

Monumental Brass Society

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BULLETIN 141

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 September 2019 to:

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Hon. Treasurer's notice

On 1st January all subscriptions for 2019 became due. Please send £25.00 (associate/student £12.50, family £35.00) to the Hon. Treasurer, Robert Kinsey, 203 Quemerford, Calne, Wiltshire SN11 8JX. 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.

Editorial

I hope that this issue of the *Bulletin* follows in the fine traditions established by the late William Lack. I am especially grateful to our contributors on this occasion: Roger Barnes, Jon Bayliss, Richard Busby, Derrick Chivers, Stephen Freeth, Mike Harris, Challe Hudson, David Lepine and Philip Whittemore. It is with huge regret that a shortage of space has precluded the inclusion of contributions received from Kevin Herring, Les Smith and Janet Whitham. These contributions will be published in future *Bulletins*, and further articles from Society members will be warmly welcomed.

The Society's new website can be accessed at the customary address of www.mbs-brasses.co.uk. An enormous debt of gratitude is owed to Jon Bayliss, in his capacity as Hon. Internet Publicity Officer, who has been responsible for the old website since 2006. Considerable appreciation is also due to Nicholas Rogers who has substantially revised the Bibliography section that can be found at www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/publications/bibliography.

Personalia

We welcome as new members:

Jane Clayton, Long Meadow, Inval, Haslemere, Surrey GU27 1AH.

John Trend, 14 Viscount Road, Rectory Farm, Northampton, Northamptonshire NN3 5BJ.

It is with very deep regret that we report the deaths of **Jonathan Ali** (see p.804), **Vernon Roper**, **Tony Trayling** and **George Vane** who have been members of the Society since 1985, 2001, 1998 and 1973 respectively. The Society also deeply regrets the passing of **William Lack**, the Hon. Bulletin Editor, on 30th May 2019 (see p.804).

We congratulate **Jean Wilson**, lately President of the Church Monuments Society, for her inclusion in the 2019 Queen's Birthday Honours List. She has been appointed a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (M.B.E.) for services to Heritage.

Cover: Detail from the monumental brass commemorating Nicholas [Kniveton, lord of Mircaston and Underwood], in armour with SS collar, [1493.] at Mugginton, Derbyshire (LSW.I). Style: London D.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

Diary of events

Saturday, 13th July 2019 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OXFORD

Please note that the formal business of the Annual General Meeting will be held at The Oratory, 25 Woodstock Road OX2 6HA at 11.00a.m.

The afternoon programme organised by **Jerome Bertram** and **David Meara** will commence at 2.00p.m. with a privileged visit to the church of **St. Cross** (St. Cross Road, Holywell, OX1 3TX) that now serves as the Balliol College Archive. The two 17th-century brasses include Eliza Franklin who, dying at the age of 35 in 1622, is shown in bed with three children in shrouds and one in swaddling clothes on the coverlet. This will be followed with rare access to the Norman church of St. Peter-in-the-East, now used as the library for **St. Edmund Hall** (Queen's Lane, OX1 4AR). The building contains nine mainstream brasses. The afternoon will conclude with a visit to the **Cathedral Church of Christ Church** (St. Aldate's, Oxford OX1 1DP) containing a magnificent array of medieval brasses together with a number of notable Victorian examples.

Saturday, 28th September 2019 GENERAL MEETING WALTHAMSTOW, ESSEX

The programme will commence at 11.15a.m. with an optional short walk focusing on the medieval village of Walthamstow conducted by **Neil Houghton**, Hon. Secretary of the Walthamstow Historical Society. It is also hoped to visit the 15th-century Ancient House (subject to occupancy). The formal meeting will start at 2.00p.m. in the church with **Neil Houghton** speaking on *A History of St. Mary's Church and the parish of Walthamstow*. Tea and an opportunity to view the five medieval brasses and monuments including one by the renowned sculptor, Nicholas Stone, will follow. The afternoon will conclude with a talk on the brasses by **Martin Stuchfield**.

The church is located in Church Lane/Church End. The postcode for satellite navigation is London E17 9R7. The nearest station is Walthamstow Central on the Victoria underground line. The church is a walking distance of 0.4 miles (9 minutes) due east from the station along St. Mary's Lane.

Saturday, 26th October 2019 at 2.00p.m. GENERAL MEETING WILLESDEN, MIDDLESEX

This meeting will continue the popular series of visits to Middlesex churches. **Margaret Pratt** and **Cliff Wadsworth** of the Willesden Historical Society will open the formal part of the meeting with *A History of St. Mary's Church and the parish of Willesden*. **Philip Whitemore** will, once again, speak on the brasses. Finally, **Nicholas Rogers** will speak on *Edmund Roberts of Willesden and his Book of Hours*. It is proposed to produce a comprehensively illustrated booklet that will be available free to members attending the meeting.

The church is located at the junction of Church Road, High Road and Neasden Lane. The postcode for satellite navigation is London NW10 2TS. The nearest station is Neasden on the Jubilee underground line. The church is a walking distance of 0.4 miles (9 minutes) due south from the station along Neasden Lane.

Transactions News

Six years ago, when the Society's finances were less secure, our President, Martin Stuchfield, kindly agreed to typeset the *Transactions* for the five parts of volume XIX for the years 2014-18. Members will know what a splendid job he has done in maintaining the very high and much-admired standards of production of the *Transactions*. As editor I know just how much time, care and expertise he has brought to this task. The Society owes him a very great debt of gratitude. Future issues of the *Transactions* will be produced by Henry Ling Limited of Dorchester, a well-known company that produces many learned journals including *Church Monuments*. Members will continue to receive their copies of the *Transactions* in the usual way in late October.

With the completion of volume XIX of the *Transactions* last year, it has been decided, with the approval of Council, to move from five-part volumes to annual volumes. This simplification will bring the *Transactions* into line with most other learned journals. A comprehensive index will continue to be published every five years.

David Lepine, Hon. Editor

In memoriam

Jonathan Ali (1969-2019)

Jonathan had been a member of the Society since 1985 and served as a member of the Executive Council from 2013 to 2016. He had a general appreciation of monumental brasses with a particular interest in those related to his native county of Lancashire.

In 2009 he discovered a Trinity that apparently had been purchased by a tinker from a market stall at Bury or Clitheroe in c.1949. The brass bears a close resemblance to the Trinity on the memorial to Sir John Broke, Baron Cobham, and wife Margaret, 1506, at Cobham, Kent (M.S.XVIII). It once formed part of a canopy arrangement and is also slightly convex consistent with bomb or blast damage (see *Bulletin* 113 (January 2010), p.242).

Jonathan's wide-ranging interests included World War I memorialisation. He contributed an article relating to the brass memorials contained in his local Hawkshaw Methodist Chapel (see *Bulletin* 127 (October 2014), pp.534-6) and a piece relating to John Travers (Jack) Cornwell, a 16-year-old V.C. winner at the Battle of Jutland in May 1916 (see *Bulletin* 132 (June 2016)). His book *Our Boys: The Great War in a Lancashire Village* recounts the stories of Hawkshaw's fallen heroes.

Jonathan was a highly respected journalist mostly with B.B.C. Manchester and was known as Jali to his friends and colleagues. In 2018 he was named as one of the top 238 most respected journalists by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (N.C.T.J.). He reported on many of Greater Manchester's biggest stories over the last three decades, including the IRA bombing of 1996, Manchester United's famous 1999 treble, the Oldham race riots in 2001 and the 2002 Commonwealth Games. He even reported live from the Christie Hospital in Manchester after a fire broke out whilst he was undergoing treatment in 2017.

A memorial service will be held on Saturday, 6th July at the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, Bury, Lancashire.

William Lack (1945-2019)

William Lack passed away on 30th May 2019 (the same day as Jonathan Ali).

He succeeded Les Smith as Hon. Bulletin Editor, with *Bulletin* 113 (January 2010) the first to appear under his editorship. He was responsible for a total of twenty-nine issues during which period many significant advances and improvements were implemented. He also prepared thirty-two reports on conservation for the *Transactions* during the editorship of Stephen Freeth, Jerome Bertram, Nicholas Rogers and David Lepine. William was responsible for conserving more than 1,000 brasses during this period. He was also a co-author of the *County Series* that commenced in 1992, with seventeen volumes published to date.

The memorial service held on 18th June at St. Anne's church, Lea Cross Bridge, Shrewsbury was well attended by Society members.



Simon Nadin of Skillington Lack (left) and William Lack (right) having just removed the Hoton brass for conservation in 2015 at Wilberfosse, Yorkshire (M.S.I).

Meeting report

Fairford, Gloucestershire – 30th March 2019

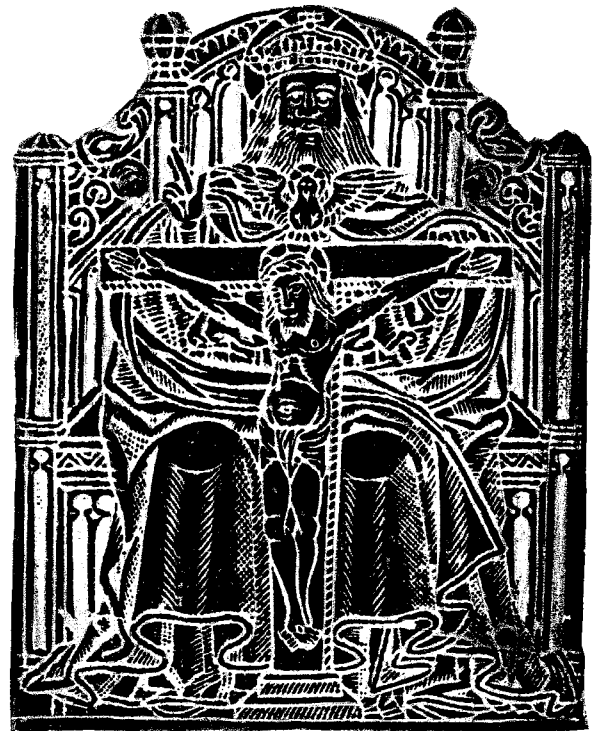
The church of St. Mary at Fairford offers a genial welcome every day to visitors, worshippers, and lovers of art and antiquities, but on 30th March 2019 they literally rolled up the carpets that cover the brasses on the floor of the Lady Chapel, laid tables with an overwhelming array of cakes, and invited some of their finest local historians to join M.B.S. members in engaging and educating us. The church is, as Martin Stuchfield opined in his welcome, one of the great glories of Gloucestershire, if not of the entire United Kingdom, with one of the best-preserved sets of medieval glass windows in the country as well as fanciful misericords, fine brasses and tombs, intricately carved screens, and well-preserved Perpendicular architecture. Even reflecting on the 2012 theft of a misericord and the Trinity from the Edmund Tame mural brass, still unrecovered at this time, did not darken the day's proceedings.

Before the meeting, many assembled for a tour of the graveyard led by Society member **Chris Hobson**. He guided us among the headstones and monuments, including multiple listed tombs, with an engaging commentary on the lives of the people there interred. We visited the resting places of stone masons, inventors, naval captains, ministers, rioters, poets, infants, and physicians. The founder of the local private asylum rests here with his family as well as some of the patients who passed on while resident at the Retreat Asylum. Memorable monuments include the tomb topped with a carving of an 18th century coffin and the stone over Tiddles, the church cat, adorned with an ever-attentive feline effigy.

Martin Stuchfield opened the meeting by welcoming the assembled crowd of about forty Society members and over a dozen locals, then introducing our first speakers, **Geoff Hawkes** and



*Sir Edmund Tame, 1534, and two wives, Agnes Greville and Elizabeth Tyringham (LSW:II).
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)*



*Trinity stolen from the brass to Sir Edmund Tame, 1534, and two wives, Agnes Greville and Elizabeth Tyringham (LSW:II).
(rubbing: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Margaret Bishop. They split us into two groups for a quick tour of Fairford's famous windows. The narrative in the glass tells the story from Creation to Last Judgement, from the Old Testament through the New, from judgement to redemption. The windows were created in the first two decades of the 16th century by Henry VII's glaziers, including both Netherlandish and English workmen, using the latest techniques. Scenes depict both continental and English architecture and dress. One of the most engaging aspects of our tour was a hunt for the donors, perhaps even including the King himself and his family, disguised as biblical figures. Was the Queen of Sheba a likeness of Henry VII's wife, Elizabeth of York? Was the King ascending to heaven, forgiven his earthly sins? Was his eldest son and heir, Arthur, depicted near a Mary with striking similarities to Katherine of Aragon? Whether you believe that the young Christ is a boyish Henry VIII, or the dashing Gideon is the prosperous merchant Edmund Tame, the exercise of studying the narrative windows searching for the portraits of centuries past provides excellent diversion and invites you to look a little closer, for a little longer, at what are surely some of the most impressive parish church windows preserved in England.

Chris Hobson then introduced us to the family who paid for its creation: the Tames of Fairford, Cirencester and Rendcomb. They were not lords of the manor, but prosperous wool merchants who leased the demesne and lived beside the church in Beauchamp and Warwick Court. Wool exported to the continent had to pass through the Calais Staple, and in 1478 John Tame was its fourth largest exporter. This prosperity allowed him the funds to almost completely rebuild St. Mary's at the very end of the 15th century, a project finished by his son Edmund. John's detailed will demonstrates his massive wealth, with generous sums left for churches, charity, his burial, and his chantry. His son Edmund was knighted, held multiple positions of authority including the offices of Justice and Sheriff, attended Henry VIII as groom of the privy chamber and even hosted his visit to Fairford in 1521; his life was not ruled by wool. His son Edmund was even less a merchant, prospering more through the renting out of property, since the Tames owned, leased, and rented lands throughout Gloucestershire and beyond.

Jerome Bertram kept his remarks short, assuring us that everything we needed to know was in the booklet (*Tame Brasses at Fairford* donated by Jerome Bertram and available free for those who attended the meeting with all donations received given to the Society). The style of John Tame's brass fits 1501, but the woodwork is from the 1520s, partially obscuring the inscription around the circumference of the slab. Notice the partially covered brass on the east end of the table tomb; was it originally freestanding, or poorly designed for the space? The brass on the floor of the adjacent chapel, to John's son Edmund and wives Agnes and Elizabeth, shows intriguing peculiarities such as mismatched style between the first and second wife (the first is style 'F' while the second is the later style 'G'), a knight formed from two mismatched templates such that his face looks directly out at us while his feet turn to the side, and an inscription missing the name 'Agnes' even though it has space for it. The mural brass in the chapel commemorates this same Edmund and family. It had some of the Latin inscription chiselled off after the Reformation, but the Trinity survived, only to be stolen in 2012; what we see today is a replacement.

John Lee then spoke on the question of why John Tame's brass so differs from other Cotswold merchants' brasses. Why is he depicted in armour, when he was not knighted? He showed us brasses of woolmen standing on wool sacks, or with cheery sheep beside their feet, or distinct merchant's marks. The Tame brass has no merchant mark, no wool, no sheep, no hint at the source of his prosperity. His will does not specify the form of his monument, only allots money for its construction; so was the brass design to his specifications, or his heirs'? He leased the demesne and was not an esquire, despite using this honorific on his brass, although in practice he was effectively the lord of Fairford who called himself a squire, a merchant, and a gentleman. He did business with the King, selling him wool, and married advantageously into the Twynihoe family; his youngest son Edmund also married well. The London 'F' style of John's brass – semi-profile in armour – was preferred by many others who served the King; was the memorial designed to obscure the elder Tame's more humble merchanting roots?

The final paper by **Nicola Coldstream** (read in her absence by **Challe Hudson**) addressed the



*Geoff Hawkes addressing the meeting with Jonathan Ali (left), David Lepine (centre) and Jerome Bertram (right) in the foreground.
(photo: © Janet Whitham)*

practices of late medieval merchants who, like the Tame family, were patrons of architecture. Nicola defined ‘merchant’ broadly as someone engaged in trade since, as John Tame superbly illustrates through his rise to the gentry, merchants were not a unified social class. Besides churches they also funded diverse works for the public good: market buildings, guildhalls, almshouses, schools, roads, and more. They built or improved the infrastructure necessary for business to prosper, often close to their own shops, dwellings, and trade routes. Their building works were usually, though not always, on a less grand scale than those of the nobility, and many are remembered to us only through their wills and the writings of early antiquaries. Some merchants contributed to projects of cities and guilds, when funding an entire building was beyond their means, and many supported the ever-necessary upkeep of bridges, roads, and water conduits. Almshouses, hospitals and schools also received generous patronage

from merchants. They contributed to building and improving parish churches collectively and by adding parts to the existing building. Because so many merchants jointly financed their building projects, it was suggested that we may discover that the same occurred at Fairford, rather than St. Mary’s being the work of, unusually, a single prosperous family.

Martin Stuchfield concluded by summarising the papers and thanking the speakers, the ladies and gentlemen of Fairford for the most sumptuous tea, Janet McQueen for organising the meeting, and all people from Fairford and beyond for their attendance. Most especial thanks were due to Chris Hobson for suggesting the meeting, leading the churchyard tour and presenting a paper, soliciting papers from others, and for the generous contribution of his wife in coordinating the tea and cakes.

Challe Hudson

The marble quarry at Vaudey Abbey, Lincolnshire

Roger Greenwood, our late Vice-President, did a great deal of work on local styles of brasses in the Midlands and East Anglia and on Cambridge-made and Norwich-made brasses in particular. He paid close attention to the types of stone in which brasses were laid. Purbeck Marble and black Belgian marble were generally easy to identify but most medieval brasses from the workshops in Norwich, Cambridge and Bury St. Edmunds and other provincial centres were laid in a type of stone he could not identify. He gave slabs of this kind of stone the name of non-Purbeck slabs or NPS. The name sounds more general than it was meant to be, as he used it to refer only to one type of stone, although he was also aware of the use of other different unidentified types of stone for later brasses in the same region.

Some years ago I read the will, made in November 1539, of William Harmer, a Norwich freemason, in which he left marble stones that were in his workshop and at Brandon Ferry in Suffolk to William Thaggar (Thacker). Both Harmer and Thacker are described as marblers in other documents. Brandon Ferry was a well-known landing place for stone destined for Norwich and other places in Norfolk. Such stone would have started its journey at quarries in Northamptonshire,

Rutland or Lincolnshire, been taken to the nearest navigable river, all of which flowed into the Wash, and transported via the Great and Little Ouse to Brandon Ferry, whence it would have been taken by cart to its destination. A list of defendants in a case in the Court of Common Pleas brought by a man from Brandon Ferry a few years before Harmer made his will indicates where Harmer's marble slabs originated. John Atmere of Brandon Ferry, yeoman, brought an action for debt in 1531 against Henry Saxton, Abbot of Vaudey Abbey, William Chamberleyne of Lyttyl Bytham, Lincolnshire, 'marbylman', William Wynche, likewise a marbleman of Little Bytham, John Clarke of Spalding, waterman, and Richard Ogyll, a Spalding gentleman. Spalding is on the River Welland, Vaudey Abbey is about five miles west of Bourne and close to the eastern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, and Little Bytham is nearby, on the other side of the River Glen, which flows into the Welland, on which Spalding stands. John Leland's *Itinerary* mentioned very few marble quarries – he ignored Purbeck – but he wrote: 'There ys yn the Wood by Vauldey Abbay a gret Quarrey of a Course Marble. In the list of lands of dissolved religious houses, those of Vaudey Abbey included parcels of a quarry of "lez marbilston" in Valdye.'



Looking across into one of the overgrown pits near the site of Vaudey Abbey.
(photo: © Jon Bayliss)



*Detail of an inscription indent at Wymondham Abbey showing characteristic fossils.
(photo: © Jon Bayliss)*

Other actions for debt in the Court of Common Pleas include a previous Abbot of Vaudey, Thomas [Cleysby] versus William Hornby of Crowland, marbler, three husbandmen from other villages close to the abbey (Edenham, Castle Bytham and Creton) plus a clerk from the latter in 1468; another of 1512 brought in York by a clerk against various defendants including Henry Saxton, Abbot of Vaudey, and John Hippis of Lincoln, described as a yeoman but almost certainly the marbler of that name; and most intriguingly, another 1531 action against William Chamberleyn and William Wynche, both of Little Bytham (the marblemen in the action brought by John Atmere but here described as husbandmen), which was brought by a Coventry man, Richard Tynwynter. He was a carver mentioned in the Coventry Leet Book in 1526. Coventry-made brasses in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were laid in local liassic stone but in the 1520s there had been a switch to Vaudey Abbey marble. The defendant in a case of a different type in the Court of Common Pleas in 1512 was John Maldson of Little Bytham, marbler. The same man occurs as a defendant in other actions as Maleson (1498), Malson (1514), and Maltson (1516), under the catch-all occupation of yeoman. In June 1510 a William Malson was paid for 1500 feet of marble for the chapel of Christ's College, Cambridge: was he a relative or was 'William' a clerical error?

It is likely that the large quantities of second-hand marble slabs made available by the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the suppression of Vaudey



*Marbler's mark on the slab of the brass to Katherine Good, c.1530, at Salle, Norfolk (M.S.XVII).
(photo: © Jon Bayliss)*

Abbey itself resulted in the closure of the quarry at the time of the Reformation, although there is a record of contact between the new owner of the land, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and a Norwich marbler in 1538. In the 18th century, the quarry was reopened to provide black marble for the floor of the Great Hall of Grimsthorpe Castle. Occasional white fossils of sea urchin spines can be seen in the black parts of this floor and such fossils are characteristic of many slabs in Eastern England. Some slabs have extensive scatters of these fossils while others have few or none. Colour of these indents varies, with a distinct reddish tinge denoting the presence of iron in some while a few are black and others an even grey.

Roger Greenwood found some tens of these slabs had a mark lightly cut into a corner. Where the brass remained, he found the style was Norwich 6, but a single example with a Bury St. Edmunds style brass is known, suggesting that these marks were engraved at the quarry. More investigation is required to confirm that these marks can be found on slabs from other workshops using this kind of marble. The brasses on those found so far indicate a date range from 1510 to the late 1530s, perhaps identifying slabs cut by Chamberleyn and Wynche.

The quarry today consists of overgrown pits cut into the hillside near the abbey site in the park of Grimsthorpe Castle. I want to thank Ray Biggs, the Estate Manager, for permission to investigate them.

Jon Bayliss

Fragments of medieval tomb slabs at St. Paul's Cathedral

Fragments of several medieval monumental slabs are preserved at St. Paul's Cathedral. Pieces of stone from four different tomb slabs were discovered between 1966 and 1969, during excavations on the north side of the cathedral for the insertion underground of the cathedral works department. These were published by us in John Schofield's *St. Paul's Cathedral Before Wren* (English Heritage, 2011), pp.277-81. Two of them, HC <14> and HC <15>, were also shown to the M.B.S. when it visited the cathedral in July 2006.

Fragments of three more tomb slabs were discovered in 2013. These are published below for the first time. The discoveries in 1966-9 are also recited here briefly, so as to provide a complete record in one place.

The discoveries in 1966-9

(in chronological order of tomb slab)

HC <10>. Six pieces of a slightly coped slab of (probably) Purbeck marble, bearing in relief a large long-stemmed Latin cross with bulbous finials formed of fleurs-de-lys. The foot of the stem also ended in a fleur-de-lys. Illustrated by Schofield on p.168; not illustrated here. No outside edges survive, but the slab was possibly coffin-shaped. Datable to between c.1175 and c.1225. Stored above the Kitchener Chapel.



Fig.1. HC <15>. Fragment of Purbeck marble coffin slab with part of an inscription in Lombardic letters, 'EV:D'.
(photo: © Andy Chopping, M.O.L.A.
'Museum of London Archaeology')

HC <14>. Fragment from a Purbeck marble coffin slab. Illustrated by Schofield on p.278; not illustrated here. This is a corner fragment with a double chamfer but no other features. Datable to between c.1250 and c.1325. Stored in the cathedral conservation workshop.

HC <15>. Fragment from a different Purbeck marble coffin slab. Illustrated by Schofield on p.278; also (Fig.1) here, from Schofield. This has a single chamfer and part of an incised inscription in Lombardic letters, 'EV:D'. This may be part of 'DEV:DE:SA:ALME:EIT:MERCIT'. Datable to between c.1250 and c.1325. Stored in the cathedral conservation workshop.

HC <11>. Thirteen separate broken pieces showing the indent for a brass of a priest in the head of an octofoil cross. Illustrated by Schofield on p.169; also (Fig.2) here, from Schofield. This is easily the most impressive tomb slab of the four. Its discovery in 1969 was reported at the time by John Page-Phillips (*M.B.S. Trans.*, XI, p.42). Page-Phillips dated the indent to c.1410, but we have redated it to the 1370s or 1380s by comparison with other known examples. At the time of its discovery this slab was more or less complete, though broken in pieces. Now only the upper part remains. Stored above the Kitchener Chapel.



Fig.2. HC <11>. Thirteen broken pieces of stone forming the indent for a priest in the head of an octofoil cross, c.1370-80.
(photo: © Andy Chopping, M.O.L.A.
'Museum of London Archaeology')

The discoveries in 2013

Loose pre-Great Fire carved stone, most of it architectural, is often found during maintenance or building works in and around the cathedral. Many discoveries made by F.C. Penrose, Surveyor to the Fabric 1852-97, have been displayed ever since in the Library aisle of the Triforium, above the south aisle of the nave, on wooden planks set against the inner wall. The 'Penrose Collection' comprises carved stone from the 11th to the early 17th centuries, and is a major source for understanding the medieval fabric of the cathedral. Unfortunately its display is more for effect than for access. It is generally impossible to examine specific items because of the way the stones are stacked, and because the planks extend to well above head height. A good photograph of the Penrose Collection appears on p.125 of Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (eds.), *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (2004).



Fig.3. Fragment of cross head from a Purbeck marble coffin slab with single hollow chamfer.
(photo: © Derrick Chivers)

In 2013 the 'Penrose Collection' was inventoried for the first time. A temporary scaffold was erected in front of the planks, and a ladder. Access to individual stones was then possible after many decades. This led to the discovery of fragments of three more medieval tomb slabs. Dirt remained a problem – the stones had not been cleaned for well over 100 years – and individual stones were often

extremely heavy. Examination was difficult, and our photographs and rubbings made on the day are not perfect. Nevertheless we hope this account will serve as an interim record.

Some further carved stones in the 'Penrose Collection' are likely to have come from the superstructures of tombs in the medieval cathedral. These are not described here.

The discoveries were as follows:

Inventory number 5078/509 (Fig.3): fragment of cross head from a Purbeck marble coffin slab with single hollow chamfer. The fragment comes from the upper dexter (left-hand) corner of the slab. The dressed outside edges on the dexter (left-hand) side and along the top are still present, measuring 240mm and 185mm respectively, though the corner itself is broken away. The cross-head is similar to Head Types B and E in the Church Monuments Society typology. (See for example *C.M.S. Newsletter* 10 (1), Summer 1994, p.5.) The single hollow chamfer shows no trace of an inscription. Date: between c.1250 and c.1325. Thickness: 40-60mm.

Inv. Nos. 5078/510 and 513 (Fig.4): two small fragments probably from a single Purbeck marble coffin slab with incised inscription in Lombardic letters. Fragment 510 bears two incised letters, 'PR',



Fig.4. Two small fragments probably from a single Purbeck marble coffin slab with incised inscription in Lombardic letters.
(photo: © Derrick Chivers)



*Fig.5. Indent for a monumental brass, in poor condition, showing part of an inscription plate with part of a figure above.
(photo: © Derrick Chivers)*

perhaps part of 'PRIEZ'. Fragment 513 bears two letters followed by a colon, 'EV:', perhaps part of 'DEV:DE:SA:ALME'. Both fragments also show part of the dressed outside edge of the slab, above the lettering. This was a straight vertical, slightly undercut, and not chamfered. These two pieces therefore cannot come from the same slab as HC <14> or HC <15>.

Fragment 510 measures 150mm along the dressed outside edge, and extends back irregularly for 350mm; fragment 513 measures 185mm along the outside edge, and extends back 197mm. Thickness of both pieces: 95mm.

The inscription was intended to be read clockwise from a viewpoint within the slab, but it is not possible to say exactly where on the slab the pieces come from. If part of 'PRIEZ', fragment 510 may come from the top edge where such inscriptions often start, either in the top dexter (left-hand) corner or in the middle; if part of 'DEV . . .', the final prayer on many such slabs, fragment 513 may come from the dexter long side.

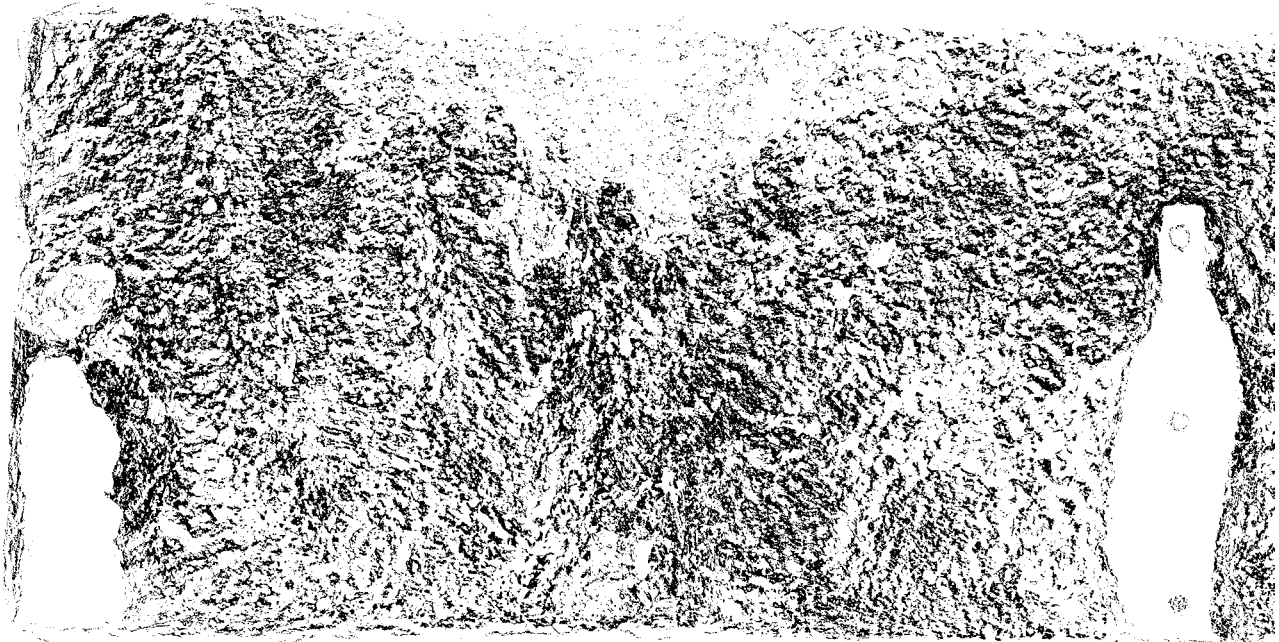
Inv. No. 5078/380 (Fig.5): fragment of Purbeck marble indent for a monumental brass, in poor

condition, showing part of an inscription plate with part of a figure above. The fragment is 310 x 550 mm overall x 100mm thick and comes from the sinister side of the slab (the viewer's right). The inscription was around 110mm deep x at least 255mm wide. Its indent still contains a lead plug for a rivet, and an empty plug hole. (The broken edge of the slab may contain part of a second plug hole, below the first.) The indent of the figure appears to show a rounded edge, perhaps for the clothing conventionally shown falling around the feet in brasses of the 15th and early 16th centuries. This rounded edge contains a further lead plug. Part of the dressed outside edge of the slab also survives. This has a 42mm-deep vertical edge which is then undercut with a single hollow chamfer below, showing that the slab was once the cover slab of a raised tomb. 15th or early 16th century?

We are most grateful to the cathedral authorities, and especially to John Schofield, Cathedral Archaeologist, for allowing access to the Penrose Collection while the scaffold was in position and for the originals of Figs.1 & 2.

Stephen Freeth and Derrick Chivers

A curious indent at Southwold, Suffolk



*Indent with the upper half of an unexplained shroud brass, Southwold, Suffolk.
(rubbing: © Philip Whittemore)*

Jerome Bertram's recent article about the reuse of slabs to hold brasses for a second or sometimes third time reminded me of an unusual indent in the north aisle of the church dedicated to St. Edmund, King and Martyr, at Southwold.¹

On a slab of ordinary Purbeck marble (measuring 858 x 2105 mm) and lying east/west is the worn indent of the upper half of a shroud brass (585 x 180 mm). What is not easy to explain is why it has been placed in such a position. The indent is 480 mm from the sinister edge of the slab, a position acceptable if a further figure or devices were going to form part of the composition. Even more curious is that the shroud lacks a bottom half or an inscription. The slab has at some date been trimmed after the indent had been cut. In the indent can be seen both rivets and empty plugs that would have been used for fixing.

The positioning of the shroud on the slab could be explained as it being an apprentice piece that for some reason went wrong with the result that the slab had to be scrapped, leaving it to be used as paving. But the curiosity of the slab does not end there. In the lower dexter corner is what appears to be the worn indent of a figure

knelling before a prie-dieu (350 x 130 mm) with a single rivet. This means that the size of the slab would have been even greater than it is at present. Neither Gardner² or Davy,³ who visited the church on three occasions between 1806 and 1823, recorded any indents.⁴

This indent poses more questions than answers. Why was it sent out in its present state, when cutting it into smaller squares to be used for paving would have been simpler? Was it used as ballast in a ship? If so, how did it end up in the church? The indent is clearly a 'one off'.

Philip Whittemore

¹ *M.B.S. Bulletin* 138 (June 2018), pp.749-51.

² Thomas Gardner (c.1690-1769) was 'salt officer' and deputy comptroller of the port of Southwold. He was an intelligent antiquary that made numerous local discoveries and died possessed of large collections, of which the coins formed the most valuable portion. He died on 30th March 1769 at the age of 79 and was buried in Southwold churchyard near the south aisle, between his two wives Rachel and Mary.

³ David Elisha Davy (1769-1851) was a Suffolk antiquary and collector. His manuscripts, which are remarkable for their neatness and admirable arrangement, were purchased by the British Museum in 1852. They include genealogical histories of Suffolk families and a number of volumes of 'Illustrative Drawings' and a volume of 'Arms of Suffolk Families'.

⁴ T. Gardner, *An historical account of Dunwich, . . . Bliethburgh, . . . Southwold, . . . with remarks on some places contiguous thereto* (London, 1754), pp.204-206; B.L. Add. MS. 19082, ff.301v-309v.

The Sibell Tyger

A photograph of a shield of the arms of Sibell of Chimbhams, Kent, graced the cover of *Bulletin* 140 (February 2019). As explained on page 782 of that issue the shield depicted *A tiger statant regardant gules at a mirror on the ground*.

Inaccurate descriptions (by travellers returning from Eastern lands) of the real tiger are probably the reason why this heraldic creature is a rather muddled beast, with a lion's body, a wolf-like head, and a pointed snout. The name is usually now spelt tyger or tygre to distinguish it from the natural animal which, however, when found in heraldry is called a Bengal tiger.

The tyger is usually depicted accompanied by a mirror. There are two versions of the legend about tygers and mirrors. One version has it that the tyger is swift, fierce and tenacious in the pursuit of any hunter who has taken its young. Even on the fastest horse, the tyger cannot be out-run unless convex mirrors are thrown down in its path. Seeing its own reflection and thinking that it sees its offspring, the adult tyger will pause in an attempt to free the cub, thus allowing the hunter to escape. Accordingly, the tyger is said to symbolise parental devotion.

The other story is that the tyger is so vain that its cubs may be taken from it simply by diverting the adult's attention with a mirror!

It is said that, because of the tiger's swiftness, it was given its name from the word for arrow in the language spoken by the Medes, an ancient Iranian people.

The Harleian Society's publication of the 1530-1 heralds' visitation of Kent gives the arms of Thomas Sybell, of 'Aynesford', Kent, as *Argent, a tiger statant, tail coward Gules, gazing at the reflection of its head in a hand mirror at its feet, framed Or*. The tail is given as 'coward' (or 'cowed', i.e. between the legs), but is not shown as such on the brass. The crest is *A hand mirror erect Proper, frame and handle Or, in the glass a tiger's head Gules*. The Harleian publication of the 1574 visitation of Kent specifies that the mirror in the arms is *Azure* and is placed between the tyger's hind paws. The entry is signed by John Sibyll (the son of the aforementioned Thomas) of 'Aynesford', and several quarterings for heiresses are given. The 1574 visitation pedigree shows five earlier generations of Sibells, and also where the heiresses came into the family. The crest



*Illustration of the legend of a tyger hunter on a horse.
(drawing: © Roger Barnes)*



Shield bearing the arms of Sibell or Sybell of Eynsford and Chimbhams, Kent.
(photo left: © Martin Stuchfield and drawing right: © Roger Barnes)

is as in the 1530-1 visitation, but no tinctures are given. 'Aynesford' is now Eynsford, and about two miles to the east is Chimbhams (sometimes Chimbham).

The significance of the tyger and mirror for the Sibells/Sybell is unclear. However, if the Sibyls (prophetic women of ancient mythology) used mirrors to prophesy, then that would explain the mirror, and the tyger would automatically follow as an heraldic beast associated with the mirror. Sir James George Frazer, in his book *The Golden Bough* (1890), mentions J.M.W. Turner's painting of the same name, and writes about the 'lake of Nemi: "Diana's Mirror," as it was called by the ancients'. The painting depicts, it seems, the Sibyl of Cumae holding high a sickle with which she has cut the bough which will guide Aeneas to the underworld, where he is to meet the ghost of his father. Other than that, I have not found any reference to mirrors in anything that I have read about Sibyls.

The brass shield is part of the monumental brass at Tisbury, Wiltshire, for Laurence Hyde (died 7th June 1590) of West Hatch, near Tisbury, and his wife Anne, daughter of Nicholas Sibell of Chimbhams. Their grandson was Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, and father of Anne Hyde who married James, Duke of York, later James II. Anne and James were the parents of Mary II and Queen Anne. Nicholas Sibell was

almost certainly an uncle of the Thomas to whom the arms were allowed at the visitation of 1530-1.

Parts of the brass shield (particularly the tyger) have been scored to aid the adhesion of coloured enamel. Unfortunately there is none of it remaining. The frame and handle of the mirror, being blazoned *Or*, have not been scored for colour but have been left with their flat brass surface. How magnificent most monumental brasses (especially those with heraldry) would be if they still displayed all their colours.

Roger Barnes

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- R.H.E. Hill, 'Sybill of Eynsford and Farningham', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXVIII (1909), pp.373-5; <https://kentarchaeology.org.uk/arch-cant/vol/28/sybill-eynsford-and-farningham-hill>.
- P. Spurrier, *The Heraldic Art Source Book* (London, 1997), pl.XV and pp.86-7 (in which he has mistakenly joined the blazons of the arms and crest together).
- http://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/miscellanea/nemi/sibyl.html.

Chesham Bois: a hidden connection between LSW.IV and V

There are two battered 18th-century coffin plates loose in the vestry of St. Leonard's church, Chesham Bois (Figs. 1 & 2). Notes in the burial register reveal that they were dug up when the new vestry was built over their plot in the churchyard in 1881. The first entry, for *LSW.IV*, reads 'John Pittman, Esqr (late Captain in his Majesty's Navy) obit May ye 8th. and was buried May 11th. [in] ye Church-yard on the north side of ye church near the Chancel (aged 64). Affidavit made May 11th 1752.' A footnote in the register reads 'The tomb of John Pittman Esq was found in digging the foundations for the new vestry, 1881. The lead plate on the coffin (359 x 277 mm) was taken off and fixed in an oak frame and fastened to the wall of the vestry (inside) just over against where the tomb was found.' A second entry, for *LSW.V*, reads, 'Mrs. Euphemia Norris dy'd December 3rd Neuchattel [Neuchâtel], Switzerland and was interred in a vault in Bois Churchyard August the 9th 1757'. This entry is qualified by a continuation of the 1881 note: 'In the same tomb or one adjoining it was found a leaden coffin with a plate of lead (sic) (silvered) containing the inscription of Mrs. Euphemia Norris (buried in 1757). The plate (357 x 309 mm) was fixed in a similar frame with Pitmans' and fixed also in the vestry. A small square leaden box (empty) was found, which may have contained the heart of the said lady who died at Neuchatel. J Matthews, Rector.'

That Capt. Pittman and Mrs. Norris knew each other becomes clear when one reads their Wills. Capt. Pittman died first and made Mrs. Norris his executrix, leaving the residue of his fortune to her, and making several bequests to servants and friends, including one '... to Charles Lowndes of Chesham Esq, I would leave a ship to – if I had one. However if my Executrix can get such a one as we saw by the Westminster Bridge last month, I desire she would purchase it for him. If not, something else of ornament to swim in his water ...'.

Mrs. Norris was living in Dijon when she wrote her own Will the following year, and in Angoulême when she wrote a codicil to it in early 1755, mentioning her 'sickness': perhaps she was travelling on the continent for her health. By the



Fig 1. Coffin plate for Capt. John Pittman, R.N., 1752, aged 64, Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire (LSW.IV). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

time she died at the end of 1756, she was in Switzerland: she had probably had to leave France on the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, which had started on 17 May.

It is her original Will itself that reveals why the two coffin plates were found so close together. Mrs. Norris had wanted to be buried in her husband's family vault at Benenden, Kent, but it appears that his family withheld permission because, failing that, 'then I order a vault to be built in the churchyard at Chesham Bois near the place where my sister Pearse and Captain Pittman are buried and there to be interred with as little expense and in the privatest manner possible. I would have the vault made big enough to hold Mrs. Pearse and Captain Pittman whose remains I would have removed and laid in the vault with me in my coffin which is to hold the leaden coffin I would have of the best seasoned elm without any covering or ornaments but a plain neat brass plate and strong handles ...'.

Why did these two people know each other so well? Euphemia was the daughter of Lewis Morris,

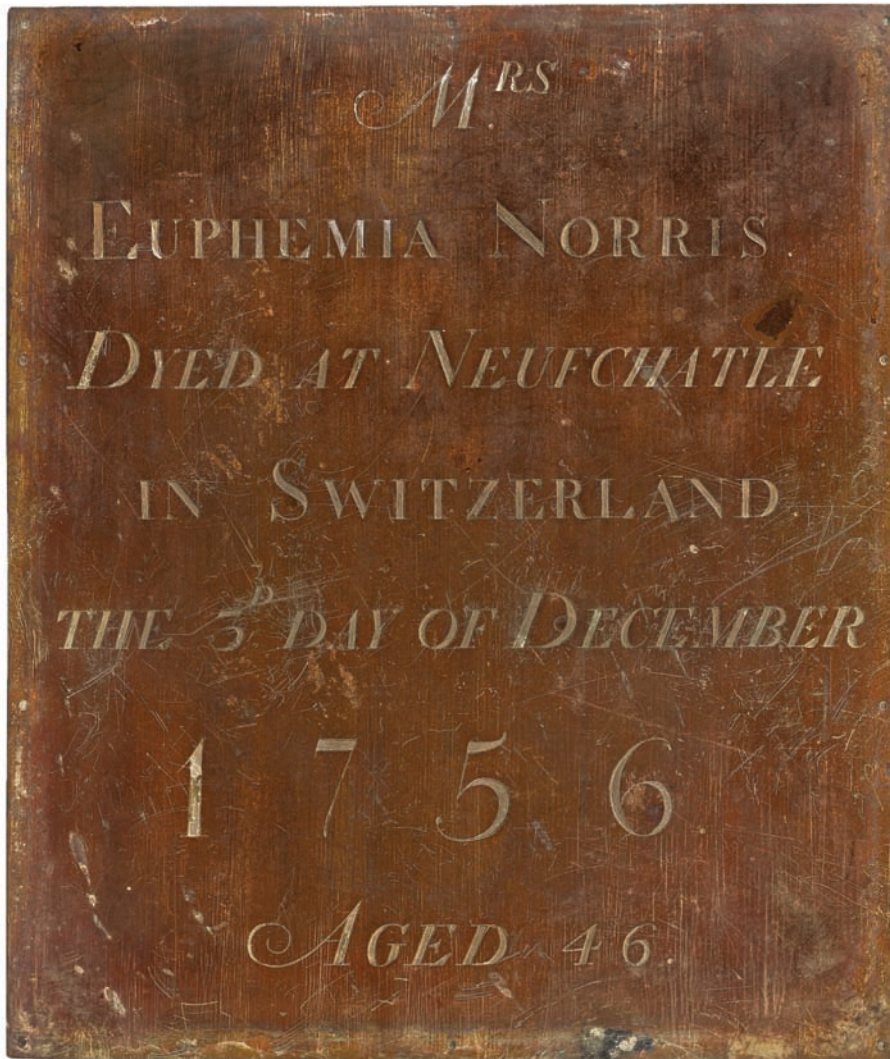


Fig.2. Coffin plate for Mrs. Euphemia Norris, 1756, aged 46, Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire (LSWV).
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

first Governor of the colony of New Jersey and, before that, the Chief Justice of New York. In 1734 the small 20-gun ship H.M.S. *Tartar* arrived in New York under the command of the 29-year-old Capt. Matthew Norris. The son of Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Norris, he had 'interest' which had procured him promotion to Post Captain at the age of nineteen. One of his Lieutenants was John Pittman, a man without interest, who was forty-six. Shortly after their arrival, the young captain married the Governor's daughter. During the following four years on station there was ample opportunity for the mature Lieutenant and the captain's wife to get to know each other. In 1737 the ship came home, and Capt. Norris left her to take up, with the usual help, the well-paid appointment of the Navy Board's Commissioner for Plymouth, only to die, aged thirty-three, on Christmas Day 1738.

John Pittman was finally promoted Post Captain in 1743, aged fifty-five, and furthermore became wealthy, having captured a valuable Prize that same year.

That Captain Pittman and Mrs. Norris remained on friendly terms for the rest of their lives is evident, but we know no more than that.

This article is inspired by, and based on, 'A Ship to Swim in his Water . . .' by June Underwood, (*Origins*, 19, no.2, Buckinghamshire Family History Society) and I am grateful for permission to use it. My thanks go to Martin Stuchfield for the illustrations, and to Christopher Donnithorne for information from his Naval Biographical Database.

Mike Harris

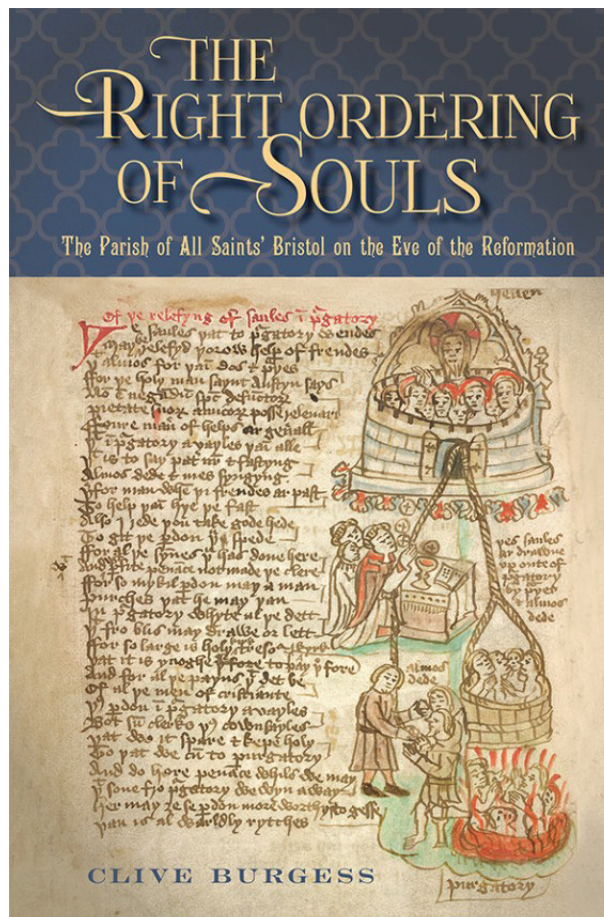
Notes on books, articles and the internet

Clive Burgess. *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation*. (The Boydell Press. £60.00. 2018. ISBN 9781783273096). 463 pp.; 2 b/w illus.; bibliography and glossary.

Readers of the *Bulletin* may wonder why a book that barely mentions monumental brasses is being reviewed here. Although it has little to say directly about brasses, *The Right Ordering of Souls* is essential reading for a detailed understanding the religious and liturgical context of medieval commemoration. It is both a distillation and synthesis of, and a reflection on, the author's ground-breaking and much-cited work on parish religion over the last thirty years. Much of the book explores the commemorative iceberg of which monumental brasses are the visible tip. Those who commissioned brasses invariably made other commemorative provisions, principally in the parish churches which contained them.

The Right Ordering of Souls takes one Bristol parish, All Saints', for which a uniquely wide range of sources has survived. The wealth of the All Saints' archive, much of it edited and published by the author, enables an unusually detailed picture to emerge. The author evaluates the sources perceptively. His close but critical reading of wills is particularly noteworthy. The breadth of the All Saints' archive reveals how much, despite their sometimes exhaustive detail, wills often leave out.

Patterns of commemoration, especially obits and chantries but also charitable provisions and the visual and liturgical embellishment of parish churches, lie at the heart of this study. As well as shedding light on the motives and intentions of benefactors, there is an important account of the often time-consuming practicalities of commemoration. The effort, care and resources invested in the organisation and management of commemorative schemes reflects the importance given to them. Such schemes, though primarily intended to benefit a small group of named individuals, merited a major investment of time and money by subsequent generations because they produced common amenities that benefitted the whole parish. The role of women, especially



widows, the parish clergy and executors is given particular attention. The generosity of the lay elite of the parish, not only as benefactors but in undertaking the heavy administrative burden of running the parish, emerges strongly.

The visual embellishment of parish churches is a major theme of the book. The quality of the All Saints' archives enables the author to discuss the wider sensory experience of the late medieval parish church in detail: the stained glass windows, silver and gilt vessels, costly embroidered vestments, painted images and particularly the many wall hangings All Saints' had. Brasses were an important and visually prominent component of this sensory experience and contributed to the visual enrichment of parish churches that took place in the two centuries before the Reformation. There is also a valuable discussion of the auditory experience of parish worship. All Saints' developed a sophisticated liturgy in which polyphony played an integral part, and acquired the endowments necessary to staff and equip its performance.

All Saints' might seem to be an exceptional medieval parish – few others could sustain a 400-page study. What makes it exceptional is not its elaborate liturgy, its richly adorned fixtures and fittings, the generosity of its parishioners or the abundance of its commemorative schemes but its archive. Many other wealthier parishes were comparable but unlike All Saints', their archives have not survived. After detailing patterns of worship at All Saints', the author draws out several key wider conclusions about the place of the parish in the English church: in the century before the Reformation many urban parishes underwent an 'institutional transformation' and developed into corporations; their sophisticated liturgy resembled that found in secular colleges rather than that of the average rural parish; and collectively the parish churches of large towns resembled a 'great monastery' in the scale of their worship. On a practical note, this is a handsomely produced volume with a clear church plan and maps of Bristol, and contains a commendably helpful seven-page glossary.

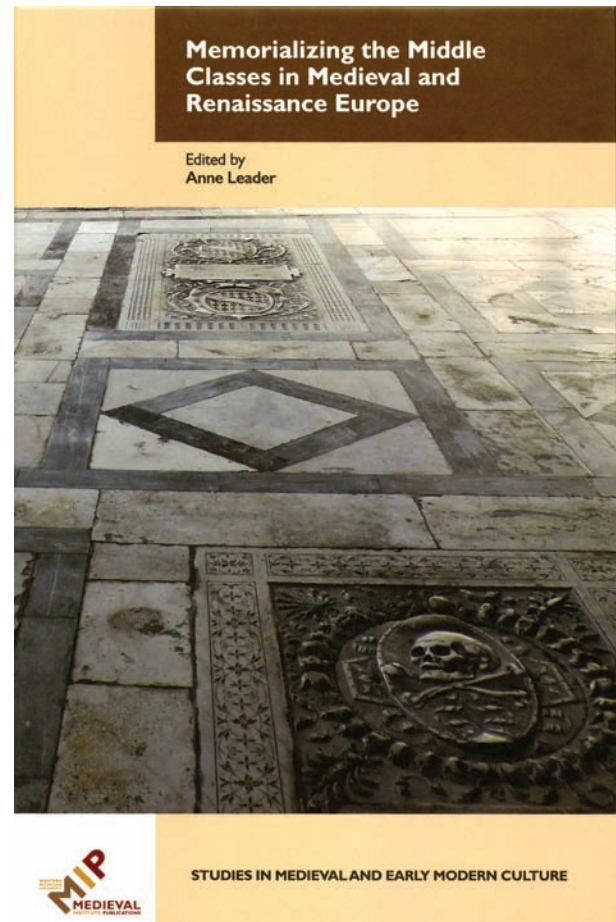
Overall, *The Right Ordering of Souls* is a fine example of micro history. Many of its broader themes and the details of commemorative practice in All Saints', Bristol, shed light on other parishes, especially urban ones. As well as enriching our understanding of the brasses we are familiar with, it will undoubtedly prompt new lines of enquiry about their wider context.

David Lepine

Anne Leader (ed.). *Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*. (Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5432, U.S.A. £88.00/U.S. \$109.00. 2018. ISBN 978-1-58044-345-6). 352 pp.; 92 b/w illus.; refs.; hardback.

This work of eleven specialist essays looks at commemorative practices across Europe between the 12th and the 17th centuries. Whilst many of the essays are on the 'fringes' of monumental brass studies, that by Christian Steer, "Under the tombe that I have there prepared": Monuments for the Tailors and Merchant Tailors of Medieval London' well repays attention.

Society members are being offered a 20% discount on the published price, but post and packing will be added. See: <https://wmich.edu/medievalpublications/books/studies#smc43> for more details of the contents.



Medieval Copper, Bronze and Brass: History, archaeology and archaeometry of the production of brass, bronze and other copper alloy objects in medieval Europe (12th-16th centuries), edited by Nicolas Thomas & Pete Dandridge. (Paris: LaMOP & others; [*Studies & Documents in Archaeology no.39*]. 2018. ISBN 9782390380160). 416 pp.; about 300 illus.; stiff paper covers.

These Proceedings of the International Symposium of Dinant and Namur, 15th-17th May 2014, has 34 original contributions covering a wide spectrum of subjects, most in French and English text. Included are two papers of relevance to members: (1) pp.365-76: Sophie Oosterwijk and Sally Badham, 'Relief copper alloy tombs in medieval Europe: image, identity and reception', which challenges the widely held belief that 'gilt bronze' was used in England specifically for royal tombs;



evidence suggests that the number of such memorials was actually exceeded by memorials for the nobility and clergy; and (2) pp.257-64: Christopher Green and Roderick Butler, 'Late medieval brass eagle lecterns: historical and geographical context'.

See publisher's website for summary and contents.

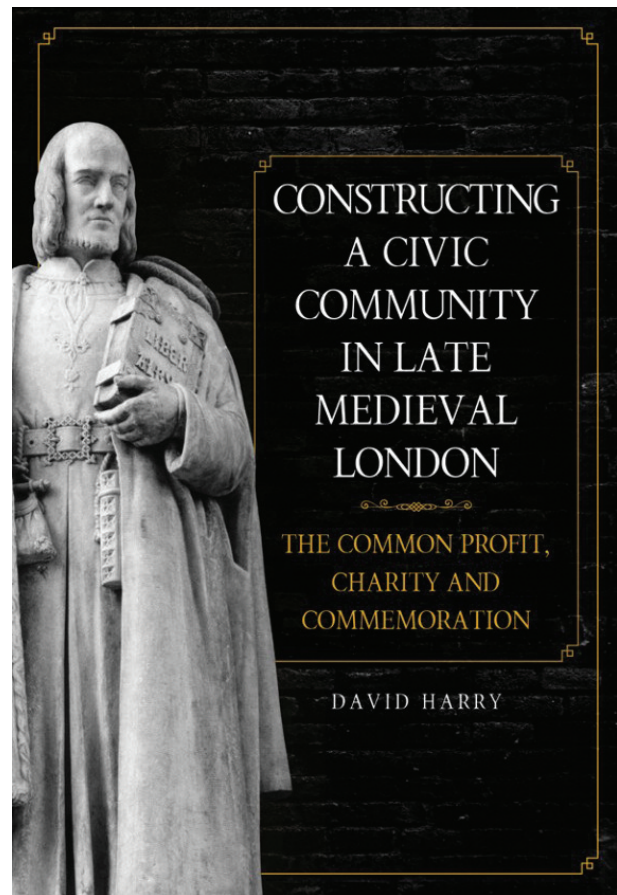
David Harry. *Constructing a Civic Community in late Medieval London: the Common Profit, Charity and Commemoration.* (Boydell Press. £75.00. 2019. ISBN 9781783273782). 228 pp.; b/w illus; bibliography.

This new book, by our member David Harry, is the first in this field to examine the ideology of 'common profit' in shaping the outlook of London's governing elite in the late 14th century, following the peoples' revolt of 1381. Between 1392 and 1397 Richard II removed the City's liberties, appointing his own wardens to govern and to replace the Mayor of London.

By examining the strategies employed by the London aldermen after 1397 in their efforts to regain control, the author discusses a range of

sources, including printed books and manuscripts, administrative records and accounts of civic ritual and epitaphs. In the latter case the chapter entitled 'The spiritual dead' is especially relevant. The overall result was that a 'small number of men virtually monopolised power in the capital', raising the further question, 'Why govern, and for whom?'.

Society members are being offered a 35% discount, making the cost £48.75.



Shorter note:

Elizabeth Williamson, Tim Hudson, Jeremy Musson, Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner (eds). *Buildings of England Series: Sussex, West.* (Yale U.P. £35.00. 2019. ISBN 9780300225211). 800pp.; 130 colour and 80 b/w illus.; hardback. Includes Arundel, Amberley, Chichester, Clapham, Horsham, Ifield, Stopham and Trotton.

I am grateful to Sean Anderson (of publishers Boydell & Brewer) and to our members David Lepine and Martin Stuchfield for copy or information received.

Richard Busby