Monumental Brass Society

2009

TRANSACTIONS

Monumental Brass Society

Volume XVIII, Part 1, 2009. ISSN 0143-1250

Editorial

THIS is the first part of the eighteenth volume of *Transactions*. The opportunity has been taken to effect certain changes to its design, with the aim of improving legibility and ensuring that all the publications of the Monumental Brass Society have a common identity.

The first three papers in this issue of the *Transactions* are all by contributors to the Postgraduate Study Day, held at the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London on 27 September 2008. By coincidence all are by women. The contribution of women to antiquarian studies deserves to be better known. It is a woman, significantly, who is the earliest person to be depicted rubbing a brass (if one excludes the activities of seventeenth-century Dutch children).[1] The role of women in the study of brasses in nineteenth-century England is presently the subject of academic research. Women have participated in the Monumental Brass Society since the beginning. The earliest lady member of the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors was Miss Isabel Wilkinson, of Parkside, Cambridge. Miss Wilkinson is listed in the 1881 census, when she was living at Dorking, as a 'Teacher of Old English'. In 1897, the year of Miss Wilkinson's death, there were 144 members of the Monumental Brass Society. Five of these were institutional members; of the remaining 139, eleven were women. Many of the early members were 'New Women', like Gertrude Harraden, the author of a series on brasses in the *Girl's Own Paper*, familiar from its citation in Mill Stephenson.[2] In the 1930s Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston published a valuable survey of the brasses of Sussex.[3] Katharine Esdaile was a member of the Society from its revival in 1934 until her death in 1950, and served on Council for some years.[4] More recent female scholars have included Sally Badham, Lynda Dennison and Nancy Briggs, who was taken from us all too soon. There will be new female writers on brasses. But there will only ever be one Nancy.

In this issue there are also reports of discoveries, both in England and abroad. It is hoped that authors, whether contributing new interpretations of familiar material or describing hitherto unpublished monuments, will always consider the *Transactions* first of all as the home for articles on brasses and incised slabs.

1 R. Hutchinson, 'A Pastime Fit for Victorian Ladies', *MBS Bulletin*, 92 (Jan. 2003), p. 659.

2 Gertrude Harraden (1861-1947) was a sister of the novelist and suffragist Beatrice Harraden (*ODNB*, XXV, pp. 374-5).

3 On Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston (née Constance Isabella Barton Childers) (1875-1970), see R.J. Busby, *A Companion Guide to Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (London, 1973), p. 189. She was the sister of Erskine Childers, the novelist and Irish nationalist.

4 Busby, *Companion Guide*, p. 196.

The function of St. Christopher imagery in medieval churches, *c.* 1250 to *c.* 1525: wall painting and brass

Ellie Pridgeon

THE aim of this article is to place monumental brass imagery into a wider context through the study of St. Christopher. It begins with an assessment of the textual accounts and legends of the saint in the Greek and Latin traditions, and a discussion of his subsequent prominence in visual arts from the mid-thirteenth century in England and Wales. It then examines the role of St. Christopher imagery in the church setting (predominantly wall painting), and demonstrates that although the saint's primary role was to assist the living, he also had occasional *post-obit* functions, as evidenced by intermittent testamentary bequests and depictions on brasses (for instance, Morley, Derbyshire, and Weeke, Hampshire). The article will conclude by drawing typological comparisons between St. Christopher portrayals in different media. Brass imagery was clearly bound up with wider stylistic changes, trends and fashions. It lagged behind more 'cutting-edge' media such as glass and illumination by some years, and was generally contemporaneous with less progressive or 'provincial' wall painting.

The textual traditions

The earliest evidence for the cult of St. Christopher is an incised inscription in the ruins of a church at Haydarpaşa near Chalcedon in Asia Minor (a suburb of present-day Istanbul).[1] The geographical location of the stone suggests that the St. Christopher legend may have originated in the Byzantine Empire. The inscription (in Greek) relates to the foundation in 450 and consecration in 452 'in the month of May after the consulate of Protogenes and Astourias, the most illustrious men at the time of King Theodosios and of Eulalios the guardian of Chalcedon' of a church dedicated to the saint.[2]

Subsequent textual sources recounting the life of St. Christopher are found in Byzantine (Greek) and western (Latin) traditions.[3] Extant manuscripts date from the ninth century or later, but it is probable that earlier versions were in

1 G.M. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery* (Oxford, 1936), p. 222. The Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon took place in 451.

2 I. Duchesne, 'Inscription Chrétienne de Bithynie', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, II (1878), pp. 289-99, at 289. I am grateful to Dr. Tim Saunders for assisting with the translation from Greek to English.

3 *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels, 1957). Greek manuscripts include a ninth-century text (BHG 308w*)*, the eleventh-century *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori* (BHG 309), and the *Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Graeca Antiqua* (BHG 310). *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, I (Brussels, 1898). Latin versions include the *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis 1764) (eleventh century), and the *Vita et Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* verse (983 A.D.) compiled by Walther von Speyer. See also *Acta S. Marinae et S.Christophori*, ed. H. Usener (Bonn, 1886); 'Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua', *Analecta Bollandiana*, I (1882), pp.121-48.; 'Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris', *Analecta Bollandiana*, X (1891), pp. 393-405. This last manuscript dates from the eleventh century, but earlier versions were in circulation in the eighth and ninth centuries (W. Harster, *Vualtheri Spirensis: Vita et Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* (Munich, 1878); K. Richter, 'Der Deutsche S. Christoph: Eine Historisch-Kritische Untersuchung', *Acta Germanica*, V (1896), p. 3; A. Mussafia, 'Zur Christophlegende', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CXXIX (1893), pp.1-3).

circulation.[4] Both traditions describe St. Christopher as a member of the Marmaritae tribe (part of modern-day Libya). He is called 'Reprebus' (a derivation of Reprobus, meaning 'wicked' or 'false'), and hails from a land of cannibals and dog-headed inhabitants.[5] He has a terrible countenance and a gigantic stature, and is unable to speak 'our language' ('nostrae linguae sermonem').[6] Greek texts interpret his canine appearance literally, and use the term 'dog-headed' (kynokephalos).[7] This accounts for why St. Christopher is often shown with the head of a dog in Byzantine iconography (for instance the pre-733 terracotta cynocephalus from Vinica, Macedonia).[8] In contrast, the Latin tradition developed along less literal lines, and St. Christopher's head is described as dog-*like*: 'qui habebat terribilem visionem et quasi canino capite'.[9]

Vernacular accounts of the life of St. Christopher appear in England from the ninth century (and almost certainly before). The earliest extant example forms part of the *Old English Martyrology*, a collection of hagiographies dating from the second half of the ninth century.[10] This text is essentially a shortened version of the Latin account, although there are also some noteworthy connections with the Greek tradition, including St. Christopher's dog-headed lineage: 'He hæfde hundes hafod, ond his loccas wæron ofer gemet side, ond his Eagan scinon swa leohte swa morgensteorra, ond tis teð wæren scearpe swa eofores tuxas'.[11]

In the twelfth century, a south German poem gives the narrative of St. Christopher a new, 'chivalric', and rather more attractive quality.[12] It is this tradition which found its way into English imagery from the mid-thirteenth century, and with which many are still familiar to this day.[13] The German text is almost certainly a source for the *Golden Legend*, the 'popularised' collection of saints' lives composed and collected by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (*c.* 1260).[14] St. Christopher (no longer dog-headed, but still 'twelve feet tall'), is searching for the greatest king on earth.[15] He meets a hermit who instructs him in the Christian faith, and tells him to ferry people across the river.[16] Twice he hears a child calling his name, and the

4 For a comprehensive and up-to-date discussion of St. Christopher texts and sources see: Mussafia, 'Zur Christophlegende'; C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 214; Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 222; T.H. Leinbaugh, 'St Christopher and the *Old English Martyrology*: Latin Sources, and the Phrase *hwæs gneaðes*', *Notes and Queries*, XXXII (1985), pp. 434-7, at 434.

5 'Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua', p. 122; 'Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris', p. 396.

6 'Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua', pp. 123-4; 'Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris', p. 395.

7 'Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua', p. 123.

8 Walter, *Warrior Saints*, p. 215, pl. 24. St. Christopher is dressed in a tunic, and paired with the warrior St. George. Both figures hold up a shield and cross between them, and both spear a serpent with a human head. The inscription reads: 'XPOFORUS' (a mixture of Latin and Greek).

9 'Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris', p. 395.

10 *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. G. Herzfeld, EETS, Original Series, 116 (London, 1900), p. vii; J. Fraser, 'The Passion of St. Christopher', *Revue Celtique*, XXXI (1913), pp.307-25; Leinbaugh, 'St Christopher', p. 434.

11 *Old English Martyrology*, p. 67: 'He had the head of a dog, his locks were exceedingly thick, his eyes shone as brightly as the morning-star, and his teeth were as sharp as a boar's tusk'. I am grateful to Myra Stokes for assisting with this translation. For a discussion of the relationship between the *Old English Martyrology* and Latin and Greek texts see: Leinbaugh, 'St Christopher', pp. 434-7.

12 Richter, 'Der Deutsche S. Christoph', p. 3; Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 24.

13 In Catholic and Orthodox countries, images of St. Christopher are still produced to this day (his feast was omitted from the Roman Calendar in 1969, but may be observed locally).

14 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. W.G. Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), p. xii.

15 *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 10-11.

third time he notices a figure on the riverbank. The child begs to be carried across the river, and Christopher bears him on his shoulders, with his staff or 'pole' for support.[17] The water grows rougher and the child becomes heavier. On reaching the far bank Christopher says: 'My boy, you put me in danger, and you weighed so much that if I had had the whole world on my back I could not have felt it a heavier burden!' The child answers: Don't be surprised, Christopher! You were not only carrying the whole world, you had him who created the world upon your shoulders! And if you want proof that what I am saying is true, when you get back to your little house, plant your staff in the earth, and tomorrow you will find it in leaf and bearing fruit like a palm tree.[18] The staff flowers, and St. Christopher is converted to Christianity. The saint is eventually captured by his adversary King Dagnus, tortured and shot with arrows (which rebound and blind his enemy), and beheaded as a martyr.[19]

Emergence of St. Christopher images in England and Wales

Visual depictions of St. Christopher first appear in England from the mid-thirteenth century, and for fifty years are confined to illuminated manuscripts and wall painting schemes associated with royal, monastic and more affluent patrons. St. Christopher murals were already in existence in Europe by this time. An early locus of the cult of St. Christopher was the Alpine region.[20] One of the earliest wall paintings is in the St. Katharinakapelle at Burg Hocheppan, South Tyrol, of *c.* 1200.[21] Other early examples can be viewed at S. Maria di Torello and Biasca, Switzerland (*c.* 1217).[22] It is probable that Henry III (1207 to 1272), with his Continental connections, was responsible for introducing the visual cult of St. Christopher into England (and perhaps for encouraging the circulation of his image into the provinces).[23] The first reference to a

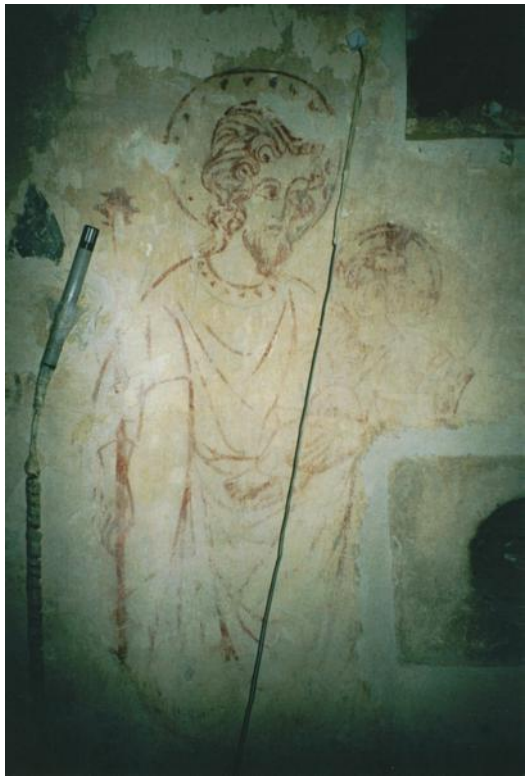

Fig. 1. St. Christopher, wall painting at Lacock Abbey,Wiltshire, late thirteenth century (photo: Author)

16 *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 11-12.
17 *Golden Legend*, II, p. 12.
18 *Golden Legend*, II, p. 12.
19 *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 5, 13-14. In the *Golden Legend*, St. Christopher shares his feast day with St. James the Great (25 July). This is also the case in liturgy (see below).
20 H.-F. Rosenfeld, *Der Hl. Christophorus: seine Verehrung und seine Legende* (Åbo, 1937), pp. 50-52, 309-11, 318-23, 326-31.
21 Rosenfeld, *Der Hl. Christophorus*, pp. 328, 394, 402, 410.
22 B. Hahn-Woernle, *Christophorus in der Schweiz: Seine Verehrung in Bildlichen und Kultischen Zeugnissen* (Basel, 1972), p. 72, pl. 1.
23 J.R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 18. Henry III married Eleanor of Provence in 1236.

St. Christopher wall painting occurs in Henry III's *Liberate Rolls* for 1240. The entry for the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London describes how 'an image of St. Christopher holding and carrying Jesus is to be made and painted where it may best and most suitably be placed in the same church'.[24] A decade later, the saint appears in the Westminster Psalter (*c.* 1250), and at the end of the thirteenth century in the murals at Westminster Abbey and Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire (Fig. 1).[25]

St. Christopher: prominence in wall painting

By the early fourteenth century, St. Christopher murals begin to emerge in more rural and provincial churches such as Little Wenham and Westhall, Suffolk, and it is likely that most churches possessed a visual representation of the saint by the mid-fourteenth century. It is clear from existing schemes that St. Christopher was usually included within the wall painting arrangement of a church, and that his image was far more ubiquitous than those of other saints (with the exception of the Virgin). Despite heavy losses since the Reformation, it is still possible to find St. Christopher in other media, for instance brass (six surviving examples), tomb sculpture (around eight surviving examples) and glass (around ninety-four recorded examples).[26] However, his image was far more common in wall painting.[27] Some 378 St. Christopher murals have come to light in England and Wales (extant and lost) through the examination of extant wall painting schemes, through the study of nineteenth-century antiquarian accounts, drawings and watercolours, and through the analysis of primary documents such as wills, churchwardens' accounts and literary sources.

St. Christopher's prominence in wall painting (as opposed to other media) was almost certainly a result of the need to see or view his figure to gain the benefits offered.[28] Wall

24 *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, 1240 to 1245*, II (London, 1930), p. 15.

25 BL, Royal MS 2 A.xxii, f. 220v (J. Backhouse, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (Oxford, 1979), pl. 30; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven, 1995), pl. 228). The wall painting at Lacock Abbey is located in a chamber at the west end of the south cloister walk, a private area which was probably occupied by three or four chaplains attached to the Abbey (*Lacock Abbey*, National Trust guide (London, 1994), pp. 23-4; H. Brakspear, 'Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire', *Archaeologia*, LVII (1901), pp. 125-58, at 153; P.H. Ditchfield, 'Lacock Abbey', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, XXVIII, pt. 1 (1922), pp. 41-2).

26 Most wall paintings were mutilated, whitewashed or removed between the 16th and the 19th centuries. Survivals are often so worn that it is tricky to discern the exact nature of the image.

27 The first recorded St. Christopher figure in brass is at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire (*c.* 1337). This is on the brass of Lawrence Seymour (or St. Maur), rector between 1289 and 1337 (J.H. Parker, *Architectural Notices of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton: Deaneries of Higham Ferrers and Haddon* (London, 1849), p. 13; P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', in *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops, 1279-1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), pp. 106, 108, fig. 99). An alabaster St. Christopher survives on the tomb of Lord Lovell at Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire (N. Pevsner and J. Sherwood, *Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 706). It is not entirely clear whether this is the tomb of William (d. 1455) or his son John Lovell (d. 1465) (F. Cheetham, *Medieval English Alabasters* (Oxford, 1984), p. 92; J. Salmon, 'Saint Christopher in English Medieval Art and Life', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*,LXI (1936), pp. 76-115, at 83; R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late-Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 177). There is a St. Christopher glass panel at Thaxted, Essex (third quarter of the fifteenth century). For a comprehensive overview of the function of St. Christopher in medieval churches see E. Pridgeon, 'St. Christopher Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches, *c.* 1250 to *c.* 1500', unpublished Ph.D dissertation (University of Leicester, 2008).

28 St. Christopher is usually depicted as a giant in wall painting from the fourteenth century (e.g. Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire). This aspect is derived from his stature in legend: 'he was twelve feet tall and fearsome of visage' (*Golden Legend*, II, p. 11).

painting is a public and visible medium, and St. Christopher would have been easily recognisable to those wishing to invoke him. Murals were also very cheap to produce, particularly those of inferior artistic quality typical of provincial or rural churches in England and Wales. Pigments in such areas were usually very simple iron ores (red and yellow ochre), so a large and conspicuous St. Christopher image could be produced at relatively little cost.[29] For instance, wardens Thomas Phylype and Robert Kyrkeby recorded the following in the accounts of the chapel of the Holy Rood, Bodmin, Cornwall (1512 to 1514): 'Item I paide John Hoyge for the newe payntynge of Seynte Christofer, 2s. 4d.'.[30]

The popularity of St. Christopher from the early fourteenth century can probably be attributed to the appeal of his legend, as popularised by and circulated in the *Golden Legend* from *c*. 1260.[31] The saint is portrayed as a kind of chivalric knight, roaming the earth and protecting the innocent with his great physical strength. He also boasts an intimate relationship with the Christ Child (and therefore God), and is one of a more exclusive group of male saints who are depicted in iconography holding the Christ Child.[32] In the absence of St. Joseph from a central position in medieval text and image, St. Christopher's protective and paternal role in text must have contributed to his status as guardian against death, misadventure, harm and fatigue in imagery.[33]

The function of St. Christopher in image: *pre-obit*

When considering the various functions St. Christopher performed within the church environment, it is necessary to examine the perceptions of those who sought relationships with the saint, and how they considered he would respond to their supplication. The main obstacle to addressing the issue of image functionality in the medieval period is that images almost certainly operated in different ways for different people, and were utilised and approached in very individual and personal fashions. Evidence does not usually allow for an assessment of private perceptions, meaning that it is often necessary to draw more general conclusions from the few sources available. Information concerning the role of St. Christopher is limited, but is by no means restricted to a handful of documents and sources. A systematic exploration of parish-related material such as wills and churchwardens' accounts, as well as literary and 'sermon' sources and the images themselves, is an adequate method for locating sufficient evidence on which to base a methodical and authentic study of the saint's role (so long as the researcher is aware of

29 A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 120-23. Staple pigments used in less artistically advanced wall paintings included yellow ochres and red earth (sinoper). They both came from natural deposits of iron oxides formed by the weathering of iron ores in England (R. Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Painting in English and Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 121-48).

30 Cornwall Record Office. B/Bod 314, membrane 12v. I am grateful to Dr. Joanna Mattingly for drawing my attention to this reference. The chapel of the Holy Rood was also known as the Berry Tower. All that remains of the building today is the ruinous early-sixteenth-century tower (J. Maclean., *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the Country of Cornwall*, 3 vols. (London, 1873-9), I, p. 199; N. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000), p. 87).

31 *Golden Legend*, II, p. 14.

32 Other male saints who are depicted with the Christ Child include St. Simeon and, in post-medieval iconography, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Herman-Joseph of Steinfeld and St. Joseph.

33 St. Christopher imagery developed its own functions, borrowed, developed and interpreted from textual legends.

shortcomings and drawbacks).[34] These sources demonstrate that St. Christopher and his image functioned as a talisman to the living, a kind of 'supernatural' protector against worldly tribulations and illness.

1 Protector against unprepared or sudden death

Image inscriptions indicate that those who viewed the figure of St. Christopher would be protected from sudden or ill death for the rest of the day. At Woodeaton, Oxfordshire, a scroll emerges from the wall painting, offering itself and its contents to the onlooker with the words: 'Ki cest image verra le jur de male mort ne murra' (Fig. 2).[35] A similar sentiment appears in the foot inscription of the Buxheim St. Christopher woodcut (*c.* 1450): 'Cristofori faciem die quacunque mens / Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris'.[36] Ill death can almost certainly be equated with sudden or unprepared death without being shriven of sin through confession (shrift) and without receiving final communion (housel), an occurrence that was particularly undesirable in the medieval period.[37] The *Ars Moriendi* (or the craft of dying) addressed the spiritual future of the soul.[38] St. Christopher's function as protector against unexpected or sudden death is more specifically described in the *Legends of the Saints* (*c.* 1400), a sermon-related manuscript of based largely upon

Fig. 2. St. Christopher, wall painting at Woodeaton, Oxfordshire, third quarter of the fourteenth century (photo: Anne Marshall – www.paintedchurch.org)

34 For an overview of the hazards of using wills and churchwardens' accounts as historical sources see C. Burgess, 'Late-Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in *Profit, Piety and the Profession in Later-Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-33; P. Mackie, 'Chaplains in the Diocese of York, 1480 to 1530: The Testamentary Evidence', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, LVIII (1986), pp. 123-33; M.L. Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, L (1977), pp. 246-49; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd edn.(New Haven, 2005), pp. 303, 305, 504-23; B. Kumin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400 to 1560* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 17; K.L French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late-Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001).

35 'He who sees this image shall not die an ill death this day' (E.W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), p. 115).

36 Manchester, John Rylands Library. MS 366 (17249). 'Whoever looks on the face of Christopher shall not that day die an ill death' (Salmon, 'St. Christopher', p. 80; P. Parshall, R. Schoch et al, ed., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public* (New Haven, 2005), pp. 153, 155).

37 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 120.

the *Golden Legend*, and partially on the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais): 'Þat þai one his ymage cane se... / for men sais, sudand ded þat day / he deis nocht his ymage se may'.[39]

2 Protector against misadventure and harm

Viewing the image of St. Christopher also ensured that onlookers avoided misadventure or harm. Various sources, including the *Legends of the Saints*, claim that the saint was called upon in times of danger, and functioned as a general protector against worldly struggles: 'Þat þaim ne may / ony mysawentoure fal þat day'.[40] The *Militaria*, one of Erasmus's *Colloquies*, touches on usage and function of St. Christopher imagery outside the church setting. The text is a reprimand of the impieties of a military life, the invocation of saints and the Catholic Church in general, demonstrated through the confessions of a soldier. Although Erasmus's observations were largely based upon Continental practices, much of his work can also be applied to circumstances in England and Wales at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One of the characters, Thrasymachus, speaks of St. Christopher, claiming that 'I relied mainly on St. Christopher, whose picture I looked at every day'. He subsequently describes how he drew a picture of St. Christopher on his tent, an action evocative of the execution of a church wall painting. The second soldier makes it clear that this was done to guard against misfortune, even though he has no faith in the power of the saint: 'As protection that charcoal Christopher surely wasn't worth a fig, as they say'.[41]

3 Protector against fatigue

Inscriptions imply that St. Christopher functioned as a defender against (or curer of) fatigue, feebleness and exhaustion. The earliest recorded St. Christopher wall painting inscription is incorporated into the image in the south transept at Westminster Abbey (*c.* 1290 to *c.* 1310).[42] The fragmentary lettering above the head of the figure reads: 'Sancti Christophori speciem quicumque tuetur / Illa nempe die languore tenetur'.[43] A similar sentiment was recorded in the lost paintings at Pakefield, Suffolk, Bibury, Gloucestershire, Witton, Norfolk, and in the decrepit mural at Creeting St. Peter, Suffolk.[44] The exact wording of some of these inscriptions is problematic as they are no longer visible, and we are reliant upon secondary sources for confirmation of their content. Researchers have sometimes used generic wording, possibly based upon the Westminster Abbey inscription, rather than interpreting the contents of individual wall paintings themselves. However, the general implication is still valid, even if the exact wording might be slightly inaccurate. According to Cautley, the scrolling above the heads of St. Christopher and the Christ Child at Creeting St. Peter, Suffolk, read: 'Christopheri Sancti Speciem Quicumque Tuetur Illa Nempe Die Nullo Languore

38 P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 2001), p. 33.

39 *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, III, ed. W.M. Metcalfe, Scottish Text Society, Final Series, 23 (London, 1890), pp. xxii, xviii. The dialect is Lowland Scottish of *c.* 1400. Metcalfe suggests that the *Legends of the Saints* may not have been circulated in England. He bases this on the fact that none of the distinctly English saints (such as St. Thomas Becket and St. Edmund) is included. However, the role of St. Christopher is still clear, even if it is in a Scottish capacity.

40 *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, III, p. 340.

41 Erasmus, *Colloquies*, ed. C. R. Thompson (London, 1965), pp. 14-15.

42 Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 170-71, pl. 228.

43 'Whoever sees St. Christopher this day will not be laden with tiredness' (Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 217).

44 H.C. Whaite, *St. Christopher in English Mediæval Wall Painting* (London, 1929), p. 44; S. Rudder, *A New History of the County of Gloucestershire* (Cirencester, 1779; repr. Stroud, 1977), p. 286.

Gravetur'.[45] Tristram also lists an identical inscription at Pakefield: 'Christophori Sancti speciem quicunque tuetur / Illa nempe die nullo languore gravetur'.[46]

4 Curer of disease

Evidence suggests that St. Christopher's powers of protection against sudden death and tiredness also extended to the curing of disease. Although wall painting inscriptions do not indicate that this was the case, a reference to invocation against illness and infirmity is found in the *Golden Legend*: 'For the saint besought your forgiveness and by his supplication obtained the cure of disease and infirmities'.[47] It is possible that these closing lines were based upon familiarity with St. Christopher's function in imagery (which had been flourishing on the Continent since the late twelfth century).[48] The impact of image function on textual rendering is more perceptible in William Caxton's edition of the *Golden Legend* (1483), a text partially based on an earlier English, French and Latin sources.[49] Caxton suggests that the role of St. Christopher is 'to put away sekenes and sores fro them that remember hys passyon and figure'.[50] His reference to the 'figure' of St. Christopher is almost certainly an allusion to the prominence of the saint's image-based cult in England. He clearly recognised that St. Christopher functioned as a healer in imagery, and modified the saintly functions to ensure his text was reflective of practice and belief in the late fifteenth century.[51]

5 Friend, helper and exemplar

Neighbourliness and friendliness were some of the standard features of the late-medieval sainthood, and were not exclusive or unique to St. Christopher. Many saints were portrayed as approachable, friendly and unassuming, including Henry VI, who was said to appear to his clients unshaven and friendly-faced 'giving...no little ground of hope and amazement'.[52] St. Christopher is described as a friend and helper in the *Legends of the Saints*, a figure who is close at hand when assistance and support is required 'Bot prays hym hartly fore to be / Gud frend til al in necessite'.[53] A devotional verse prayer by John Lydgate (1370?-1449) also describes how ten martyrs (including St. Christopher) have special powers to assist and aid clients in the attainment of general and everyday wants or needs through prayer.[54] The text begins with a preface relating to all ten saints: 'These holy seyntys folwyng ar pryvyledged of our lord Ihesu that what man or woman praieth to them rightfully shal have his

45 'Whoever sees an image of St. Christopher, he is protected on the day no tiredness be laden with' (H.M. Cautley, *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures* (Ipswich, 1954), p. 248, illus. on p. 206). Although much of the scrollwork at Creeting St. Peter is still visible today, the deterioration of the paintwork since the 1950s means that the lettering is now indecipherable.

46 Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*, p. 115.

47 *Golden Legend*, II, p. 14.

48 *Golden Legend*, II, pp. xiii-xiv. Ryan's source for the *Golden Legend* was almost certainly composed after 1260. He bases his version on the 1845 edition of Graesse, who suggested that 182 legends were the work of Jacobus, and that 61 were added by later authors.

49 *Golden Legend*, II, p. xiv.

50 Whaite, *St. Christopher in English Mediæval Wall Painting*, p. 7.

51 Caxton certainly made additions elsewhere, supplementing the text with some sixty saints of his own, and inserting his own words and phrasing where he felt it necessary. *Golden Legend*, II, p. xiv; F.S. Ellis ed., *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints* (London, 1931), p. x.

52 J.W. McKenna., 'Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of Henry VI', in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies*, ed. B. Rowland (London, 1974), p. 247; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 164-5. Despite attempts by Henry VII to mobilise the cult in support of his own dynasty, Henry VI was never officially canonised.

53 *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, III, p. 360.

54 *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Pt. 1, ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, Extra Series, 107 (London,1911), 120. The saints listed by Lydgate are: Giles, Catherine, Barbara, George, Denis, Blaise, Margaret, Martha, Christina and Christopher.

bone'.[55] Like other saints, St. Christopher was also a figure to be imitated and emulated. This is suggested by the case of John Warde, the Cambridgeshire painter, who created 'a devout interpretacion of St. Christopher's life...very lyvely in a table', and placed it in his pew so he could 'learne to be a right Christopher'.[56]

6 Intercessor and mediator

Intercession to obtain forgiveness and salvation was also a generic function of medieval sainthood. The *Golden Legend* states that 'saints intercede for us by their merits and by their goodwill. Their merits help us and they desire the fulfilment of our wishes, but this only when they know what we wish for is in accordance with God's will'.[57] A standard entry indicating mediation was applied to most saints and martyrs included in liturgical texts such as the Use of Sarum, the most widely used rite in England. The collect for St. Christopher describes an intercessory function: 'Deus, mundi creator et rector, qui hunc diem beatorum Christofori et Cucufati martyrum tuorum passione consecrasti; concede ut omnes qui martyrii eorum merita veneramur, eorum intercessionibus ab aeternis gehennae incendiis liberemur'.[58] A similar communicative role is also affirmed in the closing lines of Caxton's edition of the *Golden Legend*: 'Thenne late us praye to Seynt Christofre that he praye for us etc'.[59] Yet there is little sense in which these prayers and litanies are associated with images, and no suggestion that they might be performed in the presence of visual depictions of the saints.[60]

St. Christopher, pilgrims, travellers and water

Since the nineteenth century (and even before), researchers have assumed that St. Christopher images were inherently associated with travellers and pilgrims during the medieval period.[61] Salmon, for instance, without questioning the notion or providing evidence, claimed that when a long and hazardous journey had been brought to a safe conclusion, the traveller would burn a taper before St. Christopher.[62] In one sense, the manner in which St. Christopher images in churches were approached (they might be glanced at or passed by), immediately associates the figure with movement and travel. However, there is little indication that these visual depictions of St. Christopher were employed by pilgrims or travellers, at least in England and

55 *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, I, p. 120; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 178. They are similar in function to the Fourteen Holy Helpers or Auxiliary Saints, a group (including St. Christopher) who were probably invoked more on the Continent than in England.

56 MS notes in BL copy (856.a.2) of W. Turner, *A New Booke of Spirituall Physik for Dyverse Deseases of the Nobilite and Gentlemen of England* ('Rome' [Emden], 1555), ff. 20v-21.

57 *Golden Legend*, II, p. 279.

58 *Missale ad usum ... Sarum*, ed. F.H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861-83; repr. Farnborough, 1969), p. 824. St. Cucufas or Cucufat was a fourth-century legionnaire in the Roman army. He became a missionary in Barcelona, and was eventually decapitated for his beliefs.

59 Whaite, *St. Christopher in English Mediæval Wall Painting*, p. 7.

60 St. Christopher was not a figure who was particularly associated with dedication, liturgy, relics or miracle-working shrines. The Sarum Missal includes a very short collect of seven lines, secret and post-communion prayers to St. Christopher. James the Apostle shares the feast day, and in striking contrast, it is to him that most of the service is dedicated. (*Missale ad usum ... Sarum*, pp. 822-4; F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, 3 vols. (London, 1899), I, p. 180). Arnold-Forster lists just eight churches dedicated to St. Christopher. Westminster Abbey held several fragments of his head, donated by Henry III. They are described in an inventory of relics in 1520: 'A Item a relyke of saint xpofer sylver and parcell gylte lyke the son, of Dan Xpofer Goodhappys gyfftel.' (*Westminster Abbey: The Church, Convent, Cathedral and College of St. Peter, Westminster*, II, ed. H.F. Westlake (London, 1923), p. 501). I am grateful to Dr Guy Sumpter for this reference. See also: Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 171.

61 In modern times, St. Christopher is associated with travel, particularly in Catholic Europe and South America.

62 Salmon, 'St. Christopher', p. 81.

Wales. Church imagery was funded and employed by groups and individuals within the insular parish community, and there was little appeal to those from outside the neighbourhood.[63] It is unclear exactly when St. Christopher was adopted as the patron saint of travellers in England, but there is little evidence to connect the saint exclusively with this group in the medieval period.

The protective role played by St. Christopher may have meant that travellers and pilgrims were more likely to invoke him because of the dangerous and uncertain nature of their pursuit. However, references in such contexts are often circumstantial. The allusion to a St. Christopher medal in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales* for example, does not explicitly link the item to the concept of pilgrimage. Although the yeoman wears 'A Cristofre on his brest of silver shene', Chaucer does not specify that the medal is a particular mark of a pilgrim or traveller.[64] He mentions the item because he believes it to be a sign that the yeoman is over-dressed and over-equipped for his journey, and he mocks him for being equipped for every eventuality by carrying a bow, a shield, a spear, a sword, and even a hunting horn. The St. Christopher medal is just another aspect of the yeoman's over-preparation, worn just in case he should need to call upon the saint for protection (not because he is a pilgrim). The connection between St. Christopher and water has also been exaggerated by writers.[65] Certainly, there was some kind of association in the medieval period, for there was a fraternity of St. Christopher of the Water Bearers who met in the Austin Friars church in London from 1497.[66] What is less convincing is the claim that the St. Christopher's image was frequently located near to rivers or the sea.[67] The fact that most churches would have had a wall painting (or equivalent) image of St. Christopher from the mid-fourteenth century onwards means that it is unrealistic to draw associations between location and water. A universal misunderstanding of the role of St. Christopher in imagery is therefore evident even today, with the unquestioning reliance of modern authors on the work of earlier researchers.[68]

St. Christopher imagery: types of *pre-obit* devotion

There is very little evidence to suggest exactly how visual depictions of St. Christopher were utilised by individuals, or just how the saint was invoked within the church setting. There was a requirement to actually *see* the image of St. Christopher, and the inscriptions cited above suggest that this was enough to secure the protection required. Other types of parochial images demanded immediate action on behalf of the viewer in return for promises.

63 For information on wall painting patronage, see: Pridgeon, 'St. Christopher Wall Paintings' (Chapter IV).

64 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (*The Riverside Chaucer*), ed. L.D. Benson (Oxford, 1998), p. 25.

65 P. Tudor-Craig, 'Painting in Medieval England: The Wall-to-Wall Message', *History Today*, XXXI (November, 1987), pp. 39-45, at 45; D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 78-9. Farmer suggests that St. Christopher was especially invoked against water.

66 C.M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F.R.H. Boulay*, ed. C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 13-37, at 23.

67 C.E. Keyser, 'St. Christopher as Portrayed in England during the Middle Ages', *The Antiquary*, 2nd Series, LXVII,(1883), pp. 193-200, at 194. Keyser suggests that images of St. Christopher were positioned on houses near to fords on the Continent.

68 St. Christopher is also occasionally represented with a pilgrim or 'tau staff' with a t-shaped top. This is the case in the fourteenth-century wall painting at Willingham, Cambridgeshire. The saint is also shown wearing a wide-rimmed pilgrim hat at Stoke Dry, Rutland. However, far from indicating St. Christopher's association with pilgrims and travellers, this attire appears to be linked to his legend and the concept that he himself was a traveller.

A Mass of St. Gregory wall painting in the porch at Wrexham, North Wales, for instance, is accompanied by a fragmentary text that reads: 'Before this image...XII paternosters'.[69] In contrast, St. Christopher mural inscriptions do not call for specific or instant conduct, and the image possesses a power of its own. They were most commonly located in a prominent position opposite the main entrance to the church building.[70] St. Christopher was therefore immediately visible to congregations when entering the building if they wished to secure protection or assistance, and individuals might glance at the figure in passing (or even linger) when entering or leaving the church.

However, there was clearly some form of reciprocal relationship between St. Christopher and the parishioner, and references to supplication appear sporadically in testamentary documents and are hinted at in imagery. The occasional appearance of kneeling donor figures in St. Christopher murals, as at Cockthorpe, Norfolk, suggests that viewers might also kneel and contemplate before the image (Fig. 3).[71] It is clear that prayers were also offered before St. Christopher wall paintings. The inscription in the lost mural at Stockton, Norfolk, entreated onlookers to pray for the good estate and welfare (in this life) of those 'which made this christofee'.[72] Presumably these acts of devotion were performed in front of the figure of St. Christopher.

Fig. 3. St. Christopher, wall painting at Cockthorpe, Norfolk, early sixteenth century (photo: Author)

Although they rarely record the exact motivation behind the action, sources occasionally allude to parishioners bequeathing candles or lights to images during their lifetime. When John Warde created the picture of St. Christopher for his pew in the 1530s, parishioners started to burn candles in front of

69 M. Gill, 'Late-Medieval Wall Painting in England: Context and Content, c.1330 to c.1530', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Courtauld Institute, 2002), p. 358.

70 Of the 378 recorded wall paintings of St. Christopher in England and Wales, *c.* 60% are located on the north nave wall, *c.* 14% on the north aisle wall, *c.* 13% on the south nave wall, *c.* 5% on the south aisle wall, *c.* 2% in chantry chapels, and *c.* 6% in other locations (usually because sources do not specify).

71 N. Pevsner and B. Wilson, Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East Norfolk, 2nd edn. (London, 1990), p. 437. The Cockthorpe painting (uncovered in 1990), dates from the early sixteenth century. The two diminutive kneeling donor figures (male and female) are visible in the lower left and lower right-hand corners of the image. It is possible that viewers may have made the sign of the cross before St. Christopher murals (certainly they did perform such gestures in front of other types of imagery). For a discussion of types of gesture before images other than St. Christopher see Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 171; T. Lentes, '"As Far as the Eye can See...": Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages', in *In the Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. J.F. Hamburger and A. Bouche (Princeton, 2006), pp. 360-73, at 366.

72 C.E. Keyser, 'A Day's Excursion among the Churches of South-East Norfolk', *Archaeological Journal*, LXIV (1907), pp. 91-109, at 109.

it within a month.[73] It is clear that this was some form of devotional act. The *pre-obit* offering of candles might express gratitude for favours received from an image, act as a call for intercession on behalf of the saint, remind others (and Christ) of the donor's devotion, and encourage onlookers to worship the saint.[74] Architectural evidence also indicates that lights (or lamps) were placed in front of St. Christopher images. The small ogee-arched niche positioned slightly to the east of the St. Christopher mural at Corby Glen, Lincolnshire, almost certainly housed devotional lights connected with the wall paintings in the north aisle.[75]

St. Christopher imagery: types of *post-obit* devotion

The nature of late-medieval documentation means that it is far easier to create a picture of the type of devotional practices that occurred after death than to establish an impression of *pre-obit* activity. It is clear from examining Kent wills that images were often significant to those compiling their last testament and preparing for death.[76] Most popular were oblations to the Virgin, a saint who was particularly associated with intercession at death, and who is often depicted with St. Michael weighing the souls on the day of death and on the Day of Judgement.[77] St. Christopher, in contrast, was not a saint who particularly attracted *post-obit* devotion. Just 5.03 per cent of the Kent testators refer to St. Christopher in their wills, compared with 11.5 per cent who mention the Virgin (excluding preambles and church and chapel dedications).

Types of donation relating to St. Christopher do not differ significantly from those associated with other saints. Information concerning *post-obit* motivation for devotional actions is usually absent from testamentary documents, and most references are just fleeting allusions to bequests of lights to burn before his image. In 1511 for instance, Simon Church left to the church at Oare, Kent: 'A wax taper of 2 lbs. for evermore before the Picture of St. Christopher in the Church, which Light and taper shall burn every principal day, Sunday, Holydays, and the day of St. Anne, St. Margaret, St. Katherine, and St. Clement'.[78] Testators also contributed commodities towards the upkeep of lights or altars, and in 1512 at Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire, J. Barrett left 'To the ly3t off Sanct Christofore a stryke of malt'.[79] The fact that candles were offered to

73 Turner, *Spirituall Physik* (BL 856.a.2), ff. 20v-21.

74 K. Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350 to 1500* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 98; R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 22.

75 E.C. Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Corby Glen, Lincolnshire', *Archaeological Journal*, C (1943), pp. 150-76; E.C. Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 4th edn. (Princes Risborough, 1996), pls. 56, 70. This painting dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. There is also a contemporary mural depicting St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read, a second fifteenth-century St. Christopher, and a Warning to Swearers. These are all located in the north aisle.

76 *Testamenta Cantiana: A Series of Extracts from Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills Relating to Church Building and Topography*. *West Kent*,ed. L.L. Duncan, Archaeologia Cantiana (Extra Volume) (London, 1907); *Testamenta Cantiana: A Series of Extracts from Fifteenth and SixteenthCentury Wills Relating to Church Building and Topography*. *East Kent*, ed. A. Hussey, Archaeologia Cantiana (Extra Volume) (London, 1907); 'The Parish Churches of West Kent, their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights', ed. L.L. Duncan, *Transactions of the Saint Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.*, III (1895), pp. 241-98. I examined around 1000 wills in all (mainly in abstracted form because of time restraints). These date from the thirteenth century to 1559.

77 For example, in the fourteenth-century wall painting at Kempley, Gloucestershire, St. Michael is depicted holding the scales of judgement. To his left stands the Virgin, holding a rosary and offering prayers on behalf of the living and the dead (C. Babington, T. Manning, S. Stewart, *Our Painted Past: Wall Paintings of English Heritage* (London, 1999), illus. on p. 50).

78 *Testamenta Cantiana. East Kent*, p. 238.

79 R.M. Sergeantson and H.I. Longden, 'The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: Their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights', *Archaeological Jnl*, LXX (1913), pp. 217-452, at 364.

St. Christopher indicates that some form of protection was anticipated, even after death. Arranging to bequeath a light to an image or altar was a form of reverence to the saint depicted. This is described in the will of William White (1473), who left one taper of two pounds of wax to burn on Sundays for one year after his death in the church at Ashford, Kent. The document states this was to be done 'in honour of St. Erasmus, St. Christopher, and the Twelve Apostles'.[80] White must have anticipated that the specified saints would intercede with God on his behalf, and that the living would be reminded of his generosity (and hence pray for his soul).

Burial and brasses

It is occasionally possible to find references to other forms of *post-obit* practices involving St. Christopher imagery. At Westwell, Kent, for instance, John Iden (1488) asked to be 'buried in the Church of Our Lady the Virgin of Westwell before the Image of St. Christopher'.[81] Similarly, representations of St. Christopher on funerary monuments are not especially prevalent, but they do occur with enough frequency to justify comprehensive examination.[82] St. Christopher's function on brasses and tombs did not differ significantly from that of other saints. Rather like donating candles and gifts to images, the visual presence of a saint implies a desire for protection in the afterlife, and the need to maximise intercession with God on behalf of the soul in Purgatory.[83] In the case of St. Christopher, his *pre-obit* functions as protector against misadventure, and as a friend and helper and intercessor, were simply transferred into the afterlife.

Weeke, Hampshire

The *post-obit* role of St. Christopher is demonstrated by examining the diminutive

Fig. 4. Brass of William and Ann Complyn, 1498, Weeke, Hampshire
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight)

80 *Testamenta Cantiana. East Kent*, p. 7.
81 *Testamenta Cantiana. East Kent*, p. 356.
82 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009), p. 168. Images of saints on brasses become increasingly common in the fifteenth century.
83 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 122; J. Bertram, '"Orate Pro Anima": Some Aspects of Medieval Devotion Illustrated on Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), pp. 321-42, at 322-3; S. Badham, 'Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 5 (1996), pp. 413-465, at p. 443.

brass commemorating William (d. 1498) and Anne Complyn at Weeke, Hampshire (Fig. 4). Unusually, the brass (just 218 x 110 mm) has no accompanying effigy, and is composed of a St. Christopher figure and a lengthy inscription.[84] The latter describes the monetary gifts bestowed on the church by the couple and a plea for forgiveness and deliverance:

> Here lieth Will[ia]m Complyn & Annes his wife, ye whiche / Will[ia]m decessid ye xxi day of Mayi ye yere of oure lord / Mcccclxxxxviii. Also this be ye dedis yt ye said Will[ia]m hath / down to this Church of Wike yt is to say frest dedycacion of / ye Church xl^{s} & to make nawe bellis to ye sam Church x£ / also gave to ye halloyeng of ye grettest bell vi^{s}. viii·d & for / ye testimonyall of the dedicacion of ye sam Church vi^{s}. viii·d ./ On whos soules Ihu have mercy. Amen.[85]

It is clear that by describing the good works carried out during their lifetime, William and Ann Complyn intended to commemorate their pious and charitable existence on earth and attract prayers from the living to pray for their souls. Brass design and composition played a key role in communicating to the onlooker, and it was anticipated that St Christopher, symbolically positioned directly above the inscription, would function as the intermediary channel between the prayers of the living and God Himself on behalf of the departed.

The inclusion of saints on funerary monuments reminded onlookers that the deceased enjoyed heavenly support in the afterlife, and encouraged them to worship those saints. As with contributions to lights or wax, donors chose the saints they believed would be most successful in interceding for their soul, and those to whom they felt personal devotion during their lifetime.[86] The will of Anne Complyn (dated 1503) suggests that she held St. Christopher in particular affection. She requested: 'corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Wyke, juxta sepulturam mariti mei', and bequeathed 'lumini Sancti Christofori sex oves matrices' (three more than were bestowed on the Virgin light).[87]

Morley, Derbyshire

The remarkable survival of seven brasses commemorating the Stathum and Sacheverell families, lords of the manor of Morley, Derbyshire, is highly significant for a variety of reasons. Three of the funerary monuments display St. Christopher figures, which is remarkable considering the infrequency of his depiction on brass in the medieval period: John Stathum (d. 1453) and his wife Cecily (Fig. 5);[88] his son Thomas Stathum (d. 1470) and his two wives Elizabeth Langley and Thomasine Curson (Fig. 6);[89] and John Sacheverell (heir to Henry Stathum) (d. 1485), his wife Joan, and their three sons (Fig. 7).[90]

84 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (London, 2007), p. 320; J. Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 132. This is a London F Style brass.

85 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Hampshire*, pp. 320-22. The date has been added to the brass.

86 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 167.

87 F.J. Baigent, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of Wyke, Near Winchester* (Winchester, 1865), p. 20.

88 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire* (London, 1999), p. 146. This is a London B Style brass.

89 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, p. 146. This is a London D Style brass.

90 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, p. 150; the Sacheverell brass was engraved *c.* 1525 (London F Debased Style) (G. Compton-Bracebridge, *A History of St. Matthew's Church, Morley* (Tamworth, 1966), p. 5; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), pl. 89; S. Fox, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of S. Matthew, Morley* (London, 1872), p. 7, pl. 14). Henry Stathum (d. 1481) had no male heirs. As a result, the estate of Morley passed to the husband of Henry's daughter, John Sacheverell of Snetterton. John was a supporter of Richard III and was killed at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 (B. Burke, *The General Armoury* (London, 1884), p. 885; N. Pevsner, *Derbyshire*, The Buildings of England, (London, 1953), p. 187). Other brasses at Morley include: Rafe Stathum (d. 1380) and Godith (d. 1418), Godith and Richard her son (1403), two inscription brasses commissioned by John Stathum, Henry Stathum (d. 1481), and Henry Sacheverell (1558) (Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, pp. 146-50).

Fig. 5. Brass of John Stathum (d. 1453, LSW.V)
Morley, Derbyshire
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Derbyshire)

Fig. 6. Brass of Thomas Stathum (d. 1470, LSW.VI)
Morley, Derbyshire
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Derbyshire)

The compositions of all three funerary monuments highlight St. Christopher's *post-obit* intercessory role.[91] On Thomas Stathum's brass, St. Christopher is positioned directly above the central armoured male figure of the knight. He stands at the apex of a triangle of saints with St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read and the Virgin and Child below. Prayer scrolls issue from the three effigy figures (Thomas flanked by his two

91 Norris, *Craft*, p. 90.

Fig. 7. Brass of John Sacheverell (c. 1525, LSW.VIII) Morley, Derbyshire (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Derbyshire)

wives), invoking the three saints in corresponding positions above. The texts appeal for a safe and speedy journey through Purgatory: 'S[an]c[t]e Cristofere ora p[ro] nobis'. Comparable scrollwork is evident on the brasses of John Stathum and John Sacheverell, although in these instances St. Christopher is the sole representative of the heavenly company.[92]

A closer examination of documentary evidence in conjunction with brass composition provides us with further evidence of St. Christopher's intercessory role at Morley. The will of Thomas Stathum, (dated 1469), drawn up before the execution of his brass, specifies its form and composition:

> Corpus meum sepeliendum in the south side of the chauncell in the kirke of Morley at saint Nicholas Auter ende undir the lowe wall, the said Wall to be taken downe and ther upon me leyde a stone of marble with iij ymages of laton oon ymage maade aftir me and th othir ij aftir both my wifis we all knelyng on our kneys with eche on of us a rolle in our handis unto our Lady saint Marye and to saint Christophore over our heedis with iiij scochons of myn armes and both my wifis armes quarterly to gedir and to ware on the said stone vj marcs.[93]

Stathum's brass met his requirements in most respects. However, the effigy figures are recumbent (not kneeling), and the figure of St. Anne has been added.[94] This adjunct does more than simply balance the composition.[95] St Anne serves to enhance the visual and symbolic relationship between the saints, and therefore subtly alters the function of the brass.[96] The immediate connection between the three saints is their intimate relationship with Christ (the Virgin and St Christopher both bear the Christ Child), and it is possible that St Anne and the Virgin, clearly saints of 'higher intercessory rank', were included in the composition to give St. Christopher some kind of enhanced efficacy. It is rare to find St. Christopher in a summit position, a location more commonly occupied by 'intercessory' saints such as the Apostles (on rood screens), the Virgin (in Judgement

92 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Hampshire*, pp. 146-50. The head of the Christ Child was renewed by Gawthorp on both John Stathum's and John Sacheverell's brasses in 1915. Some of the scrollwork is missing (reconstruction based on Fox, *Morley*, pl. 15, fig. 1).

93 The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/6; Norris, *Craft*, p. 90.

94 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 151.

95 Norris suggests that St. Anne was added to balance the composition, and Saul confirms this suggestion (Norris, *Craft*, 90; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 97).

96 Norris, *Craft*, p. 90.

paintings), or the Annunciation, Pietà, or the Trinity (on brasses).[97]

In a similar manner to Weeke, the inscriptions at the foot of the Thomas and John Stathum brasses at Morley encourage prayers from the living for the souls of those depicted and commemorated: 'Orate p[ro] a[n]i[m]ab[u]s Thome Stathum milit[is] nup[er] d[omi]ni huius ville qui obi[i]t xxvii die Julij A[nno] d[omi]ni MCCCClxx Et d[omi]ne Elisabeth ux[or]is et filie Rob[er]ti Langley Armigeri ac Thomasine alterius uxoris et filie Joh[ann]is Curson Armigeri quor[um] a[n]i[m]ab[u]s p[ro]piciet[ur] deus. Amen'.[98] John's brass also reminds onlookers of the couple's good works on earth, and thus encourages additional prayers for their souls: 'Here lieth John Stathum Esquire somtyme lorde of this towne and Cecily his wife which yaf to yis churche iii belles and ordeyned iiis iiiid yerely for brede to be done in almes among poure folk of ys parish in ye day of ye obit of dame Godith sometime lady of ys towne'.[99]

The composition of the Morley brasses indicates that St. Christopher was deliberately employed by Stathums and Sacheverells alike to enhance individual and family pride, and to strengthen familial bonds. Tombs provided concrete evidence of ancestry in the medieval period, and Thomas Stathum emphasised the perpetual nature of his dynasty by basing the format and design of his own brass on that of his father John. This involved duplicating the foot inscription, the effigies with prayer scrolls, and the prime 'intercessory' location of St. Christopher. The descendants of John Sacheverell also specified the inclusion of a St. Christopher figure on his brass, commissioned some forty years after his death.[100] Establishing symbolic connections with earlier Morley brasses was clearly done to bolster family pedigree, to link the Sacheverell family more closely with their Stathum ancestors, and to secure the family's position as lords of Morley.[101] John Sacheverell inherited the manor indirectly through his marriage to Joanna Stathum (daughter of Henry Stathum, d. 1481), and the Sacheverells may have felt anxious about their claims on the title. The precise lineage is specified on brass in the inscription: 'Hic jacet Joh[an]nes Sachev[er]ell Armig[eri] fili[us] et heres Rad[ulph]i' Sachev[er]ell Armig[er]i d[omi]ni' de Snettertun et Hopwell Et Joa[n]na ux[or] eju[s]s filia et unica heres he[n]rici Stathum Armigeri d[omi]ni' de morley qui quidem Joh[an]nes obiit In bello Ricardi tercii iuxta bosworth anno d[omini] MCCCC lxxxv Quorum a[n]i[m]abus propicietur deus Amen.'[102] Incorporating St. Christopher, a saint the Stathum family held in special affection, into the brass design, created symbolic connections with the ancestral brasses already in the church, and secured the *post-obit* protection of the favoured saint.

It is clear from the surviving brasses that the Stathum (and probably Sacheverell) families were devoted to St. Christopher, but there is no

97 Church doctors were often depicted on rood screens below the principal and focal Crucifix (as at Bramfield, Norfolk). This positioning reflects their role in the hierarchical scheme and their intercessory function (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 159, pls. 83, 84). The Apostles are generally depicted below the feet of Christ in Doom paintings, and the Virgin kneeling on his right in supplication (for example, St. Thomas's, Salisbury) (Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, pl. 66). The Trinity appears in the principal position on the brass of Thomas Wolrond and wife Alice at Childrey, Berkshire (*c.* 1520) (H.F.O. Evans, 'The Holy Trinity on Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 3 (1982), p. 215, fig. 4.

98 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, p. 146

99 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, p. 146.

100 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Derbyshire*, p. 150; Norris, *Craft*, p. 65.

101 Norris, *Craft*, p. 66.

102 I am grateful to Dr Paulus Dryburgh for checking the Latin for this inscription. The inclusion of three prominent shields and Stathum heraldry on the brass also links the Sacheverell family to their ancestors.

additional evidence to suggest why the families favoured the saint on their monuments. A Book of Hours, probably commissioned by John Stathum between 1448 and 1452, offers no further clues to St. Christopher devotion at Morley.[103] The Office for the Dead includes a prayer for the souls of deceased Stathum family members:

> Here is a prayer compiled in short space to pray for a soul that a man is bounden to pray for: and who that is in good life and says these prayers that follow, for the souls that are here rehearsed: he shall have great pardon and great meed also for their good intent etc, for the souls of rafe, godith, thomas, elizabeth, cecill and john, and also generally for all Christian souls'. Antiphon. Placebo. Psalmus.[104]

It is possible that the book was kept in the church and used as a devotional supplement to the brasses themselves.[105] An obit reminder brass, commissioned by John Stathum (*c.* 1450), lists prayers to be said for his deceased family 'Rafe, Godith, Thomas, Elizabeth, Cecill and John' in accordance with instructions given in 'divers bokis'.[106] However, there is no evidence within the Book of Hours to suggest that the family had a special devotion to St. Christopher, and there is no indication that Christopher was a Stathum or Sacheverell family name.

Tattershall, Lincolnshire

There is also a St. Christopher figure on the brass of Joan, Lady Cromwell (d. 1479, engraved *c.* 1490) at Tattershall (Lincolnshire) (Fig. 8).[107] Six saints stand in canopied sideshafts (identified by pedestal inscriptions), arranged in hierarchical order with the 'intercessory' representatives closest to Christ at the top: St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read and the Virgin and Child (right and left respectively). St. Christopher and St. George are paired beneath, and St. Dorothy and St. Edmund at the foot. St. Christopher does not occupy the primary intercessory position in this composition, but functioned as an auxiliary saint, poised to support his heavenly superiors.[108] Female saints were a common choice of heavenly companions by women commissioning tombs or brasses.[109]

103 Derbyshire Record Office, D5649 (Book of Hours) (A.R. Dufty, 'The Stathum Book of Hours: an existing MS. mentioned on a fifteenth-century brass', *Archaeological Journal*, CVI, Supplement (1949), pp. 83-90, at 85. Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 141. The dating of the Book of Hours is based on notes in the Calendar referring to 1448 and 1452 as the previous and following leap years (f. 2v).

104 Derbyshire Record Office, D5649, f. 48v. Dufty, 'Stathum Book of Hours', p. 87, pl. XIXa. The entry is in English (modernisation by Dufty).

105 Dufty, 'Stathum Book of Hours', p. 88. Dufty's suggestion that the Book of Hours was kept in the church is based on the fact that the fifteenth-century binding has rings to attach chains.

106 Dufty, 'Stathum Book of Hours', pp. 85-7, fig. on p. 88; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 141. Godith and Rafe were John Stathum's grandparents, Thomas and Elizabeth his father and mother, and Cecill his wife.

107 Norris, *Craft*, p. 88. This brass was engraved in the workshop that produced the Norwich Series 3 brasses. Joan was the younger daughter of Sir Richard Stanhope of Rampton by his second wife, Maud. Maud was the sister of Ralph, Baron Cromwell, Lord Treasurer of England (1433 to 1443), who also founded the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity at Tattershall. Lord Cromwell died childless, and Joan and her elder sister Maud became his co-heirs (S. Badham, *The Monumental Brasses of the Collegiate Church of Holy Trinity, Tattershall* (Tattershall, 2004)).

108 St. Christopher also functions as an auxiliary intercessor on the brass of Lawrence Seymour at Higham Ferrers. Here, he is 'supervised' by an array of more exclusive heavenly intercessors (including St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, the four Evangelists, St. John Baptist and St. Stephen). It is likely that this 'lower rank' was the more usual location for St. Christopher on brasses.

109 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 308. This relationship is also demonstrated by the choice of saints on the brass of her elder sister Maud Lady Willoughby (d. 1497). The female saints are arranged in one buttress (Anne, Helen, Zita and Elizabeth). The association is also evident in wall painting patronage. At Corby Glen, the inclusion of a mid-fourteenth-century wall painting depicting St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read was an appropriate subject both for a Lady Chapel, and for the female patron, Margery Croill. Croill owned a number of religious books, including 'Matyns de Notre Dame' and a 'Little Book of Matyns and Common of the Saints'. Her will (1319) also mentions chaplains 'in the chapel of Our Lady which Ihave built' (now the north aisle) (*Early Lincoln Wills: An Abstract of all the Wills and Administrations Recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the Old Diocese of Lincoln, 1280 to 1547*, ed. A. Gibbons, Lincoln Record Series, 1 (Lincoln, 1888), pp. 4-5).

Donors clearly sensed an affinity with their heavenly counterparts, and anticipated that this sentiment would be reciprocated in the afterlife. A similar relationship between women and female saints is visible at Morley on the brass of Thomas Stathum. His effigy is 'paired' with the central and principal figure of St. Christopher, while the Virgin and St. Anne are positioned directly above the female figures of Elizabeth and Thomasine.

A Note on style and form

There is a clear stylistic and typological development of St. Christopher imagery in all media between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[110] Depictions in brass were also part of this trend, and they followed in the wake of more 'cutting-edge' illumination, glass and sculpture, sometimes by up to thirty or forty years.[111] St. Christopher typology appears to be broadly contemporary with wall painting styles, and developments in style are evidently national and international (rather than regional). Nevertheless, before embarking on a brief outline of typology, it should be considered that dating medieval imagery is an inexact science, fraught with hazards (for example, losses, inaccurate reconstruction, uncertain execution dates).[112] Additionally, the transfer of styles between media might be hindered or altered by the form of the medium. Wall painting, for instance, lends itself to the rendering of extensive landscapes and detailed backgrounds. These features are difficult (both technically and spatially) to translate into often diminutive figure work on brass. Stylistic chronologies must therefore be, at best, loose and tentative.[113]

The scant remnants of a St. Christopher are discernable in the left-hand sideshaft on the brass of Lawrence Seymour at Higham Ferrers (*c.* 1337) (Fig. 9).[114] Although only the saint's feet and ankles remain (and a fish), these features are clearly fourteenth-century in style. The feet are positioned in a 'toe-down' stance, which gives the impression the saint is floating in rather than standing firmly on the heaped, heavily-ribbed water. A similar St. Christopher type appears in illumination from the mid-thirteenth century (for example the Lambeth Apocalypse (*c.* 1260-67),[115] and emerges in mural painting by the early fourteenth century, as at Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire (Fig. 10). Similar stylistic and typological parallels can be drawn between the Tattershall St. Christopher (*c.* 1490), the Clarence Hours (1420s), and the wall painting at Pickering, Yorkshire

110 For a comprehensive overview of the dating of St. Christopher imagery in England and Wales, see: Pridgeon, 'St. Christopher Wall Paintings' (Chapter V).

111 For a general discussion of the stylistic relationship between brass and other media, see S. Badham, 'London Standardisation and Provincial Idiosyncrasy: The Organisation and Working Practices of Brass-Engraving Workshops in Pre-Reformation England', *Church Monuments*, V (1990), pp. 3-15; Norris, *Craft*, pp. 100-07; R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design, c.1420-85', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXXXI (1978), pp. 51-78, at pp. 62-5.

112 For an overview of the complications associated with dating medieval imagery (especially wall painting) see Gill, 'Late-Medieval Wall Painting in England'; Pridgeon, 'St. Christopher Wall Paintings' (Chapter V).

113 The exact relationship between woodcuts and brass is not entirely clear, and further research needs to be carried out into this area. For transmission of styles and forms between woodcuts and glass see H. Wayment, 'Wolsey and Stained Glass', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.T. Gunn and P. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 116-30, at 126; K. Harrison, 'Designs from Dürer in the Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge', *Burlington Magazine*, CXVI (1954), pp. 348-9; H. Wayment, 'The Late Glass in King's College Chapel: Dierick Vellert and Peter Nicholson', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.*, LXXXIV (1995), pp. 121-42.

114 Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', pp. 104-05. The Seymour brass is the earliest example of the 'Seymour style' London workshop.

115 Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, f. 40.

Fig. 8. St. Christopher, detail from brass of Joan, Lady Cromwell, c. 1490, Tattershall, Lincolnshire (photo: Martin Stuchfield)

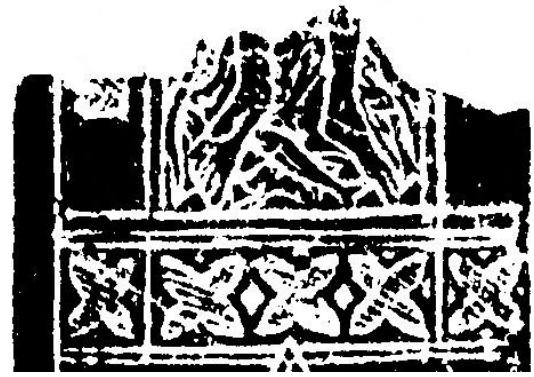

Fig. 9. Feet of St. Christopher, brass of Lawrence Seymour, c. 1337, Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire (from MBS Portfolio)

Fig. 10. St. Christopher, wall painting at Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire, second quarter of the fourteenth century (photo: Author)

(third quarter of the fifteenth century).[116] In all three instances, the bulky saint is depicted with an elevated right leg, giving the impression he is moving swiftly and powerfully through the water. At Tattershall and Pickering, St. Christopher grasps a thick pole or staff which flowers (as described in the *Golden Legend*), and is wrapped in a loosely-fitting, multi-folded garment (Fig. 11). The St. Christopher figure on the brass at Weeke (1498) can be compared with the mural painting at Llantwit Major, South Glamorgan (third quarter of fifteenth century).[117]

The three Morley brasses are most illustrative of these trends and developments when the St. Christopher figures are examined collectively. The St. Christopher on the brass of John Stathum (d. 1454) has stylistic links with illumination from the early fifteenth century, such as the Beaufort Hours (*c.* 1404-10).[118] Parallels include the manner in which the saint balances in the water with the staff, his legs astride and his body angled, conveying an overall sense of flourish.[119] A second St. Christopher typology is evident on the brass of Thomas Stathum (d. 1470), which can be likened to the glass panel at All Saints', North Street in York (*c.* 1412 to 1428) (Fig. 12), as well as the (lost) early wall painting at Broad Chalke, Wiltshire (early sixteenth century).[120] In all three instances, the saint faces the viewer full on, his right leg raised and bent to convey motion, his head turned to gaze at the Christ Child on his shoulders. A third St. Christopher type is evident on the brass of John Sacheverell (engraved *c.* 1525). This is a much later style, and can be likened to figures in the (lost) mural painting at Ludgvan, Cornwall (early sixteenth century).[121] In both cases, St. Christopher stands tall, straight and still in the water, a heavy sash covering his knee-length pleated garment.

There is very little evidence to suggest precisely how the diffusion of images and iconography occurred in the medieval period, or about working practices of brass engraving workshops in general.[122] Models, copy drawings and

116 The Clarence Hours is in the collection at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. On Pickering, see 'Mural Paintings in St. Peter's Church, Pickering', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XIII (1895), pp. 353-70, at 355; N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 282; C. Ellis, *St. Peter and St. Paul Parish Church, Pickering*, church guide (Derby, 1996), pp. 5, 10; K. Giles, 'Marking Time? A Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Calendar in the Wall Paintings of Pickering Parish Church, North Yorkshire', *Church Archaeology*, IV (2000), pp. 42-51. The wall paintings at Pickering, which cover most of the nave clerestory, have been restored a number of times since the decision was made to uncover them in 1876. Pre-restoration reproductions show that some speculation was employed when attempting to join together parts of the paintings which were too fragmented to be accurately reconstructed. However, similarities between the pre and post-restoration images are close enough that certain conclusions about style and date can be drawn from the extant paintings.

117 Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*,p. 34, fig. 38.

118 BL, Royal MS 2 A.xviii, f. 11v (J. Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (London, 1997), p. 143. The manuscript was made for John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (d. 1410). The Netherlandish artist of the St. Christopher is known as the 'Master of the Beaufort Saints'.

119 It has not been possible as yet to trace this 'type' of St. Christopher in wall painting.

120 Society of Antiquaries Library, BP 49 (Fresco by E. Godwin (1850)). The style of the St. Christopher mural at Broad Chalke is similar to the figure on the Thomas Stathum brass. However, the overall content of the painting suggests it is slightly later. This is indicated by features such as the sweeping landscape vista, the convincing use of perspective, and the extensive background detail.

121 W. Iago, 'On the St. Christopher Wall Paintings, at Ludgvan, Mylor, &c.', *Jnl of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, IV (1871-2), pp. 53-7.

122 For further examples of transmission between illumination and wall painting see E. Kitzinger, 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration', in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, ed. K. Weitzmann, W.C. Loerke, E. Kitzinger, H. Buchthal (Princeton, 1975), pp. 99-142. Elizabeth New is currently working on the transmission of style and form between seals and brasses: E. New, 'Episcopal Seals and Bishops' Tombs: Some Comparative Thoughts', unpublished Monumental Brass Society Conference Paper (September 2009).

Fig. 11. St. Christopher, wall painting at Pickering, Yorkshire, third quarter of the fifteenth century (photo: Anne Marshall – www.paintedchurch.org)

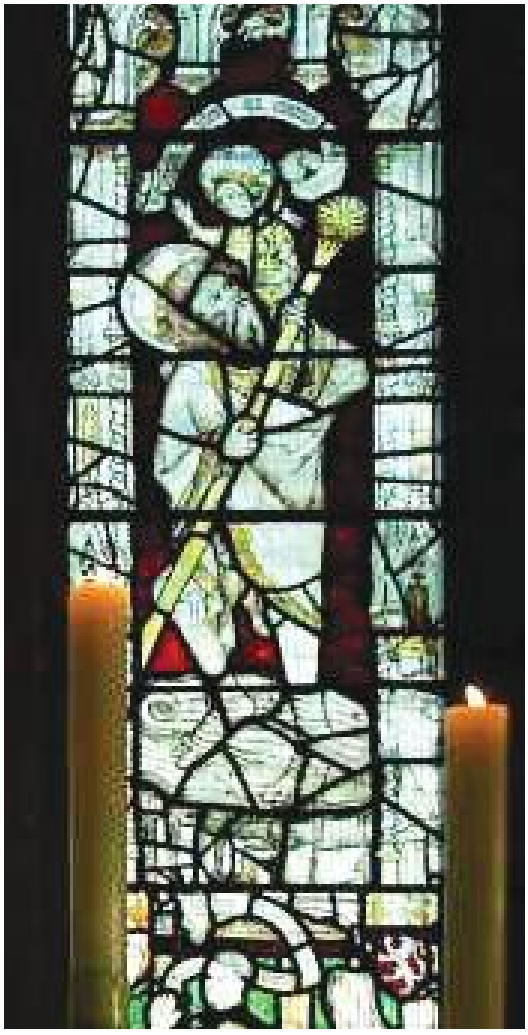

Fig. 12. St. Christopher, glass panel at All Saints', North Street, York. c. 1412 to c. 1428 (photo: David Titchener – www.allsaints-northstreet.org.uk)

cursory sketches were probably used by assistants in workshops (for instance, panel painting, illumination or brass), and these may have been put out into general circulation when they were finished with.[123] Craftsmen might have copied directly from other images (possibly after viewing the depiction itself within the workshop, or when complete and *in situ*), and verbal instructions may also have provided guidance.[124] In addition, there were probably intermediary generic pattern books and stock designs in circulation for use.[125]

123 S. Jones, 'The Use of Patterns by Jan Van Eyck's Assistants and Followers', in *Investigating Jan Van Eyck*, ed. S. Foister and S. Jones (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 197-207, at 198; J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, Pa., 2000), pp. 3-9, 273-4.

124 Jones, 'The Use of Patterns', p. 198.

125 Kitzinger, 'Role of Miniature Painting', pp. 108, 109, 115-20; Jones, 'The Use of Patterns', p. 202.

There was also some overlap between workshops or professions, which may have helped to circulate typologies further. Sub-contracting to goldsmiths or other craftsmen was not unheard of, and engravers may have moved between workshops.[126] It was not common for artists to work in more than one medium (as each area required rather different skills), but it did occur from time to time. Engravers appear to have designed other monuments (incised slabs and perhaps even three-dimensional tombs), and painters may have assisted in drawing up more exclusive brass compositions.[127]

Conclusion

St. Christopher imagery had a number of different roles in the church setting after its initial appearance in wall painting from the early fourteenth century. Evidence suggests that, to the living, St. Christopher functioned as a defender against sudden or unprepared death, a guardian against misadventure and harm, a protector against fatigue, a curer of disease, and a friend, helper, exemplar and intercessor (a generic saintly role). As far as murals are concerned, his image functioned as a kind of talisman, and the saint as a form of 'supernatural' protector against worldly troubles. In addition, there is little evidence to suggest that St. Christopher imagery within churches was directly connected with travel, pilgrims or water.

The fact that St. Christopher was rarely referred to in wills or depicted on funerary monuments suggests that his *post-obit* role was minimal. However, it is clear that when donors did plan to invoke him, they did so for the purpose of protection in Purgatory, with the intention of securing him as a friend and helper along the way, and as an intercessor with God. His *post-obit* functions do not differ radically from those attributed to other saints chosen by testators or patrons for their funerary monuments. St. Christopher's image was used by donors on tombs and brasses to attract prayers from the living. In these cases (exceptions rather than rules), will evidence and brass composition indicate that St. Christopher was held in high esteem by the donors, and that he was employed as chief intercessor. In striking contrast, at Tattershall and Higham Ferrers he is positioned much lower down the heavenly hierarchy, beneath the customary 'intercessory' saints and apostles. St. Christopher was also deliberately employed at Morley (along with other elements of brass composition) to enhance individual and family pride, to strengthen familial bonds and to secure the Sacheverell family position as lords of Morley.

Brass imagery was clearly bound up in more general stylistic changes and trends. Evidence suggests that it lagged behind more 'advanced' media such as glass and illumination by some years, and was generally contemporaneous with less progressive wall painting. It is imperative that more research is carried out in this area, and that the often unconnected fields of academic study (glass, wall painting and brass for instance) unite to create a homogenous and holistic assessment of medieval imagery.

126 Badham, 'London Standardisation', p. 16.

127 Badham, 'London Standardisation' pp. 5-9. Badham argues that although brass designs show influence from other media, there is no evidence of the same patterns being used. Cf. Norris, *Craft*, pp. 105-07; Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses', p. 68. The fifteenth-century London marblers James Reames, Richard Rouge and Richard Stephen are also listed as glaziers.

A fifteenth-century brass at Swithland, Leicestershire, and the commemoration of female religious in late-medieval England

Kelcey Wilson-Lee

AN unusual mid-fifteenth-century brass remains set into a modern slab in the nave of the church at Swithland, near Leicester (Figs. 1-3). This London D series monument features a woman wearing a long gown with loose flowing drapery above a four-line Latin inscription (Fig. 3), which remains intact. It reads:

> Hoc in conclave iacet Agnes Scot camerata, / Antrix devota domine Ferrers vocitata: / Quisquis eris qui transieris, queso, fune precata; / Sum quod eris, fueram que quod es: pro me, precor, ora.
> [In this chamber lies Agnes Scot, anchoress / Devout cave-dweller who was called by Lady Ferrers. / You who will pass by, please, with polite request, / I am as you will be, and I was as you are: pray for me, please.]

The Swithland brass is an extremely rare example of a sepulchral monument to a female recluse supported by a female aristocratic patron.

This brass is unusual in part because monuments to medieval women religious do not survive in great numbers in England. To my knowledge, only twenty-one other memorials to female religious survive in English churches, although many more must originally have been present in convent and parish churches (Table 1). Five memorials which commemorate late-medieval abbesses remain in former abbey churches: a stone effigy of a thirteenth-century abbess at Polesworth, Warwicks.;[1] a series of stone floor slabs at Romsey, Hants – two cross slabs which probably commemorate abbesses from the

Fig. 1. Agnes Scot, Swithland, Leics. (photo: Martin Stuchfield)

1 VCH, *Warwickshire*, IV (London, 1947), p. 197.

thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries and an incised slab commemorating an Abbess Johanna, either Joan Icche (Icthe) (d. 1349) or her successor, Joan Gerveys (Gervase) (d. 1352);[2] and a brass at Elstow, Beds., commemorating Abbess Elizabeth Harvey (d. 1524).[3] An effigy possibly representing one of the fifteenth-century abbesses of Wherwell, Hants, rests inside a modern church in the same town, while a brass commemorating Agnes Jordan, abbess of Syon, who died in 1545/6 after she was forced to hand over the abbey, remains in the parish church of Denham, Bucks.[4] Mary Gore (d. 1437), prioress of Amesbury in Wiltshire from 1420 to her death, was commemorated by a brass at the church in nearby Nether Wallop, Hants, a village within the priory's estate.[5] The fifteenth-century figure accompanying the inscription to Elle (Ela) Buttry (d. 1546), last prioress of Campsey in Suffolk before the Dissolution, has been appropriated as part of her monument at St Stephen's Church in Norwich.[6] Two other brass inscription plates commemorate prioresses: Dame Margaret Dalenger (d. 1497) at Bungay, Suffolk, and Dame Elizabeth Mountney (d. 1518), prioress of St. George's, Thetford, at Banham, Norfolk.[7] A brass fragment depicting the head of a woman wearing a wimple currently located inside a nineteenth-century church near the site of Kilburn Priory in Middlesex,[8] an inscription above a tomb recess at Combe Florey, Somerset, featuring the word 'NONAYNE',[9] and an incised slab at North Bradley, Wilts., to Emma Stafford, mother of John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, are each thought to commemorate members of female monastic communities.[10] Finally, an early fifteenth-century non-effigial incised slab at Lincoln Cathedral featuring an inscription to Joan Levirs, anchoress of the order of St. Gilbert, has only recently been interpreted correctly as commemorating a female recluse.[11]

In addition to these fifteen monuments commemorating female monastics, at least six other memorials remain which commemorated vowesses – lay widows of nobles, gentlemen, and prominent merchants, who took vows of chastity

2 VCH, *Hampshire*, IV (London, 1911), p. 467. Romsey also has two early sixteenth-century indents of abbesses, most probably Joyce Rowse and Anne Westbrook (W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Stratford St. Mary, 2007), pp. 257-60).

3 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), pp. 40-42. [For Elizabeth Harvey's date of death, see *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, III, *1377-1540*, ed. D.M. Smith (Cambridge, 2008), p. 643. License to elect her successor was granted 3 May 1924. *Ed.*]

4 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p. 55, illus. on p. 57. Both Pevsner and VCH suggest that the Wherwell monument commemorates a nun: N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 651; VCH, *Hampshire*, iv, p. 414. However, the effigy is described as commemorating an abbess in *Hampshire Treasures*, 11 vols. (Winchester, 1979-86), viii (1983), p. 245.

5 H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), p. lxxxvii; VCH, *Wiltshire*, iii (Oxford, 1956), p. 258; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. in 8 pts. (London, 1819), ii, p. 342.

6 M. Stephenson, *A List of Palimpsest Brasses in Great Britain* (London, 1903), p. 134. J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1980), I, p. 81 (35N), II, pl. 145.

7 I am grateful to William Lack for drawing these monuments to my attention.

8 J.S.M. Ward, *Brasses* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 129; H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex. Part 21', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXXII (1981), p. 150, fig. 5.

9 I am very grateful to Philip Lankester and Sally Badham for alerting me to the Combe Florey monument and for sharing their thoughts on it

10 F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to c. 1700*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), I, p. 104.

11 See N. Rogers, 'Portfolio of Small Plates', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 6 (2008), pp. 607-08. Previous scholars have misread the name on the inscription as 'John' and considered the monument a memorial to a male anchorite.

following their husbands' deaths, and who were instilled with many of the attributes of women religious but who were not required to live within female religious communities.[12] The most elaborate of these is the brass at Westminster Abbey to Eleanor de Bohun (d. 1399), who joined Barking Abbey after the murder of Thomas of Woodstock in 1397. The remainder all commemorate gentry vowesses, including two Norfolk women: Juliana Amywell, whose early sixteenth-century brass survives at Witton, and Joan Braham (d. 1519), widow of local esquire John Braham, who is commemorated by a brass at Frenze.[13] Susan Kingston (d. 1540), widow of Berkshire esquire Richard Kingston, is depicted as a vowess on a brass at Shalstone, Bucks., even though she was already commemorated (as a lay woman) on a brass double effigy alongside her husband at Childrey, Berks., commissioned shortly after his death.[14] Another brass, to Joan Cook (d. 1545), widow of merchant, alderman, and mayor of Gloucester, John Cook, depicts the widow as a vowess on the double effigy she shared with her husband at St Mary de Crypt in Gloucester. The Gloucester brass is especially interesting because it implies that fifteenth-century widow vowesses could be depicted alongside their husbands. Thus, the two separate brasses to Susan Kingston suggest that she took her vow subsequent to the installation of the Childrey effigy. A final brass, at Quinton, Glos., commemorates the gentry widow Joan Clopton (d. 1430), who fulfilled her husband's last wishes by becoming an anchoress at Quinton church following his death.

The portrayal of vowesses on their sepulchral monuments is very similar to depictions of (non-vowed) widows generally, a point which has been made repeatedly by scholars examining the costume of these effigies.[15] The standard dress of a widow – normally consisting of a long gown with a plain mantle, a veiled headdress and a pleated *barbe* or wimple – can be seen on many late-medieval brasses, incised slabs, and relief effigies; this correlates very closely with the depiction of vowesses. Further similarities between the monuments of lay women and vowesses include the frequent depiction of heraldry, such as the brass to Joan Braham. In fact, there are no features which consistently differentiate the monuments of vowesses from those of widows who are not known to have taken vows, except that the inscriptions on vowesses' memorials normally explicitly reference the woman's widowed or vowed state. The brasses of Joan Clopton and Susan Kingston feature the right-hand ring which was given to nuns and vowesses during the ceremony in which they took their vows. Joan Cook wears a ring on her left hand, and this may also be representative of her vowed state, especially as the half-profile angle of her effigy would preclude the depiction of a right-hand ring. However, the ring does not appear at all on the monument to Joan Braham, and in this case we only know that Joan was a vowess because the phrase 'vidua ac…dicata' – widow and nun – appears in her inscription.

Greater differences appear between the depictions of lay women, including widows, and those of women from established female religious communities. Overall, the decorative schemes of nuns' monuments and the dress worn by nuns is simpler than that found on

12 On vowesses, see H. Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450-1500* (London, 1995), pp. 172-3.

13 Ward, *Brasses*, p. 130.

14 Lack, Stuchfield, and Whittemore, *Buckinghamshire*, pp. 184-5; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), p. 39.

15 Haines, *Manual of Brasses*, p. lxxxix; F.H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments* (London, 1921), p. 235; M. Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs* (London, 1979), p. 29.

monuments to laywomen. Wide sleeves appear to have been a key component of nun's dress as depicted on late-medieval monuments, probably to contrast with the fashion for tightly-buttoned sleeves among laywomen in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[16] The sleeves of the gowns depicted on the brasses to Abbesses Elizabeth Harvey and Agnes Jordan are much looser than those found on contemporary brasses to lay women (married or widowed) or vowesses. Testamentary evidence suggests that this feature, like most unusual elements of brass design, was specifically requested by the monuments' commissioners. In a will dated 1584, Elizabeth Martyn (d. 1587), last prioress of Wintney Priory, after leaving her soul to the Holy Trinity and her body to be buried in the chancel of the church at Hartley Wintney, Hants, directed her executors that:

> I would that a stone should be layde over my graue w^th^ a picture made of a plate of a woman in a longe garment w^th^ wyde sleves her handes ioyned together holdinge vppon her brest and figured over her hedd, *In te domine speraui non confundar in æternum. In iusticia tua libera me, & salua me.* I woulde that an herste shoulde be standinge over my grave by the space of an whole yere cou'ed on' w^th^ black cotten w^th^ a cross of white fustyon.[17]

Unfortunately, Elizabeth Martyn's brass does not survive, but it probably bore a close resemblance to that of Agnes Jordan, another former head of a nunnery forced out at the Dissolution.[18] Earlier effigies, like that commemorating the Polesworth abbess, also depict loose sleeves, which compare well with the sleeves shown on monuments commemorating male ecclesiastics, such as the brass to Thomas Nelond (d. 1420), prior of Lewes, in Cowfold, Sussex.

The second distinguishing feature of the memorials commemorating high-level women religious is the presence of ecclesiastical accoutrement, such as croziers, rings of office, and ecclesiastical heraldry. The brass to Elizabeth Harvey, the Polesworth abbess, and all three slabs commemorating abbesses at Romsey Abbey depict croziers. Two of these effigies, those of Elizabeth Harvey and the Polesworth abbess, hold their croziers in the crook of their right arm, rather than the left, where bishops and abbots normally held theirs, needing as they did to retain the freedom of their right hand for benedictions.[19] At least one monument to a male ecclesiastic, the brass to Richard Bewfforeste (d. *c.* 1510), abbot of Dorchester, shows an abbot holding a crozier in his right hand, but the Abbot of Dorchester was not mitred and did not give benedictions; Bewfforeste, like the abbesses, may therefore have been free to hold his crozier in his right hand.[20] Evidence from seals suggests that croziers were an important part of the public image of abbesses, and they are often depicted holding croziers (most frequently in their right hands) on seals from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as that of Matilda de Buckland, abbess of Wilton in the late fourteenth century.[21] The depiction of the crozier on the abbesses' monuments most likely also mirrored their state of burial – the remains of an abbess were found buried with a crozier in the ruins of the south aisle during excavations at the site of Nunnaminster in

16 See, for example, the Dallingridge brass at Fletching, Sussex.

17 *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, iii (1892-3), pp. 55-6.

18 D.K. Coldicott has suggested that a stone slab in the chancel at Hartley Wintney which retains brass rivets around its border may be the remains of Elizabeth Martyn's monument (D.K. Coldicott, *Hampshire Nunneries* (Chichester, 1989), p. 144).

19 Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 29.

20 I am grateful to Philip Lankester for first suggesting this to me.

21 W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum*, 6 vols. (London, 1887-1900), I (1887), p. 808 (no. 4337).

Fig. 2. Agnes Scot, Swithland, Leics., detail of figure (photo: Martin Stuchfield)

Winchester.[22] Like the rings of vowesses, the depiction of croziers on abbesses' monuments is not universal: there is no crozier on the brass to Agnes Jordan at Denham, instead, the inscription accompanying her effigy explicitly describes her as abbess of her house. Agnes is, however, depicted wearing several rings, which probably represent rings of office, similar to those seen on effigies of bishops.[23] Ecclesiastical heraldry may have also accompanied some of these memorials; similarities have been noted between the arms on the lower right corner shield on Elizabeth Harvey's brass at Elstow, as they appeared in the mid-eighteenth century, and those of the monastery's founders, leading some scholars to suggest that these may have been the arms of the abbey.[24] The presence of ecclesiastical heraldry again links the monuments of women religious both to those of their male counterparts and to abbesses' seals of office.

The brass of Agnes Scot at Swithland compares more favourably with our observations about the monuments of nuns than those of vowesses. Agnes is depicted wearing a long gown belted at the waist with wide sleeves similar to those on Agnes Jordan's brass. Her head is also covered with a veil, which we would expect on monuments to nuns and vowesses. However, Agnes's effigy lacks – alone among all of the other effigies to religious women which survive in England – a wimple or *barbe* covering the lower chin and neck. The inscription which accompanies her brass offers a possible clue to this exception, recording that Agnes was an 'anchoress'. It goes on to say that she was maintained in a cave by a female patron, Lady Ferrers.

In addition to this monument, formerly located near the entrance to the chancel of Swithland church, the antiquary Nichols recorded a portrait of Agnes Scot in the church's east window showing her wearing 'the same habit' and a ring on her finger.[25] Nichols did not provide an illustration of this window, but the description he gives closely matches the brass, with the exception of the ring, which does not appear on the effigy. The arms of the Ferrers of Groby family appeared in this same east window, as well as in the east window of the south aisle of the church, almost certainly identifying Agnes's patron, Lady Ferrers, as a member of this branch of the family, probably Elizabeth, granddaughter and heiress of William Ferrers of Groby IV, through whom the Ferrers estate passed to the Grey family in the mid-fifteenth century.[26]

Along with his description of Agnes's monument and glass portrait, Nichols included that he had been informed of a cave in the forest west of Leicester in the Dane Hills area called Black Agnes's Bower and suggested that this may be the cave mentioned in Agnes Scot's inscription. He then cited a poem about Black Annis – a witch-like spirit who lived in the forest and lured men and children to their deaths. Even today, an unfortunate association continues between Agnes Scot and the Black Annis myth, probably fuelled by Robert Graves, who, in his treatise on pagan myth *The White Goddess*, directly linked Black Annis to the brass image of Agnes Scot in Swithland church.[27] Whether or not Agnes Scot was ever associated with the cave which came to be called Black Agnes's Bower is probably

22 No corresponding monument has survived among the ruins, which may or may not have depicted a crozier (R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London, 1994), p. 59).

23 Haines, *Manual of Brasses*, pp. lxix-lxxii.

24 Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, p. 412, as suggested by the nineteenth-century editors.

25 J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 vols. in 8 (London, 1795-1815; repr. Wakefield, 1971), III, pt. 2, pp. 1050-51.

26 *Ibid.*; see also G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs and H.A. Doubleday, 13 vols. in 14 (London, 1910-59), V (1926), pp. 358-61

27 R. Graves, *The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth*, 4th edn (London, 1999), p. 361.

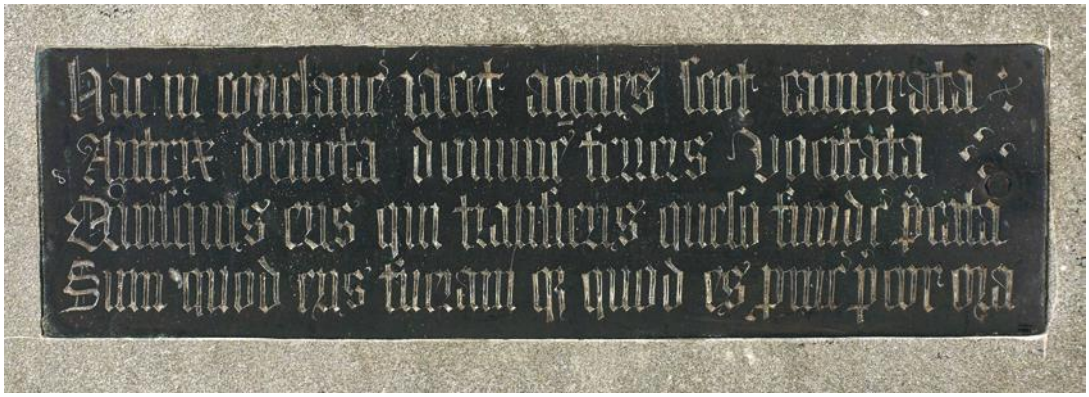

Fig. 3. Agnes Scot, Swithland, Leics., inscription.
(photo: Martin Stuchfield)

impossible to determine, but it is likely that many of the popular myths pertaining to Agnes Scot's life owe more to the Black Annis myth than to reality. Local legend suggests that she was a Dominican nun who cared for lepers, but neither of these claims finds support in contemporary evidence. Dartford Priory in Kent was the only Dominican nunnery in England, and it does not appear to have been associated with the Ferrers family in the fifteenth century.[28] The nearest known leper hospital was the Hospital of St. Leonard, situated to the north of Leicester, which cared for lepers from the late-twelfth century and was certainly still in existence in 1477 when William, Lord Hastings gave the hospital to Leicester Abbey.[29] Again, however, there is no evidence to connect this house to the Ferrers family. Lacking documentary support for these traditions about Agnes Scot's life, it is likely that these stories developed retrospectively, encouraged by their seeming appropriateness to the 'namesake' of Black Annis.

Having divested Agnes Scot's life from the Black Annis myth, and lacking any contemporary documents which might throw light on her biography, we are left only with what her monument tells us. Based on the differences we have noted between the dress of nuns and vowesses, and due to the normal inclusion of the word 'widow' in inscriptions on vowesses' monuments, we can be reasonably confident that Agnes Scot was a nun, rather than a widow. If so, she may have come from Grace-Dieu or Langley Priory, both in Leicestershire, or from King's Mead Priory in Derbyshire, a female house under the care of nearby Darley Abbey, patronised by the Ferrers family, or from even further afield.[30] We also know that she relied upon the patronage of the Ferrers family both for her maintenance and for her funerary provision, as the mention of Lady Ferrers in the brass's inscription makes clear. This lends further support to rejecting the idea of Agnes as an independent vowess.

The monument asserts that Agnes was a female recluse, but the two terms used in the inscription to describe her status – *camerata* and *antrix* – appear conflicting: *camerata* is

28 Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, pt. 1, pp. 537-9.
29 *Ibid.*, VI, pt. 2, p. 686.
30 *Ibid.*, VI, pt. 1, pp. 567-8; IV, pp. 219-26, 302-05.

understood as 'anchoress', while *antrix* translates to 'cave-dweller'.[31] The latter term suggests the possibility that Agnes was a hermitess, rather than an anchoress living in the usual fashion enclosed in a cell attached or very close to a church in an urban, village, or monastic setting. This ambiguity may have arisen because, as Ann Warren has noted, there was no medieval word for a female hermit: 'We call them "hermitesses" because they are women living the equivalent of a hermit's life, but they are not so named in the texts'.[32] 'Anchoress' may, therefore, have been the closest word available to contemporaries to describe Agnes's reclusive state. This conclusion, however, is problematic because there were not supposed to be female hermits in fifteenth-century England. Concerns for safety, the necessity of having able-bodied men for building works, and the unavoidable need for priests to administer the sacraments and hear confession, were the most frequently cited reasons why women were not normally allowed to live as hermits.[33] By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, women who sought to live as hermits normally found themselves being regularised into nunneries under the leadership of nearby male monastic houses, and, although they were occasionally allowed to join male hermitages at this date, even this path was closed in later centuries.[34] In the introduction to her book on the lives of urban recluses in the later Middle Ages, Anneke Mulder-Bakker explains that she has focused on urban recluses, instead of hermitesses in the forest, because:

> 'A study of the latter type would not even be possible, since society at the time did not allow for solitary female hermits. … Men withdrew into the woodlands and the mountains but also had themselves enclosed at a church or monastery. Both paths were open to them, while women could only become [urban] recluses.'[35]

Roberta Gilchrist does allow that 'the informality of privately founded hermitages may have encouraged the participation of religious women as inmates', and it is possible that this describes Agnes Scot's relationship with Lady Ferrers, but Gilchrist also suggests that the role of hermit was not considered appropriate for women in the fifteenth century.[36]

Furthermore, the lack of a *barbe* or wimple on Agnes's monument strongly suggests an enclosed, rather than an open, reclusive existence. The *Ancrene Wisse*, or Anchoress's Guide, probably written in the thirteenth century and certainly for an urban or semi-urban enclosed female, includes a lengthy section arguing that an enclosed woman, whose face is shielded from male eyes by a wall or window curtain need not wear a wimple.[37] However, it is very difficult to see how a religious woman living a hermit's existence in

31 The other two anchoresses whose monuments survive are described in less ambiguous terms. Joan Clopton's inscription records that she was 'enclosed' (*clauditur*) following her husband's death, while Joan Levir's inscription records that she was an 'anchoress' (*anachorita*) of the order of St. Gilbert (R.M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914), p. 115; Rogers, 'Portfolio of Small Plates', p. 607).

32 A.K. Warren, 'The Nun as Anchoress: England, 1100-1500', in *Distant Echoes: Medieval Religious Women*, I, ed. J.A. Nichols and L.T. Shank (Kalamazoo, Mi., 1984), pp. 197-212, at 199.

33 See S. Foot, *Veiled Women, I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 178-9; Warren, 'Nun as Anchoress', pp. 199-201.

34 Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, pp. 90-1.

35 A.B. Mulder Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses: The Rise of the Urban Recluse in Medieval Europe*, trans. by M. Heerspink Scholz (Philadelphia, 2005), p. 4.

36 Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, pp. 90-1, 182.

37 The anonymous author of the *Ancrene Wisse* goes as far as to imply that anchoresses who wore wimples did so in order that they might more freely interact with men: 'Why then, church anchoress in your wimple, do you allow your face to be seen by men's eyes?' (*The Ancrewne Riwle: The Corpus MS.: 'Ancrene Wisse'*, trans. by M.B. Salu, intro. by Dom G. Sitwell, preface by J.R.R. Tolkein (London, 1955), pp. 186-7).

a cave – a lifestyle in which she would have been unlikely to avoid at least occasional face-to-face contact with men – could disregard this covering with equal confidence. Nor does an enclosed existence within a rural cave seems possible for a female recluse, as the cave-dwelling anchoress would have been unable to hear Mass or make her confession (two of the arguments against hermitesses) without the pastoral care of an attendant priest. The word *antrix* may have been intended to metaphorically liken Agnes to male hermits (who frequently lived in caves), rather than as a literal description of her existence.[38] Despite the use of this word, it remains much more likely that Agnes was an anchoress, perhaps living in a small, privately funded anchorhold near Swithland church, which would account for her burial and commemoration in the village, rather than at her patroness's seat at Groby. Although anchorites and anchoresses were occasionally interred within the structure of the anchorhold itself, commemoration within the parish church was also practiced (as in the case of Joan Clopton at Quinton).[39] Furthermore, no documentary or archaeological evidence survives to suggest the presence of a permanent anchorhold at Swithland in the late-medieval period, and burial within the church may have been the only viable option for Agnes if she was the incumbent of a temporary anchorhold.

While the Swithland brass incorporates several decorative elements common to other monumental depictions of late-medieval women religious, this unique memorial also includes some unusual features in addition to the missing wimple already noted. These distinctions relate chiefly to the language of and information given in the inscription. The inclusion of the patron's name in the monument's inscription is highly unusual and testifies to the exceptional circumstances of Lady Ferrers' benefaction. Evidence on the other surviving monuments to female religious suggests that most were probably paid for by the commemorated themselves, out of private family income or by an institution's coffers. Blank spaces which were left in the inscription to fill in Elizabeth Harvey's date of death indicates that her memorial was almost certainly completed before her death, as does the style of lettering on the monument to Agnes Jordan, which suggests that her date of death was filled in at a later date than the original inscription. The brass to Joan Clopton completely lacks a date of death, and it is possible that she commissioned it when she 'died' to the world upon entering her anchorhold at Quinton, several years before her actual death.

A direct comparison between Agnes Scot's brass and the memorial to another female recluse, Joan Clopton, shows how differently anchoresses could be portrayed. We have examined how the dress of nuns differs from that worn by vowesses, who are depicted very similarly to secular widows. The distinction is clearly visible in a comparison between the Swithland and Quinton brasses: Agnes Scot's effigy features the wide sleeves and simplified decorative scheme common to nuns' monuments while Joan Clopton's brass is more highly decorative and shows the anchoress in typical widow's dress. Furthermore, the pleated *barbe* associated with widowhood – but superfluous according to the *Ancrene Wisse* – appears only on the Clopton brass; its inclusion

38 On male hermits, see G. Constable, 'Eremetical Forms of Monastic Life', in *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe*, pt. 5 (London, 1988), originally printed in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente, 1123-1215* (Milan, 1980), pp. 239-64, at 243-4.

39 Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 113-14. The inscription commemorating Joan Levirs may have been transferred to Lincoln Cathedral from Joan's burial site at a Gilbertine house in the region (Rogers, 'Portfolio of Small Plates', p. 608).

may have been intended to differentiate Joan as a widow-anchoress, implying the continued importance of her temporal status and family connections. Certainly, Joan Clopton was not shy about promoting the prestige of her family alongside her piety, as the inclusion of heraldry demonstrates. In contrast, no arms adorn Agnes's brass and those which surrounded the donor portrait of Agnes in the east window at Swithland were the arms of her patron, Lady Ferrers. As there is no evidence to suggest that Agnes came from an armigerous family, we should not place too much emphasis on the lack of personal heraldry. Moreover, it is unsurprising that a monument commissioned by the commemorated using her own money (like Joan Clopton's) would surpass in decoration another commissioned by a patron for an unrelated party. Nevertheless, Agnes Scot's monument features none of the secular imagery present on the Clopton brass. Instead, it compares much more favourably not only with memorials to other nuns like Agnes Jordan, but also with monuments commemorating male ecclesiastics, than it does with that of a formerly-lay female solitary. Differences, even in death, between the lay-anchoress and the nun-anchoress are made clear by comparing the two brasses.[40]

40 On the superiority of the nun-anchoress to the lay-anchoress, see Warren, 'Nun as Anchoress', p. 203. Cf. Leyser, *Medieval Women*, p. 208.

Unfortunately, we are unable to conclude more from the limited number of monuments to women religious which survive, and further research needs to be completed to recover information about lost monuments both to members of the over 150 monastic institutions in Britain which housed female inmates in the medieval period and to vowesses and anchoresses commemorated in parish churches. However, from the small sample examined here, we have distinguished nuns' dress from the costume depicted on memorials to vowesses, the latter corresponding directly with the depiction of non-vowed widows generally. Decorative and iconographic similarities between monuments to abbesses and male ecclesiastics have also been noted. Finally, we have observed differences in the commemorative programmes of a lay-anchoress and a nun-anchoress, and these findings may potentially be supported by evidence derived from antiquarian sources about lost monuments to anchoresses. Using this information, we have learned more about Agnes Scot, and have disentangled her story from the prevailing Black Annis-derived narrative. Although linguistic ambiguities in the inscription prevent a definitive statement about the nature of Agnes's reclusivity, the Swithland brass is a unique surviving element of the material culture of medieval women religious and deserves our attention.

Table 1: Extant monuments to female religious in England, *c.* 1200-1560

Commemorated	position	monument type	location	year died
Abbess	abbess	relief effigy	Polesworth, Warwicks.	13th cent.
Abbess	abbess	cross slab	Romsey, Hants	13th cent.
Abbess	abbess	cross slab	Romsey, Hants	early-14th cent.
Joan ---	abbess	incised slab	Romsey, Hants	mid-14th cent.
Abbess	abbess	relief effigy	Wherwell, Hants	15th cent.
Elizabeth Harvey	abbess	brass	Elstow, Beds.	1524
Agnes Jordan	abbess	brass	Denham, Bucks.	1546
Mary Gore	prioress	brass	Nether Wallop, Hants	1436
Margaret Dalenger	prioress	brass	Bungay, Suffolk	1497
Elizabeth Mowntney	prioress	brass	Banham, Norfolk	1518
Elle Buttry	prioress	brass (palimp.)	Norwich, St. Stephen	1546
Nun	nun	brass	Kilburn, St. Mary	*c.* 1380
Nun	nun	inscription	Combe Florey, Somerset	14th cent.
Emma Stafford	nun	incised slab	North Bradley, Wilts.	1446
Eleanor de Bohun	vowess	brass	Westminster Abbey	1399
Juliana Amywell	vowess	brass	Witton, Norfolk	*c.* 1505
Joan Braham	vowess	brass	Frenze, Norfolk	1519
Joan Cook	vowess	brass	Gloucester, St. Mary	1529
Susan Kingston	vowess	brass	Shalstone, Bucks.	1540
Joan Levirs	anchoress	incised slab	Lincoln Cathedral	*c.* 1400-20
Joan Clopton	anchoress	brass	Quinton, Gloucs.	1430
Agnes Scot	anchoress	brass	Swithland, Leics.	*c.* 1455

Conspicuous by their absence: rethinking explanations for the lack of brasses in medieval Wales

Rhianydd Biebrach

ON a visit to Llandaff cathedral in 1722, the antiquary Browne Willis remarked that:

> . . . there were not seemingly above 3 or 4 Stones in the Church that had Brasses on them so the defacers of Monuments in Queen Elizabeth & Edw. The 6th Reigns and afterwards in the great Rebellion met with little plunder in these parts It being remarkable that here were very few Erected in this Diocese & fewer or Scarce any at all in those of Bangor and St Asaph.[1]

Willis's impressions of the scarcity of brasses in Wales have since been echoed by the very few scholars who have shown an interest in the country's monuments. J.M. Lewis's *Welsh Monumental Brasses,* the only national survey, written as long ago as 1974, lists only eight Welsh brasses of any description for the entire period up to the Reformation: the demi-effigy of a priest (*c.* 1370) at St. Non's chapel, St. David's, Pembrokeshire, now lost; the figure brass of Wenllian Walsche (d. 1427) at Llandough, Glamorgan; an inscription, in Welsh, commemorating Adam Usk (d. 1429) at St. Mary's, Usk, Monmouthshire; an inscription to Richard Foxwist (1500) at Llanbeblig, Caernarfon; Sir Hugh Johnys and his wife (*c.* 1510) at St. Mary's, Swansea; Maredudd ap Ievan ap Robert, esquire, a kneeling armoured figure with shield and inscription (1525), Dolwyddelan, Caernarvonshire; Richard Bulkeley, his wife and children (*c.* 1530), Beaumaris, Anglesey; and a priest, John ap Meredith of Powys (1531), at Betws, Montgomeryshire.[2] To these may be added the impressive monument of Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond (d. 1456), the father of Henry VII, which was erected in the Carmarthen Greyfriars and later moved to St. David's Cathedral. The original brass has been lost and was replaced with a nineteenth-century copy. Sally Badham also lists the indent of a London D brass to Bishop Robert Tully (d. 1481) at St. David's, five more which have been lost from the cathedral and one from St. Non's chapel.[3] If we also take into account Willis's '3 or 4' in Llandaff Cathedral – not all of which were necessarily medieval although one was certainly the robbed-out brass of Bishop John Pascall (d. 1361) – then we are left with a figure of less than twenty known pre-Reformation brasses in the whole country.[4] Of these, only seven still exist in their original form.[5] Compared with Malcolm Norris's estimate of 713 surviving brasses for the same period in Norfolk, 385 in Kent and 216 in Oxfordshire, Welsh brasses are clearly thin on the ground.[6] In England only remote counties such as Westmorland and Northumberland, or very small ones like Rutland, have numbers of pre-Reformation brasses on a par with Wales.

This situation has generally been attributed to two main factors: firstly, Wales's distance from

1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Willis 104, f. 9. These notes were written up in full in 1735 from a visit of 1722. None of this information appears in Willis's *Survey of Llandaff Cathedral,* published in 1718.

2 J.M. Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses: A Guide* (Cardiff, 1974).

3 S. Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments in West and South Wales: An Interim Survey', *Church Monuments*, XXIV (1999), pp. 5-34, at 7- 8.

4 Bodl. MS Willis 104, f. 3.

5 Those listed by Lewis, minus the priest at St. Non's.

6 Numbers taken from M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 45.

London; and secondly, the country's relatively backward economic conditions compared with many parts of England. The argument runs that Wales is too far away from the main centres of manufacture to make ordering a brass a feasible option – there would be the means of communicating with the workshop and the transport costs to overcome. Moreover, most of the Welsh gentry were economically below the level of their English counterparts and this restricted their commemorative choices. For J.M. Lewis, Wales's relative poverty put a brass beyond the means of the majority of the Welsh gentry.[7] For Malcolm Norris, the reason for Wales's 'dearth of brasses' was the same as for their lower incidence in the western parts of the British Isles as a whole – distance from place of manufacture, and – more thoughtfully – the added restriction on the market for brasses posed by a local supply of stone monuments.[8] The basic truth of the distance issue is not under debate; it is a fact that brasses are more common in the southern and eastern counties of England, near to sources of manufacture, and less so in the north and west. Similarly, economic factors must play some part and it makes sense that memorials of all kinds are likely to be more commonly found in the most wealthy and populous areas. But these explanations are not satisfactory just as they are and it can be argued that they do not take into consideration issues particular either to medieval Wales, or to its relationships with neighbouring English counties. The following discussion explores the traditional arguments in more depth and, although it does not seek to overturn them, I will suggest that a more subtle approach to this issue is needed. The monumental brass of Wenllian Walsche (d. 1427) at Llandough, Glamorgan, is used as an illustrative example (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Wenllian Walsche, d. 1427, Llandough, Glamorgan

Wenllian Walsche's brass is on first sight an unremarkable and modest little monument, yet

7 Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses*, p. 11.

8 Norris, *Craft*, pp. 46, 50.

as the earliest surviving figure brass in Wales it is nevertheless of national significance, and both its existence and its rarity invite investigation. It measures 870 x 410 mm and is accompanied by the indent of a shield of arms above and to the left of her head and an inscription below her feet, reading 'Hic iacet Wenllan Walsche quonda*m* uxor Walteri Moreton que obiit xxv° die Decembris Anno d*omi*ni Mill*esi*mo cccc° xxvii° cuius a*nim*e p*ro*piciet*ur* deus Amen'. It is a stock product of the London B workshop, although it is set into a slab of local limestone rather than Purbeck marble and surrounded by a competently executed incised canopy, which is presumably the work of a local mason. That he was unfamiliar with the layout of brasses is indicated by the unusual placing of the shield. The figure itself is replicated to varying extents in several churches in southern England.[9]

The Walsche family is first recorded in Glamorgan in about 1200 and probably had arrived there some time in the twelfth century in the wave of settlement that followed the Anglo-Norman conquest of the region. They are likely to have come originally from Somerset, as they held land at Langridge, near Bath. In Glamorgan they established themselves as lords of the manors of Llandough and St. Mary Church, both near the small market town of Cowbridge, and there they remained until the beginning of the fifteenth century by which time, as Wenllian's Christian name testifies, they were becoming naturalised.[10] The family were of some status in the region. Wenllian was married to Walter Moreton, constable of Cardiff Castle and retainer of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick, who were the marcher lords of Glamorgan. Seven months before Wenllian's death, in May 1427, her brother Robert had also died and had been buried at Langridge.[11] Since Robert and his wife Elizabeth were childless the family estates were entailed on the male heirs of Wenllian,[12] but she, too, failed to produce an heir before her death, bringing to an end the Walsche family's overlordship of Llandough after more than two centuries. Under these circumstances the pressing need for a memorial marking the family's erstwhile dominance of the neighbourhood is an obvious one and the laying of Wenllian's brass in the chancel floor, north of the high altar in the so-called founder's position, was a clear attempt to perpetuate the family's memory as a whole as well as Wenllian's in particular.

As has already been made clear, the choice of a brass effigy for Wenllian Walsche was a highly unusual one in early fifteenth-century Wales, and it may have been only the second of its kind in Llandaff diocese, after the erection of Bishop Pascall's brass in the cathedral in the second half of the fourteenth century. These two monuments excepted, all the memorial effigies in the diocese up to this point had been made of stone and either manufactured locally or imported from the West Country, so this London product would no doubt have been regarded as rather avant-garde by the locals. It may be that this was entirely intentional, as the family's circumstances at the time of Wenllian's death suggest that there were rather pressing reasons for commissioning an eye-catching memorial. Sally Badham has put forward a likely patron of the brass in the person of Walter Moreton, Wenllian's husband. His membership

9 Compare with the figures of Elizabeth Poyle, Hampton Poyle, Oxfordshire; Isabell Carew, Beddington, Surrey; and Elizabeth Slyfield, Great Bookham, Surrey.

10 See *Cartae et alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, ed. G.T. Clark, 6 vols. (Cardiff, 1910), V, p. 1639.

11 The National Archives, PRO, PROB/11/3. Image reference 105.

12 *Cartae*, ed. Clark, IV, pp. 1533-6.

of the Beauchamp affinity may have raised his awareness of brass as a commemorative medium through its use for their tombs at Warwick, and may also have provided him with a contact to the London B workshop. Perhaps he commissioned a brass for his wife as a sign of loyalty to his lord.[13] Alternatively, we may consider Wenllian's blood relatives. Robert Walsche, the brother who had predeceased her in May 1427, was also commemorated by a brass, in Langridge parish church, as was his widow Elizabeth, who died in 1441. Robert's brass appears to be a London D product,[14] so is unlikely to have been part of the same commissioning process as Wenllian's, but it provides evidence that the family as a whole were open to brass as a commemorative medium and had the means of communicating with a distant London workshop.

There are, then, plausible explanations for the apparent desire to have Wenllian commemorated in an eye-catching style, and for the decision to buck the local trend for stone and opt instead for brass. But why, as late as 1427, was this was one of the first memorial brasses commissioned in Wales, and why did such a tiny number of patrons choose to follow the precedent in the ensuing century? The fact that they did not is surprising considering the very close social, cultural, religious and economic links south-east Wales had with the areas lying to the south and east of the Bristol Channel. The port of Bristol attracted huge amounts of cross-channel trade, families such as the Walsches held lands on both shores, and some of Glamorgan's churches and abbeys held estates, shared personnel or were daughter foundations of West Country houses.[15] Masons from Wells Cathedral and St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, also worked on Llandaff Cathedral.[16] The regional cohesion was perceived to be so great by the sixteenth century as to merit the use of the term 'Severnside' by Leland, and one historian of the region has referred to it as a 'culture province'.[17] Gloucestershire and Somerset both have good numbers of pre-Elizabethan brasses, at seventy-three and forty-three respectively,[18] and so it is important to question why brasses were able to travel this far west in the numbers that they did, but not make the short crossing to the northern shore of the Bristol Channel. South Wales's close trading links with Bristol have already been indicated: Dundry stone, quarried just south of the city, is found in many medieval contexts in south Wales, and Welsh traders and mariners were so common in the port that one of its quays was named the Welsh Back. There is no reason, therefore, why a brass could not have been transported as far as Bristol – as several were – and then on to Cardiff, Newport, or any of the other small Welsh towns near the coast or up the navigable river valleys. Nor is J.M. Lewis's comment that a brass was beyond the pockets of the majority of the Welsh gentry completely satisfactory. One of the most appealing aspects of a brass as a means of commemoration was its adaptability in terms of size, form and price, so surely a small figure-brass such that of Wenllian Walsche, or inscription and shield, would have been a viable alternative for the less well-off. Only one

13 Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial monuments', p. 8.

14 My thanks to Sally Badham for this information. The brasses at Langridge were stolen in 2002.

15 For an account of Severnside links see the following by R.A. Griffiths: 'Medieval Severnside: The Welsh Connection', in *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams*, ed. R.R. Davies, I.G. Jones, and K.O. Morgan (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 70-89; *idem, Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994); *idem,* 'After Glyn Dŵr: An Age of Reconciliation?', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, CXVII(2002), pp. 139-64.

16 See M. Thurlby, 'The Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral and its place in the West Country School of Masons', in *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff*, ed. J.R. Kenyon, and D.M. Williams (Leeds, 2006), pp. 60-85.

17 Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered,* p. 8.

18 Taken from Norris, *Craft*, p. 45.

inscription brass, that of Adam Usk in Usk, Monmouthshire, is known of in south Wales.

In order to understand fully why brasses are so rare in this region it is necessary to look more closely at the wider social, economic and cultural conditions of late medieval south-east Wales. Firstly, it is particularly important to consider numbers of brass memorials within the context of the level of monumental commemoration in Wales as a whole. There are sixty-two surviving memorial effigies of pre-Reformation date in the area covered by the medieval diocese of Llandaff, but only fourteen of these can be securely dated post 1400, when brass was becoming more popular as a commemorative medium.[19] Wenllian Walsche's brass therefore accounts for just over 7 per cent of all the diocese's fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century effigies. In contrast, Somerset and Gloucestershire each have more than eighty memorial effigies datable to this period. Around 46 per cent of these are brasses in Somerset, and 67 per cent are brasses in Gloucestershire.[20] Llandaff diocese's poor showing in the brass league-tables is, therefore, partly accounted for by its low numbers of late medieval memorial effigies in general. Even so, Gloucestershire and Somerset clearly have a far higher proportion of brasses among their monuments.

The second issue of relevance here is patronage. Who orders a brass? In his unpublished doctoral thesis on Norfolk monuments Jonathan Finch noted that brasses were commissioned by knighted manorial lords, clergy and very wealthy merchants,[21] a point supported by Norris, who added minor gentry, traders and parish priests to the groups of patrons, and asserted that 'the majority of military brasses represent gentry of very local importance or minor officials of the crown'.[22] In the West Country brasses seem to have been especially favoured by civilians in general and merchants in particular. Over half Somerset and Gloucestershire's brasses commemorate these groups and there are significant collections of brasses to woolmen and other merchants in places like Cirencester and Northleach in the heart of Gloucestershire's prosperous wool-country.[23] Crucially, the late medieval diocese of Llandaff – despite the existence of the ports of Cardiff and Newport – simply cannot be compared with either Norfolk or the West Country in terms of commercial activity, population levels, urbanisation or wealth. The kind of person who tended to commission brasses in Norfolk and the West Country was an altogether rarer species there. Other than the Herbert earls of Pembroke from the second half of the fifteenth century there was no resident aristocracy. While there

19 These are: Thomas Basset (d. 1423), St. Hilary, Glamorgan; Wenllian Walsche (d. 1427), Llandough, Glamorgan; Sir William ap Thomas (d. 1446) and Gwladus Ddu (d. 1454), Abergavenny, Monmouthshire; Christian Audley, mid fifteenth century, Llandaff Cathedral; unknown fifteenth-century cadaver effigy, Llandaff Cathedral; Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook (d. 1469) and his wife, Abergavenny; David Mathew (d. before 1470), Llandaff Cathedral; Sir John Morgan (d. 1493) and Jenet Mathew, Newport, Monmouthshire; Bishop John Marshall (d. 1496), Llandaff Cathedral; Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d. 1510), Abergavenny; Sir Thomas Morgan (d. 1510), Llanmartin, Monmouthshire; Sir William Mathew (d. 1528) and Jenet Henry (d. 1530), Llandaff Cathedral; Christopher Mathew (d. *c.* 1531) and Elizabeth Morgan, Llandaff Cathedral; Arnold Butler and his wife, St. Bride's Major, Glamorgan (*c.* 1540).

20 Figures taken from N. Pevsner, *South and West Somerset* (Harmondsworth, 1958); *idem*, *North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth, 1958); D. Verey, *Gloucestershire: the Vale and the Forest of Dean* (Harmondsworth, 1970); D. Verey and A. Brooks, *Gloucestershire I: The Cotswolds* (Harmondsworth, 1999).

21 J. Finch, 'Church Monuments in Norfolk and Norwich before 1850: A Regional Study of Medieval and Post Medieval Material Culture', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of East Anglia, 1996), p. 76.

22 Norris, *Craft*, pp. 55-6.

23 See Pevsner, *South and West Somerset*; *idem*, *North Somerset and Bristol;* Verey, *The Vale and the Forest of Dean;* Verey and Brooks, *The Cotswolds* and C.T. Davis, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 1899), *passim.*

were plenty of gentry of very local importance, circumstantial evidence suggests that their numbers were declining from the late fourteenth century, and Llandaff diocese, being within the territory of the Welsh march where, famously, the king's writ did not run, was correspondingly lacking in minor officials of the crown until the accession of the Tudors. Cardiff was the diocese's largest urban centre as well as the administrative centre of the important marcher lordship of Glamorgan, but it consisted of only two parishes and had a mid-sixteenth-century population of just over a thousand, compared to Bristol's four thousand or more.[24] Mercantile and commercial activity was at a relatively low level, but it is also worth considering the burial options available to Cardiff's merchants and burgesses. Medieval Cardiff possessed two churches, St. John's and St. Mary's, a Dominican and a Franciscan friary, and a Benedictine priory.[25] Only St. John's survives, the others having disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century. It is possible then, that more brasses did exist in urban centres such as Cardiff, but were sold off at the Dissolution, and the subsequent demolition of the buildings then destroyed the stone matrices which might otherwise have signalled their former presence.

The market for brasses in the diocese of Llandaff was therefore a restricted one, but not only because likely patrons were thinly spread. A third point concerns the question of competition, alluded to by Malcolm Norris. Norfolk has more medieval brasses because it was wealthy and populous, but it also lacks good stone, resulting in such a demand for brasses that local workshops were established. As Norris noted, a local supply of good stone would reduce the attraction of a London-made brass.[26] Glamorgan in particular has a plentiful supply of local stone, including two freestones, Sutton and Quarella, which were regularly employed for memorial sculpture, and as was mentioned earlier, Dundry-stone effigies were imported along with a small number carved from other West Country stones, such as Painswick. From the middle of the fifteenth century the dominance of these freestones *was* being challenged by an imported material, but not by brass. Nine of the diocese of Llandaff's fourteen fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monuments are of alabaster. This is significant as it shows that brass was not unpopular among the region's patrons because of the availability of a convenient *local* product, nor were economic reasons primarily to blame: over half of the few families that did commission monumental effigies from *c.* 1400 to *c.* 1540 were prepared to go to the trouble and expense of ordering a very bulky item from as far away as the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire alabasterers. This underlines the essential oversimplification inherent in stating that Wales is too far from London, and the Welsh gentry generally too poor, to make it a viable option to commission a brass memorial. The manufacturing and transport costs of the alabaster tombs would have far exceeded those of the Walsche brass.

The picture becomes somewhat clearer when more attention is paid to the families who chose these alabaster monuments in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: the Mathews of Llandaff and Radyr (Fig. 2), the Herbert earls of Pembroke and their collateral branches, and the Morgans of Tredegar and their cadets. To these diocese of Llandaff families can be added other individuals from the southern march of Wales, including Sir Mathew Cradock (d. 1531)

24 M. Griffiths, 'Very Wealthy by Merchandise? Urban Fortunes', in *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales*, ed. J.G. Jones (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 197-235, at p. 205.

25 Llandaff Cathedral, which is now situated in a suburb of Cardiff, lay at a distance of two miles from the medieval town.

26 Norris, *Craft*, p. 50.

Fig. 2. Sir William Mathew of Radyr (d. 1528) and wife Jenet Henry, Llandaff Cathedral (photo: Author)

buried at Swansea, Sir Rhys ap Thomas (d. 1525) and his wife, buried at Carmarthen, and Henry Wogan and his wife, buried at Slebech, Pembrokeshire (tomb before 1483).[27] The rise of each of these families was relatively recent and all had found favour in the service of the crown, particularly after the accession of the Tudors. Moreover, they were all intermarried. Their preference of alabaster memorials over other forms may be seen as an expression – unconscious or otherwise – of a kind of group solidarity, a suggestion which is given force by the fact that four of the memorials in question were commissioned from the same workshop.[28] With the patronage of memorial effigies in south-east Wales overwhelmingly and consistently being directed at the alabaster workshops, there were few openings for the brass engravers in the region.

Why alabaster was preferred to brass and why so few late medieval families in the diocese of Llandaff opted for any form of effigial commemoration are questions which need to be tackled by further research. However, it is clear that distance and economics alone cannot completely account for the apparent Welsh lack of interest in the monumental brass. The diocese of Llandaff has very few late medieval monumental effigies of any description, which has hardly been recognised hitherto, and this must partly account for the extremely low numbers of brasses. Its relatively low levels of population, wealth, commercial activity, and the ready availability of suitable stone also restricted the market for brasses. Some patrons were prepared to go to greater lengths to commission a monument, but it was the Midlands alabaster workshops rather than the London brass workshops that attracted them. For Wenllian Walsche at least, it was money and effort well spent. Her brass, unlike so many others in parts of the country where they were laid down in great numbers, still exists, and perpetuates her memory nearly six hundred years after her family's extinction.

27 Mathew Cradock's tomb was destroyed by a German bomb in the Second World War. Sir Rhys ap Thomas' monument was moved from the Carmarthen Greyfriars to the town's parish church at the Dissolution and the Wogan monument is now in storage at Scolton Manor, Pembrokeshire. The latter has been dated to before 1483 as Henry Wogan's effigy wears a Yorkist collar of suns and roses (P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), p. 265).

28 Those of Sir John Morgan of Tredegar and his wife Jenet Mathew at Newport; Richard Herbert of Ewyas at Abergavenny; Sir William Mathew and Jenet Henry (Fig. 2), and Christopher Mathew and Elizabeth Morgan at Llandaff Cathedral.

The brass of Sir William d'Audley at Horseheath, Cambridgeshire

Nigel Saul

THE brass of Sir William d'Audley at Horseheath is one of the best known knightly memorials of the later fourteenth century (Figs. 1, 4). It owes its fame partly to Macklin's inclusion of an illustration of it in his popular *Monumental Brasses*, first published in 1890.[1] Macklin attributed the brass to Sir John d'Argentein (d. 1382), but early in the next century it was convincingly re-attributed to Sir William d'Audley.[2] The brass survives in its original slab in the chancel floor and is a good example of the work of London style 'B'.[3] It shows the knight attired in a short coat armour or 'jupon' with an aventail protecting the neck and a bacinet the head, while the cuisses shielding the upper legs are shown studded with rivets securing the plates beneath. Above the figure there was originally a single canopy, now lost, but its indent survives in the stone. On each side of the central pinnacle there was a shield. The charges on the shields are not recorded.[4] Beneath the canopy, and shown emerging from clouds representing heaven, there were two angels caught in the act of lowering a helm onto Audley's head. Part of the angel on the right-hand side survives. The composition was completed by a marginal inscription, the whole of which, like the canopy, is lost. Until the mid eighteenth century, however, a section survived on the right-hand side with the words 'de Novembr' l'an de l'Incarnacion'.[5] This fragment provided the clue to the correct attribution of the brass as it bore the deceased's date of death: Sir William d'Audley is known from his inquisition post mortem to have died on 11 November 1365.[6] The brass is likely to have been commissioned either by his widow, Joan, or his brother, Thomas, who succeeded him.

The brass has little to distinguish it from many others of the third quarter of the fourteenth century except for one feature: the two angels shown lowering the helm onto Audley's head. This is a feature of great distinctiveness which finds no direct parallel on any extant English brass. A number of military brasses of the period make play with chivalric imagery in a more general way. On the brass of Sir John Harsick at Southacre, Norfolk, for example, a helm of similar outline to the one formerly at Horseheath is shown sideways on, with a shield canted at an angle between it and the knight's head. At Draycot Cerne, Wiltshire, Sir Edward Cerne is shown resting his head on a helm with an enormous crest of animal shape rising from its top. On a few other brasses of the period, the knight's head is shown resting on a helm with a crest which puns on his name and may represent a knightly disguise.[7] At Sawtry, Huntingdonshire, a monk with a scourge is shown, in likely allusion to the knight's name, Sir William le Moigne. On a fair number of knightly

1 H.W. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, 6th edn. (London, 1913), p. 65.

2 C.E. Parsons, *All Saints' Church, Horseheath* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 36-7. In this period the Argenteins were buried at Halesworth, Suffolk.

3 The upper part of the slab is now lost.

4 The arms of Audley (*Gules fretty or*) and de Vere were formerly in the windows of Horseheath church and were sent by the rector to the antiquary William Cole. They were in Cole's house at Milton, Cambs., in 1778 (*Monumental Inscriptions and Coats of Arms from Cambridgeshire*, ed. W.M. Palmer (Cambridge, 1932), p. 277, pl. XLVI). I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this information.

5 BL, Add. MS 5808, f. 173 (manuscript notes by William Cole).

6 *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, XII (London, 1938), no. 1.

7 It was common in the mid fourteenth century for knights to adopt disguises when jousting, partly to enhance the theatricality of these occasions.

Fig. 1. Sir William d'Audley (d. 1365), Horseheath, Cambs. (LSW.I)
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 2. Monument of Oliver, Lord Ingham (d. 1344), Ingham, Norfolk (photo.: Sally Badham)

effigies of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – sculpted figures as well as brasses – the knight's arms are shown emblazoned on his 'jupon'. Good examples are provided by the brasses at Southacre again, Fletching and Bodiam in Sussex, and by the fine alabaster effigy of Ralph Green at Lowick, Northants. By far the closest analogy to the Horseheath motif, however, is found on the highly distinctive sculpted monument to Oliver, Lord Ingham (d. 1344) at Ingham, Norfolk (Fig. 2). Here the commemorated is shown rising from a bed of stones and resting his head on a helm supported by an angel on each side.[8] It is possible that the executor or agent who placed the contract for the Horseheath brass did so having the pose of the effigy at Ingham directly in mind.

Some of the artistic sources of the Horseheath motif are to be found in contemporary manuscript painting. Manuscript illuminators took a delight in depicting heavenly scenes in which pairs of angels descended from the clouds to honour or serenade a person or event. In an early fourteenth-century Peterborough psalter two such angels are shown swinging thuribles in honour of the Coronation of the Virgin.[9] In an Assumption scene in a fragmentary religious miscellany of the fourteenth century the Virgin is carried upwards in a mandorla borne by five such angels.[10] In the mid-thirteenth-century Lambeth Apocalypse, in a scene closer to that depicted at Horseheath, an angel is shown lowering a shield down to St. Mercurius, who is represented miraculously rising from the dead.[11] The idea of a helm in particular being lowered to a knight is captured in another manuscript drawing – the famous mid-thirteenth-century tinted drawing in the Westminster Psalter showing a page in the act of doing precisely that (Fig. 3).[12] Yet there is apparently no example in an extant English

Fig. 3. Kneeling knight, drawing added c. 1250 to the Westminster Psalter (BL, Royal MS 2 A.XXII, f. 220) (Bridgeman Art Library)

8 For discussion of the monument, see S. Badham, '"Beautiful remains of antiquity": the medieval monuments in the former Trinitarian priory church at Ingham, Norfolk. Part 2: The high tombs', *Church Monuments*, XXII (2007), pp. 7-42.

9 L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1986), I, ill. 167 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 53, f. 11v).

10 *Ibid.*, I, ill. 147 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 79, f. 3)

11 N. Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse: Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), pp. 57-8, 64, 251; J. Good, *The Cult of St. George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), fig. 2 (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, f. 45v).

12 N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250-1285* (London, 1988), no. 95 (BL, Royal MS 2 A.XXII, f. 220).

manuscript of a scene which directly parallels that at Horseheath. A natural hypothesis, therefore, would be to suppose that it was a feature included on the suggestion of the patron, perhaps aware of the Ingham exemplar, after some discussion with the engraver. Whoever acted as Audley's executor or agent in the commission was looking for a way of honouring his knighthood and investing him with chivalric aura. What was it about Audley's career which inspired or merited such celebration? And what evidence is there that Audley had distinguished himself in arms?

Sir William d'Audley was a member of a family which had held the principal manor in Horseheath for at least three generations.[13] The precise descent of the family line cannot be established with any accuracy because of gaps in the evidence and homonymity in the various branches of the Audley family. A vital clue is afforded by an enquiry into the descent of one of the family's manors, Chiverey in Aston Clinton, Buckinghamshire, which tells us that William was the son and heir of James Audley, who in turn was the son of another James.[14] The first James – that is, William's father – appears to have died in about 1335 and was apparently married to one Margaret, whose family name is not known. This couple had two sons, William of Horseheath, who died in 1365 and lacked issue, and Thomas, who succeeded his brother and lived until 1372. The Audleys of Horseheath were sprung from a senior branch of the family, which was based at Stratton Audley, Oxfordshire. This family was for many generations distinguished by its strong commitment to royal and military service. Sir James Audley, who had died in 1272 and was probably Sir William's ancestor, had fought with the Lord Edward against the Montfortians at Lewes and Evesham, while his younger son, Sir William, was to meet his death fighting for the same king in the Second Welsh War.[15] This Sir William's nephew and eventual successor, Sir Hugh, who was to inherit Stratton in 1327, was to be a leading commander of Edward III in the opening stages of the Hundred Years War; in 1337 he was raised to the rank of earl. Sir William of Horseheath may well have been conscious of the strong chivalric traditions of his family, and felt tempted by the urge to add to the family's lustre himself.

There can be little doubt that Sir William's own instinct was to seek honour and fulfilment in the knightly vocation of war. Not for him the civilian responsibilities of office-holding and local administration which attracted so many other county knights. He was appointed a tax collector just once, for Oxfordshire in July 1349, but even then he laid down his responsibilities early; he had to be replaced in a matter of weeks.[16] He was never appointed a sheriff or justice of the peace; nor was he elected to parliament. He was very much the fighting knight. His career in arms was concentrated into a period of just under a decade from 1338 to 1347, the years of Edward III's earliest attempts to win the French crown.[17] He first sought out letters of protection for service overseas on 3 October 1337, when he enlisted as a member of a retinue led by the Cambridgeshire knight Sir

13 VCH, *Cambridgeshire*, VI (Oxford, 1978), p. 71. The family estate was of reasonable size but scattered: in addition to Horseheath, it comprised manors at Hardwick and Chalgrove, Oxon; Wold, Northants.; and Chiverey in Aston Clinton, Bucks. (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, XII, no. 1).

14 *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1337-1347* (London, 1915), pp. 241-2.

15 *ODNB*, II, pp. 933-4 (by Simon Lloyd); C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 5 vols., Harleian Society, 80-84 (London, 1929-32), I, p. 26.

16 *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1347-1356* (London, 1921), pp. 191, 192.

17 A search of the Scottish Rolls has failed to uncover evidence that he served in Edward III's campaigns against the Scots between 1333 and 1336.

Robert Tiptoft.[18] It was in 1337 that King Philip VI of France had confiscated the English-held duchy of Aquitaine, so precipitating the outbreak of the long drawn-out hostilities. Edward had anticipated counter-attacking Philip in the Low Countries. In 1337, however, he found himself insufficiently prepared, and the proposed offensive was called off. William enlisted again in February 1338, attending on Tiptoft in the impressive retinue which Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, headed to contract alliances on Edward's behalf with the princes of the Low Countries.[19] In July 1338 he was the beneficiary of letters of protection a third time, once again with Tiptoft, and was almost certainly a member of the force which Edward led to Flanders in July of that year.[20] Like so many of the knights on that expedition, he was probably on active service in Flanders and north-east France for the greater part of the next three years. The campaigning was disappointingly ineffective and the outcome of hostilities inconclusive. However, the English fleet achieved a famous victory over the French at Sluys in the Scheldt estuary in June 1340, causing the destruction of the greater part of the French fleet. Audley was almost certainly present at that victory as he was granted letters of protection for service in that very month and year.[21]

Audley does not appear to have taken part in the English campaigning against the French and their allies in Brittany and Aquitaine in the early 1340s, perhaps because he lacked links with the earls of Northampton and Lancaster, the leading English commanders in those theatres. However, like the majority of active English fighting knights, he was present at the victory over the French at Crécy on 26 August 1346.[22]

Fig. 4. Sir William d'Audley, Horseheath, Cambs. (detail) (photo: Martin Stuchfield)

On this occasion he was serving with the Midlands landowner and royal household banneret, Sir Robert Ferrers.[23] After the defeat of the French, Edward and his men went on to Calais, where they embarked on what was to be a protracted siege of the vital seaport. Many of the English knights succumbed to dysentery as a result of the unhealthy conditions in which they subsisted, and Audley appears to have been among them. Towards the end of the year he was discharged and sent back to England, taking with him some of the prisoners taken at the storming of Caen.[24] The Crécy-Calais campaign appears to have been the last in which he took part. There is no evidence that

18 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334-1338* (London, 1895), p. 531.
19 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1338-1340* (London, 1898), p. 10.
20 *Treaty Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, II, *1337-1339*, ed. J. Ferguson (London, 1972), no. 438.
21 The National Archives, PRO, C76/15, m. 22.
22 G. Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais* (London, 1898), pp. 104, 147.
23 For Ferrers, see PRO, E36/204, f. 86r.
24 Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, p. 104.

he enlisted in the Black Prince's Poitiers campaign of 1356, which is well documented. Conceivably he suffered from more serious injury or illness than the sources indicate. At any rate, there seems little doubt that he was militarily inactive in the last eighteen years of his life.

Sir William d'Audley's priorities emerge clearly from the record of his service between 1338 and 1346: he saw himself as a *strenuus miles*, a fighting knight. The sense that he had of his vocation is reflected in his brass: its character is emphatically military. Audley's absorption in chivalric culture, however, went well beyond his day-to-day involvement in arms. It extended to a sense of pride in the achievements of his kinsmen. Almost certainly he could claim as a relative in the half-blood none other than the distinguished war captain Sir James Audley. Sir James Audley was one of the most renowned soldiers of the age and a hero of the chronicler Jean Froissart.

Sir James was the illegitimate son of Sir James Audley (d. *c.* 1335) of Stratton Audley, Oxfordshire, by his mistress Eva, daughter of Sir John Clavering.[25] On the assumption, almost certainly justified, that the Audleys of Horseheath were a sub-branch of the Audleys of Stratton Audley, Sir James Audley was therefore William's half-brother. Lacking, as he did, the prospect of succession to a landed inheritance, he spent greater part of his adult life as a professional soldier abroad. The first evidence of his service is afforded in August 1346, when he was present at Crécy; according to Froissart, he was one of the knights in attendance on the Black Prince who witnessed Edward III confer knighthood on his son on the eve of battle. In the following year he was named a Founder Knight of the king's new order of chivalry, the Order of the Garter. In 1355 he joined the prince on his ambitious raid across south-west France from Bordeaux to the Mediterranean coast. In 1356, after ravaging in the Agenais, he joined the prince on his thrust north to the Loire which was to end in the great victory at Poitiers (19 September). It was largely for his heroic exploits at Poitiers that he was to earn his lasting reputation. According to Froissart, he swore an oath to the prince to strike the first blow in the battle. At the end of hostilities he was found exhausted, 'more dead than alive', only reviving after he had been taken to the prince, who rose from dinner with the French king to greet him.[26] In the course of his campaigning with the prince he formed a close association with another English knight, Sir John Chandos, and the two were to seek their fortunes together in the next decade.[27] In 1359-60 they fought on the Rheims-Brétigny campaign, the last in this hard-fought phase of the war, and in the 1360s they were both active in the defence of Aquitaine. Audley died in 1369 after a wasting expedition in Touraine, only a few months before Chandos was himself killed in a skirmish at Lussac.[28]

Because of the contrast in the circumstances of their births, William and James led very different lives. While both were involved in war, James was involved as a hardened professional, largely resident abroad, his half-brother only as a part-timer. Despite the fact that he was the less distinguished of the siblings, William would have taken pride in his brother's achievements. Both were members of a family which evinced a high level of chivalric awareness. There is evidence that James introduced William to the circle of

25 *ODNB*, II, pp. 934-5 (by Michael Jones).

26 J. Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. T. Johnes, 2 vols. (London, 1862), I, pp. 224-5; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 153-4.

27 C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), pp. 109-10.

28 Audley was buried in Poitiers Cathedral. His tomb there was destroyed in 1562.

the Black Prince: in 1352 the prince granted William a pair of does from Beckley Park in Oxfordshire.[29] William's own circle of acquaintances, including as it did fellow knights, would almost certainly have included men who had ties with the prince.[30] The close interest which the Horseheath Audleys took in chivalric culture, suggested by the brass, was rooted not only in William's own military service but in the military traditions of his family more generally.

A yet deeper level of chivalric awareness is suggested by some further shreds of evidence. In the years of his retirement William took measures to secure his spiritual wellbeing which involved him in dealings with another chivalric family. In 1355 he and his wife sought authorisation from the pope to enjoy the use of private confessors in their house.[31] Since William appears to have resided at Horseheath, this must have been the manor house at Hall, or Hallgate, in the east of the parish. Nine years later, in 1364, William and his wife received a further licence from the pope: they were granted a plenary remission for their sins at the hour of death.[32] What is interesting is that this second concession was mediated by William Breton, chamberlain of the earl of Warwick, and appears in a list headed 'Roll of John de Beauchamp, kinsman of the earl of Warwick'. Evidently, then, William had connections with the distinguished Beauchamp line which are not otherwise attested. Sir John Beauchamp, later Lord Beauchamp, in whose list William's name appears, was one of the most active knights of his day.[33] He was the younger brother of Thomas Beauchamp I, earl of Warwick and a Founder Knight of the Garter. In 1340 he had fought at Sluys, as Audley had, and six years later he carried the royal standard at Crécy. In 1351 he was the leader of a foray against the French from Calais, and in the 1350s he joined in the Black Prince's raids against the French from his base in Aquitaine. In 1360 he led a retinue on Edward III's expedition to Rheims. The Beauchamps were one of the most distinguished military families of their day. In the years of cessation in the French war they were heavily involved in crusading: in 1365 the earl himself went to the aid of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia and two years later his sons did too. [34] In these circumstances, it is tempting to wonder if Sir William may have been thinking of going on crusade himself when death snatched him in 1365.

For all our interest in William, however, it is important not to lose sight of his wife Joan, the co-beneficiary of these papal grants, since it was most likely she who was the patron of the brass. Women are known to have been just as strongly implicated in chivalric culture as their menfolk. They acted as bearers of chivalric memory, transmitting the traditions of both their natal and adoptive families from one generation to the next. At Lingfield, Surrey, it was Joan, Lady Cobham, who commissioned the tomb of her husband Sir Reginald (d. 1361), with its rich armorial honouring his

29 *Black Prince's Register*, 4 vols. (London, 1930-33), IV, p. 79.

30 Sir Ralph Spigurnel, alongside whom he served in 1338, was to be the prince's steward and constable in the honor of Wallingford to 1351 (*Treaty Rolls 1337-1339*, no. 438; *Black Prince's Register*, I, pp. 2, 3, 7, 14, 22, 67, 135, 153; IV, p. 341). The Bassingbournes, fellow Cambridgeshire landowners, three of whose knightly members were with Audley in Tiptoft's retinue in 1338, produced a retainer of the prince in Sir Warin de Bassingbourne; in 1356 he took a prisoner at Poitiers (*Treaty Rolls 1337-1339*, no. 438; *Black Prince's Register*, IV, p. 249).

31 *Calendar of Papal Registers. Papal Letters, III, 1342-1362* (London, 1897), p. 554.

32 *Calendar of Papal Registers. Petitions, I, 1342-1419* (London, 1896), p. 499.

33 For his career, see Sir William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 3 vols. (London, 1675-6), I, p. 231; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 249-50, 263, 265.

34 C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), p. 268.

career in arms. It is important to ask, therefore, what part Joan, as William's widow, could have played in the conception and design of his brass. Unfortunately, we know very little about Lady Audley. No will survives either for her or for her husband. We cannot even be sure of her maiden name. There is one piece of evidence, however, which suggests that she may have been born into a distinguished knightly line herself. This is a recognisance into which William entered in 1328, while still probably under twenty. In May 1328 two East Anglian ladies, Avice de Boys and her sister Alice, acknowledged that they owed William d'Audley £200 to be levied on their lands in Cambridgeshire.[35] The making of recognisances was often associated with the securing of marriage agreements between families. If the agreement were subsequently to be broken, then the injured party had some legal means of redress on which to fall back. The bond into which the two de Boys ladies entered with Audley may have been of this nature. The timing would certainly point to this, as William's father was still alive, and marriage alliances were usually negotiated by parents on behalf of their offspring.

If this interpretation of the recognisance is correct, then it would point to an alliance between the Audleys of Horseheath and a major East Anglian landowning family. The de Boys appear to have descended in at least four main branches.[36] One of these, probably the senior, was seated at Fersfield, Norfolk, and included among its members Sir Robert de Bois (Boys), a participant in the Stepney tournament of 1309. This man's son, another Sir Robert, was to be commemorated at Fersfield by a fine wooden tomb effigy, showing him in a richly decorated coat armour bearing his arms. It has been suggested that this effigy was commissioned by his sister and heiress, Alice, who is probably to be identified with the lady who entered into the recognisance with Sir William.[37] A second branch of the de Boys family was based at Coningsby, Lincolnshire, and acquired interests in Norfolk. Members of this branch, too, had a taste for commemorative splendour. In the 1390s Sir Roger de Boys, son of Sir John of Coningsby, was to be commemorated at Ingham, Norfolk, by a monument of quite exceptional richness. De Boys and his wife were shown finely attired, he in armour, on a tomb chest with shields in quatrefoil panels round the sides, separated by standing angels in niches. The two effigies were richly painted and details of the costume and armour were picked out in pastiglia or gesso. The edges of de Boys's bacinet were decorated with moulded gesso to replicate the jewelled precious metal borders of high-quality armour.[38] De Boys's tomb dates from some thirty years after the commissioning of Sir William d'Audley's brass. It is of relevance to an understanding of the brass, however, for two important reasons. The first is that it is an example of the taste of a family to which Sir William himself was very likely related. If we are right in supposing that Sir William d'Audley's widow was a Boys, and perhaps the sister of Sir Robert of Fersfield, then it becomes possible to understand her readiness to secure recognition of her husband's chivalric achievement on his brass. De Boys himself

35 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1327-1330* (London, 1896), p. 391.

36 The name is variously represented in the sources as Boys, du Bois and de Bosco. On the evidence of the main printed sources there appear to have been branches in the early- to mid-fourteenth century resident at Fersfield, Norfolk; Assington, Suffolk; Coningsby, Lincs.; and Winterborne Steepleton, Dorset (Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, I, pp. 113-15).

37 *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), no. 731, where the tomb effigy is illustrated.

38 For discussion of the tomb, see Badham, '"Beautiful remains of antiquity"', pp. 7-42, in particular 23-35.

appears to have been another knight who sought fulfilment in a career in arms. In the 1360s he was absent from England for lengthy periods, suggesting his involvement in one of the many crusading initiatives undertaken in the interval of peace in the Anglo-French war. The second reason for dwelling on the de Boys connection is that it affords a further explanation for the choice of the chivalric motif on Sir William's brass. Lady Audley had almost certainly found the inspiration for the motif in the other great monument in Ingham church, just round the corner from Sir Roger's tomb, that of Oliver, Lord Ingham, on which two angels were shown propping up a helm beneath the deceased's head. It is this striking feature which affords the closest analogy with the motif on the Horseheath brass. Oliver, Lord Ingham, like Audley had been very active in arms, fighting in Scotland in the 1320s and later in Aquitaine defending the duchy against incursions by the French.[39] In the case of his monument, too, the choice of a chivalric motif may have been deliberate.

On the evidence before us, then, Sir William d'Audley's brass at Horseheath may be considered an example of a type not altogether uncommon in the mid fourteenth century – that of a military memorial adorned with consciously chivalric imagery. The most well known such memorial is probably the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) at Elsing, Norfolk, with its parade of mourners comprising Sir Hugh's closest companions in arms. Another good example from the same period is found on the tomb chest of Reginald, Lord Cobham (d. 1361), at Lingfield, which carries around the sides an armorial of the commemorated's companions on the campaign trail. The chivalric imagery on Sir William d'Audley's brass is perhaps less directly allusive than in these other two cases. Nonetheless it is clear enough to mark the brass out. It is possible that the brass was considered an object of distinction even in the Middle Ages. When the fabric of the church was embellished in the fifteenth century and the nave turned into a Perpendicular glasshouse, the brass was left untouched in the chancel, a link with an earlier age and reminder for the Alingtons, the Audleys' successors as lords, of an heroic forbear. How many other medieval memorials there are which display such chivalric imagery remains to be discovered. The probability must be that there are more than a few.

39 For his career, see *ODNB*, XXIX, pp. 250-51 (by Malcolm Vale). Ingham was seneschal of Aquitaine between 1325 and 1327 and 1331 and 1343.

The Coverts of Slaugham or three brasses disentangled

Jerome Bertram and Robert Hutchinson

THREE medieval brasses on the walls of Slaugham church, in the forests of central Sussex, have become so mixed and entwined that even the greatest scholars have been deceived. In an attempt to disentangle them, let us look at each one in turn.

The first brass is listed by Mill Stephenson as that of John Covert, 1503, with a single canopy 'of much earlier date', inscription and four shields (two now relaid with no. II and one restored blank). He does not venture an opinion on how the figure and canopy, which are grotesquely out of scale with each other, have come together.[1] Mrs. Davidson-Houston also calls the canopy 'of much earlier date' and notes that the brass is interesting 'as an early example of "appropriation", if it has not been reset within the canopy at some comparatively late date'.[2] Malcolm Norris remarks that a canopy of 'an earlier date seems to have been utilised', but that it 'may not have belonged to another completed monument', implying that it could be unused old stock found lying around the workshop.[3] John Page-Phillips is more confident that it is an appropriation, and dates the canopy *c.* 1420.[4] But let us look at the brass in its two constituent parts.

I. William Covert I, 1444, or William Covert II, 1494.

William Burrell (1732-96), in his manuscript collections for Sussex, recorded a brass when he visited Slaugham in May 1787: 'On a Grave Stone adjoining to the Chancel step, in the body of the Church is pourtrayed in Brass the figure of a man & under him this Inscription in Saxon Characters:

> *Hic jacet Will(el)mi Covert Senior Armiger qui obiit xxv^o die Mens(is) Septembris A(nn)o d(omi)ni 1444^o. cuj(us) a(n)i(m)ae p(ro)picietur Deus.*
> [Here lies William Covert the elder, esquire, who died 25 September A.D. 1444, on whose soul may God have mercy.] NB A new Pew being built over the last mentioned stone, I could not see it distinctly, but the Inscription being torn off, had been preserved by the Clerk.'[5]

'Saxon' characters is usually taken to refer to Lombardic or uncial lettering, which is most unlikely for 1444, and the use of Arabic numerals is almost as unlikely. That is curious, given that Burrell is usually accurate about such things. We must correct *Will(el)mi* to the nominative *Will(el)mus*, and *a(n)i(m)ae* to the more probable *a(n)i(m)e*, but we can assume the text is otherwise accurate.

At first sight one is tempted to associate this inscription with the earlier elements of Mill Stephenson's brass no. I (Fig. 1). The slab is of grey 'Unio' Purbeck marble, measuring 2160 x 900 mm, and is now mounted on the east wall of the south chapel. In this there remains the greater part of a fine single canopy, 1960 mm high, and characterised by a large 'rose window' in the centre of the gablette (Fig. 2). At the bases of the two pinnacles are rather fetching beasts' heads (Fig. 3). Out of an original four shields, only half of one survives.

1 M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926, repr. 1964), p. 514.
2 Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses, Part IV', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXIX (1938), p. 120.
3 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London 1977), I, pp. 172, 275.
4 J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London 1980), no. 45L, pl. 10.
5 BL Add. MS 5698, f. 143; quoted in Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses', pt. IV, p. 125.

Fig. 1. Composite brass of William Covert (1444 or 1494) and John Covert (1503). (photo: Robert Hutchinson)

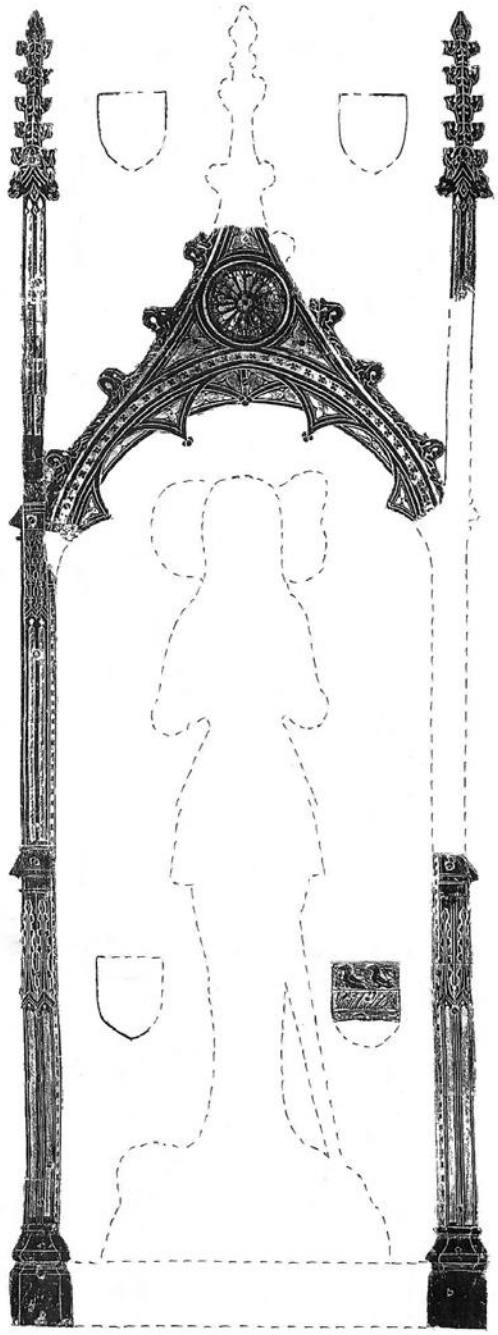

Fig. 2. Remains of the brass of William Covert (1444 or 1494) (rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

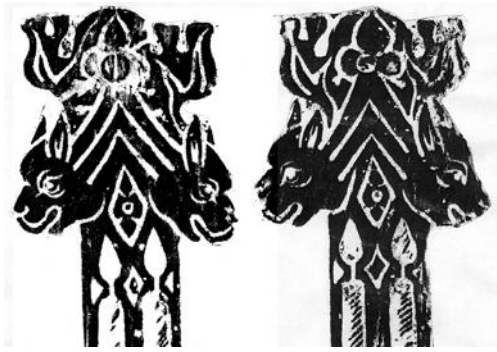

Fig. 3. Details of beasts in the canopy pinnacle of brass of William Covert

The slab is liberally smeared with cement, and the indents are all obscured and filled in, but it is quite possible to make out the elements of the rest of the design. The inscription must have run between the bases of the canopy shafts, and measured 100 x 550 mm. The figure appears to have been armed, with the head resting on a helmet, and a large beast at the feet, but the outlines are badly obscured. It must have been around 1140 mm high. Two shields were set between the pinnacles of the canopy, of which the indents are neatly enough filled to show that they were about 103 mm broad, certainly no more. The other two shields were on either side of the main figure; one is a modern blank, which seems to fit snugly into its indent, the other retains the upper two-thirds of a shield of Covert (*Gules a fess between three martlets or*), undifferenced,[6] exactly 103 mm broad, the lower third also being restored blank. There is no reason not to believe that this shield and the canopy are not in their original position.

However this neat identification with the brass of William Covert the Elder, 1444, is problematical. As Sally Badham has pointed out, the canopy is not anything like as early as Stephenson, Davidson-Houston and Page-Phillips thought; in fact it need not be much earlier, if at all, than the date of the second brass. The crocketing and the internal groining invite parallels with brasses such as that in Luton, Bedfordshire, *c.* 1490, and more locally at Ardingly, *c.* 1500 and 1504.[7] This may be why Norris suspected it did not come from a completed brass. However it is not from the same workshop as the 1503 brass: it is from the London style 'F'. Since the undifferenced shield of Covert almost certainly belongs in the slab with the canopy, and the shields belonging to the 1503 brass certainly do not fit the indents (being 124 mm broad), the earlier brass did exist, and presumably was completed. If it commemorated a Covert who died in the very late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the obvious candidate is William Covert the Younger, the second son of William Covert the elder, who died seized of Slaugham Manor in 1494.[8] According to Horsfield, the will of this younger William Covert requested burial in Slaugham, and that a virtuous priest should sing for his soul there for five years after his death.[9] It would be surprising if he did not have a brass, given that his father and son certainly did. So, too, did his brother, Henry, who died in 1488 and is commemorated by a brass in North Mimms, Hertfordshire (LSW.*IV*). The figure is in armour, of London style 'F', and the outline can be copied to fit very nicely under the canopy at Slaugham, with the addition of a helmet behind the head and a larger lion.

Now to return to the inscription recorded by Burrell. The fact that the inscription calls William 'the elder' could indicate that two or more brasses were made at the same time, not uncommon

6 The circle seen in the middle of the fess is a rivet, not an annulet.

7 Sally Badham, personal comment.

8 VCH, *Sussex*, VII (London, 1940), p. 181.

9 T.W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex*, 2 vols. (Lewes, 1835), I, p. 258 n.

among county families. (A good Sussex example is the collection of brasses to three generations of the Barttelot family of Stopham, all made in the mid 1460s.) Both Williams could have been commemorated by brasses made in the 1490s, at the same time as that to Henry Covert in North Mimms. The use of Arabic numbers then becomes much more plausible, and even the 'Saxon' lettering could mean the use of the rustic 'Humanistic' capital letters found on a few brasses and monuments of the period, for example, on the lost brass of Bishop William Dudley at Westminster Abbey, 1483.[10] Burrell does not usually make mistakes in such matters as lettering style, or substituting Arabic for Roman numerals.

The slab containing the canopy and its half shield, bearing the undifferenced arms of Covert, could therefore represent either William Covert, but in any case must date from around the time of death of the younger one in 1494.

II. John Covert, 1503.

Mounted in the stone of the previous brass is an inscription plate, 90 x 850 mm, and the figure of an armed man, with his head on a helmet, 670 mm tall (Fig. 4). They clearly belong together, being ordinary London work, identified by Malcolm Norris as the 'G' series.[11] The inscription, which is badly corroded by contact with the cement, reads:

> *Orate pro a(n)i(m)a Joh(ann)is Couert Armigeri filij Will(el)mi Couert / Armigeri qui quid(e)m Joh(ann)es obijt vj die augusti A(nn)o d(omi)ni Mill(esi)mo / CCCCC iij cuius anime p(ro)picietur deus amen.*
> [Pray for the soul of John Covert, esquire, son of William Covert, esquire, the which John died 6 August A.D. 1503, on whose soul may God have mercy.]

Two shields which must belong to this brass are now mounted with the next one (M.S. II). They

Fig. 4. Brass of John Covert (1503) (rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

are 124 mm across, therefore much too large to fit in the cement-filled indents at the top of the slab, besides which they certainly refer to the marriage of this John Covert, for they bear Covert with an annulet for difference, and Covert impaling Pelham respectively (COVERT: *Gules a fess between three martlets or, an annulet for difference*; PELHAM: *Azure, three pelicans argent*).

John Covert was a younger son of William Covert the younger, and married Isabel, only daughter of Sir John Pelham of Laughton. His will, dated 6 August 1503 and proved 20 March 1503/4, requests that 'my body be

10 Illustrated in R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, 2 vols. (London, 1786-96), II, pl. 102, p. 285.

11 Norris, *Memorials*, I, p. 158.

buried in the Chancell', and arranges a chantry foundation to be observed by the vicar of Slaugham. John left only daughters, so that his heir was his cousin Richard. His will directed Richard to pay 400 marks to each daughter, 'if ruled in marriage by their mother and cousin and if not, then 200 marks, provided they be married to men of 100 marks in land at the least or such as have virtue and cunning which seemeth to their mother and cousin as good as 100 marks worth in land'.[12] These daughters were Anne, aged six at her father's death, Elizabeth, aged three and Dorothea aged two. Elizabeth married Sir William Goring and is shown on their brass at Burton, Sussex. The original composition must therefore have shown the figure immediately above the inscription, with the two shields flanking his head, not an uncommon arrangement.

That these are two separate brasses put together by ignorant nineteenth-century restorers is certain. There is no space on the slab where the two larger shields of Covert and Pelham could be placed, and the blank shield and blank lower third are obviously nineteenth-century. Both the plates relating to the 1503 brass are held by screws alone, whereas parts of the canopy are still held by the original rivets. (The two details of the pinnacle beasts (Fig. 3), show a screw on the left and a rivet on the right. However, the nineteenth-century blank shield is also held by a rivet, so we must not place too much weight on how the plates are fixed.) Although often called an appropriation, implying that John Covert had taken over part of his father's brass, in reality the association of the different parts of the brass must be comparatively recent, probably at the time of the drastic

Fig. 5. Composite brass of Richard Covert and three or four wives, *c.* 1515-47
(photo: Robert Hutchinson)

reordering of the church in 1858. It is surprising that scholars of the repute of Stephenson, Norris and Page-Phillips had not detected this. Only Mrs. Davidson-Houston suspected the truth. The only account of the brass which we have found earlier than this is by Edward Turner, published in 1871 but often describing the situation of up to fifty years earlier; he simply mentions the figure and inscription of John Covert, with no mention at all of the canopy, although he almost invariably mentions canopies in describing other brasses.[13] On the other hand Haines, publishing in 1861, does list the brass of John Covert as canopied.[14]

12 The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/14.

13 E. Turner, 'Brasses in Sussex Churches', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* XXIII (1871), p. 179.

14 H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), pt. 2, p. 212.

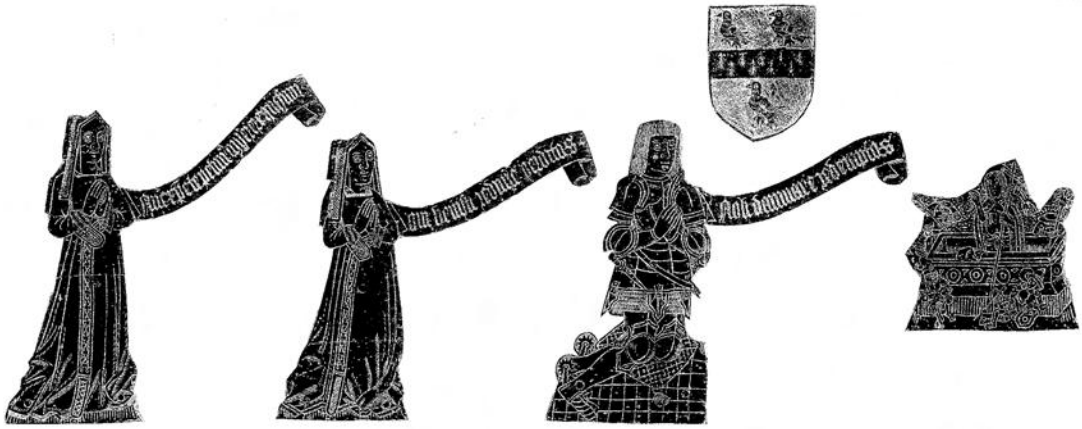

Fig. 6. First phase of brass of Richard Covert and two wives, *c.* 1515
(rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

IIIa. Richard Covert and two wives, c. 1520. This brass (Fig. 5) has a complicated history, but it is probably correctly analysed by Malcolm Norris.[15] The original composition, made around 1520 in the 'debased F' London tradition (though Norris puts it as late as *c.* 1525), showed the armed figure of Richard Covert, kneeling, with his first and second wives kneeling behind him, the second raising herself up enough to see over her predecessor's shoulder (Fig. 6). Each has a prayer scroll, which together give a continuous text, from left to right:

Nu(nc) (Christ)e te petim(us) miserere qu(e)sum(us)
qui venisti redime(re) perditos
Noli damnare redemptos.
[Now, O Christ, we beseech you, have mercy on us we pray, thou who camest to redeem the lost, do not condemn those thou hast redeemed.]

This is the responsory for the ninth lesson of Matins of the Dead (the Dirge), also found complete on brasses at Cowthorpe, Yorks., 1494, St. Paul's Cathedral, 1498, Hambledon, Bucks., 1500, and Longworth, Berks., 1509; the last two lines also at Thame, Oxon., 1508 and on an alabaster tomb in St. Aldate's, Oxford, 1522. (Horsfield and Turner say that the scroll of Elizabeth was 'in part defaced', but that simply means they couldn't read it: their version of all the scrolls is inaccurate, and the existing scroll appears to be an unbroken strip.)[16]

Above each figure was a shield, of which only the first, Covert, undifferenced, remains. The next two shields were probably Covert impaling Faggar and Covert impaling Neville, for the two wives, the indents filled with the two shields of the 1503 brass. In front of the first figure is a conventional representation of the Resurrection. If there was an inscription at this stage, it lay below the first and second figures. There may have been one engraved and fixed, with a blank left for the dates of death, though it is possible that they simply left the stone ready for it to be inserted when needed.

The composition is conventional, and not unusual. What is remarkable is that the plates are not set in Purbeck marble, as was the invariable practice among the London marblers, however debased. It is set in Caen

15 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London 1978), p. 59.

16 Horsfield, *County of Sussex*, I, p. 258, Turner , 'Brasses in Sussex Churches', p. 179.

stone, at the back of the recess of a Caen stone canopied chest tomb, clearly copied from the common type of Purbeck marble tomb. Along the front of the chest are three quatrefoils, each enclosing a brass shield, restored blank in the nineteenth century. The tomb is Chichester work, parallel to a number of other Sussex monuments, and was clearly designed (like others in the group, as at Hamsey, Racton, Sompting, Kingston Buci, Petworth, Church Norton, Selmeston and Preston) to be used as an Easter Sepulchre. Another tomb in the series, at Rustington, *c.* 1542, is allegedly to a member of a branch of the Covert family, another Richard, who held lands in Rustington, Poling and Angmering and the Isle of Wight. It portrays Christ as the 'Man of Sorrows' with the instruments of the Passion hanging from the arms of the cross. Only one other of these Caen-stone tombs from Chichester has brass inlays; it is at Mickleham, Surrey, *c.* 1520, with kneeling brass figures to William Wyddowson and wife (she died in 1513). As at Slaugham, the plates were supplied loose and fixed by the Chichester masons. Another example of such sub-contracting is at Faversham, Kent, where a brass kneeling figure, Resurrection and inscription to Dame Joan Norton, 1535, were inserted in a Caen-stone Easter sepulchre made locally by a mason called Alen of Bearsted.

The fact that three scrolls read as a continuous text implies that all three figures were part of the original composition – were it not for the two examples cited of the second and third lines alone. Just conceivably the third figure could have been added, but it seems to be contemporary with the first two, and in all probability the brass was designed to commemorate all three. It must have been commissioned from the London engraver and despatched to Chichester for incorporation in the monument.

Richard Covert of Slaugham was the cousin and heir to John Covert, being the son of Thomas Covert and his wife Elizabeth Sidney, who had a monument (almost certainly a brass inscription) in Horsham Church. The Heralds' Visitation of 1632 notes, 'in the midell Ile: Orate pro animabus Tho Covert et Elizab. uxor. ejus qui quidem Thomas obiit 1495.' Two shields are drawn, one of Covert impaling Sidney, and the other Covert impaling *A chevron between two roundels and a bucks' head cabossed*.[17] This may be represented by the fragment of an indent now partly under a step at the west end of Horsham church. This shows the lower part of a female figure, the right-hand end of an inscription plate, and two daughters, of the right date.

According to Dengate, Richard Covert presented Thomas Shaa to the rectory of Hascombe, Surrey, in 1509.[18] In 1523, he was High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex and in the subsidy of that year he was rated at £9 at the Inner Temple. He was also involved in an action in the Star Chamber in 1526 over lands in Ashington and Washington when Covert claimed Richard Russell as his ward. In 1534, he was a commissioner of sewers. He directed that his 'body be buried in the chauncell of Slaugham as soon as it is dead and may be conveniently conveyed to that place, where it shall be buried without great ceremonies and solemnities other than belongeth to a good and true Christian man. To the mother church 3s. 4d.; to the parson of Slaugham, 20s. My wife Blanche and my children that be in my house and all my family shall be

17 College of Arms MS C27 RR 19 B/E, f. 2; cf. D.E. Hurst, *The History and Antiquities of Horsham*, 2nd edn. (Lewes, 1889), p. 73.

18 W.A. Dengate, *Slaugham: A Parish in Sussex* (London, 1929), p. 29.

Fig. 7. Second phase, Richard Covert's third wife, c. 1535 (rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

apparelled in blake and my servants shall take blake for their livery.'[19]

IIIb. Jane, third wife of Richard Covert, *c.* 1535.

On the death of Richard Covert's second wife, he married a third, and she presumably was responsible for persuading Richard to add an extra figure, standing up to look over the shoulders of both rivals, with a short inscription plate, set crooked, to mark her family, if not her own name (Fig. 7):

> *Hec filia Will(elm)i Asscheburneham Armygery/ tercia uxor Richardi Couert Armygery/ Cuius Anime propicietur deus Amen.*
>
> [This is the daughter of William Ashburnham, Esq., third wife of Richard Covert Esq., on whose soul may God have mercy, Amen.] Her scroll reads:
> *D(omi)ne in mi(sericordi)a tua semp(er) speravi.*
> [Lord, in thy mercy I have ever hoped.] cf. Psalm 12:6, not part of the Office of the Dead, and not in the sequence of the other scrolls.

Above her is a shield of Covert impaling Ashburnham (ASHBURNHAM: *Gules a fess between six molets argent*). The brass is London 'G' or 'Rufford' figure style: the design and engraving is much better than the poor-quality 'F' material, and the face is quite characteristic of the Rufford style. However the costume is that of an earlier decade: her pedimental or kennel headdress has long lappets hanging down – a style that was in fashion at least a decade before, and something she would not be seen dead in. Clearly Richard Covert was more interested in symmetry than his third wife's fashion sense. Here, then, we have a rare example of deliberate 'antiquarian' recreation of an earlier monument to match – although to the experienced eye of a modern chalcotribist the figure styles are quite separate. But how did they do this? The earlier female effigies presumably remained *in situ*, so they must have taken a *rubbing* of one or other of the ladies' brasses to send up to London to recreate a (vaguely) matching figure, together with measurements for the space available for an additional inscription, shield and scroll. These were then engraved and sent by carrier either to Chichester - or to the family, for an artisan to trek across the Weald to cut new indents and fix the brasses vertically.

IIIc. Inscription to Richard Covert and four wives.

On the death of Richard Covert's third wife, he married a fourth, and she must have seen to the

19 The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/31, f. 377.

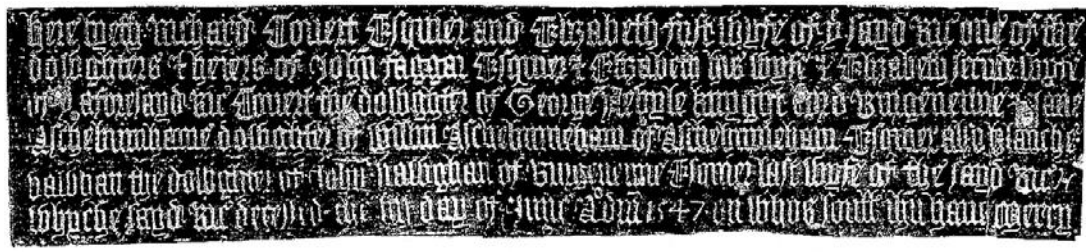

Fig. 8. Third phase, inscription added by Richard Covert's fourth wife, 1547 (rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

last addition to the monument, the inscription plate, 140 x 670 mm, below the first three figures (Fig. 8). There was obviously no room for an extra figure or shield to be added, but she managed to have the last word:

> *Here lyeth Richard Covert Esquier and Elizabeth firste wyfe of y^e^ sayd Ric' one of the/ dowghters & heiers of John Faggar Esquier & Elizabeth his wyfe & Elizabeth secu(n)de wyfe/ of y^e^ aforesayd Ric' Covert the dowghter of George Nevyle Knyght Lord Burgeuenne & Jane/ Aschburneham dowghter of Will(ia)m Aschburneham of Aschburneham Esquier also Blanche/ Vawhan the dowghter of John Vawghan of Burgeuenne Esquier last wyfe of the sayd Ric'/ whyche said Ric' decessed the vii day of June A^o^ d(omi)ni 1547 on whos soull' ih(es)u have Mercy.*

The lettering is 'script 4' from the London workshops, used between 1530 and 1547, and is in fact the last dated example of this script.[20] This plate also must have been added to the monument in a vertical position. Blanche's will survives, dated 18 January 1552/3 and proved 12 May 1553.[21] She asks to be buried 'in the chancel of the Parish of Twyneham yf my sonne John Covert and the Parsone of Twyneham will so graunt it. Yf my bodye be buried in the chaunsell I bequeathe to the said chansell tenne shillings or elles my body to be buried in the churche in some convenient place.' As John Welch, the Twineham parson, was a witness to her will, presumably her wish was granted, though there is no monument to her now in Twineham church.

Richard Covert had children only by the fourth wife, Blanche, two sons John and George, and two daughters. This John was the father of Jane, who married Sir Francis Fleming and Sir John Fettiplace, and whose Southwark-style brass of 1586 is in a tomb adjacent to that of her grandfather.[22] The younger John Covert's presence may have protected the sepulchre and its Resurrection brass from damage or destruction (as suffered by other Caen-stone tombs of this series in Sussex) from iconoclasts during the Edwardine phase of the Reformation, 1548-53. The Covert family continued to own Slaugham manor until 1672.[23]

The inscription plate is of reused metal, with the remains of an inscription which has been drastically shaved down to render it almost illegible (Fig. 9). Page-Phillips read it as:

> *of yor charite pray for the soule of [Elizabeth] ... [s]ems/tres to Kyng Henry the viii & to his sister ... to the / quene of ... to prince henry t.... the seid kyng / Henry the viii whiche Elizabeth decessed the secund day of Iuly mv^c^xiii (?).*[24]

20 J. Page-Phillips, *Monumental Brasses: A Sixteenth-century Workshop* (London, 1999), p. 43.
21 PRO, PROB 11/36.
22 Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses', pt. IV, pp. 124-5.
23 VCH, *Sussex*, VII, p. 183.
24 Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, no. 133L, pl. 44.

Fig. 9. Reverse of inscription of 1547, Elizabeth ---, 1513
(rubbing: John Page-Phillips)

Henry VIII's sister Margaret was the wife of James IV, killed at Flodden in 1513. Poor little Prince Henry of course only lasted 54 days, in January-February 1511 - but a whole household was briefly created for him. It may be possible to track down his seamstress in the State and Wardrobe Papers. Presumably the brass is spoil from one of the London churches stripped of their brasses in the late 1540s, when several sets of churchwardens' accounts record the sale of brass by churchwardens desperate to raise money to cover the expensive changes demanded by the government. It may have been embarrassment at recycling the brass of someone in the royal service that led them, unusually, to try to obliterate the first inscription. Normally palimpsest brasses were simply turned over and reused, set into the new stones in the workshop. In this case the plate was sent to Sussex loose, for everyone to see that it was recycled metal, and it would have been tactless to leave the earlier inscription legible.

A rubbing taken in 1967 shows all the plates rivetted, including the two shields intruded from the 1503 brass. Bryan Egan removed all the figures, shields, Resurrection, scrolls and inscription on 21 June 1975, accompanied by Robert Hutchinson. It does not appear that there was any pitch behind the added figure and inscriptions. There probably was not, because of the problems of vertical laying. Nor was there any paper (as occasionally used on Johnson brasses as backing). Egan used cold pitch to refix the brasses, but found it difficult. Two of the figures slipped, and had to be refixed a few months later. He wrote to the churchwarden, 'It proved to be one of the most difficult brasses to re-set because I tried to put a pitch damp-course in a 2mm matrix which was very nearly impossible to do.'[25] All plates are now (2008) remain firmly fixed and in good condition.

25 Bryan Egan to H. Preston, 14 July 1976, in Society of Antiquaries MS 1014/1/29.

Villers-Vermont, France

Ronald van Belle

THE village of Villers-Vermont (Canton de Formerie, Arrondissement de Beauvais, Département de l'Oise, Région de Picardie) is located eighteen miles from Beauvais and thirty miles from Rouen and has about 120 inhabitants. The lovely Gothic church of Saint Martin dominates the small, now very depopulated, village.[1] As architectural details testify, the church, originally Romanesque, was often rebuilt and adapted over the centuries until its present form. Despite the tremendous depredations the church patrimony has suffered over the centuries even in the French countryside, this small village church has preserved an interesting art collection. It possesses an unusual twelfth-century stone immersion font, a twelfth-century enamelled bas-relief Virgin with Child, various wooden and stone statues of saints, an eighteenth-century wooden eagle lectern and funeral monuments, including the subjects of this paper.

The incised slab of Pierre de Mellechastel (Mercastel) (d. 1269).

The present castle of Mercastel, dating from eighteenth century, is located about six miles from the village and is built on the remains of the medieval one. The name Mercastel seems to be derived from 'merule castello' or the 'castle of the blackbirds', becoming in time, 'Merle le Catel, Mercatel, Mercastel', today a hamlet of Villers-Vermont. The fief of Mercastel belonged to a family of the same name, reputedly originating from England and settling there in the middle of the eleventh century.

The earliest known lord is Antoine de Mercastel, knight banneret, lord of Mercastel, Saint-Maurice, Villers-Vermont and Doudeauville, called Count of Mercastel, who married Marguerite d'Allingues de Salvaing. He served with Godfrey of Bouillon during the First Crusade, when twenty-four sergeants marched under his banner. The Mercastels bore *Argent three crescents gules*, with two lions as supporters and a castle topped by a blackbird as helm crest. Their motto was 'Hongne qui vonra'.[2]

Pierre de Mercastel, lord of Villers-Vermont, was a captain of a hundred men of arms and also went on crusade with his esquires. He married Béatrix des Quesnes,[3] a descendant of the counts of Breberat (Arms: *Argent a cross fretty or*). Pierre died on 1 April 1269, and was buried in the nave of the church of Villers-Vermont. His wife died in 1295. Their slab is still in the nave pavement. Their son, Wautier de Mercastel, known as le Hardi (the brave), was also captain of a hundred men of arms. He acquired, by a deed dated June 1293, the lands and lordship of Signy, which have since formed part of the lordship of Mercastel. He was chosen with his esquires to join King Saint Louis during the Seventh Crusade. The King granted him and his descendants in direct descent the title of Count and Baron, in recognition of the faithful service he and his ancestors had provided in the Crusades.[4]

1 I would like to thank Monsieur le Maire, Jean Frérot, for his kind and helpful reception during my visit.

2 http//généalogies ternois.free.fr. The motto is quite cryptic and has perhaps to be read as 'Honque (oncques) qui voura' which means'which never will want'. I am grateful to L. Nys for the proposed interpretation.

3 From the village d'Equennes, in the canton de Poix-de-Picardie.

4 F.-A. Aubert de La Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 2nd edn., 15 vols. (Paris, 1770-86), X (1775), p. 54. It is of interest to note that the famous bibliophile Raphael de Mercatellis, abbot of St. Bavo, Ghent (d. 1508) was an illegitimate son of Marie de Belleval, wife of Jean I de Mercastel, by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.

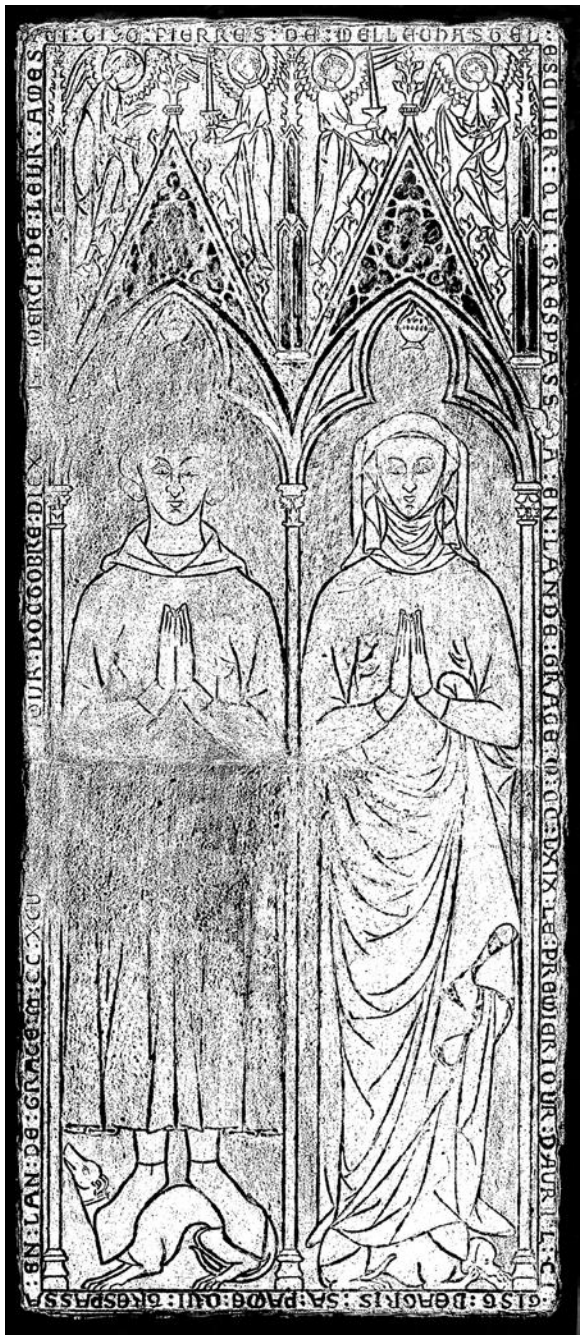

Fig. 1. Incised slab of Pierre de Mellechastel (Mercastel)(d. 1269) and wife Beatrice des Quesnes (d. 1295), St. Martin, Villers-Vermont (positive rubbing: Ronald van Belle)

The slab of Pierre de Mellechastel can be described as follows (Fig. 1): It is of grey limestone, measuring 2600 x 1080 mm, and is worn in places. In order to make the rubbing, heavy benches had to be removed. Both the deceased are shown standing under a Gothic arch; their eyes are open and their hands joined in prayer. Each arch is trilobed and surmounted by a gable with on each side an angel bearing a candle and an angel swinging a censer. Pierre de Mellechastel has wavy hair and is represented as a civilian in a long surcoat with a hood, his feet resting on a greyhound. Pierre de Mellechastel is dressed in civilian clothes where we would rather expect to see him engraved in armour, in view of his military role. Beatrix wears a gown which she has lifted up under the forearm, showing the underlying kirtle. She has a pet dog at her feet. Her head is covered by a veil and wimple.

The inscription, in Lombardic lettering, reads as follows:

> 'CI GIST PIERRES DE MELLECHASTEL/ ESCUIER QUI TRESPASSA EN LAN DE GRACE M.CC.LXIX LE PREMIER IOUR DAVRIL CI / GIST BEATRIS SA FEMME QUI TRESPASSA / EN LAN DE GRACE M.CC.XCV...IOUR DOCTOBRE: DIEX [AIE] MERCI DE LEUR AMES' or ['Here lies Pierre de Mellechastel, esquire, who died in the year of our Lord 1269, the first day of April. Here lies Beatrice his wife who died in the year our Lord 129[5] ...day of October ... May God have mercy on their souls'].[5]

The workshop which produced the slab is not known but could in my opinion be Beauvais as many masons were active there. I favour Beauvais rather than Rouen as the style of the slab does not correspond to those from Rouen; furthermore, Villers-Vermont is nearer to Beauvais. The fact that the arms of the lord are not represented indicates perhaps that a ready-made slab available at that moment was chosen and that just the epitaph needed to be added. If it had been a specific order the slab would certainly have had a different appearance. The slab was probably installed shortly after the death of the husband (1269) as the letters C and X from the date of death of the wife (1295) are of a different type and so probably the last part of the inscription was engraved later.

The foundation brass of Philippes Lameuguer, dated 1634.

The memorial brass of Philippes Lameuguer is circular in shape, with a diameter of 480 mm, and is slightly convex (Fig. 2). It is fixed with large iron nails on a solid inner door of the sacristy, which seems to be its original location. The foundation brass is for various reasons remarkable: its round form is quite uncommon, the design is somewhat naïve, the content of the foundation is also interesting as many names and details are mentioned about the foundation. For instance there is mention of the cross in the cemetery, which still exists.

The text on the brass is in fact a summary in 33 lines of a foundation act deposited with a royal notary and had as its purpose to remind the churchwardens and beneficiaries about the obligations vested in the foundation act. At the top is the Crucifixion between St. Philip with a cross,[6] on the left, and Philippes Lameuguer, on the right (Fig. 3). He has a goatee and a moustache, is vested in surplice, and kneels at a prie-dieu on which is an open book. At the bottom is a skeleton resting next to a coffin with other skeletal remains (Fig. 4). The foundation summary reads as follows:

5 *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, *loc.cit.*, states that Gerberoy read Beatrice's date of death as 4 October 1296.

6 The long-stemmed cross is characteristic of St. Philip. Cf. H.K. Cameron, 'Attributes of the Apostles on the Tournai School of Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 4 (1983), pp. 287-8.

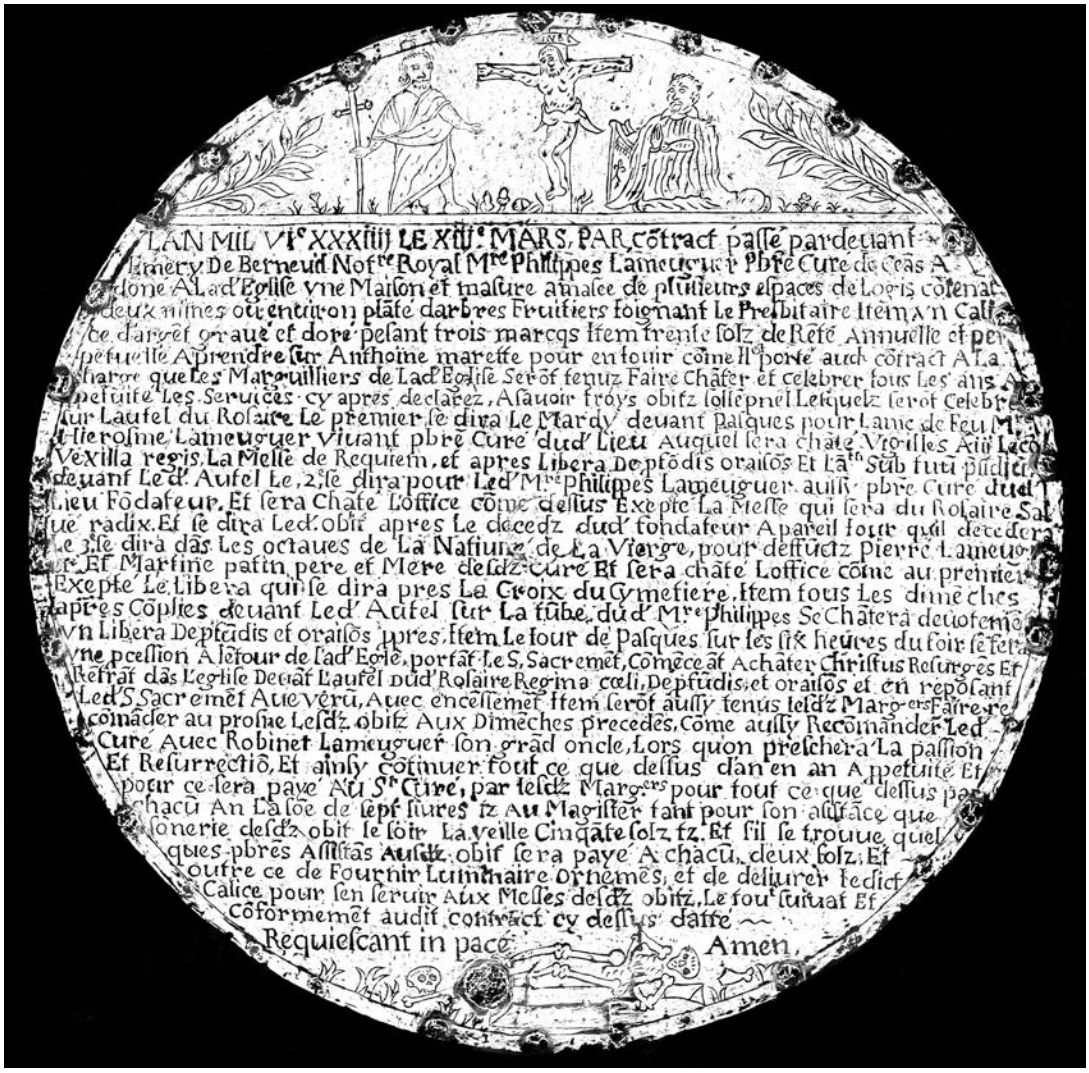

Fig. 2. Foundation brass of Philippes Lameuguer, 1634, St. Martin, Villers-Vermont (positive rubbing: Ronald van Belle)

LAN MIL VIc XXXIIII LE XIIJe MARS PAR co(n)tract passé pardeuant / Emery De Berneuil Not(ai)re Royal M(aît)re Philippes Lameuguer P(res)b(t)re Curé de Cea(n)s A / doné A Lad(ite) Eglise vne Maison et masure amasee de plusieurs espaces de Logis co(n)tena(n)t/ deux mines ou enuiron pla(n)té darbres Fruitiers Ioignant Le Presbitaire Item vn Cali/ce d´arge(n)t gravé et doré pesant trois marcqs Item trente solz de Re(n)te Annuelle et per/petuelle Aprendre sur Anthoine marette pour en Iouir com(m)e Il est porté aud(it) co(n)tract A La / charge que Les Marguilliers de Lad(ite) Eglise Sero(n)t tenuz Faire Cha(n)ter et celebrer tous Les ans A / p(er)petuité les Seruices cy apres declarez, A sauoir troys obitz solle(m)pnel Lesquelz sero(n)t Celebre / sur Lautel du Rosaire

Fig. 3. Detail of the top of the foundation brass of Philippes Lameuguer (rubbing: Ronald van Belle)

Le premier se dira Le Mardy deuant Pasques pour Lame de Feu M(aît)re / Hierosme Lameuguer viuant p(res)b(t)re Curé dud(it) Lieu Auquel sera cha(n)té Vigilles A iii Lecon(s)/ Vexilla regis, La Messe de Requiem et apres Libera De p(ro)fo(n)dis oraiso(n)s Et la(n)th(ienne) Sub tuu(m) / p(re)sidiu(m) / deuant Le d(it) Autel Le .2^{e}. se dira pour Le d(it) M(aît)re Philippes Lameuguer aussy p(res)b(t)re Cure dud(it) / Lieu Fo(n)dateur. Et sera Cha(n)té L´office co(m)me dessus Exepte La Messe qui sera du Rosaire Sal/ue radix. Et se dira Led(it) obit apres Le decedz dud(it) fondateur A pareil Iour qu´il decedera/ Le 3^{e}. se dira da(n)s Les octaues de la Natiuité de La Vierge, pour deffu(n)ctz Pierre Lameugu/er Et Martine patin pere et Mere desd(it) curé Et sera cha(n)té Loffice co(m)me au premier / Exepté Le Libera qui se dira pres La Croix du Cymetiere. Item tous les dime(n)ches / apres Co(m)plies deuant led(it) Autel sur la tu(m)be dud(it) M(ait)re Philippes Se Cha(n)tera deuoteme(nt) / vn Libera De p(ro)fu(n)dis et oraiso(n)s p(ro)pres. Item Le Iour de Pasques sur les six heures du soir se fera / vne p(ro)cession A le(n)tour de lad(ite) Egl (is)e porta(n)t Le S. Sacreme(n)t, Co(m)me(n)cea(n)t A cha(n)ter Christus Resurge(n)s Et / Re(n)tra(n)t da(n)s L´eglise Deua(n)t L´autel Dud(it) Rosaire Regina cœli, De p(ro)fu(n)dis, et oraiso(n)s et en reposant / Led(it) S. Sacreme(n)t Aue veru(m), Auec ence(n)sseme(n)t Item sero(n)t aussy tenus lesd(its) Marg(uill)ers Faire re/ co(m)ma(n)der au prosne Lesd(its) obitz Aux Dime(n)ches precede(n)s, Co(m)me aussy Reco(m)mander Led(it) / Curé Auec Robinet Lameuguer son gra(n)d oncle, Lors qu'on preschèra La passion / Et Resurrectio(n), Et ainsy co(n)tinuer tout ce que dessus d´an en an A p(er)petuité, Et / pour ce sera payé Au S(eigneu)r Curé, par lesd(its) Marg(uill)ers pour tout ce que dessus par / chacu(n) An la So(mm)e de sept liures t(ournois) Au Magister tant pour son asista(n)ce que / so(n)nerie desd(its) obit le soir Le veille Cinqa(n)te solz t(ournois). Et sil se trouue quel/ques p(res)b(t)res Assista(n)s Ausd(its) obit sera payé A chacu(n) deux solz, Et / outre ce de Fournir Luminaire orneme(n)s, et de deliurer ledict / Calice pour sen seruir Aux Messes desd(its) obitz, Le tout suiuant Et / Co(n)forme(n)t audit contract cy dessus datté / Requiescant in pace Amen.

[In the year 1634, the 13th of March, as per contract conveyed in the presence of Emery de Berneuil, royal notary, master Philippes Lameuguer, priest, *curé* in this place, has donated to the said church a house and messuage containing numerous lodgings and of an area of two 'mines'[7]

7 An area of land. The word 'mine' comes from *hémine* (lat. *hemina*) an old French measure corresponding to a volume of 0.271 litres. Here it indicates the area of arable land that one can cover with two 'mines' or 0.542 litres of grain.

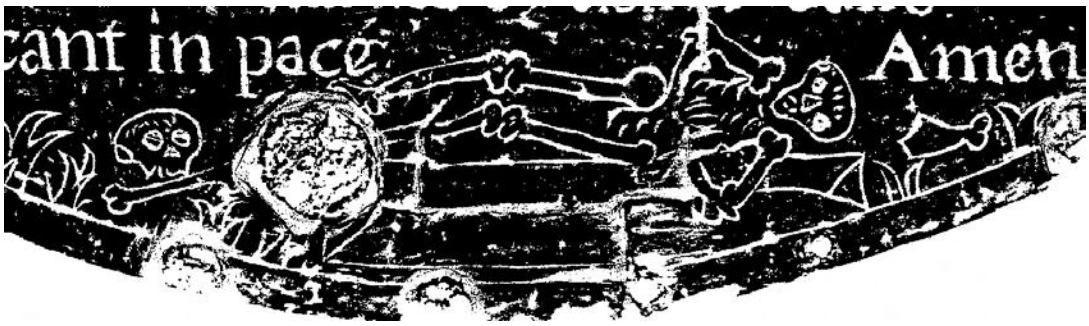

Fig. 4. Detail of the bottom of the foundation brass of Philippes Lameuguer
(rubbing: Ronald van Belle)

or about, planted with fruit trees, adjoining the presbytery. Item an engraved and gilt silver chalice weighing three marcs. Item thirty sols annual and perpetual rent chargeable to Anthoine Marette in order to enjoy as is mentioned in the said contract, on condition that the churchwardens of the said church are bound to cause to have sung and celebrated each year in perpetuity the services set out hereafter, namely: three solemn obits which will be celebrated at the altar of the Rosary. The first one will be said the Tuesday before Easter for the soul of the late master Hierosme Lameuguer, in life priest, *curé* of the said place, at which will be sung the vigils [of the dead] with three lessons, the *Vexilla Regis*, the Requiem Mass and afterwards the *Libera*, *De profundis*, prayers and the antiphon *Sub tuum presidium* in front of the said altar. The second one will be said for the said master Philippes Lameuguer also priest, *curé* of the said place and founder; and the office will be sung as described above except that the Mass will be that of the Rosary '*Salve radix*'. And the obit will be recited after the death of the said founder on the anniversary of his death. The third will be said in the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin, for the deceased Pierre Lameuguer and Martine Patin, father and mother of the said *curé*. And the office will be sung just like the first except that the *Libera* is to be said near the cross of the cemetery. Item every Sunday after Compline, in front of the said altar, on the tomb of the said master Philippes will be sung devoutly a *Libera*, *De profundis* and the proper prayers. Item on Easter Day at six o'clock in the evening a procession will be held around the said church bearing the Blessed Sacrament, beginning with the singing of the Christus Resurgens and on re-entering the church in front of the said altar of the Rosary the *Regina Coeli*, *De profundis* and prayers, and on depositing the said Blessed Sacrament the *Ave verum*, with incensation. Item the said churchwardens will also be bound to announce publicly the obits on the preceding Sundays, and also to commend the said *curé* together with Robinet Lameuguer his great-uncle, whenever the Passion and Resurrection are preached. And so to continue all as set out above from year to year in perpetuity. And for this will be paid to the lord *curé* by the said churchwardens, for all as set out above, each year the sum of seven livres tournois; to the schoolmaster, for his assistance and also for ringing the church bells for the said obits on the evening of the vigil, fifty sols tournois. And if any assistant priests are present at the said obits each of them will be paid two sols. And besides this to provide the candles and furnishings and to deliver the said chalice for use at the Masses of the said obits, all following and in conformity to the said contract as dated here above. May they rest in peace. Amen.]

The old tradition of processions with the Blessed Sacrament lasted in rural France and in Flanders even into the 1950s as I remember from my boyhood. Remarkably the cemetery cross mentioned in the foundation brass, where the '*Libera me*' was to be recited, still exists (Fig. 5), but the tombs around have been

cleared away. On its base is engraved 'MVcXXVII [?] le XXVII de mars fut assise ceste croix' ['This cross was erected on 27 March 1527 (?)']. The two figures after MVc are very worn and it could also be read as 1567.

During the Middle Ages such crosses were very common along roads and in cemeteries.[8] Those of wood have vanished long ago, those of bronze have been melted for their metal value, and just a few of stone or iron remain. The iron of the present cross seems, however, to have been restored in the twentieth century.

Nothing is known otherwise about Philippes Lameuguer or his family. There is just a mention of him on one of the bronze bells in the church tower of Villers-Vermont. Only part of the inscription in raised letters which runs around the bell has been deciphered. From this, we learn that the bell was cast in 1639 in honour of the Virgin Mary and St. Martin, the patron of the parish. It mentions further that 'Filipe Lameuguer' was the successor of the *curé* François Nantier and the inscription ends with the customary prayer 'in obedience to God, we call the people together and we indicate the time'. It can be presumed that the bell was cast at the request of Philippes Lameuguer perhaps on his death with funds provided in his last will.
The foundation brass of Philippes Lameuguer is one of the few to have escaped being melted down. This is probably due to its hidden location, on the inner door of the sacristy. The slightly convex form and the method of engraving do not point to the work of a marbler but rather to that of a gifted brazier from the region. The naive design makes it even more enjoyable.

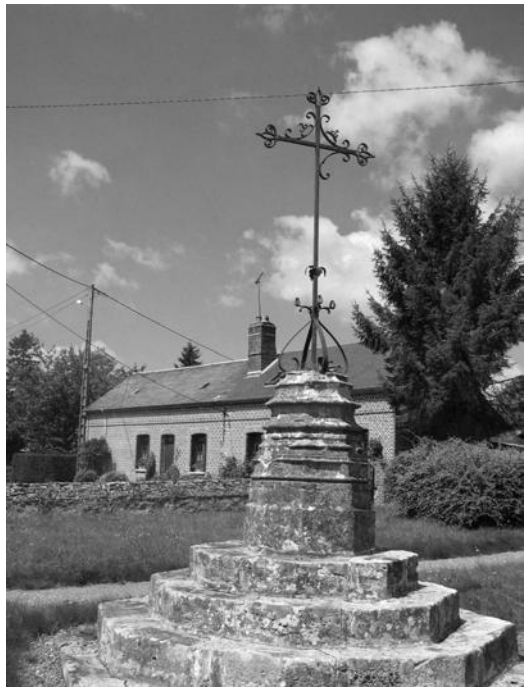

Fig. 5. Cross in the former cemetery of St. Martin, Villers-Vermont, mentioned in the foundation brass. (photo: Ronald van Belle)

8 E. Reussens, *Éléments d´archéologie chrétienne* (Louvain, 1885), p. 291.

Conservation of brasses, 2008

William Lack

THIS is the twenty-fourth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Bury St. Edmunds (St. Mary), Creeksea, Edgware Almshouse, Eton College, Fornham All Saints, Ipswich (St. Mary-le-Tower) and Upminster, and for funding the facsimiles at Ipswich (St. Mary-le-Tower) and Upminster; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Creeksea, Fornham All Saints and Upminster; the Monumental Brass Society at Creeksea, Fornham All Saints and Upminster; Lyttleton T. Harris IV of Houston, Texas, and Nancy Harris Hix of Williamsburg, Virginia, at Creeksea; and the Morris Fund of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Upminster. The rubbings are all by Martin Stuchfield.

Fig. 1. Shield with tau cross and scroll, c. 1520 (M.S.IV) Bury St. Edmunds (St. Mary), Suffolk

Bury St. Edmunds, St. Mary

M.S.IV. Shield with tau cross and scroll, *c.* 1520; 3 other shields and inscription lost (Fig. 1). This shield (137 x 116 mm, thickness 4.3 mm, 1 rivet) became detached from the slab about 2003 and had since been locked in the church safe. It was collected on 30 August 2007. After cleaning I fitted a new rivet. The shield was relaid in the original slab in the chancel on 30 April 2008.[1]

Creeksea, Essex.

LSW.I. Sir Arthur Herris, 1631.[2] This London brass comprises five separate inscription plates (from top to bottom: nine English lines of Roman Capitals, 268 x 600 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 8 rivets; six English lines of Roman capitals, 208 x 547 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 6 rivets; eleven English lines of Roman capitals, 404 x 225-232 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 6 rivets; ten English verses, 284-288 x 617-624 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 8 rivets; two English lines of Roman capitals, 79-82 x 511 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets) and three shields above (dexter 204 x 167 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 3 rivets; centre 197 x 165 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 3 rivets; sinister 200 x 169 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets). It was removed from its black marble slab (2005 x 975 mm) in the chancel on 2 July 2005. The slab and brass had suffered from considerable damp problems.

1 Illustrated and discussed in N. Rogers, 'Hic Iacet . . . : The Location of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches', in *The Parish in Late Medieval-England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Burgess and E. Duffy (Donington, 2006), p. 275, where it is suggested that the brass commemorated a member of the Guild of the Name of Jesus.

2 Illustrated in *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, by William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore (London, 2003), p. 203.

After cleaning I fitted new rivets. When drainage works had been completed and the floor dried out, the chancel was re-carpeted, with an inspection panel left over the slab. The brass was returned to the church on 2 May 2008 and relaid in the slab.

Edgware Almshouse

Inscription commemorationg Almshouse Association Patron's Award, [2004]. This *Reuleaux* triangle-shaped cast bronze plate (295 x 320 mm, thickness 10-15 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the porch on 29 May 2007. It was mounted on a cedar board together with an encapsulated certificate and the board mounted in the porch on 20 May 2008.

Eton College

LSW.CCXLIII. Inscription with enamelled achievement to John Manners, 1904. This plate (358 x 217 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 4 screws) was removed from panelling in the ante-chapel on 26 February 2007. The plate was cleaned and the achievement re-secured. The brass was re-mounted on 14 December 2008.

Fornham All Saints, Suffolk[3]

The brasses were reset in stones let into the west wall of the north transept when the church was restored in the late nineteenth century. They had been secured with iron rivets and many of these fixings had failed, leaving the brasses vulnerable to theft. Moreover, they were considerably corroded. They were removed for conservation on 27 July 2007.

The brasses are **LSW.I** (formerly M.S.VII), a shield, *Carew impaling a chevron between three cushions, a bordure engrailed*, *c.*1540 (Fig. 2) (164 x 119 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 1 rivet); **LSW.II** (formerly M.S.I), Thomas Barwick, 1599 (Fig. 3), comprising the upper part of a Johnson-style civilian effigy (now 205 x 165 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 3 rivets, a ten-line Latin inscription (317 x 450 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 10 rivets) and a shield 175 x 147 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 3 rivets); **LSW.III** (formerly M.S.II), a four-line English inscription to Ann, daughter of Robert and Ann Sewell, wife of William Adams, 1607 (Fig. 4; 104 x 407 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets); **LSW.IV** (formerly M.S.III), a three-line Latin inscription to Thomas Mannock, 1608 (Fig. 5; 84 x 146 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 9 rivets); **LSW.V** (formerly M.S.IV), a four-line English inscription to John Manock, 1611 (Fig. 6; 128 x 360 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 6 rivets); and **LSW.VII** (formerly M.S.VI), a ten-line English inscription with two English verses to Thomas Manock, 1656 (Fig. 7; 375 x 534 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 16 rivets).

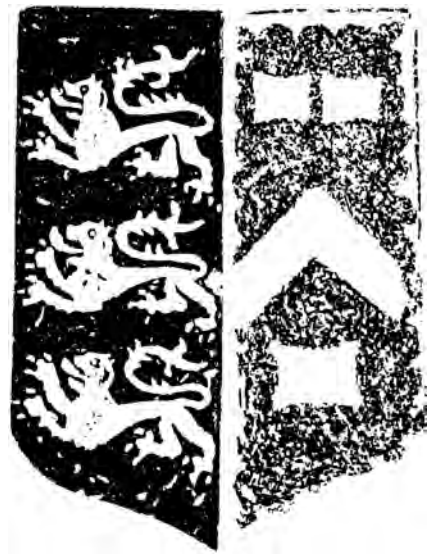

Fig. 2. Shield, c. 1540 (LSW.I)
Fornham All Saints, Suffolk

After cleaning and removing corrosion I repaired fractures in LSW.II and fitted new rivets to all the brasses. They were reset in their slabs on 28 October 2008.

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

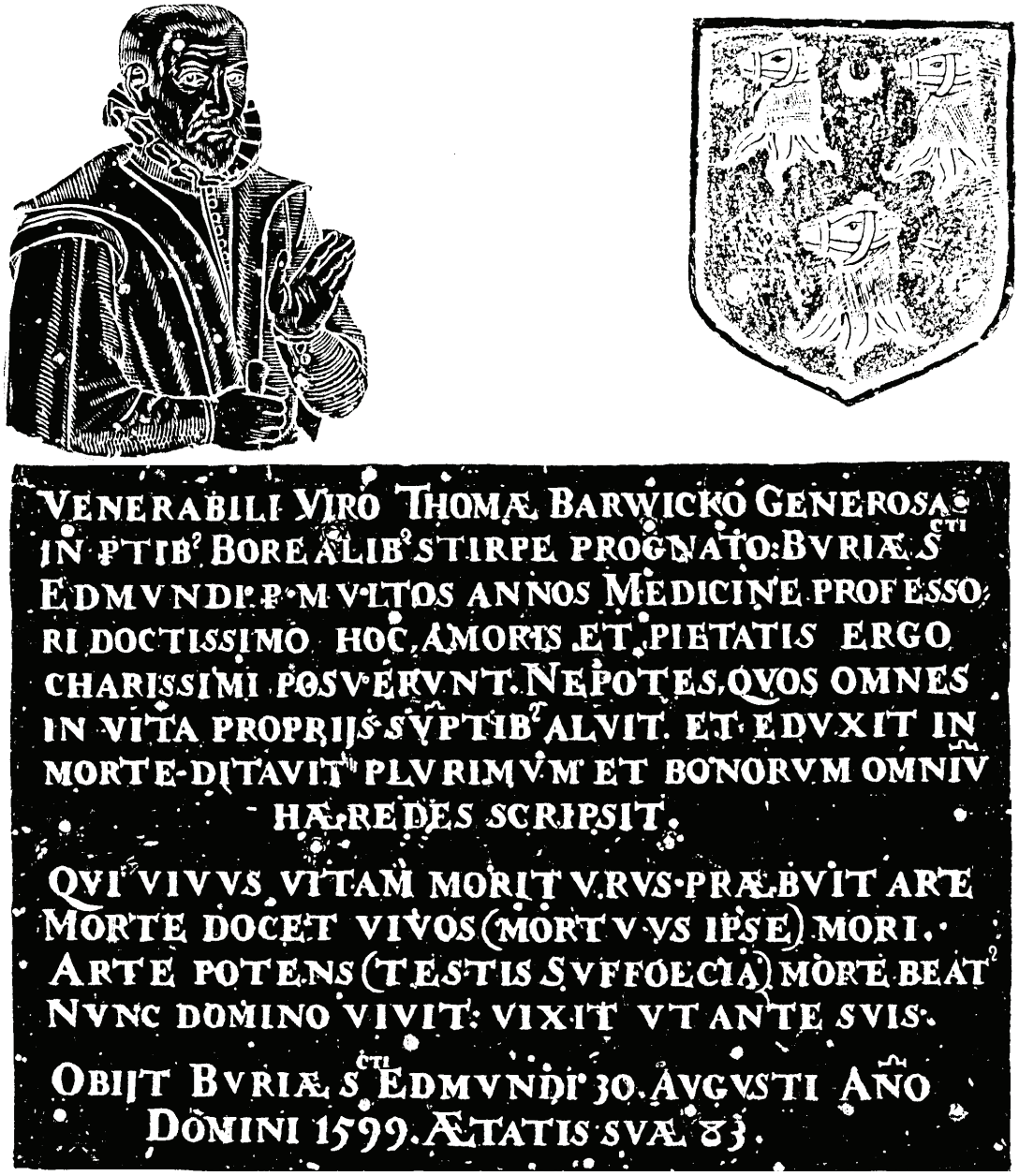

Fig. 3. Thomas Barwick, 1599 (LSW.II)
Fornham All Saints, Suffolk

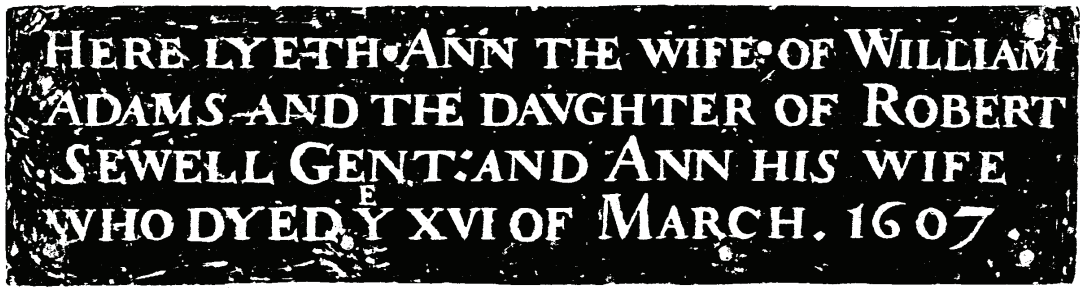

Fig. 4. Inscription to Ann, daughter of Robert and Ann Sewell, wife of William Adams, 1607 (LSW.III)
Fornham All Saints, Suffolk

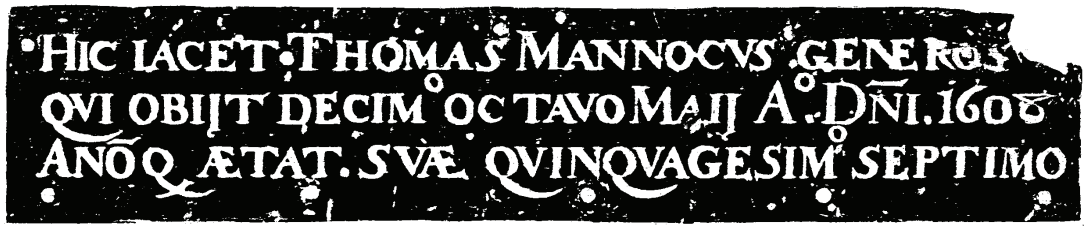

Fig. 5. Inscription to Thomas Mannock, 1608 (LSW.IV)
Fornham All Saints, Suffolk

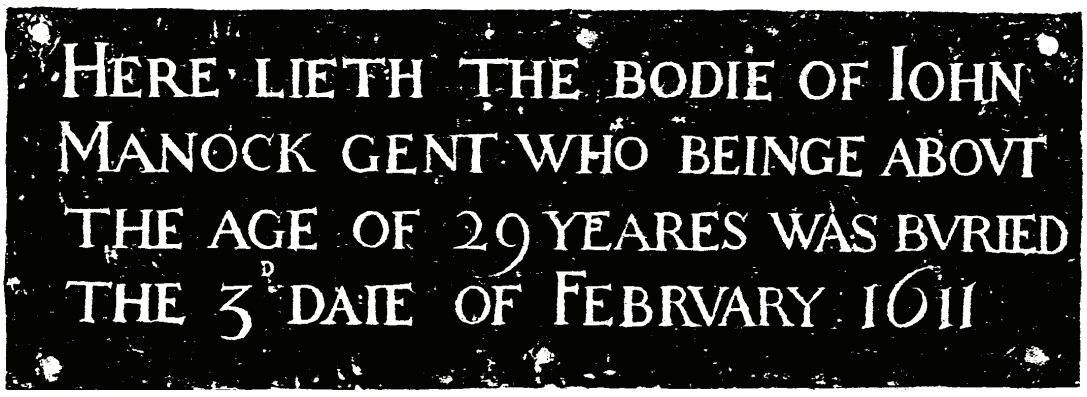

Fig. 6. Inscription to John Manock, 1611 (LSW.V)
Fornham All Saints, Suffolk

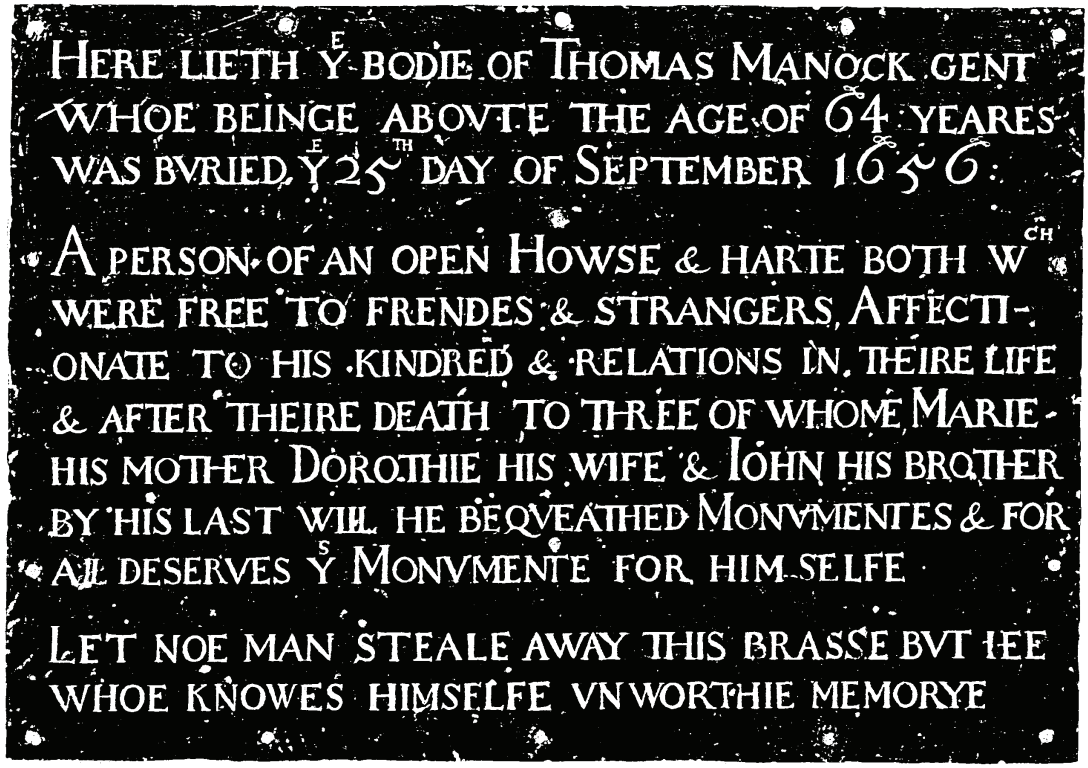

Fig. 7. Inscription to Thomas Manock, 1656 (LSW.VII). Fornham All Saints, Suffolk

Ipswich, St. Mary-le-Tower

M.S.V. Inscription to Robert Sparowe, portman, 1594, aged 84. This four-line Latin inscription in Roman capitals (118 x 494 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 8 rivets) had been screwed directly to the west wall of the south aisle. It was removed on 27 July 2007 and discovered to be palimpsest.[4] It is wasted work with an identical inscription on the reverse. This has two engraving errors, the christian name being engraved as "ROBEBRTI" instead of "ROBERTI" and the age as "MDLXXXIIII" instead of "LXXXXIIII". After cleaning and removing corrosion I produced a facsimile of the reverse. The brass was re-rivetted and rebated into a cedar board together with the facsimile and a commemorative plate. The board was mounted on the south wall of the south aisle on 8 December 2008.

Kidderminster, Worcestershire

M.S.I. Matilda Harcourt and her husbands Walter Cookesey and John Phelip, 1415.[5] This fine London B brass now comprises a female effigy (1370 x 445 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.7 and 3.1 mm,

4 *MBS Bulletin*, 106 (Sept. 2007), p. 108.

5 Described and illustrated by E.A.B. Barnard and J.F. Parker, 'The Monumental Brasses of Worcestershire', *Worcs. Archaeological Society Trans.*, N.S., XI (1934-5), pp. 142-3 and pl. IV, and also illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, II (1900), pl. 2, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses, the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (1988), pl. 119.

17 rivets), two armoured effigies (left-hand 1435 x 390 mm, engraved on 3 plates, thicknesses 2.6, 2.2 and 3.1 mm, 22 rivets; right-hand 1407 x 377 mm, engraved on two main plates. thicknesses 4.1 and 2.9 mm, 21 rivets), a four-line Latin inscription (600 x 1165 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 7 rivets), a mutilated triple canopy (now 750 x 1180 mm overall, comprising thirteen separate plates with thicknesses between 1.8 and 3.7 mm, arithmetic mean 2.7 mm, 28 rivets) and five surviving shields (145-146 x 116-117 mm, thicknesses 2.9 to 3.4 mm, 7 rivets). The lower parts of the canopy and one shield are lost.

The brass was originally laid down in the chancel. It was taken up by Dick Reid of York in 1977 and reset in a new slate slab (2590 x 1370 mm) mounted on a low slate surround in the north-east corner of the nave. On 28 June 2005 I found that many plates were loose and that the upper part of the left-hand effigy and two parts of the inscription had become completely detached and could be lifted from the slab. They had been secured by small patches of *Araldite* regularly spaced across the indents with clearance holes drilled into the slab for the surviving original rivets but these rivets had not been secured with any adhesive. The loose plates were then locked in the church safe until 14 May 2008 when I removed the remainder of the brass.

The brass was cleaned, fractures in the left-hand effigy, canopy and one shield were repaired and the plates re-rivetted. A number of original rivets had been left *in situ* in 1977 and most of these were retained. The brass was relaid on 1, 9 and 16 July 2008.

Upminster, Essex

Eight brasses were removed from boards in the north aisle and north chapel on 22 March 2003.[6]

LSW.I. Elizabeth, wife of Roger Dencourt, esquire, 1455**.** This London D effigy in heraldic mantle (644 x 190 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 4 rivets) is all that remains of a brass which comprised the effigies of Roger Dencourt, in armour, and wife Elizabeth, an inscription, two shields and a marginal inscription and lay on an altar tomb in the chancel. By 1859 only the female effigy survived and this was then loose and in private hands.

LSW.II. Civilian, *c.*1540; inscription lost**.** This London F debased effigy in fur-trimmed gown (433 x 150 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 3 rivets) was recorded by Haines as loose and in private possession in 1859. He also recorded it as palimpsest with the reverse showing the lower part of an abbot or bishop in mass vestments, *c.*1410 which links with a discovery made in 1985 at Wivenhoe, Essex.

6 The brasses were removed from their slabs in the nineteenth century and subsequently mounted murally in the north aisle and north chapel where they were recorded by Mill Stephenson in 1926 in *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, pp. 138-9. In 1972-3 the brasses were taken down and mounted on boards together with facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and these were secured to the walls of the north aisle and north chapel by Bryan S.H. Egan. The brasses were first described by John Weever in 1631 (*Ancient Funerall Monuments*, pp. 651-4) and then by William Holman in 1719 (manuscript notes in Essex Record Office, T/P 195/2). They were listed by Herbert Haines in *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (1861, reprinted 1970), II, p. 63. Five of the brasses were described and illustrated by Miller Christy, W.W. Porteous (and E. Bertram Smith) in their articles on Essex brasses, LSW.I in *Essex Review*, IX (1900), pp. 79-80, LSW.IV in *The Antiquary*, XXXVIII (1902), pp. 6 and 8, LSW.V in *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions*, IX (1903), pp. 44-6, LSW.VI in *The Antiquary*, XXXIX (1903), p. 176, and LSW.VII in *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions*, XII (1913), pp. 251-2. The two palimpsest brasses were described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson in *MBS Trans.*, IV, pt. 1 (1901), pp. 112-17, and more recently in J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), pp. 43 and 46, plates 26, 35 and 36. The brasses were summarily described and illustrated in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex* (2003), pp. 736-43.

LSW.III. Nicholas Wayte, 1542, and wife Ellyn. This London G brass now comprises a male effigy in semi-profile wearing a fur-trimmed gown (494 x 151 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 3 rivets), a female effigy in semi-profile wearing a pedimental head-dress (478 x 177 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets) and an eight-line English foot inscription (184 x 558 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 6 rivets). When the brass was recorded by Holman in 1719 it lay in the nave; the inscription was covered and a shield bearing the arms of the Mercers' Company remained. The brass is a known palimpsest, the reverses of the effigies being from a large Flemish brass of an abbot or bishop with crossed hands and richly diapered chasuble, *c.*1480, which links with a discovery made *c.*1870 at Bayford, Hertfordshire. The reverse of the inscription shows part of another inscription in five Latin verses, *c.*1500. The lost shield was also palimpsest.

LSW.IV. Lady, c.1553; probably Elizabeth, wife of Ralph Latham, esquire, 1557. This mutilated female effigy in semi-profile wearing a paris head-dress and holding a book (470 x 174 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 4 rivets) is all that remains of a brass which originally lay on an altar tomb in the chancel and comprised a male effigy in armour, female effigy, inscription and 4 shields. By 1902 only the female effigy survived.

LSW.V. Geerardt D'Ewes, 1591. This London-engraved brass originally comprised an effigy in armour (588 x 192 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets), two large inscriptions, two small inscriptions and six shields and was probably laid in the north chapel. By 1859 only the effigy survived together with a renewed inscription (218 x 760 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 7 rivets) which was engraved before 1903.

LSW.VI. Grace, daughter of William Latham, esq., 1626. This London-engraved brass now comprises a female effigy (392 x 175 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 8 rivets) and a six-line English inscription (175 x 540 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 10 rivets). When the brass was recorded in 1719 by William Holman it lay in the chancel and a shield still remained. Haines noted that in 1859 the female effigy was loose and in private hands.

LSW.VII. Inscription to John and Ann Stanley, 1628, children of John Stanley. This eight-line inscription (171 x 376 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 6 rivets) is all that survives of the brass recorded by Holman in 1719. It then lay in a Purbeck marble slab in the chancel and comprised the effigies of John and Anne Stanley, the inscription and a shield bearing the arms of Stanley impaling Latham. The effigies, engraved on a rectangular plate measuring 145 x 125 mm, were loose when rubbed by Haines in 1859 but were lost by 1913 when Christy, Porteous and Smith illustrated them and recorded the inscription on the west wall of the north chapel.

LSW.VIII. Inscription to Hamlett Clarke, gent., and 2nd wife Alice, 1636**.** This sixteen-line English inscription in Roman capitals (266 x 542 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 9 rivets) is all that survives of the brass which William Holman recorded in 1719. It then comprised the effigies of Hamlett and Alice Clarke, the inscription and three shields. The inscription alone survived in 1859 when Haines recorded it on the wall of the north chapel.

The brasses were cleaned, re-rivetted and rebated into four cedar boards together with facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and a commemorative plate. The boards were mounted on the south wall of the south chapel on 1 May 2008.

Reviews

Recording Medieval Lives, ed. Julia Boffey and Virginia Davis, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XVII (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009); xii + 324 pp., 40 b/w plates; £49.50; ISBN 978-1900289-955

According to the earl of Warwick in *Henry IV, Part II*, 'There is a history in all men's lives'. We may agree with him; but can we recover that history? History can only be written with evidence: where is no evidence, there is no history. For the medieval lower orders, the evidence for the recovery of personal history is decidedly thin. It is confined, for the most part, to manorial court rolls and rentals, and the occasional inventory. For the clergy and upper classes, the deposit of evidence is much richer: we have the plenteous administrative records of the Church and the king's government to draw on. These allow us to compile skeleton biographies of a good many of those who had dealings with the world of officialdom. For groups at this higher social level the recording of lives is certainly possible. All too often, however, the results of research are disappointing. What we learn about is offices filled, commissions served on, lands held, benefices accumulated; the inner mainsprings of action remain hidden. Hardly ever are we given insights into what made a person tick, what his strengths and weaknesses were, what hopes and fears he had. Pamela King formulates the problem this way in a contribution to this volume: how far, she asks, can one go in pre-modern biographical research in reconstructing the interiority of an individual life? When framing this question, Dr. King was thinking of the recovery of a man's life, that of a country gentleman. The challenges are all the greater where women are concerned, because women figure so much less prominently in the sources for the period. The issues raised by the recovery of interiority in the Middle Ages are the subject-matter of this richly researched volume, the latest in the Harlaxton Medieval Studies series. Importantly for us, the role which non-documentary sources such as church monuments and brasses can play in the process of recovery is an issue touched on in a number of the papers.

Like all volumes of conference papers, this one is a bit of a rag-bag. The papers are grouped together somewhat artificially under four main heads, 'Collective Biography and Evidence', 'History, Biography and Autobiography', 'Wills', and 'Visual and Material Evidence'. Topping and tailing these sections are two stand-alone papers of a more historiographical nature. Henry Summerson offers fascinating insights into the writing of lives in the old and new editions of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while Shaun Tyas reviews the treatment of medieval lives in historical novels. Relatively few of the papers address the methodological problem head-on. Most of the contributors treat their papers as studies of biography-writing in their own chosen fields with no more than occasional sideways glances at the wider scene. Some, such as A.S.G. Edwards's study of verse chronicles of the house of Percy, are very narrowly focused. The absence of a general introduction from the editors reviewing the subject and pulling the various strands together is much to be regretted. What sort of results emerge from the book? For those with an interest in monuments and sources for the study of monuments, the most rewarding papers are those in the last two sections, on 'Wills' and 'Visual and Material Evidence'. Here there is much food for thought. Perhaps the most fascinating paper is Caroline Barron's, 'The Will as Autobiography: the Case of Thomas Salter, Priest, Died November 1558', an exemplary study in how to use a will for the reconstruction of a life. Salter's will was first published a quarter of a century ago by Roger Greenwood,

who noted the provision it makes for the commissioning of a brass. Caroline Barron now republishes the will with an extensive introduction and commentary showing how it provides autobiographical reflections on Salter's life. The will, admittedly no ordinary one, runs to some five closely written folios in a register of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In it, Salter reflects on the many twists and turns of his life and the difficulties that these had caused him. He recalls the friends of his youth, the young men and women he had known when first arriving in London as an apprentice from Norwich; he reflects on the problems he encountered, his 'great trouble' in his words, when he abandoned his career in favour of the life of a monk in the London Charterhouse and then sought to leave the community; he acknowledges the help given to him by the barber, Thomas Moone of Smithfield, in overcoming these problems; he records his involvement in reviving the fraternity of the Name of Jesus at St. Olave's, Southwark, and he hints at the lack of kindness and friendship he received in the parish of St. Nicholas Acon. He asked to be buried in the church of St. Magnus Martyr, London Bridge. Salter was a thoroughgoing religious conservative. He implies that he was forced into hiding during the heyday of protestant reform in Edward VI's reign, and it is clear that he welcomed the return of the old ways under Mary. It is to this background that we can interpret the distinctive character of the brass for which he made provision in his will. It was, he said, to show him in Mass vestments holding a chalice and with his eyes 'cloosed', 'as all deademens eyes ought so to be', a sunbeam rising from the chalice, a scroll issuing from his mouth, and an inscription at the foot, 'of Antick facon', giving the date of his death. The brass is unfortunately long gone, but we can picture its appearance exactly from this description. It was a very traditional, pre-Reformation-looking, brass. In the light of what Salter tells us about himself, we can understand exactly why it took the form that it did. The brass was cast firmly in the image of the man it commemorated. It was conservative and old-fashioned.

In Salter's case we move logically from the will to the brass. In the case of another testator, Ralph Woodford (d. 1498), a gentleman, the subject of Pamela King's article, we move the other way – from the monument to the will. The monument, an incised slab at Ashby Folville, Leics., is one of the most remarkable to have come down to us from the late Middle Ages. It is one element in a two-part composition, the first part consisting of the slab, which shows Woodford skeletal and shrouded with a cross on each side of him each bearing a scroll inscribed *Disce Mori* and a scroll with the resurrection text along the top; and the second represented by an Easter Sepulchre, surmounted by the Woodford crest supported by woodsmen (a pun) with angels holding shields on the sides. It is an unusual and self-conscious composition, and King seeks to interpret it in the light of what Woodford tells us about himself in his will. The will too is distinctive. In it, Woodford reveals himself as prolix and obsessed with detail almost to the point of pedantry. He begins with a lengthy preamble referring to the 'grete diseveraunce and variances [that] oft tymes ben moved and fallen after the deth of man' and a desire to eschew 'all suche doubt and perelles', forms of words suggestive of anxiety. He then makes a long list of bequests, some to his family and staff, some to the Church, his obsession with detail reaching its climax in his insistence that the terms relating to his chantry be put in a bill to be delivered to the monastic houses which he named as his beneficiaries. The will, like the monument, raises questions about what

motivated Woodford or, rather, what caused him such anxiety. King finds a clue to a possible answer in a second document, a memorandum printed in the nineteenth century by the Leicestershire historian Nichols, which recalls the efforts made by Ralph's grandfather to disinherit him in favour of his younger sons. Ralph had been obliged to fight to gain everything he had. The experience, King suggests, had left him both prone to anxiety and anxious to ensure that no other mishaps occurred in the future. Out of this mentality came the extraordinary slab, with its discourse on mortality; and out of it, too, came the careful attention to detail in the will.

The cases of Salter's and Woodford's wills illustrate different aspects of the relationship between testamentary evidence and the evidence of monuments. In the former case, the will tells us about a brass, now lost, about which we would otherwise know nothing while, at the same time, supplying a context for its understanding. In the second case, the will, so far from solving any problems, actually adds to the questions raised by the monument, prompting a search among yet other sources for possible answers. What both articles show, however, is that in the search for interiority, particularly the search for the interiority of those commemorated by extant monuments, wills are crucial. Time and again, when we ask questions about the particular form taken by monuments, wills are our first port of call. They are the closest that we come in medieval studies to hearing the deceased or commemorated speak to us in person.

Yet, as Pamela King rightly argues, wills are far from straightforward documents to interpret. They raise all sorts of problems. Though often appearing artless and unmediated, they were actually very carefully composed. They were written in the context of a particular textual decorum which dictated hierarchy and sequence, and which supplied standard formulae for expressing the author's intentions. What bequests were made in a will was determined principally by the will's function, that of enabling the testator so to arrange his affairs as to achieve maximum benefit for his soul; hence the heavy preponderance in them of bequests of money for intercession. Some wills, like the two we have just considered, might be very lengthy; others might be short. When a will is short, it is usually an indication that a testator has settled his affairs well before the onset of his or her final illness. Sometimes a will may be lengthy and yet curiously uninformative. It is tempting to say this of the will of Lady Morley (d. 1467), printed in this book and discussed by Carol Meale. The will occupies no fewer than five pages of printed text, yet at the end of it we feel we know Lady Morley no better than we did at the beginning. Disappointingly, it contains no reference to the splendid monument in Hingham church to her husband (d. 1435), which she probably commissioned.

How successfully, then, can we recover the interiority of those commemorated by the tombs and brasses we see in our churches? There is no simple or straightforward answer to this question. Wills can help in the process of recovery but, as we have seen in the case of Ralph Woodford's, they can also raise as many questions as they answer. What they tell us the most about is the testator's piety. Disappointingly, however, in many cases this piety comes across as merely conventional. Moreover, it is usually mediated to us by the pen of the chaplain or scribe taking down the will.

Sometimes the monuments themselves can assist in the recovery of interiority. In an interesting article on 'The Biographical Brass',

Nicholas Rogers examines those brasses which contain significant biographical elements. The brasses he scrutinises are those which either include biographical details in their inscriptions or hint at personal attributes of the deceased in their effigial representation of him or her. The most celebrated example is the extraordinary brass of Bishop Wyville in Salisbury Cathedral, showing him in a castle. Even in these cases, however, it is important to stress the limitations to the expression of selfhood. The details chosen were usually those which either related to status (important in a status-conscious society) or which chaplains could cite as good works in intercessory prayer. Wyville's depiction in a castle provides a case in point: it referred to his recovery of Sherborne Castle for the temporalities of the see of Salisbury, an achievement well worthy of inclusion in intercessory discourse. Biographical information on monuments constitutes a classic case of form being determined by function: if something helped in the cause of the deceased's salvation, it was mentioned; if it didn't, it was not. It was as simple as that.

The point about form, in this case literary form, is made in a different context by another contributor, Christopher Fletcher. Fletcher's concern is not with monuments, but with literary representations of the youth of two late fourteenth-century kings, Charles VI of France and Richard II of England. Fletcher argues that, while for the early parts of their lives the two kings encountered much the same problems – long minorities, costly wars, rebellious subjects, difficulties with royal uncles – they were treated very differently by their biographers, Charles more sympathetically than his English counterpart. In the case of each king representation was determined by literary tropes and conventions, and in each case too the selection of these tropes and conventions owed much to the particular message which the chronicler or biographer, writing with the gift of hindsight, wished to convey. So Richard was portrayed as a tyrant, and Charles, though falling insane, as a victim of physical sickness explained in terms of pathos rather than reproach.

In any attempt to recover the interiority of medieval subjects it is important to bear in mind the role of both function and convention in shaping the sources which have come down to us. Once we make due allowance for function, and once we appreciate the role of convention, we can pick our way through literary contrivance to uncover the lessons hidden within. In some cases, the results may be disappointing. Where one source alone survives for a subject, perhaps a fairly uninformative will, we may not learn much. Where several sources survive alongside, however - ideally, sources of varied provenance – we can learn much more, and the resulting picture becomes much fuller. There are two contributions to this volume which show just what can be done when a concentration of sources comes together. One is David Lepine's study of the lives of the higher clergy, a superb survey which, while drawing largely on documentary sources, makes use of the brass of Canon Rudhall at Hereford to show what brasses can tell us. Rudhall's brass, indeed, is one which might be added to Rogers's list of 'biographical brasses'. The other piece is David King's equally informative study of Lady Anne Harling of East Harling, Norfolk. Lady Anne is chiefly known to us for her embellishment of East Harling church, where she founded a chantry chapel and commissioned a fine series of Norwich-made stained glass windows. But she also left books; she constructed a tomb for herself and her first husband; and she left two versions of her will. Taking these sources in combination, King constructs a picture of her

as a woman of distinctive character, closely connected to the Yorkist court and influenced by its tastes, haunted late in life by her childlessness, but nonetheless proud of her wider family. A finely delineated portrait emerges from King's study.

In *Henry IV Part II*, the unlikely figure of Falstaff turns to the subject of interiority in his banter with the country justice, Shallow:

> Will you tell me, Master Shallow, how to choose a man? Care I for the limb, the thewes, the stature, bulk, and big assemblance of a man! Give me the spirit, Master Shallow.

What emerges from these essays is that something of the 'spirit' of a man, as Falstaff put it, can, with skill and the right sources, be recovered from the materials which Falstaff's own age has bequeathed to us.

Nigel Saul

Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009). xviii + 413 pp., 78 b/w illus., appendix, bibliography, index, £65 (hardback). ISBN 987-0-19-921598-0

There has been a gap of eighty-nine years between the publication of Fred Crossley's *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150-1550* and Nigel Saul's new treatment of the subject, published by Oxford University Press in 2009. The new work rightly reflects the large volume of research and scholarship which has emerged since Crossley's day and it was eagerly awaited by those working in the field. Nigel Saul is Professor of Medieval History at Royal Holloway College, University of London and has had a life-long interest in the subject, which was awakened through rubbing brasses in the 1960s. From there his interest evolved to embrace other forms of monument including sculpted effigies, incised slabs and even cross slab grave covers. However, he willingly admits that his deepest knowledge lies with monumental brasses, which is reflected in his current role as an MBS Vice-President. His book is a worthy successor to Crossley's but with the perspective of a 'political, social and religious historian'. The examples chosen for illustration draw heavily on Saul's knowledge of brasses and incised slabs, which constitute 41 per cent of the total (32 out of 78). However, other types are considered at length, particularly the sculpted effigy. Considerable weight is given to modern research and this is reflected in the bibliography with its high proportion of references from the past twenty years or so, down to 2007.

In ordering the subject matter, Saul has completely broken with the pedestrian chronological approach, to which the treatment of church monuments so easily lends itself. The content may be considered as divided into three broad sections. The first seven chapters review a wide range of aspects, in most cases dealing right across the monument spectrum. The exception to this is chapter 2, 'Commemoration in Early Medieval England', which deals with a single era. The succeeding five chapters consider monuments by the type of person commemorated: ecclesiastics, military effigies, civilians, lawyers and last (but not least?) women. This results in only 21 pages being devoted to female monuments, in contrast to the 114 male allocation. To be fair, this largely reflects the disparity in the range of occupations and their associated costume rather than an overt gender bias. The final three chapters cover two special aspects of monuments, 'The Cult of the Macabre' and 'Inscriptions', and provide the concluding remarks, under the heading 'Prospect and Retrospect'. The last brings together some of the messages which run

through the book, particularly about the circumstances and aspirations of medieval patrons, against a backdrop of the dramatic changes which were consequent on the Reformation. Fundamental to this was the legislation against, and the sweeping away of, the doctrine of Purgatory, which had been a major driver behind medieval commemorative thought. The single appendix provides the first published list of English civilian effigies down to 1500 and as such reflects Saul's particular interest in the evolution of the English gentry.

From a book brimming with rich detail, acute observations and thought-provoking insights, it is only possible to provide some indications of the range and depth of material covered. The chapter on 'Choosing a monument', for instance, includes as a factor influencing choice, 'a fascination with the qualities of light'. Saul cites the example of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in 1431, requesting in his will that his brass be of copper alloy gilded, and goes on to speculate how gilding and enamelling would have 'sparkled and shone like jewellery', with suitable illumination. The brass at Childrey, Berks., to William Finderne (d. 1445) and his wife, which was extensively embellished with heraldic enamelling, is illustrated to support this point. Historical sources are used wherever possible; a rare account which reveals something of the contemporary aesthetic reaction to monuments is a description, written in 1428 by a monk of St. Albans Abbey, of the monuments in the abbey, beginning with the main shrines and working through abbots buried in the choir, presbytery and chapter house to the lay officials, corrodians, and local gentry buried in the nave and transepts. Rather than just giving a list, the monk includes much description of whatever impressed him, for example the use of marble and alabaster. In particular, he describes the tomb of the Earl of Huntingdon as painted 'beautifully and sumptuously'.

Wills and contracts have been searched for the evidence that they provide and Saul takes the opportunity to explain the real meaning some of the commonly-used adjectives such as 'honest' and 'decent', which are often employed in the sense of 'fitting' or 'proper' but can also be used more precisely to mean an 'accurate' representation of the deceased's wishes. The concerns of the testator are illustrated in an amusing extract from a will quoted in the chapter entitled 'Function and Meaning'. Thomas Lexham, canon of Hereford, included a provision in his will, made in 1382, that the cathedral choristers should recite obits standing on his grave-stone because he would be listening to ensure they did it properly. Executors' accounts are another, unfortunately rare, documentary source quoted and the author takes the opportunity to bring together two recent pieces of research which give examples of this from the opposite ends of the cost spectrum. John Blair's 1995 article on Bishop Walter de Merton's Limoges enamel tomb at Rochester (now lost) unveiled details of the commissioning of an unusual and costly (£60) foreign monument, which involved the executors journeying to Limoges ' to oversee and arrange the making of the tomb'. In contrast, as Lepine and Orme have shown in *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (Exeter, 2003), the procurement of the monument Andrew de Kilkenny, the wealthy Dean of Exeter, was much more modestly achieved. His executors paid only £6. 12s. 5d. for a locally-made floor slab, which included purchasing the stone, arranging for its delivery and having the decorative design applied.

Some points may be missed when the author has chosen to deal with one type of monument but in a work as wide-ranging as this, there are greater possibilities, which Saul ably exploits. The Cobhams of Sterborough, for instance, were particularly eclectic in their choice of

monuments for their burial place at Lingfield. Reginald, Lord Cobham (d. 1361) had a freestone effigy on a tomb chest, his daughter-in-law was commemorated by a style 'B' brass, his son by a brass of Style 'A', and alabaster effigies on a tomb chest served for his grandson and wife. Just occasionally, the case may be made a little too strongly. Such is the case with the brass inscription at Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire, of *c.* 1370, which is renowned for its early use of vernacular English and is cited here as an example of how by 1370 even a peasant farmer could be commemorated by a monumental brass. From what little is known about John Smith he was indeed not wealthy but he did have modest land and property holdings in the area. Furthermore, the brass was not just an inscription because, as John Blair demonstrated in *MBS Bulletin*, 81 (May 1999), the slab has indents for a figure and a shield. If John Smith were indeed armigerous, then dismissing him as a peasant farmer may be somewhat unkind.

In the chapter entitled 'Composition and Design', the association between tombs and chantry chapels is used as a vehicle for discussion of the relationship between monuments and their architectural surroundings. The important example is given (with illustration) of the tomb at Pucklechurch, Gloucestershire, which is believed to commemorate Eleanor, wife of William de Cheltenham and dates from *c.* 1350. The lady's effigy lies under a low arched recess, above which is a lofty canopy with curvilinear Decorated tracery. It is designed to incorporate the window behind into one impressive memorial assemblage. Looking further afield, when discussing 'Military Effigies', Saul contrasts the use of extravagant equestrian monuments on the continent, especially those in Verona, with the absence of any mounted effigies in England. He acknowledges the secondary use of mounted figures in the tomb canopies of Edmund Crouchback (d. 1296) and Aymer de Valence (d. 1324) in Westminster Abbey and the occurrence of saddled horses led by pages at the feet of the effigies to Richard de Stapeldon in Exeter Cathedral and an unknown knight at Old Somerby, Lincolnshire. Two reasons are suggested for the English reluctance to embrace this form of monument. Firstly, the classical prototypes, which would have been apparent to Italian carvers, were very remote from England, and secondly the English preoccupation with the recumbent attitude probably ruled out any consideration of such diverse forms of monument.

The list of civilian effigies given in the Appendix is the first of its kind to be published and as such is something of a starting point. Saul acknowledges that it is likely to be incomplete and suggests that it will have served its purpose if it stimulates further recording of a class of effigy which has received less attention than it deserves. Unfortunately, the list contains a number of errors, including the following: the figure at Compton Martin, Somerset, is identified as Thomas de Morton by a surviving inscription and is derived from the sculpture of the west front of Wells Cathedral, so must date from the mid-thirteenth century, as does the figure at Bristol St. James. The entry for 'St Saviour's Dartmouth', presumably refers to the early-fourteenth-century effigy at St. Clement, Townstal (the original parish church). The figure at Paulton, Somerset, has a sword, carries a shield and is described by Fryer as a knight, while that at Appleby, Westmorland, appears to wear a veil and probably represents a lady. The single effigy at Winchelsea, Sussex, occurs twice in the list, with two different dates. Shillingstone, Dorset, is an incised slab, usually described as a 'naked man', whereas Norton Malreward, Somerset, is semi-effigial. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the list is

an important step forward which should provide the intended stimulation.

Reference to monumental brasses runs like a thread through the whole book, supported by some very good illustrations, particularly of rubbings. One striking example is the demi-effigy of Benet English, *c.* 1360, a bearded civilian with a Norman French inscription at Nuffield, Oxfordshire. He is used by Saul as an exemplar of a 'newly rich proprietor' who was aspiring to public office but not quite achieving it, being disqualified from the role of coroner on the grounds of insufficiency. Such details imbue otherwise silent monuments with a living realism and this book is especially effective at recreating the real people behind many of the monuments discussed. Although cross-references are provided when the same monument is referred to in more than section, the chapters can largely be read as if they were individual essays and, therefore, it is quite possible to dip into the book at random and just browse the contents. It will very likely be used a great deal in this manner. It is thoroughly recommended to members of the MBS (and their friends and colleagues) as both a fascinating read and an invaluable reference source which summarises our current state of understanding, thereby taking the study of medieval church monuments to a new level.

Brian and Moira Gittos

Obituary

Nancy Raymonde Briggs, M.A., F.S.A. (1929-2009)

Nancy Briggs, aged 21

NANCY Briggs was born on 1 June 1929 at Winchester, the only child of Major-General Raymond Briggs, C.B., D.S.O., of Liverpool and Helen Kenworthy of New Orleans. She commenced her higher education at Blunt House, a finishing school at Oxted, Surrey, before attending Westminster Tutors, a small tutorial college with an excellent reputation, located on the Old Brompton Road. From there she went to read history at St. Anne's Society for Home Students (later St. Anne's College) at Oxford.

Following graduation, Nancy trained as an archivist at the Bodleian Library and came to Essex in 1953, having accepted the position as Assistant Supervisor at the Essex Record Office. Here she joined the staff of the redoubtable Dr. F.G. 'Derick' Emmison, County Archivist from 1938 to 69. Emmison, or 'Fred' as he was known by the staff, crafted a formidable team that propelled the Essex Record Office to an unrivalled position. One prominent member of staff was the late Miss Hilda Grieve, B.E.M., with whom Nancy enjoyed an excellent relationship and who she succeeded as Senior Assistant Archivist and Supervisor of the Search Room in 1967 upon the appointment of the former as the Deputy Editor of the Essex Victoria County History. Many exciting initiatives were introduced during this revolutionary post-war period – pre-eminent was the pioneering work of Arthur Charles 'Gus' Edwards, M.A. who had joined the education staff at Chelmsford in 1949 as County History Adviser and Lecturer attached to the Record Office. Gus organised a series of highly successful exhibitions at Ingatestone Hall over a fifteen-year period which literally enthused and inspired thousands of visitors – young and old alike. An integral part of these annual exhibitions were the accompanying

A very young Nancy Briggs

booklets which became best-sellers. Nancy was responsible for two such publications – *Leisure and Pleasure in Essex* and *Georgian Essex* which appeared in 1960 and 1963 respectively. Nancy increasingly collaborated with Gus and in the process formed a very close relationship which culminated in the surprise announcement of their engagement following the death in 1975 of Gus's first wife, Dorothy. The marriage which followed in 1978 formally brought together two much loved and widely known personalities. A substantial and unexpected legacy facilitated Nancy's premature retirement from the Record Office in 1987 and the opportunity to share fully the last few years of Gus's life until his peaceful passing in 1992 at the age of 86.

Nancy was justifiably proud of her father who was hugely influential throughout her life. General Briggs led a distinguished military career – most especially during the North African Campaign of 1942-3 when he commanded the 2nd Armoured Division under General Claude Auchinleck, 'The Auk', and subsequently General Bernard Law Montgomery in the offensive against the formidable 'Desert Fox', Erwin Rommel and his crack Panzer Army, the Afrika Korps. Prior to the Eighth Army launching its planned offensive, Briggs spent nineteen hectic days continuously and heavily engaged with the enemy, culminating in holding off over 150 tanks. For this action Briggs won an immediate D.S.O.

Although Nancy was immensely proud of her father's gallantry, inherited many of his fine qualities and was clearly a 'Daddy's Girl' – it never proved possible to benefit from a close relationship especially with the War imposing itself during her formative years. However, a recurring theme is Nancy's life-long loyalty and commitment to a cause or interest. Nan Mackean, a close friend of some sixty-three years' standing, recounted the following from her Blunt House days: 'We were allowed to go out on Saturday afternoons (always in pairs) so I went with her to visit churches and rub brasses (Surrey and the nearer parts of Kent, I think). I helped weight the paper down with hymn books and then held it down to keep it from slipping. N. did the rubbing. We usually had tea afterwards with the Vicar – I was better at small talk than Nancy'.

Whilst up at Oxford, Nancy was appointed to the Editorial Committee of the Brass-Rubbing Section of the Oxford University Archaeological Society. This group revived the Portfolio, discontinued in 1901, with the publication of five parts of a second series from 1950 to 1955. Nancy contributed to the first three parts and served on the Editorial Committee with our members, Hector Catling of St. John's College and Gerard Leighton of Corpus Christi College. It was undoubtedly the former who introduced Nancy to the Monumental Brass Society which she joined in 1950. This resulted in frequent invitations to visit the home of Major H.F. Owen-Evans, M.B.E., F.S.A. and his wife, Winifred, at 36 Rose Hill, Iffley. This location became a mecca for brass enthusiasts, especially Oxford undergraduates. Owen Evans, who subsequently became Secretary of the Society (1961-6), was a repairer of brasses (conservator in modern parlance) and thus Nancy was regularly afforded opportunities to combine the pleasure of rubbing brasses in the drawing room with a gin and tonic prior to supper. Nancy's regular contributions to the Society's *Transactions*, almost exclusively on topics related to her adopted county, soon brought her to prominence and election to the Executive Council. For her outstanding contribution to the Society and by way of further encouragement, if any was needed, she was rewarded with a Vice-Presidency in 1974 and election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London the following year.

In 1970 the Society took the momentous decision to undertake a full-scale revision of the standard *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* by Mill Stephenson which had been published in 1926 with a posthumous Appendix in 1938. This ambitious project proved a source of enormous frustration to Nancy who had been appointed General Editor and was largely responsible for seeing the first volume devoted to

Warwickshire through the press in 1977. It had been agreed that the next volume scheduled to appear would cover the county of Essex. However, despite the extensive field-work having been all but completed, rising production costs and other difficulties precluded the publication of any further volumes. In 1992, a new and even more ambitious project was launched with the intention of compiling and publishing a definitive list of effigial brasses, inscriptions, indents and lost brasses. Each volume would be lavishly illustrated and published alphabetically by county commencing with Bedfordshire. In 2003 Nancy's vision was fulfilled when a two-volume work covering the historic county of Essex was published. This was dedicated to Nancy in recognition of her outstanding contribution especially in respect of the material relating to lost brasses and documentary sources. Testimony to her scholarship came in a most unexpected form when the church floor at Marks Tey was removed in 2006. These works resulted in the discovery of a magnificent indent for the brass commemorating Robert de Teye and his wife, Katherine, dated 1360. Nancy through her thoroughness had accurately provided an entry for this lost brass from several documentary sources, the earliest of which is attributed to the antiquary Richard Symonds in 1640.

Nancy's fields of interest extended way beyond that of monumental brasses. She was a committed member of the Editorial Committee of the Essex Victoria County History from 1978 until its demise in 2000, serving as Secretary for the last five years of its existence. During her association she contributed an account of the now demolished Belhus mansion, the home of the Barrett-Lennard family at Aveley, to the architectural section of volume VIII which was published in 1986 and concluded work on the Chafford Hundred. She remained a staunch supporter of the V.C.H. Appeal Fund until her untimely death.

The work and activities of the Historical Association also claimed her attentions, especially at the local level where from 1998 to 2004 she served as Chairman of the Essex Branch which had been revived by her late husband after the War. Nancy was a long standing member of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History (formerly the Essex Archaeological Society), having served for numerous periods on their Council. She remained a prominent member of both the Library and Programme Committees where her knowledge proved invaluable. In typical Briggs fashion all events and activities were supported to the full.

Another sphere of interest close to Nancy's heart was her association and work in connection with the British Federation of Women Graduates, an organisation established in 1907 to advance and promote the higher education and wider learning of women graduates. Nancy's involvement with the library, in particular, extended back to its earliest days at Crosby Hall. She was Chairman of the Library Committee of the Sybil Campbell Library, Honorary Archivist and was appointed a trustee shortly before her death. She frequently travelled to the University of Winchester for the purpose of organising the library in its new home. Nancy was equally committed to the work of the Local Association where she performed the role of Programme Secretary. I remember with great affection an occasion when I was asked to contribute a talk on monumental

brasses to this august group in the drawing room at Maltese Road!

Other societies and organisations with which Nancy was associated included the Essex Gardens Trust, Friends of Essex Churches, Friends of Hylands House (Chelmsford), Friends of Valentines Mansion (Ilford), the Society of Architectural Historians and the Georgian Group.

In addition to Gus Edwards, the most inspirational person in Nancy's life was the late Sir Howard Colvin, the renowned architectural historian. It was Colvin who contributed the foreword and provided valuable support which enabled Nancy to publish the definitive biography of the Georgian architect John Johnson (1732-1814) under the aegis of the Essex Record Office. Johnson was commissioned by private owners to build country houses such as Terling Place, Hatfield Place and, Nancy's favourite Essex building, Bradwell Lodge. As County Surveyor of Essex he was commissioned to design and build Chelmsford's new Shire Hall. Nancy's book was published in 1991 to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the first public assembly held in the new Shire Hall in October 1791. Colvin, until his death in December 2007, provided significant encouragement in the preparation of her *magnum opus* – an erudite work on the country houses of Essex to be published by Phillimore as part of their English Country Houses Series. Nancy had devoted many years to painstakingly researching the major and minor houses and gardens of Essex with completion scheduled to coincide with her 80th birthday in June 2009.

Thus far I have focused on Nancy's achievements, loyalty, commitment, reliability and dedication. She was also uncomplaining, courteous, possessed a wonderful sense of humour and enjoyed being unpredictable on occasions. She always maintained and demanded the highest possible standards. However, to the uninitiated she could appear somewhat aloof and quite reserved to the point of being almost shy. Those who won her confidence were richly rewarded with a wonderfully lively personality.

Nancy fell victim to a road accident within a few hundred yards of her home in Chelmsford on Friday, 23 January. On that fateful morning the country lost an eminent architectural historian, outstanding scholar, antiquary and a very dear friend.

Nancy recently wrote that she would like to be remembered *as one who tried to use their knowledge and skills to help others carry out historical research at all levels*. Nancy certainly achieved this unselfish ambition. Many thousands have benefitted from her help and deep knowledge.

– *Requiescat in pace.*

H. Martin Stuchfield

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1. Kune Schotelmunde, d. 1381 (incised slab), Dominican church, Tallinn (Reval), Estonia (photo: Jerome Bertram)

Fig. 1: Kune Schotelmunde, d. 1381 (incised slab), Dominican church, Tallinn (Reval), Estonia. *Photograph (digitally enhanced) by Jerome Bertram, 1 August 2010.*

A large collection of slabs from the ruins of the Dominican church of St. Catherine in Reval was bought from the City fathers by Baron Arthur Girard de Soucanton in 1882. He mounted them along an avenue, the 'Via Appia', at his country villa of Rocca al Mare, just outside the city. The surviving slabs were brought back to Tallinn in 1959-60, having suffered much from exposure, and most were mounted on the outside of the south wall of the Dominican church, facing onto an alleyway that connects Vene Street with Müüivahe. They are only partially sheltered, but a display board numbers and describes them. The only surviving effigial slab is this figure of a lady in sideless surcoat, mantle and veil, with two small dogs at her feet. The marginal inscription in Gothic minuscule reads:

> *Na der bort guodes / m ccc in deme lxxxi iare des anderen / su(n)aue(n)des na pasche / do starf kune schotelmunde bidde vor d' sel.*
> [After the birth of God 1300 and then 81 years, the second Saturday after Easter [27 April], there died Kune Schotelmunde; pray for the soul.]

Like all the slabs so far seen in Estonia it is in Dolomite limestone, from the north-west of the country or the adjacent islands. Although the design is derived from North German models, and the language is Low German, it is obviously of local manufacture. Most of the slabs in the city were described and transcribed, and many of them illustrated, in Eugen von Nottbeck and Wilhelm Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval* (Reval, 1904). Some of Nottbeck's drawings were illustrated in Jaan Tamm, *Eesti Keskaegsed Kloostrid, Medieval Monasteries of Estonia* (Tallinn, 2002), pp. 131-2.

Kune (or Kunigunde) Schotelmunde was a member of a Reval patrician family that by 1271 had a seat on the Council in Lübeck.[1]

Dimensions: 2910 x 1810 mm.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 2: John Spycer (?), *c.* 1460, Monkton-in-Thanet, Kent, M.S. I. *Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 6 May 2009.*

This very fine London style 'B' figure of a priest in mass vestments is dated *c.* 1460 by Emmerson.[2] It is attributed to John Spycer, vicar 1427-51, who died in 1460, leaving in his will money to buy a chasuble, two tunicles and the apparels thereof for the parish church.[3] He wears a plain chasuble, with a woven fabric on the amice and alb apparels, the stole and maniple. The inscription plate below has long been lost. The slab, of plain grey Purbeck marble, is at the east end of the nave. (On the same slab, below, is the indent for the palimpsest inscription to Lebbie Orchard, 1580, now mounted on a hinge on the north wall.)[4]

Dimensions: effigy 925 x 270 mm; inscription 80 x 580 mm; slab 2040 x 860 mm.

Jerome Bertram

1 E. von Nottbeck and W. Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 2 vols. (Reval, 1904), II, p. 176, Fig. 143; S. Mäeväli, *Architectural and Art Monuments in Tallinn* (Tallinn, 1986), p. 97, pl. after p. 64.

2 R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design, *c.* 1420-85', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Assoc.*, CXXXI (1978), p. 73.

3 E.H. MacLachlan, 'Monkton Manor and Church', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XII (1878), pp. 276-7, 279.

4 R. Griffin and M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses Remaining in the County of Kent in 1921* (London, 1923), p. 145.

Fig. 2. John Spycer (?), c. 1460, Monkton-in-Thanet, Kent (M.S. I)
(rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

Fig. 3. Alice Malorye and family, 1579/80, Alvescot, Oxfordshire (M.S. I)
(rubbing: Jerome Bertram)

Fig. 3: Alice Malorye and family, 1579/80, Alvescot, Oxfordshire, M.S. I. *Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 30 January 1997.*

This elegant brass, from the 'Daston' style, with an inscription in 'script 12', is on the wall of the south transept. It appears to be in its original slab of pale freestone, for there are indents for the tiny pieces missing from the heads of both figures. There is space on the slab for a second inscription to tell us the name of the husband or children, which may have been intended but never added on his death.

Dimensions: male effigy 488 x 250 mm, female effigy 466 x 238 mm, inscription 81 x 230 mm, slab 840 x 840 mm.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 4: William Fowell Swann, d. 1947, St. Wilfrid's, Harrogate, Yorks. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman.*

William Fowell Swann was born in Essex in 1865, the elder son of Johnson Fowell Swann, at that time curate of Hempstead. He was admitted as a pensioner to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge on 1 October 1884 and graduated B.A. in 1887 and M.A. in 1891. Having been ordained deacon in 1890 and priest in 1891, he served first as curate of Headingley, Yorks., from 1890 to 1899, when he became vicar of Crakehall with Langthorne. On 11 July 1899 he married Maud, the only daughter of D.S. Blaiklock of Headingley, Leeds.[5]

In the spring of 1902 the Rev. William Fowell Swann resigned his incumbency in the North Riding village of Crakehall in order to accept the invitation of William Boyd Carpenter, the Bishop of Ripon, to establish an Anglo-Catholic church in Harrogate on the newly developed and prestigious Duchy estate. No church or vicarage then existed in this new parish on which a suitable plot had been set aside, together with a modest building fund for which the new priest was expected to raise contributions on a modest stipend of £150 per annum, thus presenting a formidable challenge.

Fr. Swann held his first services in a corrugated iron shelter on the Duchy Road site, but towards the end of 1902 his wishes and prayers for a more permanent structure were made possible by a generous donation of £10,000 from Miss Elizabeth Trotter, given in memory of her sister Jean who had died suddenly while at prayer one evening at a local guest house on their way from London to Edinburgh. Miss Trotter decided to settle in fashionable Harrogate, which was then at its zenith as a spa resort. Shortly afterwards she gave a further £10,000 and on her death in 1924 bequeathed £32,000. Her benefactions determined the building of the imposing church of St. Wilfrid's, the swansong and masterpiece of the architect Temple Moore.[6]

During the building of the church Temple Moore employed a budding architect of the same surname, one Leslie Moore, who became his son-in-law in 1915 and later entered into partnership with him, forming the firm of Temple Moore and Moore. Although Fr. Swann started services in the completed nave in 1908, work was halted during the First World War and the church was still unfinished in 1920, when Temple Moore died of a cerebral haemorrhage. It fell to Leslie Moore to complete the building, including the magnificent Lady Chapel and most of the ornate fittings.[7]

5 J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, *Part II, From 1752 to 1900*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1940-54), VI, p. 93.

6 G.K. Brandwood, *Temple Moore: An Architect of the late Gothic Revival* (Stamford, 1997), pp. 93-6, 144, 145-6, 178, pls. 54-8, 124.

7 Brandwood, *Temple Moore*, pp. 205-6, pls. 162, 213.

Fig. 4. William Fowell Swann, d. 1947, St. Wilfrid's, Harrogate, Yorks.
(rubbing: Patrick Farman)

Having resigned as vicar of St. Wilfrid's in 1919, Fr. Swann became Secretary of the Waifs and Strays Society from 1919 to 1924 and then vicar of St. Andrew's, Worthing, from 1925 to 1942. On retirement he settled at France Cottage, Patching, Sussex, where he died on 25 October 1947.

According to a faculty granted in 1949, the figure brass set in the floor of the sanctuary, depicting Fr. Swann in mass vestments, was commissioned from Mr. Leslie Moore of Messrs. Temple Moore and Moore of Hampstead, London.[8] Below the figure is a Latin inscription reading (in translation): 'You who look at this picture while passing by pray for the soul of William Fowell Swann priest. A notable man, firm in his purpose, he was the attentive originator of this house of God. As first parson of the parish of Saint Wilfrid he watched the Lord's sheepfold for seventeen years, 1902-1919. Full of years he passed from life into the peace of God in the county of Sussex, 1947. God be merciful to me, a sinner.'

Dimensions: effigy 790 x 281 mm; inscription 335 x 642 mm.

Peter Hacker and Nicholas Rogers

8 Ripon Diocesan Registry Office.

Monumental Brass Society

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

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

Cover: The effigy of Elizabeth Dencourt, 1455 (LSW.I) from Upminster, Essex, photographed before conservation in 2008. *Photo.: H. Martin Stuchfield*

Monumental Brass Society

Volume XVIII, Part 1, 2009. ISSN 0143-1250

Contributors are solely responsible for all views and opinions contained in the Transactions, which do not necessarily represent those of the Society.

Registered Charity No. 214336
www.mbs-brasses.co.uk