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Editorial

Several of the papers in this issue touch on the role of the patron in the fashioning of a brass. For most pre-nineteenth-century monuments the precise identity of the commissioning agent is obscure. Usually it can be presumed to be one of the executors or, more particularly, the widow or widower of the deceased. Sometimes there are indicators that a monument was prepared in the lifetime of the person commemorated. Similarly, it is rare to have any evidence, whether in the form of testamentary disposition, contract or correspondence, of the process of manufacture. One survival is John Gage's correspondence with Garret Johnson, which, as Jon Bayliss demonstrates, is a key to the identification of the Southwark workshops. In contrast, George McHardy has been able to gather from the Hardman archive a wealth of information regarding the commissioning and manufacture of the nineteenth-century brasses at Hanley Swan. In exquisite detail we see the problems of dealing with an awkward client and the means taken to correct a mistake in the engraving. There are many aspects of the *modus operandi* at Hardmans that parallel what can be deduced about the execution of medieval or early modern brasses.

This year marks the six hundredth anniversary of the battle of Agincourt. One of the most impressive souvenirs of that event is the brass at Trotton of Thomas Camoys, Baron Camoys, who commanded the rearguard at Agincourt. Encircling his leg and his coat-of-arms is the Garter with which he was rewarded by Henry V for his action that day.

Camoys shield encircled by Garter from brass to Thomas, 1st Baron Camoys, 1421, Trotton, Sussex (M.S.II)
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

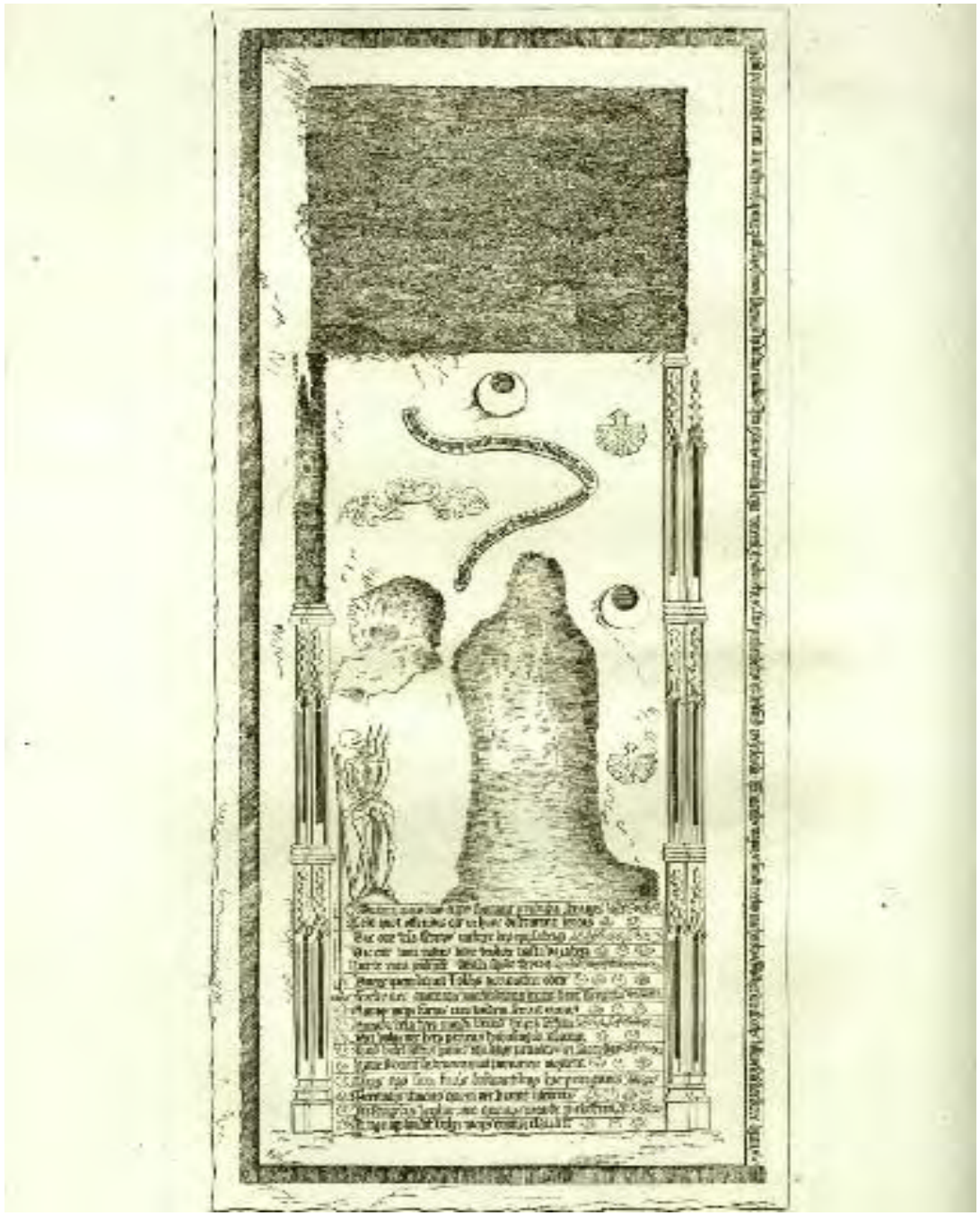

Fig. 1. Brass of John Rudyng (d. 1481), Biggleswade, Beds.
(engraving from Richard Gough, Sepulchral Monuments*)*

A Debate with Death: John Rudyng's Brass in St. Andrew's Church, Biggleswade

Neil Cartlidge

A new translation of the foot inscription of the brass of John Rudyng (d. 1481) at Biggleswade, Beds., permits a clearer understanding of aspects of this debate with Death.

Among the many medieval poems that could be described as *Streitgedichte*, or 'debate-poems', there is only one known to me that survives uniquely in the medium of brass.[1] This is the 16-line Latin poem in hexameters beginning 'Tu, fera mors',[2] which is inscribed on the funeral monument commemorating John Rudyng (d. 1481),[3] in the church of St. Andrew at Biggleswade in Bedfordshire (Figs. 1, 2).[4] The brass is now fragmentary, and it no longer presents any image of Rudyng himself.[5] What does survive, however, is a striking portrait of the immediate cause of Rudyng's translation to monumental status: that is, Death itself, here depicted as a skeletal figure carrying several long spears (Fig. 3). Picturing mortality in this way makes it seem almost like a separate personality, with a distinct and (paradoxically) vivid presence of its own; and this impression is reinforced by the text that accompanies this image, which invites us to imagine mortality, not just as a presence, but also as a voice. The inscription on the brass explicitly identifies the second of the poem's two speakers as 'Mors' (i.e. 'Death'), who is here imagined as defending herself[6] both against the charge of indiscriminate destructiveness, and against the allegation that she has committed a particularly heinous crime in attacking so admirable a man as John Rudyng. Mortality does no injustice to any human being, argues 'Mors', because it is a fate common to all, and an inevitable condition of existence on earth.

The poem has been edited several times, most recently by Sophie Oosterwijk (with the assistance of Reinhard Lamp); this edition has the advantage of being accompanied by a

1 See H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920), repr. with supplementary notes by P.G. Schmidt (Hildesheim, 1984).

2 This poem is not listed in H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen, 1969).

3 John Rudyng is recorded as archdeacon successively of Bedford (1460-8), Northampton (1468-71) and Lincoln (1471-81), also as prebendary of Biggleswade (1467-8): see *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, 1, *Lincoln Diocese* (London, 1962), pp. 6-8, 10-12, 16-17, 36-8. See also A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9), III, pp. 1603-4; and N. Saul, 'At the deathbed of Archdeacon Rudyng', *MBS Bulletin*, 108 (May 2008), pp. 155-7.

4 The monument and its context have been described a number of times: e.g. R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 3 vols. in 5 (London, 1786-99), II, p. 272, pl. CII; 'C.C.', 'Account of Biggleswade, co. Bedford', *Gentleman's Magazine*, C (1830), pp. 19-23, at p. 22; H.K.St.J. Sanderson, 'The Brasses of Bedfordshire', *MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 3 (1894), pp. 77-80; VCH, *A History of the County of Bedford*, II, ed. W. Page, (London, 1908), pp. 209-15; R. Griffin, 'A Brass once in Biggleswade Church', *Antiquaries Jnl*, XVI (1936), pp. 284-90, repr. in *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 6 (1939), pp. 251-8; W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992), pp. 12-13 (LSW.II).

5 On the restoration of Rudyng's brass in the 1950s, see F.W. Kuhlicke, 'The Rudyng Brass, Biggleswade', *MBS Trans.*, IX, pt. 5 (1955), pp. 284-5.

6 In Latin, Death ('Mors') is grammatically feminine. The accompanying image on the brass is of indeterminate gender.

Fig. 2. Foot inscription from brass of John Rudyng, 1481, Biggleswade, Beds. (LSW.II) (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

translation into modern English.[7] However, Oosterwijk's interpretation of the text leaves a number of points unclear.[8] Of these perhaps the most significant relates to the first line of Death's reply, which Oosterwijk and Lamp render as, 'Do not in your dreams believe that this man did mortals any injustice'. This cannot be correct, since what is at issue here is clearly not Rudyng's culpability, but Death's: the extent to which Death has perpetrated any kind of crime against humanity by taking away such an admirable man. The line is more accurately translated, 'Don't think it any kind of outrage against mortal beings that this man should be put to sleep' (i.e. 'put to sleep' meaning 'made to die').[9] The Latin word that I translate

7 S. Oosterwijk, 'Dance, Dialogue and Duality: Fatal Encounters in the Medieval *Danse Macabre*', in *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. S. Oosterwijk and S. Knöll (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), pp. 9-42, at pp. 24-25; repr. from S. Oosterwijk, '"For no man mai fro dethes stroke fle": Death and *danse macabre* iconography in memorial art', *Church Monuments*, XXIII (2008), pp. 62-87, 166-8, at pp. 69-71.

8 The Oosterwijk/Lamp translation is actually less accurate than that by F.C. Hamlyn, which appears in A.C. Bouquet, *Church Brasses* (London, 1956), p. 149.

9 Hamlyn has, 'Think not to give this man a mortal's rest was wrong'. He rightly interprets 'somnis' here as a euphemism for death.

as 'outrage' (and Oosterwijk and Lamp as 'injustice') is 'injurias' (literally 'injury') which is used here only with the very particular meaning that this word has in Roman law. As Justinian explains in the *Institutes*, 'by injury, in a general sense, is meant anything which is done without any right'; and this can include deliberate contempt ('contumely' or 'hubris'), culpable negligence or even, in the case of legal officers, an unjust judgment.[10] Death's argument, in other words, is that its activities do no 'injury', not in the sense that they never produce harm (which would obviously be false), but only in the sense that they do not amount to an overstepping of mortality's legal rights. This is a point made in very similar terms in the most widely circulated of all the extant medieval Latin dialogues with Death (which begins with the words 'Quis es tu quem video…?'):[11]

Qui cunctis animantibus scis iniurari
Atque meis subditis soles dominari,
Sive sit in aere, terra vel in mari,
Peto mea tempora modo prolongari.

Audisti satis antea, quod tibi revelavi,
Me fore strictum iudicem nec ullam perpetravi
Viventibus iniuriam, sed saepius negavi
Vitam terrae dominis, nam erant valde pravi.

[Humanity/Life:] You who know how to inflict injury on all living things, accustomed as you are to dominion over all those creatures subject to me, whether in the air, on land or at sea,[12] I ask you please prolong my life for a while.

[Death:] You heard what I said before, what I have already revealed to you: that I am a strict arbiter. I inflict no injury on the living, but very often deny life to the lords of the world [i.e. human beings],[13] for they have become exceedingly wicked.

These two poems resemble each other both structurally, as dialogues involving personifications of Death, and in their shared emphasis on the inevitability and irresistibility of death; and it is perhaps no coincidence that they both deploy the same very specific argument in relation to 'injury' in this context. The correspondence clearly suggests that 'Quis es tu quem video…?' was at least known to the composer of the verses on Rudyng's brass. Comparison with the earlier poem also offers at least some solutions to the problem of identifying the first speaker in Rudyng's poem. The brass explicitly labels the second speaker as 'Mors', but there is no such label for the first. However, manuscripts of 'Quis es tu quem video…?' generally label Death's interlocutor

10 See *The Institutes of Justinian*, trans. J.B. Moyle, 5th edn. (Oxford, 1913), IV, pp. 169-70; *The Theodosian Code*, trans. Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1952; repr. New York, 1969), IX, 34, 1 (p. 249). In other words, Death uses 'iniuria' only in senses 1–4 ('injustice, outrage') of those defined by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 2012), rather than senses 5–6 ('injury, harm').

11 Walther, *Initia Carminum*, no. 16058; R. Rudolf, *Ars Moriendi: Von der Kunst der heilsamen Lebens und Sterbens* (Cologne, 1957), p. 46. There is an edition by C. Blume, *Analectica Hymnica medii aevi*, XXXIII (Leipzig, 1899), no. 256, pp. 287-88, repr. in K. Burdach, *Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1926–32), II, pp. 515-17. There are at least 22 medieval manuscript copies of the poem still extant (and probably several more that I have yet to discover). By contrast, all of the other medieval Latin debate-poems known to me that dramatise confrontations between personifications of Death and the living survive only in single copies, which suggests that their circulation and influence was probably very limited.

12 Cf. Genesis 1.26.

13 'Lords of the world' is a circumlocution for humanity in general: human beings are 'lords of the world' in that they have dominion over all other creatures.

as either 'Homo' or 'Vita' (either 'Man/Humanity' or 'Life');[14] so it is perhaps reasonable to assume that the other voice in Rudyng's poem should also be identified in one of these two ways.[15]

The Oosterwijk/Lamp translation obscures the precise sense of the poem in a number of other ways. The accusation in line 1 that Death is 'humane prodiga stragis' is not very effectively rendered as 'brimful of human wreckage': the point here is not that Death is full (or even 'brimful') of wreckage, but rather that she/it is irresponsibly lavish, literally 'prodigal', in bringing about so much destruction of human life. 'Quot' here is not 'how often' but 'how many' – referring to the many people who will suffer particularly because of their sorrow for Rudyng's death. In the translation offered for the second part of this line ('what do you bend your decisions against this man?'), 'what' should presumably be taken as a mechanical error for 'why': but even 'why do you bend your decisions?' is a rather awkward translation. The point here is not that Death's decisions involve any kind of 'bending' – any kind of distortion or unfairness: rather, that Death's verdict is in this case intrinsically disastrous. Indeed 'discrimen' in medieval Latin could be used specifically to denote a death or martyrdom.[16]

In line 4, 'vasta' does not mean 'crude' or 'desolate' (as in Oosterwijk/Lamp's 'you crude desolate devourer'), but rather 'prodigious' or 'enormous' – and so, in relation to Death's voraciousness, 'insatiable'. 'Urgeo seclum' does not mean 'I come down upon humans',[17] but rather 'I drive the world forward'. There is no reason to translate 'hero' as 'master', since the word means precisely what it appears to mean: the reference here is to all those traditional literary 'heroes' who have been ultimately vanquished by death, and whose names are often specifically rehearsed in the 'ubi sunt?' conventions of medieval poetry.[18] 'Lustrantibus hic peregrinis' refers not just to 'strangers wandering about here', as Oosterwijk and Lamp put it, but more specifically to the idea that all human beings are 'wandering pilgrims', because life on earth is always a kind of exile in a 'land of unlikeness' or 'region of

14 In the copy of this poem found in the Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), Clm. 23833, Death's interlocutor is a 'young man' ('adolescens'): see the text edited by S. Cosacchi, *Makabertanz: Der Totentanz in Kunst, Poesie und Brauchtum des Mittelalters* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1965), pp. 264-6.

15 Hamlyn identifies this voice as that of a 'Spectator'.

16 *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 17 vols. (Oxford, 1975-2013), s.v. *discrimen*, sense 3 ('test, crisis, hazard'), 3b ('death, martyrdom'). The phrase 'discrimen mortis' occurs in the prose-text known as the 'Dialogue between a Sick Man and Death' (inc. 'O Mors quam amara est memoria tua …'), ed. G. Thiel, *Die Todesfigur: eine Studie ihrer Funktion in der deutschen Literatur vom vierzehnten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des sozial- und gesellschaftskritischen Aspekts*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 1989), pp. 242-66 (from BSB Clm 15329), line 101. See also Walther, *Streitgedicht*, p. 83; Rudolf, p. 18, n. 34; Walther, *Initia Carminum* 5629.

17 Nor does it mean 'Against the world I cast my spears'; Hamlyn's translation is also rather loose at this point.

18 See the article 'Wo sind nun alle namhaften Menschen?' in *Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, 14 vols. (Berlin, 1995-2002), XIII, pp. 155-8. For examples (not mentioned in the *Lexikon*), see the Middle English *Death and Life*, ed. J.W. Conlee, in *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology* (East Lansing, 1991), pp. 138-65, esp. lines 326-43; and the medieval Latin poem 'Cur mundus militat …', ed. T. Wright, in *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (London: 1841; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), pp. 147-8, lines 13-20. For discussion of such devices, and their wider aesthetic and intellectual context, see J. Białostocki, 'Kunst und Vanitas', in *Stil und Ikonographie: Studien zur Kunstwissenschaft* (Cologne, 1966; repr. 1981), pp. 269-317, esp. pp. 271-2.

dissimilarity' ('regio dissimilitudinis'), remote from God.[19] 'In scriptis' here is not 'in books', but more precisely 'in the scriptures': the point here being that there is specific biblical authority for the idea that all flesh is subject to death.[20]

Oosterwijk's treatment of the poem's Latin is also untidy. She leaves several abbreviations unexpanded; there are two obvious misprints ('strius' for 'struis', and 'fi nis' for 'finis'); more seriously, 'huic' is at several points printed in place of 'hunc', even though the brass makes it unambiguously clear that 'hunc' is the intended form.

My own interpretations of the text and translation are presented below:

[Homo/Vita:] 'Tu, fera Mors, quid agis, humane prodiga stragis?
Cedo[21] quot offendis, quod in hunc discrimina tendis!
Dic cur tela struis, nature depopulatrix?
Dic cur non metuis hunc trudere, vasta voratrix?
Cur te non puduit fatali sorte ferire
Vivere quem decuit, & plebs lacrimatur obire?'

Mors: 'Crede nec injurias mortalibus hunc dare somnis,
Namque meas furias caro tandem sentiet omnis.
Horrida tela fero, morsu necis urgeo seclum.
Nec vulgo nec hero parcens: traho singula mecum.
Quid valet altus honos? Rex, dux, princepsque sacerdos,
Hanc subeunt sortem: nequeunt precurrere mortem.
Mors ego sum, finis lustrantibus hic peregrinis,
Terminus itineris, quem nec preterire mereris.
In scriptis legitur, caro quevis morte potitur;
Et vox applaudit vulgi: mors omnia claudit.'

[Humanity/Life:] 'You, cruel Death, prodigal with the disasters you inflict on humanity – what are you doing? I challenge you to say how many people you will harm by bringing catastrophes upon this one particular man! Tell me why you range your weapons [against him], you depopulator of nature![22] Tell me why you're not afraid to trample down this man, you insatiable devourer! Why were you not ashamed to strike with a fatal destiny one who deserved to live, whose death the people lament with tears?'

19 This concept, and the language in which it is expressed, are Augustinian: see *Confessions*, VII, x, 16 (trans. J.G. Pilkington, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, First Series, I, *The Confessions and Letters of St. Augustin* [sic], *with a Sketch of his Life and Work*, ed. P. Schaff (Buffalo, N.Y., 1886), p. 109). For a study of its influence, see C. Dahlberg, *The Literature of Unlikeness* (Hanover, N.H., 1988).

20 See e.g. Ecclesiasticus 41.5: 'Fear not the sentence of death. Remember what things have been before thee, and what shall come after thee: this sentence is from the Lord upon all flesh'; Ecclesiastes 3.19: 'Therefore the death of man and of beasts is one: and the condition of them both is equal. As man dieth, so they also die. All things breathe alike, and man hath nothing more than beast. All things are subject to vanity' (Douay-Rheims translation).

21 In classical Latin, both syllables of *cedo* are short. Here the first one seems to be long.

22 Hamlyn translates 'nature depopulatrix' by inserting a whole additional line: 'O thou who canst destroy thy choice of all that breathes'. He does the same with 'vasta voratrix', which becomes 'Insatiable devouring monster that thou art'.

Fig. 3. Figure of Death from the Rudyng brass (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Death: 'Don't think it any kind of outrage to mortal beings that this man should be put to sleep,[23] for ultimately all flesh will feel [the effect of] my rages. I bear terrifying weapons, driving the world forward with the bite of mortality. Sparing neither the crowd, nor any hero, I take with me every single thing. What is the good of any lofty honour? King, duke, prince and priest, all undergo this fate; they cannot outrun death. I am Death, and this is the finishing-point for every wandering pilgrim, the journey's end that you can never deserve to escape. It is written in the scriptures that all flesh is subject to death: the voice of the people approves,[24] and death is the conclusion of all.'[25]

Acknowledgements

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23 Hamlyn takes 'mortalibus' to agree with 'somnis' (in 'a mortal's rest') – which is grammatically possible – but the sense this yields is relatively weak. It seems to me more likely that 'mortalibus' is Death's way of referring to the unhappy and aggrieved people referred to in the previous line.

24 This seems to be a formulaic expression meaning 'the matter is settled', presumably in reference to the audience's applause at the end of a play (to which reference is often made in classical comedy). 'Vox applaudit' is a contradiction in terms: 'applaudit' can only be metaphorical (i.e. 'approves'). Hamlyn takes it to mean 'proclaims' – as in 'The crowd's voice too proclaims death shuts the door on all' – but this seems to me to stretch the possible sense of the word too far.

25 'Mors omnia claudit' recalls the particular phrasing of another dialogue involving a personification of Death, 'Death and Master Polycarp', where Death is reported to say: 'Ego sum que omnia claudo viuentia, et non est qui se abscondat a dominatione mea'. This text survives in BSB, Clm. 15181 and 16469. Extracts, with analysis by Ludwig Bertalot, can be found in Burdach, pp. 520-3; see also Walther, *Streitgedicht*, p. 83; Rudolf, p. 47. Cf. also 'in ictu oculi clauduntur omnia' in 'Cur mundus militat…', ed. Wright, line 24.

A Cadaver in Context: the Shroud Brass of John Brigge Revisited

David Harry

Examination of documentary evidence relating to the Brigge family enables the London B shroud brass at Salle, Norfolk, to be identified as that of John Brigge of Dickleburgh (d. 1430). The monitory function of shroud brasses is considered in the light of texts such as the Meditationes *of Pseudo-Bernard and* The Book of Good Manners.

The identity of John Brigge[1]

In the south aisle of the church of SS. Peter and Paul in Salle, Norfolk, there is a striking pre-Reformation shroud brass which has been described as 'the finest shroud brass in the Country' (Figs. 2, 4).[2] The brass consists of an effigy, in the form of an emaciated figure exposed in an open shroud, measuring 620 x 150 mm, and an inscription of six lines in English verse. The craftsmanship is of a very high standard: details such as teeth and sinews are depicted. The brass commemorates one John Brigge. The Brigge family were prominent Norfolk wool and cloth merchants with land throughout the county and as far afield as Westmorland.[3] Thomas Brigge (d. 1444) is buried with his two wives in St. James's chapel, which he built along with the rest of the south transept. Thomas's initials survive in a roof boss at the entrance to the chapel and he is depicted kneeling in prayer, with his wives, in stained glass (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Thomas Brigge (d. 1444), stained glass, Salle, Norfolk (photo.: © Mike Dixon)

1 I wish to thank Christian Steer for his encouragement and assistance in preparing this article, and those who have provided information on Salle and the Brigge family, including Jerome Bertram, Carole Hill, William Lack, David King, David Lepine and Matthew Sillence, together with the staff of the Norfolk Record Office.

2 R. Greenwood and M. Norris, *The Brasses of Norfolk Churches* (Holt, 1976), p. 50.

3 S. Briggs, *The Archives of the Briggs Family* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1880), pp. 4-13; W.L.E. Parsons, *Salle: The Story of a Norfolk Parish, Its Church, Manors and People* (Norwich, 1937), pp. 72-9.

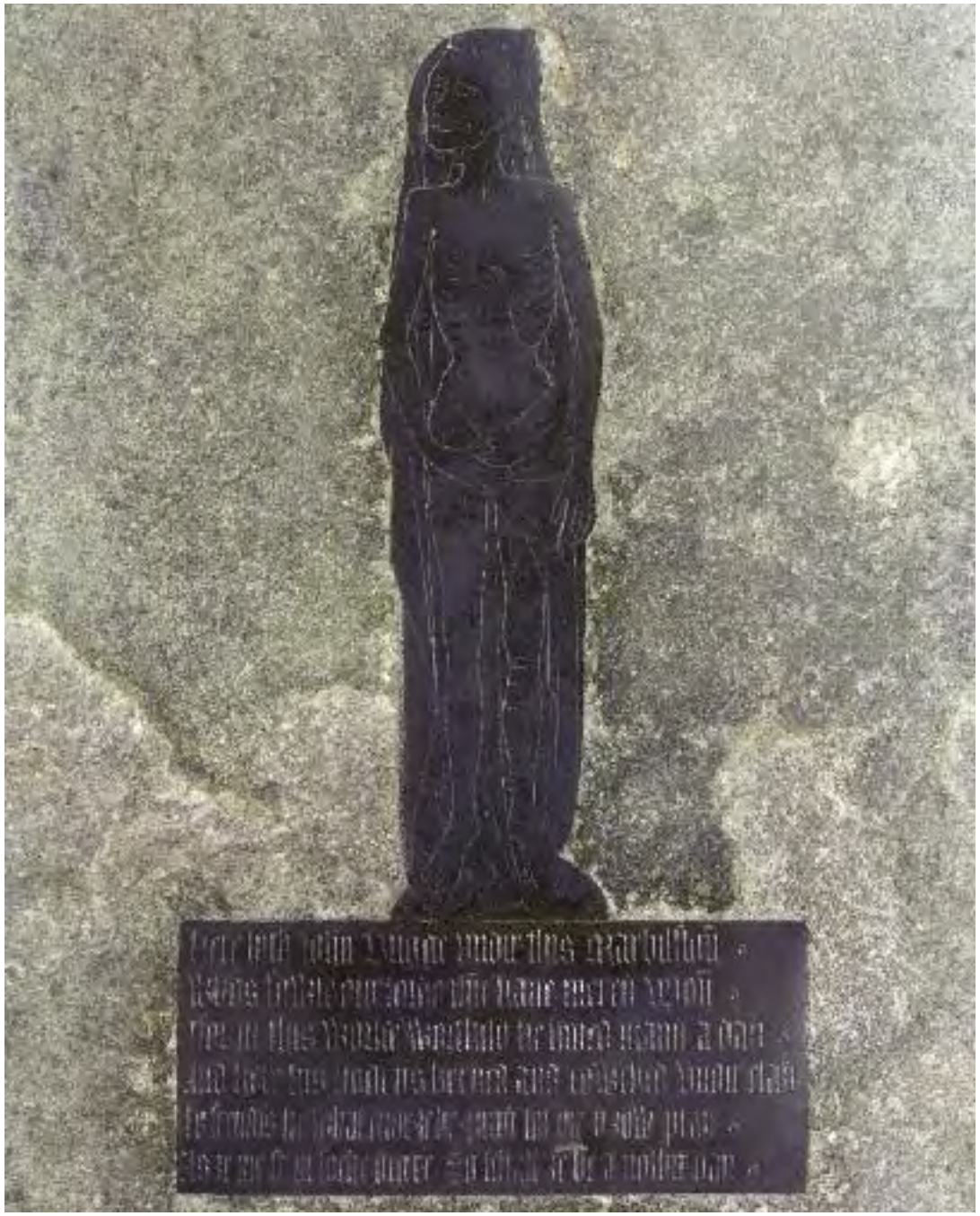

Fig. 2. John Brigge (d. 1430), Salle, Norfolk (M.S.V)
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

The chapel was evidently meant to serve as a Brigge family chapel, though it was shared with the St. James guild. In his will, dated and proved 1444, Thomas paid three chaplains an annual fee of 8 marks to celebrate Mass for himself and his family in the chapel.[4] The chapel, which also served as Thomas's chantry, was an important part of the Brigge family commemorative strategy. The church of SS. Peter and Paul stands as a monument for two of the prominent families in Salle: the Brigges and the Boleyns.[5] Both families would prosper under the Tudor regime. Geoffrey Boleyn (d. 1440), whose brass survives in the church, was the ancestor to Queen Anne. Thomas Brigge's great-great-grandson, Thomas Brigge, was apparently a chaplain to Lady Mary Tudor in the 1530s.[6]

The identity of the John Brigge commemorated in the shroud brass is something of a mystery. Indeed, it has been a challenge to identify the deceased, compounded by the number of 'John Brigges' in fifteenth-century Norfolk. The most frequently cited candidate for the brass is the John Brigge who died in 1454. This attribution is long-standing, maintained by a number of scholars working on the Brigge family and their monuments since William Betham's *Baronetage of England*.[7] This attribution is based on two assumptions, both of which are problematic. The first is that John Brigge who died in 1454 was the son of Thomas Brigge of Salle; the second is that a later Thomas Brigge (d. 1494) left the sum of 28s. 6d. in payment for the shroud brass in Salle church.

In his will of 1454, John Brigge described himself as 'Johannes Brygges de Quedenham'.[8] John was devoted to the parish of Quidenham, Norfolk, and makes considerable provision for the poor of the village and the guild of St. John the Baptist. Quidenham is some 35 miles south-west from Salle, closer to Thetford than Norwich, and John's will makes no reference to the parish of Salle, nor its splendid church, nor (and perhaps most crucially) to any of the paternal estates he would have received after the death of Thomas in 1444. John Brigge of Quidenham describes his wife as Margaret and their children as William, Agnes, Margaret and Thomas. William would become mayor of Thetford in 1480 and provisions were made for Thomas to be raised as a priest. The son of Thomas Brigge (d. 1444), however, was married to Eleanor Beaupre and their eldest children were Thomas, Edward, Margaret and Joan.[9]

The son of Thomas Brigge (d. 1444) was, in fact, a resident of Salle who died in 1473. Though the will of this John Brigge does not survive, record of it does, and we know it was dated 9 September 1473.[10] This John completed a number of major structural works to the church at Salle

4 Norfolk Record Office (NRO), NCC, Wylbey 44.

5 On the church, see E. Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (London, 2012), pp. 83-108.

6 Briggs, *Archives of the Briggs Family*. It must be noted, however, that there are some errors in this work. Master Thomas Brigge, D.D., was presented by Princess Mary to the vicarage of Kenninghall, Norfolk, in 1549 (F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), I, p. 213). He may be the Thomas Brygg who was a Scholar and Fellow of King's Hall, Cambridge, from 1524 to 1537 (J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 214).

7 W. Betham, *The Baronetage of England: Or the History of the English Baronets*, 5 vols. (Ipswich, 1801-5), I, p. 438.

8 NRO, NCC, Aleyn 200.

9 It is perhaps worth noting that Betham attempted to explain this discrepancy by stating that John married twice and relocated to Thetford having settled the paternal estates in Salle (Betham, *Baronetage*, p. 438).

10 NRO, NCC, Gelour 2.

following his father's wishes. Thomas left instructions in his will that two of his estates be sold twenty-five years after his death and the proceeds devoted to enriching the fabric of the church at Salle, as well as the celebration of memorial Masses and the performance of charitable deeds including almsgiving and 'edifying sermons'.[11] Thomas was evidently committed to the spiritual welfare of Salle. Work by David King on the stained glass of Salle confirms that John carried out his father's wishes in 1469-70 and enhanced the splendour of St. James's chapel, including the addition of stained glass that commemorated, among other things, his marriage to Eleanor Beaupre.[12]

In his will of 1494, John's son, also Thomas Brigge, left the sum of 26s. 8d. for a brass to his father: 'Alia petra marmorea pro tumulo Johannis Brygg patris mei in ecclesia de Salle' ('Another marble stone for the tomb of my father John Brigge in the church at Salle').[13] As noted by Roger Greenwood and Malcolm Norris, however, such a sum would only buy a simple slab and inscription, far from the magnificent shroud brass that survives.[14] What is more, the brass at Salle is quite evidently not of the late fifteenth century. The brass is a product of the London B workshop which operated until *c.* 1460.[15] The characteristic swan-neck squiggles at the end of each line of the inscription are a clear sign of this prominent workshop.[16] It has been suggested that this means Thomas the younger was paying a long-overdue bill.[17] Far more likely is that the brass dates to *c.* 1440, during the period in which Thomas the elder was undertaking significant work on the south side of the church. This may account for the location of the shroud brass, in the south aisle of the nave.

Our dating of the Brigge brass may be supported by stylistic similarities to another unrelated brass in the same church, that of Geoffrey Boleyn and his wife Alice, dated 1440. Though there is nothing to suggest a joint commission, the Brigges and Boleyns were wealthy patrons of Salle church and it may be both families sought a London workshop to enhance the prestige of their memorials. There are a number of epigraphical similarities between the inscriptions of these two brasses. These include similar capitals on the words 'Hic' and 'Here'; on both, the capital 'H' is almost identical, only a longer descender on the right-hand stem on the Boleyn brass differentiating them. Another close similarity is the capital 'A', which occurs in the word 'And' at the beginning of the fourth line of the Brigge inscription, and in 'Alice' on the Boleyn inscription. Here the strong right stem of the A and the forward sweeping serif on the foot of the delicate sloping left stem give both the impression of a sail. The two inscriptions are clearly contemporary and feature none of the calligraphic flourishes more typical of later London B compositions. Similar comparisons for the effigy are more challenging. This is because Brigge's effigy is so unusual. Naked and in profile, it is difficult to make a comparison with the gallant – and clothed – Boleyn brass.

11 NRO, NCC, Wylbey 44.
12 My thanks to David King for providing information on his fascinating work on the stained glass of Salle church.
13 NRO, NCC, Wolman 202-5.
14 Greenwood and Norris, *Brasses of Norfolk Churches*, p. 50.
15 R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design, c. 1420-85', *JBAA*, XIII (1978), pp. 52 & 73. Emmerson also suggests the Brigge brass could date to the 1430s.
16 S. Badham, J. Blair and R. Emmerson, *Specimens of Lettering from English Monumental Brasses* (London, 1976), p. 3.
17 Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*, p. 90.

Fig. 3. Indent of Christina Brigge, Salle, Norfolk
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

It is worth noting, however, that both Brigge and the Boleyns are depicted standing on small triangular mounds that feature a very pronounced downward etching at the edges and around the feet.

We have, therefore, a brass of *c.* 1440. Either Thomas the younger was settling a debt fifty years late for a father whose tomb was engraved and set some thirty-three years before his death and who, in spite of undertaking considerable work on the church himself, did not settle his own debts; or, we have to assume that the brass commemorates another John Brigge. The marble stone Thomas the younger requested for his father was, like the monuments he stipulated for himself in the Greyfriars of Norwich and for his mother in St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, either left uncompleted or has been lost.[18]

A clue to this mystery is to be found a few feet from the shroud brass, where an indent survives for a brass, now lost, to Christina *Briggs* (Fig. 3). This brass, contemporary with the shroud brass of John Brigge, was recorded by Francis Blomefield, and inscribed 'Hic jacet Christiana Briggs nup. uxor. Johs.'[19] Neither of our John Brigges was married to a Christina. There was, however, a third John Brigge, of Dickleburgh, Norfolk, who died intestate in 1430. In that year a grant of administration was given to his wife, 'Christian' (Christina).[20] We know that Thomas (d. 1444) had an older brother called John and that members of the family were living in Dickleburgh from the end of the fourteenth century.[21]

It is entirely possible that, during the building work at Salle church in the years around 1440, either Christina or Thomas commissioned a brass for the recently-deceased John. During this period the church at Salle would have been transformed by the investment of the Boleyns and Brigges. Thomas appears to have envisaged the chapel in the south transept as his personal chantry, as discussed above. He may have sought to expand the Brigge spiritual identity in the church by adding brasses to his brother and sister-in-law close to the chapel. The request in his will for his son, John, to invest further money in the building twenty-five years after his death indicates that Thomas envisaged his family maintaining a lasting relationship with the church.

The iconography of the memorial

The shroud brass, therefore, belongs to John Brigge (d. 1430) and was engraved *c.* 1440. The brass contains an effigy of a naked and emaciated cadaver lying in, or emerging from, a funerary shroud. The shroud is held with a certain amount of decency across the pelvis exposing the head, torso, arms, legs and feet. The face of the deceased is fashioned with a forlorn grimace, an attitude of sadness and despair perhaps implied. The eyes, especially when compared to those of the nearby brass to Geoffrey Boleyn, are evidently meant to be closed, though the teeth are bared. The brass carries an inscription:

18 NRO, NCC, Wolman 202-5. Weever makes no mention of Eleanor's tomb in St. Peter's, Norwich (J. Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631), pp. 801-2). The tombs in the Norwich Greyfriars were lost following the Dissolution.

19 Blomefield, *Norfolk*, VIII, p. 276; *The Chorography of Norfolk: An historicall and chorographicall description of Norffolck*, ed. C.M. Hood (Norwich, 1938), p. 146.

20 NRO, NCC, Surflete 6.

21 An older brother of John and Thomas, Walter, died apparently quite young and intestate in Dickleburgh, in 1374 (NRO, NCC, Heydon 58).

Here lyth John Brigge undir this
Marbilston
Whos sowle our lorde ihu haue mercy
upon
Ffor in this world worthily he lived
many a day
And here his bodi ys beryed and
cowched undir clay
Lo frendis fre what evyr ye be pray for
me y yow pray
As ye me se in soche degre So schall ye
be a nothir day

The inscription appears to serve two purposes. The first is the traditional request for intercessory prayer: 'Pray for me, I you pray'. The principal role of funerary monuments in pre-Reformation England was to ensure that the deceased were remembered in the prayers of the living, and thus their suffering in Purgatory lessened.[22] The second part of the message is didactic. It is intended to instruct the living, to warn them of the imminence of death and to remind them of the necessity of prayer and Christ's mercy. 'As you see me in such degree, so shall you be another day' may be a separate message to the request for intercession.

It is more likely that the two parts of the message were intended to be complementary. The phrase, 'As you see me...' is borrowed from the medieval morality tradition. It is perhaps most familiar from the motif of *The Three Living and the Three Dead*. The phrase, uttered by the dead, actually traces its origins back to earlier monastic traditions. For instance, the late twelfth-century *Meditationes* of Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux contain a passage in which a monk is encouraged to visit a cemetery and to meditate on his own mortality.[23] The phrase, 'Quod ego sum, ipsi fuerunt; et quod ipsi sunt, ego ero' ('What I am, they were, and what they are, I shall be') emanates from the sepulchre.[24] The message is typically accompanied by a suitably grisly allusion to the physical consequence of mortality. In the *Meditationes* this is the grim expression, 'Nihil aliud est homo quam sperma fetidum, saccus stercorum, cibus vermium' ('Man is nothing more than vile seed, a sack of filth, food for worms').[25]

Fig. 4. John Brigge (d. 1430), Salle, Norfolk (M.S.V), detail of head
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

22 I would direct readers to the scholarship of Clive Burgess in this field, especially C. Burgess, '"A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England', in *Parish Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750*, ed. S. J. Wright (London, 1988), pp. 56-84; and 'Obligations and Strategy: Managing Memory in the Later Medieval Parish', *MBS Trans.*, XVIII, pt. 4 (2012), pp. 289-310.

23 Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Meditationes piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis', *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, CLXXXIV (Paris, 1854), cols. 485-509.

24 Ps.-Bernard, 'Meditationes', col. 487.

25 Ps.-Bernard, 'Meditationes', col. 490.

Such works of moral instruction were widely known in the fifteenth century. The *Meditationes*, for instance, survive in almost 300 English manuscripts, were printed several times, and were a core part of the moralists' lexicon. They are one of the most frequently cited works in vernacular sermons of the period. Other texts and iconographical traditions, such as *The Three Living and the Three Dead*, continued the original sentiment with associated imagery. The phrase reminded the living of the need for good works and repentance. Such good works will, of course, have included prayer for the dead and on a monumental inscription the sentiment may have enhanced the efficacy of the request for intercession.

In the morality tradition, the phrase, 'As I am, you shall be...' is typically spoken by the dead and is therefore a familiar sentiment on late-medieval monuments. The phrase appears on the tomb of the Black Prince, for instance, and also in part of the inscription on the cadaver tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele in Canterbury Cathedral (*c.* 1425):

> Quisquis eris qui transieris. rogo michi memoreris
> Tu qui eris michi consimilis. qui post morieris
> Omnibus horribilis. Pulvis, vermis et caro vilis.
> (Whosoever you are who will pass by [here] I ask for remembrance from you,
> You who will be like me, you who will afterwards die,
> Horrible in everything – dust, worms, and vile flesh.)[26]

Chichele's inscription, in brass, was also a product of the London B workshop. The tomb is known to have been standing by 1425, some nineteen years before Chichele's death.[27] Chichele is said to have meditated at his tomb, which lay before his archiepiscopal seat. Yet there is no question that memorials of this type, with such vivid inscriptions, were also intended to stand out in the crowded commemorative landscape of the late-medieval church.

But what are we to make of a didactic message on a lay brass? On the one hand we may simply be dealing with a commonplace. On the other, we may have an example of an increasingly widespread practice in the fifteenth century, that of the cross-fertilisation of clerical and lay religious culture. Nigel Saul has noted that cadaver monuments are exceptional among the funerary monuments of the later Middle Ages. They do not simply serve to secure prayer for the deceased. Their edifying function stands at odds with the majority of other monuments from the pre-Reformation period.[28] However, I suggest we turn this on its head and reflect for a moment on the purpose of the funerary monument. The typical purpose is to secure prayer for the deceased. Yet in the late medieval period, prayer for the deceased is given in exchange for charity. Typically this is *post-mortem* charity in which a donor provides a community with materials to enhance the performance of the liturgy, or improve the physical fabric of a space of worship.[29] It is not always apparent how a monument which pleads for prayer serves a charitable purpose.

26 C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), p. 477.

27 P. Morgan, 'Of Worms and War: 1380-1558', in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. P.C. Jupp and C. Gittings (Manchester, 1999), p. 138.

28 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 311-14.

29 Burgess, '"A Fond Thing Vainly Invented"', p. 73.

The request, 'Orate pro me' depends on the charity of the passer-by to offer prayer for the soul of the deceased. There were critics in fifteenth-century England who believed that an 'Orate pro me' inscription was problematic and that it went against the purpose of the tomb. One work which articulates a concern for what it perceives to be the misuse of the funerary monument is *The Book of Good Manners* (*c.* 1404). This work, originally written in French, circulated among English gentlemen, clerks and merchants during the fifteenth century.[30] French was a language of vital importance to those conducting trade with the Continent and the appetite for French devotional works among late-medieval merchants was voracious.[31] *The Book of Good Manners* survives in four English manuscript translations of the fifteenth century.[32] It was printed by William Caxton in 1487, at the request of his friend and fellow mercer, William Pratt,[33] and went through five editions before the Reformation.

The Book of Good Manners contains a discussion of the purpose of funerary monuments, lamenting the trend for monuments to celebrate the deceased rather than admonish the living. It describes 'curious sepulchres [that] signify pride and vanity'.[34] As far as the author is concerned, 'curious sepulchres' do more harm than good to the deceased:

> And yf thou sayst that thou dooyst it onely to thende that the people praye for the ... I ansuere to the that in my lyf I haue seen many sepultures but I haue not apperceyed that the people is moued to deuocoun or to praye to god by cause of them, but I haue wel seen moche people beholde aduyse and Iangle [gossip] by cause of suche sepultures.[35]

The objection is that few monuments serve an edifying purpose. They stir admiration rather than devotion. Monuments ought to contain a spiritually rousing sentiment, not simply a request for prayer.

The Book of Good Manners continues by further admonishing those who make extensive provisions for their burial before death, complaining that, 'more fyttyng shold it be that suche goodes were employed to shryne the bodyes of sayntes the whiche thou hast employed to a sepulture for the whiche art a synner and unworthy to be enhaunsed [raised] aboue therthe.' This formidable piece of condemnation concludes, 'to burye other thou oughtest to be right dylygent and attendant. But of thyn own sepulture thou oughtest to take lytyl hede and not be curyous.'[36] Those individuals concerned with their own monuments are prideful. One's own burial and monument should be treated with disdain and indifference.

30 It was, for instance, known to John Shirley, clerk of the Exchequer, whose translation of *c.* 1440 survives in London, BL Add. MS 5467.

31 On merchants and reading habits, see A.F. Sutton, 'Merchants', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in England*, ed. V. Gillespie and S. Powell (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 127-33; and K.L. Scott, 'Past Ownership: Evidence of Book Ownership by English Merchants in the Later Middle Ages', in *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A.S.G. Edwards*, ed. C. M. Meale and D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 150-77.

32 B Lindström, 'The English Versions of Jacques Legrand's "Livre de bonnes meurs"', *The Library*, 6th Series, I (1979), pp. 245-54.

33 A.F. Sutton, 'Caxton was a Mercer: His Social Milieu and Friends', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. N. J. Rogers (Stamford, 1994), p. 141.

34 Transcriptions are my own based on Caxton's 1487 edition of the text.

35 W. Caxton, *The Book of Good Maners* (Westminster, 1487), ff. 61-2.

36 Caxton, *The Book of Good Maners*, f. 62.

The Book of Good Manners was written for 'householders', men of moderate social standing like Caxton and Pratt and the Brigges. We cannot say that the work was known to the Brigges, but it is an excellent example of a sentiment that was evidently circulating in the religious literature of their social group. Such sentiments clearly resonated with some wealthy merchants. Pratt, who had presented Caxton with a copy for translation, requested burial without pomp.[37] The Brigge brass would certainly have met with approval from the author of *The Book of Good Manners*. Its edifying sentiment was intended to encourage devotion and meditation on death in the passer-by. The tomb, in effect, instructs passers-by to reflect on their own mortality and learn to die.

Instruction was a crucial aspect of lay piety in the fifteenth century and something that literate and wealthy laymen and merchants were frequently asked to engage in.[38] It was also an increasingly prominent part of commemorative strategy, as attested by the number of works of religious instruction sponsored and produced by laymen.[39] Could a monument qualify as a work of religious instruction? The author of *The Book of Good Manners* certainly felt it could and the use of edifying sentiments on clerical tombs has already been attributed to their pastoral vocation.[40] While the didactic elements of shroud brasses are readily discernable, they may indicate wider practice. The brass of Thomas Roos in the north transept of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, for instance, has been linked to the east window of the transept which retains glass of 1441 in the tracery lights. This glass depicts scenes of the Visitation and the meeting of Justice, Mercy, Truth and Peace from Psalm 85. The brass's simple inscription, 'Orate pro me', offers no moral guidance. Considered alongside the Christian teaching in the stained glass, however, it conveys a more complete charitable message.[41]

If the Brigge brass does date to *c.* 1440, as is argued above, it dates to a period of intensive investment in the fabric of the church at Salle. This investment was intended to serve a number of purposes. The first was to celebrate the wealth and prestige of the Brigge family. The second was to commemorate their dead. The third was to provide for the spiritual welfare of their community. The shroud brass of John Brigge would have complemented the other donations made by the Brigge family to Salle church. A prestigious London B brass would have made a powerful statement of the family's wealth. A brother, and husband, who died intestate would have been commemorated and the worshippers at Salle would be further equipped to continue their worship and personal devotions.

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37 Sutton, 'Caxton was a Mercer', pp. 145-6.

38 In 1357, for instance, the archbishop of York, John Thoresby, produced a work which would become known as the 'Lay-Folk's Catechism', a selection of mandatory Christian knowledge to which he attached an indulgence of forty days for any laymen who learnt the catechism and taught it to others. See W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 233-4.

39 This is something I have written on elsewhere: D. Harry, 'William Caxton and Commemorative Culture in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 63-80.

40 P. King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb in Fifteenth-Century England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1987), p. 180; P. Cockerham and N. Orme, 'John Waryn and his Cadaver Brass, formerly in Menheniot Church, Cornwall', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), p. 56.

41 D. King, 'Mendicant Glass in East Anglia', in *The Friars in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. N.J. Rogers (Donington, 2010), pp. 178-9.

The Southwark Workshops, 1585-1605

Jon Bayliss

This paper aims to identify the distinguishing features of brasses produced by the Southwark workshops of Cornelius Cure, Garret Johnson and Richard Stevens, and to clarify the relationships between them.

Introduction and background

During the later Middle Ages the production of monumental brasses was concentrated in the City of London, but by the late sixteenth century the focus of the monumental trade had moved from the City itself over the river to Southwark. The move had not taken place by the mid 1560s, when two brasses are documented as the work of City marblers, Christopher Grigge and Alan Gamman, but Netherlandish craftsmen were arriving in Southwark at this period and setting up outside the control of the London companies.[1] Three substantial workshops were established there by immigrants.[2] All three are known to have made sculptured tombs in alabaster and other types of stone, but only one of them is documented as making monumental brasses. This has led to a situation where all similar brasses have been attributed to that workshop, that of Garret Johnson.[3] The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that stylistic differences show that these brasses are not such a homogeneous group as they have been perceived to be and that, as two other styles can be identified as closely contemporary with the Gage brasses, it is very probable that all three workshops made brasses. The analysis of style is along the approach taken by Dr. J.P.C. Kent's seminal paper 'A New Classification of Military Brasses', which looked at effigy rather than lettering style.[4]

In his 1958 thesis 'A Sixteenth Century Workshop', John Page-Phillips in the appendices listed a large number of brasses by both inscription and effigy style, describing some effigies as 'Daston/Johnson', transitional between the style he labelled 'Daston' and the 'Johnson' style, others as 'Johnson' and finishing with a list of 'Johnson' style brasses with Roman capital script.[5] He concluded that different inscription styles accompanied brasses from the same workshop. Thus, besides the Roman capital script, Scripts 10, 12 and 13 could also

1 A. White, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors *c.* 1560 – *c.* 1660', *Walpole Soc.*, LXI (1999), p. 57 (Gamman); A. White, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors *c.* 1560 – *c.* 1660: Addenda and Corrigenda', *Walpole Soc.*, LXXI (2009), p. 338 (Grigge).

2 White, 'Biographical Dictionary', pp. 36-42 (Cornelius Cure), 65-70 (Garret Johnson), 112-13 (Richard Stevens).

3 Although often dubbed Gerard, there is no contemporary evidence to support this usage. One of his sons, also Garret, was referred to as Gerard in his diary by Sir William Dugdale in 1653 (White, 'Biographical Dictionary', pp. 68 fn. 1, 70 fn.1).

4 J.P.C. Kent's article was published in *JBAA*, Third Series, XII (1949), pp. 70-97. Reading the first page of Dr. Kent's paper, one might come away with the illusion that Dr. Kent's aim was to bring the stylistic analysis of medieval military brasses up to the level already achieved by R. H. D'Elboux's examination of the Johnson style. In fact, although D'Elboux did list a small number of brasses which relate closely to the documented Gage brasses, he did not take the comprehensive approach that Kent did. See pp. 42-5 of K.A. Esdaile and R.H. D'Elboux, 'A List of post-Reformation Brasses of Known Authorship', *MBS Trans.*, VIII, pt. 2 (1944), pp. 37-56.

5 J. Page-Phillips, *A Sixteenth Century Workshop*, was submitted as a B.A. dissertation in 1958. After circulating for years in typescript it was published as MBS Occasional Publication No. 1 (London, 1999) with extended appendices incorporating later work by Page-Phillips.

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be found with 'Johnson' style effigies. In the text of the thesis he discussed the Johnson workshop without reference to any of Johnson's contemporaries other than a passing mention of 'Gerard Holleman'. However, by the time he came to revise Macklin's *Monumental Brasses* some ten years later, he hazarded a guess that William Cure had had a hand in the 'Daston' style and noted that the Cure workshop was perhaps more important than Johnson's. In the caption of two illustrations comparing sculptured and engraved depictions of kneeling effigies under arches, he suggested that William Cure's workshop may have been responsible for both.[6] In his discussion of Johnson he wrote, 'Johnson probably did not have the time to design all the brasses that come under the heading of the "Johnson Style", and certainly a number are of poor quality'. Since then relatively little work has been done on these workshops from the point of view of their production of monumental brasses, but Dr. Adam White's examination of their tomb sculpture did encompass the Gage monuments, both in brass and alabaster, for which three Johnson drawings survive, as well as the sculptural output of the other two workshops.

William Cure, a Netherlander who by his own account had been brought to England to work on Henry VIII's Palace of Nonsuch in the early 1540s, was resident from 1559 until his death in 1579 in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle in Southwark. His workshop was continued by his English-born son Cornelius, a member of the Marblers' Company from 1574 until it was absorbed by the Masons' Company in 1585. He died in 1608 or 1609. Originally from Amsterdam, Garret Johnson arrived in England around 1567 and was living in Southwark by 1582-3. Although he was located in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle in 1593, he lived in St. Saviour's parish thereafter until his death in 1611. Richard Stevens, a German-speaking native of Brabant, came to England in 1567 as a Protestant refugee and was living in the parish of St. Olave in 1568, also residing in St. Saviour's and St. George's parishes at various times thereafter. He died in St. Saviour's parish in September 1592. All three workshops made tombs in alabaster and other types of stone but only the Johnson workshop is as yet documented as making monumental brasses: those commemorating members of the Gage family at West Firle, Sussex.

Johnson workshop brasses – an analysis

Any sensible examination of 'Johnson' style brasses must indeed start with the Gage brasses at West Firle in Sussex. Garret Johnson's correspondence with John Gage, carried on around the margins of the design sketch for the brass of Gage and his two wives, is well known. The brass (Fig. 1) and its tomb-chest were made in 1595 as the inscription cut on the tomb chest shows:

JOHES GAGE QUI HIC IACET
FECIT HEC MONUMENTA 1595

The date agrees with the date of death given on the brass, perhaps referring to John Gage's second wife, Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Guilford and daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove (M.S.VI). Gage himself died on 10 October 1598. Johnson also supplied sketches for memorials to John Gage's father and grandfather: the brasses on a tomb chest of Sir Edward Gage, d. 1569, and his wife (M.S.III) (Fig. 2) and the alabaster effigies of Sir John Gage, d. 1557, and his wife, whose

6 J. Page-Phillips, *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972), p. 42.

tomb chest has four brass components, an inscription, an achievement and two shields in brass (M.S.II).[7] Although John Gage's stipulations about the manner of dress in which his wives were to be shown might be thought to slightly decrease the value of the brasses as comparative material, the change of posture of Sir Edward's figure from frontal in the sketch to semi-profile on the finished tomb more than counteracts this, as John Gage's figure remained frontal as in the sketch, and we therefore have documented examples of both frontal and semi-profile poses for standing armoured figures. Sir Edward's wife is almost a replica of John Gage's wives. No sketches survive for the brasses at West Firle of Thomas Gage, d. 1590, and his wife, or of George Gage, and they were presumably made after John Gage's death, as Thomas's wife Elizabeth's dress is girded in the manner to which John Gage had objected. In addition, the achievements on the three documented monuments are cut in exactly the same way, while those on Thomas's and George's brasses are engraved the same way as each other but a little differently from the other three. Nevertheless, they all form a coherent group. Helpfully, Thomas Gage's two daughters are depicted as kneeling at a prayer desk.

Two further brasses at different churches in Sussex also belong to this group. They commemorate Edward Gage, esquire, and his wife Margaret, daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove, in the Bentley chapel of Framfield church (M.S.I) (Fig. 3), and John, second son of John Shelley of Michelgrove, and his wife Elinor, daughter of Sir Thomas Lovell, at Clapham (M.S.VI) (Fig. 4). Both Margaret and Elinor are attired in a manner that would have satisfied John Gage, although the daughters on both brasses are not. The figures on both brasses are kneeling. John Shelley is in armour but Edward Gage is dressed in civilian costume. Edward Gage's brass has two inscriptions cut in alabaster, above and below it, one of which is dated 1595, the same year as John Gage's monument. The other one is a quotation from the Catholic Office of the Dead, which is also found as one of the two inscriptions, both cut in alabaster, at Clapham. The close similarity between these two monuments suggests they were made at the same time and the fact that Edward Gage's wife was the sister of John Shelley at Clapham reinforces this suggestion. That they were part of the same commission as the brasses at Firle is confirmed by the use on John Gage's brass and both the brasses to his relatives at Clapham and Framfield of the incorrect arms for Shelley, those of another line of the family, *Argent a chevron between three escallops sable* instead of *Sable a fess ingrailed between three whelks or*. Had they been separate commissions, this mistake would have been picked up after the first brass was delivered.[8]

Adam White noted that an Edward Gage of Bentley in Sussex was named as an executor by both Henry, second Earl of Southampton, whose tomb at Titchfield, Hampshire, is a documented work by Garret Johnson and his eldest son Nicholas, and Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, John Gage's first cousin, whose monument at Easebourne White

7 The design for John Gage's brass is illustrated as Fig. 13 with the brass as Fig. 14, and Sir Edward's design and brass as Figs. 15 & 16 in White, 'Biographical Dictionary'. The wording around the design for John Gage's brass is transcribed in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, II (1929), p. 176.

8 Mrs. C.E.D. Davidson-Houston picked up the heraldic error in her entry for Framfield in 'Sussex Monumental Brasses, Part II', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXVII (1936), p. 191, and suggested that it and the Gage brasses at Framfield and West Firle 'were probably part of the series of Gage brasses executed about 1596'.

Fig. 1. Figures of John Gage, d. 1598, and wives Elizabeth and Margaret, West Firle, Sussex (M.S.VI) (rubbing: Janet Whitham)

Fig. 2. Figures of Sir Edward Gage, d. 1569, and wife Elizabeth, West Firle, Sussex (M.S.III)
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 3. Edward Gage, d. 1614, and wife Margaret, Framfield, Sussex (M.S.I)
[The date 1595 on the stone frame refers to the construction of the monument]
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

accepts as a sound attribution to Johnson. The same Edward Gage of Bentley was also named as an executor both by John Gage, who calls him a cousin, and by Henry Browne the younger of St. Saviour's parish in Southwark, whose own will, made on 8 February 1599/1600, was witnessed by Garret Johnson. Browne also calls Edward Gage a cousin, as he does his other executor, William Wiseman, esquire, of Broad Oaks, Wimbish, Essex. Wiseman's uncle Sir Ralph is commemorated by a monument at Rivenhall, Essex, which White sees as another sound

Fig. 4. Figures of John Shelley, [d. 1592], and wife Elinor, Clapham, Sussex (M.S.VI) (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Garret Johnson attribution. Henry Browne was presumably a member of Viscount Montague's family.[9]

The military brasses that D'Elboux associated with the Gage brasses stylistically are:

Easton, Suffolk (M.S.II),
John Wingfield, d. 1584/5
Upton, Bucks. (LSW.III),
Edward Bulstrode, d. 1599, and wife (Fig. 5).

The remains of a brass at Penn, Buckinghamshire (LSW.II), to John Pen, esq., d. 1597, and his wife closely resemble the latter. Comparison of the Upton and Penn armoured effigies with that of Sir Edward Gage at Firle suggests that templates were used: all three brasses are (or were – only the upper half of the figure at Penn remains) the same size and the engraved lines closely correspond. The Penn and Upton wives are also probably from a single template, although the former is now incomplete. Two more closely comparable brasses serve to extend the sequence of Johnson brasses:

9 *Surrey Wills*, Part 1, Surrey Record Society, 3 (1915), p. 110. The Gages and the Shelleys were both recusant families. In August 1580 Edward Gage was imprisoned in London. When many recusant prisoners were released on bond in May 1581, he, John Gage of Firle and Richard and William Shelley were excepted, Lord Montague managing to secure the release of Edward in December. He was back in prison by March 1583. Edward Gage died in 1614. Because the date of 1595 is on the alabaster frame of his brass, following an inscription that begins 'Heere lyeth ye bodie of Edward Gage', Mill Stephenson assumed it was Edward's date of death when compiling the Framfield entry in his *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926). Information on Edward Gage derives from *The Gage Family at Bentley* by Elisabeth Mayfield: www.ringmer.info/downloads/gage_family_at_bentley.pdf accessed on 25 August 2014.

Fig. 5. Edward Bulstrode, d. 1599, and wife Cecil, Upton, Bucks. (LSW.III)
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Buckinghamshire*)*

Knebworth, Herts. (LSW.III),
Roland Lytton, d. 1582, and two wives
West Hanney, Berks. (LSW.V),
Francis Wellesborne, d. 1602, and two wives.

Part of John Page-Phillips's methodology of identifying earlier styles used armour hinges as a method of differentiation. The Gage frontal military brasses have tassets attached by a strap with a flower-like upper fixing, probably representing a rivet head with decoration around it. The same straps are found on the figures at Easton and Knebworth, and also on that of Francis Wellesborne at West Hanney. A further brass with a frontal armed figure with these fastenings occurs at Ashbocking, Suffolk (M.S.I). These straps are less easy to see on the semi-profile military effigies but can be made out on the effigy of Sir Edward Gage and on that of John Brudenell at Deene, Northamptonshire (M.S.III). However, there are difficulties with this particular method as much closer attention was paid by the designers of these later brasses to actual armours, so that Johnson armed effigies are likely to have the same variety of tasset fixings as occur on real armours. The armoured effigies on brasses at this period look much closer to some of the contemporary real armours than most of the figures that precede them.[10] Analysis of armour fixings alone will not distinguish styles as all styles at this period are paying the same attention to real armour. The Ashbocking and Brudenell brasses correspond in other respects much more closely with another group of brasses for which I propose a different authorship.

The range of brasses that can be attributed to the Johnson workshop can be extended by comparing the female effigies accompanying the armed figures discussed above with those with husbands in civil dress. The use of templates occurs again with brasses at East Allington, Devon (LSW.III), 1595, and Barking, Essex (LSW.VII), 1596, having virtually identical pairs of figures.

One wife on the Wellesborne brass wears a farthingale represented in a distinctive way that points stylistically at a number of other ladies of similar date:

Easton, Suffolk (M.S.III),
Radcliff Wingfield, d. 1601
Bradford, Wilts. (M.S.II),
Anne Longe, d. 1601
Radwell, Herts. (LSW.III),
Elizabeth Parker, d. 1602
Sawbridgeworth, Herts. (LSW.X),
Mary Leventhorpe (*c.* 1600).

Apparently contemporary with the Sawbridgeworth lady are two further effigies of the Leventhorpe family, representing Edward, d. 1551, and his wife Elizabeth (LSW.IX) (Fig. 6). Edward's effigy is in armour and appears to be the next development of the workshop's armed figures. He stands in semi-profile but, unlike Sir Edward Gage, in a relaxed pose. His legs are apart and his feet are not parallel. Similar armoured effigies commemorate Christopher Septvans, d. 1602, at Ash-next-Sandwich, Kent (M.S.VI), and James Bassett, d. 1603/4, at Illogan, Cornwall (LSW.I). Both are accompanied by wives, that at Ash being very similar to Elizabeth Leventhorp(e) at Sawbridgeworth.

Where patterns on underskirts are depicted, there is much variety. As time goes on, there is a tendency to add shading to parts of

10 See C. Blair, *European Armour, circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London, 1958), pp. 112-55 for developments in 16th- and 17th-century armour.

Fig. 6. Edward Leventhorp(e), d. 1551, and wife Elizabeth, Sawbridgeworth, Herts. (LSW.IX) (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Hertfordshire*)*

the pattern. On some, the shading at the edge of the underskirt indicates shadows cast by the edges of the outer skirt. On examples at Sawbridgeworth (LSW.IX) and Upton (LSW.III) the underskirt pattern appears as a complete pattern on the exposed panel but on others (e.g. Barking, Essex (LSW.VII) and Whitchurch, Hampshire (LSW.I)) it is clear that the pattern continues onto the hidden material.[11] On some plain skirts, a seemingly random scatter of shading can appear, a distinctive identifying feature. The Gage effigies are shown standing on a tiled floor, perhaps intended to represent alternating black and white tiles as shading covers alternate tiles. This tiled floor is used on other brasses from the workshop until replaced by a plain 'mound' shortly after 1600.

The two rectangular plates at Framfield and Clapham with kneeling effigies are very similar to each other in form and some details. Both have the alternating plain and shaded tiles that occur beneath the documented armoured effigies at Firle and on many other brasses designed in the Johnson workshop. The layout of the Framfield and Clapham brasses is the same with male and female effigies either side of a desk with male and female children respectively behind them and a shield between them. The books on top of the desks are laid out the same way, not parallel to the edges of the desks, but the desk cloths covering the desks differ. There do not seem to be many brasses that can be immediately identified with this pair. That to Edward Stacy, d. 1555, and his wife Katherine, d. 1565, at Waltham Abbey, Essex (LSW.I), has tiles and a desk cloth with books open on top of it which relate to Clapham, but the figures are in dress that is meant to suggest the fashions at the time they died rather than the time when the brass was executed some thirty years later.[12] The brass of Richard Ridley, d. 1592/3, and his wife Alice at Much Wenlock, Shropshire (M.S.I) has their figures partly cut out but on one plate with a table between them. Their depiction here is approaching the mature Johnson style of 1595 onwards. In common with other brasses of the first half of the 1590s from the workshop this full maturity is not quite there yet. This slight immaturity can also be seen in the brasses to Christopher Dawbeney at Sharrington, Norfolk (M.S.VII), made in 1593, and, most tellingly, to William Browne and his wife Margery at Cookley, Suffolk (M.S.I), laid down in 1595, presumably just before the Gage brasses. With the latter the Johnson style reached the full maturity that the other Southwark workshops had already displayed in their work of the late 1580s onwards.

Cure workshop brasses – an analysis

Having suggested that the above brasses form a single style related to the documented Gage brasses made by Garret Johnson, further comparisons suggest that there is a contemporary style that is even more homogeneous and took a much neater and tidier approach. One example contemporary with the Gage brasses is the brass commemorating Francis Yerburgh, d. 1595, and his two wives at Northorpe, Lincolnshire (M.S.I). The pattern on the underskirt of the right-hand wife was used on quite a large number of other brasses, even appearing on the male effigy of Arthur Crafford at South Weald, Essex (LSW.VI). That of the left-hand wife at

11 There is no indication that the instances of complete patterns are meant to represent a forepart, a detachable triangular piece of fabric worn on court dresses late in the Elizabethan period, as those had fastenings at regular intervals to attach them to the skirt. It is obvious on some examples that the underskirt was very slightly shorter than the outer one.

12 William Lack suggested this is late London G work of *c.* 1585, but I think it is closer to 1595.

Fig. 7. Figures of William Yelverton, d. 1586, and wives Anne and Jane, Rougham, Norfolk (M.S.V)

Northorpe is close to that of the left-hand wife on the brass of Thomas Burrough, d. 1597, and his two wives at Wickhambrook, Suffolk (M.S.II). Even when they do not repeat exactly, these patterns run in 'families' and can thus be used as a stylistic indicator. Where this type of female effigy occurs with military and civilian effigies, they form a stylistic group. This group is as large as or larger than the Johnson group, and presumably represents the work of the Cure workshop. Patterned underskirts belonging to this group occur on the following effigies:

Rougham, Norfolk (M.S.V),
Anne and Jane, wives of
William Yelverton, d. 1586 (Fig. 7)
Isfield, Sussex (M.S.III),
Anne, wife of Thomas Shurley, d. 1579/80
Ashbocking, Suffolk (M.S.I),
Frances and Mary, wives of
Edmund Bockinge, d. 1585
Tisbury, Wilts. (M.S.II),
Anne, wife of Laurence Hyde, d. 1590
Exhall, Warwicks. (M.S.I),
Elenor, wife of John Walsingham,
d. 1566/7, engraved *c.* 1590

Fig. 8. George Brigge, d. 1597/8, and wife Anne, Wiveton, Norfolk (M.S.III)

Richmond, Surrey (M.S.I),
Grace, wife of Robert Cotton, d. 1591
Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey (M.S.VII),
Frances, d. 1592, wife of
Thomas Lyfield, and daughter, Jane
Luton, Beds. (LSW.XIV),
A wife of George Rotherham, d. 1593
Maulden, Beds. (LSW.I),
Amphelice, wife of Richard Faldo,
d. 1576, engraved *c.* 1595
Bradfield, Essex (LSW.III),
Joan, wife of Thomas Rysbye, d. 1598
Great Bookham, Surrey (M.S.IV),
Elizabeth, wife of Henry Slyfield,
d. 1598
Benhall, Suffolk (M.S.II),
Dorothy, wife of Edward Duke, d. 1598
Wiveton, Norfolk (M.S.III),
Anne, wife of George Brigge, d. 1597/8
(Fig. 8)
Deene, Northants. (M.S.III),
Wife of John Brudenell, d. 1606,
engraved *c.* 1600
Higham Gobion, Beds. (LSW.I),
Katherine, wife of John Browne, d. 1602
Necton, Norfolk (M.S.VII),
Mary, d. 1596, wife of Robert Rust
Harrow, Middx. (M.S.XII),
Alice, wife of John Sonkey, d. 1603
Herne, Kent (M.S.IX),
Martha and Sara, wives of John Sea,
d. 1604/5
Fordwich, Kent (M.S.II),
Aphra, d. 1605/6, wife of
Henry Hawkins.

There are also large numbers of ladies very similar to these but lacking a patterned underskirt. The most common pattern can be found on later brasses, stretching into the 1610s. The figures remain fairly homogeneous for some fifteen years past the end date to which this paper is limited, but the ground on which the figures stand undergoes two major changes. Initially the figures stand on plain mounds, only shading representing shadows being engraved on this background. Such shading is initially sparse, at first often only present on the brasses of men, but increases with the change to the ground, first, for a short period around 1600, to a square block on which the figures stand, placed on the plain background, and then to a shallower circular base which all but obscures the background. The figures themselves are also shaded. Most are shown in three-quarter profile, with the light falling on them from above front left, so that a figure on the right-hand side of a composition with two or more effigies is facing directly into the light. Effigies that are engraved on rectangular plates are generally shown against plain backgrounds with shadows at their feet. The consistency of representation of brasses produced by this workshop can be shown by comparing the Northorpe brass and that of John Sea, d. 1604/5, and his two wives at Herne, Kent (M.S.IX). The former has the earliest form of foot support, the latter the latest, but the only other design change is to represent the later fashion of bringing the back flap of the hoods worn by the wives at Herne to rest on their heads rather than letting it hang behind as at Northorpe.

There are a number of rectangular brasses with standing effigies. Of particular interest is that of John Scrogs, d. 1592, his wife and son at Albury, Hertfordshire (LSW.VI). They are depicted on a plate with tapered sides. A palimpsest version of the separate inscription plate is behind the 1595 brass at Cookley, Suffolk, discussed above as a product of the Johnson workshop. The brass at Albury clearly belongs to the Cure group, as comparisons with the plate to Elizabeth Harford, d. 1590, and her husband at Colwick, Herefordshire (LSW.I) and Laurence Hyde, d. 1590, and wife Anne, at Tisbury, Wiltshire (M.S.II) demonstrate.

The conclusion must be that the palimpsest is a waster because it was the client, rather than the Johnson workshop, who rejected it and consequently took his business to the Cure workshop.

Compared with the relatively small numbers of kneeling effigies from the Johnson workshop, the brasses with kneeling figures that link with the suggested Cure group of standing effigies are plentiful. It appears that John Page-Phillips was indeed right to suggest that the Cures dominated the market for kneeling effigies in the late sixteenth century.[13] While his suggestion was about those shown kneeling under canopies, of which there are few, the effigies on them link to the majority of such brasses. Variations within the main body of this style may well be due to either sub-contracting of engraving, or perhaps independent engravers obtaining designs from the Cures. The most common stylistic link is the use of plain tiling, which occurs on the large majority of examples of kneeling figures, but the figures themselves are stylistically homogeneous. An example very close in date to the Johnson brass of Edward Gage at Framfield is that of John Skerne, at Bere Regis, Dorset (LSW.II), made in 1596. The kneeling figures are typical Cure work as are the plain pavements on which they kneel. An earlier brass at Chichester Cathedral (M.S.III) made in 1592/3 for one of his daughters shows William Bradbridge, d. 1546, and his family kneeling on a plain tiled floor in front of an architectural setting with columns and a window. There appears to be some attempt to dress the figures in costume more appropriate to Bradbridge's date of death although the ruffs of the adult effigies are too large.[14] This brass is unusually elaborate; some other brasses have simpler architectural settings, although a plain background above tiling was much more usual.

Both standing and kneeling effigies have facial features that do not vary much between different brasses, the men usually sporting pointed beards, often short, and walrus moustaches.

Richard Stevens' workshop – an analysis

A small group of armoured effigies of the late 1580s and early 1590s fits neither within the Johnson or proposed Cure sequences but represents the same stage of evolution as the Cure group. Like the Cure brasses, the armoured effigies adopt a relaxed stance from the beginning. This style was identified by Malcolm Norris.[15] A few civilians and their wives can also be associated with this style. As the head of the third Southwark workshop, Richard Stevens, died in September 1592, it is tempting to suggest that these are his work. Although the latest date of death of this group is September 1592 it is possible that the brass of William Smith and his wife at Enfield was made by members of his workshop attempting to carry on after his death.

Boughton-under-Blean, Kent (M.S.III), Thomas Hawkins, d. 1587

13 J. Page-Phillips, *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972), p. 42. The brass he chose to illustrate the link with sculptured monuments, William Dunche and family at Little Wittenham, Berkshire (LSW.VI) (Fig.10), fits not with those proposed as belonging to the Cure workshop but with those attributed to Richard Stevens.

14 The brass to Richard Coton, d. 1556, and his wife Margaret, d. 1560, at Whittington, Gloucestershire (LSW.I) shows her in outdated costume. He is clean shaven and looks very similar to William Bradbridge, although not kneeling. The figures look like Cure work of the mid 1580s to the late 1590s, notwithstanding the conscious archaism.

15 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 225.

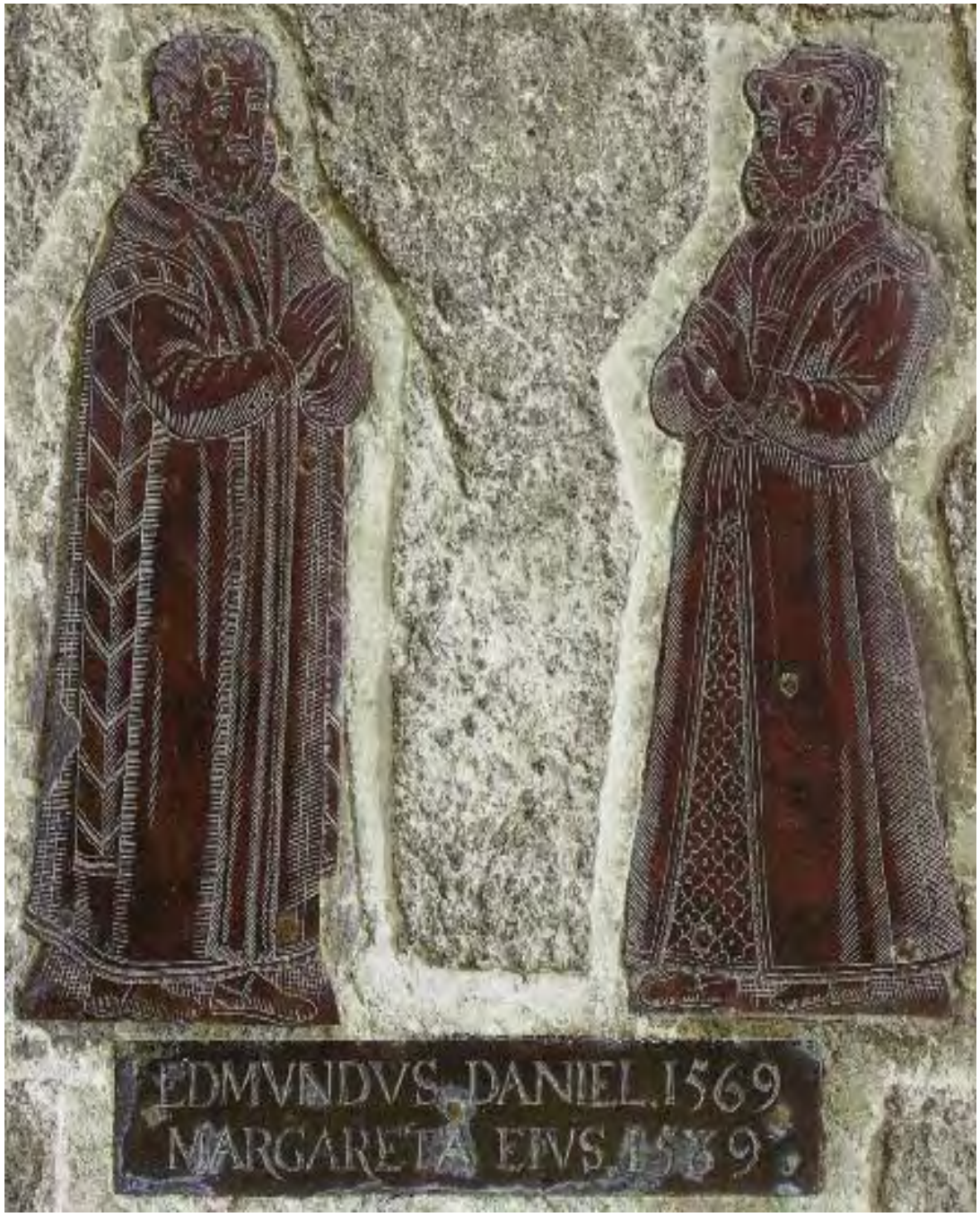

Fig. 9. Edmund Daniel, d. 1569, and wife, Margaret, d. 1589, Acton, Suffolk (M.S.IV)
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Great Canfield, Essex (LSW.III),
Thomas Fytche, d. 1588, and
wife Agnes
East Hendred, Berks. (LSW.III),
John Eyston, d. 1589, and wife Jane
Acton, Suffolk (M.S.IV),
Edmund Daniel, d. 1569, and
wife Margaret, d. 1589 (Fig. 9)
Acton, Suffolk (M.S.V),
John Daniel, presumably engraved
at same time as IV
Marr, Yorkshire (M.S.I),
John Lewis, d. 1589, and wife Mary
Dartford, Kent (M.S.IX),
William Death, d. 1590, and wives
Elizabeth and Anne
Eastry, Kent (M.S.I),
Roger Nevinson, d. 1590, and
wife Jane
Remenham, Berks. (LSW.I),
Thomas Maryet, d. 1591
Boughton-under-Blean, Kent (M.S.IV),
Cyriac Petit, d. 1591, and
wife Florence
Enfield, Middlesex (M.S.III),
William Smith, d. 1592, and wife Joan.

The patterns on the underskirts of the ladies are simpler than those of the Johnson and Cure styles and this helps to resolve the problem with the brass of Henry Rolle at Petrockstow in Devon (LSW.I), discussed by Greenhill.[16] This brass takes the form of two plates, each depicting a row of kneeling figures with an inscription beneath. The problem is that the two plates were evidently meant to match each other, as each has half a desk, but the height of one plate is significantly greater than the other. Moreover, one has a blackletter inscription, the other Roman capitals. The date of death on the right-hand plate is 1591. The facial type of the husband on the left-hand plate clearly places him with the Cure group, while the simple patterns of the wife's and daughter's underskirts, their slightly but noticeably backward-leaning stance and the paving pattern of the floor places them in the Stevens group. The problem is resolved if the original contract went to Stevens and he had completed only the right-hand plate at the time of his death when the brass had to be completed by Cure, who was given neither accurate measurements nor told the style of lettering to use. There are a small number of related brasses with kneeling figures of which the most impressive are those to the printer John Daye, d. 1584, and his wife Als at Little Bradley, Suffolk (M.S.III) and to William Dunche and his wife Marie at Little Wittenham, Berkshire (LSW.VI) (Fig. 10), presumably of the second half of the 1580s.

In the funeral accounts kept for Lord Keeper Bacon's executors (his sons Sir Nicholas and Nathaniel Bacon) in early 1579, there is a request to 'paye unto Richard Stevens for graveinge certen wordes in stone £2'.[17] The words were presumably on the Lord Keeper's monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, which was otherwise complete before his death. In 1588, another son of the Lord Keeper lost two small children and had them commemorated by a brass at Aveley in Essex (LSW.VI). It comes as no surprise to see a relatively simply patterned underskirt on the daughter's figure, identifying it as a Stevens brass. When this minor style was described by Malcolm Norris, he identified four armoured effigies only, but two of these are accompanied by the effigies of their wives. Three of them, at Boughton under Blean (M.S.III), Eastry (M.S.I), both in Kent, and East Hendred, Berkshire (LSW.III), are clearly related stylistically and

16 F.A. Greenhill and V. Hope, 'Petrockstow, Devon', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt. 6 (1975), pp. 459-62.

17 *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey*, ed. A. Hassall Smith and G.M. Baker, II (Norwich, 1983), p. 32.

Fig. 10. William Dunche, d. 1597, and wife Marie, Little Wittenham, Berks. (LSW.VI) (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Buckinghamshire*)*

use the same armour pattern, which also occurs at Remenham, Berkshire (LSW.I), and Great Canfield, Essex (LSW.III). The armed figures at Boughton and Eastry may have been produced using the same template. The military effigy to William Golding, d. 1587, at Belchamp St. Paul, Essex (LSW.I), is less obviously a member of this group but does not match Johnson or Cure effigies. However, the groups of children belonging to this brass and with the lost effigies of Elizabeth West, d. 1591 (LSW.II), and her two husbands, the second being William Golding, both have the backward-leaning pose found on other brasses of children belonging to this workshop group and are otherwise very similar to them.

Relationship of the Southwark workshops to 'Daston' brasses

If the 'Johnson' style as defined by John Page-Phillips is actually at least three styles as

proposed above, it is possible that the 'Daston' style which preceded them also covers three workshops. If so, the seemingly long transitional period of 'Daston/Johnson' effigies could simply be each workshop crossing the Daston/Johnson border at a different time. Although Thames Ditton 1590 and Canterbury St. Martin 1587 are counted as 'Johnson' by Page-Phillips, they are both at the same transitional stage at a relatively late date. The other major style (proposed above as products of the Cure workshop) is reasonably mature in the second half of the 1580s and the style here attributed to Richard Stevens is mature by 1590, suggesting that it was Johnson who was last to reach stylistic maturity. As noted above, this is borne out by the existence of brasses from the first half of the 1590s that clearly belong to the same group as the Gage brasses but are not quite as developed. An example is the brass commemorating John Clippesby, esquire, who died in 1594, his wife Julian and family at Clippesby, Norfolk (M.S.III). A template for his effigy must have been available after the death of Garret Johnson in 1611, for it was reused for the figure of Edmund Windham, esquire, d. 1616, at St. Decuman's in Somerset (M.S.III). The reuse of old designs complicates the analysis of late Johnson brasses and is not covered in this paper other than to note that such brasses are not provincial copies, as has been suggested elsewhere, but the result of templates coming into the hands of less competent artists.

The largest single stylistic subgroup within the Daston brasses can be shown to link with the Cure workshop, both by virtue of the earlier style stopping when the mature Cure style appears but also by the transitional nature of a few mid-1580s brasses, the most diagnostic of which is that at Harrington, Lincolnshire (M.S.III), to John Copledike and his wife Anne. John died in 1585 and is shown kneeling in the armour that is characteristic of this Daston subgroup, but Anne's figure has almost made the transition to the mature Cure style. They both kneel on tiled floors that look forward to the mature Cure style as they are not otherwise seen on Daston brasses. It may be that changing fashions were the initial impetus towards a change in engraving style as other Daston brasses from this group show similar changes in the depiction of women in the early to mid 1580s. The changes to the design of males in civil dress are more in the nature of an upgrade to a more regular and standard appearance as the actual style of dress generally remains the same. The brass of William Yelverton, d. 1586, and his wives at Rougham, Norfolk (M.S.V) (Fig. 7) has all three main effigies in the updated style but their children's figures point backwards to the Daston era. The change to the design of armoured effigies on the other hand is that of a radical rethinking of the depiction of armour. The Daston armoured effigies share characteristics with each other but are by no means of a standard design compared to their successors.

As noted above, John Page-Phillips counted a number of brasses as 'Johnson' that I see as transitional, and some of the brasses he saw as intermediate look to me to belong more with the Cure Daston group rather than a hybrid style. I suspect that these differences of view are more related to the differences of methodology behind our respective judgements, his relying much more on his visual memory necessitated by looking through rubbings in the Cambridge collection, while I have in most cases been able to make direct comparisons using either the ongoing publications of the *County Series* or on-screen images. Perhaps this is best illustrated by two brasses dated 1585. Elizabeth Dalyson at Trowse Newton, Norfolk (M.S.I), despite her bulky sleeves, sits firmly with the Cure Daston

group, whilst Edmund Bockinge, at Ashbocking, Suffolk (M.S.I), is equally clearly to me a full-blown Cure with both wives firmly in the later style. Although on an initial comparison of the Trowse lady with the two wives at Ashbocking the figures do look similar, the former has the hands and face of a typical Cure Daston female, while the ladies on the latter brass have the fuller skirts and the more realistic hands of the mature Cure brasses.

Conclusions

From the beginning of the period covered by this paper it is clear that a broader 'Southwark' style dominated the production of monumental brasses in the London area to the exclusion of any other approach, and it is these brasses that are by far the most important nationally. In contrast with the period leading up to the Reformation, there was little competition from provincial workshops. However as the foregoing arguments have demonstrated, the position previously accepted that a single workshop had a monopoly did not apply. The duopoly enjoyed by the Cure and Johnson workshops after the death of Richard Stevens lasted into the second decade of the seventeenth century but had broken down by the 1620s. It is entirely possible that much of the engraving and marble work was sub-contracted to men who had been members of the Marblers' Company prior to 1585. John Record, one of the wardens of the company at the time of the merger with the Masons' Company, was clearly well-established in Southwark by 1581, as he was warden of St. George's church. He was still in the same parish when his will was proved in 1619. Others stayed north of the river and there seems to have been a small population of former members of the Marblers' Company established in Holborn.

The great bulk of the effigial brasses produced by the Southwark workshops can be sorted into their respective workshop styles by relying on the differences outlined in the analysis above. However there is enough similarity between them to render the style of some brasses more difficult to identify than most. This may be because the patron ordering a brass from one workshop specifically asked for a feature that was a characteristic of another workshop, such as a tiled floor: the workshop would have produced its own version of such a feature rather than lose the commission. In such a case the determination of workshop origin has to rely on identifying that the overall characteristics of a particular brass are sufficient to indicate that one feature is atypical. This is the case with the brasses to Richard Faldo, d. 1576, and his wife (LSW.I) and their daughter Anne, d. 1594 (LSW.II) at Maulden, Bedfordshire, which both have the pavement associated with brasses from the Johnson workshop but are otherwise clearly Cure products, both made after the daughter's death as the reverse of her inscription proves.[18] Where the whole composition is unusual it may be much more difficult to determine where it fits, and inscription-only brasses can as yet be termed only as 'Southwark' style.

18 W. Lack, 'Conservation of Brasses, 1999-2000', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt. 1 (2003), pp. 87-8.

Brasses in the Church of Our Lady and St. Alphonsus, Hanley Swan, Worcestershire

George McHardy

In the Catholic church at Hanley Swan, Worcestershire, is an important but little known series of brasses, mostly commemorating members of the Gandolfi-Hornyold family, made by Hardmans between 1853 and 1908. The Hardman archives make it possible to study the commissioning and manufacture of these brasses in detail.

On the quiet B4209 road some two and a half miles from Malvern Wells there stands, a little outside the centre of Hanley Swan, the church of Our Lady and St. Alphonsus, linked by a covered way to what is now the presbytery. Set amid trees behind their enclosing wall, church and presbytery make a satisfying sight (Fig. 1).

Of the two families most closely associated with Hanley Swan in the nineteenth century, the Hornyolds originally held land in Leicestershire but were settled in Hanley by the early thirteenth century.[1] They acquired their Blackmore Park and Hanley Castle estates in the middle of the sixteenth century, and

Fig. 1. Church of Our Lady and St. Alphonsus, Hanley Swan, Worcestershire, exterior from the south-east (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

1 J. Jackson Howard ed., *Genealogical Collections illustrating the History of the Roman Catholic Families of England, based on the Lawson Manuscript*, Pt. IV (printed for private circulation only, 1887), pp. 247-9; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 18th edn., 3 vols. (London, 1965-72), II, pp. 317-18.

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remained loyal to the old Faith. Throughout Penal times they maintained a mission at Blackmore Park and at various times were reported as recusants, convicted of recusancy, and had estates seized.[2]

The Gandolfis claimed descent from one of the nobles who established the Genoese Republic in the early tenth century.[3] In 1730 one of the family settled in London to look after the interests in England of their Genoese silk business, bought a house in Throgmorton Street in the City of London, and from there traded as Gandolfi Bros., raw silk merchants. One of his sons, Peter, bought Portobello House, East Sheen, Surrey, in 1773, and died unmarried in 1816.[4] His nephew, John Vincent (d. 1818), brought the two ancient families together by his marriage in 1808 to Teresa, sister and sole heir of Thomas Charles Hornyold (1791-1859). Their son, also John Vincent (1818-1902), inherited the Gandolfi marquisate and, aged 21, was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Christ by Pope Gregory XVI in 1840. Two years later, while in Belgium, he went on retreat in the Redemptorist house in Sint-Truiden to decide his vocation to the priesthood. Founded in Naples by St. Alphonsus Liguori (1696-1787) to provide for the religious instruction of the poor, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer already had one house in Falmouth, Cornwall, and on his return to England John Vincent determined to build a house and church for them on his uncle's estate, to which he was heir, at his own cost.[5]

On the death in 1859 without issue of his uncle, John Vincent Gandolfi succeeded to the Hornyold Blackmore Park estates. So it was his Hornyold uncle who gave the site but Gandolfi who commissioned Charles Francis Hansom (1817-88) as architect and paid for the church and house at a cost of £10,000.[6] Two Redemptorist priests arrived at Blackmore Park on 6 September 1844 as work started on the new church. Less than two years later, on 19 August 1846, Bishop (later Cardinal) Wiseman, assisted by three other bishops, consecrated the completed church, which was solemnly opened to the public the following day.[7] Within five years, and as a 'bitter disappointment' to Gandolfi, the Redemptorists (never more than six in number) had gone, the Superiors of the Congregation at their meeting at Bischenberg in Alsace having 'decided that the Missionary stations in England … no longer gave any prospect of

2 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1603-10* (London, 1857), p. 593; VCH, *Worcestershire*, IV (London, 1924), p. 96; *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, ed. C. Talbot, Catholic Record Soc., 53 ([London], 1961), pp. 128-9; A.M. Hodgson, 'The History of Little Malvern Court, III', *Worcestershire Recusant*, XL (Dec. 1982), pp. 30-2.

3 Jackson Howard, *Genealogical Collections*, pp. 251-2; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, II, pp. 317-18.

4 J.E. Anderson, *Portobello House, Mortlake, and its Inhabitants* (Richmond, 1894); *Richmond Herald*, 5 January 1894. The house, of which there is an illustration in *Vanished Houses of Barnes, Mortlake and East Sheen* (London, 1978), was demolished in 1893-4.

5 London, Redemptorist Monastery, Clapham Park Road, Redemptorist Provincial Chronicles, vol. I, 'The Foundation of Hanley Castle (or Blackmore Park)' (hereinafter *FHC*). For St. Alphonsus, see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), I, pp. 336-41; F.L. Cross ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1997), pp. 45-6. On the Redemptorists in England, see J. Sharp, *Reapers of the Harvest: The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland 1843-1898* (Dublin, 1989). The Hanley Swan mission is discussed on pp. 8-9, 14.

6 On Hansom, see *ODNB*, XXV, pp. 89-90. *FHC* says that 'the house and church' cost £6000; Littlebury's *Worcester Directory* for 1873, p. 341, that 'the monastery with school and church' cost £20,000; and M. Hodgetts, *Blackmore Park 1596-1996* (Upton upon Severn, 1996), p. 11, without quoting his authority, that 'the total cost of the church and monastery' was £30,000. The figure of £10,000 comes from the notebook of Thomas Charles Hornyold and was kindly communicated to me by Mr. A. Hornyold (letter dated 23 January 2011).

7 *The Tablet*, VII, no. 330 (29 August 1846), p. 553.

becoming regular communities'. The last Redemptorist priest, the Superior, left Blackmore Park on 4 June 1851,[8] after which the church was manned by chaplains until 1919. In that year the family made the church over to the Archdiocese of Birmingham, which thereafter appointed the priest with Blackmore becoming a parish. Finally, in 1980, the church was combined in a single parish with St. Joseph's, Upton upon Severn.

The church of Our Lady and St. Alphonsus, which had been fitted out lavishly with an uncommonly fine tiled floor throughout, a complete set of stained glass windows and some very good metalwork, now contains also the six monumental brasses that are the subject of this paper.[9] There is no memorial within the church of its founder, who died in 1902. He was succeeded by his son who, dying in 1906, is commemorated by the last of what is a fine and interesting series of brasses.

In 1861 the Revd. Herbert Haines included two of the then existing five brasses in his list of modern brasses.[10] Ignorance and prejudice ensured that no more was heard of the series until 1996, when a rubbing of 'one of five outstanding brasses from … Hanley Swan' was among the eight shown at the Monumental Brass Society's conference held that year in Worcester.[11] Since then, the 1906 brass alone in the series has been noticed in the specialist literature, and that perhaps as much as anything because it is one of the relatively few larger-sized brasses ordered around the turn of the century and because its designer is – exceptionally – known from recent research in the Hardman archive.[12]

A year after his conversion to Catholicism in 1835, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52)[13] contrasted the splendours and glories of the buildings of the Middle Ages with the squalid meanness of those of his own time and, attributing the artistic decline to the change of religion at the Reformation, concluded that the Gothic style, as a creation of the Catholic faith, must be good and true. Later, in 1841, he strengthened his argument: Gothic was not only true but the only sensible style to use.[14] He saw himself not as reviving a dead style but as resuming a style long dormant beneath a pagan classicism[15] and now at last to be shown forth with all the passion and fervour at his command.

In an article written in 1838 he calls brasses 'truly Catholic monuments' and expresses approval of them on both theological and practical grounds. Their inscriptions 'breathe that humility which our holy religion so strongly inculcates', and are, too, 'an incitement to the good work of praying for the souls' of the dead. Practically, they neither detract from nor obscure the architectural features of the church

8 *FHC*.

9 C. Martin, *A Glimpse of Heaven: Catholic Churches of England and Wales* (Swindon, 2006), p. 80; A. Brooks and N. Pevsner, *Worcestershire*, rev. edn. (New Haven, 2007), p. 358.

10 H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (Oxford, 1861), Pt. II, Appendix A, p. 241.

11 *MBS Bulletin*, 74 (February 1997), pp. 277-8.

12 M. Fisher, *Hardman of Birmingham: Goldsmith and Glasspainter* (Ashbourne, 2008), p. 134, where, however, the name of the deceased is given as Duke John Vincent Gandolfi.

13 *ODNB*, XLV, pp. 520-5. R. Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London, 2007) is perhaps the best single book on his life and work.

14 See A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts: or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and the corresponding Buildings of the Present Day …* (London, 1836) and *idem, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841).

15 Or, as Newman put it in a letter of 15 June 1848 to A. Lisle Phillipps, 'disentombing what ha[d] been hidden for centuries amid corruptions' (*The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, ed. C.S. Dessain, XII (London, 1962), p. 221).

but, on the contrary, enrich its decoration. He advocates that they be laid in the floor, as they had been in the Middle Ages.[16] But here at Blackmore Park, where, thanks to the splendid floor tiles, there was no need to 'decorate the pavement of the sacred edifice', all six brasses are mural.[17] The Kenmare brass with its top edge some 9 ft. (2745 mm) above church floor level is peculiarly troublesome to rub, and the difficulty of getting a good, clear rubbing is exacerbated by the use there (as in some of the other brasses) of coloured mastics and enamels which, if they remind us that 'originally there is little doubt that [brasses] were all … coloured',[18] tend also to create a smooth surface across the brass.

Pugin was as interested in the fittings and furnishings of his buildings as he was in the buildings themselves, and by 1840 he had gathered around himself a small number of firms – George Myers, stonemason and builder, Herbert Minton, for ceramics and tiles, the interior decorator J.G. Crace, and John Hardman junior of Birmingham for metalwork (and, later, also for stained glass) – that he could trust to carry out his designs to his own most exacting standards. He had met the Hardman family while working at St. Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham, in 1837, as the elder John Hardman (1767-1844) was withdrawing from his father's button-making business. The very next year, his son, John Hardman junior (1811-67), was already making a modest range of 'ecclesiastical ornaments'.[19] He and Pugin made a perfect team, the one dependable and practical, the other restless and passionate, and both of them ardent Catholics and Gothic enthusiasts. In Hardman Pugin found the true executant of his metalwork designs, and as business grew (and Pugin's interests developed) the production of church ornaments was in 1841 extended to include monumental brasses.[20]

All six of the Blackmore Park brasses were made by Hardmans,[21] all of them after the death of Pugin in 1852. His son-in-law, John Hardman Powell (1827-95),[22] who since late 1844 had been Pugin's pupil and assistant, then assumed responsibility for the firm's metalwork and stained glass departments, and under his artistic direction Hardmans continued to produce brasses not only of excellent design and workmanship but remarkably in sympathy also with Pugin's principles and aims.

The five brasses of 1849-59 demonstrate how thoroughly those principles and aims had been absorbed and how faithfully they were followed.

16 A.W.N. Pugin, 'Monumental Brasses of the Fifteenth Century', *London and Dublin Orthodox Journal*, VI (12 May 1838), pp. 289-92.

17 Part of the tiled floor of the south aisle of the church (that of the chancel with its brighter colour and heraldry is even more splendid) is illustrated in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright ed., *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven, 1994), p. 147.

18 Pugin in a letter to Henry Drummond, dated 10 November 1844 (*The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin*, ed. M. Belcher, II (Oxford, 2003), p. 277).

19 *ODNB*, XXV, pp. 189-90.

20 On the Pugin-Hardman collaboration and the foundation of Hardmans and its subsequent development, see D. Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (London, 1983) and *idem, A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses* (London, 1991), B. Doolan, *The Pugins and the Hardmans* (Birmingham, 2004), and Fisher, *Hardman of Birmingham*.

21 For simplicity, I have throughout referred to the Hardman archive but to Hardmans (in the singular) for the firm with its expanding range of products and its artistic direction between 1852 and 1895 in the hands of John Hardman Powell and the later splitting up of the firm's metalwork and stained glass departments.

22 *ODNB*, XXV, pp. 90-1.

The earliest, the Filica brass, is a distinguished design which would be accepted happily as being by Pugin himself were it not that correspondence in the Hardman archive shows that its inscription was being devised in February 1853 (Fig. 3). Against a beautifully patterned ground, a richly apparelled angel stands holding an inscription-panel, surrounded by the most sumptuous display of stylised foliage and flowers. All is clear and direct, the ornament in no way 'applied to' the brass but, rather, an enrichment of it, as in *The True Principles* he had declared that ornament ought always to be.[23]

The other four brasses in the group include the very large Kenmare brass of 1853 (Fig. 6), the two moderately sized brasses to the three Fitzherbert children of 1852 (Fig. 4) and the Hornyold brass of 1859 (Fig. 8), and the small inscription plate to the Hornyold boy of only ten months later (Fig. 10). If none of them, except perhaps the Kenmare brass, matches the rich foliage decoration of the Filica brass, they do all faithfully follow Pugin's ideals. Two of the brasses incorporate the small kneeling figure so favoured by Pugin, with modern dress as successfully adapted as he maintained it could be for portrayal on brasses.[24] Devoid of hatching and petty detail, all the brasses exhibit a Puginian clarity of design and use of a few, sure and boldly incised lines, accompanied by much patterning and floral decoration of medieval inspiration, romantic heraldry, and traditional Christian iconography and symbolism – and the figures inhabit a space defined of course by the splendours of Gothic architecture with its cusped arches, crocketed pinnacles and decorated spandrels. Above all, the brasses are appropriate, replete with Christian piety, and therefore 'truly Catholic'. The earl with his earthly trappings kneels smaller than, and at the feet of, his crucified Saviour (Fig. 6); Hornyold, his shield of arms behind him, kneels in prayer invoking the Virgin (Fig. 8); and for the Fitzherbert children gorgeously winged angels hold labels whose inscriptions and entwining movement seem not only to memorialise the children but also to draw in their grieving parents and afford them Christian solace (Fig. 4). The inscription tablets, finally, are no mere appendages to the foot of the brass. The wording is prayerful not eulogising, and carefully set out within the space, with foliate scrolls completing a line or accentuating a name. The words are in Gothic black letter, the first letter treated as though an initial in an illuminated manuscript, and the numerals usually in Roman style.

The sixth – and incomplete – brass of 1906 is decidedly different from these earlier brasses. The last thirty years or so of Queen Victoria's reign saw, besides a severe agricultural depression and the first signs of Britain's declining industrial and imperial hegemony, an increasing indifference to religion, especially among the urban working class. The Arts and Crafts movement and the related vernacular revival styles appeared even as the Gothic style remained dominant in church architecture. But it was no longer the bold and confident High Victorian Gothic with all its foreign influences. That was seen by a new generation of architects as an unwarranted departure from native English medieval Gothic and contrary to the principles of church architecture established by Pugin. Moreover, doctrinal controversies within the Established Church and prodigious liturgical scholarship – Catholic as well as

23 'All ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction' (Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 1).

24 A.W.[N.] Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London, 1843), pp. 33-7, especially p. 36 and the facing pl. VI.

Fig. 2. Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold, detail of figure (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Anglican – had promoted a vigorous Anglo-Catholicism. What was wanted now was not churches of strident, defiant ostentation but churches that could provide a practical, even rational, setting for worship and also further the ritualist revival of English medieval liturgy. The new scholarly aesthetic demanded a certain reserve and a harmony so complete and a scheme of decoration so exquisite, so elegant and so refined as almost to create a preciosity confined to an elite few.

Against this background the 1906 brass seems 'lost' in direction (Figs. 2, 11-14). It is generally Gothic in style and character but, knowing nothing of the clear bold lines of medieval brasses, it is perhaps more akin to seventeenth-century brasses or coffin-plates. It lacks the clarity of design of the earlier brasses in the Blackmore Park series, as it lacks also the exquisite patterning and balance of the turn-of-century new aesthetic. And it shows not a hint of the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement or of the 'New Sculpture' with its interest in mixed media and variegated surface effects and its French influences. The division of the brass into three areas of kneeling figure(s), heraldry (this area further subdivided into three unequal areas), and inscription panel, is more patent than harmonious, and the busy detail pretty and small in scale rather than refined or elegant. The designer of the brass is known to have been among other things a designer of book-plates, and this 1906 brass with its thin engraving is perhaps to be seen as an unusually large engraved plate rather than as a memorial brass.

But the archival material relating to it gives the brass yet further interest. Hardmans is shown as having employed an outside expert engraver to make a correction in it (having himself perhaps even engraved the whole brass?) and a specialist firm of masons to supply its marble tablet. The documentation shows, too, that Hardmans can have such confidence in those masons that, having supplied the details, it can require from them an estimate complete with a sample of the polished marble – and that 'to-morrow morning'. The documentation of this brass especially, but also of the Blackmore Park brasses generally, shows Hardmans able to rely on an efficient postal service and a dependable railway network – just as it also shows clients' confidence in its experience and taste, and the country house estate's knowledge

of locally available masons to set up a brass and its competence even to erect one itself.[25]

Except for the record rubbings made by the firm before the brasses were laid down (which are now in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery), the immense Hardman archive is held in the Library of Birmingham. The splendid new catalogue – brought into use in 2010 – brings a precision of nomenclature to the material and an exactness of reference to every item that preclude the uncertainty previously found in the quotation of sources and the difficulty experienced sometimes in verifying them. I have gladly followed its lead, using the catalogue numbers and identifying abbreviations.

The catalogue of the Blackmore Park brasses that follows is based – with grateful acknowledgement – on a scheme used by the Revd. David Meara.[26] In the case of the inscriptions, I have indicated line endings, and for translations I have used the standard English Catholic Bible in use at the time, the Douay Bible, as revised by Bishop Richard Challoner. The size of the brass – always quoted height before width – is not that given in the Hardman archive (which sometimes differs between documents) but that obtained from measurement of my own rubbing of the brass and excludes therefore the size of any tablet into which the brass is set. Though careful cleaning would doubtless improve their appearance and legibility, all six brasses were in generally fair condition when seen; so I have recorded only significant imperfections. The brass order book entries under 'Order' I have summarised, giving only the name and address of the client, and of the correspondent where given, the price (translated from Hardmans' letter-code as given by the Revd. Michael Fisher),[27] and any other specific instructions regarding, for example, others to whom rubbings are to be sent, omitting, that is, the various proposals/alternatives for the inscription, etc. that are sometimes given and themselves, on occasion, again altered. Under 'Rubbings' are quoted the number on Hardmans' record rubbing and the date I made my rubbing. There are no copies of Hardmans' outgoing letters regarding the Blackmore Park brasses except the few (by now typewritten) that relate to the 1906 brass: the story of a brass has to be told mostly through the 700 and more bundles of incoming letters. To tell that story more fully, I have occasionally also included under the heading 'Letters' information from the Ledgers, etc. But whatever the material, I have quoted from it as precisely as possible, including all spelling, capitalisation, punctuation and underlining. The notes comment first on the brass itself and then give details of the deceased. The following abbreviations are used:

BEB	Brass Estimate Book
BOB	Brass Order Book
BSDB	Brass Sales Day Book
CBB	Copy Bill Book
Cl.	Client
Corr.	Correspondent
GBB	Glass Bill Book
GBL	Glass and Brass Letters
GBLB	Glass and Brass Letter Book
IBW	Index to Brass Work 1843-67
LH	left-hand
ML	Metal Letters
MSL	Metal Sales Ledger
RH	right-hand

25 It is only fair to observe that none of the Blackmore Park brasses presents the kind of difficulty in setting up that, say, a figure standing beneath elaborate canopy work and surrounded by a marginal inscription might have involved.

26 Meara, *Pugin and the Revival of Brasses*, in the gazetteer.

27 Fisher, *Hardman of Birmingham*, in Appendix A, p. 216.

Fig. 3. Charles Filica, d. 1849
(rubbing: George McHardy)

I. Charles Filica, d. 8 March 1849 (Fig. 3)

Location
S. aisle, towards E. end of S. wall, to W. of **II**.

Description
A richly apparelled angel with feathery wings and holding the deep inscription scroll stands within an octofoil that is itself set within an essentially circular area with foliated finials extending in the cardinal points, so as to create a lozenge shape, and six-petalled flowers in roundels marking the intermediate points. Some use of black, red and green mastic. Let into black lozenge-shaped marble tablet.

Inscription
Of your charity pray for / the soul of / Charles Filica, Esquire, a / great benefactor to this Church / who deceased the viiith day of / March, A.D. Mdcccxlix, aged / seventy-seven years. And / is buried in the adjoining / Cemetery.

Size
995 x 995 mm.

Condition
Lower part of brass coming away from marble tablet.

Order
BOB, p. 86, under date 19 February 1853. Cl. Francis Fitzherbert, 1 Cambridge Villas, Cheltenham (crossed out), Swinnerton Park nr. Stone. Corr. J.V. Gandolfi, 7 Grafton St., Bond St., London. Various/altered parts of inscription. Price [£22 10s.]. A rubbing to be sent to Hansom, church architect. [MS175A/4/1/1/1]

Rubbings
MB1852/34, the date also (in pencil) 1853, which must be correct; 6 May 2009.

Letters
The client writes letters **a** and **c** from Cheltenham and letters **e** and **f** from Swinnerton Park; letters **b** and **d** are written by the correspondent from Grafton Street.[28]

a. 5 February 1853 – Fitzherbert opens declaring 'It is & was my decided wish to render the Tablets as Catholic as can be'. He does not insert the Prayer as he has nothing at hand to guide him, but he would be obliged for any suggestions. 'No.1 The name is Filica' and he queries whether Esqre is correct. 'I trust to your experience and taste entirely … The Prayer for this Tablet No.1 might be "Upon whose Soul Jesu have Mercy" … The Tablets are for Mural positions under or between the West Windows.'[29] [MS175A/4/4/4/144, ML]

b. 8 February [1853] – Gandolfi writes 'concerning the Sentiment for "The Tablet" which is proposed to to *[sic]* be erected by Mr F. Fitzherbert & myself – Will you express the idea he has sent you in a manner more suitable for the beautifully Catholic Gothic design you have sent for our approval and will you send me one or two Inscriptions on approval – If possibly something of the following In your Charity pray for the Soul of Charles Filica Esq aged 70 [sic] who died March 8th 1849 & is buried in this Cemetery (towards?) it 50£ [one or two illegible words] he was a kind benefactor to this Church &c. &c.' [MS175A/4/4/4/145, ML]

c. 21 February 1853 – Fitzherbert 'quite coincides with [Hardmans'] proposed amendment of the Inscription for Mr Felica' and asks that 'a Copy of the Designs and their accompanying Inscriptions' be sent to Mr Hornyold at Blackmore Park 'as he might wish to suggest a more imposing Tablet for my good Friend Mr Filica or propose some alteration'. If he has heard nothing from him within a few days, Hardmans is to conclude that Mr Hornyold is satisfied. [MS175A/4/4/4/144, ML]

d. 22 February [1853, not 1852 as endorsed by Hardmans' clerk] – Gandolfi 'quite approve[s] of the Inscription for the Tablet of

28 This brass and **II** were in consideration at the same time, so the one document might deal with both brasses. At the cost of a little duplication, I have sought to separate the material between the two orders.

29 There are three west windows, one each to nave and north and south aisles, but neither this brass nor **II** was erected near any of them. The prayer 'Upon whose Soul …' was in the end not used on this brass.

Mr Filica but I prefer of the two the last sentence "of your Charity pray for his Soul".' [MS175A/4/4/4/145, ML]

e. 23 September 1853 – Fitzherbert acknowledges receipt of a letter informing him of 'the completion of the 2 Brasses'. He has asked Mr Hornyold to arrange for their collection from Worcester railway station and onward conveyance to Hanley, and enquires 'whether the fixing the Brasses in the Wall may be entrusted to an ordinary Stone Mason such as no doubt can be procured at Malvern'. [MS175A/4/4/4/144, ML]

f. 16 December 1853 – Fitzherbert is 'happy to say that the Brasses give the utmost satisfaction, and are deservedly much admired for the Workmanship and taste they exhibit'. He encloses a cheque for the amount as per Bill, and hopes the cases have been punctually returned, adding in a postscript that, as 'the Boxes are charged for [£]1.10.0 If they are returned you may put any thing you think proper into some Charity box.' [MS175A/4/4/4/144, ML]

g. 17 December 1853 – MSL, p. 539, shows the bill for this brass (£22. 10s.) and its box (14s.) and for **II** and its box, sent on 'Sep. 26 1853', as 'Paid'. [MS175A/3/3/1/4]

Notes

From 1838 until his death, Pugin provided Hardmans with metalwork designs, taking as his fees 10 per cent of the value of the orders the firm received. So it is possible (though hardly so, given the content of the letter) that the 'packet of designs' detained by Francis Fitzherbert until January 1853 contained a design or rough sketch for this brass.[30]

Something of this sort might lie behind the Hornyold family tradition that the design of the brass is Pugin's. But there is no documentary evidence to support the claim, and Hardmans' order book is clear: the brass was ordered on 19 February 1853, five months after Pugin's death. The brass is by no means without interest, however, nicely showing in operation, as it does, Pugin's ideas on the proper relation between ornament and structure as set out in his book *Floriated Ornament*, which was published in the very year of Filica's death. 'It is absurd …', wrote Pugin in his introduction, ' to talk of *Gothic* foliage. The foliage is *natural*, and it is the *adaptation* and *disposition* of it which stamps the style.' The medieval artist arranged his leaves and flowers 'so as to *fill up* the space they were intended to enrich' and so arranged them 'as not to destroy the consistency of the peculiar feature or object they were employed to decorate', whereas the modern artist tries to give 'a fictitious idea of relief, as if *bunches* of flowers were laid on … a feature which architectural consistency would require to be treated as a plane.' Here, particularised in smaller scale and different medium, is the second of the 'true principles' of Gothic architecture as Pugin proclaimed them in his earlier work of that title, that 'all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building'. He goes on, 'Nature supplied the medieval artists with all their forms and ideas; the same inexhaustible source is open to us: and if we go to the fountain head, we shall produce a multitude of *beautiful designs* treated in the same spirit as the old, but new in form.'[31] Here is an explanation of the difficulty in adducing a medieval precedent for the brass. Several of the designs in the charming plates that

30 See letter **IIa**.

31 A.W.N. Pugin, *Floriated Ornament* (London, 1849), pp. 3-4.

follow Pugin's text would provide a basis for the Filica design.[32]

Charles Filica was born in Turin, and was a partner and friend of John Vincent Gandolfi in the firm of P. & N. Gandolfi & Co. of 30 Throgmorton Street, City of London, silk merchants. He was in England by 1818, when he appears as a creditor of the Italian poet Ugo Foscolo.[33] In 1821 he witnessed the will of Francis Nicholas Gandolfi.[34] He is not listed in the *Post Office London Directory* of 1822, but in the 1824 edition (p. 130) he is shown as 'merchant of Throgmorton Street' and he appears as such (at No. 30 in later editions) until 1847 (p. 515); he is not listed in the 1849 edition. Between 1824 and 1834 he was residing at 17 Mecklenburgh Square.[35] In the St. Marylebone, London, Rate Books he appears with various spellings of his name from 1840 (as Fallice)[36] to 1849 (as Fellica)[37] as the occupier of 24 Park Crescent, owned by a Sir Henry Richardson. In 1850 the property is shown occupied by a William Durant,[38] a relation perhaps of the Richard Durant of Copthall Court, City of London (and Putney Hill), who was one of the three executors of Filica's will.

This, signed on 18 December 1847, was with codicils and schedules proved at London on 28 April 1849.[39] The other two executors were Julius Bordier and Anthony Fabris, who are described as 'merchants, of Throgmorton Street'. Under No. 30 in the 1847 *Post Office London Directory* (p. 515) they and Bordier Fabris & Co., silk merchants, are listed, in addition to Filica himself, as already noted, and P. & N. Gandolfi & Co.

In his will Filica asks to be buried at Hanley and directs that his portrait be sent to his family at Turin. Among pecuniary bequests totalling some £44,628, he remembers his brother Joseph, his great-nephew Cesare Pomba, his nephew Joseph Pomba and his children by his wife Rosa, as well as others in Turin. He left £1000 each to Francis Fitzherbert, of Overbury Court, Worcestershire,[40] and his wife, and to Mrs. John Vincent Gandolfi of Foxcote House, Warwickshire.[41] He left in trust £1000, the annual income from which was to be applied for the benefit of the church and congregation of Hanley Swan for ever. In addition, he left £200 for 'the Redemptorist Friars'[42] and £100 for the 'Blackmore Park nuns',[43] and in trust £500 to 'Mrs Gandolfi, of

32 It could also be that the brass of an angel in a wreath holding an inscription on one side of the tomb-chest to Sir John Fogge, d. 1490, at Ashford, Kent, was known to Pugin (though I can find no evidence of that) or to Powell. It is illustrated in colour in J. Newman, *Kent, West and the Weald*, rev. edn. (New Haven, 2012), pl. 38.

33 E.R. Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo: An Italian in Regency England* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 97.

34 Jackson Howard, *Genealogical Collections*, p. 258.

35 London Metropolitan Archives, MSS 11936/497/1017244, 11936/537/1168564.

36 Westminster City Archives, 1840 Rate Book, p. 33 (Reel 81).

37 Westminster City Archives, 1849 Rate Book, p. 5 (Reel 99).

38 Westminster City Archives, 1850 Rate Book, p. 5 (Reel 101).

39 TNA: PRO, PROB 11/2091.

40 On Overbury Court, see P. Reid, *Burke's & Savills Guide to Country Houses*, II (London, 1980), p. 222 (with illustration), and Brooks and Pevsner, *Worcestershire*, pp. 513-14.

41 On Foxcote House, see N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *Warwickshire* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 317, and Reid, *Burke's & Savills Guide*, II, pp. 146-7 (with illustration).

42 i.e. the Redemptorist community at Blackmore Park; Redemptorists are not friars.

43 i.e. the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Assisi, who arrived from Roosendaal, near Breda in the Netherlands, on 1 May 1847 and ran a school at Hanley until their return to Roosendaal on 19 April 1850 in anticipation of the opening (early in October of that year) of a chapel in Upton upon Severn that served also as a school (*FHC*).

Fig. 4. Mary Teresa Fitzherbert, d. 1852, and Edward Charles, and Francis Fitzherbert, both d. in infancy (rubbing: George McHardy)

The Lodge, Taunton, Somerset',[44] for distribution among the most needy of the Catholic missions in England.

Filica was buried with great solemnity, his Requiem Mass sung by Dr. Henry Weedall.[45] The 'body was placed in a provisional vault in the cemetery in front of the altar, and a fortnight later in the vault on the right-hand side of the sanctuary'.[46]

II. Mary Teresa Fitzherbert, d. 15 November 1852, and Edward Charles, and Francis Fitzherbert, both d. in infancy (Fig. 4)

Location
S. aisle, E. end of S. wall, outside (S.E.) Chapel of Our Lady.

Description
Within a border with broken triangular head, thin shafts with stiff-leaf capitals bear a trefoil-headed arch in which stand, on shallow steps above the inscription, two angels, inclined towards each other and with heads slightly bowed, each holding a label with a biblical quotation that crosses between them. Some use of black, green and red mastic. Let into veined black marble tablet with broken triangular head.

Inscriptions
(at foot) In affectionate remembrance of Mary Teresa the beloved / Daughter of Francis Fitzherbert and Marie Teresa his / Wife, who died November xv, Mdccclii, aged xviii years / and was buried in the Cemetery of this Church. Jesu mercy. / Mary pray. Also of their two Sons Edward Charles, / and Francis, who died in their infancy.

(LH angel's label) Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur [Apocalypse xiv.13: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord].

(RH angel's label) Laudate pueri Dominum [Psalm cxii.1: Praise the Lord, ye children].

Size
1200 mm to apex of broken triangular head x 575 mm.

Order
BOB, p. 85, under date 19 February 1853. Corr. Francis Fitzherbert, 1 Cambridge Villas, Cheltenham (altered to) Swynnerton Park, nr. Stone. Price [£30]. A rubbing to be sent to Hansom, church architect. [MS175A/4/1/1/1]

Rubbings
MB1853/28; 7 May 2009.

Letters
Except letter **b**, written in the third person by Mrs. Fitzherbert, all the letters are written by FitzHerbert (thus consistently spelled), **a** to **d** from Cheltenham, **e** and **f** from Swynnerton Park. The reference for all of them is MS175A/4/4/4/144, ML.[47]

44 i.e. Mrs. John Vincent Gandolfi (1787-1860), née Teresa Hornyold. After the death of her husband in 1818, she became a Franciscan nun in the convent at The Lodge, Silver Street, Taunton, where she died and was buried. The convent closed in 1928 and flats now occupy its site, though the nuns' cemetery still remains.

45 Henry Weedall (1788-1859) had been President of Oscott College (*ODNB*, LVII, pp. 933-4).

46 Thus *FHC*, though the word 'cemetery' here is strange. It is thought the body was put in the Hornyold family vault, which is indeed in the cemetery, outside the church, 'on the right-hand [south] side of the sanctuary'. Access to the vault is not straightforward and that might account for the delay. (I owe this suggestion to the kindness of Mr. A. Hornyold.)

47 See fn. 28 above.

Fig. 5. Berington children, Joseph Ignatius, d. 1834, William Arthur, d. 1837, and Mary, d. 1840, St. Giles, Little Malvern, Worcs.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

a. 10 January 1853 – He trusts that his detaining 'the packet of designs' so long has caused no inconvenience; he had taken them to Foxcote[48] and only recently returned home. His 'relatives there as well as ourselves prefer a design that may not be a Copy of one so immediately in the Neighbourhood or we should have probably have *[sic]* approved of the Little Malvern one as the more appropriate.[49] The others will not suit. Mr Hardman promised me something New.' He asks for 'something appropriate' to be sent him at Cheltenham 'in the course of a week or two', and hopes the drawings he returns will arrive safely.

b. 27 January 1853 – Mrs. Fitzherbert makes known her disappointment at not having received the designs which Mr. Fitzherbert wrote for and, referring to 'a Tablet Mrs Berington chose for her three Children [showing] a Cross supported by Angels holding a Scroll' (Fig. 5) indicates that she would like 'the Same idea a little raised – but it must be equally pretty'.

c. 3 February 1853 – 'The design No. 2 we think appropriate',[50] and he asks that it be executed as soon as possible, adding 'The Memorial I annex on the other page,[51] leaving to the artist the best way of undertaking it or amending it.' And at once, 'I also wish you to prepare at the same time a Tablet No. 1', whose inscription will be forwarded from London 'in a day or two'. He signs off asking when 'these 2 Tablets can be completed & fixed in the Church' and then, as an addition, 'enclose[s] the Inscription for No. 1 Tablet'.[52]

d. 5 February 1853 – After declaring his 'decided wish to render the Tablets as Catholic as can be' and some consideration of the inscription for the Filica brass (**I**),[53] he continues, 'Tablet No. 2 – Already has on the scrolls – "Laudate pueri" – The prayer might be "Jesus Mercy – Mary pray". Please write if you have an amendment to offer. The Tablets are for Mural positions under or between the West Windows.'[54]

e. 23 September 1853 – See letter **Ie**.

f. 16 December 1853 – See letter **If**.

g. 17 December 1853 – MSL, p. 539, shows the bill for this brass (£30) and its box (16s.) and for **I** and its box, sent on 'Sep. 26 1853' as 'Paid'. [MS175A/3/3/1/4]

Notes

Francis Fitzherbert (1796-1857) married in 1828 his cousin, Maria (or Marie, as given on the brass) Teresa (1809-77), daughter of John Vincent Gandolfi, of East Sheen, Surrey. Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* (106th edn., 1999), II, p. 2684, mentions by name only the children surviving into adulthood; but another

48 Foxcote House was John Vincent Gandolfi's residence before he succeeded to Hanley Castle. See fn. 41 above.

49 High up on the north wall of the chancel of the church of St. Giles, Little Malvern, Worcestershire, are two brasses. That to the east is in memory of three children of William Berington (d. 1847) and Mary Frances his wife (d. 1866), Joseph Ignatius, d. in infancy, 1834, William Arthur, d. aged five at Bruges, 1837, and Mary, d. in infancy also at Bruges, 1840 (Fig. 5). IBW under 'Berington' shows that the brass was erected in 1847 and cost £[30] [MS175A/4/1/5/1]. A rubbing of the brass and a working drawing for it (L.117/83) on loan to the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery are reproduced in Meara, *Pugin and the Revival of Brasses*, pp. 147, 149.

50 Note 'design' not 'Tablet'.

51 The 'other page' is now (2010) either missing or so out of sequence as not to have been found.

52 This must be a mistake for 'No. 2 Tablet', i.e. for **II**, whose inscription is almost identical to that 'enclosed', except that the name is spelled 'Fitzherbert'.

53 See letter **Ia**.

54 See fn. 29 above.

Fig. 6. Valentine Browne, second Earl of Kenmare, d. 1853
(rubbing: George McHardy)

genealogy shows Mary Teresa (b. 1834) as their second child and Edward Charles (b. 1830) as their first, but makes no mention of Francis.[55]

III. Valentine Browne, second Earl of Kenmare, d. 31 October 1853 (Fig. 6)

Location
S. aisle, S. wall, to E. of S. door.

Description
Within an elaborate border incorporating the motto, Loyal en toute *[sic]*, the earl, wearing heraldic mantle and coronet and flanked by ogee-headed compartments containing (LH) a heraldic supporter and (RH) his arms, kneels at the foot of the crucified Christ with the Symbols of the Evangelists (Fig. 7) in the arms of the Cross; below, the inscription panel runs the full width of the composition. Some use of black, grey, red and green mastic. Let into plain marble tablet.

Inscriptions
(at foot) Of your charity pray for the Soul of Valentine Browne Earl of Kenmare, Viscount Castlerosse / and Kenmare, Baron of Castlerosse in the Peerage of Ireland, Baron Kenmare of Castlerosse / in the County of Kerry, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and Lord Lieutenant of the / County of Kerry, who died the xxxist day of October, A.D. Mdcccliii. Aged lxv years. His body lies in the / adjoining Cemetery, his Soul is we trust in the enjoyment of everlasting bliss. Pater. Ave. Amen. R.I.P.

(label alongside supporter) In te Domine speravi non confundar in æternum [Psalm xxx.2: In thee, O Lord, I have hoped, let me never be confounded].

(label crossed above arms) Loyal en toute *[sic]*

(label entwining earl and lower part of Christ) Per Crucem et Passionem tuam libera me Domine [Through thy Cross and Passion deliver me, O Lord].[56]

(in two top corners of the border) K

Heraldry
(arms) *Argent three martlets in pale between two flaunches sable each charged with a lion passant guardant argent armed and langued gules*

(crest) *A dragon's head couped argent, guttée de poix, between two wings expanded sable guttée d'eau*

(supporters) *Two wolves argent guttée de poix collared and chained or*

(motto) *Loyal en tout*

Size
1895 x 995 mm; the entry in BOB gives the size 'of Brass Plates'.

Condition
Generally fair. Some damage to compartment to RH of earl; symbol of St. Mark in top RH corner sunk in top RH corner.

Order
BOB, pp. 143-4, under date 10 June 1854. Cl. [Augusta Anne] Dowager Countess of Kenmare, 11 Belgrave Square, London, with Paris address also, Hotel Brighton, rue de Rivoli. Corr. The Viscount Castlerosse, 11 Belgrave Square, London. [No price quoted] [MS175A/4/1/1/1]

55 *William Salt Archaeological Soc.*, VII (1886), pt. II, pp. 115-16.

56 One of the invocations in the Litany of the Saints rendered in the singular number.

Rubbings
MB1854/25; 12-13 April 2010.

Letters
Except letter **l**, written by Lord Castlerosse from Belgrave Square, London, all the letters are written by the Dowager Countess of Kenmare, variously from Hotel Brighton, rue de Rivoli, Paris, Hotel de l'Ecu de Genève, Geneva, Hotel Castiglione, rue Castiglione, Paris, and Mount Pleasant, Great Malvern, Worcestershire, as indicated. The reference for letters **a-h** is MS175A/4/4/4/171, ML; that for letters **j, k, m** and **n** is MS175A/4/4/4/194, ML, and that for letter **l** is MS175A/4/4/4/187A, ML.[57]

a. 7 June 1854 (from Hotel Brighton) – 'We received your letter this M[ornin]g and are truly happy to find from it that you have been able to overcome the difficulties respecting the proposed Brass in the Hanley Church in a manner which appears to be so satisfactory to all parties, and request you will be so good [as] to have it forthwith commenced according to your present plans.' She is anxious that the brass for Killarney Cathedral should also when convenient be put in hand, but 'I must again repeat that the Brass for Hanley Church is the one I am most anxious to have executed without loss of time … As my Nephew Lord Castlerosse is … obliged to … return to England in a few days I will no longer correspond with you in his name & request when you write you will address your letter to [me at Hotel Brighton] … – not paying the postage.'

b. Undated (but before 19 July apparently and 25 July certainly; from Hotel Brighton) – 'I return the inscriptions you sent for my approval with some slight changes … to which I hope you will not object. Sometimes the old English letters are quite illegible, so I should feel greatly obliged if you would give directions that the inscription should be legible on both Tomb stone and Monumental Brass. – [I]t occurs to me with regard to the Monument in Hanley Church yard that it would … look better if it was surrounded by a nice Gothic railing', and she gives her Geneva address.

c. 19 July 1854 (from Geneva) – 'Since writing to you in Paris on the subject of the inscription for the Monumental Brass to be placed in Hanley Church, it has occurred to me (if not too late) that I should wish to add the following words at the end, if you should have place for this addition after what was before agreed upon. "This Monument, dedicated to the memory of the best of Husbands is the tribute of his afflicted and disconsolate Widow" – If you cannot add this, or think it not suitable to a brass', Hardmans is to let her know; her address is still Poste Restante at Geneva.

d. 22 July [1854] (from Geneva) – 'Excuse my troubling you again on the subject, but I should be obliged to you to substitute the [now no longer] enclosed words for those I sent you a few days ago, to be added to the inscription on the … Brass now preparing for Hanley Church …'

e. 25 July 1854 (from Geneva) – 'Your letter of the 21st has just reached me. I think it must have crossed my two last letters en route.' She fears that Hardmans' observation that the inscription sent her for the Killarney brass fills

57 In the correspondence that follows the Dowager Countess writes concerning three overlapping commissions, namely the tombstone and its railing over the grave of her husband in Hanley (Blackmore Park) church cemetery and the two brasses to his memory, one in Killarney Cathedral, the other in Hanley church. This has necessitated a greater editing of her letters, which sometimes tell more of her distress than make clear which of the three commissions she has in mind.

all the space available for the inscription must apply equally to the Hanley brass and that it will be impossible to make the addition proposed in her letter of the 22nd. She was under the impression that there was ample space for those few words 'which would have been soothing to my feelings, but of course if there is not room for them, that will be reason sufficient for the omission. I quite approve of the [now no longer] enclosed pattern of Railings No. 2 … the present Lord Kenmare is going to Malvern Wells in August, so I hope he may be there when the tomb stone and railing are erected …'

f. 3 August 1854 (from Geneva) – 'In reply to your letter received last Ev[enin]g of the 29th, I am most willing to incur the additional cost of 3£ for the figure on the Cross of the Tomb … stone … It was not the Monumental Brass which I expressed a hope in my last letter might be ready for erection during Lord C's stay at Malvern Wells as … at the commencement you stated it would be four or five months before it would be completed. It was to the tomb stone for Hanley Cemetery I alluded … I forego the addition I suggested to the inscription on the Monumental Brass I had no idea it was so much advanced when I proposed the addition … I wish it had occurred to me at first, but I quite console myself for its omission as the beauty of the Monument erected to His Memory is far more important than the words placed on its *[sic]*.'

g. 22 November 1854 (from Hotel Castiglione) – I had commissioned my Nephew Lord Castlerosse when he went to England a month ago to have made inquiries respecting the tomb stone & Monumental Brass for Hanley, but … the death of his Mother has … prevented his attending to it. – I therefore will no longer delay addressing you myself … to inquire if they have yet been placed in their destinations, as it would be a very great distress to me that no tomb stone should yet, after the elapse of more than a year have been placed over the remains of my beloved Husband … I shall feel much obliged if you will send me all necessary information on the subject, as I am now settled in Paris for two or three months … and whilst I was travelling about, I deferred addressing you having no certain direction to give.'

h. 2 December 1854 (from Hotel Castiglione) – She acknowledges receipt of Hardmans' letter of 29th and expresses regret that it has been so extremely out of Hardmans' power sooner to execute her commission. 'I was aware that such a large Brass would be a most tedious job, but in ignorance of the difficulty you have had in getting the tomb carved I had hoped it had been placed, however it was well worth waiting to have the work executed by such distinguished artists, and I am much consoled at the prospect of all being finished and placed before the end of this month at Hanley … I shall be much obliged by your writing to inform me & likewise at the same time letting me have the account … of all then due you, & I will send an order on my Banker for payment, as I prefer settling that, before the Brass for the Killarney Church is completed. – I shall be very thankful to have the rubbing of the brass you kindly offer to send me. Unfortunately Lord Castlerosse leaves London on Monday M[ornin]g for Paris, as he could have brought it to me, but if you will … direct it to my house in Belgrave Sq^{re} No 11 – I shall be sure soon to find an opportunity of getting it conveyed to me.'

j. 20 January 1855 (from Hotel Castiglione) – 'I have been anxiously expecting to hear from you ere this of the completion of the commissions I so long ago gave you – You promised me that both Brass, and the tomb stone should be erected in Hanley Church &

Cemetery before the end of the year & I am in despair at no notice having been yet sent me thereof – It is most painful to my feelings the unusual length of time which has been allowed to elapse without any outward mark of respect having been paid to the remains of my lamented husband & it will be a great consolation if you are able to inform me that all is now completed satisfactorily. I fear however such can not be the case as I requested you … to give me notice & to let me at the same time have your account …'

k. 6 February 1855 (from Hotel Castiglione) – 'I have been prevented by illness answering your letters of the 29th and 30th. I heard with much pleasure of the erection of the Brass & tomb stone at Hanley, & am extremely glad that you have deferred having the railing placed round the latter, until you had communicated Mr Hornyold suggestion, for which I am greatly obliged … I shall write to my Bankers Messrs Paget & Bainbridge 12 St Pauls Church Yd London to desire them to pay the £164.15[s.] due to you.'[58]

l. 20 March 1855 – Lord Castlerosse writes that he 'went to Hanley yesterday to see the brass & Tomb Stone – I admire the Brass very much, and the workmanship is extremely beautiful – I observed however in some places that the Brass appeared not to join well – or rather looked as if it had (?)slacked. I pointed it out to the Revd Mr Flanagan,[59] who will bring it under yr notice when you go to Hanley – Can you tell me why the word "Tout" in the Motto, is everywhere in the Brass spelt "Toute" but is spelt right on the Tomb stone …?'

58 Besides the costs of the other commissions, MSL, p. 400, shows on the debit side of the Dowager Countess's account, under date 26 December 1854, £150 for the late earl's brass plus 'Man's Time & Expenses fixing 14.14.4', a total of £164 14s. 4d. [MS175A/3/3/1/5].

m. 8 April 1855 (from Hotel Castiglione) – 'I am very glad to find by your letter of 2 April that the tombstone & Railing in Hanley Church yard are now completed … Ld C. speaks in the greatest praise of the Brass which he considers when the defect he mentioned, & which Messrs Hardman have since ascertained, is remedied, will be quite perfect of its kind.'

n. 25 September 1855 (from Great Malvern) – '… I have seen the Brass in the Hanley Church & was much pleased with it. I shall take courage & go & see it again, but I regret that the Church is so very dark that it is hardly seen – The Cathedral in Killarney will not have that disadvantage at present, as it is not glazed with colored glass.'

Fig. 7. Valentine Browne, second Earl of Kenmare, detail of symbol of St. Mark (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

59 The Revd. Thomas Flanagan was priest at Blackmore Park 1854-8.

Notes

In quoting the size of the proposed brass, the BOB speaks specifically of the size of 'the Brass Plates', in the plural, and it is certainly the case that the top right-hand corner of the symbol of St. Mark has sunk significantly below the level of the surrounding brass, showing that the panels with the Symbols of the Evangelists at least are separate plates (and of a standard design, and even size?). The position and the darkness of the brass make it difficult to be certain that other parts of the brass are also separate 'plates', though the appearance in the rubbing of a number of sharply defined edges, especially in the border with its repeated motto, suggests that the brass is indeed composed of a number of different plates, as is seemingly confirmed by Lord Castlerosse's observation in his letter (**1**) of 20 March 1855 that in some places 'the Brass appeared not to join well', and it is unfortunate that the crucial word in his restatement of his observation is as illegible as it is. I have been unable to find evidence of what, if anything, was done about his observations; certainly, the incorrect spelling in the motto remains. The damage in the panel to the right of the earl would seem to be attributable to the breakdown of the enamels of the heraldic tinctures rather than to any unevenness of plates.

Born on 15 January 1788, Valentine Browne was the eldest son of Valentine Browne, fifth Viscount and first Earl of Kenmare (1754-1812) by his second wife, Mary Aylmer, of Lyons, co. Kildare. Styled Lord Castlerosse between 1801 and 1812, he succeeded as second Earl and to the other titles in the peerage of Ireland in 1814. On 1 July 1816 he married Augusta Anne, second daughter of Sir Robert Wilmot, Bt., of Osmaston, Derbyshire, by his second wife, Marianne, daughter and heir of Charles Howard, of Pipe Grange, Staffordshire. He served as Lord Lieutenant of co. Kerry from 1831 to his death, and in 1841 was created Baron Kenmare in the peerage of the United Kingdom.[60] In 1842 he gave the ground for the cathedral at Killarney, co. Kerry, commissioned Pugin to design it, and contributed handsomely to the building (which was finally completed only in the early twentieth century),[61] and in 1845 was one of the Visitors of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, co. Kildare, where Pugin was again commissioned for the huge extensions there begun the following year.

For the benefit of his health, Kenmare had for a few months been staying at Great Malvern (then at the peak of its reputation as a hydropathic spa)[62] and died there after a lingering illness. 'Of quiet and retiring habits, [he] never took a very active part in public life; but in private life he was everything that an estimable nobleman could be.'[63] On his death without issue he was succeeded in the Irish honours by his brother Thomas, and the United Kingdom barony became extinct. His widow, who converted to Catholicism the year before his death, ordered for Killarney Cathedral a brass 'with full length Figure of the late Earl … with smaller figures of St. Patrick and St. Bridget'[64] and herself died at 11 Belgrave Square, London, in 1873 aged 75.

60 Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, 79th edn. (London, 1917), p. 1176.

61 *The Tablet*, IV, no. 140 (14 January 1843), p. 24; D.S. Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, 2 vols. (New York, 1983), I, pp. 278-83.

62 B.S. Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Gloucester, 1978), pp. 195-212.

63 *Kerry Evening Post*, 5 November 1853.

64 BOB, pp. 145-6, under date 10 June 1854 [MS175A/4/1/1/1].

Fig. 8. Thomas Charles Hornyold, d. 1859
(rubbing: George McHardy)

IV. Thomas Charles Hornyold, d. 17 January 1859 (Fig. 8)

Location
N. aisle, E. end of N. wall, outside the Chapel of St. Alphonsus Liguori.

Description
In an architectural frame consisting of slender colonnettes carrying a cinquefoiled and crocketed arch, elaborately decorated spandrels, and outer tall buttress-like crocketed pinnacles, the figure kneels, facing E., in timeless attire against a background powdered with stars, a shield of arms behind him and a label with inscription arching above and behind his head and shoulders; below, the inscription panel runs the full width of the composition. Some use of black and red mastic. Mounted on metal sheet providing 'frame', which is given thin outer edging of wood; frame and edging painted matt black.

Inscriptions
(at foot) Pray for the Soul of / Thomas Charles Hornyold, Esq^{re} / of Blackmore Park, Worcestershire, / who died on the 17th of Jan^{y} 1859, aged 68 years. / R.I.P.

(on label) Sancta Maria Immaculata ora pro me [Holy Mary Immaculate pray for me].

(in both spandrels) H

Heraldry
Azure on a bend argent embattled counter-embattled a wolf passant sable between two escallops (Hornyold), impaling *Per fess in chief quarterly 1 and 4, in chief azure five bezants or, in base argent ermined, 2, gules a cross or between four popinjays, 3, gules a chevron or between three sheep's heads couped, an escutcheon gules a lion passant guardant or* (Webb-Weston), *in base sable a chevron argent between three elephants' heads erased argent* (Saunders).

Size
1015 x 615 mm.

Condition
Some enamelling on dexter side of shield of arms damaged.

Order
BOB, p. 100, under date 24 January 1860. Cl. Mrs. [Lucy] Hornyold, 24 Westbourne Square, Harrow Road, London, with address also Hotel des Bains, Boulogne-sur-Mer, France. Corr. J.V. Hornyold, Blackmore Park, Upton on Severn. Various/altered parts of inscription. Price [£40]. To be sent to J.V. Hornyold Esq^{re} Carriage Paid to Malvern Wells Station Worcester and Hereford Railway. [MS175A/4/1/1/4]

Rubbings
MB1860/56; 7 May 2009.

Letters
Except letters **d**, **e** and **h** written by Mrs. Hornyold, all the letters are written by Mr. [Gandolfi] Hornyold from Blackmore Park.

a. 2 December 1859 – BEB, p. 77, shows Hardmans 'Enclosing Design of Monumental Brass similar to that of Mr Berkeley Senr in Spetchley Parish Church' (Fig. 9).[65]

65 Robert Berkeley senr. died in 1855. His brass is one of two Berkeley brasses against the west wall of the Berkeley Chapel in the (now redundant) Anglican church of All Saints adjoining Spetchley Park, Worcestershire. IBW under 'Berkeley' shows the brass was erected in 1858 and cost £[30].

Fig. 9. Robert Berkeley senior, d. 1855, All Saints, Spetchley, Worcs., upper part of brass (rubbing: George McHardy)

A note on the same page indicates that Hardmans sent the design 'Sat December 15th 1859 to Mrs Hornyold Hotel des Bains'. [MS175A/4/1/3/2]

b. 3 December [1859, not 1860 as endorsed by Hardmans' clerk] – He approves the design for his late uncle's brass, 'but as it is the order of the Widow … I should prefer your enclosing the design to her for her approval and will at the same time suggest what words should be inscribed on the brass. I can furnish the Arms if required.' He gives his aunt's address in Boulogne and hopes the brass will be executed as soon as possible. Signing himself 'J.V. Hornyold', he adds, 'P.S. I have dropped the name of Gandolfi for Hornyold only.'[66] [MS175A/4/4/4/301B, ML]

c. 15 December 1859 – see **a** above.

d. 22 December 1859 – Mrs. Hornyold writes from Boulogne to say that the 'design forwarded … appears to be all that Could be wished for'. [MS175A/4/4/4/301A, ML]

e. 21 March [1860] – Writing from Westbourne Square Mrs. Hornyold acknowledges receipt of the letter about the inscription for the brass and adds, 'The inscription on the Mortuary Card is satisfactory, but the Age is incorrectly stated. 68 must be inserted.' [MS175A/4/4/4/301C, ML]

f. 30 March [1860] – He writes saying 'I will send you in a few days a sketch of the Arms … In fact they are franked on a Silver banner used a long time ago when [his uncle] was High Sheriff and they have the Quarterings of his first Wife deceased and his Widow', and he hopes Hardmans will lose no time in sending the Brass when completed. [MS175A/4/4/4/301D, ML]

g. 25 May [1860] – He will 'be obliged to [Hardmans] to send (Carriage paid) the Brass … to [him] by rail to the Malvern Wells station which is now open. I can find a clever mason to put it up so you need not send a person.' [MS175A/4/4/4/301E, ML]

h. 26 May [1860] – 'Mrs Hornyold [writing from Westbourne Square] would be very glad if Mr Hardman would inform her if the Tablet to the Memory of her lamented Husband has been placed in the Church at Blackmore Park.' [MS175A/4/4/4/301C, ML]

66 Unlike his son (see **VI**), he seems to have thought that the request in his uncle's will to use the name Hornyold only was mandatory.

j. 21 June [1860] – He has 'received the Brass … quite safe and it has just been well fixed up in the Wall of the North Aisle by my Mason.[67] I am much pleased with its effect and all my Friends equally admire & approve of it. The empty Case will be sent back in a day or so.' The rest of the letter is concerned with money matters that relate to his uncle's funeral expenses.[68] [MS175A/4/4/4/301B, ML]

Notes

This brass well shows how completely John Hardman Powell absorbed Pugin's principles and ideals. Here, for example, quite apart from the clarity of the design, the deceased is shown wearing the 'long cloak, disposed in severe folds' advocated by Pugin,[69] and the face here shown in profile has sufficient individuality to indicate that it is indeed a true likeness of Mr. Hornyold. Similarly, the elder Robert Berkeley's quiff (Fig. 9) is as much evidence of Powell's scrupulous attention to detail as Mrs. Knight's double chin, as has been so nicely demonstrated by David Meara, is evidence of Pugin's.[70]

Thomas Charles Hornyold was born on 29 January 1791, the son of Thomas Hornyold (1755-1814) and his wife Teresa (d. 1815), youngest daughter of Thomas Fitzherbert, of Swynnerton Park, Staffordshire, who married in 1785. In 1840 he was created by Pope Gregory XVI a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Christ. The following year he was High Sheriff of Worcestershire, and he also served as Deputy Lieutenant of the county and as a Justice of the Peace. He married, firstly, on 4 November 1812, Bridget Mary, daughter of John Webb-Weston, of Sutton Place, Surrey, who died at Bristol on 24 February 1827 and is there buried, and, secondly, on 12 May 1828, Lucy, eldest daughter and co-heir of William Saunders, solicitor, of Worcester, Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace.[71] He was passionately interested in horses and every kind of sport and was instrumental, too, in the establishment in 1820 of a Worcestershire Hunt.[72] There is a full-length portrait of him in riding attire, by T.H. Newman, 1853, in the Guildhall, Worcester (to which it was presented in 1921), and a smaller version of the painting is at Sizergh Castle, Westmorland. He died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew, John Vincent Gandolfi (1818-1902), who by Royal licence dated 26 February 1859 complied with a request in his uncle's will that he assume the name of Hornyold, quartering their arms with those of Gandolfi. His will was proved on 30 March 1859 by his nephew and William Taunton, solicitor, as executors.[73] He lies buried beneath the westernmost and largest of the three ledger stones to the south-east of the church.

V. Joseph Hornyold, d. 9 February 1859 (Fig. 10)

Location

Asymmetrically on back wall of empty tomb recess in N. wall of (N.E.) Chapel of St. Alphonsus Liguori.

67 The brass on its singular metallic and wooden backing was certainly 'well fixed up' by the 'clever mason': it remains as secure as do the brasses erected by Hardmans' men.

68 On 22 January 1859 Hardmans had been asked to hire out '12 large Candlesticks' to go round the coffin during the Requiem Mass and send them to the undertaker in Worcester for onward conveyance to Blackmore Park [MS175A/4/4/4/279A, ML].

69 Pugin, *Apology*, p. 36.

70 Meara, *Victorian Brasses*, pp. 29-30, pls. 17, 18.

71 Jackson Howard, *Genealogical Collections*, p. 248.

72 P. Hurle, *Hanley Castle: Heart of Malvern Chase* (London, 1978), p. 156.

73 *National Probate Calendar 1858-1943* (hereafter *NPC*), 1859, pp. 122-3. He left effects of under £9,000.

Fig. 10. Joseph Hornyold, d. 1859
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Description
Simple inscription tablet with floriated initial 'I'. Some use of red mastic. Affixed directly to wall.

Inscription
In memory of Joseph 4th son of / John Vincent Hornyold & Charlotte / his Wife, who died at Torquay, / Febr 9th 1859, aged 5 years & 11 months.

Size
152 x 355 mm.

Order
BOB, p. 160, under date 20 November 1860. Corr. J.V. Hornyold, Blackmore Park nr Upton on Severn. Price [£2.12s.6d.] [MS175A/4/1/1/4]

Rubbings
MB/1860/10.

Letters
a. 19 November 1860 – BEB, p. 105, shows Hardmans 'Enclosing [to J.V. Hornyold] rough Draft full size … for Plate to memory of his son. The cost of executing it as shewn will be £2.12s.6[d.]' [MS175A/4/1/3/2]

b. 20 November 1860 – Hornyold writes to say that 'the Tablet carried out in the manner indicated will answer very well', and he continues regarding other orders for candlesticks and lamps. [MS175A/4/4/4/301B]

Notes
In 1846 John Vincent Gandolfi (1818-1902) married Charlotte Mary (d. 1907), daughter of the Hon. Charles Langdale, of Houghton Hall, Yorkshire. Shortly after the death without issue of his uncle, Thomas Charles Hornyold, on 17 January 1859 (see **IV**), Gandolfi assumed by Royal licence dated 26 February 1859 the surname Hornyold. Joseph was the couple's fourth son. He was born at 7 Grafton Street, London, on 21 February 1853 and was baptised in the chapel of the Bavarian Embassy (now the parish church of Our Lady of the Assumption and St. Gregory) in Warwick Street, London.[74] He lies buried with his parents and others of his family beneath the westernmost and largest of the three ledger stones to the south-east of the church.

74 Jackson Howard, *Genealogical Collections*, p. 252.

Fig. 11. Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold, d. 1906
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

VI. Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold, d. 27 February 1906 (Figs. 2, 11-14)

Location
N. aisle, W. end of N. wall.

Description
Within a border of alternating roses and sprays of flowers, the plate is divided into three regions, the uppermost with a two-centred arch carried on corbel stops, beneath which, in the uniform of a Knight of the Sovereign Order of Malta, coronet and sword at his feet and label with inscription over his head, the bare-headed and moustached duke kneels (LH) at the foot of the crucified Christ, the area for his duchess (RH) vacant; the second region, divided from both that above and that below for the inscription (with space left vacant for the duchess's), is subdivided into three heraldic compartments, the centre one broader than the others, by the same border of roses and flower sprays. Some use of black mastic. Let into Belgian granite tablet with moulded frame.

Inscriptions
(within and alternately across motifs hanging in 'chains' behind figure(s)) C and G

(label) Miserere (altered from Misereri) mei Deus [Have mercy on me, O God]

(in compartments) As noted under heading 'Heraldry' below.

(at foot) Pray for the Soul of Thomas Charles Gandolfi-Hornyold, Duke, Marquis & Count Gandolfi, &ca, / of Blackmore Park, Lord of the Manors of Hanley Castle & Malvern Wells, co. Worcester, D.L. & J.P. / Knight of the Sovereign Order of Malta; Knight Grand Cross of the Orders of St. Gregory the / Great, & of the Holy Sepulchre; Knight Grand-Commander of the Orders of Christ of Portugal, & of St. / Stephen of Austria-Tuscany. Born 1846, he married 1878, Maria Teresa Luisa, daughter of Marshal Cabrera, / Count de Morella & Marquis del Ter, of the Kingdom of Spain, Lady of the Royal Bavarian / Order of Teresa. He died 1906, and is here buried. He was a zealous Catholic & faithful adherent / of the Holy See. Of your Charity pray for his repose. + Pater + Ave + Gloria +

Fig. 12. Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold, detail of Hornyold and Gandolfi heraldry (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Heraldry
The LH compartment (Fig. 12) is divided diagonally into

(i) Arms, *On a bend embattled counter-embattled a wolf passant between two escallops; helm with crest, A demi-unicorn*, and

(ii) Arms, *Per fess a lion rampant crowned; helm with crest, A demi-lion rampant holding in the dexter paw a dagger*.

Fig. 13. Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold, detail of Gandolfi and Cabrera heraldry (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

The arms, set amid floral decoration, are identified on labels inscribed respectively 'Hornyold' and 'Gandolfi family Arms'.

(centre compartment) Arms, Quarterly *1, On a bend embattled counter-embattled a wolf passant between two escallops* (Hornyold); *2, On a mount in base a poplar tree between two lions rampant combatant crowned with count's coronets* (Gandolfi – arms of title); *3, Per fess a lion rampant crowned* (Gandolfi – family arms); *4, A saltire between twelve crosses crosslet* (Windsor), impaling *A goat passant within a bordure compony, in dexter chief an escutcheon crowned per fess, in chief a leaf, in base on a mount in base a spreading tree* (Cabrera). The shield is surmounted by a ducal coronet. The supporters are two lions rampant crowned with marquis's coronets, collared and crined, and pendant from each of the collars an escutcheon charged with a pair of keys crossed in saltire. Below is a label bearing the motto '*Fidem Tene*'.

The RH compartment (Fig. 13) is divided diagonally into

(i) Arms, *On a mount in base a poplar tree between two lions rampant combatant crowned with count's coronets; helm with crest, A lion rampant reguardant crowned in front of a tree*, and

(ii) Arms, *A goat passant within a bordure compony, in dexter chief an escutcheon crowned per fess, in chief a leaf, in base on a mount in base a spreading tree*; *helm with crest, A goat passant.*

The arms, set amid floral decoration, are identified on labels inscribed respectively 'Gandolfi, Arms of Title' and 'Cabrera'.

Size
1300 x 655 mm.

Order
BOB, pp. 35-6, under date 23 August 1907. Cl. The Executors of the late Duke Gandolfi per The Duke Gandolfi, Blackmore Park. The order is for 'a memorial brass as designed by Mrs Swinnerton Hughes … surrounded by a border of roses and Plantagenet badge *[sic]*', and precise dimensions are given of the brass, the slab and its moulded border. 'Price [£219.10s.] fixed.' When ready for fixing A. Every-Clayton at the Blackmore Park Estate Office is to be advised. [MS175A/4/1/1/28]

Rubbings
MB1907/35.[75]

Letters
In 1903 John Bernard Hardman, son of the firm's founder, died and the firm's work was divided between his two sons. John Tarlton took on the stained glass business, Gerald the metalwork, though it was understood that monumental brass commissions should be open to both of them. This provides a background for letters **a** and **b**, both of which were addressed by Gerald J. Hardman from Hardman, Powell & Co., King Edward's Works, to J. Hardman & Co., New Hall Hill. Except for letter **c**, and **a** and **b**, all the letters are written by Hardmans to Every-Clayton at the Estate Office.

a. 1 September 1906 – Under the heading 'Gandolfi Brass', Gerald Hardman refers to a 'memo: from London Office [24 Haymarket Street] about the matter, which is all I know of it, recd on Aug 28th. I should have sent you the drawing as soon as received. Of course now we know the enquiry is already yours, we will not attempt to proceed with it. I hope I am mistaken, but your letter reads as if you anticipated our trying to capture this order unfairly.' He has 'instructed Mr (?)Walker to send on any further particulars he may have & [I] have told him the enquiry is already yours'. [MS175A/11/1/1/525, GBL]

b. 1 September 1906 – Gerald Hardman acknowledges Hardmans' letter 'in answer to [his] of today' and says he 'does not think [his] London Rep: will make a mistake again'. [MS175A/11/1/1/525, GBL]

c. 13 December 1906 – GBLB, p. 251. Writing for Hardmans, F. Wareing asks Messrs. Roddis & Nourse, of 45/47 Aston Road North, Birmingham, for 'an estimate for a Belgian Granite Slab for a rectangular brass 50½" deep x 26¾" wide. The slab to be 1¼" thick with a margin and moulding 4" as section [now no longer] inclosed. This will make the entire size 58½" x 34¾". Include cost of brass laid on slab, packed and delivered at Malvern.' He asks to have the estimate 'to-morrow morning' with 'a nice little sample of the marble polished on face and edges'.[76] [MS175A/4/3/20/49]

d. 15 May 1908 – GBLB, p. 972. '… the memorial tablet … to … the late Duke Gandolfi … is now … packed ready for sending.' He asks whether it will be convenient to despatch it next week and for Every-Clayton to meet 'our man … the following Monday to point out … where … it should be fixed'. And what is the most convenient station to forward the case to? [MS175A/4/3/20/51]

e. 18 May 1908 – BSDB, p. 303. 'R. & N. £[10.10s.] delivered', '-do- fixing £[1.7s.6d.]',

75 This is the true number, inscribed exceedingly discreetly in blue pen at the head of the rubbing, which is now (2011) in a wrapper marked MB1907/18.

76 Roddis and Nourse, stonemasons, were regularly used by Hardmans for the supply of marble and stone. Their estimate here, No. 06176 for £10 10s., is shown in a marginal note on p. 35 of BOB, and the sum is confirmed in **e** below.

and 'Heath: Journey to alter "misereri" to "Miserere" 14/9' (which is marked as "Paid") (Fig. 14). [MS175A/4/1/2/3][77]

Fig. 14. Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold, detail showing the correction of 'misereri' to 'miserere' in the label over the duke's head (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

f. 18 May 1908 – GBLB, p. 993. 'We will despatch the brass to-morrow consigned to Malvern Wells station, Midland Railway … and will await your instructions before sending to fix.' [MS175A/4/3/20/51]

g. 18 May 1908 – GBB, p. 503. Bill issued for £219.10s. 'Including delivery and fixing as per estimate.' [MS175A/4/3/10/20]

h. 10 June 1908 – GBLB, p. 135. 'We shall be glad to hear from you as soon as possible with regard to the fixing of [the brass].' [MS175A/4/3/20/52]

j. 23 July 1908 – GBLB, p. 434. '… we will send our man over on Monday next to fix [the brass], and he shall be at the Church by about eleven o'clock, which we hope will be a convenient time to you to show him where the tablet is to be placed. We presume the case has been delivered to the Church.' [MS175A/4/3/20/52]

k. 20 August 1908 – GBB, p. 503 (as **g** above) is endorsed to show reminder sent.

l. 28 December 1908 – GBB, p. 79, shows bill as in **g** above endorsed to show reminder sent. [MS175A/4/3/10/21]

m. 12 February 1909 – GBLB, p. 540. 'May we remind you that in December last you kindly wrote saying that you would put our bill for … the brass … before his Excellency on his return in January', and Hardmans asks that a cheque be obtained in payment since the matter is long outstanding. [MS175A/4/3/20/53]

n. 16 April 1909 – GBLB, p. 852. 'We had hoped from your letter of February 13th that we should have received a cheque ere this.' [MS175A/4/3/20/53]

o. 5 July 1909 – GBLB, p. 263. 'On June 1st we received from Duke Gandolfi his cheque in payment for the memorial brass, and we sent him a receipt to the address given on his letter. This has been returned to us this morning', and it is returned for Every-Clayton to deal with 'as he will know how'. [MS175A/4/3/20/54]

77 'Heath' is John J. Heath, of 12 Camden Street (Parade), Birmingham, one of Hardmans' specialist engravers.

Notes

This is the only brass in the church really to have been noticed in the specialist literature. It was designed by Mrs. Philippa Swinnerton Hughes (1824-1917), but how she came to be asked to design it is unknown.[78] She was the younger daughter of Robert Lucas (de) Pearsall (1795-1856) by his wife Harriet Elizabeth (née Hobday). He was a romantic whose interests included history, genealogy, heraldry, painting and, above all, music. Here, he was keenly interested in the reviving of Renaissance music, and his own madrigals have been called 'the nearest equivalent, in English music, to the Gothic revival and the pre-Raphaelite school in painting'.[79] Philippa (who in 1857 married John Hughes, barrister of the Inner Temple, London) clearly inherited her father's tastes. An obituary note says of her that she was 'in many ways a remarkable woman; a learned antiquary and genealogist, an artist … and a very clever illuminator and designer of book-plates', adding that she caused to be published many of her father's musical works and wrote the English words to some of his settings of German part songs.[80]

Thomas Charles Gandolfi Hornyold was the eldest son of John Vincent Gandolfi (1818-1902) by his wife Charlotte Mary (d. 1907), second daughter of the Hon. Charles Langdale, M.P., by his first wife Charlotte, daughter of Charles, sixth Lord Clifford, of Chudleigh, Devon. He was born in Upper Brook Street, Mayfair, London, on 22 December 1846 and was baptised in the chapel of the Bavarian Embassy, Warwick Street, London. His wife, Maria Teresa Luisa, whom he married on 19 February 1878, was the elder daughter of the Carlist leader Ramón Cabrera, by his wife Marianne, only daughter and heir of Robert Vaughan Richards, Q.C., third son of Sir Richard Richards, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of Caerywch, co. Merioneth.[81] He was a Deputy Lieutenant of Worcestershire and served also as a Justice of the Peace. His father had by Royal licence dated 26 February 1859 complied with a request in his father's will to use the name of Hornyold, quartering their arms with those of Gandolfi. The son was deeply into heraldry and the history of the Gandolfi family and was of the opinion that the request to use the name Hornyold only was not mandatory. He argued that the Blackmore Park Estate was in a poor way when his father inherited and it was Gandolfi money that restored it, so that it would have been preferable, and appropriate also, to use the name Gandolfi as well. Spotting that the Gandolfi arms had been altered in detail in the 1859 licence, he persuaded his father and younger brother to protest and renounce them in 1883.[82] Later, in 1899, he changed his name by Royal licence to Hornyold Gandolfi, having, under the name of Gandolfi, been created a papal duke by Pope Leo XIII in that same year. He was head of the family estates

78 Mr. A. Hornyold kindly tells me that he has no papers covering the period, and nor, despite extensive search, have I been able to find anything more in the Hardman archive than what is recorded in the catalogue here.

79 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), XIV, pp. 320-1.

80 *Musical Times*, LVIII (1917), p. 117; see also *Musical Times*, XXIII (1882), p. 375. On her work as a book-plate designer, see B. Welch, 'Elizabeth le Roy Emmet: bookplate by Philippa Swinnerton Hughes', *The Bookplate Jnl*, New Series, X, no. 1 (2012), pp. 51-4, with preliminary list of book-plates.

81 Jackson Howard, *Genealogical Collections*, p. 252.

82 The Protest and Renunciation of Arms is printed in Jackson Howard, *Genealogical Collections*, p. 263. I gratefully acknowledge Mr. A. Hornyold's clear explanation of its context.

for only four years following the death of his father. He died at the Hôtel de l'Europe, San Remo, Italy, and was succeeded by his son as the second duke.[83] He lies with his wife (d. 1918), parents and others of his family beneath the westernmost and largest of the three ledger stones to the south-east of the church. On 11 October 1906 probate was granted at London to Alfonso Otto Gandolfi Hornyold, his son, and William Fitzherbert Brockholes. His effects totalled £122,601 5s. 4d.[84]

Acknowledgements
The Revd. D.G. Round, parish priest of Upton upon Severn, and Mr. Antony Hornyold allowed me to rub the brasses in Blackmore Park church, as did Miss Juliet Berkeley those at Spetchley. I am most grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Antony Hornyold and to Miss Berkeley for their very kind hospitality. At both churches, I was given every facility to make the rubbings, at Blackmore Park by the parish secretary, Mrs. A. Rasile, and her husband, and at Spetchley by Miss Berkeley herself. Canon E.G. Knowles allowed me to photograph the Berington children's brass in Little Malvern church. Mr. Antony Hornyold has taken a keen interest in my work and I offer him my most sincere thanks. The Revd. M. Fisher and the Ven. D.G. Meara gave me much encouragement at a relatively early stage in my work. The staff at the Birmingham City Archives were much more than merely efficient: without my wife's understanding and interest and their patience and helpfulness, this paper could – literally – not have been written. At Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery Martin Ellis and Selina Garland were most helpful. I thank Alice Dunhill warmly for placing her professional photographic skills at my service. I am grateful to Mr. H.M. Stuchfield for having photographed the last brass in the series; his photographic details make wonderfully legible its thin engraving in a way that no brass rubbing can. The Revd. J. Clancy, C.Ss.R., gave me full access to the Redemptorist Provincial archives at Clapham, London. After this, my thanks must go to a great many archivists, librarians and local specialists. If their very number precludes my even listing them drearily in alphabetical order, I can assure them that their help has been most valuable to me and is greatly appreciated. Finally, I must thank Nicholas Rogers for his discreet and helpful editing of my finished text.

83 Obituary, *The Times*, 28 February 1906, p. 5.

84 *NPC*, 1906, p. 210.

Fig. 1. Richard Allarde, 1593, and three wives (M.S.V) and inscription to his grandson Richard Allarde, 1593 (M.S.VI) Biddenden, Kent

Conservation of Brasses, 2014

William Lack

This is the thirtieth report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with the brasses at Hillingdon, Kingston-on-Thames, Londesborough, St. Albans Abbey, Sotterley and North Wheatley; to Derrick Chivers for assistance at Hillingdon, Kingston-on-Thames and St. Albans Abbey; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Londesborough; to Leslie Smith for assistance at Biddenden; 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 Hillingdon, Londesborough, St. Albans Abbey, Sotterley and North Wheatley; and by 'Ashford Borough Council Member Grant' and the 'Biddenden Recycling Fund' organised by Biddenden Parish Council at Biddenden. I have entered into an arrangement with the Skillington Workshop to ensure the future of brass conservation and have worked with Simon Nadin from the company on the brasses at Biddenden, Kingston-on-Thames, Londesborough, St. Albans Abbey and Sotterley. The brasses at Londesborough have been given 'LSW' numbers following a survey for the Yorkshire *County Series* volume.

Biddenden, Kent

I removed various brasses from their slabs and collected loose plates on 9 May 2013.

M.S.I. Margaret Goldwell, 1499, and two husbands, engraved *c.* 1520.[1] This London debased-F brass comprises a female effigy (341 x 105 mm, 3 rivets), two civilian effigies (left-hand 348 x 102 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 3 rivets; right-hand 343 x 101 mm), a four-line English inscription (99 x 545 mm) and a son (128 x 48 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 1 rivet). These lie in the original Purbeck marble slab (1600 x 660 mm) in the nave. The son became detached from the slab in May 2010 and was subsequently kept locked in the vestry. I took up the left-hand male effigy which was loose and vulnerable. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.V. Richard Allarde, 1593, and three wives (Fig. 1).[2] This Johnson brass comprises a civilian effigy (510 x 173 mm), three female effigies (left-hand 461 x 157 mm; centre 468 x 161 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 7 rivets; right-hand 474 x 170 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 7 rivets), inscription (210 x 584 mm) and one son and two daughters (153 x 174 mm). These lie in the original slab (2065 x 965 mm) at the east end of the south chapel. The slab is immediately adjacent to the step up into the chancel and has worn badly. I took up the centre and right-hand female effigies. The right-hand edge of the skirt of the right-hand female effigy, immediately adjacent to the step, has lost a substantial portion and is jagged. After cleaning I repaired fractures in the right-hand female effigy and fitted new rivets.

1 Illustrated by W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, II (London, 1905), 11, no.32.

2 Described and illustrated in L. Smith, 'The Allarde Brasses', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XCIX (1983), pp. 225-30. The brass was relaid by Bryan Egan in 1982 when the male effigy was discovered to be palimpsest.

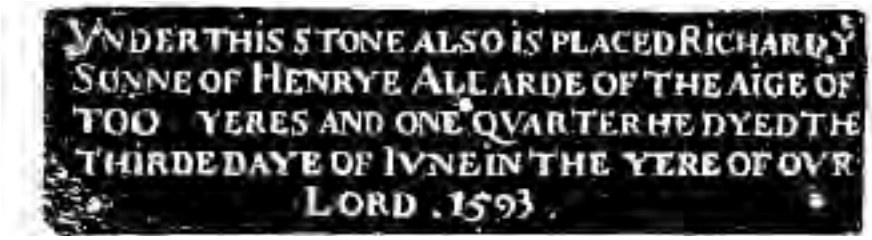

Fig. 2. Inscription to Richard Allarde, grandson of Richard Allarde, 1593 (M.S.VI) Biddenden, Kent

M.S.VI. Inscription to Richard Allarde, grandson of Richard Allarde, 1593 (Figs. 1 and 2). This five-line English inscription (191 x 330 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 5 rivets) was originally laid down with a small effigy (c.150 x c.50 mm) on the same slab as M.S.V. The indent in the slab is almost erased. It was recorded by Mill Stephenson as being mounted on the vestry door, but was later removed and had been locked in the vestry for some years.[3] After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.XII. Inscription with shield to Elizabeth Taylor, 1700 (Fig. 3). This rectangular plate, engraved with a thirteen-line inscription in English and a shield (590 x 481 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, 8 rivets) was taken up from its original slab (1980 x 1010 mm) in the nave. The plate was loose, and extensive areas of *Araldite* on the back of the plate and in and around the indent showed that several attempts had been made to refix the brass in recent times. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

3 *MBS Bulletin*, 112 (Sept. 2009), p. 229.

4 The conservation of two other brasses was described in *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 81-2.

5 Described and illustrated by Dr. H.K. Cameron in part 17 of 'The Brasses of Middlesex', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, XXVII (1976), p. 267 and fig. 8.

6. A large conservation and re-ordering project was carried out by Daedalus Conservation in 2013-14.

7 Described and illustrated in M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey* (originally published in nine parts in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* (1912-20), reprinted in one volume (Bath, 1970)), pp. 301-3.

The plates were relaid in their slabs on 13 November 2014, and Simon Nadin re-cut the indent for M.S.VI.

Hillingdon, Middlesex[4]

M.S.VIII. John Atlee, 1599.[5] This Johnson brass, comprising a civilian effigy (503 x 187 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 5 rivets) and a five-line English inscription in Roman Capitals (137 x 524 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets), was removed from the original slab in the south wall of the south aisle on 11 June 2012. It was considerably corroded and not well secured. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board. The board was mounted on the west wall of the north transept on 2 April 2014.

Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey[6]

M.S.I. Robert Skern and wife Joan, 1437.[7] This London D brass, comprising a civilian effigy (960 x 273 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 9 rivets), a female effigy (938 x 294 mm, thickness 3.3 mm,

The slab has moulded edges on three sides, indicating that it was originally on a table tomb, and the reversed inscription suggests that the tomb butted up against the east wall. When the table tomb was dismantled the slab was initially laid in the floor and later mounted murally, firstly in the south transept and later against the south pier of the tower. Brass and slab were moved to their most recent location between the chancel and south chancel and mounted on stone pillars in the 1960s. Plugged mounting holes in the inscription indent show that it had been mounted the 'correct' way up at some stage.

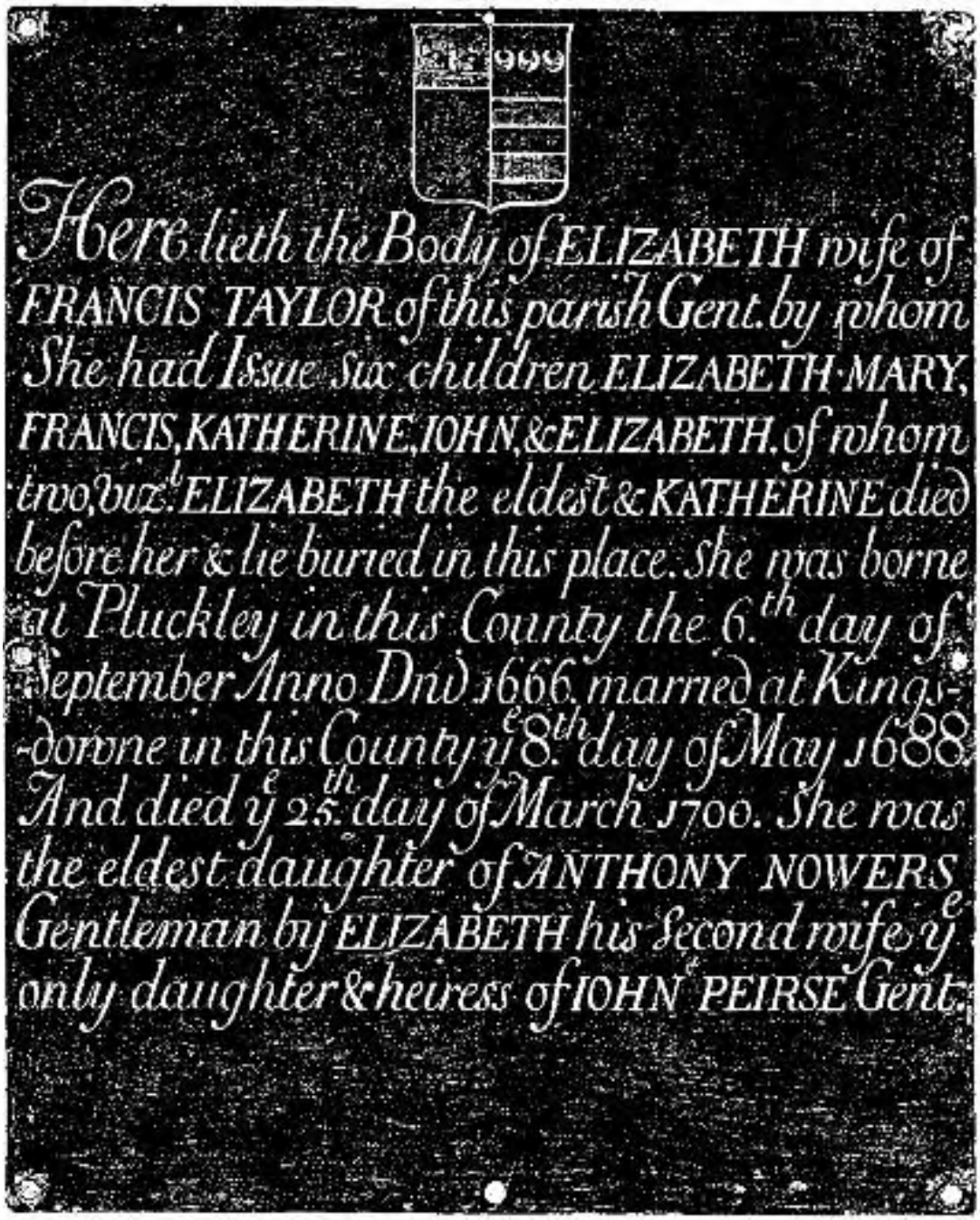

Fig. 3. Inscription with shield to Elizabeth Taylor, 1700 (M.S.XII)
Biddenden, Kent

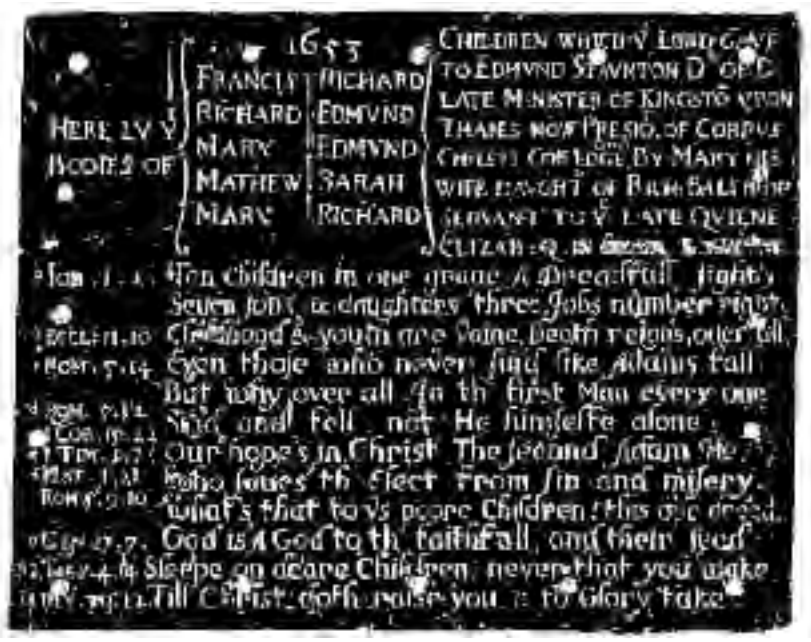

Fig. 4. Inscription and twelve English verses to the ten children of Edmund Staunton and his wife Mary, 1653 (M.S.V) Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey

8 rivets) and an inscription in 12 Latin verses (192 x 889 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 6 rivets), was taken up from the original Purbeck slab on 6 June 2014. The slab (2470 x 1120 mm) has indents for an achievement (430 x 390 mm) and four shields (130 x 105 mm). After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets. Daedalus Conservation fitted the slab into a steel frame and this was mounted on the east side of the pillar at the north-west corner of the old chancel. The brass was re-set in the slab on 28 August 2014.[8]

M.S.V. Inscription and twelve English verses to the ten children of Edmund Staunton and his wife Mary, 1653 (Fig. 4).[9] This plate (328 x 413 mm, thickness 2.6 mm, originally 16 rivets) was removed from a pillar at the south-west corner of the old chancel. After cleaning and re-rivetting, the plate was returned to Daedalus Conservation who remounted it on 14 October 2014.

Londesborough, Yorkshire

Eleven coffin plates to members of the Boyle family were removed from the vault below the chancel some years ago and insecurely mounted on the north wall of the north chapel. They were removed from the church on 16 June 2013.

The plates are **LSW.III**, a ten-line inscription to Elizabeth, wife of Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Burlington and 2nd Earl of Cork, 1690 (158 x 181 mm, thickness 0.7 mm, 8 rivets); **LSW.IV**, a five-line Latin inscription with shield surmounted with a coronet for Charles, Viscount Dungarvon, 1694 (Fig. 5) (353 x 226 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 5 rivets); **LSW.V**, a 12-line English inscription engraved

8 The inscription was mounted the 'correct' way up.

9 Described in Stephenson, *Surrey*, pp. 308-9.

Fig. 5. Charles, Viscount Dungarvon, 1694 (LSW.IV) Londesborough, Yorkshire

on a copper plate, to Charles Boyle, 2nd Earl of Burlington and 3rd Earl of Cork, 1703 (278 x 252 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 8 rivets); **LSW.VI**, a seventeen-line English inscription to Charles Boyle, 2nd Earl of Burlington and 3rd Earl of Cork, 1703 (332 x 282 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 4 rivets); **LSW.VII**, a seven-line English inscription engraved on a copper plate, to James, Earl of Drumlangrig, 1715 (103 x 159 mm, thickness 1.0 mm, 4 rivets); **LSW.VIII**, an eight-line English inscription to Henry Boyle, 1st Baron of Carleton, 1725 (348 x 295 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 8 rivets); **LSW.IX**, a seven-line English inscription engraved on a pewter plate, to Lady Juliana Boyle, 2nd daughter of Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Burlington and 2nd Earl of Cork, 1731 (302 x 230 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 10 rivets); **LSW.X**, an eleven-line English inscription to Juliana Boyle, wife of Charles Boyle, 2nd Earl of Burlington and 3rd Earl of Cork, 1750 (409 x 305 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 10 rivets); **LSW.XI**, a nine-line English inscription with achievement for Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington and 4th Earl of Cork, 1753 (Fig. 6) (482 x 370 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 13 rivets); **LSW.XII**, a five-line English inscription with achievement for Dorothy, widow of Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington and 4th Earl of Cork, 1758 (Fig. 7) (412 x 308 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 10 rivets); and **LSW.XIII**, a six-line English inscription with shield, engraved on a lozenge-shaped pewter plate, for Lady Jane Boyle, 1780 (458 x 358 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets) (varying from 1.7 to 2.1 mm).

After cleaning the plates, repairing fractures and fitting new rivets, the plates were lightly polished and lacquered and mounted on four cedar boards. The boards were mounted on the nave wall on 18 September 2014.

Fig. 6. Inscription with achievement for Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, 1753 (LSW.XI) Londesborough, Yorkshire

Fig. 7. Inscription with achievement for Dorothy, widow of Richard Boyle, 1758 (LSW.XII) Londesborough, Yorkshire

St. Albans Abbey[10]

Parts of three brasses were removed on 8 July 2013.

LSW.III. Abbot John Stoke, 1451. This London B brass, now comprising two scrolls (one mutilated), a mutilated triple canopy (originally *c*. 2905 x 1130 mm), a shield with the arms of the Abbey and a mutilated marginal inscription (originally 3157 x 1260 x 40 mm), lies in the original Purbeck slab in the presbytery. There are indents for the effigy (*c.* 1645 mm tall), small effigies of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, St. Alban and St. Amphibalus above the canopy pediments, a third scroll, a second shield and a foot inscription. The only parts conserved were two sections of marginal inscription from the right-hand side (upper, engraved 'relligione(m) Mundum', 393 x 40 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 2 rivets; lower, engraved 'tolerabat Gaudia', 305 x 39 mm, thickness 4.4 mm, 1 rivet) and two fragments of canopy work, the supporting brackets for the outside edges of the canopy pediments (left-hand 62 x 36 mm, thickness 3.1 mm; right-hand 67 x 38 mm, thickness 3.8 mm). After cleaning I fitted new rivets, back-soldering one extra to the lower section of marginal inscription and one to each canopy fragment.

LSW.X. Abbot ?William Alban, 1476. This London F brass now comprises the lower part of the effigy (originally 1520 x 386 mm, now 554 x 386 mm), the foot inscription in two Latin verses (134 x 753 mm), the lower parts of the single canopy (originally 2200 x 698 mm) and a mutilated marginal inscription with corner quadrilobes (2514 x 945 mm overall). Two shields and four roundels are lost. The inscription, canopy fragments and mutilated marginal inscription still lie in the original Purbeck slab (2685 x 1135 mm) in the presbytery. The remaining part of the effigy was removed from the slab and mounted on glass in the north presbytery aisle in 1993 together with a resin facsimile of its palimpsest reverse.[11] The only part conserved was a section of marginal inscription (engraved with a leaf pattern) from the lower right-hand side, abutting the lower right-hand quadrilobe (323 x 43 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 2 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

10 The brasses were described and illustrated by W. Page in *The Brasses and Indents in St. Albans Abbey* (reprinted from the *Home Counties Magazine,* vol. I (London, 1899)), and have been illustrated in W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (Stratford St. Mary, 2009), pp. 457, 466 and 476.

11 *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt. 3 (1994), p. 296.

Fig. 8. William Playters, 1512, and wife Jane, engraved c. 1630 (M.S.IV) Sotterley, Suffolk (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

LSW.XVI. Thomas Rutlond, 1521. This brass comprises the effigy of a Benedictine monk, a four-line foot inscription in Latin and a mutilated marginal inscription with evangelists' symbols at the corners. The effigy and inscription have been removed from the slab and are mounted on glass in the north presbytery aisle. Two fillets of the marginal inscription still lie in the original slab (2210 x 890 mm) in the south transept; only the lower fillet (engraved 'magestatem tuam ut tu deus', 493 x 42 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets) was repaired. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

The plates were relaid in their slabs on 20 August 2014, and Simon Nadin re-cut the indent for the lower marginal inscription fillet from LSW.III.

Sotterley, Suffolk

Four brasses were removed on 25 February 2014.

M.S.IV. William Playters, 1512, and wife Jane, engraved *c.* 1630 (Fig. 8). This brass comprises a chamfer inscription (1960 x 883 x 30 mm) set into the coverstone (2005 x 905 mm) of a table tomb on the north side of the chancel. The panel on the west side of the tomb contains an indent for a lost shield (120 x 110 mm), while the south panel contains a kneeling female effigy (168 x 92 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 2 rivets) and three shields (left-hand 139 x 106 mm;[12] centre 137 x 102 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 3 rivets; right-hand 137 x 102 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 2 rivets) and the indent for a male effigy (180 x 90 mm) which was stolen *c.* 1843. The female effigy and the centre and right-hand shields were considerably corroded

12 The left-hand shield was conserved in 2012. See *MBS Trans.*, XVIII, pt. 5 (2013), p. 501.

Fig. 9. Inscription and achievement to William Playters, 1584 (M.S.VIII) Sotterley, Suffolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

Fig. 10. Inscription and achievement to Robert Edgar, 1594 (M.S.IX)
Sotterley, Suffolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

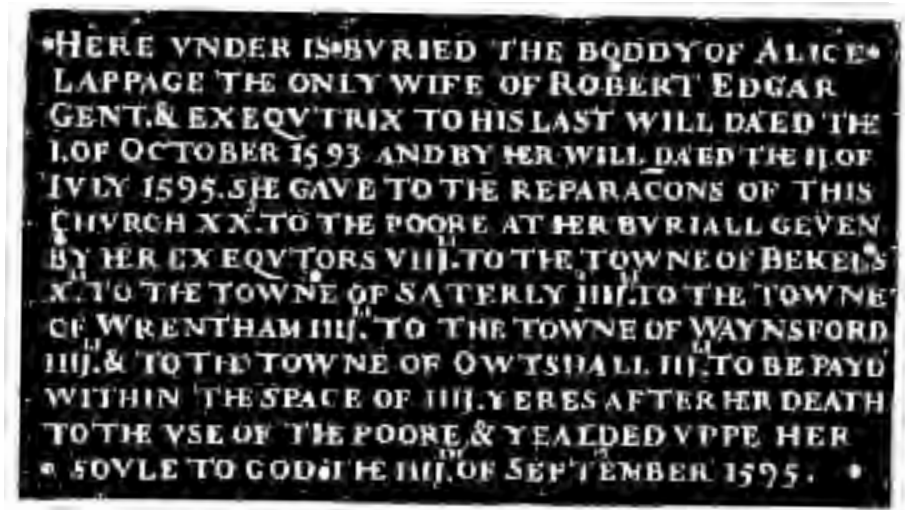

Fig. 11. Inscription to Alice Edgar, 1595 (M.S.X)
Sotterley, Suffolk
(rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

and poorly secured, and were removed. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.VIII. Inscription and achievement to William Playters, 1584 (Fig. 9). This Johnson brass, comprising a fifteen-line English inscription (261 x 387 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 11 rivets) and achievement (416 x 318 mm, thickness 2.0 mm, 8 rivets), was taken up from the sanctuary floor. The inscription is slightly mutilated at the top right-hand corner. The plates had been laid directly on the Victorian paving in two different and unrelated positions. They were secured with large protruding screws and were considerably corroded. Solder patches on the reverse indicated that they had been secured at some time in the past with back-soldered rivets. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

M.S.IX. Inscription and achievement to Robert Edgar, 1594 (Fig. 10). This Johnson brass, comprising a three-line Latin inscription (113 x 479 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 6 rivets) and achievement (272 x 228 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 4 rivets), was taken up from the nave and sanctuary floors respectively. The plates had been laid directly on the pavement and secured with large protruding screws. They were considerably corroded, especially the inscription which had been covered with a rubber-backed carpet which had trapped rising damp. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

M.S.X. Inscription to Alice Edgar, 1595 (Fig. 11). This Johnson brass, comprising a thirteen-line English inscription in Roman capitals (298 x 533 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 12 rivets), was removed from the sanctuary floor where it had been laid above the achievement belonging to M.S.IX. It had been laid directly on the pavement, secured with large protruding screws and was considerably corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a cedar board.

The plates from M.S.IV were reset on the tomb and the three boards were mounted in the sanctuary on 6 June 2014.

North Wheatley, Nottinghamshire

M.S.I. Inscription and merchant mark for Edmund Sheffeld, 1445.[13] This London B brass comprises a mutilated two-line Latin inscription (now 66 x 625 mm, thickness 3.1 mm, 6 rivets) and a merchant mark (137 x 110 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 1 rivet). The inscription is a known palimpsest and had been secured in a hinged wooden frame on the west wall of the nave to allow the display of both sides; the merchant mark had been affixed directly to the wall with a single household screw. The plates were removed on 15 June 2013. The reverse of the inscription is an inscription to Dame Joan, wife of Sir Hugh Cokesey, daughter of de Furnival, knt., died 26 August 1433, and was wasted material.[14] After cleaning I produced a facsimile of the palimpsest reverse and fitted new rivets. The brass and facsimile were rebated into a cedar board and this was mounted on the west wall of the nave on 24 March 2014.

13 Described and illustrated in J. Bramley, 'Notts. Monumental Brasses', *Trans. Thoroton Soc. of Nottinghamshire*, XVII (1913), pp. 125-6.

14 J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), p. 34, pl. 3.

Reviews

Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), xi + 205 pp., 40 colour and 40 b/w plates; bibliography and index; £35.00 (hardback); ISBN 978-0-300-20384-4.

This is not a book about brasses. It is instead a most welcome study, focusing on the Franciscan and Dominican churches of the Italian peninsula, which deals with those oft-forgotten monuments, incised slabs.

Italian friary churches are monuments of exquisite artistic and architectural wonder and serve as richly decorated heirlooms. It was the simplicity of the mendicant lifestyle which attracted the donations of the rich, displayed by the building of family chapels and in the commission of monuments: the cloister at San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, for example, is a carpet of commemoration with row upon row of slabs neatly organised alongside each other. Other tomb slabs were placed at the entrance to family chapels. Such gravestones, and those in the cloisters of these churches, raise an interesting question about the permanence of these memorials, for footfall would quickly obliterate the memory of those buried beneath. This is where this study makes an important observation: at Bologna and Florence the date of death was rarely included on the monument. It was not, therefore, the sole means of commemorative memory and other devices were at work to remember the dead. *Sepultuari*, or burial lists, have survived from these churches which evidently dove-tailed with the tombstone as an *aide-memoire* when it came to celebrating intercessory Masses.

The development of *avelli* – tombs set into wall niches – is characteristic of many mendicant churches, a response in part to the durability of floor monuments, but also to a need to participate in the discourse between the living and the dead. These *avelli* tombs were set within the external walls of the church often near or at the preaching space and close to pulpits overlooking cemeteries. It is here that the juxtaposed relationship between the tomb, the building and mendicant preaching collaborated in promoting a message of penitence and absolution. Tombs in Italian mendicant churches were not solely concerned with the memory of the patron but also played a functional role in promoting a message to the living, with the friars providing a verbal conduit and reminiscence of *memento mori* practices. In the author's own words, 'what resulted were symbiotic communities that linked the physical presence of the tomb to prayer, redemption, and salvation for the middle class, often merchant, soul' (p. 158).

It is impossible to comment on the scale to which Italian practices influenced English convents, but some thoughts emerge. It is evident that the friars on both sides of the Channel kept organised lists of the burials and monuments within and without their churches; they managed grave-space carefully and created status-zones; they cared for the dead as well as the living; and they were adept at using their popularity as a means of securing much-needed income for their sustainability and worship. They were not only the social workers of the Middle Ages but also successful fund-raisers. This study promotes new ideas on mendicancy and memorials, but above all leaves the reader with a burning desire to rush off to Italy and appreciate mendicant monumentality at first hand.

Christian Steer

Richard Marks, *Studies in the Art and Imagery of the Middle Ages* (London: The Pindar Press, 2012); viii + 845 pp., 456 b/w illus., index; £150 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-904597-38-4.

Despite the difficulties confronted by publishers in the internet age, the fashion for producing compilations of essays by outstanding scholars seems to continue undiminished. This is one of the largest and most ambitious that I have yet encountered: a massive volume of over 800 pages with multiple collections of inserted images comprising thirty-one essays written by Professor Richard Marks over the last forty years (the earliest in the collection was published in 1976 and the most recent in 2011). A concluding bibliography of over one hundred publications sets the selection in context: setting aside his books, monographs, catalogue entries and reviews, this represents the lion's share of Professor Marks' published material to date.

Beginning his career as a curator at the British Museum, Marks subsequently held a Personal Chair in the History of Art Department at the University of York and currently holds an Honorary Professorship in the History of Art at Cambridge University. His main interest lies in the religious imagery of medieval Europe and in particular English stained glass, but his research has also encompassed manuscript illumination, screen and wall painting, sculpture and funerary monuments.

Rather than republish his works in chronological order, the contents of the volume have been divided into four sections. A group of six essays, most of them historiographical, constitute the first section entitled 'Overviews and Taxonomies'. In the second and longest section, 'Windowes well-Y-glased', are a series of thirteen articles on stained glass, the field with which Professor Marks is perhaps most familiarly associated. The third section, 'Seable Rememoratijf Signes', comprises four essays that look at the imagery of late medieval devotion. Finally, 'Monuments and Memorialisation' is a collection of four essays on such diverse media as tomb sculpture (The Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, and The Howard Tombs at Thetford and Framlingham), manuscript illumination and church furnishing.

It is very difficult to review a volume like this critically. Professor Marks is an outstanding figure in his field and the essays he has produced are cumulatively an enormous contribution to the field of medieval art history. Apparent in this selection is the varied register of his interests. Here is a scholar as prepared to address the grand subject of 'Cistercian Window Glass in England and Wales' as the delightful and relatively obscure 'The Dean and the Bearded Lady: Aspects of the Cult of St. Wilgefortis/Uncumber in England'. This contrast is representative of Professor Marks' remarkable capacity for the broad view as well as for key-hole investigation, not to mention his eye for detail and the curious.

Yet by its very nature, this is not a volume of surprises and most people interested in the field will already possess a number of the essays. At a quick count I have eight on my own shelves, and old photocopies – if one can admit to such things – of three more, which will now go to the recycling bin. Thankfully, Professor Marks has restrained himself from the wholesale correction of his essays. A short list at the opening of the book succinctly explains what changes – if any – have been made to each publication. Generally, only typographic errors have been corrected. In a few cases too there

are new photographs. There is besides mention of important additional material that has come to light since the publication of some of the articles.

Those interested in this volume are very unlikely to be put off by the kinds of criticism that would be appropriate for a book offered beyond a specialist market; the fact, for example, that all the pictures are in black and white (and some are a little washed out in reproduction), or that the front cover image – a detail of the figure of St. Alban from the superlative fifteenth-century windows of the Beauchamp Chapel in Warwick – is both out of focus and scanned from a dirty transparency. They can be assured instead, however, that the pictures appear in the relevant essay (rather than in a clutch at the back); that the typesetting is clear; and that the footnotes appear at the bottom of each page. In all these respects the volume is convenient and easy to use.

Perhaps the only disappointment that I felt with this book regards the Introduction. Considering that this is the only new contribution in the volume, it is extremely concise. Brevity is – in the main – a virtue to be applauded. Yet in this case it would have been fascinating for Professor Marks to offer a personal overview of his own career and a historiography of the essays themselves. As it is, we learn practically nothing of what he feels about the course of his own research or the importance to it of his combined experience of museum and academic work. Given the pressures being exerted on the university study of medieval art history, it would be interesting to know both what his experience in the field has been and also what he anticipates as the future of the discipline. Yet with or without such an introduction, this is a valuable and stimulating compilation of essays that will hopefully help to bring the author's work to a wider audience and future generations of researchers.

John Goodall

Michael Penman ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013); xxii + 298 pp., numerous b/w and colour illus.; £35.00 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-907730-28-3.

It is the broad scope of this volume that will impress readers, as well as the general lessons that can be learned about the most productive directions for the study of monuments. Since the days of John Weever in the early seventeenth century – and perhaps even before that – it has been generally understood that historical accounts of the material and visual culture of the death ritual benefit from balancing detailed case studies against broader comparative surveys. Penman's collection, gathered from papers read at a conference at the University of Stirling in 2011, shows that this convention is still useful. The collection takes us from Norway to Portugal and through more than six hundred years of the phenomenon that the editor calls 'monumentality'. This is a term that is never properly explained but seems not to have anything to do with scale (as in 'monumental errors') but rather with function, the tendency to think or act in terms of a monument as something 'that reminds – in the broadest possible sense' (or senses). The collection of twenty essays, written mostly by UK-based authors but well-supported by scholars from Scandinavia, Canada, the Netherlands and Portugal, is not intended as an equal cultural or

geographical survey but to offer a glimpse of projects under way and of current thinking in the field. Given the collection's origins, it is understandable that material from the British Isles – especially Scotland – takes precedence. As is suggested in the Introduction, it was in part the purpose of the conference to challenge the assumption that Scottish material is either in short supply or that it cannot benefit from approaches developed elsewhere. The many and varied contributions from the mixed authorial cast of doctoral students and emeritus professors, archaeologists, historians and art historians make it quite clear that both these aims are met. It is striking how many of the essays describe the workings and outcomes of comprehensive surveys, and indeed give evidence for the great value of that kind of antiquarian practice, aided no doubt by the ever- increasing availability and reach of digital technology.

Part One contains four contributions: Fraser's opening essay, offering a survey of surveys of the host country's medieval funeral monuments; Ekroll's account of what has survived in Norway; Kryger's piece on her truly heroic project on Danish Royal Tombs; and Brian and Moira Gittos on the English medieval churchyard. Kryger's main finding is that few material monuments have survived for many of the monarchs concerned. Instead we have only verbal accounts of Blood Feasts, vampirism, treachery, feuds and general mayhem. This textual legacy explains the shortage of identifiable material remains until the early modern epoch, a period (the so-often-maligned seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Baroque) exemplified by what she calls 'pompsarcophaguses'. By contrast, the Gittoses' attempt to reconstruct the material culture of the medieval churchyard makes serious interpretative use of a mass of surviving material, much of it relocated and reused, as they take earlier writers (including the present reviewer!) to task for assuming that little has survived from the little that was there in the first place. Not so! Using archaeological and documentary evidence and field-work, the Gittoses argue that many medieval churchyard burials were marked with monuments that have been periodically swept away or radically re-ordered. Their survey seems likely to transform our understanding of external monuments in the medieval period, although I would argue against their wish to see this subject as a 'field worthy of study in its own right'. It is precisely this kind of boundaried compartmentalisation that has in the past so often hampered monument studies.

As the four essays in Part Two of the book show, 'monumentality' does not simply require monuments as we would usually understand the term. Memory – and the use of material culture to help undertake the process of reminiscence in the death ritual as it is played out in Christian practice – engages constantly with 'monumentality'. The ritual itself encompasses behaviour, dress and other species of material culture but does not always end with a carved stone or an engraved brass tomb marker. Frequin's essay on painted depictions of '*pleurants*' or mourners (who are neither clerics nor paupers but friends and relations of the deceased) makes an important point about the underpinning ritual context for material culture. Richardson takes the issue still further in an important set of conclusions drawn from a massive survey of Kentish wills, demonstrating once again that the best results derive from thorough coverage rather than cherry-picking. In an age (the later sixteenth century) when possessions were rare,

all surviving chattels had value and were passed on and each of them could undertake a monumental function – the ring of gold 'which was my wyves'. Furthermore, as Jones and Bartram show in their studies of monuments on the West Sussex border and of wills in Elizabethan Kent, ambitious stone tombs could exert a subtle power over the memory, and the writing and gifting of a book could have similar outcomes.

The essays in Part Three are rather unconvincingly grouped around a rich set of themes: piety, agency, hierarchy and style, each one of which could have been at the centre of a substantial published collection in its own right. Of these, Lamia's essay about the iconography of the Sepulchre of Christ in the Île-de-France and in Southern Italy in the twelfth century makes the challenging claim that memory can be evoked in the minds and bodies of the devout through a synaesthetic response to a monument, which is what he claims is recorded in the particular iconographic variant that he describes. He sees three apertures shown in a number of depictions of the outer casing of Christ's tomb as having the practical function of allowing pilgrims to kneel down and poke through their heads or hands to kiss or touch the sacred slab, a moment of spiritual ecstasy attained through '… synaesthetic experience' (p. 111). In this part of the book the sense of trail-blazing is especially strong. As Ramôa Melo points out, gender approaches in the history of Portuguese art are a relative rarity; and Fawcett opens his account of Scottish canopied tombs with the observation that the only extant survey, dating as it does from 1894-95, can be regarded as seriously outdated! Łabno's chapter on Sarmatian ideology in Renaissance Poland – 'Sarmatian' referring to the ideology of the widespread Polish nobility, the 'szlachta' – is also likely to introduce many of her readers to quite new material. Her work stands as a very welcome corrective to the historic emphasis on southern and western Europe in monument studies, and offers a reminder of the importance of understanding the national, local and personal contexts for monumental patronage and design.

Readers of the *Transactions* will almost certainly turn directly to Part Four of the collection, which concerns itself with the clergy. David Lepine's essay starts with the magnificent brass to Edmund Froucester (d. 1529) in Hereford Cathedral. Lepine's subject is the monumental culture of the five hundred or so members of the senior clergy, whose hegemony was ended with the Reformation. This group confirmed their status and identity by securing burial wherever possible in cathedrals, amongst their fellow canons or, if space was not available there, in the parish churches that they had built. An indexical relation between monument and subject is confirmed by Lepine's analysis showing that raised monuments were reserved for senior clergymen, with inset brasses increasingly fashionable through the 1400s. Oram's essay on another hitherto ignored subject – the tombs of the Scottish medieval bishops – ends with the interesting argument that the little-studied group of monuments that survives shows that local traditions remained strong as did specific cults. Oram also argues that the individual visual characteristics of these monuments cannot be explained simply as a reflection of the quirkiness of the patrons, but by the essential need to provide elaborate and focused post-mortem care for particular souls. One of the most powerful of all medieval cults was that of 'Canterbury's Martyred Archbishop' St. Thomas; Sweetinburgh shows

how the prior and convent at the cathedral sought to manage the monumental reputation of a later martyred archbishop, Simon Sudbury, who was killed in a poll-tax riot in 1381. Simply because of the power they wield, monuments can be places of conflict and negotiation. Holmes' essay on the theory and practice of church burial, using the contradictory evidence of the teaching and actual history of the thirteenth-century cleric William Durandus, is one of the most important contributions to Penman's collection. Its conclusion encourages us to take theological and liturgical contexts seriously, and requires us to reject commonplace assumptions that the Reformation represented a simple decisive discontinuity with past practice. The Reformation was a process, not an event, and quite a long-drawn-out one at that.

Our sense of 'Monumentality' becomes ever more complicated as we work through the collection and, as Hicks's study of monasteries and noble dynasties shows, monuments were regarded as a vital means of preserving information about the historical past, something well understood by antiquaries such as John Weever, with whom this review started. A particular category of information is carried by the dynastic 'monumental programme', that is, a set of monuments physically ordered or re-ordered at a certain moment to state or re-state a specified historical narrative. 'Programmes' such as these are the subject of the final essays in the set: Penman's own account of Scottish royal tombs, which collects much important material but reaches an unsurprising conclusion, namely, that with James VI and I, a distinctive Scottish tradition ended; Johannsen's study of the political or cultural motivations behind Frederick II's renovations of the monuments of generations of his Danish forebears; and Spicer's excellently researched and illustrated account of the vicissitudes of royal tombs in France assaulted and reconstructed through many centuries.

In conclusion, there is much of interest to be found in this very well edited collection. I would have been happy to see the editor complement his excellent work in assembling the material with a rather stronger over-arching thesis or narrative, setting out the main findings and key conclusions. I would say that there are at least four of these, and from them students of the material culture of the death ritual can learn a great deal. First, that the field needs both case studies and broader surveys and that neither of these modes can be sufficient on its own. Second, that it is not enough merely to suggest an over-arching theme in the hope that your contributors will rise to the challenge; in this case, very few of the contributors concerned themselves directly with the notion of 'monumentality'. Third, given the complexity of the issues raised by monument studies and the vulnerability of the material, scholars in the field simply must be open to an interdisciplinary approach and to searching for their material in unexpected places. Finally, that the systems of belief that explain the material and visual culture explicated in this good collection of essays manifest themselves in processes of change over time as much as they do through events or moments.

Nigel Llewellyn

Portfolio of Small Plates

Fig. 1: Three brasses in the south-east transept of Lincoln Cathedral. *William Sedgwick, 1641 (BL Add. MS 71474, f. 106).*

This drawing made by William Sedgwick in 1641 shows three brasses in the south-east transept of Lincoln Cathedral. Although the upper and lower monuments are readily identifiable, the middle one presents considerable problems of attribution. The uppermost is the monument of Bishop Repingdon (d. 1424). A simple rectangular plate on an unadorned marble slab, it is a reflection of his austerity and was intended to be a humble monument. The first line of the inscription describes him as a 'simple dove without gall' [*Marmoris in tumba, simplex sine felle columba*].[1] Repingdon was an Augustinian canon who after being condemned for his Wycliffite views in 1382 recanted and rose to be abbot of Leicester, confessor to Henry IV and, in 1405, bishop of Lincoln. As bishop he was an energetic reforming pastor who shunned royal service. In keeping with his reputation for humility and austerity, he resigned his see in 1419, five years before his death in 1424, an almost unprecedented step.[2] The design of his monument was perhaps intended to match Bishop Gravesend's nearby, another plain rectangular brass plate, shown at the bottom of Fig. 1. The brevity of Repingdon's four-line epitaph is in keeping with his modest monument.[3]

The lowest monument in Sedgwick's drawing is also a plain rectangular plate on a large marble commemorating Richard, bishop of Lincoln, presumably Richard Gravesend (d. 1279). It is an unusually modest episcopal monument in its lack of decoration. Its inscription, the earliest recorded English episcopal brass epitaph, is one of the simplest and most common: a biblical quotation, Job 19.25-27, familiar from the Office of the Dead, expressing hope in the Resurrection.[4]

The lost figure brass in the middle of Sedgwick's drawing has sometimes been associated with Bishop Gravesend's monument. Browne Willis describes 'a very large Marble, whereon hath been the Portraiture of a Bishop, viz Bishop Gravesend mitred in Brass, at the Head whereof is engraven in large Characters an inscription', whereas Sanderson describes Gravesend's monument as 'a large marble' with an inscription 'in Saxon characters'.[5] As the figure has a substantial foot inscription, a separate inscription on another marble seems unlikely. Browne Willis, following Hollar's 1672 plan for Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, also attributed the brass to Henry Lexington.[6] The mistake seems to have been Hollar's. He attributes Repingdon's tomb to Lexington but dates it to Repingdon's time, May 1420. Furthermore, Nicholas Rogers has dated the indent to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[7] It seems unlikely that a century or more after his death a new monument

1 R. Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral: an Exact Copy of all the Ancient Monumental Inscriptions c. 1641* (London, 1851), p. 10. On the sources of this epigraphic formula, see R. Favreau, 'Sine felle columba: Sources et formation d'une formule épigraphique', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, XXXII (1989), pp. 105-13.

2 S. Forde, 'Repyndon, Philip (*c.* 1345-1424)', *ODNB* [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/23385, accessed 17 April 2014].

3 Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, p. 10.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

5 B. Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* (London, 1730), p. 16; Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, p. 10.

6 Willis, *Survey of Cathedrals*, p. 8; Hollar, Plan of Lincoln Cathedral, 1672, available at http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/802836/lincoln-cathedral-plan.

7 N. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments 1270-1350', in *The Earliest English Brasses*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), p. 56.

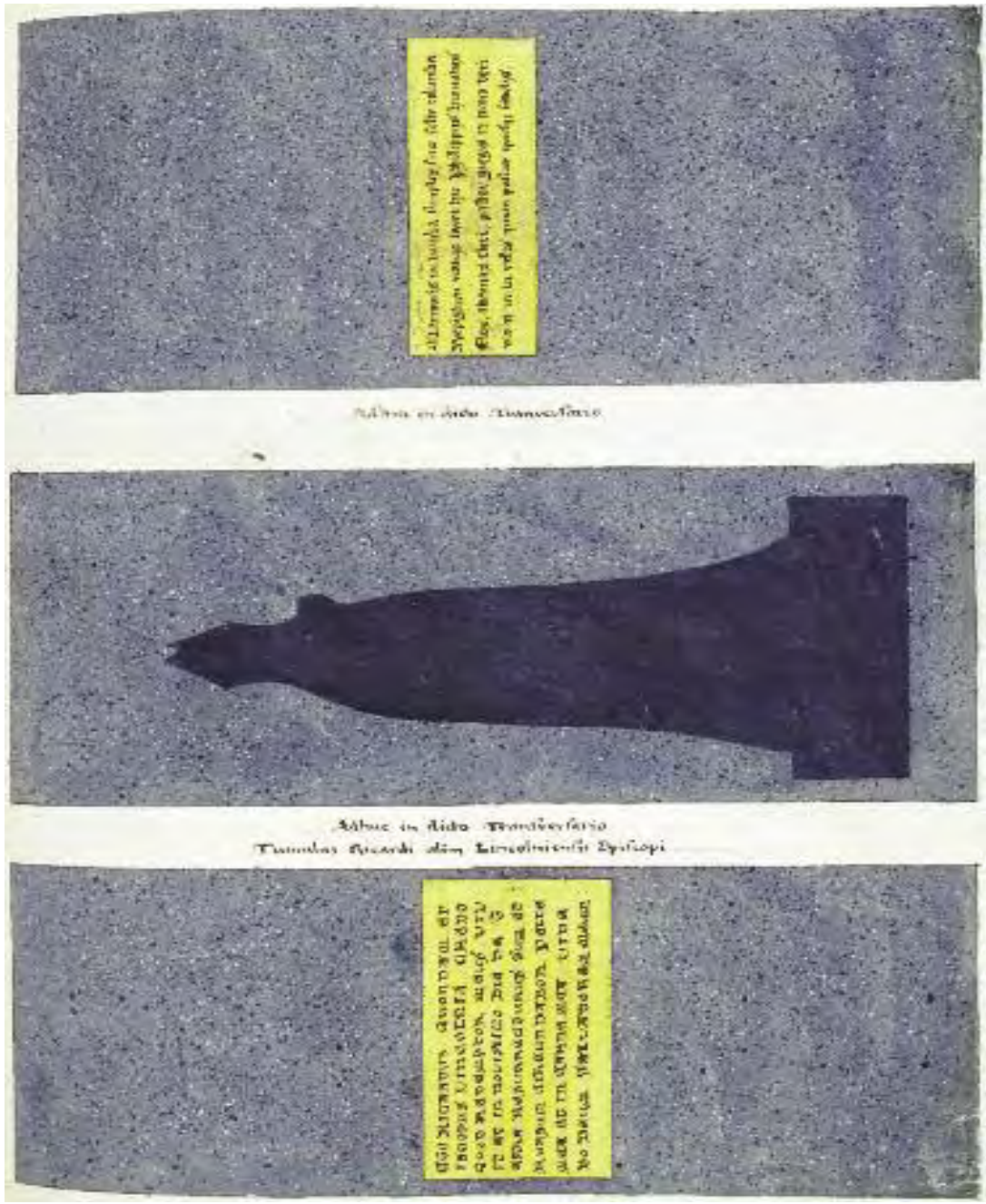

Fig. 1. Three brasses in the south-east transept of Lincoln Cathedral (drawing by William Sedgwick, 1641, BL Add. MS 71474, f. 106) (© British Library Board)

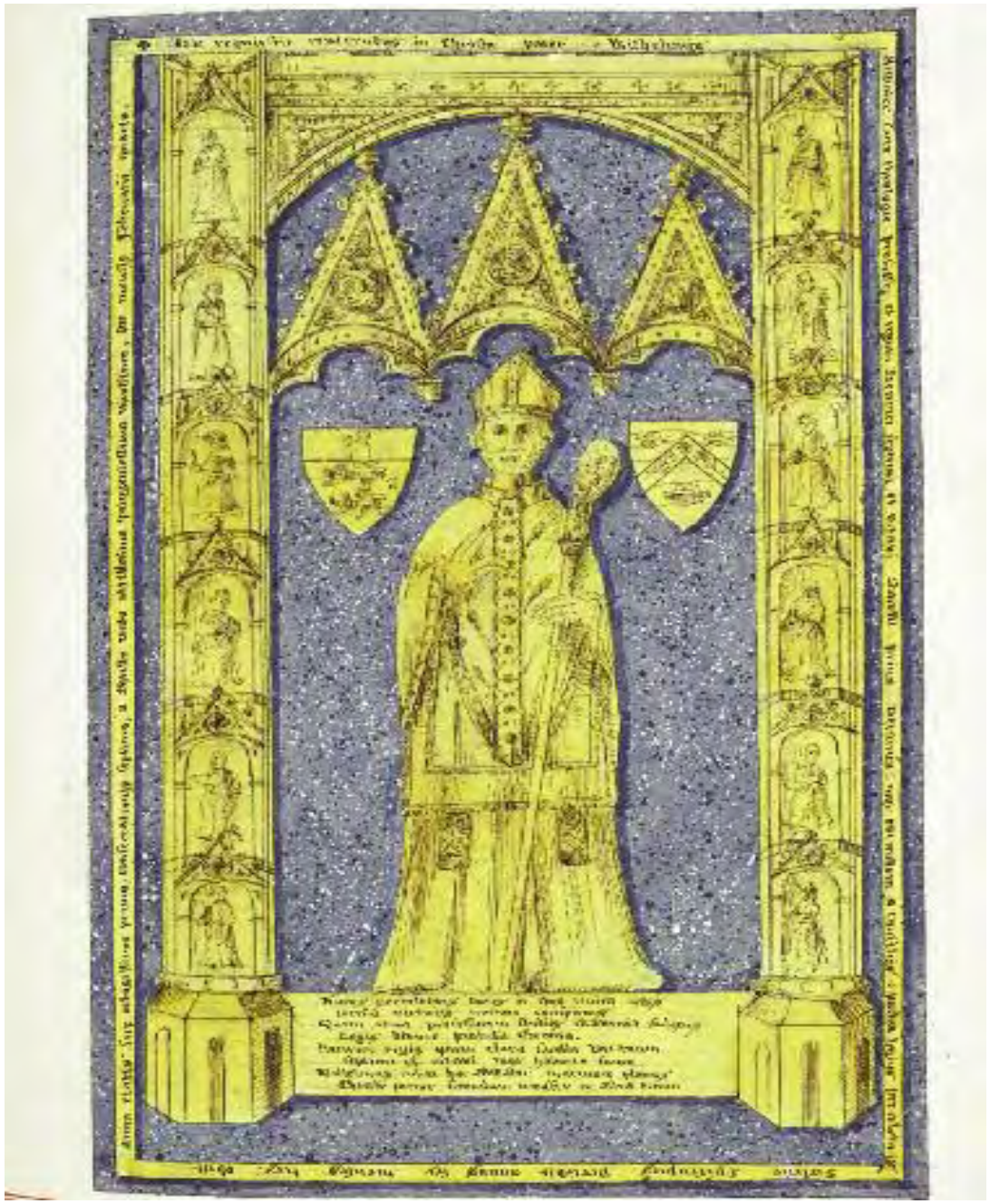

Fig. 2. Bishop William Atwater, d. 1521, Lincoln Cathedral
(drawing by William Sedgwick, 1641, BL Add. MS 71474, f. 94)
(© British Library Board)

would be made for Lexington (1254-8), an otherwise undistinguished, short-lived bishop. However, there is no obvious late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century bishop whom this might commemorate. Bishops Buckingham (1363-98) and Beaufort (1398-1404) were buried at Canterbury and Winchester cathedrals respectively. Perhaps it commemorates Bishop Gray (d. 1436), though he wished to be buried in the upper Lady Chapel.[8]

David Lepine

Fig. 2: Bishop William Atwater, d. 1521, Lincoln Cathedral. *Drawing by William Sedgwick, 1641 (BL Add. MS 71474, f. 94).*

The brass of Bishop Atwater (d. 1521) at the west end of the nave was adjacent to and closely related to that of Bishop Smith (d. 1514)[9] on which it was probably modelled. Like Bishop Smith he is portrayed in full episcopal vestments beneath a triple canopy with shafts containing six canopied niches with saints on each side, probably the twelve apostles, and border and foot inscriptions. Above each shoulder there is a shield containing arms, dexter the see of Lincoln, sinister Atwater's arms. The latter are not entirely clear, but appear to be those blazoned in a grant cited by Browne Willis: '*Barry wavy of eight, ermine and gu. three dolphins naiant embowered or, over all a chevron charged with a rose sa. between two gillyflowers vert*'.[10] The border inscription sets out Atwater's career: professor of theology, dean of the chapel royal of Henry VII and Henry VIII and member of the council, bishop for six years and three months, he died on 4 February 1521, aged eighty-one.[11] At his feet is a set of verses praising his virtue and learning:

Huius percelebris decus & spes unica sedis,
Presul virtutis munere conspicuus;
Quem alma professorem studiis Academia fulgens
Legis divine protulit Oxonia
Henrici regis quem clara sacella Decanum
Septimi & octavi mox habuere suum;
Willelmus cubat hoc Atwater marmore planus:
Christe, precor, famulum transfer in astra tuum.

[The singular ornament and hope of this celebrated see,
A prelate conspicuously bestowed with virtue;
Whom the University of Oxford, distinguished for its learning,
Advanced as professor of divine law,
Whom the famous chapels royal
Of Henry VII and Henry VIII then had as Dean,
William Atwater lies entombed under this marble:
Christ, I pray, bring your servant to heaven.]

David Lepine

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8 *The Register of Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols., Canterbury and York Society, 42, 45-7 (Oxford, 1937-47), II, pp. 544-6.

9 D. Lepine, '"Pause and pray with mournful heart": Late Medieval Clerical Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), fig. 6.

10 H.K. St J. Sanderson, 'Lincoln Cathedral: A List of the Brasses existing in 1641', *MBS Trans.*, III (1897-8), pp. 67-87, 119-42, at pp. 126-7.

11 M. Bowker, 'Atwater, William (d. 1521)', *ODNB* [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/879, accessed 17 April 2014].

12 Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, p. 18.

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Cover: Detail of the figure of Death from the brass commemorating John Rudyng, 1481, from Biggleswade, Bedfordshire (LSW.II). *Photo.: © Martin Stuchfield.*

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