

Monumental Brass Society

OCTOBER 2017



Orate pro anima magistri Galfridi fische huius Ecclesie
Cathedralis decani qui huius mortalitatis diem clausit
eternam anno dñice incarnationis millesimo CCCCL
sex septimo ac mensis Aprilis die octava et sepultus est
in hac tomba cuius animæ precorietur deus amen

The *Bulletin* is published three times a year, in February, June and October. Articles for inclusion in the next issue should be sent by 1st January 2018 to:

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Hon. Treasurer's notice

On 1st January all subscriptions for 2018 become due. Please send £25.00 (associate/student £12.50, family £35.00) to the Hon. Treasurer, Robert Kinsey, 18 Haughgate Close, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 1LQ. Payment can be made using the *PayPal* system via mbs_brasses@yahoo.com or make cheques payable to the 'Monumental Brass Society'. Many thanks to all those members who have completed Gift Aid forms. Any U.K. tax-paying member can enable the Society to reclaim tax on their subscription. Complete and send in the form that can be downloaded directly from www.mbs-brasses.co.uk. U.S. members preferring to pay in dollars can send a cheque for U.S. \$45.00 to Shirley Mattox at 1313 Jackson Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.

Featured brass



Monumental brass commemorating Rev. Newton Mant, M.A., F.S.A., vicar of Hendon 1892-1907, rector of Cossington, Leicestershire, died and buried at Cossington, 1911, from Hendon, Middlesex. This brass is almost a copy of part of the brass to Geoffrey Fyche, 1537, from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (see cover).

(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Personalia

We welcome as new members:

Oliver Fearon, 32 Highfield Road, Stretford, Manchester M32 8NQ

Judith Ridley, 11 Tamarisk Rise, Wokingham, Berkshire RG40 1WG.

It is with very deep regret that we report the death of **Ruth Bayes** who had been a member of the Society since 2002.

Monumental brass commemorating Geoffrey Fyche, dean, 1537, rectangular plate with effigy in almuce kneeling to an altar above which is a representation of Our Lady in Pity, device with initials and inscription in Latin, from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Diary of Events

Saturday, 21st April 2018 at 2.00pm.

GENERAL MEETING

ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL

The first meeting of 2018 will be held in the Chapel of Eton College where there are many brasses not normally available to view, as well as the 15th-century wall paintings, a fine collection of stained glass and other works of art including some by Burne-Jones and John Piper. **Philippa Martin** will provide an insight into the unique wall paintings, and **Euan Roger** will give a talk entitled *Rival Institutions or Collegiate Cousins?: Tracing trans-institutional relationships between St. George's College and Eton College in the late middle ages*, focusing on some of the brasses. There will also be an opportunity to visit the Print Room with its fascinating collection of documents including some brass rubbings, and a talk on the history of the chapel and school itself.

The Chapel will be open from 1.15p.m. and will be available for us to visit throughout the afternoon. The meeting will be held in the Upper School Room starting at 2.00p.m.

*The address is Eton College, Windsor SL4 6DW. You will be sent a map with details of where and how to access the College when you book. To book your place please contact Janet McQueen (email: jntmcqn@gmail.com or post to 55 Manor Road, Enfield, Middlesex EN2 0AN) and include a S.A.E. for a reply. There are limited parking places available on request (a code and your registration number are required for entry). There is free public parking on the roads into Eton. **This event is limited to 45 places which means you MUST pre-book. Applications will be treated on a first come, first served basis.***

Saturday, 11th August 2018 at 2.00p.m.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

ROCHFORD, ESSEX

The Annual General Meeting will be held in St. Andrew's church, Rochford. Further details in the next issue.

Saturday, 29th September 2018

STUDY DAY

COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT

Members are encouraged to reserve this date in their diary for the 2018 Study Day which will be held at Cobham College, Kent. This event will include lectures on the brasses and medieval college by **Jerome Bertram**, **Clive Burgess** and **Nigel Saul**.

Monumental Brass Society

Edmonton, Middlesex



Stephen Freeth, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore

Copies of this comprehensively illustrated 20-page booklet are available at a cost of £5.00 or £7.50 (including postage and packing) from Martin Stuchfield (see p.702 for contact details). A full review will be included in *Bulletin* 137 (February 2018).

CHURCH MONUMENTS SOCIETY

The Society has a number of events in 2018 which may be of interest to members.

17th March	London one-day conference
15th-17th September	Hereford Symposium
November	Walking Tour of Cambridge churches and chapels

Full details at: www.churchmonumentsociety.org.

Annual General Meeting

Bristol Grammar School – 29th July 2017

The venue for the 2017 A.G.M. was neither a church nor a cathedral, but a school hall. As was to be expected from the Society, it was no ordinary hall. Bristol Grammar School received a Royal Charter in 1532. After various locations it moved in 1878 to a large site adjacent to the contemporary University College, later University of Bristol, and erected a huge hall with other rooms below. The Hall contains one brass, to its founder, Nicholas Thorne who died in 1546, and it was this brass which a score of members came to see and learn about.

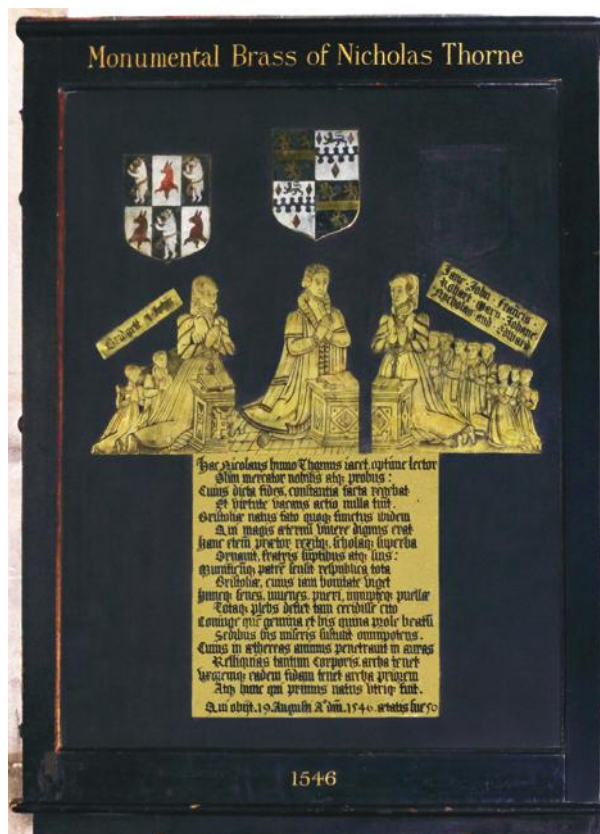


Bristol Grammar School.

The Great Hall is an awesome space. It is enormous, 50 feet wide and nearly three times as long, an area which could encompass some half-dozen medieval halls. Of nine large bays, it has an arch-braced roof, with wall posts resting on elaborate corbels holding heraldic devices and below them portraits, mainly of former headmasters. It was designed for the whole school to be taught there following the monitorial system, an early 19th century system intended for the education of the masses. By this, groups of pupils would gather around monitors who sat at the edge of the hall and taught; there are 16 canopied chairs for the monitor teachers at Bristol; at the head of the hall (now incongruously hidden by cloth screens) is the high triple-canopied headmaster's seat behind a wide ink-stained desk,

from which he dominated the whole school. It is strange that such a prestigious grammar school should have erected a building designed for a teaching method out of fashion and originally intended for elementary education. The hall interior is an interesting survival of a long outdated education method. The panelling of the Great Hall is very much of its period.

The central transept has a Great War memorial screen across it, and on either side, under the corbels, portraits of the two main founders, the merchant brothers Robert and Nicholas Thorne. The brass to Nicholas, his two wives and ten legitimate children is framed and glazed on the wall opposite. Originally with his tomb in St. Werberga's church in the city, the brass was transferred to the newly erected Great Hall in 1878 when the church was demolished. It was moved to its present position after the Great War.



*The brass to Nicholas Thorne, 1546, and his two wives.
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)*

After the formal A.G.M. business, **Anne Bradley**, the School's archivist, gave us a fascinating series of details about the school and the Thornes. The family were international *Merchants of Brigstone*, with Nicholas' father Robert and his brother Robert spending much time in London. It was from there that Robert senior approached Henry VIII asking him to encourage further world exploration. The time was one of mercantile expansion of the known world; Cabot had sailed in *The Matthew* from Bristol a generation earlier to find Newfoundland and mainland America. It was also one of increasing knowledge of science, especially the mathematics of astronomy and map-making. In 1527 Robert had made a map of the whole western world including Eurasia, Africa and the Americas. Robert senior probably died in 1527; his son Robert died five years later and was buried in St. Christopher's church in the City of London, where the Bank of England now stands. In his will he left £300 to the School and £25 to Thomas Moffatt.

The Thornes were seriously wealthy, but used their wealth for the good of their home city. In 1532 they obtained a Charter from Henry VIII for a free grammar school in Bristol in buildings which were formerly St. Bartholomew's Hospital.



Portrait of Nicholas Thorne.



View of Bristol Grammar School.
(photo: © Alamy)

Thomas Moffatt had already been teaching children in a room over a gateway in the city centre. He became the first master after the charter, which ensured sufficient money to repair the St. Bartholomew's Hospital building, give it a change of use from a monastic building to a secular one, set up a school there and pay a schoolmaster who was learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The Thornes realised that educated men were required to advance the mercantile world. The boys were to be educated in literature and good manners.

But politics played its part. This was the time of religious ferment between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the nationalisation of religious property. 1532 was the time of Henry VIII's problem over divorce. Of the five men involved with the charter, only the Thornes flourished, as they kept their counsel; of the three others who were Roman Catholics and spoke out, one was executed, another sent to the Tower and the third survived. Nicholas played his part in his city's governance, serving as sheriff, as mayor, as M.P. and magistrate. He appointed two masters; when he died he left the schoolmaster £5 and a black gown, and the usher a large amount of salt (a valuable commodity). He left £30 to form a library, as well as money for churches and the relief of the poor. An upright merchant, he ruled the city and endowed it with a noble school; he was a munificent city-father by whose honesty the city was blessed.

Our thanks go to Bristol Grammar School for allowing us to use and visit its Great Hall, to its archivist, Anne Bradley for being so illuminating about the school and the Thornes, and to Janet McQueen for organising the event.

Rosalind Willatts

A.G.M. Formal Business

The 2017 Annual General Meeting was held at Bristol Grammar School, University Road, Bristol on 29th July. Apologies were received and the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on 16th July 2016 were approved by the meeting and signed. The Report and Accounts for 2016 were also approved. Our member, Michael Boon, F.C.A., F.C.M.I., was elected as Independent Examiner.

The meeting proceeded to elect the Hon. Officers *en bloc*: Martin Stuchfield as President; Jerome Bertram, Paul Cockerham, Nigel Saul, Nicholas Rogers, David Meara and Stephen Freeth as Vice-Presidents; Janet McQueen as Hon. Secretary; Robert Kinsey as Hon. Treasurer; and David Lepine as Hon. Editor.

The President thanked Jessica Barker as the retiring member of the Executive Council. Jane Houghton, as a duly nominated member, was elected to fill the vacancy created.

At the Executive Council meeting held on 14th October 2017 the following appointments were approved:

Hon. Assistant Secretary: Penny Williams

Hon. Bulletin Editor: William Lack

Hon. Conservation Officer: Martin Stuchfield

Hon. Heraldic Adviser: Thomas Woodcock,
Garter Principal King of Arms.

Janet McQueen, Hon. Secretary



An early London brass-slab in need of help at Hever, Kent

The purpose of this communication is to advertise the deteriorating condition of an important indent and its slab, in the hope that something will be done to protect and conserve it. The monument in question is in the parish church of St. Peter at Hever in Kent, a building conspicuous to brass enthusiasts for the tomb of Sir Thomas Bullen, K.G., Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, 1539, father of Henry VIII's star-crossed second wife. It also houses the delicate, beautiful brass of Margaret Cheyne, 1419. While popular interest in the Boleyn family centres on nearby Hever castle, the church nevertheless attracts many visitors. Its custodians are commendably aware of the potential this brings for unintentional damage to the brasses. That of Margaret Cheyne, which is in the pavement of the central vessel to the west of the high altar, is equipped with a notice worded, 'Please do not walk on this ancient tomb'.

No polite notice is needed for the Bullen brass, which is mounted on a tomb-chest. However, with all due respect, the churchwardens really should place such a notice on the oldest monument in their care, which has a particular technical interest in the context of medieval art and ought to have a special historical interest to anyone curious about Hever's medieval history. This monument is now in the pavement at the west end of the Bullen chapel, which lies on the north side of the chancel, but it has obviously been relaid. A.G. Sadler thought it came originally from the chancel, and points out that it belonged to a priest, perhaps a rector whose name has not been recorded.¹

He gave a reading of the surviving letters of the marginal inscription, although mutilation and degradation at both ends of the slab put the complete epitaph beyond recovery.² Interestingly,



Indent for a priest in mass vestments, crown over his head (?), canopy with marginal inscription in Lombardics, c.1320-30.

the inscription was punctuated by little shields, whose width did not exceed that of the fillets which incorporated them. The general technical interest of the indent has been suggested by Paul Binski: 'At Hever in Kent there is an indent whose general appearance – Main Group lettering, figure and canopy – points generally to the Camoys style. But the canopy type is unique in this context, as is the location of short fillets, of unknown purpose, on either side of the figure.' Binski dates the monument to c.1320-30.³ The independent fillets which flank the figure are indeed interesting. They seem very unlikely to have displayed further inscriptions, and perhaps represented the *virgae* associated with some office. In any case, the figure did not hold them in its hands, which were folded in prayer as usual.

Clearly, this is an interesting and important monument, which has not yet told its full story but easily might if subjected to scholarly diligence. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of local awareness of this. The claim in the current church guide that the oldest tomb in the church is that of John de Cobham (d.1399: now represented by a wall-mounted inscription) reveals this innocence.⁴ A more serious indication of it is the way in which the feet of a linenfold chest, moveable iron screen and portable chairs (which I took the liberty of moving) are currently set upon the slab. More serious still is the damage caused by a metal hot water radiator, whose feet are dug into the monument at its west end. St. Peter's is a damp church, as the friable condition of its Purbeck marble objects shows. The heat from this radiator is exacerbating the damage to the monument underneath it, to the extent that pieces of it are breaking off, particularly on the left-hand side (viewer's right) of the head of the effigy. One such piece lying loose on the surface when I visited on 5th June 2017 was over 100 mm long.

By any informed measure, the monument is currently in crisis. This could be ameliorated by moving the chest, screen and chairs off it permanently and putting up a small sign like that near Margaret Cheyne's brass. But it will be impossible to secure its condition while the radiator is anywhere near it. Hopefully, nothing more than an appeal to the monument's importance in the context of Hever's history will be needed to prompt the necessary action. It would help, however, if someone were to do some research on the slab, for if we can discover whom it commemorated it will be much easier to generate interest in its preservation. History has a habit of neglecting nameless monuments.

Julian Luxford

- 1 A.G. Sadler, *The Indents of Lost Monumental Brasses in Kent: Part I* (Ferring-on-sea, Sussex, 1975), pp.60-1.
- 2 Sadler gives the current dimensions of the slab as 2320 x 990 mm (effigy, composed of four plates, 1700 mm long). For the plate-lengths of the effigy see P. Binski, 'An Analysis of the Length of Plates used for English Monumental Brasses before 1350', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XVI, pt.3 (1999), pp.229-38 (at p.234).
- 3 P. Binski, 'The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', in *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), pp.69-132 (at pp.125-6, and fig 132, p.127).
- 4 [No specified author], *St. Peter's Church, Hever, Kent: Church Guide* (no location or date of publication), p.7.

The brass of John Killigrew, esquire, at Budock, Cornwall: some new evidence

In St. Budock's church, Budock, near Falmouth, is the fine Johnson-style brass of John Killigrew, esquire, and his wife Elizabeth (née Trewinnard), showing the couple facing each other, with a lengthy inscription below and three shields above. The brass lies in the centre of the chancel floor, immediately in front of the altar, its upper part today regrettably concealed by a moveable altar step. A curiosity of the brass is that, although John Killigrew died in 1567, the brass to his memory could not have been commissioned until some thirty or more years later. There can be little or no doubt about the date: the two figures are closely comparable to those on other Johnson-style brasses of the turn of the century, such as at Firle, Sussex, and in Cornwall, at Illogan, not far from Budock. The classical style of the script of the Killigrews' inscription is also characteristic of memorials of the very late 16th and early 17th centuries. So why in that case did such a long delay occur in the commissioning of the brass? An important reference in the will of John's son and successor, Sir John, helps to shed light on the matter.

The will which this second John Killigrew made on 28th February 1584 was principally concerned with the settlement of his worldly affairs.¹ He laid down that all the lands which he held in fee simple, except those on the south side of the Helford River, were to be left to his widow and executrix to pay for his debts and bequests, with remainder after her death to his son and heir, yet another John, when he reached 21. He left £1,000 to his daughter Mary, to provide for her marriage, and £500 to a younger son, Simon. He also left sums to various long-serving or needy family retainers and dependants. In the manner of the time, he additionally set aside sums for the poor of various local parishes, Budock itself, in which his seat of Arwenack lay, and the neighbouring parishes of Mabe, Mylor and St. Gluvias.

He then turned to the matter of his commemoration. He said: 'I give and bequeath £20 to build a tombe at Budock church to be laid upon my father and my mother and my self by



*John Killigrew, 1567, and wife Elizabeth Trewinnard,
engraved c.1600.
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Cornwall)*

Gods grace £20'. The idea of commemorating his father John I and his wife, therefore, although not in the event to be implemented until after 1600, was in fact contemplated nearly twenty years earlier. It should be noted that John junior did not refer in specific terms to the commissioning of a brass. What he provided for was a tomb monument which honoured the two generations, his own and his parents'. Conceivably he might have intended a single memorial with two sets of figures, on the lines of the memorial which the Arundells were to commission half-a-century later at St. Columb Major, also in Cornwall. But why had the younger John Killigrew taken no fewer than seventeen years to set about honouring his parents' memory? And why, even then, was nothing done? It was to take yet another seventeen years or more before the brass memorial was finally commissioned. The answer is almost certainly to be found in the family's increasing descent into debt as the profligate later Killigrews spent their way through the fortune which their

forebear, the first John, had so carefully accumulated.

John Killigrew the younger, who was responsible for making the will in 1584, inherited none of his father's acumen, ability and ambition. In Philip Marsden's words, he was 'a consummate, dyed-in-the-wool rogue'.² To his father's arrogance, he added profligacy, displaying to the full the wanton extravagance that was to become a family trait. Like his father, he regularly took to the seas as a privateer, but unlike him, he had the misfortune to fall foul of the authorities. On one notorious occasion he and a group of accomplices plotted the ransacking of a Spanish vessel, the *Marie*, which had sought shelter in Penryn harbour. One night the gang boarded the ship, with Killigrew himself lying low elsewhere to provide himself with an alibi; to their annoyance, however, the malefactors found little of value and, to compensate, they seized the ship itself, sailing it to Ireland, casting most of the crew overboard on the way.³ This scandalous episode was still being investigated by the Privy Council a year or two later when Killigrew died. The family's circumstances were to experience no improvement in the time of John's son in turn, the third John Killigrew who, despite continuing the family tradition of privateering, was reduced to selling some of his ancestral lands to pay off his mounting debts. This John was to eke out his last days in prison in 1605.

In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that John Killigrew's heirs or executors should have taken so long to commission a brass to his memory. In the end, as we have seen, it was to be a memorial of some splendour. It is a high quality product of the Johnson workshop, with figures of just under three feet in length.⁴ Due attention is paid on the epitaph to the family's status, with John described as first captain of Pendennis Castle. The patron responsible for the commission was almost certainly the fourth John Killigrew, who succeeded his father in 1605 and was to marry a wealthy Northamptonshire lady, Jane Fermor, whose ample dowry brought her husband's family some much-needed financial relief. It was the same Sir John who, a decade-or-so later in 1617, was to commission a second retrospective monument, this one to his unworthy grandfather, the second Sir John Killigrew and his wife. The monument takes the form of a somewhat crudely executed

mural composition with kneeling figures in alabaster of the commemorated and his wife facing each other, an heraldic crest above, decorative panels on the sides, and an inscription below noting Sir John's responsibility for the commission.⁵ In the *Cornwall County Series* volume LSW.26 is recorded as a 'lost ?brass to Sir John Killigrave of Arwenack, captain of Pendennis Fort, 1584, and his wife Mary ... and three sons ...and two daughters ... posuit by his grandson John Killigrave, 1617'. This supposedly lost brass is in fact the relief monument on the wall. It is a forgivable error to mistake the long dark marble epitaph for one executed in brass. Indeed, in the light of his earlier commemorative preference, it is perhaps surprising that Sir John did not choose a brass again for his grandparents' memorial.⁶

What is interesting, in the light of this new evidence, is that for all the financial problems which he faced, Sir John IV was to show the same interest in dynastic commemoration as such other Cornish families of the day as the Arundells at St. Columb Major and Mawgan-in-Pydar, and the St. Aubyns at Crowan.⁷ In the Killigrews' case, however, there were to be no later monuments in the mausoleum at Budock: this Sir John was to be the last in his family's direct line of descent, as his heir on his death was a collateral who chose not to reside at the ancestral seat of Arwenack. The late 17th-century Killigrews were to be commemorated elsewhere.

Nigel Saul

- 1 Royal Institution of Cornwall, Courtney Library, HB/20/33: a contemporary copy of the will. It was noticed and calendared by Charles Henderson in: Courtney Library, Henderson MSS, Cal. 8, item 1745.
- 2 P. Marsden, *The Levelling Sea. The Story of a Cornish Haven and the Age of Sail* (London, 2011), p.52.
- 3 Marsden, *The Levelling Sea*, pp.53-4. John Killigrew's fall from grace had earlier been noted by A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (London, 1941), pp.412-3.
- 4 Gerard Johnson (Janssen) (d. 1612) was a Flemish *émigré* who settled in Southwark and produced both brasses and sculpted monuments: M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p.82.
- 5 Paul Cockerham tells me that the monument is probably Barnstaple work, using Somerset alabaster. The parts have been rearranged and the inscription was originally at the top.
- 6 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield, P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London, 1997), p.13. It is noteworthy that the monument shows the same interest in status as the Killigrew brass – for example, in the attention given to John's position as second captain of Pendennis Fort (Castle).
- 7 The interest shown in dynastic commemoration by the Cornish gentry in the early modern period is a point which Paul Cockerham made in a paper given at the Royal Institution of Cornwall on 28th April 2017.

An addition to the Herefordshire list at Aconbury Priory

In October 1216, perhaps knowing that death was close at hand, King John sent the following command to Walter II de Lacy: ‘Know that for the sake of God we have conceded to Margaret de Lacy [Walter’s wife] three carucates of land [360 acres] to be assarted and cultivated in our Forest of Aconbury to build there a certain religious house [for prayers to be said] for the souls of William de Braose, her father; Matilda, her mother; and William, her brother’.¹ Her mother and brother had been starved to death by John in 1210. Her father died in exile the following year. Margaret’s decision to call on the English Priory of the Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem for assistance in establishing her convent was due, without doubt, to the close links of her husband’s family with the Order. Walter de Lacy had founded a hospital of St. John on his Irish lands, where his personal authority to do so could not be challenged. In England, however, the situation was quite different. Even the bishops had no authority over the Order; this rested with the pope alone. After some years of conflict regarding the appointment of a prioress, in 1233 Margaret took her case personally to Pope Gregory IX in Rome. Having heard her case, the pope sent orders in April 1233 to Bishop Hugh Foliot of Hereford (1219-34) to ensure that Margaret’s nuns put off the habit of the Hospitallers. Foliot took no action. It took a further four years of negotiation, and a second visit to Rome by Margaret, before Gregory IX insisted, in August 1237, that Aconbury was a house of the Augustinian Order. This followed a complaint in 1236 that the Hospitaller priest at Aconbury had been behaving *nimis inhoneste*, ‘excessively dishonourably’. Such behaviour continued, for in 1238 the pope ‘had heard that the brothers kept harlots in their houses’.²

This discussion of Margaret’s conflict with the Hospitallers is important, as it explains the late date of construction of the conventual church. According to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, it was built c.1230-40, during the time of her struggle.³ This is not the case. As Nikolaus Pevsner reports, the architectural style of nave and chancel ‘is consistently that of the late C13’, a judgment slightly modified by Alan Brooks

in his 2nd edition of 2012 where he suggests ‘mid- to late C13’.⁴ The church was therefore built by Margaret only once her conflict had been resolved, in all probability replacing an earlier temporary, wooden, structure on the site.

Sadly, Aconbury’s conventual buildings disappeared shortly after the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. That the church was retained by the locals to serve their parish is fortunate. However, it was closed in 1974 and was subsequently used for some 40 years as a store for metal structures of the Three Choirs Festival and objects no longer required in parish churches. The Duchy of Cornwall Estates recently purchased the property and plan sensitively to convert it to craft workshops. In July Jerome Bertram and I were permitted by David Curtis, their Land Steward, and Alex Hibbert-Job, their architect, to visit the church to assess and report upon the medieval cross slabs still within. They are an important collection, mostly of typical Herefordshire types, although it is evident from comparison with antiquarian drawings that they have suffered badly since the church became redundant, probably largely as a result of damp. There are five in total, ranging in date from the late-13th to the late-15th centuries.

There is very little literature on the Aconbury cross slabs. A brief description is in the entry for the church in the R.C.H.M. volume I, and the 2nd edition of Pevsner’s Buildings of England volume on Herefordshire has but a few notes.⁵ Wade and Wade’s Little Guide volume has more detail.⁶ F.A. Greenhill never visited the church in his nationwide survey of incised slabs.⁷ Antiquarian notes are of no help: Duncombe does not cover the parish, and there is nothing in Glynne’s church notes for the county.⁸ Similarly Symonds’ ‘Diary’ and Dingley’s ‘History from Marble’ are both silent on the church.⁹ However, three of the cross slabs were drawn by W.D. Sweeting (1839-1913),¹⁰ and two illustrated by Dr. Bull in 1885.¹¹

One of the cross slabs is of especial interest to Society members as it has an inscription once inlaid in Main Group Size I letters. It is now in a very poor state of preservation with much loss of surface detail, perhaps due to damp and having had the

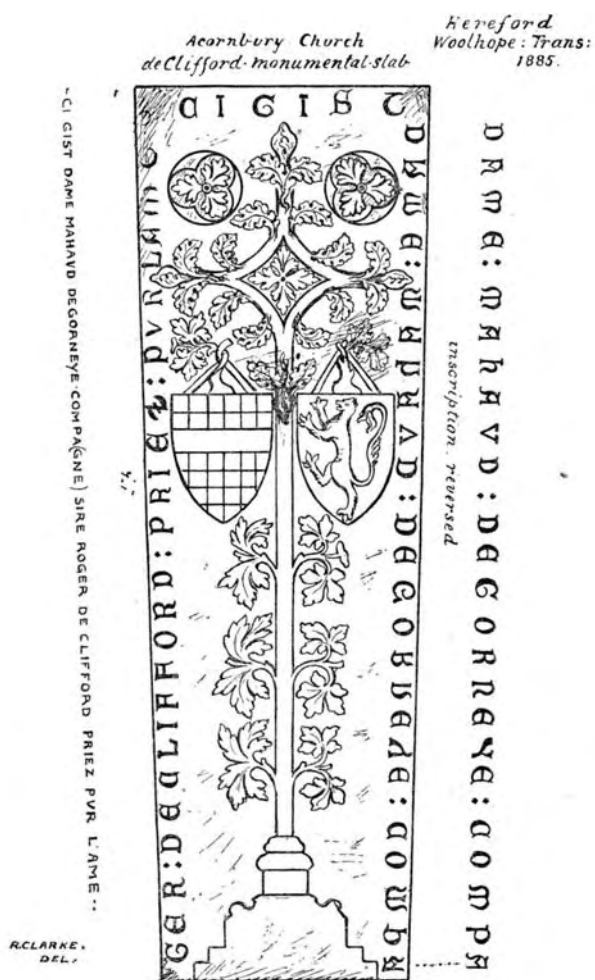


Fig.1. Dr. Bull's drawing of the de Clifford slab.
(from Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club Transactions)

metal structures of the Three Choirs Festival stored on top of it, but fortunately a drawing by Bull shows the full composition (Fig.1). The slab is in an arched recess on the north side of the church, but it does not belong there (Fig.2). The inscription is partly in normal script and partly in retrospect, also known as *boustrophedon*.¹² The positioning of the retrospect portion of the slab suggests that, in order for the priest saying obits to read it, it would have been positioned on the south side of the church.¹³ The slab is probably a light coloured limestone, although the exceptionally dirty and dusty state of the church makes examination difficult. It has been slightly trimmed at the bottom, leading to the loss of part of the inscription. It measures 2210 mm in height and 670 mm in width at the top tapering to 590 mm at the bottom. The indents for the letters are 50 mm high.

The slab features an unusual incised cross design. The cross head is of the cross botonée type, with



Fig.2. The de Clifford slab.



Fig.3. Detail from the top of the de Clifford slab.

terminals. Either side of the head is a roundel within which is a tri-lobed feature with delicately-incised leaf decoration (Fig.3). There are additional sprigs of foliage depending from the head. Two sprigs have hanging from them shields with the arms of (a) *Chequy or and azure, a fess gules* for

Clifford, and (b) *Or a lion rampant sable* for Gornay (Figs.4-5). This is a quite exceptional feature. Shields are sometimes found on cross slabs to show the descent of the high-born person commemorated. At Eardisland, Herefordshire, on a slab thought to commemorate Alice (d. after 1369),



Fig.4. The Clifford shield.



Fig.5. The Gornay shield.

daughter and heiress of Sir Peter de Breuse and wife of Ralph St. Owen of Garnston and Burton (c.1355), there are three shields between the cross and the canopy. Examples of shields in direct association with the cross are rarer, although examples showing a single shield in front of the stem can be found at East Dean, East Sussex; Cromfield, Cumberland; Kendal, Cumberland; and Cockfield, Co. Durham. Interestingly, the East Dean slab displays the arms *Azure cruzilly and three cinquefoils or* for Bardolph, impaling *Or a lion rampant sable within a border gules* for de Gurney.¹⁴ Thomas Bardolph married Julianne, daughter of Hugh de Gurney and died in 1289. An even closer comparison for the shields at Aconbury is a relief cross at Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire, where the shield hangs from the intersection of the cross and is displayed at the front of the stem. The fruited stem of the cross, featuring sprigs of oak and maple leaves, is unusual in Herefordshire. This imagery is thought to have been derived from Tree of Life imagery, believed to originate in Persian art. The foot of the slab has a moulded architectural base; again a good parallel for this is the Eardisland slab. Round the perimeter of the Aconbury slab is an inscription once inlaid in brass Lombardic letters (with diamond stops between words), part in retrospect. It reads 'ICI GIST DAME MAHAUD DE GORNEYE COMPA[GNE] ... [RO]GER DE CLIFFORD PRIEZ PVR LALME (Here lies Dame Maud de Gorneye consort . . . Roger de Clifford pray for her soul)'.

The size and outlines of the lettering point to it being of the type known as Main Group Size I. These letters are thought to have been cast centrally in London and supplied to various workshops, both in London and around the country. Their use here points to a date after 1290 but before 1350. The cross botonée head and moulded architectural calvary suggest a date in the 14th century, perhaps around c.1320-40.

There are several Sir Rogers in the Clifford family, their dates of death ranging from 1231 to 1389, and in all but one case we know who they married, although Maud de Gournay is not among the named spouses.¹⁵ Although the unusual term 'compagne' (consort) is used in the inscription, it does refer to a wife; there is a parallel on a semi-effigial slab to a member of the Conyers family from Denton, Co. Durham, now in the

custody of the Bowes Museum. The most likely explanation is that Maud was an unrecorded wife of Roger, 2nd lord Clifford, 1299-1326. Various candidates have been suggested for his wife, but none can be confirmed.¹⁶ He had no heir and was succeeded by his younger brother Robert. Sadly we do not know when Maud died.

A perusal of antiquarian drawings of Herefordshire cross slabs shows that many known in the 19th century no longer survive. Even the number in Hereford cathedral has reduced. As this article illustrates, they remain under risk, especially if not removed from redundant churches.

I am grateful to Joe Hillaby, Jerome Bertram, Paul Cockerham, Brian and Moira Gittos and Howard Williams for help and to my husband, Tim Sutton, for the photographs.

Sally Badham

- 1 *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 1216, p.199b.
- 2 H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (2001), p.94.
- 3 R.C.H.M., 'Aconbury', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Volume I, South west* (London, 1931), pp.11-14. British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/heref/vol1/pp.11-14> [accessed 14th July 2017].
- 4 N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, Buildings of England Series (Harmondsworth, 1973), pp.62-3; A. Brooks and N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, Buildings of England Series (New Haven and London, 2012), p.78.
- 5 Brooks and Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, p.79.
- 6 G.W. Wade and J.H. Wade, *Herefordshire*, Little Guide Series (London, 2nd edition 1922), p.86.
- 7 I am grateful to Paul Cockerham for checking Greenhill's manuscript notes in his possession.
- 8 J. Duncombe, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (Hereford, 1804-12); J. Leonard, *Herefordshire Churches through Victorian Eyes. Sir Stephen Glynn's Church Notes for Herefordshire* (Little Logaston, 2006).
- 9 C.E. Long (ed.), *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War Kept by Richard Symonds*, Camden Society 74 (London, 1859); J.G. Nichols and R. Brooks, *History from Marble, Compiled in the reign of Charles II by Thomas Dingley, gent.*, 2 vols, Camden Society 94 and 97 (1867-8).
- 10 W.D. Sweeting, 'Drawings of Cross-Slabs'; notebooks presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London by John and Claude Blair in memory of John Goodall.
- 11 Dr. Bull, 'Aconbury Church', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1885), pp.306-8.
- 12 There are two other examples of retrospect on monuments: at Stow, Lincolnshire and at Easton-on-the-Hill, Northamptonshire. The Romanesque font at Southrop, Gloucestershire features virtues named in normal script and vices named in retrospect.
- 13 Info. Jerome Bertram.
- 14 J. Bertram, *Iconography and Epigraphy. The Meaning of European Brasses and Slabs* (Lulu, 2015), 2 vols., fig.230, p.135. Glover's Roll: T. Woodcock and S. Flower, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, IV (London, 2014), p.234.
- 15 H. Clifford, *The House of Clifford* (Chichester, 1987), pedigree on pp.xxiii-xxv.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Portable Antiquities Scheme

This listing continues from *Bulletin* 118 (October 2011), pp.354-5. There are some interesting items and the discovery at Threshfield has been designated as a 'find of note and of County/local importance'. The images are shown at half-size and reproduced under a C.C. BY attribution licence.

North Willingham, Lincolnshire

May 2010. Ref. NLM-B06442.
Lombardic letter 'N', c.1290-1350.
Main Group size I.
50 x 39 mm, thickness 4.2 mm.



Scarning, Norfolk

Aug.-Sept. 2010. Ref. NMS-E8FF94.
Frag. of inscr.
21 x 37 mm, thickness 2 mm.



Near Sleaford, Lincolnshire

May 2011. Ref. LIN-245DC5.
Lombardic letter 'E', c.1290-1350.
Main Group size II.
43 x 32 mm, thickness 2 mm. No image available.

Sleaford area, Lincolnshire

May 2011. Ref. LIN-D406E3.
Lombardic letter 'R';
probably not from a brass.
19 x 15 mm, thickness 1 mm



Toft Monks, Norfolk

Aug. 2011. Ref. NMS-BA8980.
Lombard letter 'V?', c.1290-1350.
Main Group size II.
42 x 39 mm, thickness 2 mm. No image available.

Wroxall, Warwickshire

March 2012. Ref. WMID-EB4AC8.
Frag. of eff.?
palimp., on rev. hatching.
27 x 22 mm, thickness 2.0 mm.



Welton, Lincolnshire

Apr. 2012. Ref. LIN-977166.
Lombardic letter 'E' c.1290-1350.
Main Group size III.
34 x 27 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Threshfield, Yorkshire

May-Aug. 2012.
Ref. SWYOR-0089D6.
Head of eff., late 14th cent.
43 x 50 mm, thickness 4.0 mm.



Ryther, Yorkshire

Sept. 2012. Ref. SWYOR-7DAB63.
Lombardic letter 'E'.
31 x 25 mm, thickness 4.1 mm.



Long Sutton, Lincolnshire

Oct. 2012. Ref. NMS-4CC246.
Lombardic letter 'A', c.1290-1350.
Main Group size III.
36 x 34 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Nowton, Suffolk

Nov. 2012. Ref. SF-74D2B5.
Part of inscr. '.i(?)a w'.
20 x 34 mm, thickness 3.7 mm.



Hellesdon, Norfolk

Feb. 2013. Ref. NMS-1EC814.
Frag of inscr. '..oh(?)is', rounded edges.
37 x 34 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Overstrand, Norfolk

April 2013.
Ref. NMS-7AFDD1.
Part of scroll '.a ora p.'.
27 x 68 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Butley, Suffolk

May 2013. Ref. SF-A4DAE6.
Frag. of inscr. with
Lombardic letter 'T'.
42 x 25 mm, thickness 4.4 mm.



Battle, Sussex

Aug. 2013.
Ref. SUSS-DDCF74.
Head of man in
arm., c.1525.
London F debased.
94 x 87 mm,
thickness 3.6 mm.



Marsham, Norfolk

Oct. 2013.
Ref. NMS-4D0916.
Frag. of ?marg. inscr.;
palimp., on rev. letter 'O'.
38 x 37 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Burnham Norton, Norfolk

Oct. 2013. Ref. NMS-399617.
Frag. of inscr.;
palimp., on rev. single line.
18 x 50 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Silsoe, Bedfordshire

Nov. 2013. Ref. BH-4D6A12.
Frag. of inscr. '...vy', 15th cent.;
palimp., on rev. inscr. '.b'.
34 x 44 mm, thickness 3.3 mm.

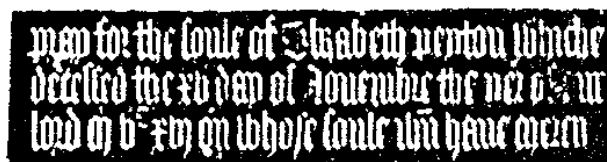


Isleham, Cambridgeshire

Jan. 2014. Ref. SF-25E757.
Part of sh., early 16th cent.
69 x 54 mm, thickness 4.6 mm.



This appears to be part of the lost shield from LSW.V, the brass to Elizabeth Peyton, 1516, in St. Andrew's church (illustrated in *M.B.S. Trans.*, XII, pt.3, facing p.257 and Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (1995), p.170. The shield, which bore *Gules, a saltire engrailed or, a chief ermine*, was probably lost in the late 19th century but is known from undated rubbings in the Bodleian Library and Society of Antiquaries.



*Detail from the brass to Elizabeth Peyton, 1516 (LSW.V),
Isleham, Cambridgeshire.
(from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Cambridgeshire)*

Kenninghall, Norfolk

March-April 2014.
Ref. NMS-C9AB66.
Part of inscr. 'Ora(te) .. /
a(n)i(m)e', late 15th cent.
53 x 47 mm, thickness 2.5 mm.



Foulsham, Norfolk

May 2014. Ref. NMS-DCE36D.
Frag. of inscr., '.iii.', early 16th
cent.; palimp. on rev. two lines
and decoration.
27 x 22 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Aldborough / Thurgarton, Norfolk

June 2015.
Ref. NMS-6EB0D5.
Part of rect. pl. with upper
part of lion rampant,
late 15th cent.?
67 x 59 mm, thickness 3 mm.



Didlington, Norfolk

Jan.-Oct. 2015. Ref. NMS-FDB4BF.
Part of inscr. '.. for the sowle of /
whow god
p(ar)do(n)', late 15th cent.
68 x 125 mm, thickness 3.7 mm.



West Butterwick, Lincolnshire

March 2016.
Ref. NLM-8127A3.
Part of marg. inscr. 'our',
mid to late 15th cent.
40 x 79 mm,
thickness 4.8 mm.



Keyham, Leicestershire

Oct. 2016.
Ref. FAKL-31AF67.
Part of 2 daus., c.1500.
63 x 64 mm, thickness 3.0 mm.



A Plea for help

The members of the Royal Institute of British Architects who erected the memorial to him in Salisbury cathedral were right. John Britton, 1775-1857, as ‘author of the noble series of works on the Cathedral & Medieval [the a and e are joined as a diphthong in the brass] Antiquities of England’ did indeed ‘[revive] the admiration of Englishmen for the venerable Monuments of the taste & piety of their Forefathers and [gain] for these Majestic Structures the respect of Foreign Nations’.

Having had occasion recently to be interested in this memorial, I went to Salisbury to photograph it, against the west wall of the north-west transept of the cathedral. I noticed what I cannot remember ever having before seen in a 19th-century brass, the small roundels in the bottom right- and left-hand corners of the black slab on which the brass itself is set. The roundels, and indeed the monograms they bear, are so skilfully inlaid that it must almost seem that the slab is not of marble or stone and that the white infill material was some soft, even liquid-like, compound.

The brass is known to have been engraved by Hardmans and David Meara reproduces a rubbing from the Hardman archive in *Modern Memorial Brasses 1880-2001* (2008, fig.70, p.102). The right-hand monogram, although it looks to contain an ‘M’, can easily be read as ‘J H & Co’ for John Hardman & Co. Are there any other brasses known to have been signed by Hardman ‘in the slab’ or otherwise so prominently? The monogram in the bottom left-hand corner is both difficult to read and, including – in alphabetical order – apparently at least ‘P’, ‘T’ and ‘W’, difficult to interpret.

The Hardman archive in Birmingham might, of course, help answer some of these questions; but before I search that resource, I should welcome and much appreciate readers’ comments on these points. Please email me at edge1929@gmail.com.

George McHardy



*John Britton, F.S.A., 1775-1857,
Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire.*



The two monograms from the base of the Britton brass.

Notes on Books, Articles and the Internet

Lida Lopes Cardozo Kindersley and David Meara. *Cutting it in Oxford; Kindersley Inscriptions in the City and County.* (Cambridge: The Cardozo Kindersley Workshop, 152 Victoria Road, Cambridge CB4 3DZ. £12.00 (+£3.00 P&P). 2017. ISBN 978-1-874426-21-9.) 135 pp.; illus. (mostly in colour); indexes; maps on endpapers; stiff paper covers.

The name of the Cardozo Kindersley Workshop will be familiar to many Society members, and some of their earlier publications have featured in this *Bulletin* in 2011 (a companion volume on the City and University of Cambridge), and in 2013 (*Remembered Lives*, by the above authors). In the same handy size (190 by 123 mm) and format, the many excellent photographs by Stuart Vallis show a wide variety of examples of their designs, from simple house names to elaborate memorials with coloured blazons of arms. Whilst brasses do not feature, one is referred to briefly (but not illustrated), to John Stephen Vivian Smith, 1957, designed by David Kindersley and engraved by George Friend of Holborn (p.97); it is in St. Mary's church, Hardwick-cum-Tusmore, though it can be just seen, but not read, in an interior photograph of the south-west corner of the nave, along with other family memorials (p.94). David Kindersley had been an apprentice of Eric Gill from 1934-6 and was greatly influenced by 'the master'. This book is testimony to his widow Lida, and to the workshop team carrying on the high standards David set.

The July/August 2017 issue of *Archaeology*, a publication of the Archaeological Institute of America, contains a short article by **Marley Brown** entitled 'Knight Watch', on the indent of a man in armour, c.1630, which lies in the chancel of the church in Jamestown, Virginia. The indent was noted and illustrated by H.K. Cameron in 1967 (*M.B.S. Trans.*, X, pt.5, pp.369-70). It is not known who the brass commemorated but it has long been thought that it could be Sir George Yeardley, Governor of the Colony of Virginia, who died in 1627. This accords with the date ascribed by Dr. Cameron who likened it to the brass of Sir Jarrate Harveye, 1638, from Cardington, Bedfordshire (LSW.I).



*Indent of a man in armour, c.1630,
Jamestown, Virginia, U.S.A.*

Archaeologists and conservators from *Jamestown Rediscovery* have begun to analyse the slab which is considerably fractured. The will of Adam Thorowgood, a relation of Yeardley, which was made in 1680 requests 'a tombstone of marble set forth with the coat of arms of Sir George Yeardley and myself, with the same inscription as on the broken tomb', possibly a reference to the slab. An archaeological survey of the chancel is due to take place late in the year in the hope of uncovering Yeardley's actual remains.

Book Reviews:

Paul Cockerham. 'Opportunity or Oppression? The Impact of the Reformation on Funeral Monuments in Cornwall', pp.91-120; 12 illus.; refs. Contained in: *Reformations and their Impact on the Culture of Memoria*, ed. Truus van Bueren, Paul Cockerham et al. (Turnhout, Belgium; Brepols Publishers. 2016. ISBN 978-2-503-56854-6.)

Our member Paul Cockerham has made extensive studies of the brasses and monuments of Cornwall,



*Incised slate slab of John Roskarrok, 1537,
St. Endellion, Cornwall.*

and this is reflected in this detailed and specialised paper. Cornwall was for centuries protective of its relative isolation, but was not unwelcoming to outsiders, as well as profiting from maritime and overseas trade and tin and slate mining. Its social structure, and general absence of gentry and aristocracy resident in the county, suggest a less evident social divide. Indeed, such divisions were actively discouraged from the London-based Duchy of Cornwall. Yet it was religion, not politics that provided a bridge between local gentry and the county's more humble population. Whilst the Reformation saw social and religious changes, physical memorialisation before this was uncommon; one notable exception was the

St. Aubyn family, who from the 1420s onwards commissioned a series of London-made brasses in Crowan church. This sparsity is partly explained by the fact that the heirs of local gentry who left Cornwall had their memorials elsewhere, e.g. the brass of Joan Urban, 1414, at Southfleet, Kent (illus. Fig.1, p.93). Despite this, families like the Urbans from Helston still acknowledged their Cornish roots, both in their memorials and in testamentary bequests (see p.94).

Another reason for the sparsity of sculptured memorials was 'lack of expertise', as well as the fact that the local granite did not lend itself to fine carving and decoration. The lesser-used Catacleuse stone (a green sandstone) offered more possibilities, but was used mainly for wayside cross heads, and so few such funeral monuments have survived. A notable exception is the table tomb, with effigy on top, of Prior Thomas Vyvyan, 1533/34, in St. Petroc's church, Bodmin (illus. Fig.5, p.98). However, the rebuilding of Bodmin's church – an enormous project – brought groups of skilled craftsmen to the area in the last quarter of the 15th century. The resultant workshop now has some 40 incised slate slabs attributable to it, dating from 1485-c.1550, but others may be lost. (See Paul Cockerham, 'An incised effigial slab at Helland, Cornwall: evidence for a Bodmin workshop?', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, pt.4 (1995), pp.321-38.) A typical example is found at St. Endellion to John Roskarrok, 1537; the photograph of it opposite is taken from Fig.4 (p.96) of Cockerham's paper. Such slabs were laid down along with 'modest' London-made brasses such as those at St. Miniver (LSW.I, 1517) and St. Michael Penkevil (LSW.II, 1515).

Whilst such memorials were largely the preferred form of commemoration for those with the means to afford them, others made specific bequests of funds to enhance the church building, for vestments, for sponsoring saints or images, intercessions for their soul, gifts to the poor, etc. (see pp.98-100). Local bodies like the widespread trade guilds focused on individual saints and 'the perpetual remembrance of their deceased fellow members'. Sometimes groups of wives or young men commissioned a window or windows for their church, e.g. at St. Neot (see illus. Fig.10, p.101). There was a strong emphasis on corporate commemoration in Cornwall, yet it was led from the grass roots

by Cornish-speaking parochial gentry holding various offices, and by gilds remote from the authority of the bishopric in Exeter, Devon.

Whilst the dissolution of the minor religious houses in Cornwall had little effect, the reforms and changes brought in under Edward VI in 1547 caused great social upheaval, not least denying the local population, the gilds and chantries, ways of remembrance of their dead and of Purgatory. This led to a so-called "Prayer Book Rebellion" in June 1549, leading to a siege by dissidents of their bishop's City of Exeter. The uprising was eventually put down, the ringleaders executed and punitive fines forced on each Cornish parish. This in turn gave rise to fewer places of worship and priests, together with the removal of images and changes in church services with the emphasis on Protestantism. Another effect was felt in the tomb-making industry. The Bodmin tomb-slab workshop collapsed and some brasses may well have been torn from their slabs. Only three London-made brasses are known to have been laid down in the 1550s, mostly of 'lacklustre quality', and in the following decade only some four London-made brasses of inferior quality were set down, e.g. at Fowey (pp.103-04 and fn.50).

Whilst there was a brief return to Catholicism under Queen Mary, and some goods and fittings were returned or replaced in churches, this all changed under Elizabeth I, when many even new fittings were again removed, e.g. the rood at Menheniot. By the 1570s there is firm evidence of a revival in the use of local slate for memorialisation and in house decoration, especially by the local gentry (see pp.106-14). There was a move in the late 1570s to c.1600 away from religious imagery to effigial representation of the deceased and their family, now often shown kneeling (as on brasses of the period) [see good examples Figs.9 (p.111) and 10 (p.114)]. There is also evidence to suggest a link between skilled house plasterers and monumental slate carvers. (p.112). Gradually, more classical decoration returned, accompanied by biblical texts and tables, emphasising once again a strong need to display lineage, authority and family devotion, especially by landed families. The back plates of tomb chests were increasingly used for effigial representation, and in some cases whole tomb chests, plus backplates, were decorated with columns, putti and heraldry, e.g. John Brevill, 1579,

St. Tallan's church (illus. Fig.12, p.117). Whilst these changes were driven, both locally and nationally, by enforced religious and social doctrine, Cockerham has shown lucidly how Cornwall was a microcosm of these wider changes, and how it used local sources, like slate, to meet the needs of memorialisation without over-reliance on London-made brasses, tombs and craftsmen.

This paper is one of ten other specialist studies covering memoria in England, Germany, Belgium and Holland, from the Middle Ages to the early 19th century, in a variety of forms and showing different burial and commemorative practices in their religious, liturgical and social contexts.

Susan Powell (ed.), *Saints and Cults in Medieval England*. (Donnington, Leicestershire: Shaun Tyas. [Harlaxton Medieval Studies Vol.XXVII.] £49.50. 2017. ISBN 978-1-907730-59-7.) xviii, 430 pp.; 82 colour & 10 b/w illus.; 3 plans; refs; index (names pp.399-425); index (manuscripts pp.425-28). Hardback.

This substantial and comprehensive volume contains papers by 23 specialist contributors (many familiar names to M.B.S./C.M.S. members), providing a broad overview of many aspects of its subject, with many fine colour plates accompanying several of the papers. Because of the many areas covered, this review can only include those papers with direct relevance to brasses, and more detailed reviews will appear elsewhere.

The paper by Christian Steer, '*The Order of St. Francis in Medieval London: Urban benefactors and their tombs*' (pp.172-98, 5 colour plates and 1 plan) concentrates on the Franciscan house of the Grey Friars in the City of London, of which only the bombed-out remains of the choir, now a garden, remain. By 1303 there were upwards of 93 resident brothers in the Grey Friars. Surviving records of burials include one made in the 1520s of nearly 700 funerary monuments in the church, of which a reconstructed plan by E.B.S. Shepherd, published in 1902, is reproduced as Plate 3. Names of the early benefactors to the Order indicate that they included mainly wealthy city merchants, aldermen and mayors, all of whom were devoted to Franciscan ideals. One royal donor was Margaret of France, who paid for the building of a chapel, plus giving 2000 marks towards the completion of

the nave. At least 25 personal benefactors had paid towards the glazing of the building, completed in c.1350, including four-times London mayor John Lovekyn, whose name is on the palimpsest reverse of a brass inscription at Walkern, Hertfordshire (LSW.II, 1370). Goldsmith Thomas Condysch donated a window dedicated to St. Christopher, possibly including his own effigy, and a brass to his memory (p.46). Donations from the City continued to flow in right up to the Dissolution in 1538.

The section 'Graves and Epitaphs' (pp.179-90) looks in detail at the record of tombs and monuments made in the 1520s and in the following decade. 682 graves were recorded, with some locations being especially favoured, e.g. the Lady Chapel (68); at least 260 in 'the western body of the church'; the nave; before altars; and in the north and south aisles. The brethren took considerable care with their benefactors' memorials, some of which survived the extensive rebuilding of the nave, e.g. the Frowyk family tombs of the 13th and 14th centuries. What form they took is uncertain, but some may well have been incised slabs or brasses. Curiously, after c.1350, once major rebuilding works were completed, there were relatively few memorials of 'London worthies', some of whom, notably aldermen, were apparently donating more to their own parish churches; however testamentary evidence suggests otherwise. Also, other memorials may well have been worn away by the time of the survey of the 1520s. There were two well known brasses, to mayor Sir John Philipot, 1384, and his brother-in-law mayor Sir Nicholas Brembre (who was executed in 1388). In the former case, Philipot's will requests burial in the Apostles' Chapel in 'Friars Minor', near his first wife Joan and her son John Sawford, canon of St. Paul's, all under a large stone with inscription (still legible in the 1520s). Brembre too was buried under a large stone, and it is likely both he and Philipot had brasses befitting their status.

At least 110 monuments of wealthy London artisans and craftsmen were recorded in the 1520s, whilst others copied precedents set by men like mayor Richard Whittington, 1423, who was persuaded in 1410 to finance the building of a new library by pro-active friars, as indeed were other donors.

The paper ends with (1) a detailed examination (pp.185-90) of the fine sculptured and decorated

monument of Sir Stephen Jenyns, 1523, which was in place before his death, and a discussion of his will. A coloured drawing of the tomb by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, with its effigy and resplendent with heraldry, can be seen as Plate 4; and (2) an Appendix giving the full text of the lengthy will of Merchant Taylor John Benett dated 24th January 1524, proved 1538 (pp.191-8); a bequest was made for it to be read annually on 6th May, or within 8 days afterwards, along with the singing of masses, etc.

Other papers which mention brasses include David Lepine's "*Advocatis meis: Patterns of Devotion to Saints among the later Medieval Higher Clergy*" (pp.24-40). This discusses the possible motivation of clergy in favouring particular saints – were they simply well-off 'ambitious careerists' or displaying their piety? Some established a chantry or a cult in their saint's name; requested burial before their image; or financed a stained glass window featuring a particular saint. John Sheppey, Dean of Lincoln, 1412, and a devotee of Christ's Five Wounds, reflected this in his now lost brass. Other clergy chose to have images of their favoured saints on their brasses, in canopies and/or on their vestments, e.g. that of William Lochard, 1439, Canon and Precentor of Hereford Cathedral (LSW.119, now lost) and a Canon of Windsor, who depicted eight saints on his brass reflecting his various offices in Hereford, Windsor and Cornwall. Likewise, the fine brass of John Blodwell, 1462 (LSW.II, Balsham, Cambridgeshire, and *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV (1993), pp.119-36) which depicts 14 saints – 8 in the canopy shafts, 6 on the orphreys of his cope – all reflecting his terms of office in five cathedrals.

Finally, passing references to brasses can be found in Christopher Wilson's paper, *The Shrine of St. Erkenwald on Paper and in Reality* (pp.217-36, but esp. pp.225-6 and p.229); and that by Sarah Brown, *Archbishop Richard Scrope's Lost Window in York Minster* (pp.299-317, esp. p.313 which refers to Archbishop Henry Bowet's large brass, once set on an altar tomb in the Lady Chapel).

My thanks to Paul Cockerham, David Meara, Martin Stuchfield and Shaun Tyas for information or books received.

Richard Busby