

# Monumental Brass Society

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BULLETIN 137



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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](mailto: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](http://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.

## Personalia

We congratulate our member **Tim Tatton-Brown** upon his appointment as an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) for services to Heritage in the 2018 New Year Honours List.

We also congratulate two members on the award of their doctorates: **Ann Adams** by the Courtauld Institute of Art on *Spiritual Provision and Temporal Affirmation: The tombs of Les Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or from Philip the Good to Philip the Fair*, and **Laura Wood** by the University of London on *Vowesses in the Province of Canterbury c.1450-1540*.

We welcome as new members:

**Trevor Horsefield**, 16 Loddington Lane, Belton-in-Rutland, Rutland LE15 9LA.

**Claire Kennan**, 78 Danvers Drive, Church Crookham, Fleet, Hampshire GU52 0RE (Associate).

**Gary Leach**, H331 Broadgreen Drive, Houston, Texas 77079, U.S.A.

**Peter Pickering**, 3 Westbury Road, Finchley, London N12 7NY.

**Richard West**, 45 Lamont Road, Chelsea, London SW10 0HU.

It is with very deep regret that we report the deaths of **John Milner** and **Edward Moore** who had both been members of the Society since 2013.



Above: Anne, wife of John Newdegate, esq., 1545, from Harefield, Middlesex (M.S.VI) – (see pp.733-4).

Cover: detail from the monumental brass commemorating John Berners, esq., 1523, in armour with tabard, from Finchingfield, Essex (LSW.I).  
(photos.: © 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. Other speakers will include **Tom Oakshott** who will speak on *A history of Eton College Chapel*; **Nicholas Orme** on *Classes on Brasses: Masters and Pupils at Eton and elsewhere*; and **Euan Roger** on *Rival Institutions or Collegiate Cousins?: Tracing trans-institutional relationships between St. George's College and Eton College in the late Middle Ages*.

The Chapel will be open from 1.00p.m. 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, 14th July 2018**

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

#### ROCHFORD, ESSEX

Please note that the formal business of the Annual General Meeting will be held in St. Andrew's church, Rochford at **11.00a.m.**

The afternoon meeting commencing at **2.00p.m.** is being held in association with the Essex Society for Archaeology and History and the Rochford Hundred Historical Society. **David Andrews** will speak on *Rochford Church and Hall: An Introduction* followed by **Martin Stuchfield** on *Moving target: the chequered history of the Thomas Stapel brass*.

A third lecture by **Matthew Hefferan** entitled *Thomas Stapel, Sergeant-at-Arms to Edward III: Household service and social mobility in 14th century England* will conclude the meeting. The meeting has been arranged to celebrate the recent introduction of the brass to Thomas Stapel, 1371, from the nearby redundant church at Sutton. Please see enclosed flyer.

*St. Andrew's Church is located off Hall Road, Rochford. The postcode for satellite navigation is SS4 1NW. The nearest station is Rochford (served from London: Liverpool Street) which is adjacent to the church.*

**Saturday, 29th September 2018**

### STUDY DAY

#### COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT

Speakers will include **Jerome Bertram**, **Clive Burgess** and **Nigel Saul**. Further details and a booking form in the next issue.

**Saturday, 27th October 2018 at 2.00p.m.**

### GENERAL MEETING

#### TOTTENHAM, MIDDLESEX

The Autumn General Meeting will be held in All Hallows church, Tottenham. It is proposed to produce a comprehensively illustrated booklet as a sequel to that produced for Edmonton (see review on p.739). Further details in the next issue.

## Monumental Brass Society

Tottenham, Middlesex



Stephen Freeth, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore



## MEETING REPORT

### Study Day at Salisbury – 30th September 2017



*Sarum College, Salisbury.*

In the vast close of the most English of cathedrals, that of Salisbury, the Society met on a crisp St. Michael's Day to learn about the lives and brasses of three of Salisbury's bishops. The meeting place was Sarum College, a theological study and conference centre in an elegant 18th-century house on the north side of the Close, overlooking the isolated soaring mass of the austere 13th-century cathedral. Some three dozen people attended and members were joined by some of the Friends of Salisbury Cathedral and of Wimborne Chained Library.



*Salisbury Cathedral.*  
(photo: © Shutterstock, Inc.)

**Tim Tatton-Brown**, who has specialised in ecclesiastical archaeology, especially of his home cathedral of Salisbury, spoke of the cathedral building and its builders. The 18th century brought some internal destruction which left but a fragment of the former stone screen from between the nave and quire; the 19th century brought much "*improvement*" in designs by Gilbert Scott. The medieval quire, the space between the former stone screen and the High Altar is significant for the complete set of 106 clergy stalls of 1236, easily overlooked, with 19th-century Scott canopies.



*The remains of the Stone Screen, now in the Morning Chapel.*

The great brass to Bishop Robert Wyville, bishop from 1330 to 1375, originally lay in front of the High Altar in a slab of Purbeck marble. On either side in chantries lay the tombs of his two predecessors and builder bishops, Simon de Ghent, 1297-1315, and Roger Martival, 1315-30 – three bishops in a row across the centre of the quire. Simon de Ghent was responsible for the tower and spire; Roger Martival, formerly dean of Lincoln, for alleviation works of flying buttresses and internal cross buttresses to counteract the sinking of the tower and spire in the soft ground where the cathedral had been relocated in the 1220s from Old Sarum some four miles to the north. Bishop Wyville's brass was translated to the side of the adjacent Morning Chapel in 1684 where it lies still overlooked by the remnants of the great stone screen and its angels.

**Brian Kemp** discussed Bishop Wyville and his brass. Robert Wyville, in office for 45 years

(the longest ever serving bishop of Salisbury), was not a scholar like his two predecessors – both of them had been chancellors to the University of Oxford. He had been a Clerk to Isabella (wife of Edward II) and his appointment to Salisbury by the Pope was political. Unlike other prelates he played no part in national affairs but spent his time in his large diocese. Details of his visitations and domestic accounts are found in two registers. A document with a very fine seal (82 x 53 mm) is in the chained library at Wimborne minster; another dating from not before 1340 shows a man in his youth similar to the effigy on his brass. The architectural surrounds to the figure of the bishop are reminiscent of large monumental brasses. Robert de Wyville's achievement in 1355 was to get back for a grateful diocese the castle of



*Detail from the brass to Bishop Robert Wyville, 1375.*



*Rubbing of the Wyville brass placed in the quire.  
Standing left to right: Ben Elliott, Nicholas Rogers,  
Brian Kemp and Jennifer Ward.  
(photo: © Derrick Chivers)*

Sherborne, built in the early 12th century by a previous bishop; it had been seized by King Stephen for the crown in political machinations two centuries beforehand.

There was plenty of time to look at the cathedral and Derrick Chivers' rubbing of the Wyville brass. This was placed on the modern stone floor of the quire where the brass had lain for its first 300 years so that Wyville could be seen in line with his two predecessors. It is Tim Tatton-Brown's hope that one day it will be returned to its original setting, rather than languish on the dark side of an adjacent chapel. This enormous brass shows the bishop in his regained castle with his champion below.

We were privileged to be able to visit the cathedral library, founded in 1445, which is high up over the cloister; the library is contemporary with the Bodleian at Oxford. Dean Gilbert Kymer, 1449-63, was also chancellor of Oxford University and linked to the Bodleian's first benefactor, Duke Humfrey. We were shown around by the archivist, Emma Naish, who explained that the library was once twice as long and was used for teaching. Many of the books were chained.



*Details from the foot of the Wyville brass reminiscent of the contemporary Luttrell Psalter.*

It contained 60 manuscripts from the Old Sarum cathedral abandoned in the 1220s. We were allowed to look at some of the books and manuscripts and at documents with the seal of Bishop Wyville.

In the afternoon there were talks on the brasses to two other bishops of Salisbury who were buried away from the cathedral. **Nicholas Rogers** spoke on the brass of Bishop Robert Hallum, 1407-16, at Konstanz Cathedral on the Baden-Wurtemberg/Swiss border. Here, in front of the High Altar, is his very large and complete London D brass set in Purbeck marble; it depicts the bishop with crozier under a canopy with supercanopy and columns of four seraphim (six-winged) either side, and a complete marginal inscription with evangelistic symbols. The reason it lies alongside Lake Constance in central Europe, rather than in Salisbury is because Hallum asked to be buried there.

Hallum was a cultured and educated diplomat; he had previously been archdeacon of Canterbury and was chancellor of the university of Oxford. He was the English representative of Henry V at international church conferences at Pisa (to discuss the reform of the Church) and at Konstanz, the latter convened by the Emperor to sort out the Western Schisms which had resulted in three popes! He was very influential at this Council but sadly died there prematurely. He was buried in full pontificals, including cross and ring, in a lead coffin and there were 36 five-pound candles at his funeral. He left two copes to Salisbury cathedral. The elaborate brass and stone were brought from England and may have been prepared before his death.

**David Lepine** spoke on Bishop John Waltham, 1388-95, whose brass is in St. Edward the

Confessor's Chapel at Westminster Abbey. Why should a bishop be the only non-royal buried amongst the kings at Westminster?

John Waltham, from Waltham, north Lincolnshire was a younger son of gentry involved as royal clerics. John was a senior civil servant, being Master of the Rolls who served as Lord Treasurer and Keeper of the Seals. He was a close friend of Richard II. His major problems as bishop were dealing with the spire, which was not safe, and campaigning for the canonisation of his predecessor Osmund, 1078-99, finally achieved some sixty years after his death. As Treasurer he was involved with the planning of the building of Westminster Hall. Waltham's influence lives on to this day in the Sarum rites which were the basis of the Book of Common Prayer. He was a good civil servant and his London B brass is an impressive statement. He had by his will desired to be buried at Salisbury; but when he died it was Richard II who wanted him buried in Westminster Abbey and who had his body brought from Salisbury to London. The brass shows John Waltham almost life size in full pontificals under a triple canopy with his hand in blessing. The side shafts held figures, now lost, under double canopies. As the brass lies athwart the passageway into the chapel, half of it (the dexter side) is badly worn.

Our thanks for a successful day go to the Dean and Chapter, who allowed us to make use of the cathedral and visit the library; to Sarum College; to David Lepine who organised the day with the theme of Salisbury bishops; and to the tea team, Janet McQueen, Janet Whitham and Penny Williams.

**Rosalind Willatts**



**“We’re all toooombed.....” – ‘Loci Sepulcralis: Pantheons and other Places of Memory and Burial in the Middle Ages’ – a conference in Batalha, Portugal, 21st-23rd September 2017**

Throughout the Middle Ages, the choice of a particular burial place, and the option for a monumental tomb, speak volumes about the fundamental questions that the men who felt compelled to define the fate of their remains and their wealth before they died must have asked themselves. Such choices were never made by chance; on the contrary, these individuals took extreme care to define how their mortal remains were to be kept for eternity and what needed to be done in order to guarantee their eternal rest.

Kings and queens were obviously paramount in this process, as royal pantheons grew to become more and more relevant in the construction of a regnal legitimacy. Yet kings were not the only ones concerned with the visible perpetuation of their lineage and personal memory. Noblemen and ecclesiastics, just as much as rich tradesmen, and their families, were all similarly involved.

The study of all sorts and styles of pantheons has fascinated scholars of all disciplines in the last thirty years or so, to a point that one might wonder what there is still to be said. But, as is often the case, the more one topic is studied, the greater the number of questions which arise. This three-day conference was therefore organised with the leading theme of ‘Pantheons’, with around fifty delegates gathering at Batalha, where the magnificent buildings of the Santa Maria da Vitória monastery – one of the most important medieval royal pantheons of Portugal – formed the venue.

The third section of the proceedings, ‘Texts and Representations of social memory in pantheons and other burial monuments’, was of most interest to students of brasses and church monuments. It was specifically devoted to the ‘material’ elements discoursed by funerary monuments but normally not considered as ‘artistic’, like heraldry and epigraphy. I was fortunate enough to be one of three presenting a paper in a session entitled ‘Medieval Mausoleums: Franciscan Churches in Western Europe’. Organised by Christian Steer

and moderated by Clive Burgess, the session comprised three papers, as follows, with their abstracts:

**Robert Marcoux**

**“Ensépulturés aux Cordeliers”: An analytical overview of the funeral topography of the Franciscan churches of medieval France**

*Like their Dominican counterparts, the medieval churches of the French Franciscans (Cordeliers or Frères mineurs) were important necropolises. Found in most of the major urban centres, they attracted the attention of individuals ranging from high aristocrats to burghers whose remains were entombed within the nave, chapels or even the choir, generally underneath a personalized monument. Since most of these churches were altered or destroyed after being closed by decree in 1790, only a fragmentary understanding of the funeral phenomenon is possible. By using extant monuments, pre-revolutionary descriptions and drawings (like those of the Gaignières Collection), as well as other types of document such as necrologies and testaments, this paper will attempt to establish a global view of the funeral topography of the French Cordeliers churches during the Middle Ages. It will also focus on some of the best documented examples (Paris, Nantes, Dijon, etc.) in order to question commemorative strategies pertaining to the use of tombs in these locations.*

**Paul Cockerham**

**Competitive commemoration in late-medieval Lübeck**

*The rich prosperity of late-medieval Lübeck was almost entirely related to its importance within the Hanseatic trading alliances. The shifting mercantile population, geared to international business, was equally geared to strategies of commemoration, and gradually developed the Katharinenkirche, founded by the Franciscans in 1225 but rebuilt in the fourteenth-century Baltic style as a hall-church, as a pantheon to their collective identities. Burial rights had been formalised there in 1281, and mercantile commemoration emulated the interments of three bishops in the early fourteenth century, which resulted in almost the entire floor of the church carpeted with some 120 gravestones. The continuum of commemoration marked by the physicality of the slabs in the nave and*

side aisles is in stark contrast to three instances of spatial appropriation by the lay elite. Members of the Crispin family were commemorated in the family chapel on the north side of the choir by wall and panel paintings incorporating Eucharistic motifs, which resonated with the paintings of Franciscan saints decorating the friars' stalls in the upper-choir. The Ströbuk family were commemorated within their own chapel on the south of the choir, and in the under-choir gravestones were cleared away for the installation of the massive Lübeck-inspired brass to the Luneborch family. What developed as a mercantile pantheon with an emerging collective memory evolved into a pantheon that although still mercantile in focus, was used to individualise the most prominent families of the time.

### Christian Steer

#### The Bones of Benefactors: Burying the Dead in Grey Friars Church London.

London's Franciscan church was a pantheon of the great, the good and the godly. During an almost 300-year period, generations of wealthy patrons paid for the construction of the church and its ancillary buildings, gave generously towards the décor and furnishing of the church, and were remembered with lavish, and state-of-the-art, monuments commemorating their lives and good works. All were destroyed during the English Reformation of the 1540s and nothing has survived. And yet an important – and often overlooked – register of burials and tombs reveals some 700 monuments of the dead. This paper will examine this register and consider how changing fashions influenced different groups to seek burial and commemoration within the Grey Friars. The growing popularity of this church as a prestigious mausoleum inevitably led to increased demand for grave space. It will be argued that as such demand increased, and large scale alms-giving declined, the friars introduced 'pricing bands' for prestigious burial zones within their church which, in turn, came to form distinct social-topographies within their church.

One of the most rewarding aspects of the conference was a private tour of the monastery and its blend of flamboyant Gothic and Manueline architecture, led by the resident curator Pedro Redol, when the tombs enclosed within the Founders' Chapel could be closely examined.<sup>1</sup> The centrepiece, under the star vault of the octagon above, is the joint tomb of King John I of Portugal, 1433, and his wife Philippa of Lancaster, 1415. The tomb chest is an enormous structure, bearing their recumbent figures in full regalia, with clasped hands (perhaps a manifestation of the amity between Portugal and England), under



Fig.1. Tomb of King John I of Portugal, 1433, and wife Philippa of Lancaster, 1415, Batalha, Portugal.

elaborately ornamented baldachins. The sides of the tomb chest bear long, beautifully-incised inscriptions, lavish heraldic displays, and foliate decoration in the lightest and most subtle of relief techniques (Fig.1).

The south wall of the chapel incorporates a row of recessed arches with the tombs of the four younger sons of John I, together with their spouses: Ferdinand the Holy Prince (a bachelor, he died a prisoner in Fez in 1443, his bodily remains later recovered and translated here in 1473); John of Reguengos, the Constable of Portugal, 1442, with his wife Isabella of Barcelos, 1466; Henry the Navigator, 1460, a bachelor; and Peter of Coimbra (regent for Afonso V, 1438-48, he was killed at the Battle of Alfarrobeira in 1449. His remains were translated here in 1456) with his wife Isabella of Urge, 1459 (Fig.2). Three tombs on the west are



Fig.2. Tombs of the four younger sons of King John I, Batalha, Portugal.





Fig.3. Incised slab to Mateus Fernandes, 1515,  
Batalha, Portugal.

late-19th/early-20th century copies of the original tombs of King Afonso V (reigned 1438-81), John II (reigned 1481-95), and his son and heir, Prince Afonso (who predeceased his father).

Yet one of the most peculiar features of the church is the octagonal structure tacked on to the east end of the choir, and accessible only from the side. Originally planned as a second royal mausoleum in 1437 by King Edward of Portugal, 1438, only he and his queen Eleanor, 1445, are buried here. Royal patrons increasingly lost interest in the construction so that despite the best efforts of a succession of architects to complete the building – not least Mateus Fernandes, 1515 – the entire structure is still open to the elements. Fernandes is commemorated close to the west door of the nave by a grave slab of stunning quality incised with the kind of foliage decoration not dissimilar in both design and sentiment to that found on the brass to Ruy de Sousa, 1497, at Evora (Fig.3).<sup>2</sup>

The hospitality of our Portuguese hosts was overwhelming, leading to several convivial evenings: yet the sheer concentration and magnificence of the royal tombs, set within such a beautiful and architecturally effervescent building, were qualities that I think are probably unrepeatable anywhere else!

**Paul Cockerham**

- 1 See José Custódio Vieira Da Silva and Pedro Redol, *The Monastery of Batalha* (London, 2007), for an authoritative and well-illustrated account of the monastery; in English.
- 2 R.A.E. Op de Beek, 'Flemish Monumental Brasses in Portugal', *M.B.S. Trans.*, X, pt.3 (1965), pp.151-66, illustrated opp. p.156.

## Another addition to the Herefordshire *County Series* volume

Our member, Neil Thompson, has kindly provided details of an indent in All Saints' church, Hereford that was not included in the Herefordshire *County Series* volume published in 2008.

The indent is partially cement-filled and shows the upper part of the effigy of a civilian or priest (350mm high). It is in a rather cramped and awkward position at the western end of the north aisle, possibly at the base of the tower, between the toilets serving the restaurant and wall of the restaurant. It is at floor level, at the foot of a circular staircase and is retained in an upright position by two brackets.



## ‘Shining with every Virtue’?: John Hornley, vicar of Dartford, 1442-77



Fig.1. Inscription in 12 Latin verses on scroll from the monumental brass to John Hornley, [1477], Dartford, Kent (M.S.IV).  
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

*Si flerent artes, Hornley tacuisse Johannem  
Non possent, ista qui tumulatur humo.  
In septem fuerat liberalibus ille magister.  
Prudens et castus, maximus atque fide.  
Doctrinae Sacrae tunc bachallarius ingens.  
Oxonie cunctis semper amatus erat.  
Consilio valuit, sermones pandere sacros  
Noverat, et Doctos semper amare viros.  
Pauperibus largus fuerat, quos noverat aptos.  
In studiis paciens, sobrius atque fuit,  
Moribus insignis cuncta virtute refulgens;  
Pro tantis meritis spiritus astra tenet.*

(If the arts could weep, they would not be silent/  
About John Hornley who is buried in this grave./  
In the seven liberal arts he had been a master;/  
Wise and pious and very great in his faith;/  
Then a distinguished bachelor of Theology./  
At Oxford he was always beloved by all./  
He valued advice, knew how to preach/  
Lucid sermons and always loved learned men./  
He was generous to the poor whom he knew to be  
deserving./In his studies he was patient and  
reasoned in his judgements,/A man of illustrious  
character, shining with every virtue;/Through such  
great merits his soul reaches heaven.)

This generous and rather touching epitaph in the  
chancel of the parish church of Holy Trinity,

Dartford, Kent, is all that remains of a once  
splendid memorial brass to John Hornley,  
vicar there from 1442 until his death in 1477  
(Fig.1). The original brass comprised a figure in  
academic dress with a long circular mouth scroll,  
a marginal inscription, quatrefoils in the angles  
and centre of each strip and an epitaph at the feet  
of the effigy (Fig.2). Poetic inscriptions on brasses  
are often overlooked, presumed to be hyperbole,

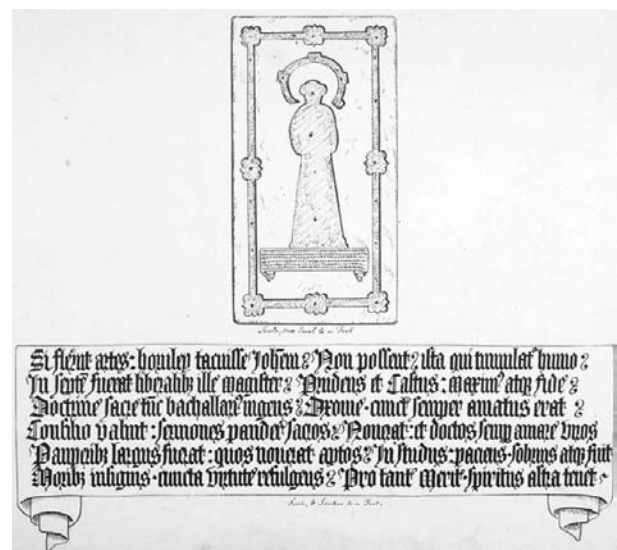


Fig.2. Thomas Fisher drawing of the brass to John Hornley,  
[1477], Dartford, Kent (M.S.IV).  
(drawing: © Society of Antiquaries of London)



self-serving and little better than doggerel. This article seeks to challenge these assumptions by assessing whether Hornley might have possessed some of the remarkable qualities ascribed to him.<sup>1</sup> While such a task might seem impossible, the large number of Dartford wills – sixty-five from the period 1440-80 are known – and other diocesan records show that a lively parish piety flourished in Dartford during Hornley's time as vicar.

Dartford was a one-parish town with an unusually wide range of religious institutions connected to the church: a chantry in the Lady Chapel, two guilds, a leper hospital, a hermitage and chapel dedicated to St. Katherine on the bridge, and a chantry chapel and burial ground, St. Edmund's, on the eastern outskirts of the town. The depth of parish piety can be seen in the rebuilding of the church, its devotional patterns and liturgy and two new foundations. There was substantial rebuilding of Holy Trinity during the second half of the 15th century when the Lady Chapel in the south aisle was enlarged, probably after 1457 in conjunction with the foundation of a new chantry there. To provide accommodation for the chantry priest, a new two-storey vestry was constructed at its east end. A new screen and rood loft spanning the north and south aisles as well as the chancel was installed, and a west porch was added. In addition, throughout Hornley's time as vicar, work progressed on building an upper stage to the tower.

Although the pattern of devotion in Hornley's time was in most respects unremarkably orthodox – there were images of, or lights dedicated to, Our Lady 'in Gesyn' (lying in child-bed with an infant Jesus), the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, St. Thomas the Martyr, St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony and probably one to St. George – in one respect it was unusual.<sup>2</sup> There was a strong Christocentric devotion. Almost a quarter of surviving wills depart from the standard formula in their invocations. Instead of commending their souls to Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints, the testators explicitly refer to Christ. Further evidence of Christocentric devotion can be found in a bequest in 1471 for two priests to say thirty masses of the Name of Jesus each and a request in 1477 for burial in the Lady Chapel in front of

the 'vernycle', an image of Christ taken from St. Veronica's veil.<sup>3</sup>

Surviving wills suggest that there were sufficient clergy, four or five priests and one or two parish clerks, to perform elaborate liturgy which was probably enhanced by polyphonic music; several wills of the 1460s and 1470s refer to '*pueri cantantes*', the singing boys without whom polyphony was not possible.<sup>4</sup> A second chantry was founded in the Lady Chapel in 1457 by John Martin; his grandfather Richard Martin is commemorated with a well-known brass in the chancel. Four years earlier, in 1453, a group of leading citizens set about establishing an 'almshouse of diverse dwellings' for five paupers to be run by the vicar and churchwardens.<sup>5</sup> This was an ambitious scheme which included the establishment of a morrow mass in the Lady Chapel and required the inmates to say Our Lady Psalter and the *De Profundis* every day. However, for reasons that are not clear, the hospital was not fully established until 1501.

The loyalty and commitment of parishioners to their parish was expressed in their participation in two guilds, Holy Trinity and All Saints, which were active in the second half of the 15th century, and also in the generosity of their bequests to the high altar for forgotten tithes. Although this was a largely formulaic and almost ubiquitous component of wills, the sums bequeathed in this period were notably generous: 40 per cent of testators gave 3s. 4d. or more, significantly more than the token gesture of a few pence or a shilling that is often found. The parochial focus of parishioners' devotion is particularly striking in their lack of bequests to other religious houses and churches with the sole exception of Dartford Priory, a distinguished learned community of Dominican nuns.<sup>6</sup>

Establishing a lively parish piety at Holy Trinity during the second half of the 15th century is relatively straightforward. Attributing it to John Hornley is more challenging, but a case can be made that he possessed many of the qualities praised in his epitaph. Hornley was highly educated and had wider horizons than most parish incumbents. After study at Oxford – he was a bachelor of theology by 1440 –

he rose quickly in the service of Bishop Wellys of Rochester who appointed him vicar of Dartford in January 1442.<sup>7</sup> In 1448 he was appointed the first president of Magdalen Hall, Oxford (the precursor of Magdalen College) and in 1450 he served as a chaplain of Bishop Reginald Pecock. From 1457, when he resigned as president of Magdalen Hall, he spent most of his time in Dartford and his London parish of St. Benet Sherehog. Unlike many incumbents, Hornley was vicar for long enough, thirty-five years, to have had a measurable impact. Despite the breadth of his activities, he was a largely resident vicar. His periods in ecclesiastical service were relatively short and came early in his career.

The many years Hornley spent resident in Dartford demonstrate his serious commitment to his pastoral responsibilities. In this he can be associated with a group of learned London rectors of the 1430s and 1440s identified by Sheila Lindenbaum.<sup>8</sup> Responding to the challenge of Lollardy, these university-educated clergy chose to reside in their parishes and perform their pastoral duties personally. They sought to live an exemplary moral life and placed great emphasis on effective preaching to make their learning accessible to the laity. The reference to the weeping liberal arts in the first line of Hornley's epitaph is reminiscent of the Latin verse by the distinguished London schoolmaster John Seward (d.1435) which celebrated the Liberal Arts; his circle was associated with these London rectors.<sup>9</sup> Hornley was well-equipped for his pastoral responsibilities. His library contained two practical works, the *Golden Legend* and the *Pupilla Oculi* (a pastoral handbook).<sup>10</sup> The preaching skills singled out in his epitaph had been honed during his time as chaplain to Bishop Pecock, a noted but controversial preacher. Thomas Gascoigne, in his *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, describes Hornley explaining Pecock's preaching style.<sup>11</sup> Clearly an active and trusted pastor, Hornley served as either executor, supervisor or feoffee for ten testators and played a significant role in the two new foundations in the parish, the Martin chantry and the Trinity almshouse.

The extent of Hornley's influence on parish devotion during his incumbency can also be seen in the changes in patterns of devotion that followed after his death in the period 1480 to

1530.<sup>12</sup> The most notable of these changes is the absence of invocations and bequests indicating Christocentric devotion in the parish. Two further signs of changing priorities among testators can also be identified, which may suggest less parish cohesion than in Hornley's time. Much smaller sums were bequeathed for forgotten tithes (barely 15 per cent gave 3s. 4d. or more), and there were significantly fewer bequests to the two parish guilds.

It might reasonably be argued that the more advanced devotional patterns found in Holy Trinity, particularly the Christocentric devotion and the introduction of polyphony, were at least partly determined by Dartford's proximity to London and the consequent wider horizons of its parish gentry. However, there can be little doubt that, as his epitaph suggests, John Hornley was a remarkable vicar of Dartford, a learned and devout pastor with unusually wide horizons and that during his time as vicar parish piety flourished. The strongest evidence of his personal influence is the changing patterns of parish devotion after his death. 'His great merits' may well have fostered devotion at Holy Trinity and remind us that poetic epitaphs on brasses deserve more attention and frequently repay the time devoted to them.

#### David Lepine

- 1 For a longer version of this article and full references see D.N. Lepine, "Such great merits': The Pastoral Influence of a Learned Resident Vicar, John Hornley of Dartford (d.1477)" (forthcoming).
- 2 The large wall-painting of St. George and the Dragon on the east wall of the Lady Chapel dates from after 1461 but may post-date Hornley.
- 3 Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, DRb/Pwr4, f.6; DRb/Pwr3, f.200.
- 4 Those of John Daniell, 1466, Roger Rotheley, 1467, John Groveherst, 1474, and John Hornley, 1477 (DRb/Pwr2, f.374; DRb/Pwr3, f.9v; TNA, PROB 11/6/267; TNA, PROB 11/6/418).
- 5 *Cal Pat R, 1452-61*, p.114; TNA, PROB 11/5/90.
- 6 P. Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality in Late Medieval English Society: The Dominican Priory of Dartford* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.83-9.
- 7 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 vols., Oxford, 1957-9), ii, p.966; DRb/Ar1/10, f.52v.
- 8 Sheila Lindenbaum, 'London After Arundel: Learned London Rectors and the Strategies of Orthodox Reform', in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, eds. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh (Turnhout, 2011), pp.187-208.
- 9 Lindenbaum, 'London After Arundel', pp.191-2; J.G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c.1350-1440* (Oxford, 2004), pp.219-26.
- 10 TNA, PROB 11/6/418.
- 11 *Thomas Gascoigne, Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. J.E.T. Rogers (Oxford, 1881), p.35, p.42.
- 12 The following analysis is based on a study of fifty consistory court wills and seven PCC wills from this period.



## Newdegate must fall

The practice of *Damnatio Memoriae*, destroying images of past figures because they are no longer politically acceptable, has become increasingly common in our intolerant age. But it was common in Tudor times as well, when heads were removed from brasses depicting those executed for opposing the royal tyrants.<sup>1</sup>

An example at Harefield, Middlesex,<sup>2</sup> is the brass depicting Sebastian Newdegate, a Carthusian monk horribly murdered by Henry VIII because he could not believe that the King was the head of the Church. Except that they got the wrong brass. Sebastian, Blessed Sebastian, was the son of John Newdegate who died in 1528, and who is depicted as a sergeant-at-law, with his wife, who rejoiced in the name of Amphilisia, and wears a heraldic mantle. Groups of sons and daughters stand below them in the usual manner, and there are two shield indents on the visible side of the tomb (Fig.1). Oddly they are at the head end and centre of that long side; the foot end is blank. Moreover the inscription, which must date from the death of the widow in 1544, is set upside-down in relation to the figures. That implies that the original position of the tomb was in a corner, perhaps against the south return of the chancel arch, where the eastern part of the south side of the chest was close against a wall or pillar, and the east end of the tomb tight against the screen. To make the inscription easy to read for the people, it was turned for reading from the west, although the figures, as always, had their heads towards the west.



Fig. 1. Chest-tomb and brasses of John Newdegate, 1528, and wife Amphilisia, 1544, Harefield, Middlesex (M.S.IV).  
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

The present position of the tomb chest is clearly not original: it is jammed uncomfortably into an altar-recess at the east end of the south aisle, and the wife's figure is partly covered by the plaster.



Fig. 2. Chest-tomb and brasses of John Newdegate, 1545, and wife Anne, Harefield, Middlesex (M.S.VI).  
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

The image of the Holy Trinity has been purged away, but the head of Sebastian their son has not been touched. It is the image of his innocent nephew that has been decapitated, on the brass of the younger John Newdegate, in a tomb set against the south wall of the chancel, made soon after his death in 1545, in the lifetime of the wife whose date of death was never filled in (Fig.2).

At first sight the existing brass is normal enough. Figures of a man in civil dress, and his wife, knelt at desks, with their eight sons (one headless) and five daughters kneeling behind them (Fig.3). There is an inscription below, two scroll indents above and two shield indents flanking the composition. But once our attention is drawn to that brass, we can see how peculiar it is. We can see that the inscription is engraved on three separate pieces of metal, and the one at the end is a different colour. The inscription does not fit its indent. Between the figures there is a short curved indent as if for a scroll. Yes, the brass is almost certainly palimpsest, and as we look more closely at the slab we begin to see more. That short



Fig.3. Brass of John and Anne Newdegate, 1545, with cement-filled indents of earlier use, Harefield, Middlesex (M.S.VI).  
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

scroll indent turns out to be a very long scroll, for it continues behind the female figure, curling to its conclusion above the middle daughter. But part of it is filled with a cement composition, difficult to distinguish in colour from the Purbeck slab. And above it, just touching the back of her headdress, is the unmistakable shape of a Holy Trinity, filled with the same composition except where the indent for the later prayer-scroll crosses it (Fig.4). Behind the man's right shoulder is what looks like another patch of the same cement, possibly filling the indent for the head of a single kneeling figure.

So we had an earlier brass set in the same slab, a kneeling figure above an inscription plate, with a scroll leading to the Holy Trinity. And the two shield indents? They could have belonged either to the first or second brass, or quite likely to both. But there is more: all this is the back slab of an arched chest-tomb; there is another indent on the cover slab of the chest, a shrouded figure, still partly filled with that same carefully coloured cement. So, assuming the whole monument belongs together,



Fig.4. Dabbing of second Newdegate brass, with earlier indents outlined.

we have that rather rare type, someone depicted twice: dead in a shroud on the chest-top, and alive, praying, on the back slab. There are three more shield indents on the side of the chest, which again could have been used for either brass, or both. The tomb itself is a familiar type, found all over southern England between 1490 and 1550, but probably from the first quarter of the 16th century.

It seems unlikely that the tomb was originally in its present position. A single kneeling figure should always have been facing east, so the tomb would have been against the north wall of a church, where it might appropriately have served as a base for the Easter Sepulchre. Keith Cameron's suggestion that it was an earlier Newdegate family tomb, adapted to make it less "Catholic", does not work; the 1545 inscription includes prayer for the souls, and indeed it was not until two or three years later that the government suddenly startled the country by forbidding such prayer. The tomb is far more likely to have come from one of the hundreds of suppressed religious houses. But it is certainly remarkable that the indents were filled with that coloured cement. Normally, if a stone was to be re-used, the surface was smoothed down to remove the indents, only the rivets or plugs remaining to show that the stone was re-used. Are there any other examples of indent-filling? If some of the cement had not fallen off we might never have noticed this one.

**Jerome Bertram**

- 1 See for example 'Nearly Headless Bill' in *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St Ledgers*, ed. Jerome Bertram (London, 2006), pp.24-6.
- 2 H.K. Cameron, 'The Brasses of Middlesex, Part XII', *London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XI, pt.2 (1965), pp.101-4.



## Brass Rood Statues at Holy Trinity Church, Ingham, Norfolk

Founded in 1198 Ingham Priory in east Norfolk was dedicated to the Order of Trinitarians for the Redemption of Captives according to the rule of St. Victor. Essentially the role of the canons was to act as political intermediaries paying ransoms to release Crusaders captured by the Saracens, and in turn demanding ransom for captured Saracens. By the early 1530s Ingham was being systematically investigated, closed and torn down as Henry's Act of Dissolution was enforced by Thomas Cromwell's commissioners. By 1557 the priory itself was largely in ruins, with much of the fabric robbed out for the construction of other buildings, but the priory church remained mostly intact for worship by Ingham parishioners.

As a committed Catholic Queen Mary gave instructions during her reign [1553-58] to restore churches to their former glory, and from his specific intercessory gifts it appears that Ingham parishioner, husbandman Adam Smallwood was determined to follow Mary's wishes and single-handedly reverse the Reformation, at least at Ingham. In his will written on 2nd September 1557<sup>1</sup> Adam bequeathed various sums of money to the high altar of the church, for the purchase of a silk-fringed stave banner and for the erection of a timber cross in the churchyard; all intended to restore Catholic custom and worship to Holy Trinity. Adam's most significant gift was: '*unto the churche of Ingham acrosse of Latyn [brass] with the Images of mary and John ioyned with yt....*'

One major effect of Henry VIII and son Edward's reforms was the removal from churches of all statues of saints, particularly the rood, usually comprising a crucifix of Christ on the cross with the Virgin Mary and St. John flanking the cross. These were placed high up on the rood beam which divided the chancel and nave of the church, with the figures dominating the nave and its congregation.

In most churches the screen, rood beam and the rood itself with the companion saints were made in wood, but Ingham's screen or pulpitum, unusually for Norfolk, was constructed in stone, with only the lower parts of the structure surviving today.<sup>2</sup>

There are many aspects of Ingham which are out of the ordinary, so could it be that Adam's choice of a rood cross and statues in brass accurately reflects what had originally been in the church? Certainly these figures are no longer to be found at Ingham today, and if Adam's wishes were faithfully carried out by his executors they obviously did not survive Elizabeth's Protestant reign. I wonder whether Society members could offer any insights about just how unusual this brass rood group may be?

**David Stannard**

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Record Office ANF Liber 16 Beales, f.252.

<sup>2</sup> Sally Badham, "Beautiful remains of antiquity": the medieval monuments in the former Trinitarian priory church at Ingham, Norfolk', Part 1, *Church Monuments*, XXI (2006), p.13.

## Review: 'Lordship and Faith'

**Nigel Saul.** *Lordship and Faith: The English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages.* Oxford University Press, 2017, xiv + 360pp., 50 black and white illustrations. £75.

Although brasses and commemoration are not the principal focus of this important and innovative study, it is essential reading for M.B.S. members. The fruit of a lifetime's scholarship, *Lordship and*

*Faith* draws on art history, religious history and social history to explore the relationship between the gentry and parish churches. Setting out the gentry's contribution to the fabric and their burial and commemoration in them, the author makes a convincing case for the existence of 'gentry churches' and identifies their principal characteristics. He discusses the nature of gentry engagement with parish churches through their

patronage, advocacy for them, attendance at them and their influence on worship and liturgy.

Nigel Saul is most innovative in the way he relates buildings to their social context, how parish churches reflect the demands and expectations of a particular social group, the gentry. He uses the physical remains, the chapels, monuments and heraldry – which can be seen today – to explore how parish churches were expressions of gentry family identity and physical embodiments of lordship. These wider cultural meanings are a major theme of *Lordship and Faith*. The gentry's engagement with and involvement in parish churches was based on the obligations of lordship and their sense of proprietorship. Support for the parish church was one of the wider responsibilities of Christian lordship. Rejecting the argument that the gentry withdrew from the parish, he contends that they were committed to public religion in parish churches alongside worship in their private chapels. Their commitment to parish churches was an essential component of their social identity and an important means of displaying their chivalric ethic. Even though gentry display and memorialisation could overwhelm a church and cause tension with other social groups, Saul argues that there was more often harmony than tension.

Although much of *Lordship and Faith* is necessarily concerned with the impact of the gentry on the evolution of parish churches as buildings, two themes of particular interest to society members, burial and commemoration, run throughout it and are the focus of two key chapters – Chapter 7, Chancies and Intercession and Chapter 8, Patterns of Burial. Extensive fieldwork, familiarity with local and antiquarian studies and the author's intimate knowledge of many churches and their individual histories are used very effectively to advance the analysis.

This important and pioneering study, although it focuses on the impact of the gentry, also makes a significant contribution to our broader understanding of the development of medieval parish churches, particularly their topography, functions and liturgy. Above all, it sets out a new approach to the parish church and raises many new questions. How do 'gentry churches' differ from monastic or civic and merchant parish churches? What impact did other social groups have on the building, topography and function of parish churches? In what ways did the competing interests of different social groups cause tension within the parish church? This thought-provoking book will be a benchmark for future studies.

**David Lepine**

## Notes on Books, Articles and the Internet

**William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore (eds.), *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*.** Vol.III, pt.5, October 2017. (Lynton Pubns, Lynton House, 16 Colne Road, Winchmore Hill, London N21 2JD. £14.00 (incl. P&P). 2017. ISBN 978-0-9564801-4-9). 10 portfolio-size plates [Nos XLI-L]; 17 other illus., 10 in colour, 7 b/w [Figs 54-71] and 14 pages of text [numbered pp.57-70]; refs. + Contents List and Indexes to Volume III, 2011-17 [6 sides, separately paginated]. Stiff paper covers.

It is always a pleasure to welcome another part of this long-standing annual portfolio of plates, with their accompanying descriptive letterpress and

notes. Of the 10 Plates, seven are of brasses dating between 1361 and 1664 (one palimpsest); one is an indent, c.1400; and two are modern brasses (c.1890 & 1915); almost all the accompanying notes are by M.B.S. members.

Plate XLI is the now little-rubbed and reproduced, yet well-known Flemish brass of merchant Alan Fleming, 1361; overall it is very worn and had some parts restored by William Fowler in 1826. There is an almost exact contemporary at Toruń in Poland. The brass has had three moves since 1822, including being placed in a concrete slab in 1950; the resultant corrosion led to the brass being conserved and relaid by William Lack in 1984. The original black marble slab remains in the nave.



It is the second largest brass in England, the third largest in Europe and, unusually, shows Fleming holding a scroll between his hands. His merchant's mark, with crowned monogram over, appears on two quatrefoils midway down each long side of the marginal inscription. The Latin inscription is helpfully translated and ends with a text from Job 19: 25-27. A 'separate inlay' slab nearby in the north choir aisle, with the indent of a Flemish lady, may be that of Fleming's wife Alice; another perhaps that of their son. The descriptive text (p.57) is by Jerome Bertram, who with Paul Cockerham has recently published a 32-page illustrated booklet *Alan Fleming's brass at Newark* (Lulu Publishing, 2017), comparing the Newark brass to other similar examples.

Plates XLII and XLIII are of military brasses, the former the indent of a fine London A brass to Sir William Arundel, K.G., 1400, and his wife Agnes holding hands, under a double canopy and with marginal inscription; the slab remains in its original location behind the high altar of Rochester Cathedral, Kent. There is no indication of the Garter on his figure or the slab, but his Garter Stall Plate remains in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and is illustrated in colour on p.58 of the letterpress. Text (pp.57-59) and rubbing are by Derrick Chivers.

In contrast, Plate XLIII shows a rubbing of the brass of Drew Barentyn, in armour, and his two wives Joan, 1437, and Beatrix, 1446, at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. A London D product, the brass is worn but otherwise fine, and each figure has a dog or dogs at their feet. Only one of the three shields survives, though a second is illustrated from an old rubbing, along with the missing end of the foot inscription. Text (p.59) is by Jerome Bertram.

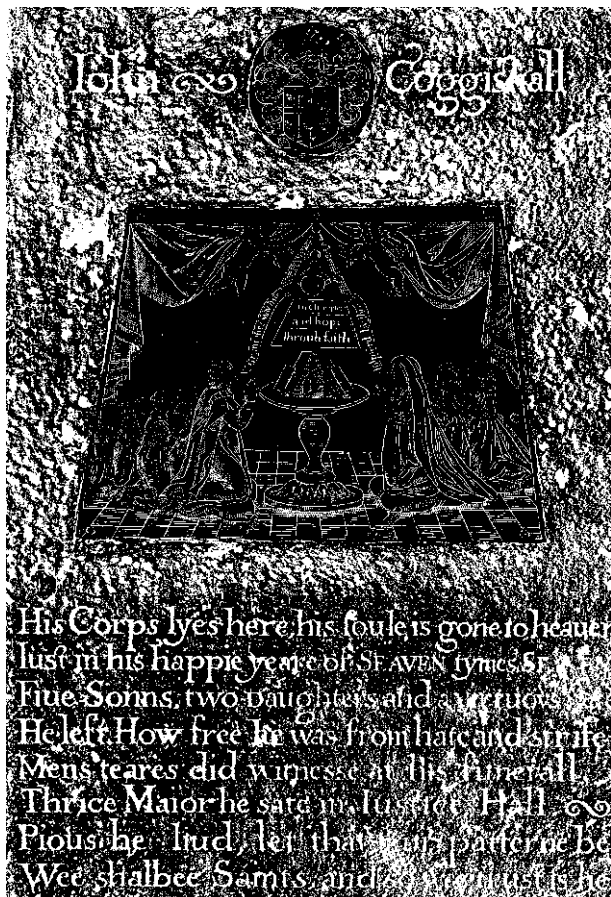
The next three plates are all of civilian brasses. Plate XLIV has the kneeling figures of John Croke, Alderman, Lord Mayor and Master of the Skinners' Co. of London, 1477, and his wife Margaret, 1491, in All Hallows, Barking. Their seven sons and five daughters kneel behind each parent, their mother in widow's veil; the head of John Croke and one of his sons is missing, so too one mouth scroll, one shield and a chamfer inscription. The surviving shield, with the arms of Croke retains its original blue colouring [see photo, p.60]. This London D brass was originally in a slab at the back of a marble tomb, but bomb damage and a fire at the

church during World War II caused the tomb chest and slab bearing the brasses to be shattered, although the brasses survived both. After the war the tomb was repaired and the brasses replaced in a new back panel; an added section on 'Repairing the Croke Tomb' (p.61) is by Philip Whittemore. Apart from the Plate, there are four colour photos within the text (pp.59-61), all by Derrick Chivers.

William Lack and Martin Stuchfield contribute details of palimpsest reverses discovered recently on the figures of a civilian and two wives, c.1590, at Wormingford, Essex (LSW.II). The reverses are cut from parts of a large rectangular Flemish brass of c.1540. The letterpress (pp.62-3) includes rubbings of the obverse and reverse of the Wormingford brass as well as a conjectural reconstruction of the Flemish brass, also of a man and his two wives, made up with four other palimpsest links from Bradfield, Essex; Rufford, Lancashire; Harrow, Middlesex (several); and Thames Ditton, Surrey, most dating from the late 1570s.

The nearest complete brass to that on the reverses is Lodewiic van Leefdael and his wife, 1553, at Thielen, Belgium (illus. Fig.66, p.62). Plate XLV is a large scale reproduction of all the above reverses from the conjectural reconstruction mentioned above.

Plate XLVI shows the distinctive brass of Elizabeth Eynns, 1585, in York Minster; she was the daughter of Sir Edward Nevell (or Neville), beheaded on Tower Hill in December 1538. Some of their distinguished ancestry is described at the start of the letterpress (p.63). Elizabeth married Thomas Eynns, one of Elizabeth I's Council of the North, who died in 1578; Thomas also had a brass in York Minster, destroyed during repaving in the 1730s; his widow requested burial near her husband and her 'picture graven on a platt' together with the arms of their respective families. Her brass appears to have originally been fixed to a pillar in the south transept, but was moved to its present position on the wall of the south choir aisle between 1870 and 1893. The brass shows a half-effigy of Elizabeth in Paris cap and ruff, with her hands joined in prayer and an open book in front with text from Psalm 119, vv.30 and 54. Four shields and a five-line inscription complete the composition. The brass is a product of Johnson's Southwark workshop, and has an almost



*John Coggeshall, 1631, and wife Elizabeth, 1661,  
Orford, Suffolk (M.S.XIII).*

exact counterpart in the brass of her first cousin Margaret Plumbe, 1575 (LSW.IV, Wyddiall, Hertfordshire), daughter of Sir Thomas Nevill. Letterpress by John Roberts (pp.63-5).

The next two brasses are late examples. Plate XLVII shows the kneeling figures of John Coggeshall, 1631, three times mayor of Orford, Suffolk and his wife Elizabeth, 1661, and their children, with a round table between them holding open books. Above the trapezoid-shaped plate is an achievement on a separate oval plate, the brass being set in a slab on which the name 'John Coggeshall' is engraved, and below the main plate an eight-line inscription. This brass has been little illustrated, perhaps on the expectation that it is lightly engraved, but this is not the case. In his notes, Philip Whittemore suggests this is the product of a London workshop, citing other examples with similar characteristics; he also reproduces an engraving of a lost 'paper monument' of 1635, in memory of Thomas and Frances Ward, once in St. Leonard's church, Foster Lane in the City of London (p.66).

Plate XLVIII (letterpress pp.66-67) shows the elaborate heraldic brass of Edward Littleton (died 1664, aged only 19) in the Temple Church, London. It has 28 separate small shields (12 each side, 4 below) and an elaborate achievement with large shield at the top. The arms on every small shield are cited in the text (pp.67-8). In the centre is a Latin inscription on a ribbon-like twisting scroll. Set in a modern ledger stone below ground level under a glass cover (see photo p.68), at the base is an oval bearing a skull and crossbones with a short Latin inscription round the perimeter. The whole brass symbolises the importance of lineage to the Littleton family. Main text by David Harte; rubbing and additional note on the condensation problems caused by the glass cover by Derrick Chivers (p.68).

The last two plates are very different examples of modern brasses. Plate XLIX is of former London mayor Sir John Gayer (died 1649, but brass engraved and signed by Hart, Son, Peard & Co. of London c.1890). In the City church of St. Katharine Cree, it shows the head and shoulders of Gayer within an oval, wearing his robe and mayoral chain of office; he has a somewhat Shakespeare-like appearance. Around and above him is an elaborate Corinthian-like arch with the City of London arms at its centre, and a long inscription below. The text (p.69) by David Meara includes a brief history of Hart, Son, & Peard, and notes a similar brass to another Lord Mayor, George Swan Nottage, 1885, in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. The latter was designed by Edward Onslow Ford, R.A., and the Gayer brass may also have been his work. Rubbing by Derrick Chivers.

Plate L concludes the selection, and is of the fine, large brass of Bishop John Cuthbert Hedley, 1837-1915, in Ampleforth Abbey, Yorkshire. An almost life-size figure in full pontificals with crozier, he stands on a bracket under a square embattled canopy. A marginal inscription completes the composition, which was designed by a Mr. Johnson of Watts & Co. under the supervision of Giles Gilbert Scott in 1924. A leading Roman Catholic figure during his lifetime, despite wanting no memorial, he also has an enormous tomb at Cathays Cemetery, Cardiff, restored and rededicated in 2012. Letterpress by Patrick Farman (p.70).

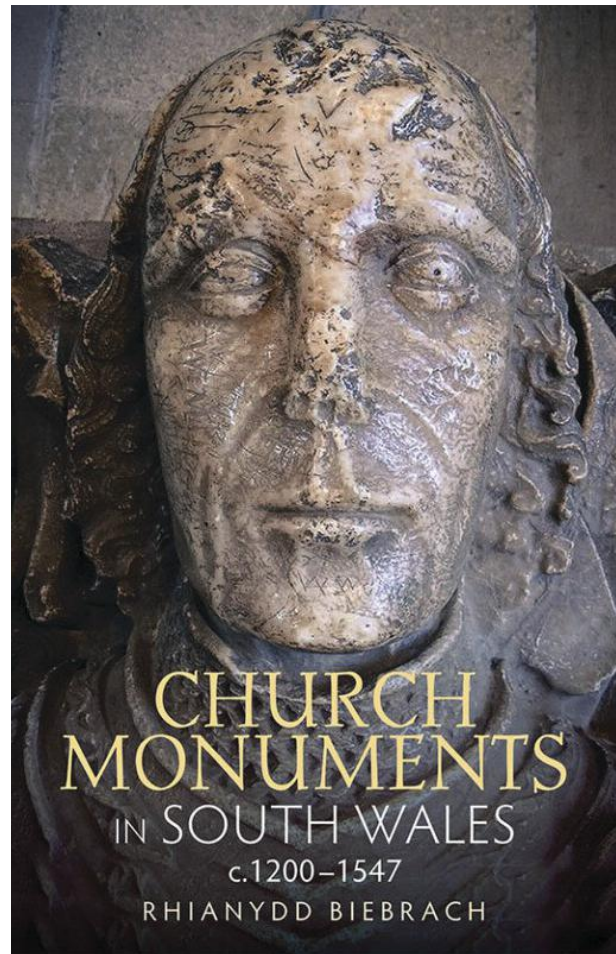


**Stephen Freeth, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore.** *Edmonton, Middlesex.* (M.B.S. £5.00 + £2.50 P&P. 2017. ISBN 978-0-9501298-7-7). 20 pages; 15 colour photos; refs; stiff paper covers.

This publication was specially produced for the Society's meeting at All Saints' church on 28th October 2017, in the high quality A4 format now familiar to members. After listing records by antiquaries from John Norden (1593) to H.K. Cameron (1957) it gives the surprising news that only one brass has been lost since c.1800, although nine earlier losses are recorded by Weever and Rawlinson (see pp.11-13) and 7 indents survive (see pp.14-17). Each surviving brass is described, inscriptions transcribed and genealogical details given where known; they date from c.1500 [John Asplyn, Godfrey Askew and 'the wyfe of them both' Elizabeth] to 1902 [an inscription to Henry Cooper, J.P., engraved by Wippell of Exeter and London].

An important feature of this thoroughly researched survey is the reproduction of five of Thomas Fisher's scale drawings of the brasses and their slabs; the present muddled state of the now mural brass of Edward Nowell, 1616 and his wife can best be unravelled from Fisher's drawing (p.9) and the original slab. Indents which survive include the lower part of a late 14th-century cross slab; Sir Thomas Charlton junior, 1465, and his wife – partly obscured by cement infill; kneeling figures of John Kyrketon or Kirton, in armour, 1529/30, and two wives, set into the back of a stone tomb (photos p.15 and p.16); and kneeling figures of Rouland Monoux, 1579/80, in armour, his wife, two sons and five daughters, scrolls and achievement (photo p.18; Fisher drawings p.19 and p.20). An exact facsimile of its large 10-line inscription was made in the 1980s and inserted in the indent, but in May 2016 was removed for conservation and rebated into a wooden board (see photo p.20).

**Rhianydd Biebrach.** *Church Monuments in South Wales, c.1200-1547.* (Boydell & Brewer. £60.00. Nov. 2017. ISBN 9781783272648). x, 211 pp.; 4 colour, 48 b/w illus.; refs.; bibliography pp.193-204; index. Members can save 35% and pay £39 plus £3.70 P&P. Order online at



<https://boydellandbrewer.com/church-monuments-in-south-wales-c-1200-1547-hb.html> and enter code BB534 when prompted at the checkout. Alternatively please call the distributor, Wiley, on 01243 843 291 quoting the same code. If you have any queries please email [Boydell@boydell.co.uk](mailto:Boydell@boydell.co.uk)

This comprehensive new work is the 'first full-scale study of the medieval funerary monuments of this region' [Introduction, p.1]. It includes cross slabs, brasses/indents in the wider context of the genre, and stone effigies and tomb chests, many little known outside the region. The stones used; production methods; design; patronage; the desire for personal and family status, and the subsequent fate or survival of the monuments are all described and discussed in detail. The many excellent photographs help support these facets of the subject., backed up with a long list of primary and secondary published sources. The book will be reviewed at greater length in the next issue of the *Bulletin*.

**Rochester Cathedral; indent discovered**

A talk by Graham Keevill, Consultant Archaeologist at the cathedral, on 2nd November 2017 called 'Hidden Treasure at Rochester Cathedral: recent discoveries', included photographs, taken in April 2015 for Kent Online, showing excavations in the Crypt. The finds included a damaged slab of which the upper quarter shows the indent of a marginal inscription, with roundels at each corner. The rest of the surface is effaced, but possibly has three plug holes for securing a brass near the centre. A colour photograph of the crypt excavations, on the web-site, shows most of the slab in the foreground; see <http://www.kentonline.co.uk/medway/news/uncovering-crypts-treasures-34536/>.

**Shorter notes:**

**Jessica Barker. 'Invention and Commemoration in Fourteenth Century England: a Monumental "Family Tree" at the Collegiate Church of St. Martin, Lowthorpe' [Yorkshire].** *Gesta* 56, I (Spring 2017), pp.105-128. 17 b/w and two colour photos; refs.

A very unusual stone memorial to John de Heselton and Margery de Lowthorpe, c.1335-50, shows the couple under a rippling cloth like a funeral pall, overlaid with the trunk and branches of a Jesse like tree. Each branch ends in a human head, the imagery reinforcing the tomb 'as a focal point for remembrance [and] the complex web of familial, institutional and liturgical relationships within the college'. The use of a funeral pall can be seen on other tombs at Nafferton, Yorkshire and

Careby, Lincolnshire, and the Jesse Tree on both effigial tombs and a few brasses, notably the huge von Bülow brass at Schwerin, Germany (illus. from Greeny on p.116). The electronic version of this paper has more colour photographs.

**Nicola Clark. 'The Gendering of Dynastic Memory: Burial choices of the Howards, 1485-1559.'** *Jour. of Ecclesiastical History*, 68 (4) October 2017, pp.747-65. Refs.

The Howard family are frequently associated with tombs and brasses at Lambeth, Surrey; Thetford, Norfolk and Framlingham, Suffolk. Their chapel at St. Mary, Lambeth was completed in 1522. Whilst it is generally believed that the males in the family determined the place and form of burial, this paper shows how some of the Howard women were also closely involved in such decisions, notably at Lambeth and following the Dissolution of Thetford Priory. Agnes Howard is especially significant, ordering the removal of her husband Thomas' body from Thetford, and its reburial in the 1540s in a grave marked by a floor brass at Lambeth. She too was to be commemorated by a brass, but on a chest tomb; unusually her daughter Katherine Howard, in her will of 1554, requested burial in her mother's tomb. This well argued and documented paper throws fresh light on the effects of the Dissolution on noble families, and how strong-minded widows like Agnes were able to challenge convention. The paper has no illustrations.

**Peter Ryder. *Medieval Cross Slabs of Derbyshire*.** (Derbyshire Archaeological Advisory Committee. £7.99 (pbk). 2017. ISBN 978 0907543 77 0). 87 pp.; over 220 b/w and 6 colour illus. The result of an 18-year survey completed in 2012, and recording 457 slabs or slab fragments, the largest number at Bakewell. A brief description by the author of the project and book appears in *Archaeology & Conservation in Derbyshire*, Issue 14 (January 2017), p.24 at [www.peakdistrict.gov.uk](http://www.peakdistrict.gov.uk).

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**Richard Busby**