Monumental Brass Society

2016

TRANSACTIONS

Monumental Brass Society
Volume XIX, Part 3, 2016. ISSN 0143-1250

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The Society would like to thank the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation for grant assistance towards the production of this issue.

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Editorial

Once a neglected and somewhat eccentric enthusiasm, over the last thirty years commemoration has become a well-established and growing field of study, and one that continues to generate widespread interest, both academic and general. Manifest in learned societies and journals, such as our own, and in a rapidly expanding body of books, articles and theses, it is the subject of university courses, study days and countless individual explorations. At a national level it has been expressed in equally diverse ways, from blue plaques and renewed interest in war memorials to the regularity with which all types of anniversaries are celebrated, and is currently being transformed by the 'selfie generation' using social media.

Recent studies of commemoration have established its importance as a subject and set out a broad framework within which it can be explored. Few would challenge the premise that it has played and continues to play a fundamental part in human culture, and that commemoration has been ubiquitous since prehistoric times across very diverse societies. One of the most important functions of commemoration is to express the collective identity and memory of a society, or groups within it, and thereby transmit a version of their past. Such expressions of identity and memory are not always accepted. They have been contested, caused tension and conflict and provoked iconoclasm, a theme considered in this issue by Lisa Ford, Robert Marcoux and Christian Steer. These studies reveal the importance of antiquarian sources, both written and visual, in shedding further light on a lost world of memorialisation. The loss of funerary monuments, including brasses, is a cause of increasing concern whether through natural wear and tear, theft, the tension between the conservation of nature and heritage – with the damage caused by bats a particular concern – or rebuilding programmes. A chance set of drawings of indents made by John Dent at York Minister provides our only record of several lost slabs there. They are discussed in his piece with Sally Badham.

Commemoration, in whatever form, reflects and shapes the society that created it. For this reason, memorials are an essential means of understanding the societies that produced them. The religious and political ideologies fundamental in shaping commemoration have become familiar themes. Equally central is an understanding of the social structures, including class, status, kinship, familial and personal relationships, and affiliation to social and other groups, from which they sprang. The dynamics of commemoration, the processes involved in creating memorials, their subsequent use and the different roles of those involved, have yielded new insights. Those who commissioned memorials, and those who manufactured them are increasingly well understood. However, their ritual and liturgical context and the audience which viewed them and its reaction awaits more detailed study.

Analytical tools from a broad range of disciplines, most obviously from archaeology, art history, anthropology and sociology, have contributed much. The potential of a statistical approach is set out here by Robert Marcoux. Literary analysis is being used to give serious consideration to the role of texts in commemoration. Inscriptions have too often been undervalued as either formulaic, vainglorious, sentimental or whimsical.

The editor's inbox is always open, especially for post medieval contributions, those relating

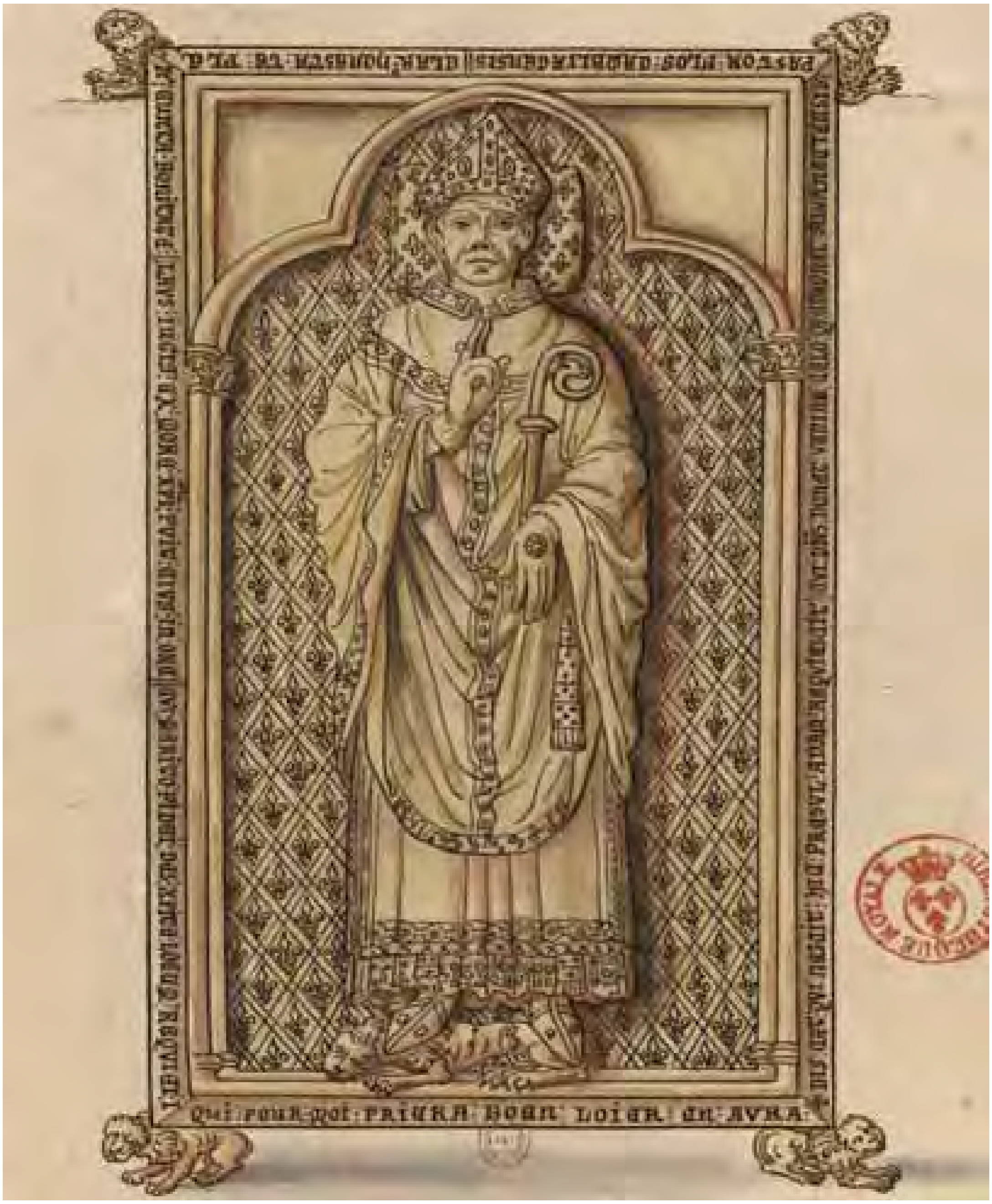

Fig. 1. Tomb of Adam de Chambly (d. 1258).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 5 f. 20)

Investigating the Metal Tombs of Medieval France: A Statistical Approach

Robert Marcoux

Unlike their English counterparts, most French metal tombs from the Middle Ages are no longer extant. Fortunately, the memory of many of them was preserved by the drawings executed for the Parisian antiquary François-Roger de Gaignières at the turn of the eighteenth century. By converting these iconographic documents into statistical data, this paper proposes to investigate the use of metal in medieval French funeral art on a large scale. More specifically, by employing factorial analysis, it adopts a structural and relational approach which helps to reveal the symbolic and social evolution of the medium between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Compared to the situation in England, where their number is still important today regardless of the considerable loss suffered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, very few metal tombs from the Middle Ages have survived in France.[1] With the exception of certain commemorative plaques or epitaphs, like that of Jean Avantage in Amiens cathedral, and other well-known monuments like those of Jean and Blanche of France in the abbey of St. Denis, most French tombs made from copper, brass or any other metal were systematically destroyed by the end of the eighteenth century. The French Revolution obviously played an important part in this destruction.[2] Focusing on symbols and objects belonging to high members of the clergy and nobility, the Jacobins had many tombs melted down in order to reuse their metal.[3] But the Jacobins are not the only ones to be blamed for the disappearance of such monuments. As Louis Réau pointed out many years ago, some if not most of the vandalism perpetrated against medieval tombs in France was actually the outcome of aesthetic decisions taken by members of the clergy themselves, the ones Réau sarcastically refers to as the "*chanoines embellisseurs*" of the Age of Enlightenment.[4] Thus, for example, the thirteenth-century enamelled tomb of Renaud II de l'Isle in the Abbey of Évron was removed from the church by the congregation around 1777 and its metal and gems sold to finance the revamping of the choir according to the taste of the day, as was the case with so many other medieval French churches at that time.

In spite of the terrible loss, the memory of many of these tombs has fortunately been preserved by the drawings of the well-known French collector François-Roger de Gaignières. Realized for the most part by the Parisian artist Louis Boudan at the turn of the eighteenth century, these drawings are remarkably accurate. Although some minor discrepancies do exist in some cases, most comparisons with extant monuments reveal an extreme attention to detail and a close fidelity to the originals.[5] It is for this reason that most scholars turn to the Gaignières collection when examining the life and death of specific individuals from the French Middle Ages. Indeed, for this

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[1] On the importance of tomb destruction in England, see P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship. Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007).

[2] Prior to this destruction, many tombs were also lost in the second half of the sixteenth century due to Huguenot iconoclasm. On this, see O. Christin, *Une révolution symbolique: l'iconoclasme huguenot et la reconstruction catholique* (Paris, 1991).

[3] F. Souchal, *Le vandalisme de la Révolution* (Paris, 1993), and S. Bernard-Griffiths, M.-C. Chemin, and J. Ehrard eds., *Révolution française et "vandalisme révolutionnaire"* (Paris, 1992).

[4] L. Réau, *Histoire du vandalisme* (Paris, 1994).

[5] The question of accuracy comes up every time scholars use the Gaignières drawings as documents. Among the authors who have dealt with this issue are

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period, the carefully-transcribed inscriptions alone offer a wealth of information for French prosopography and the investigation of social networks.[6] Yet beyond providing factual information on individuals and their families, the Gaignières collection may also serve as a database for broader inquiries. The number of tombs drafted for the Parisian collector provides scholars with the possibility to observe the trends and dynamics of funeral art on a larger scale. As far as metal is concerned, the collection totals 120 medieval tombs made from either brass, copper or another alloy between the middle of the twelfth century and the end of the fifteenth (Fig. 2). Such a number is more than sufficient to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the use of metal in the funeral art of the French Middle Ages, providing one can analyse the corpus thoroughly. Using relational statistics, this article proposes a methodology that allows this type of analysis and ultimately offers a structural understanding of the corpus both socially and chronologically.

On the use of relational statistics

To understand how metal might have worked as a medium for tombs both materially and socially and across three centuries, it is essential to establish correlations between the various data provided by the source material. To this end, statistics, and more precisely factor analysis has proven itself effective. As it relies on the relational rather than the absolute, factor analysis is a statistical method capable of revealing meaningful trends, affinities and dynamics in a heterogeneous mass of information.[7] In order to achieve this with a corpus of 120 tombs, it was necessary to first establish a set number of "factors", themselves divided into "items". Altogether, these need to cover all the internal and external information for each and every individual monument (Fig. 3). External factors are those pertaining mainly to the deceased. Although they can cover a great number of variables, we have reduced them to social status (lay or religious), social hierarchy (title) and date of death. The internal factors directly relate to the monuments themselves. They involve space (region, site and location), type (tomb chest, tomb slab and epitaph), medium (engraving, sculpture in relief or in the round, enamel) and iconography.[8] By coding each item with a numerical value, each tomb can then be converted into a series of numbers which translate the multiple features and characteristics of each tomb (Fig. 4).

Once the conversion is finalised through this so-called "formalisation process" (by which a

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J.-B. de Vaivre, "Les dessins de tombes médiévales de la collection Gaignières", in *La figuration des morts dans la chrétienté médiévale jusqu'à la fin du premier quart du XIVe siècle* (Fontevraud, 1988), pp. 60-96; J.-B. de Vaivre, "Les dessins de tombeaux levés pour Gaignières dans les provinces de l'Ouest à la fin du XVIIème siècle", *303 arts, recherches et créations*, 18 (1988), pp. 56-75; A.-M. Lussiez, "L'art des tombiers aux environs de Melun (XVe-XVIe siècles) et la collection Gaignières : fidélité ou interprétation?", in ed. Y. Gallet, *Art et architecture à Melun au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2000), pp. 301-311; and John Coales, "The Drawings of Roger de Gagnières: Loss and Survival", *Church Monuments*, XII (1997), pp. 14-34. Note also that some tombs appear in more than one drawing.

[6] I have used the Gaignières collection in this way to question the commemorative strategies of a Burgundian family in R. Marcoux, "La terre, la famille et le ciel : Les sépultures de la maison de Saulx aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles", in ed. A. Alduc-Lebagousse, *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation? Expressions du pouvoir dans l'au-delà* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 165-192.

[7] On the use of factorial analysis in the humanities, see C. Lemercier and C. Zalc, *Méthodes quantitatives pour l'historien* (Paris, 2008) and P. Cibois, *Les méthodes d'analyse d'enquêtes* (Lyon, 2014).

[8] Since the analysis mainly focuses on the use of metal, the iconographic factor took into consideration only the general features of the effigies which, in the end, brought no significant result.

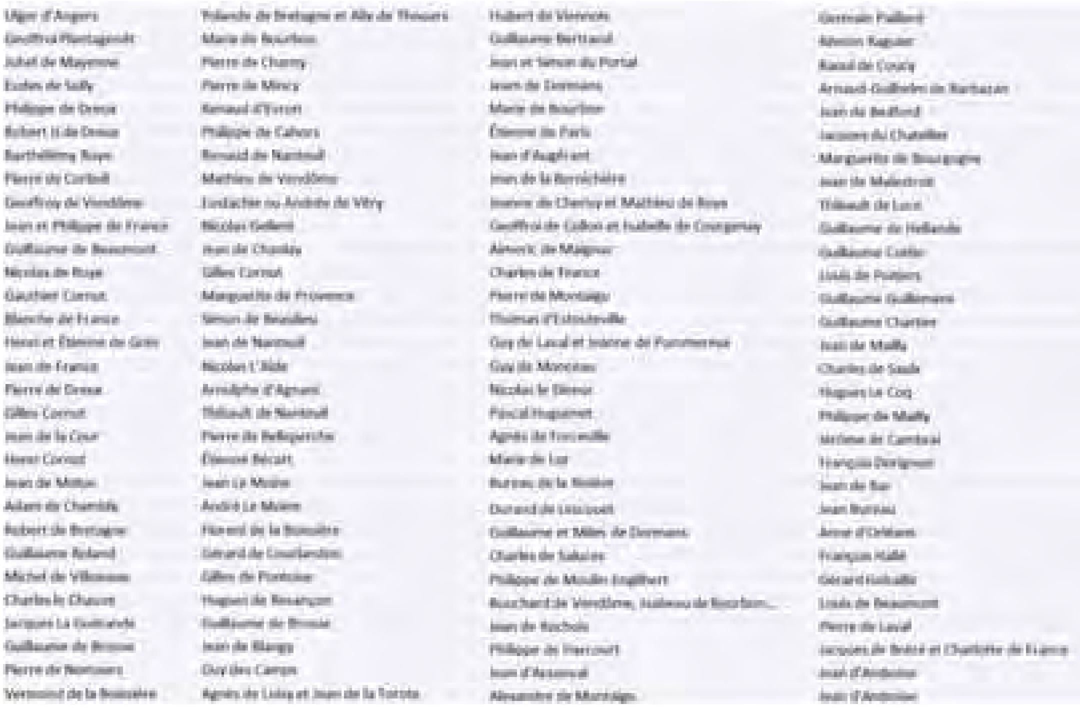

Fig. 2. List of the French metal tombs from the Middle Ages documented by the Gaignières Collection.

document or artefact is turned into a statistical object), the tombs can be submitted to factorial analysis using proper software.[9] By taking into account the different items that define them, the statistical method is able to measure the degree of affinity between the "individuals" that compose a "population". In this case, it is able to calculate the way in which the 120 tombs attract or repulse each other according to their internal and external structures. The result of these calculations can then be visualised through a biplot graphic which generates a two-dimensional view of the polarized population. As the individuals are actually spread across three dimensions, several biplot graphics sometimes need to be generated to fully grasp the dynamics established by the analysis. As a rule, the graphic which demonstrates the clearest polarizations is the one to be retained (Fig. 5). However, even then, the graphic must be carefully interrogated to understand the underlying forces at work. For the spatial distribution of the population is not determined by pre-established axes but rather structured by the manifold relations between the individuals.[10] In order to circumscribe the dynamics of these relations, it is standard procedure to filter the graphic

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[9] The software used for the analysis was the "R" platform available at the following address https://www.r-project.org/. To make it compatible with our type of inquiry, the following "packages" were uploaded into the program: ade4 (UMR 5558-Université de Lyon I) and Multivar (A. Guerreau).

[10] Thus the axes that appear on the selected graphic have no definite value. They simply offer the best viewpoint of the polarized distribution of the population.

EXTERNAL FACTORS		INTERNAL FACTORS			
SOCIAL CATEGORY		REGION		TECHNIQUE	
Religious	ECTS1	Paris region	IREG1	Incised	ITEC1
Layperson	ECTS2	Anjou	IREG2	Sculpted in the round	ITEC2
		Normandy	IREG3	Relief	ITEC3
SOCIAL HIERARCHY		Picardy	IREG4	Enamelled	ITEC4
Bishop	ETTR1	Burgundy	IREG5		
Cleric	ETTR2			MATERIAL	
Lord/court officer	ETTR3	LOCATION (church)		Copper	IMTR1
Count/Duke	ETTR4	Cathedral	ILIE1	Other metal	IMTR2
Founding figure	ETTR5	Abbey	ILIE2	Marble	IMTR3
		Collegiate	ILIE3	Stone	IMTR4
DATE OF DEATH		Other	ILIE4	Other	IMTR5
1150-1290	EDDT1				
1291-1400	EDDT2	POSITION		TYPE	
1401-1500	EDDT3	Choir (sanctuary)	IEMP1	Slab	ITYP1
		Nave	IEMP2	Sarcophagus	ITYP2
		Chapel	IEMP3	Other	ITYP3
		Cloister	IEMP4	Vertical structure	ITYP4
				Wall epitaph	ITYP5

Fig. 3. Coding grid used for the formalisation process.
Each document (tomb) is broken down into external and internal "factors", themselves composed of multiple "items".

according to factors. By using a function which applies coloured "clouds" upon the graphic, it is generally possible to observe how the constitutive items of a factor are concentrated in different portions of the population.

For the corpus at hand, the most prominent factor is without a doubt the one pertaining to chronology. Delineating three time periods, 1150 to 1290, 1291 to 1400, and 1401 to 1500, its items are clearly shown gathered into three separate clouds (Fig. 6).[11] The fact that these clouds succeed each other on a same axis suggests that there is a distinct and steady progression in the use of metal tombs between the middle of the twelfth century and the end of the fifteenth. Of course, this evolution is determined by the distribution of all the other items. To figure out which of these are specific to one of the three time periods, one must cross-reference the chronological factor with every other factor.[12] Using a program that calculates and illustrates the polarization between the different items of each paired factors, it becomes apparent that the evolution of the tombs is widely determined by the internal material factors (medium and type) and by the external social factors (status and title).

An evolution of medium and type

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[11] As a rule, factors must be divided into items that are shared by an equal amount of individuals. Thus, the periods of the chronological factor do not respect traditional divides (centuries, half-centuries, quarter-centuries, etc.) but are established by dividing the number of individuals into three equal groups.

[12] The cross-referencing is done with the REPFAC (*representation factorielle*) program created by Philippe Cibois and included in the Multivar package.

Tomb no	ECTS	ETTR	EDDT	IREG	ILIE	IEMP	ITEC	IMTR	ITYP
22	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1+4

Fig. 4. Example of encoded tomb: Tomb of Adam de Chambly (d. 1258) (see Fig. 1). Drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 5 f. 2.

First, the graphics reveal – or at the very least confirm – that metal was first employed in French funeral art for making raised monuments of copper and enamel upon which the deceased was usually figured in the round (Fig. 7). Dating from approximately the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century, the monuments were mainly located in and around the Anjou region, as is made clear by cross-referencing the material factors with the geographical factor (Fig. 8). More precisely, these results place the first group of tombs within the area of Limousin enamel production, thus confirming the important role of the *opus lemovicense* in the early manufacture of metal tombs.[13] During the second period, which stretches from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, the graphics show the monumental enamelled tombs being followed by copper slabs with incised or engraved effigies (Fig. 9). This formal development perfectly reflects the general trend of tomb sculpture in the fourteenth century when, for practical and liturgical reasons, the ever growing number of funeral monuments called for a less bulky

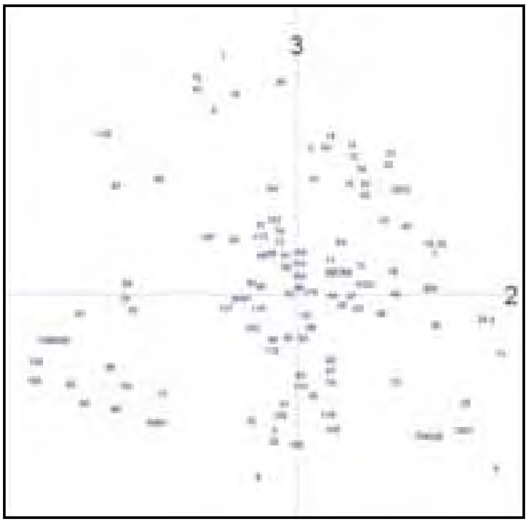

Fig. 5. Biplot graphic of the corpus population. Based on multiple individualized relations, the distribution of the population is three-dimensional. Therefore, axes 2 and 3 have no predefined values but simply provide the best view of the distribution.

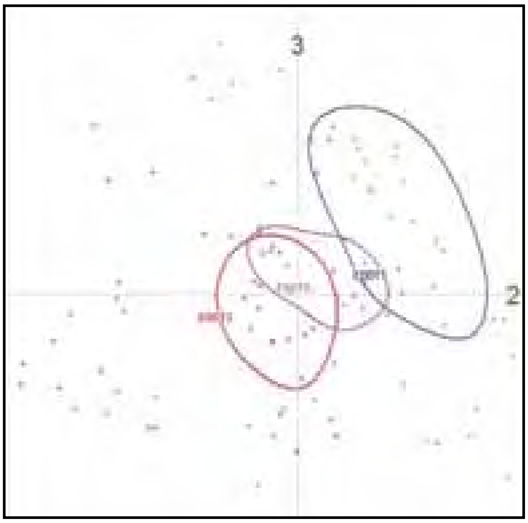

Fig. 6. Chronological distribution of the corpus population. The coloured circles correspond to a concentration of tombs sharing the same chronological "item". The formed sequence suggests a chronological evolution.

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[13] B.de Chancel-Bardelot, "Tombs of Limoges Work", in *Enamels of Limoges: 1100-1350* (New York, 1996), pp. 435-443.

[14] P. Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation*

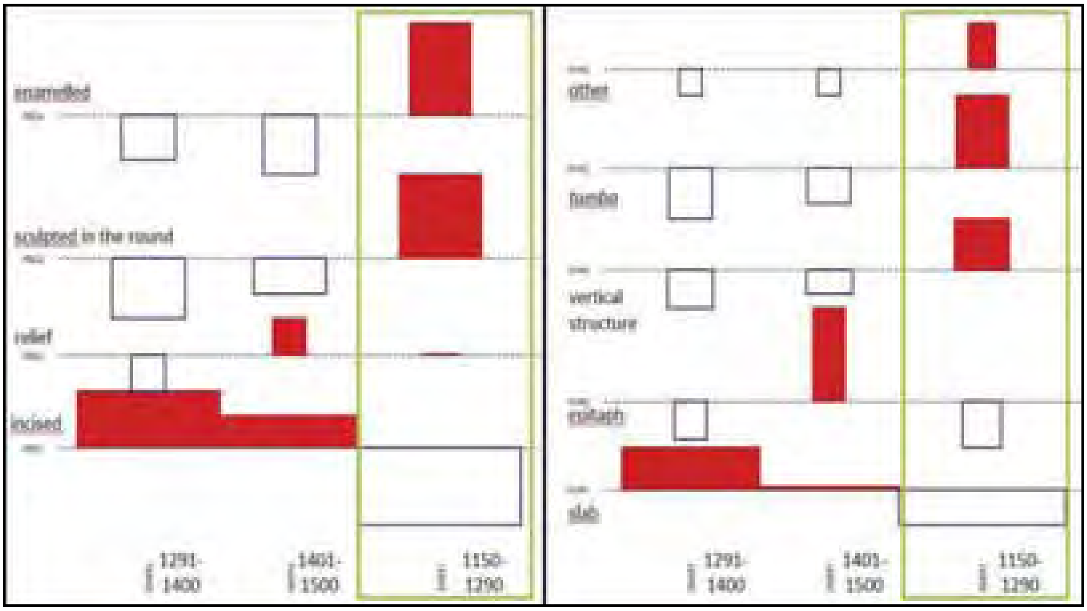

Fig. 7. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Chronological factor (EDDT) and (1) the Technical factor (ITEC) and (2) the Typological factor (ITYP). Period 1 (EDDT1: 1120-1290) highlighted.

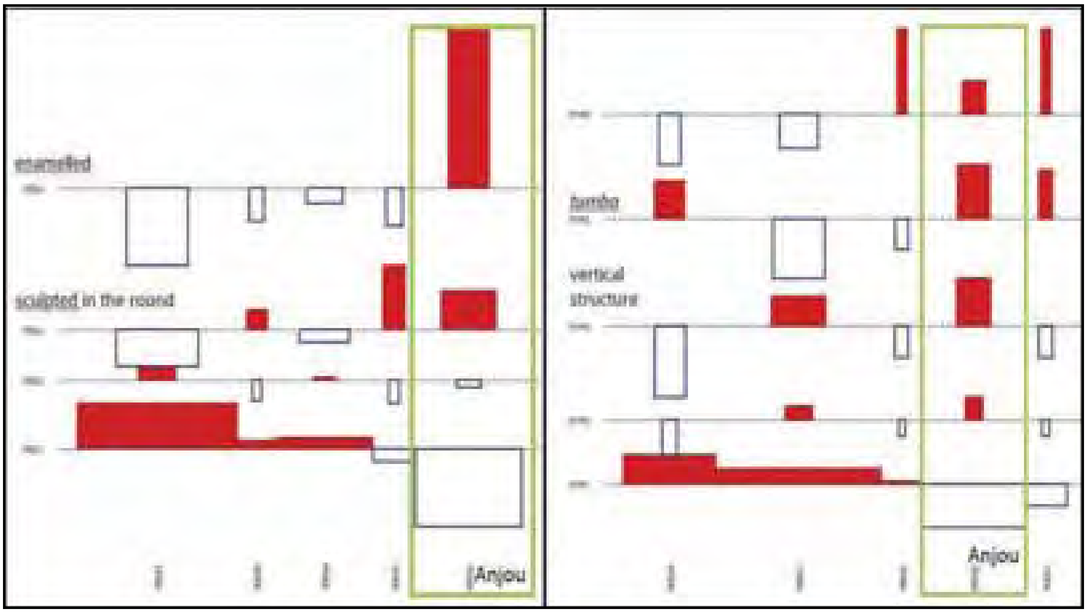

Fig. 8. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Regional factor (IREG) and (1) the Technical factor and (2) the Typological factor.

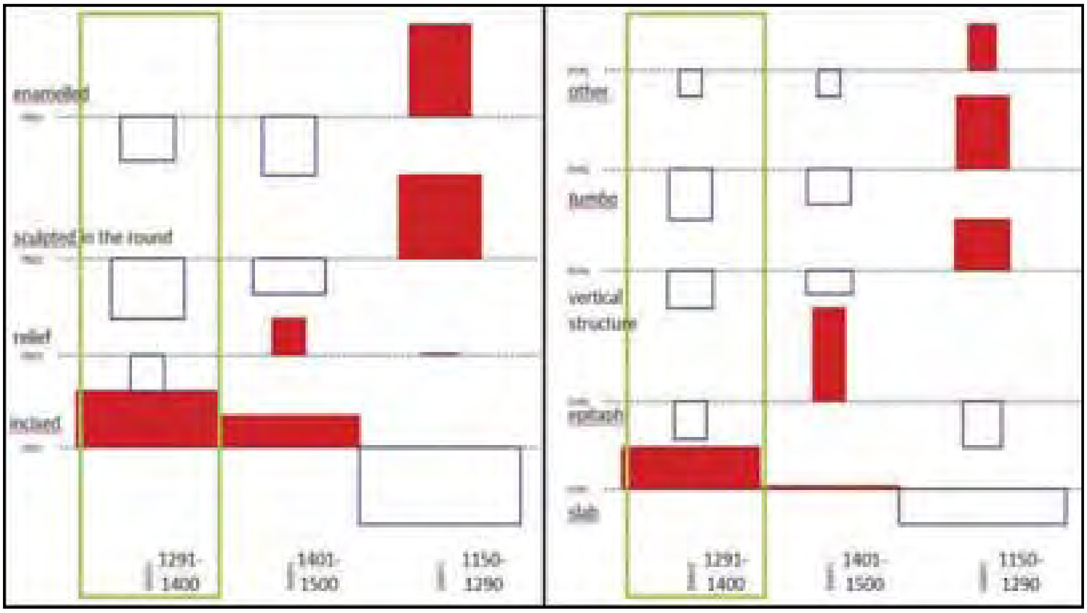

Fig. 9. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Chronological factor (EDDT) and (1) the Technical factor (ITEC) and (2) the Typological factor (ITYP). Period 2 (EDDT2: 1291-1400) highlighted.

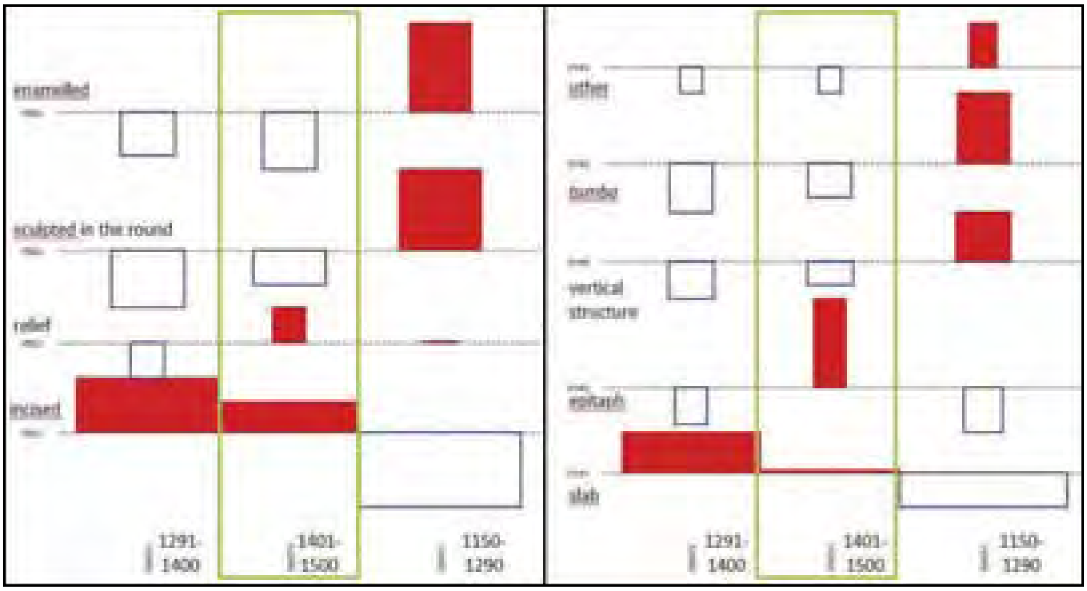

Fig. 10. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Chronological factor (EDDT) and (1) the Technical factor (ITEC) and (2) the Typological factor (ITYP). Period 3 (EDDT3: 1401-1500) highlighted.

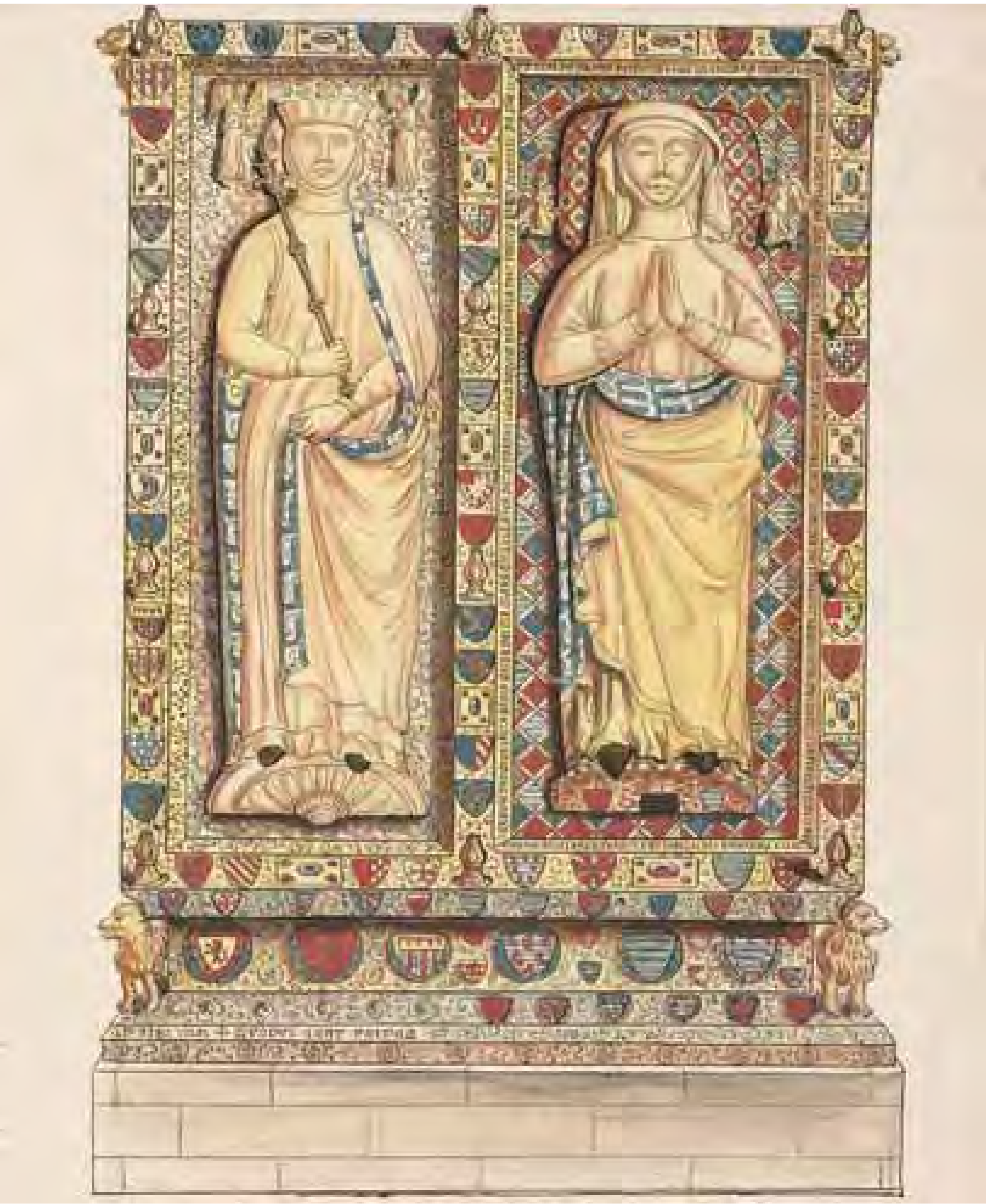

Fig. 11. Tomb of Alix of Thouars (d. 1221) and Yolanda of Brittany (d. 1272), between 1250 and 1280. (Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 1, f. 99.) (© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

format.[14] Finally, the last period covered by the analysis, which is that of the fifteenth century, reveals two distinct evolutions from the slab model: one we can call, paraphrasing Panofsky and Geraldine Johnson, the "(re)activating of the effigy" by which the figure of the deceased is treated in relief; while the other is the vertical conversion of the slab into a mural epitaph (Fig. 10).[15]

Of course, all these changes are in accordance with the way in which tomb sculpture generally evolves at the end of the Middle Ages. In other words, they are not wholly specific to the medium of metal. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, these transformations may also be indicative of a specific rapport to the aesthetic and, ultimately, the symbolic possibilities of metal in medieval French tombs. Indeed, we can observe that initially metal was often combined with other precious materials, such as enamel and gems, to produce highly colourful monuments (Fig. 11).[16] However, these come to disappear by the end of the thirteenth century as copper becomes one of the main mediums for tomb slabs (Fig. 12).[17] At this point, what seems to matter most is the purity of the material itself as it reflects light and thus attracts the attention better than would stone. In parallel to its reflective quality, copper also seems to allow for finer detail than stone when engraved. Indeed, when analyzing their iconography, and especially the depiction of architecture and textile, it appears that metal tombs always provide for more intricacy and density of detail. This becomes quite obvious in the fifteenth century when the metal-crafting techniques of the Franco-Flemish *tombiers* were perfected.[18] By then, it could be argued that metal is chosen less for itself than as a desired support for engraving. In other words, the matter itself becomes less important at that point than the quality of the images it helps support, images which often have more to do with panel painting than with funeral effigies, as is the case with many epitaphs (Fig. 13).[19]

An evolution in social status and use

Understanding the evolution of metal tombs in terms of a changing rapport to the material's artistic potential can be supported by social observations. Indeed, when factors such as status and titles are considered, it appears that the evolution of metal tombs is deeply connected to the social evolution of their patrons or owners (Fig. 14). The monumental copper-enamelled tombs are mostly associated with lay members of the high nobility or founding figures deemed responsible for the foundation or reconstruction of churches or

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[15] E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York, 1964), pp. 73-80; G. Johnson, "Activating the Effigy: Donatello's Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral", *The Art Bulletin*, 77, no. 3 (1995), pp. 445-459, republished in E. Valdez del Alamo and C. Stamatis Pendergast eds., *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 99-127.

[16] Tomb of Alix of Thouars (d. 1221) and Yolanda of Brittany (d. 1272), between 1250 and 1280. Drawing (c. 1700): Oxford, Bodleian Library [hereafter Bod. Lib.], MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 1, f. 99; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1 fol. 99; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11c fol. 78; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11c fol. 79. On this tomb, see S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, "'*Monumentum aere perennius*'? Precious-metal effigial tomb monuments in Europe 1080-1430", *Church Monuments*, XXX (2015), pp. 30-32 with complete bibliography in note 86.

[17] Tomb of Nicolas l'Aide (d. 1299). Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 8, f. 68; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1d fol. 68; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 8 fol. 16.

[18] On the Franco-Flemish *tombiers*, see L. Cloquet and A. de la Grange, "Études sur l'art à Tournai, et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville", *Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, 20 (1888), pp. 313-323; Ludovic Nys, *La pierre de Tournai: son exploitation et son usage aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles* (Tournai, 1993).

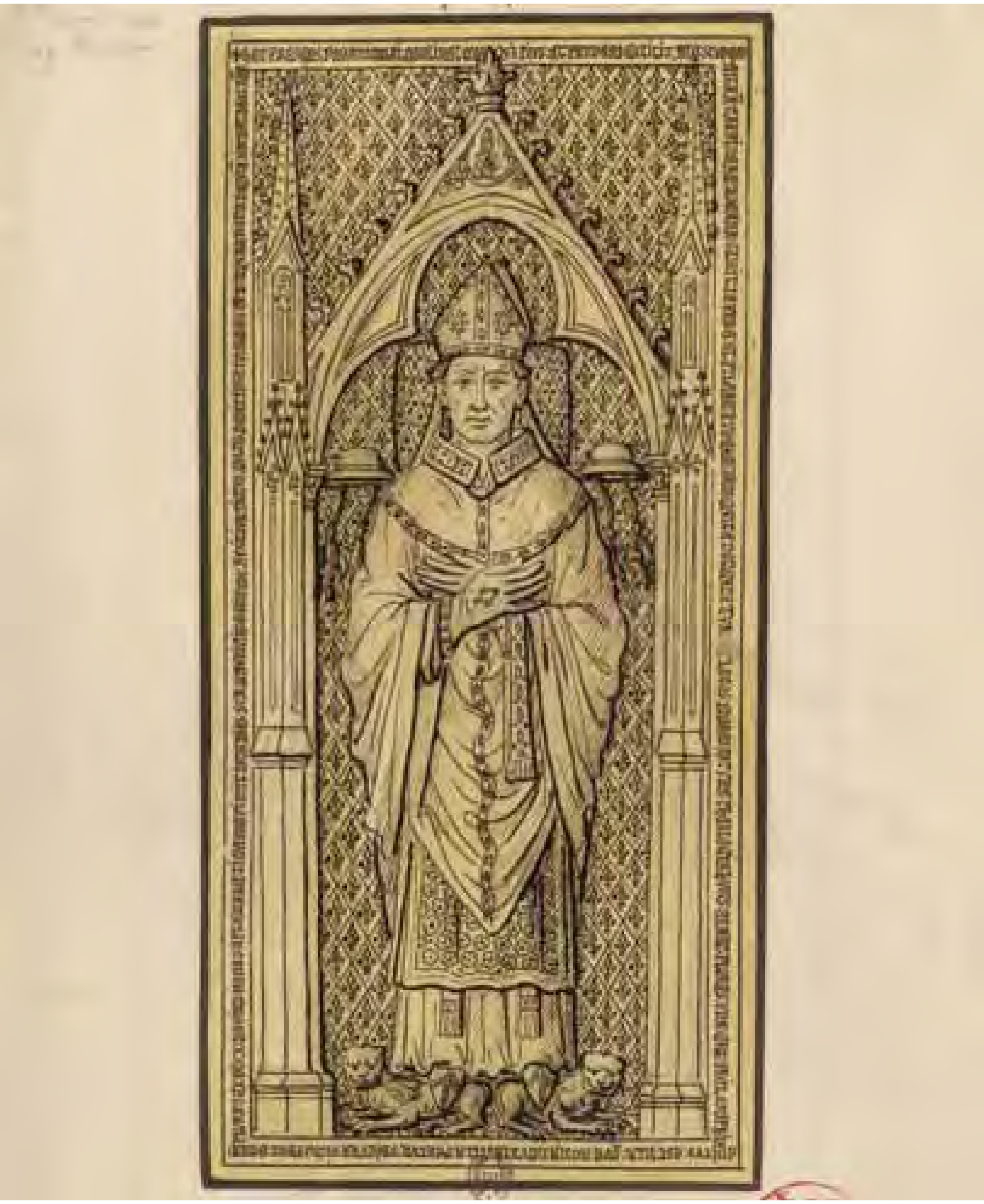
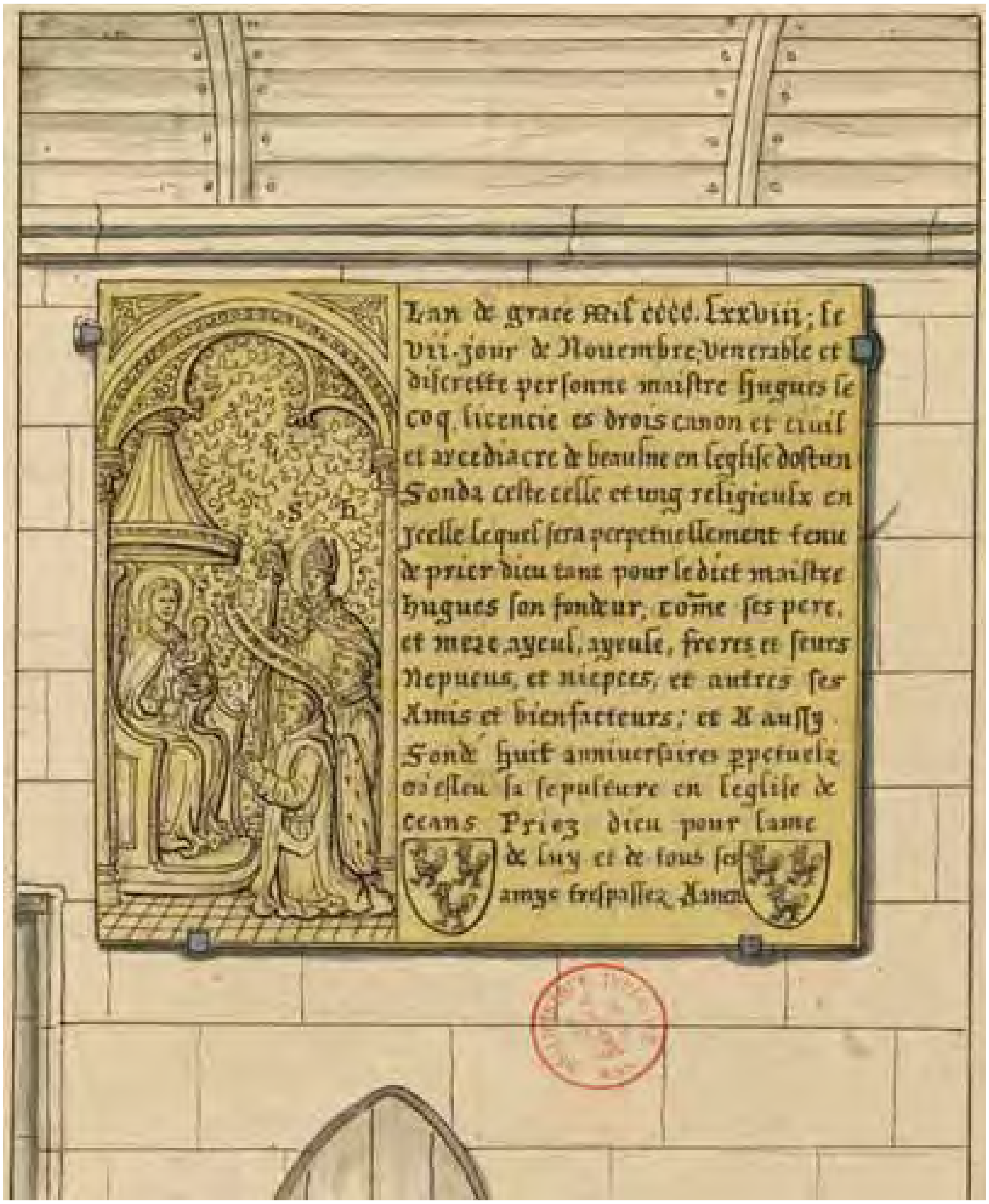


Fig. 12. Tomb of Nicolas l'Aide (d. 1299).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1d fol. 68)



Lan de grace Mil cccc. lxxviii; le
vii. jour de Novembre, venerable et
diſcrette perſonne maiſtre hugues le
coq licencie es drois canon et civil
et arcediacre de beaulne en legliſe doſtun
fonda ceſte celle et ung religieulx en
icelle lequel ſera perpetuellement tenu
de prier dieu tant pour le dict maiſtre
hugues ſon fondeur, come ſes pere,
et mere ayeul, ayeule, freres et ſeurs
Nepveus, et niepces, et autres ſes
Amis et bienfacteurs; et a auſſy
fondé huit anniverſaires ppetuelz
ou eſleu ſa ſepulture en legliſe de
ceans Priez dieu pour lame
de luy et de tous ſes
amys treſpaſſez Amen

Fig. 13. Tomb (epitaph) of Hugues Le Coq (d. 1478).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11b f. 16)

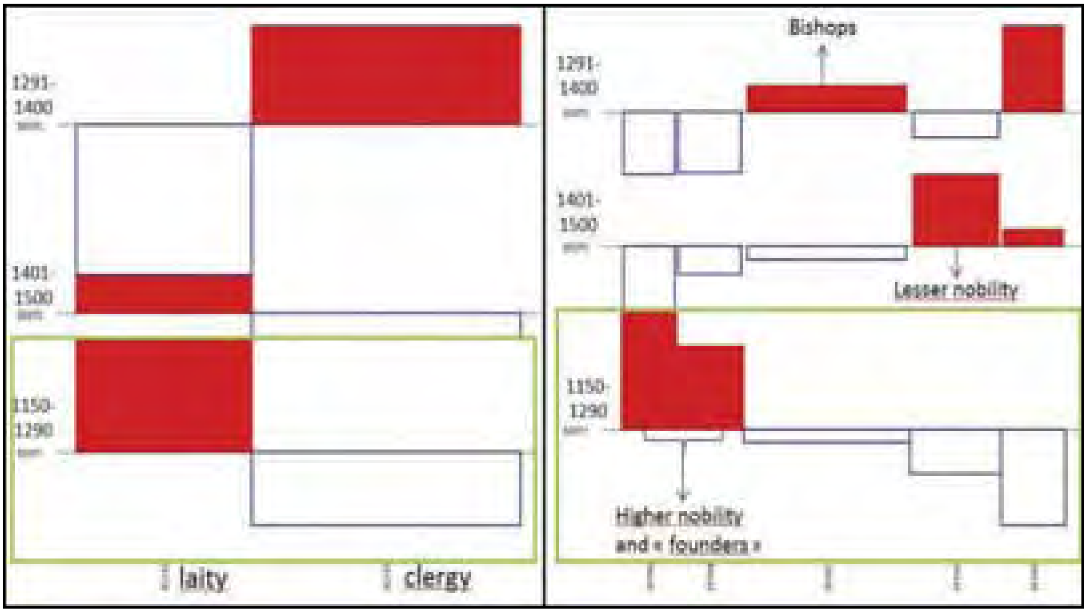


Fig. 14. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Chronological factor (EDDT) and the Social factors (ECTS and ETTR). Period 1 (EDDT1: 1120-1290) highlighted.

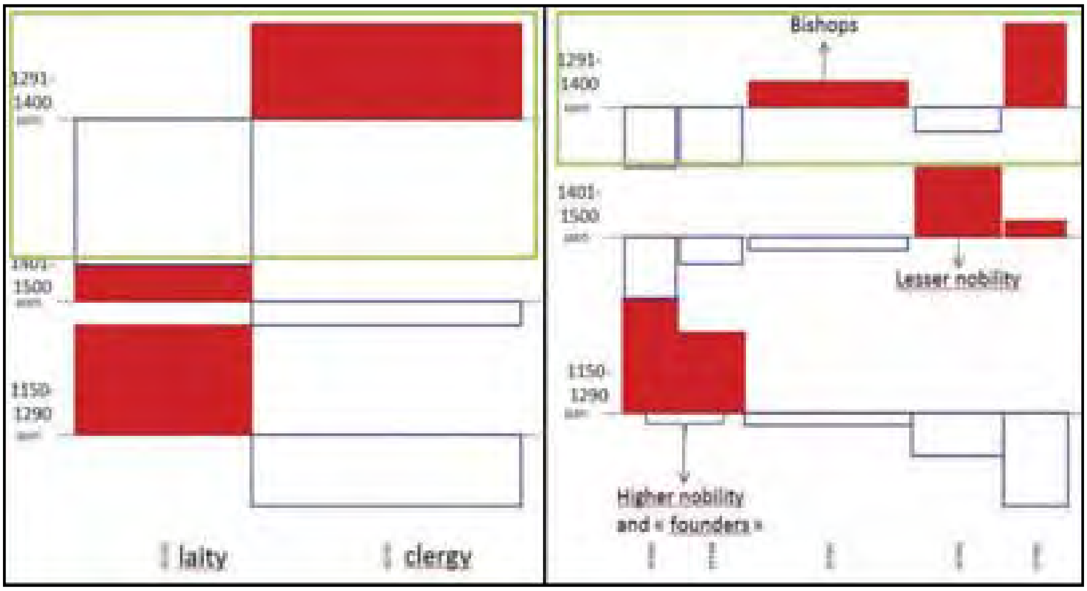


Fig. 15. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Chronological factor (EDDT) and the Social factors (ECTS and ETTR). Period 2 (EDDT2: 1291-1400) highlighted.

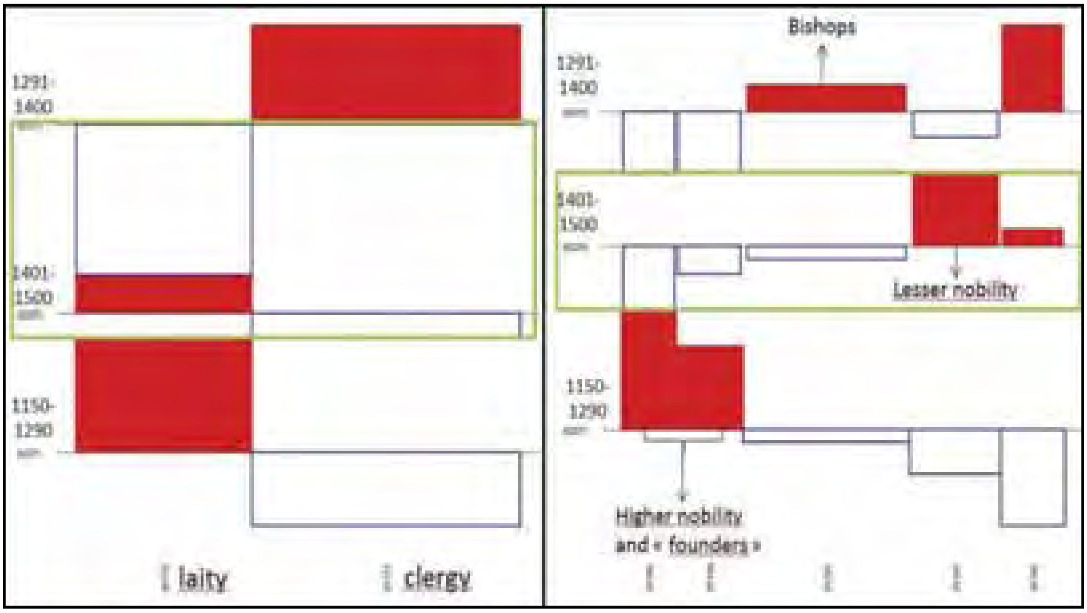


Fig. 16. Factorial representation showing cross-relation between the Chronological factor (EDDT) and the Social factors (ECTS and ETTR). Period 3 (EDDT3: 1401-1500) highlighted.

religious communities. The incised metal slabs of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which belong in majority to bishops, are largely specific to élite members of the secular clergy (Fig. 15). As for the situation of metal tombs in the fifteenth century, it coincides mostly with the appropriation of the material by lay members of the lesser nobility, such as ennobled officers of the court or low-ranking lords (Fig. 16). A few case studies will serve to enlighten this social evolution and its potential meaning.

The aforementioned tomb of Renaud de L'Isle in the abbey of Évron is representative of the earliest group of monuments revealed by the factorial analysis (Fig. 17).[20] According to the Gaignières drawing, it comprised a copper-alloy effigy of a knight wearing mail armour underneath a tabard bearing a red cross. The same cross appears on the shield placed at the hip. The deceased is shown with eyes closed and hands in prayer, his bare head lying on a cushion that is held by two angels. These appear to be *appliquéd* on the surface of the monument, otherwise diapered with foliage. Delineating the ornamental pattern is a partially erased inscription which reads as follows: + *BIS SEX CENTE/NO SEPTENO SEPTUAGENO ANNO DE CELIS Q(UO) VOX VENIT GABRIELIS, NOVIT HEC CLAUDI Q(UE) RESPICIT OSSA RENAUDI/ SUB […]/ […] A REGNA PATERE AMEN VIRGO MARIA DEI PRESENTET EUM FACIEI UT SIC FIAT EI/ DIE MISERERE*

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[20] Tomb of Renaud II de l'Isle (d. 1277), c. 1290. Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14, f. 205; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1g fol. 205. On this tomb, see A. Gérault, *Notice historique sur Évron, son abbaye et ses monuments* (Laval, 1838), pp. 25, 70-71 and E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "L'Église abbatiale d'Évron (Mayenne)", *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine*, 54 (1903), pp. 28-29.

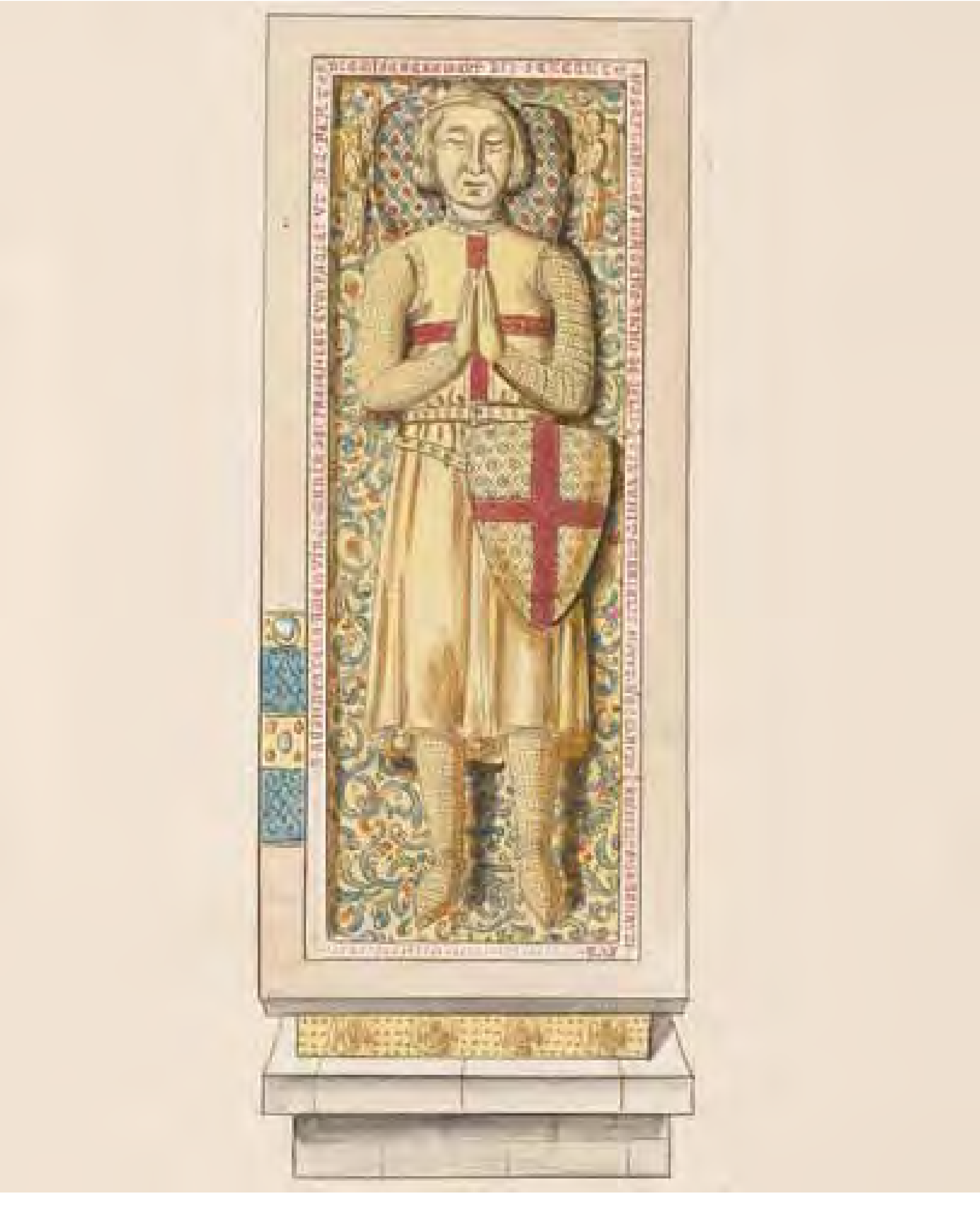

Fig. 17. Tomb of Renaud II de l'Isle (d. 1277), c. 1290.
(Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14, f. 205.)
(© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

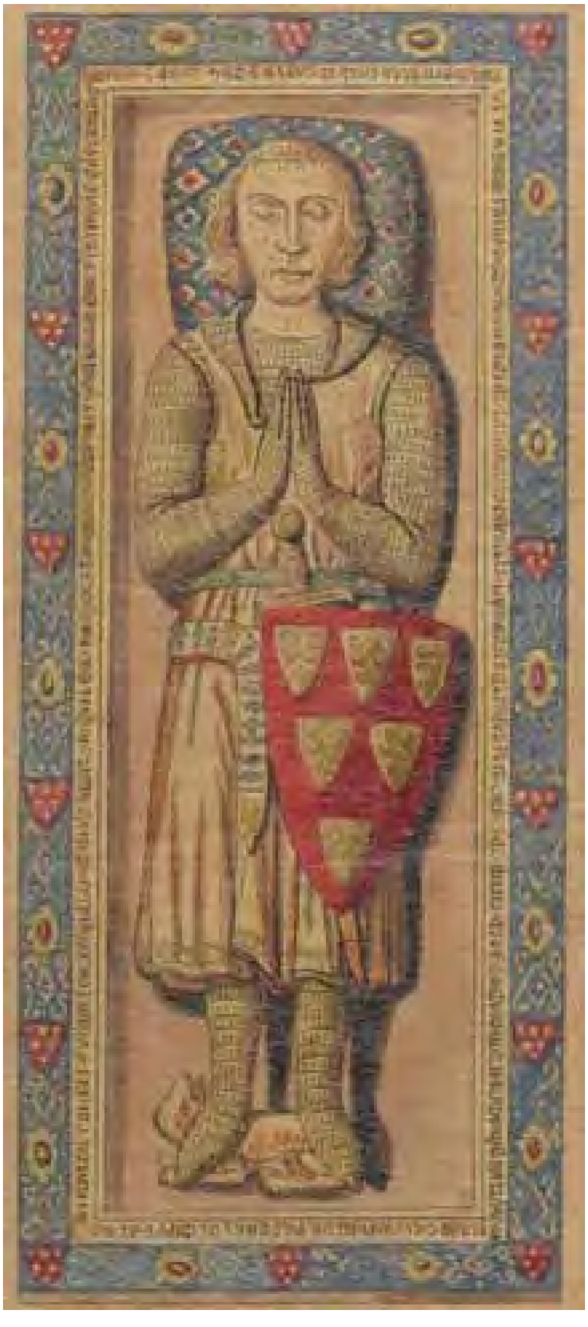

Fig. 18. Tomb of Juhel III de Mayenne (d. 1220), c. 1260 (detail).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1g fol. 200)

MEI. Beyond the inscription, the fringe of the surface is blank except for a small enamelled section with gems on the bottom left portion. A comparison with the contemporary tomb of Juhel III de Mayenne, whose fringe is completely decorated (Fig. 18),[21] suggests that the monks of Évron had already started salvaging the material of Renaud's tomb at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Gaignières (or Boudan) visited the abbey. Additional copper ornaments are shown on the chest upon which rests the effigy. The view provided by the drawing only presents the foot of the monument so it is impossible to determine if the angel-bearing medallions on the metal strip run on all four sides.

Although Renaud II died in 1277, it is doubtful that his tomb is from the same period. Indeed, according to Meredith P. Lillich, Renaud's body underwent a *translatio* "from the old church to the new Gothic chevet", whose completion she dates to the last decade of the thirteenth century.[22] In all likelihood, the tomb was created around that moment to be placed over the deceased's displaced *ossa*. The presence of Renaud's tomb in the choir is an honour which can be explained by the close ties that bound him and his family to the abbey of Évron. To begin with, Renaud bears the title of viscount de Blois, which he shares not only with his forefathers but also with the claimed "restorer" of the abbey, Robert de Blois (d. 1003).[23] Though it is doubtful that this affiliation is based on actual lineage, it nevertheless presents Renaud as the heir to a founding figure. This alone would suffice to grant the deceased a traditional burial in the sanctuary of their church. But, as Lillich argues, Renaud may also be considered a "patron" for the financial support he probably offered for the reconstruction of the church which led to its consecration in 1252. This support is more than probable given the fact that Renaud finished his days as a member of the monastic community. It is therefore as one of their own, but also as a benefactor and as a descendant of an "ancestral" figure that Renaud was remembered by the monks of Évron.[24] As a result, his *memoria* needed to be the object of great attention.[25] The Gaignières drawing mentions that Renaud's tomb was located left of the main altar (*à gauche du grand autel*). However, this position was recorded after the reconfiguration of the choir in 1644.[26] Originally, like that of Juhel III de Mayenne in the abbey church of Fontaine-Daniel, the monument may have been placed in a more central position in order to become the pinnacle point for the liturgical commemoration of the deceased. Other tombs may also have been involved in this commemorative setting. The Gaignières collection contains the drawings of two monuments that have been attributed to the parents and grand-parents of Renaud, presumably buried at Évron.[27] Again, the location given by the drawings (one mentions the nave, the other a chapel in the choir) corresponds to that of the middle of the seventeenth century. One can reasonably suppose that the tombs were originally near Renaud's own, and helped form a monumental group celebrating the memory of the de l'Isle family in the church choir.

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[21] Tomb of Juhel III de Mayenne (d. 1220), c. 1260. Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14, f. 200; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1g fol. 200. On this tomb, see M. P. Lillich, 'The Tric-Trac Window of Le Mans', *The Art Bulletin*, 65, no. 1 (1983), pp. 23-33 and R. Marcoux, "Memory, Presence and the Medieval Tomb", in *Revisiting the Monument: Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture Fifty Years On* (London, forthcoming).

[22] M. P. Lillich, *The Armor of Light. Stained Glass in Western France 1250-1325*, (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 254-259. Lilich's proposed date relies on the abbey's thirteenth-century necrology which mentions the translation of three bodies, those of Robertus, Renaudus and Johannes. Lillich believes that the reconstruction of the choir was completed somewhere between 1288 and 1300 because (1) she assumes that the translation was "from the old church to the new Gothic chevet", (2) she identifies Johannes as abbot Jean of Évron who died in 1288, and (3) she points out that the document makes no mention of Gilles Chastelet's body, which was buried "in a chapel of the new hemicycle" around 1300.

[23] A. Angot, "Le restaurateur de l'abbaye d'Évron", *Bulletin de la Commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne*, 29 (1913), p. 443-93, has argued that the title of restorer was attributed to Robert de Blois through a forgery orchestrated by the monks of Évron and that the honour, in fact, belongs to Raoul III de Beaumont. This theory has been challenged by S. Legros in his 2007 thesis *Prieurés bénédictins, aristocratie et seigneuries: une géopolitique du Bas-Maine féodal et grégorien (fin 10e-début 13e siècle)*, Université Rennes 2.

[24] The anthropological concept of ancestor has been used to describe the "founding figures" of feudal families and religious communities of the High Middle Ages by M. Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts. Morts, rites et société au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1996).

[25] On the concept of *memoria*, see T. van Bueren, K. Ragetli and A.-J. Bijsterveld, "Researching medieval memoria: prospects and possibilities", *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis*, 14 (2011), pp. 183-234.

No matter what the initial setting was, however, it is clear that Renaud's tomb stood out in the church choir in light of its material. Of all the monuments identified by Gaignières in the abbey of Évron, his was the only one made from metal.[28] Its unique appearance thus echoes and reinforces the special status accorded to the deceased by the monastic community. Indeed, in addition to drawing attention to itself by its precious materials, the tomb would seem to liken Renaud to an almost saintly figure. Although dealing with a far older monument, Thomas Dale has convincingly argued that the use of metal for the tomb of Rudolf of Swabia in the cathedral of Merseburg, because of its material filiation with contemporary reliquaries, had for effect to emphasize his "stature as divinely sanctioned, holy warrior".[29] Three centuries later, and in an entirely different area, a comparable association with sacred objects can equally be made with Renaud's tomb. Presumably made of wood and covered with gilded and enamelled plaques of copper, the monument is clearly a product from the Limousin region. As such, it shares the same characteristics as those of the many reliquaries that have made the *opus lemovicense* so famous in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[30] Whereas the sacredness conveyed by the Saxon tomb was meant to reflect the divine nature of the office of kingship coveted by Rudolf, the spiritual quality expressed by the Limousin tomb has certainly to do with Renaud's crusading background. Indeed, associating him with a greater purpose, the status of *miles Christi*, which he earned by his participation in the Albigensian crusade, distinguished the

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[26] A. Gérault, *Notice historiques*, pp. 10, 30.

[27] Anonymous tomb from Évron, 13th century. Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14 fol. 221; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1g f. 221; and BnF, MS latin 17096, f. 15; second anonymous tomb from Évron, 13th century. Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14 fol. 222; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1g f. 222. On these tombs, see A. Angot, "Les vicomtes du Maine", *Bulletin de la Commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne*, 30 (1914), p. 231 and E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "L'Église abbatiale", p. 30.

[28] In addition to those attributed to Renaud's parents and grand-parents, the other stone monuments are those of Jean d'Évron (d. 1288), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14 fol. 93; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1h f. 93; Guillaume d'Évron (d. 14th century), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 13 f. 52; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1e f. 52; Gilles du Chastelet (d. end of 13th century), drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 2 f. 51; and Jean de Favières (d. 1484), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14 f. 90; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1h f. 90.

[29] T. E.A. Dale, "The Individual, the Resurrected Body and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg", *Speculum*, 77 (2002), pp. 707-743, quote p. 741.

[30] See *Enamels of Limoges*, chapter VI, "Gilded Images: Sacred and Funerary Sculpture (13th-14th century)", pp. 397-432.

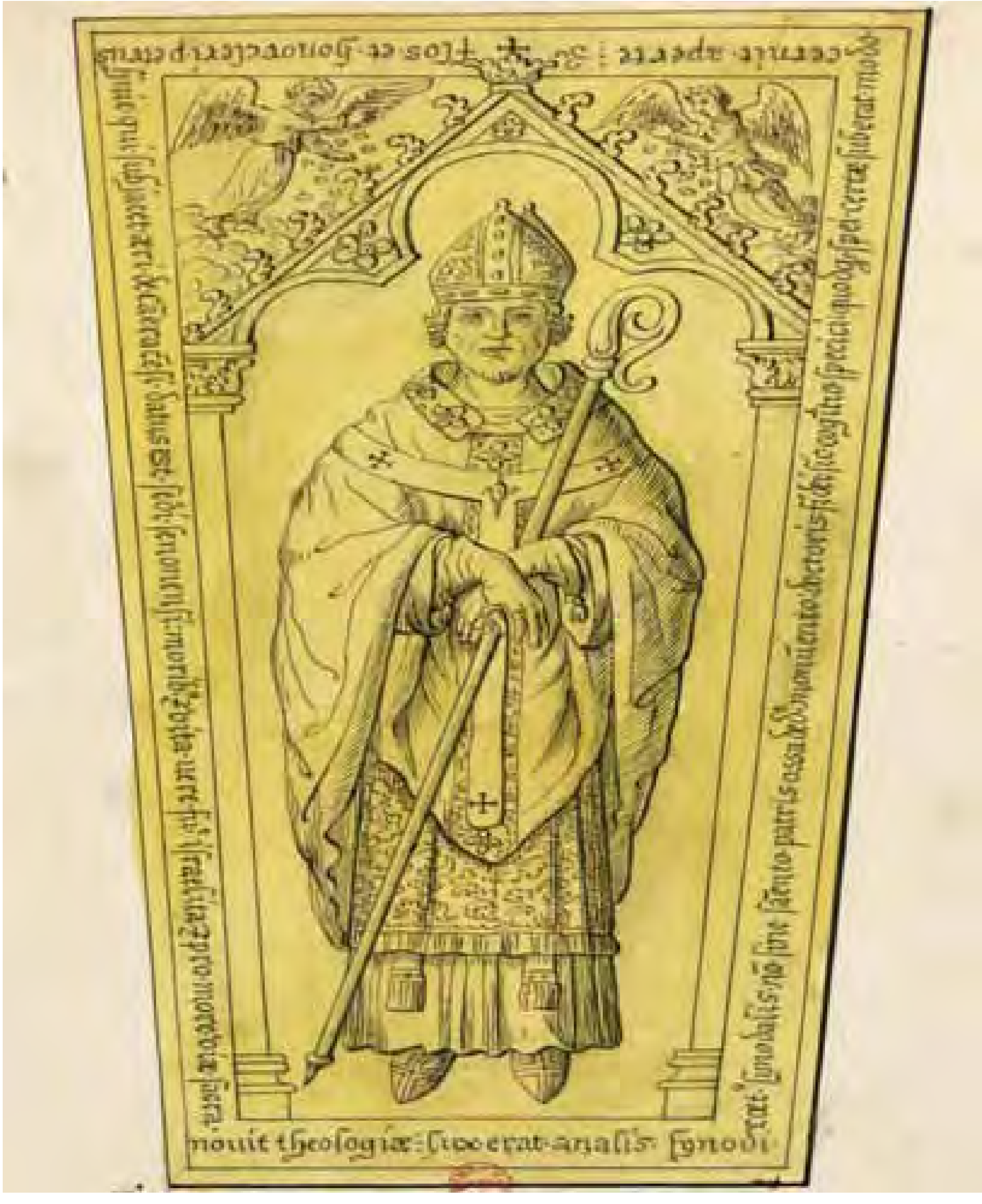

Fig. 19. Tomb of Pierre de Corbeil (d. 1222).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 68)

deceased from the common warrior. Although insufficient to promote him to the rank of saint, defending the Church's interest in the name of God was surely enough to impart to Renaud some kind of spiritual merit which his monument was therefore set to glorify. Hence, the glittering materials that served to mean sainthood on reliquaries are also used here to laud the virtue of the deceased. This understanding of the tomb is further reinforced by the fact that the same aesthetics are found on the tombs of two other crusaders, William de Valence (d. 1296) whose monument is still extant in Westminster Abbey, and Juhel III de Mayenne. With the latter, the connection is even stronger, not only because Juhel and Renaud fought alongside each other in Marmande in 1219, but because they both have deep ties to the monasteries where they are respectively buried. Indeed, Juhel III de Mayenne was the founder of the abbey of Fontaine-Daniel. As such, his *memoria* is intricately linked to that of the monastic community in the same manner as Renaud's is in Évron. This special relationship thus consolidates the spiritual qualities that the crusades bequeathed upon the deceased and further justifies the reliquary-like appearance of their tombs.

Of course, laymen are not the only ones whose *memoria* is thus celebrated by tombs that call to mind the cult of saints. Clerics who were likewise recognized as founding figures by their own religious community often attracted the same kind of monumental attention. The best example is certainly the tomb of bishop Ulger (d. 1148) in the cathedral of Angers. Celebrated by the Angevin canons both as a reformer and a builder, Ulger was given a funeral monument in the shape of a reliquary casket, making quite explicit the analogy between the deceased and the "very special dead".[31] Although this type of parallel does not necessarily extend to all the enamelled tombs found in the Gaignières collection, it is nevertheless clear that this type of monument, which characterises the metal tomb industry of the thirteenth century, was meant to exalt the accomplishments of revered members of the social élite by praising their spiritual worth.

The spiritual quality associated with metal in funeral monuments does not recede when incised slabs of copper become the main metal product of funeral art at the end of the thirteenth century. As already mentioned, up until the fifteenth century, the copper slabs were essentially the prerogative of bishops, whose effigies are always shown in pontifical attire. Therefore, the medium was still imbued with some kind of spiritual value, however this time it is distinctive of the ecclesiastical elite. In contrasting with their far more numerous stone counterparts, the copper slabs clearly set the bishops apart, an impression that is further underlined by the fact that most of these tombs were also systematically placed in or near the very restricted space of church sanctuaries. Indeed, half of the tombs that make up the second statistical group were located close to the main altar of two cathedrals, those of Sens and of Beauvais.

At Saint-Étienne de Sens, the choir was the burial place of the local archbishops for over a century. According to the Gaignières collection, a total of nine copper slabs displaying the deceased wearing the pallium in accordance with their rank, were installed just before the cathedral altar (Fig. 19).[32] Though it might be argued that the souls of the archbishops

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[31] On this tomb, see R. Marcoux, "Memory, Presence and the Medieval Tomb".

[32] The monuments are those of Pierre de Corbeil (d. 1222), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough

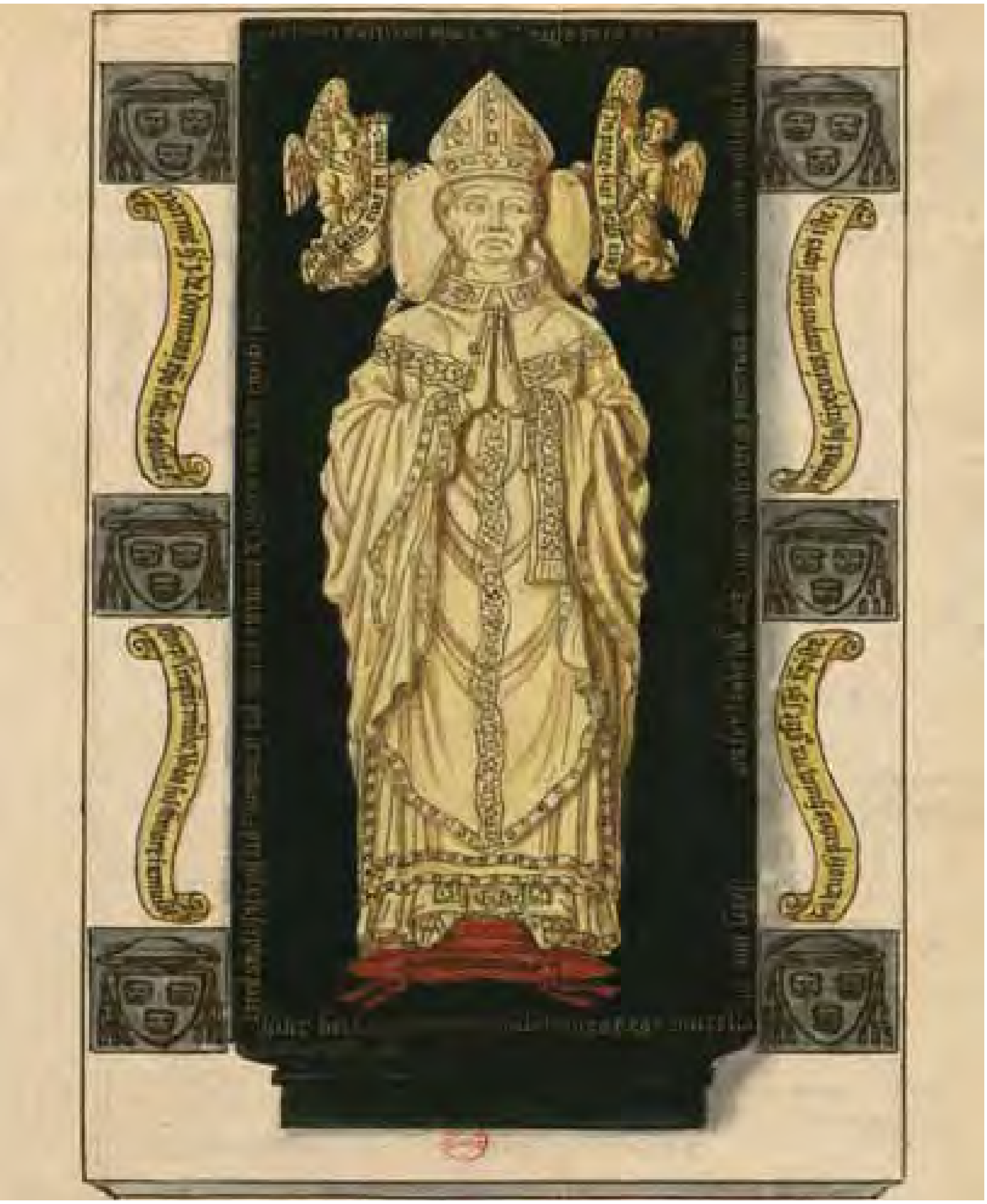

Fig. 20. Tomb of Renaud de Nanteuil (d. 1283).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1n f. 4)

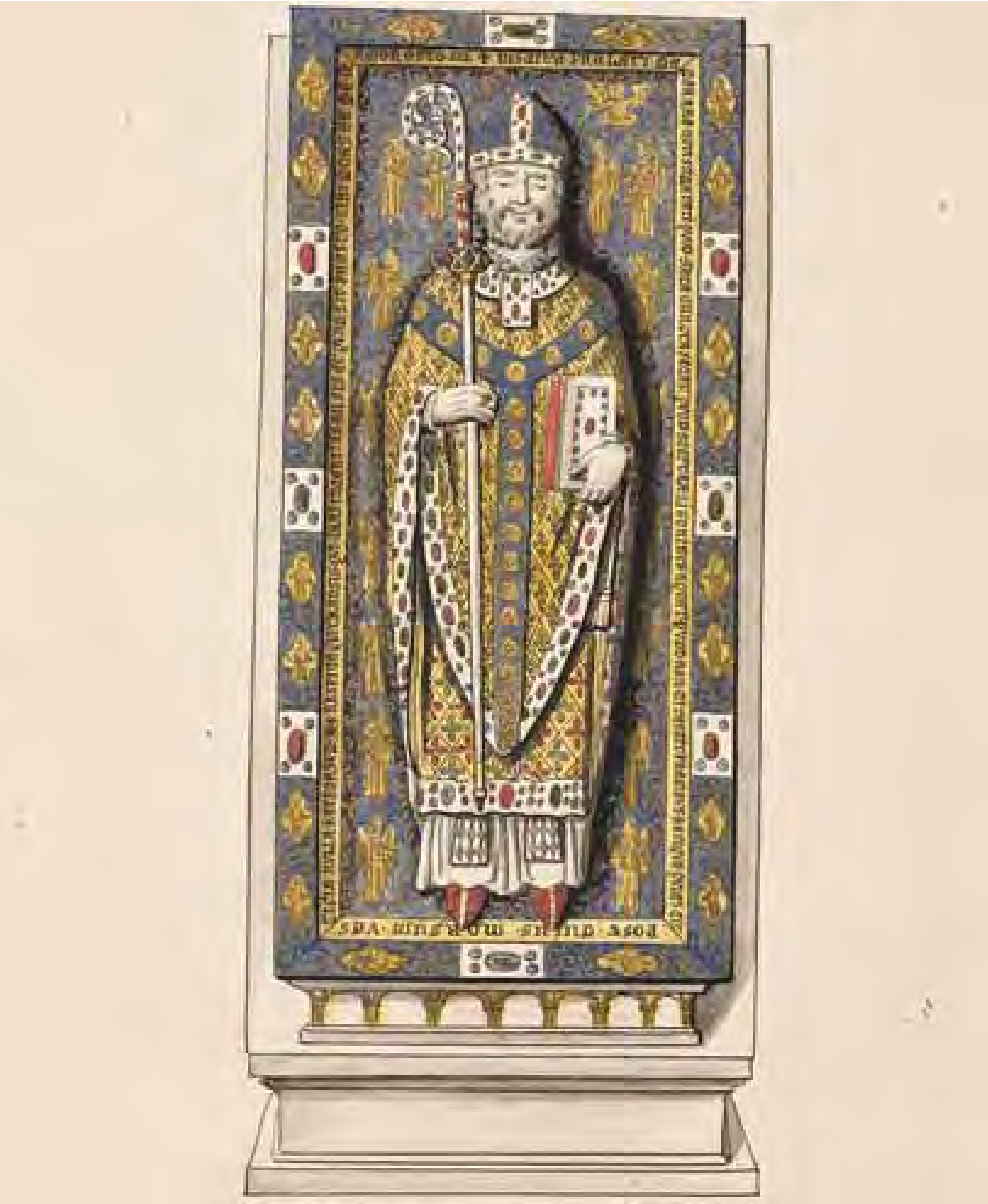

Fig. 21. Tomb of Philippe de Dreux (d. 1217), c. 1275.
(Drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 13 f. 92.)
(© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

benefited spiritually from the proximity of the most sacred locus, the position can also be seen as a way to emphasize their role as ultimate mediators between the holy and the profane.[33] Indeed, the concentration of tombs symbolically reproduced and consolidated the social hierarchy both within and beyond the walls of the church by highlighting the exceptional status of the prelates. Of course, to further explore this symbolic interpretation in terms of reception, it would be necessary to determine the visual access to the tombs and their exact layout. However, one can easily imagine the general effect of the monuments in the cathedral choir. Provided that they were regularly maintained, the tombs must have created a brilliant radiance around the high altar, a place where the light from both the high windows and the liturgical candles is necessarily focused in gothic churches. In other words, by essentially transforming the floor of the sanctuary into a reflective surface, the tombs interacted with the architectural and liturgical setting to create an aura of spirituality which amplified the sacredness of the sanctuary and the virtue of the ones buried within it.[34]

The situation was similar at Saint-Pierre de Beauvais where the choir also served as a necropolis for the local prelates. Here, the Gaignières collection lists seven copper slabs (Fig. 20).[35] Spanning just over two centuries, these tombs rigorously depict the deceased bishops with their pontifical attributes underneath a canopy, thus asserting the coherence of their group as in Sens. The use of metal in the commemorative setting of Beauvais is however not as uniform as the previous one. Indeed, always according to the Gaignières collection, four bishops possess copper monuments that forego the slab format. The first is Philippe de Dreux (d. 1217), who was also count of Beauvais and a celebrated crusader (Fig. 21). Philippe's body was transferred in 1272 from Notre-Dame de la Basse-Oeuvre, where it was initially buried,

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Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 68; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 68; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 61; Gautier le Cornu (d. 1241), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 67; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 67; Gilles le Cornu (d. 1254), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 65; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 65; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a f. 61; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 65; Henri le Cornu (d. 1257), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 63; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 63; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a f. 58; BnF, MS latin 17046, f. 71; Guillaume de Brosse (d. 1269), drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 6 f. 42; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a f. 59; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 77; Pierre de Charny (d. 1274), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 66; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 66; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a f. 60; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 81; Gilles II le Cornu (d. 1292), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 65; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 65; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 57; Étienne Bécart (d. 1309), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 11 f. 64; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1m f. 64; BnF, Est Rés. Pe., 11 a f. 62; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 97; and Guillame II de Brosse (d. 1338), drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 6 f. 43; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 64; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 137. On the tombs of the Sens archbishops, see E. Chartraire, "Insignes épiscopaux et fragments de vêtements liturgiques provenant des sépultures d'archevêques de Sens, conservés au trésor de la cathédrale de Sens", *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1918), pp. 19-58.

[33] On the Gaignières drawings, the mention of *chœur* generally refers to the space surrounding the main altar, not to the *chœur des religieux* between the nave and the sanctuary.

[34] It must be pointed out that not all archbishops of Sens were part of the flat metallic setting. Philippe de Melun (d. 1345) had a stone sarcophagus raised for himself and his brother Guillaume (d. 1329) behind the main altar, and both were joined by their nephew Guillaume II de Melun (d. 1376) in a similar but single monument (Tomb of Philippe de Melun and Guillaume de Melun, drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 63; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 131; Tomb of Guillaume II de Melun, drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 66; BnF, MS latin 17046 f. 261).

to the choir of the newly built Beauvais cathedral, just left of the high altar. Considering the deceased's crusading experience, the type of monument that was then given to Philippe was exactly the same as that of Renaud de l'Isle and Juhel de Mayenne. Produced in Limousin workshops like the two knights' tombs, it was also composed of a gilded and enamelled copper alloy effigy raised on a plinth.[36] It is around this monumental tomb that Philippe's successors gathered their copper slabs for the next 200 years, with the notable exception, however, of Jean de Dormans (d. 1373) and his nephew Miles (or Milon) de Dormans (d. 1387). These two members of an influential family very close to the French royal house were not buried in Beauvais cathedral. Jean, in accordance with his will, chose to be interred before the high altar (*directe ante maius altare*) of the Paris Charterhouse underneath a metal tomb of copper (*metallo cupreo*).[37] The Gaignières drawing of this monument shows a black marble chest raised over a stone slab bearing the deceased's arms and a first epitaph divided into four copper scrolls.[38] A second epitaph circumscribes the upper portion of the chest upon which lies a copper effigy in relief of Jean, fully dressed in pontifical attire and with hands joined in prayer (fig. 22). As for Miles, he was buried in the Parisian Collège of Dormans-Beauvais, founded by his uncle in 1370. His monument, located in the middle of the choir of the collegiate church, was in fact a double tomb for Miles was to be joined in his grave by his brother Guillaume de Dormans in 1405. Composed of two copper effigies in relief lying on a black marble chest, it too abandoned the slab format in favour of the monumental type (Fig. 23).[39] In this case, the break from tradition is twofold. While Miles, like his uncle, distinguishes himself from his predecessors at Saint-Pierre de Beauvais, Guillaume does the same vis-à-vis the archbishops of Sens, being one of them from 1390 until his death. This common attitude towards an otherwise well-established tradition suggests a strong familial pride. Clearly, the three prelates were

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[35] The tombs are those of Renaud de Nanteuil (d. 1283), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9 f. 4; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1n f. 4; BnF, Est. Rés. 11a f. 114; BnF, MS latin 17031 f. 67; Thibaud de Nanteuil (d. 1300), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9 f. 5; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1n f. 5; BnF, MS latin 17031 f. 95; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a f. 115; Guillaume Bertrand (d. 1356), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9 f. 10; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1n f. 10; BnF, MS latin 17031 fol. 119; Thomas d'Estouteville (d. 1395), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9 fol. 7; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1n fol. 7; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a fol. 118; BnF, MS latin 17031 fol. 163; Pierre de Savoisy (d. 1412), drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 3 fol. 12; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a fol. 119; Guillaume de Hellande (d. 1462), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9 fol. 62; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1n f. 6; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a fol. 120; and Jean de Bar (d. 1488), drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9 f. 8; BnF, Est. Rés. Pe 1n f. 8; BnF, Est. Rés., 11a fol. 121; BnF, MS latin 17031 f. 203.

[36] Tomb of Philippe de Dreux (d. 1217), c. 1275, drawing (c. 1700): Bod. Lib., MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 13 f. 92; BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 1e f. 92. On this tomb, see B. de Chancel-Bardelot, "Tombs of Limoges Work", p. 436.

[37] On Jean Dormans' will and tomb, see A. Poquet, *Le cardinal Jean de Dormans et sa famille* (Reims, 1886), pp. 9-11 and L. C. Barré, "Le cardinal de Dormans, chancelier de France, 'principal conseiller' de Charles V, d'après son testament et les archives du Vatican", in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, tome 52 (1935), pp. 316-317.

[38] Tomb of Jean de Dormans (d. 1371), drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 224; BnF, MS latin 17031 f. 133.

[39] Tomb of Miles (d. 1387) and Guillaume de Dormans (d. 1405), drawing (c. 1700): BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 25; BnF, MS latin 17031 fol. 153; BnF, MS latin 17046 fol. 273. On this tomb, see S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, "'*Monumentum aere perennius*'", pp. 45-46.

[40] As with the members of the Melun family in Sens,

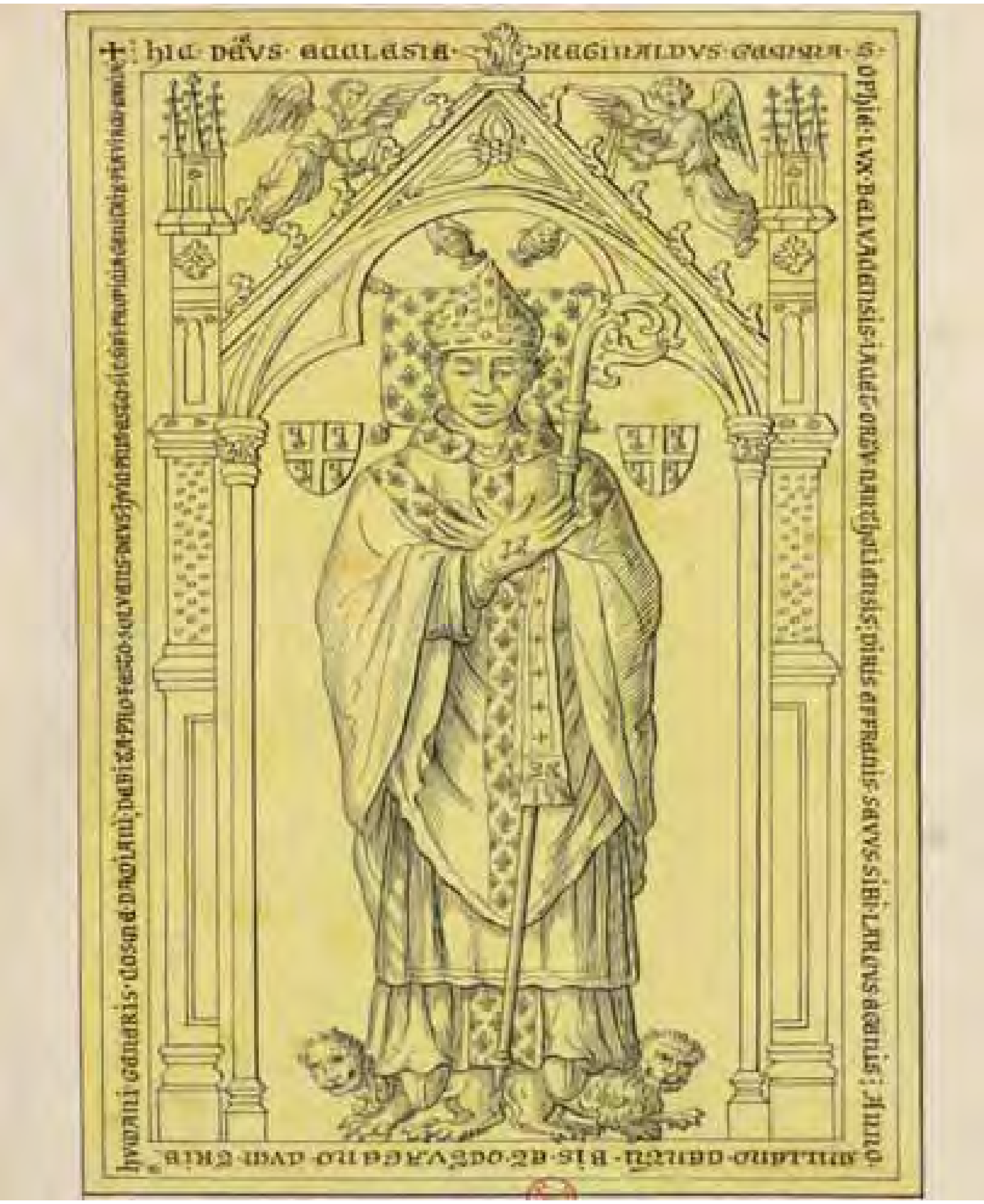

Fig. 22. Tomb of Jean de Dormans (d. 1371).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 224)

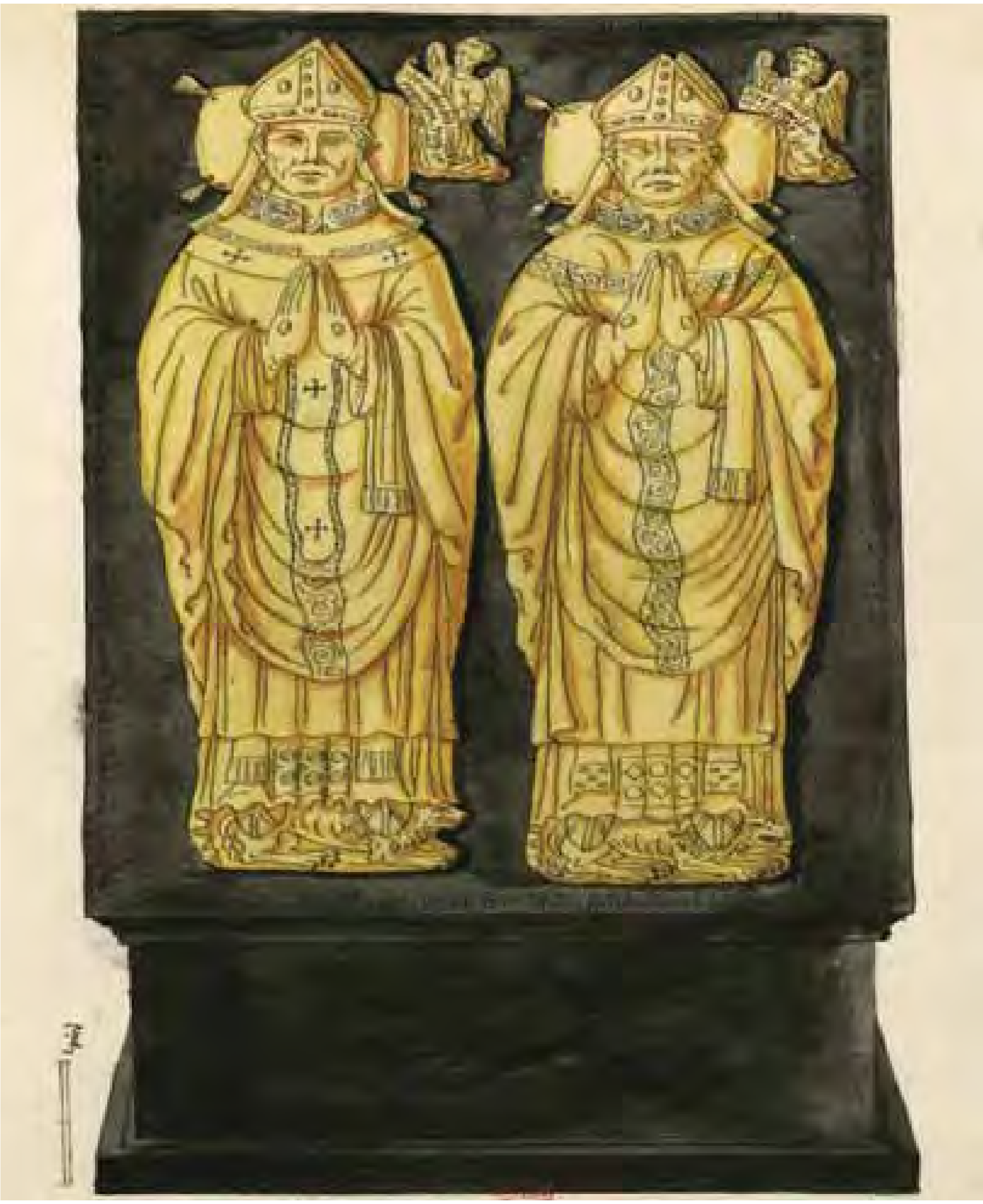

Fig. 23. Tomb of Miles (d. 1387) and Guillaume de Dormans (d. 1405).
(Drawing (c. 1700) Gaignières Collection.)
(source: BnF, Est. Rés., Pe 11a f. 25)

very conscious of the importance of their family name and preferred to use their tombs to further promote it rather than to have it diluted within a group setting.[40]

The return to relief sculpture does not only concern the Dormans nor has it to do only with family identity. Gradually taking place at the end of the Middle Ages, it is a phenomenon which must also be understood in light of the generalisation of copper as a medium for tombs during this period. Indeed, it is likely that the slow appropriation of copper by a wider range of social actors, like simple court officers and local lords, provoked some bishops to call upon a former aesthetic in order to restore to the medium its spiritual quality. In other words, at least in the case of bishops, monumentalising in the medium of copper, instead of settling for its more frequent use as slabs, was not just a question of manifesting social prestige determined by name and rank, but also a way of reasserting the idea of virtue that came to be associated with the metal in the past.

The case studies proposed here are by no means singular. They should be considered as symptomatic of broad trends in the social use and meaning of tombs which evolve over the years and the centuries. It is these trends that factor analysis was able to identify through a corpus of 120 tombs provided by the Gaignières collection. By taking into account the multiple variables of each of these monuments and by organizing them in a relational perspective, the quantitative approach helped reveal the structures and the dynamics inherent in the use of metal in the funeral art of the French Middle Ages. While this statistical process does tend to dissolve the individual object into a large pool of data, it opens the way to a better understanding of how medieval tombs globally interacted and evolved and, in so doing, helps relate specific case studies to a larger, more comprehensive context.

Acknowledgement

The Society is grateful to the Francis Coales

The Canons of St. Paul's and their Brasses

Christian Steer

In only a few short days in September 1666 the Great Fire of London destroyed approximately two-thirds of the city, the townhouses and mansions, shops and warehouses, its parish churches and great cathedral. Generations of tombs in old St. Paul's, which had survived the destruction of the Reformation and the censorship of the Civil War, were gone: all that remain today are a few battered tomb effigies from the cathedral which serve as broken reminders of a lost past. This essay will consider the extent of this forgotten landscape by examining the testamentary and written records for the burial and commemoration of the chapter at old St. Paul's and in particular the creation of a substantial tomb-scape for the cathedral canons. This rich 'carpet of memory' was sufficiently important to the chapter to warrant protection from the destruction ordered by Bishop Nicholas Ridley in 1552. Members of the cathedral chapter depended upon monuments as but one aspect of their strategy for salvation. Other commemorative devices will also be considered to explain why it was so important to preserve the memory of these long dead canons.

Monumental brasses commemorate the great, the good, and the godly. Nowhere is this better shown than by the fine example commissioned by one of the Black Prince's clerks, William de Fulbourne, who died in 1391 and who lies buried in the chancel of St. Vigor's church at Fulbourn in Cambridgeshire (Fig. 1). This royal clerk profited from his loyal service and in 1369 had the means to buy the manor of Dunmows in the parish of Fulbourn (where he was almost certainly born) along with the advowson of St. Vigor's church. He quickly appointed himself rector and took a leading role in paying for rebuilding the church. Shortly after his acquisition of the Dunmows estate, William was granted the prebend of Finsbury and became a canon of St. Paul's. The cathedral arms, and Fulbourne's own armorials, were carved onto the roof bosses of St. Vigor's nave (later moved into the chancel during the Victorian restoration) and paid for by Fulbourne during the rebuilding programme. Fulbourne's funerary inscription began '*Hic iacet dominus Will(el)m(u)s de Fulburne quondam canonicus Ecclesiae S(an)ct(i) Pauli London* . . .'. William de Fulbourne was, before all else, a canon of St. Paul's. However, the rector evidently found his vow of chastity hard to maintain and it was his illegitimate son, also called William de Fulbourne, who served as his father's executor in 1391 and who inherited the Dunmows estate.[1] We do not know which of these two men commissioned the brass but it seems likely that the patron was in fact William the elder, who in his will specified that his burial was to take place in the chancel of St. Vigor's. His brass shows him standing on a hillock, vested and coped, with his initials 'WF' alternating between roses placed within the orphreys. The morse, fastening Fulbourne's cope, contains the family arms *Arg. a saltire sa.*

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[1] W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London, 1995), pp. 130 and 132 (illustration); J.M. Horn, *John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541. St. Paul's, London* (London, 1963), p. 37. William Fulbourne was ordained priest on 24 September 1362 by Simon Sudbury, bishop of London, see the CD database (seculars) in V. Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages: A Register of Clergy Ordained in the Diocese of London based on Episcopal Ordination Lists 1361-1539* (London, 2000). See also *VCH Cambridgeshire*, X (Oxford, 2002), pp. 141-2 and 155, and J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, eds., *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1993), III, pp. 146-48. For Fulbourne's will, see TNA, PROB 11/1 ff. 60-60v.

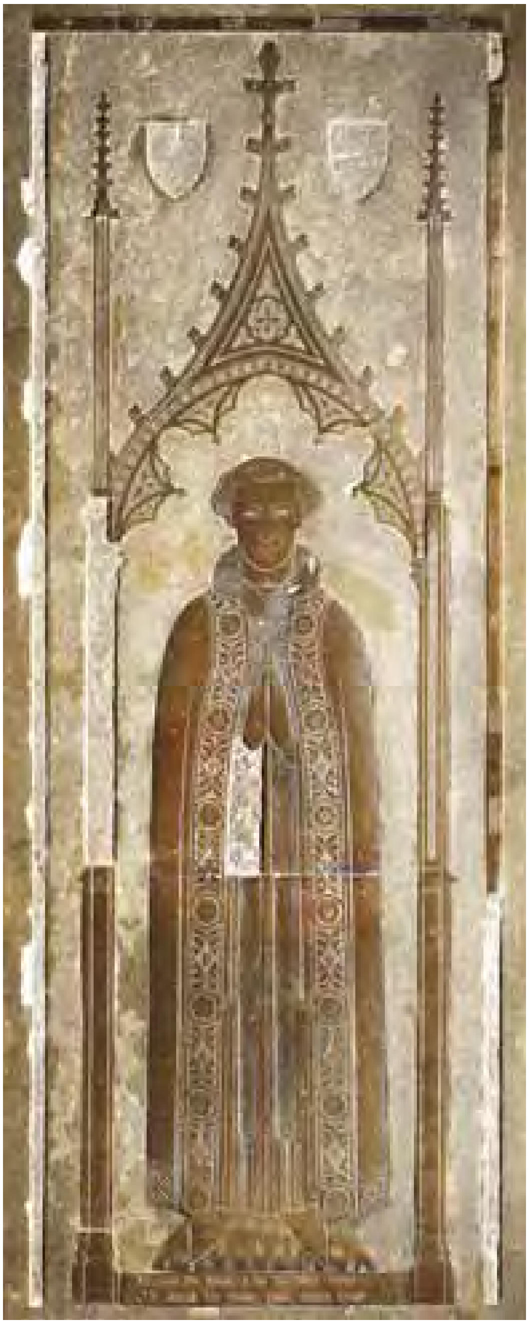

Fig. 1. William Fulbourne, 1391, Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, LSW.II. (photo: © C.B. Newham)

between four martlets gu. From a drawing of *c.* 1740-60 we know that the same arms were displayed on a separate plate (now lost) on the slab.[2] This personal touch perhaps suggests the influence of the canon on the composition of his memorial rather than that of his son. The brass contains some standard features of template-brasses of similar date such as, for example, the small lions' heads forming the lowest pair of crockets on the outer pinnacles which were common on canopies of the late fourteenth century. Much of the marginal inscription is lost although a brief foot inscription provides a vivid message to the reader:

> *Vermibus hic donor, et sic ostendere conor,*
> *Quod sicut hic ponor, ponit(ur) omnis honor.*
>
> (To worms I am given, and so strive to show,
> That just as I am placed here, all honour is laid aside).[3]

This evocative text is an early example of a *memento mori* message noted on other funerary inscriptions for the clergy, sent from beyond the grave and further suggests Fulbourne's influence during the commissioning of his memorial. The setting of his brass, in the chancel, invites consideration of its audience and the readership of this evocative 'death text'. It was here, the domain of the clergy, where Fulbourne's successors celebrated for his soul – and all souls – and where they would daily be reminded of their own mortality. It is tempting to suggest that this text was to be read out with this foot inscription serving as a voice from beyond the grave. In the care of all souls Fulbourne's pastoral care continued long after his death.[4]

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[2] BL, Add. MS 5820, ff. 8-9. An illustration made by William Cole, *c.* 1740-60, of the Fulbourne brass is on 8v. On this brass see also D. Lysons and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 6 vols (London, 1806-22), II, p. 64.

[3] See also the inscription to Ralph Hamsterley on his shroud brass at Oddington, Oxon., discussed in V.J.B. Torr, 'The Oddington Shroud Brass and its Lost

William de Fulbourne is one of only a handful of cathedral dignitaries from old St. Paul's whose brass memorial survives.[5] The 1666 fire was the last in a series of calamitous events which finally destroyed a substantial tomb-scape in the ecclesiastical heart of the city. And yet three important written accounts made in the sixty or so years before this blaze have revealed at least110 monuments of the dead in the medieval cathedral.[6] The majority, some sixty-one examples, were for members of the cathedral clergy who died before 1500. We know from testamentary evidence that old St. Paul's was a trusted locus of commemoration for members of the chapter, that is the dean, archdeacons of London, Essex, Middlesex and Colchester, treasurer, precentor, chancellor and the major canons who held the thirty prebends. The cathedral was also a popular burial site for the vicars choral, chantry priests, and visiting clergy who chose to be interred in spiritually advantageous sites within in the cathedral and its cemeteries. This essay will focus on the burial and commemorative preferences of just one of these clerical groups, the chapter. Many of these men, like William Fulbourne, held clerical posts elsewhere with loyalties beyond St. Paul's, and burial in the old cathedral was one of many sites available to them.[7]

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[4] Medieval 'death texts' on funerary inscriptions are the subject of new discussion. See N. Cartlidge, 'A Debate with Death: John Rudyng's Brass in St. Andrew's Church, Biggleswade', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 2 (2015), pp. 94-100; D. Harry, 'A Cadaver in Context: the Shroud Brass of John Brigge Revisited', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 2 (2015), pp. 101-10; and P. Cockerham and N. Orme, 'John Waryn and his Cadaver Brass, formerly in Menheniot Church, Cornwall', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 41-56. I am grateful to Julia Boffey, David Harry and Sue Powell for their comments on these mortality texts and in particular the phrase 'esca vermium' which was used in lyrics and homilies from as early as the thirteenth century. Douglas Gray suggests such texts became more common in the aftermath of the Black Death (D. Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London, 1972), pp. 181-2.

[5] Two splendid examples of canons of St. Paul's commemorated outside London are William Ermyn (d. 1401) at St. Mary Magdalen, Castle Ashby, Northants., and Simon Bache (d. 1414), who served as treasurer to Henry V, buried in the chancel of SS Mary and Thomas of Canterbury, Knebworth, Herts. An inscription for William Storteford, canon and treasurer of St. Paul's (d. 1416), is now a palimpsest on the reverse of Thomas Giffard's 1552 brass in Twyford church, Bucks. (J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1980), 2 vols, I, p. 52). For the indent of an unknown priest found on the site of the Pardon cemetery of the old cathedral see J.C. Page-Phillips, 'An Indent from Old St. Paul's', *MBS Trans.*, XI, pt 1 (1969), pp. 42-3, updated in S. Freeth and D. Chivers, 'Fragments of pre-Reformation tombs', in *St. Paul's Cathedral before Wren*, ed. J. Schofield (Swindon, 2011), pp. 277-81.

[6] C.L. Kingsford, *A Survey of London by John Stow*, 2 vols (Oxford 1908). Two later editors of Stow's Survey were Anthony Munday (1560-1633) and John Strype (1643-1737) who updated Stow by including details of surviving inscriptions and heraldic accounts of earlier lost tombs; J. Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631); W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London 1658). Their accounts of lost tombs from old St. Paul's were collated in P. Fisher, *The Tombs, Monuments, &c., visible in St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1684). Much of what Stow had previously noted was recorded in H. Holland, *Monumenta Sepulchraria Sancti Pauli* (London, 1614). For a discussion of this evidence see C. Steer, 'Burial and Commemoration in Medieval London *c.* 1140-1540' (University of London Ph.D., 2013), chapter 2.

[7] The canons are listed in Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae*. For the commemorations of the bishops of London buried in old St. Paul's see Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 128-31, and N. Coldstream, 'The architecture of the medieval tombs', in Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 131-38. This is also discussed in S. Freeth, 'The brasses of medieval St. Paul's: a note', Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 281-84 and C. Steer, 'Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, d. 1404, formerly in Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London', in W. Lack and P. Whittemore, eds., *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, II, pt 5 (London, 2009), pp. 44-5.

The description of a number of monuments in wills, and in written accounts, makes it possible to offer suggestions about the type of tomb commissioned. Their design and composition is further revealed by the important drawings made in 1641 by the stationer William Sedgwick that were later used as the model for more fashionable etchings by the Bohemian artist, Wenceslaus Hollar.[8] Yet it is important first to consider the building programmes undertaken in the medieval cathedral and the development and expansion of the enclosed precinct which came to include a prestigious urban cemetery.

St. Paul's Cathedral and its Precinct

In 1087 a fire destroyed much of eleventh-century London including the Anglo-Saxon cathedral founded by bishop (later Saint) Erkenwald.[9] During the bishopric of Maurice (1085-1107) new construction began, albeit hindered by yet another fire in about 1135.[10] Building work soon resumed and, in 1148, the relics of St. Erkenwald were translated to a new shrine. Although further work was once again interrupted, the church was largely complete with a choir, crypt, transepts, tower and nave in place at the end of the twelfth century. To the west, the cathedral adjoined the parish church of St. Gregory while the crypt absorbed the parish of St. Faith. The new cathedral church was impressive and dominated the skyline with a spire higher than any other building. An early illustration of London in *The History of the English* by Matthew Paris, *c.* 1252, shows the cathedral from the north with the river Thames to the south and crenellations visible on the city wall (Fig. 2).

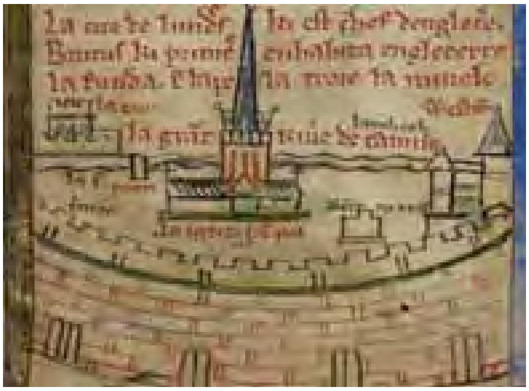

Fig. 2: Matthew Paris' The History of the English, c. 1252 (MS Royal 14 C.VII, f. 2). (© British Library Board)

Construction at St. Paul's was on-going, with 'New Work', begun during the episcopate of Fulk Basset (1244-59), extending the choir and providing a Lady Chapel at the eastern end of the cathedral. In 1312 Adam le Marbler took on the contract to pave four of the eastern bays of the New Work. About twenty years later another mason linked to the production of monumental brasses, William Ramsey, was almost certainly involved in completing the choir screen. During the building works the bodies of bishops Eustace de Fauconberg (d. 1228) and Henry de Wengham (d. 1262) were exhumed from their original graves and their remains reburied in one of the new bays in the south choir aisle of the New Work where retrospective tombs were made. Bishop John de Chishull (d. 1280) was buried nearby in one of the bays on the northern side of the choir. Nearby, to the west, lay the remains of bishop

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[8] BL, Add. MS 71474, ff. 164v-185.

[9] D. Whitelock, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1961), p. 163.

[10] On the construction of the medieval cathedral, see Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 60-183, and C. Davidson Cragoe, 'Fabric, Tombs and Precinct, 1087-1540', in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, eds. D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (London, 2004), pp. 127-42.

Roger Niger (1229-41) that were translated to the north of the choir in 1326; in the same year the shrine and relics of Saint Erkenwald were brought into the New Work. This new choir was built as an episcopal mausoleum, with the saint's shrine placed as the centre-piece for pilgrim visitors.[11]

It was during the early rebuilding phase in the twelfth century that a precinct was created around the cathedral by buying up property and closing off the surrounding streets. This area was enclosed and the surrounding walls and gateways were completed by about 1200. This open space quickly became a centre-point for Londoners. Here, in the cathedral precinct, the city folkmoot met in the thirteenth century. To the south of this meeting place, just north of the New Work, was St. Paul's Cross, first recorded in 1241, and the site of public announcements, proclamations, and sermons in the centuries that followed. Nearby were the homes of members of the chapter: in the south west of the precinct, for example, was the deanery, established by Ralph de Diceto in 1182-3. The growing number of clergy at St. Paul's in the fourteenth century, particularly the large body of chantry chaplains and minor canons, necessitated the construction of further housing elsewhere in the precinct. Shortly before 1330 building work began on the 'Priests' house', also known as St. Peter's College, to the west towards Ludgate. This was to provide lodgings for the thirty or so chantry chaplains employed to sing for the souls of the living and the dead at old St. Paul's. During the fourteenth century three other colleges were built: a hall for the minor canons in 1353; Holme's College to house the chaplains celebrating the soul of the former mayor, Adam de Bury (d. 1386) – enlarged by his executor the cathedral chancellor Roger Holme; and Lancaster College built to accommodate the two chaplains who served the chantry endowed by John of Gaunt.[12] The precinct became an urban village. It was here, close to these colleges, where two cathedral cemeteries quickly became important burial grounds.

Burying the Dead at Old St. Paul's

There were three different places of burial at old St. Paul's: the ordinary churchyard – also known as the 'great cemetery'; the Pardon Churchyard; and the cathedral church (Fig. 3).

The largest, and perhaps oldest, place of burial at old St. Paul's was the ordinary (or great) churchyard, located in the north east of the precinct.[13] An examination of wills proved in the probate courts of London and Canterbury between 1258 and 1500 reveals at

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[11] On retrospective funerary monuments for the episcopate see, for example, D. Lepine, '"Pause and pray with mournful heart": Late Medieval Clerical Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 14-40; P. Lindley, 'Retrospective Effigies, the Past and Lies', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead (Leeds, 1995), pp. 111-21; and P. Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture', in *Wells Cathedral: A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (Shepton Mallet, 1982), pp. 102-31 at 123-27.

[12] C.M. Barron and M-H. Rousseau, 'Cathedral, City and State, 1300-1540', in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church*, eds. Keene *et al.*, pp. 33-44.

[13] On the earlier burials, see Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 46-49, and D. Stocker, 'A late Anglo-Saxon graveyard at St. Paul's', in *St. Paul's Cathedral*, ed. Schofield, pp. 254-65. On burial more generally in medieval London, see Vanessa Harding, 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London', in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1995), pp. 119-35, and specifically on old St, Paul's her *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 85-118 at 86-93.

[14] This is based on an examination of wills enrolled in the Hustings, Commissary and Archdeaconry courts of London and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury for testators who left instruction to be buried in old St. Paul's or one of its cemeteries.

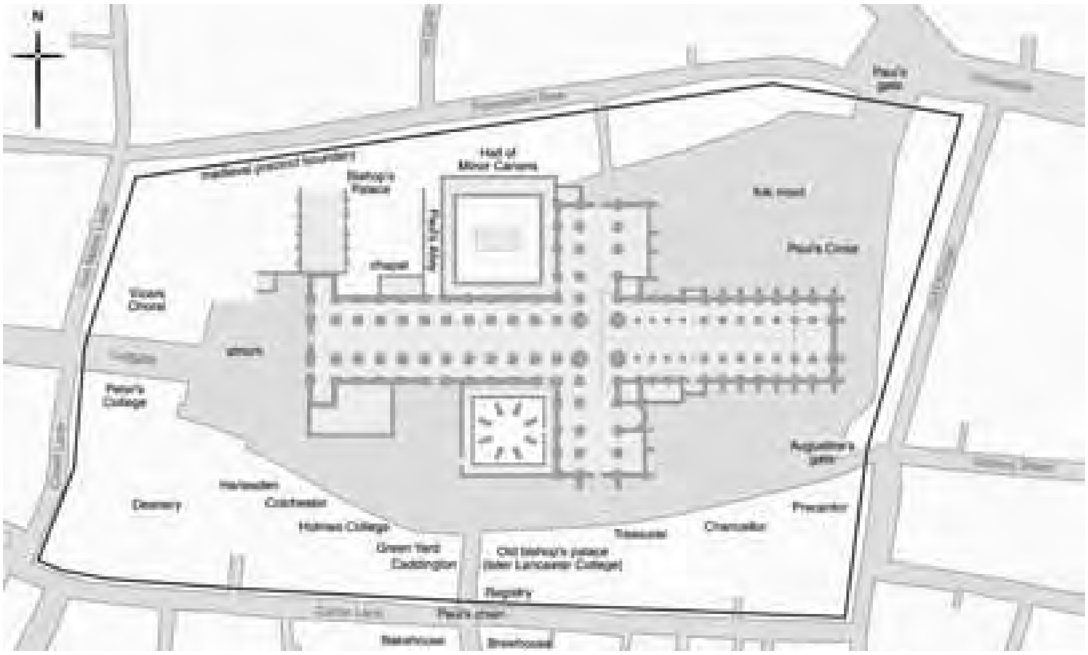
N
traditional precinct boundary
Bishop's Palace
Hall of Minor Canons
chapel
Vicars Choral
atrium
Peter's College
folk moot
Paul's Cross
Paul's gate
Augustine's gate
Deanery
Harlesden
Colchester
Holmes College
Green Yard
Caddington
Old bishop's palace (later Lancaster College)
Treasurer
Chancellor
Precentor
Registry
Paul's chain
Bakehouse
Brewhouse

Fig. 3. Precinct of old St. Paul's.
(By permission of John Schofield)

least 377 testators who requested burial at old St. Paul's.[14] The majority, 211 examples (56 per cent), left instruction to be buried in the ordinary churchyard. By the middle of the thirteenth century this cemetery was more or less full, and a new enterprise was needed to cope with the city's dead. The dean and chapter responded by organising the construction of a charnel house close to Paul's Gate.[15] By *c.* 1277 a chapel dedicated to St. Mary had been built over this ossuary which was later used for the burials of important city merchants and the cathedral clergy.[16] The great cemetery became an almost exclusive burial ground for lay Londoners: the poor and destitute; those from parishes without a churchyard of their own; and those such as the serjeant at law Elias Leek, who died in 1392, who were employed directly by the cathedral and who chose to be buried in their local burial ground.[17] Only occasionally did members of the clergy elect to be buried in the ordinary churchyard: William Horne, a priest, who died in 1435, and the chaplain Thomas Rond, alias Langar, who chose to be buried before St. Paul's Cross twenty years later, are rare examples.[18]

The great cemetery also contained the bodies of Gilbert and Matilda Becket, parents of the martyred archbishop, both of whom died in the 1140s. They were buried to the north of the nave. By the mid fourteenth century this area formed a second, inner, cemetery known by 1351 as 'Pardonchirchehawe' (modernised to 'Pardon Churchyard').[19] Such was the popularity of this necropolis that under the direction of Thomas More, dean between 1405 and 1421, a new cloistered cemetery was constructed over the site. The old tombs were destroyed and reused in the new foundations.[20] The Becket tomb was also taken as the centrepiece for a new chapel dedicated to St. Anne and their murdered son, St. Thomas the Martyr. Shortly after Dean More's death, John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the city and executor of Richard Whittington (d. 1423), commissioned a series of panels or boards within the new cloister depicting the Dance of Death. Later in the 1420s Carpenter employed John Lydgate to produce accompanying texts to these images, thus creating an almost identical arrangement to the *Danse Macabre* painted in the cloister at the church of Holy Innocents, Paris, in 1424.[21] The popularity of painted and decorated walls within a cloistered cemetery, rich with moralising and instructive imagery, is today best seen in the *Camposanto Monumentale* at Pisa where over 200 incised slabs from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have survived.[22] The new Pardon cloister at old St. Paul's was likewise a popular grave site and continued to attract the burials of the prestigious dead.[23] Surviving wills reveal a further 100 testators (26 per cent) seeking burial in this particular graveyard within the precinct of old St. Paul's.

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[15] D. Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital. St. Paul's c. 1100-1300', in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church*, eds. Keene *et al.*, pp. 17-32, at 27.

[16] The skinner and former mayor Henry Barton (d.1435) is a noted example.

[17] London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA), MS 9171/1 ff. 265-265v.

[18] LMA, MS 9171/3 f. 446v (Horne) and MS 9171/5 f. 162v (Rond alias Langar).

Burial might also take place within the medieval cathedral building: in the choir (and crypt underneath), the side aisles, nave, or in side chapels. Testamentary evidence reveals proportionately fewer requests with only thirty-six testators (9 per cent) seeking intra-mural burial. But this group of testators was more specific about where exactly they wanted to be buried: we learn, for example, that the chapels of the Holy Ghost (also known as Holme's Chapel), St. John the Baptist, St. Dunstan, St. George, SS. Mary and Nicholas (or Sherington's Chapel), and St. Katherine, were important grave sites. There were slightly more burials in those chapels founded, or co-founded, by the cathedral clergy. For instance, at Holme's

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[19] The earliest known reference to this new churchyard is from the 1351 will of the London saddler, William Blith who requested burial at the head of the *tumba* of his father Ralph (d. 1341) in Pardonchirchehawe (LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/079).

[20] Freeth and Chivers, 'Fragments of pre-Reformation tombs', p. 279.

[21] C.M. Barron, 'London and St. Paul's Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig*, ed. J. Backhouse (Donington, 2003), pp. 126-49 at 145-46. On the Dance of Death, see S. Oosterwijk, 'Death, Memory and Commemoration: John Lydgate and 'Macabrees Daunce' at Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds. C.M. Barron and C. Burgess (Donington, 2010), pp. 185-201, and more recently A. Appleford, *Learning to Die in Medieval London 1380-1540* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 83-97.

[22] The north aisle continues to be used for important burials. The most recent was in 2000. The surviving panels are on display in the cathedral museum.

[23] E.g. the city merchant and royal financier Richard Buckland (d. 1436), who requested '*I will yt ther be leyde upon my body a stone of marble with the crest of my Armes upon and all so with these wordes Mercy and Grace*' (TNA, PROB 11/3 ff. 162r-162v). For Buckland's career see the *ODNB*, VIII, pp. 518-19 and J. Stratford, 'Joan Buckland (d. 1462)' in *Medieval London Widows 1300–1500*, eds. C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton (London, 1994), pp. 113-28 at 118-22.

[24] Adam de Bury (d. 1386), former mayor and skinner (TNA PROB 11/1 ff. 8v-9); Roger Holme (d. 1395), chancellor of St. Paul's and executor of Adam de Bury (LMA, MS 9171/1 ff. 340-341); Peter Watlington (d. 1458), chaplain (LMA, MS 9171/5 f. 238v); William Brewster (d. 1465), major canon (TNA PROB 11/5 ff. 32v-33v; TNA PROB 11/6 f. 65);

Chapel at least five testators requested burial.[24]

One of these, the chaplain Peter Watlington (d. 1458), detailed the exact spot for his earthly remains, in front of the altar of St. James under the marble stone which he had already provided.[25] The Holme's and Sherington chapels formed part of a cluster of popular chapels near the Rood over the door of the north transept leading to the Pardon Churchyard, which was a highly favoured gravesite. In 1484, for example, canon Ralph Shaa requested his grave 'afor the blissid figure of oure lord Jhesu callid the rode of North Door'.[26] From the mid fourteenth century the undercroft - later known as 'the Crowdes' – was also used as a burial space. In around 1450, Dean Thomas Lisieux founded the Fraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus. This led to the crypt becoming the new Jesus Chapel. It quickly attracted requests for burial.[27] Dean Lisieux was one of the earliest testators (1456) who chose to be buried in this new chapel.[28] Above ground, however, the cavernous nave of the 'Old Work' attracted substantially fewer requests for interment than any other burial site in the precinct or cathedral buildings.[29] It seems unlikely that burials here were actively discouraged for we know of the monumental brass for Bishop Michael Northburgh (d. 1361) at the entrance by the west door and the monument for Bishop Thomas Kemp (d. 1489) in the Trinity Chapel on the north side.[30] Bishop Braybrooke's condemnation in 1385 of the blatant secular use of the nave suggests a less than devotional arena for the faithful: tradesmen plied their wares, scriveners their trade and – remarkably – footballers and archers practised their skills.[31] There were better places to be seen dead.

The Canons of St. Paul's and their Brasses

The written accounts of Stow, Weever and Dugdale reveal sixty-one monuments for clergy buried at medieval St. Paul's of which almost half (twenty-nine) were for canons. Wills have revealed a further seven memorials for clergy (not necessarily canons), such as the marble stone for Peter Watlington in Holme's Chapel, which were lost by the time Stow, Weever, and Dugdale visited the cathedral.[32] An untold number of monuments were removed during the destruction of Pardon Churchyard in 1549, followed in October 1552 by another burst of iconoclastic loss in response to Bishop Ridley's orders to remove the altars, chapels, and tombs from St. Paul's.[33] Whatever was left was but a fraction of a much richer tomb-scape.

The majority of these recorded monuments were for bishops of London, the dignitaries (dean, treasurer, precentor and chancellor) and major canons (those who held a prebend), the minor canons who managed the daily liturgy, and the many chantry chaplains who sang for the living as well as the dead.[34] This is not surprising considering the size of the cathedral's medieval clerical household. There were around eighty cathedral clergy including the dignitaries, four archdeacons, thirty major canons, twelve minor canons and thirty vicars choral. By the reign of Edward VI there were as many as fifty chantry chaplains.[35] But it was the chapter who held most of the cathedral's endowments, some of which provided generous incomes. By the thirteenth century, when the income of most prebends was no more than £6 *per annum*, the treasurer and chancellor received about £26 and the dean, £60. But by the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535, eighteen of the thirty cathedral prebends were providing an income of over £10 *per annum*: that of Totenhall, for example, returned the remarkable sum of £46.[36] Prebends elsewhere topped up salaries and the canons could also earn extra sums at St. Paul's, for example, by attending anniversaries of the dead.[37] Many, like William Fulbourne, were appointed to their prebends through episcopal or royal patronage and continued to retain their positions in the royal household. Laurence Allerthorpe (d. 1406) was one such dignitary for, as well as being prebendary of Caddington Minor, he also served as Lord Treasurer in 1401-02. Allerthorpe was buried in the chapel of St. Dunstan in the cathedral where his funerary inscription recorded him as a high-ranking royal official before noting his status as a resident canon of St. Paul's, *quondam Thesaurarius Angliae, Canonicus et Stagiarius istius Ecclesiae*.[38]

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[25] LMA, MS 9171/5 f. 238v. This is the only reference to Watlington's monument.

[26] TNA PROB 11/7 f. 70v-71. Shaa is best remembered for denouncing the validity of the marriage of Edward IV to Elizabeth Wydevile, thus legitimizing the succession of his younger brother Richard III.

[27] E. New, 'The Jesus Chapel in St. Paul's Cathedral, London: A Reconstruction of its Appearance Before the Reformation', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 85 (2005), pp. 103-24.

[28] TNA PROB 11/4 ff. 56v-58.

[29] E.g. Simon Gaunsted (d. 1423), clerk, Master of the Rolls (TNA PROB 11/3 ff. 3v-4).

[30] Kingsford, *Survey of London*, I, p. 336 (Northburgh) and p. 337 (Kemp). On Bishop Northburgh's brass see his will printed in C.M. Woolgar, *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200-1413: Wills, Executors' Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process*, Canterbury and York Society, 102 (2011), pp. 170-174.

[31] Barron, 'London and St. Paul's', pp. 134-6.

[32] These were for bishops Henry de Sandwich (d. 1273) and Richard de Gravesend (d. 1303), canons Simon Charlton (d. before 1394), Martin Ellis (d. 1394), and John Burton (d. before 1405), and chaplains Peter Watlington (d. 1458) and Laurence Damlett (d. 1482).

[33] J.G. Nichols, ed., *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, Series 1, 53 (1852), 2nd edition 1968, p. 75. The royal council revoked Ridley's instructions concerning the monument for the royal duke, John of Gaunt, but this nevertheless left much of the inside of the cathedral a shadow of its former self.

The earliest recorded monument for a canon of St. Paul's dates to the mid thirteenth century. This was the memorial for William Haverhill (d. 1252), canon of Lichfield and London, and treasurer to Henry III between 1240 and his death. Haverhill was one of twenty-one members of the cathedral chapter to be remembered with a chantry as well as a funerary monument, a joint commemoration in spirit and stone.[39] His chantry was endowed at the altar of St. Chad. After a financial top-up by the London pepperer John Grantham in 1330, and an amalgamation with Bishop Fauconberg's endowment in 1391, it was still functioning at the time of the dissolution of the chantries in 1548.[40] Chantries and tombs evidently enjoyed a synergised relationship at old St. Paul's where members of chapter employed such a strategy. Godfrey de Acra (d. 1264) was buried in the chapel of St. James just beneath the rood of the north door where his chantry was established. Godfrey was evidently sufficiently

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[34] On the general popularity of monumental brasses amongst the episcopate of the fourteenth century see N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 181-83. For the bishops of London see N. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments 1270-1350', in *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), pp. 8-68 at 40-41, and Steer, 'Robert Braybrooke'.

[35] Barron, 'London and St. Paul's', pp. 127-29.

[36] *Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII : Auctoritate regia institutus*, 6 vols (London, 1810-34), I, p. 363.

[37] Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital', pp. 17-32, at 24.

[38] Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 57.

[39] On this practice elsewhere in medieval London see C. Steer, '"For quicke and deade memorie masses": Merchant Piety in Late Medieval London', in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, eds. M. Allen and M. Davies (London, 2016), pp. 71-89.

[40] M-H. Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200-1548*

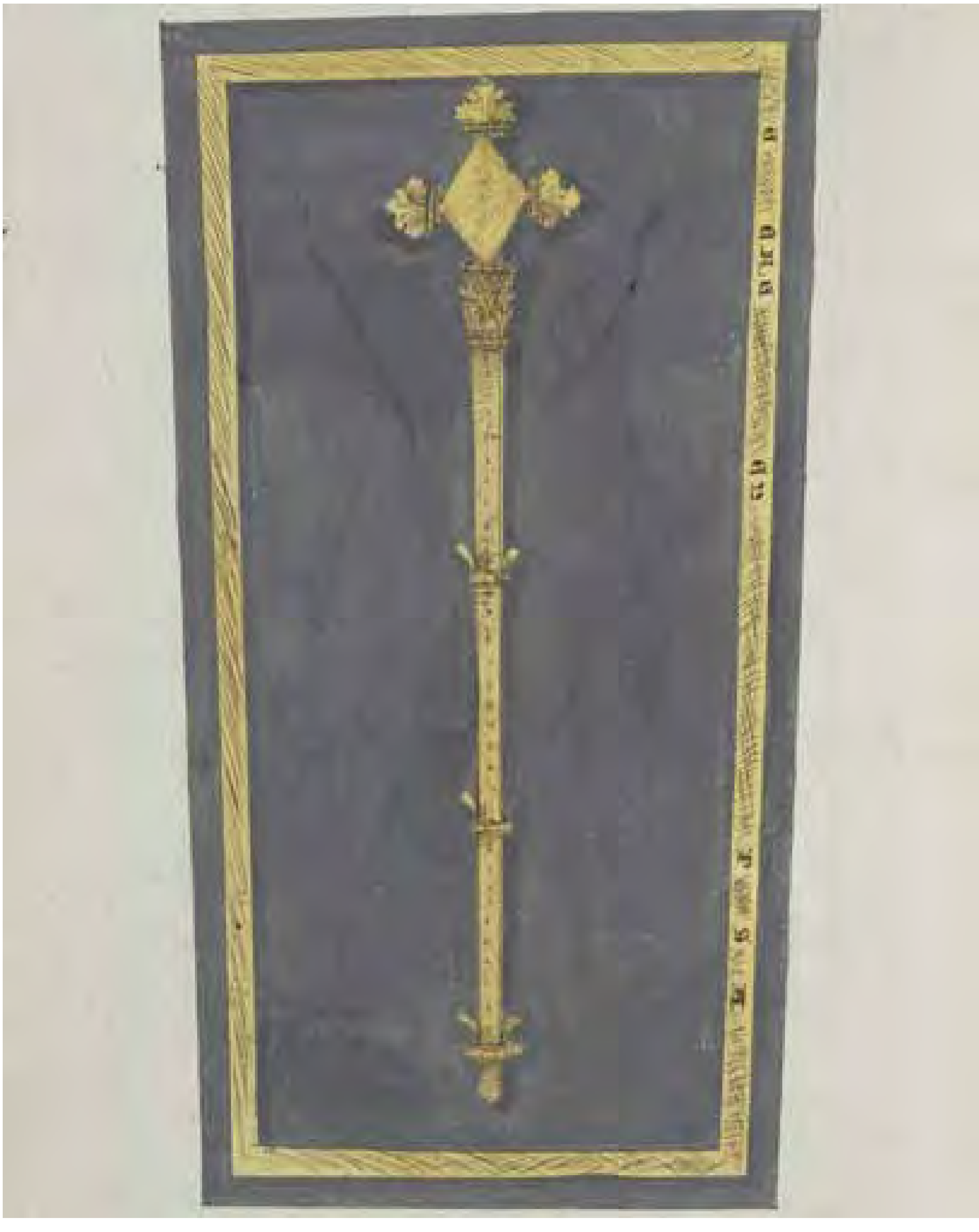

Fig. 4. Cross of c. 1300-10 with mutilated marginal inscription (MS Add. 71474 f. 173(a)v).
(© British Library Board)

well off to endow a chaplain to sing in perpetuity, for the de Acra chantry continued until 1548.[41] His colleagues John Braynford (d. 1275) and Richard de Umfraville (whose date of death is unknown but late thirteenth century) endowed a joint chantry at the altar of St. John the Evangelist in the south transept. There was to be one chaplain to celebrate for their souls but – unlike that for Godfrey de Acra – the endowment was in need of further funding and was amalgamated with Fulk Lovel's *c.* 1290 chantry under Bishop Braybrooke's reorganisation of 1391. This chantry continued to commemorate in word and song these three dead canons until the end. And all three were remembered by intra-mural funerary monuments near their graves.[42]

John Stow rarely described the appearance of the tombs in his account and we do not know the precise form of many of these clerical monuments. That these particular examples were thirteenth-century suggests they were either incised slabs, whose lettering could still be read by Stow 300 years later, or were individual brass letters (or their indented outlines) from marginal inscriptions. Comparisons elsewhere suggest that it was unusual for canons at this early date to be commemorated by anything other than a floor memorial.[43] Inevitably, many funerary texts from the slabs at St. Paul's were piecemeal and incomplete by the end of the sixteenth century. The chance drawing made in 1641 by William Sedgwick of a cross brass, perhaps used as the monument for a member of chapter, was recorded in the south aisle of the choir (Fig. 4).[44] This shows the fragments of a Lombardic inscription of *c.* 1300 but there is insufficient text to make any reliable identification. Many others no doubt were also anonymous by the time of Stow's inspection.

There is more certainty about later compositions. Hollar's drawing of the brass for the lawyer and chief justice Ralph Hengham (d. 1311), a major canon of the cathedral, is the earliest figure-brass to be illustrated from old St. Paul's.[45] Hengham was a pluralist on a spectacular scale and held prebends in the cathedrals of Hereford, Lichfield and St. Paul's, together with another ten in collegiate churches and also livings in ten counties.[46] He held pensions from seven major religious houses and acquired a number of estates in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Kent and Warwickshire. He enjoyed immense wealth. Hengham was buried in the northeast of the choir of St. Paul's and was sufficiently wealthy to buy a state-of-the-art figure brass from the Camoys workshop (Fig. 5).[47] We only have Hollar's illustration but the canopy is a distinctive product of Adam le Marbler's workshop which, a year after Hengham's death, was employed to pave the eastern end of the choir close to the judge's grave. We learn from Hollar's drawing that the brass was placed on a tomb chest under a canopied recess within the wall of the north choir aisle. Hengham is shown wearing the collobium, according to his degree; similar judicial apparel can be found on tombs

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[41] Kingsford, *Survey of London*, I, p. 333; Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, p. 177.

[42] Kingsford, *Survey of London*, I, p. 333; Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, p. 177.

[43] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 183-86; Lepine, 'Pause and pray', p. 29.

[44] BL, MS. Add. 71474 f. 173(a)v.

[45] Hollar's enthusiasm for making dreary monuments look a little better is well known. See Freeth, 'The brasses of medieval St. Paul's', pp. 281-84, and M. Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (London, 2002), pp. 73-103.

[46] P. Brand, 'Hengham, Ralph (b. in or before 1235, d. 1311)', *ODNB*, XLIV, pp. 31-32.

[47] On the Camoys workshop see P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', in *The Earliest English Brasses*, ed. Coales, pp. 69-132 esp. 73-83.

[48] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 271-72.

[49] I am grateful to Stephen Freeth, David Moncur, and Nicholas Rogers for their discussion of this inscription.

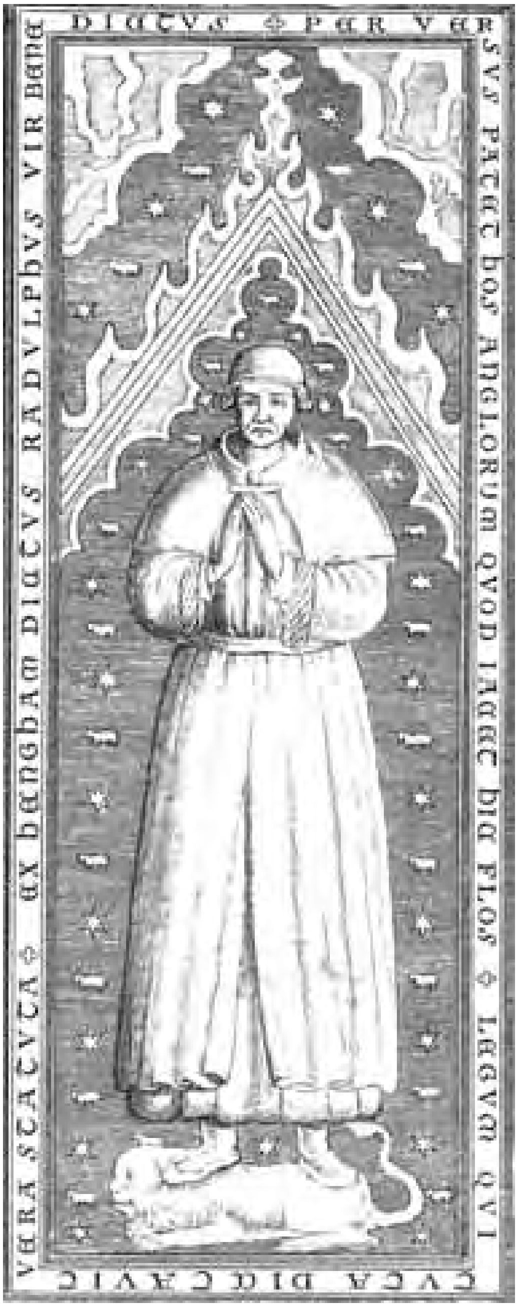
DICTVS ✠ PER VER
SVS PATET HOS ANGLORVM QVOD IACET HIC FLOS ✠ LEGVM QVI
TVTA DIC TAVIT
VERA STATVTA ✠ EX HENGHAM DICTVS RADVLPHVS VIR BENE

Fig. 5. Hollar's drawing of brass of Ralph de Hengham, 1311. Reproduced from Sir William Dugdale, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1658), p. 100

elsewhere.[48] The marginal inscription, written in Lombardic capitals, suggests his influence:[49]

PER VERSUS PATET HOS ANGLORUM
QUOD IACET HIC FLOS
LEGUM QUI TUTA DICTAVIT VERA
STATUTA
EX HENGHAM DICTUS RADULPHUS
VIR BENEDICTUS

(By these verses it is known that here lies
the flower of the English;
the blessed man called Radulphus of
Hengham;
who composed laws that were true and
secure.)

Of equal interest are the thirty-nine alternating brass images of stars and sheep displayed around the effigy resting on a figure of a lion beneath the gabled canopy. Nicola Coldstream has suggested that the sheep are in fact lions but this remains unclear: they probably were not clear to Hollar either.[50] No evidence has been found that Hengham enjoyed a chantry or anniversary service at old St. Paul's. If he ever benefited from either commemorative service, they had expired by 1548.[51] Nonetheless as one of the cathedral's wealthiest pluralists at the dawn of the fourteenth century, Canon Hengham had the means not only to copy episcopal tastes in funerary monuments but also to enjoy the latest design which money could buy.

The written accounts reveal the use of '*hic iacet*' inscriptions at St. Paul's from as early

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[50] N. Coldstream, 'The architecture of the medieval tombs', p. 132. This powdering is noted on other Camoys examples such as, for example, the various devices on the indent for William Archer, *c.* 1310, SS. Peter and Paul, Saltwood (Kent).

[51] C.J. Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate*

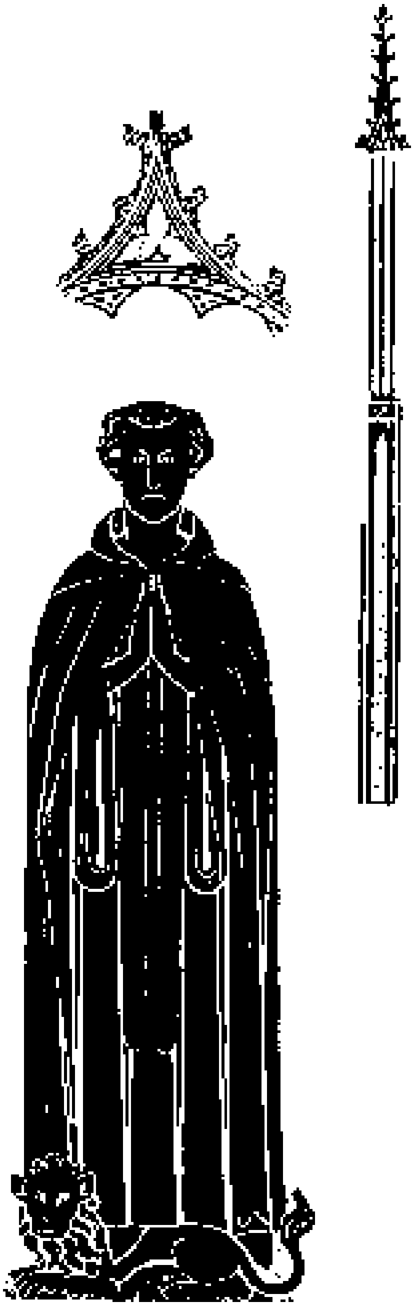

Fig. 6. John de Thorp (?), d. 1375,
Watton-at-Stone, Hertfordshire, LSW.II.
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Hertfordshire)

as the 1360s. Canon Richard Plessys (d. 1361), archdeacon of Colchester, enjoyed an income of over £100 *per annum* and was evidently in a position to commission a monumental brass of whatever size and with whatever imagery he chose.[52] It seems likely that Richard Piriton (d. 1387), a later archdeacon of Colchester who also enjoyed a cathedral prebend, was likewise remembered. In his will archdeacon Piriton bequeathed the remarkable sum of 100 marks to cover his funeral costs in the cathedral, a portion of which must have been used to pay for his tomb. The inscription read:

> *Hic jacet dominus Ricardus de Piriton, quondam archidiaconus Colcestriae, canonicus et stagiarius hujus ecclesiae, qui obiit xxvi die Augusti, Anno Domini MCCCLXXXVII, cujus animae propitietur Deus, Amen.*
>
> (Here lies master Richard de Piriton, formerly archdeacon of Colchester, canon and residentiary-canon of this church, who died 26 August in the year of our Lord 1387, on whose soul God have mercy, Amen.)

This was likely to have been copied by Weever from the marginal inscription surrounding his figure brass.[53]

Evidence from elsewhere suggests that members of the chapter were commissioning figure brasses for themselves well before Piriton's death. A London-made brass from the Lakenham workshop of *c.* 1370 commemorates another major canon. This hitherto unidentified priest formerly lay in the chancel of the church of St. Andrew and

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[52] Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 370, and Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 38.

[53] Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 372 and Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 39; LMA, MS 9171/1 ff. 156-156v.

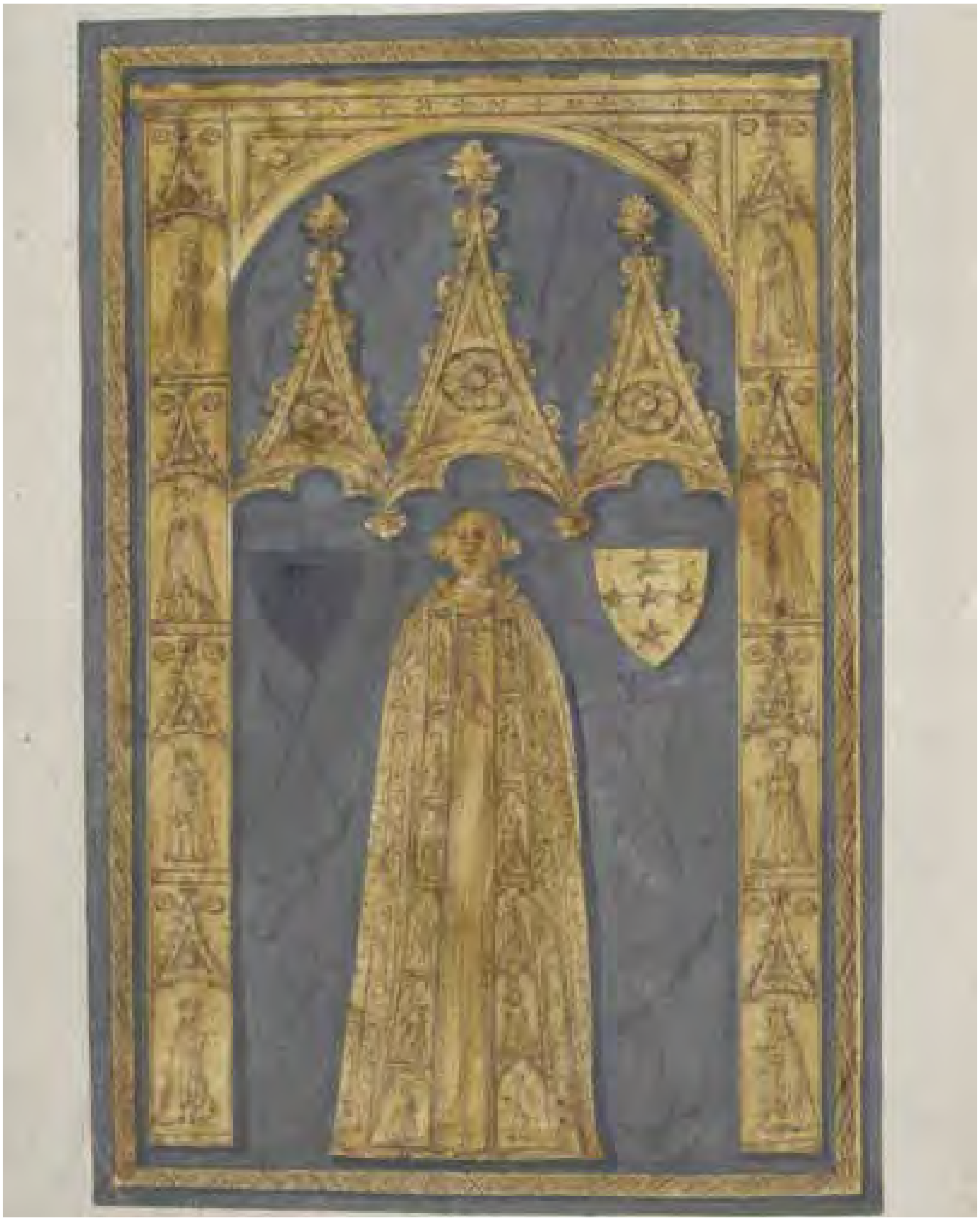

Fig. 7. Unidentified brass for a canon of St. Paul's (MS Add. 71474 f. 172v).
(© British Library Board)

St. Mary at Watton-at-Stone, Hertfordshire (Fig. 6). Only the figure and a small part of the canopy and side shaft have survived; the inscription is gone. A priest is shown at prayer, wearing a cope, with a lion by his feet. In 1728 the Hertfordshire antiquarian Nathaniel Salmon recorded the then remaining portion of the now lost inscription which read '… *eccles et Canonici in Eccelsia* …'.[54] This tantalising text suggests the occupant of the chancel grave was a pluralist and prebendary. The link with St. Paul's Cathedral is found in the will of John de Thorp (d. 1375), one of the canons, and the rector of Cotenham church, Cambridgeshire, who directed in his will that if he died in Watton then he was to be buried before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chancel; if he died in London, he was to be buried in the cathedral church.[55] There is no record of any grave for John de Thorp in old St. Paul's, which suggests that the mysterious priest in Watton church is in fact Canon Thorp who held the St. Paul's prebend of Willesden. Thorp, like William Fulbourne, was buried and remembered where he was parish priest outside the city.

By the end of the fourteenth century the cathedral clergy were able to afford elaborate figure brasses, often under canopied arches with side shafts, with armorials displaying their dynastic origins, and rich orphreys and marginal inscriptions. One of the Sedgwick drawings of 1641 (Fig. 7) indicates the extent of this sophistication; it shows a member of the chapter richly commemorated (albeit with a lost inscription). Another example, allegedly the brass for Canon John Newcourt (d. 1485), has evidently been misidentified by Dugdale and Hollar because Sedgwick's earlier drawing shows that the marginal inscription was already gone by 1641 (Figs. 8 and 9), and the true identity of this canon lost. An examination of the Sedgwick drawing shows a battlemented edge above the canopy with the effigy resting his head on a cushion, all of which are features of earlier London B compositions of *c.* 1400. The panel in the centre of the canopy appears to show the Annunciation, similar to that shown on Dean Thomas de Eure's brass of *c.* 1400, revealing a Marian devotion on the part of these wealthy clerics (Fig. 10). The written records suggest few fifteenth century monuments for other major canons within old St. Paul's, although many such tombs would no doubt have been casualties of mid sixteenth century destruction. The cathedral's precentor, Thomas Graunt for example, who died in 1474, held the prebend of Mora from 1457 until 1473 and enjoyed its annual income of £46. He directed in his will that he was to be buried in Holme's Chapel where he had already prepared his tomb but none of the written sources mention this memorial.[56]

Deans of St. Paul's

Only two monuments are recorded for deans of St. Paul's before 1400, and tombs for their predecessors and successors were evidently lost by the time the written record was made.[57] The drawing made by Hollar of the monument to Dean Thomas de Eure, who died on

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[54] N.S. Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire: describing the County and its Monuments, particularly the Roman* (London, 1728), p. 220. I am grateful to Richard Busby for drawing this to my attention and for his discussion of this fine brass.

[55] Lincoln Archives Office, Reg. XII f. 165.

[56] LMA, MS 9171/6 f. 167v.

[57] Kingsford, *Survey of London*, I, p. 333 (Martin Pattishall, d. 1229) and p. 336 (Gilbert Bruera, d. 1354). Short biographies of the deans are noted in C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Deans of St. Paul's, c. 1090-1499', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 29 (1956), pp. 213-44.

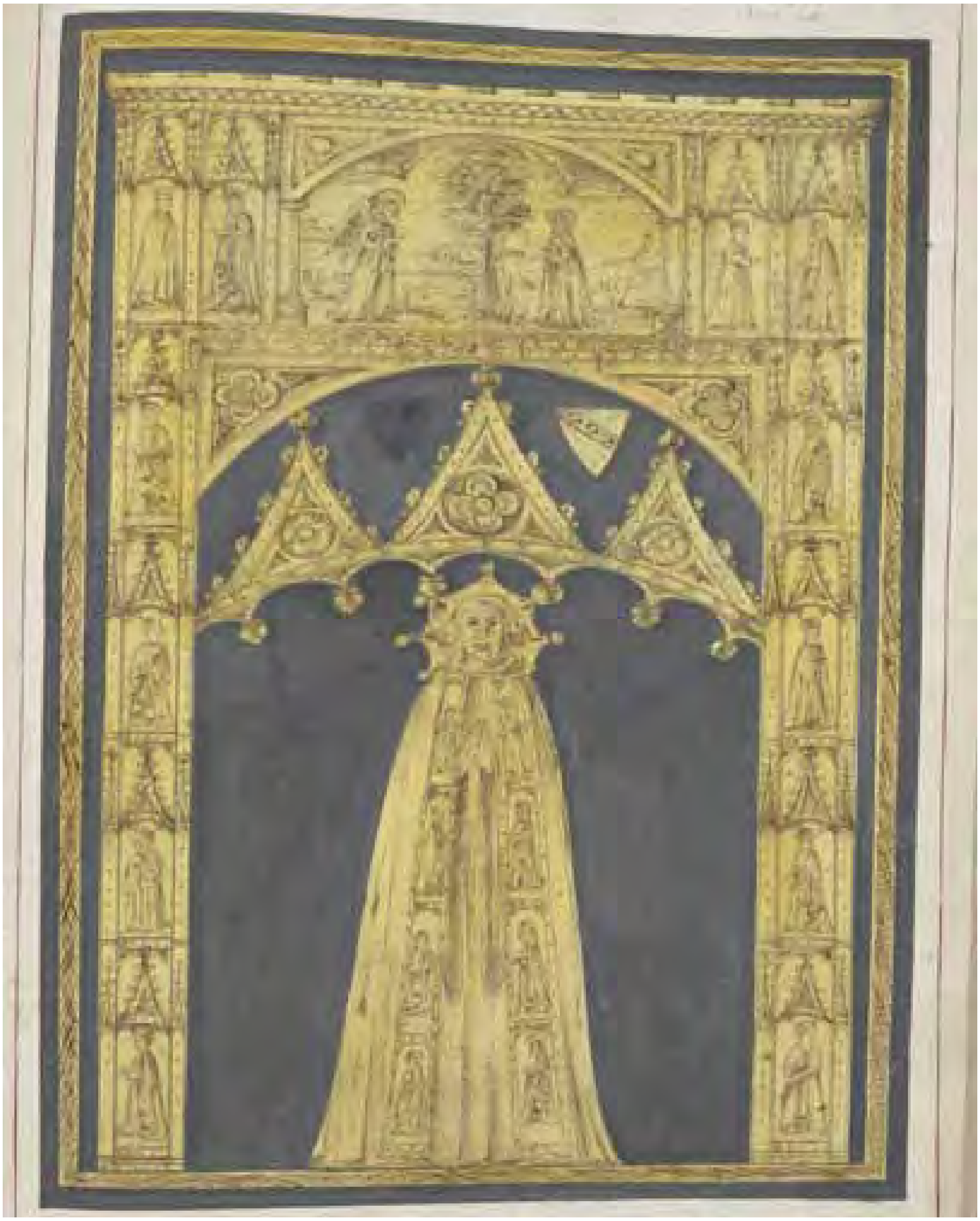

Fig. 8. Unidentified brass for a canon of St. Paul's (MS Add. 71474 f. 173r).
(© British Library Board)

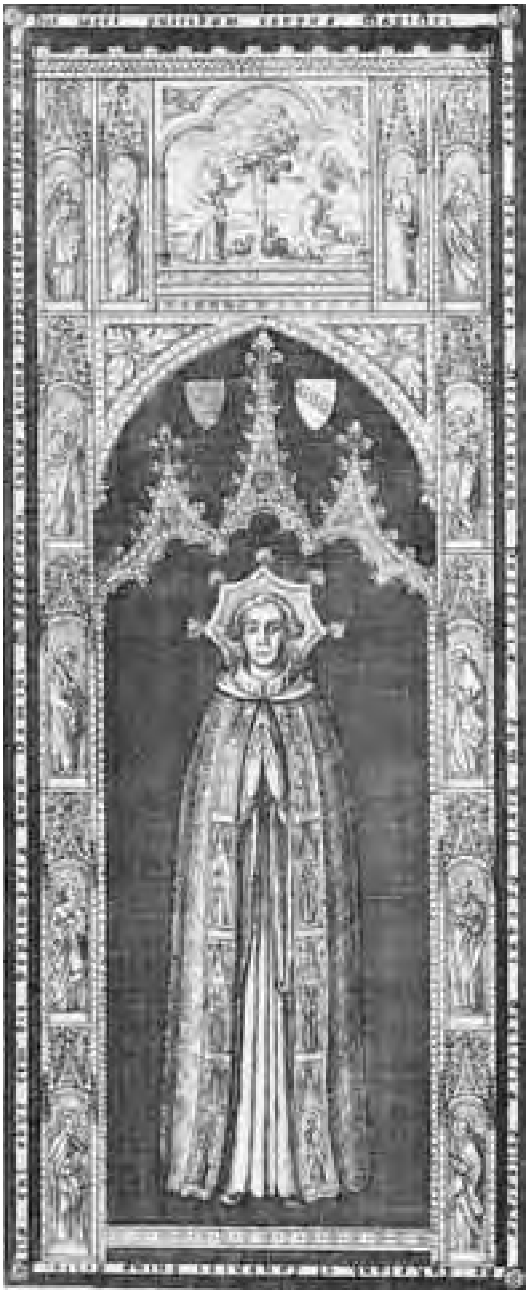

Fig. 9. The Dugdale/Hollar reproduction mis-identifying the canon in Fig. 8 as John Newcourt, d. 1485. Reproduced from Sir William Dugdale, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1658), p. 78

9 October 1400, shows a brass of great splendour. It is difficult to imagine the figures of ten saints on Thomas' orphreys remaining unscathed and it is possible that Hollar tidied this up. It is similarly unclear whether the Annunciation is a product of Hollar's imagination – he certainly gave this plate a more 'Renaissance' feel – or reflects de Eure's Marian devotion. The Hollar drawing nonetheless reveals not only the dean's commemorative preoccupations but also his evident wealth. His successor but one Thomas More (d. 1421) – who was responsible for the rebuilding of Pardon Churchyard – was similarly commemorated in brass. In his will, drawn up in 1419, More requested burial in the newly built cloister where:

> *Item volo quod executores mei provideant de uno lapide mediocris precii ponendo super corpus meum sicut eis placuerit ut transeuntes magis causam habeant et devocionem orandi pro anima mea.*[58]
>
> (Item, I wish that my executors should provide a modestly priced stone for me to be placed over my body as will be pleasing to them, so that those passing by may have greater reason and devotion to pray for my soul.)

His instructions were evidently carried out for, in 1426, the Essex esquire William Hanyngfield asked for 'a tumbe like sire Thomas More, and

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[58] *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1413-43*, ed. E.F. Jacobs, 4 vols, CYS 42, 45-7 (London, 1943-7), II, pp. 230-4.

[59] TNA, PROB 11/3 ff. 45-45v. Hanyngfield requested burial in Bicknacre Priory and if his brass was commissioned, as instructed, this was lost following its closure in 1507. Hanyngfield provided further instruction for the inclusion of his wives Cecily, Joan, and Agnes together with his various offspring by each of them. For this he left 5 marks.

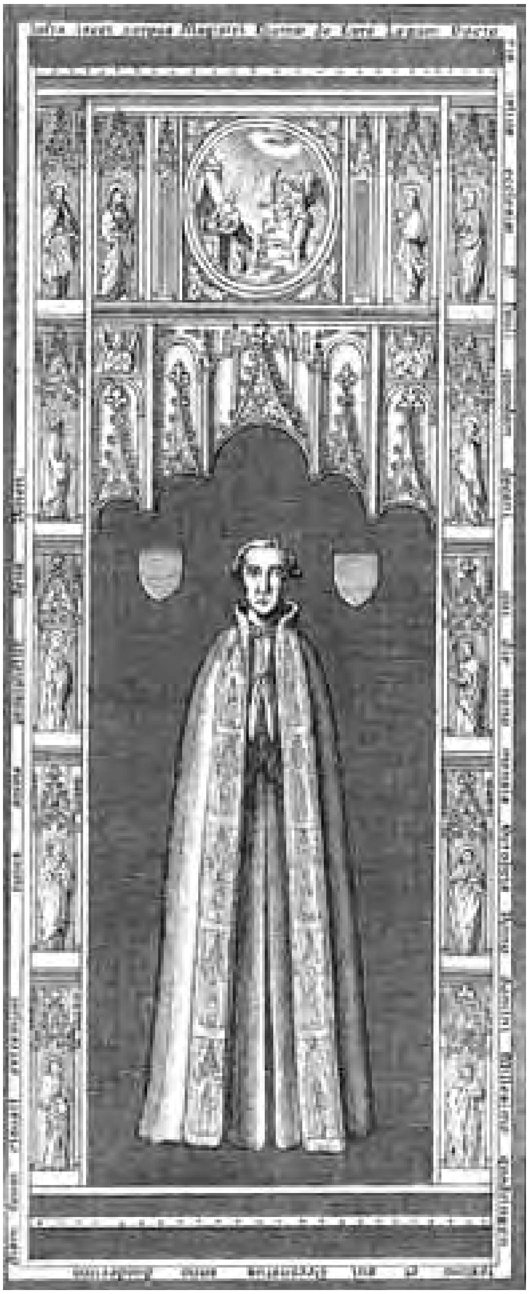

Fig. 10. Brass of Thomas de Eure,
dean of St. Paul's, d. 1400.
Reproduced from Sir William Dugdale,
A History of St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1658), p. 60

ther upon a brode stone with iiii pilers and ye brode stone gravyn with Laton' over his own grave at Bicknacre Priory. These lost memorials were monumental brasses.[59] Hanyngfield's description reveals that the dean's slab was of some size, with the four 'pilers' presumably being the side shafts of the canopy. More, as de Eure before him, had the wherewithal to be appropriately commemorated in the cathedral where he had been a member of chapter for over thirty years.

We know more about the financial affairs of William Worsley, dean between 1479 and 1499, than about any other member of chapter through the chance survival of his household accounts.[60] Worsley, like Hengham, was a pluralist on a spectacular scale. As well as serving as dean of St. Paul's, and holding the prebend of Willesden, he was also a canon of Southwell, Wells and York, and during his career held the archdeaconries of Nottingham and Taunton and the rectory of Eakring, Nottinghamshire. He was the great-nephew of two archbishops of York, the half-brothers William (d. 1464) and Laurence Booth (d. 1480). Worsley's career benefited from this kinship and so did his finances for, at William Booth's death in 1464 Worsley inherited estates in Hackney and Tottenham.[61] Household accounts survive for Worsley's term as dean and these suggest a net income, after expenditure, of over £300 a year and perhaps as much as £400. Given that there were no more than 200 households in England with an income in excess of £300, this places dean Worsley amongst the wealthiest men of late fifteenth century England.[62] This also explains the enormous fine of £200 *per year* (my italics) levied in 1495 for Worsley's involvement in the failed conspiracy surrounding the Yorkist pretender, Perkin Warbeck.

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[60] *The Estate and Household Accounts of William Worsley Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral 1479-1497*, eds., H. Kleineke and S. Hovland, London Record Society, 40 (2004) and M.J. Bennett, 'Worsley, William (*c.* 1435-1499)', *ODNB*, LX, p. 350.

[61] *Estate and Household Accounts of William Worsley*, pp. 1-12.

[62] *Estate and Household Accounts*, pp. 29-31; C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, c. 1200-1520* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1998), p. 32.

Yet the elderly dean still had the means to afford a large plated effigy of himself set beneath a cusped canopy with side-shafts and finished off with a marginal and foot inscription together with an adjacent epitaph. But the figure shown in Hollar's drawing is make-believe because it was already lost by the time of Sedgwick's visit in 1641 (Figs. 11 and 12). For our purposes this is not important as the overall composition shows not only the importance placed on Worsley's commemoration but the money he was willing to spend on it. A figure brass of this design in *c.* 1500, with the various inscriptions, would probably cost in the region of £15 or more.[63] It has been suggested that Worsley's brass was made on the instructions of his executor, the lawyer William Ayloff.[64] This seems unlikely since Worsley referred in his will to 'where my stone lieth' in the choir, suggesting that the grave slab was already in place.[65] Worsley went to some lengths to ensure appropriate *post-mortem* commemoration in his will. Members of his household were to be provided with black funeral gowns, as were a number of poor folk, at the discretion of his executors, and £3 6s. 8d. was to be distributed to the poor on the day of his funeral. He also instructed that a priest be employed for three years after his death to sing for his soul in the chapel of St. Laurence. An anniversary was to be kept for him in St. Paul's and on the day of his obit 20s. was to be distributed to the poor. It is notable that the chantry service was to take place 'ayenst my tombe' and that this was evidently intended to focus commemoration, a feature of other clerical monuments from old St. Paul's. This may explain Worsley's choice of epitaph. His marginal inscription was conventional when recording:

> *Orate pro anima Magistri Willielmi Worsley, Legum Doctoris, Decani istius Ecclesiae Sancti Pauli London dum vixit; qui obiit quartodecimo die mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo nonogesimo nono: cuius animae propitietur Deus, Amen*'.[66]
>
> (Pray for the soul of Master William Worsley, Doctor of Laws, while he lived Dean of this church of St. Paul's London; who died on 14 August 1499, on whose soul God have mercy, Amen.)

This was still readable at the time Sedgwick drew the brass in 1641. But the foot inscription along with the figure of the dean were already lost and Hollar, as well as inventing a new effigy, apparently consulted John Weever's earlier account and provided a modified form of the foot inscription in his new drawing. This was the familiar death-text '*Vermibus hic ponor, et sic ostendere conor, Hic veluti ponor, sic erit orbis honor*' (I am placed here for worms, and thus I try to show, Just as I am placed here, so will be the honour of the world) similar to that employed by Canon Fulbourne a century or so earlier. Yet Hollar chose not to copy out the second epitaph which, according to Weever, hung on a pillar adjacent to Worsley's monument:

> *Unde superbis Homo cuius conceptio culpa,*

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[63] On the cost of brasses see Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 110-11.

[64] *Estate and Household Accounts*, p. 17.

[65] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 4, Surtees Society 53 (1868), p. 155-56.

[66] Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 53.

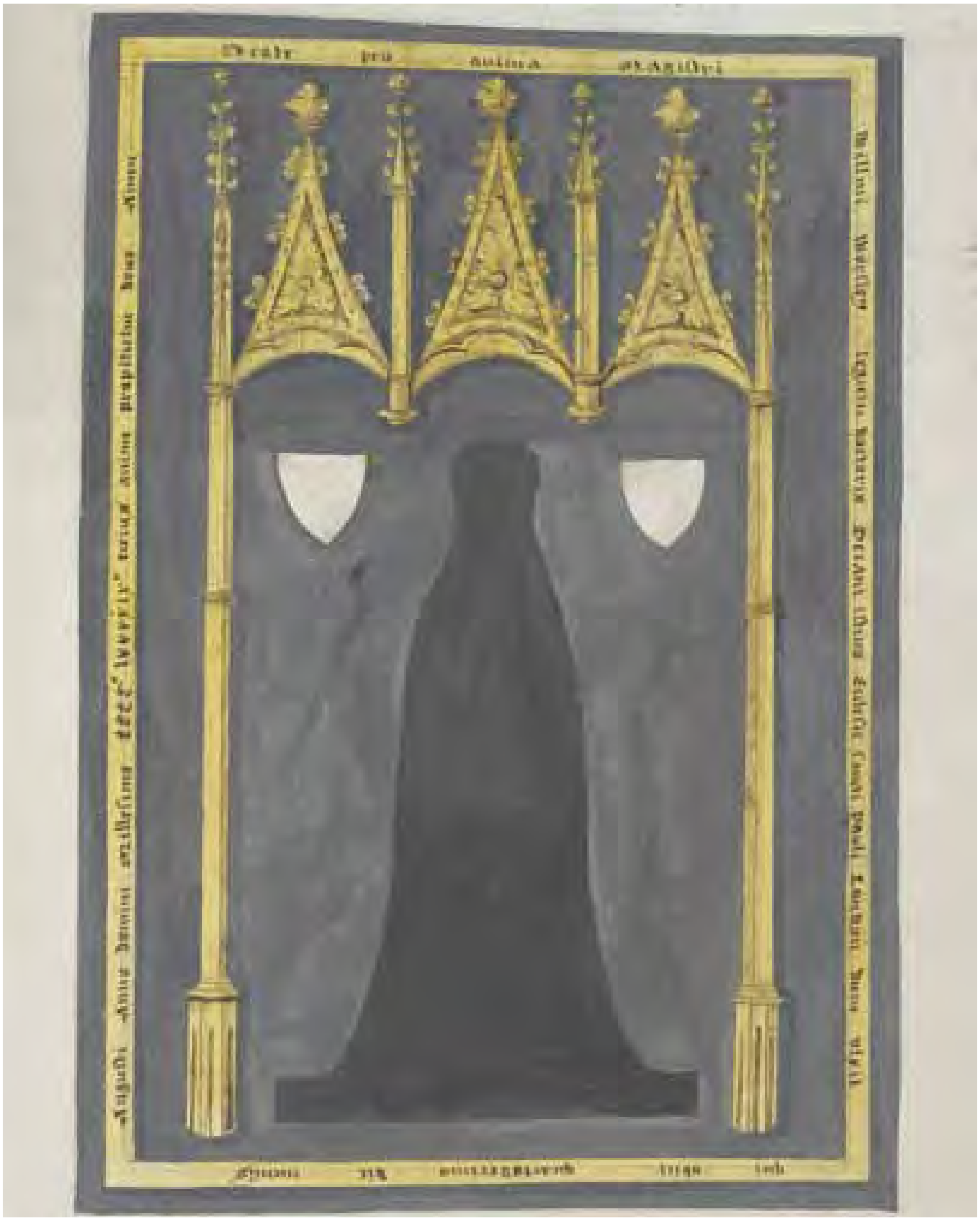
Orate pro anima Magistri
Willmi Worsley legum doctoris Decani istius Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Pauli London qui obiit

Fig. 11. Sedgwick drawing of William Worsley's brass (MS Add. 71474 f. 168r).
(© British Library Board)

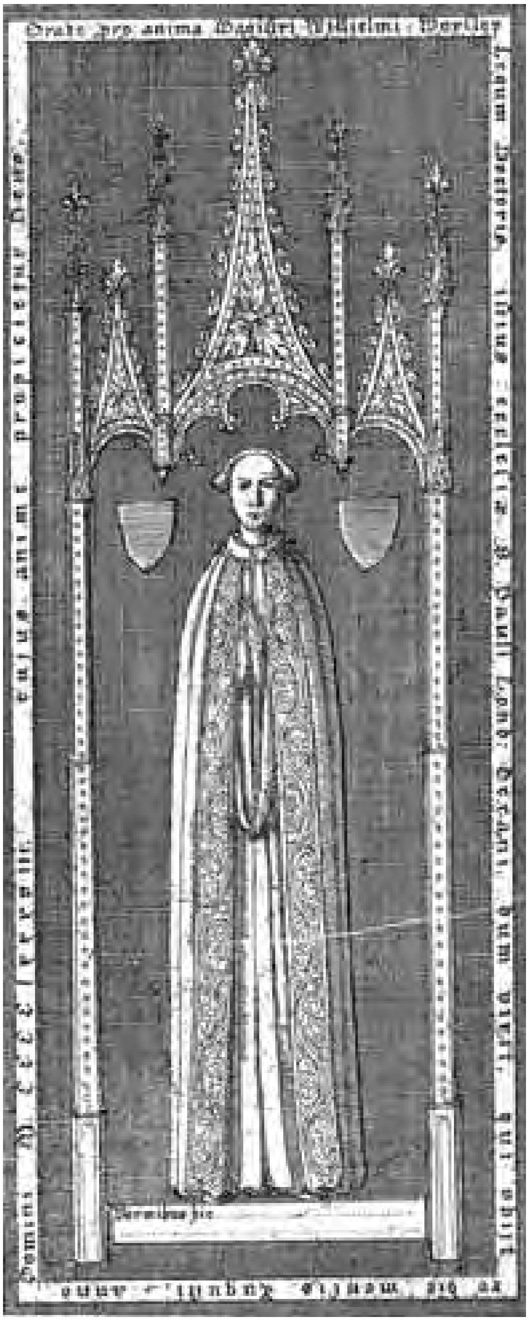
Orate pro anima Magistri Willelmi Worsley
Legum Doctoris huius ecclesie S. Pauli Lond. Decani dum vixit qui obiit

Fig. 12. Dugdale/Hollar reproduction of Worsley brass. Reproduced from Sir William Dugdale, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1658), p. 76

> *Nasci pena, labor vita, necesse mori.*
> *Vana salus hominum, vanus labor, omnia vana,*
> *Inter vana nichil vanius est homine.*
> *Post hominem vermis, post vermem fetor et horror,*
> *Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo.*
> *Mors venit absque mora, nescis cum venerit hora*
> *Esto paratus ei cum venerit hora diei*[67]
>
> (Wherefore, Man, are you proud, whose conception is sin,
> Birth is pain, toil is life. It is necessary to die.
> Empty is the safety of men, empty their toil, everything empty;
> Among empty things nothing is emptier than man.
> After man, worm; after worm, stink and horror,
> Thus every man is turned into non-man.
> Death comes without delay; you know not when the hour shall have come,
> Be prepared for that day when the hour shall have come.)

This text was identical to an epitaph which hung near the figure brass of Laurence Allerthorpe, composed around 1400, and drew on the mortality theme used on canon Fulbourne's own brass in rural Cambridgeshire at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[68] The Allerthorpe and Worsley texts are graphic: man is mortal, death is inescapable and man will soon be nothing but food for worms. The message was didactic and separate from the liturgical commemorations of the dead. It was probably meant to be read out on particular occasions and to provide an edifying and instructive message to the living from beyond the grave.

Conclusion

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67 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 368.

68 Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 57. I thank David Harry for his discussion on these and for sharing his observations on the Allerthorpe and Worsley epitaphs.

The medieval cathedral of St. Paul's was a mausoleum of the dead. The cemeteries in its precinct were popular with different groups of Londoners. The charnel chapel became, in time, an ossuary for their bones. 'Pardonchirchehawe' was especially popular, and Dean More's monumental brass was of sufficient grandeur for the design to be copied by at least one of the many visitors. But this popularity came at a cost: graves were reused and monuments were lost. By the very nature of this loss we know little of tomb management in the cathedral and its precincts; the demolition of the old Pardon Churchyard in the early fifteenth century swept away generations of monuments. The bishops of London were luckier, for during the rebuilding of the choir in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, their monuments, commissioned at their reburial, came to form 'a cult of the episcopacy' around the shrine of St. Erkenwald.

The important record left by Stow, Weever and Dugdale offers a taste of what must once have been a spectacular floor space. We may not know the precise appearance of many of the monuments for the chapter but the clues left behind by these antiquarians suggest a rich series of floor slabs, either incised or of Lombardic brass lettering, remembering long dead canons. The role these monuments played in liturgical commemoration is likewise striking. This case study demonstrates how monuments of the dead worked hand in hand with chantry endowments at old St. Paul's. Testamentary requests also show the importance of sacred space for the graves of these men who, thanks to the growing prosperity of the cathedral, were soon able to afford state-of-the-art figure brasses. Hollar's engravings should be viewed with caution but the earlier and more accurate drawings by William Sedgwick reveal designs of particularly fine detail.

The evidence for William Worsley is richer than for any other dean or canon of St. Paul's for we have the 'before' and 'after' drawings of his lost brass together with Weever's complete funerary inscription. The dean's will also enables a better understanding of the commemorative infrastructure which he arranged and reveals how members of the chapter were able to afford such detailed memorials. But it was not all about commemoration. Just as Fulbourne and Allerthorpe, a generation or so before Worsley, went to some lengths to provide a voice from beyond the grave, so too did William Worsley remind his mourners that they too would soon be nothing but food for worms.

Acknowledgments

This paper was first aired at the Society's conference held at Salisbury in September 2009. I am grateful to delegates for their comments and observations, and likewise to those present at the session devoted to monumental brasses at the 45th International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, U.S.A. the following year. I am particularly grateful to Caroline M. Barron, Clive Burgess and Stephen Freeth for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay, and to David Lepine, Elizabeth New, and Marie-Hélène Rousseau for their ever-helpful suggestions and ideas during my musings on the clergy and their commemorations. I likewise thank David Harry for his discussion on the epitaphs of old St. Paul's, and Julian Harrison at the British Library for his assistance with the Sedgwick drawings. I extend a particular debt of gratitude to Stephen Freeth for his help, discussion and comments on the

New Light on Lost Brasses in York Minster

Sally Badham and John Dent

There are just six pre-nineteenth-century brasses which remain in York Minster and only that of Archbishop William de Grenefield (d. 1315) is pre-Reformation. Yet the minster was once rich in brasses, many of them extremely splendid. Their loss is due to an eighteenth-century modernization. Between 1731 and 1738 the entire floor space of York Minster was repaved, at great expense, in the modern fashion of contrasting chequerboard stone blocks of pale Huddlestone magnesian limestone and dark bluish polishable limestone, which appear to be either Purbeck or Egglestone marble. The Huddlestone stone, a building stone extensively used in the Minster and elsewhere, was newly quarried, the gift of Sir Edward Gascoign, sixth baronet Gascoign of Barnbow and Parlington in the county of York (d. 1750), from his own quarries. The dark stone was largely re-used gravestones, mainly from the minster but some also from St. Martin Coney Street, York, and other churches.[1] Many of the re-used gravestones were likely, originally, to have held brasses: Egglestone marble was used by the York brass engraving workshops to set most of their products between *c.* 1350 and *c.* 1530, while Purbeck marble was the choice of the London marblers who made brasses.[2]

In carrying out the repaving, the medieval floor was completely replaced. As an illustration in Francis Drake's monumental *Eboracum* shows, it had many indents and some remaining inscriptions (Fig. 1). Drake observed:

> The present noble pavement, which is put in place of the ragged and shattered old one, has quite taken away the few inscriptions that were left us, which, indeed, were by no means significant enough to hinder the design. And had it not been for the care of the famous *Roger Dodsworth* which luckily collected the epitaphs, before the times of plunder and rapine, in the civil wars; the names of most of these venerable dead, some of which are remarkable on several occasions, would forever have been lost in silence. This man seems now to be sent by providence before the face of a devouring fire, to collect and save what was valuable from sure destruction by the approaching flames. To instance in this, a manuscript fell lately into my hands, which carries only this preface, but needs no other recommendation, *Epitaphs out of the metropolitical church and all the other, parochial, churches within the famous and ancient cittie of Yorke; most faithfully collected by me* Roger Dodsworthe *the xiith of February an. dom.* 1618. This manuscript Mr *Torre* has seen, as, I think, nothing escaped him, and out of it he has filled up what would otherways have been a great chasm in his monumental account of the church.[3]

Both the manuscripts to which Drake referred survive. That compiled by Dodsworth, a northern antiquary, is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, while that of York-based James Torre, compiled between 1670 and 1687, is in York

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[1] D.M. Owen, 'From the Restoration until 1822', in *A History of York Minster*, ed. G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (York, 1977), pp. 233-71, at pp. 253-4; S. Brown, '*Our Magnificent Fabrick': York Minster, An Architectural History c. 1220-1500* (Swindon, 2003), p. 299.

[2] S. Badham and G. Blacker, *Northern Rock: the Use of Egglestone Marble for Monuments in Medieval England*, British Archaeological Reports, 480 (Oxford, 2009).

[3] F. Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the*

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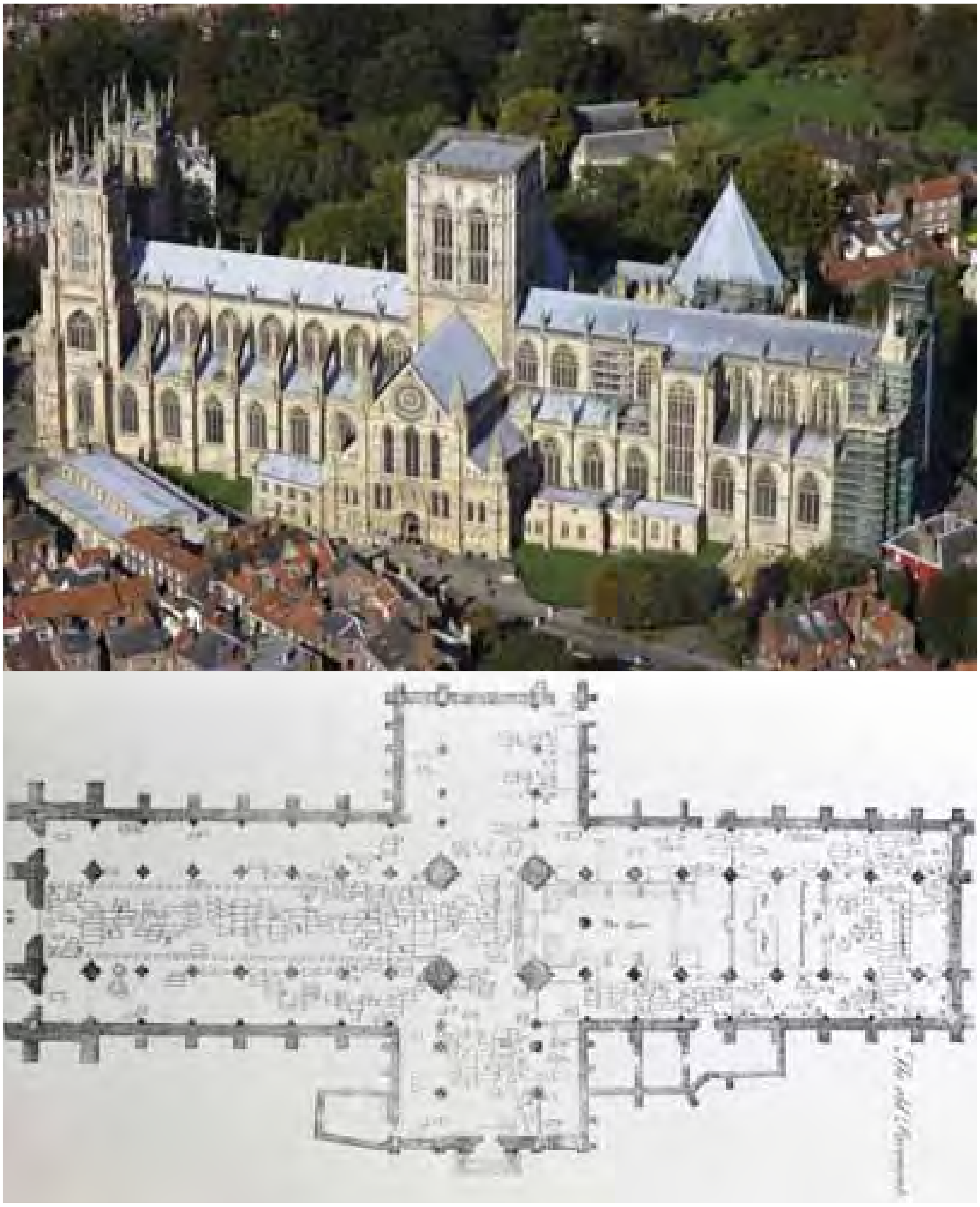

Fig. 1. Aerial view of York Minster from south-east and plan of floor before 1730
(photo: © Shutterstock, Inc. and engraving in Francis Drake, Eboracum)

Minster Library.[4] While Dodsworth merely provided transcriptions of the inscriptions, Torre drew ground plans of sections of the minster floor showing each slab numbered, followed by texts for each slab with rough sketches of the composition of each.[5] These were used by Drake as the basis for his plan of the old pavement of the minster. Two centuries later the Reverend J.F. Williams used these notes to provide an analysis of the destruction of the brasses and an account of what remained. He listed 244 separate brasses, although not all the persons commemorated by them could be identified.[6]

It might be thought that the story ended there, but in 1965 Bernard Feilden, Surveyor of the Fabric, found serious weaknesses in the structure of the Minster, particularly beneath the central tower, and this led to a major programme of works between 1966 and 1973 that involved engineers and archaeologists. The archaeological focus of the excavation was on the structural remains. The works to stabilise the minster fabric took priority and limited the ability of the archaeological team to record everything of interest. In the course of these works, areas of paving were lifted and the numbered slabs stacked on their edges in the yard between the chapter house and the lane that separates the minster from the Treasurer's House. Here several members of the Monumental Brass Society, including Sally Badham, saw them and observed that parts of indents could be seen, but were unable to record them. John Dent worked as a schoolboy, first with Brian Hope-Taylor in the exploratory trench opened against the north-east pier of the crossing, and subsequently at the request of Herman Ramm to record indents among those slabs that had been lifted by the end of July 1967; his rubbings and dabbings made at the time are reproduced here. However, he was not able to examine any marble slabs lifted from the east end or under the west towers after he left for university the following year.

The finds

Seven slabs, two of which had broken when lifted, displayed indents and these were recorded by Dent, who used as reference the numbers assigned to the paving slabs by the contractor: Nos. 281, 287 and 287a, 326, 593, 594, 596 and 596a and 624. These are retained here. All were in dark stones, which at the time were thought to be Purbeck marble. The use of other polishable marbles was not firmly established until the mid 1980s and the stone types were likely a mix of Purbeck and Egglestone. Three slabs, Nos. 281, 593, 596, had parts of effigial compositions.

The first, No 281 (Figs 2a and 2b), which measures 0.70 m x 0.52 m, is a fragment with the corner chamfered at 45°. It features a female figure, with the top of the head and lower legs missing. The outline of the head of the figure, more apparent in the dabbing than in Dent's interpretative drawing, shows that she was turned very slightly to the left, indicating that it was part of a joint monument with her husband. The pedimental headdress indicates a date in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. By this time the York workshops were

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[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 161; York Minster Library L1(7).

[5] For an example, see S. Badham, 'Monumental brasses: the development of the York workshops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson, British Archaeological Association Conference Proceedings, 9 ([London], 1989), pp. 165-85, pl. XXIX.

[6] J.F. Williams, 'The Brasses of York Minster',

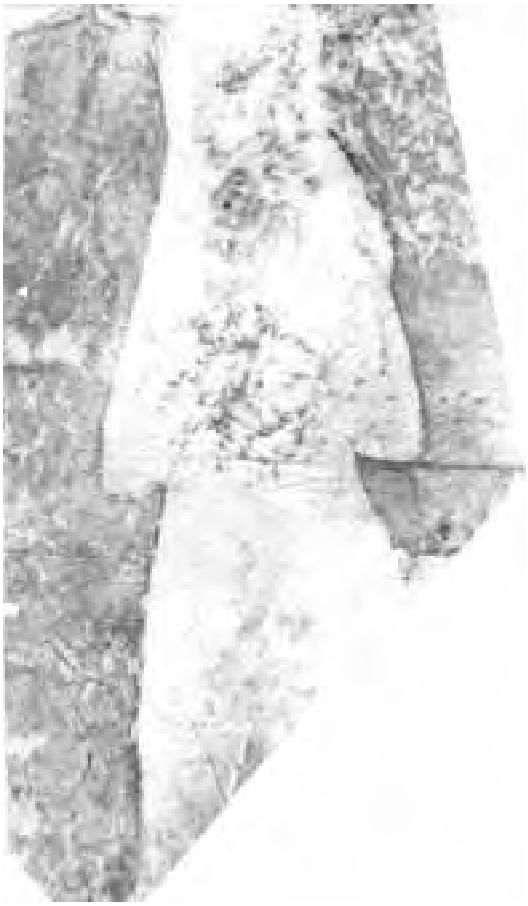

Fig. 2a (No. 281). Indent of female figure, c. 1500-30, York Minster (dabbing: John Dent)

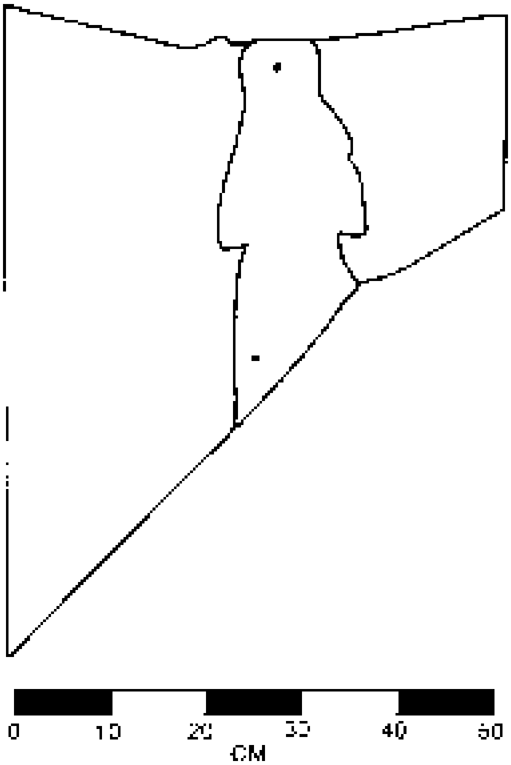

Fig. 2b (No. 281). Indent of female figure, c. 1500-30, York Minster (drawing: © William Lack based on a drawing by John Dent)

in decline producing few effigial compositions. Indents dated *c.* 1520 of local manufacture but not attributed to a specific workshop at Hedon and St. Mary Beverley are of ladies in pedimental headdresses, but the outlines are not sufficiently similar to indicate local manufacture, so a London origin for the lost brass is most likely. It could have been from either the Series F or G workshops, sideways-turned figures being common in both pattern series. The outline is most similar to London F products, such as the brasses at Blisworth, Northamptonshire, to Roger and Elizabeth Wake dated 1503; at Christ's College, Cambridge, to Thomas and Edith Fowler of *c.* 1510; and at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, to John and Joan Brook of 1522 (Fig. 3). There is insufficient detail to refine further the dating span for the York Minster indent of *c.* 1500-30.

The second, No 593 (Figs. 4a and 4b), measuring 0.74 m x 0.46 m, shows the figure of

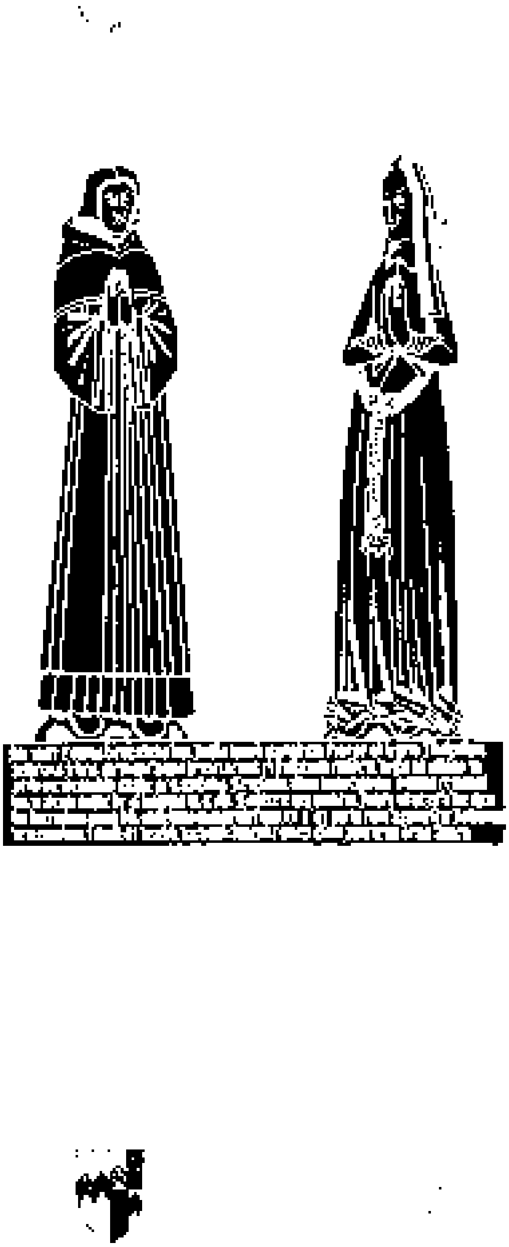

Fig. 3. Brass to John Brook d. 1522 and wife Joan Brook, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, LSW.VII (from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Gloucestershire)

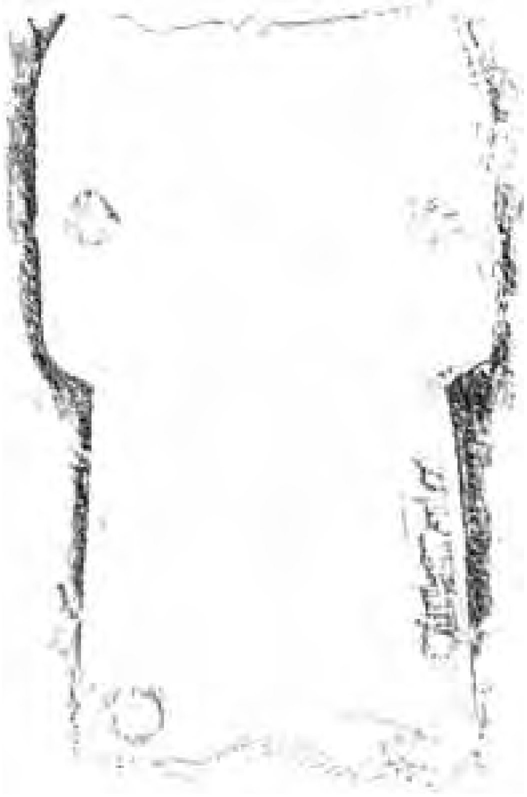

Fig. 4a (No. 593). Indent of civilian, c. 1470-90, York Minster (rubbing: John Dent)

a civilian with loose sleeves, head and feet lost. A date of *c.* 1470-90 is suggested by his dress. There are no surviving civilian brasses or indents from the Yorkshire workshops of this period, although it would not be surprising if examples had been lost. Their customer base was local merchants and the lesser gentry, who were mostly buried in the city's churches, as well as in rural Yorkshire and beyond. Clara Barnett has shown through an analysis of extant and recorded monuments that in York, although those commemorated by surviving and recorded monuments came from twenty different social categories,

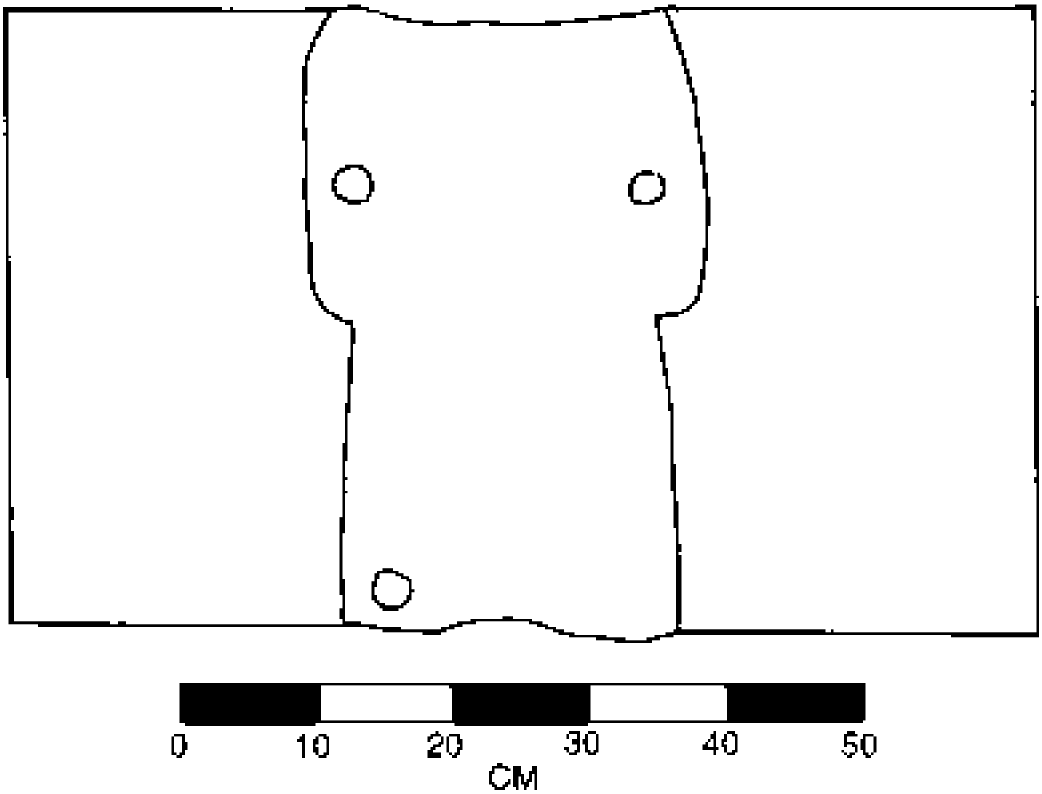

Fig. 4b (No. 593). Indent of civilian, c. 1470-90,
York Minster
(drawing: © William Lack based on a drawing by John Dent)

44 per cent of all recorded monuments in the city commemorated merchants. Many of the monuments were brasses. Few brasses or even indents to merchants survive in the city, but those recorded in antiquarian drawings have compositions which suggest a London origin rather than the local York workshops. Thus it is most likely that this indent was from a brass from a London workshop. Series D and F were both operational at this time. That the York Minster figure was fully-frontal makes it more likely that it was produced by the London Series D workshop.

The third, Nos 596 and 596a (Figs 5a and 5b), measuring 0.46 m x 1.26 m, shows the head and shoulders of priest in almuce beneath a very worn scroll and between the top half of two shields each 144 mm wide. This composition is not paralleled in any surviving York series brass or indent, so is probably London work. Almuces are a mark of status, worn only by higher clergy such as canons of cathedral and collegiate churches. This reinforces the likelihood that the brass commemorated a member of the minster clergy. Such a high status member of the clergy would have been likely to have known of the

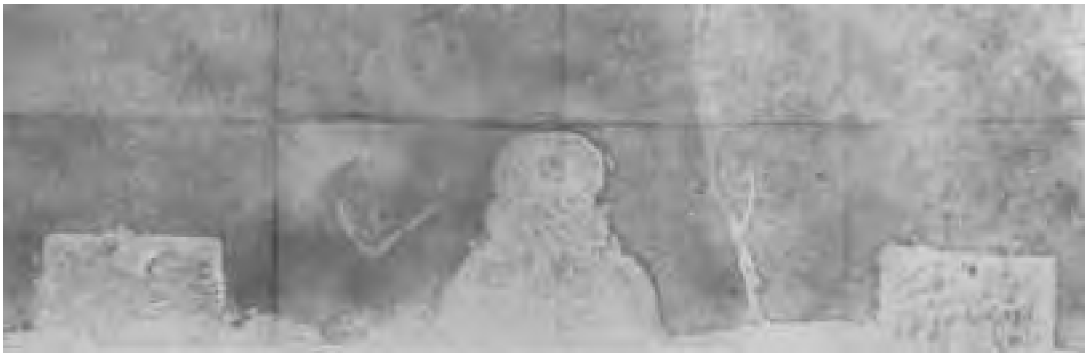

Fig. 5a (Nos. 596 and 596a). Indent of priest in almuce, c. 1395-1405, York Minster

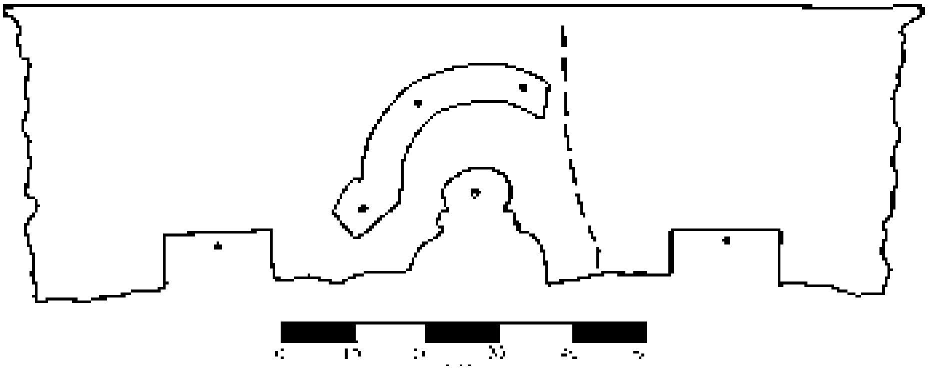

Fig. 5b (Nos. 596 and 596a). Indent of priest in almuce, c. 1395-1405, York Minster (drawing: © William Lack based on a drawing by John Dent)

brass engravers working in London. Although only the left-hand side of the scroll remained at all clear, signs of rivets on the dabbing suggest it continued over the head and down the right-hand side, as in Dent's drawing. London B scrolls are generally thinner, although there are exceptions, but a number of Series A brasses in the period *c.* 1395-1408 have a scroll of this shape, notably those at Ashridge House, Berks., to John de Swynstede (d. 1395) and Ashby St. Ledgers, Northants., to John Catesby (d. 1404) and his wife Emma. This attribution to the London A workshop is reinforced by the similarity of the juxtaposition of the head and shields and the outline of the head with the London A brass of *c.* 1405 at Haddenham, Herts., to a priest in almuce and choir cope.

The remainder of the indents, Nos 287 and 287a, 326, 594 and 624, had no evidence of effigial representation, although this does not mean that they did not originally come from compositions with figures. No. 326 (Fig. 6) features a rectangular inscription plate measuring about 12 mm x 152 mm. This is

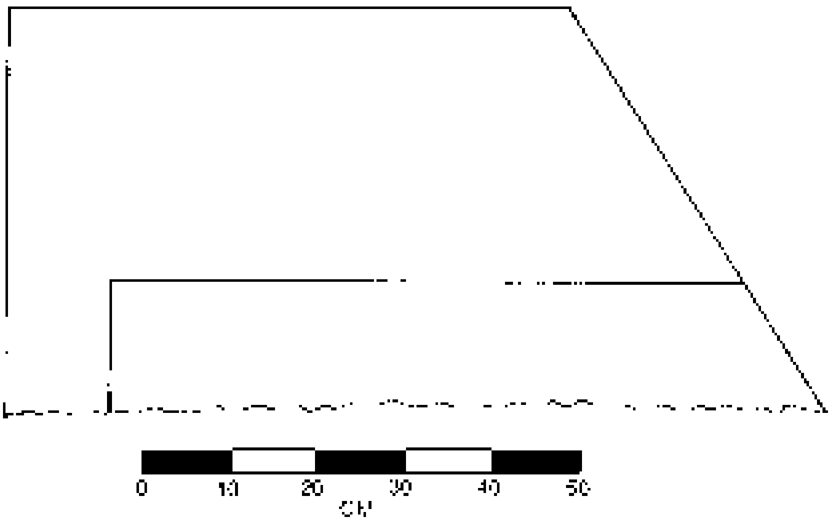

Fig. 6 (No. 326). Indent of inscription plate,
York Minster
(drawing: © William Lack based on a drawing by John Dent)

too commonplace to date or suggest a workshop origin. Three indents had quatrefoils, undoubtedly all once holding plates with Evangelists' symbols, all measured from point to point. They are: No. 287 and 287a (Fig. 7), a portion of a slab measuring 0.64 m x 0.46 m with the indent of a quatrefoil measuring 146 mm x 146 mm; No. 594 (Fig. 8), a portion of a slab measuring 0.38 m x 1.14 m with indents of two quatrefoils, each 170 mm x 170 mm, one with rivet; and No. 624 (Fig. 9), an extremely worn quatrefoil, measuring 228 mm x 216 mm. Torre's late seventeenth century account of brasses and indents in York Minster shows many featuring corner 'roses' or Evangelists' symbols. They ranged from simple inscription brasses to more elaborate compositions with full or demi-figures of both clerics and laity. Torre's notes on the city churches also record brasses and indents with quatrefoils, some to members of the parish clergy, but more to the laity, notably merchants.[7] In general, examples before *c.* 1450 show the quatrefoils at the corners of marginal inscriptions, while later examples mostly have isolated quatrefoils. In order to attempt to date the York Minster indents, Yorkshire series brasses and others in the county with extant quatrefoils in their composition have been examined to compare the range of sizes used,

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7 J. Torre, *Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York*, York Minster Library, L1 (8).

8 They comprise, in date order: Bainton, Yorks., M.S.I, Roger Godeale, 1429, Yorkshire series 1c, 125 x 125 mm; Cayton, Yorks., M.S.I, Richard ..., 1452, Yorkshire series 2a, 144 x 146 mm; Hull, Holy Trinity, Yorks., M.S.I, Richard Byll, 1451, 110 x 110 mm (these are round, rather than with barbes); Romaldkirk, Yorks., lost but rubbing in Society of Antiquaries of London, John Newelyn, *c.* 1470, Yorkshire series 2b, 124 x 124 mm; Stoke Rochford, Lincs., M.S.I, Henry Rochford, 1470, Yorkshire series 2b, 127 x 127 mm; Beeford, Yorks., M.S.I, Thomas Tong, 1472, Yorkshire series 2b, 132 x 132 mm; All Saints, North Street, York, M.S.I, Thomas Clerk, 1482, Yorkshire series 3, 140 x 140 mm, 142 x 140 mm and 148 x 146 mm; Wath, Yorks., M.S.III, 3 quatrefoils, perhaps from M.S.II, *c.* 1490, 122 x 120 mm; Sessay, Yorks., M.S.I, Thomas Magnus, 1550, 130 x 130 mm.

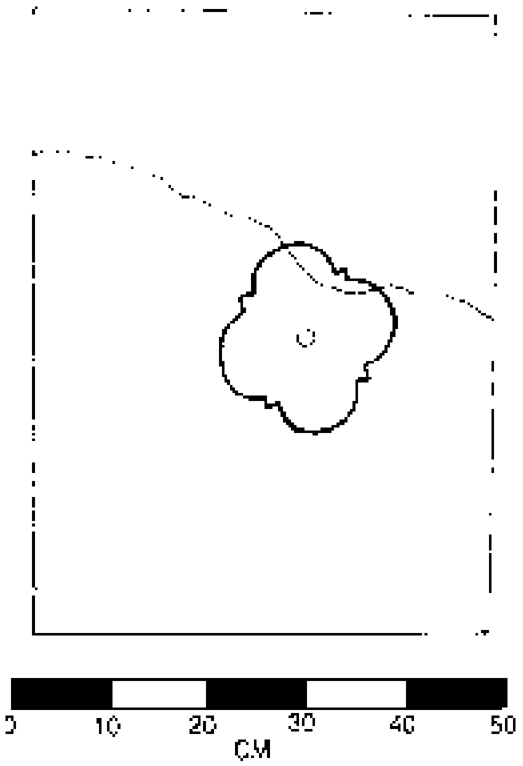

Fig. 7 (Nos. 287 and 287a). Indent of quatrefoil, York Minster
(drawing: © William Lack based on a drawing by John Dent)

again measuring them from point to point.[8]

Indents are inevitably rather larger than the plates which are set within them. Of the indents recorded in the excavation, the rubbing of No. 624 (Fig. 9) appears to show an idiosyncratic squashed shape which has no parallels, although a dabbing would have reflected the worn surface of the stone in greater detail. Nos. 287 & 287a (Fig. 7) are closest in size to the 1452 Yorkshire series 2a brass at Cayton, Yorks., and the 1482 Yorkshire Series 3 example at All Saints North Street, York. Finally, No. 594 (Fig. 8) is closest in size to the 1482 Yorkshire series 2b brass at Beeford. Although no firm conclusions can be drawn from this, it is likely that the York Minster quatrefoils date from the second half of the fifteenth century and may have been produced by the York workshops.
Not enough remains to associate any of the fragmentary indents (Nos. 287/ 287a, 326, 594 and 624) to a specific workshop among those based at York. Nor is there enough detail of the compositions to link any of them to a specific indent recorded by Torre, especially as they could have come from anywhere in the minster or have been from one of the other sources of dark marble stones.

When lifting the slabs and clearing the uppermost layers, the contractor's workmen found several brass fragments of inscription (Fig. 10). These are now lost and this rubbing is the sole record.[9] These did not feature in the excavation report, which records nothing later than *c.* 1100.[10] These brass fragments might have been from inscription brasses still *in situ* when the medieval floor was lifted and cut up or may have fallen from brasses removed before the eighteenth century to enable the space to be used for a new burial. One fragment measures 18 mm x 32 mm and has just a contraction mark, while the rest make up 202 mm of a four-line inscription plate 220 mm wide. It read:

Line 1: . . . *q' canse* . . . / [could be a word ending in –que; then canse or cause or canle or caule but maybe cancellarius, chancellor];

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[9] York Minster Library and York Archaeological Trust have both checked their holdings.

[10] D. Phillips, M.O.H. Carver and B. Heywood eds., *Excavations at York Minster – Vol.1: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London, 1992), part 2: the finds.

[11] We are grateful to Jerome Bertram for interpreting the inscription.

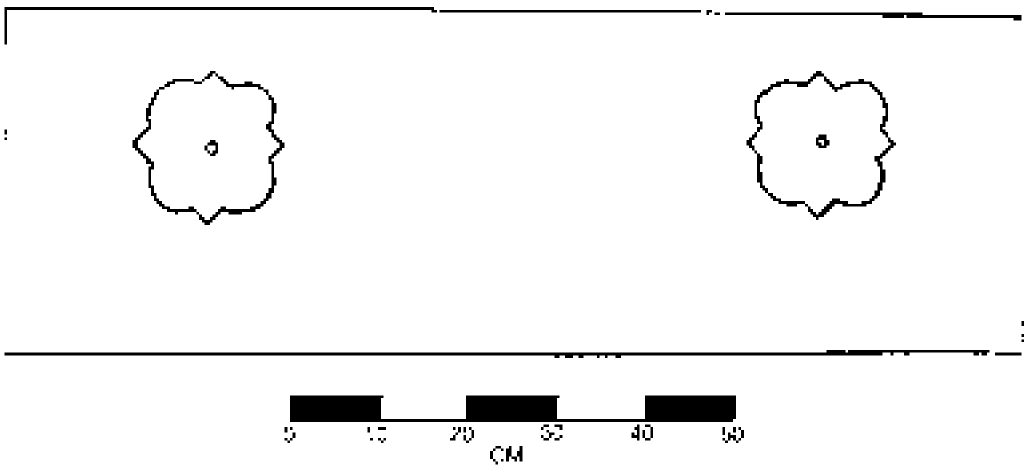

Fig. 8 (No. 594). Indent of two quatrefoils,
York Minster
(drawing: © William Lack based on a drawing by John Dent)

Line 2: . . . *[d]ictus de La [or Lo]*. . . / [the last fragment of a word would be the surname];

Line 3: . . . *atus cu(m)* . . . [perhaps humatus, buried, or veneratus];

Line 4: *Mille C ter* . . . 13—. [13. . – the date of death].[11]
The script style is that of the London Series B workshop, the choice of élite members of society at the time. The specific letter forms indicate a date of *c.* 1385-90 or thereabouts.

One possibility is that we have the brass of a chancellor but none of those in the key period have a surname beginning de La or de Lo. Antiquarian notes recording monuments in the minster fail to reveal an inscription which would fit the wording. The only one with a foot inscription at remotely this date is John de Thoren, archdeacon of Richmond, canon residentiary of York Minster and prebendary of Throckington who died 1399/1400.[12] The wording of his inscription is recorded but it was different.[13] An alternative explanation is that we have the brass of a residentiary canon, who would also have held a prebend, but that the brass had been despoiled before the eighteenth century. The York *Fasti* reveals very few men in the last quarter of the fourteenth century with a name that would fit, the closest being John de Leeds, prebendary of Bramham (d. 1391 x 1393), and John de Lincoln, prebendary of Givendale, who resigned between 1390 and 1391 and whose date of death is unknown.[14] However, the inscription cannot read 'de Le' or 'de Li' so they are ruled out. It must be pointed out, however, that York prebendaries were usually commemorated much more elaborately during this period, so it may instead have memorialised a

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[12] J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1451. VI, Northern Province*, comp. B. Jones (London, 1963), p. 56.

[13] Transcribed in Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 501.

[14] Le Neve, *Fasti VI Northern Province*, pp. 39, 53.

[15] We are grateful to David Lepine for this information.

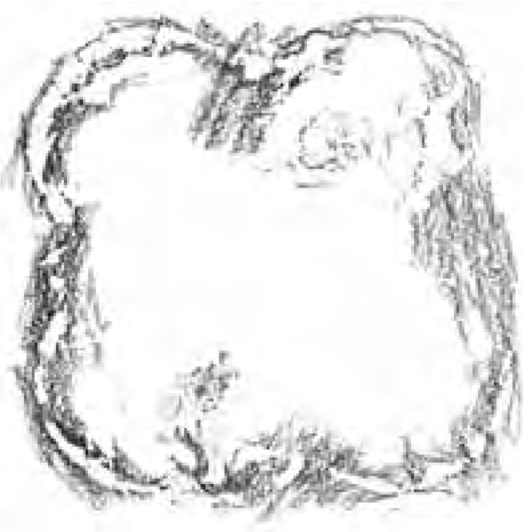

Fig. 9 (No. 624). Indent of quatrefoil, York Minster (rubbing: John Dent)

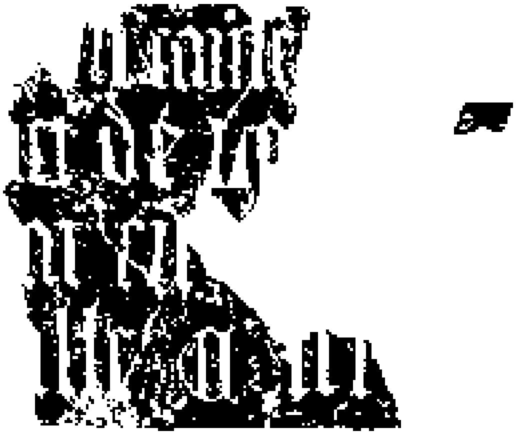

Fig. 10. Brass inscription, c. 1385-90, and fragment, York Minster (rubbing: John Dent)

member of the minor clergy or the diocesan administration.[15]

Memorialisation in brass in York Minster

This handful of fragments of indents and brasses represents just a tiny sample of the wealth of brasses that were once in York Minster. The figure brasses and indents were probably all commissioned from London-based workshops, rather than those based in York operational between *c.* 1350 and *c.* 1505. The explanation for this is probably that most of those who could expect to be buried in the minster were cathedral clergy and the richer members of society in York and its environs, who sought the reflected prestige of a monument produced in the capital. More light can be thrown on the overall pattern of memorialisation in brass in York Minster by analysis of the list compiled by Williams.[16] The vast majority of identifiable brasses were to members of the clergy, with only thirteen pre-Reformation examples to members of the laity. The earliest such brass was an inscription to William Tanner (d. 1430), a tanner, and his wife.[17] All other recorded examples are simple inscription brasses, although two in the south transept also had evangelists' symbols. These were to two children, William and John Wandesford (d. 1487) and to William Roch (d. 1528) and his wife Agnes. No recorded brasses to the laity had figure brasses. In the fourteenth century some brasses commemorating the higher clergy were made in York. These include that to Archbishop Grenefield mentioned earlier, as well as one to Archbishop Thoresby and a series of five posthumous brasses of his predecessors commissioned in 1373 from the master mason Robert de Patrington.[18] Thereafter the York workshop did not usually include such high-status patrons amongst its clientele.

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[16] Williams, 'The Brasses of York Minster', VIII, pt. 1 (1943), pp. 6-8.

[17] Also recorded are pre-Reformation examples to John de Scrope (d. 1452), Gerard Haldyngby (d. 1485), William and John Wandesford (d. 1487), George Sheffield esquire (d. 1497), William Hyndeley (d. 1505), William Clerk (d. 1509) and his wife Alice, John Underwood (d. 1515), advocate, Alexander Foster (d. 1520), William Roch (d. 1528) and his wife Agnes, George Hatton (d. 1533), Thomas Kirby (d. 1540), organist, and William Mansell, esquire (d. 1540).

[18] Badham,'York workshops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', pp. 167-68.

Comparisons of the indents with quatrefoils with other brasses in the city and county of York show them generally to have been modest compositions, perhaps made by the local brass engravers. Some people might have had minor York-made brasses in the Minster, but they would have been the minority, probably restricted to those who had significant contacts with the Minster. One such was William Hyndeley, master mason of York Minster from 1473 until his death in 1505, and maker of monumental brasses. Antiquarian notes reveal that he had a simple inscription brass over his grave which was under the tower, although there is no reason to believe that any of the indents discussed above once held his brass.[19]

Comparisons with other English cathedrals

To establish whether the pattern of patronage of brasses in pre-Reformation York Minster was typical it is worth examining the position in other secular cathedrals. York Minster is not alone in having lost virtually all trace of its rich heritage of medieval brasses. Cathedrals and major urban churches in England generally preserve few medieval or early modern brasses, although in some the empty stone indents remain, showing the outlines of the lost plates. Many were destroyed for religious reasons during the Reformation and later. Over the centuries brasses were also torn up for the value of the metal, which was sold for re-use. Others were lost during modernisation and re-flooring, as at York. The major exception to this pattern is Hereford Cathedral. Parts of thirty-eight brasses dating from before the nineteenth century remain, thirty-three of them being pre-Reformation examples.[20] Not all of these were originally laid down in the cathedral, however, as some were bought in 1933 by the Friends of Hereford Cathedral and others were donated in 1926 by Mill Stephenson and in 1947 by Reginald Pearson.[21] An additional forty-four are known through indents and information in antiquarian notes.[22] This shows just how deceptive survivals in cathedral churches in particular can be, as it is likely that far fewer brasses were originally laid down in Hereford than in York, especially in the pre-Reformation period.

As at York, brasses to the Hereford clergy greatly outnumber those to the laity. The earliest known lay brass dates from 1394 and commemorates an unknown civilian (Fig. 8). There are only five additional extant lay brasses which were laid down in the cathedral before the Reformation, although another sixteen are known from antiquarian sources. Most of these are to members of the civic and mercantile élite. Hence in Hereford they appear to have had a greater opportunity for burial in the cathedral than at York. A number of factors may have influenced this pattern. The situation at Hereford is complicated by the fact that the cathedral cemetery was the only burial ground for the whole city. Parish churches only gradually gained some burial rights after prolonged litigation in the fourteenth century.

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[19] S. Badham, *Brasses from the North East* (London, 1979), p. 16.

[20] P. Heseltine and H.M. Stuchfield, *The Monumental Brasses of Hereford Cathedral* (London, 2005), pp. 9-46.

[21] Heseltine and Stuchfield, *Hereford Cathedral*, p. 8.

[22] Heseltine and Stuchfield, *Hereford Cathedral*, pp. 54-70.

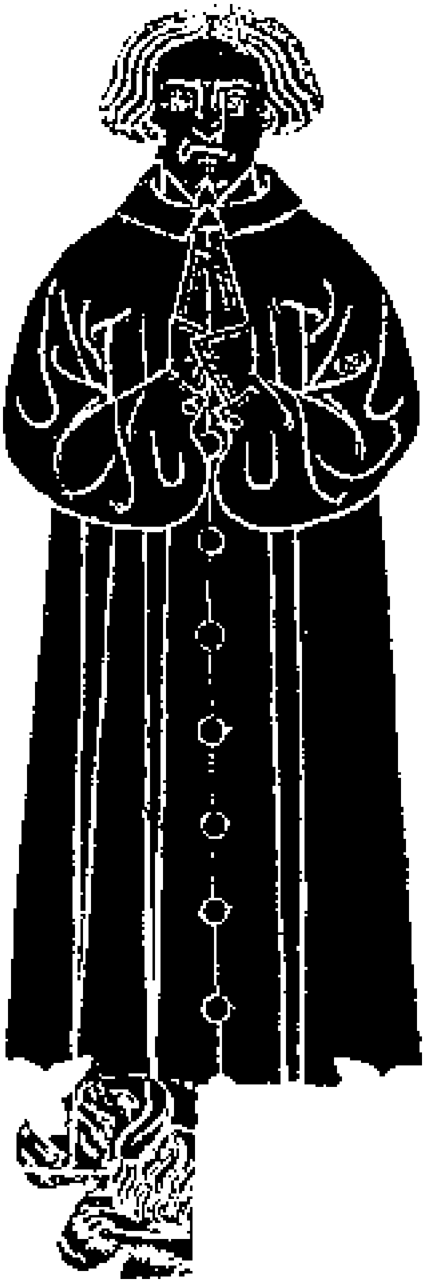

Fig. 11. Brass of a civilian, 1394,
Hereford Cathedral, LSW.V.
(from Heseltine and Stuchfield,
The Monumental Brasses of Hereford Cathedral, 2005)

Hence there were closer ties between the chapter and civic élites at Hereford than at York. With a pattern of memorialisation of civic élites in the cathedral at Hereford firmly established before parish churches had burial rights, it would have been natural for their successors to follow the established fashion of their peers. The absence of such restraints in York would have made it easier for the York élites to have adopted different patterns of patronage when considering burial and commemoration. No brass engraving workshops operated in or near Hereford, hence clients' choice was restricted to the London workshops.

Lincoln Cathedral is a much closer comparator for York, both in terms of the number of brasses recorded and in that some brass engraving workshops operated in the county, albeit on a more restricted scale and over a more limited timeframe than at York.[23] Unlike York, Lincoln cathedral was not re-floored hence many matrices of lost brasses remain, although they were removed from their original locations to the choir aisles in the 1780s.[24] The brass inlays were mostly torn up by

[23] S. Badham, 'The Fens 1 series: an early fifteenth century group of monumental brasses and incised slabs', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, CXLII (1989), pp. 46-62.

[24] H.K. St. J. Sanderson, 'Lincoln Cathedral: a description of all the existing matrices', *MBS Trans.*, II, pt. 8 (1897), pp. 316-24.

[25] The texts of the inscriptions were recorded in R. Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral: an Exact Copy of all the Ancient Inscriptions c. 1641* (London, 1851). More detail, including drawings, is provided by Sir William Dugdale's Book of Draughts, British Library Add. MS 71474, fos. 92-113. For the latter see also P. Whittemore, 'Sir William Dugdale's "Book of draughts"', *Church Monuments*, 18 (2003), pp. 23-52.

[26] B. Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* (London, 1730), p. 31.

[27] H.K. St. J. Sanderson 'Lincoln Cathedral: a list of the brasses existing in 1641', *MBS Trans.*, III, pt. 2 (1897-98), pp. 67-87, 119-42.

parliamentary troops during the civil war, but fortunately they had been previously recorded by several antiquaries.[25] In 1718, Browne Willis counted 207 indents, putting the number of lost brasses broadly on a par with York Minster.[26] The information from these sources was collated by H.K. St. John Sanderson in 1897 to identify those commemorated by 150 of these lost brasses ranging in date from 1258 to 1636, although a handful of these monuments may not have been actual brasses.[27] He demonstrated that the number of figure brasses for clerics far exceeded the nine civilian, four military and five female examples. David Lepine has recently examined the commemorative patterns presented by the clerical monuments including brasses, showing that bishops and some canons were commemorated by elaborate brasses, while minor clergy made do with minor monuments.[28]

The brasses to the laity have received little attention. The earliest examples memorialised Hugh de Edlington (d. 1333), a merchant of Lincoln, followed by two mayors of Lincoln Henry de Fillingham (d.1341) and Thomas de Lenton, about whom little is known but who probably also lived in the mid fourteenth century.[29] Lenton had a figure brass, but the other two were commemorated by inscriptions.[30] Some very high-status women were commemorated by brasses, now lost. The high tomb to Nicholas, third Lord Cantelupe (d. 1355) in the Cantelupe chantry chapel has adjacent to it an indent of a brass commemorating his widow Joan. The conjoined tomb chests of Katherine Swynford (d. 1403), last wife of John of Gaunt, and of her daughter Joan, countess of Westmorland (d. 1440), were also originally adorned by brasses.[31] Other datable indents of non-clerical figure brasses include those that commemorated Thomas de Saperton, esquire (d. 1377) and Sir John de Multon (d. 1388).[32] The illustrations in the Book of Draughts are useful in terms of showing the iconography of some of the lost brasses but are somewhat standardised, making the attribution of individual examples to established workshops near impossible. Nonetheless it seems likely that the figure brasses, both clerical and lay, were all London products.

Conclusion

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[28] D. Lepine,' "Pause and pray with mournful heart": Late Medieval Clerical Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral', *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), pp. 15-40.

[29] Although the position of mayor of Lincoln was established in 1206, the earliest recorded was Gilbert Beesby in 1381-2 ('Three Lists of the Mayors, Bailiffs and Sheriffs of the City of Lincoln', ed. J.W.F Hill, *Associated Architectural Societies Reports* 39 (1928-9), pp. 217-56).

[30] Sanderson, 'List of the brasses existing in 1641', pp. 70-71 and 75.

[31] J.H. Harvey, *Catherine Swynford's Chantry*, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets 2nd ser. 6 (1976).

[32] Whittemore, '*Sir William Dugdale's "Book of draughts"*', figs. 16-17, p. 39.

Ghostly Remains:
The Surviving Howard Brasses at Lambeth

Lisa Ford

In the sixteenth century the Howard Dukes of Norfolk displayed their power and wealth through memorial tombs and brasses erected in both London and country parishes. However, like many medieval and early modern tombs and monuments in Britain, these Howard tombs and brasses have been damaged, moved, and have even disappeared over centuries of transition and decline. Now many of those memorials are known only through drawings, antiquarian descriptions or remaining fragments. This article examines the Howard brasses and tombs from the chapel at St. Mary, Lambeth, created in 1522 by Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk. This housed his own second tomb and several others. Of this once rich array, two brasses remain at Lambeth, and their transitions and that of the site over time are the focus of this article.

A sharp-eyed visitor to the Garden Museum, formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth, Surrey, might wonder at the distinctive outlines that can be perceived on two stones in the walls of what was the north aisle of the church, one on the east wall and one on the north wall (Figs. 1 & 2). These telltale stones once held brasses memorializing Katherine Howard, née Broughton, or Boughton, wife of Sir William Howard, one of the sons of the second duke, and later Baron Howard of Effingham and Lord Admiral under Mary I, and Thomas Clere, a Howard cousin and comrade in arms to Henry Howard, styled earl of Surrey.[1] The brasses remain at the site but not in view; these outlines are the last visible signs, within the public spaces of this building, of those monuments which were erected here by and for members of the Howard family during their prosperous, but turbulent, years as earls of Surrey and dukes of Norfolk in the sixteenth century. Like the mausolea of many great families of the early modern period, the Howard Chapel at Lambeth, and other Howard burial sites, underwent major changes due to both the effects of the English reformations, and neglect and change in the church spaces during the following centuries.

The east end of the north aisle of the church, now occupied by the Garden Museum café, was converted to a Howard family chapel in 1522 by Thomas, the aging second duke of Norfolk. His main London residence was Norfolk House, a grand complex of buildings situated close by Lambeth Palace and its church, from which he conducted the diplomatic and personal business with which he was busily engaged when in London. By the time the chapel was consecrated, the Howards' relationship with the church was well established. Expenditures in the churchwardens' accounts include sums for the burial of two servants between 1515 and 1518, payment in 1522-1523 'for kandylles when the chappell was halowed', and payments from the Duchess for 'the Vergynes lyghtt.'[2] A list of inscriptions on brass which were embedded 'in seuerall grauestones on the pauement of the said Chappell', can be found in the lavishly illuminated genealogy created *c.* 1638 by Henry Lilly, then Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, for the Howard family. They

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[1] The *ODNB* entry for William Howard renders the name as Boughton, while Lilly and the inscription say Broughton.

[2] *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts 1504-1645 and Vestry*

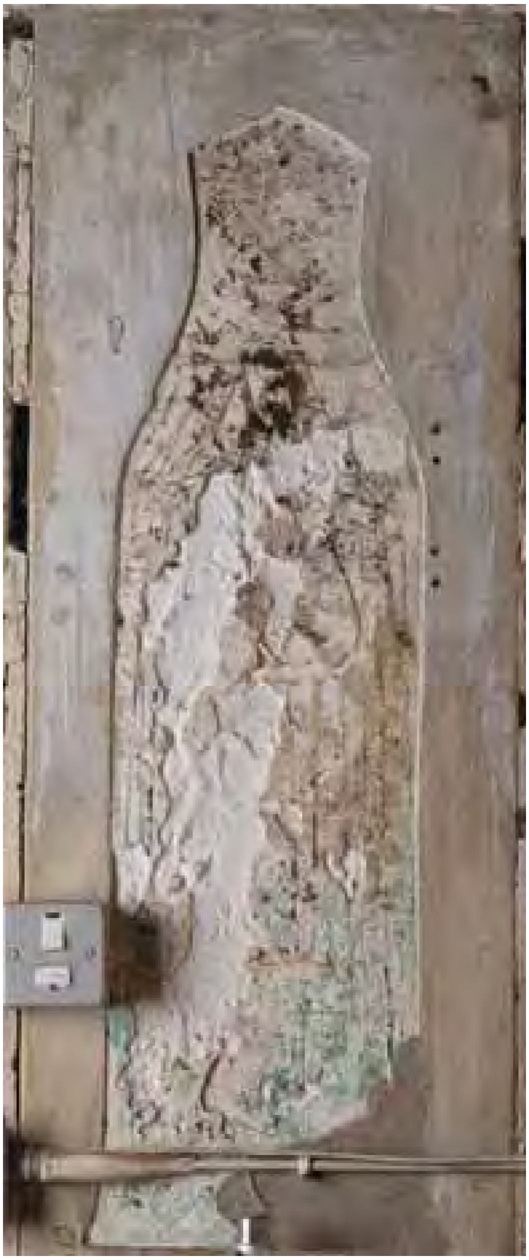

Fig. 1. Indent of Katherine Broughton, Lady Howard,
first wife of William, Lord Howard of Effingham,
Garden Museum, Lambeth,
formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth
(photo: © John Chase Photography)

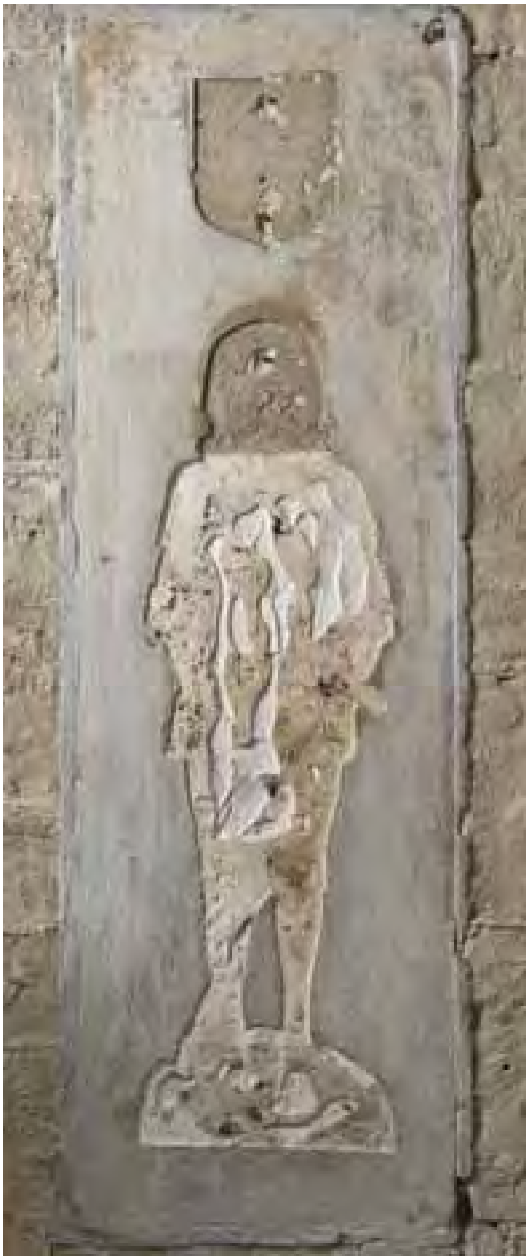

Fig. 2. Indent of Thomas Clere,
Garden Museum, Lambeth,
formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth
(photo: © John Chase Photography)

include several sons of the second duke and his second wife who died between 1501 and 1517, one of their daughters, Lady Elizabeth Fitzwater, and one son of the third duke and his first wife, Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Edward IV, though it is uncertain if these were original burials or removals from Thetford Priory.[3] Aubrey cites three further inscriptions in the Lambeth chapel, one to Lady Elizabeth Howard, Countess of Wiltshire, the mother of Anne Boleyn, who died in 1537, and Jane Wynkesley, 'gentlewoman' to the aforementioned Anne Plantagenet, as well as an epitaph to Elizabeth Stafford, the third duke's second wife, placed there by her brother, who was her executor.[4]

Burial in a London parish church would not have been unusual for a high-powered family such as the Howards. Joel Rosenthal traced the request for burial sites in the wills of 195 nobles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and found that the majority desired burial in regular or secular houses rather than one of the great cathedrals, perhaps, he conjectures, 'because they could not hope to overawe those great houses of worship'.[5] Indeed, a foundation or parish church located in the family's area of landed power was more likely to concede to their wishes for preferential treatment in the place of burial within the church, or the nature of the monuments. When the second duke died in 1524, at his ducal estate of Framlingham Castle, he was not buried at Lambeth, or any other of the Howard burial sites, but rather at Thetford Priory in Norfolk, and his funeral featured an elaborate procession to escort the body there, and a costly monument.[6] As Phillip Lindley has pointed out, burial at Thetford placed him, literally, as the latest holder of the Norfolk title, in the line of several generations and varying family lines of dukes of Norfolk from the twelfth century on who were buried there. It maintained the genealogy of that title in that mausoleum.[7] Such dynastic care was not rewarded, however. Whatever their plans may have been, the Howards were forced to seek a new place for their subsequent burials when Thetford Priory was dissolved in 1540. At the time of the dissolution, the third duke claimed there were already tombs under construction at the priory for Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, Henry VIII's illegitimate son and husband of Mary Howard, daughter of the third duke, and one for the third duke himself and his first wife,

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[3] Arundel, Sussex, Arundel Castle Archives, Henry Lilly, *The Genealogie of the Princelie Family of the Howards* (*c.* 1638) [hereafter Lilly, Genealogie], p. 123, by kind permission of His Grace The Duke of Norfolk. Lilly's volume contains a family tree spreading over several pages, and images of stained glass windows, monuments, banners, and other memorial objects of the Howard family which were then to be found in their mausolea at Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, Lambeth, Surrey, Dover, Kent, and Framlingham, Suffolk. See P. Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Moment', in ed. P. Lindley, *The Howards and the Tudors: Studies in Science and Heritage* (Donington, 2015), p. 51, for discussion of the inscriptions.

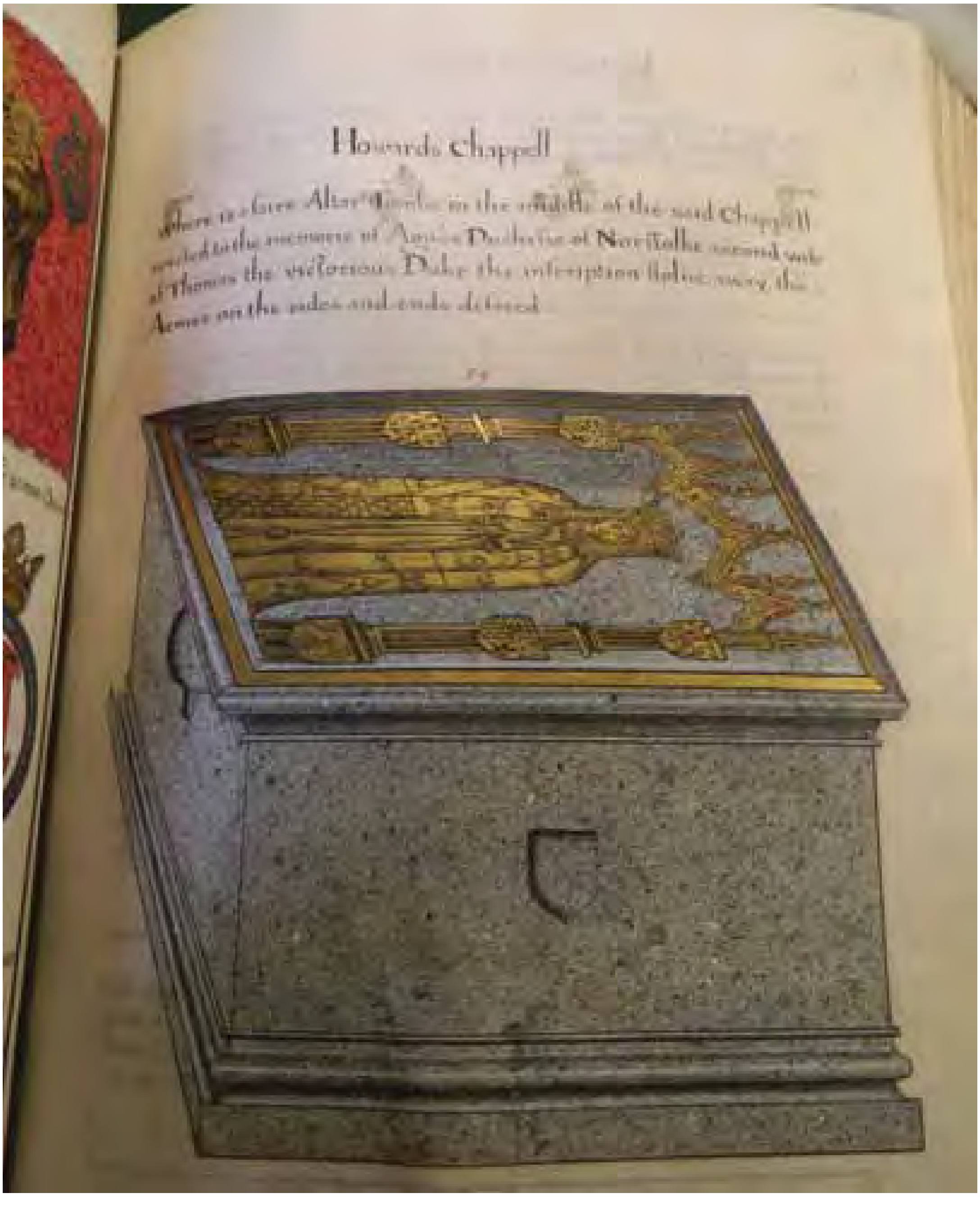
[4] J. Aubrey, *The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey. Begun in the year 1673, by John Aubrey, and Continued to the Present Time. Illustrated with Proper Sculptures* (London, 1718-19), pp. 234-5, 236-7, 239. A record in the churchwardens' accounts for the burial of 'my ladye off Norfolkes gentylwomen' in 1515 may refer to Jane Wynkesley.

[5] J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise; Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London, 1972), pp. 84-5.

[6] For description and costs, see K. Claiden-Yardley, 'Tudor Noble Funerals', in ed. Lindley, *The Howards and the Tudors*, pp. 39-41.

[7] Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Moment', in ed. Lindley, *The Howards and the Tudors*, pp. 48-49.

[8] A letter from the third duke to Henry VIII pleading for Thetford Priory to be spared from dissolution states that his first wife Anne was buried at Thetford *(Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 14 Part 2, ed. James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (London, 1895), no. 815). There has been some discussion over which lady is depicted on the third duke's tomb at Framlingham, though generally it is believed to be Anne Plantagenet.



Howards Chappell

Fig. 3. *Tomb of Agnes Tilney, duchess of Norfolk, 1638 (ink & gold leaf on vellum),*
Arundel Castle Archives, Henry Lilly, The Genealogie of the Princelie Family of the Howards, p. 122
(By kind permission of His Grace The Duke of Norfolk)

which would continue the line of Norfolk dukes.[8] What existed was removed after the dissolution, first probably to storage at the Howard manor at Kenninghall, Norfolk, and ultimately to the church of St. Michael, Framlingham, Suffolk. Here these tombs were finished and installed in the chancel, which was expanded for that purpose by the third duke, and where they remain today.[9] The Howards were not alone in these matters; the Oxford family tombs in Earls Colne Priory suffered a similar fate, as after it was dissolved and passed out of family ownership, some of the tombs were removed from the priory to the parish church, and eventually to St. Stephen's Chapel, Bures, in much reduced form; this is just one further example of several relocations of noble family tombs.[10]

Additional tombs for other family members were added at St. Michael's; one intended for the fourth duke and his wives, in which the duke himself was never interred or memorialized; one believed to be for the fourth duke's infant daughter, Elizabeth Howard; and one erected in the early seventeenth century, a retrospective monument for Henry Howard, earl of Surrey.[11] The second duke's tomb was abandoned rather than moved, but a new, second monument for him was erected at Lambeth. It was his wife's intent, as expressed in her will, to be buried at Lambeth, and perhaps her wishes are to be seen in this action, though it has also been conjectured that the monument was created through the third duke's auspices at the duchess' death.[12] The second duke's Lambeth monument reunited him with his duchess, both in location and in the style of his commemoration. The elaborate table tomb monument of the second duke at Thetford with its brightly painted heraldic panels, lengthy epitaph, and effigial sculpture was replaced with a brass effigy and heraldic decorations on a flat marble slab set in the chapel pavement. An early depiction of the duchess' tomb can be found amongst the other Howard memorials represented in Lilly's genealogy. Lilly shows the dowager duchess' 'faire Altar Tombe' with an elaborate brass effigy of her in heraldic mantle and pedimental headdress topped by her coronet, beneath an arched gothic structure decorated by six heraldic shields, three on either side (Fig. 3). Her husband's second tomb, also depicted by Lilly, is described as being in a 'Marblestone on ye pauement', and also featured a brass effigy of the second duke, his head resting on his helm, his feet on a lion, and four coats of arms surrounding him (Fig. 4).

Norfolk House remained in the possession of the dowager duchess Agnes during her lifetime; on her death in 1545, the third duke retained the property, which briefly passed out of his hands during his attainder, but was restored to him by Mary I along with other lands, and continued to serve as a London base for the family. Indeed, during the reign of Philip and Mary, the churchwardens' accounts note expenses 'for makyng up the syde awtor in my lady of norfokys chapell' and for retiling

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[9] The most recent examination of these tombs which more definitively establishes the framework for their construction, removal, reconstruction and completion can be found in P. Lindley, *Thetford's Lost Tudor Sculptures* (Leicester, 2013), and ed. Lindley, *The Howards and the Tudors*.

[10] The tombs in St. Stephen's are believed to be pieced together from several tombs from the priory. P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, pp. 14-15, offers several more examples.

[11] The story of that tomb can be found in L.L. Ford, 'The Surrey Tomb at Framlingham: the Visual Resurrection of a Reputation', in ed. P. Lindley, *The Howards and the Tudors*, pp. 98-110.

[12] M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, (Bath, 1970), p. 327; Lindley, 'Materiality, Movement and the Historical Moment', p. 55.

[13] *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 73-74.

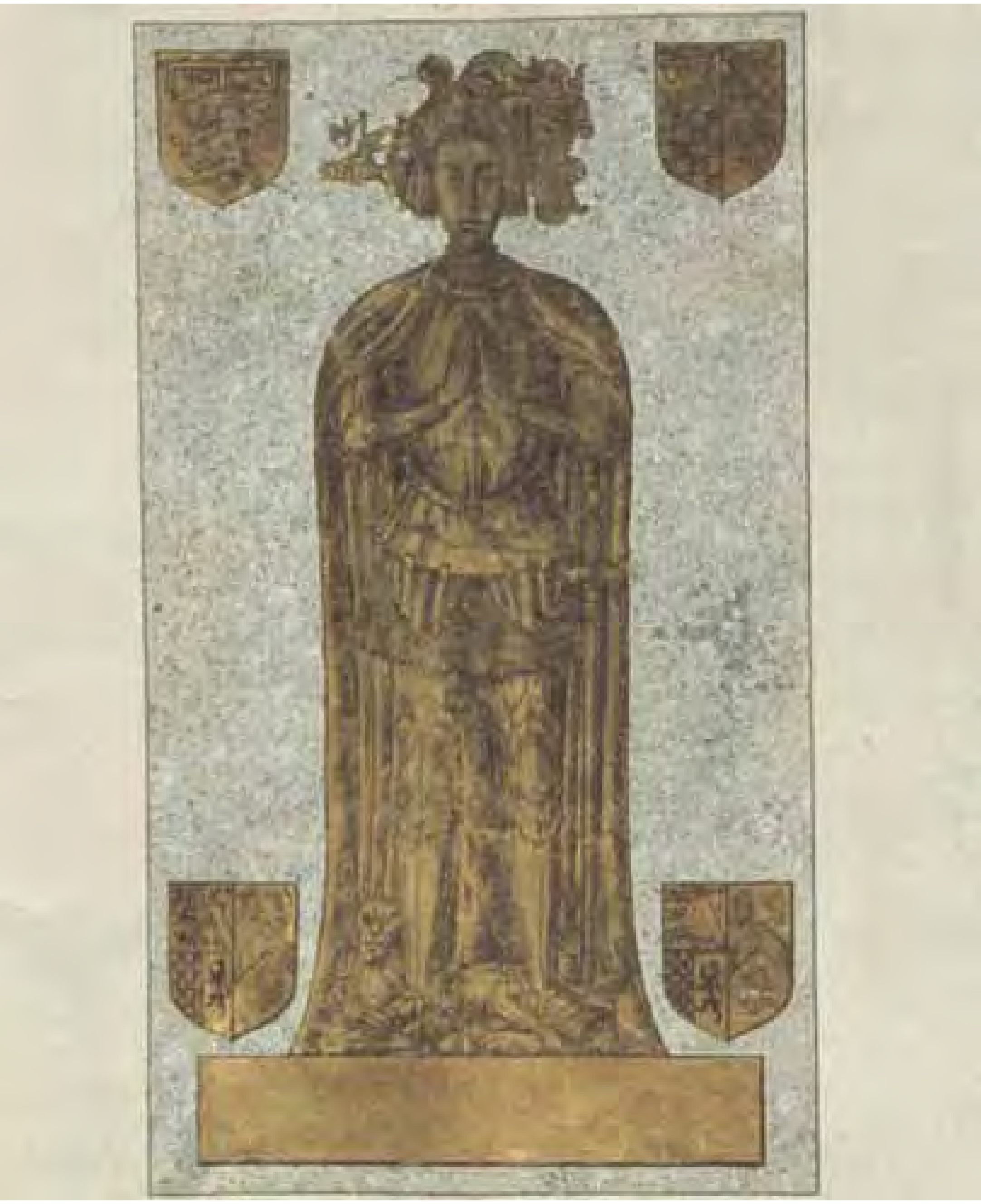

Fig. 4. Marble gravestone of Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, 1638 (ink & gold leaf on vellum), Arundel Castle Archives, Henry Lilly, The Genealogie of the Princelie Family of the Howards. (His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle/Bridgeman Images)

the floor, perhaps a reflection of restoration after iconoclastic damage or removals.[13] The last apparent Howard burial at Lambeth was that in 1558 of Elizabeth Stafford, the estranged wife of the third duke, which she requested in her will.[14] Norfolk House passed in turn to Thomas Howard, the fourth duke, upon his accession to the title, but he sold it in 1559 to Richard Garth and John Dyster, who later conveyed it to Margaret Parker, wife of the archbishop of Canterbury. Despite the fact that the house was no longer in their possession, the name Norfolk House clung to the property. In 1574 it was still referred to, in the will of Margaret Parker's son Matthew, as 'his house and land in Lambeth, called the Duke of Norfolk his house'.[15]

Over the years, the Howard monuments and inscriptions at Lambeth suffered various damage and changes, and most eventually disappeared altogether, with the remains of some likely to have been swept away in the major rebuilding of the church in 1851 by Philip Charles Hardwick. But as early as 1638, Lilly noted of the dowager duchess' tomb that the inscription was 'stolne away, the Armes on the sides and ends defaced.'[16] The second duke's tomb had also suffered the loss of its inscription by then, which Lilly said was 'defaced and gonne onely the Armes and Picture continueth…'.[17] The inscriptions may have fallen victim to iconoclastic depredations in the sixteenth century; various renderings of the inscriptions on Lady Katherine's and Thomas Clere's tombs claim they featured the phrases 'whose soule Jesu pardon', and 'On whose soule and all christian soules Jesu have mercy' which may have offended. The churchwardens' accounts for 1565 include payments for 'white washinge for the hole churche', and to one Matthew Allen 'for writing when the Crosse and chalice and other vestmentes were defaced'.[18]

Aubrey's 1718 publication refers to all the inscriptions in the past tense, and notes that the church had been bereft of many of its monuments by the time of his writing, some, including those inscriptions, only preserved through the writings of antiquarians.[19] A century later, the only Howard monuments mentioned as being still in the Howard chapel space at Lambeth were those of Katherine Howard and Thomas Clere.[20] Thomas Allen in his *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth*, published 1826, mentions 'a spacious slab of blue marble' in the body of the church with the remaining inscription 'HERE LYETH THE BODY . . . HOWARD S . . .', and, in the south porch, a 'large slab of grey stone' which once held the effigies of a man, an inscription, and above his head, two coats of arms.[21] Allen comments of this last that 'It was probably removed, on some former repairs, from Howard's Chapel', and Mill Stephenson

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[14] TNA PROB 11/42A/227.

[15] 'Norfolk House and Old Paradise Street', in *Survey of London: Volume 23, Lambeth: South Bank and Vauxhall*, ed. H. Roberts and W.H. Godfrey (London, 1951), pp. 137-140; J. Tanswell, *The History and Antiquities of Lambeth* (London, 1858), p. 175; B.J. Bloice, 'Norfolk House, Lambeth: Excavations at a Delftware Kiln Site', Documentary Evidence by R. Edwards, Pottery Classification with Graham Dawson, 1968 [http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1179/pma.1971.005, accessed 12 August 2015].

[16] Lilly, *Genealogie*, p. 122, by kind permission of His Grace The Duke of Norfolk.

[17] Lilly, *Genealogie*, p. 120, by kind permission of His Grace The Duke of Norfolk.

[18] *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts*, I, pp. 81-82, 84.

[19] Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, pp. 231-9.

[20] D. Lysons, *The Environs of London: being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within Twelve Miles of that Capital: Interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes*, 2nd ed. (London, 1811), p. 203.

[21] T. Allen, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth, and the Archiepiscopal Palace: Including Biographical Sketches*… (London, 1826), pp. 117, 87-88.

[22] Ibid. Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, p. 323.

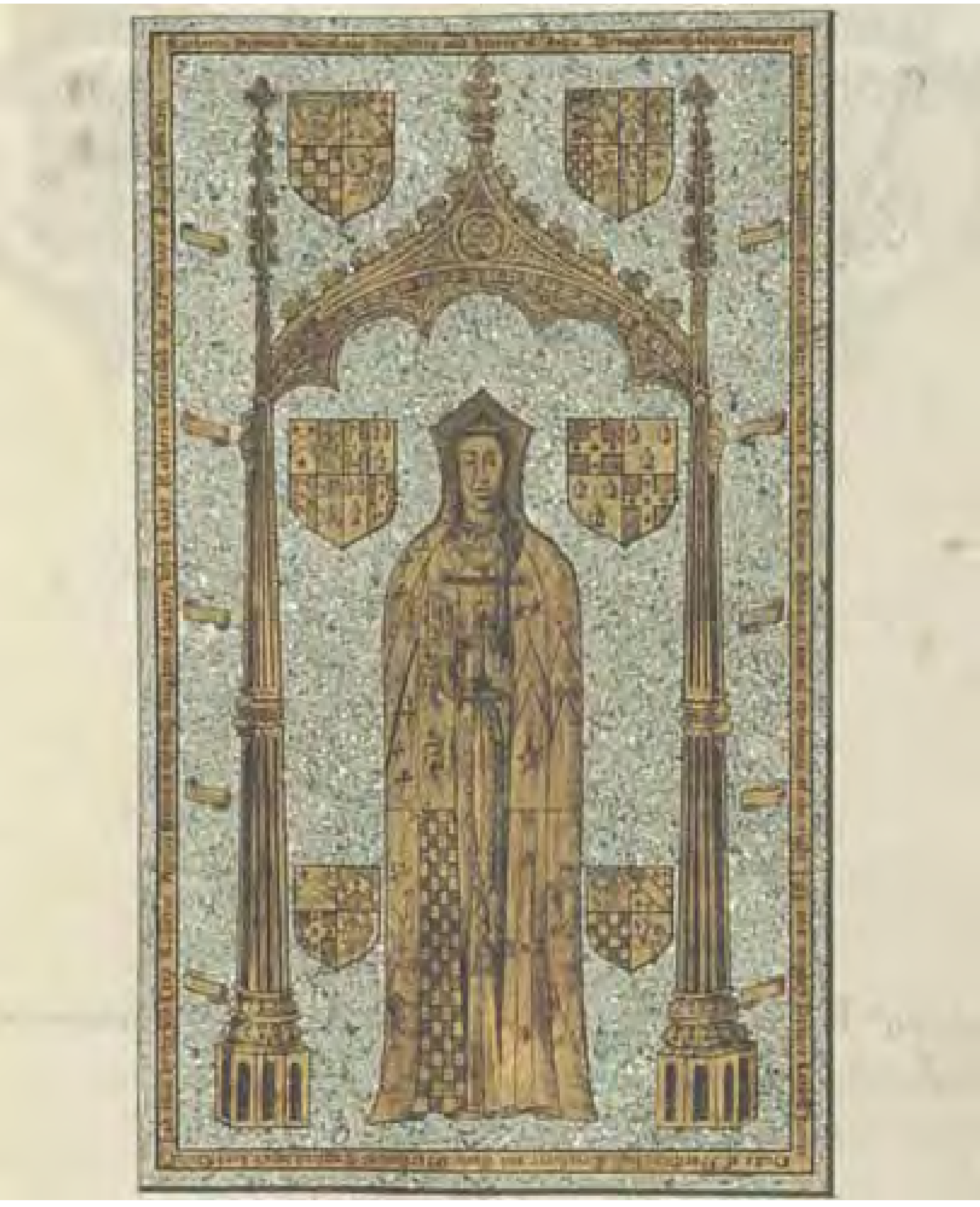

*Fig. 5. Brass of Katherine Broughton, 1638 (ink & gold leaf on vellum),
Arundel Castle Archives, Henry Lilly, The Genealogie of the Princelie Family of the Howards
(His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle/Bridgeman Images)*

suggests that it could have been the original gravestone of the second duke's tomb.[22] Allen further notes that in the space occupied by the Howard Chapel, 'has formerly been a brass plate of a large size, seemingly a female figure' and that 'Above the figure have been two shields'.[23] He compares the shape and size of the missing effigy to that of Lady Katherine, then still inlaid in a stone which bore the indents of a gothic canopy and several labels, all missing, as was the inscription.[24] Mill Stephenson conjectured that the stone was the top slab of the duchess' table tomb, and that the tomb chest had been lost.[25] Thus one can trace, in the centuries since they were first installed in the chapel, the possible movement, damage and modification of these monuments, and of elements which have since disappeared. *The Survey of London,* published in 1951, states simply, 'Many monuments and tablets were destroyed in 1851 and a number have been re-sited since.'[26] The final re-siting of the brasses of Katherine Howard and Thomas Clere from the walls of the former chapel to a site outside the public spaces took place in 1982[27] after the building was deconsecrated in 1972 and converted to the Museum of Garden History by the Tradescant Trust in 1977.

The earliest depiction of Lady Katherine's tomb is found in the Lilly manuscript, and it depicts a tomb every bit as impressive in structure and decoration as those of the second duke and his duchess. Lilly's drawing of the monument shows the figure of Lady Katherine in a pedimental headdress and heraldic mantle similar to that of the dowager duchess and which corresponds with the existing brass, set under an elaborate canopied structure, and decorated additionally with six heraldic shields, ten scrolls, and an inscription running round the four sides of the slab in which these brass elements are embedded, containing her epitaph (Fig. 5). Nothing remains today of that monument except the brass of Lady Katherine (Fig. 6), but records of the monument over the centuries confirm the presence of the shields, scrolls, canopy and inscription depicted by Lilly, with some difference in the number of shields recorded, and minor differences in renditions of the inscription.[28] Additionally, the Lilly drawing does not show the figure of a squirrel holding a nut, engraved at the feet of the brass. Lilly's text regarding the brass states that it was 'A Grauestone on the pauement in the Chancell of the saide Church curiouslie inlayed with brasse'.[29] Lysons' volume states that the brass was inlaid on a slab, but also that 'the vestiges of a Gothic canopy, and several labels, are to be traced upon the gravestone, to which was formerly affixed an inscription', indicating that by the early nineteenth century all that remained of the brass elements is what exists today.[30] An 1882 volume on Lambeth Palace recites some of the various errors in the identification of the brass over the centuries, including Walpole calling it Katherine of Valois.[31] It also states that the brass 'formerly lay on its own stone in the Howard Chapel,' but

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[23] Allen, *History and Antiquities of Lambeth*, p. 137.

[24] Allen, *History and Antiquities of Lambeth*, p. 116.

[25] Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, p. 327.

[26] 'Church of St. Mary, Lambeth', in *Survey of London: Volume 23, Lambeth: South Bank and Vauxhall*, pp. 104-117.

[27] *MBS Trans.*, XIII, pt. 5 (1984), pp. 432-4.

[28] Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, p. 312, footnote 1 indicates there is a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection, with the note: 'two shields each side figure, two above; trefoiled canopy with central crocketted pediment terminating in finial, side buttresses with pinnacles and finials. Between side buttresses and inscription 5 scrolls on each side.'

[29] Lilly, *Genealogie*, p. 124, by kind permission of His Grace The Duke of Norfolk.

[30] Lysons, *The Environs of London*, p. 203.

[31] J. Cave-Browne and A.C. Tait, *Lambeth Palace and its Associations* (Edinburgh and London, 1882), pp. 187-88.

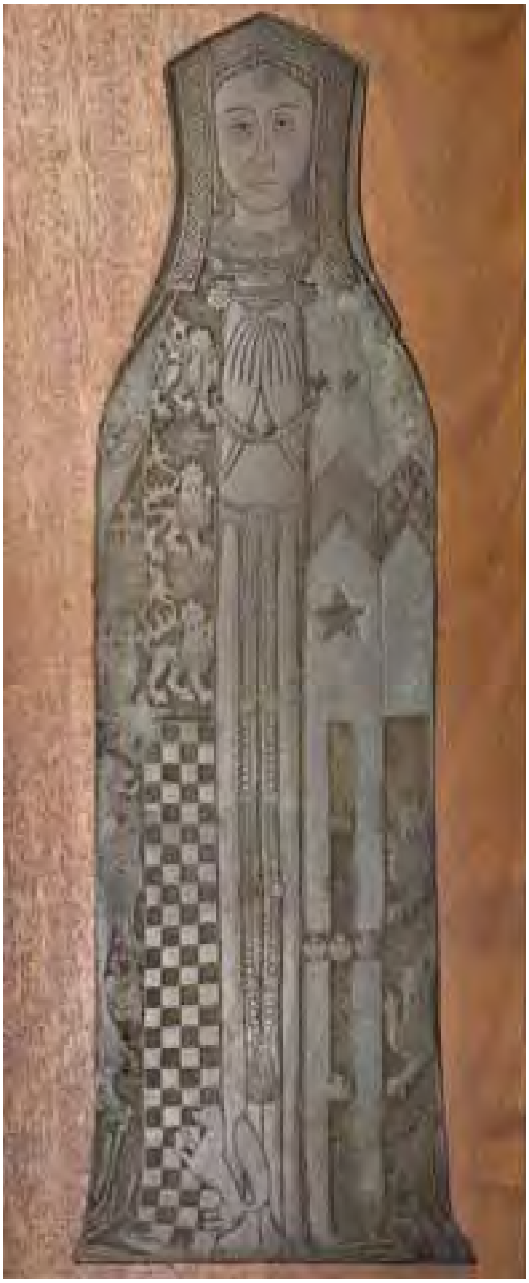

*Fig. 6. Brass of Katherine Broughton, Lady Howard,
Garden Museum, Lambeth,
formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth
(photo: © John Chase Photography)*

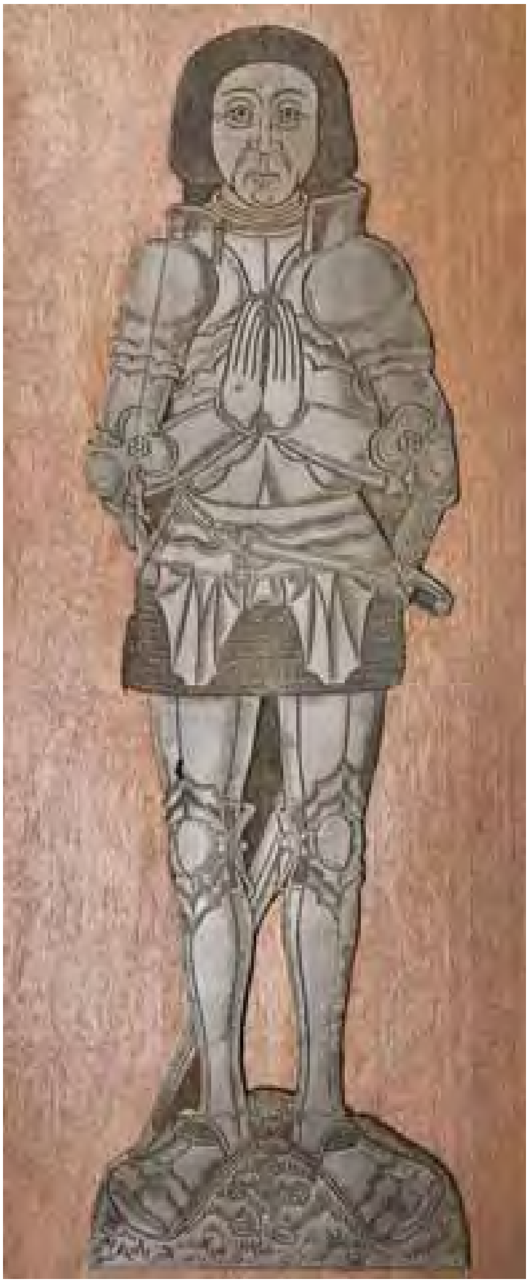

*Fig. 7. Brass of Thomas Clere,
Garden Museum, Lambeth,
formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth
(photo: © John Chase Photography)*

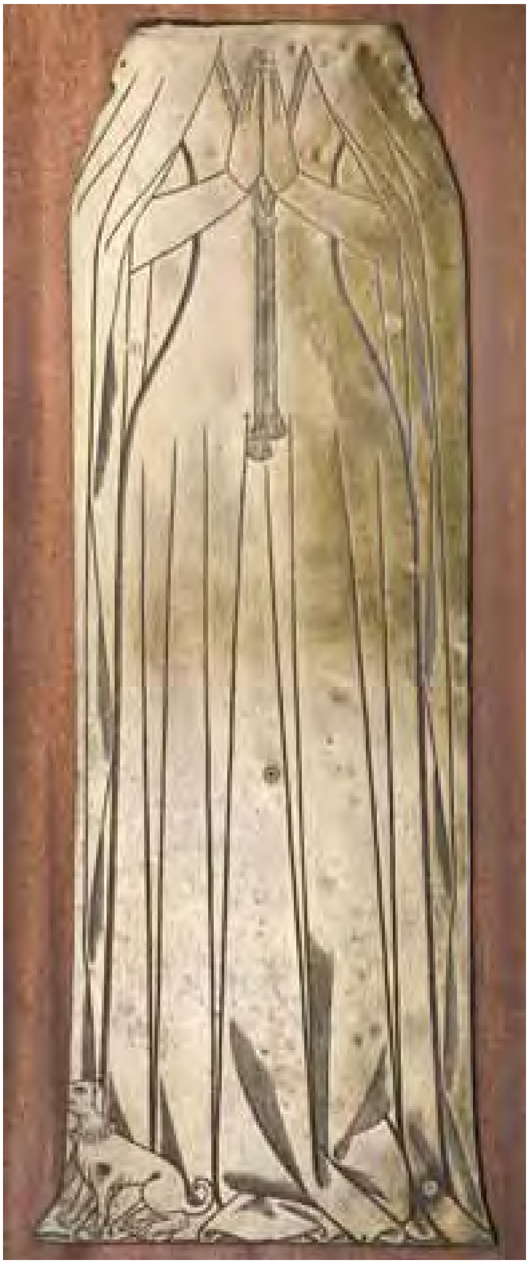

Fig. 8. Facsimile of palimpsest of the brass of Katherine Broughton, Lady Howard, Garden Museum, Lambeth, formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth (photo: © John Chase Photography)

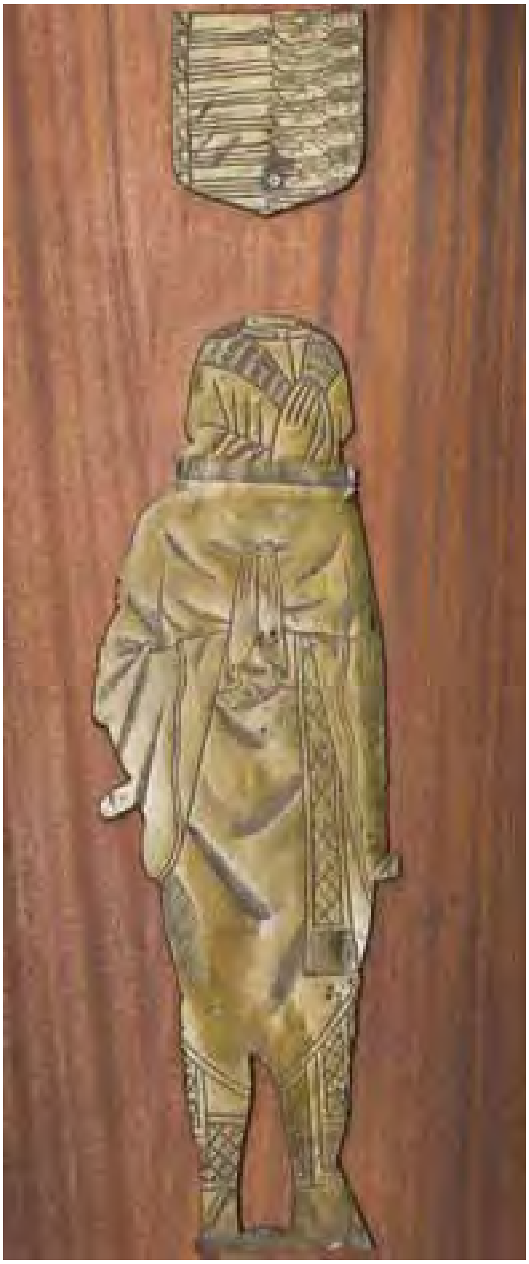

Fig. 9. Facsimile of palimpsest of the brass of Thomas Clere, Garden Museum, Lambeth, formerly the church of St. Mary, Lambeth (photo: © John Chase Photography)

was removed from the floor at the 1851 rebuilding of the church and placed in the east wall of the chapel where the stone with its inset shadow remains.[32]

The other brass which survives to this day is that of Thomas Clere, a Howard cousin through the Boleyn family connection (Fig. 7). Like Lady Katherine's brass, Clere's is mentioned in Lysons' account, which says it was then in 'a flat stone on the north side of the chancel'. It remained in the floor of the chapel until it was removed and reset into a new stone in the north wall of the chapel, which, as mentioned earlier, retains the ghostly outline of the brass effigy and the shield quartering Clere and Uvedale. When Clere's monument rested in its original place in the chapel, it had the additional distinction of being marked by a tablet bearing an epitaph and poem written by Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, heir to the Howard dukedom, and Clere's friend and cousin, whose life Clere is said to have saved during the siege of Montreuil, sacrificing himself in that effort.[33] Surrey's oft-printed poem recounts the high points and noble claims of Clere's life, and the sorrow the poet felt over his death in battle.[34]

Both the remaining brasses at Lambeth are palimpsest, re-uses of earlier figures which have not been identified with an earlier burial as yet, but which were readily available in the years after the Dissolution.[35] The first hint of such a case for Lady Katherine comes with the observation that there is a seam between the head of the figure and the body, presumably necessitated by the fact that the headdress of the previous figure would not have easily been recut into the pedimental headdress needed for Lady Katherine's figure. The shape of the body is similar, with the reverse featuring a woman's figure clad in a simple gown with a draped mantle, dated *c.* 1440 (Fig. 8). At the feet of this figure, sitting on her overlong skirts, is a dog wearing a belled collar.[36] From the seam down, the clothing is similar to brass effigies for Lady Eleanor Culpepper (d. 1420) at SS. Peter and Paul in Lingfield, Surrey, and Juliana de Cruwe at St. Milburga, Wixford, Warwickshire (d. 1411), complete with dogs with belled collars at their feet.[37]

The simple removal of the first figure's head and the addition of a newly engraved piece for Lady Katherine apparently were adequate for remaking the figure. Conversely, the Clere palimpsests for both the effigy and the shield are made up of at least three separate figures or sets of figures (Fig. 9).[38] The reverse of the shield contains a group of sons, dated *c.* 1510, similar to those depicted on such tombs as Richard Skinner's in St. Giles, Camberwell, Surrey, and bearing a striking resemblance to a group of sons, now lost, formerly at Cobham, Surrey.[39] The figure of Clere himself is composed of re-used pieces from two separate brasses; the part that comprises Clere's head features the upper torso of a man, from chin to clasped hands, clad in a simply draped gown with a fur collar, *c.* 1510, similar to the effigy of Robert Casteltoun in St. Mary's, Long Ditton, Surrey, whose tomb also featured a row of sons, now missing.[40] It seems unlikely, however, that the group of sons and the male effigy would be re-uses from the same monument, as in their original state they would be facing in opposite directions, contrary to the usual disposition of such figures. Clere's body is engraved on the reverse of a larger figure of a priest wearing mass vestments, complete with decorated chasuble, stole, and maniple, dated *c.* 1490, and somewhat similar in design to another palimpsest brass at Cobham.[41] The palimpsest does not appear to encompass the grassy mound on which Clere is standing.

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[32] *Ibid*.

[33] Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, V, pp. 246-8.

[34] Allen, *History and Antiquities of Lambeth*, p. 115.

[35] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, pp. 16-17 for comments on the plentiful supply of brasses for reuse.

[36] '1st Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 30 (June 1982), p. viii and pl. 188.

[37] N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: the Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 169, 174; *VCH Warwickshire*, III, p. 192.

[38] '1st Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 30 (June 1982), p. viii and pls. 188-9.

[39] Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, pp. 72, 145.

[40] Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, p. 191.

When the third duke, Thomas, established the Howard family's new mausoleum at St. Michael's, Framlingham, he created for the remaining generations of that volatile family what was to be their most lasting set of monuments. In moving the Thetford tombs to Framlingham, and abandoning the Lambeth chapel as a site for further interments, the third duke retreated to what seemed likely to be a more secure space: the parish church in Framlingham where the seat of the dukes of Norfolk had stood for centuries. Of the other Howard burial sites, Stoke-by-Nayland holds the brass remains of the tomb of another Catherine Howard, the first wife of John, first duke of Norfolk, attired in a similar fashion to Lady Katherine at Lambeth; Thetford has little to remind the visitor of the grand tombs except for the sand-filled pit of the burial vault which lay under the second duke's tomb; and at Lambeth, the ghostly shadows upon stone and the two surviving brasses just discussed are all that is left to remind the visitor of the glory that was once on display for the brief half-century of its use as a family chapel. But thanks to Lilly's great book and the remaining brasses of Katherine Howard and Thomas Clere, we can recapture a glimpse of the chapel when it was filled with loving tributes, and impressive monuments, to the second duke, his second duchess and their family.

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank Phillip Lindley for her inclusion in the AHRC 'Representing Re-Formation' project which provided the basis for extended research on the monuments and

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[41] Stephenson, *Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, p. 143.

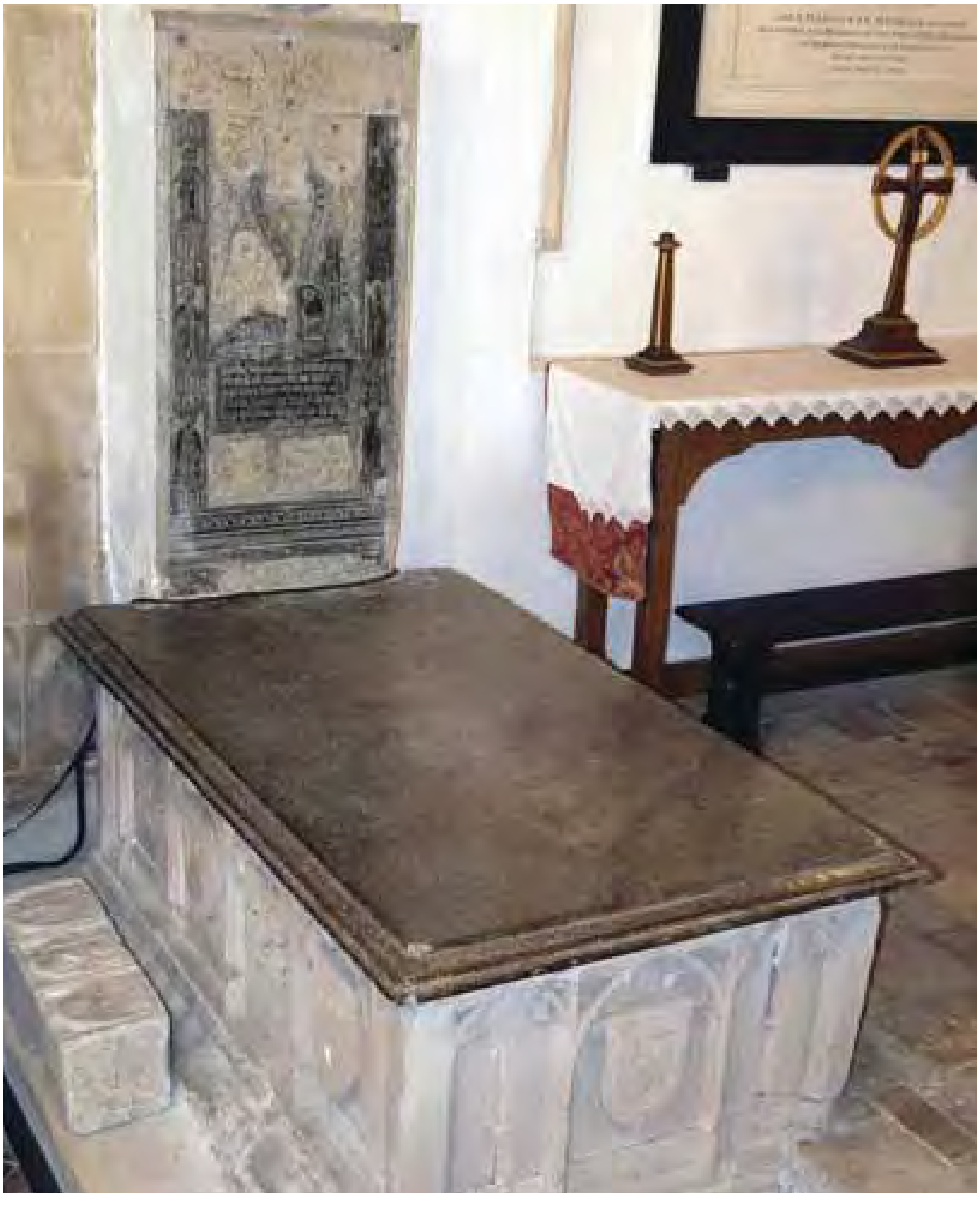

Fig. 1. William Taylard, 1505, and wife Elizabeth,
Diddington, Huntingdonshire (LSW.I)

Conservation of Brasses, 2015

William Lack

memorials of the Howard family and this particular essay.

This is the thirty-first report on conservation which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance with the brasses at Diddington, Mapledurham, Orford, Ripon Cathedral and Wilberfosse and particularly for negotiating the return of the Sawyer effigy from the Society of Antiquaries; to Patrick Farman and Peter Hacker for assistance at Ripon Cathedral; 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 Diddington, Mapledurham, Orford and Wilberfosse; and by the Cambridgeshire Historic Churches Trust at Diddington. My collaboration with the Skillington workshop has continued and I have worked with Simon Nadin on the brasses at Diddington, Orford and Wilberfosse. The brasses at Mapledurham have been given 'LSW' numbers following a survey for the Oxfordshire *County Series* volume.

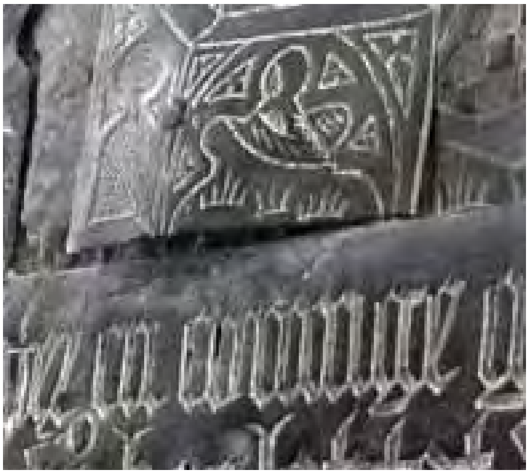

Fig. 2. Damage to the Taylard brass, Diddington, Huntingdonshire

Diddington, Huntingdonshire

LSW.I. William Taylard, 1505, and wife Elizabeth.[1] This London G brass, now comprising a mutilated kneeling male effigy in armour (originally 289 x 182 mm, now 112 x 181 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 2 rivets), a kneeling female effigy (281 x 167 mm, thickness 1.2 mm, 4 rivets), two scrolls (dexter 247 x 53 x 24 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 3 rivets; sinister 249 x 48 x 25 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 3 rivets), a six-line inscription (164 x 232 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 6 rivets) and a mutilated canopy with Saints in the side shafts (originally 1172 x 540 mm overall; dexter shaft 874 x 80 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 4 rivets; sinister shaft 875 x 77 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, 4 rivets; base 140 x 540 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 6 rivets), was set in a Purbeck slab (1290 x 605 mm) mounted on the east respond of the south arcade above an altar tomb (Fig. 1). The slab has indents for five sons, seven daughters, a Trinity, two shields and the upper part of the canopy. The cover slab on the altar tomb bears indents for a chamfer inscription and there are also indents for five shields on the sides and west end of the tomb. Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, visited the church for the 1613 *Visitation of Huntingdonshire* and his drawing shows the male effigy complete and wearing a tabard with the arms of Taylard

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[1] Described and illustrated by W. Lack and P. Whittemore in *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 16th Century*, I (2002), pp. 18-19 and pl. 26, and illustrated several times, most recently by P. Heseltine in *The Brasses of Huntingdonshire* (1987), and W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore in *The Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire* (2012), pp. 29-31.

2. *BL Harl. MS. 1179*, f. 44r.

© William Lack

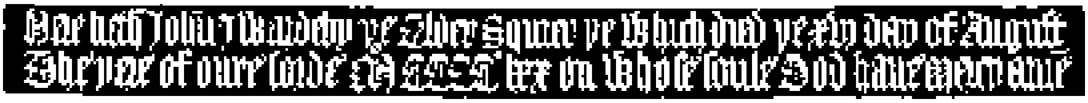

Fig. 3. Inscription to John Iwardeby the elder, 1470, Mapledurham, Oxfordshire (LSW.II) (rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

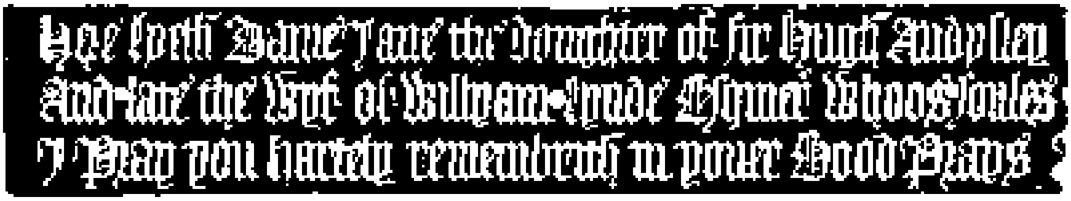

Fig. 4. Inscription to Dame Jane Lynde, [1476], Mapledurham, Oxfordshire (LSW.III) (rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

and Chapell.[2] Richard Astry visited the church *c.* 1665, found the male effigy complete and recorded the shield over the male effigy.[3]

The brass was removed from the slab on 12 September 2014 following an attempted theft which had left the thin and heavily corroded plate considerably distorted (Fig. 2). After cleaning, several fractures were repaired and new rivets fitted, including an extra one soldered to the reverse of the male effigy. The brass was reset in the slab on 7 May 2015.

Mapledurham Oxfordshire

Two brasses were collected from John Eyston of Mapledurham House on 4 June 2014.

LSW.II. Inscription to John Iwardeby the elder, 1470 (Fig. 3). This London D two-line English inscription (56 x 679 mm, thickness 3.7 mm, 3 rivets), which had been lost for many years, came into the private possession of Mr. Eyston in 2004. It was recorded in the 17th century by Richard Symonds[4] and by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy King of Arms, whose drawing also showed a man in armour and six shields, originally laid in the chancel.[5] After cleaning the brass was re-rivetted and rebated into a cedar board.

LSW.III. Inscription to Dame Jane Lynde, [1476] (Fig. 4). This mutilated London D three-line English inscription (79 x 440 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 3 rivets) had been re-mounted directly on the north wall of the south (Bardolf) aisle and was removed c.2009. It was originally situated in the chancel where it was recorded in the 17th century by Sir Richard St. George.[6] It was conserved in 1927 by W.E. Gawthorp.[7] After cleaning the brass was re-rivetted and rebated into a cedar board.

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[4] *BL Harl. MS. 965.*

[5] *Bod. Lib. MS. Rawlinson b.103*, f.77v.

[6] *Bod. Lib. MS. Rawlinson b.103*, f.69v. His drawing shows a female effigy and two shields which have since been lost.

[7] *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 1 (1934), p. 45.

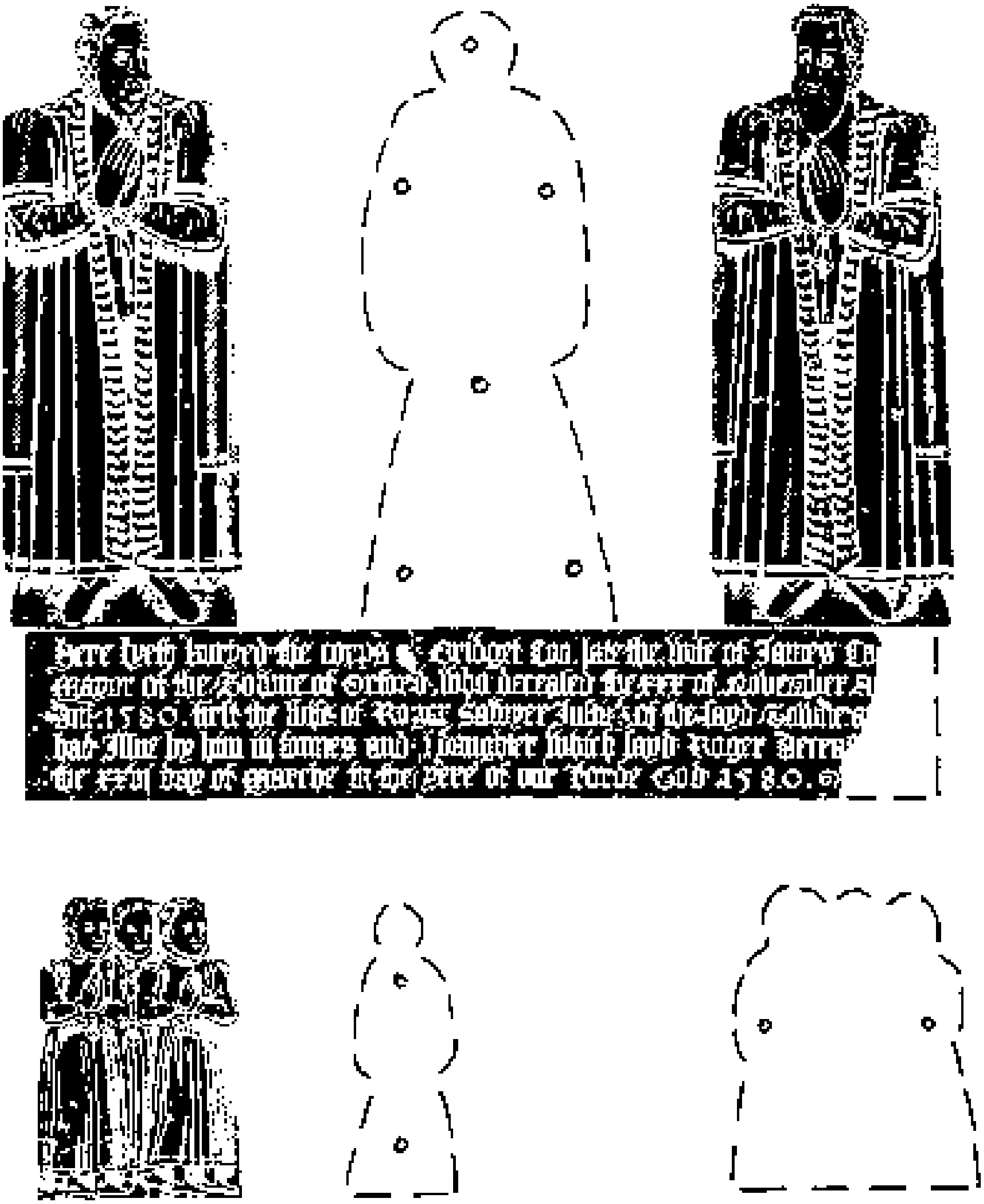

Fig. 5. Bridget Coo (effigy lost), 1580, and two husbands, Roger Sawyer and James Coo, Orford, Suffolk (M.S.IX)

The boards were mounted on the north wall of the south aisle on 13 April 2015.

Orford, Suffolk

M.S.IX. Bridget Coo, 1580, and two husbands, Roger Sawyer and James Coo (Fig. 5).[8] This London G brass, originally comprising a female effigy (c.475 x c.190 mm), two male effigies in civilian dress (Roger Sawyer 469 x 179 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 7 rivets; James Coo 469 x 180 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 7 rivets), a five-line English inscription (originally 128 x c.675 mm, now 128 x 638 mm, engraved on three plates, thicknesses 3.3, 3.1 and 2.9 mm, 5 rivets), a group of three sons (228 x 154 mm; thickness 2.9 mm, 2 rivets) and two further groups of children, was laid down in a Purbeck slab (1970 x 1085 mm) in the north chapel.[9] The plates remaining in the slab, namely the effigy of James Coo, the inscription and the group of sons, were taken up on 15 February 2012. The effigy of Roger Sawyer was acquired by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1920.[10] Martin Stuchfield negotiated its return on permanent loan in early 2015.

The surface of the slab had been extensively made up with cement, particularly around the inscription, and there were extremely worn indents for the lost plates. The inscription was found to be palimpsest in 1904[11] and the brass was conserved by W.E. Gawthorp in *c.*1930.[12] The group of sons was found to be palimpsest when the brass was taken up in 2012.[13] After cleaning I produced resin facsimiles of the palimpsest reverses and mounted these on a cedar board together with a commemorative plate. I rejoined the centre and sinister plates of the inscription, repaired fractures in both plates and in the group of sons, plugged several holes through the engraving with solder or coloured resin and fitted new rivets. The inscription and sons were relaid on 15 April 2013. On 8 May 2015 Simon Nadin from the Skillington Workshop re-cut the indents for the two effigies and these were relaid. The board carrying the facsimiles and commemorative plate was mounted on the north wall of the north aisle.

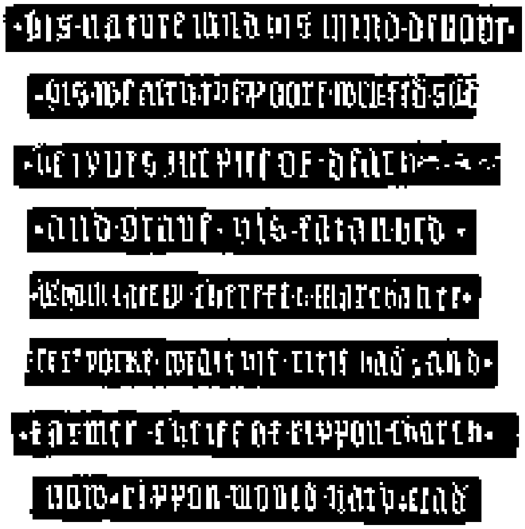

Fig. 6. Marginal inscription [to Robert Dawson, 1603] Ripon Cathedral, Yorkshire (M.S.II)

Ripon Cathedral, Yorkshire

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[8] Earlier work on the brass was described in *MBS Trans.*, XIX, pt. 1 (2014), p. 85.

[9] When the brass was noted by Rev. Herbert Haines in 1861 (*A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, pt. II, p. 191), both male effigies still survived but the female effigy was already lost.

[10] J. Bertram, *Monumental Brasses and Fragments in the Collections of The Society of Antiquaries of London* (2004), p. 15.

[11] J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses* (1980), p. 69 and pl. 116 (273L1-3).

[12] *MBS Trans.*, VII, pt. 1 (1934), p. 46.

[13] '10th Addenda to Palimpsests', *MBS Bulletin*, 123 (June 2013), p. lii and pl. 240.

[14] *A Verbatim Copy of all the Monuments, Gravestones and other Sepulchral Memorials in Ripon Cathedral and its burial ground, copied and arranged by Thomas Wilson, sexton* (1847).

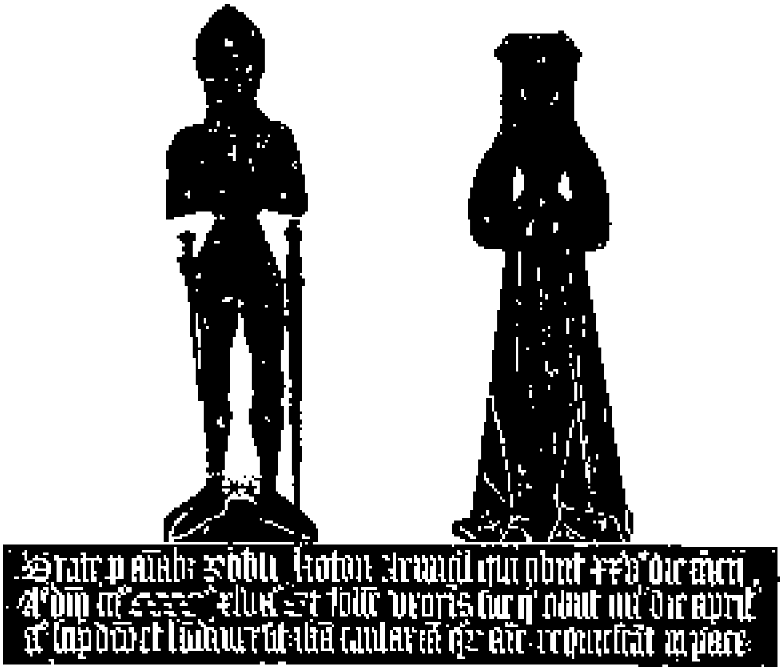

Fig. 7. Robert Hoton and wife Joan, both died 1447, Wilberfosse, Yorkshire (M.S.I)

M.S.II. Marginal inscription [to Robert Dawson, 1603] (Fig. 6). This York brass, originally in eight English verses, was formerly situated in the South Choir Aisle[14] and the monument was probably destroyed during the restoration of 1865. When the brass was described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson in 1909 it was complete and comprised eight separate fillets.[15] It was then loose in the library where it has remained ever since. Now only seven fillets remain[16] (the largest 54 x 591 mm, thicknesses between 4.7 and 7.2 mm, 14 rivets in total) and these were collected on 15 June 2013. After cleaning, the plates were re-rivetted and rebated into a cedar board. The board was returned to the cathedral on 25 March 2014 and at present is stored in the library.

Wilberfosse, Yorkshire

M.S.I. Robert Hoton and wife Joan, both died 1447 (Fig. 7).[17] This York 2a brass comprising an armoured effigy (511 x 143 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 7 rivets), a female effigy (484 x 172 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 6 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (115 x 724 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 8 rivets), was removed from its Egglestone marble slab (2110 x 900 mm) on 29 May 2015. The brass was loose and vulnerable and had been covered with a

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[15] 'Additions and Corrections to the Monumental Brasses of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Arch. Jour.*, XX (1909), pp. 305-6.

[16] The third fillet in Fig. 6, engraved 'he lives in spite of death', is now lost and the seventh fillet has become mutilated.

[17] Described by Mill Stephenson in 'Monumental Brasses of the East Riding', *Yorkshire Arch. Jour.*, XII (1893), pp. 227-8.

Reviews

Jerome Bertram, *Icon and Epigraphy: The Meaning of European Brasses and Slabs*. 2 volumes, (lulu, 2015); 423 pp. + 581 illus. mostly colour; vol. 1 Text, £22.50; Vol. 2 Illustrations, £64.50 (hardback); ISBN: 978-1-326-23129-3.

Reviewers assess the worth of books according to various standards. The choice and application of standards typically says as much about the reviewer as it does the book. Personally, I tend to like a book if it teaches me facts. One can see how nearly this reflects on me: I am only teachable about a given topic to the extent that I am ignorant of it. By this standard, I like *Icon and Epigraphy* very much, and warmly recommend it to others as a compendium of useful information about inscriptions and imagery on European medieval tombs. The material is logically organised, clearly explained and well stocked with examples. There are two volumes, one of text, the other, illustrations (581 of them). The text volume is divided into two sections, clearly distinguished by the use of a different font-size for each. In the first, the author prepares readers for the more specialised business of the study with a preliminary chapter about the development and typology of tombs, the materials used for them and the various standard making techniques. Then there is a thorough account of epigraphy, explaining in four chapters the common styles of lettering used for inscriptions, the languages employed and the various prose conventions, standard verse conventions, and the content of inscriptions, the latter parsed into its normal component parts (names, dates, achievements and status in life, benefactions, prayer formulae and so on). These parts are illustrated by lists of examples. Part two of the text is about imagery, and goes the long way around its topic by discussing it with reference to the various standard forms of monument: non-effigial slabs, semi-effigial slabs, fully effigial slabs and mural tablets of various sorts. With reference to wall-mounted monuments, the author is perfectly aware of a conceptual and functional conflation with commemorative mural painting and stained glass (see e.g. pp. 44, 288), but the reader is not taxed with the matter. If the book had been written by an academic, then making sense of this conflation would presumably have occupied a significant amount of space.

In fact, it would be possible to think that *Icon and Epigraphy* is wilfully non-academic in approach. The reader is prepared for this in the preface, where the author characterises his book as incompletely digested and ultimately 'abandoned'. This should be a pleasing admission for anyone fed up with the hurdles of current academic publishing. It is not just a matter of content-digestion. Throughout, the discussion is pretty thoroughly non-analytical, to the extent that arguments have the status of excursuses where they do appear (e.g. the interesting claims about the relationship between seal-design and tomb imagery in chapter 6). The evident reluctance to unpack things does not matter very much where inscriptions are concerned, because, as the author demonstrates, the content of inscriptions is overwhelmingly formulaic where it is not explicitly personalised. However, it is harder to ignore in relation to imagery, as the reader often has cause to reflect. For example, the ironically twice-spiked *spinarius* at the base of Friedrich von Wettin's crosier on that archbishop's tomb at Magdeburg is 'so clearly derived from a well-known classical original that the designer must have intended us to think of pagan Rome' (p. 256). Quite possibly; but this idea – also hinted at by Erwin Panofsky – raises questions about twelfth-century knowledge of ancient imagery which, once planted, are hard for the reader to dismiss ('well known to whom?' one might ask). Again, the languid posture of certain knightly effigies 'is likely [to] indicate the founder of a family' because it resembles that of Jesse under his eponymous tree (p. 263): but did the original viewers of these effigies really make inter-iconographic connections of this sort? It would be very interesting if they did, but there is no evidence for the existence of monumental Jesses where such effigies survive (Aldworth, Chew Magna, Walsall). Lawrence Stone, who also noticed the similarity, restricted himself to the milder claim that the pose was adopted by sculptors from manuscripts, without suggesting that meaning was transmitted through form. Of course, to argue through points like this would divert the book from its purpose, which is to deliver truths verifiable by example via description and the presentation of lists. However, some readers, having found such issues floated, may reasonably wish to have learned more about them.

These remarks are in the line of a reviewer's duty, but they are gently made in view of both the author's diffidence and the book's extraordinary value as a structured repository of facts on which those given to interpretation may draw. *Icon and Epigraphy* will be grist to many a scholar's mill, and have a longer shelf-life than most books currently being published. Quite apart from anything else, it is very unlikely that anyone with an experience of medieval funerary monuments like the author's – as long and wide as it is intelligent and sympathetic – will emerge in the foreseeable future. The summaries of phenomena from script-style to cross-slabs are not matched in the English-language literature on tombs, and are plainly underwritten by a vast personal acquaintance. One feels one can trust the author on the basis of his personal and specialist knowledge, and such trust is always important to a reader. Perhaps this point deserves a little emphasis, as the book is not as heavily footnoted as it might have been. Many who read this review will have benefitted (as I have) from the author's generous willingness to answer queries and share information. But those who have not (that is, those who rely on the reviewer's impartiality) will hopefully appreciate that an individual's generosity is not taxed by his or her peers for nothing. The scholar who takes that advantage of *Icon and Epigraphy* intended by its author will find his or her ideas, work and enthusiasm greatly nourished.

Julian Luxford

Sally Badham, *Seeking Salvation: Commemorating the Dead in the Late Medieval English Parish* (Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2015); ix + 278 pp; 118 colour illustrations; bibliography and index; £39.95 (hardback); ISBN-13: 978-1907730474.

The primary fear of the medieval age was a terror of what would happen to them after death. What would happen to their soul in purgatory? What endless torments awaited them in the after-life? True believers knew that the best way to avoid an eternity in purgatory was to undertake pious good works during your earthly spell, works specifically aimed at improving the lot of the poor and needy. Improving the fabric of the parish church and buildings, roads, bridges or causeways around the parish would also shorten you stay in purgatory. These obsessions reached a high point in the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries and one of the aims of this book is to demonstrate how these beliefs shaped the material culture of the high middle ages by inspiring people to build monuments to the dead in order to shorten a soul's time in purgatory.

Sally Badham explains the complex relationship between liturgical and social acts linking the dead and the living, exploring examples throughout England. Her purpose is to explain the desire for prayers for the departed soul and the way people sought to elicit these prayers from the living. Because much of the relevant physical evidence was destroyed during the Reformation, Badham has included details recorded in a wide range of surviving documents including wills and inventories. These often included details of now-lost memorials to be erected, paupers to be paid to pray for the departed, candles and gifts to the church.

Bequests in a will could be surprisingly practical. In 1481, Alice Walter of Faversham bequeathed two cushions 'of the best' for women to kneel on during their purification service after childbirth. Others included money to be paid for repairs to roads, bridges and causeways. The pious were encouraged to finance work in their local community. Money was bequeathed to hospitals, schools and almshouses. One of the finest surviving almshouses in England – Browne's Hospital in Stamford – has contemporary stained glass and a brass plate which records the hospital's foundation by letters patent from Richard III in 1485 to the wool merchant William Browne. Houses were provided for twelve poor men and two poor women in return for their pious prayers.

Some surviving memorials illustrate the medieval sense of humour and their delight in puns on their names. Sir Ralph Shelton's will of 1497 states that his personal device should appear on every corbel and niche in the parish church. His device was a 'shell' with a 'tun' or a barrel. Other bequests involved donations to churches and other establishments far from the final resting place of the deceased. John Hall, the son of a London grocer who died in 1519 in Bristol left gifts to Our Lady of Walsingham, the church of Our Lady in Seville and St. Lazarus in Seville among others. Using documentary evidence like this, Badham builds up a picture of the economic ties linking England to trading cities across Europe.

Badham is keen to explore the idea of how theology underpinned the memorials in churches and she uses many interesting examples to illustrate the point. Pardons or indulgences were often recorded on memorial slabs as the original documents could be lost and people were worried that God would not know if a pardon had been granted. When Cecily Neville, the mother of Richard III, was buried in the collegiate church of Fotheringhay, her monumental image wore her papal indulgence on a ribbon around her neck. Badham also includes some interesting – not to say disturbing – details about some medieval burial practices. When Blanche de Grandisson died *c.* 1347 her body was soaked in wine or vinegar and then wrapped in sheets of lead before her burial in Much Marcle, Herefordshire.

The concluding chapters explore the views of contemporary literature and how this illuminates people's beliefs and concerns about their immortal souls. Did the good work they undertook during their lives help buy their way into heaven or did it actually have the opposite effect? The late fourteenth century 'Vision of Piers Plowman' suggests that all the pomp and pride associated with memorials and ceremonies might actually hinder a soul's progress.

The book includes 118 colour plates – mainly by C.B. Newham – some full page and all beautifully detailed. The photographs include brass inscriptions, stained glass, architectural features, alabaster tombs and ceiling angels and they complement the text perfectly.

This detailed and highly informative book will be of interest to anyone interested in church buildings and memorials and help the reader form a better understanding of how church iconography, medieval theology and surviving documents all create a fuller picture of the medieval world.

Penny Williams

Wingfield College and its Patrons: Piety and Prestige in Medieval Suffolk, ed. by Peter Bloore and Edward Martin (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015); xv + 249 pp., 27 colour, 32 b/w, 10 line illustrations and DVD; bibliography and index; £50 (hardback); ISBN 978-1-8438383-2-6.

This collection of essays is the result of a stimulating two-day symposium held at Wingfield in 2012. It includes essays by almost all the speakers, whose ten contributions are assembled under the headings, The Founding of the College, The Medieval Structures, and The Later History.

The Founding of the College begins with an essay by Edward Martin which sets the scene of Wingfield Castle and Wingfield College with its ancillary buildings: 'From Hall-and-Church

Complex to Castle Green and College – a Landscape History of Wingfield'. Mark Bailey's essay on 'Sir John de Wingfield and the Foundation of Wingfield College' introduces the reader to the founder of the college, a career soldier who fought at Crécy and Poitiers and served as the Black Prince's 'chief financial and operating officer'. Although Bailey apologises for the 'sketchiness' (p. 31) of his life, a good picture can in fact be built up of Sir John, largely through the survival of the Prince's business register for the years 1346-65. Most relevant to Wingfield itself is the marriage of Sir John's daughter Katherine (there were no other surviving children) to Michael de la Pole, known to Sir John as a wealthy Hull wool merchant who had financed Edward III's military actions. He was to be created earl of Suffolk in 1385, long after his father-in-law's death. The Poles feature prominently in the history of the college; although work on the church, which involved almost a total rebuild of the old parish church, probably started during Sir John's lifetime, work on the collegiate buildings lasted from the early 1360s through to the 1380s.

Eamon Duffy in 'Wingfield College and the Late Medieval Cult of Purgatory' takes up the theme of the Black Death to investigate whether the cult of purgatory and the foundation of chantry colleges such as Wingfield were inspired by fear of the after-life. While some evidence might point that way, Duffy's examination of foundations and wills suggests not. John Baret (who died a century after the Black Death) is used as a case study to argue that post-mortem provision was not just about fear but was 'a kind of displaced dynastic aspiration' (p. 57), a way of extending networks and obligations beyond life: 'purgatory provision helped domesticate death; it did not make it more terrible' (p. 58). The section ends with the Latin foundation and surrender documents with English translations.

Section 2, The Medieval Structures, contains four essays. Robert Liddiard on 'Reconstructing Wingfield Castle' and Peter Bloore on 'Historical Digital Reconstruction: The Role of Creativity and Known Unknowns – A Case Study of Wingfield College' deal with the various projects which have involved geophysical, archaeological, and architectural surveys of the castle and the college. (There is a DVD of the digital reconstructions of both.) Sally Badham concentrates on the church and its monuments, perhaps of most interest to this Society: 'the tomb monuments at Wingfield are, along with those at Framlingham, arguably the finest collection of medieval carved tombs in Suffolk, two of them being of national importance' (p. 135). In a well-illustrated essay (which can be augmented by the fine colour plates in Peter Bloore's essay), Badham provides detailed consideration of monuments at Wingfield: Sir John Wingfield; the Purbeck marble slab that probably commemorates Eleanor, his wife; at Hull: probably only one, most likely, Badham suggests, to Richard de la Pole (d. 1345) and his son William (d. 1366) – although Fig. 7.5 says Richard (d. 1366); at the (now lost) Hull charterhouse: Michael de la Pole and Sir John Wingfield's daughter Katherine; and William, fourth earl and first duke of Suffolk; at Ewelme: the remarkable tomb of Alice Chaucer (d. 1475), wife of the first duke, as well as a tomb-chest monument to her parents, Thomas and Maud; and, with a return to Wingfield church, the marble slab to Richard de la Pole (d. 1403), son of Michael and Katherine; an indent to his brother John (d. 1415); various lost brasses; the fine tomb and wooden effigies of Michael de la Pole, second earl of Suffolk (d. 1415) and his wife Katherine Stafford; and the even finer tomb and alabaster effigies of John de la Pole, second duke of Suffolk (d. 1491) and his wife Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV and Richard III. The essay is an exhaustive tour de force, combining personal observation, antiquarian records, and much grubbing (one imagines) in and around neglected corners of the church and the monuments themselves.

This section of the book ends with John Goodall's investigation of 'Chapel or Closet? The Question of the Vestry at Wingfield'. Unlike Bloore, who suggests that it was a chantry for William de la Pole (buried at Hull according to Badham), Goodall insists that it was built as a vestry in the 1360s and extended and adapted a century later by Alice Chaucer, not as a chantry, but as a family pew, perhaps with altar (a parclose). Alice herself is the subject of Rowena Archer's fact-filled essay, 'Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk (d. 1475), and her East Anglian estates', in the final section of the volume. Finally, in a characteristically light but not lightweight essay, Diarmaid MacCulloch ends the volume with 'The Wars of the Roses, the Downfall of the de la Poles and the Dissolution of Wingfield College'. MacCulloch sorts out the Wars of the Roses and positions the de la Poles in Phase Two, 'the golden age of the de la Poles', who started in 1415 with 'not enough genealogy' and by the 1450s had 'fatally acquired too much genealogy' (p. 209). A roller-coaster ride takes the reader to the defeat of the House of Lancaster (Phase Four), followed by the defeat of the House of York under Henry VII (Phase Six) with the concomitant fall of the de la Poles, who 'had more Plantagenet blood than almost anyone else alive' (p. 213). With no males alive Wingfield Castle and the college were given to the new duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, and his wife, Henry VIII's sister Mary. When Henry sent Brandon to Lincolnshire in 1537, the time was ripe anyway for the college to become one of the first major chantry colleges in Suffolk to be dissolved, in 1542. An Appendix provides a timeline for the college (prepared by the editors). As they point out in their Introduction, 'Wingfield is a special place with a unique history' (p. 6): this volume amply demonstrates how special it still is, and how unique its history has been.

Susan Powell

Tobias Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight, 1400-1450* (London: Thomas Del Mar Ltd.,

2015); xii + 308 pp., numerous colour illus.; bibliography and index; £80 (hardback); ISBN 978-0-9933246-0-4.

For long, the study of the armour represented on English medieval tomb effigies has been dominated by Claude Blair's *European Armour*, a magisterial survey first published in 1958 and many times reissued. Now, more than half a century on from the first appearance of Blair's book, a monograph of comparable importance has appeared – Tobias Capwell's *Armour of the English Knight*. This is a book entirely different from its predecessor, but eminently worthy to be set beside it.

Where Blair's survey was synoptic and wide-ranging, Capwell's is narrowly focused, concerned exclusively with England and covering a period of no more than fifty years. Capwell's starting-point is the proposition that, since little actual armour has come down to us from the first half of the fifteenth century, the subject can only be approached through the medium of other sources, chief among these the tomb effigies on which armour is represented. Capwell does not subscribe to the view, sometimes expressed, that armour as depicted on medieval tombs is either simplified or inaccurate. He believes that the figures should be seen as portraits – portraits in the sense that each of them portrays a unique armour, with that armour standing in for the man, and making a statement about him which complements the written one on the epitaph. Capwell gives as an example the armour on the effigy of Sir John Cressy (d. 1445) at Dodford (Northants.), which he believes is no mere conventional rendering but a careful representation of both Italian and English pieces of equipment – the Italian element principally the cuirass with its two-part breastplate, short skirt and fluted, spade-shaped tassets, and the English pieces making up the rest. He supports his argument by highlighting the technical accuracy of the best effigies of the period, which depict even the smallest variations in such details as hinges and strap-ends. He demonstrates, for example, how on the effigy of Sir John Savill at Thornhill (Yorks.) one strap-end carries a little ring, while from its counterpart hangs a triangular pendant. Through the careful observation of the full range of effigies in his chosen period Capwell convincingly argues that the sculptors who carved them must have been working from armour supplied by their clients. What so many scholars have taken for small adjustments in workshop styles of design, he says, should rather be seen as the faithful representation of changes in styles and fashions of armour.

Once he has established the validity of tomb effigies as a source, Capwell goes on to develop a second argument about the armour itself. Challenging the view that before Henry VIII's establishment of the royal armouries at Greenwich hardly any armour was made in England, he argues that there was in fact a small but significant armour-producing industry which supplied richly decorated suits to well-to-do native clients. Evidence of these men's activities is scattered across the household accounts kept by those clients, albeit evidence which has hitherto been largely overlooked by scholars. What was distinctive about English armour, Capwell argues, and what makes it easily identifiable on tomb effigies, is that it was different from Continental armour in being optimized for men who often fought on foot. As Capwell points out, in the battles of the Hundred Years War, at Agincourt for example, the English men-at-arms dismounted, fighting as integrated units alongside the archers. Accordingly, their need was for armour that was flexible enough to permit mobility. In practical terms, this made for such features as symmetrical arm and shoulder defences that facilitated movement on both sides of the body; longer cuirass skirts than those worn by mounted fighters; sabatons cut low around the base of the ankle so as to leave the ankles free of restriction; and substantial protection for the head and neck. All of these features are well attested on English tomb effigies of the fifteenth century.

In developing these two related arguments, Capwell bases himself principally on the evidence of sculpted effigies, and only to a lesser extent on that of engraved brasses. He draws attention to the obvious difficulty which the brass engravers encountered in reducing armour to two-dimensional representation. At the same time, however, he highlights the detail with which armour could sometimes be portrayed on some of the grander brasses of the day. As he shows, it is on a brass – that of Richard de la Mare in Hereford Cathedral – that we find one of the few representations of rivets on sabaton lames, indicating how they overlapped downwards towards the toe. Magnificent brasses on the scale of de la Mare's, however, constitute only a tiny minority of the total produced. When we turn from these to the many smaller brasses, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the representation of armour on brasses must have been governed far more by stylistic convention than was the case on sculpted effigies. A point worth making in this connection is that, since the brass engravers operated in a more centrally organised trade than the sculptors, and since they executed their products from drawings if not templates, they were necessarily given to producing designs of a rather stock nature. It is difficult to avoid the impression that the periodic updates in the design of brasses were essentially routine exercises rather than genuine attempts to capture the individuality of pieces of armour worn or supplied by clients.

Whether or not this was the case, the great achievement of this book is to demonstrate the importance of the study of tomb sculpture to the student of armour for a period from which little or no armour has come down to us. Capwell's scholarship is impeccable, and his book is one which, like Claude Blair's, will last. There are only a few minor blemishes to which readers' attention should be drawn. It is annoying that the captions to the full-page

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1 *MBS Trans.*, XIV, pt. 6 (1991), pp. 444-7.

colour plates identify the subject only by place-name and date, and not by the name of the person commemorated: to access the latter information, the reader has to dig around in the catalogue of relief effigies at the back. One or two errors should be mentioned: Mere in Wiltshire is rendered 'Mede', and the glass panel of the kneeling man-at-arms at Birtsmorton is said variously to be in the Court and the church: it is actually in the church. These are minor criticisms, however, of what is undoubtedly a fine book. Dr. Capwell has placed us all in his debt.

Nigel Saul

Douglas Brine, *Pious Memories: the Wall-Mounted Memorial in the Burgundian Netherlands*, Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History, vol. 13 (Leiden, Brill, 2015); xx + 322 pp., 118 colour and b/w illus.; €105; ISBN13: 978-9-0042-8832-4.

This is a book that may change the way that we tend to think: that brasses belong on the floor, and reliefs or paintings with kneeling donor figures were placed at altars. Douglas Brine shows that all of this can be wrong. Brasses can belong on walls and paintings or reliefs that may look like altarpieces can in fact accompany a grave. These are the wall-mounted memorials of the book title, also sometimes known as epitaphs. Just to confuse us further, these epitaphs or memorials can also preserve the memory of a foundation or donation of someone buried elsewhere, and hence not accompany a grave but still be hung on the wall. This is complicated, but Brine expertly navigates the reader through the complexities using a series of closely-argued case studies.

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2 Ludovic Nys, *Les tableaux votifs tournaisiens en pierre 1350-1475* (Académie royale de Belgique, Brussels, 2001).

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Cover: Detail of the brass to Thomas, 1st Baron Camoys, 1421, Trotton, Sussex (M.S.II). See book review by Nigel Saul of *Armour of the English Knight, 1400-1450*, by Tobias Capwell (pp. 273-4). *Photo.: © Martin Stuchfield.*

Monumental Brass Society

Volume XIX, Part 3, 2016. ISSN 0143-1250

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The Society would like to thank the Francis Coales Charitable Foundation for grant assistance towards the production of this issue.

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