

Monumental Brass Society

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The Hastings Brass at Elsing: A Contextual Analysis

Julian Luxford

While the brass of Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk, has been studied heavily and well in the past, nobody has attempted to situate it firmly in its pre-Reformation environment. This is not surprising, perhaps, because its style and imagery solicit close, object-based analysis. However, some detailed evidence exists for the place of the brass in social and religious contexts during the late middle ages. The study of this evidence is potentially valuable, because it helps one to appreciate how the brass may have been experienced by medieval viewers, and how it fitted into a more diffuse network of Hastings family commemoration. The article makes use of a combination of documentary and material evidence. Some of this is already known to scholars, but most of the information from the Grey v. Hastings case in the Court of Chivalry has not previously been brought to light. Its value is represented in the second half of the article.

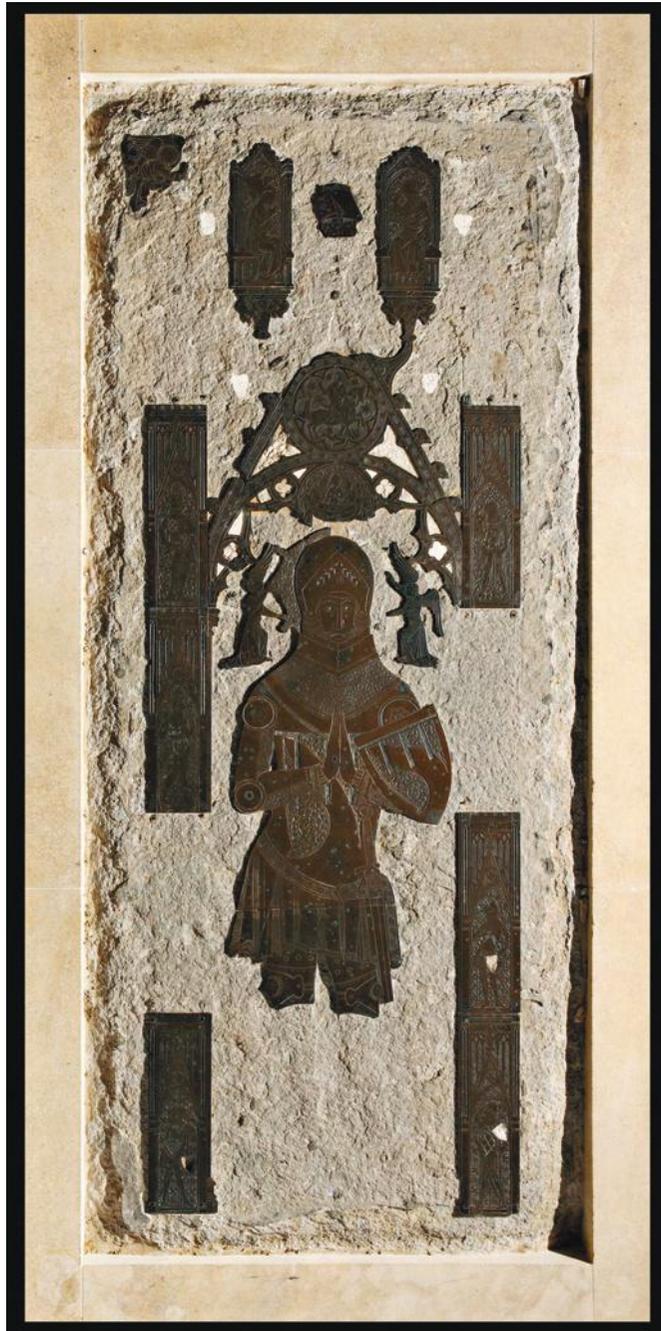
The fundamental resistance of medieval objects to historical contextualization has recently been emphasized in an overview of the study of pre-Reformation art.¹ That the contexts have gone but the objects often remain points up the basis of this incompatibility: contexts and objects are two different sorts of thing. Historians who care about the sovereignty and preservation of medieval works of art and architecture, or who are suspicious of the relativism of the contexts chosen for given works (not to mention the arbitrariness of the choice), will hardly need reminding of this. The resistance is most palpable when dealing with an object like the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (Fig. 1), whose physical nature was planned, for practical reasons, to strike viewers as extraordinary. While there is undeniably a sense in which the

monument at Elsing belongs to the ebb and flow of history – historical events helped to shape it, conditioned its reception, and account for both its survival and partial destruction – the nature and quality of its execution assert its materiality at each encounter.

This short investigation of the Hastings brass in relation to elements of its social and religious setting is not blind to these points. Its chronology and other frames of reference vary, and it makes appeal to attitudes that are hard to access. Much of what it deals in, particularly the stained glass of the chancel of St. Mary's church at Elsing and the description of the brass made on 6 August 1408 by William Leche and Richard Vaus, commissioners of the Court of Chivalry, is familiar to scholars already. The concluding points about the broader material and patronage connections of the brass cast perhaps greater light on other monuments. What I have to say is partially authorised by novelty: despite the attention the Hastings brass has received, there has been little interest in situating it historically apart from pointing up some of the military connotations of its iconography.² Hopefully, it will also suggest the potential for expansion inherent in monumental brass studies. The current article relies on no special acquaintance with Hastings's monument and no prolonged programme of research. It is simply the result of a process of enquiry unconstrained (and to a degree unenlightened) by the essentialist frameworks according to which brasses are customarily studied.

1 P. Binski, 'Developments in the Study of Medieval Art since 1983', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, ed. C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 20 (Donington, 2010), pp. 309-21, at 316.

2 For a bibliography on the brass see L. Dennison and N. Rogers, 'The Elsing Brass and Its East Anglian Connections', in *England in the Fourteenth Century, I*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 167-93, at 167-8 n. 1.



*Fig. 1. The brass of Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) at St. Mary's church, Elsing, Norfolk
(photo.: C.B. Newham)*

Historical contextualization is a way of getting at meaning, and meaning stems, in the case of an object like the Hastings brass, from the decisions of its originators. The question of the monument's commission is thus an obvious place to begin. This is not a simple matter, because although Hugh himself is the best candidate for patron, he is not the only one. Hypotheses about patronage are complicated by both the extraordinary character of the monument and uncertainty about its locus of production. If it could be confirmed that the brass was made in or around London – the centre to which the stylistic evidence is usually thought to point – then this would support the possibility that it was a royal gift, perhaps of Philippa of Hainault, whose steward Hugh was during the mid-1340s. Chivalric narrative, heraldic display and the campaigns of Edward III, each of which can be seen to have influenced the monument's design, are attested interests of the queen.³ If, however, the brass was made in Cambridge or East Anglia, as one study has argued, then this idea loses force, because Philippa can be expected to have drawn upon metropolitan or foreign expertise.⁴ The other realistic candidates are Hugh's 'beloved' wife and executrix, Margery Foliot (d. 1349), whose gender hardly disqualifies her from consideration, and his kinsman, executor,

and military commander Henry of Grosmont, for whom Nigel Saul has made a case.⁵ Margery's candidature would be particularly strong if it could be shown that the imagery of the east window at Elsing and the brass were products of the same mind, as can be done in the case of Anne Harling, who paid for iconographically reciprocal tombs and glazing at East Harling, Norfolk, at the end of the fifteenth century.⁶ It is possible, however, that the themes they share demonstrate only the responsiveness of the glass's patron to the tomb.

A date between 1347 and 1349 is usually posited for the brass, not only because Hugh died in 1347 but also because it is thought that its maker was a victim of the Black Death.⁷ (This is the best hypothesis for the absence of other examples of his work besides the Wautone brass at Wimbish in Essex.) Stylistically, neither the figures nor the architecture could be much later than this. The closest thing to a documented date is the testimony of Thomas Codlyng, an elderly Elsing resident who stated in the Court of Chivalry in 1408 that both the tomb of Hugh and the glass of the chancel had been *in situ* for 'fifty-five years past and more'.⁸ This testimony, sworn on the gospels, supplies a *terminus ante* of 1353, which is of more significance for dating the

- 3 A. Ayton, 'Hastings, Sir Hugh (c. 1310-1347)', in *ODNB*, XXV, pp. 764-5, at 764; V. Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony in the Self-Construction of an English Queen: Philippa of Hainault and Her Images', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*, ed. J. Mitchell and M. Moran, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 8 (Stamford, 2000), pp. 157-74, at 160-63.
- 4 Dennison and Rogers, 'Elsing Brass', argue for East Anglian design and manufacture: see especially pp. 192-3. However, given the capacity of London production earlier in the century, and the unrivalled size of its patron and expertise bases, it would seem risky to take absence of evidence for high-quality work in the capital during the later 1340s (*ibid.*, pp. 172, 187) as evidence of absence.
- 5 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 216-17.

- For Margery as 'consortem meam carissimam', and as executrix, see Hugh's will, printed in *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc., 4 (Durham, 1836), pp. 38-9, at 39.
- 6 See D.J. King, 'Anne Harling Reconsidered', in *Recording Medieval Lives*, ed. J. Boffey and V. Davis, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 17 (Donington, 2009), pp. 204-22, at 217-21.
- 7 P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure-Brasses', in *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), pp. 69-132, at 122.
- 8 London, College of Arms, MS Processus in Curia Marescalli (hereafter PCM), I, p. 512: 'la dite Eglise oue les fenestres verres, et ladite pierre gisant sur luy en mesme la maniere come ils sont a ore cinquante et cynk ans passez et plus'. For Codlyng's oath, see PCM, I, p. 354.

glazing than the brass. Manufacture at or around the time of Hugh's death thus seems probable, in which case Hugh himself emerges as the likely patron. Even if the monument was made after he died, its iconography may still follow an *ante mortem* specification. The lost epitaph stated that Hugh 'lies buried here ... in the manner [or fashion] in which he asked to be interred'.⁹ 'Manner' (*modum*) surely indicates the monument's exalted location before the high altar, but it may also refer to the imagery and aesthetics of the brass. It does not allude to a clause in the will, because although this document requests burial in the church, it makes no reference to the chancel.¹⁰

Hugh's will also records a bequest of £30 'for all expenses to be done at the time of my death until my burial will be entirely ended'.¹¹ It has been reasonably suggested that this may refer, at least in part, to the tomb; but if it does then the reference is untypical in its phraseology and oblique to the point of concealment.¹² Moreover, the exequy-filled weeks that might elapse between the death and burial of a magnate, and the expenses on the day of his funeral, could presumably account for such a sum with ease. A late medieval copy (of the time of Henry VII) of a schedule for the 'beryng of any astate' specifies what might be involved: the offering of the deceased's arms and provision of banners representing the Trinity, Virgin Mary, St. George

and the deceased's patron saint; a hearse with double valence and tapers; placement of a shield of the deceased's arms on every wall and pier of the burial-church; as many torches as the deceased had years at his death; five officers to guard the hearse; garments of cloth of gold for his kinswomen; 'innocents' clothed in white and bearing tapers; and what must have been the dramatic climax of any such ceremony, the presence of the deceased's war-horse trapped with his arms, ridden by a kinsman holding a spear, sword or axe and accompanied by three others, one to lead the animal into the church and one on either side as it approached the high altar. This horse was donated to the church as a mortuary gift.¹³ Quite how closely these instructions correspond to Hugh's funeral in 1347 is unknown, but an important point of agreement is found in the *pièce de résistance*, the entry into the church of the charger with its armed rider.¹⁴ In the same testimony referred to above, Thomas Codlyng stated that he had been present in the church at the time of Hugh's burial, and had seen, at the Requiem Mass, a courser trapped in black for the occasion, with a man to assist by leading and an armed man seated on the horse; and that in this manner the horse was presented as an offering.¹⁵ This brings the modern reader closer in imagination to Hugh's funeral than any other surviving piece of evidence, but not close enough to see whether the brass had yet been installed immediately to the west of the grave.¹⁶

9 The epitaph is reproduced, with a translation, in J. Bertram, 'The Inscriptions of Brasses', in *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, ed. J. Bertram (Stroud, 1996), pp. 65-81, at 68.

10 *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, p. 38.

11 'Item lego pro omnibus expensis faciendis a tempore mortis me[c] usque sepulturam meam totaliter finiendam xxxl.'

12 Dennison and Rogers, 'Elsing Brass', p. 188.

13 BL, Cotton MS Julius B VII, ff. 7v-8r.

14 On the war-horse at noble funerals during this period see R. Marks, 'Sir Geoffrey Luttrell and some Companions: Images of Chivalry c. 1320-50', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XLVI/XLVII (1993/94), pp. 343-55 at 349-50, and the sources cited at p. 350 n. 32.

15 PCM, I, p. 512: 'Et cest iure feust present illeoges al temps de son entierment, et vist a la messe de ses

exequies vn courser, noir arraiez tielment come hom[m]e deust iouster, et un homme armes seant sur luy en mesme la maniere come ils sont presentez al offerant'. This passage of Codlyng's testimony has previously been printed (though with silent omissions) in *An Account of the Controversy between Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthyn and Sir Edward Hastings, in the Court of Chivalry, in the Reign of King Henry III*, ed. C. G. Young (London, 1841), p. 26.

16 For the grave see B. Hooper, S. Rickett, A. Rogerson, and S. Yaxley, 'The Grave of Sir Hugh de Hastyngs, Elsing', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXXIX (1984), pp. 88-99, at 88-91. The reason Hugh was not buried under his monument was no doubt that he perceived the spiritual benefits of a priest-trodden grave. The brass itself was too delicate and precious to be trodden on.

As Hugh was probably in his late thirties when he died, the theory that he commissioned his own monument appears at first sight to credit him with remarkable prescience. Others have pointed out that the combination of lords represented in the towers on either side of the effigy is improbable before 1345; and Hugh died on 30 July 1347.¹⁷ However, if, as thought, he succumbed to a lingering illness contracted at the siege of Calais, he would have had time and certainly motivation to think about and specify the design of his tomb (perhaps after consultation with its maker, or a cleric).¹⁸ The idea of his agency, whether or not through an executor, also sits well with his payment for the reconstruction of much of the church in which he was buried, and his manifest desire to publicize his patronage (Fig. 2). Hugh clearly viewed the reconstruction and embellishment of the church as both an exercise in self-fashioning and a sort of spiritual insurance at the heart of the lordship he had acquired through marriage in 1330. Although it would be imprudent to assume that they paid for everything, there can be no reasonable doubt that Hugh and Margery were the organizers and chief sponsors of the rebuilding, even if the nave is the only element ascribed to either of them in medieval documentation. They seem to have wanted a quick build. With the exception of the tower, which is of slightly later date, the architecture is uniform, and lacks costly detailing other than the tracery in the heads of the windows (the



Fig. 2. *St. Mary's, Elsing, from the north-east*
(photo.: C.B. Newham)

nave is an aisleless hall, and the mullions of its tracery lack mouldings). Hugh was long remembered as sponsor of the works: Thomas Codlyng reported that he 'performed [all] the costs, duties and expenses of the work of the nave [*corps*] of the church'.¹⁹ And any contribution made to the chancel by the rector Matthew of Wiggshall (1330-49) must have been done in close and deferential agreement with the main patrons (the advowson of the rectory was in Margery's hands).²⁰ A bequest of £40 in Hugh's will to the fabric suggests that rebuilding was begun somewhat later than the usual estimate of *c.* 1330, because an incomplete campaign of seventeen years' duration seems unlikely under these circumstances.²¹ The later the works, the more keenly Hugh will have been apt to envisage them as a setting for his tomb.

17 L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 164; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: the Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 18; A. McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA, 2000), p. 105. These accounts differ in interpretation. For Hugh's date of death ('iii k[a]l[endas] Augusti') see PCM, I, p. 527.

18 Ayton, 'Hastings, Sir Hugh', p. 765 (illness). N. Saul, 'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 169-94, at 179, reasonably identifies specialist knowledge of religious art in the design of the brass.

19 '[L]e dit Monsire [Hugh de Hastings] faire les costages, mysés et expenses, pur le oeuvre du corps dudit Esglise': PCM, I, p. 512.

20 F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 2nd edn., 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), VIII, p. 202 (advowson, with a list of rectors and patrons from 1328).

21 *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, p. 38. On the architecture see A. Whittingham, 'Elsing Church', *Archaeological Jnl.*, CXXXVII (1980), p. 318; N. Pevsner and B. Wilson, *The Buildings of England. Norfolk 2: North-West and South* (New Haven, 2002, p. 331).



Fig. 3. The 'salvational axis' of St. Mary's, Elsing, on which font, rood, brass and altar were aligned (photo.: C.B. Newham)

It is in any case inconceivable that he did not consider what form the commemorative jewel in this architectural crown was to take.

The location of the tomb on the 'salvational axis' defined by the font, rood and high altar, and particularly its proximity to the latter, indicate the role played by the church's furnishings in Hugh's approach to commemoration (Fig. 3). Alignment with these three most important objects increased the monument's prominence and suggested the participation of the recumbent knight in the



Fig. 4. The soul of Hugh Hastings borne up by angels (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

redemption they offered. Integration of the tomb was in this case a matter of positioning, but elsewhere it relied on iconographic and aesthetic correspondences, many of which are likely to have been planned by Hugh's wife and heirs. Some of these remain clear. For example, the engraved depiction of Hugh's soul, with hands clasped in prayer (Fig. 4), relates to its proximity to the altar as well as other imagery on the monument. The Coronation of the Virgin on the brass originally answered to a representation of the same scene in the central panel of the five-light east window, the two images being axially aligned. The heraldry of the monument was repeated in most of the church's windows. There were at least six shields of the Hastings arms in the chancel glass and fourteen in that of the nave, along with an unspecified number displaying the arms of Foliot.²² The heraldry probably extended to the breviary 'bonum notatum' listed in an archidiaconal inventory of 1368 as a gift of Hugh, and was certainly found on a matching choir cope and amice of cloth of gold recorded in the same source as embroidered with 'the arms of Sir Hugh of

²² PCM, I, p. 353. Three chancel and six nave windows are referred to; a full complement with the exception of

one in the chancel, plus minor windows in the tower and vestry.



Fig. 5. Antiquarian drawing of the subjects in the east window of the chancel (NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, p. 41, detail) (photo.: Author; copyright: Norfolk Record Office. Reproduced by permission)

Hastings'.²³ These vestments were given after 1360 (one of their donors was the rector John of Haldenby, presented in 1361), but the brass was then still sufficiently refugent to have created a striking juxtaposition at Mass: gold priest, gold knight, both of them bearing *or a manche gules*. There is also a recognizable connection between the imagery of the brass and the dedication of the church. In a will of 1449 the medieval dedication is given as the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁴ This was reflected in the Marian programme of the glazing above

the high altar, which, beginning on the north side, displayed the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion flanked by Mary and John with the Coronation of the Virgin over it, a fourth, unrecorded subject, perhaps Pentecost (which often had the Virgin at its centre), and the Assumption of the Virgin into Heaven.²⁵ In later medieval thought the Virgin's Coronation was commonly understood as the culmination of her Assumption; this is reflected in art by the conflation or sequential representation of the two scenes.²⁶ Local familiarity with this

23 *Inventory of Church Goods temp. Edward III*, ed. A. Watkin, 2 vols., Norfolk Record Soc., 19 (Norwich, 1947-8), II, p. 70: 'Item unum portiforium bonum notatum ex collacione d[omi]ni Hugonis Hastyng' [II: d. 1369] patris defuncti'. The vestments were 'de armis d[omi]ni Hugonis de Astyng'.

24 Norwich, Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO), Norwich Consistory Court, Register Aleyne, f. 35v (Stephen Abbot, requesting burial 'in cimiterio ecclesie de Assumpcione beate marie virginis de Elsyng'). This seems to be a unique witness: the dedication is not noticed in C.L.S. Linnell, *Norfolk Church Dedications* (York, 1962), or other printed sources.

25 See the identifications given in NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, p. 40. On p. 41 'The Ascension' is given as the subject of the fifth light (Fig. 5), but this is an error or loose reference. The Assumption is recognised as the subject in C. Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1950), p. 6;

A. Nichols, *The East Art of Norfolk* (Kalamazoo, 2002), p. 65; and by David King (personal communication).

26 See in general J.-C. Schmidt, 'L'exception corporelle: à propos de l'Assomption de Marie', in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. J.F. Hamburger and A.-M. Bouché (Princeton, 2006), pp. 151-85, at 170-76. For English examples see e.g. F. Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 95 (nos. 7, 15, 17), 96 (nos. 22, 26, 29, 30, 35), 97 (nos. 40, 41, 43, 44, 46); N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral: the First Thousand Years, 400-1550* (Exeter, 2009), p. 176; L. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, 2 vols. (London, 1986), II, pp. 47 (no. 41), 68 (no. 59), 83 (no. 77), 88 (no. 80), 99 (no. 91); 121 (no. 108), 136 (nos. 122, 123); K. L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), II, pp. 25 (no. 2), 50 (no. 9), 233 (no. 80), 342 (no. 130). See also BL, MS Royal 2 B VII, f. 298.



Fig. 6. Antiquarian drawing of the donor panel in the east window of the chancel (NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, p. 40, detail) (photo.: Author; copyright: Norfolk Record Office. Reproduced by permission)

relationship would help to explain the otherwise unusual (though not unparalleled) choice of this iconography for the Hastings tomb.²⁷

A particularly clear expression of material and semantic integration existed in the correspondence between the monument and a donor panel formerly displayed in the central light of the east window.²⁸ The latter represented Hugh and Margery in heraldic garments (*or*, *argent* and *gules*: the tinctures of Hugh's arms), kneeling beneath the images of the Crucifixion and Coronation and offering up

27 For the Coronation on other English tombs see P. Binski, 'The Coronation of the Virgin on the Hastings Brass at Elsing', *Church Monuments*, I (1985),



Fig. 7. Antiquarian drawing of the donor panel in the east window of the chancel (NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, p. 44, detail) (photo.: Author; copyright: Norfolk Record Office. Reproduced by permission)

a detailed, if inaccurate, model of Elsing church (Figs 5, 6, 7). Each figure was positioned above, and thus visually supported by, a coat of its arms, and the Hastings helm stood beneath the church: a tidy expression of the authorizing and sustaining power of pedigree. This tableau simultaneously asserted the religious devotion of the donors and their desire for recognition as builders of the church, the achievement that most obviously entitled them to respect and

pp. 1-9, at 2, 8 n. 6, and also the Harrington tomb of c. 1347 at Cartmel Priory, Lancashire.

28 For antiquarian drawings of this see NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, pp. 40, 41, 44.

commemoration. Thus, like the brass, its imagery was complex in meaning and carefully related to its setting. In addition to their common representation of Hugh and shared use of heraldic colours, the relationship of tomb and glazing was expressed through axial alignment, and the consequent fact that the light coming through the donor panel, and the images above it, must at a certain time of day have fallen on and illuminated the armed figure on the brass. Indeed, although there can be no certainty about the matter, it seems likely that the two objects were planned as an ensemble, even if, as thought, the glass was made slightly later.²⁹ Their relationship was perfectly clear to the defendant in the *Grey v. Hastings* case that brought the Court of Chivalry to Elsing in 1408. To him, and the commissioners who recorded the visual evidence, the blending of media in the service of commemoration must have seemed normal: tomb-window juxtaposition in which, to quote Richard Marks, ‘the glazing becomes part of the structure of memorialisation’, was common in England in the later middle ages.³⁰ A further example set up by a member of the Hastings family in the Carmelite friary at Doncaster is noted below.

The donor panel in the east window was literally underscored by a rogatory inscription in English, recorded in 1408 and again, in a fragmentary state, by Norfolk antiquaries of the eighteenth century. Comparison of the sources throws up various divergences of spelling, but the sense is perfectly clear: ‘Pray to your Son, Maid Mary, in whose worship Hugh the Hasting and my wife Margery have made this church. Lady, do not forget us.’³¹ Like the



Fig. 8. Antiquarian drawing of the Hastings brass, with the final words of the epitaph visible (NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, p. 38) (photo.: Author; copyright: Norfolk Record Office. Reproduced by permission)

imagery, this was aimed at earthly as well as divine readers, advertizing as it does a large and meritorious work in a language more generally familiar than Latin or French. It indicates a target audience as diffuse as the parish itself. Those who could not read it would have understood it if they heard it read. This raises the subject of access to the chancel, and by

29 David King suggests that all the Elsing glass was made c. 1350-60. This is refined by the testimony of Thomas Codlyng, whose dating ('cynquante et cynk ans passez') is rather too precise to be dismissed.

30 R. Marks, 'Wills and Windows: Documentary Evidence for the Commissioning of Stained Glass Windows in Late Medieval England', in *Glas. Malerei. Forschung*,

Internationale Studies zu ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann, ed. I. Rauch and D. Hess (Berlin, 2004), pp. 245-52, at 250.

31 'Pray to yr. Sone made Marye, in whos wirshipp þis Chirch haue rowght. Hugh þe Hastynges and Mariorie my Wyf, Lady foryete us noght.': PCM, I, p. 353. See also NRO, MS Rye 17 vol. 6, pp. 40, 41.

extension the size and variety of audience that existed for the brass itself. The inscription could only have been read from within the chancel, and its content implies that it was not intended that a priest read it aloud to people standing in the nave (for such purposes the text would in any case have been written in a list in some book rather than in a window). It hardly follows that all parishioners were permitted to enter the chancel at will, but it seems clear enough that Hugh and Margery considered the area around the monument to be, at least occasionally, a public one. Hugh's epitaph was, unsurprisingly, in Latin, but this does not affect the theory that he and his wife wished to encourage as many people as possible to admire the greatest expressions of their piety. While its verses were illegible to most viewers, the words 'Pater' and 'Ave' at the end of the epitaph (Fig. 8) were perfectly functional on their own, for they were commonly displayed as stimulants to the prayers that most adults knew by heart.

Even by itself, the monument's prestige, goldenness, and juxtaposition with the high altar assured it a large audience. As the single most effective means of generating intercession, it was designed to stand out from its material environment even as it blended with it. Curious members of the Norfolk aristocracy and gentry may even have been drawn to it from outside the parish: the most striking evidence for this is seen in the design of Roger le Strange's brass at Hunstanton, Norfolk (c. 1506), which is surely, as Malcolm Norris suggested, a late interpretation of that at Elsing.³² If Thomas Codlyng's testimony to the appearance of Hugh's tomb is disappointing – he called it



Fig. 9. Censing angel from the Hastings brass
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

simply (and conventionally) 'vne pierre de Marble' – then the very full description of Leche and Vaus is indicative of its ability to captivate sensitive viewers.³³ The prolixity of this description is not all due to legal-mindedness: no other tomb mentioned in any of the three surviving medieval case histories of the Court is described in more than four sentences. Much of the recorded detail has no clear forensic value, but seems rather to have been motivated by admiration and wonder of a sort that in less formal circumstances would

32 For example, Thomas, Lord Camoys (d. 1421), 'would almost certainly have known [it]' according to N. Saul, 'Chivalry and Art: the Camoys Family and the Wall Paintings in Trotton Church', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 97-111, at 109. For the point about the Hunstanton brass see M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: the Craft* (London, 1978), p. 103.

33 PCM, I, pp. 348-52. The description is printed in A.R. Wagner and J.G. Mann, 'A Fifteenth-Century Description of the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk', *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), pp. 421-8, at 422-4; K. Mourin, *The Hastings Brass at Elsing, Norfolk*, Norfolk Heraldic Monographs, 3 (Dereham, 2001), pp. 51-3, provides a translation of most of it. Wagner referred the text to PCM, vol. II but this is incorrect.

inevitably have induced prayers for Hugh's soul. Among the pages of rehearsed testimony and legalese, the expansiveness and aesthetic language of the commissioners as they examined Hugh's monument is highly conspicuous. The brass presents 'a beautiful and well-fashioned tabernacle of gilded latten, within which tabernacle is a large image of a knight of handsome proportions [or 'beautiful build'] known to us as Sir Hugh de Hastings'. ('[U]ne belle & bien oeure tabernacle de laton dore, deinz quelle tabernacle est faite une ymage grande et de belle estature dun Ch[eualie]r qui auoit a noun Mons[i]r[e] Hugh de Hastynge'.)³⁴ A similar enthusiasm emerges in their descriptions of the Coronation, censuring angels (Fig. 9) and four evangelists, which are made 'honorablement' (that is, 'fittingly', 'honourably' and 'religiously') and 'bien et honorablement'. *Honorablement*, which occurs four times, seems to relate to the hierarchy of the figures described as well as their workmanship, because it is also used of the image of Edward III in the north tower of the tabernacle ('ouere une ymage honorablement du Roy Dengleterre'), but is not applied to any of the other knights.³⁵ By contrast, the account of the donor panel in the east window is economical and prosaic.³⁶

The phrases 'une belle & bien oeure tabernacle' and 'une ymage grande et de belle estature dun Cheualier' are valuable indications of the admiration that a high-quality work of art could elicit from laymen. The second of them is also interesting in its suggestion of familiarity with a later medieval discourse on the ideal qualities of knights. *Grande* can mean 'large', 'tall', 'great', 'powerful', 'important', or a

compound of these things. Such a compound is implied here. From one perspective the usage is purely objective. At 1610 mm – only 160 mm less than Hugh's skeleton indicates he stood – the brass figure is clearly large, and the attributes of arms and armour and presence of martial comrades, from amongst whom Hugh emerges like a champion or giant, represent physical power.³⁷ But *grande* also conveys an impression of conceptual greatness (with its attendant notions of importance and power) which might be expected given that Leche and Vaus were assessing not a living man but an idealized figure in a church chancel, bathed in coloured light and attended by angels and saints. The term *de belle estature* – 'of handsome proportions' or 'of beautiful build' – reinforces this impression by invoking not simply somatic attraction but also an ideal aesthetic reflective of moral and religious character to which, under the circumstances, the literate and cultivated commissioners must have been attuned. Whether or not they were conscious of the fact, their choice of words belongs to the rhetoric of chivalric virtue found in historical and romance literature of the later middle ages. According to Walter Clyde Curry, who conducted an extensive trawl of the sources, medieval authors characterized the ideal man, usually a ruler or knight, as 'well-formed, large of body, massively built, broad, thick, strong in battle, with aristocratic grace and ease of movement'. (These last two qualities in particular are nicely evoked by the hipshot, muscular pose of Hugh's figure.) Knights, he noted, were also represented as 'large, huge or big', with 'broad' foreheads and 'noble, aristocratic' faces.³⁸ Although strength and large size were compatible with vice, the attributes listed here

34 PCM, I, pp. 349-50.

35 PCM, I, pp. 350 (Edward III), and 351-2.

36 PCM, I, pp. 352-3.

37 The figure's length is given by P. Binski, 'An Analysis of the Length of Plates used for English Monumental Brasses before 1350', *MBS Trans.*, XVI, pt. 3 (1999),

pp. 229-38, at 234. For Hugh's height see B. Hooper et al., 'Grave of Sir Hugh de Hastings', p. 94.

38 W.C. Curry, *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty: as Found in the Metrical Romances, Chronicles, and Legends of the XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries* (Baltimore, 1916), pp. 3-4, 103-04.

were normally interpreted as symptoms of piety and other virtues in the knight.³⁹ The point to be emphasized in the current context is that the brass had the ability to stimulate an emotional reaction in viewers, and to call up ideal as well as historical associations that were edifying and potentially useful to Hugh and his descendants. This should come as no surprise. The monument was clearly exceptional in appearance and quality, and anyone interested in chivalric literature, or indeed such articles of scripture as St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians, would have been equipped to interpret it symbolically.⁴⁰ Its first such interpreters were no doubt its patron and designer.

The extent to which this description and the implications drawn from it here represent quotidian, demotic experience of the Hastings brass is open to question. That the majority of viewers thought its design, iconography, and gilding and colouring beautiful is easy enough to accept, although familiarity may eventually have dulled the reactions of those who saw it often (including the priest and altar-server). On the other hand, while experienced at contemplating ideals as well as realities, most of Elsing's parishioners would not have been conditioned to identify a tomb-image as a distillation of chivalric virtues.⁴¹ The brass was not, anyway, constantly under the parochial eye. Most parish business, including that of guilds dedicated to Our Lady, St. Margaret, John the Baptist, and Thomas of Canterbury, was presumably transacted on the other side of the rood-screen in the nave, and the interest of those who attended the Sunday and feast-day services of Matins, High Mass and Vespers was



Fig. 10. Late fifteenth-century image of St. George on the south side of the rood-screen, Elsing, Norfolk (photo.: C.B. Newham)

quite naturally devoted to the activities of the priest, and the elevated host.⁴² Equally, however, there must have been occasions when even long-standing parishioners were encouraged to focus on the monument. Hugh's status as founder of the church and ancestor of the lords of the manor entitled him to broad-based commemoration, not least on his anniversary. Codlyng's testimony, and that of

39 On this subject, besides Curry's gleanings, see S. North, 'The Ideal Knight as Presented in some French Narrative Poems, c. 1090-c. 1240: an Outline Sketch', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 111-32, at 124-5.

40 See in particular Ephesians 6.11-18.

41 That they identified the figure of Hugh as a powerful warrior in a historical sense is another matter.

42 The gilds, along with lights of the holy rood, sepulchre, and Our Lady of Pity, are attested in numerous wills from 1449 to 1514. All are mentioned between NRO, Norwich Consistory Court, Register Brossard, f. 26v (1456), and TNA: PRO, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Prob. 11/18, ff. 74v-75r (1504).

another Elsing resident named Robert Fysshlake, indicate a steady identification on the part of local people with the Hastings lords and their achievements.⁴³ Commemoration of other members of the Hastings family buried in the chancel, particularly in the intensive phase that usually followed a funeral, must also have drawn attention to the dominant ancestral monument.⁴⁴ In such circumstances the heraldry in the nave windows, the crucifixion group which stood above the chancel entrance, and (by the late fifteenth century) the animated, flamboyant figure of St George on the rood-screen (Fig. 10) had the potential to heighten the experience of approaching viewers through their visual and semantic relationships to the brass and its immediate setting. Whether the embellishment of the nave was, like that of the chancel, originally structured to function in this way cannot be known, but the idea is suggested by the fact that Hugh and Margery controlled the patronage of the building, and had the Hastings arms inserted in all of the nave windows.⁴⁵

If acquaintance with the Hastings brass was overwhelmingly a local preserve, the monument fitted seamlessly into a broader web of dynastic commemoration that reached, like the branches of the Hastings pedigree, far beyond Elsing. This issue, with which I will conclude, can be well illustrated thanks to the records of *Grey v. Hastings*. The essence of the matter is that the brass at Elsing was only the grandest of a series of monuments and other objects located up and down the country, most of them

commemorative in purpose (and thus embellished with coats of arms), that were of great value to the Hastings family as evidence of status, rights and privileges. With the exception of their role as stimulants to prayer, their function in these regards was usually dormant; but the Court of Chivalry case shows them activated in the service of dynastic integrity, and thus represents their collective significance with special clarity. It is in the commissioners' descriptions of the progress of the case and the things submitted in evidence that the detailed command Edward Hastings (d. 1438) had of his family's commemorative inheritance, and the place of the brass and associated objects at Elsing in this, comes out.

Like his great grandfather Hugh, Edward Hastings, the defendant in the case, had his seat at Elsing, and he thus appreciated the impact that the brass could have on those who saw it. He himself must often have contemplated it; and it became his trump card when the trial moved from the guest-hall of the cathedral priory at Norwich to the parsonage of Elsing on 3 August. The Court appears only to have gone to Elsing because of the impossibility of bringing the monument and windows, which Edward said were fundamental to his case, to Norwich. Moving them, he said, would cause 'grand damage': so he led the commissioners, along with the plaintiff, Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthin (d. 1440), into the church to view and discuss the evidence. Here, the objects were especially important to Edward, because his case depended on the assertion that the right to

43 Fysshlake, who was around 46 years old in 1408, related in particular that, during travels abroad, Hugh III Hastings (d. 1386) had placed one or two shields of the Hastings arms in Jerusalem, Sicily, Naples, Rome, the 'meason del honour al Rodes', and at the shrines of SS. Catherine, Anthony, and Paul the Hermit: PCM, I, p. 432.

44 Hugh himself had two priests saying daily Masses for his soul in the decade after his death (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, p. 39). Later Elsing burials included those

of John II Hastings (d. 1471: Blomefield, *Norfolk*, IX, p. 519) and Isabel Hastings (d. 1505), whose will requests burial in the chancel beside her husband Robert Hastings, an annual obit for her husband, and a priest to perform the office of the dead and commendation of souls once a week for a year: TNA: PRO, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Prob. 11/18, ff. 74v-75r.

45 The non-heraldic iconography of the nave windows is unrecorded.

bear the arms *Or a manche gules* with a silver label of three points had descended through Hugh, rather than the wife of Roger, Lord Grey of Ruthin (d. 1353), the grandfather of the plaintiff. The brass in particular also supported the ancillary argument that the arms were Edward's by right because his forebears had used them unchallenged in the presence of both the Hastings earls of Pembroke and the ancestors of the plaintiff.⁴⁶ It did so simply by depicting Hugh bearing them in the company of (*inter alia*) Laurence, Lord Hastings, earl of Pembroke, and John Grey, lord of Ruthin: Edward III's presence was perhaps thought by the defendant to vouchsafe the entitlement by implying royal recognition of it. (Grey, however, refused in the least to acknowledge the evidence-value for Hastings of anything reviewed by the court at Elsing.)⁴⁷ Yet Edward's resort to site visits, which probably frustrated the commissioners and certainly contributed to the large court costs of £987 10s. 10³/₄d., was not confined to this instance. He knew of other locations and objects related to one another by association with the Hastings family, and placed particular faith in their persuasive power.⁴⁸ Thus, while most of the evidence for Grey was heard at the Franciscan friary at Bedford, Hastings required that the court be peripatetic in pursuit of his (ultimately futile) defence.⁴⁹

The itinerary was intensive, and must have had the effect on those involved of shaping and reinforcing the associations that existed between the material evidence at Elsing and that located elsewhere. At Edward's request, the court had gone from Westminster to Norwich on 17 July. Here the majority of witnesses for the defence were interviewed, with an excursion to North Walsham on 30 July to hear, among others, the testimony of Thomas, Lord Morley. The court was back in Norwich on 31 July, and at Elsing on 3 August. Then, again at the defendant's request, it moved by stages from Elsing to King's Lynn (7-8 August: in a place called 'Stewardhalle'), Lincoln (9 August: Guildhall), Mattersey in Nottinghamshire (10 August: a hostel called 'le Tabert on þe Hoop'), Doncaster (11-12 August: moothall; Carmelite and Franciscan friaries), Nottingham (13 August: moothall), Coventry (14 August: Franciscan friary), Towcester (15 August: a hostel 'ou le Cigne est le signe'), and Dunstable (16 August: Dominican friary).⁵⁰ It then returned to Westminster, with a subsequent excursion to the manor of Wratyng in Sussex on 26 August. The material evidence that Hastings most wanted the court to review was at Elsing, King's Lynn, Doncaster and Coventry. At Lynn it was primarily in the form of an ancient satin banner bearing the arms of Hastings quartered with those of Foliot, belonging to the

46 For this plank of Edward's argument (but not referring to the brass) see M. Keen, 'English Military Experience and the Court of Chivalry: the Case of Grey v. Hastings', in *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, VIX-XV^e siècle*, ed. P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison and M. Keen (Lille, 1991), pp. 123-42, at 128.

47 '[I] ne conust point ledit sepulture, ne qe ledit cheualier feust illecoqes enseuele, ne qil conust nulles des autres evidences susdites pour armes et evidences des auncestres dudite partie defendant': PCM, I, p. 354. There is effectively a double reference to the tomb here, because the buried knight was only visible in effigy.

48 I. Jack, 'Entail and Descent: the Hastings Inheritance, 1370 to 1436', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXVIII (1965), pp. 1-19, at 14, says of a heraldic

banner produced in evidence by Edward that 'he clung to this relic with traces of ... fanaticism'.

49 The testimony of Grey's thirty-six witnesses is recorded at PCM, I, pp. 175-327. One reason for choosing the Bedford Franciscan house was probably that the monument (called a 'p[i]ere', but perhaps incorporating a brass) of Elizabeth Hastings (d. after 1331), adorned with shields of the arms of Hastings and Valence, lay immediately in front of the high altar there (PCM, I, p. 234). However, no request that the court visit it is recorded.

50 At Mattersey there was a Gilbertine priory to which Hugh Hastings bequeathed a gilded silver cup and a ewer for holding the Corpus Christi (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, p. 39). These were probably among the reasons for visiting the town.

Carmelites. The forensic value of heraldic banners was specified at the beginning of the trial, and several are mentioned in the depositions for Hastings.⁵¹ In all, four friars were examined, and the banner was exhibited to the court by the defendant.⁵² This banner had in fact been in his possession for some time. In a letter of 30 July 1408, the Carmelites' prior had stated that it had been removed on behalf of Edward Hastings, who wished to repair it in memory of his ancestors.⁵³ But the letter, though bearing the prior's seal, was evidently not enough for his purposes. Hastings wanted the court to witness *in situ* the testimony of local friars (who included the subprior and reader in divinity) to the age and ownership of the banner, convinced that this augmented its value to him.

In order to have sent someone to fetch it, Edward must have known or suspected that the banner was at Lynn. His knowledge of, and research into, the nature of his family's commemoration is further shown in evidence taken at the Franciscan friary at Doncaster.⁵⁴ Here, John Holme, the guardian of the house, recalled that, a year previously, a servant of the defendant had arrived asking if there were any Hastings burials in their church, and whether any coats or banners of the family's arms were painted, represented or sculpted ('peyntes, pourtreitz ou esculptez') on tombs there. This visitor was shown the obit book ('martilage'), containing three special Hastings obits; copies of these were made for him. He was also shown the Hastings arms represented and painted in various windows of the church, on various tables standing before altars, and especially on a

cloth which was placed upon the chanters' pew in the chancel on high and holy days.⁵⁵ This may – the testimony is unclear on the point – have been a gift of Margery Foliot, Hugh of Hastings's wife, who was buried in part of the church called the Furnivalle chapel. The visitor took the heraldic cloth away, against the wishes of Holme and his confreres, who missed it when the next festival came around. Another friar testified about the same cloth, while a third confirmed that the obits had been copied for the visitor, and rehearsed them for the court as they were written in the obit-book. Edward must have engineered this testimony about the obits; he possessed copies of the texts, and he had nominated the friars as witnesses for his defence. The most germane obit was that of Hugh Hastings himself (the others were for Hugh's wife and mother), which commemorated him as an excellent and zealous benefactor of both the house and its order: he had given the Doncaster friars gifts of corn, cash or both every year, and had made them a generous bequest. (This bequest, of 100s. sterling, twenty quarters of wheat and ten of barley, is precisely as recorded in the printed copy of Hugh's will.)⁵⁶ In Edward's eyes, these sworn statements must have reinforced the evidential value of the brass by associating Hugh with examples of Hastings heraldry far from his *caput*, thereby demonstrating the breadth of land where his right to bear the contested arms was recognised. Like the donor panel in the window at Elsing, it also represented Hugh's piety in an unimpeachable context, and thus made an emotional claim for the probity of the Hastings cause.

51 PCM, I, pp. 402, 404, 446, 461 (banners); II, p. 1 (banners, with pennons and coats of arms, specified as contexts for display of the contested arms).

52 PCM, I, pp. 355-7.

53 Printed in *Account of the Controversy*, pp. 21-2.

54 PCM, I, pp. 524-8.

55 '[M]ette sur la forme des Chantours en le Chauncell': PCM, I, p. 525.

56 A[nn]o iiii k[a]l[endas] Augusti: Obitus domini Hugonis de Hastynges, precipui amici et zelatoris ordinis beati Francisci, et nobilis benefactoris istius conuentus, qui singulis annis nobiliter istum conuentum vel in bladio, vel in pecunia, vel in vtroy visitauet, et in morte viginti quarternia frumentis, et decem ordij et centem solidos sterlingorum legauit, qui obit anno D[omi]ni Millesimo ccc^{mo} xlvii^o. PCM, I, p. 527; cf. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, p. 38.

This evidence was taken in the guest hall of the friary, and there is no suggestion that the Franciscans' church was visited. However, at the Carmelite friary, such an excursion was necessary. Again, the court was based in the guest hall, but the defendant stated that the church contained various pieces of evidence that could not be removed or carried without great damage to it.⁵⁷ He requested that this be viewed *in situ*, and, as at Elsing, he himself showed it to the commissioners and plaintiff. His first port of call was the tomb of Hugh II Hastings (d. 1369) – the defendant's grandfather and son of the knight buried at Elsing – and his wife Margaret of Everingham (d. 1375). It abutted the high altar on the north side, and was, when the court saw it, covered with a black cloth decorated at each corner with a heraldic shield, two of Hastings quartered with Foliot and two of Everingham.⁵⁸ This monument, too, was part of an ensemble. In a window directly above the tomb the defendant pointed out the images of a kneeling knight and lady in garments decorated with the heraldry of Hastings and Everingham respectively.⁵⁹ Edward also showed the court a shield with the Hastings arms, quartered with Foliot, in the great window above the high altar, and another on 'the table abutting the high altar to the north', probably the retable.⁶⁰ And he produced a half-coat of armour ('vn demye coste des armes') displaying the Hastings arms, which, as the friars had recorded, had been given to their church at the time of Hugh II's burial.⁶¹

57 '[E]uidences queux ... ne pourront ester remuez ne cariez sanz grande damage a dicte Esglise': PCM, I, p. 360.

58 'Et primerement vne sepulture dune chivaler appelle Mons[i]r[c] Hugh de Hastynges le seconde, ouec sa femme que fuest fille a Mons[i]r[c] Adam de Everyngham ... en la Chauncelle dudite Esglise al bout del grande Aucter [sic] vers le North, et ladite sepulture feust couere oue vne drap noire, oue quatre escuchons en quatre corners du dicte drap: Cest assavoir, deux escuchons des armes des Hastynges, oue a labelle auantdit, de troy pointz dargent quarteles oue les ditz armes des Folioies; et deux autres escuchons des armes de Everyngham.' PCM, I, pp. 360-61.

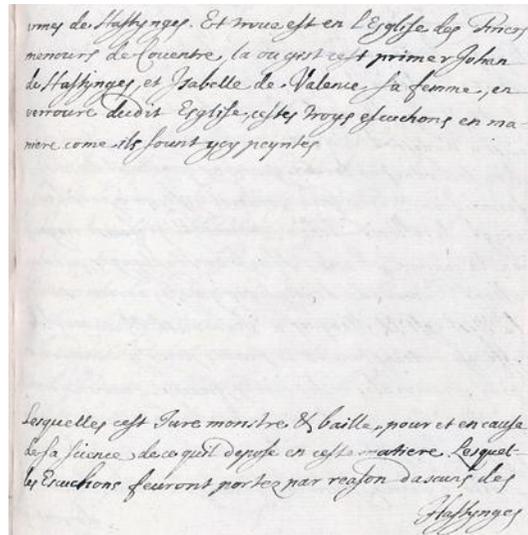


Fig. 11. Space left in the Court of Chivalry register for depiction of coats of arms in the Franciscan church at Coventry (London, College of Arms, PCM, I, p. 575, detail) (copyright: College of Arms. Reproduced by permission of the College of Arms)

Two days later the court was in Coventry, where the material evidence, also consisting of shields of the Hastings arms on tombs and in windows, lay at the Franciscan house. Here were buried several members of the Hastings family, including Henry Hastings II (d. 1269) alongside Joan de Cantelow (d. 1271) and John, first Lord Hastings (d. 1313), next to Isabel de Valence (d. 1305). John was the father of the Hugh Hastings buried at Elsing, though by

59 '[I] nous monstra illeques en vne fenestre desus mesme la sepulture vn ymage dun Chivaler genulant, et arme en vne cote d'armes, desdites armes de Hastynges ... et aussi la image dune dame genulant, femme au dit Chivaler, en vne cote d'armes ... de Everyngham': PCM, I, p. 361.

60 '[S]ur la table, al butte du grande Aucter vers le North': PCM, I, p. 361. A commemorative board associated with the tomb seems unlikely, because the commissioners can be expected to have copied out or adumbrated the content of any such object.

61 PCM, I, p. 361. 'Demye coste' does literally mean a half-coat here, because it was originally donated 'ensemble oue lautre moytee'.

his second wife, Isabel Despenser (d. 1325). His tomb had particular resonance for both the defendant and the plaintiff, because the whole trial ultimately turned on whether the right to bear the Hastings arms descended through John's daughter by his first marriage or his son by his second.⁶² Accordingly, Grey also cited the evidence at Coventry to support his own case, although he was content to do so from a distance.⁶³ Edward, however, again requested that the church be visited, because it contained, in two chapels called by the friars 'les Chapelles des Sires de Hastynge', and several other places, tombs and stained glass windows necessary and essential to his case that he could not carry without great damage to the church.⁶⁴ He also showed to the court a piece of parchment on which were depicted 'true exemplars and resemblances' of the various pieces of evidence, which could be compared with the originals in the church.⁶⁵ These, perhaps, were made by one of two professional painters (William Luffe and William of 'frier lane') who deponed that the arms had existed on the tombs and in the windows for as long as they could remember.⁶⁶ Edward may have produced these 'truthful' images, and these witnesses (whose profession must have recommended them as acute observers), in order to demonstrate flaws in earlier testimony given on behalf of the plaintiff, which had involved the same type of evidence. In support of

Grey, one John Heruey had exhibited a painted 'similitude' of the effigy of Isabel de Valence vested in a garment displaying the arms of Hastings and Valence, and another (mentioned again below) of the tomb of Isabel Despenser in the Franciscan church at Salisbury.⁶⁷ The comparisons must, in any case, have been made in some detail during the visitation, because a small inconsistency was discovered between a coat of arms in the church and its representation on the parchment that Edward submitted.⁶⁸ Edward also showed the commissioners three glazed coats of the Hastings arms, two with a label of the arms of Valence and one with a border of the same. Copies of these were made in the register; and when this now lost medieval document was transcribed in the seventeenth century, a space was left to indicate their presence in the original 'in the manner that they are painted here' (Fig. 11).⁶⁹ There is, incidentally, a hint in this that the images on parchment shown to the court by deponents for both parties were somehow incorporated into the original register. The account of the visitation of the church at Coventry makes it quite clear that these three shields (not of themselves crucial pieces of evidence) were not among the drawings produced by Edward. Their representation seems arbitrary unless they are understood as part of a more complete visual record.

62 See Jack, 'Entail and Descent', *passim*; Keen, 'English Military Experience', pp. 126-8.

63 PCM, I, pp. 180-81.

64 PCM, I, p. 364. These chapels, the main one of which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, were on the eastern sides of the transepts: W. G. Fretton, 'Memorials of the Franciscans or Grey Friars, Coventry', *Trans. of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Soc.*, IX (1879), pp. 34-53, at 50.

65 'Et sur ce exhibit deuant nous vne peece de parchemyn en quelle feurent faitz verryez exemplaires & similitudes des dictes evidences': PCM, I, p. 364.

66 PCM, I, pp. 364, 536-8.

67 '[U]ne image peynt & vestue de lez armes de Hastynge et de Valence, de dame Isabelle de Valence femme a Johan filz Henry de Hastynge, q'i gist a les freres Menours en Couentre': PCM, I, pp. 180-81. There is more on the tomb on p. 182. An independent description of the effigy, and the text on a commemorative board that stood next to the tomb, is given in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. (London, 1817-30), VI, p. 1533.

68 PCM, I, p. 365. This cannot have inspired faith in the drawings Edward submitted.

69 PCM, I, pp. 365, 575 ('en maniere come ils sont ycy peyntes').

For one reason or another, some material evidence could not be inspected at first hand. The tomb of Hugh IV Hastings (d. 1396), brother of the defendant, was in the Carmelite church at Calais and hence inaccessible. Of course, it could still be cited: one of the witnesses for the defence mentioned that a coat of the Hastings arms had hung next to it 'peaceably, without challenge or interruption' since its incumbent's funeral.⁷⁰ On another occasion, Edward produced an image of a monument apparently without insisting that the court travel to inspect it. This was the tomb of Isabel Despenser at Salisbury. In a hearing at Westminster shortly after the court's return there, he submitted for inspection a piece of parchment bearing the image of a lady with three shields of arms on either side of her. There was an inscription under the feet, the sense of which was: 'Here lies Isabel Hastings, daughter of Sir Hugh Despenser, earl of Winchester.' Edward informed the court that Isabel, one of his ancestors (*viz.* his great-great-grandmother), lay buried in the chancel of the Franciscans at Salisbury in a tomb of similar form to the image.⁷¹ He also found a Franciscan friar (though of London, not Salisbury) to testify to the court that the tomb did indeed take the form Edward claimed, and to add that various friars of the Salisbury convent considered Edward the rightful heir to the Hastings earls of Pembroke.⁷²

As noted, an image of this tomb on a sheet of parchment was also submitted for Grey, and it

appears to have been more accurate than Edward's version. It included a precise transcription of the epitaph, and coats of arms that could be identified: Hastings, Despenser, and those of Ralph Mounthermer, Isabel's second husband.⁷³ This monument, at least, was probably a monumental figure brass of Paul Binski's second generation.⁷⁴ The six coats of arms and form of the epitaph are both redolent of Margaret de Camoys's brass at Trotton, Sussex (*c.* 1310), although the information that the inscription was under the feet, as on the Seymour brass at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire (*c.* 1337), makes a precise parallel hard to identify. Nevertheless, if the basic assumption about a brass is correct, then it provides a possible motive for the choice of an elaborate brass for the tomb of Hugh Hastings at Elsing.⁷⁵ Hugh was Isabel Despenser's son, and he can be expected to have known the tomb at Salisbury in connection with both his filial duty and his interest in the Franciscan order.

All of this evidence helps the modern reader to appreciate both the constitution and geographical range of the commemorative apparatus that Edward Hastings could draw on. It also represents some of the ways this apparatus could be approached and exploited. The efforts of Hastings and Grey in defence of their claims illuminate a resource, and a category of knowledge, accessible to all later medieval aristocrats, and many gentry families

70 '[V]ne escue desdites armes entiers sanz labelle, pendre iuxta sa sepulture ... a temps de ses exeques pesiblement sanz challenge ou interrupcion': PCM, I, p. 448.

71 '[L]a dite partie defendant exhibist ... vn parchemyn, en quelle fuest pourtreite la similitude dune dame, oue sys escuchons de diuerses armes, trois dune coste dudites similitude, en trois del autre cost, ouec certain escripture desoutz les pees dudit similitude, de quelle escripture, la senure est tiele: Ycy gist Isabelle de Hastynges, fille a Mons[*i*]r[*e*] Hugh le Despenser Count de Wyncestre. Et mesme la partie defendant disois qe dame Isabelle le Despenser, vne de ses ancestres, gist enseuslez en la Chauncelle des friers

Menours a Sarum, en semblable forme come la dite portreiture purporte.': PCM, I, p. 368.

72 PCM, I, p. 543.

73 PCM, I, pp. 181 ('foyle de parchemyn'), 184, 249 (arms). The epitaph as given here is: 'Dame Isabelle de Hastynges gist ycy [*l*] fille a S[*i*]r[*e*] Hugh le Despenser Count de Wyncestre [*l*] de quelle alme Dieu eit mercy.'

74 Binski, 'Stylistic Sequence', pp. 73-103. An incised slab is also possible.

75 Although not, obviously, for the form of brass: in this regard, Hugh's monument departed from lay precedent (*ibid.*, p. 119).

as well. Such collections of tombs, windows and other phenomena, as well as the available testimony about them, were the obvious, concrete counterparts to the written pedigrees that were often brought to bear by witnesses in the Court of Chivalry, not least in the case under review.⁷⁶ Amongst the information copied down in 1408, the brass at Elsing has a distinguished place, but the general impression that the art historian takes away from the court registers is one of the embeddedness of such commemorative objects in the social contexts of their manufacture and use. At a local level, and for Elsing in particular, other evidence, including the antiquarian accounts of the brass and east window, the inventory of 1368, and surviving wills, reinforces this impression. In either domain, the Hastings monument takes on

the appearance of a piece, more or less large, of a complex but integrated puzzle. While this perspective sheds little light on the style and iconography of the brass, it does reinfuse it with some of the historical and ideological life so enduringly suggested by its extraordinary artist.

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⁷⁶ For the citation of pedigrees see PCM, I, pp. 56-7, 257, 411-12, 436-7 (Thomas, Lord Morley, exhibiting 'diuerses pees de gree de ancien escripture'); II, p. 5.

The Inscriptions of the Blodwell Brass at Balsham, Cambridgeshire

Reinhard Lamp

Close examination of the inscriptions on the brass of John Blodwell at Balsham, Cambridgeshire, reveals several points of interest. A metrical inconsistency in the laudatory marginal inscription points to the accidental omission of a line of verse by the engraver. The tenor of the foot inscription, which is laid out in dialogue form, indicates that it was composed by Blodwell himself, who is here shown to be familiar with biblical and classical texts and a poet of considerable ability.

Biographical Introduction¹

John Blodwell was probably born around 1380 in the village of Llanyblodwel in Shropshire, on the Welsh borders, to judge by his name. The illegitimate child of a priest, he was himself ordained a priest and later held the Deanery of St. Asaph. He studied law at Bologna, qualified in both Civil and Canon Law, and then set out on a very eventful clerical career, accumulating benefices. In addition, Blodwell pursued a diplomatic career, to which he probably gave priority of attendance. While at Bologna, he dealt with papal diplomatic correspondence. He was chosen to be on a commission of the Council of Constance (1414-18). When one of the members of his committee was elected Pope, Blodwell received a highly complimentary papal letter. He was also in the King's service, acting as emissary to foreign courts. From 1430 onwards he seems to have concentrated on his church career in England. He became

canon of various cathedrals: Hereford, Lichfield, Wells, St. David's; and by 1439 had been appointed rector of the parish church of Balsham, in the diocese of Ely. Not long afterwards he lost his eyesight.² After a long time living in darkness he died on 16 April 1462 and was buried in his church, beneath a magnificent brass monument (Fig. 1).

Description of the Brass

Blodwell's brass (measuring 2712 x 1250 mm overall) originally lay in the nave, and was relaid in the chancel, before the altar-rail, beside that to John Sleaford.³ Blodwell stands splendidly attired in a rich processional cope. On his head is an academic's cap, and on either side is a shield of lead, so worn as to be illegible. Macalister blazons: dexter: '*Gules a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent* [Grey, Bishop of Ely (1454-78)]'; sinister: '*Party per pale argent and gules a lion rampant countercharged* [Blodwell]'.⁴ Blodwell's cope is strewn with invecked voided roundels containing langued lion's heads in profile. These heraldic badges recall both his and Bishop Grey's arms.

The orphreys are decorated with saints under canopies, standing in four tiers on each side. They are engraved more lightly, and are worn. Uppermost are the archangels Michael and Gabriel, probably because Blodwell's birthplace is dedicated to St. Michael, whilst Gabriel,

1 All biographical information is taken from A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9), I, pp. 202-03; W.N.C. Girard, 'John Blodwell Rector of Balsham', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 2 (1993), pp. 119-36, *idem*, *Balsham Church Guide to the Brasses* (Balsham, 1998).

2 Girard, 'John Blodwell Rector of Balsham', p. 124, deduces from the sequence of resignations that the onset of his blindness probably occurred in the early to mid 1440s.

3 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), p. 4 (LSW.II), illus. on p. 6; "Das Antlitz im Boden": *Abriebe norddeutscher und englischer Metallgrabplatten des Mittelalters*, exhibition catalogue (Lübeck, 2006), no. 19 (pp. 84-8), illus. on p. 85.

4 R.A.S. Macalister *et al.*, 'the Brasses of Cambridgeshire', *MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 7 (1896), pp. 239-40.



Fig. 2. Detail of the marginal inscription
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

God's messenger, may allude to his role as 'abbreviator of apostolic letters'. Both angels are depicted as six-winged seraphim. Next are SS. David and John of Beverley, both shown as archbishops. David was the founder of the monastery at Menevia, subsequently St. David's, where Blodwell held a prebend, while John of Beverley was venerated by the disabled, and Blodwell, in his blindness, may have felt drawn to him.⁵ Below come two bishops, SS. Thomas Cantelupe, bishop of Hereford, and Chad, of Lichfield, both included because of Blodwell's canonries in those two sees. At the bottom are SS. Catherine and Margaret, perhaps the most popular female saints in the Middle Ages. Blodwell wears an almuce, which is recessed and was inlaid, probably in lead, and under the cope a wide-sleeved alb, which lies folded over his feet. The cassock under it shows at his wrists.

Blodwell stands beneath an embattled canopy with a depressed, cusped arch. The side-shafts are filled with canopied saints. Uppermost are the two Saints John the Baptist and the Evangelist, his namesakes. One tier below are the two Apostles Peter and Andrew, Peter alluding to Blodwell's papal connection, Andrew being the patron saint of Wells Cathedral, where Blodwell had a canonry. Next are two bishops, St. Asaph (Blodwell had been Dean at St. Asaph), and St. Nicholas, a very popular saint. Lowest are (again, as on the

orphreys) two female saints: Brigid and Winifred, recalling Blodwell's Welsh background. St. Brigid founded the first community of nuns in Ireland. St. Winifred is particularly associated with Holywell, not far from St. Asaph.⁶ This selection of saints in side-shafts and orphreys that are of biographical relevance to the commemorated parallels the arrangement of the neighbouring brass of John Sleford.

Blodwell stands upon a battlemented base. Below this and between the side-shafts is a foot-inscription (Fig. 5), and all around the monument runs a marginal text (Figs. 2-4), both in Latin verse. The effigy and the inscription-plate are of a noticeably lighter colour, more yellowish, than the canopy-work and text-fillets, the alloy evidently containing less copper. When one considers that the figure's recessed parts were filled with the greyish lead for the almuce and shields, it is evident that colour effects were sought.

The Marginal Inscription

The marginal text is in Gothic minuscule, delicately and clearly engraved but for the sometimes indistinct minims of 'u', 'n', 'm', 'i' (irregularly dotted). The 'e', however, is always carefully engraved, never a 'c', which shows that care was taken in the execution. Capitals are used for verse-beginnings, personal names, and date-words – with one (incomprehensible) exception: *Sub*, possibly an engraver's slip (Fig. 2).

⁵ (The cult of St. John of Beverley was promoted after the victory of Agincourt, which occurred on the feast of his translation. *Ed.*)

⁶ The information on the identification and function of the saints in Blodwell's brass is from Girard, 'John Blodwell Rector of Balsham', pp.134-36, and Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Cambridgeshire*, p.4.

Transcription⁷

- a Egregius doctor hoc qui Sub marmore pausat
 b Joh(an)n(es) Blodwell longo tempore cecus erat § Hic residens vetulus decor ecclesie bonus
 hospes § Cui deus hospicium sit requies q(ue) dies
 c Qui obiit xvi^o die Mensis Aprilis Anno
 d Domini Mill(esi)mo CCCC^o lxii^o Cui deus eternam det miserans requiem Amen

Translation

- a The eminent doctor who rests for a while under this marble stone,
 b John Blodwell, was blind for a long time while residing here. The gentle old man was an
 ornament of the Church, and a good host. May God now be his hospitable home, his rest,
 his daylight.
 c He died on the sixteenth day of the month of April
 d In the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-two. God in His mercy give him
 eternal rest. Amen.



Fig. 3. Detail of the marginal inscription
 (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

Comment

b *Joh(an)n(es)*. The illustration in the *County Series* volume shows one minim more than in the original, which, however, is correct and clearly legible (Fig. 3).

b *vetulus* normally means ‘rather old’, but it can also be a term of endearment, which seems to be intended here.

⁷ Text with round brackets signifies expansion from abbreviations and ligatures.

⁸ A distich is made up of one hexameter and one pentameter. Each of these is composed of verse-feet, six for the first, five in the latter, dactyls mostly. A dactyl has one first long syllable carrying the weight, followed by two short and light ones. The rhythm goes **daam-da-da**. The short ones may be replaced by one long one. That metre is called a spondee, and goes **daam-daam**. A spondee is not allowed for the last-but-one foot of a hexameter; there a dactyl is obligatory. Its last foot goes either **daam-daam** or – with a short end – **daam-da**.

Stylistic Appreciation

The text is made up of Latin verse. The first two lines a) and b) scan, but only if one reads the abbreviations and ciphers elastically, i.e. sometimes expanded, at other times not. Thus, the verse-pairs 1/2 and 3/4 are true distichs,⁸ provided that in v. 2 *John* be read without the expansion. But the prosody of line c) miscarries lamentably.

The hexameter has a cæsura after the third long syllable, where a word must have its natural end at the same time. In this manner the line is broken up in two sections, called hemistichs.

The pentameter differs from the hexameter in that the last foot before the cæsura comes without its short syllables, is just one long syllable, counts only half a foot therefore, and is followed immediately by another stressed long syllable. The last of its dactyls, too, is only half, as it has just one – long or short – syllable, so all together that makes five feet.



Fig. 4. Detail of the marginal inscription
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

As it stands engraved, taking up the bottom fillet of the margin, it looks like one complete verse, as indeed is normal usage and to be expected in poetic marginal inscriptions, but it scans neither by hexameter- nor by pentameter-rules. The next verse 6 does not scan, either. Only if one presumes that *Anno*, the last word of line c), does not belong to v. 5 but to the following line can the verse be said to scan as a hexameter, provided that the cipher is read as words and certain other indulgences made.⁹ After this verse, one would now expect a pentameter, but then there is only the misbegotten date-line of v. 6, which will not fit prosody. With v. 7, things shuffle back into order, as this verse is again a correct pentameter.

This leaves us confronted with the inescapable fact that there are only seven verse-lines. Distichs, however, are verse-pairs, and therefore lines must come in even numbers. And even if one were to edit the crooked v. 6, and try to force it into shape, there would still be the forbidden pairing of verses of the same kind, together with either the preceding or the following verse, i.e. either two consecutive hexameters or pentameters, and that is a serious mismanagement of a poem of this kind.

The rhyme-system also is quite inconsistent. The first two distichs are each seen to be united

by an end-rhyme, of a meagre sort, it is true, the rhyme consisting of one syllable of declension-ending only. The following two verses 5 and 6 between them have two internal rhymes¹⁰, one cæsura-rhyme¹¹. The leonine rhyme¹² of the last line is not pure. All in all, the poem's rhyme-scheme is haphazard.

The fillet-lines c) and d), as they stand engraved, therefore jar with the smooth run of the metre outside this passage. There must be a reason for such a disruption, especially as there are two causes for dissatisfaction, the loose rhyme coming with the mangled metre in the same fillet-lines. This problem will be looked into later. Nor is the syntactic arrangement in that same section of the text convincing, as vv. 4 and 7 have practically identical structures, beginning both with *Cui deus*, and, moreover, repeating the word *requies*.

The poet fares much better in his choice of words, which is very interesting. There is a cluster of expressions concerning the notion of 'time'. Apart from the evident instance of the date of death, there are several words conveying the idea of 'sojourning'. This means on the one hand a transitory stay or state of being, namely in *residens* (v. 3), *longo tempore* (v. 2), and in *pausat* (v. 1), which means 'rest here (for a while)' and which points at the prospective resurrection.

9 v. 5 has two slight irregularities:

1) *Qui obiit* normally should be read [qu'obiit], with an elision, so as to prevent the two vowels juxtaposing, but in prosodic straits such a hiatus, or clashing of vowels, may be permitted.

2) *die* would be correct pronunciation, but the long second syllable does not fit the prosody, which needs a short one here. If one reads [dje:], in one

long syllable, it passes muster, particularly in a difficult date-line.

10 Internal rhymes are similarities of sound not at the end of a line or hemistich, but within.

11 The cæsura-rhyme links the cæsura-words of two consecutive verses.

12 A leonine rhyme links the end of a verse with the last word of the first hemistich, at the cæsura.

On the other hand, there are words having the sense of ‘abiding’ as a permanent condition in *aeternam* and in the notion of ‘peace’: twice we have *requies* (vv. 4 and 7).

In a way, the contrasting pair *hospes* (v. 3) and *hospitium* (v. 4) also belongs into this semantic field of ‘sojourn’. *Hospes* means ‘the host, someone who entertains his guests’, and *hospitium* is ‘the action of hosting’, but also the ‘house sheltering guests, travellers, a hostel (in the old sense)’. Here also, we have first the aspect of a transitory function, and then that of the permanent fixation of the soul in God’s eternity. The opposition of the terms intends to show Blodwell first as the giver, then as the receiver of hospitality, God now in compensation taking over the part in the priest’s favour that he had played in his life for others.

The idea of ‘time’ is inherent in the recurrent term of *dies* (v. 4), ‘the day’. The normal meaning of the word is used at the end of the text, where the date of Blodwell’s death is recorded. At its first appearance, though, it does not really seem to make sense. But when one realizes that *dies* also means ‘daylight’, this becomes a reflection on Blodwell’s blindness. Furthermore, the word expresses the hope that his soul may see God, now that he is in the spiritual world. These meanings are interwoven with yet another one: *dies* can mean ‘a date for an appointment’, here of course Blodwell’s hoped-for encounter with God. There is even a fifth sense in which the word is used. In a legal context – Blodwell was well versed in both laws – *dies* is ‘the day for appearance in court’, and this now points to the Day of Judgment, the *dies irae, dies illa*, the poet hoping that God may be with Blodwell’s soul in that fearful moment. The word is the notional and the poetic pivot of the poem, concentrating within itself, as it does, both Blodwell’s physical condition and his soul’s destination, in a theological context.

Investigation

The poem contains a number of defects in the arrangement of rhyme and metre, and that calls for an investigation. The most obvious flaw is the prosodic deficiency of vv. 5 and 6. The explanation that will naturally first come to mind is that the poem originally only consisted of the first four verses, including the theologically essential intercessory prayer at the end. The following lines c) and d) then would not be part of the poem at all, but would be seen as having been added later as prose, conveying the necessary information of the day of the priest’s death. The last line incongruously reverts to metre, in a formulaic ending, needlessly repeating the intercessory prayer. That presupposes the brass to have been ready, with all the other texts engraved in the priest’s life-time, the prosaic end inserted into the half-completed fillets after his demise. It would also suggest the author of the latter part of the text to be a different person, incapable of versification, the last verse having been given him by yet a third person. If that is a convincing conjecture, one need not look further afield.

There is one indication, though, for the careful reader to suspect more serious mishandling, because v. 5 would scan almost correctly without the last word of the line, *Anno*, and one wonders why the original poem should have been finished after verse 5 in the middle of the date-information and in defiance of the rules of versification. The reader might therefore suspect that the end of the inscription was somehow mauled by the engraver. It is rewarding to imagine how this came about, and the reader is invited to follow a line of speculation.

Let us assume for argument’s sake that the author had submitted a complete and correctly arranged poetic text to the engraver, and that the whole of the marginal inscription was

engraved shortly after Blodwell's death. We would therefore have to imagine line c) ending with *Aprilis*, and the next verse beginning with *Anno*, where of rights it ought to be. Now the first question is why the engraver added the supernumerary *Anno* to the bottom fillet, thereby breaking the metre. Visibly, without *Anno*, the line as written would not have filled the space. However, if the engraver had written the cipher out in words, instead of putting down the bare figure, that is if he had written *sexto decimo* instead of *xvi*^o, he would have had enough text to fill his line. Therefore, it is more than likely that that is what the author had intended him to do. He had probably submitted the number in words, but perhaps the engraver had been absent-minded for a moment, and so cut *xvi*^o instead. Here is the core of the ensuing chaos, and if we want to find out why and how this could have happened we must allow our imagination to run free, and visualize the scene.

Very soon after finishing v. 5 the engraver must have realized his mistake, because then there was so much empty space staring at him in that bottom line c). He needed something to flesh it out a little more. By now he must have been not a little flustered. When he turned back to the manuscript to look up the next word, his eye fastened upon the word *Anno*, so he filled that in, confident that he would be able to make up for the loss of script in the next fillet by spacing his words from now on a little more amply. And that is what he set out to do. The next word, *domini*, came as a windfall, and the engraver looked up in hope. It is a little unusual to find it spelt out in its entirety in a date-line, inscriptions mostly having an abbreviated form here, namely *Dni*, so that is what the author had probably written.¹³ The engraver therefore had material here for amplifying his script just when

he most needed it, and spelt the word out fully.

He thought he could yet cover up his mistake, as by his reckoning there were three verses still in store for him for his fourth fillet, minus the word *Anno*, so that he would have material to fill the left-hand margin. But then he did not know that something more had gone wrong, gone very wrong, at the same time. This soon afterwards was brought home to him sharply. We know that because the first word after *domini*, and all other subsequently engraved words on the fourth margin, are set much wider apart than are the words on the other three fillets. This shows that, after having cut *Domini*, the engraver must have understood that there were now only two more verses left for him with which to cover the space where three are needed, so that he would have to stretch his remaining text much more than he had foreseen and leave much too long an interval between words, which would most unprofessionally unbalance the marginal text.

He must by now have realized that he had made not only one mistake, but two, and this time a truly monumental one: in his agitation, he had skipped a whole verse of the poem. In this emergency he decided he would go the whole length and pretend there were only seven verses in all, trusting that nobody would notice. In this assumption he was not far wrong, as the defect seems to have escaped the notice of critics so far. But there it is: the poem is one whole verse short. And this eighth verse must be assumed to be missing after v. 5, because it ought to have been a pentameter, separating one hexameter (v. 5, ending *Aprilis*), from the next hexameter of v. 6. If only what the engraver had written at the end of the bottom fillet had really been the first word of this lost

¹³ Forms of *dominus* that come within the main text, as an invocation for example, or as praise, are always spelt out fully, and are not abbreviated.

and unknown verse, instead of *Anno*, the worst might yet have been avoided. But he had written *Anno*. What may have caused him to commit this second mistake is the next question, which invites further speculation.

One explanation might be that, after having written v. 5, which contains the first part of the date of death, the engraver, when next looking at his author's manuscript, had automatically sought the continuation of this time-information, and had followed up his text to fill his line with the first word containing the date of death. That made sense, and the engraver cannot have suspected his error for some little time yet.

There may be an additional reason. Why, and when, does one skip a line? Who has not experienced, when reading, dictating, or copying a text, that they have omitted a whole line because it began with the same group of letters or figures as the next one? One may therefore imagine the missing verse [5x] to have the same line-beginning as v. 6. After inscribing these first few letters and looking back at his text for verification, the engraver would have jumped to the wrong line because it had the same letters at the beginning and, moreover, consisted of the necessary date-word.

It is interesting to conjecture what this lost verse [5x] would have contained. It is wedged in between the two date-verses which form a notional unit; therefore its syntactical shape must have been an interpolated line, an intercalation, something that halts this block of information for a short spell only, but does not disrupt it, and which allows the syntactical flow to continue uninhibited afterwards. A complete and independent phrase is therefore excluded; its syntactical structure must be in concord with, and subservient to, the preceding main clause. Therefore it must be built around a participle or

participles (present or past) linked to the subject.

On these grounds we can make the following suppositions about what the missing verse would have contained and how it may have been shaped:

- 1) The metrical form must be a pentameter.
- 2) The syntactical form must be a participle structure.
- 3) Possibly the beginning of the first word is known. It may have started with 'A...' or 'An(n)...'.
- 4) The last syllable of the verse must end on *-is*, so as to rhyme with *Aprilis*, for the line to be integrated into the general scheme of end-rhymes, which obtains in the first two verse-pairs but is then unreasonably abandoned in the subsequent text.

All in all, there is amazingly much from which to attempt a reconstruction of the missing line. My conjecture fulfils these requirements:

[5x – Annixus sacris, planctus in orbe nimis –]
(Having striven for holy things, and being very much lamented in his world)

Here is how this verse would fit in between vv. 5 and 6:

5 Qui obiit sexto
decimo die mensis Aprilis
[5x – Annixus sacris,
planctus in orbe nimis –]
6 Anno Dom(ini) mill(esi)mo
C C C C L X secundo.

There is now a good amount of consonance within these three lines, with internal, hemistich and end-rhymes, so that order is restored to the hitherto dishevelled system. The poem would thus be complete and correct.¹⁴ So, by dint of analysis and speculation, we may have solved the riddle about Blodwell's unsatisfactory marginal inscription.

14 Apart from the awkward scansion at the end of v. 6.

The Foot Inscription

The foot inscription is of particular interest in that the text is treated as a dialogue. It is incised in the passages where Blodwell's soul speaks, and those parts given to a Second Voice are cut in relief. Hemistichs are marked with mid-line stops, line-ends (of the incised parts) with flourishes. The 'i' is again irregularly dotted. There are only a few abbreviations. This text also is remarkably well engraved, and (with the exception of one letter) is clearly legible. It is on one plate, and was made to fit into the space between the side-shafts, but the measurements did not match, so the workman who placed it there cut away a sliver off the left-hand shaft,

and left an ungainly gap on the right-hand side. This is a highly interesting detail. It would indicate that the inscription-plate had come later, after the brass had already been laid, because otherwise the plate would have fitted more exactly into its position in the brass. This might mean that it was produced by a different hand, or even came from a different workshop. Another indication of the two texts having been cut by different hands is the different shape of the letter 'd', which in the foot-inscription (with one exception only) has a characteristic cadel at the top, whereas the 'd' in the marginal text has a straight end or a different type of cadel. Both scripts are of the same general type, however.

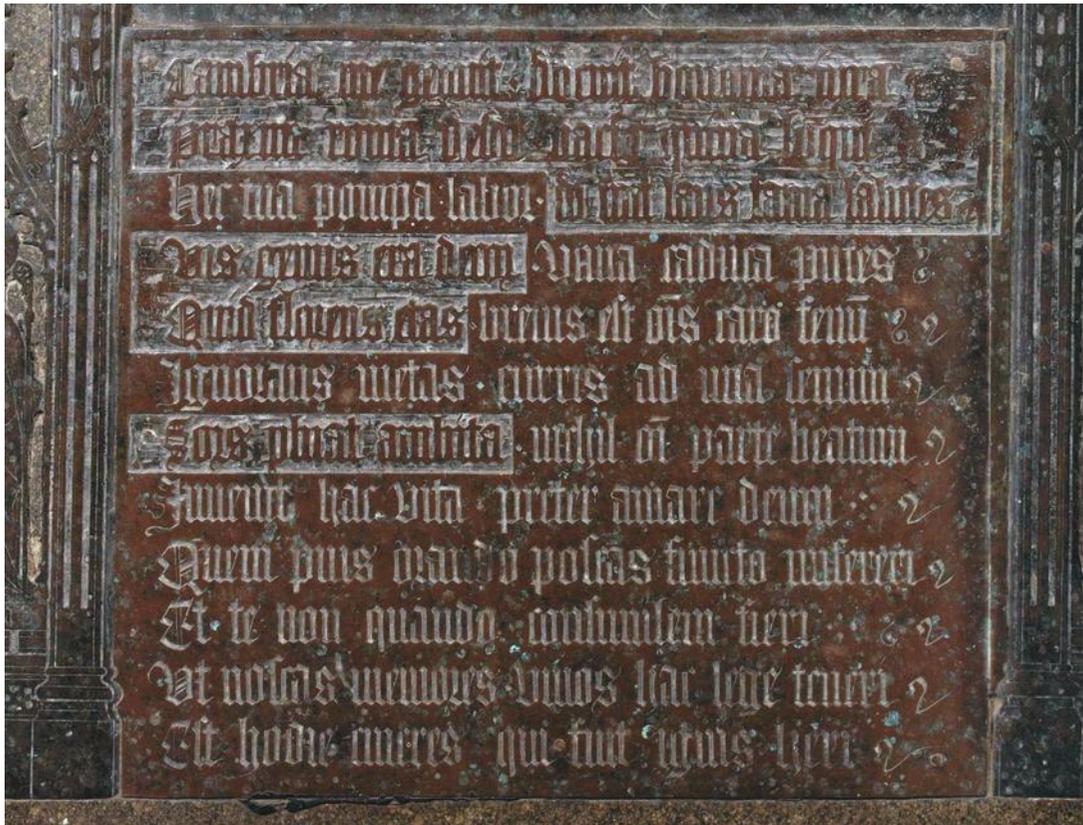


Fig. 5. The foot inscription
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

Transcription (framed text indicates passages in raised letters)

- 1 Cambria me genuit docuit bononia iura
- 2 Praxim roma dedit nacio quina loqui
- 3 Hec tua pompa labor do sint laus fama salutes
- 4 Vis genus era decor vana caduca putes §
- 5 Quid florens etas brevis est o(mn)is caro fenu(m) §
- 6 Ignorans metas curris ad ima senum §
- 7 Sors pluat ambita nichil o(mn)i parte beatum
- 8 Invenit(ur) hac vita preter amare deum §
- 9 Quem pius orando poscas functo misereri §
- 10 Et te non quando consimilem fieri §
- 11 Vt noscas memores viuos hac lege teneri §
- 12 Est hodie cineres qui fuit ignis heri §

Translation (bold text indicates passages in raised letters)

- 1 **Wales gave me birth, Bologna taught me the Laws;**
- 2 **Rome provided the practice, and the competence, to speak five languages, as if I were so many nations in one.**
- 3 This outward show of yours is laborious, unconvincing. **To God may be ascribed a person's esteem, glory, welfare,**
- 4 **Strength, origin, wealth, and honour.** Account all these things as vain and ephemeral!
- 5 **So what does a flourishing life-time mean?** Short-lived is all flesh – it is hay.
- 6 You ignore the destination of old age, and thus career down to your perdition.
- 7 **May perhaps destiny rain down upon a man, and come as a gift, even though he had striven for the very thing?** By no means can blessed happiness in all respects
- 8 Be found in this life except in loving God.
- 9 Him you should beg, in your prayers, as you are a pious person, that he be merciful to the dead man,
- 10 And that you may not at some point in time become like him.
- 11 May you realize, and remember, that the living are held under this one law:
- 12 He is ashes today who was fire yesterday.

Comment

1 *Cambria me genuit.* This is an echo of a famous Latin poem, which Vergil is said to have composed for his own epitaph:

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope. Cecini pasqua, rura, duces.*

‘Mantua gave me birth, the Calabrians then tore me away, and Naples now holds me.

I made poems about pastoral themes, rural subjects, about leaders of armies.’¹⁵

The association of Blodwell's verse with his Vergilian model is most intense. He too begins with his birthplace, using the same construction, the same wording, then saying where he went later. Further similarities are that this is also composed in distichs, and is also an epitaph.

2 *praxim* has a twofold syntactical function. In thought it is linked with *iura*, therefore means ‘Rome provided the practice in Law’, but it also governs *loqui*, and means ‘the practice of speaking’.

15 Vergil died shortly after landing on the Calabrian coast, and was buried in Naples – *Parthenope* is an old word for

Naples. Cf. Donatus, *Vita Vergili*. I am grateful to my Latinist friend H.P. Blecken for this information.

2 *natio quina* In classical poetic Latin, *quini* means ‘five of each’, but ought to go with a plural noun. In the Middle Ages much liberty was taken with the formation of figures. Here the expression probably is a predicative linked to the speaker, meaning ‘I learnt to speak as five nations in one, as a five-fold nation’, and is to underline Blodwell’s faculty of speaking five languages, perhaps even hinting at his being able to speak them like his mother-tongue.

3 *labor* is ‘work, effort, hardship’, but here it would seem to mean ‘something laborious’, which may be interpreted as ‘far-fetched, and therefore unconvincing’.

3 *Do* instead of *Deo*, for prosodic reasons.¹⁶ *Deo sint laus* is literally ‘may a person’s esteem belong to God’, meaning either ‘All earthly glory could be seen as springing from God’, or, as a more decided, positive statement, ‘Let it be acknowledged that all earthly glory stems from God’.

5 *omnis caro fenum* is a quotation from the Bible (I Peter 1,24): *quia omnis caro ut fenum*, ‘since all flesh is like hay’.

6 *senum* is a genitive plural, of *senex*, ‘old man’. I see it here as linked to *metas*, saying ‘the destination-line of old men’. *Ima* means ‘the greatest downfall’, or even ‘the underworld’, i.e. Hell. So the translation ‘the abyss of old men’ is defensible.

7 *ambita* is an interesting, but difficult case. The present translation understands it as a nominative, an attribute to *sors*, meaning that ‘destiny may rain down as a thing striven for’, that is to say ‘it may come freely, like a gift, although, or even when a man had worked for this very event to happen’, meaning that God still held a man’s life in His hands, and that we are not to think that what we have achieved was entirely due to our personal merit, but came down to us from, and was granted us, by God.

16 *Do* instead of *Deo* is evidently in analogy to other forms of the word *deus* that come without the ‘e’ (*di* for *dei*, *dis* for *deis*). The foreshortening is explained by the poet’s desire not to infringe upon the rules of versification, as

But there is a second possible interpretation. It may also be recognized as a neuter accusative, as the direct object of ‘raining, showering’, and that would make: ‘Destiny may perhaps shower down on a man, like a gift, the very things that he had striven for’. Both interpretations of the word, syntactically different though they may be, lead to the same general idea.

7 *Nihil* here means ‘by no means’.

7 *beatum* is from the verb *beare*, ‘render happy’, *beatus* then means ‘rendered happy’, but *beatum* is here to be taken as an abstract noun, meaning ‘happiness’. In the Christian context it is also ‘blessedness’. The translation should contain both meanings.

7 *Nihil omni parte beatum* is a classical quotation taken from Horace, *Carmina* II, 16, 7th stanza, which runs:

Lætus in præsens animus quod ultra est

Oderit curare et amara lento

Temperet risu: nihil est ab omni

Parte beatum.

‘A soul happily turned towards the present may spurn to care much about what lies beyond, and with a slow, long-drawn laughter may temper any bitterness: in no way can perfect happiness be.’

Our poet, then, has adapted the classical model, giving the line of this pagan, hedonistic, materialist, and pessimistic author a deeper, Christian sense.

8 *invenit(ur)* contains the only indistinct lettering in the text, and is a crucial spot for the translation. The ‘*l*’ has at its end a little barb jutting downward from the cross-bar (Fig. 6). It is easily overlooked, but disregarding it would lead to reading *invenit*, which means ‘he finds’, but there is no element in the sentence that would do for a subject – who ‘finds’ is not clear at all. This barb ought therefore to be identified as an abbreviation-mark, which

the correct form would have brought the long end-syllable of the word into a position where a short one would be required.



Fig. 6 Detail of the word 'Invenit(ur)'
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

allows its expansion as the passive verb-ending, so that it can be seen as meaning *invenitur*, 'is to be found'. Now the subject appears as *beatum*, and we can understand 'nothing blessed can be found'. For prosodic reasons, however, it must not be so pronounced, because it would prolong, and thus break, the metre. This is evidently why the author resorted to this stratagem. Without this interpretation, the whole sentence would be doubtful, if not unintelligible.

10 *quando* is possibly *aliquando*, 'at some point in time'.¹⁷ The phrase then could reflect on Blodwell's calamity. The following *ut*-clause is then to be seen as a wishful imperative: 'Oh, may you realize ...'.

11 *memores* is to be seen as a subjunctive verb-form, in a parallel to *noscas*, meaning 'may you remember'.¹⁸

Stylistic Appreciation

This poem is made up of six distichs scanning particularly well, which is quite rare in medieval Latin verse.¹⁹

17 Normally the word drops its prefix *ali-* only after *ni, nisi, ne, num*, but prosodic considerations have prevailed here.

18 The verb *memorare* in medieval Latin – and here – is used in the sense of 'remember'.

The first hexameter has a most interesting internal rhyme, namely one that links not only the first and the last words of the verse, *Cambria / iura* (admittedly a poor rhyme) but also the two words on either side of the cæsura, *genuit / docuit* – quite an exceptional arrangement, which, together with the chiasmic syntax of the two sentences, the verbs facing each other in axial symmetry, gives the beginning of the poem a resounding effect. The next verse has no rhyme, but from now on the distichs are bound together by end-rhymes and also by (different) cæsura-rhymes, sometimes even rich disyllabic rhymes, quite a complex system. Thus vv. 3/4 have *labor / decor* and *salutes / putes*, but additionally the words before those rhyme-words are paired by means of their last syllables: *pompa / era*, and *fama / caduca*. Verses 5/6 also have an astonishingly intricate rhyme-scheme full of effects. They have rich disyllabic rhymes (*etas / metas* for the cæsurae, and *fenum / senum* at the verse-ends) but both have also in front of the rhyme-words a present participle of similar end-sound: *florens / ignorans*. And even the first words of the second hemistichs are coupled by a rhyme: *brevis / curris*. All this gives these lines strong cohesion. While vv. 7/8 follow suit, with their double rhymes, vv. 9/10 have a particularly rich cæsura-rhyme, in that not only the two last syllables rhyme (*orando / quando*) but the two 'o's of *orando* are even repeated by the *non* preceding *quando*. The last distich again has a double rhyme. The poem has most impressive versification.

There is also remarkable imagery. The first image is 'the plant'. It appears in v. 5, with *florens etas*, 'flowering life', and immediately elicits the Second Voice's warning response of the 'dried and reaped grass' in *fenum* (v. 5), the

19 There is only one slight departure from orthodox classical rules of prosody, and not an error, in v. 7, where the final syllable of *ambita* ought not to be a long syllable. But such cæsura-licence was taken liberally by medieval poets. And of course there is *invenitur* (v. 8).

dead plant opposed to the living. Such contrastive pairing of 'falling and dying' is first hinted at in *caduca* (v. 4), which means 'prone to fall', hence 'transitory', such as leaves that fall off the tree in autumn. This is the first instance of the poem's notional structure as antithesis between Life and Death. The second time such opposition occurs is in v. 6. Here, *metas* is contrasted with *ima*. A *meta* is really the goal post in the Roman arena which must be rounded several times and then marks the end of a chariot-race. It means a fixed point, a target, an aim, and calls forth the idea of racing in *curris* – here not to victory, though, but towards the end of life. Movement and life is thus opposed to *ima*, 'the abyss, the bottomless pit, the limitless', that is, death. The rain, in *pluat* (v. 7), must be seen as the fulfiller of hope, the giver of life. This image supports the prevalent system, its counterpart being the dryness of the grass in v. 5, where it symbolizes Death. In the last pentameter a fourth contrast appears. Here, *ignis*, 'the living fire', confronts *cineres* 'the cold, lifeless ashes'.

This system of images sets Life against Death. The notional edifice of the poem is therefore most meaningfully underpinned by a parallel system of poetic language. Such congruity of essence between the message and the linguistic content of a text is a touchstone of great literature.

Another asset of the poem is its style. Wording and syntax are characterized by a striking succinctness, by unmitigated harshness. This is seen most clearly in vv. 3, 4, and 5, where sometimes even the verbs are missing, and there are no adverbs to facilitate the understanding and smooth the grating diction. Through such stylistic compression, a great wealth of thought is compacted into the poem, as instanced particularly in the extremely short phrase *Sors pluat ambita* (v. 7), which needs

extensive interpretation for the sense to be communicated.

The design of this poem as a dialogue is an essential element of its form. The voice of Blodwell's soul tries repeatedly to justify itself, arguing a successful life, and a Second Voice in reply belittles his achievements and warns him against perdition. The quantitative distribution of both antagonists is uneven. Blodwell fills the lines at the beginning, but the Second Voice gains ground inexorably as the poem proceeds, and silences Blodwell's Voice long before the end. This arrangement runs parallel to the poem's antithetical notional structure. To underline this, Blodwell's part is in raised letters, the Second Voice having incised text. The Rudyng foot-inscription at Biggleswade is also in these two techniques, but they are not used to convey the dramaturgically essential change of speakers as at Balsham.

In yet another aspect the two inscriptions differ. The Rudyng text announces in writing that the Second Voice is Death, but in the Blodwell brass there is no such name given to the Second Voice. It is interesting, and worthwhile, to reflect upon the identity of this second speaker. It is not Death, rather the contrary, because it warns against superficiality in life, against Death in Life, and especially in the latter half gives spiritual guidance, in the face of the finiteness of all living things. Sometimes, the Voice sounds like Ecclesiastes crying out '*Vanitas vanitatum! Omnia vanitas!*' (Eccl., 2), and then again like the Apostle Peter, when he warns that 'all flesh is as grass' (*quia omnis caro ut fenum*, I Peter, 1, 24) – realizations that are only too true, and understood by all. With that in mind, one might be led to see in the Second Voice Blodwell himself, the personification of his Conscience, his Better Insight, speaking to his earthbound Human Self.

But on closer scrutiny one wonders. It is true that the Voice addresses Blodwell directly in v. 3, saying *hec tua pompa*, and *putes*, and again *curris* in v. 6. After that, though, the Second Voice generalizes. And when it again uses the second person singular in *Quem ...poscas functo misereri* (v. 9), 'May you implore Him to have mercy on the dead man' it can surely not be understood as speaking to Blodwell, as it is for his very soul that intercession is being sought from passers-by. It follows, then, that the Voice is now addressing the visitor of the tomb, the reader of the text, or quite generally anyone, humanity as a whole, warning us all against a futile, shallow life. After this realization, one instinctively re-reads the text, and finds that, even when the Voice was to all appearances addressing Blodwell directly, its words were already directed at us all. Insensibly, the addressee has changed, and when, in v. 6, it says *Ignorans metas curris ad ima senum*, then it means not only 'Blodwell, thou runst', but also 'you run', in the general sense, speaking directly to us all. And in reality, must we not admit that Blodwell's arguments are our own?

So the whole dialogue between Blodwell and the Voice must be re-considered and seen as addressed to our own persons. And thus we can no longer interpret the Second Voice as Conscience prodding into awareness this long-dead priest, to whom we had initially attributed it. It must be a higher authority, reaching beyond him to all mankind, a Power trying to lift us out of the materialistic blindness in which we live ensconced. It may therefore be that the prayer recommended to us, that we may not 'at some point in time become like him', must be understood as a warning against allowing ourselves to become blinded by success and self-esteem, insensitive to the intrinsic values. Such warnings and counsels aimed at us have surely lost nothing of their pertinence in our present times.

But was our first identification of the Second Voice as Blodwell's Conscience then entirely wrong? Not so. For it is the Spirit that spoke to Blodwell in, and through, his conscience then, as it speaks to us now, strengthening our own minds, and giving us essential guidance in life. How sensitive of the poet, how wise, not to have given the Second Voice a name in the way that the Biggleswade text does, where the Second Speaker is clumsily introduced as *Mors*, 'Death'. There is no such facile labelling here.

In sum, this poem is not only a marvel of Latin versification. It is also impressive in the precision and beauty of its imagery, in its powerful dramatic structure, and memorable in the wisdom of its religious substance. It is without doubt a masterpiece, the work of a great mind and a great poet.

Authorship

Although the authors of both texts are anonymous, as is normal in the Middle Ages, there are some clues as to the identity of the foot-inscription. The poem contains three quotations. Twice classical models are followed, and their pagan substance of thought is adapted to a Christian purpose. The third one is biblical. That shows familiarity with the classics, and theological assurance. Apart from that, there is proof abundant of extraordinary Latin competence, linguistic skill, and intellectual strength. All these characteristics taken together point to an erudite churchman as the author. There is a third indication. The text has none of the unsavoury lauding of character and deeds of the deceased which is so frequently seen on funerary inscriptions in subsequent centuries. The compliments to Blodwell in the first half of the text are quickly thrust aside and are replaced by criticism and by a warning against his example. No mourner would have dared do that on a monument to the deceased. These three facts point to the author being Blodwell himself.

That of course does not hold true of the marginal text, as it contains the date of Blodwell's death, in two lines. Even if one were to imagine that the lines concerning his end had been added by some other person, there are enough stylistic parameters to indicate that it was composed by somebody else. Here, the very first word about the commemorated is *Egregius*, and he is called *decor ecclesie*. It is difficult to imagine a man indulging in self-praise in his own epitaph, and more difficult even to see Blodwell behind these words, especially after what is apparent about his character from the foot-inscription – he was not the type of person to extol his own merits so blandly.

But the foot-inscription does appear to be Blodwell's own creation. Presumably the entire composition of the brass was determined by Blodwell, and the brass commissioned by him before his death, his own poem to appear at the foot. That can be assumed because in the choice

of the saints in the side-shafts and on the orphreys there are many direct links to Blodwell's origin and career that other people, less familiar with these details, would probably not have thought to include in the brass. The likely identification of the author is yet another of the many elements that make the Blodwell monument one of the most extraordinary brasses extant.

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First of all I wish to express my gratitude to my Latinist friend and former colleague Hans Peter Blecken for help when I was in doubt over the Latin text, especially when confronted with the intricacies of prosody. I also wish to thank my friend Kevin Herring, who faithfully provided me with documentation and the materials needed; the authors of *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire*; and Canon Girard for his seminal work on the Blodwell brass and his friendly support of my endeavours.

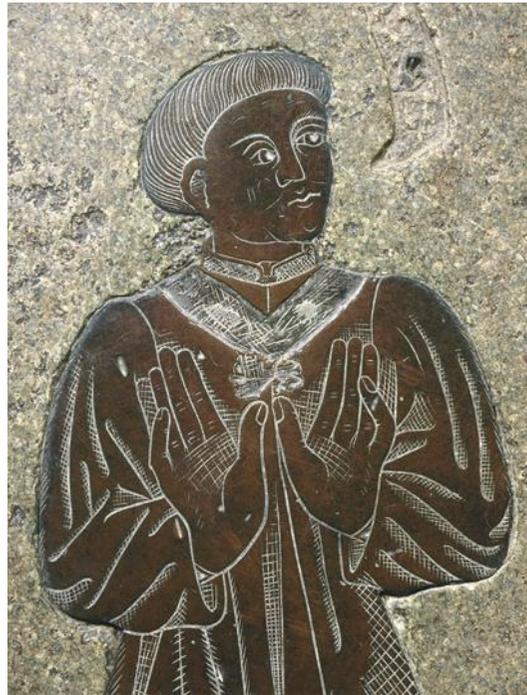
Jankyn Smith of Bury St. Edmunds and his Brass

Margaret Statham and Sally Badham

John Smith (d. 1481), or Jankyn as he is more commonly known, is still commemorated annually in Bury St. Edmunds as one of the major benefactors of the town. Most of what we know of him derives from his will. He established a chantry in St. Mary's church. He also augmented and provided for the incorporation of a college of priests, the College of Jesus. Most important of all, he set up a charity for the payment of town taxes. Jankyn contributed to the extension of St. Mary's. He was buried in the north aisle before the door of the altar of St. John. His brass, which has been moved to a different part of the church, shows Jankyn and his wife kneeling in prayer with scrolls extending upwards. There is no devotional image in the composition, perhaps because it was originally positioned close to the image of St. John that stood at the entrance to the chapel. The brass to Jankyn would thus have shown him praying to the very image of his name saint to whom he would have addressed prayers in his lifetime.

It is to be called and reduced to the perpetuall memory and remembrance off th'enhabitauntes of the town of Bury Seynt Edmund the grett, bountevonus and profitable gifte of that honorable persone, Jhon Smyth, late of Bury Seynt Edmundes Esquier, speciall lover and preferer off the politik and commen well of the same inhabitauntes, whom God assoile, which disceasid in the vigill of Seynt Peter the xxvij day of June the yere of Our Lord God mlcccclxxxi of his londes, tenementes, rentes, servyces and othir commoditees lying in the tounes of Berton, Rougham and the feldys off Bury with other, made and yoven to the Burges and commonalte of the same towne of Bury and to their successours to the relief, supportacyon and aide of al charges and ymposicions taxes and tallages to the seyde Burges and commonalte in tyme to come to be putte to, and specyally for the discharge of a summe off mony wont of custom to be payd to the Abbot at his new creation perpetually in tyme to come.¹

¹ Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds Branch (hereafter SROB), GB500/3/1, f. 26v.



*Fig. 1. Detail of brass to Jankyn Smith (d. 1481)
St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds
(photo: Martin Stuchfield)*

These words were written in or soon after 1484, about three years after the death of John Smith, when most people in Bury St. Edmunds would still remember him as a major figure in the life of the town. They had seen how he had enlarged St. Mary's church to its present size. These people were aware that he had considerably increased the endowment of the College of Jesus, which provided homes for the parochial clergy and the chantry priests of the town, and also provided, at considerable cost, for its formal incorporation. Above all, he had founded a charity, which, because of its inherent flexibility, enabled succeeding generations of townspeople to adapt it to

current needs; today it is mainly an almshouse charity. He was commemorated by a monumental brass in St. Mary's church, but now only the two main figures remain (Figs. 1, 10, 13).

John Smith is still commemorated annually in the town, although more often by his familiar name, Jankyn Smith. We shall therefore use Jankyn here, but Jankyn Smith is not a form used in formal documents. John Smith was a very common combination of Christian and surname in the fifteenth century, just as it is today, and it is often impossible to determine whether someone called John Smith in a formal document, even if this is qualified by the words 'of Bury St. Edmunds', relates to the man known in Bury St. Edmunds as Jankyn Smith.

In pre-Reformation days, civic dignitaries and his feoffees gathered on the anniversary of Jankyn's death for Vespers and Matins of the Dead, followed by a Requiem Mass. There is abundant evidence of some form of commemoration of Jankyn Smith and other benefactors, at most periods; although there is no known evidence from the Commonwealth period, it seems likely that his feoffees, somehow or another, ensured that on some day each year the town's outstanding benefactor was remembered. Since 1622 this has been known as the Commemoration Day, when not only Jankyn Smith but also all the benefactors of the town are remembered.² Nowadays the commemoration service is held close to and sometimes on 28 June, the anniversary of his death.³ It takes the form of a civic procession to

and from St. Mary's church for a Thursday morning service. This is attended by the feoffees, local councillors, representatives of many local charities, residents of the almshouses and others who are now beneficiaries of Jankyn's charity (which has been known since the seventeenth century as the Guildhall Feoffment Trust), and by the children of the Guildhall Feoffment School, who use Jankyn Smith's coat of arms as their school badge.

Jankyn Smith's origins and family

The little we know of Jankyn's family has been pieced together from information given in his will⁴ and from the heraldry which was once to be seen on his brass and in those parts of St. Mary's church which he built. We do not know when Jankyn Smith was born; the name John Smith first appears in the list of aldermen of Bury in 1423-4, although this may be too early for Jankyn Smith the benefactor.⁵ His will shows that his father's name was also John, while his mother was called Hawise. His wife's name, given in his will, was Anne, and the heraldry suggests that her maiden name was Roche; her father could have been the wealthy brazier of that name who gave the first recorded – and very large – bequest of twenty pounds towards rebuilding the nave of St. Mary's church in 1425.⁶

Jankyn and his wife Anne had two children. Their son John was living when his father made his will; after his father's death, he was to have his father's properties in Thorpe Morieux, Felsham, Gedding and Rattlesden. Although no children of John the younger are mentioned in

2 For discussion of the dates on which the Commemoration has been held, see *Accounts of the Feoffees of the Town Lands of Bury St. Edmunds, 1569-1622*, ed. M. Statham, Suffolk Records Soc., 46 (Woodbridge, 2003) (hereafter Statham, *Accounts*), p. lvi.

3 If possible, the service is now held on the Thursday before St. Peter's day, 29 June, which means that from time to time the service is held on the anniversary of Jankyn Smyth's death.

4 SROB IC500/2/2, f. 304, printed by S. Tymms, *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, Camden Society, 49 (London, 1850), pp. 55-73.

5 M.D. Lobel, 'A List of the Aldermen and Bailiffs of Bury St. Edmunds from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* (hereafter *PSIAH*), XXII, pt. 1 (1934), pp. 17-28.

6 SROB IC500/2/1, f. 173. This will does not mention any children.

Jankyn Smith's will, it is clear that he had issue; Jankyn's brass lies beside an incised slab commemorating another John Smith who died in 1652. He was described as being of the Middle Temple, London, and the inscription states that he was the last of the line of Jankyn Smith. If we conclude from this that John Smith the benefactor was known in his family by the name of Jankyn, perhaps this familiar form of John was also used by later generations. Elizabeth Smythe, daughter of Jankyn Smythe, who married Edmund Boldero of Fornham, might possibly have been a granddaughter of Jankyn Smith the benefactor.⁷

John and Anne Smith also had a daughter, Rose. She married Richard Yaxley, a member of a prominent gentry family in Suffolk, who was a Justice of the Peace for the county. Rose, however, died before 1474.⁸ Jankyn provided handsomely for her children. We first encounter Rose and her children in the will of Richard's mother, Joan, widow of John Herberd of Yaxley, made 20 April 1459.⁹ To Rose she left her best gown and her best girdle, and a black heifer. Three of her granddaughters were left pairs of beads – rosaries – Katherine's being of silver, Joan's amber and Anne's jet with silver gauds, while Alice was left six silver spoons. She also left a tenement called Nethergate, in Yaxley, to her granddaughter Katherine, with all the land adjoining. If Katherine died, her sister Joan was to have it or, failing her, the daughters of Richard. (Only three granddaughters were mentioned in Jankyn Smith's will: Dame Margaret Yaxley, who was a nun at Bruisyard, and Alice and Philippa Yaxley were each left 10 marks [*℥6. 13s. 4d.*]). The two

sons of Richard and Rose were each left a mazer (a drinking cup made of maple-wood, often mounted in silver). It is difficult to reconcile the names of the daughters in these two wills. At Michaelmas following his death, John Yaxley, the son and heir of Richard Yaxley, was to enter a property called Redcastle in Pakenham.¹⁰

Jankyn's will is unusual in not mentioning where he lived. Presumably he had a house in Bury St. Edmunds, and he certainly had a number of estates in West Suffolk. A rental of the Sacrist's properties drawn up in 1433 mentions in abuttals 'the great gate of John Smith' in the description of a property in Churchgate Street.¹¹ In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that this gateway may have led to his house. To this day, there is an opening at this point in the street providing access to some of the impressive houses in Hatter Street. Long before Jankyn Smith's time, Hatter Street was known as Heathenmen's Street, the Jewish quarter of the town. There are a number of very substantial houses there, some of them with early features. A century after Jankyn's death, at least one of these houses extended through to Angel Lane. Unlike the will of Jankyn Smith's friend John Baret, which provides so much information about the furnishing of his house, and the rich and beautiful possessions he owned, there are no such details in this will.

Jankyn Smith's social status and involvement in the life of Bury St. Edmunds

If we assume that Jankyn Smith, the benefactor of Bury St. Edmunds, was born in the town,

7 J.J. Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, I (privately printed, Exeter, 1900), p. 194. We are indebted to John Blatchly for this reference.

8 J. Corder, *The Visitation of Suffolk, 1561*, 2 vols., Harleian Soc., New Series, 2-3 (London, 1981-4), II, p. 198, citing a brass inscription in Yaxley church.

9 *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474*, ed. P. Northeast, I, Suffolk Records Soc., 44, (Woodbridge, 2001) (hereafter Northeast, *Wills*), no. 1276, p. 442.

10 Redcastle Farm, a moated site; it is still marked on the Ordnance Survey Map.

11 BL Harley MS 58, of which there is a photostat copy at SROB. Acc. 1055.

throughout his life he would have been used to the close control exercised by the abbey over the town. There was constant tension between abbey and town, although it never erupted as violence during his time. The alderman, although roughly equivalent to the mayor today, was chosen by the townsmen, but subject to approval by the abbot. Both parish churches, St. James's and St. Mary's, had been built within the walls of the abbey precinct, and were only just beginning to expand marginally into the surrounding streets. The Sacrist was parson of both parishes, and appointed chaplains to act as his deputies. By the time the name John Smith is first found as alderman of Bury St. Edmunds, in 1423-24, the rebuilding of the nave of St. Mary's church was about to begin. The townspeople, from both St. Mary's and the neighbouring parish of St. James, gave generously towards this.

Jankyn Smith's social status is difficult to determine precisely. He appears in formal documents as John Smith, esquire, and that he was armigerous is clear from the heraldry we shall consider later. So far, it has not been possible to associate him with any trade or profession. His circle of friends and acquaintances suggest that he was on easy terms with the gentry of Suffolk and other counties. Those who were named as feoffees of the land which he left to provide for the payment of town taxes were resident in the town, able to attend to the minutiae of administration of this property. It seems likely that all of them were members of the guild of the Purification of Our Lady, commonly known as Candlemas guild. Even so, at least one of the first feoffees was of

more than local importance. Simon Clerk, master mason at St. Edmund's Abbey, had commissions from the king for work on such buildings as Eton College and King's College Chapel, Cambridge.¹² Another was Clement Drury, a member of a prominent Suffolk gentry family.

However, the clearest indication that Jankyn Smith moved among people of some status, not only in Suffolk but elsewhere, is to be found in the witness list of the foundation deed of his charity for paying town taxes, executed on 10 September 1470. When he required witnesses to important documents Jankyn habitually turned to representatives of all the major Suffolk families, including Clopton, Cocket, Drury, Gedding and Heigham. In the witness list for the foundation deed, however, some additional names appear. The list begins with John Howard, Lord Howard, who eventually became the first Howard Duke of Norfolk.¹³ He lived at Stoke-by-Nayland on the Suffolk/Essex border, and was a staunch supporter of the Yorkist cause. Other parliamentarians are also included. Of these, Sir William Alington was also a Yorkist, whereas Robert Harleston was a Lancastrian. John Broughton of Denston is known to have had connections with John Howard. The others were Sir Robert Chamberlain and Thomas Skargill. Further research will no doubt reveal more about their political affiliations and other connections.¹⁴

When he made his will, Jankyn Smith named as supervisors the prior of the abbey of St. Edmund, Richard Yaxley, who was

12 For Simon Clerk see J. Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects: a Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1984), pp.55-61.

13 A. Crawford, 'John Howard', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13921>, accessed 25 January 2012].

14 All have biographies in J. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509* (London, 1936). For John Howard see also *ODNB*. The History of Parliament Trust has unpublished articles on John Howard and Thomas Skargill by L.S. Clark. We are most grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing access to these articles in draft.

Jankyn Smith's son-in-law, and Clement Clerk, an officer of the Court of Chancery and son of the master mason, Simon Clerk. Clement Clerk ended his career as Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.¹⁵ The executors were Sir Thomas Ampe, a priest in the town, Adam Newhawe and Ralph Duke. Adam Newhawe held an office in the household of the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds,¹⁶ and eventually left land to augment Jankyn Smith's bequest for the payment of town taxes, while Ralph Duke was a vintner – he was also the brother of Margaret, wife of Clement Drury; his name is often found as an executor in Bury wills of this period.¹⁷

A few instances of Jankyn acting as witness to documents, or as executor of wills, have been found. In 1442 he witnessed the will of Alice Odeham, second wife of John Odeham, draper, of Bury St. Edmunds, which empowered John Odeham to execute the will of Alice's late husband, John Testwode, a clerk of the king's chapel in the royal household.¹⁸ James Turnour of Drinkstone appointed Jankyn as supervisor of his will, made and proved in 1448. Here Jankyn was described as burgess (burgeys).¹⁹ John Hyll of Little Saxham made a nuncupative will on 30 January 1455/6 in which Jankyn was named as supervisor.²⁰ The John Smyth of Bury who was appointed by the Archdeacon's court as supervisor of the will of Ralph Trappett of Hepworth, proved 7 February 1463/4 must

surely be Jankyn Smyth, in view of his manor there.²¹ Further, it seems certain that the John Smith whose name is inscribed on the exterior of the of the south clerestory of Long Melford church must be the Bury benefactor, here associated with John Clopton of Melford and William Qwaytis, as executors of Roger Moryell.²² These names are also to be found in the will of Jankyn's friend, John Baret of Bury St. Edmunds.²³

Whatever activities Jankyn Smith may have followed in London or elsewhere, there is no doubt of his active role in the administration of Bury St. Edmunds. He held the office of alderman on a number of occasions.²⁴ The duties of the alderman were both judicial and financial, especially in connection with the assessment and collection of both local and national taxes. As we shall see, these duties influenced Smith when he came to establish a charity to help his fellow townsmen. He wielded great power in the town, as is shown by an incident mentioned by Mrs. Lobel. William Aleyn, who was captain of the troops from Bury who fought at Towton (1461) and elsewhere, was detained in the king's service for so long that he was owed £30 for unpaid wages. On his return to the town, Jankyn Smith, as alderman, refused to pay all that was owing to him, and redress could not be obtained because of Smith's influence in the

15 J. Harvey, *Architects*, p. 60.

16 W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 8 vols. (London, 1817-30), III, p.130, no. 86.

17 SROB IC500/2/4, f. 36, will of Margaret, wife of Clement Drury.

18 SROB IC500/2/2, f. 37v.

19 Northeast, *Wills*, no. 439, p. 167.

20 Northeast, *Wills*, no. 1123, p. 387.

21 P. Northeast and H. Falvey, *Wills from the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474: wills from the Register 'Baldwyne'; Part II, 1461-1474*, Suffolk Records Soc., 53 (Woodbridge, 2010), lxix, n.174 and no. 68, p.37.

22 K. Woods, 'The Pre-Reformation Altarpiece of Long Melford Church', *Antiquaries Jnl*, LXXXII (2002)

suggests that the altar piece these executors commissioned could well be that which is now in the chapel of Queens' College, Cambridge.

23 Tymms, *Wills*, pp. 15-44.

24 See Lobel, 'Aldermen', pp. 26-27 for 1423-4, 1443-5, 1455-6, 1462-3, 1463-4. For 1443-4 see *Cal. Pat. R. Hen. VI*, IV, p. 199, 26 Mar. 1443. It is almost certain that Smyth was also chosen to be Alderman by the townsmen, but refused confirmation by the abbot in 1478, for which see N.M. Trenholme, 'The English Monastic Borough', *The University of Missouri Studies*, II, no. 3 (1927), p. 103. The list of aldermen at this period has gaps, which may hide other years during which he held this office.

borough courts.²⁵ This incident might give support to other indications of Jankyn's allegiance to the house of York. During the abbacy of William Curteys (1429-1446) the abbey of St. Edmund enjoyed close relations with Henry VI. If the abbey retained its allegiance to the house of Lancaster, the Bury troops probably fought at Towton on their side; Jankyn's treatment of Aleyn might have been motivated by his support of the Yorkist cause.

The year 1470 seems to have been a milestone in Jankyn Smith's life. His enlargement of the chancel of St. Mary's was completed, and two documents, each of them of potentially enormous importance to the town, were sealed on the same day, 10 September, in that year. This cannot have been a coincidence. We cannot be certain of the order in which they were executed, but it seems more likely that the revised customs of the town was a *sine qua non* for the sealing of the second, the foundation deed of the charity now known as the Guildhall Feoffment Trust. The Elizabethans called the first of these documents 'the charter', and during the short time that it seems to have been in force, it brought the townsmen of Bury as close to having a formal governing body for the town as was possible as long as the abbot and convent continued to block all moves to secure formal incorporation from the Crown.²⁶ Among other things, it set up a body of burgesses, with whom the alderman was to direct the affairs of the town. It was to this body that Jankyn Smith wished to entrust the administration of the land he left to provide a fund for the payment of town taxes. Some members of his circle even styled themselves 'burgess' when making their wills.²⁷ However, it looks as though doubts



Fig. 2. Portrait of Jankyn Smith painted in 1616, Guildhall, Bury St. Edmunds (© Guildhall Feoffment Trust)

about the lasting qualities of this agreement were already prevalent by 1472.

It seems possible that Jankyn Smith may have had his portrait painted during his lifetime. In 1616 the feoffees of the town lands paid Mr. Fenn £3. 6s. 8d. for portraits of Jankyn Smith and another 'worthy benefactor'.²⁸ This painting still hangs in the Guildhall to this day (Fig. 2). Independent portraits which portray members of non-elite groups such as civic dignitaries became increasingly popular in the early modern period.²⁹ These differ sharply

25 M.D. Lobel, *The Borough of Bury St. Edmunds: a Study in the Government and Development of a Monastic Town*, (Oxford, 1935), p.88.

26 This document was copied, perhaps by Sir James Burrough himself, in his *Collectanea Buriensia*, SROB FL541/13/4.

27 Andrew Skarbot, 1474, IC500/2/2 f. 189; Clement Drury, 1475, IC500/2/2 f. 207 and, much later, Adam Newhawe, 1496, IC500/2/4, f. 49v, for example.

28 Statham, *Accounts*, p.239.

29 R. Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).

from the more formal and 'polite' conventions of the privileged patrons, being generally lacking in style and sophistication. Although the hair and beard are appropriate for a seventeenth-century date, Smith is shown in dress more appropriate to a fifteenth-century gentleman than one of the seventeenth century, hence it is possible that the Smith family had a portrait from which that in the Guildhall was copied, although the possibility that Fenn deliberately showed Jankyn in antiquated dress cannot be ruled out. Although royal portraits survive from the fifteenth century there is little evidence of portraits of men of Jankyn's relatively lowly status in England at this date. One notable exception is the portrait of Edward Grimston, a minor diplomat, painted in 1446 by Petrus Christus, Bruges's leading painter from 1444.³⁰ Grimston is known to have travelled to the Low Countries in 1446 to negotiate for Henry VI, which explains his familiarity with local artists and his decision to commission his own portrait. Given the location of Bury St. Edmunds, it is not impossible that Jankyn Smith travelled abroad and also decided to have his portrait painted. It is even worth considering the possibility that Smith could have found an accomplished portrait painter in his own town. Robert Pygot, a Bury St. Edmunds painter, was employed at Ely Cathedral in 1455. He was almost certainly the artist of the St. Etheldreda panels in the Society of Antiquaries of London and would have been capable of producing a portrait. John Baret also referred to a picture by Pygot in his will. Many contemporary Netherlandish painters, including Jan van Eyck, Petrus Christus and Rogier van der Weyden produced both religious scenes

and portraits.³¹ As Nicholas Rogers has demonstrated, with especial reference to the presentation copy of Lydgate's *Lives of SS. Edmund and Fremund*, made for Henry VI following his visit to Bury in 1433-34 (BL Harley MS 2278), Bury artists were evidently familiar with Netherlandish realism.³² It is thus entirely possible that Bury painters could, like their Flemish contemporaries, have produced accurate delineations of individuals and that Jankyn Smith or his family might have commissioned a local artist to produce his portrait.

Jankyn Smith's testamentary dispositions

For a man of Jankyn Smith's stature, there are few monetary bequests in his will. These amounted to nearly £60 in legacies, which were expressed in exact sums. There was the usual bequest to the high altar of the church, in this case the relatively large sum of £1, and the same sum to the sacrist of St. Edmund's Abbey. A number provide evidence of a sincere piety. Jankyn gave £1 to each of a number of religious houses: to the friars of Sudbury and Clare, and to the nuns of Redingfield, Thetford, Bruisyard, Soham and Ickleton.³³ The canons of Ixworth were left £2 to pray for him, and a further £2 for repairing the priory. The nuns of Campsea Ashe were also left £2. However, the friars of Babwell, just north of the boundary of Bury St. Edmunds, were left the large sum of £14 – the friars of Babwell were very popular with Bury testators at this period.³⁴ The parish priest of St. Mary's was left 6s. 8d. if he should be Master William Mathue, or 3s. 4d. if it should be anyone else. The St. Mary priest of

30 R. Marks and P. Williamson, *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), p. 296, pl. 23.

31 We are grateful to Sophie Oosterwijk for advice on early portraiture and Low Countries painters.

32 N. Rogers, 'The Bury artists of Harley 2278 and the Origins of Topographical Awareness in English Art', in *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture and Economy*, ed.

A. Gransden, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 20 (Leeds, 1998), pp. 219-27.

33 Thetford was then partly in Suffolk; Soham and Ickleton are in Cambridgeshire.

34 After the dissolution, Babwell Friary came to be known as Fornham Priory. The Priory Hotel now occupies the site.

St. Mary's was to have 6s. 8d. if he attended Smith's *dirige*, or 3s. 4d. if he did not. In addition, allowance must be made for the payment of 6s. 8d. to every monk in the abbey of St. Edmund who was a priest and 3s. 4d. to those who were not priests. The sum of 1s. 8d. left to each priest in the college must also be allowed for. Jankyn would have expected prayers for his soul in return for these monetary gifts. There are also bequests to friends. Master Henry Hardman, whom we shall encounter again later, was left 3s. 4d., and Ralph Duke, one of his executors, was left 6s. 8d. His servant, Elizabeth Theloth, was probably well provided for with a legacy of £3 6s. 8d.

The only precious object mentioned in Jankyn Smith's will was his best standing cup of silver and gilt, which he left to the prior of the abbey of St. Edmund and his successors for ever. The value of the land mentioned in this will, however, must have been very considerable. Until Jankyn Smith's death, the feoffees of both his manor of Swifts, and also of the land given for payment of town taxes, were required to pay him ten marks each year. As we shall see, Jankyn Smith commissioned a considerable building campaign to enlarge the chancel of St. Mary's church. Only a rich man could have done this. Within a few months of his death, his executors were able to find over seventy pounds to pay for the licence to incorporate the College of Jesus.³⁵

Jankyn Smith's chantries in St. Mary's

Inevitably, Jankyn Smith was careful to provide lavishly for the health of his soul after his death. In addition to the provisions highlighted above, annexed to his will there are three deeds – feoffments – which conveyed land to fund these arrangements, which had been made before he

had made his will, and in one instance was altered by the will.

First he left his manor of Bretts in Hepworth, a village about twelve and a half miles north-east of Bury St. Edmunds, to provide for his chantry priest.³⁶ The manor of Bretts in Hepworth also comprised land in the Suffolk villages of Barningham, Stanton, Ixworth, Bardwell, Wattisfield, Thelnetham and Coney Weston. There was to be a priest to say Mass on some days in the chapel of Our Lady beside the chancel, and on other days at the altar of St. John, for Jankyn Smith himself, his wife, Anne, his father, also called John Smith, his mother Hawise, and Rose, his daughter. The priest was to have ten marks [£6. 13s. 4d.] *per annum* for his wages, and any surplus when that had been paid was to be used to keep the obits of those whose souls were to be prayed for. The prior of the guild of St. Nicholas, which met in the north chancel chapel, was also to have two shillings a year from the profits of Bretts. Any residue, after repairs and other necessary outgoings had been paid, together with the revenue from a piece of enclosed meadow at the Turret³⁷ in Bury St. Edmunds, which had been assigned for the repair of the new aisles, was to be distributed to the poor, either at the obit or on the day after.

The necessary administrative arrangements for appointing new feoffees, finding new priests, leasing the property with which the chantry was endowed, and for drawing up and auditing the accounts were set out. One part of the tripartite document was to be kept by the chantry priest, the other by the prior of St. Edmund's Abbey. As long as Jankyn's executors were alive, they could vary these arrangements 'as they will

³⁵ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1476-1485, p. 259.

³⁶ See Tymms, *Wills*, pp. 61-4. The late Miss Joan Corder, citing D.E. Davy, states that Jankyn himself used the arms of Brett of Hepworth (J. Corder,

A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms, Suffolk Records Soc., 7. (Ipswich, 1965)). Perhaps there was a family connection. ³⁷ A house in Westgate Street called Turret Close still marks this site.

answere before God'. The probate register copy of this document is not dated, or witnessed, but must pre-date his will made in December 1480, when a variation was made. Whereas the prior of St. Edmund's Abbey had been required to appoint each new chantry priest, Jankyn Smith now provided that, as soon as the College of Jesus had been incorporated by the king, the master of the College, the priest singing at St. Mary altar and the chaplain of the guild of the Holy Name of Jesus were to appoint the priest. Moreover, once the College had been incorporated, the feoffees of Bretts were to give the College a good title to this property. The College was thus to control the provision of all the intercessory Masses specified for the health of the souls of Jankyn Smith and his family. It is apparent that Jankyn's faith in the abbey of St. Edmund to ensure his wishes were carried out had diminished, and that he was anxious to transfer the obligation to an institution which he was very insistent should be incorporated by the king.

Jankyn Smith and the College of Jesus

Jankyn also augmented and provided for the incorporation of a college of priests that was already well established in Bury St. Edmunds. A feoffment, dated 18 December 1480, granted Jankyn Smith's manor of Swifts in Preston, south of Bury St. Edmunds and about two miles from Lavenham, to the College.³⁸ Outliers of this manor were in the parishes of Kettlebaston, Brent Eleigh, Monks Eleigh, Brettenham, Thorpe Morieux and Cockfield. No witnesses are given in the text as printed, but Jankyn sealed it with his own seal and signed it with his own hand. However, because his own seal might not be known to everyone, he had asked the sacrist of St. Edmund's Abbey, before whom the will would be proved, to add his seal as well. This set out his intention, never to be revoked, that the master of the newly built college of priests in Bury St. Edmunds was to receive all

the profits from this manor, paying the testator ten marks a year during his lifetime, while the residue was to be used to build and repair the college. After Smith's death, all the profits were to be taken by the Master of the College, one part to provide a perpetual chaplain to say and sing divine service at the altar of our most blessed Lady, St. Mary, in St. Mary's church, for Jankyn Smith, Anne his wife, and their children. The other half was to be devoted to the building and maintenance of the College. The College was to be incorporated by licence from the king as soon as possible after his death.

On 5 November 1481, Henry Hardman, clerk, Thomas Ampe, clerk, Richard Yaxley, William Thweytes, Clement Clerk, Adam Newhawe and Ralph Duke were licensed to found a chantry or perpetual guild of brothers and sisters to celebrate divine service daily in Bury St. Edmunds, praying for the good estate of the King Edward IV and Queen Elizabeth, their sons Edward Prince of Wales and Richard Duke of York, and their other children, and the founders, and for their souls after death, and for the souls of Master William Coote, clerk, John Smith, esquire, late of Bury St. Edmunds, and Anne his wife, and for their ancestors and benefactors. There was to be a warden and priests of this chantry, which was to be dedicated to 'the most sweet name of Jesus'. The warden and priests could hold land to the annual value of twenty pounds for their sustenance and other works of piety. There is a note that the fee for this was £71. 11s. 0d.; it was well known that the costs of incorporating a chantry were very considerable.³⁹ Robert Reyce, who lived in Preston, copied in one version of his *Breviary of Suffolk*, which is now at the Ipswich Record Office, the deed by which Cicely, mother of King Edward IV, late wife of Richard, 'rightful king of England',⁴⁰ Duchess of

38 Tymms, *Wills*, pp. 64-8.

39 *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1476-1485, p. 259.

40 'de iure Regis Anglie'.

York, out of her sincere devotion to the Holy and Undivided Trinity and also to the Most Sweet Name of Jesus, confirmed her assent to the alienation of this manor in perpetuity. The deed is dated 20 June 1482.⁴¹

The Jesus Mass was already well established in Bury St. Edmunds by this date and, because the north chancel chapel of St. Mary's was known as Jesus aisle, it seems likely that it may have been especially favoured by Jankyn Smith.⁴² There is a will reference to the Mass of the Name of Jesus in St. Mary's in 1477,⁴³ and in the following year there was a reference to the guild of the High Name of Jesus in St. Mary's.⁴⁴ There was also an altar dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus in St. James's church, to which Edward Andrew left money for repairing lights and other necessary things in 1492.⁴⁵

The College of Jesus gave its name to College Street in which it stood; it had originally been called Barnwell Street, and the two names seem to have been used indiscriminately for quite a long while. No part of the College is standing, and its site is not known exactly, despite careful archaeological investigation in recent years whenever development has been taking place in the area. The former William Barnaby almshouses, which were rebuilt in the nineteenth century and have more recently been converted into 'town houses', formed part of the College.⁴⁶ A seventeenth century gabled building, opposite the former almshouses, was

long considered to have stood on the site of the College, but it was demolished long before buildings were recorded and, if necessary, their sites excavated, as they would be today. The deed by which Barnaby conveyed the almshouses to the feoffees of the town lands, in 1570, shows that part of the College site was to the south of the almshouses.⁴⁷

Jankyn Smith's charity for paying town taxes

The final feoffment annexed to Jankyn Smith's will recites the grant of land mentioned above, and another of land in Rougham made in 1473, which set up a charity for the payment of town taxes.⁴⁸ It is in Latin, whereas the rest of his will is in English. The deed relating to the major part of the land concerned, that is, in the fields of Bury St. Edmunds itself, Great Barton, Fornham St. Martin, and Nowton was executed on 10 August 1470.⁴⁹ It was this document which had the outstanding witness list headed by John Howard and containing the names of many important people in Suffolk and elsewhere in the east of England.

Additional land in Rougham was added on 20 July 1473. In this case the witness list included Robert [Ixworth], Abbot of St. Edmund's, John the Prior and John the Sacrist, as well as a number of Suffolk notables. It is worth noting that those who followed Jankyn Smith and gave land with which to endow charities for the benefit of Bury St. Edmunds before the Reformation always

41 Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, HD474/4237.

42 For the growing popularity of the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus, and feast which developed from it, see R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in later Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 64-83.

43 SROB IC500/2/2 f. 232, will of John Ayleward.

44 SROB IC500/2/2 f. 259v., will of Robert Crippling.

45 SROB IC500/2/4, f. 7, will of Edward Andrew.

46 In a rental of 1587, SROB H1/1/59, these almshouses were called the Marygold, the Boradge Flower, the Flower de Luce, the Rose, the Woodebyn or Suckelin. There is no other instance of almshouses in the town

having such names, but it is not known whether they were given to them in the fifteenth century or later.

47 SROB H1/6/1, John Woodward's Register, p. 181, by which the almshouses were conveyed to Lord Keeper Bacon and other feoffees of the town lands, 22 August 1570.

48 Tymms, *Wills*, pp. 68-73.

49 The original has not survived in the archive of the Guildhall Feoffment Trust, but there is a copy in the very reliable register of evidences compiled by John Woodward in the 1650s, SROB H1/6/1, pp. 13-16.

had the abbot or another major obedientiary of the abbey as witness. This, no doubt, signalled the approval by the abbey of the arrangements that were set out. Jankyn Smith was adamant that this part of his will was never to be revoked.⁵⁰

It is John Smith's bequest for the payment of town taxes on which his *post mortem* fame is based. When he endowed this charity, he had in mind especially a tax imposed on the people of Bury St. Edmunds by the abbey of St. Edmund; they had to pay one hundred marks [£66 13s. 4d.] to each new abbot on his appointment, an imposition often referred to as 'cope silver'. A bidding prayer, which was used at his obit before the Reformation says that 'The which John a fore rehersyd to this toun hath be full kind/ CCC hundred marces to this toun hath payd. No penny on payd behynde'.⁵¹ It surely means that in his own lifetime Jankyn Smith had himself on three occasions paid the cope silver on behalf of his fellow townsmen, probably when appointments were made in 1469, 1475 and 1479. However, the income from John's gift could be used to pay any taxes, national or local, imposed on the townsmen; this gave the gift great versatility and ensured that it was not confiscated as superstitious at the dissolution of the guilds.

Jankyn Smith intended that the alderman and burgesses as set up under the town customs of 1470 should administer this gift. However, Candlemas guild, the most influential and exclusive guild in medieval Bury St. Edmunds,⁵² altered its statutes in 1472 to enable it to

administer the charities that Jankyn Smith and Margaret Odeham had already set up by Candlemas 1472, should the alderman and burgesses fail. In the early days, the abbey had granted a few rights to the townsmen, which gave them some say in their affairs. One of these was the gild merchant, which regulated the activities of Bury merchants as they traded in this country or abroad. In many towns these bodies developed into formally chartered town corporations. However, the townsmen had lost the right to hold a gild merchant in litigation which followed their uprising against the abbey in 1327. Mrs. Lobel very plausibly suggested that the guild of the Purification of Our Lady in St. James's church, known as Candlemas guild, was established to provide the townsmen with an organization, ostensibly religious, under cover of which they could discuss matters of common concern.

The anger at the level of town taxes had resulted in a dispute of 1478-9 between the townsmen and the abbey, which was heard in the court of Star Chamber. There were various matters at issue, of which only two need concern us here; first, it was claimed that John Smith's election as alderman by the townsmen in that year had not been confirmed by the abbot, and that there was no good reason for this, and secondly, that the cope silver was an insupportable imposition, and ought to be abolished.⁵³ It was a matter of some concern at this time, as a series of new abbots had been appointed within a relatively short space of time.⁵⁴ As ever, the townsmen lost their case when confronted with the might of the abbey of St. Edmund.⁵⁵ At sometime

50 Margaret Odeham, who must have made a charitable gift before 1472, made substantial alterations to the terms of her bequest more than once before her death in 1492.

51 SROB H/1/2/1, a Benefactors' Book.

52 Candlemas guild had only 32 members (although this cannot have included the sisters of the guild who were presumably the wives and widows of the members).

There are instances of *douceurs* being offered in the hope that a relative might in future become a brother.

53 Trenholme, 'English Monastic Boroughs', p. 98.

54 William Babyngton, 1446-1453; John Boon, 1453-1459; Robert of Ixworth, 1469-1474; Richard of Hengham, 1475-1479; and Thomas Ratliden, 1470-1479.

55 The abbot's reply to the townsmen's complaint is printed in Lobel, *Borough*, pp. 182-5.

after 1478, but before Margaret Odeham made her will in 1492, Candlemas guild took the place of the alderman and burgesses, as they were set up in the customs of the town agreed in 1470. It seems likely that all the feoffees named in the deed of 1470 would have been members of Candlemas guild, and the change from one body to the other would have made little practical difference.

Others soon endowed charities to help the less fortunate in the town, adding to the land given by Jankyn Smith. The Candlemas guild is not mentioned in the chantry certificates of 1546, but it survived, disguised by other names, after the dissolution of the chantries. In addition to administering Smith's and other charities, in the years between the dissolution of the abbey in 1539 and the belated incorporation of Bury St. Edmunds in 1606, the guild played a major part in the administration of the town.⁵⁶ In the seventeenth century, the group of charities, of which Jankyn Smith's was the earliest, came to be known as the Guildhall Feoffment. The Guildhall had been built as the home of the guild merchant in the thirteenth century, and, after its suppression, subsequently became the home of Candlemas guild (Fig. 3).⁵⁷ As in many towns, the principal Guildhall was concealed at the dissolution of the chantries, and the feoffees of the town lands, as they were then known, bought it from the Crown in 1569, after it had been discovered as concealed land; the manor of Bretts in Hepworth with which Jankyn Smith's chantry in St. Mary's was endowed was also bought by the feoffees at this time.⁵⁸

The Guildhall porch was remodelled soon after Jankyn Smith's death to provide a safe place –



Fig. 3. John Carter's drawing of the Guildhall,
Bury St. Edmunds, 1786

(© The British Library Board, Add. MS. 8986, f. 78)

in its upper room – in which to keep the money arising from his bequest. On stylistic grounds, this work seems to have been designed by John Wastell, Simon Clerk's successor at the abbey, who became one of Jankyn's feoffees in 1478.⁵⁹ Early in the twentieth century the following lines could still be read above the wall safe there:

⁵⁶ For a brief account of these activities, see the Introduction to Statham, *Accounts*.

⁵⁷ Lobel, *Borough*, pp 147-50.

⁵⁸ SROB H1/6/1, John Woodward's Register of Evidences, pp. 114-22.

⁵⁹ Wastell's work includes Bell Harry tower at Canterbury cathedral, the later work at King's College, Cambridge, and the setting out of the nave of St. James's church, Bury St. Edmunds, now St. Edmundsbury Cathedral. We are indebted to Tony Redman about Wastell's work at the Guildhall.

And in this chest [*words illegible*] [*words illegible*] blyssynges they may not mysse/ This fulfilling his Wyll as his wrytyng is/ And they that wyll the contrary do, Shall have the blyssing that longeth therto.⁶⁰

The feoffees still own the Guildhall and assemble there for a reception after the annual Commemoration of Benefactors each year. Surrounded by portraits of benefactors, some of them, including Jankyn Smith's portrait, bought by their predecessors in 1616, the Mayor proposes a toast to the memory of Jankyn Smith. Benefactors continue to add to its endowment and today the Guildhall Feoffment is mainly an almshouse charity providing homes for forty elderly people.

Jankyn Smith's involvement in enlarging St. Mary's church.

Brief reference has already been made to Jankyn Smith's new aisles in St. Mary's church (Figs. 4-7), in one of which his monumental brass remains; his work here thus concerns us in considering his brass. The nave of St. Mary's had been rebuilt between about 1423 and 1440, leaving a large church with a relatively small, early-fourteenth-century chancel, which has a beautiful, highly decorated ceiling and frieze.⁶¹ Jankyn Smith's addition to the church consisted of extending the nave aisles eastward to the end of the earlier chancel, and also extending the chancel eastwards to form a new sacrarium or sanctuary.

The abbey of St. Edmund, burdened with its own building programme, frequently neglected the chancels of those churches they



Fig. 4. Exterior of St. Mary's church, Bury St. Edmunds, from the north-east (photo.: R.D. Carr)

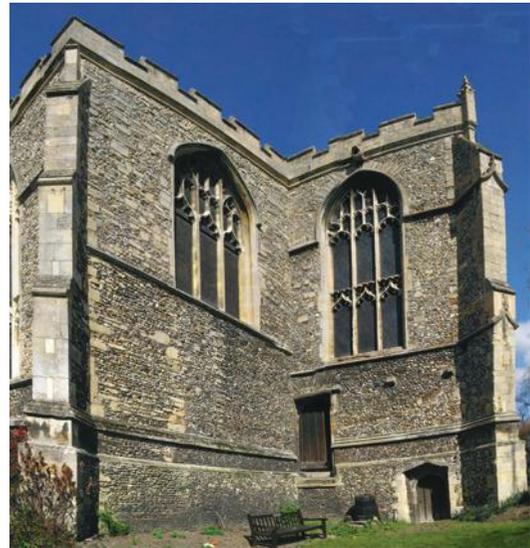


Fig. 5. Exterior of the south side of the east end of St. Mary's from Honey Hill, Bury St. Edmunds. Note the door to the undercroft of the sanctuary and a door now well above ground level which must once have lead to the vestry (photo.: R.D. Carr)

had appropriated, so it was left to wealthy individuals to extend them, as Jankyn Smith did at St. Mary's.⁶² The north chancel chapel

displayed sable membered gules – as they appear today, may one day help to refine the dating of this feature.

60 Found in a newspaper cutting on which the date 14 July 1907 has been written in ink. Another version of the lines is to be found reprinted from the *Bury and Norwich Post 1888-91* in *Memorials of the Past*. This has the words '[space] wyll hath mad' before the lines given here. The coat of arms in the spandrels of the door and on the ceiling bosses – *Or a chevron gules between three eagles*

61 S. Tymms, *An Architectural and Historical Account of the Church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmund's* (Bury St. Edmund's, 1854), p. 19.

62 We are most grateful to Peter Ledger, with whom M.S. discussed this point.



Fig. 6. *St. Mary's church, Bury St. Edmunds, south chancel chapel, second half of the nineteenth century*
(© Bury St. Edmunds Past and Present Society)

was built first, being mentioned in the will of Thomas Falk, plumber, in 1457.⁶³ Two guilds met in the chapel that was thus formed. One was the guild of St. Nicholas, whose priest was to collate Jankyn's chantry priests until the College of Jesus had been incorporated. Some of the St. Nicholas tokens, which may be seen in Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, the British Museum and elsewhere, were found during the restoration of the chancel chapels. This might suggest that they had some connection with the guild

63 Tymms, *St. Mary*, p. 59.

64 Tymms, *St. Mary*, pp. 62-7. See also S.E. Rigold, 'The St. Nicholas or 'Boy Bishop' tokens', *PSIAH*, XXXIV, pt. 2 (1978), pp. 87-101.

65 IC500/2/5, f. 28v, will of Richard Frost mentions a guild in St. Mary's, and IC500/2/4, f. 146v, will of John Hedge, mentions the guild of the Holy Name of Jesus in St. James's church.



Fig. 7. *St. Mary's church, Bury St. Edmunds, north chancel chapel and sanctuary, 1901-1907*
(© Bury St. Edmunds Past and Present Society)

of St. Nicholas in St. Mary's church.⁶⁴ The other was the guild of the Holy Name of Jesus; the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus was popular in Bury St. Edmunds and there were guilds to foster it in both the parish churches.⁶⁵ The Jesus chapel or aisle seems to have been a favourite place for burials: Thomas Clerk,⁶⁶ gentleman, one of the sons of Simon Clerk who probably designed the chapel, Richard King, whose will proves him to have been a St. Mary's man, although he lived at Moyses Hall, which is in St. James's parish,⁶⁷ Thomas Cryppyng, John Sygo and doubtless many more. The brass of Archdeacon Finers, who died in 1509, remains in the chapel to this day.⁶⁸

Thomas Martin recorded the following, now lost, arms in the windows of the north chancel

66 SROB IC500/2/4, f. 190, will of Thomas Clerk. His brother, Clement, who was one of Jankyn Smyth's supervisors, was buried in Great Livermere church.

67 SROB IC500/2/5, f. 44, will of Richard King.

68 Tymms, *St. Mary*, p. 76; engraved p. 68. On the location of burials in St. Mary's see also N. Rogers, 'Hic Iacet ...: The Location of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches', in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Burgess and E. Duffy (Donington, 2006), pp. 261-81 at 273-6.



Fig. 8. Shield over the east window of the north wall of the north chancel chapel with traces of the Yaxley coat of arms. This is all that is left of the polychrome decoration (photo.: R.D. Carr)

chapel: 1. *Argent, 3 bulls passant, in pale, sab.* 2. *A bend arg. between 7 billets or - , 3. Sab. 3 fishes naiant in pale arg.* 4. *Arg., a chevron sable between 3 mullets pierced.*⁶⁹ The first shield has not been identified, the second is Jankyn Smith's, the third is the coat of arms of Jankyn Smith's wife, Anne, while the fourth is the coat of the Yaxley family into which Smith's daughter Rose married. The arms of Yaxley are also to be seen over the east window of the north wall of the north chancel chapel (Fig. 8).

A south chancel chapel, to replace an earlier vestry, was being contemplated in 1463 when Jankyn Smith's friend, John Baret, drew up his will.⁷⁰ The east end of the south nave aisle of St. Mary's is occupied by what remains of

69 SROB Acc. 1183, pp 182, 184. Tymms notes that Reyce stated that the arms of Smyth and No.2 occurred often in glass with the arms of St. Edmund and 1. Vert three fishes hauriant argent, 2. Argent three bucks passant gules attired sable and 3. Gules a saltire or,



Fig. 9. Monument to Jankyn Smith's friend, John Baret (d. 1467), St. Mary's church, Bury St. Edmunds (photo.: C.B. Newham)

Baret's chantry chapel, which had largely been prepared during his lifetime (Fig. 9). Baret's will contains detailed instructions for modifying the chantry chapel if the south chancel aisle was ever to be built. It seems likely that both the south chancel aisle and the sanctuary were completed in or before 1470, the date included in windows of armorial glass, which were formerly on either side of the sanctuary. Henry Chitting (1580-1638) recorded that there were then:

crescent for difference, impaled with Argent on a chevron sable, 3 leopard's jaws or (Tymms, *St. Mary*, p.161, n.).

70 Printed Tymms, *Wills*, pp. 15-44.

On the windowes north and south of the presbytery.

1. Smyth, azure a bend inter 7 billetes or.
2. Argent a [*chevron drawn*] sable inter 3 moletes gules perced or.
3. Vert 3 fishes hariant argent.

Underneath on the windowes.

Pray for the soules of John Smyth esquire and Alice [*sic*] his wife the which did more enlarge this presbiterye and the quire Anno 1470.⁷¹

Again, these are the arms of Jankyn Smith, those of the prominent Yaxley family into which his daughter married, while the fishes (roaches) are considered to be those of Anne, his wife. Tymms also stated that in some antiquarian notes belonging to Mr. John Wooderspoon, the arms of Smyth were recorded as impaled with those of Roche, from which the coat with three fishes is taken to be that of Jankyn Smith's wife Anne.⁷²

When Tymms wrote in 1850, there was a house south of the sanctuary, which partly obliterated the window on that side. He said that this house stood on the site of a former vestry, and doors, which once led to an adjacent building, can still be seen on the exterior of the south wall of the sanctuary and the east wall of the south chancel chapel. Whether this was also part of Jankyn Smith's extension of the chancel is not clear, but it seems likely that it was. The sanctuary has, and it appears that the former vestry might well have had, an undercroft. When Gillingwater wrote about St. Mary's in the early years of the nineteenth century, the east end of the south chancel chapel was then the vestry, and he mentioned that Jankyn Smith's brass was there.⁷³

No contract is known for Jankyn Smith's work at St. Mary's. Two local master masons, Simon Clerk and John Forster, have been considered as candidates for this work. It is evident that Jankyn Smith placed great trust in both Simon Clerk, mason, and his son, Clement, who rose to be clerk of the Crown in Chancery. Simon Clerk was master mason at the abbey of St. Edmund from about 1434 until his death *c.* 1489.⁷⁴ Another possible designer is John Forster, who was active from 1433 until his death in 1494.⁷⁵ He was first apprenticed to a London brazier, Thomas Boston, and then to William Layer, who was Simon Clerk's predecessor as master mason at the abbey. Forster, whose will was proved 12 April 1495, asked to be buried before the brazen doors of the abbey church, where he had already laid a stone, by which he probably meant a monumental brass.⁷⁶ Both were feoffees of Jankyn's bequest for the payment of town taxes, and held the office of alderman of the town. Simon Clerk's work is well known; as well as buildings in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmunds, he had royal commissions for work at Eton College and King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Birkin Haward, who analysed the arcade design of Suffolk churches, considered Simon Clerk as 'very likely responsible' for this work.⁷⁷

Jankyn Smith's brass

Jankyn Smith directed that he should be buried 'in the north ele before the dore of the awughter of Seynt John',⁷⁸ rather than in that part of the church which he had built. Perhaps Jankyn chose this location because he had a special devotion to St. John as his name saint. This

71 D.N.J. MacCulloch 'Chitting's Suffolk Collections', *PSLAH*, XXXIV, pt. 2, (1978), p. 111. Samuel Tymms used Chitting's collections.

72 Tymms, *St. Mary*, p. 186.

73 E. Gillingwater, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of St. Edmund's Bury in the County of Suffolk* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1804), p. 177.

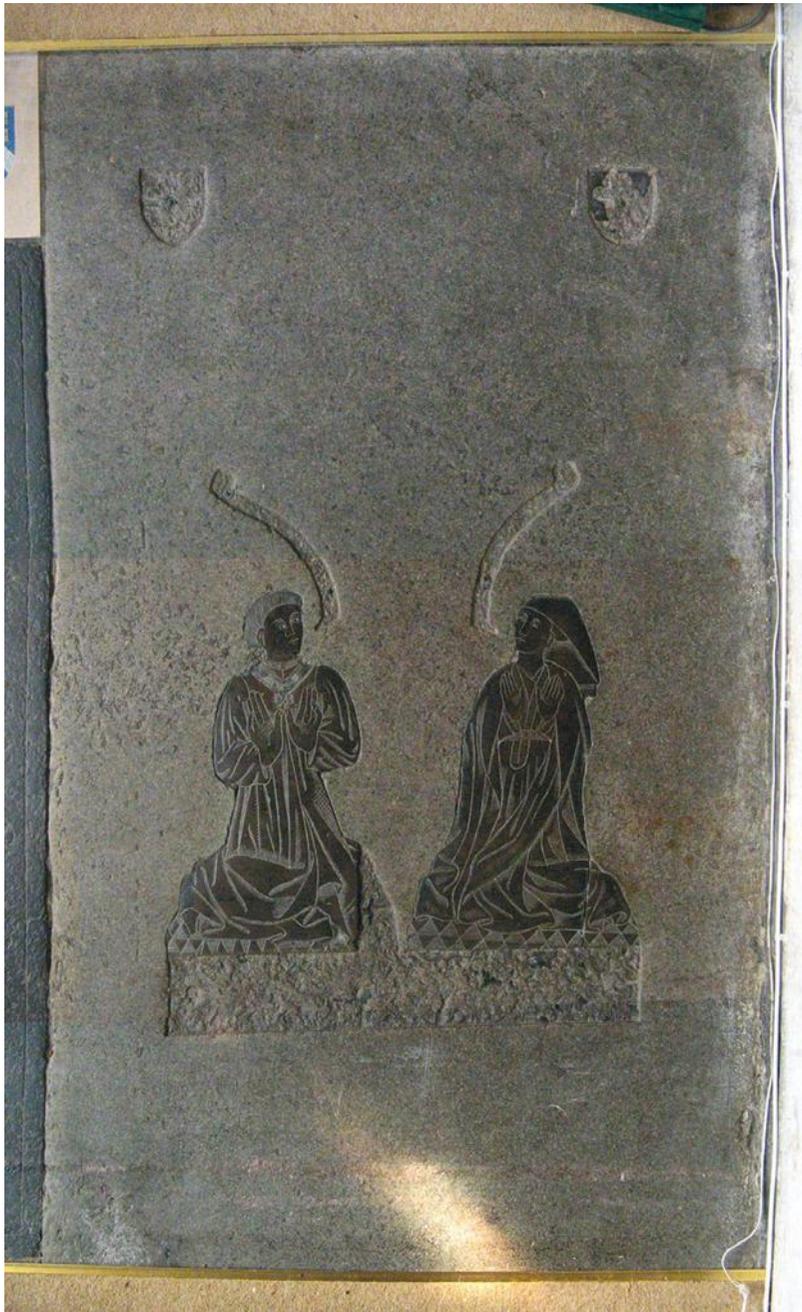
74 Harvey, *Architects*, pp. 55-61.

75 *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

76 SROB IC500/2/2, f. 328v, will of John Forster.

77 B. Haward, *Suffolk Medieval Church Arcades* (Ipswich, 1993), p. 193.

78 Tymms, *Wills*, p. 55.



*Fig. 10. Brass to Jankyn Smith (d. 1481) and his wife Anne, St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds
Bottom section of slab with indents for shields covered so not shown
(photo.: R.D. Carr)*

altar was at the east end of the north nave aisle, near the door into the north chancel chapel, which Jankyn built. However, his brass is now on the north side of the south chapel, almost in the east corner. The remaining latten plates are set in a Purbeck marble slab measuring 3000 mm by *c.* 1330 mm (Fig. 10). The use of this prestigious stone is relatively unusual in East Anglia, especially in combination with a locally-made brass. Spine-bearing oolitic limestone was more commonly used in the area and was the stone of choice for most of the workshops based in the region.⁷⁹

Jankyn's brass was a product of the Suffolk 1 workshop, which operated in Bury St. Edmunds between *c.* 1470 and *c.* 1490.⁸⁰ It was not a major producer of brasses; only twelve products survive or are known of from antiquarian sources. These brasses may have been made in the workshop of Reignold Chirche, who took over the Bury bellfoundry *c.* 1470 and operated it until his death in February 1488/89.⁸¹ He was associated with other metal-workers, including latoners and braziers, acting as executor for a number of them, and his activities were clearly not restricted to the casting of bells. In his will he directed that his son should clean quarterly the lectern that he gave to St. Mary's church and asked to be buried in the 'Isle of St. Peter' in St. Mary's church 'under the marble ston thar by me leid'.⁸² His son Thomas (d. 1527), who is a likely candidate for the brass engraving workshop which produced the Suffolk series 2 brasses, made similar provision to be buried at St. Mary's 'under the ston ther be me leyd'.⁸³ The term 'marble stone' or 'stone' was commonly used by testators to refer to brasses

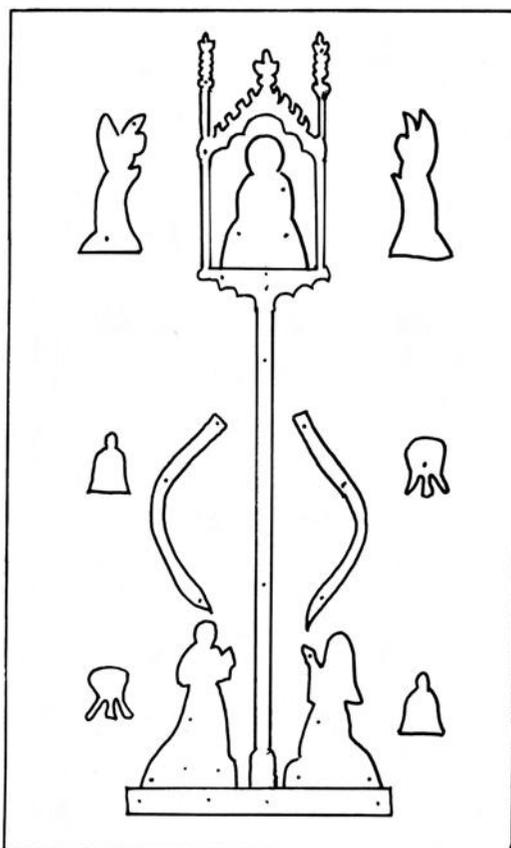


Fig. 11. Suffolk 1 indent to a bellfounder, perhaps John Cheney (d. 1471) or John Quey (d. 1475), St. James's church, Bury St. Edmunds

and may well do so here, although neither monument survives or is recorded in antiquarian notes. Clearly both men prepared their own monuments in their own lifetimes, and it is tempting to speculate that both monuments were brasses prepared in the Chirche family's workshop.

79 R. Firman, 'Lost brasses and newly found marble', *Church Monuments Society Newsletter*, 11, pt. 2 (1995-96), pp. 34-6; S. Badham, 'The use of sedimentary "marbles" for church monuments in pre-Reformation England', *Church Archaeology*, XI (2007), pp. 1-18, at 6.

80 S. Badham, 'The Suffolk school of brasses', *MBS Trans.*, XIII (1980), pp. 41-67.

81 S. Badham and J. Blatchly, 'The bellfounder's indent at Bury St. Edmunds', *PSLAH*, XXXVI (1988), pp. 288-97, at 290.

82 SROB, IC500/2/4, f. 74v.

83 SROB, IC500/2/6, f. 154r.



Fig. 12. Suffolk 1 brass to John Coket (d. 1483) and his wife Alice, Ampton, Suffolk (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

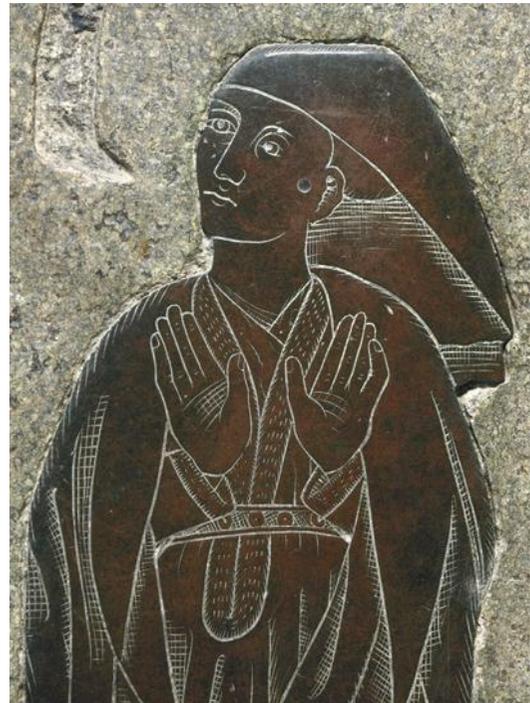


Fig. 13. Detail of Anne, wife of Jankyn Smith, St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

Jankyn Smith's brass is not the only product of the Series 1 brass engraving workshop laid in Bury St. Edmunds. There were once two examples in St. James's church; one is known only from antiquarian notes but the second survives in indent form under the campanile (Fig. 11). The inlay included emblems of bells and three-legged pots, strongly suggesting that the commemorated was a bellfounder. The most likely candidates are John Cheney (d. 1471) and John Quey (d. 1475), for both of whom Reignold Chirche acted as executor.⁸⁴ The outlines of the kneeling figures on this indent compare closely with Jankyn Smith's brass and other Series 1 products, especially the slightly later brass at Ampton, Suffolk, to

John Coket (d. 1483), who was a witness to Jankyn's feoffments of 1470 and 1473, and his wife Alice (Fig. 12).

The Smith brass has lost most of its inlay, with only the figures of Jankyn and Anne remaining. As on the bellfounder's indent at St. James's church, they are shown kneeling in prayer, a composition much favoured by this workshop. They both wear civilian dress, but Jankyn had an inlaid livery collar round his neck (Fig. 1). That this was a Yorkist collar of Suns and Roses is clearly indicated by the outline of the characteristic lion pendant. It may be compared with the depiction of the collar on the monument of Joos de Bul (d. 1488), OCMW, Bruges.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Badham and Blatchly, 'Bellfounder's indent'.

⁸⁵ J. Page-Phillips, *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972), p. 79; V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te*

Brugge voor 1578, 3 vols. (Bruges, 1976), II, pp. 340-4. We are grateful to Nicholas Rogers for bringing this parallel to our attention.

The indents of a foot inscription, prayers scrolls and four shields show how the composition was completed. Nothing that remains enables us to positively identify Jankyn and Anne as those commemorated, although heraldry recorded in antiquarian notes makes a conclusive case for the brass to be attributed to them.

One early, perhaps the earliest, description of the brass appears to be that given by the herald Henry Chitting. The exact date of his visit to St. Mary's church is not known, but was probably shortly before 1619. Chitting's description is as follows:

In the South Ile of the Chancell

Under a faire marble stone with two portratures of Brasse lyes John Smyth esquier and his wife. The inscription is broken of but 4 scutcheons remaynes videlicet

1. Smyth, azure a bend inter 7 billets or 4 and 3.

2. Hers is argent a chevron sable inter 3 [mullet drawn] gules.⁸⁶

Another early record seems to be that which Tymms saw in a volume of church notes, which then belonged to Mr. John Wooderspoon. The writer identified the brass as that of Jankyn Smith, 'the builder of the chancel aisles and the sacrarium' and Agnes [*recte* Anne] his wife. The arms then noted were 1, a bend argent between 7 billets or, Smyth, impaled with 3 fishes naiant arg...2, argent, a chevron vert between three mullets gules. Tymms commented that when Thomas Martin (1697-1771) made his church notes early in the eighteenth century, the arms of Smith had not then been removed.⁸⁷ Martin's record of this brass reads as follows:

86 MacCulloch, 'Henry Chitting', p. 112.

87 Tymms, *St. Mary*, p.186. Martin's notes are now SROB Acc. 1183.

88 SROB Acc. 1183, p. 184.

In the Vestry these:

Upon a large Stone are the Brasse Effigies of one Jenkin Smith and his wife. 3 Coats of Armour and the Epitaph are pulled off, but the first Coat remains. [*A shield with a bend and seven billets drawn.*] He was a great Benefactor to the Town of Bury.⁸⁸

While Martin does not record that Jankyn's coat of arms was impaled, D. E. Davy (1769-1851) does:

Under a fair marble lies Jankin Smyth and Agnes his wife:

Smyth (B.) a bend (arg.) between vii billets (or.) – empaled with

----- (vert.) iii fishes haient (arg.)

----- (arg.) a chevron (vert) between iii mullets (g.)

He gave to the towne £200 per annum and built two Isles to the Chancel of that Church & another addition to the chancel where the High Altar was wont to stand & where the French Queene (before named) lies buried.⁸⁹

It appears from these notes that by 1619 the brass was in the south chancel aisle; it had presumably been moved there, unless the executors ignored the directions Jankyn Smith had given, and buried him in the south chancel chapel, close to the chancel of the church, and the altar of Our Lady where Masses were to be sung for his soul on certain days of the week. There is ample evidence for the rearrangement of church floors and the displacement of monuments even in the medieval period and it is by no means improbable that Jankyn's brass would have been moved by the early seventeenth century.⁹⁰ That the executors ignored his wishes cannot be discounted, but it is less likely. It is even possible that Smith had his brass prepared in his own lifetime, although if this was the case it was

89 BL Add. MS 19108, D.E. Davy's *Church Notes*, of which there is a microfilm copy, SROB J534/6.

90 P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Tomb Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007), pp. 6-8.

not made explicit in his will. Examples of patrons simultaneously setting up chantries and commissioning monuments were commonplace in the medieval period, but Smith's chantry was not established until after his death.⁹¹

Where within the church a monument was erected was regarded as of great significance. The vital consideration was the visibility of the monument to the congregation and, even more importantly, the clergy. If it was prominent, it would be more likely to attract prayers for the soul. Burial and commemoration near a place of special significance to the person commemorated was also a factor. Medieval wills reveal the preoccupation with burial location and it is improbable that executors would override the testator's wishes lightly, especially in the case of such a prominent and well-respected man as Jankyn Smith.⁹²

The imagery and context of Jankyn Smith's brass

Most medieval floor monuments show the deceased standing with their hands joined in prayer, but the imagery of the deceased kneeling in prayer, as shown on Jankyn Smith's brass, was not limited to products of the Suffolk Series 1 workshop or indeed to brasses. Relief effigial examples are difficult to find before the sixteenth century, but one example is the monument in Tewkesbury Abbey to Edward, lord Despencer (d. 1375). The Gylbert monument at Youlgrave, Derbyshire, dated 1492, is the best-known of a small number of low-relief representations of a family at prayer, mainly found on wall monuments.⁹³ Compositions showing the deceased kneeling in prayer are mostly to be found on mural brasses. Two early examples



Fig. 14. Mural brass of c. 1455 to John Cottesmore, Brightwell Baldwin, Oxon.

are the brasses of 1454 at Morley, Derbyshire, to John Statham and a mural brass of c. 1455 to John Cottesmore at Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire (Fig. 14). The last is a typical example of devotional imagery, with the couple praying to a lost image of the Holy Trinity, but not all the examples cited are of this type. Occasionally the pose is shown on floor brasses, such as on the cross brass to Robert Parys (d. 1408) at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, and on William Lawnder's brass of c. 1510 at Northleach, Gloucestershire.

The Bury St. Edmunds brass is typical of Suffolk 1 brasses in that it shows the commemorated in the act of intercessory prayer, yet, alone of all the known examples from that workshop, it never included a

91 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 122-9.

92 Rogers, 'Hic iacet', pp. 261-81.

93 J.S. Alexander, B.W. Hodgkinson and S. Hadcock, 'The Gylbert monument in Youlgrave church: memorial or liturgical furnishing?', *Church Monuments*, XXI (2006), pp. 94-111.

devotional image in its composition. This requires explanation. Jankyn's place of burial was 'in the north ele before the dore of the awughter of Seynt John'. As the guild of St. John the Baptist was held in the north aisle of St. Mary's church, this altar was presumably dedicated to St. John the Baptist.⁹⁴ After his death, if not before, there was an image of St. John on or near this altar. William Alleyn, esquire, whose will was made in 1495, said that he was to be buried in the north aisle, before the image of St. John, as men go into the chancel, while in 1512 Philip Cowper, weaver, left two pounds towards painting the image of St. John that stood at the entrance to Jesus guild.⁹⁵

Whether this image was already there when Jankyn Smith made his will is not certain, but it could well have been. It would be peculiar for the brass to show Jankyn and Anne in the act of prayer with prayer scrolls being directed into a vacuum. Yet, many studies have shown that to understand monuments fully, the context in which they were placed must be taken into account. In the Middle Ages churches were full of religious imagery in glass and stone; features eradicated at the Reformation included the plethora of subsidiary altars, statues and lights dedicated to particular saints, at which individuals would pray and to which they would make offerings or leave money in their wills. Countless testators wished to be buried near an altar or a devotional image which they held dear. For example, Hugh Schawe (d. 1531) of Boston, Lincolnshire, requested burial 'in St. Botolph by my wife afore our Lady of Pety', that is an image of the Pietà.⁹⁶ Again, John Cowell (d. 1504), a fisherman of Boston, requested:

94 Tymms, *St. Mary*, pp. 31, 32.

95 Tymms, *St. Mary*, p. 28.

96 *Lincoln Wills registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln*, ed. C.W. Foster, II, Lincoln Record Soc., 10 (Lincoln, 1918), pp. 189-91.

97 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/1, ff. 177v-178r.

My body to be buried if it please god within the parishe church of Boston on the North side of the church under the stone before Saint Kateryn's awter ther my ij uncylls lyeth buried Sir Lawrence and Sir Thomas Cowell if it may be.⁹⁷

Sadly John did not specify whether the 'stone' was an incised slab, a brass or just a plain slab, and nothing attributable to him survives today, but that is not unusual.

Many medieval tomb monuments in their intended settings were a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a total art work, much in the way that Matthew Reeve has recently described Salisbury Cathedral in the first half of the thirteenth century with its stained-glass windows and polychromed walls and ceilings.⁹⁸ Carved effigies are commonly shown in prayer; nowadays they look as if they are staring into space, but this is a misconception as the act of prayer would often have had a more specific intent. Originally many monuments placed against a wall would have had sculpted religious imagery, which was subsequently subject to iconoclasm, or painted scenes on the back wall of the tomb recess, which have since largely worn away. A rare survival of the mid-fourteenth century is at Northmoor, Oxfordshire, commemorating Sir John de la More and his wife. The effigies indicate the death of the couple; the faded painted scene on the back wall of the recess shows them and their children praying for intercession; and the image of the soul-bearing angel painted on the wall above depicts the outcome in that their souls are being carried to heaven.⁹⁹ Effigies positioned away from a wall could also have a visual connection with an image of a powerful intercessor: the cast-copper alloy effigy of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, (d. 1439) in

98 M.M. Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Painting of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy, and Reform* (Woodbridge, 2008).

99 S. Badham, 'The de la More effigies at Northmoor (Oxfordshire) and related monuments at Winterbourne (Gloucestershire)', *Church Monuments*, XXIII (2008), pp. 14-44.



Fig. 15. Tomb with lost brass inlay to John Wootton (d. 1417), first master of the collegiate church, Maidstone, Kent, and wall painting showing him praying to an image of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, flanked by other saints (photo.: Roger Rosewell)

St. Mary's church, Warwick, is shown in a posture of adoration with his gaze drawn to a large boss of the Virgin in the eastern vault above the altar in his chantry chapel. Similarly, in Exeter Cathedral a boss showing Christ in Majesty was positioned immediately above where Bishop Grandison (d. 1369) was buried and in York Minster the first monument to Bishop Walter de Gray (d. 1255) had a sight line to a boss featuring St. Michael.¹⁰⁰ The fine monument in Canterbury Cathedral to Edward, the Black Prince (d. 1376), shows him venerating an image of the Holy Trinity on the wooden tester suspended above the tomb.¹⁰¹ In all these cases, the monument was designed to interact with its setting to establish an intercessory dialogue between the deceased and a religious image.

A similar interaction can be shown to have been intended with some brasses. For example, at Salle, Norfolk, the brass of Geoffrey Boleyn (d. 1441) is positioned in front of the chancel arch where

100 M. Silience, 'The Two Effigies of Walter de Gray (d. 1255) in York Minster', *Church Monuments*, XX (2005), pp. 5-30, at 7-11.

101 M.L. Sauerberg, R. Marchant and L. Wrapson, 'The Tester over the Tomb of Edward, the Black Prince: The Splendour of Late-Medieval Polychromy in

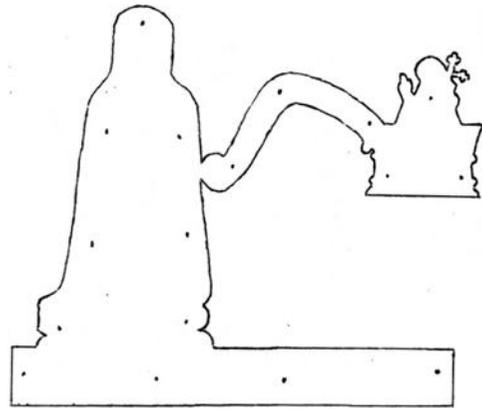


Fig. 16. Indent of brass to Joan Norton (d. 1535), Faversham, Kent

traces of a Doom were found in 1910-12; it includes a scroll 'God be merciful to us sinners', a message which links clearly to the imagery above.¹⁰² Similarly the prayer scroll of Joan Burton at Carshalton, Surrey, addresses a now lost nearby Pietà.¹⁰³ At Maidstone, Kent, the tomb with lost brass inlay to John Wootton (d. 1417), first master of the collegiate church, has well-preserved remains of wall painting showing him praying to an image of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, flanked by other saints (Fig. 15). An indent at Faversham, Kent, above a canopied tomb on the north side of the chancel location, the traditional position of the Easter Sepulchre, has heraldry linking it with Joan Norton (d. 1535). She willed that: 'myn executours shall fynyshe upp my tombe in ffeversham church according to a bargeyn I have made ... and it to be used for a sepulchre place in the same church to the honour of God and the blessed Sacrement'.¹⁰⁴ The brass inlay is lost, but the indent clearly shows the kneeling figure of a lady directing a prayer to Christ rising from his tomb (Fig. 16). The link between

England', in *Monumental Industry: the Production of Tomb Monuments in the Long Fourteenth Century*, ed. S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (Donington, 2010), pp. 161-86.

102 W.L.E. Parsons, *Salle* (Norwich, 1937), p. 40.

103 Rogers, 'Hic Iacet', p. 265.

104 TNA: PRO, PROB. 11/25, f. 26r-v.



Fig. 17. Brass to Thomas Bloxham (d. 1518), Great Addington, Northants., showing him addressing a prayer for Jesus to have mercy on him (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

the design of the brass and its intended location is irrefutable.

Some brasses show kneeling figures and prayer scrolls without an image of the intended recipient of the prayer, probably because when originally

set up it would have appeared obvious from the location. The brass on a tomb chest to Thomas Bloxham (d. 1518) at Great Addington, Northamptonshire, shows him addressing a prayer for Jesus to have mercy on him (Fig. 17). Although there is no saint above his prayer scroll, surely he was also seeking intercession. Bloxham's will requests burial before the image of St. Anthony of Egypt, who lived an exemplary life, putting the love of God before all else, and was thus widely venerated by clerics.¹⁰⁵

There is a strong resonance between this last example and the design and location of Jankyn Smith's brass. Surely the reason why no intercessory image was included on the latter is that it was to be positioned close to the image of St. John that stood at the entrance to the Jesus Guild. Thus, the brass to Jankyn shows him in death praying to the very image of his name saint to which he would have addressed prayers in his lifetime. Who can doubt that Jankyn planned both the brass and his burial site deliberately in the hope that St. John would intercede on his behalf?

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to John Blatchly, Bob Carr, David Cockram, Peter Ledger, Sophie Oosterwijk, the late Peter Northeast, Philip Orchard, Clive Paine, Tony Redman, the Rev. Canon Malcolm Rogers, Helen Statham, Christian Steer, Martin Stuchfield and Anne Sutton for advice and assistance.

¹⁰⁵ R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 102.

The Indent of John Aylward: Glass and Brass at East Harling

David King

Two Harling tombs at East Harling can be linked with adjacent windows dating from the 1460s made by the workshop of John Mundeford. John Aylward, rector of East Harling, ordered a brass in his will of 1503 with a cross surrounded by a text from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, to be placed in the middle of the church. Aylward served Anne Harling as rector and feoffee, but was not, like other rectors, appointed as Master of Rushworth College. The indent at the east end of the central nave aisle would have been in front of the rood cross. The brass had a liturgical function, reminding parishioners of the feast day which celebrated the Holy Cross, but can also be linked to a window. The brass was ordered from a Norwich glazier, William Heyward, and between 1492 and 1498 the east chancel window was made, depicting members of Anne Harling's family. Fragments of a Te Deum window still in the chancel can be attributed to this glazing and to the Heyward workshop on stylistic and circumstantial evidence. The workshop produced not only glass and brasses, but also panel and possibly wall paintings.

In 1460, William Worcester, Sir John Fastolf's erstwhile secretary, rode to East Harling, Norfolk, with a marbler from Norwich to see about the tomb of Sir Robert Harling.¹ The latter had died in 1435 in battle in Paris and in his will had made provision for a chantry in East Harling church to assure intercession for himself and his family. Fastolf had become the guardian of Anne Harling, Sir Robert's only child, and had married her to Sir William Chamberlain, who fought much in France and died in 1462, having obtained with Anne a licence to found the chantry in 1447, the first

1 C. Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf's Will* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 74.



Fig. 1. Tomb of Sir Robert Harling (d. 1435), East Harling (photo.: Author)



Fig. 2. Effigies on the tomb of Sir Robert Harling, East Harling (photo.: Author)

chantry priest being appointed in 1457.² The tomb can be seen under an earlier canopy against the south wall of the Harling Chapel at the east end of the south aisle (Fig. 1). Along the two visible top edges is a fillet of brass recording the circumstances of Sir Robert's bloody demise

2 For an account of the life of Anne Harling, see D. King, 'Anne Harling Reconsidered', in *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. J. Boffey and V. Davis (Donington, 2009), pp. 204-222.

in the French capital (Fig. 2).³ On the top of the tomb are two earlier stone effigies which have been there since the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴ One is of Sir John Harling, Sir Robert's father, for whom the canopy was presumably made after his death in 1392; the other is unidentified, but may be Joan Gonville, Sir Robert's wife, who was buried in Rushworth College. Sir John's effigy must have been moved to the chancel when Sir Robert's tomb was placed under the canopy and put back there by the sixteenth-century Lovells who built their own tombs in the chancel; they may also have brought Joan's effigy from Rushworth College to preserve it when the college was disestablished.⁵ It is possible that beneath these two effigies lies a hitherto unknown indent or even the remains of Sir Robert Harling's brass. The marbler who advised on the construction of the tomb may have been Thomas Sheef, documented as a marbler in Norwich at this time. It would be interesting to see if the lettering on the fillet matched that on the Norwich I group of brasses as established by Norris and Greenwood.⁶

The delay between the granting of the licence for the chantry in 1447 and the appointment of



Fig. 3. Lady Chapel, East Harling
(photo.: Author)

the first priest a decade later is explicable by the fact that Anne Harling and her husband decided to rebuild the whole of the south aisle which included the Lady Chapel at its eastern end (Fig. 3).⁷ The final work on the chapel was the glazing of the two windows (sIV and sV), which can be dated to some time after 2 February 1461 and before Anne's second marriage, to Sir Robert Wingfield, which occurred by and probably in 1467. Much of this glazing, fourteen panels from the east window (sIV) and one from the south-east window (sV), is now in the east chancel window (I).

3 The fillet reads '+ Saxo marmoreo tumulatur in hoc poliandro / Harlyng Robertus miles vir nobilis Armis / Laus sua francigenis florebat cognita multis / Tandem parisevs vi succubuit mutilatus / C quarter et xxxv cadit ille / Gorgonij festo septembre die quoque nono'. The inscription consists of six regular hexameters, each line except the first beginning with a capital letter preceded by a sign (here '/'). It was recorded by Blomefield (F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 2nd edn., 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), I, p. 328). St. Gorgonius, martyr, appears in the Sarum calendar on 9 September.

4 King, 'Anne Harling', p. 218.

5 For a family tree of the Harlings see Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, I, p. 319. For the suggested movement of Joan Gonville's effigy see [E.K.] Bennet, 'The College of S. John Evangelist of Rushworth', *Norfolk Archaeology*, X (1888), pp. 276-380 at 295. Another possible identification of the female effigy would be Cecily Mortimer, Sir Robert Harling's

mother, who married Sir John Ratcliff, K.G. after the death of her first husband Sir John Harling; Cecily died in Bordeaux in 1423 (D. Richardson and K.G. Everingham, *Plantagenet Ancestry: a Study in Colonial and Medieval Families* (Baltimore, 2004), p. 174). If this is the case, then the effigy would have been brought from Attleborough church rather than Rushworth College. The Mortimers had founded a college of priests at Attleborough which worshipped in the now-demolished eastern arm of the church completed in 1405 (N. Pevsner and B. Wilson, *Norfolk 2: West and South*, The Buildings of England (London, 1999), p. 185).

6 For Thomas Sheef, see R. Greenwood and M. Norris, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (Holt, 1976), pp. 22-4.

7 In the spandrels of the roof arches of the whole south aisle are carvings of various badges associated with the Harling family. Most, perhaps all, have been renewed, but the survival of some originals in Norwich Castle Museum show that they have been closely copied.

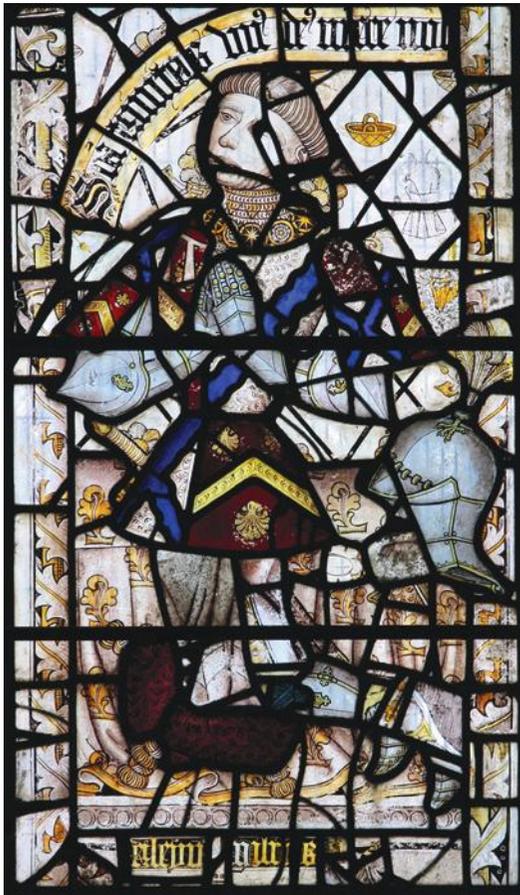


Fig. 4a. Sir William Chamberlain (d. 1462)
formerly in the chapel of St. Anne, East Harling
(photo.: M. Dixon)

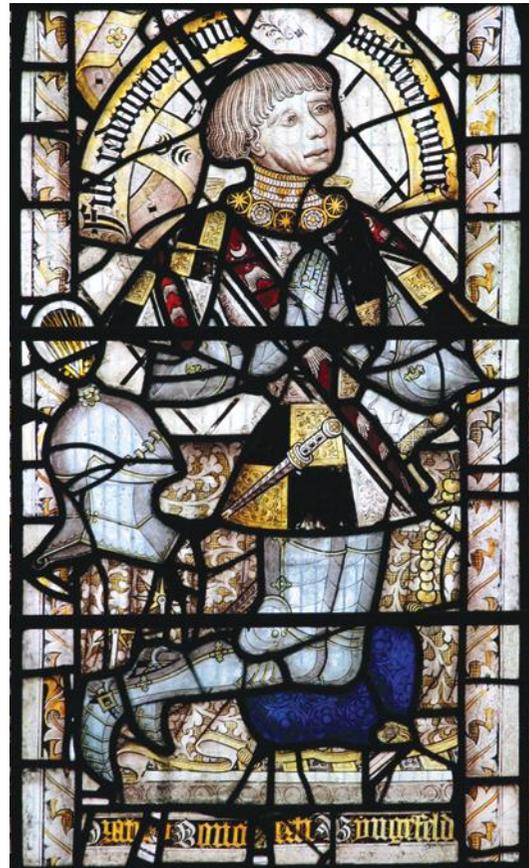


Fig. 4b. Sir Robert Wingfield (d. 1481)
formerly in the chapel of St. Anne, East Harling
(photo.: M. Dixon)

It originally included two donor panels with Anne Harling and William Chamberlain in one and her parents in another.⁸

The two panels in the east chancel window depicting Anne Harling's first two husbands (Figs. 4a, 4b), which used to be thought to belong to the glass now assigned to the Lady Chapel (and

were used to date it to *c.* 1463-1481) in fact come from St. Anne's Chapel, built by Anne Harling on the north side of the chancel probably about 1462-7, and containing the tomb of her first husband, in which she herself was later buried when she died in 1498 (Fig. 5).⁹ The indent of a brass depicting husband and wife with heraldry and badges is on the top of the table-tomb.¹⁰ The

8 For the glazing of the east window of the Harling chapel, see King, 'Anne Harling', pp. 212-14 and the CVMA catalogue entry by the same writer at <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/publications/digital/norfolk/sites/eastharling/history.html>.

9 D.J. King, *Stained Glass Tours around Norfolk Churches* ([Fakenham], 1974), pp. 29-31; King, 'Anne Harling', pp. 218-20.

10 W.B. Slegg, 'The Chamberlaine Tomb at East Harling, Norfolk', *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 3 (1936), pp. 126-9.

four-light north window of this chapel originally had the two panels depicting her husbands with two further ones depicting her. Over the figures was a set of invocations to the Holy Trinity.

This paper has begun with details of the glazing and brasses in these two chapels, not its main subject, in order briefly to show two further examples of the rapidly expanding category in which glass and brass were part of the same decorative and memorial programme, but also to establish the date of the glass, which does have a bearing on what will be said about the indent and some other glass at East Harling. Roger Greenwood's last visit to a church before his untimely death was to East Harling, accompanied by the present writer. The opportunity was used to continue a (friendly) argument about the relationship between glass and brass there. Greenwood had discovered the will of William Heyward, a Norwich glazier who became a freeman in 1485 and died in 1505. In his will William left some scraps of latten to Knapton church and requested an obit for 'moder marbler' identified by Greenwood as Marion Sheef, widow of Thomas Sheef. In another will, that of John Aylward, parson of East Harling, written in 1503, Greenwood had found a crucial clause in which Aylward asked for a brass to be made by William Heyward, proving what his own will hinted strongly at, that Heyward's workshop made both brass and glass. Greenwood supported his argument by pointing to stylistic similarities between what he identified under the title of the Norwich N3 group of brasses and the glass in East Harling, by which he meant the main series of the life of the Virgin and the two donor figures.¹¹ This connection was a problem for the present writer, as the dating at that time of *c.* 1463-1481 for the glass fell short of Heyward's documented working life beginning in 1485; however, Heyward's brother Nicholas had



Fig. 5. Tomb of Sir William Chamberlain and Anne Harling, East Harling (photo.: Author)

become free as a glazier in 1469, and so there was some room for doubt.

Before continuing the discussion concerning the glass it is necessary to look at John Aylward's indent. The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to elaborate on what we know about Aylward and his brass, and secondly to suggest a solution to the King-Greenwood argument about glass and brass at East Harling. John Aylward, parson of East Harling (elsewhere documented as rector) wrote his will on the feast of St. Kenelm, 17 July 1503.¹² He asks to be buried in the middle of the church, to which he leaves a coucher, a martyrology, a corporas and two cases, one in green cloth of gold and the other in green velvet. To the four guilds in the town he leaves his best brass pot and something worth 6s. 8d. made of

11 Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, pp. 28-35.

12 Norfolk Record Office, Norwich Consistory Court, Popy 380.



Fig. 6a. Slab to John Aylward (d. 1503) with indent of brass
East Harling
(photo.: Author)



Fig. 6b. Indent of brass of John Aylward (d. 1503)
East Harling
(photo.: Author)

ermine. He appoints as his executors Christopher Willson and Robert Candler, priest, who each receive substantial legacies. Christopher is left the horse he rides to market on, his tawny gown and all the stuff in his store house, together with the house which they live in, with the land belonging to it, adding to the gift he had made several years previously, while his wife Margaret gets two milch netes (milking cows) and a bed with other things as a recompense for her labour when she looked after him when he was ill. Two servants are also mentioned. It is clear that John lived in his own house, probably with the Willsons, whom he employed as housekeepers. Robert Candler, priest, the other executor, is bequeathed a small number of books, one of which it has not been possible to identify. The others are the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomeus Anglicus, a thirteenth-century

13 Giles Cook, rector of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Salle, Norfolk, left in his will in 1417 some books

encyclopedia, the *Pupilla Oculi*, a practical manual for priests, and the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, a handbook of hagiographical and apocryphal stories.¹³ These are all useful reference books for a priest to have. His crops, household utensils, cattle and poultry are to be sold to pay his debts and fulfil his testament and will.

I have left until last the clause relating to his brass, worth quoting in full:

Item, I Will ther be bought a marbill stone of William heyward of Norwiche, price of it with ye werke of laton that shalbe upon it xls. Item I will ther be acrossse upon ye ston with a Roll wyndyng a bought ye cross after ye workmans ordinance wretyn. In ye seyde Roll theis words saluator mundi salua nos qui per crucem et sanguinem tuum redemisti nos auxiliare nobis te deprecamur deus noster.¹⁴

to the next rector, including the *Pupilla Oculi* (W.L.E. Parsons, *Salle* (Norwich, 1937), p. 83).

14 Abbreviations silently expanded.

The indent survives today in the middle aisle of the nave, just before the step up to the chancel, thus showing that Aylward's request to be buried in the middle of the church was fulfilled (Figs. 6a, 6b). It is obviously at the mid-point between the north and south walls, but given the common perception as the church as a symbol of the cross, the tomb is at the mid-point of the cross, even though there are no transepts here to make the church cruciform. This association with the cross is crucial to an interpretation of this lost brass, most obviously because of the request that the brass should depict the cross, to which the text which Aylward requested is closely linked. It is that of the second antiphon in the second nocturne at Matins for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, held on 14 September.¹⁵ The office in the Sarum Breviary includes several long lessons for this feast telling the fascinating story of the discovery of the True Cross by St. Helen, its removal to Constantinople, its plunder by a heathen leader and its restitution to Constantinople, the accent being on this last event, as the Feast of the Invention of the True Cross deals mainly with the discovery.¹⁶ Aylward would have known of the story from its appearance in the breviary, but also from the account given in the *Speculum Sacerdotale* which he owned, an early fifteenth-century compilation of sacred stories which leans heavily on the Golden Legend, which may also have been available to him in the church.¹⁷ Aylward did not, like many incumbents, ask for burial in the chancel for which he had been responsible. This may partly have been because of the fact that Anne Harling the patron had herself taken a very personal interest in the



Fig. 7. Tree of Jesse with Crucifixion from dado of chancel screen, second half of fifteenth century, East Harling (photo.: Author)

decoration of this part of the church, leaving little room for non-family members, as well as of the two side chapels, but perhaps more importantly because of the symbolism of the precise location in which he asked to be buried.¹⁸ Not only was it at the heart as it were of the building seen as a cross, as has been stated, but it was directly in front of the chancel screen surmounted by the rood. Aylward would have seen himself placed until the General Resurrection in front of the Crucifixion which dominated the church where he had been rector for nearly thirty years. Moreover, the dado of the screen unusually also depicted the Crucifixion in a carved panel with Christ on the Cross as part of a Tree of Jesse (Fig. 7).¹⁹ So whereas the brasses on the tombs of Sir Robert Harling and Anne Harling were accompanied

15 F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879-86), III, col. 815.

16 *Ibid.*, III, cols. 813-23.

17 For the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, see E.H. Weatherly, *Speculum Sacerdotale*, edited from *British Museum MS. Additional 36791*, Early English Text Soc., 200 (London,

1936). The story of the Invention of the Holy Cross is on pp. 146-52 and that of the Exaltation on pp. 203-08.

18 For Anne Harling's patronage, see King, 'Anne Harling', pp. 212-22.

19 The two parts of the dado of the rood screen are now kept at the back of the church.

by windows which also depicted the persons buried in the tombs, the parson's brass had a different function, focusing it is true on intercession, as the rectangular section below the cross almost certainly had an Orate inscription, but also on the priest's devotion to the Cross of Jesus and reminding the viewers, including his successors as rector, of the main feast day in the liturgical year which celebrated the Cross. The will does not ask for an 'Orate' inscription, but this would have been understood. Is it possible that the liturgical aspects of brasses have not been sufficiently studied? In glass, more cases of such connections with the liturgy are coming to light, as in the Toppes Window at St. Peter Mancroft.²⁰

What do we know of John Aylward before his death in 1503? He was appointed rector of East Harling in 1474 by the patron, Lady Anne Wingfield, as Anne Harling was then, transferring from the much less grand church of Litcham in Norfolk.²¹ His name does not appear in the lists of alumni at either Oxford or Cambridge, although his library suggests that he was a priest with some learning. A look at his immediate predecessors and successors will provide a context. Anne Harling's Gonville ancestors had founded in the fourteenth century

Gonville Hall in Cambridge, but also Rushworth College south of East Harling on the border with Suffolk. Aylward's two immediate predecessors had also been Masters of the College. Edmund Cooper, a Bachelor of Decrees of St. John's Hospital, Cambridge, was Master from 1421 to 1436 and again from 1444-6, and rector from 1430 to 1448.²² He was followed by Laurence Gerard, possibly an M.A. from Cambridge, who was rector from 1448 to 1474 and Master from 1450 to 1472.²³ Henry Costessey was appointed Master in 1473, two years before Aylward became rector, which may have deprived him of the chance of this post.²⁴ By the time that Costessey died in 1483, having been from 1475 also Master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, Sir Robert Wingfield, Anne's second husband had died and been buried in the College, and Anne had endowed a priest to pray for his soul.²⁵ Costessey may have been a Dominican from Norwich, ordained as deacon and then priest in 1441, a Fellow of King's Hall in 1442, an M.A. by 1442-3 and also a B.Th. and Seneschal of the College (or University?).²⁶ His successor at Rushworth in 1483 was John Bulman, M.A., a former secretary to Walter Lyhert, Bishop of Norwich, a pluralist rector and canon and prebend of the important College of St. Mary in the Fields in Norwich.²⁷ He was replaced by John Bendys in 1488.²⁸

20 For the Toppes Window, see D. King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (Oxford, 2006), pp. clxix-cxcvii. Woodforde in 1950 listed numerous examples of angels carrying texts from the liturgy (C. Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 137-142) and the present writer has recently identified the series of saints at Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen as coming from the Sarum litanies (D. King, 'The Medieval Stained Glass at Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen, Norfolk', in *King's Lynn and the Fens: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, British Archaeological Association Conference Trans., 31, ed. J. McNeill (Leeds, 2008), pp. 186-98). For a brief general survey of this theme in English glass, see R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), pp. 84-5.

21 Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, I, p. 326.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 325-6; Bennet, 'Rushworth College', pp. 361-3.

23 Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, I, pp. 289, 326; Bennet, 'Rushworth College', pp. 363, 365.

24 Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, I, p. 289; Bennet, 'Rushworth College', p. 365.

25 For the burial of Sir Robert Wingfield and endowment of a priest see Bennet, 'Rushworth College', pp. 366-8.

26 For Costessey see also A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 161. He is listed as a friar at the Norwich Blackfriars in 1472 in Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, IV, p. 340.

27 For Bulman, see Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, I, p. 195; IV, p. 289; Bennet, 'Rushworth College', pp. 367-8; Emden, *Biographical Register*, pp. 105-6.

28 Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, I, p. 289; Bennet, 'Rushworth College', p. 368.

The overall impression is that John Aylward, while a literate and educated cleric, was perhaps not quite of the same intellectual calibre as some of those selected by the Harlings to be rectors of their church or masters of their college. The fact that he did not achieve appointment to higher positions in the church explains why he was buried in the parish church where he was priest.

In 1479 Anne Harling wrote a will, presumably because of an outbreak of the Plague in that year.²⁹ Part of it was enrolled in the Close Rolls and includes a list of nineteen friends.³⁰ Some important people such as John Morton, Master of the Rolls and later Cardinal, and the Bishop of Durham, were mentioned but also present are some of the people who advised her on her business affairs and acted as feoffees for her.³¹ John Aylward is there, and his name is also to be seen on a number of manorial leases and quitclaims between 1478 and 1482 involving Rushworth.³² It was common for clergy, as trustworthy people, to be included by the laity as feoffees in legal documents. Anne was a very practical lady, and she may have used those in her employ in roles for which they were most suited. Aylward was a long-time loyal rector for Anne as patron, but she did not hesitate to use him for tasks to do with manorial administration. For her last will in 1498, although leaving Aylward a legacy of £5, she did not appoint him as one of the executors, but asked instead John Cavendyssh, rector of Quidenham church, for which she was also patron.³³ He had been the first chantry priest of the Harling Chantry. This is perhaps another indication that Aylward was not so highly considered as some of the other clergy known to Anne.

29 Blomefield and Parkin, *History of Norfolk*, III, p. 169.

30 *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward IV, Richard III, 1476-1485*, pp. 137-9.

31 For a list of the friends, see King, 'Anne Harling', p. 215.

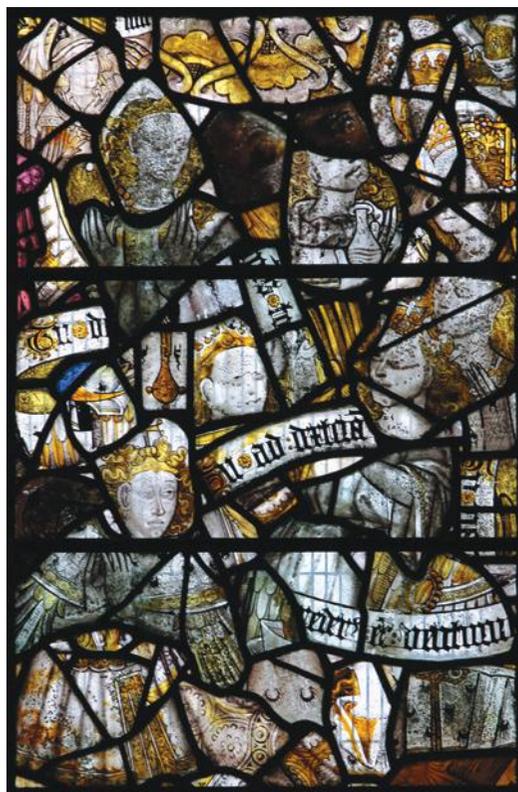


Fig. 8. Panel of fragments of a depiction of the Te Deum, c. 1491-98, east chancel window, East Harling (photo.: M. Dixon)

Sometime between her third marriage in 1491 and her death in 1498 she had the east chancel window glazed.³⁴ An antiquarian record from the late sixteenth century records the five pairs of donor figures which were placed in the bottom register of this window.³⁵ They depicted Anne with each of her three husbands, including John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, whom she married in 1491, and other relatives. In the east chancel window today, most of the contents of which, as we have seen, do not come from

32 Bennet, 'Rushworth College', p. 366.

33 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/11; King, 'Anne Harling', p. 217.

34 King, 'Anne Harling', pp. 220-1.

35 BL MS Lansdowne 260, f. 183v.

there, is a panel of fragments of a *Te Deum* window, including texts from that celebrated hymn of praise sung regularly in the liturgical round (Fig. 8).³⁶ A second fragmentary panel may also contain pieces of this representation. These must be part of a large depiction of this subject made for the east chancel window. All churches were dedicated to Almighty God in the first place and then another saint or other saints, such as St. Peter and St. Paul, as here. The glazing of the east chancel window, which so often has disappeared without trace, because of iconoclasm, usually contains iconography relating to God or His Son or the Virgin Mary. A *Te Deum* window, as the surviving fragments from a York parish church now in the south transept at York Minster show, can depict the Godhead and the Holy Trinity in multiple form, together with a large variety of other figures including Apostles and Prophets, the Nine Orders of Angels, Virgin saints and Doctors of the Church – an almost infinitely expandable sequence suitable for the large expanse of a Perpendicular east window.³⁷ The East Harling fragments include, apart from the texts, angels and female saints.³⁸

This window, dating from between her marriage to Lord Scrope in 1491 and her death in 1498, was made when John Aylward was rector. Although Anne, Lady Scrope, would almost certainly have paid for it, John as rector would have been responsible for overseeing the

production of the window and as Anne was elderly by this stage may have taken on more responsibility than was the case with other windows when the earlier glass was made, which closely reflects Anne's personal interests. The evidence suggests that the window was entrusted to William Heyward's workshop in Norwich and that for the first time we can see, albeit in very fragmentary form, what the style of this workshop was like, or at least one style produced by it. The reasons for this attribution will now be discussed.³⁹

The first is circumstantial. If Aylward ordered a brass a few years after this window was made from Heyward, it is at least possible and perhaps probable that he could have used the same workshop a few years earlier when carrying out the patrons' wishes for the east window. For the glazing of the Lady Chapel and the St. Anne's Chapel the leading Norwich workshop previously run by John Wighton and in the 1460s by John Mundeford was employed. This was a high-status workshop, used to carry out the important scheme at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich in the 1450s and whose founder, John Wighton, was made an alderman in 1453.⁴⁰ The only other Norwich glazier to reach this rank in the civic *cursus honorum* was William Heyward, and his was clearly the largest and most prestigious workshop in the city in the closing years of the fifteenth century.⁴¹ Anne would have settled for nothing less. The main

36 Woodforde, *Norwich School*, pp. 49-51.

37 One panel of the *Te Deum* window, which dates from c. 1420 and is from the church of St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, is illustrated in P. Cowen, *English Stained Glass* (London, 2008), p. 42.

38 For the iconography of the *Te Deum* see P. Sheingorn, 'The *Te Deum* Altarpiece and the Iconography of Praise', in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 171-82.

39 Much of this argument was rehearsed in D. King, 'A Multi-Media Workshop in Late-Medieval Norwich: A New Look at William Heyward', in *Lumières, formes et couleurs. Mélanges en hommage à Yvette Vanden Bemden*, ed.

C. de Ruyt, I. Lecocq, M. Leffitz and M. Piavaux (Namur, 2008), pp. 193-204. It is being repeated here by request to make it more available to readers in this country.

40 For the Wighton Workshop see D.J. King, 'A Glazier from the Bishopric of Utrecht in Fifteenth-Century Norwich', in *Utrecht, Britain and Continent, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, ed. E. de Bièvre, The British Archaeological Association Conference Trans., 18 (Leeds, 1996), pp. 216-225; King, *St. Peter Mancroft*, pp. cxxiv-clii, and most recently, the CVMA catalogue entry for East Harling at <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/publications/digital/norfolk/sites/eastharling/history.html>.

41 King, *St. Peter Mancroft*, pp. 140-1.

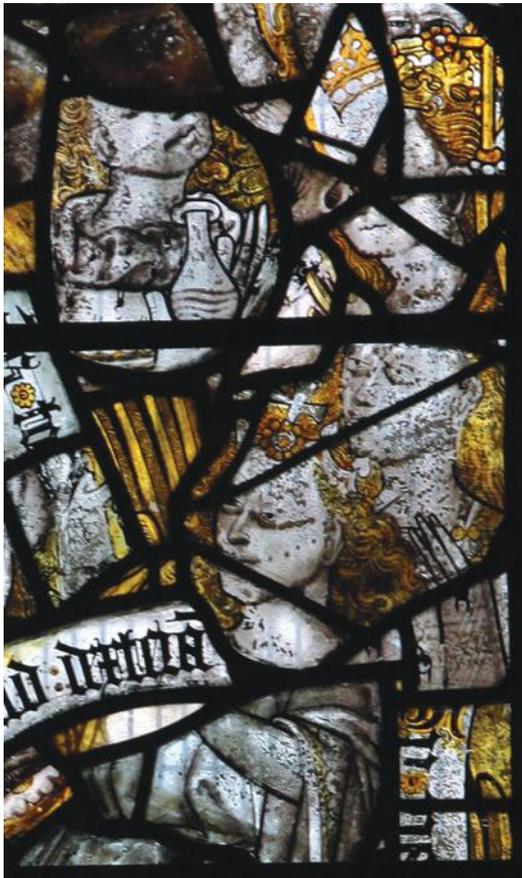


Fig. 9a. Detail of panel of fragments of a depiction of the Te Deum, c. 1491-98, east chancel window, East Harling (photo.: M. Dixon)

reason, however, for ascribing this window to Heyward's workshop is that the glass which survives looks like the brasses which his workshop made, and indeed looks like some of the N3 Norwich brasses ascribed to him by Greenwood which were made for friends of Anne Harling.

The fragmentary condition of the glass makes comparison difficult but nevertheless it can be



Fig. 9b. Detail of brass of Sir William de Grey (d. 1495) and family, Merton, Norfolk (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

done. Two brasses will be used here for comparison. The first dates from 1495 and depicts William de Grey with his wives and children at Merton, and the second from the following year shows Henry Spelman and his wife at Narborough.⁴² A number of heads of angels and female saints with some drapery survive in the glass and provide the best material for comparisons with the brasses (Figs. 9a-d). The faces are oval, with long, dimpled chins, long thin noses, heavy eyelids giving a rather bleary effect, and high, curved eyebrows which run into the line of the nose. On the glass, the faces are quite heavily but carefully modelled with stipple shading.

⁴² For the Merton brass see Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, p. 29 (photograph), and W. Lack, 'Conservation of Brasses, 2005', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 5 (2007),

pp. 492-3 (rubbing). For that at Narborough, see Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, p. 30.



Fig. 9c. Detail of panel of fragments of a depiction of the *Te Deum*, c. 1491-98, east chancel window, East Harling (photo.: M. Dixon)



Fig. 10. Detail of panel of fragments of a depiction of the *Te Deum*, c. 1491-98, east chancel window, East Harling (photo.: M. Dixon)



Fig. 9d. Detail of brass of Sir William de Grey (d. 1495) and family, Merton, Norfolk (photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

The hair of the figures on the brasses is long, with strongly-delineated undulating strands; on the glass, the locks are curly but just as clearly defined. Hands in both media have long, pointed fingers. Norris remarked in 1965 that Norwich brasses often had figures where the hands were held apart and forwards in an early Christian attitude of prayer (Fig. 10).⁴⁴ This pose is seen in the glass at East Harling on two of the angels from the *Te Deum* window and on several of the N3 brasses.⁴⁵ Although the pose is not exclusive to these, it is much more common than in other styles. Ears in the glass are large, but none appear on the brasses in question.⁴⁵ The drapery which survives on the glass has long, straight splayed folds, seen also on both

43 For example, that of Isabel Cheyne of 1485 at Blickling, which has the bent little finger seen on the angel top left in the fragment panel.

44 M. Norris, *Brass Rubbing* (London, 1965), p. 75.

45 Large ears are seen on other N3 brasses, for example that of Isabel Cheyne of 1485 at Blickling.



Fig. 11a. *The Visitation, from the Toppes Window, 1450-c. 1455, Norwich, St. Peter Mancroft*
(photo.: Author)

brasses (Fig. 8). One piece also has a girdle fastened with triple rosettes from which falls a two-strand end, much as on the de Grey brass on the right-hand wife, except that the rosette fastening is double rather than triple.

Greenwood's stylistic grouping of Norwich brasses leans heavily on the analysis of lettering. He took the word '*Orate*' and showed how it changed over time and across groups of

46 Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, pp. 26-7.

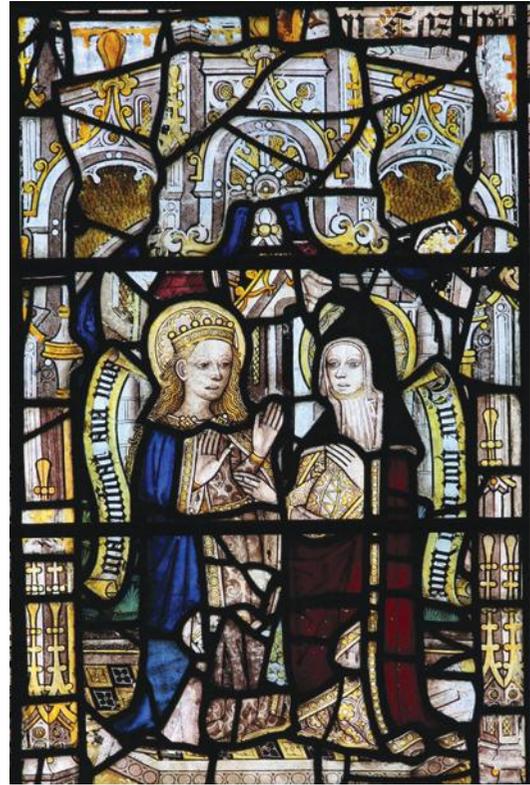


Fig. 11b. *The Visitation, from the east window of the Lady Chapel, c. 1461-67, East Harling*
(photo.: M. Dixon)

brasses.⁴⁶ The Norwich 3a style, to which the Merton brass and the East Harling indent belong, has the most elaborate 'O' and is the only one to have a stroke descending on the right from the 't'. Although the East Harling fragment panel does not have any capital 'O's, the capitals there are similar to those of the 3a brasses and the lower-case 't's have the descending stroke. However, the letters 'r' and 'e' on the glass are most similar to the N3 brasses from the 1490s, which fits the dating of the window to 1491-8.⁴⁷

47 Those of Richard Richards, 1493 at Aldborough, and Henry Spelman and wife at Narborough, 1496 (Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, figs. 22, 25).



Fig. 12. *Gabriel from the Annunciation*, c. 1460-c. 1470.
Ringland, Norfolk
(photo.: M. Dixon)

The style of this glass is very different in some ways from the glass at Norwich, St. Peter Mancroft, made some forty years earlier in the 1450s. There, flowing, curved drapery folds reminiscent of the International Gothic style are combined with a linear approach to the painting of details and a restrained use of stippling.⁴⁸ The two windows at East Harling made by the same workshop c. 1462-1469 have moved somewhat in the direction of the style seen on the *Te Deum* fragments, with high eyebrows and heavy eyelids, but still adopt a



Fig. 13. *Head of angel*, c. 1491-98?, ex East Harling
(Norfolk Museums Service)
(photo.: Author)

linearity of design which is foreign to the more painterly work of Heyward (Fig. 11a and b). Some elements of the Wighton workshop style remain, such as the rosette drapery pattern, and the puffy eyelids are a more modelled form of the linear delineation of the earlier atelier. For a closer stylistic precursor of this glass, the clerestory figures at Ringland of c. 1460-c. 1470 provide a parallel in the fineness of the drawing of the hands and faces and also in the delineation of the costume (Fig. 12).⁴⁹ The style is much more painterly than the East Harling

⁴⁸ King, *St. Peter Mancroft*, pp. cxxiv-cxxxii.

⁴⁹ For the glass at Ringland, see Woodforde, *Norwich School*, pp. 68-72; C.H.G. Daunton, 'The Patronage and Iconography of Stained Glass in Late Medieval

Norfolk: An Historical Analysis', unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2009, pp. 118-59; D. King, CVMA catalogue entry at <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/digpub/norfolk/sites/ringland/history.html>.

glass, and one wonders whether it is the work of Thomas Goldbeater, the glazier with whom William Heyward's brother Nicholas trained. Unfortunately, documentary evidence for Thomas is very slight.⁵⁰ Rather more survivals of this style have been found than of the Heyward style.

One of the latter has been discovered by Jim Bugslag in Canada and a Crucifixion window with donor figures in Taverham church, Norfolk and two heads from a main-light Coronation of the Virgin at Bawburgh, both near Ringland, are possible candidates.⁵¹ There is an N3 brass at Bawburgh of a man who died in 1500.⁵² A head of an angel in a panel of fragments formerly on display in the St. Peter Hungate Museum in Norwich almost certainly comes from East Harling and from the *Te Deum* window. It is very similar to the other glass (Fig. 13).⁵³

Greenwood suggested that Heyward's workshop may also have been responsible for panel paintings, but made no attempt to follow up this suggestion.⁵⁴ Since his publication, work on the Norfolk painted rood screens has begun to group them into stylistic groups.⁵⁵ These are of two kinds: those painted by local craftsmen following long-established iconographic and stylistic traditions, and those painted under the influence of or by foreign painters, including the use of designs from German print sources. This



Fig. 14a. Detail of panel of fragments of a depiction of the *Te Deum*, c. 1491-98, east chancel window, East Harling (photo.: M. Dixon)

division mirrors the situation in latest medieval glass made for Norfolk churches.⁵⁶ The most important of the first, and earlier, type, is a

50 See M. Wallace, *Medieval People of Norwich: Artists and Artisans* (Norwich, 1992), pp. 6-7, 21, 25; King, *St. Peter Mancroft*, p. 140.

51 J. Bugslag, "The Bride of Heaven": A 'Roundel' made for the Market', in S. Sauterel and S. Trümpler ed., *Les panneaux de vitrail isolés. Die Einzelscheibe. The single stained-glass panel*, Actes du XXIV^e Colloque International du Corpus Vitrearum (Zurich, 2010), pp. 55-65. For Taverham, see Daunton, 'Patronage and Iconography', pp. 134-5; D. King, CVMA catalogue entry at <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/digpub/norfolk/sites/taverham/history.html>. For Bawburgh, see D. King, CVMA catalogue entry at <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/digpub/norfolk/sites/bawburgh/history.html>.

52 Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, p. 45.

53 The panel belongs to the Norfolk Museums Service and is now in store.

54 Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses*, p. 31.

55 J. Mitchell, 'Painting in East Anglia around 1500: The Continental Connection', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Andrew Martindale, Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 365-380.

56 No print sources have been found for Norfolk glass, but the glass in such places as Norwich, St. Andrew, Norwich, St. Stephen, Shelton and Outwell demonstrates the influence from continental painting, even though exactly how this was transmitted is not yet clear.



Fig. 14b. St. Michael from a parclose screen, c. 1470-80, Ranworth, Norfolk (photo.: Author)

group of seven screens associated stylistically with that at Ranworth.⁵⁷ Four hands have been distinguished and the workshop is thought to have operated in the 1470s and 1480s. At least two of the hands have characteristics very similar to the Heyward workshop glass and brasses (Figs. 14a and b). The splendid figure of St. Michael and the dragon at Ranworth should

⁵⁷ Mitchell, 'Painting in East Anglia', pp. 368-73.



Fig. 15. St. Michael from the rood screen, c. 1470-80, Filby, Norfolk (photo.: UEA School of World Art History and Museology)

be compared with the fragmentary angel bottom left in the East Harling panel. The curly hair, high eyebrows, dimpled chin and heavy eyelids are all present in both, and both wear an ermine tippet with patterned hem from which wings protrude. The split tunic with hemmed division of the glass is paralleled in the figure of St. George at Ranworth. The female saints at North Elmham are finely painted and are facially very similar to the East Harling fragments (Figs. 15a and 13). St. Michael weighing the souls at Filby also has the hemmed ermine tippet and the similar facial features. Apart from figure style, details of ornament and lettering provide comparisons between glass and screen painting. A distinctive chequered pattern is seen on the pedestals on which stand the figures at Filby, North Elmham, Old Hunstanton, Southwold and Thornham. The same pattern is seen in glass at East Harling on a fragment of pedestal set in another panel in the east window there and which if our

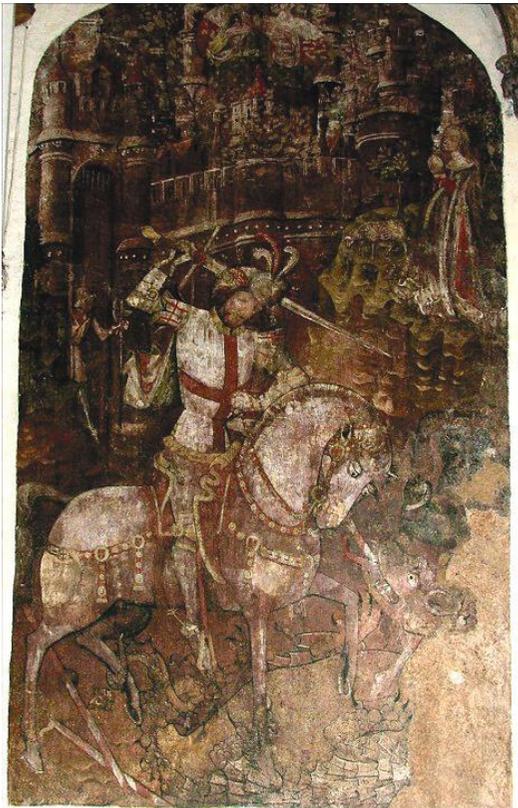


Fig. 16. *St. George and the dragon, wall painting, c. 1500, in the church of St. Gregory, Norwich*
(photo.: Simon Knott www.norfolkchurches.co.uk)

suggestions concerning the original glazing of the east window are true, must have come from there.⁵⁸ The saints on the screen at North Elmham are named at the bottom, and the ornate decoration of the capital 'S' of 'Sancta' is similar to that on the letter 'T' in the East Harling fragment panel. Both there and on the scrolls held by prophets and others at Thornham, the words of the inscriptions are separated from each other by a variety of motifs. Other similarities include the combining of 'd' and 'e'. The lettering on the brasses is not

58 Window I, 2a.



Fig. 17a. *Detail of brass of Sir William de Grey (d. 1495) and family, Merton, Norfolk*
(photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

comparable, except perhaps in some of the flourished capitals. The production of screen paintings by a workshop which produced other media may help to explain why documentary references to painters in Norwich become less numerous in the very period when the surviving screen paintings were made.⁵⁹

The only remaining large-scale painted medium, apart from the almost completely lost painted cloths, once frequent adornments in churches, is that of wall painting. There is one well-known and fine example in Norwich which could just be the work of the Heyward atelier. The different medium and scale makes comparison difficult, but it could be argued that

59 Another reason may be that work done *in-situ* in county churches did not require the artists to be enrolled as freemen in Norwich.

the high-quality late-fifteenth-century mural in St. Gregory's church is stylistically close enough to the work already discussed here to merit consideration as part of the oeuvre of this prolific workshop (Fig. 16).⁶⁰ The scene depicted is again St. George and the Dragon, but here the saint is equestrian and wields his sword in a rocky landscape before a walled city, with the maiden he has come to rescue kneeling top right. Many of the iconographic features here are unparalleled in the other media, making stylistic comparison more difficult, but the figure of the maiden has the same posture, drapery system and proportions as the kneeling daughters in the de Grey brass, and as far as can be seen the depiction of face and hair is like that of the female saints on the North Elmham screen (Figs. 17a and b). The exotic spiked turban of the king on the tower is like that of St. George on the screen at Ranworth. The St. Gregory mural was also clearly the inspiration for the same scene on the much later screen at Wellingham, dated 1532, again suggesting a workshop connection between the two media.⁶¹

Roger Greenwood's discovery of the commissioning in John Aylward's will of his unusual brass, which proves to have a liturgical focus, was fundamental to the opening up of our knowledge of this multi-media workshop, which will alter our perceptions of how figurative art was produced during the late Middle Ages in Norfolk. It is to be hoped that the identification of some of Heyward's glass will have moved on the argument. It is clear that students of glass, brass and painting will need to share and cooperate if progress is to be made in this area.

60 N. Pevsner and B. Wilson, *Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East*, The Buildings of England (London, 1997), p. 238.



Fig. 17b. Detail of *St. George and the dragon*, wall painting, c. 1500, in the church of St. Gregory, Norwich (photo.: Author)

61 S. Cotton, 'Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk: Their Construction and Dates', *Norfolk Archaeology*, XL (1987), pp. 44-54 at 52.

Conservation of brasses, 2010

William Lack

This is the twenty-sixth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with the brasses at Beeford, Hevingham, Lavenham, Lidlington, Owston, Redisham, Sessay and Shottesbrooke and for funding the production of facsimiles at Sessay; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Beeford, Owston and Sessay; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation at Beeford, Lidlington, Owston and Sessay; the Monumental Brass Society at Beeford, Lidlington, Owston and Sessay; and Driffield Round Table and Driffield Rotary Club at Beeford. At Hevingham and Redisham the brasses have been given 'LSW numbers' following surveys undertaken for forthcoming *County Series* volumes.

Beeford, Yorkshire (E.R.)

M.S.I. Thomas Tonge, rector, 1472 (Fig. 1).¹ This York 2b brass now comprises the effigy in richly diapered cope, holding a book, together with a mutilated marginal inscription (949 x 353 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.1 and 3.5 mm, 13 rivets), and three fillets of marginal inscription² (originally 1725 x 841 mm overall; left-hand fillet now 754 x 38 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 3 rivets; upper right-hand fillet 736 x 38 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 3 rivets; lower right-hand fillet now 284 x 38 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 2 rivets). These had worked loose and were poorly bedded and were removed from the original slab on 24 October 2009. The slab measures 1940 x 1035 mm and there are indents for Evangelists' symbols in quadrilobes (125 x

125 mm) at each corner. It lies on the north side of the sanctuary at the top of the steps from the vestry and is very worn in places. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the effigy and fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 16 August 2010.

Hevingham, Norfolk

LSW.XXI. Inscription to John Philip Barber, 2009. This five-line inscription was commissioned in 2009 and secured to a cedar board. The board was mounted murally in the nave on 24 February 2010.

Lavenham, Suffolk

M.S.III. Clopton D'Ewes, [1631] (Fig. 2). This London brass comprises an effigy in swaddling clothes (48-62 x 217 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 2 rivets) and a nine-line Latin inscription (161 x 450 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 8 rivets). The plates were removed from modern marble slab (835 x 610 mm) in the chancel on 16 February 2009. It had been secured with conventional woodscrews and the plates were proud of the indent in places and becoming worn and abraded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 23 February 2010.

Lidlington, Bedfordshire

(now in Marston Morteyne, Bedfordshire)

LSW.I. William Goldyngton and wife, engraved *c.* 1505 (Fig. 2).³ The brass was originally laid down in the chancel of the old church which became ruinous after the new church was built in 1886. In 2002 the surviving parts of the brass, the male effigy, one fillet of marginal inscription and the palimpsest group

1 The brass was described and the effigy illustrated by Mill Stephenson in 'Monumental Brasses in the East Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XII (1893), p.198.

2 The marginal inscription, recorded when complete in the Dade manuscript of 1662, is printed in G. Poulson,

The History and Antiquities of the Seigneurie of Holderness, 2 vols. (Hull, 1840-1), I, p. 255.

3 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), p. 60, pp. 62-3.

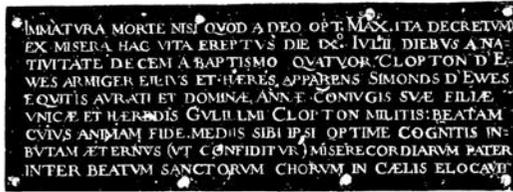


Fig. 2. Clopton D'Ewes, [1631] (M.S.III)
Lavenham, Suffolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

of daughters, were conserved and mounted in the new church together with resin facsimiles of missing parts known from an old rubbing.⁴ A facsimile of the palimpsest reverse was mounted on a separate board. In 2008, following the decision to close the church, it was decided that the boards should be relocated in the church at Marston Morteyne. At this stage ten fragments from the brass were found in the vestry at Lidlington. They were collected from the church on 23 April 2008 and the boards were removed on 16 April 2009.

The fragments, comprising nine pieces of the marginal inscription (2 complete fillets, 693 x 32 mm and 630 x 30 mm, and 3 incomplete fillets, thicknesses 2.9 to 3.4 mm, 17 rivets) and the upper part of the left-hand scroll (now 124 x 41 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 1 rivet), were

considerably corroded, buckled and bent. Identifying notches survive on the reverses of three of the fillets. After cleaning I repaired fractures and fitted new rivets. I removed the facsimiles from the board and cut and shaped them to fit with the newly discovered pieces. The brass fragments and facsimiles were then resecured in the indents. The two boards were mounted on the west wall of the nave at Marston Morteyne on 17 March 2010.

Merton, Norfolk

M.S.III. William de Grey, [1495], and wives Mary and Grace.⁵ In 2005 the right-hand scroll, which had been discovered in 2004 by a metal detectorist in a field close to the church, was reset in the slab.⁵ A further piece, a fragment of the lost foot inscription (62 x 32 mm, thickness 3.7 mm) was found nearby. This was cleaned, fitted with a back-soldered rivet and reset on 23 August 2010.⁶

Owston, Yorkshire (W.R.)

M.S.I. Robert de Haitfield and wife, 1409.⁷ This London A brass, comprising two effigies holding hands, both wearing Lancastrian SS. collars, Robert de Haitfield in civilian dress with a baselard (610 x 186 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 6 rivets), with his wife Ade (610 x 230 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 8 rivets), and a four-line French foot inscription (100 x 626 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 6 rivets), was taken up from a modern slab at the east end of the south aisle on 11 April 2010. The plates were poorly bedded, considerably corroded and inadequately secured by large round-headed screws, with the right-

4 'Conservation of Brasses, 2001-2002', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 2 (2004), pp. 162-3.

5 *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 5 (2007), pp. 492-3; *MBS Bulletin*, 103 (Sept. 2006), pp. 41, 48-9.

6 *MBS Bulletin*, 116 (Feb. 2011), pp. 310-11.

7 Described and illustrated by F. Fairbank, 'Monumental Brasses remaining in the Old Deanery of Doncaster', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XI (1891), pp. 15-7, and M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the West Riding',

Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl, XV (1897-8), p.38. Fairbank quotes Haitfield's will in which he asked to be buried in the chapel of St. Mary which was then 'de novo constructa'. The brass was presumably moved to the south aisle at the 1879-80 restoration. Stephenson's illustration shows the brass in the original slab with the effigies positioned more centrally above the inscription.

hand corner of the male effigy and the right-hand end of the inscription partially obscured by the adjacent pew platform.⁸ The bottom corners of the male effigy had been broken off across the rivet holes. After cleaning I repaired the fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.⁹

Redisham, Suffolk

LSW.V. Inscription to Alastair and Alan Palgrave-Brown, 2006. This nine-line inscription, engraved on a circular plate, was commissioned in 2009 and secured to a circular oak board. The board was mounted murally in the nave on 23 February 2010.

Sessay, Yorkshire (N.R.)

M.S.I. Thomas Magnus, 1550.¹⁰ This London G (Fermer style) brass, comprising a coped effigy with mutilated scroll (now 667 x 210 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.4 and 3.3 mm, 8 rivets), a three-line foot inscription (90 x 626 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 6 rivets), a shield (176 x 141 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 2 rivets) and four devices on quatrefoils (upper left 128 x 128 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 2 rivets; upper right 126 x 119 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.5 and 3.0 mm, 2 rivets; lower left 126 x 119 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.5 and 3.1 mm, 2 rivets; and lower right 128 x 119 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.2 and 3.1 mm, 2 rivets), was taken up from a modern slab in the chancel on 10 April 2010. The brass was discovered to be palimpsest in 1902, the reverses showing a portion of Flemish drapery, c. 1360, part of a large lady, c. 1420, two parts of a priest with monogram 'J.E.',

⁸ *MBS Bulletin*, 117 (June 2011), p. 331.

⁹ The plates were positioned as in the old rubbing reproduced by Stephenson.

¹⁰ Described and illustrated in M. Stephenson, 'Monumental Brass in the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*, XVII (1903), pp. 313-4; illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, VI (1963), pl. 32, reprinted in *Monumental Brasses, the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 342.



Fig. 3. Marginal inscription fragment from the Pennebrygg brass (LSW.II), Shottesbrooke, Berkshire (rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

c. 1425, two parts of an effigy, c. 1480, part of a civilian effigy, c. 1520.¹¹

After cleaning I produced facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and mounted these on a cedar board together with a commemorative plate. I repaired fractures, re-joined plates and fitted new rivets. On 13 December 2010 the brass was relaid in its slab and the board carrying the facsimiles was mounted on the north wall of the chancel.

Shottesbrooke, Berkshire

LSW.II. Margaret Pennebrygg, 1401 (Fig. 3).¹² This London C brass, comprising a female effigy and heavily mutilated marginal inscription, lies in the original Purbeck slab in the north transept. David Meara discovered a fragment of marginal inscription (33 x 81 mm, thickness 3.3 mm) on a market stall in Portobello Road and purchased it.¹³ After the provenance had been confirmed, he generously offered to return it to the church on condition that it was properly conserved and relaid. It was passed to me in September 2009. After cleaning I soldered two rivets to the reverse. It was relaid in the original indent on 1 September 2010.

¹¹ Described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson in *MBS Trans.*, IV (1903), pp. 304-7, and J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1977), pp. 51-2 and pls. 58-60, and also illustrated in Mill Stephenson's paper in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Jnl*.

¹² W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), pp. 118-19.

¹³ *MBS Bulletin*, 119 (Feb. 2012), pp. 368-9.

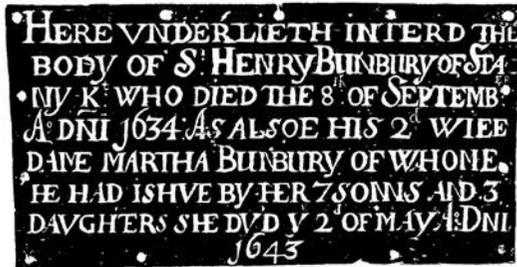


Fig. 4. Inscription to Sir Henry Bunbury and wife, 1643 (LSW.I)
Thornton-le-Moors, Cheshire
(rubbing: Author)

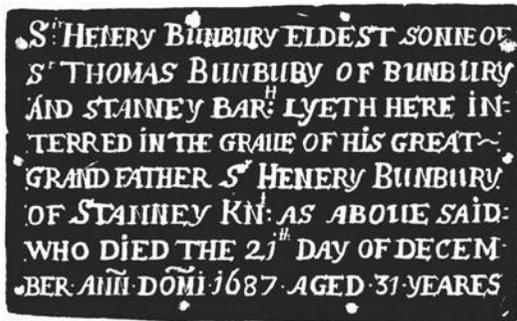


Fig. 5. Inscription to Sir Henry Bunbury, 1687 (LSW.II)
Thornton-le-Moors, Cheshire
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

Thornton-le-Moors, Cheshire¹⁴

LSW.I. Inscription to Sir Henry Bunbury and wife Martha, 1643, (Fig. 4) and **LSW.II.** Inscription to Sir Henry Bunbury, 1687 (Fig. 5).¹⁵ These two inscriptions (in seven English lines, 175 x 342 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 13 rivets; and eight English lines, 205 x 333 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 10 rivets) were taken up from their slab

¹⁴ Vested in the Churches Conservation Trust. In 2009-10 extensive conservation work was carried out on the church.



Fig. 5. Palimpsest reverse of Bunbury inscription, 1687 (LSW.II)
Thornton-le-Moors, Cheshire
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

(2135 x 590 mm visible) in the chancel on 23 February 2010. They were corroded, poorly bedded, proud of the slab and inadequately secured. I found that LSW.II was palimpsest, being cut from the lower part of a London debased F female effigy, c. 1525 (Fig. 6).¹⁶ After cleaning I produced a facsimile of the palimpsest reverse and mounted this on a cedar board together with a descriptive plate. I fitted new rivets to the inscriptions. On 2 September 2010 the brasses were relaid in the slab and the board was mounted on the north wall of the chancel.

¹⁵ W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cheshire* (London, 1996), p. 165.
¹⁶ *MBS Bulletin*, 114 (May 2010), p. 270.

Reviews

Dee Dyas et al. ed., *The English Parish Church through the Centuries: Daily Life and Spirituality; Art and Architecture; Literature and Music*, 1st edition (University of York: Christianity & Culture, 2010); interactive CD-Rom; £17.50; ISBN 978-0-9550673-2-7.

The editor of this CD, Dee Dyas, along with her associate editors and technical team, are to be congratulated on the scope of this CD, accurately suggested in its title. This is an ambitious work which attempts to illuminate and explain, in word and image, the shape, role and content of the English parish church from the early Middle Ages through to the twentieth century. To elucidate and develop the many themes covered over a long time span they have persuaded a large number of academics to provide explanatory text which informs without overloading the reader with too much detail. Those wanting more detail can follow links which appear clearly marked throughout all the text pieces.

Readers of this particular journal will be interested in contents concerning monuments and brasses in particular. Under 'Section 3: Late Medieval England, 1066-1534: Church Art and Architecture' there is a succinct and highly informative section on monuments written by M.B.S. member Paul Cockerham. This includes well-produced illustrative material. It is also carefully positioned within a section which introduces the reader to the look and 'feel' of a medieval parish church.

The reader should also take time to explore the detailed verbal and visual information contained in the case studies which provide some of the best features of this CD. To give one example: the study of Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk, with plentiful illustrations and excellent text by Rachel Canty and David Griffith, is well worth a visit. The

'case studies' section contains detailed information on churches of different architectural styles from the Anglo-Saxon building at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire to Wesley's Chapel in London and the eighteenth-century New Room in Bristol. An important feature of these case studies, as of all the sections of the CD, is the bibliography which aims to be of use to those with little knowledge as well as those working in the field.

The information is particularly good for the earlier periods, perhaps less detailed for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A section covering the period 1689 to 1945 cannot easily do justice to the massive changes in the life of the parish church over this period, though the sections of text are models of succinctness provided by leading authors in the fields, such as Arthur Burns and Jeremy Morris. This points to a major problem with the CD – but one that can be remedied – it is trying to do too much in too small a space. A second, expanded, edition or a second 'volume' is needed

I would suggest that the fact that this is a first edition is evident; its facilities and ease of use need to be tested. It is not easy to use precisely because it is ambitious in the amount of information it wishes to impart. It is not, for example, immediately evident how one enters the first screen; nor is it evident which of several lists or diagrams of contents should be used first to gain access to the overview pieces of text; nor is there an explanatory booklet with the CD. There is, of course, a 'how to use' the CD – but this user at least found that one had to have attempted to use the material before finding this section of help. This is a pity and perhaps the second edition might address the need for a little assistance to the user.

Depending on one's research needs and interests, there are many ways of searching the

CD and a huge amount of information to be found, including – as noted earlier – a huge array of imagery in high-quality reproduction. The CD repays patience and time.

Claire Daunton

William Lack, H Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore ed., *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire*, The County Series (Stratford St Mary, Suffolk, 2009); xxxiv + 754 pp., 672 illus. + 18 b/w photos.; bibliography; index; stiff paper covers; ISBN 978-0-9554484-2-3.

This volume is the first in the County Series to be reviewed in these *Transactions*, so it is fitting that it proves to be the second largest published to date, as well as the sixteenth in this now well established series.

Given Hertfordshire's proximity and access to the massive output of the London workshops, it is no surprise to find that from *c.* 1300 until *c.* 1640 nearly all its brasses were produced there. The chronological list of figure brasses (pp. 725-26) names 204 London A to G, plus 27 Gerard Johnson products. Of the very few provincial workshops represented, notably Cambridge, plus Suffolk 1 and 3 (most lost), nearly every example comes from the north of the county at Hitchin, St. Mary (*XIII*, *XIV*, 69 (lost) and 78) or nearby at Offley (I & II).

It is no surprise to find that most of the earliest known brasses in the county were in the great Benedictine abbey at St Albans. When John Philipot visited the dissolved monastery in 1643, he made sketches or records of many now lost or mutilated examples; several of them are reproduced in this volume. Some 160 years later, John Carter's detailed floor plan of the Abbey, made *c.* 1811-12, shows over 200 slabs with brasses and/or indents. Today, only some

20 older brasses survive in part or whole, and 67 indents/losses are noted, including one incomplete slab, 126, found in pieces in 1978 during the Chapter House excavations, believed to be that of the royal surgeon Adam Rous, d. 1379 (report to be published 2012). At St. Albans, two of the finest brasses are I, the famous Flemish brass to Abbot Thomas de la Mare, engraved *c.* 1355, and III, Abbot John Stoke, 1451, now sadly mutilated. Other brasses to the lesser clergy are more modest. However, indents do survive of some of the earliest monastic brasses, notably those of John de Berkhamstede, d. 1301; Richard Wallingford, d. 1336, and the slab now in fragments to John de Whetehampstede, *c.* 1470. All are illustrated with rubbings and/or drawings. It is also said (in the *Gesta Abbatum*, I, pp. 149, 158) that when Abbot Thomas de la Mare had his Flemish brass made, he also ordered one of similar size to his predecessor, Abbot Michael Mentmore, of which the indent (69) still remains in the Presbytery.

Hertfordshire also has a good selection of early slabs with Lombardic individual letter inscriptions, the earliest probably being that of Abbot John de Berkhamstede, d. 1301. A few show semi-relief stone crosses within a border inscription in single Lombardic letters, e.g. Clothall 9, *c.* 1310-20; Cheshunt 29 (lost) and Sawbridgeworth (not recorded here, but attributed by Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs* (1999), p. 136, to William de Say, d. 1295. Other later examples, e.g. Anstey 6 (early fourteenth century); Stevenage, St. Nicholas 13, *c.* 1320-30, have indents of crosses, mostly with figures in the head. Others simply have Lombardic border inscriptions, with or without a small brass inscription and shield(s), e.g. Graveley 4, *c.* 1340-50; Watton-at Stone 33 and 34, both early fourteenth century; Westmill 11, *c.* 1320-30 (all illustrated) and St Paul's Walden 22, *c.* 1310-20 (now covered, not illustrated).

Old drawings exist of lost slabs at East Barnet 19; Kings Langley 35; St. Albans, St. Peter 101; and Wheathampstead 168.

The volume lists nearly 520 lost brasses, slabs and indents, including a handful of modern inscriptions, with significant losses recorded at Aldenham (24); Baldock (36); Hitchin, St. Mary (33); St. Albans Cathedral (67) and St. Albans, St. Peter (33). Many losses are known not just from printed county histories (of which Hertfordshire has five), but from sketches and drawings, notably by J.G. Oldfield and Thomas Fisher, and from early dabbings and rubbings in national collections. Including St. Albans Cathedral, in the city as a whole 113 losses are recorded, including a rose brass at St. Peter's church 103, illus. p. 532. At Aldenham, the old slabs, some with brasses still in them, were allegedly sold to line the ovens of a baker in nearby Watford!

One more example will suffice to illustrate the vicissitudes of survival and loss at just one church, arguably one of the most interesting series of brasses in the county. At Watton-at-Stone, I & II were both relaid in new slabs in the early 1850s. The then mutilated figure of Sir Philip Peletot, knight, LSW.I, 1361, had the missing legs, canopy, two shields and the marginal inscription very skilfully restored. A priest in choral cope, LSW.II, c. 1370, now has only the figure remaining, but originally had a canopy and marginal inscription. It is usually said to represent John Briggshall, rector from 1366 until his death in 1375. Oldfield's note accompanying his drawing of c. 1790 (reproduced p. 664), says that a small piece of the marginal inscription then remained with the words '*Eccles et Canonci in Ecclesia...*'. This, together with a will dated 22 July 1375, suggests the figure could be John de Thorp, Canon of St. Paul's, London and Rector of Cottenham, Cambs. In his will he asked to be buried in the

chancel of Watton-at-Stone 'if I die there, or in St. Paul's if I die in London'. Of 326 known medieval burials in St. Paul's, there is no record of a John de Thorp (*ex inf.* Christian Steer and Marie-Helene Rousseau), so his burial at Watton remains a possibility.

Hertfordshire's proximity to the capital has also left us a good selection of brasses to officers and servants of the royal household. Probably best known is that of John Peryent, pennon-bearer to Richard II, esquire to Henry IV and Henry V and Master of the Horse to Queen Joan of Navarre, and his wife, chief lady-in-waiting to Queen Joan (Digswell I, 1415). Knebworth I, 1414, is to a treasurer of the household to Henry V; whilst II, 1433, is the once fine London B brass to John Hotoft, holder of a similar post under Henry VI. Aspenden II, 1508, shows Sir Robert Clyfford, master of ordnance to Henry VII. Less common offices represented on brasses are those of John Borrell, d 1531, Serjeant at Arms to Henry VIII, mutilated but holding his mace (Broxbourne V); and John Kent in the uniform of a yeoman of the guard (Aston I, 1592). Lastly, Hunsdon III, 1591, is the unique 'deaths-signe brass' of James Gray, park-keeper. His striking brass illustrates the front cover of this volume.

The county has a number of fine military brasses, of which two of the best are the London B figures at Digswell (I, 1415) and Sawbridgeworth (I, 1437). Broxbourne II, 1473, has the figures of Sir John Say and wife, in tabard and mantle, still retaining much of their original colour; and St. Albans Cathedral XI, 1480, has the well-known London D figure of Sir Anthony Grey, with collar of Suns and Roses. At Albury (II, c. 1475) Henry Barley's armour, including *salade*, has been carefully engraved with attention to detail. Other 'Yorkist' style armour can be seen at Sawbridgeworth V, c. 1480; Standon III, 1477 -

son in tabard, his father in the robes of a London alderman; Sandon I, 1480; and Wheathampstead II, c. 1480, but sadly mutilated, probably one of the Brockett family. The only surviving example of a kneeling figure, at Standon (I, 1412) has lost its upper half, but was once at the foot of a cross with his wife opposite.

Apart from those already mentioned there are other interesting examples of ecclesiastical brasses within the county. Probably the best known and most illustrated is the Flemish brass of William de Kestevene, vicar (North Mimms, I, 1361). Half-effigies of priests survive at Great Berkhamsted IV, c. 1400 (with very life-like face) and Much Hadham II, c. 1420, in academical robes. Three lost examples are illustrated at Baldock 32, c. 1450 and Offley 14, c. 1460, both holding a chalice, and Wormley 27, 1457; another, Broxbourne III, c. 1475, (illustrated p. 131) is still in private possession. The finest coped priest is that of Simon Bache, Knebworth I, 1414, whilst Buckland II, 1478, shows William Langley in a plainer cope and unusually holding a small chalice. Clothall has four ecclesiastical brasses, including V, 1602, a good Johnson style figure of William Lucas. Barley II, 1621, another Johnson style brass is to the theologian and academic Andrew Willet, in cap, gown and scarf. Arguably the two most unusual brasses are Buntingford I, 1620, showing Alexander Strange, vicar, preaching to his congregation; and Datchworth I, 1622, a small plate bearing a tree with serpent entwined round it and dove in rays of glory above (illus. for first time, p. 175). The best academical brass, now sadly mutilated, is Royston I, 1421, with effigy under a canopy; another finer one of c. 1400 formerly existed at Sawbridgeworth, now known only from an old rubbing (49, illus. p. 569). The only brass in the county to a friar, Great Amwell M.S.I, c. 1440, was stolen in 1968 and replaced by a facsimile, LSW.XXXV,

in 1973. The upper part of a coped priest with a circular badge on his left shoulder, discovered in 1881, Benington I, c. 1420-30, has long been a subject of speculation. Is it a brass to a Canon of Windsor? A now lost inscription, noted only in N. Salmon's *History of Hertfordshire* (1728), p. 196, records on 'A Stone in the Church': *Hic jacet Magister Rogerus Gates, quondam...Illustrissimorum Regum Henrici quinti et sexti...de...cujus anime propitiatur Deus*. The list of 'Canons of the First Stall' at Windsor, shows Roger Gates as Canon between 1425 and 1430, matching both the likely date of this brass and the badge on the shoulder of the figure. Further research is needed to confirm this attribution; a surviving fragment of scroll (II) may also belong to this brass.

There are many indents and losses of other ecclesiastical brasses throughout the county, including many not previously illustrated, e.g. Broxbourne 38, 1465; Bygrave 2, c. 1460; Codicote 16, c. 1600; Northchurch 28, c. 1480; Watton-at Stone V, c. 1470, with indent on same slab as two pairs of civilians (illus. p. 669); and Widford 6, c. 1490, half-effigy. Wallington 3, c. 1400, is not illustrated, nor are two slabs with indents of priests in cope, Therfield 6, c. 1425 and 7, c. 1450, one being behind a fixed wall cupboard.

Civilian brasses range in date from the fine, but partly mutilated, London C double-canopied brass of Richard Torryngton and his wife, holding hands, Great Berkhamsted I, 1356; to the iconic and simple brass to the two wives of Francis Rowly, Brent Pelham I, 1627. St. Albans, St. Michael I, c. 1380 are good London A figures, while half-effigies at Letchworth I, c. 1400, and Ickleford I, 1401, are both good London C products. Furneaux Pelham I, 1420 is another fine, canopied brass to Robert Newport and wife. Male effigies with anelace, Aldenham 47, c. 1405 and Great Berkhamsted

76, 1409, both clearly London A products, are now lost; so too is the unusual London A brass of a small male figure and much larger lady with *nebulée* hairstyle, Watton-at-Stone 35, *c.* 1410. Baldock II, *c.* 1420, shows a huntsman with horn, anelace and hound (missing) on a leash. Walkern I, *c.* 1480 (illus. p. 627), is a standard London D civilian and wife, but with the indent of a pilchrow and scroll above, the only example in Hertfordshire. Only two cross brasses have survived. The earliest is a male effigy, wife lost, in the head of an octofoil cross at St. Michael's, St. Albans, III, *c.* 1400; the other, Royston II, *c.* 1500, is a slender Latin cross with five wounds, on three steps, currently under the altar (illus. p. 445).

There are 27 surviving Johnson style brasses, notably Albury VI, 1592, with skull above; King's Langley III, 1588 - John Carter and two wives; Newnham II, 1607; and Watford V, 1613 - three male servants of Sir Charles Morrison. Wyddiall IV, 1575, is the most unusual - a half-effigy in bonnet and ruff with prayer book, 4 shields and inscription, in memory of Dame Margaret Plumbe (*née* Nevill). There is an almost identical brass to this in York Minster (M.S.II, 1585). Finally, mention should be made of the wide variety of shroud brasses, all different, including Aldenham X, 1547, palimpsest; Baldock IV, *c.* 1510; Great Berkhamsted VII, 1520; Digswell III, 1484; and several at Hitchin, *c.* 1477-90.

The county boasts a number of good Victorian and modern figure brasses, the best selection being in St Edmund's College Chapel, Old Hall Green, near Standon. They include one kneeling figure, inscription and scroll, III, engraved 1850, designed by A.W.N. Pugin. Four other figure brasses are illustrated, two known to be by John Hardman & Co. of Birmingham, the others probably so, all commemorating clergy associated with the

College, including Bishop James Talbot, d. 1790, but brass engraved 1901. Brasses XIII, 1902 and XIX, 1910, are priests in Eucharistic vestments, with chalice and wafer, much in the medieval style. Only the faces look modern. There is a good clerical brass by Waller, Wareside I, 1845, unusual in being set into a wooden floor slab, and at Holy Saviour, Hitchin VII, 1910, is the bearded half-effigy of the Revd. George Gainsford, builder of the church. Two fine twentieth-century figure brasses can be found at Boxmoor near Hemel Hempstead, and Hatfield Hyde. Boxmoor V, 1932 shows the elongated figures of Edward Mitchell-Innes (d. 1932) in judicial robes and wig, his wife in widow's dress and son Gilbert (d. 1915) in army uniform and cap; between a shield of arms and four daughters, all kneeling. The brass is signed *Robin Darwin fecit [19]33*. The designer was Sir Robert Vere Darwin (1910-74), at that time Art Master at Watford Grammar School, later Principal of the Royal College of Art from 1948 to 1971. The Kendall family brass, Hatfield Hyde II, 1933, but engraved *c.* 1936, was designed by Julian Allan, using photographs and actual clothes worn by the principal figures; it was engraved by Robert S. Austin. The illustration in the book (p. 263) shows the brass before it was removed in 1973, and the missing dates of death added by William Turner of G.T. Friend. Finally, Ardeley IX, 1885, shows the small figure of William Wyndham Malet, vicar, in Mass vestments and skull cap, facing sideways; whilst at Holy Rood (R.C.) church, Watford, is a larger, well engraved brass to the Revd. Thomas Regan, II, 1902, in Mass vestments with chalice and wafer.

This volume is awash with modern inscriptions (over 3,800), many by well-known Victorian and modern makers (see Index, pp. 736-7 for list). Most are, as expected, to individuals or families, others are war memorials (including a number in copper and bronze), but by far the

largest numbers recorded at a single location, are small recent grave markers in churchyards like those at Harpenden (486); Thorley (140) and Wheathampstead (141). Whilst one may question the validity of listing them, it is likely that many, not always being made of durable metal, will not survive very long, so this could well prove to be their only record. Space does not permit the noting of any but a handful of inscriptions which, as in previous county volumes, include a large number to military personnel, like William Rose Mansfield, Baron Sandhurst, d. 1876, thanked 'for his signal service in the suppression of the insurrection in India', Digswell X; or Major General William Miles (d. 1860) who served in Egypt and was present at four sieges in India, Cheshunt VIII. Accidental deaths include E.P. Bosanquet who died after being bitten by a rattlesnake, Little Berkhamstead IV, 1891; whilst an unfortunate young man named Fred Cripps was 'cut to pieces by a plough', Hertford, Haileybury College Chapel, I, 1871. Many other men died in the two World Wars and subsequent conflicts, including M.E. Marshall, Parachute Regiment, killed in Northern Ireland, East Barnet XV, 1969. Lastly, there are two people famous for very different reasons: Bishops Stortford IV, 1902, is an inscription with verse to Cecil John Rhodes, founder of Rhodesia; and in the churchyard at St Nicholas, Harpenden, CCXLI, engraved 1998, is a small bronze to John Eric Bartholomew (1926-84), better known as the comedian Eric Morecombe.

This substantial volume shows Hertfordshire to be a county with a wide representation of pre-1700 brasses. In the 205 churches visited or noted, some 4,700 individual brasses, lost and existing, are recorded, though almost 90% are modern. The volume has many illustrations, a good number published for the first time, 561 from rubbings, 111 from drawings and 18 from photographs. There are a few omissions, mostly

of modern churches in New Towns. The list of sources used has only one notable omission – the collection of manuscript notes, drawings and rubbings in Hertford Museum, collected by W.F., R.T. and H.C. Andrews. It was W.F. Andrews who published the first modest and unillustrated books on Hertfordshire brasses in 1886 and 1903. The volume ends with a comprehensive name index and is once again a fine tribute both to the editors and to other M.B.S. members who have helped in its production.

Richard Busby

Julian M. Luxford and M.A. Michael ed., *Tributes to Nigel Morgan: Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects and Ideas* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010); 386 pp., 149 b/w illus., index of manuscripts and objects; €150.00 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-905375-29-5.

It is a great pleasure to review *Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects and Ideas*, published to honour one of our members, Professor Nigel Morgan of the University of Cambridge. This is a very rich collection of essays with contributions from a wide range of distinguished friends and colleagues of Professor Morgan. For members of the Monumental Brass Society there are three essays (all by members of the M.B.S.) which deserve particular attention and which will be the focus of this review. All three are in the section on 'Objects'.

The first of these is by Lynda Dennison, 'A unique Monument: the Brass of Philippe de Mézières'. This article provides an interesting account of the probable Parisian influences in the production process of this brass (now in the Museum Mayer-van den Bergh, Antwerp) and also draws on parallels with an image of de Mézières shown kneeling before

Richard II in a letter sent by de Mézières to the king in 1395. Dr. Dennison presents a compelling argument that de Mézières commissioned his brass during his lifetime (he died in 1405). A small quibble with this piece is the scattering of biographical information concerning de Mézières which comes towards the end of the essay not at the beginning. It would also have been nice to have had some close up images of the brass showing the detail. But this is a minor complaint.

Julian Luxford's contribution, 'The monumental Epitaph of Edmund Crouchback' opens up many new questions on the role of the inscription and the interest which this stimulated for the medieval viewer. The function of the inscription, while at one level perfectly obvious, has not always been thoroughly discussed and Dr. Luxford gently reminds the reader of their importance before moving onto the crux of the discussion, namely Crouchback's epitaph. This is now lost and there is nothing to indicate its former placement on this royal tomb at Westminster Abbey. A transcription of it has survived in Eton College MS 213. The content of this epitaph dismissed the legend that Crouchback was the elder son of Henry III; but it also creates another by suggesting he died in battle which, of course, was not the case. It is the location of this epitaph which is equally interesting and Dr. Luxford dismisses the possibility that it was on a metal fillet on the slab, on the basis that there was not enough space to include the text. Instead we are left with the tantalizing possibility that it was painted or displayed on a hanging tablet or parchment '*tabula*'.

The final article is by our Vice-President Nicholas Rogers on 'The Frenze Palimpsest' found in 1987 at Frenze, Norfolk. On the reverse of the inscription to George Duke

(d. 1551) is a panel depicting a bearded king, crowned, naked (but for his under-garments) sitting in bed with a spear thrust through his chest from which dangles two money bags. The article discusses the provenance of this devotional panel and argues that its origins in East Anglia, and almost certainly from Bury St. Edmunds, coincide with an impressive output of Suffolk products, which are shown in manuscripts, panel painting and stained glass, as well as in monumental brasses. Having dismissed any parallel to Dance of Death or *Ars Moriendi* iconography, he leads us into an interesting argument suggesting that this devotional panel represents the legend of King Sweyn's death through the divine intervention by King Edmund the Martyr. The grounds for this are reasonable as indeed is the suggestion that this may have formed part of the shrine to St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds. Although this can not be satisfactorily proven, this study reminds us that not all palimpsests were necessary funerary in origin.

These three articles – and indeed the other twenty-three – are well researched and well presented and they are a pleasure to read. But there are three points which niggle. Firstly there are no colour illustrations and this absence seems very strange for a publication devoted to honouring an art historian. I also question the practicalities, at least for the reader, of having the illustrations at the end of each article and not adjacent to the texts. It is a bit frustrating to have to flick between pages but perhaps that's a personal thing. The index of manuscripts and objects is welcome but where is the general index? This would have been welcome. My final niggle is the cost: €150.00 is a lot of money in these straitened times and I only hope that this will not put off prospective purchasers.

Christian Steer

The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010); 314 pp.; £40 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-84383-498-4

London's Temple Church is one of a handful of standing buildings in the City that dates to the Middle Ages. It has been extended and remodelled on many occasions, but the core of the structure is a distinctive round church built in the twelfth century for the Templar Knights, which now houses an important collection of medieval effigies. Long familiar to scholars, the church has received surprisingly little attention from them. Fortunately, a new collection of essays edited by Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park offers a perceptive and engaging account of the history of the church and the people who used it, from its foundation to the twentieth century.

The volume is the outcome of a conference held at the Courtauld Institute in 2008. Its nine articles cover the entire history of the church, although the focus is on the medieval period. The collection opens with a superb essay from Helen Nicholson that examines how the church was used throughout the Middle Ages; she demonstrates that it was a centre of religion and commerce, as well as used for storing valuables, including money and records. Christopher Wilson and Virginia Jansen examine its architectural development during the Middle Ages. Their papers offer new insights and reopen many questions concerning the structure. David Park provides an overview of the monuments, in which he re-examines the evidence for an early figure brass commemorating the Templar Visitor General Constantius de Hoverio. The early military effigies are analysed in detail in a valuable article by Philip J. Lankester which will become a standard source of reference. He sets out the complications of antiquarian evidence and

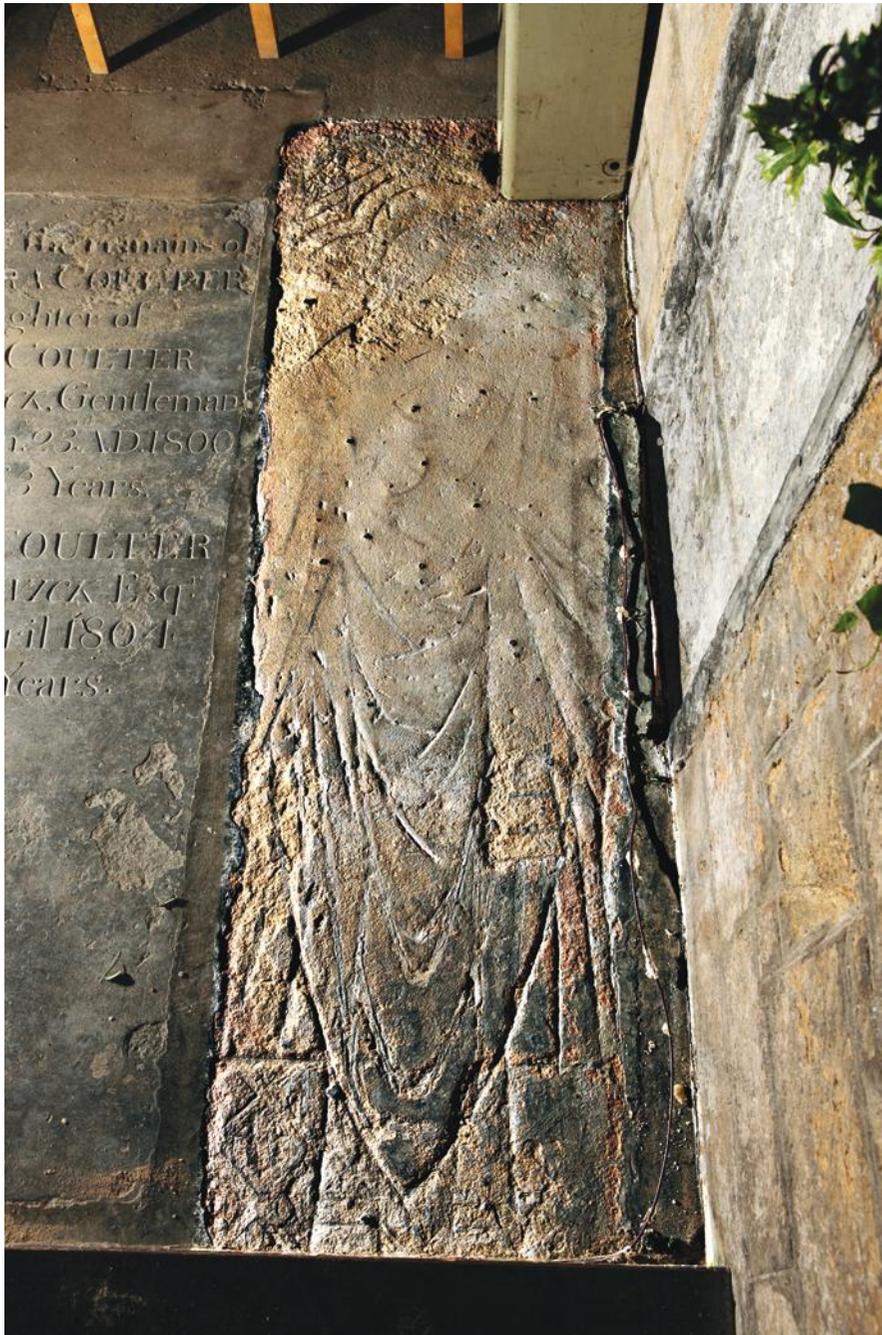
problems of identification with admirable clarity. In a further group of papers Robin Griffith-Jones, Rosemary Sweet, and William Whyte investigate the post-medieval history of the church. Together, the papers in this collection form a cohesive group because all the authors successfully balance description of the church's features with analysis that sets them in a broader context.

The contributors possess a deep appreciation of the wider artistic, social and political importance of the Temple Church. Each succeeding group occupying the site saw the physical fabric of the church as an opportunity to make a statement. This could be an announcement of individual status through the insertion of commemorative monuments, but it might also entail extensive remodelling of the interior to engage with new trends in religious or architectural thought. The result was a dialogue, expressed through the fabric and furnishings of the church, between its current occupiers and their predecessors, conducted with a view to communicating with a wider contemporary public. The church that survives today is the product of many alterations and adaptations. Understanding that these changes were conducted by men with particular purposes is helpful to contemporary historians attempting to establish the design of the church in earlier periods.

This is a valuable book for those interested in the Temple Church, the history of London and medieval art and architecture. The volume is handsomely illustrated, and the plans and photographs will no doubt be of immense use to future scholars. This is a collection of essays that answers questions but also raises many new ones. We can certainly look forward to further investigation of this intriguing church.

John McEwan

Portfolio of Small Plates



*Fig. 1. (?)John de Pykering, d. after 1317 (incised slab), Ponteland, Northumberland
(photo.: C.B. Newham)*

Fig. 1: (?)John de Pykering, d. after 1317 (incised slab), Ponteland, Northumberland.
Photograph by Cameron Newham.

Ponteland is an small market town situated about 6 miles north-east of Newcastle-upon-Tyne city centre, on the main A696 road where it crosses the River Pont en route to Jedburgh and the Scottish borders. The town contains a number of attractive old buildings of various periods, notable amongst which is the medieval parish church of St. Mary which stands at the main cross roads in the centre of the town adjacent to the river. The main body of the church and tower are Norman with a fine north transept and chancel dating from a thirteenth-century enlargement, but a late Saxon grave marker built into the tower implies the existence of a church here by the tenth/early eleventh century.¹ The early incised slab of a priest in the chancel under strips of carpet was recently brought to light by Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker while recording brasses for the County Series volume for Northumberland.

The slab is positioned against the north wall of the chancel below a window. It was at one time placed across a doorway and then in the centre of the chancel, which explains the extreme wear it has suffered, especially in the central section. Following the 1881–82 restoration of the church, the organ and its blower obscured most of the slab.² It was not until the removal of the organ in the 1970s that the monument was properly revealed again, although its bottom

end is hidden under a fixed wooden sanctuary dais and a heavy radiator obscures the top right-hand corner. Mortar is smeared over the sides of the slab making it difficult to be certain whether the edges have been trimmed, although this is likely, at least at the sides, as some of the lines of the figure are missing.

The monument is incised in a slab of buff-coloured sandstone with black inclusions, which, evidently being less susceptible to wear, protrude from the surface.³ It shows the figure of a priest, rather larger than life-size, in Mass vestments under a canopy. Most of the upper part of the figure is worn away, including the head and the amice, but more detail remains below. He wears an unusually long pointed chasuble over the alb, with a fringed maniple shown on the right-hand side. Two decorative panels at each side of the foot of the slab may perhaps represent the ends of the stole, although curiously they appear to have folds above. If there is any foot apparel of the alb it must be obscured by the sanctuary dais, as are the feet.

On his chest is a large chalice; the worn state of this part of the slab makes it impossible to be certain that he is actually holding it, although his left hand may be supporting the base. This is an unusual feature on an effigial monument, although cross slabs with emblems, including a chalice for a priest, are relatively common in northern England.⁴ There are 17 cross slabs with chalices in Northumberland alone.⁵ The

- 1 R.J. Cramp, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England, I: County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford, 1984), p. 217, pl. 210.
- 2 J. Walker, 'Visit to Ponteland and Walton', *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 2nd series, VII (1887), pp. 201–15, at 203.
- 3 *Ex inf.* Professor Richard Bailey.
- 4 P.J. Lankester, 'Sculpted Memorial Effigy of a Priest', in W. Rodwell, *St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: a Parish Church and its Community*, I (Oxford, 2011), pt. 2, pp. 640–5, esp. 642–3; P. Ryder, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria* (Kendal, 2005), pp. 18–19. None

- sufficiently similar is known in County Durham: P.F. Ryder, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham*, Durham, 1985; R.H. Edleston, 'Some Teesdale Tomb Slabs', *Trans. of the Architectural and Archaeological Soc. of Durham and Northumberland*, VII (1936), pp. 223–35; R.H. Edleston, 'Incised monumental slabs in Northumberland and Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, XV (1939), pp. 71–86.
- 5 P. Ryder, 'Medieval Cross Slab Covers in Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, XXVIII (2000), pp. 51–110; XXX (2002) pp. 75–137; XXXII (2003), pp. 91–117.

chalice on the Ponteland slab has a long stem with what appears to be a central knob, a rounded bowl and a rounded base with concave sides. This form is not replicated on any of the cross slabs recorded so far in northern England, although a broadly similar example was once at Lazonby, Cumberland; unfortunately this is not closely datable.⁶ Oman suggests that by the start of the fourteenth century the design of the chalice had changed, the important feature being that up to this date the foot of the chalice was round, but thereafter it was many-sided, usually hexagonal, the reason behind this change being to prevent the chalice from rolling when it was laid on its side on the paten at the ablutions at the conclusion of Mass. By the mid-fourteenth century the sides of the bowl tended to slope towards the rim rather than terminate at the rim at a vertical. The chalice on the Ponteland incised slab has a foot that is completely round rather than angular, and the bowl sides are consistently sloping up to the rim in a conical fashion, which gives an approximate date in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century. There is a more than passing resemblance to the chalice found in the tomb of Archbishop Melton (d. 1340) in York Minster, which Oman dates to *c.* 1320.⁷

The figure is shown under a simple canopy, lacking even a hint of an ogee in the arch; this feature again indicates that the slab is highly unlikely to be later than the first quarter of the fourteenth century. If there were any side shafts to the canopy, they have been trimmed off. At the top left-hand corner of the slab are the traces of a wing, suggesting that angels, possibly in the act of censuring, were shown at the corners above the canopy.

The living of Ponteland was held by Merton College, Oxford, and in the medieval period most of its incumbents were graduates of Merton. There is no inscription on the slab enabling us to identify the person commemorated, but two candidates emerge: Richard de Werplisden, vicar from ?1286 to 1301 and his successor, John de Pykering, last recorded in 1317. After this there is a lacuna in the record until 1344 when Roger of Middleham was vicar.⁸ Of those, the most likely person to have been commemorated by this slab is John de Pykering.⁹ His surname suggests that he originated in Pickering, Yorkshire. He was recorded Fellow of Merton College between 1277 and 1285, and bursar in February-June 1283. He gave to Merton a volume containing the *Metaphysics* and other works of Aristotle. In 1299 John appears to have acted as clerk and missionary of Giffridus de Vezana, chamberlain to the legate. He can probably be identified as the man of the same name who was rector of Boughton Aluph, Kent, who accompanied Master Robert de Pykering, perhaps a kinsman, overseas on the king's business in 1303. Shortly after this he was presented with the living at Ponteland and is mentioned as vicar there between 1307 and 1317. He presumably died in or after 1317.

We are grateful to Professor Richard Bailey and Dr. Paul Cockerham for advice and to the Rev. Peter Barham for his help and support.

Dimensions: 2053 mm visible x 620 mm (top) and 550 mm (bottom).

**Sally Badham,
Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker**

6 Ryder, *Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria*, p. 150.

7 C. Oman, *English Church Plate 597-1830* (London, 1957), pp. 40-43, pls. 6-9; Melton's chalice is pl. 8a.

8 M.H. Dodds ed., *A History of Northumberland*, 15 vols. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1926), XII, pp. 429-30.

9 Biographical information taken from Dodds, *History of Northumberland*, XII, pp. 429-30 and A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-59), III, p. 1532.



Fig. 2. Henry, d. 1618, son of Richard Andrews, formerly in St. Mary Aldermanbury, London
 (reversed photograph of print, © National Portrait Gallery (NPG D26168))

Fig. 2: Henry, d. 1618, son of Richard Andrews, formerly in St. Mary Aldermanbury, London. *Reversed photograph of print, © National Portrait Gallery (NPG D26168).*

Of the brasses lost from London churches, we have a better idea of those that were removed in the mid-sixteenth century than those that were lost in the Great Fire of London in 1666. Because brasses remained popular in the remainder of the sixteenth century, there was a ready market for old brass plate that could be turned over and engraved anew. Many such palimpsests are no longer identifiable as originating from London churches but a minority are. The loss of popularity of monumental brasses after the Civil War means that little of the brass plate removed from churches after the Great Fire was recycled this way.

There is, however, an exact record of a brass from a church that was lost in the Great Fire in the shape of a print made from the plate itself. It is the memorial to the small five year old son (*filioli*) of Richard Andrews. Research by Nicholas Rogers has established that Richard Andrews' son Henry was buried on 1 December 1618 at St. Mary Aldermanbury. The inscription of the brass gives his date of death as St. Andrew's Day (30 November), only a day before his burial. Strangely, his forename does not appear on the brass. That the plate was a monumental brass is established by the opening words of the upper inscription, 'Hoc Æs' (This Brass) and the fact that the print is in reverse. It is not, however, recorded in the revised edition of Stow's *Survey of London* published by Anthony Munday and Henry Dyson in 1633. The print (NPG D26168) is in the archives of the National Portrait Gallery and was acquired

in a collection made for the purpose of Grangerising a copy of Granger's *Biographical History of England*. In the same collection are prints made from other, but surviving, brasses. At least one of these prints appears to date from the seventeenth century, raising the possibility that it was made by the engraver himself.¹⁰ This print is an impression of the brass to Bishop Henry Robinson, died 1616, at Queen's College, Oxford. The brass was engraved by Richard Haydocke. Karl Josef Höltgen discovered that Haydocke supplied not only the plate itself (*monumentum*) but pictures (*picturas*).¹¹ Höltgen suggested that these pictures might be impressions of the brass. There are good reasons for attributing the Andrews brass to Haydocke.

Richard Haydocke was a physician, born around 1570. He studied at New College, Oxford, from 1588 to 1595, before travelling abroad. He returned to Oxford to study medicine, gaining a bachelor's degree in 1601, before settling in Salisbury to practise in 1605. During this period, he also learnt engraving in order to make his own plates for his 1598 translation of Lomazzo's *Trattato*. Richard Andrews was born in London in 1575 and matriculated in 1591 from St John's College, Oxford, where he remained, apart from a short period around 1605-6, gaining his bachelor's degree in medicine in 1607 and his doctorate in 1610. He then left to marry and set up practice in St. Mary Aldermanbury.

The Andrews plate comes in the middle of the period in which Haydocke was engraving brasses. It is very small, 226 by 177 mm (9 by 7 inches) and the detail is even finer than on Haydocke's other brasses. It manages to fit in a seven-line inscription and twenty-one lines of

10 NPG D39799. I would like to thank Alexandra Ault and Paul Cox of the National Portrait Gallery for their help.

11 K.J. Höltgen, 'Richard Haydocke: Translator, Engraver, Physician', *The Library*, Fifth Series, XXXIII (1978), p. 27, fn. 37.

Latin verse. There is a brass (MS.II) of the same dimensions in the church of St. Edmund, Salisbury, that is undoubtedly another work by Haydocke. It commemorates Henry Dove, who died during his mayoralty in 1616. There are three lines of inscription and six of English verse. The verses are inscribed on the side of a tomb-chest, a feature of several Haydocke brasses, but the brass has far less detail than that to Henry Andrews. The Dove plate was once gilt and it is likely that this would have been true of the Andrews brass too. The Italic script used on various Haydocke brasses is also found on both plates, although only the biblical wording displayed on the banners towards the top of the Andrews brass is in this script. The rest of the lettering is in a script not found on other Haydocke brasses. The tomb chest on which Henry Andrews lies is of a different form from those that appear on a number of Haydocke's brasses but the additional height and stepped design is needed for the twenty-one lines of Latin verse that were composed by Richard Andrews. An English version is known in a manuscript in the British Library that contains a great deal of poetry by Richard Andrews.¹² It begins 'Fates neither fear the great, nor spare the small' and the last line 'His little withered flow'rs, his lamp put out' relates directly to the items that share the top of the tomb with the figure. The architecture of two Corinthian columns and a coffered arch is reminiscent of the Sparke brass at Bletchley but much more regular and orthodox. The tablet suspended from the right hand column contains a chronogram for 1618 in the two words MoDICE VIXI (I lived a little) and may represent either the date of death or of the execution of the brass, which the inscription suggests was carried out quickly. The

floor of tiles decorated with different flowers does not occur elsewhere in Haydocke's oeuvre. The figure of Henry himself, dressed as young male children were then in a costume indistinguishable from that of young females, adopts a semi-reclining pose more familiar from funeral sculpture than from brasses.¹³

Not only this brass but the whole brass engraving career of Richard Haydocke demands further study.

Jon Bayliss

Fig. 3: Canon Georg von Eyschen (d. 1664), engraved 1902, Cologne Cathedral.
Photograph: © Dombauarchiv, Köln, W. Kralisch.

The completion of Cologne Cathedral in the nineteenth century, in accordance with the surviving medieval architectural drawings, was not only the greatest manifestation of the Gothic Revival in Germany but also the most significant architectural expression of German nationhood in the era of unification.¹⁴ Although the cathedral was officially completed in 1880, fittings in the Gothic Revival style continued to be added into the twentieth century. One of these was a rare example of a modern continental figure brass, in St. Stephen's Chapel, commemorating Canon Georg von Eyschen (d. 1664). This was commissioned by a collateral descendant, Paul Eyschen (1841-1915), Prime Minister of Luxemburg from 1888 until his death.¹⁵ The brass shows SS. George and Paul, the patron saints of the canon and the prime minister, standing under canopies flanking the Eyschen arms (*Azure a cross paly between four mullets argent*). At the foot is a three-line Latin inscription.

12 BL, Harley MS 4955, f. 80v. See H. Kelliher, 'Donne, Jonson, Richard Andrews and the Newcastle manuscript', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, IV (1993), pp. 134-73 for an account of Richard Andrews and his poetry.

13 I am most grateful to Nicholas Rogers for his help.

14 On the completion of Cologne Cathedral, see A. Klein, *Der Dom zu Köln: Die bewegte Geschichte seiner Vollendung* (Köln, 1980).

15 J. Mersch, 'Paul Eyschen', *Biographie nationale du pays de Luxembourg*, V^{me} Fascicule (Luxembourg, 1953), pp. 71-153.

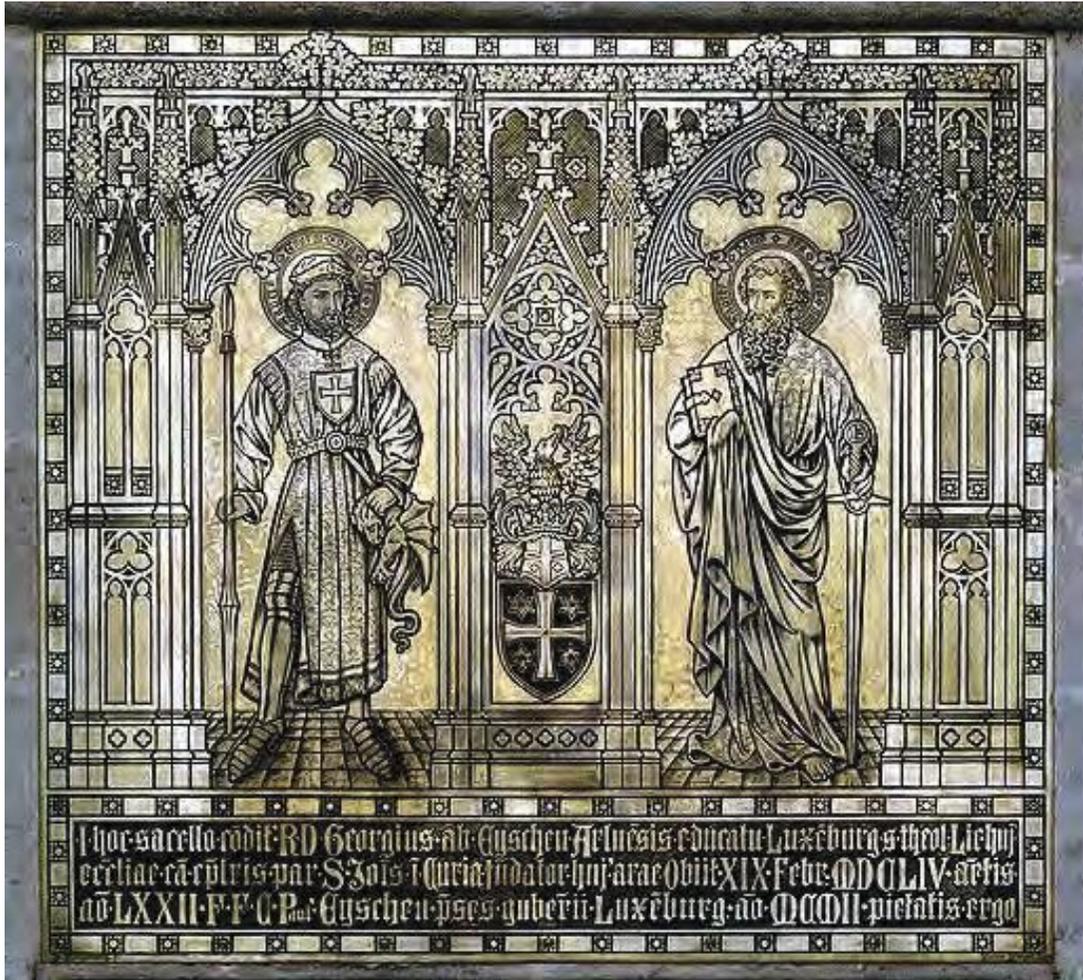


Fig. 3: Canon Georg von Eyschen (d. 1664), engraved 1902, Cologne Cathedral
 (photo.: © Dombauarchiv, Köln, W. Kralisch)

Georg von Eyschen was born in Arlon (now in the Belgian province of Luxembourg) in 1592. After studying at Leuven and Trier he was ordained priest and was appointed chaplain to François de Lorraine, Dean of Cologne and Bishop of Verdun. In 1627 the Eyschen family was ennobled by the Emperor Ferdinand II and granted the arms shown on

the brass. Canon von Eyschen, noted for his exemplary life, used the income from his benefices to relieve the poor and support religious houses, particularly the Discalced Carmelites at Cologne, where two of his nieces were nuns, the Cologne Oratorians, and the Récollet Franciscans of Boppard and Zons. He wrote a devotional commentary on

the Passion and translated into German a life of Barbe Acarie, the foundress of the Discalced Carmelites in France.¹⁶ He commissioned an altarpiece from Johann Hulsemann for the altar of St. Stephen in Cologne Cathedral, where he preferred to say Mass and before which he was buried following his death on 19 February 1664.

The brass was designed by the German-Dutch sculptor and designer Friedrich Wilhelm Mengelberg (father of the famous conductor Willem Mengelberg), who was born in Cologne in 1877 and settled in Utrecht in 1872, where he remained until his death in 1919.¹⁷ He worked on the interior decoration of numerous Catholic churches in the Netherlands, often in

collaboration with the Dutch Gothic Revival architects Pierre Cuypers and Alfred Tepe. A particularly fine example of his work is the interior decoration of Sint-Willibrorduskerk in Utrecht. He also contributed fittings to Cologne Cathedral, most notably the Stations of the Cross. The brass was engraved by the Cologne goldsmith Heinrich Birgel (d. 1917), who also engraved the figure brasses of four Archbishops of Cologne: Paulus Melchers (d. 1895), Philipp Krementz (d. 1899), Hubertus Simar (d. 1902) and Anton Fischer (d. 1912) in 1913-14.¹⁸ He also executed a commemorative plaque presented to Alexander Schnütgen in 1905, now in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne.

Nicholas Rogers

- 16 *Aula ... Thesaurorum Dei in Passione D.N. Jesu Christi Effusorum ad Resurrectionem Multorum* (Coloniae, 1655); *Daß wunderlarliche Leben der H. Ley-Schwesteren Mariae von der Menschwerdung, Stifflerin deß Hochberühmten Carmeliten-Ordens in Franckreich* (Cöllen, 1689).
- 17 J. Charité ed., *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, II (Amsterdam, 1985), pp. 389-91.

- 18 C. Euskirchen *et al.* ed., *Nordrhein-Westfalen, I. Rheinland*, Dehio Handbuch (München, 2005), p. 587. Cologne Cathedral also has the brasses of Archbishops Ferdinand August Graf Spiegel (d. 1835) and Johannes von Geissel (d. 1864), both designed by Michael Welter.

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Cover: Detail of the brass to Jankyn Smith, 1481 (M.S.I) from Bury St. Edmunds, (St. Mary), Suffolk. *Photo.: Martin Stuchfield.*

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