

# Monumental Brass Society

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BULLETIN 145

The *Bulletin* is published three times a year, in February, June and October. Articles for inclusion in the next issue should be sent by 1st January 2021 to:

Martin Stuchfield  
Pentlow Hall, Cavendish, Suffolk CO10 7SP  
Email: [martinstuchfield@pentlowhall.uk](mailto:martinstuchfield@pentlowhall.uk)

Contributions to 'Notes on books, articles and the internet' should be sent by 1st December 2020 to:

Richard Busby  
'Treetops', Beech Hill, Hexham  
Northumberland NE46 3AG  
Email: [richard.busby@tiscali.co.uk](mailto:richard.busby@tiscali.co.uk)

#### Useful Society contacts:

##### General enquiries, membership and subscriptions:

Penny Williams, Hon. Secretary  
12 Henham Court, Mowbrays Road  
Collier Row, Romford, Essex RM5 3EN  
Email: [penny7441@hotmail.com](mailto:penny7441@hotmail.com)

##### Conservation of brasses (including thefts etc.):

Martin Stuchfield, Hon. Conservation Officer  
Pentlow Hall, Cavendish, Suffolk CO10 7SP  
Email: [martinstuchfield@pentlowhall.uk](mailto:martinstuchfield@pentlowhall.uk)

##### Contributions for the *Transactions*:

David Lepine, Hon. Editor  
38 Priory Close, Dartford, Kent DA1 2JE  
Email: [davidn11455@gmail.com](mailto:davidn11455@gmail.com)

##### Website: [www.mbs-brasses.co.uk](http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk)

Martin Stuchfield  
Pentlow Hall, Cavendish, Suffolk CO10 7SP  
Email: [martinstuchfield@pentlowhall.uk](mailto:martinstuchfield@pentlowhall.uk)

##### Hon. Treasurer's notice

On 1st January all subscriptions for 2021 become due. Please send £25.00 (associate/student £12.50, family £35.00) to the Hon. Treasurer, Robert Kinsey, 4 Pictor Close, Corsham, Wiltshire SN13 9XH. 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, U.S.A.

## Editorial

I am deeply indebted for the contributions that I have received from Richard Busby, Manuel Parada López de Corselas, David Lepine and Jonathan Welch.

David Lepine, in the lead article, focuses on medieval clergy exhibiting the various forms of representation reflecting rank and status from across the country.

Jonathan Welch, a new contributor, continues the valuable work of Sally Badham and Philip Whittemore by providing a plethora of testamentary requests from Bedfordshire. I would especially welcome examples from the counties yet to be covered by *County Series* volumes, particularly from Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Oxfordshire, in order to facilitate the inclusion of appropriate references.

The final contribution from Manuel Parada López de Corselas, another new contributor, is very pleasing. I have fond memories of visiting the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid with my late father in March 2007. The purpose of the visit was to fulfil a lifetime ambition; namely to see the magnificent Flemish brass depicting Martin Ferrades, 1373. Imagine my delight when I also occasioned upon the fine relief bronze memorial to the 1st Marquess of Las Navas, 1567, and his wife. The study of medieval relief bronze memorials has been terribly neglected with the exception of Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk who drew attention to their importance at the 2014 international symposium of history, archaeology and archaeometry of brass, bronze and other copper-based alloys in medieval Europe held in Belgium.

I am acutely conscious that Sally Badham, Hans Gerd Dormagen, Kevin Herring and Philip Whittemore will suffer the disappointment that space precludes the inclusion of their interesting and valuable contributions on this occasion and seek their forbearance.

## Hon. Technical Editor

The Society is most grateful to **Matthew Sillence** for agreeing to take up the post of Hon. Technical Editor overseeing and advising on the production of the *Transactions*. As well as serving on Council (2016-19), Matthew has played an important role in organising our conferences, at Norwich in 2015 and next year at King's Lynn. With Matthew's help the 2020 *Transactions* are in an advanced state of production and should be despatched in mid November.

Cover: Beneit Engliss, engraved c.1360, from Nuffield, Oxfordshire (M.S.I). (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

## ‘Spiritual Gentlemen’?: Rank and status among the late medieval clergy: the evidence of monumental brasses

According to the *Book of St. Albans* (1486), a popular treatise on hunting and arms, all priests were ‘spiritual gentlemen’. But it also noted that although they were ‘gentlemen to Gode’, they were not ‘of blode’ unless they were of gentle birth and thereby ‘gentliman both spirituall and temporall’. These distinctions were of crucial importance in such a deeply hierarchical society as late medieval England. The elaborate precedence lists found in 15th-century courtesy books reflect these concerns and include the clergy, giving them an equivalence in the lay hierarchy according to their ecclesiastical rank – the late medieval Church was as deeply hierarchical as secular society.

Monumental brasses are important, relatively abundant, though somewhat neglected, evidence of rank and status. The *County Series* as well as being an essential reference work is an important research tool. The seventeen counties published so far – an eighteenth, Norfolk, is imminent – together with Jerome Bertram’s surveys of Oxfordshire and Sussex, provide a critical mass of evidence from which reliable conclusions can be drawn. This article seeks to outline what monumental brasses can reveal about the status and rank of the secular clergy by considering the ecclesiastical and secular identities expressed on them.<sup>1</sup>

Four principal expressions of the ecclesiastical identity of the clergy can be distinguished, though they were often combined: as holders of a benefice or stipendiary post; their status as priest; their ecclesiastical rank; and their academic status. Most clergy defined themselves by their benefice or, in the case of the unbeneficed, the stipendiary post they held. The primacy clergy gave to their benefice expressed a strong identification with and loyalty to place and community – their parish, cathedral or collegiate chapter – and an obligation to the source of their income and status. Many incumbents were prominent figures in their communities, active in positions of trust and, in some parishes, important figures in the local economy. Their parish or cathedral church was often their place of burial and the principal focus of the provisions they made for their souls. Many

were benefactors to the fabric and furnishings of these churches and gave alms generously to their parishioners. The inscriptions on their brasses invariably include the principal benefice or stipendiary post they held.

The late medieval clergy also identified themselves by their sacramental function as priests, though sometimes more implicitly than might be expected. A widespread but implicit evocation of sacerdotal status was the practice of being portrayed in chasubles and other mass vestments on monuments. This was common among parochial incumbents but the higher clergy (canons and dignitaries in cathedral and collegiate churches) often preferred to be portrayed wearing almuces (a fur cape with long front tassels), copes and other indications of rank, even when buried in parish churches.

More explicit statements of priestly identity, principally the use of eucharistic imagery, such as a chalice, host or paten, became frequent on monuments from the mid 15th century. Before this date many clerical monuments depicting chalices used them (together with a book representing the Gospels) primarily as a symbol of clerical status rather than as explicitly eucharistic images. Though exceptions can, of course, be found, most effigial monuments of the fourteenth and early 15th century, while often portraying the clergy in mass vestments, do not depict them holding chalices or wafers. Increasingly from the 1420s and 1430s portrayal in mass vestments becomes more explicitly eucharistic by including a chalice frequently with the host. This sacerdotal commemoration of the clergy reached its apogee in a specialised type of monument, the ‘chalice brass’ (Fig.1). These dispensed with an effigy and replaced it with a eucharistic symbol of the priesthood, a chalice and host, often inscribed with the sacred monogram. Such brasses became popular with clergy, especially in East Anglia, from the later 15th century until the Reformation. The use of eucharistic imagery on clerical monuments reflects wider devotional trends. The cult of the Holy Name, in which the sacred monogram



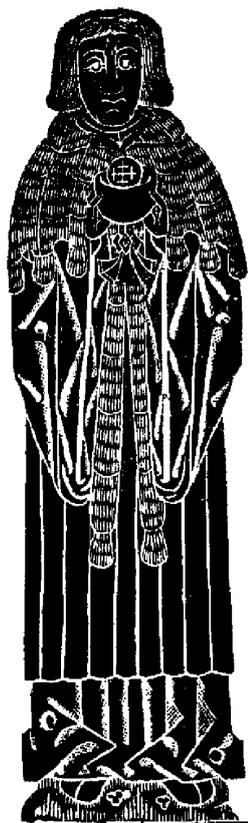
depicting saints beneath a triple canopy with the Virgin and Child in the central one. A pair of shields with arms – *a cross engrailed between twelve crosslets fitchy* – and an almuce shown particularly prominently proclaim his lay and ecclesiastical rank.

In keeping with their status as the *sublimes et litterati* of the Church, university-educated clergy often identified themselves as scholars and men of

learning, styling themselves ‘master’ or ‘doctor’ in their monumental inscriptions. A significant minority chose to be portrayed wearing academic dress rather than mass vestments or a cope and almuce. Such monuments are concentrated in the university churches and college chapels of Oxford and Cambridge but can also be found in parish churches. Thomas Abbot, a Cambridge B.Cn.L., is portrayed wearing academic dress on his brass in Strethall, Essex, where he was rector from 1505



Fig.2. William Tannere, master of Cobham College, d.1418, showing him wearing a fur almuce without a cope, Cobham, Kent (M.S.XII). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)



Orate pro anima magistri Ricardi Adams quidam pbratus magis  
 mltis in monasterio de West malling ac uicarij parochie de est  
 malling qui obiit sexto die mensis Martij anno dñi m ccc lxxiiij

Fig.3. Richard Adams, d.1522,  
 East Malling, Kent (M.S.II).  
 (W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses* (1885))

until c.1519. Monumental inscriptions usually included the deceased's graduate status, sometimes just the title *magister* but often their degrees as well. As epitaphs were added and inscriptions became longer, more biographical and more eulogistic opportunities arose to praise and display the learning of those commemorated. An otherwise formulaic three-line intercessory inscription for Robert Sheffelde includes not only his benefice (the rectory of Chartham, Kent), his degree (master of arts), and the date of his death (18th March 1509), but also praise for his learning: '*in sacris litteris eruditissimus* (most learned in Holy Scripture)'. Latin verse epitaphs, which became fashionable from the late 14th century, were particularly popular among the clergy who used the challenge of writing hexameters with ingenious leonine rhymes to demonstrate their erudition and literary skill. Some were no doubt written by the deceased themselves and many others by their clerical friends.

As well as expressing an ecclesiastical identity, many clergy also expressed a secular one based on their birth and lineage. One of the most striking examples of this is the brass of Sir Peter Legh at Winwick, Lancashire, on which he is portrayed with a tonsure wearing a chasuble over his armour, a shield with six quarterings on his chest and above him the same shield and a helmet with mantling surmounted by a crest (Fig.5). He became a priest after the death of his wife in 1491 and died at an advanced age in 1527. While few clergy combined sacerdotal and secular imagery as boldly as Legh, the frequent presence of coats of arms on their monuments demonstrates the importance placed on a secular identity. A similar concern about lineage and rank was shared by clergy lower



Fig.4. [Henry] de Codyngton, d.1404,  
 Bottesford, Leicestershire (M.S.I).  
 (M.B.S. Portfolio, I, pt.1, pl.3 (1894))

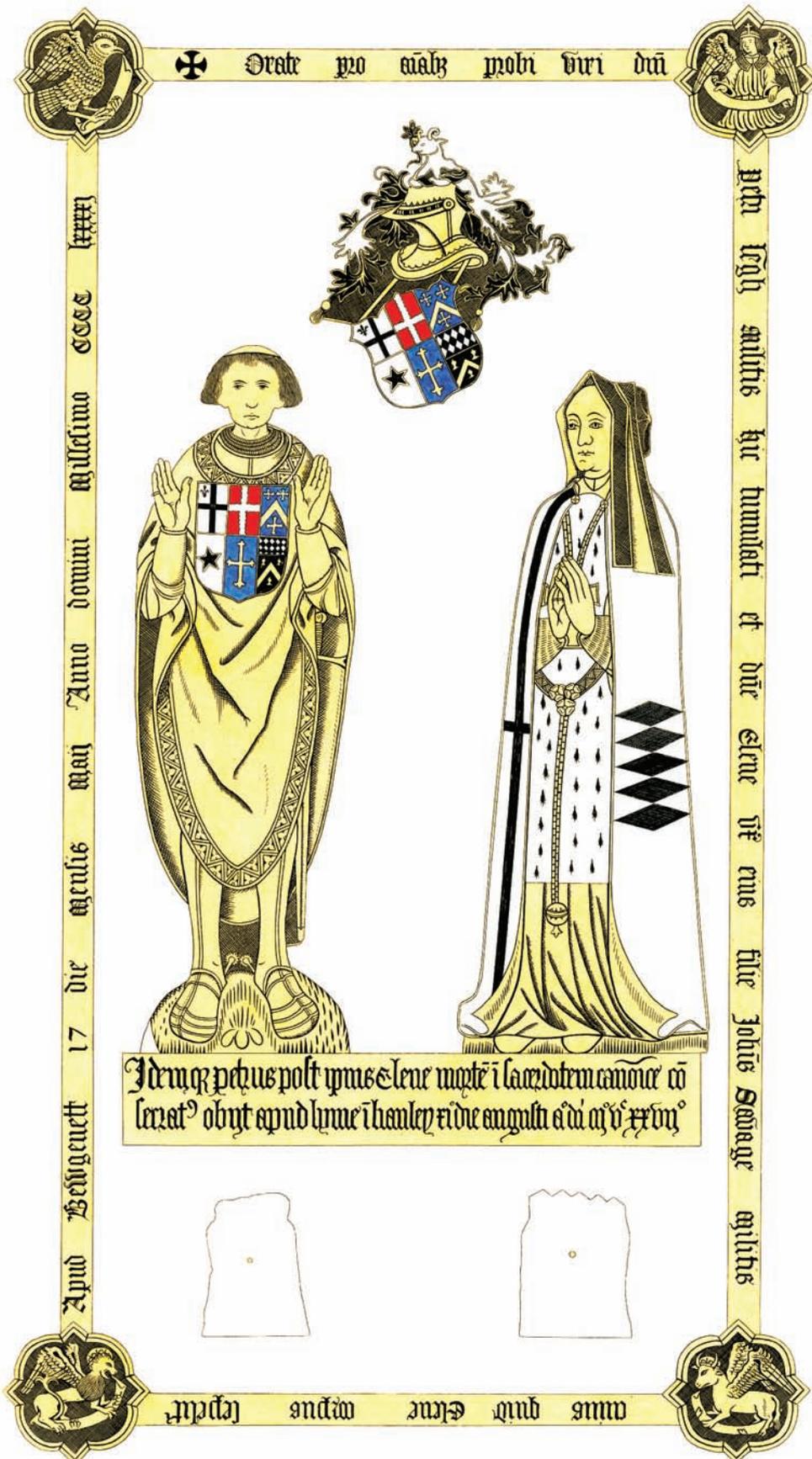


Fig.5. Sir Peter Legh, 1527, Winwick, Lancashire (M.S.II).  
 (A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th century, by J.G. and L.A.B. Waller (1864))

down the hierarchy of aristocratic society. At Cheriton, Kent, the brief inscription on a very modest brass commemorating Thomas Fogge (d.1502), rector there, records that he was the son of Sir John Fogge, knight.

Heraldry was the principal means by which the clergy expressed a secular identity. From the mid 13th century heraldry increasingly permeated the Church as its institutions (religious houses, corporations and dioceses) and some individual clergy, mostly bishops, acquired coats of arms in a complex and slow process. By the early 16th century arms had been granted to some cathedral dignities (Fig.6). Individual clergy either inherited arms or acquired them in the course of their careers, usually through office or service. The surest route for those from non-armigerous families was elevation to the episcopate. From the 14th century many bishops who lacked a family coat of arms adopted personal arms. Those unable to reach the episcopal bench could acquire arms through royal service. Many of the seals of 14th-century royal clerks, which have survived in disproportionately large numbers in government archives, were heraldic. It is not clear whether these were formally granted or simply assumed by ambitious clerics.

Clerical brasses have much more to tell us about the status and identity of the clergy than can be explored here. Above all they reflect the



Fig.6. The arms of the deanery of Hereford  
 – Or five chevrons azure –  
 depicted on the brass of Dean Froucester, d.1529,  
 Hereford Cathedral (LSW.XXXII).  
 (photo: © author)

widespread respect given to the office of priest in late medieval society which regarded the clergy as ‘spiritual gentlemen’.

**David Lepine**

1 This article discusses the secular clergy (clergy not bound by a religious rule) below the rank of bishop. A longer version with full references can be found in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* (forthcoming).

## Testamentary requests for brasses in Bedfordshire churches

This article follows on from the accounts in *Bulletins* 143 and 144, by Sally Badham and Philip Whittemore respectively, of instructions for the provision of monumental slabs and brasses recorded in wills from Suffolk. The extracts from Bedfordshire wills recorded here are taken from various volumes of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society (B.H.R.S.), which has from time to time published transcripts, translations and abstracts of the wills of people associated with the county. I am grateful to Margaret Evans, Secretary of the Society, for permission to quote from the volumes.

I have also gratefully made use of the Bedfordshire volume in the *County Series* (W. Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London, 1992)).

I have made comments of my own where appropriate; I would be glad to hear of any corrections, additions or further comments.

References for the wills are as given in the respective B.H.R.S. volumes. References in volumes XXXVII, XLV and LXXVI are to the register of wills proved in the court of the

Archdeacon of Bedford, deposited in Bedford County Record Office in 1950. The B.H.R.S. volumes used are as follows:

*The Bedfordshire Wills and Administrations proved at Lambeth Palace and in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon*, ed. F.A. Page-Turner, B.H.R.S., II (1914), pp.3-59;

*Some Bedfordshire Wills at Lambeth and Lincoln*, ed. Hilary Jenkinson and G. Herbert Fowler, B.H.R.S., XIV (1931), pp.79-131;

*English Wills 1498-1526*, ed. A.F. Cirket, B.H.R.S., XXXVII (1957), pp.1-82;

*Bedfordshire Wills 1480-1519*, ed. P. Bell, B.H.R.S., XLV (1966);

*Bedfordshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1383-1548*, ed. M. McGregor, B.H.R.S., LVIII (1979); and

*Bedfordshire Wills 1484-1533*, ed. P. Bell, B.H.R.S., LXXVI (1997).

**Bedford, St. John the Baptist** – Alexander Crawley/Crowley, 1523; ‘for his “layer” [flagstone] in the church 6s. 8d.’ (ABP/R2:92; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 97, p.61.) 6s. 8d. appears to be a standard amount for burial within a church regardless of any monument,<sup>1</sup> so it is perhaps unlikely that an engraved memorial is in mind here – is this just one way of referring to burial in the church? A variety of other phrases occurs in connection with the 6s. 8d., for example in B.H.R.S., LXXVI, ‘For breking of my grownd for my grave’ (Will 171); ‘To the use of the church for my sepulchre’ (Will 219); ‘For my lying there’ (Will 236).

**Bedford, St. Paul** – Roger Standyshe, chaplain of the church, 1498; ‘to be buried in the same church next to the stone of the prebendary’; executors ‘to put on his tomb a marble slab to the value of 20s. or 4 nobles.’ (ABP/R1, f.148; B.H.R.S., XLV, Will 165, pp.81-2). This and the following two entries would probably have been brasses; they do not survive, although there are several unidentified indents in St. Paul’s.

John Cowper, 1502; ‘To be buried in the church of St. Paul, Bedford, before the altar of the

Holy Trinity... for a marble stone on his grave 20s.’ (ABP/R1, f.32d; B.H.R.S., XLV, Will 69, pp.32-3).

Joan Studdley, 1503, proved 1505; ‘body to be buried in church of St. Paul, Bedford; executors to place a marble stone over her body.’ (ABP/R1, f.9; B.H.R.S., XLV, Will 2, pp.1-2).

**Caddington** – Edward Dermer, December 1518, proved January 1518/9; ‘burial in the parish church... Testator’s wife Elizabeth is to have a stone put over his body price 4 marks.’ (ABP/R2:26; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 30, p.21). The brass survives (LSW.II; London F); it depicts Edward Dormer with his two wives and fourteen children.<sup>2</sup>

**Colmworth** – Sir Gerard Braybroke, 1427; ‘to be buried in the church of Colmoord in Bedfordshire “afore the myddes of the hieth auter vnder a flat stoon of marbre with such deuys as thenkith to myn executours”’. (Proved at Lambeth, July 1429; Chichele pt.1, f.411; B.H.R.S., II, pt.7, pp.41-3). This would clearly have been a brass; however, Sir Gerard lived on for two years after making his will, and in a codicil of April 1429 he ‘revokes his former directions as to his burial at Colmworth, and directs that his burial shall take place at St. Paul’s London, above the quire in such place as the Dean and his executors consider most convenient.’

**Cranfield (or Bedford, St. Paul)** – William Galandre, 1422, rector of the parish church of Bedford ‘to be buried in the midst of the chancel of his parish church aforesaid with a marble stone.’ The abstract later records ‘whenever it shall happen that his body is carried... to his said (*sic*) church of Craunfeld aforesaid for burial’ (Lambeth; Chichele, pt.1, f.367; B.H.R.S., II, Will 5, pp.37-9). This is likely to have been a brass. Craunfeld is Cranfield, Bedfordshire; thus there seems to be some confusion over which church Galandre wished his memorial to be in. Page-Turner comments that William Galandre ‘was Rector of Cranfield, 1391-1423, and probably Rector of St. Paul’s, Bedford, for which church there are no institutions on record earlier than 1528.’ Cranfield is more likely to be the intended location for the memorial, as the stone is to be associated with his burial, and he gives instructions for his body to be carried for burial to Cranfield. Galandre left instructions for funerals

to be carried out at the chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, where he was a Canon, and St. Mary Magdalene in the old fish market at London, as well as at Cranfield. St. Paul's, Bedford, is not mentioned in this context.

**Upper Dean** – Thomas Parkar, 1501; ‘body to be buried in the chancel of the church of Dean; a marble stone to be placed over his body with an effigy, at the discretion of his executors.’ (ABP/R1, f.30d; B.H.R.S., XLV, Will 64, pp.29-30). Thomas Parkar was rector of Dean; his brass (LSW.I, London D), with effigy, inscription and scroll (BVM and child lost) remains on a table tomb in the south chapel.

**Dunstable** – Joan Russell, 1513, proved 1515; to be buried ‘beyond the choir... on the right side there before the high altar’; executor ‘to buy a marble stone with a carved effigy to the value of £4 or more, to place over her body.’ (ABP/R1, f.156; B.H.R.S., XLV, Will 173, pp.86-7). There is no record of such a tomb in the church. The amount seems right for a fairly substantial brass; it would be interesting to know what the original Latin for ‘carved’ was.

Nicholas Purvey, 1521; ‘to be buried... near the seat where he used to sit... wife to buy a stone to lie on his grave.’ (PROB 11/20, f.20, p.154; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 90, pp.114-15). The inscription to Nicholas Purvey survives (LSW.VI, London F debased). Nicholas, his first wife and five children are missing; the figure of Alice, the wife referred to in the Will, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The note in LSW records that the brass was originally in the nave, perhaps keeping faith with Nicholas’ request concerning location.

John Holdern, 1529; ‘to be buried in the parish church of Dunstable near the west door and a stone to be laid on his grave, price about 40s.’ (PROB 11/23, f.15, p.113; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 108, pp.135-6). Might this be identified with LSW.27 – Lost indent, man and wife?

**Flitton** – Margaret Bate, 1467; ‘for a marble stone to be purchased and placed on tomb of her mother in Flitton 40s.’ (P.R.O. PROB 11/5, f.17 p.135; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 16, pp.21-5). Margaret McGregor notes that as Margaret Bate was a member of the Conquest family of Houghton

Conquest, her mother may possibly have been Eleanor Conquest, whose brass remains in Flitton church (LSW.I, London D). Eleanor d.1434; the note in the LSW entry gives a date of engraving of c.1465, which lends support to this possibility.

**Hatley Cockayne (Cockayne Hatley)** – Beatrice Milreth, 1448; ‘body to be buried in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, London next the tomb of William my late husband, if it befall me to die there. And if it befall me to die at the manor of Burrehatley in the county of Bedford, then my body to be buried in the Church of St. John the Baptist of Burrehatley, next the tomb of Reginald Cokayn’ formerly my husband. And if it befall me to be buried there, I wish that my executors should order scutcheons of my consanguinity and of the said Reginald impaled, with pictures of each of us in brass (lathone) cut into the same stone upon his and my said tomb thereupon to be put.’ (Reg. Stafford, ff.165-6; B.H.R.S., XIV, Will 29, pp.123-5). Before the Cockayne family’s name was added to the parish it was known as Bury Hatley. Although Beatrice makes alternative provision for her burial, her instructions concerning her tomb at Hatley are much more detailed. It may be that her distinguished second husband William, who, as the note in B.H.R.S. XIV records, had died three years earlier, had been commemorated in brass or stone already, in the London church, perhaps with Beatrice (and his first wife) depicted, along with the appropriate armorial bearings; and it may be that Beatrice expected to die at Hatley – the will was ‘given at Burhattley’ on 13th September 1448, and probate is dated 12th November the same year.

The reference to ‘lathone’ (latten) leaves no doubt that a brass was intended; there seems to be no record of its existence in Hatley church.

Edmund Cokeyn, 1515; ‘executors to “purvey an honest marbull stone” to lay upon testator’s grave in Hatley church where his wife Elizabeth is buried with one image for testator and one for wife, and 12 sons and 4 daughters, and arms of testator and of wife engraved thereon.’ (PROB 11/17 f.30, p.246d; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 79, pp.96-7). The brass (LSW.V, London G), which still exists, shows that these instructions were faithfully carried out; the one remaining shield portrays the arms of Cockayne impaling those of his wife’s family, Locke. Thomas Fisher’s drawing<sup>3</sup> shows indents

of three other shields; since Fisher recorded it the brass has been relaid in an appropriated slab (Fig.1).

In the first instruction in the will Edmund requested burial within Hatley church if he should die at or within twelve miles of Hatley, otherwise wherever he dies. The presence of the brass in Hatley church might seem to prove that he died locally; however the instruction concerning the stone and the images appears to be specific to Hatley – did he want a memorial there regardless of where he was buried, or did he simply think it extremely unlikely that he would die more than twelve miles away?

William Cokyn, 3rd February, proved 2nd March 1527/8; ‘burial in the church of Hatley “by the sepulchre of my wiff”.... “I will that myn

exequatrix shall cause a stone of Marble with oon Image of a Man and ij Images of a Woman and iiij childrene with scripture after the discrecion of myn exequatrix.” (ABP/R2:75d; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 80, pp.50-2).

In giving such specific directions concerning the memorial, William was perhaps influenced by the example some twelve years earlier of his father, Edmund (see above), for whom he had been an executor. The brass survives, although relaid with the children from an earlier brass (LSW.VI and VII, Cambridge); together with the drawing of the original arrangement by Thomas Fisher, it shows that the instructions were faithfully carried out – William is portrayed between his two wives, and Fisher’s drawing shows two daughters (now lost) and two sons. Fisher’s drawing also shows indents of four shields (Fig.2).<sup>4</sup>



Fig.1. Edmund Cokayne, esq., 1515, and wife Elizabeth, Hatley Cokayne, Bedfordshire (LSW.V).  
(*Monumental Brasses and Antiquities in Bedfordshire*, Thomas Fisher, (1828), no.8)



Fig.2. William Cokyn, esq., 1527, and two wives, Hatley Cokayne, Bedfordshire (LSW.VI & VII).  
(*Monumental Brasses and Antiquities in Bedfordshire*, Thomas Fisher, (1828), no.7)

William's executrix was his second wife, Katerin; the identity of the supervisor (who was also one of the witnesses), 'Sir Michael Fisser, knight', provides an interesting link with another surviving Cambridge style brass. Sir Michael Fisher was the father of John Fisher, who is commemorated by a brass at Clifton, Beds; the extreme similarity between the male effigy on this brass and that of William Cokyn has been well documented.<sup>5</sup> The role of a supervisor seems to have been wide-ranging, often including the expectation of practical help for the executors in carrying out the terms of the will; doubtless this could include commemorative arrangements. Sir Michael may thus have been involved in the commissioning of the memorial to William Cokyn. Sir Michael's son John died on 14th July 1528, just five months after William Cokyn – 12th February 1527/8, assuming 'Old Style' dating on William's inscription. The inscription on John Fisher's brass defines John by his relation to his father, with no mention of his wife, who is depicted on the brass by means of a figure of a different scale to her husband's effigy, though clearly from the same workshop. This seems to suggest the hand of Sir Michael in commissioning his son's brass.

With probate being granted for the will of William Cokyn on 2nd March, it is possible that commissioning of his brass was under way by mid-July, when John Fisher died. Did Sir Michael at that point commission a similar brass for his son, showing less concern for whether the effigy of his daughter-in-law matched in scale? It is of course possible that commissioning of the Clifton brass came first, and prompted movement on the Cokyn commission – in this case might Sir Michael Fisher's influence have been a factor in the choosing of a local workshop for the Cokyn brass, when a London workshop had produced that of William's father?

**Henlow** – Thomas Underwood, 1520; 'His executors are to lay a gravestone on his father's grave in the churchyard.' (ABP/R2:158d; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 177, p.109) This may have been a gravestone with an incised inscription.

**Luton** – John Barbowr, 1509; 'to be buried in Luton church next to the tomb of his father... for a stone to cover his father's grave £3 6s 8d'. (P.R.O. PROB 11/16, f.20, p.156; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 70, pp.87-8). The stone, with brass, to which

this request refers remains in Luton church (LSW.X, London F), commemorating John and Agnes Barbar. Only wife and inscription remain – missing are the husband, two children, and another figure in civil dress with an inscription, presumably John junior, the current testator, son of John and Agnes. The inscription gives John senior's date of death as 1415 (MCCCCXV); McGregor, and the note in the LSW entry, recognise this as an engraver's error. The most natural correction would be to add a 'C' to give 1515; However, McGregor points out that as the will of 1509 makes clear that John senior predeceased John junior, perhaps the 'X' should have been a 'C', giving 1505. The 6s 8d in the cost allowed for the stone may perhaps have been for burial in the church (Fig.3).

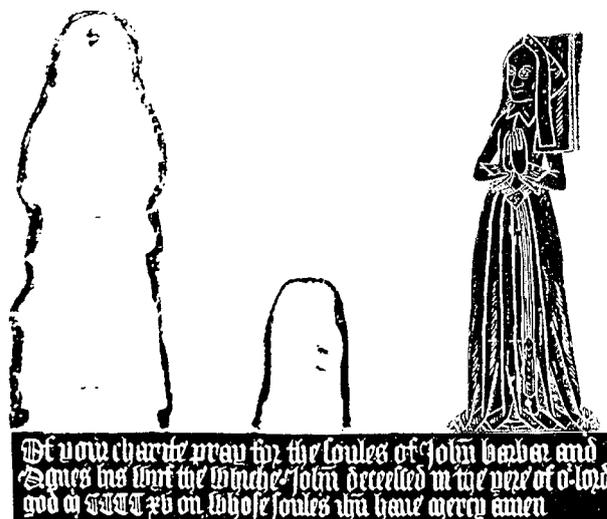


Fig.3. John Barbar, 1515, and wife, Luton, Bedfordshire (LSW.X). (rubbing: © Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Bedfordshire)

John Sylame, 1513; 'to be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Luton... executors to buy a stone to lay upon testator in chancel of Luton, with his arms set thereon, to the value of 5 marks for the stone and carriage home thereof... Overseer Edw. [blank]... to have 5 marks for his labour also 6s 8d for room for testator to be buried in the chancel.' (P.R.O. PROB 11/17, f.26, p.205; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 78, pp.94-6). The brass to John Sylam in the south transept of Luton church (LSW.VIII, London F variant), shows him in armour between his two wives; the figures of one son and six daughters are lost. The entry in LSW does not record arms, though this may not mean they were not originally depicted; this is the only feature specifically requested in the will, so the present memorial seems more extravagant than the testator envisaged. (The provision for the cost of the

memorial to cover transportation seems an unusual detail.) The LSW entry also records that this brass was originally in the chancel, as requested in the will. The overseer may be Edward Sheffield, vicar of Luton, who is named in other wills, since the provision of money for burial in the chosen location is connected with his name.

John Crawley, 1519; ‘body to be buried in Luton church near that of his father; executors to buy two marble stones, one for his father and one for him, “to ly over us”’. (f.122d, f.126; B.H.R.S., XXXVII, pp.45-6). The testator’s father, Thomas Crawley, had left instructions for his body to be buried in Luton church before the Trinity altar. (PROB 11/17, f.1, p.4d; B.H.R.S., LVIII, pp.93-4). These stones and their presumed brasses cannot readily be identified.

John Perott, 1525; ‘burial “angenst my seete ther as I sitt”’; shortly after death of wife [son] Thomas is to have a stone laid price 53s. 4d.’ (ABP/R2:148; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 167, p.101) Nothing identifiable survives; presumably a brass, or a memorial of some kind, would have been intended at this price. The amount is the same as for Edward Dermer at Caddington a few years earlier.

**Potton** – Robert Coole, 1524; ‘burial “within the porch of the sowth side”’; “to be bestowid uppon a marbill stone to ly uppon me” 26s. 8d.’ (ABP/R2:78; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 82, p.53). Probably a brass. The reviewer of B.H.R.S., LXXVI in *Bulletin* 81 (May 1999), p.440 wonders whether one of the three slabs removed to the north porch from the former south porch may be a candidate for this stone; LSW.7 is a possibility.

**Southill** – William Conquest, 1517, proved January 1521/2; (ABP/R2:179; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 202, p.124). ‘to be buried in the church... in the space before the rood... to the church for his burial 6s. 8d.... 40s. is to be used to buy a stone “to ly uppon me”’. It is unclear whether this would have been a brass or an incised slab.

**Sutton** – Robert Mychell, 1503; ‘to be buried in Sutton church... for a marble stone for testator’s grave 30s.’ (P.R.O. PROB 11/14, f.6, p.45d; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 48, pp.62-3). This corresponds to LSW.9, a lost brass inscription to Robert Michael, 1503.

**Tempsford** – Robert Cooper 1523; burial ‘in the middle aisle before the rood.... executors are to put on his grave a marble stone four foot broad or thereabouts with testator’s epitaph engraved on a plate, the work to be completed within four months.’ (ABP/R2:11; B.H.R.S., LXXVI, Will 11, pp.10-11). This lost brass is recorded as an inscription as LSW.5. The timescale for completion of the memorial may have been realistic where only an inscription was required.<sup>6</sup>

**Thurleigh** – George Harvy, 1520; ‘executors to buy a marble stone price 4 marks to lie upon testator’s grandfather John Harvy and his wife who was one of the daughters and heirs of Sir John Niernuyt kt ... who are buried in Thurleigh church.’ (PROB 11/19, f.3, p.18d; B.H.R.S., LVIII, Will 91, p.115). This would have been a brass, but there is no record of it. (The brass in the church (LSW.I), c.1420, is thought to be of an earlier member of the family who bore the same name.)

**Wymington** – Sir Thomas de Bromflet, 1426; ‘to be buried wherever he happens to die; but if he should happen to die in the county of Bedford, then he desires to be buried in the parish church of Wemyngton, before the high altar “sub bassa petra”’. (Proved at Lambeth, January 1430; Chichele, pt.1, f.437; B.H.R.S., II, Will 6, pp.39-41). The brass to Sir Thomas Brounflet survives in Wymington church, in the location requested (LSW.III, London D). Perhaps the detail ‘sub *bassa petra*’ – ‘under a low stone’ (my italics), that is, at ground level, implies the expectation of an engraved memorial; the term seems redundant otherwise. A raised tomb would be impractical in the prestigious position requested; perhaps there is also the intention of showing humility of a sort in making a distinction from the ‘high’ (table) tomb, also extant, of Sir Thomas’ predecessor as Lord of the Manor of Wymington, John Curteys.

### Jonathan Welch

- 1 S. Badham, *Seeking Salvation: Commemorating the Dead in the Late-Medieval English Parish* (Donington, 2015), p.210.
- 2 Noted by P. Whittemore, *M.B.S. Bulletin* 140 (February 2019), p.794; for the cost of brasses, see N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009), pp.110-11.
- 3 T. Fisher, *Monumental Remains and Antiquities in Bedfordshire* (1828), no.8.
- 4 Fisher, *Mon. Rem.*, no.7; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p.96.
- 5 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p.40, p.112, n.22, figs.13-14.
- 6 On the time taken for delivery of a memorial see Badham, *Seeking Salvation*, p.224; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp.111-12.



Fig 1. Pedro Dávila y Zúñiga, 1st Marquess of Las Navas, 1498-1567, and wife, María Enríquez de Córdoba, 1497-1560, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. (photo: © Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid)

## Between England and Spain:

### Pedro Dávila y Zúñiga, 1st Marquess of Las Navas, 1498-1567

Pedro Dávila y Zúñiga, 1st Marquess of Las Navas, 1498-1567, was a remarkable nobleman in the courts of Charles V and Philip II. His life was characterised by travel and by his humanistic interests, antiquarian collecting and artistic patronage.<sup>1</sup> The magnificent relief bronze monument commemorating the Marquess and his wife, María Enríquez de Córdoba, is preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (Fig.1).

The Marquess was Ambassador Extraordinary to Prince Philip (the future Philip II of Spain) and Mary I of England in 1554.<sup>2</sup> He took part in the negotiations for their marriage and brought the jewels that Felipe gave to Mary. The Marquess left Laredo and landed on 9th June at Plymouth, where he was received by John White, Bishop of Lincoln. From there he stopped at Wilton, near Salisbury and was entertained by William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, d.1570, who invited him to visit the famous gardens of Wilton House (begun in 1543).<sup>3</sup> On 17th June, he met Mary I in Guildford and they both went to Farnham and later to Bishop's Waltham. Finally, Philip was received in Southampton on 20th July and his wedding to Mary I was celebrated in Winchester Cathedral on 25th July 1554. Two days later the Marquess served as interpreter in the conversation between Queen Mary (who spoke in French) and the Duchess of Alba (who spoke in Spanish) in the Bishop's Palace of Winchester. By order of King Philip, the Marquess wrote on 5th September 1554 from Hampton Court to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, to send Anthonis Mor to England with the mission of painting the portrait of Mary I (now kept in the Prado Museum).<sup>4</sup> The Marquess was still in England at the beginning of April 1555, when he conversed in person and in writing (Italian) with Cardinal Reginald Pole in London regarding the death of Julius III and the impending conclave. The Marquess visited Brussels at the end of 1555 to attend the abdication of Charles V.

After a full life in court the Marquess suffered the loss of his wife María Enríquez de Córdoba from breast cancer on 15th July 1560. In her will dated

5th June 1560 she asked to be buried in the church of Santo Domingo y San Pablo at Las Navas del Marqués, near Ávila, the church that she had founded with her husband in 1545 and which was still under construction. The relief bronze memorial was made in 1563 and was placed on the tomb the following year. The monument has been part of the collections of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid since the Spanish Civil War (accession no. 1976/51/80).

The most striking iconographic element of the memorial is the hand-holding that had never been used before in Spanish funerary monuments. Barker has recorded forty-four European graves using the handclasp motif covering a period from 1293 to 1500.<sup>5</sup> Thirty-nine examples are to be found in England (Fig.2) with three in Portugal exhibiting English influence. The remaining two monuments were made in Austria and Poland. Barker has taken into account other countries such as France, Italy and the Netherlands concluding that hand holding is predominantly an English feature.<sup>6</sup> This depiction continued to be used in dates close to the stay of the Marquess's in England; for example the incised slab of Nicholas Purefey and wife Jane, c.1545, at Fenny Drayton, Leicestershire.<sup>7</sup> On English works the deceased hold their right hands whilst the Marquesses is shown in reverse. This is a variant of the *dextrarum iunctio*. This difference is found in Roman reliefs such as the stela of Vettius Pomponianus and wife Caessia Felicissima from Mérida (Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida, accession no.4402) (Fig.3). In regards to this variation Edmondson stated 'the joining of right hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) was a formalised, rather schematic means of expressing supposed conjugal affection in Roman funerary art. The fact that the widow, Caessia Felicissima, chose a particular, individualized variation on that affective gesture may suggest that it was a genuine expression of emotion.'<sup>8</sup> This variation was also used in marriage representations from the 15th and 16th centuries, for example *The Arnolfini Portrait* by Jan van Eyck, dated 1434 (Fig.4), and a French miniature entitled *The Lovers' Pledge*, c.1555, (Fig.5).<sup>9</sup>

It is logical that the Marquess was interested in English culture, including its rhetorical and artistic images. The Marquess had to present the gifts and favours of Prince Philip to Mary I, serve as an interpreter and negotiate the conditions of the marriage. Thus, I suggest that the bronze memorial commemorating the Marquess is heavily influenced by the iconographic tradition of England resulting from his stay in the country, following the Catholic tradition of Mary I.

The Catholic influence is also reflected in the inscription that includes *ut quos Deus coniunxerat mors non dirimeret* (Therefore what God has joined together, let not death separate). This phrase is a reaffirmation of the Catholic position on marriage compared to the Anglican position. Although today the formula till-death-do-us-part is part of the Catholic ritual, in the 16th century this concept



Fig.2. Sir Edward Cerne, [1393], and widow Elyne, [1419], Draycot Cerne, Wiltshire (M.S.I.)  
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

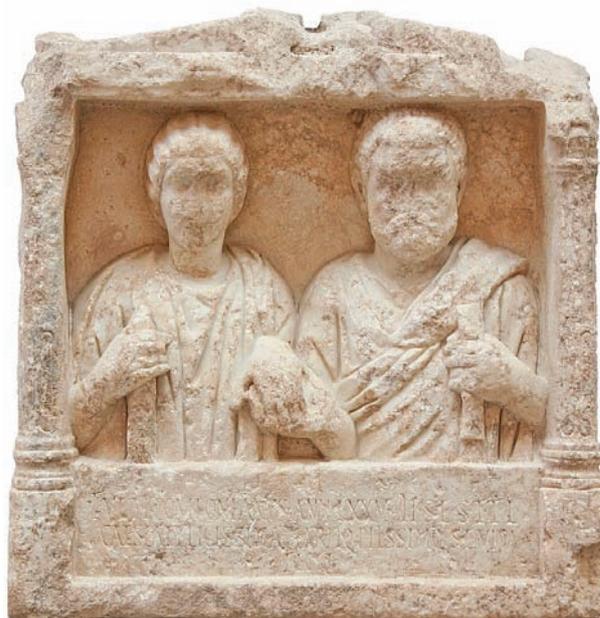


Fig.3. Vettius Pomponianus and wife Caessia Felicissima, 2nd century A.D., Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.  
(photo: © M.N.A.R.)

only existed in the Anglican sphere. Specifically, the till-death-do-us-part liturgical formula was first recorded in the *Sarum Manual* of 1508 and entered the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549.<sup>10</sup> From the Catholic perspective the continuity of marriage continued even *post-mortem*.

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535, defender of the Catholic cause in England and of the legitimacy of Catherine of Aragon, 1509-33, as queen consort, supported the idea of the continuity of *post-mortem* marriage during the reign of Henry VIII. In the epitaph commemorating his two wives, Jane and Alice, More expressed the desire to perpetuate both marriages beyond the end of his days.<sup>11</sup> The epitaph was composed after Jane's death in 1511, but was not placed in the sanctuary of the old church at Chelsea until 1532. Thomas More published this epitaph in his *Epigrammata* (Basel, 1518), and it was also included by Erasmus in his collection of letters accompanying the work *De praeparatione ad mortem* (Basel, 1534), that was published the same year that More's political troubles began. The epitaph in Latin (translated by Joseph Berrigan in 1976) reads as follows:

‘Dear Jane, the little wife of Thomas More,/ Lies here. I dedicate this tomb to her,/ To Alice, and to myself. The first, the bride/ Of my green years, gave me this gift: a boy/



Fig 4. Jan van Eyck, *The Arnolfini Portrait*, 1434, National Gallery, London.  
(photo: © Wikimedia Commons, public domain)

And three girls call me their father.  
The second/ Is as devoted to these  
stepchildren as few/ Mothers ever were  
devoted to their own/ A rare and glorious  
tribute to her love./ Jane lived with me  
and Alice lives with me/ In such a way that  
I cannot be sure/ Which one of them was  
or is more dear to me./ O we could have  
lived together, the three of us,/ So well,  
if fate and our religion had/ Allowed us.  
But now I pray that we be joined/  
Here in this tomb and there in heaven.  
So/ Will death bestow on us what life  
could not.'

The Marquess was schooled in the classical Latin tradition and was one of the main agents of Philip II's project to return England to the bosom of the church of Rome during the reign of Mary I (1553-58). The Marquess therefore included on his inscription a phrase that would be complimentary to the orthodox Catholic European church of 1563.

**Manuel Parada López de Corselas**

I would like to thank Martin Stuchfield for his kind invitation to publish in the *Bulletin* and to Alberto Vela Rodrigo for the revision of the English text.

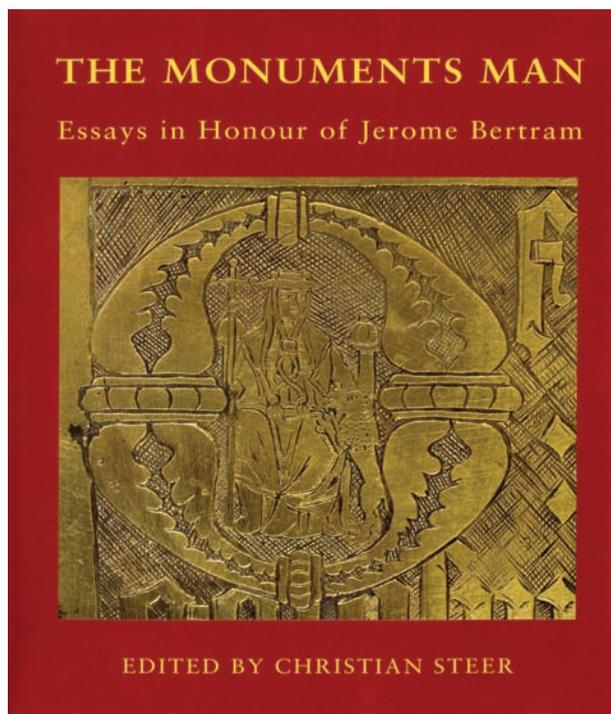
- 1 M. Parada López de Corselas and L.M. Palacios Méndez, *Pedro Dávila y Zúñiga, I marqués de Las Navas. Patrocinio artístico y coleccionismo anticuario en las cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II* (Bologna, 2020).
- 2 In relation to this travel, see J. Edwards, *Mary I. England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, 2011), pp.181-92.
- 3 C.R. Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke* (Oxford, 1909), I, pp.34-5.
- 4 A. Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, 'Nuevas noticias sobre el primer viaje de Antonio Moro a la Península Ibérica y su entrada al servicio de Felipe II', *Archivo Español de Arte* 89, CCCLVI (2016), pp.423-9, on p.427.
- 5 J. Barker, *Stone Fidelity: Marriage and Emotion in Medieval Tomb Sculpture* (Woodbridge, 2020), pp.281-96.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 220.
- 7 F.A. Greenhill, *The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland*, (Leicester, 1958), pp.71-3, pl.32.
- 8 'Catalogue of Funerary Monuments with Portraits', in J. Edmondson, T. Nogales and W. Trillmich (eds.), *Imagen y memoria. Monumentos funerarios con retratos en la colonia Augusta Emerita* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 113-88, on p.158.
- 9 <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/the-lovers-pledge-verses-in-french-surrounding-6154501-details.aspx>.
- 10 'Posthumous Love as Culture: Outline of a Medieval Moral Pattern', in B. Jussen and R. Targoff (eds.), *Love after Death: Concepts of Posthumous Love in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Berlin, 2015), pp.27-54, on pp.30-1.
- 11 'Introduction: Love After Death. A Sketch', in B. Jussen and R. Targoff (eds.), *Love after Death...* (Berlin, 2015), pp.3-16, on pp.3-5.



Fig 5. French miniaturist, *The Lovers' Pledge*, c.1555, Private Collection.  
(photo: © Christie's)

## Notes on books, articles and the internet

**Christian Steer (ed.). *The Monuments Man: Essays in honour of Jerome Bertram.*** (Shaun Tyas, Donington (Lincolnshire), £49.50, hardback. May 2020. ISBN 978-1-907730-84-9). xxiv, 539 pp.; illus. (many in colour); maps; plans; refs.; index; bibliography of published works of Jerome Bertram (pp.xiii-xxi).



The 25 chapters in this splendid volume could not be a more appropriate *in memoriam* to the late Jerome Bertram, covering as it does so many aspects of all types of monument, not least monumental brasses, stone tombs and incised slabs. The essays in this Festschrift are arranged under nine broad headings, and cover mainly English, but some continental examples, and beginning with ‘The Greatest Tomb of All’, that of Christ Himself, and its representation on brasses and monuments, and in paintings and manuscripts. Many of the contributors are M.B.S./C.M.S. members which is reflected in their choice of subject. The introductory essay by Christian Steer pays tribute to Jerome’s lifelong study of brasses and tombs and includes reproductions of several rubbings by him, as well as some early photographs of the young enthusiast brass rubbing (p.4), plus one photograph taken in 2019 of Jerome rubbing Bishop Waltham’s brass (1395) in Westminster Abbey (p.7).

Members will already have received a flyer and notice of the book, with a list of contributors, and space does not allow me to repeat those details here – a full review will appear in our *Transactions*. Sufficient to say that each essay is accompanied by some excellent illustrations and footnotes. Many of the studies are based on regional or local examples in the U.K., a few others examine aspects of continental brasses and tombs, and one recalls the work of a largely forgotten writer on continental brasses – Alexander Nesbitt (1817-86). It cannot go without comment that the volume has been produced to a very high standard by the publisher Shaun Tyas, and that Christian Steer has edited the book with equal skill. The choice of colour photograph for the front part of the dust wrapper is also very appropriate, being the figure of St. Jerome from the palimpsest reverse of LSW.IX at Great Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire; this is also the subject of Chapter 23 (pp.482-95) by Nicholas Rogers. The Name Index (pp.526-36), so essential in a volume of this size, has been compiled by Tony Carr. Publication has been made possible with generous support from eight grant-making bodies (see list on reverse of title page).

**Susan Rose. *The wealth of England. The medieval wool trade and its political importance, 1100–1600.*** (Oxbow, Oxford, £40.00, hardback. 2018. ISBN 9781785707360). 238 pp.; 55 illus.

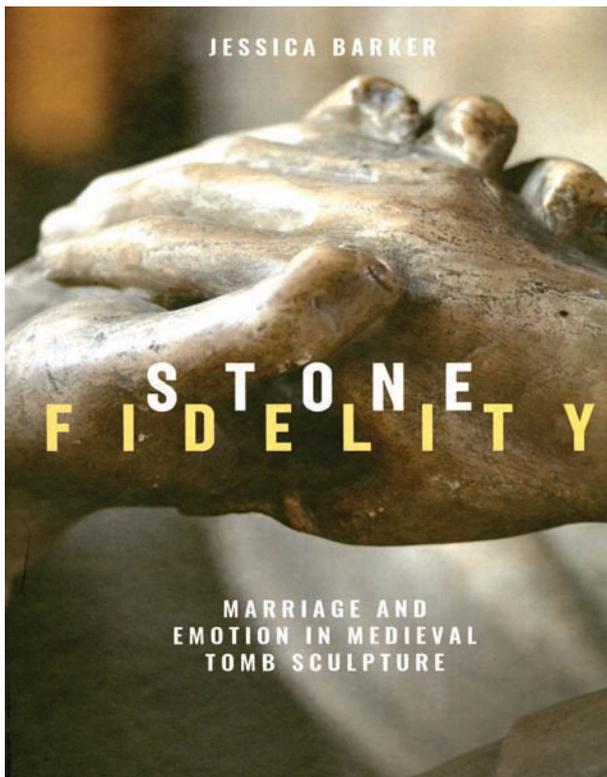
The wool trade was fundamental to the wealth of medieval England, and commemoration in brass was a popular choice for many wool merchants. There has been no general survey of the trade since Eileen Power’s Ford lectures published in 1941 and T.H. Lloyd’s *Medieval Wool Trade* in 1977, so this new work is long overdue. This book provides that overview very well, although it does this by exploring existing published studies rather than through original new research. Rose looks at sheep farming, the role of monasteries, the Crown’s intervention in the trade, the Company of the Staple, and the activities of wool traders. The famous merchant families who owed their wealth to wool, including the de la Poles, the Stonors, Pastons, and Celys, feature in this book, as do the middlemen known as woolmen or wool

broggers, who bought fleeces from farmers and sold them to those making cloth or organising wool exports.

Readers of this *Bulletin* will probably find the final chapter entitled 'Did the Wool Trade make England rich?' of especial interest, as it examines the bequests that these merchants made, particularly to churches in the Cotswolds. The book is well-illustrated with black and white images, ranging from manuscript illustrations to church interiors. Unfortunately, several of the author's own photographs are not particularly clear. These include, regrettably, the images of the brasses of William Grevel at Chipping Campden (LSW.I); at Northleach of John Fortey (LSW.III), Thomas Busshe (LSW.VIII) and possibly William Midwinter (LSW.IV), incorrectly captioned as John Midwinter; and the head of John Tame on his brass at Fairford (LSW.I). This is a useful general survey, but readers requiring more information will need to look at more detailed local studies.

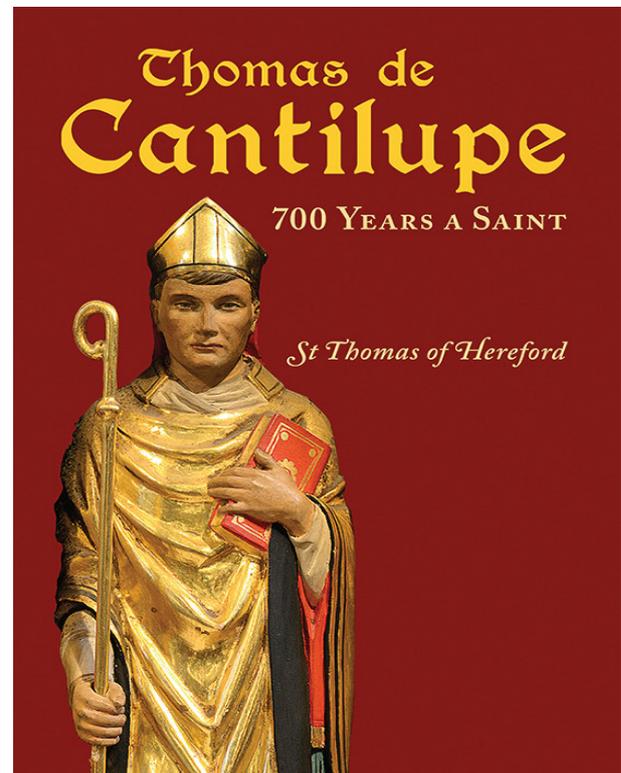
John S. Lee

**Jessica Barker.** *Stone Fidelity: marriage and emotion in Medieval Tomb Sculpture.* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £50.00, hardback. April 2020. ISBN 9781783272716). 354 pp.; 33 colour, 63 b/w illus.; gazetteer; bibliography.



This study looks at the tradition of monuments, including brasses, depicting their subjects holding or joining hands on medieval memorials. British as well as some continental examples are described and illustrated, including many brasses and incised slabs. The book will be reviewed at greater length in the February *Bulletin*.

**Thomas de Cantilupe 700 Years a Saint: St. Thomas of Hereford**, compiled by Michael Tavinor [Bishop of Hereford], and Ian Bass. (Longaston Press, Eardisley (Herefordshire), £7.50 (incl. p+p), stiff paper covers. May 2020. ISBN 978-1-910839-41-6). 88 pp.; illus. (most in colour); maps; tables; refs.



Thomas Cantilupe (1218-82) was one of a group of medieval bishops canonised during the 14th century. This publication, marking the 700th anniversary of his canonisation in 1320, tells in some detail the story of Thomas' colourful life as scholar, politician, priest and bishop, and his long struggle to sainthood. The book is enhanced by its many colour photographs of stained glass, manuscripts, statues, Thomas' tomb and shrine, other tombs, a few brasses/indents, and activities and services within the cathedral to-day.

Thomas' tomb is of special interest in the context of brasses, with its early brass indent on top, but the

slab is in poor condition and suffering from having been cut down or trimmed to fit its new base, and difficult to see through the arched stone canopy above. Only during restoration in 1997 was the indent fully visible. It was then photographed and recorded by our members Sally Badham and Philip Whittemore, and published in *Bulletin* 79 (September 1998), pp.394-5 (not the *Transactions* as stated in the book, p.51). The only brass item remaining from the memorial is the headless figure of St. Ethelbert, shown in Fig.2 in the above *Bulletin* (p.395) in its original position to the left of the bishop's mitre (and illustrated in the book (p.36), see photo. below). At the same time an early cross-slab was discovered incorporated into the base of the shrine, but is no longer visible (see photo Fig.3, p.395 in *Bulletin* above). For other details see *The Monumental Brasses of Hereford Cathedral*, by Peter Heseltine and H. Martin Stuchfield, (M.B.S., 2005, pp.9-11) and E.G. Benson, 'The Cantilupe Indent in Hereford Cathedral', *M.B.S. Transactions*, VIII (1943-51), pp.322-30 [including a conjectural restoration of the brass, facing p.324].



*St. Ethelbert from the brass to Thomas Cantilupe, d.1282, Hereford Cathedral (LSW.I).  
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)*

**Richard Asquith. “Executors bin couetous”?: The mysteries of the missing brass at St. Mary and St. Bartholemew’s, Hampton-in-Arden’.** *Hampton-in-Arden Local History Group Newsletter Supplement*, no.2 (July 2020), pp.1-10; 6 illus. (most in colour); refs.

This article, by our member Richard Asquith, traces the chequered history of this figure, which has been variously misidentified by early historians as a ‘female with rosary and purse’, but by Dugdale (1656, p.700) as the brass of Richard Brokes, bailiff of Hampton [Warwickshire], and his wife Isota, with a rhyming inscription ending with the line ‘Executors bin covetous and keep all that they finde’. Whilst little is known of Brokes, there seems to be little doubt that Dugdale’s identification is correct. The brass/slab also appears to have been moved to several locations in the church, lastly (by 1947) in front of the altar step. Other missing parts were the female effigy, a foot inscription, two groups of children and, arguably, ‘devices’ at the four corners of the slab. Until recently only the male figure survived but this is now missing and the indent covered by a large carpet. The figure is a Coventry series 1 product, dated c.1500.

Looking at the rhyming inscription, it has close similarities to that on the earlier brass of Richard Adane and wife, engraved 1435, at Kelshall, Hertfordshire (LSW.I) (illustrated on p.8), and to several other later brasses (see pp.4-5). Other sources for the verses, and warnings against executors, are discussed at some length (pp.6-7) but should not always be taken at face value. Figs.3 & 4 (p.9) have photos of a fine incised slab of Andrew Jones and wife Elizabeth at Hereford Cathedral, and detail of speech scrolls containing an ‘anti-executor poem’ (Fig 4). Figs.5 & 6 (p.10) show colour photographs of tiles in Great Malvern Priory also with an anti-executor poem. The author is currently working on his doctoral thesis at Royal Holloway, University of London, in which the themes and questions raised in this article are discussed in much greater detail; plus an article for publication dealing with all known examples of the inscriptions discussed here.

I am very grateful to Sally Badham, John S. Lee and Martin Stuchfield for information or copy received.

**Richard Busby**