

TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Monumental Brass Society

VOLUME XVII, PART 6 2008



The West family of Hinton Martell, Dorset, and their monuments at Christchurch Priory

by SALLY BADHAM

AMONGST the noble and gentry families who chose burial in the Augustinian Christchurch Priory, Hampshire, in the Middle Ages were those of Fitzherbert and West. Two generations of the West family made testamentary dispositions for their burial there around the turn of the fifteenth century, one with provision for a monument. The aim of this paper is to examine whether any of the surviving monuments, in particular the broken remains of an indent in the Loft Museum at the Priory, can be linked with any members of the West family.

The West family

Sir Thomas West, 2nd Lord West, was born *c.* 1321, the eldest son of Sir Thomas, 1st Lord West, and was granted his father's lands in 1344.¹ He was an active knight. In 1344, he accompanied Ralph Gifford, the Justiciar of Ireland, on an expedition to Ireland to impose order on the country, while two years later he fought at Crécy and in the subsequent siege of Calais. He had further experience of service in Scotland in 1355 and 1358; in Gascony in 1359, 1368 and 1370; and in Brittany in 1380. At home, Thomas acted as a commissioner of array for Hampshire and Wiltshire on several occasions from 1346 onwards and was Member of Parliament for Wiltshire in 1364/5. During and after the Peasants' Revolt, he received several commissions to suppress and punish rebels in Hampshire and Wiltshire. However, he was reprimanded for his leniency in 1381. Thomas died on 25 December 1386. Although no will appears to survive for him, it is evident from his widow's will that he, like her and her Fitzherbert ancestors, was buried at Christchurch Priory. His inquisition *post mortem* shows that he held lands in Dorset, Somerset, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Devon, Hampshire and Wiltshire.²

Thomas had married, sometime before 1365, Alice Fitzherbert, the daughter of Reginald Fitzherbert and his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Edmund Hakluyt. She became the heir of her brother Sir Edmund Fitzherbert of Midsomer Norton, Somerset, and Hinton Martell, Dorset. The couple had one son, Thomas, and a daughter, Eleanor, who married Sir Nicholas Clifton. After the death of her husband, Alice took the veil. Two of her sisters were also nuns: Lucy, who became Prioress of Shaftesbury, and Thomasine, who was a nun at Romsey. Alice died on 28 August 1395.

¹ For Sir Thomas's life and that of his wife, Alice, see G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 13 vols. (London, 1909-59), XII pt. 2, p. 519. His father, Sir Thomas West I, was steward or keeper of the New Forest from 1330 to 1343 (K.A. Hanna ed., *The Christchurch Priory Cartulary*, Hampshire Record Series, 18 (Winchester, 2007), p. 338). In 1342 he was one of the witnesses to the grant of various charters to Christchurch Priory by William, earl of Salisbury, in return for soul masses (*Ibid.*, p. 238).

² *Inquisitions Post Mortem 1384-92*, pp. 185-7.

Thomas and Alice West's son, Thomas, who was born in 1365, married Joan la Warr, the widow of Ralph de Wilington, a wealthy knight with lands in south Gloucestershire and elsewhere, before 2 May 1384, when they were pardoned for marriage without licence.³ She was half-sister to John la Warr, 4th Baron la Warr; when John died without issue, Joan became heiress to her younger half-brother, Thomas la Warr. The younger Thomas West almost certainly served alongside his father in Richard II's reign; he went to Calais on the King's service with Henry Percy in 1386, still being there in the following year when, as a knight, he received seizin of his father's lands. He was a joint farmer of the possessions in England of the Abbot of Sées in 1397 and he served in Ireland with the Duke of Aumale in 1399. As a knight banneret, Thomas escorted the young Isabella, widow of the deposed Richard II, back to France in 1401. He was summoned to Parliament as Lord West in 1402-4 and was granted joint custody of Beaulieu Abbey in 1404-5. He is also said to have been Constable of Christchurch Castle from 1400 until his death on Easter Day, 19 April 1405, a year after Joan had died.⁴ Thomas, like his parents, was buried in Christchurch Priory.

The will evidence

Alice West's will is of interest, both because it is one of the earliest surviving wills written in English and also because of the light it sheds on the style in which Alice lived.⁵ Alice, who was evidently wealthy, described herself as 'lady of Hynton Marcel'. The furnishings she bequeathed included several fine beds, described in considerable detail. The best, 'a bed of tapicers werk with alle the tapites of sute, red of colour, ypouthered with chapes and scochons in the corners of myn Auncestres armes', was bequeathed together with the feather mattress, sheets, blankets, pillows, and 'a bleu couertour of menyuer and a keverlet of red sendel ypouthered with Cheuerons' accompanying the bed. A second bed was 'paled blak and whit with tapites of sute'; and a third 'a tawne bed of silk with hool celure and four curtyns of sute, and a keuerlit of selk ypoynet in that on side tawne and in that other side blu'. She also mentions, among other rich possessions, 'a basyn of siluer with boses upon the brerdes, and a chaufour of silver longyng therto', 'a round bassin of siluer, which hath a scochon of my lordes armys and myn Iparted', and 'a chariot with twey standardes heled with lether, which that serueth for myn harneys'.

The bequests she made also provide evidence that she was cultured and pious, and had her own private chapel. She left her son 'a peyre Matyns bookes, and a peir bedes, and a ryng with which I was yspoused to god' and bequeathed to her

³ For this Sir Thomas's life, see Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, XII pt. 2, p. 520.

⁴ *Inquisitions Post Mortem 1405-1419*, pp. 13-15. This and his will (Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Arundel 1) show that he died in possession of lands in Devon, Sussex, Hampshire, Suffolk, Dorset, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire.

⁵ The National Archives (PRO), PROB 11/1; Furnivall, F.J., *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, 1387-1349*, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 78 (London, 1882), pp. 4-10. Alice's will was made on 15 July 1395 and proved on 1 September the following year by her son Thomas and John Thurston, two of her executors. The other executors were Sir John Colman, priest, and Thomas Remys, who was described as steward to the lady Bermond. Alice's inquisition *post mortem* is at *Inquisitions Post Mortem 1384-92*, pp. 264-5.

daughter-in-law Joan ‘a masse book and alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, english and frensch’. Joan was also left all the fittings from Alice’s chapel. These included vestments, tapestries and silver which were described in some detail, such as ‘a chales and a paxbred and an haliwater pot, with the sprengls, twey cruetis, twey chaundelers, twey siluer basyns for the auter, with scochons of myne auncestres armes and a sacrynge belle, and alle of silver’ and ‘a tablet depeynt of tre’, presumably a painted retable. There were a host of other bequests, not only to her kin and friends, but also to her servants and tenants, showing that she was a caring mistress. Some servants, including her chamber woman and her husband’s former bailiff, were singled out to receive specific bequests, but she also left £40 ‘to be departed among alle my seruauntz, men and women of myn household ... and I woll that it be departed trewely to every man and woman, after his degre’. She left a further £40 ‘to be departed among my pouere tenauntes overal where I haue lordschipe, that is to seye, hem that haue most nede’.

Alice asked to be buried ‘in Crischerch in the Priorie of the Chanones in Hamptschire, by the Newe forest, wher as myne [Fitzherbert] auncestres liggeth’. She requested that ‘ware that euer I deye my body be caried to the forsayd Priorie of Crischerch, pryuelich and with right litel cost, and ther to [be] beried att the ferst masse, with a taper of v pound of wax stondyng and brennyng att my heued and another taper of v pound brennyng atte my fet, with out any other cost or solempnite ydo afterward’. Despite this wish for a modest funeral, Alice was clearly extremely anxious to ensure that prayers were said as swiftly as possible to aid the passage of her soul through Purgatory, bequeathing to Christchurch Priory £18. 10s. ‘for to synge and seye MMMM and CCCC Masses for my lord sir Thomas West is soule and for myn and for all cristene soules in the most hast that it may be don withynne xiiij nyght next after my deces’. To perform 4,400 Masses within a fortnight would have been impossible.⁶ Yet her demands on the canons did not end there. She also left the Priory £40 to make a vestment within a year of her death so that the canons might ‘bidde, and to rede and synge for my lordes soule forsayd, and myn, and for alle cristene soules while the world shall laste’.

Alice devoted a further £82 for soul masses for herself and her husband and prayers for the good estate of her son, his wife and their children at seventeen religious houses in London, Shaftesbury, Romsey, Wilton, Winchester, Southampton, Salisbury and Bristol, and left 40s. each to the vicar of Newton Valence, Hants., and ‘the Reclus frere Thomas, atte seynt Iames in the Holte’ for the same purpose. The houses she names were of various religious orders, with no special preference shown for the Augustine canons; but she took a conservative view of how her money might best be spent by concentrating her donations on religious houses rather than parish churches, even though by this time parochial bequests

⁶ [Except at Easter, a priest would normally have been able to say only one Mass per day (cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 568-9). To say 4400 Masses in 14 days would require 315 priests. It is probable that the text of the enrolled will is garbled here and might possibly have required the Masses to begin within a fortnight of her death. *Ed.*]

were becoming more popular with testators of her class. Perhaps, given her evident anxiety for the health of her soul, she felt more confident in the efficacy of prayers said in religious houses, rather than in parish churches where the priest might be less diligent in performing his obligations.

The final provision to be highlighted from Alice's will was that she left £40 'to do make ther with my foreseyd lordes tombe Sir Thomas West and myn also'. Although dwarfed by the large amount of money devoted to soul masses, this was nonetheless a sizeable sum.⁷

Alice's son, Thomas, asked in his will, which was also written in English, to be buried in 'the new chapel of Our Lady in the Minster of Christ Church-Twyneham by the devise of my executors'.⁸ Unfortunately, there is no mention of any monument; either he had already commissioned it on his wife's death in 1404 or he gave full discretion to his executors.⁹ Thomas shared his mother's considerable appetite for intercession and was anxious that prayers should be said for his soul in the period immediately following his death, but set a more realistic timescale than she did. He left £100 for his month's mind, and £18 18s 4d for 4,500 masses to be celebrated within the half year. In addition, he devoted 6000 marks for the establishment of a chantry in Christchurch Priory of no fewer than six priests to say perpetual prayers for his father, his mother, himself, his wife and their ancestors. He made no bequests to other religious houses, but instead directed his munificence towards parish churches. Like his mother he spread his charity widely, leaving bequests to twenty churches, mostly in his manors, across much of southern England and also to poor tenants at the same places.¹⁰ The latter was not the only evidence of his faith in the redeeming qualities of charity; Thomas, who comes across as a very rich man, made other benevolent bequests, including £100 to mendicants for dole and for distribution amongst servants.

The Lady Chapel at Christchurch

The 'new chapel of Our Lady' referred to in the younger Thomas's will has been presumed to be the present Lady Chapel at the east end of Christchurch Priory. Built against the north and south walls of the chapel are two Purbeck marble wall tombs; the latten fillet inscriptions which once identified their occupants are long gone. These are traditionally believed to be the tombs of Thomas, 3rd Lord West, and his mother, Alice. But this cannot be the case since neither is earlier than the

⁷ For the priority given to expenditure on soul masses, see J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1485* (London, 1972), esp. pp. 11-30 and 81-101.

⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Arundel 1, ff. 208v-209r. I am grateful to Nigel Saul for checking Thomas West's will on my behalf.

⁹ The executors were Thomas, Lord de la Warr, John Kirkby, John Hardyng, John Stanlegh and William Pakyn.

¹⁰ The churches receiving bequests were at Hinton, Berks.; Hempton Cantelo, Devon; Bere Newton, Dorset; Eling, Newton Valence, South Stonham and Terstwodde, all in Hampshire; Broadwater and Offington, both on the Isle of Wight; Swalcliffe, Oxfordshire; Blatchington, Suffolk; Lyminster, Ripe, Sompting and Shermanby, Sussex; Newton Tony, Sutton Mandeville, Tisbury and Wick Easthatch, all in Wiltshire; and at ?Scatford, the location of which is uncertain.

first quarter of the sixteenth century. That on the north is an excellent example of the late Purbeck marble wall tomb found all over the south of England, with a panelled and crested cornice and a tomb-chest with cusped lozenges and shields. The tomb on the south has a Purbeck marble tomb-chest, but a stone canopy with panelled back and sides; the original cresting has been destroyed. The crosses on the southern tomb suggest that the tomb may perhaps be that of one of the Berkeleys of the Hampshire branch.¹¹

It must also be questioned how much of the fabric of the Lady Chapel survives from Thomas West's day. The architectural details seem too advanced for a date at the end of the fourteenth century, and if, as seems likely, the vault is of the same date as the walls, the chapel cannot date from before the second half of the fifteenth century, suggesting a rapid re-fashioning of the fabric referred to, and perhaps even built by Thomas.¹² It is likely that it was at this later stage that St. Michael's Loft – originally a chapel, which later became a school and now houses the museum – was built above the Lady Chapel. The eastern parts of the choir aisles are contemporary with the Lady Chapel, but there is a break in the second bay from the east in each aisle which shows a pause in the work. The rest of the eastern arm, with its aisles, belongs to this second instalment of building, which completed the remodelling of the church up to the tower and transepts. The work is of late Gothic type, and its completion must be dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the initials of William Eyre, prior 1502-20, occurring on the high vault and on the arch at the west end of the south aisle. Perhaps the tomb to Thomas West, and perhaps too that of his parents if they were also buried in this part of the church, were swept away with one or other of these building campaigns. Despite this the possibility remains that part of one of the West family monuments survives.

The indent in the Loft Museum

In the Loft Museum at the priory church are two large sections from a Purbeck marble indent. While the fragments belong to a single monument they do not adjoin, indicating that the intervening part probably broke into multiple pieces which may well have been discarded. The two surviving fragments were found in 1919 in the south aisle of the nave, where they had presumably been re-used as paving after the slab was reaved of its brass inlay and discarded from its original position. The slab is worn, but the composition comprises a knight and lady under a double canopy (Fig. 1). Unusually there is no inscription, suggesting that it was originally on a tomb-chest, even though the slab has square-cut edges rather than a chamfer to hold a fillet inscription. The bulky canopy and outline of the knight enable it to be identified as a product of the London A workshop in its closing years around 1400.

Such a large and prestigious composition as this indent could have commemorated only an important benefactor. The date points to it being for one of the West family, but which generation? That it commemorates Sir Thomas,

¹¹ VCH, *A History of the County of Hampshire*, V (London, 1912), pp. 101-2.

¹² *Ibid.*



FIG. 1

Indent of lost brass to Thomas, 3rd Lord West (d. 1405) and his wife Joan (d. 1404), Christchurch, Hants.
Reproduced from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, The Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (2007)

3rd Lord West, and his wife Joan is more likely in view of Thomas's establishment of a chantry. Alice West left £40 for monumental commemoration for herself and her husband, but it is not clear from the wording of Alice's will whether a joint monument or separate tombs were required. Nonetheless, the case for them having a joint tomb, of which the indent formed part, requires examination.

If the tomb commemorated them both, £40 would probably be too large a sum for a brass, even one on a tomb chest, so a tomb with carved effigies would seem more likely. A canopied double brass like the indent at Christchurch is likely to have cost £15 at the very most.¹³ It is uncertain how much a tomb-chest would have cost, as only two relevant contracts survive and these are for widely differing amounts. In 1376 an indenture was made with the marbler, Henry Lakenham of London, for a tomb to be set up in St. Mary Graces, London to Sir Nicholas Loveyne; this consisted of a knight of freestone on a relatively simple tomb-chest set with brass shields and a brass chamfer inscription.¹⁴ The total agreed was a modest £17. 6s. 8d. In contrast, a price of £22. 13s. 4d. was stipulated in a contract made by Richard Hertcombe in 1421 with the London carver Robert Broun for an alabaster tomb-chest with arches over a vault enabling bodies to be buried underneath.¹⁵ The making of the accompanying two alabaster effigies and canopy was contracted to the alabasterers of Chellaston, Derbyshire, Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton, at a cost of £28. 13s. 4d.¹⁶ The tomb, which was to be set up in Bisham Priory, Berkshire, also required a marble slab eleven feet long by five feet wide, so the total cost would probably have been in the region of £55. While this figure is significantly in excess of the amount left by Alice West, the Bisham tomb being a high-status monument, there is testamentary evidence of even larger sums being set aside for tombs.¹⁷ More modest alabaster tombs than that commissioned for Bisham Priory would have been less pricy: the canopied Greene tomb at Lowick made by Prentys and Sutton in 1419 and the tomb

¹³ R.H. d'Elboux, 'Testamentary Brasses', *Antiquaries Journal*, XXIX (1949), pp. 183-91 at 189, and N. Saul, 'The Contract for the Brass of Richard Willoughby (d. 1471) at Wollaton (Notts.)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, L (2006), pp. 166-193 at 178 give the following prices for double brasses, some canopied, around the turn of the fifteenth century:

- 1394 Sir Richard at Leese (Sheldwich, Kent) £10
- 1397 Sir John de St Quintin (Brandesburton, Yorks.) £13. 6s. 8d.
- 1398 Sir Thomas Ughtred (Catton, Yorks.) £10
- 1399 Sir Philip Darcy (Guisborough Priory, Yorks.) £10
- 1420 Sir Arnald Savage (Bobbing, Kent) £13. 6s. 8d.

However, in 1403 William Wolstontton of Great Bowden, Leics., was prepared to pay as much as £15 for his brass. In contrast, in 1405 Thomas Graa of York evidently thought £5 adequate for a marble stone with images of himself and his wife (H Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1861, repr. Bath, 1970), p. lviii).

¹⁴ J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Journal*, LX (1980), pp. 66-74.

¹⁵ G.H. Bark, 'A London Alabasterer in 1421', *Antiquaries Journal*, XXIX (1949), pp. 89-91, but see also J. Bayliss, 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *Church Monuments*, XVI (2001), pp. 22-29, esp. p. 25, and S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, "'Cest Endenture Fait Parentre": English Tomb Contracts of the Long Fourteenth Century', in *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (Donington, 2010), pp. 187-236 at 217-35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ In 1414 Elizabeth Montacute, Countess of Salisbury, left £100 for an altar and new tomb for her son and herself at Bisham Priory (N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), I, p.184). The same sum was left in 1426 by Thomas, Duke of Exeter, for a tomb at Bury St. Edmunds for him and his wife (*ibid.*, p. 210). However in 1414 Joan, Lady Scales, wife of Sir Edmund le Thorpe, thought £20 adequate for the building of her tomb (*ibid.*, p. 185). However, in none of these cases is it clear what would be provided for such sums.

made for Thomas Cumberworth by the Prentys, Chalener and Sutton partnership both cost £40.¹⁸ Moreover, in 1372, John, Earl of Pembroke, set aside £40 for his tomb.¹⁹ It is thus clear from this survey that, if a joint monument with carved effigies were required, the sum of £40 stipulated by Alice West would be entirely adequate; hence it is unlikely that the indent commemorated her and her husband.

More precise dating of the indent, which provides evidence that the monument is too late in date to have commemorated Thomas and Alice, can be provided by the outline of the lower part of the knight, notably the straight sword and the upward-looking position of the hound's head. Close comparators are the brasses to two successive generations of the Frevile family at Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire, engraved *c.* 1405;²⁰ Reginald, 2nd Lord Cobham (d. 1403) at Lingfield, Surrey;²¹ and Thomas Seintleger (d. 1408) at Otterden, Kent.²² To these must be added indents to Sir William Arundel (d. 1400) at Rochester, Kent;²³ Sir Gilbert Wace (d. 1408) at Dorchester, Oxfordshire;²⁴ and William Wrofton (d. 1408/9) at Broad Hinton, Wiltshire.²⁵ A date for the Christchurch indent in the middle of the first decade of the fifteenth century is therefore indicated.

Conclusion

The likely date of the indent thus coincides with the deaths in 1405 and 1404 respectively of Thomas, 3rd Lord West and his wife Joan. A likely reconstruction is that they were commemorated by a brass, of which only the indent remains, on a tomb chest, of which there is now no trace, which was originally in the old Lady Chapel at the east end of Christchurch Priory.²⁶ It is virtually certain that the chantry which Thomas established would have been located in the Lady Chapel, the tomb undoubtedly occupying a prominent position to act as an *aide memoire* for the chantry priests. Given Thomas's considerable wealth and his evident self-directed piety, it is possible that he paid for the building of the chapel himself, with the intention that it should house his planned chantry. The monument may have been demolished and the materials reused during the later fifteenth or early sixteenth century re-building of much of the east end of Christchurch Priory; or perhaps it was a casualty of the Reformation. Whichever is the case, Thomas can now once more be remembered as he had planned.

¹⁸ For translation of the Lowick contract, see S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, 'English Tomb Contracts', p. 218. For the tomb made for Thomas Cumberworth, see P. Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance* (Stamford, 1995), pp 26 and 52 n. 21.

¹⁹ Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Sudbury, f. 91v.

²⁰ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), pp. 209-10.

²¹ N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), p. 171.

²² *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984*, intr. M.W. Norris (Woodbridge, 1988), fig. 108.

²³ N. Saul, 'The Medieval Monuments of Rochester Cathedral', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 28 (2006), pp. 164-80, esp. fig. 9 and p. 175. Arundel, who died in 1400, asked in his will to be buried in Rochester Priory, to the rear of the high altar, where the indent remains. The brass was made very swiftly, for when in September 1401 his widow, Agnes, made her own will she asked to be buried 'under the tomb where my husband and I are pictured'.

²⁴ J. Bertram, *A Catalogue of Medieval Inscriptions in the Abbey Church of Dorchester, Oxfordshire* (privately printed, Oxford, 2000), p. 24, fig. 17.

²⁵ A.G. Sadler, *The Indents of Lost Monumental Brasses in Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset and Wiltshire. Appendix* (privately printed, Goring-in-Sea, 1980), p. 43.

²⁶ I am grateful to Deb Edlund, Curator/Archivist, St. Michael's Loft Museum, for confirmation that no fragments which might have formed part of the West monument appear to have survived.

Incised Slab Discoveries at Tickhill, Yorkshire

by PATRICK FARMAN, PETER HACKER and SALLY BADHAM

with an appendix by PETER RYDER

FA. GREENHILL, the great authority on incised slabs, published very full lists of effigial incised slabs in England. He targeted churches where such monuments had previously been noted, taking in *en route* churches in the vicinity. Inevitably some churches were not inspected; consequently since his death a handful of newly-discovered examples have been recorded. These have been in small numbers, usually one here, one there. In early 2009, however, while re-visiting St. Mary's church, Tickhill, Yorkshire, West Riding, Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker came across three fifteenth-century effigial incised slabs which had not been noticed since the Rev Joseph Hunter published his history of South Yorkshire in 1829.¹ There is good reason to believe that they had been hidden from view for at least a century, explaining why such an important collection was not well known.

Tickhill and its church

Tickhill church has a rich and varied collection of medieval monuments, typical of a town which was of considerable importance in the medieval period, but which declined thereafter. Soon after the Norman Conquest, a fortification was built at Tickhill by Roger de Busli, one of the most powerful of the first wave of Norman magnates who had come to England with William the Conqueror.² Its value lay in its strategic position as the gateway to the north commanding the entry from the county to the south and the Midlands; it thus helped safeguard the immediate north from Scottish attacks. The ruins of the castle remain, although largely shrouded from general view by belts of trees. It once housed a chapel founded by Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry II's queen.³

The new town flourished, due in part to the weekly Tuesday market and the annual fair on the feast of St. Lawrence. An Augustinian friary was founded in 1260, and subsequently St. Leonard's Hospital, a grammar school associated with St. Helen's chantry chapel in the parish church, and the Maison de Dieu almshouses, on the south side of the parish church, were established. The Guild of St. Cross was established in the town; it is believed to have acted as the settlement's main governing body. By the early fourteenth century, Tickhill was one of the most important towns in Yorkshire. In 1334 it was the second wealthiest settlement after

¹ J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire. The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the Diocese and County of York*, 2 vols. (London 1828-31), I, pp. 220-247.

² For a general history of Tickhill, see T.W. Beastall, *Tickhill: Portrait of an English country town*, (Doncaster, 1995).

³ *The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, etc., in the County of York, Part 1*, Surtees Society, 91 (1892), p. 187.

Doncaster in southern Yorkshire and in 1338 the West Riding's leading wool-producing centre. This early commercial success was self-sustaining and by 1377 it ranked eighth amongst the country's new urban centres, having 680 taxpayers. This was, of course, only a fraction of the total population; in 1354 the newly-built chantry chapel for the Blessed Trinity was justified on the grounds that in Tickhill there were 1500 communicants.⁴ As castles declined in importance during the medieval period, so did the settlement at Tickhill. By the sixteenth century, the castle was in ruins, but the market and the annual fair survived. A little trade was gained from its position on the main road from Rotherham to Doncaster via Bawtry. The antiquary John Leland, writing between 1535 and 1543, presents a sorry picture of the town:

The market town of Tickhil is very bare; but the church is fair and large. ...

The castel is well dichid and waullid with a very hard suart stoine hewid.

The dungeon is the fairest part of the castelle. Al the buildinges withyn the area be down; saving an old haulle.⁵

In 1777, a butter cross was erected in the market place in an attempt to revive the weekly market, but this ceased in the 1790s. Now Tickhill appears as little more than an enlarged village, belying its early significance.



FIG. 1

St. Mary's church, Tickhill

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

St. Mary's church is located to the north-west of the castle across a green, on the outer edge of a defence line reaching out from the castle. The first church on the site, of which some elements of the fabric remain, was of twelfth-century date, but the footprint of the present structure dates from the following century. Described by Pevsner as 'the proudest parish church in the West Riding, except for those of the big towns',

⁴ *Certificates of Commissioners, Part 1*, p. 183.

⁵ *Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales*, ed. L.T. Smith, 5 vols., (London, 1964), I, pp. 35-6.

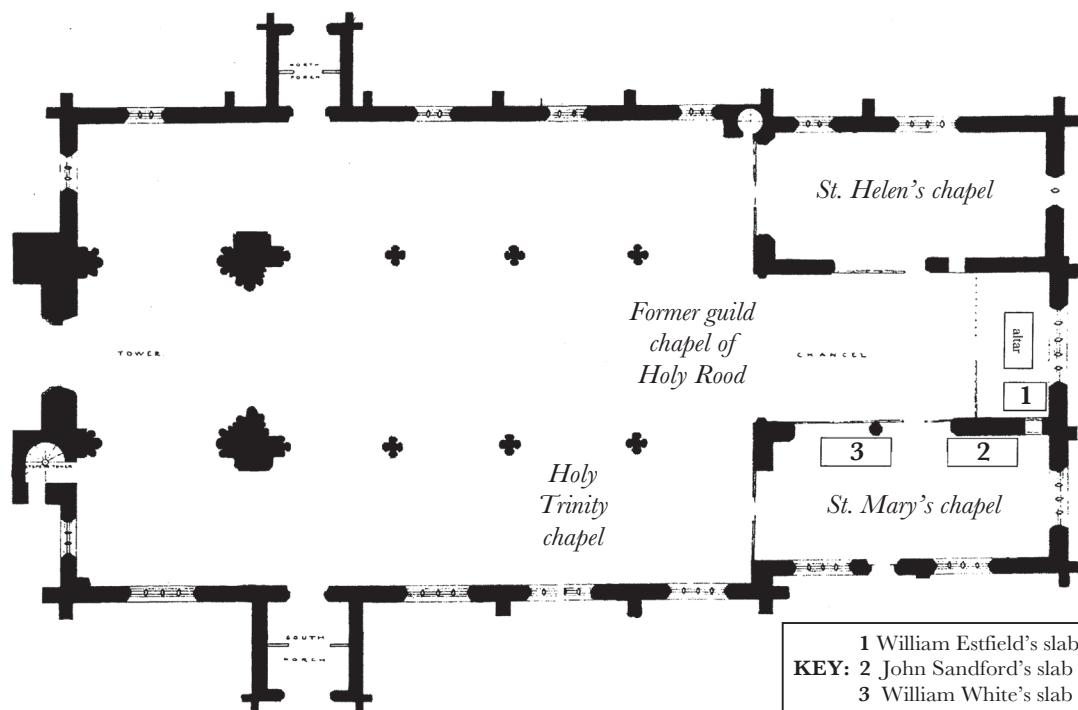


FIG. 2
St. Mary's church, Tickhill
Plan: Tim Sutton

St. Mary's shows work of several styles, notably Early English and Perpendicular.⁶ It has a massive west tower, a tall nave and a strangely low chancel (Fig. 1 and 2).

The magnificence of the church owes much to the generosity of the prosperous gentry and merchants of the town, the names of some of whom are known to us.⁷ Close to the western door of the church under the tower are shields with the badly weathered arms of four benefactors: FitzWilliam (*three lozenges in fess, on the centre one a cross patonce and on each of the others a pellet*), Estfield (*a fess between three maids' heads*), Sandford (*two boars' heads in chief*) and White (*sable on a chevron between three ewers argent as many martlets gules*). Three members of these families are commemorated by the newly revealed incised slabs. Above these are shields with merchants' marks, one with the initials 'R.W.', for other patrons who cannot now be identified. Over the window higher up the tower is a shield with a cross, probably for the Vescy family. The arms of FitzWilliam and Estfield, together with a merchant's mark with the initials 'W.R.', appear again above the chancel arch and the nave arcades.

Medieval Tickhill enjoyed a rich religious life. Before the Reformation the church housed three chantry chapels and at least one guild chapel, established by

⁶ N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding*, The Buildings of England, 2nd edn., revised by E. Radcliffe (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 519.

⁷ Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, I, pp. 239-40.



FIG. 3

Tomb recess in the north wall of St. Helen's chapel, Tickhill

Photograph: *Tim Sutton*

local landowners and other residents.⁸ To the north of the chancel was St. Helen's chapel, built by William Dendale, in which in 1348 Amice de Herthill, widow of Adam de Herthill of Tickhill, had founded a chantry with one priest to celebrate divine service daily for her good estate and, when she was dead, to pray for her soul, as well as those of her husband Adam, William Dendale and their ancestors.⁹ There is a low arched tomb recess in the north wall housing an incised cross slab; both are of fourteenth-century date and could belong together (Figs 3 and 4). Possibly this tomb monument commemorates Adam or Amice. Admittedly, it might be thought an unduly unassuming monument to be associated with the establishment of a chantry chapel, although, as discussed later, there is evidence to suggest that the elite of Tickhill were conservative in their commemorative tastes.

In 1354 Roger Leverton received licence to enable Robert Walker, chaplain, and William, son of Richard de Estfield the elder, to found the chantry of the Blessed Trinity in a newly-built chapel in the south aisle to pray for his soul and those of all Christians.¹⁰ Its position in the south aisle is pinpointed by the surviving piscina and aumbrey in the south aisle wall beneath the middle window between the organ and the porch. This window has a symbol of the Trinity in the glazing, although whether it is in its original position is highly questionable. At the east end of the south aisle

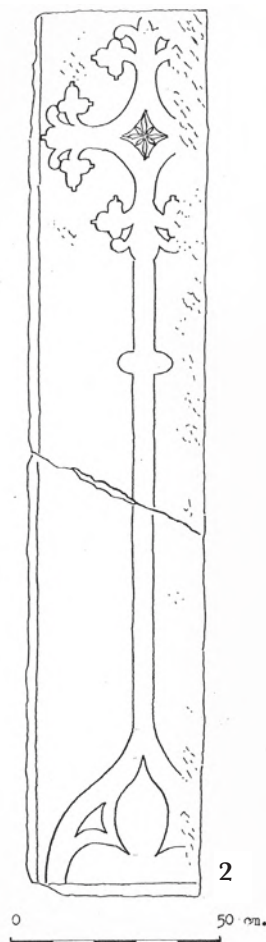


FIG. 4

Incised cross slab in tomb recess in north wall of St. Helen's chapel, Tickhill

Drawing: *Peter Ryder*

⁸ Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, I, pp. 243-4.

⁹ *Cal. Pat., Edward III*, VIII, p. 191; Inq. a.q.d. 22 Edward III, no. 23; *Certificates of Commissioners, Part 1*, p. 185.

¹⁰ Inq. a.q.d. 28 Edward III, no. 21; *Certificates of Commissioners, Part 1*, p. 183.

was St. Mary's chantry chapel, the fabric of which dates to the early fifteenth century. No foundation document survives but the chantry certificate made at the dissolution of the chantries records that it was presented by 'dyvers feofees of landes belongynge to the same chauntry'; although the founders' souls were prayed for, no list of their names was given.¹¹

The chapel of the guild or service of the Holy Rood and Crucifix, also known as the Holy Cross guild, was located beneath the Rood under the chancel arch.¹² There is no record of its foundation, but bequests were made to it in 1405, 1429 and 1430.¹³ According to the chantry certificates, the incumbent was 'admytted to the sayd service by th'ynhabitauntes of the towne, to sing, every Monday and Saytyrday, masse at vj of the cloke in the mornynge, and every Fryday the mase of Jhesus at ix of the cloke, and to do dyvynne service in the churche, and to do certen obites for the soules of theym which gave the landes'.¹⁴ Other guilds included one dedicated to St. Catherine; the antiquary Roger Dodsworth noted in a window in the south aisle '12 men with shaven crownes and 7 religious women, kneling. Underwritten: Orate pro animabus fratrum et sororum Gylde Sancte Caterine'.¹⁵ Two additional guilds are known of from testamentary bequests: St. Christopher Guild, referred to in 1429, and St. Mary Assumption Guild, referred to in 1395 and 1405.¹⁶ The latter evidently had an image, which was known, according to Alexander Leiston's will of 1497, as 'Our Lady of Tickhill', which may have denoted a pilgrimage site, en route to the renowned shrine of 'Our Lady of Doncaster'.¹⁷

There were, in addition, various lights: they included the Maidens' light, which was maintained by the young women of the parish, the Plough light, associated with festivities linked to Plough Monday, the Monday after Epiphany, when ploughing began after the Christmas holidays, and the 'Hagony' light, which would have burned before an image of Christ's agony in the garden before his crucifixion.¹⁸

The monuments as recorded in the twentieth century

The wealthier residents of Tickhill, especially those who were associated with the medieval chantries, would have aspired to intra-mural burial, perhaps with a floor monument. The church has a good collection of medieval cross slabs, ranging in date from the twelfth century to the late fifteenth; these are described in the appendix by Peter Ryder. All are carved from Yorkshire Magnesian Limestone,

¹¹ *Certificates of Commissioners, Part 1*, pp. 184-5.

¹² *Certificates of Commissioners, Part 1*, p. 186.

¹³ Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York: wills of Simon Auty (PR 3, f. 241r), John Sandford (PR 2, f. 563v) and John Denby (PR 2, f. 671r).

¹⁴ *Certificates of Commissioners, Part 1*, p. 186.

¹⁵ *Yorkshire Church Notes 1619 1631, by Roger Dodsworth*, ed. J.W. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 34 (York, 1904), p. 110.

¹⁶ Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York: wills of John Sandford (PR 2, 563v), John de Derfeld, vicar (PR 1, ff. 93v-94r) and Simon Auty (PR 3, f. 241r).

¹⁷ Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York, Reg. Arch. Rotherham 364b.

¹⁸ Beastall, *Tickhill*, pp. 52-3.

The detail of the inscription enables us to identify as his memorial a damaged but surviving cross slab (Ryder no. 5) (Fig. 6). The slab appears to have been positioned within the area once occupied by the chapel of the guild of the Holy Rood and Crucifix, from which it may be inferred that Leiston was a member of the guild. The exhortation to Jesus on the slab reinforces the specific focus of Leiston's piety, as does the bequest in his will of:

A rode of medows, lying in a place called Castell medowes, near Beycroft, on the north end, for to susteyne and uphold a wete laumpe burning afore the said rode loft over my body, to burne every werk daie for ever thugh the yere; and to be a light at the tyme of maten bell by the clerke, or any oyer his depute; and so to burne at the tyme of high Masse; and then by the same clerke or his debete to be put oute.

The family lived in Leeston Hall (an alternative spelling of Leiston) in Northgate. Interestingly Dodsworth recorded in the east window of the south choir an inscription:

Praye for the pepyl of North gate
That this wyndo heys garde make
In honor of Our Lady mylde
Yay made yt with the kings gylde.²³

It was undoubtedly located in the area of St. Mary's chantry chapel, but does not now survive. The inscription suggests that the unknown founders of the chapel were inhabitants of the Northgate area of Tickhill. Perhaps the Leistons were amongst the patrons of this window also, although neither of them made any reference to the Guild of the Assumption in their wills.

The other cross slab with the person commemorated named is somewhat worn and part of it is hidden by the altar (Ryder no. 9) (Fig. 7). Dodsworth recorded the *textualis* marginal inscription as reading: 'Hic jacet Johannes Twyer qui obiit nono decimo die mensis Junii, anno Domini M^oCCCC^oXXXIIJ^o cujus animæ propicietur Deus Amen'.²⁴ His editor notes that one William Twier of Tickhill made his will on 14 December 1435 and that it was proved on 18 February 1436-7.²⁵ They are unlikely to be the same man but may well have been related.

The final incised cross slab worthy of note is one which has been used three times to commemorate different people (Ryder no. 7) (Fig. 8). The original composition was a cross slab dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. A semi-circular label runs behind the cross shaft above the base bearing an incised inscription, of which only 'Orate pr... .. d.r ..' remains. No inscriptions recorded by either Dodsworth or Hunter which begin 'Orate pro anima/animabus' are sufficiently short to be linked with this slab, so the name of the person

²³ *Dodsworth*, ed. Clay, p. 108.

²⁴ *Dodsworth*, ed. Clay, p. 109; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, I, p. 241.

²⁵ *Dodsworth*, ed. Clay, p. 109 n. 3.

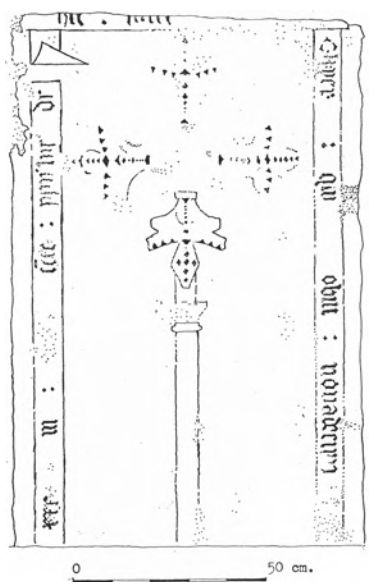


FIG. 7
Incised cross slab to John Twyer
(d. 1436), Tickhill
Drawing: Peter Ryder

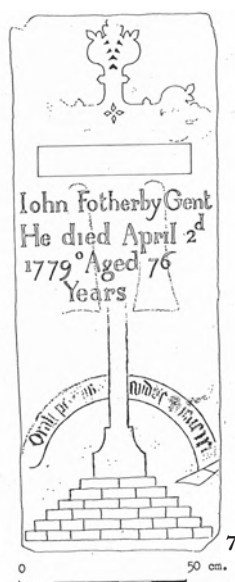


FIG. 8
Fifteenth-century incised
cross slab which has been
twice appropriated, Tickhill
Drawing: Peter Ryder



FIG. 9
Brass of c. 1500 to Robert Vescy and his wife
Elizabeth, Tickhill
Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

commemorated must remain unknown. The second use of the stone occurred when a London F brass inscription (M.S. II) and two figures (now lost) were attached to it to commemorate Robert Vescy and his wife Elizabeth (Fig. 9). The inscription is undated, but was engraved c. 1500. Next to it in the north choir, Dodsworth recorded an inscription to a later generation of this family, Thomas Vesse, gentleman, (d. 1551) and his wife Jane, but it is not known whether this was a brass or an incised slab.²⁶ The third use of the cross slab was made in the eighteenth century, when an inscription was incised across the part of the slab where the figures had been, to John Fotherby (d. 1779).

The only other brass that survives in the church is the London B inscription brass in fine relief lettering to William Estfield (d. 1386) and his wife Margaret (Fig. 10). It is mounted on the north wall of the chancel but was originally associated with a tomb-chest with quatrefoil panels on the sides, which was removed in the 1881 restoration from the north wall of the chancel to the north-west part of the church (Fig. 11).²⁷ It is interesting to note that the quatrefoil motif is precisely mirrored in the church fabric, including on the tower in the frieze above the niches. As mentioned earlier, the Estfield arms are displayed with those of other donors on the tower, as well as elsewhere in the church. It is evident that the family were key

²⁶ Dodsworth, ed. Clay, p. 109.

²⁷ M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1928; repr., with Appendix, 1964), p. 560, misleadingly records the brass as being on the tomb-chest, but evidently based this information on outdated sources, rather than personal information.



FIG. 10

Brass to William Estfield (d. 1386, engraved c. 1420)
and his wife Margaret, Tickhill

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 11

Tomb chest formerly associated with the brass to
William Estfield, Tickhill

Photograph: Tim Sutton

benefactors, but which generations were involved is uncertain. The inscription records that William Estfield was steward of the lordship of Holderness and the honour of Tickhill under Queen Philippa, and of the lordship of Hatfield under Edmund of Langley, duke of York. As such he would have been the leading inhabitant of Tickhill. He may have been a descendant of Richard de Estfeld who was one of Tickhill's two parliamentary representatives in 1295.²⁸ The style of the lettering indicates that the brass was engraved some considerable time after William's death; indeed, it is unlikely to be earlier than c. 1420. His executors were evidently tardy in commissioning the monument, although the tomb-chest and fine London brass indicate that they eventually went for quality.

The finest monument in the church is the pair of alabaster effigies to Sir Thomas FitzWilliam (d. 1478) and his first wife, although it is largely obscured by close-spaced iron railings. This monument was, however, removed from the Austin Friars at the Dissolution, when a new tomb-chest was made to support the effigies. This completes the account of the medieval monuments which were recorded in Tickhill church at the end of the twentieth century, but others are recorded in antiquarian sources.

Past accounts of the monuments at Tickhill

Although Yorkshire is generally well served by antiquarian notes, probably only Roger Dodsworth recorded monuments in Tickhill church, his visit taking place on 11 August 1620. There are in addition notes on Tickhill in the College of Arms 'Yorkshire Arms' manuscript, but these bear the same date as Dodsworth's visit and the notes are Dodsworth's translated into Latin with no additional material to that given by Dodsworth.²⁹ Dodsworth's notes on various monuments have been

²⁸ Beasall, *Tickhill*, p. 54.

²⁹ We are grateful to Dr Jane Crease for advice on this point.

referred to above, but he saw more memorials in addition to these. Dodsworth took no interest in the design of the monument and normally recorded only the inscriptions and heraldry. Leaving aside the inscriptions for the newly-uncovered effigial incised slabs, which will be discussed separately, he noted two monumental inscriptions to William Law, *magister* (d. 1472) one with his mother Agnes in the 'great quyer' and others to John Duckmanton, mercer, (d. 1465) and Helen, wife of Robert White, merchant, (d. 1465) in the 'north quyer'.³⁰ These could have been either brasses or incised slabs.

The next major source for monuments in St. Mary's church is the Tickhill section of Hunter's *South Yorkshire*.³¹ It is apparent from this that by the early eighteenth century the monuments to the Law family, John Duckmanton, Elena White and Thomas Vesse had been lost, but all the rest were in full view, including the three effigial incised slabs. There are no further records made in the nineteenth century, but there was a restoration of the church in 1881, following which the effigial incised slabs seem to have been hidden from view.

Joseph Morris's useful volume on West Yorkshire in the 'Little Guides' series, published in 1911, has a good account of the monuments in St. Mary's church.³² It mentions the alabaster tomb, both brasses and several of the incised cross slabs, but not the effigial slabs. His work is so thorough that it must be concluded that these effigial slabs were not then open to view. The equivalent volume in Pevsner's Buildings of England Series again does not mention the effigial incised slabs.³³ This cannot on its own be certain proof that the slabs were not to be seen in 1959 or 1967 since the only medieval monument he mentions is the alabaster tomb, omitting even the brasses. However, Peter Ryder saw no sign of the effigial slabs when he visited the church in 1977 to record its cross slab grave covers. Nor is there any mention of them in the otherwise full church guide or in Tom Beastall's history of Tickhill, published in 1995.

Following the publication of Mill Stephenson's list of monumental brasses in 1926 with its appendix of additions and corrections in 1938, there have been three recorded official visits by MBS members. The first visit was made in the early 1970s by the late Fred Fowler of Doncaster, whose interest was solely in checking and updating Stephenson's West Riding entries as the official local fieldworker. The next visit was made by Messrs Farman and Hacker in 1985, having taken over Fowler's role and his returns owing to his failing health. However, at that time the Society's interest in recording incised slabs was not widely understood nor appreciated; although even Fowler before them was looking at floor slabs to record indents of lost brasses which were largely ignored by Stephenson.

It was only on their second visit in early 2009 that Farman and Hacker came across two late-eighteenth-century and one early-nineteenth-century brass plates set

³⁰ *Dodsworth*, ed. Clay, p. 109.

³¹ Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, pp. 239-44.

³² J.E. Morris, *The West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1911), pp. 507-10.

³³ Pevsner, *West Riding*, p. 520.

in the floor under a loose carpet in the normally locked south chapel. The two unrecorded incised slabs adjacent to the brasses also came to light. It has since been established that these two slabs were covered by pews mounted on a wooden platform, which had been in place since 1844. The Estfield slab in the south-east corner of the sanctuary, also previously unrecorded by the MBS, was unmistakable and remarkable for its crisp detail despite lying flush with the stone flooring. It was only when the incumbent, Canon Gordon Taylor, presented himself, explaining that on his personal initiative the slab had been removed two months previously from beneath the altar (Fig. 12), that the importance of this discovery became manifest.



FIG. 12

The incised slab to William Estfield (d. 1434) being lowered into its new position

Photograph: Canon Gordon Taylor

The effigial incised slabs in the south aisle

The two newly-revealed effigial incised slabs in St. Mary's chapel in the south aisle are quite worn, indicating that they were probably uncovered and walked over for much of their existence. At the west end of the chapel on the north side is the simplest of the three slabs, which commemorates William White and his wife Cecily, both of whom died in 1487 (Fig. 13). The *textualis* marginal inscription reads: 'Hic jacent Willelmus White me[rcator] et Cecilia conjux sua qui [quidem Willelm]us obiit ultimo die mensis Januarii anno Domini M[illesim]o CCCCLXXXVIJ [et dicta Cecilia obiit XXIIJ die] mensis Decembris quorum animabus propicietur Deus' (missing sections taken from Hunter and Dodsworth). The pair are shown standing with their hands together in prayer. At the top is a shield with the White merchant's mark. At some stage this incised slab has been cut up and two sections have been discarded (Fig. 14). The missing section from the

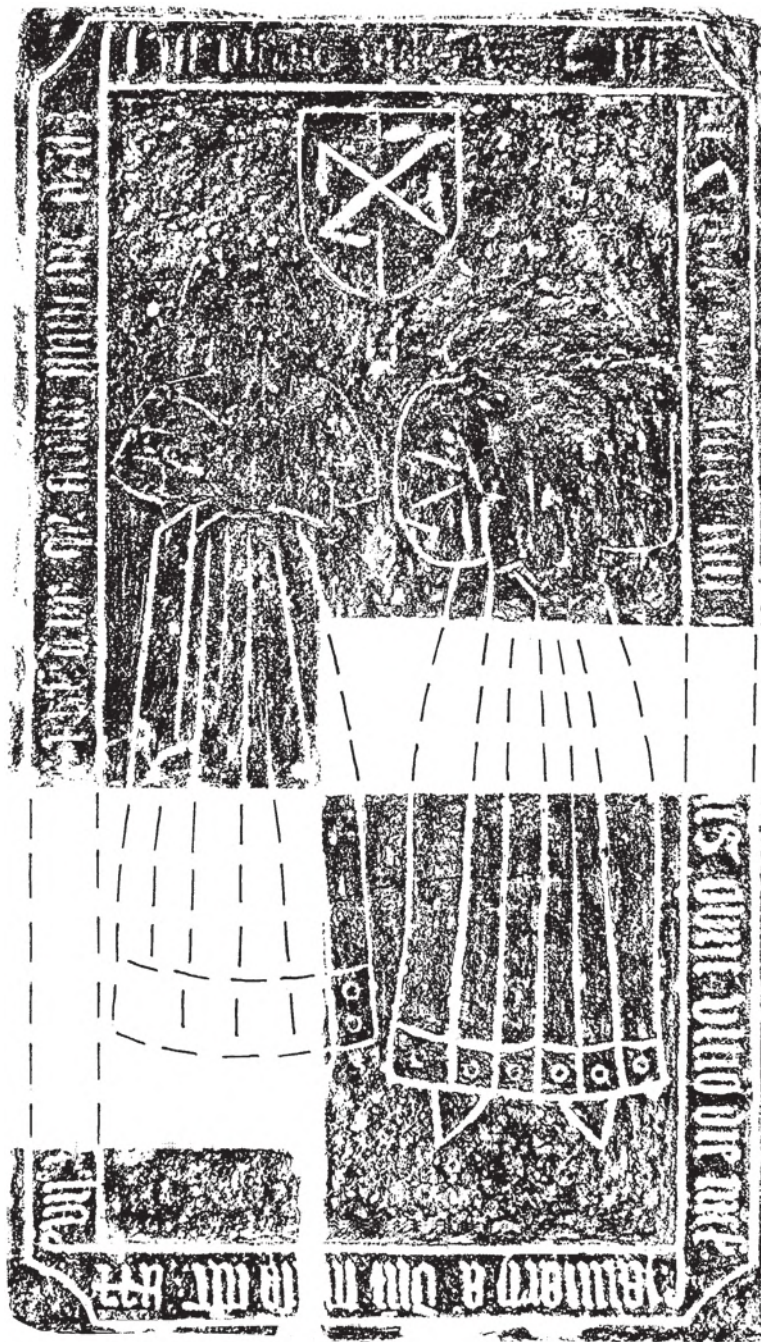


FIG. 13
 Incised slab to William and Cecily White (d. 1487), Tickhill
Rubbing: Patrick Farman



FIG. 14

Incised slab to William and Cecily White (d. 1487), Tickhill, showing how it has been cut up and parts re-aligned

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

right-hand side was about 24 cm high, as is the blank piece of stone that has been inserted on the left hand side with the remaining sections of the right hand side shuffled up together; this last piece is considerably better preserved than the remainder of the slab, suggesting it had been in a protected position. This suggests that the slab may have been cut up for floor slabs with a dimension of about 24cm; nothing of this sort is open to view in the church, but the missing sections could have been placed face downwards.³⁴

Little is known about William White, although he may have been a descendant of Robert and Helen White (d. 1465), whose lost monument was mentioned above. Dodsworth also recorded an inscription in a window in the south aisle with an inscription reading ‘Orate pro animabus Thomæ White ... uxoris sue, et ... eorundem, qui istam fenestram fecerunt’.³⁵ This may be window Svii (Corpus Vitrearum numbering) where his merchant’s mark is still to be seen, although that window was in the Trinity chapel.³⁶ The arms of White have also been noted above as being on the exterior of the church, along with those of other benefactors. He was evidently wealthy, bequeathing property in Laughton as well as in Tickhill Castlegate and Northgate. He and Cecily had six sons: William, who lived in London, Robert of Bentley, Thomas of Chesterfield, John of Tickhill, Nicholas and Richard, vicar of nearby Harworth, Notts.

William White made his will in 1484, although he did not die until three years later.³⁷ Interestingly his executors included John Leeston, Thomas Twyer the elder and Robert Leeston, chaplain, demonstrating the close relationship between these families. The most note-worthy aspect of William’s provisions is that, although he did not make any arrangements for his monument, he requested ‘my body to be buried in the cemetery of Blessed Mary near the choir door of the same Tickhill’ [Corpusq(u)e meu(m) sepe(lien)d(um) in Cimit(er)io b(ea)te / marie p(ro)pe ostiu(m) chori eiusdem de Tykhill]. Whether his wishes were respected is uncertain. This is presumably the door located on the south side of St. Mary’s chapel, which is of fifteenth-century construction, near which the incised slab remains. Given the fine state of preservation of part of the slab, it is highly improbable that the incised slab was originally a churchyard monument. Perhaps it was laid down intra-murally instead of externally in a position as near to that he specified as possible. He could, nonetheless, have been buried in the churchyard, but burial in the church beneath the incised slab is more likely.

He also requested that ‘a suitable chaplain celebrate and minister the things of God in the church of Tickhill for one year, for the salvation of my soul’ [volo q(uo)d unus cap(ella)nus ydoneus celebret ac divina ministrat in eccl(es)ia de Tykhill / p(er) unu(m) annu(m) p(ro) salute a(n)i(m)e mee]. He left 10s. to the fabric of Tickhill church, 4d. to every light in the church and 3s. 4d. to the high altar. Other small

³⁴ We are grateful to William Lack for this observation.

³⁵ *Dodsworth*, ed. Clay, p. 110.

³⁶ Corpus Vitrearum website, <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/archive/index.html>, accessed 8 June 2009.

³⁷ Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York, PR V5, f. 324.

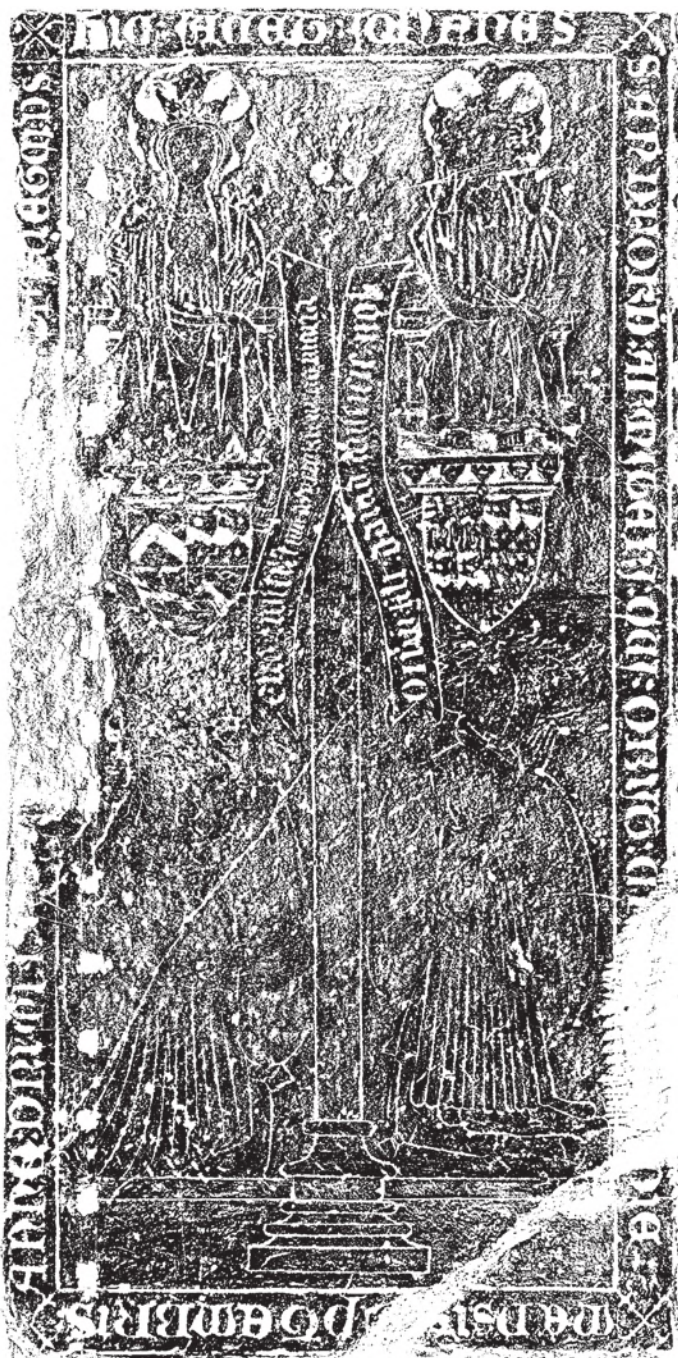


FIG. 15

Incised slab to John Sandford (d. 1429), Tickhill

Rubbing: Patrick Farman

bequests benefited the churches at Harworth and Finningley, the convent of St Augustine at Tickhill, the Friars Minor of Doncaster and the convent at Wallingwells, but the majority of his lands and other goods were kept within the family.

It is worth noting that William's son and namesake, William White (d. 1504), who became a citizen, draper and alderman of London, remembered his native town in his will, although he chose to be buried in St. Swithin's church, Candlewick Street, London. He directed:

To the parish church in Tykhill in Yorkeshyer, in which paryshe I was borne a monstrance [a container for the Host] of silver to the valor of x markes therto be usyd yerly upon Corpus Christi day and borne upon the prestis shulders as of old tyme yt hath been usyd to be done with another such musterance ther which I am informyd of was stolene and wrongfully withdrawen from the same church, to thentent that the curat and parishons shall for evermore pray for my sowle, the sowle of William Whit and Cecyle my father and mother, as for a benefactor of the same church.³⁸

He also made bequests to various members of his family, including his brothers, Richard, John and Nicholas.

The earlier and more unusual of the two newly-revealed effigial incised slabs is to the east of the White slab (Fig. 15). It commemorates John Sandford (d. 1429); the marginal inscription, which is an extremely late example of Lombardic lettering, reads: 'HIC JACET JOHANES / SANDFORD ARMIGER QUI OBIIT VI[CESIMO] DIE / MENS[IS SE]PTEMBRIS / ANNO D(OMI)NI MILL[ESIMO CCCC XXIX CUJUS ANIME PR]OP[ICI]ETUR D(EU)S' (missing sections taken from Hunter and Dodsworth). At some stage iron railings have been driven into the left-hand side of the slab, although all that remains is a sequence of square holes. Whether they were to preserve this slab or another monument placed on or near it is unknown.

A little is known about John Sandford. He came from a family of wealthy Tickhill townspeople with landholding aspirations, whose townhouse, Sandford Hall, was on the north side of Sunderland Street.³⁹ The family had lived in Tickhill since at least the late fourteenth century; John Sandford, the son of Sir Edward, is recorded in 1394.⁴⁰ At his death he held lands in Tickhill, Stainton, 'Malpas Sutton' and Misson. He was styled 'esquire' but his descendant, William, was described as a 'gentleman' in 1460. As his arms on the church, mentioned above, indicate, John Sandford was a benefactor to the church. In his will, he bequeathed 100s., a cart and four horses 'to the making of the stepell of Tykhill'; this probably refers to the upper stages which appear to be of this date.⁴¹ He also supported the guilds: the Rood

³⁸ *North Country Wills*, ed. J.W. Clay, Surtees Society, 116 (1908), p. 267.

³⁹ Beastall, *Tickhill*, pp. 51-2.

⁴⁰ Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, p. 239.

⁴¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. J. Raine, II, Surtees Society, 30 (1855), p. 417.



FIG. 16

Detail of incised slab to John Sandford (d. 1429), Tickhill, showing the devotional images

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 17

Detail of incised slab to John Sandford (d. 1429), Tickhill, showing the figures of the commemorated

Photograph: H. Martin Stuchfield

Guild received his 'best girdell harness, with a pare of lambre bedes', while the St. Christopher Guild received 'a nothir girdell harness with S and a ryng of golde with a diamaunt'. The 'kirkmasters' received a noble. Finally, his faith is indicated by his request for a service chantry to be established, that is that 'a prest syng for him' for two years.

The slab also shows Sandford's wife Katherine, who survived him, although the detail of her figure in particular is very worn. The pair are both wearing *houppelandes* and are shown with their hands raised in adoration, kneeling on cushions at the foot of a bracket, with a pedestal base and decorated top slab with a moulded edge (Fig. 17). Beneath are two shields. That above Joan's figure bears *a chevron between three roundels quartering party per fess indented ... and ermine, in chief two boars' heads* and that above John has an indistinct charge, quartering *party per fess indented ... and ermine, in chief two boars' heads* (Sandford). On the bracket are religious images; above John is Christ enthroned; and above Katherine is the Blessed Virgin Mary, crowned and again seated, supporting a standing infant Jesus on her right knee and holding a sceptre in her left hand (Fig. 16). Both figures of Jesus show him with wild, wavy hair. Between the two images hovers the dove symbolising the Holy Spirit. Prayer scrolls wind from the figures of the commemorated to the religious images. That above John reads: 'O Jh(es)u fili David miserere nob(is)'. The same text is found on monuments at Tong, Shropshire, West Harling, Norfolk, Wirksworth, Derbyshire, and Hornchurch, Essex. The prayer scroll above Joan seems to have been deliberately defaced, but could be 'Esto nostra mediatrix beata virgo maria', for which no parallel has yet been recorded.⁴²

Devotional imagery is most uncommon on English incised slabs. Rare exceptions include a slab at Arnold, Leicestershire, to John de la Launde (d. 1347) and another mid-fourteenth-century example at Hawkrige, Somerset, but none are known in the north-east of England. Such imagery can also be found on monumental brasses, but again no examples are extant or known of in Yorkshire. Moreover, the only bracket brass surviving in Yorkshire, at Brandesburton, East Riding, to William Darrell (d. 1364), shows a demi-effigy of the commemorated on the bracket rather than a saint. This variant on a theme can also be seen at Hickleton, Yorkshire, West Riding, on a semi-effigial slab of the mid-fourteenth century commemorating Robert Haringel.⁴³ Possibly the iconography on the Tickhill incised slab was inspired by painted glass, which commonly shows donor figures in the lower lights with saints above. Tickhill must once have been richly glazed, but only fragments of the medieval glass now survive.

A total of twenty-eight fifteenth-century effigial incised slabs have now been recorded in Yorkshire, of which the stone type has been established for all but four. Seven are in alabaster, two in Egglestone marble, seven in sandstone and eight in

⁴² We are grateful to Jerome Bertram for advice on these prayer scrolls and the parallels for the wording.

⁴³ S. Badham, 'Simon de Wudston's incised slab from Hemsworth, Yorkshire', *MBS Trans.*, XV (1994), pp. 215-21, fig. 6 (p. 219).

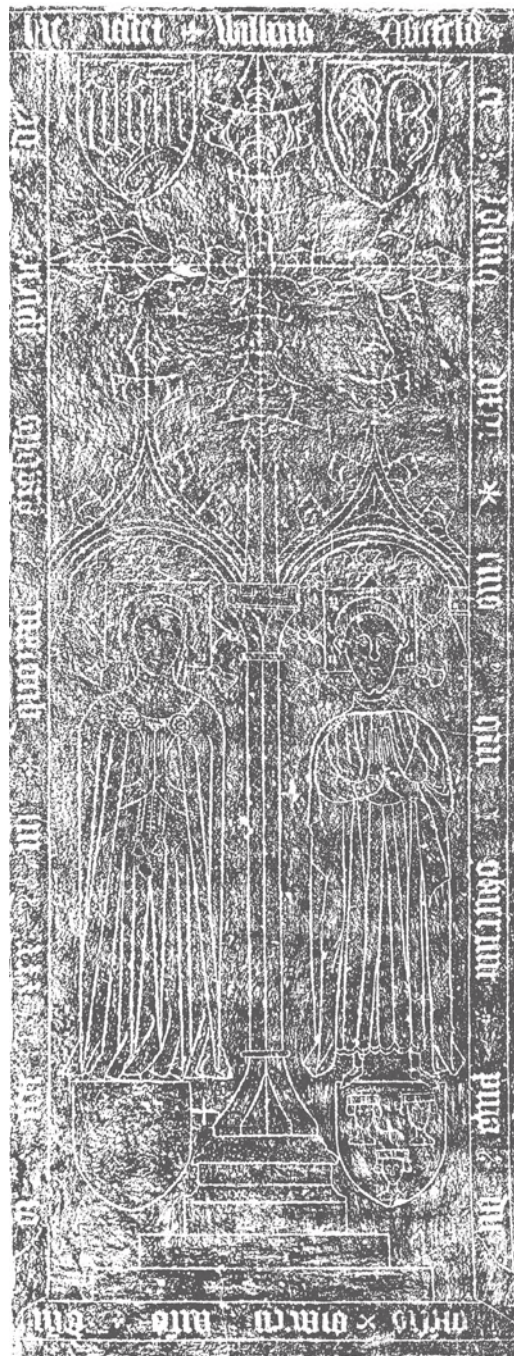


FIG. 18

Incised slab to William Estfield (d. 1434) and his wife Johanna

Rubbing: Patrick Farman

limestone.⁴⁴ The Tickhill examples are all in Magnesian limestone, from which it may be inferred that they are of local manufacture.⁴⁵ One aspect of the Sandford slab reinforces this conclusion. John is shown with a feathered orle about his head. This is extremely unusual but can be paralleled in the glazing of the St. William window in York Minster made *c.* 1414 by the Thornton Workshop and also on the Yorkshire series 1c brass to Sir Thomas de St. Quintin (d. 1418) at Harpham, East Riding, Yorkshire.⁴⁶

The Estfield slab in the chancel

The most recently revealed effigial incised slab was until early 2009 under the altar, where it had been largely protected from wear. It is therefore the best preserved of the three. It commemorates William Estfield (d. 1434) and his wife Johanna (Fig. 18). The *textualis* marginal inscription reads: ‘Hic jace(n)t Will(el)m(u)s Estefeld et Joh(a)n(n)a vxor eius qui obierunt p(ri)mo die me(n)sis Marcii an(n)o d(omi)ni MCCCCXXXIII quorum a(n)i(m)abus p(ro)piciet(ur) de(us)’. The original position of the slab is unknown, as it has been moved on at least three occasions. Dodsworth saw it in ‘the great quyer’, but did not specify its position.⁴⁷ Hunter made no mention of it, which suggests that by the early eighteenth century it had been moved into the middle of the sanctuary on a north-south alignment and the altar placed over it, where it remained until the latest change of position. This is evidenced by the wear on the left hand side of the slab which would have been caused by the feet of clergy standing at the altar. A chamfer on the right-hand side of the slab suggests that it was originally located on a tomb-chest, probably in a recess in a south wall rather than freestanding. No such recess now survives, but one might have been filled in on the south side of the chancel when the south aisle chapel was added in the fifteenth century. It might be speculated that the slab and its associated tomb-chest originally stood on the south side of the chancel, balancing the tomb to the earlier William Estfield. The five consecration crosses scratched on the surface indicate that at one time the slab was used as a *mensa*, presumably after it was taken off its tomb-chest.

William Estfield was probably a descendant of the William Estfield (d. 1386) and his wife Margaret who were commemorated by the tomb-chest and associated brass discussed earlier. Perhaps the later William’s monument was originally nearby. The Estfields were obviously an important local family. Little is known about the generation commemorated by the incised slab. William’s will survives, but is brief and

⁴⁴ S. Badham and G. Blacker, *Northern Rock: the use of Egglestone marble for monuments in medieval England*, British Archaeological Reports, 480 (Oxford, 2009), pp. 90-1. The book went to press before the Tickhill and Old Edlington slabs were known of.

⁴⁵ We are grateful to Peter Ryder for the stone identification.

⁴⁶ For examples in the St. William window, see T. French, *York Minster: The St William Window* (Oxford, 1999), pls. 6, 24b; for the Harpham brass, see S. Badham, ‘Monumental Brasses: the Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1983 (Leeds, 1989), p. 176, pl. XXXID.

⁴⁷ *Dodsworth*, ed. Clay, p. 109.

relatively uninformative.⁴⁸ He asked for ‘ecclesiastical burial’ within Tickhill church [corp[us] meum ecclesiastice sepulture infra eccl(es)iam p[re]dict[am]], but made no reference to a monument. As regards his other provisions for his soul, he directed that:

My exequies and funeral expenses be at the discretion and will of my executors. Item I will, give and bequeath freely all my goods to my wife Joan and to John Lambard for the payment of my debts and to do for my soul and my parents’ souls and the souls of others to whom I am obliged as they would see fit for my soul and themselves. [Exequie mee & expense funeralie fiant ad discrecc(i)o(n)em & voluntatem Executor(um) meor(um). It(e)m volo do & lego lib(er)e omnia bona mea Joh(an)ne ux(ori) mee & Joh(a)n(ni) Lambard ad solvend(um) debita mea & ad faciend(um) p(ro) a(n)i(m)a mea & p(ro) a(n)i(m)ab(us) parentum meor(um) & alior(um) quib(us) teneor p(ro)ut a(n)i(m)e mee & sibi inclin(er)e viderint expedire].

Regrettably we do not know at which altar the soul masses would have been celebrated. One possibility, perhaps the most likely, is that in the Holy Trinity chapel in the south aisle, built to house a chantry which, as mentioned above, was co-founded in 1354 by William, son of Richard de Estfield the elder. However, it is not the only possibility. St. Helen’s chapel on the north side of the church was apparently once known as Estfield chapel.⁴⁹ This is odd, since it was the Herthill chantry which was established in this chapel and neither of the two monuments to members of the Estfield family was located there.

The incised slab shows figures of William and Johanna in civilian dress under simple canopies with rounded arches. Their heads each rest on a pair of cushions with tassels at the corners; the top cushion has a pattern composed of sets of four drilled holes placed close together. The canopies lack side shafts; but are instead ‘supported’ by a capital on which rests a cross that forms the central feature of the composition. The mount is a combination of a stepped base with a pedestal base on top. The cross head is very fine, being a late bracelet-derived type with fleur-de-lis terminals. Beneath the two figures are shields. William’s bears the arms of Estfield (*three maids’ heads*) but Johanna’s cannot be deciphered. Two further shields at the top of the slab complete the composition. That above Johanna bears the monogram IHC, while that above William has a monogram of the name Maria.

A notable aspect of this slab is the uneven quality of the draughtsmanship of various parts of the composition. The figures are very poorly drawn with little sense of due proportion, the tiny feet of William’s figure looking particularly absurd. The facial features are very simply drawn and the slope of the shoulders is unrealistic. It suggests that the mason was unused to effigial work. In contrast, the cross is competently designed, being one of the finest examples in the area. That the mason was used to working on cross slabs is indicated by two close

⁴⁸ Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York, PR V3, f. 409.

⁴⁹ Beastall, *Tickhill*, p. 54.

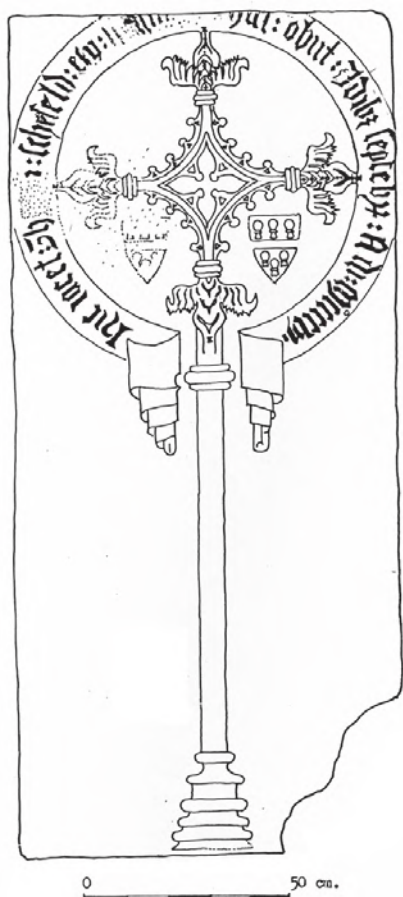


FIG. 19
Incised cross slab to Thomas de Schefeld (Sheffield)
(d. 1406), Braithwell, Yorkshire
Drawing: Peter Ryder



FIG. 20
Incised cross slab of c. 1420-40 with demi effigies,
Old Edlington, Yorkshire
Drawing: Peter Ryder

comparisons to the detail of the cross design, brought to our attention by Peter Ryder. The first is in the floor of the north-east corner of the chancel of Braithwell church, which is close to Tickhill. It depicts a cross with a scroll encircling the head and two shields of arms (Fig. 19). The inscription reveals that it commemorates Thomas de Schefeld (Sheffield) (d. 1406). The second is at Old Edlington, in the floor of the chancel, near the north-west corner; this too is an incised slab unrecorded by Greenhill. Here the overall design of the Tickhill cross is copied far more crudely. An interesting feature of this slab is that demi-effigies of the couple commemorated are shown either side of the cross shaft (Fig. 20). The names of the commemorated are unknown, but their costume suggests a date of c. 1430-40. Another incised cross slab with demi-effigies is to be found in the

West Riding at Hemsworth, commemorating Simon de Wudstone (d. 1369) and his wife Cecilia, although on this slab the crosses are below the figures.⁵⁰

Patterns of patronage

The people commemorated by the monuments which are the main focus of this paper are mainly drawn from what medieval society regarded as the third estate, that is those who were below the armigerous gentry. Nigel Saul's magisterial study of medieval English monuments has highlighted the changes over time in how members of this stratum of society chose to be commemorated.⁵¹ In the period to 1400, many were commemorated by relief or semi-relief effigies, but there was then a swift change to an overwhelming preference for brasses which prevailed throughout the fifteenth century and beyond. Some merchants chose compositions from the London brass engraving workshops, although a minority in the eastern counties patronised local workshops. The merchants of Tickhill, however, bucked this trend, choosing instead to be commemorated by locally-produced incised floor monuments, with either cross or effigial decoration. They also all opted for Latin inscriptions, rather than ones in the vernacular, which became increasingly popular in the fifteenth century. This preference for the traditional rather than the fashionable cannot be explained away by arguments that Tickhill was far distant from London, where the main brass engraving workshops were located, as in the fifteenth century there was a flourishing brass engraving industry at York. Other factors must be considered.

Saul has argued that, in contrast with southern England, the continued dominance of the cross slab type in the fourteenth century and beyond, and the lack of variety in the northern monumental industry, point primarily to the limited wealth in the region, and thus an inability to afford transport of elite monuments from the distant major workshops.⁵² Yet those commemorated by the identifiable incised floor monuments at Tickhill are all from a section of society in which financial considerations would not necessarily have been an effective constraint on their choice of monumental type. Why then did these comparatively wealthy merchants choose what might be perceived as relatively low-status monuments?

Saul's explanation for the overall pattern of commemorative patronage is that continued use of the cross slab in the north indicated a lack of sharp social differentiation in the region, and less interest or necessity in communicating status through commemorative patronage. This view is challenged by Aleksandra McClain in an important new study of cross slab production and patronage in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which is contextualised within commemorative production and patronage in the north of England as a whole.⁵³ She disputes that northern commemorative action should be reduced 'to a primarily functional, economic

⁵⁰ Badham, 'Hemsworth, Yorkshire'.

⁵¹ N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 238-68, 374-8.

⁵² Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 44.

⁵³ A. McClain, 'Cross slab monuments in the late Middle Ages: patronage, production, and locality in northern England', in *Monumental industry: carved tomb production in fourteenth century England*, ed. S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (Donington, 2010), pp. 36-65.

choice, rather than one that held meaning for the patron and was structured and informed by his social milieu'. She goes on to provide evidence that the patrons of the northern counties actively perpetuated the cross slab industry, and argues that 'the style, form, material, and location of the monuments held specific and deliberately chosen meanings for the commemorated person, their family, and the people of the parish and village', that is the intended audience for the monuments of the lesser lay and clerical elite. Long before the fifteenth century, incised cross and effigial cross slabs would have been 'a familiar and widely understood material presence in the local church and settlement, and thus had a resonance and efficacy in northern England that transcended the mere financial value or artistic accomplishment of the monument'. The numbers of cross and effigial incised slabs recorded in the fifteenth century are admittedly lower than in previous centuries, but as a type incised compositions continued to be significantly more popular in this region than in southern England.

McClain demonstrates that from Nottinghamshire northward, nearly half of all churches contain at least one medieval cross slab, and there are over three slabs per site on average. The continued popular use of cross slabs was especially true of the North Riding and counties further north, but less valid in the East Riding.⁵⁴ Certainly York merchants chose monumental commemoration in line with the fashions of the south. Clara Barnett has shown through an analysis of extant and recorded monuments that in York, although those commemorated by surviving and recorded monuments came from twenty different social categories, 44% of all recorded monuments in the city commemorated merchants.⁵⁵ Many of the monuments were brasses. Few brasses or even indents to merchants survive in the city, but those recorded in antiquarian drawings have compositions which were more likely to have been produced by London engravers than the local York workshop. It is perhaps not surprising that the inhabitants of the second city of the realm should have more sophisticated tastes and thus exercised a greater degree of connoisseurship than their country cousins when choosing a monument.

Yet did this picture also hold true for all parts of the county to the south-west of the city? If only effigial floor slabs are considered, the evidence is far from clear-cut. There remain only three fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century effigial brasses to civilians in the West Riding, all of which are London products. However, if the Tickhill slabs are excluded, the equivalent total of incised slabs is only two, although there are twelve other incised slabs to priests, knights and ladies. This low number of incised slabs to civilians is perhaps surprising,

⁵⁴ The picture created by the East Riding evidence may perhaps be skewed at least in part by the rich lay patronage of the merchants based in Hull and Beverley. The former in particular would have had links both with London and with the continent. In this respect they would have had more in common with the merchant class in other great eastern ports such as Barton-upon-Humber and Boston, where there is more evidence for patronage of brasses by merchants in the fifteenth century and beyond.

⁵⁵ C.M. Barnett, 'Commemoration in the parish church; identity and social class in late medieval York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, 72 (2002), pp. 73-92, at pp. 76 and 78.

especially as this part of Yorkshire was within relatively easy reach of the Midlands alabaster workshops which dominated the smart end of the incised slab market over much of central and southern England in the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Transport could not have been an issue as Yorkshire retains a large number of carved alabaster tombs, including one at Tickhill itself; however, these almost exclusively commemorate the noble and gentry classes. This elite sector of Yorkshire society may have had cosmopolitan tastes but the lesser clergy, merchants and local landholders of the West Riding were more conservative in their commemorative tastes and continued to choose mainly locally produced stone monuments. There is compelling evidence for the continued popularity of cross slabs in the West Riding in the late medieval period. Of 185 examples recorded in West Yorkshire - which it should be noted does not take in all of the former West Riding - 33 date from the fourteenth century and 29 from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁵⁶

It is also worth noting that the Tickhill merchants evidently preferred burial in their parish church to the Austin Friars, where the FitzWilliam monument was originally. Jenny Kermode's study of York, Beverley and Hull merchants points out that those based in York were less inclined to burial in the mendicants' churches (4%) compared to Norwich (10%).⁵⁷ In the course of the fifteenth century, the wills of merchants based in York, Beverley and Hull show an increase in bequests to parish churches and a decline in those to the friaries. This perhaps suggests that the parish and church were more central to the identity and interests of Yorkshire merchants, compared to at least some of their counterparts in the south.

From this evidence and that of the monuments in Tickhill church, it may be suggested that the commemorative practices of the resident merchants had more in common with patrons generally in the northern counties than with their York-based peers and their counterparts in the south. The Tickhill patterns of patronage were reflective more of a general northern tendency, within which fashions in York and the East Riding were exceptions rather than the rule. The merchants of Tickhill appear to have been more conservative in their commemorative tastes than their York-based peers and more inclined to follow well-established local patterns of patronage. For the lesser lay elite of Tickhill such factors as the choices made by their immediate peers and the expectations and understanding of the local audience for their memorials were paramount considerations when commissioning their monuments, which, as McClain argues, were undoubtedly essential to their authority and social standing. These were very likely the reasons why John Leiston, John Twyer, William White, John Sandford and William Estfield the younger chose to be commemorated by incised floor monuments, rather than brasses or any other monumental type.

⁵⁶ P. Ryder, *Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in West Yorkshire*, West Yorkshire Archaeology Handbooks (Wakefield, 1991).

⁵⁷ J. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1998) p. 142.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the importance of these three effigial incised slabs and the breadth of scholarly interest and discussion which they have provoked, as evidenced by this article, has proved a source of much surprise and satisfaction to the discoverers. The usefulness of revisiting churches with an eye to newly exposed original flooring cannot be too highly emphasised. Sadly, in these times of over-sensitivity about health and safety requirements, a disturbingly increasing number of churches are resorting to having fitted carpets throughout, which are frequently man-made with rubber underlay, which causes serious damage to brasses and other floor monuments beneath due to trapped moisture. Happily the present incumbent of Tickhill church, Canon Gordon Taylor, is no fan of this trend, and it is to him that we owe a debt of gratitude for his perspicacity in recognising the importance of the Estfield slab and having it re-sited.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Canon Taylor, for the generous assistance he has given us in examining and recording these slabs, for providing valuable background information and insights, and for the use of his photographs recording the re-siting of the Estfield slab. We would also like to thank Martin Stuchfield and Tim Sutton for photographs and William Lack for his artwork in preparing the rubbings for publication. Paul Cockerham has provided helpful suggestions and comments. Jerome Bertram has been of great assistance in translating the White and Estfield wills and the inscriptions. Finally we would like to acknowledge a generous grant from the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation towards the publication costs of this article.

Appendix: The cross slab grave covers of St. Mary, Tickhill, Yorkshire

by Peter Ryder

The fine parish church of Tickhill has a good collection of cross slabs and cross slab floor stones. Although carpets have been removed to reveal additional examples since the church was first searched in June and November 1977, many more are probably concealed by pews and other immovable furniture. All the slabs are of local Magnesian limestone, incised unless otherwise stated.

1. Slab broken into three pieces, lying against the west wall of the north aisle. A fine relief design, open ring head with clusters of stiff leaf foliage, Agnus Dei at centre. Three-step Calvary base, dragons on either side of shaft. An engraving made in the nineteenth century (Boutell 1849 frontispiece) shows a sword on the left, but this side of the stone has been very badly damaged by decay, probably occasioned by its being placed beside the heating pipes. Date: probably late thirteenth century. Fig. 21.

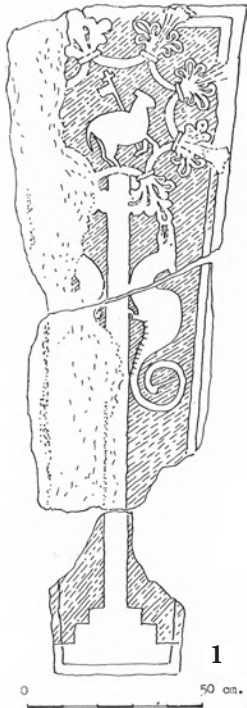


FIG. 21

A late thirteenth-century relief cross slab, loose, Tickhill
Drawing: Peter Ryder

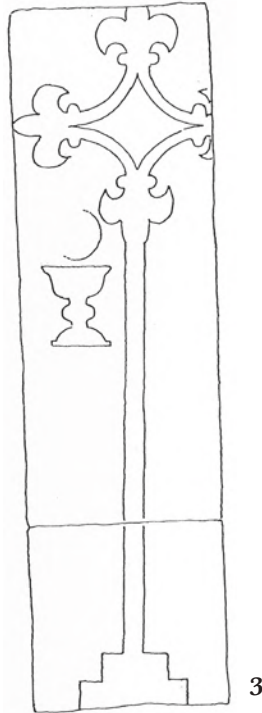


FIG. 22

Incised cross slab to an unknown priest in chancel floor, Tickhill
Drawing: Peter Ryder

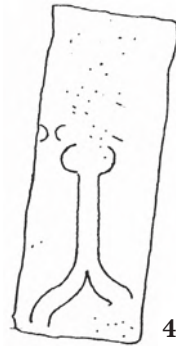


FIG. 23

Incised cross slab in sanctuary floor, Tickhill
Drawing: Peter Ryder

2. Slab in a tomb recess on the north side of the north chancel chapel. Cross botonée head with clustered terminals, the clusters of an unusual form showing 'square-pointed' buds. Trefoiled ogee arch base. Date: fourteenth century. Fig. 4.
3. Slab in chancel floor, south of centre just below the sanctuary steps. Cross botonée head with open centre and fleur-de-lys terminals. Calvary base, chalice on left of shaft with traces of a circular object, probably a paten, above. Date: fourteenth century. Fig. 22.
4. Fragment in sanctuary floor, the bottom hidden by the altar. Traces of ogee-arched base and cross shaft. Date: fourteenth century. Fig. 23.
5. Cross slab floor stone, in two pieces. A section of the centre of the stone, along with the lower part of the base, are missing. Now in the floor near the east end of the central aisle of the nave. Simple Greek cross with terminals which appear to be an angular stylised version of ivy-leaf. The cross base is unusual, a cusped ogee arch containing a shield with the Sacred Monogram, being set above a truncated triangular mount with 'masonry' ornament. There are four

labels with short inscriptions, (i) and (ii) running across the stone just below the cross head, with the base of the lettering towards the base of the stone, and (iii) and (iv) crossing the stone just above the cross base, with the base of the lettering towards the top of the slab.

The inscriptions read:

- (i) Chri fili dei
- (ii) misere mei
- (iii) ... (not easily readable)
- (iv)... aspice sursum. (reading from Hunter).

Date: probably fifteenth century. Fig. 6.

6. Cross slab floor stone set immediately west of no. 5. Greek cross with clustered terminals, shaft with medial line broadening downwards to masonry base. Chalice left of shaft, label 'cuius [anime propicietur deus] am(e)n' across centre. Marginal inscription has been cut away. Date: probably fifteenth century. Fig. 24.

7. Cross slab floor stone in the floor of the north chancel chapel. Greek cross with quatrefoil at centre, complex terminals which have affinities with Braithwell, Edlington and the effigial slab with cross at Tickhill commemorating William Estfield (d. 1433). The base is a combination of pedestal and masonry types. A semi-circular label runs behind the cross shaft just above the base with the inscription: 'Orate pr[o anima] ...d.r...'. The slab has been re-used twice. A brass plate has been inserted, destroying the lower part of the cross head, with the inscription: 'Hic jacent Rob(er)tus Vescy et Elizabeth, uxor eius / quorum a(n)i(m)abus propicietur deus Amen'. Below this inscription have been two small brass effigies, but these have been removed and replaced by an incised eighteenth century inscription reading 'Iohn Fotherby Gent / He died April 2nd / 1779 Aged 76 / Years'. Date: *c.* 1400-1450, with re-use for brasses *c.* 1500 (Figs. 7 and 8).

8. Cross slab floor stone in the sanctuary floor, to the north of centre. The base of the stone is mostly hidden by the altar. Greek cross with clustered terminals, of fleur-de-lys flanked by small trefoils. The base appears to be of the pedestal type. Marginal inscription, except for the date which runs across the centre of the stone. Below the end of the date is a mason's mark, an unusual feature on such slabs. The marginal inscription reads: 'Hic iacent Joh(ann)es / Leiston & katerina uxor ei(us) qui obiit v die [mensis Januarii anno D(omi)ni M CCCCLXX : et p(re)dictus Joh(ann)es] obiit s(e)c(un)do die septe(m)bris A(nn)o q(uo)r(um) a(n)i(m)ab(us) propiciet(ur) de(us) amen + d(omi)ni Milesi(m)o CCCC LXXXXI'. The bracketed part of the inscription, now hidden by the altar step, is supplied from Hunter. Date: 1491. Fig. 5.

9. Cross slab floor stone to the south of no. 8. A rather more worn stone, with the base once completely hidden by the altar steps, but now open to view. The cross head has terminals which are an angular ivy-leaf derivative, with 'pecked'

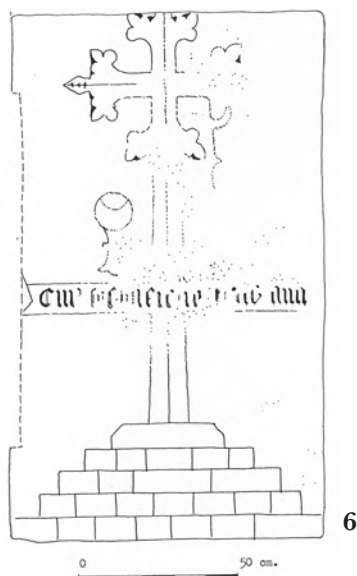


FIG. 24

Incised cross slab to an unknown priest in the area of the former guild chapel of the Holy Rood, Tickhill

Drawing: Peter Ryder

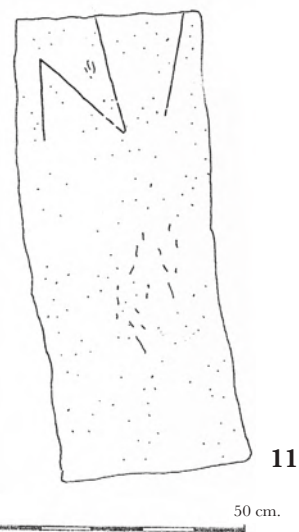
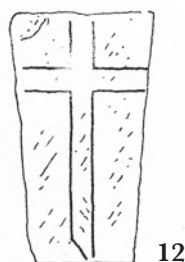
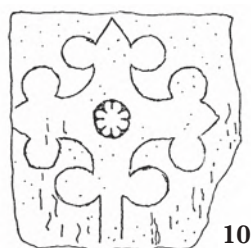


FIG. 25

Fragments of three cross slabs, Tickhill

Drawing: Peter Ryder

decoration. The marginal inscription reads 'Hic iacet [Joannes] / Twyer qui obiit nonadecimo / [die mensis Maii anno Domini M CCCC] XXX III [cuius] a(n)i(m)e p(ro)pi(c)i(eti)ur de(us)'. The bracketed words are taken from Hunter, although this may not be accurate as it is apparent from the surviving sections of the inscription that Hunter tended to expand contractions silently. Date: 1436.

10. Head of a cross slab, in the north-west corner of the sanctuary floor. Open bracelet head with eight-petalled rosette at centre. Date: *c.* 1250-1300. Fig. 25.

11. In sanctuary floor, to the south of no. 10. Very worn slab, traces of what may be an expanded arm or Maltese cross head. Date: perhaps twelfth century. Fig. 25.

12. A small complete slab lying loose at the north-west corner of the north aisle. Simple Greek cross, shaft with a canted lower terminal. Difficult to date. Fig. 25.

13. In the ringing chamber, a simple round-leaf bracelet cross, with a sword alongside.

14. In the newly-exposed part of the sanctuary floor another fragment with a chalice and Host or paten.

Johannes Lüneburg, d. 1461, Katharinenkirche, Lübeck

by REINHARD LAMP

IN the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lübeck, one of the leading Hanseatic cities, was not only a hub of European trade, but also a centre of crafts and the fine arts, the products of which can still be admired in its churches. As well as shipbuilding, industrial activity included the production of bronze and brass.¹ Copper alloy made in the city was not only exported but also used in highly skilled metal workshops which flourished here for generations.

Despite losses from causes such as war and vandalism, a fair amount of Lübeck metalwork is extant, both in the city itself and in nearby towns such as Lebrade, Bordesholm, Ratzeburg, Wismar and Mölln, sufficient to demonstrate that Lübeck was a centre of excellence in this art.

The Katharinenkirche

One of the finest collections of monuments is in the Katharinenkirche, a soaring brick Gothic church, which belonged to the Franciscan friary.² It was founded in 1225, dissolved at the Reformation in 1530, and put to public use, becoming a school, which is still functioning. Within its precincts remain the splendid vaulted cloisters and other medieval conventual buildings. During the city's occupation by French troops in the Napoleonic wars, the church was turned into a hospital. After that, it was deconsecrated and left to deteriorate, until it was incorporated into the newly founded museum in 1926. In the Second World War it was hit by a bomb, and one of the vaults in the south aisle collapsed. Apart from this it remained intact, and therefore was used as a substitute for the crippled Marienkirche. The eastern part was curtained off and served as a store-room for a firm selling household goods.

The Katharinenkirche has an interesting, indeed highly unusual, interior. While the general public used the nave for services, the eastern part was divided into an undercroft and an upper church.³ The latter, bright and lofty, was the friars' preserve, screened off from the nave and with direct access from the conventual quarters.

The undercroft is a many-vaulted hall supported by a forest of pillars, dimly lit by a few windows, with an atmosphere quite of its own. At the extreme eastern end, underneath the last bay of the vault, in the most privileged position in the church, the Lüneburg family have their chantry precinct. Their tomb is underneath a huge

¹ Street-names such as Glockengießergasse (bellfounders' street), Kupferschmiedestraße (coppersmiths' street), and the two Gröpelgruben (metal-pot-makers' streets) bear witness to Lübeck's copper-alloy production.

² On the Katharinenkirche, see G.H. Jaacks, *St. Katharinen zu Lübeck: Baugeschichte einer Franziskanerkirche* (Lübeck, 1968).

³ For parallels in Germany and Italy, see Jaacks, *St. Katharinen*, p. 29.

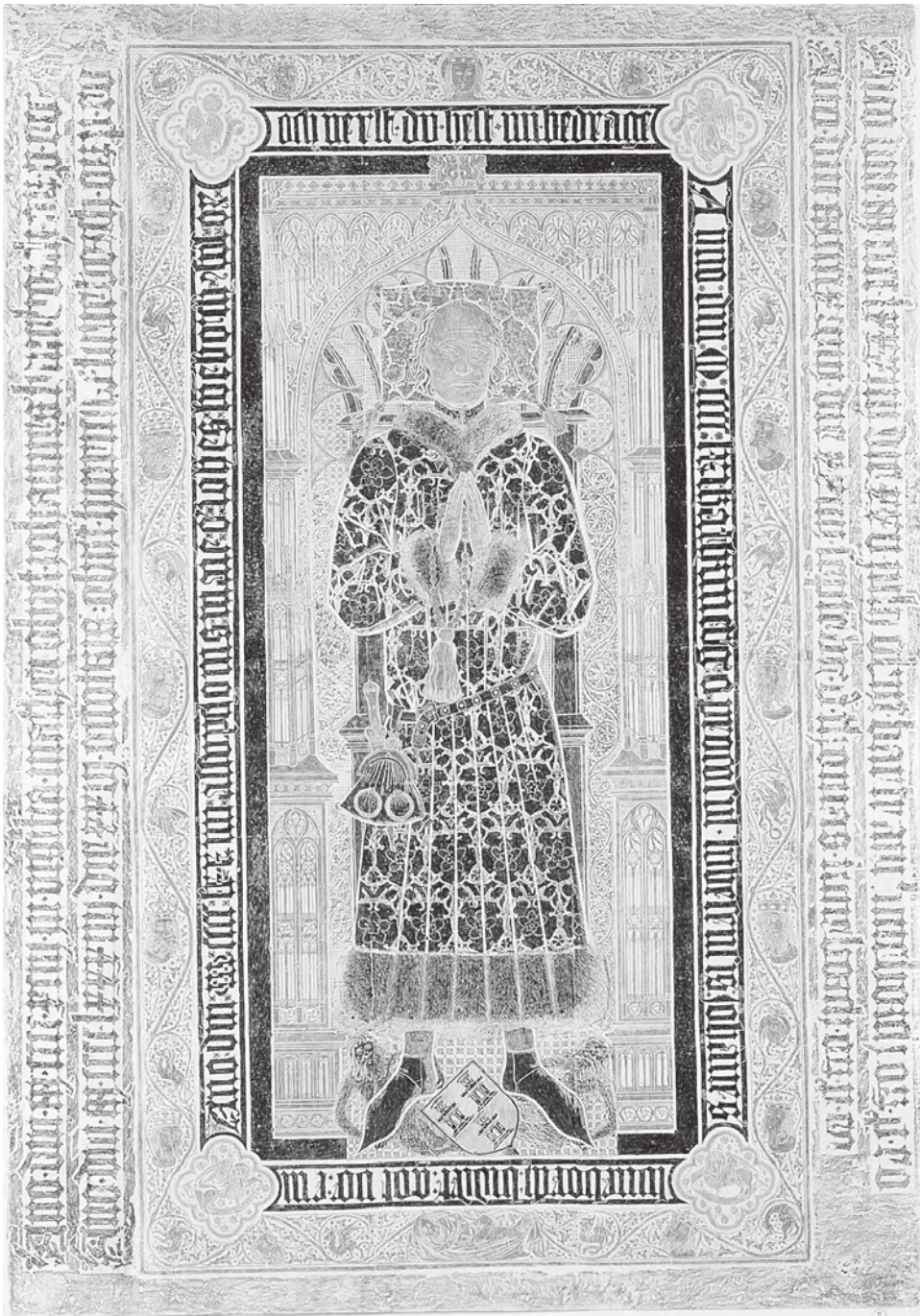


FIG. 1

Johannes Lüneburg, d. 1461, Katharinenkirche, Lübeck
Rubbing: Reinhard Lamp

slab which is covered by a splendid brass with an incised stone surround. It is protected by a low railing of wrought iron. While the rest of the church is crowded with slabs that cover the entire floor from wall to wall, no other burial place is near this imposing site.

Johann Lüneburg and his Family

Only one person is depicted on the brass (Fig. 1), but the marginal inscription commemorates two: both – father and son – named Johannes Lüneburg (Luneborch).⁴ They were members of a long-established Lübeck patrician family.

The name ‘Luneborch’ is a toponym, indicating an origin in Lüneburg. The Lüneburgs are probably descended from a rich family of civil servants from Oedeme, just outside Lüneburg, who went to Livland in the course of crusading campaigns there. The ancestor of the Lübeck branch was Alexander van Luneborch. He came from Livland in 1260 and was councillor, treasurer and burgomaster. He was armigerous, using a seal with a coat-of-arms of three embattled towers. In 1302 he was buried in the Katharinenkirche.⁵ His son Johannes I was married to Elisabeth von Bocholt and died in 1315. Johannes II was a councillor. He died in Reval (Tallinn) in 1374 while on a diplomatic mission to Novgorod. His son Johannes III became burgomaster of Lübeck in 1393; he married Heleke Lange (d. 1430), the daughter of another burgomaster, and died in 1423.

The elder of the two commemorated on the brass, Johannes IV, son of Johannes III, had begun his career as a magistrate in Kirchwerder and Bergedorf, near Hamburg. He was a senator, or councillor, from 1428. In 1440 he took part in negotiations with King Christopher III of Denmark. He was given command of the Hanseatic fleet which was to block the Danish Sound against the Dutch, and in 1442 he was elected burgomaster. He often acted as an ambassador; for example, in 1445 he took part in negotiations between the town of Soest and the Archbishopric of Cologne. He possessed the village of Sierksrade, the manor of Padelügge, the Brandenmühle mill, the village of Geschendorf and one half of Obernwohlde; the income of the last of these he bequeathed to a foundation to help the poor.⁶ He was a member of the influential Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity (the *Zirkelgesellschaft*), which had its chapel in the Katharinenkirche. He lived at Beckergrube 10, as did his son Johannes V. His first marriage was to Adelheid (Taleke), the daughter of the Lübeck senator and burgomaster Henning von Rentelen. After her death, he married Elisabeth Sworne, the widowed daughter of Gottschalk I von Wickede (1364-1439). He died in 1461.

The younger of the two mentioned in the inscription is his son Johannes V (1415-1474). He married Agneta, the daughter of Nikolaus Steinbeck, in 1453.

⁴ On the Lüneburg family, see M. Fehling, ‘Die Lübecker Patrizierfamilie Lüneburg’, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XII (1906), pp. 131-44; H.-C. Sarnighausen, ‘Zur Lübecker Ratsherrenfamilie Lüneburg - Bürgerliche „Patrizier“ der Hansezeit - Eine Grabplatte von 1461/1474 in Lübeck’, *Archiv für Familiengeschichtsforschung*, VIII, pt. 1 (2004), pp. 41-80.

⁵ M. Lutterbeck, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Lübeck, 2002), pp. 295-6.

⁶ Sarnighausen, ‘Zur Lübecker Ratsherrenfamilie Lüneburg’, pp. 41-52.



FIG. 2

Johannes Lüneburg, d. 1461, Katharinenkirche, Lübeck
Photograph: Wilhelm Castelli

Together with his brother Bertram, he was a confrater of the Augustinian priory of Segeburg in Holstein. He became a Lübeck senator in 1467 and died in 1474.

Description

The brass measures 2850 x 1550 mm, the slab 3390 x 2170 mm.⁷

Although the church floor is damp during the winter, the metal shows no sign whatever of corrosion. The brass is in pristine condition, with no damage or signs of repair. It has undergone no wear, even the finest details and lines remain, seemingly as they were when it was made.⁸

Johannes Lüneburg stands attired in a magnificent robe made of precious brocade, decorated with a floral design, and trimmed with fur at the neck, sleeves and bottom edge (Fig. 2). The long-haired fur is delicately drawn, which indicates that the material depicted is sable. In the Middle Ages such expensive fur was worn only by the richest and highest ranks of society, and that underlines the standing and personal wealth of a Lübeck burgomaster.

His face is impressively realistic.⁹ We see a thoughtful but strong-willed old man. His scant hair falls in curls from both sides of his head; his forehead is lined and wrinkled, bespeaking the heavy load of responsibility upon his mind. His head rests on a cushion decorated with the same design as his coat. Around his right hand is looped a rosary, which ends in a tassel. From his belt is suspended a dagger and a purse, locked at the top by a metal clasp, which has two small receptacles in front.

He is shod in soft leather shoes and tramples on two woodwoses which flank the family coat of arms: *three embattled towers*.¹⁰

Lüneburg stands in front of a great chair. Its seat is indicated by the cornice at waist-height behind the figure. Its high back fans out towards the top, disappearing behind the canopy. Between its ribs is a fine quatrefoil pattern, which looks almost like wickerwork. This chair is evocative of a throne, emphasizing the majestic appearance of the burgomaster.

⁷ On the brass, see A. Nesbitt, in 'Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute', *Archaeological Jnl.*, X (1853), pp. 169-70; W.F. Creeny, *A Book of Fac similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (Norwich, 1884), pl. 37; *Die Bau und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, IV, *Die Klöster ...*, ed. J. Baltzer, F. Bruns and H. Rahtgens (Lübeck, 1928), pp. 36-7; H. Eichler, 'Die messingene Grabplatte des Johann Lüneburg in der Katharinenkirche zu Lübeck', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XV, no. 3 (March 1930), pp. 39-45; W. Paatz, 'Die Lübeckische Bronzeproduktion des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, LI (1930), pp. 67-92; H.K. Cameron, 'Brasses on the Continent', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, VII, pt. 8 (1942), p. 362; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 121; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), pp. 102-3, 106, figs. 96, 199; K. Krüger, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Grabdenkmäler in Lübeck, Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg (1100 1600)*, Kieler Historische Studien, Bd. 40 (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 822-4; A. Clasen, *Verkannte Schätze: Lübecks lateinische Inschriften im Original und auf Deutsch*, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, Bd. 37 (Lübeck, 2002), pp. 176-7; R. Lamp and K. Herring, *"Das Antlitz im Boden": Abriebe norddeutscher und englischer Metallgrabplatten des Mittelalters*, exhibition catalogue, Museen für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Lübeck (Lübeck, 2006), pp. 169-74.

⁸ Neither the *Denkmalamt* of Lübeck nor the city archives possesses any record of a restoration of this brass.

⁹ [Creeny remarked on the 'individual expression of the face so remarkably suggestive of the Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone'. *Ed.*]

¹⁰ The shield is possibly derived from the arms of the town of Lüneburg: *A triple towered gate house, in the open portcullis gate an escutcheon or a lion rampant azure*.

The figure is surrounded by an intricate crocketed canopy with complex sub-cusping. The sideshafts, which have uninhabited niches, are delicately drawn, with some attempt at perspective. They support a gallery of windows, which are filled with exquisite tracery. This arcade is topped with a brattishing of leaves. The field between the figure and the architecture is taken up with a rich decoration of leafy vines and quatrefoil motifs. This ornamentation is not always consistently executed, nor is it strictly symmetrical.

Around a blank border runs a marginal inscription, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the corners, and on the outside is a margin structured by a vine coiling alternately around dragons and the heads of kings, each individually designed, with no two alike. The vine stems from a man lying at the bottom and ends at the top in the crowned head of a woman; thus it represents the Tree of Jesse, showing the ancestry of the Virgin Mary and documenting royal lineage of Christ as a descendant of David. This Tree of Jesse, and also the fine sub-cusped canopy, resemble the much older Flemish brass of Johann Klingenberg, dating from 1356.¹¹ In the later of the two great Flemish episcopal brasses in Schwerin, that of Gottfried and Friedrich von Bülow, one can also see a Tree of Jesse, although there it is a little different.¹² The use of this motif on the Lüneburg brass therefore belongs to traditional iconography.

Marginal Inscription

The marginal inscription is in a mixture of early-modern Low German and Latin, engraved in relief, in a bold Gothic minuscule strewn with abbreviations.

The left-hand margin is in a clearly different hand and was most probably added in the space that had been left there on purpose for the second event.

But also the top line with its motto is slightly different from the right-hand and bottom lines given to the mayor. That is apparent in letters reaching up into the rim. Where in the top line the letters ‘l’, ‘t’, ‘b’ all end in a simple slanted head, they are playfully serifed at their tops in the right-hand and bottom lines, with the exception of one ‘h’ and two ‘t’s that end straight, as in the top line.

The spacers are also handled differently. The top line has delicately foliated, if small, quatrefoils (except for the last, which is very small, due to lack of room in the line), whereas the right-hand line starts out with double cinquefoils, which subsequently are reduced to double quatrefoils, and end up as single and quite small quatrefoils, in the same way as the bottom line. This is probably because the engraver had again allowed himself too much room at the beginning and had to economise on space by narrowing his letters a little and putting in smaller spacers as he went along.

Another difference between these lines is in the downward slant of the superscript bar ends. This is a detail that might be presumed to be executed by an

¹¹ A handful of small remnants of the Klingenberg brass were salvaged from the remains of the Petrikirche after the war and are kept in the archives of the St. Annen-Museum. Cf. Lamp and Herring, “*Das Antlitz im Boden*”, pp. 117-20.

¹² Lamp and Herring, “*Das Antlitz im Boden*”, pp. 31-4.

engraver from habit, without thinking, and therefore could be expected to be consistent in his script and thus help to identify him. The only one in the top line has its ends slanted down towards the left, whereas all three bars of the right-hand line are slanted down towards the right.

Furthermore, some of the letters of the top line end in a straight cut on the downward stroke, while some are just slightly peaked; in the right-hand line, though, the minim-peaks are more numerous and also more pronounced.

These differences in the script might be interpreted as a sign that the second and third lines were engraved by a different craftsman engaged on the plate, perhaps another man from the same workshop, working in the same style. Another possibility is that it was the same artist who had made the brass, including the motto; he may have been called back to fill in the date-lines after the event. Perhaps he had by then developed a more pleasant, decorative style of lettering.

At any rate it seems probable that the motto line was engraved earlier, perhaps in Lüneburg's lifetime, and the other two lines after the burgomaster's death.

The fourth text-line (d) is more decorated, the serifs are more strongly peaked and more playfully done; some letters are different in form, and thus it is definitely not by the same hand, but is the work of yet another engraver.

Transcription of the text (expansions are in round brackets; corrections or additions are in square brackets)

- a och verlt dv hest mi bedrage(n)
- b Anno d(omi)ni M CCCC lxi kath[a]rine v(ir)g(inis) o(biit)
proco(n)sul lube[c]ensis¹³ Joha(n)nes
- c lvneborch biddet got vor em
- d An(n)o d(omi)ni M CCCC lxxiiii assu(m)pcionis
ma(r)ie o(biit) ioh(ann)es lv(n)eborch (con)svl or(ate)

Translation

- a O World, thou hast betrayed me!
- b In the year of the Lord 1461, on the feast of the Virgin Catherine,¹⁴
died the burgomaster of Lübeck Johannes
- c Lüneburg. Pray to God for him.
- d In the year of the Lord 1474, on the feast of the Assumption of Mary,¹⁵
died Johannes Lüneburg, councillor. Pray.

On both lateral stone borders are inscriptions to further members of the Lüneburg family who are buried in this family tomb. The text is engraved in Gothic minuscule,

¹³ The brass has lube[en]is instead of the correct lube[en]is: the engraver's letter 'c' is too long. One would think that such a mistake should not happen to a Lübeck man; he ought to know how to spell the name of his own town. Does this suggest that the person responsible for the inscription was not from Lübeck? That it was not made in Lübeck at all? Or was it the effect of a moment of inattention, induced by the manuscript submitted having a somewhat oversized letter here? I am inclined to believe in the latter solution, especially since a similar error occurs on the brass of Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, in the Große Kirche, Emden.

¹⁴ St. Catherine's day is 25 November.

¹⁵ The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary is 15 August.

in strong relief. The persons interred there are Bertram Lüneburg, the burgomaster's son (d. 25 July 1484), and the senator's three sons, Johann Lüneburg (d. 20 September 1493), Hinrich Lüneburg (d. 26 October 1484) and Thomas Lüneburg (d. 24 September 1498).

Beginning on the left-hand side, the inscription reads:

An(n)o d(omi)ni m cccc xciii in vigilia mathei obiit iohannes luneborch
 or(ate) p(ro) eo
 Anno d(omi)ni m cccc lxxxiiii die xxvi octobris obiit hinricus
 luneborch or(ate) p(ro) eo

Translation

In the year of the Lord 1493, on the eve of St. Matthew [i.e. 20 September], died Johannes Luneborch. Pray for him.
 In the year of the Lord 1484, on the 26th day of October, died Hinrich Luneborch. Pray for him.

On the right-hand side:

An(n)o d(omi)ni m cccc lxxxiiii die xxv julii obiit bartram luneborch
 or(ate) p(ro) eo
 An(n)o d(omi)ni m cccc xcvi die xxiiii septe(m)br(is) o(biit) thomas
 luneborch or(ate) p(ro) eo

Translation

In the year of the Lord 1484 on the 25th day of July died Bartram Luneborch.
 Pray for him.
 In the year of the Lord 1498 on the 24th day of September died Thomas Luneborch. Pray for him.

Origin

The provenance of this brass is uncertain. In many ways it suggests a Flemish origin, for example in the Tree of Jesse, which is an approximate copy of the much earlier (and now destroyed) Flemish brass to Johann Klingenberg, from the Petrikerche in Lübeck. In addition, the fine canopy and decorative whorled tendrils of the tapestry on either side of the figure are reminiscent of that earlier style.

However, some important details point to a German origin, among these the broad, blank frame around the central figure panel and the vigorous minuscule with prominently peaked minims.¹⁶ Also the inconsistency in the design of the background and arcade and the uneven disposition of the script in the margin is indicative of a non-Flemish workshop. Flemish influence is evident, but in German brasses of the fifteenth century that is not surprising.

¹⁶ Malcolm Norris also believes that the Lüneburg monument is not Flemish. He describes it as 'enriched with a medley of Flemish motifs, but undoubtedly German in its canopy, bold border inscription, and much of the detail' (Norris, *Memorials*, I, p. 121).

One can assume Lübeck to be the site of production. The town had very close economic and cultural ties with Flanders and was an important centre of copper-alloy production.

This assumption tallies with the Low German language of the marginal inscription. The word 'verlt' also appears engraved (with slight variation) on one of the doorways of the town hall and on the cathedral pulpit, and that is proof that the language is compatible with an attribution to the North German branch of Low German.

The next question is who might have drawn the impressive face of Johann Lüneburg. It has the appearance of a realistic portrait, but the art of portrait-painting, as practised so masterfully by Netherlandish artists, notably Jan van Eyck, had not yet reached Lübeck at that time.¹⁷

It is often suggested that Hermen Rode, a famous Lübeck painter, designed this figure.¹⁸ However, a comparison with Rode's *Lukasaltar* in the St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck, reveals that his authorship is unlikely, because Lüneburg's pronounced and individual traits have little in common with Rode's repetitive and often expressionless and unprepossessing face types.

Perhaps the burgomaster had – unbeknown to us – met some Netherlandish artist while he was acting as a representative of Lübeck and sat for a portrait that was to serve as model for his funerary monument. Or perhaps the artist had accepted an invitation to come to Lübeck.

The date of production is not quite clear, either.

Since the information concerning senator Johannes V Lüneburg was filled in later, one possible inference is that the plate was already finished before that line was added, and that the left-hand margin had been left by the father for his son.¹⁹ That would correspond to the idea that most easily comes to mind, namely that the person who had had his likeness made had also commissioned the monument. The very high cost of the magnificent brass and the expensive site, the whole easternmost chantry chapel of the Katharinenkirche, which would have been the

¹⁷ The Dutch painter Jakob von Utrecht is considered the first portraitist in Lübeck, but he was working there in the 1520s. I am grateful to Dr. Hildegard Vogeler, of the Lübeck Museen für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, for this information.

¹⁸ Eichler believes Hermen Rode to be the author of the design (Eichler, 'Die messingne Grabplatte des Johann Lüneburg', p. 42 ff). He sees in Lüneburg's face an example of Rode's 'often-employed and varied type'. I cannot agree with this view. Another indicator for Eichler are the straight and hard folds of the mayor's garments that fall without consideration of the body underneath, which according to him is typical of Rode's figures. That, however, is not the case. Rode envelops his figures in robes with soft, pleasing, and ample folds. Also the floral design of Lüneburg's brocade amounts in Eichler's eyes to proof of Rode's authorship, because in one of his Stockholm works there is the same design. However, brocade of various patterns was commonly painted by artists in the fifteenth century, and it is not unexpected to find different artists working in the same location using the same pattern. Walter Paatz follows Eichler's opinion, without offering any reasons or proof (Paatz, 'Die Lübeckische Bronzeproduktion', p. 76). Malcolm Norris repeats this view, but only quoting the above-mentioned authorities (Norris, *Memorials*, I, p. 121).

¹⁹ Eichler presents a contrary argument: 'These two dates and the difference in the script justify the belief that the plate was not made in the mayor's lifetime, but was commissioned after his death, probably by the councillor, thus between 1461 and 1474.' (Eichler, 'Die messingne Grabplatte des Johann Lüneburg', p. 39). That of course is not impossible, but Eichler is not aware of the probability that Johannes IV had acquired the site for his tomb in the Katharinenkirche's undercroft, had arranged for his monument and had his portrait drawn for the purpose - assuming, of course, but with a high degree of probability, that the picture is a portrait. The mayor might have seen the work in progress, if not completed, and the line giving the date of his death would at any rate have been added after he died. The whole line reserved to Johannes V would be filled in after his son's death, so an argument hinging on that detail is not conclusive at all as to the making of the brass as a whole.



FIG. 3

The undercroft, Katharinenkirche, Lübeck, with Kevin Herring's rubbing on display.

Photo.: Charlotte Rogers

costliest burial-site in the church, probably did not lie within the financial range of a senator, but accords with the great wealth and power that would have been in the hands of a burgomaster of Lübeck in those times.

If this reasoning is sound, then Johannes IV ordered his own monument, and the production could be dated a little before 1461.²⁰ It is also conceivable that the brass was not finished when he died and that his son Johannes V supervised the completion of the work. Certainly it was he who had his father's date-line filled in. His own inscription was then added after he himself died in 1474.

The Lüneburg monument can be numbered among the finest brasses extant. Extraordinary good chance has allowed it to come down to us in pristine condition.

The exhibition of rubbings in the Katharinenkirche in summer 2006 ('Das Antlitz im Boden') showed Kevin Herring's black monochrome rubbing and the author's coloured version affixed on either side of a display-board at the head of the brass in the eastern chapel of the undercroft. They are now on permanent view there during the summer months (Fig. 3).

²⁰ [In 1456 Johannes IV paid the friary of St. Katharinen 60 Lübeck Marks for the hanging of a table (probably an altarpiece) and for a masonry grave in the upper choir, to be adorned with a monument (Krüger, *Corpus*, p. 824). This may indicate the beginning of his plans for his monument. *Ed.*]

The Monument of Saint Henry of Finland: A Reassessment

by CLAUDE BLAIR

THE brasses on the shrine of St. Henry of Finland at Nousiainen (Nousis) near Turku (Åbo), Finland,¹ were first brought to the attention of British antiquaries by the distinguished medievalist M.R. James in an article published in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* for 1903.² This was almost simultaneously reprinted in our own *Transactions*, with minor alterations to relate the text to reproductions of rubbings of all the plates made by the great antiquary Sir Wollaston Franks (1826-97) in the contemporary *Portfolio*.³ In his article James records that his own attention was drawn to the brasses on the shrine 'by a woodcut ... in an illustrated History of Sweden (*Sveriges Historia*, six volumes, 1877-1888)',⁴ and how Professor J.J. Tikkanen of Helsingfors [Helsinki] University obtained two sets of rubbings for him to present to the South Kensington - later Victoria and Albert - and Fitzwilliam Museums, as well as 'a copy of a printed description of the monument drawn up in 1874'.⁵ The remainder of James's article is taken up with a brief account of St. Henry, and a description of what he calls his cenotaph, though, for reasons given later, it must actually have been a shrine. It is only necessary here to give outline accounts of both subjects.

According to tradition, St. Henry was an Englishman who became Bishop of Uppsala in Sweden in about 1150, and in 1155 accompanied King Eric IX of Sweden, 'the Saint', on a crusade to convert the heathen Finns to Christianity. He remained in Finland, and was murdered there in the following year by a Finn named Lalli.⁶ He was buried at Nousiainen, but his relics were translated to the cathedral

¹ The fact that the Swedish names for these places, 'Nousis' and 'Åbo', are sometimes used is because Finland was part of Sweden from the thirteenth century until 1809, and Swedish is one of the country's official languages.

² M.R. James, 'The Sepulchral Brass of St Henry of Finland', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.*, X (1903), pp. 215-22.

³ M.R. James, 'The Brass of St. Henry of Finland', *MBS Trans.*, IV (1903), pp. 336-41; *MBS Portfolio*, II, pt. 7 (June 1903). I am grateful to Sally Badham for providing me with a photocopy of the latter. Franks made his rubbings on 17 September, 1874, with the assistance of the Finnish antiquary Emil Nervander. His interest in the monument, which received much publicity in the Finnish press, resulted in a proposal to remove it for safety to Turku Cathedral. This was abortive, but it did result in the monument being conserved and relocated in a new chapel in Nousiainen church in 1902. It remained there until 1969, when it was moved back into its original place in the nave. See *V. Immonen*, "'The tedious & expensive journey": Augustus Wollaston Franks's travels through Finland in 1874', *Jnl of the History of Collecting*, XVIII, no. 2 (2006), pp. 249-56. Franks's rubbings, it should be mentioned, were presented to the Society of Antiquaries.

⁴ This refers to pp. 208-10 of Vol. II (by Hans Hildebrand) of O. Montelius *et al.*, *Sveriges Historia från äldsta tid till våra dagar*, 6 vols. (Stockholm, 1875-81).

⁵ This was E. Nervander, 'Sanct Henriks sarkofag i Nousis kyrka', *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, I (1874), pp. 73-84.

⁶ There is apparently no contemporary documentation for the existence of Henry, or even of Eric, nor is there any record of a Bishop of Uppsala named Henry at the period in question. All the information about them is derived from later traditions and legends. [Eric was venerated as a saint by 1198, when he was included in the calendar of the *Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis*. Ed.] On St. Henry, see D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th edn (Oxford, 2003), p. 246; and S. Kangas, 'The Murder of St. Henry, Crusader Bishop of Finland', in *Les élites nordiques et l'Europe occidentale (XIX^e - XV^e siècle)*, ed. T.M.S. Lehtonen and E. Mornet (Paris, 2006), pp. 189-96. The latter is the most



FIG. 1

Battle between the Swedes and Finns; St. Henry baptising the Finns, Nousiainen
Electrotype: National Museum of Finland

at Turku in 1300, whence they were removed by the Russians in the 1720s and disappeared.⁷ It is possible, though, that some relics had remained at Nousiainen, since references to his tomb there occur in later documents, including the information that Bishop Johannes Petri of Turku (1367-1370) ‘sepulcrum Sancti Henri Nousis decoravit’, while the existing monument, as we shall see, dates from

comprehensive recent short general account in English I have been able to find. On the background to the conversion of Finland, see C.J.A. Oppermann, *The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland* (London, 1937), especially pp. 199-215, and J.H. Lind, ‘Denmark and Early Christianity in Finland’, *Finskt Museum* (2006), pp. 39-54. For large, exhaustive studies in Finnish, see J. Rinne, *Pyhä Henrik, piispa ja marttyyri*, Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia, 33 (Helsinki, 1932), which includes an excellent German summary; and T. Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin Legenda* (Helsinki, 2005). The most recent survey of the cult of St. Henry is provided by the essays in *Pyhä Henrik ja Suomen kristillistyminen = Sankt Henrik och Finlands kristnande*, ed. H. Edgren, T. Talvio and E. Ahl. *Finskt Museum* (2006). The most recent work specifically on Henry’s shrine, apart from the one reviewed here, is T Riska, ‘Den helige biskop Henriks sarkofag i Nousis kyrka’, *Hikaïn*, XVII (1990), pp. 271-88 (with English summary on pp. 297-8).

⁷ A piece of ulna bone that had been placed in the early-16th-century reliquary of Blessed Hemming (1290-1366) in Turku Cathedral is all that is known to have survived. It is now kept in St. Henrik’s Catholic Cathedral, Helsinki. On the relics of St. Henry see S. Lahti, ‘Pyhän Henrikin reliikit materiaalisena läsnäolona’, *Finskt Museum* (2006), pp. 70-86.

the fifteenth century.⁸ The monumental brasses that are the subject of the present article are mounted on a tomb-chest of Tournai marble, of which the top is covered by a large rectangular plate showing St. Henry in full bishop's vestments under an elaborate canopy with figures of saints in niches. He stands on the prostrate figure of his murderer, Lalli, while at his feet is the kneeling figure of the donor of the brass, Magnus Olai Tavast, Bishop of Turku from 1412 to 1450, identified by shields of his own arms and those of his cathedral. The whole is framed in a Latin text from the liturgy for St. Henry's Day (19 January).

Set vertically round the sides of the chest are twelve latten plates - two at each end and four on each side - engraved with fifteen scenes illustrating Henry's life, martyrdom and burial, and four subsequent miracles connected with him (Figs. 1, 2, 5). The two plates at the east end were originally pivoted - as they still are on rather rough later hinges - forming doors giving access to the interior of the chest, which must indicate that it was regarded as a shrine, whether or not it still contained any relics.⁹

The elaborate scenes on the side plates are unique,¹⁰ but, more importantly, they are also outstanding examples of late-Gothic graphic art, by an artist (or group of artists)¹¹ of very considerable ability; superbly well executed, they display an inventiveness of design that rivals anything found in contemporary manuscript illuminations or tapestries. The late Keith Cameron, in his important article in the *Transactions* on the Flemish (Tournai) school of brass engravers that produced it, describes the shrine as 'a wonderful composition', and the scenes on the side plates as 'one of the most interesting historical recordings on brass left to us',¹² opinions with which I am in complete agreement. From the purely artistic point of view, they unquestionably form the finest group of medieval brasses in existence anywhere. Despite this, quite astonishingly, it was not until 1996 that the first illustrations to do justice to their quality were published.¹³ The purpose of the present article is to

⁸ For the Johannes Petri reference, which is from a 16th-century source, see Riska, 'Den helige biskop Henriks sarkofag', p. 274, but see also n. 37 below. [In Lucia Olofsdotter's will, made in 1449, it is referred to as 'sancte Henrix graff'] Nosis' (M. Hirn, 'St. Henriks kenotafium i Nousis kyrka', *Finskt Museum*, LIX (1952), p. 42). Cf. the development of the original tombs of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Richard of Chichester as cult sites. *Ed.*

⁹ James, 'The Brass of St. Henry of Finland', p. 340, notes: 'It is conjectured that objects such as rings and the like, were placed within in order to gain sanctity or healing power from contact with the martyr's former resting-place'. Apart from James and Borenius, the most useful illustrated description of the shrine with an English text is E. Snellman, *Suomen Pyhä Henrik piispa = The Brass of St. Henrik of Finland* (Helsinki, 1967). It comprises a single multi-folded sheet between two covers with identical illustrations of a rubbing on each face captioned respectively in Finnish and English.

¹⁰ There is a tradition that the lost brass of Wibold Dobbstein, Bishop of Kulm (d. 1398), formerly in the abbey of Altenberg, near Cologne, was on a tomb with what must have been similar plates depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ, but no detailed description of them is known to survive. See H. Eichler, 'A Flemish Brass of 1398', *Burlington Magazine*, LXI (1932), pp. 84-6.

¹¹ I shall, for convenience, write 'artists' in the remainder of this article.

¹² H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), p. 63.

¹³ For incomplete bibliographies of works dating from before 1991 that include information about, and/or illustrations of, the brasses on the shrine, see the Society's website and Riska, 'Den helige biskop Henriks sarkofag', to which can be added the post-war English works cited in the present article. The publication pattern is curious. As is to be expected, the majority of works are in Finnish or Swedish, and the majority of these are concerned also with other matters relating to St. Henry. The authors of all that I have looked at, including a number not in the bibliographies just mentioned, were apparently completely unaware of the extensive English literature on monumental brasses, or

draw attention to the book in which they appear, which seems to be completely unknown in this country,¹⁴ and also to add some new information to what has already been published about the brasses.

The book - *Pyhän Henrikin sarkofagi*, by Helena Edgren and Kirsti Melanko¹⁵ - is, in effect, a small portfolio of first-class colour photographs of the excellent electrotypes displayed in the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki,¹⁶ accompanied by a fairly short historical text (in Finnish), interspersed with large line-engravings of details taken from the side plates. The main emphasis is on these plates, and each is the subject of a full-page illustration, as well as of a smaller one forming part of a composition demonstrating how the plates are arranged round the shrine, and identifying the scenes engraved on them. The main brass on top, representing St. Henry, which relates closely to other episcopal brasses in Dr. Cameron's Tournai group,¹⁷ is also the subject of two full-length photographs and eleven details, including identified details of the of the twelve saints who occupy the niches in the sides of the canopy under which St. Henry stands. The book ends with a short bibliography, of which, inevitably, the only item in English is M.R James's article of 1903.

Since this is mainly a picture-book the fact that its text is entirely in Finnish is not of great significance to those who do not know the language. Despite its small size it is an important work, and also, incidentally, a delightful one. It is strongly recommended.

The scenes on the side plates depict events alleged to have taken place in Finland. On all except one the terrain depicted is indeterminate. The exception is a scene illustrating the miracle of St. Henry's finger (Fig. 2). According to tradition his murder took place in January on frozen Lake Köyliö,¹⁸ and after the ice and snow had melted, the finger on which he wore his episcopal ring, still bearing it, was found floating on a block of ice being pecked by a bird. The scene shows the ice-block floating in a channel between the shore of the lake and an island,¹⁹ and the finders, a

even of the existence of the MBS. With one exception, the only English work they cite is James's article in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*; the exception, cited by Tove Riska, is A.C. Bouquet's *Church Brasses* (1956)! The almost complete ignorance of English writings on monumental brasses displayed by Finnish and Swedish writers is matched by the total ignorance of Finnish and Swedish writings on St. Henry's shrine displayed in all post M.R. James English publications, with two exceptions, both of which are works written in English by Finns: T. Borenius, 'St. Henry of Finland: an Anglo-Scandinavian Saint', *Archaeological Jnl*, LXXXVII (1930), pp. 340-56; and Immonen, "'The tedious & expensive journey'". Borenius was mainly concerned with the saint's iconography, but his article appears to be the first to be illustrated with photographs, apparently taken when the monument was restored in 1901.

¹⁴ I have not been able to locate a copy in the online catalogues of any of the major libraries, including the British Library.

¹⁵ The full bibliographical details are: Helena Edgren and Kirsti Melanko, *Pyhän Henrikin sarkofagi*, Helsinki: Museovirasto, 1996; pp. 48, 31 colour and one half-tone illustration, numerous line-engravings in text. ISBN 951-616-012-3. Copies are on sale in the National Museum of Finland [Suomen kansallismuseo], Mannerheimintie 34, Helsinki. Mailing address: PO Box 913, FI-00101 Helsinki. Price €8.40.

¹⁶ These were acquired in 1928, and used to be shown on a reconstruction of the shrine. They are now shown separately on a wall, and so are more easily studied.

¹⁷ Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses', pp. 50-81. See also H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-century School of Flemish Brasses. Evidence for a Tournai Workshop', *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 3 (1977), pp. 199-209; and L. Nys, *La pierre de Tournai* (Tournai, 1993), pp. 92ff, 98, 99, 100, 243, 219, 241, 287.

¹⁸ The plate depicting the murder represents it as taking place on dry land.

¹⁹ This must be the island on which Köyliö church now stands, which is allegedly near the site of the murder.



FIG. 2

The miracle of St. Henry's finger, Nousiainen

Electrotype: National Museum of Finland

blind fisherman, who subsequently recovered his sight, and a boy, approaching it in a rowing-boat. The island is covered with deciduous trees in full leaf, among which can be recognised an oak bearing acorn, and what appears to be an apple-tree in fruit. Such trees are not a typical part of the Finnish scenery, and oak trees are not common, though they do occur in the south of the

²⁰ Two other oak trees are shown in the scene depicting Lalli killing a Swedish man, a crime for which he was reprimanded by Henry, and another apple tree(?) in the scene showing Henry's body being carried to Nousiainen church.



FIG. 3

The base of the monument of St. Henry, Nousiainen

Photograph: John Blair

country,²⁰ while a lion in the background is, as James dryly remarks, ‘one of those lions of which Finland may be supposed to be as justly proud as is Iceland of its snakes’. In short, the artist responsible for the scenes knew nothing about Finland, and must have been provided only with the themes from St. Henry’s legend that were to be illustrated and left to use his own imagination about how he interpreted them.²¹ It is reasonable to assume that he based the terrain on that of his own area, as also the dress and, above all, the high-quality armour depicted.

We have only three pieces of firm evidence about the origins and early history of the brasses:

1. The main brass, representing St. Henry, must date from between 1412 and 1450, the period during which its donor, Magnus Olai Tavast, was Bishop of Turku.²²

²¹ James, ‘The Brass of St. Henry of Finland’, p. 337, suggests likely sources that might have been used for the themes.

²² [On Bishop Magnus Tavast, see A.-P. Palola, *Maunu Tavast ja Olavi Maununpoika Turun piispat 1412 1460* (Helsinki, 1997) (with German summary on pp. 490-504). The Nousiainen monument is discussed on pp. 223-4, 243-4. Palola suggests a link with the monument of Blessed Nicholas Hermansson at Linköping, but that is of a very different kind. *Ed.*]

2. The style of the main brass establishes beyond doubt that it was produced in Tournai.²³

3. A decorative border of repeated rosettes carved in a hollow moulding round the base of the body of the shrine (Fig. 3), which has been ignored in previous publications, makes it virtually certain that the whole was produced in Tournai.²⁴ Our Belgian member Ronald van Belle has kindly sent me the following comment on this:

This ... is a very common decoration in Tournai. I do not know at first sight an example of an elevated tomb because most of the bases have disappeared but this rosette occurs on a great number of the frames of carved memorials. The base [of the St. Henry shrine] is to my opinion Tournai stone and the tomb chest is not earlier. It was sent as a kit: stone and brasses as a whole all-together.

For comparison he cites the Tournai marble ex-voto wall-monument of Thierry de la Hamaide in the church of Sainte-Maxellende, Caudry (arrondissement of Cambrai), France, dating from before October 1415, which is framed by a very similar moulding set with rosettes (Fig. 4).²⁵

All the Finnish and Swedish works on the shrine I have been able to consult, and all the English ones down to 1972,²⁶ take it for granted that all the brasses are contemporary with each other, though there have been differences of opinion about exactly when during Bishop Tavast's long reign they were commissioned. In his 1972 article on Tournai brasses, however, Keith Cameron, who was of course unaware of the significance of the rosette border around the base of the body of the shrine, wrote about the side panels:

Stylistically they appear to be a good deal earlier than the top plate. It would seem that these panels were put on the tomb by Bishop Johannes Peter shortly before his death in 1370. He placed the chest there and it is recorded of this event and of him that "sepulcrum Sancti Henri Nouis decoravit".

To which he added, in a footnote: 'It is now known that the composition of the metal used for the side plates is significantly different from that of the top plate.'²⁷

Malcolm Norris expanded this in his *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* of 1977, as follows:

The engraved latten panels, fixed to the sides of the tomb or shrine ... at Nouisainen (*sic*) ... have confused the judgement of scholars. The memorial or

²³ James, 'The Brass of St. Henry of Finland', p. 337.

²⁴ Tournai marble was widely exported, and Rinne, *Pyhä Henrik*, p. 243, suggests that the 'tomb-chest' might be earlier than the existing brasses. Cf. also below, n. 37.

²⁵ L. Nys, *Les tableaux votifs tournaisiens en pierre 1350 1475*, Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoire de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, Collection in-8°, 3e série, 17 (Brussel, 2001), p. 190.

²⁶ Apart from those mentioned in notes 3 and 13 above, the only pre-1972 English works to mention or illustrate one or more of the brasses appear to be: W. Gawthorp, *The Brasses of Our Homeland Churches* (London, 1923), p. 18; J.G. Mann, 'The Visor of a Fourteenth-century Bascinet found at Pevensy Castle', *Antiquaries Jnl*, XVI (1936), p. 415, pl. LXXV; A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (London, 1956), p. 40; Malcolm Norris, *Brass Rubbing* (London, 1965), p. 27, fig. 23.

²⁷ Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses', p. 63.



FIG. 4

Wall-monument of Thierry de la Hamaide, Sainte-Maxellende, Caudry, before October 1415

Photograph: Société philatélique de Caudry

cenotaph consists of a high tomb, erected in honour of the Saint by Bishop Johannes Petri shortly before his death in 1370. The top is inlaid with a large brass, prepared in the fifteenth century by order of Bishop ... Tavast of Abo (now Turku) ... The sides of the tomb are also inlaid with plates depicting scenes from the life of St Henry ... In spite of the apparent fourteenth century style of these panels, it has become established to date the brasses to the fifteenth century, in order to explain the character of the top plate. Dr Cameron has

shown however that this is not necessary, and is most probably erroneous. Bishop Johannes is recorded as having “decorated” as well as constructed the tomb, and metallurgical analysis has shown marked differences between the consistency of the side and top plates. The panels should be regarded as part of the initial work, the top plate being a later attempt by Bishop Tavast to improve the memorial, and include himself upon it.²⁸

Sadly, the evidence put forward in support of the conclusion summarised in the last sentence will not bear close examination.

Cameron writes about the side plates that ‘stylistically they appear to be a good deal earlier than the top plate’, which Norris glosses as ‘apparent fourteenth century style’, by which, in view of the attribution to Bishop Johannes Petri, they must mean the style current round about 1370. Neither author goes into details about what precisely they are referring to, but since the representation of armour, arms and dress are the only features of the plates that can be dated on stylistic grounds, it must be these. This being so, one detail on the first plate alone should have warned them that it was very improbable that it could be as early as 1370. Among the Finns drawn up in battle array ready to repulse King Eric of Sweden and St. Henry as they prepare to land is the unique representation of a very early cannon being supplied with both giant arrows and balls for ammunition (Fig. 5).²⁹

The earliest known illustrations of guns anywhere are in two manuscripts by the English royal clerk Walter de Milemete. One bears the date 1326 (Old Style), but can be dated on internal evidence to between 25 January and 24 March 1327 (New Style): the other must be slightly earlier because it is mentioned in the dated manuscript.³⁰ Thereafter, there is a gap of over sixty years before the next recorded illustration,³¹ despite the fact that there is ample documentary evidence to show that firearms had been widely adopted in Europe by 1370.³² The reason for this is unknown, but the most likely one is that they were not approved of by the Church, and, perhaps more importantly, by the nobility.

The fact that a gun is illustrated on the Nousiainen plate is *prima facie* evidence, therefore, for thinking that it is not likely to be earlier than the 1390s, and the more so - though there is no reason why Cameron and Norris should have known this - in view of the fact that in form, mounting and size it is very close to that of a cannon

²⁸ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, pp. 38-9.

²⁹ Its special interest, apart from its early date, lies in the fact that it is shown being used in the field, unlike all the other known representations of the earliest cannon, which depict them at sieges. These are the two in the Milemete MSS mentioned in the next paragraph, and the four illustrated by Norman in the article cited in n. 31 below.

³⁰ For the most recent account of these see C. Blair, ‘The Milemete Guns’, *Journal of the Ordnance Soc.*, XVI (2004), pp. 5-18. See also L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285 1385*, 2 vols. (London, 1986), nos. 84, 85.

³¹ A.V.B. Norman, ‘Notes on some early representations of guns and on ribaudekins’, *Jnl of the Arms and Armour Soc.*, VIII (1974-6), pp. 234-7. He illustrates four manuscript illustrations of warfare illustrating cannon dating from between c. 1390 and c. 1415, which were the earliest he was able to find after the Milemete illustrations. Three, in the British Library, are attributed to France and one, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to England, of which the latter depicts a cannon very like that on the St. Henry plate (*cf.* n. 33 below).

³² The earliest recorded mention of firearms in Finland, though, is not until 1429, and relates to Viipuri (Viborg) Castle. See Carl Jacob Gardberg, ‘Medieval Castles’, <http://finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=160061&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>, accessed 12 January 2010.



FIG. 5
St. Henry and St. Eric arriving in Finland, Nousiainen
Electrotype: National Museum of Finland

illustrated in an English manuscript of *c.* 1400, Marco Polo, *Li Livres du Graunt Caam*, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.³³ One feature of some of the armours on both the plates that illustrate the conversion of the Finns, including the armour of the King of Sweden, leaves no doubt that such a dating is correct. This is a solid rounded breastplate with a medial ridge and a short skirt (fauld) of narrow lames that clearly

³³ MS Bodley 264, f. 255. Illustrated in colour in R. Brown, *Marco Polo* (Stroud, 2005), pl. [14b].

goes round the back, thus establishing the existence of a solid backplate carrying a continuation of the skirt. The earliest known evidence for this combination, which was to become the standard one, dates from the last decade of the fourteenth century. It should be mentioned, incidentally, that the numerous dots on the skirts represent rivets holding the textile covering that held the plates together, as was usual on much fourteenth-century plate armour. This functional covering began to be replaced slowly by riveted internal leathers during the first decade of the fifteenth century, so that the polished surfaces of the plates were on the outside, producing what in the fifteenth century was known as *white* (or *alwite*) armour.³⁴

There are other details of armour, weapons, and costume that point to a date not earlier than the very end of the fourteenth century, and possibly as much as twenty years later.³⁵ There is no need, though, to discuss them here, my main point having been made: the scenes are stylistically too late to have been added to the shrine before 1370 by Bishop Johannes Petri, so it clearly follows that they must be contemporary with the main brass, and therefore date from between 1412 and 1450. The Bishop Johannes Petri reference, it should be mentioned, not only comes from a sixteenth-century source,³⁶ which, in itself, makes it unreliable as evidence, but does not give the slightest indication of what form his decoration of the 'sepulcrum sancti Henrici Nosis' took.³⁷ Also, the difference in the composition of the latten alloys used respectively for the main brass and the side plates, mentioned by Cameron, is not of the slightest dating value; all that it means is that the alloys came from different batches.

The question of precisely when between 1412 and 1450 the brasses were commissioned presents a much more difficult problem. Before considering it, we must consider the views of Finnish and Swedish writers on the subject. I will start with what may or may not be another red herring.

In 1719 the Swedish antiquary Johan Peringskiöld published a book in which he stated, without citing any supporting evidence, that Bishop Tavast had commissioned the shrine in 1429.³⁸ This, for obvious reasons, cannot be taken as a reliable dating, as was pointed out in 1952, by the great Swedish medieval archaeologist Bengt Thordeman, in an article in which he uses a detailed study of the styles of the arms, armour and secular dress depicted on the side plates of the

³⁴ See O. Gamber, 'Harnischstudien: V. Stilgeschichte des Plattenharnisches von den Anfängen bis um 1440', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, L (1953), figs. 61, 66-7; C. Blair, *European Armour* (London, 1958), pp. 58, 61. The earliest firmly-dated evidence for the existence of the fully-developed alwite armour is provided by the statue of an armoured giant on the exterior of Milan Cathedral, carved by Matteo Raverti in 1404 (Gamber, *op. cit.*, fig 66, where it is misdated to 1403).

³⁵ Notably the coat-armours fitting closely to the armoured torso, but with flared skirts. For late-14th and early-15th-century battle scenes showing generally similar arms and armour see Norman, 'Notes on some early representations of guns', pp. 14, 24, 26, 27, 36, 37, 46, 50; and especially the tapestry at Padua discussed later.

³⁶ See n. 8 above.

³⁷ Rinne, *Pyhä Henrik*, pp. 243, 456, states as a fact that he erected the present stone 'tomb-chest' as a typical 'Martyreraltär', but does not give any details of his evidence for this.

³⁸ J. Peringskiöld, *Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsalia Nova illustrata* (Stockholm, 1719), p. 128. [There are copies of this important survey of monuments, mostly in Uppsala Cathedral, in the British Library, the Bodleian Library (Gough Sax. lit. 100) and Cambridge University Library (7592.a.4). The engraving of the brass facing p. 128 is based on a drawing made by Elias Brenner in 1670. *Ed.*]

shrine to date it.³⁹ Despite this, however, some other writers have accepted it, while others are equivocal about it. Immonen, for example, writes that the ‘current consensus among scholars ... is that the sarcophagus was ... made ... after the year 1429’, citing three works as evidence, including Edgren and Melanko, who merely record Peringskiöld’s statement without comment.⁴⁰

In the article referred to above Thordeman concludes that the stylistic evidence of the scenes on the side plates points to a date of *c.* 1410-20, but, since he, correctly, regarded it as certain that the brasses, at least, were commissioned after Bishop Tavast’s appointment in 1412, he ends up with a final date of *c.* 1415-20. I agree entirely with this. The armour styles represented would have been very old-fashioned in 1429, and it is inconceivable that the artists responsible would not have known this. Apart from the fact that Tournai was itself an armour-making centre, it was situated near enough to two of the major ones, Brussels and Bruges, for everyone in Tournai to be aware of the latest fashions being produced there for the Burgundian Court.⁴¹

In the first of his articles on the fourteenth-century school of Flemish brasses, Cameron suggested that the marginal figures and scenes found on many of the figure brasses produced by it were influenced by contemporary Flemish manuscript illuminations and tapestries.⁴² I am not convinced that all his comparisons are specific, rather than part of the general artistic repertoire of the fourteenth century. I do think, though, that it is very probable that specialist designers were employed by the makers of the brasses to produce large and complicated scenes like those on the shrine, especially since such commissions must have been extremely rare.⁴³ Given that Tournai was, above all, famous for the production of tapestries, a tapestry-designer seems to be a very likely choice, and, in fact, a piece of contemporary Flemish tapestry with a scene that is stylistically very close indeed to the two ‘invasion’ scenes does exist.

The piece in question, in the Museo Civico, Padua, is the left-side half of a larger tapestry, which must itself have been part of a sequence of tapestries depicting scenes from the medieval French romance, *Jourdain de Blaye* (Fig. 6). It shows, in the centre foreground, the meeting, at the beginning of the story, of Fromont and Gérard, Jourdain’s father. The former has arrived by sea in the first of two ships which are both of exactly similar design to those in the first and thirteenth scenes on St. Henry’s shrine. They are filled with armed men, whose weapons and armour are closely similar to those on the two ‘invasion’ scenes on the shrine, while

³⁹ B. Thordeman, ‘Dateringen av Sankt Henriks kenotaf i Nousis’, *Corolla Archaeologica in Honorem C. A. Nordman* (Helsinki-Helsingfors, 1952), pp. 235-47, at p. 237. In a footnote on the same page he records that the distinguished Swedish medieval archivist Ernst Nygren had been unable to identify the source of Peringskiöld’s information.

⁴⁰ Immonen, “‘The tedious & expensive journey’”, p. 6. The other works are Hirn, ‘St. Henriks kenotafium’, pp. 41-79; M. Hiekkänen, *Suomen Kivikirkot Keskajalla* (Helsinki, 2003), pp. 192-3. To these can be added Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin Legenda*, pp. 257-61; and Palola, *Maunu Tavast ja Olavi Maununpoika*, p. 224.

⁴¹ See E.J. Soil de Moriamé, *Armes et Armuriers Tournaisiens* (Anvers [Antwerp], 1913) and C. Gaier, *L’Industrie et le commerce des armes dans les anciennes principautés belges (du XIIIe à la fin du XVe siècle)* (Liège, 1973), both *passim*.

⁴² Cameron, ‘The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses’, p. 69.

⁴³ The only other one known is the Altenberg monument referred to in n. 10 above.



FIG. 6

Jourdain de Blaye tapestry, Museo Civico, Padua

Photograph: Museo Civico, Padua

the treatment of the trees is similar to that on the thirteenth scene, showing the miracle of St. Henry's finger, though the landscape on the tapestry is infinitely richer.

According to the most recent work in which the tapestry is illustrated and briefly discussed, it was 'probably woven in Paris or Arras, ca. 1385-1400'.⁴⁴ One figure standing at the front of the leading ship, from which Fromont has just disembarked, however, wears a complete alwite armour, which, for reasons given above and in note 34, is unlikely in the extreme to be any earlier than the very beginning of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, among the staff-weapons represented are three with large cleaver-like heads which the distinguished French *archéologue à armes* Charles Buttin convincingly identified as the medieval Flemish weapon known as a *goedendag*, and of which a version is shown on the second St. Henry scene.⁴⁵ The tapestry, therefore, is clearly of much the same date as the brasses, and in view of the uncertainties over the dating and attribution of early tapestries, there seems to me to be no obvious reason, either, why it should not have been made in Tournai rather than Arras. This being so, I suggest that the stylistic similarities between the scene on the tapestry and those on the three Nousiainen panels, in particular the first two, provides a strong case for ascribing the original designs to the same artist or group of artists.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my Finnish daughter-in-law, Kanerva, and my son, John, for locating copies of some of the Swedish and Finnish works I have cited, and especially to her for translating passages for me. Both also read through the text in typescript and made a number of helpful comments and corrections. Thanks are also due to Professor Olavi Heikkinen, for kindly driving us all from Helsinki to Nousiainen and back.

⁴⁴ T.P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 16, 24-5, fig. I.11, and detail opposite p. 3. Cf. also n. 45 below.

⁴⁵ C. Buttin, 'Le Goedendag', *Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société des Amis du Musée de l'Armée*, no. 49 (1938), pp. 190-212. The evidence of the tapestry is discussed on pp. 210-11, and a drawing of the armoured figures is reproduced on p. 209.

The Monument of Saint Henry of Finland: An Assessment of its Construction and Conservation

by DERRICK CHIVERS

CLAUDE Blair has revealed the paucity of published material relating to this very important monument. There also appears to be no published account referring to the repairs undertaken when the tomb was moved to a specially constructed chapel in 1902 and on its return to its original position in the nave in 1969.¹ However, a study of A.W. Frank's rubbings, dated 1874, of all the plates, H.K. Cameron's rubbing of the top plate, of c. 1975, and published photographs of the brass has enabled some questions to be answered, but left others to be considered for future research.

The brass plate which adorns the top of the table tomb has been described by Cameron as a fine example from the Flemish workshop with all the associated design elements.² What has not been observed is the additional border with foliage design attached to the upper and lower edges of the plate.

The brass was originally bordered by a standard Tournai workshop pattern of quatrefoil-dot-cinquefoil-dot; however, it was decided to increase the design by 3 cm at both ends. These additions consist of five plates, two at the top and three at the base, engraved with a simple foliage design also used by this school.³ If these extensions were intended to be part of the original contract, then at least the lower border could have been engraved on the three plates at the foot of the main composition if they were the same size as the other plates. Instead those plates have been shortened, and stop at the edge of the main border. They were also joined together incorrectly as the stem supporting the foliage does not register correctly between the plates. This can be seen between plates A and B; C and D on the *MBS Portfolio* illustration which is an accurate copy of the original rubbing, except the outer frame has been widened & provided with straight edges (Fig. 1). This error was rectified during the 1901 restoration, as all subsequent illustrations show plate C transposed with B so the pattern flows correctly. As plate C was 1 cm shorter, a blank piece of new metal was added to the top right corner to complete the outer frame (Fig. 2, upper & lower edges comparison between the 2 rubbings).⁴ What cannot be accounted for is that section E has been replaced with a new plate which now does not register correctly with plate D. This can be seen on Cameron's rubbing where two adjoining leaves face upwards.

¹ On the 1967-9 restoration, by Heikki Havas and Maija Kairamo, see T Riska, 'Den helige biskop Henriks sarkofag i Nousis kyrka', *Hikuin*, XVII (1990), p. 273. She refers to unpublished archives in the Byggnadshistoriska avdelningen, Museiverket, Nervandersgatan 13, Helsingfors. For a comprehensive account of the restoration of Flemish brass to King Eric Menved and Queen Ingeborg at Ringsted, Denmark, see K. Holm, 'Erik Menveds og Ingeborgs gravplade – restaurering og undersøgelse', *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1972 (København, 1972), pp. 171-82 (abridged, translated version in *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt.1 (1992) pp 2-18).

² H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 2 (1970), p. 63.

³ This pattern is included on the outer border of the brass to Alan Fleming, 1370, Newark, Notts., illustrated in L. Dennison, 'The Artistic Context of Fourteenth Century Flemish Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 1 (1986), pls. I(B), VII(B).

⁴ The electrotypes were produced during this restoration when the plates were loose, as there is no evidence for rivets or stone surround. A photograph of an exhibition of medieval art at the Ateneum, Helsingfors, in 1903 shows the plates attached to a dummy tomb chest in the centre of a gallery (M. Hirn, 'St. Henriks kenotafium i Nousis kyrka', *Finskt Museum*, LIX (1952), fig. 10).

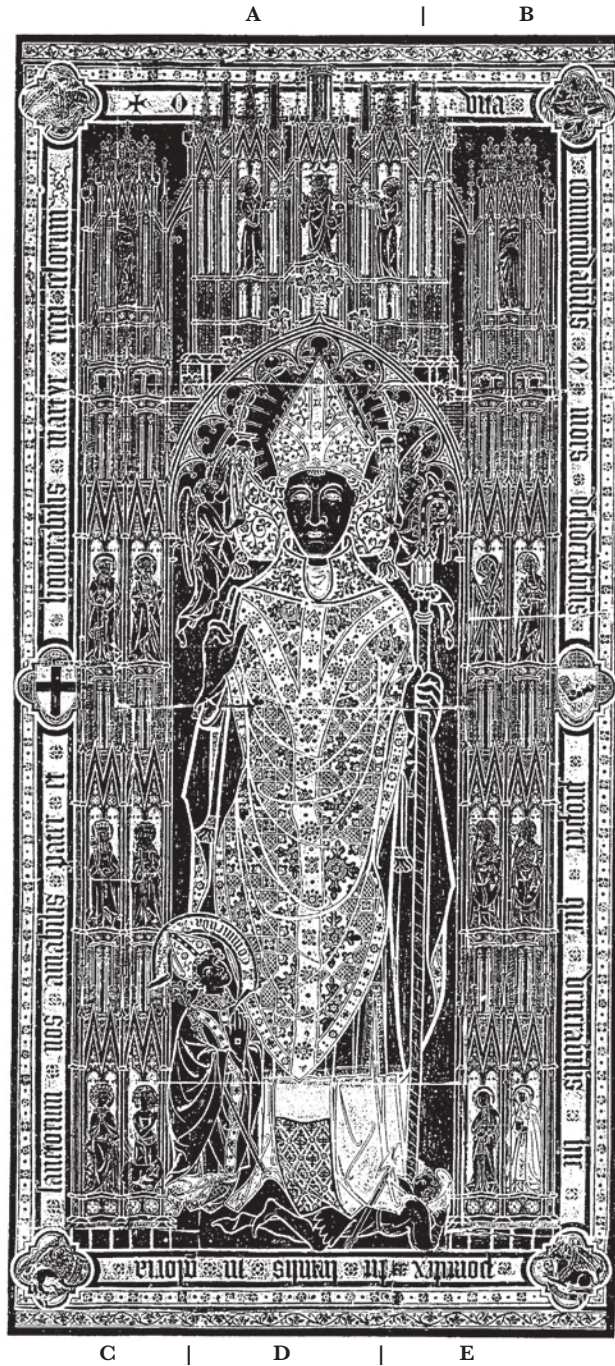
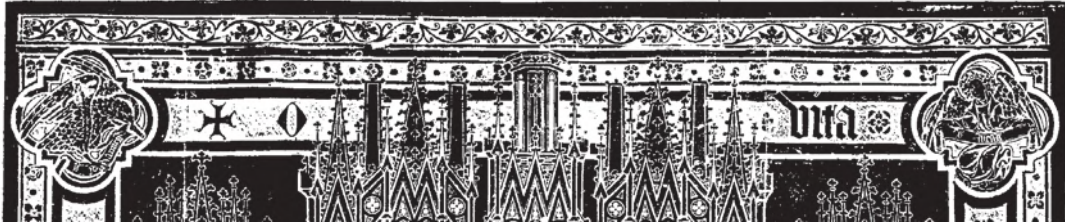


FIG. 1
St. Henry of Finland, Nousiainen
Rubbing: A.W. Franks, 1874 (from MBS Portfolio)

Franks

A

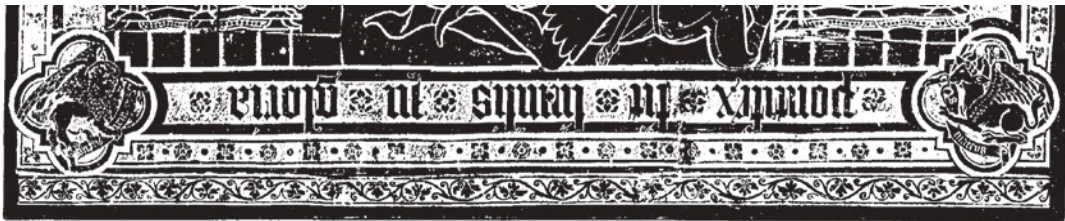
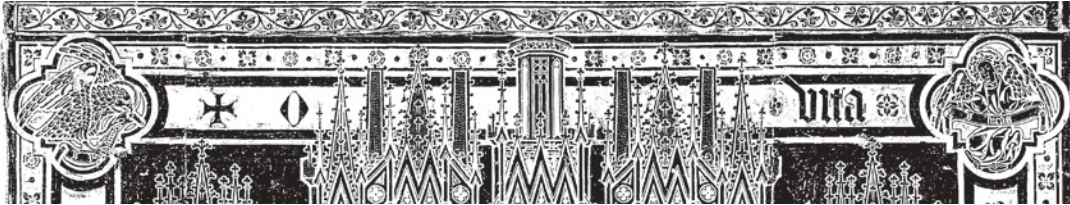
B



Cameron

A

B



Franks

C

D

E

Rivet



Cameron

C

D

E

FIG. 2

Comparison between rubbings of the upper and lower edges by Franks, 1874, and Cameron, c. 1975

Blair has already confirmed that the tomb and brass were both executed at Tournai, so any errors in various components must have occurred between the metal and stone workshops. Once the body and top slab of the shrine had been constructed, it would have been easier to lengthen the brass to overcome the 6 cm difference in the required length rather than amend the rest of the composition.

Another difference between the two rubbings is the level of the plates where they join together. On Franks's rubbing, the definite uneven levels above St. Henry's figure are evident from the white line on the *Portfolio* illustration (Fig. 1). Cameron's rubbing



FIG. 3

The miracle of St. Henry's finger
Detail of Franks rubbing, showing corrosion and damage



FIG. 4

The miracle of St. Henry's finger
Rubbing: A.W. Franks, 1874 (from MBS Portfolio)

reveals the unevenness removed with an accurate record of all the engraving. Repairs to the joining bars between the various plates, which involved removing the brass from its slab, must have been undertaken in 1967-9. It was also decided to provide extra security; a 13mm diameter flat-headed rivet was inserted through the right leg of the figure of Lalli at St. Henry's feet (seen in Fig. 2 on Cameron's rubbing).

The side panels have been subjected to various repairs and cleaning. Franks described the monument as in poor condition and in urgent need of restoration, which

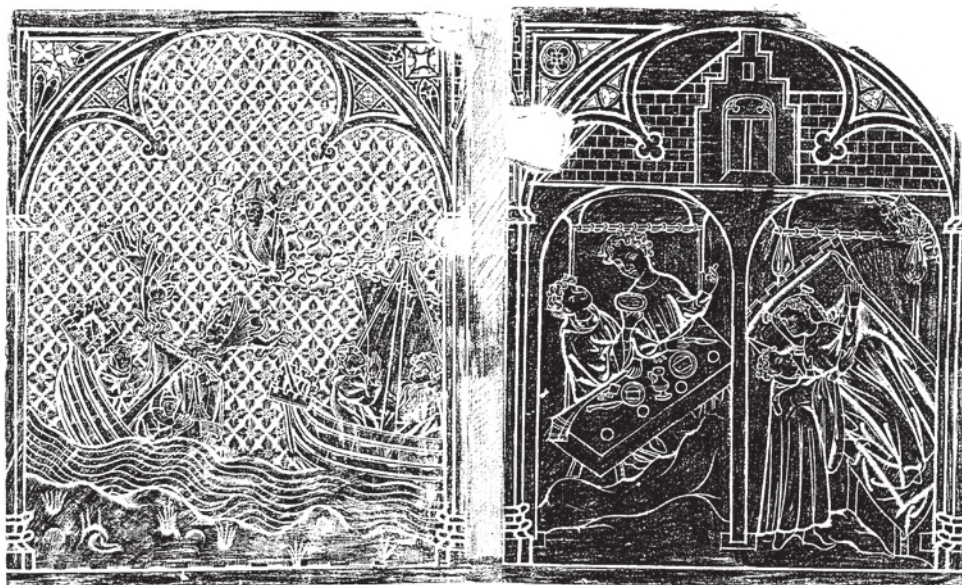


FIG. 5

Side panels, showing hinges

Rubbing: A.W. Franks, 1874 (from MBS Portfolio)

could refer to structural damage to both the tomb chest and brass plates.⁵ Again, the Portfolio illustrations have been extensively doctored when compared to the original Franks rubbings. These are on thinner paper and completed by a different hand and to an inferior standard to the rubbing of the main plate.⁶ They indicate some of the panels were corroded and engraved lines filled. The scene recording the miracle of St Henry's finger is damaged with a section missing along its entire length to the right of the finger, measuring between 10 and 40 mm (Fig.3). A note on the rubbing by Mill Stephenson states: 'Make up this gap from photo'. An examination of the original and the electrotype reveals the insertion of new metal to fill the missing area. There was also a change in the design for engraving this infill. On the Portfolio plate, two stars are depicted between the two trees (Fig. 4), but these were not included in the restored brass.⁷ The upper right corner of the door panel depicting a miracle of St. Henry at Sandhem was also replaced.

The door panels are also illustrated in this publication without the large hinges which cover an extensive area of the two plates (Fig. 5). These were removed during the 1901 restoration when the electrotypes were made. All these replicas illustrate the brass in perfect condition with empty rivet holes. After restoration, the hinges were replaced and again cover the edges.⁸

⁵ V. Immonen, "The tedious & expensive journey": Augustus Wollaston Franks's travels through Finland in 1874', *Jnl of the History of Collecting*, XVIII, no. 2 (2006), p. 253.

⁶ A.W. Franks was assisted in making the rubbings by Emil Nervander (Immonen, "The tedious & expensive journey", p. 252).

⁷ See photograph of the facsimile reproduced above by Blair, p.564.

⁸ Franks rubbed the door panels in reverse order so that the hinges are in the centre and not at the outer sides of the plates where they are attached to the corners of the tomb. This order was subsequently published in the *MBS Portfolio* and in the articles by James and Borenus.

Conservation of Brasses, 2006-07

by WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the twenty-third report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Albury, Ashby St. Ledgers, Ashford, Bayford, Catterick, Edgware, Evershot, Heston, Higham, Mickfield, Norwich (St. Giles), Rendham, Ringwood and Wath, and for funding the facsimiles at Bayford, Edgware and Heston; to Derrick Chivers for assistance at Edgware and Heston; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Catterick and Wath; to Geoffrey Lack for assistance at Strensham; to Miss Lucy Lack for assistance at Ringwood; to Miss Annabel Read for assistance at Strensham; to Leslie Smith for assistance at Ashford, Barham and Ringwoud; to Frank Wheaton for assistance at Heston; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Ashby St. Ledgers, Barham, Bayford, Catterick, Edgware, Evershot, Norwich (St. Giles), Rendham, Ringwood and Wath; the Monumental Brass Society at Ashby St. Ledgers, Barham, Bayford, Catterick, Edgware, Evershot, Norwich (St. Giles), Rendham, Ringwood, Ringwoud and Wath; the Morris Fund of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Wath; and to the Yorkshire Historic Churches Trust at Wath. The rubbings are mine, unless otherwise attributed.

ALBURY, HERTFORDSHIRE¹

LSW.II. Henry Barley, c.1475, and wife Katharine.² This London (series F) brass, comprising an effigy in armour 408 x 188 mm), female effigy (396 x 148 mm), four daughters and an achievement (300 x 230 mm), lies in the original Purbeck slab (1640 x 710 mm) in the nave. There are indents for a foot inscription and two sons. The only part conserved was the group of daughters (141 x 107 mm, engraved on two plates, thickness 3.1 mm, one rivet), which was taken up on 11 September 2007. After cleaning I rejoined the two plates and fitted a new rivet. The group was relaid on 16 November 2007.

ASHBY ST. LEDGERS, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Two brasses from the church³ had been in the care of the Northampton Architectural Society since 1913 and subsequently in the Northamptonshire Record

¹ Earlier work was described in *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 2 (2004), pp. 145-8.

² W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (Stratford St. Mary, 2009), pp. 1, 3.

³ The two brasses were illustrated and discussed in some detail in the recent Monumental Brass Society publication, *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St Ledgers, Northamptonshire*, ed. J.F.A. Bertram (London, 2006), especially in the paper 'The One(s) that got Away', by Jane Houghton, pp. 18-23. They have been given 'LSW' numbers following a survey undertaken for the forthcoming *County Series* volume.

Office.⁴ They were released on permanent loan to the church and were collected from the Record Office by Martin Stuchfield on 21 October 2006.

LSW.I. (Northampton Archit. Soc. M.S.I). Civilian and wife, *c.*1400, with portions of a double canopy; probably John Catesby, 1404-5, and wife Emma, 1427.⁵ This London (series A) brass now comprises a male effigy (now 1150 x 330 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 4.3 mm and 3.9 mm, 14 rivets), a female effigy (now 1115 x 301 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 11 rivets) and parts of the gables of a double canopy (now 441 x 556 mm, broken into 3 pieces, thickness 4.0 mm, 9 rivets). The scrolls encircling the heads of both effigies are mutilated. The inscription, probably marginal, and five shields, have been recorded by earlier antiquaries but are now lost. After cleaning I repaired fractures in the male effigy, rejoined two of the parts of the canopy and fitted new rivets. The brass was rebated and secured into a large cedar board with the plates positioned as in the *Portfolio* illustration and with conjectural outlines of missing parts lightly incised.

LSW.IV. (Northampton Archit. Soc. M.S.II). Civilian, *c.*1450, mutilated, with a portion of a canopy. This London (series D) brass now comprises a male effigy (1075 x 316 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 4.0 mm and 4.2 mm, 6 rivets) and a canopy gable (500 x 340 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 2 rivets). The 'stump' of a shaft on the left-hand side of the canopy suggests that this might originally have been part of a double canopy. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets. The plates were rebated into a cedar board with conjectural outlines of missing parts lightly incised.

The boards were mounted on the south wall of the north chapel on 1 November 2007.

ASHFORD, KENT

M.S.I. The head of an unknown priest, *c.* 1282.⁶ This celebrated Ashford-style brass (157 x 145 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 2 rivets) was originally laid in the chancel. It had been relaid in a Victorian slab in the north chapel. It was secured by screws, corroded and proud of the stone. It was taken up by Leslie Smith in July 2006 and delivered to me by the incumbent shortly afterwards. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted in the north chapel on 28 June 2007.

⁴ The earlier brass was recorded in the possession of George Baker, the Northamptonshire historian, in 1851, and both brasses are thought to have been in the hands of the Northampton Architectural Society by 1913. The Society was wound up in 1979 and the plates were deposited in the Northamptonshire Record Office, being accessioned in 1997 as 'NAS/97/1: 7 pieces possibly from Ashby St Ledgers; and NAS/97/2: 3 pieces from Ashby St Ledgers'.

⁵ Illustrated in the *MBS Portfolio*, III, pt.1 (1906), pl.1, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses: the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 71.

⁶ J. Coales (ed.), *Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), pp. 115-6, fig. 114, and S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1999), pp. 151-3, figs. 14.4 and 14.5.

BARHAM, KENT

The two brasses were removed from the walls of the north transept in 2004 and deposited in the Diocesan House, Canterbury.⁷ They were collected by Leslie Smith on 28 July 2005 and delivered to me later in the year.



FIG. 1
Barham, Kent
M.S.I. ?Roger Digges, 1375

⁷ They have been described and illustrated by R. Griffin, 'Brasses in Barham Church', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XL (1928), pp. 1-23; and P.R. Blake, 'Barham Church: the Brasses, Memorials and Glass', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, CV (1988), pp. 197-214. In his paper Griffin attributed the brasses to members of the Digges family. The brasses were discovered in their original slabs under pews in the north transept in 1916. At that time they were removed from the slabs and mounted murally in the transept. By 1928 the effigies from M.S.II had been relaid in their slab but were subsequently replaced on the wall. The recent re-ordering work in the transept has involved the construction of a new wooden floor which now covers the original slabs.

M.S.I. ?Roger Digges, 1375 (Fig. 1). This London (series B) headless civilian effigy (originally about 1235 mm tall, now 1099 x 346 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 3.8 and 4.2 mm, 13 rivets) had been mounted on the north wall of the north transept and had become heavily corroded. The original slab is very worn and also has indents for a single canopy, two shields and a marginal inscription. After cleaning and removing corrosion, I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets. The brass was secured into a mahogany board and the conjectural outline of the missing head was lightly outlined.

M.S.II. ?John & Joan Digges, c.1460 (Fig. 2). This London (series B) brass now comprises the male effigy in armour (957 x 267 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 9 rivets) and a female effigy (921 x 322 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 6 rivets). These had been mounted on the west wall of the north transept and had become considerably corroded. The original slab also has indents for a foot inscription, double canopy and four shields. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the effigies into a mahogany board.

The boards were mounted on the north wall of the north transept on 10 April 2006.

BAYFORD, HERTFORDSHIRE⁸

The two brasses were taken up from their slabs prior to 1870 and subsequently mounted murally in a recess in the chancel above the monument to George Knighton, 1612. They were secured with large domed screws, several of which were missing, had been bedded on plaster-of-paris and were considerably corroded. They were removed on 26 March 2005.

LSW.I. Man in armour, c.1545 and shield; effigy of wife lost; probably Thomas Knighton, 1545. This London (series G) brass now comprises the effigy (509 x 217 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 2.8 and 2.4 mm, 6 rivets) and a shield (157 x 128 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 1 rivet). The upper part of the effigy had become broken into three pieces, and the lower part and the shield each into two pieces. The female effigy is now lost. The central portion of this effigy was in the possession of W. Clinton Baker, of Bayfordbury, in 1900. It was subsequently mounted on a bracket in the church and was stolen c.1976. The brass was discovered to be palimpsest c.1870.⁹ The male effigy is made up of two portions of a large shrouded figure, c.1450, and the fragment of female effigy and shield were cut from a large Flemish brass of an abbot or bishop in richly diapered chasuble, c.1480, which links with the reverse of LSW.III at Upminster, Essex.

After cleaning I rejoined the fractured parts of the effigy and shield, fitted new rivets and rebated the effigy and shield into a mahogany board. Michael Ward of Crewkerne, Somerset produced facsimiles of the obverse and reverse of the missing

⁸ Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Hertfordshire*, pp. 88, 90-1.

⁹ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), 117L1-4, pl. 35.

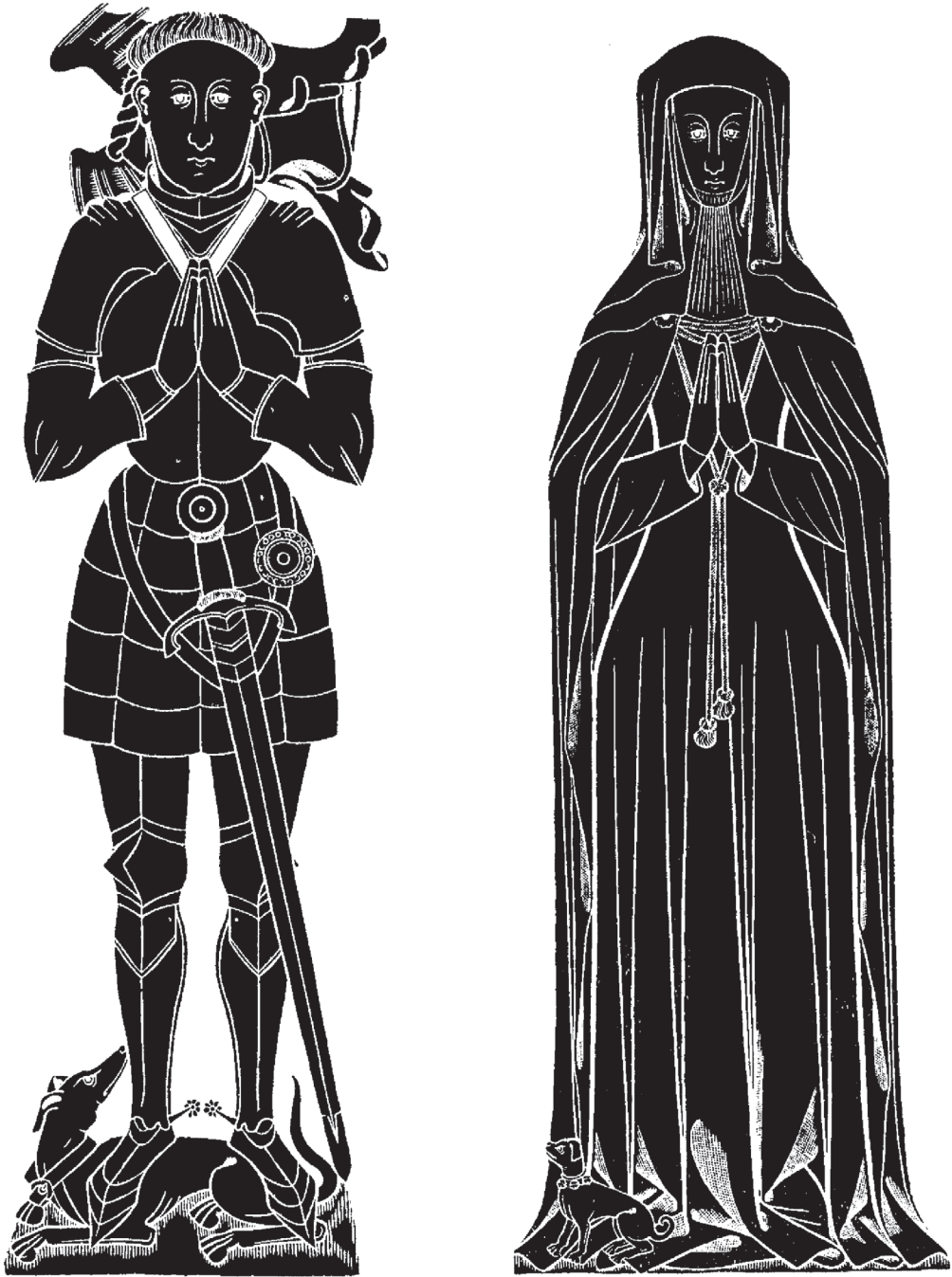


FIG. 2
Barham, Kent
M.S.II. ?John & Joan Digges, c.1460



hic iacet Willms de Burgh armatus in armis et in armis obiit xvi die mensis
 Aprilis anno domini millesimo cccc nonagesimo secundo et obiit Elizabetha uxor eius
 die mensis Aprilis anno domini millesimo cccc nonagesimo secundo

FIG. 3
 Catterick, Yorkshire
 M.S.III. William Burgh, 1492, and wife Elizabeth
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

portion of the female effigy based on old rubbings in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London and also of the other palimpsest reverses. These were rebated into a mahogany board together with a commemorative plate.

LSW.II. Man in armour, c.1580; probably John Knighton, esq., 1585. This London (series G) effigy (501 x 167 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 6 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the effigy into a mahogany board.

The boards were mounted on the north chancel wall to the east of the George Knighton monument on 24 February 2006.

CATTERICK, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Two brasses were removed on 10 December 2004.¹⁰

M.S.III. William Burgh, 1492, and wife Elizabeth (Fig. 3). This London (series F variant) brass, comprising a male effigy (931 x 277 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 5 rivets), female effigy (903 x 373 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 8 rivets) and a two-line Latin foot inscription (49 x 663 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 4 rivets), was originally laid in the south aisle. When James Raine illustrated the brass in 1834¹¹ he noted that ‘the armorial bearings upon this stone have been removed’. By 1902 it had been taken up from its slab, which lay underneath the altar, and screwed to a board on the south wall of the north chapel. The plates had been secured to the board with conventional woodscrews and were clearly vulnerable to theft. The female effigy had become fractured across the waist and there were areas of damage to the head and feet of the male effigy, with several small detached pieces from these areas being secured to the board with panel pins. After repairing fractures I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a mahogany board.

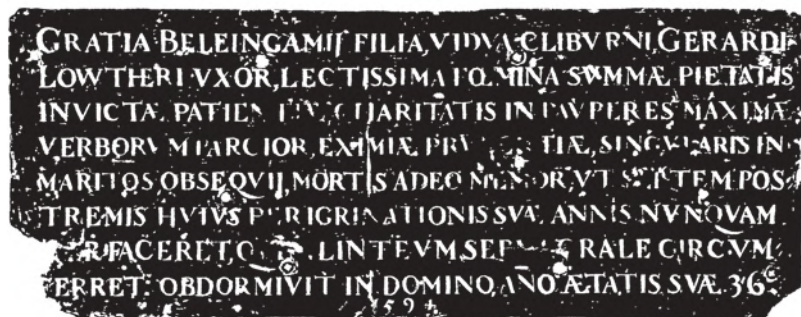


FIG. 4

Catterick, Yorkshire

M.S.IV. Inscription to Grace Lowther, 1594

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

¹⁰ Described by M. Stephenson, ‘Monumental Brasses in the North Riding’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, XVII (1902), pp. 271-3.

¹¹ J. Raine, *Catterick Church, in the County of York* (London, 1834), pl.xii.

M.S.IV. Inscription to Grace Lowther, 1594 (Fig. 4). This eight-line Latin inscription in Roman capitals (183 x 469 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 8 rivets) was recorded by Stephenson in 1902 below the sedilia on the south chancel wall. About a decade ago it was taken down, vigorously cleaned, surface mounted with screws on to a black painted board, covered with perspex and affixed in the same position. After cleaning I repaired fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a mahogany board.

The boards were mounted on 5 January 2006, M.S.III on the north wall of the north chapel and M.S.IV in a blocked doorway on the south side of the chancel.

DUMMER, HAMPSHIRE

LSW.II. Inscription to Roger Golde 1564.¹² This London (series G) inscription in four English lines (105 x 277 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets) had been detached from its slab and was loose in the church for about fifty years. It was collected by Martin Stuchfield on 12 December 2006. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid in its slab (315 x 310 mm) in the nave on 16 June 2007.

EDGWARE, MIDDLESEX

Two brasses were removed from the walls of the chancel on 10 August 2006.¹³

M.S.I. Inscription to Sir Richard Chamberlayn, 1532 (Fig. 5). This London (series G) three-line English inscription (68 x 391 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the south wall of the chancel. The mounting was insecure and the brass was broken into two pieces and considerably corroded. The brass proved to be palimpsest with another inscription to Reignold Bastabull, 1461, and wife Agnes on the reverse. After cleaning I produced a facsimile of the palimpsest reverse. I rejoined the two halves of the plate, repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets. The brass was rebated into a cedar board.

M.S.II. Anthony Childe, 1599 (Fig. 6). This Johnson-style brass, comprising an effigy in swaddling clothes (202 x 70 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets) and a five-line English inscription in Roman capitals with one-line Latin verse (112 x 405 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets), was removed from the north wall of the chancel. The mounting was insecure and the brass was considerably corroded. The effigy proved to be palimpsest, the reverse being cut from an inscription in Roman capitals to William Hughse, c.1599, which is wasted work. After cleaning I produced a facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, fitted new rivets to the brass and rebated it into a cedar board.

The resin facsimiles and a commemorative plate were rebated into a third cedar board. The boards were mounted on the south transept wall on 29 May 2007.

¹² W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Stratford St. Mary, 2007), pp. 112, 114.

¹³ They were described and illustrated by H.K. Cameron in his series 'The Brasses of Middlesex', *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XIX (1956), pp. 3-4.



FIG. 5

Edgware, Middlesex

M.S.I. Inscription to Sir Richard Chaumberlayn, 1532; obverse and palimpsest reverse

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

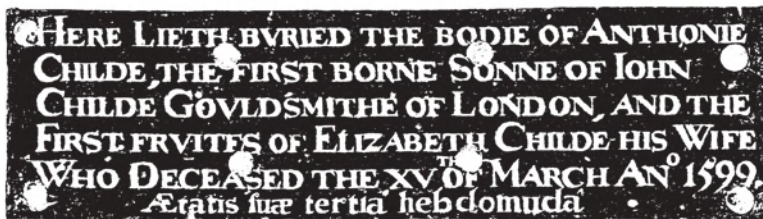
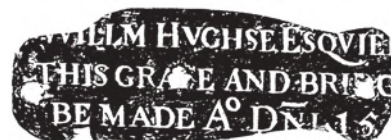


FIG. 6

Edgware, Middlesex

M.S.II. Anthony Childe, 1599; obverse and palimpsest reverse of effigy

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

EVERSHOT, DORSET

LSW.I. William Grey, 1524.¹⁴ This London (series G) brass, comprising an effigy in mass vestments with chalice and wafer (469 x 137 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets) and a four-line Latin inscription (95 x 282 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 3 rivets), was removed from the north wall of the chancel on 26 March 2005. A small section at the bottom right corner of the effigy had become fractured and detached from the main plate. After cleaning I rejoined the small plate, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a mahogany board. The board was mounted on the north chancel wall on 14 May 2006.

HESTON, MIDDLESEX

Four brasses were removed on 20 April 2006.¹⁵

LSW.I. [Mardocheus Bownell] and wife Constance, [1581] (Fig. 7). This London (series G) brass now comprises a rectangular plate engraved with the recumbent effigy of Constance Bownell with three lines of text, a depiction of Our Lord in glory with an inscription in three English lines below, a ministering angel with an inscription in four English lines below, and a scroll. The effigy of Mardocheus Bownell together with a group of children and two other inscriptions are lost. The inscription in four English lines (81 x 184 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 2 rivets) had been taken up many years ago and mounted on a board in the south chapel beneath LSW.III. When the fitted carpet covering the Purbeck slab (1370 x 705 mm) was removed in April 2006 it was found that the rectangular plate (235 x 330 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets), the inscription in three English lines (73 x 259 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 2 rivets) and the scroll (240 x 89 x 45 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 3 rivets) were loose and they were removed together with the inscription in four English lines. It was discovered that the inscription in three English lines was palimpsest, the reverse showing part of a large effigy of a lady in mantle of Flemish workmanship, c. 1360 (Fig. 8). After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse and fitted new rivets to the brass. The facsimile was rebated into a cedar board together with a commemorative plate.

LSW.II. Inscription and shield to Richard Awnsham, 1612. This Johnson-style brass, comprising an inscription in nine English lines with two line of Latin text (203 x 513 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 12 rivets) and a shield (165 x 142 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets), was removed from the wall of the south chapel. Several rivets had pulled out of the wall and the plates were vulnerable to theft. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a cedar board.

¹⁴ The brass has been described and illustrated in W. de C. Prideaux, 'The Ancient Memorial Brasses of Dorset', *Proc. Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, XXV (1904), pp. 144-98; D. Sibun, *Dorset Brasses* (1974), p.28, pl.10; and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Dorsetshire* (London, 2001), pp. 77, 78.

¹⁵ The brasses were described and illustrated by H.K. Cameron in 'The Brasses of Middlesex', *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, XXVI (1975), pp.324-30. The brasses have been given 'LSW' numbers following a survey undertaken for the forthcoming *County Series* volume.

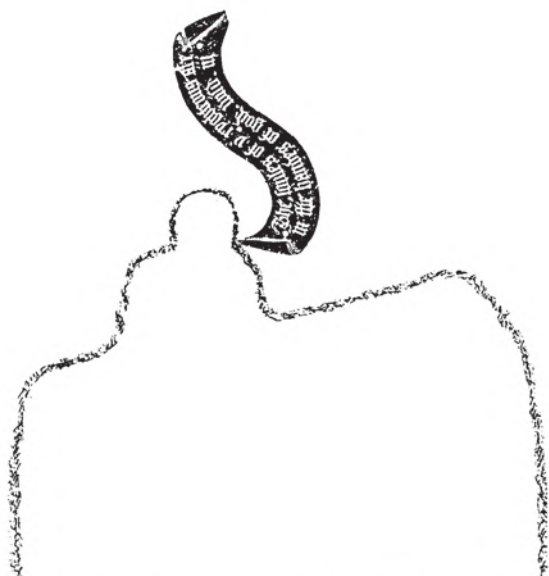


FIG. 7
Heston, Middlesex
LSW.I. [Mardocheus Bownell] and wife Constance, [1581]



FIG. 8
Heston, Middlesex
LSW.I. [Mardocheus Bownell]
and wife Constance, [1581]
Palimpsest reverse of inscription
in three English lines
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

LSW.III. Inscription to Ann and Susan Feilding, 1647. This inscription in seven English lines with one line of Latin text (133 x 356 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 10 rivets) was recorded in 1864 on the floor of the north chapel. It was removed from an oak board on the south chapel wall where it had been mounted with the inscription from M.S.I. After cleaning I repaired two fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

LSW.V. Brass recording dedication of stained glass window, 1902. This six-line inscription, recording the dedication in 1902 of the east window in the north chapel, subscribed for by parishioners and friends in memory of the relief of sieges during the South African War (242 x 725 mm, thickness 3.2 mm) was removed from its position beneath the window. It had become heavily tarnished. After cleaning and light polishing the plate was lacquered.

The brasses were returned to the church on 23 December 2006. The four plates from M.S.I were relaid in the original slab, now relocated in the north aisle. Unfortunately during the move from the chancel the upper part of the slab had been fractured, with the fracture running beneath the rectangular plate. The boards carrying M.S.II and III were mounted murally in the north chapel and the board carrying the facsimile and commemorative plate was mounted close to M.S.I on the north aisle wall. The 1902 plate was re-mounted in its original position beneath the window in the north chapel.

HIGHAM, SUFFOLK¹⁶

LSW.II. Inscription to Robert Crawford, 1801-83. This seven-line English inscription (305 x 460 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 6 screws) was removed from the north wall of the chancel on 13 August 2006. After cleaning and lacquering I rebated the brass into a cedar board.

LSW.III. Inscription recording erection of reredos in memory of Abraham Charles Reeve, vicar 1835-89. This four-line English inscription (126 x 355 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 screws) was removed from the north wall of the sanctuary on 13 August 2006. After cleaning and lacquering I rebated the brass into a cedar board.

LSW.VIII. Inscription recording donation of screen in 2004 by Mrs Joan Wedgwood, 1916-2002, in memory of her mother, Lady Dorothy Roll, and her husband, Harold Wedgwood. This eight-line English inscription was commissioned in 2006. I rebated it into a cedar board.

The board containing LSW.VIII was mounted in the nave on 4 June 2006 and those carrying LSW.II and III were mounted in the chancel on 3 December 2006.

¹⁶ The brasses have been given 'LSW' numbers following a survey undertaken for the forthcoming *County Series* volume.

MICKFIELD, SUFFOLK¹⁷

M.S.III. Inscription to Peter Preston, 1631 (Fig. 9). This inscription in four Latin lines (114 x 440 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 8 rivets) was collected by Martin Stuchfield on 2 January 2006. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and the plate was relaid in the original slab in the chancel on 18 January 2006.

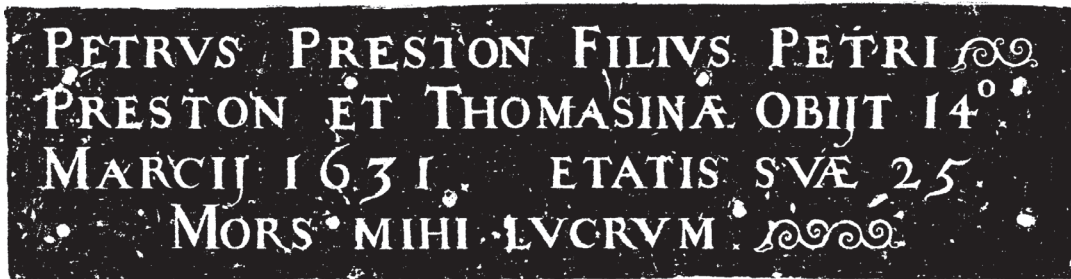


FIG. 9

Mickfield, Suffolk

M.S.III. Inscription to Peter Preston, 1631

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

NORWICH, ST. GILES, NORFOLK

Four brasses were taken up on 1 November 2005 and 16 January 2006.

M.S.I. Robert Baxter, mayor, 1432, and widow Cristine (Fig. 10). This London (series B) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (995 x 285 mm, comprised of 6 separate plates, thickness 3.9 mm, 13 rivets), a female effigy (945 x 316 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 12 rivets) and a two-line Latin foot inscription (67 x 714 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 4 rivets), was relaid at the 1866-7 restoration in a slab (1910 x 805 mm) in the centre of the Nave. Three shields, together with a merchant mark on a shield, were recorded as lost by the antiquaries Benjamin Mackerell and Francis Blomefield in 1737 and *c.* 1744 respectively.¹⁸ The plates comprising the male effigy had been joined together with six steel backing-plates secured with brass rivets. After removal of these backing-plates and cleaning I rejoined the plates with soldered brass backing-plates, repaired a fracture in the female effigy and fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Richard Purdaunce, mayor, 1436, and widow Margaret (Fig. 11). This London (series B) brass, comprising a civilian effigy (1155 x 318 mm, engraved on 4 plates, thickness 4.2 mm, 11 rivets), a female effigy (1146 x 346 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 4.9 and 4.7 mm, 12 rivets) and a two-line Latin foot inscription (75 x 911 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thicknesses 5.0 and 5.0 mm, 5 rivets), was relaid in 1866-7 in an original Purbeck marble slab (2550 x 1050 mm) at the east end of

¹⁷ Martin Stuchfield has described the discovery and relaying of this brass in 'Lost and Found: Mickfield, Suffolk', *MBS Bulletin*, 103 (Sept. 2006), pp. 52-3.

¹⁸ Norwich Record Office, Mackerell MS., I, p. 320, and F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), IV, p. 240.



FIG. 10

Norwich, St. Giles

M.S.I. Robert Baxter, mayor, 1432, and widow Cristine

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield



FIG. 11

Norwich, St. Giles

M.S.II. Richard Purdaunce, mayor, 1436, and widow Margaret

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

the nave. The head of the male effigy was renewed at this time. The original head was recorded by the antiquary Frederick Hunt in 1861 as having been stolen “some years ago” during a restoration of the church.¹⁹ The two parts of the female effigy and of the inscription had been joined with steel backing-plates. After removing the backing-plates and cleaning I replaced them with soldered brass backing-plates and fitted new rivets.



FIG. 12

Norwich, St. Giles

M.S.VI. Inscription and chalice for John Smyth, 1499

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S.VI. Inscription and chalice for John Smyth, 1499 (Fig. 12). This brass, comprising a chalice (199 x 65 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (64 x 409 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets), had been relaid in a slab (1600 x 645 mm) appropriated for J.H. Cole, 1828, and oriented north to south on the south aisle floor. The inscription had been fractured in two across the central rivet hole. After cleaning I repaired the fracture in the inscription and fitted new rivets.

¹⁹ Norwich Record Office MS. 4612.

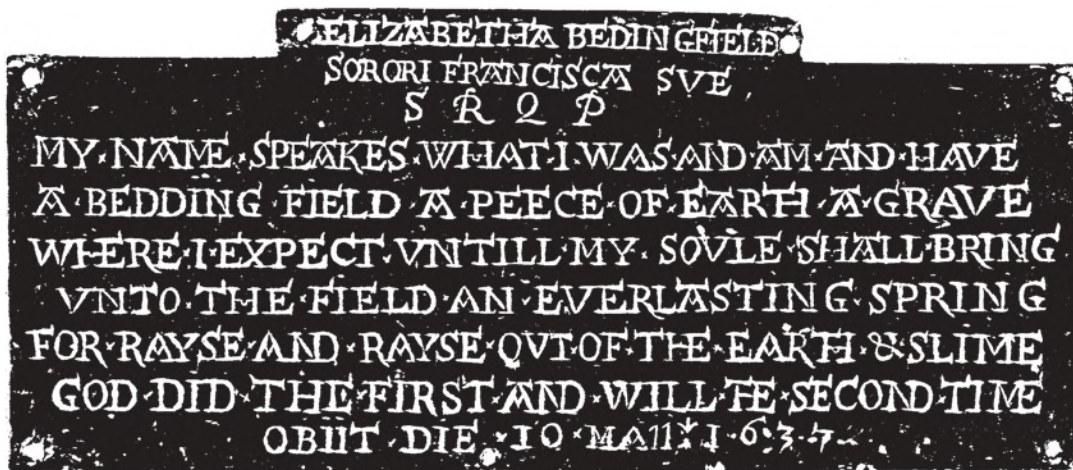


FIG. 13

Norwich, St. Giles

M.S.VII. Inscription and 6 English verses with pun on name to Frances Bedingfield, 1637

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S.VII. Inscription and six English verses with pun on name to Frances Bedingfield, 1637 (Fig 13). This four-line English inscription with six English verses (194 x 445 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 7 rivets) was formerly located in the nave where it was recorded by Benjamin Mackerell and Francis Blomefield in 1737 and c.1744 respectively. The plate had been relaid in an original slab (680 visible x 680 mm) which is laid north to south at the east end of the north aisle. There are five surplus rivet holes blanked with brass. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 18 and 19 July 2006.

RENDHAM, SUFFOLK

M.S.II. Inscription to Richard Thurston; placed by his nephews Edmund Palmer and William Curtis, 1616 (Fig. 14). This Johnson-style inscription in five Latin lines and four Latin verses (291 x 466 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 16 rivets) was removed from a board on the north wall of the chancel on 25 January 2006. The top right hand corner of the brass was loose and had come away from the board. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a mahogany board. The board was mounted on the north nave wall on 13 June 2006.

RINGWOOD, HAMPSHIRE

LSW.I. John Prophete, 1416.²⁰ This London (series A) brass, now comprising the effigy in processional vestments (originally 1683 x 505 mm, now 1642 x 505 mm, engraved on three plates, thicknesses 3.3, 2.6 and 2.1 mm, 22 rivets) and part of the

²⁰ Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, pp. 251, 253.

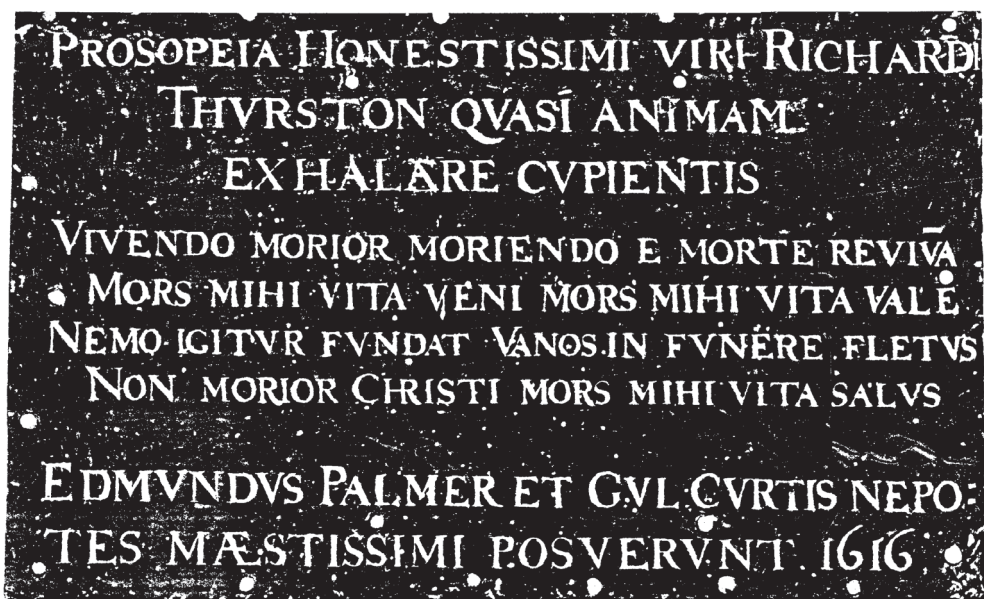


FIG. 14

Rendham, Suffolk

M.S.II. Inscription to Richard Thurston; placed by his nephews Edmund Palmer and William Curtis, 1616

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

canopy pediment (350 x 595 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 5 rivets), was taken up from its Purbeck slab in the crossing immediately west of the chancel steps on 26 April 2006. The slab, fractured into two parts, has been cut down and now measures 2100 x 1200 mm. There are indents for the canopy (now 2025 x 690 mm), six shields (each 160 x 135 mm) and a marginal inscription (now 2085 x 1135 x 30 mm). The slab was complete when the brass was illustrated in the *MBS Portfolio* in 1896²¹ but had been cut down by 1908 when the brass was described by C.J.P. Cave.²² It would appear that the brass was relaid at that time, with the plates being bedded on concrete and the rivets secured in copious runs of lead. The brass and slab were moved from the chancel to the crossing *c.* 1977.

The fracture in the slab runs under the central plate of the effigy and movement between the two parts of the slab had caused considerable damage and distortion to the plate with extensive fracturing around several of the rivets, particularly in the lower centre of the plate. This plate had been relaid *c.* 1977 and bedded on Araldite. After cleaning I repaired fractures in all plates and fitted new rivets. Immediately after the brass was taken up, Steve Andrews began work on lifting the slab, repairing the fracture and mounting it on a newly-constructed low altar tomb at the west end of the south aisle. The brass was relaid in the slab on 4 July 2006.

²¹ *MBS Portfolio*, I, pt.4 (1896), pl. 2, reprinted in *Portfolio Plates*, pl. 123.

²² C.J.P. Cave, 'A List of Hampshire Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, V, pt. 11 (1909), p. 367.

RINGWOULD, KENT

The three brasses had previously been mounted on an oak board secured to a wall in the tower. Some years ago they were taken down and had been kept in a locked cupboard in the north aisle. They were delivered to Leslie Smith early in 2007 and were subsequently transported to me. They had all been regularly cleaned and polished.



FIG. 15
Ringwould, Kent
M.S.I. William Abere, 1505
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S.I. William Abere, 1505 (Fig. 15). This London (series G) brass, now comprises a mutilated female effigy (147 x 86 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 2 rivets), an inscription in four English lines (102 x 441 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets), a group of two sons and three daughters (125 x 129 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) and a scroll (152 x 58 x 28 mm, thickness 4.9 mm, 2 rivets). The male effigy and another female effigy are lost. The effigy and group of children have each been fractured into two pieces. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the head of the female effigy and fitted new rivets.



FIG. 16
 Ringwould, Kent
 M.S.II. John Upton, 1530
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S.II. John Upton, 1530 (Fig. 16). This ?Canterbury-engraved brass comprises a civilian effigy (313 x 127 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line English inscription (116 x 314 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 4 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.III. Inscription to Elizabeth Gaunt, 1580 (Fig. 17). This London (series G) three-line English inscription is considerably mutilated with only two separate pieces surviving (79 x 190 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets; and 63 x 47 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 1 rivet). The plate is palimpsest with the reverse showing part of a Flemish border inscription reading 'a..mensis'.²³ More of this inscription has been found on the reverse of the inscription to Bartholomew Fromoundes, 1579, at Cheam, Surrey. After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and fitted new rivets.

²³ J. Page-Phillips, 'First Appendix to Palimpsests - The Backs of Monumental Brasses', *MBS Bulletin*, 30 (July 1982), p. v, pl. 185.



FIG. 17

Ringwould, Kent

M.S.III. Inscription to Elizabeth Gaunt, 1580; obverse and palimpsest reverse

Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

The brasses and facsimiles were rebated and secured into a cedar board. This was mounted on the south wall of the nave on 29 November 2007.

STRENSHAM, WORCS.²⁴

The two brasses were taken up on 20 December 1991.

M.S.I. Robert Russell, *c.*1390. This London (series A) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (now 1270 x 284 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.0 and 3.0 mm, 11 rivets) and a mutilated marginal inscription (1995 x 805 x 33 mm overall, engraved on eight fillets of varying lengths, three of them mutilated, the largest 793 x 33 mm, thicknesses 3.0 to 3.7 mm, 16 rivets), was taken up from the original worn Purbeck slab (2515 x 1020 mm) at the east end of the chancel. The top of the bascinet and four shields are lost. As is often the case the fillets of the marginal inscription are marked on their reverses with identification marks, a cross and Roman numerals. After cleaning I repaired fractures in two fillets of the marginal inscription and fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Sir John Russell, 1405. This London (series A) brass, comprising an armoured effigy (1251 x 342 mm, engraved on six separate plates, thicknesses 2.7 to

²⁴ The church is in the care of the Churches Conservation Trust. The brasses were described and illustrated by E.A.B. Barnard and J.F. Parker, 'The Monumental Brasses of Worcestershire', *Worcs. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., XVII (1939-40), pp. 7-8, pls. VI and VII); and also illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, III, part 5 (1908), pls. 21 and 22, reprinted in *Portfolio Plates*, pls. 73 and 104.

3.8 mm, 16 rivets), a mutilated canopy (originally 2045 x 600 mm overall, now comprising 7 plates, the largest the pediment 635 x 482 mm, thicknesses 3.5 to 4.4 mm, 26 rivets) and mutilated marginal inscription (2235 x 785 mm overall, engraved on seven surviving fillets, the largest 1021 x 37 mm, thicknesses 2.7 to 4.6 mm) with three surviving Evangelists' symbols (each 87 x 87 mm, thicknesses 3.6, 4.0 and 4.5 mm, each 1 rivet), was taken up from the original worn Purbeck slab (2330 x 910 mm) at the west end of the chancel. There are indents for two lost shields measuring 165 x 125 mm. Areas of the effigy were fractured and damaged, particularly the right-hand knee and the right-hand arm which had come loose and been refixed with Araldite. The damaged areas are due to the re-use of very thin metal (down to 0.5 mm thickness in places). A small section of the left shoulder had been broken off and lost. The fillets of marginal inscription are again marked with identifying numerals on their reverses. The effigy proved to be palimpsest and is wasted work, being cut from the effigy of a lady in cote-hardie of similar date.²⁵ After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse and mounted these on a mahogany board together with a commemorative plate. I cut and engraved a small plate to replace the lost part of the left shoulder. I rejoined this plate and the other plates and repaired fractures in the right-hand canopy shaft and in two fillets of the marginal inscription and fitted new rivets.

M.S.I was relaid on 4 April 2006 and M.S.II on 13 and 27 April 2006. On 27 April the board carrying the palimpsest facsimile was mounted on the north wall of the chancel.

WATH, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)²⁶

Five brasses were removed from the walls of the south chapel on 27 April 2006. They had been screwed directly on the plaster and had become corroded, with limewash round their edges.

LSW.I. Richard Norton, 1420, and wife Katherine Manningham, 1418 (Fig. 18). This York (series 2c) brass, comprising a male effigy in judicial robes (919 x 267 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.8 and 2.4 mm, 7 rivets), a female effigy (911 x 296 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.8 and 2.5 mm, 8 rivets) and a three-line Latin foot inscription (131 x 995 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.8 and 2.7 mm, 7 rivets), was originally laid on the South Chapel floor where it had become very worn. It was removed from its original slab and mounted directly on the south wall of the South Chapel, probably during the restoration of 1873. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

²⁵ '7th Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 74, p. xlv, pl. 226, L508-1/4. It is tempting to link this with the palimpsest reverse of LSW.I at Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire. That reverse is an inscription to Joanna Clinton, 1398, and four related shields, also wasted work. However both sides of the Stanford-in-the-Vale brass are unquestionably 'series C' work so a connection between the two is unlikely.

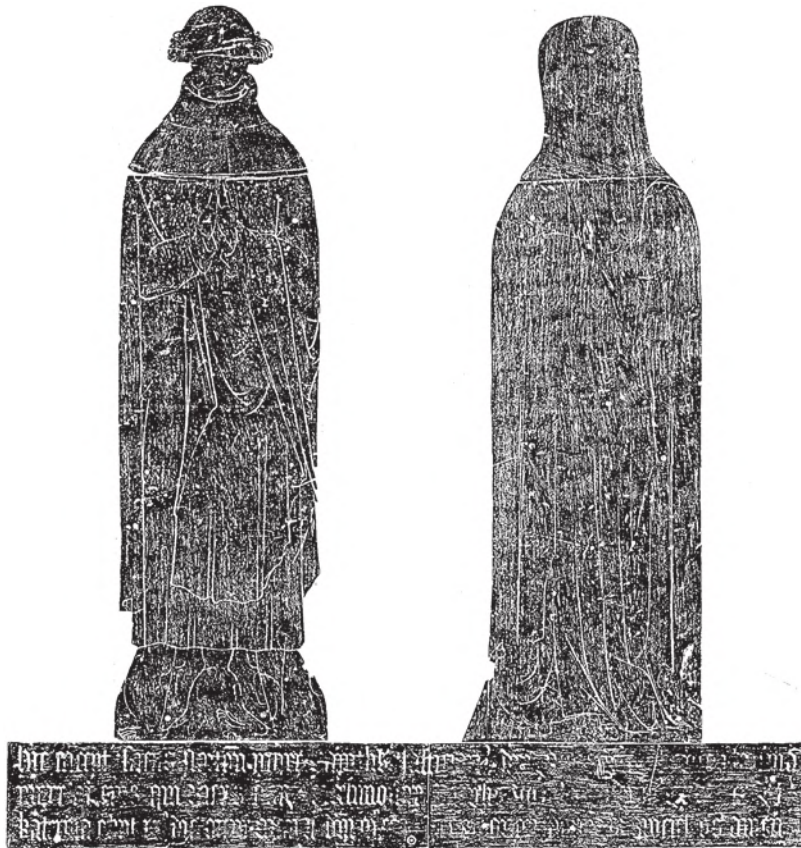


FIG. 18
Wath, Yorkshire
LSW.I. Richard Norton, 1420, and wife Katherine Manningham, 1418

LSW.II. Man in armour, c.1490; probably Sir John Norton, 1489 (Fig. 19). This York-engraved effigy (891 x 301 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 8 rivets) was originally laid on the floor of the south chapel where it had become very worn. It was removed from its slab and mounted on the south wall of the chapel adjacent to M.S.I, probably at the 1873 restoration. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

LSW.III. Two Evangelists' symbols and three lead shields (Fig. 20). The symbol of St. Luke (145 x 142 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 1 rivets), a fifteenth-century lead shield (181 x 146 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets) and two sixteenth-century shields (186 x 158 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets and 184 x 160 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 2 rivets) had been screwed to the west wall of the south chapel. In 1902 and 1926 Mill Stephenson recorded three Evangelists' symbols and three shields mounted murally in the south chapel. Two of the symbols, those of St. Mark and St. Matthew, were



FIG. 19
Wath, Yorkshire
LSW.II. Man in armour, c.1490; probably Sir John Norton, 1489



FIG. 20
Wath, Yorkshire
LSW.III Symbols of St. Luke and St. Matthew

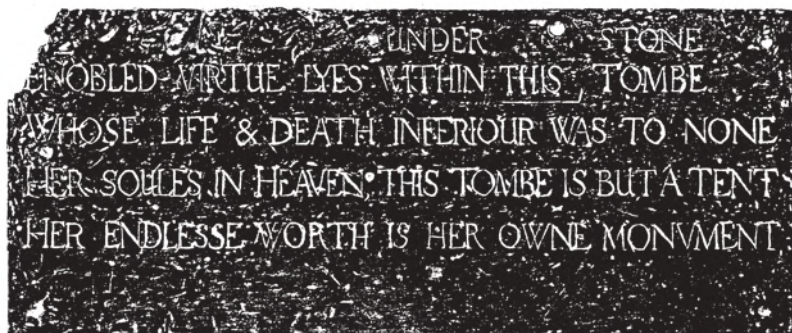


FIG. 21

Wath, Yorkshire

LSW.IV. Four English verses originally marking the burial place of [Lady Catherine Graham, 1649]



FIG. 22

Wath, Yorkshire

LSW.VI. Inscription with shield to Stephen Penton, 1706

later stolen, probably during the 1970s. One of these, the mutilated symbol of St. Matthew (143 x 145 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 1 rivet), was subsequently acquired by R.F. Pickard, of Leeds, who presented it to Patrick Farman in November 1993. Mr Farman agreed to return it to the church and it was handed on 27 April 2006. After cleaning I reinforced two of the shields with glassfibre and polyester resin, fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a cedar board.

LSW.IV. Four English verses originally marking the burial place of [Lady Catherine Graham, 1649] (Fig. 21). This five-line English inscription in capitals (186 x 450 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 8 rivets), originally laid on the South Chapel floor near the large monument to Lady Catherine Graham, had been taken up and mounted directly on the east wall of the South Chapel, probably during the 1873 restoration. The plate is mutilated at the upper left corner. After cleaning and removing fractures I repaired four fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

LSW.VI. Inscription with shield to Stephen Penton, 1706 (Fig. 22). This shaped plate, comprising a nineteen-line English inscription in capitals with the arms of Penton (550 x 532 mm, thickness 0.8 mm, 12 rivets), had been mounted on the west wall of the South Chapel adjacent to M.S.III. After cleaning and removing corrosion I repaired three fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the plate into a cedar board. The stresses and distortion in this thin battered plate made it impossible to prevent it from 'bellying' out in places when secured to the board.

The boards were mounted in the south chapel on 21 April 2007, M.S.I on the south wall, M.S.II, III and the 1706 plate on the west wall and M.S.IV on the east wall beneath the monument to Lady Katherine Graham.

WELSHAMPTON, SHROPSHIRE

LSW.I. Inscription recording building of church by Frances Mainwaring and his son Salusbury Kynaston Mainwaring in 1863 in memory of Charles Kynaston Mainwaring. This seven-line inscription (362 x 816 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 6 back-soldered rivets). This plate was removed from the west wall in September 2005 and delivered to me. The plate was cleaned, polished and lacquered.

LSW.II. Inscription recording that the new roof and west end extension were dedicated by Rt. Rev. Dr Alan Smith, Bishop of Shrewsbury, in 2006. This seven-line inscription, identical in size to the 1863 plate, was commissioned in late 2005. I fitted six new rivets.

The two brasses were collected from me in January 2006 and mounted on the west wall. They were dedicated by the Bishop of Shrewsbury on 29 January 2006.

Review

Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); xiv + 282 pp., 38 b/w plates; £55.00; ISBN 978 0 7546 6093 4

To understand the purpose of a monument, whether brass, effigy or wall tablet, it is imperative to look at the religious beliefs of the time it was made. There were, indeed, mixed motives in every case – the pride of heraldry, the pomp of power – but a sepulchral monument above all is an expression of the faith, or the lack of faith, of those who requested it, commissioned it, made it, and permitted it to be set up. Without an understanding of that faith, we grope in the darkness of ignorance, and commit ourselves to ludicrous misunderstandings of what was, to those contemporary with the monument itself, so obvious as not to need explaining.

The first writers on English monuments, the antiquaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the scholars of the early twentieth century, knew their own ancestral Anglicanism well enough, and often made absurd judgments on the purpose and meaning of medieval Catholic tombs. We were used to that. Now, in a society more secular than the Soviet Union ever was, we find the same ignorance extended to the Protestant theology of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Modern conceptions like ‘patriarchy’, ‘gender discrimination’, ‘class warfare’ and even ‘same sex relationships’ are projected back into an age in which these ideas could not possibly be expressed, and certainly formed no part of the consciousness of the makers of tombs.

Peter Sherlock’s book, once his thesis, is an attempt to discover and explain how the purpose and meaning of monuments changed during the turbulent sixteenth century. It only partially avoids the pitfalls mentioned above. He is too liable to use phrases like ‘the patriarchal basis of early modern society’ (p. 12), and he fails to disentangle the crucial differences between the ruthless Calvinist theology of the Elizabethan ‘settlement’ and the gentler ‘Arminian’ theology of Laud. Neither can be called ‘orthodoxy’, and Sherlock’s use of that term (e.g. p. 85) is perplexing, to say the least. To explain the differences between Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Arminian, Erastian and other theologies is far beyond the scope of an antiquarian study, yet the lack of such an explanation leaves the antiquarian in search of answers to questions which are central to the makers of monuments. Far simpler to stick to stylistic analysis and the history of costume!

The main drive of the book is to examine how the inscriptions, imagery and symbolism of tombs reflected changing religious beliefs. These were not necessarily the beliefs of the family commemorated, for at least during the Elizabethan persecutions it was the government’s beliefs that had to be reflected. Tombs, like everything else in churches, were subject to official supervision, and anything that contradicted the current party line was liable to censorship. Lady Wotton, for

example, was fined £500 for putting up an inscription stating that her late husband had died 'a true Catholick of the Roman Church' (p. 182). Sherlock rehearses the story of both official and unofficial destruction of tombs, though with some new examples. More originally, he reminds us of the role of the heralds in defacing illegitimate arms. Sir William Dugdale, whom we know as the diligent antiquary who preserved the memory of many lost brasses, was also responsible for the destruction of many, for he 'defaced many fictitious Arms which he found engraved on Tomb stones' (p. 191). Moreover, much tomb wrecking was done not for religious or political motives, but out of family rivalry, tombs being smashed in the night by outraged competitors (pp. 165 6, 172).

Dr. Sherlock is based in Australia, and so the thesis had to be done entirely from written sources. This means that all inscriptions and descriptions of monuments are second hand, and he is often unaware of whether a monument still exists or not. There are as a result many little mistakes in transcription, and for that matter in translation. The illustrations are all from existing resources, mostly the National Monuments Record. A fascinating one is taken from an offset print of a plate by Richard Haydock formerly in Salisbury Cathedral (plate 7.5, p. 221). It commemorates John Gordon, dean, 1619, and has not been noticed before in any of the literature on brasses. Unfortunately the reference is given simply as 'Trustees of the British Museum' with no indication of the accession number or reference for this important addition to the Haydock corpus. The only other brasses illustrated are well known, from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Shepton Mallet and Bletchley, for the scope of the book is monuments of all types, and there are many high tombs and wall tablets included. Yet inscriptions from brasses are frequently cited. In surveying the transition from Catholic to Protestant, Sherlock draws attention to the disappearance of *Orate pro anima* in favour of *Hic jacet* (p. 106), apparently unaware that *Hic jacet* is actually the more common formula before the late fifteenth century. The transition is a little bit more complicated than it appears, for contemporary Catholic monuments in France and Italy appear to abandon traditional medieval imagery and text and look just as unreligious as English Protestant tombs, whereas Lutheran monuments in northern Europe preserve elaborate religious imagery and usually conclude with a prayer for the soul. The questions raised by this book are important, and necessary for a fuller understanding of sepulchral monuments, but I am not sure that they have yet been answered adequately.

JEROME BERTRAM

Portfolio of Small Plates



FIG. 1
Joan Levirs, anchoress, c. 1400-20 (incised slab)
Lincoln Cathedral
Photograph: Nicholas Rogers, 22 July 2009

Fig. 1: Joan Levirs, anchoress, c. 1400-20, Lincoln Cathedral. *Photograph: Nicholas Rogers, 22 July 2009*

Mounted on the wall in the south walk of the cloister of Lincoln Cathedral is an Ancaster stone slab, 535 x 875 mm (21 x 34½ in), with an incised inscription which, though listed in Greenhill's catalogue of Lincolnshire incised slabs and mentioned in a survey of Latin and French inscriptions in Lincoln Cathedral,¹ has previously been misinterpreted. The inscription reads: *Hic iacet iohanna levirs / anachorita ordinis sancti / gilberti cuius anime propicietur deus. / ihesu merci* [Here lies Joan Levirs, anchoress of the order of St. Gilbert, on whose soul may God have mercy. Ihesu merci].

¹ F.A. Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln* (Newport Pagnell, 1986), p. 76; N. Alldrit and D. Tripp, *The Latin and French Inscriptions of Lincoln Minster* (Lincoln, 1990), p. 47.

Both Greenhill and Alldrit and Tripp read the name as John, whereas it is clearly Joan, the deceased being an anchoress attached to a Gilbertine house. The Gilbertines, the only medieval religious order originating in England, had developed from a community of anchoresses at Sempringham, Lincolnshire.² Unusually, many Gilbertine priories were double houses of canons and nuns. However, the nearest foundation, the Priory of St. Catherine just outside Lincoln, was for canons only, although there were lay sisters, attached to St. Catherine's, who undertook the nursing of the sick in the annexed hospital of St. Sepulchre.³ It is possible that the inscription has been brought from some other Gilbertine site in Lincolnshire. Although no fewer than five anchoresses are recorded at various locations in Lincoln, and five elsewhere in Lincolnshire, no other record has as yet come to light relating to Joan Levirs.⁴

Greenhill dated the slab doubtfully to the early sixteenth century, but Norris, when editing Greenhill's work, suggested an alternative date of *c.* 1400 on epigraphic grounds. The display of the inscription on a scroll can be paralleled on the London E brass of John Holbrook, d. 1436, in Little St. Mary, Cambridge,⁵ and on the Fens I alabaster incised slab of Hugh and Mary Bronage at Scalford, Lincs., of 1410.⁶

Nicholas Rogers

Fig. 2: John Lyndwood (Linwood) the younger, d. 1421, Linwood, Lincolnshire.
Rubbing: Nigel Saul

At the west end of the north aisle of Linwood church, Lincs., are two big canopied brasses to members of the Linwood family. The celebrated brass of John Linwood the elder (d. 1419), his wife Alice and their children has often been illustrated.⁷ The brass of their son, John the younger (d. 1421), which lies alongside it, is illustrated here for the first time. The brass consists of the big four-foot figure of the commemorated in civilian dress, his feet on a woolsack, an ornate single canopy rising above and a four-line Latin inscription below. Two shields at the top have been lost, and the canopy and foot inscription are both mutilated.

In the early fifteenth century the Linwoods were among the leading wool merchant families of north Lincolnshire, an important wool-producing area. The wealth of the elder John Linwood is attested by his will, in which he left bequests of

² On the early history of the Gilbertines, see B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130 c. 1300* (Oxford, 1995)

³ Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, pp. 230-3; VCH, *Lincolnshire*, II (London, 1906), pp. 188-91.

⁴ R.M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914), pp. 226-9.

⁵ *Monumental Brassess. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894 1984*, ed. M.W. Norris (Woodbridge, 1988), no. 154.

⁶ S.F. Badham, 'The Fens I Series: An Early Fifteenth-Century Group of Monumental Brassess and Incised Slabs', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXLII (1989), p. 55, pl. XIVB.

⁷ H.W. Macklin, *Monumental Brassess*, 7th edn. (London, 1953), p. 86; *Portfolio Plates*, no. 128; N. Pevsner, *Lincolnshire* (London, 1964), 297; N. Saul, 'The Wool Merchants and their Brassess', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 4 (2006), fig. 6.



FIG. 2
John Lyndwood (Linwood) the younger, d. 1421
Linwood, Lincs., M.S. II
Rubbing: Nigel Saul

£300 to his wife, £100 to each of his two surviving sons and £100 to his daughter, and could still provide for £400 to be distributed for the benefit of his soul. An idea of the extent of his business empire is given by a further bequest of £10 to be distributed between the churches of the thirty parishes in which he bought wool.⁸ The bequests in the younger John's will to a range of named churches in north Lincolnshire perhaps indicate the extent of his own business connections.⁹ The younger John's brass, unlike his father's, shows his merchant's mark on the front of the woolsack. The two brasses are both products of London style 'D', and identifiable as such by the rose window in the pediment of the canopy. Since the younger John died only a couple of years after his father, it is possible that both brasses were commissioned at the same time, in the early 1420s. Given the significant differences between the two male figures, however - their contrasting hairstyles, and the fact that the elder John wears a mantle while his son does not - it is perhaps more likely that the latter's brass was ordered slightly later. On the effigy of the younger John's memorial there seems to be an attempt to capture the likeness of a man still retaining the flush of youth. Whenever the commission was placed, the patron in each case is likely to have been the younger John's brother William Lyndwood (d. 1446), the canonist and author of the *Provinciale*, a textbook of ecclesiastical law, whom the younger John named as one of his executors.¹⁰ The elaborate verse inscriptions on the two brasses are almost certainly of William's composition. The inscription on the elder John's brass has been translated by Reinhard Lamp.¹¹ That on the younger John's brass is unfortunately untranslatable because of the loss of one section of it.

Nigel Saul

Fig. 3: Civilian and Wife, c. 1450, New Shoreham, Sussex, M.S. I. *Rubbing:* Jerome Bertram

The impressive church of New Shoreham is somewhat disappointing for the brass enthusiast, for it contains only one medieval brass, and that one is anonymous.¹² The figures of a man in civil dress and his wife, of the London 'B' style from around 1450, are perfect text-book examples of the style and date, and on a large scale. They were formerly in the centre of the nave, set into a ledger slab to the Revd. William Davies, 1773, in which indents remain for the figures alone, the corner of the man's foot-mound already missing. They were probably thus re-laid at the nineteenth-century church restoration. By 1967 they were fastened to the wall of

⁸ *Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1943-7), II, pp. 183-6.

⁹ The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/2B, f. 413v.

¹⁰ For William's career, see *ODNB*, XXXIV, pp. 892-5 (by R. Helmholz). He is shown, wearing a doctor's robes, in the row of children at the foot of his parents' brass.

¹¹ R. Lamp, 'Foot Inscriptions on Three Lincolnshire Brasses', *Trans. MBS*, XVII, pt. 1 (2003), pp. 24-30.

¹² E. Turner, 'Brasses in Sussex Churches', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XXIII (1871), p. 178; Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXIX (1938), pp. 117-18.



FIG. 3
Civilian and Wife, c. 1450, New Shoreham, Sussex, M.S. I
Rubbing: Jerome Bertram

the south aisle, with large round-headed brass screws. There is no trace of the original slab, unless it is represented by a fragment of grey Purbeck marble, without any indents or rivets, in the south aisle.

No antiquarian source suggests an identification, implying that the inscription has been missing for a very long time. Shoreham was a prosperous borough, returning two members of Parliament, but during the ten elections previous to the date of this brass two new and different members were returned each time, showing that there were a great many men connected with the town of sufficient wealth and status to have ordered this brass.¹³ The only name that stands out in manorial history is Hugh Buckingham, who together with his wife Joan conveyed a large amount of land in 1432, but was himself never elected to Parliament.¹⁴ There is no particular reason to connect the brass with them, or with any of the burgesses, so the brass must remain anonymous.

The male figure measures 922 x 252 mm, the female 902 x 305 mm.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 4: Valontyne Edvarod (Everard), two wives, and Thomas Parramore, 1559/60 and 1574, St. Nicholas-at-Wade, Kent, M.S. I. *Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 7 May 2009*

This unusual composition is a clear example of a brass that was modified after it was first laid down, to take account of changed circumstances.¹⁵ The original composition apparently showed three figures, a man in civil dress between two wives. He wears a long furred gown open at front, with hanging false sleeves; the left-hand wife has a French cap and plain dress open to reveal plain skirts, her feet are lost; the right-hand wife has a square cap, with a dress fringed with ribbons. There are two groups of children below, under the left-hand wife four sons and two daughters, under the right-hand three sons and six daughters. These figures belong to the London 'Lycott' style; there presumably was an inscription in the usual position. At a later date a new inscription plate was provided, in Gothic minuscule, script 10, and the right-hand wife was moved closer to the first man to make room for a fourth figure, a man in a long gown, closed at the front, with plainer sleeves and longer beard than the first, facing away from the rest of the composition; he is of the London 'Daston' style. The indent for the original position of the right-hand wife can be seen clearly behind her, and there are indents for a shield above her new position, and a third group of children, a son and a daughter, also facing away. The slab is of Unio Purbeck marble, with no sign of previous use, on the floor of the north chapel. The reason for this is explained in the inscription:

¹³ T.W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex*, 2 vols. (Lewes, 1835), II, appendix, p. 55; J.C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of both Houses 1439 1509* (London, 1938), p. 698.

¹⁴ VCH, *Sussex*, VI, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1980), p. 152.

¹⁵ J. Clarke, 'The Church of Saint Nicholas at Wade', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XII (1878), pp. 23-4; R. Griffin and M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the county of Kent in 1922* (Ashford, 1923), p. 163; J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth Century Workshop* (London, 1999), p. 53

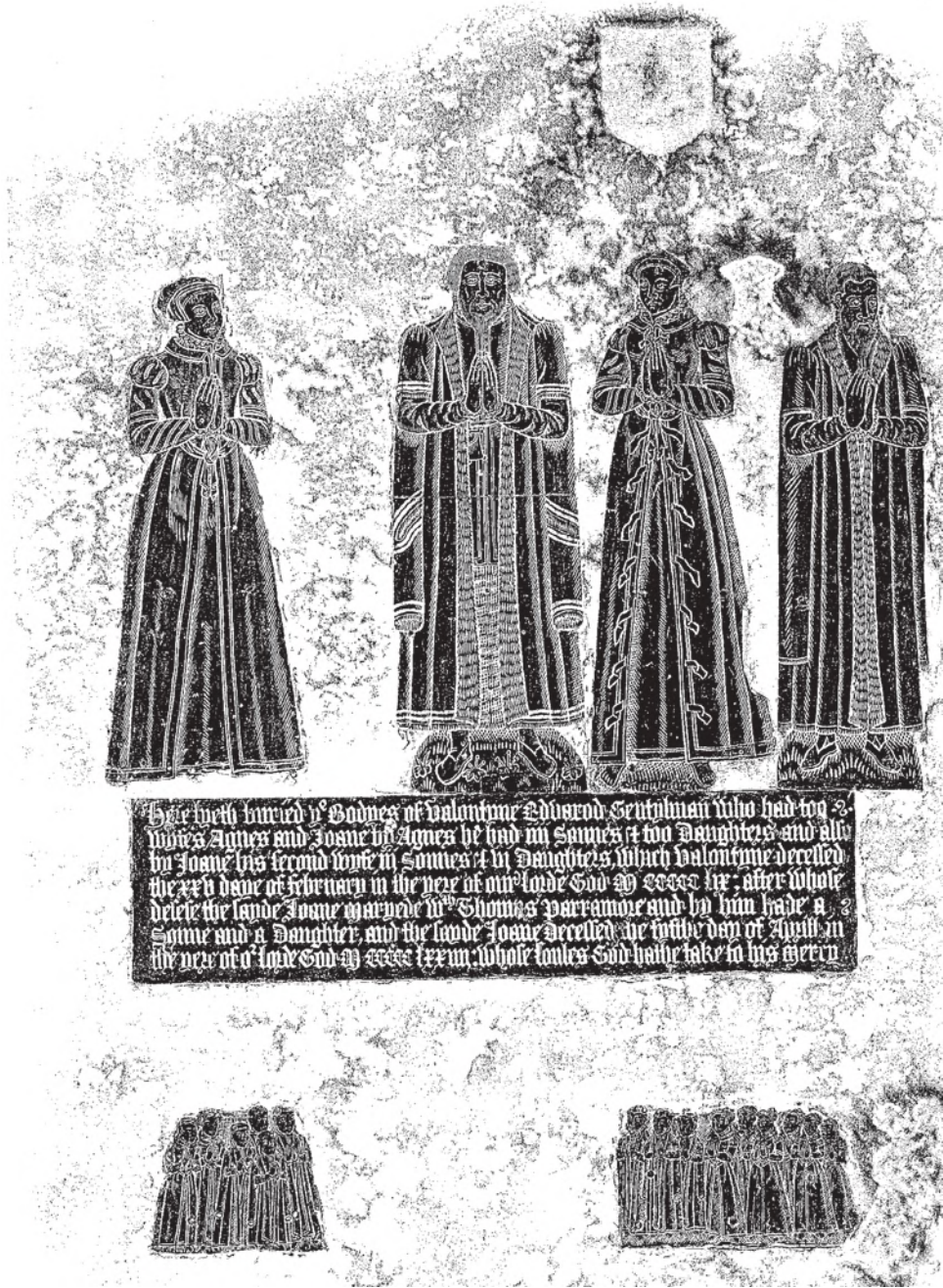


FIG. 4

Valontyne Edwarod (Everard), two wives, and Thomas Parramore, 1559/60 and 1574
 St. Nicholas-at-Wade, Kent, M.S. I

Rubbing: Jerome Bertram, 7 May 2009

Here Lyeth buried y^e Bodyes of Valontyne Edwarod Gentyelman.who had too / wyfes Agnes and Joane by Agnes he had iiij Sonnes & too Daughters and also / by Joane his second wyfe iij Sonnes & vj Daughters, which Valontyne decessed / the xxv daye of February in the yere of our Lorde God M^r CCCCC Lix : after whose / desese the sayde Joane Maryede wth Thomas Parramore and by him hade a / Sonne and a Daughter, and the sayde Joane Decessed the fyfthe day of Aprill in / the yere of o^r Lorde God M^r CCCCC Lxxiiij : whose soules God hathe take to his Mercy.

The brass is palimpsest: on reverse of male figure, three portions of a man in armour, *c.* 1385; on reverse of two groups of children, the greater part of a civilian in mantle, with pouch and rosary, kneeling at a prayer desk, *c.* 1500; both English.¹⁶ The dimensions are: four figures 460 x 180, 480 x 170, 480 x 170, 470 x 130 mm; inscription 160 x 640 mm; three groups of children 130 x 150, 130 x 210, about 140 x 80 mm; shield 120 x 100 mm; slab 1.83 x 0.87 m.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 5: John Gibson Cazenove, d. 1896, St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh. *Rubbing: Patrick Farman*

Set in a pink marble slab on the wall of the south choir aisle of St. Mary's Episcopalian Cathedral, Edinburgh, is the brass of John Gibson Cazenove, Chancellor of the diocese.¹⁷ It depicts the complete figure clad in a loose clerical gown, lying recumbent beneath a curved crocketed canopy and holding a simple cross to his chest with his left hand. His right arm lies relaxed at his side, the sleeve overlapping the mattress and intruding upon the lower margin. This gives the composition an uncommonly life-like appearance which is enhanced by the outward-looking aspect of the figure. His head is supported on a cushion by a kneeling angel, while another praying at his feet faces outwards as if to invite our sympathy. In the centre of the composition is a chalice, flanked by alpha and omega, within a trefoil.

The marginal inscription, in Latin, reads: In pia(m) memoria(m) Joannis Gibson Cazenove S.T.P. e Col. Æn. Nas. Oxon. et huius Ecclesiae per xviii / Annos Subdecani atque Cancellarii / ob. Die XXX^o Sept' A.S. mdccxcvi^o Aet. LXXVIVI^o / nonnulli grate memores viri eruditi disertis amabilis hoc monument(um) ponendo curaverunt. The inscription is interspersed with six coats-of-arms: University of Oxford (top left), Cazenove (top centre), Brasenose College, Oxford (top right), Scottish Episcopal Diocese of Edinburgh (bottom left), Cazenove (bottom centre) and the Blessed Virgin (for St. Mary's Cathedral, bottom right). The brass is signed at bottom left by the designer, 'Wm Hole RSA', and at bottom right by the engraver, 'J.W. Singer & Sons Sc'.¹⁸

¹⁶ J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), 232L1-5, pl. 95.

¹⁷ D. Meara, *Modern Memorial Brasses* (Donington, 2008), p. 284.

¹⁸ On the firm of J.W. Singer and Sons of Frome, Somerset, see Meara, *Modern Monumental Brasses*, pp. 116-21.

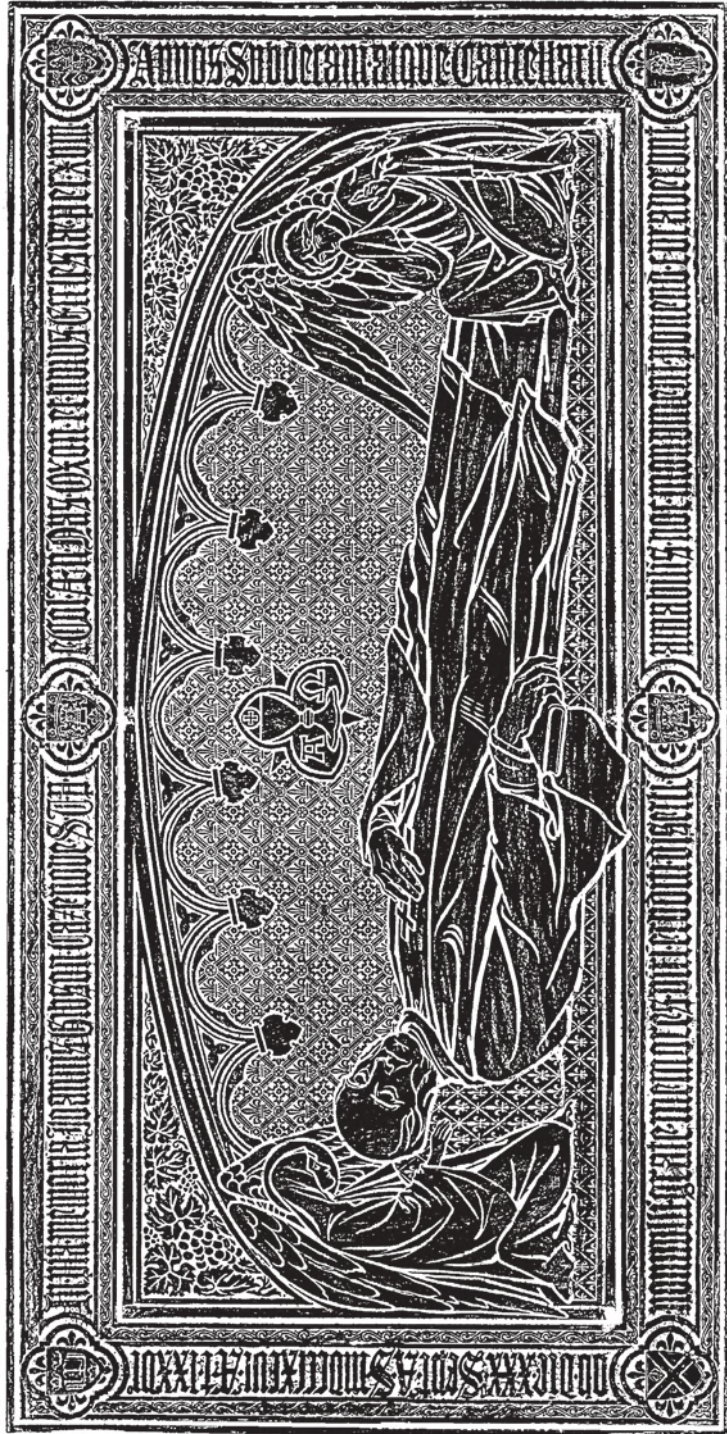


FIG. 5
John Gibson Cazenove, d. 1896, St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh
Rubbing: Patrick Farman

The motif of a mural brass with recumbent ecclesiastical figure can be paralleled and compared with one in Plymouth Cathedral by Hardman to Bishop Vaughan, died 1902, which depicts a fully-robed effigy, shown in profile on a low flat pillared altar tomb.¹⁹ Apart from the superbly detailed engraving of the vestments, this is essentially a formal and anonymous figure in sharp contrast to Singer's engraving of Cazenove. Similarly, the recumbent effigies of Prebendary Samuel Andrew, 1900, at Tideswell, Derbs.,²⁰ and Dean George Pellew, 1889, in Norwich Cathedral,²¹ both by Gawthorp, while attempting good likenesses of the subjects, lack the liveliness of Singer's personalised composition. The credit for this is due to the designer of the Cazenove brass, William Fergusson Brassey Hole (1846-1917), an Edinburgh-based painter and etcher, who specialized in historical and biblical themes. He was a noted muralist, best known for his frieze in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, depicting figures in Scottish history, from the Stone Age to Carlyle. He also executed several schemes for the Scottish Episcopal Church, of which he was a devout member.²²

John Gibson Cazenove was born in 1821, the son of John Cazenove of St. Pancras, Middlesex. He studied at Brasenose College, Oxford, and graduated B.A., 1843, M.A., 1846, and D.D., 1874. He served first as a curate at St. Peter's, Leeds, and Crick, Northants., before moving to Scotland, where he was Vice-Provost and then Provost of Cumbrae Theological College, 1854-75, Diocesan Supernumerary, Diocese of Edinburgh, 1875-8, and finally Sub-Dean and Chancellor of St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh, from 1878 until his death on 30 September 1896. His numerous publications included books on Mohammedanism, Universalism and Theism.²³

Peter Hacker and Nicholas Rogers

¹⁹ LSW.I. Illustrated in W. Lack and P. Whittemore eds., *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, I, pt. 3 (2002), pl. XXX.

²⁰ LSW.XXV. Samuel Andrew. Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire* (London, 1999), p. 209.

²¹ D. Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (London, 1983), p. 85, pl. 46.

²² E.S. Cumming, 'Hole, William Fergusson Brassey (1846-1917)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oxford University Press, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/100749>, accessed 28 Jan 2010]

²³ D.M. Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689 2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 205-06.

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REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 214336
www.mbs-brasses.co.uk

*The Society would like to thank the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation
for grant assistance towards the production of this issue*

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY HEADLEY BROTHERS LTD., ASHFORD, KENT TN24 8HH