marginal inscription were lying completely loose. After cleaning I soldered new rivets to the reverses.

**LSW.III.** Star of David with inscription to Charlotte Anderson, 1864. This unusual brass (663 x 571 mm, thickness 2.5 mm) had been removed from its original location and had been hung on a nail above the pulpit on the south-east wall of the nave. After cleaning and fitting new rivets, I mounted the brass on a cedar board.

The brasses were returned to the church on 29 March 2005. LSW.I was relaid in its slab and the board carrying LSW.III was mounted on the south east wall of the nave above the pulpit.

## BRUISYARD, SUFFOLK

**M.S. I.** Michael Hare, 1611, and wives Elizabeth Hobert and Mary Brudenel (Fig. 1). This Johnson-style brass now comprises two female effigies (left 640 x 240 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 10 rivets; right 639 x 220 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 10 rivets),

<sup>1</sup> The brasses were described and illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of County Durham* (London, 2002), pp. 17-19.

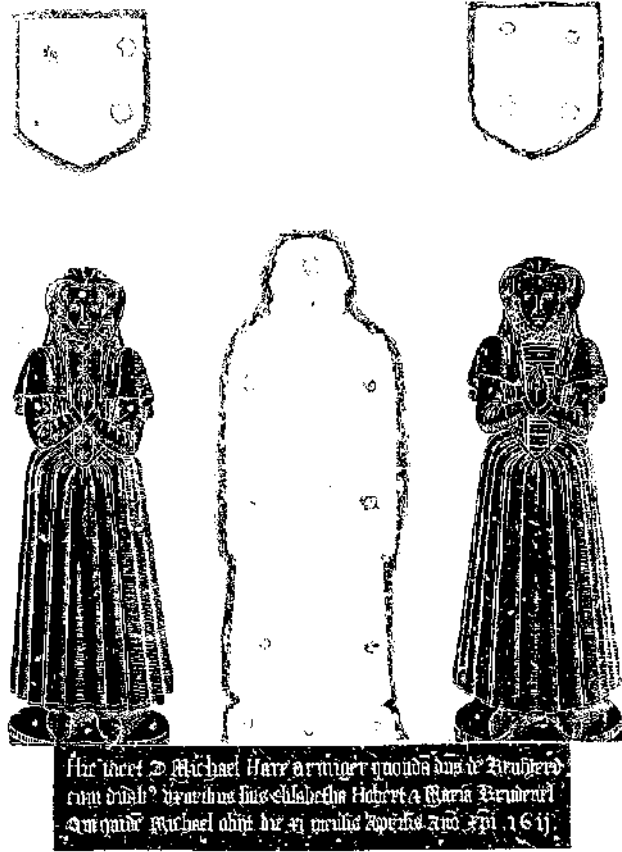


FIG. 1  
 Bruisyard, Suffolk  
 M.S. I. Michael Hare, 1611, and wives Elizabeth Hobert and Mary Brudenel  
*Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield*

a three-line Latin inscription (138 x 680 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 10 rivets) and the two lower shields (dexter 190 x 158 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets; sinister originally 193 x 158 mm, now 174 x 158 mm, thickness 1.9 mm). These were removed from the original black marble slab (2065 x 1058 mm) in the south chapel on 31 January 2004. The slab has indents for the lost male effigy in civilian dress (668 x 215mm) and two upper shields. The left-hand female effigy had been found loose and taken up in 1993. It had fractured into two parts and had been relaid on a layer of araldite. After cleaning the brass was relaid in the slab on 28 July 2005.

## HACCOMBE, DEVON<sup>2</sup>

Parts of five brasses were removed on 4 August 2004.

**LSW.I.** Nicholas Carew, 1469. This London (series D) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (640 x 248 mm), an inscription in eight Latin verses (202 x 348 mm) and four shields, lies in a modern slab (1875 x 865 mm) in the chancel. The only part repaired was the lower sinister shield (142 x 120 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 1 rivet). After cleaning I fitted a new rivet.

**LSW.III.** Mary Carewe, 1589. This Johnson-style brass, comprising a mutilated female effigy (originally 705 mm tall, now 666 x 220 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 9 rivets), an inscription in four Latin lines (108 x 437 mm) and a mutilated shield (originally 185 x 160 mm, now 172 x 146 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 2 rivets), lies in a modern slab (1880 x 840 mm) in the chancel. I took up the effigy and shield. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

**LSW.V.** Thomas Carew and wife Anne, 1656. This locally-engraved brass, comprising a large rectangular plate (616 x 922 mm), an inscription in four English lines and fourteen Latin verses (616 x 465 mm), an oval achievement (363 x 306 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 4 rivets) and two shields (upper dexter 127 x 112 mm, thickness 2 mm, 2 rivets; remains of upper sinister now 37 x 41 mm), lies in a modern slab (1880 x 890 mm) in the chancel. The only two plates taken up were the achievement and the upper dexter shield. After cleaning I repaired the achievement and fitted new rivets.

**LSW.X.** Sir Walter Palk Carew, 1874, and wife Anne. This brass, comprising a ten-line inscription in English, four shields and a decorated border with corner quadrilobes (1840 x 910 mm overall), lies in a slab (1880 x 950 mm) in the north chapel. A large free-standing cupboard usually covers the top right-hand corner of the brass and slab. I collected the inscription (615 x 457 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 4 rivets), the upper sinister shield (132 x 105 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 1 rivet) and the lower dexter shield (133 x 105 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 1 rivet). These had become

<sup>2</sup> The brasses were described and illustrated by W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Devonshire* (London, 2000), pp. 148-54. The pre-1700 brasses were conserved and relaid by Bryan Egan in 1973 and 1974 (B. Egan and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Repair of Monumental Brasses* (Newport Pagnell, 1981), p.25).

completely loose due to the failure of their back-soldered rivets. After cleaning I soldered rivets to their reverses.

**LSW.XI.** Walter Palk Carew 1873. This brass, comprising a seven-line inscription in English (615 x 548 mm), four shields and a decorated border with corner quadrilobes (1835 x 910 mm overall), lies in a slab (1880 x 960 mm) in the north chapel. The top left-hand corner of the brass is covered by the cupboard. I collected the lower dexter shield (130 x 103 mm, thickness 1 rivet) which had become detached. After cleaning I soldered a new rivet to the reverse.

The brasses were relaid on 15 February 2005. On 16 February I cleaned all the brasses *in situ*.

### HOBY, LEICESTERSHIRE

**M.S. I.** Man in armour, *c.* 1480 (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> This London (series F) brass now comprises a headless and mutilated armoured effigy (originally 1130 x 395 mm, now 982 x 350 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 10 rivets) which lies in the original marble slab (2650 x 1340 mm) in the south aisle. The slab has indents for a female effigy (1100 x 430 mm), four shields (140 x 115 mm) and a marginal inscription (2455 x 1155 x 35 mm), all of which have been lost for many years. When the antiquary John Nichols visited the church *c.*1800 only the male effigy and the upper part of the female effigy remained.<sup>4</sup> I removed the effigy from the slab on 8 December 2004. It was fractured across the waist and both plates were very loose. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the lower plate and fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 25 January 2005.

### LACOCK, WILTSHIRE

**M.S. I.** Robert Baynard and wife, 1501 (Fig. 3). This London (series F) brass comprises an armoured effigy in tabard (700 x 244 mm, 4.1 mm, 8 rivets), female effigy in heraldic mantle (666 x 266 mm), a three-line Latin foot inscription (199 x 880 mm), a group of twelve sons (169 x 448 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 5.4 mm and 3.2 mm, 3 rivets), a single son (212 x 68 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 2 rivets), a group of five daughters (166 x 203 mm, thickness 5.5 mm, 2 rivets) and four shields (upper dexter 130 visible x 125 mm; upper sinister 127 visible x 123 mm; lower dexter 148 x 124 mm; lower sinister originally 151 x 124 mm, now 147 x 124 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 2 rivets). The brass lies in the original Purbeck marble slab (1950 visible x 915 mm visible) which is oriented north-south at the south end of the south transept floor and partially obscured by pews. On 6 July 2002 the single son and the group of five daughters were stolen and an unsuccessful attempt had been made to steal the male effigy which had left the head proud of the slab.<sup>5</sup> The P.C.C. commissioned facsimiles of the two stolen plates but the original plates were returned anonymously to the church in October 2004. I collected these two plates and

<sup>3</sup> *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, ed. W. Lack and P. Whittemore, II, pt. 2 (2006), p.14 and pl.XVI.

<sup>4</sup> J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 vols. in 8 (London, 1795-1815), III, part 1 (1800), pl.39, pp. 262 and 267; illustration reproduced in Lack and Whittemore, *ibid.*, fig.12, p.14.

<sup>5</sup> *MBS Bulletin*, 91 (Sept. 2002), pp. 631-2.



FIG. 2  
Hoby, Leicestershire  
M.S. I. Man in armour, c. 1480  
*Rubbing by William Lack*



FIG. 3  
Lacock, Wiltshire  
M.S. I. Robert Baynard and wife, 1501  
*Rubbing by Jenny Lack*

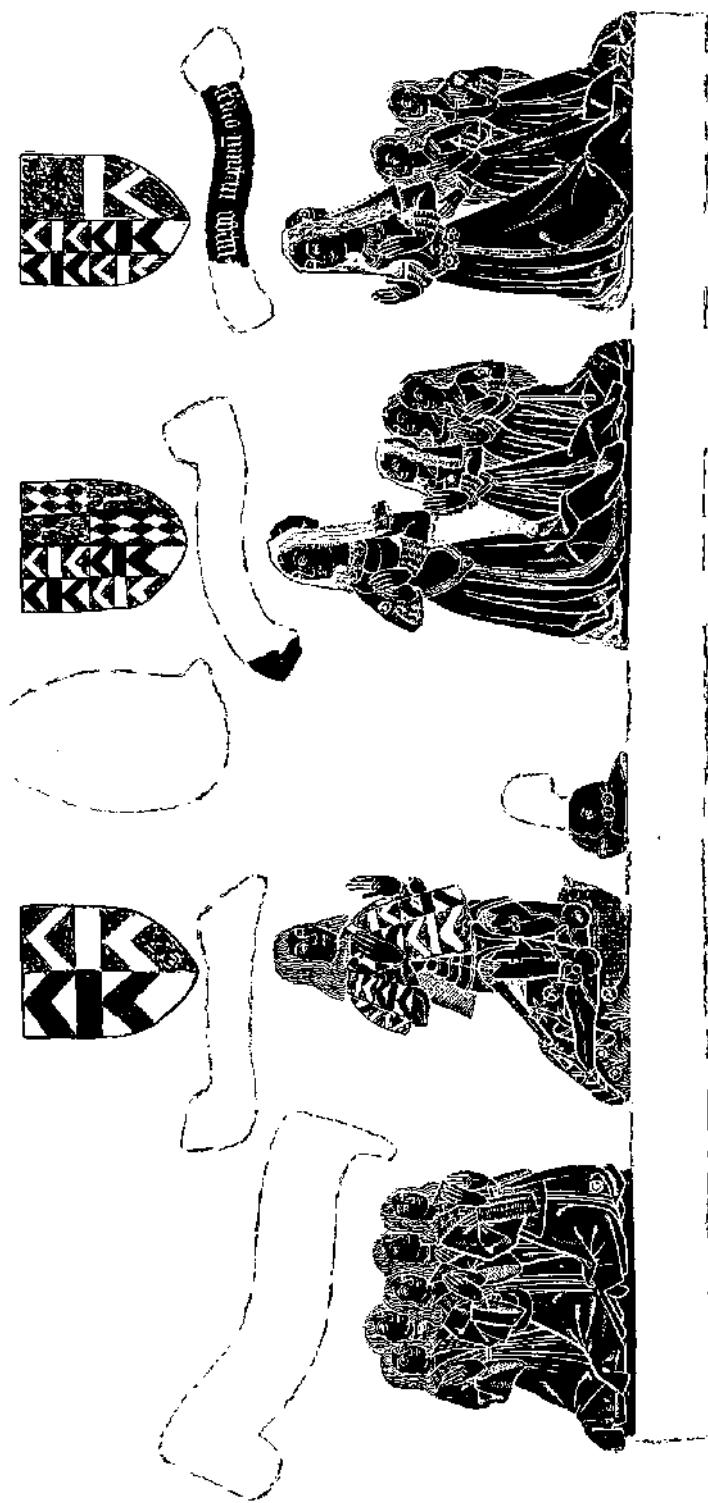


FIG. 4  
 Merton, Norfolk  
 M.S. III. William de Grey, [1495], and wives Mary and Grace  
*Rubbing by Jenny Lack*

removed the male effigy, twelve sons and lower sinister shield from the slab on 5 April 2005. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The plates were relaid on 15 June 2005.

### MERTON, NORFOLK

**M.S. III.** William de Grey, [1495], and wives Mary and Grace (Fig. 4). In 2004 a mutilated scroll engraved ‘.virgo virginum ora p[ro]’ (47 x 167 x 35 mm) was discovered by a metal detectorist in a field close to the church.<sup>6</sup> It proved to belong to this brass and perfectly fitted the indent over the second wife, with the rivet holes in perfect register. This Norwich (series 3) brass also comprises a kneeling armoured effigy in tabard (330 x 217 mm), a mutilated helmet (originally 113 x 102 mm, now 57 x 101), five kneeling sons (249 x 266 mm), two kneeling female effigies (left with three daughters 331 x 288mm, right with two daughters 325 x 285 mm), a fragment of scroll from the left-hand female effigy (52 x 38 mm) and three shields (dexter 153 x 120 mm; centre 152 x 120 mm; sinister 150 x 119 mm). These lie in the original slab (695 x 1540 mm) which has indents for a foot inscription (60 x 1290 mm) and three other scrolls. The scroll was passed to me in June 2005. After cleaning and flattening the plate I soldered two rivets to the reverse. It was reset in the slab on 9 July 2005.

### NORTH WALSHAM, NORFOLK

Four plates were removed from their slabs on 20 May 2005.

**M.S. I.** Inscription to Dame Margaret Hetercete, 1397 (Fig. 5). This London (series B) inscription in three Latin lines (82 x 366 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 4 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (1600 x 700 mm) in the north aisle.

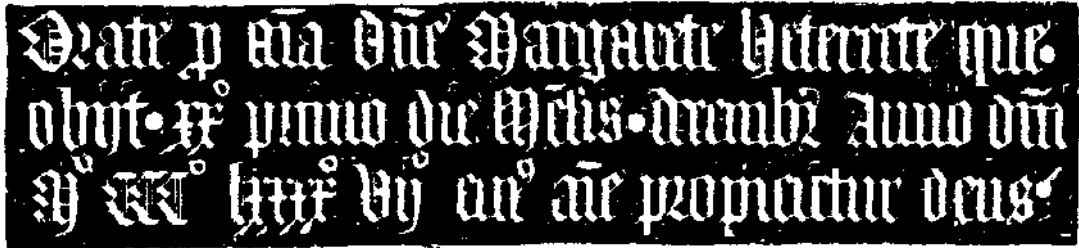


FIG. 5  
North Walsham, Norfolk  
M.S. I. Inscription to Dame Margaret Hetercete, 1397  
*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. II.** Inscription to William Rous, 1404 (Fig. 6). This London (series B) inscription in three Latin lines (82 x 331 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from the original slab (1650 x 755 mm) in the south chapel.

<sup>6</sup> *MBS Bulletin*, 103 (Sept. 2006), pp. 41 and 48-9.



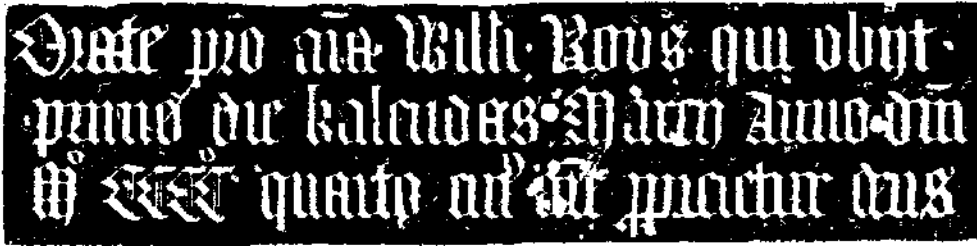


FIG. 6

North Walsham, Norfolk

M.S. II. Inscription to William Rous, 1404

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**M.S. VI.** Inscription and chalice for Robert Wythe, chaplain, *c.*1520 (Fig. 7). This Norwich (series 6b) two-line Latin inscription (50 x 271 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 2 rivets) and chalice (121 x 50 mm) lay in the original slab (1670 x 780 mm) in the south chapel. The chalice was well-secured but the inscription was loose and was taken up.

**M.S. VII. Inscription and Grocers' Company shield to Robert Raunt, 1625.** This Johnson-style eight-line English inscription (207 x 543 mm) and shield (163 x 136 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 3 rivets) lay in the original slab (1540 x 770 mm) on the south side of the nave. The inscription was well-secured but the shield was loose and was taken up.



FIG. 7

North Walsham, Norfolk

M.S.VI. Inscription and chalice for Robert Wythe, chaplain, *c.*1520*Rubbing by William Lack*

After cleaning I fitted new rivets to the plates. They were relaid in their slabs on 19 July 2005.

### WATFORD, HERTFORDSHIRE<sup>7</sup>

Five brasses were removed from the church on 4 January 2000.

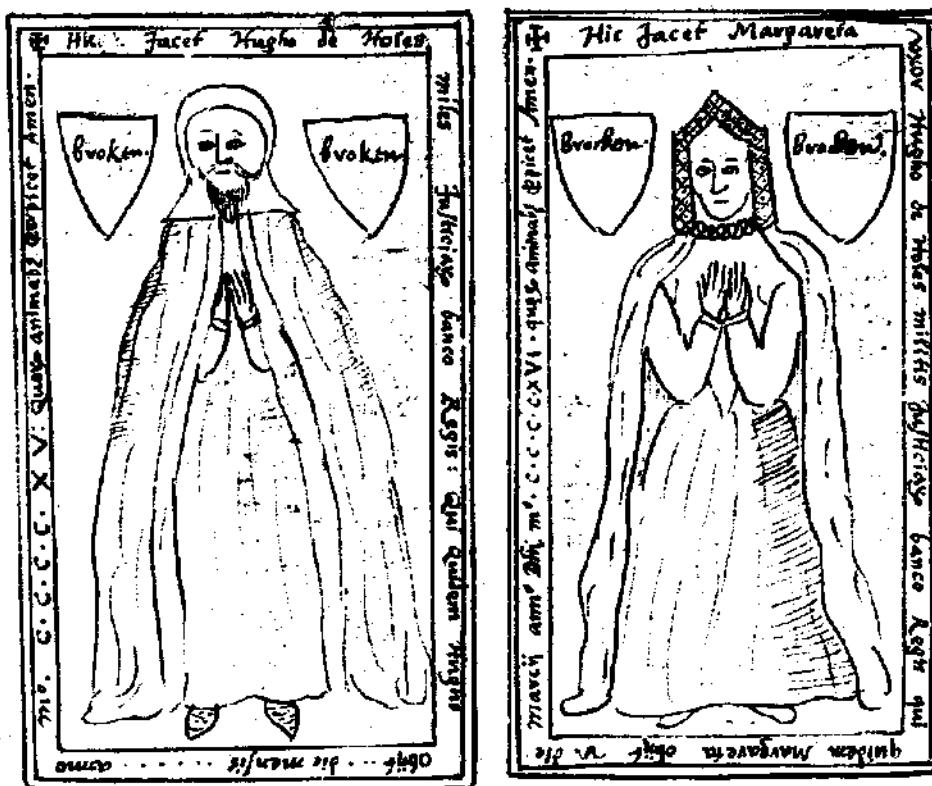


FIG. 8

Watford, Hertfordshire

Drawings of the brasses of Sir Hugh and Margaret de Holes from B.L. Lansdowne MS 874

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**LSW.I.** Sir Hugh de Holes, Justice of the King's Bench, 1415.<sup>8</sup> This London (series B) mutilated and fragile effigy (1371 x 419 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.0 and 3.1 mm, 15 rivets) is all that remains of the brass which was originally laid down in the chancel. An early seventeenth-century drawing in the British Library<sup>9</sup> shows the

<sup>7</sup> W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire*, forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Described and illustrated 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. 1 (2000), p.1 and pl. I.

<sup>9</sup> BL Lansdowne MS. 874. The marginal inscription read: '+ Hic Jacet Hugho de Holes / miles Justiciarius banco Regis: Qui Quidem Hugho / Obiit .... die mensis .... anno / M<sup>o</sup>. C.C.C.C. XV: Quorum animabus propicietur Amen.' Another version is quoted by John Weever in *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 591.

brass almost complete, with only two shields and a small part of the marginal inscription lost (Fig. 8). The effigy was removed from the floor in 1871 and mounted directly on the north wall of the chancel where it had become heavily corroded. It was removed from the wall *c.* 1997 and kept locked in the vestry. After cleaning I repaired three fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board together with LSW.II and LSW.X. The missing parts of the effigy were lightly outlined on the board.

**LSW.II.** Margaret, widow of Sir Hugh de Holes, 1416.<sup>10</sup> This London (series B) effigy (1089 x 299 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 4.0 and 3.4 mm, 9 rivets) was originally part of a similar composition to LSW.I. The British Library drawing shows the brass almost complete with two shields lost.<sup>11</sup> When it was recorded by Nathaniel Salmon in 1728 a small fragment of the marginal inscription survived.<sup>12</sup> The brass was also laid down in the chancel and was removed from the floor in 1871 and mounted adjacent to LSW.I on the chancel wall. After removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the effigy into the same board as LSW.I and LSW.X.



FIG. 9

Watford, Hertfordshire

LSW.III. Inscription to John atte Welle and wife Alice, 1450

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**LSW.III.** Inscription to John atte Welle and wife Alice, 1450 (Fig. 9). This London (series B) three-line English inscription (105 x 651 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivets) had been mounted with screws directly on the plaster on the north chancel wall together with a plaque recording that the plate was discovered at the Old Rectory at Hinxworth<sup>13</sup> and restored to St. Mary's in 1955. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plate into a cedar board.

**LSW.IV.** Inscription and three English verses to Henry Baldwyn, 1601 (Fig. 10). This Johnson-style brass, comprising a mutilated eleven-line inscription (295 x 570 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 12 rivets) and three English verses (79 x 555 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), had been mounted directly on plaster on the north wall of the chancel. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a cedar board.

<sup>10</sup> Lack and Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 1 and pl. 2.

<sup>11</sup> The marginal inscription read '+ Hic Jacet Margareta / uxor Hugho de Holes militis Justiciarius banco Regis qui / quidem Margareta obiit v. die / Marcij ann<sup>o</sup> Domini M<sup>o</sup>. C.C.C.C.XVI. quorum animabus propicietur Amen.'

<sup>12</sup> N. Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire* (London, 1728), p. 108.

<sup>13</sup> Recorded as Hinxworth M.S. IV and 'loose at rectory, July, 1931' in the *Appendix* to Stephenson's *List* (London, 1938), p. 760.

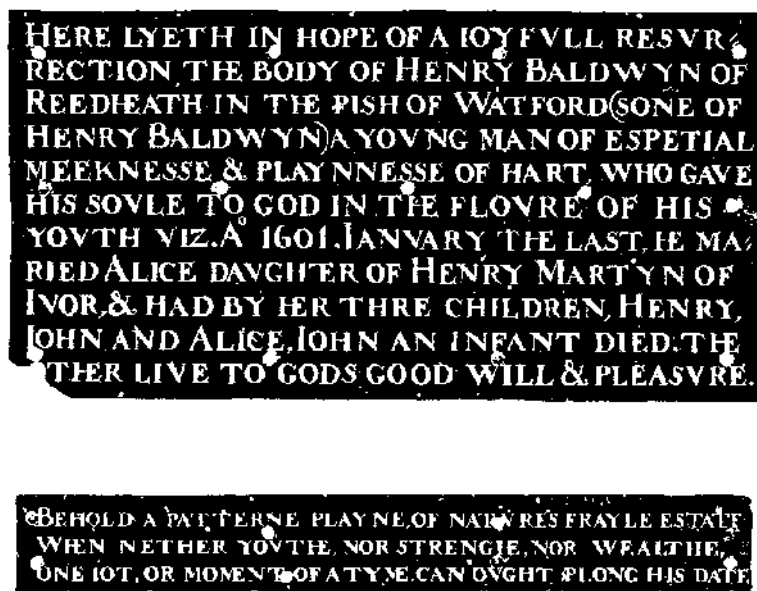


FIG. 10

Watford, Hertfordshire

LSW.IV. Inscription and three English verses to Henry Baldwin, 1601

*Rubbing by William Lack*

**LSW.X.** Inscription commemorating the removal of the brasses from their slabs in 1871. This plate (154 x 1092 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 6 rivets) had been mounted on the chancel wall. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated it into the board carrying LSW.I and LSW.II.

The boards were returned to the church on 18 May 2005. The board carrying LSW.I, LSW.II and LSW.X was mounted on the north wall of the south aisle under the organ loft and the other two boards were mounted in the positions the brasses had previously occupied.

## Review

Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007); x + 257 pp., 80 b/w plates; £35.00; ISBN 1-900-289-873.

In many ways this book looks again at themes in my own *Lost Brasses* (1976), often quoted, which is rather flattering. But quite rightly it expands the material to look at tombs and monuments of all types, rather than focussing narrowly on brasses as we so often did in those days. The author follows the different phases of tomb-destruction, notably in the 1530s with the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the devastating onslaught under Edward VI, and the damage inflicted during and after the Civil War, and he considers how this destruction stimulated antiquarians to record what was in peril, and to preserve information on paper when stone and metal had failed.

Tombs were of course liable to disappear at all periods of history, and under all regimes. Sometimes they were removed by legitimate authorities, who disapproved of personal monuments being placed in public churches. After all, Catholic Church councils in the early centuries of the second millennium condemned burial in churches and ordered tombs to be obliterated, no less firmly than Puritan ordinances in the seventeenth century. At other times there was selective destruction, as when 'superstitious' inscriptions were carefully chiselled out of brasses which otherwise survive undamaged, or when the graves of the 'regicides' were desecrated and their monuments smashed after the Restoration of Charles II (p. 210). Sometimes churches were subjected to random and undisciplined attacks, whipped up by fanatical preachers, as so often in the Low Countries and Scotland during the wars of religion, or when victorious soldiers looted conquered towns, during the Hundred Years' War as much as the Civil War. At all times church reordering (e.g. under Archbishop Laud, p. 110), or rebuilding could involve the removal of out-of-date and unfashionable monuments, a process which has by no means ended (examples on p. 243, note 28, and I could add more recent ones). Accidental damage and petty pilfering continue ceaselessly.

It is worth remembering that even where there was no radical change of religion, as in many parts of Catholic Europe, Gothic buildings and all their fittings, including tombs, were demolished to be replaced with new churches in the grander Baroque or Neo-Classical styles. It is arguable that if England had remained Catholic there would be many fewer Gothic churches and cathedrals; we might marvel at a fantastic Baroque cathedral in Lincoln, or a Rococo masterpiece in Westminster Abbey, but there would be less of the Middle Ages to see. We need only compare the churches of southern Germany, rich in eighteenth-century ornament, but poor in medieval brasses and effigies, with the churches of the northern Lutheran states,

frozen in time on 31 October 1517 with a wealth of late-Gothic carving, tomb sculpture and incised slabs.

Antiquarian records of inscriptions and heraldry in churches were compiled in large numbers in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and a vast amount of manuscript material remains to be researched. Motives varied: at first monuments were recorded simply to provide evidence of family genealogy which implied title to land and status, an urgent requirement for many in the changed economic situation after the Tudors' incomprehensible extravagance. We have to be sceptical sometimes: in the seventeenth century some families took the obvious step of fabricating ancient inscriptions, or even commissioning false tombs, and improving genuine ones, to provide verisimilitude for an otherwise bold and unconvincing pedigree. At a later date, antiquarians began to value inscriptions and monuments for their own sake, as specimens of ancient costume and armour, or even for the intrinsic quality of the art. Accurate drawings and engravings begin to appear in the late seventeenth century, growing in quality as the draughtsmen grew in skill. But during the crucial years before the Civil War, though transcriptions and tricks of arms are frequent, drawings are few and mostly clumsy.

What were the motives for destruction during the three major phases? In the first, the dissolution of the monasteries, it was really nothing more than plunder. Churches were dismantled, and all materials recycled, quite irrespective of their historic or antiquarian value. A few monuments were rescued by concerned descendants (pp. 14-15), but these did not include King Harry. One chapter of the book examines the evidence for the tomb of Arthur himself, which was swept away with Glastonbury Abbey. The Tudor dynasty may have staked its shaky claim to the throne on stories of Arthur, and Henry's preposterous claim to be head of the church may have been based on legends of Joseph of Arimathea bringing Christianity to Britain independently of Rome, but the monuments that might have supported these claims were not preserved. Arthur, it seems, had an elegant tomb-chest with arcaded sides, a cross on top and four lions to guard him (reconstructed on p. 158), all of Purbeck marble, not even metal, surely worth preserving if you want to claim the throne of Arthur. But, like all the royal monuments in all the abbeys and priories, it was destroyed, with only scanty record.

The second and most destructive phase was the 'Taliban' regime of Edward VI, when the ideological, if illogical, motive was the cleansing of the land from idols. Protestant interpreters of scripture found that representative art was forbidden, 'the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or of those things that in the waters under the earth'. But they only applied that text to representations of saints, or of Christ; graven images of 'any Kinge, Prince, Nobleman or other dead person' were specifically allowed (p. 21). In theory, images were only to be destroyed if they were of good people, reputed to be saints, whereas images of brazen sinners were quite permissible in any church. In practice, once rein had been given to the smashing of images, they were less specific. The conscientious

Edwardian churchwarden might carefully chisel away the religious imagery from a tomb, leaving the figures of the deceased praying before an empty space. The less conscientious were only too aware of the expenses involved in acquiring new Prayer Books and Books of Homilies and chained Bibles, of patching windows whence images had been removed, of converting the one poor remaining chalice into a cup, and all after the entire treasure of the parish had been carried off by the King's men – perhaps we can forgive them for cashing in on the only items of value that remained, the monumental brasses. The thorough and systematic stripping of church floors could only be carried out by skilled craftsmen at the orders of the authorities. Churchwardens' accounts record only the value of the metal recovered (pp. 22-23).

Even Queen Elizabeth was shocked at this, and issued an urgent decree that all monuments should be restored (p. 26). She took a personal interest in the York tombs of Fotheringay – until she discovered how much it would cost to rebuild the chancel (p. 27, pl. 6). The cheap monuments which she did provide for her ancestors are among very few Elizabethan restorations. For the most part, as Weever famously commented, the plunder continued unchecked. Which is why Weever and other early seventeenth-century antiquaries did so much to record what might still be at risk.

In the Civil War there was another round of ideological destruction. Some, indeed, were logical enough to demand the removal of all representative art from churches (p. 111), but most were contented with selective prohibition, destroying the saints but leaving their own ancestors alone, even though there was very little religious imagery left to destroy. In some cases the erasing of offending clauses from inscriptions was done at this period, which reveals some curious inconsistencies. For instance at Orford, as is well known, William Dowsing removed eleven popish 'inscriptions in brass' (*The Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. T. Cooper, p. 221), but the figures were left undamaged, and above one couple there remains a Holy Trinity. At All Hallows Barking, the churchwardens employed a man called Shurlan to 'erase the superstitious letters from the brasses' in 1643 – they had to pay him 16 shillings for the task. (*MBS Trans.*, X., p. 186) But there survives a fine representation of the Resurrection, and, on the Evynger brass, of the Pietà. Inscriptions were censored, iconography was not. It rather looks as if, by this period, men had forgotten what religious imagery looked like.

This may be illustrated by an Oxford example. In 1643 Richard Symonds observed, and drew, a brass to enrage the mildest of Protestants. It showed a don in his canonicals, kneeling before a statue of St Katherine, and begging her to 'assist your servant with your prayers'. She in turn looks towards the Holy Trinity, and requests 'pardon for Edmund who is praying'. Here, uncompromisingly, is the invocation of the saints and prayer for the dead. The carved stone work includes crosses and angels in plenty. Symonds failed to recognise the Trinity; he saw it as the figure of a king, holding a young man, and his drawing of the Father does look

remarkably like Charles I (BL Harl. MS 964, f. 69). This plate, and this plate alone, had disappeared by the end of the Civil War. The rest remains in St. Mary's church, though rather too high up for comfort.

The monuments in Abergavenny are given a long chapter and appendix, the fruit of detailed study during the recent restoration. Here Lindley demonstrates that the damage was done during the Civil War, probably after the fall of Raglan in August 1646 (p. 206). The tombs were restored and patched up after the Restoration of Charles II, and remained more or less unchanged until 1995. It is informative to see what damage was done by the Parliament men. Large heraldic displays behind the heads of the two double effigies were completely removed; quite a lot of delicate canopies ('crowns') were smashed off the side arcading; a crowned figure on the tomb of Lawrence Hastings was decapitated, and the three crowned heads of the Trinity in alabaster behind the effigy of Richard Herbert of Ewyas, as well as the heads of some of the kneeling armed men were hammered off. (Compare Symonds' drawing of 1645 and the modern photograph in pls. 75 and 76.) Still more revealing is what they did not destroy: the standing figure of the Virgin of the Assumption on the same Richard Herbert monument survives undamaged. So too does the beautiful relief of the Annunciation at the end of the tomb of Sir William ap Thomas, and all the apostles and prophets along the sides. The implication is that the soldiers were quite unable to recognize these 'popish idols' but vented their wrath on crowned heads and the pride of heraldry. The Virgin of the Assumption was probably taken for Mrs. Herbert (p. 232). Even Richard Gough's informer in the late eighteenth century was unable to understand the Annunciation (quoted, p. 233).

The book is full of information and quotes many sources, some of them never published before. But it is an extremely difficult book to read – the publisher's responsibility, surely, more than the author's. There is absolutely no excuse in the days of computer type-setting for notes to be tucked away at the end of each chapter instead of at the foot of the page. Placing the plates all together may be excused on the grounds of using a different quality of paper, but it does mean that you have to keep three fingers in the book at once, to follow text, notes and plates. More annoyingly, there is no bibliography, and books are cited by short title after the first mention. This means that, if, for example, you wanted to follow up the reference to *Lost Brasses* in note 10 on page 242 (referring to page 239), you have to track back through the notes after six separate chapters to find the full bibliographical reference as note 16 on page 40 (referring to page 7). No, don't bother – the 1976 study is amply replaced by this new one, but the publisher could have made life so much easier for us!

JEROME BERTRAM



## Portfolio of Small Plates



FIG. 1  
Civilian, 1330s (incised slab)  
Sam Fogg, London, W.1 (2008)  
*Rubbing: Derrick Chivers*

**Fig. 1:** Civilian, 1330s (incised slab), Sam Fogg, London, W.1 (2008). *Rubbing: Derrick Chivers*

This fragmentary incised slab, acquired by the London dealer Sam Fogg in 2008 at an auction in France, depicts a civilian in tunic and supertunic, the sleeves of the former being adorned with small decorative buttons. He is flanked by two small blank shields and stands beneath an elaborately traceried canopy which, remarkably, appears to spring from the margin without any supporting shafts. In the upper spandrels are two censuring angels. The way in which their censers swing down behind the canopy to appear in the field of the composition on either side of the head is commonplace in French brasses and incised slabs.<sup>1</sup> The marginal inscription is very fragmentary; only 'Q(UI) TRE' can be read. The surviving portion of the slab, which is broken in two, is 1190 x 800 mm. The left edge has been chamfered when the slab was reused. The stone is a creamy-white *calcaire* of a type common in much of northern France.

The delineation of the face, in particular the distinctive eyes with their raised pupils, points to a Norman atelier, most likely in Rouen. A good comparison can be made with an incised slab of a civilian at Ry (Seine-Maritime) of *c.* 1330, which has many similarities: eyes, nose, thickness of the neck, the drawing of the drapery, especially the sleeves, and the form of the censers. The hair of the Ry civilian is, however, in tight curls, while on this incised slab it forms opulent waves. Ronald van Belle has compared the form of the eyes with those found on Norman tile tombs.<sup>2</sup> A date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, most probably in the early 1330s, would be reasonable. The Norman stylistic links accord with a reported provenance for the slab in Normandy.

Paul Cockerham and Nicholas Rogers

**Fig. 2:** Civilian and wife, probably Robert de Teye and wife, Katherine, 1360, Marks Tey, Essex (LSW.12 and 13). *Rubbing Janet Whitham, 4 April 2009.*

The church dedicated to St. Andrew at Marks Tey is a noticeable landmark by virtue of its distinctive tower with the two upper stages constructed from early sixteenth century oak. The building contains one brass of note, namely a memorial commemorating sixteen soldiers who died during World War I, with a depiction of St. Michael killing a dragon, and a soldier with fixed bayonet.<sup>3</sup> This plate, affixed to marble, formerly adorned the north nave wall until its recent repositioning on the south wall of the tower.

<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest examples is the lost brass of Gilles Cornut, Archbishop of Sens (d. 1254), formerly in Sens Cathedral (J. Adhémar and G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières: Dessins d'archéologie du XVIIe siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., LXXIV (1974), no. 239).

<sup>2</sup> Pers. comm.

<sup>3</sup> D. Meara, *Modern Memorial Brasses 1880-2001* (London, 2008), pl.71, p.128; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* (London, 2003), p. 687.



FIG. 2

Civilian and wife, probably Robert de Teye and wife, Katherine, 1360  
Marks Tey, Essex (LSW.12 and 13)

*Rubbing Janet Whitham*

St. Andrew's is regarded as a 'charismatic evangelical' church and, in order to advance modern doctrine, a Faculty was granted in 2006 to re-order the building substantially. An integral aspect of the works was the removal of the existing Victorian flooring in order to achieve a lower and consistent floor level throughout. The resultant Faculty stipulated that the Colchester Archaeological Trust should maintain a watching brief.<sup>4</sup> A number of objects were found under the old floorboards including, at the west end of the chancel on the north side, a sizeable Purbeck slab (2175 x 1010 mm) containing indents for a male effigy (615 x 155 mm), female effigy (625 x c.200 mm), double canopy (1050 x 615 mm) and inscription (70 x 670 mm).<sup>5</sup>

The antiquary Richard Symonds (1617-c.1692) visited the church in 1640 and described the following: 'in the middle of the Chancell is a flat stone fayrely in layed with Brasses with the pictures of a man & woman the man not in armour'.<sup>6</sup> This description was subsequently quoted by William Holman (1670-1730), but we cannot be certain that he actually saw it.<sup>7</sup> The notable Essex historian, Philip Morant (1700-70), stated that it was 'buried in the middle of the chancel . . . under a flat stone fairly inlaid with brasses, and this French epitaph . . .' Unfortunately, David Thomas Powell (1771-1848), an outstanding antiquary, appears not to have visited, only noting the brass from Morant.<sup>8</sup> Thomas Wright, who claims in the preface to his *History* that 'the county has been personally inspected', records the following: 'In the middle of the chancel, under a flat stone, inlaid with brasses, is the following inscription *Robert de Teye et Katherine sa femme gisent icy, qe decederent le 7 jour d' Octobr, l'an de grace 1360. Dieu de lour Almes eit m'ci*'.<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding, it is probable that Morant and Wright may have copied from Holman's copy of Symonds. H.W. King (1816-93) visited the church on 13 September 1847 and saw an indent on the north side of the chancel, partly concealed by a pew which he described as an 'effigy under a crocketed canopy and inscription plate'.<sup>10</sup> Although this largely accords with the newly discovered slab Herbert Haines asserts that 'The hf. effs. of Robert de Teye and w. Kath., both dec. Oct. 7, 1360, lately at MARKS TEY, are now lost'.<sup>11</sup> Haines was teaching at College School in Gloucester when his *Manual* was published in 1861. How recent was the information obtained by Haines and who was the informant? It would seem that the slab disappeared below the chancel floorboards between 1847 and 1861. The recent *County Series* volume devoted to Essex contains an entry for two lost brasses (LSW.12 and 13).<sup>12</sup> This important discovery points conclusively to the fact that only one brass was laid down to members of the de Teye family with Haines incorrectly describing the figures as half-effigies.

<sup>4</sup> *The Colchester Archaeologist*, no. 20 (Colchester, 2007), p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> H. Brooks and K. Orr, 'Marks Tey, St. Andrew, the re-ordering in 2006', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 3rd series, XXXVII, (2006), pp. 173-4.

<sup>6</sup> R. Symonds, *College of Arms Essex Collections*, 3 vols., (1636-40, 1655-6), I, p.379.

<sup>7</sup> Essex Record Office T/P 195/11.

<sup>8</sup> BL, Add. MS. 17460, f. 361. MS. notes by Rev. David Thomas Powell, 1810-1.

<sup>9</sup> T. Wright, *The History and topography of the County of Essex*, 2 vols., (London, 1831-5), I, p. 414.

<sup>10</sup> Essex Record Office T/P 196/2, p.134.

<sup>11</sup> H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1861), II, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, p.689.

Miller Christy (1861-1928) anxiously appealed in our *Transactions* to see a rubbing of the brass having ‘ascertained that neither the British Museum nor the Society of Antiquaries possesses a rubbing’.<sup>13</sup> The request was subsequently repeated to no avail in a paper by Christy, in conjunction with William Wade Porteous (1872-1963), entitled ‘Some Lost Essex Brasses’.<sup>14</sup> It is, therefore, highly gratifying to be able to respond to this appeal, albeit belatedly, after more than a century has elapsed!

I am indebted to our late Vice-President, Nancy Briggs, M.A., F.S.A., who through her thoroughness provided the *County Series* entry for this lost brass.

H. Martin Stuchfield

**Fig. 3:** John Westlake, *c.* 1488, Welford, Berkshire (LSW.I). Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 12 July 2007.

This little brass (figure 406 x 114 mm; inscription 68 x 282 mm) was formerly on the chancel floor; the plates are now screwed to the wall behind the sedilia, the slab is missing. There is a simple standing figure of a priest in an academic tabard and hood, with tonsure or pileus, his feet on grass, over an inscription in Gothic minuscule. The inscription plate is fractured into three pieces and badly worn. It is London work, style ‘D’.<sup>15</sup>

The inscription is in three Latin hexameter lines, the first two being the familiar ‘Quisquis’ distych, found (with variations) on at least twenty brasses and slabs between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The invocation of Christ the King is slightly unusual for the Middle Ages.

*Quis quis eris qui Transieris Sta perlege plora  
Sum quod eris fu(er)am q(u)e quod es p(ro) me p(re)cor ora  
Rex Chr(ist)e Westlake anime Miserere Johannis.*

[Whoever thou be who passest by, stand, read and weep: I am what thou shalt be, I was what thou art, I pray thee pray for me. Christ the King, have mercy on the soul of John Westlake.]

According to Emden,<sup>16</sup> John Westlake, M.A., was a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, from 1433, and served as Principal of Black Hall from 1436, and of Hart Hall from 1438, before becoming Rector of Exeter College, 1442-3. He was then Rector of St. Martin Vintry, in the City of London, from 1444 until he exchanged that living for Welford, to which he was admitted on 3 September 1452. In 1488 he gave £4 to Exeter College for the fabric fund. There was a window depicting him in the old college chapel, with the inscription *Orate pro anima Johannis Westlake quondam istius loci Socii, qui istam fenestram fieri fecit* (pray for the soul of John Westlake, former Fellow of this College, who had this window made), and out of his

<sup>13</sup> *MBS Trans.*, III, pt. 3 (1898), pp. 165-6.

<sup>14</sup> M. Christy and W.W. Porteous, ‘Some Lost Essex Brasses’, *MBS Trans.*, III, pt. 6 (1899), pp. 254-5.

<sup>15</sup> W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), pp. 157-8.

<sup>16</sup> A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1957-9), III, p. 2023.



FIG. 3  
John Westlake, c. 1488, Welford, Berkshire (LSW.I)  
*Rubbing: Jerome Bertram*

mouth a scroll, *Ibi nostra fixa sint corda, ubi [vera sunt] gaudia* (Let our hearts be fixed there, where true joys are).<sup>17</sup> Emden suggests he was possibly vicar of Pinhoe, Devon, from 1499 until death around 1500, but this is probably a confusion with the other John Westlake, also of Exeter diocese, of whom no facts are known after his university career. Our John Westlake seems to have ceased to be Rector of Welford in 1489, and it is most likely that is his date of death. The brass was presumably prepared before his death, and 1488 is a very plausible date, given the fact that he was making benefactions that year.

Jerome Bertram

**Fig. 4:** Hinrick Gruter, d. 1528, and w. Dortie, d. 1548, Marienkirche, Lübeck. Photograph: Charlotte Rogers, 2008.

In addition to the renowned Flemish and German figure brasses, the churches of Lübeck contain several armorial plates and inscriptions, mostly the work of local engravers. In the north aisle of the nave of the Marienkirche is a mural brass, 940 x 590 mm, with a Low German inscription in Roman capitals, set between ornamented pilasters:

ANNO 1524 DEN 27 IULIUS STARF HER HINRICK GRVTER  
SELIGER GEDECHTNIS ANNO 1548 DEN 26 SEPTEMBER  
STARF DORTIE GRVTERS DEN GODT BEIDE GNEDICH SI.

(In the year 1524 on the 27th of July died Herr Hinrick Gruter of blessed memory. In the year 1548 on the 26th of September died Dortie Gruter. May God be merciful to both of them.)

In the pediment the winged figure of Death, with an hourglass, holds a scroll inscribed in Gothic minuscule: ‘Alles dinges eine wile’ (To everything a time).<sup>18</sup> Below the inscription are two shields, each surmounted by a helmet with a crest: *A cart-wheel with four spokes, with three crosses projecting from it*; crest, a fleur-de-lis (Gruter); *Party per pale two cocks incontrant*; crest, a demi-cock volant (Divessen). A tablet at the base of the brass reveals the date of engraving of the brass, nine years after the death of Frau Gruter: ‘Gemaket vnde gelecht anno 1557’ (Made and laid in the year 1557). Until 1894 the brass was in the floor of the choir ambulatory. Then, until the Second World War, it was mural in the *Bürgermeisterkapelle* south of the choir.

Hinrick Gruter was a senator from 1518. His wife was a daughter of Burgomaster David Divessen.<sup>19</sup>

Nicholas Rogers

<sup>17</sup> A. Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1786), p. 116.

<sup>18</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Berthold Kress for this translation.

<sup>19</sup> H.K. Cameron, ‘Brasses on the Continent’, *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, VII, pt. 7 (1940), pp. 325; H.K. Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (London, 1970), p. 62 (Cameron 4); K. Krüger, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Grabdenkmäler in Lübeck, Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg (1100-1600)* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 941-2 (LUMA\*64).



FIG. 4

Hinrick Gruter, d. 1528, and w. Dortie, d. 1548, Marienkirche, Lübeck

*Photograph: Charlotte Rogers*



**Figs. 5 and 6:** George Gradwell, d. 1855, St. Augustine, Preston, Lancashire. Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

Behind the elaborate Italianate façade of St. Augustine's Catholic church, Preston, lies a 'multi-purpose, multi-faith sports facility'. The body of the church was demolished in 2004 after years of dereliction. However, in the course of their hunt for Lancashire brasses, Peter Hacker and Patrick Farman ran to earth a fine Victorian brass from the church, stored in the garage of a local priest (Fig. 5). It has been conserved by William Lack and has been reinstated in the entrance to the sports centre (Fig. 6).

The Revd. George Gradwell, the youngest son of Alderman George Gradwell (1779-1849) and nephew of Bishop Robert Gradwell (1777-1833), of a prominent Lancashire Catholic family, was born in 1827.<sup>20</sup> In 1838 he went to study at Ushaw and was ordained priest in December 1851 by Bishop Hogarth. However, his health soon declined, requiring winter stays in a warmer climate than Preston. He was at Torquay when he died on 23 November 1855. His remains, accompanied by his brothers, John Gradwell and the Revd. Robert Gradwell, were brought back to Preston for interment in the family vault at St. Augustine's. *The Preston Guardian* of 1 December 1855 gives a full account of his funeral:

A full suit of priestly vestments, together with a chalice and paten, were placed on the coffin. A number of lights stood also on and around it, and at its foot was a crucifix. The inscription on the coffin-plate, which was of brass, was as follows: - *Hic jacet Revdus Dnus Georgius Gradwell qui obit apud Torquay die vigesimo tertio mensis Novembris anno millesimo octingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto.* Below the inscription was a floriated brass cross, and at the head of the coffin a beautiful medallion, representing the chalice and host, the emblems of his priesthood. The funeral took place on Thursday morning, at ten o'clock, when matins and lauds were said by the attendant clergy, after which a pontifical high mass of the dead was celebrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Goss, the Coadjutor Bishop of Liverpool ... The church was densely crowded during the whole of the ceremonial, which lasted about three hours. ... A dole of 150 loaves was distributed to the poor on the occasion.

The brass (effigy 522 x 244 mm, canopy 926 x 416 mm, slab 1065 x 550 mm) is unsigned, but has every sign of being a Hardman product. The deceased is shown in Mass vestments holding a chalice, under a crocketed canopy, from the finial of which is suspended a shield of the Gradwell arms. The inscription reads:

Orate pro anima Reverendi Georgii Gradwell sacerdotis filii Georgii Gradwell Armigeri et huius Ecclesiae largi benefactoris qui e terris in patriam decessit die vigesimo tertio mensis Nov: anno Mdcclv natus annos xxviii.

[Pray for the soul of the Reverend George Gradwell, priest, son of George Gradwell, esquire, a great benefactor to this church, who departed this earth for his heavenly home on the 23rd day of the month of November in the year 1855 in his 28th year.]

Nicholas Rogers

<sup>20</sup> J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols. (London, 1885-1902), II, pp. 547-57; C. Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914* (Downside Abbey, 1993), p. 54.



FIG. 5  
George Gradwell, d. 1855; as discovered in a Preston garage, 2008  
*Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield*

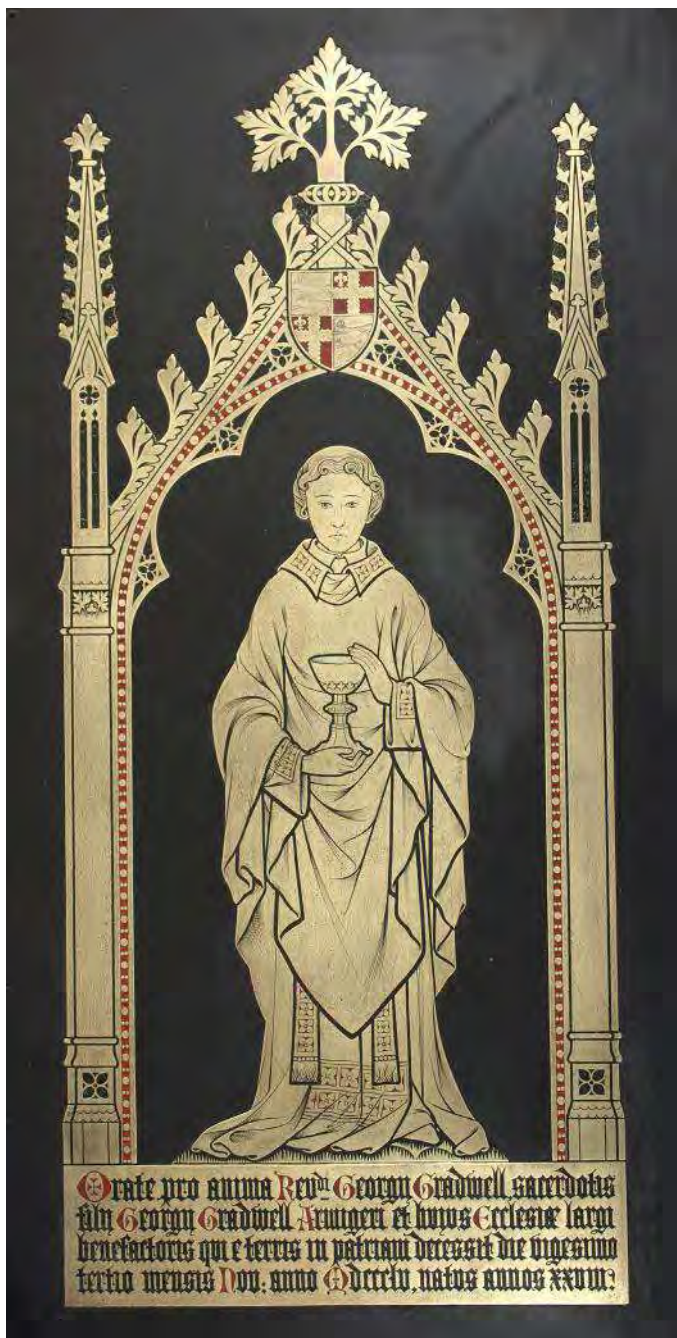


FIG. 6  
 George Gradwell, d. 1855  
 St. Augustine, Preston, Lancashire  
 Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

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REGISTERED CHARITY No. 214336  
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*The Society would like to thank the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation  
for grant assistance towards the production of this issue*