

Monumental Brass Society

2010



TRANSACTIONS

Monumental Brass Society

Volume XVIII, Part 2, 2010. ISSN 0143-1250

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Bishop Wyville's Brass

Julia Boorman

The brass commemorating Robert Wyville, Bishop of Salisbury 1330-1375, depicts a castle with the bishop at prayer within and, at the gate, a champion attired for judicial combat, surrounded by foliage and rabbits or hares; also in the slab are three shields (originally five), two Evangelist symbols and the inscription, now partly lost but recorded in 1644. This discussion explores: the wording of the inscription; the links between a St. Luke symbol now in the British Museum and the St. Matthew and St. Mark symbols in the slab; shields shown on the brass, on Wyville's seals and in a manuscript written for him; how Sherborne Castle was withheld by the Crown and the legal process by which it was recovered, including other evidence about trial by battle; the resolution of the problems which had arisen for the bishops of Salisbury concerning their chase of 'la Bere' (which was 'Bishop's Bere', now Bear Wood, in Windsor Forest not far from the bishop of Salisbury's palace in Sonning, Berkshire); the light thrown on the bishop by his success in these two quite separate cases; and the image presented by the brass.

The brass commemorating Robert Wyville, Bishop of Salisbury 1330-1375, depicts the bishop at prayer within a castle and a champion at the gate attired for judicial combat, surrounded by grass, plants, rabbits or hares and diminutive trees; also in the slab are three shields and indents for two more, two of the four Evangelist symbols, and an incomplete

inscription (Fig. 1).¹ The design has no known parallels.² It is dated to around 1375, its inscription recording that Bishop Wyville died on 4 September 1375, and is identified as London work in the 'A' Series.³ The memorial is large, the main castle image being 2280 mm in height and the slab some 4.2 m x 1.4 m, and it lies now in the Morning Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral, having been moved to this chapel in 1684 from the choir.⁴

The Evangelist symbols surviving in the slab are the winged man of St. Matthew (Fig. 2) at the bottom left corner of the inscription and the winged lion of St. Mark (Fig. 3) at the bottom right. An Evangelist symbol for St. Luke, with winged ox and name scroll, which apparently belongs to this brass, is now in the British Museum (Fig. 4). A replica is currently kept in the Library at Salisbury Cathedral. The size, shape and style of this emblem, the image, the background circles and lines and the lettering on the saint's name scroll all match those of the St. Matthew and St. Mark in the slab and the experiment of trying if the replica would fit the indent at the top left corner of the inscription shows that potentially it would fit well.⁵ The location at the top right is too damaged for such a trial.

1 The spelling Wyville is used here, as in the *ODNB* entry by R.M. Haines, 'Wyville, Robert (d. 1375), bishop of Salisbury'; Wyvill or Wyvil is often used in modern works and in earlier ones a range of spellings can be found.

2 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009), p. 180; N. Rogers, 'The Biographical Brass', in *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. J. Boffey and V. Davis (Donington, 2009), pp. 234-5, 239.

3 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 61; *idem*, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, (London, 1978), fig. 62; J. Alexander and P. Binski, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987), p. 231, no. 98 is a rubbing of the brass by Derrick A. Chivers, with the shield of arms replicated in all five locations and the St. Luke Evangelist symbol inserted at the top left.

4 S. Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral* (London, 1999), pp. 157-8, fig. 121.

5 British Museum Accession Number 1854,1212.4, see S. Freeth, 'A List of Brasses in the British Museum', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 4 (2000-01), pp. 423-4. The record of a decision of 28 June 1965 at Salisbury Cathedral reads: 'Wyville Brass. The British Museum reproduction of the symbol of St. Mark (*sic*) would not fit the matrix in the Cathedral and would look odd if installed' and reports the intention to keep 'the British Museum fragment' in the Library. The surfaces of the top left indent and the back of the replica prevent its being laid flat into the indent but the replica fits in shape and size and matches those now in the slab in style. The symbol faces to the right, which suggests a position on the left. Thanks are due to Miss Suzanne Eward, Salisbury Cathedral Archivist, for facilitating a trial of the replica in the slab and access to this record of the 1965 decision, and to Professor Brian Kemp and Professor Nigel Saul for information on this brass in the British Museum.



Fig. 1. Robert Wyville, Bishop of Salisbury (d. 1375), Salisbury Cathedral (with British Museum St. Luke inserted at top left)
(rubbing: Derrick Chivers)



Fig. 2. *St. Matthew, from Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral*
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)



Fig. 3. *St. Mark, from Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral*
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

Richard Symonds saw the memorial in 1644, and notes in his Diary: 'In the middle of the quier lyes a very large flat stone, the picture of a castle very large, and a Bishop in the middle, the picture of a soldier at the bottome. Round about this inscription, inlayed in brasse' ... and he records a complete inscription. The sections given in square brackets below are those now missing; a comparison of his notes with what still survives in the slab suggests that we can have some faith in what Symonds recorded, even though he gives the date of death as the fifth and it can clearly still be read on the brass as not the fifth but the fourth of September.

[Hic jacet bone memorie Robertus Wyvill hujus eccl'e Salisburien' Ep'us qui eccl'am istam quadraginta quinque annis et amplius pacifice et laudabilit' rexit, disp'sa ejusdem eccl'ie prudenter] congregavit, et congregata vt pastor vigilans conseruavit Inter enim alia beneficia sua innumera Castrum dicte ecclesie de Schirebourne per ducentos annos et amplius



Fig. 4. *St. Luke, from Wyville brass, now British Museum 1854,1212.4*
(photo.: © Trustees of the British Museum)

manu militari violenter [occupatum eid'm eccl'ie ut pugil] intrepidus recuperavit ac ipsi ecclesie chaceam suam de la Bere restitui

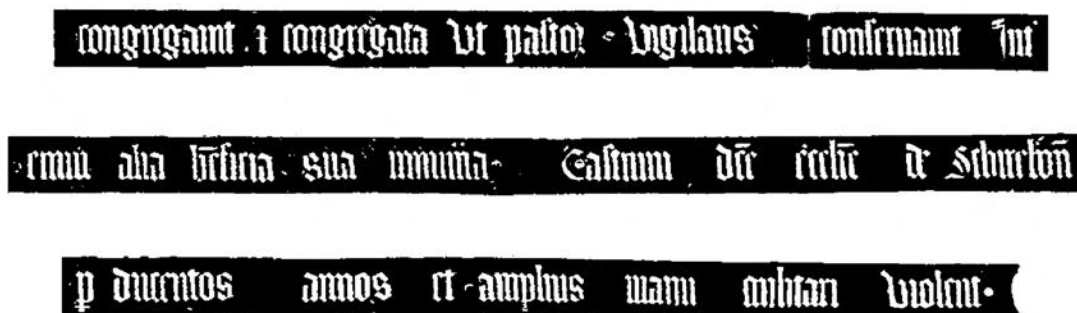


Fig. 5. Details of inscription of Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral
(rubbing: Derrick Chivers)

procuravit qui quarto die Septembris anno domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} lxxv^{to} et anno consecrationis sue xlvj^o sicut altissimo placuit in dicto castro debitum reddidit [humane nature. Cujus an'e p'piciet' Ille in quo sp'avit et credidit, cuncta potens.]⁶

Here lyeth Robert Wyvell, of happy memory, Bishop of this Church of Salisbury, who for more than forty-five years peaceably and laudably governed that see. He prudently gathered together the dispersed possessions of the Church, and, having so collected, as a vigilant pastor he maintained the same; for, among his other innumerable benefits, he recovered, like an intrepid champion, the Castle of Sherborne to the said Church, which for 200 years and more had been withheld therefrom by military violence. He also procured the restoration to the same Church of its Chace of Bere; and on the 4th day of September,

A. D. 1375, and in the forty-sixth year of his consecration, according to the will of the Most High, paid the debt of human nature in the said Castle. On whose soul may the Almighty have mercy, in whom he hoped and believed.⁷

Symonds also sketched the shields, noting four in the slab, as described in the printed edition of his Diary: Quarterly, a cross between four mullets pierced. The three shields now remaining have six-pointed pierced mullets in brass and crosses outlined in brass, but have no infill (Fig. 6). Presumably they were like this when Symonds saw them in 1644 as he sketches the cross empty, with just a little shading on the inner side of some edges.⁸

Bishop Wyville's seals show the cross to have been fretty. A paper given in 1887 by the then bishop of Salisbury comments on three

6 *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*, kept by Richard Symonds, ed. C.E. Long, Camden Soc., Old Series, 74 (London, 1859), pp. 136-7; the suspension marks as rendered in this edition do not match exactly those in the handwritten original in BL, Harley MS 939, pp. 157-158, and neither exactly matches the suspension marks in the surviving sections of the inscription. Expanded contractions in the surviving sections are given in italics.

7 Translation as given in E. Kite, *The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (London, 1860; repr. Bath, 1969), p. 19, pl. 1,

with slight amendments. The phrase 'among the least of his other benefits' as given in Kite has been changed to 'among his other innumerable benefits' because close examination of the surviving inscription confirms the reading 'innumera', not 'minima' as there is a suspension mark indicating letters to be supplied preceding the final letter 'a'; the printed edition of the Diary of Symonds gives 'innumera' and his handwritten original has a suspension mark.

8 BL, Harley MS 939; Symonds, *Diary of the Marches*, p. 136.



Fig. 6. Shield, from Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral.
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

different seals used by Wyville, two of which include his arms in the design and show a cross fretty, between four mullets pierced. His small round seal has elaborate tracery incorporating the Evangelist symbols surrounding a shield bearing these arms. An example of this seal in the British Library attached to BL Additional Charter 20262 has the legend: *S' ROB'I - WYVILL - PRESB - ... ERI - ECCL'IE - BEATE - MARIE - SARUM*.⁹

9 J. Wordsworth, 'On the Seals of the Bishops of Salisbury', *Archaeological Jnl*, XLV (1888), pp. 32-3. pl. II, reads the word 'ECCL'IE' on this seal as 'ET OFIC' and suggests from this that it is Wyville's seal 'as official of the church'; W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I (1887), no. 2201 which is attached to BL Add. Ch. 20262 and no. 2202 (Seal LVIII.62) which is 'a sulphur cast of no. 2201 when in better condition', reads this word as 'ECCL'IE', not 'ET OFIC', a reading confirmed by inspection in the British Library of the seal itself, which



Fig. 7. Cast of the seal of Bishop Wyville
on BL Add. Ch. 20262 (Seal LVIII.62)
(photo.: © British Library Board)

On his large pointed oval seal, which has the legend: *S' ROBERTI DEI GRACIA EPI SARESBERIENSIS*, Bishop Wyville stands under a canopy between pillars on which are hung shields, that to his right bearing the arms of England, and to his left, the arms of England and France quartered, with the arms of France in the second and third quarters.¹⁰ An example of this seal, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1856, showed that: 'below are Bishop Wyville's own arms, viz. a cross fretty between four mullets'. An example of this seal which, though

means that the legend of this seal does not refer to Wyville as an official of the church of Salisbury.

10 This is a reversal of the quartering in the arms adopted by Edward III in 1340 where the arms of France are in the first and fourth quarters; there are other examples of the arms of France and England quartered with France in the second and third quarters, for example on Queen Isabella's Exchequer seal, see A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. E. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 89-90.

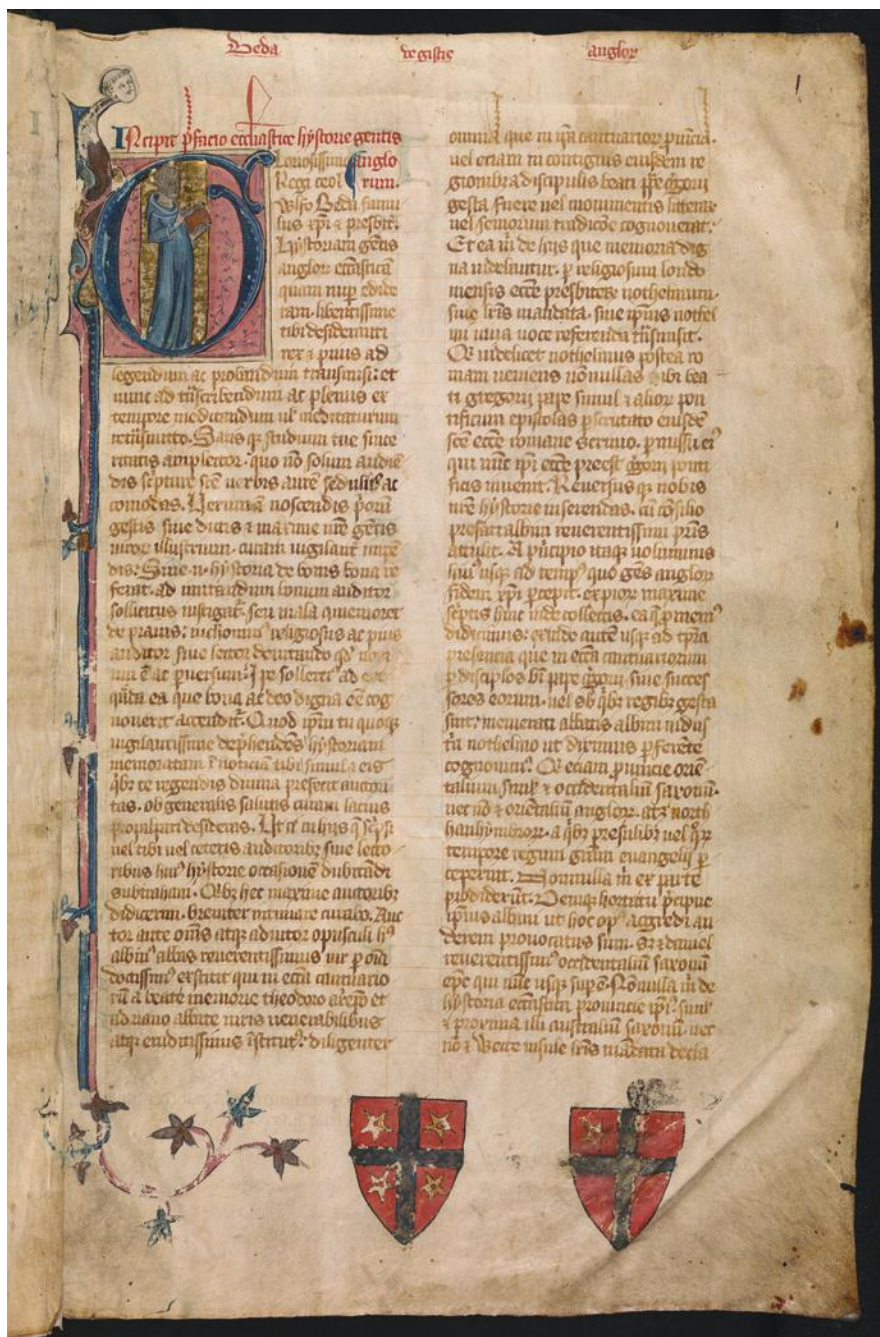


Fig. 8. Oxford, Bodley MS 712, f. 1, arms of Bishop Wyville (photo.: © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2010)

damaged, shows these arms, is attached to BL Additional Charter 71759.¹¹ Inspection of these seals in the British Library shows that the mullets on the small round seal attached to BL Additional Charter 20262 appear to have five points; those on the large seal attached to BL Additional Charter 71759 could be the same, with three points on the lower part and two above, but they are not completely clear and could perhaps have six points.

These arms are shown in colour on folio 1 recto of a manuscript, Oxford, Bodley MS 712, which includes the information that it was made for Bishop Wyville (Fig. 8). Two shields are shown, one *Gules, a cross fretty Argent and Azure, between four mullets Or, pierced of the field*, while a second shield depicted on the same page has the same colours but only one mullet, in the dexter chief. The mullets on the brass are of six points; those on the arms on the first page of this manuscript are of five points. A tiny drawing of what must be these arms, as if on a banner attached to a trumpet blown by one of the faces which decorate most of the catchwords in the manuscript, shows them as of six points: it is on the bottom edge of f. 184v and the bottom part has been trimmed off but the drawing shows the top half of a cross fretty and two pierced mullets (Fig. 9). The fore-edge of the book also has decoration which could include a shield with the cross and



Fig. 9. Oxford, Bodley MS 712, f. 184v (detail)
catchword incorporating Wyville arms
(photo.: © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2010)

four mullets, though it is now very faint and difficult to see.¹²

The surviving section of the inscription on the brass clearly records that the castle recovered for his church by Bishop Wyville was the castle of Sherborne, but this did not prevent confusion amongst some earlier writers who thought it was the castle at Old Sarum which was involved.¹³ Less immediately evident however is the location of ‘*chaceam de la Bere*’ which the brass records that the bishop also caused to be restored to his church. ‘Bere’ is found in a number of contexts within the medieval Salisbury diocese; there are for example the prebend of Bere and Charminster and the forest area of Bere in Dorset, and several writers have assumed this to have been the location of this chase of *la Bere*, sometimes also linking the restitution of

11 *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London*, IV (1859), pp. 12-13; this seal was attached to a deed of 1355 which concerned the appropriation of the church of Shapwick in Dorset to Wimborne Minster and seems to be one which by the latter part of the 20th century was loaned to the Library at Wimborne Minster, see P.H. Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge, 1993), Appendix II, pp. 194-201. BL Add. Ch. 71759 concerns the appropriation of the church of Coleshill to Edington, see *The Edington Cartulary*, ed. J.H. Stevenson, *Wiltshire Record Soc.*, 42 (Devizes, 1987), pp. 132-33, no. 512.

12 Oxford, Bodley MS 712, f. 88v: ‘*Explicit liber qui vocatur Beda de gestis Anglorum, scriptus reverendo domino Roberto de Wivill episcopo Sarisburiensi*’; a second manuscript written for Bishop Wyville is Oxford, Worcester College MS 285, as is shown by the words on f. 238v: ‘*Explicit liber sextus historie gentis langobardorum. scriptus Reverendo domino patri. domino Roberto Wivill. dei gracia Sar’ Episcopo*’, but this manuscript is too damaged know what its original range of depictions included.

13 The account of the case concerning the castle as given in the Year Book of 19 Edward III named it as the Castle of Salisbury, see Kite, *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire*, p. 16.

the chase with the lawsuit concerning Sherborne Castle.¹⁴

However, the chase of *la Bere* which caused the bishops of Salisbury problems was not connected with Sherborne Castle nor even in Dorset, but in Windsor Forest, not far from Sonning in Berkshire where the medieval bishops of Salisbury had a palace. The exact wording found on the brass, '*chaceam de la Bere*', appears in the heading of two documents in Bishop Wyville's Register and locates the chase 'in the manor of Sonning'. In the Close and Patent Rolls, where it is possible to trace much of the story of the problem concerning the claim of the bishops of Salisbury to have free chase in their wood which these royal records call 'Bishop's Bere', using a variety of spellings such as '*le Busschopesber*', '*le Bishopesber*', '*le Bisshopesbere*' and '*Bisshopesbere*', it is clear that it is within the king's forest of Windsor.¹⁵ The name survives in this area as Bearwood, or Bear Wood, which in this period lay just within the bounds of Windsor Forest, the Loddon river being the boundary (Fig. 10).¹⁶

According to *The Place Names of Berkshire* the 'Bear' element in Bearwood here derives from '*baer*', meaning swine pasture, and the suggestion is made that 'this may have been applied to the wood before it was made a chase'.¹⁷ It is in the context of provision for

swine that 'the wood of *la Bere*', '*bosco de la Bere*', appears in a grant given at Sonning on 31 March 1228, in a confirmation by Richard (Poore) bishop of Salisbury to Richard Bullok of a tenement in Arborfield, which mentions seventeen acres of new purpresture in '*la Bere*' and grant to Richard and his heirs of quittance of pannage for their home-reared pigs in '*bosco de la Bere*'. The wood of the bishop of Salisbury called '*la Bere*', described as lying on one side of land in Sindlesham, also appears in a grant made to Roger Sutton and his wife Alice on 7 January 1445, by William Thorne of Dunsden below Sonning.¹⁸

A summary of the problem concerning 'Bishop's Bere' is recorded in the Calendar of Patent Rolls entry of 15 April 1337: 'Robert, bishop of Salisbury, having made petition to the king setting forth that his predecessors time out of mind had a free chace in their wood of *Bisshopesbere* and other lands and woods within the forest of Wyndesore, and liberty of hunting and taking game within that chace until the said wood, free chace and liberty were taken into the hands of Edward I, by pretext of a presentment, before Robert de Clifford and his fellows, justices in eyre of the forest in the county of Berks., at Wyndesore, of certain trespasses of venison in the wood by servants of Robert, the then bishop and, although the wood was restored to him by a fine of £400 made with

14 Kite, *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire*, p. 14, for example, says both are 'in Dorsetshire'; P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), p. 114, says that 'the bishop required his champion to fight for the Chase' and describes the figure at the gate as an 'armed thug'; in fact, while a champion was involved in the lawsuit concerning the castle, though the case was settled without any actual battle being joined, the procedure of regaining the chase had nothing to do with this and did not involve a champion.

15 Bishop Wyville's Register, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, D1/2/3, Vol. I, f. 212v. See *Cal. Close R., 1296-1302*, Edward I, pp. 393-4; *Cal. Close R., 1330-1333*, Edward III, p. 240; *Cal. Pat. R., 1334-1338*, Edward III, p. 435.

16 The Windsor Forest perambulation describing the bounds can be found in the Close Roll entry of 1300, see *Cal. Close R., 1296-1302*, Edward I, p. 393-4. John Norden's map of forests around Windsor of 1607 from *A Description of the Honour of Windsor ...* (BL Harley MS 3749) shows 'Beare wood walke' bounded on the west by the Loddon.

17 M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, I (Cambridge, 1973), p. 126.

18 B.R. Kemp ed., *English Episcopal Acta 19: Salisbury 1217-1228* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 236-8, no. 269; J.G. Milne, 'The Berkshire Muniments of Corpus Christi College, Oxford', *Berkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XLVI (1942), p. 86, no. 3. ii. 5.



Fig. 10. John Norden, Map of forests around Windsor, 1607, from *A Description of the Honour of Windsor ...* (BL Harley MS 3749)
(photo.: © The British Library Board)

Edward I in his Parliament for the trespasses, the liberty of hunting remained in the hands of the said king'. This reference must be to Bishop Robert de Wickhampton. The Calendar of Patent Rolls entry continues: 'and that afterwards, notwithstanding that Roger, bishop of Salisbury, before John Mautravers and his fellows, late justices of the present king in eyre for pleas of the said forest, claimed the free chace as of the right of his church of Salisbury, it was taken into the said king's hands'. This reference must be to Bishop Roger Martival, Wyville's immediate predecessor in the time of Edward III. The entry continues: 'and praying

that he may have again the free chace and liberty of hunting; the king, in consideration of the fine, as well as for his devotion to St. Mary, in whose honour the church of Salisbury was founded by his progenitors, and at the request of William de Monte Acuto, earl of Salisbury, has restored to the bishop and his successors the said free chace and liberty'. Thus there was a successful outcome to Bishop Wyville's petition.

Recent work on Medieval Petitions and the Parliament Rolls of Medieval England has identified the petition which achieved this response in 1337 and the text of the Petition

includes a key point: when Bishop Roger (Martival) claimed the franchise, it was taken into the king's hand because he produced no better title than that he had enjoyed it from time immemorial. Bishop Wyville petitions the king, of his special grace, to grant 'to God, and to Our Lady of Salisbury, and to the said bishop' release from all previous challenges 'by justices or ministers of the Forest or others' and, if it please him, to grant a charter: '... *grauntir sa chartre* ...'.¹⁹

The Close Rolls show previous royal responses concerning the chase of *la Bere*; one of Edward III himself a few years earlier, on 13 May 1331, is an order to the justices in eyre for pleas of the forest in Berkshire to permit, without impediment, bishop R. of Salisbury, who was at that date the recently appointed Robert Wyville himself, to have his chase in the place called '*le Bisschopesbere*' peacefully and to use and enjoy it as his predecessors did before it was appropriated and afforested in the time of Edward I, quoting the findings of the time of 'bishop S.', that is Simon of Ghent. A Calendar of Close Rolls entry of 1300 records these findings: a perambulation of the bounds of Windsor Forest and a statement by the jurors that the bishop of Salisbury had free chase in a place called '*le Busschopesber*' within the bounds of the forest 'from of old' until Geoffrey de Pychford, keeper of the castle and forest of Windsor, appropriated the chase and afforested it 'during the present king's reign' (i.e. Edward I) and that no minister of the king of the forest

intermeddled with that plot of land in any way before the appropriation aforesaid. Hugh le Despenser, justice of the forest this side of the Trent, is told that S. bishop of Salisbury is to have his chase in a place called '*le Bishopesber*' peacefully and to permit him to use and enjoy it without impediment as his predecessors did before it was appropriated and afforested, as found in the perambulation.²⁰

A small collection of eight rolls in the Berkshire Record Office records, among other things including rents received by Geoffrey de Pychford up to Michaelmas in the eighth year of Edward I, 1280, presentments before a forest eyre. The earliest amongst a number of incidents recorded is one concerning the taking of forest beasts 'in the wood of the bishop of Salisbury, *Bissopesber*' by the household of 'Robert then elect of Salisbury who now is bishop' and the carrying of what had been taken to the bishop-elect himself; also recorded is a statement by the bishop's attorney that 'it is well allowed that the bishop and his men take venison in that wood at will and the bishop's predecessors did this from the time from which there is no memory'. The bishop involved was Robert de Wickhampton, who was bishop-elect of Salisbury from March 1271 to July 1274 and remained bishop until 1284.²¹

In this context two letters of *magister* Henry of Braunstone, preserved in Ancient Correspondence at The National Archives, are

19 *Cal. Pat. R., 1334-1338*, Edward III, p. 435; available from The National Archives documents online are an image of the text of the petition itself, TNA: PRO SC 8/9/40, and a summary of its contents; this petition was printed under the year 1325 in *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento*, 6 vols. (London, 1783), I, 440b. The content and language of the petition closely parallel this Calendar of Patent Rolls entry for 1337, however, and it describes not only Robert in the time of 'King Edward the grandfather of our lord the king' as 'then bishop', '*adonques eveque*', but also Roger in the time of 'our lord the king' as 'then bishop', so it cannot have been presented by Roger

(Martival) who was bishop 1315-1330, see J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, III, Salisbury Diocese*, ed. J.M. Horn (London, 1962), p. 1. The king's grant, with seal, is Salisbury, D. & C. Muniments, Press IV, C3: Royal Grants to Bishops: 17.

20 *Cal. Close R., 1330-1333*, Edward III, p. 240; *Cal. Close R., 1296-1302*, Edward I, pp. 393-4. Simon of Ghent was bishop 1297-1315, see Horn, *Fasti 1300-1541, Salisbury*, p. 1.

21 Berkshire Record Office D/EZ 48. For Robert de Wickhampton, see B.R. Kemp ed., *English Episcopal Acta 36: Salisbury 1229-1262* (Oxford, 2010), pp. l-liii.

of particular relevance. In one, addressed to John de Kirkeby and dated 20 April 1280, Braunstone reports that he has received the attorneys of Robert bishop of Salisbury who are to act on the bishop's behalf before the justices in the forest eyre due to open at Windsor in the county of Berkshire on the Octave of Easter concerning '*liberam chaciām suam ... in Bosco suo qui vocatur La Bere*' and other liberties which he claims to have in the forest of the lord king of Windsor. The second letter, which has no evidence of sealing and may well be a draft, is from Braunstone to the bishop and explains that there is a problem with the writ concerning these same attorneys, because the writ says that it was in respect of the liberties which he claimed in his wood which is called '*La Bere*' through charters of the lord king's predecessors that the bishop appointed the attorneys. This would mean pleading that the predecessors of the bishop of Salisbury were in possession of the liberty of having free chase in the said wood would not be admitted or heard unless a charter were to be exhibited. Braunstone notes that it was not the advice of the bishop that he would exhibit his charters before the justices because it seemed sufficient to show that his predecessors were in possession of this liberty from of old, and if further inquiry were to be due by what right or by what warrant, this should be pleaded before the lord king.²²

As subsequent developments were to reveal, the view that it would be sufficient to show that the bishop's predecessors were in possession of this liberty from ancient times was, as far as it went, accurate: the sworn declaration that the bishops had exercised free chase in *la Bere* 'from of old' could indeed be enough to obtain an order from the king that bishops of Salisbury should have, use and enjoy that chase as their predecessors had done, as the Close Roll entries of 1300 and

1331 confirm. The position taken by Bishop Robert de Wickhampton had the advantage of achieving this response without requiring that a charter be shown that specifically stated the rights being claimed, but it was not sufficient to prevent the question cropping up again and it was evidently a recurrent problem over several decades. Bishop Wyville's petition recognised that the failure to produce a charter had been central to the problem for his immediate predecessor and saw the way to settle the matter for the future.



Fig. 11. Artist's impression of Sherborne Old Castle as it may have appeared c. 1350-1408 (drawing © English Heritage Photo Library)

The problem over Sherborne Castle had arisen under a more distant predecessor of Bishop Wyville, Bishop Roger of Salisbury, who had an extremely high position in the kingdom in the time of Henry I. Much information about Bishop Roger and the loss of Sherborne Castle is to be found in the writings of William of Malmesbury, who knew Bishop Roger and whose work is included in Bodley MS 712, one of two volumes which we know were copied for Bishop Wyville. Malmesbury says that Bishop Roger 'wished to be thought of as a great builder' and Roger was responsible for much

²² TNA: PRO SC 1/9/21; TNA: PRO SC 1/29/204; thanks are due to Professor Brian Kemp for drawing

my attention to these letters and for access to transcripts of them.

building work both on the cathedral and the royal castle at Old Sarum, as well as buildings elsewhere including a castle at Malmesbury described by the contemporary author of the *Gesta Stephani* as 'an impregnable work of skill'. It was Bishop Roger's castles at Devizes and Sherborne, however, which really impressed contemporaries; William of Malmesbury says that these each encircled a great expanse of ground and had ranges of buildings surmounted by great towers; Henry of Huntingdon says of Devizes that there was no more splendid castle in the whole of Europe, and that Sherborne was 'almost equal to Devizes in splendour'. It is evident that these latter two were palaces as much as fortifications.²³

When Henry I died in 1135, it was his nephew Stephen who became the next monarch, not Henry's daughter the Empress Matilda whom Bishop Roger and the other great men had previously sworn to support; William of Malmesbury tells us that he had 'often heard Bishop Roger say that he was released from the oath he had taken because he had only sworn on condition that the king did not give his daughter in marriage to anyone outside the kingdom without consulting himself and the other chief men' and not all had been consulted when she married Geoffrey of Anjou. Under King Stephen, Bishop Roger and his nephews, the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, were key figures during the first years of the reign; but in 1139 the king decided that it would be in his interest to move against Bishop Roger and his relations. William of

Malmesbury says that some powerful laymen, 'vexed that they would be surpassed by clerks in amassing wealth and in the size of their castles', had persuaded the king that it was bishops' intention to hand over their castles to the Empress Matilda. At a council in June 1139 there was a brawl involving the men of Bishop Roger, and the king ordered that Roger and his nephews be summoned about the disturbance of the peace and demanded their castles as guarantees. Bishop Roger's own castles of Sherborne, Malmesbury and Devizes were taken in a short time following Roger's arrest, though not without some siege warfare, the king's threat to hang his own Chancellor, who was the son of Bishop Roger, and either a voluntary fast, or an enforced period of starvation, for Bishop Roger himself.

William of Malmesbury tells us that the king's actions 'opened the mouths of many to express different opinions, some saying these bishops had been rightly deprived of castles they had built in defiance of the canon law', others, that if these bishops had 'stepped outside the path of justice' it was not for the king to judge them: they should not have been deprived of any property without a general council; the king's brother, Bishop Henry of Winchester, who was also Papal legate, having begged the king to free and restore the bishops, 'decided he would try what force lay in canon law' and summoned a council for August 1139. In the event, however, this council became in effect a trial of Bishop Roger himself; he returned to Salisbury and died in December 1139.²⁴

23 R.W. Hunt, 'A Manuscript belonging to Robert Wivill, Bishop of Salisbury', *Bodleian Library Record*, VII, no. 1 (1962), pp. 24-5; William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. E. King and trans. K.R. Potter (Oxford, 1998), pp. 44-5; *Gesta Stephani*, trans. K.R. Potter (London, 1955), p. 62; Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. D.E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 720-1; R.A. Stalley, 'A Twelfth-Century Patron of Architecture:

a study of the buildings erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102-1139', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, XXXIV (1971), pp. 62-83; E.J. Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury Viceroy of England* (Berkeley, Cal., 1972).

24 William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 49-51 and see B.R. Kemp ed., *English Episcopal Acta 18: Salisbury 1078-1217* (Oxford, 1999), pp. xxxviii-xlii.

At this council Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, who had been abbot of Reading between 1123 and 1130, had put forward eloquent arguments in defence of the king's seizure of the castles. William of Malmesbury tells us that Hugh said he would allow bishops to have their castles if they could prove by canon law that they were entitled to have them, but, as they could not, it was wicked to strive against canon law and Hugh apparently clinched the point by saying that even if it were right for them to have castles, as it was a time of uncertainty, all the chief men, in accordance with the custom of other peoples, should hand over the keys of their fortifications to be at the disposal of the king, whose duty it was to fight for the peace of all.²⁵ The outcome for the castle of Sherborne, like those of Devizes and Malmesbury, was that at this juncture it passed out of the hands of the bishops of Salisbury and into the hands of the king.²⁶

In the case of the castle at Devizes, Bishop Roger's successor Bishop Jocelin, a member of the eminent family of de Bohun and apparently addressed as 'kinsman' in a deed by William earl of Gloucester, subsequently pursued the rights of the bishops of Salisbury with partial success. The Pope confirmed the possessions of the church of Salisbury in 1146, including the castles of

Sherborne and Devizes. In 1148, at Falaise, the Empress Matilda in the presence of Hugh of Amiens, abbots of Normandy and her barons, made full restitution to the church of Salisbury and Bishop Jocelin of 'all the lands of the church of Salisbury held in my hand, that is to say Cannings and Potterne with all their appurtenances'; Archbishop Hugh also issued a charter. These manors were adjacent to Devizes Castle. The next year, 1149, Duke Henry, the future Henry II, at Devizes, himself gave a charter concerning the bishop's manor of Cannings, with the exception of the castle of Devizes and the borough and park, saying they were retained in his hand of necessity and with the sufferance of the bishop until God should show him that he was able to restore them to him. Then in 1153 Duke Henry came to an agreement with Bishop Jocelin; the Duke would hold Devizes Castle for three years; if within that time he regained his own right, then, with the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Winchester, Bath and Chichester, he would restore the castle to Bishop Jocelin; if he had not regained his own right within that time, with their advice, he would at the end of that time restore the castle to the church of Salisbury and the bishop.²⁷

On gaining the throne in 1154 however Henry II was anxious to retain a hold over castles, and

25 William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 44-59; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 718-23; William of Newburgh; *The History of English Affairs*, ed. and trans. P.G. Walsh and M.J. Kennedy (Warminster, 1988), Book 1, Chapter six, pp. 56-61; see T.G. Waldman, 'Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130-64), the Norman Abbots, and the Papacy: the Foundation of a "Textual Community"', *Haskins Society Jnl*, II (1990), p. 147 where it is suggested (note 58) that his defence of the king is perhaps an interpretation of *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Æ. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879), Dist. LXXX, c.3: 'Episcopi neque in castellis neque in modicis civitatibus debent constitui'.

26 Scholars have debated the 'rendability' of castles, i.e. handing over to overlords in times of crisis: N.J.G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 29, says William Rufus 'demanded that certain baronial castles should be

placed in his hands and appears to have been obeyed'; see also C. L. H. Coulson, 'Rendability and Castellation in Medieval France', *Chateau Gaillard*, VI (1973), pp. 59-67. C.L.H. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society* (Oxford, 2003), p. 164, considers King Stephen's action 'contrary to French practice'.

27 Jocelin appears addressed as 'cognato suo' by William earl of Gloucester in a deed of which the content is set out in Tewkesbury Abbey Register BL Cotton Cleo. A vii, see *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, p. 74, no. lxiii; *Charters and Documents illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. W.R. Jones and W.D. Macray (London, 1891), pp. 12-16, 22-3, nos. XIV-XVII, XXV; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, ed. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, III, pp. 291-3, nos. 794-96; E. King, 'The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign', *Royal Historical Soc. Trans.*, 5th Series, XXXIV (1984), pp. 139-40.

in 1157, in exchange for the castle of Devizes, he restored to Bishop Jocelin some possessions and in addition granted lands from the royal demesne; the notification by Theobald archbishop of Canterbury concerning this is explicit in recording Bishop Jocelin's quitclaim to the king of 'the castle of Devizes with two parks and the borough of Devizes as ditches divide and enclose these, and apart from this nothing other', and also, the king gave to the bishop 'the power of recalling things taken away and reintegrating them into the bishopric', '*potestatem revocandi distracta et redintegrandi episcopatum*', as it was in the time of Bishop Osmund and on the day Henry I was alive and dead, in which recalling the king 'would not impede the bishop but would help and sustain him'.²⁸

Devizes Castle had thus been officially exchanged for other lands, which was at least an acknowledgement of some right in it, and Bishop Jocelin had the written promise of the new king's aid in reintegrating things taken away and restoring the bishopric as it had been on the death of Henry I. Bishop Jocelin evidently did not consider that his see had lost Sherborne Castle for ever; Clement, abbot of Sherborne, made a quit-claim to Bishop Jocelin and the church of Salisbury concerning the castle of Sherborne and the 'island' on which it was, in return for support concerning Compton 'which we had in exchange for the island on which Sherborne Castle is sited', promising never in any way to impede the bishop in regaining that castle but as much as they could to help him to regain the said castle; and the document states that if for any reason they should lose Compton, then, 'when he has

regained his castle', the bishop will assign to them land of equivalent value in the manor of Sherborne.²⁹

'When he has regained his castle' sounds hopeful; in 1143 Sherborne Castle had actually been taken by Robert of Gloucester and held in the cause of the Empress Matilda, though effectively by the earls of Gloucester, and it was Earl William, the son of Robert of Gloucester, who was to address Bishop Jocelin as his kinsman. Probably soon after Earl Robert's death in 1147, his widow Mabel and this William, her son, restored to Bishop Jocelin his hundred of Sherborne and other things including all pleas pertaining to the manor, 'saving the rights of the crown'; and all his lands and men 'as much as is within our power; concerning the rest indeed which are not in our power' they would not cause or allow any impediment to be made, and would concede all rights of the church of Salisbury as best held in the time of Bishop Roger and Bishop Osmund. Mabel and her sons William and Robert promised to keep firm peace with the bishop, and the constable of Sherborne whoever he be would 'keep the same oath' as long as the bishop 'shall make no trouble', '*controversium nullam movebit*', for them about the castle and various other specific things around it.³⁰

Earl William of Gloucester died in 1183; Bishop Jocelin died in 1184, and following his death there was a vacancy at Salisbury for several years, his successor as bishop, Hubert Walter, not being elected until September 1189, following the death of Henry II in that year and the accession of Richard I.³¹ In 1193 Sherborne

28 A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), pp. 465-66, no. 241; *Charters and Documents of Salisbury*, ed. Jones and Macray, pp. 29-30, no. XXXV.

29 *The Register of Saint Osmund*, ed. W.H.R. Jones, 2 vols. Rolls Series (London, 1883-4), I, pp. 235-6.

30 *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, ed. R.B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), pp. 155-56, no. 171 and see note to no. 263, p. 174 which refers to *Mon. Ang.*, II, 74.

31 Kemp, *English Episcopal Acta 18*, pp. xlii-xlviii; King, 'The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign', p. 140.

Castle appears on the Pipe Roll with expenditure on its repair, clearly in the hands of the crown.³² Over subsequent years, various people had custody of the castle: a bishop of Salisbury might have custody of it; but though for example Bishop Richard Poore had custody of Sherborne Castle in 1224 he and the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury recognised in writing that this was at the king's pleasure, and that no claim could be made to it in respect of this.³³



Fig. 12. Castle, from the Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral.
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

It was in the complex circumstances of the Edward III's early years as king that the situation regarding the castle of Sherborne

changed. Edward III's assumption of personal power and the end of his minority was declared in October 1330, the result of a coup by the young king and his closest friends by which the regents, his mother Queen Isabella and her associate Roger Mortimer, were overthrown. A leading figure among these friends was William de Montagu and following the coup, in addition to other grants, William de Montagu and Katherine his wife received by early in 1331 the castle of Sherborne, to be held by them and the heirs of the body of William with reversion to the king and his heirs; it was this grant, which the king restated in 1335 with additional quittances of tolls, that changed the relationship of Sherborne Castle with the crown, making a legal challenge a possibility. Bishop Wyville's background was in the household of Queen Isabella, and his advancement from royal clerk to bishop had taken place during the period of Edward III's minority; so it is interesting to note that recent work suggests that he had some connection with the coup which threw over the regency.³⁴

The settlement of the *la Bere* problem in 1337 was said to be at the request of William de Montagu, but we know that by April 1342 Bishop Wyville had in mind a plan for regaining Sherborne from Montagu, when the Salisbury Chapter unanimously agreed that he 'might acquire, or reintegrate, *'redintegraret'*, to the bishopric of Salisbury the castle of Sherborne, so long as this could be securely done' and in the case that the said castle could be acquired or securely re-integrated, as aforesaid, they conceded that the said lord bishop could commit for himself and his successors the temporalities of a manor of his bishopric for the acquisition or reintegration of the said castle,

32 *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, p. 5; *Pipe Roll 5 Richard I*, ed. D.M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Soc., New Series, 3 (London, 1927), p. 78.

33 Kemp, *English Episcopal Acta 19*, pp. 271-2, no. 297.

34 *Cal. Chart. R. 1-14, 1327-1341*, Edward III, pp. 210, 344; C. Shenton, 'Edward III and the Coup of 1330', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 13-34.

provided this could be securely done.³⁵ The parallel language to the notification of the quitclaim by which Bishop Jocelin gave up Devizes Castle is striking in that part of that agreement specifically made reference to the power of 'recalling things taken away and reintegrating them into the bishopric', '*potestatem revocandi distracta et redintegrandi episcopatum*'. When he finally brought his legal case, by a writ of right, the Plea Rolls record that Bishop Wyville claimed seisin by his predecessor Bishop Jocelin in the time of King Richard.³⁶ Bishop Jocelin had in fact died some five years before Richard I's accession, and the see had actually been vacant until just after Richard's coronation in September 1189; but, since the reign of Edward I, the law had been that a writ of right could not make a claim based on seisin dating from before the reign of Richard I.³⁷ Several written documents received by Bishop Jocelin had underpinned the claim of the see of Salisbury to Sherborne Castle, and by the later thirteenth century even the royal records seem at times uncertain of the reason for the castle being in the king's hands, the Pipe Roll of 1282-83 recording bishopric vacancies as an explanation.³⁸ Interestingly, Bishop Wyville's brass inscription says that the castle of Sherborne was regained after 'more than two hundred years'; the lawsuit which restored it to the see was in 1355, and more than two hundred years prior to that would, of course, reach back well before the start of Richard I's reign in 1189.

The bishop's plan to recover the castle to which the 1342 Chapter agreement refers was evidently

expected to involve considerable financial expenditure, but financial expenditure alone was in the event not enough. William de Montagu, who had been created Earl of Salisbury in 1337 and had supported Bishop Wyville over *la Bere*, died in January 1344 leaving his son William a minor, who did not receive his livery of inheritance until July 1349.³⁹ It was this William, who had become Earl of Salisbury on the death of his father, against whose tenure of Sherborne Castle Bishop Wyville eventually brought his writ of right in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster.

In November 1354 the Calendar of Close Rolls records instruction to the justices of the Bench, setting out that the Bishop had shown the king that he was suing the Earl of Salisbury by writ of right and the Earl of Salisbury, pleading in that suit, had alleged that the king had granted the castle of Sherborne to William de Montagu, the Earl's father, and to Katherine his wife, to hold to themselves and heirs of the body of the said William de Montagu, with reversion to the king in default of such an heir, so that therefore he could not answer without consulting the king, and the justices had therefore delayed to proceed with the case. The bishop had besought the king to provide a remedy and the king now ordered the justices to proceed with the plea in accordance with the law and custom of the realm, but not to render judgment without consulting the king.⁴⁰

Information on the case appears in a range of records and from a range of perspectives: in

35 *Hemingsby's Register*, ed. H.M. Chew, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Soc. Records Branch, 18 (Devizes, 1963), p. 112, no. 170.

36 TNA: PRO CP 40/375/275.

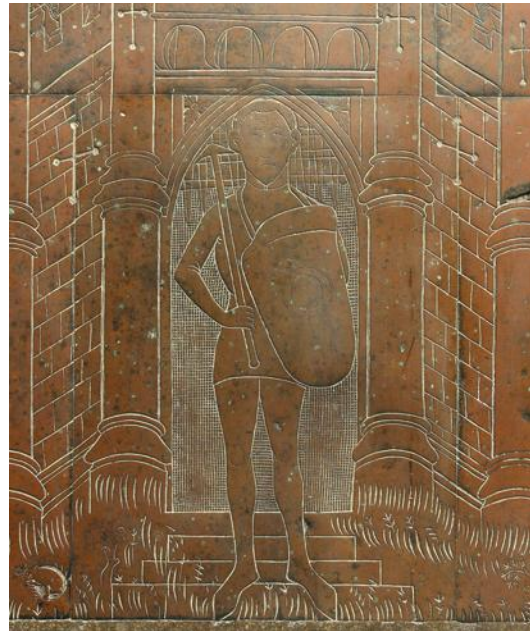
37 See above notes 28 and 31; *English Historical Documents III 1189-1327*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1975), p. 407, Statute of Westminster I c. 39; and P. Brand, "'Time out of Mind": the Knowledge and Use of the Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Past in Thirteenth-century Litigation', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XVI (1993), pp. 37-54.

38 See expenditure by John de Somerset, constable of Sherborne Castle, in respect of Aimeric de Montfort on the Somerset and Dorset account, 1282-83 Pipe Roll, TNA: PRO E 372/127; see J. Fowler, *Mediaeval Sherborne* (Dorchester, 1951), pp. 115-129 and p. 124, note 5.

39 *ODNB*, W.M. Ormrod, 'Montagu, William, first Earl of Salisbury'; J.L. Leland, 'Montagu, William, second Earl of Salisbury'.

40 *Cal. Close R., 1354-60*, Edward III, p. 47.

addition to the records of the court and surrounding documentation there is a Year Book description of the proceedings in court; we can see something of the attitude of the Salisbury Chapter from the records of support for the expenditure by the bishop in regaining the castle; and Bishop Wyville's own view can be seen in a letter recorded in his Register addressed by him to the archdeacon of Berkshire in which the bishop sets out the context of the case. He explains that the castle of Sherborne was undoubtedly built on land from of old in the demesne of the church, peacefully in possession of many of his predecessors, and afterwards, by a force too great to be resisted, invaded in a wrongful manner, withheld and unjustly retained. He says he has 'long since' had recourse to legal measures in the king's court to obtain restitution 'often bearing in mind that part of the oath made by us at the time of our profession, whereby we are bound with all our heart to bring together the scattered possessions belonging to our church'. The bishop says he has tried to make peace with 'our adversary the withholder of the castle', making offer through many lords and friends to make 'no small return out of our own means' if he would restore for ever the castle; but their adversary has chosen wager of battle. Though reluctant, the bishop has agreed to this, having been advised that if he did not, he, his church and his successors would lose the right for ever. He says the case is due to be brought to conclusion upon the morrow of the Feast of Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the days following and asks for prayers for a happy outcome and no harm to come to his champion, named Richard.⁴¹



*Fig. 13. The bishop's champion,
from the Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral.
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)*

The printed Year Book of Hilary Term 29 Edward III, 1355, which says that the castle concerned was the castle of Salisbury, gives the name of the bishop's champion as Robert S., also naming him as Robert son of John of S., and later giving the name Shawel. It tells a colourful story: the bishop and the earl appear, with their champions each arrayed in white leather nearly reaching the thighs and over that a coat of red silk with the arms of their respective lords. Attendant knights or varlets carry for each champion the baton with which he will fight and the shield. The champions are presented as ready to perform, with God's

41 TNA: PRO CP 40/375/275 and TNA: PRO C260/70/34; see J. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 123; an image of the Year Book of Hilary Term 1355, containing a description of this case, from the Vulgate Year Books Reprint as printed in the 16th century, is online at www.bu.edu/phpb/in/lawyearbooks; see above note 35;

Bishop Wyville's Register, Wilts. and Swindon History Centre, D1/2/3, Vol. I, ff. 157-158 (177-178 in roman numerals at top of page). Kite, *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire*, pp. 16-18, gives a translation of the Year Book and of this document from the Register. The Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary is 2 February, which in 1355 was a Monday.

grace, what the king's court decrees. They are instructed by Mr. Justice Green to go to a separate room and leave all the harness there under the guard of the Warden of the Palace so that the Court can see there is no fraud or deceit, and to return the following Monday. The Court tells them to go at the same time but neither will move first and they only go when the judges rise, 'who with difficulty made them go'. The judges then view all the harness and check that everything is equal, but when matters resume on the Monday a letter is brought from the king commanding that the plea carry over in the same state as it is until the next Thursday, at which point Mr. Justice Green says that because the king has given this command and because 'in searching the harness of your champions we found some defects, and we know not by whom they should be amended', the parties are to depart and keep their day on Thursday next.⁴² The Year Book reports that 'it was said', *'dicebatur'*, that the judges had found several rolls of 'prayers and charms', *'orisons et sortileges'*, in the coat of the bishop's champion. Again, the earl and the bishop each decline to be the first to go and this time Mr. Justice Green says: 'Sir Bishop, depart the bar on pain of losing your action', whereupon he departs; 'and before their day they came to agreement so that the bishop gave to the earl 2500 marks'. On the appointed Thursday, the bishop came, the earl did not, and his default was recorded. A writ for the bishop, that the court now proceed to judgement, was brought, whereupon the court awarded that the bishop recover the castle as the right of his church to him and his successors quit of the earl and his heirs for ever.

In fact the bishop and the earl had apparently come to agreement even before they appeared

in court on the Monday, which would have been 9 February, following their first appearance on the morrow of the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary: the Calendar of Close Rolls records an 'indenture between Robert bishop of Salisbury and Sir William de Montague earl of Salisbury' witnessing an accord between the parties that 'as a writ of right is pending ... it is agreed that the earl shall make default in the plea so that the bishop may have final judgment' dated 7 February 29 Edward III. The king's instruction to proceed to judgment is in the Calendar of Close Rolls dated 12 February 1355, as is the record of the payment of 500 marks to the king for a release made by the king to the bishop of the right pertaining to the king in the castle of Sherborne.⁴³

It would have been unusual at this date in the fourteenth century if the case had culminated in an actual battle. In 1287 there had been the very rare occurrence of the death of the champion representing a defendant, the Abbey of St. Edmunds, in a trial by battle on a writ of right, but in the half-century preceding the Sherborne case the evidence indicates that the parties in such cases in England came to agreement before that stage in the proceedings was reached. Trial by battle was the original mode of proof from the time of the Conquest for lawsuits such as that concerning Sherborne Castle, a civil case, brought by the bishop on a writ of right claiming lawful seisin of the castle by a predecessor, and the procedures are outlined in the twelfth-century law book called *Glanvill*. It was the defendant in such a lawsuit who had the choice, either to defend the case in person or through 'some suitable person' if he chose, and from the time of Henry II the defendant had also been given the choice of an

42 Year Book 29 Edward III; this is the translation given in Kite, *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire*, p. 17, though the translation in the commentary and paraphrase that

accompanies the online printed version is 'whether they were yet corrected or not'.

43 *Cal. Close R., 1354-1360*, Edward III, pp. 181-2, 180, 122-3.

alternative mode of proof to trial by battle and could instead 'put himself on the assize of the lord king and seek a recognition to determine which of the parties has the greater right'. The demandant making the claim was not allowed to fight in person. *Glanvill* stresses that the demandant can only prosecute his case through 'a suitable witness who heard and saw the facts', so the person making the claim had to be represented by a champion, who was originally in the role of a witness and required to declare on oath that he knew personally of the seisin which was being claimed, or had been told the facts by his father on his deathbed. By the time of the Sherborne Castle case, champions were no longer required to be witnesses, the use of champions by defendants as well as demandants had become the norm and the choice of trial by battle as the mode of proof had itself become unusual.⁴⁴ It was nevertheless still a possible choice; Bishop Wyville, however, as he had hoped, gained his desired outcome without any harm to the 'champion elect', '*pugile electo*', of the bishop and his church.⁴⁵

On Bishop Wyville's appointment to Salisbury in 1330, the chronicler Adam Murimuth had commented with derogatory remarks about his being '*illiteratus*'. Haines has noted that Murimuth could be cynical about appointments, but he considers Murimuth's view comprehensible since both

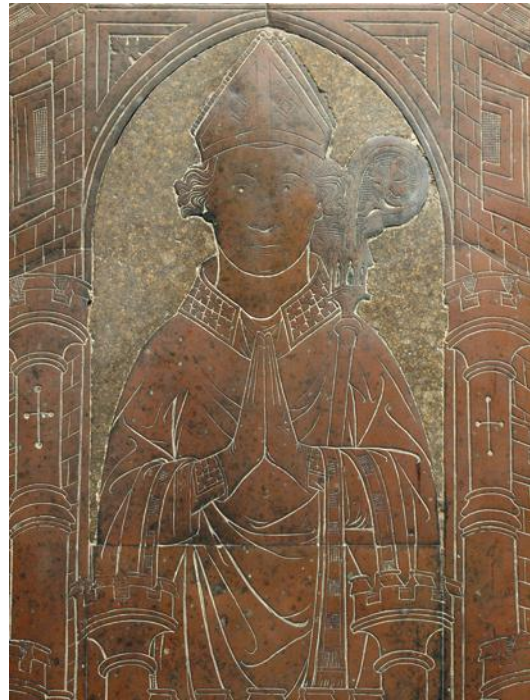


Fig. 14. Robert Wyville, Bishop of Salisbury (d. 1375)
Salisbury Cathedral
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

the bishop's immediate predecessors were doctors of theology. Hunt, writing of the manuscripts which we know to have been copied for Bishop Wyville, points out that Murimuth was only willing to go as far as '*mediocriter litteratus*' for Wyville's contemporary Richard of Bury, bishop of

44 V.H. Galbraith, 'Death of a Champion', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R.W. Hunt *et al.* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 283-95; M.J. Russell, 'Hired Champions', *American Jnl of Legal History*, III, no. 3 (1959) pp. 242-59, and *idem*, 'Trial by Battle and the Writ of Right', *Jnl of Legal History*, I, pt. 2 (1980), pp. 111-34; Russell could trace 'no actual fight in a writ of right action later than about 1300' (*ibid.*, p. 127); *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England commonly called Glanvill*, ed. G.D.H. Hall (Oxford, 1965), Book II, 3, pp. 22-25. Judicial combats in which the parties in a case could fight each other in person would take place between men of high rank, often concerning accusations of treason, and in criminal cases

where a man 'turned king's evidence' and fought the person he accused, see M.J. Russell, 'Trial by Battle in the Court of Chivalry', *Jnl of Legal History*, XXIX (December 2008), pp. 335-57 and M. Clanchy, 'Highway Robbery and Trial by Battle in the Hampshire Eyre of 1249' in *Medieval Legal Records*, ed. R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (London, 1978), pp. 28-35; this article also discusses the contemporary sketch of the combat in this case.

45 Bishop Wyville's letter in his Register concerning the case is headed: '*Littera ad orandum pro pugile electo pro recuperacione castri Shireburn*', Wilts. and Swindon History Centre, D1/2/3, Vol. I, ff. 157-58 (177-78 in Roman numerals at top of page).

Durham. Chew, in the edition of Hemingby's Register, comments that criticisms often levelled against Bishop Wyville concerning relations with the Salisbury Chapter and its intellectual decline have been exaggerated, and draws attention to the fact that any assessment of a bishop in this period must take into account the limitations on his power to collate arising from the increasing number of papal provisions and royal presentations, the effects of 'accidental' factors such as the Black Death, and the inevitable tensions between parties intent on upholding their rights and traditions.⁴⁶

On Bishop Wyville's death in Sherborne Castle in 1375, his reputation was encapsulated in a memorial which showed him at prayer as if within a castle (Figs. 13, 14), surely intended as an allusion to Sherborne Castle though it seems unlikely that it is intended as a depiction of the actual castle, even given that the outer walls of Sherborne Castle were octagonal in plan (Fig. 11).⁴⁷ In effect, the castle forms a canopy to the bishop, and in stained glass, there are extant examples from the fourteenth century which show that canopies in this period could take the form of castle-like turrets. A notable instance is glass at Heydour, Lincolnshire, where St. Edward the Confessor, St. George and the Anglo-Saxon king St. Edmund appear in attitudes very similar to the champion on the Wyville brass; each stands as if at a gateway, each has a shield, two have drawn swords and St. George holds a spear (Fig. 15). These windows are dated to *c.* 1360 and their

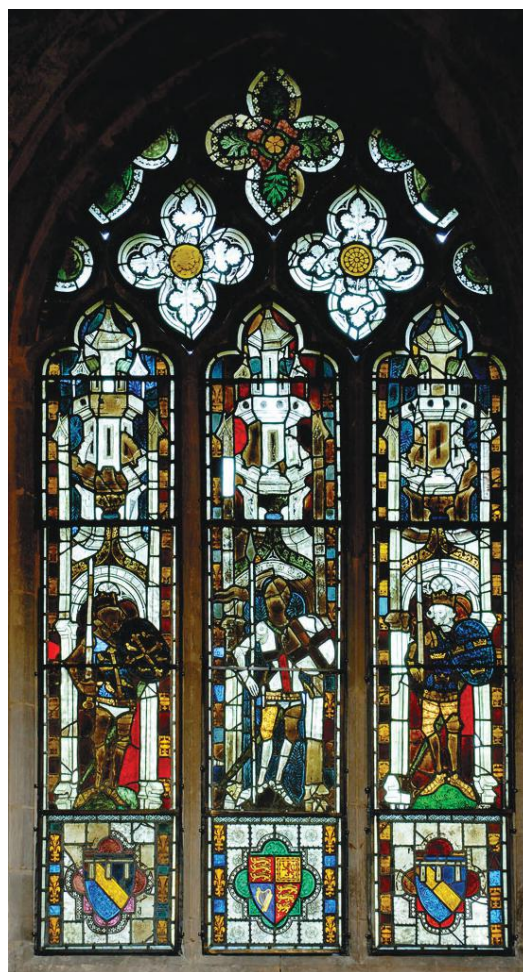


Fig. 15. North aisle window, Heydour, Lincs.
(photo.: Gordon Plumb)

canopies have some parallels with the castle on the brass, the castle-like turrets within each tower showing three angled sides, the

46 R.M. Haines, 'The Episcopate during the reign of Edward II and the Regency of Mortimer and Isabella', *Jnl of Ecclesiastical History*, LVI (2005), pp. 657-709; *ODNB*, Haines, 'Wyville'; Hunt, 'A manuscript belonging to Robert Wivill, Bishop of Salisbury', pp. 24-5; *Hemingby's Register*, ed. Chew, pp. 256-7.

47 Some writers suggest seeing something of the castle plan in the image, including Kite, *Monumental Brasses*

of Wiltshire, p. 18, who speaks of the outer ward and the keep, and A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300 - 1500*, III, *Southern England* (Cambridge 2006), p. 629, who speaks of the 'tiered castle guarded by a knight, the enclosed grassed bailey, the residential heart of the fortress presided over by the bishop, and the rear gate or postern at the head of the brass'.



Fig. 16. Detail of rabbit in burrow
Wyville brass, Salisbury Cathedral.
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

perspective lower down as if seen from above and the upper tiers as if viewed from below. In the church of Edington, Wiltshire, which Bishop Wyville himself consecrated, there is a Crucifixion scene in three windows in the north transept dated 1358 to *c.* 1361 in which, though damaged, it is possible to see that the figures stand under canopies which have some castle-like features. Glass in New College chapel in Oxford, dated to *c.* 1380-86, also shows some canopy features similar to Wyville's castle, including round turrets and small windows depicted in perspective.⁴⁸

The grass, plants, rabbits or hares and diminutive trees on the brass are surely intended as an allusion to the chase (Fig. 16). This might suggest that the animals should be hares, though they are shown with burrows which would mean they are rabbits, and very similar rabbits and rabbit-holes are shown in an early fourteenth-century manuscript depiction

48 R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England in the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), pp. 51, 168-9, fig. 135; for Edington, see *ibid.*, p. 167, fig. 134, though this does not show the whole of the canopy; for Oxford, see *ibid.*, p. 176, fig. 141. Thanks are due to David King for drawing my attention to the Heydour glass.



Fig. 17. King John hunting (BL Cotton MS Claudius D II, f. 116).
(photo.: © British Library Board)

of King John hunting in BL Cotton MS Claudius D II (Fig. 17).⁴⁹

The figure standing on steps at the gate of the castle (Fig. 13), with his short hair and a neat beard, a tunic very similar to that described in the Year Book as of leather and almost reaching the thighs, a baton with a double horn-shaped tip and a shield with a curving top of less width than the rest of the shield and with what some have interpreted as a depression or hole in the centre and others a boss, is attired as a champion with the accoutrements of trial by battle. This can be interpreted as an image of Richard, the bishop's champion, though it is interesting to note that the inscription on the brass described Bishop Wyville himself as

49 On BL Cotton Claudius D II, *Liber legum antiquorum regum*, of *c.* 1321, see L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385* (London, 1986), no. 68.

recovering the castle 'as an intrepid champion', 'ut pugil intrepidus'.⁵⁰

The visual impact of Bishop Wyville's memorial highlights the castle, the chase and the champion, and the comment made by Brown reflects this: 'the brass is the most pretentious and decorative aspect of the memorial, with a long inscription setting the image in a historical context, stressing the bishop's worldly achievements'. Overall, however, the memorial makes very much the same points about the bishop that Luxford has noted were of importance for heads of other religious communities, the abbots of the Benedictine order, in the context of intercessory prayers: '... it was important, for abbots at least, to choose tombs that would remind convents ... of their former status: as loving father, good shepherd, generous benefactor and tireless defender ...'.⁵¹

The bishop's inscription, interspersed with the Evangelist symbols, likewise recalls his long, peaceful and praiseworthy rule, his collection and conservation of scattered possessions of his church 'as a vigilant pastor', his *beneficia innumera* and his regaining the castle 'as an intrepid champion'.

The design of Bishop Wyville's memorial, Saul suggests, is 'so remarkable it must have been agreed between the commemorated and his executors in advance'.⁵² It is now tucked away in a side chapel, but at one time had a central position in the choir of the cathedral. There, it would have served not only to recall the bishop's former status but also as a constant reminder of two legal achievements which were of considerable significance for his church of Salisbury.

50 M.J. Russell, 'Accoutrements of Battle', *Law Quarterly Review*, LXXXIX (July 1983), pp. 432-42; in discussing what he terms the 'authorised baton' for judicial combat from the 13th century onwards, Russell deduced that it had a wooden handle about 2 feet 6 inches long, with a head made of horn about 8 inches wide and pointed at each end (*ibid.*, p. 436); the meaning of champions requiring to be 'shaved' he interprets as a short haircut, with neck, temples and face shaved (*ibid.*, p. 440). Two roundels of early 13th-century stained glass in Canterbury Cathedral, in which St. Thomas Becket gives miraculous support to a combatant, with the captions '*pugnant pugiles mag [...]*' and '*minor desperatus Sc'm Th. invocat*', perhaps depict champions since the combatants are called '*pugiles*'; they have short haircuts, batons with curved knob ends and shields with a central circular feature reminiscent of the champion's shield on the Wyville brass, but which is shown from some angles to be a boss, see B. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1949), p. 64. pl. 36c, d, and an image of this window available online at www.cvma.ac.uk, Inv. No. 000575, as part of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1944), p. 147, pls. 67, 68, identified a line drawing below a Doom painting at Stowell, Gloucestershire, as part of a 12th-century wall-painting scheme; this shows a pair of

combatants with short hair, batons with curved tops similar to the Wyville brass, short tunics and shields whose outer profile is not clear, though an interior hand-hold is shown. A chess-piece knight from the fourteenth century has a shield of a shape quite closely resembling that of the Wyville brass champion with a section curving outwards at the top, but shown on the chessman apparently without the top section being of less width than the rest and without any central feature, see H. Nickel, 'Sir Gawaine and the Three White Knights', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series. XXVIII, no. 4 (1969), pp. 174-82. A shield with top and bottom curvature, somewhat similar at the top to that of the Wyville champion, is held by an effigy at Bawdrip, see M. Downing, 'The Shield of the Effigy at Bawdrip and a related Effigy at Huntspill', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Proceedings*, CXLI (1998), pp. 193-9.

51 Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 120; J.M. Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries 1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 81. Thanks are due to Dr. Martin Heale for drawing my attention to memorials of the abbots.

52 N. Saul, 'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. Coss and Keen, p. 182.

Aristocratic pretension and heraldic skulduggery in fourteenth-century Shropshire: Sir Nicholas Burnell of Acton Burnell

Jonathan Moor

The London C style brass commemorating Sir Nicholas Burnell (d. 1382/3) at Acton Burnell reflects his status as a Shropshire landholder and administrator whose career is outlined in this article. It is tentatively suggested that the loss of the shields may be a consequence of the heraldic dispute with Lord Morley and the Lovells regarding the right to bear the Burnell arms.

The finest fourteenth-century brass surviving in the county of Shropshire is to be found on top of an altar tomb set hard against the north-east corner of the north transept of the small parish church of St. Mary, Acton Burnell, and commemorates Sir Nicholas Burnell, lord of Holdgate, who died on 19 January 1382/3 (Figs. 1 and 2).¹

Whilst the brass is really quite splendid, there are widely differing views as to its provenance. Most recently, Sally Badham has considered the brass in her survey of the London C workshop.² She notes that there are aspects that are atypical, such as the heavy canopy and the swaying stance of the figure, but finds parallels in the indent of Sir Thomas Felton, K.G. (d. 1381) at Great Barsham, Norfolk, and the lost brass of Sir Robert Ashton (d. 1392) at St. Mary de Castro, Dover, which can be

assigned to London C. Malcolm Norris took the view that the brass was one of a modest, but nonetheless distinctive, group of military effigies.³ However, given the fact that none of these were exactly alike, he considered it was very difficult to assign any of them to a specific series or workshop. Further examples of this highly idiosyncratic style include the figure of John Cray (d. 1392), at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, and that of Sir John Russell (d. 1405) at Strensham, Worcestershire, although this particular brass was probably engraved rather earlier than its date would at first suggest.⁴ However, the only feature common to all is the placing of the scabbard of the sword – in a diagonally sloping position behind the legs of the deceased.

Earlier authorities were equally unsure of the origin of the brass. Writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, Dean Cranage noted that Mill Stephenson was of the opinion that the brass at Acton Burnell was the product of an engraving workshop based in either Lincolnshire or Yorkshire.⁵ Malcolm Norris took the view that there was no compelling evidence to substantiate the idea that such provincial engravers produced work for clients

1 Date taken from the inscription at Acton Burnell. In the ruins of Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire, is a very fragmentary indent, the remains of a brass said to commemorate (?) wife of Sir Hugh Burnell. This took the form of a marginal inscription, made up of individual Lombardic letters (J. Coales ed., *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350* (London, 1987), p.207). If the attribution is correct, the woman commemorated is likely to have been Sir Nicholas's great-grandmother. Her husband, Sir Hugh, died in 1287. See *The Visitation of Shropshire*, ed. G. Glazebrook and J.P. Rylands, Harleian Soc., 28-9 (London, 1889), I, pp.91-4.

2 S. Badham, 'The London C Workshop', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 3 (2005), pp. 226-8, fig. 3.

3 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), pp. 55-6.

4 The date of the brass at Strensham has been the subject of much debate. Kent (see n. 7 below) was of the opinion that it dated from as late as 1435. However, it seems more likely that the brass dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

5 D.H.S. Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*, 2 vols. (Wellington, 1901-12), II, pp. 451-61 at p. 455.

outside their own areas, albeit '[the brass of] Sir Nicholas Burnell, at Acton Burnell, invites speculation'.⁶ J.P.C. Kent gave a different perspective on the origin of both the Acton Burnell and Chinnor figures, and designated them as London work, Series C. In his opinion, the effigy at Acton Burnell was the earliest surviving example of this particular group. However, he considered that 'all differ more or less from one another'.⁷

Sir Nicholas is depicted in the style of armour which remained more or less the same between c.1360 and the early years of the fifteenth century. On his head he wears a bascinet helm, to which is fastened an aventail of chain mail protecting his neck and throat. While most of the body armour is hidden, the edge of the knight's mail shirt is visible at his armpits and beneath the scalloped border of his jupon. Likewise of note is the pair of richly detailed gauntlets, along with the elaborately studded baldric or broad belt to which the knight's sword and 'kidney' dagger are attached. The latter takes its name from the kidney-shaped lobes at the base of the handle. On his feet is the customary pair of sabatons, to which are fastened rowel spurs. The lion at the knight's feet, with its somewhat superior expression and luxuriant mane, faces to the right. The figure (excluding canopy) measures 1117 x 365 mm.

The single canopy is of cinquefoiled ogee design. Although slightly damaged, it is both elegant and refined. The bases of the pinnacles are decorated with wolves' heads, while the pediment is embellished with decorative tracery made up of an oculus enriched with a quatrefoil design and the three spandrels filled with stylised foliage. By placing the effigy on a plinth (also decorated with quatrefoils and foliage) and attempting to replicate the vaulting



Fig. 1. Sir Nicholas Burnell (d. 1382/3)
Acton Burnell, Shropshire, M.S.I

6 Norris, *Memorials.*, I, p. 65.

7 J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses - A New Classification of Military Effigies', *Jnl of the British*

Archaeological Assoc., Third Series, XII (1949), pp.70-97 at 81.



*Fig. 2. Sir Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell, Shropshire
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)*

of a three-dimensional alabaster or stone canopy, the engraver has successfully created the impression of a figure standing in a niche on a bracket.

Set above the head of the effigy, and reversed, presumably for ease of readability, is the inscription, which measures 596 x 125 mm. As on several other brasses of the period a small mischievous face forms part of one of the capital letters – an engaging piece of whimsy on the part of the engraver.⁸ The three-line inscription is in Latin and reads:

⁸ Other examples of these amusing little faces may be found on the brasses of Sir Robert Bardolf, 1395, at

*Hic iacet dominus Nicholaus Burnell Miles dominus /
De holgot qui obiit xix^o die Januarii Anno /
Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} Lxxxii^o Cuius anime
propicietur deus amen.*

Given the passage of over six centuries, apart from the disappearance of two shields and some slight damage to the canopy, the brass is in an extremely good state of repair. That said, both it and the tomb chest upon which it is set are suffering considerably from the unchecked effects of both penetrating and rising dampness.

Mapledurham, Oxfordshire, and Lady Margaret Pennebrygg, 1401, at Shottesbroke, Berkshire.

A conundrum, so far unresolved, is posed by the fact that the slab containing the brass is some three inches shorter than the tomb chest upon which it resides, while the tomb itself also shows signs of having been reduced in length. According to Dean Cranage, it may not have been intended to support the brass and its slab.⁹ From a personal inspection of the tomb and its slab, the author agrees with Dean Cranage's initial observations, but whether the tomb is an 'appropriation' is unclear. The two visible sides of the tomb chest are richly ornamented with blind arcading, now somewhat defaced, and which at one time was probably both painted and gilded. At the west end are two arches, both of equal dimensions, matched by five others on the south side. Adjoining the southwest corner, there is a sixth arch, much smaller, and set at a different level to all the rest. If the arcading on the south side was once symmetrical, there must have been a corresponding small arch at the southeast corner, but all traces of it have long since vanished. The slab containing the brass is cracked in two places, while the tomb chest bears signs of having been clumsily repaired at some time in the past. That apart, the gaps between the tomb and the walls it now adjoins have been filled in with fillets of cement which are exacerbating, if not causing, the ingress of dampness into the memorial referred to above.

Given the erstwhile importance of the Burnell family, the brass's present insignificant position does not accord with the status of the individual

commemorated on it. Clearly, the tomb is not in its original location and probably once occupied a more prominent position, perhaps in the north-eastern corner of the chancel, adjoining the high altar. This would then explain the reversal of the inscription and its curious placement above the head of the effigy. That the tomb is not in its original position is supported by the fact that there was once a building adjoining the north transept, access to which was gained through an archway (now blocked) above and behind which the Burnell tomb now stands.¹⁰

When the tomb and its brass were moved into the north transept remains a mystery. It seems always to have been assumed that the Burnell tomb was removed and repositioned during the incumbency of the Rev. William Serjeantson (1862-1922) – when the whole church was extensively restored and the chancel completely re-modelled. The faculty for the restoration of the church, granted on 27 December 1887, makes specific reference to the relaying of old tiles in the North Transept 'and the memorial stones where suitable'.¹¹

The Victoria County History also states that 'the most notable monuments are in the North Transept, where those commemorating lords of the manor *were assembled in 1887*' (author's italics).¹² No authority for this statement is given, which, on further scrutiny, appears to rest solely upon a very loose interpretation of the wording of the faculty. As it so happens, the Burnell tomb had been

9 Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, p. 456.

10 This is the explanation given in the current church guide for the existence of a row of corbels, on the external eastern face of the north transept. Clearly some form of building abutted the church at this point, but whether it was an anchorite's cell, as is suggested in the church guide, is open to conjecture. Cranage was not completely convinced, although in the absence of any other hypothesis, the idea of such a cell is a reasonable suggestion. Beneath the corbels is the blocked archway, which may have given access

into the transept at almost precisely the spot now occupied by the Burnell tomb.

11 The work of restoration took two years between 1887 and 1889. See Acton Burnell Parish Records at the Shropshire Records and Research Centre, Castlegates, Shrewsbury (SRRC), P2/B/4/1.

12 VCH, *Shropshire*, VIII (London, 1968), p. 12. However, the churchwardens' accounts (extant from 1761 onwards, and deposited at the SRRC, P2/Fiche 4-7 and 7-8) make no reference to the relocation of any memorials at this time.



Fig. 3. Sir Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell, Shropshire
Upper part of brass
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)



Fig. 4. Sir Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell, Shropshire
Upper part of effigy
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)



Fig. 5. Sir Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell, Shropshire
Lion at feet of figure
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)



Fig. 6. Sir Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell, Shropshire
Detail of dagger and baldric
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

in the north transept since at least 1793.¹³ However, in the absence of any further documentary evidence it seems unlikely that a precise date for the removal and partial reconstruction of the tomb will ever be established. That said, it seems reasonable to assume that by the time this work was undertaken, the tomb was probably in a poor state of repair, which may account for its subsequent foreshortening. It may also be the case that the disparity between the length of the slab and the tomb, perhaps previously concealed, was then revealed.¹⁴

A well-established Shropshire family, the Burnells had held the manor of Acton Burnell since the late twelfth century.¹⁵ They continued to do so until the early fifteenth century.¹⁶ The most prominent member hitherto had been Robert Burnell, Nicholas's great uncle, who died in 1293. It was Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells and

Chancellor to Edward I, who was responsible for building the fortified sandstone manor house, the remains of which can still be seen immediately north east of the parish church.¹⁷

Those with knowledge of constitutional history may be aware of the Statute of Acton Burnell passed here in October 1283. This Act sought to regulate how merchants could collect debts owing to them. Tradition has it that it was in this Parliament that the Commons were properly represented for the very first time and took an active part in the proceedings. It is said that Lords and Commons met together in the large stone barn, the gables of which still stand in the field immediately east of the parish church.¹⁸

Of the following generations of the Burnell family, Sir Philip (the nephew of Robert Burnell and Nicholas's paternal grandfather) married Maud, a sister of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of

13 The Rev. Edward Williams (1762-1833) visited Acton Burnell on 7 May 1793, and sketched both the tomb and its brass, his drawing being endorsed with the words 'In the North Transept'. In March and July 1795, Williams made two further drawings at Acton Burnell, of other memorials in the north transept to members of the Lee family (forbears of Robert E. Lee, the American Civil War general). See 'Drawings of Monuments and Inscriptions from Churches and Chapels in Shropshire, executed by the Reverend Edward Williams, 1792-1803', Vol. 1, pp. 227, 228 and 230. The original manuscript is now BL Add. MSS 21,236-21,237; a microfilm copy of it is available for inspection at the SRRC. The author considers the 'memorial stones' referred to in the Faculty are the gravestones (seventeenth century) now on the floor of the north transept, and it was *those*, and *those alone*, which were moved here in 1887 when the chancel was rebuilt.

14 The western end of the slab is chamfered, whilst the eastern end is not. It is possible that this end of the slab has also been reduced in length, perhaps at the same time as similar work was undertaken to the tomb chest. The sketch made by Edward Williams in 1793 reproduces all these details.

15 R.C. Purton, 'The Manor of Acton Burnell', *Trans. of the Shropshire Archaeological Soc.*, XLVII, pt. 1 (1933), pp. 49-56.

16 The last of the Burnells to hold the manor was Sir Nicholas's son Hugh who died in 1417-18. As Hugh's

son Edward had predeceased him, his heir was his granddaughter, Katharine, who married Sir John Radcliffe (*Visitation of Shropshire*, I, pp. 91-4). In 1530, Henry VIII created Sir Robert Radcliffe, a descendant of this marriage, Earl of Sussex. Later owners of the Acton Burnell estate, the Smythes, were Catholics, who gave shelter to dispossessed monks from both Dieulouard and Douai in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The Chapel of Acton Burnell Hall (now Concord College) still contains three fine mid-nineteenth-century figure brasses. The Chapel (now used as the College Library) was the only part of the house to survive the disastrous fire, which gutted the Hall in 1914.

17 During the period of his episcopacy at Wells (1275-92) Robert Burnell oversaw the construction of both the hall and chapel of the Bishop's Palace. In 1284, he received licence, both to crenellate his home at Acton Burnell, and to take timber from the king's forests for building works. The manor house at Acton Burnell must therefore have been erected sometime between 1284 and 1293 (J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *Shropshire* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 89-91). The ruins are now in the ownership of English Heritage.

18 If the building of the manor house did not begin until after the licence to crenellate was issued to Robert Burnell in 1284, then the members of Parliament must have met elsewhere. Given its original size (157 feet long and 40 feet wide) the barn seems as likely a place as any (Newman and Pevsner, *Shropshire*, p. 91).

Arundel (died 1302).¹⁹ Sir Edward (Nicholas's uncle) was a staunch supporter of the Despensers, the favourites of Edward II, and took as his wife Alina, sister of Hugh le Despenser the younger²⁰. Sir Edward's sister Maud married, as her second husband, Sir John de Haudlo, one of Hugh le Despenser the elder's most trusted retainers²¹. Maud's first husband, John Lord Lovell, had been killed at the battle of Bannockburn in June 1314.²² It was also a second marriage for Sir John, whose first wife had been Joan, the daughter of Sir John FitzNiel of Boarstall, by whom Sir John de Haudlo had a son, Richard²³. Thus, early in the fourteenth century, the Burnells found themselves allied by marriage to some of the most powerful Marcher families.

Sir Edward Burnell died without issue in 1315.²⁴ The following year his widow, Lady Alina, conveyed the manor of Acton Burnell jointly to her sister-in-law Maud and the latter's new husband, Sir John de Haudlo.²⁵ The known issue of this marriage were two sons, Thomas (born *c.* 1320) and Nicholas (born *c.* 1323).²⁶ Thomas, the elder of the two boys, died at a relatively early age, during his father's lifetime.²⁷ Consequently, it was young Nicholas who ultimately succeeded to the Burnell family estates in 1346. In fact, Nicholas's parents had settled the manor of Acton Burnell on their younger son as early as 1340, whilst Sir John de Haudlo was still alive.²⁸ This was probably at the behest of his parents, and an immediate

19 *Visitation of Shropshire*, I, pp. 91-4.

20 VCH, *Shropshire*, III (Oxford, 1979), p.19.

21 *Ibid.* The couple married sometime before December 1315, without waiting for the necessary licence from the Crown, a prerequisite given Maud's status as the widow of John, Lord Lovell (G.E.C. [Cokayne], *The Complete Peerage*, 13 vols. In 14 (London, 1910-59), VI, pp.398-401. By January 1314-5, Maud was already actively seeking possession of her late husband's property, and at the same time had given an undertaking to Edward II, not to re-marry without royal consent (*Cal. Close*, 1313-18, 208). As a result of this marriage, that same month (December 1315) Edward II ordered the escheator north of the Trent to confiscate all the lands, which comprised Maud's dower. However, once the couple had pledged their fealty, and once Sir John Haudlo had paid a fine of £100, the lands were restored to them in February 1315-16 (*Cal. Fine R.* 1307-19, 268 and 271). There is no apparent reason for the unseemly haste surrounding Maud Burnell's second marriage, unless, perhaps, she was already with child by Sir John de Haudlo – see below at 28.

22 GEC, *Complete Peerage*, VIII, p. 217.

23 Sir John de Haudlo's family came from Hadlow in Kent, but the family's principal seat was at Boarstall in Buckinghamshire. Richard predeceased his father, and died in December 1343. As a result, it was Richard's young son Edmund who, at the tender age of 7, became heir to the de Haudlo lands following the death of his grandfather in August 1346 (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, VI, pp. 398-401). Young Edmund's mother was Isabel, daughter of Almaric de St.Amand. This same Almaric de St.Amand appears as one of the weepers on the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing.

24 *Visitation of Shropshire*, I, pp. 91-4.

25 As the sole heir of Sir Edward Burnell, Maud received livery of her brother's lands on 16 February 1315-16 (*Cal. Fine R.* 1307-19, 271).

26 Following the death of Sir John de Haudlo in 1346, several of the resultant Inquisitions Post Mortem confirmed his son and heir to be Nicholas, then aged about 23, giving a date of birth of *c.* 1323 (*Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. III*, viii, pp.488-96 (667)). There may well have been other children of the marriage. For example, on 25 May 1340 Hugh le Despenser acknowledged a debt of 640 marks, which he owed to Elizabeth, daughter of John de Haudlo (*Cal. Close*, 1339-41, V, 477).

27 *Visitation of Shropshire*, I, pp. 91-4. In February 1337, Thomas Burnell and Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Berkeley, were granted a dispensation to marry, obligatory because they were related, albeit distantly. The marriage was, in part, an attempt by their respective fathers to patch up their differences. Sir John de Haudlo had supported the Despensers, while Sir Thomas Berkeley was a supporter of the Mortimers (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, VI, p. 399). But if the marriage ever took place, it was of short duration, as Thomas was dead by May 1341.

28 VCH, *Shropshire*, VIII, p. 7. Both Thomas Burnell and his mother Maud were dead by May 1341, at which time Sir John de Haudlo obtained licence to alienate in mortmain lands in Knights Enham, Hampshire, to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury. The purpose of this alienation was to provide funds to pay for prayers to be said for the well-being of Sir John, and the souls of his wife Maud, his son Thomas, all his ancestors, Edward II, and Hugh Despenser the Elder. The first obit for the repose of Maud's soul was held on St. Arnulph's Day (18 July) 1341 (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, VI, pp. 399-400). The fact that Thomas Burnell is so called both in the marriage dispensation and the licence to alienate indicates that he too assumed that surname.

consequence of the untimely death of Nicholas's elder brother Thomas.²⁹ However, despite his father having died in August 1346, Nicholas did not take possession of the manor until 1348, by which time he had also assumed the name of Burnell.³⁰

Before that, Nicholas saw military service overseas, in the Crécy campaign of Edward III, which began with the English invasion of Normandy in July 1346, leading to the battle itself, fought on 26 August of that same year. Nonetheless, when battle was joined with the French at Crécy, Nicholas was still in England. His father had died but three weeks earlier, on 5 August 1346, and it seems reasonable to assume that Nicholas was fully occupied with the necessary funeral obsequies and taking possession of his extensive inheritance.

However, by the spring of the following year, Nicholas was in France, well in time to take part in the closing stages of the lengthy siege of Calais, which he had been requested to attend

by no less a personage than the Black Prince himself. The reason why the then sixteen year old prince wanted Nicholas in France was explicitly spelt out in a letter written by Prince Edward on 20 March 1347: '[Nicholas] has been with the prince before, and the prince still wishes, because of the affection which he bears him, to have him in his company'.³¹

Although Nicholas Burnell was some eight years his senior, the Black Prince clearly held him in very high regard. So it was, that in the spring of 1347, accompanied by a suitably impressive retinue (funded by the Black Prince)³² Nicholas took ship across the Channel, bound for France. Landing on French soil, Nicholas soon arrived in the English camp outside the walls of Calais, in armour, and wearing a jupon, blazoned *Argent, a lion rampant sable, crowned or* - the arms of the Burnells.³³

Unfortunately, so too did Lord Morley! Not surprisingly, a heated exchange ensued, during the course of which Lord Morley, a former

29 Following his marriage to Maud Burnell, Sir John de Haudlo received livery of all the Burnell estates, except those held by his wife in dower. These included 'the Barony of Holdgate and the Burnel (sic) inheritance'. Immediately thereafter, Sir John apparently prevailed upon his wife to bestow all her lands exclusively upon her male issue by him alone (Purton, 'The Manor of Acton Burnell', p. 50). This tends to reinforce the author's view that Maud Burnell was already expecting a child when she married Sir John de Haudlo, a child who was probably born very soon after his/her parent's hurried marriage. But whatever it was that prompted this mean-spirited act, it was to the detriment of John Lord Lovell and stored up a legacy of bitterness. Maud's son by her first marriage was born posthumously, probably in September 1314, several months after the death of his father at the Battle of Bannockburn (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, VIII, p. 218).

30 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. III*, viii, pp. 488-96 (667). See also n. 31.

31 *Blk. Prince's Reg.* i. 66, where he is referred to as Nicholas Burnell. The VCH states that Nicholas assumed the name of Burnell somewhat earlier than this. However, writs issued in October 1346, directed to the escheators of several counties (including Shropshire) ordering them not to interfere with Nicholas's possession of certain

properties for which he had already done homage, still refer to him as Nicholas de Haudlo. As Sir Nicholas Burnell, he received *seisin* of Acton Burnell in May 1355, and of Conover, Shropshire, and Little Rissington, Gloucestershire, in June 1363 (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, II, p. 435).

32 *Blk. Prince's Reg.* i. 66. The request by the Black Prince for Nicholas to attend upon him also states that 'when he [Nicholas] has received the estate at which he aims, he shall be treated according to such estate in a manner, which shall be honourable to him'. The 'estate at which he aims' probably refers to Nicholas's intention to assume the name Burnell and all rights appertaining to it. Was the Black Prince perhaps already aware of a rival claim to the Burnell inheritance?

33 *Visitation of Shropshire*, I, pp. 91-4, where the arms of Burnell are said to have had a *bordure azure*. These are the arms given in Burke's *General Armory*. However, the arms as set out above, *without* such a *bordure*, were those borne by Sir Edward Burnell during the reign of Edward I, by Nicholas Burnell and Robert, Lord Morley at Calais in 1347, and it was this coat-of-arms which was the subject of a further dispute in 1385. See also F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), VIII, p. 194.

squire of Sir Edward Burnell, asserted that he had assumed the arms of Burnell after Sir Edward's death in 1315, long before Nicholas was even born. The reason Lord Morley gave for having adopted the arms was very simple: 'because it was his will and pleasure to do so'; he went on to say 'he would defend his so doing'.³⁴

As for Nicholas, he naturally felt **he** had every right to the arms, not only because he was Sir Edward Burnell's nephew, but also because of certain lands of the barony of Burnell bestowed upon him by his mother in 1340. The appearance of both Nicholas and Lord Robert along with their respective retinues (Nicholas's alone numbered over a hundred men) all bearing the same heraldry must have caused considerable confusion, if not a little amusement, in the ranks of the besieging English army.

Although it is generally accepted that self-assumption of coats-of-arms was widely practiced during the medieval period, however amusing this incident may sound now, in the fourteenth century this was still a very serious matter.³⁵ No doubt incensed by what he saw as extreme provocation on the part of Lord Morley, young Nicholas lost his temper and challenged his opponent to immediate trial by

combat to decide, once and for all, who had the right to bear the arms of Burnell. At that point, maybe on account of Nicholas's youth and inexperience, a member of his own retinue, Sir Peter Corbet of Caus, intervened, and generously offered to do combat on Nicholas's behalf.³⁶ It was a timely intervention, for whilst the Black Prince may have held Nicholas Burnell in high regard, his father the king had equal esteem for Lord Morley. Furthermore, Lord Morley, although much older than his would-be adversary, was a seasoned fighter, and the veteran of several tournaments.³⁷

Despite the fact that self-assumption was clearly not unknown during this period, Lord Morley's appropriation of the Burnell arms appears extremely arrogant. Equally, given Sir John de Haudlo's interest in the Burnell lands, it seems inconceivable that Lord Morley had born these arms since 1315, without his right to them ever once being challenged. It would make rather more sense if, notwithstanding his boast that he had born these arms for over thirty years, Lord Morley had in fact assumed them following the death of Sir John de Haudlo in August 1346. After all, who was there to challenge his right to the arms now? A young man, who, compared to Lord Morley, in military matters at least, was a mere novice.

34 C.H. Hartshorne, 'On the Ancient Parliament and Castle of Acton Burnell', *Archaeological Jnl*, II (1846), pp. 330-31. Lord Morley had fought under the same arms at the battle of Crécy in 1346. See G. Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calais', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, XVIII (1897), pl. VII, where the disputed arms are illustrated in colour.

35 That this was the case was confirmed by P.L. Dickinson, *Richmond Herald*, in his letter to the author of 14 January 2000. The author is most grateful to *Richmond Herald* for confirming the content of and references to documents appertaining to the dispute over the Burnell arms held in the College of Arms.

36 The Corbets of Caus and Longnor were overlords of the Burnells. Sir Peter died in 1362 (A.E. Corbet,

The Family of Corbet, Its Life and Times, 2 vols. (London, [1914-20], II, p. 191).

37 Lord Morley's military experience was considerable. In June 1331 he held a tournament at Stepney where, along with twenty-four others, he defended himself against all comers, while in July 1333 he fought against the Scots at the Battle of Halidon Hill. Almost seven years later, in June 1340, as Captain and Admiral of the northern fleet, Lord Morley fought at the Battle of Sluys, his own vessel leading the successful attack on the French fleet. After Crécy and Calais he fought in the Battle of 'les Espagnols sur Mer' off Winchelsea in 1350 and from 1355 until his death in 1360 was Constable of the Tower of London (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, IX, pp. 211-14; A. Ayton, 'Morley, Robert, second Lord Morley', *ODNB*, XXXIX, pp. 276-7).

To make matters worse, Sir John Lovell, Nicholas's half-brother, who had been deprived of the Burnell lands by Nicholas's father, was also with the English army in France in the retinue of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.³⁸ One is given to wondering if Sir John Lovell did not have a hand in this curious affair or at least saw it as a lawful means of conveniently disposing of an upstart younger half-brother, whose father had usurped what Sir John evidently must have regarded as a sizeable chunk of his own inheritance.

However, as things turned out, perhaps fortunately for young Nicholas Burnell and his would-be champion, the trial by combat never took place. For when the royal assent was sought for the contest to proceed, Edward III very wisely refused to give his agreement. Instead, he quite properly referred this, and a similar dispute, to the *Curia Militaris*, the Court of Chivalry.³⁹ Thereafter, a special session of this august body was convened on the sands at Calais, presided over by William Bohun, earl of Northampton, High Constable of England, and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and Earl Marshal.

The hearing lasted for several days. Eventually, when it became clear that Nicholas Burnell's petition would prevail, it was the turn of Lord Morley to lose his temper, swearing he would never fight for the king again. Mindful of

Lord Morley's past services, in an attempt to pour oil on troubled waters, Edward III took matters into his own hands, and sent a delegation, headed by Henry, earl of Lancaster, to Nicholas Burnell, to see if he would be prepared to accept some form of compromise.⁴⁰

Professing his loyalty to the king (not that this ever seems to have been in any doubt) Nicholas stated that he was quite prepared to agree to whatever it was the king had in mind. In modern parlance what this amounted to, was a 'trade-off': recognition of Nicholas's right to the arms of Burnell, in return for Lord Morley being permitted to use the same arms for the rest of his life. Presumably Lord Morley was equally amenable, because judgement to this effect was duly given, then ratified, both by the High Constable and by the Earl Marshal, in St. Peter's Church near Calais. Thereafter, a royal herald in the presence of the whole army proclaimed the decision of the Court of Chivalry.⁴¹

Just over twelve years later, in Burgundy in March 1360, 'feeling the approach of death he [Lord Morley] directed that his banner, with the arms of Burnel (*sic*) should, upon his decease, be delivered to Nicholas Lord Burnel, in pursuance of the judgement passed in the Court of Chivalry; and accordingly his banner-bearer, having in his hands the banner rolled

38 W.G.D. Fletcher, 'Shropshire Men at the French Wars', *Trans. of the Shropshire Archaeological Soc.*, 3rd Series, V (1905), p.145.

39 Hartshorne, 'Acton Burnell', pp. 330-31. The Court of Chivalry, created 1347-8, by delegation from the King's Council, to the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal, 'dealt with cases, which could not be tried by the common law because either the parties were aliens or the dispute arose outside the realm' (A. Wagner, *A History of the Office and the College of Arms* (London, 1967), pp. 37-8). The siege of Calais witnessed yet another dispute over the right to bear heraldic arms, this time between John de Warbeltone and Tibaud Russel *alias* Gorges. It is likely that the dispute between Nicholas Burnell and Lord Robert Morley was one of

the earliest cases to be heard before this particular court. Surprising though it may seem, such disputes were by no means uncommon, the earliest on record having occurred at the siege of Caerlaverock in 1300, between Brian Fitzalan and Hugh Poyntz.

40 That the king intervened in this manner is known from a deposition of one of the witnesses to the case, John Broys, who was aged sixty-five. According to Broys, Edward III took this unusual step 'to avoid the combat and other evils, which might arise therefrom' (A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London, 1960), p. 22).

41 Wagner, *College of Arms*, pp. 37-8. As for Calais itself, with no prospect of relief, the town finally capitulated to the English in August 1347.

up, delivered it to Lord Burnell.⁴² This was duly done; the handing over of the banner being witnessed by a large gathering of the nobility, three of whom were said to be well over one hundred years old!⁴³

So the dispute was finally at an end: the affair over. Or was it?

For despite the passage of over six hundred years since the death of Sir Nicholas Burnell, apart from some minor damage to the canopy, it is singularly odd that the only parts of the brass to have disappeared are the two shields of arms. Of course, given the fact that they are relatively small, usually placed well away from the main composition, in the corners of the slab, shields have often been lost, especially from brasses set in the floor. But the brass at Acton Burnell is on top of a high tomb, and the two shields were placed within the main composition between the pinnacles of the canopy and under the inscription. No doubt they simply fell prey to the depredations of some unscrupulous souvenir hunter. Perhaps. Coincidence? Maybe. Or did descendants of Lord Morley still hold a grudge?

This is not as fanciful as it sounds, for just over two years after Sir Nicholas's death, the right to

the arms of Burnell was again in dispute. In October 1385, in the Court of Chivalry, John, Baron Lovell of Titchmarsh (the grandson of Maud Burnell by her first husband) successfully challenged the right of Sir Thomas Morley (the grandson of Robert, Lord Morley) to bear the Burnell coat-of-arms⁴⁴. The fact that this case was ever brought at all is clear evidence that Sir Thomas had gone back on his grandfather's promise and chosen to ignore the earlier decision of the Court back in 1347. Nor did it take any account of the fact that Sir Nicholas's son Hugh was still very much alive.

After military service in France, Nicholas returned home to Shropshire, presumably to his wife Mary and their young son Hugh. Mary herself is a shadowy figure. All that is known about her is her Christian name, that she and Nicholas had married sometime prior to July 1339,⁴⁵ and the fact that sometime, probably in 1347, she had given birth to a son, whom his parents named Hugh.⁴⁶ Apparently, there were no further children, which given the frailty of life in fourteenth-century England, is worthy of comment. It is possible that there were complications when the baby was born, Mary may have died in childbirth, or succumbed to the Black Death, which struck Shropshire in the spring of 1349.⁴⁷ But if so, it is odd that there is

42 T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1778-84), II, pp. 430-34.

43 The two oldest witnesses were well past their prime. One was said to be 120, the other 140!

44 Sir John de Haudlo had prevailed upon his wife Maud to prevent her posthumous son by Lord Lovell from inheriting any of the Burnell lands. Although no contemporary report of what took place before the walls of Calais in 1347 survives, the proceedings of 1385 (containing a detailed account of the events of nearly forty years earlier) are preserved in a seventeenth century transcript. See TNA: PRO, C47/6/1; TNA: PRO, C30/26; and Coll. Arms MS. Processus in Curia Marescalli, ii, part 2. Written in French, the transcript records the depositions made by various witnesses at the time, as well as a long list of issues upon which the Court of Chivalry sought clarification, including whether Sir Nicholas Burnell had made use of the

disputed arms after the judgement passed in 1347. Over twenty years later, in 1408, Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthin and Sir Edward Hastings were involved in a similar dispute over armorial bearings. In his evidence, Sir Edward cited the heraldry portrayed on the brass of his grandfather Sir Hugh Hastings in Elsing Church, Norfolk, which members of the Court visited during the course of their deliberations. Given the origins of the earlier dispute, it is ironic that Sir Hugh Hastings himself should have been present at the siege of Calais in 1347.

45 GEC, *Complete Peerage*, II, pp. 434-6.

46 In the Inquisitions Post Mortem consequent upon his father's death in 1382-3, Hugh is named as his heir, and was stated to be '35 years and more' (*Cal. Inq. p.m. Ric. II*, i, pp. 287-90).

47 P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 198.

no evidence of Nicholas remarrying. After all he was not yet thirty years old.

It is likely that Nicholas had been knighted whilst in France or else upon his assumption of the Burnell estates in 1348.⁴⁸ Thereafter, he found himself heavily involved in the administration of Shropshire, especially in matters appertaining to law and order, being appointed to serve on numerous commissions of array, of the peace, and of *oyer* and *terminer*. Whilst these duties were undertaken in the company of other members of the Shropshire gentry, indicative of Sir Nicholas's special position as their undisputed leader during the 1350s-1370s, is the fact that his name and later that of his son Hugh frequently head the list of the commissioners.⁴⁹ The following extracts, by no means exhaustive, from both the Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls for the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, give some idea of the kind of the matters with which our Shropshire knight was concerned.

In October 1365, Sir Nicholas found himself over in the west of the county investigating a spate of decidedly non-monastic goings on at Alberbury Priory, including trespasses, destruction of property, the imprisonment of the prior, Richard of Hatton, and the murder of a woman called Alice Souters.⁵⁰ It would be interesting to know what lay behind this particular outbreak of lawlessness, but it is unlikely the reasons for it will ever be established. Several years later, in the autumn of 1369, there was a mass breakout from the gaol in Shrewsbury Castle. In October of that

year, Sir Nicholas was one of the commissioners appointed to establish just how this regrettable lapse of security had come to pass, as well as being charged with rounding up the escapees.⁵¹

For Shropshire, the 1370s were no less lawless. In March 1371, it fell to Sir Nicholas to investigate, by means of a commission of *oyer* and *terminer*, a crime that would have clearly stretched the investigative powers of the fictitious Brother Cadfael! John Routhale of Ludlow made complaint that he had left the large sum of 200 marks in 'a chamber in the manse of Robert le Heustere of Shrewsbury'. However, when he came to collect the money, it had disappeared, despite the door still being locked and sealed with his own seal!⁵² In March 1373 Sir Nicholas was on yet another commission of inquiry, this time investigating the theft of livestock and property belonging to William Trussell at *Shuffenhale* (Shifnal) as well as assaults upon the latter's men and servants⁵³.

Two years later, in February 1375, Sir Nicholas was one of those inquiring into the wounding of Joan de Harley by Peter de Cornewaill at *Williley* (Willey), *Harley*, and *Grobyngton*⁵⁴. Alberbury seems to have been a singularly dangerous place in fourteenth century Shropshire, for in November 1375 Sir Nicholas was back there again, this time investigating the rape of Katherine de Pontesbury at the manor house⁵⁵. Several months later, in February 1376, Sir Nicholas found himself undertaking a visitation of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Shrewsbury, which was in an extremely run-down state. Short of dismissing the Prior, Sir Nicholas was authorised to put in hand

48 Between 25 November 1350 and 7 January 1382/3, he was summoned to attend various Parliaments, by writs addressed to 'Nicholas Burnell', whereby he is held to have become Lord Burnell (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, II, p. 435).

49 VCH, *Shropshire*, III, pp.62-3.

50 *Cal. Pat.* 1364-7, 26. Alberbury was one of three English houses founded by the Order of Grandmont in the early thirteenth century. The others were at Eskdale,

Cumberland, and Craswall, Herefordshire. The hapless Alice Souters was the third woman to be killed at Alberbury Priory in the space of twenty years. One wonders just what was going on.

51 *Cal. Pat.* 1367-70, 349.

52 *Cal. Pat.* 1370-74, 310.

53 *Cal. Pat.* 1370-74, 310.

54 *Cal. Pat.* 1374-77, 140.

55 *Cal. Pat.* 1374-77, 226.

any measures necessary to bring the establishment up to standard.⁵⁶

The 1370s saw a resurgence of the threat of invasion by the French. In both March and June 1371 Sir Nicholas served as a commissioner in Shropshire charged with raising subsidies to pay for the defence of the realm.⁵⁷ The latter subsidy was assessed at £50,000 for the whole country (England and Wales) of which Shropshire was expected to find just over £660.⁵⁸ A further commission to which Sir Nicholas was appointed in March 1377 was 'to resist the malice of the king's enemies of France'.⁵⁹

In the early 1380s, Nicholas was appointed to serve on several commissions in the county charged with suppressing troubles which had arisen in Shropshire as a result of the Peasants' Revolt. That of December 1381 was typical: the commissioners were ordered to 'put down rebels' and to suppress 'unlawful assemblies'.⁶⁰ There were two further such commissions in 1382, one in March and another in December.⁶¹ Given the fact that Nicholas died in January of the following year, it is questionable if he actually served on the commission appointed in December 1382. Certainly, by the late 1370s, Sir Nicholas was no longer in the best of health, as in November 1377 Richard II had kindly allowed him to postpone his next homage to the young king 'until Whitsuntide next because of the gout with which he is afflicted'.⁶² However, it was not only the peasants who were operating outside the law. In November 1380, Sir Nicholas was appointed to serve on a commission in Shrewsbury, charged with investigating allegations that certain bailiffs were up to no

good, and had 'taken money from the coffers of the town treasury to squander' and also had 'risen against their betters'.⁶³

Given his standing, it is not surprising to find that Sir Nicholas Burnell was possessed of a considerable amount of real estate, made up of properties scattered throughout the length and breadth of England.⁶⁴ Apart from his holdings in Shropshire (which are considered in more detail below) these included several advowsons, various individual parcels of land, numerous lucrative rents, and over a dozen manors, strewn across the counties of Essex, Gloucester, Kent, Norfolk, Oxford, Stafford, Surrey, Warwick, and Worcester. Most were held in chief from the king, but some of the properties belonged to important and influential churchmen, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior of Bermondsey. The lands Sir Nicholas held at Hammes by Kingston-upon-Thames were owned by the citizens of that town, to whom Sir Nicholas paid the unusual rent of three cloves due at the king's coronation, but only if they were asked for! Not quite a peppercorn rental, but almost. Conversely, the rent, which Nicholas received from the lessee of one of his properties in Bexley and Plumstead, Kent, was equally novel: *one cock and twenty-three hens*. One of the manors in Essex (at Stanstead Mountfitchet) was even known as *Burnelsmanoir*. There were also extensive properties in Bristol all held of the king as part of the royal Honour of Gloucester. These amounted to eight messuages, twelve shops, fifteen cellars, two gardens, and 62s. in rent of assise. In the same county, Sir Nicholas also

56 *Cal. Pat.* 1374-77, 312.

57 *Cal. Fine R.* 1369-77, 112, 126.

58 *Cal. Fine R.* 1369-77, 126.

59 *Cal. Close* 1374-77, 487.

60 *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 85.

61 *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 141, 247.

62 *Cal. Close* 1377-81, 26. Given the young king's kindness,

it is rather ironic that just over twenty years later, Sir Nicholas's son Hugh is recorded as one of those who witnessed and received the abdication of Richard II in 1399 (GEC, *Complete Peerage*, II, p. 435).

63 *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 579.

64 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Ric. II*, i, pp.287-90.

held the manor of Little Rissington (not far from Bourton-on-the-Water).⁶⁵

However, Sir Nicholas's principal holdings lay in Shropshire. Foremost among these, despite the fact that attempts to establish it as an important settlement ultimately failed, was Acton Burnell with its fortified manor house, to which there was attached a deer park.⁶⁶ In June 1364 Edward III generously re-confirmed the provisions of the charter, originally granted by the king's grandfather to Nicholas's great uncle Robert Burnell in 1269, of the right of holding a weekly market every Tuesday at Acton Burnell, along with two yearly fairs, each of a three-day duration.⁶⁷ Of the latter, one was to be held on the vigil, day, and morrow of the Annunciation (Lady Day) the other at the Feast of St. Michael (Michaelmas). Sir Nicholas must have lived in some style at Acton Burnell, for in 1379 it is recorded that he was maintaining a large household at the castle.⁶⁸

Apart from Acton Burnell, the most important of Nicholas's possessions in Shropshire was the manor of Wellington which, one minor rental apart, Nicholas held jointly with his son Hugh. There were also other manors at Castle Holdgate (over in the Corvedale), Condoover, Longden, and Woolstaston. Included in the manor of Holdgate was the castle which gave the property its name, but which by the late fourteenth century was already in a semi-ruinous condition.⁶⁹ In return for the grant of this particular manor, Nicholas was required to

provide the king with two horsemen mustered at Montgomery, as and when the Welsh decided to be difficult. The manors of Condoover and Longden were held on similar terms: two foot soldiers for the former, and an archer and a man with a lance for forty days service for the latter, all to be on hand as and when the Welsh proved troublesome.⁷⁰ There were additional lands at both Clee St. Margaret, and also at Priestweston,⁷¹ along with several very lucrative yearly rentals – among them 40s. at Acton Pigot, 50s. in Roughton, and 60s. at Rushbury.⁷² There was also a tenement in Bridgnorth and several rents of assise, including the right to hold two royal courts at Uppington twice a year.⁷³ A further parcel of land in Uppington was held of the king on the yearly rent of one sparrowhawk.⁷⁴ It is not clear if Sir Nicholas had to deliver this in person! Apart from that of Acton Burnell, Sir Nicholas also held the advowsons of several other chapels and churches in Shropshire: Chetton, Thonglands (in Munslow Hundred), Pitchford, and Woolstaston.⁷⁵

Of course, many fourteenth century knights enjoyed far more adventurous and distinguished careers than that of Sir Nicholas Burnell. Apart from his single foray across the sea to Calais in 1347, once he had established his right to both the name and lineage of Burnell, Sir Nicholas apparently devoted himself entirely to the management of his own estates, and the administration of Shropshire. For him at least, that seems to have been enough.

65 GEC, *Complete Peerage*, II, p. 435.

66 See R.C. Purton, 'The Manor of Acton Burnell', p. 50, who states that it was 'evidently ... [Robert Burnell's] intention that ...[his] "castle" should look down over a flourishing market town ...'.

67 *Cal. Chart. R.* 1341-1417, 188.

68 VCH, *Shropshire*, VIII, p. 8.

69 The first castle at Holdgate was of the motte and bailey type. A steep-sided circular motte with a shallow ditch lies immediately to the east of the church. The remains of a 13th-century stone castle, presumably begun by Robert Burnell, and which occupied the bailey of the earlier castle, are now concealed behind a sixteenth-century farmhouse. Holdgate lay just off the line of the Roman

road, which ran through the Corvedale. Even so, it was, and indeed still is, somewhat remote, which may account for the castle being abandoned at a comparatively early date. An excellent drawing of how the remains of the castle looked at the end of the nineteenth century is to be found in F.S. Acton, *The Castles and Old Manors of Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 1868), p. 9.

70 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Ric. II*, i, pp. 287-90

71 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. III*, viii, pp. 488-96 (667).

72 *Ibid.*

73 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Ric. II*, i, pp. 287-90.

74 *Ibid.*

75 *Ibid.*

An Incised Slab Discovery in Bruges and some other Bruges Slabs

Ronald van Belle

A recently discovered incised slab of c. 1350, found built into a buttress at Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges, shares design features with other monuments in and around Bruges which are distinct from typical Tournai products. It is proposed that these are the work of Bruges workshops. A Bruges origin is suggested for incised slabs at Boston and Ripplingale, Lincs., and Palma de Mallorca. A case involving the export of an incised slab from Bruges to Germany in 1382 is discussed.

The Incised Slab of a civilian and wives

During restoration work on the south transept of Sint-Salvatorskathedraal (St. Saviour's Cathedral), Bruges in October 2007 a slab was uncovered on top of the corner buttress at height of more than 30 m.¹ The slab, which had been used as a gutter stone on a corner buttress (to prevent rain water from running down the sides of the buttress), was covered by a brickwork slope. The bricks were crumbling and required some restoration. On removing a few of the bricks covering a small part of the border some engraved lines were revealed. I was informed by Mr. Benoit Kervyn, curator of the cathedral art collections, and asked to make an evaluation. By a series of ladders I climbed to the top of the buttress where it was immediately clear to me that the gutter stone was a part of a fourteenth-century incised slab. At my request the slab was completely uncovered. The tombstone had for reasons of weight been cut in two pieces in order to ease its hoisting to such height (each fragment weighs about 600/700 kg). The other buttresses have the same structure with large Tournai slabs as gutter stones but they did not need to be restored. Here too we can expect that old incised slabs were recycled. The slab proved to

be in a remarkable state of preservation despite its age. The province of West-Flanders, the patron of the restoration works, which I had alerted, agreed immediately to meet the expenses of the recovery of the slab. Because the two fragments showed a number of cracks there was some fear that the slab would crumble into pieces once lifted. The slab was carefully separated from the underlying brickwork, properly packed, fixed on a special stretcher and deposited without any damage. I myself cautiously removed the old cement concretions. The slab was then placed in the choir ambulatory of the cathedral. The result is stunning taking into account the age of the slab and its history (Fig. 1).

Names and Date: three unknown civilians, c. 1350.
Size: H. ± 2160 mm (103 + 113mm), L. ± 1280 mm. (the slab lost a border of about 200 mm).

Material and state: Tournai stone, sawn in two, some cracks and old damage. Some fragments are flaking off.

Inscription: lost, when used as a gutter stone the borders were trimmed.

Description : man flanked by his two wives, standing under Gothic arches; their eyes are open and their hands joined in prayer. Each arch has multifoil cusping with trefoil ornamentation and a 'clover-cross' terminal. Each gable has its own roof filled with triangles containing three lancets (outer gables) and roundels with quatrefoils (middle gable). The gables rest on thin columns, without capitals. The man has wavy hair and is dressed in a long surcote and a hooded chaperon; his feet are resting on a dog. Both his wives wear a surcote and a sleeveless mantle and have their heads covered by veil and wimple.

¹ R. van Belle, 'Grafzerk van een onbekende burger en echtgenotes in de Sint-Salvatorskathedraal in Brugge',

Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge, CXLVI (2009), pp. 347-56.



*Fig.1. Incised slab of a man with his two wives, c. 1350, St.-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges.
(rubbing: Ronald van Belle (pos.), © IRPA-KIK)*

Comments: The slab probably lay somewhere in the church but its original location is unknown. It does not show much wear and so did not stay long in the church floor. It was probably removed after the big fire of 1358 which occurred in the church.² The fire raged through the tower and the old nave causing major damage. It is therefore no surprise that slabs were used as building material in order to reduce costs.³ This occurred elsewhere in Sint-Salvatorskathedraal (and other churches in Bruges).⁴ This recycling saved the slab but caused the loss of the epitaph and the possibility of ever identifying those commemorated.⁵

The slab is close to the monumental brass of Robert Braunch (d. 1364) and wives in St. Margaret's, King's Lynn, Norfolk, a Tournai product.⁶ Brasses however allow a much more fine engraving than slabs. The heads of the figures are of a similar idealized design in the rendering of the nose, the eyes and the violin lips, but this is rather stereotypical at this time and occurs on many other Bruges and Ghent slabs. The incised slab of an unknown woman, probably dating from around 1350, also from Sint-Salvatorskathedraal can be compared with the design of the two women on the newly found slab.⁷ In addition, the roof covering also consists of triangles with triple lancets of the type called in Flemish 'visblazen' ('fish bladders'). Before investigating this particularity I would like to draw attention to another interesting recent discovery.

The slab of Bouden van den Bro(u)cke

This slab (Fig. 2) was discovered in 2010 on the occasion of the replacement of the sewer in Mariastraat, a street crossing the former medieval cemetery surrounding O.-L.-Vrouwekerk in Bruges, and is now preserved in a tower of the medieval Gentpoort in Bruges.

Name and Date: Bouden van den Brocke (Broucke), d. 1325.

Size: H. ± 2030 mm, L. 1025 mm, D. 140 mm.

Material, state and place: Tournai stone, worn, in bad state of preservation, chipping of the surface, loss of all the engraving at the bottom.

Inscription: in Lombardic lettering: 'HIER [LE]GHET . BOVD[EN . FS] / JANS VAN . DEN . BROCKE [BROVCKE].⁸ DIE . STAERF ... / ... /...[ANN]O . D[OMI]NI . M . CCC . XXV . BID . OVER . DE . ZIELE' or 'Here lies Bouden son of Jan van den Broucke who died ... / ... /..in the year of the Lord 1325 pray for his soul'.

Description: man standing under a Gothic arch, his eyes are open, his hands joined in prayer. The arch has multifoil cusping and is ornamented with trefoils and a 'clover-cross' terminal. The arch is surmounted by two pinnacles and the space between them is filled in with triangles with triple lancets. The arch is supported by pairs of thin columns which extend upwards to support towers surrounded by pinnacles; the thin columns have capitals with trefoil decoration. The man has wavy hair and is dressed in a long surcote and a hooded chaperon.

2 L. Devliegher, *De Sint-Salvatorskathedraal te Brugge*, Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, Geschiedenis en Architectuur, 7 (Tielt-Bussum, 1981), pp. 18-19.

3 According to the architect Vershelde the floor was raised between 1358 and 1480. See K. Vershelde, *De kathedrale van S. Salvator te Brugge: Geschiedkundige beschrijving* (Brugge, 1863), p. 81; Devliegher, *Sint-Salvatorskathedraal*, pp. 64-5.

4 R. van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten en memorietaferelen met persoonsafbeeldingen in West-Vlaanderen: een inventaris, funeraire symboliek en overzicht van het kostuum* (Brugge, 2006), Bru.3, Bru.4, Bru. 6, Bru. 8, Bru. 11, Bru. 13, Bru.14, etc.

5 [It is possible that the removal of the inscription was deliberate, as a means of desacralizing the monument. *Ed.*]

6 H.K. Cameron, 'The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn', *Archaeological Jnl*, CXXXVI (1979), pp. 151-72.

7 L. Devliegher, *De Sint-Salvatorskathedraal te Brugge*, Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, Geschiedenis en Architectuur, 8 (Tielt-Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 108, 109, figs. 73, 74; van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten*, pp. 134 (Bru. 11) & ill., 136 (Bru. 13) & ill.

8 The orthography of this family name varies a lot: Broucke is the most commonly used version but Brockere, Brokere, Brocke and Brouke also occur.

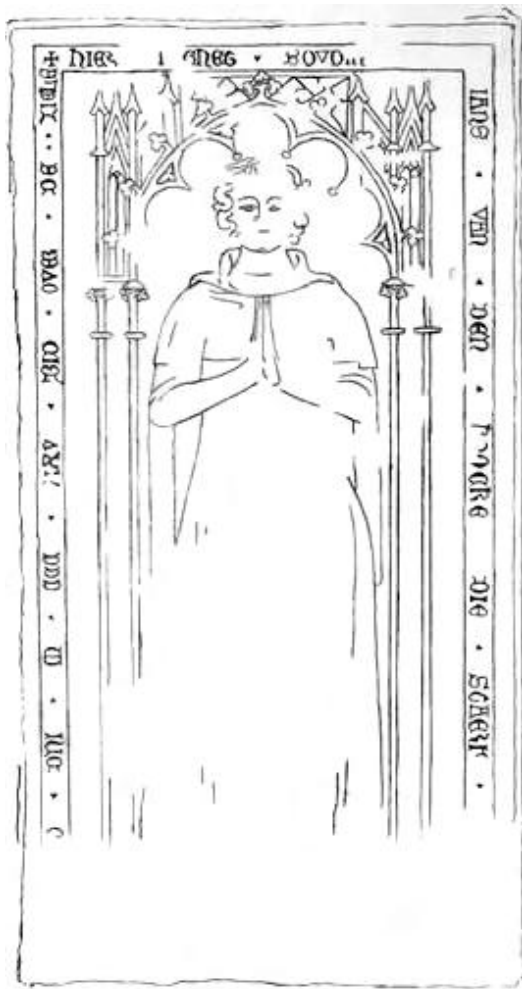


Fig. 2. Incised slab of Bouden van den Broucke, d. 1325, from O.-L.-Vrouwekerk, Bruges. (tracing: Ronald van Belle, © IRPA-KIK)

Comments: When discovered the slab was not covering any tomb (several tombs were discovered nearby, some with paintings on the inner walls) so it is presumed that the slab originally lay inside the church and was removed to the outside in order to make place for a new burial and new incomes. The distinctive roof filling



Fig. 3. Drawing of the incised slab of Simoen the Costere, d. 1384, his wife Maergriete Aernouds, d. 1358, and her sister Lisbete (?) Aernouds, d. 1353, St.-Kruis (now lost) (© Provinciale dienst voor Cultuur, Brugge)

composed of triangles with triple lancets occurs here as well.

Characteristics of Bruges Slabs

The above slabs can be linked stylistically to a much larger group, in particular to the slabs discovered in the cemetery of the present church of St.-Kruis just outside Bruges, a Gothic Revival building of 1853-6, partly resting on the foundations of the medieval



Fig. 4. Slab (now lost) of an unknown man, c. 1340-50, from the former church of the Récollets, Tournai.
(© IRPA-KIK)

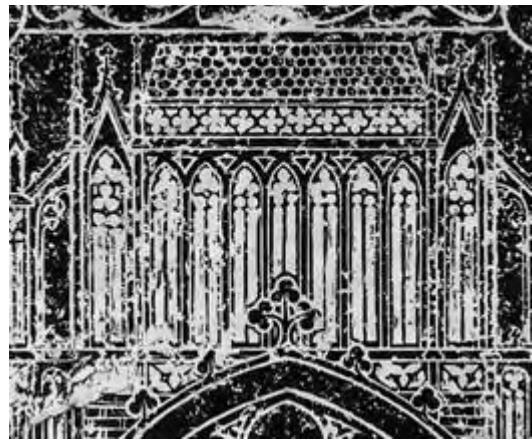


Fig. 5. Canopy with roof tiles in 'fish-scale' pattern, detail of the slab of Guillaume du Chasteler, d. 1378, and Béatrice de Mortagne, d. 1352.
(rubbing: R. Van Belle, © IRPA-KIK)



Fig. 6. Bouden van den Broucke, d. 1325, O-L-Vrouwekerk, Bruges



Fig. 7. Desceppre, c. 1330-40, from the Dominican church, Bruges



Fig. 8. Three civilians, c. 1350, St.-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges



Fig. 9. Simoen de Costere, d. 1383, his wife Maergriete Aernouds, d. 1358, and her sister Lisbete (?) Aernouds, d. 1353, from the medieval parish church of St.-Kruis



Fig. 13. Gillis Vrilinc, d. 1353, St.-Vedastuskerk, Zerkegem



Fig. 10. Wilsoet, c. 1350, St.-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges



Fig. 14. Philips de ... d. 1409, Ghertrude Muls, d. 1400, and unknown man, d. ?, O.-L.-Vrouwekerk, Damme.



Fig. 11. Unknown woman, c. 1350, St.-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges

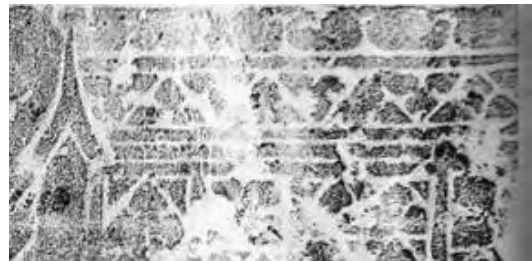


Fig. 15. Two or three unknown persons, d. 1353, from the medieval parish church of St.-Kruis



Fig. 12. Unknown woman, c. 1350, St.-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges



Fig. 16. Pauwels de Brabandere and wife Kateline, c. 1350-80, from the medieval church of St.-Kruis

parish church.⁹ The slab of Simoen the Costere, d. 1384, his wife Maergriete Aernouds, d. 1358, and her sister Lisbete (?) Aernouds, d. 1353 (Fig. 3) is very close to the Sint-Salvatorskathedraal slab (Fig. 1). Ludovic Nys has already drawn attention to the specific characteristics of the St.-Kruis slabs and wrote: ‘Several slabs in Tournai stone of the fourteenth century, discovered for instance on the site of the Bruges church of Sainte-Croix, display a distinct typology from that witnessed in Tournai during the same era, at least so far the types of architecture are concerned’. He considered those slabs as probably a specifically Bruges production.¹⁰ A few other similar slabs are to be found in a larger area around Bruges; we can add to this series the slab of Philips de ..., d. 1409, Ghertrude Muls, d. 1400 and unknown man, d. ? in O.-L.-Vrouwekerk in Damme (Fig. 14)¹¹ and the much worn slab of Gillis Vrilinc, d. 1353, in St.-Vedastuskerk, Zerkegem (Fig. 13).¹² Some differences can indeed be noted when comparing the above Bruges slabs with contemporary slabs in Tournai, such as the incised slab of Isabeau de Cambrai, d. 1342, still in the pavement of the church of St.-Jacques,¹³ that of an unknown man, c. 1340-1350, from the former church of the Récollets (Fig. 4), kept before its destruction during the war in the Musée de l’école St.-Luc, and the slab of Pieronne dou Bos, d. 1335, with two priests, probably her sons, from Chapelles-à-Wattines. The first point is that the Bruges slabs are much simpler in their design. The faces of the deceased are quite similar and idealized but in the design of the clothes of the Bruges slabs the lines are shown falling straight. There is no sense of volume

and no attempt at a dynamic play of folds. The women on the Tournai slabs lift up their surcotes allowing the craftsman to show his artistic and technical skills. By means of swift lines, increasing or decreasing in thickness depending on the folds, he gives volume to the figures and an impression of three dimensions. That and the typical elegance of the Tournai products are lacking on the Bruges slabs. The dog on the Sint-Salvatorskathedraal slab is very rigid and does not wear the typical collar with bells. On Tournai slabs we find in general playful lap dogs with bell collars. But, as Ludovic Nys stresses, the most striking difference lies in the gable. In the same period we find on Tournai products very elaborate, sometimes even intricate gables with well balanced architecture. The figures of Abraham and angels bearing candles or incensers are in a few cases represented in niches. On the Bruges slabs the gables are much more simplified. A very distinctive feature is the roof covering consisting of triangles filled with triple lancets, a pattern which is not present on Tournai slabs where we find the roof tiles disposed in the typical ‘fish-scale’ pattern (see Fig. 5).

In many cases it is in fact not a roof covering but just an infill between pinnacles. There are two types of triangles, large ones as in Fig. 6 (d. 1325), Fig. 7 (c. 1330/40), Figs. 8, 10 and 12 (c. 1350), Fig. 16 (d. 1350 and 1380), Fig. 9 (d. 1353 and 1383) and Fig. 14 (d. 1400 and 1409) and small ones as in Figs. 11 and 12 (c. 1350) and Fig. 15 (d. 1353). These specific characteristics, occurring only in Bruges and its hinterland (as well as a few examples abroad)

9 L. Devliegheer, ‘14de eeuwse Grafzerken uit Sint-Kruis (Brugge)’, *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis*, CXXVI (1989), pp. 233-41; van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten*, pp. 406-410 (Stk. 1-4) & ill.

10 L. Nys, ‘La tombe de Pierre d’Ailly cardinal et évêque de Cambrai († 9 août 1420)’, *Revue des archéologues et historiens d’art de Louvain*, XXVI (1993), pp. 34-5.

11 Van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten*, pp. 239-40 (Dam. 12) & ill.

12 Van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten*, pp. 450-51 (Zer.1) & ill.

13 H.K. Cameron, ‘The 14th-century School of Flemish Brasses: Evidence for a Tournai Workshop’, *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 3 (1977), p. 208, fig. 1.

can hardly be explained without positing local production in Bruges.



Fig. 17. Unknown man and woman, c. 1350, Franciscan church, Palma de Mallorca, Spain

A 'Flemish' slab in the Franciscan friary of Palma de Mallorca.

Large triangles also occur on a 'Flemish' slab (Tournai stone, 2540 x 1175 mm) of an unknown couple in the great Franciscan friary of Palma de Mallorca (Figs. 17 and 26).¹⁴ The presence of a Bruges slab in Palma is no surprise. There were close trade relations between Mallorca and Flanders. Count Louis de Male granted in 1352 a safe conduct to the 'merchants, the sailors and the good people of the kingdom of Aragon and Mallorca'.¹⁵ At the request of the Flemish cities of Ghent, Ypres and Bruges, Edward III granted in 1345 a safe conduct to the vessels of Castile, Catalonia and Mallorca travelling to Flanders.¹⁶ In the Bruges archives there is a case in 1373 of three Mallorcan vessels attacked by English pirates despite their safe conduct.¹⁷ A fourteenth-century product list of goods coming from the different regions of Spain and North Africa and unloaded in Bruges includes: 'From the kingdom of Mallorca comes alum, rice, figs which grow in that country'.¹⁸ Flemish cloth is

mentioned in the 'Ordinacions de la Art Mercantirol' of Palma, dating from 1404.¹⁹ It seems to me that the Palma slab, once with brass inlay for the epitaph, can also be added to the Bruges productions and is also to be dated c. 1350, taking into account the dated slabs and the dress of the deceased.

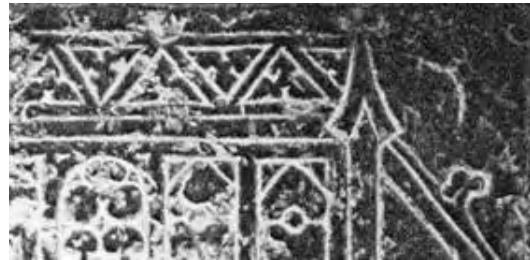


Fig. 18. Two civilians, c. 1350, St. Andrew's, Rippingale, Lincs.

A 'Flemish' slab in St. Andrew's church, Rippingale, Lincolnshire

Small triangles with triple lancets occur on a much worn slab with two civilians (inlaid border inscription in latten lost) in St. Andrew's, Rippingale, Lincs.²⁰ The deceased, consisting of two cut-out figures of brass inlaid in the slab, were standing under a double canopy (left part lost). The roof covering of small triangles with small triple lancets is similar to Figs. 8 and 9 (c. 1350) and in particular to Fig. 12, which is a detail of a slab with two or three figures formerly in the medieval church of St.-Kruis and dated 1353.²¹ The presence of a Bruges slab in Rippingale is no surprise. There were close contacts between Bruges and Lincolnshire in

14 I wish to thank Derrick and Cathy Chivers for this information and for the pictures provided.

15 L. Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien consulat d'Espagne à Bruges* (Bruges, 1901), p. 14.

16 J. Finot, *Etude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et l'Espagne au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1899), p. 60.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 304.

19 On Flemish cloth in Palma see 'Ordinacions de la Art Mercantirol de 1404', *Bulletin de la Societat Arqueologica*

Lulliana, XXXIII (1930-31), p. 335, and C. Verlinden, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion commerciale de la draperie flamande dans la Péninsule Ibérique au XIII^e siècle', *Revue du Nord*, XXII (1936), p. 8 and note on p. 16.

20 S. Badham and T. Sutton, 'A Fourteenth Century Flemish Composite Slab from Rippingale, Lincolnshire', *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 2 (1981), pp. 152-4.

21 This slab is known only from a partial dabbing preserved by the Provinciale Dienst voor Cultuur; see van Belle, 'Grafzerk van een onbekende burger', p. 35, fig. 5.

the context of the wool trade. Bruges obtained the staple of the English wool from 1340 to 1348 and from June 1349 to September 1353 when Edward III removed it from Flanders and divided it between the various English cities. The Ripplingale slab is probably a Bruges production as well, to be dated around 1350 (in my opinion the date of *c.* 1375 proposed by Badham and Sutton is somewhat too late, taking into account the small latten border inlay (now lost) for the epitaph and the date of 1353 for the St.-Kruis slab.



Fig. 19. Wessel Smalenburgh, merchant of Münster, d. 1340, from the Franciscan church, now St. Botolph's, Boston



Fig. 20. Simoen de Costere, d. 1383, his wife Maergriete Aernouds, d. 1358, and her sister Lisbete (?) Aernouds, d. 1353, from the medieval church of St.-Kruis

The Wessel Smalenburgh slab in Boston, Lincolnshire

Wessel Smalenburgh, a merchant of Münster (d. 1340), had his slab in the Franciscan friary in Boston, which was later on moved to St. Botolph's. The canopy is topped by triangles filled with triple lancets alternating with quatrefoils (Fig. 19). Identical quatrefoils can be found on top of

the canopies of the slab of Simoen de Costere (d. 1383), his wife Maergriete Aernouds (d. 1358) and her sister Lisbete (?) Aernouds, (d. 1353) from the medieval church of St.-Kruis (Fig. 20). But here the triangles have been replaced by quadrilobes. It is worth noting that the top of one of the canopies of the newly discovered St.-Salvatorskathedraal slab is also topped by quadrilobes in roundels (Fig. 22). All those slabs present common design features, and there is no doubt that they are related. Wessel Smalenburgh would certainly have been in contact with the main Hansa *Kontor* in the West which was in Bruges. In my opinion the Smalenburgh slab has to be added to the catalogue of Bruges products.

Production of incised slabs in Bruges: the slab of Henric Marcolt, merchant of Germany

It is certain that Bruges was not only a distribution centre of slabs and monumental brasses produced in Tournai but that incised slabs and brasses were engraved in Bruges during the fourteenth century. Of interest in this respect is the record of the complaint of the Hansa merchant Rotgher van Rūden. During the summer of 1382 Count Louis de Male ordered the seizure of all goods coming from the rebel cities of Bruges and Ghent. This happened to a slab belonging to the said merchant which was on a ship coming from Bruges on the river Scheldt with the intention of docking in Antwerp so as to reload for Lübeck. The claim of the Hansa representatives from 1387 mention '*Item, the aforementioned castellan [of Beveren] took from the same ship a stone slab (sic) destined to be put on the tomb and which belonged to Rotgher van Rūden, merchant from Germany and which had cost 5 P(ounds) grote*'. Another document records '*Item a stone slab on which is mentioned that hereunder should lay Henric Marcolt, merchant of*

Germany'.²² A Rootgher (sic) van Rūden is recorded in Lübeck excise lists of 1372-3 (n.s.) in relation to trade with Bruges.²³ Henric Marcolt probably ordered the slab through Rotgher van Rūden and had it sent by his fellow trader. The slab was probably made in Bruges, the price is fixed in Flemish currency and there was no argument about a Tournai origin.

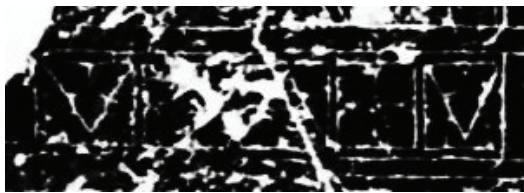


Fig. 21. Boudewijn van Heile, knight, d. 1320, St.-Niclaaskerk, Hannekenswerve, The Netherlands



Fig. 22. Three civilians, c. 1350, St.-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges

Slabs in Tournai stone with 'triangles with triple lancets' motifs

In my study of Tournai slabs I have never encountered the motif of triangles with triple lancets as roof covering or canopy topping. The pattern occurs, however, on the decorative border under the feet of the deceased at the bottom of three slabs.



Figs. 23 and 24. Géraut Goffryon, d. 1373, Jehan de Tournai, d. 1375 and Allis Amorie, d. ?, from the Temple court, St.-Louis cathedral, La Rochelle

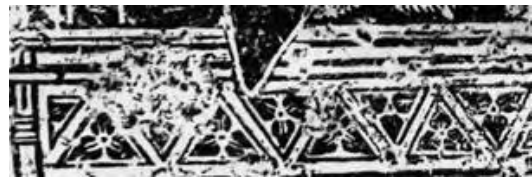


Fig. 25. Unknown priest, c. 1365/75, from St.-Pierre, Lille

There is the decorative border on the slab of the knight Boudewijn van Heile (d. 1320), St. Niclaaskerk, Hannekenswerve (Fig. 21), which could well be a Tournai product. Here we find an alternation of squares filled with quatrefoils and a triangle with a triple lancet. Somewhat closer to the Bruges pattern is the decoration on a border segment under the feet of Géraut Goffryon, d. 1373, Jehan de Tournai, d. 1375 and Allis Amorie, d. ?, on a slab discovered in the Temple court at La Rochelle and now in St. Louis cathedral (Fig. 23). Another border

22 *Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage, von 1256-1430*, ed. K. Koppmann, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1870-97), III, pt. 1, p. 337; .D. Nicholas, 'The Scheldt Trade and the "GhentWar" of 1379-1385', *Bulletin de la Comission Royale d'Histoire*, CXLIV (1978), pp. 6-7, repr. in *Trade, Urbanisation and the Family: Studies in the History of Medieval*

Flanders (Aldershot, 1996), pt. III, pp. 6-7. Nicholas mistakenly interprets the document as referring to a stone coffin.

23 *Hansekaufleute in Brügge. Teil 1: Die Brügger Steuerlisten 1360-1390*, ed. K. Krüger (Frankfurt am Main, 1992, 62/116 (p. 123).



Fig. 26. Flemish slab of an unknown couple, Franciscan church, Palma de Mallorca
(photo.: Derrick Chivers)

segment on the same slab shows alternating quadrilobes and crosses cut out of lozenges (Fig. 24). The quadrilobes are similar to one of the top decoration on the slab with the three civilians, *c.* 1350, in Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges (Fig. 22). Fragments of the slab of an unknown priest of *c.* 1365/75, discovered in the foundations of St.-Pierre in Lille include the decorative border at the bottom, which is composed of triangles filed with trefoils (Fig. 25). It is clear, anyhow, that there was a close relation between Bruges and Tournai design.

24 The family of van Cutseghem for instance can be traced back to the fourteenth-century in Brabant and was active for many generations in Bruges (study in progress). See also van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten*, pp. 64-5, 73-8. The names of local stone-cutters and

Conclusion

The St.-Kruis, Bruges, Palma de Mallorca, Ripplingale and Boston slabs form a group with common design elements and all seem related. They could come from one or more workshops which were active over several generations and used some models over a longer period. Stone-cutters were often active over several generations in Bruges.²⁴

Comparison of the group of St.-Kruis and Bruges slabs with Tournai products shows clear

sculptors of the fourteenth and fifteenth century are known from official records; see L. Gilliodts-van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges, Inventaire des Chartes, 1^{re} serie, Table analytique* (Bruges, 1883-5), p. 421.

differences in design. The Flemish ones are simpler in design both in drapery and architecture. In the architecture there is a clear attempt at simplification and we find a recurrent pattern of a triangle with triple lancets which is distinct from that depicted during the same period in Tournai. It seems that this motif is characteristic of Bruges production. The slab of Wessel Smalenburgh, which incorporates this motif, is therefore to be added to the St.-Kruis/Bruges group. The complaint of the Hansa merchant Rotgher van Rūden proves that there was indeed production and export of slabs from Bruges to the Hanseatic area.

Despite these differences there are many common points between Bruges and Tournai production. I am of the opinion that local production started in Bruges during the thirteenth century.²⁵ The remaining fragments show that this production was close to that of Tournai and that it did not prevent further import of incised slabs from Tournai. The Bruges stone-cutters were importing massive quantities of stone from Tournai and Tournai stone-cutters were active in Bruges.²⁶ We know that Tournai craftsmen migrated to Écaussines²⁷ and that they were active in Brabant.²⁸ A migration of Tournai craftsmen to Bruges, where there was an important demand for funeral monuments, is more than probable and helps to explain the close similarity in

design of both centres of production. There were many good reasons for Tournai craftsmen to settle and work in the cosmopolitan city of Bruges with its export facilities. There is no doubt that distribution to the Hanseatic cities of the North as well as to the South and the Iberian peninsula in particular can best be explained if Bruges was not only a distribution centre for Tournai production but also a production centre in its own right. Bruges was without doubt indebted to Tournai craftsmen for the development of local production of monumental brasses during the fourteenth century. During the expansion of Bruges production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the influence of Tournai declined greatly. The increasing influence of the Flemish school of painting led to the introduction of innovative designs. There was an important demand for slabs and brasses by the foreign community in Bruges not only for their burials in Flanders but also for their relations in their towns of origin. There is no doubt that incised slabs (and probably brasses too) were engraved in Bruges during the fourteenth century.

I wish to thank Derrick Chivers for the picture of the Mallorca slab. It was at his insistence that the present paper was written. I also thank Nicholas Rogers for his help in putting it into readable English.

25 I came to the same conclusion in my study of figure slabs and brasses in West Flanders (Van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten*, pp. 73-5).

26 J.P. Sosson, *Les travaux publics de la ville de Bruges XIVe-XVe siècles. Les matériaux. Les hommes.* (s.l. [Brussels], 1977), pp. 93-4. The city accounts mention payments to Tournai stone-cutters for their activities in Bruges.

27 L. Cloquet, 'Exportation des sculptures tournaisiennes', *Annales de la Fédération archéologique et*

historique de Belgique (Mém. Xe Congrès de Tournai, 1895), X (1896), p. 644. with ref. to Archives du Royaume, cart. du Chap. de Soignies, n° 15189 de la Chambre des comptes.

28 A. De Valkeneer, 'Iconographie des dalles à gisants de pierre en relief en Belgique: Moyen Age roman et gothique', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites*, II (1972), p. 50.

The Brass of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden

Truus van Bueren

The monumental brass showing Joost van Amstel van Mijnden and his family is one of a handful of brasses from the Northern Netherlands to have survived. The brass was made shortly after Joost's death in 1554. The image seems rather conventional for the Northern Netherlands, depicting a couple with their son. Although it is clear that we are dealing with a family of noble ancestry, this does not explain why so much room has been reserved for the portraits, coats of arms and text. A solution may be found in the accompanying text, which contains an anachronism.

Introduction

After years of preparation the *Medieval Memoria Online* (MeMO) project started in May 2009. It aims to create a database application available on the internet for the four types of medieval and early modern sources that are important for research into the commemoration of the dead (*memoria*). These sources are grave monuments and tomb slabs, memorial images, memorial registers such as obituaries and necrologies, and narrative sources that concern *memoria*. The project was initiated because of an internationally felt need for interdisciplinary research of case studies and systematic comparative research. The sources are widespread, and in many cases researchers do not even know about their existence. The provision of an inventory, descriptions and photographs in a user-friendly online database free of charge was therefore seen as a good solution. The present project covers sources from the region of the present-day Netherlands

for the period until 1580, but it aims to collaborate with research groups abroad to extend the material for other types of sources, other regions and, if relevant, other periods.

The following article shows how the use of three types of sources – a monumental brass, a tomb slab and a missal with a calendar – in combination with comparative research of extant sources can yield results that could not be obtained otherwise.¹ Sharing information, which is also one of the aims of the Monumental Brass Society, is therefore very useful in our type of research. The large database application will be published on the internet at the beginning of 2013, but some results of the MeMO project have already been published on the *Medieval Memoria Online* website.²

A conventional memorial image ...

The monumental brass showing Joost van Amstel van Mijnden and his family (Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht) is one of a handful of extant memorial brasses from the Northern Netherlands (Fig. 1).³ Unquestionably there must have been many more once, as becomes clear when the so-called *Monumenta* manuscripts are consulted. These three manuscripts were compiled between 1610 and 1620 by the Utrecht antiquarian Aernout van Buchel (1565-1641). They mainly contain descriptions and drawings of tomb monuments, floor slabs, escutcheons, memorial images and inscriptions that Buchel saw in the churches and convents in

1 Some of the information based on the three sources has already been published in earlier articles. The comparative research is mainly based on the *Representations of Medieval Memoria* database, <http://www.hum.uu.nl/memorie/>.

2 <http://memo.hum.uu.nl/>.

3 Monumental brass of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden, from church of St. Hyacinthus, Overlangbroek, c. 1554, measurements approx. 1070 x 690 x 6 mm (Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, RMCC m34).

<http://www.hum.uu.nl/memorie/showWerk.php?werk=1664&&prevpage=memorie/searchFullText>. On this brass, see J. Belonje and F.A. Greenhill, 'Some Brasses in Germany and the Low Countries (III)', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 7 (1960), pp 379-383; *MBS Portfolio*, VI, 25 (repr. in *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 350); T. van Bueren and W.C.M. Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen*, exhibition catalogue (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 225-8.



Fig. 1. Brass of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden, d. 1554, and his family, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
(photo.: Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht)

the town and province of Utrecht, and in other towns and regions of the Netherlands. The manuscripts are available on the internet.⁴

The brass discussed in this article belongs to the category of so-called memorial images, works of art that were common throughout Europe. The extant examples are mostly paintings, stained-glass windows and sculptures. They show a religious image, usually with portrayals of those commemorated, their coats of arms if applicable, in many cases their patron saints, as well as a text with names and dates of death and a request for prayer for their souls. Memorial images functioned as part of the care for the souls of those commemorated, but these works of art also functioned as a medium for communicating historical, social and political messages. They were commissioned and placed in churches either before or after the death of the commemorated persons.⁵

The brass was made shortly after Joost van Amstel van Mijnden's death in 1554. At first sight the image seems conventional for the region of the present-day Netherlands. Many memorial paintings and sculptures featured donor portraits of a family, and this brass depicts a couple with their son. They are shown kneeling on the left, looking up towards a religious scene of the Holy Trinity in the upper right corner of the brass. The husband is wearing armour; his little son Joost is kneeling

by his side. Joost's wife Philippa van Uteneng kneels behind them.⁶

Comparative research shows that this is one of the two standard compositions to be found in the region of the Netherlands in memorial images showing portraits of both males and females: the male figures are placed closest to the religious scene with the sons behind or beside the father, while the women and daughters kneel behind the men. In the alternative standard composition the men are granted the more important place on the dexter side of the religious scene, while the women are given the more modest place on the sinister side. There are only a few exceptions to these two patterns, as becomes clear when one searches the database of more than five hundred medieval Dutch memorial images on the website *Representations of medieval memoria*.⁷ Only unusual circumstances allowed a deviation from these two standard compositions. This is the case in the triptych of the Last Supper with the portraits of the abbess and her chaplain from the Cistercian convent of Leeuwenhorst near Noordwijk, in the County of Holland (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-4294). Although the priest, Dirk Spangert, belonged to the clerical order and therefore had a higher position in medieval society than the nun, Adriana van Roon as an abbess was ranked higher in the hierarchy of the church and could therefore be placed on the more important side in the painting.⁸

4 For the manuscripts see <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/handschriften/buchelius/monumenta/>.

5 In many cases, however, the texts on the frames or on text panels below the frames of memorial paintings have disappeared over the centuries. For an extensive analysis of memorial images see for instance T. van Bueren, 'Care for the Here and the Hereafter: a Multitude of Possibilities', in *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. van Bueren and A. van Leerdam (Turnhout 2005), pp. 13-34. For a short summary of the results see the database *Representations of Medieval Memoria*

<http://www.hum.uu.nl/memorie/memoria-engels.php> in 'Memoria during the Middle Ages', the section 'Summary of the research results'.

6 For a description of armour and costume see Belonje and Greenhill, 'Some Brasses', pp. 379-80.

7 See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*: <http://www.hum.uu.nl/memorie/>. In 2013 this website will become available in English as part of the *Medieval Memoria Online* website.

8 Described in *Representations of Medieval Memoria*: <http://www.hum.uu.nl/memorie/showWerk.php?werk=1848&&prevpage=memorie/search>.

Coats of arms were also a common element in memorial images. On this brass we see to left and right the arms of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden's paternal and maternal ancestors, in the centre Joost's quartered arms, differenced with a label, and on the prie-dieu the impaled arms of Philippa van Uteneng.⁹ The brass was gilded and coloured and the enamel used for colouring is still visible on some parts, including the shields.

... and yet an extraordinary artefact

Although it is clear that we are dealing with a family of noble ancestry, this does not explain why so much room has been reserved for the portraits, coats of arms and text. A solution may be found in the text:

Anno xv^{cliii} den xviii januarii sterf Joost van / Amstell van Mijnden Heer tot Loenersloot die / te wive had joffer Philippa Amelis dochter uten Eng / daer hij bij wan een zoen die nae zijn doot ghebornen / ende nae hem ghenoompt is ende leyt onder dese zarck

[In the year 1553 on 19 January died Joost van Amstell van Mijnden, Lord of Loenersloot, who was married to Lady Philippa Amelis's daughter uten Eng, by whom he had a son who was born after his death and who was named after him, and he lies under this slab].¹⁰

The brass was thus meant to mark the grave of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden, and at the same time it also commemorated the family as a unit, including young Joost who was born after his father's death. This makes the brass unique

among the extant memorial images of the Netherlands; so far comparative research of the *Representations of Medieval Memoria* database has not revealed any other such object with a family including a posthumously born child. It is clear that portraits of families like these in particular are a perfect illustration of the bond between the living and the dead that is central to medieval memorial culture.

Undoubtedly, any sixteenth-century beholder would have understood this. However, only those who knew about the composition of the Van Amstel van Mijnden family at that point in time would have been aware of the anachronism in the text. Joost van Amstel van Mijnden is honoured as Lord of Loenersloot, which in fact he never was because his father Jacob van Amstel did not die until 1568 or shortly before, *i.e.* fourteen years after his eldest son and heir had passed away. The fact that Jacob was still living may also explain why Joost was not buried in the church of the Loenersloot estate. Joost and his wife Philippa most probably resided at Zuilenburg Castle in Overlangbroek, which Philippa had inherited from her father in 1538. It was in the church of St Hyacinthus in Overlangbroek that she had her husband laid to rest.

A marginal note on f. 1r of a missal from the chapel of Loenersloot Castle provides further information on Joost's final resting place (Fig. 2). It mentions that he was buried in Overlangbroek 'in medio chori sub sarco illo magno' (in the centre of the choir under the large floor slab).¹¹ This 'large slab' was situated above what must have been the family vault of

9 For an extensive description of the coats of arms see Belonje and Greenhill, 'Some Brasses', pp. 380-1.

10 In the Netherlands the year was still reckoned from Easter, so 19 January 1553 is 1554 by modern reckoning.

11 Missal from the chapel at Loenersloot Castle, completed in 1438 with later additions, parchment,

measuring approx. 378 x 292 mm (Leiden, University Library, MS BPL 2879). The reference is taken from W.P. Bouwman, 'Latijnse aantekeningen uit het missaal van het kasteel Loenersloot betreffende de families Van Zwieten en Van Amstel van Mijnden', *De Nederlandsche leeuw*, CXV (1998), cols. 1-21.

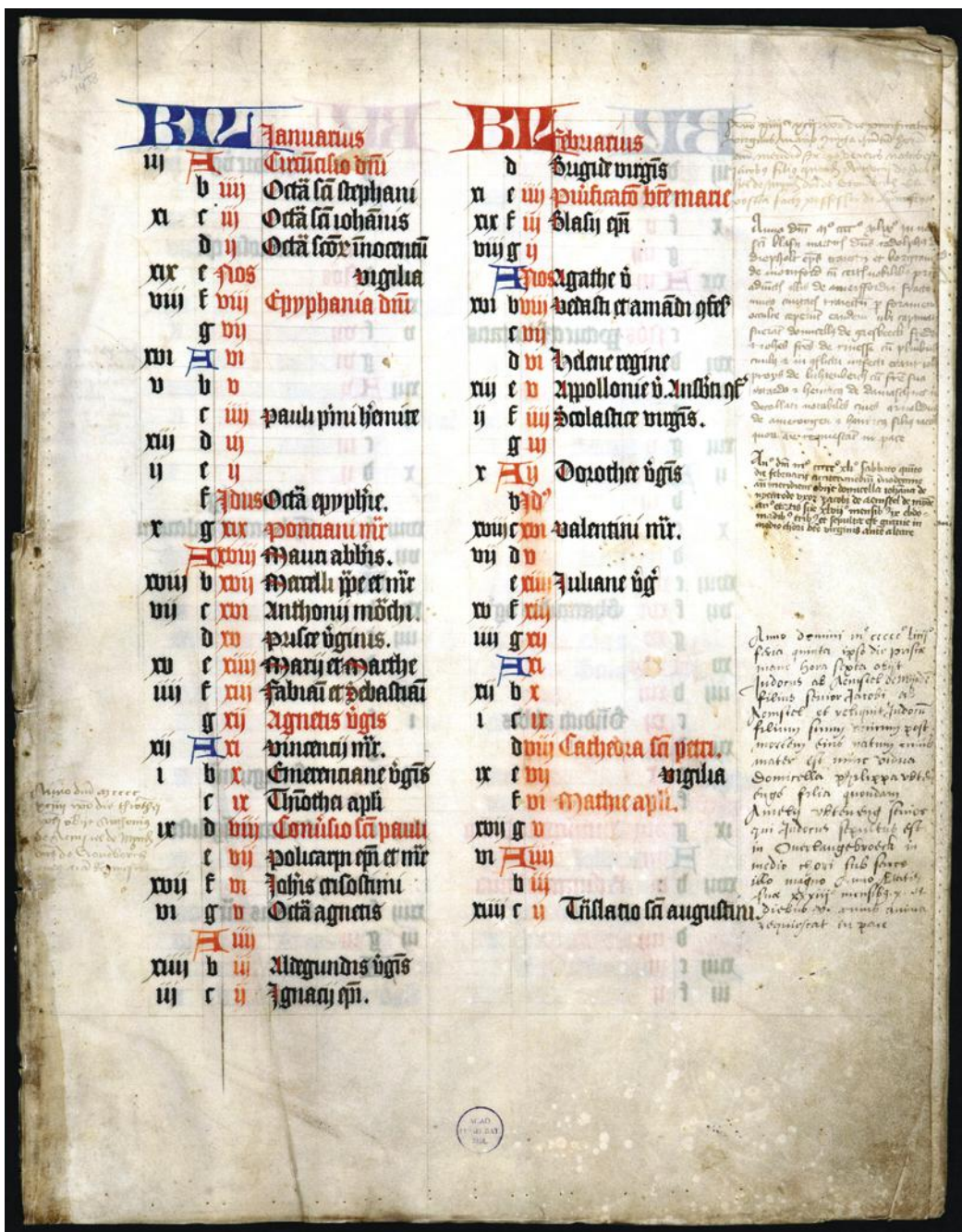


Fig. 2. Calendar page from the Loenersloot Missal with the note on the death and burial of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden in the right margin (photo.: Leiden University Library, MS BPL 2879, f. 1r)

the Van Utenengs. The stone is currently located elsewhere in the same church. It dates from 1503 and is inscribed with the following text (in translation): ‘In the year of Our Lord 1503 in August died Lord Berend Uteneng, son of Lord Amelis, buried here. May God have mercy on his soul’ (Fig. 3).¹²

The missal was commissioned by Boudewijn van Zwieten (d. 1454). This Leiden nobleman had purchased Loenersloot Castle in 1429. It stayed in the family until it was sold on to the Van Amstel van Mijnden family in 1515. Boudewijn van Zwieten was councillor and treasurer of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. The Latin colophon states that the manuscript was completed on 9 October 1438 and it ends with the common request to pray for the scribe. The scribe was Elisabeth van Gorinchem, a nun in the Mariënpool convent that was founded by Boudewijn in 1428.¹³ Apparently, the missal was considered to be the inherent property of the estate’s chapel, for its calendar has twenty-three marginal notes in total, some relating to the Van Zwieten family and others to the Van Amstel van Mijnden family. Apart from commemorating the deaths of members of the families, the notes concern the births of children and marriages. Other notes refer to political events in the diocese of Utrecht, and to the buying and selling of Loenersloot Castle – the oldest record being its purchase by Boudewijn van Zwieten (ff. 2r-2v).

The son of the deceased Joost van Amstel van Mijnden became Lord of Loenersloot after the death of his grandfather Jacob *c.* 1568. Joost junior himself died in 1615, one year before his



Fig. 3. Floor slab over the vault of the Uteneng family in the church of St. Hyacinthus, Overlangbroek (photo.: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, inv. nr. 11124)

mother Philippa, who lived to the exceptional age of nearly one hundred. However, none of these events are recorded in the missal’s calendar, as nothing was added after the death of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden in 1554.

¹² Bouwman, ‘Latijnse aantekeningen’, cols. 20-21.

¹³ For an extensive website on the commemoration of the dead in the Mariënpool convent see *Prayer and politics*:

<http://www.cs.uu.nl/research/projects/i-cult/CLE/6Memorial/>.

Murdered by Greek Brigands: The Sad Story of Frederick Vyner

Philip Whittemore

On Thursday, 7 April 1870, three English tourists, Josslyn Francis, fifth Baron Muncaster, and his wife Constance, together with Frederick Vyner, a distant cousin, landed at the port of Piraeus and took a carriage to the Hotel d'Angleterre in Athens. Their arrival, and subsequent journey into the interior of the country with a number of English expatriates, was to end in tragedy within days.

The following day, the party called at the English Legation, and introduced themselves to the English Minister, Edward Erskine, and his third secretary, Edward Herbert, who, like all the members of the party was highly connected. Herbert was first cousin to Henry Molyneux, fourth Earl of Carnarvon, while Vyner's brother-in-law was George, Earl de Grey, Lord President of the Council in Gladstone's government. Erskine proposed that a party should visit the battlefield of Marathon, and suggested that several others should also be invited. His friend Count Alberto de Boyd, a Piedmontese nobleman, and secretary with the Italian Legation, and Edward Lloyd, a barrister, made up the number. The date for the excursion was set for Monday, 11 April. Attending the party was a valet, Alexander, and two coachmen, and, as the surrounding countryside was considered unsafe, it was arranged that they would take an escort of four mounted gendarmes. Greece at this time was considered to be particularly lawless, and the countryside a haven for brigands, who, given the opportunity, frequently kidnapped travellers and then demanded a large ransom for their safe release, which up until 1870 had always been paid.

The journey to Marathon would be a twelve hour round trip, with the horses being changed at the halfway point, Pikermi, the same happening on the return journey. The party left as planned, and had reached Marathon by eleven-thirty, where they proceeded to explore the site and have luncheon. At two o'clock they started the return journey, but immediately saw twelve foot-soldiers approaching. It was decided that the soldiers would accompany the carriages on the homeward journey, and they set off in advance of the coaches, but soon overtook them, and left them behind. Further along the road they met a further detachment of soldiers, and this they also overtook.

Just before the party reached Pikermi, as they were approaching a bridge about twenty armed brigands swarmed over the road, forcing the carriages to stop. The two leading gendarmes were shot, the other two overpowered. The occupants of the carriages were forced out, and made to leave the scene of the abduction as quickly as possible. Only the coachmen were allowed to stay behind. One placed the wounded men aboard a coach and left for Athens, while the other waited for the brigands to release the female members of the party. Also released was Lord Muncaster, who took the initial demand of the brigands back to Athens, £5,000 for each of the five prisoners. The abductors were convinced that Muncaster was related to Queen Victoria, hence the high ransom demanded.

While Lord Muncaster was making his way to Athens, the gang managed to get away under the gathering darkness, skirting the eastern slopes of Mount Pentelicus, taking with them Herbert, Vyner, Count de Boyd and Lloyd.

Over the next few days the brigands with their captives made their way north, in the direction of Keramidi, as fast as they could, but maintained contact through intermediaries regarding the ransom. They also demanded free pardon for their crimes, something that the Greek government would not allow. The hostage party moved in the direction of Sycaminon with the aim of making camp there, but omitted to tell the Government negotiator, Lt.-Colonel Basil Theagenis. Suddenly troops appeared, and the brigands panicked, and ran, with the hostages, through the village in the direction of Dilessi. As the hostages failed to keep up, they were shot as they ran. A number of the gang were killed in the engagement, others were captured, returned to Athens, tried, and subsequently executed.¹

The incident caused a sensation in Britain and newspapers were full of reports about every aspect of the crime. It was headline news for weeks, but over the coming months interest waned, to be replaced by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. This is not the place to enquire into aspects regarding the ensuing investigation by the Greek government into the incident, but it was a whitewash with many unanswered questions.

The bodies of the hostages were returned to Athens. Those of Herbert and Vyner were initially buried in the English Church at Athens, before they were returned to England a short time later.

The murders at Dilessi caused a major incident between the two countries and relations were strained. Public grief and anger was high and when the bodies were returned to this country via Portsmouth businesses closed with crowds lining the streets as a mark of respect. The following day, as the bodies passed through London, the Dean of Westminster, A.P. Stanley, held a memorial service for them in the Abbey.²

The body of Edward Herbert was sent to Old Burgclere, Hampshire, for internment in the family mausoleum,³ while Vyner's body was sent to Gautby, Lincolnshire. Following the funeral service he was interred in the family vault on 18 May. His coffin bore a large brass plaque that read:

FREDERICK GRANTHAM VYNER.

Born February 24, 1847.

Died April 21, 1870.

Murdered by brigands in the Kingdom of Greece.

A brass plate commemorating Frederick Vyner is now in private possession (Fig. 1). It comprises an inscription with shield above on a shaped plate, a typical product of the firm responsible for its production, Hart, Son, Peard & Co. of London. The inscription, in ten lines of capitals, is enclosed by a border of quatrefoils alternating with double pellets with small crosses in each corner. The plate measures 323 x 668 mm. Above is a quadrilobe, 210 x 210 mm, bearing the arms of Vyner impaling Grey: quarterly 1 and 4, *Azure a bend on a chief or two Cornish choughs proper* (Vyner); 2 and 4, *Barry of*

1 For accounts of the incident see R. Jenkins, *The Dilessi Murders* (London, 1961); C. Stevens, *Ransom and Murder in Greece: Lord Muncaster's Journal 1870* (Cambridge, 1989). For contemporary reports of the events see *The Times*, 25 April 1870, issue 26733, p. 9, col. D (account of capture); *ibid.*, 14 May 1870, issue 26750, p. 12, col. C (return of bodies); *ibid.*, 31 March 1917, issue 41441, p. 3, col. C; and *The Graphic*, 11 June 1870, issue 28.

2 A.P. Stanley, *The Greek Massacre: A sermon preached in Westminster Abbey on May 15, 1870, being the day after the arrival in England of the remains of Edward Herbert and*

Frederick Vyner murdered in Greece with Edward Lloyd and Count de Boyl on April 21, 1870 (Oxford and London, 1870).

3 An account of Herbert's funeral appeared in *The Times*, 17 May 1890, issue 26752, page 6, column B. A coffin plate bore the inscription: 'Edward Henry Charles Herbert/ Born 1st of September, 1837/ Died 21st of April, 1870./ Murdered by Greek Banditti near Athens.' A mural monument to his memory is in Burgclere Church. Vyner's funeral was reported in *The Times* 19 May 1870, issue 26754, p. 5, col. E.



Fig. 1. The brass to Frederick Vyner, murdered 1870
(photo: © the Owner)

six argent and azure (Grey), with the Vyner family crest, *a dexter arm embowed in armour proper, garnished or, holding a mullet of six points or*. The mullet is unfortunately difficult to make out. The whole composition is fixed to a wooden frame, 655 x 756 mm, from which rises a cross, the shield of arms being fixed to the upright of the cross.

The plate was originally gilt, most of which has now worn away. The letters are filled with black mastic, except for the Latin text, which is in red.

The border decoration is silver and red. The arms are also coloured, but have faded somewhat with age.

The inscription reads:

In memory of Frederick Vyner, aged 23, who was taken/ prisoner by Greek brigands in the neighbourhood of Athens, April 11th 1870, and murdered by them April 21st/ while thus a captive for ten days with the prospect of death/ ever before him, he thought of others rather than of himself./ he refused to purchase his own safety by

their peril, and met his/ fate at last in the spirit of his own latest written words./ "We must trust to God that we may die bravely as Englishmen should do."/ *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus Tam cari capitis./* Hart, Son, Peard & Co. London.

The Latin text below the inscription is taken from Horace, *Odes*, I, 24: 'What moderation or bounds should there be to our regret for the loss of such a dear life?' The inscription in quotation marks is taken from a letter, his last written words, to Lord Muncaster about 20 April 1870, very shortly before his murder.⁴

Little is known concerning the provenance of the brass. It was bought in an antique shop in Barnet, Hertfordshire, in 2006 having been found in the room of an old hotel in the town. The owner of the antique shop apparently kept it in his possession for a number of years before offering it for sale. How the plate found its way to Barnet is a matter of conjecture, for the Vyner family had no connections with Barnet.

But where was the brass was originally placed? It could have been in the church at Gautby, Lincolnshire, Studeley Royal or possibly in Christ the Consoler (see below) or even York Minster; all have family connections. It is even conceivable that the brass was a trial piece that was never used.

Additional memorials to Vyner's memory

A number of memorials were erected to Vyner's memory. A stained glass window, designed by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and executed by William Morris, was placed in the Lady Chapel of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, in 1873. The window consists of four biblical figures – Samuel and David from the Old Testament, and John and Timothy from the New, with a

vignette below each figure. The glass is classic Burne-Jones, with the main figures standing out from a dark background. Placed below the figures is an inscription that reads: 'Ye shall have tribulation ten days - Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'⁵ At the time the window was placed in the Cathedral a brass plaque was mounted on the wall beneath, but this was removed to a position on the floor in 1989.⁶

The inscription, in ten lines of capitals, reads:

To the dear memory of Frederick Grantham Vyner/ born May 1847 educated at Eton and in this house/ who was murdered by Greek brigands April 21/ 1870 after an agony of ten days in which he so bore/ himself as to win from his countrymen that love/ and admiration which had always been the glad/ tribute of his friends. The adjoining window/ has been placed by his sorrowing contempo/ raries at Christchurch./ His life was lovely and pleasant.

Another stained glass window, this time to the memory of all those murdered at Dilessi, was placed in the east window of the English Church in Athens, but any details regarding its design have not been forthcoming. In 1877 it was proposed that an arched brass plaque be placed near the window. It was paid for by Lord Muncaster and goes some way to show just how much the events of 1870 still played on his mind. Some correspondence concerning this brass survives. J.B. d'Arcy, of the British Legation at Athens, writing in May 1877 to Muncaster, says that: 'When the brass tablet referring to the East Window arrives I shall be most happy to have it erected in the Eng[lish] Church: but may I venture to suggest that the words "murdered by brigands" would be very distasteful to the Greeks! all objection would be obviated by substituting the word "died" for

4 Stevens, *Ransom and Murder*, p. 180.

5 Repeated on the monument in Gautby Church. For a description of the window at Oxford see J.E. Alden, *The Pre-Raphaelites and Oxford* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 29-30

and A. Dean, *Burne-Jones and William Morris* (Malvern, 1991), pp. 18-20.

6 J. Arthur, *Christ Church Oxford: A Guide to the Memorial Brasses* (Oxford, [1992]), p. 11.

the words “murdered by brigands”..... may I also add that the size (24in by 48in) is rather large....’ A smaller brass was subsequently placed in the church.⁷ A cartoon for the projected brass exists among the letters and papers of Lord Muncaster at Muncaster Castle, Cumberland, and shows a large arch shaped plate with floral border enclosing an inscription.⁸ Another brass commemorating Vyner, Herbert and Lloyd was placed by Muncaster in the church of St. Michael, in the grounds of his home, Muncaster Castle, Cumberland, to commemorate the erection of four stained glass windows to their memory.⁹

Two further memorials to Vyner exist. The first can be found above the Vyner vault in the chancel at Gautby, a marble monument that includes a verse from Revelations chapter II, verse 10, to reflect the number of days suffering Vyner went through: ‘Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and you shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life’.

The second can be found on the south wall of the south choir aisle of York Minster and comprises an incised cross beneath an elaborate canopy with cinquefoil arch, with inscription duplicating that on the newly discovered brass. Below are the Vyner arms. The monument, of various coloured marbles, was carved by Thomas Earp (1827-93) of Lambeth and was

placed in the Minster in 1871 and unveiled a year after the murder.¹⁰

Two churches were also built to commemorate Vyner. The first was commissioned by his mother Lady Mary Vyner and built between 1871 and 1876 in the grounds of Newby Hall, Skelton-on-Ure, Yorkshire. The church of Christ the Consoler, by William Burges, is one of his most elaborate designs, being his individual interpretation of medieval French architecture, with spire, pinnacles and rose window. Inside, the church is a riot of colour; the nearer the east end, the more opulent it becomes. Over the chancel arch is a large scene depicting the Ascension; the reredos has carvings of the Magi, while the pulpit is made of red and white marble, and the floor of red and yellow tiles.¹¹

The church at St. Mary, Studley Royal, Yorkshire, commissioned by Henrietta, Lady Ripon, Vyner’s sister, was also designed by Burges and is of similar design to that of Christ the Consoler. This building is considered Burges’s ecclesiastical masterpiece. Commissioned in 1871 at an estimated cost of £15,000, it was completed seven years later at a final cost nearer £50,000. The interior has much elaborate sculpture and polychromatic decoration of the highest order.¹²

I would like to thank Patrick Farman for information relating to the churches of Christ the Consoler and St. Mary, Studley Royal.

7 Stevens, *Ransom and Murder*, p. 180.

8 Reproduced in Stevens, *Ransom and Murder*, p. 181.

9 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1998), p. 80.

10 For Thomas Earp see A. Mitchell, *Thomas Earp: Master of Stone* (Buckingham, 1990); A. and O. Mitchell, *Thomas Earp: Eminent Victorian Sculptor* (Buckingham, 2002). For a

description of the monument see I. Pattison and H. Murray, *Monuments in York Minster* (York, 2001), p. 129.

11 See J.S. Curl, *Victorian Architecture: Diversity and Invention* (Reading, 2007), p. 322; J.M. Crook, *The Strange Genius of William Burges* (Cardiff, 1981), p. 101.

12 J.S. Curl, *Victorian Churches* (London, 1995), p. 90; J.S. Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 322; Crook, *The Strange Genius*, p. 102.

Conservation of brasses, 2009

William Lack

This is the twenty-fifth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with all the brasses mentioned below and for funding the work at Ipswich (St. Lawrence) and the facsimiles at Ludford; to Derrick Chivers for assistance at Harefield; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Preston; to Jonathan Moor for assistance at Ludford; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Clippesby, Creeksea, Fornham All Saints, Harefield, Ludford, Preston (R.C.) and Ufton; the Monumental Brass Society at Clippesby, Creeksea, Fornham All Saints, Harefield, Ludford, Preston (R.C.) and Ufton. The rubbings are by myself (Alvediston and Clippesby) and Martin Stuchfield. At Alvediston, Clippesby, Fornham All Saints, Harefield, Ipswich (St. Lawrence), Preston (R.C.) and Ufton the brasses have been given 'LSW numbers' following surveys undertaken for forthcoming *County Series* volumes.

Alvediston, Wiltshire

LSW.I. Inscription to Jane, wife of Francis Fry, gent., 1703 (Fig. 1), and **LSW.II.** Inscription to Francis Fry, 1710 (Fig. 2). These two inscriptions (252 x 329 mm, thickness 0.9 mm; and 280 x 305 mm, thickness 1.8 mm) were originally mounted on the east wall of the chancel and bedded in plaster. They were taken down during a refurbishment *c.* 1988 and subsequently kept loose in the vestry. They were collected on 29 July 2007. Both plates were considerably corroded. After cleaning I soldered four rivets to the reverse of each plate and rebated them into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the east chancel wall on 5 September 2009.



Fig. 1. Inscription to Jane, wife of Francis Fry, 1703 (LSW.I)
Alvediston, Wiltshire

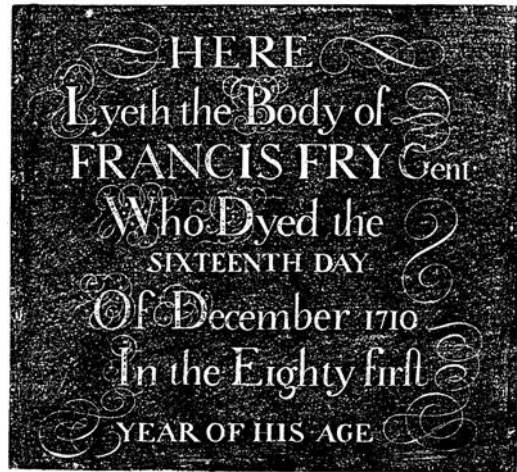


Fig. 2. Inscription to Francis Fry, 1710 (LSW.II)
Alvediston, Wiltshire

Clippesby, Norfolk

The two brasses were removed from their slabs on 30 July 2008.

LSW.I (formerly M.S.II). Thomas Pallyng, 1503, and wife Emme (Fig. 3). This Norwich 3b brass comprises a male effigy in civilian dress



*Fig. 3. Thomas Pallyng, 1503, and wife Emme (LSW.1)
Clippesby, Norfolk*

(638 x 216 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 6 rivets), a female effigy (625 x 208 mm, thickness 3.3 mm, 6 rivets) and a mutilated two-line Latin foot inscription (originally 70 x 435 mm, now 70 x 228 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 1 rivet). The

effigies still lay in the original slab (2140 x 960 mm) in the nave but the inscription had been screwed to the north door of the nave, having come loose in the past. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets.



Fig. 4. John Clippesby, 1594, and wife Julian (LSW.II)
Clippesby, Norfolk

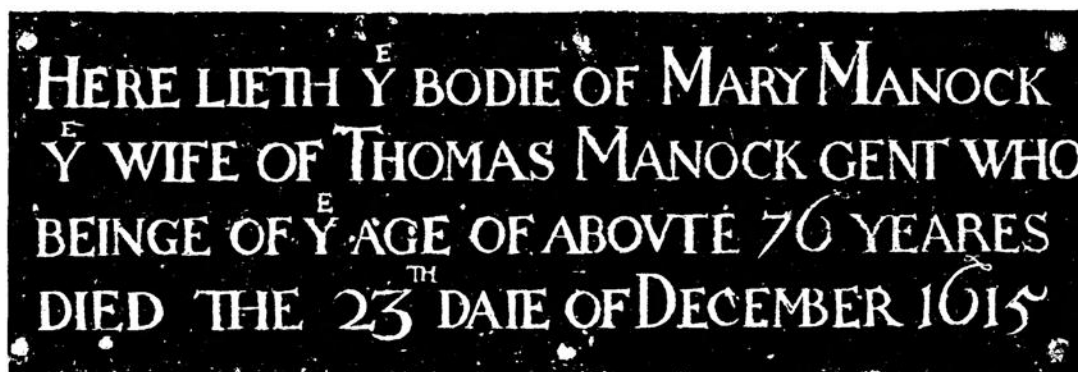


Fig. 5. *Inscription to Mary, wife of Thomas Manock, 1615, engraved c. 1656 (LSW.VI)
Fornham All Saints, Suffolk
(rubbing by Martin Stuchfield)*

LSW.II (formerly M.S.III). John Clippesby, 1594, and wife Julian (Fig. 4). This Johnson-style brass comprises a male effigy in armour (598 x 225 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 9 rivets), a female effigy (585 x 287 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 9 rivets), a four-line English foot inscription 94 x 589 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), a son in shroud (130 x 41 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 2 rivets), three daughters (151 x 193 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 3 rivets), an achievement (267 x 218 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets) and six shields (upper left 166 x 140 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 3 rivets; upper right 163 x 138 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 3 rivets; centre left 162 x 140 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 3 rivets; centre right 165 x 138 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 3 rivets; lower left 165 x 134 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets; and lower right 165 x 134 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 4 rivets). The brass was taken up from its original slab (1815 x 690 mm) in the south-east corner of the chancel. The slab, originally set on a table tomb, has flaked badly. The brass was heavily corroded and poorly secured, with some plates extremely loose. After cleaning and removing corrosion I fitted new rivets.

The brasses were relaid in their slabs on 23 and 24 July 2009.

Creeksea, Essex

LSW.III. Inscription with regimental insignia to Charles Eric Wyndham Brown, 1910. This brass (812 x 457 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 4 rivets), produced by A & N AUX C.S.L. of London, was removed from the south wall of the chancel on 13 December 2008. It had been secured with conventional woodscrews and was tarnished and corroded. The brass was cleaned, rivetted, polished, lacquered and mounted on a cedar board. The board was mounted on the south chancel wall on 17 October 2009.

Fornham All Saints, Suffolk¹

LSW.VI (formerly M.S.V). Inscription to Mary, wife of Thomas Manock, 1615, engraved c. 1656 (Fig. 5). This four-line English inscription in Roman capitals (125 x 367 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 6 rivets) was removed from the west wall of the north transept on 27 July 2007. It had been secured with iron rivets and was extremely loose. The left end had become detached from the stone frame which was extremely friable

¹ Work on the other six brasses was completed in 2008 and described in *MBS Trans.*, XVIII, pt.1 (2009), pp. 71-4.

and subsequently had to be removed from the wall. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plate into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the west wall of the north transept on 13 February 2009.

Harefield, Middlesex²

Three brasses and electrotypes of the palimpsest reverses of two other brasses were removed on 7 August 2008.

LSW.II. Inscription to George Assheby and wife Margaret, 1474. This London D three-line Latin inscription (79 x 435 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets) was set in its original frame in the north chapel. Fractures to the stone necessitated conservation of the frame and the brass. After cleaning the plate and removing heavy corrosion from the reverse I fitted new rivets.

LSW.IV (formerly M.S.VII). Inscription to John Crugge, 1533, and wife Barbara. This London G five-line English inscription (131 x 517 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 8 rivets) was for some years at Astley, Warwickshire, before being returned to Harefield in 1912.⁴ It is palimpsest with part of a shrouded effigy, engraved c. 1530, on the reverse.⁵ The plate is mutilated and fractured into five pieces. It had been repaired with rivetted backing-strips and mounted in a hinged frame on the wall of the north chapel. After removing from the frame and cleaning, a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse was produced. I rejoined the five plates, fitted new threaded rivets to the brass and facsimile and rebated them into a cedar board.

LSW.V (formerly M.S.III). George Assheby, 1514, and wife Rose, engraved c. 1537, and

LSW.VI (formerly M.S.V). William Assheby and wife Jane, 1537; 1912 electrotypes of palimpsest reverses. When these two brasses were conserved by W.E. Gawthorp in 1912, they were found to be almost completely palimpsest.³ Electrotypes facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses were produced and, together with a commemorative inscription, screwed to panelling on the gallery above the two brasses. The plates are comprised of ?Britannia metal with a thin electrolytic copper coating which has tarnished and worn away in places. They were lightly cleaned and treated with *Renaissance* micro-crystalline wax. I fitted new rivets to the electrotypes and mounted them on two cedar boards.

LSW.XII. Inscription in memory of those commemorated by the palimpsest reverses and also recording the provision of the electrotypes by Alfred Henry Tarleton of Breakspears in 1912. This inscription (406 x 611 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 4 rivets), engraved by A & N AUX C.S.L. of London, had been mounted with the electrotypes on the panelling on the gallery and had become considerably tarnished. After cleaning, lightly polishing and lacquering, it was mounted on a cedar board.

The boards were mounted on 24 June 2009 and 7 July 2009, those carrying the electrotypes facsimiles and LSW.XII on the plasterboard wall beside the newly erected stairs up to the gallery, and the board carrying LSW.IV and the resin facsimile on the south aisle wall close to the original location of the brass. LSW.II was mounted in the stone frame after conservation work had been completed by local stonemason, Federico Gizzi.

2 The pre-1700 brasses were described and illustrated by H.K. Cameron in 'The Brasses of Middlesex', *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXI (1967), pp. 100-8.

3 M. Stephenson, 'Some Additional Palimpsests', *MBS Trans.*, VI, pt. 6 (1912), pp. 237-43, VII, pt. 1,

(1934), p. 44; and J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), pp. 40-1, pls. 19-21.

4 Cameron, *ibid.*, p. 5.

5 M. Stephenson, 'A List of Palimpsest Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, IV, pt. 8 (1903), pp. 293-4, and Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests*, p. 39, pl. 17.

Ipswich, St. Lawrence, Suffolk⁶

Two brasses were removed on 27 July 2007.

LSW.I (formerly M.S.II). Shield for John Moor, portman, 1587 (Fig. 6). This mutilated shield (143 x 120 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets) was removed from the original Purbeck slab (770 visible x 780 mm) in the chancel. It proved to be palimpsest, the reverse being cut from a London D female effigy. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the the reverse and fitted new rivets.



Fig. 6. Shield for John Moor, 1567 (LSW.I);
obverse and palimpsest reverse
Ipswich (St. Lawrence), Suffolk
(rubbing by Martin Stuchfield)

Inscription with arms and merchant mark to Stephen Copping, 1602, now Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology LSW.XVI. This mutilated rectangular plate (271 x 286 mm) was formerly laid in a slab (1415 visible x 1205 mm) in the chancel. It is a well-known palimpsest, the reverse being a small Flemish plate comprising an armoured effigy kneeling to a vision of the Virgin and Child. The museum kindly permitted facsimiles of both sides to be made.

6 The church was declared redundant in 1978 and is vested in The Ipswich Historic Churches Trust.

7 Described and illustrated in J. Bertram, *Monumental Brasses and Fragments in the Collections of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (priv. printed, 2004), p. 2. Accession no. LDSAL 0774. It was presented to the Society together with two brass shields by Hugh Welch Diamond on 8 January 1849. It had been 'purchased by him, some years since, of a person who stated them to have been dredged from the bed of the river Thames'. The excellent condition of the plate does not support the (perhaps apocryphal) story of it having been

LSW.III. Inscription and shield to Margery Drury, 1618 (Fig. 7). This seven-line English inscription (177 x 552 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 9 rivets) and shield (158 x 137 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets) were removed from a slab (1810 x 840 mm) in the chancel. The slab bears indents for another lost shield and two lozenges. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The brasses and facsimiles were rebated into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the west wall of the nave on 19 February 2009.

London, Society of Antiquaries

M.S.II. Yeoman of the Crown, *c.* 1480.⁷ This London F effigy of a man in armour with a crown on his shoulder (515 x 197 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 5 rivets) was collected on 17 December 2008. It had suffered fractures to both legs. After cleaning and repair the plate was rebated and secured into a cedar board with removable domed-head rivets to facilitate display. The brass was returned on 27 February 2009.

Ludford, Herefordshire (now in Shropshire)

LSW.I. William Foxe, 1554, and wife Jane, engraved *c.* 1552.⁸ This London G (Fermer) brass now comprises an armoured effigy (672 x 220 mm, engraved on six plates, thicknesses 2.4 to 3.2 mm, 8 rivets), a female effigy (657 x 231 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 2.9 mm and 3.0 mm, 5 rivets), a seven-line English inscription (197 x 698 mm, engraved on 3 plates, thickness 3.1 mm, nine rivets), and two sons (154 x 258 mm, engraved on two plates, thickness

dredged from the river! At present it is not known where the brass was originally laid down.

8 Described and illustrated in R. Hutchinson and B. Egan, 'History Writ in Brass: The Fermer Workshop 1546-1555', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 3 (1999), pp. 254-7. Illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VI, pt. 10 (1967), pl. 54, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses, the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 349, and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Herefordshire* (Colchester, 2007), p. 160.

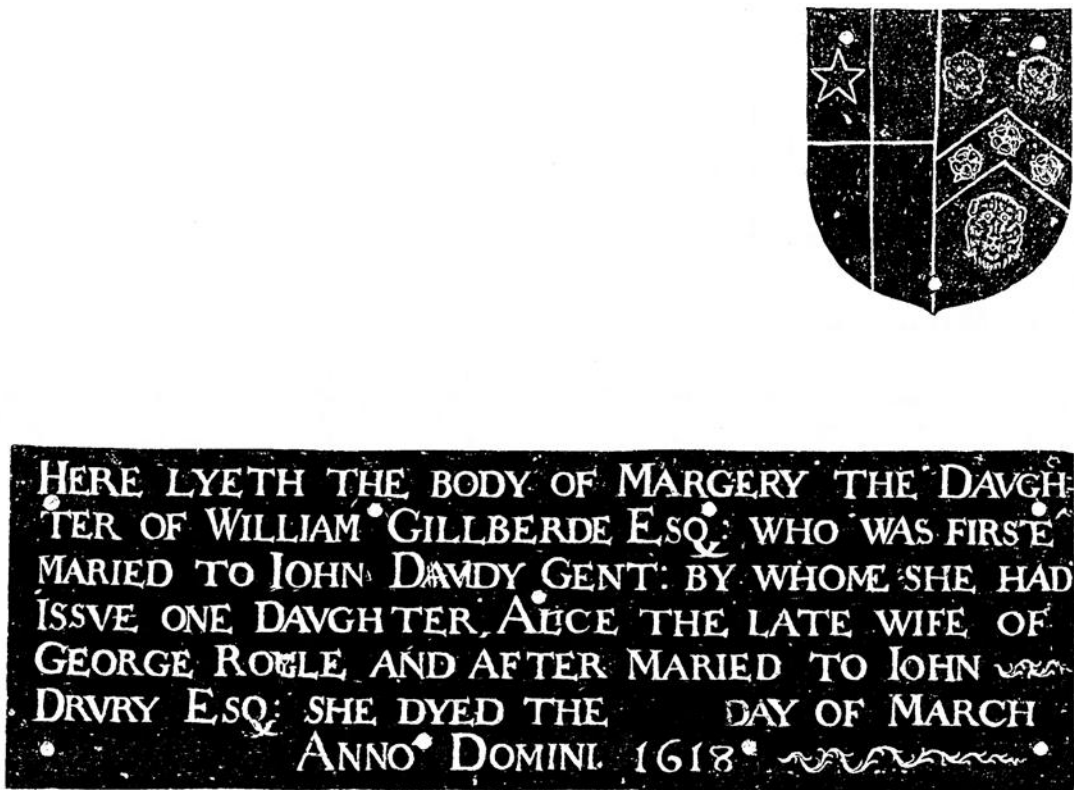


Fig. 7. *Inscription and shield to Margery Drury, 1618 (LSW.III)*
 Ipswich (St. Lawrence), Suffolk
 (rubbing by Martin Stuchfield)

2.7 mm, 2 rivets), five daughters (153 x 160 mm, thickness 4.6 mm, 2 rivets) and three shields (upper left 189 x 159 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 3 rivets; upper right 189 x 163 mm, engraved on 2 plates, thickness 4.3 mm, 2 rivets; lower right 189 x 160 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 3 rivets). The lower left shield (189 x 161 mm), parts of the arms of the male effigy and a sixth daughter are lost. The brass originally formed part of a table tomb but by 1871 had been moved in its Purbeck slab and set against the south pier of the north chapel. The slab (2325 x 985 mm) had become fractured in two.

Following the theft of the lower left shield on 22 September 2008 the brass was removed on 6 October 2008 and it proved to be palimpsest. The most important discovery was the lower part of a man in armour, engraved *c.* 1335, found on the reverse of the inscription, group of sons, upper left and lower right shields.⁹ The other reverses are a worn civilian effigy, engraved *c.* 1450-60; part of a mid-fifteenth century ?three-line Latin inscription; a civilian effigy with purse and rosary, engraved *c.* 1485; the left shoulder of a skeleton in shroud, engraved *c.* 1530;¹⁰ two parts of a three-line Latin inscription, engraved in 1517; and two

9 Illustrated on the cover of *MBS Bulletin*, 110 (Jan. 2009). It can be compared to the well-known effigy of

Sir William Fitzralph, engraved *c.* 1331-8, at Pebmarsh, Essex.

fragments of indeterminate engraving. The group of daughters were engraved *c.* 1520 and were clearly appropriated for the Foxe brass, the indent and the remains of lead on the reverse showing that there was originally a sixth daughter, presumably added in 1554.

After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and these were mounted on a cedar board together with a commemorative plate. I rejoined the various components of the effigies, inscription and sons and fitted new rivets to the plates. With the aid of a rubbing by Jonathan Moor and an excellent photograph taken by Martin Stuchfield it proved possible for Michael Ward to produce a most realistic resin facsimile of the lower left shield.

After removal of the brass, conservation work was carried out to the slab by Sue and Lawrence Kelland. The slab was removed from the wall on 12-13 October 2009 and the two sections laid horizontally. The indents were deepened as necessary whilst damaged areas were made up with colour-matched polyester resin. On 21 October 2009 I relaid the brass into the slab. In the next few days the Kellands completed the filling of the worn areas and reset the slab against the pier with a damp-proof membrane behind it. Missing sections of the brass were indicated with areas of darker-coloured resin.

Preston, St. Augustine of Canterbury (R.C.).
LSW.I. Rev. George Gradwell, 1855.¹¹ This fine ?Hardman brass, comprising an effigy in Mass

Vestments with chalice (522 x 244 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 7 rivets) together with a single canopy, shield and a four-line Latin inscription on one plate (926 x 416 mm overall, thickness 2.7 mm, 15 rivets) was removed from the church when it was declared redundant in 1985 and subsequently stored in the garage of the Parish House.¹² It was still set in its slate slab (1065 x 550 mm) and secured with back-soldered rivets. It was removed for conservation on 19 December 2008. The plates were cleaned, polished and lacquered. The church building was re-opened by H.R.H. the Duke of Kent in 2006 as the St. Augustine's New Avenham Centre. The brass was re-secured in the slab on 17 April 2009. The slab was subsequently mounted in the centre by a stonemason.

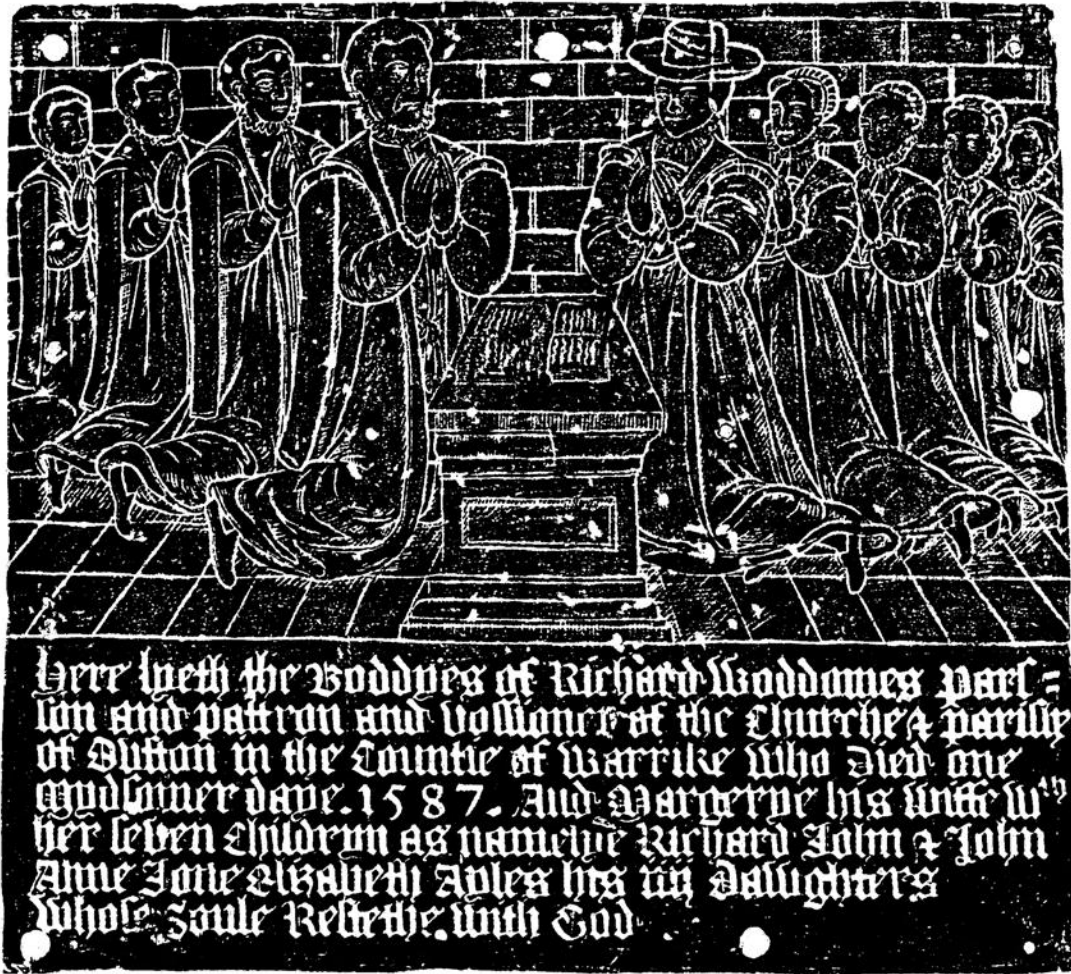
Ufton, Warwickshire

LSW.I. Richard Woddomes, 1587, and wife Margery (Fig. 8). This Johnson-style rectangular plate (414 x 457 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 12 rivets) is engraved with the kneeling effigies of Richard Woddomes, in gown, his wife, three sons and four daughters together with an inscription in seven English lines. It was removed from the north wall of the north aisle *c.* 1988 and subsequently kept loose in the vestry. It had been secured with screws directly on limewashed plaster and both sides had become seriously corroded. It was collected on 19 April 2007, cleaned, re-riveted and rebated into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north wall of the north aisle on 8 February 2009.

10 This links with the reverse of the inscription from the brass to Sir William Fermoure, 1552, and wife, at Somerton, Oxfordshire.

11 Illustrated *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 5 (2007), p. 512.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 512.



*Fig. 8. Richard Woddomes, 1587, and wife Margery (LSW.I)
Ufton, Warwickshire
(rubbing by Martin Stuchfield)*

Obituary

Claude Blair, C.V.O., O.B.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A. (1922-2010)



Claude Blair, July 1994

With the death of Claude Blair on 21 February 2010 at the age of 87, the MBS lost its senior Vice-President and one of the most distinguished scholars ever to have been a member of our Society. He was a man of wide-ranging interests and achievements, but was best known as the last surviving member of a remarkable generation of British specialists who, from the 1950s, elevated arms and armour studies to new professional and academic heights. It is a measure of his high standards and outstanding scholarship that his first book, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (1958) has yet to be superseded as the standard text on the subject. Claude leaves a huge void which will affect us all, particularly as he was so generous with his time and expertise in helping others with their work, even young scholars whom he did not know personally. As Ian Eaves, former Keeper of Armour at the Royal Armouries, observed when learning of Claude's death: 'We have come to expect him to be there for us with answers to all our questions.'

Claude was born in Manchester on 30 November 1922 and brought up mostly in Chorlton-cum-Hardy, where he attended William Hulme's Grammar School. He said later that he could not remember a time when he was not interested in armour. He credited his father, a Manchester business man and amateur historian, with nurturing his antiquarian interests. It was he who took the young Claude on frequent trips to nearby castles and battle sites and gave him his first book on arms and armour when he was only twelve. That year he also became a collector of antique arms, buying a brass-hilted sword with 4s. he had found in the road.

Claude's schooling was interrupted by World War II. In 1942 he enlisted in the Army and later applied for officers' training school. He received his commission in the Anti-Tank



Claude Blair as a captain in the Royal Artillery

Corps and was sent to Ireland where the course of his military career was altered by an accident involving two cases of beer. Claude told the story to his friend Stuart Phyr, Curator of Arms and Armour at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, as follows:

It was near Christmas and we decided to take a truck and go to Belfast to buy drinks for the mess for the holiday. Coming home we hit a dense fog and grease on the road. The truck spun and we crashed broadside. My leg was caught between two cases of beer and was broken in two places. The chaps had a lot of laughs over that one.

The leg injury proved serious enough to make Claude ineligible for combat duty, so he served out the war as a firing range officer in a squad

that tested new small-arms. He later acknowledged that his military service made him more mature and so enabled him to get much more out of his undergraduate studies in history at the University of Manchester, where he was awarded his M.A. for a dissertation on the Emperor Maximilian I's gift to King Henry VIII of the silvered and engraved armour that is now on display in the Royal Armouries. It was published in *Archaeologia* in 1965 and demonstrated Claude's masterly command of documentary evidence as well as his keen powers of observation. In 2004 he received yet another degree from the same university – an honorary Litt.D. Claude privately observed that would have preferred to have been awarded a non-honorary doctorate on his own merits (which the university rules did not permit on the subject of armour) but was nonetheless most grateful for this honour. He was immensely proud of his roots and his appreciation at being honoured by his *alma mater* eclipsed even his amusement at receiving second billing to the surviving members of the pop group The Bee Gees, who were given honorary degrees on the same day. Claude knew his worth, but had no trace of pomposity.

Through the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Claude received much encouragement from distinguished antiquaries, including Graham Webster, the curator of the Grosvenor Museum in Chester, who was to introduce him to his future wife, Joan Drinkwater, whose father was rector of Little Bookham, Surrey, and with whom the couple lived for some years after they were married in 1952. They had just one child, John (born in 1955), who was also to become well known in MBS circles; he is now a Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford, Professor of Medieval History and Archaeology in the University of Oxford and a greatly respected Anglo-Saxon scholar.

In 1951 Claude took up a junior position in the institution then known as the Tower of London Armouries, which housed the main national collection of arms and armour. In 1956 he moved to the Victoria and Albert Museum, from which he retired in 1982 as Keeper of Metalwork, a position which reflected the depth and breadth of his knowledge of historic European metalwork. He believed strongly that museums should be powerhouses of scholarship, but also should communicate and educate. His Easter holiday lectures at the V&A in the 1950s and 1960s are remembered with pleasure and amusement by many of those who attended as children and who are now scholars in their own right. Those who worked with him valued him highly and received his wholehearted support; even the most junior staff were encouraged to engage in research on the collections.

Claude was a forceful campaigner on many issues. He was a leader in the 'Save the V&A' campaign against the changes proposed at his former museum which would have led to an organisational separation of curators from their collections, following the sudden departure of several of the most senior curatorial staff. He also vehemently opposed the move of the majority of the Royal Armouries collection to Leeds from its historic home in the Tower of London, which he feared would lead to the diminution of both the stature of the collection in national terms and of the stature of the subject within the field of scholarship. In his latter years he was greatly dismayed by the trend to turn museums into theme parks, in which the collections seemed secondary to the shops and restaurants. He was wont to comment that perhaps he had lived too long, for he was forced to watch the gradual dismantling of all he had helped to build up in his working life. As an example, Claude once suggested that I look at the website for the Royal Armouries (which at the time had a banner outside

proclaiming 'Protecting Britain [sic] since 1509') to see if I could find any reference to armour; I succeeded, but not without difficulty. This has now been swept away to be replaced by a better website which rightly celebrates the Royal Armouries as home to the United Kingdom's national collection of arms and armour.

Armour has had a low survival rate and, apart from the exceptional products of the royal 'Almain Armoury' at Greenwich, founded in 1516 by Henry VIII, not a single piece of English-made armour dating from before the seventeenth century can be identified with certainty. Claude's fascination with armour thus led inevitably to an interest in contemporary illustrations of armour, including those on church monuments and brasses. Indeed, his first publications were articles on 'The pre-Reformation effigies of Cheshire', in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, LX (1948) and LXI (1949), and on 'Two unrecorded brasses' [Hadley, Cheshire; Isel, Cumberland], in our own *Transactions*, VIII, pt. 8 (December 1950).

Claude joined the MBS in 1946 and for the next sixty years he was very active in Society affairs. Particularly memorable were his lectures on medieval armour, during which he would don armour, explaining the name and purpose of each successive piece. He and Joan, and for a period John, were habitual attendants at lecture meetings and, until his last few years when mobility problems made travelling across London difficult, he was also a regular presence at Council meetings (if late rattling on the window with his walking stick to gain admittance), at which he invariably made a significant contribution. He had a notable passion for high standards of conservation. He deplored the apparent amateurism of work to preserve brasses being termed 'Repairs' in

reports in *Transactions*; in consequence they were instead more appropriately headed 'Conservation of Brasses' from 1995. He was also greatly exercised by the limited numbers of trained conservators knowledgeable enough to work on brasses at affordable prices, rightly fearing for the future of such vital work once William Lack retired. He made great efforts to get West Dean College to include the conservation of brasses in their training programme, but with a regrettable lack of response from potential trainees. His ardour on this subject often resulted in some difficult exchanges at Council meetings, which successive Presidents sometimes found trying, but who can doubt that he was right in identifying this as a key issue for the future of the monuments we love?

Claude's favourite brass was the composition at Elsing, Norfolk, to Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347), which he chose to write on in the Brass of the Month feature that he wrote for the MBS website in March 2005. He explained the reasons for his choice thus:

Apart from its sumptuousness and high artistic quality, the monument is of considerable importance to students of medieval monuments and armour for a number of other reasons. The weepers represented on medieval monuments are commonly members of the deceased person's family. Hastings, however, selected eight of his old comrades-in-arms from the French wars for this purpose, some of whom, though, were related to him. Together with the main figure and the figure of St. George at the top of the main canopy, the weepers provide illustrations – of particular importance because they are dated – of the type of armour in use during the fourth decade of the fourteenth century. This came right at the end of a period of transition when the body-armour of mail (now incorrectly called 'chain-mail'), that had

been the norm since the early Middle Ages, was first reinforced with, and then largely replaced by, solid plates.

Another brass – albeit not a military one – of special interest to the Blair family was that at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, to William Grevel, citizen of London, ‘*flos mercatorum lanarum tocius Anglie*’ [the flower of wool merchants of all England] (d. 1401) and his wife Marion. I recall seeing it first in John Blair’s company. He had researched the family pedigree under his mother’s guidance as a teenager, so was able to tell me that Joan was probably descended from William and Marion.

In the early days of his membership of the MBS, Claude despaired of some aspects of the Society, notably its insularity. If he could be described as having a mission in the MBS, it was encapsulated by the opening sentences, written in characteristically trenchant terms, of his short contribution to the MBS’s volume *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (1996)

It cannot be stressed too strongly that the armour on brasses – as also the costume – is no more than a two-dimensional representation of something that had an independent three-dimensional appearance. To attempt to treat it as a subject separate from the study of actual armour, and so to ignore the latter’s specialist literature, is absurd, though, astonishingly, some past writers have attempted to so.

He regarded Malcolm Norris’s *Brass Rubbing* (1965) as the first book on brasses in which discussion on armour was treated properly. He castigated the continued use by others of ‘such nineteenth-century collectors’ jargon as *genouillère*, *solleret*, *cyclas*, *tuilee*, or any version of the outmoded classification according to named periods: “Camail and Jupon”, “Lancastrian”, “Yorkist”, “Early Tudor” or “Mail Skirt” and so on.’

Throughout his lifetime, Claude kept us on his toes, sending initially letters then e-mails, pointing out in the starkest terms even the most minor transgressions in published work. These criticisms were not limited to discussions of armour; he was also a stickler for correct grammar and punctuation. Some found such missives wounding, but I soon learnt that the best response was to take greater care in subsequent efforts. Claude was equally lavish when he thought praise was deserved, and I am sure that I am not alone in regarding compliments from Claude as amongst the sweetest and most treasured I have ever received.

Within the MBS, it was not just correct terminology that exercised Claude. He was a vocal advocate of the moves in the 1970s and 1980s, initiated largely by John Page-Phillips, to re-date the earliest military brasses according to modern developments in the more correct dating of armour. For decades Claude engaged in a running battle with successive incumbents of the church at Stoke d’Abernon, Surrey, to correctly re-label the brasses to two generations of the d’Abernon family. His last attempt was an article on ‘The dates of the early brasses in Stoke d’Abernon church’, in the *Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society*, VI (2006), but it was to no avail. Characteristically, Claude nonetheless found a way to have the last word. In the entrance way to his house in Ashstead he had a small-sized replica, bought from Stoke d’Abernon church, of the earlier of the two military brasses there. It has been labelled ‘Sir John d’Abernon, died 1277’, but over the last words Claude had pasted a piece of paper reading ‘died 1327’.

Claude was actively involved in many learned societies apart from our own. He was an early member of the Arms and Armour Society, serving as its editor from 1953 to 1977. In 1988

Claude was the first recipient of that Society's medal of distinction. He was a founder member and first president of the Medieval Dress and Textile Society. Together with the late A.V.B. (Nick) Norman and a small group of others, he was responsible in 1979 for founding the Church Monuments Society, becoming its first president and attending virtually all of its events until 2008.

Claude's remarkable scholarly output includes over 200 books and articles and led to a host of honours. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1956, and in 1998 was awarded its highest honour – the Gold Medal – adding his name to a list of distinguished medallists which includes Sir Arthur Evans and Sir Mortimer Wheeler. He served on the Church of England's Council for the Care of Churches (now the Church Buildings Council) and on several of its committees, and also as a Trustee of the Churches Conservation Trust. As a liveryman of the London Goldsmiths' Company he was much involved with the Company's scheme to encourage the establishment of diocesan treasuries, where historic church plate can be seen by the public. For all this work with and for churches and cathedrals Claude was appointed an O.B.E. in 1994. In 1998 he edited and contributed to the definitive work on the Crown Jewels. He was subsequently made a C.V.O.

A milestone of Claude's life that I remember with pleasure was his eightieth birthday celebration, organised by his close friends Marian Campbell and Philip Lankester. The main event was a series of short lectures held at the Society of Antiquaries of London. Claude chose the list of those to be invited and the friends from whom he wished to hear contributions. That the subjects covered a very wide range is indicative of Claude's own broad interests. Three talks concerned monuments.

John Blair spoke on coffins; Philip Lankester discussed a fragment of a military effigy found in an excavation in Oxford; and I chose as my topic 'A knight to remember', *viz.* the brass to Sir William Catesby at Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire. Afterwards Claude, the organisers and the speakers enjoyed a convivial meal at a nearby restaurant.

Advancing years did nothing to diminish Claude's razor-sharp intellect and his appetite for research or slow his pace of work – if anything, he upped the rate of his output. He was fortunate that, until he was admitted to hospital for his final, mercifully brief, illness, he was able to live independently at home, surrounded by his papers and his huge and valuable collection of books, which filled every room bar the bathroom and kitchen. In his last months Claude completed revisions to his much-delayed essay on Henry VIII's armoury, and finished the manuscript of a study of the so-called *Almain Armourers' Album* in the V&A, the most important document for the history of the royal armour workshops at Greenwich. He worked at break-neck speed on the latter, not pausing even to write Christmas cards. When I last spoke to him, a couple of days before he became seriously ill, he told me with great satisfaction that in completing this work he had achieved a fifty-year old ambition.

Claude's final years brought to fruition other cherished ambitions. Both Claude and Joan had longed to have grandchildren. In 2005 John married Kanerva Heikkinen, a Finnish Anglo-Saxon scholar. Claude took an instant liking to her and held her in deep affection and respect. In 2007 a grandson Edward was born, to be followed in 2009 by a granddaughter Ida. Claude was very proud of them both and loved them intensely; friends would receive emails regarding their progress, with recent photos attached.



Claude with a family group viewing the brass at Nousiainen, Finland. It shows, from the left, Kanerva Blair holding baby Ida, her father Olavi Heikkinen, Claude and John Blair.

This marriage had the unexpected consequence of leading to Claude's last publication 'The monument of Saint Henry of Finland: a reassessment', written with the assistance of John and Kanerva and published shortly after his death in our *Transactions*, XVII, pt. 6 (2008). Travelling to Finland for Edward's baptism, Claude had been greatly excited at seeing an electrotype of St. Henry's brass in the National Museum of Finland. With his almost unparalleled knowledge of medieval armour he was quick to spot that the main brass and the plates on the vertical side of the shrine chest were not contemporary, as had hitherto been taken for granted by all Finnish and Swedish

works on the shrine. He took the opportunity of a further visit, for Ida's baptism, to undertake a family trip to Nousiainen to see the original. Photographs of both the monument and the visiting party were taken. On seeing one shot of him gazing at the main brass Claude commented to John: 'That will do for my obituary'. It was used for the front page of the order of service for his funeral and the notice of his death published in our *Bulletin*, so a family group taken on the same occasion has been reproduced here instead.

Claude will be remembered as an outstanding scholar, but he had a lighter side also. He had a

zest for life, a love of travel, literature (including all seven Harry Potter books), food and drink. He loved the natural world and wild flowers; hence it was fitting that his ashes were scattered (at his own request) in Ashtead Woods. He was fond of cats though his own, Tonk (short for the breed Tonkinese), died a few years before he did. His musical tastes extended from Wagner to Gilbert and Sullivan. A life-long favourite were the comic monologues of Stanley Holloway, including 'The Lion and Albert' and 'Sam, Sam, Pick oop thy Musket', which he delighted in reciting in a broad Lancashire accent. He also collected copies of cartoons

which tickled his fancy; one from *Punch*, which he often quoted at MBS meetings, showed a group of men in armour standing to attention, with their captain addressing them. The caption reads: 'The Middle Ages will cease as from 12.00 hours on Thursday next'.¹

Claude's life was unquestionably one lived to the full. We may regret his passing, but it is far more appropriate to celebrate his enormous legacy to posterity.

Sally Badham

¹ The cartoon by George Morrow was published in *Punch* on 24 October 1945. It was used by Claude in a talk given at the 1991 AGM, entitled 'Conservatism on

Monuments, with special reference to the Middle Ages', and reproduced in *MBS Bulletin* 59 (Feb. 1992), p. 536.

Reviews

Sally Badham and Geoff Blacker, *Northern Rock: The Use of Egglestone Marble for Monuments in Medieval England*, BAR British Series 480 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009); vi + 187 pp., 69 colour and b/w plates, 14 text figures, 7 maps, 13 plans; £38.00; ISBN 9781407304151.

In medieval wills the testator most often signals his desire to be commemorated by a brass by the phrase 'a marble stone'. Only occasionally is the material of the inlay specified. Our interest in brasses can blind us to the fact that for the marblers' clients the brass was the icing on the cake. Of the polished sedimentary limestones used for this purpose in England, Purbeck marble is the most widespread, but locally other marbles are to be found, such as Bethersden and Petworth in the south-east, and Frosterley and Egglestone in the north. This study is devoted to the products of quarries in the vicinity of, and mostly owned by, the Premonstratensian abbey of Egglestone in the Tees valley. Leland characterises Egglestone marble as 'blak marble spotted with white', a fair description as can be seen from the colour plate of a polished sample, which is sensibly juxtaposed with specimens of Frosterley and Sykes. Unlike Purbeck or Frosterley, Egglestone marble was not used architecturally, but served for a variety of monumental uses: shrines, tomb-chests, low relief and incised slabs, matrices for brasses, fonts and altar *mensae*. It was capable of being worked in very large slabs; the *mensa* of the high altar from York Minster, now in St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, is 4.68 m long.

After an introduction defining the characteristics of Egglestone marble and setting out the parameters of the survey, there are two general chapters looking at the use of sedimentary marbles for monuments in medieval England and the characteristics of monumental production and commemoration in the north-east of England. Chapter 3

provides a useful resumé of Sally Badham's various publications on this subject. After a discussion of the physical and documentary evidence for quarrying at Egglestone, three chapters provide a chronological account of the use of the marble. The earliest surviving example is a cross slab, dated by Aleksandra McClain to the late thirteenth century, at Patrick Brompton in the North Riding. It was in the period between 1400 and the Reformation that the quarries were at their most productive. It is possible that the upheaval caused by Scots marauders might have hindered earlier development of the quarries. The exploitation of this resource seems to have been killed effectively by the dissolution of Egglestone Abbey. Thereafter the use of Egglestone marble seems to have been confined to ledger slabs, several of which, on closer inspection, prove to be reused slabs.

The authors have identified 179 Egglestone marble slabs (including tomb chest covers) which have, or had, brasses set in them. The earliest is the matrix, composed of two slabs, provided for the grand brass of Lewis de Beaumont, bishop of Durham (d. 1333). Early local awareness of the new monumental fashion for brass inscriptions in separate Lombardic letters is indicated by a low relief effigy of a woman from Denton, Co. Durham, now in the Bowes Museum, which formerly had lead inlay letters set around it. Unfortunately nothing is known of the person commemorated, identified simply as the wife of Aubrey de Conyers. Her headdress suggests a date not too long after 1300. Incidentally, John Blair's drawing of the monument reveals that the inscription reads 'HICI GIST AUBREY DE COYNNERS SA COMPAYN', and not as given on p. 37. Apart from the Beaumont brass, there are five fourteenth-century examples: two London A brasses shipped up north loose for setting locally and three products of Yorkshire

Series workshops. In the fifteenth century Egglestone marble was the preferred stone of the York workshops. At least 63% of Yorkshire Series 2 brasses were set in it. One such is the brass of Richard Aske (d. 1460) and his wife Margaret (d. 1466), originally at Ellerton Priory but now at Aughton, for which Margaret left £10. Most of the brasses set in Egglestone slabs are to be found in Yorkshire and Durham, but there are outliers in Cumberland, Westmorland, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. A puzzling case is that of the tomb of Robert Brown of Newark (d. 1532) and his wife Agnes, in Newark church, which has a fillet inscription in London debased F style. As the authors note, 'a tomb carved by the Midlands alabasterers might have seemed a more natural choice'. The explanation may lie with Brown's principal executor, William Howgill, Master of the Savoy Hospital in London and also Precentor of York.

Leland, in his *Itineraries*, states that the stone was 'taken up booth by marbelers of Barnardes [Castle] and of Egleston, and partly to have be wrought by them, and partely sold onwrought to other'. Two instances where specialist sculptors worked on Egglestone marble with impressive results are 1472 shrine base of St. William of York, now on display once again in the Yorkshire Museum, and the so-called Brus cenotaph, erected by Prior James Cockerell in Guisborough Priory c. 1520. One end is only known from an engraving in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, but the rest of the monument survives in Guisborough parish church, to which it was probably moved by the last prior, Robert Pursglove, known to MBS members from his episcopal brass at Tideswell, Derbyshire. The genealogical parade along the sides of the monument is reminiscent of the Le Strange brass at Hunstanton, Norfolk. At the surviving end is the figure of a prior, his head cowed, holding the Brus arms, and flanked by

kneeling canons. Badham and Blacker reasonably suggest that this is William de Brus, the first Prior of Guisborough. (It is not, as an uncorrected error in the caption to Pl. 30 has it, the Blessed Virgin Mary.)

Several of the early sixteenth-century low relief slabs bear a remarkable similarity to monuments found in northern Germany and Denmark. Is this the commonality of provincial art, or does it hint at the existence of connections across the North Sea? There is certainly a Northern aesthetic, manifest in the bold foliage of the canopy work and a certain tendency towards abstraction, notable in the geometric forms of the Egglestone fonts. Two of the fonts incorporate brass elements. That at Staindrop, Co. Durham, has the arms of Sir Edward Neville, Lord Bergavenny, and is evidently from the same workshop as the Yorkshire Series 2a brass of his wife Elizabeth (d. 1448), set in an Egglestone slab, in the same church. An even closer relationship between font-maker and brass engraver is manifest at Bolton-by-Bowland, where the font bears an inscription on curved brass strips. It is suggested that the crude engraving points to the brasses having been made at the Egglestone quarry workshop itself.

The first two appendices list all the sites visited during the fourteen years over which this study was conducted and the 354 examples of Egglestone marble pieces found. Then follow eleven tabular lists, including all pre-1550 figure brasses and indents in Yorkshire, Co. Durham and Northumberland, with identification of workshop and stone type, where known, all Yorkshire School brasses and indents, in date order, and all pre-1550 Egglestone incised and low relief slabs. These lists invite correction and addition.

When this study was published in 2009, 'Northern Rock' signified primarily financial

disaster, but whereas the collapse of that building society will become just an unpleasant memory, *Northern Rock* will retain its value as a standard work on the subject, a firm foundation for future investigations in the field of petrography and a perfect example of the fruitful combination of archaeological and antiquarian approaches in the investigation of monuments. Archaeopress, one of the many micro-publishers which take the lead in publishing scholarly research in England, is to be congratulated on the excellent presentation of this volume.

Nicholas Rogers

Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk ed., *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010); xiv + 274 pp., 108 colour or b/w plates; £35.00; ISBN 978-1-907730-00-9.

I greatly enjoyed this book, which originated in a one-day conference in October 2008, jointly organised by the Church Monuments Society and the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York. Four of the papers given that day are published here, together with three specially-commissioned essays, a fourth additional chapter that brings together for the first time the known English tomb contracts from the period, and a comprehensive glossary of terms. This is all introduced and held together by a short essay by the editors. Members of the Monumental Brass Society need not be discouraged by the admission (Badham, p. 16) that ‘brasses are excluded from the main focus of this publication’: there are plenty of thoughtful comparisons between the tomb and brass industries, not least because brasses so often formed parts of sculptured tombs.

In ‘What Constituted a “Workshop”, and How did Workshops Operate? Some Problems and

Questions’, Sally Badham lays out the limited evidence we have for where monuments were produced. Only for London is there certain evidence for tomb production in a town. Even then, some craftsmen may have travelled to carve some monuments at or near the destination church. There is also evidence for workshops based at or near major ecclesiastical sites or quarries. All of these models may have applied at different times and in different places. Badham’s summary is excellent, but we badly need more hard evidence.

Aleksandra McClain analyses cross slab monuments in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The unassuming cross slab, neglected by scholars, has much to tell about the production, distribution and consumption of commemorative monuments in the fourteenth century. McClain adopts a systematic, archaeological approach, the result of a survey of all 254 medieval parish churches and chapels within the riding. Her analysis is broken down by rural deaneries, which reflect distinct geographical areas. There are fewer cross slabs in the deaneries of Bulmer and Ryedale, perhaps because of the greater wealth of these areas, and the growth of the brass and sculptural monumental industry around nearby York. The total of 189 cross slabs dating from c. 1275 to c. 1400 is also analysed by date. There is a clear decline in numbers after a peak in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century. McClain also describes the various cross styles that are found, and the various emblems (swords, shears, chalices, books and various trade or tool symbols). Shears, very prevalent, and keys, far less so, almost certainly denote women.

In ‘Military Effigies in Eastern England: Evidence of a High-Status Workshop of c.1295–1350’, Mark Downing argues that forty-eight military effigies from Lincolnshire to

County Durham are the work of a single group of carvers. Downing has personally examined all 978 accessible pre-1500 military effigies in England and Wales, and his knowledge is considerable and his evidence persuasive. Brian and Moira Gittos date many of these effigies much earlier, as he acknowledges, but his dating has been supported by Claude Blair on the basis of specific details of the armour shown.

Robin Emmerson discusses the nine fourteenth-century tomb effigies at Aldworth, Berkshire. These have been in the same positions within the church since at least *c.* 1600. He argues that Edmund de la Beche, a priest, and the last survivor of five brothers who had otherwise died without male issue, commissioned all the effigies *c.* 1350 so as to form a family mausoleum. The effigies were designed to be seen together, in a graded arrangement from west to east. The visual climax was the pair of particularly energetic figures with open visors that still face each other (and any visitor) across the church from the east ends of the north and south walls. Similarities between the effigies and seated figures on the west front of Exeter Cathedral are also examined.

Rhianydd Biebrach discusses the patronage and production of fourteenth-century effigial monuments in Glamorgan – not the modern county, only created in 1536, but the medieval marcher lordship. This extended from the Rhumney in the east to the Tawe in the west, and was bounded on the north by sparsely settled uplands, and on the south by the Bristol Channel. She bases her analysis on the stone used for the monuments. Stone from across the Bristol Channel in England was sometimes preferred by prominent Glamorgan families for high-status memorials; the use of local stone for high-quality tombs may reflect a short-lived workshop, possibly at the Quarella quarries near Bridgend, linked to contemporary building

projects in the vicinity. All of this came to an end *c.* 1350 with the Black Death.

Jane Crease writes about late-fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century alabaster monuments in Yorkshire, both how they were produced, and the familial and social groups that commissioned them. One group of tombs with effigies, at Harewood, Methley, Sheriff Hutton and Swine, dating from *c.* 1415 to *c.* 1425, is constructed in a manner different from almost all the others, and from its distribution may have been made in York, despite the complete absence of documentary evidence for a York alabaster workshop at that date. Those commemorated all had Lancastrian affinities, and most knew or were related to each other. A second group, again of distinct components, comprises the St Quintin tombs at Harpham and Hornsea. Here the tomb chests are topped by incised slabs, which so far cannot be linked either to other incised slabs or to the York brass workshops. The likelihood that alabaster workshops also produced religious images and altarpieces, and might sometimes have worked in freestone, or even in wood, is also considered.

Marie Louise Sauerberg, Ray Marchant and Lucy Wrapson of the Hamilton Kerr Institute report on the materials and techniques of the wooden canopy or tester over the tomb of Edward the Black Prince (d. 1376) in Canterbury Cathedral, a wonderful survival of late-fourteenth-century polychromy. Every surface visible from the ground was ornately decorated, and the tester remains unaltered and substantially complete. The artists are unknown. The techniques used, including gilding, stencilling and cast tin-relief decoration, are discussed in detail. Two particular shades of red paint were derived from different species of scale insects from the Mediterranean and India. The tester weighs around half a tonne, and was built and decorated off-site. It then had

to be installed above the Black Prince's tomb without damaging the fragile decorated surfaces, a process which nearly ended in disaster when the Trinity Chapel pillars at either end of the tomb were found to be too close together. Several inches had to be hacked from the middle of one end of the tester to make it fit!

In the final chapter, Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk transcribe all seven known tomb contracts between patron and sculptor earlier than 1425. All have been published before, but it is extremely useful to have them all together for the first time, with translations and commentary. Some errors have crept in, however. The translation of Contract no. I should give the date as the fiftieth year of Edward III, not the fifteenth; and the various TNA references should be as follows: III: PRO E101/473/7; V: PRO E210/2446; VI: PRO E326/7164. Some transcripts are more accurate than others, and it would have been helpful to have line numbering; details of any endorsements, seal tags or seals; an *apparatus criticus* for each contract, giving references to earlier published work; and a clear photograph of each document, making it unnecessary to view the original. In the commentary at p. 216, the City of London is made out to be far larger than it is; you can walk from St. Alban Wood Street to St. Paul's Churchyard in less than five minutes. In the Bisham Priory effigies contract of 1419, the French text at lines 16–17 should read, *les jambes as costes des ditz ymages serront faitz oue Angeles deins la jambe en maner come il piert a la cost del ymage du dit Count en un jambe*, and the translation should therefore read, 'the shafts at the sides of the said effigies will be made with angels in the shaft, in the manner that appears at the side of the effigy of the said earl in one shaft'. This refers back to the *patroun* ('pattern') mentioned shortly before; the sculptor was to carve *two* identical shafts with angels, either side of each effigy, based upon the *single* shaft shown

with angels in the pattern. Also, these shafts were surely horizontal, as on Richard II's tomb, not vertical, as at Lowick.

All in all, this is a stimulating book, which captures the state of our knowledge and provides a springboard to the future. The various authors have all had access to each other's texts, which has helped to bind the various essays together. The book is handsomely produced, with numerous fine illustrations, many in colour. The cover price is astonishingly low, and the editors must be congratulated on the substantial grant funding acknowledged in the Preface. The dust jacket is strikingly attractive, though the monuments illustrated there should have been relevant to the text.

Stephen Freeth

Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess ed., *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 20 (Donington: Shaun Tyas 2010); xiv+386pp., 91 colour or b/w plates; £49.50; ISBN 978-1-907730-04-7.

Memory and Commemoration is, as its title suggests, a wide-ranging, interdisciplinary, and thought-provoking volume. Geographically it covers counties from Devon and Cornwall in the south-west to Yorkshire in the north, though there is, as always, a strong focus on London and its environs. The main section of the book is arranged in roughly chronological order, rather than by theme, starting with a fascinating paper by Nick Holder on medieval foundation stones and foundation ceremonies from 1089 to 1528. At the heart of this piece lies the archaeological discovery in 1996 of two foundation stones of the London Guildhall. These still retain the painted names of two of the 1441-2 founders (one stone being featured on the dust jacket of this volume). Medieval foundation stones were buried in the

foundation trenches and not built into walls as occurred both earlier and later.

Claire Gobbi Daunton's focus is the stained glass of Mileham church in Norfolk. The mid-fourteenth-century west window, she contends, was glazed by the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel. By contrast, the donor of the early fifteenth-century south-east window proudly proclaimed his origins as a pedlar with two packhorses, the source of his wealth, being depicted among the kneeling donor figures. The Thorpe family of Northamptonshire, 'one of the great success stories of the late Middle Ages', feature next in Robert Kinsey's study. Initially they were buried in their local monastic church, but by the fourteenth century friaries, parish churches, chantries and colleges made competing claims. Kinsey concludes that such families thought in terms of 'commemorative portfolios' covering as wide a geographical area as possible.

Reminding us that the 'humble obit' was once more common than chantries, David Lepine's study is a selective analysis of the 1305-1467 Exeter Cathedral obit books. Clerically dominated, this rare survival 'essentially preserved the collective memory and history of the cathedral'. By contrast, David King's investigation of the Scrope window in Heydour church in Lincolnshire reveals the soldierly simplicity of mid-fourteenth-century glass. Henry Scrope's window depicts two English royal saints - Edward and Edmund - ready to fight alongside St. George, but a more pacifist iconography of these two saints prevailed in the long term. Mark Ormrod's study introduces a rare female perspective, using the tombs of Isabella of France and her daughter-in-law Phillippa of Hainault to study female royal patronage. The argument appears to hinge on how far their tombs were made prior to death, but interestingly, includes discussions of related Masses and religious services.

Jennifer Ward brings us back to family commemoration in the context of the nobility. Like others she notes the weakening hold of the 'honorial' monasteries on burial place choice by the fifteenth century and concludes with one of the most grisly of memorials - the head of Simon of Sudbury. Sudbury was the archbishop of Canterbury murdered during the Great Revolt of 1381 and his skull is still kept at the church of St. Gregory's, Sudbury.

The next paper is a welcome and important one for the study of multiple commemoration. It will also be of great interest to members of the Monumental Brass Society. In it Christian Steer looks at burials in the London friaries *c.* 1240-1540. The lost brass indent showing Bernat Jambe's leg (a pun on his name), *c.* 1270-90, is one of three memorial brasses used to illustrate the text. The other two brasses chosen date from 1375 and 1508 and come from Ashford in Kent and Wivenhoe in Essex. The practice of multiple commemoration was evidently not uncommon for those who could afford it. Flashier stone tombs, often painted, were set up in London friaries over the actual tomb, while a cheaper brass memorial was laid in the home church. Can this practice of making multiple tombs also account for the omission of death dates on some brasses or were those about to die merely hedging their bets where they had more than one choice of burial place?

Meriel Connor's paper is complementary to the earlier one by Lepine and the later one by Cindy Wood. In contrast to Exeter, the obits of Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, were private documents kept by the monks themselves. Consequently they contain much biographical material as well as great detail about the laying out of bodies on a stone slab in the infirmary prior to burial.

Wealth and ostentation rivalling royalty was clearly a key aim of one of the best-preserved and most luxurious of English medieval chantries: the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick. With a painting of the day of judgement behind him, Beauchamp's bronze effigy stares up at the most easterly roof boss which depicts 'the Queen of Heaven'. Richard Marks skilfully untangles 'the politics of interment' manifest in this monument.

A more literary approach – this time to the Dance of Death in Old St. Paul's - comes from the pen of Sophie Oosterwijk who uses imagery from France and Germany to reconstruct a lost wonder. Monumental brasses and indents of the Robertsons, a Lincolnshire-based family of Calais staplers, are at the heart of the next paper by Sally Badham. The brasses themselves are a salutary reminder of just how little actually remains of this family's expensive commemoration strategies.

Wall paintings are considered by Mellie Naydenova-Slade, who contrasts the depictions of the Virgin Mary, her mother, and half-sisters at Thornhill in Yorkshire with Latton in Essex. She suggests that such schemes represent a 'mingling of family and political links'; in the latter case the Holy Kinship groups take on the character of weepers, positioned as they are over the tomb.

Cage chantries at Christchurch Priory appear to contradict an earlier view that nobility were turning their backs on monasteries in favour of newer more attractive institutions like friaries, parish chantries and colleges. Only one of the three cage chantries considered by Cindy Wood was founded by a canon. Berkeleys and Salisburys were able to devolve responsibility for daily services to the canons here.

The use of English in inscriptions brings us back to the realm of the monumental brass. In a

search for literary sources David Griffith cites the brasses of John and Alys Spicer, 1437, at Burford, Oxfordshire, John Todenham, *c.* 1450 in St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, and William Midwinter and his wife, *c.* 1501, at Northleach, Gloucestershire. An antiquarian drawing of the brass of Brian Rouclyff and his wife Joan holding his new church at Cowthorpe in Yorkshire is also included. A rare survival of the original fittings of Cowthorpe church is its portable wooden Easter sepulchre.

Attitudes to high points, ends of land, caves, and archaeological remains in the medieval period are among the subjects put under the microscope by Nicholas Orme. In a highly original and wide-ranging study he looks at how medieval people commemorated place. Particularly fascinating is his consideration of what is or is not shown on early maps like the late fourteenth-century Gough map. He concludes that Hadrian's Wall, St Michael's Mount, The Peak, Snowdon and Stonehenge were probably the sites best known to well-informed medieval people.

The main papers conclude with a useful study by Peregrine Horden on the origins of the feast of All Souls and its use in counteracting heresy. Simon Sudbury, the ill-fated archbishop, whose head we have met earlier, founded a fraternity of All Souls two years before his death and like Chichele's Oxford College this had no less than three other dedications.

Framing these studies are four other more personal papers by Harlaxton luminaries: Pamela Tudor-Craig, Paul Binski, Derek Pearsall and Joel T. Rosenthal. These describe the origins of the Harlaxton symposium in 1983 and celebrate the first twenty-five years of its existence. They also show how closely this symposium was linked to the Age of Chivalry exhibition which opened in 1987 at the Royal

Academy. Sadly, there is no mention anywhere of parish studies. Arguably it is parish studies that have done more to break down the artificial divide between medieval and early modern history. In so doing, they have helped to put the Reformation back where it belongs; the transformative end point of the Middle Ages. Apart from a few rather grey tables in the text and one over-reduced family tree, this book is a visual delight and represents excellent value.

Joanna Mattingly

Sven Hauschke, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Nürnberger Vischer-Werkstatt 1453-1544*, *Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters*, 6 (Berlin / Petersberg: Deutscher Verein für Wissenschaft / Michael Imhof Verlag, 2006). 592 pp., 19 line drawings, 16 colour plates, 429 black and white plates. €79.00. ISBN 3-86568-015-1.

Huge sheets of brass, cast, engraved, and otherwise worked in the famous workshops of the Vischer family of Nürnberg were introduced to an English audience by Creeny, who illustrated some of those from Bamberg, Meissen, Naumburg, Poznań and Cracow on a large scale. Malcolm Norris, in his influential *Brass Rubbing* (1965), showed us the brass of Cardinal Frederick in Cracow beside the Dürer engraving from which the two side-figures were copied. Our attention was caught, for these engravers had obviously taken over the prestige and magnificence of the earlier Flemish schools, exporting their products throughout the areas of modern Germany and Poland. Yet the limitations of brass rubbing meant that the low relief brasses, which form the greater part of the Vischer production, but cannot be rubbed, were largely ignored. Cameron, for instance, lists only four brasses at Bamberg, and only notes the existence of 'forty-two large brass monuments in low relief'.

Now for the first time we have a large-scale illustrated monograph of the figure brasses produced by Hermann Vischer the Elder (c. 1425/30-1488), his son Peter the Elder (c. 1455-1529), and his grandsons Hermann the Younger (before 1487-1517), Peter the Younger (1487-1528), Hans (c. 1488-1550) and Paul (c. 1490-1531). Hermann the Elder seems to have started large-scale tomb production soon after he became a Nürnberg Master in 1453, but it was Peter the Elder who was responsible for the really impressive brasses, and for establishing the Vischer conventions which make it almost easy to detect and distinguish a Vischer brass from their imitators.

Characteristics of the Vischer style in its heyday are the standing figures, firmly planted on a tiled floor shown in perspective, flanked by two columns which support a twiggy canopy of branches, behind which can be glimpsed a vaulted chamber, mostly hidden by a rich brocade curtain, which hangs from a rod stretched between the two columns. The convention is that the figure is alive and standing (head cushions are rare), but the marginal inscription still goes all the way round the plate, usually without corner features, and bordered by strips of foliage. The Cracow brass is the best example to be found in books easily accessible in England. There are of course exceptions to these characteristics, to the extent that it is clear the client was able to dictate very largely what he wanted. The three huge brasses which Creeny and Norris illustrated from Poznań, recently returned after fifty years as prisoners of war, show how the Vischers could operate: that to Bishop Andreas Bniński, 1479, is Flemish, probably made about twenty years earlier, and the last really big brass in the old Tournai style. The one of Lukas of Górká is dated 1475, probably made in the early 1480s, and copies the Flemish canopy so exactly that Hermann Vischer must have been working

from a rubbing, yet the figure, its lion and background curtain, are very Vischer. That to Lukas's son Bishop Uriel, 1498, still retains a Gothic canopy derived from the Flemish, but is otherwise Peter Vischer's design, while the fourth Poznań brass (not yet illustrated in England) to Feliks Paniewski, 1488, is arguably the best surviving flat engraved brass Peter Vischer made, with all the characteristics fully developed (Hauschke, figs. 16, 118-19, 122-5).

But it is the relief work which really typifies the Vischer workshop. The majority of the brasses illustrated by Hauschke are in low relief, either rectangular compositions (made up of three or four large plates carefully jointed), or separate-inlay figures within marginal inscriptions. On some of the separate-inlay brasses the eyes and mouth are cut through to show the stone beneath. The figures are dramatic, with distinctive features that once again raise the vexed question of fifteenth-century portraiture. Many features of the designs can be traced to surviving works by known artists: for instance in the case of the brass to Cardinal Frederick in Cracow, as well as the Dürer engraving copied for the side figures of the flat plate, there is an original drawing at Christ Church, Oxford, by the same artist, which was used for the lion, while the relief of the Virgin on the front of the tomb is derived from a figure in the altar piece of St. Anna in the Lorenzkirche at Nürnberg attributed to the 'Master of the Nürnberg Madonna' (Hauschke, figs. 26, 70, 339-40).

How then were they made? They did not use ready-made brass plates from Dinant, as the English, Flemish and French engravers did, but cast the plates themselves in wood or wax moulds to form the features in relief. Then the plates had to be worked cold, and details added with the chisel, such as fabric designs (there are sixteen different damask patterns isolated by Hauschke). Most of the inscriptions were

engraved, though some were cast. Recessed areas were usually pounced all over with the punch. Surfaces were burnished and polished, but they did not gild their plates, nor was there any use of colour infill. Two mural brasses to the same person, in the Castle Chapel at Wittenberg and the cathedral at Erfurt, were cast from the same mould, for the relief scene of the Coronation of the Virgin is identical, whereas the engraved inscriptions are different (Hauschke, colour plate 8 and fig. 241).

In the case of the Meissen brasses, all the metal was analysed by Dr. Riederer, and these analyses are incorporated by Hauschke. It reveals that the Vischer brasses are pure brass, with no deliberate ingredients other than copper and zinc. None of them are 'bronze' if by that we mean a copper and tin alloy, although a similar analysis of the brasses in Hildesheim, from a different workshop, shows that some of those are copper-zinc 'brass', some copper-tin 'bronze' and some the familiar copper-zinc-tin-lead 'latten'. And you cannot tell them apart with the naked eye. (See 'Bronzegrabplatten aus dem Hildesheimer Dom', in *Kirchenkunst des Mittelalters*, ed. Michael Brandt (Hildesheim, 1989), pp. 205-38, and Josef Riederer, 'Metallanalyse der Messinggrabplatten im Meißner Dom', in *Die Grabmonumente in Dom zu Meissen*, ed. Matthias Donath (Leipzig, 2004), pp. 112-24).

This use of pure 'brass' might help to distinguish real Vischer monuments from those of their imitators. For imitators there were. In the cloisters at Erfurt the brasses were for decades exposed to the polluted atmosphere of the old DDR, until by 1996 some of them were very badly corroded indeed. The exception was the indisputably Vischer brass to Johann von Heringen (Hauschke, fig. 136; Norris, *Memorials*, pl. 142) Even now that they have all been conserved, and the corrosion halted, it is

obvious that for instance the brass to Hunold von Plettenberg is of an inferior metal, which makes Hauschke's attribution of it to the Vischer workshop suspect (Hauschke, fig. 115; LSW, *Series of Monumental Brasses*, I, 24). Yet details such as the evangelists' symbols are identical to those on the brass of Provost von Haugwitz at Zeitz, on which can clearly be seen the Vischer mark (Hauschke, figs. 101-4). The well-known mural brass of Bartolomäus Heisegger in the museum at Lübeck is always attributed to the Lübeck metalworker who signed it 'HF', but the brocade curtain is pure Vischer (Norris, *Craft*, pl. 200). The relief metal monument to Duchess Sophie von Mecklenburg at Wismar (Fig. 1) is included by Hauschke although there is a real possibility that it is a Lübeck imitation. On the first letter of the inscription is engraved the name Thile Bruith, usually accepted as a maker's name, but Hauschke takes it to be merely the man who cut the inscription for Vischer. There are other oddities about this monument – there is no pavement under the feet, no canopy work, and the curtain hangs in quite a different way from those on Vischer plates. The Lübeck metalworkers certainly were not above imitating the products of other workshops, and indeed produced their best work when they did.

Similar questions might be raised about the 'medallion' brasses found in Saxony; several in Meissen were attributed to local workshops by Kathrin Iselt, and Riederer's analysis confirms that they are 'latten', with deliberate inclusion of lead and tin in the metal (Kathrin Iselt, 'Grabplatten mit Messingmedaillons', in *Grabmonumente zu Meißen*, ed. Donath, pp. 186-95). However they are identical to medallions in Altenburg and Naumburg which Hauschke includes as Vischer products (figs. 162, 195). Hauschke's catalogue is by no means complete, and he does not attempt to include the enormous numbers of non-effigial brasses to



Fig. 1. Duchess Sophie of Mecklenburg, Nikolaikirche, Wismar
(photo.: Evangelische Kirchengemeinde St. Nikolai, Wismar)

be found all over southern Germany, and in their hundreds on the cemeteries of Nürnberg itself. Peter Zahn's catalogue of these cemetery brasses runs to thousands of items, among which he carefully distinguishes the Vischer brasses (Nürnberg style 'A') from those of many other metalworkers (Peter Zahn, *Die Inschriften der Friedhöfe St. Johannis, St. Rochus und Wöhrd zu Nürnberg*, Deutschen Inschriften, 13 (München 1972)).

Where Hauschke's book is outstanding is in the quality of its illustrations, which outshine the plates in any book on brasses hitherto produced.

Nearly all are reproduced from modern digital photographs, which mark a colossal advance on anything that went before. The large page-size (29.5 x 21 cm) means that photographs are shown to their best advantage, while additional details are given of many of the best brasses. The bulk of the book is the catalogue, describing 107 items, preceded by a lengthy essay considering the Vischer family, their workshop organisation, the use of work by well-known artists as models, and their setting in a European context. Here, of course, an English reviewer must express surprise if the brass of Bishop Hallam in Konstanz is really set in a 'grey granite brought from England' (p. 35), rather than the Purbeck marble one would expect. Although the preface is dated from the Isle of Wight, Hauschke is not very familiar with English work on brasses, citing only Creeny and Norris, although, of course, no one else in England has yet paid much attention to these fantastic memorials. To appreciate them we must move away from rubbings, amusing though these can be, for the cast and moulded relief-work in which the Vischers were at their best can only be appreciated in real examination, or in Hauschke's stunning photographs.

Jerome Bertram

Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, 4 volumes (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Society of Antiquaries, 2009); 1320 pp., 17 colour and 47 b/w plates; £350.00; ISBN 978-1-84383-493-9.

Heraldic badges, discrete armorial devices widely used as a means of identification, will no doubt have been encountered on brasses by many members of the Society. This new work by Michael Powell Siddons, past Wales Herald Extraordinary, provides for the first time a clear introduction to the subject and an

important resource for identifying these heraldic devices and the people with whom they are associated.

Badges are, as Siddons notes at the outset, notoriously difficult to define and are the most ambiguous element of the study of heraldry. Volume I addresses this by providing a working distinction between true heraldic badges and other devices. This is to a large extent successful, although the definitions are often based upon function and intent rather than clear conventions. Siddons's comment that 'There do not appear to have been any rules for the adoption of badges, and they were freely chosen' (Vol. I, p. 6) suggests that he would indeed have liked to have provided firmer definitions, but does emphasise the important point that one should not attempt retrospectively to impose modern expectations on past societies. Volume I then explores the origins, forms and uses of badges in the medieval and early modern periods, and as such forms a very useful introduction to the subject. Detailed discussions of badges and livery are followed by chapters on the uses of badges in combat and ceremonies, and their appearance in literature, music and visual media. The volume concludes with extensive extracts from Wardrobe accounts and non-royal inventories, an alphabet of badges based upon various heraldic manuscripts, a vocabulary and a series of plates.

Volume II Part 1 focuses on royal badges, listing the chief badges borne by members of English royal houses before discussing the royal badges in alphabetical order. Siddons sometimes provides interesting detail about the history of devices (for example the dragon), but focuses on the evidence for use of the badges in different media by royal personages. Part 1 concludes with an informative list of royal 'decorative devices' and territorial badges. Volume II Part 2 is an alphabetical list of non-royal badges, in effect an armoury of the

English and Welsh nobility and gentry. Volume III is perhaps the most useful 'quick reference' part of the work, being an Ordinary of badges and livery colours which will enable readers quickly and easily to associate devices with people or families. The volume concludes with the bibliography and list of manuscripts cited, and with excellent name and subject indices for the entire work.

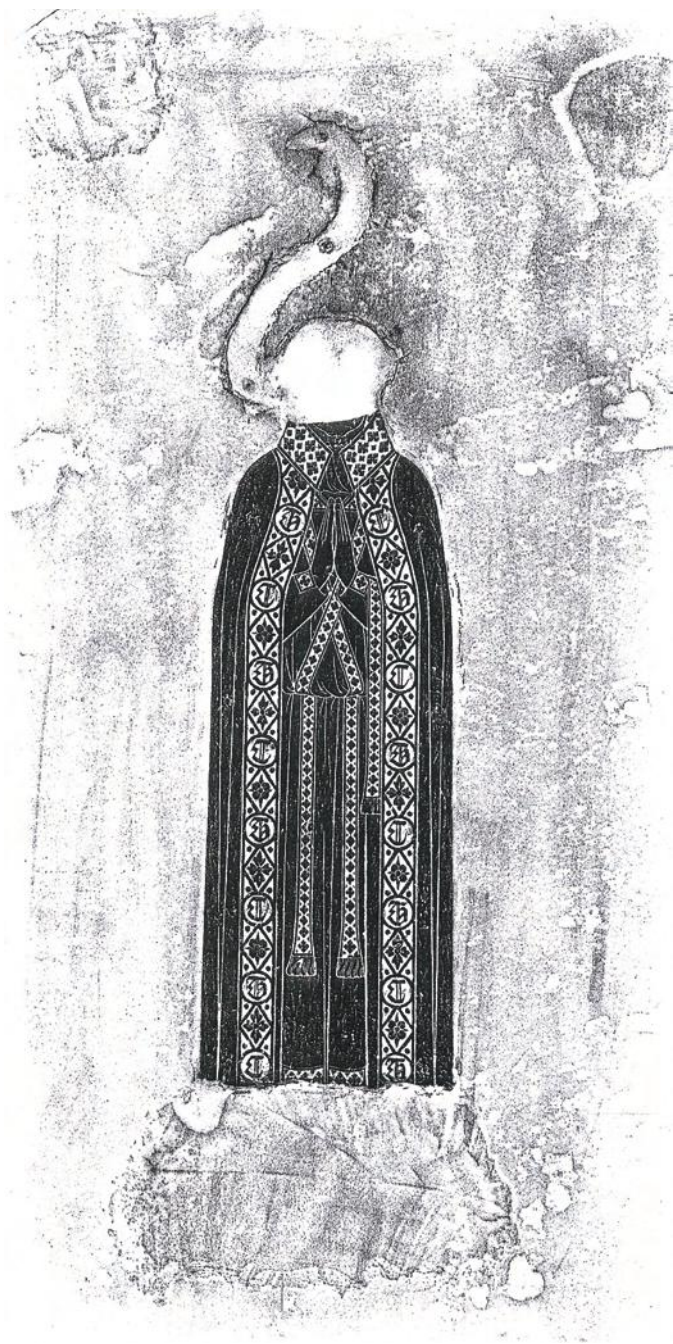
Siddons carefully details the types of sources which he has used, the range of which is remarkable. Seals and manuscripts form the principal material, but antiquarian drawings and both extant and lost tombs also provide important information. Indeed, Siddons is alive to the potential offered by sepulchral monuments, including brasses, and makes full use of this material in his lists of known badges and the Ordinary of badges. This is particularly evident in the list on non-royal badges, where brasses and other sepulchral monuments provide crucial information. Thus evidence for the use of a falcon badge by Sir William Calthorpe of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk (d. 1420) is provided a drawing of Sir William's brass (II:2, p. 59), while the use of the Stafford knot badge by Canon William Langton (d. 1413) is known only from his brass in Exeter Cathedral (II:2, p. 172). The brasses of the Hansart family of South Kelsey, Lincs., meanwhile provide both supporting evidence for the use of a medieval badge and of another badge and supporter adopted in the sixteenth century (II:2, p. 143).

There are, almost inevitably for a work of this magnitude, some caveats which should be borne in mind when consulting the volumes. The chief of these is that Siddons assumes that readers will have a working knowledge of heraldic terminology. It is also somewhat disappointing that there are not more plates, especially in colour, to accompany the volumes, something which may have made the work more user-friendly for non-armorists. The plates provided are generally of a high standard (Plate 19, the memorial brass of a yeoman of the crown, is for example very clear) and cover a range of material, but one is left wanting rather more. The price of this work will also put it beyond the reach of many individuals, although it is sincerely to be hoped that it will be acquired by as many libraries and institutions as possible.

These are, however, minor quibbles. The breadth of Siddons's scholarship is underpinned by a depth and range of research which ensures that, while there is undoubtedly material which has been overlooked or has yet to come to light, one can be confident that any such oversights are minor. *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales* is a magisterial work, clearly the product of a lifetime of scholarship and many years of painstaking research, and destined to become the standard work of reference on the subject.

Elizabeth New

Portfolio of Small Plates



*Fig. 1. Thomas Clerke, d. 1427, Horsham, Sussex (M.S.I)
(rubbing: Jerome Bertram)*

Fig. 1: Thomas Clerke, d. 1427, Horsham, Sussex, M.S.I. *Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 1 July 2010.*

Although badly mutilated, this brass is unique in its composition. The inscription, feet, head and scroll have long been lost, and no antiquary has recorded the texts. Two patches of cement at the top corners of the slab, too small for shields, have given rise to the suggestion that there were Evangelists' symbols at the four corners (as were once erroneously restored in a previous publication of this brass), though there are no such patches at the bottom corners, and the slab does not seem to have been cut down.

The cope orphrey has a woven design incorporating the initials, T C, from which the brass can be attributed to Thomas Clerke, rector 1411 to 1427. The little four-petalled flower is almost a trademark of London style 'B', the workshop of Lakenham, Yevele and West. What is unusual is the combination of vestments: he wears the amice, alb, girdle, maniple and crossed stole under a cope. The stole and maniple have a continuous decoration their entire length, instead of merely having patches of decoration on the ends as now usual. It is not clear why he is shown dressed like this: the maniple should never be worn under a cope, though to wear a cope over the alb and stole is quite usual for ceremonies before or after Mass, such as the *Asperges*, or the Absolution of the dead.

The remains of the figure now measure 735 x 275 mm, it was originally about 930 mm high; the inscription about 100 x 400 mm, the scroll indent 310 mm long, the slab 0.84 x 1.68 m. It lies in the centre of the chancel of Horsham church.

Jerome Bertram

1 See J. Bertram, 'The Tomb beneath the Loft', *Oxoniensia*, LXIII (1998), pp. 79-89.

Fig. 2: (?) Sir John and Alice Danvers, c. 1462, Adderbury, Oxfordshire, M.S.I. *Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 28 November 1996.*

This splendid couple of London style 'D' figures has long been unidentified, since the inscription was lost before any antiquarian researcher could record it. They lie in the south transept, relaid separately on either side of the altar, in two local freestone slabs, with no indents for the missing portions of the male figure, or any other parts. The male figure is 1240 x 390 mm; the female 1140 x 400 mm.

The most probable attribution for this brass is to Sir John Danvers (d. 1457) and his wife Alice, parents of Sir Robert Danvers, justice of the Common Pleas (d. 1467). He seems to have been responsible for a series of large brasses in this style, commissioned when he was constructing the huge monument with brasses and a chantry chapel in St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford (now Christ Church), for himself and his third wife Katherine Barentyne (d. 1462).¹ Two other Oxfordshire brasses in this series commemorate her with her first husband, William Feteplace, in Aston Rowant (M.S.II), and Sir Robert Danvers' close associate and second father-in-law Richard Quatremaims in Thame (M.S.II). Katherine's father, Drew Barentyne (d. 1452) has another style 'D' brass at Chalgrove, with her mother, Joanna Drayton (d. 1437), and one of her stepmothers (M.S.III), and her grandfather Reginald Barentyne (d. 1441) has another (M.S.II). Her other grandfather, Sir John Drayton, has one of style 'B' in Dorchester (M.S.I), but his other daughter, Elizabeth, had a style 'D' brass there with her husband Peter Idley (M.S.III). Thus local families are connected in brasses, nearly all of the same style. In the event Sir Robert was buried with his first wife in London and was not under his Oxford brass.

Jerome Bertram



*Fig. 2. (?) Sir John and Alice Danvers, c. 1462, Adderbury, Oxfordshire (M.S.I)
(rubbing: Jerome Bertram)*

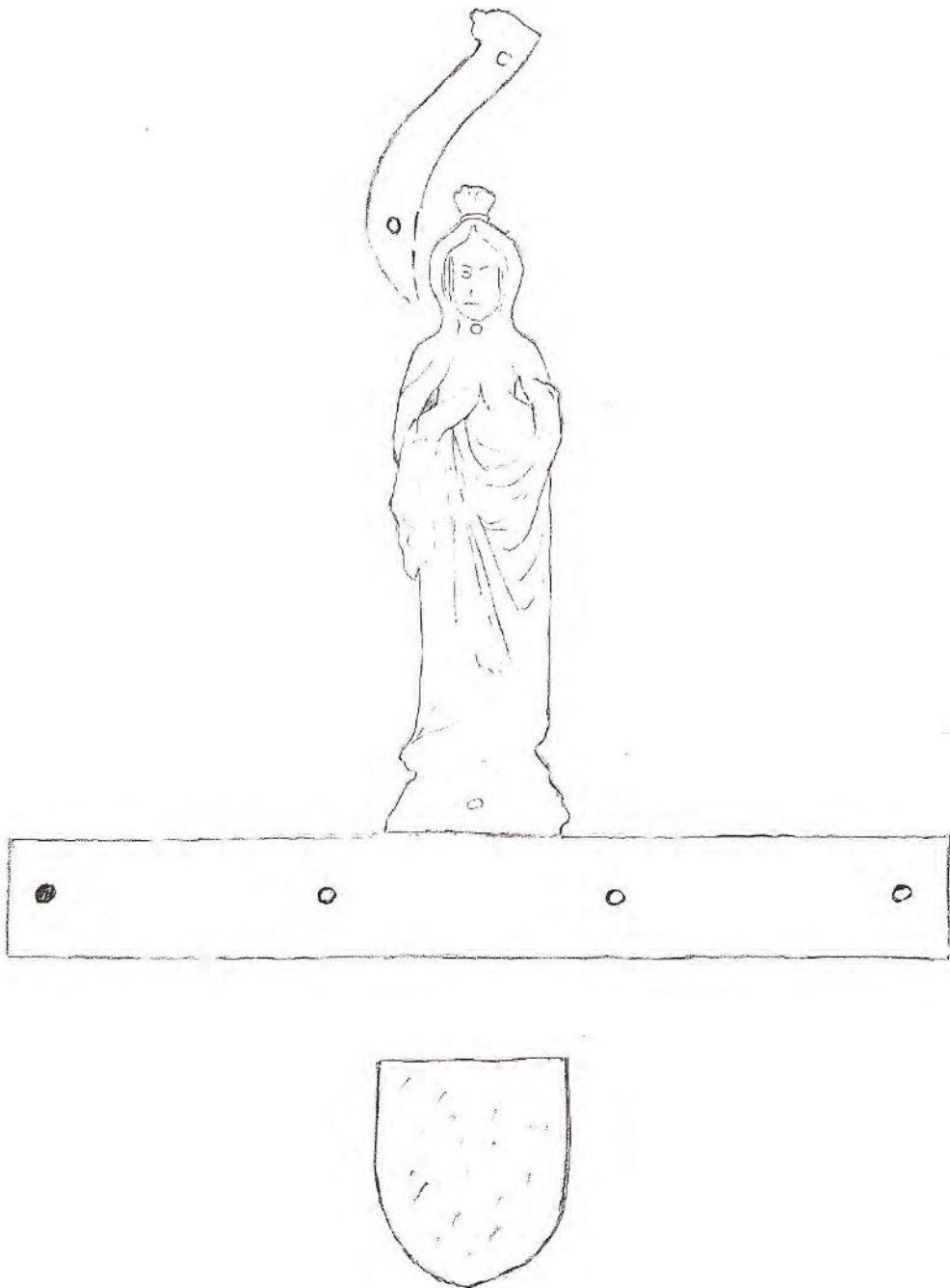


Fig. 3. Isabel Champenois, d. 1467, Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire
(rubbing: James Hunt, 1814)

Fig. 3: Isabel Champernown, d. 1467, Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire. *Rubbing by James Hunt, 12 July 1814.*

The indent for this brass, in grey Unio Purbeck marble, survives in the nave, but the metal has long been lost. It is known only from a faint rubbing and notes in the Hinton-Hunt collection.² Unfortunately Hinton drew over the rubbing, making it even more difficult to discern; our illustration is a tracing from a photocopy. The brass was badly worn; it depicted a shrouded figure 'in a devotional posture', with a small scroll over an inscription, with a virtually (effaced) lead shield below. The style is probably London D.

The inscription, already lost when Hunt rubbed the brass, is recorded in the Wood manuscripts.³

Here lyeth Isabell some tyme the wife of Richard C[hampernowne, daughter of] Crawford of in the parish of day of November in the yere of our Lord God M CCC [C] LXVII on ...

Hinton has drawn over the rubbing of the shield ... *a fess between three boars' heads couped* which he has copied from the Fettiplace brass adjacent (M.S.II), but the rubbing appears to show a totally effaced shield (and it was evidently already effaced in Wood's time). The arms of Champernowne would be *Gules billey or a saltire vair*.

Hinton's fair drawing of the whole brass shows the shrouded figure and shield with fess and boars' heads, associated with the inscription to

2 Bodleian MS Rubbings Phillipps/Robinson 887; MS Don.b.14, f. 64; MS Don.c.91, f. 15. See also J. Bertram, 'A Regency Collection of Brass Rubbings', *MBS Trans.*, XII, pt. 1 (1975), pp. 90-100.

3 *Parochial Collections made by Anthony a Wood, M.A. and Richard Rawlinson, D.C.L., F.R.S.*, ed. F.N. Davis, 3 vols., Oxfordshire Record Soc., 2, 4, 11 (Oxford, 1920-9), I, p. 15.

Eleanor Edgerley (M.S.III), which is extremely misleading. The rubbing shows only the worn figure and effaced shield, with the arms superimposed in ink. The scroll must have been lost even before Wood's time. Wood obviously found the brass very worn, as he ignored the shield, read only part of the inscription and mistook the date for 1367. The probable attribution is for Isabel, daughter of ... Crawford, widow of Richard Champernowne, who had died young in 1420 leaving an infant heir Hugh.⁴

Figure 402 x 120 mm; inscription, 90 x 580 mm; scroll 170 mm long; shield 139 x 114 mm. Slab 1570 x 670 mm.

Jerome Bertram

Fig. 4: Thomas Boynton, d. 1523, Roxby Chapel, Yorkshire (North Riding), M.S.I. *Rubbing by Jenny Lack.*

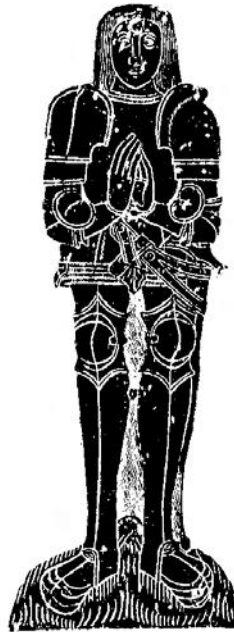
Not far inland from the harbour of Staithes is Roxby Chapel. The present early seventeenth-century building was largely rebuilt in 1818. There had been an earlier building on the site, since there is a reference to the chaplain of Roxby in 1301-2.⁵ The one surviving feature of the medieval chapel is the brass of Thomas Boynton, d. 1523. This is a typical armoured figure of the London 'G' series, badly proportioned and with an inaccurate rendering of the armour.⁶ Pevsner's judgement is severe: 'a bad piece'.⁷ At each corner is a shield of the Boynton arms: [*Or*] *a fess between three crescents [gules]*. The chief interest of the brass lies in the four-line English foot inscription:

4 VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VIII (Oxford, 1964), pp. 21, 39.

5 VCH, *Yorkshire North Riding*, II (London, 1923), p. 371.

6 M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses of the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XVII (1899), p. 308, illus. on p. 307; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 158.

7 N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 314.



man for the soule of Thomas Boynton of Samby & four wite
caused this church first to be halowid & was his wife that
was buryd in it & decessid the xxviiij day of maye the yere of o lord
god is & am an whose soule Ihu have in cern am u



Fig. 4. Thomas Boynton, d. 1523, Roxby Chapel, Yorkshire (M.S.I)
(rubbing: Jenny Lack)



Fig. 5. Thomas Little, S.J., d. 1885, St. Wilfrid, Preston, Lancashire
(rubbing: Patrick Farman)

Pray for the soule of Thomas Boynton of Roysby Esquier who / caused this chyrche fyrst to be halowed *and* was y^c fyrst corse that / was beryed in yt *and* decessed the xxix day of marche the yere of our lord / god M^l v^c and xxiii on whose soule Jhesu haue mercy amen.

This brass thus records a significant change in the status of Roxby Chapel. It evidently began as the manorial chapel of the Boyntons, who had been lords of the manor since at least 1284-5, when William, son of Ingram de Boynton was lord. A few remains of their manor house can be seen by the church. Thomas Boynton's action converted it into a proper chapelry with burial rights, annexed to the parish of Hinderwell.⁸

Thomas Boynton was the eldest son of Henry Boynton by Margaret, daughter and coheirress of Sir Martin de la Sea. He married Cecily, daughter of James Strangeways of Sneaton. In his will, made on 14 May 1520 and proved on 23 April 1523, he asked to be buried at Roxby 'as my executors shall thinke moost conveniente', and appointed his wife, Sir Thomas Franke, clerk, and Sir William Pynder, priest, as executors. In addition to bequests of 40s. to Roxby Chapel, 10s. to Hinderwell church and 6s. 8d. to Acklam church, he made bequests to the Grandmontines at Grosmont, the Carthusians at Mount Grace and the Observant Friars at Newcastle, as well as personal bequests to 'the Frere Baker' and the Prior of Guisborough. Among the items bequeathed to his son Matthew as heirlooms were a chalice and an Agnus of gold.⁹

Figure 640 x 235 mm; inscription 120 x 49 mm; shields 145 x 125 mm. The brass has been relaid.

Nicholas Rogers

⁸ VCH, *Yorkshire North Riding*, II, pp. 370-1.

⁹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, V, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc., 79 (Durham, 1884), pp. 110-12.

Fig. 5: Thomas Little, S.J., d. 1885, aged 50, St. Wilfrid, Preston, Lancashire. *Rubbing by Patrick Farman.*

One of the monuments in the porch of St. Wilfrid's is a brass commemorating Fr. Thomas Little. He was born in London on 29 September 1835 and went to school at Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst, where he was a year below Ignatius Scoles, the future architect of St. Wilfrid's. After studying at St. Beuno, he was ordained in 1869. At the time of the 1861 census he was teaching at Mount St. Mary's School, Spinkhill, Derbyshire, and ten years later at Stonyhurst. As a new priest he spent seven years working in the Jesuit missions in Jamaica and Demerara before moving to Preston in 1880. He died on 1 December 1885 having caught a chill while attending a dying man. He was highly regarded as a friend of the poor and of children, and it is recorded that some three hundred people assembled in the church to pray for him as he lay dying. The *Preston Chronicle* gives a full account of his funeral, including a list of all the clergy present, a description of the 'beautifully worked cross composed of maidenhair fern, camelias and chrysanthemums' placed upon the coffin, and details of the shield-shaped brass coffin-plate. Fr. Little was the first Jesuit to be buried in Preston Cemetery, rather than at Stonyhurst.¹⁰

The brass depicts Thomas Little in Mass Vestments, holding a chalice with a host inscribed IHS. His face appears to be intended as a portrait. Two angels hold scrolls with the Jesuit motto: 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam', below which are shields with the IHS badge. At the foot is a six-line Latin inscription. The brass is signed by William Brown of Preston, an engraver and lithographer, who is recorded in censuses between 1871 and 1891.

Nicholas Rogers

¹⁰ *Preston Chronicle*, 5 December 1885; C. Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914: A Working List* (Downside, 1993), p. 216; L. Warren, *Through Twenty Preston Guilds: The Catholic Congregation of St. Wilfrid's Preston* (Preston, 1993), pp. 81, 82 n. 21.

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Cover: The bishop's champion, from the brass to Bishop Wyville, 1375 (M.S.I) from Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire. *Photo.: Martin Stuchfield.*

Monumental Brass Society

Volume XVIII, Part 2, 2010. ISSN 0143-1250

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