Monumental Brass Society

2013

TRANSACTIONS

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Editorial

The study of monumental brasses has always had a strong heraldic element. It is to early herald-antiquaries such as Nicholas Charles and Sir William Dugdale that we owe much of our information about brasses destroyed in the Civil War or the Great Fire. As can be seen from the *Medieval Ordinary*, of which the first volume appeared in 1992, brasses are a valuable source of medieval heraldry, even though evidence of tinctures is rarely present. Evidence of identification often turns upon the correct interpretation of the heraldry of a brass. An example of this is S.D.T. Spittle's study of the Trumpington brass, which helped bring about a reassessment of the earliest English brasses. As the figure of Margaret de Camoys at Trotton demonstrates, marblers were quick to realize the decorative potential of heraldry. The brasses of Henry Frowyk III at South Mimms and William Tonge at All Hallows Barking, London, are early examples of monuments where heraldry provides the sole ornament. Heraldry can be used to express status, ancestry or connections, whether matrimonial or chivalric.

The importance of heraldry has been recognized within the Society, since the time when it was the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors, by the appointment of an Honorary Heraldic Adviser. The first of these was Sir Alfred Scott Scott-Gatty, York Herald and then Garter Principal King of Arms. More recently the role has been filled by Sir Anthony Wagner, Sir Colin Cole and the present Garter King of Arms, Thomas Woodcock, through whose kind offices the Monumental Brass Society has become an armigerous corporation. With these should be remembered the heraldic labours of John A. Goodall, who made numerous contributions to the Society's publications, both as an author and as a generous supplier of information to others.

TO ALL AND SINGULAR to whom these Presents shall come Thomas Woodcock Esquire Commander of the Royal Victorian Order Garter Principal King of Arms Patric Laurence Dickinson Esquire Lieutenant of the Royal Victorian Order Clarenceux King of Arms and Sir Henry Edgar Paston-Bedingfeld Baronet Norroy and Ulster King of Arms Send Greeting! Whereas Howard Martin Stuchfield Esquire In the Commission of the Peace for England and Wales Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London Fellow of the Royal Historical Society President of the MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY hath represented unto The Most Noble Edward William Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England that the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors an unincorporated association was founded in 1887 That the said Association changed its name to the MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY on the First day of January 1894 That the objects of the said Society include that of endeavouring to ensure the better preservation of monumental brasses indents of lost brasses and incised slabs to promote the study of and interest in monumental brasses indents and incised slabs and to compile with a view to publication a list of all extant brasses indents and incised slabs both British and foreign That the management of the Society is vested in an Executive Council consisting of the Officers of the Society and six other ordinary Members of the Society That the said Executive Council being desirous of having Armorial Bearings established for the MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY under lawful authority and duly recorded in Her Majesty's College of Arms hath required him as President of the said Society on its behalf to request the favour of His Grace's Warrant for Our granting and assigning such Arms and Crest as We deem suitable to be borne and used by the MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY on its Common Seal or otherwise according to the Laws of Arms And forasmuch as the said Earl Marshal did by Warrant under his hand and Seal bearing date the Fifteenth day of March 2012 authorize and direct Us to grant and assign such Arms and Crest accordingly Know Ye therefore that We the said Garter Clarenceux and Norroy and Ulster in pursuance of His Grace's Warrant and by virtue of the Letters Patent of Our several Offices granted by The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty to each of Us respectively do by these Presents grant and assign unto the MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY the Arms following that is to say Azure a Chevron Or billety Sable between three Winnowing Fans within a Bordure Or And for the Crest upon a Helm with a Wreath Or and Azure A demi Knight affronty in Armour of the fourteenth century Or garnished Sable holding a Model of a Church in perpendicular style with a central spire Argent the fenestrations Sable Mantled Azure doubled Or as are in margin hereof more clearly depicted to be borne and used forever hereafter by the MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY on its Common Seal or otherwise according to the Laws of Arms In witness whereof We the said Garter Clarenceux and Norroy and Ulster have to these Presents subscribed Our names and affixed the Seals of Our several Offices this Twenty-second day of May in the Sixty-first year of the reign of Our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth the Second by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen Head of the Commonwealth Defender of the Faith being Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee Year and in the Year of Our Lord Two thousand and twelve.

Thomas Woodcock — Garter.

P.L. Dickinson — Clarenceux

H Bedingfeld — Norroy and Ulster

Monumental Brass Society: Grant of Arms and Crest

The Monumental Brass Society was founded in 1887 as The Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors, changing its name to the Monumental Brass Society on 1 January 1894. The objects of the Society include to endeavour to ensure the better preservation of monumental brasses, indents of lost brasses and incised slabs and to compile with a view to publication a list of all extant brasses, indents and incised slabs both British and foreign. In December 2001 the President, Martin Stuchfield, on behalf of the Executive Council of the Monumental Brass Society, petitioned the Earl Marshal to direct the Kings of Arms to grant Arms and a Crest to the Monumental Brass Society.

The Arms and Crest were granted by Letters Patent of Garter, Clarenceux and Norroy and Ulster Kings of Arms dated 22 May 2012, thus celebrating the 125 years of the Society since its foundation in 1887.

They are blazoned:

Arms: Azure a Chevron Or billetty Sable between three Winnowing Fans within a Bordure Or

Crest: Upon a Helm with a Wreath Or and Azure A demi Knight affronty in Armour of the fourteenth century Or garnished Sable holding a Model of a Church in perpendicular style with a central spire Argent the fenestrations Sable

Motto: *Memoriam Conservare in Saecula* meaning To preserve the monument for future generations.

In the design of the Arms the Azure field is a reference to Purbeck marble and the bordure symbolizes a brass fillet. The billets on the chevron represent sticks of heelball used by brass rubbers and winnowing fans are taken from the Septvans brass at Chartham in Kent which shows without tinctures the Arms of Azure three Winnowing Fans Or.

The Crest is recognizable as a demi-figure of Sir John de Cobham, third Baron Cobham, from his brass at Cobham, Kent, engraved *c.* 1367. He died at an advanced age in 1408, seventy-four years after his marriage. The church, which he holds in the brass is not identifiable as any particular church. The brass shows a full-length figure but demi-figures make better Crests and to depersonalize it the figure is described as a demi Knight affronty in armour of the fourteenth century.

The Arms were presented to the President, Martin Stuchfield, by Garter King of Arms at a reception at the College of Arms on Wednesday, 27 June 2012. The Patent was painted by Robert Parsons, one of the senior Herald Painters and scrivened by Carole Thomann, Clerk of the Records at the College of Arms.

Garter Principal King of Arms
College of Arms

The Brass of King Christopher I at Ribe

Jerome Bertram

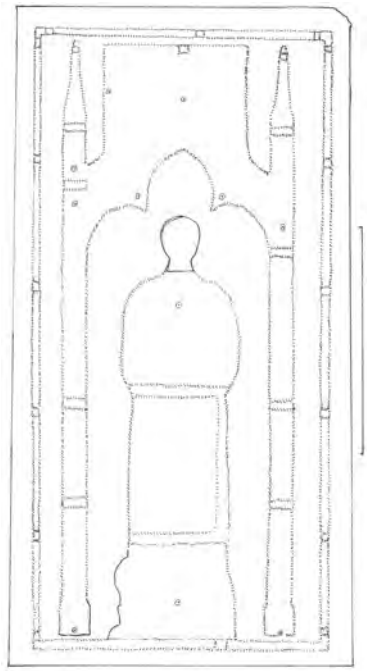
The uncovering of the brass indent of King Christopher I of Denmark at Ribe Cathedral enables a reassessment of its design and the techniques used in its manufacture. A date c. *1320 is suggested.*

One of the most important brass indents in northern Europe, that of King Christopher I of Denmark, lies in Ribe Cathedral, on the west coast of Jutland. Dr. Cameron mentioned it, in his detailed account of the brasses in Denmark, but he was unable to make sense of it, for it was then quite inaccessible, buried under the high altar, and the only evidence available was contradictory and inexplicable.[1] Cameron was aware of a drawing made in 1776 by Abildgaard which shows the outline of a head, flanked by what look like indents for three strips of metal of different sizes on each side, with one strip along the top, all of them with little deepenings at intervals.[2] A photograph taken in 1901, when the slab was briefly uncovered, shows the head indent clearly, and a succession of small square indents in lines on either side.[3] Cameron tried to interpret this as a narrow rectangular plate containing the figure, whose head was inlaid in something different, and two 'columns' on either side, some of which must have carried the inscription. As for dating the composition, there being no parallels for such a peculiar brass, Cameron left the field open. The king died in 1259, and there is evidence that he was buried in Ribe Cathedral immediately after his death, but the brass could of course have been prepared at any time afterwards.

The situation remained unchanged at the time of the publication of the monuments in Ribe Cathedral in the series *Danmarks Kirker*.[4] The drawing by Abildgaard and the 1901 photograph are reproduced, but no more information was forthcoming.[5]

By 2006, all had become clear. Two members of the Monumental Brass Society visited Ribe, and found that the indent had been excavated again, and lifted from its original situation to rest on the floor of the north transept (Fig. 1). It was immediately recognisable from Cameron's article, but equally immediately comprehensible as the indent for an early Flemish brass of a type more familiar in Scotland than in Flanders. The indents are very worn, but can still be traced, and it was not difficult to find the outlines of a figure in a long robe, with a lion at its feet, under a canopy with a large central tabernacle, completely surrounded by a marginal fillet (Fig. 2). At intervals in the canopy shafts and the marginal inscription are deepenings where the plates were joined, as there are across the figure and down the left side (possibly to secure a sword). The head of the figure was obviously inlaid in a much thicker material than anything else. There need be no doubt that the inlay was alabaster, as on the famous brass at Ringsted. A rather inadequate number of rivets helped to secure the plates. The stone is a dark blue-grey limestone, almost certainly from Tournai. The figure measured 1.87 x 0.56 m; the canopy shafts were 110 mm wide, the whole canopy 2.63 m high; the marginal fillet was 35 mm wide, the overall measurements 2.745 x 1.29 m; the slab itself is 2.895 x 1.445 m, and is 100 mm thick.

1 H.K. Cameron, 'Flemish Brasses in Denmark: A Microcosm of National History', *MBS Trans*., XIII, pt. 3 (1982), pp. 169-202, at 188-91.
2 *Ibid*., pl. II.
3 *Ibid*., pl. III.
4 *Ribe Domkirke: Gravminder*, Danmarks Kirke, Ribe Amt, 7-8 hefte (København, 1983).
5 *Ibid*., p. 528, figs. 358, 367.



Above: Fig. 1. Indent of King Christopher I of Denmark. Ribe Cathedral (photo.: Jerome Bertram)

Right: Fig. 2. Indent of King Christopher I of Denmark, Ribe Cathedral (drawing: Jerome Bertram)

Parallels for the technique can be found among the indents illustrated by Greenhill in his series 'Scottish Notes'. An indent at Dundrennan Abbey has all the characteristics: life-size figure (two actually), canopy with central tabernacle, marginal inscription, deepenings for joining plates, and deeper indents for alabaster face and hands (Fig. 3).[6] Something very similar is at Whithorn Priory.[7] Other Scots indents were for separate-inlay brass figures, canopy and marginal inscription but without the deeper indents for alabaster heads. Unfortunately none have any identification or date, but there seems to be general agreement that they belong in the range 1320-30. We can probably conclude, therefore, that the indent of King Christopher was not made immediately on his death in 1259, but a generation or two later, possibly at the same period as the Ringsted brass (1319). If it was part of the same commission, it is noteworthy that two different techniques were ordered, possibly to give an air of greater antiquity to the earlier monarch. Separate-inlay Flemish brasses were still being made up to the end of the fourteenth century (as at Wensley, Yorks.), but the quadrangular plates became much more common. The use of alabaster for faces was never common, and is only found on the earliest brasses, although on incised slabs it continues for much longer.

There are many other Tournai slabs in Ribe, listed by Cameron, some with indents for heads and hands in alabaster, but presumably with the rest of the design incised and now effaced.[8] One, however, does show the technique of

6 F.A. Greenhill, 'Scottish Notes, I', *MBS Trans*., VIII, pt. 5 (1947), pp. 168-70.

7 F.A. Greenhill, 'Scottish Notes, II', *MBS Trans*., VIII, pt. 6 (1949), pp. 234-8.

8 For details of these slabs, with drawings, see *Ribe Domkirke: Gravminder*, pp. 591-4, fig. 418.

Fig. 3. Indent of knight and wife (detail), Dundrennan Abbey, Kirkcudbrightshire (photo.: Jerome Bertram)

alabaster heads and hands on brass figures: there are no indents for the brass parts, but rivets survive to indicate a man in civil dress and wife, under a double canopy. There are deepenings for joining bars on the figures, and the head and hand inlays are quite clear. The heads measure 270 x 210 and 290 x 250 mm, the hands 200 x 70 mm. The slab measures 2.57 x 1.45 m, and lies in the outer north aisle (Fig. 4).[9] Another slab bore a rectangular brass, again with the heads and hands inlaid in something thicker. The whole series of brasses and incised slabs must have been very spectacular, and their loss is particularly tragic in a country where royal monuments have elsewhere been so well preserved.[10]

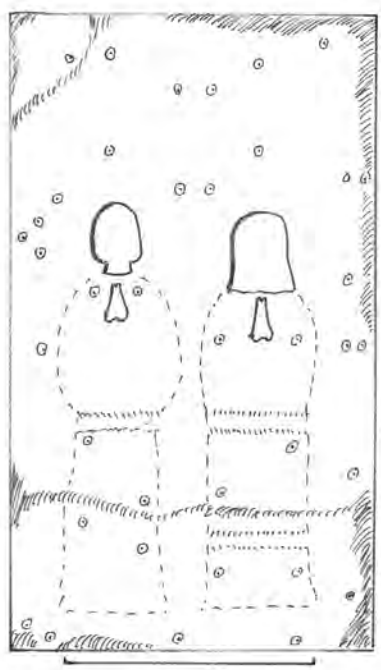


Fig. 4. Indent of civilian and wife, Ribe Cathedral (drawing: Jerome Bertram)

9 *Ribe Domkirke: Gravminder*, pp. 593-4 (nr. 17), fig. 420.

10 The only surviving fragment of brass is a section of marginal fillet, inscribed 'NA Q', found in 1900 (Ribe, Antikvariske Samling, nr. 3259) (*Ribe Domkirke: Gravminder*, p. 592, fig. 419).

The Commemorative Strategies of the Frowyks of Medieval London and Middlesex

Jessica Freeman

This essay discusses the commemorative strategies of the Frowyk family, originally London merchants who then established a gentry lineage of considerable longevity in Middlesex, principally at South Mimms, but with junior branches at Ealing and Finchley, while still maintaining interests in the City. Over four centuries the Frowyks utilised a variety of commemorative practices, both in London monastic houses, and in their own country parish, to manage memory and ensure that both as individuals and as part of a long-established family, they were remembered by religious services, building works, and charity for the health of their souls after death. This manifested itself through a particular interest in monumental brasses and other dedicatory and celebratory media with tastes changing from generation to generation.

The Frowyks were a gentry family of London mercantile origins, whose long association with the parish of St. Giles, South Mimms (Mymms), Middlesex, lasted for some ten generations. It was rare for a merchant family not only to found a gentry lineage successfully, but also to establish such lengthy association with one parish so that their estates passed from father to son (and one grandson) in an unbroken line for nearly three hundred years. Most families, both urban and country, lasted no more than three generations before extinction in the male line.[1] In St. Giles a small but varied collection of monuments and brasses to the Frowyks have survived, recorded by antiquarians from the seventeenth century onwards, and providing an insight into the commemorative practices of one family in one country parish from the 1370s to 1520s.[2] There was a church at South Mimms by *c.* 1140, the advowson of which was held by the Benedictine abbey of Walden, Essex, until the Dissolution. In the present building, the chancel dates from the thirteenth century, the west tower is fourteenth or fifteenth century, the nave fifteenth, and the brick north aisle, early sixteenth century. The tower was added *c.* 1450. A major restoration was carried out in 1877-8 by G.E. Street, including re-fenestration and re-facing of much of the structure.[3]

However, this parish – and those of Ealing and of Finchley, Middlesex, where the landholdings of junior branches of the Frowyks were based – was not always the favoured place of burial. Some family members opted instead for burial in a monastic house, invariably in London, but for which only written records may now remain. Their choices are listed in the Appendix. The reasons for this preference can now only be guessed at, since personal considerations, shaped by contemporary fashion, were important factors. This was influenced on the one hand by a desire to confirm the continuity of lineage, and the respect of, and status within, a local community. On the other hand, there was pride in displaying the achievement of livery company and civic office-holding, and the near certainty,

1 S. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London , 1300-1500* (London, 1948; repr. Ann Arbour, 1989), pp. 191-206.

2 For example, John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631), pp. 592-3; M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), p. 14; H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex, Pt 23', *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.* [hereafter *Trans. LAMAS*], XXXIV (1983), pp. 213-28; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (Stratford St Mary, Suffolk, 2009), pp. 388-90.

3 VCH, *Middlesex*, V (Oxford, 1976), pp. 298, 300; H. Ashworth and C. Turner, *St Giles' Church, South Mimms, Herts, Archaeological Evaluation Report, Prepared on behalf of St Giles' Church Council*; Report No. 214 (November 2003), pp. 1-2, 4-5, 9 and 13, accessed at www.heritagenetwork.co.uk, December 2011.

in an insecure age, of continuous Masses and prayers for the soul of the deceased by monks and nuns in a settled urban location. A lone parish priest might have been less able to fulfil his duties to the dead than members of a religious order. Ironically parish monuments have survived more frequently than those in the monastic houses, which were mostly swept away at the Reformation.

Evidence from fifteenth-century Middlesex suggests that whereas in the early part of the period testators chose a monastic house as their burial place, the parish church became increasingly popular as a last resting-place for the gentry. Yet this was not always the case and in the early-sixteenth century Middlesex landholders who were also lawyers showed renewed interest in burial within a religious house as is apparent from this study of the Frowyk family.[4]

South Mimms

South Mimms, historically in the county of Middlesex as its most northerly parish and in the diocese of London, was transferred to Hertfordshire in 1965, and to the diocese of St. Albans in 1980. Like other English counties, Middlesex had its own special features. There were no extensive aristocratic landholdings but a preponderance of ecclesiastical estates, including those of Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, Syon Abbey and, in the north-east, St. Albans Abbey. However, the City of London, the pre-eminent commercial port of England, lay in close proximity. From this base successful merchants like the Frowyks acquired country estates where they joined the landholding gentry, and undertook a key role in the county's administration. In addition, by the late fifteenth century the royal court and the law courts had become permanent presences at Westminster, both providing new opportunities and careers for ambitious men.[5]

The Frowyks of Soth Mimms

Thomas de Frowyk I (d. after 1271)

The earliest known association between the Frowyks and South Mimms dates to 1271, when a member of the family, probably Thomas I, bought the under-manor of Old Fold, consisting of around 132 acres, from the de Mandevilles, holders of the eponymous chief manor of South Mimms. The site of the Frowyks' manor house is marked by three sides of a moat (now attached to Old Fold Farm), in the south of the parish and at the edge of Hadley Green. Old Fold became an important centre with its mill and park. The name Frowyk, derived from a manor at St. Osyth, Essex, is found in London from the late-twelfth century onwards and, even if a connection cannot be proved with the family who settled in South Mimms, it is likely that Thomas I was also a City merchant.[6] Though Thomas Frowyk's name heads the pedigrees, there is no surviving evidence of any commemoration at South Mimms. If Thomas's burial place was marked at all it would probably have been with either a cross or incised slab set flat on the ground.[7]

4 J. Freeman, 'The Political Community of Fifteenth-Century Middlesex', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London (2002), chapter 5.

5 *Ibid*., chapter 5 and pp. 240-1.

6 VCH, *Middlesex*, V, pp. 274 (map), 275, 282-3; Cameron, 'South Mimms', p. 213; W.G. Davis, *The Ancestry of Mary Isaac, c.1549-1613* (Portland, Me., 1955), pp. 197-207 and charts; F.C. Cass, *South Mimms* (Westminster, 1877), pp. 67-71; *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, 1284-1431*, 12 vols. (London, 1899-1920), II, pp. 155, 219. Thomas may have married a daughter of a London merchant, John Adrian.

7 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 33-5.

FROWYK of South Mimms, Middlesex, and of London

Thomas de Frowyk I of Old Fold, South Mimms in 1271; ?& also of London = ...[?Adrian]

Henry de Frowyk I, citizen & peperer, alderman, sheriff 1275; of Old Fold; will enrolled Court of Hustings 1286; bur Greyfriars = Isabella, dau. Thomas de Durham; will enr. Hustings 1300; bur Greyfriars

Renald/Reginald de Frowyk, citizen & draper of London, goldsmith; will enrolled Hustings 1300; bur Greyfriars = Agnes .....; fl. 1308-09; m pre 1294 — other children

Henry de Frowyk II of Old Fold; MP; JP; London citizen; will 1377, enr. Hustings 1378; bur St Mary Elsingspital, London = Margaret, dau. William Pouns of South Mimms; m 1308-09

Henry Frowyk *(bastard son)* mercer of London

Thomas Frowyk II of Old Fold; clerk of Barnet Market, Herts; [1] = Matilda/Margaret, dau John Durham of S.Mimms & London; MP, JP; dvp 1375, bur S.Mimms; will 1374, enr Hustings 1375 = [3] John Charlton of London, and Hillingdon & Cowley, Middx; will CCL 1386 = [2] Alan Heyngham of Norfolk

= [1] Maud ..... Margaret Frowyk = John Adrian of Brockham, Surrey; dsp by 1377

Henry Frowyk III of Old Fold, & Brockham, esq; MP; JP; [1] = Alice, dau & heir of John Cornwall of Gloucesters, St Giles w/o Cripplegate London, & Willesden, Mddx; bur Sopwell, Herts; will 1412, prv. St Albans 1416 = [2] Thomas Charlton I, of Hillingdon, Cowley, Ickenham & London; MP; JP; will 1408, prv Consist CL 1410

will 1384, enrolled Hustings 1386; S.Mimms, MI

Thomas Frowyk III of Old Fold, Brockham & Weld; MP; JP; wills 1439 & 1442 prv PCC 1449; bur S.Mimms, MI. = Elizabeth, dau & heir William Asshe of Weld, Shenley, Herts; mc 1416; will PCC; d 1455, MI

Henry Frowyk IV, citizen & mercer; alderman mayor of London; MP; of Gunnersbury, Ealing Mddx.; bur St Thomas Acon, London; wills 1453 & 1459, prv. PCC & Hustings 1460 [3]=[2] Isabella [?Oliver] will PCC 1465, bur St Thomas Acon = [1] John Bally = [2] Wm Otes mercers

Sir Thomas Charlton 11 of Hillingdon &c. & London; MP; JP; d 1445 = Elizabeth, dau & co-heir of Sir Adam Fraunceys; will CCL 1451; IPM 1451

Henry Frowyk V of Old Fold, Brockham & Weld; MP; JP; sold Durhams to Sir Thomas; IPM 1484; ?bur N.Mimms = Johanna, dau of Sir Thomas Lewknor of Sussex; md 1452 1455; d post 1491

Sir Thomas Frowyk IV of Gunnersbury & Ipres Inn, London; mercer, lawyer; MP; JP; steward for Syon & Westminster abbeys; will dd & prv PCC 1485; bur Ealing = Joanna, dau & heir of Richard Sturgeon: mc 1446, will PCC 1500; bur Ealing

Sir Thomas Charlton III of Edmonton, &c; speaker of House of Commons; MP; will prv PCC 1465/6 = Benedicta, dau of Sir Richard Vernon, MP

Thomas Frowyk V of S.Mimms; son & heir in 1469; d by 1503, or 1474 x 86, perhaps dvp. = Eleanor, dau of Thomas Throckmorton of Coughton, Warwicks

Jane, dau [1] = Sir Robert Danvers; md by 1475; d 1487, bur Ealing

Sir Henry Frowyk VI of Gunnersbury Ealing, Mddx; JP; will 1505, prv PCC; IPM 1505; bur Ealing [2] = [2] Margaret, dau Sir Ralph Leigh m by 1491; d 1501 x 05, bur. Ealing =[1] Walter Ford

Joan, dau [1] = ... [?Bardvile] bur. Finchley, Mddx, MI

Sir Thomas Frowyk VI of Finchley, & Durhams; justice of Common Bench; JP; will 1505; prv PCC 1506; bur Blackfriars; with MI Finchley = [1] Elizabeth, dau John Barnville of Harrow; md by 1498; will 1515, prv PCC 1516, bur Blackfriars = [2] Thomas Jakes lawyer; will PCC 1514

Sir Richard Charlton, d at Bosworth in 1485, & attainted

Henry Frowyk VII of Old Fold and Weld, Herts, will 1523, prv PCC 1527; d 1527 bur S.Mimms, MI = Anne, dau & heir of Robert Knolles of N. Mimms; bur S.Mimms, MI

Thomas Frowyk VII will prv St Albans, 1517 = Elizabeth .....

Margaret Frowyk, dau & heir d 1552 = Sir Michael Fisher d 1525

Thomas Frowyk VIII, fl. 1507; dsp 1513, IPM 1514; ?Friar Frowyk

Henry Frowyk VIII, will 1518, prv PCC 1521; bur Ealing; dsp; IPM 1520 = Agnes dau Sir Walter Strickland

Elizabeth Frowyk, dau & heir d 1556; bur Narborough, Norfolk = Sir John Spelman d 1545

Thomas Frowyk IX, dvp 1506, sp

Frideswide Frowyk, dau & heir, m 1515; d 1528 = Sir Thomas Cheney, of Isle of Sheppey; d 1559

Thomas Frowyk X dvp, sp, 1523, bur S.Mimms, MI [1] = Mary, dau Sir William Sandes =[2] John Palmer

John Coningsby [1] d by 1558 = Elizabeth Frowyk dau & heir; bur N.Mimms, MI =[2] William Dodds

Thomas Frowyk XI, a minor in 1523 = Anne Prety of Essex

Stephen Frowyk

Henry Frowyk IX, of Lincoln's Inn; MP for St Albans 1601; JP, Herts; Steward of St Albans, 1590-1617; d 1619 = Anna, dau & co heir Edward Bardolph

Fig 1. Pedigree of the Frowyk Family

Henry Frowyk I (d. 1286)

Thomas's son, Henry I, made his career in London. A pepperer (an early term for grocer) by gild affiliation but a goldsmith by trade, he was appointed London's warden by King Henry III in 1271 when the citizens were unable to agree on the mayoral election. Sheriff in 1274 and then alderman, he held extensive City properties in about eight parishes. These he disposed between his wife, Isabella, daughter of alderman Thomas de Durham, and six sons, John, Reginald, William, Thomas, Stephen and Anketin, and three daughters, Johane, Rosamund and Jannetta, in his will enrolled in London's Court of Hustings in 1286. The Hustings' wills dealt only with London property, so any Middlesex lands were excluded. However, in November 1278 a settlement was made between Henry and Isabel de Frowyk, and Ralph Mabb of London, of a messuage and two carucates of land (about 288 acres) in South Mimms, presumably the manor of Old Fold.[8] Isabella herself died in 1300, and her will names two further daughters, Margaret and Sabina, both nuns at unspecified convents. The only bequest is to London Bridge.[9]

Husband and wife chose to be buried not at South Mimms, but in the newly built Franciscan church in London, the Grey Friars. This choice mirrored the enthusiasm of Londoners for the preaching and work of the various orders of mendicant friars, who had arrived in London a few decades beforehand. As early as the 1250s Henry had been one of the main contributors to the construction of an aqueduct to supply the Grey Friars with water.[10] Their memorial in the north aisle of the church was noted as *Henricus Frowyke quondam Aldermanus Londonie et Isabella uxor eius*. Given that this tomb was recorded in the nave it must have been set flat into the floor (and probably over their grave). In the text in the Grey Friars' burial list, the wording implies that this was either an incised slab, with the inscription carved into the stone, or of Lombardic lettering embedded around the edges of the memorial.[11]

Reginald Frowyk (d. 1300)

Henry and Isabella's son and heir was Reginald/Renald Frowyk, citizen and draper, but by trade a goldsmith like his father. His one military adventure was in 1296 when he was part of a force of Londoners appointed to guard the Kentish ports from French attack. Reginald may have succeeded as the eldest surviving son of his parents, since, as will become apparent, the family were resolute in naming their elder sons either Henry or Thomas. Reginald died shortly before his mother in 1300 and, like his parents, was buried in the north nave aisle of the London Grey Friars, under a stone memorial. He left all his London landholdings to his wife Agnes, whom he had married before 1284.[12]

8 Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 71-4; TNA: PRO, CP 25/2/148/27, no. 74; London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA), Husting roll 16/80; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 206-10 (in an interesting passage at p. 207, Davis, quoting the *Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquests* 26 (6) and 26 (54), writes that Henry, one of the fifty or so citizens appointed keepers of the Jews in 1266, was 'said to have apostatized', *apostacasse*, in 1267; perhaps he was thought to have become too friendly with those he was protecting, though he must have recanted or disproved the allegation).

9 LMA, Husting roll 29/63.

10 C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), pp. 48, 159.

11 Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 122. I am grateful to Christian Steer for this reference and for his remarks on burial in this church. See also S. Badham and M. Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers* (London, 1999), especially chapter 6.

12 Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 72-3; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 208-9, 214-15; Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 22; LMA, Husting roll 29/76.

Henry Frowyk II (d. 1378)

Their son, Henry Frowyk II, was a minor at his father's death, and the mayor and aldermen of London granted his wardship to his mother Agnes. He was subsequently the subject of a marriage abduction – not uncommon in this period. In 1308-09 a Parliamentary petition was presented by Agnes Frowyk stating that her son and ward, Henry, aged fourteen and heir to property at South Mimms valued at £80 *per annum*, had been abducted by William Pouns, his son Richard, and others. Young Henry was taken from Pelham Furneux, Hertfordshire to Pleshey castle, Essex, held by Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex (killed 1322 at the battle of Boroughbridge). Here he was persuaded to contract a marriage, probably with Margaret, daughter of William Pouns. His kidnappers were imprisoned but pardoned in 1311.[13]

During restoration works in 1877-8 the oldest memorial in the parish was discovered, the remains of a coffin-shaped slab with indents for a marginal inscription once filled with individual brass Lombardic letters (Fig. 2). This lay buried outside the priest's door on the south side of the chancel, in a north-south position. It is still there, now turned to face west-east, and in a deteriorating condition. The partial inscription commemorated a member of the Pouns family, perhaps one of the above-mentioned William and Richard, or Adam Pouns, who appears in deeds with Henry Frowyk in 1349, since the style dates from the first half of the fourteenth century: [—] DE POVNS GIT ICI DEV DE SA ALME EIT [MER]CI: *[…] de Pouns lies here, may God have mercy on his soul.*[14]

Fig. 2. … de Pouns, South Mimms, Middx., LSW.20 (dabbing by Derrick Chivers, from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Hertfordshire*)*

13 *Calendar of Letter-Book C of the City of London, 1291-1309*, ed. R.R. Sharpe (London, 1901), p. 82; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 12, 72-3; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 215-20; Thrupp, *Merchant Class,* p. 342. Richard Pouns was summoned thrice to Parliament for Middlesex, in 1331, 1332 and 1337, *Parliaments of England, 1213-1702, Returns of Parliament* (London, 1878), Pt. 1, vol. I, pp. 94, 96, 115(a).

14 Cass, *South Mimms,* pp. 120-1; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 216-17. Derrick Chivers made a dabbing of the slab which was accurately published for the first time in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Hertfordshire*, pp. 393-4.

Henry II – and his son and grandson – all survived the Black Death of 1348-9. Henry moved between gentry and civic life, serving on county commissions and as a knight of the shire for Middlesex, yet describing himself as citizen in his lengthy 1377 will, which however dealt only with his extensive London properties. This was enrolled the following year in the Hustings by his grandson Henry III, since his son Thomas II had predeceased him. Henry II wished to be buried in the church of the hospital of St. Mary Elsingspital within Cripplegate, London. To the prior, Robert de Braycote, and the Convent he gave 86s. a year from his City rents to maintain a chantry priest to pray for himself, his parents and those for whom he was obligated, at the altar of the Holy Cross on the north side of Elsingspital church. He also bequeathed the London Charterhouse three tenements, but mentions no *quid pro quo*, so possibly he had come to some arrangement during his lifetime.[15] Unusually, he had earlier made provision for his mistress, Emma de Rochewell, and their bastard son, yet another Henry, who was a London mercer. Henry II's monument remained in the priory church until the Reformation.[16]

One of Henry II's daughters, Margaret, brought a welcome addition to the family's growing landholdings. She had married John Adrian, who held Brokham manor in Betchworth, Surrey, and a family settlement of 1348 meant that, failing other heirs, the lands reverted to the Frowyks. By 1377, after Adrian's death, the manor came to Henry II and descended with the other family estates.[17]

Thomas Frowyk II (d. 1375)

Henry and Margaret's son Thomas II, although he still held London property, was the first Frowyk to make Old Fold his home, rather than his country estate, and the first known to have decided on burial in his parish church. He was clerk of the market of the household at Barnet, Hertfordshire, in 1364, and probably also a manorial steward for the abbot of St. Albans. He also stood as Middlesex knight of the shire for several of Edward III's parliaments and acted as justice of the peace. Describing himself 'of Middlesex', when he made his will in 1374, Thomas asked to be buried in the churchyard of South Mimms next to the tomb of John Durham: 'corpus meu*m* ad sepeliend*um* in cimit*er*io eccl*es*ie p*ar*ochial*e* de Southmymm*es* iuxta tumulu*m* Ioh*ann*is Durh*am*'.[18] John, almost certainly Thomas's father-in-law, held the neighbouring under-manor of Durhams (Derehams), but the family also had roots in trade in the City. Durham's own 1368 Hustings will, in which he described himself as of the parish of South Mimms, requested burial in the churchyard of St. Giles near the west window: 'corpus meu*m* ad sepelliend*um* in cim*i*t*er*io s*anct*i Egidij eiusdem loci p*ro*pe ffenestram occidentalem'. Bequests were made to that church, its vicar and two clerks, and to the works of St. Paul's Cathedral. Durham left tenements in the parishes of Holy Trinity the Less and St. Mary Aldermary, London to his wife Johanna, his executrix, until his son reached full age, with remainder first to Margaret, his daughter, on condition she found two chaplains to celebrate at an unspecified location for ten years for the souls of his

15 LMA, Husting roll 106/142; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp.216-22; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp.78-80; *Parliaments of England, Returns*, Pt. 1, vol. I, pp. 53, 76, 81, 109.

16 TNA: PRO, C25/1/150/62/227; John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908; repr., 1971), I, p. 294.

17 VCH, *Hertfordshire*, IV (London, 1914), p. 270; Davis, Mary Isaac, pp. 220-21; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1364-1381*, ed. A.H. Thomas (London, 1926), p. 214.

18 Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 74-8; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 222-26; *Parliaments of England, 1213-1702, Returns*, Pt 1, vol. I, pp. 150, 155, 158, 171, 182; LMA, Husting roll 103/49.

parents, himself and Johanna, and secondly to Henry, son of Thomas Frowyk. From the descriptions in both wills these two tombs were sited outside at the western processional entrance to the church. Extra-mural burial is little recorded. Chance references such as these are therefore of great interest.[19]

Thomas II's will reveals him as prosperous and pious. He employed his own chaplain to whom he left two marks. Detailed instructions, typical of a man of his status, were given for his burial, which he clearly wished imprinted on the minds of his family, friends and villagers, through display, religious services and charity. Two wax torches were to stand at his head and foot, and ten ells of russet – not gold or silk – cloth was to be bought and placed over his body, to be divided afterwards between four poor men to make overcoats. His executors were to expend £10 on priests to sing 400 Masses for his soul and the faithful departed, at four pence per Mass, and a hundred senior priests were to sing Masses at the cost of £20. £10 was to be divided amongst a hundred paupers living within five leagues of Old Fold, also to pray for his soul. Thomas mentions stock and crops at Old Fold and at Willesden, as well as tenements in London, and made bequests to nunneries at Cheshunt and Sopwell, Hertfordshire, the prior of Elsingspital (where his father was buried), and the vicars of South Mimms, Willesden, Haringey and Finchley, all in Middlesex, and to his sister Agnes, a nun at St Helen's convent, London. The road between Barnet and 'Twocrouches' (Crouch End, Middlesex) received £10 for repairs. Henry his son was to have, among other items, two of his best horses, his best bed, a 'tower' chalice, his horns, silver goblets with a ewer and six silver spoons in a leather case. He names his wife as Matilda rather than Margaret Durham, so she may have been his second wife. Alternatively, Margaret may have been Thomas's sister-in-law.[20] Through Matilda and Margaret Durham, the Frowyks inherited the manor of Durhams in South Mimms, which descended with Old Fold until 1473. Margaret apparently married as her second husband John Charlton, a London merchant whose country estates were at Hillingdon, Middlesex. This would prove an important connection for the Frowyks over the next century.[21]

Henry Frowyk III (d. 1386)

Henry III, of Old Fold and Durhams and described as esquire, succeeded his grandfather Henry II to the family estates in 1378, and also served as justice of the peace and member of Parliament for Middlesex. The great crisis of his lifetime occurred in 1381 when the Peasants' Revolt broke out. Henry showed considerable courage by meeting rioters angry over seigniorial oppression by St. Albans Abbey who were threatening to burn down Barnet and St. Albans. He persuaded them to allow him to act as mediator between them and the abbot, so that valuable time was gained for the king until the Revolt was crushed.[22]

19 Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 26-7; LMA, Husting roll 97/2. I am indebted to Christian Steer for pointing out the significance of these extra-mural burials.

20 For the importance of varying commemorative strategies by the dead, see C. Burgess, 'Obligations and Strategy: Managing Memory in the Later Medieval Parish', *MBS Trans.*, XVIII, pt. 4 (2012), pp. 289-310; LMA, Husting roll 103/49; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 5, 75-8; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 223-24. The administration of a Margaret Charlton of Hillingdon was granted in the Commissary Court of London in 1408.

21 F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (1805-10), XI, pp. 195-6.

22 D. Avery, *The Medieval merchant-gentry of Edmonton Hundred* (Edmonton, 2000), pp. 11-12; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 226-7; *Parliaments of England, 1213-1702, Returns*, Pt. 1, vol. I, p. 196; E.B. Fryde, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (London, 1981), pp. 31-4.

Henry III married yet another heiress, Alice, daughter of John Cornwall, who brought with her the 'manor' of Gloucesters, in the London parish of St Giles without Cripplegate, plus lands in Willesden. Negotiations between the two families for this union seem to have started as early as 1346 when both prospective parties were children.[23] Henry's will, made at South Mimms in September 1384 and enrolled in February 1386 in both the Court of Hustings and the Commissary Court of London, requested burial in the churchyard near to the grave of his father 'in cimit*er*io de Southmymes iuxta sepulcru*m* patris mei', but is commemorated within the church by the earliest of the surviving brasses. Either he changed his mind about his interment, or his wife Alice, his executrix and appointed guardian of their children, decided on a more prestigious place of burial and a tomb within the church. There is no mention in his will of expenditure for the brass, nor any funeral directions, but he includes several commemorative strategies. London rents were left to his wife to maintain a priest to pray for ten years after his decease for himself, his parents and grandfather, '*avus meus*' (Henry Frowyk II), although the church is unnamed. In addition, half the proceeds of the sale of his goods and chattels, after payment of his debts, were to be distributed in alms for these same souls. Bequests were made to the vicar of South Mimms, John, the priest at Monken Hadley, Middlesex, and for the fabric of both churches. His eldest son Thomas III is not mentioned, since he would already have been provided for, so his younger son Henry IV was the main beneficiary, with remainder to a third son, Robert (called Richard elsewhere).[24]

Henry's non-effigial brass is well preserved, and lies in its original position in the centre of the chancel except that it now faces west, where it was relaid as part of the 1877-78 restoration (Fig. 3). At the corners of a large stone of 2580 x 1050 mm are set, as an assertion of his gentility and position in local society, four shields emblazoned with the Frowyk arms, *Azure a chevron between three leopards' faces or*. On one small brass strip, 563 mm long and 34 mm deep, is a single line *textura* inscription recording, in Norman French, 'Henri Frowyk gist icy dieu de s'alme eit m'cy.' The lack of an effigy and the modesty of the brass (a date of death would have involved a second line) probably indicates a deliberate aesthetic choice of humility, in line with Henry's instructions for burial in the churchyard. Yet the use of Norman French, where by this date English could have been a consideration, reinforces the wish to associate the family's social position with that of the chivalric elite.[25]

Henry's widow Alice took as her second husband Thomas Charlton of Hillingdon, Middlesex, and had a further son, also Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Charlton. In her 1412 will, proved at St. Albans in 1416, she wished to be buried in the cloister of the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary, Sopwell, where she had evidently retired.[26] The majority of her bequests were to the nuns and officials there, plus members of her family. Her husband Thomas had died by 1410.[27]

23 Davis, *Mary Isaac,* pp. 217-18, 227, 228-30.

24 Davis, *Mary Isaac,* p. 227; Cass, *South Mimms,* pp. 80-2; LMA, Husting roll 114/102; GL, MS 09171/1, f. 122v.

25 Cass, *South Mimms,* pedigree opposite p. 70; Cameron, 'South Mimms', p. 214; specialist knowledge from Derrick Chivers, 'The Brasses at South Mimms, Herts.', lecture given to the Monumental Brass Society, St. Giles, South Mimms on 31 March 2012. I am grateful to the anonymous referee for his observations on the brass of Henry Frowyk III.

26 Cass, *South Mimms,* pp. 25, 81; Davis, *Mary Isaac,* pp. 226-7, 228-31; BL, MS Cotton Nero D vii, f. 141; Herts. C.R.O., Archdeaconry of St Albans, Register Stoneham, f. 2. There are no surviving monuments at, nor burial records for, Sopwell.

27 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/2A f. 170; Cameron, 'South Mimms', p. 215.

Fig. 3. Henry Frowyk III, South Mimms, Middx., LSW.I (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Hertfordshire*)*

Henry III and Alice Cornwall left two sons, Thomas III and Henry IV; the latter was apprenticed to a London mercer, and his successful career is described below in the section on the City branch of the family.

Thomas Frowyk III (d. 1449)

The eldest son, Thomas III, esquire of Middlesex, was for about forty years an active gentry participant in the administration of that county. A justice of the peace between 1419 and 1449, five-times knight of the shire, he also sat on several county commissions, particularly those raising Crown loans. He was himself assessed on an income of £90 *per annum* in 1436, and it could be argued that he represents the high point of the Frowyk presence in South Mimms. Thomas was also involved with religious affairs, for he was present in Whitsun week 1431 when Philip Morgan, bishop of Ely and John de Wheathamstead (Wethamstede), abbot of St. Albans, met at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, for a session against the heretical Lollards.[28]

Thomas III married Elizabeth, heiress to William Asshe of Shenley, Hertfordshire, and had six sons and thirteen daughters according to their brass. Of these only his son Henry V is mentioned by name in Thomas's testament of 1439 and will of 1442, both proved 1449.[29] There were bequests of silver cups to his sons[-in-law] who 'took to wife his two daughters' (probably Thomas Hasilrigg, one executor, who married Elizabeth, and Thomas Raynes, who married Alice Frowyk). Thomas III left to his wife Elizabeth a life interest in the manors of Brockham and Old Fold, plus stock at the latter and at Durhams, provided she made no claims on the manor of Willesden or on Gloucesters.

28 *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, II, pp. 141-2; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, p. 231; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 21.

29 VCH, *Hertfordshire*, II (London, 1908), pp. 155, 270, 399; TNA: PRO, PROB 11/1, ff. 100-100v; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 85-8; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 231-3.

The latter were to furnish a marriage portion for his son Henry V. Also excepted were the Gannock lands in South Mimms, which endowed the chantry that he, his brother Henry IV and his nephew Thomas IV had set up in 1439-47 in the parish church of St. Giles for the souls of themselves and their parents. This chantry chapel was separated from the north aisle, as well as the nave and chancel, by a late Gothic wooden screen, of which leopards' faces form the cusps.[30]

As important landholders in the parish, the Frowyks could expect burial in a prominent and sacred space. Thomas wished to be buried in front of the high altar at a cost of 60s.[31] Elizabeth (Asshe) made her own testament in 1455, and asked to be buried at South Mimms in the tomb of her husband, with 40s. for her funeral expenses, and 20s. to the church fabric. The residue was left to her executors to implement her will, which she had written and sealed, but this document has not survived.[32]

The memorial to Thomas III and Elizabeth is the only figure brass to survive in St. Giles church (Figs. 4-5). It is the product of the London B workshop, and closely resembles those of his neighbour Walter Green of Hayes, Middlesex (d. 1456), which was a stone tomb-chest with traceried sides and brasses on the lid, that of the latter's relation John Gainsford (Gaynesford) of Crowhurst, Surrey (d. 1450), and an unknown knight of Isleworth, Middlesex (perhaps Geoffrey Goodluck, who died in 1452).[33] It is, of course, not unexpected that family and neighbours would influence

Fig. 4. Thomas Frowyk III, South Mimms, Middx., LSW.II, detail of lost figure of Thomas (Dabbing by Thomas Fisher, Society of Antiquaries)

30 F. Brittain, *South Mymms; The Story of a Parish* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 17, 26; TNA: PRO, C143/45/30 (Inquisitions *ad quod damnum*).

31 VCH, *Middlesex,* V, pp. 286, 299; TNA: PRO, E179/238/90, mm. 1d & 2d; N. Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish' in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Burgess and E. Duffy (Donington, 2006), pp. 243-60.

32 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/4, f. 27v; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 232-3; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 89. In a strict technical sense, a testament dealt with the bequest of the goods and chattels of a personal estate, and a will or *ultima voluntas in scriptis* with the devising of land.

33 Chivers, lecture to MBS, 31 March 2012; H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex, Pt 15: Hayes', *Trans. LAMAS*, XXV (1974), p. 303; M. Stephenson, 'A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXVII (1914), p. 28 (Green's daughter Katherine had married Gaynesford's son, John the younger); Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex, Pt 20: Isleworth', *Trans. LAMAS*, XX (1980), pp. 98-101.

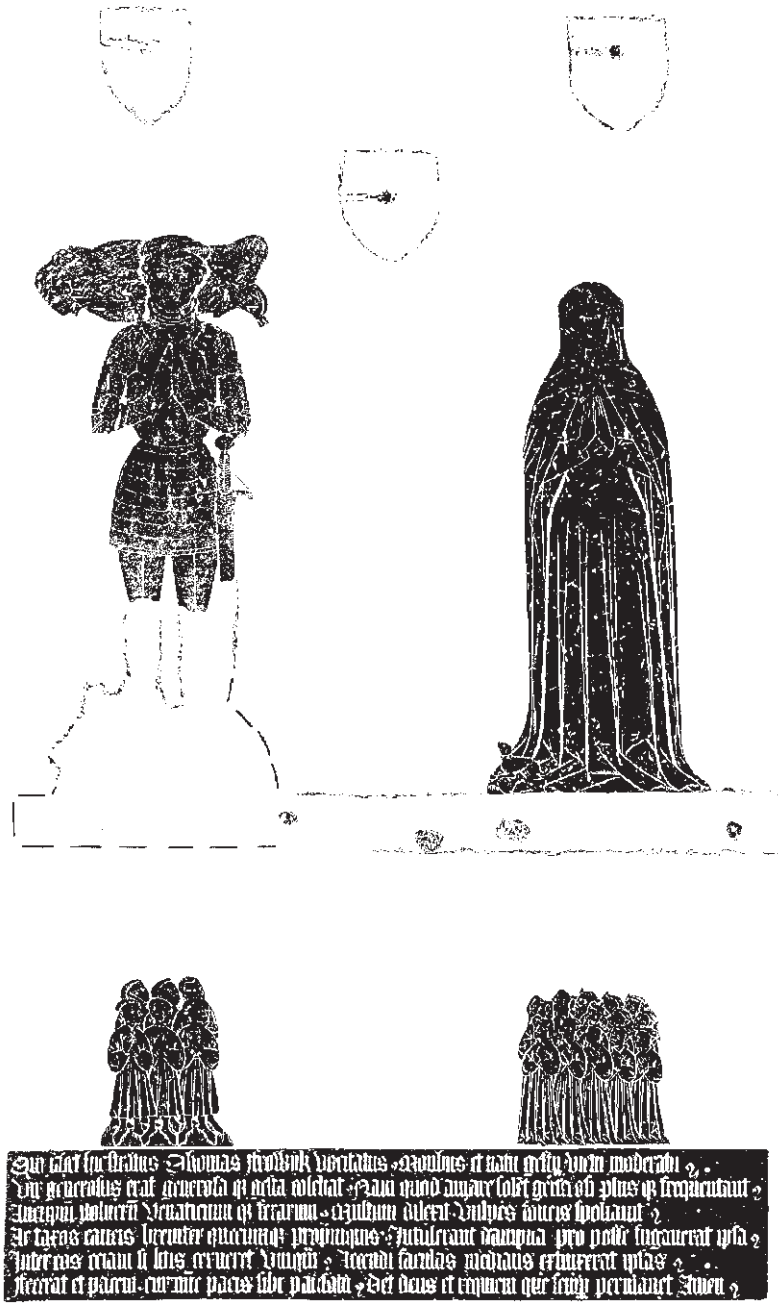


Fig. 5. Thomas Frowyk III and wife Elizabeth, South Mimms, Middx., LSW.II (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Hertfordshire*)*

each others' commemorative decisions.[34] Frowyk's memorial is of a standard design with one exception. Originally it consisted of a man in armour (now lost), a female figure in widow's dress, a two-line foot inscription below (lost) with three shields above the figures (also missing), and two groups of children below, six sons and thirteen daughters. John Weever wrote in 1631 that this brass lay at the entrance to the church, and this prominent position would account for its worn condition: 'In the Belfrey of this Church is a goodly marble stone inlay'd all over with brasse, under which one of the Frowicks lieth interred. A gentleman who made his recreations for the good of his neighbours, as appeareth by his epitaph, composed by John Wheathamstead (Whethamstede), abbot of St. Alban's' together with a note of the inscription, where Elizabeth's date of death was never placed in the vacant space. This is a fairly common occurrence on brasses when the executors or family failed to insert the date after the second named person has died.

> Hic iacet Thomas Frowick Armig. qui obit 17 Mens. Februar. 1448 et Elizabetha uxor eius que ob— 14—, ac pueri eorundum quorum animabus propitietur altissimus. Amen.

[*Here lies Thomas Frowick Esquire who died 17 February 1448 and Elizabeth his wife who died — 14—, and their children, on whose souls may the Almighty have mercy. Amen.*][35]

The extra feature – placed below the children – is the large brass plate engraved with twelve Latin verses in Gothic minuscule, supposedly composed by abbot John Wheathampstead (d. 1465). He is known to have compiled verses for monuments at St. Albans' abbey and for his parents' brass at Wheathampstead, and Frowyk was of course a near neighbour of the abbot and on familiar terms with him:

> Qui iacet hic stratus Thomas Frowyk vocitatus
> Moribus et natu gestu victu moderatu
> Vir generosus erat generosa q{ue} gesta colebat
> Nam quod amare sole{n}t generosi plus q{ue} frequentant
> Aucupiu{m} volucru{m} venaticum q{ue} fecarum
> Multum dilexit vulpes foveis spoliavit
> Ac taxos caneis breviter quecunq{ue} propinquis
> Intulerant dampna pro posse fugaverat ipsa
> Inter eos eciam si litis cerneret umq{ua}m
> Accendi faculas medians extinxerat ipsas
> Fecerat et pacem cur nu{n}c pacis sibi pansam
> Det deeus et requiem que semp{er} permanet Amen.

[*He who lies buried here was called Thomas Frowyk. He was a noble man in character and in birth, bearing, life-style and moderation, and cultivated noble pursuits: for he greatly delighted in what noble men are accustomed to like and pursue with relish; that is catching birds and hunting with wild beasts. He deprived foxes of their holes and badgers of their setts; in short whatever creatures had brought damage to his neighbours, he put to flight to the best of his ability. Moreover, if he ever saw the torches of strife [i.e. litigation] being kindled among those neighbours he acted as mediator and extinguished them and so restored the peace. May God now grant him the peace and rest which endures for ever. Amen*]

There are various translations of these verses. The one above is that published by Dr. Cameron. They depict Thomas as a true country gentleman, an enthusiastic sportsman

34 N. Saul, 'The Contract for the Brass of Richard Willoughby (d. 1471) at Wollaton, Notts.', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, L (2006), pp. 166-93.

35 Cameron, 'South Mimms', pp. 215-16.

who rid the countryside of vermin, and acted as a tactful arbitrator amongst his neighbours. A recent article has put forward an alternative, and much less believable reading. The author suggests that the epitaph is ironic in tone and characterizes Thomas Frowyk as abusing his position of power to act in the interests not of the peasantry, but of his hunting friends and neighbours, particularly by putting down poachers.[36] However, it is highly improbable that Wheathampstead would have written verses with such an interpretation which, presumably, Frowyk had himself commissioned and read.

When Richard Robinson visited the church in 1717, he stated that, 'the Parish Clerk showed me a brass plate formerly taken from a grave stone set at the west end' and quoted the inscription in full.[37] However, when Richard Gough was there in 1796 he reported, 'In the tower of South Mimms church, just at the entrance into the church, is a slab with the brass figure of a knight broken off below the knees, in plated armour, his hair cropt, under his head a helmet with the vizor up; his lady in a mantle with a little dog collared at her right foot looking up at her. Under him six sons, under her thirteen girls in the low mitred headdress of the time. Over head were two shields and a third in the centre: only that over the knight remains, charged with a chevron between three leopards' faces. Under foot was a place with the inscription given by Weever, but since gone.'[38]

A few years later Thomas Fisher recorded, by dabbing, all the surviving brasses in St. Giles. This included the male figure as described by Richard Gough, i.e. with the lower part missing, but by now the Frowyk shields had also been lost. In Fisher's dabbing the head rests on a rather oversized helm in comparison with the figure, and the engraver failed to include the sword belt (Fig. 4). Fisher regularly made a rough sketch which he used to assist with his final drawing. This survives, together with a detailed sketch on site of the worn plate for the knight to assist with the final drawings, copies of which have not been discovered to date.[39] The Waller brothers visited the church in 1838 and noted that, since Fisher's visit, the upper part of the legs had been removed, together with the hilt of the sword.[40] The figure was in this condition when Herbert Haines made his rubbing in *c.* 1860 and this was used by Dr. Cameron in his 1983 article. By 1926 when Mill Stephenson published his list the whole figure had been lost, probably in the 1877 restoration when the slab was moved to the north-west corner of the tower. The brass was conserved in 1981, when all the plates which were lying loose were riveted to the slab. It was moved in 2011 and placed in the north chancel (the Frowyk Chapel), as the ground floor of the tower has been converted into use as the parish kitchen.[41]

One puzzling aspect of the brass is its original position. Thomas III asked to be buried in the

36 Cameron, 'South Mimms', pp. 215, 217; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 83-4; J.G. Clark, 'Whethamstede, John (c.1392–1465)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), oxforddnb.com/view/article/29197, accessed 10 April 2013; R. Lamp, 'Thomas Frowyk, d. 17.2.1448, & Wife Elizabeth. South Mimms Hertfordshire', see pegasus-onlinezeitschrift.de/2012_2/pegasus_2012-2_lamp-en_bildschirm [pp. 65-87], accessed 31 December 2012 (where the date of Cameron's article is incorrectly given as 1938, not 1983).

37 Reference from Derrick Chivers, from a microfilm of Robinson's notes with MS references from B.J. Enright, 'Rawlinson's proposed history of Middlesex 1717-1720', *Trans. LAMAS*, XIX, pt 1 (1956), pp. 44-51.

38 Cameron, 'South Mimms', p.215; Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 4, Pt. II, pp. 150-1.

39 Society of Antiquaries, London, Brass Rubbing Collection, *Thomas Fisher Dabbings*, 238g.

40 Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 123, Vol. 1, p. 154 (Waller Diaries). These two references are provided from Derrick Chivers' specialist information.

41 Cameron, 'South Mimms', pp. 215-18; Stephenson, *List*, p. 14.

chancel before the high altar, yet the brass was placed in the tower floor. It is unlikely that his testamentary wishes were ignored, so this may well be an example of a memorial which was not associated with the grave. That is, the body was interred in an important holy space, close to where the consecration of the host took place during Mass, whereas the memorial was placed in a highly visible site at the western processional entrance to the church.

A figure brass to Alice, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Frowyk, and wife of Thomas Reynes, of Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire (d. 1451), lies in the church of St. Mary, Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire (Fig. 6). This brass was also a product of the same London B workshop, unsurprising since it is likely that mother and daughter were involved with the commissioning of brasses to their respective spouses within a three year period. No doubt one influenced the other. The disposition of the shields, inscription and groups of children (nine in this case) is the same, and the head of each man lies on a helmet with visor raised, although the figure of Thomas Frowyk is smaller. The figures of mother and daughter are in almost identical dress and both have a small dog at their feet There are two shields, showing the arms of Frowyk, and of Reynes quartered with Frowyk, Mauleverer and a chief indented.[42]

Fig. 6. Thomas Reynes and wife Alice Frowyk, Marston Moretaine, Beds., LSW. II (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Bedfordshire*)*

Henry Frowyk V (d. 1484)

Thomas and Elizabeth's son and heir Henry V, married, in the mid-1450s, Johanna, daughter of Sir Thomas Lewknor. Lewknor held the chief manor of South Mimms, though his main estates lay in Sussex. Like his ancestors Henry took a prominent role in county affairs, and was member of Parliament for Middlesex in 1453

42 Cameron, 'South Mimms', p.218; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), pp. 72-3; T. Fisher, *Collections Historical, Genealogical, and Topographical for Bedfordshire* (London, 1817), pl. 66 (reference from Derrick Chivers); VCH, *Bedfordshire*, III (London, 1912), pp. 307-13 (where Thomas's wife is named as Elizabeth).

and 1463, but his financial difficulties saw a gradual decline of the Frowyk family. Although Henry was distrained for knighthood in 1458 and 1465, it is apparent that by December 1456 he was in trouble, and indeed in 1464 his aunt Isabella Frowyk described him in her will as 'of Barnet', not of South Mimms. The next thirty years are marked by continuous struggles as one form of credit after another was exhausted, and one estate after another was mortgaged or sold.[43]

The reasons for Henry's debts are not obvious. Possibly his estates were already encumbered when he succeeded. There was also the impact of political strife, for it was during his lifetime that the struggle between York and Lancaster reached its height. On Easter day 1471 (14 April) the battle of Barnet, won by the Yorkist King Edward IV, was fought along the borders of South Mimms and Monken Hadley, and across the moat of Old Fold, possibly causing property destruction.[44] Since Henry sat on the Middlesex bench between 1445 and 1463 and then during the Readeption of King Henry VI in 1471, but not thereafter, he was a Lancastrian supporter like his Lewknor in-laws. Henry V had conveyed or mortgaged certain London properties to his cousin Thomas Frowyk IV of Gunnersbury, Middlesex, and others in 1459, and similarly, ten years later, lands in Willesden and West Twyford to Roger Frende. He then mortgaged the manor of Weld and lands in Shenley, Aldenham, and St. Albans, Hertfordshire to Thomas in 1473, and sold him Durhams manor within the next two years.[45] But he still owed money to several men, including his brother-in-law Sir Roger Lewknor, who in 1476 had him committed to the Fleet prison for debt. Henry's release was arranged by selling the manor of Windridge, Hertfordshire in 1478. He sat as member for the Cornish borough of Truro the same year, perhaps a measure to ward off his creditors.[46] Henry V died in the summer of 1484, when a writ for an Inquisition post mortem was directed to the escheators of Middlesex and Hertfordshire. No will has been found, and, if he died in debt, he may simply have made his wishes known informally to his family and no probate was obtained. He may have been buried at North Mimms, Hertfordshire, where a chapel window contained heraldic glass with his arms, i.e. Frowyk quartering Asshe. However, Henry's widow Johanna – who also apparently left no will – survived until at least June 1491 when she appointed a new chaplain to Frowyk's chantry at South Mimms.[47] Perhaps both husband and wife were given modest burials at St. Giles, very possibly in the chantry chapel itself.

43 Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp 232-33; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 36-8 & 89-90; TNA: PRO, C219/16/2; E151, rot. 61 (reference from Dr. H. Kleineke); E159/234, m. 21; 242, m. 42; VCH, *Middlesex,* V, p. 283; TNA: PRO, PROB 11/5, f. 73.

44 J.R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 1965), pp. 184-6. The brotherhood of the Resurrection and St. Blaise was based at the chapel 'apon the hethe' in the parish, an instance of a gild maintaining a small, isolated place of worship, probably the chapel which commemorated the dead of the battle; see GL, MS 09171/9, f. 149 (1519 will of Roger Bryt) and B. Warren, 'The Chapel for the Dead of the Battle of Barnet', *Jnl of the Potters Bar and District Historical Soc.*, XI (2002), pp. 1-8.

45 LMA, Husting roll 187 (46); *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1476-1485*, pp. 12, 374; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1468-76*, no. 360, and pp. 351-2; *VCH, Middlesex*, V, pp. 282-3.

46 *Cal. Close R. 1476-1485,* p. 12; *VCH, Hertfordshire*, II, p. 399 (this manor was part of his Asshe inheritance); TNA: PRO, C219/17/3.

47 *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, 1471-1485*, no. 829; G. Askew, 'North Mymms Parish Church: Armorial Glass in St Katherine's Chapel', *East Herts Archaeological Soc. Trans.*, XII, pt. 2 (1947), pp. 109-14; LMA, Bishop's Register, MS 09531/8, f. 4v.

Thomas Frowyk V (d. by 1490)

Henry and Johanna's only son and heir was Thomas V. He married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Throckmorton, a Warwickshire landowner, the furthest afield that the Frowyks found a marriage partner. Thomas V makes little impression in the records, and probably died not long after his father. There is no record of place of burial or any tomb for him or his wife Eleanor, but they had both probably died by 1490, when their son Henry VII settled the manor of Brockham on himself in tail to his brother Thomas, and then to George Frowyk of Gunnersbury, Middlesex.[48]

Henry Frowyk VII (d. 1527)

Fortunately, Henry VII, the son of Thomas and Eleanor, retrieved the family's fortunes by taking to wife Anne, co-heiress of Robert Knolles (Knollys) of North Mimms, before 1494. Their arms, partially surviving in seventeenth century and earlier armorial glass in St. Katherine's chapel there, provide visual evidence of the Frowyks' marriage alliances. Two magnificent tomb chests at South Mimms commemorate them and their son, Thomas X. Henry served as undersheriff for Middlesex in about 1496 and as justice of the peace for Hertfordshire in 1506, so he may have been a lawyer. Before 1500 Henry sold off various London properties, although Weld manor remained in the family, and before his death he had assigned Old Fold to his son Thomas for a marriage portion.[49]

Henry VII's will, wherein he describes himself 'of The Wilde' (Weld), Hertfordshire, and late of Old Fold, was initially dated 18 November 1523, probably shortly after the death of his only son. Henry asked for burial at South Mimms near to the wall by Our Lady in the north part of the choir, where he wished 'some memory or co*n*venient Tombe to be made', but without pomp and expense. These directions and the position of the tomb make the attribution to Henry of the later of the two tomb-chests that now survive almost certain. However, Henry in fact did not die in 1523, since he confirmed his will on 24 January 1526/7 and it was proved the following May by his widow Anne and his executor, his son-in-law John Coningsby.[50] Therefore he had time and money to complete not just his son's tomb, but also his own. Henry would have been well aware, his only son and heir having predeceased him, that his branch of the Frowyk line would become extinct in the male line at this death, so it would be natural that he would decide upon distinctive and prominent monuments to provide a lasting memorial.

Henry bequeathed £10 for distribution to the poor at his funeral and month's mind, and £20 towards the 'making of one Ile or chapell if eny be made or making in the North parte' of St. Giles, a visible reminder of the Frowyks to their fellow parishioners. His two other parish churches were given 6s. 8d. for reparations. Trentals of Masses were to be said for his soul and those of his ancestors at altars in Westminster Abbey, the hospital of the Savoy, and in the church of the Crutched Friars, each receiving £10, while 20s. was given to the four orders of London friars. His servants and the poor prisoners in the Gate House, St. Albans

48 Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 90-1; *Cal. Close R. 1485-1500*, no. 128; *1468-1476*, nos 360 & 1361; *1500-09*, no. 11(v), p. 209; O. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 3 vols. (London, 1804-14, repr. 1974), II, pp. 210-11.

49 Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 91; LMA, Husting roll 221/21; Askew, 'North Mymms Parish Church: Armorial Glass in St Katherine's Chapel', pp. 109-14; VCH, *Middlesex*, V, p. 283; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rolls London & Middlesex, Middlesex Roll 22, m. 1; TNA: PRO, E34/2, p. 92 (reference from Dr H. Kleineke); *Cal. Pat. R. 1494-1509*, p. 643.

50 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/22, ff. 144-144v; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 52 (with drawing of the tomb facing), 91-4.

Fig. 7. Windows, dated 1526, South Mimms, Middx. (from F.C. Cass, South Mimms*)*

were remembered, and various items were left to the family chantry, including 'a lytel folding table of oure Lady and of other saints gilte and paynted', probably a diptych or triptych, for the use of its priest. He bequeathed his nephew Thomas, son of his brother Thomas Frowyk, Gloucesters manor, which was however charged with the payment of £20 yearly to the chantry priest and curate at South Mimms. His wife Anne was to have her dower rights, and she was later buried with him.[51]

It is noteworthy that 1526 was also the date of the insertion of 'Certaine windowes' in the church (Fig. 7). An inventory of 1621 supplied the names of some of the donors, since these appeared in the then surviving windows. The names included the 'yong men and maydes' and the 'good women' of the parish plus several other individuals, so the windows could have been installed at the cost of parishioners inspired by Henry's construction of the chapel.[52]

The large table-tomb, probably from the same London workshop that made the tomb for Thomas Frowyk X, was presumably erected in the chancel after the north chapel was built in 1526. The initials R.H., probably of the then vicar, Robert Hill, and one witness of Henry's will, are carved on the monument, but otherwise there is neither effigy nor inscription (Fig. 8). However, since the tomb lies against the inner wall of the chancel, the position requested in Henry's will, it is difficult to suggest a

51 Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 66 (with drawing of Frowyk Chantry facing), 67. 91-4.

52 LMA, DRO/5/A1/1; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 49-51 (with illustration of windows facing p. 49). By the eighteenth century all the medieval glass, except the lower part of four panels in the north aisle, had disappeared.

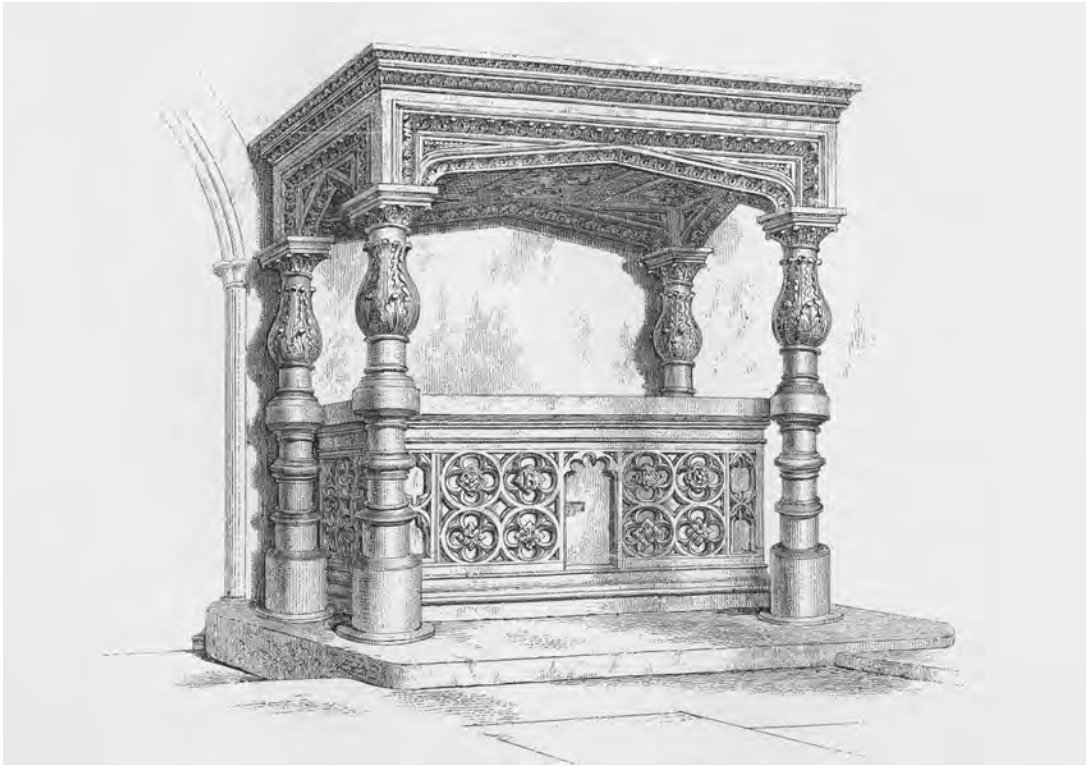


Fig. 8. Tomb of Henry Frowyk VII, South Mimms, Middx. (from F.C. Cass, South Mimms*)*

different attribution. The tomb incorporates some early Renaissance features, with four grotesque corner pillars and Corinthian capitals, supporting a groined canopy. There is a row of continuous panelling ornamented with alternate roses and quatrefoils along the chest, with a central niche. The vase shapes forming part of the columns are similar to those used at the corners of the tomb-chest of the first Earl of Rutland at Bottesford, Leicestershire, in 1544. The panelling is comparable to the ceiling of St. Stephen's cloister at Westminster Palace, erected 1526-29, and associated with the royal master mason Henry Redman of Brentford, Middlesex. There is a link with the Frowyks since Redman and his wife Joan made John Spelman, his wife Elizabeth – the daughter of Henry's cousin, Sir Henry Frowyk VI – and their son trustees of the endowment that the couple gave to their parish church. Although Redman died in 1528, masons connected with his workshop may have been responsible for this monument, the earlier Frowyk tomb and the panelled tomb-chest at North Mimms believed to be that of Henry's daughter Elizabeth (wife to John Coningsby).[53]

53 Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 52 and facing drawing of tomb; Jon Bayliss, 'The Frowyk Monuments at South Mimms', lecture given to the Monumental Brass Society, St. Giles, South Mimms, 31 March 2012; C. Wilson, 'Redman, Henry (*d.* 1528)', *ODNB*, oxforddnb.com/view/article/37885, accessed 22 Sept. 2013.

Fig. 9. Tomb of Thomas Frowyk X, South Mimms, Middx. (from F.C. Cass, South Mimms*)*

Thomas Frowyk X (d. 1523)

In the north chapel is a second magnificent canopied tomb, also supported by four bonded round pillars (Fig. 9). In the early sixteenth century a particular type of freestone monument was made by London workshops. Examples are the tomb of Christopher Urswyk at Hackney, installed in his lifetime in 1519 as an Easter Sepulchre, and that in the Savoy Chapel erected for Sir Richard and Dame Jane Rokeby (both d. 1523). In the monument erected by Sir Thomas More at Chelsea in 1532 the curves of the centre of the arch are straightened, as on the South Mimms tombs. It is likely that the same workshop produced larger, effigial tombs such as that for Thomas Frowyk X, and comparisons can be made with the tombs of Sir John Peche (d. 1522) at Lullingstone, Kent, and Sir John Spencer (d. 1522) at Great Brington, Northamptonshire. The latter has a row of continuous panelling either side of the achievement of arms on the canopy, as does the tomb at South Mimms. This bears the arms of Frowyk, *Azure a chevron between three leopards' faces or* impaling, *Azure three chevrons argent* (Lewknor); Frowyk quartering *Azure semy*

of crosses crosslet a cross moline voided throughout o; Frowyk impaling *Azure three mews* (Asshe); and Frowyk impaling *Gules on a chevron argent three roses gules* (Knolles). On this is an effigy of a man in plate armour, his shoulder and elbow pieces adorned with the Frowyk leopard's head. The feet rest on a lion and under the head is a helmet encircled with a wreath and surmounted by a crest, apparently a bird. It is almost certainly the tomb of Henry's only son, Thomas Frowyk X, who died childless before his father in 1523. Having reserved the north side of the chancel for his own monument, Henry built his son's tomb here in the family's chapel.[54]

Thomas Frowyk X had married Mary, daughter of Sir William Sandes, but since he left no issue the family estates were inherited by Henry VII's daughter and heir, Thomas's sister Elizabeth, wife of John Coningsby. It is probably her panelled altar tomb which lies in North Mimms church. It is of early sixteenth-century style, although she was still alive as late as 1557. Her son Sir Henry Coningsby was buried next to his mother, and refers in his 1587 will to his manors of Old Fold, and Brockham.[55] Their choice of burial place suggests an affinity with their Knollys, rather than Frowyk, ancestors.

Thomas Frowyk VII (d. 1517), Thomas Frowyk XI (d. after 1527) and Henry Frowyk IX (d. 1619)

Henry VII had a younger brother, Thomas VII, who predeceased him in 1517, and who left a son, Thomas XI. Under 21 years in his uncle's 1523 will, Thomas XI was bequeathed Gloucesters manor, in the London parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate.[56] Otherwise this Thomas's life is obscure, except that he is said to have married Anna Prety of Essex, and to have had two sons, Henry IX and Stephen. Henry was called to Lincoln's Inn in 1591, acted as steward and clerk for the town of St. Albans, and stood as its member of Parliament in 1601. He died in 1619, leaving two sons, Edward, also of Lincoln's Inn, and Henry.[57] But the family's connection with South Mimms was now broken and their places of burial are unknown.

The building of Henry's and Thomas's tombs marks the end of the direct male line of the Frowyks as manorial lords in South Mimms, since the family estates then descended in the female line, apart from Durhams, now held by the junior branch. The erection of such substantial tombs was to ensure that the family was not forgotten, and that they would be remembered in the prayers of the congregation. As a commemorative strategy this proved successful, since five hundred years later the name of Frowyk is still associated with this parish and church.

The City Branch

Henry Frowyk IV (d. 1460)

Reverting to the junior line, the younger son of Henry III and brother to Thomas III was Henry Frowyk IV, who restored the family's links with London, where in 1436 he was

54 Cass, *South Mimms*, drawing of tomb facing p. 92,; F.T. Davys, 'South Mimms, Middlesex', *St. Albans Architectural & Archaeological Soc.*, II (1893-4), pp. 26-9, at 28-9; B. Cherry, 'Some New Types of Late Medieval Tombs in the London Area', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London*, ed. L. Grant (Leeds, 1990), pp. 140-5 (I owe this reference to Jon Bayliss).

55 VCH, *Hertfordshire,* II, pp. 251-61, VCH, *Middlesex,* III, pp. 283-5; Cass, *South Mimms,* pp. 91, 111-16. John Coningsby was buried at St Dunstan's in the West, London, where the gravestone was inscribed to the memory of both husband and wife.

56 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/22, ff. 144-144v.

57 BL, Add. MS 25,384, f. 9 (Papers of Sir Henry Spelman, *c.* 1619); *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler (London, 1981), II, pp. 160-1. See LMA, DL/C/217, ff. 41v-42v, Consistory Court of London 1567 deposition mentioning a disputed marriage in 1555 between Thomas Frowyk of Bellbarn, North Mimms, and Joan Roff.

Fig. 10. Henry Frowyk IV, LMA, Leigh Book (SC/GL/ALD/001), f. 136
(Reproduced by permission of City of London, London Metropolitan Archives)

accounted one of the four wealthiest Mercers in the City. As his own country estate Henry inherited, from his mother, Gunnersbury manor in Ealing, Middlesex, which he enlarged by his acquisition of adjoining lands. He was apprenticed in 1398/9 to a London mercer, John Otley, and had a high profile career: warden of the Mercers' Company, alderman, twice mayor of London in 1435 and 1444, and five times member of Parliament for the City. He was an ambassador to Holland in 1441, and served the City in many capacities, as well as being an active trader and sitting on the Middlesex bench between 1445 and 1449.[58] Henry married Isabella, a silk woman in her own right, and already the widow of two wealthy mercers, John Bally and William Otes. He is depicted in one of a number of contemporary coloured drawings of London alderman by the herald Roger Leigh (Fig. 10).[59]

When in London Henry IV lived at Ipres Inn, in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, and at his death in 1460 asked to be buried in the church in the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon or Acre, which was associated with the Mercers' Company. His wife Isabella joined him there five years later.[60] Stow, however, records Henry's memorial at St. Benet Sherehog, London.[61]

Henry's three wills, proved in March and April 1460, disposed of his property and goods in London and in Middlesex, with extensive religious, charitable and family bequests. The first, dated 1453, included a bequest of ten marks for the support of two choristers at St. Thomas of Acon, to be known as 'Frowykes Querester' and 'Oliveres Querester', and for prayers not only for Henry and Isabella, but also for William and Maude Oliver, probably Isabella's parents.[62] In 1459, Henry's second, very extensive will left 100 marks to set up a ten-year chantry at St. Thomas of Acon for himself and the souls of John and John *(sic)*, possibly his late master, John Otley, and his wife's first husband.[63] He made numerous bequests, in return for prayers and Masses, to religious institutions over a wide area: the church, priests and poor of St. Benet Sherehog, St. Mary, Ealing, and St. Mary, Acton, the community at Sopwell (where his mother was buried), the Franciscan, Carmelite and Austin Friars, and St. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield. One hundred priests were to say *placebo* and *dirige* at his burial, and Mass the next day. Apart from one furred gown, left to the beadle of the Mercers' Company, all his other gowns, hoods and doublets were to be sold and the money expended on the poor. His apprentice, friends, wife and family were remembered with money and household goods, plus objects, such as

58 J.S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (Manchester, 1954), pp. 181-2; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 95-6; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 232-41; VCH, *Middlesex*, VII (Oxford, 1982), pp. 7-8, 19, 125-6.

59 A.F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London 1130-1378* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 189, 251, 302-3 (nn. 179, 180); *eadem*, 'Two Dozen and More Silkwomen of Fifteenth-Century London', *The Ricardian*, XVI (2006), pp. 46-58, at 49-50; *eadem*, 'The Shop-floor of the London Mercery Trade *c.* 1200-*c.* 1500', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XLV (2001), pp. 12-50, esp. p. 47; LMA, Leigh Book, contemporary drawings made for the Visitation of London 1446-49.

60 Frowyk's tomb is recorded at St. Thomas of Acon in Strype's account of 1720 which was based on a now lost heraldic manuscript which he had consulted: John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London & Westminster*, ed. John Strype, 2 vols. (London 1720), I, book 3, p. 38 (reference from Christian Steer).

61 Stow, *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, I, p. 260.

62 LMA, Husting roll 188/38; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 236-9.

63 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/4, ff 153-154v; *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Hustings, London, A.D.1258-A.D.1688*, ed. R.R. Sharpe, 2 vols. (London, 1889-90), II, p. 460, where William Oliver, in his undated will proved 1432, also left London rents to St Thomas of Acon for the maintenance of 'Olyveresquerestre'.

missals, breviaries and vestments belonging to his chapel, carpets, silver and jewels. Isabella his wife also received £1,000 as her dower, and silk due to her as a silkwoman. Bequests were made to poor prisoners in London and Westminster and the clerks in Stortford, Hertfordshire, and to the almonry of the Mercers'. His executors were to spend the residue in Masses and charitable works, particularly in marriage portions for girls of good reputation and for the repair of roads. Henry also directed his executors to deliver to St. Mary-le-Bow, London, a chest containing the muniments of the Coventry chantry, founded by him in that church, together with 20 marks. The third will, made a fortnight later, related solely to this last item.[64] Henry left certain tenements to the rector and churchwardens of St. Mary-le-Bow charged with the maintenance of the chantry at St. Nicholas's altar for his soul and that of John Coventry, mercer and alderman, and others. Henry and his co-executors to John (d. 1429) had been charged with setting up this chantry for the souls of John, his parents, friends and benefactors.[65] The Coventry chantry was one of several with which Henry was associated, for he had earlier (in the 1440s) co-founded the family chantry in St. Giles, South Mimms, with his brother, Thomas III, and his own son, Thomas IV.[66]

Isabella's similarly lengthy will of 1464 left abundant pious bequests comparable to those of her husband, but included further London parish churches, the Crutched Friars and the Charterhouse at Sheen, Surrey, the sick in St. Mary without Bishopsgate, lepers, and poor householders in Brentford, Middlesex. Her executors were to distribute 100s. for 500 Masses to be celebrated for her soul, and more chapel goods, religious books, jewels, rosaries, clothes, and money were left to her son Thomas IV and his wife Johanna, her daughter Elizabeth, by then married to her second husband, Roger Appleton, and to her grandchildren and other relatives, godchildren and servants.[67]

Henry IV was also one of the supervisors of the rebuilding work at the Guildhall chapel, where in 1416 a chantry had been established for the souls of his father, and his relation by marriage, Adam Fraunceys. In 1440 new foundations were required for the south-east corner of the nave, and once these were dug the City held a ceremony for blessing these initial works, separate from the consecration service held at the building's completion. Evidence for this comes from two dressed, painted stones found during the 1996 archaeological excavations, discovered placed face-up at the base of this foundation trench. The inscriptions were painted in a formal 'black letter' *textura* script and name 'Henricus Frowyk' and 'Thomas Knollys' (Fig. 11). They were presumably witnesses to the ceremony and benefactors towards the rebuilding. Thomas Knollys, citizen and grocer, was a common councillor, and son of a former mayor, Sir Thomas Knollys (d. 1435), and probably grandfather of Anne Knollys of North Mimms, who married Henry Frowyk VII some fifty years later.[68] A near-contemporary record of a similar

64 LMA, Husting roll 188/36.

65 *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1937-47), II, pp. 403-6; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 335.

66 TNA: PRO, C143/45/30; Brittain, *South Mymmes*, pp. 17, 26.

67 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/5, f. 73; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 240-42; Cass, *South Mimms*, pedigree opposite p. 70.

68 LMA, Journal of Common Council, 3, f. 39; C.M. Barron, *Medieval Guildhall of London* (London, 1974), p. 36; D. Bowsher, T. Dyson, N. Holder and I. Howell, *The London Guildhall*, Pt. 1, MoLAS Monograph 36 (London, 2007) pp. 198-200; N. Holder, 'Medieval Foundation Stones and Foundation Ceremonies,' in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, ed. C Barron and C. Burgess (Donington, 2010), pp. 6-23; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 106-111.

Fig. 11. Henry Frowyk's foundation stone, Guildhall Chapel
(Reproduced by permission of Museum of London Archaeology)

ceremony held in 1429 at the foundation of the new church of St Stephen Walbrook, London, reveals that some fifteen people were present at the laying of the first stones. The major benefactor, Robert Chichele, eight aldermen and six named churchwardens (and perhaps the mason and parish priest) each in turn laid a stone. But only the first three stones were inscribed or painted with a verse, those laid by the three main financial contributors. And although these stones would not have been visible once the foundations were laid, they would have been known to God, whilst the ceremony would have remained in the living memory of those present.[69]

Sir Thomas Frowyk IV (d. 1485)

Henry and Isabella's son and heir was Sir Thomas IV of Gunnersbury. Born about 1423 and admitted to the Mercers in 1446, he was a successful lawyer, rising to prominence as a serjeant-at-law. He was four times member of Parliament for Middlesex, justice of the peace, county commissioner, steward for two great ecclesiastical estates, Syon Abbey and Westminster Abbey, and legal counsel for the latter. He, his father Henry IV and uncle Thomas III together set up the family chantry at South Mimms in 1447.[70] Thomas was among those made a knight of the Order of the Bath at the marriage of Richard, Duke

69 Bowsher, Dyson, Holder and Howell, *The London Guildhall*, Pt. 1, p. 200.

70 Mercers' Company Archives, Index Cards to Members before 1527; TNA: PRO, KB 9/286, m.12, 307 m.91, 313 m. 63, & 322 m. 54; SC 6/1140/25 rot. 1, /26 & /27; C143/45/30.

of Gloucester, and Anne Mowbray in January 1478. This ceremony resulted in an unseemly dispute afterwards when Frowyk and three other knights refused to pay part of the herald's customary fees and the Duke of Gloucester had to intervene to ensure payment, 20s. in Frowyk's case.[71]

Sir Thomas's household was part of a literary circle based on the precincts of St. Bartholomew, London, and produced a small narrative of contemporary events, *Frowyk's Chronicle*. This recorded that Sir Thomas died of the sweating sickness in late September 1485, after Henry Tudor had won the English throne.[72] He and his wife Johanna (d. 1500), daughter of Richard Sturgeon, Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, were both buried in St. Anne's chapel, in Ealing church. They had therefore decided against either St. Thomas of Acon or St. Bartholomew, where their respective parents were buried, but instead the church of their main country estate.[73] Here Norden noted the tomb of Thomas Frowick of Gunnersbury, adding a drawing of the arms of Frowyk with a mullet for difference, impaling Sturgeon, *Azure three sturgeons naiant in pale or, over all a fretty gules*.[74]

In his short will Sir Thomas, 'knyght unworthy so to be called', made bequests to the churches of Ealing and St. Thomas the Apostle, London, but only for tithes forgotten. However, it was preying on his mind that the five marks given towards the marriage of a poor maiden by Thomas Bledlow, alderman, citizen and grocer and husband of his daughter Elizabeth, for whom he was executor in 1478, had been 'long kept in myn hand to dispose wherof I aske my most merciful Jhesus forgeveness'.[75] His executors were to undertake this task, but his wife noted in her own will that he had in fact paid this legacy in his lifetime. Sir Thomas then states that since he was uncertain as to the sum of his goods, chattels and debts – which implies that he died suddenly without time to set his affairs in good order – the disposal of the rest of his personal estate was left to his executors, his wife, John Ward, steward of Syon Abbey, and Master William Tornour. The executors were to pay his debts and funeral expenses, his wife was to have her dower rights, their daughter Isabel a marriage portion and their two sons a reasonable part of his household stuff, while his servants were to be rewarded according to their merits. His considerably longer testament dealt in detail with his estates in Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Suffolk and London. Amongst these estates was the manor of Durhams, bought from his cousin Henry V, so this younger branch was still associated with South Mimms. Johanna his wife was to hold his lands for life, with remainder to either Henry or Thomas his two sons. Ipres Inn, his London house, was however left to Johanna and her right heirs.

In her own lengthy 1500 will Johanna made many pious bequests to churches (Ealing, St. Benet Sherehog, St. Thomas the Apostle her parish church, and St. Thomas of Acon), students at Oxford and Cambridge, paupers, the sick at St. Mary without Bishopsgate, lepers in Middlesex, prisoners in London and her

71 TNA: PRO, E159/242, m.42; A. Wagner, *The Heralds of England* (London, 1967), p. 75; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 95; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 243-4.

72 BL, Harleian MS 541, f. 218; A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The Making of a Minor London Chronicle in the Household of Sir Thomas Frowyk (died 1485)', *The Ricardian*, X, no. 126 (September 1994), pp. 86-103.

73 M. Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, List & Index Society, Special Series 30 (1999), pp. 98-9.

74 J. Norden, *Speculum Britanniae* (London, 1723), p. 19; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 96. Ealing church fell down in 1729 and was rebuilt ten years later.

75 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/7, ff. 137v-138v (will, Sir Thomas Frowyk); 11/6, ff. 255-257v (will, Thomas Bledlow); Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 96, pedigree facing p.70; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 242-5.

servants. A priest was to sing Mass daily for ten years in Ealing church for the souls of herself and her parents, her husband and his parents at a cost of 100 marks. Among other precious items she bequeathed to her son was a prayerbook covered in blue velvet and decorated with the Frowyk arms, which her mother-in-law had bequeathed her, and a standing cup once Sir Thomas Charlton's, their cousin and speaker of the House of Commons. Her widespread charitable and religious bequests contrast with those of her husband. No doubt he relied on her to undertake this duty for him. Both wills, and those of Sir Thomas's parents, Henry and Isabel, give an impression of a close knit family, exchanging valued objects between the generations. They left two sons, inevitably named Henry and Thomas, both also knighted.[76]

Sir Henry Frowyk VI (d. 1505)

The eldest son, Henry VI, although admitted to the Mercers' Company and retaining interests in London, lived at Gunnersbury (in 1493 he was of Church Ealing), serving as steward for Sir Thomas Lewknor's manor of South Mimms, and as a justice and commissioner in Middlesex. Henry was knighted in 1501 at the marriage of Prince Arthur although it is unclear why. He married twice, to Jane (died 1487), daughter of Sir Robert Danvers, and secondly to Margaret (dead by 1505), daughter to Sir Ralph Leigh and widow of Walter Ford.[77] Sir Henry asked to be buried where his wives lay, in St. Anne's chapel in Ealing church before the image of the Holy Trinity, and presumably near his parents' tomb.[78] No evidence of any monument now exists. In his 1504 will, proved the following year, his religious bequests are highly personal. His velvet gown was to be made into an altar cloth for Ealing, his damask gown similarly for St. Anne's altar there, while his wife's damask gown was to provide a vestment for Acton church. Thus his memory would be preserved during the solemnity of the Mass. It is also likely, given that both his wives had predeceased him, that Sir Henry himself had arranged before his own death for those commemorative services he desired. Valuable silver and gold plate, including Sir Thomas Charlton's standing cup, and household stuff were left between his sons by his second wife, Margaret, Thomas VIII and Henry VIII, although both would die childless. Jewels were distributed among his sons and his two daughters and eventual co-heiresses, Margaret, who married Sir Michael Fisher, and Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Spelman.

Thomas Frowyk VIII (d. 1513)

Thomas VIII was named as heir to his father Sir Henry in 1505, when twelve or fourteen years of age. Otherwise little is known of his life. His inquisition post mortem states that he died childless in 1513 leaving his brother Henry VIII as his heir. Some pedigrees state he was a priest, and indeed one witness of his aunt Elizabeth Frowyk's 1515 will was 'ffrere ffrowyk'.[79] His place of burial is unrecorded.

76 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/12, ff. 12v-14; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 97; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 245-6; BL, Harleian MS 541, f. 217; TNA: PRO, C140/35/64, m.2.

77 Mercers Company Archives, Index Cards to Members before 1527; *Cal. Fine R. 1485-1509*, no. 491; TNA: PRO, KB 9/365, m. 19; W.C. Metcalfe, *A Book of Knights, 1426-1600* (London, 1885), p. 34; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 251-4; *Cal. Pat. R. 1494-1509*, p. 285; *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VII*, III, nos. 427, 444, 463; TNA: PRO, C1/308/65; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 97-8. A third daughter, Mary, died young.

78 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/14, ff. 325-325v.

79 TNA: PRO, C142/79/231 and 292; 'London Inquisitions post Mortem', *Index Library*, I, pp. 23-5; *ibid.*, II, p. 175; *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VII*, III, nos. 427, 444 and 463; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 98; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 253-54; C.H. Keene, *History of Islips Manor Estate, Northolt, Middlesex (*Northolt Archaeological and Historical Research Group, 1964), Typescript at Ealing Local History Library, p. 5 (death of Henry); TNA: PRO, PROB 11/18 ff.100-101v.

Henry Frowyk VIII (d. 1521)

Sir Henry's second son, Henry Frowyk VIII, succeeded to the family estates at about the age of 24, but, dying childless, the male line of the Frowyks of Gunnersbury ended with him. In his will of 1518, proved 1521, he wished to be buried in the church of St. Mary, Ealing, near his parents and grandparents, on the south side of the altar in St. Anne's chapel. His lands at Gunnersbury, Ealing, Acton and elsewhere in Middlesex, London and Essex were left for her lifetime to his wife Agnes, daughter of Humphrey Strickland (who one source says was his brother Thomas's widow). They were then to descend to his nephew Henry Spelman, a younger son of his sister Elizabeth Frowyk who married John Spelman. Plate and jewels were left to his wife, sister Elizabeth, half-sister Dorothy, and mother-in-law Elizabeth, now wife of Sir Richard Cholmeley. Though he made religious bequests to the Friars Observant and the Carthusians, both at Richmond, Surrey, once again it is likely that a wife was left to provide commemorative services for a husband, although these may well have been decided upon beforehand. Henry VIII did not anticipate his cousin Henry Frowyk VII (d. 1527) in marking the end of his own line at Ealing with a substantial monument. Indeed, although three generations of her family lay at Ealing, Elizabeth (Frowyk) and her husband – who produced fifteen children – chose instead to be buried in the church of All Saints, Narborough, Norfolk. On the brass over their tomb is an effigy of Sir John Spelman (d. 1545) shown in judge's robes and Lady Spelman (d. 1556) in a heraldic robe with the arms of Frowyk quartering Sturgeon. In the same way, her half-sister Margaret, wife of Sir Michael Fisher, decided to be buried in her husband's parish of Clifton, Bedfordshire, but here their tombs do not survive.[80]

Sir Thomas Frowyk VI (d. 1506)

Going back one generation, the younger son of Sir Thomas of Gunnersbury (d. 1485) and of Johanna (Sturgeon) was Sir Thomas VI, a mercer by patrimony. He married firstly Joan (?Bardvile), who had died before 1500, and secondly a local heiress, Elizabeth, daughter of William Barnville of Tockington, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex. As well as Durhams in South Mimms, Sir Thomas held other lands and manors throughout Middlesex and London, but his main country estate was at Finchley, where clients often visited him at Bibbesworth manor house. A supporter of Henry Tudor, he had a distinguished legal career, becoming London's common serjeant in 1485, serjeant-at-law in 1495, and chief justice of the common pleas in 1502, in which year he was knighted. In 1485 he led a delegation to King Henry VII, in a dispute over trading licences with the Low Countries. He may have stood for Parliament in 1503, though these records have not survived.[81]

Yet his success was short-lived, for he made his will and testament in August 1506, adding a codicil in October 1506, shortly before his death. Bequests were made to churches associated with his family, Finchley and Ealing,

80 TNA: PRO, C142/79/231; 'London Inquisitions post mortem', *Index Library*, II, p. 175; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 253-4; TNA, PRO: PROB 11/20, ff. 30v-31v; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 98-9; J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk* (London, 1838), p. 37, pl. 69.

81 Sutton, *Mercery*, pp. 320, 353; VCH, *Middlesex*, VI, pp. 59, 66, 141, 146, IV, pp. 208-9; VII, p. 212; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 99-100; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 255-7; E.W. Ives, *Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 1983), pp 462-4; *Chronicle of John Hardyng* (London, 1812), p. 575; P. Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers in the City of London 1300-1550* (Cambridge, 2007), App. 7.2; Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, p. 38; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, VI, p. 521.

St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas of Acon, London, and also to religious houses in London, Middlesex, and Surrey. A priest was to be found to sing for ten years in accordance with his mother's will at ten marks yearly, with another to sing for the souls of himself, his wife after her death, his parents, grandparents, and Dame Jane, late Viscountess Lisle and John Ward (for both of whom he had been a co-executor).[82]

In the parish church of St. Mary, Finchley, there was once an inscribed marble tomb, standing between two pillars on the north side of the chancel, and cleared away to make room for a new pew on the same spot in 1760. Norden noted *c.* 1590 that:

> In the Church lyeth the Lord Frowyke, Lord chiefe Iustice of England, in the time of H. 6, vnder a Marble toombe where hath been his picture and armes in brasse with circumscription about the toombe, but now defaced, his armes onely remaining in the chauncell window…[83]

Thomas Onyon wrote in 1718:

> Monuments i find 4 worth noate in the church on the North side of ye alter Black & White Marble next ye alter is a Sumptuous one much Defaced by the Rougs in ye Late Civill wares or otherwise uncivill ones wich was Lord Chiefe Justice frowick in King Henry 7th Reigne.[84]

The arms of Frowyk quartering Sturgeon and impaling Bardville were in a chancel window. In fact, Sir Thomas changed his mind on burial at Finchley, since in his codicil he nominated the Black Friars' church in London. This may be an example of a husband arranging a tomb in one church for himself and a first wife at her decease, with a space left for his own date of death to be added at a later stage, but then deciding on burial elsewhere, possibly after a subsequent marriage. Thus a monument is not necessarily a grave marker. Indeed it is possible Sir Thomas welcomed a double commemoration.

'Dame Elizabeth Frowyk widowe of Sir Thomas Frowyk knyght … and after that wif to Thomas Jakys Esquyer decessed', as she stated in her lengthy will of 1515, proved 1516, ordered that her 'wretchyd body' be interred in the nave of Black Friars' church, London, before the image of Our Lady of Grace where she had built an altar and where her second husband already lay.[85] Jakys, 'clerk of Hell', i.e. the keeper of the Records of the Common Bench, had directed in his 1512 will that a stone with the arms of both his wife and himself should be laid on him wherever he was buried. Elizabeth made bequests of the torches used at her funeral to the Black Friars and to two London and fourteen Middlesex churches, including Finchley, Harrow, Ealing and 'my chapel of Okyngton'. Each church was also to receive 6s.8d. to provide obits and Masses, and her own chaplain was to say Mass daily for five years for her soul. St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Martin Ludgate, eight London religious houses and the Black Friars of Lancaster,

82 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/15, ff. 116v-118; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp. 255-7; *Cal. Pat. R, 1494-1505*, p. 432 (Jane (d. 1500) was the second wife of Sir Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle (died 1492); see Sede Vacante *Wills*, ed. C.E. Woodruff, Kent Records, 3 (Canterbury, 1914), appendix, pp. 127-45; *Herald and Genealogist*, V (1870), pp. 127-30). For John Warde, alderman, citizen and grocer, see PROB 11/12/304.

83 VCH, *Middlesex*, VI, p. 85; Norden, *Speculum Britanniae*, p. 20.

84 Enright, 'Rawlinson's proposed history of Middlesex', p. 49; 'Replies to questions sent to parishioners, Thomas Onyon's reply, 7 April 1718', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D896, f. 33v.

85 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/18, ff. 100-101; Davis, *Mary Isaac*, p. 257.

prisoners, servants, her children and various relations were all also remembered with bequests of money or clothing.[86]

Curiously, there must have been an earlier Frowyk connection with Finchley, for Norden stated *c.* 1590 that there was a marble stone in the church 'havinge the picture of a woman', and inscribed, JOAN LA FEME THOMAS DE FROWICKE GIST ICY, ET LE DIT THOMAS PENSE DE GISER AVECQUE LUI [*Joan the wife of Thomas de Frowicke lies here, and the same Thomas wishes to lie with her*]. The use of French would indicate a fourteenth, not sixteenth century date, but neither party can be placed on the family pedigree.[87]

Thomas Frowyk IX (d. 1506)

Thomas Frowyk IX was Sir Thomas's only son and heir by Joan, but he died childless shortly before his father. Thus the heir to Sir Thomas's estates was his only child by Elizabeth, Frideswide Frowyk. She was the first wife of Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of Queen Elizabeth's household, by whom she left three daughters, and was buried in Minster church on the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, in 1528. Sir Thomas's 1559 will bequeathed lands at South Mimms, which probably included Durhams, to three grand-daughters, Anne and Alice Kemp, and Margaret, wife of William Cromer of Tunstall, Kent.[88]

Thus ended in the mid-sixteenth century the various branches, in the male line, of the Frowyk family who, over four centuries, had left their mark either in London through mercantile or legal association with the City, or in Middlesex as one of the leading gentry families. One can see how one family – depending on both fashion and personal preference – could order their commemorative strategies within a variety of burial places, ranging from grand London monastic houses at both the beginning and end of the period under study, to their own, smaller parish church. Their wills reveal how these strategies also provided for Masses, building works and almsgiving to 'manage memory' amongst the living and ensure continuous prayers for their soul. The evidence suggests, however, that there could be an inconsistency between the place a testator nominated for his burial and where he was eventually interred, for example Henry Frowyk III at South Mimms and Sir Thomas VI at Finchley. Memorials were not always grave markers. Unusually, the estates of the senior branch at South Mimms, increased by shrewd marriage alliances, remained in the male line for many generations until inevitably the land was carried away by heiress daughters. So the surviving monuments in St. Giles encompass a number of options as different generations sought different ways to provide a lasting memorial. These ranged from an inscribed stone slab of early fourteenth-century date, a simple stone slab inlaid with brass from 1386, a figural brass of 1449 and then substantial tomb-chests in 1523-27. These last sepulchres were probably a final, grand gesture to mark the end of the family's long association with the parish of South Mimms.

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86 Davis, *Mary Isaac,* pp. 255-9; Cass, *South Mimms,* pp. 30, 99-102.

87 Norden, *Speculum Britannia*, p. 20; Cass, *South Mimms*, p. 100.

88 Davis, *Mary Isaac*, pp 258-9; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, III, nos. 195,243, 279 & 463; Cass, *South Mimms*, pp. 30, 100-2; J. Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (London, 1823), I, p. 353.

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Appendix: Sepulchres of the Frowyk Family of Middlesex and London

Name (wife's maiden name)	Date of Death	Burial place
Thomas de Frowyk	after 1271	? London
Henry de Frowyk I	1286	Greyfriars, London [lost MI]
Isabella (de Durham)	1300	Greyfriars [lost MI]
Reginald de Frowyk	1300	Greyfriars [lost MI]
Agnes (—)	after 1309	?
Henry de Frowyk II	1378	St. Mary Elsingspital, London [lost MI]
Margaret (Pouns)	after 1378	?St. Giles, South Mimms
Thomas Frowyk II	1375	St. Giles, South Mimms [?lost MI]
Matilda/Maud (Durham)	?1408	?South Mimms
Henry Frowyk III	1386	St. Giles, South Mimms, MI
Alice (Cornwall *later* Charlton)	1416	Sopwell Nunnery, near St. Albans, Herts
Thomas Frowyk III	1449	St. Giles, South Mimms, MI/brass
Elizabeth (Asshe)	1455	St. Giles, South Mimms, MI/brass
Henry Frowyk IV, Alderman	1460	St. Thomas of Acon, London [& lost MI St. Benet Sherehog, London]
Isabella (?Oliver)	1465	St. Thomas of Acre/Acon, London
Henry Frowyk V	1484	{? St. Giles, South Mimms, or St. Mary,
Johanna (Lewknor)	after 1491	{North Mimms (heraldic window)
Thomas Frowyk IV, Sir	1485	St. Mary, Ealing (St. Anne's chapel) [lost MI]
Johanna (Sturgeon)	1500	St. Mary, Ealing (St. Anne's chapel) [lost MI]
Thomas Frowyk V	?1474-1486	? St. Giles, South Mimms
Eleanor (Throckmorton)	?	?
Henry Frowyk VI, Sir	1505	St. Mary, Ealing (St. Anne's chapel)
Jane (Danvers)	1487	St. Mary, Ealing (St. Anne's chapel)
Margaret (Leigh)	1501-1505	St. Mary, Ealing (St. Anne's chapel)
Thomas Frowyk VI, Sir	1506	Blackfriars, London [+ lost MI Finchley]
Joan (?Barnvile)	before 1498	St. Mary, Finchley, [lost MI & tomb]
Elizabeth (Bardville)	1515	Blackfriars, London

continued overleaf

Name (wife's maiden name)	Date of Death	Burial place
Henry Frowyk VII	1527	St. Giles, South Mimms, MI/tomb chest
Anne (Knolles)	?	St. Giles, South Mimms, MI
Thomas Frowyk VII	1517	? Hertfordshire
Elizabeth (—)	?	?
Thomas Frowyk VIII	1513	?
Henry Frowyk VIII	1521	St. Mary, Ealing (St Anne's chapel)
Agnes (Strickland)	?	?
Thomas Frowyk IX	1506	? St. Mary, Finchley
Thomas Frowyk X	1523	St. Giles, South Mimms, MI/tomb chest
Thomas Frowyk XI	after 1527	?
Ann (Prety)	?	?
Henry Frowyk IX	1619	? London

Cathédrale ou Collégiale?: Monuments and Commemoration in Late Medieval Toul

Paul Cockerham

In Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle, France), the cathedral, the collegiate church of Saint-Gengoult and the Hospital Maison-Dieu together house possibly the largest surviving collection of incised effigial slabs in western Europe. Those in the cathedral are almost exclusively to canons, whereas many slabs in Saint-Gengoult represent members of an increasingly wealthy population of merchants who were also involved in civil government. The socio-religious reasons for this contrast in patronage are explored in this paper, together with an appraisal of the Renaissance-inspired changes evident in slab design at the end of the fifteenth century.

Introduction

The ancient city of Toul in Lorraine is nowadays eclipsed by the size and importance of the neighbouring city of Nancy, but it was once an important staging post on a bend in the Moselle river at the intersection of the trade routes between Nancy and Trier (north-south) and Reims and Strasbourg (west-east). The medieval diocese of Toul was enormous, spreading over the four ancient departments of la Meurthe, la Meuse, la Moselle and les Vosges, and was located between the western extremity of the Holy Roman Empire and the eastern edge of France. Its bishopric was one of the *Trois Évêchés* comprising the prince-bishoprics of Metz, Verdun and Toul, which were effectively states of the Holy Roman Empire until their peaceful appropriation by King Henri II of France in 1552. Nominally governed by the duchy of Bar and Lorraine, in practice it was the bishop who potentially enjoyed a virtual autonomy in his diocese both before and following the French annexation.

Toul was a prosperous medieval city, effectively 'a city of clergy',[1] being well served religiously by the three abbeys of Saint-Léon, Saint-Evre and Saint-Mansuy, houses of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, two seminaries, four hospitals, two priories, and two hospitals for lepers, in addition to six parish churches, the collegiate church of Saint-Gengoult and the cathedral. Of all these only a few physical traces now remain of the abbey of Saint-Mansuy, leaving the cathedral and Saint-Gengoult as the main entire Gothic buildings in Toul, together with the chapel of the Maison-Dieu – one of the old hospitals – which is now the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire.

For the student of medieval funeral monuments what is notable about these churches is that they still retain large numbers of incised effigial slabs, so many that they defeated Greenhill in his otherwise comprehensive attempt at listing French examples.[2] The cathedral of Saint-Etienne has at least 113 slabs, the majority of which are effigial, together with the cut-up remnants of another forty or so laid haphazardly in the pavement; Saint-Gengoult has at least thirty entire or nearly entire effigial slabs and most likely others now covered; and

1 G. Cabourdin, 'Le chapitre cathédrale au XVIème siècle', *Études Touloises*, XXVII (1982), pp. 49-53, quote at p. 50.

2 F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs – a study of engraved stone memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to* c. *1700*, 2 vols. (London, 1976), II, pp. 87, 106, 140. During his expeditions to France in the 1960s Greenhill had difficulty in gaining access to some of the cathedral and city churches in France because of war damage. The present author experienced similar problems in Toul Cathedral during visits in 2002 and 2007 as large areas of the building were closed off; most of the building was accessible in 2013.

the Maison-Dieu has five effigial slabs, again with numerous fragments. These form one of the largest surviving collections of medieval incised slabs in a single urban location anywhere in western Europe. For instance, although the church of Nôtre-Dame in Châlons-en-Champagne (Marne) was originally paved with around 500 effigial and non-effigial slabs, and there were many more in the other churches of that city, there are now only around ninety effigial slabs remaining, and the situation in Rouen (Seine-Maritime) is not dissimilar.[3] Moreover, while some of the slabs at Châlons and Rouen were drawn by the antiquary François Roger de Gaignières (or the artists he employed) in the late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth centuries,[4] and in Châlons they were comprehensively recorded by Anatole and Edouard de Barthélemy in the nineteenth,[5] the slabs at Toul have received less considered attention.[6] The scale of loss of these monuments is enormous, and although many examples remain at Toul, as at Châlons and Rouen, the slabs there have been subjected to the normal wear of pedestrian feet as well as being unsympathetically relocated or cut up and reused as paving slabs during periodic campaigns of rebuilding and restoration. As the *Rituel de Toul* had it in 1700, 'Les églises n'ont pas été bâties pour server à la sepulture des fidéles, mais seulement pour y célébrer les divins mystéres, & y prêcher la parole de Dieu'.[7]

Description and analyses of the incised slabs

(i) Cathédrale Saint-Etienne

Around eighty-one of the slabs here are recognisably effigial and entire or nearly entire; there is a small minority bearing just an inscription, sometimes with religious symbols or heraldry (Appendix). Only seven of these slabs are attributable to the civil laity; the rest commemorate ecclesiastics, chiefly canons of the cathedral, nearly all of whom adopt the same form of representation.[8] One of the earliest slabs (late thirteenth century?) is to a scholar of Toul, depicted in a dalmatic holding a book in his left hand, under a simple trefoil arch with a shield in the angle between that and the marginal fillet; the upper right hand corner and lower left hand corners of the slab are missing (Fig. 1). Manges Laions, canon of Brixey-aux-Chanoines (d. ?1315), is depicted vested as a subdeacon in a tunicle and maniple, and adopts a similar pose to the 'scholar',

3 Further exploration in continental Europe may challenge this assessment. For example, the Dom and the Severikirche alone of the churches in Erfurt (Thuringia, Germany), contain well over a hundred effigial floor slabs, although most of these are in 'low relief' rather than being incised monuments; see *Die Kunstdenkmale der Provinz Sachsen I – Die Stadt Erfurt*, ed. K. Becker *et al*. (Burg, 1929), pp. 316-63, 476-508.

4 J. Adhémar, 'Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXIV (1974), pp. 1-192; LXXXVIII (1976), pp. 1-88; LXXXVIII (1976), pp. 89-128; and XC (1977), pp. 1-76; *passim.*

5 A. and É. de Barthélemy, *Recueil de Pierres Tombales des Églises et Couvents de Chalons-sur-Marne* (Paris, 1888).

6 [P.E.] Guillaume, 'La cathédrale de Toul', *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, 2e série, IV (1863), pp. 91-284. [P.E.] Guillaume, 'Épigraphie tumulaire - Cathédrale de Toul', *Jnl de la Société d'Archéologie et du Comité du Musée* (Nancy, 1870), pp. 142-7; E. Fourier de Bacourt, *Épitaphes – monuments funèbres inédits de la cathédrale et d'autres églises de l'ancien diocese de Toul*, 4 vols. (Bar-le-Duc, 1898-1901); A. Harmand, 'Les inscriptions funéraires de la cathédrale de Toul du XIIIe au XVe siècles', MS, Service Régional de l'Inventaire general du Patrimoine Culturel, Nancy; P. Simonin, 'Épigraphie de Toul', MS, Service Régional de l'Inventaire general du Patrimoine Culturel, Nancy; P. Simonin, 'Pierres tombales de la cathédrale de Toul', *Études Touloises*, LXX (1994), pp. 3-14.

7 *Rituel de Toul imprimé par ordre d'illustrissime et reverendissime seigneur. Monseigneur, Henry de Thyard-Bissy, eveque comte de Toul* (Toul, 1700), p. 565.

8 Because of the condition of some slabs it is sometimes not at all clear whether an effigy is that of an ecclesiastic or a civilian, and this is reflected in the accompanying list.

Fig. 1. Figure of a 'scholar', late thirteenth century, Toul Cathedral

Fig. 2. Manges Laions (d. ?1315), canon of Brixey-aux-Chanoines, Toul Cathedral

clasping a closed Missal in his right hand while supporting it in his left. He stands under a plain single straight-sided canopy and around the whole is a simple inscription in French in Lombardic letters: '+ Ci gist do…/ Manges Laions chanoines de Brixei qui trespassa la / an de grace M ... / & XV Lou iour de la Saint Valentin - Priez p / [our sa] ame' (Fig. 2).[9]

By the mid-fourteenth century this early effigial model had evolved into a highly repetitive one, with a canon attired in full vestments for saying

9 Translation: 'Here lies master Manges Laoins canon of Brixey who died the year of grace one thousand [three hundred?] and fifteen, on St. Valentine's day. Pray for his soul'.

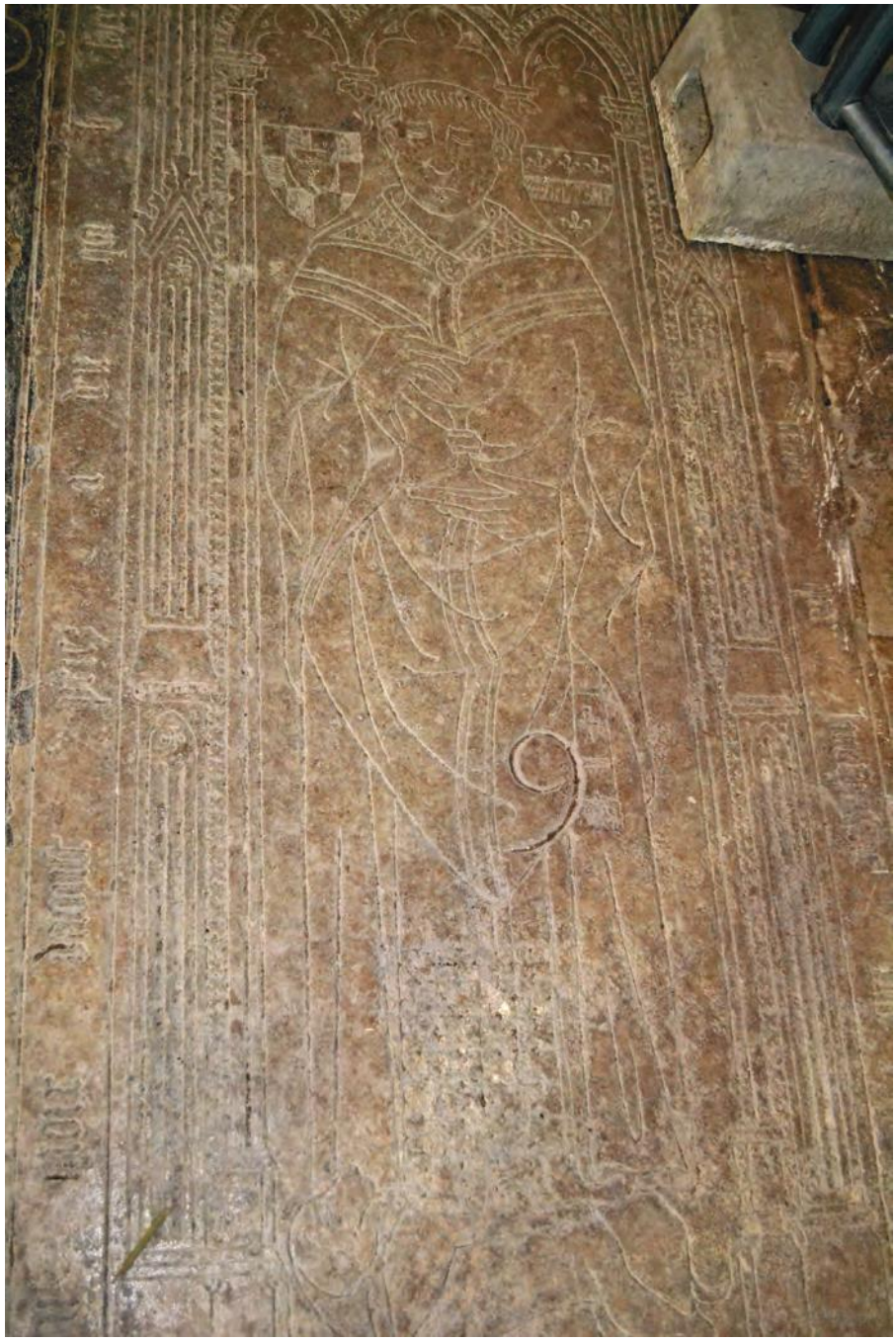

Fig. 3. Aubers du Pont (d. 1380), canon, Toul Cathedral

Mass, holding and blessing a chalice. Above his head would be a canopy – sometimes extremely elaborate – with an inscription in *textura* on a plain fillet around the edge of the slab, providing the formulaic details of the name and style of the deceased, their date of death, and a brief invocation to God. The slab of Canon Aubers du Pont (d. 1380) is typical of this type, showing him vested for Mass in a chasuble with a Y-shaped orphrey, holding a chalice, and standing with his feet on a dog, under an elaborate crocketed and gabled triple canopy, with two shields either side of his head. Around the slab is an inscription in *textura* which reads: 'Ci gist ly Sires Aubers / dou Pont qui fuit chenoines de ceans qui trespassat lan M. CCC. / . IIII^{xx} le darien iour / dou moix daoust – Priez a deu qui li face merci – Amen' (Fig. 3).[10]

This sequence of effigial slabs was occasionally interrupted in the first quarter of the fifteenth century by an ascetic and impersonal design comprising a pair of hands at prayer emanating from clouds, the devotion of which was textually represented by a scroll typically looping around the composition and bearing: 'Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam',[11] the first verse of Psalm 50, the first psalm of the Lauds of the Office of the Dead.[12] For a verger of the cathedral, Thomas Aubertin of Vezelise (d. 1460), this design was adapted to the more '*gardien*' aspect of a hand clasping an upright, unsheathed sword (Fig. 4). However, perhaps this very asceticism proved to be unpopular, as the model evaporated while effigial representations of

Fig. 4. Thomas Aubertin of Vezelise (d. 1460), verger, Toul Cathedral

canons continued to flourish.[13] For instance, an example from the end of the fifteenth century, to Canon Aubrey Briel (d. 1496), depicts an ecclesiastical figure almost identical to that of Aubers du Pont of over a century earlier, but with a different, more clumsy, architectural canopy; the inscription, however, is in the same *textura* and has the same priorities: 'Cy gist … Aubri Briel de / Lo(n)geville archidiacre de … chanoine et maistre de la fabrique de leglise de

10 Translation: 'Here lies the Sir Aubers du Pont, canon of this place, who died in the year 1380, on the last day of the month of August. Pray to God to be merciful to him, Amen'.

11 Translation: 'Have mercy on me O Lord, according to thy great mercy'.

12 I am grateful to the Revd. Jerome Bertram for his advice here. While the phrase is relatively common on English brasses and slabs, it is rarely encountered on the continent.

13 There is a very late example to canon Thiebauld Lassad(?) (d. 1566), in Saint-Gengoult, which has none of the elegance of the fifteenth century examples.

Fig. 5a. Aubrey Briel (d. 1496), canon, Toul Cathedral; from G. Clanché, Le portail, l'achèvement, les blessures de la cathédrale de Toul *(Nancy, 1936), p. 81*

Fig. 5b. Aubrey Briel (d. 1496), canon, Toul Cathedral

Toul / … / Toul qui trespassat lan Mil . CCCC . IIII^{xx} . et XVI le VIII^{E} iour … de decembre'.[14] On a scroll looping over his head is inscribed a personal invocation from the commemorated: 'Miserere mei deus'. Ironically it was this canon who, as the *maître de la fabrique*, was responsible for driving forward the building campaign during which the towers flanking the west front of the cathedral were completed, and which manifest an absolute riot of experimentally delicate, filigree lightness compared to the leaden canopy design of his slab (Fig. 5).[15]

14 Translation: 'Here lies Aubri Briel de Longeville, archdeacon of … canon and master of the fabric of the church of Toul / … / Toul, who died in the year 1486, on the 8th day of December'.

15 A. Villes, 'Les campagnes de construction de la cathédrale de Toul – III', *Bulletin Monumental*, CXXXV (1977), pp. 43-56.

Fig. 6. Nicole Gengoult (d. 1505), canon, Toul Cathedral

The heavy traditionalist designs of the slab engravers are quite evident, therefore, suggesting an ingrained stylistic and conceptual reluctance to move away from what were presumably perceived by both the atelier and its clients as an appropriate composition. It also signals a lack of confluence between the incised slab engravers and those craftsmen working for the architect, Gérard Jacquemin de Commercy (d. 1492), who was styled as *masson, tailleur d'images et maistre des oeuvres du portail de l'église cathédrale de Toul*[16] and whose willingness to diversify sculpturally is signalled in the equestrian monument to René II, duke of Lorraine (*c.* 1491) which was mounted in a commanding position on the façade of the south tower.[17]

Subsequent to the end of this building campaign, at the start of the sixteenth century there was an abrupt change in the way canons were depicted on incised slabs. Canopies were no longer rigid geometric structures based on the ogee arch but were now transformed into an architectural framework decorated with enormous floriated crockets and supported on rounded columns, and symptomatic of this new paradigm was a change in the depiction of the figure. By 1505, less than a decade after de Briel's traditionalist slab, Canon Nicole Gengoult is no longer shown in Mass vestments, but instead is depicted in a plain, full surplice with an almuce casually thrown over his left arm. He stands on a tiled pavement drawn in sharp perspective, while above his head the canopy is a curvaceous, exuberantly floriated Renaissance-style structure, combining large crockets, terminals and intertwined tracery supported on thick round columns. Conventionally, however, the inscription remains formulaic in wording and is still incised in *textura* on a fillet around the composition: 'Ci gist feu venerable personne / Maistre Nicole Gengoul iaidis Chanoine et

16 Translation: 'Mason, image-maker (literally 'worker of images') and master of works of the portal of the cathedral church of Toul'.

17 H. Collin, 'Toul, cathédrale Saint-Étienne', in Société Française d'Archéologie, *Congrès Archéologique de France – 164 – Nancy et Lorraine Méridionale* (Paris, 2008), pp. 207-35, quotation at p. 225.

Chappellain Episcopal en leglise de ceans - qui trespassa de / ce siècle lan Mil cinq cens et cinq / le neufvieme iour du mois de mai auquel dieu faice grace et pardon. Amen' (Fig. 6).[18] Several more sixteenth-century slabs to canons show them vested like this, manifesting distinct changes in figure modelling, especially in the way the complicated drapery folds are depicted with widely incised, irregular lines. These monuments have moved away from a stereotypical late-Gothic monumentality to a more gentle realism, set within an innovative architectural exuberance otherwise not yet reflected at Toul.

Leaving aside slabs to the clergy, of the five incised effigial slabs which commemorate the civil laity a typical example is that to Wiellard de Chaudeney and his wife Collette (d. 1420), which depicts them in the fashion of the times. Wiellard wears a high-collared houppelande with bagged sleeves, belted at the waist and has his feet on a dog; by his side the figure of Collette has a veil draped over her head, covering hair plaited into netted side buns over the ears, and a long, full overgown. They stand facing each other slightly, under a double canopy with two shields between the pinnacles. The marginal inscription in *textura* reads 'Ci gist + Wiellard de + Chaudeney / Citain de Toul qui trespassat le … iour de … lan M . CCCC & XIII / Et ci gist Collette sa feme que / trespassat lan . M . CCCC . & . XX le XXVI^{E} . iour . du moix . doctembre . dieu leur face mercy. Amen' (Fig. 7).[19] Some of these slabs to civilians – unexceptional except for their paucity – are found in the side chapels of the nave, suggesting they were to members of families that financially supported the altars there (sometimes dedicated to a particular saint

Fig. 7. Wiellard de Chaudeney and his wife Collette (d. 1420), Toul Cathedral

18 Translation: 'Here lies the late venerable person Master Nicole Gengoul, at one time canon and bishop's chaplain of the church of this place, who departed this life in 1505 on the ninth day of the month of May, to whom God grant grace and pardon. Amen'.

19 Translation: 'Here lies Wiellard de Chaudenay, citizen of Toul, who died the … day of … in the year 1413, and here lies Collette his wife who died in the year 1420, the 26th day of the month of October, God grant them mercy. Amen'. De Bacourt, *Épitaphes*, I, pp. 4-5, also refers to an epitaph on a 'petit quarré de cuivre rouge escrit en lettres d'or' to Wiehard de Chauldeny and also his son Colignon de Chaudenay (d. 1479), close by the incised slab.

favoured by that individual or family) and who may have taken over responsibility for the structural maintenance of that space, conferring upon themselves preferential burial rights in the process.[20] One example is the slab to Henzelin de Fleivegney sus Muzelle, with Iehan de Fleivegeney, his companion, of Toul, who were officers of the household of 'Monsires Amey de Sarebruck, signour de Longwy', with the effigy of a man in a long gown belted at the waist with a cloak over all, and an effaced shield of arms on the left shoulder. There is an elaborate canopy over his head with more shields; the date is unclear but ?*c*. 1400 (Fig. 8).

20 This is yet to be explored at Toul, but the exceptionality of these lay memorials, and their location, strongly suggest a function of memorialization to convert these spaces into private dynastic funerary chapels: Guillaume, 'La cathédrale de Toul', pp. 149-50. See more generally A.-M. Sankovitch, 'Intercession, Commemoration, and Display: the parish church as archive in late medieval Paris', in *Demeures d'Éternité – églises et chapelles funéraires aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, ed. J. Guillaume (Paris, 2005), pp. 247-68; and V. Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 149-54. The slab to Wiellard de Chaudeney and his wife seems to have been laid down originally in front of the altar to Notre-Dame-au-pied-d'argent (see Guillaume, 'La cathédrale de Toul', pp. 223-5) and hence in the south crossing rather than a side-chapel. However, this location, perpetuated by the epitaph to his son in 1479 (see note 19), although an area dominated by slabs to canons and therefore having a particular restriction on burial rights, would have had a great significance to a Toul citizen to whom this statue was of cult status; see A.D. Thiéry, *Histoire de la Ville de Toul et de ses Évèques, suivie d'une notice de la Cathédrale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841), I, pp. 245-6; and G. Clanché, *Guide-Express à la Cathédrale de Toul* (Nancy, 1919), pp. 35-6. Similarly, 'une lame de cuivre tornant et prenant le pli du quart de rond du pilier' (de Bacourt, *Épitaphes*, I, pp. 1-2) bore an epitaph to members of the de Briel family, erected by Katherine Hurauld (d. 1530), wife of Jehan Briel, who was brother of the canon Aubrey de Briel, the '*maistre de la fabrique*', so that evidently close family members of the canon were afforded burial – and, as the epitaph makes quite clear, a scheme of anniversary Masses – in the cathedral.

Fig. 8. Henzelin de Fleivegney sus Muzelle (? c. *1400), Toul Cathedral*

(ii) Collégiale Saint-Gengoult[21]

Newly refounded in 1065 following an earlier church established in response to the medieval cult of Saint-Gengoult which had spread from Burgundy into Lorraine, the major building programme of the *collégiale* was completed around 1260. However, with a continuing rise in the popularity of the saint a further expansion of the church was soon desirable, so in the early fourteenth century the transepts were enlarged and two bays westwards were constructed, modelled on the architectural innovations introduced by the recent building campaign at the cathedral.[22] One effect of this construction work was to increase dramatically the area available for burial and commemoration, thereby facilitating the marking of graves with some form of physical commemoration. Permission for lay burial in Saint-Gengoult had already been established before these building works were finished, presumably as a *quid pro quo* for financial assistance with the church's expansion, and this newly created floor-space was rapidly covered by fourteenth-century slabs laid down to the laity as well as to clergy.[23] The central crossing between the transepts, and in a direct line with the high altar, was reserved for the burial of ecclesiastics, slabs for the laity occupying the north and south transepts initially and then spreading westwards into the nave and aisles.[24]

The earliest slabs are all dated 1316;[25] one is to an anonymous priest, and another to Canon Hanris Descrouvres. Both depict a figure in Mass vestments holding a chalice, standing under a single, straight-sided canopy; the anonymous priest's slab has a badly damaged marginal inscription in Lombardic letters (Fig. 9),[26] while Descrouvres' is engraved in *textura* on a thin marginal fillet, reading conventionally, 'Ci gist Sires Hanris Descrou[...]s que fut vicaire / et chan[oine]s deceans - qui trespassa lan de grace n[ostre] signour M CCC XVI / la vigile de feste / Saint Clement on moix de Novembre - pries pour li' (Fig. 10).[27] A third slab dated 1316 was to Mariete, wife of Guillot, but is no longer extant; crucially, it is evidence that the civil laity were permitted burial in the new building just as soon as the clergy were.[28] More slabs to the citizens of Toul were laid down thick and fast thereafter. In 1321, Poincete, wife of Jehan Housson, was celebrated by a fine slab

21 Although there are fewer effigial slabs visible in this church compared to the cathedral, many are in an excellent state of preservation because of their removal in 1887 from the pavement onto the walls of the transepts; see A. Villes, *Toul – la collégiale Saint-Gengoult et son cloître* (Toul, 2005), p. 12. Others remain on the floor, mostly covered with furniture, altar platforms, or have been cut up piecemeal.

22 Villes, *La collégiale Saint-Gengoult*, pp. 13-15; M.C. Schurr, 'Toul, Ancienne Collégiale Saint-Gengoult', in *Congrès Archéologique de France – 164e session – Nancy et Lorraine Méridionale*, pp. 241-6; and see also earlier accounts by [J.] Bagard, 'Notice Historique et Descriptive de l'Église Saint-Gengoult de Toul', *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, 2e série, I (1859), pp. 5-92; and J. Vallery-Radot, 'Toul – Église Saint-Gengoult', in Société Française d'Archéologie, *Congrès Archéologique de France – XCVIe session – Nancy et Verdun* (Paris, 1934), pp. 257-74.

23 Villes, *La collégiale Saint-Gengoult*, pp. 12-13.

24 Something of this distribution can be gleaned from Bagard's account of the slabs, as he lists the ecclesiastical slabs and those to the laity in three groups, as if going from one transept (laity) via the crossing (ecclesiastical) to the other transept (laity); see Bagard, 'Notice historique', pp. 59-64.

25 This date is generally taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the early-fourteenth-century building campaign; see Villes, *La collégiale Saint-Gengoult*, p. 14.

26 This slab, located on the floor at the entrance from the crossing into the north transept, and previously obscured (2002 / 2007) with stalls, is now (2013) covered by a chamber organ and associated seating.

27 Translation: 'Here lies Sir Hanris Descrou..s who was vicar and canon of this place, who died in the year of our lord 1316, the eve of the feast of Saint Clement [23 November] in the month of November; pray for him'.

28 Recorded by Bagard, 'Notice historique', p. 59; it was not found in 2002 or 2007.

Fig. 9. Priest (d. 1316), Toul, Saint-Gengoult

Fig. 10. Hanris Descrouwres (d. 1316), canon, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

showing her in a widow's dress under an elaborate triple canopy with an inscription around the margin in Lombardic letters, '[Ci] gist Poincete fille / .. Constan citein de Toul que fut fame Jehan Husson prevo / st de vacolour et [trespa] / ssat lan M CCC & XXI Iour Ieudi apres la saint André - priez pour li..' (Fig. 11).[29] Around the middle of the fourteenth century an elaborate triple effigial slab was

29 Translation: 'Here lies Poincete, daughter of .. Constan, citizen of Toul who was the wife of Jehan Husson, provost of Vacolour, who died in the year 1321 the Thursday after Saint Andrew's day; pray for her'.

Fig. 11. Poincete, wife of Jehan Housson (d. 1321), Toul, Saint-Gengoult

Fig. 12. Symonin Chaume de Fer, citizen of Toul (d. 1349), and two female figures, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

commissioned to Symonin Chaume de Fer, citizen of Toul (d. 1349). It comprises the effigy of a man and two female figures – Symonin's wife and her sister – all under a sumptuous triple canopy with two shields in the pinnacles (Fig. 12). On the one hand the imagery is made more intimate by one of the female figures, presumably Symonin's wife, turning in slightly towards him; on the other, the slab exemplifies a civic role as the inscription records Symonin's status as 'le . maire. Symonin . Chaume . de . Fer . Citein . de . Toul', and the shields are blazoned not with the arms of the family but with the arms of the city (*gules a tau fleury argent*).

Slabs became increasingly decorated with heraldry and merchants' marks; for example, the 1366 slab to the magistrate Jehans de Baignuelz and his ?wife has four shields among the pinnacles of the canopy, capitalizing on a growing importance attached to a personal armigerous status and signifying an enhanced civic status of the commemorated: the perceived equivalence of civic and personal arms occupying the same location on monuments laid down only a few decades apart cannot be understated (Fig. 13). Again there is an emotional charge between the two principal figures on this slab who are inclined towards each other under an architectural canopy, which composition had by now become a standard and popular model. It is even repeated on the fine slab of 1422 to one Jehans le P... and his father, which, although commemorating two individuals, depicts only a single bareheaded civilian with a straggly beard,

Fig. 13. Jehans de Baignuelz, magistrate (d. 1366), and his ?wife, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

Fig. 14. Jehans le P... and his father (1422), Toul, Saint-Gengoult

dressed in a short tunic and with a dagger at his belt, who faces to the left in a relatively relaxed pose (Fig. 14). He stands under an elaborate triple canopy with wide, richly ornamented side shafts. There is considerably more freedom in the design of these civilian slabs, therefore, compared to those to the canons of Saint-Gengoult, which continued as unsympathetic,

Fig. 15. Jehan … (d. 1425), canon, subdeacon, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

stereotypical work in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, showing a priest vested for Mass and holding a chalice, and almost indistinguishable from those to their fellow clergy in the cathedral (Fig. 15).

By the sixteenth century, however, the monuments to canons manifested Renaissance features more rapidly than those in the cathedral. The slabs to Walter de Acregnis, canon (d. 1510) (Fig. 16), and Anthony Verteti, canon, rector of Saint-Gengoult (d. ?1525) (Fig. 17), for instance, depict the canon in a surplice with an almuce thrown over his arm, as was the new fashion exemplified by contemporary slabs in the cathedral, but the conventional architectural framework has been replaced by an arched, three-dimensional canopy recess, scalloped in Verteti's case, and the marginal inscription is not now in a cramped *textura* but in large, clear, Roman capital letters.

Chapel of the Maison-Dieu

The effigial incised slabs which were once in the chapel of this hospital have been replaced on the floor of the oldest part of this establishment, a thirteenth-century undercroft, now a *salle lapidaire*. The hospital was directly

Fig. 16. Walter de Acregnis (d. 1510), canon, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

Fig. 17. Anthony Verteti (d. ?1525), canon, rector, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

under the control of the cathedral chapter, who appointed its master as a cathedral prebend.[30] Five effigial slabs survive there, two to fifteenth-century priests, who are conventionally dressed in Mass vestments holding a chalice and standing under a straight-sided canopy (Fig. 18); and two are to seventeenth-century priests, again dressed for Mass and holding a chalice, each within a Renaissance-inspired, mannered framework. In addition there is an intriguing effigial slab to a

30 Something of the nature of a medieval hospital, and its unique place in accommodating people on the brink of death and the afterlife – and the associated imagery incorporated into the buildings therefore – is given by D. Sécula, 'L'hôpital medieval, un lieu sacré?', in *L'image médiévale: fonctions dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace cultuel*, ed. C. Voyer and É. Sparhubert (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 93-125, esp. pp. 113-16. There is a sixth effigial slab in the museum, from the 'couvent des clarisses' at Neufchâteau (Vosges) to abbess Jacquette Wisse (*c.* 1490), but this was donated privately in 2008 and is unrelated to the history of Toul.

Fig. 18. Nichole de Granviler (d. 1403), curé, Master and Prebendary of the Hospital, Toul, Musée d'art et d'histoire

Fig. 19. Jehan Buccilier and his wife Police (d. 1484), ?saddler, Toul, Musée d'art et d'histoire

civilian and his wife, Jehan Buccilier and his wife Police (d. 1484), which is engraved using the same sort of wide incised lines for the draperies and a facial realism that is found on contemporary slabs elsewhere in the city (Fig. 19).[31]

Analysis of commemoration

Statistically, the sheer quantity of slabs in the city demonstrates some striking chronological and typological features, although the datasets used here, i.e. the monuments themselves and the effigial and lexical details still decipherable thereon, must be considered as woefully incomplete. Losses have occurred, many slabs are almost completely obliterated through wear, some are incomplete or almost completely covered, and others have been fragmented; and all this is complicated by difficulties of access as

31 It is interesting to speculate on the unusual symbolism of this slab and the reason why it was laid down in the hospital chapel. According to a local guide the six-pointed star above the effigies can be interpreted as a sign of good health and is also associated with a shop or inn-sign, when it supports a few sticks of fir or box wood. Greenhill, in his *Incised Effigial Slabs* (I, p. 313) suggests that it represents the Holy Trinity, appearing on a slab probably to an abbot of *c*. 1400 in Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire; the symbolism of a triangle for the Trinity is well known. The scales, traditionally symbolising justice, here more likely indicate either merchants or bakers, whilst the horse collar suggests an association with a saddler or coachman. It is known that an old inn with the sign of the 'Fleur-de-Lys' existed opposite the Hospital at Toul, within which was housed a saddler and a forge. Perhaps Jehan and Police Buccilier worked in such close proximity to the Hospital that they were sufficiently honoured to be buried in the premises where Saint Gérard was also interred. Equally, perhaps the name 'Buccilier' could be read as 'bourelier' or saddler? See http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page148.html (accessed 3 April 2013).

restoration work continues. Additionally, there must have been many more slabs laid down in the city's other religious establishments, of which we know almost nothing.[32]

(i) Patronage of the slabs

In the cathedral, the overwhelming patronal group was the canons of the chapter, whose slabs still form virtually the entire flooring of the north and south transepts, flanking the choir where their stalls closely surrounded the tomb of St. Gerard (bishop of Toul, d. 994).[33] The very few to members of the civil laity of Toul were perhaps permitted burial and commemoration because of dynastic sponsorship of a side-altar there. Yet in Saint-Gengoult slabs to civilians were predominant in the fourteenth century, particularly those to magistrates and their families, with monuments to canons and vicars of Saint-Gengoult in a small minority, although the balance reversed later on. The contrast is so acute that it invites comparison to other cathedral cities in France with sufficient numbers of this particular monument form remaining. In Châlons-en-Champagne Cathedral (Marne) there are around fifty-seven identifiable effigial slabs and pieces of slabs, twenty-nine of which are to ecclesiastics and twenty-eight to the laity, so there is a numerical balance. In Troyes Cathedral (Aube) there are eleven slabs to ecclesiastics and nine to the laity;[34] in Évreux Cathedral (Eure) there are four slabs to ecclesiastics and six to civilians;[35] and in the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon (Côte-d'Or) there are eight to ecclesiastics and seven to the laity.[36] So while the proportions are geared towards ecclesiastics rather than civilians, the difference between the two estates in these other locations is far less acute than in Toul Cathedral. In common with Toul, however, other cathedrals such as those of Laon (Aisne),[37] Noyon (Oise),[38] Rouen (Seine-Maritime),[39] Sens (Yonne)[40] and Soissons (Aisne),[41] are dominated by slabs to canons, and the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris once housed nearly 170 slabs to canons and bishops with a mere nine to lay, albeit aristocratic patrons. This last situation is relatively easy to explain in Paris, as the majority of lay burials

32 De Bacourt's *Épitaphes* is based on a manuscript account of the funeral monuments in the city and diocese of Toul, made 'in haste but with precision during the last years of the seventeenth century by a French tourist – possibly a royal officer – who was educated in the science of heraldry and keen to record interesting monuments from the point of view of the history of the art and of noble families'; (I, Avant-Propos, unpaginated). The notes are incomplete, and although the unknown antiquary noted a few medieval monuments in the cathedral and elsewhere, he focussed principally on the more lavish seventeenth-century *epitaphes*. While the presence of further slabs is confirmed therefore, the low numbers additionally recorded do not skew the data analysed here.

33 A contemporary sketch of the internal arrangement of the canonical stalls in the choir is by J. Pèlerin, dit Viator, *De Artificiali P[er]spectiva* (Toul, 1505), reproduced by Collin, 'Toul', pp. 211-14. See Simonin, 'Pierres tombales', pp. 4-5, for a plan of the cathedral delineating and identifying tomb slabs.

34 F. Démésy, *Oeuvres d'Art ignorées: les dalles funéraires de l'Aube* (Troyes, 2003).

35 L.-T. Corde, *Les Pierres Tombales du department de l'Eure*, 6 parts (Évreux, 1868); and F.A. Greenhill, MS Notes *penes* the author. However, some of the slabs in the cathedral and associated museum may have been moved there from elsewhere, so the ratio here may not be representative of the medieval situation.

36 G. Dumay, 'Épigraphie Bourguignonne – église et abbaye de Saint-Bénigne' *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, X (1882), pp. 27-268.

37 R. Bazin, 'La sculpture funéraire du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle', in *Laon, une acropole à la française*, ed. M. Plouvier (Amiens, 1995), pp. 288-309.

38 A. Boulongne, *Inscriptions Tumulaires de l'Église Notre-Dame de Noyon* (Noyon, 1876).

39 Greenhill, MS Notes.

40 R. Fourrey, *Sens – ville d'art et d'histoire* (Lyon, 1953), pp. 61-77.

41 Greenhill, MS Notes.

took place in parish or friary churches, reserving the cathedral for ecclesiastical burial only, with only a very few exceptions for exalted members of the Court decided upon by the aristocracy-based chapter.[42] A chapter's prerogative in such matters is illustrated by an analysis of the burial places of late medieval bishops of Reims, which identifies a considerable variation in their choice, and that by no means was the automatic burial site within their cathedral unless the chapter of canons was in agreement.[43] This near monopoly of commemoration within a cathedral by ecclesiastics was seemingly more the case in the Île-de-France and its hinterlands compared to more outlying dioceses. Yet if so, why should the cathedral at Toul be different?

An examination of the historical relationship between the cathedral and the *collégiale* and their clergy provides a partial answer. Topographically a large area of the south-eastern part of the city around the cathedral was taken up by the demesne of the bishop and residences monopolized by the cathedral clergy; moreover, as election to the cathedral chapter was reserved for the nobility this increasingly emphasized the exclusivity of the chapter, both socially as well as geographically. Saint-Gengoult was founded towards the north-west of the city, in a location quite distinct from the cathedral and at the heart of the city's economic trading centre, maybe because Saint-Gengoult himself was originally a merchant who was later canonized. The rich bourgeoisie lived in the area, and the houses of the canons of Saint-Gengoult were interspersed among them, so that the *collégiale* clergy were thoroughly integrated into the community. Not surprisingly, a substantial number of the chapter of Saint-Gengoult were recruited from the families of these rich traders, hence the church naturally evolved as representative of the business and mercantile part of the town. It was also where the mendicants settled, the Dominicans in 1240 and the Franciscans in 1262, emphasizing further the distinction both geographically and culturally from the cathedral quarter and its clergy.[44]

This partition of Toul was geographically enforced by the 'rue Michâtel' (the ancient *decumanus* of the city),[45] and engendered an atmosphere of rivalry and tension between the 'Gengoulphins' and the 'Cathedralites'.[46] Architecturally for instance, when the cathedral's choir and east end were rebuilt in the thirteenth century in a style carried east from Reims, that same style was then quickly adopted at Saint-Gengoult – but the masons there went one better, improving upon it by flanking the choir with two very large transepts and incorporating much bigger, lighter windows. Violent demonstrations by the citizens of Toul flared up not infrequently, specifically targeting the bishop and his government of the city. In 1366 tensions between the cathedral canons and the bourgeoisie were so high that the canons barricaded themselves inside the

42 R.-P. Bernard, 'La sculpture funéraire medievale à Paris (1140-1540)', 2 vols., Unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris IV [2000], I, pp. 170-4.

43 J.-V. Jourd'heuil, 'La cathédrale est-elle un lieu de sépulture de prestige pour les évêques? Étude des sieges entre Loire et Meuse du XI^{e} au XV^{e} siècle', in *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation? Expression du pouvoir dans l'au-delà (IV^{e}-XV^{e} siècle)*, ed. A. Alduc-Le Bagousse (Caen, 2009), pp. 243-64. The situation in Verdun was, apparently, similar: see M. George, 'Sépultures et inhumation dans et autour de la cathédrale de Verdun au Moyen Âge et à l'époque modern. Apports et limites de l'épitaphier du chanoine Guédon', *Annales de l'Est: Dossier – Cimetières et sépultures, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (2012), pp. 41-68.

44 Villes, *La collégiale Saint-Gengoult*, pp. 3-9.

45 A *decumanus* was originally an east-west road running through a Roman settlement.

46 G. Clanché, 'Cathédraux et Gengoulphins Toulois', *Le Pays Lorrain*, XXI, pt. 4 (1929), pp. 193-208.

cathedral and petitioned Pope Gregory XI for help, who commissioned the abbot of Saint-Léon to excommunicate the people responsible. Just at the crux of this ceremony the townspeople kidnapped and imprisoned the abbot, opening negotiations once more.[47] Such resentment frequently obliged the bishop and chapter of Saint-Etienne to retreat into exile, hardly surprising in view of the fact that during the episcopate of Conrad Probus (1272-97) a tower was built against the outside of the walls of the bishop's palace decorated with the slogan *Qui qu'en grogne* or 'Who's grumbling now'![48] Such antagonism was met by equally peculiar responses from the cathedral canons, who envied the Gengoulphins and their association with rich merchants, one vindictive regulation they imposed turning into the 'affair of the almuce'. In 1386-87 the wearing of this canonical garment of light-grey fur was forbidden to the canons of Saint-Gengoult except within the walls of the *collégiale*.[49] In retribution the collegiate canons absented themselves from their cathedral offices, they disrupted the hierarchical order in religious processions, and they timed the ringing of their bells for Mass on purpose before those of the cathedral. This last was a particular irritation as the town hall, situated opposite the *collégiale*, had no bell of its own, the bells of the church substituting for it. Hence, the bells of Saint-Gengoult assumed a civil as well as an ecclesiastical meaning, cementing the *collégiale's* role within the community further still and concomitantly maintaining an aggressive independence from the bishop and cathedral chapter. Something of the flavour of this restless time is succinctly given by the historian A.D. Thiéry's introduction to his account of the bishopric of Jean de Heu in 1363: 'The start of his episcopate was troubled by wars, disorder within the town, and the bloody quarrels of the dukes of Lorraine and Bar, and the count of Vaudémont ... [and in addition] Breton soldiers had formed a band of brigands, rampaging through the bishop's lands'.[50]

In the face of all this civil unrest, which effectively centred on a collegiate church as rich, influential and just as architecturally splendid as the cathedral, a system of law enforcement based on the civil jurisdiction of a master magistrate *(maistre-eschevin)* and ten justices, was approved by bishop Gilles de Sorcy as early as 1253 to try and maintain a *status quo* between the *ecclesia* and the civil population. With the justices sitting within the cloisters of Saint-Gengoult it is not surprising that grand incised slabs were laid down in the church to these city officials and other civic laity who were resident in the district. That to Jehan Wagnait (d. 1500) is a late example, but he is celebrated by the inscription on his slab as 'citein de ceste cite et maistre eschevin dicelle … et aussy ses successeurs'[51] which thereby combines a double reference, inviting remembrance of his nuclear family *and* the civic community of lawyers to which he belonged (Fig. 20).

Within this historical context, therefore, it is straightforward to account for, on the one hand, the complete dominance of the cathedral by the incised slabs of the clergy, on the one hand, with a far more balanced patronage evident in the slabs at Saint-Gengoult. How this relates to a wider context is difficult to say, as there is little published work on the balance between ecclesiastical monuments and those to the civil laity laid down in churches where such rights were controlled by a chapter of canons, other

47 Thiéry, *Histoire de la Ville de Toul*, I, pp. 308-10.
48 Thiéry, *Histoire de la Ville de Toul*, I, p. 243; Villes, *La collégiale Saint-Gengoult*, pp. 8-9.
49 Clanché, 'Cathédraux et Gengoulphins Toulois', pp. 194-9.
50 Thiéry, *Histoire de la Ville de Toul*, I, p. 306.
51 Translation: 'Citizen of this city and master magistrate of the same … and also his successors'.

Fig. 20. Jehan Wagnait (d. 1500), citizen, master magistrate, Toul, Saint-Gengoult

than in individual building studies or as parts of a more general examination of the foundation, or appropriation, of colleges of priests specifically as a dynastic chantry.[52] A geographically close exemplar is provided by the collégiale Saint-Georges in Nancy, which became the burial place for the dukes of Lorraine in the fifteenth century. There, the canons were essentially bought over by being appointed overseers of the ducal treasury, benefiting from lucrative Masses commissioned for the ducal ancestors, and acting as the focus for the establishment of confraternities of both the nobility and also tradesmen and merchants. There was ecclesiastical control of burial rights, but it seems these were subverted when deemed necessary – when the family and money was appropriate.[53] The cathedral chapter at Toul, it appears, was not to be tempted like this, either through lack of opportunity, or because it considered itself sufficiently prosperous to ignore such requests.

Another example of canonical management of commemoration is in Strasbourg Cathedral, where both individual and family remembrance was encouraged and co-ordinated by a record being made in the 'Book of Donors'. This served essentially as grand obit roll of all those who had contributed financially to the cathedral's continual building projects, and became an object of veneration in its own right, housed in a chapel specially constructed for it. 'The Book' became the memorial of all those donors mentioned in its pages, as a corporate manifestation of individual aspirations.[54] The construction of Toul cathedral was not dissimilar, with numerous phases of building work during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries requiring funds, yet the opportunity was lost – or more correctly perhaps, was never there – to co-ordinate and encourage donations, and physically commemorate sponsors from the civil laity. The divisiveness of the canons, the laity and the city itself, were too deeply entrenched to allow the foundation of such a mutually profitable co-operative venture.

(ii) Chronological distribution of the slabs

The sheer mass of slabs surviving at Toul reflects the social, religious and urban divisions in the late medieval city, but common to both churches is the abrupt demise of effigial – in fact nearly all – slabs in the middle of the sixteenth century. Historically, the first half of that century in Toul was a relatively settled period,[55] during which substantial building programmes at the cathedral and Saint-Gengoult were completed. The tenure of bishop Toussant d'Hocedy from 1543 to 1565 was marked by two important events, however. The first was the city's annexation to France in 1552 by King Henri II, although this hardly affected the city at local level but was more a change in remote government from the Holy Roman Emperor to the King, and the

52 See H. Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, 1991), pp. 152-89; J. Noblet, 'Pour la gloire et le salut: les collégiales à vocation funéraire (1450-1550)', in *Demeures d'Éternité*, ed. Guillaume, pp. 19-32; J.M. Luxford, 'The Collegiate Church as Mausoleum', in *The Late Medieval English College and its Context*, ed. C. Burgess and M. Heale (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 110-39; B. Meijns, 'L'élection d'une sépulture comme affirmation politique: les sépultures des princes territoriaux (IX^{e}-XIII^{e} siècle), in *Entre Paradis et Enfer – Mourir au Moyen Âge, 600-1600*, ed. S. Balace and A. De Poorter (Brussels, 2010), pp. 182-93.

53 J.-L. Fray, 'Du "desert" cistercien au Coeur de la capitale, les sépultures des ducs de Lorraine (XI^{e}-XIV^{e} siècles), in *Sépulture, mort et representation du pouvoir au moyen âge*, ed. M. Margue (Luxembourg, 2006), pp. 551-68.

54 C.A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg – The Cathedral's Book of Donors and its Use (1320-1521)* (Farnham, 2011), *passim*.

55 P. Masson, 'Politique et société à Toul dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle', *Études Touloises*, CV (2003), pp. 27-31.

organized protection he afforded.[56] In contrast, in 1562 the introduction of Protestantism to the city had a profound local impact, with riots and iconoclastic vandalism in the churches.[57] No longer was the atmosphere as conducive to physical commemoration using an effigial tomb slab as it had been formerly, and with this new orthodoxy came the more practical burial rite of encouraging interment in cemeteries outside the city walls rather than continuing to use the congested burial spaces inside urban churches and churchyards.[58]

Whatever the pragmatics, after this mid-century crisis Catholicism regained lost ground in Toul following the Council of Trent, so that well before the end of the sixteenth century a few canons resumed their commemoration by grave-slabs but with splendid, deeply cut ledgers in a stylish Classical idiom, rather than outdated effigial representations. Only in the chapel of the *Maison-Dieu* does this pattern break down, with two seventeenth-century effigial slabs to priests, the one anonymous but the other inscribed to a master and prebendary of the hospital (Fig. 21). Perhaps this says something about the contemporary social grandeur of the cathedral canons, exhibited heraldically and discoursed lexically on their gravestones, compared to the privatized hospital chapel where none of the masters were armigerous; maybe the same social exclusiveness extended to the canons and bourgeoisie of Saint-Gengoult?

A further reason for the cessation of effigial slab use may be that by 1539, the construction in a

Fig. 21. Unknown priest, c. *1620, Toul, Musée d'art et d'histoire*

56 Toul had always favoured a French connection; they spoke French and looked towards the French dukes for their protection, rather than eastwards across the Rhine; see Thiéry, *Histoire de la Ville de Toul*, II, pp. 99-101; and S. Simiz, 'Les évêques de Toul aux XVIe siècle', *Études Touloises*, CV (2003), pp. 20-6.

57 Thiéry, *Histoire de la Ville de Toul*, II, pp. 113-62.

58 Some slabs were reused at the start of the seventeenth century to denote another burial; for instance in Saint-Gengoult a slab (now very worn) to an anonymous civilian and wife (1374) was re-engraved with an inscription to Pierre Piever, canon (d. 1605), although care was taken not to obliterate any of the original incised design.

Fig. 22. Tomb of Jean Forget (d. 1549), chanter of the cathedral canons, Toul Cathedral

Renaissance architectural style of a *chapelle des évêques*, specifically as an episcopal mausoleum, marked a change in the burial policy of the bishops.[59] They were henceforward interred in a single, private locus, compared to the earlier policy of commemoration among the canons. Matching this, another chapel was soon under construction, in an almost Mannerist architectural style, to house the ornate tomb of Jean Forget (d. 1549) who was chanter of the canons (Fig. 22).[60] It may be that this reappraisal of how cathedral dignitaries were commemorated reduced the popularity of effigial incised slabs.[61] The few late-sixteenth / early-seventeenth century slabs in both the cathedral and Saint-Gengoult incorporate

59 Unfortunately, for structural reasons, the *chapelle des évêques* has been shut for decades, and it is unlikely [2013] that it will be opened in the near future; see Collin, 'Toul, Cathédrale Saint-Étienne', p. 229.

60 The style of decoration incorporated a use of perspective which has been traced to Pèlerin's *De artificiali perspectiva*. The remains of Forget's tomb can still be found in the chapel; see Collin, 'Toul, Cathédrale Saint-Étienne', p. 229.

61 An anonymous slab depicting a shrouded skeleton (1538) is a unique departure from the norm, both in its iconography and its location in the cloister, features possibly suggesting a leper burial; see E. Necker, 'Le cloître de Saint-Gengoult', *Études Touloises*, XXXVI (1985), pp. 5-11, at p. 9.

Latin inscriptions in horizontal lines of Roman capitals, frequently contained within Classical cartouches surrounded by elegant swags of material, scrolls, strapwork and other forms of Renaissance-inspired decoration (Fig. 23). The inscription, not the effigy, had become the central component of the monument. Each individual's life and achievements were exemplified on it; no longer was there the need for the figure of the deceased to be represented vested for Mass, identical to those on the congested ranks of slabs to his fellow canons. Just like the Classical elaboration on the slabs, another Renaissance-inspired quality had surfaced, that of an individual humanism signalled by a desire to demonstrate a personal service to the church.[62]

(iii) Discussion of workshop style and influences

The dense chronology of the slabs suggests that they were produced at a workshop in or near Toul from the mid-fourteenth century through to the seventeenth century; there are few examples in the rest of the diocese.[63] Geologically the region is sited on an enormous bed of sedimentary oolitic rock[64] with a known medieval quarry worked at Bicqueley just upriver of Toul on the Moselle, so it would have been straightforward to have quarried the *calcaire* stone, probably incise the slabs there as well, and float them downriver to the city.[65] Stylistically the earliest slabs are characterized by a simplicity of line and relatively static, posed effigial representations, for example those in the Cathedral of a 'scholar' standing under a simple trefoil arch (?late thirteenth century)

Fig. 23. Jehan Hanrii (d. 1595?), canon, Toul Cathedral

62 R. Rex, 'Monumental Brasses and the Reformation', *MBS Trans*., XIV, pt. 5 (1993), pp. 376-94, esp. pp. 390-2.

63 Seven mid-sixteenth-century effigial slabs are now in the Musée Lorrain at Nancy, originally from the church at Port-sur-Seille (Meurthe-et-Moselle). Their designs are relatively crude, quite dissimilar to those at Toul. Probably there was another workshop operating in Nancy or Metz, although the paucity of slabs hinders any meaningful analysis.

64 See the *Carte Géographique de la France à l'échelle du millionème*, 6e édition (Paris, 2003).

65 For the ancient quarry at Bicqueley see the website Géologie de la Lorraine at http://www3.ac-nancy-metz.fr/base-geol/fiche.php?dossier056&p=3descrip (accessed 12/11/2011).

Fig. 24. — de Choixeul, canon, early fourteenth century, Toul Cathedral

(Fig. 1), and of one Choixeul represented under a canopy with large, plain cusps (*c.* 1300-25) (Fig. 24). All of these figures manifest the postural lilt characteristic of an 'International Gothic' style, and the canopy shafts have

Fig. 25. Garins de Luneville (d. 1333), canon, Toul Cathedral

rudimentary attempts at elaboration with secondary blind arcading.[66] By 1337 the decoration of both figures and architectural surrounds had increased considerably – such as the slab to Garins de Luneville (d. 1333) in the Cathedral (Fig. 25), and that to Iehans Guyos (d. 1339) in Saint-Gengoult – although the bold linear drawing of the figure had become more mechanical.[67] By the end of the century there was a naïveté of drawing which was close to

66 See M. Aubert, *La Sculpture Française au Moyen-Âge* (Bellegarde, 1947), pp. 277-357; F. Baron ed., *Sculpture Française - I – Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1996); F. Joubert, *La Sculpture Gothique en France XII^e – XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2008).

67 This change in figural drawing is also seen in the wall paintings in the cathedral, for which see I. Hans-Collas, 'La peinture murale à Toul au Moyen âge: la cathédrale Saint-Étienne et l'église Saint-Gengoult', *Études Touloises*, XC (1999), pp. 5-35, esp. pp. 10-16.

Fig. 26. Dame Katherine … (c. 1400), Toul, Saint-Gengoult

clumsy, as figures were inclined towards each other, with ill-drawn hands, and wearing garments with unconvincing drapery folds, standing under stereotypical canopies; the slab to Aubers du Pont (d. 1380) in the Cathedral is typical. In the early fifteenth century the architectural surrounds were elaborated further, such as on the slab to Dame Katherine (*c.* 1400) in Saint-Gengoult (Fig. 26), and despite design anomalies the engraving of the slabs continues to be high quality, as evidenced by the Jehans le P… slab (1422) also in Saint-Gengoult. One Toulois peculiarity of the earlier canonical slabs is the absence of the almuce, which was otherwise commonly depicted on the slabs of French canons as being worn over the head as a hood, with examples as geographically far apart as Châlons-en-Champagne, Limoges, Paris, Saintes and Troyes, although in some places it is depicted thrown over one shoulder or another.[68] In Germany the depiction varies: at Erfurt, for instance, in the Severikirche, it is

68 Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, I, pp. 90-1.

found as a cape or slung over the arm; but in Lübeck it is worn as a head-dress, as it is on slabs in Scotland and Rome.[69] While the significance of this variety is difficult to judge, as canonical monuments in a building often appear to have mirrored each other closely, to provide a reminder to the living chapter of their dead fellows, it is likely that the particular depiction accorded to custom in that church as much as a geographical trend.

From the start of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, a period of 200 years, during which there was a dynamic and profound evolution of funeral monuments typologically and socially, it is a further Toulois peculiarity that incised slabs were almost exclusively the monumental form of choice. Apart from the late-fifteenth century effigy of Saint-Mansuy, numerous reports of brass inscription plates which are now lost (but which were probably accessory to many slabs),[70] and inscriptions incised – on pillars and walls – into the very fabric of the church, commemoration using an incised effigial slab was an accepted routine. The canons in both churches upheld what became a tradition of physical memorialization in that medium, each chapter funding its self-perpetuation in a mass of slabs slowly accumulating in the pavement. The nature of canonical services ensured that in the Cathedral their procession passed over the growing numbers of tomb-slabs of their predecessors in the transepts as they made their way to their stalls in the otherwise almost fully enclosed choir.[71] These slabs resonated in many corporate aspects – the costume, the recitation of Masses for the dead, and the sheer build-up of numbers of slabs – of the dead community of canons with those living and perpetuating their role, such that the living chapter was forever in remembrance of their dead fellows, celebrating and maintaining their familial (genealogical as well as ecclesiastical) exclusivity. Equally, on an individual basis, it would have been straightforward, following the death and subsequent commemoration of a canon, to have commissioned a slab with the design similar to all the rest: their canonical costume and Masses for the dead would not have changed, so why, therefore, change the formula of representation?[72] In contrast, it is not hard to imagine the more equal inter-relationship of religious / lay commemoration at Saint-Gengoult. There, a funeral or commemorative Mass for a canon / vicar / rector, and their

68 Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, I, pp. 90-1.

69 See F.A. Greenhill, 'A note on the almuce', *MBS Trans*., IX, pt. 4 (1954), pp. 208–10.

70 One memorial form which has not been considered in this paper are the numerous inscriptions which have been incised directly into the fabric of the building, particularly in the cloisters, and which have been resistant to both loss and natural wear and tear; for one example see P. Cockerham, 'Pilchrows - A French Example', *MBS Bulletin*, 97 (September 2003), p. 756. The presence of similarly inscribed mural brass plates must have closely mimicked these examples in the masonry.

71 See the plan of the choir in A. Villes, *La Cathédrale de Toul – Histoire et architecture* (Toul, 1983), p. 188, which illustrates the fact that in order to get to their stalls, the canons would have to process via the transepts, entering the choir from the east end, or via the underside of the screen, from the west. Something of this processional importance is also seen in the disposition of the slabs to canons in the 'Sainte-Chapelle basse', Paris, which are ranged in five parallel lines, reflecting the passage of the canons up and down the 'basse chapelle'; see R.-P. Bernard, 'Les tombes de la Sainte-Chapelle basse du Palais de la Cité à Paris', in *Association Danses Macabres d'Europe, 12ème Congrès International* (Ghent, 2005), I, pp. 75–87.

72 The slow accretion of incised slabs from Flanders on the floor of St Botolph's, Boston, Lincolnshire, commissioned by fourteenth-century merchants operating out of the port, was, I argue, eventually working to achieve the same kind of corporate effect. See P. Cockerham, 'Incised slab commissions in fourteenth century Boston', in *'The beste and fayrest of al Lincolnshire' The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments*, ed. S. Badham and P. Cockerham (Oxford, 2012), pp. 74–99.

associated tomb, may well have echoed (literally) that for a sibling or parent buried close by, supplementing the sense of ecclesiastical involvement in the community compared to the strict canonical reserve of the Cathedral.

The transformation of design, when it did happen at the end of the fifteenth century, was abrupt: pedestrian designs and mechanical engraving styles were abandoned, with profound changes in the slabs' conception and execution. These revisions included, firstly, differences in architectural detailing, with arboreal structures supported on columns forming a framework around the effigy; secondly, the use of tiled floors in a strictly delineated perspective; and thirdly, the variable widening of the incised lines used for the figure drawing, so that the lines themselves introduced an almost tactile element of relief modelling. The introduction of all these elements simultaneously, particularly after a period of design stagnation, is remarkable, and suggests that a new master of the slab workshop(s) took over and introduced these innovative features. Several influential sources can be suggested, notably a study of perspective drawing by Jean Pèlerin called Viator that was formally published in Toul in 1505 as *De artificiali perspectiva*.[73] The artists working in the cathedral in the late fifteenth / early sixteenth century would have been an ideal audience to absorb and disseminate this cathedral canon's learning; it is tempting to see the revised way flooring is depicted on the slabs as an awareness of this drawing style. Secondly, the stained glass of 1503 in the cathedral, attributed to Jacot de Toul,[74] incorporates the figures of angels who have pronounced facial resemblances to those of the figures on the incised slabs (Fig. 27). For instance, the heavy-lidded eyes and hairstyles are very similar to those on the figure of Jean Boyleau (slab engraved *c.*1493) in Saint-Gengoult, and Nicole Gengoult (d. 1505) in the cathedral (Fig. 28), and some of the architectural details like the luxuriantly floriated crockets are the same (Fig. 20).[75] Engravings by Schongauer and Dürer were influential in the early-sixteenth-century stained glass of Toul, with Gothic canopies replaced by Renaissance-inspired architectural frameworks, and compositions and figure drawing manifesting a more static, Rhenish character in what were now becoming heavy, laborious compositions.[76] From across the Rhine too, perhaps, came the idea of arboreal canopies,[77] such as that over

73 One of the perspective illustrations is of the interior of the choir of a cathedral or large church, probably Toul Cathedral, looking towards the screen and demonstrating the comparative seclusion of the canons' stalls in that location.

74 M. Hérold, 'Les verriers lorrains à la fin du moyen âge et au temps de la renaissance (1431-1552)', *Bulletin Monumental*, CXXXXV, pt. 1 (1987), pp. 87-106; M. Hérold and F. Gatouillat, *Les vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*, Corpus Vitrearum France, 5 (Paris 1994), p. 23; M. Hérold, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Toul', in Société française d'archéologie, *Congrès Archéologique de France – Les Trois Évêchés et l'ancien duché de Bar – 149e session* (Paris, 1995), pp. 363-74; and M. Hérold, 'Les vitraux de la collégiale Saint-Gengoult de Toul', in *Les Trois Évêchés*, p. 374-92.

75 J. Bugslag, 'Early Fourteenth-century Canopywork in Rouen Stained glass', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. J. Stratford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, XII (Leeds, 1993), pp. 73 -80, mentions the similarity of the canopy work of stained glass and that of slabs (p. 77) .

76 V. Lamarque, 'Les vitraux du XVIe siècle dans le Toulois', *Études Toulois*, CXVIII (2006), pp. 8-16; H. Scholtz, 'Monumental stained glass in Southern Germany in the age of Dürer', in *Painting on Light – drawings and stained glass in the age of Dürer and Holbein*, ed B. Butts and L. Hendrix. (Los Angeles, 2000), pp. 17-42; and B. Butts and L. Hendrix (eds), 'Albrecht Dürer', in *ibid.*, pp. 84-127.

77 E.M. Kavaler, 'On Vegetal Imagery in Renaissance Gothic', in *Le Gothique de la Renaissance - actes des quatrième Rencontres d'architecture européenne, Paris, 12-16 juin 2007*, ed. M. Chatenet *et al.* (Paris, 2011), pp. 297-312; and É. Harcourt, 'La naturalisme dans l'architecture française autour de 1500', in *ibid.*, pp. 329-43.

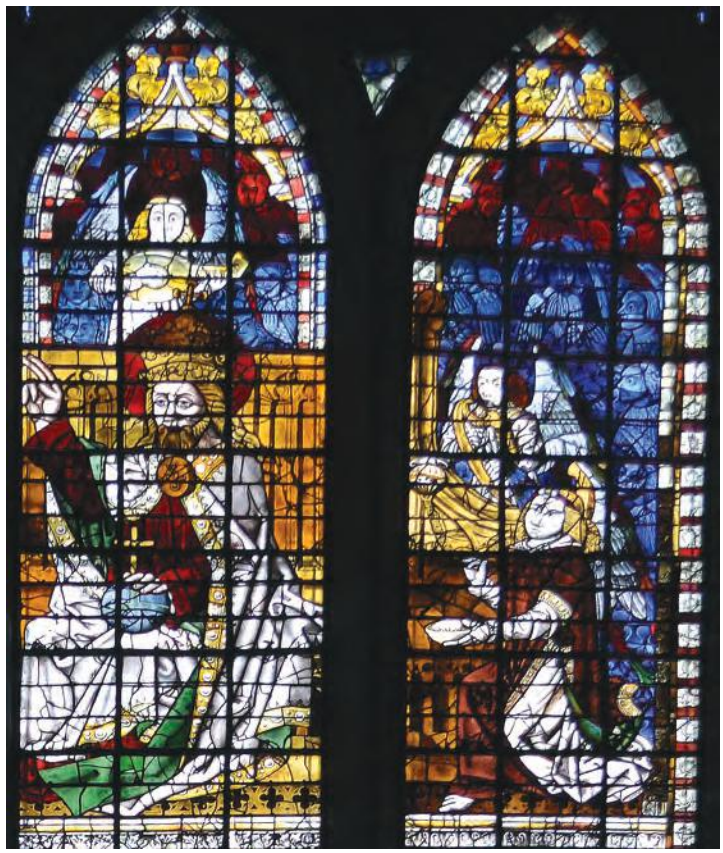

Fig. 27. Part of the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, glass by Jacot de Toul (1503) after an engraving by Martin Schongauer; north window of the north transept, Toul Cathedral

Jean Boyleau (*c.*1493) in Saint-Gengoult, which closely resembles the framework and the general composition of Dürer's engraving of 'St Sebald on the Column', published in Nuremberg around 1501 (Fig. 29).[78]

An assessment of incised slab workshop(s) in Toul must be contextualized within this vibrant atmosphere of multiple glass commissions, painted imagery to complement the building programmes at the cathedral and Saint-Gengoult,[79] and the design and embellishment of the new cloisters at Saint-Gengoult in 1521-23.[80] It is tempting to suggest that as the stock imagery of glazing was revised, incised slabs were redesigned and engravers encouraged to use widely incised, bold lines to impart a freedom of movement of the figures and realistically drawn draperies. Additionally, there were changes in the architectural framework of

78 W. Kurth ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1963), p. 25, pl. 169.

79 Villes, *La Cathédrale de Toul*, pp. 188-9.

80 Villes, *La collégiale Saint-Gengoult*, pp. 27-34.

Fig. 28. Detail of the upper half of the figure of Nicole Gengoult (d. 1505), Toul, Cathedral

Fig. 29. Jean Boyleau (d. 15..), slab engraved c. *1493, Toul, Saint-Gengoult*

the effigies from flamboyant late Gothic to conservative Renaissance structures drawn in strict perspective. At this particular *fin de siècle* there was a confluence of ideas which acted as an antithesis to the prevailing and tired Gothic imagery and styles. Instead of Toul historically acting as a source of ideas which spread eastwards across the Rhine,[81] there were now clear counter-currents from the east into Toul. It may also be that at the start of the sixteenth century there was a rapid dissemination of these designs and principles of delineation because of the advent of printing and the ease with which prints could be circulated. Yet, despite an abrupt *volte-face* in the traditionalist designs used by the slabmakers, they continued

81 M.-C. Burnand, *Lorraine Gothique* (Paris, 1989), pp. 23-34.

to produce flat two-dimensional monuments instead of revising their technique to emphasise elements of the design in low relief, as in Strasbourg and its hinterlands,[82] and throughout Germany, east Europe, Mosan and the Netherlands. Equally they ignored, as they always had, the incorporation of inlays of stone or metal, or incrustations of composite into the surfaces of the slabs, unlike other regions such as Burgundy or the Île-de-France. A flat, homogenous surface, it appears, was *de rigueur*; depth was inspired by the adoption of new linear techniques, the effects of which, when filled with black mastic to contrast with the pale *calcaire*, would not have been unlike the technique used for shading found on sixteenth-century English brasses. Luxuriant design elements were worked in a flat Renaissance flummery rather than a convincing sculptural detail; it was left to the cathedral's architects to develop a competent manifestation of Renaissance style in the construction of the side chapels in the cathedral.

(iv) Renaissance influences

The authority of one man, Hugues de Hazard (d. 1517), bishop of Toul from 1506 until his death, may well be the key towards a greater understanding of this artistic *mélange* at the start of the sixteenth century.[83] Described as a 'pre-Reformation bishop' he was a man versed in traditional church liturgy, but inspired by a period of training in the court of the dukes of Burgundy at Dijon and thereafter spending time in Rome, he also developed a deep appreciation of the Classical world and how the liberal arts might bridge the gap between the antique Roman world and contemporary religion. This understanding crystallized in the design of his tomb at Blénod-lès-Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle), erected on the north side of the chancel within the church he rebuilt in the late Gothic style, but which was freely embellished with many Renaissance-inspired architectural details. In addition, much beautiful and freely-designed stained glass of *c.*1515 was commissioned for the windows of the chancel and transepts, enveloping the tomb almost as if it were within a personally defined Renaissance bubble, having at its heart the recumbent tomb effigy of the bishop inclined slightly towards the high altar (Fig. 30).[84] Opinions vary as to the tomb sculptor(s): Mansuy Gauvain, the personal *imagier* to the dukes of Lorraine, is one contender;[85] but an

82 The medieval effigial monumental slabs in Strasbourg demonstrate a blend of low relief and incised work. Certain details, such as the head, were often worked in relief with the rest of the design incised, mimicking the technique of slab engravers in Flanders, Burgundy and the Île-de-France, who frequently employed inserts of white marble for the head and hands of a figure. Strasbourg slabs are illustrated on the website of the Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques d'Alsace at http://www.monuments-alsace.com/sepulta/strasbourg/index.html (accessed 18 November 2011); and for similar material in Alsace see *Dictionnaire des Monuments Historiques d'Alsace*, ed. D. Toursel-Harster *et al.* (Strasbourg, 1995); and the database Palissy of the *Monuments Historiques* available online at http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/inventai/patrimoine/ (accessed 18 November 2011).

83 The bibliography of Hugues de Hazard is enormous but a concise source of information is a special edition of the periodical *Annales de l'Est* devoted to the memory of the bishop: P. Sesmat ed., 'Hugues des Hazards et Blénod-lès-Toul – un évêque de la pré-renaissance et son cadre de vie: actes du colloque des 21-22 septembre 2001', *Annales de l'Est*, 6e série, LV (2005).

84 G. Clanché, 'Le tombeau de Hugues des Hazards Évêque de Toul a Blénod-lès-Toul', *Bulletin Monumental*, (1905), pp. 47-63; M.-C. Burnand, 'Un nouveau regard sur le tombeau de Hugues des Hazards', in 'Hugues des Hazards', ed. Sesmat, pp. 315-28.

85 H. Van Hees, 'De la collaboration probable de Mansuy Gauvain au tombeau de Hugues des Hazards à Blénod-lès-Toul', *Le Pays Lorrain*, LVIII (1977), pp. 177-88. The similarity of this tomb to the structure remaining in the Église des Cordeliers, Nancy, for Duke René II (d. 1508), is remarkable; see P. Marot, 'Église des Cordeliers', in Société française d'archéologie, *Congrès Archéologique de France – XCVIe session , Nancy et Verdun* (Paris, 1934), pp. 24-35, at pp. 26-30; and J. Cayon, *Église des Cordeliers, la Capelle Ronde, Sépultures de la maison de Lorraine à Nancy* (Nancy, 1842), pp. 67-72.

Fig. 30. Tomb of Hugues des Hazards (d. 1517), bishop, Blénod-lès-Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle)

unknown 'master of Blénod' – possibly one Pierre Wiriot – has also been proposed.[86] A partially obscured slab in the Chapelle de la Visitation, off the north aisle of the cathedral, bears the effigy of a canon under a Renaissance-style scalloped recess with the arms of Hazards, almost certainly the monument to Olrico des Hazards (d.1484), canon, who was commemorated by the construction of a mausoleum by his brother Hugues. The engraver of this slab depicts the effigy and architecture in an innovative *taille d'épargne* style of light relief (Fig. 31), perhaps a manifestation of Hugues' influence in the design? The execution of the Blénod tomb is similar to that of Saint-Mansuy, Toul's founder, the cult of this saint, along with other Toulois saints, being revived by Hugues during his episcopacy. Saint-Mansuy's traditionalist, sarcophagus-like tomb, now in the cathedral, dates from the end of the fifteenth century and is generally accepted to be by Mansuy Gauvain, working to a contract co-ordinated by the much travelled and Renaissance-inspired humanist canon of Toul, Jean Pèlerin called Viator (Fig. 32).[87] Clearly both Pèlerin and Hazards were sufficiently conversant with Italianate funeral monuments to create a completely new conceptual form of tomb monument in Lorraine, mimicking those of late-medieval ecclesiastical dignitaries in Rome,[88] yet expanding the traditional iconography to include figural elements of the liberal arts. This was to be a landmark monument to perpetuate

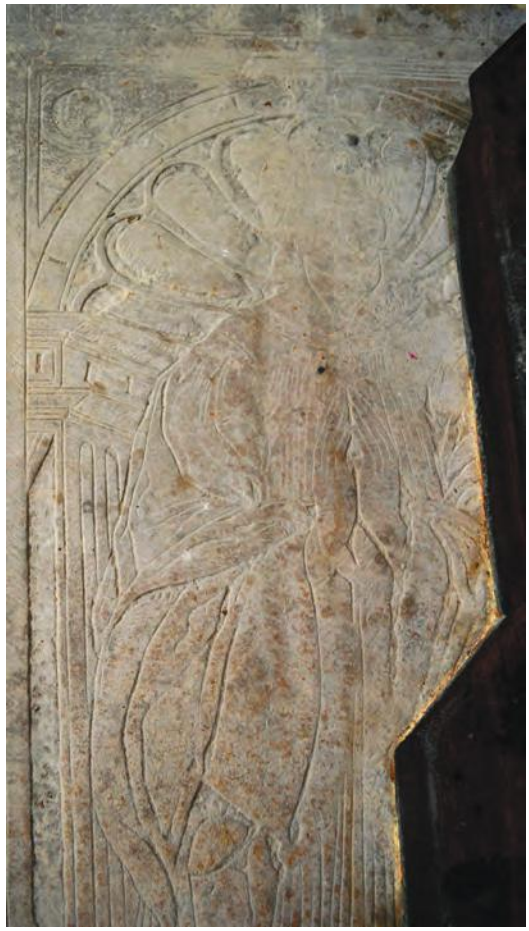

Fig. 31. Olrico des Hazards (d.1484), canon, slab engraved early sixteenth century, Toul Cathedral

86 J. Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante en Champagne Lorraine* (Nonette, 1991), pp. 314-17. This attribution seems flawed, however, as one of the principal stylistic features Baudoin identifies is the use of a symbol Ø as a zero, found on the tombslab at Saint-Nicholas, Neufchâteau (Vosges) of the sculptor Pierre Wiriot in his funeral chapel there. In fact the incised slab is conventional work, without any trace of the Ø in the date of decease '1530', from personal observation.

87 Baudoin, *Champagne Lorraine*, p. 305; C. Guyon, 'Hugues des Hazards et le culte des saints toulois', in 'Hugues des Hazards', ed. Sesmat, pp. 91-105, esp. pp. 95-9; P. Martin, 'Aménagement de l'intérieur de l'église de Blénod: essai d'explication virtuelle', in 'Hugues des Hazards', ed. Sesmat, pp. 329-42. For Jean Pèlerin see L. Guerry, *Jean Pèlerin Viator. Sa place dans l'histoire de la perspective* (Paris, 1962).

88 See I. Herklotz, *‹Sepulcra› e ‹Monumenta› del Medioevo* (Rome, 1985), pp. 85-142; and J. Garms *et al.* ed., *Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und in Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert – 2 – die Monumentalgräber* (Vienna, 1994), *passim*.

Fig. 32. Tomb of Saint-Mansuy, c. *1500, Toul Cathedral*

the burial place of a magnificently successful bishop in the church that he had structurally made his own. Hence, following the successful sculptural collaboration between Gauvain, Hazards and Pèlerin it is tempting to suggest that Gauvain, as the Duke of Lorraine's personal sculptor, may well have articulated a later version of Duke René II's tomb at Nancy specifically for the bishop, continuing to use a combination of stone and metal but reappraising the depiction of the effigy of the deceased.

Sculptural innovations like this, together with the steady demand for stained glass, construction work ongoing at Saint-Gengoult, and the publication of Pèlerin's work on perspective, would have embodied a nucleus of creativity that must have attracted artists to Toul, particularly in the socially settled atmosphere of Hugues' bishopric.[89] Incised slab manufacture was a relatively minor trade, however, and the number of commissions would have involved far fewer craftsmen than worked on stained glass; for instance, as many as forty-four '*verriers*' have been identified in early-sixteenth-century Toul, indicating just how large-scale this industry was. In contrast, the fact that nearly all the incised tomb-slabs manifested an abrupt switch from Gothic to Renaissance architecture, with changes in incised lines from a linear to a more sculptured appreciation of figural drawing, suggests that just a single slab workshop was involved in supplying all the tomb-slabs for the city's residents, or that one workshop was overwhelmingly predominant. However, the geographical isolation of the slab workshop, the reliance of the city on this single source for the slabs, and concomitantly, the reliance of the workshop on the city for its commissions, meant that if either failed, there would be an abrupt halt in production – and this may well have been the case at Toul. Recalling the acute drop in slab production and / or commissions in the middle of the sixteenth century, it might have been the city which failed to maintain the patronage due to disturbances in the concepts of physical memorialization, such as the annexation to France and the introduction of Protestantism. Alternatively, as the city appeared to rely on a single source for monumental slabs, it may have been the

89 D. Vaisse, 'Hugues des Hazards et le chapitre cathedral face à la communauté des habitants de Toul', in 'Hugues des Hazards', ed. Sesmat, pp. 107-25, esp. pp. 121-3; D. Notter, 'Les Évêques de Toul au temps de Hugues des Hazards', *Études Touloises*, CXXXIV (2010), pp. 3-18.

workshop which failed, on the demise of a master craftsman for example.[90]

Conclusion

As a corpus, the incised effigial slabs at Toul form an interesting model of the centre-periphery theory. The city was geographically and politically on the edge of two governing regimes, the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire, which lack of strong, direct control permitted the bishopric and diocese to grow in power and autonomy. This peripheralism encouraged a centralization of wealth in the city of Toul benefiting from its geographical location at a crossroads of prosperous trade routes. On a micro-analytical scale we can see this in the intra-urban rivalry between the two sets of canons, the Cathedralites and the Gengoulphins, which led to a predominance of canons' slabs in the cathedral, reinforcing the selectness of the self-governing autocracy of the chapter in contrast with other cathedrals in Burgundy, Champagne and Lorraine. On a larger scale, an equilibrium established itself in medieval Toul between the material demands of the inhabitants and their local suppliers. Yet if anything was to upset that equilibrium, whether the inhabitants were disrupted by a change in religious orthodoxy for instance, or their suppliers stopped work, then that mutuality was broken. The swift demise of effigial slabs in the mid-sixteenth century points to a link fractured just like this, meaning that either the suppliers had no market – that there were slabs but no demand; or the city consumers had to go without – they wanted slabs but the workshop was unable to satisfy demand. Thereafter, the regrouping of Toul with Nancy and Verdun in the late sixteenth century to reinforce the combined influence of the *Trois Évêchés* comfortably enlarged and stabilized the market with regard to both consumers and suppliers. In this case, therefore, the mutually supportive but fragile mechanics of a medieval model of memorialization centred on Toul had disappeared for good.

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90 For instance, the sudden demise of the London-B workshop of brass engraving was linked to the death of its master; see R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design c. 1420-85', *Jnl of the British Archaeological Association*, CXXXI (1978), pp. 50-78, at pp. 66-8.

Toul Cathedral

994	St Gerard of Cologne, 33rd bishop of Toul	Bishop in Mass vestments with reliquary; canopy; 19th century fabrication		Crossing floor
1296	Piers ...	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in Uncials, French	N transept floor
1297	[anon.]	Bottom fragment of slab with feet of ?ecclesiastic; canopy shafts	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
Late 13th cent.?	[anon.], scholar of Toul	Priest in dalmatic holding book; under simple trefoil arch	MI in Uncials, Latin	S transept floor
1315?	Manges Laions, canon of Brixey	Priest in tunicle with open book and maniple; canopy; top portion missing	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
1330	[anon.]	Priest in dalmatic with open book; canopy; top half missing	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
1337	Garins de Luneville, canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in Uncials, French	N transept floor
1380	Aubers du Pont, canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; shields; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor, by N wall
1390	Hanris li Bourguegnon, gent., of Neufchâteau	Effigy in civil dress under double canopy, the corresponding space is void	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1391	Poiresson W[auchier], founder of chapel in cathedral	Civilian in long gown, canopy; upper half effaced	MI in BL, French	N aisle floor, at the foot of the fifth pillar
1394	[anon.], canon	Priest in Mass vestments with chalice, dog at feet, under single canopy; worn	MI in BL, French	S aisle floor, fourth arcade
1400	Guillaume de Eumont, canon & scholar, and sister Ienette (1398)	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; lady in conventional dress; canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
14th cent.	[anon.], of Neufchâteau	Priest in dalmatic and maniple with closed book; single canopy	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
14th cent.	... de Choixeul, canon	Priest in dalmatic holding book; shields; single canopy	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
14th cent.	Iehans de ...	Figure of a ?civilian; slab split into two parts and worn	MI in Uncials, French	N transept floor
14th cent.	Poiressons Malfereilz (?), citizen of Toul	Figures of a civilian and wife under a double canopy	MI in BL, French	S aisle floor, seventh arcade

continued overleaf

Toul Cathedral continued

14th cent.?	[anon.]	Priest in ?dalmatic holding book; canopy; top and bottom missing	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
14th cent.?	... Paris(?), curé, cathedral chaplain	In Mass vestments with chalice, triple canopy	MI in Uncials, French	Nave floor, fifth arcade N side
14th cent.?	Willames ...	Effigy under single canopy; almost effaced	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
14th cent.?	[anon.]	Priest, top half of the slab only remains	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
1404	Iehan Celerier of Denneure, canon	Non-effigial, with pair of hands, chalice; circular scroll	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1405	Poiresson W[auchier]	Civilian with dog at his feet; almost completely effaced	MI in BL, French	N aisle floor, at the foot of the fifth pillar
1410	[anon.], canon	Non-effigial, with pair of hands, chalice; circular scroll, lower half only	MI in BL, Latin	S transept floor
1412	Garin de Challaines, canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy; part covered	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1413	Gerard de Alucto, canon archdeacon	Non-effigial, with pair of hands, chalice; circular scroll	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1413	Wiellard de Chaudeney, citizen, & wife Collette (1420)	Civilian and wife; shields; double canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
1416	Wautrins Despinalz, canon treasurer	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1421	Demenge de Lucaret, canon, curé of Dompterne	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1421	Stephen de Chergey, canon	Non-effigial, with pair of hands, chalice; descending scroll	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1423	Iehan Tousson, scholar of Toul	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; canopy; worn	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
1427	..rdnicus de Ponte, canon	Priest in Mass vestments kneeling at foot of a cross, with chalice	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor, W end
1428	Gerard de Marchia, canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1432	Gerard Surrini 'de Mathaincuria', prebendary and canon	Non-effigial, with pair of hands, chalice; circular scroll	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor

Toul Cathedral continued

1434	Iaique Warin de Harrouuel, canon, curé 'de dyarville'	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1445	Nicole Drowet, canon, curé of Dompremy and Ernecour	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1455	Vivian Hubin de Woy, canon, curé	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1459	Johannes de Pitono, dean and canon; and ... de Pitono, canon	Two priests each in Mass vestments holding a chalice; shield; double canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1460	Thomas Aubertin of Vezelise, cathedral verger	Non-effigial, hand emerging out of cloud clasping sword encircled by scroll	MI in BL, French	N aisle floor, at the foot of the seventh pillar
1461	Garin de Voy, canon? and benefactor	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor, by crossing
1462	Bartholomew Grogneti, canon, archdeacon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; double canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1472	Desiderius de Cleuriis, canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; double canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1483	... Chastelet, canon, prebendary, curé of Saint-Remimont	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; double canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1496	Aubrey Briel de Longeville, archdeacon, canon, master of the fabric	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; double canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
15th cent.	[anon.]	Priest in Mass vestments holding a chalice; mostly covered	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
15th cent.	[anon.], canon	Head and shoulders of priest in Mass vestments; triple canopy; broken	MI in BL, Latin	S transept floor
15th cent.	[anon.], canon	Head and shoulders of priest in Mass vestments; triple canopy; broken	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.	... Despinal, canon	Top half of slab with priest in Mass vestments; shields; triple canopy; worn	MI in BL, French	S transept floor

continued overleaf

Toul Cathedral continued

15th cent.	Gerard Tihe, canon, 'maistre de la fabrique'	Figure of a monk holding chalice, another monk above in benediction	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
15th cent.	Henzelin and Iehan de Fleivegney suz Muzelle, servitours	Civilian in long gown and cloak, canopy and shields held by angels	MI in BL, French	N aisle floor, sixth arcade
15th cent.	Iehan de ...	Middle portion of slab with part effigy of lady in wimple; single canopy	MI in BL, effaced	S transept floor
15th cent.	Jehan de ...court, [BCL], canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
15th cent.	Walcheriun(?), deacon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; shields, triple canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.]	Effigy effaced; ogee canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.]	Effigy effaced; ogee canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.]	Lower half of slab with effigy of priest in Mass vestments	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.]	Effigy of priest in Mass vestments; triple canopy; almost effaced	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.], canon	Top half of slab with priest in Mass vestments; shields; triple canopy; worn	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.], canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; shields; triple canopy	MI in BL, Latin	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.], canon and sub-treasurer	Top half of slab with priest in Mass vestments; shields; triple canopy; worn	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.], canon, curé of Maxey	Priest in Mass vestments kneeling at side of cross fleury; chalice	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	[anon.], curé de Voy	Priest in Mass vestments; canopy; pieces cut away	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	... 'iadis ... de ?remirecourt'	Side shaft of canopy remaining, the rest effaced	MI in BL, French	N aisle floor, at the foot of the fifth pillar
15th cent.?	Albert Hallirons, canon	Effigy effaced; triple canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
15th cent.?	Gerars de la ..., canon"	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	Johannes Briel	Priest in Mass vestments; shield with horn at feet; very worn	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor, by crossing

Toul Cathedral continued

15th cent.?	Nicholes Pueneroy, canon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	Pierre Monchardot de Porrantruy	Effigy effaced; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
15th cent.?	Wiris de Tuillet, canon, archdeacon	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy; part covered; broken	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1505	Nicole Gengoul, canon, chaplain to the bishop	In surplice with almuce over left arm; stands on tiles under floriated canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
1508	[anon.], canon of the cathedral and of Nancy	In voluminous surplice, under a rounded arch with scalloped recess; worn	MI in BL, Latin	S aisle floor, fourth arcade
1526	Edmund Colardet, canon	In surplice with almuce over arm; shield at top and inscr cartouche at bottom	Inscr in RC on cartouche, Latin	N transept floor
1527	Robert Iohan de Seravilla(?), treasurer	In ?surplice, standing on platform under elaborate canopy; much worn	MI in BL, Latin	S aisle floor, third arcade
1535	[anon.], curé of ?Baudricourt	In surplice with almuce over left arm, under Renaissance style canopy	MI in BL, French	Nave floor, third arcade N side
1538	[anon.], canon	Skeleton with winding sheet around it	MI in BL, Latin	Cloister, east side
1545	Johannes Simon de ..., canon	In surplice under Renaissance style canopy	Inscr in RC on cartouche, Latin	Floor of chapel of Saint-Laurent, N aisle
16th cent.	[anon.]	Almost effaced figure of priest in surplice; slab inscribed '13'	Effaced inscr.	Nave floor, fourth arcade N side
16th cent.	[anon.]	Effigy of a canon in surplice with almuce over left arm, canopy	MI in BL, Latin	Nave floor, fifth arcade N side
16th cent.	[anon.]	In surplice? under a canopy; nearly all hidden by pews	Hidden	S aisle floor, fourth arcade
16th cent.	[anon.]	In surplice with almuce over left arm; shield; heavy floriated canopy	MI in BL, Latin	N transept floor
16th cent.	[Olrico des Hazards? d.1484, canon]	Priest in surplice with wide sleeves under rounded arch	Effaced inscr.	Nave floor, fifth arcade N side
16th cent.?	[anon.]	Priest in Mass vestments on tiled floor, under single canopy	MI in BL, Latin	S aisle floor, sixth arcade

Toul, Saint-Gengoult

1316	Hanris Descrouvres, vicar and chaplain	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in BL, French	S transept, W wall
1316	[anon.]	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; top missing	MI in Uncials, French	Crossing
1321	Poincete, wife of Jehan Housson	Widow, with head on cushion held by angels; triple canopy	MI in Uncials, French	N transept, W wall
1335	[anon.]	Figure of lady; double canopy; partly covered	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1339	Iehans Guyos, citizen of Toul	Civilian with feet on a dog; high single canopy; slab cut diagonally	MI in Uncials, French	S transept floor
1344	... de Mengele, wife of Thieron Huart (d. 1322); and Jehans Huart	Male and female civilian effigies (mother and son?); double canopy' worn	MI in BL, French	S transept, W wall
1347	..., and Adele ... (d. 1345)	Civilian and wife, feet on dogs; double canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1349	Isabelle Arnier (d. 1316); ... wife of Symonin Chaume de Fer, citizen of Toul (d. 1343); and Symonin Chaume de Fer	Civilian between two ladies, one a widow; shields; triple canopy; surface damage	MI in BL, French	S transept, W wall
Mid 14th cent.	Wife of Williaume Climignon?	Two female figures inclined towards each other, with feet on dogs; double canopy; worn	MI In Uncials, French	S transept floor
1360	Hanri ...	Female figure under elaborate canopy; ?double figure / canopy but mostly covered	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
1366	Jehans de Baigneulz 'eschevin' [and wife?]	Civilian and wife, feet on dogs; shields; double canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1374	[anon.]	Civilian and wife; double canopy; much worn, and reused with inscr. of 1608	MI in BL, only digits legible	S transept floor
1388?	Nicholes ..., chaplain of Saint Margaret's chapel	Non-effigial, with hands supporting chalice	BL inscr. at top of slab, French	N transept floor
1393	..., citizen of Toul (d. 1359), and wife	Civilian, with feet on platform with arcading, and wife; shields, double canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
Late 14th cent.	Dame Katherine, wife of Moricel ...	Figure of lady with head on cushion held by angels; triple canopy; part covered	MI in BL, French	N transept floor

Toul, Saint-Gengoult continued

Late 14th cent.	Sebille, wife of Drouet de Baign...	Civilian and wife; double canopy; largely effaced	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
Late 14th cent.	[anon.], chaplain	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; triple canopy; largely effaced	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
Early 15th cent.	Piere Chandis, 'espicier ... de Toul'	Civilian with feet on a large dog; shields; single canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept, W wall
Early 15th cent.	[anon.]	Civilian; shields; triple canopy; bottom lost	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
Early 15th cent.	... fille Poiresson	Figure of lady?; shields; triple canopy; bottom lost and largely effaced	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
1409	Thieris de Saint Epure, priest and chaplain of Saint-Gengoult	Non-effigial, with chalice elevated by hands emerging from clouds	MI in BL, French	S transept floor
1422	Jehans le P..., son of ... (d. 1391)	Civilian in short tunic, feet on dog; elaborate triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept, W wall
1425	Jehan ..., MA, canon, subdeacon	Priest in Mass vestments holding book; triple canopy	MI in BL, French	N transept, W wall
1438?	[anon.]	Non-effigial, with pair of hands emerging from clouds; descending scroll; worn	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
Mid 15th cent.	..., canon of Saint-Gengoult and native of Rosnay, nr Reims	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy; much worn	MI in BL, French	Nave floor
1491?	Iohanis ..., canon and rector	Priest in Mass vestments holding inscribed scroll; single canopy	MI in BL, Latin	Nave floor
Early 16th cent.	Jehan Wagnait, citizen of Toul and chief magistrate	Civilian in short cape; shields; elaborate canopy; part covered	MI in BL, French	N transept floor
Early 16th cent.	Iennette Piersel (d. 1475), daughter of master magistrate Peresel; Arembour Brehardon, her daughter (d. 1493); and her son Jehan Boyleau (d. 15..[never filled in])	Civilian in short gown; shields; canopy of intertwined branches	MI in BL, French	S transept, W wall
Early 16th cent.	[anon.]	Monk(?), with tonsure, in long gown with full sleeves, under rounded arch; part covered	BL inscr. on plate at foot, effaced	S transept floor
1510	Walter de Acregnis, canon	Priest in canonical vestments under three-dimensional rounded arch	RC inscr. on panel at foot, Latin	S transept floor

continued overleaf

Toul, Saint-Gengoult continued

1525	[anon.] rounded arch	Priest in Mass vestments under three-dimensional at foot, French	BL inscr. on cartouche	N aisle floor
?1525	Anthony Verteti, canon, rector of Saint-Gengoult	Priest in Mass vestments under three dimensional rounded arch	MI in RC, Latin	S aisle floor
Mid 16th cent.	[anon.]	Figure of skeleton holding rectangular plate; architectural surround	BL inscr. on plate, effaced	S aisle floor
1566	Thiebauld Lassad(?), canon, curé of Mirecourt	Non-effigial, with pair of hands emerging from clouds; descending scroll	MI in BL, French	N transept floor

Toul, Musée d'art et d'histoire

1403	Nichole de Granviler, curé, master & prebendary of the hospital	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in BL, French	Museum floor
1408	Nicollez Jaiquet de Granviller, priest, master & prebendary of the hospital	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; single canopy	MI in BL, French	Museum floor
c.1490	Jacquette Wisse, abbess of the Poor Clares, Neufchâteau (Vosges)	Abbess in headdress, wimple and gown (broken)	MI in BL, French	Museum wall
1494	Jehan Buccilier & his wife Police (1494), 'demorans a Toul'	Civilian and wife, holding horse's collar; scales and star above	MI in BL, French	Museum floor
1625	Demenge Husson, master & prebendary of the hospital	Priest in Mass vestments holding chalice; Renaissance arch	Inscr in RC at base, Latin	Museum floor
1620s?	[anon.]	Priest in Mass vestments; Renaissance arch	Cartouche at base, inscr effaced	Museum floor

Lettering on Small Brass Plates 1600–1850

George Thomson

A study was made of seventeenth- to mid-nineteenth-century small brass plates, mainly in England, to trace the historical development and geographical distribution of lettering styles utilized on them and to compare the inscriptions in metal with those on contemporary gravestones. Some 1250 inscriptions from 209 sites were analysed. Only nine external small brass plates have been found in Scotland. Clear patterns in the use of different styles at different times over the period in England were identified. The limited evidence of geographical variation in the frequencies of some letterform attributes, noted in Gloucestershire but much less so in Cumberland and Westmoreland, could suggest that there was some diversity in local tastes or craft traditions. This is probably weakened by the fact that many of these brasses were made in centres some distance from their final location. It was also found that external brasses occur much more frequently on vertical headstones in Cumberland and Westmoreland than in Gloucestershire where they are fixed, almost invariably, on grave-slabs, table tombs or chest tombs.

Introduction

There has never been a greater interest in grave-markers than now. This is, in part, due to the popularity of the pursuit of genealogy. However, there is also evidence of a considerable number of people who seek out epitaphs, as well as many with an interest in graveyard sculpture, frequently furthered by a fascination with the bizarre imagery of skulls, crossbones and other, often morbid, iconography of death. The proliferation of books and other publications on graveyards and gravestones demonstrates that the interest in funerary memorials is no longer confined to a tiny minority. In spite of all this interest, including growing concern for the conservation of our churchyards and ancient burial grounds as important historical resources, there is little awareness of the significance of lettering on the post-Reformation artefacts which remain in these grounds, even although it is almost always a significant element of the design. The author is currently pursuing a range of research activities in the hope that it will foster an appreciation of the cultural significance of lettering on grave-markers.[1]

The almost total lack of any mention of post-Reformation external funerary brass plates in the literature on grave-markers in Britain is surprising indeed, especially when they are such a conspicuous feature of tombstone memorials in some parts of England. Admittedly, their distribution is extremely patchy and many have been lost, stolen or destroyed. Burgess makes limited reference to external brasses, restricting his comments to an endnote.[2] Mytum ignores them completely.[3] Even Lees, who draws attention to them in her Gloucestershire works, makes only passing comment in her more comprehensive volume.[4] Why this should be is puzzling. As artefacts, they are as much part of our culture as any headstone or grave-slab.

1 G. Thomson, 'Tombstone Lettering in Scotland and New England - An Appreciation of a Vernacular Culture', *Mortality*, XI, pt. 1 (2006), pp. 1-30; *idem*, 'The Cultural Significance of Lettering on Gravemarkers'. *Borderlines*, I, pt. 2 (2006), pp. 1-12; *idem*, *Inscribed in Remembrance. Gravemarker Lettering: Form, Function and Recording* (Dublin, 2009); *idem*, *Lettering on Gravemarkers: A Guide to Recording and Analysis* (Waterbeck, 2011); *idem*, *Gravemarker Lettering in Britain and Ireland* (Dublin and Ditchling, 2011).

2 F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (London, 1963).

3 H.C. Mytum, *Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period* (New York, 2004).

4 H. Lees, *Hallowed Ground: Churchyards of Gloucestershire and the Cotswolds* (Cheltenham, 1993); *idem*, *Porch and Pew: Small Churches of the Cotswolds* (Dursley, 1998); *idem*, *Exploring English Churchyard Memorials* (Stroud, 2000).

Fig. 1. One of only nine known small external brasses in Scotland, Castleton, Roxburghshire, 1788

It is thanks to the Monumental Brass Society that we have published inventories of many of these artefacts in England, although many still have to be recorded.

This situation leaves us with a serious hiatus in our knowledge and understanding of the use of lettering on Post-Reformation brass plates. This paper draws attention to the subject by reporting the outcomes of a preliminary study which set out to trace the historical development of lettering on seventeenth- to mid-nineteenth-century British small brass plates, to determine the geographical distribution of lettering styles utilized on them and to compare the inscriptions in metal with those on contemporary gravestones.

D'Elboux details the history of external brasses.[5] These plates, fixed to headstones, ledgers, table tombs, grave-slabs and church walls, constitute a significant proportion of all later small brasses. The majority of them are small and usually unfigured, apart from restrained iconography or decoration, a feature that distinguishes them from archetypal medieval and later monumental brasses. However, in considering any aspect of the design of these artefacts, including lettering, a distinction between external and internal

5 R.H. D'Elboux, 'Exterior Brasses', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 4 (1946), pp. 150-7, pt. 6 (1949), pp. 208-19.

brasses would be artificial. Although a variety of metals was used, including latten, brass, bronze and copper, this does not appear to have influenced the lettering design, even although often different materials were used for external and internal memorials.[6] When we examine lettering on small memorial brasses of the seventeenth to nineteenth century, all plates, whether they are inside the church building or outside, can be considered as a single tradition. By so doing, this greatly extends the available research material beyond what it would be if only external memorials were included. Other than in much of Gloucestershire, Cumberland, Westmoreland and parts of Yorkshire, where external plates appear to be most abundant, throughout the rest of England and Wales it is rare to find more than one or two in a churchyard.[7] Only nine have been recorded in Scotland, all but one in the south of the country, one from New Abbey, Dumfriesshire (1829), one from Dunbar, East Lothian (1799), two from Spott, East Lothian (1769 and 1813), two from Dunsyre, Lanarkshire (1768 and 1823), one from Portpatrick, Wigtownshire (*c*. 1850) and one from Castleton, Roxburghshire (1788) (Fig. 1).[8] The northern brass is at Hatton of Fintry, Aberdeenshire and is dated 1859, thus falling outside the period covered here.

Gawthorp, in his discourse on the methods of engraving brasses, asserts that in the Middle Ages and late Pre-Reformation period (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries) the fashioning of stone memorial slabs in Britain was no match for the quality of engraved brasses.[9] He also suggests that engravers from the fifteenth century onwards did not plan the layout of lettering in advance resulting in the haphazard arrangement of inscriptions. The emergence of small external brasses at the beginning of the seventeenth century coincides with the beginning of the decline in the numbers and quality of figured ecclesiastical brasses and their virtual demise by 1700. Consequently, 1600 has been chosen as the starting date for this study with a cut off at 1850 when Victorian traditions had become established and the character of these artefacts changed significantly.

It is known from local history and from signed brasses that many, if not most, were not made locally and were imported from major centres such as London and Birmingham.[10] There were exceptions. Lack *et al*. report that many external brasses in the Cotswolds were made in Cirencester, King's Stanley, Minchinhampton, Stroud and, according to local tradition, in Bristol. However, the high proportion of imports means that any geographical trends detected in lettering design are due more to client preference and instruction rather than local craft traditions. Bertram recognised that geographic trends in the design of monumental brasses were blurred for the same reason. This is in stark contrast with the very subtle local differences that can be detected in lettering on gravestones and that reflect cultural diversity.[11]

6 H.K. Cameron, 'The Metals Used in Monumental Brasses', MBS *Trans.*, VIII, pt. 4 (1946), pp. 109-30.

7 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore ed., *The Monumental Brasses of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London, 1998); W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore ed., *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005).

8 G. Thomson, 'Scottish External Funerary Metal Plates', *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, CXXXVIII (2008), pp. 293-308.

9 W.E. Gawthorp, 'Ancient and Modern Methods of Engraving Brasses', *Trans. of St Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.*, IX (1922), pp. 65-74.

10 J. Bertram ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (London, 1996).

11 G. Thomson, 'Research in Inscriptional Palaeography (RIP). Tombstone Lettering in Dumfries and Galloway', *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, CXXXV (2005), pp. 423-42.

Methods

A total of 209 sites in thirteen counties in England, Wales and Scotland were photographed and analysed first hand. These were supplemented by information extracted from the illustrations in the *County Series* publications. In all, 1250 inscriptions were studied.

Letterform attributes were recorded and the binary data extracted by noting their presence or absence. These were treated as statistical variables and computed as frequencies (percentages). In the analysis ten variables were utilized together with a record of the most recent dates on the brasses and burial sites (Tab. 1). Statistics were undertaken using *Statistica* version 6.0 (Statsoft, Inc., Tulsa). Frequency maps were produced using *Genmap* version 2.0 (Archer Software, Dartford).

Because of the very uneven geographical distribution of both internal and external small brasses, some of the statistical data from regions with few plates can be biased by the sample size and should be treated with some caution. For example, the frequency of brasses with mixed lettering styles can be influenced by the numbers recorded. Where possible, data from sites with small numbers have been pooled to minimize this problem.

Table 1

Attributes recorded

mixed	more than one style within a single inscription
roman caps	roman capitals used in text other than as initial letters
roman caps+lc	roman capitals and lowercase (small) lettering
italic caps	italic capitals used in text other than as initial letters
italic caps+lc	italic capitals and lowercase (small) lettering
gothic	any gothic form including decorative initial letters
script (early)*	the simpler forms of script
script (late)*	script forms that emulate penmanship
decorated A**	lettering with a linear or other pattern *within* the strokes
decorated B**	any other form of decorative letter-form, including shadow, outline and inline.

* amalgamated as a single variable 'script' for some analysis
** amalgamated as a single variable 'decorated' for some analysis

Gravestone lettering

The outcomes of the analysis of lettering on brass plates should be seen in the context of stone-cut inscriptions of similar date. Throughout mainland Britain lettering styles on gravestones from the twelfth century onwards followed similar patterns of changes, with some differences in the periods when particular forms were dominant and the extent to which they were used. In Middle Ages, versal forms, including those usually classed as 'Lombardic' by archaeologists and 'Gothic capital' by Gray, dominated until the end of the fourteenth century. Gothic, used extensively from fourteenth until the mid-fifteenth centuries, was followed by a period of over one hundred years when the two styles were found with roman.[12] In the far west of the country, especially in the northwest of Scotland, the use

12 Versal letters were so called because they were used as initial letters, usually decorated or illuminated, at the beginning of verses in manuscripts. Virtually identical forms were used in more extensive text situations and, arguably, it is a more inclusive term than 'Gothic capital' or 'Lombardic', even although the latter is most often used by archaeologists and as a font name. See K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977) and N. Gray, *A History of Lettering*: *Creative Experiment and Letter Identity* (Oxford, 1986).

Fig. 2. Archaic roman lettering on headstone, Annan Old Graveyard, Dumfriesshire, 1720

of versal was continued or revived. From the middle of the sixteenth century, roman inscriptions, in their various manifestations, were by far the most commonly used letter-form and this has persisted up to the present day. There are several variants of roman inscriptional lettering. Some of the earliest Post-Reformation grave-slabs of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and a few headstones of the early eighteenth utilized archaic roman. In this form the lettering is raised with the background cut away. It is heavy in weight with broad, poorly formed serifs (Fig. 2). Incised roman capitals, ranging from very formal 'classical' to freely cut vernacular letters, were commonly used in the seventeenth century, with many ligatures. Roman capitals with lower-case lettering became more common towards the end of the seventeenth century and increased in popularity right into and throughout the nineteenth.

Other lettering styles can be found on funerary memorials made during this period. In England, various forms of script lettering were used at the end of the seventeenth century and for a short time in the early eighteenth. In Scotland, on the other hand, with the exception of the north and east of the country, between

Fig. 3. Principal lettering styles used on small brasses, top to bottom: left – roman, roman capitals and lowercase, roman capitals and lowercase (Bodoni), sans serif and gothic: right – old style script, later script, italic capitals and lowercase, decorated with linear pattern and decorated (inline)

1680 and 1855, script was widely used, with a peak between 1741 and 1780.[13] Italic, although not unknown before, became more common at the end of the eighteenth century, usually used in combination with other forms, including gothic. Script lettering is defined here as forms that slope, have few, if any straight lines and have curved or flourished ascenders, descenders and capitals. The letters tend to flow into each other and are sometimes, though not always like pen-written forms. Occasionally, it is not easy or possible to differentiate between less cursive scripts and italic. However, italic lettering has capitals akin to sloped roman forms while script capitals tend to be flourished.

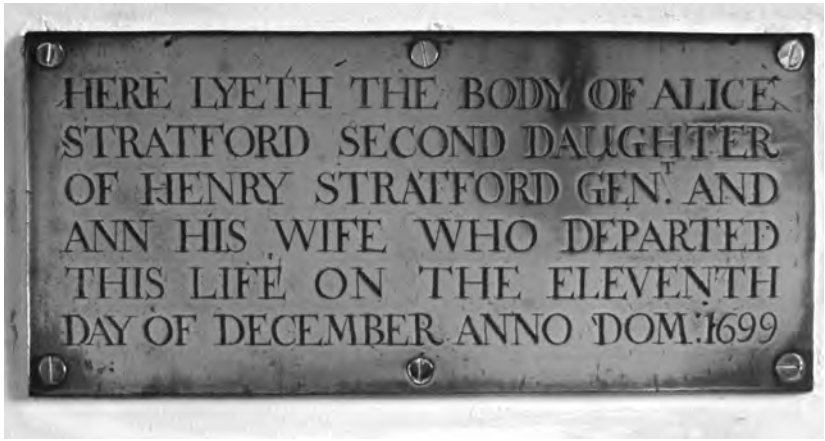
From the end of the eighteenth century we see the widespread use of mixed styles on skilfully carved memorials, advanced by the use of style sheets and copy books, a trend that continued until the banality of the late Victorian period when a taste for pretentious elaborate monuments with simple inscriptions and mechanical production methods effectively destroyed the craft of memorial letter cutting in stone.

Lettering on small brasses - analysis

The main lettering styles that can be seen on brasses of the seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries fall into six broad groups. These are roman, sans serif, gothic, script, italic and decorative (Fig. 3). Engravers interpreted these basic styles in their own way and, from the eighteenth century onwards, used typographic forms copied from specimen books and

13 G. Thomson, 'Research in Inscriptional Palaeography (RIP). Scottish Tombstone Lettering 1241-1855: Methodology and Preliminary Analysis', *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, CXXXI (2001), pp. 349-73.

Above: Fig. 4. Early roman capitals, external brass, Burford, Oxfordshire, 1609



Right: Fig. 5. Roman capitals on an internal brass, Hawling, Gloucestershire, 1699

manuals. The roman capitals of early seventeenth century plates tend to be bold in weight and wide in proportions (Fig. 4). Later romans, including those with lowercase, were lighter, more condensed and generally more elegant (Fig. 5). From the late-eighteenth century, roman letter styles based on contemporary typefaces were frequently used.

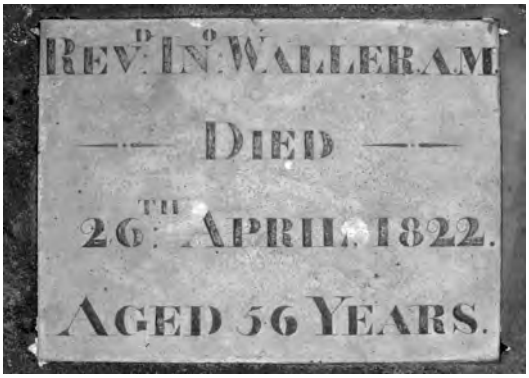


Fig. 6. Late roman similar to the typeface Bodoni on an external brass, Appleby, Westmoreland, 1822

Fig. 7. Gothic with italic, roman (capitals and lowercase) and decorative roman capitals lettering on an external brass, Painswick, Gloucestershire, 1820

Fig. 8. Renaissance italic on an internal brass, Ludlow, Shropshire, 1632

Fig. 9. Victorian gothic with enamelled versal ('Lombardic') initials on an internal brass, Lancaster Priory Church, probably mid 19th century

A roman form similar to the typeface Bodoni, with exaggerated thick and thin strokes and linear serifs, was very popular (Fig. 6). Sans serifs, revived gothics and italics were also later styles, although there are seventeenth century examples of Renaissance italic (Figs. 7 and 8). Brasses with versals and heavy, condensed gothics, often with enamelling, that were much favoured in the second half of the nineteenth century first appeared, although rarely, in the early 1800s (Fig. 9). However, most of these belong to a different group of artefacts, with the exception of a few Victorian external brasses with this letterform in Gloucestershire.

Two basic styles of script lettering were used on both internal and external small brasses of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, with considerable variation within each and some overlap in form. The simpler style is little removed from a very cursive italic but with distinctive flourishes on the capitals, ascenders and descenders and exaggerated thickening and thinning of the lines (Fig. 10). The more commonly used form is far more cursive, resembling a delicate pen-written script, having extensive and exuberant flourishes (Figs. 11

Fig. 10. Early script on an external brass, Bisley, Gloucestershire, 1701

Fig. 11. Later script on an internal brass, Wrexham, 1809

Fig. 12. Later script on an internal brass, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland, 1786. This small brass is not listed by Lack et al.

and 12). The simpler form was used more often than the more elaborate style up to the early 1700s, although it did not make its appearance until the 1670s. However, the more elaborate form was in use, although infrequently, about fifty years before that.

The term 'decorative' can be applied to any of the above styles when they are enhanced in some way although, in reality, it is rare to find anything other than decorative roman or gothic. A popular treatment of roman letters was to apply a pattern of horizontal lines or circles within the strokes (Fig. 13). This can be seen on brasses made as early as 1759. However, decorative lettering comes into its own in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when outlines, shadows and other enhancements were applied, often emulating the treatments seen in printed material.

It is remarkable that before 1600, with only a few very early and late exceptions, lettering on brasses was entirely in a condensed gothic form.

Fig. 13. Decorative roman capitals on an external brass, Carlisle, Cumberland, 1785

Fig. 14. Lettering with decorative patterns within the strokes. Detail from an external brass, King's Stanley, Gloucestershire, 1787

Fig. 15. Gothic lettering (with roman capitals and lowercase) on an external brass, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1841

The earliest monumental brasses used versal forms (cf. Bertram).[14] Roman capitals can be found on a few late-sixteenth-century memorials.

In the case of internal and external brasses, most of the letterform attributes and styles appeared early on the period studied, many of them within the first fifty years. The exceptions are gothic, that was not used on external brasses until the early eighteenth century (Fig. 14), and lettering with the patterns within the strokes which appeared first on external brasses in 1745 (Fig. 15) and not until 1800 on internal ones (Tab. 2). Over the whole period studied brasses with mixed styles accounted for just over half those recorded. Roman forms, both capitals and capitals and lowercase, were by far the most common, followed by script that accounted for less than one third of all inscriptions (Tab. 3). There appears to be a significant difference between external and internal brasses in the frequency of attributes. However, this may be heavily date biased and caution should be exercised in its interpretation (see below).

14 Bertram wrongly refers to the lettering on these earliest monumental brasses as 'uncial' (see J. Bertram, 'The Inscriptions of Brasses', in *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, ed. Bertram, p. 65). Uncial is quite a different letterform utilized from the fifth to the ninth century, principally, but not exclusively, in manuscripts.

Table 2

Earliest recorded dates for letterform attributes on small brass plates.

Significant differences between internal and external brasses shown in bold type.

	internal	**external**
mixed	1616	1617
roman caps	1600	1609
roman caps+lc	1624	1654
Italic caps	1648	1678
Italic caps+lc	1601	1617
Gothic	**1638**	**1723**
Script	1624	1657
Decorated A	**1800**	**1745**
Decorated B	1677	1690

Table 3

Frequencies of letterform attributes on internal and external small brass plates 1600 to 1850.

Note that more than one attribute can occur on the same brass.

	internal	**external**	**all**
mixed	28.6	68.2	55.5
roman caps	58.3	59.0	58.8
roman caps+lc	32.1	68.2	56.6
Italic caps	9.6	16.9	14.6
Italic caps+lc	8.2	27.4	21.2
Gothic	6.7	24.3	18.7
Script	22.8	35.6	31.5
Decorated A	0.3	15.5	10.7
Decorated B	0.9	3.3	2.5

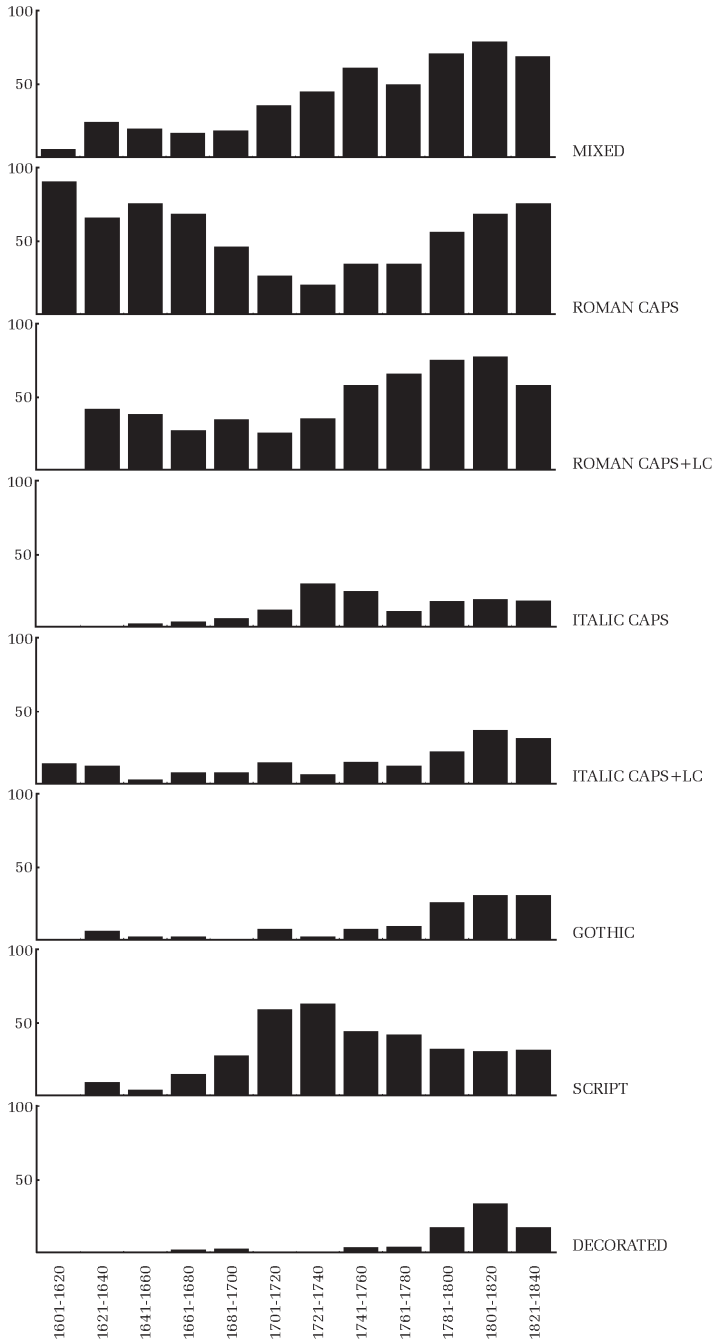


Fig. 16. Attribute frequencies 1601 to 1840

Table 4

Frequencies of letterform attributes on small brass plates in the three counties where they are most common.

Note that more than one attribute can occur on the same brass. Significant differences between regions shown in bold type.

	Gloucestershire	Cumberland and Westmoreland	Yorkshire
mixed	**63.7**	**49.2**	**33.3**
roman caps	**58.8**	**55.4**	**66.7**
roman caps+lc	**73.5**	**41.6**	**38.1**
italic caps	**10.0**	23.0	19.0
italic caps+lc	28.6	14.6	**4.8**
gothic	23.5	15.4	**4.8**
script	28.8	**37.5**	**11.9**
decorated	22.4	**3.0**	**0.0**

One of the most interesting outcomes of the analysis is the rise and fall of the use of various styles over time. Frequencies were calculated for each twenty year period from 1600 to 1840 (Fig. 16). The use of mixed styles increased slightly early in the period before declining. From 1700 onwards there was a significant increase in their use. The rise and fall in the use of roman capitals is even more dramatic with a low point between 1721 and 1740. Roman capitals and lowercase showed a similar, though less marked pattern. Italic capitals increased in use between 1721 and 1740 as did script at the same time, the latter reaching a peak use of 64 per cent. Gothic was little used until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Some differences were found in frequencies of attributes between the three regions studied for which there were adequate samples. The incidence of brasses with mixed styles is least in Yorkshire and greatest in Gloucestershire. Roman capitals are commonest in Yorkshire and least common in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Roman capitals and lowercase inscriptions are by far the most common in Gloucestershire. Italic capitals are much rarer in Gloucestershire than in the other two counties, while italic capitals and lowercase, gothic and script are least common in Yorkshire. Decorative lettering is relatively rare in Cumberland and Westmoreland and was not recorded anywhere in Yorkshire (Tab. 4).

At regional level, small brasses are found much more commonly in the east of the ancient counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland that have, between them, nearly five hundred pre 1850 small brasses. West of a line from Silloth to Kendal, there are fewer than thirty. Small brasses appear to be relatively common in what was the northern detached part of Lancashire (the Furness and Cartmel peninsulas) but a full survey of this part of what is now Cumbria has not yet been undertaken. The number of external brasses appears to drop dramatically south through Lancashire. Convincing evidence of a geographical pattern in the frequency of attributes throughout Cumberland and Westmoreland is lacking. There is a slightly higher incidence of capitals and lowercase lettering in the north-east part of

Fig. 17. The frequencies of roman capitals and lowercase lettering on small brass plates in Cumberland and Westmoreland

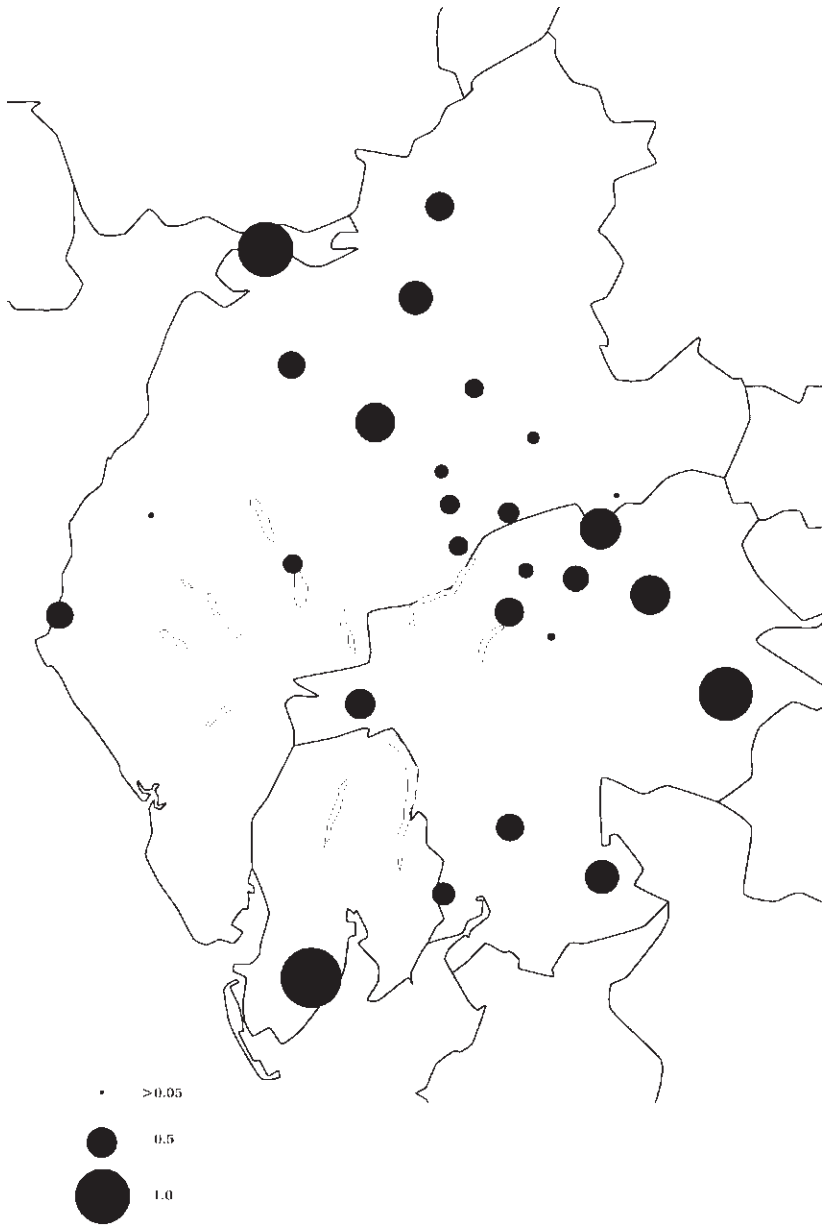


Fig. 18. The frequencies of script lettering on small brass plates in Cumberland and Westmoreland

Fig. 19. The frequencies of italic capitals and lowercase on small brass plates in Gloucestershire

the region and of script in the north and south but this is not considered to be significant (Figs. 17 and 18). There appears to be some evidence of a distributional pattern of the frequency of italic capitals and lowercase and gothic forms throughout Gloucestershire, with a decline in occurrence from the centre of the county (Figs. 19 and 20). However, as in the case of Cumberland and Westmoreland, any conclusion drawn from this must be tentative. The smaller number of sampling sites and brasses in North Yorkshire made it impossible to make a reliable assessment of geographical differences, although brasses with mixed styles and those with roman capitals appear to be more frequent in the central part of the county.

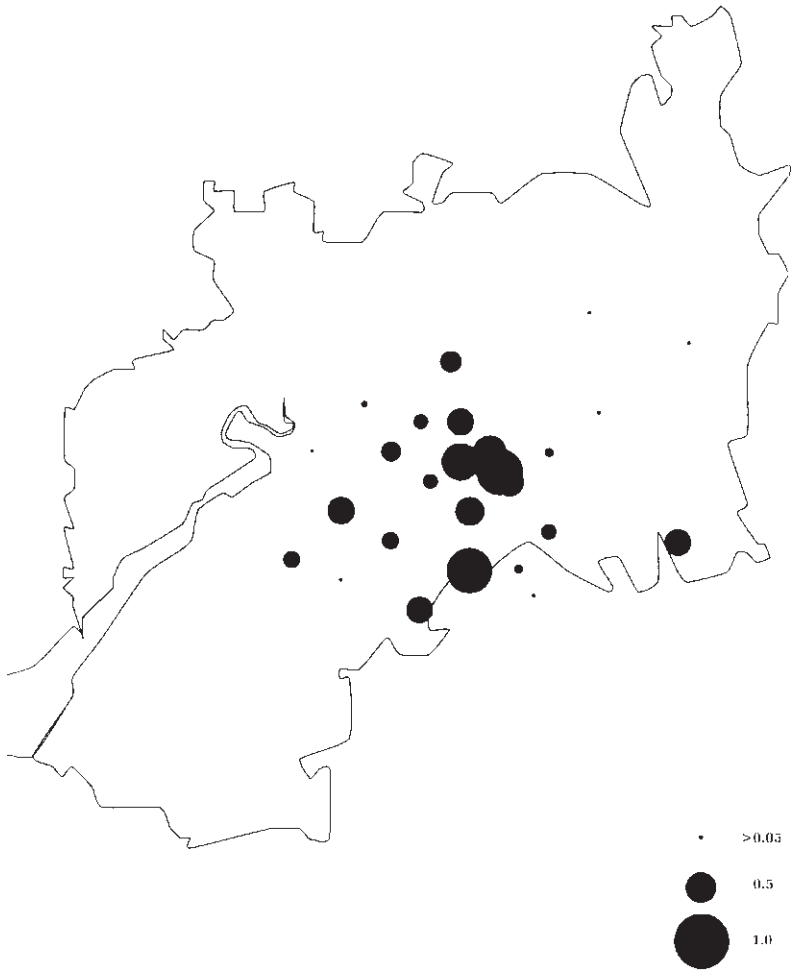


Fig. 20. The frequency of gothic lettering on small brass plates in Gloucestershire

Lettering on brass plates and contemporary gravestones

Although cutting techniques on metal and stone are similar, the influence of material on gravestone inscriptions was far greater than that on brasses. Soft stones such as sandstone and grainy limestones are not well suited to fine lines and crisp serifs, even although these were attempted by many masons. On the other hand, the most delicate detail can be cut in slate. However, there is a general correspondence between the lettering on metal and stone. The most marked is the predominance of roman throughout the period, the increased use of script forms in the second half of the eighteenth century and the use of mixed styles and more

Right: Fig. 21. Stone memorial set in wall, Ludlow, Shropshire, 1640

Below left: Fig. 22. Roman capitals on an external brass, Witherslack, Westmoreland, 1700

Below right: Fig. 23. Roman capitals and lowercase on stone memorials, Painswick, Gloucestershire, 1769 and 1778

Fig. 24. Roman capitals and lowercase on external brass, Painswick, Gloucestershire, 1780

Fig. 25. Decorative roman capitals on headstone, Hickling, Leicestershire 1814

elaborate layout towards the end of the eighteenth century (Figs. 21-24). There is a close correlation between the decorative treatment of letters on brasses and gravestones. Perhaps this is not surprising when many later examples are based on, or have been derived from typefaces. The bead-like pattern of circles within the letter strokes and shadow lettering, used for emphasis in the later period, are found in both brass and stone inscriptions (Fig. 25, see also Figs. 13 and 16). While there is some evidence that the same craftsmen made both gravestones and monumental brasses, including Nicholas Stone, Francis Grigs, John Christmas, Edward Marshall and Thomas Stanton in London, it is doubtful that the same could apply to small brass plates.

Fig. 26. Script lettering on grave-slab, Barthomley, Cheshire. 1720 and 1718

Fig. 27. Script on an external brass, Bisley, Gloucestershire, 1720

Fig. 28. External brass plate, Bisley, Gloucestershire, 1711. Note the addition of the letter 'r' to complete the name 'Roger' in the first line

In some of its characteristics, the simpler script form on external brasses is very similar to some early incised gravestone inscriptions, with curvaceous capitals and ascenders (Figs. 26 and 27). An almost identical form to some simpler scripts can be seen on the Kamsey memorial of 1736 in Callington Church in Cornwall. This style is not peculiarly English and Dutch as Gray suggests, but was also commonly used on eighteenth century Scottish, Welsh and Swedish stone memorials and, probably, elsewhere in Western Europe. The more cursive script style is almost identical with that of late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century stone inscriptions, perhaps not surprisingly, as they were both based on pen-written forms.

One obvious difference between small brasses and gravestones is scale and the size of the engraved or incised lettering. On stone grave-markers, it is rare to find lettering with an x-height (the height of the lowercase x) of less than two or three centimetres, whereas on brasses it can be as little as five millimetres or less. This does not appear to have made much difference to the approaches of the engravers and the stone masons to lettering style. There are significant differences, however. The roman form used on gravestones up to the middle of the eighteenth century is very much a 'classical' style, with proportions and stroke weights derived from Classical and Renaissance models. The roman on brass engravings in the seventeenth century is much akin to the lettering used in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century on gravestones, with marked contrast between the thick and thin lines and bracketed, fine serifs. This form is called 'English letter' by Bartram and 'English vernacular' by Gray.[15]

On some small brasses there are corrections made by adding missed letters or completing misjudged lines with small characters above the word (Fig. 28). These are much rarer on brasses

15 A. Bartram, *Tombstone Lettering in the British Isles* (London, 1978) and Gray, *History of Lettering*. The terms 'English letter' and 'English vernacular' should be avoided as they have unjustified provincial connotations.

than on gravestones, probably because they were planned more carefully in advance.

On gravestones, ligatures are frequently used in inscriptions in roman capitals. More than ninety have been recorded in Britain.[16] By far the most common ligature is HE. This is twice as common as THE. ME, TH, ND and NE occur frequently and other combinations increasingly less so. Ligatures appear to be rare or absent on external brasses and none were found in the present survey. Other than AE, they are extremely rare on brasses in Latin. They are also relatively uncommon on post-sixteenth century internal brasses but do occur throughout the country. The most frequent combination is HE, as is the case on gravestones. As a percentage of all ligatures, TH is more common and THE less common than on headstones or grave-slabs. Other ligatures found are NE, HF, HR, ND, MB, ME, MP and VA.

The relationship between external and internal small brasses

The number of external small brasses increases from 1700 onwards and the number of internal plates declines. To avoid a date-related bias, a comparison was made covering the period 1600 to 1700 only (Tab. 5). Over this period there is a significant difference in the occurrence of three of the attributes analysed. Lettering and layout on internal small brasses is generally far simpler than that on external plates. This simpler approach to lettering is reflected in the 16.0 per cent of internal brasses that used mixed styles compared with 29.4 per cent on external ones. The difference in the use of script lettering is even more marked. Only 11.3 per cent of internal brasses used this style in the inscription compared with 23.5 per cent on external plates. Roman capitals and lower case were used on 30.0 per cent of internal brasses compared with only 23.5 per cent on external brasses. The occurrence of roman capitals is almost the same in both situations, 69.0 per cent internal compared with 64.7 per cent external. No significant differences were detected in the other lettering attributes between internal and external plates, partly because of their relatively infrequent use. In some instances, identical conventions such as the decorated letter strokes were employed, perhaps indicating training affiliation or, more likely, observation and copying other engravers' work.

Table 5

Frequencies of letterform attributes on internal and external small brass plates 1600 to 1700.

Note that more than one attribute can occur on the same brass. Significant differences between internal and external brasses shown in bold type..

	internal	**external**
mixed	**16.0**	**29.4**
roman caps	69.0	64.7
roman caps+lc	**30.0**	**23.5**
italic caps	2.3	5.9
italic caps+lc	8.0	5.9
gothic	1.9	0.0
script	**11.3**	**23.5**
decorated	0.5	5.9

Conclusions

There is little doubt that the standard of engraved lettering on many external brasses, although it varies considerably, is neither a match for that on other artefacts, nor even that on many small internal brasses. It is beyond the

16 G. Thomson, 'A Morphometric Study of Lettering on Some Distinctive Grave Slabs in Orkney, Scotland', *Markers*, in press.

scope of this paper to make a detailed discourse on engraved lettering other than small memorial plates. However, a few observations should be noted here. Although many metal objects were engraved with lettering in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century, the majority that have survived are of silver or gold and are usually artefacts of some significance historically. Consequently, the engravers who were employed to cut the inscriptions on these objects would have been amongst the best in the country. Whether small memorial brasses were considered to be of much less importance or not is difficult to tell. However, it certainly appears that engravers of lesser skill were often given the task. In the case of engraved plates that were not purchased from the principal centres, local craftsmen would have cut the lettering, just as was the case with stone masons. In spite of the differential in craftsmanship, lettering on small brass memorial plates has much in common with that on other metal artefacts. It is notable that the quality of engraving on internal small brasses is often superior to that on external plates, the difference being most apparent before 1700.

External brasses occur much more frequently on vertical headstones in Cumberland and Westmoreland than in Gloucestershire where they are fixed, almost invariably, on grave-slabs, table tombs or chest tombs. The location of brasses was not examined statistically but it clearly reflects a diversity of tradition in the two regions. The limited evidence of geographical variation in the frequencies of some letterform attributes within both Gloucestershire and Cumberland and Westmoreland could suggest that there was some diversity in local tastes or craft traditions. However, it is unfortunate that the lettering on many more of these interesting objects was not engraved in the parishes where they now lie, as we would have had a resource that would have reflected local cultural differences of the sort that we see in gravestone inscriptions.

Acknowledgements

I thank my wife Elizabeth for here continuing assistance in the field and Rachel Bradshaw, librarian at Cumbria Institute of the Arts, for her help in accessing some of the more obscure documents. This research was part funded by Cumbria Institute of the Arts. All photographs are by the author.

Animal Creation: the Curious Brass to Thomas Rymer Jones

Philip Whittemore

The brass to Thomas Rymer Jones, an anatomist at King's College, London, is one of the most unusual Victorian brasses to have been produced and was an important commission for the firm that engraved it, Gawthorp of London.

King's College, London, was founded in 1829 by King George IV and the Duke of Wellington, as a university college in the tradition of the Church of England, situated on the south side of the Strand. When the University of London was established seven years later, King's became one of the two founding colleges. Of the original chapel building nothing now remains, since it was redesigned in 1859 by Gilbert Scott. The building was completed in 1864 at a cost of just over £7,000. It is sited over the Great Hall, and to overcome a number of structural problems Scott devised a lightweight construction for the arcade and upper nave walls. To support them he used iron columns in the floor below, carried through to the chapel, with a timber frame that helped reduce weight and stress. A decorative scheme in the chapel is thought to be by Clayton and Bell. The chapel has undergone many changes, and was restored in the 1930s and again in the post-war period. In 2000 it was returned to its Victorian splendour.[1]

The chapel has a small number of brasses fixed to the walls of the north and south aisles that commemorate former lecturers, students and staff of the College. The brass to the Revd. Alexander McCaul, M.A., lecturer in Hebrew and Latin from 1858 to 1899, is engraved on a rectangular plate with a canopy and was produced by Frank Smith & Co., London. Two other inscriptions have engraver's names; that to Charles Kett, M.A., for twenty-one years assistant Master in King's College School, d. 1888, is a Gawthorp product, while that to John Herman, A.K.C., for twenty-six years Head Master of the Practising School, Lambeth, d. 1899, is by Nash and Hull, 87 Oxford Street. The remainder of the inscriptions have no engraver's names.

The brass to Thomas Rymer Jones is one of the most curious Victorian brasses ever engraved. It is placed over the north-west door at a height that makes it impossible either to view properly or to take measurements.

Its design, with its collection of animals and fish, is unique. In the centre arch of the plate, at the top of a tree, is the head of an African elephant, and on either side, in the branches, are a monkey and an iguana. Below, on either side of the trunk, are a rhinoceros and a water buffalo. On the left-hand side below a palm tree, and set in individual compartments, are a parrot and possibly a swift; within a quatrefoil a bat; below are a chameleon and a tortoise. On the right-hand side are a moth and a caterpillar; in a quatrefoil an owl; a squirrel, a kingfisher and a tree kangaroo. Along the bottom are five arched recesses with fish, including flying fish and angel fish, flanked by panels containing a crocodile and a crested newt.

The inscription reads: To the beloved memory of / Thomas Rymer Jones, F.R.S. / for nearly 40 years Professor of / Comparative Anatomy in this College. / Formerly Fullerian Professor of Physiology / in the Royal Institution, and

1 For the chapel see S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *London, 6. Westminster*, Buildings of England (New Haven, 2003), pp. 302-4; G. Huelin, *King's College London: The Chapel* (London, 1979).

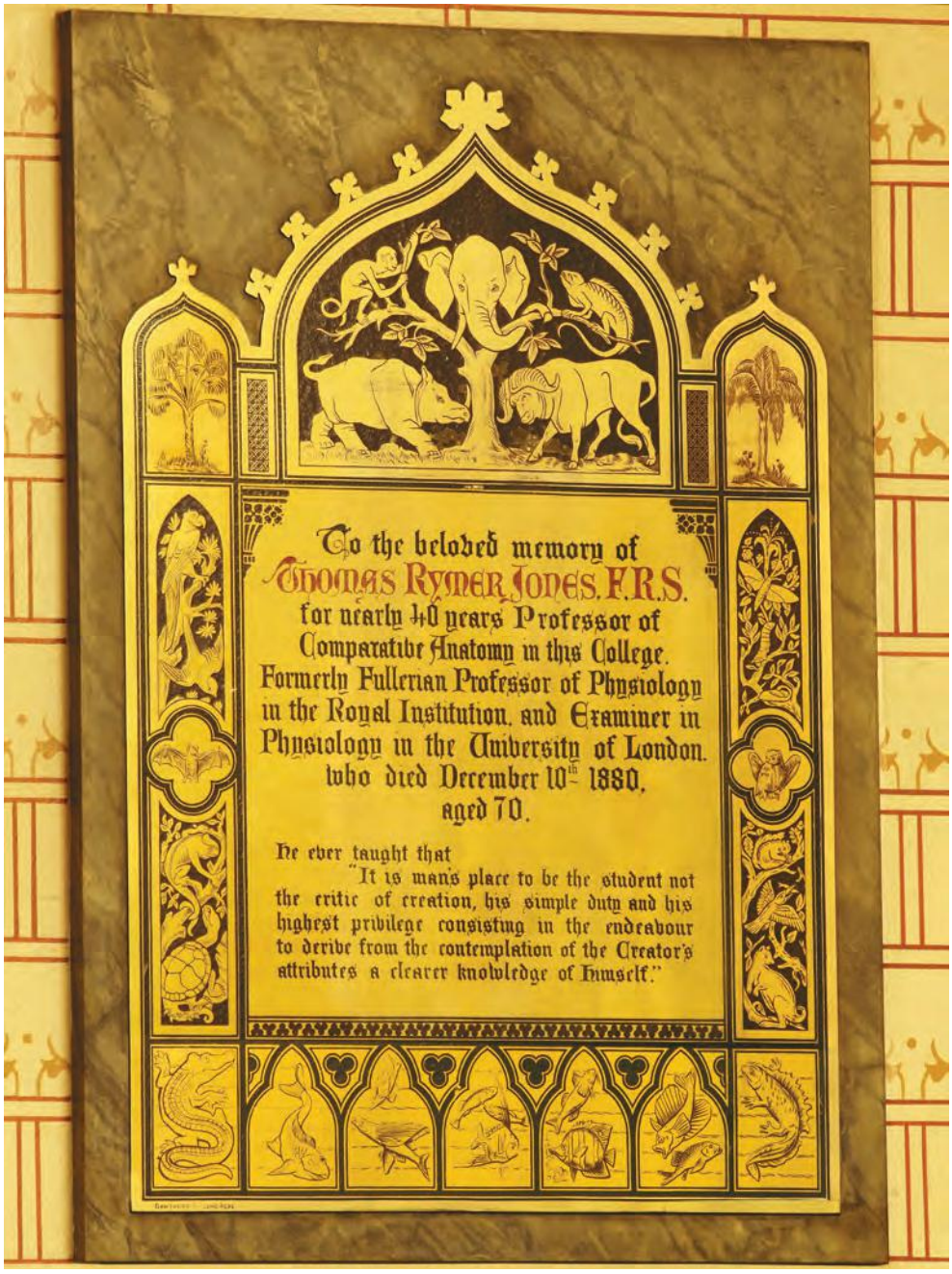


Fig. 1. Thomas Rymer Jones, d. 1880. King's College Chapel, London
(Photo.: Martin Stuchfield)

Examiner in / Physiology in the University of London, / who died December 10th. 1880, / aged 70. / He ever taught that / "It is man's place to be the student not / the critic of creation, his simple duty and his / highest privilege consisting in the endeavour / to derive from the contemplation of the Creator's / attributes a clearer knowledge of Himself." At bottom left is the signature: GAWTHORP, Sc. LONG ACRE.

The design of the brass is reminiscent of the classification of animals within the natural world, with which Jones dealt both in his work as a dissector and in his publications.[2] Although there are no Christian symbols, the tenor of the inscription is a reminder that Jones was opposed to the Lamarckian determinism espoused by Robert Grant at University College.[3] In the conclusion to *The Animal Creation*, Jones gives an indication of how the assemblage of animals on the brass is to be viewed when he writes of 'the intricate dependencies whereby so many creatures are linked together in one vast system, carrying out harmoniously the laws imposed upon them by their GREAT CREATOR'.[4] It is no surprise to discover that he was one of the signatories to the 1864 Scientists' Declaration that 'it is impossible for the Word of God, as written in the book of nature, and God's Word written in Holy Scripture, to contradict one another'.[5]

College records show that the brass was commissioned by members of the family; on 17 March 1881, the College secretary, John Cunningham, received a letter from Thomas Rymer Jones' son, R. Rymer Jones, who wrote: 'My late father's family is desirous of placing to his memory, in King's College Chapel, a memorial tablet similar to that to Dr. Major.[6] May I ask you kindly to lay the matter before the Council, in order to obtain their sanction? The tablet would not be ready to place in the Chapel for some three months on account of the absence of several of our family'.[7]

The Council met the following day, and after discussion permission was granted for the erection of a tablet to Jones' memory, subject to approval of both the design and the wording,[8] and a letter to this effect was sent to Mr. Jones.[9] Unfortunately, the correspondence ends here, for the records of the Principal, the Revd. Alfred Barry, have not survived, but the design was evidently approved and the tablet placed in the chapel.

Thomas Rymer Jones was born on 20 March 1810 at Whitby, Yorks., the son of Thomas Jones and his wife Margaret. Of his early education nothing is known, but he was one of the first students to enrol in the newly opened medical department at King's College, London. He also studied at Guy's Hospital, London, and in Paris, and was admitted to the College of Surgeons in 1833, but profound deafness caused him to give up the idea of becoming a surgeon. He turned his attention to the study of comparative anatomy and physiology. He was appointed Professor of Comparative Anatomy at King's College in 1836, a post he held until retirement

2 E.g. *A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom, and Manual of Comparative Anatomy* (London, 1841).
3 It is noteworthy that in 1852 Jones edited a revised edition of William Kirby, *On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation of Animals*.
4 T.R. Jones, *The Animal Creation: A Popular Introduction to Zoology* (London, [1872]), p. 445.
5 W.H. Brock and R.M. Macleod, 'The Scientist's Declaration: Reflexions on Science and Belief in the wake of *Essays and Reviews*, 1864-5', *British Jnl for the History of Science*, IX (1976), p. 53.
6 Nothing is known about this monument.
7 King's College, London, Secretary's in-correspondence, KA/IC/IJ58.
8 King's College, London, Council Minutes, KA/C/M13.
9 King's College, London, Council Minutes, KA/OLB12.

in 1874. In 1840 he became Fullerian Professor at the Royal Institution, and was elected F.R.S. four years later. He was an able and lively speaker on his subject, often giving lectures at public meetings, publishing a number of books and articles, two of his earliest being notes on the dissection of a tiger and an agouti in 1834. He was granted a civil list pension of £50 in 1873 for services to science and comparative anatomy. He died of heart disease at his home in West Kensington, London on 10 December 1880.[10] He was survived by his wife Elizabeth Nevill, née Manson (1814-1891), by whom he had five sons and five daughters; his second son, Alexander, who died in 1881, was the inventor of an automatic levelling machine, called the 'Temnograph'.[11]

The firm responsible for producing the brass, Gawthorp's, had premises at 16 Long Acre, London, not far away from the college. It was founded in 1854[12] by T.J. Gawthorp, who first appears in London Trade Directories four years later, where he is described as an 'engraver and printer'. It is not until the 1863 entry that memorial brasses first appear. From the Directory it would appear that Gawthorp was originally an engraver of seals, dies and brass plates (probably name plates for houses, businesses etc.). He was in all likelihood trying to benefit from the popularity for monumental brasses first produced by Hardman for Pugin in the 1840s and 50s, and the Waller Brothers a few years later.[13] By the mid 1870s London Trade Directories show that as well as being an engraver of brasses he was also a 'medieval metal worker', although quite what this part of the description meant is not clear. The firm never produced any church goods such as candlesticks, vases, ewers etc. unlike Frank Smith & Co. or Wippells. A catalogue for the firm, dated 1865, now in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, shows a number of illustrations of their products, numerous inscription plates of varying size, but only two designs for cross brasses.[14] A further catalogue, issued the following year, now lists a total of 74 examples, including window plates, but only two designs include figures; both however are portrait busts, perhaps included to show that such designs could be executed if the client required it.[15]

Gawthorp was never an innovative engraver, and he produced no end of plain, ordinary inscriptions, either with or without the addition of a shield or similar device. However, three brasses close in date to the Jones one are of interest. In the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral is a large plate, 1981 x 1143 mm, set in a slab of red marble, that commemorates seven British war correspondents killed during the 1883-5 Sudan campaigns. At the top of the plate, set within a wreath, is a carved relief panel, showing a war correspondent at work making notes, while all around him is the debris of war, a wounded camel, a dead man, and soldiers firing their guns. The design is by Herbert Johnson, an artist and correspondent of *The Graphic* who had been in the Sudan.[16] Of similar

10 For Thomas Rymer Jones see F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 6 vols. (Truro, 1892-1921), II, s.v.; J.S. Schwartz, 'Jones, Thomas Rymer (1810-1880)', *ODNB*, XXX, p. 656.

11 *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineering*, LXVII (1882), pp. 407-8.

12 Date taken from *A Manual of Practical Repoussé* (London, 1907), advertisement.

13 For Pugin see D. Meara, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1991); for the Waller Brothers see P. Whittemore, 'Waller Fecit London', *Church Monuments*, XVI (2001), pp. 79-125.

14 *Catalogue of memorial brasses engraved by Gawthorp, 16 Long Acre, London* (V. & A., Pressmark 204.F Box).

15 One of those shown in the catalogue was Charles Dickens, perhaps included as he had died six years earlier. The other brass was to a Capt. Paul Haines, 1875.

16 Illustrated in D. Meara, *Modern Memorial Brasses 1880-2001* (Donington, 2008), p. 80.

Fig. 2. Detail of the top of the Thomas Rymer Jones brass (Photo: Martin Stuchfield)

date is the large brass figure of Harriet Mansell, d. 1883, founder of the Convent of St. John Baptist, Clewer, Berks. This brass comprises the effigy of Harriet in the habit of the order, while a foot inscription and a marginal fillet complete the composition.[17] From the end of the decade a rectangular plate bearing a recumbent effigy commemorates George Pellew, Dean of Norwich Cathedral (d. 1866), engraved 1889.[18] The firm did not produce anything comparable for a number of years. It would appear that they were content to produce stock items as their 'bread and butter' lines, but when occasion demanded they could produce brasses of more individual design. It was only in later years when W.E. Gawthorp was at the helm of the firm that more interesting figure brasses were engraved.

I would like to thank Lianne Smith, Archives Services Manager, King's College Archives, for information relating to the Rymer Jones correspondence.

17 Illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), p. 43.

18 Illustrated in D. Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (London, 1983), p. 85. Elements from this design were used on the brass to Samuel Andrews (d. 1900), at Tideswell, Derbyshire (W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire* (London, 1999), p. 209).

Conservation of brasses, 2012

William Lack

This is the twenty-eighth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with the brasses at Bocking, Halsall, Horning, Laindon, Orford, Ormesby St. Michael, Rollesby, Shottesbrooke, Somersham, Sotterley and Tibenham; to Robert Hutchinson for assistance at Clayton; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Halsall; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Generous financial assistance has been provided by the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation and the Monumental Brass Society at Bocking, Clayton, Halsall, Horning, Laindon, Orford, Somersham and Tibenham. The brasses at Horning, Ormesby St. Michael, Rollesby and Tibenham have been given 'LSW' numbers following surveys for the forthcoming Norfolk *County Series* volume.

Bocking, Essex

LSW.XII. World War I memorial.[1] This plate (850 x 1490 mm) is mounted in a wooden frame and forms part of memorial erected *c.* 1920 at the west end of the north aisle. It had become considerably tarnished. As it was secured into the frame with back-soldered rivets I cleaned it *in situ* on 13 December 2012.

Clayton, Sussex

M.S.II. Richard Idon, 1523 (Fig. 1).[2] This London F brass, comprising an effigy in Mass vestments (448 x 140 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets) and three-line Latin inscription

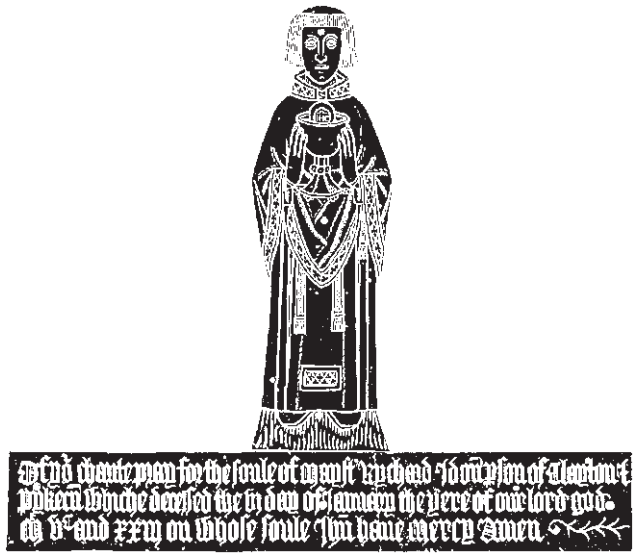


Fig. 1. Richard Idon, 1523 (M.S.II)
Clayton, Sussex
(rubbing: William Lack)

1 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), I, p. 71.

2 Described and illustrated in Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXVII (1936), pp. 147-8.

(100 x 626 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 3 rivets), was originally laid on the chancel floor. It had been mounted directly on the chancel wall and I removed it on 28 November 2011. It had become considerably corroded and the inscription had been fractured into two pieces. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the inscription and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the chancel wall on 28 February 2012.

Dartmouth, St. Petrock, Devon[3]

LSW.II. Barbara Plumleighe, 1610. This Johnson brass, comprising a female effigy (727 x 296 mm), ten English verses (267 x 565 mm), two sons (178 x 151 mm), four daughters (174 x 222 mm) and a mutilated marginal inscription (1775 x 705 x 47 mm), lies in a painted limestone slab (1970 x 800 mm) at the east end of the south aisle. About forty years ago a fragment of marginal inscription engraved 'DEPARTED' (48 x 242 mm, thickness 1.7 mm) became detached from the bottom strip and had been locked away since then. The fragment was delivered to me on 23 February 2012. After cleaning I soldered two rivets to the reverse. The fragment was relaid in the slab on 4 October 2012.

The Plumleighe brass and the two adjacent brasses (LSW.I, John Roope, 1609; and LSW.III, Mrs. Dorothy Rous, 1609) had been covered by damp carpet and had become considerably corroded. On 4 October 2012 I cleaned them all *in situ*.

Dartmouth, St. Saviour, Devon

LSW.X. Thomas Holdsworth Hunt and family, 1849 (Fig. 2).[4] This brass, comprising an eighteen-line inscription with a decorated border and, at each corner, the letter 'H' in a

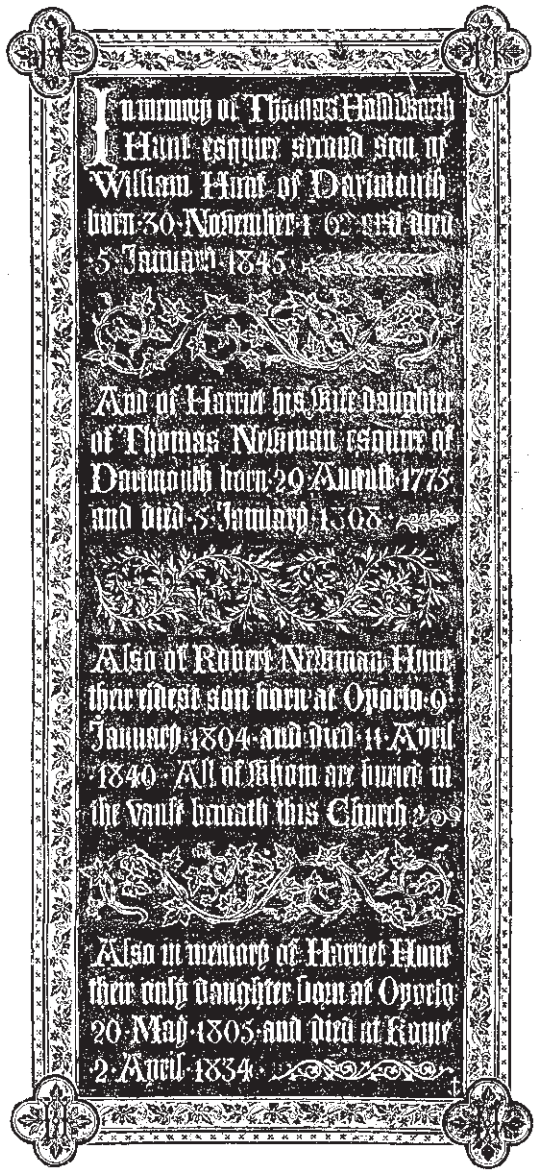


Fig. 2. Thomas Holdsworth Hunt and family, 1849 (LSW.X) Dartmouth, St. Saviour, Devon (rubbing: William Lack)

3 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Devonshire* (London, 2000), pp. 92-6.

4 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Devonshire*, pp. 96, 100.

quatrefoil (1335 x 605 mm, thickness 3.2 mm, 19 rivets), was laid down at the east end of the nave to the north of two similar brasses commemorating members of the same family.[5] All three brasses were engraved by Messrs. Waller of London and bear the company's monogram. LSW.X became loose some years ago and was detached from the slab. It was delivered to me on 23 February 2012. Unsuccessful efforts had been made to re-secure it using copious 'runs' of *Araldite* which adhered to the brass but not to the slab! The brass was originally secured with 80 mm long studs which passed through holes in the slab and were secured with nuts and washers fitted to the protruding ends of the studs at the back of the slab. After cleaning and removing the *Araldite* I re-used five of the original rivets and fitted fourteen new ones. The brass was relaid in the slab on 3 October 2012.

Halsall, Lancashire

M.S.I. Inscription and achievement to Henry Halsall and wife Anne, 1589 (Fig. 3).[6] This Johnson brass, comprising a mutilated six-line inscription (111 x 230 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 5 rivets) and an achievement (232 x 214 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 4 rivets), was removed from the north chancel wall on 24 August 2011. It had become seriously corroded and was secured with conventional wood-screws. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the north chancel wall on 28 February 2012.

Fig. 3. Inscription and achievement to Henry Halsall and wife Anne, 1589 (M.S.I) Halsall, Lancashire (rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

East Horndon, Essex

LSW.I. Fragment of marginal inscription, *c.* 1420-30.[7] This London ?E fragment engraved 'me T' (34 x 97 mm, thickness 2.3 mm) was found in the church in 1970 and has been loose since then. Close examination of the script shows it is in a different style to the chamfer inscription from LSW.II, the London D brass to Sir Thomas Tyrell, 1476, which lies on an altar tomb in the north chapel. After cleaning I soldered two new rivets to the reverse. At the behest of the Churches Conservation Trust the fragment was laid in the indent of LSW.II on 15 December 2012.

5 LSW.VII. William Hunt and family, 1836; and LSW.VIII. William Cholwich Hunt and family, 1839.

6 *MBS Bulletin*, 113 (Jan. 2010), pp. 253, 254.

7 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, I, pp. 381, 382.

Horning, Norfolk

LSW.I. Inscription to Elsebeth Milward, 1598 (Fig. 4). This Norwich inscription in three English lines (116 x 291 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 6 rivets) was removed from the west wall of the south aisle *c*. 2008 and stored in the church safe. It had previously been secured with conventional wood-screws and had become corroded. It was collected on 8 September 2011. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the east wall of the north aisle on 5 March 2012.

Fig. 4. Inscription to Elsebeth Millward, 1598 (LSW.I) Horning, Norfolk (rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

Laindon, Essex[8]

Two brasses were removed on 22 November 2011.

LSW.I. Priest, *c*. 1470, possibly John Kekilpenny, rector, 1461-1466. This London D effigy in Mass vestments with chalice and wafer (960 x 280 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 7 rivets) was taken up about a hundred years ago and mounted on the north wall of the chancel. It had been secured with large diameter wood-screws directly on plaster and both sides were heavily corroded. The original Purbeck marble slab (2000 x 1180 mm), bearing cement-filled indents for a lost inscription (*c*. 90 x *c*. 440 mm) and prayer scroll (*c*. 150 x c.85 x c.30 mm), lies in the centre of the chancel. A small brass cross with accompanying inscription inscribed 'JESU MERCY' has been set into the slab. When the brass was recorded by William Holman *c*. 1719, he noted that the prayer scroll survived in a mutilated condition but the inscription was lost. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

LSW.II. Priest, *c*. 1510, possibly Richard Bladwell, rector, 1513, or James Breton, chantry priest, 1518. This effigy in Mass vestments with chalice and wafer (335 x 98 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up at the same time as LSW.I and mounted on the south wall of the chancel. It had been secured with wood-screws directly on plaster and both sides were heavily corroded. The original Purbeck marble slab (1450 x 610 mm), bearing the indent for the lost inscription (90 x 405 mm), is situated in the nave and is permanently covered with fitted carpet. A small brass cross with accompanying inscription inscribed 'JESU MERCY' has also been set into the slab. When the brass was recorded by William Holman *c*. 1719 the inscription was already lost. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

The board for LSW.I was mounted on the east wall of the nave with that for LSW.II on the south wall of the chancel on 15 June 2012.

Orford, Suffolk

Four brasses were taken up from their slabs on 15 February 2012.

M.S.I. Civilian with rosary, *c*. 1480 (Fig. 5). This London D civilian effigy (486 x 148 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from

8 Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Essex*, II, pp. 427, 429.

Fig. 5. Civilian with rosary, c. *1480 (M.S.I)*
Orford, Suffolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

the original Purbeck slab (2175 x 925 mm) in the south chapel. There is a cement-filled indent for a lost inscription (50 x *c*. 480 mm). The plate had been secured with large wood-screws. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.III. Lady and two husbands, *c.* 1500 (Fig. 6). This London G brass, now comprising a female effigy (468 x 184 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 3 rivets) and two civilian effigies (left-hand originally 470 x 159 mm, now 450 x 159 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets; right-hand 468 x 162 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 3 rivets) was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (2160 x 835 mm) on the south side of the sanctuary. There is an indent for a lost inscription (60 x 575 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.VI. Lady with six sons and six daughters, *c*. 1510 (Fig. 7). This London debased F brass, now comprising a female effigy (339 x 109 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 3 rivets) and the group of

Fig. 6. Lady and two husbands, c. *1500 (M.S.III)*
Orford, Suffolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 7. Lady with six sons and six daughters, c. *1510 (M.S.VI) Orford, Suffolk (rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)*

children (163 x 134 mm, thickness 4.8 mm, 1 rivet), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab (1365 x 650 mm) in the chancel. There is a cement-filled indent for a lost inscription (*c.* 55 x *c.* 335 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.XI. Bridgett Smith, 1605 and her daughter Jone Bence, 1603.[9] This Johnson brass comprises two female effigies (upper originally 765 x 301 mm, now 729 x 301 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 14 rivets; lower 624 x 251 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 16 rivets), two inscriptions in four English verses (upper 113 x 683 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 10 rivets; lower 138 x 580 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), one son (158 x 65 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 2 rivets), three daughters (153 x 143 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets) and a marginal inscription in English (1864 x 964 x 64 mm, engraved on 6 fillets, mean thickness 2.0 mm, 52 rivets). The son and daughters are known palimpsests, both being cut from an English inscription of similar date which was never laid down.[10] The marginal inscription has identifying notches on the reverse. After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and fitted new rivets to the brass. I soldered a rivet to the reverse of the upper female effigy where the plate had fractured across the original rivet-hole.

M.S.I, III, VI and the marginal inscription from M.S.XI were relaid on 14 December 2012.

Ormesby St. Michael, Norfolk

LSW.V. Inscription to Richard Glasspoole, 1846, wife Rebecca, 1873, and eldest daughter, Susan, 1884. This six-line inscription (507 x 640 mm, thickness 3.0 mm), signed by Gawthorp of London, had been loose in the

9 Illustrated in *MBS Portfolio*, I, pt. 11, pl. 5; reprinted in *Monumental Brasses: the Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pl. 395.

10 J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), p. 75 (318L1-2), pl. 133; 'Palimpsests: 10th issue of Addenda', *MBS Bulletin*, 123 (June 2013), p. lv, pl. 237.

tower vestry for many years and was collected on 30 September 2011. After cleaning I fitted five rivets to the original screw holes. The plate was polished, lacquered and mounted on a cedar board. The board was mounted on the west wall of the nave on 22 December 2012.

Rollesby, Norfolk

Four brasses were removed from the west wall of the south aisle on 30 September 2011. They comprise **LSW.IX.** Inscription with verse recording placement of window in memory of Margaret Sarel, 1919 (154 x 1223 mm, thickness 4.8 mm); **LSW.X.** Inscription with verse to Harriet Cowburn, 1921 (371 x 332 mm, thickness 2.8 mm); **LSW.XII.** Inscription with verse to Henry Sarel, 1941 (103 x 635 mm, thickness 2.8 mm); and **LSW.XIII.** Inscription to seven children of Lt.-General H.A. Sarel and wife Margaret, died between 1943 and 1967 (841 x 598 mm, thickness 4.0 mm). They were considerably corroded and inadequately secured, LSW.X being held by only one rivet and hanging at 45° to the vertical. After cleaning I fitted new rivets to the plates. They were polished, lacquered and mounted on cedar boards, LSW.IX and XII on the same board. The boards were mounted in the south aisle on 3 August 2012.

Shottesbrooke, Berkshire

LSW.IV. Inscription and verses to William Throkmarton, 1535 (Fig. 8).[11] This London G brass, comprising a four-line English inscription (101 x 330 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 3 rivets) and four English verses (100 x 330 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 3 rivets), was taken up on 1 September 2010. They were set into a band of stone placed across the waist of a moustached alabaster effigy lying in an open coffin.[12] An attempt had been made to remove the upper plate and both plates were considerably corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The plates were relaid on 16 January 2012.

Somersham, Huntingdonshire

LSW.I. Priest, *c.* 1525.[13] This Suffolk 3b brass, now comprising the effigy of a priest in Mass vestments with chalice and wafer but without stole and maniple (821 x 277 mm, thickness 4.5 mm, 6 rivets), was taken up from the original Oolitic limestone slab (2390 x 1050 mm) on the north side of the sanctuary on 5 December 2011. There are indents for a lost foot inscription (150 x 395 mm) and four corner roundels (145-150 mm diameter). The brass had been secured with large-headed screws. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The brass was relaid on 29 May 2012.

Sotterley, Suffolk

M.S.IV. William Playters, 1521, and wife, engraved *c.* 1630. This brass comprises a kneeling female effigy and two shields set on the south panel of an altar tomb in the chancel. A chamfer inscription lies on the cover slab of the tomb. One of the shields (138 x 105 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 3 rivets) came loose from the tomb some years ago and this was handed to Martin Stuchfield on 28 October 2010.[14] The shield was heavily corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets. The shield was reset on 3 April 2012.

Tibenham, Norfolk

Three brasses were removed from the east wall of the south chapel on 20 August 2010. They had been removed from their slabs and screwed directly to the plaster.

11 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Berkshire* (London, 1993), p. 118.

12 The arrangement is illustrated in *MBS Bulletin*, 121 (Oct. 2012), p. 410.

13 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire* (Stratford St. Mary, 2012), pp. 155-6.

14 *MBS Bulletin*, 121 (Oct. 2012), pp. 410-11.

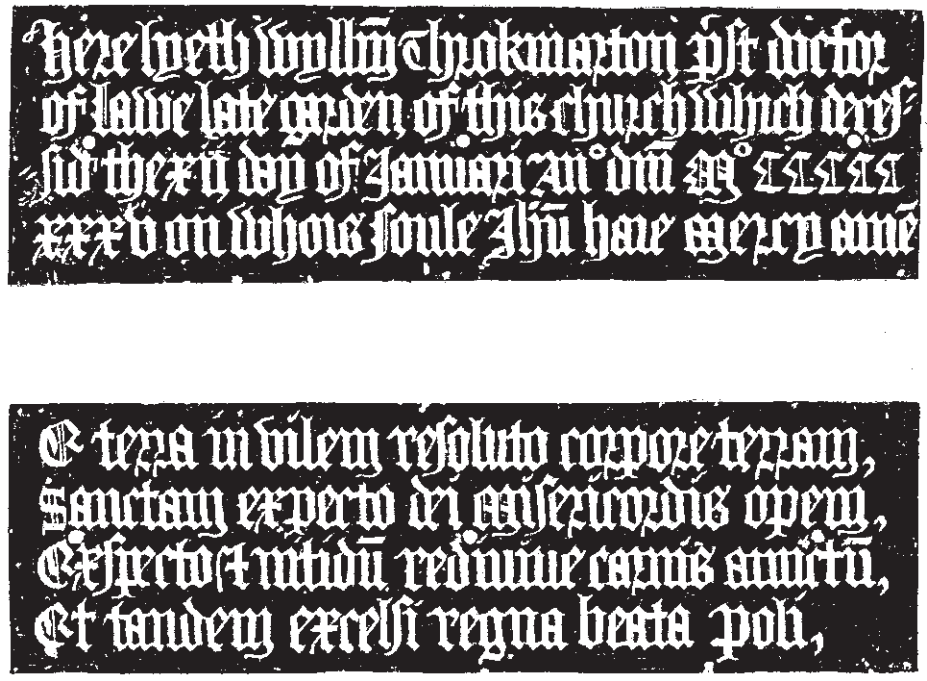


Fig. 8. Inscription and verses to William Throkmarton, 1535 (LSW.IV)
Shottesbrooke, Berkshire
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 9. Inscription to Robert Bucston, 1528, and wives Cristian and Agnes (LSW.I)
Tibenham, Norfolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

LSW.I. Inscription to Robert Bucston, 1528, and wives Cristian and Agnes (Fig. 9). This Suffolk 3 three-line Latin inscription (84 x 380 mm, thickness 5.2 mm, 2 rivets) was formerly laid on the south aisle floor. The plate is slightly mutilated at the right-hand end. After cleaning I fitted new rivets, including one back-soldered at the right-hand end. The plate was rebated into a cedar board.

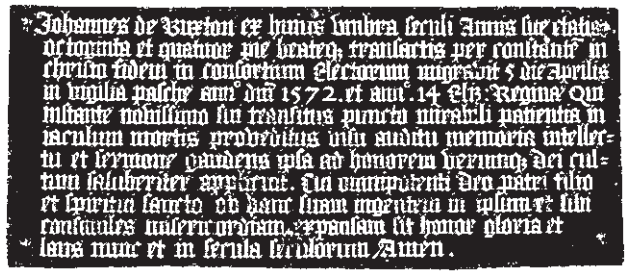


Fig. 10. Inscription and shield to John Buxton, 1572 (LSW.II)
Tibenham, Norfolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

LSW.II *(formerly M.S.II and IV).* Inscription and shield to John Buxton, 1572 (Fig. 10). This locally-engraved brass, comprising an eleven-line English inscription (209 x 490 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 6 rivets) and a shield bearing the arms of Buxton impaling Warner (120 x 103 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 3 shields) was formerly laid on the south chapel floor. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the plates into a cedar board.

LSW.III. Inscription to John Buxton, 1572 (Fig. 11). This locally-engraved five-line Latin inscription in Roman capitals (116 x 411 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 6 rivets) was removed from the east wall of the south chapel where it had been mounted above LSW.II. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

The boards were mounted in the south chapel on 20 August 2012, LSW.I and III on the south wall and LSW.II on the east wall.

Fig. 11. Inscription to John Buxton, 1572 (LSW.III)
Tibenham, Norfolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

Reviews

Sally Badham and Paul Cockerham ed., *'The beste and fayrest of al Lincolnshire': The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 554 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012); xii + 266 pp., 1 map, 5 plans, 3 tables, figs. 1.1-12.3; bibliography and index; £44.00 (paperback); ISBN 978-1-4073-0933-0.

As Sally Badham points out in her introduction to this superb volume, St. Botolph's has one of the most important parish church floors in England, having lain relatively undisturbed across the centuries. Many of the monuments, moreover, have remained in their original locations. Three fine studies establish their context. With great mastery, Stephen Rigby takes us through Boston's rise and decline as a trading port, and through its general history and governance. The survival of the royal customs records means that a great deal can be known of Boston's trade. It was the fifth richest town in England in 1334 and the tenth largest in 1377. The scale of its trade declined in the first half of the fourteenth century, although its wealth remained considerable. We learn of the significance of the Boston fair and of the wealth of its merchants both native and alien, most particularly of the dominance for an extended period of the 'Esterlings', the merchants of the Hanseatic League. After the Black Death its trade revived and was restructured. Native merchants now dominated in many key areas. This period of prosperity saw the building of St. Mary's Guildhall and the construction of some of the surviving timber-framed buildings. In the fifteenth century the new pattern of trade also went into decline until by the early sixteenth century Boston's overseas trade was of minor significance. On the eve of incorporation in 1545 Boston no longer enjoyed the prominence that it had possessed in the fourteenth century.

Linda Monckton greatly enhances our understanding of the architecture of the parish church of St. Botolph's by placing it within a regional context. The rebuilding programme is ascribed to the 1330s, extending perhaps to the 1370s. Further work was done on the chancel in the early fifteenth century and a tower added. The consistency and spaciousness of the church reflects this rebuilding as a single rather than a piecemeal process. These features have much to do with mendicant influence, although it is pointed out that it would not have looked as spacious as it does today. The north aisle was almost entirely occupied by five guild chapels, while there were others in the south aisle. St. Botolph's was very much a merchants' church. Here, exceptionally Monckton tells us, the merchants focussed on a single parish church, and did so by means of a handful of highly organized guilds.

Sally Badham's account of these guilds provides the third contextual study. There were at least nineteen, five of them being major, that is to say incorporated, guilds with their seals and guildhalls as well as chapels in the church. These major guilds were undoubtedly very wealthy. Two of them owned relics, a phenomenon which may have been exceptional here, as it appears to be unknown elsewhere in England. St. Mary's was the oldest and wealthiest guild. Its choir supported liturgical music on a lavish scale and in 1530 John Taverner seems to have become master of the choristers and very probably wrote his masterpiece '*Corona spinea*' for the guild. Of the other guilds the most significant was Corpus Christi, founded in 1335. Its chapel was a separate building attached to the exterior of the parish church and almost certainly belongs to first half of the fourteenth century. Guild membership conferred social standing, and many of the mercantile and trade elite

belonged to several of them. Badham analyses 147 wills from the period 1445-1545 that record bequests to the guilds or requests for burial in their chapels, providing evidence *inter alia* for preferences for burial location and for the siting of chapel and altars, crucial information for the close studies that follow.

These three contextual chapters do far more than offer background for the study of the monuments. They are significant studies in their own right. Inevitably, however, it is the studies of the monuments themselves that are the heart of the book. Paul Cockerham's chapter on the incised slabs is an important study, elegantly written and eminently quotable. It looks as though Boston was responsible for more than a quarter of all known fourteenth-century foreign slab and brass commissions in the British Isles. The chronological context is provided by two of the best preserved black marble slabs in Lincolnshire, the effigy to Adam de Frampton (d. 1325), and his wife Sibille, at Wyberton south of Boston, and the famous slab to Wessel de Smalenburgh (d. 1340) once in the Franciscan Friary but now at St. Botolph's. The weight of evidence suggests production at Bruges using marble from Tournai shipped down the River Scheldt. Cockerham concludes that most of the Boston slabs were laid down before *c*. 1350 over a period of thirty to forty years. The preference shown by members of the Hanse for slabs and brasses manufactured in Flanders was copied by English merchants, and Boston must have been among the earliest destinations for these monuments in England. Although one or two may have been to alien merchants who died in the town, most of these slabs are likely to commemorate Bostonians. The conservative nature of such commissions is shown by surviving contracts elsewhere and this, it is argued, was part of their aesthetic appeal: a desire for the 'safe, reassuring familiarity of a tomb slab's design, and the flawlessness of its engraving were … simple aesthetic factors by which the Boston merchants might have judged these memorials' (p. 83). Another aesthetic element was the harmony of the proportions of these slabs. In the choice of monument there were also practical considerations. One was cost. Even with the inclusion of brass the wholesale cost of slabs from the Tournai quarries were cheap compared to the cost of stone in England. Cockerham is surely right that the merchants looked outwards as a means of differentiating themselves from those of the gentry 'in their parochial heartland' (p. 89).

The location of the slabs is highly significant. Many of the nineteen slabs estimated as pre-1350 are clustered around the west end. Some will have been re-located from the guild chapels, but many would have been put down in the nave in lines from west-east towards the rood screen, following the route of processions. It is little wonder that there is considerable wear of some of the slabs. They created a community of remembrance, a community that is defined by commerce and not by inheritance. Hence the slabs formed what Cockerham calls 'a continuum of commemoration' (p. 91). Whilst appreciating the group identity, observers would also have noted the personal marks, allowing these to function in an analogous way to heraldry. As Cockerham says, a permanent mercantile 'archive' was in the process of being created. One notable feature is that the majority have a double effigial format that was uncommon in England at the time. Although there are a variety of probable reasons for this, including chantries, it is clear that this form was brought over to Boston from Flanders, and that Boston was the pioneer. One consequence is the increase in the number of double effigial monuments in many other port towns of the east coast of England. The number of slabs laid down fell off sharply after 1350, with the last

few probably dating to around 1360-70. There are several reasons for this: the Black Death and the decline in the intensity of the contacts between Boston and Flanders being two. However, the strategy of remembrance was also evolving, with guilds guaranteeing the provision of intercessory prayers and, with the added provision of an artefact for the guild chapel, obviating the need for a gravestone.

We then turn to the brasses and indents under the expert guidance of Sally Badham, who brings her enviable skills as a detective to bear on the evidence, as well as her unrivalled knowledge of workshops. There is a great deal to analyse. In addition to the twenty-two Flemish incised slabs there are nearly 100 complete or fragmentary slabs that formerly held brass inlay remaining, of which thirty-three are substantial. Seven unusual non-effigial compositions plus six known from antiquaries' notes gives her forty-six to discuss. Two of those commemorated by brasses are known by name: Walter Pescod, merchant of Boston (d. 1398) and John Strensall, rector of Boston (d. 1408), but others can be ascertained from the antiquaries' notes. Most of the floor monuments were recorded in the seventeenth century precisely where they are now. However, this is not so in all cases; brasses originally located in the chapel of Corpus Christi Guild (later demolished) were moved to the west end, while Walter Pescod and John Strensall, the most complete remaining in the church, were moved in the nineteenth century to either side of the high altar. Badham's analysis of the aforementioned 147 wills shows that St. Botolph's was the church with which the urban elite chose to be most associated. Some chose, very unusually, to be buried under the tower, perhaps, as Badham suggests, because the 'Stump' with its lantern was a source of local pride. There are four indents to priests, including John Strensall the rector and another, very probably to Alan Lamkyn, vicar from 1492 but also alderman of the Corpus Christi Guild, a reflection of how integrated into Boston society they were. The brasses and indents of the first forty years of the sixteenth century include some very important Boston figures, such as John Robinson, esquire, merchant of the Staple of Calais (d. 1525) and his four wives. There are two indents of cadaver brasses and two lost brasses to Londoners. In conclusion Badham identifies some significant trends: the concentration of merchants who were guild members and of the priests who served them, religious imagery but little to reflect the guild culture as such, an unusual degree of disparity in design, and an overwhelming dominance of Latin over vernacular, most noticeably after 1500. Arguably the most atypical of national trends, however, is the fact that the earliest surviving examples begin as late as 1398. There is a gap after the last of the series of Flemish slabs, almost certainly due to the changes in the pattern of trade and a consequent shift in patronage to English brasses. More difficult to explain is the comparative lack of brasses and indents from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Perhaps, she suggests, some were laid down but subsequently disposed of to make room for new burials.

These studies are complemented by two shorter pieces. Jessica Freeman offers a highly informative treatment of the careers and brasses of two wealthy merchants. One, Walter Pescod, was a leading Bostonian and wool merchant, active in the guild of SS. Peter and Paul. The other, Simon Seman of Barton-upon-Humber, had chosen to base himself in London where he was a vintner and became an alderman and sheriff. In both cases their success was marked by high status memorial brasses in their home towns. Mark Downing studies the alabaster effigies of a man in armour and his lady, now in St. Botolph's but

moved there from the church of St. John when it was demolished in 1626. It reinforces the impression that the gentry preferred not to patronize the parish church, dominated by Boston merchants, favouring rather the hospital and the friaries. Through his close description, Downing shows convincingly that they were products of the Chellaston workshop that had produced the well-known tomb and effigies of Ralph and Katharine Greene of Lowick, Northamptonshire.

Derrick Chivers and Paul Cockerham provide an excellent and thorough account of lost brasses and indents. The act for the dissolution of the chantries in 1547 had a profound effect. The demise of Purgatory led to widespread attacks on religious imagery including tombs. The brasses that survived intact were often those of families whose members were involved in local government. It was, however, not just a matter of individual response. Also important was the careful civic control over changes to the church and the fabric of the guild chapels, a sort of 'familial and mercantile protectionism' (p. 127). Consequently the role of the effigies themselves changed, reflecting the relationship between the living and the dead in more mundane senses and acting as exemplars. Moreover, brasses of prominent individuals were still being laid down in the sixteenth century. Some brasses were targeted during the puritan zeal of the early decades of the following century, rather than during the Civil War and Commonwealth. There were other factors tending towards survival. One was the seating, which was laid down around the end of the seventeenth century, covering the brasses. The authors take us painfully through loss and survival during subsequent centuries. Those of the late twentieth century are the more poignant in being passed over without adverse comment.

Paul Cockerham also provides the conclusion to the volume. This involves him in an overview of urban memorialization and the shift towards corporate remembrance. Moving outwards from Boston he makes interesting comparisons with other towns, notably Coventry, Lynn and Hull. This pioneering study deserves to be read widely. As appendices we have a full catalogue of pre-Reformation monuments at St. Botolph's by the editors, a survey of floor monuments undertaken in 1978-83 by Brian and Moira Gittos, and a list of the Boston wills drawn upon by Sally Badham.

One final comment needs to be made. The quality of this book reflects the increasing sophistication in the study of these monuments over recent decades, and the leap in knowledge, understanding and appreciation as a result. It is striking just how much ground-breaking work by members of the Monumental Brass Society, past and present, is cited in the footnotes. The Society is itself a great fellowship, as successful in its own way as any of the medieval guilds.

Peter Coss

William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore ed., *The Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire,* The County Series (Stratford St. Mary, Suffolk, 2012); xxii + 217 pp., 153 illus. + 7 b/w photos.; bibliography and index; £35.00 (incl. P&P) (paperback); ISBN 978-0-9554484-3-0.

The *Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire* comprises the seventeenth volume in the *County Series*, which has become the essential series of publications on county brasses. Since the publication of the Bedfordshire volume twenty years ago the series has steadily improved in quality and comprehensiveness and the Huntingdonshire volume, which also includes the brasses in the Soke of Peterborough,

maintains this high standard even though only thirty-one pre-1750 brasses now remain in the county. These surviving memorials represent but a fraction of the number originally commissioned and it is likely that as many as 80 per cent of the county's brasses have been lost, although indents and antiquarian records provide evidence of some of these.

The small number of surviving monumental brasses in Huntingdonshire may in part be due to the influence of the county's most famous son, Oliver Cromwell. The treatment that he and his men awarded to the brasses formerly in Peterborough Cathedral in 1643 is perhaps provides a clue as to why so few brasses now remain in county. Symon Gunton, a minor canon of the cathedral at the time, recorded in vivid detail that on 18 April 1643 the Parliamentarian forces '... fell to execute their fury upon the cathedral ... defacing the monuments, tearing the brass from the gravestones, plundering the vestments, records, and whatsoever else came to hand. Their commanders of whom Cromwell was one, if not acting, yet not restraining the soldiers, in this heat of their fury.'

Fortunately, in the case of Peterborough Cathedral at least, we have a fine collection of drawings which provide us with an impression of what these brasses once looked like. In 1641, just two years before the brasses' destruction, they were recorded by the herald and antiquary Sir William Dugdale, aided by his draughtsman William Sedgwick. Fourteen of their drawings of the brasses at Peterborough are beautifully reproduced in colour in the current volume. A debt is also owed to later visitors. A frequent and welcome visitor to Huntingdonshire churches was the Rev. Herbert Macklin (1866-1917), curate of Pidley, Hunts., who carried out a thorough survey measuring everything, including the indents.

One surprise from this current survey of the brasses of Huntingdonshire is the substantial number of early memorials – thirty-three cross brasses or Lombardic inscriptions in all – which suggests that the county was comparatively wealthy in the early fourteenth century. The county's surviving medieval figure brasses are also well-illustrated in the volume, especially the important works at Tilbrook, Sawtry and Diddington. The large London Series B brass to Sir William Moyne (d. 1404) at Sawtry is particularly noteworthy. This shows Moyne in armour with his head resting upon a helm from which rises the family crest, a monk holding a flagellum. The majority of the brasses in the county were products of the London workshops, although the county also has examples from engravers of the Fen school (Broughton I) as well as products from Suffolk (Somersham I) and Cambridge (Eynesbury 16 and 17).

A small number of brasses in Huntingdonshire commemorated figures of both local and national importance. At Little Gidding, for example, two brasses commemorate John and Susanna Ferrar (d. 1657), who were the last members of a unique Anglican religious community founded by their relative Nicholas Ferrar (d. 1637). At All Saints, Huntingdon a brass, now lost, commemorated the clergyman Thomas Beard (d. 1632). A vehement anti-Catholic, Beard published a number of works attacking the papacy and was also the schoolmaster of Oliver Cromwell.

The county's modern brasses are also an interesting group. Several of their inscriptions demonstrate how the British Empire was expanding; the places of death are from all over the world and often show the problems that men and women faced abroad. As one would expect deaths in France and South Africa tend to dominate but there are others from even

further afield. A brass at Little Stukeley commemorates Flora Lucy Stewart who was killed with other missionaries in the Kucheng Massacre in China in 1895. Others died in less violent circumstances in India, Malta, Egypt, New Zealand, Denmark, Portugal, U.S.A., Ceylon and Australia. A particularly interesting inscription brass at Eynesbury commemorates Lt. Col. William Humbley (d. 1857), who appears to have been an exceptionally injury-prone officer. He was present at over twenty battles and was wounded in most of them, culminating in two injuries at Waterloo.

The above are but a few examples of the rich variety of brasses recorded in this excellent volume, many of which are illustrated for the first time. The authors are to be congratulated on what will be the definitive record of Huntingdonshire brasses for generations to come.

Peter Heseltine

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Monumental Brass Society

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

All communications regarding membership, the general conditions of the Society, etc., to be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Christian Steer, M.A., 8 Shefford Lodge, Link Road, Newbury, Berkshire RG14 7LR; editorial matter to the Hon. Editor, Nicholas Rogers, M.A., M.Litt., F.S.A., c/o The Muniment Room, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge CB2 3HU, who will be pleased to supply Notes for Contributors and to discuss proposed articles.

Cover: Group of daughters from the brass to Thomas Frowyk III (d. 1448) and widow Elizabeth (LSW.II), from South Mimms, Hertfordshire (formerly Middlesex).
Photo.: Martin Stuchfield

Monumental Brass Society

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