

TOMB RECESSES IN THE PROVINCE OF YORK, c1250 - 1400:
their social and architectural context.

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Abstract

The facility to choose a tomb-type and burial position was not universally available in the 14th century, but this was an option open to those who held a minimum of land in the locality of their chosen burial church. Wealth and status were so closely allied with land-ownership, that patrons in a feudal society felt impelled to make all necessary provisions to establish their entitlement to these privileges while alive, in order to pass secure status on to the next generation after their decease. Moreover, church teaching about life after death, and the need to make permanent provision for the soul, resulted in active concern for identifiable and permanent burial sites. Tomb recesses, or tombs which were physically bonded into the building fabric, were an obvious solution, and now repay close attention because, although many are extremely simple, by their nature they mostly remain undisturbed, so that favoured burial locations can be recorded.

Many tomb recesses would have contained tomb chests and/or effigies, some of which have been destroyed, but the effigies which remain are often valuable in identifying tomb patrons. When studied as a body of sculpture, the effigies fall into a number of stylistic groups which reflect those influences affecting the wider body of 14th century sculpture in the north. The impact of major architectural and sculptural programmes, especially at York and Beverley, is clearly reflected in the various groups of effigies, and in the design of tomb

canopies. A group of particularly talented and prolific sculptors has been identified, and their careers traced through prestigious monuments at York, Beverley, Chester and elsewhere. The influences which shaped the work of these men were the same as those identified in the architecture of the recesses themselves, and in a few cases it can be shown that the patrons were instrumental in bringing about this cross-fertilisation.

As a response to a culture in which death was often unexpected, greatly feared, and therefore an ever-present aspect of life, tomb recesses are just one of the measures adopted by patrons. Funerary arrangements belong to a wider range of activities, and are considered in the context of popular piety as manifested by different social groups. The founding or endowment of chantries, and architectural patronage associated with tomb locations is examined, showing that, among the patrons of tomb recesses, no social group gravitated towards the chancel for burial. Even among churchmen, the tendency was for burial in the nave, reflecting the strongly-felt need for visibility among their local communities, even after death, and making clear statements of family allegiance and public piety.

In understanding the motives of tomb patrons, some of the most useful documents are their wills. These document the necessary legal steps taken by patrons to provide for and protect their families and friends, but more importantly

for this study, they underline the testators' concerns for their "soul's health", a phrase which occurs frequently. Wills therefore provide evidence of the last-minute anxieties of tomb patrons, underscoring the direction of their life-time's religious aspirations.

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- BB2 : Bench Book 2, Hull City Council Records
- Prob Reg I: Probate Register, vol I, Borthwick Institute, York
- Prob Reg II: Probate Register, vol II, Borthwick Institute, York
- Reg Scrope : Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York 1398-1405, Borthwick Institute, York, Reg 16.
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- Cal Inq: Calendar of Inquisitions (HMSO, 1906-)
- Cal Inq aqd: Calendar of Inquisitions ad quod damnum (PRO Lists and Indexes, vol XVII, London 1904 and 1906)
- Cal Inq pm sive esc: Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem sive escaetarum, vol II, (PRO Lists and Indexes, vol XXII, London, 1808)
- CChR: Calendar of Charter Rolls (HMSO, 1908-)
- CClR: Calendar of Close Rolls (HMSO, 1906-)
- CFR: Calendar of Fine Rolls (HMSO, 1912-)
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CPL IV: Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters, IV
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EETS: Early English Text Society

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YAS : Yorkshire Archaeological Society

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Introduction

The numerous themes and lines of argument set out in the following chapters are unavoidably complex and interweaving. This brief summary, with an indication as to the key monuments and personalities, is designed to provide sign-posting for the reader to follow a critical path through the text.

The discussion of tomb recesses is extended here to include tombs which are "fixed" by virtue of their physical and aesthetic dependence on the surrounding structure. Tombs such as the Percy tomb at Beverley Minster, the Harrington tomb at Cartmel priory church, and Bishop Hatfield's throne-tomb at Durham are therefore included in the survey of tombs and patrons.

From the outset, various forms of evidence, both physical and documentary, are used to show that tomb recesses were chosen by patrons for the very positive reasons of security of burial position, and therefore of post-mortem prayer which could be focussed on their souls. The first chapter describes some of the other activities of tomb patrons which were designed to attract commemorative prayers after their deaths, including chantry-founding and associated building programmes in their burial churches.

As a documented instance of a family who could have been buried anywhere they chose in their parish church, the family of de Burgh at Catterick stand out. This was a case in which John de Burgh was responsible for keeping the parish church in a well-maintained state, as a condition of having been granted a life-long lease of certain property in the area by Jervaulx abbey. A few months after he died, in 1412, a contract for completely rebuilding the parish church was drawn up, between de Burgh's widow Katherine and his son William on the one hand, and the mason Richard de Cracall on the other. It is highly likely, therefore, that the de Burghs had allowed the old church to fall into a ruinous state and were obliged to repair or

rebuild it. That they chose the latter option provides valuable evidence as to their preferred burial positions, because although this was now a new church, the de Burghs did not choose burial in the chancel, nor in free-standing tombs in the nave. Instead they built two new tomb recesses in the north wall of the north nave aisle, and transplanted the earlier tomb recess and effigy of Sir Walter Urswick from the old church to the south nave aisle of the new one.

By 1412 therefore, the trend towards nave burials, and the choice of tomb recesses as the preferred tomb type, at least in parish churches, had become crystallised into a predictable pattern. Patrons who had been seen to have had a significant presence in the parish community, and who could be identified with particular building projects in the parish church, were permitted a burial position not merely inside the church, but within its walls, in a recess or "fixed" tomb.

The wills of these individuals, in common with other wills of the period, attempted to atone for a lifetime's misdeeds, repaying unpaid debts and generally righting wrongs - all possible steps were undertaken to avoid the testators' excommunication which would have resulted in their burial in unconsecrated ground, in unmarked graves, and therefore with little or no hope of attracting prayers for their souls. The family was central to the organisation of both public and private activity, to the transfer of property and associated rights and privileges, and therefore of power. Not surprisingly in this context, there are numerous examples of testators requesting burial with their ancestors, frequently in the same type of tomb.

The central section of this thesis, chapters 2-4, concerns the physical remains of the tomb recesses, and the effigies associated with them. As a means of identifying a tomb patron, the effigy can offer valuable evidence as to date and stylistic sources, and other attributes, such as heraldry, help to

determine the identity and status of the deceased. The effigies described here consist of a reasonably clearly dated and identified group of 35, and these are used to establish a chronological and stylistic framework into which many of the remaining effigies can be fitted. From this process a total of five groups (A-E) are identified, and within these groups there are two sub-sets of effigies which are so similar that they are attributed here to two separate workshops.

What emerges from this discussion is that, from c1310 onwards, a number of different strands of influence were being adapted by Yorkshire effigy-carvers. As the different groups evolved, they wove together a robust local style with forms of drapery carving found in Lincolnshire in the same period. Each group exploited different aspects of these influences: group A combined a rather stiffly-posed figure style with drapery folds that were closely-spaced, parallel, and in very low relief, almost incised in appearance, as seen for instance in the effigy of Robert de Plumpton d c1323 at Spofforth, and in the knight now in the west recess at Hazlewood.

Group B, which contains effigies as early as those in group A, but which has later examples also, developed a different kind of drapery style, but this was again foreshadowed in Lincolnshire. Now the robes fall in much broader folds than in group A, and in well-modelled forms which, in the knights, fall in concentric loops over the right thigh, and the material is also folded over at hem-lines, introducing spiral forms. The facial features of these effigies have heavy-lidded eyes and serenely-rounded chins, and this group also introduces the idea of small-scale "extras" to the repertoire of Yorkshire effigy-carvers. The knights at Bainton and Butterwick are typical of this group, and show clear similarities with, for example, the knight at Gosberton (Lincs), c1310-20.

It is within this group that the first workshop style can be identified, in the ladies at Feliskirk and Sprotborough, both c1345-50, and perhaps also in the lady's effigy at West Tanfield, of Maud Marmion, who died c1360. The similarity of draperies, especially at the feet, and the positions and poses of the attendant angels, indicate a clear workshop style, operating in the context of the more general style of the other effigies in group B.

Group C, having been identified and discussed in general terms, is compared and contrasted with group B, and emerges as an important development of that group. Typical of these effigies are the knight and lady at Howden, and the Bedale effigies of the FitzAlans and of Brian de Thornhill, rector of Bedale. They have very full draperies, which billow around the figures, conveying a strong sense of volume and movement. The drapery folds are more rounded than those in group B, but the same broad bands and spiral forms occur, now with more emphasis on movement. Other ideas from group B are developed in group C: the small figures carved beside the effigies are now more numerous and inventively-posed, and occur not just at the head and feet, but alongside the knees and half-hidden in the canopies of the effigies.

Both of groups B and C foreshadow certain elements of the Percy tomb at Beverley, arguably the most important 14th century tomb in the north of England. Group B effigies, with their broad bands of hard-edged drapery can be seen as forerunners of some of the cusp figures on the Percy tomb, while the effigies in group C belong in the evolution of the the figure style of the main statues, on the gable of the tomb. These effigies are also set in the context of other figure-sculpture in Yorkshire, notably the York Madonna and the choir figures at Howden, and are shown to fit in the developing figure-style which reached its climax at Beverley.

With group D, the second workshop style can be found,

and again it is the ladies of the group which show the closest parallels. At Church Fenton, Darrington and Ryther, the ladies' costumes and hair styles are particularly close, and they share with the knights of that group the pointed chins and slanting eyes, the rather slight stature, and the sharp-edged, almost ridged, drapery folds.

The series ends with group E, where a softer, more fluid drapery style typifies the effigies. This is close to the drapery style of group B, in the breadth of the folds, but because the folds are more rounded in group E, there is a greater sense of movement, and of the shape of the body beneath the material. In this group, as for the others, there is a clear response to both local and Lincolnshire figure styles, and the location of two of the effigies, at Norwell near the Lincolnshire border, would explain why the more southerly strand of influence is so clearly seen here.

The identification of five groups of effigies, all apparently affected by a mixture of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire influences, but with distinctive figure- and drapery-styles, demonstrates the way in which these sources were inventively and creatively adapted by Yorkshire sculptors to produce a rich variety of solutions in the form and style of their effigies.

A small group of tombs stands out from the rest in their extremely complex design, and in the wealth of figure carving on their canopies. The chief monuments are at Beverley, Cartmel in the south or "Town" choir, and at Welwick, in the south nave aisle, and they show particular reliance on the foliage and figure style of monuments in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, such as the chancel fittings at Hawton (Notts) or at Heckington (Lincs) dated 1320s-30s. Certain strands of Yorkshire effigy-styles are also found in these tombs, especially those allocated to groups B and C. Moreover, the tombs also show close similarities with two roughly contemporary shrines, of St William at York, now mostly destroyed, and of St Werbergh at

Chester, also rather damaged, and both are dated c1330-40.

A number of different sculptors have been identified at Beverley by Nick Dalton, and one of these is also identified here at Cartmel, where he is described as the Yorkshire Master. Two further hands are identified at Cartmel - the Effigy Master and the Column Master. The careers of the Effigy Master and the Yorkshire Master are traced through the York and Chester shrines, and the tombs at Beverley, Welwick and Cartmel. Again, both Lincs/Notts influence and Yorkshire drapery styles are found in these monuments, and at Cartmel, the injection of direct Continental influence is seen, producing the only surviving English example of a procession of small, freestanding figures (in this case, canons) around the effigies of Sir John Harrington and his wife Joan (nee Dacre).

The Yorkshire influence is continued at Cartmel in the form of the window tracery in the south choir which is shown to be derived from Yorkshire prototypes, especially in Humberside churches such as Howden and Hedon. The presence of Yorkshire tracery patterns in the Cartmel windows is not the first instance of a north-east to north-west transfer of ideas. Brigham, where the south aisle and tomb recess were under construction in the 1320s, also shows an awareness of tracery patterns from the east of the Pennines, and in this case, because of the individuals known to have been involved, the source is likely to have been Heckington chancel, also built in 1320s.

The preceding chapters set the scene for the discussion of the architecture of the tomb recesses themselves. Recesses in the northern province, if they were gabled, relied heavily on the patterns set at York Minster, from c1290-1338, and indeed on the tomb of Archbishop William Greenfield (d 1315), which was itself clearly influenced by the cool, restrained nave elevation, and also by the form of arch and gable motifs in the nave windows, c1310-20, found earlier in

the chapter house and its vestibule, c1285-90. The method of using moulding profiles to underline or reinforce the connections between recesses, or between a recess and other building elements, is also discussed.

The mouldings of the group of gabled recesses emphasise their dependency on York, but also introduce elements found further south, so that, as for the effigies and the tombs and shrines, there is a blending of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire motifs.

A particular group of masons is identified as having built the chancels at Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton, with their gabled recesses and other fittings, and the group's dependence on York is clear once again, especially in the foliage carving, the moulding profiles, and the main elevations of the tombs and fittings. It is evident that the masons who produced the gabled recesses in this survey, which are dated c 1310-40, remained impervious to the influence of flowing tracery, which was developing a particularly free and flowing style in Yorkshire in this period. With the exception of Brigham, these gabled tombs were seen as being related to structural elements such as arcade arches, door- or window-surrounds, rather than as a background or framework for traceried forms.

All this was to change with the completion of the Percy tomb at Beverley in c1340. Until then, ogeed forms had occurred infrequently and tentatively in Yorkshire recesses. Now, with the huge, swooping, "nodding" ogees of the Percy tomb's gable, the blind ogeed tracery on the gables of the tomb, and the even more flamboyant tracery on the related reredos, tomb builders took up these bold curvilinear forms with alacrity, adapting them to suit their somewhat cruder, but just as exuberant, execution. The group of related recesses at East Gilling, Harpham, Knaresborough, Hazlewood and Sprotborough is described, and the source of their mouldings is discussed. As with the

York-dependent tombs, the profiles of these Beverley-based monuments prove to be, yet again, in Humberside and Lincolnshire.

The usefulness of mouldings in underlining relationships is seen clearly in those found on the tombs at Welwick and Cartmel, and in the shrine of St William of York, all of which reflect the same sources as were noticed in their figure-styles and tracery patterns, ie a judicious blend of Yorkshire (particularly Humberside) and Lincolnshire forms. The influence of, rather than sculptors from, the Beverley workshop is also traced as far north as Norham (Northumberland), just south of the Scottish border, and at Staindrop (co Durham), where both tombs are dated in the mid-1340s.

Throughout this study, evidence abounds as to the provisions made by tomb patrons, beyond the choice of a tomb recess, which were designed to ensure the stability of their burial position, such as including their tombs in a larger building programme, as happened at Welwick, Cartmel, Brigham and Catterick. Many patrons also took what opportunity they could to ensure that heraldic references to their families and alliances would appear in several locations in their burial churches, as at Feliskirk, Birkin and Catterick for example.

This kind of evidence, gathered from several documentary sources, is brought together in the final chapter, to show what, if any, consistencies can be found among tomb patrons from different social groups. To this end, the identifiable tomb patrons are divided into a total of seven social groups, as defined by their status as land-holders, whether or not they received personal summons to Parliament, and other such "symptoms" of status. With reference to the view expressed in chapter one, that to be buried inside a church, the deceased must have proved themselves worthy of such an honour, the pious activities of each group are discussed.

By far the majority of laymen who were tomb patrons had indicators that would qualify them for this kind of burial; many held the advowsons of their burial churches; several founded chantries; only ten laymen buried in tomb recesses did neither, and of these, a further four (at Darrington, Harpham, Howden and Tickhill) are accounted for by having been buried in chapels, clearly identifying them as patrons of larger building projects, and therefore as significant church patrons.

Women tomb patrons often only achieved the power to hold land and act independently after they were widowed, and many proclaimed their status as widows in their effigies where they were shown wearing a widow's barbe. The value to a man's family of a good marriage alliance was often expressed in the form of a double tomb, where the arms of both families would be displayed, as at Catterick, Howden and West Tanfield. Of course, the expression of a marriage alliance not only identified the couple buried in the tomb, but was also of critical importance to succeeding generations when they had to assert their claims to certain rights, or challenge the rights of other.

The lengthy wrangles at Howden and Kirklington illustrate how much rested on the ability to prove that a wife or widow was entitled to certain privileges. In both of these cases, the design of the respective tombs reinforced the claims of Sibyl, widow of John de Metham, at Howden, and of Elizabeth, first the wife of Alexander de Moubray, then of John de Wandesford, at Kirklington.

The tables at the end of chapter five show that, for the most part, widows were buried in more prominent positions than their husbands, indicating their involvement as tomb patrons, with heraldic references to their own families on the tombs, and their effigies also made clear their widowed, and therefore independent and powerful status,

The numbers of churchmen buried in tomb recesses in the period and area under discussion are relatively few, but they form a remarkably consistent group as far as their patronage is concerned. Brigham's patron was Thomas de Burgh, also the rector, and he is typical of this last group, controlling substantial estates in the parish and founding a chantry in the parish church. He rebuilt the south aisle to accommodate not only the chantry and its furnishings, but also his own tomb recess. Like the others in the group, de Burgh's promotion to the rectory of Brigham, in the 1320s, was, by that time, recognised as an important career move, as a number of previous and subsequent holders of the benefice went on to hold high office afterwards.

The final observation to be made about this group is that they all chose burial positions to the west of the chancel screen, except at Owston, where the tomb was set in an opening in the wall between the chancel and the (now lost) north chancel chapel. For churchmen therefore, as well as for the other groups of tomb patrons, the primary concern was to achieve a burial site which was permanent and identifiable in the eyes of the lay congregation. In this way, and by their activities as chantry-founders, advowson-holders, and land-owners, they could be seen to qualify as members of that distinguished group of particularly pious people who were entitled to be buried within the walls of the church. Only by achieving this kind of post-mortem status could tomb patrons begin to take comfort in the promise of permanent prayers for their souls, and to hope for everlasting life in paradise.

Chapter 1: Patrons and permanence

"The owners of the hearse charged us seventy-five pesos. It was more than we had agreed on, but he said in this way he could give us a place that was not at the bottom of a gully. Manuel said that they take advantage of people at such times and I agreed. I was angry with my brother Roberto. My aunt had bought the right to a permanent plot in the cemetery and through his stupidity she was placed in another spot where she might be exhumed to make way for someone else. I continued to plead that she be buried with the rest of our family, but it wasn't possible."

Oscar Lewis, A Death in the Sanchez Family, (Penguin books, 1969, p122)

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This chapter is intended to show that the motivation for the building of tombs associated physically with the walls of the church, or structurally dependant in some way on the church, was the result of certain expectations of, and anxieties about, life after death. Tombs of this type were usually made for lay patrons from wealthy local families, some of whom were members of the nobility. Some churchmen also chose this kind of tomb, particularly if they had contributed in some way to the building or extension of the church.

The tombs in question are those that were associated with the fabric of the church in such a way that they might not be removed, or not without great difficulty. In some cases these monuments were cut into existing walls, or were built together with the walls, and might or might not have canopies; other examples were placed against, and bonded into, the church walls, projecting forwards into the space of the church. Both types of tomb achieved the same degree of integrity with the church fabric, by being combined with the masonry of the building thereby achieving the same degree of permanence. Therefore both types of tomb can be described as recesses, since the effigy would lie in a hollow space in or against the wall.

Apart from the recessed or niche tombs described above, other types of tomb can be included in this study when they are related so closely to their architectural surroundings that even if those tombs were not physically

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dependent on some part of the church building, the clear visual or aesthetic association of tomb with structure would inhibit removal of the tomb. This is the case at Beverley Minster, where the Percy tomb clearly belongs to the architectural and sculptural programme which also involved the north nave aisle blind arcading, the reredos, and the staircase turret which gave access to the top of the reredos. Although the Beverley tomb is set under the north-east arch of the choir arcade, it can be considered as fixed as if it had been set in a wall recess, by its integrity with the surrounding architectural sculpture, and this integrity is enhanced by the tomb's physical dependence on the adjacent stair turret which connects it with the reredos. The north nave aisle, reredos and tomb at Beverley will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Tombs which were set under an arch of an ambulatory arcade, such as those at Westminster Abbey, though canopied, were technically move-able, since they were not physically attached to the church fabric. However, the high status of their patrons, and the deliberate public display of the tombs, would almost certainly ensure an undisturbed position. The Harrington tomb at Cartmel falls into this category of "fixed" tombs, being associated with the patronage of the building of the "Town Choir" and connecting that choir with the priory choir, being set under an arch of the arcade which connects the two choirs. The tomb and "Town Choir" were

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part of the same building programme, of which the patron was Sir John Harrington (d 1347), and both he and his wife, Joan (nee Dacre) were buried in the Cartmel tomb. Although attempts were made to move the tomb, this could only be achieved by the partial destruction of the tomb, which probably once had a chantry altar attached.^[1]

Like the Cartmel tomb, that of archbishop William Greenfield can be considered as a fixed monument, and for similar reasons: it is a large monument with a tall gabled canopy; it once had a chantry altar attached to it, and after Greenfield's death in 1315, further chantries were founded at this altar.^[2] The tomb of bishop Hatfield in Durham cathedral was designed to be combined with the bishop's throne, and also had its own chantry altar. The resulting size of the monument, and its regular, public and liturgical use once again conferred a permanent status to the tomb and its patron.^[3]

As well as reassuring the patrons as to the security of their tombs, recesses now constitute reliable indicators of original tomb positions, since they were difficult to remove. Identities of some of their owners are, however, harder to establish since the tomb chests contained by the recesses were sometimes moved.

Recesses, especially those with canopies, have frequently been considered as inexpensive versions of free-standing canopied monuments such as those in Westminster Abbey.^[4]

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Such tombs are rarely deemed to have been used to make a positive statement about the patron. Richard Gough was one of the first to observe that recessed tombs, particularly those situated in north chancel walls, were usually those of founders and benefactors.^[6] He suggested that the reason for this was that not only did this type of tomb ensure permanent commemoration of the patron's generosity, but also, since it was a part of the church fabric, would give the appearance of contemporaneity and was therefore a physical demonstration of the role played by the deceased in the building of the church.

The idea that all recesses were chosen as an inexpensive option is improbable, since the wealth of many of the patrons who built them was substantial. The Berkeley family of Bristol were estimated to have been among the richest families in the country.^[7] The Alard family of Winchelsea, Sussex, and the de la Beche family of Aldworth, Berkshire, who built grand series of recesses in their respective parish churches, were also substantial land-owners, and held posts as officials of the king. Sir John, Count of Warrenne of Surrey, was another highly-placed patron of a tomb recess. In his will of 1347, he requested burial "in an arch near the high altar, on the left hand side, which I have had made."^[8]

The majority of these mural monuments occur in parish

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churches, rather than in churches of religious houses or secular cathedrals, which has given rise to the suggestion by some authors that spatial considerations prevented the use of free-standing tombs and that recesses were chosen by default. ¹⁰ However, in a large proportion of churches with recesses, space was plentiful. This was due, in some cases to the benevolence of the patron who provided money for an extension or rebuilding. ¹¹ Spatial interiors were also due, in part, to the general trend in 14th century parish churches to build hall-like spaces to facilitate preaching.

A further factor militating against the choice of tombs as space-saving devices, is the fact that many of these recesses were associated with chantry foundations. The presence of piscinae and squints in many of the examples studied indicates that there would have been chantry altars adjacent to these tombs, and a chantry priest, altar and screens would have occupied as much space as a free-standing tomb. As far as the use of church space was concerned, a tomb set under an appropriate arch of an ambulatory arcade absorbed no circulation space at all, since lay people would not have been permitted to enter the choir from the ambulatory, and religious users could obtain access via another convenient arch. In the only example in this study of a tomb set under a nave arcade (at Sprotborough), the tomb would not have consumed circulation space in the nave, since, in this instance it was attached to the chantry of

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St Thomas in the south aisle at Sprotborough, which would have been physically separated from the rest of the nave by screens had the tomb not been built in that position.

The most notable tomb and church project of the early Decorated period was Westminster Abbey. This undoubtedly raised the possibility of family mausolea in the minds of many patrons, although, as has been mentioned, they did not tend to opt for the canopied free-standing monuments of Westminster Abbey; nor was the plan of the east end of Westminster copied in any but a handful of later churches.¹⁰³ A possible reason for the lack of popularity of the Westminster type of tomb among lay patrons is that, for those of less elevated rank, such tombs did not provide the assurance of a permanent resting place that many patrons required. The adoption of features which bonded arcade tombs with the surrounding structures has already been mentioned as a characteristic of those tombs which followed the Westminster pattern, such as that at Beverley, and a permanent tomb position was essential for those patrons whose identities would be lost if the tomb was moved. It could be argued that such a loss of identity would have been a severe drawback to these patrons, whereas royalty and related nobles did not suffer from this fear of post-mortem anonymity, resting secure in the knowledge that their position, at the head of their country's aristocracy, would preserve their identities. Despite the avoidance of free-standing tombs, there was certainly an awareness of the decorative

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details of the Westminster tombs on the part of lay patrons, which can be seen in later wall canopies, such as those at Winchelsea, Greenfield's tomb in York Minster, and the Percy tomb at Beverley.

If recesses were not chosen for economic reasons, or because of a shortage of space, they must therefore have had other characteristics deemed at the time to be desirable or beneficial. As has been said, the most obvious difference between wall tombs and free-standing monuments is the sense of security that could be conveyed by the former, and the risk of anonymity that might be associated with the latter. The use of mural monuments was one of a number of ways of ensuring permanent commemoration of the dead person. They assured the patron of a secure burial place in the church, and since this position was often chosen with great care, it would have been important to minimise the chances of later removal, possibly to a less well esteemed part of the church.¹¹¹

Durandus, in De Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, written c1286, gave a further reason for the undesirability of anonymous burial in the church, apart from the dangers of later removal. He was concerned that no-one should be buried inside the church unless they were worthy of such an honour, and suggested that such a burial, where the identity of the deceased was unclear, would increase the danger of an unworthy person being buried inside the church. He cited various cases where people were inappropriately buried within the church, and their dire

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consequences, and went on to say, "So no corpse must be buried inside the church, or near the altar where the body and blood of the Saviour are prepared and offered, unless they are the corpses of the Holy Fathers, called patrons, that is defenders; who by their merits defend [all] their homeland; and bishops, abbots and priests worthy of this name, and laypeople of very great holiness....."¹²³ It follows from this that if a person was allocated an interior burial position, they would have been esteemed as particularly holy, and would have been accorded other attributes and honours which might ease the path to heaven. Earlier, in the same work, Durandus had commented on the symbolism of the fabric of the church. In the first chapter, describing the church and its parts, he wrote that the stones of the church should be compared with the "living stones" of its people. The corner-stone of the foundations represented Jesus Christ "on which is placed those [stones] of the apostles and prophets..." The walls built on these foundations represented "the Jews and Gentiles who came to Christ from the four quarters of the world, and who believed, [now] believe, or will believe in him. But the faithful, predestined to eternal life, are the stones used in the structure of this wall...And the larger stones, and those which are shaped and unified, which are placed outside the building and between which are placed smaller stones, represent those men who are more perfect than the others, and who by their merits and prayers support their weaker brothers in the holy Church."¹²³

According to Durandus' symbolism then, a burial within the wall of the church might represent either a belief that the deceased was one of the particularly faithful members of the church who supported their weaker brethren, or that the dead person was one of those "weaker brothers in the holy Church", requiring the support of stronger members. Because of the concern expressed by Durandus that only the holiest people should be buried inside the church, the former is more likely.

Durandus died in 1296, and was buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in an elaborate tomb which was built and signed by Giovanni di Cosma.^[14] The tomb, which is canopied, was set against, rather than within, the church wall, and was densely covered with detailed and accomplished carving. It has been suggested that Durandus either conveyed his requirements for the tomb to his executors, or that he chose executors whose taste would have coincided with his own.^[15] Notwithstanding the damage the tomb has suffered as it has been moved, the choice of a mural monument by the author of a rationale for appropriate burial positions is a clear reflection of the status that Durandus considered himself to possess.

What Durandus wrote in c1286 seems to have kept its currency in popular teaching in the later middle ages. John Mirk, in his Festial reiterates all the conditions listed by Durandus under which a person might or might not be buried in a churchyard, and in almost the same

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order.^[15] If the statements made by Durandus on the degree of holiness required by those buried inside the church were equally correct, then wall burials would have had particular significance, in the eyes of the living, for the sanctity of the deceased.

Various distinct groups of people seem to have chosen tomb recesses. As Gough pointed out, founders frequently achieved burial in the wall of the building of which they were patrons, thereby identifying themselves with some particular building operation in a permanent manner; that is, their tombs would endure for as long as the building itself endured. Association with a family group was another means by which the patron could ensure a continuing post mortem identity. Frequently, where two or more members of a family were buried in the same church, tomb recesses were used.^[17] The use of heraldry during funerals, with shields of arms hung on hearses, was another means of identifying members of the same family, and when those shields were sculpted on parts of the tomb chest or canopy, this identification again became permanent.

The importance of being buried with one's ancestors was emphasized by papal decrees at regular intervals during the 13th and 14th centuries. This was a side-effect of the long-running dispute regarding the desirability or otherwise of dividing corpses so that a patron might have several tombs.^[18] While addresssing this issue, of

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which popes Leo III, Innocent III, Gregory IX and Boniface VIII disapproved, they also stressed the importance of being buried with other members of one's family, and this view was echoed by contemporary writers. [10]

English testators were clearly conscious that the presence of a family tomb in a church increased the numbers of prayers their souls might receive. In his will of 1392, Richard, Earl of Arundel (executed in 1397) took elaborate precautions to ensure that the tombs of other members of his family would be gathered around his, and that there would be visible evidence that the tombs' patrons were related. He requested that his wife's tomb should be placed beside his, wishing her body to be moved if buried elsewhere, to his own choice of burial church: Lewes Priory. He ordered his executors to arrange that a tomb be made for her "with the same form as the body of my honoured Lord and father was buried." Moreover, the earl indicated in his will that his own burial spot behind the high altar had already been shown to, and presumably approved by, the prior of the convent and to his confessor. In common with other later 14th century testators, he requested that, if he should die abroad, his executors should select the most appropriate burial site for him. However, so concerned was the earl that his soul should be remembered in post mortem prayer, that he also instructed his executors that they should remind a number of religious houses (especially in Arundel, Lewes, Chichester, Winchester, Canterbury, Guildford and London)

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that they had promised to pray for his soul and those of his wife and parents, so that "God that for his great mercy and passion which he suffered for them and for all Christians, may have mercy on the three and us also when we pass out of this life, Amen."²⁰

Similar concerns were reflected in a letter from the abbot of St Augustine's, Bristol. Abbot David wrote to the bishop of Exeter, shortly after the death of James Berkeley, in 1327, to ask to translate the body to Bristol, "so that by constant remembrance of the deceased, the devotion of the living may increase, and there may be more plentiful almsgiving, and offering of the dead" for "almost all of his line of consanguinity rests buried with us."²¹ The abbot's letter shows that the monastery was well aware of the financial advantage of burying James with the rest of his family, as well as the suitability for the deceased of such an arrangement.

Other Berkeley burial arrangements show a similar desire for the family identity to be expressed. John Smyth, writing in 1628, quotes from documents then held in Berkeley Castle, which described the tomb of Thomas III Berkeley, who died in 1361, and which is in the parish church at Berkeley. It is described as "...a faire Tombe with resemblences yet remaining, beautified with Escucheons of his Armes; And in the south window over against the said monument are pictures of their three foresaid children, Thomas, Maurice and Edmund, who dyed

young as formerly is written...." [??] Although Thomas' tomb is an altar tomb not a recess, still the association of this tomb with images of his children is a clear demonstration of a family group. Berkeley is one example of a local lord establishing his identity in his parish church. As has been mentioned, for the lesser gentry, parish churches rather than monastic houses were the preferred sites for family mausolea. However, in the case of the Berkeleys who had a high social position, the first establishment to house their tombs was a monastic church, and by the time of the death of Thomas III, they had already made their mark there in a spectacular manner. Nevertheless, it was evidently still important to make an impressive statement of social position and benevolence in the smaller building at Berkeley. Other land-owning families would have found it easier to achieve a degree of prominence and recognition in the local parish church than in larger establishments where the competition from wealthier patrons would dilute their own importance.

Another example of a church in which a family group was not only deliberately established, but was also associated with an earlier generation of the same family is found in the tombs in the church of St Thomas the Martyr at Winchelsea, already noted for its use of recesses in the context of the social position of its patrons, the Alards, as well as for an awareness of Westminster Abbey tomb design, shown in the earlier Winchelsea monuments. The church, of which only the choir

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and part of the transepts remain, was built shortly after the foundation of the new town of Winchelsea by Edward I in 1288, ie in c1290-1300. The tombs inside are not identified by inscriptions, but two chantries were founded, one in each of the choir aisles, by members of the Alard family, and it is reasonable to assume that the tombs in the aisles are those of members of that family. The first chantry was founded by Stephen Alard in 1312 in the north aisle for the souls of himself, his parents, his wife and his ancestors.^[23] This date of 1312 does not tally with the style of the three tomb recesses in this aisle, which appear to be c1330-40, but the dedication which mentions Alard ancestors is appropriate to the effigies in the recesses which are much earlier, c1250-1300, and which were probably moved from the parish church in Old Winchelsea, and which may indeed be those of Alard ancestors.^[24] The second chantry was founded by Robert Alard in 1322, for the souls of himself, his late wife Isabel, and his brother Henry, and was in the south aisle of the church.^[25] Of the two monuments in this aisle, the eastern one appears to be the earlier, dated c1320-25, and the western one dated about five years later. These two tombs and the three tombs opposite, containing the earlier effigies, have various similarities of design, increasing the probability that all five tombs were built for Alards.

In placing the tombs of their ancestors in the later church the Alards may have had several aims: to continue

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the expression of their family's benevolence and prestige from the old church to the new; to display several generations of patronage and influence together; to help to smooth the transition from the old town and church to the new by incorporating familiar objects in the new parish church, which had the same dedication as the earlier one, to St Thomas the Martyr, probably as another attempt to ease the transition. In doing this the Alards seem to have been trying to overcome the apparent resistance to the move to New Winchelsea on the part of the inhabitants, in spite of the floods which had destroyed the old town and their subsequent petitions for help addressed to the king.

Northern tomb patrons had to overcome similar local resistance when their benefactions involved large-scale rebuilding. At Cartmel, the parish altar in the south choir, or "Town Choir" was dedicated to St Michael by the canons of the priory, who had demolished the original parish church, also dedicated to St Michael, and replaced it with the priory church in c1190.^[25] When the Town Choir was rebuilt by Sir John Harrington in c1340-50, together with the magnificent tomb in which he and his wife, Joan, were buried, the dedication remained, as did the function of parish altar.^[27]

At Catterick, in north Yorkshire, the chief tomb patrons, the family of de Burgh, engaged in a similar process in the early 15th century. When they demolished the old

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parish church and built a new church dedicated to St Anne in 1412, apart from specifying in the surviving building contract that the old church was to be used as a quarry for the new building, the mason was also ordered to remove and build into the new church a window from the old church. This was done, and other elements of the demolished church were also re-used, including the arch of the porch, and the pier capitals in the nave.^[20] The tomb recess in the south aisle of the new church, with its effigy of Sir Walter de Urswick, who died some twenty years before the new church was built in c 1390, must also have been transferred from the earlier building.^[20]

Apart from the use of recesses, other forms of permanent commemoration appeared in churches, such as inscriptions carved into the stones of the church, and donor figures or images of patrons in stained glass windows and wall paintings, although in the case of the last two, their permanence turned out to be less than assured. By the later 14th century, however, such self-promotion was frowned upon. William Langland, in The Vision of Piers Ploughman, written c1370, was particularly outspoken. In a discussion between the Friar and a character called Lady Fee who had just made her confession,

"....after gabbling through a form of absolution he added 'We are having a stained glass window made for us, and it's proving rather expensive. If you would care to pay for the glazing yourself, and have your name engraved in the window, you may have no doubts of your eternal salvation.'

'Ah! If I can be sure of that,' the woman said, 'I will do anything for you, Father....I will roof your church, build you a cloister, whitewash your walls, glaze your

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windows and have paintings and images made, and pay for everything. People will all be saying I am a lay-sister of your Order. (1)

'But God forbids us to blazon our good deeds on walls and windows, lest they become mere monuments of worldly pomp. For all your motives and purposes lie open to God; He sees your natural greed, and knows where the money really belongs.' " [30]

Langland may have had more reason than most to feel bitter about the power of lay patronage, since his own career as a secular cleric was curtailed by the death of his patrons. [31] Certainly his views concurred with those of Wyclif and his followers who believed that images should only be permitted in churches if they were seen as aids to devotion, and not as objects to be worshipped for their beauty or expense. [32]

The importance of a permanent burial position in order to help preserve the identity of the deceased was, in turn, a reassurance to the still-living patron as to the attention that could be focussed on his or her soul after death. It was believed that prayer was of greatest help to the soul of the deceased, and the tomb was an appropriate focus for this. Chantries with chantry-priests provided further opportunities for privatised prayer. [33] Founders of chantries might also provide for men to pray at their tombs. These were known as "bedesmen" and were sometimes represented on tomb-chests. They were shown wearing long hooded gowns, sometimes bearing the patrons arms, thereby further identifying the direction of their prayers. [34] As long as the tomb remained in its original position, there was a greater

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chance that the identity of the body it contained would remain known.

Wills of this period almost always specified post mortem prayer, and money and property were bequeathed to that end. [36] As well as paying for prayers and masses, patrons could also purchase their inclusion on obituary rolls. The origin of these rolls seems to lie in monastic practice, in which a list of prayers for a dead brother was taken around other monastic houses and was read out for thirty days after his death, and also on every anniversary thereafter. [37] The thoroughness with which monasteries treated their deceased brethren was deemed very desirable by lay people, and this may explain the readiness with which they subscribed to religious houses in order to have their names included on obituary lists. Some valued monastic treatment so highly that they requested that they be clothed as monks on their deathbeds to obtain the same spiritual benefits as if they had belonged to the order. [38] One of the tomb patrons at Aldborough in East Yorkshire, Sir John de Melsa, d 1377, requested burial in Aldborough parish church, wearing the habit of the Friars Minor. [39] During his life-time, Sir John had made arrangements for his ancestors' bones to be removed from Aldborough parish church to Haltemprice priory, where he also founded a chantry, and where, in 1361, he had intended to be buried. [40] The reasons for Sir John's change of heart are not documented. However, since the removal of his ancestors' bones was undertaken because of fears for the security of the church which was

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being threatened by the encroachment of the sea, and because Sir John would have been able to observe the church's survival for the following sixteen years, this may have influenced him to request burial there, in the same church where earlier generations of the family had, until their removal, been interred.

One of the Berkeleys was also buried in a monk's habit, in St Augustine's, Bristol, although this took place before the rebuilding of the east end with its series of recesses. Robert II Berkeley, who died 13th May 1220, was buried, according to Smyth, in the north aisle of the church, "over against the high Altar, in a Monck's Cowle, an⁹ usuall for great peeres in those times esteemed, as an amulet or defensation to the soule and as a Scala caeli, a ladder of life eternal...." [40] This same Robert also paid to have his own name, and the names of his ancestors and descendants remembered in prayers. Again, according to Smyth, this lord's generos⁹ity was rewarded with many post mortem masses and prayers for his soul and the souls of his family, and a further benefit accorded to him was "to have his name after his death written in their [the convent of Christchurch, Twinham] martyrology, That having his Anniversary recited, divine prayers might be celebrated for him as a founder." [41]

A surviving description of such obituary lists appears in The Rites of Durham which records that two books of benefactors and relics were kept in the choir, showing

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what the patrons had given, and which masses and prayers were to be said for them. Both books were kept on the high altar, and one of them, the Liber Vitae, still survives. [42]

These rolls commemorated not only the names, but also the pious deeds and benefactions of the deceased. Once again, wills reflected the desire that these attributes should be advertised after death. One of the most thorough examples of this type of concern on the part of a patron is seen in the will of John de Holegh, hozier and benefactor of St Mary-le-Bow, London. The will, dated 1352, orders that he be buried in the chancel of St Mary-le-Bow, in his wife's tomb. A marble stone with brass images of himself and his wife was to be placed over the tomb, with an inscription written around it, asking for prayers for their souls. His will, which was to be kept safe by four honest parishioners, listed several bequests to the church, and its author requested that a copy of it should be written into the missal used at the high altar in that church, for the purchase of which he left 100s. He also left 60s to pay for painting an image of the Virgin in the choir, and for a crown to be placed on her head, and left instructions that all the items in his testament which affected the church of St Mary-le-Bow should be written on a sheet of parchment, and placed on a tablet fixed at the foot of the image of the Virgin. [43]

This emphasis on written lists and accounts as evidence

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of the piety and generosity of the deceased, and used as a means of obtaining prayers for their souls, may be related to biblical accounts of the last judgement. In Revelation (chapter 21, verses 11-15) there is a description of the prophetic vision of the punishment of the pagans, with the observation that "the book of life was opened and other books opened which were the record of what they had done in their lives by which they were judged....and anybody whose name could not be found written in the book of life was thrown into the burning lake."⁴⁴ The desire to be included on obituary rolls, therefore, may be due to a belief by the patrons that they would be judged by the living, as well as by God, on the day of judgement.

The images associated with the anonymity of death were deliberately horrifying: half-eaten corpses, skeletons, and piles of indistinguishable bones featured prominently. Double tombs, in which the living identifiable person was compared with the anonymous skeleton below, and which are first seen in the late 14th century, continued this process.⁴⁵ It was evidently preferable to maintain one's identity after death. Apart from the use of permanent or difficult-to-remove monuments, and the provisions made for post mortem prayer, the dead person might be buried in his or her appropriate apparel, denoting their occupation or rank. Artefacts were also buried with the corpse, or carved on the tomb, giving further clues as to their

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identities. [46]

The use of funerary inscriptions and effigies also helped with the identification process. Aries has shown that the tendency to personalise tombs occurred in ancient Roman times, when every-one, including slaves, had their burial places marked by an inscription. [47] This tendency continued during the early Christian period, but by the 5th century it had gradually died out. As well as inscriptions, sarcophagi were often carved with a portrait of the deceased. These also gradually disappeared as tombs generally became more anonymous. [48] By the 13th century however, inscriptions began to recur, at first in the tombs of the famous, and later more generally. After the inscription, the use of a funeral effigy reappeared, although not initially, as a true portrait. However, by the mid-14th century, realism had taken hold to the extent that death masks were produced and used in funeral effigies. Early examples of such effigies were temporary images, made of wax or wood, and used in the funeral procession. It is possible that these temporary effigies were initially used in cases where there was a long interval between some-one's death and their funeral, so that the actual corpse was too decayed to display. The first funeral effigy is thought to have been that made for the funeral of Edward II, and the circumstances of his death were such that it was fully three months between his murder at Berkeley Castle, and his burial in Gloucester cathedral. The use of a wax or wooden funeral effigy, wearing appropriate regalia, was

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therefore a means of temporary identification of the dead person. The use of permanent, stone effigies was a more lasting means of perpetuating the memory of the dead person, and one which, in order to be effective, required a fixed position as did the tomb itself.

Other funerary elements were also adapted to form permanent parts of the tomb. The carving of heraldic shields which previously had been hung on the tomb or the hearse, has already been mentioned. The hearse itself, which was originally used as a support for candles and heraldic emblems during the funeral, became a permanent feature of the tomb, and was used partly as a continued support, and also as a guard rail around the tomb. Such an arrangement occurs on the later 14th century tomb of Sir John Marmion (d1387) and his wife Elizabeth, at West Tanfield, North Yorkshire.^[48]

Funeral routes and processions, by their nature transitory elements of the funeral, were given lasting importance in the case of Queen Eleanor by the building of the Eleanor Crosses, which marked the route of her cortege. At a less elevated level, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in his will of 4th April, 1369, left extremely elaborate instructions concerning his own funeral procession, which included the leaving of cloths of "red cendall with my arms thereon" at every church where his body rested overnight en route to the chapel of Our Lady at Walsingham.^[50]

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Although there were various means of arranging permanent commemoration in the form of prayers, for these to be rendered more effective the focus of the presence of the benefactor's tomb was necessary (underlined by the abbot of Bristol in his letter to the bishop of Exeter). For prospective tomb patrons, as well as the threat of removal, there was also the anxiety that tombs might be damaged. There was plenty of evidence, from Norman times onwards, that tombs were at risk of being opened, plundered, removed and destroyed. The potential tomb-builder was therefore fully aware of the hazards and risks that might endanger his or her final resting place. Particular types of tomb were more vulnerable than others, and the evidence for this is still plentiful, with the carved sides of altar tombs placed against or built into later masonry, and with the re-use of incised slabs as door- and window- cills and lintels. Brasses were particularly vulnerable, partly due to the ease with which they could be removed, and partly because of their relatively high value.

Ancient tombs were also vulnerable, and barrows were frequently excavated in the 12th century in the hope that the bones they contained would be able to work miracles. Grinsell notes that in c1178 the monks of St Albans dug into their barrows, known as the Hills of the Banners, which were near Redbourne, and found human bones there which they claimed were those of the martyr Amphibalus. He also points out that there were

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various royal authorizations given for opening graves in order to remove treasure. In southern Britain in particular, several royal permits were granted between 1237 and 1680 to seek for treasure. These were usually addressed to local senior officials such as sheriffs, and have survived in several instances.^[104] This open desecration and ransacking of ancient tombs, as well as the regular clearing of graveyards and the use of charnell houses, must have been an added cause of anxiety to those who witnessed it, and another incentive to provide themselves with monuments that were as secure as possible against such intrusion.

Durandus pointed out, as did many others after him, that burial inside the church was an honour accorded only to the most holy or worthy members of the church. For the rest, churchyard burial was the only other available option, and here, burial in a marked grave was also considered to be important. One of the worst punishments a person could be given, and this was generally reserved for the crime of heresy, was to be burned at the stake and the ashes scattered.^[105] This action would, naturally, deny burial in consecrated ground, in an irreversible manner, emphasizing the gravity of the offence. Even convicted murderers, who would be hanged, and buried in unconsecrated ground, might be moved into graveyards at a later date, as might others who were sentenced in this way, including those convicted of not having taken communion once in a year, priests'

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concubines who refused to repent, those killed in tournaments, usurers, the sacriligious, anyone owing tithes, the intestate, suicides, and debtors. ^[100] Any of these groups of people might, some time after their decease, be admitted to the graveyard, especially if they had confessed and had asked for, or received, viaticum. ^[107] Anonymous burial in unconsecrated ground was clearly seen as a severe punishment. Testators, in what was often their last opportunity to make amends for a lifetime of misdemeanours before they died, frequently included instructions in their wills which would have the effect of removing at least some of the risks of excommunication. William de Beauchamp, who made his will in 1269, requested in rather vague terms, quite out of keeping with the rest of his will, that whatever he had unjustly seized in his lifetime should be repaid. ^[108] Another will, that of Thomas Earl of Warwick, a descendant of William de Beauchamp, dated 6th September, 1369, and made just two months before his death, ordered "...payment of my tithes forgotten and not paid....full satisfaction to every man whom I may in any sort ?
wronged...." thereby clearing himself at almost the last minute of charges which might have led to his exclusion from the churchyard, let alone the church where his will shows he intended to be buried: "...new build the choir of the Collegiate Church of Warwick, where I order my body to be buried...." ^[109]

Further evidence of the undesirability of an anonymous burial, whether it be inside the church or in the

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graveyard, can be seen in the wills of penitents, who imposed self-inflicted punishments for the crimes they considered they had committed. One such was Sir Lewis Clifford who was a repentant Lollard, and whose will, dated 17th September 1404, specifically requested burial in an unmarked grave as a self-imposed penance for his heresies. He described himself as "false and a traitor to my Lord God and to all the blessed company of Heaven, and unworthy to be called a Christian man..." and went on to say "...my wretched carrion to be buried in the farthest corner of the churchyard in which parish my wretched soul departeth from my body... and a taper at my head and another at my feet; nor stone nor any other thing whereby any man may know where my stinking carrion lyeth." ¹⁵⁰³

Not only did he request an unmarked grave, but he showed no concern that he should be buried in a parish where he would be known, thereby emphasizing his self-imposed loss of identity. It should be noted, however, that he did not go so far as to exclude himself from consecrated ground.

It can be seen from this that a lack of identity after death, and therefore a loss of the social position held by the deceased during life as well as the loss of the focus of post mortem prayer, were seen as being among the more frightening aspects of death, and that, as a punishment, was only inflicted on those who were judged to be the worst kind of criminal. Early descriptions of hell emphasize not only its physical torments, but also the confusion and the overturning of recognized social

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orders. St Stephanus Grandimontensis, (c1045-1124) described hell as having the fearful characteristics of weeping, and gnashing of teeth, darkness, confusion, despair, war, horror, fear, weakness, the worm, the society of devils, and many other torments.^[51] Later in the 11th century, Peter Damian, in his 59th sermon, perceived hell as a dreadful and pitiless place, filled with affliction, oblivion, sorrow, darkness, storm, malediction, and death, and added, "There is no order but eternal apprehension... confusion of sinners.... the multitude of inextricable chains."^[52] These early writers clearly associated hell with a sense of confusion, and with the loss of security of a recognised social order. By the 14th century this image of hell as a place of dis-order was well established. In The Vision of Piers Ploughman, the hierarchical order of heaven is contrasted with the chaos of hell, and the use of similar contrasting images in homilies and dramas shows that this view of heaven and hell was prevalent and persistent.^[53]

This destructuring of society and the loss of identity brought about by death, which occurred in perpetuity in hell, was expressed in various funerary images. These tended to occur (in) the later 14th century onwards, which period was characterised by a change in attitude towards such images as a result of several factors, including Lollardy.^[54] The legend of The Three Living and the Three Dead, which seems to have originated in France in the 13th century, was interpreted visually in the 14th century by images of three men, usually with royal or

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aristocratic attributes, and often of different ages, shown confronting three skeletons.^[55] The poem on which these paintings were based does not mention the rank of the three living characters, nor does it specify that they met the three dead figures while they were hunting, yet this is the way they are usually represented. It looks as if the painters wanted to contrast the change from identifiable figures at recognised stages of their lives, to the three identical and anonymous skeletons. There was a sculpted relief of this scene on the portal of the church adjoining the Square of the Innocents in Paris, which was the site of a major cemetery.^[56] In the same graveyard, on the south wall of the cloister which was built against the wall of the cemetery, was mural painting of the Dance of Death, or Danse Macabre, dated 1424-5, and the earliest known example of this scene.^[57] Here, and in subsequent examples, a person of clearly described status, sex and age, as evidenced by clothes and accessories, is shown with an anonymous dancing skeleton.

The Paris cemetery had many charnel houses which were used to contain the remains of earlier graves which, for reasons of the shortage of space in the graveyard, were cleared away to make room for new tombs. The sight of large numbers of anonymous bones, removed from their chosen burial plot and piled up in the charnel house, would have served as yet another reminder of the disordering effect of death, the fragility of certain types

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of tomb, and the need for a secure burial place. The use of charnel houses was wide-spread in England: Beverley, Malmesbury, Norwich and Worcester all had them, while at Hereford the existing undercroft below the 13th century lady chapel was taken over for the storage of disinterred bones.^[10] The vulnerability of these outdoor tombs was thus forcefully demonstrated.

If a permanent burial position was a motivating force in the choice of tomb recesses, from the remaining evidence they served their purpose fairly well, tending not to be removed from their original positions, although the tomb-chests they contained did not always benefit from this security. However this means that the positions of the tombs, and often the owner's identity, can usually be established with a reasonable degree of certainty. Various conclusions can be drawn from their positions within the church, which reflect some of the anxieties and remedial actions noted above.

Recesses abound in parish churches, and can also be seen to a lesser extent in monastic churches and cathedrals. In financial terms, monastic houses, despite not having many such tombs, were generally preferred by patrons as objects of benevolence, as testamentary surveys have shown.^[11] The reformation must have caused the destruction of a large proportion of the tombs in monasteries, and should be taken into account when assessing the relative popularity of various types of church for burial.

Bristol and Hereford cathedrals are notable exceptions to this tendency, each having an impressive series of recesses. In the case of St Augustine's Bristol, the recesses were built at the same time as its hall choir, 1298-c1330, and they contain the tombs of abbots of the house, as well as those of the Berkeley family who had been patrons of the abbey since its foundation. It is perhaps due to the prolonged, uninterrupted and generous patronage by this particular family which gave rise to the appearance of so many recesses in a monastic church, since in this case there was little or no competition from other lay patrons, and that family had always been patrons of the abbey. Moreover, as founders of the original monastery, and benefactors of the new choir, their right to burial in the church walls was clear.

The recesses at Hereford were built slightly before those at Bristol, ie c1285-1320.^[70] As at Bristol, these recesses line the choir aisles, as well as the eastern transept and the lady chapel. Here they contain the tombs of earlier bishops of Hereford, as well as those of some of the clerics who actually undertook the remodelling of the eastern arm. The use of recesses in this context, in a foundation of secular canons, and containing the tombs of earlier bishops seems to contradict the view that this tomb-type was one with special significance for lay patrons. However, as for lay burials, the collection of bishops' tombs recesses can be seen to confer on them a

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sense of group identity - rather than being buried with members of their families, the bishops were interred with their spiritual ancestors. More than other types of tomb, the most obvious feature of the recesses (ie that it is part of the church wall), is also the most easily repeated feature, given adequate wall space. Whereas free-standing tombs, notable for a high degree of sculptural carving, would have to rely on skillful repetition of detailed decoration to establish points of similarity, it was sufficient in the case of recesses to repeat the basic structural form.^[71]

The use of the tomb as a focus for post mortem prayer and liturgy was enhanced when the tomb was combined with another feature of the church which had a liturgical function of its own. Burial in the north wall of the chancel, which, as Gough had pointed out, was one of the more favoured positions for founders and benefactors, meant that the tomb could also be used as an Easter Sepulchre during the liturgy of Holy Week.^[72] With the resurrection theme of the dramatic Easter rituals which accompanied those liturgies, the soul of the deceased could be thought to benefit from the close association of tomb and ritual. Moreover, at that time of the year the tomb could become the focus of all the religious activity in the church, and at the most important period in the Church's calendar. At Bredon, Worcestershire, one of the four recesses in the parish church doubles as an Easter Sepulchre and is built in the north chancel wall.^[73] At Southchurch, Essex one of the two early 14th century

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recesses was used as an Easter Sepulchre, while at Lincoln cathedral, the tomb of bishop Remigius (d 1092) is incorporated in a permanent Easter Sepulchre dated c1300.^[74] At Hawton, Nottinghamshire, and at Heckington, Lincolnshire, the Easter Sepulchres and founders' tombs were built side-by-side as part of the same building programmes and were combined in one composition.^[75]

In the parish church at Cherington, Warwickshire, there is a tomb dated c1350, which was designed in such a way as to appear to be of a piece with the earlier nave arcade, but it was in fact added as an eastern extension of the arcade.^[76] This tomb has a piscina built into it on the aisle side. There are other examples of tombs, usually small-scale, and probably designed for heart burials, which are associated with piscinae or other elements with liturgical functions.^[77]

Examples of recesses where heraldic emblems of the deceased were permanently fixed to the tomb, or to some part of the building, are widespread, occurring in most of the tomb recesses discussed here. Clearly it was desirable to remind the congregations continually of the name, arms and status of dead patrons in order to attract post mortem prayer, and no opportunity was ignored when burial positions were selected.

As well as permanently expressing the tomb in the

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interior of the church by making it integral with the wall, some tombs were made even more secure by causing permanent external changes to the building. There are many examples of parish churches where recesses inside the building were expressed externally by projections, or particular treatment concentrated on the exterior of the wall associated with the recess. At Welwick in East Yorkshire, an external niche set against a panel carved with diaper pattern and evangelist symbols marks the position of the tomb in the south nave aisle. Further south and west, the recess at Barnby Don is marked externally by a buttress with a niche cut in it, and small figures and ball-flower carved on the base and canopy of the buttress. Some of the externally-projecting buttress^h were probably built out of structural necessity, since the church walls were not adequately thick to accommodate the deeper tomb recesses. Examples of this kind of external expression of the recess occur at Kirklington and Middleton Tyas, both in North Yorkshire.^[78]

Some of the concerns which, it has been argued, led patrons to choose burial in recesses, were also influential in another aspect of tomb design: the preference for burial in close proximity to a saint's shrine, and in some cases, the desire for stylistic and iconographical parallels between a tomb and shrine. Durandus observed that burial within a church was reserved only for those who were worthy of that honour. This view was adapted in the 14th century to imply that

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burial inside a church building, and in close proximity to a shrine, would not only infer a high degree of sanctity upon the tomb patron, but would also attract much-valued post-mortem prayer.^[75] This strand of tomb setting and design gained in popularity from the mid-13th century onwards in England, and on mainland Europe.

Westminster abbey was again instrumental in demonstrating and popularising this approach. In 1269, under Henry III, a new shrine was completed for the royal saint, Edmund the Confessor, while work was continuing on the re-development and re-presentation of the church as a royal mausoleum. Henry died in 1272, and was buried temporarily on the site which had previously been occupied by the tomb of St Edmund, before being moved, in 1291, to the tomb which his son Edward I had prepared for him, which was placed next to the shrine and which resembled it closely in overall design and detailed decoration.^[80]

The association of tombs and shrines had, in a sense, always been close, since early shrines were built over the saints' tombs, and later shrines were designed to contain the bodies or relics of saints. The transfer of motifs between tombs and shrines was a persistent feature. Later 13th century shrines were very similar in some respects to earlier tombs, and some shrine types occurred almost unchanged throughout the 14th century.^[81]

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A small group of tombs, described in the following chapters, seem to have been carried out by a number of sculptors who were also responsible for at least three of the shrines produced in the northern province in 1330s-1340s. One of the tombs, that at Cartmel, has a number of shrine-like motifs in its design. The anxieties felt by patrons, in this case Sir John Harrington and his wife Joan, as to the health of their souls, and the routes by which they sought to ease the path to heaven, would surely have been greatly allayed by their association with the shrine-like tomb at Cartmel.

Notes

1. Dickinson (1985), p115.

2. Dixon and Raine (1863), p396; Gee (1984), pp343-4.

3. Rites of Durham, pp16-17.

*Consistency
needed.*

4. Kempe (1980), p34: "the effect [of the wall canopy] is like that of one side of a free-standing monument, of which it is, of course, a cheaper version."

5. Gough (1901), vol I, p.lxxxviii: "it appears to me that there is probably good authority for referring to those monuments whose situation is within the substance of the walls of churches or chancels makes it highly probable that they were coeval in them, to be those of founders or refounders of the several churches or parts of churches where they are found." Ibid, p lxxxix: "Where such monuments appear in the walls of chancels, and have in them a religious instead of a lay figure, we may presume that some rector was the builder or rebuilder of the chancel....it is not uncommon, when chapels were built for the sole use of a particular family, or successive lords of the manor, to find the original founder or benefactor inclosed within their walls."

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6. Rosenthal (1972), p50. In assessing the number of chantry grants made, the author notes that the Berkeleys were among the top four most generous benefactors.

7. TE I, p41.

8. Gardner (1992), pp37-9, 86.

9. The following are examples of churches where tomb patrons also built an aisle or chapel - Staindrop (co Durham), Brigham (Cumbria), Burton Agnes (East Yorkshire).

10. Tewkesbury Abbey was one of the few churches where the Westminster Abbey east end plan and arrangement of tombs was followed closely. Morris (1974a), pp142-55, suggests that the aspirations of the patrons, the Despencer family, seems to have been to establish themselves as foremost members of the aristocracy. They therefore required a monastic church for their tombs, and one with a plan which strongly recalled that of the east end of Westminster Abbey. They also chose free-standing tombs which were placed around the choir, under the arcade, like the royal tombs at Westminster.

11. Wills often gave very specific instructions as to the position of the testator's tomb. Lady Joan Cobham (d 2nd October 1369), who made her will on 13 August of the same year, ordered that she was to be buried "in the churchyard of St Mary Overhere, in Southwark, before the

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church door, where the image of the blessed Virgin sitteth high over that door...." -Nicolas (1826), p81). John earl of Pembroke (d 16th April 1376) whose will is dated 5th May, 1372, wrote "My body to be buried in the church of St Paul's London, where a tomb is to be made for me near the wall on the north side..... - Ibid, pp87-

8. The will of Thomas Tanner, dated 2nd March, 1401:

"...my body to be buried in the church of St Cuthbert Wells, in the chapel of the Blessed Mary there, under the south window in a tomb to be made anew there in a certain arch for burying my body and that of Isabella my wife." - Weaver (1901), pp6-9. Another example is the will of Richard lord Poynings, dated 10th June, 1387, who died shortly afterwards: "My body to be buried in the parish church at Poynings, on the right hand side of the tomb of my brother Thomas lord Poynings....." - Nicolas (1826), pp122-3.

12. Durandus, De Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, vol I, p77.

13. Ibid, pp17-18

14. Gardner (1992), p51.

15. Ibid, p53.

16. See bibliography, printed primary sources.

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17. For example at Winchelsea, Aldworth, St Augustine's Bristol, Burrough Green (Cambs); and at Catterick, Kirklington, Easby abbey, Hazlewood castle chapel, and Sherburn in Elmet (North and West Yorkshire), among others.

18. Brown (1981), p239 - it was believed in this period that the use of several tombs could result in the multiplication of prayers offered for the deceased's soul, smoothing and hastening the path to heaven.

19. Ibid, p237.

20. Nicolas (1826), pp 129-34.

21. Quoted in Wood (1955), p131. She goes on to emphasise that for a family to be buried in one place was an expression of solidarity, and the knowledge that the monastery had care of their ancestors' souls, as well as their physical remains, would incline the living patrons to more generous endowments.

There are numerous examples of this kind of concern for family members to be buried together, as shown by entries in bishops' registers. Dixon and Raine (1863) cite several instances, including, p 460, permission granted by Archbishop John Thoresby to Sir Robert de Hilton in 1358, to move the bodies of his daughters, Matilda and Margery, who had been dead for some time, from their burial position in "the lower part of the

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porch of aisle of the Holy Trinity" in the church of Swine, "to a higher place, where Sir Robert intends to be buried with others of his kin." The Archbishop gave similar licence, in 1372, to Isabel de Fauconberg, widow of Sir Walter de Fauconberg, to remove his body from its position before an image of the Holy Cross in Guisborough priory church, "to that part of the church [unspecified] where his ancestors are interred " - ibid, p464.

22. Smyth (1883-5), folio 418.

23. Salzman (1920), p130.

24. Gee (1979), p38.

25. Salzman (1920), p134.

26. Dickinson (1980), p17.

27. Idem (1945), p65 - Normally the parish altar would have been placed in the nave of the church, against the west side of the choir screen, but because the first parish altar was set in the south choir aisle, due to shortage of money, the new altar was maintained on the same site.

28. Raine (1834), p15.

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29. See chapters 2, 4 and 5 for details of Catterick church and its patrons.

30. The Vision of Piers Plowman (a), passus III, lines 38-72. The edition used is The Vision of Piers Ploughman (b) pp46-7.

31. The Vision of Piers Plowman (b), p9.

32. Aston (1984), p138.

33. Colvin (1991), p51 considers the tendency to incorporate a tomb physically with the church building to have been closely related to the increasing influence of popular piety and the use of chantry chapels. Archbishop Zouche (1342-52) is an example of a tomb patron requiring a chantry chapel which was physically dependant on the church fabric, and with the tomb asociated with the chapel. He began to build a chantry in York Minster in 1350, which, as he specified in his will, was to be "contiguous" to the south choir wall, and he intended to be buried there (although he was actually buried in the nave before the chantry's completion) - Dixon and Raine (1863), pp 447-8.

34. Anderson (1971), p73.

35. Kermode (1982), p23 discusses the evidence of medieval wills as examples of the insecurity felt by testators, which they could only appease by means of the

provision of post-mortem prayer. She observes that the Church encouraged the process, since it benefitted financially from it, and taught that the value of post-mortem prayer, Masses and offerings was directly related to the spiritual comfort which would be received by the soul of the deceased. Burgess (1987), p 191 makes a similar point.

The will of William Beauchamp dated 1268, ordered "a priest to sing daily in my Chapel...." thereby identifying the patron with a particular part of the building, and commemorating that association by daily prayer - Nicolas (1826), pp50-51. Some wills specified that property should be divided in such a way that a proportion should go for the benefit of the testator. The 1387 will of Robert Corn, who was a citizen of London, is one example of this: "...I bequeath my goods in two parts, that is for [to] say, half to me and the other half to Watkyn my son, and to Kateryne my daughter....I will that my debts be paid in all places that rightful is....And also what goods are left toward me, I will that it be do of masses and of alsmes-deeds..." -Furnival (1882), p1.

36. Finucane (1981), p45.

37. Rowell (1977), p121 n33. He speculates that this might be the origin of tertiaries.

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38. See Appendix I for a summary of the will.

39. Clay (1971), p107; RCHMss (1928) I, p172.

40. Smyth (1883-5), folio 117.

41. Ibid, folio 105.

42. Rites of Durham, pp14-15, describes the Liber Vitae, (now in the British Library, Ms Cotton Domitian VII) in which there is a list of benefactors, beginning in the 9th century and ending in the 16th occurs. The Rites records, under the heading of "The Quire-Book of Benefactors, Relics, etc", that "There ddid lye on the high altar an excellent fine booke verye richly covered with gold and silver conteining the names of all the benefactors towards St Cuthbert's church from the first originall foundation thereof, the verye letters for the most part being all gilded as is apparent in the said booke to this day. The laying [of] that booke on the high altar did show how highly they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the dayly and quotidian remembrance they had of them in the time of masse and divine service did argue not onely their gratitude, but also a most divine and charitable affection affection to the soules of their benefactors as well dead as livinge, which booke is as yet declaringe the sd use in the description thereof."

The Rites go on to describe a second book, chapter X,

p16: "There is also another famous book, as yett
containing the reliques, Jewellls ornaments and
vestments that were given to the church by all those
founders for the further adorning of God's service whose
names were of record in the said booke that dyd lye uppon
the high altar, as also they are recorded in this booke
of the aforesaid reliques and Jewells to the everlastinge
praise and memorye of the givers and benefactors
thereof."

43. Sharpe (1889-90), pp656-9.

44. Brandon (1967), pp129-30 observes that the 13th
century hymn, the "Dies Irae", which was recited at
masses for the dead, and on All Souls' day, refers to the
book in which deeds have been recorded, and by which
everyone is judged. He also quotes a passage from the
morality play, The Summoning of Everyman, showing that
this idea of producing a list of evidence at death,
weighing for or against the soul, had spread to other
areas of church ritual. Towards the end of the play,
death suddenly appears to man and tells him

"On thee thou must take a long journee,
Therefore thy book of count with thee bring,
For turn again thou cannot by no way.
And look thou be sure of thy reckoning,
For before God thou shalt answer, and show
Thy many bad deeds, and good but a few;
How thou hast spent thy life, and in what wise,
Before the chief Lord of Paradise."

45. The late 14th century tomb of cardinal Jean de la
Grange in Avignon, in the church of St Martial, is one of

the earliest of this type - Morganstern (1973), pp52-69. Tenenti (1952) discusses the deliberately horrifying imagery of death and dying as it was portrayed during the 15th century, showing that this was a persistent theme in tomb sculpture, wall paintings and manuscript illumination.

In the same way that earlier tombs were contrived to continue the relationships between the living and the dead, the use of transi-tombs served a similar purpose, although now the aim was to instruct and warn the living. Cohen (1973), pp3-4 lists several factors which she believes combined to produce the transi-tomb. These factors included the influence of monastic writings, contemporary memento mori imagery, such as images of the Three Living and the Three Dead, the Black Death, and contemporary funerary customs, among others.

46. Finucane (1981), p44 and n12 - Bishop Aquablanca of Hereford (d1268) was buried with full regalia, and had a chalice of wine buried with him which stained the shoulder of his vestment.

47. Aries (1974), pp47-8.

48. An effigy is recorded as having been set up with the monument of Charlemagne. His secretary, the monastic scholar Einhard wrote in his Life of Charlemagne that the emperor "could be buried in no more fitting a place

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than in the church which he had built at his own cost at Aachen....So he was buried there on the same day that he died. Above his tomb was erected a gilde monument, with his effigy and title on it." (Einhard's Life of Charlemagne, chapter 31, quoted in Cantor (1968), p151.

49. McCall (1908-9), p98.

50. The will of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, who died 5th April 1369, ie the day after he had made the will, states "My body to be buried in the Chapel at Walsyngham, before the image of the Blessed Virgin, and thither to be carried with all speed, having one taper at the head and another at the feet where it rests the first night. Also I will that a dirige shall be said, and in the morning a mass, whereat a noble shall be offered for my soul; That two torches be carried along, one on one side, and the other on the other side, which are to be lighted at passing through every town, and then given to that Church wherein it shall rest the night. Likewise I will that the chariot in which it shall be carried shall be covered with red cendall, with the lion of my arms thereon, and my helmet at the head; and to every Church wherein it may rest all night the like cloth of cendall with my arms thereon to be left. Also, I will that every morning there shall be given to the poor of that place as much dole as my executors shall think fit, and that on the day of my funeral no other cover be laid on my body than that of red cendall, with the lion of my arms, with my helmet, and also a taper at the head and another at the feet, and

on each side a torch...." - Nicolas (1826), pp76-7.

51. Examples of this are described in Gough (1901), p189.

52. Greenhill (1976), p16, cites the example of the brass of Anselm bishop of Laon (d1238). Translated, the inscription on his tomb reads "Here lies Anselm, by birth a Breceney [or Bercenay] once bishop of Laon, who died on the third day before the nones of September [ie 3rd September], in the year 1238; but owing to pressing need, Henri, abbot of this house, on 12th November 1448, sold the brass tomb which the aforesaid had erected, from the proceeds of which he had this tomb nobly cut in stone and restored this church, which was then for a great part ruinous, setting it in good order again as far as possible. Pray for them."

Greenhill also gives a long list of examples of churches where incised stones have been moved and reused in later building work. Nor were they necessarily reused in church building, but some were incorporated into secular projects. The activities of the friars are also commented on by Greenhill, who observes that in The Creed of Piers Ploughman, the writer accuses the friars in particular of making frequent alterations to their church floors where these slabs were usually placed, saying

"And in beldyng of toubmes
Thei travailleth grete,
To chargen [fill?] her Chirche flore,
And chaungen it ofte."

(The Creed of Piers Ploughman, lines 501-2).

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Nocken (1988), p 90, argues that although the Creed develops some of the ideas found in the Vision of Piers Ploughman, it was written later, some time in the 1390s, and probably after 1394, by a Wycliffite who had read, or had knowledge of the Vision.

53. Grinsell (1975), p108. He also cites the case at Ludlow, where in 1199 a barrow was opened, the bones of three humans found and removed, and claimed to be those of Irish saints. Tombs in cemeteries were even less secure. An example of the lack of regulation over churchyard burials occurred in 1391, at Abingdon, in the diocese of Salisbury, and is recorded in a papal letter - CPL IV, p371: the monks of Abingdon, objecting to rowdy parishioners attending funerals in their church, refused to bury a body for three days and nights. Moreover, in the course of this dispute, the churchyard gates were insecurely locked, so that a herd of pigs was able to invade the cemetery, and dug up a number of corpses. As well as expressing his displeasure over this incident, the pope also complained that the monks had, without the consent of friends and executors, removed and sold several tombstones.

54. Ibid, p109 - Cornwall and the Isle of Wight (1237), and Devon (1324). Other closely related documents which have been published concern barrows near Dunstable (1290), Upway, Dorset (1621), Cocklow, Staffs, (1680).

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55. Finucane (1981) p60. Even in the 20th century, those convicted of certain crimes were still denied identification after death. On 8th July 1993, it was reported in The Guardian newspaper that a High Court had ruled that Derek Bentley should not have been hanged for murder in 1953. The reporter noted that Derek Bentley's sister had been permitted to have his body exhumed from Wandsworth prison, and re-buried in Croydon cemetery in 1968, but that the grave remained unmarked by law.

56. Finucane (1981), p56.

57. Ibid, p49.

58. Mason (1978), p70. William de Beauchamp allowed a flat rate donation to almost every religious house in the area, although he had terrorized the area during his life-time, but these gifts of 1 mark were not generous. Only three houses were singled out for larger payments, and they were those in which he had a special interest: the nunnery at Cookhill where his wife was buried; the Franciscan friary in Worcester where he hoped to be buried; Worcester cathedral priory which had suffered particular hardship due to his previous activities, and which could have attracted sympathy from others had he not tried to compensate the house.

59. Nicolas (1826), pp79-80. This will, and that cited above in n58, in requesting that unfulfilled obligations or debts should be honoured, were typical of 14th century

wills, where such instructions were common-place and became formulaic, reflecting a wide-spread and widely-recognised anxiety.

60. Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Register of Wills, Marche, f 7, cited in Rickert (1948), pp402-3. McFarlane (1972), pp145ff, discusses Sir Lewis Clifford and his circle in the context of Lollardy.

61. Mew (1903), p217.

62. Ibid, p225.

63. Heaven is shown to have a clear structure in the poem: "And Christ Himself, the King of Kings, knighted ten Orders of angels: Cherubim and Seraphim and seven like them, and one other order, the Order of Lucifer...." - The Vision of Piers Plowman (a), passus I, lines 105-111. By contrast, hell has no such order within it: "But Lucifer [though he too, like the others had received teaching in heaven], broke the vow of obedience, lost his happiness, and in the likeness of a fiend, fell down from the angelic company into a deep, dark hell where he must abide for ever....And they fell in the form of devils, for nine days together, till God in His mercy stopped their fall, causing the spaces of chaos to close and cohere, and bringing them to rest" - ibid, passus I, lines 111-121. The 12th century homily, "The Soul's Ward", printed in Morris (1868), describes a sharper

contrast. Describing hell, pp250-2: "Hell is wide without measure and deep and bottomless....The darkness therein is so thick one may grasp it....and this same wanhope [despair] is their greatest torment...hell, death's house...." On heaven, pp258-60, "Nine hosts there are [of angels], but how they are ordered and severally placed, one above the other, and each one's duties, would be too long to tell...."

Morality plays show the same contrast between the order and hierarchy of heaven, and the confusion of hell. Neuss (1984), pp189-99, constructs the probable layout of the stage or arena where this would have been performed. She suggests that there were elaborate structures of heaven and hell, and that the former probably had three levels, with God's throne at the top, and three orders of angels below, (p191). Hell on the other hand seems to have had only two levels: the "pytt" below, and the "clowster" [cloisters] or "Lymbo" above. Hell is referred to as "the kitchen", and was probably equipped with a large cooking pot into which souls would be thrown. Again therefore, compared with heaven, hell is a disorganised melting-pot.

Dante's version of hell showed a clear structure, with separate levels, which were themselves subdivided, according to the type and gravity of the sins of the damned. In contrast to this, the actual sinners were described in such a way that their sufferings were made worse by their loss of identity. In The Divine Comedy, the Inferno, Canto III, lines 1-3, Dante described "the

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city of weeping....., eternal pain....., the lost people..."; and later,

"A jumble of languages, deformities of speech,
Words which were pain, with intonations of anger,
Voices which were deep and hoarse, hands clapped
together,

"Made altogether a tumult, round and round,
Unceasingly in that air in which all was colourless,
Just as it might be in a perpetual sandstorm."

Ibid, Canto III, lines 27-32.

64. Cohen (1973), pp3-4.

65. Storck (1912), pp249ff and 314ff; Williams (1942), pp31-40. Both writers provide lists of examples in England, some of which are now destroyed.

66. Clark (1950), p23.

67. Williams (1937), p230 - the mural painting was destroyed in 1529, and is known only from woodcuts published in 1485, which are not regarded as being completely accurate.

68. Morris (1979b), p160.

69. Rosenthal (1972), p32, shows that in 1307-27 chantry grants to secular canons amounted to 53% of all chantry grants, while regulars received only 35%, and cathedrals a mere 5%. In 1327-48, the figures for secular canons and regulars had widened further, at 54% and 29%

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respectively. In the period 1348-77, the situation had evened out somewhat, with the proportions 43% and 31%; in 1377-99, 36% and 32%; 1399-1422, 52% and 19%. Chantry foundations exemplified the same sort of personally-orientated religion as did the concern for burial, tombs and post mortem prayer. So, for this aspect of private or familial devotion, the direction of chantry grants shows a turning-away from monastic establishments, and a definite avoidance of cathedrals, which received a maximum of only 18% of all chantry grants in any of the periods mentioned above.

70. Morris (1974b), pp21-39.

71. Even at Winchelsea, while the five Alard tombs vary in design, because all are recesses, they appear as a coherent group, although each tomb retains its own identity.

72. Anderson (1971), p158.

73. B/E, Worcestershire (1968), pp96-8.

74. B/E Essex (1954), pp320-1; B/E Lincolnshire, (1964), p114.

75. B/E Nottinghamshire (1951) pp79-80. B/E Lincolnshire, pp566-9.

76. B/E Warwickshire (1966), pp229-30.

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77. An example dated c 1300 is set in the south chapel at Long Wittenham, Berkshire: a knight's effigy is carved in front of a piscina basin - Tummers (1980) pp32-3, and plates 50-51.

78. These Yorkshire churches will be discussed in the following chapters.

79. Colvin (1991), pp123-4.

80. P Tudor-Craig in Wilson (1986), p119.

81. Crook (1990) p50 cites the tombs of Walter de Grey (d 1255) in York Minster, and of Giles de Bridport (d 1262) in Salisbury cathedral, and shows similarities with the later shrines of Thomas de Cantilupe in Hereford cathedral (1287) and of St Frideswide (1289) in Oxford. Maddison (1984), p13 shows that the influence of the Bridport tomb persisted until the 1340s, comparing it with the shrine of St Werbergh in Chester cathedral. Both the tomb and shrine have open-traceried windows with gables, and in both cases the mouldings contain trailing foliage. The author also finds similarities between the small figure reliefs in the spandrels of Bridport's tomb, and the statuettes of kings and saints which are set on the buttresses of the shrine.

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Most of the effigies which can be associated with tomb recesses are found in the diocese of York, since it is this part of the northern province which is most densely populated with such monuments, and for which documentation is most readily available to substantiate the identities of a number of their patrons. One reason for the relatively large number of surviving effigies in Yorkshire is that they were further removed from the battles with the Scots which raged continually in the border counties in the first half of the fourteenth century than were those in the dioceses of Durham, Carlisle and Northumberland.^[1] Even so, there are records which show that several Yorkshire towns and villages suffered as a result of Scottish raids and English defeats.^[2]

The building work at St Mary's Abbey, York (1271-95), and at York Minster (1291-1338), and of the schools of masons associated with these works, seems to have led to a good deal of small- and large-scale building projects in the surrounding areas. Slightly later, but no less influential was the work at Beverley Minster c1311-34, and on the Percy tomb, dated c1340 by its heraldry.^[3] This tomb is arguably the most important piece of monumental architecture in the area in the first half of the fourteenth century. Such is its stature that it has been discussed at length, especially by recent authors, as have the masons and other works associated with the

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tomb. For this reason it will be discussed here only insofar as it relates to tomb recesses and the effigies associated with them. The figure-styles of these groups of sculptors are reflected in some of the effigies to be discussed, although few can be directly attributed to any individual sculptor. The style of the recesses which contained these effigies also shows an awareness of the building work at York and Beverley. In the following chapter these will be dated and an attempt will be made to sort them into groups.

The dating of these monuments is difficult to establish with absolute certainty. However, in some cases, if the identity of the tomb patron can be found by means of documentation (such as a will, or a contemporary record regarding building work in the church), then the date of the monument can be set fairly accurately. In other cases, coats of arms on the effigy and/or the tomb give the family name, and if they are differenced, or combined with other coats, the particular individual commemorated can be worked out. Again, this means that the date of the effigy can be established with some accuracy.

Occasionally, other forms of documentation give the probable identities of the tomb patrons, and therefore the rough date of the tombs. chantry foundations gave rise to various types of document, some of which stipulated the founders by name as the main focus of the prayers which were to be offered. [4] When these chantries

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were founded in perpetuity, they were usually provided with an altar and the necessary furnishings, such as a piscina. Where a tomb-recess is found adjacent to such a chapel area, and particularly when it appears to be part of the same building programme, it has been assumed that the identity of the chantry-founder and that of any effigy the recess might contain are one and the same. In the case of the parish church of St Mary, Scarborough, three licences to alienate property in mortmain were granted on the same day, at a time when building-work was apparently taking place in the south aisle of the church, where the three recesses were built. [1] Although the Scarborough recesses contain no effigies or inscribed slabs, it has been assumed that the three chantry founders were buried in the three recesses in the south aisle chapels.

In just a few instances, there are contemporary inscriptions on the slabs contained in the recesses, and where it seems likely, from the visible evidence, that the slab was intended for the recess, this gives a certain identification of the tomb patron, and sometimes the date of decease also, thereby providing an approximate date for the tomb and any effigy it might contain.

Among the York Province monuments, of which there are about 120 of the recess type, some 40 can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty. The following is a list of these latter examples, with the identities of the

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patrons, and the evidence for these conclusions. This list is necessarily brief, and detailed evidence for attribution and identification will be included later in this and the following chapters. The framework established by the known identities and dates of effigies will be used to establish a chronology, into which some lesser-known examples can be fitted. Some of the recesses in the list below contain no effigies, and of these a few are so unremarkable visually that they will not be discussed in this chapter, but have merely been included in order to provide an accurate idea of the numbers and locations of those recesses whose patrons can be identified. [5]

Aldborough (East Yorkshire) - Maud, widow of John de Meaux, d after 1377. (Plates 1-2)

consisting
pp 19,
171

The tomb is set in an opening between the chancel and the north chancel chapel. Maud, widow of Sir John de Meaux, whose effigy lies on a free-standing tomb-chest in the middle of the north chapel, is mentioned in his will of 1377. In this will, Sir John de Meaux requested burial in the aisle of St Mary in Aldborough church, so it is likely that his widow made the arrangements for this. [7]

On the knight's tomb-chest there are shields of arms (azure), six griffins volant, 3,2,1, (or), which have been identified as the arms of Meaux. [8] Moreover, both the knight and the lady effigies have three griffins carved on their breasts, and can thus be firmly identified as members of that family.

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Amotherby William de Borresden d 1329 or later.
(Plates 3-4)

The north chancel recess has an incised slab in it, with the inscription "Ici gist Willelm de Bor(d)esden priez pur la ame." Both the recess and the slab appear contemporary, but the church has been greatly restored, and very little of the medieval structure remains. The recess opposite, for instance, looks modern, though it contains an impressive medieval effigy, of which the shield has the arms of Borresden (Barry and three boars', or bears', heads). It appears that the north recess and its slab were reused in the later structure.^[10]

Bainton Edmund de Mauley (d 1314 at the battle of Bannockburn)^[11]
(Plates 5-11)

The south nave aisle recess contains an effigy of a knight, carrying the arms of Edmund de Mauley, (or) a bend (sable) differenced by three wyverns (argent) on the bend.^[12] The same arms occur on a shield over the tomb canopy, as well as two other shields, one bearing the older, Poitevin, arms of the family (a sleeve), the other with the later arms of Peter V de Mauley, (or) a bend (sable) differenced by a label of five points.^[13] This particular combination of shields suggests that Peter V de Mauley was involved in the building of the recess, but that the person commemorated was Edmund de Mauley. A wyvern, similar to the three on the knight's shield, is carved alongside the effigy, biting the tip of the shield. (cf Aldborough where three of the six griffins in the coat of arms are carved on the breasts of Sir John de

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Meaux, and his wife).

Barnard Castle (co Durham)

Robert de Mortham, d after
1347-8. (Plate 12)

Robert de Mortham was vicar of Gainford, and the slab contained by the westerly of the two recesses now in the north transept carries an effigy of a priest and the inscription "Orate pro a[n]i[m]a : Roberti de Morth'm q[uo]ndam vicarii de Gaynford." Barnard Castle was a chapelry of Gainford at this time.^[13] The two recesses have been moved from their original location in the south transept, where Robert de Mortham founded a chantry in 1339, to their present position.^[14]

Bedale

Brian de Thornhill (rector of Bedale) d c1344.
(Plates 21-7)

He founded a chantry dedicated to St George in the church, in 1342. He had licence to grant land in Bedale to a chaplain to pray for his soul and the souls of his ancestors, which may have included his step-mother, Maud, who was the sister of Brian Fitz Alan.^[15] The Fitz Alans were lords of Bedale, and Brian Fitz Alan founded the other chantry in the church, in 1290. The Fitz Alan chantry appears to have been in the south nave aisle, which was rebuilt in the late 13th century, while the Thornhill chantry is presumed to have been in the north chapel, where the tomb-recess and its effigy are, which looks as if it was rebuilt c1340.^[16]

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Beverley Minster Lady Eleanor Percy, d1328.
(Plates 40-51)

Much has been written regarding the possible date of the tomb and the identity of its owner. Originally it had a brass set into its tomb-chest. However this is now lost, and only the matrix now remains. An obit was arranged for Lady Eleanor Percy by her executors to be performed in Beverley Minster, in 1336.^[17] However it is the heraldry on the tomb which gives the clearest indication of its date and the identity of its owner.^[18] The quartering of the royal arms of England and France ancient in the tomb's canopy indicates a date not before 1340 for this part of the tomb, and therefore the identity of Lady Eleanor as the deceased is most likely.^[19]

Birkin Sir John de Everingham, d c1328.
(Plates 60-2)

He founded a chantry in the church in 1329.^[20] This chantry must have been in the south aisle of the church (there is no north aisle), where there is a piscina, and which aisle has been dated c1330.^[21] The tomb recess, with its effigy, is at the east end of the north nave wall, opposite the piscina. The effigy has been convincingly-placed stylistically with a group of effigies dating c1320-1330.^[22] The 17th century historian Roger Dodsworth, who visited the church in 1622, noted the presence of stained glass in the south aisle which had the inscription "Orate pro animabus....Everingham, militis, et Alicie, uxoris ejus".^[23] Alicia is described as holding various Yorkshire estates in 1316, though not the manor of Birkin

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transfer the body of his wife to the new aisle which that knight had built.^[31] The inquisition post mortem for Sir Roger is dated 10 Edw III (1337), and shows that at the time of his death, he still held the advowson of this chantry.^[32]

Butterwick Sir Robert fitz Ralph, Lord Grimthorpe and Greystock, d1317. (Plates 81-5)

A knight's effigy was found during a restoration of the church in 1882, and at the time, faint traces of his arms were visible on his shield. These were identified as Grimthorpe - Barry (argent and azure) three chaplets of roses (gules).^[33]

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ralph Nevill of Scotton (Lincs), and died in 1317, his widow surviving him for nearly 30 years.^[34] Her will of 1346 is known, in which she asked to be buried in the church of Butterwick.^[35]

It will be argued below that the knight's effigy was made by a Lincolnshire workshop, and this again would suggest that the identity is correct, and that the widow, a Lincolnshire woman, had the effigy made after her husband' death.^[36]

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Cartmel, Priory Church Sir John de Harrington, d
c1347, and his wife Joan (nee
Dacre) (Plates 87-8; 89-99;
101-9; 112-7)

The tomb will be discussed in detail in chapter 3, so it suffices to note that there are references to both the Harrington and Dacre families in the shields of arms painted on the tester of the tomb, with the chief device of each coat incorporated in the carved decoration of the monument - a fretty device for Harrington, and scallop shells for Dacre. [37]

Catterick a) Sir Walter de Urswick, d c1390 (south
aisle recess (Plates 118-22)
b) Members of the de Burgh family (north
aisle recesses) (Plates 123-5)

Incorporated in the hood mould of the south nave aisle recess are three shields of arms: a)Urswick b)Scrope of Masham c)Urswick impaling Scrope of Masham. [38] These arms suggest that an Urswick married a member of the family of Scrope of Masham but no evidence for this has been found. There is a connection between the two families in the positions they occupied during their life-times. The post of Constable of Richmond Castle was granted to William Lescrope on the death of Walter de Urswick. [39] Moreover, during the Scrope-Grosvenor controversy, Walter de Urswick was a witness, on behalf of the Scrope family. [40]

The building contract for Catterick church, dated 1412, still remains. This was made between Katherine de Burgh

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widow of John de Burgh (d1412) and his son William de Burgh (d1442) on one part, and Richard de Cracall, mason, on the other.^[41] On the back of the contract is a list of members of the Burgh family who died in the 15th and 16th centuries, and this gives their burial places within the church. This shows that three members of the family, John (d1412), William (d1442), and William (d1462) were all buried in the chapel of Our Lady which was in the north aisle at Catterick, and that the latter two individuals were buried in the same tomb.^[42] Although the pair of north aisle recesses are not mentioned in the contract, it is likely that they were built as part of the 1412 building programme, one to accommodate John de Burgh who had died just three months before the contract was drawn up, and the other for future use by the family.^[43]

Darrington Sir Warin de Scargill, d c1327, and his wife Clara, nee Stapleton (Plates 137-43)

The main estates of the Scargill family were in the north of the county until Sir Warin's marriage to the heiress, Clara de Stapleton, who brought extensive property in West Yorkshire, including Darrington, to her husband's family.^[44] The knight's effigy in the north chancel recess carries a shield with the arms (ermine) a saltire, which was the device of the Scargill family.^[45]

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its dramatic ogee form and cusping which is associated with Thomas de Etton, d c1348. Two shields of arms are set in the wall on either side of the south aisle recess bearing the arms of Etton - Barry (argent and gules) a quarter (sable) with a cross paty (or) within.^[11]

Goldsborough Sir Richard de Goldsborough, d 1333.
(Plates 164-74)

This effigy, in the north chancel recess has been described and identified by several writers.^[22] A second effigy, which lies opposite the north chancel recess, against the south chancel wall, carries the Goldsborough arms, and is earlier in appearance.^[33]

Goldsborough hall was beside the church, Goldsboroughs were rectors during the 14th century, and Goldsboroughs had the right of presentation to the church.^[44]

Harpham William de St Quintin, d1349, and his wife Joan, d c1382. (Plates 179-83)

Their identities, and the dates of their deaths are known from the inscription on the incised alabaster slab contained by the recess, which is cut in the wall between the chancel and the north chancel chapel. The inscription reads "Orate pro a[n]i[m]a d[omi]ni Will[el]mi de Sancto Quintino qui obiit an[n]o d[omi]ni Milio trecentesimo quadragesimo nono; et pro a[n]i[m]a d[omi]ne...uxor eius que obiit anno d[omi]ni millo ccc octogesimo ii...[break in the inscription]...cotidie celebrat[?] Missa Marie." Because Joan survived her husband for so long, continuing an active patronage of the church during her widowhood,

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it is likely that she had the monument made for her husband and herself shortly before her own death.

Hazlewood, castle chapel Sir William first lord
Vavasour, d1311 and Sir Walter second lord
Vavasour, d c1313-15 (Plates 191-204)

Sir William Vavasour built the chapel of St Leonard at Hazlewood castle and in his will of 1311 he requested burial "in the new chapel of St Leonard of Heselwood..."^[100] His son and heir, Walter, seems to have died shortly after his father, c1313-15, since he is mentioned as his father's heir in the inquisition post mortem for Sir William Vavasour, dated 1313, but he must have been dead by 1315 when his widow remarried.^[101]

Because the two effigies are similar in appearance (see later for descriptions), they are likely to be of these two lords Vavasour who died within such a short interval. Both effigies carry shields with the arms of Vavasour - (or) a fess dancetty (sable).^[102]

The two recesses, each with an ogee arch, look several years later than the effigies.^[103] Moreover, the effigy in the east recess is slightly too large for its present position, and the left hand pinnacle has been cut away to accommodate it. The effigies have evidently been moved around during their lifetimes, having been seen outside the recesses, in the chancel, in the 17th century, and it may be that each was originally intended for the other's recess.^[104] It may be that during the various re-

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positioning of the effigies at Hazlewood, the effigies were swapped around when they were eventually replaced in the recesses. Indeed, the west recess is some 8" wider than the east recess. The effigy now in the east recess would probably have fitted the west recess without necessitating damage to the sides of the tomb, whereas the other effigy is slightly shorter and could have been accommodated in the east recess.

It will be argued later that the recesses are 30-40 years later in date than the effigies, and it may be that Sir Henry, the fifth lord Vavasour, d 1349, set up the recesses to commemorate the previous two holders of the title, although another possible candidate for the building of the tomb recesses is Henry, sixth lord Vavasour, who died c1355.^[50]

Hornby Thomas de Burgh, d c1322, and his wife Lucia, nee Bellewe.^[51] (Plates 213-7)

The knight carries a blank shield, so there is no heraldry remaining to help with the identification at Hornby. However, both effigies lie in the north nave aisle recess which has the same mouldings as the windows of that aisle (two straight chamfers), which aisle is believed to have been widened by Thomas de Burgh in c1300, at which date the tomb recess was probably built.^[52]

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of whereabouts in the church his tomb was to be sited. [67]

b) The date of decease of Sir William de la Pole is known from an inquisition of that date, in which it appears that he held no property in Hull at the time of his death, although he is known to have been a major property-holder there during his lifetime. [68] When this tomb was restored, the arms of Sir William, who fought at Crecy, and the arms of some who accompanied him on that campaign, were discovered on the tomb. [69]

Kirklington Sir Alexander de Mowbray, d c1368, and his wife Elizabeth (nee Musters) d 1391. (Plates 260-9)

These two effigies, contained in the pair of south nave aisle recesses, have been identified elsewhere as Sir John de Wandesforde, d1397 who was the second husband of Elizabeth, widow of Sir Alexander de Mowbray. However, the type of armour worn by the knight indicates a date of c 1360, rather than 1390-1400. [70] The heraldry on the knight's shield, of a lion rampant, is of no help in ascertaining the knight's identity, since this device was carried by both Mowbray and Wandesforde families, but John de Wandesforde's will is of some assistance. [71] In this will, John de Wandesforde requested burial in Treswell church (Notts), beside his wife Elizabeth. The presence of her effigy at Kirklington can be justified partly because she was the Musters heiress, bringing, among other property, the manor of Kirklington to the family of her first husband, and then to that of her

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second husband. In both cases she was the last living link between the family of Musters, who had held the manor of Kirklington from the 11th century, and the families of her two husbands.^[72] In this context, it is interesting to observe that Elizabeth is shown without the usual widow's barbe, suggesting that she is represented there, not as the widow of Sir Alexander de Mowbray, but as an individual whose status was considered to have other, more important attributes, including the power to influence the proprietorship of the church and manor. This is an issue which will be developed more fully in chapter 5, in the discussion of laywomen as patrons.

Melsonby Sir John de Stapleton, d1332
 (Plates 275-81)

The knight effigy lying in front of the recess in the south nave aisle is very damaged, with the legs broken off at the knees, but carries a shield on which the arms of Stapleton are still visible, ie (argent) a lion rampant (sable), differenced by a bend.^[73]

Sir John de Stapleton was lord of Melsonby from 1307-32, and was the first member of his family to hold these lands. During his lordship, in 1313, he re-founded an ancient chantry in the church, which was almost certainly situated in the south nave aisle.^[74]

The probability is that the chantry was sited in the south nave aisle, pace Greenfield's licence which states that

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together with the chapels, in the late 14th century.^[78] Also, on July 13th, 1380, three chantries were founded in the church, by the first two individuals noted above, and by Henry de Bendbowe, who was then the vicar of St Mary's church.^[79] The following year, Henry de Bendbowe left the vicarage, and in 1390, another chantry was founded, at the altar of St Nicholas, by the third person noted above, Agnes Burn.^[80] It is not known with any degree of certainty where the altars of St Nicholas (Agnes Burn), St James (Robert Galoun), and St Stephen (Robert Rillington) were situated, but given the dates of the chapels and the chantry foundations, and the presence of a tomb recess, and piscina and aumbrey in each chapel indicating the site of altars, it seems likely that they were indeed placed in these chapels.

The wills of Robert Galoun and Robert Rillington are known, in which they individually mentioned their chantry chapels by name, and left money for the maintenance of a chaplain in each chapel.^[81] The will of Agnes Burn is also known, and is dated 1400.^[82] She requested burial in her chantry chapel at Scarborough, possibly in the same tomb as her husband, since she ordered that a marble stone then lying over the place where she wished to be buried, should be repaired.^[83]

Spofforth Sir Robert Plumpton III, d c1323.
 (Plates 350-4)

The effigy carries the arms of Plumpton, (azure) on a fess indented (or) five mullets (gules).^[84] Sir Robert's

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son, William, did not die until 1362, so this effigy is unlikely to be his, and in any case, his arms are different, being (azure) on a fess of five fusils (or) as many escallops (gules).^[100] Sir Robert was dead by 1325.^[101]

Sprotborough Sir William fitzWilliam, d c1338, and his widow Isabel (nee Deincourt), d c1348. (Plates 355-66)

Each effigy lies in its own recess, which recesses are sited opposite each other, in the north and south walls of the south nave aisle/chapel. The knight carries a shield of arms of a lozengy device, of which the colours are now gone, but providing they were argent and gules, as described in a heraldic roll of 1334, this would correspond with his identity.^[107]

The will of his widow is known, dated 1348, in which she requested burial in the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in Sprotborough church, and made many bequests to the church and chapel.^[108]

Staindrop (co Durham) Euphemia de Clavering, d by 1343 (Plates 367-9)

The gabled recess containing this effigy is one of two recesses in the south nave aisle, the other being a plain, low-arched tomb which contains an earlier effigy of a lady. The details of the later effigy, such as the foliage carving over her head indicate that it was intended to be housed in the gabled recess which has similar foliage in its crocketing. The identity of the

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lady has been established on the basis of the date of a chantry founded by Ralph de Nevill in this aisle in 1343.^[100] Because the licence for the chantry foundation stated that prayers were to be offered for the souls of Sir Ralph's parents, and names Euphemia de Clavering as his mother, it seems likely that this effigy is hers, and that it was set up together with its recess by her son when the chantry was founded. The identity of the other effigy might be that of Ralph de Neville's step-mother, his father having remarried after Euphemia's death.^[101]

Stonegrave William Thornton of East Newton, and his wife Jane, d c1400

The recess is set in the north nave aisle, and contains the effigies of a civilian man and a lady. A shield of arms is suspended from the the man's arm, which arms also appear on the tomb chest, and are carved on a corbel in the clerestory bay above the tomb recess, which arms have been identified as those of Thornton of East Newton, in the parish of Stonegrave.^[102]

Tanfield, West Sir John de Marmion, d c1335, and his widow, Maud Marmion, d by 1360
(Plates 371-80)

Maud Marmion was dead by 1360, when the estate was divided between the two heiresses of Sir John's son and heir, Robert, ie it was divided between Avice, who married John de Grey of Rotherfield, and her sister Joan.^[103]

The tomb is in the north nave aisle (there is no south

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aisle), which was widened in 15th century. However, the tomb was reset in the new wall, and appears unaltered. In 1622, Dodsworth visited the church, and noted that in the windows of the south nave wall, ie opposite the recess (cf Birkin), there were images identified by inscriptions as Avice and her husband John de Grey.^[133] Avice de Marmion, co-heiress of the Marmion estates, founded a lavish chantry at West Tanfield in 1363, which, by 1546 had become known as the "Mawde Marmeon Chauntryes."^[134] This suggests that Avice had founded the chantry in honour of her mother, the possible reasons for which will be discussed later in chapter 5.

Tickhill Adam de Herthill, d by 1328, and possibly his wife, Avice, still living in 1348. (Plates 389-90)

The recess, in the north chancel chapel, has no effigies or inscriptions. However, there is a shield of arms carved on a pillar adjacent to the chapel, which shows the arms of Herthill.^[135] Moreover, in 1348, Avice, widow of Adam de Herthill, founded a chantry in the chapel of St Helen at Tickhill, which has been identified as being this north chancel chapel.^[136]

Walton Sir Thomas de Fairfax, d c1355-60. (Plates 395-402)

The effigy is contained by an ogee-arched and cusped tomb recess in the north chancel wall. Although there is no shield of arms, there is a high probability that this knight was a member of the Fairfax family, who held the

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manor of Walton in the 14th century. [17] Thomas de Fairfax married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ivo de Etton of East Gilling, and had licence to celebrate divine service at his chapel in Walton, in 1322/3. [18]

Womersley Sir John de Newmarch, d 1310.
 (Plates 432-6)

The simple, cusped tomb recess at the east end of the south nave aisle contains the effigy of a knight carrying a shield of arms which have been identified as those of Newmarch - (or) 5 fusils in fess (gules). Given the armour worn by the knight - all mail, including a mail coif, except for his leather knee-plates, and his long swirling sur-coat - a date of c1310 is appropriate, and it is likely that the tomb and effigy were set up shortly after Sir John's death by his widow, Avice. [19] Although the effigy, which now lies against the south nave aisle wall, does not fit the recess dimensionally, it may have been intended to lie in front of it rather than inside: there is a small shield (now blank) carved at the back of the knight's head, which would have been hidden if the effigy had been contained by the recess.

York Minster William Greenfield, archbishop of
 York, d1315 (Plates 441-51)

Although this is not actually a tomb recess, it can be included in this list because, like the Percy tomb at Beverley and the Harrington tomb at Cartmel, it can be considered fixed in place by virtue of its size and complexity, and by its position, in this case tightly

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wedged between a pier and the wall of the north transept, with the gap to the east of the tomb originally having been filled by a chantry altar.¹⁰⁰

This concludes the list of recesses in the York province whose patrons, and the dates of their decease can be established with some certainty. This list provides 41 examples of tombs whose patrons can be identified, 52 individuals who are buried in those tombs (since in some cases a single monument is occupied by two individuals), and 34 effigies associated with recesses whose identities can be established. Stylistically, as will be seen, the effigies can be used to reinforce the chronology of the patrons' deaths. However, knowing the date of decease of the tomb-owner is not always a reliable guide to the date of the tomb or the effigy. This is particularly true in cases where one partner in a marriage predeceases the other by 10 years or longer, as at Harpham, Butterwick, Sprotborough or West Tanfield for example. In these cases, it has sometimes been necessary to rely on stylistic evidence alone to date the effigy. This has been attempted by working out a chronological and stylistic framework for those effigies which can be reasonably-accurately dated, and organising them into stylistic groups. Those effigies of uncertain date have then been slotted into an appropriate position in the framework. (The dates of the actual recesses will be discussed in chapter 4, and on the whole these correspond to the dates of the effigies. It is also possible to

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relate the recesses to other building work in the churches where they are found, and this can be an additional aid to establishing their chronology.)

In those cases where a single person is commemorated in a recess, and where there is no evidence to the contrary, it has been assumed that the effigy was carved within 5 to 10 years of the death of that person, (eg Bedale, Goldsborough, Birkin, Nunnington, Sprotborough - both effigies). This method of dating has to be used with caution, and in most cases corroborating evidence has been found.

Although a distinct Yorkshire school of sculpture was described some time ago, it is only relatively recently that there have been attempts to discern different groups or workshops based in the north-east of England.^[101] The allocation of effigies to a workshop implies the possibility of identifying one (or more than one) individual sculptor's hand, and for most of the examples under discussion this is not possible, because so many of them have been badly damaged or weathered, with much of the detailed carving obliterated. Instead, the effigies have been divided into groups, each of which has both an inner cohesion and an apparent dependence on the similar sources. In looking at the York province effigies associated with tomb recesses, it is possible to discern six groups and three workshops, and of the latter, one carried out the Percy tomb and various other works.

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One of the first groups of effigies to show a distinct style, which is here called group A, was noticed by l'Anson in 1923-4.^[102] In this group, which ranges in date from c1310-40, he included the effigies at Stillingfleet, Feliskirk, the earlier of the two Goldsborough effigies (dated 1310-15), and the effigies at Ilkley and Kirkby Fleetham. It is likely that the effigies at Spofforth (c1340), the knight now in the west recess at Hazlewood (c1315-20), The Melsonby knight (c1330), and the West Tanfield knight also belong to this group, but that the Feliskirk knight does not, as will be discussed later. These effigies occur in two main areas: in the west of Yorkshire (Spofforth, Hazlewood, Goldsborough, Ilkely and Stillingfleet), and to the north (West Tanfield, Melsonby and Kirkby Fleetham). The dates given to these effigies are based mainly on the dates of decease of those who they commemorate as given above, but the Spofforth knight wears a bascinet (Plate 352), as does the knight at West Tanfield (Plate 377), which suggests a date not before c1330-40 for both effigies.^[103] The armour details of some of the other knights help to confirm the approximate dates of the effigies, but generally, the type of armour worn by an effigy can only be used as a rough guide to dating, since most of the component parts were used over several decades. This is illustrated by the Melsonby knight, which wears all-mail armour, apart from ridged leather knee-plates, which elements can be found in effigies from at least c1300 until c1330. If the Melsonby knight is

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dated a few years before Sir John de Stapleton's death in 1332, then this represents a late but not implausible use of these defences.^[104] (Plate 280) As well as the appearance of a bascinet at West Tanfield, the knight's camail falls to a point over his chest, resembling the effigy of Sir Robert de Bures, c1331, at All Saints church, Acton, Suffolk, and reinforcing a date of c1330-40 for the effigy.^[105]

In general, all these effigies are characterised by their relatively shallow drapery folds, which, rather than following the form of the body or responding to the weight of belts and swords, are carved rather stiffly, exploring 2- rather than 3-dimensional pattern-making potential. The shallow, almost incised folds, which run roughly parallel, lie undisturbed by any kind of movement, emphasizing the solid and monumental effect of the effigies. In the Yorkshire effigies, this stiffness and lack of drapery movement or response to weight, is shown by smooth, uninterrupted folds running under broad, heavy sword-belts, and by cushions under heads which do not yield to the weight of the head.

The two knight effigies at Hazlewood have sometimes been described as being so similar that they must have been carved by the same hand, or produced by the same workshop.^[106] Although the two knights have similar armour, it is of that type which prevailed for at least 30 years in Yorkshire effigies from all the groups, being made entirely of mail except for the leather knee-plates

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decorated with shields. On close examination, and in spite of the severe damage which both effigies have suffered, there are clear differences in treatment, especially of the draperies. The effigy in the west recess, which is in even worse condition than that in the east recess, has the stiff, low-relief and narrow folds which have been identified as characteristic of this group. (Plates 195-8) The surcoat falls over the left thigh in shallow folds, and the body appears stiff and bulky as a result of this style of drapery carving. This same incised appearance is seen in the mane of the lion at the knight's feet. The other Hazlewood knight has broader and more three-dimensional drapery treatment, and has been allocated to group B, discussed later.

The other knights in this group have similar draperies to those of the group A Hazlewood knight, especially those at Melsonby and Spofforth, which also show the narrow, low relief folds over the hip, as well as the stiff unyielding appearance of the surcoats, which do not respond to the weight or constriction of sword-belts, and which lie in a controlled and rather immobile manner at the hem.

It is difficult to identify a source for the group A figure style. The stiff draperies of these effigies are not common in effigies of similar dates from other regions. The shallow, incised-looking lines of drapery can, however, be seen in early 14th century Lincolnshire

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effigies, though these draperies have more movement than is seen in the Yorkshire group, particularly at the hem. The effigies of the knight and lady at Threckingham (Lincs), dated c1310, have this type of drapery style, with the use of low-relief, closely-spaced folds, as does the standing female figure from Stamford church of St Mary (Lincs), dated c 1320-30.^[107] (Plate 370) Another effigy, at Swaton (Lincs), dated c1300, also has these narrow, shallow drapery folds, but as at Threckingham, they are shown in a more rounded manner than is seen in the Yorkshire effigies, and the hem-line trails more realistically. However, the stiffness of the draperies in these Lincolnshire effigies, revealing nothing of the shape of the body beneath, is very similar to the group A effigies. It may be that there was an early transfer of ideas between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and that this early set of influences persisted in the effigies in group A until c1340.

By the time the later effigies in group A were being produced, another group of effigies had reached an advanced stage in its development. The earliest effigy in this group seems to be the knight at Womersley, dated c1310-15, and this was followed by the knight in the east recess at Hazlewood, and the knight at Bainton, both c1315-20. Later effigies which can be stylistically related to group B are the knight at Hornby, c1320, the knight at Butterwick, c1317-25, the Feliskirk knight, c1327-35, the Sprotborough knight, c1338-45, the Feliskirk lady, c1340-45, the Sprotborough lady, c1345,

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and possibly a late example in the West Tanfield lady, c1355-60. [108]

These effigies are found mainly in the south and east of Yorkshire, with a small cluster of four effigies in the north, at Feliskirk(2), Hornby, and West Tanfield. It is possible that the knight in the south nave chapel at Egglecliffe (co Durham) also belongs to this group. The individual commemorated there has been identified as a member of the Aslakby family, who were lords of Egglecliffe in the 14th century. [109] One William de Aslakby, with his wife Agnes, founded a chantry in his manor of Aslakby (in the parish of Egglecliffe) in 1313. [110] The knight wears mail which is represented by interlaced rings, as is found in most Yorkshire knights, but which is rarely found in Durham, where the mail is usually shown by means of curved incised lines. [111] (Plate 145) The pose of the Egglecliffe knight in which he is shown drawing his sword, is unlike that of Yorkshire effigies, but there is the presence of a winged creature which could be a dragon or a wyvern, biting the tip of the knight's shield, as seen at Bainton. Egglecliffe may therefore be a hybrid effigy, with the pose found in knights from Durham, but with some of the details found in Group B.

The characteristics in this group of effigies appear more pronounced in the later than in the earlier effigies. Typically the early effigies such as those at Womersley

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and Bainton have broad folds of drapery, falling in well-modelled loops over the right thigh, and with the hem of the surcoat curling to form spiral and wavy patterns. (Plates 434-6; 6-7) The folds have sharper edges than is seen in the previous group, and are more deeply cut, giving a corrugated rather than a rippling surface profile. Many of the effigies are also distinguished by having finely-carved features with heavy-lidded and slightly slanting eyes, a serene expression, and a rounded chin. These characteristics are found particularly in the later effigies, although the Butterwick knight has also been given this treatment.

The Bainton and Womersley effigies introduce another of the features which characterise group B in their use of small-scale "extras" carved beside the figures. At Bainton a wyvern lies alongside the effigy, biting the tip of the shield. The Womersley knight has a small demi-figure of a woman at his head, holding an open book, and pointing at a page. A further possible connection between Durham effigies and group B is found in another effigy attributed to this group, but with the influence travelling in the opposite direction. The Hornby knight has mail which is represented by a series of curved incised lines, and his shield is so positioned as to conceal the pommel of the sword. (Plates 214-7) These features have been identified as typical of those effigies produced in Durham, and their presence here in Hornby, a few miles to the south of the border between Yorkshire and Durham, suggests that there was a transfer

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of ideas here.¹¹² In other respects the knight shows many of the characteristics of group B. The surcoat falls in sharp-edged folds and lies across the thigh in a series of loops, and there is a canopy over the knight's head with crocketing and finials.

The Hazlewood knight, though very badly damaged, also shows the broad, sharp-edged drapery folds as well as great attention to small-scale details. (Plates 202-4) The belts are shown with care and with the buckles and buckle-holes clearly rendered. The same attention to detail appears in the treatment of the knight's mail, which is shown with a great concentration on its pattern-making potential. This concentration on surface texture and small-scale details was to become highly-developed in the later effigies, and these are executed with considerable skill. The Butterwick knight is an early example of this more developed style (Plates 83-5), and by c1327-35 (Plates 150-6), in the Feliskirk knight, these features had become consolidated into a skilled and cohesive style, where the broad drapery folds and the attention to detail and surface texture in the rendering of the mail had become clearly distinct from the stiff, low-relief appearance of the (roughly contemporary) effigies in group A such as those at Melsonby, Spofforth and West Tanfield. The date of the Feliskirk knight has been assumed to be shortly after the date of decease, and this is loosely confirmed by the presence of rowell spurs on his feet. Although these appeared in England c1220,

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they do not appear on effigies until c1320, so a date of c1327-35 for the Feliskirk knight is roughly appropriate. ¹¹³

The Sprotborough knight, is straight-legged, and has mail which is again carved with great care, as well as two small attendant figures at his head. (Plates 355-6) The Feliskirk and Sprotborough ladies are particularly close in drapery style, with long, broad, uninterrupted folds which are swept slightly to one side at their feet. (Plates 157-61; 360-6) Each lady has a pair of angels at her shoulders whose hands are clasped under the cushion which supports her head, and whose feet are visible beneath their robes. The angels' hair and wings are treated differently in the two effigies. At Sprotborough the angels' faces are round and upturned whereas at Feliskirk they are narrower and they face forwards. The wings of the Sprotborough angels are spread out and have long, clearly articulated feathers, whereas at Feliskirk they are folded back and the feathers are not shown. It is unlikely therefore that they were carried out by the same hand. However, the relationship between the effigies is so close that beyond allocating them to the same group, they can be attributed to the same workshop. The Sprotborough lady has a fluted or pleated barbe, indicative of her widow's status, which is used as a vehical for carving an area of concentrated surface decoration. She differs from the Feliskirk lady in one unusual respect: under her feet there is carved a grimacing man's head with leaves instead of hair. (Plate

366) Assuming the effigy is in its original position, facing eastwards, this would hardly have been visible since the effigy is partly contained by the recess, and the feet are only visible by crouching in the corner between the east end of the recess and the aisle altar.^[114] All that can be seen from the aisle area at the feet of Sprotborough lady is a pair of two further small-scale figures. These are of two kneeling women, with the same round upturned faces seen in the angels at the effigy's head, each of which holds an open book.

The West Tanfield lady may also belong to this group, although details of her costume suggest a later date than the other effigies. (Plates 376-80) She wears several layers of veils of the same length which form a square frame around her face, and which have a hem formed of several wavy lines. This head-dress, and the tightly-fitting upper part of her dress, with the very ornate cloak fastenings and the buttoned cuffs are found in the alabaster effigy in the east recess at Hull. (Plates 241-3) The identity of the Hull effigy has been ascribed here to Joan, wife of Richard de la Pole, who survived his death in 1345 and was still living in 1370. ^[115] Another effigy which has similar details of dress and cloak fastening is that of Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandison, dated c1350, in the church of Much Marcle, Herts. ^[116] A date of c 1355-60 seems likely therefore for the West Tanfield lady. The effigy has suffered some damage, the face having been completely destroyed, but the remains of

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two small angels kneeling at her shoulders are still visible, with their bare feet emerging from beneath their robes, as was seen at Feliskirk and Sprotborough. The drapery style resembles that of the other ladies in the group, falling in long, sharp-edged and unbroken folds to her feet.

Like the group A effigies, possible sources for the drapery style of those in group B can be found in Lincolnshire. A particularly close parallel can be found for the Butterwick knight in the effigy at Gosberton (Lincs), dated c1310 (plate 178) where the broad drapery folds, the concentric, clearly-articulated loops of drapery over the right hip, and the hemlines with wavy or spiral forms are all seen at Butterwick. Moreover, in each effigy the surcoat blouses over the waist-belt, and falls apart across the crossed legs in fluid, round-edged folds revealing the underside of the garment. Above the sword-belt buckle the surcoat is pulled into an elliptical fold, and the mail sleeves of each effigy are shown with a ridge on the underside of the arm and with very slight folds conveying a sense of volume between the elbow and the shoulder. Perhaps such close parallels between Butterwick and a Lincolnshire effigy are due to the family background of the individual commemorated at Butterwick. Robert FitzRalph married Elizabeth (nee Nevill) of Scotton (Lincs), and since she almost certainly had her husband's effigy made, she may have been instrumental in bringing a Lincolnshire effigy to Butterwick. [117]

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Apart from the Butterwick-Gosberton similarities, the other group B effigies also have details that may have been derived from some Lincolnshire source. The early date of the Gosberton knight, and the even earlier lady at Edenham (Lincs), dated c1300, illustrates that this drapery style was present for some 10-15 years in Lincolnshire effigies before it appeared in the group B effigies. Later Lincolnshire figure sculpture can also be related to this group of effigies. The figure of a female saint dated c1320 from St Andrew's church, Pickworth (Lincs) (plate 332) has the sharp-edged drapery style, with broad, uninterrupted folds falling to the feet where the garment is swept gently to one side, and the cloak caught up under the left elbow has the spiral forms at its hem as has been seen in many of the effigies in group B.

The work of this Yorkshire group of sculptors also seems to be connected with a particular style of carving on the Percy tomb, where five main figure styles have been identified.^[118] The sculptor who worked on some of the cusp figures of the Percy tomb used the rather flat, sharp-edged folds of drapery, arranged in broad bands, giving an angular surface profile, as well as deep, and clearly articulated folds, sometimes placed at the side of the body.^[118] (Plates 49-50) However, this is not to say that the sculptor who worked on the cusp figures of the Percy tomb also carved some (or any) of the later

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effigies in group B. Rather, it seems that there was a continuous production of effigies which responded to certain Lincolnshire influences from c1315-20 until c1355-60, and that the sculptor of the cusp figures drew either on similar Lincolnshire sources in the development of his own very individual style, or was aware of some of the work carried out by the effigy-carvers of group B. This did not result in the Percy tomb sculptor producing figures that closely resemble those in group B, and it is evident that there were a number of other areas of influence in the Percy tomb, but it did give rise to related drapery styles.

The third group of effigies, group C, also bears a clear resemblance to some of the figures of the Percy Tomb, but these are the larger figures, carved on the gables, which have been attributed to a different sculptor from the man who carried out the cusp figures.^[120] However, most of the effigies in group C seem to pre-date the Percy tomb, and should therefore be considered as fore-runners of the Beverley work. This group of effigies was noticed by l'Anson about 60 years ago, when their billowing, voluminous draperies were seen as their most distinguishing feature, and in the case of the knight effigies, the use of sleeved surcoats.^[121] He called this group the "Cheyne Atelier" because of a rebus of an "1" and three links of chain, seen on the effigy of the knight at Norton-on-Tees, (co Durham), (c1326), thought to stand for the name of John Cheyne.^[122] More recently, other effigies have been added to l'Anson's original

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list, including the Birkin civilian, the Howden lady, and the Hazlewood knights.^[123] The first two do seem to belong to the group, with their fully-modelled, billowing garments. However, the Hazlewood knights have been allocated here to groups A and B. A partial list of effigies in this group is as follows (the asterisked examples are those where the effigy comes from a tomb-recess): Amotherby (c1329), Bedale (the fitz Alan effigies, c1320), Birkin* (c1328), East Harsley (c1326), Escrick (c 1324), Goldsborough* (c1330), Howden* (c1320), Norton-on-Tees (c 1326), and Temple Church London (c1320).^[124]

There is one further effigy which can be added to this group: the priest in the north aisle/chapel recess in Bedale parish church, identified as the effigy of Brian de Thornhill, d c1344. (Plates 21-7) Wearing an alb, stole and chasuble, the effigy has characteristic deeply modelled draperies which will be seen in other effigies in this group. The folds of his vestments are shown with rounded edges where the material, curling in spiral forms at the edges, does not lie flat but is carved with a solidity and sense of volume. Lower down the figure, the straight deep hollows of the alb appear from below the chasuble with a pattern of shadows which emphasises the plastic quality of the carving. At the foot of the effigy, a linear quality is introduced, with the alb trailing slightly over the edge of the slab, and the stole lying flat against it, carved in an almost incised

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manner. Because effigies of ecclesiastics generally have more voluminous treatment of their garments than do other kinds of effigy, this one might be seen as part of that continuing tradition, and not necessarily part of group C. ^{c. 1200} However, even when compared with other ecclesiastical effigies, the Bedale priest embodies far more dramatic modelling than most.

Like most of the other effigies in this group, the Bedale priest has an ogee canopy over his head, decorated with detailed and identifiable foliage (oak leaves), which has small figures concealed in it - a woman's head peers out of the foliage at his right shoulder, and a man's head appears at the top of the canopy. These appear to be secular figures. There are two small figures of angels flanking the priest's head, the feathers on their wings very delicately carved. Finally, there is a feature which is rarely seen in Yorkshire effigies, of a seated figure carved at the head of the canopy, in what one would call the short elevation, ie facing west. This appears to be a figure of Christ in Majesty, his right hand blessing, his left hand holding a book.

This careful attention to detail, and to the backs of figures and objects, is also seen at Goldsborough, where once again the main characteristics of this group of effigies are apparent, ie draperies which are carefully designed to convey a sense of volume, a collection of small-scale "extras", now used to a much greater degree than had been seen previously, and carved with greater

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confidence and inventiveness than those found in the group B effigies. At Goldsborough, there is a small and ornate ogee gable over the knight's head, decorated with naturalistic, though slightly bulbous foliage, which is similar to that on the gable of the recess, indicating that the effigy is in its originally-intended position. (Plates 167-74) Two small figures crouch at the knight's shoulders, and the remains of another is to be seen at his knees. More inventive and carefully carved detail is seen in the way the back of the shield has been carefully shown, with every stud represented. The draperies have been carved with careful attention, the folds of the sleeves creating a sense of fullness, while lower down, the loops of the surcoat fall gracefully across the knight's right thigh and trail over the edge of the tomb slab. This treatment of the draperies is also found in the remains of the small attendant figures, whose reduced scale does not obscure the full, rounded folds of their garments.

The features which connect these two effigies are also seen in the other effigies of this group. All have well-modelled draperies which fall with much movement and a sense of volume, and the knights all have sleeved surcoats. In terms of the inventive secondary devices, the Birkin effigy has a most life-like dog at his feet, with one paw curling over the edge of the slab. (Plates 60-2) The two Howden effigies have similar draperies, and small gables over their heads, and with the unusual

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feature of the lady represented with crossed legs.^[125] (Plates 227-33) The fitz Alan lady at Bedale has the very rare feature in an effigy of a scroll in her hands.^[127] (Plates 30-1)

The similarities with the Percy tomb are seen most clearly in this third group of effigies. However, the Bedale priest, which is probably slightly later than the Beverley tomb, shows that that tomb, the impact of which will be seen to have been almost immediate in the design of the tomb recesses, did not significantly alter the style of effigy carving in group C, which foreshadowed and then continued various aspects of the Percy tomb figures. In fact, it can be argued that the earlier group C effigies and the main figures on the Percy tomb canopy spring, in part, from a common source. The figure of the Madonna in the north nave aisle at York Minster has been dated to the first quarter of 14th century, and together with a number of other pieces of sculpture has been seen as a predecessor to the workshop style found in the main figures on the Percy tomb.^[128] Nick Dawton, among others, has pointed out that the draperies of the York Madonna, with the deeply-modelled folds falling in prominent rounded ridges from beneath a smooth upper layer of drapery, the diagonal hems trailing across the figure, and the deep folds of the garment across the stomach, can be seen in several of the main figures on the Percy tomb.^[129] (Plates 41-3, 45, 51) There appear to have been intermediate stages between the form of the York Madonna and the main figures on the Percy tomb. The

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Howden figures now in the transepts and at the back of the high altar have been suggested as a transitional stage stylistically, and have been dated c1320-30.¹³⁰³

In spite of their badly weathered condition, the twisting of their poses and the deeply modelled folds of drapery are still evident, along with the serene expressions and thick wavy hair which have also been identified as hallmarks of members of the later Percy tomb workshop. (Plates 223-4)

From this brief summary of some of the sculpture which preceded the Percy tomb, it can be seen that several of the group C effigies share some of the characteristics of that body of work, and this is particularly noticeable in comparisons with the earlier examples which are roughly contemporary with many of the effigies. Those effigies which seem to foreshadow the work later found on the Percy tomb include the knight and lady at Howden, the Birkin effigy, and the knight at Goldsborough. The Howden effigies' draperies fall in smooth folds which follow the cross-legged pose of both the knight and the lady. The hem-line of the lady's veils meanders around her face, creating a pattern of spiral lines which follow and emphasise the volume of her headdress. The knight's sleeves fall loosely at his wrists, over the soft folds of the surcoat, and the rounded, relaxed folds of the mail at his neck combines linear and plastic qualities in a way that can be seen in a more developed form in the angels standing on the Percy tomb gables.¹³¹³

The Howden effigies are relatively early, and the rather unstructured billowing draperies reflect this. However, in the effigy of Sir John de Everingham at Birkin, these elements are more refined, and closer to some of the carving on the Percy tomb. The deeply modelled folds across the front of the York and Howden statues appear at Birkin, but unlike the York and Howden figures, these are arranged at the side of the Birkin effigy. This recalls the loops of drapery seen in the group B effigies, but at Birkin and in many of the other effigies in group C, the loops are deeper and the folds rounder in their surface profile. The folds at the hem of the Birkin effigy's garment are a refined version of the Howden lady's veils, falling over the knees in rounded but clearly articulated forms, and trailing over the edge of the tomb slab in twisting, curling lines, so that a delicate, two-dimensional pattern is created. The voluminous quality of the Howden lady's cloak is less pronounced at Birkin, where volume is represented by the use of well-placed lines of drapery and folds, rather than by the billowing forms found at Howden. The Bedale priest, as a later member of group C, reflects rather than foreshadows elements of the Percy tomb. The fully modelled form of the priest's vestments, and the movement of the folds at the edge of his chasuble demonstrate the influence of the Percy tomb very clearly. The angels standing on the tomb's gables have a very similar drapery arrangement of deep hollows and linear designs, using two- and three-dimensional patterns to balance the figures.

The other effigies in this group share similar characteristics, with draperies that appear to be forerunners of the drapery-style found at Howden and later at Beverley, using deep, rounded folds, arranged in loops or conical forms, to create movement and a sense of sculptural solidity in the figures.

There is a fourth group of effigies, which will be called group D, all of which are very close geographically, stylistically, and, apparently, chronologically. They are the knight and lady at Darrington (Plates 137-43), the knight and lady at Ryther (Plates 338-44), the Church Fenton lady (Plates 134-6), and at Goldsborough, the knight lying on an altar tomb against the south chancel wall (Plates 175-7). All appear to be dated c1330, but only the Darrington and Church Fenton effigies are associated with tomb recesses. The Darrington knight and lady have been identified as Sir Warin de Scargill, d c1327, and his wife Clara (nee Stapleton) whose date of decease is unknown. The Ryther effigies are probably of Sir Robert Ryther, d c1327 and his wife, and the Church Fenton lady has not been identified. [132] The Church Fenton lady now lying in the chancel may once have come from the rather crude, ogee-tipped tomb recess in the south transept, which has been dated c1330, as has the south window of the transept, which has reticulated tracery. [133] Certainly the effigy fits the recess dimensionally, and is so similar to the ladies at

Darrington and Ryther that a date of c1325-30 seems likely.

It is the ladies of group D which are the most consistent in terms of their proportions, the details of their dress, and especially in the arrangement of their hair and veils. Each lady has her hair neatly parted down the centre of the head, with clumps [or coils?] at her ears bound by a vertical line of plaited hair, the lower edges being contained by a wimple. The head of each lady is then partly covered by a veil which is held in place by a circlet, above which two ribbons (at Darrington and Ryther) or two braids of hair (at Church Fenton) form a criss-cross pattern.

This treatment of hair and veils bears out a date of c1330 for these effigies. A similar arrangement is found in the effigy of a lady at Bottesford church (Leics), which has been dated c1330-40. [134] Here the hair is shown by the veil being drawn back to reveal a central parting, two large clumps of hair over the ears with vertical plaits in front of them, and with the veil being held in place by a narrow circlet. Manuscripts of the period c1335-40 also represent lay-women with similar arrangements of hair and veils. In the Luttrell Psalter, dated c1335-40, the marginal illustration of a young woman having her hair dressed by her maid depicts a style where the hair is parted down the middle, and plaited with ribbons into a single plait. [135] One of the cusp figures on the Percy tomb, dated c1340, has hair that is

styled in much the same way as the group D effigies, with two clumps of hair at her ears bound by a criss-cross pattern of ribbons. (Plate 49)

The dresses of the three ladies are also very alike. Each wears an over-dress with long, wide-cuffed sleeves which trail down over the front of the dress. The sleeves of the under-dress are tight-fitting to the wrist, with buttons and raised seams from elbow to wrist. The Ryther and Darrington ladies have cloaks which are caught up under their elbows and are fastened by ribbons which are held by the ladies' thumbs, and at Ryther the ribbons are attached to a rosette shape at either side. The treatment of the draperies is consistent throughout all the effigies in this group, knights as well as ladies. All have garments which fall in narrow, sharp-edged folds which have a flat surface, creating, in the knights especially, almost a pleated appearance. The hems trail realistically, and where the material is folded back or occurs in more than one layer meandering lines are trailed in an incised manner down the sides of the garments. The heads of all these effigies are also very similar, being rather small, and very delicately carved with slanted, oriental-looking eyes, pointed chins and long necks.

The closest parallels to these effigies are found in the group B effigies, where typical features included sharp-edged folds falling unbroken to the feet in the ladies,

and with the side of of cloaks or surcoats folded back to produce an undulating line, revealing the underside of the material. The effigies in group D may have been the product of a workshop which was based in the south-west of the county since three of the churches where these effigies are located are all a few miles from the main road that connected Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (see maps, Appendix II), with Goldsborough lying about 15 miles to the north. It may be significant that it is in an East Anglian manuscript that close parallels with group D have been found, and it is possible that this workshop had devised a stock pattern that was based on a knowledge of effigies which had been produced in Lincolnshire or areas to the south, and which, as a result, produced work that resembled the group B effigies, which, it has been argued, were also affected by a Lincolnshire influence. These two groups, therefore, although working independently, came to adapt certain Lincolnshire features to produce two different but related figure styles.

One last, rather small, group of effigies associated with tomb recesses can be identified, and will be described as group E. This group comprises the ladies at Hornby and Thornton Dale (Plates 214-7; 382), and the knight and lady at Norwell (Notts). (Plates 295, 297-9) The ladies all have deep, curved folds of drapery extending from below the elbows down to the knees. All wear veiled head-dresses, the lady on the north chancel recess at Thornton dale having a coronet, the Norwell lady in the

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south nave aisle recess with a circlet, and the Hornby lady without either, but with a triangular arrangement of veils. The Norwell knight, in the south transept recess, has draperies rather like those of the knights in group B, but with greater fluidity in the loops over the right thigh, and an absence of the crisp, sharp-edged drapery folds found in those effigies. This series of effigies is dated c1320-30, and the Hornby lady's head-dress and probable identity (Lucia, wife of Thomas de Burgh) bears out a date of c 1320. The triangular form of her head-dress which reveals small pieces of hair at her ears is found in other effigies of a round this date, such as that of Lady Joan de Cobham, dated c1320-25, at Cobham church, Kent. ^{c1327} Thomas de Burgh died in c1322, and since Lucia is not mentioned as being alive in his inquisition post mortem, it is probable that she too was dead by this date. ^{c1328} The Norwell lady may also be of a c1320 date since she has a similar head-dress. However since her identity is unknown, it is difficult to date the effigy precisely. If, however, her effigy is approximately contemporary with that of the knight in the south transept recess, a date of c1320-30 is likely because the knight has been tentatively identified as Sir John de Lisours, d c1330, who held Willoughby in the parish of Norwell. ^{c1328}

The identity of the Thornton Dale lady has been the subject of some dispute. The six shields carved alongside the effigy have lost their colours so could be identified

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with equal conviction as either St Quintin and Conyers with a label, or as St Quintin and Hastings.^[140] The latter is more likely since the Hastings family had close connections with Thornton Dale, holding land there from the 13th to the 16th century.^[141] Whatever the identity of the lady, she has the type of head-dress which indicates a date of c1330-40, with the veil falling to her shoulders and revealing two clumps of hair at her ears, as was seen in the group D ladies, which have been dated here c1330.

So far, with the exception of the West Tanfield lady, none of the effigies discussed has been later in date than c1350. Effigies carved after this date, particularly those of knights, became very standardised, a feature also seen in brasses of this period, and, as has been noted elsewhere, the style of carving cannot be used to separate effigies from different regions.^[142] Later effigies associated with recesses include those at Catterick, Aldborough, Kirklington, and Harpham. Only details of costume or equipment set these effigies apart, and then only into different periods, not into workshops. However, since costume details do help to establish the approximate date of the effigy, it is useful to comment on this aspect here, to assess whether the effigy was carved before or after the death of the patron. Also, in chapter 4, it may be possible to ascertain whether these effigies are contemporary with their recesses.

As far as the Aldborough and Catterick knights are

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concerned, their equipment is very similar, and as they died c 1377 and c1390, a date of c1380-90 for both effigies is possible. (Plates 1;119-22) Both knights lie in straight-legged pose, and wear a short tunic, and an ornate sword-belt at the hip. Neither seems to have a sword, and each has a pointed bascinet.

The Harpham tomb has an incised alabaster slab on the tomb chest, a rare feature in Yorkshire at this date. (Plate 181) The inscription records the dates of decease of both the knight and lady (Sir William de St Quintin and his wife, Joan), although the loss of the last couple of digits of her date of death means that only an approximate date of c1382 is known, while Sir William's date of decease is clearly shown to have been 1349. Despite the relatively early death of Sir William, his costume is of a later type than that of other Yorkshire effigies whose patrons also died in the 1340s.^[143] He wears a very pointed bascinet over a mail hood, but otherwise all the rest of his armour is formed of plate. There is a sword on his left hand side, and a short dagger on his right. This type of armour, with the pointed bascinet, and the presence of sword and dagger, is seen in slabs and brasses of the 1380s, such as the slab of Sir Clement de Longroy and his wife, dated c1380.^[144] Again the armour is all of plate, with a mail collar. Earlier brasses do show some similarities to the Harpham knight, but with some major differences also. The brass of Sir Thomas de Cobham (1367), at Cobham, Kent, or

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of Sir Thomas Cheyne (1368) at Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks., have similar plate armour, but the bascinets in the two brasses are much less pointed, they do not have daggers, and the vertical plating seen on the thighs of the Harpham knight does not appear in the brasses.^[146] A much closer comparison is with the brass of John Pecock, c1380, at St Albans, where the knight has the vertical thigh plates, sword and dagger, and the very pointed bascinet.^[146] These details of armour suggest that the Harpham slab was erected by his widow in c1360-80, and that her husband's armour was represented by the carver in a more up-to-date manner than the date of his death would normally indicate. Her own costume bears out a 1380 date for the slab, with a full cloak over her dress, tied by a cord which falls down the front of her dress. This resembles the costume of the lady in the brass of J. Curteys and his widow, 1391, at Wymington, Beds., who wears a similar costume of veil and barbe, a cloak tied by cords which fall over the front of the dress, the cords of which terminate in small knots or tassles.^[147] The brass of Sir John and lady Harswick, c1384, from Southacre, Norfolk, has similar details, with the lady wearing a full cloak over her dress, tied by a cord which she holds in her hand.^[148] The ogee gables over the heads of the Harpham effigies also indicate a date of the later 14th century, since this was the period when these forms were most popular.

I have argued that the effigies at Kirklington are also of a later 14th century date. The armour of the knight is

very close to that of the knight at Harpham, which is dated c1360-80. (Plates 264-6) The Kirklington effigy has a rounded bascinet over a mail hood, and, a sword-belt formed of broached squares. All the rest of his armour is of plate, except for his mail hauberk, the lower edge of which can be seen below his tunic. His knee-plates are relatively simple compared with later effigies, as are his plate gauntlets. Again, much of this is similar to the Harpham slab, suggesting a date of c1360 for the Kirklington knight.

The effigy of the lady at Kirklington poses rather more of a problem in dating. (Plates 267-9) She wears a mantle and a close-fitting gown, which can be seen in effigies over a long period from c1350-1400. The effigy of Blanche lady Mortimer, c 1350, in the church of St Bartholomew at Much Marcle (Herefs) has this type of costume, as does the effigy of Lary de Oteswich, c1395-1400, in the church of St Helen, Bishopgate, London.^[140] However, the Kirklington lady has no veils. Rather, she has a solid-looking arrangement around her face, with small rolls of hair across her forehead. This is unusual among Yorkshire effigies, but may be a development of the rather square framework formed of several fluted veils seen in effigies of c1380-5, combined with the fashion in the 1380s, of wearing the hair in stiff plaits down the side of the face to the level of the chin. These details of head-dress can be seen in the effigies of Avena Foljambe, c1380, in Bakewell church (Derbys), Joan de Cobham, c

1380, on her brass in Holy Trinity church, Chrishall (Essex), and the figure of a female weeper on the tomb of Edward III, 1377-86.^{c180} It may be that the Kirklington effigy is shown wearing a snood or hair-net. In this case the effigy is comparable to the brass of Margaret Beauchamp, in St Mary's church Warwick, dated 1406, where the effigy also wears a hair-net, though here some of the hair is visible behind her shoulders, whereas at Kirklington this is not the case.^{c181} All these comparisons suggest a date in the later 14th century for the lady at Kirklington, and probably c1390. Given the marital history of Elizabeth, firstly the wife of Alexander de Mowbray and secondly of John de Wandesforde, the likelihood is that the Kirklington pair of recesses were set up in c 1350 by her first husband, intending them to be occupied by himself and Elizabeth. Judging by details of the knight's armour, Alexander was buried in one of the recesses shortly after his death, and the costume details of the lady effigy reinforce her identity as Elizabeth, and her later decease, in 1391.

At Walton the effigy of the knight in the north chancel recess has been identified as a member of the Fairfax family, who were patrons of the church and chief landholders in Walton in the 14th century.^{c182} The knight wears plate armour, with a mail hood under his bascinet and a short mail tunic. (Plates 399-402) He has a moustache, and a sword and dagger are suspended from a heavily ornamented belt, but he has no shield. His armour is similar to that of the Harpham and Kirklington

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knights, and if the effigy is of the later 14th century it could be that of Thomas de Fairfax, son and heir of John de Fairfax. His date of decease is unknown, but he was living in 1353, and his children were living in the 1390s, so his effigy could be safely dated c1360.

Using the chronological and stylistic framework so far established, it is possible to allocate a date, a stylistic group, and a probable identity to the priest effigy at Thwing. (Plates 384-8) The effigy now lies on a tomb-chest in the north nave aisle of the church, and may once have come from the (now empty) tomb recess in the south nave wall. Dimensionally the effigy fits the recess, and it has evidently been moved during its lifetime given the fact that it now lies on a modern tomb-chest. The tonsured head of the priest is flanked by two small figures of angels which lie on the cushion under the head and which are rather badly damaged. Under the priest's praying hands, the finger tips of which touch his chin, there is a chalice, and at his feet there rests a fairly lively dog. The draperies are well-modelled but with none of the fluttering hem-lines which will be seen, for example, at Welwick. They fall in broad, well-defined sharp-edged folds with little or no disturbance, and the overall effect is serene and controlled. There is a ridged surface profile to the vestments, and where the chasuble falls from the priest's bent arms and across the stomach there are a series of elliptical folds. The general air of serenity and the lack

of movement in the draperies is found in later ecclesiastical effigies, such as the alabaster effigy of Bishop Hatfield, d1381, in Durham cathedral. The Durham effigy, however, looks like a more luxurious version of that at Thwing, but the pose and draperies are similar. In terms of the groups of effigies already discussed, the Thwing effigy is closest to group B, and is particularly close to a later effigy allocated to this group, namely that of Maud Marmion at West Tanfield dated c1360. (Plates 376-80) The draperies of the Marmion effigy, though damaged, still preserve their well-modelled and sharp-edged folds which fall in unbroken lines to the feet of the effigy. There are two little angels kneeling at the lady's head, and, as at Thwing, the occasional area of ornament is treated with great care. The lady's cloak cord and fastening are carved with particular attention, as is the small area of embroidery at the hem of the priest's alb. This is also reminiscent of the earlier effigies in group B which showed particularly careful rendering of any items of armour or clothing which might provide a vehicle for surface decoration or pattern-making.

If the Thwing effigy is dated shortly after the West Tanfield effigy, c1360-70, it could be that of Thomas de Thwing who was rector of Kirkleatham (Cleveland) in 1322. After the death of his older brothers, Thomas became lord of the manor of Thwing, and of the family's other estates, and holder of the advowson of a moiety of the church of Thwing, entitling him to make alternate

presentations. He also held the advowson of the chantry of St Thomas the Martyr at Thwing from c1345 until his death in 1374.^[154] The chantry was probably situated at the east end of the north aisle, opposite the tomb recess, where there is a piscina, a squint through to the chancel, and a carved corbel figure (the only one in the church) supporting the arch which separates the chapel from the rest of the aisle. A similar arrangement of a tomb recess being placed in the nave wall opposite a chantry chapel is seen at Birkin where, as at Thwing, there is only one aisle, this time on the south side.

Apart from these later 14th century effigies, five principal groups of effigies associated with tomb recesses can be identified in the province of York, ranging in date from c1310-60. Some of the sculptors of these effigies seem to have had knowledge of Lincolnshire work, deriving particular styles of drapery from that area. This Lincolnshire connection will also be seen in some of the larger-scale, and more architectural forms of tomb-sculpture in the northern province, such as the Percy tomb at Beverley and related monuments in Yorkshire and elsewhere, which are discussed in the following chapter.

Notes

1: The Durham and Northumberland effigies are described, photographed, and in some cases identified in Blair (1929 and 1930). Apart from a tendency to date some of the effigies earlier than they are now believed to be, the descriptions and heraldry are generally reliable. Another probable reason for the larger numbers of effigies in Yorkshire is that there was a greater concentration of population and wealth there than in counties further north, as shown by Glasscock (1975), p xxvii, Map I.

2 : For example, Bainton was damaged in 1322, (Ollard, (1918-20), p112, citing the Chronica de Melsa, II, p346. The people of Kirkby Wiske were excused payment of taxes in 1319 as a result of damage they had suffered at the hands of the Scots -McCall, (1910), p64, citing CClR 1318-23, p167; in Reg Halton, there are several references to damage suffered at the hands of the Scots, ppxviii-xix.

3 : Bilson (1916-17), p221, n2; Goldberg, (1984), pp67-9: the quartering of the arms of England with those of France ancient in the tomb's canopy indicates a date not before 1340 for this part of the tomb.

4 : This occurs, for instance, at Bedale, (CPR 1340-43, p476) and at Birkin, (idem 1327-30, p418). The type of

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documentation associated with chantries are discussed in detail in Wood-Legh (1965).

5 : CPR 1377-81, p543, and idem 1388-92, p234 - these give details of the licences for the alienation in mortmain. VCH, Yorks NR II, p556 dates the south aisle chapels and the two-storeyed south porch to the late 14th century.

6 : Many of these plainer recesses and their patrons are discussed in chapter 5. For a full list of tomb recesses in the York province, whether or not their patrons are known, see the appendix/gazetteer.

7 : His will is printed in TE I, pp100-101, and see Appendix I.

8 : Poulson, vol I (Hull and London, 1840), p13.

9 : VCH Yorks NR I, pp466-7; Lawrance and Collier (1924-6), p35.

10: Knts Edw I, vol III, p135; Ollard (1918-20), p110.

11: Parliamentary Roll of 1312, cited in Mitchell (1983), p369, no 274.

12 : These arms are described by Lawrance (1946), p29.

13 : Surtees (1816-40), vol IV, p85.

14 : Ibid, p81; Teesdale Record Society, vol XIII (1914), p8; CPR 1338-40, p414; Reg Pal Dun III, pp213-4.

15 : CPR 1340-43, p476; CT Clay, (1927-9), p298.

16 : VCH Yorks NR II, p300. Ibid, p297, stating that the north chapel was rebuilt by Brian de Thornhill in c1340, prior to founding the chantry. This is a likely suggestion, but no evidence has been found to support this claim.

17 : Goldberg, (1984), p68.

18 : Ibid, pp67-69 and see n3 above.

19 : Ibid, p67.

20 : CPR 1327-30, p418: "Licence for the alienation in mortmain by John de Everyngham of a messuage, seventy-one acres of land and five acres of meadow in Birkyn to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the parish church there for the souls of Robert de Everyngham, the late parson, the said John, Beatrice his wife, Adam de Everyngham of Laxton, Lucy de Everyngham and their ancestors."

21 : Knowles, (1985), p92.

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22 : Ibid, pp87-91.

23 : Ibid, p91; Dodsworth Church Notes (1904), p146.

24: Feudal Aids, pp167, 170, 190.

25: CPR 1330-34, p4.

26: Cal Inq aqd, 16 Edw II, file CLVI, no 18, p221.

27: The career of Thomas de Burgh is described in greater detail in the section on churchmen in chapter 5.

28: Fletcher, (1878-9), pp160, 166. His view, that de Burgh died c1348 is not likely, since the executors of de Burgh's will are recorded in 1343, and a new presentation to Brigham, of Walter de Weston, was made in July 1338, suggesting that de Burgh was dead by this date. CPR 1343-5, p54; CPR 1338-40, pp107, 108.

29: Fletcher (1878-9), pp173-7, cited below, Appendix I.

30: CPR 1313-17, p29

31: Reg Greenfield V, p272: July 26th, 1317: "Also lord Roger de Somerville, knight, on the same day, has licence to transfer the body of Matilda, his late wife, to the new aisle in the church of Burton Agnes, which the same knight has built for himself and his parents." (my translation).

32: Cal Inq, VIII, pp86-9.

33: VCH Yorks ER II, p198. This identification agrees with the Parliamentary Roll of 1312, cited Mitchell, p370, no 746.

34: Cal Inq, VI, no 50, pp26-33. Idem, VIII, no 668, pp496-8.

35: Reg Zouche, f 305v, cited below in Appendix I.

36: l'Anson, vol 29, pp8-9, illustrated fig 61.

37: Perkins (1943), p26. The Harrington and Dacre arms are given in Boumphrey, Hudleston and Hughs, (1973), p148 : Harrington - sable fretty argent; p94 : Dacre - gules three escall^{pos} argent. Cal Inq, IX, p30, no 48, dated July 1347. N

38: The shields of arms are described and illustrated in Raine, (1834), p18 and plate VIII.

39: CPR 1391-6, p612: July 26th, 1395. This William Lescrope was related to Sir Geoffrey Scrope, who founded the family of Scrope of Masham, (VCH Yorks NR I, p324). Much has been written on the family of Scrope, including recently, a thesis by Brigette Vale, "The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham, c1300-1450: A Study of a Northern

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Noble Family, with a Calendar of the Scrope of Bolton Cartulary", (York, D Phil, 1987). The author has kindly provided me with further details connecting the family of Scrope with Sir Walter de Urswick. She notes that both Urswick and Sir Richard were retainers of John of Gaunt, and probably knew each other in that connection.

40 : Nicolas (1832), vol II, pp169-70

41 : Raine (1834), pp7-12 , cited below in Appendix I. Raine believed that Richard de Cracall was probably the same individual who contracted to build the south aisle at Hornby church in 1410, which building is also associated with the Burgh family, (VCH Yorks NR I, p310, n63a.)

42: Raine, (1834), pp12, 19 and 20.

43: Ibid, p19: it is likely that the brasses commemorating these individuals, now set in the middle of the floor of the north aisle, were once contained in the two recesses.

44: Dodsworth Church Notes (1883-4), pp15-16, n71; Parl Rep Yorks, p79.

45: Nicolas (1829), p30; Lawrance (1946), p39.

46: Wilson (1980), p98; Rites of Durham, pp16-17.

47: Reg Richmond, p197, n5.

48: Brown, (1912-13b), pp198-202.

49: The will is printed in TE I, pp16-17, and see Appendix I.

50: Cal Inq, VII, p54, no 81.

51 : VCH Yorks NR I, pp480-1: there were several Ettons of East Gilling named Thomas, but the date of decease of this particular individual is indicated by the fact that in 1348 his son and heir, another Thomas de Etton, settled the manor of Gilling on members of the Fairfax family of Walton should the direct line of Ettons fail. (He married his cousin, Elizabeth Fairfax of Walton - Bilson, (1906-7), p118.) VCH Yorks NR I, p480.

52: eg Knowles, (1985), p89; l'Anson, vol 27, pp120-1.

53: The arms are described in a heraldic roll of 1334 as Azure a cross patonce argent. (The Ashmolean Roll, original in the Bod. Lib. Ms Ashmole 15A, cited in Mitchell, (1983), p481, no 335.

54: Reg Richmond, p175, no 68, and n5.

55: His will is printed in Reg Pal Dun I pp331-5, and is cited in Appendix I.

56: Cal Inq V, pp216-7; Foster (1874) II, details given under Vavasour of Haslewood, Spaldington, Wiston, Copmanthorpe, etc.

57: Ibid, the third lord Vavasour appears to have been Sir Henry Vavasour, third son of Sir William. He died in 1349, and is believed to be buried in the abbey of Louth Park in Lincolnshire. Parliamentary Roll of c1312, cited in Mitchell, (1983), p341, no 74.

58: Brian and Moira Gittos, authors of "A Classification of Early Yorkshire Effigies", International Society for the Study of Church Monuments, Bulletin 3, (1980), pp53-7, have kindly confirmed this in recent correspondence.

59: Longley (nd), pp34, 37; Leadman (1894-5), p548 - the effigies were seen in the chancel by Torre in the 17th century. l'Anson notes that the right sides of both the effigies have been "eaten away" - l'Anson, vol 29, p36. This damage is unlikely to have been caused by reformers, since the chapel was evidently regarded by Edward VI's commissioners as being extra-parochial, and as a result Church of England services were never introduced to the chapel, and Mass continued to be celebrated there - Oswald, (1957), p1383.

60: Henry V lord Vavasour d c1349 - Comp Peerage, vol XII, part II, p236.

61 : Walker (1930-31), p326; Cal Inq VI, no 320, pp184-5.

62 : McCall (1910), p45, and see figs 26d - f. VCH Yorks NR I, p316 - Thomas de Burgh was eventually succeeded as lord of Hackforth in the parish of Hornby in 1324, by his brother-in-law, Alexander de Mountford. Dodsworth noted the presence of the Burgh arms in the windows at Hornby, and identified the effigy as "one Burgo, antiently lord of Hackforth." - Dodsworth Church Notes (1904), p232.

63: The arms of Metham are described in a heraldic roll, dated 1337-1350, cited by Nicolas (1829), p37.

64: Cal Inq V, pp180-1, no 316. Cal Inq II, p56, no 233; ibid, p142, no 565.

65: Idem VIII, pp430-2, no 596.

66: There was a family connection between the de la Poles and John Rotenhering. He married the widow of the first William de la Pole, who also d1366, and Rotenhering's will is known, dated 1328, being contained in the Liber Rubeus of Hull, and is cited in Appendix I.

67: TE I, pp7-9, dated 1345, and cited in Appendix I.

68: Cal Inq VIII, p56, no 76; VCH Yorks ER I, pp78-9; Horrox (1981), pp61-2.

69: Horrox (1983), p42. However, she does point out that these arms could equally be those of Walter de la Pole, who also served on the Crecy-Calais campaign. Harvey (1952-62), pp472-7, identifies the heraldry as that relating to the younger William de la Pole, noting, pp473-4 and n1, that the two large shields on the south side of the tomb flanking the finial, are charged with the arms - two bars nebulee - and records that they are original and unrestored. These are the arms of Sir William de la Pole the younger, which arms Harvey also found on his seal, attached to a deed of 1350.

70: McCall, (1904) p128 identified the knight as Sir John de Wandesforde, the second husband of Elizabeth. However, later (1910) he amended this view, then believing the knight to be Alexander de Mowbray, principally because the will of John de Wandesforde is known, in which he requested burial in the parish of Treswell (Notts), near the body of his wife. I am grateful to Robert Savage, curator at the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, for his advice regarding the dating of this, and other effigies.

71: Collier and Lawrance (1927-9) p13; Burke (1878) p713.

72: VCH Yorks NR I, pp372-3.

73 : Lawrance (1946), p41.

74 : I'Anson, vol 29, p44; Reg Greenfield IV, p220, no

2101; VCH Yorks NR I, pp109, 106.

75: Ibid, p107.

76: Mitchell, (1983), citing the Parliamentary Roll of 1312, p341, no 85, gives "Or a fess between Two chevrons Gules (fess charged with three mullets argent)."

77: Cal Inq VI, pp345-7, no 533.

78: VCH Yorks NR II, p556.

79: CPR 1377-81, p543.

80: He exchanged it for the vicarage of Gilling-in-Ryedale - Fasti Par III, p78; CPR 1388-92, p 234.

81: TE I, p158 and p157, each dated 1391, and see Appendix I

82: Reg Scrope, ff172v-173v, where she is called Agnes Broun of Scarborough. See Appendix I.

83: In a note of the probate of her will, the name of her executor is given as John Carter, son of Adam Carter, and the supervisor is named as William Warter. This William was probably the chaplain of her own chantry, since in her will she set aside funds for him to celebrate divine service in the chapel of St Nicholas for four years.

Chapter 2: Tomb patrons - identities and effigies

Moreover, of the only two cantarists of her chantry whose names are known, one was called John Wartre. He is known to have occupied this position in 1426 when, because of his blindness, two coadjutors were appointed to assist him. He was probably related to William Warter, who may well have been his predecessor as cantarist.

84: Parliamentary Roll of 1312, cited in Mitchell, (1983), p387, no 1075.

85: Given in the Carlisle Roll, dated 1334, the original being in Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum, Ms 324. Cited ibid, p451, no 164.

86: Foster, (1874) vol II.

87: His arms are described as lozengy gules and argent in the Ashmolean Roll of c1334, cited in Mitchell, (1983), p478, no 256.

88: TE I, pp50-52. See Appendix I.

89: Ancient Deeds I, p28, no A.260, dated 1343: " Grant by Ralph de Neville, lord of Raby, to Roger de Lonesdale, William de Elwyk, and two others, chaplains in the parish church of Staindrop, Durham diocese, of 20 marks of annual rent arising from his manors of Stayndrop and Raby, for daily masses at the altar of the Virgin in the south part of the said church for the souls of Sir Ranulph de Neville his father, lady Eufemia his mother

(whose body lies buried there), himself, and Alesia his wife after their decease....This grant is made by consent of the bishop of Durham and the prior and convent of Durham..." On the basis of this document, Dawton in Thompson (1983), pp126-7, identifies the lady in the gabled recess as Euphemia de Clavering.

90: Comp Peerage, IX, p498.

91: VCH Yorks NR I, pp363-5.

92: Comp Peerage, vol VIII, p522.

93: Dodsworth Church Notes (1904), p225.

94: CPR 1361-4, p312; YCS II, pp505-6.

95: These are given in Papworth (1977), as (argent) two bars (vert). At Tickhill this device is differenced by an indented device, which is described as "a low-grade fess dancetty with smaller teeth" in Franklyn and Tanner (1970), p182. This probably indicates a junior member of the family.

96: CPR 1348-50, p191; Beastall (nd), p15.

97: Bilson (1906-7), pp112-3.

98: Parl Rep Yorks, p 60.

99: Mitchell (1983), p365, citing the Parliamentary Roll of c1312, Br Mus Cotton Caligula A.XVIII, ff3-21b, no 635. Comp Peerage IX, p548 - Sir John de Newmarch died in 1310. Dodsworth, visiting Womersley in 1621, noted the Newmarch arms in several windows - Dodsworth Church Notes (1894-5), pp144-5.

100: Dixon and Raine (1863), p396; Gee (1984), pp343-4 - at the time of Greenfield's death there were two chantries at this altar, dedicated to St Nicholas. A third chantry was added in 1346 by Richard de Cestria, canon of York, the chaplain of which was to celebrate for the archbishop's soul.

101: Prior and Gardner (1912) described a rather general Yorkshire style; l'Anson, YAJ vols 27, 28 and 29, started to separate the military effigies in Yorkshire into different workshops, but with many omissions, and his dating of effigies has been criticised by many subsequent authors. More recently, Nicholas Dawton, (1983 and 1989), and Veronica Sekules have explored the subject of sculpture in the north-east of England, and Brian and Moira Gittos have published two studies, (1980 and 1989), which identify five groups of 13th and 14th century effigies (A-E), and in the latter survey they give a chronology. I have disagreed with some of their classifications, as will be discussed more fully below. They do give valuable maps in both studies, showing where the effigies of the five workshops they have identified

are located.

102: I'Anson, vol 27, pp117-39.

103: Claud Blair in The Age of Chivalry, p293, citing one of the earliest known examples of an effigy wearing a bascinet, ie the brass of Sir John de Creke now dated c1340-45, at Westley Waterless, (Cambs). Saul (1992), pp4-7, argues that the date of the first known appearance of a bascinet in funeral effigies can be pushed back to c1330-40, basing his argument on the discussion of a tomb-slab at St Bride's Major, Glamorgan, where the effigy wears both rowel spurs (usually seen as an early form of goad) and a bascinet. He supports his argument convincingly by comparisons with other, recently redated effigies.

104 : Blair, in The Age of Chivalry, p169.

105: Ibid, p294, cat no 235.

106 : I'Anson, vol 29, pp36-7, who dates them both c1330, which seems too late; Gittos, p55.

107 : Illus in Prior and Gardner(1912), p293.

108: Womersley: It has been assumed that the recess and effigy were set up by Sir John's widow, who survived him by about 20 years and was involved in a dispute over the

right of presentation at Womersley, a battle which she seems to have won - Comp Peerage, vol IX, p548;

Hazlewood: the knight now lying in the east recess could be either Sir William or Sir Walter de Vavsour, but in either case a date of c1315-20 seems likely. However there is nothing in their armour or equipment to prevent a date range of c1310-30 being ascribed to them. If the effigy is of Sir Walter, a date shortly after his death (by 1315) would be likely since he appears to have died suddenly, about 2 years after his father, and it is probable that he would not have made his own funeral arrangements. A younger brother of Walter, Henry Vavasour, d1342, left some of his own funeral arrangements very much to the last minute, and there was a serious controversy after his death. The story is told of how, when on his death-bed at Louth Park Abbey (Lincs), he decided to make a last-minute bequest of some property to the abbey. Various witnesses, chiefly his widow, claimed that he was not in his right mind at the time and that some-one had set his (by then) dead hand to his seal. Others said that he had been quite lucid when making this bequest - CPR 1345-8; Raban, (1982) pp124-5;

Bainton: Sir Edmund de Mauley d 1314 is commemorated here, and, as at Hazlewood, the effigy was probably set up shortly after his death at the battle of Bannockburn;

Butterwick: again the effigy was probably set up by the widow of Sir Robert FitzRalph after his death in 1317 which occurred soon after the death of his father and probably unexpectedly early;

Hornby: Thomas de Burgh who probably built the aisle and the recess in which his

effigy lies had thereby begun to make preparations for his monument, and probably had his effigy made before his death in c1322; Feliskirk: Sir John de Walkingham died in c1327, and his widow who survived for about another 20 years probably had the tomb and effigy set up shortly after his death. She probably had her own effigy made at a date closer to her own decease in c1346; Sprotborough: Sir William FitzWilliam predeseased his wife in c1338, and she was still alive 10 years later. It has been assumed that she had his tomb and effigy made after his death, and had her own made at about the same time or shortly afterwards; West Tanfield: Maud Marmion, who was dead by 1360 and survived her husband by about 25 years, probably had her effigy made shortly before her own death.

109: Surtees (1816-40), vol III, p197.

110: Ibid, p201, citing the register of bishop Kellawe, f240, printed Reg Pal Dun II, pp1238-1240, and the effigy is illustrated plate 145.

111 : Blair (1929), p5.

112: Ibid, pp5-6, 23; I'Anson, vol 27, p128.

113: Claude Blair in Age of Chivalry, pp259-60. cat nos 166-8.

114: A much later parallel for the use of a male head at the foot of an effigy is seen at Ryther church, in the effigy of Sir William Ryther, d 1475. Routh and Knowles, (1981), pp11 and 16 point out that there is a family connection between the Ryther and Sprotborough effigies. The latter has been identified here as the effigy of Isabel FitzWilliam, and the second wife of Sir John Ryther was Eleanor, the daughter of Sir John FitzWilliam of Sprotborough.

115: Horrox (1983), p6.

116: Illustrated Scott, (1986), plate 17, and identified *ibid*, pp32-3.

117: see n 36 above; I'Anson vol 29, pp8-9 described the effigy as having had mail shown by stamped and gilded gesso. The Gittos (1983), p96 describe the effigy as being an unfinished Yorkshire product, but this is unlikely given the fact that the widow of Robert FitzRalph survived him for almost thirty years.

118: Dawton, in Wilson (1983), pp121-132.

119: Ibid, p122, where these cusp figures are identified as the work of the "Evangelist Master", and illustrated plate XXIIIB.

120: Ibid, pp121ff, described as the work of the "Soul Master."

121: I'Anson, vol 27, pp117-139, and especially p120.

Sleeved surcoats were seen as early as c1290-1300. on the soldiers on the base of the Lincoln Easter Sepulchre.

122: Knowles (1985), p89 - he calls these effigies the work of the "Sleeve Master", or of his workshop, because of the long-sleeved garments which characterise many of these effigies.

123: Ibid, p90; Gittos, (1980), p55, do not put the Birkin effigy in this group.

124: As before the effigies have been dated to within a few years of the decease of those they commemorate. This seems acceptable for most of the effigies in this group, giving dates of between c1320 to c1340. However the effigy of Brian FitzAlan d c1308 at Bedale would be unlikely to be this early since there are no (surviving) effigies of this group dated earlier than c1320. The effigies of both Brian FitzAlan and the lady beside him, identified as that of his first wife Muriel, who was dead by 1290, may have been set up by his second wife, Matilda, who was still living in 1340 - McCall (1907), p97. The other effigies have been identified by I'Anson and their dates have, on the whole, been confirmed by Knowles (1985) as follows: Howden - Sir John de Metham, d1311 (I'Anson vol 27, pp122-4, and vol 29, p18); Roos effigy, Temple Church, London - William second lord Roos

of Helmsley, d1316 (I'Anson vol 27, pp134-8 and vol 29, pp9-10); Escrick - Sir Thomas Lascelles, d1324 (I'Anson vol 29, pp22-23); East Harsley - Sir Geoffrey Hotham, d c1326 (I'Anson vol 29, pp30-31); Birkin - Sir John de Everingham, d c1328 (Knowles, pp91-2); Amotherby - Sir John de Borresden, d c1329 (I'Anson vol 27, pp138-9, and vol 29, pp37-8); Norton-upon-Tees - c1320, (Knowles, p89; Blair (1929), p24-6); Goldsborough - Sir Richard V de Goldsborough, d c1333 (I'Anson vol 27, pp120-22 and vol 29, pp31-2. The Howden lady, Sybil de Metham, is probably contemporary with the knight. She survived her husband and was still living in 1327/8 - Placita de Banco, p764. She presumably set up both the effigies at Howden.

125: For instance, the effigy of Bishop Thomas Hatfield, in Durham Cathedral, dated c1365, and illustrated in Prior and Gardner, (1912) p674, fig 757, which has rather full draperies.

126: I am most grateful to Colin Briden for answering various questions regarding the Howden effigies and recesses. His view that the knight and lady were originally carved as a pair on a single slab, and that they were separated causing damage to the right hand side of the knight and the left hand side of the lady, is convincing. Although the two effigies now lie together once more, the division is still clearly visible, with damage to the ogee canopies over the heads, and to the dog at the lady's feet.

127: The only stone scroll-bearing effigy known to me is the one of a lady holding a child at Scarcliffe church, (Derbys), illustrated in Stothard, (1876), plate 35, opposite p62. The FitzAlan knight at Bedale shows some of the characteristics seen in the group B effigies - eg he has a dragon biting the tip of his shield, like the Bainton and Nunnington knights, and like the Sprotborough lady, he has two small figures sitting at his feet (this time priests), reading books. The Thornhill-FitzAlan family connection (see above, n15) is reinforced by this effigy, of Brian FitzAlan, and that in Thornhill church, probably of Sir John de Thornhill, d c1321, which may come from group B (ie the group which foreshadowed group C). The Thornhill knight has a mutilated canopy over the head, with two figures of kneeling angels; two further figures, either priests or acolytes, are carved at his feet; he also has a richly decorated sword-belt and scabbard, as seen at Bedale (and Goldsborough). However, the Thornhill draperies are less voluminous, and the surcoat is without sleeves. This Sir John de Thornhill was the brother of Brian de Thornhill, whose effigy in Bedale church has been discussed - Clay, (1927-29), p298.

128: Dawton in Thompson (1983) p130, n9 - he uses the York Madonna as the starting point to argue for a series of stylistic developments which are found in the choir statues at Howden and the seated Madonna at Patrington. This development eventually led to the style of the figures on top of the Percy tomb, with what he describes

as the pouch-like folds across the front of most of the figures under discussion, the trailing lines of drapery and slightly swaying poses.

129 : Ibid, p144. The angels standing on pedestals on the gables of the tomb have very similar draperies and poses to those of the York Madonna, although they also represent a development in the greater fluidity of their draperies and the degree of movement in their stance.

130: Ibid, pp144-5, n98.

131: Illustrated ibid, plate LVIA, and discussed p144. Some of the features of the effigies of the Methams in Howden can also be seen in the choir statues, such as the figure of the priest behind the altar in the south transept. Although his pose is upright, the draperies convey a sense of movement and volume, the edges of the chasuble undulate in similar fashion to the veils on the effigy of Sybil de Metham, and the priest's hair resembles that of the Metham knight.

132: The Gittos, (1980), pp55-6, attribute a number of other effigies to this group, some of which have been associated with other groups here (ie Birkin, Goldsborough and Spofforth) and others which are not associated with recesses in the Province of York so have not been visited (ie Bottesford lady (Leics), Burton-on-Stather knight (Lincs), Kildwick knight, Leeds knight and Sherrif Hutton knight); Routh and Knowles, (1981), p5.

133: YAS archives, plan of Church Fenton (ref no MS 1101 - Church Fenton), drawn and annotated by SD Kitson, 1920-3.

134: Scott, (1986), pp5, 24, and plate 6.

135: Ibid, p28.

136: The Hornby knight, Thomas de Burgh, has been ascribed above to group B.

137: Illustrated Scott, (1986), plate 3.

138: Cal Inq VI, no 320, pp184-5.

139: Lawrance and Routh, (1924), pp128-30, who compare the effigy of the knight at Norwell with that of a knight in Willoughby church, which has very similar loose folds of drapery, falling in rounded loops over the right thigh - illustrated ibid, plates IIc and IIIc.

140: VCH Yorks NR II, p477; Jeffrey (1931), p145; Collier and Lawrance (1918-20), pp46-7.

141: Jeffrey, (1931), p145. VCH Yorks NR II, p49: members of the Hastings family held land in Thornton Dale from 1272 until 1504.

142: Prior and Gardner (1912), p679; l'Anson, vol 29, pp63-4, n3; Kent (1949), pp70-87.

143: This slab originally came from Aumale, Seine-Maritime, France, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, (Cloisters Collection purchase 1925, no 25.120.202).

144: Illustrated Trivick, (1969), plates 97 and 98.

145: Illustrated ibid, plate 102.

146: Illustrated ibid, plate 74.

147: Illustrated in The Age of Chivalry, p251, cat no 140.

148: Illustrated Scott, (1986), plate 17, p33, and plate 42, p52 respectively.

149: All these are illustrated ibid, plates 29, 30, and 33.

150: Illustrated Trivick, (1969), plate 42.

151: Knights' Fees, p220 n; Parl Rep Yorks, p60.

152: Yorks Fines 1347-77, p39; Parl Rep Yorks, p60.

153: YCS II, p557.

154: Cal Inq VIII, no 525, pp368-9: this is the inquisition post mortem of Thomas' elder brother Robert de Thwing, dated 1345, and it states that Thomas was his heir, and that he inherited, inter alia, the manor of Thwing; Idem, vol XIV, pp53-60: This extensive inquisition post mortem is that of Thomas himself, dated 1374, and it shows that at the time of his death he still held the manor of Thwing, the advowson of a moiety of the church and that of the chantry of St Thomas the Martyr there. The apparent youthfulness of the effigy conflicts with the age of Thomas de Thwing, about 70-75 years old at his death. However, although portraiture was generally becoming more popular in the later 14th century, none of the Yorkshire effigies of this period reflect an interest in such concerns. The faces of both the Thwing and West Tanfield effigies, with their rounded chins and serene expressions, continue the facial types of earlier effigies in group B, such as those of the Hornby effigies, or the Feliskirk lady.

In the period c1330-50, there was a significant burst of building activity in the north of England, resulting in a series of luxurious and inventive monuments which introduced new decorative elements to the repertoire of English sculptors. Some of these were developed from existing features of English sculpture, while others were probably drawn directly from Continental sources. The Percy tomb, which has already been shown to be indirectly related to the groups of effigies identified here, was the monument on which these new developments hinged. It was probably as a result of the design and execution of this tomb that an identifiable "school" of sculptors was formed in the north-east in this period. The term "school" has to be used with caution: in this case, it is not intended to imply a fixed or consistent group of sculptors, travelling together and working on the same commissions. Rather, it is argued here that there was a core of two principal craftsmen who, from time to time, came together to co-operate on the same projects, with a fluctuating circle of associates, perhaps drawn from local workshops. ¹³

Because it is in the general form of the architectural elements and the detailed execution of the sculptural forms that this workshop style is most evident, other aspects of these monuments, such as moulding profiles, will be examined in the more general context of northern tomb design in the following chapter.

Prior to the period under discussion, a number of effigies which are related to the later monuments in terms of drapery style and sculptural details can be found in Cumbria, north Lancashire and north Yorkshire. The series begins with the effigy of a lady at Torpenhow church in Cumbria, and concludes with the effigies of Sir John Harrington, d1347, and his wife Joan (nee Dacre) at Cartmel. The Torpenhow lady now lies in the south porch, and it is uncertain whether the effigy was ever intended to lie in the south chancel recess, although the slab on which the effigy lies does fit it dimensionally. (Plates 391-3) The effigy is in a very damaged condition, being both weathered and broken. Details of the lady's dress are no longer discernible, so the effigy is very difficult to date, and because the stone is so worn, there is little to be observed with any degree of clarity as far as stylistic intentions are concerned, except that the drapery folds are long, uninterrupted, and almost parallel.

The effigy of a canon at Cartmel, which is now placed against the south side of the Harrington tomb, seems to demonstrate a clearer version of the drapery style of the Torpenhow lady. (Plates 112-3) The Cartmel canon probably once came from a recess in the south wall of the chancel, which recess was all but destroyed when the Harrington tomb was moved to its present position in the 17th century.^[2] This effigy is still in very fine condition, and shows the canon dressed in long ankle-length habit

and hooded cloak, and holding a chalice. The lines of the habit fall in smooth, rounded and uninterrupted folds, and thus may represent the original form of the draperies of the Torpenhow lady. The date of this canon's effigy is unknown, but because of its similarities with the Cartmel effigies, it may be seen as being not more than c10 years earlier. Another effigy which seems to foreshadow the Harrington effigies is the knight at Nunnington (North Yorkshire), of Walter de Teye, d1325. (Plates 302-4) The comparison of the Nunnington knight's surcoat with the draperies of the Cartmel effigies is particularly close. At Nunnington, where the surcoat is gathered at the waist by a belt, the folds are shown as rounded parallel forms, carved in low relief. The surcoat of the Nunnington knight opens rather low down by comparison with Yorkshire effigies, and unlike other Yorkshire knights, he carries a heart in his hands. A small attendant figure carrying a pouch, kneels beside the effigy's head. The knight's feet rest on a lion, the outstretched paw of which grasps a gryphon which lies alongside the body of the knight. Although there is no evidence that the Nunnington effigy was produced by a Cumbrian sculptor, its geographical position makes an imported effigy a possibility, since medieval roads are known to have existed, connecting the two areas which are virtually on the same line of latitude.^[3] The evolution from the use of rounded parallel folds which give a bulky appearance to the Torpenhow lady, to flatter folds though still mostly parallel and with rounded edges at Nunnington, to the controlled and serene appearance of the Cartmel canon can

be clearly traced. As the drapery style of this group of effigies developed, the rounded, narrow and parallel nature of the folds persisted, but in the later effigies, they fall with a greater degree of movement than is seen in the earlier examples, with broad areas of material pulled tightly across the legs of each effigy revealing the form of the body beneath.

The draperies of the Harrington knight and lady represent a further development of the earlier effigies: the lady's dress falls in rounded tubular forms, the parallel lines of which are interrupted only by the movement of her left knee, which pulls the material into a round-edged plane. The knight's long surcoat shows rather more fluidity of form, responding to the movement of his crossed legs by being stretched smoothly over his right thigh, falling in rounded lines to the opening of the garment which, like that at Nunnington, is rather low, and gaining further movement at the hem which is folded back to show the underside of the material. (Plate 88) Like the Nunnington knight, the effigies at Cartmel are shown carrying a heart, but the Cartmel knight wears a bascinet, unlike the Nunnington effigy which has a mail coif, and this indicates a date of c1340 for the Harrington effigies. The Cartmel lady wears a head-dress composed of several layers of veils which completely cover her hair and fall to the shoulder, as has been seen, for example, in the Sprotborough lady, who d c1348, and whose effigy has been dated here c1345. (Plate 360)

There is no documentary evidence for the dating of the Harrington tomb. However, as Sir John died in 1347, the effigies are likely to be at least c 1340 in date. If the tomb and effigies were set up shortly before his death, a date of c1345 is likely for the tomb and effigies, and as will be discussed below, this date can be confirmed on both architectural and sculptural grounds.

The Cartmel tomb has suffered some damage, and is not now in its original position. It is probable that it once stood in the bay to the west of where it now stands. The east end of the monument has been abruptly cut away, and it would probably have had another arched bay at this end, of similar size to the two that remain.^[4] It has been noted that when the bay to the west of the tomb was excavated, a large stone was found which was roughly the same size as the tomb, and may have served as a foundation for the monument.^[5] It is likely that the third bay on the east side of the tomb would have contained a chantry altar, (as was originally the case at York Minster, attached to the tomb of archbishop Greenfield), and some of the sculpture now lying loose on the tester of the tomb may have come from this altar.^[6]

Although the Harrington effigies have been related to a group of effigies in the Carlisle diocese, the possibility that they were produced by a Yorkshire sculptor cannot be ruled out, bearing in mind the similarities between the Nunnington and Cartmel

figures.⁵⁷ Both the architecture of the tomb and the sculptural style of the many small figures which form part of the tomb's decoration show a number of features which must have been directly transmitted from Yorkshire.

Because of the amount of figure sculpture on the tomb canopy at Cartmel, the architecture of the tomb as well as the style of the effigies will be discussed in this chapter rather than the next, and a number of other monuments will also be discussed since they appear to be related to the Cartmel tomb and may share some common sources. The Harrington tomb is a screen type of monument, that is, it is two-sided with a central column and a pair of cusped arches on each side, with the effect of a double layer of tracery originally spanning across three bays of the tomb, set in the opening between the choir and the south chapel. (Plate 87) The figures on the north side of the tester form a cohesive composition of the Coronation of the Virgin. (Plate 89) However those on the south side do not appear to belong together, and although some pieces are very damaged so that their religious significance is difficult to establish, it appears that they may even be of different dates.⁵⁸ (Plate 94) Those figures that do appear to belong with the tomb, i.e. those on the north side of the tester, and the central figure of a seated Christ under a nodding ogee gable on the south side, will be discussed here as they appear to relate stylistically to some of the figures in niches on the columns of the tomb.

There appear to have been at least three different hands engaged in the figure sculpture on the tomb, of which the sculptor who carried out the effigies seems to have been the most innovative and the most prolific. The drapery style of the effigies has already been discussed, and the same round-edged, softly-draped folds can also be seen in the little groups of weeper figures on the tomb chest (Plates 105-8), the angels at the heads of the effigies, the figure of the seated Christ under its ogee canopy, and the Coronation of the Virgin, both of which are on the tomb's tester (Plates 93-4, 89), and the small free-standing figures of canons placed alongside the effigies (Plate 99). The precedents for many of these figures are hard to find in England c1340, and it seems highly probable that this sculptor, who will be called the Effigy Master for the purposes of this study, had travelled to the Continent where there were plenty of precedents for various features at Cartmel. The small hooded figures of canons carved in low relief on the base, as weepers, have the same fluid draperies which follow the contours of their legs and hang in soft loops across the lower half of the bodies, as well as the rather large hands seen on the small free-standing figures, the effigies and the angels at their heads. These are probably derived from a Continental source, although similar seated and standing figures set against a diapered background can be found from c1330 at Heckington and Hawton, on the Easter Sepulchres in both churches, and significantly, these small figures are free

of arcades or niches in both of these monuments. (Plates 206, 185) At Beverley Minster, groups of small figures are set above the exterior diapered parapet of the north and south nave aisles, dated some time between 1311 and 1334, and again these are unenclosed by architectural elements, although the scenes depicted have no funerary connotations.^[10] (Plates 33-5) The relationship between weeper figures on a tomb chest, and sleeping soldiers on the base of an Easter Sepulchre is iconographically close, and would be sufficient to allow the latter to influence the former. However, in France low relief carving of groups of weeper figures on tombs in the mid-fourteenth century was a common feature. The Cartmel tomb-chest, with its groups of seated canons, can be compared with the tomb of Bishop Hugues de Chatillon (d1352), in the cathedral of St Bertrand-de-Commignes (Plate 110), which has crowds of small standing canons carved in low relief on the tomb-chest, and although the chest is divide into three compartments, and an arcade runs along the top edge of the chest, the figures are not constrained by these architectural elements, and remain in informal groups. Similarly, remains of the tomb of Pope Clement VI include two panels dated 1349-51, each carved with groups of figures in low relief, and again free of enclosing architectural elements.^[11]

The use of free-standing statuary on top of a tester is not a feature of English tomb design of this period. However, the Coronation of the Virgin on the Cartmel

tomb's tester is found in 13th century French buildings such as Reims cathedral, where it is occurs over the west portal, dated to the second quarter of the 13th century.^[11] Although the Reims figures are not on a horizontal surface, their prominence and numerous attendant figures are similar to the Cartmel arrangement, and are unlike some English versions of the scene, such as that on the west front at Wells, where there are only two figures and they are enclosed in a geometric form. Although the Coronation of the Virgin occurs at Beverely in the Percy tomb, it is carved inconspicuously on a corbel under the tomb's vault, quite unlike its prominent position at Cartmel.^[12] An example of a tomb with free-standing figures on top of a tester is that of Enguerrand de Marigny, d1315, in the church of Ecois, where there is the figure of Christ in Majesty with attendant figures.^[13] The Cartmel figures have very similar treatment of drapery to that of the other figures attributed to the Effigy Master, with sweeping folds falling in rounded forms, and with the long rounded faces seen in the effigies and the weeper figures on the tomb-chest.

The most interesting and unusual aspect of the Effigy Master's contribution to the Cartmel tomb however, are the rows of small, free-standing weeper figures which surround the effigies. There is no precedent for this in English tombs of the period, and this suggests that at Cartmel, a strand of direct Continental influence affected the tomb's design. The Cartmel figures have been

badly damaged, having had their heads knocked off, but parts of their hoods remain and it is likely that, as on the tomb chest, they were intended to represent canons of the priory, standing in rows alongside the effigies as though they were in procession. Although small attendant figures have already been noted in Yorkshire effigies, such as the Goldsborough knight from group C, there they occur singly or in pairs at the heads or feet of the effigies, and occasionally at the knees. Rows of attendant figures are, however, seen in the early 14th century in French tombs, such as that of Alix de Nanteuil, who died after 1302. This tomb, in Nanteuil church, near Paris has several small free-standing figures surrounding the effigy.^[14] An earlier example is seen at Corbeil, which is also situated close to Paris, in the church of St Spire, where the effigy of Simon de Corbeil, who died in the 13th century, has four small figures standing in a row along one side of the effigy.^[15] The effigy of Riccardo Annibaldi, d1289, whose tomb is in the church of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, has a row of clerics standing alongside. (Plate 100) In remaining fragments of the tomb of Pope John XXII, which was probably set up in 1334 or soon after but which is now almost completely destroyed, two small figures indicate that here also there was originally a procession of such figures on the base of the tomb.^[16]

There are a few figures on the columns which may also have been carried out by this sculptor, such as the small

group of figures, which apparently represent the blindfolded Christ being mocked, set under an ogee arch on the north side of the tomb, at the junction of a column and an arch. (Plate 91) The deep relief in the folds of the robe of the seated figure of Christ, falling smoothly to his feet, convey the same sense of rounded solidity as is seen in the other figures carved by the Effigy Master.

A second sculptor appears to have carried out most of the angel figures on the columns, as well as other statues set in niches on the upper parts of the columns, so will be called the Column Master in this discussion. The angels are not set under ogee gables, and while they are cruder in their execution than the figures already discussed, with their broad, pleat-like drapery folds and stiff poses, they are extremely well integrated with the architecture of the tomb canopy. The scroll-carrying angels on the pillars are so designed that the bodies and the wings extend over two sides of the square pillar. (Plate 97) The angels lifting the soul to heaven are similarly responsive to the structure, each pair kneeling along the ogee tip of the main arch, following its lines with their bodies. Moreover the soul is lifted in a napkin which is so folded that it almost continues the lines of the arch mouldings, and the napkin is held across the ogee tip in a manner which balances its upward movement. (Plate 95) The little angels carved on the cusp ends also enhance certain structural elements of the tomb. The wings of each angel are spread out along two

surfaces of the cusp, continuing its line and adding texture to it in the form of scale-like feathers. The bodies of the angels on the cusps are shown kneeling and praying so that the tips of the cusps are formed by the bent knees of the angels. This is a very imaginative and unusual use of cusp figures, which are more commonly seen on the frontal plane of the cusp, projected away from the tomb canopy, as in the Percy tomb, rather than being set along the thickness of the cusp.

The figure of the crucified Christ on the south side of the Cartmel tomb, at the junction of what remains of two arches and a column is probably by the same sculptor as carried out the angels. (Plate 96) The rather crude figure style, with stiff draperies and awkward pose resembles the angels carrying the souls. The way the outstretched arms of Christ are used to form an extra piece of tracery, which follows and adds to the tomb architecture is also typical of this master's work. Just as the soul held in the napkin was held across an ogee tip to form an architecturally balancing element, so the arms of Christ balance the downwards direction of the two arches as they descend to the column.

One further hand can be detected in the Harrington tomb, and as was the case with the Effigy Master, he may well be have been a sculptor from outside the area. This man's work on the tomb is not extensive, but is found in the niches and their statues on the lower parts of the

columns. Most of the niches carved by this sculptor have ogee gables and pinnacles, unlike the other niches, and these contain figures which have been carved in a very distinctive style. The execution of these lower column figures is a good deal more accomplished than that of the others already discussed, but they do not appear to be later insertion, as the figure of St Catherine carrying her wheel, which I attribute to this sculptor, indicates. (Plate 102) The pinnacle of her canopy is encroached upon by the wing of an angel carved by the second sculptor, but it is not damaged and this overlap was evidently intentional, indicating that the figures and the pinnacle are in their original positions and contemporary. The drapery style of this third group of statues at Cartmel is closer to Yorkshire work than to the draperies of the other figures on the tomb, and the sculptor of these figures will here be called the Yorkshire Master.⁵¹⁷ The main characteristics of the work of this third sculptor can be seen clearly in the figure of St Catherine, whose draperies fall in well-modelled, sharp-edged folds with much movement, and which are turned over at the edges to reveal the underside of the material. Horizontal bands of draperies are looped across the front of the figure and all the garments seem to flutter slightly, especially her veil and cloak, as though blown by a breeze. These characteristics are also seen in the Madonna and child on the south-west column, in the figure of a bishop on the north-west column, and in the figure of St John the Baptist on the north-east column. (Plates 101, 103-4) The heads of these figures are

turned to face away from the frontal plane of their bodies, and all carry emblems which identify them, which are so placed as to balance the lines of the poses, so that a sinuous line can be traced through the composition of each figure. In terms of their sharply-modelled draperies and the movement of both the figures and their garments, these statues resemble closely some of the statues which have been discussed as products of the Percy tomb workshop. As has been seen, the figures of the first quarter of 14th century at York have been linked stylistically with the Howden statues, and to the sculptor who carried out the main figures on the canopy of the Percy tomb.^[10] Among the characteristics which linked these figures were the swaying poses, a certain solidity of figure, and voluminous draperies, with folds deeply modelled. While some of these features can be seen in the Yorkshire Master's work at Cartmel, such as the direction of the drapery folds, and the slightly twisted poses, the Cartmel figures are more slender, and their draperies are cut with sharper lines, and show more movement than is seen in the main statues at Beverley. The Cartmel work is closer to the figures on the Percy tomb cusps, which have been attributed to a different sculptor to the man who carried out the main figures.^[11] The angel on the north side of the tomb, on the upper cusping, is carved in a crisp, precise fashion, the robes fall in broad loops and pockets over both hips and are arranged in spiral forms as they are gathered in the angel's right hand.^[20] (Plate 45) As in the Cartmel

bishop, where his staff of office is placed in such a way as to oppose and balance the main lines of the figure, so a similar sense of symmetry is seen in the Beverley angel, whose scroll is held across the figure, diagonally opposite to the main lines of the draperies.

Having considered the possibility that the Yorkshire Master at Cartmel had also worked at Beverley on the Percy tomb, it is possible to understand some of the other figures in the same light, especially the figures carved by the Effigy Master who may also have come from Yorkshire. The rounded, fluid forms of the draperies of the effigies and the smaller figures has already been discussed, as has their long, rounded faces, and well-built stature. Although it is tempting to relate these figures to the statues produced by another member of the Percy tomb workshop, indeed to the main figures on the canopy, this thesis really has to be rejected. Making allowances for the reduction in scale, the Cartmel figures on the tester do not show the interest in combining two- and three- dimensional effects that is seen in the main figures at Beverley. Whereas the different layers of clothing are depicted in meandering lines, and deeply-hollowed folds at Beverley, the Cartmel draperies are simpler, and the figures are less well-proportioned. However, although the Effigy Master may not have worked on the Percy tomb, the similarities between the Nunnington knight and the Cartmel effigies means that there remains the possibility that he was a Yorkshireman, and that he knew of the work at Beverley.

As well as the Beverley element found in the figure-style of the lower column statues at Cartmel, there are also more general structural and iconographic connections with Beverley. Again the Percy tomb and other monuments by its workshop appear to have been influential, and there are many parallels. The Cartmel tomb, set under the choir arcade, with its double-sided nature, and with its use of large-scale ogee forms framed by straight-sided elements of cornice and choir arcade, resembles the Percy tomb arrangement, where these rather basic criteria are also to be found. However, when smaller-scale features are considered the parallels between the two monuments are clearer. The small column figures at Cartmel include angels holding trumpets, censers and scrolls, and on the cusp ends of the Percy tomb there are angels holding musical instruments and scrolls. (Plates 96-8) In the cusp spandrels at Beverley there are both angels holding scrolls and, on one of the reverse faces of the lower cusping spandrels on the south side there is a figure of St Catherine with her wheel, seen also at Cartmel where the figure has been attributed to the Yorkshire master. On the Percy tomb there are numerous shields of arms held by small figures of knights and ladies. At Cartmel shields (now blank) are carved on the columns, and elements of the Dacre and Harrington arms (scallop shells and fretty devices respectively) are carved on the base and the cornice of the tomb. On the south side at Cartmel, on the base of the tomb, there is a scallop

shell in the centre of each square diaper, and on the north side shields of arms carved with the fretty device are set at intervals along the cornice among further square diaper panels. (Plates 89, 107) The main statues standing on the gable of the Percy tomb include two angels lifting the soul to a seated Christ, and this is also an important iconographical scene at Cartmel.

There are some important differences between the Cartmel and Beverley tombs however. The Harrington tomb is at least a two bay monument, and originally there was probably a third bay also, over the chantry altar to the east which is now lost. Moreover, the Percy tomb has a solid canopy, whereas at Cartmel it is pierced, and uses sub-arches with the effect of a double layer of ogee-cusped tracery across the arcade bay. Also, unlike the Percy tomb, much of the subsidiary Cartmel sculpture is carved on the columns of the tomb, whereas at Beverley this occurs mainly in the cusp spandrels and on the cusp ends. At Beverley there is no indication that there was ever a row of free-standing stone figures alongside the effigy which was in the form of a brass. Anyway, the combination of brass effigy and free-standing stone figures would have been an improbable mixture of media. The damaged brass matrix, which is illustrated by Gough, shows that there were no such attendant figures on the brass, but that there were rows of shields alongside the effigy. [21]

Parallels can be found between Cartmel and other products

of the Percy tomb workshop. The shrine of St William at York has recently been discussed as being a product of one of the sculptors who would later work on the Percy tomb. [22] The York shrine was a two-storeyed structure, the lower stage consisting of a slab supported on arches and the upper stage formed of openwork arches. The columns supporting the arches had niches containing statues of which fragments still remain. [23] (Plates 452-7) The Harrington tomb has the four evangelist symbols set on the four corners of the tomb chest, and the York shrine has these symbols on the short sides of its base. [24] The figure of St Margaret from the York shrine (Plate 457) bears a particularly close resemblance to the small figures produced by the Yorkshire Master at Cartmel. There are close similarities between the Cartmel figure of St Catherine and that of St Margaret in the York shrine. Both figures have robes which fall gracefully, and in concentric loops, with the edges of their cloaks folded back, and swirling in agitated fashion at their feet. The York figure is shown in a rather more sinuous pose, both leaning backwards and twisting to one side, but her garments fall over her slight figure in the same graceful and clearly articulated manner as at Cartmel. All the statues of the Yorkshire Master at Cartmel are set in niches with nodding ogee heads, as is the York figure, and as at York, the nodding ogee arches at Cartmel are topped by crocketed pinnacles. In more general terms there are further parallels between the shrine of St William and

the Cartmel tomb: both have several tiers of small figures on columns as well as the four evangelist symbols and the prolific use of diaper pattern, which in both monuments is used as a background to some but not all of the small figures. The shrine has been dated c1330-40, so must precede the Harrington tomb which has been dated here c1345, and probably also the Percy tomb, whose heraldry indicates a date no earlier than 1340.^[25] It seems likely that, as other writers have suggested, a sculptor who had worked on the shrine of St William then went on to work on the Percy tomb, and it is argued here that the same sculptor, some five years later, went on to work at Cartmel, on those parts of the tomb which have been identified as the work of the Yorkshire Master.

At least two of the sculptors who worked on the Percy tomb have also been identified as having carried out some of the sculpture on the Beverley reredos, dated c1335-40, including the vault bosses and some of the carving in the staircase turret at the north end of the reredos.^[26] The reredos has elements which are also found in the Harrington tomb, such as the wavy parapet with crenellations over it and diaper pattern below, as occurs on the Cartmel tomb's cornice, and the use of diaper on vertical elements, found in the reredos on the jambs of the statue niche on its east side, and on the four columns supporting the Cartmel tester and tracery. (Plates 53, 58-9; 91)

Where there are gaps between the Harrington and Percy

tombs, in terms of structure or decoration, many of these are filled by other products of the Percy tomb workshop, as has been seen. The shrine of St William and the Beverley reredos have already been shown to provide some bridging elements between the two tombs, and the former may prove to be a connection between the Cartmel tomb and the shrine of St Werbergh in Chester cathedral. John Maddison has described the Chester shrine as a product of Yorkshire sculptors, and has compared it particularly with the same group of buildings and monuments which have been discussed as fore-runners or early products of the Beverley sculptors.^[27] The two-storied nature of the shrine, with its upper storey "illuminated" by unglazed traceried windows, the wavy parapet, and the clusters of small statues, each in its own niche in the shrine's buttresses recall elements of the Harrington tomb very clearly. (Plates 126-8) The small figures of the Chester and Harrington monuments are so similar as to indicate that they are by the same sculptor. It is the small attendant figures around the Harrington effigies which are closest to the Chester statues, and the Yorkshire background of the Effigy Master has already been discussed. The Chester figures, all stand with one knee slightly bent, the body tilted, and drapery folds which multiply as they descend to the hem where they subdivide in neat "V" shapes. A very similar version of these figures is seen at Cartmel, although there the patterns formed by the subdivided folds are more abstract with close attention to the series of parallel folds, and

there is less variation between the figures. Unlike the figures at Cartmel, the Chester statues carry objects, in this case scrolls, which, rather than opposing the main lines of the figure composition, continue in the same direction, so that the patterns made by the draperies become a dominating aspect, and the potential of parallel lines, as seen at Cartmel, is exploited as a pattern-making device. The shrine has been dated c1330-40, principally on the grounds that it reflects architectural elements found in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East Anglian buildings of that period. [25] This dating fits conveniently with the approximate date of 1345 for the Harrington tomb, and suggests that not only the Yorkshire Master, but also the Effigy Master had worked with other individuals associated with the work at Beverley in c1335-40. Moreover, the architectural parallels between the Chester shrine and buildings in the north-east, are echoed by the architecture of the south choir aisle at Cartmel, which is contemporary with the tomb. [26]

The implication of the connections between the Harrington tomb and the York and Chester shrines are considerable in terms of the evidence of the intention of the patrons. Clearly the Percy tomb was not a model for the structure of the Cartmel tomb, although there was no reason spatially why the Cartmel tomb should ignore Beverley. Although it is difficult to speculate on the meaning of a monument to those who commissioned it, the idea that a tomb of particular design could confer saintly attributes to the person buried there was not, in c1345, a new one.

One of the variants of the shrine with a solid base, reliquary placed above, and, usually, an altar against one end, was the type seen at Chester, where the solid base remained, with its votive niches, but the precious metal reliquary was replaced by an open-work upper storey through which the elaborate casket containing the saint's relics was visible.^[30] The York shrine of St William shared many of these characteristics, although the base was not solid, but a series of arches supporting the elaborate upper storey.^[31]

The relationship between tombs and shrines, and the influence of Westminster has already been discussed in chapter 1. Apart from the likely motives of Henry III in commissioning the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and of Edward I in his choice of tomb for his father, the actual form of the Westminster shrine was of lasting influence.^[32] The shrines at York and Beverley were not associated with the tomb of the saint they commemorated. At York, the saint was buried in 1154, in a coffin from which his body was removed in 1284, and the fourteenth century shrine was built over the empty coffin which marked St William's original burial site.^[33] The shrine of St John at Beverley is now destroyed, but details of the reliquary which once held the relics of the saint are known from a contract of 1292, in which Roger de Faringdon, a goldsmith, was to undertake to provide columns which were to be covered with figures, and which would have pinnacles and niches.^[34] The Beverley shrine

was probably complete by 1308, when Archbishop Greenfield dedicated the new altar of St John at Beverley.¹³⁰⁸ Until the building of the reredos, the reliquary was probably set over the stone which marks the position of St John's tomb, at the east end of the nave. However, once the reredos was complete, by c1335, it is probable that the reliquary was moved, together with the saint's bones, to a position on top of the screen.¹³³⁵

The Cartmel tomb therefore, might have been conceived as a tomb-shrine, with the effigies of the Harringtons above the spot where their own remains were buried, replacing the elaborate stone structures of the upper levels of the shrines with the intricate stone framework of their tomb. In this context, the seated figures of canons carved around the base of the Cartmel tomb might be seen to represent not only mourners, but also pilgrims to a shrine.

It is not possible to find close parallels between Cartmel and the Westminster Abbey tombs. The tomb of Edward III does have a tester and is set between two columns of an arcade, but is otherwise very different, being much plainer and without a layer of architectural elements between the effigy and the tester. The Crouchback tomb is a little closer to the Harrington tomb, being divided into three (unequal) bays by columns and gables and being double sided, but the tracery-like appearance of Cartmel is not found in the Westminster tomb. Elements of the tomb of Aymer de Valence appear at

both Beverley and Cartmel, with its pronounced ogee and ogee cusping, and with the motif of the soul being carried into heaven by two angels at the head of the effigy, but again the differences outweigh the similarities. Given the clear Yorkshire connections at Cartmel, it is more likely that these traces of Westminster influence arrived there indirectly, via the Percy tomb, than that the Cartmel sculptor was drawing directly on the London tombs. With the use of the rows of attendant figures round the Harrington effigies, French connections at Cartmel are much more direct. Column figures appeared early in France, and are found in La Sainte Chapelle in 1243-8, which was conceived as a giant reliquary for the relics collected by St Louis, and the architectural intention at La Sainte Chapelle underlines the connection between the Harrington tomb and the York and Chester shrines. The tomb of Cardinal Jean Cholet, d1292, in the church of St Lucien at Beauvais bears some similarities to the Cartmel tomb, though it lacks ogees. ¹³⁷(Plate 111) It is a two-bay screen monument with much diaper on the vertical elements. On top of the columns there are figures of angels, and there are weepers on the arcaded tomb-chest.

Clearly then, the relationships between the Harrington tomb, the work at Beverley, the York and Chester shrines, and early 14th century tombs in France and Italy are extremely complex, and the closeness of the dating of the English work makes it difficult to establish a sequence

of events. It is probable that a number of these sculptors worked together on some of these projects, although because of the differences highlighted between these monuments, these individuals can not be considered to have been a tight-knit group of sculptors, who travelled together and produced monuments with a consistent workshop style. It is more likely that core members of the group came and went and came back again, working on architectural monuments and absorbing elements of their local co-workers. One man, the Effigy Master, who may have come from Yorkshire originally, had travelled abroad, and had worked on the Chester shrine before arriving at Cartmel. The Yorkshire Master at Cartmel had previously worked on the shrine of St William, and had carried out some of the carving on the cusps of the Percy tomb before arriving at Cartmel. The other sculptor at Cartmel, the Column Master, may have been a local man, and his figurative work was less significant than his ability to use the architecture of the tomb canopy to influence the form and composition of his figures. Probably all three of the Cartmel sculptors had come across each other before 1345, and they may have belonged to a larger, looser collection of individuals, who had gained a strong reputation in the field of producing small-scale architecture such as the shrines and tombs discussed here.

While certain elements of the Harrington tomb may have been derived directly from the Continent, the window tracery of the south choir brings other strands of work

from the north-east of England into play. The date of the chapel is difficult to establish, but it was presumably complete before the Harrington tomb was built in c1345 and some of the window tracery bears out a date of c1340. However there are two windows in the chapel which seem to be related to earlier window tracery found in Yorkshire in c1310-20. [] The tracery in each of the four windows in the south chapel is different, but the east and west windows of the south wall both have tracery patterns that can be related to the west window at Howden (Plate 218), which has been given a date of c1310. [] The south-east window at Cartmel (Plate 114) has no ogee curves, but has a pair of arches over quatrefoils which are in turn set over pairs of lancets, with an encircled six-foil and two trefoils in the window head above. Although this arrangement is reminiscent of the Howden west window, it looks slightly later in its use of unenclosed trefoils beside the six-foil, whereas at Howden, each quatrefoil and pair of trefoils is enclosed under one arch. The south-west window at Cartmel (Plate 115) has three large quatrefoils with rounded split cusps, and also resembles the west window at Howden, which has a single large quatrefoil at the apex, of which the sub-cusping gives a similar impression. However, the use of a group of three quatrefoils in the window head, though without the split cusping, was seen earlier in the nave aisles at York Minster, the tracery of which must have been completed by c1307-8. [] (Plate 440) The central window in the south wall at Cartmel has ogee forms in it, and may be related

to the great east window at Carlisle (Plate 186), which has been dated c1338-40 and may have been virtually contemporary with the completion of the Cartmel chapel and the building of the Harrington tomb. (Plate 86) [41] The Cartmel window has the motif of a central ogee-tipped quatrefoil which pushes up into a pair of converging mouchettes. At Carlisle, there is a pair of encircled quatrefoils flanking the ogeed central motif, which appears in the apex, unlike Cartmel. A closer parallel for Cartmel may once again be found at Beverley, where the blind tracery on the Minster reredos has the motif of a central reticulation which contains two converging mouchettes with an ogeed quatrefoil above and below, flanked by two further reticulations. (Plate 152) This motif is used on a larger scale at Cartmel, where it fills the whole window head, but the similarities with Beverley are evident. [42]

The fourth window in the south chapel at Cartmel, in its east wall, appears to be the latest in date. (Plate 117) It has fully-developed elements of flowing tracery which are beginning to show Perpendicular tendencies. This five-light window has regular flowing tracery in the two pairs of side lights, of much the same type as that seen at Heckington (Lincs), in the south window of the south transept, which has been dated to the 1320s, where the forms in the upper parts of the window are pinched over towards the central light. (Plate 211) However at Cartmel the mullions of the central light are extended up to the apex of the window, creating a rectilinear panel in the

centre of the window. This section contains a vertical element connecting the tip of the central light to the base of of the quatrefoil in the apex, emphasizing the panelled nature of the central section of the window. This tendency to extend vertical elements is seen to a degree in the Carlisle east window where mullions are prolonged to form the stem in a stem-and-leaf motif. However there they do not continue upwards to the arch of the window. Again, the extension of mullions was seen even earlier in Howden west window, derived from York nave, where the vertical elements are combined with a transom, but without ogees, and without continuing to the top of the window. A closer parallel to the Cartmel window is found in a window at the west end of Hedon (Yorks), where the central mullion is extended to meet a mouchette in the apex, and the tips of the two lights are extended upwards to meet the arch of the window. (Plate 212) This window has been dated to the 1340s by Nicola Coldstream, suggesting that the later work on the Cartmel chapel windows was up-to-date with developments in Yorkshire tracery.^[43]

The combination at Cartmel of tracery motifs found in Yorkshire and possibly Carlisle from c1310-1340 corresponds to the sculptural styles identified in the Harrington tomb figures, where both local and Yorkshire traits were identified. The Yorkshire master may have been instrumental in bringing the later Hedon-like tracery patterns to Cartmel, as well as an awareness of

the tracery on the Beverley reredos. Hedon lies between Howden and Patrington where fore-runners to the Beverley work are found. The earlier Yorkshire tracery patterns, which may have been influential at Cartmel, such as the tracery of Howden's west window, may have been brought to Cartmel by the two local sculptors whose hands have been identified on the Harrington tomb. Since they have been linked with the Percy tomb and related works through their own figure-styles, it seems highly probable that they had travelled to this part of Yorkshire, and had seen Beverley, and possibly York, as well as a number of Humberside churches.

The earlier church at Brigham, the south aisle of which was probably under construction c1323-29, has flowing tracery in its windows, and this is an early example in the north-west, pre-dating the east window at Carlisle by about 10 years. As at Cartmel, the principal source of influence on Brigham's windows appears to have been the tracery of South Humberside churches, including Heckington and Howden. If the patron of the south aisle, Thomas de Burgh, had hired Yorkshire masons to build it, then the start of the transfer of motifs from north-east to north-west England can be said to date from about 1325, and that this process was being continued and developed at Cartmel.

The west window tracery of the south nave aisle at Brigham consists of a single small vesica containing two leaf forms which meet in a vertical line, above which

there is an ogeed quatrefoil, all contained by an ogeed oval form. (Plate 69) These motifs occur on a slightly larger scale in the five-light east window of the aisle, combined with intersecting tracery. (Plate 67) The clearest parallels for these tracery motifs are found in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire windows of c1320. A particularly close parallel is found at Heckington, where the chancel of the church of St Andrew was under construction at about the same time as the south aisle at Bringham. The east window of Heckington's chancel has several points of comparison with the five-light window at Bringham. (Plate 210) In each window, an odd number of lights are grouped under intersecting ogee arches, the ogee tips of which are extended to enclose the central stem-and-leaf motif. Because of the larger size of Heckington's window, there is a greater degree of distortion in the two enclosing arches than at Bringham, where the two corresponding arches are symmetrical. [44]

A study of the two individuals who were responsible for the 1320s additions to Bringham and Heckington goes some way towards explaining how it was that Bringham was so precocious in its adoption of tracery designs from the north-east. The patron of the work at Heckington has been identified as its rector, Richard de Potesgrave, although the evidence has had to be pieced together from various sources. [45] In the period c1320-30, both de Burgh and Potesgrave led very similar careers, and moved in similar circles. While engaged on their respective building

projects, in the early 1320s, both had similar duties regarding land and goods which had been forfeit to the Crown. While he was escheator, in c1322, de Burgh was frequently instructed to confiscate the goods and chattels of those who had allied themselves with Thomas of Lancaster. At the same time, in 1322, Richard de Potesgrave was appointed, among others, as keeper of lands in the south of England which had been confiscated from rebels and had demised to the king.^[45] In April 1324, the names of both men appear in a document concerning the King's interest in confiscated lands.^[47] When de Burgh was appointed treasurer of Ireland in 1331, he went with a number of other high-ranking appointees, including one Adam de Lymergh, who had been associated with Richard de Potesgrave as early as 1319.^[48] Given the similarity of position and duties of the two men, and the almost parallel sequence of events in their building projects and chantry foundations, it is quite possible that a transfer of architectural motifs took place, making Brigham one of the first churches in the north-west to display flowing tracery, albeit in a tentative form.

Travel between Cumbria and Yorkshire was quite feasible in the 14th century, and there was evidently a good degree of communication between Cartmel and Yorkshire, and between Cartmel and Carlisle. Map 2, attached to Appendix II shows some of the main roads in the north of England which are known to have been in use at this time. Some of these roads are Roman routes which were still

being used during the medieval period. Other routes are known from the so-called Gough map, dated c1360, and others have been extrapolated from the known itineraries of the period. [45] From this it is evident that there were main roads connecting Carlisle to Cartmel and Brigham, and thence to York, Beverley and Humberside. It would therefore have been quite feasible for the movements of the three individuals described above to have taken place.

Another tomb recess, at Welwick, can be related to some of the monuments under discussion here. Although the tomb, in the south wall of the south nave aisle, has suffered some serious damage, with a substantial part of the central section of its canopy now destroyed, it is still an extraordinary and complex work, of very high quality. The dating of the tomb is very hard to establish, since there is no documentation relating to it, or to the south aisle, and the patron of the tomb is unknown, although various suggestions have been made, among them, William de Beverlaco, Nicholas de Huggate, Thomas de la Mare, and his brother William de la Mare. [50] William de Beverlaco, rector of Welwick 1317-27, was probably still alive in 1335. However, if he had severed his connection with Welwick by 1327, it is unlikely that the tomb is his. Nicholas de Huggate, provost of Beverley, is discussed and rejected by Bilson on the grounds that he died in 1338, and requested in his will of that year that he should be buried in

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p. 10.

Beverley.^[1] The most likely suggestion, again made by Bilson, is that the tomb might be that of William de la Mare, provost of Beverley 1338-60, at which time he exchanged his provost-ship with Richard de Ravenser for the rectory of Waltham. Bilson pointed out that the building work at Welwick would have been carried out while William was provost and that his brother Thomas left 10 marks for repair of the east window at Welwick in his will of 1358.^[2] As has been argued regarding Nicholas de Huggate, Thomas requested burial in York where he had been a canon, so the Welwick tomb is unlikely to be his. The connection with William de la Mare, however, remains a possibility, and his interest in the roughly contemporary work at Beverley is documented. In 1340, William de la Mare, provost of Beverley, appointed his brother Richard de la Mare as goldsmith at Beverley, and an earlier stone mason at Beverley, who died c1335, is named as William de la Mare, and may have been a relative of the provost.^[3] If the Welwick tomb is that of William de la Mare, provost of Beverley, then this would explain the presence of a sculptor of such distinction in the church, since William, having been involved in the appointment of craftsmen at Beverley at the moment when the Percy tomb was reaching completion, would have found a ready source of skills for his own tomb.

The tomb at Welwick seems to have part of a larger building programme, which included the south aisle, the south porch and the east window mentioned in the 1358

will of Thomas de la Mare. The mouldings of the tomb, porch and east window have been shown to be closely related, and such consistency does suggest that these parts of the church were planned at the same time.^[14] It has been suggested that the damage to the tomb canopy was caused by its removal from another part of the church to its present position, or even from another building to Welwick.^[15] The suggestion that the tomb was originally a two-sided monument, designed to be built under the south nave arcade as a free-standing tomb seems unlikely however, in view of the fact that there is an area of diaper and low relief sculpture, as well as a statue pedestal, on the exterior of the south aisle wall, which, although damaged, corresponds with the position of the recess on the interior of the wall. The damage to the exterior wall, which has caused the battlemented projection to have a lopsided appearance, is consistent with a later, downwards projection or new insertion of a window, which at the time the tomb was built, would not have encroached on its masonry. On the interior of the wall also, the window is the intrusive element, and, in any case, it is hardly conceivable that the designers and sculptors of such a lavish monument would have allowed existing architectural elements to interfere with their work. This latter point also reduces the likelihood that the tomb was moved from another building, since an area of wall which was free of problematic elements would surely have been preferred, and in any case, the tomb's mouldings clearly indicate its integrity with the larger

building programme at Welwick.

In the interior of the church, the tomb consists of a low-arched recess containing a tomb slab and effigy of a church-man. (Plates 407-8) The recess has a complex net vault, and placed at intervals along its interior walls are small demi-figures of angels. The canopy rising above the recess contains a rich profusion of ogeed arches separated by buttresses, with a wealth of foliage carving, which spreads over almost every architectural element. Behind the foliage, blind traceried panels can be seen, from which small angels appear, leaning out from the foliage, or diving through the niches, arms outstretched. (Plates 420-5) Nowhere is left undecorated, every surface being enriched by foliage or small figures, or both. Further angels support the inner moulding of the recess and sit or crouch around the figure of the churchman, inside the crennelated coffin, which is apparently carved from the same slab of stone as the effigy. (Plates 417-9, 413-6) The cusping on the front of the recess is carved in such a way as to resemble two orders of mouldings, which weave in and out of each other. (Plates 410-1) Where the orders meet or intersect, they produce cusps and sub-cusps, the larger of which are cut away to reveal a third layer of stonework supporting the inner edge of the archway. Two buttressed and panelled pinnacles flank the recess, each one with a single figure standing within an ogee headed niche, although sadly, both of these have been badly damaged. (Plates 425-6)

The area of exterior wall, corresponding with the interior position of the recess, is actually a projection of that part of the south aisle wall, presumably made necessary by the insertion of the recess. Below its sloping, crenellated parapet is the remains of a niche, with a pedestal, which must have been intended for a statue. (Plates 427-30) Like the tomb recess, the inside of the head of the niche is vaulted with a network of fine ribs. The surface of the wall, against which a statue would have stood, is covered with diaper pattern which incorporates low relief carvings of the four evangelist symbols, which symbols also occur on the front of the tomb chest, separated by a wavy parapet.

The final element in this sculptural programme is the Madonna in a niche above the south porch entrance. (Plate 431) Although the porch has obviously been rebuilt since the Madonna was made, it is likely that she would always have occupied this position above the door. Nick Dawton has noticed that the hood-mould which runs over the porch door continues upwards along the sides of the Madonna's niche. [55] However, the niche would not have been in the rather exposed position it is in today, since blocks of stone remain, projecting from the back of the niche, and these would have undoubtedly tied the stonework of the niche back to a supporting wall. Like the niche over the exterior statue pedestal, the one over the porch also has a net vault, as well as a series of small gables to

create a multi-faceted canopy. The statue of the Madonna is, not surprisingly given its exposed position, extremely badly weathered, and the head is missing. However, the four little angels which surround her are better preserved, and these figures, as well as what remains of the Madonna's draperies, show clear similarities with those on the tomb and effigy.

Bilson speculated that the sculptor at Welwick had already worked on the Percy tomb, and in his study of the Beverley tomb and reredos, Nick Dawton pointed out the similarities between the sculptor who carved some of the cusp figures on the Percy tomb, and the Welwick figures.^[107] This Beverley sculptor has been credited with the carving of the lower cusps on the north side of the Percy tomb, and with all the cusps on the south side.^[108] The crisp, well-articulated draperies of the Beverley figures, where areas of material are flattened, and overlap with sharp creases emphasising the different layers, with precise, almost metallic pleats when robes reach the ground, are featured in various parts of the Welwick tomb. The small angels at Beverley, leaning forward from the cusp ends or crouched in the corners of larger areas of cusping, filling in un-occupied corners are strongly reminiscent of the numerous Welwick angels, with their rather wild unkempt hairstyles, the way the feathers of their wings are shown in scaly patterns, the low-necked garments stretched tightly over the torso, and the dramatic poses, leaning forwards, crouching in corners, or plunging headlong in a cusp spandrel. It has

been suggested that a number of patterns were used repeatedly as models in the Percy tomb, with the similar poses of angels and knights in the cusps of the tomb which have been attributed to different sculptors.^[100] The same process apparently took place at Welwick. Although all the angels are attributed to the same sculptor there, the repetition of poses of the angels around the interior of the recess, with hands upraised, does indicate that a pattern was used.

The draperies of the effigy at Welwick, and of the two figures standing on the pinnacles reinforce the Beverley connection, with long straight vertical folds, breaking with sharp precision at the feet into well-articulated triangular forms, and with the different vestments worn by the effigy, and their areas of embroidery, described by fine, almost incised, meandering lines, and by a miniature form of diaper pattern. The Madonna over the south porch also has these characteristics, seen most clearly in the way her dress falls at the knees in straight-edged elongated triangular forms.

Although there was clearly a mason from Beverley working at Welwick, there are also other strands of influence particularly in the design of the canopy and the tombchest. The canopy is composed of a series of niches which rise over the low arch of the recess, and which, when complete, would have appeared as a small-scale version of the exterior east wall at Howden, where ogee-

headed niches are cut in the buttresses flanking the east window, and around the arch of the window, breaking up the large areas of masonry into small units which are repeated on every available surface. (Plate 219) This east wall at Howden has been dated to c1320, and the Welwick canopy is a more extreme version with the niches joined together, where those at Howden remain separate, and a panelled effect is created which dissolves the surface of the tomb canopy into a series of foliage-filled ogee forms. [50]

The chancel fittings of Heckington (Lincs) and Hawton (Notts) have both been related to Howden, and can also be compared with Welwick. [51] The Heckington fittings, dated c1320-30, are particularly close in having a tomb recess whose low arch and multi-cusped mouldings recall the Welwick recess mouldings, and where the effigy of Richard de Potesgrave, rector of Heckington and patron of the chancel and its fittings, lies in a crenellated stone coffin, in much the same way as the Welwick figure. [52] (Plates 206-7) The Easter Sepulchre at Heckington is divided into three bays by pinnacles which rise from the base to the top of the sepulchre. Two gabled niches flank the central opening, a wavy parapet connects the pinnacles, and all available surfaces are covered by low-relief foliage carving. Like the tomb recess, the Easter Sepulchre at Heckington has early, and less exuberant versions of much of the later work at Welwick.

The Welwick tomb can also be related to the shrine of St William at York, another monument which has already been discussed as evidence that the Yorkshire Master who carried out some of the figures on the Harrington tomb, had earlier worked on the shrine, and then at Beverley on the cusps of the Percy tomb, before arriving at Cartmel. Although the dating of the Welwick tomb cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, it has been argued here that it followed the Percy tomb almost immediately, and if that was the case, then the approximate five year gap between the Beverley and Cartmel tombs could have been filled by the Yorkshire Master's contribution at Welwick. This sculptor's work on the York shrine, which is characterised by a drapery style of broad, well-modelled, but slightly flattened folds, where the edges of cloaks and veils move and turn to show the inside of the material, can be seen on the Welwick effigy. His vestments are folded in the same manner at the edges, and the deepest fold occurs across the front of the chasuble, below his hands, where the area of deep shadow is precisely defined by the well-articulated, flattened draperies. (Plates 413, 415) The long folds on the figure of St Margaret on the shrine, which break into agitated forms at her feet are also seen at the feet of the Welwick effigy, although the degree of movement in the Welwick figure is less than the shrine's statue. (Plate 416) This must be partly due to the necessity of a recumbent pose for the effigy, whereas the York image was intended to represent a living person

whose pose and and draperies are thus enlivened.

In terms of surface decoration, the Welwick exterior niche resembles the York shrine, with its crisp use of diaper pattern and incorporated evangelist symbols, seen in the shrine on the spandrels of the lower arches, where both evangelist symbols and secular images are carved against a background of precise, metallic diaper pattern. The intervening career of the Yorkshire Master, between the shrine and the Welwick programme, clearly affected his figure style, and the Beverley cusp figures bridge the more fluid shrine statues and the calmer and more angular figures at Welwick.

While the York shrine, the cusp figures at Beverley, and the Yorkshire Master's work at Cartmel can be connected with the Welwick effigy and angels, the other statuary at Welwick is closer, in its solidity, and the use of long, parallel, uninterrupted draperies to the work of another of the individuals at Cartmel. The Effigy Master's career has been traced through a Yorkshire beginning, a seminal journey to the Continent, the shrine at Chester, and finally to Cartmel. The chief characteristic of his figure style was his interest in long parallel drapery folds, which became subdivided as they reached the ground. The work attributed to him at Chester and Cartmel shows that he could introduce a level of abstraction by repeating lines, folds and angles of bodies and draperies where required, but, as the Cartmel effigies show, his ability to relax these techniques was obvious. The

Welwick statues which stand on the pinnacles flanking the recess, and the seated Madonna, can be related back to the Chester shrine, and forwards to the Cartmel tomb. (Plates 425-6) As the Welwick statues occupy a prominent position among the wealth of sculpture on the tomb, the poses are calm and stately. Their upright stance is reflected in the long, undisturbed draperies, breaking into triangular forms at the feet. They lack the disturbance at the hemline, and the deep horizontal folds seen in the effigy, and the seated Madonna over the south porch should be grouped with the two interior statues, for despite the weathering, her gown falls smoothly to the base of the niche.

There is an interesting monument at Barnby Don which may also be related to Welwick, and is certainly close to a number of Humberside churches. In the north nave aisle, set about 5 feet high in the wall, is an ogged recess. (Plates 13-15) Its function is difficult to ascertain given this position and its relatively small size, being only about 5 feet long. However it could have been intended as a tomb recess which has been moved to its present position. Under the cill of the recess are two crouching figures, and set into the jambs of the window to the west of it are two demi-figures of angels. (Plates 15-16) These are similar to the Welwick angels and to the smaller angels on the cusps of the Percy tomb in their poses and draperies, and with diamond-shaped feathers and ringlets of hair. On the

exterior of the church, the buttress to the west of the recess has a niche cut in it, evidently once intended for a statue. (Plates 17-20) Below the base of the niche there is a crouching figure, and there are the remains of another figure sitting on the "roof" of the niche. The recess and the niche probably belong together since their mouldings are closely related, and this combination of an internal recess marked externally by a niche is also seen at Welwick. In its form, the Barnby Don niche is very like those on the east wall at Howden (Plates 219-20), and since Barnby Don is situated south of the Humber, not far from Howden and within easy reach of Holderness, it was well-placed to participate in a transfer of ideas from this area.

There is one further recess with figure sculpture in its canopy which should be mentioned here, and this is the one in the south nave aisle at Bainton, where the effigy, which has been ascribed to Edmund de Mauley d1314, has been associated with group B. The Bainton recess seems later than the effigy, which has been dated c1315-20, and is thought to have been set up by Peter V de Mauley, d1355, whose arms occur in one of the shields above the tomb. ^{c33} A chantry was founded at Bainton in 1349 by the rector, William de Brocklesby, who was presented by Peter V de Mauley in 1331. ^{c44}

The Bainton recess is likely to have been set up after the Percy tomb, since it has many of the figurative elements seen in the Beverley monument. It consists of a

large gable between two traceried pinnacles, with a cusped ogee arch below, and is therefore a simplified, one-sided version of the Percy tomb. As at Beverley, the Bainton tomb has figures of a pair of angels raising the soul to heaven in a napkin. (Plates 5-10) This motif is particularly close to Cartmel since in both tombs the soul in its cloth is carried across the tip of the ogee arch, whereas at Beverley this scene is set above the arch and gable. However this similarity between Bainton and Cartmel is probably coincidental, and Beverley is the most likely source for the Bainton imagery. The connection is reinforced by the blind tracery on the Bainton pinnacles which consists of a roundel filled with three mouchettes, found at Beverley Minster in the north and south nave aisle windows, dated c1311 and later (south side) and 1330s (north side). (Plates 11; 33, 35) It seems likely therefore that Bainton was carried out by a local mason some time after the Percy tomb was complete, c1340-45, and before the chantry foundation of 1349.

Clearly the period c1330-50 was feverishly busy for the group of sculptors and masons who were involved in these shrines and major tombs, and their output was prodigious and broke new ground in the north of England. The careers of the identifiable individuals of this school opened the flood-gates for the transfer of artistic ideas from the Continent and the north-east of England to the north-west, and resulted in exciting sculptural innovation in

tomb design.

The following is a summary of the chronology of the chief monuments discussed in this chapter, and of the careers of the two principal sculptors involved.

CHRONOLOGY

Shrine of St William, York: 1330s

Shrine of St Werbergh, Chester: 1330-40

Percy tomb, Beverley: c1340

Welwick tomb: c1340-45

Cartmel tomb: c1345

NAMES AND CAREERS

Effigy Master at Cartmel: Yorkshire background

Travel to the continent

Shrine of St Werbergh, Chester, 1330-40

Welwick tomb, pinnacle figs and Madonna
c 1340-45

Cartmel tomb, effigies, weepers, etc
c 1345

Yorkshire Master at Cartmel: Yorkshire background

Shrine of St William, York, 1330-40

Percy tomb, Beverley, cusps, c1340

Welwick tomb, effigy, angels and
diaper, c1340-45

Cartmel tomb, lower column figures,
c1345

Notes

1. Dawton in Wilson (1983), pp129-30 identifies the group of five sculptors who worked on the Percy tomb, not as a school, but as a group of individuals from different artistic backgrounds, united by their use of models or patterns, and by their collaboration on a single design. This is probably true for the Beverley tomb itself, and Dawton has argued convincingly for the various sources of its sculptural programme. However, when considering the careers of a number of sculptors identified below and their artistic output, a workshop style can be discerned, albeit one which responded to various, probably local, stimuli.

2. Dickinson (1985), p115

3. Hindle (1977) pp83-95.

4. Dickinson (1985), p115, notes that the planks of the tester have been cut short in rather a crude manner, indicating that the tomb was once longer than it is now, as is clear from its architectural canopy which has been abruptly terminated.

5. ibid, p115.

6. ibid, p121

7. Blair (1992), p14 allocates the Harrington effigies to a Yorkshire workshop.

8. Dickinson (1985), p121.

9. Coldstream (1980), p102 and n69 - some of these have been renewed, and others are badly weathered.

10. Illustrated in Gardner (1992), plates 186-7, from the Musee Crozatier, Le Puy. (Cat noe 826.96 and 45.360)

11. Gardner (1931), p289: the figures are attributed to Gaucher de Reims.

12. Goldberg (1984), p73, n49.

13. Gaignieres (1974), no 596.

14. Illustrated ibid, p96, no508.

15. Illustrated ibid, p48, no 227.

16. Illustrated Gardner (1992), pp138-9, plates 171, 172.

17. Nick Dawton, the subject of whose thesis is the Percy tomb workshop, has also argued that a Yorkshire sculptor worked on the Harrington tomb. This became apparent during the later stages of preparation of this thesis, when Nick Dawton's thesis was at a similar stage. The subject of that thesis is the Percy tomb workshop, and

having corresponded with the author, it became clear that there would be two monuments which we would both be covering in some detail, situated at Cartmel and Welwick. Since these are important monuments in this thesis, it is impossible to omit them from the discussion. However, if the two independent sets of conclusions are in agreement, they will be mutually reinforcing, although reached from different starting points.

18. Dawton in Thompson (1983), pp143-5.

19. Ibid, p126; idem in Wilson (1983), pp122-5, figures 1 and 2.

20. Illustrated ibid, plates XXIIIB and figure 1, no 26.

21. Gough (1901) vol II part III, plate CXI.

22. Coldstream (1976), p22 noted several features of the shrine which she described as being typical of York and Beverley work of the 1430s; Dawton in Age of Chivalry, pp422-3, cat nos 513-6.

23. Wilson (1977), p12.

24. Ibid, p16.

25. Dawton in Age of Chivalry, p 422, nos 513-6, dates the shrine c1330-40.

26. Idem in Wilson (1983), pp126-7.

27. Maddison (1988), p112.

28. Ibid , p112.

29. Dickenson (1980), p35, describes the fourteenth century south choir as being connected with the building of the Harrington tomb, and funded by Sir John de Harrington, d1347. There is no documentary evidence for this, but the architectural and liturgical position of the tomb, and the social position of the Harrington family who held large tracts of lands in the parish of Cartmel, makes them the most likely patrons.

30. Crook (1990), p50; Maddison (1988), p111.

31. Wilson (1977), p12.

32. Crook (1990), p52.

33. Wilson (1977), p12.

34. Coldstream (1976), p21, citing the Beverley Chapter Act Book, 11, pp299-300.

35. VCH Yorks, vol 1, p357.

36. Miller et al (1982), p10; Coldstream (1976), pp21-2.

37. Illustrated Gaignieres (1974), nos 436 and 596.

38. Dickinson (1985), gives a date c1320-40 for the south choir, but does not record any documentary evidence to support this date.

39. Coldstream (1983), p111.

40. Idem (1980), p94.

41. Idem (1973), p89, and her convincing argument for the date of Carlisle's east window is given ibid, pp86-90.

42. Idem (1980), pp89-110 shows how closely the design of the interior of Beverley's nave, the Percy tomb and the reredos are related to Lincs, Notts and Humberside buildings dated c1300-50.

43. ibid, p190. A combination of flowing and perpendicular forms occurred in the south transept of Gloucester cathedral, c1331-6, where, as at Cartmel, the central section of the window contains perpendicular forms, while the side lights still have flowing tracery. Gloucester's early date means that it is now considered as a prototype for perpendicular tracery forms, and Cartmel's window, 15-20 years later, shows a development of Gloucester's tracery design, having more in the way of vertical elements to increase the panelled effect.

44. The forms found in Heckington's tracery also occur in a number of Yorkshire buildings, including Beverley nave aisle and clerestorey windows, and the clerestorey windows of the choir at Selby, dated c1311-34 and c1320-35 respectively - Coldstream (1983), pp109-20, where the author also relates Heckington, Selby, and Beverley among others, to the reconstructed east window at Howden, dated c1320.

45. Potesgrave endowed a chantry at Heckington in 1328 - CPR 1327-30, p272. Wilson (1980b), p23 and n8 observes the partial inscription recorded in c1675 by Gervase Holles in his Lincolnshire notes, which he saw in one of the chancel windows: "Richard de Potesgrave built chancel....in MCCC...."; another visitor to the church, Francis Thynne, in 1603-5, recorded an inscription he saw in the chancel east window, which gave the date of completion of the chancel as 1333 - Sekules (1983), p152 and n2.

46. CFR 1319-27, pp189, 139.

47. ibid, pp273-4.

48. ibid, p8; CPR 1330-34, p568. It is hoped that the Brigham material will be discussed more fully elsewhere.

49. Hindle (1977), pp83-5; idem (1982), pp193-217.

50. Bilson (1908-9), pp140-1.

51. Ibid, p140; VCH Yorks ER V, pp144, 146: Welwick was in the peculiar jurisdiction of the provost of Beverley, who held the advowson of the rectory there, and of the vicarage when it was ordained in 1361. Ibid, p142, it is known that the provost had a manor house at Welwick in 1419, and that this was probably on a moated site to the south-west of the church, but its date of building is not known.

52. Beverley Chapter Act Book, II, plxvi records that Thomas de la Mare had been rector of Welwick, and that in his will, as well as the sum of money towards the repair of the east window, there were bequests of a number of silver dishes, plates, etc to his brother William, the provost. The will is printed in TE I , pp 68-70.

53. Beverley Chapter Act Book, II, plxvi; ibid, I, p xcvi.

54. Dawton in Thompson (1983), p127.

55. Idem (1985), pp1, 4-6; Bilson (1908-9), p139.

56. Dawton (1985), p7.

57. Bilson (1908-9), p140; Dawton in Wilson (1983), p216, argues that the Annunciation Master at Beverley who

carved some of the cusp figures on the south side of the tomb, also carved the angels at Welwick, and the figures on the pinnacles flanking the Welwick recess. The south porch Madonna and the effigy at Welwick are also attributed to this sculptor by Dawton, as well as the effigy of a lady at Staindrop (co Durham), identified by him as Euphemia de Clavering, which lies in a recess in the south nave aisle - ibid, p127; idem in Thompson (1983), p145.

58. Idem in Wilson (1983), pp124-5, figures 1 and 2.

59. Ibid, pp128-9.

60. Coldstream, (1973), p125.

61. Idem (1980), pp106-9.

62. Sekules (1983), p152.

63. Kingsford, (1896), p518.

64. CPR 1348-50, p412; Ollard, (1918-20), p112.

65. Coldstream (1980), pp102-3.

Before discussing workshops or chronologies, it is necessary to sort the recesses into types. The majority of the examples in Yorkshire, as elsewhere in England, consist of simple arched holes in the wall, sometimes moulded, but otherwise without ornament. These will not be discussed in this chapter as they do not present enough stylistic grounds for comparison. The remaining recesses can be divided into two main groups: those with and those without gabled canopies. Occasionally there are overlaps between the two types, but generally they follow separate though parallel lines of development, with a movement away from geometric forms, the increasingly bold use of ogees, and eventually the use of panelling, crenellations, and other Perpendicular elements. In other words, the architectural development of the monuments follows that of the major buildings in the area. However, as will be seen, when a tomb reflects the influence of a building, there is frequently a delay of up to 20 to 30 years. On the other hand, as was seen in chapter 3, the influence of another tomb, such as the Percy tomb, can be detected almost immediately.

A study of moulding profiles has proved useful in understanding the sources of many of the recesses, and it seems appropriate to describe the techniques used here, together with some of the problems associated with this kind of analysis. Moulding profiles are used by most architectural historians to establish those buildings or fittings which may be by the same workshop, or more

Chapter 4: Recesses and canopies

generally, to discuss possible sources.^[1] Many notes of caution have been sounded, especially regarding the inaccurate copying of mouldings, the problems of how to organise the material, and the risk of trying to draw too many conclusions based on a study of the mouldings alone.^[2]

In the case of the tomb recesses, the mouldings have the advantage of being, for the most part, easily accessible. However, because of their accessibility, they are more prone to damage than, say, pier capitals. In many cases, the mouldings of recesses in the Province of York (and presumably those of recesses elsewhere), have been restored. Fortunately, such restoration usually consists of a renewal of the damaged stonework, leaving some of the original moulding in place. Moreover, the profile of the new stone almost invariably follows that of the old. Where the original masonry is undamaged, and in a sufficiently robust condition, the profiles have been taken from the old stonework. In other cases, where the old stone is fragile, and where the new profile follows the original one, the restored stone has been used to draw the moulding profile.

Although various efforts have been made to reduce inaccuracies, the method of taking moulding profiles leaves much to be desired. The most accurate means of reproducing the profile would be to make a measured drawing of it, but this method was too time-consuming to

be practical for this study. In the case of these recesses, a profile gauge was used to reproduce the profiles. The main problem with this method occurs when the gauge is shorter than the overall length of the mouldings, as is true for most of those in this study. To overcome this, the profiles had to be taken in sections, and checks for accuracy were made by ensuring that each section overlapped with the next.^[3] An overall view of the structure of the whole moulding helped to avoid accidental omissions or repetitions of sections, and sometimes a couple of measurements were taken as well, to provide additional checks.

Although some inaccuracies can be avoided by means of these checks, some still remain. (It should be noted, however, that in many of these recesses, the mouldings varied along the length of the arch, partly due to wear and tear, but also because of inaccurate carving when they were first set up). However, the type of analysis and comparisons that will be made, relate to the similarities, or otherwise, of particular elements in the moulding (such as hollow chamfers, filleted rolls, spiked hollows, etc), or of series of such elements. Except in one or two examples, the actual dimensions are not necessary for such comparisons, so, although the profiles were originally drawn life-size, then reduced for this study, a scale has not been included on the drawings. Where a moulding was difficult to reach, or the individual features too deep, or too fine to be measured by the profile gauge, they have been drawn by eye, with a

few measurements attached wherever possible.

Most of the mouldings considered here occur around the arch of the recess. To make it clear which parts of the drawing refer to the wall in which the recess is built, and which to the underside of the arch, all these drawings show the wall as a vertical line, and the underside of the arch as a horizontal line, with the moulding profile connecting these two points of reference.

As recommended by some authors, the profiles of fittings which seem to be part of the same building programme as the tomb recess, such as piscinae or sedilia, have also been drawn.^[4] However many of these recesses have been inserted into an existing building, sometimes with a contemporary piscina, so that often the mouldings elsewhere in the church are of no help in ascertaining dates or even more general periods of building activity related to the recess. Sometimes the windows associated with the recess have moulded jambs and mullions, and in these cases they too have been drawn. Otherwise, as at Patrick Brompton and Kirkby Wiske, discussed below, where the recesses are part of a large building programme, moulding profiles have been taken from all the main fittings and from the windows where appropriate.

Later in this chapter mouldings will be discussed as one of a number of features associated with a wide range of

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recesses in the northern province. However, before discussing these tombs in detail, some general points about this collection of profiles can be made. Many of the mouldings to be discussed can be related to Continental types, but as with the designs of the tomb canopies, the mouldings do not seem to have arrived directly in the tombs from such sources, but were seen first in the north-east in buildings, and later in the recesses. It has been shown that the eastern regions of England, especially the south-east and the Humber areas show particularly strong connections with the Continent in terms of the mouldings found there, while East Anglia seems to have received these influences indirectly, from the surrounding districts.^[66]

As far as the tomb-recesses are concerned, several strands of indirect Continental influence are found. One of the mouldings most often found in Yorkshire buildings and monuments, the series of rolls and hollows, which is also found in many of the tomb recesses, is thought to have been derived from such buildings as St Germain in Auxerre, dated c1313 and later.^[67] These undulating profiles are seen by Richard Morris as foreshadowing a particular variety of wave-moulding which he has identified as a "fifth variety", and he notes that this is found chiefly in those areas where Continental connections would have been most likely, in the eastern counties of England.^[67]

Throughout this chapter, the aim has been to use

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mouldings to underline relationships that are visible in other aspects of the recesses. It is not sufficiently reliable to derive evidence regarding individual masons or workshops from the the profiles alone. This is particularly true since, in the fourteenth century, the moulding templates originally used by the medieval masons were not usually reused in another building. [5] To identify a workshop therefore, it is necessary to find a tendency to use certain features of canopy design and moulding profile together, and as far as the moulding is concerned, to find individual elements used in particular combinations and sometimes in the same order. This is particularly important in a discussion of recesses where there is a moulding which may have occurred over a long period and in several regions. In that eventuality it has been necessary to take other evidence into account before attempting to ascribe a date, workshop, or even a regional group to a tomb.

The earliest group of recesses in Yorkshire seem to be those with moulded arches, with or without gables, and with simple cusping, or occasionally with no cusping at all. A few have flanking pinnacles or crocketing, but generally they are moderately enriched versions of the "hole in the wall" type of recess. As will be seen, these recesses had two main sources of influence: the Lincoln Angel Choir work of c1250-80, and the work on York Minster, c1291-1338. An early example of a gabled recess in Yorkshire occurs at Thorpe Bassett, (fig 1a), which,

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with its simple, uncusped arch and gable form, and the absence of ogees, is probably c1300.^[10] (Plate 383) The mouldings of the recess are simple and are frequently found in various regions, but are similar to those of the Lincoln Angel Choir dado jamb.^[10] In both cases there is the sequence of a filleted roll flanked by two 3/4 hollows (possibly 1/2 hollows at Thorpe Bassett), and then by two straight chamfers. Also the asymmetrical undercut roll at the top of the Thorpe Bassett moulding is seen in the dado arch of the Angel Choir. However, a similar profile can be found in the exterior mullions of York chapter house, of the 1280s, which also has hollows, hollow chamfers, and longer straight pieces, with some undercutting of the elements.^[11] Although the Thorpe Bassett moulding has an undercut filleted roll rather like that type of hollow chamfer found at York, the frequency with which all these mouldings can be found in other buildings and areas prevents any firm connection being established between Thorpe Bassett and Lincoln or York.

Another group of recesses which appear at first sight to be related are found at Braithwell, in the north chancel wall of St James' church (fig 1b) and at Norwell and Howden (figs 2a-g and 3a).^[12] All these recesses have cusping applied to their back walls. The Norwell recess, however, may be related to that at Braithwell. Norwell lies just off a main road which connected Newark (Notts) to Doncaster and eventually to York, and which passed close to Braithwell.^[13] At Norwell there are three

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recesses, one in the north wall of the north transept, one in the south wall of the south nave aisle, and a third, with blind tracery on its back wall, in the south wall of the south transept. (Plates 293, 296) The Braithwell recess is more ornate than that at Norwell, with foliage crocketing, a finial, and flanking pinnacles which are also crocketed and with finials. (Plates 63-5) However, with respect to their mouldings, both recesses have several common elements. In each case the moulding extends well back over the underside of the arch, and as the moulding changes from the horizontal to the vertical plane a roll and fillet articulates the angle, followed in each case by a deep hollow and another large roll with a straight section on its outer plane. The overall appearance of both sets of mouldings, with their series of deep rolls and hollows gives a similar effect of light and shade extending under the arch as well as on the frontal surface. Another recess with blind arcading on its rear wall is that at Howden, containing the effigies of Sir John de Metham and his wife Sybil. Again, this has a long series of rolls and hollows in its moulding, covering much the underside of the arch.^[14] Because the Howden recess is rather shallow, there is no clear change in direction in its mouldings as they go from the vertical to the horizontal. Rather they follow a diagonal line that extends from the front wall of the recess to the rear, and in this way the effect of covering the underside of the arch, as seen at Braithwell and Norwell, is achieved. (Plates 225-7) All these recesses can be

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dated to c1320-30, although the evidence for Braithwell is scanty. The Norwell recess, if it is contemporary with the knight effigy it contains, can be dated to the mid-1320s. The Howden recess, where the effigies have been dated c1320, is probably of the same date, or slightly earlier.^[15] The Braithwell recess, with the tiny ogee tip to its arch, may also be of around this date, but since the tomb patron is unknown, and there is no effigy associated with the recess, it is difficult to find any corroborating evidence. Although these recesses seem similar, it is not safe to assume that one group of masons was responsible for all four of them. As the mouldings consist of elements which can be found in a wide range of buildings all over Yorkshire, and over several decades, all that can be safely assumed is that these recesses were the result of a number of individual variations on the themes of blind tracery and of roll and hollow mouldings.

Other recesses with gables and simple cusping rely more clearly on York for their inspiration than do the recesses described above. The tomb in the church of St Patrick, Patrick Brompton, in the north chancel wall, is the largest and most impressive of this group. It is part of a major rebuilding of the chancel, which probably took place in the late 1320s or early 1330s.^[16] (Plates 307-22) One of the remarkable aspects of this chancel is the degree to which it resembles that of the nearby church of Kirkby Wiske, which was probably rebuilt in the mid-1320s following substantial damage by the Scots.^[17] (Plates

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244-59) To start with, both chancels, in plan, are virtually identical in their dimensions. Both chancels have similar window tracery, comprising two lights with an ogeed quatrefoil in the head. In their fittings both churches are very similar, each having a tomb-recess in the north chancel wall beside the vestry door, sedilia and piscina in the south chancel wall, as well as two statue niches on corbel-heads flanking the east window, a statue pedestal to the east of the recess, a string course running around the inside of the chancel, rising and falling around the recess, the piscina and the sedilia. The mullion mouldings in both sets of sedilia are virtually identical, and the series of three unarticulated rolls and hollows in the Patrick Brompton recess occur in the Kirkby Wiske chancel windows (figs 3b-f, 4a-e). In the mouldings at both churches to a greater or lesser degree, small fillets are used in pairs serving a dual purpose: they flank a three-quarter roll and at the same time provide a point of reference for a hollow chamfer. This is also seen at Howden, in the jambs of the windows at the west ends of the nave aisles, and at Whitby, in the jambs of the north nave aisle windows. ^[18] Continental parallels can be found for these dual-purpose fillets, at Laon, in the north choir aisle chapels, dado mullion, dated late 13th or early 14th century, and at Rouen cathedral in the south transept, dated 1280s, where the blind tracery jambs have many points of comparison with the Patrick Brompton recess moulding, having a pointed roll and a pair of

unarticulated rolls.^[15]

Despite the extent of these similarities, the actual recesses at Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton are not alike. The Kirkby Wiske recess is gabled with crocketing and a finial, whereas that at Patrick Brompton is not. Moreover, although similar profiles have been found in other parts of the two churches, those of the two recesses are quite different. At Kirkby Wiske there is a fillet articulating the junction of each roll and hollow, while at Patrick Brompton there is no such articulation, and the mouldings there lack the crispness of those at Kirkby Wiske. The Patrick Brompton recess has a rare element in its moulding profile, in the use of a spiked hollow which is produced by two wave-mouldings meeting at a point. The spiked hollow has been noticed particularly in Humberside churches, although one of the first churches in England to use it was Lincoln cathedral, where it occurs in c1296 in the window tracery.^[20] This feature persisted in England until the late 14th century, in such buildings as Gloucester cathedral's cloisters and Canterbury cathedral.^[21] However, when a spiked hollow is formed by two waves, rather than by two hollows or by a wave and a hollow, its distribution is more restricted chronologically and geographically. In the form at Patrick Brompton, the moulding appears in the east of England in two phases. The early examples are dated from the late 1280s (eg Southwell chapter house dado) to c1308 (St Augustine's gatehouse, Canterbury).^[22] In the south-east of England the moulding persisted until the 1330s,

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while in the north-east there appears to have been a break and then a recurrence of the moulding in the 1330s when it is seen again at Southwell, in the sedilia and elsewhere.^[23] The use of this moulding at Patrick Brompton indicates that it belongs to the second stage, and should be dated c1330 at least.

The Kirkby Wiske mouldings contain no elements that can be so firmly dated, and its use of a series of unarticulated rolls and hollows in the jambs of the east window relate it to a range of Yorkshire buildings such as Selby, where the moulding is found in the jambs of the choir aisle windows, c1280-90, and in the early 14th century at Patrington, in the south transept window frame.^[24] The window tracery of both Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton indicates a slightly earlier date for the former. At Kirkby Wiske the tracery of the east window was demolished in 1811, leaving none of the original stone-work apart from the trefoiled heads of the five lower lights.^[25] However it is claimed that when the window was restored in 1870-1, the original 14th century design with intersecting tracery was followed exactly.^[26] If Kirkby Wiske did originally have intersecting tracery in its east window, it may have been influenced by the nave aisle windows at Howden, completed by c1310, where, as at Kirkby Wiske, the spaces created by the intersecting lines of tracery are filled with pointed trefoils and quatrefoils.^[27]

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The tracery in the east window at Patrick Brompton is also of a type that was not seen in Yorkshire until c1305-10. There is reticulated tracery in this window, which was first seen in Yorkshire at Patrington in the south transept Lady chapel, c1305-10. [20] While none of these details taken on its own necessarily implies a later date for Patrick Brompton than for Kirkby Wiske, taken together with other features, such as the spiked hollow moulding at Patrick Brompton, this is likely to be the case.

There are many other similarities between the two buildings, such as the prolific use and the style of the head-stops on all the fittings. This affinity is seen particularly in the head-stops on the piscina (right hand side) and sedilia at Patrick Brompton, and in the two sedilia head-stops at Kirkby Wiske. All have strong features, heavy-lidded eyes and a degree of realism which suggests they were portraits. Indeed the carving of these heads is so close that it is highly probable that they were carried out by the same hand.

A number of the parallels between Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton have been pointed out, and it has been suggested that both churches were carried out by a school of masons which had worked on the nave of St Mary's Abbey, York, which was completed by 1291, and which then went on to work on the nave of York Minster, before going on to work on these smaller projects. [20] In terms of ecclesiastic administration, this connection is likely,

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for Patrick Brompton at least, since the advowson of the church and therefore the responsibility for the chancel, was in the hands of St Mary's Abbey from 11th century until the Dissolution.^[30] The mouldings of the sedilia and piscinae of both chancels bear out the York connection, being virtually identical to those in the York Minster aisles dado, and the chapter house vestibule, dated c1291ff and c1290.^[31]

A study of the mouldings of Patrick Brompton and Kirkby Wiske suggests the inclusion of another tomb recess which can reasonably be attributed to a mason who had worked at on or both of these churches. This is the recess in the south aisle of the church at Rudby, which contains a carved slab depicting a priest which appears to be in its original position. (Plates 333-5) It has a low relief carving of the figure with a floriated cross behind the head, and is probably derived from the design of early 14th century brasses. (Plates 336-7) It was in the first two decades of the 14th century that brasses began to influence stone slabs, and examples are known in Lincolnshire dated as late as the 1340s.^[32] The recess containing the slab has an ogee tip, and the window opposite has a single reticulation in its head. On balance, all this indicates a date of c1325-30, which suggests that the identity of the priest is Thomas de Whorlton, rector of Rudby, who died in 1329.^[33] Like the other two churches, the Rudby tomb may have been part of a larger building programme. The nave windows appear to

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be of the same date, but in any case Rudby may be slightly later than Kirkby Wiske or Patrick Brompton, with the tentative use of an ogee tip to the arch of its recess, inside the gable. None the less, in its basic form, with its plain gable and simply cusped arch below, it does resemble the Kirkby Wiske recess. The Rudby tomb may once have had crocketing along the edge of its gable, since there is now a band of paler stonework there, with several holes which are now plugged with wood. If there was once a band of crocketing here, the Rudby recess would have resembled the Kirkby Wiske recess even more closely.

The mouldings of the Rudby tomb strengthen these connections, comprising a series of three filleted rolls separated by hollows (fig 5a). These are on a smaller scale to those seen in the Kirkby Wiske chancel windows, or the Patrick Brompton recess, arch moulding, but nevertheless they do suggest that the three recesses should be considered as a group. One last parallel can be seen on the tomb-slabs of Rudby and Kirkby Wiske, each of which has a bevelled edge with a low relief carving of foliage running along it. Each tomb-slab looks original and in situ, and this use of a trailing leaf ornament on both tomb slabs lends further weight to the argument that masons associated with one workshop carried out all three tombs, within a short space of time.

If the group of masons who worked at Kirkby Wiske, Patrick Brompton and Rudby had previously worked at York

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Minster, they brought a number of decorative features with them to these three North Yorkshire churches. Until c1330, the most impressive monument in the Minster was probably the tomb of William Greenfield, archbishop of York, who died in 1315. His tomb, in the north transept, is of around that date, and was probably under construction during or just after the rebuilding of the York nave.^[34] The foundations of the nave at York were laid in 1291, the eastern windows were ready for glazing in 1307-8, and the old western towers were removed shortly before 1310. There then seems to have been a gap in the building programme until work on the west front was resumed, c1320-38.^[35]

If Greenfield's tomb is dated c1315, it is surprisingly restrained compared with the Westminster Abbey tombs such as that of Edmund Crouchback, d 1296, and carried out c1300 by Michael of Canterbury, although the York tomb followed the general layout of the Crouchback tomb.^[36] In general terms the Greenfield tomb is similar to these London monuments being a two-sided canopied monument, with an arch and gable. (Plate 441) Also like the London tombs, that at York has a ribbed vault, and has a large trefoil inside the gable spandrel. Its arch is cusped and sub-cusped, crocketed and finialed, and has gabled buttresses. However, the Greenfield tomb has only very tentative and small-scale use of ogees in the blind tracery of the gabled buttresses (Plate 446), whereas in the slightly later tomb of Aymer de Valence, d1324 ogees

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are used on a large scale in the cusps of the arch. In terms of the chief elements of its elevation then, the York tomb is simple and unadorned, presenting a severely-elegant main elevation, and it may be that the newly-completed nave, with its flat and elegant internal elevation, acted as a constraint on the design of the tomb. (Plates 439-40) The only note of exuberance in Greenfield's tomb appears in its foliage, which is abundant and dominates many of the structural elements on which it is carved, especially on the short elevations of the tomb where the crocketing is particularly concentrated. (Plates 443, 435) The crocketing creeps over the edge of the gable mouldings and encroaches onto the bases of finials, while the foliage capitals of the attached shafts extend over the wall behind. (Plates 448-51) This is reminiscent of the foliage capitals in the chapter house and its vestibule, completed in c1290. The masons are thought to have gone on to work on the nave straight after this, and a similar relationship between foliage and architecture is found there also. The gable over the central door of the west front, which has been attributed to Master Hugh de Boudon and dated c1310, has very similar crocketing to that on the gable of the Greenfield tomb, and the capital below has foliage which spreads over the wall behind.

This use of foliage to mask the junction of two architectural elements is also found at Kirkby Wiske, and to a lesser degree at Patrick Brompton. The large leaves on the Greenfield and Kirkby Wiske gables have frond-like

edges which are carved evenly along the gable. These rise up to cover part of the base of the finial on both tombs and on the sedilia at Kirkby Wiske, while the crocketing on the piscina of the latter is carved over the string course, concealing part of its moulding. This is also reminiscent of York's nave triforium arcade where the bases of the finials merge with the lower moulding of the quatrefoil band.^[40] A similar dominance of foliage over structure is found later at Beverley Minster, in the north nave aisle wall arcade, dated c1330-35, where the finials cover part of the string course and the foliage capitals spread out over the wall. However the Beverley work probably postdates the tombs under discussion by 5 to 10 years, so should not be considered as a possible source.

There is much less in the way of foliage at Patrick Brompton than is found at Kirkby Wiske, and it takes a heavier, clumsier form which is generally kept distinct from the architectural elements, and in this respect it is also unlike the work at York. However, in terms of moulding profiles, both Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton can be related to the Greenfield tomb (figs 3b-f, 4a-e, 5c-d). The use of two rolls with fillets separated by a hollow found in the York tomb is also seen at Patrick Brompton in the tomb recess and at Kirkby Wiske in the east window jambs, where there are three such rolls. The section through the jamb of Greenfield's tomb has exactly the same elements as are found in the sedilia mullions of

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both Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton. All three mouldings include a small half-roll, a hollow chamfer and another roll (with a fillet at York and Kirkby Wiske, without a fillet at Patrick Brompton). Although some of these individual elements are commonly found, the similarities of sequence in all three places underlines their interdependence described above.

There are a number of other tomb recesses with gabled canopies, many of which can be related to York and the Greenfield tomb.^[41] Most of these are situated close to York itself, or else in a cluster in the north of the county. These recesses with gabled canopies need not have been influenced by Greenfield's tomb, since such architectural elements could also be found in blind arcading and nichework, and were presumably represented in the stained glass of many of these churches including York Minster itself. There are gabled canopies in some of the earliest glass at York, in the chapter house, c1285 and in its vestibule, c1290.^[42] In the chapter house example there is a wide gable with a five-foiled arch below, a roundel in the gable spandrel, crocketing, flanking traceried pinnacles, and finials. In the vestibule the gable is narrower, and there is a trefoiled arch below, with an encircled quatrefoil in the gable spandrel, crocketing, traceried pinnacles and finials as before. This interest in gabled forms continued in the later glass in the nave, as seen in the heraldic window in the north nave aisle, donated by Peter de Dene, and dated c1310-20, and the nave windows have already been

suggested as influencing the figure of Archbishop Greenfield on his brass.^[43] This window can be related to the composition of the west front at York, in having two gables, one set in front of the other. It is also related to the interior of the nave at York in its row of quatrefoils below the upper gable. The window opposite this is similar in many respects, and was probably intended as a memorial to William Greenfield.^[44] So the development of arch and gable forms in the chapter house and its vestibule persisted in the nave windows, including those related to the Greenfield tomb. Although the windows have architectural motifs seen later in tomb recesses, many of these recesses also have a moulding profile or some other detail which strengthens further their relationship to the architecture at York and to the Greenfield tomb.

Most of these tombs, ranging in date from c1310-1340, have a tendency not to use the ogee form, or to use it unobtrusively. Even the later recesses of the 1330s and 1340s which were more ornate than the earlier examples, there was still a marked absence of ogees. This suggests that for most of the gabled recesses under discussion, window tracery was not a particularly strong influence in the form and decoration of these monuments since by this date fully-developed flowing tracery, with the confident and inventive use of ogee forms, was well-established in the north-east of England. Rather it seems that the restrained elevations at York, found early on in the

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chapter house, its vestibule and the nave, and made acceptable in tomb-design by their adoption in the Greenfield tomb, continued to be influential on small-scale architecture for up to 40 years after these seminal works were built. It has been observed that the developments in York's nave design were not widely adopted by other buildings in Yorkshire except in the transfer of minor details.¹⁴⁰ On a small scale, however, the flat elevations, geometric forms and decorative details of the early work at York were taken up readily in tomb design.

Among the gabled recesses which can be related to York in terms of their elevations there are a number with moulding profiles which also share some common features with York. However these features are common in many Yorkshire buildings and cannot be used to identify a direct influence from York in other tombs. Elements of the Greenfield tomb mouldings have been compared with earlier Yorkshire buildings such as Selby and with Continental prototypes, and these seem to have been taken up in a wide range of later buildings and monuments, not all of which have an arch and gable form of elevation. Perhaps the most wide-spread profile found in the Greenfield tomb is the series of unarticulated rolls and hollows. This profile is found not only at Kirkby Wiske, Patrick Brompton and Rudby but also at Hull (west recess), West Tanfield, Howden and Middleton Tyas, of which not all are straight-gabled monuments (figs 5e, 6a-b, 3a, 6e).

The tomb recess at Feliskirk has a prominent, almost free-standing fillet in its profile, (fig 7a), and in this respect it can be related to York nave aisles, where the mullions also have prominent fillets.^[46] However, the free-standing fillet is also found at Patrington, in the south transept window jamb, and at Hedon, in the roughly contemporary nave aisle.^[47] However, in the central section of the Feliskirk arch moulding there is the sequence of a hollow chamfer, a roll flanked by two fillets, another hollow, and a fillet. This is a series which can also be found in the nave aisles at York where it occurs in the dado, dated c1291-1310, and in the same order.^[48] The Feliskirk recess also has a spiked hollow, seen in the Patrick Brompton recess where it was formed by two waves, whereas here it is formed by two unequal hollows meeting at a point. The Feliskirk recess, set on the north side of an apsidal chancel, uses foliage in a similar manner to the some of the other tombs associated with York. (Plates 146-9) The frond-like edges of the leaves cover most of the top of the gable, and at the apex the crocketing covers part of the base of the (now lost) finial. The flanking buttresses are gabled and have tiny head-stops, and the crocketing on the pinnacles is small and spiky, very like the buttresses and pinnacles of Greenfield's tomb. There is also a rather oddly-shaped stone in the centre of the Feliskirk gable which looks as if it has replaced some form of gable decoration. As with the other gabled monuments related to York, there is a

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complete absence of ogees in the Feliskirk tomb. If this recess is contemporary with the knight effigy it contains, identified here as that of Sir John de Walkingham and dated c1327-35, it represents a late use of such restrained features.

The use of flanking pinnacles at Feliskirk, decorated with rather spiky crocketing and tiny heads of men and women, two on each pinnacle, and the possibility of there having been some kind of gable decoration connect the tomb with another recess, also of arch and gable format, at Goldsborough. (Plates 167-8) This tomb is built in the north chancel wall, and its effigy has been identified as that of Richard de Goldsborough, d c1333. The major difference between these two tombs is that the Goldsborough recess is cut right through the wall, so that it is really a two-sided monument, designed to be seen from both the chancel and the north chapel, with mouldings on both sides, and equally detailed treatment of the effigy on each side. As has been seen, the Feliskirk effigy was placed in group B, the group which demonstrated a restrained version of the style of group C in which the Goldsborough effigy was placed, for reasons of its movement, volume and attendant figures.

Similarly, the Feliskirk recess seems a less adventurous version of the Goldsborough tomb, where the sculptural effect of the recess and canopy is taken much further. At Goldsborough as at Feliskirk the arch is five-foiled, but at Goldsborough the central cusp is ogeed. Also, reminiscent of the patched centre of the gable at

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Feliskirk, the Goldsborough gable has a staupe pedestal in the centre of the gable, with the additional feature of a large pointed trefoil in the gable spandrel.

The form of the Goldsborough recess is obviously related to the Greenfield tomb in its two-sided arch-and-gable design, with the resulting concentration of decorative elements in a self-contained volume. The trefoil in the Goldsborough gable recalls the Greenfield tomb more strongly than does the Feliskirk tomb which has no such device. Moreover, the string course which runs between the pinnacles and behind the gable of the Goldsborough recess (Plates 169-70) recalls the composition of the Greenfield tomb with its roof and vault forming a horizontal element behind its gable. A further detail at Goldsborough is reminiscent of earlier work at York. There is a single leaf, placed just above the central ogeed cusp, which projects into the gable above. This is carved in a naturalistic manner and closely resembles the vine leaves carved on the bosses of the chapter house at the window heads. More importantly, the use of a piece of foliage at the tip of an arch, which projects upwards into the spandrel above is found at York in the blind tracery on the east wall of the chapter house vestibule, where it appears in the central light and projects into the pointed trefoil above. The masons at Goldsborough appear, therefore, to have re-used a number of features from York minster, although some of them would have been considered to be out-of-date by c1330-40.

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The mouldings on the Goldsborough recess are large and simple, consisting of a hollow chamfer flanked by straight and curved sections (figs 7b-d). These may be simplified versions of the York Minster chapter house mouldings, but they are really too simple to use as a means of indicating a stylistic source, and in this case, it is the canopy design and the effigy which are most indicative of sources.

The projecting leaf in the Goldsborough gable is also reminiscent of the way in which foliage was used to interfere with architectural elements in the Greenfield tomb, although there it occurred on a larger scale and with much greater frequency. The large trefoils in the gable spandrels of both tombs present a similar bold but simple appearance. The gable crocketing in both the Goldsborough and York tombs spreads over much of the upper surface of the gable moulding and creeps up the stem of the finial.

The tomb recess in the south wall of the south transept at Wath (near Ripon) represents another variation on the theme of the York chapter house vestibule, nave and the Greenfield tomb. (Plates 403-6) The Wath tomb contains no effigy or incised slab, and the identity of the patron is difficult to establish. It has been assumed here that it is the tomb of John de Appleby, parson of Wath, who had licence to found a chantry dedicated to St John the Baptist in the church in 1327. [45] Certainly the recess

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has a large trefoiled piscina to the east of it, suggesting that this was the site of a chantry, possibly Appleby's.

Unfortunately the top part of the gable of the Wath tomb has been cut away, but enough of the canopy still remains to be able to reconstruct the original design. The gable evidently once contained a large ogeed and double-lobed trefoil which was cusped, each cusp having a small loop in each of the three sides of the trefoil. Continuing this theme, the arch below has two small ogee nicks which form a trefoil shape, and each nick originally had a roll on its end, turned inwards. This is an unusual form of gable decoration among the York Province recesses, but the use of decorative elements which intrude upon a geometric form was seen in the blind tracery on the east wall of the York chapter house vestibule, and later at Goldsborough, in the gable. In these cases, this gives the appearance of a rounded form being used as a "re-entrant" element in the trefoil, similar to the Wath design.

The mouldings at Wath are related to those of other Yorkshire works which may have been derived from York Minster. Wath has a free-standing fillet between two hollow chamfers, (figs 7g-h), and this has been noted at Patrington, in the north and south transept windows, and at Hedon in the nave. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out, the use of a prominent fillet had already been seen

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in the mullions of York chapter house, although there the hollows were of different depths whereas at Wath they are equal. ¹⁰⁰

It is clear therefore, that the group of tomb recesses with gabled canopies, which at first sight seemed to be derived mainly from York Minster and its restrained architectural elevations, as well as from the tomb of Archbishop Greenfield, were also dependent on another set of sources, as revealed by their mouldings. These indicate an awareness of Humberside churches such as Patrington, Hedon and Howden, and the influence of these buildings will be seen to have been persistent and widespread.

Among the other recesses which can be related to York, two monuments, at West Tanfield (Plate 371) and Melsonby (plate 276), remained particularly faithful to the York tradition. ¹⁰¹ Both have gabled canopies with crocketing, which are cusped and sub-cusped, and have carved cusp ends, of naturalistic foliage at Tanfield and small heads at Melsonby. (Plates 372-4; 277-9) Both recesses have markedly flat elevations, which effect is enhanced by the fact that their cusp spandrels are cut away, leaving a layer of tracery which stands free of the back walls of the recesses. Of the two tombs, Melsonby is probably the earlier. The effigy associated with the recess has been identified as that of Sir John de Stapleton, d1332, who had licence to found a chantry in 1313 which was probably in the south aisle where the recess is built. ¹⁰² The

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effigy has been dated c1330, but the recess, if it was associated with a partial rebuilding of the aisle as seems likely, would have been set up some-what earlier, c1320-25, ie closer to the likely date of the rebuilding of the aisle. The West Tanfield recess was probably erected after the death of John de Marmion in c1335, by his widow, Maud, who survived until c1360, and may be dated c1340-45.

The foliage crocketing of the two recesses is different in style, but both types have parallels in York Minster. Melsonby has rather flat and sea-weedy leaves, which are crisply carved, and resemble the finials under the balcony in the chapter house, and can also be seen as crude versions of the Greenfield tomb crocketing. The foliage at Tanfield is more rounded and bulbous, closer to the crocketing on the nave triforium arcade at York. [133]

In terms of its moulding profiles, the West Tanfield tomb shows less dependence on York Minster than do the other monuments in this group, despite its flat, restrained and York-like elevation, (figs 6a-b). The mouldings here are closer to the Selby, Patrington and Hedon profiles with their series of rolls and hollows, and in this respect the Tanfield tomb can be related to work about 20 years earlier in the chancels of Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton, as well as to the tomb recess at Rudby.

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If the Melsonby recess is dated c1320-25, it can be seen as a very crude, but relatively up-to-date, version of the Greenfield tomb. The particular points of comparison between the two tombs, apart from the form of the crocketing, are the ogee forms in the blind tracery on the flanking pinnacles, and the presence at Melsonby of two mitred heads on the cusp ends. The Greenfield tomb has foliage and grotesque head-stops, and the mitred head-stops at Melsonby may have been a reference to Archbishop Greenfield who granted the licence to Sir John de Stapleton to found the chantry in 1313, and to his successor, William Melton. As at West Tanfield, and in the Greenfield tomb, the cusps and sub-cusps at Melsonby are emphasized by being moulded around their edges, and the arch is supported on attached columns, as at York.

The mouldings at Melsonby are very simple, and can be interpreted as a less complex version of those of the Greenfield tomb (figs 6c-d). The York monument includes a pair of rolls with fillets separated by a hollow. At Melsonby the moulding comprises a pair of rolls with fillets, but these are separated by two further fillets. However, the secondary fillets are carved on a small scale and in low relief, so they do not have a great impact on the undulating appearance of the moulding.

Although it can be seen that a number of tomb recesses were influenced by the work at York, it is not suggested that Feliskirk, Goldsborough, Tanfield, and Melsonby came from the same workshop, (the different mouldings, foliage

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carving and various other details preclude that possibility), but rather that they were the work of a group of masons all of whom drew on York Minster, and each of whom interpreted the architectural forms and decorative details there in their own individual manner. The only group of tombs which followed the York precedent, and which may be described as the products of individuals from a single workshop, are those at Kirkby Wiske, Patrick Brompton and Rudby, all of which were built in a short space of time, c1325-30. These subsequent projects with their clear dependence on York, were slow in re-using the Minster's motifs, but if the workshop was engaged on the nave until c1320, it would not have been possible to begin other building projects until after that date.

Another major building, which appears to have influenced a small group of tomb recesses in the north of the province, is Carlisle cathedral. The influence of its east window design dated c1338-40 was found at Cartmel, in the window tracery of the south chapel. The same window also appears to have been influential in at least two tomb canopies, at Norham (Northumberland) and Staindrop (co Durham), both dated c 1340-45. ^{c. 1340}

The date of the Norham tomb in the south chancel wall, and the identity of its patron, is rather problematic. However, some of the account rolls of the Proctor of Norham, who was appointed by Durham priory, still

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survive, and from these it is clear that there was a burst of building activity at Norham in the chancel, from c1338 until 1344-5. The foundation of a chantry at Norham in 1344 by William de Twysill suggests that the tomb recess in the south chancel wall may well be his, and that it was built during the later stages of the work in the chancel.

The Staindrop recess which is associated with the chantry foundation of 1343 by Ralph de Nevill at Staindrop, and which contains the effigy which has been identified as that of Sir Ralph's mother, Euphemia de Clavinger, is in the south nave aisle of the church. The chantry was evidently a lavish one, and provided for three chaplains who were to celebrate at the altar of the Virgin Mary. The south aisle appears to have been rebuilt at about this time, was provided with a vestry at its east end, presumably for the use of the chantry chaplains.

The tombs at Norham and Brigham are both unusual among York Province recesses in having gables which are filled with tracery. Whereas at Staindrop the gable is filled with blind tracery (Plate 368), at Norham and Brigham, there is tracery which is carved as a separate layer, forming a semi-transparent screen which allows the back wall of the recess to be seen through the gable. (Plates 292; 70-71) Both recesses contain elements which can be found in the east window at Carlisle, although the early date of Brigham's tomb recess precludes Carlisle as a source, and indeed it has been argued in the preceding

chapter that tracery from a Lincolnshire building was the source. In general terms however, the screen-like design of both these gables makes a window a likely source for their traceried canopies.

At Norham, the composition of a central ogeed quatrefoil in the apex of the gable, with encircled, round-lobed quatrefoils below, is found at the apex of the Carlisle window. (Plate 86) However there is another possible source for Norham's combination of flowing and geometric motifs, in the Beverley reredos, which has this combination of forms in the blind tracery on its back wall. (Plate 52) Although the arrangement of these forms at Carlisle is closer to Norham than that at Beverley, the latter has another feature which relates it to the Norham tomb, in its use of a concave cornice on the lower section of the parapet. (Plate 57) Norham also has a concave horizontal element, running between the top of the pinnacles, and like that at Beverley, it has square panels of ornament set into it at regular intervals. At Norham these are filled with foliage, whereas at Beverley they contain both foliage and angels' heads. Nevertheless, Beverley is a strong contender for the source of the Norham cornice, if not the form of the tracery in the gable.

The ogee forms at Staindrop fill most of the gable of the recess, consisting of an ogeed quatrefoil over a pair of large ogeed mouchettes. The Staindrop pattern is found in

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the apex of the side sections of the Carlisle window, although there it has less vertical emphasis. Unlike Brigham and Norham, the Staindrop tomb has blind tracery in its gable, and since it has been argued that the effigy of Euphemia de Clavering was produced by a member of the Percy tomb workshop, it may be that the inspiration for the blind tracery also came from Beverley. The reredos would be the most likely source for the Staindrop tracery, but it does not have the pattern of the tomb's gable among the elements on its back wall. Unfortunately the Staindrop tomb mouldings are too simple to be used as a basis for comparison, (figs 12a-b), but a Beverley connection cannot be ruled out, and the form of the Staindrop window tracery appears to bear this out. All the south aisle windows have flattened arches, and in the window-heads there is reticulated tracery in which there are a number of different forms. (Plate 369) This gives a lively, flickering effect, and is seen in the blind tracery on the Beverley reredos which has similar flame-like forms.

The crocketing of Brigham's tomb recess is of a very unusual type, composed of regular, self-contained forms with a distinctly veined appearance. (Plates 72-4) This crocketing extends evenly over the gable of the tomb recess, the sedilia and the piscina. Brigham's mouldings resemble those found at Beverley, and related monuments, although they are less complex. At Brigham there is the simple but unusual profile of a small wave followed by a fillet cut on the same plane as the wave, followed by

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another, deeper and larger wave-moulding (fig 8a). This type of moulding, with the wave and its fillet carved on the same plane, is believed to be rare in the north of England, but it can be found at Beverley, in the north aisle wall arcade, dado moulding, on the parapet of the Beverley reredos, in the jamb of the Percy tomb, and in the recess and its external niche at Barnby Don which has been related to the Percy tomb workshop (figs 8c-e, 8b).¹⁵⁷ The Brigham moulding is particularly close to those at Beverley in having two waves flanking the fillet, one small and relatively shallow, and the other deeper and longer. In respect of its mouldings therefore, as with the design of its windows and fittings, Brigham maintains its close connections with Humberside sources.

The window tracery at Norham has been restored, and it is not known how accurately the new work followed the original design. (Plate 292) However, if it is based on the 14th century work, the east window was probably carried out before the tomb since it has no ogee forms in its tracery, and this is reinforced by the Proctor's roll which suggests that the windows were under construction in 1338-9. While the Norham windows are no help in trying to ascertain a source for the tomb design, the mouldings of the recess are of some assistance (figs 12c-e). They are complex and varied and are related to those found in the east window at Carlisle. The Norham gable moulding is small and fine, and contains waves, fillets, and concave and convex chamfers. The combination at the base of the

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Norham profile of a wave-moulding, fillet and semi-circular hollow is similar to the top of the Carlisle profile, where two hollows meet to create the spiked form as seen at Norham. In addition there is a free-standing fillet in both the Norham and Carlisle mouldings, as well as a double wave-moulding separated by a small fillet.

The potential for masons and sculptors to travel between York, Beverley and Humberside to Carlisle, Brigham and Cartmel has already been discussed. Map 2, attached to Appendix II, shows how medieval roads permitted these journeys, and shows clear routes connecting Carlisle and Norham.^[100] The route between York and Durham passed close to Staindrop, which is also located close to the point where the road branched west-wards to join the main road to Carlisle, so Staindrop was also well-placed to receive influences from both Yorkshire and Carlisle.^[100]

The possible influence of the Percy tomb and the involvement of some of its sculptors in the design of tombs with figure sculpture in their canopies has already been discussed. The work of this group of masons at Beverley has also been connected here with the tombs at Norham, Brigham and Staindrop, and the possibility that individuals from this workshop introduced Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire motifs to their York projects has also been noticed, especially with respect to the Beverley work, and the Welwick tomb.^[100] It is possible, therefore, that among the other monuments which can be related to this workshop, some elements which may have

been derived indirectly from similar sources may be found. One of the early products of the workshop was the shrine of St William at York which was probably built during the 1330s.^[51] This monument, which has been related to the Cartmel and Welwick tombs in terms of its architectural format, its figures and its other decorative elements, shows a combination of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire elements in its mouldings (fig 12f).^[52] It has unarticulated rolls and hollows as has been seen in many of the recesses and at Patrington. It also has a rectangular nick about half way along the profile, and this is a feature which is found in a number of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire buildings of the 1320s and 1330s, including Heckington, Newark and Horbling.^[53]

The tomb at Welwick also has mouldings which reflect its Yorkshire and Lincolnshire sources (figs 13a-e). The prominent nick found in the mouldings of the shrine of St William and various Lincolnshire churches is also found in the arch moulding of the Welwick recess. Here it occurs with a series of other profiles which are also found at Heckington in the arch moulding of Richard de Potesgrave's tomb recess, including, at the top of each moulding, an asymmetrical half-roll and fillet with a deep hollow chamfer, flanked by fillets.^[54] Moreover the Welwick tomb also has a spiked hollow as does the shrine of St William. These elements are also found in other churches in East Yorkshire. The spiked hollow has already been noticed at Patrington, and a rectangular nick is

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seen at Howden, in the nave and the choir aisles. The features shared by Welwick and Heckington reinforce the likelihood that Thomas de Burgh, the patron of Brigham, was aware of Potesgrave's building project, and deliberately chose craftsmen who would be capable of similar skills from a north-east source.

Although the use of the spiked hollow and rectangular nick at Welwick could therefore be seen as a locally-derived element, the presence of certain architectural motifs in its canopy which may have been derived from Heckington or Hawton make a direct Lincolnshire source for the rectangular nick more likely. The gabled tombs at Patrick Brompton and Feliskirk had spiked hollows in their profiles, but there the profile was probably derived from a Yorkshire building, rather than directly from a Lincolnshire source.

The Cartmel tomb, which has also been attributed to sculptors who had worked on the Percy tomb, has moulding profiles which reinforce this relationship (figs 14a-h). It has a spiked hollow formed by the junction of two different-sized hollows, and a very shallow wave-moulding, all of which features are found in the tomb at Welwick. The Lincolnshire elements seen at Welwick are not present at Cartmel, although the Beverley workshop style permeates the whole monument.

There are a number of Yorkshire recesses, all apparently c1340-50, which have pronounced ogee arches, confident

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use of ogee cusping and sub-cusping, rich and sometimes bulbous crocketing, and complicated mouldings. This group includes the recesses at East Gilling (south aisle recess), Harpham, and Knaresborough, and the pairs of recesses at Hazlewood and Sprotborough. If the Gilling recess is that of Thomas de Etton, who was dead by 1349, this would suggest an approximate building date of 1345-50 for the recess, ie it was either built by Thomas de Etton before his death, or by his successor after his death. The former eventuality is possible, since Thomas apparently died before the Black Death had arrived in Yorkshire, and therefore may have had time to make his own funerary arrangements. [55] This tomb looks like a later example of this group, with its rather flat arch and emphatic ogee, cusped and sub-cusped, with foliate spandrels and a very tall finial, and may be dated to c1350. (Plates 1640-6) The Hazlewood recesses appear to be a some-what earlier examples of this group of tombs, though they must have been built some 20-30 years after the effigies were made, probably c1345-55. (Plates 192-4, 199-201)

Within this group of recesses, there are at least four which bear a distinct resemblance to each other. These are the tombs at Knaresborough (c1340), Sprotborough (2) (c1340-48), and Harpham (c1340-45). (Plates 271; 35, 357-9; 179-80, 182-3) Knaresborough church was rebuilt, having been burned by the Scots in 1318, and was reconsecrated in 1343, at which ceremony Queen Philippa

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was present. She had had an interest in the town from at least 1331 when Edward III granted her the castle, town, Honour and Forest of Knaresborough as her dower. Earlier, in 1328, the king and queen had stayed in Knaresborough castle, so they must have been aware of the rebuilding work then in progress. The chapel in the church where the tomb recess is situated is dedicated to St Edmund, a royal saint, so it seems likely that the chapel dates from this period of royal interest, say c1330-40 with the fittings built at the end of the programme of work.^[57]

This outbreak of heavily-moulded, ogee-arched recesses in the 1340s suggests that the impact of the Percy tomb, with its extravagant and flamboyant nodding ogee arch, was almost immediate. None of the recesses in this group has nodding ogee arches, but the tentative use of ogee forms seen in the York-based canopies is replaced in all the recesses in this group by large, bold ogee arches. The dates of the Sprotborough tombs have been related to the deaths of the patrons, ie c1338 for Sir William FitzWilliam, and c1348 for his widow, who made her will in this year. The date of the Harpham recess is probably between the date of the 1340 chantry foundation at Harpham by Sir William de St Quintin, and the date of his death in 1349, recorded in the inscription on the tomb-chest.^[58] The recess looks about this date, though the tomb-chest with its incised alabaster slab is much later, related to the death of the widow in 1384. (Plate 181)

The first recess in this group, at Knaresborough, still

has some of the elements seen in the slightly earlier York-based group. Like the chancels at Patrick Brompton and Kirkby Wiske, the Knaresborough chapel has a statue niche, though here there is just one, placed beside the east window, presumably intended for a figure of St Edmund. (Plate 274) At Knaresborough there is also an internal string-course running across the east wall, under the window cill, and there is an abundance of head-stops on the hood-moulds of the tomb-recess, sedilia and piscina, on the statue niche (in a very miniature form on the sides, the base having been broken away), and on the arch which communicates with the chancel, opposite the recess. (Plates 270-3) The form of the niche at Knaresborough is close to those in the nave aisle buttresses at Beverley Minster in its ogee arch which is set forward from the two flanking pinnacles on the wall behind. The niche at Knaresborough has a nodding ogee head, but is carved in a cruder fashion than are those at Beverley, resembling the other fittings in the chapel, so it is unlikely to have been carried out by an individual from the Beverley workshop. Niches with nodding ogee heads and flanking pinnacles are also found on the west front at York, but there they do not have a gable behind the ogee head. In fact the Knaresborough niche can be seen as an early and miniature, Yorkshire version of the Percy tomb elevation, with its nodding ogee arch and gable behind.

It appears therefore, that there was a deliberate

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emulation at Knaresborough of certain details seen at Beverley, but in a much less flamboyant and ornate manner. If Knaresborough was an early example of the consequences of the Percy tomb, it is not surprising that the dramatic appearance of that tomb was adopted there in this rather tentative manner. Indeed, the Knaresborough recess, with its two-dimensional ogee arch, and its luxuriant and bubbly foliage, which encrusts the recess, sedilia and piscina, and the nodding ogee niche in the east wall, is clearly a toned-down version of the Percy tomb, executed in a clumsier manner.

The mouldings at Knaresborough are unlike those found on the other recesses of this group, and are very rarely found in the north of England. They consist of a hollow followed by a wave, the two mouldings meeting in a point (figs 17a and e). This spiked hollow formed by the meeting of a wave and a hollow, is distinct from that seen at say Welwick, where it is formed by two hollows meeting at a point. The example at Patrick Brompton is different also, being formed by two waves meeting to give a spiked effect. The Knaresborough moulding is found on the arch of the tomb recess, and on a smaller scale on the sedilia in the Knaresborough chapel. This kind of moulding is rare in all parts of England, and particularly so in the north, and has been closely associated with early 14th century works by court masons. [55] At the time of writing his articles on moulding profiles, Richard Morris knew of no mouldings of this type in the north of England. There is one other

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example known to me, in the small parish church of Bolton-by-Bowland (Lancs), where there is a fragment of the arch of a tomb recess remaining, which also has a large wave and hollow meeting at a point, built into the north chancel wall (fig 17b). The use of this kind of moulding strengthens the possibility that the mason who worked on the chapel was connected with court works, and the royal patronage at Knaresborough and the presence of London craftsmen there would make this transfer of ideas feasible. The combined effect of features derived from York or Beverley, the particular variety of moulding associated with court masons, and the rather crude foliage carving at Knaresborough suggest that the work was carried out by a local craftsman who had been exposed to the influences of the London masons who were in the town at the time, and of the newly-built Percy tomb.

Another recess, related to Knaresborough in the large ogee form of its arch, is found at Harpham. The recess is of the type which is cut right through the north chancel wall, communicating with a north chapel, as has been seen at Goldsborough. Both sides of the recess are equally elaborate, so it was obviously intended to be seen from both the chancel and the chapel. (Plates 179-80, 182-3)

As at Knaresborough, the Harpham recess has heavy and abundant crocketing but no pinnacles. There are well-carved head-stops on both sides of the tomb, and the cusps and sub-cusps are applied to both sides of the wall

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through which the tomb is cut, forming a double layer of cusped forms. In its principal elements, the Harpham arch resembles that of the Percy tomb, being five-foiled, and with ogee cusps and sub-cusps. Although the Harpham recess lacks the gable at Beverley and has no nodding ogees, its double sided nature is reminiscent of the Percy tomb.

The mouldings at Harpham consist of a series of relatively small elements articulated by fillets, and with two rectangular nicks on a small scale (fig 16a). It also has the very deeply-cut wave-moulding which has been identified as typical of the eastern counties of England.^[70]

The two recesses at Sprotborough also seem to belong to this group, although they are different in detail, as are the effigies they contain. The recesses give the impression of having been built as a pair, placed at the east end of the south nave aisle, facing each other, with a squint cut through to the chancel, forming a self-contained chapel area. Although the recess containing the effigy of the lady, on the north side of the aisle, is very much restored, enough of the original stonework remains to indicate that in its details, and probably in its main architectural elements also, it was similar to the recess opposite containing the knight effigy. (Plates 355-9) Both appear to have had a large, ogee-headed recess, cusped and sub-cusped, with flanking pinnacles which have traceried gables, crocketing and finials. The

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cusped spandrels of both recesses are cut back deeply, but not so completely as to be open, as was seen at Knaresborough and Harpham. The replaced mouldings of the lady's recess appear to follow the original stonework exactly, and are also identical to those on the knight's recess.^[71] The north recess may once have had a back wall, although the masonry that is now at the back of the recess is modern. However, the small piece of stonework connecting the right-hand pinnacle with the arch of the recess looks older, and may have been continued right across the back of the tomb.

In their details there are differences between the two recesses, indicating that they were erected at different times, roughly corresponding to the dates of decease of the two patrons, Sir William FitzWilliam and his widow, of c1338 and 1348 respectively. The crocketing of the recess in the south wall comprises of just four large leaves on each side of the arch, which lie flat against the arch moulding and have an undulating bulbous quality. The crocketing on the other recess has smaller leaves, of a flatter type, the edges of which lie strand-like, along the edge of the moulding. This type of crocketing appears slightly later than that on the south recess. Generally speaking, in the first half of the 14th century foliage became less naturalistic as it developed, with leaf surfaces becoming increasingly bulbous, and with a growing concentration on texture, undercutting and modelling.^[72] As foliage-carving progressed further it

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became flatter, with leaves which were extended in long strands, and which were cut down deeply towards the centre of the leaf. Such foliage when it was used in crocketing frequently obscured the whole upper surface of the moulding as can be seen in the Perpendicular stalls of St Margaret's church, Lynn (Norfolk).^[73] It is perhaps demanding too much of the Sprotborough mason to have followed these generalised trends so closely, but if the two effigies are dated 5 to 10 years apart as has been suggested, so also the recesses could have been separated by a similar time-lag.

Unlike Knaresborough and Harpham, there are no head-stops on the Sprotborough tombs. However, there is a connection in the type of moulding profile used at Sprotborough and Harpham, in the use of a wave moulding and a hollow chamfer in their composition, and with several small rectangular sections articulating the rather complex arch-moulding (fig 16d). Whereas the other group of canopied recesses related to the Percy tomb had rich and deeply-undercut mouldings, those of this second group of recesses, with the notable exception of Knaresborough, have, overall, a much greater symmetry and a crisper, less undulating appearance. The use of rectangular nicks and short fillets to articulate the moulding, and the infrequent use of deep hollows or prominent rolls is characteristic of this group of recesses, and in these respects, they reflect aspects of the type of Lincolnshire mouldings already discussed. Some particularly close parallels can be seen in the moulding

of the East Gilling, south nave aisle recess, with its unusual series of two different-sized convex chamfers - this is also seen in the jambs of the west window of the south aisle at Sleaford, and in both cases, these convexly-curved chamfers are followed by a hollow.^[74]

The recess in the south aisle at East Gilling is a later-looking version of those at Sprotborough, Harpham and Knaresborough. (Plates 164-6) It does have a pronounced ogee arch, but it is flatter than those already discussed, and has a very tall finial. It has foliate cusp spandrels and the cusps themselves are emphasised, giving a spiky effect inside the arch. This prickly-looking design is also found in one of the recesses at Hazlewood which is dated below, c1345-50, and reinforces the similar date given to East Gilling.

Although the two Hazlewood recesses are different in appearance, they are probably roughly contemporary. It is the easterly of the two which relates most closely to the group of 1340s tombs with ogee arches, and it is cusped and sub-cusped, with the sub-cusping arranged in an uneven manner which produces the spiked effect seen in cruder form at East Gilling. (Plates 199-202) Arranged along the two concave orders of the mouldings of the east recess at Hazlewood there are square foliage shapes, as seen on the concave moulding below the parapet of the Beverley reredos.^[75] The Hazlewood recess has traceried pinnacles, with the mullions of the panelling extending

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into the tracery, which is also seen in the traceried gables of the Percy tomb pinnacles. Above the Hazlewood tracery there are blank shields, presumably once painted with the arms of Vavasour, and this also may be a reference to the Percy tomb, where heraldry played a major role in its small-scale stone ornament.

The uneven cusping of the east recess at Hazlewood is unusual among tombs in the York Province, but it is found at Hawton (Notts) on the tomb recess, which also has foliate cusp spandrels, and has been dated to the late c1340. ^[75] (Plates 187-8) The mouldings of the Hazlewood tomb can be related to those at Harpham and Sprotborough, having a series of relatively small forms, broken up at regular intervals by fillets (fig 16b). Moreover, with the main elements at Hazlewood consisting of waves and hollow chamfers, this relates particularly closely to the Harpham moulding. This type of profile, with a number of small elements connected by fillets, is found in some Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire mouldings, such as those at Heckington, in the jambs of the south transept windows, at Newark, in the jambs of the south nave aisle windows, or at Hawton in the jambs of the chancel east window. ^[77] Given all the similarities between the Hazlewood tomb and the other tombs mentioned, dated c1345-50, a similar date is proposed for this recess.

The other recess at Hazlewood may be contemporary with the first, although its main architectural elements are different. (Plates 91-4) It has an ogee gable over its

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arch, which is uncusped, and there is a large quatrefoil containing a shield in the centre of the gable spandrel, surrounded by three dagger motifs. However, in some of its small-scale ornament it does resemble the east recess. Its gabled pinnacles, while they are taller than those of the east recess, have a similar type of crocketing which is carved in a thick and rather clumsy manner, and both sets of pinnacles have tiny head-stops on the gables and reticulated blind tracery. The crocketing along the arch of the east recess and the gable of the west recess is almost identical in its long strand-like forms, with the leaf ends raised from the surface of the moulding in an abrupt but evenly-spaced manner. However, the crocketing of the west recess lies flatter than does that of its eastern counterpart, and the raised sections of each leaf are formed of a single layer of foliage, whereas those on the east recess are double. As with the north recess at Sprotborough, the flatter and less bulbous forms in the west recess at Hazlewood suggest a slightly later date than that of the recess to its east, and it could therefore be dated c1350-60.⁵⁷⁸ This date is reinforced by the use of an ogee gable in the west recess. Such gables, when used in tomb design, have been studied and dated in general to the second half of 14th century, which is when they became the most popular design for tomb recesses, although the form persisted and was still in use in 16th century.

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The ogee-gabled form is also found at Holy Trinity church, Hull, in the eastern of the two south choir aisle recesses, and also at Walton in the north chancel recess, both of which tombs also have square foliage shapes set at intervals along their mouldings, as was seen in the east recess at Hazlewood. The dates of the Hull choir are difficult to ascertain precisely, but it is known that it was in the course of construction in 1327, and that it was completed by c1360. [70] The east recess at Hull (Plates 238-40) contains two effigies which have been identified here as those of Richard de la Pole, d c1345, and his wife Joan whose date of decease is unknown, but who was still living in 1370. [80] (Plates 241-3) She may have had the tomb and effigies set up after her husband's death, and the recess could therefore be roughly contemporary with the west recess at Hazlewood, c1350-60. Certainly the details of the lady's head-dress at Hull bear out a date of c1360, with several veils arranged over a square frame. This was seen in the West Tanfield lady, also dated c1360, and in the effigy of a lady, said to be the wife of Sir John Clearwell, c1360, at Newland (Gloucs). [90] The panelled wall with crenellations on top which runs behind the ogee gable at Hull also suggests a date in the second half of the 14th century, with a move towards Perpendicular forms.

The mouldings of the east recess at Hull are like a scaled-down version of those at Welwick, with the use of asymmetrical rolls and fillets combined with hollows (fig 17d). Despite the difference in appearance of the two

tombs, the proximity of Welwick and Hull suggests that a tendency to use this type of moulding persisted in the Humberside/Holderness region for at least 20 years after the Welwick tomb was built. The apparent persistence of a moulding type in monuments of widely differing dates and appearance is evident on examining the west recess at Hull also. (Plates 235-7) This tomb can be dated c1360, like its eastern counterpart, and, while its mouldings are quite different, they can also be related to earlier buildings in the area.^[52] The arch moulding of the tomb has a series of rolls and hollows, with no articulating fillets, although one of the rolls has its own fillet. This type of moulding has already been noticed at Patrington, Patrick Brompton and West Tanfield, and also occurs in the tomb recess at Howden, in the east chapel of the south transept, dated c1320-25. The persistence of this kind of moulding in Yorkshire buildings and tombs demonstrates the point discussed at the beginning of this chapter, that mouldings on their own can rarely be used to fix a date, or even a decade, and should, wherever possible, be considered together with other evidence.

In their small-scale ornament, the two recesses at Hull are closely related. Both have square foliage shapes and ball-flower set at intervals along two orders of mouldings, with the ball-flower in the upper moulding, and the foliage squares on the one below. Both recesses also have foliate cusp spandrels, but those in the west recess also contain angels holding shields of arms, in a

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restrained version of the cusp spandrels of the Percy tomb.

Although the patrons of both the Hull tombs had travelled abroad extensively during their lifetimes, as merchant and soldier, it is not necessary to seek a direct Continental influence in their tombs. The main architectural elements of both monuments had already been seen in Yorkshire tombs, and in their decorative details and moulding profiles there were several precedents in that part of Yorkshire.

The main sources for canopied recesses until the building of the Percy tomb therefore, were to be found at York, and took the form of simple, geometric and rather out-of-date forms, which were restrained in their surface ornament, and used of ogee forms only very tentatively, in small-scale details. Continental sources do not seem to have directly influenced the design of gabled recesses in Yorkshire, although such sources were undoubtedly influential in the earlier English prototypes of such tombs, at Westminster Abbey. The introduction of screen-like elevations, with vertical linkage between different storeys, the window tracery, and other details in the major building work at York Minster, c1290-1338, indicates that French Rayonnant sources were directly influential there. The design of the chapter-house vestibule windows are very like those at St Urbain at Troyes, with gables over the lower lights projecting upwards and masking off the bases of the lights above.

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The bullet shapes in the nave clerestorey windows are also seen at Cologne, and the west front elevation, with its gables over arches, breaking the cornice above, are seen at Strasbourg, and at Paris, in Notre Dame and La Sainte Chapelle. Any continental influence in the designs of gabled tombs in the province therefore, almost certainly derived from the major buildings of the period in the area. X

The group of tombs with programmes of figure sculpture noted in chapter 3 (Bainton, Welwick and Cartmel) combined Beverley and Lincolnshire elements, and in the case of Cartmel, direct Continental influence. The group of tombs described in this chapter with large ogeed arches but no gables, also show some Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire features, as well as a collection of details derived from the Percy tomb, and executed with greater or lesser degrees of skill.

While many of the moulding profiles have been related to Continental types, as with the tomb canopies, they were not derived directly from that source. The type of mouldings seen at Harpham and Sprotborough, for example, with their low relief rolls, hollows and waves separated by fillets, are similar to the mouldings of Laon Cathedral, in the dado of the north choir aisles, dated early 14th century, or possibly even late 13th century. However, the Laon moulding also has the type of spiked hollow seen only occasionally in England, and mainly in

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court works of the early 14th century, as well as at Knaresborough, consisting of a wave and a hollow meeting at a point.¹³³ Moreover, the Harpham and Sprotborough mouldings, had closer sources in Lincolnshire work of the 1320s and 1330s, and it seems that here again, Continental sources were only indirectly influential.

Other moulding profiles were taken up by Yorkshire tomb-builders in the same way. The use of the spiked hollow formed by two hollows or two waves meeting at a point (seen for example in the recesses at Feliskirk, Patrick Brompton, and Welwick) and the free-standing fillet, (seen in the tomb recess at Wath), were first seen in Yorkshire in the large-scale architectural work at York Minster chapter house in c1290. They are also found at Patrington in the early 14th century, but these mouldings do not appear in tomb recesses until c1325 onwards. Again, Continental examples of these mouldings which predate their use in England have been noted. The free-standing fillet occurs at Tournai, in the eastern chapels, dado jambs, dated 1243-55, and in a different form in the Franciscans' church at Cologne, nave arcades, dated c1260.¹³⁴ The spiked hollow is seen from c1270 at St Thibault (Normandy), in the windows of the chapel of St Giles, and at Oppenheim, dated 1317 sqq, in the respond of the chapel entrance in the north nave aisle.¹³⁵ Moreover, Richard Morris's research shows that the spiked hollow and the free-standing fillet were taken up most readily in the north-east regions of England.¹³⁶

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Later recesses, with arches but no gables dating from c1380 onwards, were much plainer generally, than those already discussed. The pair of recesses in the south nave aisle at Kirklington, for instance, while they do have heavily moulded arches resting on capitals, have only one ogee cusp at their tips, and a finial but no crocketing. (Plates 260-63) These have been dated post-1350, on stylistic grounds, and on the basis of the identity of the knight probably being that of Sir Alexander de Mowbray, d1368-9.^[57] Another pair of recesses, built in the north nave aisle at Catterick church, have been dated 1412.^[58] There is a third recess in the church, in the south nave aisle wall, believed to have been transferred from the old church, and which contains the effigy of Walter de Urswick. (Plate 118) This recess is not mentioned in the contract, but that document did stipulate that stone from the old church was to be reused in the new building. Other elements from the old church were specifically requested to be retained and reused, such as the east window of the new north aisle. The south door of the new church looks earlier than the rest of the building, so it too was probably moved from the old church to the new. Although ~~the~~ neither of the two north aisle recesses is mentioned in the 1412 building contract, they do appear to be contemporary with the aisle, and are placed centrally in the wall opposite the arcade piers. (Plates 123-5) These are even simpler than the two at Kirklington, having no cusps, finials, crocketing or pinnacles. The moulded arches rest on

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capitals, as at Kirklington, and this constitutes their only ornament.

To summarize, each of the two main types of recesses discussed here - those with and those without gabled canopies - was foreshadowed in a major building, and then copied, generally in a cruder fashion and on a smaller scale. In the case of gabled recesses, the prototype was on a large scale since the main sources were various architectural elements of York Minster, and later the tomb of Archbishop Greenfield. These architectural sources were developed rather slowly and cautiously by tomb-builders, but they did persist for a long time. The York influence gave rise to flat, elegant elevations, an absence of ogees except on a very small scale, and restrained foliage decoration. This influence was seen particularly clearly in the chancels of Kirkby Wiske and Patrick Brompton in the 1320s and at Goldsborough in the 1330s.

While York and the Greenfield tomb eventually gave rise to a series of gabled recesses, the influence of the Percy tomb affected a number of tomb designs in the province almost immediately. The stylistic and decorative features of this monument were taken up very soon after its completion by two main groups of masons. The first group may well have included individuals who had actually worked on the Percy tomb. They brought their highly individual and inventive talents to bear on various aspects of the designs of the tombs at Cartmel and

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Welwick. The canopy of the Welwick recess not only had clear connections with other monuments produced by the Percy tomb workshop, but also had strong Linconshire connections in its form and its mouldings. These features were seen earlier in such monuments as the tomb of St William, the Beverley reredos and the north nave aisle, in terms of their figure styles, their general architectural themes, and in their decorative details.

The second group of recesses to follow Beverley did so in a more general manner, adopting the principal of a large ogged arch and a few decorative details from the Beverley tomb, and combining these features with elements from other sources. In this group of tombs, as with most of the others, the influence of the major Humberside churches such as Patrington and Howden seems to have persisted for 30 to 40 years.

Apart from York and Beverley, a third major building appears to have influenced the design of a couple of tomb recesses in the north of the province. At Carlisle cathedral, where the tracery of the east window was under way in c1338-40, a source of inspiration was found for the two tomb recesses with tracery motifs in their canopies, at Norham and Staindrop.

In this survey of the tomb recesses and the effigies associated with them, what is remarkable is the great variety of interpretations of an eclectic range of

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sources found in the monuments. While this makes it difficult to allocate the effigies or recesses to workshops, and even harder to trace the hand of an individual mason or sculptor, except in a few notable cases, it does result in a wide geographical spread of individual reactions and inventive solutions to a few major buildings.

Notes

1. Morris (1978 and 1979), whose seminal articles set out to identify the earliest appearance of certain types of moulding in England, to note their regional distribution, and to discuss the likelihood of their being of Continental origin, or indigenous, (p19); before this, Paley, (1849); Forrester, (1972); Roberts, (1977), pp5-13.
2. Roberts (1977) pp5-8.
3. The gauge used in this study was shorter than all of the mouldings under discussion, so a series of overlapping drawings had to be made, as suggested by Richard Morris in correspondence in 1988.
4. Roberts (1977) p8, suggests that it is useful to make "sets" of profile drawings for each building, which should include all the contemporary work in a given church.
5. Morris (1978) pp32-4.
6. ibid p27, and p26 figs 4D and 4E.
7. ibid p27.
8. Roberts (1977) p8; Fawcett (1982) pp35-56 cites a number of 15th century examples of the re-use of moulding

profiles in Norfolk, but it is clear that this was not a common practise.

9. Most of the windows in the chancel have been renewed, but the stonework of the east window looks original, and with its unenclosed geometric tracery, also looks c1300.

10. Dated c1256 sqq by Morris (1978) p40 and illustrated ibid, figs 8E and D.

11. Ibid, p44 and fig 9A, and p50 records that the undercut hollow chamfer is frequently found in mouldings of the north-east.

12. Although there as been a good deal of restoration at Braithwell, the stonework of the recess appears to be largely original.

13. Hindle (1982), p205, fig 7.5.

14. This recess is one of an almost identical pair, the other one being in a corresponding position on the north side of the choir, and now missing its back wall. The mouldings of both recesses, apart from slight variations in their hood-moulds, are identical, and each has an ogee-tipped arch. I am grateful to Colin Briden for checking the north recess for me.

15. It seems probable that the north recess, and

therefore its southern counterpart, is contemporary with the west bay of the choir, dated c1311-20. Colin Briden has noted that the rear arch of the north recess is integral with the fabric of the south face of the north choir aisle wall, and that the key-stone courses in with the internal string course.

16. McCall (1910), p109, cites the Yorkshire chantry surveys, and notes that in 1329 Hugh de Burgh, king's clerk and parson of Patrick Brompton, was granted property in the parish by Geoffrey le Scrope, chief justice of the King's Bench, in order to augment a chantry founded in the chapel of St Edmund at Hunton, in the parish of Patrick Brompton.

17. CC1R 1318-23, p167.

18. Illustrated Sharpe (1849) vol I, plate C, figs 20 and 32.

19. Illustrated Morris (1978) p26, figs 4F and 4G.

20. Ibid, p49.

21. Ibid, p49.

22. Ibid, p25.

23. Ibid, p25.

24. Ibid, p26, fig 4E and p47, fig 10F.
25. McCall (1910), p65.
26. Ibid, p65.
27. Illustrated Sharpe (1849) vol I, p82; Coldstream (1973), p78.
28. Maddison in Wilson (1983), p139.
29. McCall, (1910) pp64ff, 113 n1, and p114.
30. VCH Yorks NR I, p340 notes a dispute regarding the rights of presentation by Henry FitzHugh in 1328.
31. Illustrated Morris (1979) p6, fig 12A and p2, fig 11E(ii).
32. Butler (1964), p146 and n3.
33. Reg Melton I, p136, no321.
34. His brass was given a pre-1320 date by Nicholas Rogers in Coales (ed) (1987), p58.
35. Coldstream (1980), pp89, 94, 110.
36. Tudor-Craig (1986), p132.

37. Nicholas Rogers in Coales (ed) (1987), pp58-9 - the brass of William Greenfield has survived, although the lower section was stolen in 1829 and is only known from a drawing. The brass has been discussed as being unusual among contemporary brasses, and the suggestion that its design was influenced by images in the newly-completed nave windows in York Minster is a likely solution, especially given the influence of the architecture of the nave on the architecture of the tomb canopy.

38. Harvey (1977), p143.

39. Illustrated ibid, fig 47.

40. Illustrated ibid, fig 51.

41. A list of the recesses in the Province of York with straight gables includes the following examples, of which those marked with an asterix are most likely to be related to York: Norham (Northumberland), Staindrop (Durham), Brigham (Cumbria), Thorpe Basset*, Kirkby Wiske*, Patrick Brompton*, Rudby*, Feliskirk*, Goldsborough*, Hull (west recess), Melsonby*, Owston, West Tanfield*, Wath, West Gilling, Middleton Tyas, and West Heslarton.

42. O'Connor and Haselock (1977), p142; illustrated ibid, figs 101 and 102.

43. Ibid, p349; illustrated fig 108.
44. Ibid, p350.
45. Coldstream (1980), pp89-110 argues that those York elements which were used in later Yorkshire buildings were superficial when compared to the number of features common to those buildings which did not come from York.
46. Illustrated Morris (1979) fig 11P.
47. Illustrated Maddison (1989), p138, fig 2.
48. Illustrated Morris (1979) fig 12A.
49. CPR 1327-30, p145. There is some uncertainty over the date of the foundation despite this enrollment, since the Yorkshire Chantry Certificate of 1546 states that he founded the chantry in 1332 - YCS I, p101. However the earlier date must be correct, since it is known that he had died by 1329/30 as is shown by his inquisition post mortem of that date - Cal Inq pm sive esc, vol II, 2 Edw III, p13, no 140. sp
50. Morris (1978) p47, figs 10E and 10F; ibid p46, and p44, fig 9A.
51. The recess at Tanfield has evidently been moved, since the north aisle where it is situated is 15th

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century work. The rest of the church is earlier in date, but nowhere is there a sufficiently large expanse of wall to accomodate the recess. This indicates that it must have been set in the original north aisle, and that it was removed and reset in the new wall when that aisle was widened in the 15th century.

52. Reg Greenfield IV, p220, no 2101.

53. The Tanfield cornice is decorated with round studs, or ball-flower ornament, and this is also seen at York, on the gable over the central west doorway. (Illustrated Harvey (1977), plate 47, and attributed to Master Hugh de Boudon.)

54. The documentation and identities associated with the Brigham and Staindrop recesses and patrons are discussed in chapter 2.

55. Extracts cited in Appendix I. Raine (1852), p261, n.e - although there is an effigy of a knight lying in the recess, it may not have originally been intended for that position. The effigy was excavated from beneath the chancel floor in 19th century, but it is not known where it was intended to lie. Ibid, p265, describes the duties of the Proctor. He was to reside at Norham, to collect the parish tithes, to account annually to the convent of Durham for all income and expenditure, and to give detailed accounts of day-to-day costs. There was a Proctor's hall where he was to live, which is now

destroyed but has been identified as having been built near the east end of the church, apparently on the site of a Saxon church - ibid, p269, n.w. Earlier entries on the Proctors' rolls show that there was a continuous process of repair and renovation in the church, but that the most concentrated period of work on the chancel took place between 1338/9 and 1344/5.

56. Reg Bury, p75, dated 1344; A similar sequence of events has been described with respect to the dating and patronage of the tomb recess at Heckington. Sekules (1983), pp164 n1, and idem (1986), p129 n46 has suggested that the tomb, and the other chancel fittings were built towards the end of a building programme there, and at about the same time as a chantry was founded in the church, ie in or around 1328, by the rector, Richard de Potesgrave.

Raine (1852), p261, n.e. notes that in 1348 William de Twysill was appointed by Durham convent as master of the Schools at Norham for two years, and from the wording of his chantry foundation it is clear that Norham was still besieged by problems as a result of the war with the Scots, since the chantry was founded "on account of the miserable state of Divine worship on the borders by reason of the long war....." Clearly the residents of Norham felt themselves to be vulnerable, and the Proctors' rolls give several examples of land, property and animals being destroyed during raids. In 1327/8, it

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was recorded that one resident of Norham, Robert Stagman, was taken prisoner twice by the Scots, and on each occasion, when he had paid his ransom and returned home, he found his house burned, and his fields and outbuildings plundered and destroyed - ibid, p270, n.b., citing the Register of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, dated 20th August, 1328.

57. Morris (1978) p29 where this is described as the third variety of wave moulding; the Beverley reredos profile is drawn by Colling (1852), plates 16-17, and is shown here fig 8c.

58. Hindle (1977), p90.

59. Idem (1976), p220, fig 12; Stenton (1936), p11.

60. Dawton (1983), pp125, 128 143; Coldstream (1973), pp145ff.

61. Wilson (1977), p25, n37.

62. The moulding of the shrine was drawn by eye when fragments were on display at the exhibition The Age of Chivalry (1987).

63. The rectangular nick in the mouldings of a group of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire buildings is discussed in Wilson (1980), pp23ff.

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64. The Heckington moulding is illustrated ibid, p23, fig ih.
65. Maddison (1989), p138, fig 2.
66. Thompson (1914), p102 - Archbishop Zouche proclaimed the imminence of the plague on 28th July, 1348. However, it was not until the middle of the following year that the pestilence actually arrived in Yorkshire - ibid, p105.
67. Kellett (1978) pp18-22; Colvin (1963) p689 records the presence of a London master mason at Knaresborough castle from 1307, and of a London master carpenter, one William de Bocton. Work was still continuing on Knaresborough castle in 1320/21 (ibid, p692), and one John de Kilbourne, who was a master-mason travelling with Edward III in 1337-8, was working at Knaresborough in 1335 - Harvey (1954), p154.
68. CPR 1338-40, p454.
69. Morris (1978) pp25 and 29, describes this moulding as having, as its key feature, a wave terminating in a hollow rather than a fillet, forming a spiked hollow effect, and he notes that this profile occurs in court work from the late 13th century and early 14th century, eg the undercroft of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (begun 1292), and in St Augustine's gatehouse, Canterbury

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(c1308) - illustrated ibid p24, figs 3B, 3C and 3D.

70. Ibid (1978) p27.

71. In both recesses, the original profiles are very worn, so the drawing was based on the renewed stone, and checked against the original mouldings.

72. Illustrated in Colling (1874), p49.

73. Ibid, p51 and plate 57.

74. Illustrated Wilson (1980), p23, fig 2c.

75. This is also found in the later tomb at Walton, which, if it is contemporary with its effigy, is dated c1365-70. The Walton tomb also has foliate cusp spandrels as seen in the east recess at Hazlewood and at East Gilling.

76. Sekules (1986), p130, n46.

77. Illustrated Wilson (1980) figures 2b, 1d and 1e.

78. The mouldings of the west recess are too simple and plain to be of any assistance with comparisons and dating.

79. Coldstream (1973), p73.

80. Horrox (1983), p6.

81. Scott (1986) plate 25, and pp6 and 36.

82. The date has been related to the date of decease of the patron of the tomb, identified as Sir William de la Pole the younger, d1366. Harvey (1959-62), pp474-5 - the heraldry on the tomb identifies not only his own family and that of his wife, but also refers to a number of individuals with whom he had fought in France. He returned from the French campaigns in c1360, and between that date and his death in 1366, he went on at least two pilgrimages. It may be that he had the tomb built during this period, c1360-66.

83. Illustrated Morris (1978), p26, fig 4F, and p28, n31.

84. Ibid p47, and illustrated figs 10C and 10K.

85. Ibid, p48, and illustrated p47, fig 10B.

86. Ibid, pp50-51.

87. McCall (1910), p84. See chapter 2 for identity of patrons and dates of effigies.

88. Printed in Raine, (1834) pp7-10, and see Appendix I for extracts.

By studying the backgrounds and the social standing of tomb patrons, an attempt can be made to establish whether particular patterns of benevolence emerge from any definable group. Some of the details of individual patrons given in chapter 2 are enlarged upon here, and a number of other, identifiable, patrons are included, who were not mentioned in the discussion of effigies or recesses, because the plainness of their tombs did not merit their inclusion there. W

The patrons have been divided into three groups: laymen, laywomen, and churchmen. It is hoped that, by a discussion of their land-owning and social status, various similarities between members of all three groups will become evident, both in the type of tomb they chose, and the kind of benefactions with which they were associated. To this end, a methodical study of a number of factors has been carried out for all the identifiable patrons in an attempt to sort them into social groups. The provision by the tomb patrons of a memorial for themselves, or for members of their families is discussed here in the context of other forms of religious patronage, in order to discover whether a pattern or patterns of benefactions can be observed.

The status of tomb patrons not only in secular life, but also within the church, as for example advowson-holders, will be examined, and the lavishness or otherwise of the various tombs will be set in the context of the status of

the individuals concerned, and of the scale of their financial assistance to the church. Finally, the choice of burial positions within the church buildings will be analysed with a view to discovering whether any particular groups of patrons seem to have favoured particular sites.

For fourteenth century patrons, definitions of status, both material and spiritual, will always be, at best, oversimple, but the following characteristics provide a rough out-line of social standing. In this study, land-ownership, advowson-holdings, chantry-founding, and the association of a tomb with another building project in a church, such as a chantry chapel, will be used as factors which define and measure the status of an individual.¹¹

The problem of how to describe the social status of an individual has been approached by numerous authors in recent years, most of whom agree that land-tenure is the most consistent and reliable measure of wealth.¹²

However, among the higher ranks, ie the parliamentary peerage, status was also connected with the type of service an individual rendered to the king, and if a summons to parliament was addressed to a particular person, rather than to knights of the shire, this was deemed to indicate high social standing. The members of this group will be called the "peerage" in this study - a working definition which describes those forming the upper layer in the social hierarchy to which the

CHAPTER 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen identified tomb patrons belong. It has been noted that the parliamentary peerage developed gradually during the 14th century, during which time, the right to an individual summons to parliament came to be considered as an hereditary right. '3'

Among the identified patrons of tomb-recesses and their immediate families, about twenty fall into this category of the peerage, although few had uncomplicated claims to this status. At Bainton, for example, the family of de Mauley had several members summoned by individual writ, although Edmund de Mauley who is buried in the recess was never individually summoned. However, Peter V de Mauley, who may have been the tomb-builder, was so summoned from 24th Aug 1336-15th March 1354. '4' Edmund de Mauley did however achieve relatively high status on his own account, being appointed steward of the king's household in 1310, and was re-appointed in 1312/13 after an interval during which he was suspended in connection with forgery of the privy seal, and later exonerated. '5'

At Butterwick, Sir Robert FitzRalph whose effigy probably once lay in the north chancel recess, also failed to be summoned to parliament, which may have been due to his early and probably unexpected death. Robert FitzRalph died within two months of his father, who was so summoned, and Robert's son was also summoned by individual writ after his father's death. '6' Two further individuals can be connected with this group - Sir John de Stapleton (Melsonby) and Sir John de Newmarch

(Womersley), their status being inferred from the fact that there was a trend in both cases for close relatives to have been summoned by individual writ. John de Stapleton (d1332), was summoned to the great council at Westminster in 1324, and had earlier obtained grant of free warren in Melsonby, in 1308. His father, Sir Miles de Stapleton, had been summoned by individual writ, and the son and heir of John de Stapleton, Nicholas de Stapleton, was also summoned to the 1324 council in Westminster. '7' Sir John de Newmarch (d1310), was not summoned by individual writ, nor was his father, but his grandfather, Sir Adam de Newmarch was so summoned, and Sir John's brother and heir, Roger de Newmarch received summons to the 1324 council at Westminster. '8'

Sir John Harrington, buried in Cartmel priory church, in the same tomb as his wife Joan (nee Dacre), was summoned from 3rd Dec, 1326- 30th July, 1347. '9' Most of the manor of Cartmel was held by the canons of the priory. It extended over the whole parish, but there were a few estates within it which were held by others. One of these was the manor of Allithwaite, sometimes divided into Upper and Lower Allithwaite, which was held, from the 13th century, by the Harrington family. It remained in the family until at least 1375, after which date the evidence is scanty. In 1314, Michael de Harrington and his heirs were granted free warren in all their demesne lands of Allithwaite, and by 1334 the manor seems to have reverted to the senior branch of the family, since it was

John de Harrington who arranged for the manor of Allithwaite to descend to a son, Thomas, and in case there was no issue, to other of his sons, Michael and John.¹⁰ Cartmel priory church is situated in the middle of the manor of Allithwaite, so the Harrington family would have been able to demonstrate their land-owning status in the vicinity of the church with relative ease.

At Hazlewood, Nunnington and West Tanfield, the male tomb patrons (Sir William de Vavasour and his son Sir Walter, Sir Walter de Teye, and Sir John de Marmion respectively) were all summoned by individual writ. Sir William de Vavasour was summoned from 6th Feb, 1298/9-8th Jan, 1312/13, and Sir Walter was summoned on 26th July, 1313 and was excused attendance on 4th Jan, 1314/15 because he was serving on a campaign against the Scots. Sir Walter de Teye was so summoned from 6th February 1298/99 - 26th August, 1307, and John Marmion was summoned in December 1326.¹¹

At Sprotborough, there is a rather confused picture as to the status of the patrons, Sir William FitzWilliam, d c1340, and his widow Isabella, d c1348. These two individuals have been placed in the ranks of the peerage, and this is mainly due to the high rank of Sir William's wife, Isabella, nee Deincourt. Her father, Sir Edmund Deincourt was summoned by individual writ from 1298/9-1326, and her uncle, Sir William, from 1332-1363.¹² Apart from his wife's connection with the peerage, Sir William himself had summons for military service against

the Scots in 1327, and in 1340 was exempted from going overseas on the king's service being too old and infirm - his son John was ordered to go instead if the need arose. '13'

The builder of the tombs at Staindrop, Sir Ralph de Nevill, lord Raby, was summoned by individual writ from 5 to 39 Edw III. '14' Although not buried in either of the two recesses in the south aisle at Staindrop, he founded the chantry in that aisle and built it together with a small vaulted porch for the chantry priests to gain separate access to the aisle. '15' He founded the chantry for his mother, Euphemia de Clavering, his father Sir Ranulph de Nevill d 1331, and for himself and his wife, Alesia, after their decease. '16' Because of the mention of Euphemia de Clavering in the chantry foundation, one of the two women's effigies in the south aisle probably commemorates her, and indeed, the effigy in the gabled recess has been ascribed to her on the basis of this document. '17' It was through his mother that Ralph de Nevill acquired much Clavering property. She was the daughter of Robert FitzRoger, and her brother, John FitzRobert lord Clavering and his wife settled much property on her, to the exclusion of their daughter Eve. All of this Clavering property was in the hands of Ralph de Nevill, the chantry founder, by 1345. Ralph de Nevill's father was married again after the death of Euphemia, to Margery nee Thwing, by whom he had no issue. '18' It seems likely that the other woman's

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effigy, roughly contemporary with that of Euphemia, nee
Clavering, in the plainer of the two recesses at
Staindrop is that of the step-mother of Sir Ralph,
Margery. ^{'18'}

Including the spouses who were buried with their husbands
who received individual summons to parliament, or who
were in some way associated with their recesses, this
list comprises some nineteen individuals who can be
identified as belonging to this high-ranking group of
tomb patrons.

The largest of the social groups, the members of which
were buried in tomb-recesses, is that which is described
by Given-Wilson as the "county gentry", a term which has
been adopted here. ^{'20'} He describes the larger group of
the gentry as a whole, and divides this into two, roughly
25% belonging to the upper, county gentry level, and the
rest being described as "parish gentry". By these
definitions, the county gentry, who, almost by
definition, held property in more than one parish, tended
to be have been knighted, and held relatively high local
positions, such as those of sheriff or knight of the
shire. The parish gentry on the other hand, holding
property in just the parish in whose church they were
buried, might be lawyers, lesser officials, or
merchants. ^{'21'} Each group was self-contained, and
individuals tended to conduct business transactions with
members of the same group. ^{'22'}

In terms of lordship of a manor in the parish where an individual was buried, this occurs with equal frequency in both sets of gentry. Other means of categorizing members of these two groups have to do with the extent of their influence locally. Some of the county gentry, as will be seen, held free warren, markets or fairs in the parishes where they were buried. Many of the county gentry were chantry founders in their own parishes, whereas only two individuals of the parish gentry can be associated with a chantry, probably because the cost of establishing a chantry was considerably beyond their reach.

It can be seen then that a precise definition of either of these two groups of gentry is very difficult to arrive at. Instead, by noting the general characteristics or "symptoms" of the two classes, it is possible to attempt an approximate organisation of the individuals concerned.

Those tomb patrons who are deemed to belong to the county gentry include Sir John de Meaux, and his wife Maud, buried in the church of St Bartholomew at Aldborough. Sir John evidently held substantial amounts of property in the region of Holderness, much of which he inherited from his father. ⁽²³⁾ He was also the founder of a lavish chantry, not in the parish church of Aldborough, but in the priory of Haltemprice, where, at the time of the foundation (1361) he had also intended that he should be buried. ⁽²⁴⁾ He would have been interred alongside his

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ancestors whose bones he had been granted licence to remove from Aldborough parish church to the priory in 1353, because of the threat posed by the encroachment of the sea. '26' One month after making his will, his Haltemprice chantry foundation was confirmed, although by this date, as his will dated 1st June 1377 shows, he now intended to be buried in Aldborough church. '26' As an indication of his own personal devotion, he requested burial in the habit of the Friars Minor, since he was a lay brother of that order, although his effigy is dressed in armour, and among the official positions he held was that of JP. '27'

Other members of the county gentry who founded chantries in the churches where they were buried include Sir John de Everingham, in 1329. '28' Although he was never summoned as a knight of the shire, he was clearly an important local land-owner, granting substantial parcels of property to his chantry priest, and, according to his Inquisition Post Mortem, holding at least 71 acres of land in the manor of Birkin. Other members of Sir John's family were summoned as knights of the shire, including his nephew, Sir Adam de Everingham of Everingham (Yorks) (from 2-9 Edw II), and his son, Sir Adam de Everingham, of Laxton (Notts), in 44 Edw III. '28'

Sir Roger de Somerville was another chantry founder, at Burton Agnes, and obtained licence to move his first wife's body into the north aisle which he had built, and where he is also assumed to be buried. '30' While he was

not summoned as a knight of the shire, Adam de Somerville was so summoned in 1323/4, and again in 1327. This Adam also performed the military service due from Sir Roger on 13th Sept, 1310 at Tweedmouth, and both Roger and his brother Philip were summoned to the great council at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1327/8.¹³¹ Apart from his property in Burton Agnes, Sir Roger de Somerville also held the advowsons of two chantries at Stannington and Witton in Northumberland, of a moiety of Newminster Abbey, and of Benton church, also in Northumberland.¹³²

The pattern of patronage at Catterick has to be considered in a different context to the other instances discussed in this chapter, since the church was entirely rebuilt in 1412 by members of the de Burgh family. Three of them are thought to have been buried in the two north aisle recesses, John de Burgh, d1412, in one of them, and his son William de Burgh, d1442, and his son also William, d1462, in the other. John de Burgh took his mother's maiden name, and she was related to the Burghs of Cambridgeshire, being the heiress of her father, William de Burgh.¹³³ Clearly, the family rose through the ranks of the parish gentry to become major landholders by the end of the 14th century, but it is unusual for a lay patron to rebuild an entire church. It is possible that part of the reason was due to an undertaking made by John de Burgh in 1390, when he was granted a lease for life of all the property in Brough owned by Jervaulx abbey, on condition that he maintained

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all the buildings at his own cost, and that they were all to be restored to good condition at the end of the lease, that is on his death.³⁴ Moreover, from 1392, John de Burgh had also been the lessee of the tithes from the abbey of Jervaulx, again for his lifetime. Maybe the reason for Catterick church having been completely rebuilt (though re-using some of the stones and architectural elements from the earlier church) was that the de Burghs had allowed the parish church to fall into a seriously decayed state, and that they were bound by the 1390 and 1392 agreements to restore it, or presumably to rebuild it if necessary. Pollard, observes that the parishioners were not involved in the contract, nor was the Abbot and Convent of St Mary's, York, who held the advowson of Catterick church.³⁵ An additional spur to the building programme might be found in another neighbouring project. At Hornby, the parish church was enlarged in 1410 by the addition of a south aisle, and, as for Catterick, the contract for this is extant. The mason employed by the Conyers was Richard de Cracall of Newton, the same as would be employed two years later by the de Burghs at Catterick.³⁶ There was a manor in the parish of Hornby called Hackforth, which, until c 1324, the Burghs had held. However, a disagreement over the rightful owners of the manor, between Thomas de Burgh (d1322) and his sister Elizabeth de Mountford, which began in 1320, grew into a long-running and bitter dispute. The case, in which Elizabeth questioned the validity of her brother's marriage (to Lucinda nee Bellewe) and the legitimacy of his son John, was pursued

in Archbishop Melton's court and then in the Chancery court at York, where Elizabeth finally agreed that the marriage was indeed valid.¹³⁷ However, the manor passed to the Mountfords anyway, because the son and heir of Thomas de Burgh, John, on gaining possession of his estates in 1323-4, settled the Hackforth estate on his aunt Elizabeth, on condition that she did not make any further claims to his estate.¹³⁸ Thomas de Burgh had, before his death, rebuilt the north aisle of Hornby church, together with a tomb recess in its north wall, where he and his wife were buried. With the addition of a south aisle to Hornby church, the public status of the de Burgh family as church patrons would have been diminished, and the loss of Hackforth manor might have been felt more keenly by the neighbouring branch of the family at Catterick. Perhaps part of the reason for the scale of their patronage at Catterick was to try to redeem the family's public position as church patrons.

The south aisle recess at Catterick contains the effigy of Walter de Urswick, d1394. He was a retainer of John of Gaunt, and in 1368 was granted £40 pa out of the issues of the manor of Catterick by him. He held many high positions, including that of knight of the shire for Lancashire, on 26th Oct, 1383, and those of chief forester for life of Richmond new forest (1361), Constable of Richmond Castle (1362), Steward and Master Forester of Bowland, and of Justice of the Peace, and of oyer and terminer in Notts, (1382).¹³⁹ The Scrope of

Masham connection with Catterick and/or Urswick as illustrated in the heraldry on Urswick's tomb, is harder to establish. There are, however, a few links between Walter de Urswick and the Scrope family in the later 14th century: as was noted in chapter 2, Urswick was a witness on behalf of Sir Richard Scrope of Bolton (d1403), during the Scrope-Grosvenor controversy.^{'40'} Also, Sir Walter fought at the battle of Najera (for which service he was granted the ~~£~~40 pa out of the manor of Catterick), as did Sir William Scrope, third son of Sir Geoffrey Scrope who founded the family of Scrope of Masham.^{'41'} Sir Stephen Scrope, second lord Scrope of Masham, born c1345, and d1405/6, also fought at Najera with Urswick.^{'42'} As further evidence of the Scrope-Urswick connection, William Lescrope succeeded Walter de Urswick in the post of constable of Richmond Castle in 1395.^{'43'}

Sir Warin de Scargill III was the first member of his family to acquire property in west Yorkshire, the land having come to him through his marriage, c1300, to the heiress, Clara de Stapleton, through whom he obtained, among other property, the manor of Darrington. He therefore held lands in both north and west Yorkshire and was thus newly-qualified as a member of the county gentry at the time of his death. He was not summoned as a knight of the shire, although his son and heir, William de Scargill was so summoned, in Feb 1333/4, and again in Feb 1338/9.^{'44'} He held the positions of commissioner of oyer and terminer, and of array, and was dead by 1327 when he was succeeded by his son William.^{'45'} He was

evidently responsible for the upkeep of a chantry at Stapleton (W Yorks), since in 1327/8 he was sued by the prior of St John's Pontefract for alleged default in maintaining it. '45'

The rather complicated land-holding position at Feliskirk has already been discussed, and Sir John de Walkingham, whose effigy lies in the tomb recess at St Felix church, was summoned as a knight of the shire in November 1325. In 1309/10, he had a grant of free-warren in his demesne lands at Cowthorpe and Bickerton, and had a court at Cowthorpe. In 1319 he was appointed commissioner of array, and again in 1325/6. '47' Members of earlier generations of this family had received individual summonses to parliament. Nicholas de Boltby, the maternal grand-father of Sir John de Walkingham, was summoned in 45 Hen III. '48' Sir William de Cantilupe, step-father of Sir John de Walkingham, was a member of the famous Cantilupe family of which Thomas, bishop of Hereford, later canonised, was also a member. Sir William received individual summons to parliament from 28 Edw I-2 Edw II, was present at the coronation of Edw II, and died the following year. '49' In 29 Edw I, he was one of those whose seal was attached to a letter to the pope, in which he was called "Willielmus de Cantilupo Dominus de Ravensthorpe." '50' Both he and Sir John de Walkingham are known to have been preparing to set out to Scotland on the king's service in 1303. '51'

In contrast to Feliskirk, the land-holding position at Goldsborough could hardly be clearer. Richard de Goldsborough, who died c1333, held the manor, along with other Yorkshire property, and he was noted, in 1316, as having been appointed collector of the scutages in Yorkshire for the years 28, 31 and 34 Edw I. ¹⁰² In 1322, he was appointed commissioner of array, so he evidently qualifies as a member of the county gentry. ¹⁰³ The Harpham arrangement was also relatively straightforward. Sir William de St Quintin (d1349), buried in the same tomb as his wife, Joan, who survived him, was the grandson of Sir William de St Quintin who was summoned as a knight of the shire in May 1300. The son of that Sir William, Sir Geoffrey, also appears to have been so summoned, in 1306 and 1307, and the son of the William who d1349, John de St Quintin, was summoned in Oct 1382, Oct 1386, and Jan 1394/5. ¹⁰⁴

At Hornby and Howden, the patrons of the tomb recesses (Thomas de Burgh, d c1322 and his wife, and John de Metham and his wife Sybil, nee Hamelton respectively) clearly qualify as members of the county gentry. Thomas de Burgh was lord of Hackforth, in the parish of Hornby in 1316, and held land in both Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire. ¹⁰⁵ The son of Sir John de Metham, Thomas de Metham, was a Justice of the Peace, and was also, on occasions, appointed commissioner of oyer and terminer. ¹⁰⁶

At Hull, two members of the de la Pole family are

commemorated, Richard, d c1345, and William the younger, d c1366, both of whom held high office. Richard was, in 1317, made a deputy of the king's butler in Hull, and from 1321-4 was a town chamberlain.¹⁰⁷ He also founded a chantry at Holy Trinity, Hull, as appears in his will dated 1345.¹⁰⁸ Sir William de la Pole the younger belonged to the select group of knights who had fought at Crecy and Calais in 1346-7, as the heraldry on his tomb indicates.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Sir William was also MP for Hull in 1338/9, and on the death of his wife's father, he became lord of Castle Ashby (Northants).¹¹⁰ These two patrons, and especially Sir Richard de la Pole, mark a move away from the tendency for tomb patrons in this group to be knighted, since Richard's status was achieved mainly through his financial success and business acumen. Significantly, the effigy attributed to him is that of a merchant. Among the patrons of tomb-recesses in the province of York, this trend began at Hull, and continued in the 1390s with the patrons of the Scarborough south nave aisle recesses, who were members of merchant families. In both cases, the patrons were prominent in the context of large, thriving towns with a flourishing import/export trade.

The status of the tomb patron at Kirklington, Sir Alexander de Mowbray, d c1368, is a little ambiguous, since he does not appear to have held any position of significance. However, he came from a family of very high standing, his father, Sir John de Mowbray, holding the

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position of Chief Justice of the King's Bench.¹⁵¹ It was
through his father that Alexander acquired the lordship
of Kirklington, since on his marriage to Elizabeth (nee
Musters), her father conveyed the entire manor of
Kirklington to Sir John de Mowbray, which was then to
descend to Alexander and Elizabeth.¹⁵²

Two of the patrons at Scarborough, Robert Rillington and
Robert Galoun were sea-merchants, and the third, Agnes
Burn, was a substantial land-owner in Scarborough, as
appears in her will where she left land and buildings, as
well as smaller objects.¹⁵³ Robert Rillington held the
post of coroner of the town of Scarborough in 1390.¹⁵⁴
Earlier, one John de Rillington had been a Bailiff of
Scarborough, and one John de Broune had been a juror
there.¹⁵⁵

Neither Sir Robert de Plumpton (d1323) nor Adam de
Herthill (d c1328), tomb patrons at Spofforth and
Tickhill respectively, were summoned to Parliament.
However, Robert de Plumpton's son and heir, William de
Plumpton, was summoned as a knight of the shire in
September 1331.¹⁵⁶ Adam and Avice de Herthill held
property locally as well as in Derbyshire and
Warwickshire, Adam having inherited his father's estates
there in 1325.¹⁵⁷ He must have been dead by 1328, since
Avice was sued in that year, as a widow.¹⁵⁸ The 1348
chantry founded by Avice was situated in the chapel with
the tomb recess, suggesting that both the chapel and its
tomb recess were associated with the chantry.¹⁵⁹

At Walton, if the Fairfax knight buried in the north chancel recess is Thomas son of John Fairfax who died c1360, then he can be considered as a member of the county gentry, since he was summoned to parliament as a knight of the shire in 1324.^{'70'} This long-lived individual was active in 1353, when he is mentioned in a fine as holding lands in Bramham and Ecope, and the manor of Clifford near Wetherby.^{'71'} One of his sons, John (one-time rector of East Gilling), died in 1393, so Sir Thomas may well have survived until c1360.^{'72'}

Only a few of the tomb patrons belonged to the parish gentry, but they included at East Gilling, Thomas de Etton, d1349, who held the manors of East Gilling and South Holm in 1316, and was one of the tenants required to contribute towards the expenses of the Scottish wars in 1338.^{'73'} He appears to have held small parcels of land locally, but no estates further afield. When the Etton line seemed to be in danger of failing, in c1349, a settlement to the effect that the manor of Gilling and other local property would pass to the Fairfax family, if the Etton line did fail.^{'74'}

Two further tomb recesses are associated with members of the parish gentry, at Oswaldkirk and Stonegrave. The family of Pickering at Oswaldkirk, were joint lords of half of the manor of Oswaldkirk in 1316, while at Stonegrave, the family of Thornton held the manor of East

Newton in Stonegrave parish from the reign of Edward II until the 17th century. Neither family, however, appears to have held land further afield. '70'

From this rather brief list, it can be seen that the parish gentry tended to hold land only in the locality of their own burial churches, and that the county gentry are by far the largest of the three social groups identified here as having chosen to be buried in tomb recesses, numbering 33 if wives who are buried with their husbands, though not necessarily within the recess are included. The parish gentry, on the other hand, numbers just 5, including wives where they are associated with their husbands' recesses.

One might have expected the tombs of members of the peerage to be more lavish than those of the gentry. However, instances of luxurious and elaborate monuments can be found in all three social groups. Moreover, relatively plain tomb recesses can also be found in all three groups, although these are seen most often as memorials to members of the gentry. The only example of a modest recess found to commemorate a member of the peerage in the York province, as far as they have been identified in this thesis, is at Butterwick (Foxholes parish). This is the tomb of Sir Robert FitzRalph, d1317, consisting of a low, arched recess in the north chancel wall. It is completely unadorned, and without mouldings. In addition, the chapel at Butterwick is itself extremely modest, being a simple, two-cell building of nave and

chancel, and it may be that this unexpectedly plain monument came about as a result of the early death of Sir Robert, who died just two months after his father. In the event of his early, and presumably unexpected, death, Sir Robert's tomb may well have been erected somewhat hastily. The choice of a relatively small chapel as the burial church may be explained by the fact that Sir Robert died too soon to have livery of his father's lands. His widow, Elizabeth (nee Nevill of Scotton, Lincs.) probably had the recess and effigy made for her husband at Butterwick, the manor being part of her dower. (75)

For the remainder of the examples noted in this group of the parliamentary peerage, the tombs were either suitably lavish in themselves, or else they formed part of a larger building programme, or appeared to do so. At Womersley, for example, there is a tomb recess in the eastern end of the south nave aisle, which forms a semi-private chapel, as it probably did when the building was first undertaken. The recess is relatively modest - it is not gabled, though it is cusped, and it is quite low. However, the eastern bay of the nave aisle in which it is situated appears to be part of the same building project. The recess is relatively deep, being 0.43m from the front plane of the aisle/chapel wall to the rear wall of the recess. This degree of depth would make insertion in an existing building difficult to accomplish without rebuilding part of the wall in which the recess is sited.

This suggests that the recess and the wall are probably contemporary. These physical indicators, or the lack of them, are not completely reliable indicators that the tomb and chapel were coeval, but if they appeared to be, then the tomb-patron's aim would have been well-served, giving the impression of having provided a lavish memorial. At Womersley, the effect of this apparent generosity of benefaction is increased by the presence of a second recess, opposite the first, in the north wall of the north nave aisle. This symmetry and apparent association with two nave chapels would enhance the benevolent reputation of the patron(s). '77'

The knight effigy which lies against the south nave aisle wall, not now in front of the recess, carries the arms of Newmarch. It is assumed that the identity of this knight is that of Sir John de Newmarch, who was dead by May 1310. '78' He was the son of Adam de Newmarch, who died c1302-3, and was one of the first Newmarch knights to carry five fusils on his shield, the earlier knights having just a single fusil. His wife Avice, who survived him, sued her mother-in-law Elizabeth (the widow of the Adam mentioned above) over the advowson of Womersley church. Avice is presumed to have succeeded in her claim, since she presented to the church in 1318, although by this time Elizabeth may have died. '79' The plainer of the two recesses at Womersley is probably the earlier one on the north side of the church, and may have been the burial site of Sir Adam de Newmarch. The south recess may well have been the burial site of Sir John de Newmarch,

to whom the effigy as been ascribed. It could have been built by his widow, Avice, as a concrete demonstration of her (and his) rights over the advowson of Womersley, and therefore of the family's status within the parish. This was not the first time that the prestige and rights of the Newmarch family in Womersly had been challenged. In 1306, John and Avice had to defend their rights to property there, as appears in a fine of that date between themselves and Gilbert de Stapleton, regarding one messuage and its appurtenances, which was found to belong to the right heirs of John and Avice. '80'

It is difficult to generalize about the charitable benefactions of the peerage, because the group itself is so small, so the problem can only be approached in a relatively basic manner. For this study, the question of chantry foundations has been used as a guide to the inclinations of the patron, partly because, in some cases, chantries were physically associated with the tomb itself, and partly because this is one of the easier types of benefaction to track down in secondary sources. '81'

Of the nineteen members of the peerage who are associated with tomb recesses, half are also known to have founded or to have enlarged a chantry. These are the two Vavasour knights at Hazlewood, the Stapleton knight at Melsonby, the FitzWilliams at Sprotborough, and Ralph de Nevill, who, though not buried at Staindrop, founded a chantry

there. '82' The Melsonby entry in Greenfield's register shows that the chantry was founded in 1313 for two years only. It may have been intended to supplement or update an earlier foundation made in 1230, in which the abbot and convent of Easby bound themselves to maintain one chaplain and one clerk to celebrate in perpetuity in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, described as being in the churchyard at Melsonby. They were to celebrate for the souls of Master Alan (parson of Melsonby), and Master Henry de Melsonby, their successors and heirs. The Stapletons were indeed the heirs of the family of Melsonby, and Greenfield's 1313 licence notes that the chapel, now dedicated to St Mary, was founded in antiquity by the chaplain of Melsonby. '83' It is likely, therefore, that the Stapletons were actually increasing an earlier foundation, made by the previous lord of the manor of Melsonby.

The advowson holdings of the peerage in many cases increased their status within their burial churches. Of the eleven churches containing tomb recesses of the peerage, the advowsons of at least six were held by the families of the tomb patrons. Those six are Bainton, where the de Mauley family also presented several members of their own family, Hazlewood castle chapel, which was really a chantry chapel with special privileges, including the right of the incumbent to minister all sacraments, and to baptize, marry and bury those living in the castle, Nunnington, Sprotborough, West Tanfield and Womersley. '84'

Some members of this group held the advowson of more than one church, but the point that emerges is that the advowsons of about half the churches, involving the tomb recesses of thirteen of the nineteen identified patrons, were held by the tomb patrons them-selves, or by their families.

Many of the chantry foundations of the county gentry have already been mentioned. Feliskirk should be included as having such a foundation since, although Sir John de Walkingham was not a chantry founder there, his widow, Joanna, who probably had her husband's tomb and effigy made, did leave money in her will, dated 1346, for two chaplains to celebrate at Feliskirk for one year, which chaplains were to be chosen by her executors. '===' Since she also requested burial beside her husband, Sir John de Walkingham, the chantry she founded was probably intended to celebrate for the souls of them both, although she did not actually specify this.

At Walton, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is believed to be buried in the north chancel recess, was also a chantry founder, but his chantry was probably not sited in his burial church. In 1322, he had licence from Archbishop Melton to have divine service celebrated "in capella sua" at Walton, which is likely to refer to a private chapel, rather than to the parish church. '===' Including the examples at Feliskirk and Walton, this gives a total of

sixteen members of the county gentry who are associated with chantry foundations in the same church in which they, or their husbands, were buried.

Of the county gentry tombs associated with chantries, all except the last two at Feliskirk and Walton were sited in chapels, or in areas of the church which could be separated from the main body of the church either by name or by use, such as the east end of a nave aisle. This would have been a functional necessity, to enable the chantry-priest to carry out his duties. At Feliskirk and Walton, the recesses are in the north chancel walls. In such cases, it may be that the parish priest celebrating at the high altar, adjacent to the tomb, would have been considered adequate by the patrons as a focus of private devotion, so as to render a chantry priest unnecessary.¹⁵⁷

For all three groups of patrons, whether members of the peerage, county gentry, or parish gentry, the individuals that have been identified held the lordship of a manor in the parish where they were buried, or at least some major land-holding in the locality. Many of them held much else besides, but the minimum requirement in terms of wealth seems to have been to have control over a local manor, and therefore high local status. This is the case for Aldborough, where John de Meaux inherited his father's estates.¹⁵⁸ At Birkin, there was a disagreement over the manor and the advowson of the parish church between Isabel de Everingham, widow of Adam de Everingham, and

the Crown. She won the case, and gave the manor of Birkin with all its appurtenances, and the advowson of the church to her son, Sir John de Everingham, who is buried in the recess there. '88' At Burton Agnes, the Somervilles held only a half of the manor for most of the 13th century, but in 1294 they obtained the other half by exchange, and held the manor until 1355. So at the time the aisle and recess were built, Roger de Somerville was lord of the entire manor. '90' On the death of Roger de Somerville in 1337, it was found that apart from a capital messuage in Burton Agnes, he held no other lands in the county, and that he held the advowson of the chantry which he had founded and built of William de Thwing, by service of a knight's fee. '91' Catterick has two families identified as being commemorated in its recesses, (the Burghs and Walter de Urswick). Its building history has already been discussed, and the de Burgh family's land-holding position in the parish has already been noted, as has Sir Walter's land-owning position at Catterick, and the official positions he held.

Sir Warin de Scargill, who is buried in the north chancel recess at Darrington, held land in both West Yorkshire and in the north of the county. At Feliskirk, the manors of Ravensthorpe and Bolteby, as well as other local property, came to Sir John de Walkingham through his mother's first marriage. '92' Richard de Goldsborough, as well as holding the manor of Goldsborough, is also known to have held estates in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire

CHAPTER 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen and Oxfordshire. Some of the Oxfordshire estates were held jointly with Sir John de Meaux, inter alia, another of the tomb-patrons.^{'23'} At Harpham, the family of St Quintin were lords of the manor of Harpham, from 1199 until the 17th century.^{'24'} The Thomas de Burgh who was lord of the manor of Hackforth, in the parish of Hornby also held lands in Cambridgeshire, as well as the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, and in 1304 he obtained free-warren in all his demesne lands of Hackforth and Walton in Yorkshire.^{'25'} The Burgh manor house stood on the east side of Hackforth, about 1 1/2 miles from the parish church of Hornby, and on the eastern edge of Hornby Park.^{'26'}

The position of Sir John de Metham as a land owner at Howden and elsewhere is rather complicated, especially after his death. Sir John de Metham held several estates in East Yorkshire, and some property in Derbyshire, by right of the inheritance of his wife, Sybil.^{'27'} He also held a small estate in Nottinghamshire in his own right. There is a note at the end of the inquisition stating that during the life time of Sir John, one Sir Jordan de Metham took Sir John's heir, Thomas de Metham, to Belasise (Yorks), and after John's death, by command of Sybil, his widow, Thomas de Verjon and John de Waghen "eloigned" him beyond the Humber, "and after 3 weeks the said John brought him back to the said Thomas de Verjon, who delivered him to Sir William de Conestable who still detains him."

At Hull, as at Scarborough, the definition of status according to land ownership is different to that of patrons whose property was mainly rural. In an urban situation, status can be measured by determining whether or not the individual held tenements, or other property such as parcels of land, in the town. The de la Pole family had extensive holdings in Hull, but although Sir Richard de la Pole was an extensive property-holder in Hull in his own right, Sir William de la Pole the younger does not appear to have held any Yorkshire property at the time of his death. ¹⁰⁰ William did, however, have substantial holdings in Hull during his lifetime, including at least 2/3 of his father's moiety of the manor of Myton which covered an extensive area outside the walls of Hull. ¹⁰¹ He also held seven tenements within Hull, which ran from the church of Holy Trinity, parallel with the river-side. Richard de la Pole was an equally important land-owner in Hull and, reflecting the extent of the de la Pole holdings, one of the streets in Hull was called Pole Street, and was extended outside the walls of Hull, to connect with the Charterhouse. ¹⁰² This was founded by Michael de la Pole, the future Chancellor of England and earl of Suffolk, in 1378, is situated in the manor of Myton, and was endowed with income from this manor. ¹⁰³

In the case of Scarborough, all three chantry founders/tomb patrons in the church of St Mary at Scarborough had considerable prestige, and a degree of

CHAPTER 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen
notoriety in the town. Both Robert Rillington and Robert Galoun were in trouble for insurrection and treason in Scarborough, in 1382, and one John Broun, who was possibly related to the third chantry founder, Agnes Burn/Broun, was also punished for treason.^{'102'} Robert Rillington left two ships in his will of 1391, as well as numerous other bequests, and Robert Galoun, whose chantry was the wealthiest of those founded at Scarborough, left a gold ring with a sapphire to his wife, Amicia, which was to pass to his daughter Isabel, and thence to the chaplain of his chantry chapel. Agnes Burn was evidently the owner of a substantial amount of property in Scarborough, as shown by her numerous bequests of land in the town in 1400/1401.^{'103'}

The Wandesforde family, having come into the manor of Kirklington, in or after 1368, through the marriage of John de Wandesforde to Elizabeth, widow of Alexander de Moubray, and daughter of Henry de Musters, continued a trend of Musters' interest in Kirklington and Treswell which had been operating since at least the Domesday Survey, and from the 13th century, members of the Musters family had been rectors of both Kirklington and Treswell (Notts), seat of the Wandesfords.^{'104'} The surname of the tomb patron at Spofforth, Robert de Plumpton, was taken from, or more probably given to the vill of Plumpton in the parish of Spofforth. The overlord was Henry de Percy in 1316, but the Plumpton family held their major demesne estates in the parish.^{'105'} Similarly at Walton, although there were a number of land owning individuals

in the parish in the 13th century, members of the Fairfax family were the chief land-owners by the 1330s.¹⁰⁸

From these details, would appear that burial in a tomb-recess indicated that the deceased had their major land holdings, or their main residence in the parish. However, it should be noted that this connection between tomb and status does not only apply to those individuals who were buried in tomb recesses. The tombs of members of the Scrope family at Easby abbey, of Brian FitzAllan at Bedale, and of members of the Marmion family at West Tanfield are just a few examples of free-standing or altar tombs belonging to land-owning families in their own parishes. Notwithstanding this general trend for burial on "home ground", the choice of a tomb-recess was a more secure means of establishing the post mortem status of the patron in his or her neighbourhood than was burial in other, less permanent types of tomb.

Whereas the tombs of the peerage associated with chantries were not generally more elaborate than those which were not so connected, those of the county gentry did tend to be larger and more ornate when they were associated with such foundations. Some of the chantry foundations of the county gentry have already been mentioned. Others occurred in connection with the patrons at Howden and at Goldsborough. In the case of Howden, which was in the patronage of Durham Priory, it was made a collegiate church in 1265, when the fifth prebend at

the church was granted the predial tithes [those derived from the soil] of hay, wool and lambs from the vills of Saltmarsh, Cotness, Metham and Yokefleet. Moreover, in case of argument over the precedence of the prebends, it was stipulated that the fifth prebendary was to have the third stall on the south side of the choir, which was relatively close to the south transept eastern chapel, where the large ogeed recess and the Metham and Saltmarsh effigies are now situated.^{'107'} At Goldsborough, there is a chapel area associated with the recess, which is formed by an opening in the north chancel wall, communicating with a north chancel chapel/eastern extension of the north nave aisle. However, Richard de Goldsborough is not known to have founded a chantry here, although he did have licence to alienate land to the abbot and convent of Salley in Craven in July 1310.^{'108'} Possibly the patron of the tomb recess at Hornby, Thomas de Burgh, also had a chantry associated with his tomb, although, as at Goldsborough, there appears to be no record of such a foundation. However, he probably rebuilt, or widened the whole north aisle in c1300, since the moulding around his recess is of the same order as that of the aisle windows, consisting of a pair of chamfers. There are also two small niches beside the recess which are thought to have been an image niche and a piscina, in which case it does seem likely that there was a chantry associated with the tomb recess. However, these niches were probably later additions to the aisle and may have been added in the 1330s or 1340s by the family of Mountford who were the successors of the Burgh

family in the manor of Hackforth.^{'108'}

William de St Quintin, the probable patron of the arch containing the tomb-chest at Harpham, though probably not of the incised slab commemorating himself and his widow, founded a chantry at Harpham in 1340.^{'110'} The position of the arch, in the wall separating the chancel from the north chancel chapel, and the equally detailed decoration of both side^L of the arch and tomb-chest, implies that Sir William's chantry foundation was associated with this chapel.

The large and impressive tomb of Sir William de la Pole the younger at Hull is not known to be connected with any chantry foundation. However, the tomb does form part of a chapel, being cut into the north wall of the south choir chapel now called the Broadley Chapel. The chapel was originally known as the De la Pole chapel, where there would once have been a chantry.^{'111'} It has been noted that, following damage during the 17th century, several shields of arms were noticed and described, and when the chapel was restored in the 19th century, these older descriptions of the heraldry were used to repaint the shields. Ten of these shields have been associated with William de la Pole the younger, through his service on the Crecy-Calais campaign of 1346-7.^{'112'}

At Howden, the tomb of Sir John de Metham and his wife, Sybil, has clearly been moved, as have the two effigies.

Also, judging by the unevenness of the surrounding wall, and the insertion of canopied niches which have resulted in some of the tomb's crocketing having been cut away, the recess has also been moved. However, because of the presence of another, similarly-moulded recess in a corresponding position in the north transept, it is probable that the Metham tomb has been replaced in its original position. Assuming that the recess is now once again in its original position, it would have been associated with the east aisle of the south transept, where there is evidence of more than one chantry, in the form of three piscinae.

The advowson holdings of the county gentry were often the source of disputes, as has been seen already in the case of Womersley. At Birkin, Sir John de Everingham obtained the advowson of the parish church only after a conflict between his mother, Lady Isabel de Everingham, and the crown had been resolved, on 24th January, 1288-89.^{'113'} Sir John was the second, but first surviving, son of Isabel and Robert de Everingham, and he presented his other brother as rector of Birkin.^{'114'} At Kirklington there was a lengthy dispute between the Wandesfordes and Michael de la Pole, between 1384 and 1387, during which time quantities of documentation was produced, citing the earlier history of the advowson of the church.^{'115'} The case lasted for two and a half years before it was finally settled in favour of John and Elizabeth Wandesford.

A few patrons held the advowsons of the chantries they had founded, but not of the church, among them, Roger de Somerville at Burton Agnes.^{'115'} At Goldsborough, the advowson was held by the Goldsborough family, who, on occasions, presented members of their family to the benefice.^{'117'}

Since only five members of the parish gentry have been identified with any degree of certainty, it is not safe to describe general practices regarding the appearance of their tombs. It is worth pointing out, however, that one of the recesses and all of the four effigies associated with this group are relatively lavish: at East Gilling, the ogee-arched recess is cusped and foliated, with foliage spandrels, and a high degree of decoration, while at Hornby, the effigies of the knight and lady - Thomas de Burgh and his wife Lucia - may well belong to group B, described in chapter 2. It is unusual among Yorkshire effigies in that the mail is represented by curved incised lines, rather like the Durham effigies of the period. The Hornby effigy has the broad swathes of drapery, the undulating hemline, and the pronounced loops of drapery over the thigh seen in the effigies of group B, such as the Hazlewood knight in the eastern recess. The Stonegrave couple, probably carved in the early 15th century, and in very good condition, demonstrate an individual style, with precise attention to detail on both the effigies and the tomb-chest, and inventive, though rather stiff, pattern-making in the draperies

around the feet. '118'

The presence of an elaborately decorated recess, and of four impressive effigies, suggests that some parish gentry took greater pains to set up impressive monuments to their memory than did some of their more aristocratic neighbours. Apart from the attention given to the physical aspects of the monuments, the tombs at both East Gilling and Stonegrave were also associated with a chapel and with a major rebuilding programme in their respective churches. Even the tomb at Oswaldkirk may be considered as being associated with a chapel, since the whole church is really a chapel structure. As at Butterwick, the church is a two cell structure, consisting of a nave and chancel. At East Gilling, a squint from the south aisle into the chancel indicates that there was at one time a chantry altar beside the tomb. The identity of the patrons at Stonegrave, indicated by the shields bearing the arms of Thornton, held by the male effigy, carved on the tomb-chest, and carried by an angel corbel in the clerestorey bay directly over the tomb is thus related to 15th century work on the church building, making a clear statement of their patronage.

As far as their charitable benefactions are concerned, the parish gentry do not seem to ^{have} adopted this means of establishing a memorial to themselves. None of the individuals in this group founded a chantry in the burial-church, although a few founded them elsewhere. At Stonegrave, Robert Thornton, the son of William Thornton,

had leave from the dean and chapter of York, 1397-8, to have mass celebrated in the chapel of East Newton during the vacancy of the See, although this may not constitute a chantry foundation. ¹¹⁵

The number of patrons in this group who held the advowsons of the churches in which they were buried were few. Only one family is known known to have had the right of presentation to their burial-churches: at Oswaldkirk, members of the Pickering family, one of whom is thought to be buried in the recess. ¹²⁰ As at Goldsborough, the patrons' main residence at Oswaldkirk was built just a few yards away from the church, so that their rights of presentation would have been reinforced by their proximity to the church.

The land-owning status of the parish gentry has already been described, and these details, together with a summary of the characteristics used to identify the three social groups, can be seen summarised in the tables at the end of this chapter.

On the face of it, tomb patrons who were either laywomen or churchmen both lived within certain rather similar constraints, especially where their freedom to control property was concerned. ¹²¹ However, far from being limited in their choices of benefaction and burial

Chapter 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen arrangements, these patrons were able, either through widowhood, or through their promotion to lucrative benefices, to play an instrumental role in 14th century feudal society. Indeed, wherever society or the law permitted, both groups were quick to take advantage of the situations where they were allowed to control property, and in such cases, were able to provide themselves with tombs, chantries and other funerary arrangements which were just as lavish as those of laymen in the three social groups identified above. For this reason, some of the points covered in this section will continue the discussion of some of those covered in the section relating to laymen, particularly in connection with land-owning status, advowson-holding, and chantry-founding. Because the numbers of identified laywomen and churchmen are relatively small, they will not be divided into various social ranks, but using the same rules that were applied to laymen, the social status of each patron will be noted in the tables to be found at the end of this chapter.

As well as the factors already mentioned as being descriptive of an individual's status, the women associated with tomb recesses can be studied in relation to her own personal land-owning status, as distinct from that of her husband, especially in the parish where she was buried. The question as to whether she survived her husband, and whether or not she remarried needs to be addressed, since her landholding status could have changed substantially during that process. Moreover, the

kind of commemoration she received after her death was, in some cases related to the benefits she had brought to her husband's family through her marriage.

When the small group of churchmen who have been identified as patrons of tomb recesses come to be considered, indicators of their social standing which will be considered in addition to the other characteristics of lay tomb patrons. These will include the relationship that the churchman in question might have had with an important land-owning family, whether the church was a rectory or a vicarage, and whether there was a history of incumbents of a particular benefice who also held other, prestigious positions.

A woman, while she was married, would usually defer to her husband on the subject of property, but she retained control of whatever land, and property she had brought with her to the marriage, as well as any property she might have inherited during her marriage and the dower which her husband gave her.¹²² Moreover although it would appear that wives had very little say in the disposal of property held jointly with their husbands, this was not always the case for women who were married to members of the peerage or the county gentry. Their husbands were often absent for various reasons, such as when they were attending parliaments or councils, when they were abroad serving the king, when they were performing knight service in the Scottish wars, and,

occasionally, when they had been imprisoned.¹²³
Because of these absences, wives had to be able to control their husbands' estates on their own, and therefore had to acquire a degree of independence and competence.

As a means of conducting property transactions, great attention was paid to a marriage which connected two wealthy, land-owning families. Such contracts had to be arranged with great care, since a daughter, once she married, ceased to contribute to her father's family. This usually meant that her share in the family inheritance was reduced, as was the case for Maud FitzWilliam, nee Deincourt, at Sprotborough, discussed below. A wife did however bring certain assets with her to a marriage, and often the husband would contribute to his new family.

Most of the women who were buried in tomb recesses outlived their husbands, as was generally the case among all classes of women in the fourteenth century, and as it still is today. The status of the widow who did not remarry was a powerful one. Unlike most other groups of women, she was able to live independently, to conduct business transactions without intervention by men, and controlled property in her own right. Moreover, as a concrete demonstration of her independent status, she would usually have continued to live in the house of her chief manor after her husband's death, rather than returning to her father's or brother's household.¹²⁴

One example of a powerful and independent widow is Elizabeth, wife of Robert FitzRalph (d1317 and buried at Butterwick), nee Nevill of Scotton, who outlived him by nearly thirty years. The extensive list of property which she held at her death shows that, inter alia, she held the manor of Butterwick in dower. ^{'126'} Because her husband died shortly after his father, Ralph FitzWilliam, before he had had livery of his father's lands, Elizabeth was granted these in 1317. ^{'126'}

The dower held by a wife was seen as an endowment, given to the bride on her wedding day, to be used for her support in widow-hood. The amount of a woman's dower was announced publically during the wedding ceremony, thus providing witnesses who could be critical to any claim regarding a widow's rights, or to a child's claim to inheritance. ^{'127'} In those cases where a widow held property which she had inherited in her own right, this reverted to her husband's family when she died. In land owning terms therefore, a wife or a widow was more closely tied to her husband's rather than to her father's family, and marriages were transacted to take this into account.

The independence enjoyed by a widow was often maintained after her death. In the first half of the thirteenth century, Pope Gregory IX stipulated that if she so chose, a woman need not be buried beside her husband, since burial related to her status in the hereafter, a

condition in which she was no longer subservient to her husband. (120) This ruling is of interest on several counts. Firstly, it indicates that the type of burial chosen by an individual was a reflection of their post mortem status. Moreover, the very existence of this stipulation indicates that there was a concern that burial should accurately depict status. Finally, that this concern should have resulted in a ruling in favour of a demonstration of women's independence shows that the rights of wives, and by extension of widows, was under scrutiny at that time. One of the issues regarding women's burial in tomb recesses will be to ascertain, wherever possible, whether they had their own recess; whether, when they shared recesses with their husbands, their effigies were placed on the inside or outside of their husbands' effigies; whether the two different dates of death of husband and wife were made apparent in the tomb; whether there was any heraldic reference to the wives'/widows' families on the tomb.

In terms of the tombs studied here, statements of the woman's status can be found in many guises. The recess might have been deep enough for only one effigy, so that the later effigy would have to project forwards into the space of the church. Sometimes the woman's effigy would be dressed in widow's clothing, emphasising that she had died after her husband, as at Feliskirk and Sprotborough where the female effigy in each case wears a widow's barbe. A few tombs have inscriptions identifying the different dates of decease of husband and wife, as seen

at Harpham for example.

Among the women associated with tomb recesses, several outlived their husbands. The date of decease of Matilda, wife of John de Meaux (d c1377) is not known, but she seems to have survived her husband, since she is mentioned in his will, made shortly before his death.^{'128'} Her husband's tomb is a free-standing altar-tomb, near the west end of the north chancel chapel, while Matilda's effigy lies on a tomb-chest which is set under the arch in the north chancel wall, which communicates with the chapel. This position, being closer to the altar than her husband's tomb, yet still visible from the nave, would have had considerably more prestige.

There is no question but that Eleanor Percy, widow of Henry Percy (d1314), probably nee Arundel, held extensive dower lands at the time of her death in 1328, and until 1320 she had custody of her son's Yorkshire estates until he reached his majority.^{'130'} Similarly, at Butterwick, the widow of Robert FitzRalph, Elizabeth nee Neville of Scotton, held her extensive dower estates for nearly thirty years, until her death in c1346.^{'131'}

The position of Katherine, wife of John de Burgh (d1412), nee Aske, who was still living in 1413, was certainly impressive. She had married one of the two sons of Elizabeth de Burgh, who had married Richard de Richmond. She was the daughter and heiress of William de Burgh,

her sons assumed the Burgh surname, and after the death of her husband, John de Burgh in 1412, she acted, together with her son William, as one of the contractors for the rebuilding of Catterick church. '132'

The status of Joanna, widow of John de Walkingham (d c1328), is known, in part from her will. Evidently, she held the manor of Ravensthorpe at her death, since she made her will "in manerio meo de Ravensthorpp". She may also have held the manor of Boltby, in the parish of Feliskirk, which would have descended to her by the same route as Ravensthorpe manor, since she left money for a chaplain to celebrate at Boltby, and a further sum to a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of Holy Trinity at Boltby. '133'

At Harpham, Joan, wife of William de St Quintin (d1349), survived him for nearly 40 years, and died in 1384. These dates are known from the inscription on the alabaster tomb slab contained by the tomb recess. She may have been a member of the family of Thwing, although her exact parentage is not known. The licence for the chantry founded by her husband in 1340 mentioned William de Thwing as one of the individuals for whom the chaplain was to celebrate, although his wife was not mentioned. '134' She did, however, build a tower in the churchyard at Harpham, and in 1374 had licence to crenellate it, so she presumably controlled sufficient land locally to enable her to undertake such a large-scale building project. '135' The project was evidently

carried out, since the tower still remains "almost unaltered", and dating from the 14th century. '135'

Sometimes, it is only through disputes over the rights of a widow that the records show any indication that her husband pre-deceased her, so the mere fact that there is no evidence to prove a woman's widowhood does not therefore imply that her husband outlived her. However, in the case of Lucia, wife of Thomas de Burgh of Hornby, there is such evidence, since her right to dower was (unsuccessfully) contested by her sister-in-law, Elizabeth de Mountford, who also questioned the validity of Lucia and Thomas's marriage, and therefore the legitimacy of their son. '137'

The high standing of Sibyl, wife of John de Metham (d1311), nee Hamelton, was perhaps one of the reasons why her life, after his death, was a troubled one. '138'

Sybil was still alive in 1327-8, by which time she had remarried one Robert de Styveton. '139'

Her troubles were exacerbated by the fact that she had remarried without the king's permission. '140'

In 1313 she had been imprisoned together with other individuals for allegedly withholding a sum of money which her deceased husband had owed to the Exchequer. '141'

In 1314, one John de Merkyngfeld, canon of York, was pardoned for having raped her. '142'

Her second husband appears to have been an unreliable individual: in 1316 she was granted livery of certain lands in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Essex for

the maintenance of herself and of her children, which the king had confiscated because her husband had disappeared following his indictment for the murder of one Hugh Scot. '143' Even after this, her life did not seem to become any more stable. Her own son, Thomas de Metham, and other members of the Metham family, were accused of having abducted her in 1317. '144' Almost certainly one reason why she was the subject of so much unwanted attention was the fact that during this turbulent period she controlled a number of estates, including land in Howden and the manor of Metham. '145'

Joan, wife of Richard de la Pole (d1345), was still alive in 1370, having survived her first husband, Richard de la Pole, and her second, Thomas de Chaworth of Nottinghamshire, who died in that year. '146' Little is known of her parentage, and the likelihood is that she was of relatively humble birth, since, at the time of her first marriage, the de la Poles had not yet achieved the great prominence they had earned by the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Margaret, the wife of William de la Pole the younger, (d1366), also survived her husband. She was a member of the family of Peverel, of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, and after her marriage, her husband switched his financial interests towards the locale of his wife's considerable estates. '147'

At Scarborough, the two male tomb patrons, Robert Galoun and Robert Rillington, were survived by their wives, who are mentioned in their wills. Little is known of these

two women, other than their first names, ie Amicia and Elena. Both were left substantial amounts of property in their husbands' wills, and were presumably buried in the chapels which their husbands had founded in Scarborough parish church. The third tomb patron was a woman, Agnes Burn. There is no mention in her will of her husband, nor of any children. However, since she left various properties in Scarborough in her will, it is assumed that she was a widow. Also, she specifically requested that a marble stone be repaired for her burial in the chantry chapel which she had founded, and it may be that this was already being used as a tomb covering for her dead husband. '145'

Lucy, wife of Robert de Plumpton (d by 1324) who was buried in Spofforth church, survived her husband, and was described as a widow in 1332, but there is no sign that she held any substantial estates. '145' The position at Sprotborough, however, is much clearer. Isabel, wife of William FitzWilliam (d c1340), nee Deincourt, made her will in 1348, which, from its extent and content shows that she controlled substantial estates at the time of her death. '150'

At West Tanfield, Maude Marmion, d c1360, survived her husband Sir John de Marmion, who had died c1335, and was later involved in a complicated property transaction, on her own account, whereby she arranged for her dead husband's estates to pass, not to her son, but to her

daughter Avice, and her son-in-law, John de Grey of Rotherfield. (151)

The widow of Adam de Herthill, whose tomb is at Tickhill, was still alive in 1348 when she founded a chantry at there. Little is known of Avice's parentage, but she presumably had control of at least some of her deceased husband's estates, since she was sued over land in Tickhill in 1327/8, and granted property in Tickhill and elsewhere to the chaplain of the chantry she founded in 1348. The parentage of Avice de Newmarch, widow of Sir John de Newmarch who was buried in the tomb recess at Womersley, is equally ill-documented. However, she survived him for nearly twenty years, dying in 1329-30, and during that period, she held extensive lands in dower. (152)

From this list, some sixteen women associated with burial in tomb recesses survived their husbands. There are probably others from the general list of tomb patrons and their wives who could be included this group, but the documentary evidence for the dates of decease of themselves and of their husbands is not forthcoming.

Several of these widows were also heiresses, and were land-holders in their own right, bringing substantial estates to their husbands' families, which they continued to hold after their spouse's death. For instance, having obtained estates in West Yorkshire in c1300 through his marriage to Clara, the Stapleton heiress, Warin de

Scargill, by 1314, had established a firm foothold in his wife's family, confirming a gift of lands to Roche abbey made by his "great-grandfather", Robert de Stapleton, in the thirteenth century.^{'103'} The effigies of both husband and wife have been identified as those now lying in Darrington church, that is, in one of the parishes in which the Scargill family had acquired an interest since their alliance with the the Stapleton family.

Other heiresses associated with tomb recesses include Sibyl, wife of John de Metham at Howden, who was the daughter and heiress of Adam de Hamelton, as well as being the niece of William de Hamelton, Dean of York Minster, thereby bringing both wealth and prestige to the family of Metham. The influence of his wife's estates on William de la Pole the younger, has already been mentioned, and it was through her that Sir William became lord of Castle Ashby, and acquired other lands in the county, as is shown by his inquisition post mortem.^{'104'}

At Kirklington, Elizabeth, as the only child and heiress of Henry de Musters of Kirklington, was able, by the time she had married her second husband, Sir John de Wandesford, to bring both her inheritance and the dower from her first marriage, to the Wandesford estates. Even in her first marriage to Alexander de Mowbray, she was instrumental in bringing to his family the manor and advowson of Kirklington, although it was for only a few years.^{'105'} The knight commemorated at Nunnington, Sir

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Walter de Teye, became lord of Stonegrave through his marriage to Isabel de Stonegrave, d1300/01. '100' By virtue of this marriage, Sir Walter also held Nunnington, inter alia, and when he died, in 1325, was buried there. He was, however, the second husband of Isabel, so that when he died, these lands reverted to the heir of her first marriage to Simon de Pateshull, John de Pateshull. '107'

The situation at Staindrop was such that it was not the wife of the tomb patron who brought estates to the family, but the mother, Euphemia (nee Clavering). On the marriage of Sir Ralph, father of the tomb patron, to Euphemia, several grants of Clavering land were made to the Nevill family. '100' By 1343, the year when the Staindrop chantry was founded, all the lands she had brought to the family had been confirmed to Ralph de Nevill. '100'

At Sprotborough, in 1314-17, which was probably around the time when Isabel (nee Deincourt) married William FitzWilliam of Sprotborough and Elmley, a flurry of land transactions ensued. Evidently there was no male heir to the substantial Deincourt estates, and by right Isabel should have inherited the property. However, her father successfully petitioned the king in 1314 to allow him to disinherit Isabel, and to grant the estate to whomsoever he chose. This plea was granted, and the wording of the licence is worth reproducing here as a clear illustration of the concern felt by an individual that his name and

arms should be remembered after his death: "Feb 23, 1314. Licence, as well at the request as on the account of his good service to Edward I and to the King, to Edmund Deyncurt, who affirms that his surname and arms after his death will be lost from memory in the person of Isabella daughter of Edmund Deyncurt, his heir apparent, and who heartily desires that the same may afterwards be held in memory, to enfeoff whomsoever he will of all his lands and tenements, knights' fees and advowsons of churches, which he holds in chief, to hold to the feoffee and his heirs by the due and accustomed services. Further grant that the persons whom he shall so enfeoff may bear the surname of the said Edmund Deyncurt and his arms in memory of him." (150) Sir Edmund then granted most of his estates to male members of the Deincourt family, and to their heirs. (151) However, Sir Edmund did not omit his daughter entirely from his grants of property, and in 1317 he settled a number of estates on her husband, Sir William FitzWilliam, with eventual remainder to his daughter Isabel and her male heirs. (152)

Another debate regarding surnames and the inheriting of property occurred at West Tanfield, although this time it was a woman's family name which was preserved. Maude Marmion appears to have had a strong sense of her family's identity, since she is believed to have been instrumental in carrying out an unusual legal procedure, which would ensure that the Marmion name would be continued, even if the male line should fail. She took

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this step after the death of her husband, at a time when her son, Robert de Marmion, who had succeeded to his father's estates, was seriously ill. Maude, with the advice of the king's justices, determined that her daughter Avice should marry John de Grey of Rotherfield and that they should be enfeoffed of the Marmion estates, on condition that their issue would carry the name of Marmion. '153' Avice's marriage took place as arranged, and her son John did indeed bear the name of Marmion. '154'

There is one other example among the identified tomb patrons of land coming to the husband's estate through the female line, but in this case it arrived via the first marriage of his mother. At Feliskirk, Sir John de Walkingham was the heir of the first marriage of his mother, Eva nee Boltby to Sir Adam de Walkingham. She was the heiress of her father's estates, which included lands at Boltby and Ravensthorpe in the parish of Feliskirk. '155' This earlier generation of land-holders at Feliskirk is commemorated in the 14th century stained glass in the window over the tomb recess, where the arms of Walkingham, Knout, Cantilupe, and Roos of Ingmanthorpe are shown, and these are presumed to relate to the three marriages of Eva de Boltby. A partial family tree of these three generations, from Adam de Bolteby to Sir John de Walkingham, can be found in figure 5.2 at the end of the chapter. These family connections were continued in the will of Joanna de Walkingham, where she mentioned members of the families of Knout, Cantilupe, and Roos.

It can be seen then, that the general points regarding the use of marriage to consolidate the estates of land-owning families are also true for many of the particular individuals associated with tomb recesses, and that many of the women were powerful land-holders in their own right, before and after their marriages. As far as womens' influence within the parish churches where their tombs are situated is concerned, rather fewer had rights of presentation, or founded chantries. However, although the advowson of Catterick was held by St Mary's abbey, York, the activity of Katherine de Burgh in rebuilding the whole church, must have implied a strong sense of proprietorship and influence in the church. This would have been enhanced by the presence of Thomas de Burgh, brother-in-law of Katherine, as vicar of Catterick in 1399. (155)

The long dispute over the advowson of the church at Kirklington has already been discussed. In the process of unravelling the history of the advowson of Kirklington, it was made clear that it belonged to the Wandesford family by virtue of the marriage of John de Wandesford to Elizabeth, nee Musters, and first the wife of Alexander de Mowbray. (157) At Melsonby, although the recess there is associated with a knight, Sir John de Stapleton, d1332, a moiety of the advowson of the church came to his family in the early 14th century, on the marriage of Gilbert de Stapleton to Agnes, nee FitzAlan, co-heiress

of Brian FitzAlan. '160'

Sir Walter de Teye only held the advowson of Nunnington by right of his wife, Isabel de Stonegrave, and on his death it passed to the heir of Isabel's first marriage, John de Pateshull. '160' At Scarborough, the women associated with the three chantries played an active role in their funding or maintenance. Agnes Burn was the founder of one of these, Alice, wife of Robert Galoun, was a beneficiary of his chantry foundation, and Elena, wife of Robert de Rillington, was required by his will to spend various sums to pay chaplains to celebrate for the health of his soul, as well as for her own soul and those of his "benefactors".

At Sprotborough, the advowson passed to Isabel on the death of her husband, William FitzWilliam in c1340, and she is known to have made a presentation to the church at Sprotborough in 1342. '170' In her will the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr is mentioned as the spot where she was to be buried, and it appears that she founded this at the time she made her will, or shortly before, there being no other record of a chantry chapel thus dedicated at Sprotborough prior to her will. She left substantial sums of money, for her funeral exequies, and to four priests who were to celebrate for her soul for one year. She also left vestments, books, and a chalice to the chapel of St Thomas, and the residue of all her goods to spent on masses for her soul. Finally, she left the sum of 100s to be spent on the fabric of the chapel of St

Thomas, according to the disposition of the rector of Sprotborough, who was to receive 20s annually from Hugh de Elmshall.

The advowson of the church at West Tanfield followed the descent of the manor, so that it passed, together with the manor, to Avice and her husband under Maude's arrangements. In 1363, Avice founded a large chantry of three priests, one master, and two brethren at West Tanfield, and had a house built for them, adjoining the churchyard.^{'171'} By 1548, these were known as the "Mawde Marmeon Chauntreys", and it appears therefore, that Avice founded the chantries in honour of her mother, Maud Marmion, who had arranged that the Marmion estates should pass to Avice and John de Grey, and to the heirs of their bodies.^{'172'} The commissioners found that there was a house built beside the churchyard for the chantry priests where they were bound to be resident, that their duties included praying for the soul of the founder and for all Christian souls, and to help with divine service in the church.^{'173'} There was a chantry at West Tanfield during the lifetime of Maud Marmion, and there was a dispute between herself on the one hand, and the parsons of Wath and West Tanfield on the other, in 1343.^{'174'} It is possible therefore that the chantry for which Avice had licence to alienate property was already in existence, maybe founded by her mother Maud, and that she was merely enlarging the original endowment.

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The 1348 chantry founded at Tickhill by Avice, widow of Adam de Herthill, shows that she was a substantial benefactor of the church, providing a generous endowment for the chaplain. The chapel itself may not have been paid for by Avice however, since the licence refers to the builder as William Dendale. The identity of this individual is not known in any detail, but he may have been of higher standing socially, than Adam de Herthill, so it is conceivable that he did contribute financially to the building of the chantry chapel. ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ At Womersley, Avice, widow of John de Newmarch, held lands in the parish in dower, and evidently held the advowson of the church also, since she is known to have presented to the church in 1318. ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

As an indicator of the woman's separate identity during life and after death, the manner in which they were buried is a useful factor to consider. Unfortunately, many of the tombs under consideration have either lost their effigies, or have had the effigies removed and later replaced, so that their original positions are often difficult to ascertain. In some cases, where the recess rather than the effigy carries some reference to the woman's identity, usually in the form of heraldry, this again has been altered, and conclusions have to be drawn cautiously.

At Aldborough, the wife of John de Meaux has her own recess, while her husband does not. Her identity as a member of the family of Pickering is indicated by traces

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of the arms of that family carved on the breast of the effigy -(argent) a lion rampant (sable) in a border engrailed (gules), charged with roundels (or).^{'177'}

Similarly, at both Catterick and Cartmel, the arms of the wife's family are shown either on the tomb itself, or in other parts of the church which are contemporary with the tomb. At Catterick, Katherine de Burgh may well have been buried, with her husband John de Burgh who had predeceased her, in one of the two north aisle recesses.

A brass still remains in the north aisle with an inscription to her and her husband, and it may be that this has been removed from one of the recesses. This rather tentative association of the widow's family with a tomb recess is strengthened elsewhere in the church.

Katherine de Burgh, nee Aske, as one of the contractors for the building of the new church, had her family's arms are placed in prominent positions in the building, over the porch entrance, together with the arms of Old Richmond and Burgh. ^{'178'} In the early 17th century, when the antiquarian Roger Dodsworth visited Catterick, he also recorded that in the glass of the chancel east window, there was the image of a kneeling woman, with the Aske arms, as well as the arms and inscriptions identifying the other church contractors. ^{'179'}

The Cartmel effigies are of a piece with the architecture of the tomb canopy, so must be of the same date. Because the tomb is placed under an arch, and is equally visible and elaborate on each side, neither effigy seems to

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occupy a more prestigious position than the other. The arms of the families of both husband and wife appear on the tomb, with the arms of Harrington and Dacre carved on the south side of the tomb, as well as the Harrington shield carried by the knight. This would have emphasised the family's connections with the lay congregation at Cartmel, since their arms were on the side of the tomb which was most clearly visible to a congregation in the "Town Choir".

References to the family of Eleanor de Percy abound in her tomb canopy at Beverley. Her husband, Henry de Percy, whom she survived by fourteen years, had been buried at Fountains Abbey.¹³⁰ It is difficult to explain why she was not buried at Fountains with her husband, although this may actually have been her intention when she died in 1328. However, it was not until 1336 that her executors arranged for an obit to be performed for her in Beverley Minster, so she may have been buried elsewhere until around this date, or c1340 when the tomb is thought to have been built.¹³¹ The builder of the tomb may have been her son, Sir Henry de Percy, d 1351/2, who was buried at Alnwick (despite his will which ordered that he should be buried at Sallay).¹³² The rules or general trends which applied to tombs of the high aristocracy, in major churches or religious houses, may have been different to those observed to operate among the patrons of tomb recesses, where the highest social level was generally below that of the Percies.

The tomb chest at Burton Agnes, which appears to be original, projects 2-3 ft from the plane of the wall, and extends back into the recess by about 1 ft 6". The tomb-chest could therefore have accommodated two effigies, and this was probably the intention, although no effigies now remain. Because the north aisle was built by Roger de Somerville, initially to accommodate the body of his wife, her effigy was presumably placed on the inside of the recess, since she died first, and his effigy would have been set beside hers, clearly visible from the aisle and nave.

The two effigies of Warin de Scargill and his wife Clara still remain in Darrington church, his being placed inside the north chancel recess, and hers lying on the other side of the north chancel wall, in the chancel chapel. It is possible that originally they were both intended to lie within the recess, and if this was the case, her effigy was probably placed on the inside, since the slab on which it lies is damaged along its edges, suggesting that it has been moved from such a position. The knight's slab, on the other hand, has the remains of a moulded edge still visible, indicating that it was intended to lie on the outside of the recess. There seems to be no direct reference to Clara's family (Stapleton) in Darrington church, and the knight carries a shield with the Scargill device.

At Feliskirk, it is likely that Joanna's effigy was

Chapter 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen placed beside that of Sir John de Walkingham, as her will required. Neither of the two slabs on which the effigies lie has a moulded edge, and they are of approximately the same thickness, so that they could have been set up on the same base. Again, since the wife here survived her husband by many years, she was probably responsible for having had the tomb and both effigies made. Her effigy was probably set on the outside of that of her husband, projecting into the chancel space and clearly visible.

The position at Butterwick may have been similar to that at Feliskirk. The knight effigy there, of Robert FitzRalph, would have fitted the recess dimensionally, and it is assumed that this was its original position. It is likely that there was once also an effigy of his widow Elizabeth, who almost certainly had the tomb and effigies made. Because of the small size of the church, it is probable that she would have had her effigy placed beside her husband's, on the outside, projecting slightly into the church space. In both churches therefore, the tomb-builder's effigy would have been on the outside of the recess, and clearly visible from the church. This position may have been considered to be slightly more prestigious than one where the effigy was at the back of a dark recess, and difficult to see.

It is clear from the inscription on the tomb-slab at Harpham that Joan survived her husband by some 35 years, and would have had the slab and tomb-chest made, though the arch was probably already built, by her husband when

he founded the chantry at Harpham. Her effigy is carved on the chancel side of the slab, probably a more prestigious spot than the one her husband's effigy occupies, on the chapel side. Moreover, the hem of the woman's dress trails slightly over the foot of the knight, and obscures part of the lion which lies at his feet. This may be another, very subtle, indication that he predeceased her. Finally, I have argued that the knight is dressed in armour of a type that would have been very advanced in 1349, but which is seen frequently from c1360 onwards. To the 14th century eye, if literate, this discrepancy between type of armour and date of death may have again suggested that the monument was set up by the knight's wife.

The effigies at Hornby share a recess in the north nave wall, but the knight, identified as Thomas de Burgh, lies on the outside although he predeceased his wife, and although the edge of the woman's tomb slab has been damaged, it is on the outer edge that this occurs. This means that however the damage was caused, it was not because the effigy had once lain on the outer position. Moreover, the edge of the knight's tomb-slab which faces onto the nave aisle is undamaged, so this effigy also appears to be in its original position. The depth of the recess is such that it projects externally, indicating that it was designed to accommodate two effigies, but it is possible that they were arranged in this way by Lucia, the widow of Thomas de Burgh, to emphasise his position

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as lord of the manor of Hackforth in the parish of
Hornby, which was being challenged by his sister at the
time of his death.

Although the recess at Howden has been altered, and the
effigies have been moved from its original position, it
has been argued here that the knight and lady effigies
which now lie there were originally intended for that
position. Two shields over the tomb carry the arms of
Metham and Hamelton, referring to the families of John de
Metham and his wife Sibyl, who survived him by about 15
years. The effigies lie on the same slab, with the lady
on the outside, and at the head of each effigy is a
small canopy with two small blank shields on the short
elevation, which would probably once have been painted
with the arms of Metham and Hamelton. X

At Hull, no effigies remain in the western of the two
recesses, but there are references to the wife of William
de la Pole the younger, Margaret, sister and heiress of
Sir John Peverel of Castle Ashby, at Cottingham
church. '163' No reference to these arms survives on the
Hull tomb, but many shields have been lost during
"restorations", and it may be that this shield was one of
those. In the other tomb recess at Hull, to the east of
the first, both effigies remain, with the woman's on the
inside, and the man's, dressed as a merchant, on the
outside. The position of the woman on the inside goes
against the general trend so far observed, since she
survived her husband. However, since she later remarried,

it may be that she was not actually buried here, and that the effigy, which is not depicted with a barbe - the usual sign of widowhood - refers to her position as Sir Richard de la Pole's wife, not as his widow. ¹⁸⁴

The issue of a wife being buried with her first or second husband is particularly complex at Kirklington.

Elizabeth, firstly the wife of Alexander de Mowbray, and secondly of John de Wandesford, has her own recess there, and it has been argued here that it is her first husband who occupies the other recess. Elizabeth was not obliged to be buried beside either of her husbands, because, as Pope Gregory IX had ruled, burial related not to her status in life, but in the hereafter, when she would no longer have been subservient to her husband(s). For Elizabeth to have had her effigy in the Kirklington recess, but her actual burial in Treswell parish church, a conscious statement regarding her status was evidently being made. Her status as heiress and transmitter of the advowson of Kirklington to her husbands' families was made clear. Perhaps this need to establish her identity and status was felt to be particularly important following the 3-year dispute over Kirklington's advowson, which was only settled in 1387. Moreover, her effigy is not shown in widow's clothing, consistent with the fact that she had ceased to have that status shortly after Alexander's death, when she re-married John de Wandesford, who was also buried at Treswell. ¹⁸⁵

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At Nunnington, the wife of Sir Walter de Teye whose effigy lies in the recess there, Isabel nee Stonegrave, through whom Sir Walter acquired the manor of Nunnington, is not buried there, but was probably interred at Stonegrave. The knight effigy at Nunnington carries a shield with the remains of the arms of Teye, and there seems to be no reference to his wife's family on the tomb or effigy, and this would have been appropriate in terms of the passage of his wife's estates, to a son of her first marriage, John de Pateshull. (1255)

The patron of one of the chantries at Scarborough, Agnes Burn, left instructions in her will that she was to be buried in her chantry chapel there, presumably in the tomb recess, and possibly with her husband, since she also requested that the marble stone lying over her burial place be repaired. The burial places of the wives of Robert Galon and Robert Rillington, who appear to have survived their husbands, are not known. However, the likelihood is that they would have been buried, in similar fashion to Agnes Burn, in the same recesses as their husbands. Unfortunately there are no effigies remaining in the three recesses in the south aisle chapels at Scarborough, nor are there any other identifying features on the recesses. It is impossible to say therefore what position the effigies of husbands and wives would have occupied in the recesses.

At Sprotborough, there are two recesses, built opposite each other, in the south aisle/chapel where Isabel, widow

of William FitzWilliam, founded her chantry of St Thomas the Martyr. She probably had both the tombs and the effigies made. Her husband's tomb is set against the south wall of the aisle, and the knight effigy carries a shield with the FitzWilliam arms. Isabel's tomb is opposite, and was probably a two-sided monument at the time it was built, communicating with both the chapel and the nave. It has since been damaged, and a wall has been added which blocks off the opening to the nave. Originally though, the tomb and effigy would have been clearly visible from the nave, rather like the Harpham monument, although at Sprotborough it was only the woman's tomb which would have had this prestigious position.

The two ladies at Staindrop each occupy their own recess, and if they were the first and second wives of Ralph de Nevill as has been suggested, they did not share Sir Ralph's burial church, since he was buried in Durham cathedral. There is no heraldry or inscription remaining to identify the two women, and it is probable that the two effigies had been moved from elsewhere in the church to the south nave aisle, built by Ralph de Nevill at about the same time as he founded the opulent chantry there, c1343. It may be that the impact this chantry made on parish life was deemed sufficient to ensure that the names of the two women and of the chantry founder would be remembered and commemorated.

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At West Tanfield, both the knight's and lady's effigies lie in the same recess, with the lady on the outside. Since Maude Marmion survived her husband, John Marmion, by 20 - 25 years, she would probably have had the tomb and effigies made. Because the tomb was moved in the fifteenth century when the north aisle was widened, it is possible that the effigies are not in their original positions, although given the other examples where widows' effigies occupy a position on the outside of their husbands, it seems that this was the original arrangement.¹⁸⁷ In any case, the small figure kneeling at the ^houlder of the lady's effigy is positioned so that the feet and toes curl over the edge of the tomb slab, a feature which would have been invisible, or destroyed, if her effigy had been set within the recess, with the knight on the outside.

There is no reference to the identity of Avice, the tomb patron at Tickhill, only her husband's arms of Herthill being displayed on a shield carved on a pillar adjacent to the chapel in which the recess was built. At Womersley, as at Tickhill, there is no evidence that the wife of John de Newmarch was buried there, and there are no heraldic references to her family on the tomb, nor is there any indication of where her effigy would have been placed if she was buried there. It seems probable, however, since Avice de Newmarch presented to the church of Womersley after her husband's death, that she would have chosen to have her tomb in that church.

From this list, it can be seen that in the cases of the majority of the women who survived their husbands, and where the evidence still remains, their effigies were placed in more prominent positions than were those of their husbands. Moreover, in many cases, the wife's family was identified on the tomb by the incorporation of heraldry which identified her parentage. Both these factors can be seen as concrete evidence that the ruling of Pope Gregory IX, on the right of the wife to maintain her separate identity after death, was often adhered to.

The number of ecclesiastics who have been identified as the patrons of tomb recesses is small. Excluding those buried in major churches, (eg Bishop Hatfield at Durham, and Archbishop Greenfield at York) who will be considered separately, only seven church-men have been identified with any degree of certainty. They are as follows:

- 1) at Barnard Castle (co Durham), Robert de Mortham, d post 1347/8
- 2) at Bedale (Yorks), Brian de Thornhill, d1344
- 3) at Brigham (Cumberland, now Cumbria), Thomas de Burgh, d c1338
- 4) at Owston (Yorks), Henry de Cliff, d1334 (and John de Sancto Paulo, d1362)
- 5) at Rudby-in-Cleveland, now known as Hutton Rudby (Yorks), Thomas de Whorlton, d1329
- 6) at Thwing (Yorks), Thomas de Thwing, d1374
- 7) at Wath, near Ripon, (Yorks), John de Appleby, d1328/9

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In most cases, it can be shown that the tomb patron was a land-holder in the locality of the parish church where he was buried, and that he had a relatively high profile within his parish by virtue of having founded a chantry, or by being the holder of a position of authority within the church, or both. Moreover, many of these individuals were related to important local landowners, and thereby increased their status within the parish.

Because there are so few individuals to be considered in this section, it is impossible to draw statistically-based conclusions about the connection between their status and their choice of tomb. However, each patron will be described in terms of land-ownership, etc, and it will soon become apparent that this is a remarkably cohesive group.

The identity of the tomb patron at Barnard Castle is known from the inscription on the bevelled edge of the slab on which his effigy lies: "Orate pro a[n]i[m]a: Roberti de Morth'm q[ua]ndam vicarii de Gaynford." [Pray for the soul of Robert de Mortham onetime vicar of Gainford] Barnard Castle was a chapelry of Gainford, and both were granted to St Mary's Abbey, York by Bernard I de Balliol in c1132-1153.¹⁰⁰ The recess in which the effigy is contained is one of a pair, which have been moved from the south transept to the north transept where they still remain.¹⁰⁰ In 1339, Robert de Mortham founded a perpetual chantry in the chapel of St Mary, Barnard Castle, which has been identified with the south

transept.^{'100'} He endowed the chantry with substantial amounts of property in the town of Barnard Castle and elsewhere, and was clearly, therefore, an important local landowner.^{'101'}

In the confirmation of Robert de Mortham's chantry foundation it is clear that he was to present to the chantry during his life-time, and that after his death the vicar of Gainford should do so. Moreover, the vicar was to try to find able chaplains that had been born in Gainford, and who were nominated by "the commonalty of Barnard Castle", and this was to be carried out within two months of any voidance, otherwise the collation to the chantry would lapse to the bishop.^{'102'} The identity of the chantry founder would probably have been remembered for some time after his death by virtue of the conditions attached to his foundation, and certainly Robert de Mortham's position at Barnard Castle would have been considerably heightened during his life-time. In 1345 he resigned his vicarage of Gainford, and was instituted in the rectory of Hunstanesworth, and was still living in 1347/8 when he acted as executor for Sir Richard de Barningham.^{'103'}

Brian de Thornhill, is usually described as parson of Bedale to distinguish him from Brian de Thornhill, knight, whose uncle he was.^{'104'} He was a land-holder in the region of the parish church, and when he founded his chantry at Bedale in 1342, he endowed it with six

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messuages, 36 1/2 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow and 3d of rent in Gilling (by Richmond), about ten miles from Bedale.^{'155'} He evidently also had property interests elsewhere, since in 1328, as parson of Bedale, he was the plaintiff in two disputes over land and rents in Eastrington and Howden.^{'155'} Moreover, Brian de Thornhill, "parsona ecclesiae de Bedale", is named as joint lord of "East Kesewyk", with William de Ikeley and Peter de Martheley in 1316.^{'157'} He also seems to have acted on behalf of his brother, John de Thornhill, in property transactions during the latter's minority.^{'158'}

As well as holding land apparently in his own right, Brian de Thornhill, the Bedale parson, was also related to the major land-holders in Bedale at that time, namely the family of Brian FitzAlan of Bedale. Sir Richard de Thornhill, d1286-90, married as his second wife Maud, who was possibly the sister of Brian FitzAlan. By Sir Richard's first marriage he had had four sons, of which Brian, parson of Bedale was the youngest. So the step-mother of Brian de Thornhill may have been a FitzAlan, and he was the younger brother of Sir John V de Thornhill, d1322.^{'158'}

Brian de Thornhill founded his chantry in the north choir aisle at Bedale, dedicated to St George, and the chaplain was to celebrate here for the souls of Brian de Thornhill and his ancestors.^{'200'} This chantry foundation has been identified with the north chancel chapel, which is believed to have been built by Brian de Thornhill as an

eastwards extension of the north nave aisle.^{'201'} The tomb recess containing the priest's effigy is set in the north wall of this aisle, and although the effigy is no longer lying on its original tomb-chest, there is no reason to suppose that it did not originally belong with the recess. Certainly it was in this position when the church was visited in 1722, and the dedication to St George in the licence to alienate property to the chantry corresponds with the north aisle of the church.^{'202'}

Brian de Thornhill was rector of Bedale from 1301/2-1343, during which period a major rebuilding programme was taking place there.^{'203'} In about 1320 the chancel was extended eastwards, and was raised above the level of the old chancel, enabling the construction of a vaulted crypt below.^{'204'} The western tower was added in about 1330-40, possibly replacing a Saxon bell-cot. At the same time as the north aisle was extended to form St George's chapel, it was widened, and the chancel arch was rebuilt.^{'205'} The building of the chapel of St George, after such a prolonged period of building operations which would have transformed the church, would not have had the same impact as would have been the case if this had been an isolated project, but in any case, the high profile of the patron within the parish and beyond would have ensured that the Thornhill name was clearly associated with the chapel.

Although Brigham is in Cumberland, now Cumbria, it came

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under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, by virtue of belonging to the archdeaconry of Richmond. '205' Unlike the Bedale example, the building of the south nave aisle at Brigham was not associated with a lengthy period of building operations at the church. The first mention of Thomas de Burgh as rector of Brigham occurs in 1320, although this may not be the year in which he was instituted to the benefice, where he seems to have remained until 1338, the probable year of his death.

In 1322-3, Thomas de Burgh began the process of founding a chantry at Brigham. '207' Licence for alienation in mortmain of his moiety of the manor of Brigham, and the advowson of the church there was granted to him in 1329, to endow the chantry, dedicated to St Mary, in Brigham church. '208' This licence is worth consideration here because it sheds some light on the status of Thomas de Burgh: "March 22nd, 1329. Licence for the alienation in mortmain by Thomas de Burgh, King's clerk, parson of the church of Brigham, of a moiety of the manor of Brigham (one acre excepted) and the advowson of the church of the same to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel built by the said Thomas in the cemetery of the church in honour of the Virgin Mary, St Michael and St Thomas the Martyr, for the souls of Edward II, the said Thomas, Master John Walewayn, Walter de Twynham, William de Kirkeby and the father, mother, relations and benefactors of the said Thomas."

From this chantry foundation, it can be seen that Thomas

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de Burgh was a prominent land-holder in the parish, and also held the advowson of the church. In the 1329 licence to alienate property to the chaplain of his chantry, various indications as to his career are given: he is described as "King's clerk", and it is significant that one of the beneficiaries of the chantry was John de Walewayn. He was escheator for counties south of Trent at the same time as Thomas de Burgh held the corresponding position for counties north of Trent, 1321-24. Walter de Twynham, whose name also occurs as a beneficiary of the chantry, held the advowson of Brigham, and had presented Thomas de Burgh to the rectory, and held a moiety of the manor of Brigham until 1320. In that year, Walter de Twynham granted this property to Andrew de Harcla, who held it until his arrest and execution as a traitor in 1323.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Because of Harcla's fall from grace, his lands were confiscated and then granted to Antony de Lucy, involving Thomas de Burgh in his role as escheator, and in the same year, de Burgh bought the Brigham estates from de Lucy, and used them to endow the chantry he had founded at Brigham.⁽²¹⁰⁾

The chantry is described as having been built "in the cemetery of the church", which should be taken to mean "over land then forming part of the cemetery", as is also the case at Melsonby. By the time the 1329 licence was granted, the chapel was probably already built, or at least close to completion, and a date of 1323-30 for the south aisle of Brigham, where the chantry and the tomb of

Thomas de Burgh are situated, seems likely. It is known that the chantry was well provided for, since an indenture dated 20th November, 1348 describes the vestments, cloths, books, jewels, ornaments, relics, etc which were to be kept in the chapel.⁽²¹¹⁾ The degree of luxury implied by the inventory is unique among chantries in the diocese of Carlisle, and reflects the high status of Thomas de Burgh, and the elevated and tight-knit circles in which he moved.⁽²¹²⁾ Relatively, the great wealth of the chantry continued until the 16th century - the chantry was assessed as being worth ~~£~~7 6s 3d in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, making it the most valuable chantry in Cumberland at that time.⁽²¹³⁾ It is not surprising therefore, given the numerous luxury items held in the chantry chapel, that, in 1330, the advowson of the chantry at Brigham was granted to Thomas de Burgh by Anthony de Lucy, on condition that it would revert to him and his heirs on the decease of Thomas.⁽²¹⁴⁾

The picture at Owston is rather obscure, but various pieces of evidence point to the patron of the tomb as being John de Sancto Paulo (d1362), although the person commemorated there is probably Henry de Cliff (d1333-34).⁽²¹⁵⁾ The status of these two individuals, John de Sancto Paulo and Henry de Cliff, and their relationship to each other should be mentioned as it sheds some light on the rather unusual situation of a patron setting up a tomb for someone who was not a relative. The former held many important positions, progressing from chancery clerk to Archdeacon of Cornwall in 1347, Archbishop of Dublin

in 1349, and Chancellor of Ireland in 1350.⁽²¹⁵⁾ Henry de Cliff was also a chancery clerk, was several times Keeper of the Seal, and in 1325 was appointed as Keeper of the Rolls.⁽²¹⁷⁾ It was presumably through the holding of similar official positions that the connection between the two individuals arose. Indeed, after the death of Henry de Cliff, the position of Keeper of the Rolls passed to John de Sancto Paulo, and a memorandum dated 1337 states that John de Sancto Paulo was to have custody of the rolls etc, of chancery, "to hold as Master Henry de Clif and other keepers held them."⁽²¹⁸⁾ Moreover, John de Sancto Paulo was one of the executors of the will of Henry de Cliff, dated 1332.⁽²¹⁹⁾

Shortly before the death of Henry de Cliff, a licence was granted to John de Sancto Paulo to endow a chantry dedicated to St John the Baptist, on the south side of the church. This chantry was endowed with substantial amounts of land, and among the chaplain's duties was the daily celebration of Mass, for the good estate of Henry de Cliff among others. John de Sancto Paulo augmented the chantry in 1338, by which time Henry de Cliff had been dead for about five years, and his soul was among those for whom the chaplain was to celebrate divine service.⁽²²⁰⁾ The following year, a third and very substantial endowment was made by John de Sancto Paulo to the same chantry, with the expressed intention that John de Ouston, chaplain, warden of the chapel, and successive wardens, should continue to celebrate divine service in

perpetuity for the souls of the same individuals. 'zzz'

A further chantry foundation dated 1344, was established by the executors of Henry de Cliff's will, John de Sancto Paulo and John de Tiddeswell, both described as king's clerks. 'zzz' The licence indicated that the church of Hemingborough was to be the first choice of a site for this chantry, but implied that another location would be permissible. In his will, Henry de Cliff had directed that he should be buried at Drax Priory if he died in the county of York, and that a perpetual chantry should be founded there for his soul, out of the residue of his goods. Despite these arrangements, it appears that his executors did not found a chantry for him at Drax, but at Hemingborough, and this, as has been seen, was not ordained until 1344. Even by this date, about twelve years after the death of Henry de Cliff, there was still some uncertainty over the site of the chantry, since the 1344 licence to alienate property states that the chantry, with "one or two chaplains [who were] to celebrate divine service daily" was to be "at Hemyngburgh or elsewhere". In fact the Hemingborough chantry was ordained in 1345, as is noted in an entry in the register of Archbishop Zouche, which mentions that although Henry de Cliff was buried at Drax, his executors had found it difficult to carry out his wishes there, and had chosen the church of Hemingborough for his chantry, in which church he had been baptized. The executors founded two chantries there, which were to be sited on the north side of the church, at the altar of St Mary. 'zzz'

It is possible that, due to the lengthy process of founding the chantry specified in Henry de Cliff's will, his executors endowed a chantry at Owston for his soul, where he had already been the focus of another chantry during his lifetime, as an interim measure. In that case, the tomb at Owston may have had the dual purpose of Easter Sepulchre and commemorative monument for Henry de Cliff, even though he was not actually buried there. '224'

In 1546, three chantries were noted at Owston. One was dedicated to St John the Baptist, was described as being situated on the south side of the church and can be identified with the first two foundations of John de Sancto Paulo noted above. Another was dedicated to Our Lady, and was said to have been founded in 1514. The third chantry was also dedicated to Our Lady, and was said to have been founded by the devotion of the parish, and whose chaplains were to pray for their benefactors and for all Christian souls, to help the curate administer the divine sacraments, and to assist with divine service in the choir. '225'

It may be this last chantry which should be associated with the north chancel recess. It has been suggested that one of the foundations of John de Sancto Paulo was the chantry of Our Lady in the chancel, and that this was substantially endowed with proceeds from the will of Henry de Cliff, of which John de Sancto Paulo was an executor. '226'

The church of Owston is not particularly close to

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Hemingborough, being about 30 miles distant. The choice
of this church in which to found chantries by and for
these two king's clerks may be explained by the fact that
the manor and the advowson were forfeit to the Crown in
1322, after the defeat of the first Lancastrian
rebellion, as part of the Honour of Pontefract, and that
several presentations to the rectory were made by Queen
Philippa until c1360, and later by John, Duke of
Lancaster. '227'

Both of the protagonists at Owston were associated with
prominent local families. The family of Cliff had held
estates in the manor from which they took their name
since the early 13th century, and that of Sancto Paulo
also held lands locally. '228' The positions of high
authority held by both men connected them to the Crown
which held the patronage of the church, and the lordship
of the manor. '228'

The physical evidence at Owston shows that at the time
the tomb was built, in the north chancel wall, there was
a north chancel chapel, strengthening the possibility
that the tomb was originally associated with the chantry
of Our Lady in the chancel. All that remains of this
north chancel chapel is an area of later brickwork behind
the tomb, and a piscina, now in the exterior north
chancel wall, the mouldings of which are related to those
of the recess and the north chancel door. There is an 18"
gap between the brick wall and the rear arch of the
recess and it can be seen, by looking up behind this gap,

that the arch was moulded on both sides, and was clearly the type of monument, such as the one at Harpham, which was cut through the wall, communicating between the chancel and the chapel.

The tomb is sometimes referred to as an Easter Sepulchre, and indeed its position in the north chancel wall, and the presence of a low stone bench to the west of it, known as the watchers' seat, which would have been used on Good Friday as part of the Easter week liturgical drama, suggests that it was used for this purpose.⁽²³⁰⁾ However, it is possible that the recess had the joint function of both tomb and Easter Sepulchre, as has been found at Lincoln cathedral, where the tomb of Christ and that of bishop Remigius were placed side by side, under the same canopy.⁽²³¹⁾ Other Easter Sepulchres, mainly in the east of England, were frequently associated closely with a tomb recess. This arrangement can be seen at Heckington and Navenby (both Lincs), and at Hawton (Notts), among others. In many cases the "founder's" tomb is built beside the Easter Sepulchre, and is clearly associated with it in terms of its design.

It is worth noting here that there was a trend in the 1320s-30s for churchmen in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, especially if they held high positions in the king's service, to equip the churches where they held the position of rector, with a set of lavish chancel furnishings, including, usually, an Easter Sepulchre.

Many of these powerful ecclesiastical patrons also built tombs for themselves, as part of the general fitting-out of the chancels. At Heckington, for example, Richard de Potesgrave, who was rector from 1308-49, rebuilt the chancel in the 1320s, founded a chantry there in 1328, and equipped it with an Easter Sepulchre, a tomb recess for himself, sedilia, and piscina. In the 1320s, he was chaplain to Edward II, and a wealthy chancery clerk. (232)

At Navenby, Lincolnshire, another chancery clerk, William de Heslarton, who succeeded to the rectory in 1325, also re-furnished the chancel of his church, although he did not have the tomb recess built - this was probably added later. (233) Navenby is only about ten miles from Heckington, so it is likely that Heslarton knew Potesgrave, and was influenced by his colleague's building project. It is possible that the re-fitting of the chancel at Hawton was also connected with a churchman. Although there is the effigy of a knight lying in the recess beside the Easter Sepulchre, the effigy has had to be cut down in size to fit the recess. The tomb therefore was almost certainly not intended for this effigy, which carries a shield of the arms of the Compton family. Moreover, the tomb recess and the doorway beside it both have the figure of an archbishop standing on the apex of each arch, so it is possible that this project was also undertaken by a senior ecclesiastical figure. (234)

The building work undertaken by Thomas de Burgh at

Brigham has already been discussed, as has his career as a high-flying official of the Crown. His rebuilding and re-furnishing of the south nave aisle at Brigham should be seen in the context of the Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire churches and their powerful, ecclesiastical patrons.

There is no evidence that Thomas de Whorlton ever founded a chantry at Rudby, and he has been identified as the tomb patron on the basis of the appearance of the effigy and recess, and the known dates of his rectorship of Rudby, c1301-29.⁽²³⁶⁾ As rector of Rudby, Thomas de Whorlton enjoyed land-owning privileges in the parish, although there were several disputes over his tenure. In the early 13th century, the rector of Rudby had land there, and this developed into a rectory manor, with property in Whorlton and Carlton.⁽²³⁶⁾ In 1339, there was an exemplification of an agreement made in the late 13th century between Nicholas de Menhill and Peter de Cestria, then parson of Rudby, which confirmed a list of property belonging to Rudby church. The 1339 exemplification had been requested by John de Wodehouse, who was parson of Rudby at that time, indicating that there was still a need to assert his status as landholder.⁽²³⁷⁾ An entry dated 1293, in the register of Archbishop John Romeyn (1286-96), records a request by the archbishop to the king to give up to him Nicholas de Menhill, clerk, who had been accused on the testimony of two felons of causing the deaths of four individuals by

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setting fire to their houses and those of the vicar of
Rudby. The entry shows that Nicholas de Menhill was tried
by the archbishop's court, and was acquitted. '238'

In 1314, Nicholas de Menhill settled much of his property
on Nicholas, his illegitimate son by Lucy, daughter of
Robert de Thwing of Kilton. '239' This settlement was
contested in 1315 by Thomas de Whorlton, rector of Rudby,
with the result that most of the proposed transfer of
property was agreed, with the exception of the manor of
Rudby, which remained with the rector of Rudby. '240'
Clearly, the fact that the Menhill family had the
patronage of Rudby church, and were therefore the patrons
of the rectors of Rudby, did not stand in the way of
those rectors establishing their land-holding
rights. '241'

It is perhaps at Thwing that the relationship between
tomb-patronage and land-ownership is the most apparent.
Here, the priest effigy, which has been associated with
the south nave recess at Thwing, has been identified as
that of Thomas de Thwing, d1374. Although he was the
fourth son of Marmaduke de Thwing, d1322/3, his elder
brothers all predeceased him, and he succeeded to the
considerable Thwing estates in 1344, on the death of his
brother Robert, who had been rector of Warton
(Lancs). '242' Thomas was rector of Kirkleatham, where,
in 1348, he founded a chantry of twelve chaplains and
four clerks, which were to be presented by the patron and
inducted by the rector, ie by Thomas himself, and then

presumably by his successors. '243'

In 1348, Thomas also also held the advowson of another chantry, which he is believed to have founded, in the church of Thwing, dedicated to St Thomas the Apostle, which he still held at the time of his death. '244' He held the manor of Thwing, and the advowson of a moiety of the church, as well as that of the church at Kirkleatham, and the manor of the same place. '245'

Although the chantry at Kirkleatham was a much more lavish affair than was the one at Thwing, and Thomas held the manors of both places, as well as the advowson of the former and only a moiety of the advowson of the latter, his choice of burial site was in Thwing parish church, in the parish from which his family had derived its name, where he held his principle estates, and where an elder brother of his, Robert, had had a house. '246'

Thomas had frequently acted as much as a land-owner as he had an ecclesiastic. He alienated property to enable his brother Robert to enlarge his dwelling house at Thwing. '247' He is believed to have widened the north nave aisle at its east end to form his chantry chapel, and on the interior east wall of the chapel there is a small carving, apparently of a priest, kneeling at an altar, and holding a chalice, advertising the status of the patron. '248' The tomb recess from which the priest effigy at Thwing is presumed to have come, is opposite

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the chantry chapel, in the east bay of the south nave wall, in a similar arrangement to that at Birkin, where the recess is in the north nave wall, opposite the south nave aisle where the associated chantry was sited.

At Wath, the tomb of John de Appleby is in the south nave chapel/transept of the parish church. He was rector of Wath from 1316-28, and founded a chantry there, dedicated to St John the Baptist, in 1327.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ That he was a land-holder in Wath and elsewhere is shown by his licence to alienate property in mortmain to the chantry, in which lands in Wath, Holm, Melmorby, Rokesby, Pykall, and Sutton Howgrave were involved.⁽²⁵⁰⁾ Although John de Appleby did not build the south transept/chapel, since this was built in c 1300, he did leave his mark on the chapel area, with the insertion of a large gabled monument placed centrally under the south window, which would originally have covered the lower part of the window-opening, and with a large trefoiled piscina inserted to the east of the recess, with a shelf.

As rector of Wath, John de Appleby was active in various land disputes, principally against the family of Marmion of West Tanfield, who held many local estates and the advowson of Wath church, and by 1359, the advowson of the chantry at Wath also.⁽²⁵¹⁾

Several of the rectors at Rudby held important positions in the church, including some of the predecessors of Thomas de Whorlton. In 1294, Peter de Cestria, rector of

Rudby and Whalley, had letters of protection, and was appointed provost of Beverley shortly before his death in 1294/5.²⁰² The next rector, Hugh de Cressingham, was treasurer of Scotland, and died at the battle of Stirling in 1297.²⁰³ John de Woodhouse, who was rector of Rudby in 1339, held a number of prestigious posts, including Keeper of the Hanaper in Chancery 1327-48, and escheator for York, Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland in 1341.²⁰⁴ A later 14th century successor of Thomas de Whorlton was Robert Wycliff, who acted in the capacity of executor to several lords and gentry in the late 14th/early 15th centuries. It is thought that he was a member of the same family as the famous Oxford dissident theologian and philosopher, John Wycliff.²⁰⁵ He was also a substantial land-holder, having been enfeoffed of several estates and advowsons by Peter VIII de Mauley in 1400.²⁰⁶

Thomas de Whorlton also engaged in property transactions, having enfeoffed his patron, Nicholas de Menhill, d1322/3, of the Yorkshire manor of Aldewerk.²⁰⁷ A later rector of Rudby, Thomas de Buckton, who made his will in 1366, was another individual of high rank. He is known to have been a doctor of laws, and was sent by the king, with others, on an embassy to the Pope, who later wrote to the king, in 1366, expressing his satisfaction with the emissaries.²⁰⁸ Judging by the high-ranking individuals, the numerous bequests of large sums of money, and the many servants who were remembered in his

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will, Buckton must have had considerable wealth and status
of his own.

It would appear, therefore, that the rectorship of Rudby,
as appears also to have been the case at a number of
other benefices discussed here, carried with it certain
privileges and status. Since the manor and advowson of
Rudby were closely tied up with the archbishop of
Canterbury, the individuals chosen to fill the rectorship
may have been deliberately granted appropriately high
office.

At Brigham also there was a series of eminent churchmen
who held the rectory before and after Thomas de Burgh,
whose own high-flying career has already been discussed.
In 1284, Anthony Bek, later to become bishop of Durham 7
had held the benefice, and William Melton resigned from
Brigham rectory on becoming archbishop of York. ('288')
After the death of de Burgh, a following rector, in 1341,
was William de Dalton who had a long and successful
career, becoming Sacrist of Beverley in 1347, Controller
of the King's Household, and Clerk of the Great Wardrobe
in 1354. ('288') One reason for the sequence of important
churchmen having held Brigham at some point in their
careers must be related to the value of the rectory,
which in 1292 and again in the 16th century, was assessed
as being the most valuable in the deanery.

At other churches where churchmen were the tomb patrons,
there is a similar sense that the holding of that

benefice was, almost automatically, seen as one stage of a career which was expected to reach significant heights. Although the career of Brian de Thornhil, rector of Bedale, does not seem to have been particularly notable, the preceding and subsequent rectors there attained distinguished positions, both within the church and in royal circles. In 1295, Walter de Langton was rector at Bedale, and also became deacon and papal chaplain, while John de Hermesthorpe, who was rector in 1369, was both chaplain and chamberlain to Edward III, and was archdeacon of Richmond in 1363/4.¹²⁵¹ Highly-placed clerics were also presented to Owston, both before and after the period in which the tomb patron, John de Sancto Paulo, was active there. In 1331, John de Amwell was presented to Owston, and he was also Controller of the Queen's Household and collector of her gold. After his death the following year, John de Eston was presented, and he was described as the Queen Philippa's chancellor in 1335. Between 1341 and 1344, the rectory was held successively by John and William de Northwell, both of whom were king's clerks.¹²⁵²

From this list then, it can be seen that there were many consistencies among the churchmen who had tomb recesses, particularly in terms of land-holding and chantry-founding. All of these tombs were associated with chapels or with chapel areas, in some cases these built by the tomb patron (at Bedale and Brigham, and probably at Owston and Thwing). The tomb position within the church

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building can be seen as a guide to the kind of status to which the individual aspired, or with which he had come to be associated. In the case of these churchmen, all had their tombs in areas of the church other than the chancel (except at Owston where the north chancel tomb communicated with a chancel chapel). This may have been a way of emphasizing their status as land-owners and chantry-founders, reminding their congregations that the deceased had had a dual role, in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres.

It almost seems inevitable that churchmen of higher rank, such as abbots, bishops and archbishops, would follow a similar trend in terms of tomb-type, position within the church, and chantry founding. However, this is not invariably the case. Only two high-ranking ecclesiastics of the 14th century in the York province are known to have chosen tombs of the recessed, or fixed type: Archbishop William Greenfield, d1315 at York, and Bishop Thomas Hatfield, d1381 at Durham.²⁵³ Possibly the unpopularity of fixed tombs among high ranking clergy as well as among lay people of high rank, was due, in part, to the permanence of commemoration they felt they had already earned by virtue of their rank. In that case, burial in a major church would be deemed sufficient to ensure that their tombs, and their identities, would not be forgotten.²⁵⁴ It may also have been the case that the recessed type of tomb had become firmly associated with individuals of lower rank, so it might therefore have been judged unsuitable for a bishop or archbishop.

Maybe the only reason that recessed or fixed tombs were ever chosen by those with high status was that the Westminster example, where several members of the royal family were buried in architecturally-fixed canopied monuments, had lent acceptability to this type of monument, but only when it was set in a major church. This would explain the form of the Greenfield tomb, as it would that of the Percy tomb described earlier.

The tomb of Thomas Hatfield was combined with the bishop's throne, which he had built. Apart from the chantry founded by Hatfield at his tomb, this combination of liturgical elements would have drawn pious attention to the dead bishop, which was presumably the intention. There was a chantry founded at Greenfield's tomb also, between the tomb and the east wall of the north transept, where the altar of St Nicholas once was. (255)

As far as land-ownership is concerned, the relationship between that kind of status and burial is not clear when churchmen of high rank are under consideration.

Archbishop Greenfield and Bishop Hatfield owned substantial tracts of land and property and these were widely scattered. Not surprisingly however, they chose burial in the church where they had had the highest profile during their lives, and where their post mortem celebrations and foundations were most likely to be continued in perpetuity.

Summary

The choice of burial in a tomb recess, and in a parish church rather than a major church, was, surprisingly, an option which was exercised by every class of patron discussed here. Most of the parliamentary peerage in this study chose as their burial churches, the parish churches where they held their principal estates, perhaps because their tombs would be more visible and less likely to be over-shadowed, than in a major church, where individuals of exceptionally high rank were buried. Burial in the parish church meant that the tomb could be used to establish not only the status and identity of the deceased, but also, by means of heraldic devices, the alliances and rights which would pertain to future generations of the family.

Many of these concerns are reflected in the post mortem arrangements of other social groups, and in some respects, the concern to establish identity and status in the eyes of a parish congregation must have been felt more intensely by individuals of less obvious rank. The county and parish gentry, like the peerage, relied on heraldry to record identity and status, but to a greater degree, being more likely than the peerage to include family references, not only on tombs or effigies, but also in heraldic windows and inscriptions. There was also a greater involvement in the endowment of chantries and chapel-building on the part of the gentry than was the case for the peerage, surely another reflection of their greater need to establish a prominent position in the

church-going community. Associated with their need to make public statements of personal piety, a number of the gentry were buried either in, or adjacent to, the chancel. Only about half of the members of the county gentry identified here were buried in this elevated position, but this greatly exceeded the proportion of the other groups under discussion. Quite possibly, the requirement to make clear the secular rather than the religious or pious aspirations of the patrons was seen to be an overriding factor in the choice of burial position.

Where women were concerned, again it was a concern to express power, in the form of land-holding, which informed the choice of effigy and tomb. However, because women were able legally to conduct themselves independently from fathers or husbands once they were widowed, this had an impact on their funerary arrangements. The effigy was frequently designed to reflect the rank of widowhood, characterised by the barbe over the woman's chin, and often the widow would emphasise her position in the arrangement of the recess itself. In a number of cases it can be shown that, where both husband and wife shared the same recess, the woman's effigy was designed to have been placed on the outside, so that it would have had greater visual importance than that of her deceased husband. In other cases, the widow was buried in her own recess, often in a more prominent position than her husband's tomb, once again establishing herself as an important and powerful member of the parish

Chapter 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen
community.

The concern to express a position of power during an individual's lifetime, as a land-owner, in the type of tomb and burial place selected, is perhaps seen most clearly in the case of the handful of churchmen who elected burial in a tomb recess. It is the unexpectedness of this result which gives it such clarity. Surely the expectation would be for a priest to be buried in the chancel of the church where he had officiated. However, in what were probably attempts to be recognised as influential members of the lay community, most of the churchmen discussed here were buried to the west of the chancel, in the nave (or nave aisle) or transept. Only one churchman had a tomb associated with the chancel, at Owston, and even there the tomb was set under an arch in a wall which communicated with a north chancel chapel. In this way, these individuals were able to express their identities not only as churchmen, as was evident from the vestments of the effigies, but also as land-owners and therefore men of consequence in the local lay community. In this, and in other respects, the post mortem arrangements of churchmen are closely paralleled by those of the gentry: all the churchmen were land-owners in the parish where they were buried, and like the county gentry, a high proportion either founded or augmented chantries in their burial churches, thereby colonising and privatising spaces used by the local communities. Thus, and by similar means as lay patrons, this last group sought to ensure that their names and their status

as individuals of both religious and secular importance would be remembered after their deaths.

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Figure 5.1 : CATTERICK, de Burgh genealogy, adapted from Raine (1834), p22.

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Figure 5.4 : Laymen - the peerage

Figure 5.5 : Laymen - the county gentry

Figure 5.6 : Laymen - the parish gentry

Figure 5.7 : Laywomen

Figure 5.8 : Churchmen

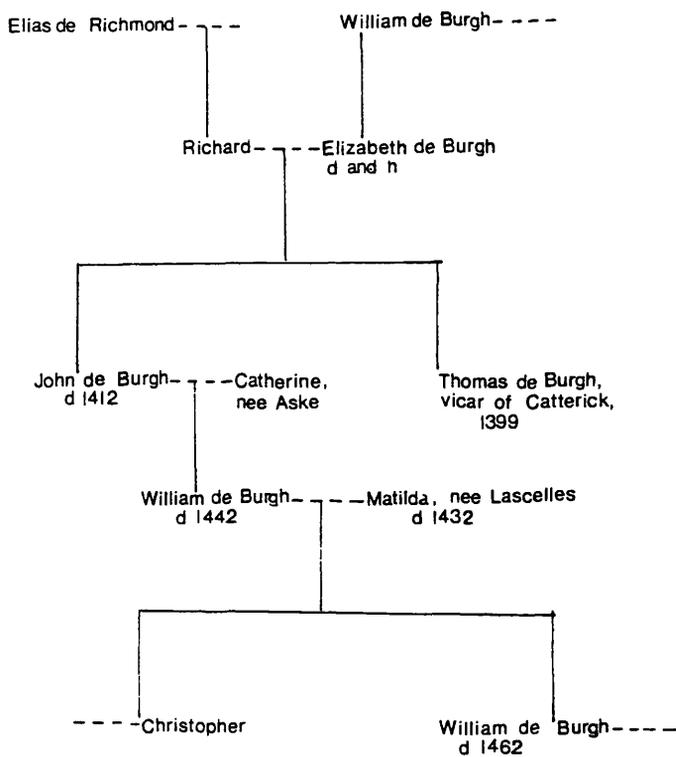


Figure 5.1: CATTERICK, de Burgh genealogy

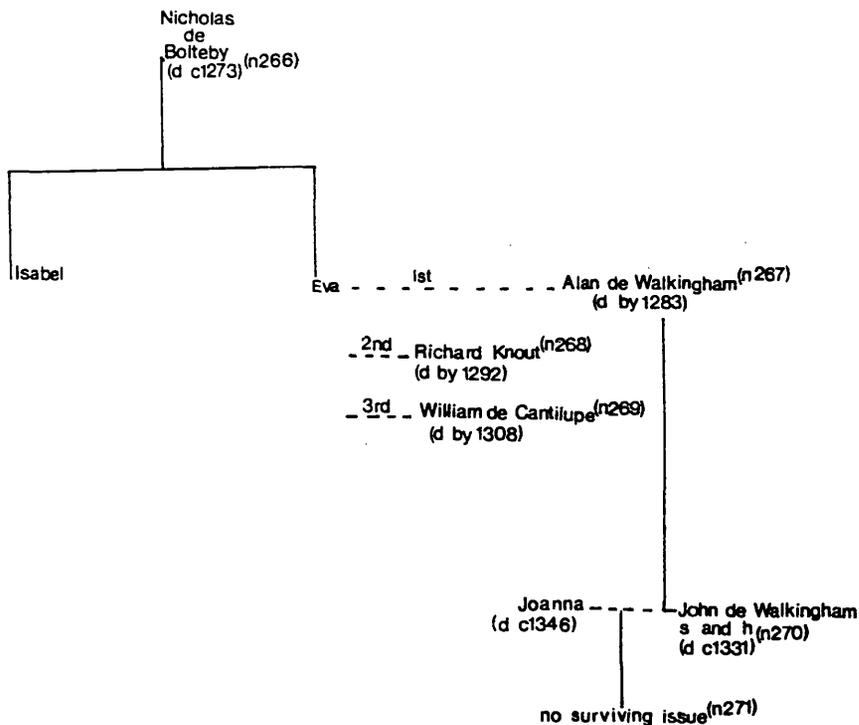


Figure 5.2: FELISKIRK, Walkingham genealogy

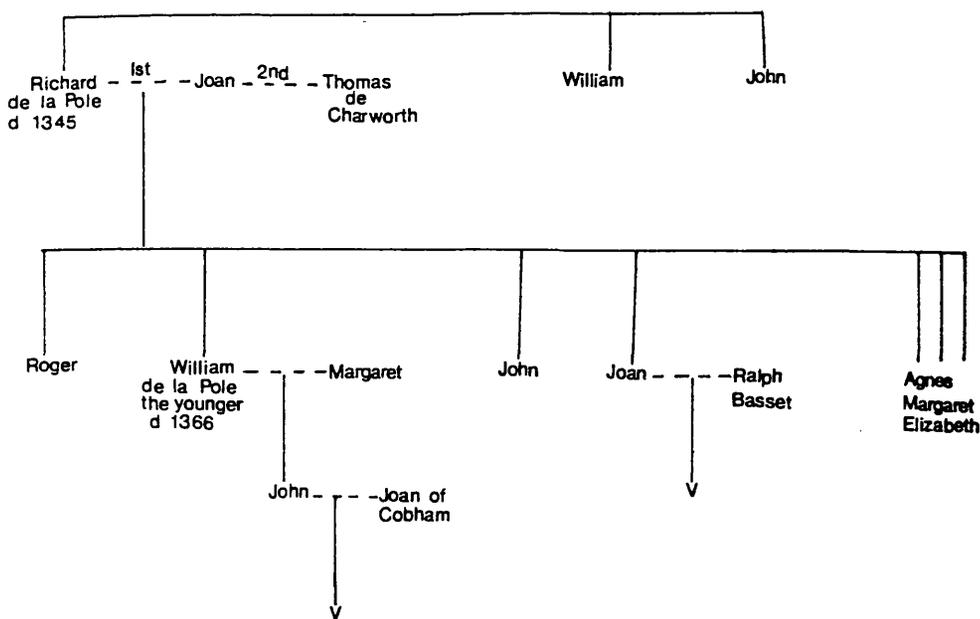


Figure 5.3: HULL, de la Pole genealogy

Chapter 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen

The following tables summarise the characteristics of the three main groups of tomb patrons discussed in this chapter: laymen, laywomen, and churchmen. The tables for the lay patrons are subdivided into a further three sections: the peerage, the county gentry, and the parish gentry. For some of the women patrons, aspects of their status, etc are detailed with the characteristics of their husbands, but are re-iterated in their own tables as evidence of their status, independent of their husbands.

List of abbreviations:

adv : holder of advowson of church or chantry

cb : chapel-builder

CG : county gentry

ch : chantry founder, or benefactor of an existing
chantry

effext : effigy of woman lying outside her husband's
effigy

effint : effigy of woman lying on inside of her husband's
effigy

effsep : effigy of woman lying in its own recess

h : heir/heiress

hy : heraldry identifying the tomb patron's family on the
tomb

lh : land-holder in parish where buried

lm : lord of the manor, or for urban patrons, major
property-holders in the town.

lt : land transferred from wife's to husband's family

Chapter 5 - Tomb patrons: laymen, laywomen and churchmen

PG : parish gentry

PP : parliamentary peerage

r : rector

v : vicar

w : widow, known or presumed to hold lands in dower

Figure 5.4: Laymen - the peerage

PLACE	INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH TOMB RECESSES	SITE OF TOMB(S) IN CHURCH, AND OF ASSOCIATED CHAPELS, IF ANY
Bainton adv; lm; h; hy	Edmund de Mauley, d1314 Peter V de Mauley d1342	South nave aisle
Butterwick lm; h; hy; lh	Robert FitzRalph, d1314.	North chancel
Cartmel cb; ch; h; hy; lh; lm	John de Harrington d 1347	Under arch between chancel and Town Choir
Hazlewood adv; cb; ch; h; hy; lm	William de Vavasour d 1312/13; his son, Walter, d 1315	South nave
Melsonby cb; ch; hy; lm	John de Stapleton d 1322	South nave aisle
Nunnington adv; lm; lt	Walter de Teye d 1325	South nave
Sprotborough adv; h; hy; lh; lm; lt	William FitzWilliam d c1340	South wall of south nave chapel
Staindrop adv; cb; ch; h; lm	Ralph de Neville, lord Raby, builder of the south nave aisle and tombs in 1343.	South wall of south nave aisle chapel
West Tanfield adv; lh; lm	John Marmion d 1335	North nave aisle
Womersley adv; h; hy; lh; lm	John de Newmarch, d 1310; his father Adam de Newmarch d 1302-3	South and north walls of south and north chapels respectively

Figure 5.5 : Laymen - the county gentry

Aldborough ch; h; hy; lh; lm	John de Meaux, d c1377	Middle of north chancel chapel
<hr/>		
Birkin adv; ch; h; lh; lm	John de Everingham d c1329	North nave wall
<hr/>		
Burton Agnes adv; cb; ch; h; lh; lm	Roger de Somerville d 1337	North wall of north nave chapel
<hr/>		
Catterick cb; h; hy; lh; lm	John de Burgh d 1412, his son William d1442, his grand-son William d 1462 AND Walter de Urswick, d 1394/5	North and south walls of north and south nave aisles, both of which constituted chapels
<hr/>		
Darrington hy; lh; lm; lt	Warin de Scargil, d c1330	North chancel wall, associated with north chancel chapel
<hr/>		
Feliskirk h; lh; lm	John de Walkingham d c1328	North chancel wall
<hr/>		
Goldsborough adv; h; hy; lh; lm	Richard de Goldsborough d c1333	Wall between chancel and north chancel chapel
<hr/>		
Harpham h; lh; lm	William de St Quintin d 1349	Wall between chancel and north chancel chapel
<hr/>		
Hornby h; lm	Thomas de Burgh d 1322	North nave aisle, which probably constituted a chapel
<hr/>		

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Howden h; hy; lh lm	Thomas de Metham d 1311	South chancel wall, on the transept side, associated with the south transept chapel
Hull ch (Richard) h; hy; lh; lm	Richard de la Pole d c1345; William de la Pole, the younger, d 1366	South choir aisle and chapel
Kirklington adv; h; hy; lh; lm; lt	Alexander de Mowbray d c1368	South wall of south nave aisle
Scarborough adv; cb; ch; lh; lm	Robert Galoun, d c1391; Robert Rillington, d c1391	South nave aisle chapels
Spofforth h; hy; lh; lm	Robert de Plumpton d 1323	North chancel wall
Tickhill hy; lh	Adam de Herthill, d c1328	North wall of north chancel chapel/ east bay of north nave aisle
Walton ch; h; hy; lh; lm	Thomas de Fairfax d c1360	North chancel wall
<u>Figure 5.6 : Laymen - the parish gentry</u>		
East Gilling h; hy; lh; lm	Thomas de Etton d 1349	South wall of south nave aisle
Oswaldkirk adv;lh; lm	Maybe Richard de Pickering d c1348	South nave wall
Stonegrave cb; h; hy; lh; lm	William de Thornton d early 15th century	North nave aisle east recess

Figure 5.7 : Laywomen

Aldborough CG; effsep; hy; w	Maud, widow of John de Meaux, nee Pickering	Under the arch between the chancel and the north chancel chapel
Beverley Minster ch (in the form of a pm obit); effsep; lh; PP; w	Eleanor, widow of Henry de Percy, d 1328, and tomb built c1340	Under the arch of the north ambulatory arcade
Burton Agnes effint	Maud, first wife of Roger de Somerville, d 1313	North nave aisle, built by Sir Roger to contain Maud's tomb, with chantry founded there in 1317
Butterwick effext; lh; PP; w	Elizabeth, widow of Robert FitzRalph, nee Neville of Scotton (Lincs), d c1346	North chancel wall
Cartmel hy; PP	Joan, wife of John de Harrington, nee Dacre, who may have pre-deceased her husband. (He d 1347) [?]	Under arch between chancel and Town Choir
Catterick cb; CG; effext?; hy; w	Catherine, widow of John de Burgh, nee Aske, still living in 1413.	Probably one of the two north nave aisle recesses
Darrington h; lt; PP; (marr CG)	Clara, wife of Warin de Scargill, nee Stapleton.	North chancel chapel
Feliskirk adv; CG; ch; effext; hy; lh; w	Joanna, widow of John de Walkingham, still living in 1346.	North chancel wall

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Harpham CG; effext; lh; w	Joan, widow of William de St Quintin, d c1384. Possibly nee Thwing.	Under arch between chancel and north chancel chapel
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Howden CG; effext; h; hy; lh; w	Sibyl, widow of John de Metham, nee Hamelton d c1327-8	South chancel wall, on transept side, associated with south transept chapel
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Hull a) effint; w b) CG; w	a) Joan, widow of Richard de la Pole b) Margaret, wife of William de la Pole the younger, nee Peverel	a) easterly of the 2 south choir aisle recesses b) westerly of the above, and chapel at its rear
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Kirklington adv; CG; effsep; h; w	Elizabeth, widow of Alexander de Mowbray, then wife of John de Wandesford. Nee Musters. d 1391	South nave aisle, west recess
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Nunnington adv; h; PP; w	Isabel, widow of Walter de Teye, nee Stonegrave, d 1300/1301	Sir Walter's recess is in the south nave wall. She is buried at Stonegrave
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Scarborough a) adv; CG; ch; lh; w b) CG; lh; w c) CG; lh; w	a) Agnes Burn, d c1400 b) Amicia/Avicia, widow of Robert Galon, d after 1391 c) Elena, widow of Robert Rillington, d after 1394	South nave aisle chapels: a) chapel of St Nicholas b) chapel of St James c) chapel of St Stephen
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Sprotborough adv; cb; ch; effext and effsep; h; lh; lt; PP; w	Isabel, widow of William FitzWilliam, Nee Deincourt. d c1348.	North recess in south nave aisle chapel
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Staindrop a)effsep; lt; PP b)effsep; PP	a)Euphemia, mother of Ralph de Neville, nee Clavering b)Margery, 2nd wife of Ranulph de Neville, nee Thwing.	Two recesses in north wall of north nave aisle - built and endowed with a chantry by Ralph de Neville
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West Tanfield adv; ch; effext; hy; lh; PP; w	Maud, widow of John Marmion, d by 1360.	North wall of north nave aisle
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Tickhill cb; ch; lh; PG; w	Avice, widow of Adam de Herthill, still living in 1348.	North wall of north chancel chapel
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Womersley adv; CG; lh; w	Avice, wife of John de Newmarch, d by 1329/30	South nave aisle
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Figure 5.8 : Churchmen

Barnard Castle (co Durham) adv; ch; lm; v	Robert de Mortham d after 1345	South transept
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Bedale cb; ch; lm; r	Brian de Thornhill d 1344	North chancel chapel/ east bay of north nave aisle
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Brigham adv; cb; ch; lm; r	Thomas de Burgh, d c1338	South wall of south nave aisle
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Owston a)lm (in the vicinity of the parish) b)adv; ch; lm	a)Henry de Cliff d 1344 b)John de Sancto Paulo, d 1362	a)his tomb is under arch between chancel and north chapel b)his chantry was in south nave aisle
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Rudby lm; r	Thomas de Whorlton d 1329	South wall of south nave aisle
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Thwing adv; cb; ch; lm; r	Thomas de Thwing d 1374	South nave wall
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Wath adv; ch; lm; r	John de Appleby d 1328/9	South wall of south transept chapel
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Notes:

1. Whitlock (1972) p85 cites an 11th century treatise called "The Rights of Various Classes" which seems to summarise contemporary attitudes to wealth and status: "even if a churl thrive so that he have helmet and coat of mail and a gold-plated sword, if he has not the land, he is nevertheless a churl."
2. Given-Wilson (1987); Rosenthal (1976), pp56ff.
3. Given-Wilson (1976), p56. The author points out that by 1400 it was rare a man to be summoned by individual writ unless his ancestor(s) had also been so summoned, and that it was equally likely that his heir would be summoned in the same manner.
4. Kingsford (1896), p518.
5. Comp Peerage VIII, p560.
6. Ibid V, pp515-7, 518.
7. Ibid XII, pp262-4; Chetwynd-Stapylton (1883-4), pedigree opposite p223.
8. Comp Peerage IX, p548.
9. Ibid VI, p315.
10. VCH Lancs VIII p266; Lancs Concords, p93, n1.

11. Comp Peerage XII, part II, p234; ibid p99; idem VIII, p521.
12. Idem IV, pp118-20.
13. Comp Peerage V, p518.
14. Banks I (1863) , p347.
15. Comp Peerage IX, p499-501.
16. Cal Ancient Deeds I, p28 no A.260, dated 1343, and cited in chapter 2. A fragment from the register of Richard D'Aungerville of Bury, bishop of Durham, also dated 1343, commissions the archdeacon of Durham to institute chaplains to Staindrop - Reg Bury, pp26-7.
17. Dawton in Thompson (1983), p126.
18. Comp Peerage IX, p498, citing CPR 1307-13, p429; CC1R 1330-33, p427; idem 1343-46, p531.
19. Surtees (1816-40), IV, p136 and note m - the advowson of Staindrop was held by the bishops of Durham.
20. Given-Wilson (1987), pp69-70.

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21. Vale (1976), p3 offers a similar definition of the gentry.
22. Given-Wilson (1987), p73.
23. Cal Inq V, no 266, pp143-5.
24. RCHMss (1928) I, p172.
25. Clay (1971), p107.
26. RCHMss (1928) I, p173.
27. TE I, pp100-101, and see Appendix I; Vale (1976) p13, citing the Archbishop's Register 12, f57; Putnam (1939), p xl, 1, 10, 18.
28. CPR 1327-30, p418, dated July 28th, 1329.
29. Knowles (1985), p91 n19, citing Cal Inq pm sive esc II, p21 no 132; Banks I (1863), pp201-2.
30. Reg Greenfield V, p272, dated 1317; CPR 1313-17, p29, dated 1313.
31. Parl Rep Yorks, p59. Banks I (1863), p399.
32. Cal Inq VIII, no 140, pp86-9.
33. Walker (1930-31), pp322-3: the church of Burrough

Green, Cambridgeshire has three canopied recesses on the north chancel wall, which are thought to commemorate members of the Cambridgeshire branch of the de Burgh family, ie John de Burgh d1330 and his brother Thomas, d c1334, in the centre recess; John de Burgh son of Thomas, d1393, and his wife Katherine, d1409, on the eastern recess; and Sir John Ingoldesthorpe, d1420, husband of Elizabeth de Burgh d c1422, originally in the western recess, now in the north aisle - ibid, pp330-1, 333, 340, 342, 343.

34. Pollard (1978), p9.

35. Ibid, p18. Noting that John de Burgh had been lessee of the greater tithes from the abbey of St Mary's since 1392, and that the building contract was drawn up just three months after his death in 1412, Pollard speculates that the widow and son might have been carrying out instructions he might have left in a will, and that moreover, John might have reserved some of the income from the tithes in order to build the church, which could also serve as a family mausoleum.

36. VCH Yorks NR I, p317.

37. Ibid, p316.

38. Walker (1930-31), pp329-30.

39. CPR 1367-70, p78; Strickland (1935), p105.
40. Nicolas (1832) II, pp169-70.
41. Foster (1874) III, re Scrope of Masham, no page number.
42. Ibid, as note 45 above.
43. CPR 1391-6, p612.
44. Parl Rep Yorks, p79.
45. VCH Yorks NR I, p41 and n68.
46. Placita de Banco, p791.
47. Parl Rep Yorks, pp 60-2.
48. Banks II (1863), p49.
49. Idem I, p149.
50. Ibid, p150.
51. Parl Rep Yorks, p61.
52. Feudal Aids VI, pp19, 23, 24, 112, 193; CPR 1313-17, p542.

53. Idem 1321-4, p99.

54. Parl Rep Yorks p53; ibid pp 36, 137.

55. Nom Vill, p337; Cal Inq 10-20 Edw II, 185; Walker (1930-31) p325 n6, citing CC1R, 5 Edw II, m24d - this probably refers to CC1R 1307-13, p440, dated 1311, in which unnamed individuals are summoned as Knights of the Shire for a number of counties, including Cambridgeshire; Knts Edw I, p162 - Thomas de Burgh was lord of Hackforth and also held lands in Cambridgeshire.

56. Putnam (1939), pp xl, 1, 2, 5, 32.

57. Fryde (1988), pp22, 206; Horrox (1983), p36.

58. TE I, pp7-9, and see Appendix I.

59. Harvey (1959-62), pp472-6.

60. Ibid, p474.

61. I'Anson vol 29, p64.

62. McCall (1910) p86 and n2.

63. Reg Scrope, ff172v-173v, and see Appendix I.

64. Gross(1895), p126.

65. Putnam (1939), pp88 and 132 respectively - possibly these two individuals were related to the chantry founders Robert Rillington and Agnes Burn.

66. Parl Rep Yorks, p72.

67. Knts Edw I, II, p226, citing Cal Inq VI, no 624, p397: there is no mention of Yorkshire property in this inquisition, so Adam presumably held this prior to his father's death.

68. Placita de Banco, p761.

69. CPR 1348-50, p191. William de Dendale and Adam de Herthill are both mentioned in an undated indenture regarding the maintenance of the monks living in the marsh of Tickhill, and of the chaplain of the Hospital of St Leonard in Tickhill - Yorks Deeds, p160.

70. Parl Rep Yorks, p60.

71. Yorks Fines 1347-77, p39.

72. Parl Rep Yorks, p60.

73. Bilson (1906-7), p117.

74. Ibid, p118.

75. Nom Vill, p321; VCH Yorks NR I, p549; Cal Inq IX, no 387, dated 1349/50 records that at the time of his death, Richard de Pickering held land in Oswaldkirk and Amplford in Yorkshire, and no other estates. His heir was his grandson, Richard de Pickering, son of Thomas who had died during his father's life-time; VCH Yorks NR I, p563; Thornton Manuscript, p3.

76. Cal Inq VIII, no 668, pp496-8.

77. The second recess is difficult to examine, now hidden behind the organ, but the vicar at Womersley, the Rev SM Hind, has kindly looked at for me. He has measured it, and finds it to be slightly smaller than the south recess, and describes it as being uncusped.

78. Parliamentary Roll of 1312, Br Mus Ms Cotton Caligula A.XVIII, ff3-21b, no 635, listed in Mitchell (1983), p365; CC1R 1307-13, p211.

79. The Newmarch family had held land in Womersley from at least the 13th century - Cal Inq V, no 395, p217; Comp Peerage IX, p548.

80. Dodsworth Church Notes (1890-91), p146.

81. Apart from licences to alienate property to chantry chaplains, found mainly in the CPR and the associated inquiries in Cal Inq aqd, and those patrons whose wills

indicate that they had founded a chantry either during their life-times, or at the time of making their wills, there are several secondary sources which record such foundations: YCS I and II; Riley (1936-7); Fasti Par I-V.

82. Re-Hazlewood, Cal Inq aqd, 14 Edw I, file X, no 4; ibid, 27 Edw I, file XVIII, no 1; CPR 1281-92, p237; idem 1292-1301, p436; re-Melsonby, Reg Greenfield IV, p220, no 2101; re-Sprotborough, TE I, pp50-52, (see Appendix I for further details) and Cal Inq aqd, 3 Ric II, file CCCXVI, no 28.

83. VCH Yorks NR I, p109.

84. Re-Bainton, Ollard (1918-20), pp104-23; re-Hazlewood, this chantry chapel had relatively high status, and was not dissolved in the 16th century. The founder and his successors presented to the chantry of st Nicholas, while the vicars choral of York Minster presented to the other chantry - Leadman (1894-5), p541, citing Torre's Mss p215, and Longley (nd), pp2-4, 9-10; re-Nunnington, VCH Yorks NR I, p548 and Reg Greenfield III, p76 no 1306, p80 no 1323 showing that Walter de Teye presented two individuals to the church, another Walter de Teye in 1313, and William de Weston in 1314; re-Sprotborough, Fasti Par II, p70; re-West Tanfield, VCH Yorks I, p389; re-Womersley, the conflict over the advowson between the widows of two generations has been noted above, showing that the right belonged to the family of Newmarch in the early 14th century.

85. TE I, p17, and see Appendix I.

86. Knights' Fees, p220.

87. The idea of combining a private monument with a public and religious function was one which gained in popularity from the late 13th century onwards. At Lincoln cathedral, in the north wall of the Angel Choir, there is, under a single canopy, an Easter Sepulchre with a tomb on its west side, almost certainly that of bishop Remigius. The date of this structure is believed to be c 1296 because of its relationship to the arcading in Lincoln's cloisters which was under construction at that time - Sekules (1986), p118, 122 and n40. The author gives other examples where tombs are combined with Easter sepulchres, and also records that by the 15th century, testators requested that their tombs be built in such a way as to be able to support a temporary wooden Easter Sepulchre during Easter week - ibid, p128 n36. This issue will be discussed in more detail below.

88. Cal Inq V, no 266, pp143-5.

89. Yorks Inqs II, pp80-81.

90. VCH Yorks ER II, pp107-8.

91. Cal Inq VIII, no 140, pp86-9.

92. Idem V, no 120, p52.

93. Feudal Aids VI, pp19, 23, 24, 112, 193; idem III, pp144, 200; idem IV, pp28, 162, 163, 182.

94. VCH Yorks ER II, p224.

95. Walker (1930-31), pp324-5.

96. Ibid, p313.

97. Cal Inq V, no 316, pp180-81.

98. Idem XII, no 75 (re-William de la Pole the elder), pp54-6; ibid no 76 (re-William de la Pole the younger), p56.

99. VCH Yorks ER I, pp78-9.

100. Horrox (1981), pp61-2, and map opposite p28.

101. VCH Yorks ER I, p333 and n5.

102. CPR 1381-5, pp190 and 249; ibid p249.

103. Rowntree (1931), p129; TE I pp157, 158; Reg Scrope ff172v-173v - see Appendix I for these last two references.

104. VCH Yorks NR I, pp372-3 notes that the manors of Kirklington and Treswell had been closely linked since at least the 11th century; McCall (1904), pp2,8.
105. Plumpton, p ix; Nom Vill, p349; Plumpton, pp xi, xviii; Knts Edw I, VI, p84.
106. Knights' Fees, p220n.
107. Brown (1912-13), p170.
108. CPR 1307-13, p269.
109. McCall (1910), p45.
110. CPR 1338-40, p454.
111. VCH Yorks ER I, p291.
112. Horrox (1983) p42; Harvey (1959-62), pp472-7, who also notes, pp474-6, the arms of Sir John Engaine (or Dengaine), a reference to Sir William's wife Margaret, sister and heiress of Sir John Peverel of Castle Ashby (Northamptonshire). Sir John had witnessed the will of Richard de la Pole in 1345, at Milton (Northamptonshire), and married Joan Peverel, daughter of Sir Robert Peverel of Castle Ashby. Margaret was buried at Chrishall, Essex, as is shown by the will of her son, Sir John de la Pole, dated 1379-80.

113. Yorks Inqs II, pp80-81.

114. Banks I (1863), p202.

115. McCall (1904), pp184-9.

116. Cal Inq VIII, pp86-9, and Fasti Par III, pp9-10.

117. Reg Richmond, p156.

118. These two effigies have been identified, in chapter 2, as William de Thornton and his wife Jane, who probably died some time in the early 15th century.

119. VCH Yorks NR I, p566. This is more likely to have been a parish chapel, a number of which were established in the 14th century, usually to enable parishioners to attend Mass at those times when parish churches were inaccessible, eg in periods of severe weather or pestilence.

120. Ibid, pp549-50, where it is noted that alternate presentations were made to the church by the families of Surdeval and Barton on one hand, and Pickering on the other. However, by 1325, the advowson had come wholly into the possession of the Pickering family.

121. Shahaar (1983), p91 - a woman generally gave control of her property to her husband, and could not make a will

without his consent. Robinson (1969), pp8-9 - a priest could control certain secular funds. For instance, a chantry priest was responsible for the maintenance of the chantry, funds for which had to come from his own income, via a lay or ecclesiastical benefactor.

122. Shahar (1983), p91.

123. Haskell (1973), pp462-3; Labarge (1986), pp75-6, citing 13th century treatises on a woman's duties, and the mid-15th century work by Christine de Pisan, Treasure of the City of Ladies, describing the skills needed by women of the higher social ranks.

124. Shahar (1983), p95.

125. Cal Inq VIII, no 668, pp496-8.

126. Comp Peerage V, p517, citing CClR April, July, September, November and December 1317.

127. Goody et al (1976), p17.

128. Shahar (1983), p89.

129. Clay (1971), pp107, 111.

130. Comp Peerage X, pp458-9; Goldberg (1984), p69.

131. Cal Inq VI, no 50, pp23-6; idem VIII, pp496-8.

132. Raine (1834), p22.

133. See Appendix I. The mention of two distinct chaplains at Boltby, the first having no church or chapel specified as the place where he was to celebrate, suggests that there was a private chapel at Boltby, perhaps in Joanna's own manor house there; CPL IV, p411, dated Dec 1390 - a grant of a relaxation of one hundred days to penitents performing various religious acts, including those who "visit and give alms to the fabric of the chapel of Bolteby [sic], annexed to the church of Feliskyrk, in the diocese of York." As in the case of Stonegrave (n119 above) this is also likely to have been a parish, rather than a private chapel.

134. Stephenson (1902), p26; CPR 1338-40, p454.

135. Idem 1370-74, p407: "Feb 3. Licence for Joan, late the wife of William de Sancto Quintino, to crenellate a belfry which she proposes to make in the churchyard of the chapel at Harpham."

136. VCH Yorks ER II, p227.

137. Walker (1930-31), p327.

138. I'Anson vol 27, p123 - she was the niece of William de Hamelton, Dean of York, and daughter and heiress of

Adam de Hamelton.

139. Knts Edw I, III, p152.

140. CC1R 1313-18, p105.

141. Idem, p6, dated 26th July 1313. She was released because it was found that all but ~~£~~10 15s 3d had been repaid to the Exchequer by 26th July, 1313.

142. CPR 1313-17, p105.

143. CC1R 1313-18, p362.

144. CPR 1313-17, p81.

145. Cal Inq V, no 316, pp180-1.

146. Horrox (1983), p6.

147. Harvey (1959-62), p474; Fryde (1988), p212; Horrox (1983), p33, notes that there was a prolonged period when disputes over the Northamptonshire estate led to some expensive litigation. which William may have used his Hull property to finance.

148. Reg Scrope, ff172v-173v. See Appendix I.

149. Foster II (1874), no page number.

150. Comp Peerage V, p518 - he was still living, but old and infirm in 1340, when his son was appointed to stand in for him in travelling overseas or elsewhere on the king's service. However, he had died by 1342 when his widow presented to Sprotborough church; see Appendix I for Isabel's will.

151. Comp Peerage VIII, p522 n1.

152. Comp Peerage IX, p548; CPR 1317-21, p8.

153. Dodsworth Church Notes (1883-4), pp15-16, n71.

154. Harvey (1959-62), p474; Cal Inq pm sive esc II, 40 Edw III, no 31 (1st nos), pp274-5.

155. McCall (1910), pp86-7.

156. Comp Peerage XII part II, p100.

157. VCH Yorks NR I, p545; Cal Inq VI, no 533 - this shows that he held lands in Nunnington, Stonegrave, and elsewhere of his wife's inheritance at the time of his death, by the king's gift at the time of their marriage, and that Isabel had married Sir Walter at the command of Edward II.

158. eg CPR 1307-13, p429; CC1R 1330-32, p427.

159. CC1R 1343-6, p531.

160. CPR 1313-17, p89.

161. Ibid, pp89, 651-2.

162. Ibid, pp656, 672.

163. Comp Peerage VIII, p522, n., citing Gale (1772).

Appendix, p60. See Appendix I.

164. eg Yorks Fines 1327-47, p164; Cal Inq X, no 518,
pp405-8.

165. Knts Edw I, V, p145.

166. Raine (1834), p22.

167. McCall (1904), pp184-9.

168. Reg Richmond, p156.

169. VCH Yorks NR I, p548.

170. Comp Peerage V, p518.

171. CPR 1361-4, p312. Feb 28th, 1363. "Licence for ~~£~~40
to be paid to the King by Robert de Musters parson of the
church of Kirtelyngton, for him and Richard de Mauleverer

parson of the church of Fisshlak, and Master Adam de Tanfeld parson of the church of Wynterynham, to found a chantry of a warden chaplain and three other chaplains to celebrate divine service daily in West Tanfield church according to the ordinance of Avice late the wife of John de Grey of Rotherfeld, and to assign to the said warden and chaplains in mortmain twenty messuages, six tofts and four and a half bovates, 1 rood of land, and 6 acres, 1 rood of meadow in West Tanfeld and Carethorp, in aid of their sustenance." VCH Yorks NR I, p305; YCS II, pp505-6.

172. YCS I, pp106-8.

173. Ibid, p107.

174. Yorks Fines 1327-47, p164.

175. CPR 1348-50, p191. In the undated deed in which the names of both William de Dendale and Adam de Herthill occur, when identifying Dendale, the document refers to Herthill as "his man" implying Dendale's higher status - Yorks Deeds, p160.

176. Dodsworth Church Notes (1890-91), p148, citing Reg Melton f149.

177. Clay (1971), p111; however Poulson (1841), p13, identifies the arms as being an abbreviated version of those of Meaux, ie three griffins, and notes that her

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tomb-chest has four shields on it, also with the arms of Meaux.

178. Raine (1834), p18, pl VII; VCH Yorks NR I, p311, and n64a describes the Old Richmond shield as that of Lascelles, and notes that William de Burgh, another of the contractors and son of Katherine de Burgh, married a Lascelles of Sowerby.

179. Dodsworth Church Notes (1904), p235.

180. Comp Peerage X, p459.

181. Goldberg (1984), pp67-8.

182. Comp Peerage X, p462; TE I, p57.

183. Harvey (1959-62), p474 n3. The tomb is that of Sir John de Sutton the younger (d1356) who, with Sir William de la Pole the younger, took part in both Scottish and French campaigns in the 1340s - ibid, pp462-3.

184. Shahr (1983), p89 notes that women who remarried sometimes requested burial with their first husbands.

185. McCall (1904) p14 - she was re-married to John de Wandesford by 1370.

186. VCH Yorks NR I, p545.

187. Although the recess must have been moved when the aisle was widened, it must have occupied a similar position in the earlier wall, since there is no other section of wall in the 14th century church which would be wide enough to accomodate it.

188. Surtees (1816-40) IV, p85; EYC, pp439-40.

189. Ibid, p81; "The Tomb of Robert de Mortham", anon, PTRS XIII (1914), p8.

190. Surtees (1816-40), p81.

191. CPR 1338-40, p414; Reg Pal Dun III, pp241-3.

192. CPR 1338-40, p414.

193. Reg Pal Dun III, pp481-2; PTRS XIII (1914), p9.

194. Clay (1927-9), pedigree opposite p286.

195. CPR 1340-43, p476.

196. Placita de Banco, p810, nos 34 and 35.

197. Nom Vill, p348.

198. Clay (1927-9), p298.

199. Ibid, pedigree opposite p286.

200. CPR 1340-43, p476.

201. McCall (1907), p86; VCH Yorks NR I, p297.

202. McCall (1907), p98.

203. Clay (1927-29), p298, citing Yorks Deeds II, no 323, p119, in which Brian de Thornhill, rector of Bedale, witnessed a deed; McCall (1907), p111 - he had died by 1343 when his executors were involved in a dispute over wardship.

204. Ibid, p84.

205. Ibid, p86; VCH Yorks NR I, p297.

206. Venables (1883), p140; VCH Yorks III, pp80-88.

207. Cal Inq aqd, 16 Edw II, file CLVI, no 18, p221:
"Thomas de Burgh, parson of the church of Brigham, to grant half the manor of Brigham to a chaplain in the chapel of st Mary there, retaining the manor of Airton in Craven."

208. Fletcher (1878-9), p150; CPR 1327-30, pp376-7.

209. CPR 1343-5, pp148-9; Fletcher (1878-9), p150.

210. Cal Inq VII, no 93, p83; CPR 1321-4, p328; CChR 1300-26, p453; Storey (1960), p88.

211. Fletcher (1878-9), pp173-7: this document was drawn up between Thomas de Lucy, lord of Cockermouth, and John de Hooton, chaplain of the chantry chapel founded by Thomas de Burgh, and is a valuable inventory of the chantry's furnishings and other possessions. The document was discovered in the Bodleian Library by Henry Coxe, and is reproduced in Appendix I in full, translated from its original French by Rev Thomas Lees.

212. After resigning as escheator, de Burgh was appointed, in 1331, as treasurer of Ireland, and after serving there for four years, returned to England as chamberlain of Berwick - CPR 1330-34, p83; Northern Petitions, p26. Antony de Lucy, from whom de Burgh had obtained the Brigham property which was then used to endow his chantry, was appointed as justiciar of Ireland at the same time as de Burgh received his promotion, and when de Burgh was chamberlain of Berwick, de Lucy was keeper of Berwick and Justice of Lothian - CPR 1330-34, p83; Frame (1982), p92.

213. Clark (1988), p99.

214. Fletcher (1878-9), pp162-3, citing RCHMss, 3rd Report (1872), Appendix, p47: Jan 29th, 1330. "Letters Patent of Sir Henry de Lucy [recorded as an error by

Fletcher, and that it should read Sir Antony de Lucy], Lord of Cockermouth, granting to Thomas de Burgh, rector of the church at Brigham, the avocation [advowson] of the chanter of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Brigham, for life, upon condition that it revert to him and his heirs upon the decease of the said Thomas de Burgh."

215. DNB, p174; ibid pp55-6.

216. Fasti Par II, p129; Emden III, p1630 - he was buried in Christ Church, Dublin, on the second step before the high altar, and his memorial brass still remains. He built the chancel at Christ Church, and the bishop's throne, as well as the east window, and three of the windows on the south side.

217. Fasti Par II, p130.

218. CC1R 1337-9, p130.

219. Raine (1888), pp395-7, cites the will - see Appendix I.

220. CPR 1330-34, p425; idem 1338-40, p15.

221. CC1R 1339-41, p220-21.

222. CPR 1343-45, p345.

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223. Cited in Raine (1888), pp90-91, who does not give the folio numbers. Raine notes that the chaplains' duties were clearly specified, including the obligation to say a grace of the following form: "Anima Magistri Henrici de Clyff, fundatoris nostri, animaque parentum et benefactorum suorum, omniumque fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace. Amen." The chantry priests were to live in a house which was to be built for them in the village of Cliff.

224. As occurred in the case of Henry de Percy d1351/2. Brown (1981) pp237-9 - the issue of an individual's burial somewhere other than the place specified in their will was thoroughly examined during the 13th century, and it was generally accepted that the testator's wishes should always be accommodated, except where there were good reasons to choose another burial site, eg if floods or enemy occupation prevented burial on the testator's preferred site.

225. YCS I, pp 171-2.

226. Dodsworth Church Notes (1890-91), p455 n86, and p456.

227. Church guide book, p13; Fasti Par II, p14; Dodsworth Church Notes (1890-91), p457, citing Reg Melton, f 188, and Reg Zouche, f4.

228. Raine (1888), pp257-8; Horne (1909), p286.

229. Emden I, p438: as chancery clerk, Henry de Cliff had been attached to the household of Queen Philippa.

230. The seat and recess are so described on a notice in the church.

231. Sekules (1986), p122. The author points out that the physical proximity of the tomb of Christ to ecclesiastical graves was seen to provide spiritual protection and gave a air of sanctity to the tomb area - ibid, p118. Hailes (1869), pp295-6, records founders' tombs which were actually combined with temporary wooden Easter Sepulchres at Hurstmonceaux (Sussex) and East Hornden (Essex); Thompson (1911), p126, lists several Easter Sepulchres with tombs closely associated with them, and mentions a will, the date of which is not given, of Thomas Meyring of Newark, which directs burial on the site of a temporary Easter Sepulchre at Newark.

232. Idem (1983), pp152, 164 n1.

233. Ibid, p164 n6.

234. Idem (1986), p130 n46.

235. Reg Corbridge I, p129; Reg Melton II, p136, no 321.

236. VCH Yorks NR II, p284.

237. CPR 1338-40, pp302-3.

238. Dixon and Raine (1863), p339.

239. Comp Peerage VIII, p268.

240. Ibid, p269.

241. VCH Yorks NR II, p290; Reg Melton II, p58 no 108, p136 no 329, p146 no 464.

242. Cal Inq VIII, no 525; Comp Peerage XII part II, p741; Cal Inq VIII, nos 227, 297.

243. CPR 1358-61, p287-8, "inspeximus" of the 1348 foundation is quoted in Appendix I.

244. VCH Yorks ER II, p329; Cal Inq XIV, no 58, pp53-60.

245. Ibid, pp56, 59.

246. Fasti Par III, p87; Cal Inq VIII no 525, pp368-9.

Clearly there was a degree of status in the eyes of the Thwing family in holding a position within the church, and several younger sons of different generations were rectors, while others attached some significance to their rights of presentation. Indeed, in the late 14th century, one member of the family was canonised. John de Thwing had been prior of Bridlington from 1362/3-c1379, and

after his death, archbishop Alexander Neville ordered an inquiry into the miracles which were said to have occurred during the prior's life-time, and after his death, at his tomb. In 1401, Pope Boniface IX ruled that John de Thwing should be canonised, and was to be known as St John of Bridlington. In this decree, as well as mentioning numerous miracles worked by the saint, it was noted that John had been born of honourable parents and had frequented churches since an early age - VCH Yorks III, p202.

247. CPR 1343-5, p331.

248. VCH Yorks ER II, p330; Morris (1906), p314.

249. CPR 1313-17, p538; Idem 1327-30, p145; YCS I, p101.

250. CPR 1327-30, p145; Cal Inq pm sive esc II, p13, no140, 2 Edw III.

251. Yorks Fines 1327-47, p2 - a dispute dated 1327 between John and Maud Marmion on the one side, and John de Appleby parson of Wath, and Robert de Scurneton parson of West Tanfield on the other, over the manors of Tanfield, Carthorpe and other property, and the advowson of Wath church. This was settled in favour of John and Maud; Cal Inq X, no 518, p408.

252. Reg Corbridge I, p129 n1, citing CPR 1292-1301, p121

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and Beverley Chapter Act Book II, p xxxv n.

253. Reg Corbridge I, p129 n1.

254. Fasti Dun, p143.

255. TE I, pp403-5; Wills and Inventories, pp66-8,
especially p66 n2.

256. CPR 1399-1401, p325, dated August 6th, 1400.

257. Inq pm VI, no 306, p176.

258. TE I, pp77-79, n1.

259. Fasti Dun, p11; Fasti Ebor I, p400.

260. Fasti Dun, p33.

261. McCall (1907), pp110, 112.

262. Fasti Par II, p16; Tout (1920-33) V, pp251-2, 255-6.

263. The effigy in one of the two north choir aisle
recesses at Carlisle, is probably of a bishop of
Carlisle, but it is probably not now lying in its
original position.

The majority of high-ranking churchmen were buried in the
major churches where they held office at the times of

their decease. Dixon and Raine (183) give the burial places of all the archbishops of York in the period under consideration, many of whom were buried in accordance with their own instructions, in those parts of York minster where they had been responsible for major building programmes. Similarly, bishops and priors of Durham were buried in the cathedral church, with their burial sites detailed in The Rites of Durham.

Members of the highest rank of the laity, such as the Nevilles and the Percies, were, with a few exceptions buried in the monastery churches which had been associated with their families' charitable donations over a long period. So the family of Scrope of Masham are known to have been patrons of the Premonstratensian abbey of Easby in North Yorkshire, as given in evidence in the Scrope-Grosvenor controversy of 1385-90 - (Nicolas, 1832). The Percy family had a long association with the abbeys of Alnwick and Sawley, while, over several generations, members of the family of Neville were buried in the parish church of Staindrop, before and after its enlargement by Ralph de Neville in the 1340s. Moreover, in the later 14th century, the Nevilles had earned themselves the honour of burial in Durham cathedral, Ralph being the first member of the family to achieve this status - Wilson (1980a), p90.

264. See chapter 1 for a detailed argument along these lines.

265. Dixon and Raine (1863) , p396 - the authors note that the altar was dedicated to St Nicholas, and that the archbishop died on that saint's feast-day. At the time of Greenfield's death there were two chantries at this altar, and in 1346, Richard de Cestria, canon of York, added a third, with the specific function of commemorating the soul of the archbishop.

266. Banks II (1863), p49.

267. Brown (1912-13), p198.

268. Ibid, p199.

269. Ibid, p201.

270. In Inq pm VII no 81, p 54, dated 1328, he is described as holding land of John de Moubray, and in default of later references, it is assumed that he died soon afterwards.

271. Sir John de Walkingham's brother, William was his next heir - CC1R 1333-7, p83.

272. Cal Inq IX, no 48 -in Sir John de Harrington's inquisition, his wife's name does not occur, so she probably predeceased him.

Part one: calendar of selected documents.

A number of the documents which occur frequently in the preceding text have been calendared in this section.

Documents can also be located under place names by checking the short accompanying index. In the second section of this appendix, extracts from some of the lengthier documents have been transcribed and translated.

Some of these documents have been published elsewhere, those sources to be found in the bibliography, and have been reproduced here because of their relevance to the text. Others have been transcribed from manuscript sources, with relevant extracts translated for this appendix. Wherever possible place-names have been modernised.

Appendix I

Numbers refer to the calendared documents in part one.
Numbers in brackets refer to the more detailed entries
in part two.

ALDBOROUGH: 13 (10)

BRIGHAM: 10 (7)

BUTTERWICK: 8

CATTERICK: 18 (15)

FELISKIRK: 7 (5)

HAZLEWOOD: 2 (2)

HULL: 3, 6 (4), 12 (9)

KIRKLINGTON: 16 (13)

NORHAM: 1 (1)

OWSTON: 4

SCARBOROUGH: 14 (11), 15 (12), 17 (14)

SPROTBOROUGH: 9 (6)

WEST TANFIELD: 5 (3)

THWING: 11 (8)

Appendix I

1. NORHAM. Extracts from the Proctors Rolls, c1300-1350. Printed in Raine (1852), original mss in the Prior's Kitchen, Durham.

Contains accounts of income and expenditure by the Proctor of Norham, detailing regular expenses such as the cost of entertaining the Prior of Durham and communion bread and wine; regular income includes tithes, mortuaries, sales of farms stock, etc.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 1.

2. HAZLEWOOD. Will of William le Vavasour, 1313. Printed in Reg Pal Dun I, pp331-5.

To be buried in the chapel of St Leonard, Hazlewood.

Bequests to family, friends, monastic orders. Provision for six chaplains at Hazlewood.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 2.

3. HULL. Will of John Rotenhering, 1328. BB2 fol 83.

To be buried in the church of Holy Trinity, Hull. William de la Pole to be his principal executor, to have custody of his daughter's estate until she is married, and to spend any residue for the benefit of the testator's soul.

Executors: William de la Pole, and Elenor wife of the testator.

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4. OWSTON. Will of Henry de Cliff, dated c1332. Printed in Raine (1888), pp395-7.

To be buried in Drax Priory. Provision for funeral expenses. Gifts to various monastic houses in York and London, to his brother and family, to other members of his family and friends, to John de Sancto Paulo, and numerous other bequests.

Executors: John de Sancto Paulo, Sir John de Tyddeswell, Sir Nicholas Fontibus and Sir William Brauncewell, clerics.

5. WEST TANFIELD. Arrangement of Marmion property and name in 1335, originally printed in Gale (1722), Appendix p60, reprinted in Comp Peerage VIII, p522.

Due to ill health of Robert Marmion, heir of Sir John (d1335), estate was settled on his sister Avice, under various conditions, including her marriage to Sir John Grey of Rotherfield.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 3.

6. HULL. Will of Richard de la Pole, 1345. Partially printed in TE I, pp7-9.

To be buried in the church of Holy Trinity, Hull.

Bequests to family. Provision for post-mortem prayer for his soul. Executors: Joanna wife of the testator, William de la Pole and Ralph Basset of Weldon.

Witnesses: Sir John Engagne, Robert de Thorp, Simon Draiton, Henry Darcy, Andrew Aubrey, John de Grantham, John Habelmt, John de Newport, Robert de Holwell, Richard

de Crowland, Richard Knyvet, Richard de Islep, John de Harwedon, and others.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 4.

7. FELISKIRK. Will of Joanna de Walkingham, dated January 1346. Printed in TE I pp16-17.

To be buried in the church of St Felix, Feliskirk.

Bequests to family and friends. Endowments to a chaplain in the chapel at Boltby, and to chaplains in the church at Feliskirk.

Witnesses: Sir Thomas de Thwing, Galfrid Walpole vicar of St Felix, Walter de Creton rector of Colthorp. The witnesses are also appointed executors.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 5.

8. BUTTERWICK. Nuncupative will of Elizabeth de Greystock (nee Nevill of Scotton), widow of Sir Robert FitzRalph, dated November, 1346. Reg Zouche fol 305v.

Given in the presence of Sir William Zouche, at Cawode.

To be buried in the parish church of Butterwick. The residue of all her goods is bequeathed to Sir Ralph Hastings senior, and to Richard de Neville, rector of the church at Scotton, who are also ordained as the executors, to be used as they see fit for the funeral or for the benefit of her soul.

9. SPROTBOROUGH. Will of Isabel FitzWilliam (nee Deincourt), dated the feast of St James the apostle, 1348. Printed in TE I pp50-52.

To be buried in the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in the church of Sprotborough. Provision for funeral expenses, and for a chaplain to celebrate at Sprotborough for one year. Bequests to monastic houses, to sons and daughters-in-law and to grandchildren.

Executors: John son of the testator, Sir William Trussebut and Sir Brian de Thornhill.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 6.

10. BRIGHAM. Inventory of the furnishings and possessions of the chantry chapel founded by Thomas de Burgh at Brigham, drawn up in 1348. Printed in Fletcher (1878-9) pp173-7. Original document was discovered in the Bodleian Library and translated from its original French by Rev Thomas Lees.

Sir Thomas de Lucy and John de Hooton chaplain of the Brigham chantry act as witnesses to the inventory which lists, inter alia, vestments, altar cloths, crucifixes, statues, jewels, relics, books pertaining to the chantry chapel.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 7.

Appendix I

11. THWING. "Inspeximus" dated 1359, of 1348 chantry foundation by Thomas de Thwing at Kirkleatham church, detailing the duties of the twelve chaplains and four clerks. Printed in CPR 1358-61, pp 287-8.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 11.

12. HULL. Will of Sir William de la Pole, dated 1365. Partially printed in TE I pp76-7.

To be buried where-ever his executors should ordain. All the testator's possessions in Hull are bequeathed to his wife, except for that property which was bequeathed to him by John de Rotenhering. Bequests to the Maison Dieu in Hull, and to his sons and their heirs. All debts to be repaid.

Executors: Katherine wife of the testator, and his son Michael de la Pole.

13. ALDBOROUGH. Will of Sir John de Meaux, dated 1377. Partially printed in TE I pp100-101.

To be buried in the aisle of The Blessed Virgin Mary in Aldborough church, vested in the habit of the Friars Minor. Numerous small bequests to his servants, and to the Prior and convent of Bridlington a "paxbrede", known as a relic.

Executors: Sir Thomas de Meaux and Robert Lorimer of Seton.

Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 10.

14. SCARBOROUGH. Will of Robert Galon, founder of the chantry of St James in the parish church of Scarborough, dated 1391. Prob Reg I fol 46v. Partially printed in TE I p158.

To be buried in the parish church of Scarborough.

Bequests to the vicar of Scarborough and to the chaplain carrying out the testator's exequies. Bequests to his wife and daughter, Amicia and Isabel.

Further extracts can be found in part two of this appendix, no 11.

15. SCARBOROUGH. Will of Robert de Rillington, founder of the chantry of St Stephen in the parish church of St Mary, Scarborough, dated 1391. Prob Reg I ff 67v-68r. Partially printed in TE I p157. A codicil is attached to the entry in the probate register, dated 1394.

To be buried in the church of St Mary, Scarborough, in his chantry, before the altar of St Stephen. Bequests to the vicar of St Mary's church and to "a certain chaplain", and to a number of monastic houses in Scarborough. Gifts also to his wife Elena, and his daughter Margery.

Executors: Thomas Walton, his wife Elena, John Lenesham, William Perey and Alan Waldy.

Further details can be found in part two of this appendix, no 12.

Appendix I

16. KIRKLINGTON. Will of John de Wandesforde, dated 1397.
Prob Reg II ff 12v-13.

To be buried in the parish church of Treswell, beside the body of his wife. Bequests to his sons, to chaplains celebrating for his soul, and any residue to be spent by his executors in whatever manner they think fit, for the benefit of his soul.

Executors: John his son, Sir John Parker chaplain, Roger his son.

Further extracts are given in part two of this appendix, no 13.

17. SCARBOROUGH. Will of Agnes Broune, founder of the chantry of St Nicholas in the parish church of St Mary, Scarborough. Reg Scrope ff 172v-173v.

To be buried in the church of St Mary, Scarborough in the chapel of St Nicholas. Bequests to the vicar of St Mary's church and to two chaplains there. Endowment of a chaplain, William Warter, to celebrate for her soul in the chapel of St Nicholas, for four years. Further gifts to William Warter, to various relatives, to her servants Cecilia Alnwyk and Alice. Also, the sum of 100s is left "for the repair of one marble stone which is to lie over my body..."

Executors: John Carter son of Adam Carter, and William Warter chaplain.

Further extracts are given in part two of this appendix, no 14.

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18. CATTERICK. Building contract for Catterick church, dated 1412. Printed in Raine (1834), pp7-12.

Dated 18th April, 1412 , the contract is made between Katherine de Burgh widow of John de Burgh and William de Burgh, John's son, on the one hand, and Richard de Cracall mason, on the other. The duties of the mason are described, and various undertakings are given. A time penalty is imposed upon Richard if the new church is not completed by the agreed date, and an extra payment is promised if the church is completed before that date. Further details are given in part two of this appendix, no 15.

Part 2: Further extracts from selected documents.

1. NORHAM

Extracts from the Proctors' Rolls, printed in Raine (1852), original mss in the Prior's Kitchen, Durham.

The account of William de Forde, chaplain, Proctor of the church of Norham, from Thursday next after the feast of St Peter ad Vincula, AD1300, to Sunday next after the feast of St Dunstan, AD1301 - this gives details of receipts of corn, tithes of mills, income from fisheries, etc, and from sales of farm animals, poultry, wool, cheese, etc, and from Easter contributions, baptisms, marriages, oblations and mortuaries, including mortuary robes or cloths. The outgoings for this year are typical of later Proctors' accounts, with expenditure on alms-giving, taxes, necessities for the church eg oil, incense, wheat for communion bread, wine, a lamp for the choir, a candlestick with iron chains for the Easter candle, repairs to the choir roof and to the porch, repairs and laundry of vestments, etc.

Later rolls have similar entries, but also include new items, reflecting Norham's vulnerable position on the Scotland-England border. So in 1315-16, the cost of repairing the walls of Norham manor house, destroyed by the Scots, was recorded. In 1330-31, in preparation for a visit by the lord Prior of Durham, several purchases were made, of dishes, plates, cups, saucers; a quantity of fuel; a cope for use in Norham church, a new glass window

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there and the repair of others, new desks for the chancel; a straw mat for the high altar; repair to a book of scripture.

In 1333-4, the accounts reflect the escalation of violence in the area. It is noted that there were no receipts from tithe corn from Tweedmouth, Orde and Allidren, because this had all been destroyed by the Scots, and that the expected income from land held by the Smith of Schoresworth had failed to materialise because he had been murdered by the Scots. However, income continued to be derived from mortuaries and tithes, and expenses included the cost of a portifer [book of services], two pieces of gold embroidery [pieces de Orfroys], the wages of a tailor working on the church vestments, and the cost of the materials.

In 1335-6, the expenses included the wages paid to four men for guarding the doors of the choir on Easter day during mass - presumably against Scottish raids which might have been timed to occur on the holiest day in the church's calendar when the whole population of the town could predictably have been attending mass, and therefore vulnerable to attack.

From 1338, the rolls record various expenses which suggest that a building programme had been undertaken in Norham church. Expenses for the year 1338-9 include payments to Walter the glazier for making glass windows at Norham and Elingham, the cost of 48 stone of iron bars

for the windows of Norham church, and 12 "flekes" for "skaffaldes" for the windows of Norham church. [Raine, p275 note h suspects that the windows mentioned were the large east window and the south-east chancel window - a supposition which is supported by the tracery patterns of both the windows and the related tomb recess, discussed in chapter 4.]

The rolls for 1341 record the cost of boards for the ceiling of Norham choir, and the expenses associated with removing the high altar and making a pavement, while in 1344-5, apart from the by-now-regular cost of men guarding the choir doors at Easter, wages were paid for "bemfilling" [Raine (1852), p276 - filling in the gaps between the wall plate and the underside of the roof], filling in the scaffolding holes, and white washing the choir. A new "lanxsetelle" [wooden bench or sedilia] was also bought for the choir, suggesting that the main building operations were completed by c1345.

2. HAZLEWOOD

Will of William le Vavasour, dated 1313. Printed in Reg Pal Dun I, pp331-5.

"I William le Vavasour, knight, make my will in the following on.....1313. First I leave my soul to God and Blessed Mary and all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the New Chapel of St Leonard at Hazlewood."
- for mortuary, his best horse with the knight's

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weapons/armour pertaining to it.

- 20 marks for wax and oblations.

- for distributing 1d to each poor man on the day of his burial, ~~£~~66, 30 solidos and 4 denarii, and more if necessary.

- to his wife, Lady Nichola, all the plough-land, with oxen and horses pertaining to the same in Stubbes, Kyrke Smytheton, Parva Smytheton, Stapleton, and Womersley, with all the crops growing in the ground or in the barn.

- also to Nichola, all the plough-land, with oxen and horse pertaining to it, and the cart-horses in the manors of Cokesford, Waddeworth, Breddeswood and Pykeburn, with all the crops sown in the ground of the said manors.

- to the said Nichola, twenty-four silver discs, eight silver cups, and a silver-gilt cup which she was to select. Also one great bowl with silver feet, and [a piece of] the true cross, which were to revert to Sir William's heirs after Nichola's death. Also to Nichola, two silver basins.

- to Sir Walter, the testator's son, and his heirs, Sir William's body armour and a suitable horse.

- to Peter le Vavsour, rector of Staynton, one foal.

"....to my son Henry le Vavsour 60 marks, under the following conditions: if he is well disposed towards God and men, and especially if he relinquishes the harlotry with which he presently persists, according to the judgement of my executors; if not, [the money is to be spent] according to the ordinance of my executors for my soul, by alms-giving. Also to the same, under the forsaid form [conditions], the armour which I lent to him."

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- to Sir William's daughter, lady Alice, sister at Sinyngthwayt, ~~£~~10.
- to Malger, his brother, 5 marks.
- to John, his brother, ten marks.
- to Lady Margaret his sister, one hundred solidos.
- to John son of Jordan le Vavasour forty solidos.
- to Sir Ralph, son of William, one hauberk, and one iron helmet, with the lance from Gascony.
- to Sir John de Creppying, one hauberk, and one pair of harnesses ["trappes"].
- to Sir William de Nunny, one image of the Blessed Virgin made of ivory ["yvor"].
- to the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minor of York, 5 marks each.
- to the Augustine Friars and the Carmelite Friars of York, the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minor of Beverley, the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minor of Scarborough, the Friars Minor of Richmond and Doncaster, and the Augustine Friars of Tickhill [among others] 40s.
- to the fabric of the church of St John at Pontefract 40s.
- to the nuns of Sinyngthwayt 10 marks.
- to six chaplains celebrating for the testator's soul in the chapel of Hazlewood, for the obits for the first year, 30 marks.
- for John le Vavasour, Sir William's deceased father, ~~£~~20 sterling for celebrating masses, and for alms to the poor.
- for the debt of Lady Alice, his deceased mother, one

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hundred marks, which debt was to be levied on Sir William's goods, by which means all other debts were also to be paid.

(Along list of smaller bequests now follows).

- to each steward of the manors where Sir William had a vill, 20s for alms for the poor commemorating there; and one ox to the parish church for making up the tithes.
- to Simon le Barbeour of Pontefract, half a mark; for the bridge at Wetherby, 20s; for the bridge at Boulton 20s; for the passageway at Sutton, 40s; for the footbridge at Aberford, 20s.
- for coverings and ornaments at the chapel of Friston, 40s.
- to ladies Elena de Moubray, Margaret de Nevill, Eleanor le Walays, Alice le Walays, Alice de Stepham, Isabel de Stepham, Isabel de Mortuo Mari, Agnes de Hastings, Joanna de Stapleton, Lucia de Burgh, Elizabeth wife of Sir Robert FitzRalph, Pauline Gras, Eleanor le Vavasour, Burgh of Vaux, Lucia de Ryther, Margaret de Alta Ripa, the wife of William de Houk, the wife of Sir Ralph Blaumusters, to each of them, a gold ring. Also to lady Alice, wife of Sir John de Creppyng.

3. WEST TANFIELD

Arrangement of Marmion property and name, originally printed in Gale (1772), Appendix p 60, reprinted in Comp Peerage VIII, p522 n1.

"After the death of the said Sir John de Marmion, who died....April....1335, his son Robert succeeded to the

inheritance of his father, and because he was so ill of a malady from which he was in despair of any recovery, his cousins and friends ordained, with the assent of Maud his mother, and with the advice of the king's Justices, that the lady Avice his second sister would marry Sir John Grey of Rotherfield, on condition that the said Robert Marmion and maud his mother, would enfeoff the said Sir John Grey and Avice, and the heirs of their bodies, of the reversion of all the lands and tenements and the appurtenances which were of Sir John de Marmion, father of the said Robert. And that the issue of the said John de Grey and Avice his wife would carry the surname of Marmion, and thus it was carried out as appears by diverse fines and charters...."

4. HULL

Will of Richard de la Pole, dated 1345. Partially printed in TE I pp7-9.

"...I Richard de la Pole knight, Citizen of London, being of sound mind and body, do make my will in the following manner. First I leave my soul to almighty God, my creator, Blessed Mary the virgin and glorious Mother, and all the Saints of God, and my body to be buried in the church of Holy Trinity in Kingston upon Hull, and for my mortuary I leave my best palfrey to the same church. Also I will that scrutiny be made of the Inventory of all the goods and chattels of me and my wife, except for those ornaments....which I have set aside for her... and after

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my debts, if there are any which can be proved, have been paid: then I will that my wife Joanna should have one third part of all our goods and chattels, wherever they are to be found and obtained, and the contents of my chamber, except for a silver vase and my armour for her part, which armour I leave to be divided between my sons, and whoever is in the most need is to have the most. And after that, the two [remaining] parts of our goods and chattels are to be divided equally into four parts, as fairly as possible, of which I give and leave the whole of the first part to my daughter Margaret, towards her decent and fitting marriage.... Another part I give and leave to my sons William and John de la Pole, knights, to be divided equally between them as far as possible. And if my sons die before their part is free, I will that the whole part is to be divided between my remaining sons and daughters, and where there is greater need, more is to be given. And I will that my male offspring should have my said armour; the third and fourth parts I reserve and leave to myself, for my exequies, for alms to be distributed to the poor and needy, for divine service to be celebrated before and after the day of my burial, and for the whole of the following year, for my soul and the souls of all the faithful dead, and for procuring an annual return for the maintenance of one chaplain celebrating divine service in perpetuity, for my soul, the souls of my parents, benefactors and all the faithful dead, in the church where I am buried; and also for the King's highways leading to the city of London from the north, and roads

leading to the town of Kingston from the west, for the fabric and repair of the foresaid church of Holy Trinity of Kingston, and for distribution to poor people, relatives and friends, according to the disposition of my executors, having deducted the necessary expenses, and also for clothing my whole family in a manner suitable for my burial, for disributing between chaplains, clerics and ministers of the church of Kingston upon Hull, of St Edmund the King by Gracechurch, of St Michael uopn Cornhill in London, and other churches..... Also I leave to my wife Joanna all those tenements and their appurtenances which I have in the parish by Cornhill and St Edmund the King by Gracechurch in London, which tenements are situated between the street called Lumbardstreet on the south, and the cemetery of St Michael upon Cornhill on the other side. To have to the said Joanna and her assigns for the whole of her life....From the returns of the said tenements five silver marks are to be given annually to my daughter Elizabeth, nun of Barking. And after the death of the said Joanna, remainder to my son William and his heirs.... remainder to his right heirs.... I ordain as my executors my wife Joanna, my brother William de la Pole, knight, and Ralph Basset of Weldon..... and to this my will, I freely set my seal.... Given in my manor of Milton in the county of Northampton, day and year foresaid.....[witnesses] Sir John Engagne, Robert de Thorp, and Simon Draiton, kinghts, of the county of Northampton, Henry Darcy, Andrew Aubrey, John de

Grantham, John Habelmt, John de Newport, and Robert de Holwell, citivens of London, Richard de Crowland, Richard Knyvet, Richard de Islep, John de Harwedon, of the county of Northampton, and others."

5. FELISKIRK

Will of Joanna de Walkingham, dated 1346/7. Printed in TE I, pp16-17.

"I Joanna de Walkyngham.....January 1346, being of sound mind, in my manor of Ravensthorp, in the presence of Sir Thomas de Thweng, Galfrid Walpole now vicar of the church of St Felix, Walter de Creton rector of the church of Colthorp, do make my will in the following manner. First I leave my soul to God the almighty and St Mary and all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the parish church of St Felix beside the tomb of Sir John de Walkyngham, once my husband. Also I leave to the said church for my mortuary, my cart with one black horse and its harness. Also I leave to the church one horse-hair cloak and one new missal for service in the said church....Also I leave to Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe one horse-hair vestment.....a chasuble, tunic and dalmatic. Also to the same the best gold buckle which I have." - to Ingelram Knout two cows. - to John Knout two oxen.
- to Marmeduke Knout 40s. - to Antony de Ros 5 marks.
- to Adam de Staynly 40s. - to Sir Walter de Creton £10.
- to Sir Nicholas de Alne 20s. - to Sir Peter de Rykhale her ancient breviary. - to Elizabeth de Walkyngham 40s.
- to Agnes de Ingmanthorp one cow. - to Eva de Ros 10

marks.

- to Margaret Knout 5 marks.
- to brother John de Wyrsope one mark.
- to Joanna daughter of Sir Galfrid de Scrope one silver cup which had been given to the testator by Joanna's mother.
- to Sir John de Sprotton 40d.
- to the chaplain of the parish church of St Felix 2s.
- to the chaplain celebrating [divine service] at Bolteby 12d.
- to the chaplain celebrating [divine service] in the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Boltby 12d.
- to the parish clerk 6d.
- to the chaplain of the parish church of Colthorp 2s.
- to each of the following, one mark: Friars Minor, York; Augustine Friars of York.
- to each of the following, 1/2 a mark, for celebrating for the souls of her husband and herself according to her executors: the Friars Preachers and the Carmelite Friars of York.
- to two chaplains celebrating divine service in the church of St Felix where her body was to lie, for one year, which chaplains were to be chosen by her executors.
- to Sir Walter Creton her psalter with "litera[^] grossa[^]", and a certain book written in "literam anglicanam".
- to her sons and daughters "who I lifted from the [baptismal] font" [= god-children], 12d.
- to Adam de Colthorpe her door-keeper, one cow and 1/2 a

mark.

- the residue of all her goods were left to Thomas de Thweng and Walter de Creton, which Walter and Thomas and also Sir Galfrid vicar of St Felix were constituted as her executors, ordered to execute faithfully her last will "before the eyes of God"....dated year and place as above.

6. SPOTBOROUGH

Will of Isabel, widow of William FitzWilliam. Printed in TE I pp50-52.

"I Isabel, once the wife of Sir William FitzWilliam of Emelay, Knight.....in 1348, do make my will in the following manner. First I leave my soul to God and blessed Mary, and all the saints, and my body to be buried in the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in the church of Sprotborough, with my best farm horse for mortuary. Also I leave 8 torches of wax for burning around my body on the day of my burial, together with 8 vestments for 8 men who shall carry them [the candles]. Also for distribution among the poor on the day of my burial 10 quarts of corn. Also ~~£~~20 sterling for oblations and the gathering of my friends, for good things to eat and drink on the day of my burial and the octave day."

- 20 marks to four priests to celebrate for her soul in the church of Sprotborough for the first year.

- half a mark to each of the following: the Friars Minor of Doncaster, The Friars Preachers of Lincoln, the Friars at Tickhill, and the Carmelite Friars of York.

- to her son John, her best draught animal with foal,

after the chief one [ie second best], one purple bed with covering, and one mazer with silver feet.

- to Lady Joanna his wife, one brooch "onheled".

- to Margaret her daughter the fourth best cart-horse with foal, her plough with the harness, and one black horse for pulling it, one bed of India with coverings, one psalter and one new bible.

- to Isabel her daughter the fifth best horse with foal and one white quilt.

- to Agnes her daughter the sixth best horse with foal, and a third bed with covering.

- to John and William, sons of her son John, two foals, two years of age.

- to Elizabeth daughter of her son John, two cows with calves and 20 marks which were being held by John, for various items bought by him and his wife, from the estate of her deceased husband.

- to Agnes daughter of her son Thomas, 100s which her son John held, derived from the returns at Rodington since the end of the previous Easter.

- to Sir William Tryssebout the eighth best horse with foal. Also to Lady Joanna his wife one covering of blue fur...and the testator's best black robe, with a cloak.

- to Sir William Deyncourt one ring with inserted precious stone [peridod]. Also to Sir John Deyncourt, her son, the seventh best horse with foal.

[A number of further small-scale bequests follow]

Also to the altar of the chapel of St Thomas in the church of Sprotborough the testator's best vestment

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together with two towels [tevellis], one missal, another vestment for feria days, and a small chalice. Also to the altar of St John in the church of Sprotborough a third vestment. Also to the vicar of Doncaster 2d. Also to a certain chaplain, for his fee at the office of the dead, 4d.

[Further small-scale bequests follow].

"I leave the remainder of all my goods not bequeathed, for the celebration of Masses, and to that end I ordain and constitute my executors faithfully to carry out [my will], namely my son John and Sir William Trussebut and Brian de Thornhill, knights. Also I leave 100s sterling to the fabric of the chapel of St Thomas in Sprotborough, according to the disposition of the rector of the same, receiving annually from Hugh de Elmeshall 20s. Also I leave to Hugh de Elmeshale the best foal after the foals left to John and William, sons of my son John. Also to Herbert, once servant of my dead Lord the next best foal from my horse.....Dated at Emelay day and year foresaid."

"Memorandum that Lady Isabel who was the wife of Sir William FitzWilliam knight, after making and signing her last will, left to the rector of the church of Elmelay her best horse and foal for her mortuary there. Also she left to Sir John her son, her best silver basin, to her chapel her second best vestment and a better chalice, and her best missal."

[More small bequests follow].

"Also she bequeaths the residue of all her goods for the celebration of Masses according to the ordinance of her executors nominated in the forsaid will."

7. BRIGHAM

Fletcher (1878-9), pp173-7: this document was drawn up between Thomas de Lucy, lord of Cockermouth, and John de Hooton, chaplain of the chantry chapel founded by Thomas de Burgh, and is a valuable inventory of the chantry's furnishings and other possessions. The document was discovered in the Bodleian Library by Henry Coxe, and is reproduced here in full, translated from its original French by Rev Thomas Lees.

"This indenture made in the Chapel of Brigham the twentieth day of November in the year of grace 1348 between Monsieur Thomas de Lucy lord of Cockermouth of the one part, and Sir John de Hooton Chaplain of the aforesaid Chapel of the other part, witnesseth that these things underwritten were left in the same chapel by Sir Thomas de Borough the founder thereof in honour of God, and his sweet mother, there to remain for ever; that is to say one chasuble of purple velvet, with a broad orfray powdered with armes and birds, an alb and amice, stole and the maniple and girdle belonging to the said chasuble, the stole and the maniple and the parure of the Amice aforesaid, all powdered with divers arms, a festival corporax with a good case, the groundwork of gold wrought with fleurs de lis on the one side, a crucifix Mary and Jesus well embroidered, on the other the coronation of Our Lady, an altar case for a corporax of the same gold work, a chasuble of red velvet, lined with green cendal, with a border of the armes of the King of England and silver roses, Tunicle and Dalmatic to

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match, an Alb, and an Amice for the said chasuble with rich parure the groundwork of gold with sundry figures well embroidered, with a crucifix in Milan lace and stole and maniple to match with I girdle of silk, two albs and two amices for Deacon and Sub-deacon with parures of red velvet and a stole and two maniples to match, with two white girdles, a chasuble, two tunicles of silk, powdered with divers savage beasts, the border gilt, lined with yellow card three Albs and iij Amices with their parures, two stoles and three maniples to match, with three white girdles, a very ancient chasuble of white silk lined with red cendal, one of new silk with gilt griffins another of silk very ancient with gilt griffins a third of silk, the body of blue powdered with divers savage beasts the borders gilt, a good and seemly surplice, three stoles and four maniples of white fustian lined with blue card, a festival napkin for the altar with a frontal of white silk with the arms of the Lords Percy, Lucy and Clifford, and the badge of Thomas de Borough founder of the chapel; two other napkins for the altar together with an ancient silk frontal, a silk cloth to be before the altar, and a frontal to be above the altar to match for festival days lined with canvas, an Image of our Lady of alabaster standing on a foot of Balayn a superalter of jet a chalice of silver gilt a chafing dish of gilt copper, a bell of good silver of xxs weight, two silver cruets, one silver censer, a brass bell, a "poume" [orb?] in the aumbrey well hooped with a gilt plate with settings of emeralds, pearls and diamonds with a silver chain by which it hangs, a chaplet of coral with the gaudays of

silver gilt [rosary beads?], an Agnus Dei, a crown for the head of our Lady of silver gilt, with xvij great pearls two sapphires, vi great diamonds, and a green stone, on the crown in front a gold ring with a sapphire for the finger of our Lady, a good missal covered in purple velvet with clasps of silver, with a troperium to match the missal, a good portass with iiij clasps well ornamented in silver, with viij silver bosses, a good legend of the saints with the expositions for the Sundays, a good manual for the common masses with silver clasps, a good gradual with the Epistles for the whole year, a processional with j silver clasp, a good legend of the saints with the miracles of their lives. Relics, some of the milk of our Lady set in a glass mounted with silver, some hair of our Lady set in crystal well mounted with silver, an ivory pin which belonged to St Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, some oil of St Catherine in two glass phials; in an embroidered silk burse are the relics undermentioned, part of the coat of Jesus Christ, some of the hair of our Lady, a stone from Mount Calvary, a tooth of St Calixtus the Pope buried in Rome, a bone of St Catherine, and some of her oil, some of the milk of our Lady, a bone of St George the Martyr, part of the robe of Moses, some of the stone of the sepulchre of our Lord, some of the stone of the sepulchre of our Lady, a stone from mount Calvary, some of the stone on which our Lord sat and showed himself to our Lady after his death in his divinity, some of the stone from the Quarantina where our Lord fasted XL days of Lent, some of the stone of which

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the devil said to our Lord "make bread of this stone", and our Lord gave for a witness, and the stone became black, a stone from the land in which our Lady was buried in Gethsemane, the flowers of the glorious virgin, part of the rod of Moses. All these relics aforesaid are in the burse aforesaid. Also in a case worked with silk are the undermentioned relics, earth from the place where our Lord gave the relief of health, a bone from the arm of St Benet, a bone of St Alban the Martyr. All these relics aforesaid are contained in a little coffer. In witness of which things the parties aforsaid have interchangeably set their seals. Written at Brigham the day and year aforesaid."

8. THWING

CPR 1358-61, p287-8, "inspeximus" of the 1348 foundation: "twelve perpetual chantries of twelve chaplains and four clerks....Every day they shall celebrate with chant, matins, the hours, high mass, vespers, and compline, and one of them shall celebrate the mass of the Holy Trinity, another the mass of the cross, a third the mass of the Holy Ghost, a fourth the mass of the Blessed Virgin, a fifth the mass of the Angels, a sixth the mass of All Saints, and the priest celebrating the mass of the Holy Trinity shall celebrate at dawn from Michaelmas to the Purification and from the Purification at sunrise, that every parishioner who will may hear mass before going forth to his work. Of the remaining six priests, three shall celebrate the mass of the day, whereof one shall celebrate a parochial mass, unless prevented by a corpse

present or a special obit, two others shall do the office of the departed and celebrate for the departed, except on feasts double and of nine lessons, and the sixth shall celebrate the mass of St Mary Magdalene or St Martha....Each chaplain in masses and his other prayers shall make mention of the good estate of the said Thomas, the king and queen, the archbishop and the dean and canons of York, the dignitaries in the same church, and Sir Henry de Percy, for the souls of their ancestors and heirs and those named above when they depart this life, of all rectors and patrons of the church, Robert de Thwing, Maud his wife, Marmaduke Thwing, Lucy his wife, Marmaduke de Thwing, Isabel his wife, Marmaduke, William, Robert, John and Nicholas, brothers of the said Thomas,....all relatives of the said Thomas, parishioners of Lythom [Kirkleatham] church, and the faithful....."

9. HULL

Will of William de la Pole senior, dated 1365. Partially printed in TE I pp76-7.

"I William de Pole senior, knight, being of sound body and sane mind....in 1365, do make my will in the following manner. First I leave my soul to God and Blessed Virgin Mary and all the Saints, and my body to be buried where-ever my executors ordain and dispose. Also I give and leave to my wife Katherine all my lands and tenements, returns and possessions, with everything pertaining to them which I have in Kyngeston upon Hull, except for those lands which I have of the gift and

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concession of John Rotyngheryng in Kyngeston foresaid.."

- £20 of return [from the Hull property] was bequeathed to the Hospital by Hull, known as the Maison Dieu, to be used there for divine obsequies by them and their successors....

- Katherine was to have the said lands, tenements etc for her life, with successive remainders to the testator's son Michael and his heirs, his son Edmund and his heirs....then to revert to his own heirs.

- to Katherine his wife, all moveable goods and chattels where-ever and however they may be, "whether on this side of the sea or overseas."

- all debts were to be repaid.

- the testator constituted Katherine, his wife, and his son Michael de la Pole as his executors.

10. ALDBOROUGH

Will of Sir John de Meaux, dated 1377. Partially printed in TE I, pp100-101.

"I John de Meaux of Bewyk in Holderness, Knight, on the first day of June, 1377.....to be buried in the church of St Bartholomew in Aldborough, in the aisle of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the foresaid church, and I will that my body be buried in the habit of the Friars Minor, of which [order] I am ordained as a brother, and I will that my body be covered with a black cloth on the day of my burial, and around the corpse, four great burning torches.....to William de Atteshall of Aldborough my arms-bearer 20 marks and all my revenue in Hedon.....to

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Sir John de Hedon knight, my best gilded belt....to the Prior and Convent of Bridlington a "paxbrede" called a relic [probably a small metal locket or casing, in which a consecrated host or, as in this case, small and precious relic would be kept].....to Richard my chamberlain 10 marks and my bed in which I die, and one horse with saddle.....to Alice Chapman of Aldborough 10 marks, two cows and one entire bed with testers, "howcez" [hooks?], hangings, mattress, canvas cover.....Matilda my wife.....Executors Master Thomas de Meaux knight, Robert Lorimer of Seton."

Further details from this will, not printed in TE I, can be found in RCHMss (1928), p199.

-100s as mortuary to the rector of the church of Aldborough.

-20s to clerks for saying the psalter for his soul.

-20 marks to be divided equally between the mendicant brethren of York, Beverley and Hull.

-20 marks to the fabrics of the monasteries in York, Beverley in equal portions.

-~~£~~10 sterling to be distributed among the poor.

-40 marks to be spent on a gathering of his neighbours on the day of his burial.

-100s for celebrating divine service for the soul of Hugh Wymark.

-to Walter the chaplain, his kinsman, ~~£~~10 sterling, a book called the Porthorse, a black vestment and his silver goblet.

-the residue of all his goods to his executors, ie to John his clerk, Sir Thomas de Metham knight, Robert Lorymer of Seton, and Sir Thomas Ranyard, rector of the church of Sulcoates. Attested by the official of the Provostry of Beverley.

11. SCARBOROUGH

Will of Robert Galon, founder of the chantry of St James in the parish church of St Mary Scarborough, 1391. Prob Reg I, f46v, and partially printed in TE I, p158.

"On the feast of St Vincent in the year 1391, I Robert Galon, burgher of Scarborough make this my will. I give and leave my soul to God and my body to be buried in the parish church of Scarborough."

- to the high altar 6s 8d.

- to the vicar 12d.

- to the chaplain carrying out exequies 6s 4d.

- to the mendicant orders 10s.

- to William Draper his silver belt.

- to his wife Amicia one gold ring with a saphire to have while she lived, which was to pass to Isabel his daughter after Amicia's death, and after Isabel's death, the chantry of St James was to have the ring in perpetuity.

- a number of "cramp rings" to be used for the aid of supplicants.

The rest of his goods, after all unpaid debts and expenses had been settled, were left to his wife and daughter.

- if his wife should remarry, all the goods which she had

received were to go to Isabel.

- his executors, and the chaplains of the chantries of St Mary and St James were to sell all the land, buildings and appurtenances which the testator owned in Scarborough.

12. SCARBOROUGH.

Will of Robert de Rillington, founder of the chantry of St Stephen in the parish church of St Mary Scarborough, dated 1391. Prob Reg I, ff 67v-68r, and partially printed in TE I p157.

"On the 27th day of September, 1391, I Robert de Rillington do make my will in this manner. First I leave and concede my soul to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the church of St Mary Scarborough in my chantry before the altar of St Stephen. Also I leave for my mortuary, my best vestment. Also I leave 30 lbs of wax for burning around my body on the day of my burial. Also I leave 40s to the rector of the church for discharging my obligations."

- to the vicar of the said church 6s 4d.

- to a certain chaplain of Scarborough 12d.

- to the convent of the Friars Preachers of Scarborough in general 6s 8d. And to a certain friar of the same convent 12d.

- to the convent of Friars Minor in Scarborough in general 20s.

- and to a certain friar of the same convent 12d.

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- to the fabric of St Mary the Virgin of Scarborough 20s.
- to the fabric of St Peter of York 6s 4d.
- for distribution to whichever poor men came to attend the funeral, 1s. And to whichever poor men who came on the octave day.
- to Thomas de Walton 1 piece of silver called "Goblett" with a silver cover.
- to John Leneshun 1 silver piece called "Callok"
[chalice?]
- to William Broune his servant 13s 4d and one of his every-day russet gowns, and one "flew" with "warrap" and "flot" [float? ie a collection of fishing tackle?]
- the following properties were to be sold for his exequies: a tenement in Northsted with all its appurtenances..... his granaries with all their land and tenements at Haltbergh, Neuby and Brymeston, and the income was also to be used for the health of his soul and those of his benefactors, for the repair of the chapel of St Sepulchre of Scarborough, and was also to be spent on the celebration of Masses and other pious works.
- his capital residence, described as being newly built, with all its appurtenances was also to be sold to pay for his exequies, providing that from the proceeds of the sale, the preceptor [of the Knights Hospitallers?] consecrated another religious place with the purpose of celebrating Masses in perpetuity for his soul, for his wife Elena and for the souls of all his benefactors.
- also he left to Elena the capital residence and its appurtenances, sited on the south side of the church of St Sepulchre of Scarborough, which house had been given

to the testator by William Rillington, his father. After his wife's death, he wished the property to revert to Margery, daughter of John de Bynglay and her heirs. After Margery's death, her heirs were to sell the residence and its appurtenances, and were to spend the proceeds for the health of his soul, those of his father and of all his benefactors.

- to John Bridd a boat at Whythornse [Withernsea] and 40s.

- two boats called "Saintmarybotte" and "le Katerine" were to be sold and the profit spent for the good of his soul.

- to John Marse, chaplain 20s.

- to John Fotton "my seaman", 1 green gown and 10s.

- to John FitzHenry the boat called "Clemett" and another, which were to be sold, and the proceeds expended for the health of his soul.

- the rest of his goods were bequeathed to Elena his wife, who was to dispose of them, according to her best judgement, on the marriage of his daughter, Margery.

"..... to this my testament.....faithfully to carry out the ordinance I constitute my faithful and honest executors Thomas Walton; Elena my wife, John Leneshen, William Perey and Alan Waldy that they should ordain and dispose according to the above instructions and should spend [the proceeds] for the health of my soul. Given at Scarborough, day and year foresaid."

[The following appears to be a codicil, and the text changes from Latin to French half way through.]

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"Also, I Robert de Rillyngton, 23rd day of May 1394
compose my testament in this manner. First I confirm my
will last made in 1391 with the underwritten additions
and modifications."

- to the Friars Minor of Scarborough, the residue of his
wealth.

- to the fabric of St Sepulchre 4s.

[The text changes to French here.] "This covenant is made
between Robert de Rillyngton of Scarborough.... and
Thomas FitzThomas of Carethorpe on the Tuesday before the
feast of the Assumption being Paul the Apostle, the 14th
year of the reign of King Richard the second after the
Conquest....the said Thomas takes for a wife Margery the
daughter of the said Robert.....[the following script is
barely legible]....also the said Robert has cottages
which are nearly built and will give a place to the said
Thomas and Margery....." [The implication is that the
testator had agreed to give one of the cottages which he
was building to his daughter Margery, and his son-in-law,
Thomas FitzThomas.]

13. KIRKLINGTON

Will of John de Wandesford, dated 1397/8. Prob Reg II,
ff12v-13.

"Anno Domini 1397, on the twenty-fifth day of the month
of January. I John de Wandesford senior of Treswell,
being of sound memory, do make my will in the following
manner. First I commend my soul to the all-powerful God,

Appendix I

and St Mary, and all the saints, and my body to be buried in the parish church of Treswell, beside the body of my wife. Also I leave my best animal for my mortuary. Also 10 lb of wax for burning around my body on the day of my burial."

- to his son John, a tenement in Mykylgate, York.
- to his son Roger, a tenement in York, in which Robert Ander [Andrews?] had lived.
- to his son Galfrid, a tenement in Northstreet York, in which John Lytster had lived.
- the said John, Roger and Galfrid were to hold all these tenements, to them and their heirs and assigns.
- to his son Galfrid 13s 4d, which Robert Ledys of Milford owed by virtue of a certain mercantile statute.
- to chaplains celebrating for the good of his soul, 20 silver marks.
- to Sir John Parker 10s.
- to his brother William 6d.
- to the parish church of Treswell, one gold altar cloth.
- to Thomas Carter 6s 8d.

"And because exequies are a solace for the living rather than the dead, I wish to leave the extent of the exequies to the will and judgement of my son John, Sir John Parker chaplain, and my son Roger."

"I entrust this my true testament be fully and faithfully carried out by my executors, who I ordain and constitute John my son, Sir John Parker chaplain, and Roger my son. Also, I give and leave the residue of all my goods to my said executors, to ordain and dispose for my soul in whatever way they see as the most fitting.....Dated at

Treswell, day and place foresaid."

14. SCARBOROUGH.

Will of Agnes Broune, founder of the chantry of St Nicholas in the parish church of St Mary Scarborough, dated 1400. Reg Scrope ff 172v-173v.

"On the 26th day of April, 1400, I Agnes Broune of Scarborough make my will in the following manner. First I leave my soul to God and Holy Mary and all the Saints and my body to be buried in the church of St Mary of Scarborough.....in the chapel of St Nicholas. Also I leave my best cloth for my mortuary. Also I leave to the Prior of the same and for payment for my oblations 20s. Also I leave to the vicar of the same church 6s 8d. Also I leave to two chaplains 2s."

- to the fabric of the church of St Peter at York 6s 8d.

- to the fabric of the church of St Mary of Scarborough 10 marks and the great lead bowl/vat in her brewhouse ["pandaxatorum"].

- to the fabric of the church of St Sepulchre of Scarborough 20s.

- to the chapel of St Thomas in Scarborough 6s 4d.

- to the Friars Preachers, the Friars Minor and the Carmelite Friars of Scarborough 13s 4d.

- to the monks of Wilburfoss, Rose, Yedyngham and Wychin[?] 6s 8d [to each].

- for distribution to poor men attending her burial and on the octave day 10 marks.

- for wax to burn around her body 40s.

"Also I will that William Warter, chaplain, should celebrate divine service for my soul in the chapel of St Nicholas of Scarborough for 4 years.....10s for his labour. Also I leave to the said William my large white bowl ["mirram"], and chain of silver-gilt."

- to John Carter of Scarborough, one messuage in the neighbourhood of St Mary of Scarborough [extent given].

- to the said John Carter another messuage lying nearby [extent given].

- to the said John Carter, a tenement in Scarborough. - to the paupers' hospital, the returns of a piece of property.

[The following is difficult to read, but appears to be a list of items, some small such as a silver plate and sums of money, others consisting of tenements, with extents given, which are bequeathed to her relatives - members of the family of John Semer].

- to John Warter, her chaplain, one covered bowl.

- to Agnes, daughter of John Warter one chest and 6s 8d.

- to Cecilia Alwyk another chest.

- to Alice her servant a third chest. [The testator specified that, of the three chests, she wished Agnes to have first choice, Cecilia to have second choice, leaving the third chest to Alice.]

- to Cecilia and Alice, appurtenances of her plough-land to be shared between them in two [equal] portions.

- to Cecilia and Alice, 4 small lead bowls to be shared fairly between them.

- to Cecilia Alnewyk one feather bed, two linen cloths,

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covers and a green tapestry.

- to Alice her servant 40s.

[Another list of small bequests follows].

- to the chaplain living in the charnel house chapel 6s
8d.

- to her sons and daughters living in Scarborough 12d.

- for mending one vestment for the use of the chaplain of
her chantry of St Nicholas 5d.

"... for the repair of one marble stone to lie over my
body, for its covering 100s."

"The rest of my goods after my debts are paid I give and
leave to John Carter son of Adam Carter, which John I
ordain and constitute my executor, and I will that the
foresaid William Warter chaplain superintend over John,
consult and administer according to the legal process,
and for his labour is to have 40s. To which testament I
set my seal. Dated at Scarborough, day and year
foresaid."

15. CATTERICK

Buiding contract for Catterick church, printed in Raine
(1834), pp7-12. Raine provides a very useful commentary,
explaining the numerous building terms which are used in
the contract.

This indenture is made at Burgh, dated the eighteenth day
of April, 1412, between dame Katherine de Burgh, widow
of John de Burgh, William de Burgh son of the said John
de Burgh on the one part, and Richard de Cracall mason on
the other part. Richard undertakes to rebuild the church

of Catterick, and will find all the necessary labourers and services. After the timber of the old church has been taken down, Richard is to remove the stonework, and is to carry it to the site of the new church. The said Richard is to obtain any new stone required for the new church, over and above the transported stone, from the quarry at his own cost. The dimensions of the new church follow, including those of the windows. Richard is to re-use a window in the north wall of the old church, in the east wall of the north aisle over the altar. Richard undertakes to complete the church within three years of the next feasts of St John Baptist, unless war or pestilence should intervene. The said dame Katherine and William shall have any new stone that may be required carried at their own cost. They shall also find any lime, sand and water, scaffolding and arch-centring required, at their own cost. When the new church is complete, the said dame Katherine and William shall retain all the scaffolding and centring for their own use. The said dame Katherine and William bind themselves, their executors and assigns by this indenture to pay Richard for rebuilding Catterick church, as rehearsed above, within three years, eight score of marks. And if the work is completed earlier, the said dame Katherine and William shall give Richard ten marks and a gown of William's wearing as a reward. If Richard fails to complete the church by the agreed date, he binds himself, his heirs and executors to pay 40 pounds of good and lawful English money to the said dame Katherine and William, their

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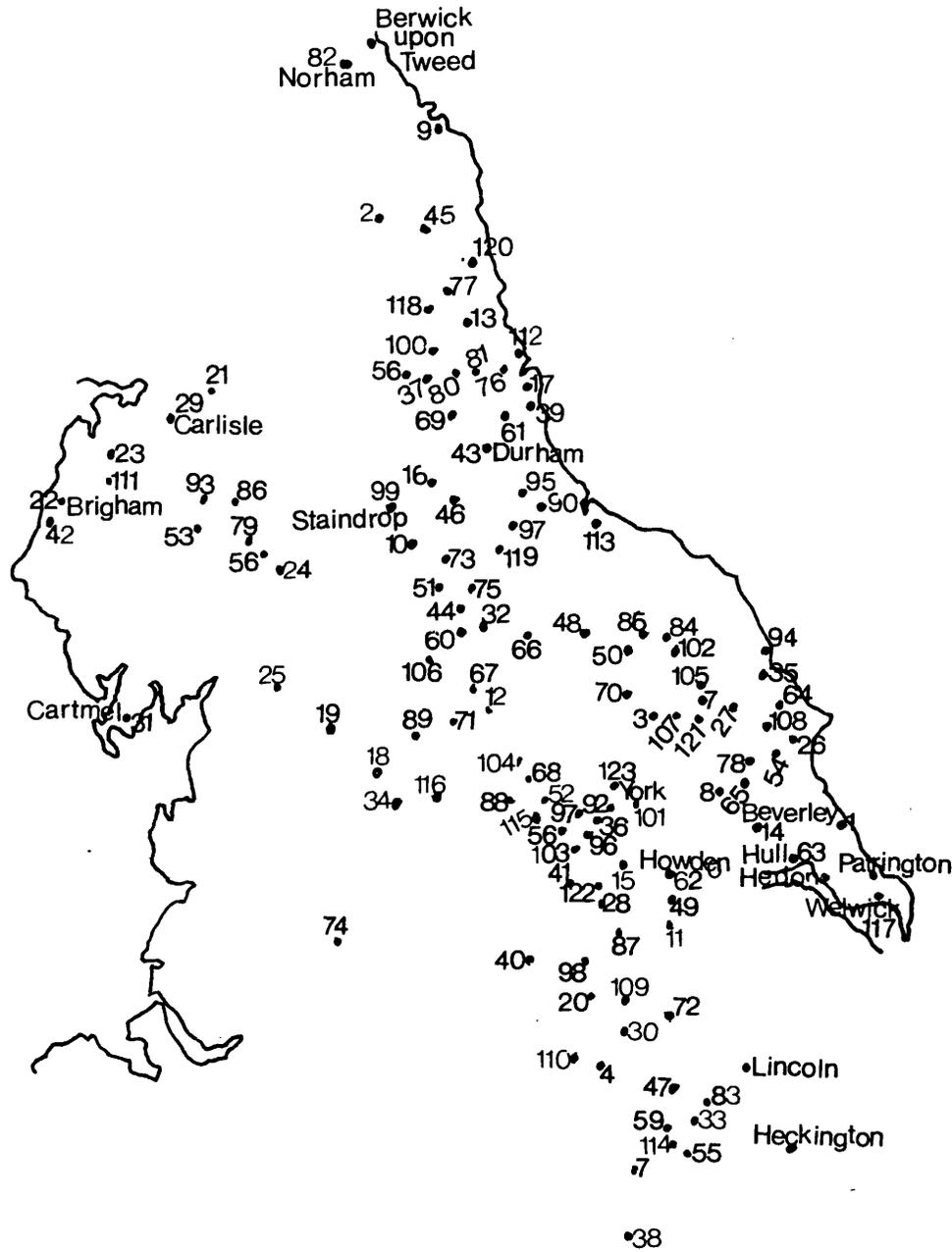
heirs, etc.

Appendix II

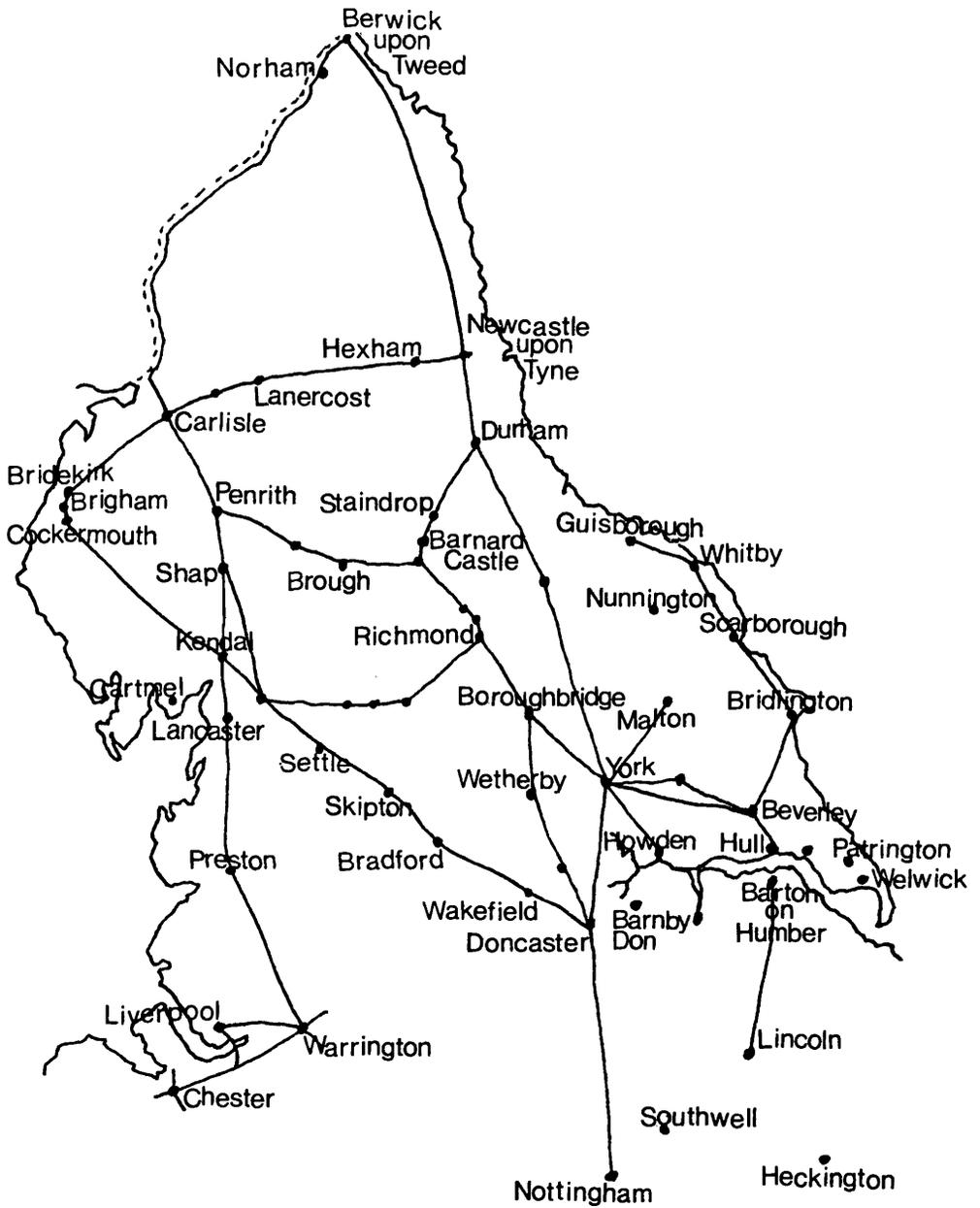
Gazatteer: Churches in the Province of York with tomb recesses.

In the following list, the number allocated to each site corresponds with its location on map 1.

Map 2 shows the main routes which were in use in the north of England in the 14th century, and has been derived from Glasscock (1973) p175; Hadcock (1939) pp148-56; Hindle (1976) pp 207-211; idem (1977) pp 83-95; Stenton (1936) pp148-56.



Map 1: Location of churches with tomb recesses in the Province of York



Map 2: Principal roads in the Province of York, in use during the medieval period

P: personally examined

T + chapter no: discussed in text, with chapter number given.

1. Aldborough, East Yorks: church of St Bartholomew. 1 tomb under the arch between chancel and N chapel, with effigy of a lady. (a).

[The other tomb is free-standing, in the north chapel, with an effigy of a knight (b)].

a) later 14th C lady, probably Maud, widow of P

b) Sir John de Melsa (ie of Meaux), d1377. T + 1;2;5

2. Alnham, Northumberland: St Michael.

1 recess, in the south chancel wall

Early 15th century.

P

3. Amotherby, North Yorks: St Helen

Two tomb recesses, one modern (south chancel wall) and one thirteenth century (north chancel wall).

South chancel recess contains an effigy of a knight, carrying the Borresden shield of arms - early 14th century.

North chancel recess contains a stone slab, inscribed with the following: "ici git Willelm de Boresden priez pur la ame."

P

T+ 2.

4. Anston, South, West Yorks: St James

2 recesses in the south and north nave aisles.

Pre-1350.

5. Appleby, Westmorland: St Lawrence.

1 recess, in the south chancel wall, containing a stone slab with a relief carving of a woman's head and a floriated cross.

Early 15th century.

P

6. Appleby, Westmorland: St Michael Bongate.

1 recess, in the south chancel wall, containing the effigy of a lady, with the arms of Roos and Vipont on the pillow on which her head rests. The effigy is thought to have from another part of the church, now destroyed.

Late 14th century.

7. Arnold, Nottinghamshire: St Mary.

1 tomb recess, N chancel wall (beside an Easter Sepulchre)

Mid-14th century.

Recess contains a tomb chest carved with diaper pattern.

P

8. Bainton, East Yorks: St Andrew.

1 tomb recess, S nave aisle, containing the effigy of a knight, Sir Edmund de Mauley, d1

P
T+ 2;3;4;5.

9. Bamburgh, Northumberland: St Aiden.

1 recess, in the south chancel wall, containing the effigy of a knight.

Both recess and effigy are c1325.

P

10. Barnard Castle, co Durham: St Mary.

2 recesses, both now in the north wall of the north transept, but both have been moved there from the south transept. A slab, with the effigy of a priest carved in low relief, lies in the westerly recess, with the inscription "Orate pro a[n]i[m]a Roberti de Morth'm q[uo]ndam vicarii de Gaynford." (Pray for the soul of Robert de Mortham, one-time vicar of Gainford).

The recesses and tomb slab are probably both dated around the time of the death of Robert de Mortham, ie c1348.

P
T + 2;5.

11. Barnby Don, South Yorks: St Peter

1 recess, E end of N aisle.

1st half of 14th century

P
T + 1;2;3

12. Bedale, North Yorks: St Gregory

1 recess, N chancel chapel, with effigy of Brian de Thornhill, rector of Bedale.

c1340

P
T + 2;5.

13. Bedlington, Northumberland: St Cuthbert

1 recess, S chapel, with segmental arch

Mid-14th century.

14. Beverley Minster: St John.

The Percy tomb, under the north choir arcade, identified her as the tomb of Lady Eleanor Percy, d 1328.

From its heraldry, not before 1340.

P
T + 2;3;4;5.

15. Birkin, West Yorks: St Mary.

1 recess, N nave wall, with civilian effigy, of Sir John de Everingham, d c1328.

Early 14th C.

P
T + 2;5.

16. Bolam, Northumberland: St Andrew.

1 recess, S chapel

Mid-14th C.

17. Boldon, West, co Durham: St Nicholas.

3 recesses, 2 in the south nave aisle, 1 in the north chancel wall, but the latter is modern. Two effigies of priests are associated with these recesses.

Effigies and the two original recesses are early 14th century.

P

18. Bolton Abbey, West Yorks: Blessed Virgin Mary.

2 recesses, one, dated after 1325 in the north chancel wall, the other, of unknown date, in the south chancel wall.

19. Bolton by Bowland, West Yorks: Sts Peter and Paul.

Remains of 1 recess, north chancel wall.

Early 14th century.

P

T + 4.

20. Braithwell, West Yorks: St James.

1 recess, north chancel wall.

Early 14th century.

P

T + 4.

21. Brampton, Cumberland: St Martin.

1 recess, in the exterior south chancel wall, the chancel being all that remains of the church.

Early 14th century.

P

22. Brigham, Cumberland : St Bridget.

1 tomb recess, south nave aisle, containing an incised slab, carved with a foliated cross, chalice and book.

Tomb of Thomas de Burgh, rector of Brigham, d by 1338.

P

T+ 2;3;4;5.

23. Bromfield, Cumberland: St Kentigern.

2 recesses, one in the east wall of the north aisle, the other in the north chancel wall. The north aisle recess contains a slab, carved with a shield of arms, said to be the Brookdale arms, and probably early 14th century. The chancel recess contains the much later tomb-chest and slab, with an inscription identifying the tomb as that of Richard Garth, vicar of Bromfield.

Both recesses are probably early 14th century.

P

24. Brough, Westmorland: St Michael.
1 recess, in the south wall of the nave.
Late 14th or early 15th century.

P

25. Burton, Westmorland: St James.
1 recess, south nave aisle.
Mid 14th century.

26. Burton Agnes, East Yorks: St Martin.
2 recesses - N wall N aisle, and S wall S aisle. The
north aisle recess is almost certainly the tomb of Sir
Roger de Somerville (d1337) and his wife Maud (d 1313).
Early 14th C.

P
T + 2;5.

27. Butterwick, East Yorks: St Nicholas - (a chapel in
Foxholes parish)
1 recess, N chancel wall, which may once have contained
the effigy attributed to Sir Robert FitzRalph, d1317.
Early 14th century.

P
T + 2;4;5.

28. Campsall, West Yorks: St Mary Magdalene.
1 tomb recess, in the north nave aisle (the other
recesses, in the east walls of the transepts, were
probably intended for alters).
c1300.

29. Carlisle cathedral: St Mary.
2 recesses, both in the north choir aisle, one of which
contains a mid-13th century effigy of a bishop.
The recesses are probably late 13th or early 14th
century.

P
T + 2;3.

30. Carlton in Lindrick, Nottinghamshire: St John the
Evangelist.
1 recess, north chancel wall.
Early 14th century?

31. Cartmel, Priory church, Lancs: St Mary and St Michael
a) 1 screen tomb, wall between choir and S chapel: the
Harrington tomb, containing the effigies of Sir John de
Harrington, and his wife, Joan (nee Dacre).
b) 1 recess, N chancel wall
a) c1347
b) 14th century

P
T + 1;2;3;4;5.

32. Catterick, North Yorks: St Anne.

3 recesses, a) S wall, S aisle; b) and c) N wall, N aisle.

a) Probably c1390, but moved here in c1412, containing the effigy of Sir Walter de Urswick, d 1394.

b) and c) probably part of the 1412 building work, containing the tombs of members of the de Burgh family who died in the 15th century.

P

T + 1;2;4;5.

33. Caunton, Nottinghamshire: St Andrew.

1 recess, in the south aisle wall.

Probably late 13th century.

34. Cawthorne, West Yorks: All Saints.

1 recess, in the north chapel.

Late 13th century.

35. Cayton, North Yorks: St John the Baptist.

1 recess, in the exterior of the south chancel wall

Late 13th century.

36. Church Fenton, West Yorks: All Saints.

1 recess, south transept.

Early 14th century.

P

T + 2.

37. Corbridge, Northumberland: St Andrew.

1 recess, in the north wall of the north transept, containing a slab inscribed with the following: "Hic jacet in terris Aslin filius Hugo." (Here lies Aslin son of Hugh, in the earth) Aslin was living in the late 13th century.

Both tomb and slab are late 13th century.

P

38. Costock, Nottinghamshire: St Giles.

1 recess, in the exterior of the south wall.

14th century.

39. Dalton le Dale, co Durham: St Andrew.

2 recesses, in the north chancel wall and the north nave wall. That in the chancel has the effigy of Sir William Bowes, d c1420, while the nave recess has a badly damaged effigy, possibly of a nun.

Both recesses are likely to be late 14th or early 15th century.

P

40. Darfield, West Yorks: All Saints.
2 recesses, both in the north nave aisle.
Mid-14th century.

41. Darrington, West Yorks: St Luke and All Saints
1 recess, N chancel wall, with the effigy of Sir Warin de
Scargill, d1326. The effigy of his wife Clara (nee
Stapleton) lies on the floor of the north chancel chapel.
Early 14th C. P
T + 2;5.

42. Dean, Cumberland: St Oswald.
1 recess, south nave aisle.
Early 14th century. P

43. Durham cathedral: St Mary and St Cuthbert.
1 "fixed" tomb, south choir arcade.
Contains the effigy of Bishop Hatfield (d1381), who had
the tomb built, and the bishop's throne and altar with
which it is combined. P
T + 1;2;5.

44. Easby Abbey, North Yorks: St Agatha.
3 recesses: 2 in the north chancel wall, and the third in
the south chancel wall, and all probably tombs of members
of the Scrope family.
Early 14th century.

45. Edlingham, Northumberland: St John the Baptist.
1 recess, S side of nave.
14th C.

46. Egglescliffe, co Durham: St Mary.
1 recess, in a chapel on the south side of the nave,
containing the effigy of a knight, probably of the
Aslakby family.
Both recess and effigy are c1320. P
T + 2

47. Egmanton, Nottinghamshire: St Mary.
1 recess, south transept.
Late 13th century.

48. Feliskirk, North Yorks: St Felix
1 recess, north chancel wall, containing the effigy of
Sir John de Walkingham, d c1327. The effigy of his widow,
Joannah, d 1346, lies on the floor of the chancel.
c1330. P
T + 2;4;5.

49. Fishlake, West Yorks: St Cuthbert.

1 recess, south chancel wall.

Early 15th century.

P

50. Gilling, East, North Yorks: Holy Cross

2 recesses

a) N chancel wall, c 1300, containing a slab carved in low relief with quatrefoil in which the head of a knight is seen, the sword below, and the feet appearing at the end of the slab. b) S aisle, with shield of the arms of Etton carved above, and probably the tomb of Thomas de Etton, d c1348.

P

T + 2;4;5.

51. Gilling, West, North Yorks: St Agatha.

1 recess, south nave aisle.

Early 14th century.

P

52. Goldsborough, West Yorks: St Mary.

1 recess in the north chancel wall, the tomb of Sir Richard V de Goldsborough, d1333, and 1 screen tomb under the south nave arcade.

The recess is c 1330.

The screen monument is 15th century.

P

T + 2;4;5.

53. Greystoke, Cumberland: St Andrew.

1 recess, in the north chancel wall, with an alabaster effigy of a knight, probably associated with a major rebuilding of the church in the 1380s, and could be Ralph lord Greystoke, who was probably connected with the building work.

Both the recess and the effigy are c 1380-90.

54. Harpham, East Yorks: St John of Beverley.

a) 1 recess in the north chancel chapel, containing an early 14th century effigy of a woman, and b) 1 tomb set under an arch, cut through a wall between the chapel and the north chancel chapel, and with an incised slab with figures of a knight and lady, and the following inscription: "Orate pro a[n]i[m]a d[omi]no Will[el]mi de Sancto Quintino qui obiit a[n]o d[omi]ni millo trecentesimo quadragesimo nono; et pro a[n]i[m]a due....uxor eius qui obiit anno d[omi]ni millo ccc octogesimo iiii....cotidie celebrat[ur] Missa Marie."

a) early 14th century.

b) c1350, the tomb of Sir William de St Quintin, d 1349, and his wife, Joan, d 1384.

P

T + 2;4;5.

55. Hawton, Nottinghamshire: All Saints.

1 tomb recess, in the north chancel wall, beside an Easter Sepulchre, and part of the same building programme. The effigy of the knight in the recess is not now believed to be that of the chancel builder, since it has had to be cut down to size in order to fit the recess.

P

T + 2;3;5.

56. Hazlewood castle chapel, West Yorks: St Leonard

2 recesses, S wall, containing the effigies of Sir William de Vavasour d 1311, and Sir Walter de Vavasour, d1312-13. The effigies are early 14th century, but the recesses are later, c1350.

P

T + 2;4;5

57. Heslerton, West, East Yorks: All Saints.

1 recess, in the north chancel wall.
Late 13th or early 14th century.

58. Hexham, Northumberland: Priory church of St Andrew.

1 recess/screen monument, between the north transept aisle and the choir aisle.
Late 14th century?

P

59. Hockerton, Nottinghamshire: St Nicholas

1 recess in the north chancel wall, which may have been an Easter Sepulchre, ie a tomb of Christ, rather than that of a mortal individual.
Mid 14th century.

60. Hornby (4m NW of Bedale), North Yorks: St Mary.

1 recess, projects externally, and contains the effigies of a knight and lady, identified here as Sir Thomas de Burgh, d1322, and his wife Lucia, nee Bellewe.

N wall N aisle

Early 14th C.

P

T + 2;5.

61. Houghton le Spring, co Durham: St Michael.

1 recess, in the south wall of the south transept, with the effigy of a knight.

Both recess and effigy appear to be late 13th century.

P

62. Howden, East Yorks: St Peter

2 recesses: one in the north wall of the east chapel in the south transept, the other in a corresponding position relative to the north transept. The south recess contains the effigies of Sir John de Metham, d 1311, and his widow Sybil, nee Hamelton, d after 1327-8.

Both recesses are dated early 14th century.

P
T + 2;3;4;5.

63. Hull, East Yorks: Holy Trinity

2 recesses/screen tombs, both in the south choir aisle. The more easterly tomb has the alabaster effigies attributed here to Sir Richard de la Pole, d 1345, and his wife. The other tomb is built under an arch which connects the south choir aisle to a chapel, once known as the de la Pole chapel, and is attributed here to Sir William de la Pole, d 1366.

Both recesses are c1350.

P
T + 2;4;5.

64. Hunmanby, East Yorks: All Saints

1 recess, south nave wall.

Early 14th century.

P

65. Hutton Cranswick, East Yorks: St Peter.

1 recess, south nave aisle, containing a headless effigy of a priest.

Late 13th or early 14th century.

P

66. Kirkby Wiske, North Yorks: St John the Baptist.

1 recess, in the north chancel wall.

Early 14th century.

P
T + 4

67. Kirklington, North Yorks: St Mary

2 recesses, south nave aisle, each with an effigy, a knight and a lady, identified as Sir John de Wandesforde, d 1396-7, and Elizabeth, his wife, d 1391.

The recesses, like the effigies, are later 14th century.

P
T + 2;4;5.

68. Knaresborough, West Yorks: St John the Baptist.

1 recess, in the south nave aisle chapel.

Dated c1330-50.

P
T + 4

69. Lanchester, co Durham: St Mary.

1 recess, at the east end of the south aisle, containing the effigy of a priest.

Both recess, which reuses earlier stone, and the effigy are early 14th century. P

70. Langton, East Yorks: St Andrew.

1 recess, in the north chancel wall.

Early 15th century.

71. Masham, North Yorks: St Mary

1 recess, with only part of a jamb remaining.

13th century. P

72. Mattersey, Nottinghamshire: All Saints.

1 recess, in the south nave aisle.

Mid- to late 14th century

P

73. Melsonby, North Yorks: St James the Great

1 recess, south nave aisle, with the effigy of a knight, identified as Sir John de Stapleton, d 1332.

The recess and effigy are both c1330-40.

P

T + 2;4;5.

74. Middleton, Lancs: St Leonard.

1 recess, in the north nave aisle.

Early 15th century.

75. Middleton Tyas, North Yorks: St Michael.

1 recess, in the south nave aisle, containing a richly-carved, foliated tomb-slab.

Early 14th century.

P

T + 4

76. Monkwearmouth, co Durham: St Peter.

1 recess, or more accurately, screen tomb, set under the nave arcade, containing a knight effigy, of the Hilton family, and dated c1380-90. P

77. Morpeth, Northumberland: St Mary.

1 recess, in the south nave aisle.

c 1330.

P

78. Nafferton, East Yorks: All Saints

1 recess, in the south wall of the south nave aisle.

Mid-14th century.

P

79. Newbiggin, Westmorland: St Edmund.

1 recess, in the south chancel wall, with a shield of arms carved on the central cusp spandrel, identified as those of Crackenthorpe.

Late 14th century.

80. Newburn, Northumberland: St Michael and All Angels.

1 recess/Easter Sepulchre, N chancel wall.

Later 14th century

81. Newcastle on Tyne, Northumberland: St Nicholas.

8 recesses, 7 of them in the south wall of the south nave aisle, and the other in the south wall of the south transept. The nave aisle recesses are contemporary with the wall, ie late 13th century. The south transept recess, containing the effigy of a knight, is c1320.

P

82. Norham, Northumberland: St Cuthbert.

1 recess, in the south wall of the chancel, containing the effigy of a knight.

Both recess and knight are c 1330-40.

P

T + 2;4.

83. Norwell, Nottinghamshire: St Lawrence.

3 recesses, one in the south nave aisle, one in the south transept, and the other in the north transept. The effigy of a knight lies in the recess in the south transept, and that of a lady in the south nave aisle recess.

Both recesses and effigies - early 14th century.

P

T + 2; 4

84. Nunnington, North Yorks: All Saints.

1 recess, in the south nave wall, containing the effigy of a knight, identified as Sir Walter de Teye, d 1325.

Effigy and recess are probably both c1325.

P

T + 2;3;5.

85. Oswaldkirk, North Yorks: St Oswald.

1 recess, in the south nave wall.

c1300.

P

T + 5.

86. Ousby, Cumberland: St Luke.

1 recess, in the south nave wall. An effigy of a knight, in wood, dated early 14th century, may have once been associated with the recess.

87. Owston, West Yorks: All Saints.
 1 recess in the north chancel wall.
 Probably c1330-40.

P
 T + 5.

 88. Pannal, West Yorks: St Robert of Knaresborough.
 1 recess, possibly not a tomb recess, under the south-
 east chancel window.
 Probably c1330-40.

 89. Patrick Brompton, North Yorks: St Patrick.
 1 recess, in the north chancel wall.
 Probably c 1330.

P
 T + 4

 90. Redmarshall, co Durham: St Cuthbert.
 1 recess, in the north chancel wall.
 Early 15th century.

P

 91. Rudby, North Yorks: All Saints
 1 recess, in the south nave aisle, containing a tomb slab
 with the effigy of a priest, identified as Thomas de
 Whorlton, d 1329.
 Early 14th C.

P
 T + 4;5.

 92. Ryther, West Yorks: All Saints.
 1 recess, south nave aisle.
 The recess contains a mid-15th century effigy of a lady,
 but the recess itself is probably early 15th century. Two
 earlier effigies, at the east end of the aisle, are
 identified as those of Sir Robert de Ryther, d 1327 and
 his wife.

P
 T + 2

 93. Salkeld, Great, Cumberland: St Cuthbert.
 1 recess S side of nave, containing the effigy of a
 churchman, possibly Thomas de Caldebeck, archdeacon of
 Carlisle, d 1320.
 c1320-30.

 94. Scarborough, North Yorks: St Mary
 5 recesses : a), b) and c) in the south aisle chapels
 d) and e) in the south transept, south wall.
 All later 14th century.

P
 T + 2;5.

95. Sedgefield, co Durham: St Edmund.
 2 recesses, in the south wall of the south transept,
 containing the effigies of a knight and lady.
 Both recesses and effigies are c1300. P

96. Sherburn in Elmet, West Yorks: All Saints.
 3 recesses, all in the south nave aisle which was built
 in the mid-14th century, possibly by Sir William de
 Retgate of Steeton. P

97. Spofforth, West Yorks: All Saints
 1 recess, in the north chancel wall, containing the
 effigy of a knight, identified as Sir Robert Plumpton
 III, d c1323.
 Recess and effigy are probably both c1320. P
 T + 2;5.

98. Sprotborough, West Yorks: St Mary.
 2 recesses (1 restored but with traces of the original
 stonework) - both these are in the south nave aisle
 chapel, one in the south and the other in the north wall.
 The north recess contains the effigy of a lady, Isabella
 FitzWilliam, nee Deincourt, d c1348. The south recess
 contains the effigy of a knight, Sir William FitzWilliam,
 husband of Isabella, who d c1338.
 Both recesses and effigies are probably c1340 in date.
 P
 T + 1;2;4;5.

99. Staindrop, co Durham: St Mary.
 2 recesses, in the south nave aisle, with the effigies of
 two ladies associated with them. One effigy is c1300 in
 date, while the other is probably about the same date as
 the individual it commemorates, Euphemia de Clavering, d
 by 1343.
 Both recesses are c1340. P
 T + 2;4;5.

100. Stamfordham, Northumberland: St Mary.
 2 recesses, in the south and north chancel walls. The
 north recess has the effigy of a priest, probably dated
 late 13th century. The south recess has a knight's
 effigy, of early 14th century date, who may be Sir Thomas
 de Fenwick, d early 14th century.
 Both recesses are c1300 in date. P

101. Stillingfleet, East Yorks: St Helen.
 1 recess, in the south wall of the south chapel.
 Later 14th century. T + 2

102. Stonegrave, North Yorks: Holy Trinity.
2 recesses, in the north nave aisle, north wall, that on the west being modern, but containing the effigy of a knight, probably early 14th century. The recess to the east of this contains the civilian effigies of a man and wife, identified as Robert de Thornton, and his wife, who were alive in the 1390s.
The east recess is probably c 1410 in date. P
T + 2;5.

103. Swillington, West Yorks: St Mary.
1 recess in the south nave aisle.
c1340.

104. Tanfield, West, North Yorks: St Nicholas
1 recess, in the north nave aisle, containing the effigies of Sir John de Marmion, d c1335, and his widow, Maud, d by 1360.
Mid-14th century. P
T + 1;2;4;5.

105. Thornton Dale, North Yorks: All Saints.
1 recess, in the north chancel wall, with the effigy of a lady.
Both recess and effigy appear to be c1320-30 in date. P
T + 2.

106. Thornton Steward, North Yorks: St Oswald.
1 recess, in the north chancel wall.
Early 14th century.

107. Thorpe Basset, East Yorks: All Saints.
1 recess, in the north chancel wall, with the effigy of a priest.
Both recess and effigy are early 14th century. P
T + 4.

108. Thwing, East Yorks: All Saints. 1 recess, in the south nave wall, with an associated effigy, of Thomas de Thwing, d 1374, lying on a tomb-chest in the north nave aisle.
Later 14th century. P
T + 2;5.

109. Tickhill, West Yorks: St Mary.
1 recess, in the north wall of the north chancel chapel. Probably the burial place of Adam de Herthill, d by 1328, and his wife Avice, still alive in 1348.
c1340-50. P
T + 2;4;5.

110. Todwick, West Yorks: Sts Peter and Paul.
1 recess, nave.
c 1330-40.

111. Torpenhow, Cumberland: St Michael.
1 recess, in the south chancel wall. Ther is an effigy of
a lady now lying in the porch, which is very badly
weathered, but is probably early 14th century in date,
and may originally have come from the recess.
Possibly early 14th century. P
T + 2;3.

112. Tynemouth priory church, Northumberland:
2 recesses, in the north and south walls of the
presbytery. Two effigies of ladies, now set against the
walls of the "guest house", are thought to have come from
these recesses.
Both recesses and effigies are c1300. P

113. Upleatham, North Yorks: St Andrew.
1 recess in the remaining portion of the old church,
containing a figure, possibly of a priest.
c1330-40.

114. Upton, near Southwell, Nottinghamshire: St Peter.
2 recesses, in the north wall of the north transept
chapel.
c1340-50.

115. Walton, West Yorks: St Peter. 1 recess, in the north
chancel wall, with the effigy of Thomas de Fairfax, d
c1370.
c1370-80. P
T + 2;5.

116. Wath, North Yorks: St Mary
1 recess, in the south wall of the south transept.
Early 14th century. P
T + 4;5.

117. Welwick, East Yorks: St Mary.
1 recess, in the south wall of the south nave aisle,
containing the effigy of a churchman.
Both recess and effigy are dated c1345. P
T + 1;2;3;4.

118. Whalton, Northumberland: St Mary Magdalene.
1 recess, S nave aisle, containing a 13th C cross slab.
Mid-14th century.

119. Whorlton in Cleveland, North Yorks: Holy Cross.
1 recess, now in the north chancel wall of this disused church.
Probably early 15th century.

120. Widdrington, Northumberland: Holy Trinity.
2 recesses, in the north chancel wall, one with the Widdrington arms carved on the arch.
Mid- to late 14th century. P

121. Wintringham, East Yorks: St Peter.
1 recess, in the east wall of the south chancel chapel.
Mid-14th century.

122. Womersley, West Yorks: St Martin.
1 recess, in the south transept, with an associated effigy, now lying to the west of it, of Sir John de Newmarch, d 1310.
The recess is also c 1310. P
T + 2;4;5.

123. York Minster: St Peter.
The tomb of Archbishop William Greenfield, not strictly a recess, but, like the Percy tomb at Beverley, fixed permanently to its architectural setting.
c1317. P
T + 1;2;4;5.



TOMB RECESSES IN THE PROVINCE OF YORK, C1250-1400: their
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- Plate 170: GOLDSBOROUGH: buttress to east of recess.
- Plate 171: GOLDSBOROUGH: effigy of Sir Richard de Goldsborough.

- Plate 172: GOLDSBOROUGH: head of effigy and canopy.
- Plate 173: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of effigy.
- Plate 174: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of effigy.
- Plate 175: GOLDSBOROUGH: effigy against south chancel wall.
- Plate 176: GOLDSBOROUGH: effigy against south chancel wall.
- Plate 177: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of effigy.
- Plate 178: GOSBERTON: effigy. (Stothard, 1876)
- Plate 179: HARPHAM: north chancel tomb recess.
- Plate 180: HARPHAM: detail of cusping.
- Plate 181: HARPHAM: incised slab in tomb recess.
(Greenhill (1976), plate 64a)
- Plate 182: HARPHAM: tomb recess, west headstop, chancel side.
- Plate 183: HARPHAM: tomb recess, east headstop, chancel side.
- Plate 184: HAWTON: Easter sepulchre.
- Plate 185: HAWTON: base of Easter sepulchre (composite photograph)
- Plate 186: HAWTON: figures inside Easter sepulchre, middle section.
- Plate 187: HAWTON: tomb recess.
- Plate 188: HAWTON: cusping on tomb recess.
- Plate 189: HAWTON: sedilia, detail.
- Plate 190: HAWTON: sedilia, detail.
- Plate 191: HAZLEWOOD: west recess.
- Plate 192: HAZLEWOOD: gable of west recess.
- Plate 193: HAZLEWOOD: west gable, crocketing.
- Plate 194: HAZLEWOOD: west gable, west pinnacle.

- Plate 195: HAZLEWOOD: effigy in west recess.
- Plate 196: HAZLEWOOD: detail of effigy.
- Plate 197: HAZLEWOOD: detail of effigy.
- Plate 198: HAZLEWOOD: foot of effigy.
- Plate 199: HAZLEWOOD: east recess and effigy.
- Plate 200: HAZLEWOOD: cusp and pinnacle of east recess.
- Plate 201: HAZLEWOOD: east pinnacle of east recess.
- Plate 202: HAZLEWOOD: effigy in east recess.
- Plate 203: HAZLEWOOD: detail of effigy.
- Plate 204: HAZLEWOOD: foot of effigy and east pinnacle of east recess.
- Plate 205: HECKINGTON: south transept and chancel.
(Sekules 1983)
- Plate 206: HECKINGTON: Easter sepulchre. (Ibid)
- Plate 207: HECKINGTON: north chancel tomb recess and effigy of Richard de Potesgrave. (Ibid)
- Plate 208: HECKINGTON: chancel piscina. (Ibid)
- Plate 209: HECKINGTON: chancel sedilia. (Ibid)
- Plate 210: HECKINGTON: east window. (Sharpe, 1849, plate 38)
- Plate 211: HECKINGTON: south transept, south window. (Ibid, plate 39)
- Plate 212: HEDON: west window. (Ibid, plate 56)
- Plate 213: HORNBY: north nave aisle recess.
- Plate 214: HORNBY: heads of effigies of Thomas and Lucia de Burgh.
- Plate 215: HORNBY: effigy of Sir Thomas de Burgh.
- Plate 216: HORNBY: draperies of effigy of Sir Thomas de Burgh.

- Plate 217: HORNBY: draperies of effigy of Lucia de Burgh.
- Plate 218: HOWDEN: west front
- Plate 219: HOWDEN: east gable.
- Plate 220: HOWDEN: buttress, east wall.
- Plate 221: HOWDEN: east window reveal.
- Plate 222: HOWDEN: ruined north transept with tomb
recess.
- Plate 223: HOWDEN: statue of a bishop, choir.
- Plate 224: HOWDEN: statue of a priest, choir.
- Plate 225: HOWDEN: south transept chapel, tomb recess.
- Plate 226: HOWDEN: recess detail.
- Plate 227: HOWDEN: effigies of Sir John de Metham, and
his widow Sybil (nee Hamelton)
- Plate 228: HOWDEN: inserted statue base to west of
recess.
- Plate 229: HOWDEN: inserted statue base to east of
recess.
- Plate 230: HOWDEN: effigies of Sir John and Sybil de
Metham.
- Plate 231: HOWDEN: heads of effigies.
- Plate 232: HOWDEN: head of Sybil de Metham.
- Plate 233: HOWDEN: head and canopy of Sybil de Metham.
- Plate 234: HULL, Holy Trinity: south choir aisle, west
recess.
- Plate 235: HULL, Holy Trinity: west recess gable.
- Plate 236: HULL, Holy Trinity: west recess mouldings with
ball-flower.
- Plate 237: HULL, Holy Trinity: west recess, east
buttress.
- Plate 238: HULL, Holy Trinity: south choir aisle, east

- recess.
- Plate 239: HULL, Holy Trinity: east recess gable.
- Plate 240: HULL, Holy Trinity: east recess detail.
- Plate 241: HULL, Holy Trinity: east recess, effigies of
Sir Richard de la Pole, and his wife Joan.
- Plate 242: HULL, Holy Trinity: effigies.
- Plate 243: HULL: Holy Trinity: detail of effigies.
- Plate 244: KIRKBY WISKE: south chancel windows.
- Plate 245: KIRKBY WISKE: north chancel wall.
- Plate 246: KIRKBY WISKE: north chancel tomb recess.
- Plate 247: KIRKBY WISKE: recess finial and chancel string
course.
- Plate 248: KIRKBY WISKE: recess gable and ?statue base.
- Plate 249: KIRKBY WISKE: recess crocketing.
- Plate 250: KIRKBY WISKE: junction of recess arch, gable
and buttress.
- Plate 251: KIRKBY WISKE: west jamb of recess and tomb
slab. (composite photograph)
- Plate 252: KIRKBY WISKE: south chancel wall.
- Plate 253: KIRKBY WISKE: junction of piscina arch and
string course.
- Plate 254: KIRKBY WISKE: piscina and east jamb of
sedilia, with headstops.
- Plate 255: KIRKBY WISKE: sedilia, east headstop.
- Plate 256: KIRKBY WISKE: sedilia crocketing and finial.
- Plate 257: KIRKBY WISKE: sedilia, west headstop.
- Plate 258: KIRKBY WISKE: statue base to north of east
window.
- Plate 259: KIRKBY WISKE: statue base to south of east
window.



Plate 1: ALDBOROUGH, tomb-chest and effigy of Sir John de Melsa, north chancel chapel.



Plate 2: ALDBOROUGH, tomb and effigy of Maud, widow of Sir John de Melsa, under arch between chancel and north chancel chapel.

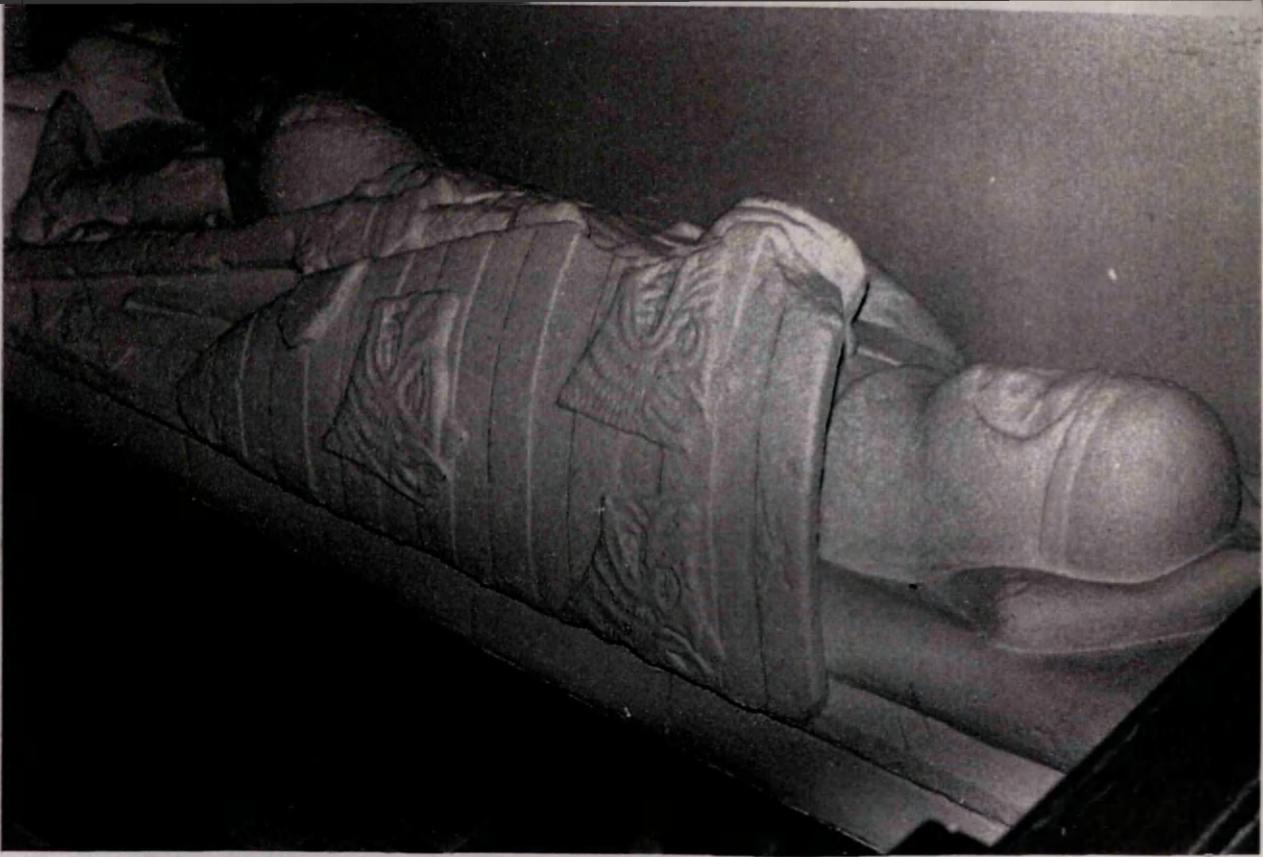


Plate 3: AMOTHERBY, effigy of knight in south chancel recess, with shield of Borresden arms.

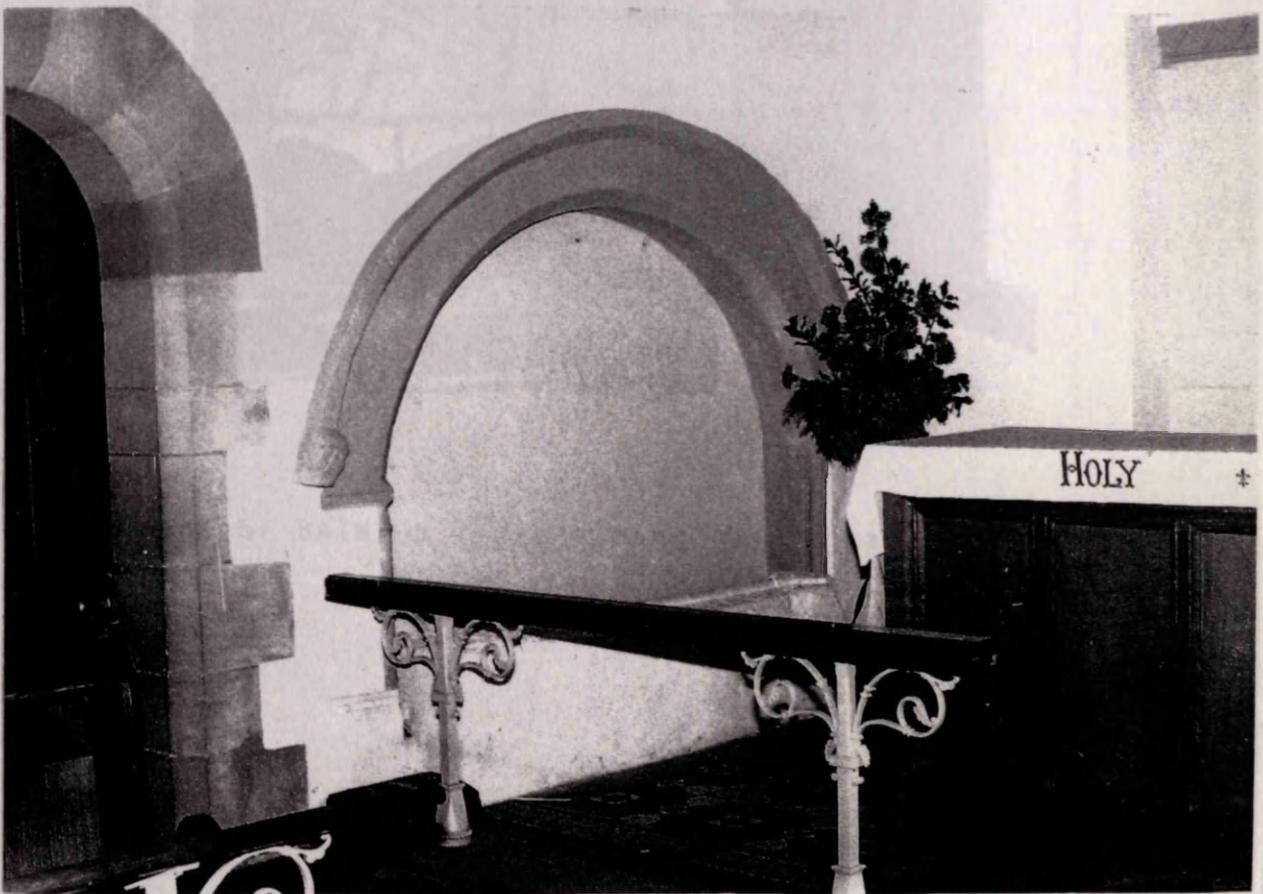


Plate 4: AMOTHERBY, tomb recess, north chancel wall.

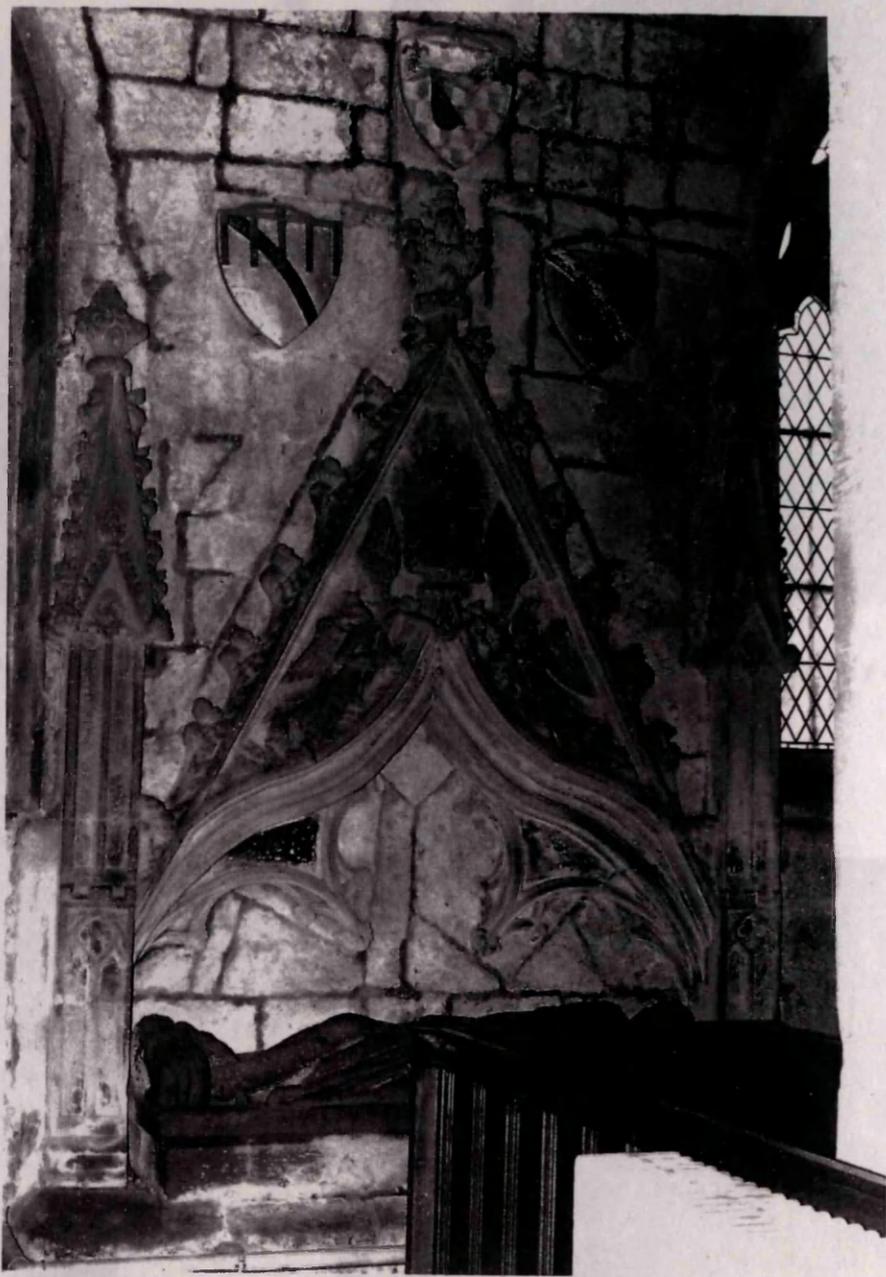


Plate 5: BAINTON, tomb recess, south nave aisle.



Plate 6: BAINTON: effigy of Sir Edmund de Mauley.



Plate 7: BAINTON: detail of effigy.

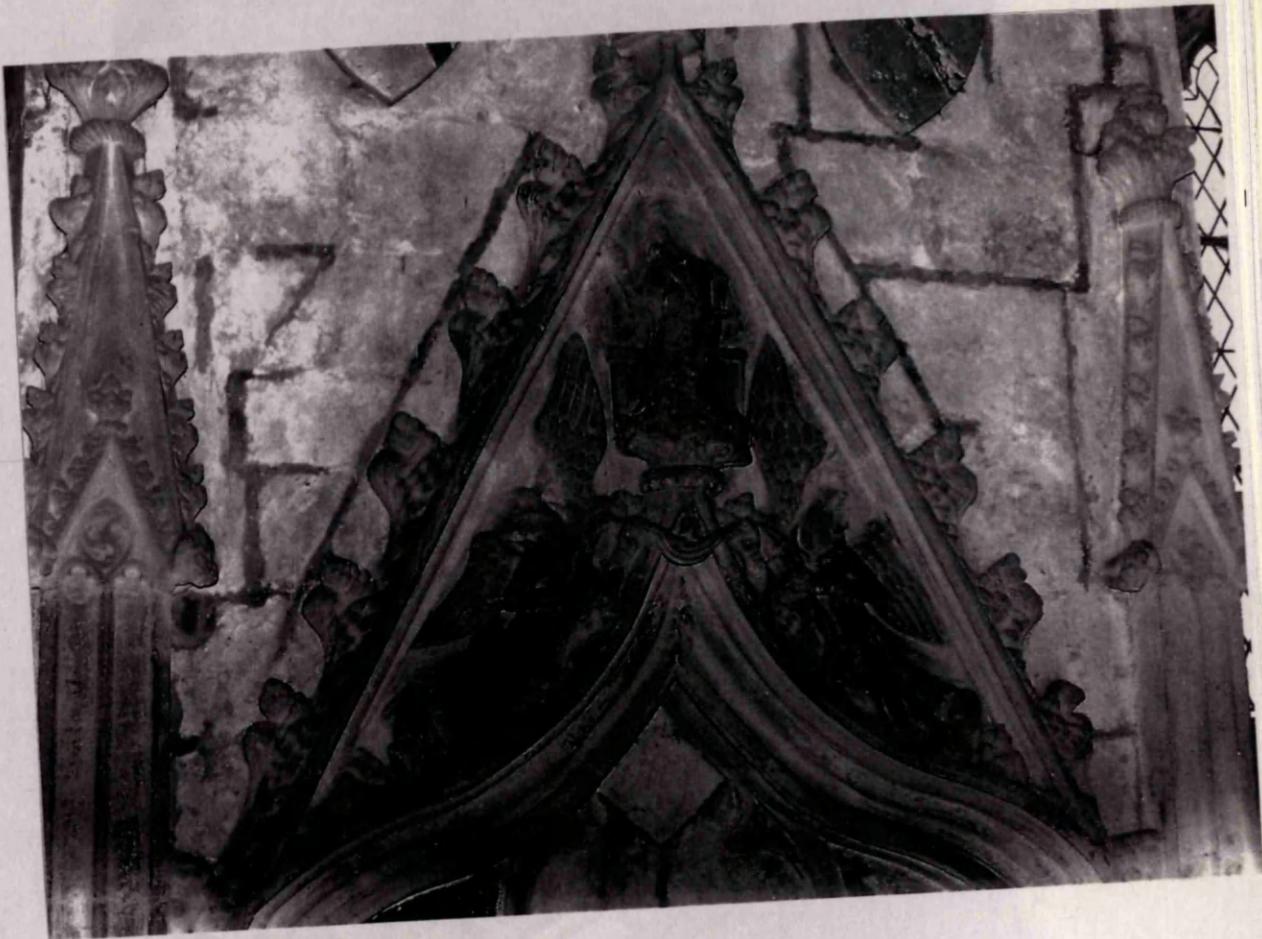


Plate 8: BAINTON: upper part of recess gable

Plate 8: BAINTON: upper part of recess gable



Plate 9: BAINTON: detail of gable.



Plate 10: BAINTON: detail of gable



Plate 11: BAINTON: pinnacle on east side of gable.

Plate 12: BARNARD CASTLE: effigy of Robert de Mortimer
iron inside north transept east square.



Plate 12: BARNARD CASTLE: effigy of Robert de Mortham
from inside north transept tomb recess.

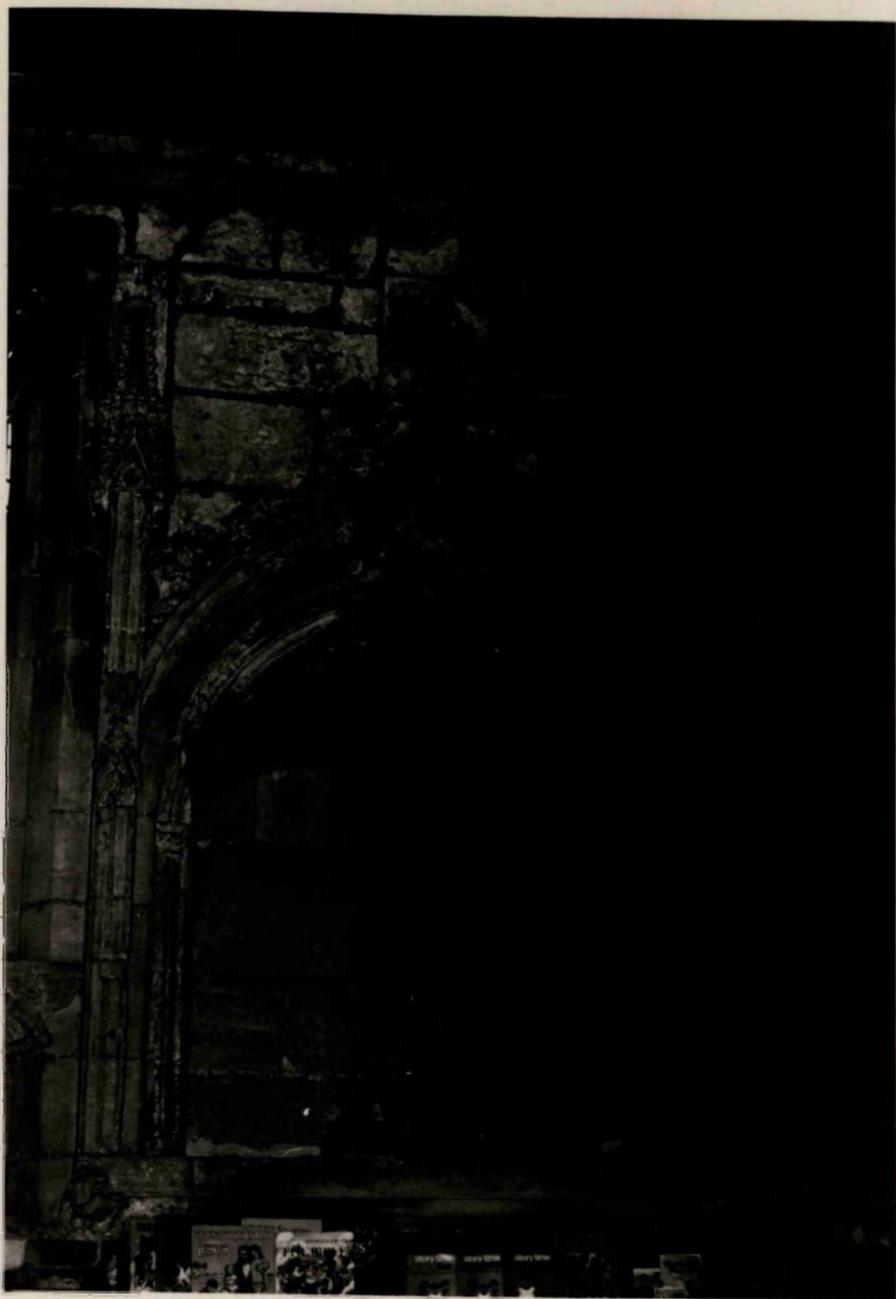


Plate 13: BARNBY DON: recess, north nave aisle.



Plate 14: BARNBY DON: detail of recess.



Plate 15: BARNBY DON: cill of recess.

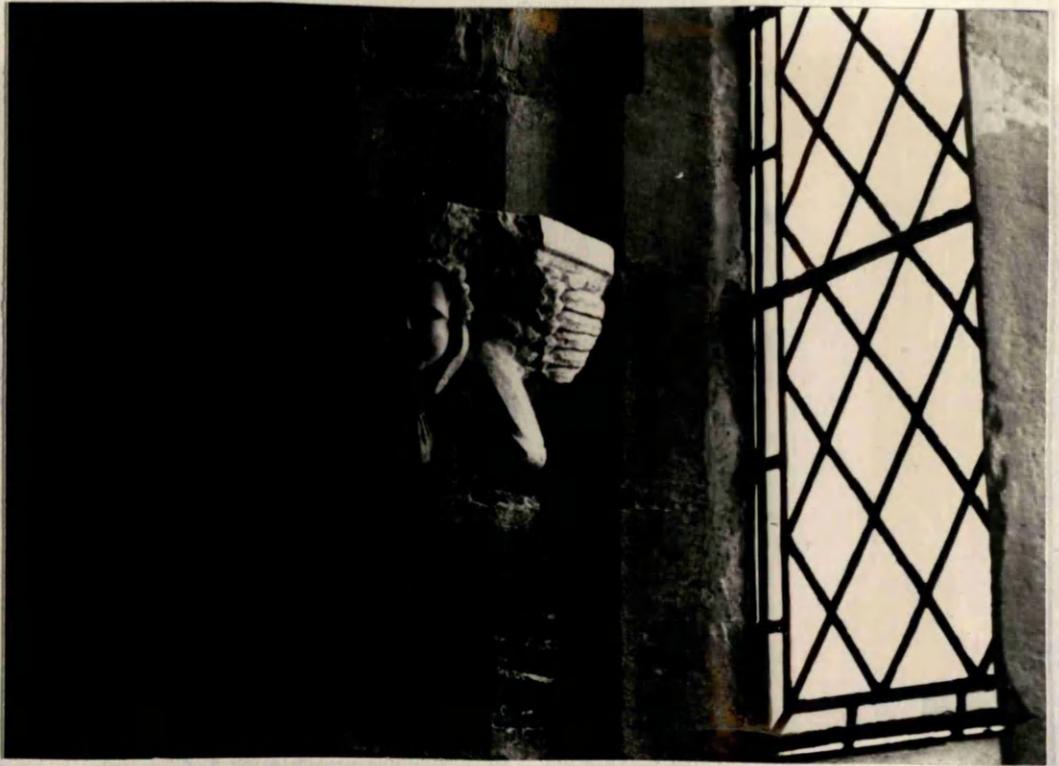


Plate 16: BARNBY DON: north nave aisle window reveal, to
west of recess.

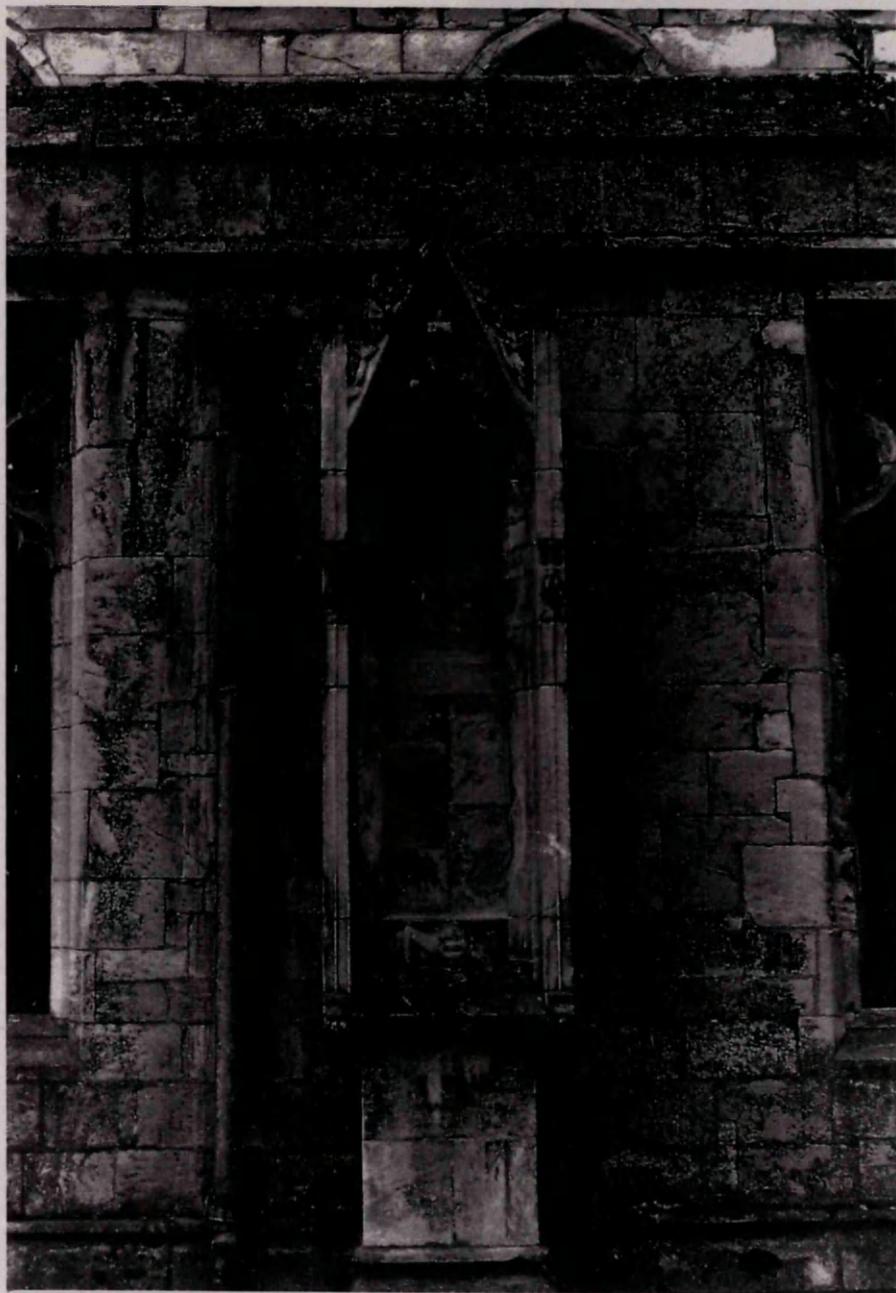


Plate 18: BARNBY DON: exterior niche.

Plate 20: BARNBY DON: east of steps.



Plate 19: BARNBY DON: niche gable



Plate 20: BARNBY DON: base of niche.



Plate 21: BEDALE: north chancel chapel, tomb recess.

Plate 22: BEDALE: effigy of Thomas de Ingham.



Plate 22: BEDALE: effigy of Brian de Thornhill.



Plate 23: BEDALE: image behind head of effigy.

Plate 24: BEDALE: detail of image.



Plate 24: BEDALE: detail of image.

Plate 25: BEDALE: detail of image's copy.



Plate 25: BEDALE: head and canopy of effigy.



Plate 26: BEDALE: detail effigy's canopy.



Plate 27: BEDALE: draperies of effigy.



Plate 28: BEDALE: head of effigy of Brian FitzAlan.



Plate 29: BEDALE: FitzAlan effigy, detail.



Plate 30: BEDALE: effigy of FitzAlan lady.



Plate 31: BEDALE: FitzAlan lady, detail.



Plate 32: BEDALE: feet of FitzAlan effigies.

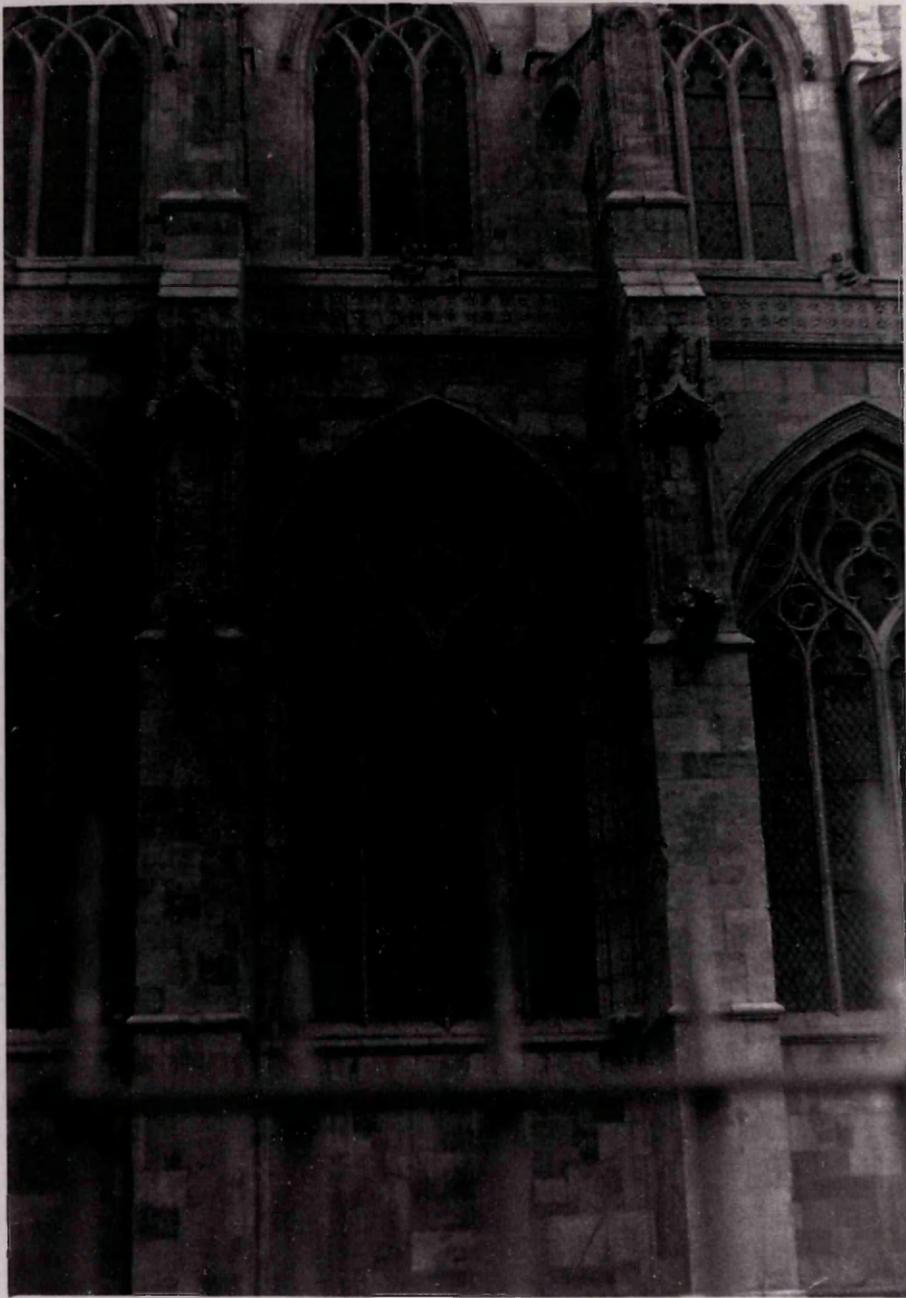


Plate 33: BEVERLEY MINSTER: north nave aisle windows



Plate 34: BEVERLEY MINSTER: north clerestorey windows.

Plate 35: BEVERLEY MINSTER: south nave aisle windows and clerestorey (composite photograph)

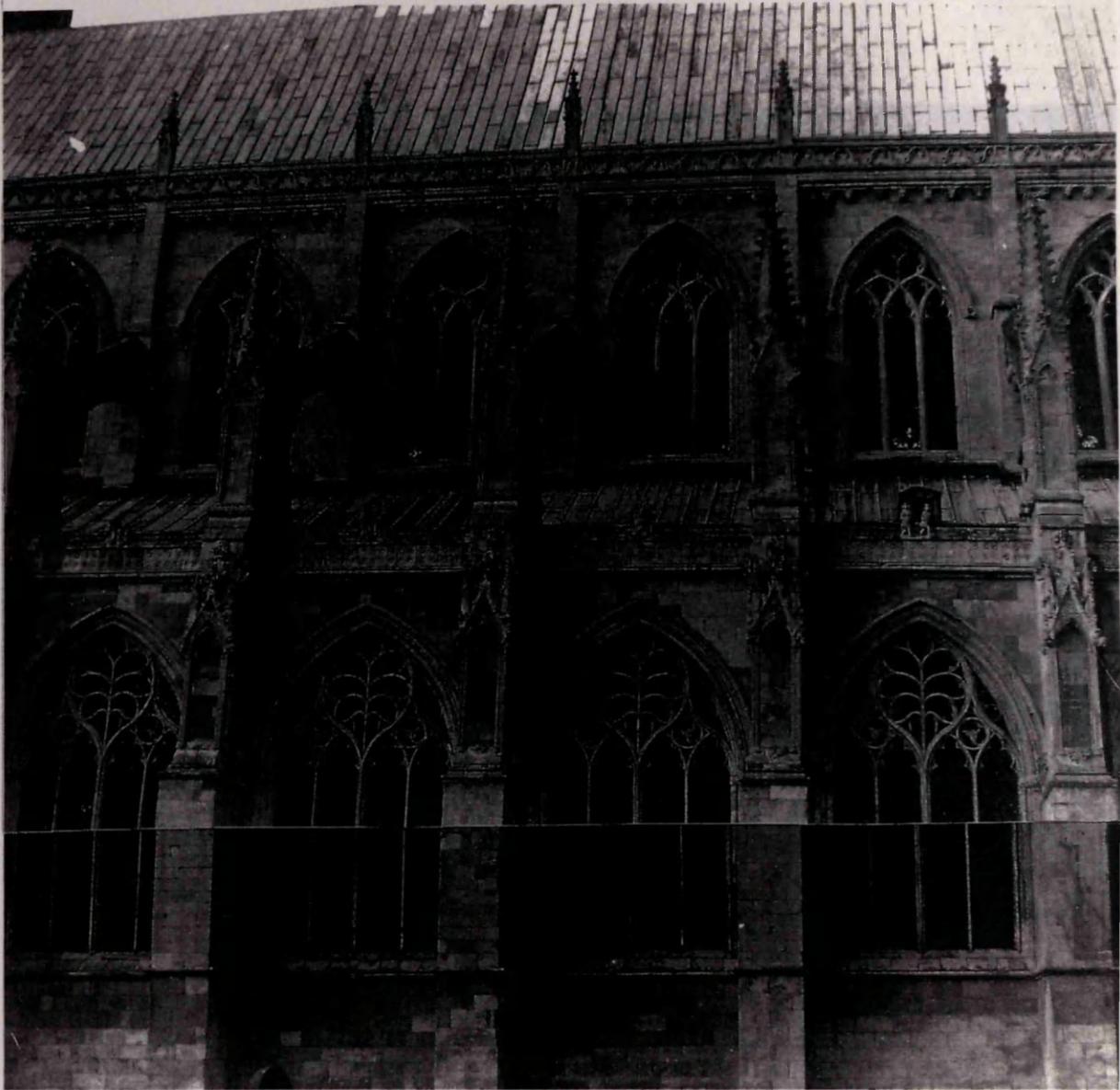


Plate 35: BEVERLEY MINSTER: south nave aisle windows and clerestorey (composite photograph).



Plate 36: BEVERLEY MINSTER: north nave aisle blind arcading.

Plate 37: BEVERLEY MINSTER: one bay of blind arcade



Plate 37: BEVERLEY MINSTER: one bay of blind arcade.



Plate 38: BEVERLEY MINSTER: capital from blind arcade.



Plate 39: BEVERLEY MINSTER: moulding of arch of blind arcade.



Plate 40: PERCY TOMB: south side.

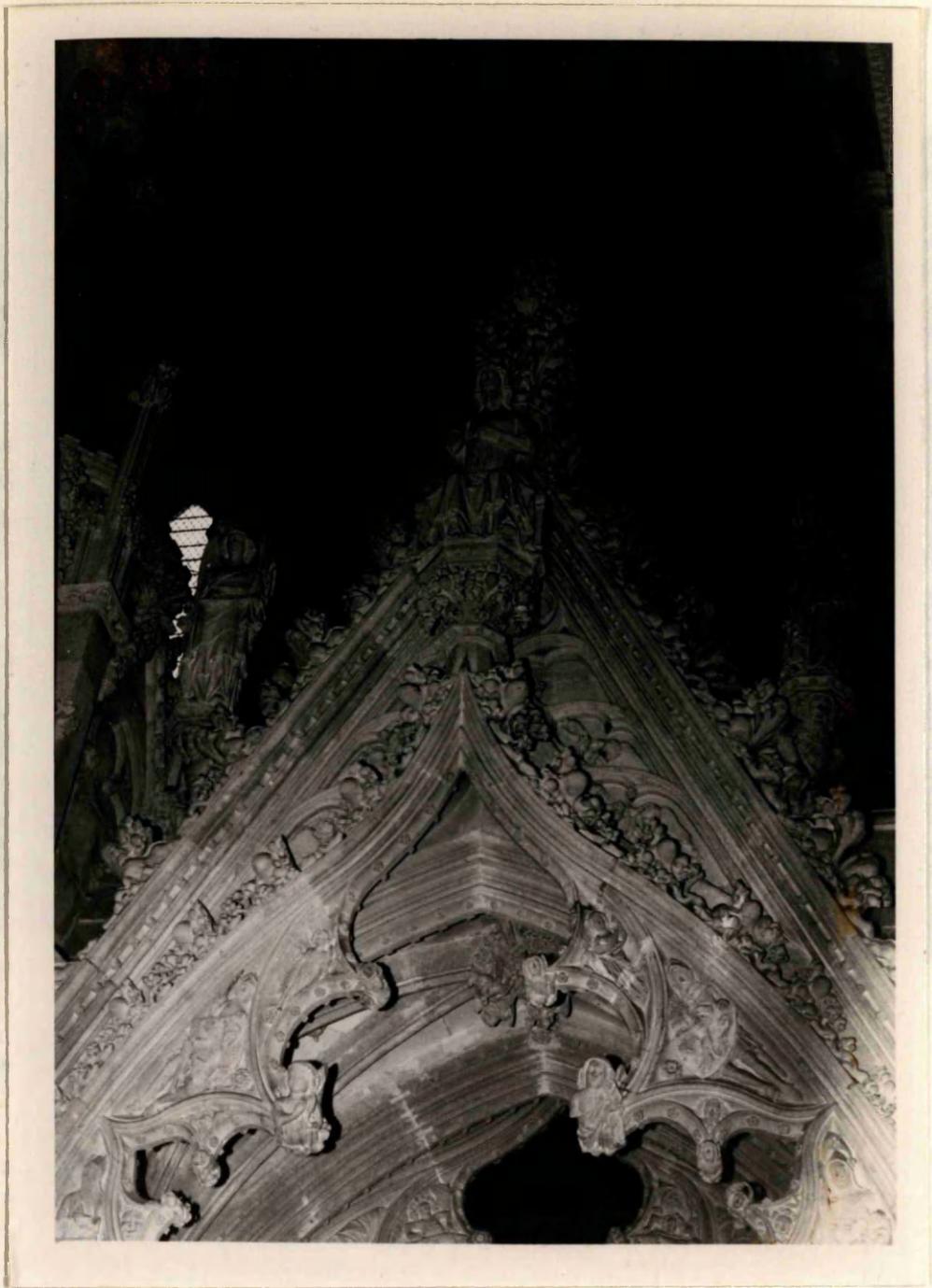


Plate 41: PERCY TOMB: north gable.



Plate 42: PERCY TOMB: south gable.



Plate 43: PERCY TOMB: south side, upper cusp.



Plate 44: PERCY TOMB: south side, lower cusping.



Plate 45: PERCY TOMB: north side cusping and angel.

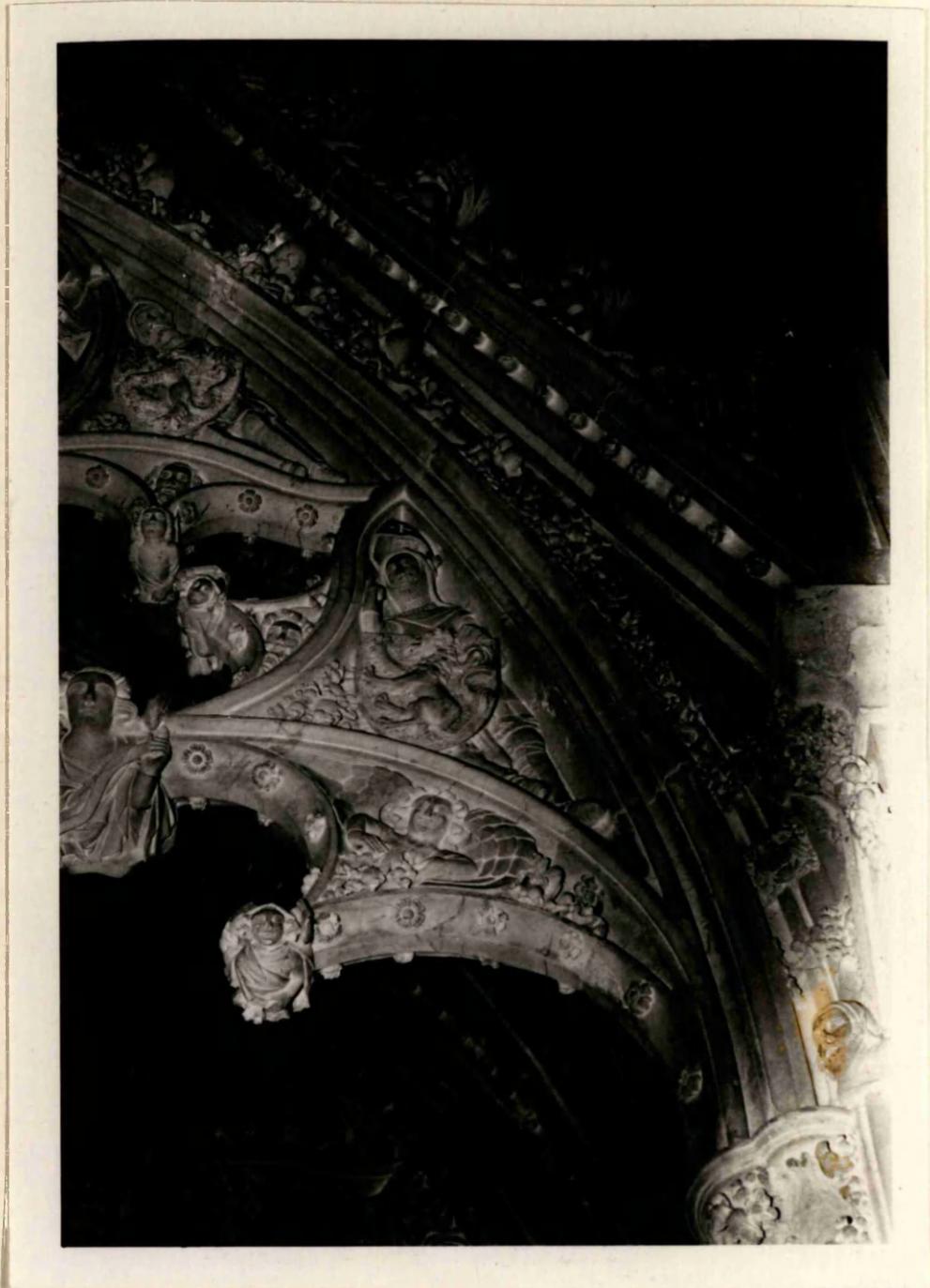


Plate 46: PERCY TOMB: north side, lower cuspings.



Plate 47: PERCY TOMB: south side, canopy and vault.

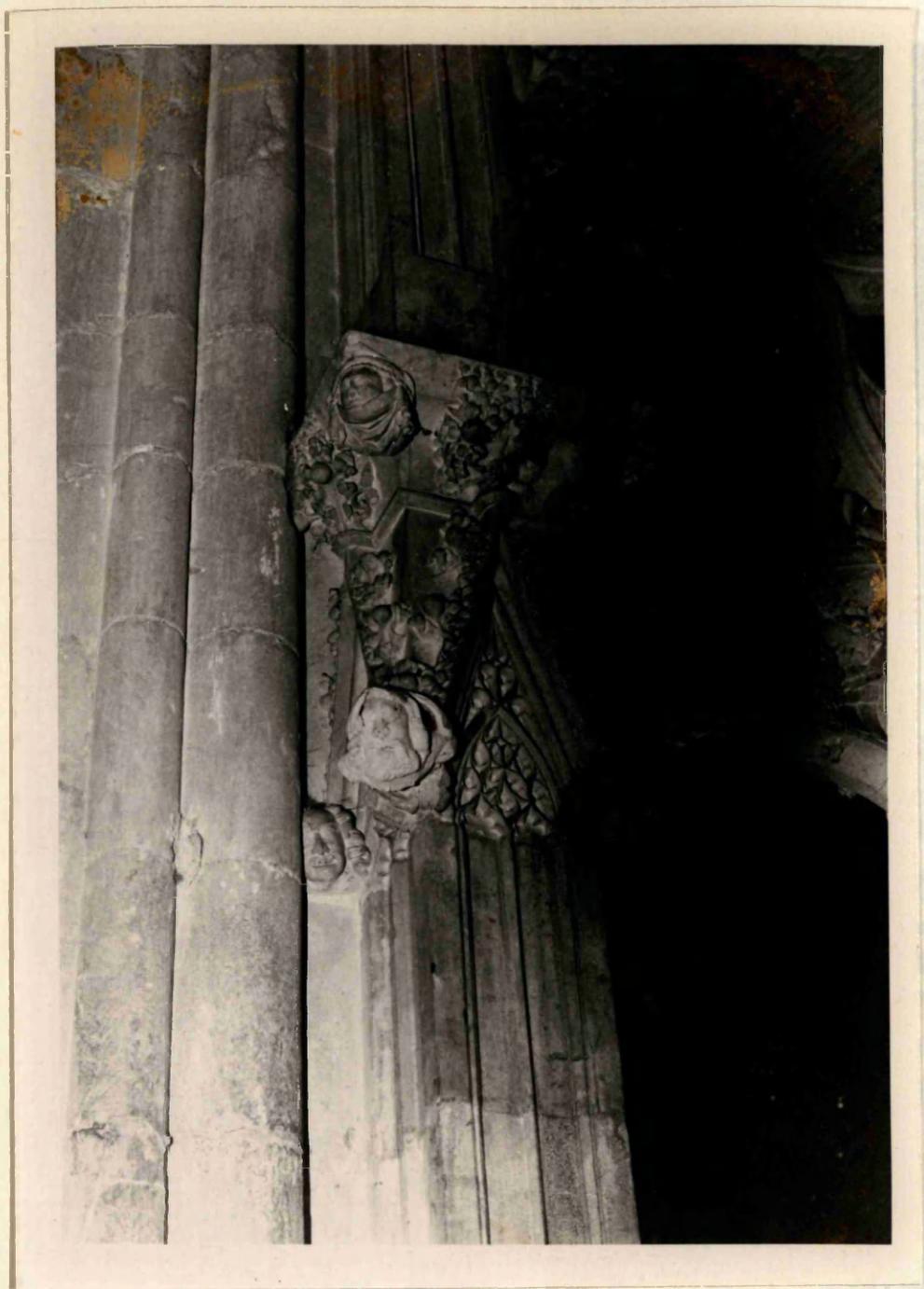


Plate 48: PERCY TOMB: south side, gabled buttress.



Plate 49: PERCY TOMB: south side, cusp figure.



Plate 50: PERCY TOMB: south gable, caryatid.



Plate 51: PERCY TOMB: north gable, angel.

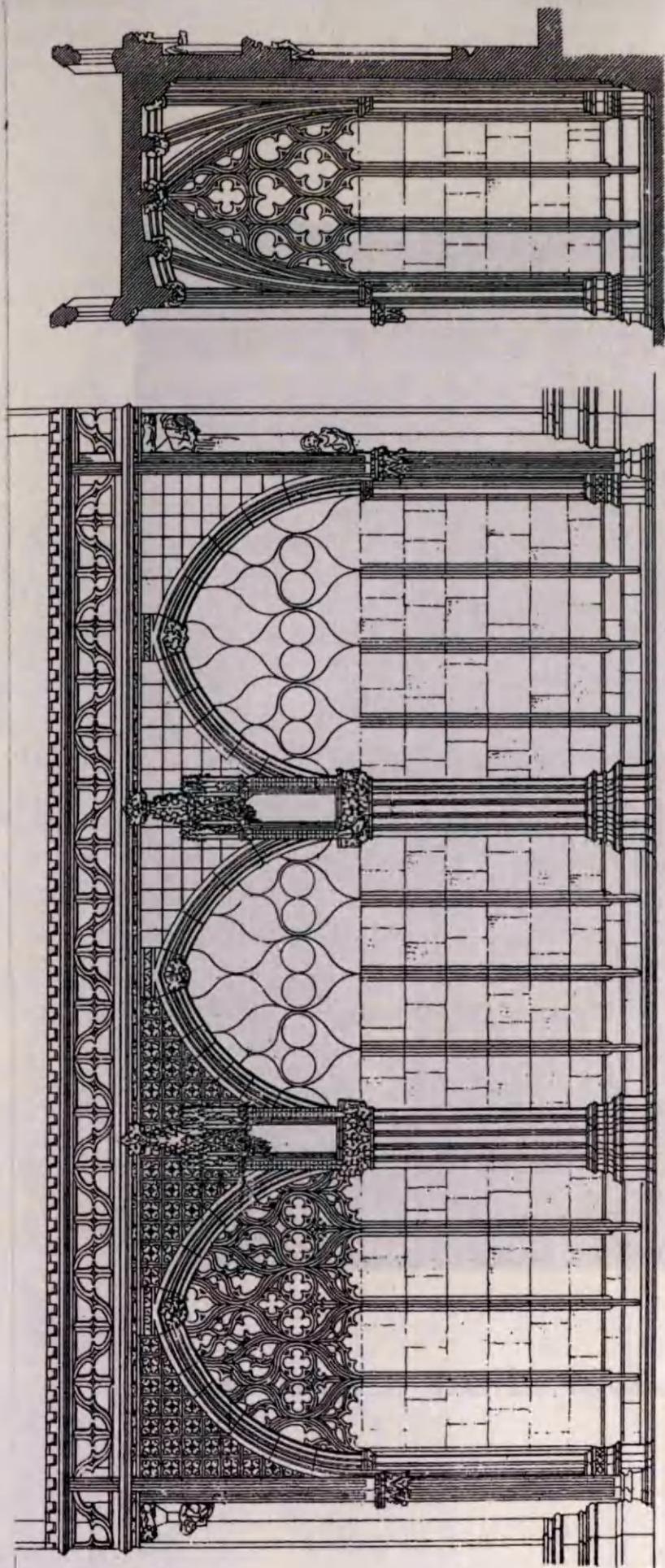


Plate 52: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, plan section and east elevation.

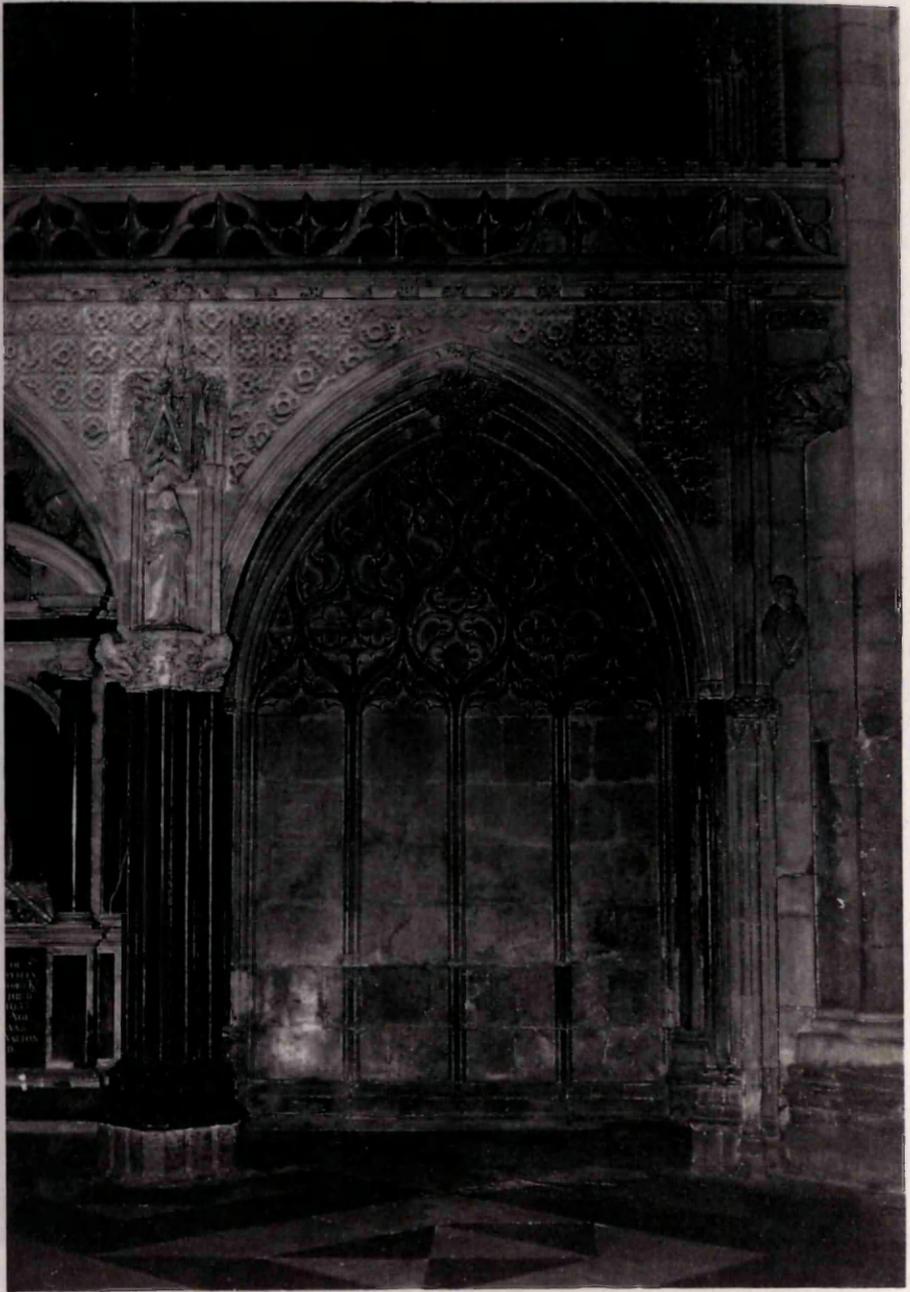


Plate 53: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, northern bay.



Plate 54: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, interior north wall.

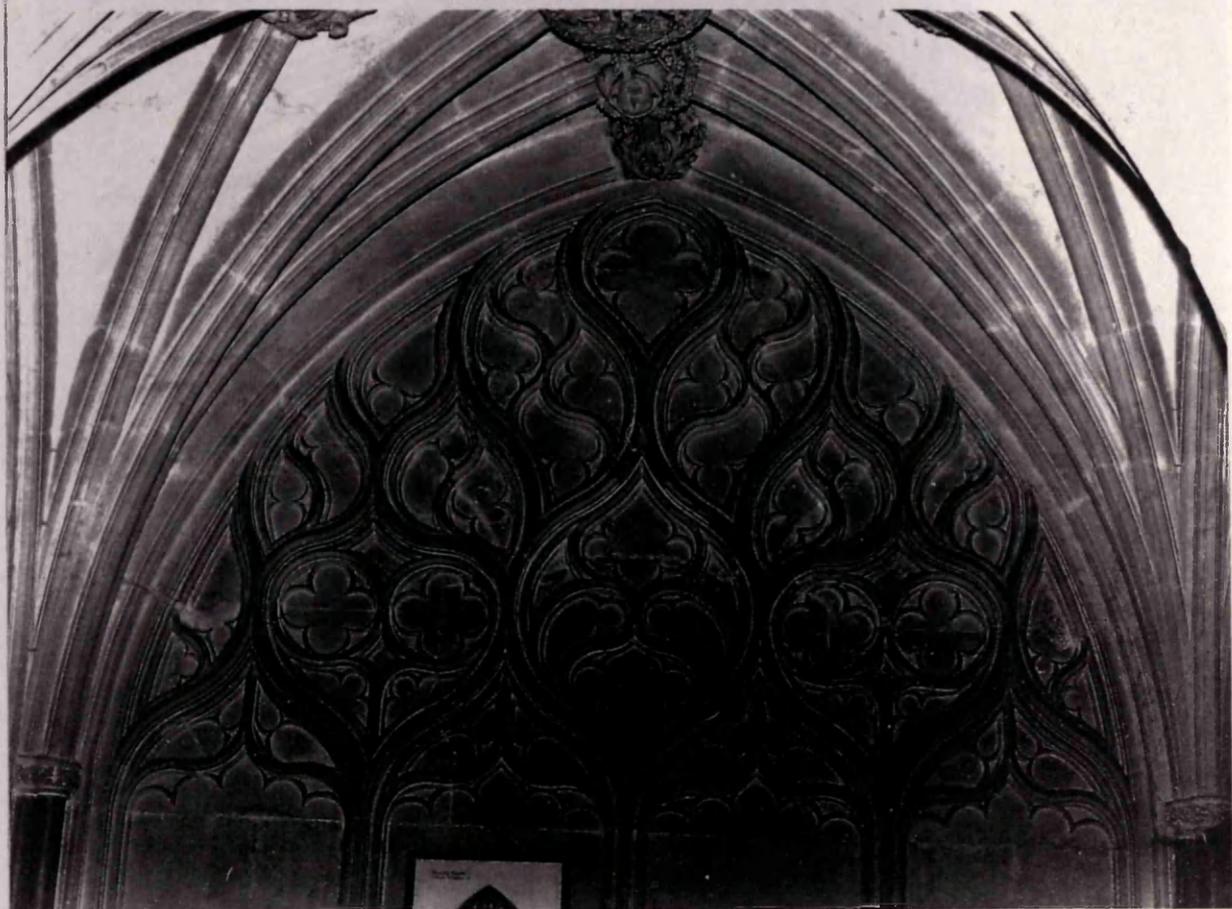


Plate 55: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, southern bay

Plate 56: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, northern bay, vault
and bosses

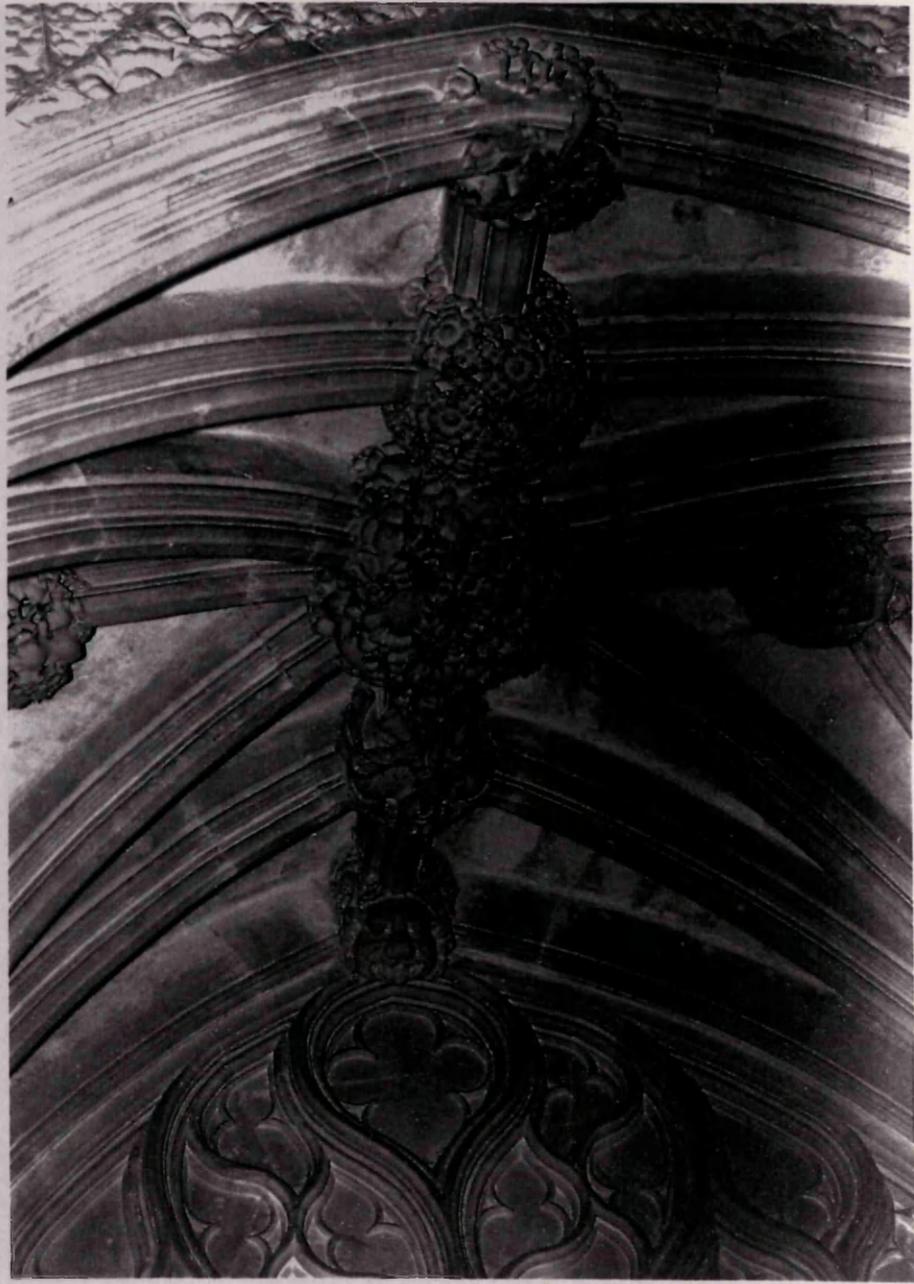


Plate 56: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, northern bay, vault and bosses.

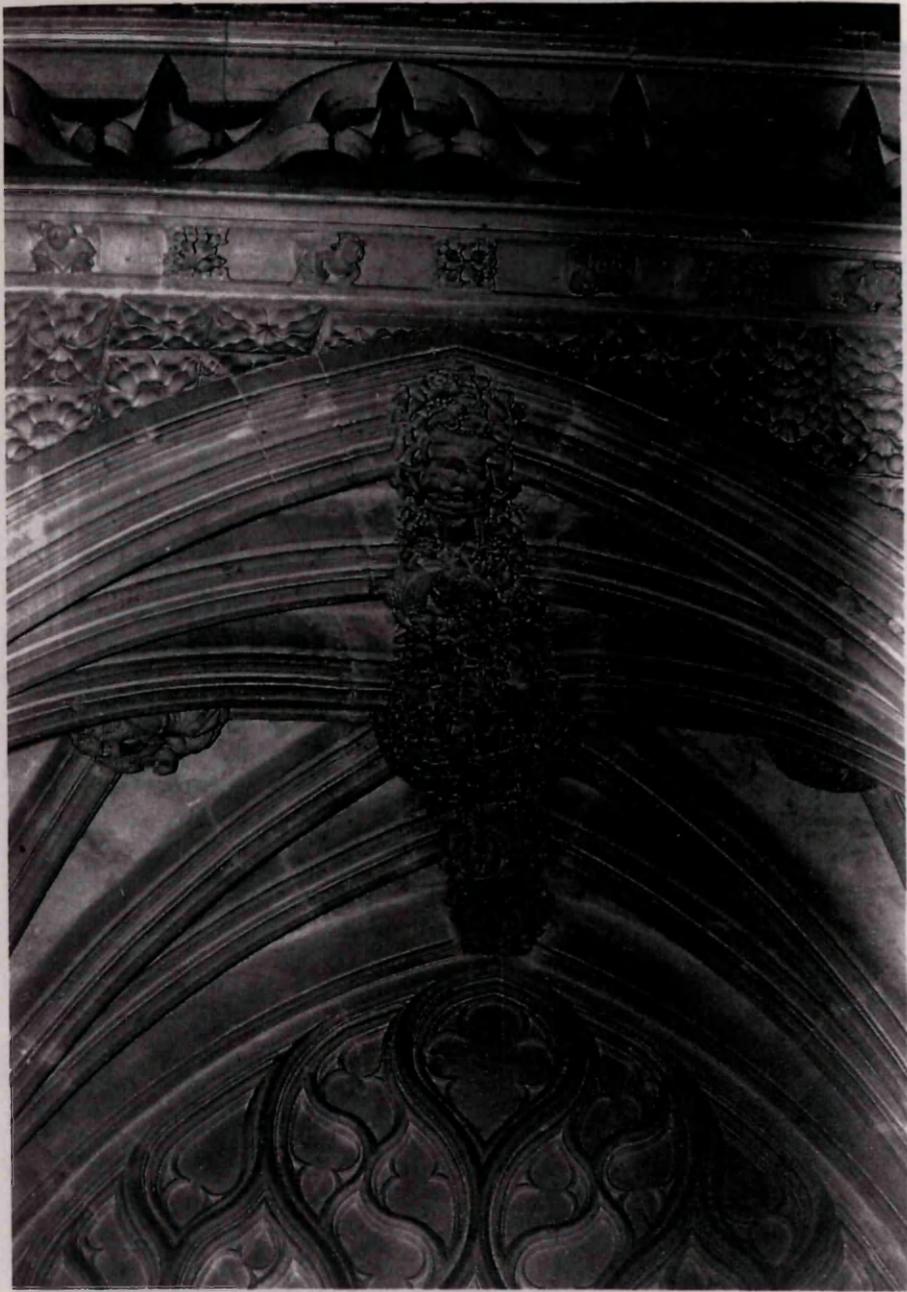


Plate 57: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, southern bay, vault and bosses.

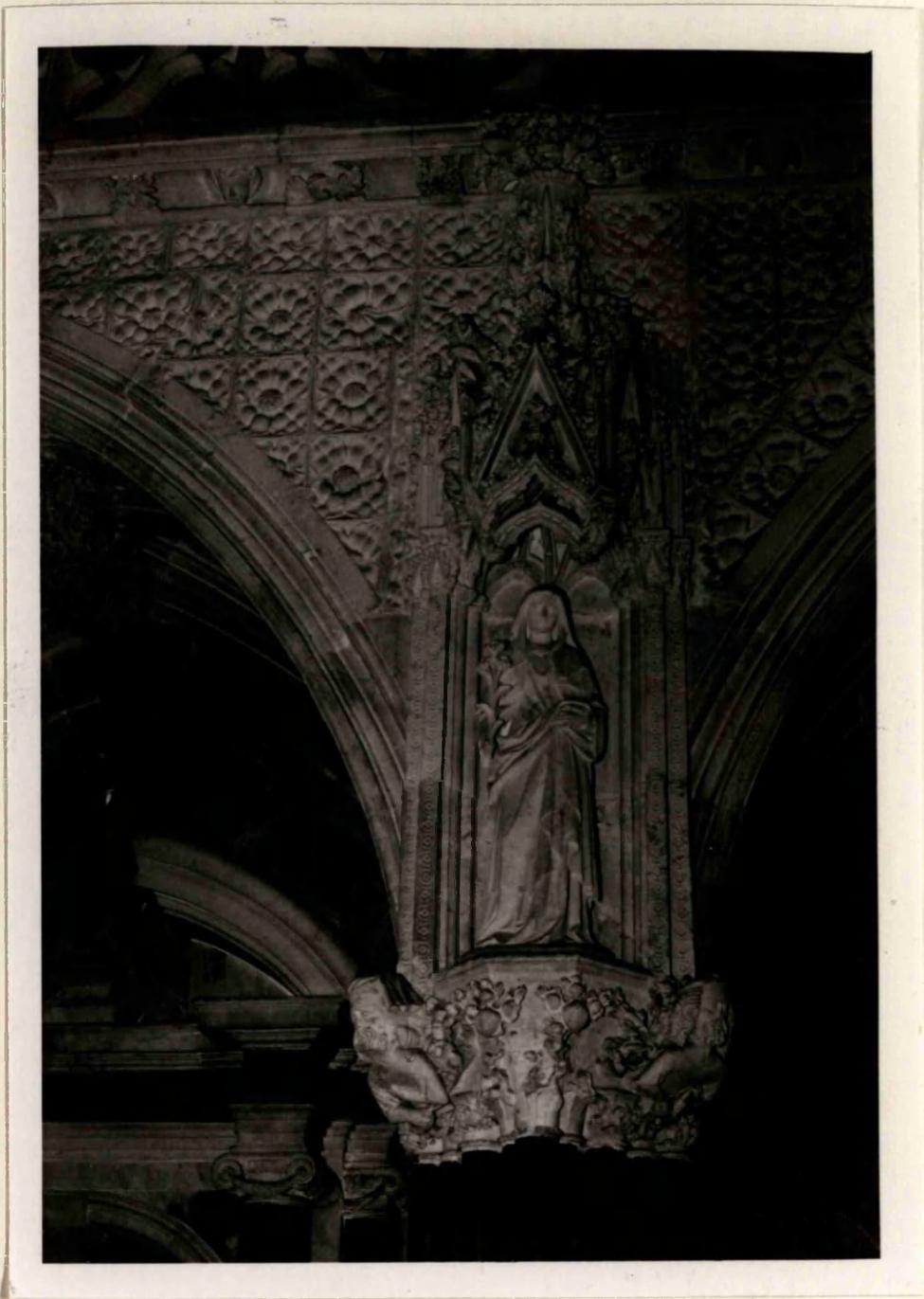


Plate 58: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, statue niche (statue not original)

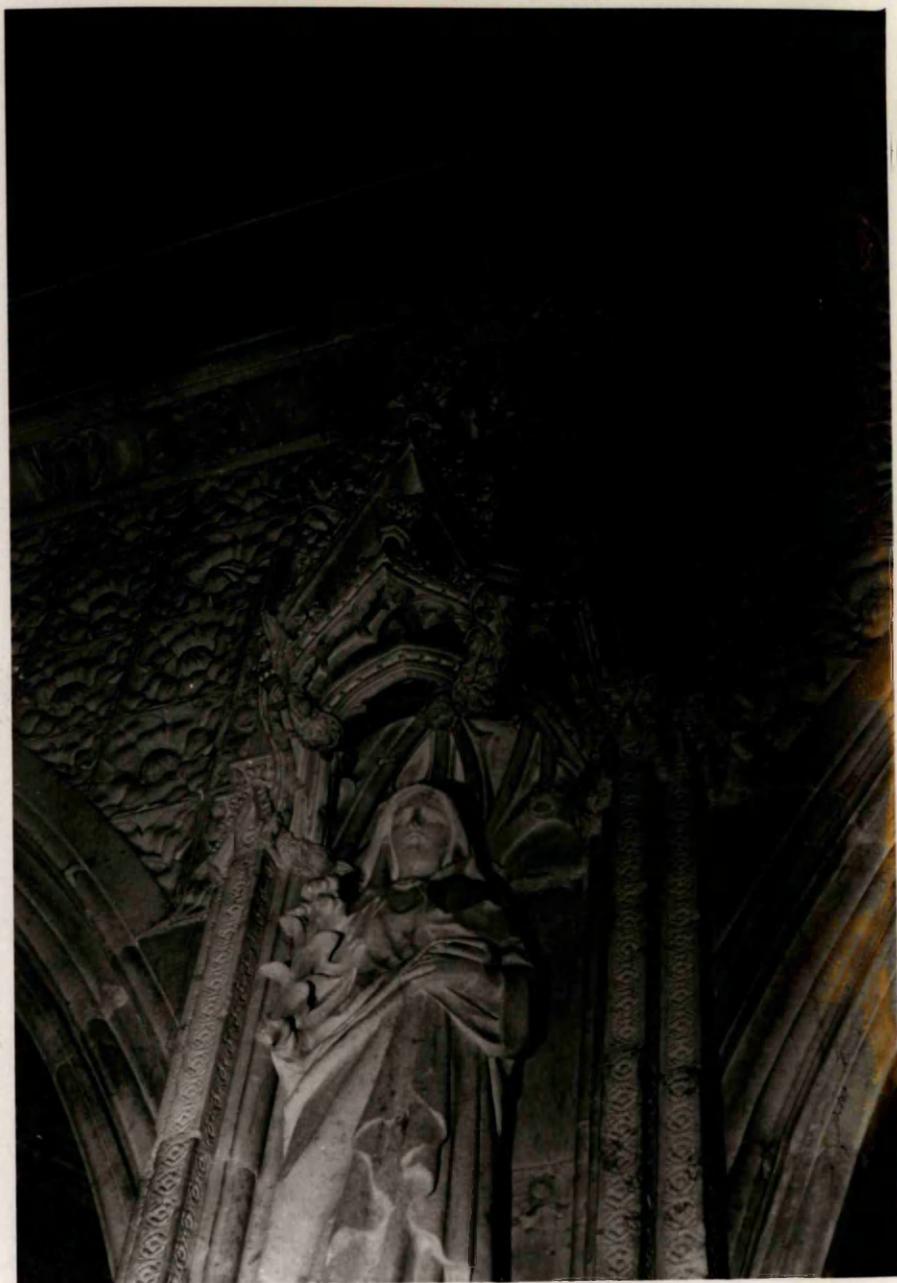


Plate 59: BEVERLEY MINSTER: reredos, canopy of statue niche.



Plate 60: BIRKIN: effigy of Sir John de Everingham in north nave tomb recess.



Plate 61: BIRKIN: effigy, detail.



Plate 62: BIRKIN: effigy, detail.



Plate 63: BRAITHWELL: tomb recess, north chancel wall.



Plate 64: BRAITHWELL: recess crocketing.



Plate 65: BRAITHWELL: recess finial.



Plate 66: BRIGHAM: south nave aisle.

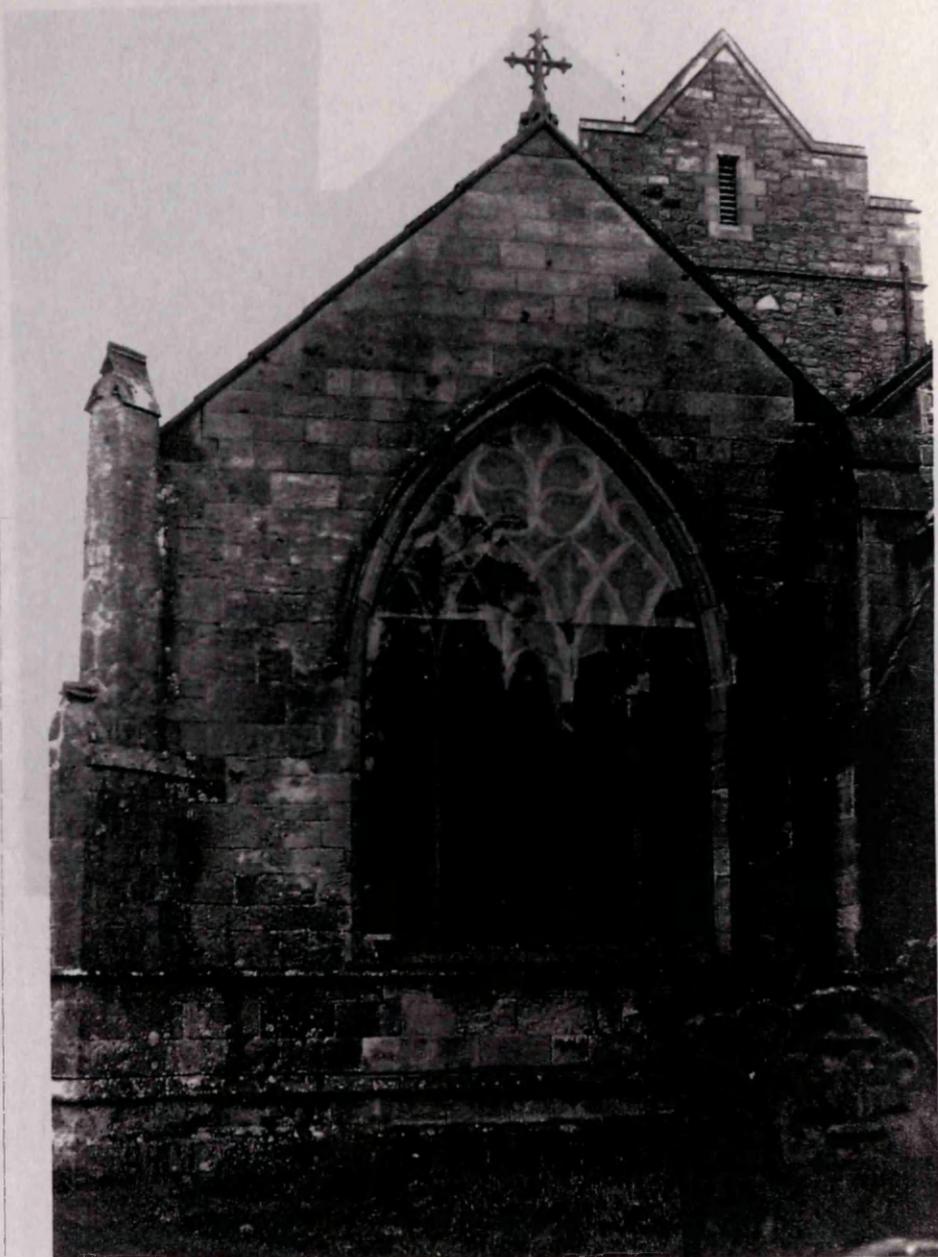


Plate 67: BRIGHAM: south aisle, east window.



Plate 68: BRIGHAM: south aisle, west wall.

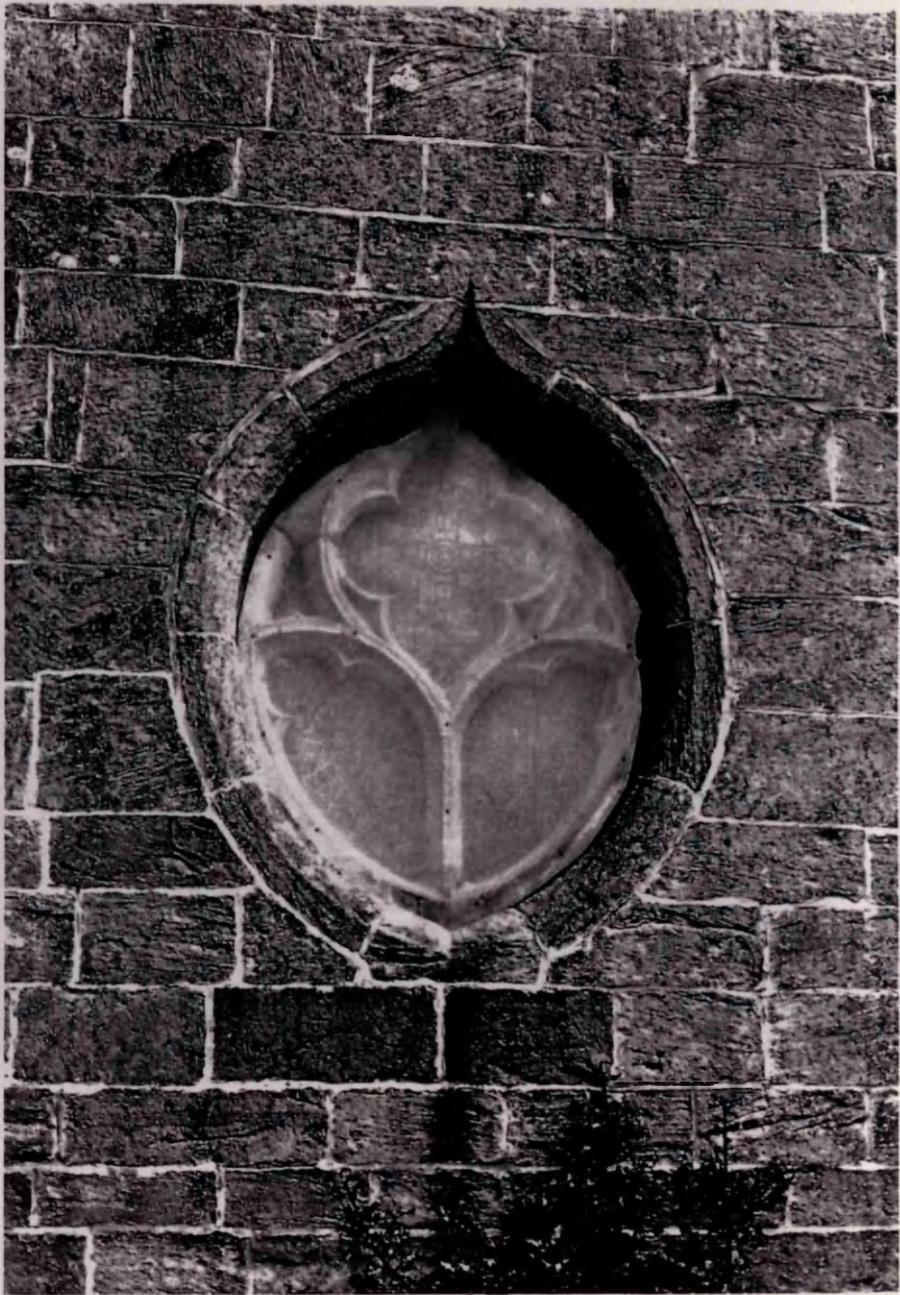


Plate 69: BRIGHAM: south aisle, west window.



Plate 70: BRIGHAM: interior south nave aisle.



Plate 71: BRIGHAM: tomb recess.



Plate 72: BRIGHAM: recess gable.



Plate 73: BRIGHAM: recess crocketing.



Plate 74: BRIGHAM: sedilia crocketing.

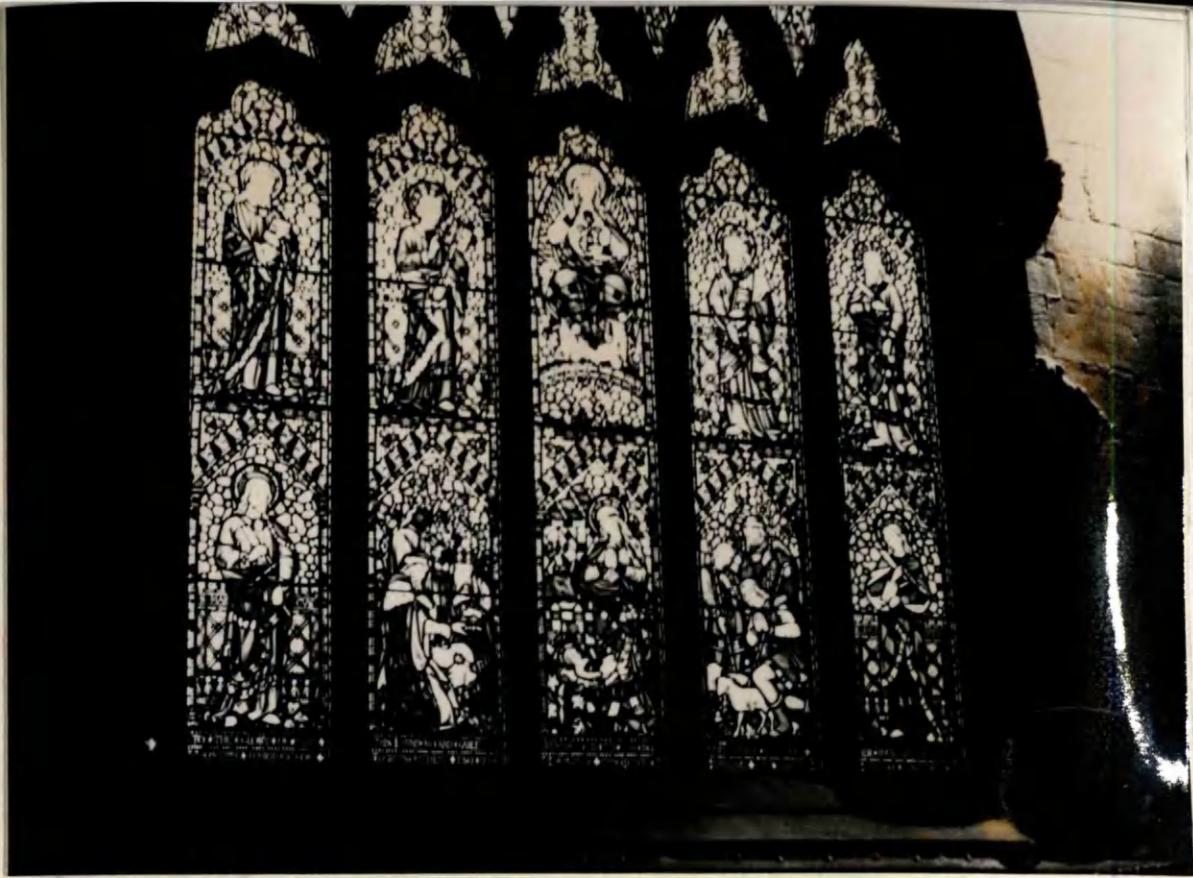


Plate 75: BRIGHAM: east window and niches.

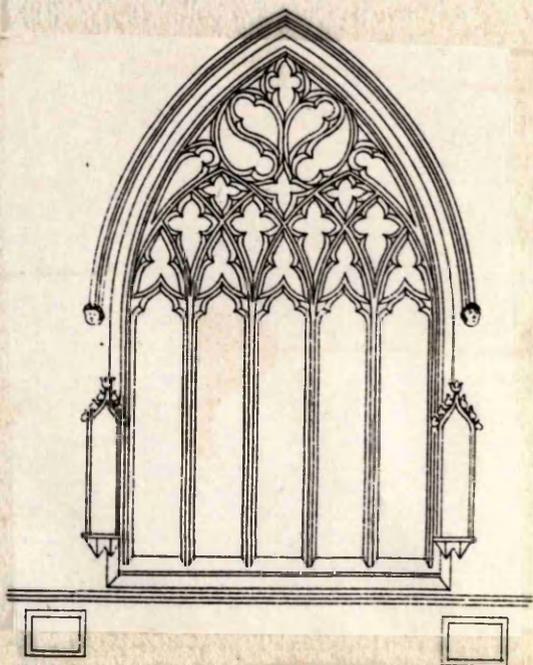


Plate 76: BRIGHAM: east window.

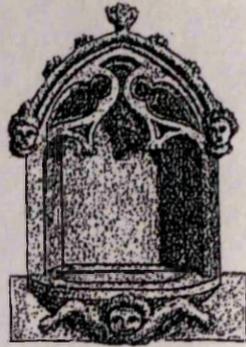


Plate 77: BRIGHAM: piscina.

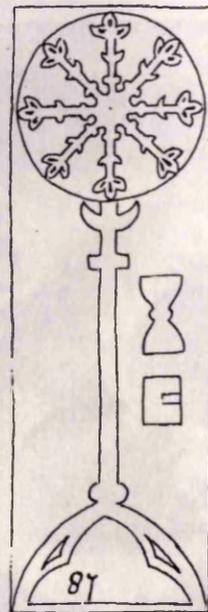


Plate 78: BRIGHAM: tomb slab from south aisle recess.

Plate 80: BURTON AGNES: panels of tomb chest.

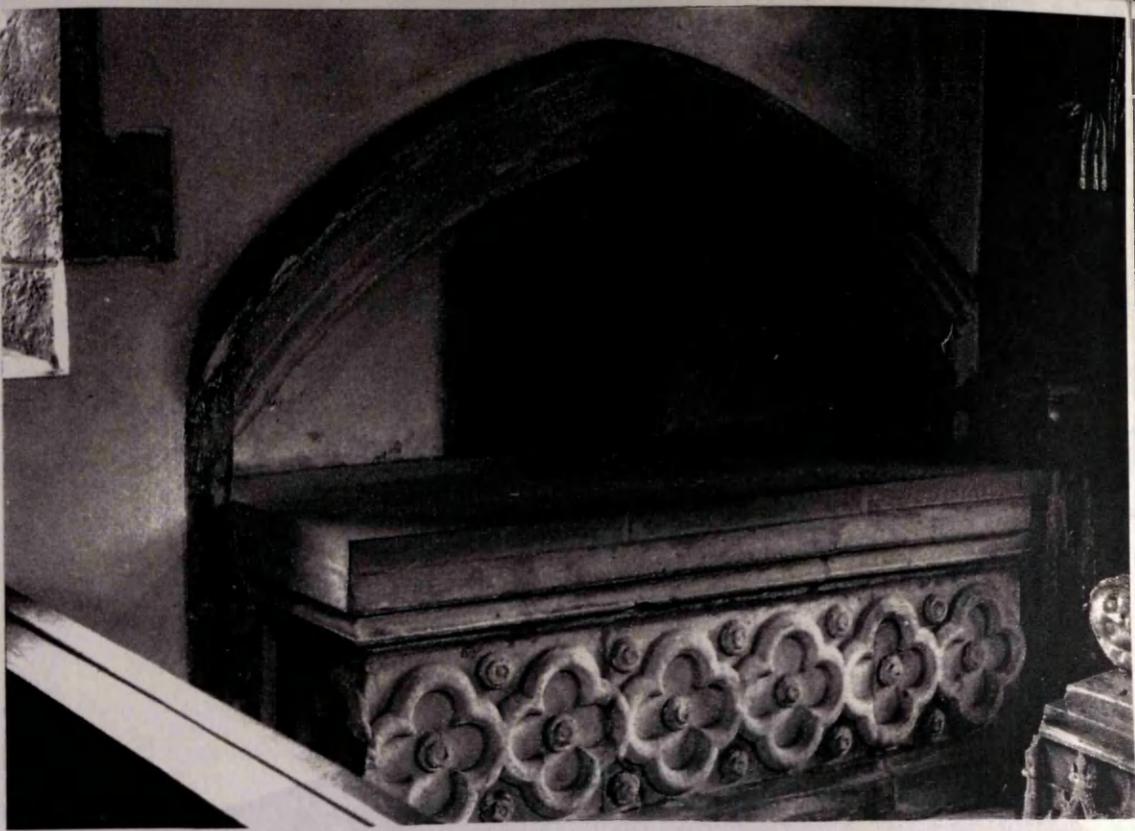


Plate 79: BURTON AGNES: tomb chest and recess, north nave aisle.



Plate 80: BURTON AGNES: panel of tomb chest.



Plate 81: BUTTERWICK: effigy of Sir Robert FitzRalph.



Plate 82: BUTTERWICK: effigy of Sir Robert FitzRalph.



Plate 83: BUTTERWICK: head of effigy.



Plate 84: BUTTERWICK: effigy, detail.



Plate 85: BUTTERWICK: effigy, detail.

Plate 86: CARLISLE CATHEDRAL. West window.

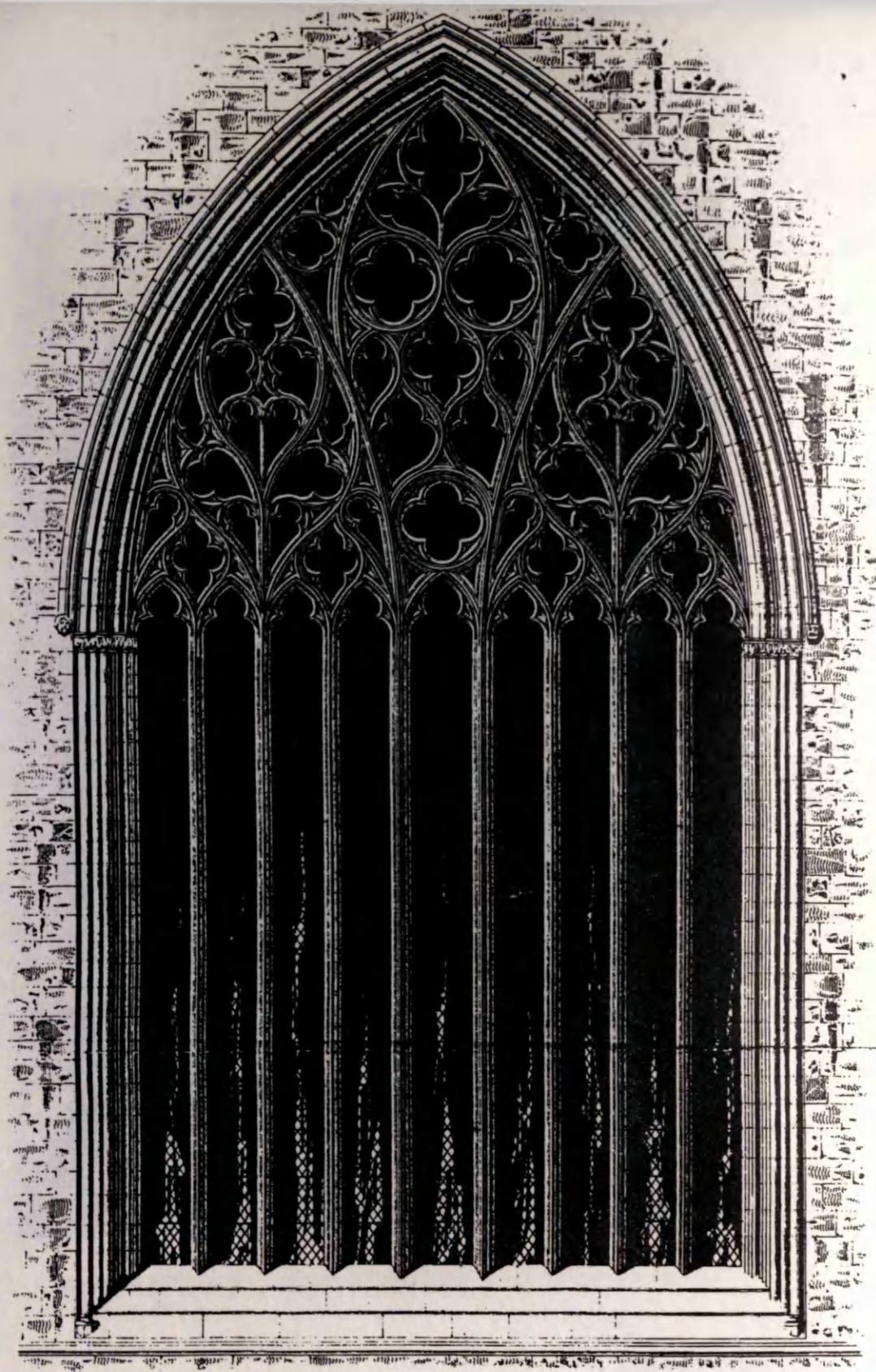


Plate 86: CARLISLE CATHEDRAL, east window.

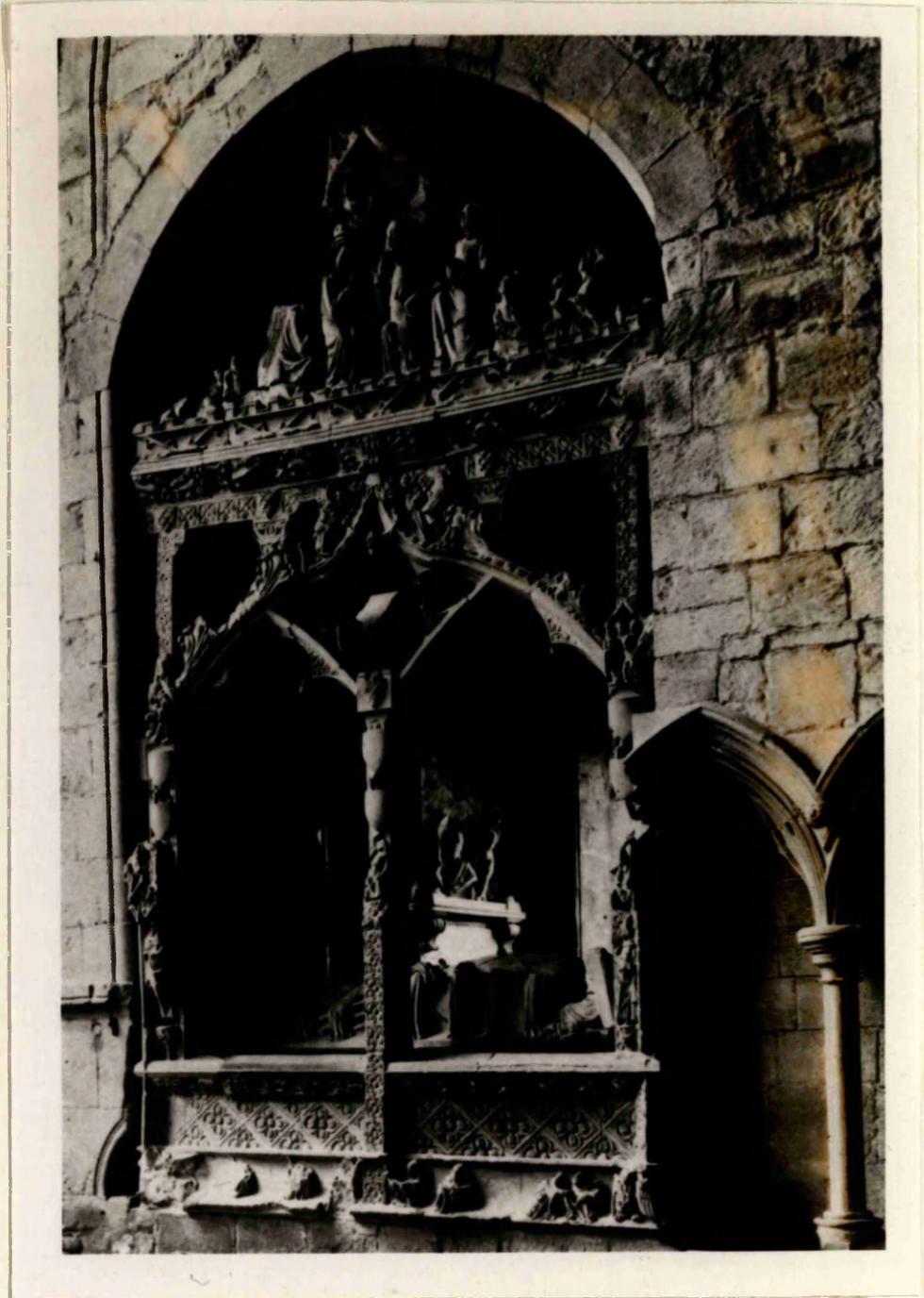


Plate 87: CARTMEL PRIORY: Harrington tomb, north side.



Plate 88: CARTMEL PRIORY: Harrington effigies.

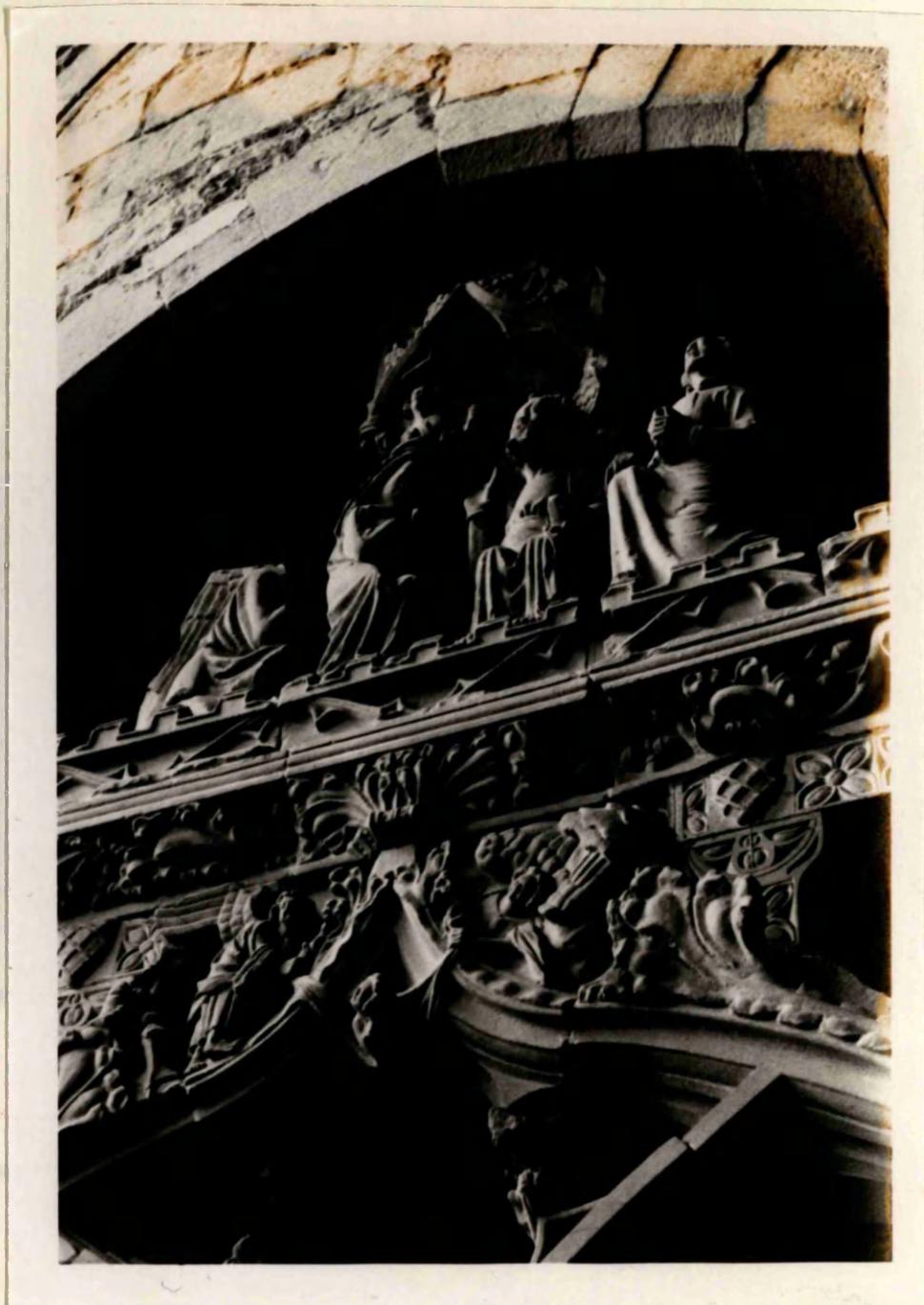


Plate 89: CARTMEL PRIORY: north side of Harrington tomb,
Coronation of the Virgin.



Plate 90: CARTMEL PRIORY: north side of tomb, foliage and diaper.

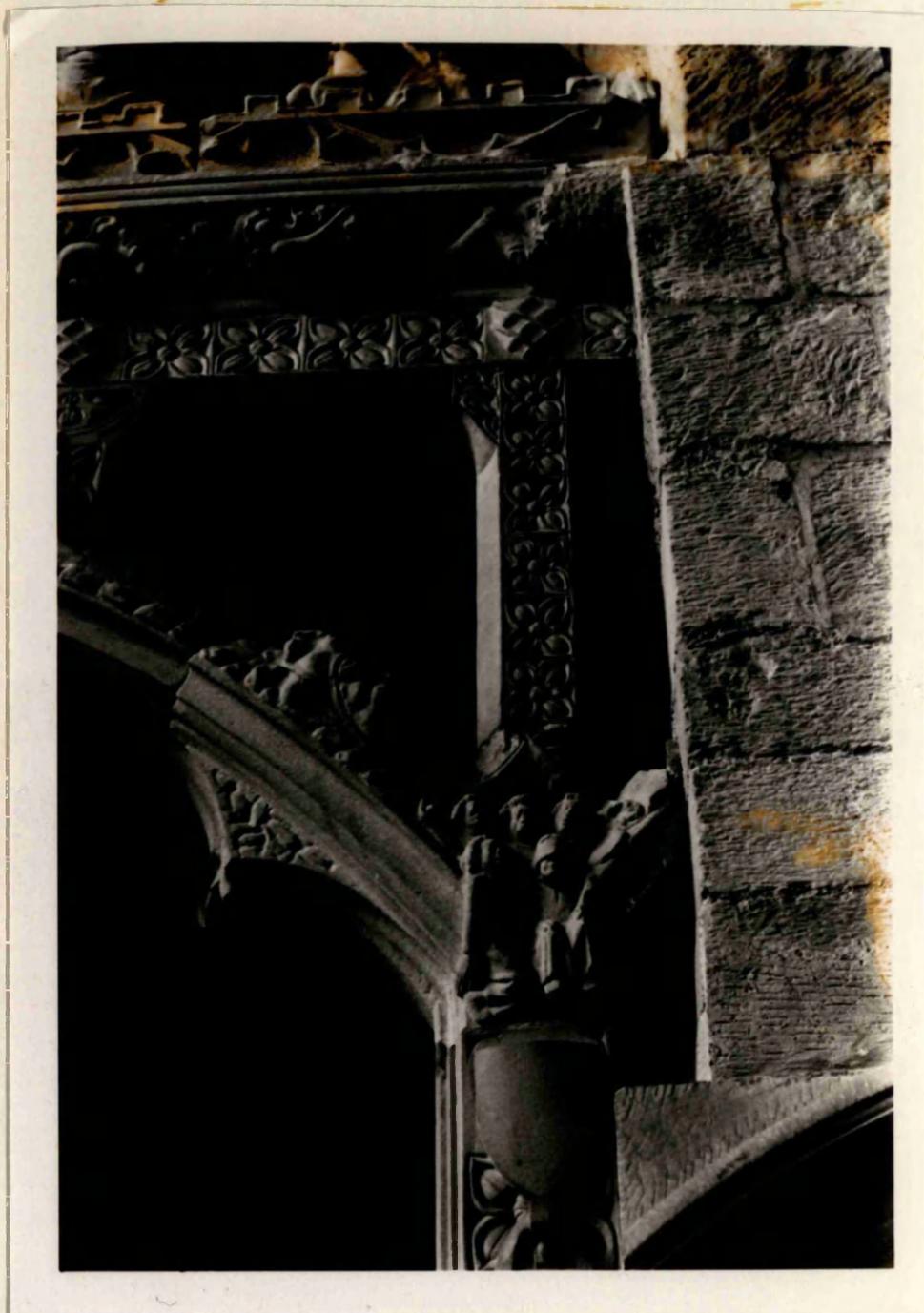


Plate 91: CARTMEL PRIORY: north side of tomb, upper west column.

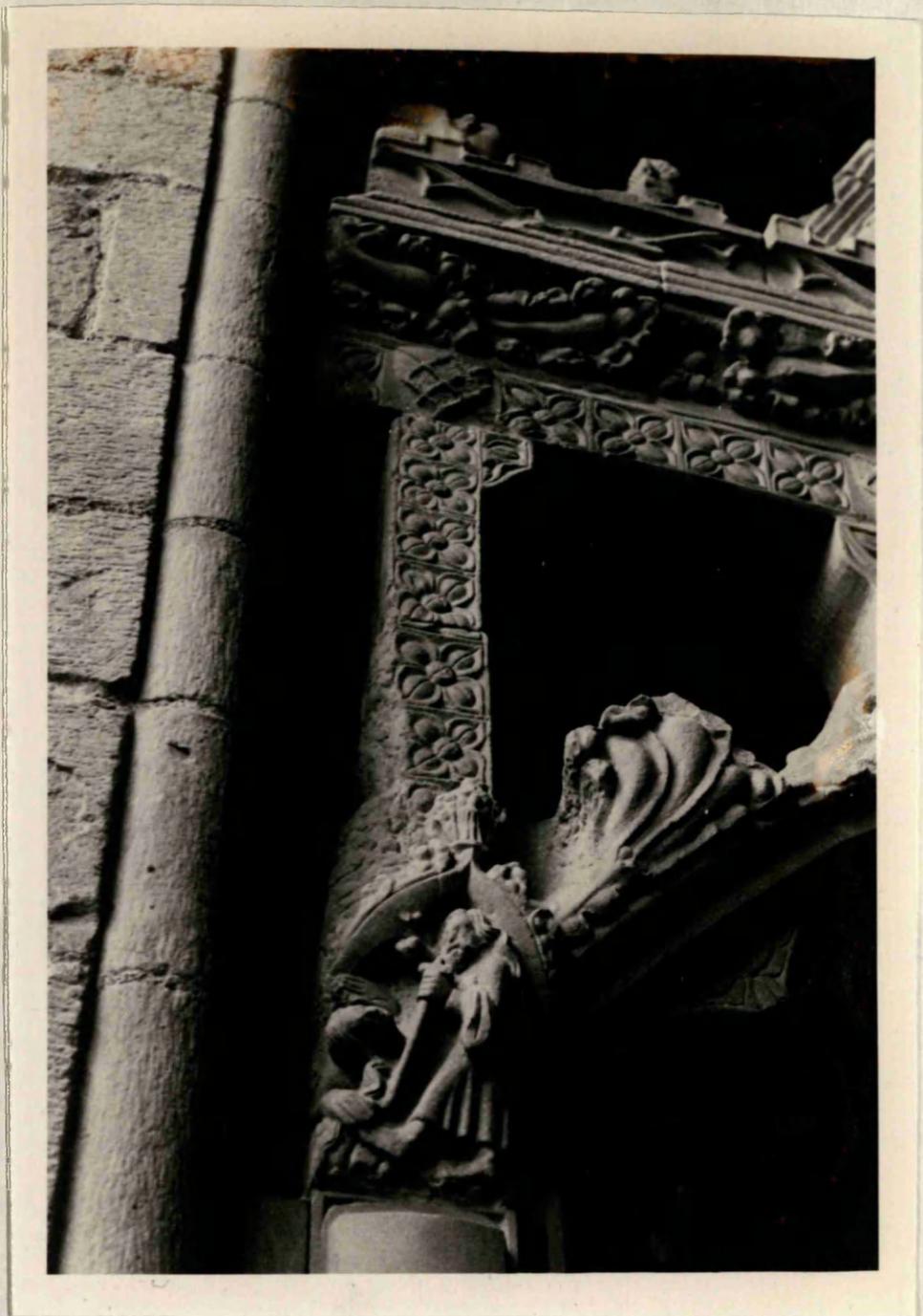


Plate 92: CARTMEL PRIORY: north side of tomb, upper east column.



Plate 93: CARTMEL PRIORY: south side of tomb.



Plate 94: CARTMEL PRIORY: parapet, south side of tomb.

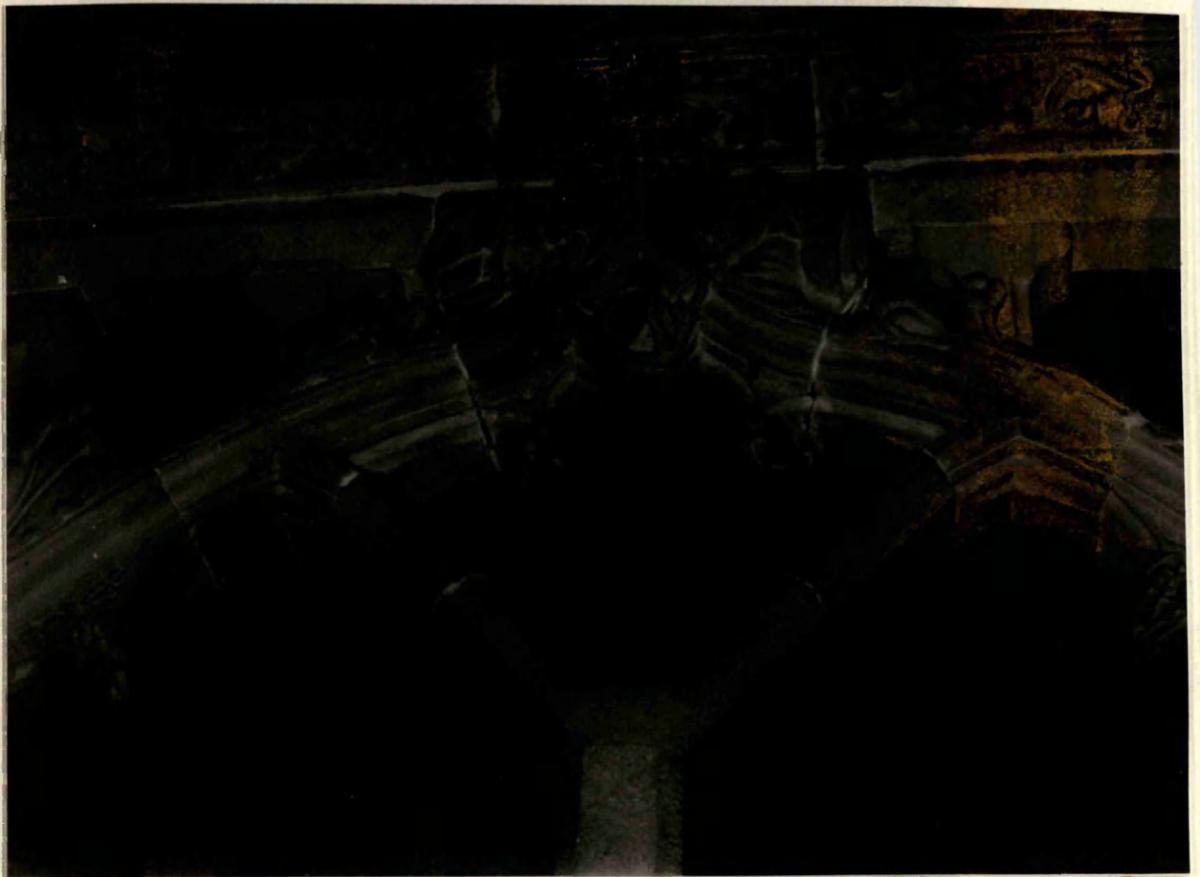


Plate 95: CARTMEL PRIORY: soul lifted by angels, south side of tomb.

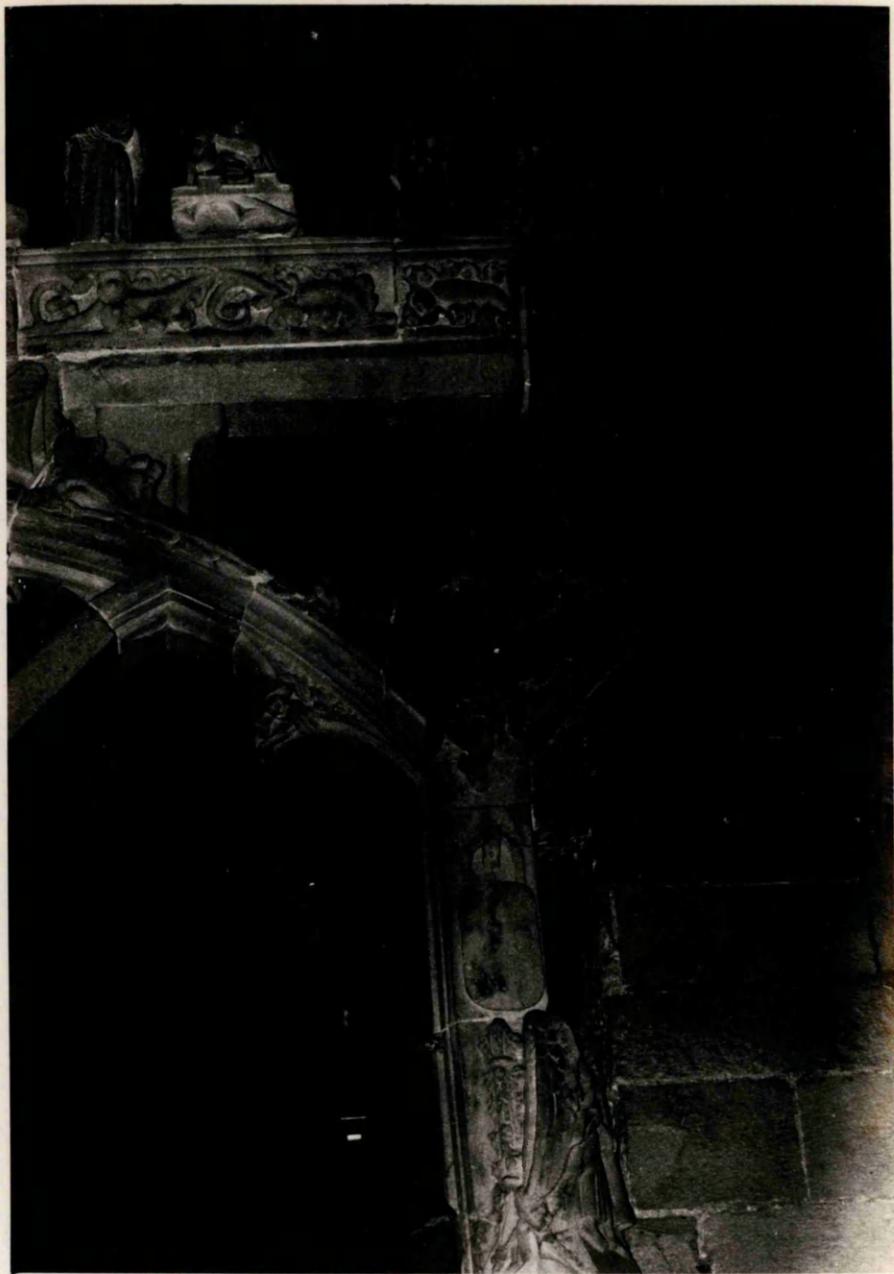


Plate 96: CARTMEL PRIORY: south side of tomb, east column with Crucifixion.

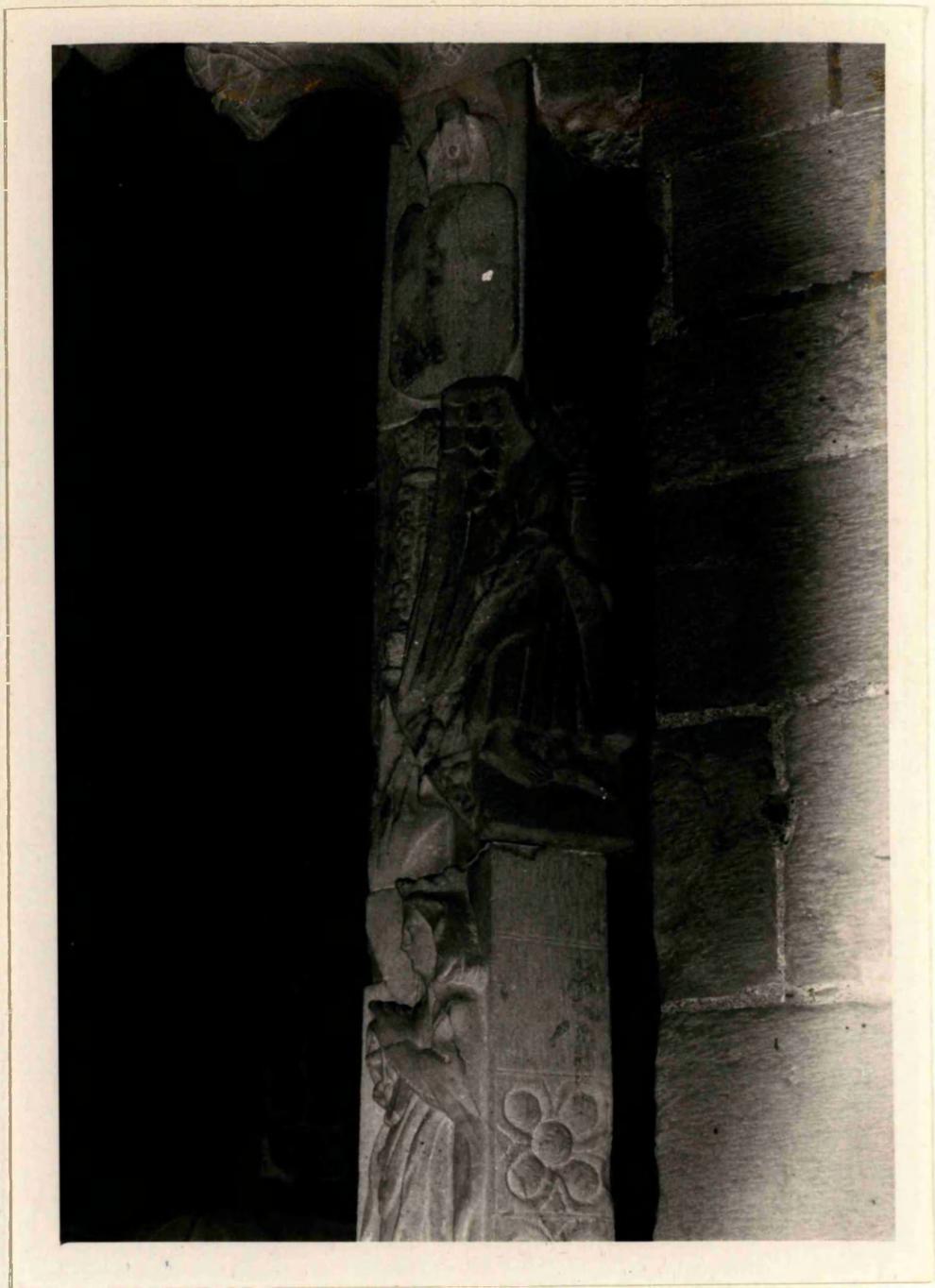


Plate 97: CARTMEL PRIORY: Harrington tomb, scroll-bearing angel.



Plate 98: CARTMEL PRIORY: Harrington tomb, censing angel.



Plate 99: CARTMEL PRIORY: weepers around Harrington effigies.



Plate 100: Tomb of Riccardo Annibaldi (d1289).

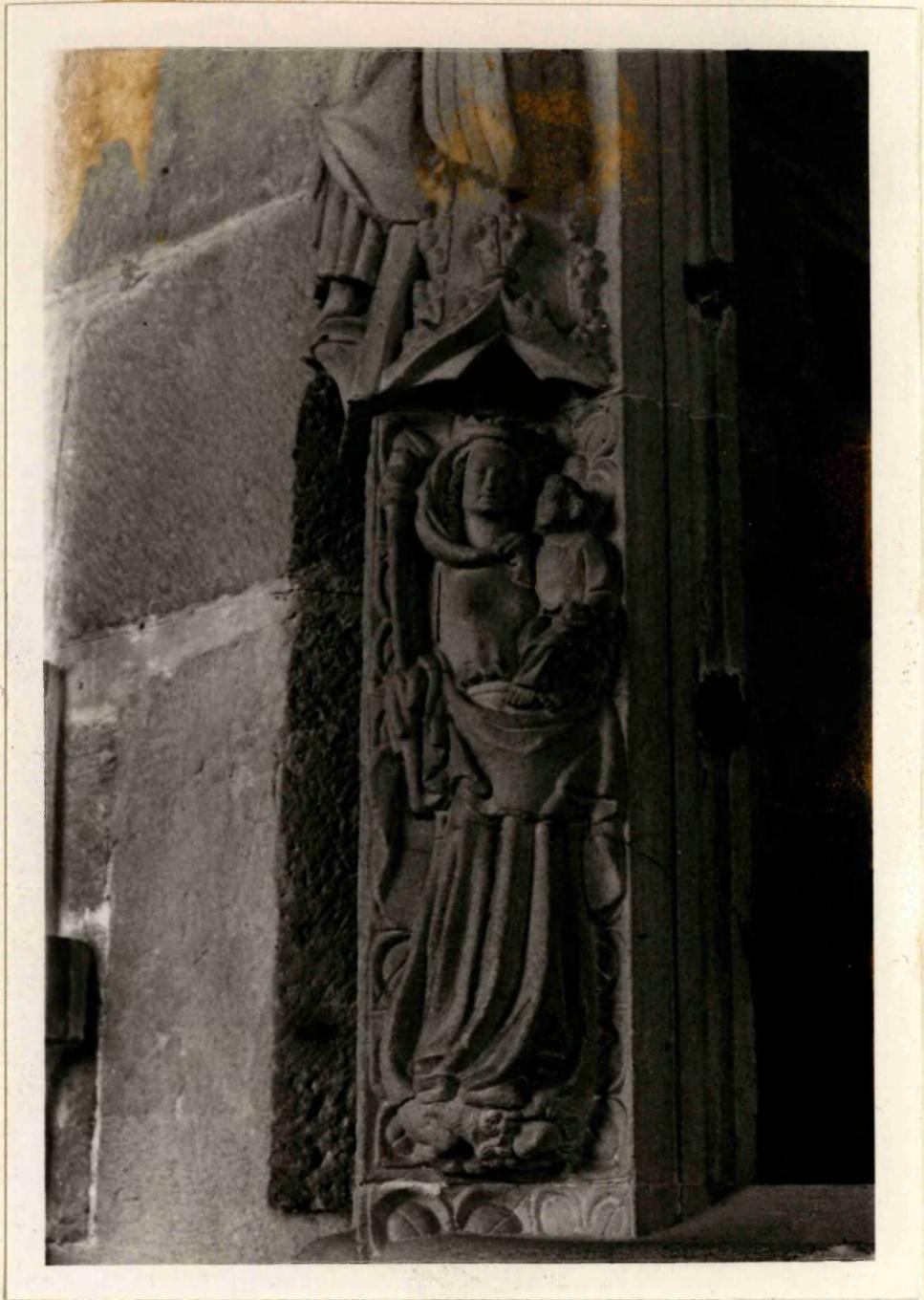


Plate 101: CARTMEL PRIORY: Madonna, south side, west column of Harrington tomb.



Plate 102: CARTMEL PRIORY: St Catherine, south side, east column.



Plate 103: CARTMEL PRIORY: bishop, north side, west column.



Plate 104: CARTMEL PRIORY: St John the Baptist, north side, east column.



Plate 105: CARTMEL PRIORY: base, south-east corner.



Plate 106: CARTMEL PRIORY: base, south-east corner.



Plate 107: CARTMEL PRIORY: base, south side.



Plate 108: CARTMEL PRIORY: base, south side.



Plate 109: CARTMEL PRIORY: base, north-east corner.



Plate 110: Tomb of Hugues de Chatillon (d1352), cathedral of St-Bernard-de-Commignes.

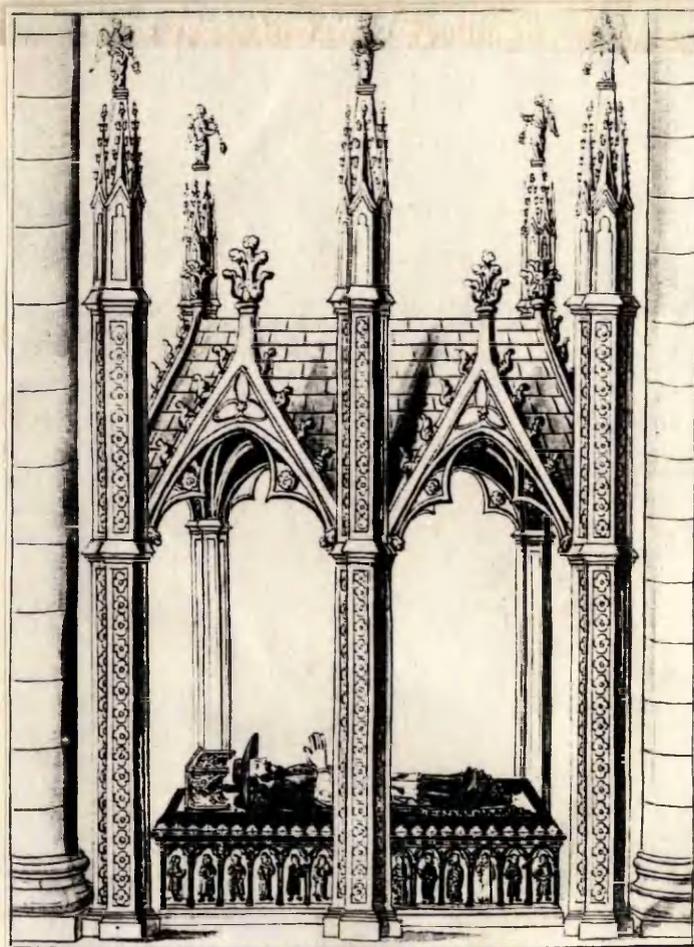


Plate 111: BEAUVAIS: tomb of Cardinal Jean de Cholet (d1292).



Plate 112: CARTMEL PRIORY: effigy of canon lying against south side of Harrington tomb.



Plate 113: CARTMEL PRIORY: detail of canon.

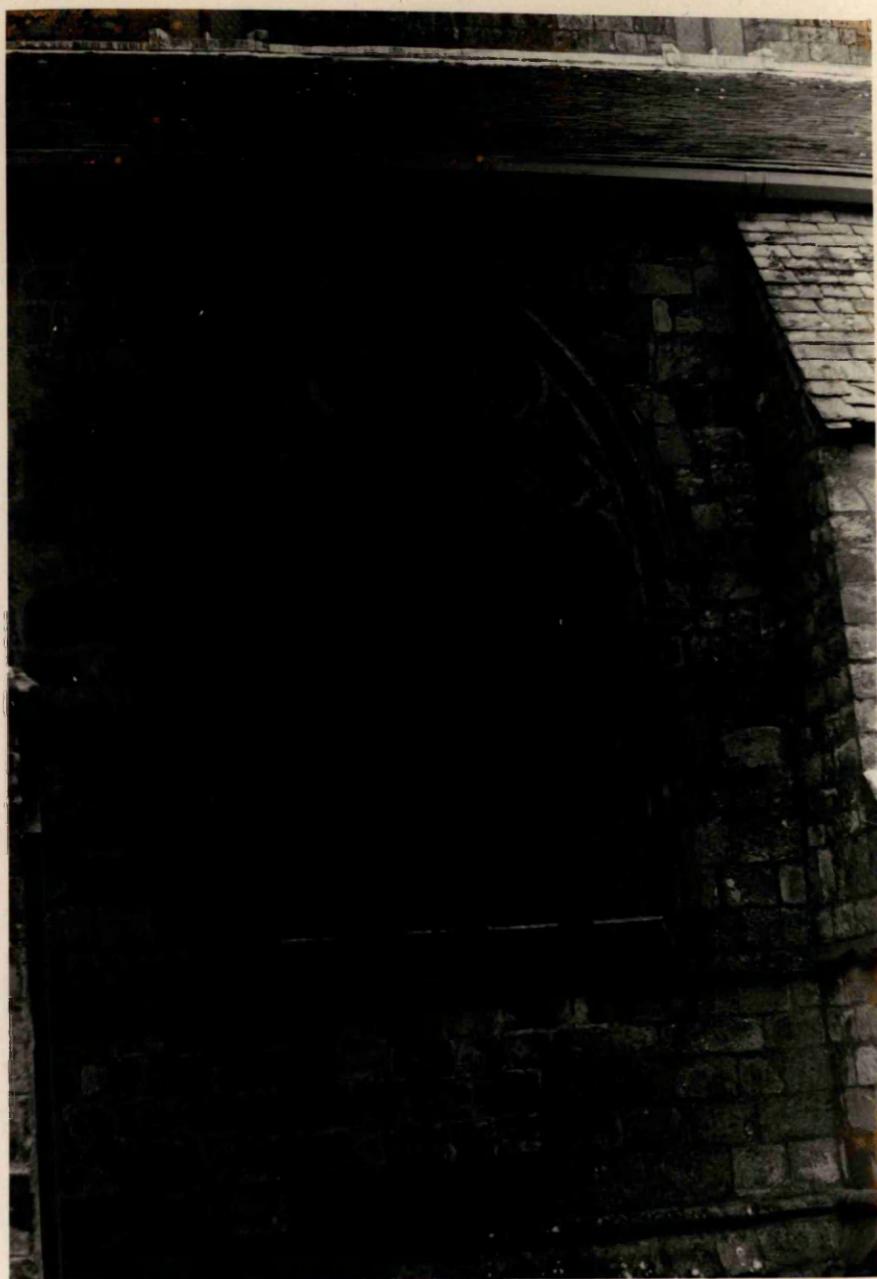


Plate 114: CARTMEL PRIORY: south choir, south-east window.

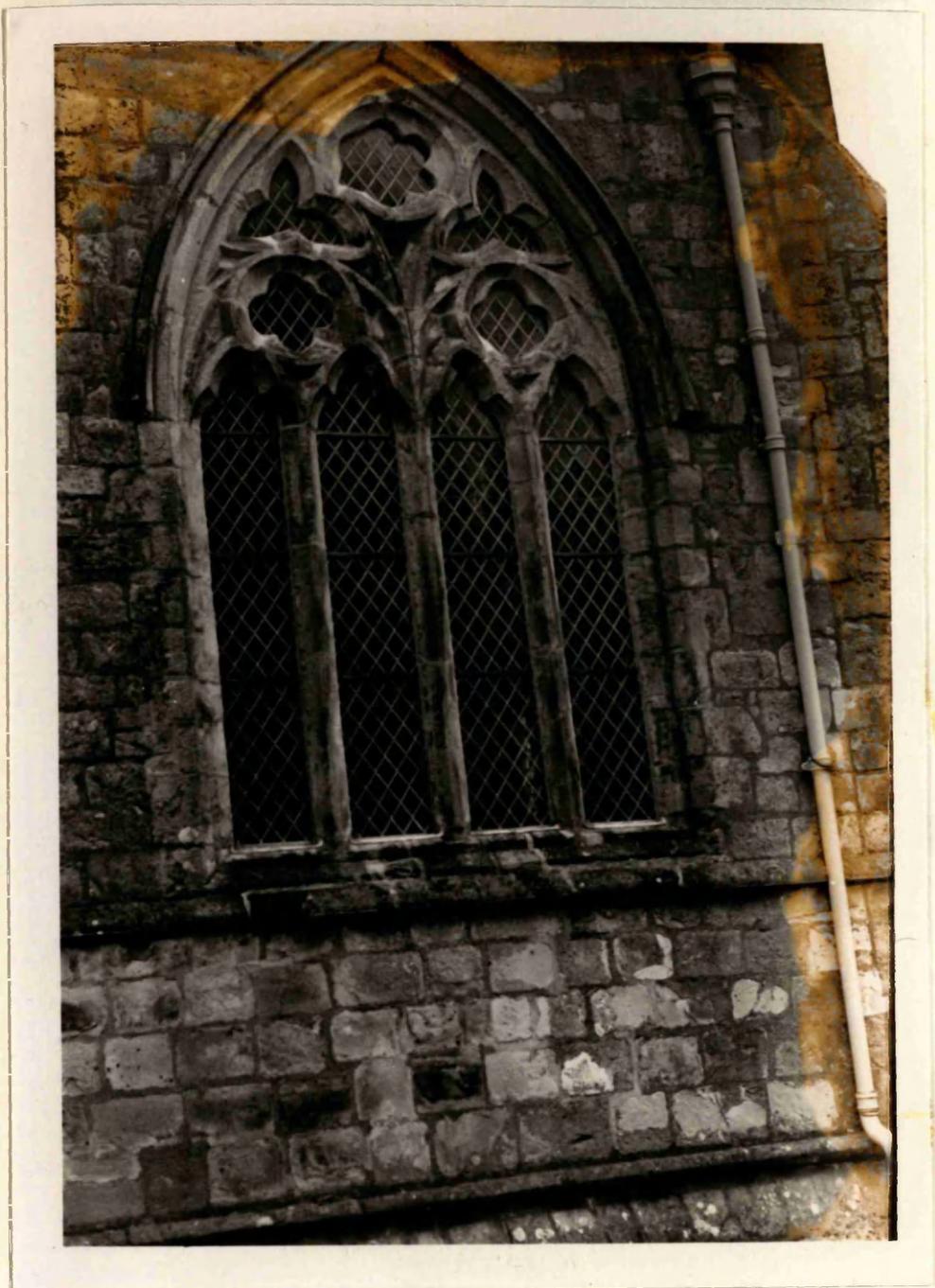


Plate 115: CARTMEL PRIORY: south choir, south-west window.

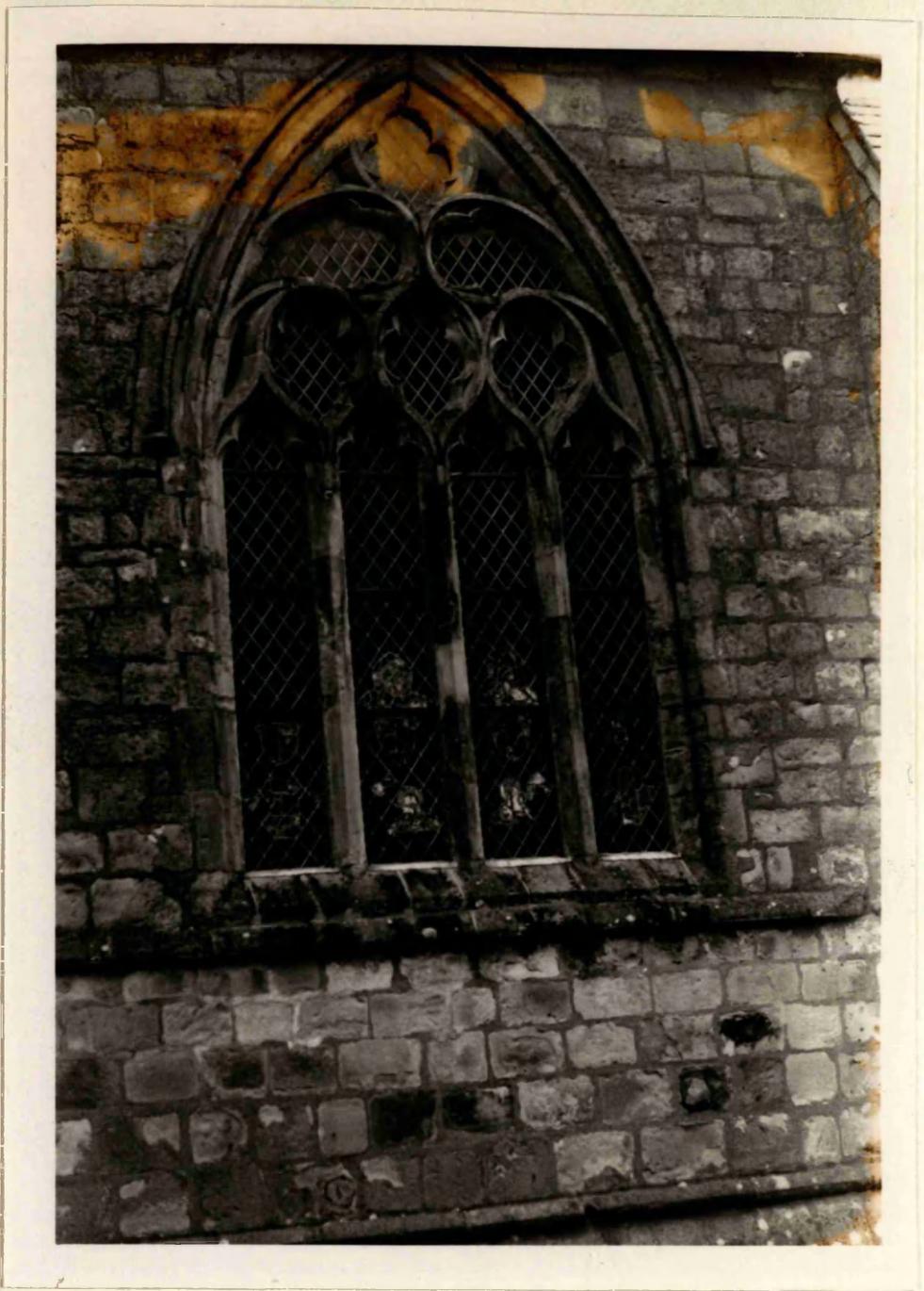


Plate 116: CARTMEL PRIORY: south choir, central south window.

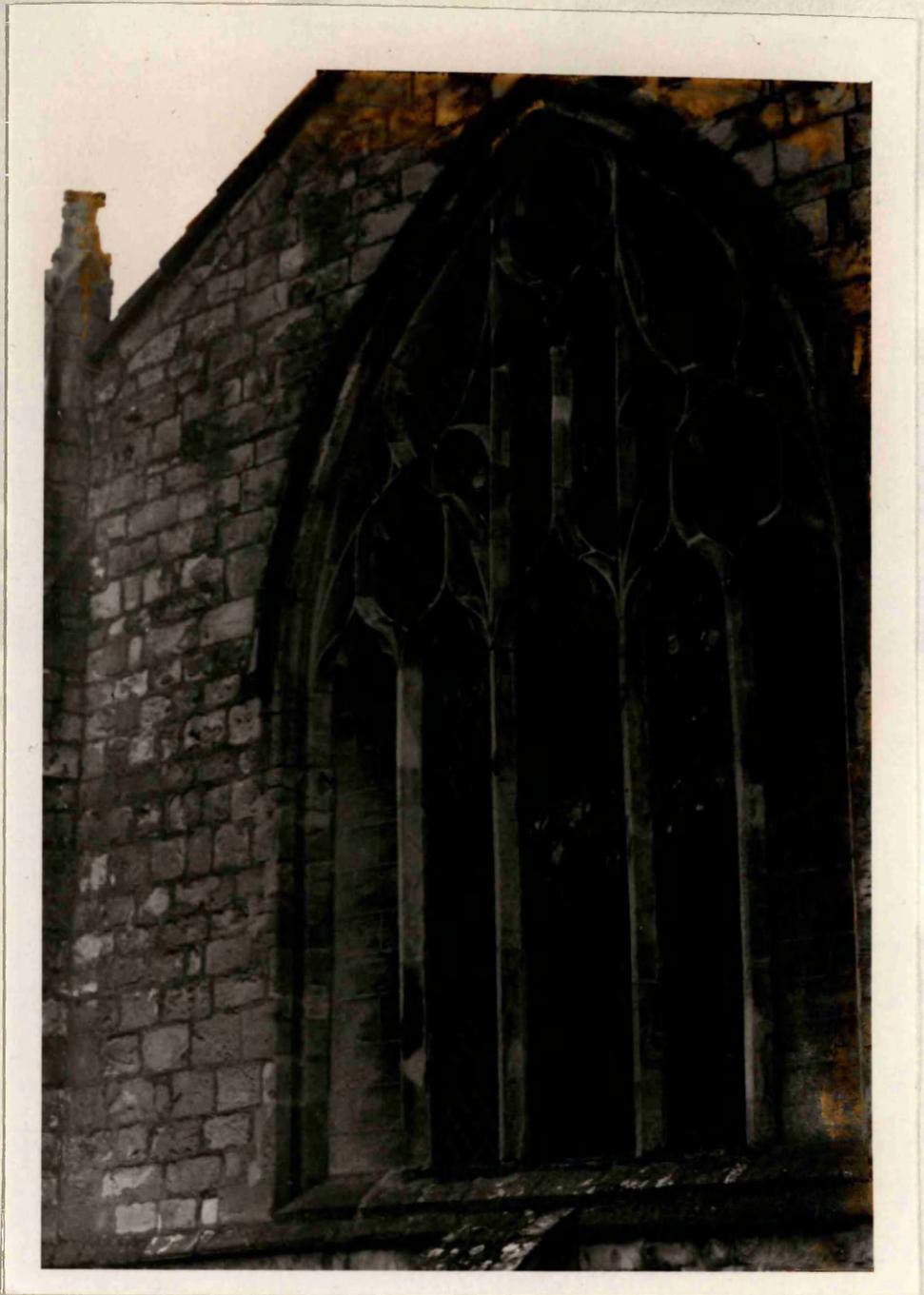


Plate 117: CARTMEL PRIORY: south choir, east window.

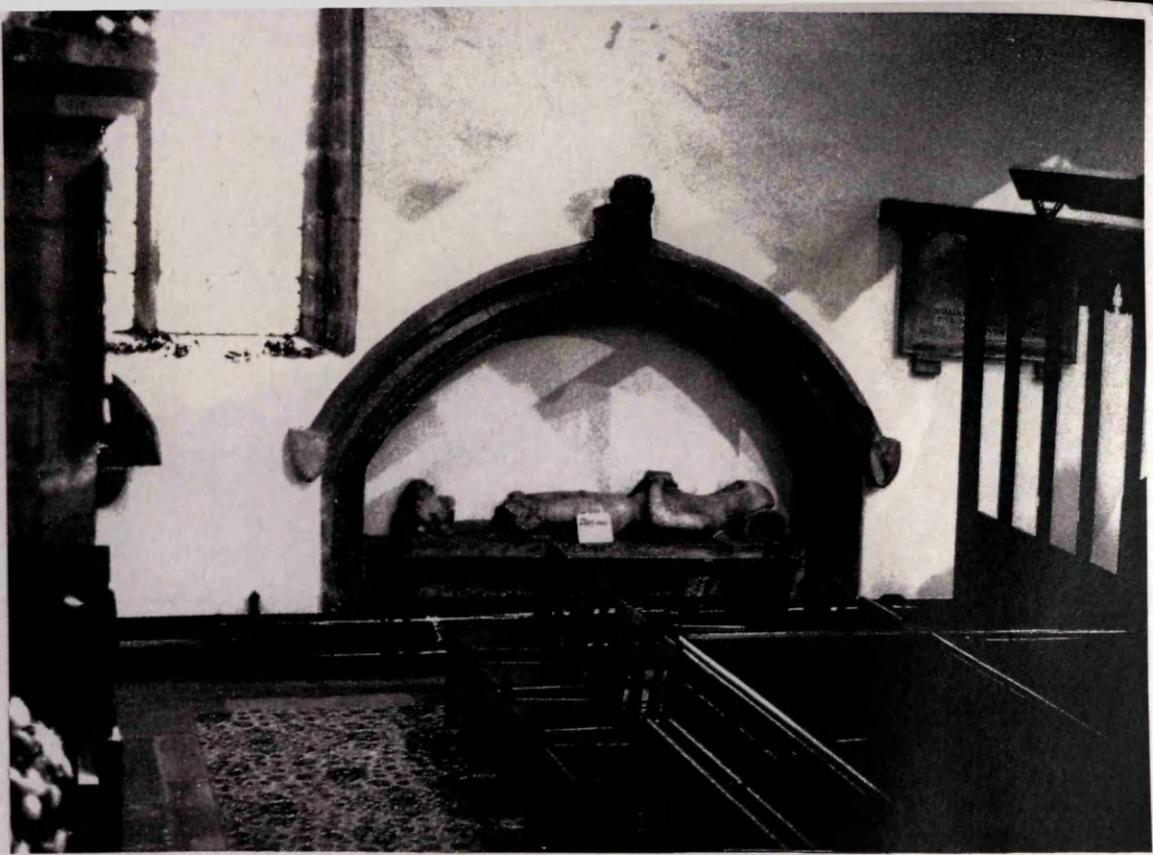


Plate 118: CATTERICK: south nave aisle recess.



Plate 119: CATTERICK: effigy of Sir Walter de Urswick, in recess.



Plate 120: CATTERICK: effigy detail.



Plate 121: CATTERICK: effigy, elbow detail.

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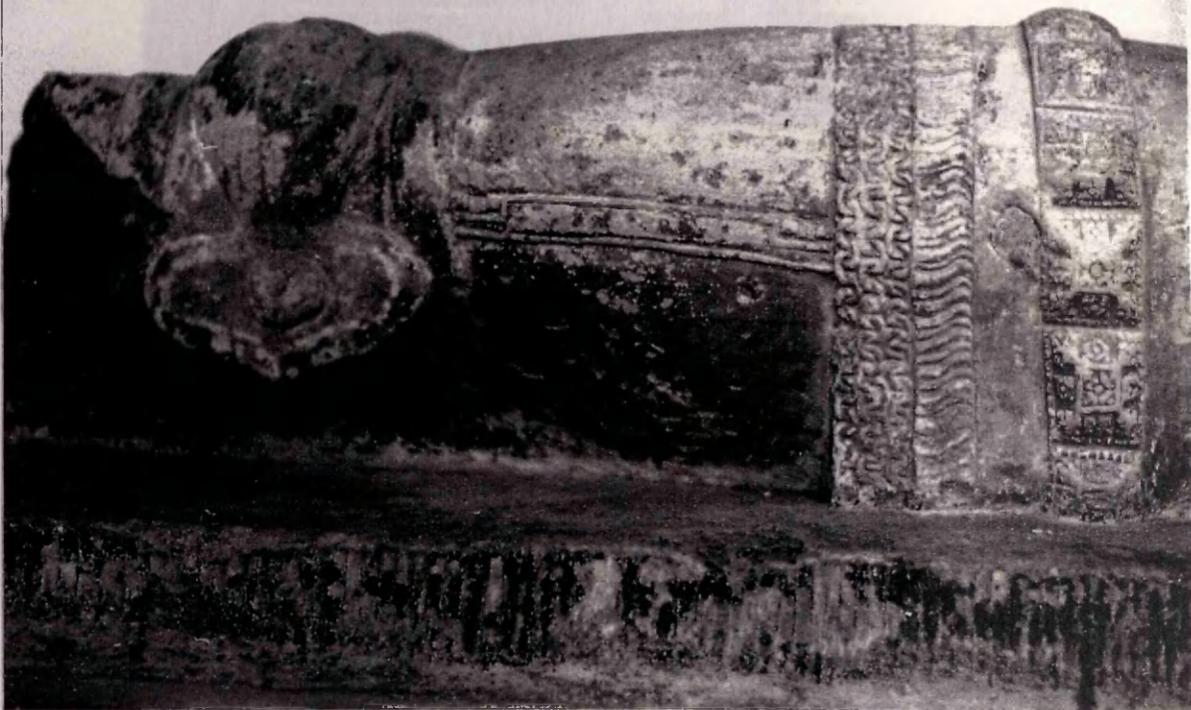


Plate 122: CATTERICK: effigy, thigh detail.



Plate 123: CATTERICK: north nave aisle recesses.



Plate 124: CATTERICK: detail of central column.

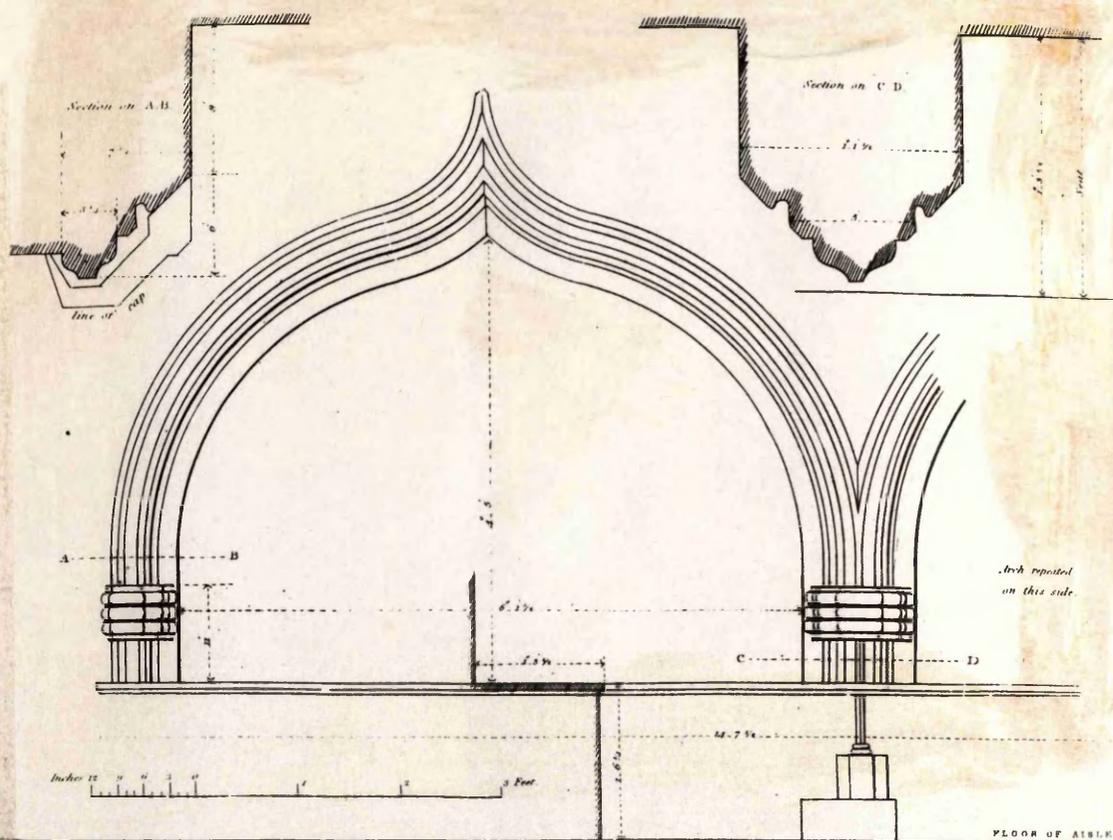


Plate 125: CATTERICK: north nave aisle recesses, elevation and sections.

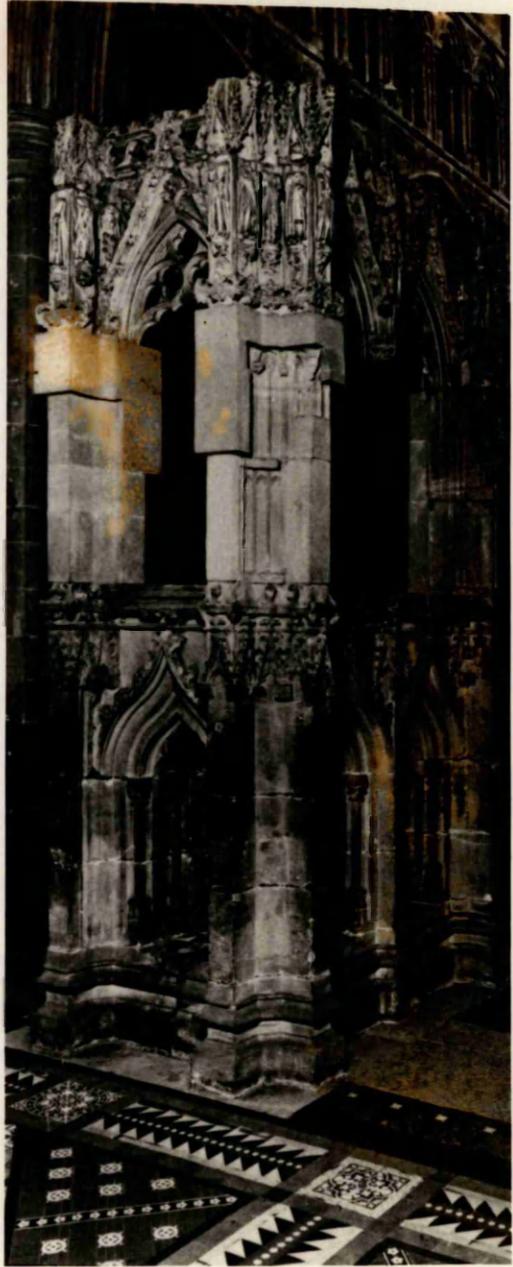


Plate 126: CHESTER CATHEDRAL: St Werbergh's shrine.



Plate 127: CHESTER CATHEDRAL: St Werbergh's shrine.

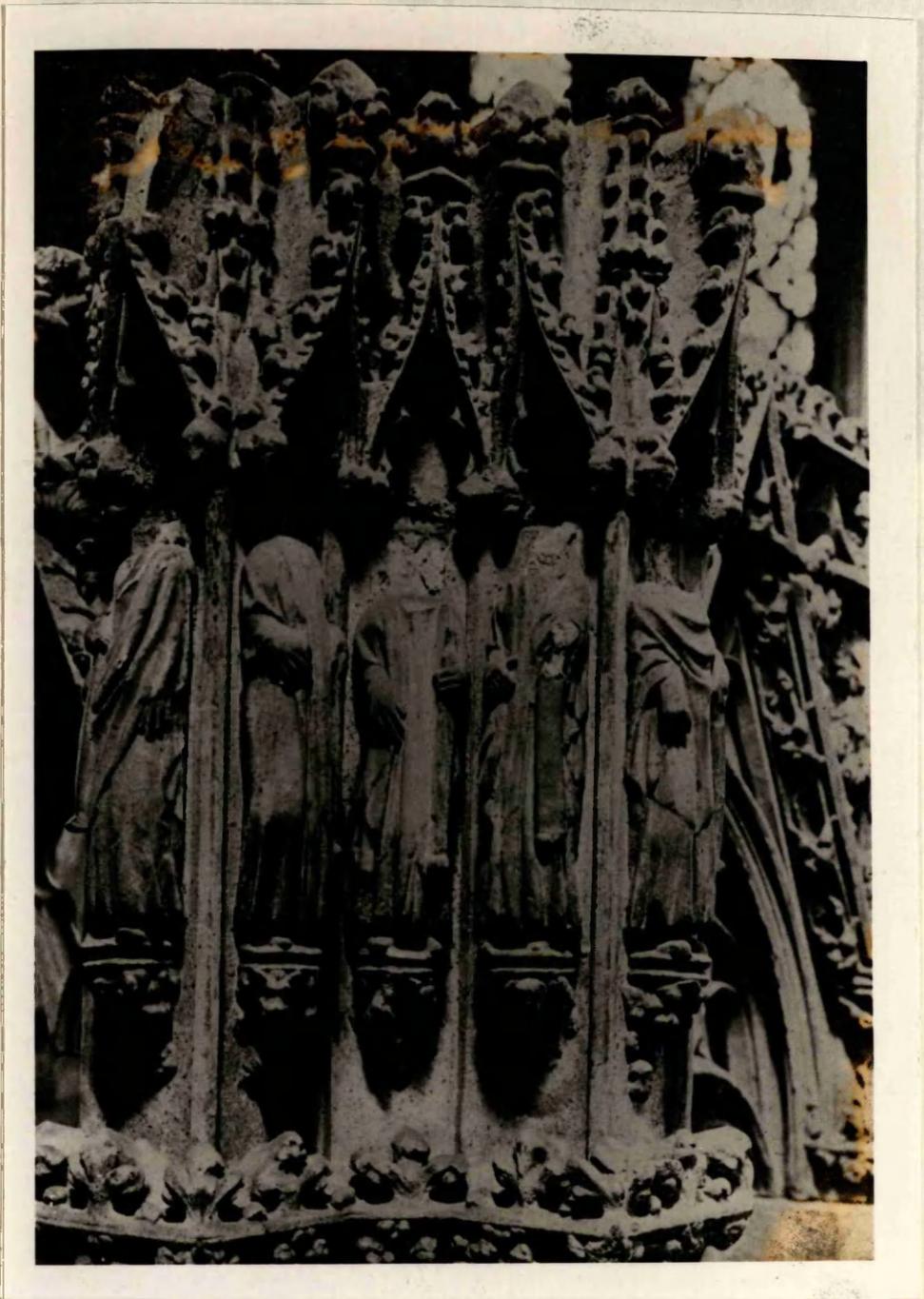


Plate 128: CHESTER CATHEDRAL: St Werbergh's shrine



Plate 129: CHESTER CATHEDRAL: St Werbergh's shrine -
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Plate 130: CHESTER CATHEDRAL: St Werbergh's shrine -
vault of niche on base.



Plate 131: CHESTER CATHEDRAL: St Werbergh's shrine -
detail of arch of niche on base.

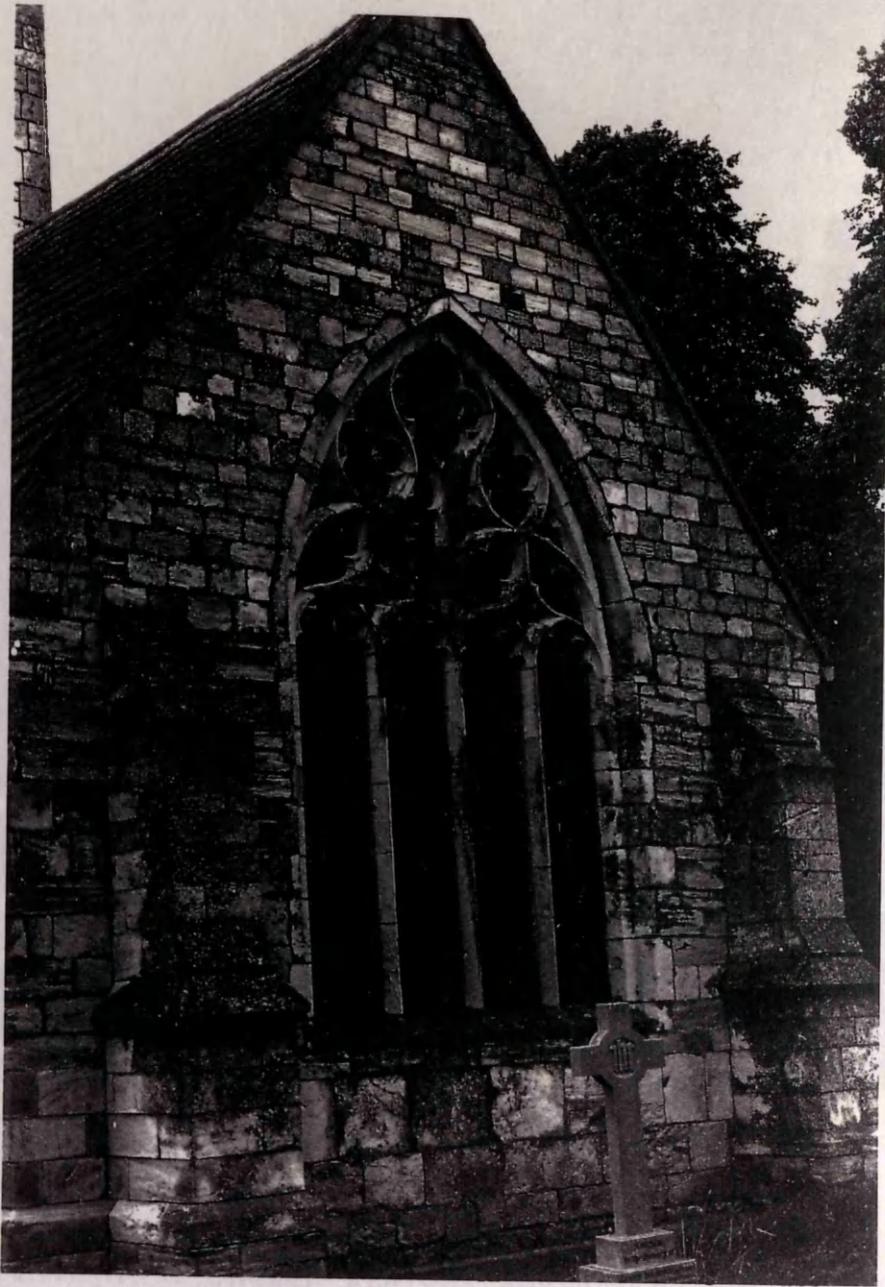


Plate 132: CHURCH FENTON: east window.

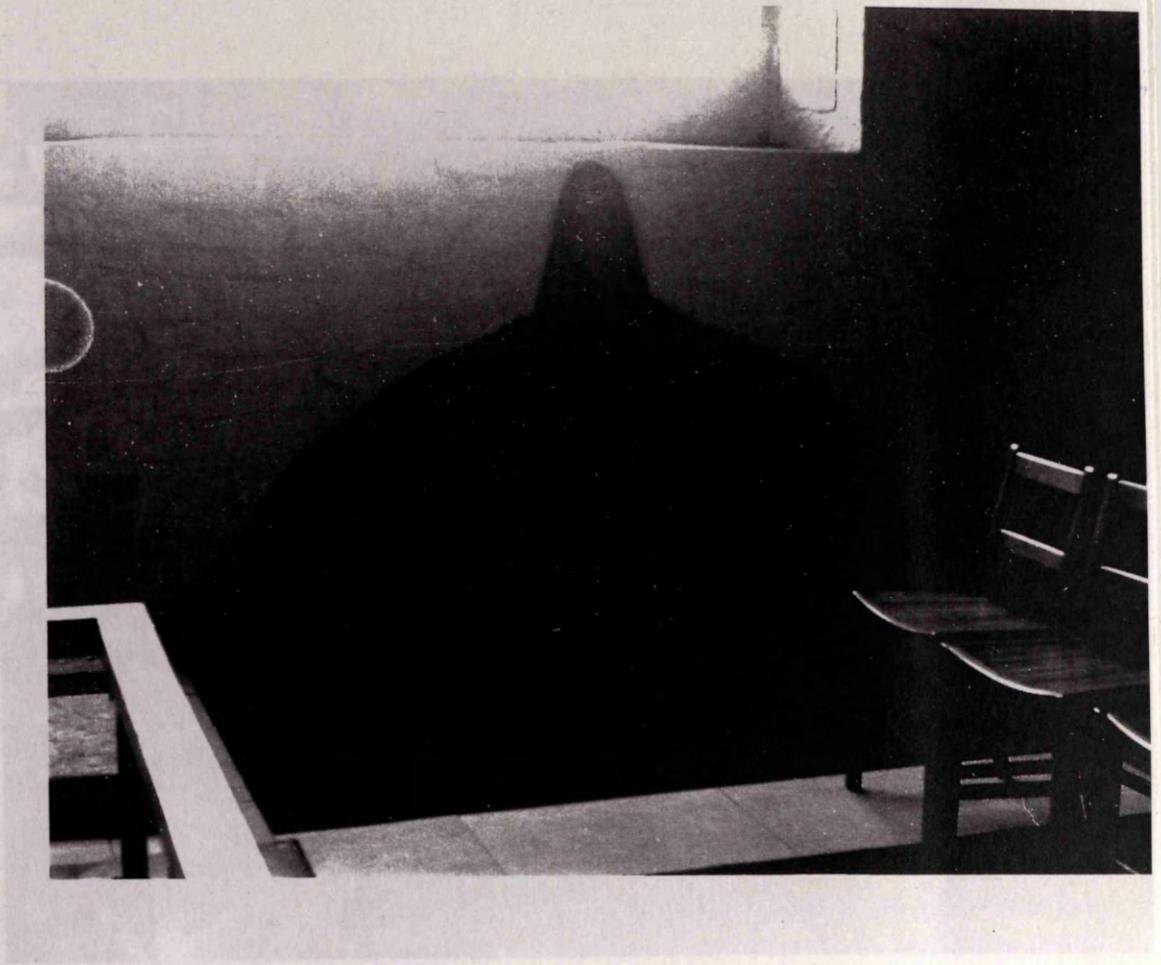


PLATE 133: CHURCH FENTON: south transept tomb recess

PLATE 134: CHURCH FENTON: effigy of a lady



Plate 134: CHURCH FENTON: effigy of a lady.



Plate 135: CHURCH FENTON: effigy, detail of hair.



Plate 136: CHURCH FENTON: foot of effigy.

PLATE 137: PARISH CHURCH, CHURCH FENTON, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND
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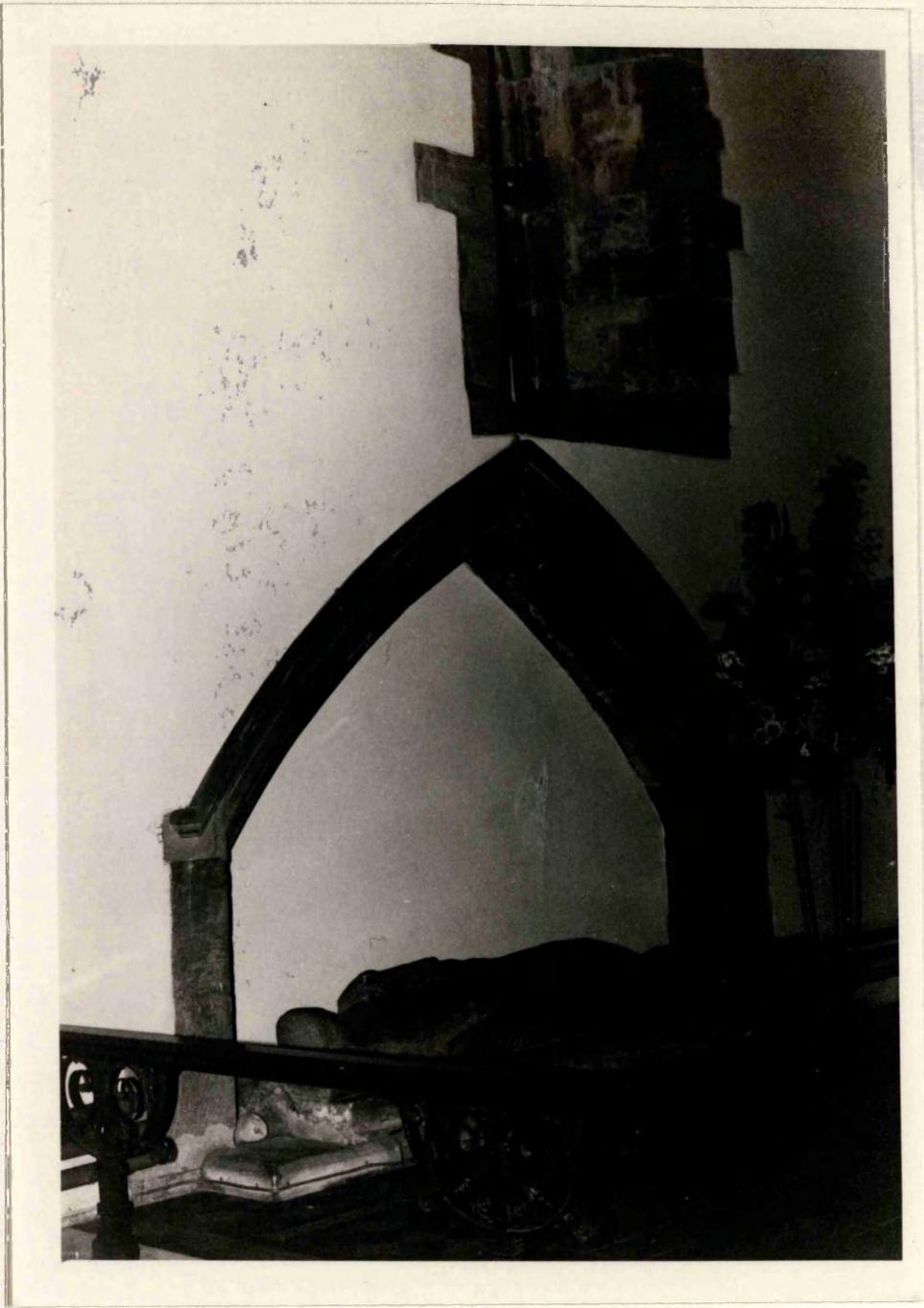


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de Scargil.

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Plate 138: DARRINGTON: Scargil effigy.

Plate 139: DARRINGTON: Detail of Scargil effigy.

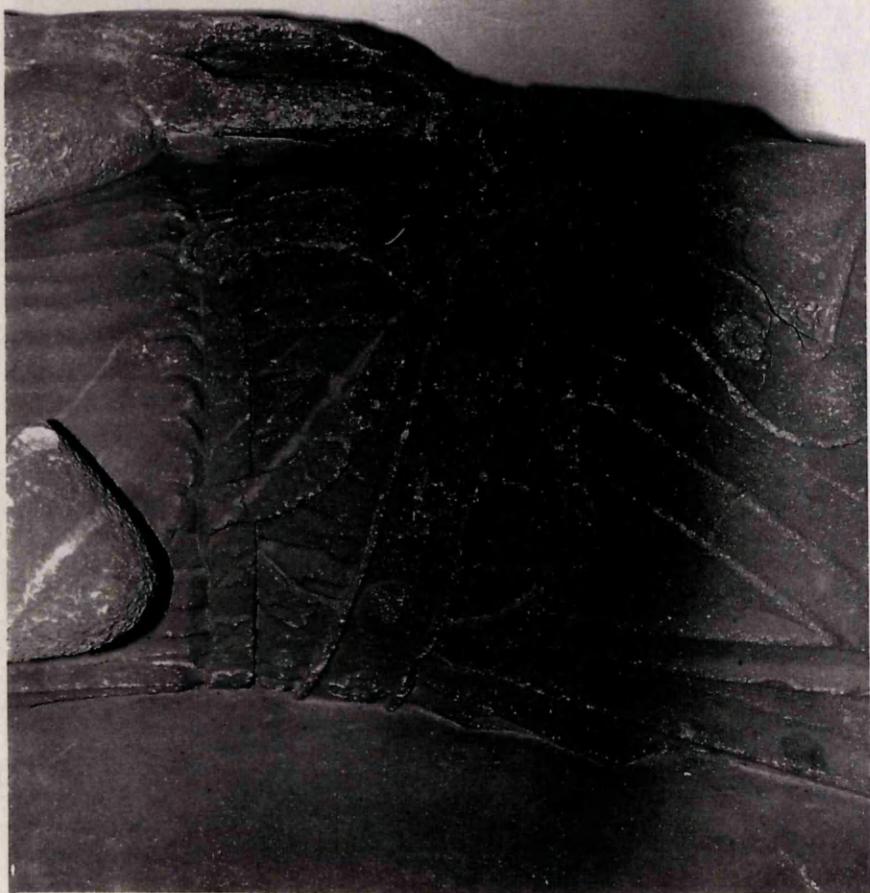


Plate 139: DARRINGTON: detail of Scargil effigy.

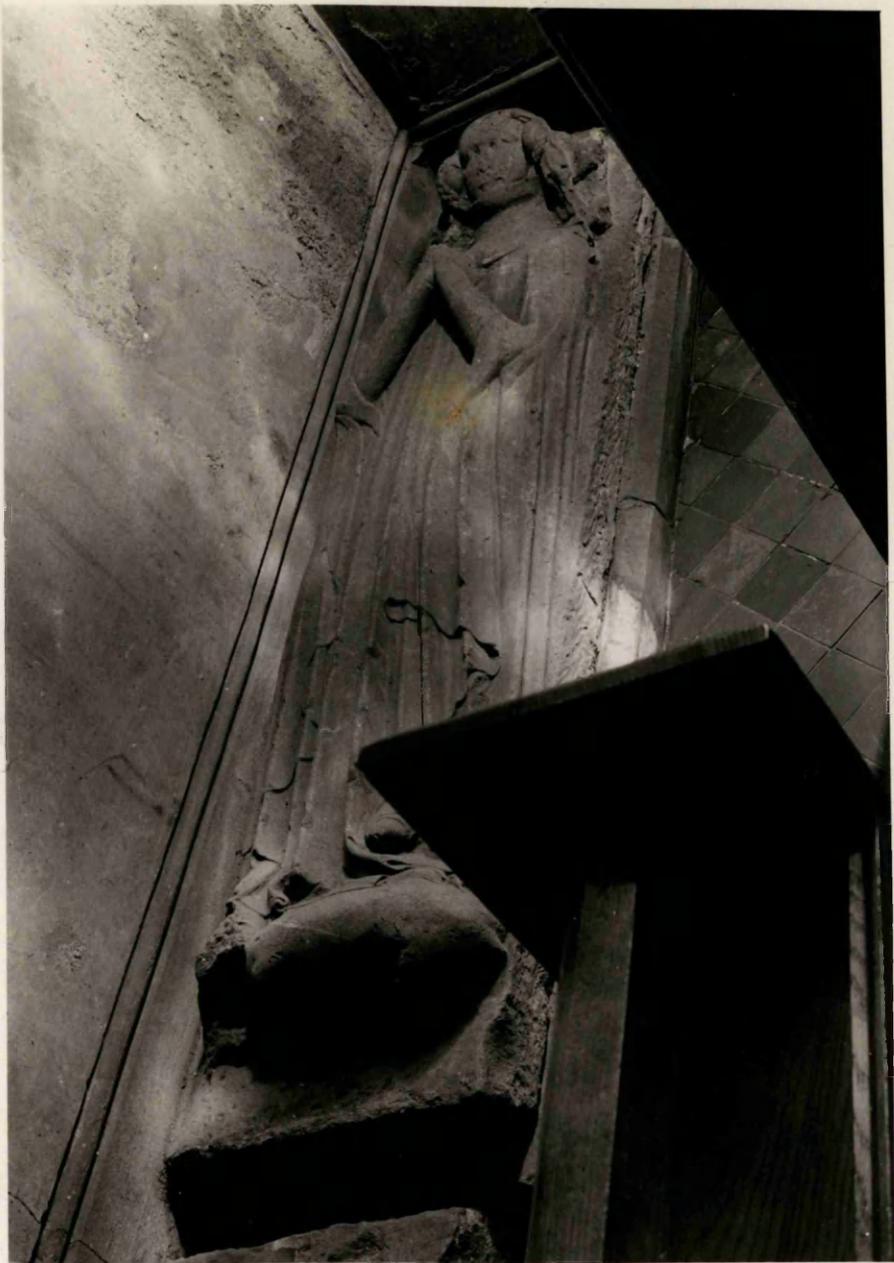


Plate 140: DARRINGTON: effigy of Clara de Scargil (nee Stapleton), north chancel chapel.



Plate 141: DARRINGTON: head of effigy.

Plate 142: DARRINGTON: dress of effigy.



Plate 142: DARRINGTON: dress of effigy.



Plate 143: DARRINGTON: foot of effigy.

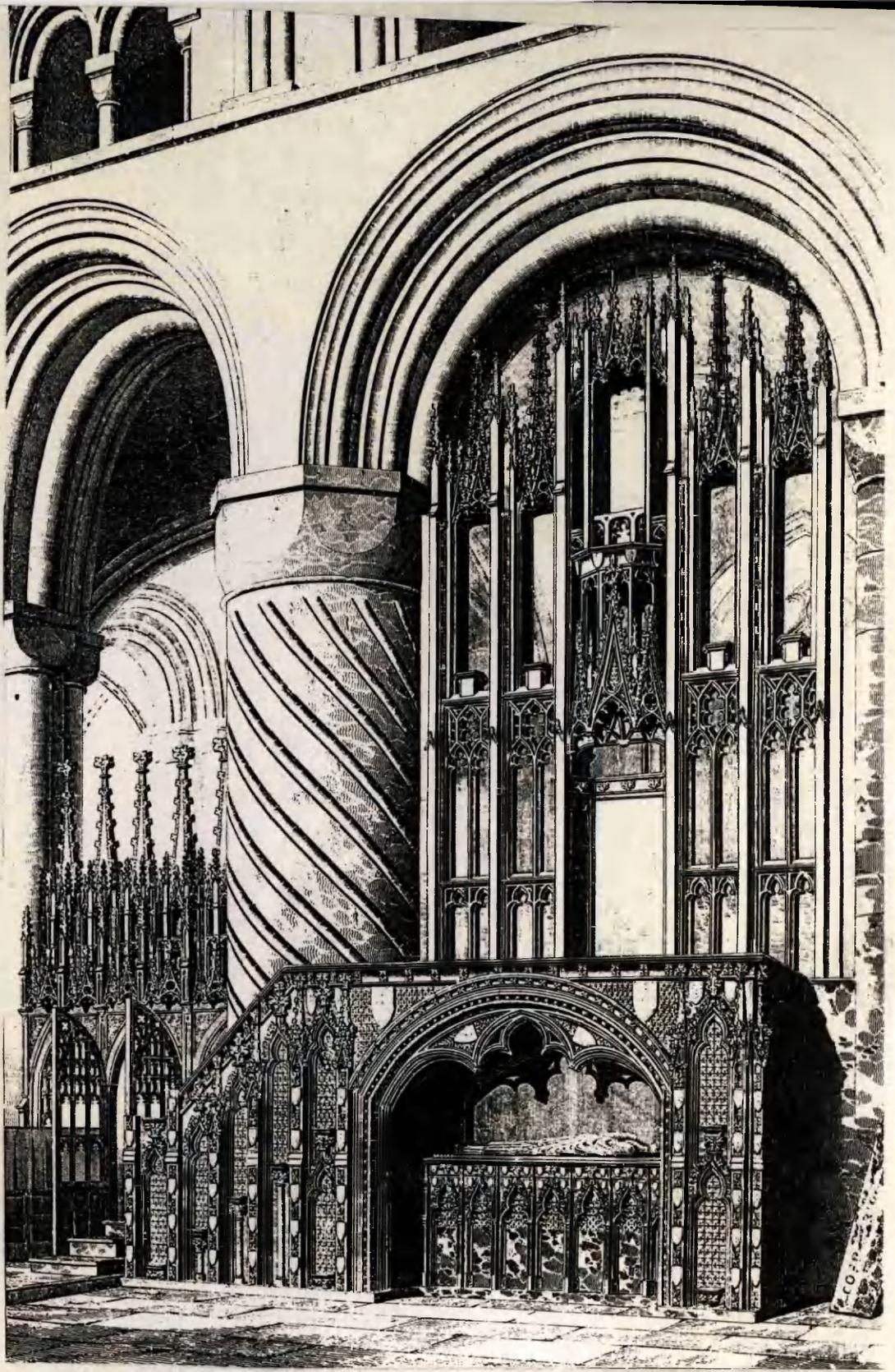


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Plate 145: EGGLESLIFFE: effigy.



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Plate 148: FELISKIRK: arch and cusp moulding of recess.



Plate 149: FELISKIRK: west butterss of tomb recess.



Plate 150: FELISKIRK: effigy of Sir John de Walkingham.



Plate 151: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 152: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 153: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 154: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 155: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 156: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 157: FELISKIRK: effigy of Joanna de Walkingham.



Plate 158: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.

Plate 160: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 159: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.



Plate 160: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.

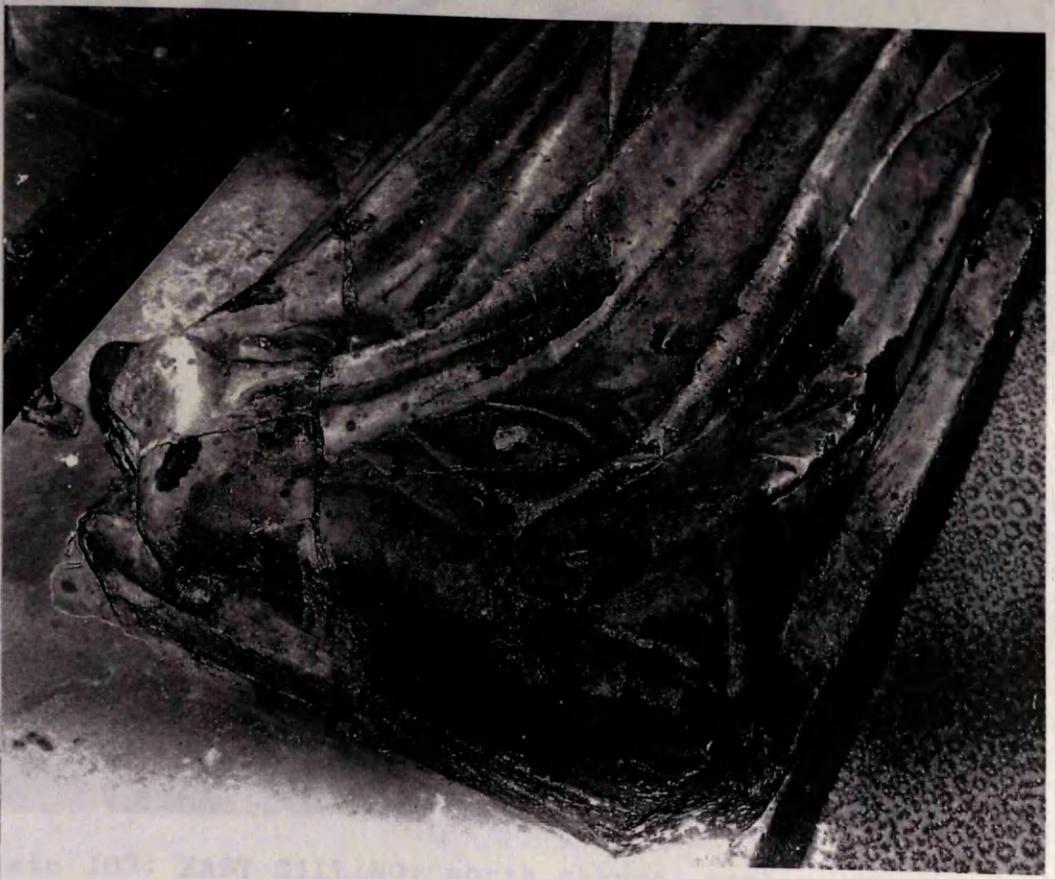


Plate 161: FELISKIRK: detail of effigy.

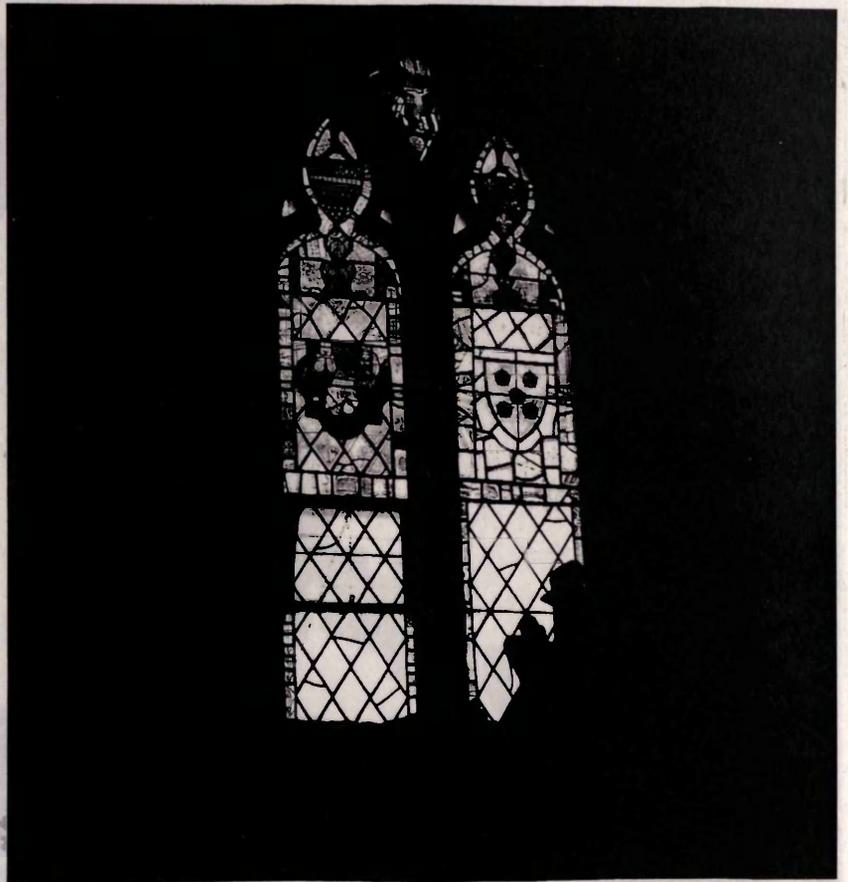


Plate 162: FELISKIRK: heraldic window above tomb recess.

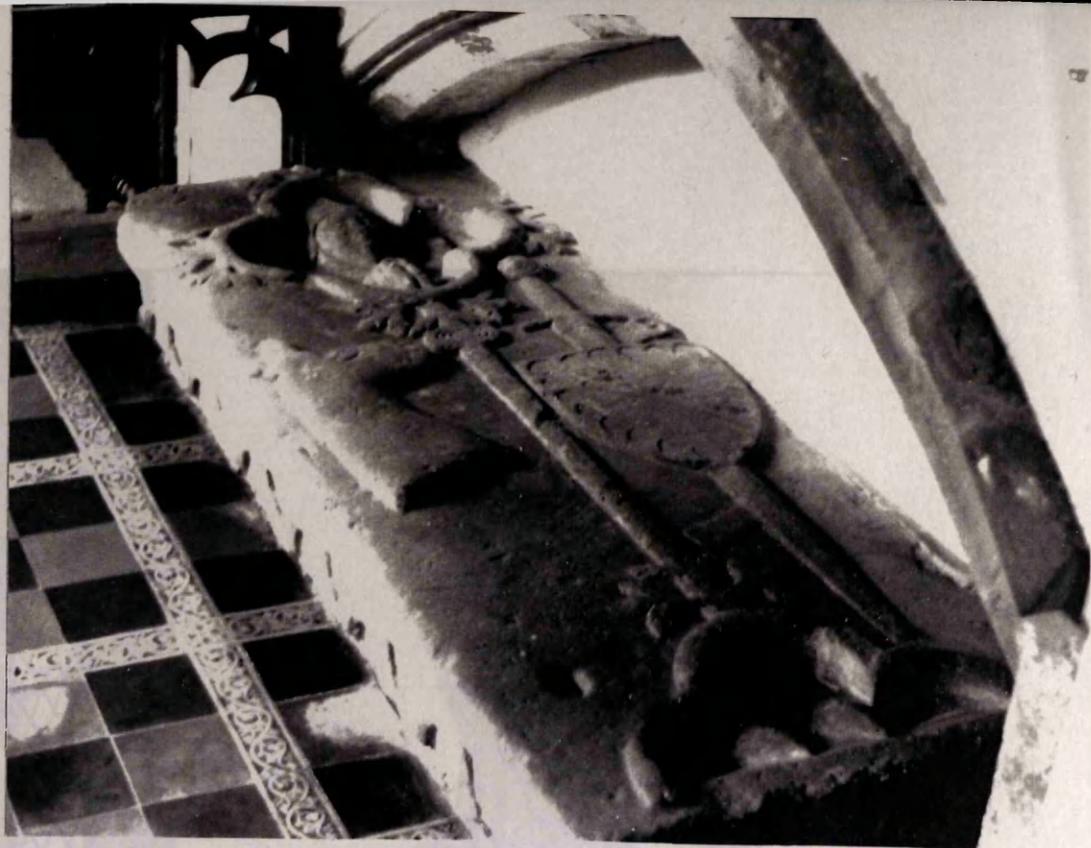


Plate 163: EAST GILLING: north chancel tomb recess and slab.

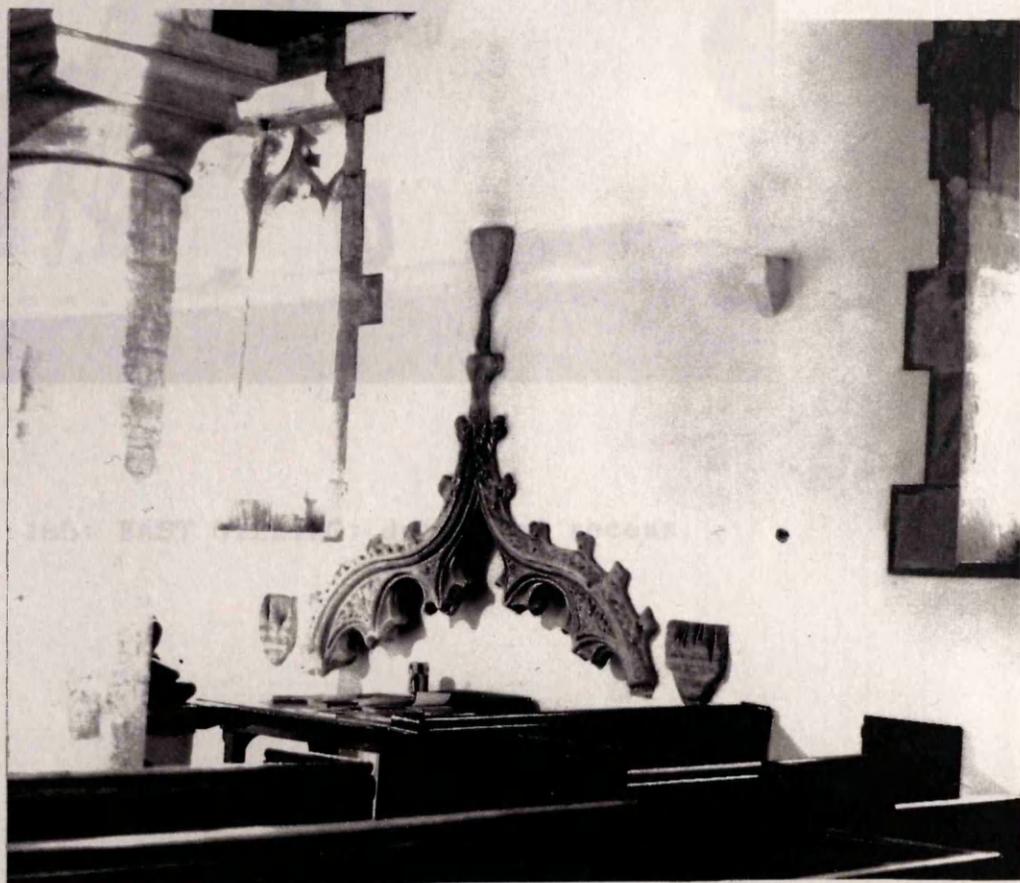


Plate 164: EAST GILLING: south nave aisle tomb recess.



Plate 165: EAST GILLING: detail of recess.



Plate 166: EAST GILLING: detail of recess.

Plate 167: GOLDSBOROUGH: north chancel recess.

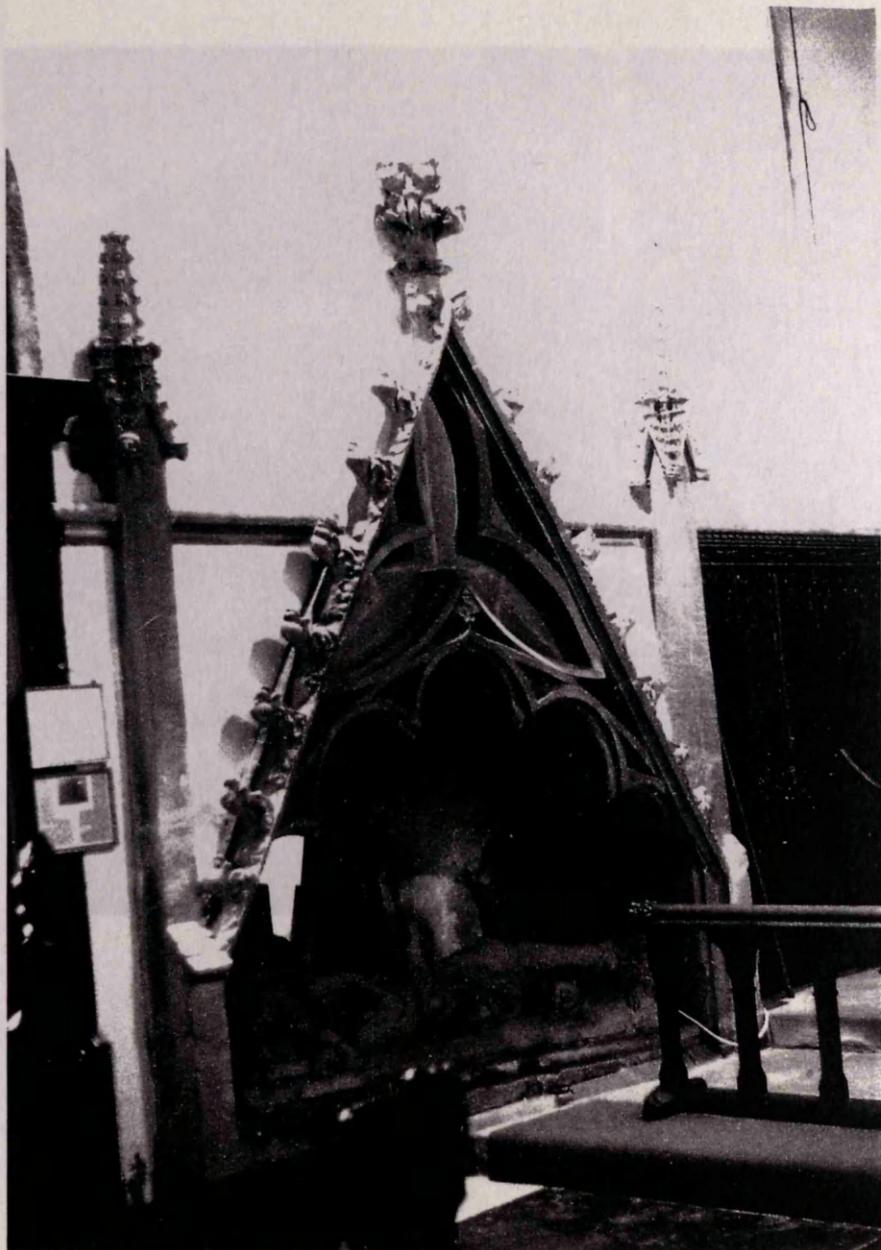


Plate 167: GOLDSBOROUGH: north chancel recess.

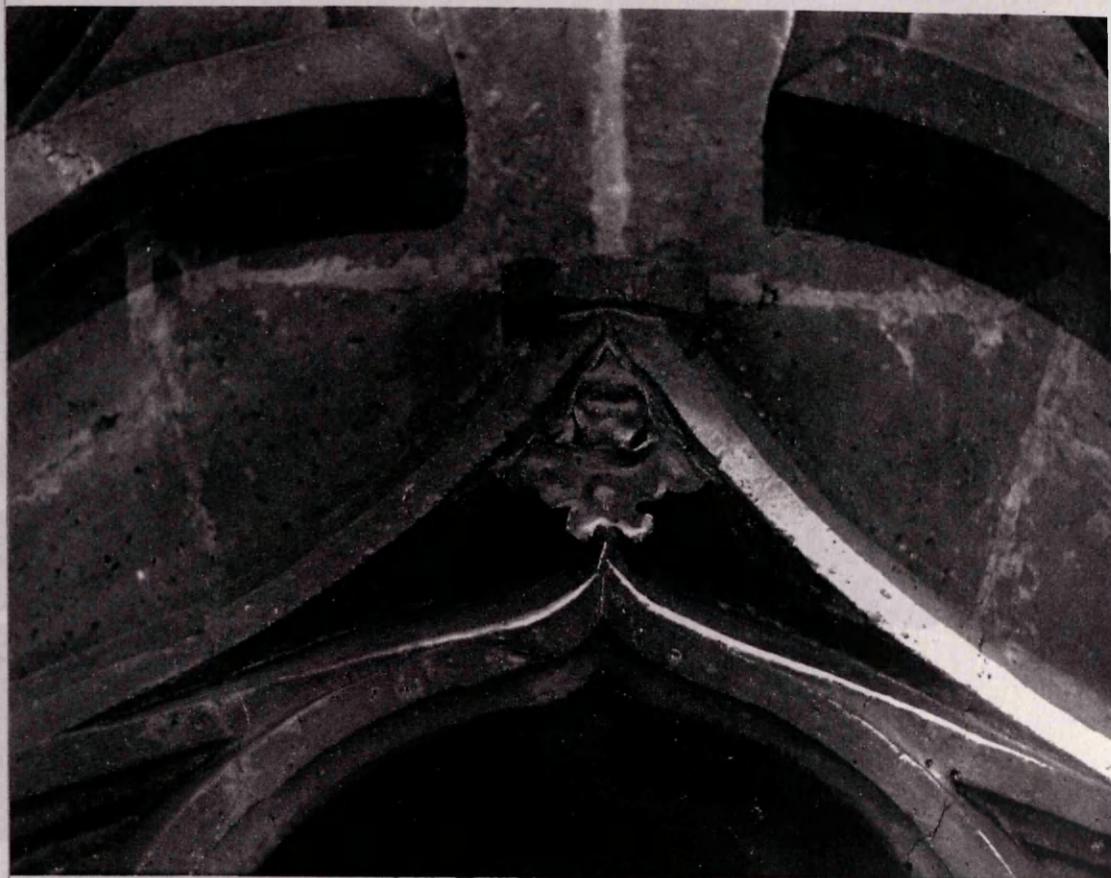


Plate 168: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of recess gable.

Plate 169: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of recess gable.
bullress to west of recess.

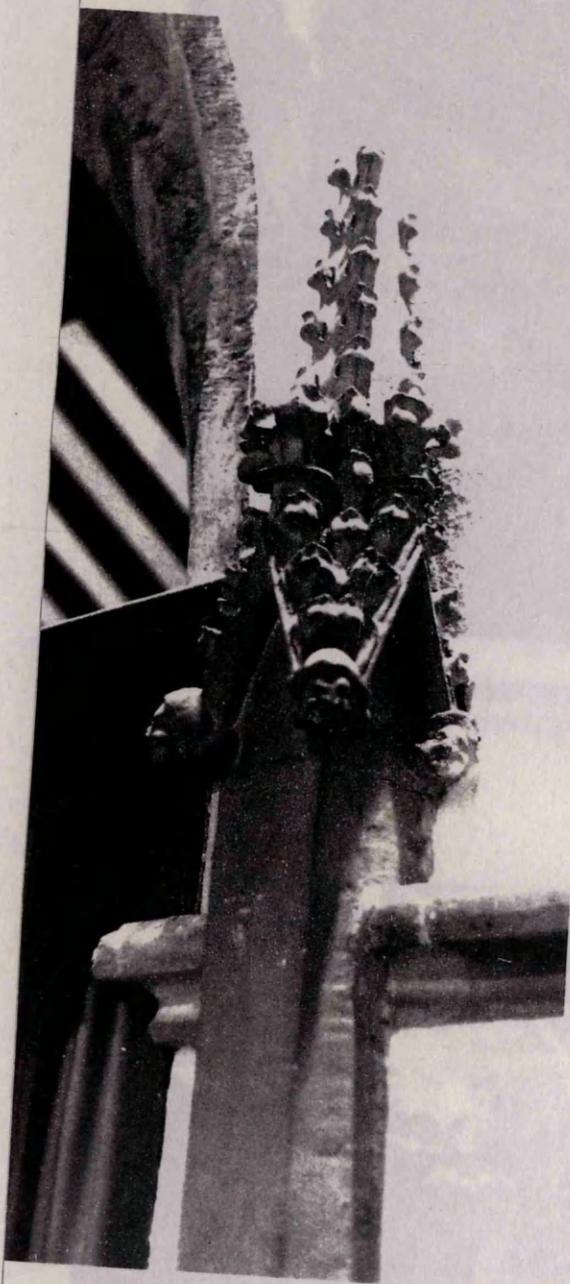


Plate 169: GOLDSBOROUGH:
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Plate 172: GOLDSBOROUGH: head of effigy and canopy.



Plate 173: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of effigy.

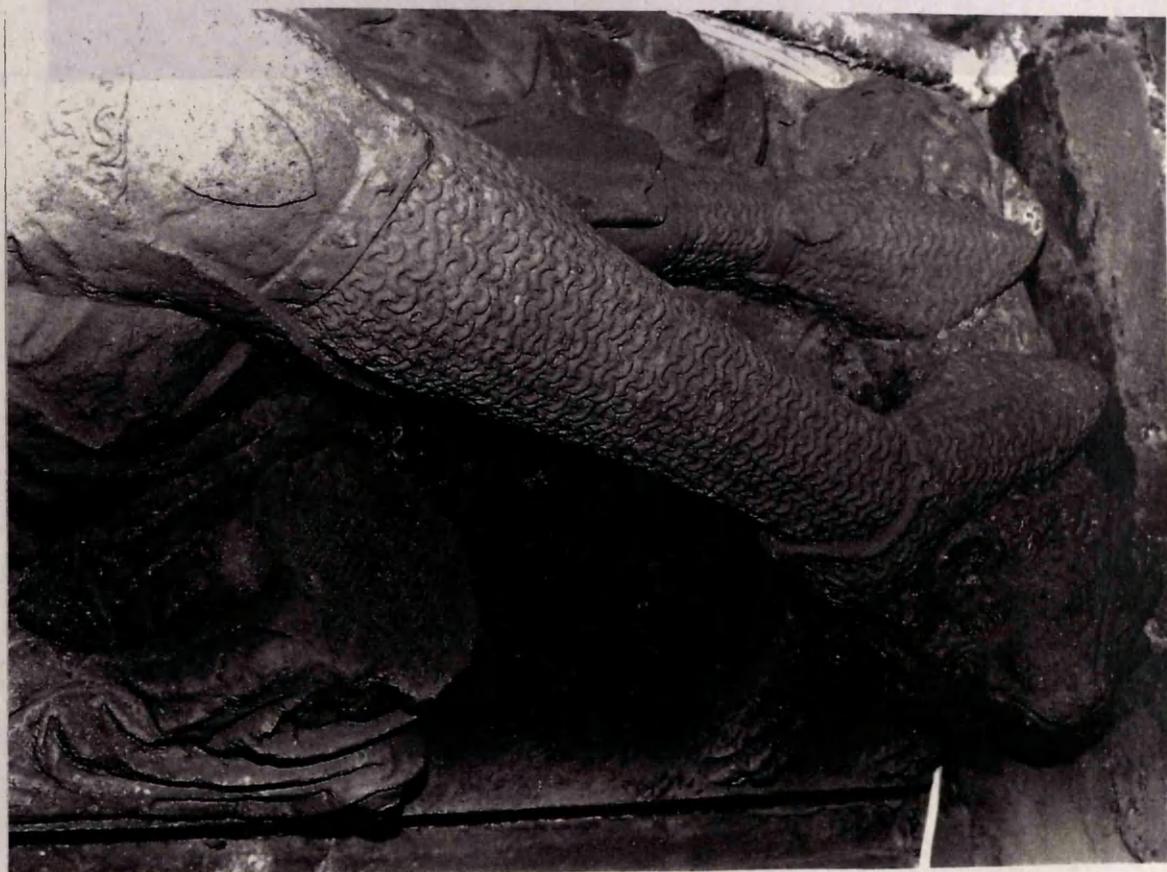


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Plate 175: GOLDSBOROUGH: effigy against south chancel wall.

Plate 175: GOLDSBOROUGH: effigy against south chancel wall.



Plate 176: GOLDSBOROUGH: effigy against south chancel wall.



Plate 177: GOLDSBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate

Plate 178: GOSBERTON: effigy.



Plate 179: HARPHAM: north chancel tomb recess.

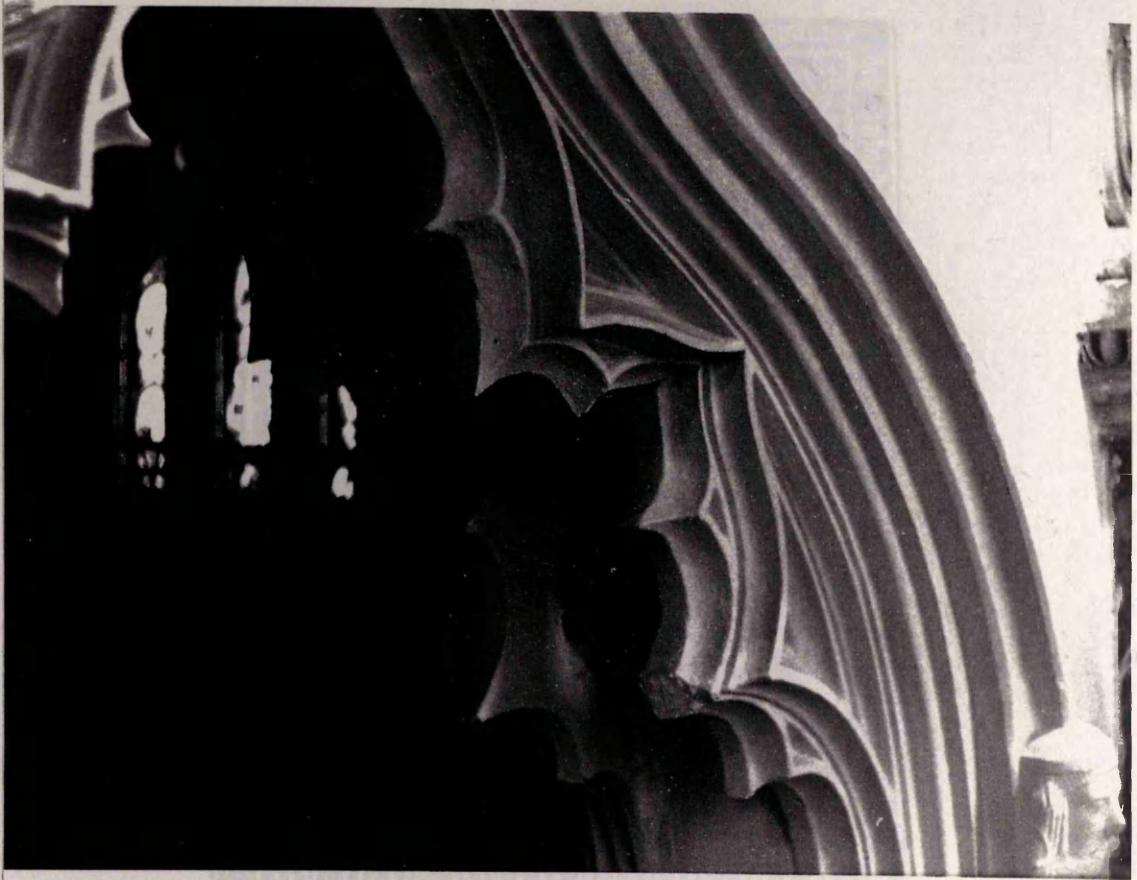


Plate 180: HARPHAM: detail of cusping.

Plate 181: HARPHAM: incised slab in east recess.

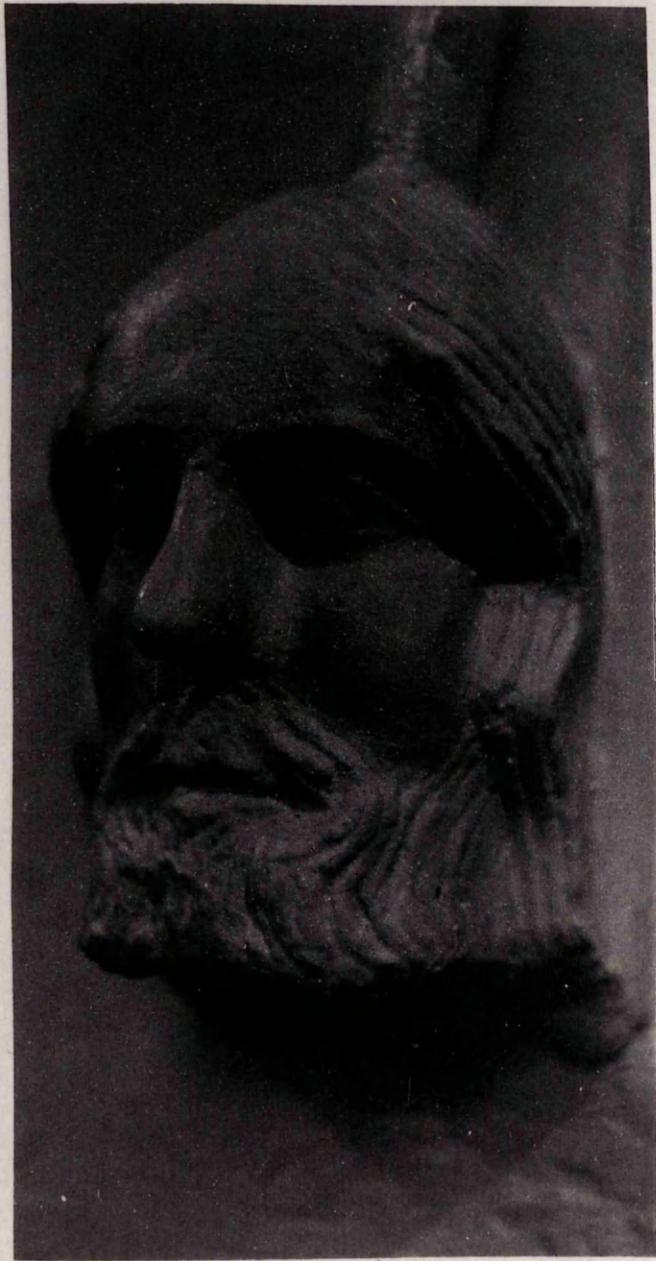


Plate 182: HARPHAM: tomb recess, west headstop, chancel side.

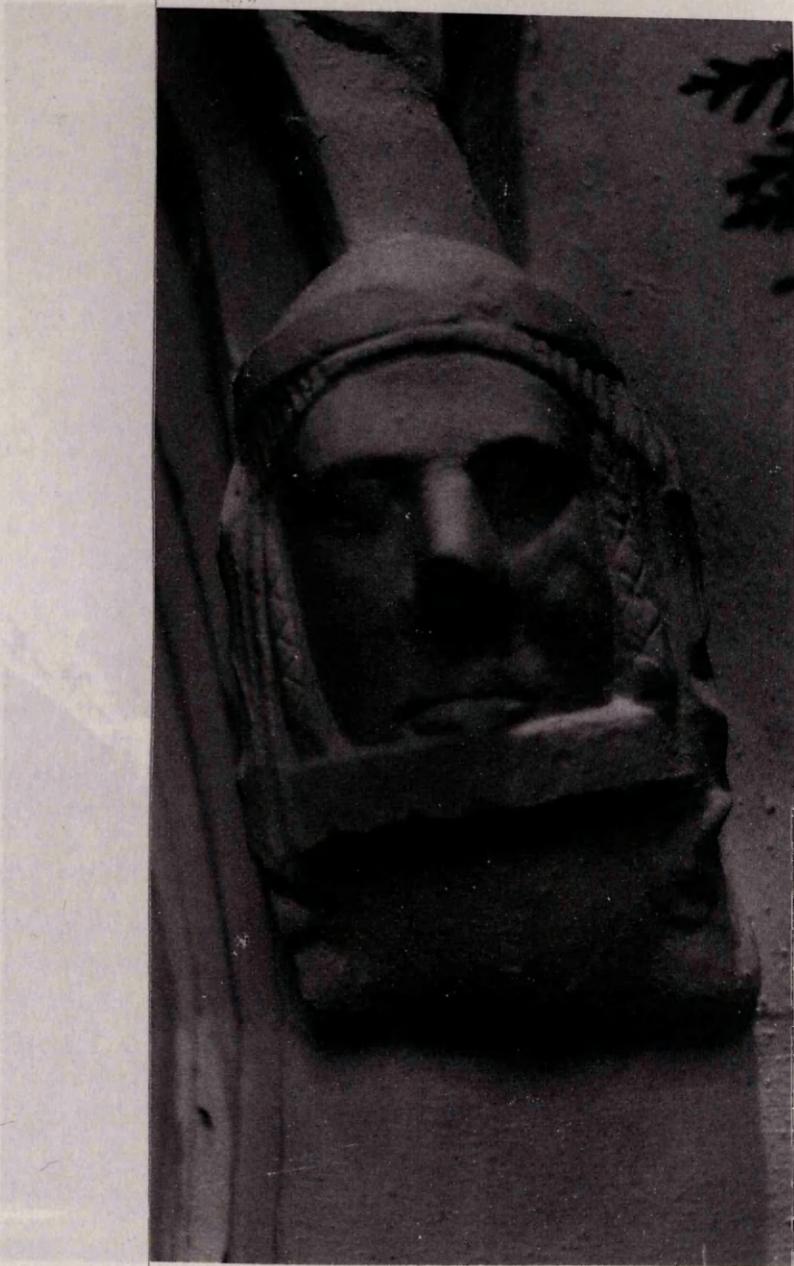


Plate 183: HARPHAM: tomb recess, east headstop, chancel side.

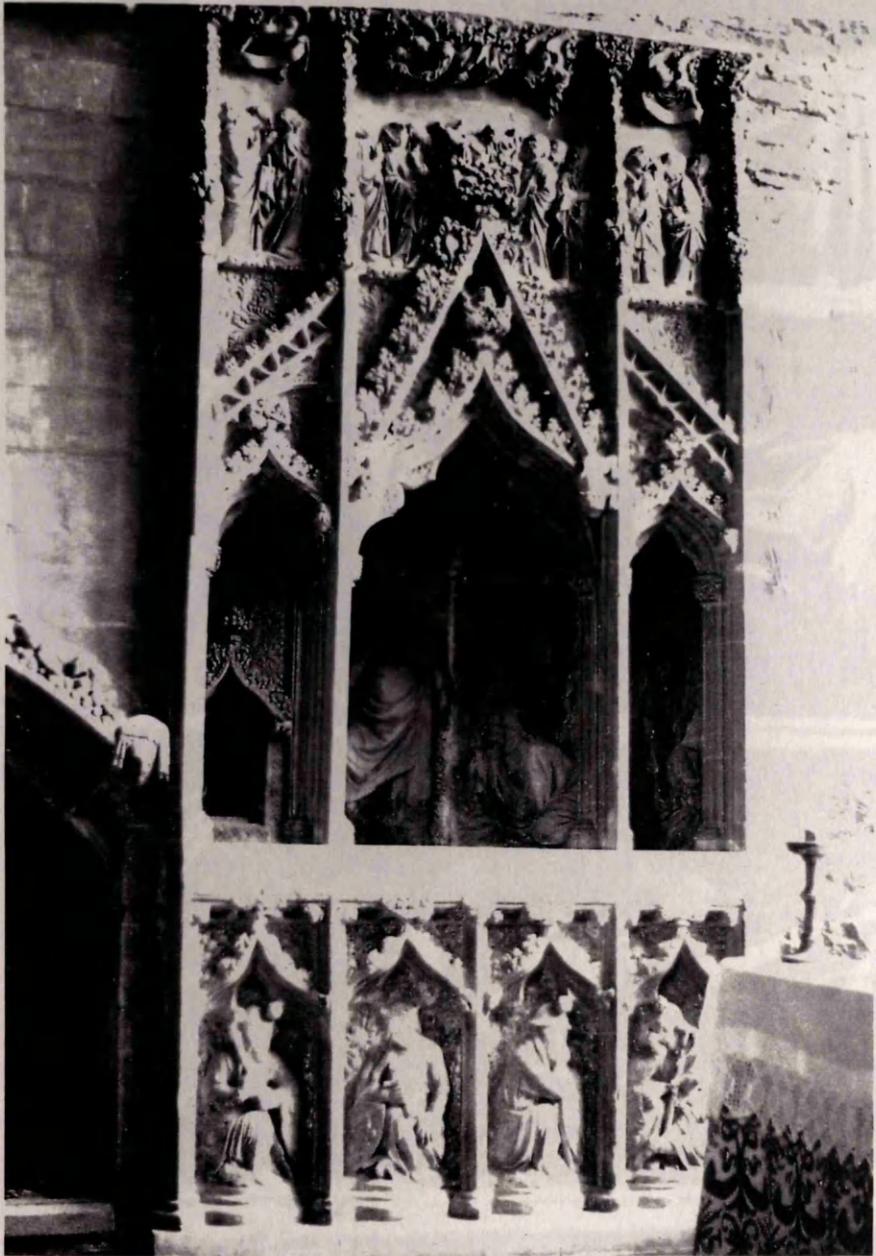


Plate 184: HAWTON: Easter sepulchre.

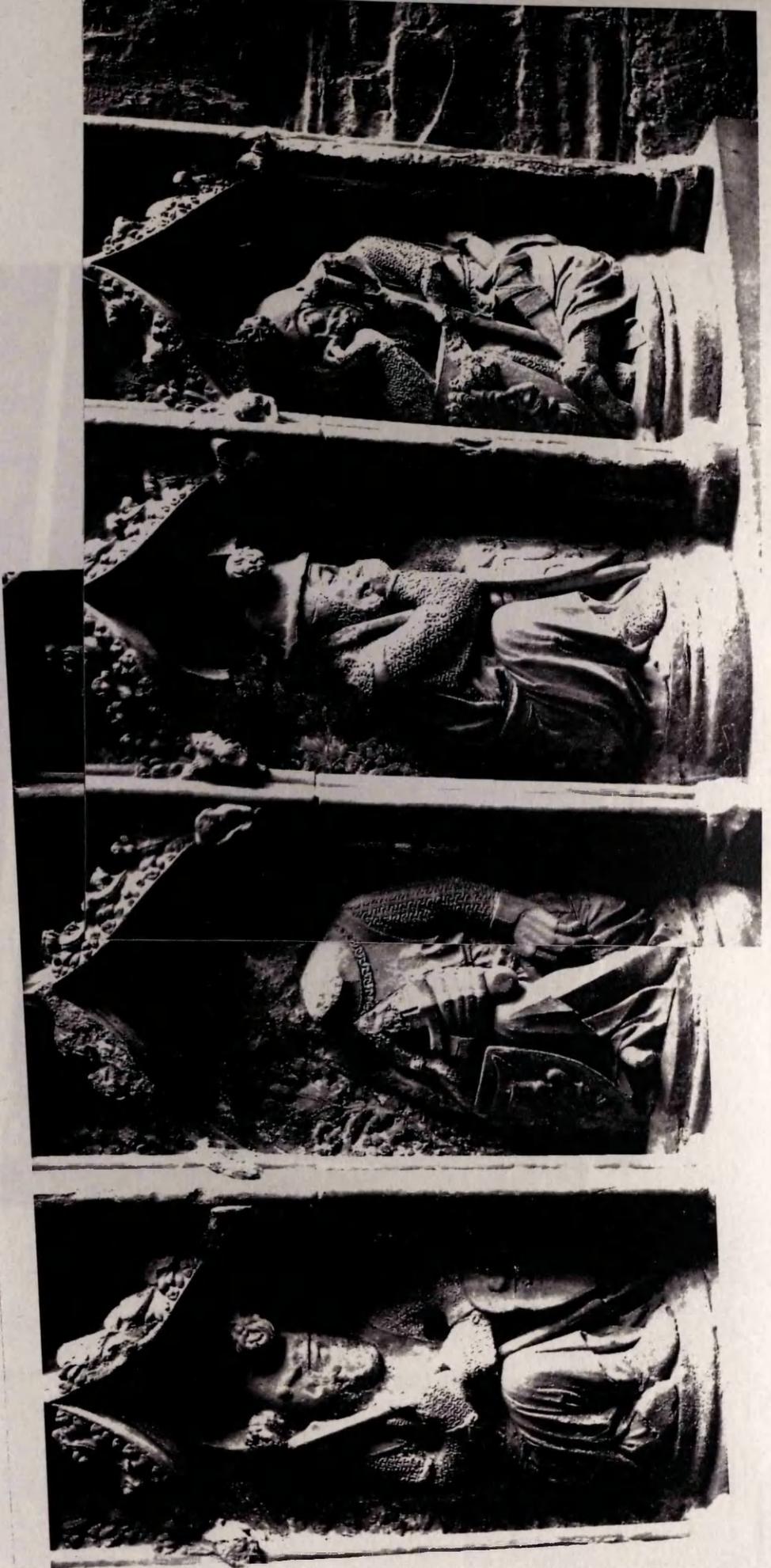


Plate 185: HAWTON: base of Easter sepulchre (composite photograph)



Plate 186: HAWTON: figures inside Easter sepulchre,
middle section.

Plate 186: HAWTON: figures inside Easter sepulchre.

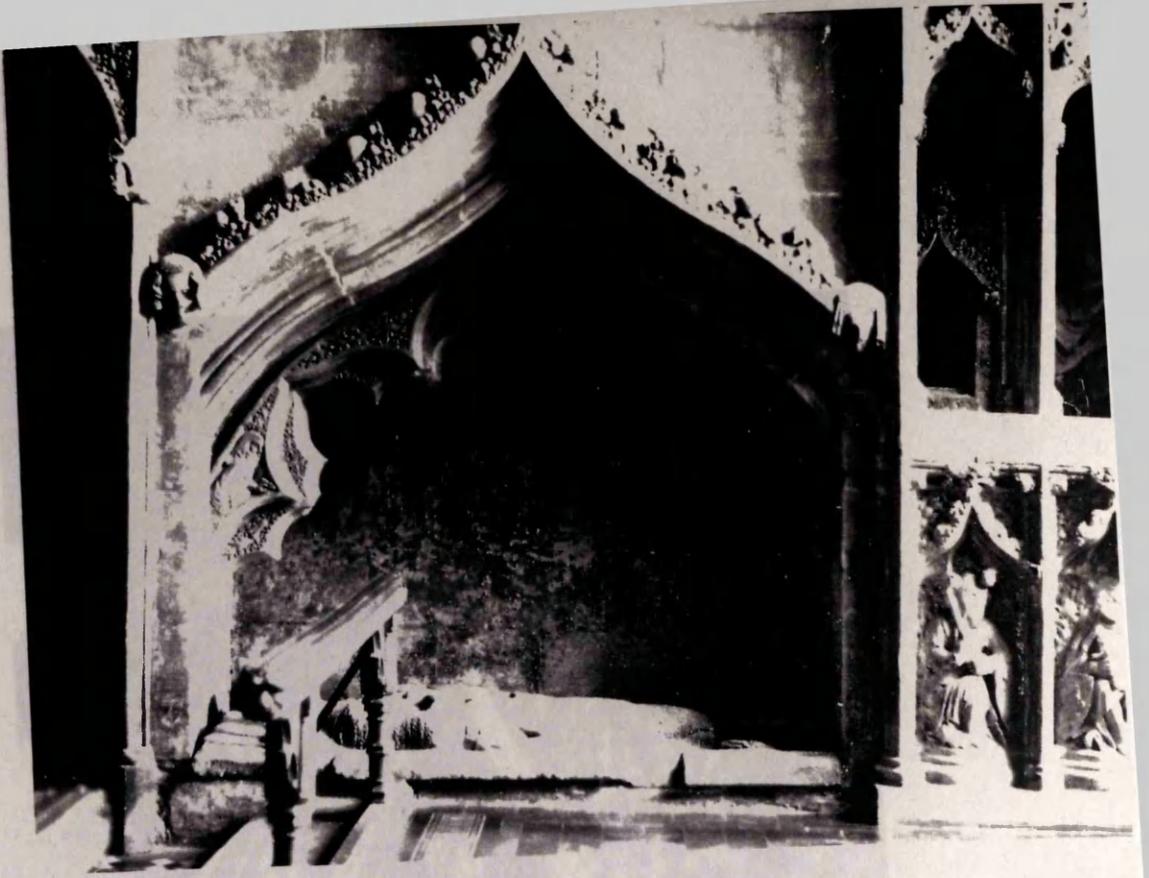
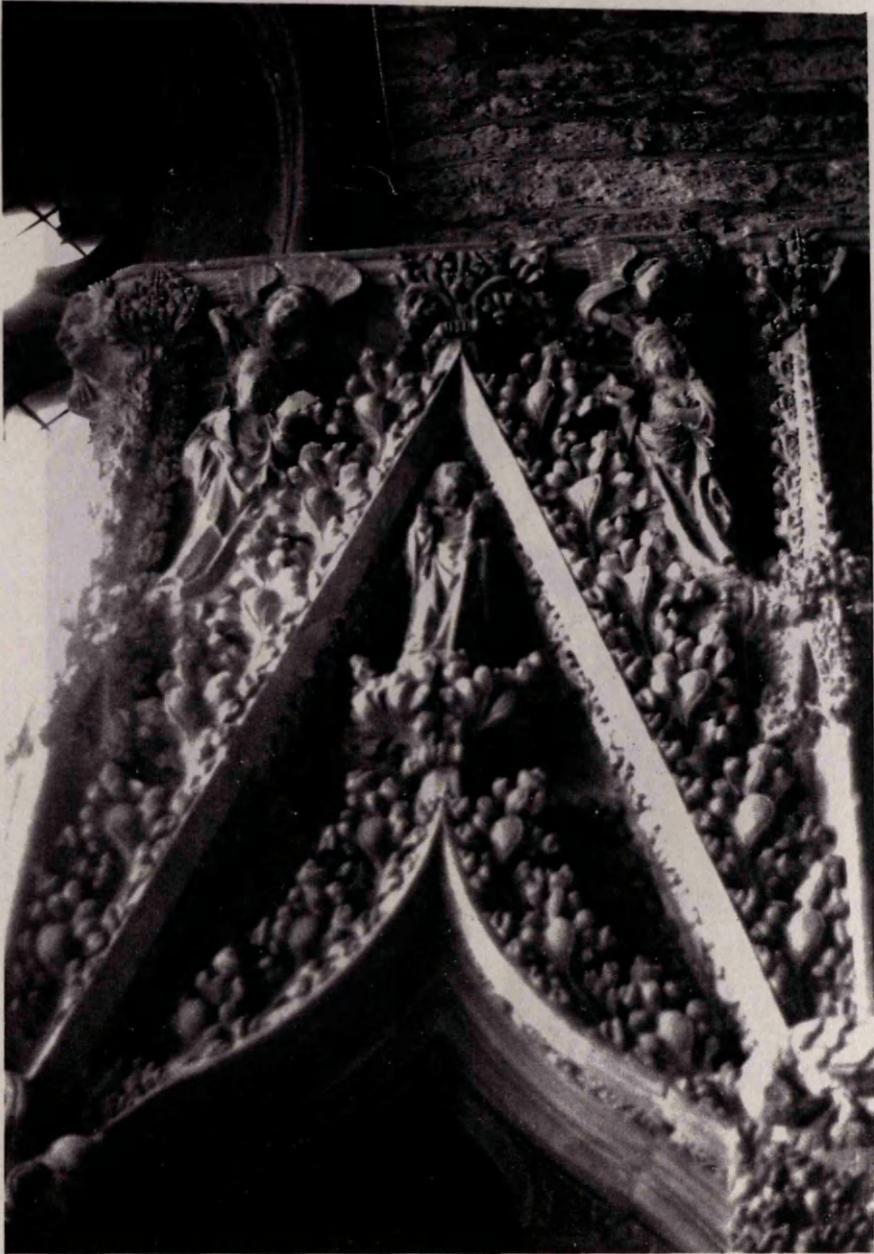


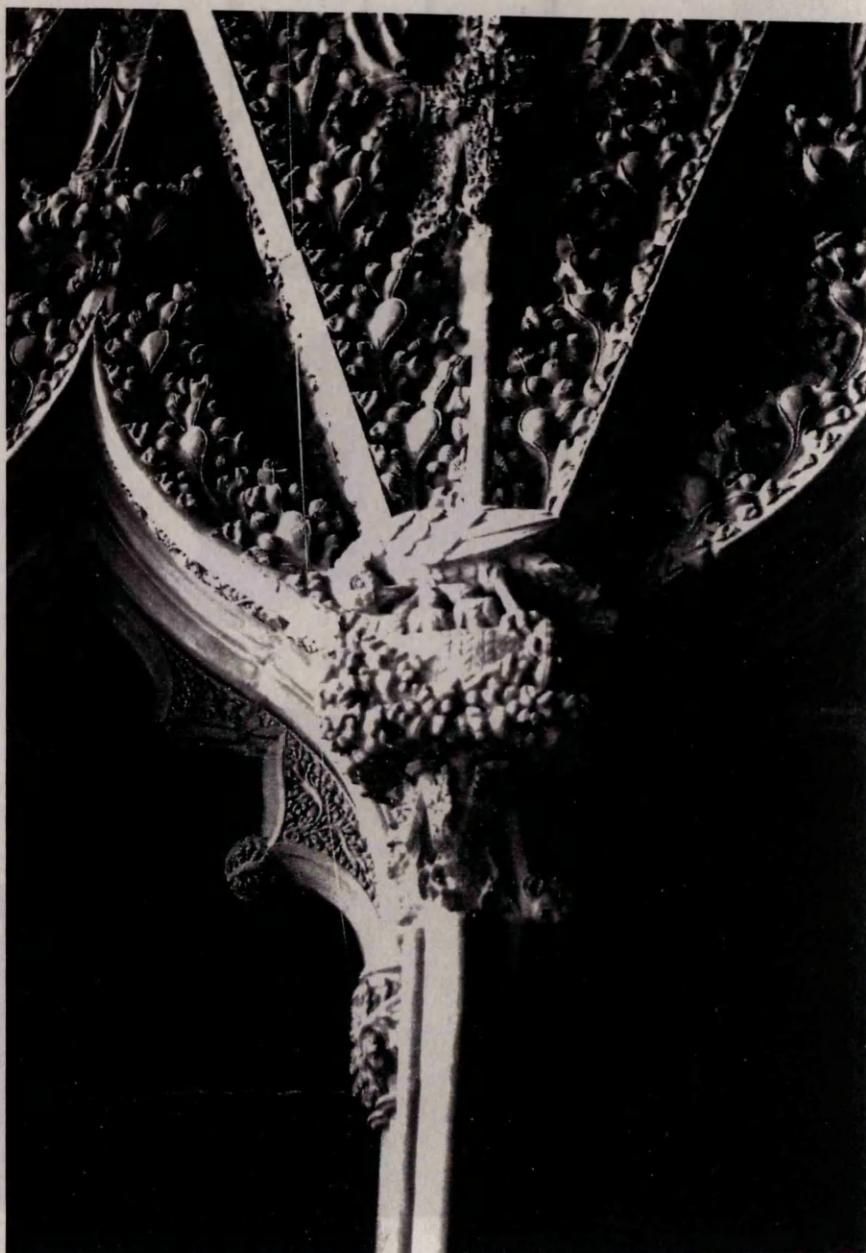
Plate 187: HAWTON: tomb recess.



Plate 188: HAWTON: cusping on tomb recess.



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Plate 189: HAWTON: sedilia, detail.



2
Plate 190: HAWTON: sedilia, detail.

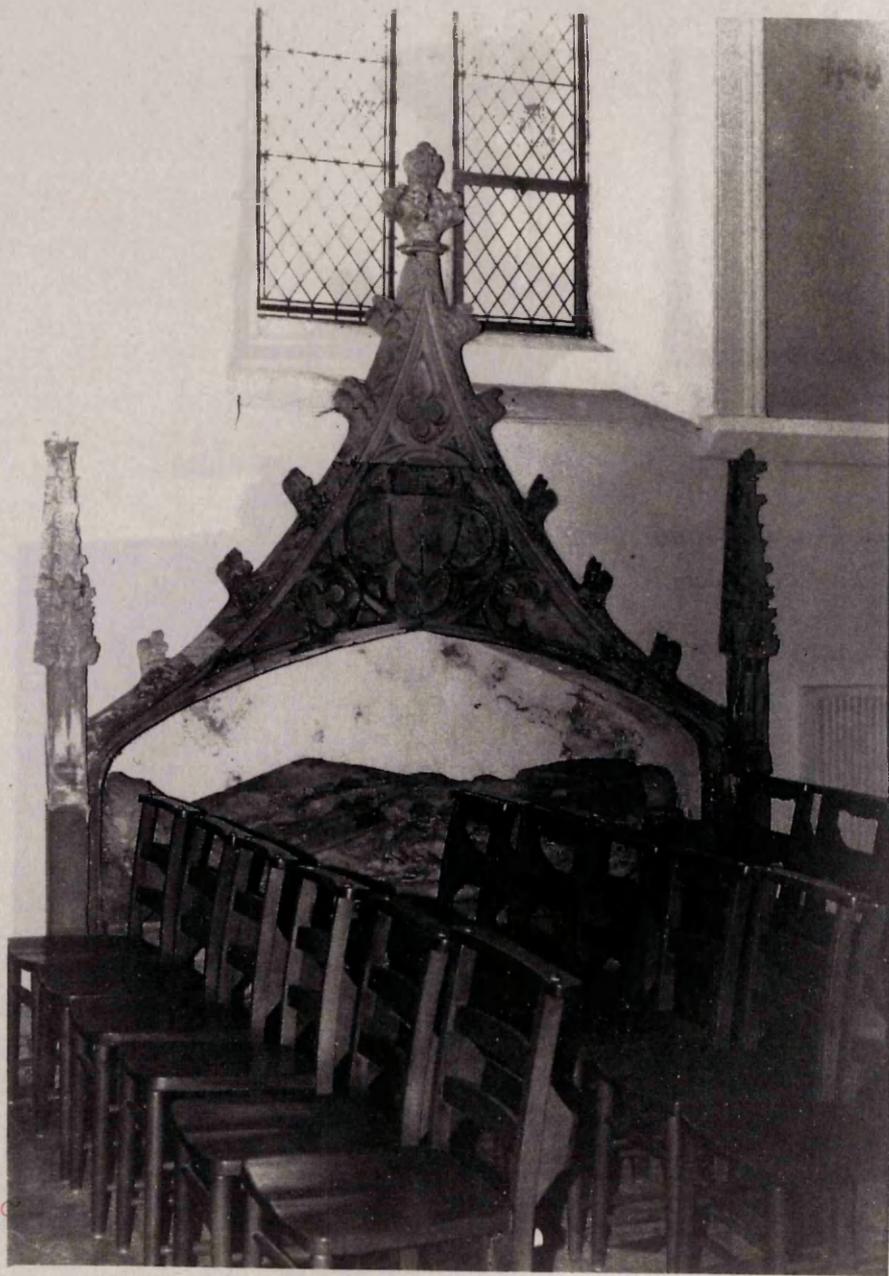


Plate 191: HAZLEWOOD: west recess.

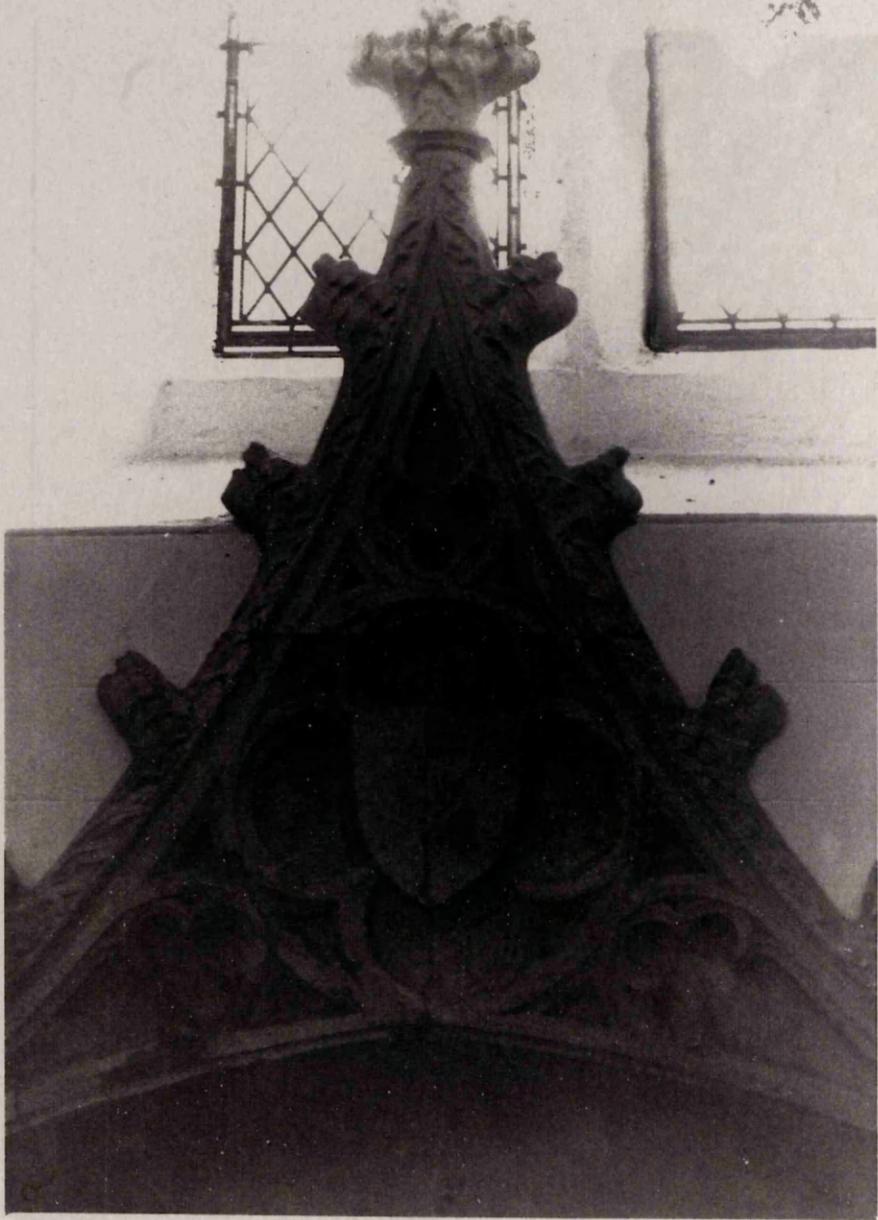


Plate 192: HAZLEWOOD: gable of west recess.

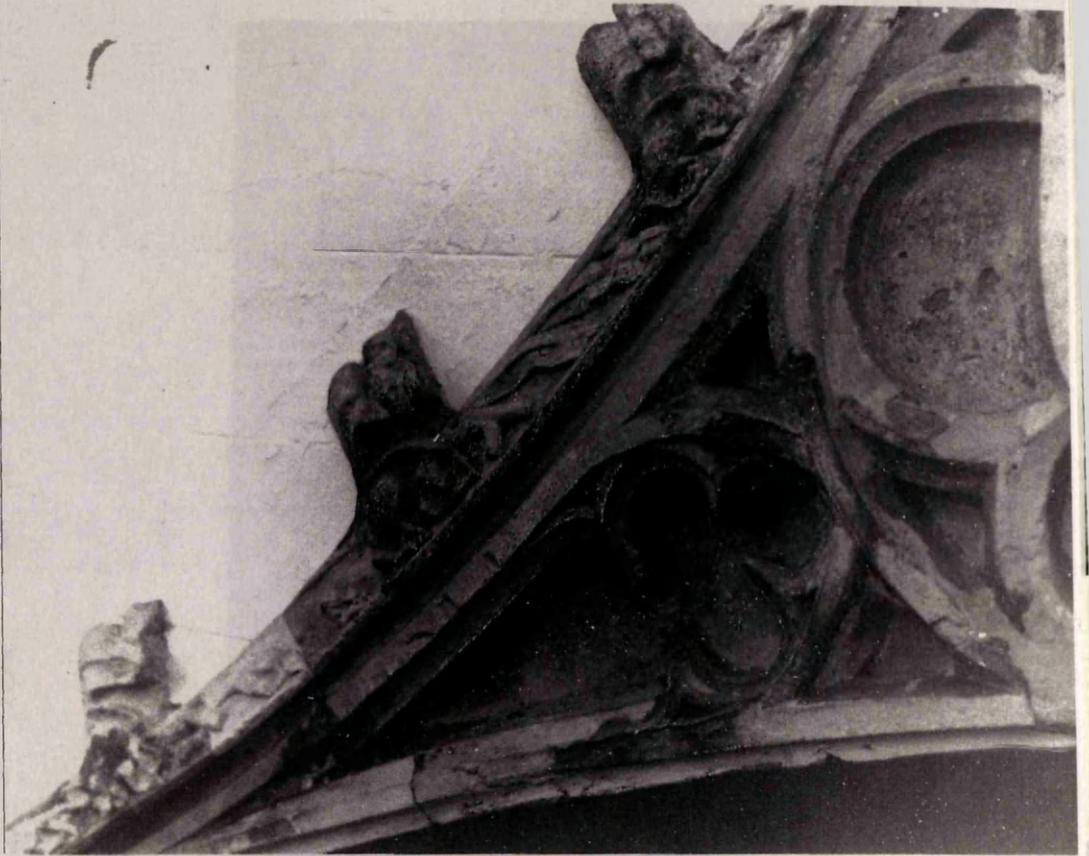


Plate 193: HAZLEWOOD: west gable, crocketing.



Plate 194: HAZLEWOOD: west gable, west pinnacle.



Plate 195: HAZLEWOOD: effigy in west recess.



Plate 196: HAZLEWOOD: detail of effigy.



Plate 197: HAZLEWOOD: detail of effigy.



Plate 198: HAZLEWOOD: foot of effigy.



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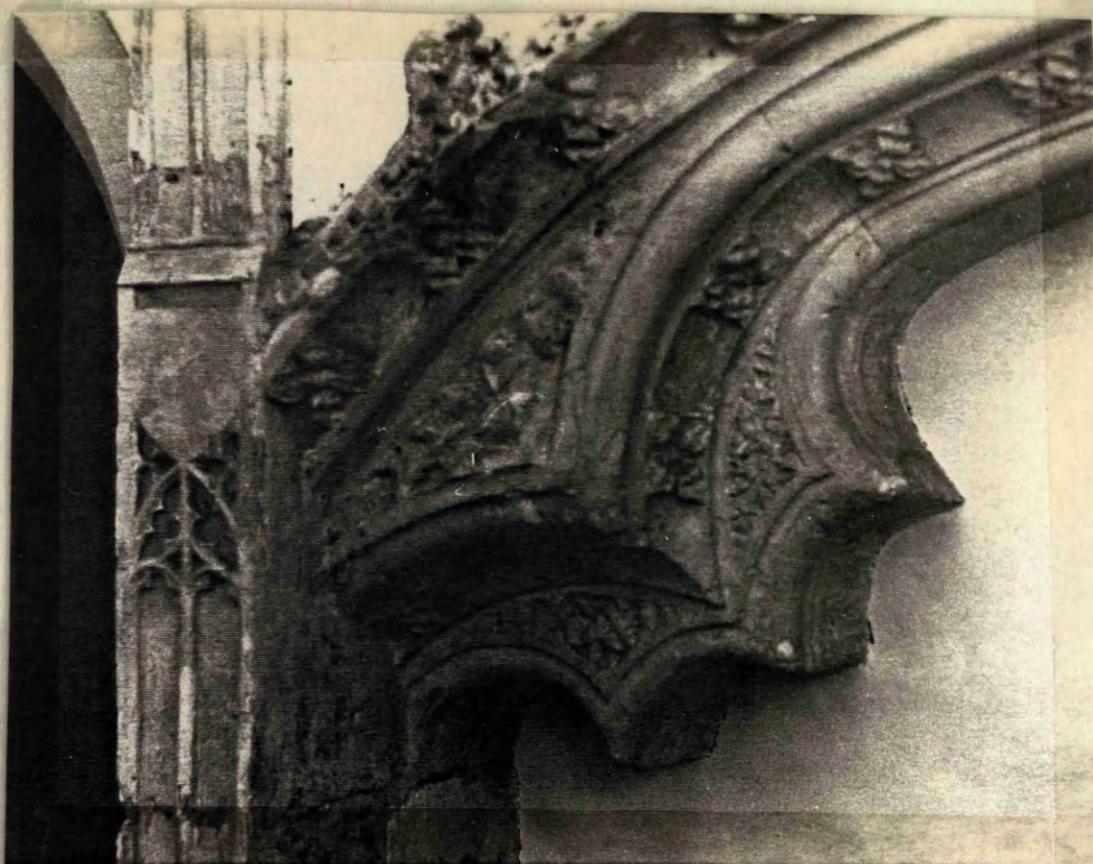


Plate 200: HAZLEWOOD: cusp and pinnacle of east recess.

Plate 201: HAZLEWOOD: east pinnacle of west recess.



Plate 201: HAZLEWOOD: east pinnacle of east recess.



Plate 202: HAZLEWOOD: effigy in east recess.

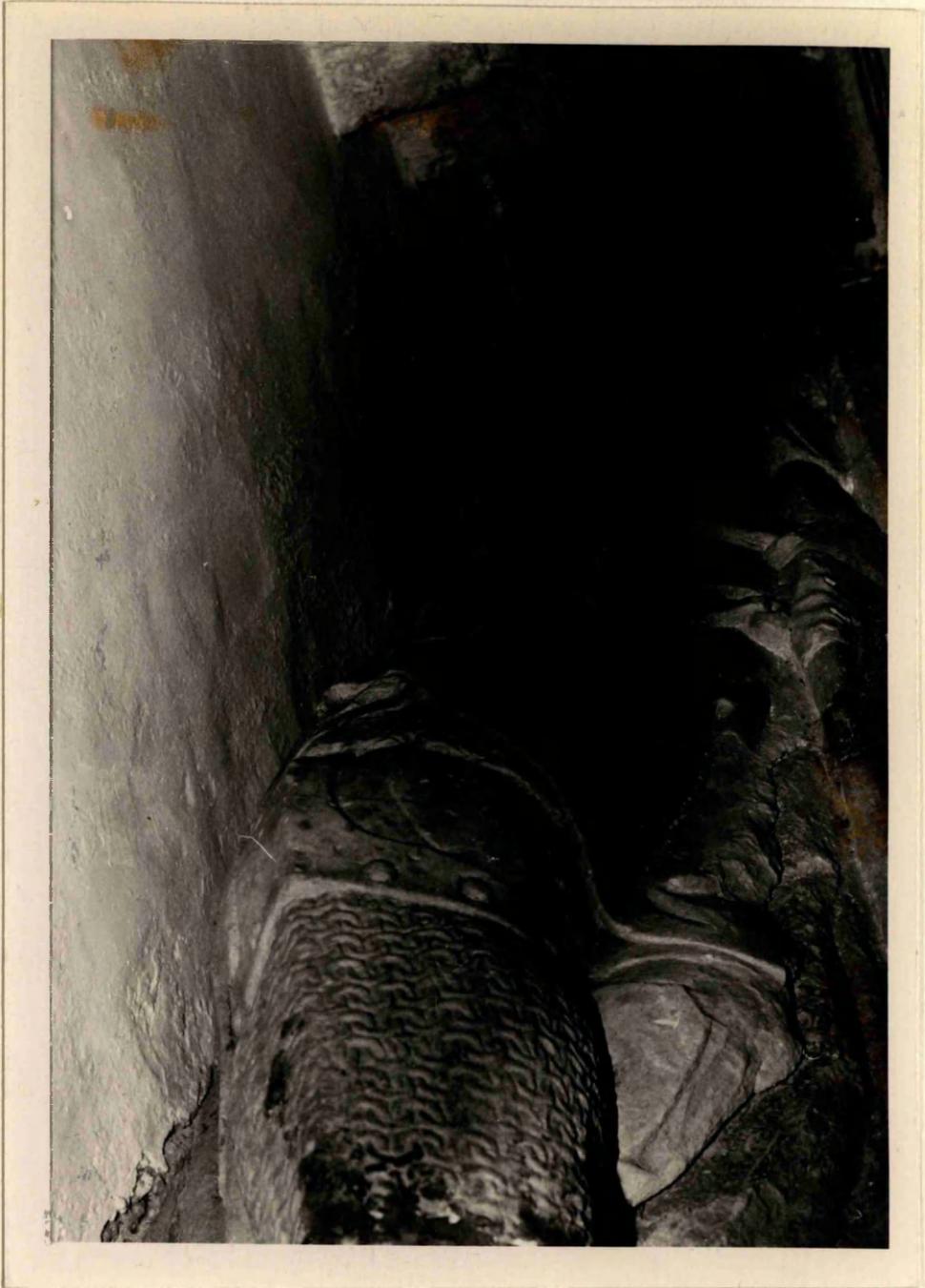


Plate 203: HAZLEWOOD: detail of effigy.



Plate 204: HAZLEWOOD: foot of efigy and east pinnacle of east recess.

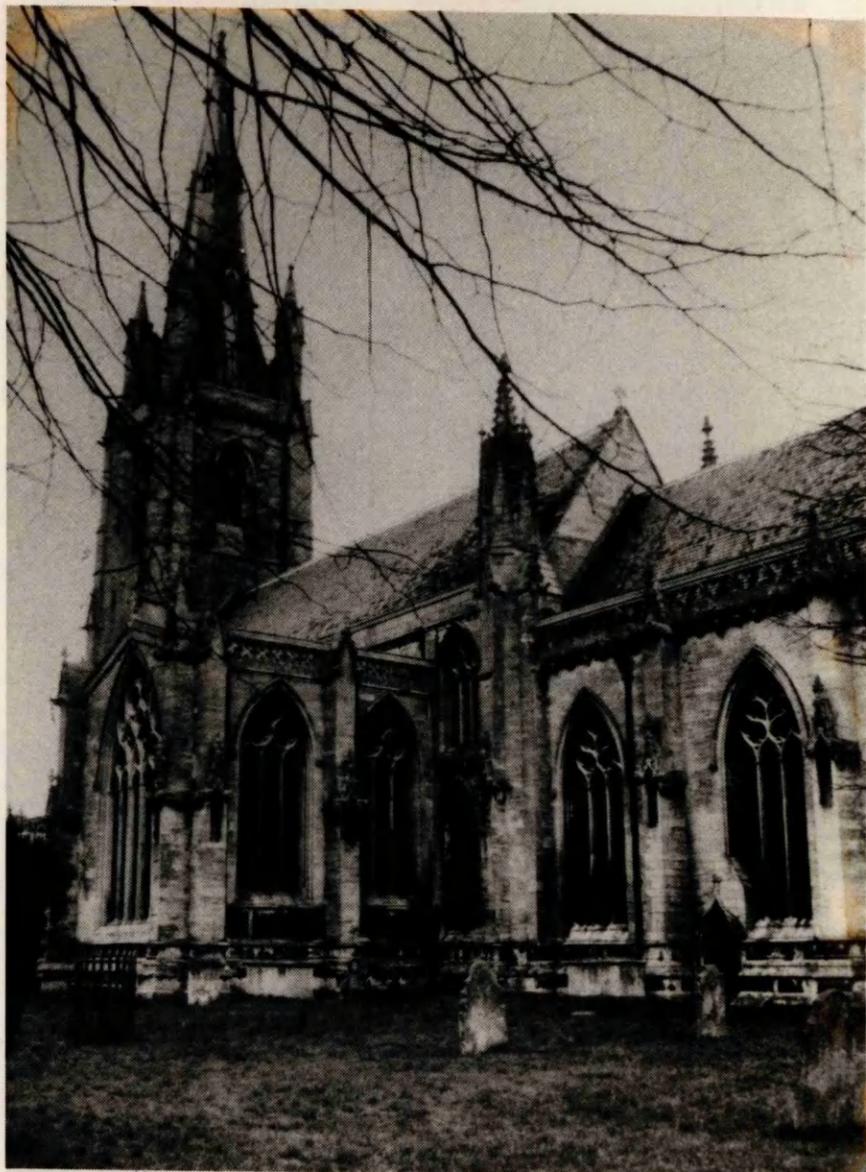


Plate 205: HECKINGTON: south transept and chancel.

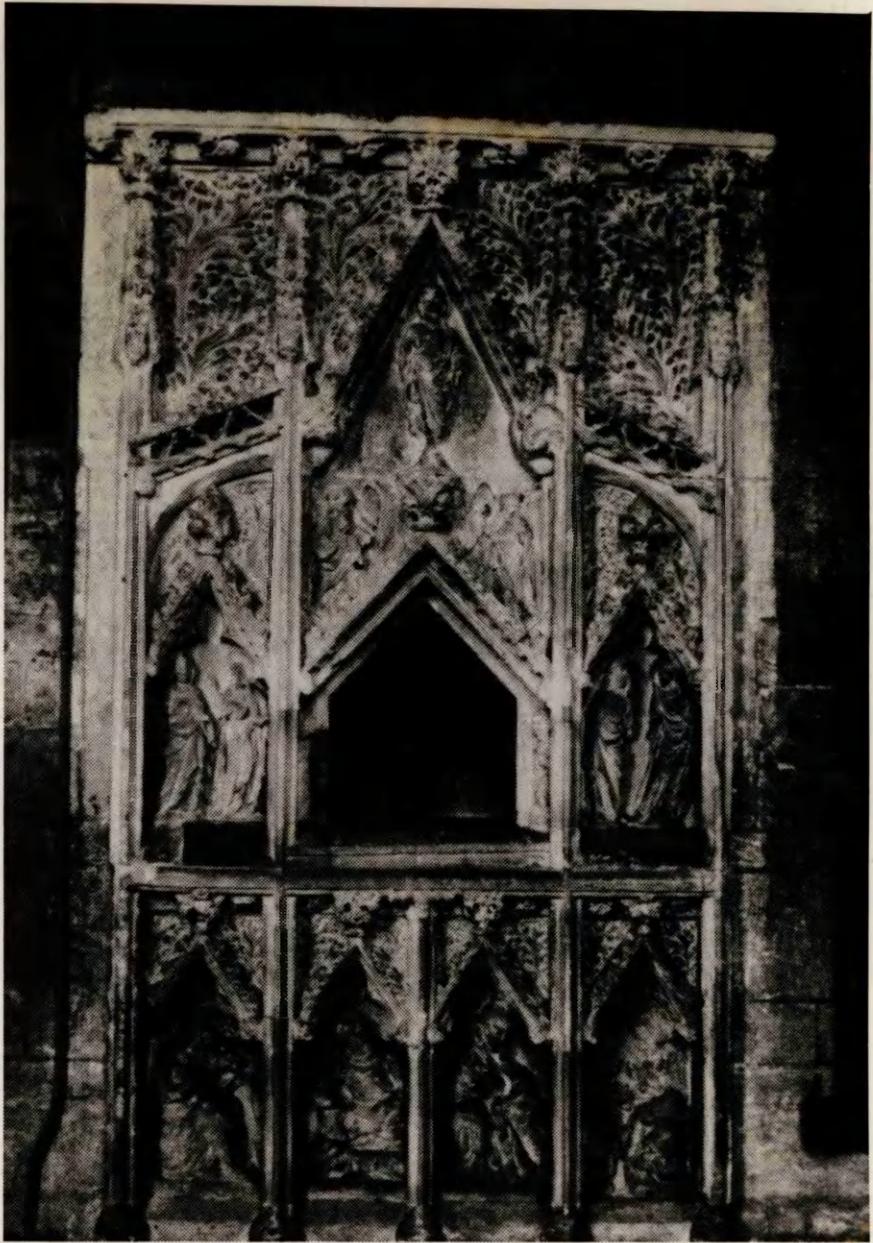


Plate 206: HECKINGTON: Easter sepulchre.



Plate 207: HECKINGTON: north chancel tomb recess and effigy of Richard de Potesgrave.

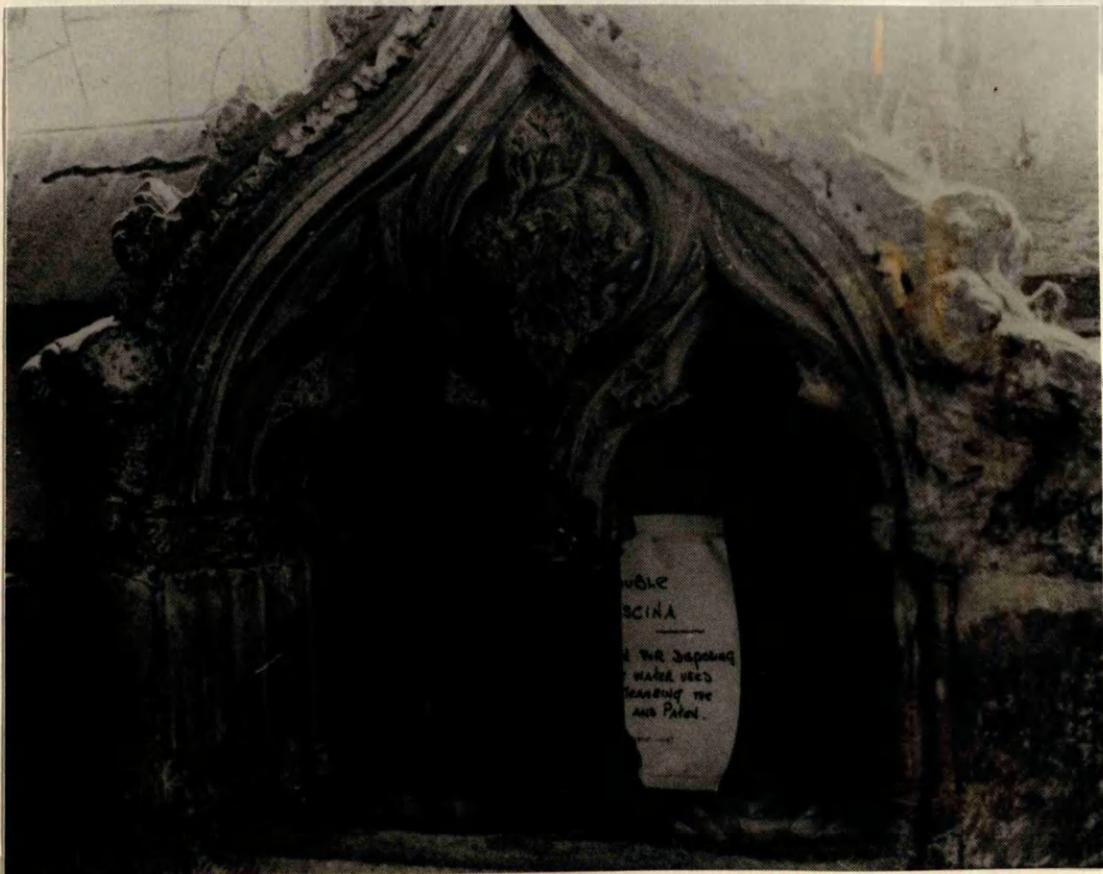


Plate 208: HECKINGTON: chancel piscina.



Plate 209: HECKINGTON: chancel sedilia.

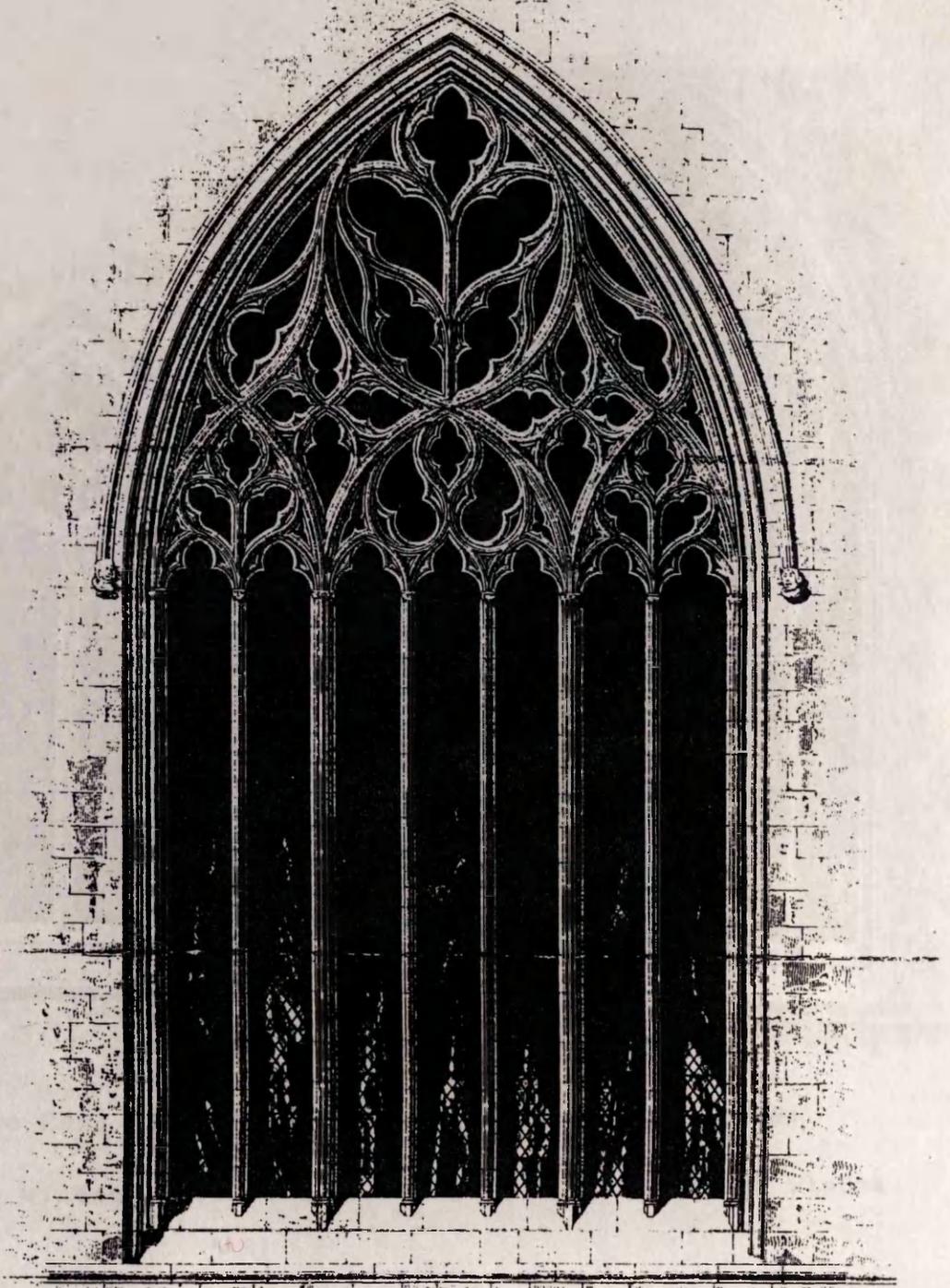


Plate 210: HECKINGTON: east window.



Plate 212: HEDON:

west window.

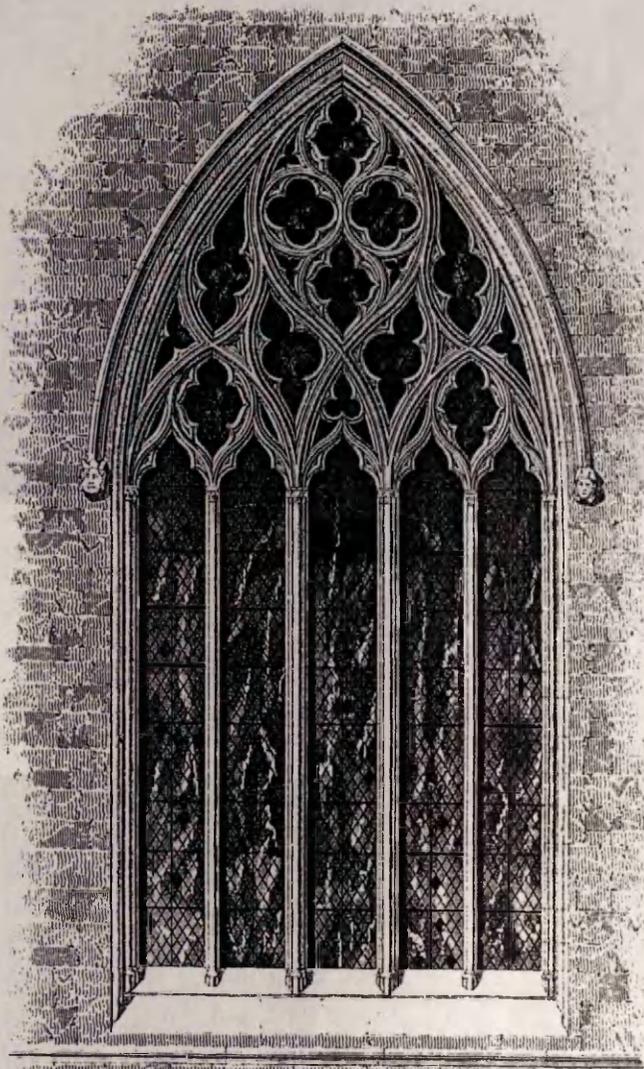


Plate 211: HECKINGTON:

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Plate 214: HORNBY: heads of effigies of Thomas and Lucia de Burgh.



Plate 215: HORNBY: effigy of Sir Thomas de Burgh.



Plate 216: HORNBY: draperies of effigy of Sir Thomas de de Burgh.



Plate 217: HORNBY: draperies of effigy of Lucia de Burgh.

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Plate 218: HORNBY: next front



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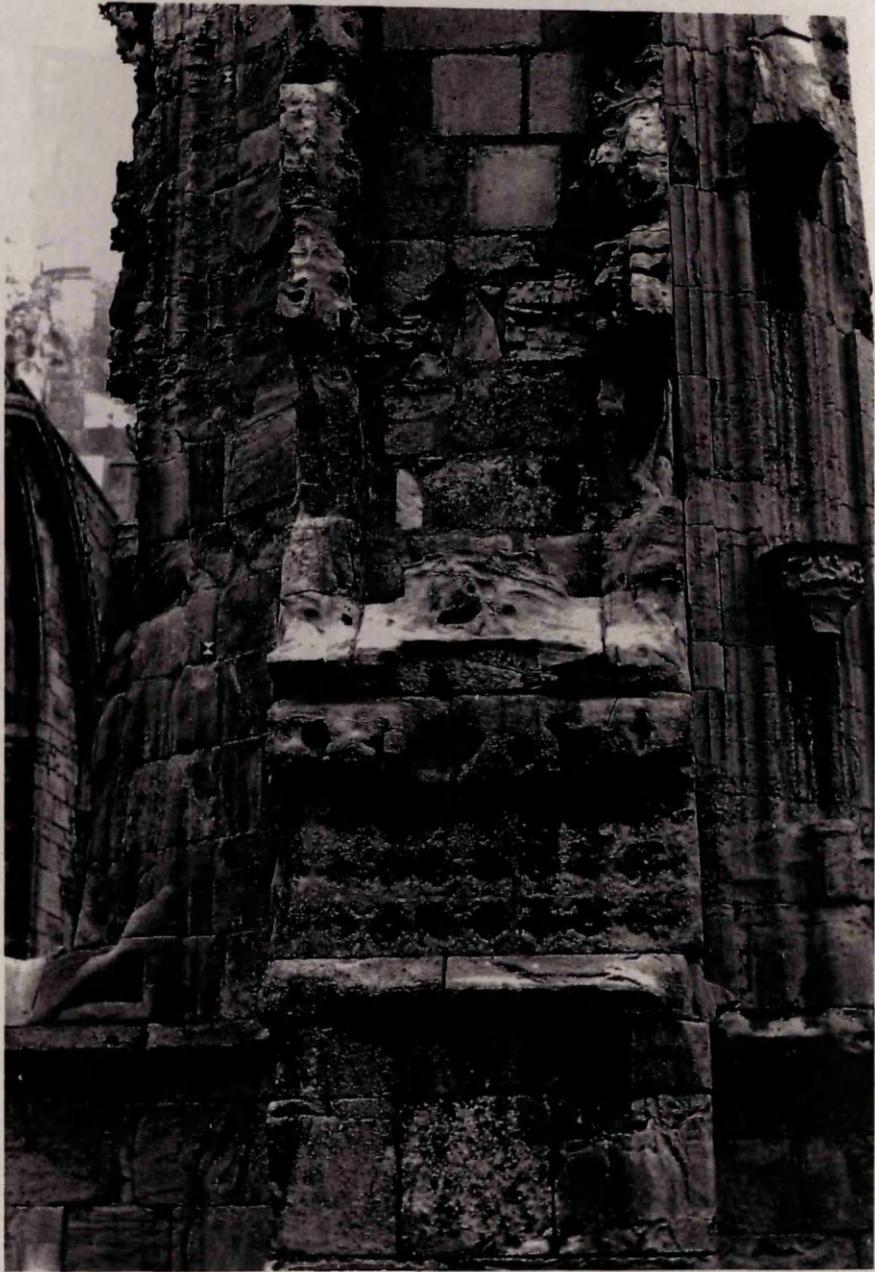
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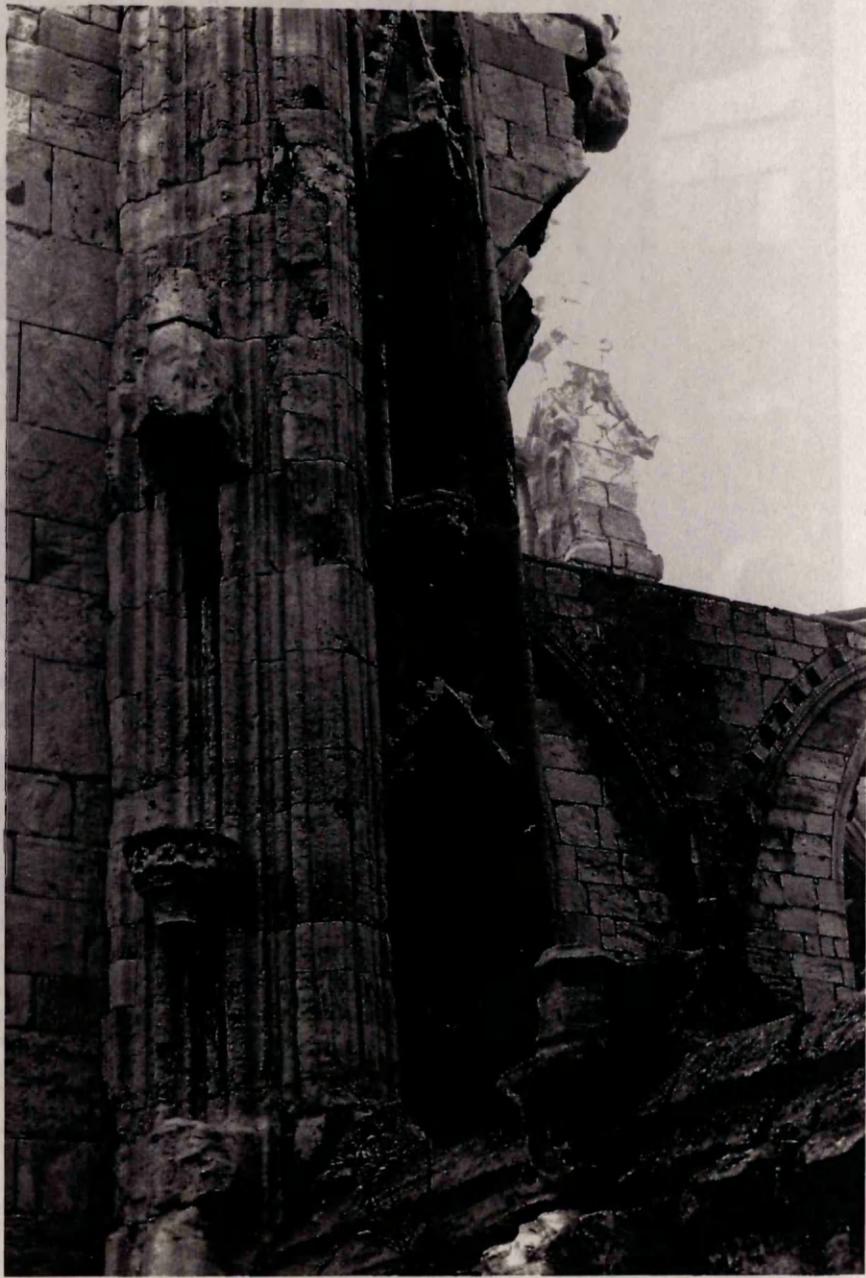
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Plate 221: HOWDEN: east window reveal.



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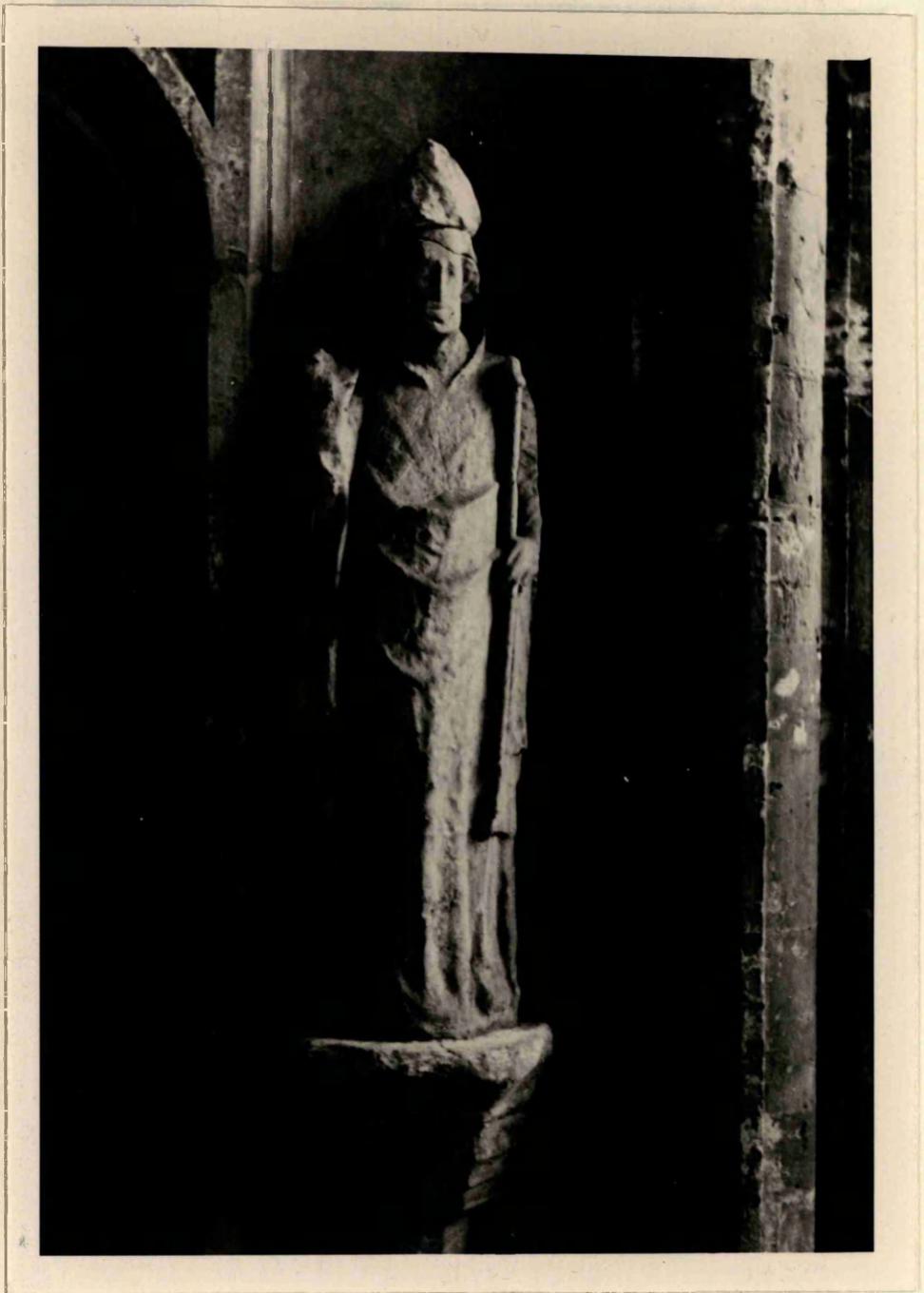


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Plate 224: HOWDEN: statue of a priest, choir.



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Plate 228: HOWDEN: inserted statue base to west of recess.



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Plate 234: HULL, Holy Trinity: south choir aisle, west recess.

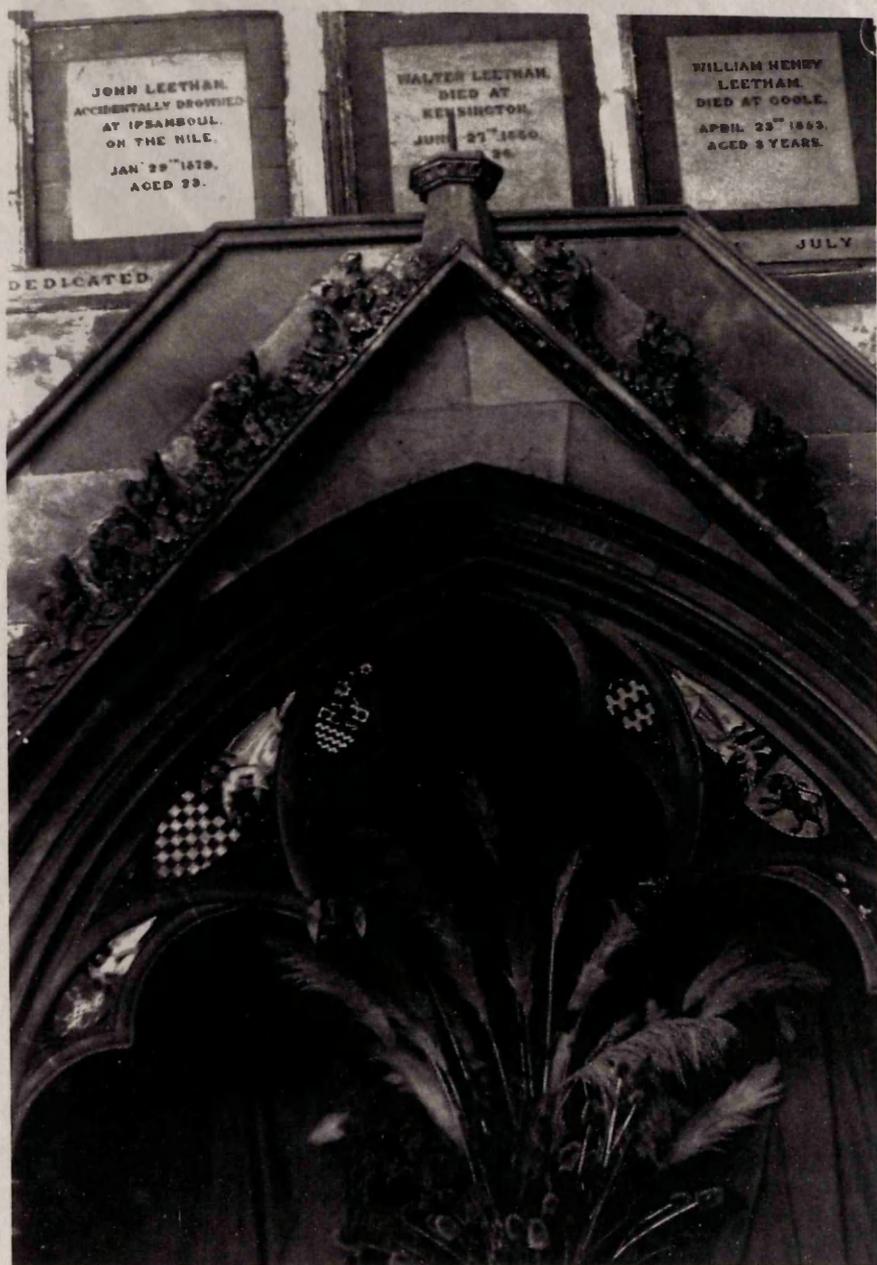


Plate 235: HULL, Holy Trinity: west recess gable.

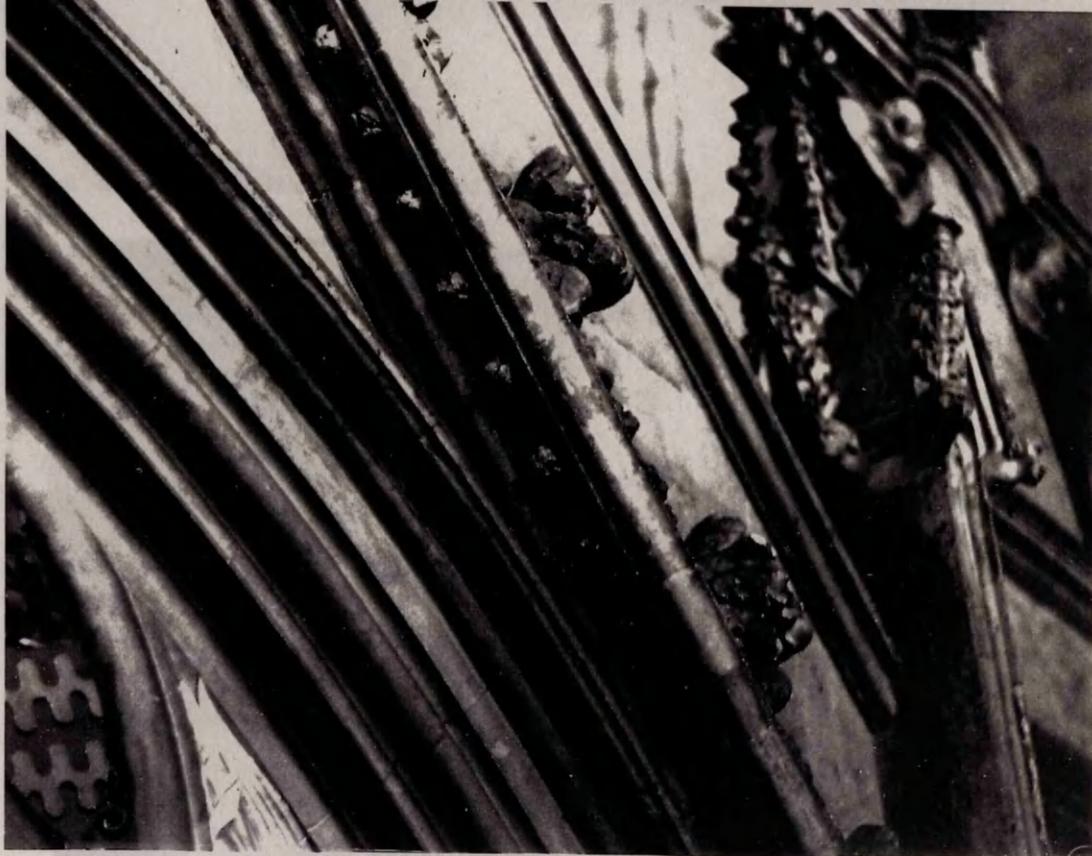


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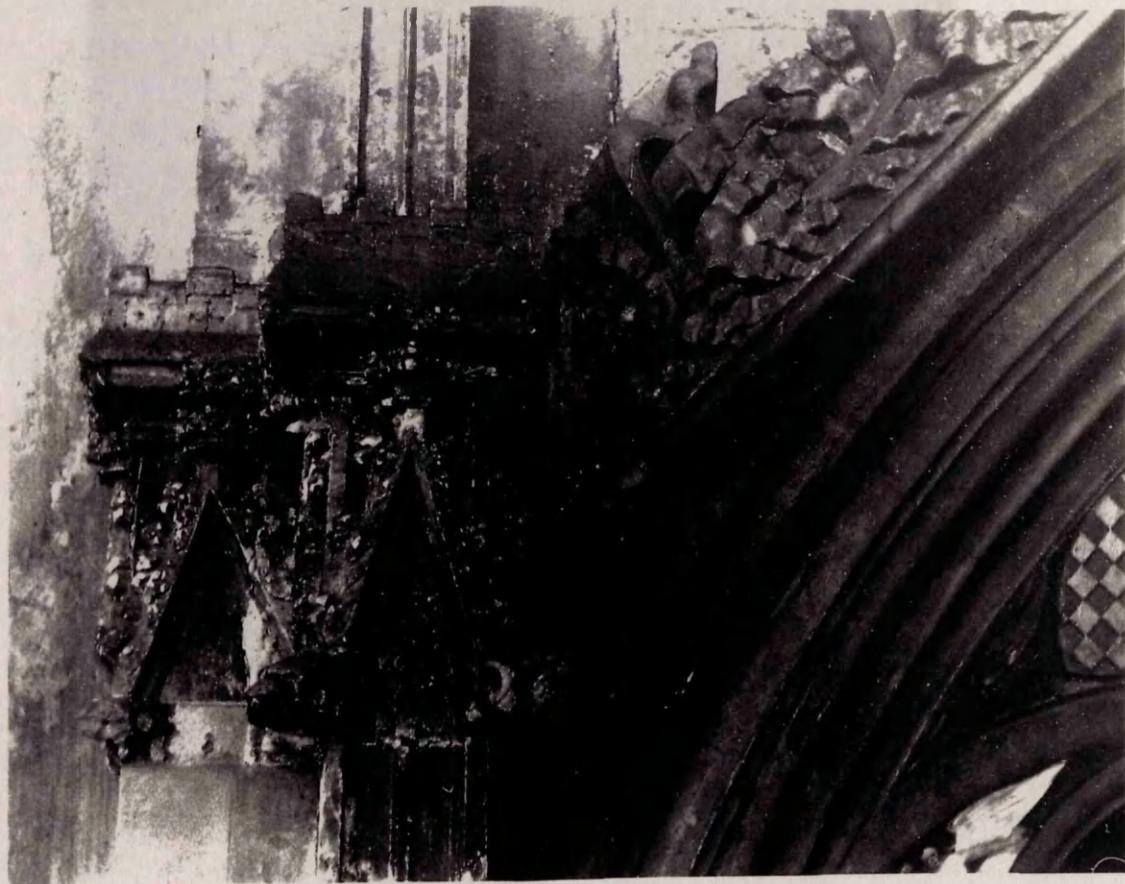


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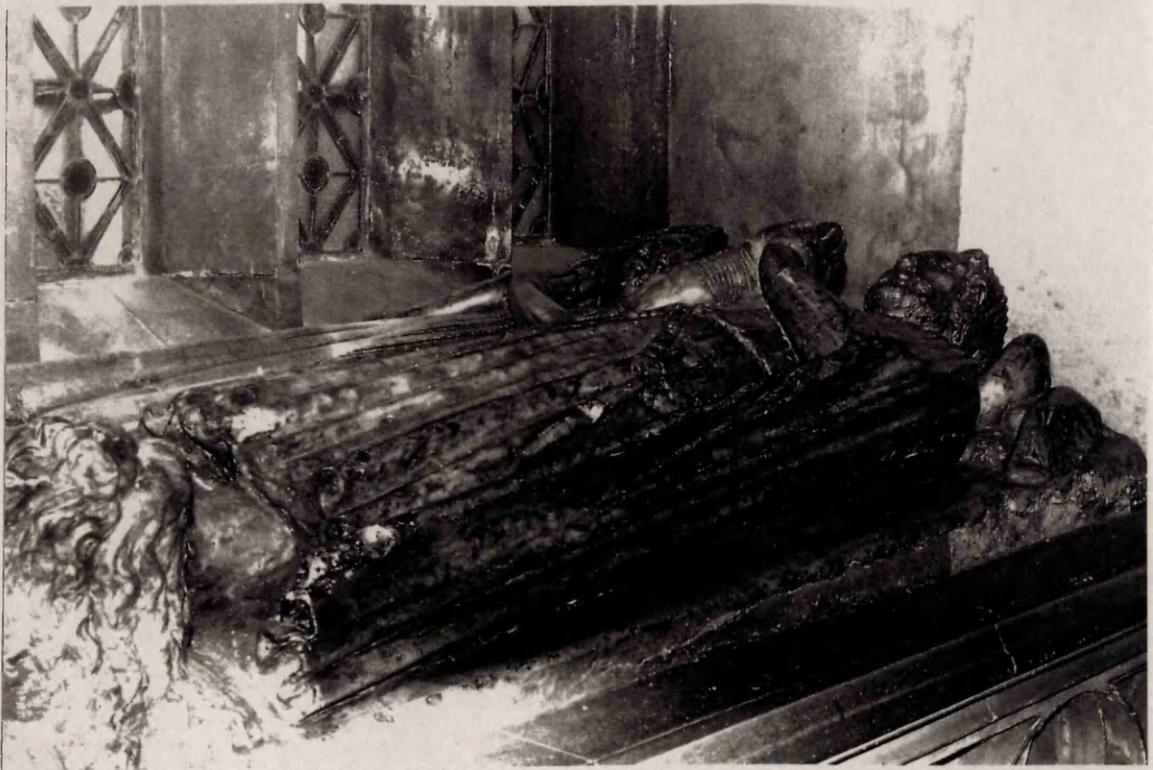


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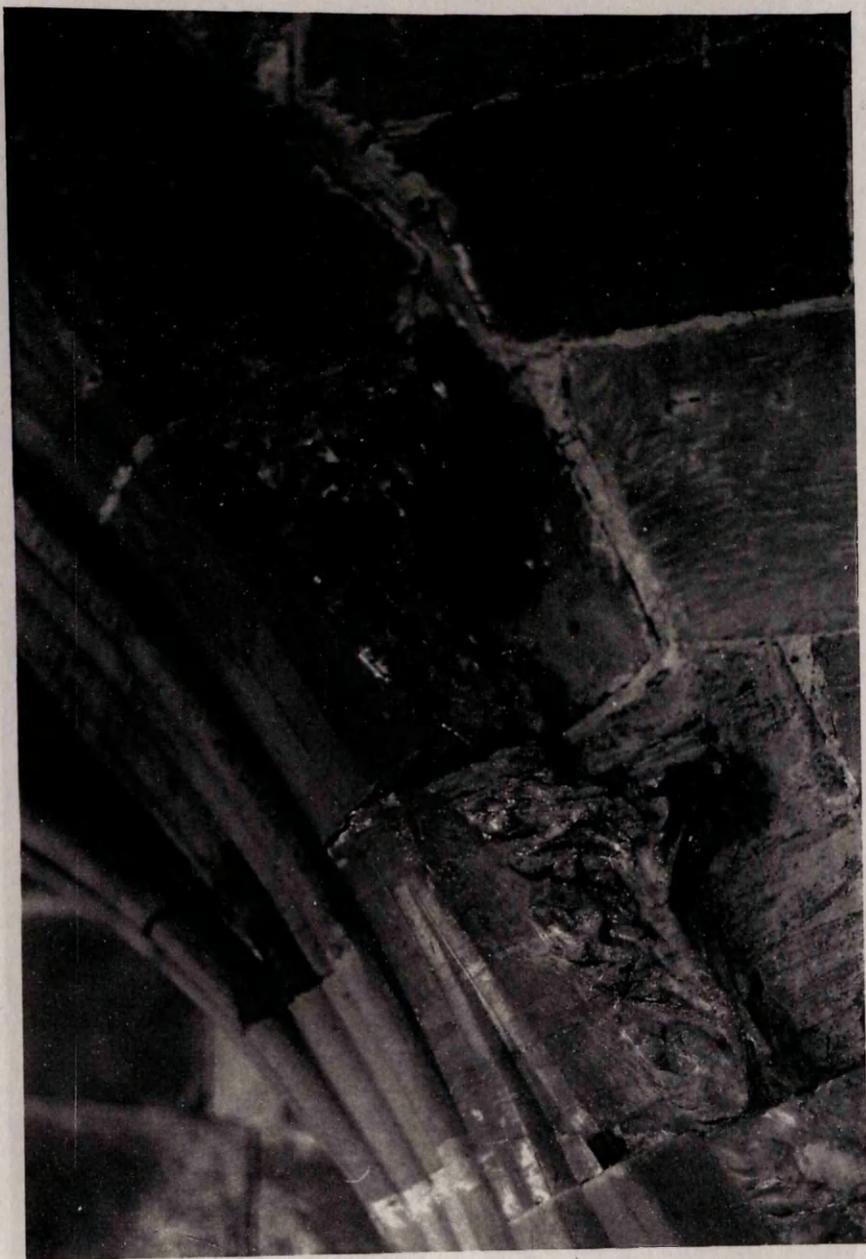
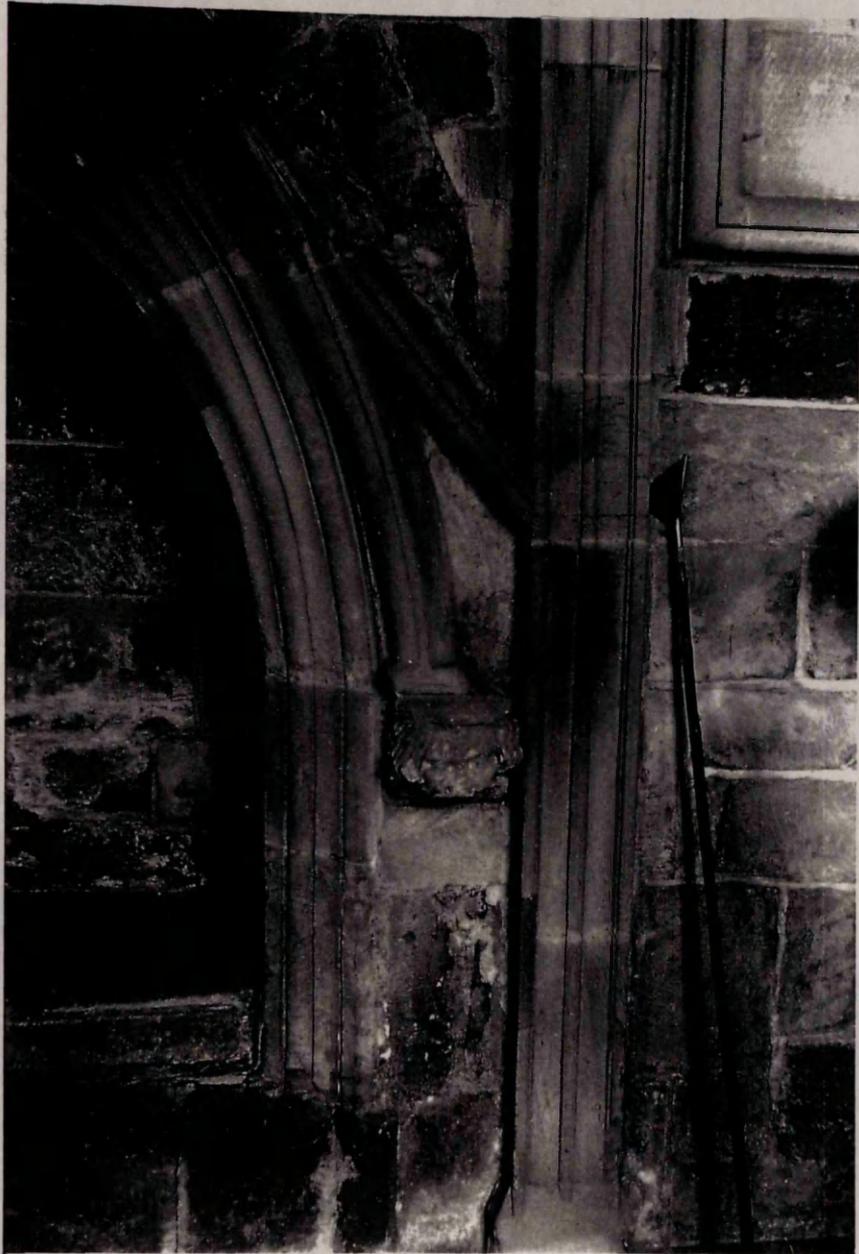


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Plate 250: KIRKBY WISKE: junction of recess arch, gable and buttress.



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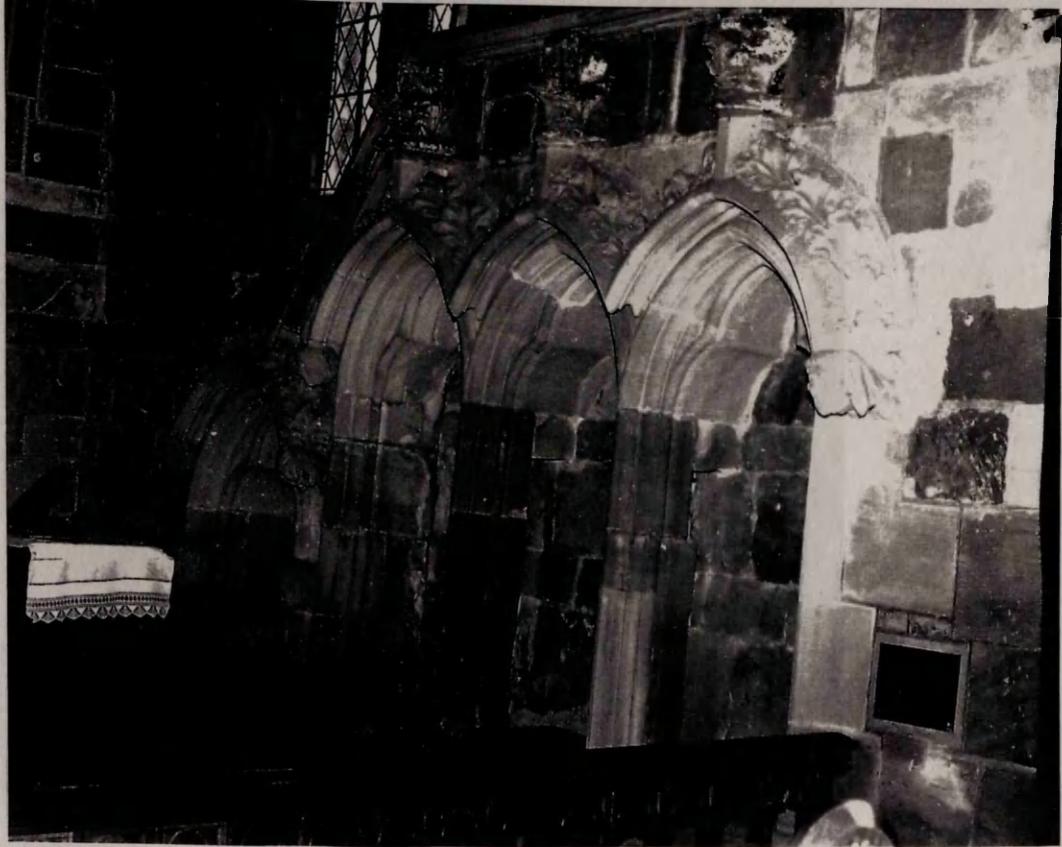


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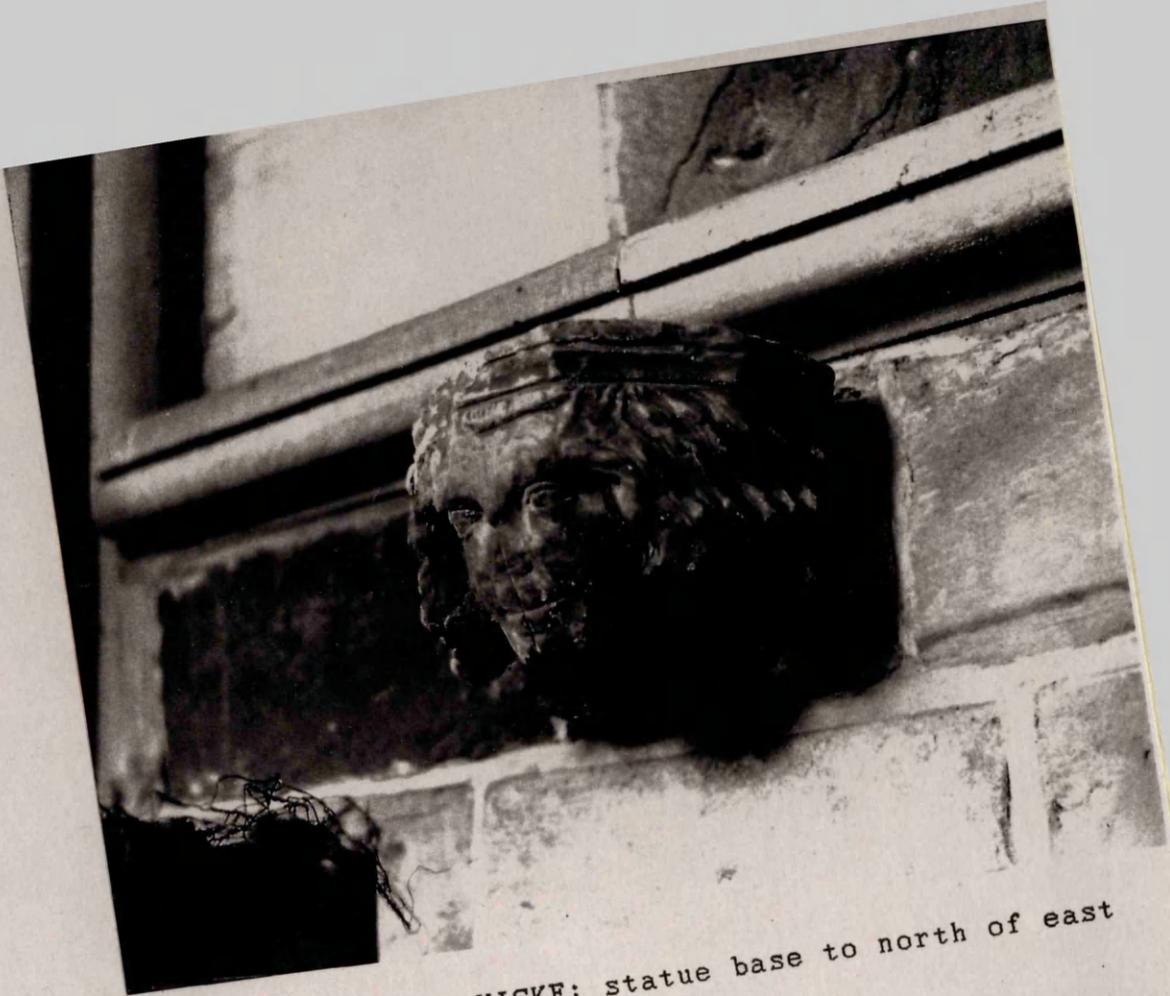


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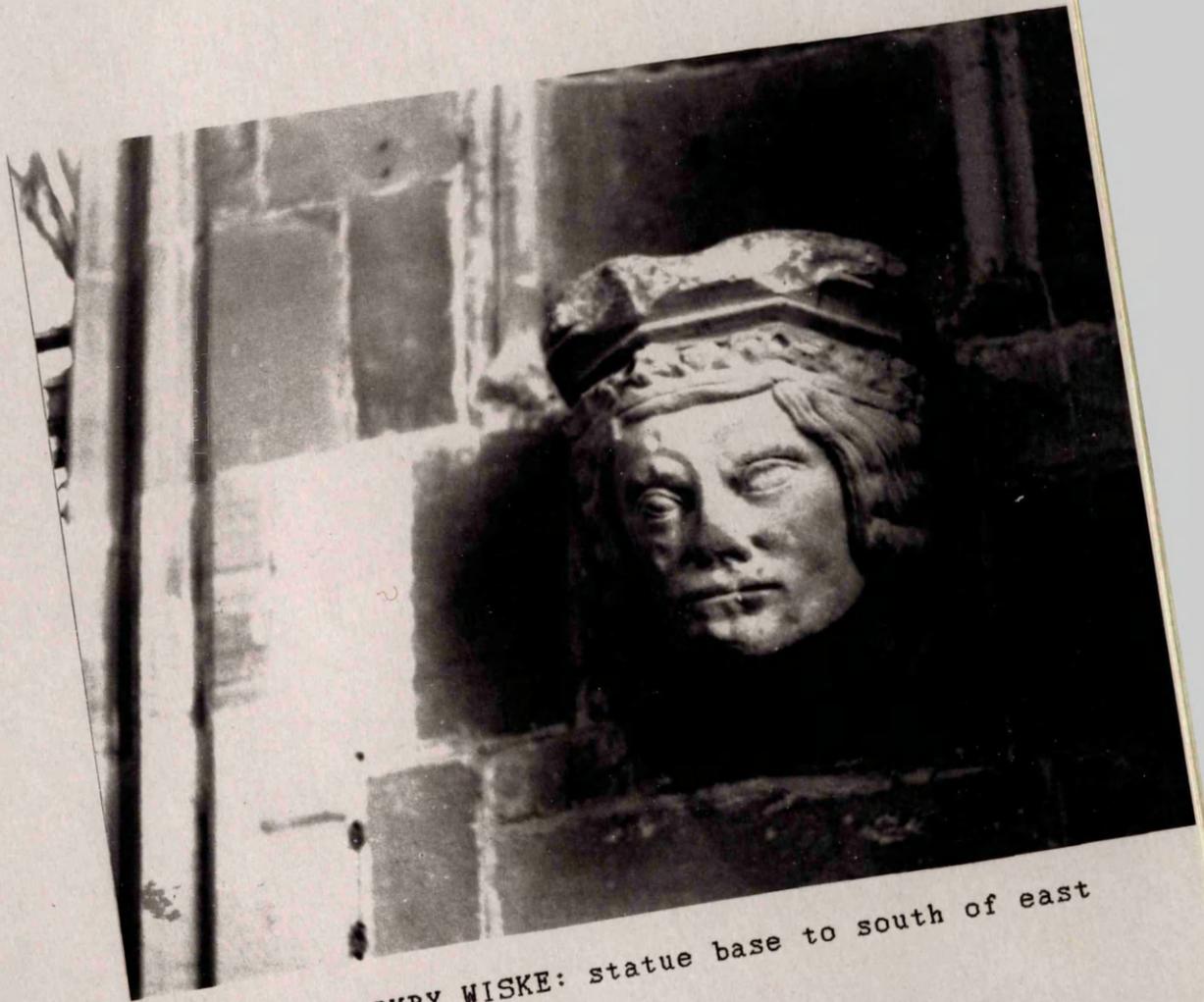


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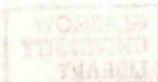
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TOMB RECESSES IN THE PROVINCE OF YORK, C1250-1400: their
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by Mary Markus

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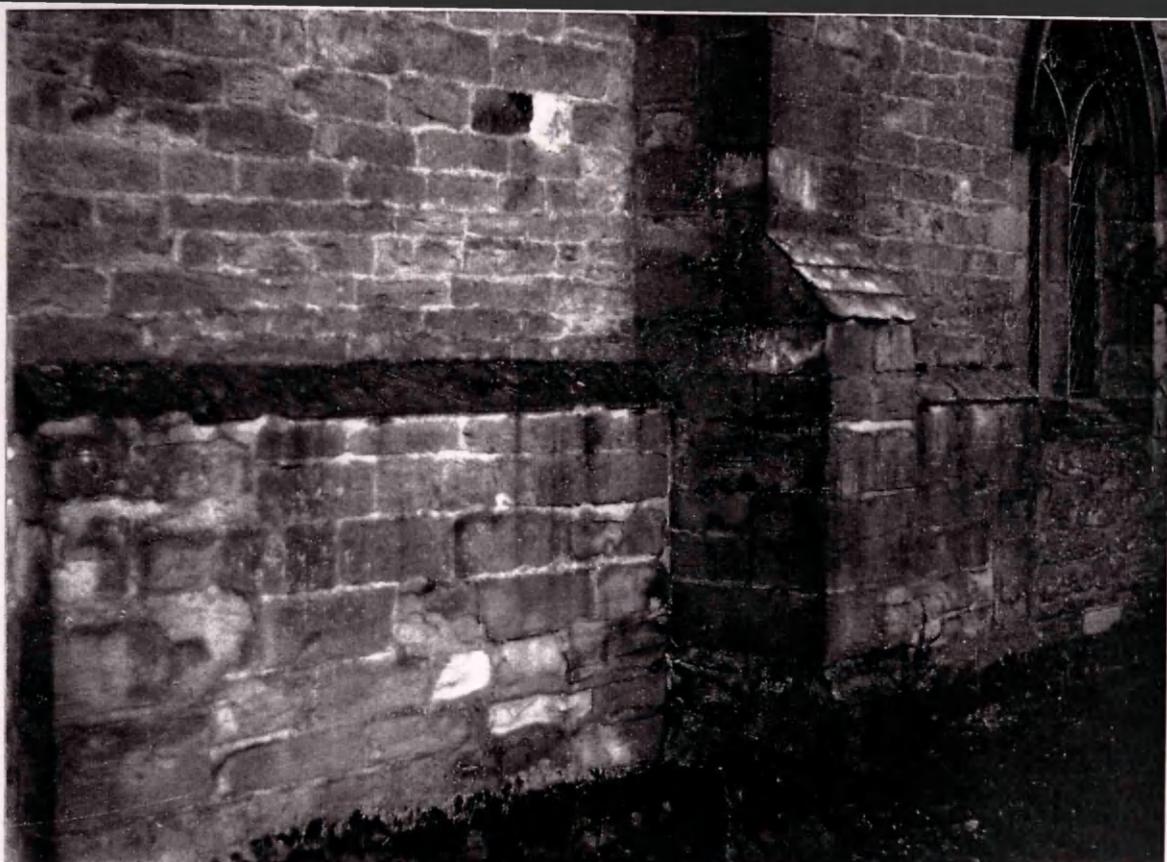


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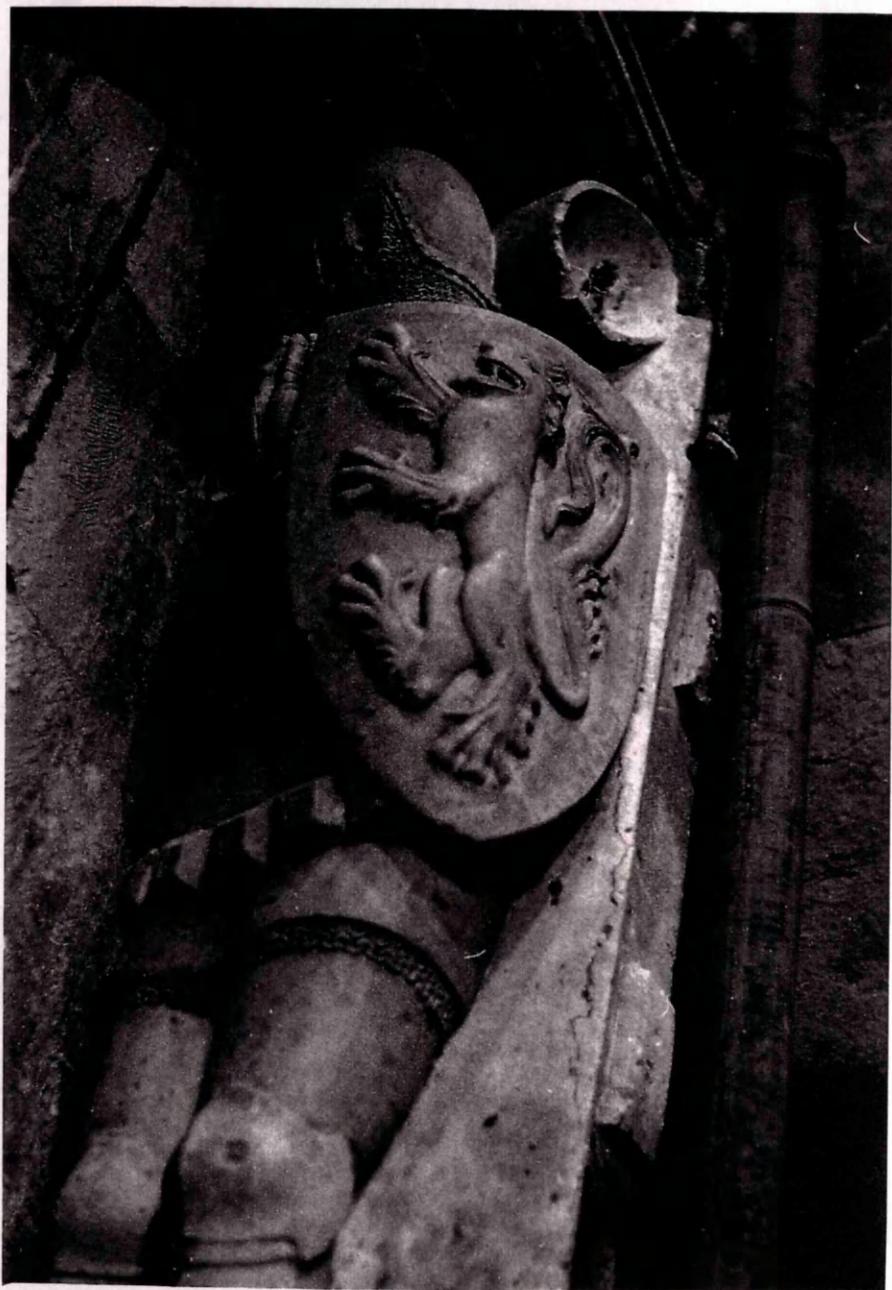


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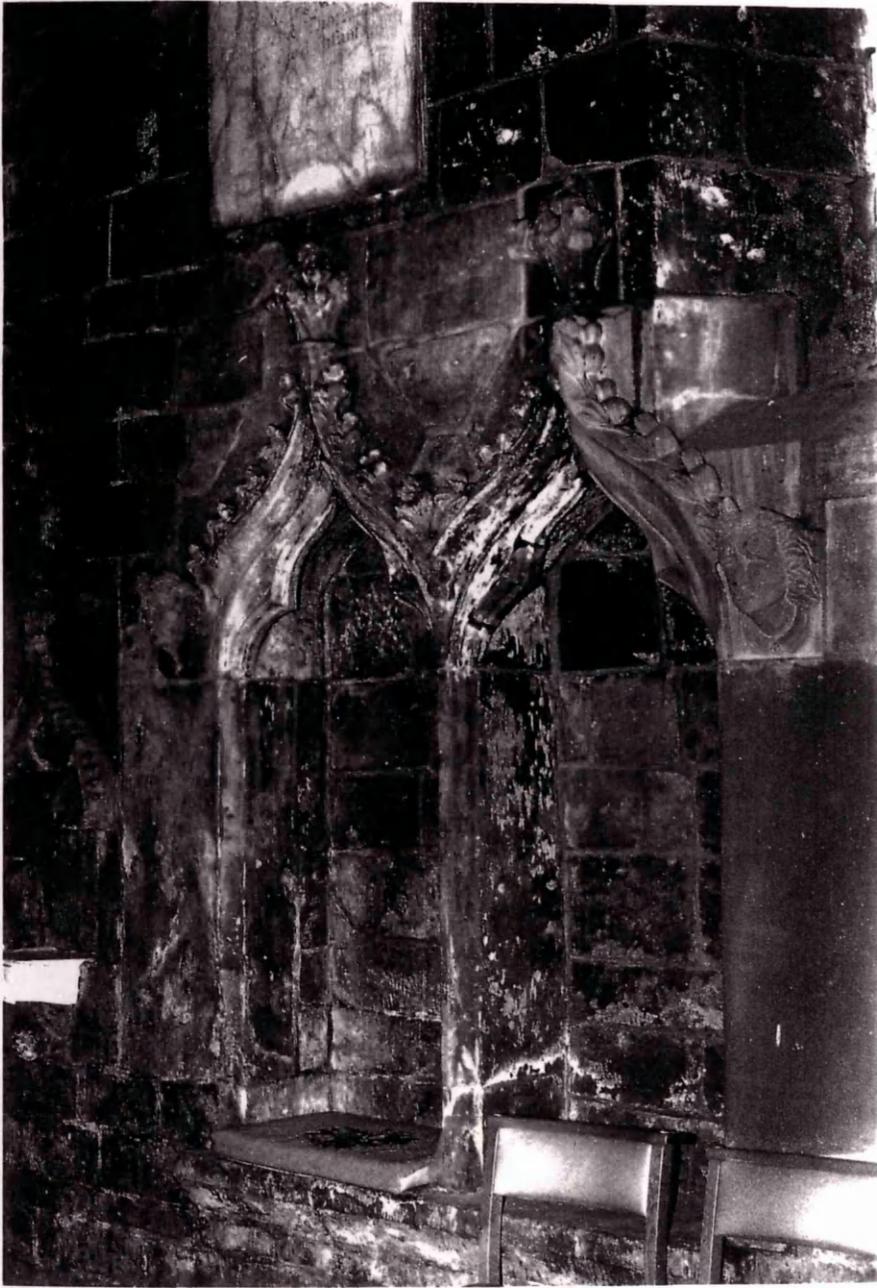


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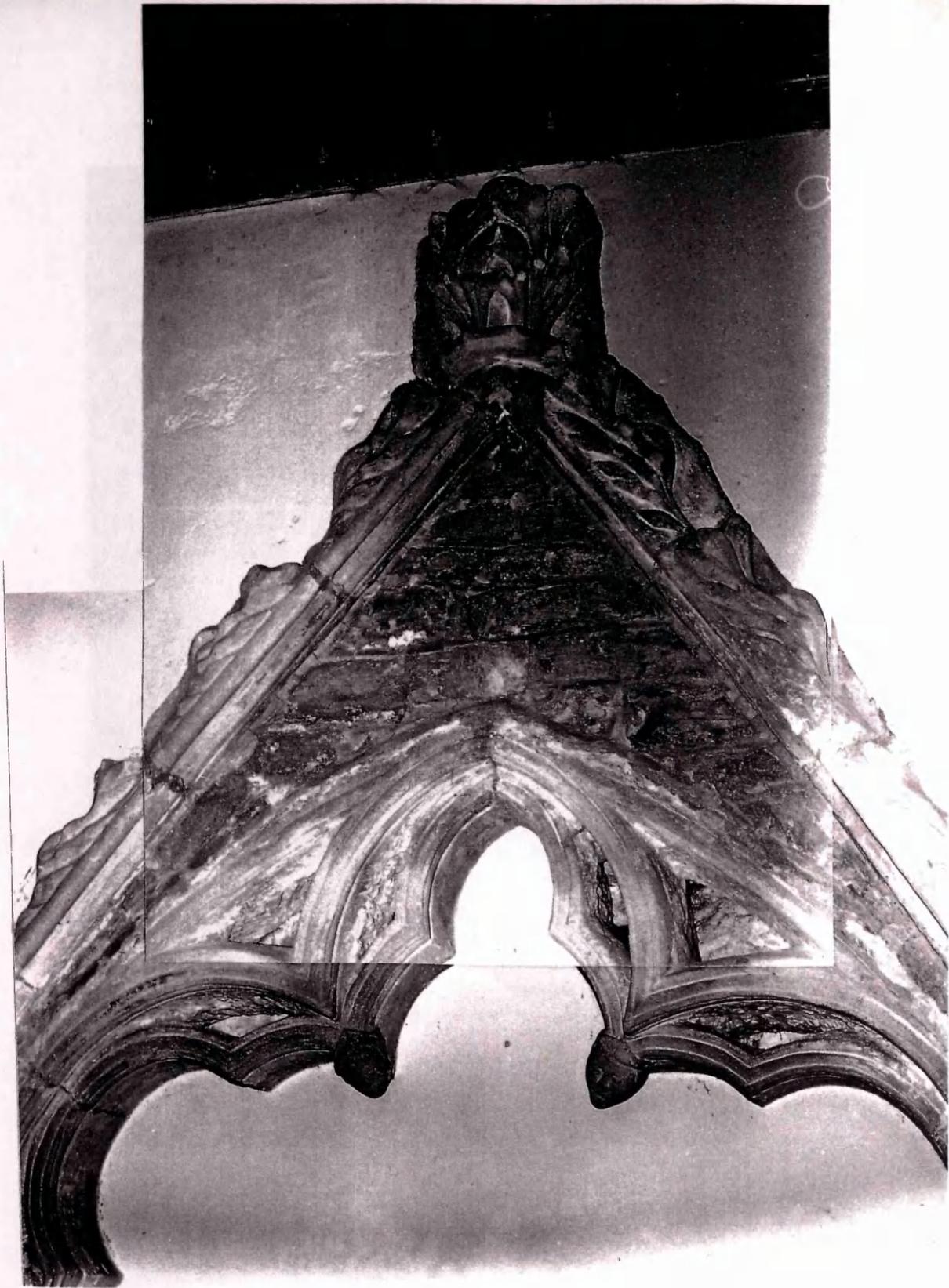


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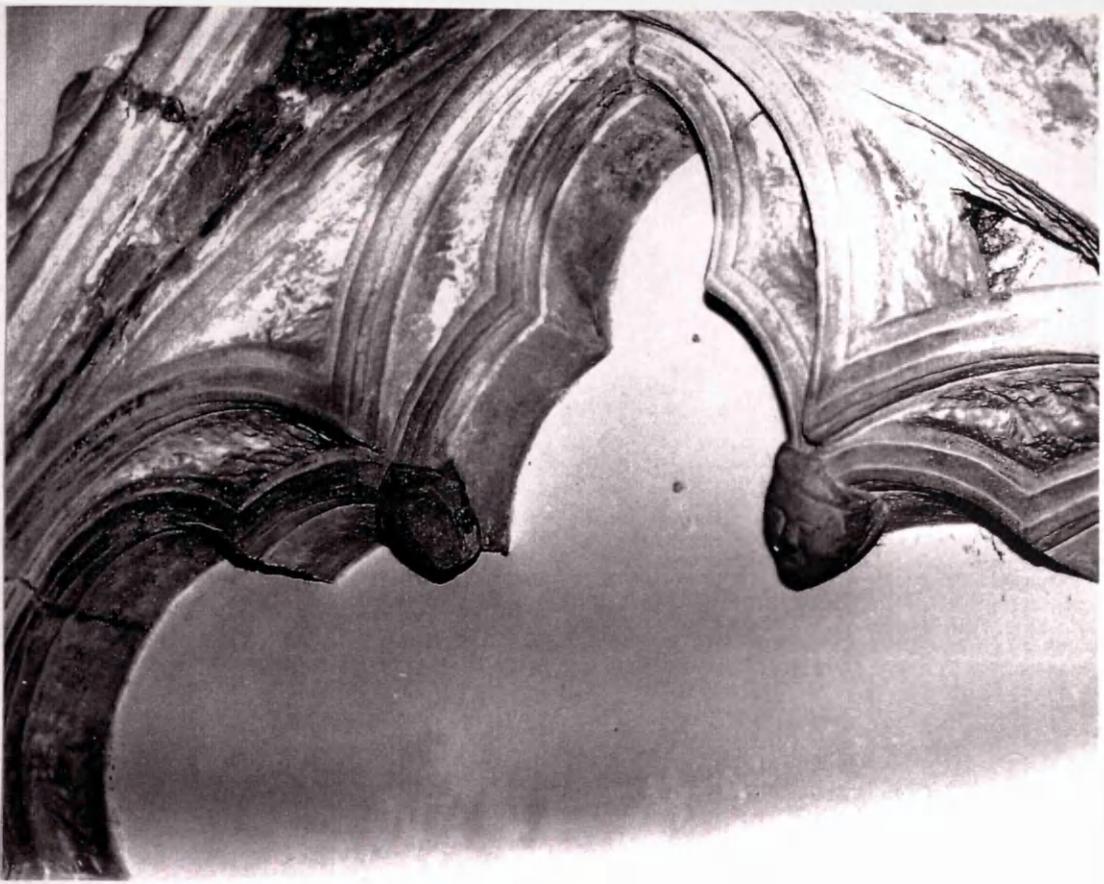


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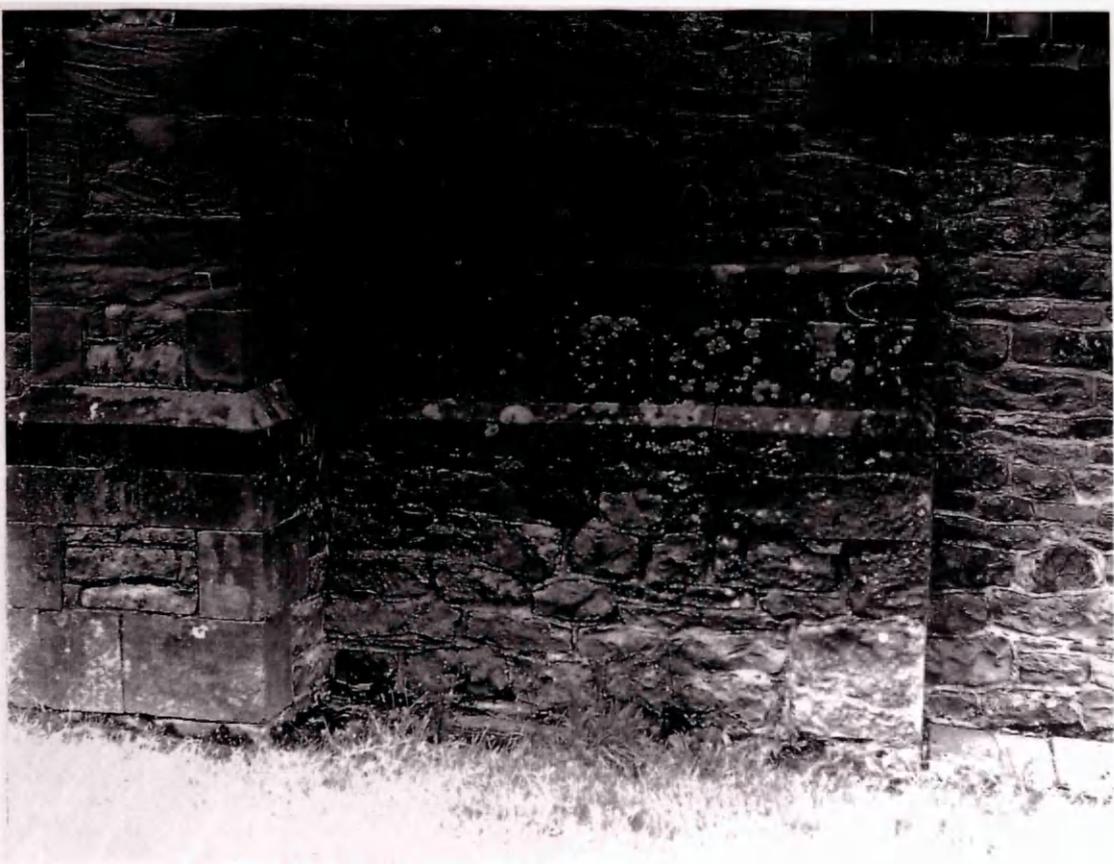


Plate 282: MIDDLETON TYAS: south nave aisle, exterior projection of tomb recess.

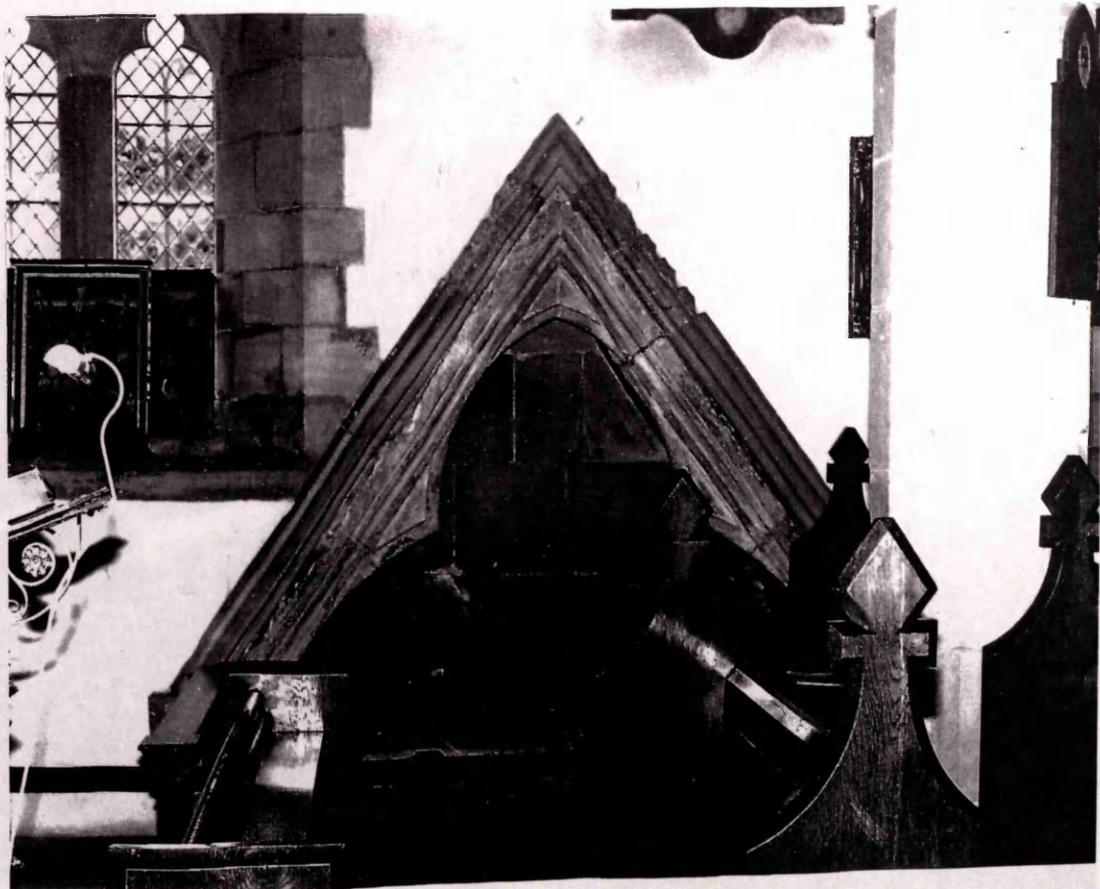


Plate 283: MIDDLETON TYAS: south nave aisle tomb recess.

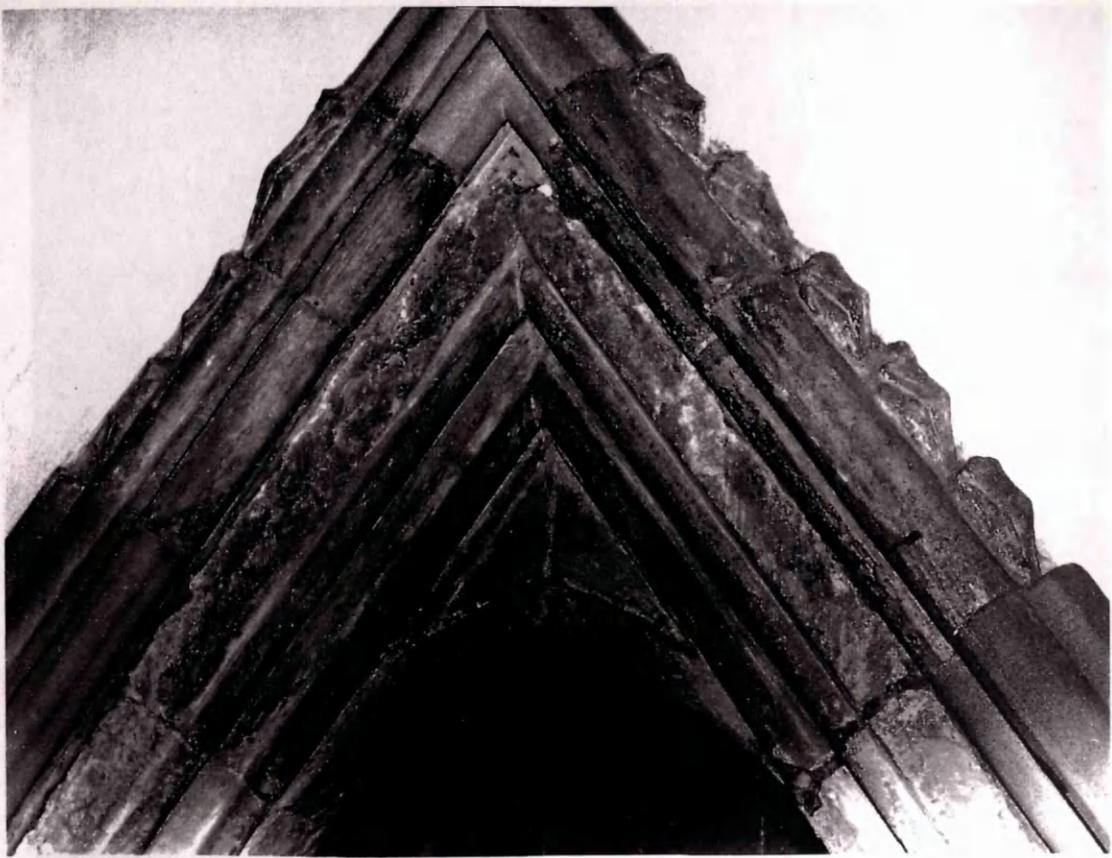


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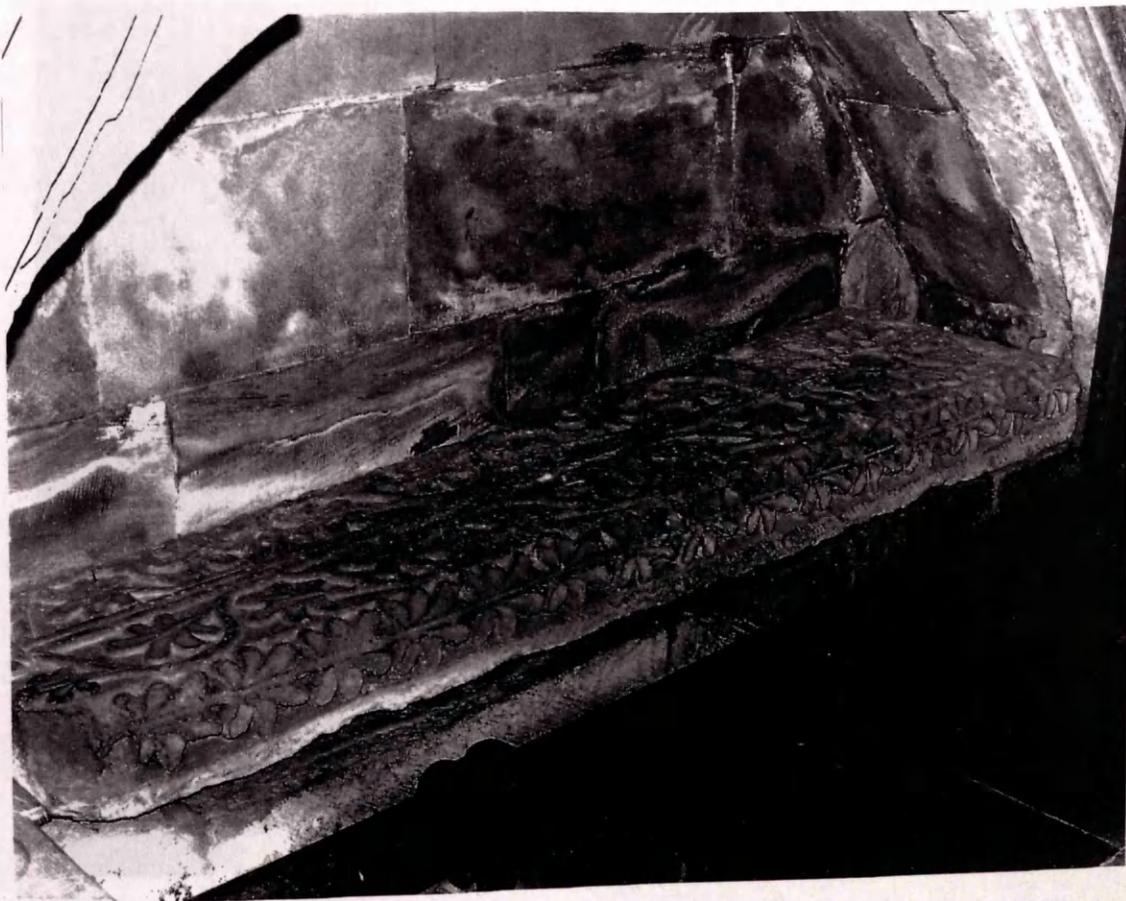


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Plate 290: MIDDLETON TYAS: south nave arcade.



Plate 291: MIDDLETON TYAS: south nave arcade.

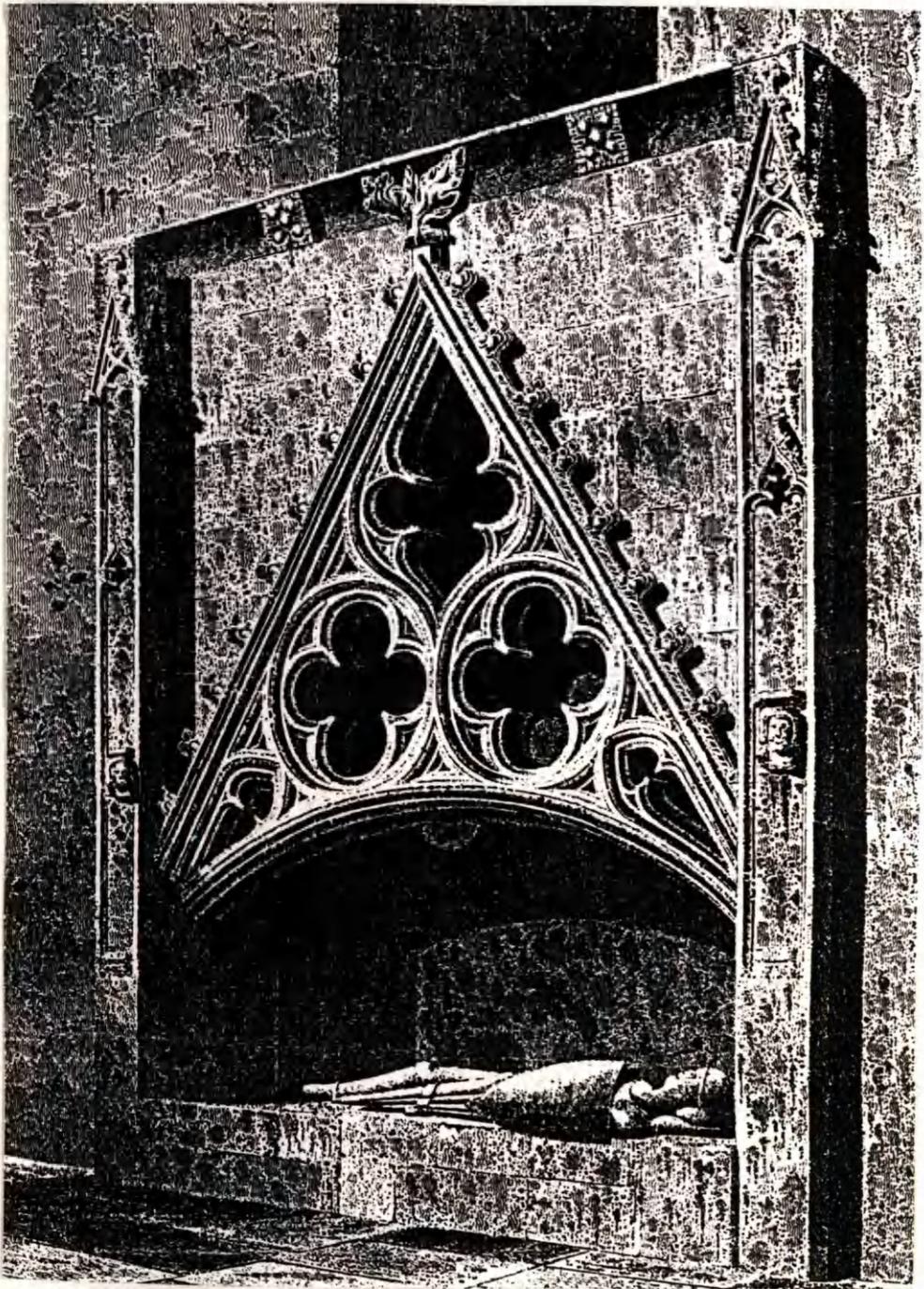


Plate 292: NORHAM: south chancel tomb recess.

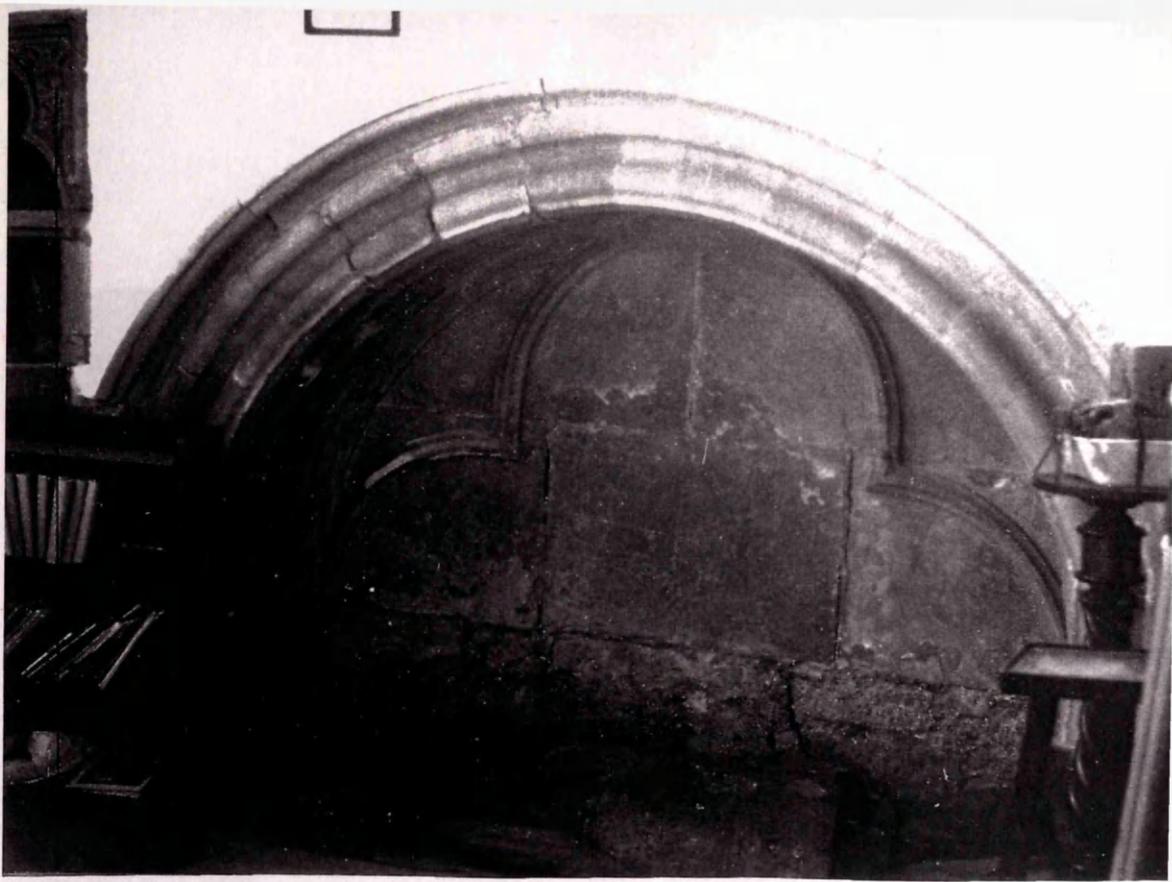


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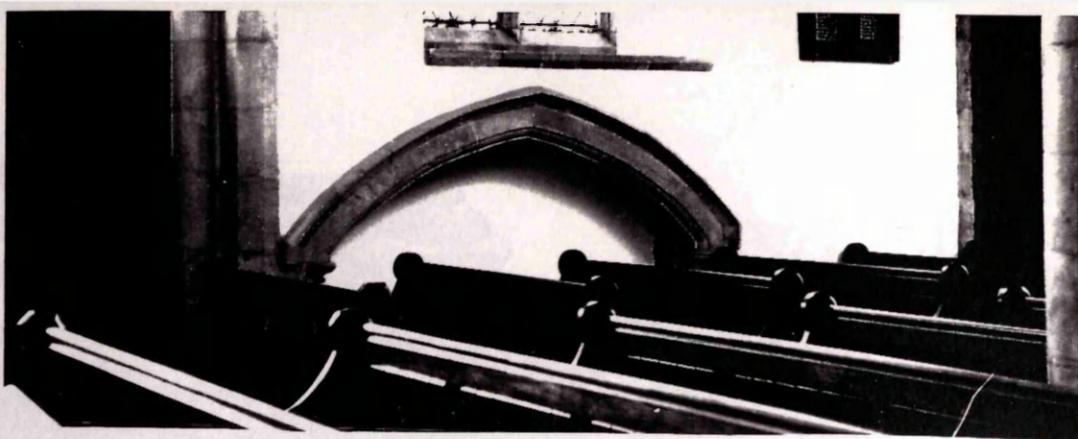


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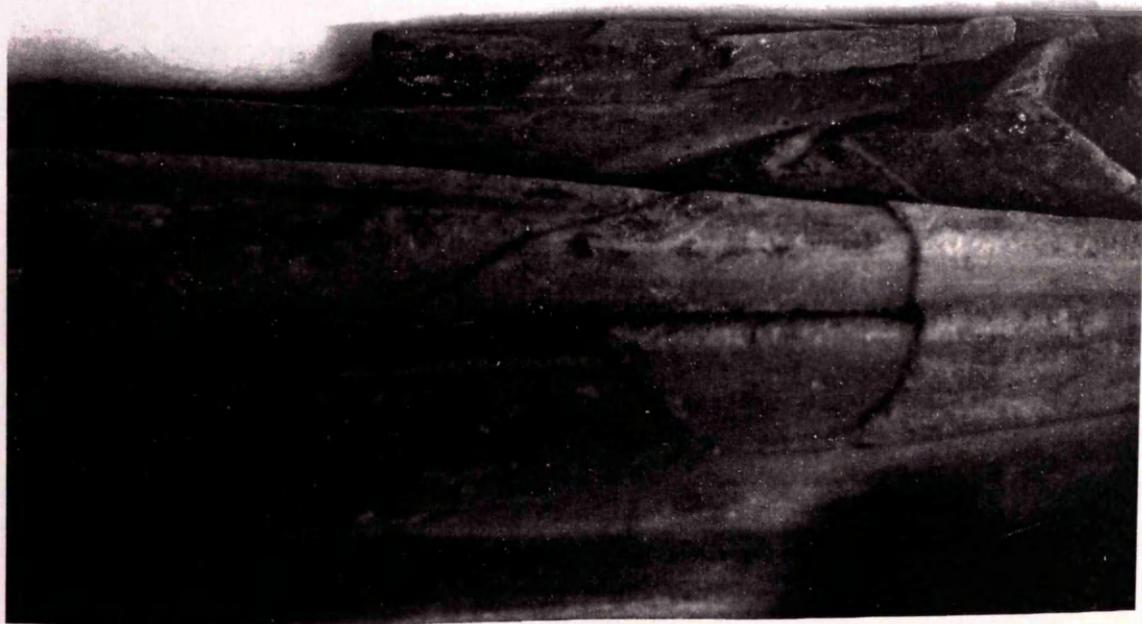


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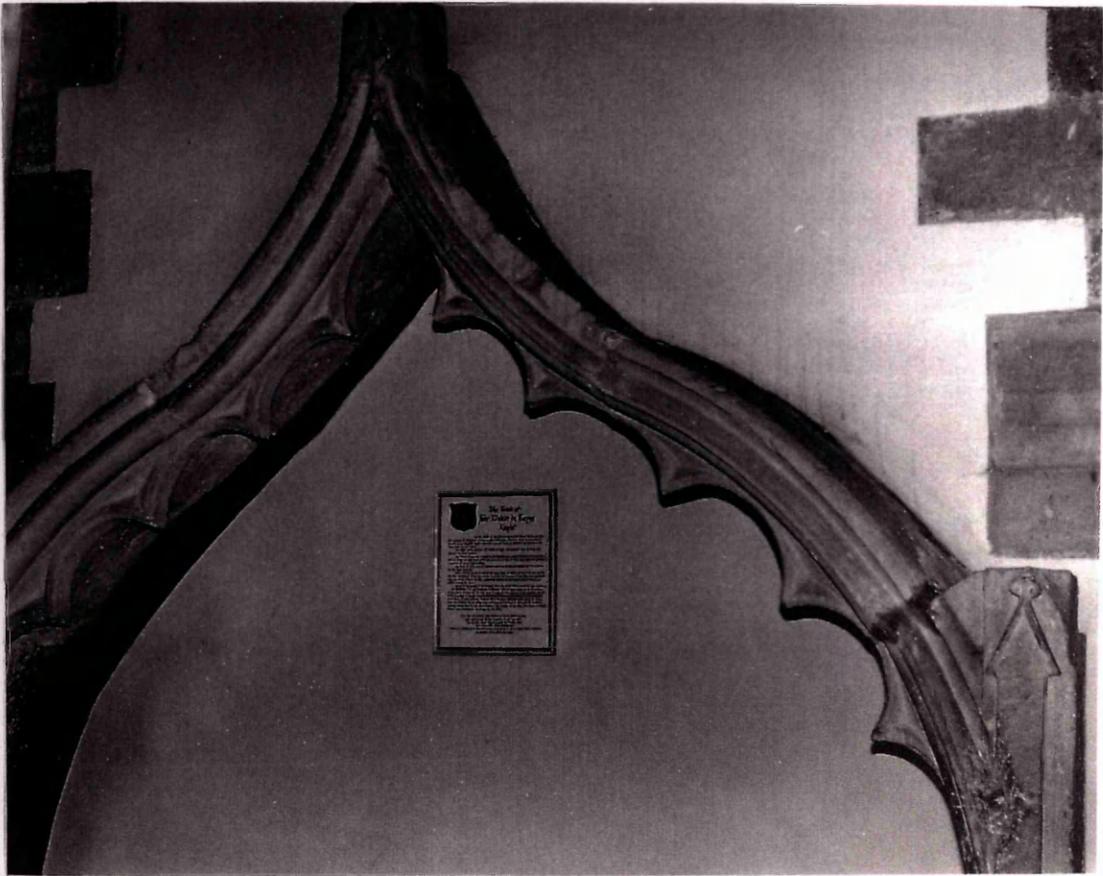


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Plate 302: NUNNINGTON: effigy of Sir Walter de Teye.



Plate 303: NUNNINGTON: effigy of Sir Walter de Teye.

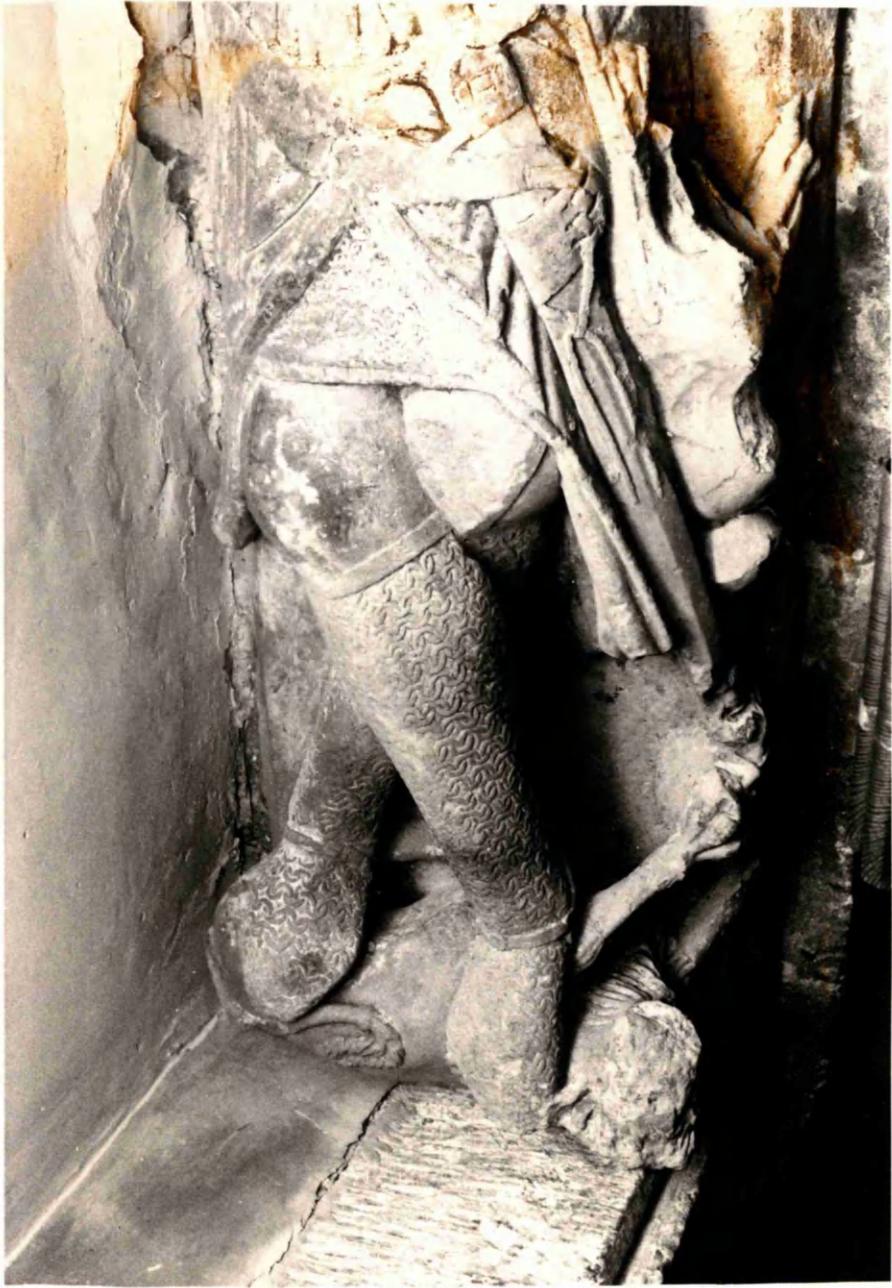


Plate 304: NUNNINGTON: detail of effigy.

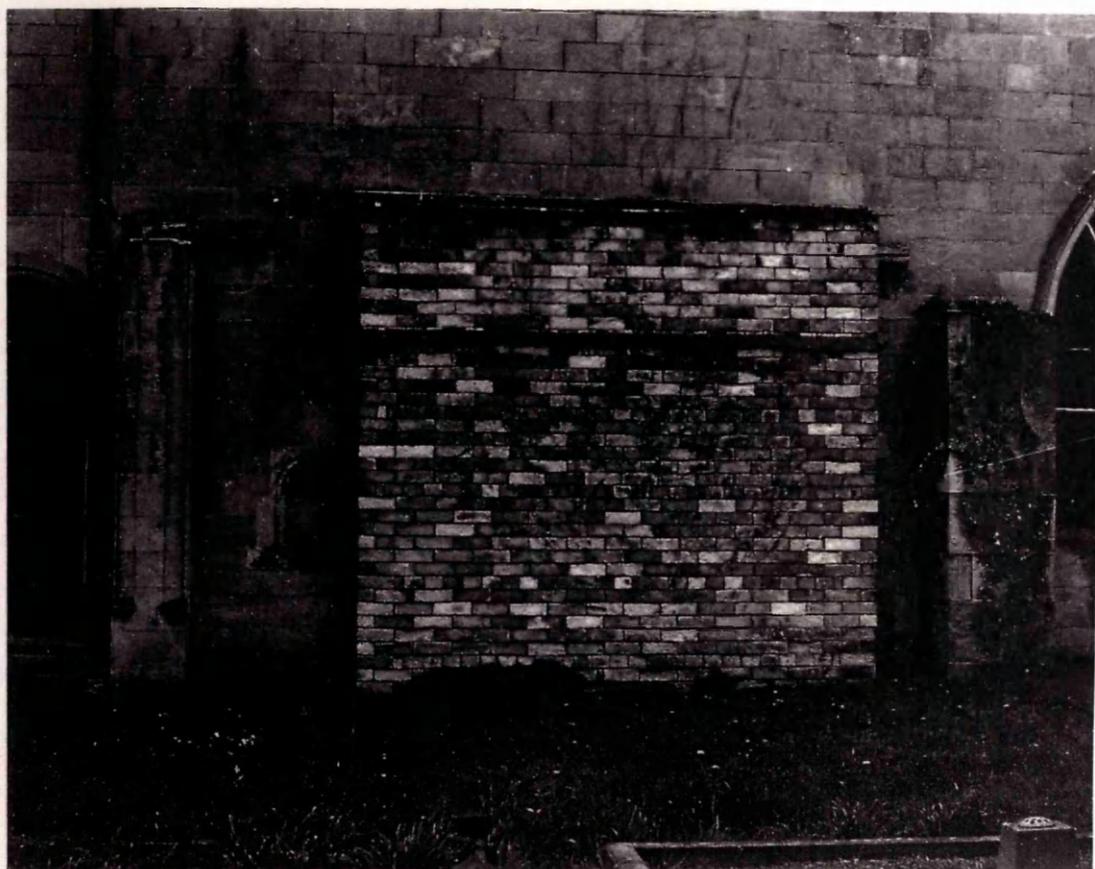


Plate 305: OWSTON: ruined north chancel chapel showing
bricked-up back of tomb recess with piscina to
the east.



Plate 306: OWSTON: north chancel tomb recess.

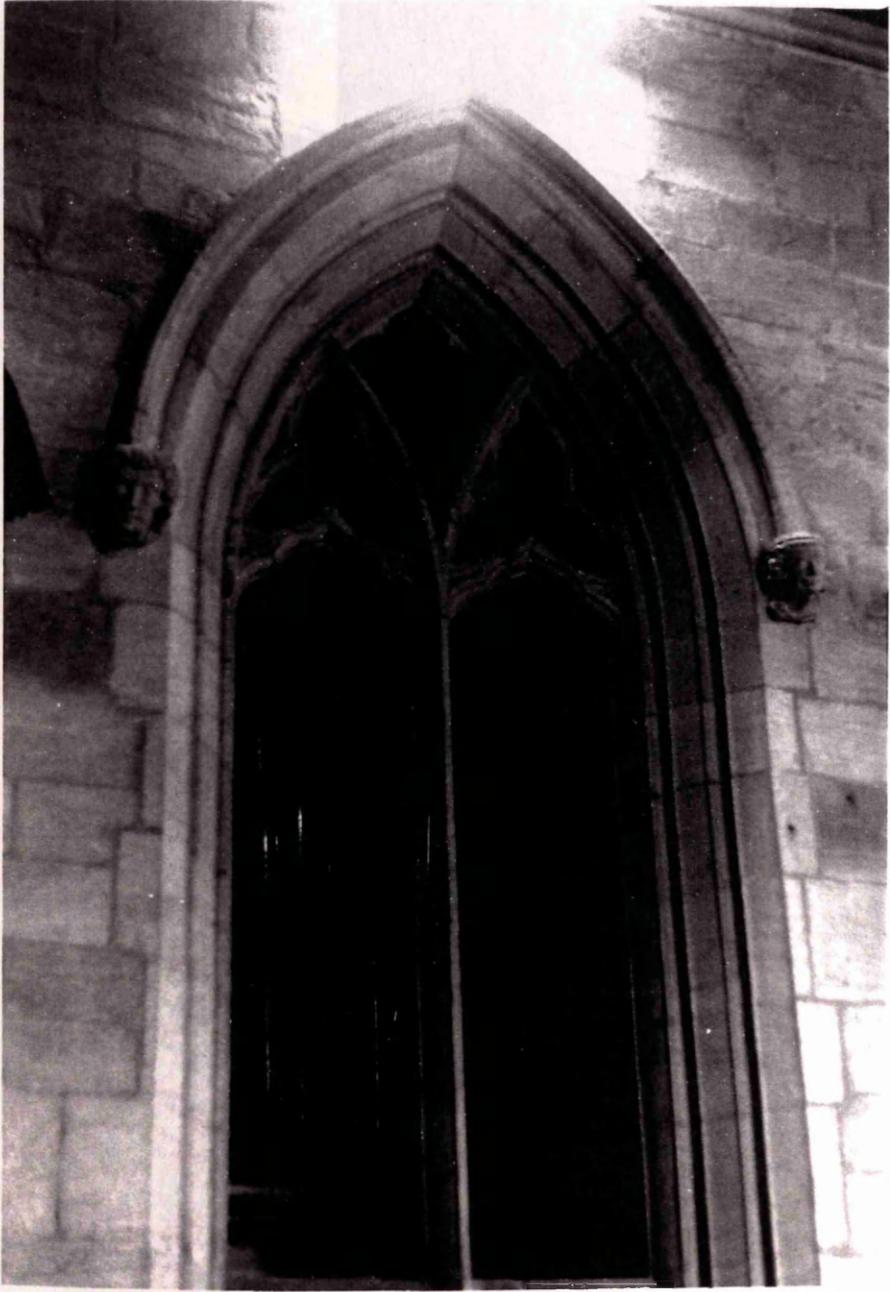


Plate 307: PATRICK BROMPTON: north chancel window.



Plate 308: PATRICK BROMPTON: north chancel wall.

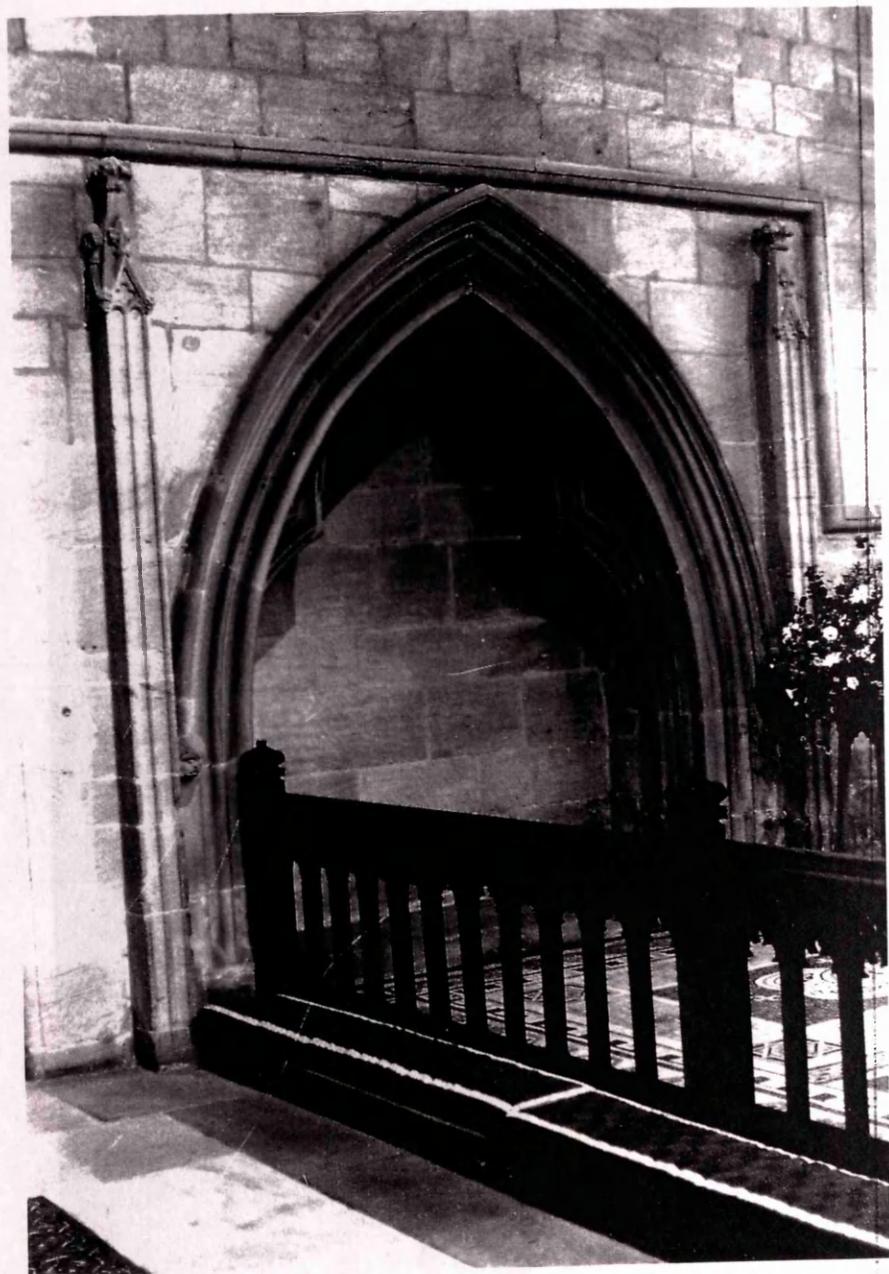


Plate 309: PATRICK BROMPTON: tomb recess.



Plate 310: PATRICK BROMPTON: gabled buttress, west side
of recess.



Plate 311: PATRICK BROMPTON: south chancel wall.

PLATE 311 PATRICK BROMPTON: south chancel wall.



Plate 312: PATRICK BROMPTON: piscina.



Plate 313: PATRICK BROMPTON: piscina headstop.

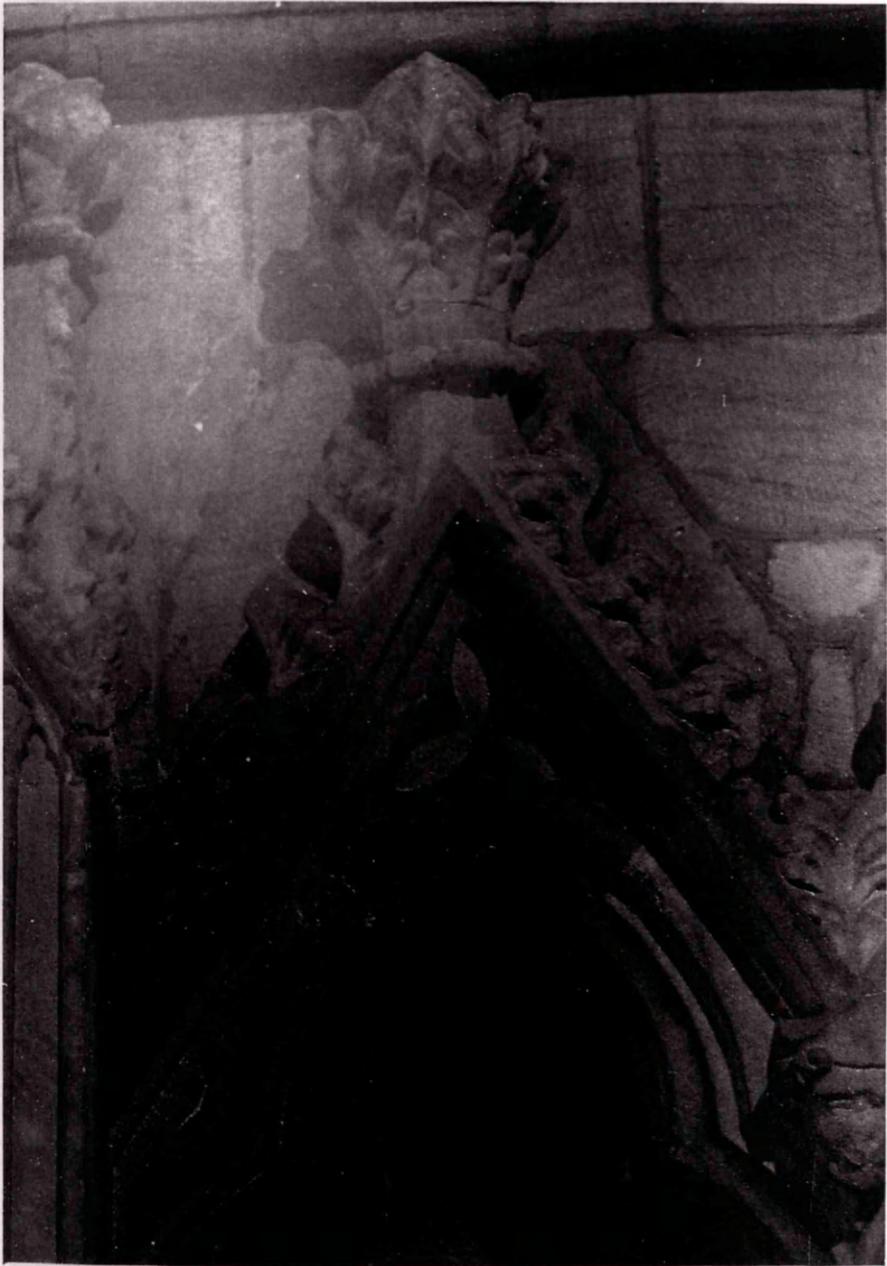


Plate 314: PATRICK BROMPTON: gable of sedilia.

Plate 314: PATRICK BROMPTON: gable of sedilia.



Plate 315: PATRICK BROMPTON: sedilia crocketing.



Plate 316: PATRICK BROMPTON: sedilia headstop.



Plate 317: PATRICK BROMPTON: sedilia headstop.



Plate 318: PATRICK BROMPTON: sedilia headstop.

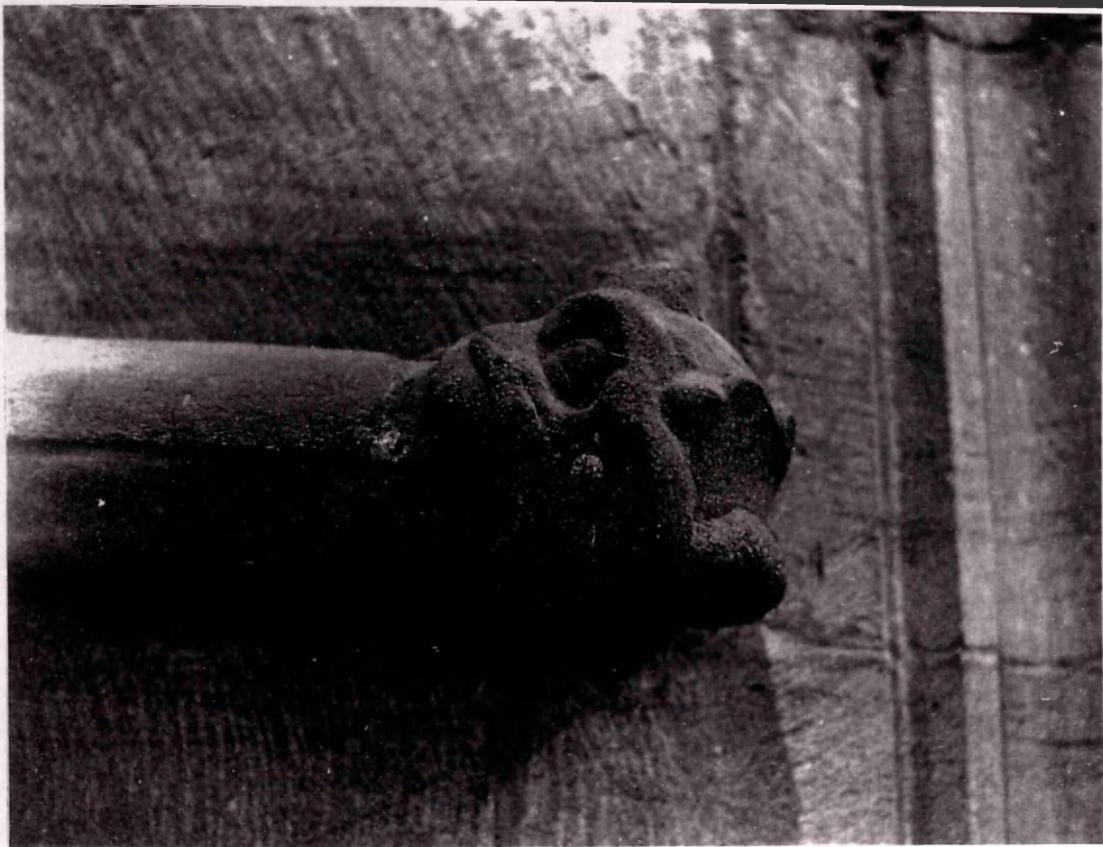


Plate 319: PATRICK BROMPTON: termination of string course.

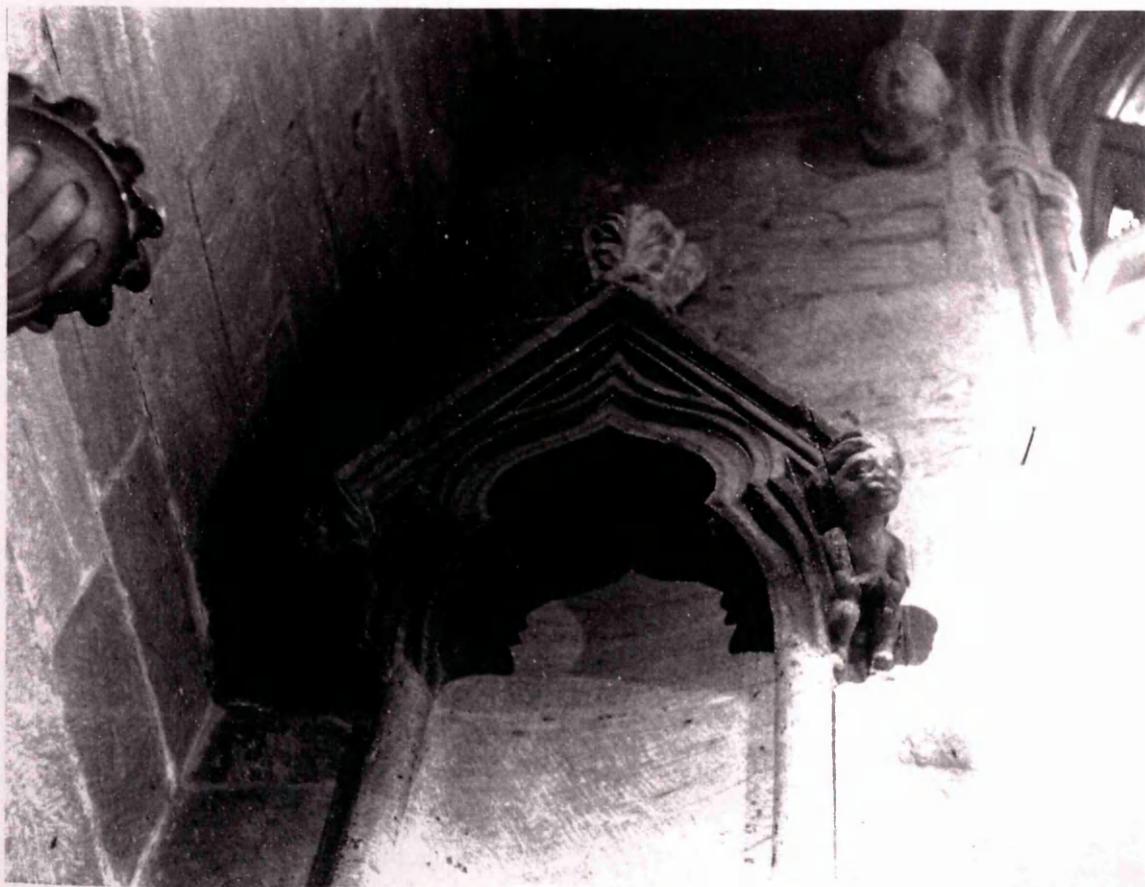


Plate 320: PATRICK BROMPTON: head of niche, on north side of east window.



Plate 321: PATRICK BROMPTON: base of niche.



Plate 322: PATRICK BROMPTON: base of niche, on south side of east window.



Plate 323: PATRINGTON: font.

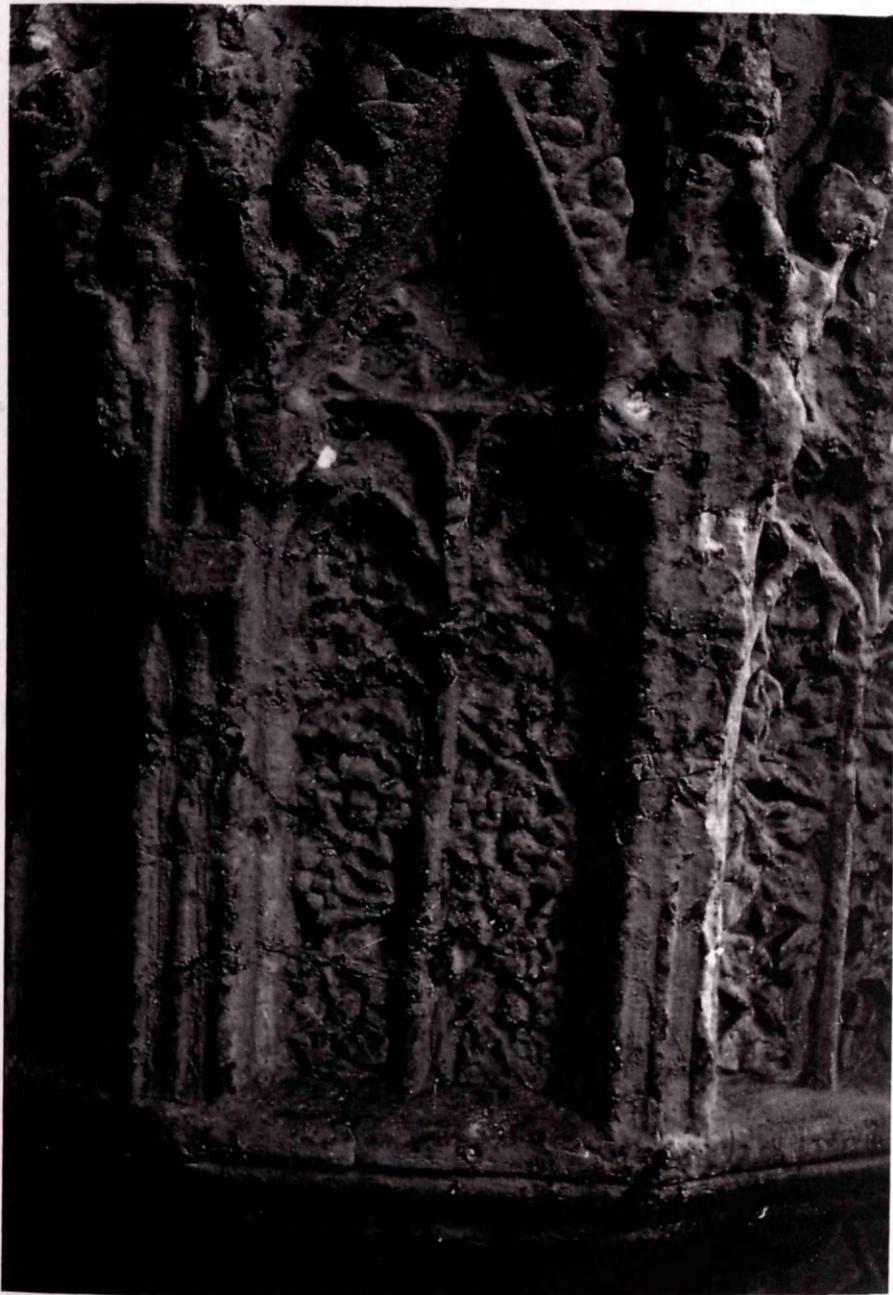


Plate 324: PATRINGTON: font detail.



Plate 325: PATRINGTON: font detail.

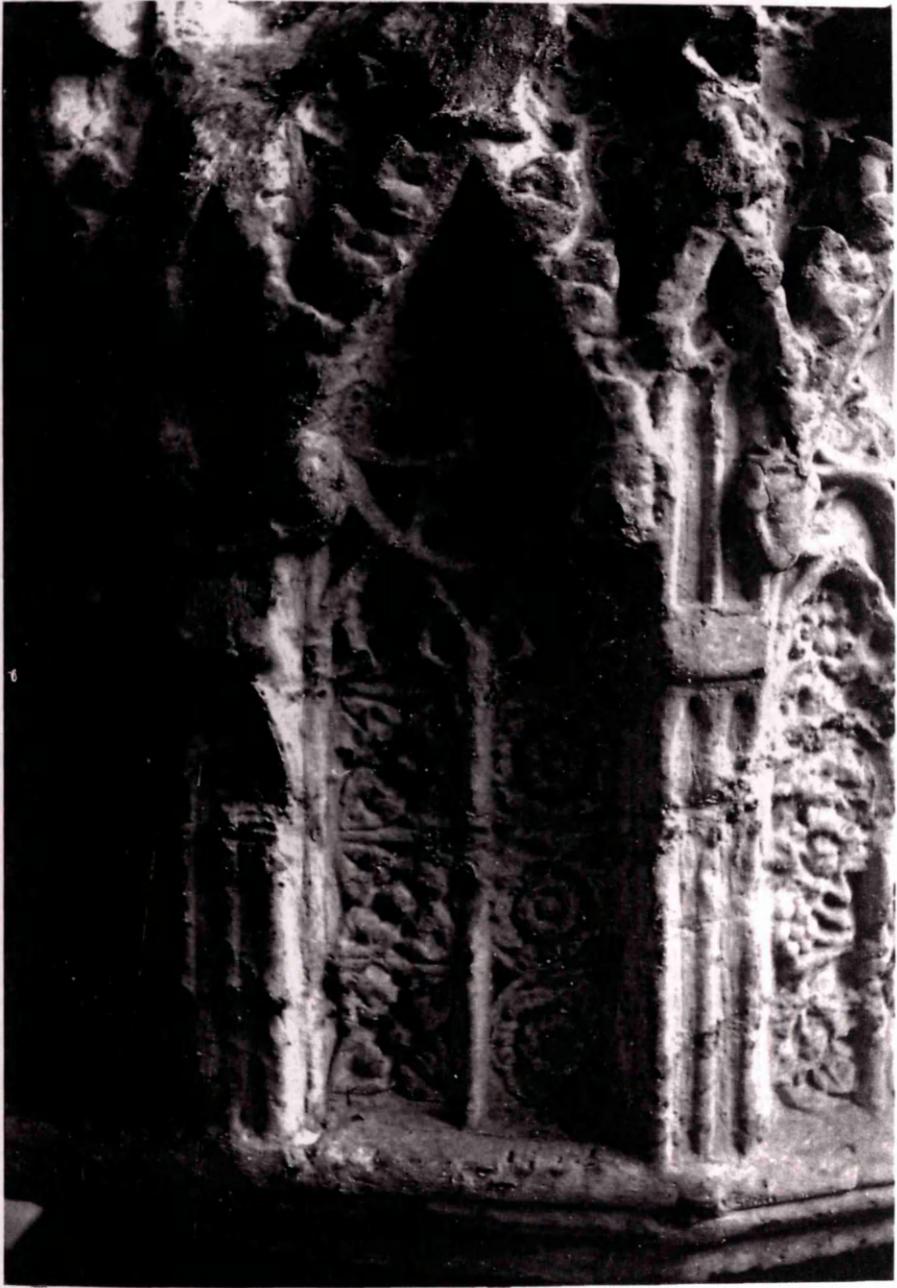


Plate 326: PATRINGTON: font detail.

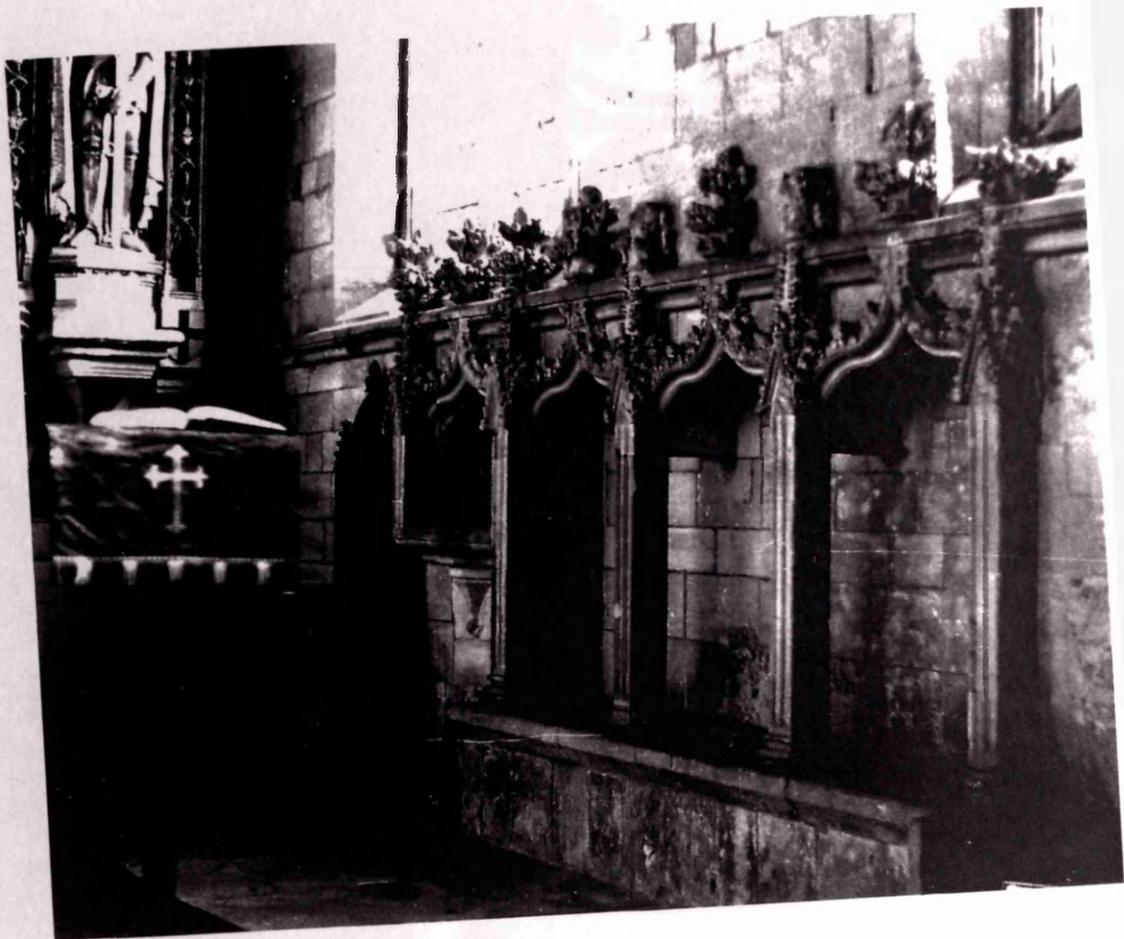


Plate 327: PATRINGTON: chancel sedilia.

Plate 328: PATRINGTON: chancel sedilia.



Plate 328: PATRINGTON: Easter sepulchre, north chancel wall. (composite photograph)

Plate 328 PATRINGTON Easter sepulchre - north chancel wall

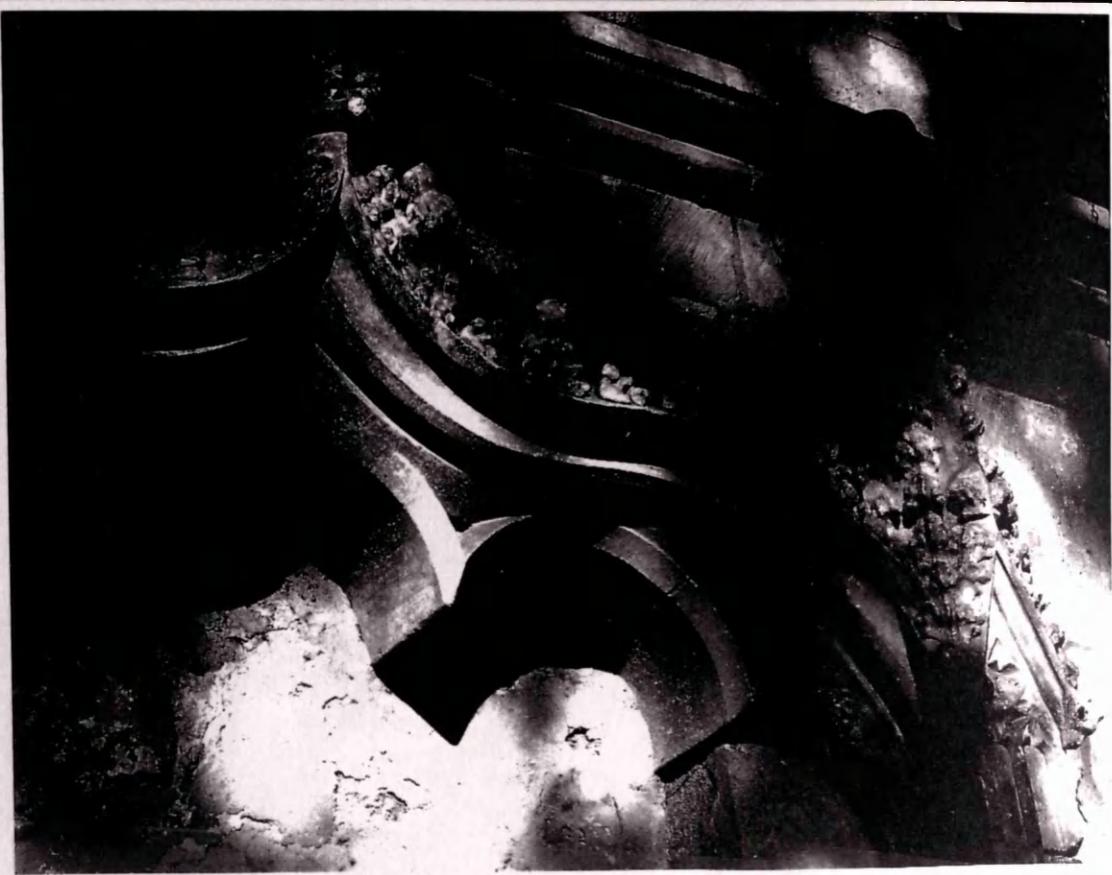


Plate 329: PATRINGTON: Easter sepulchre, detail.



Plate 330: PATRINGTON: Easter sepulchre, angel in middle section.

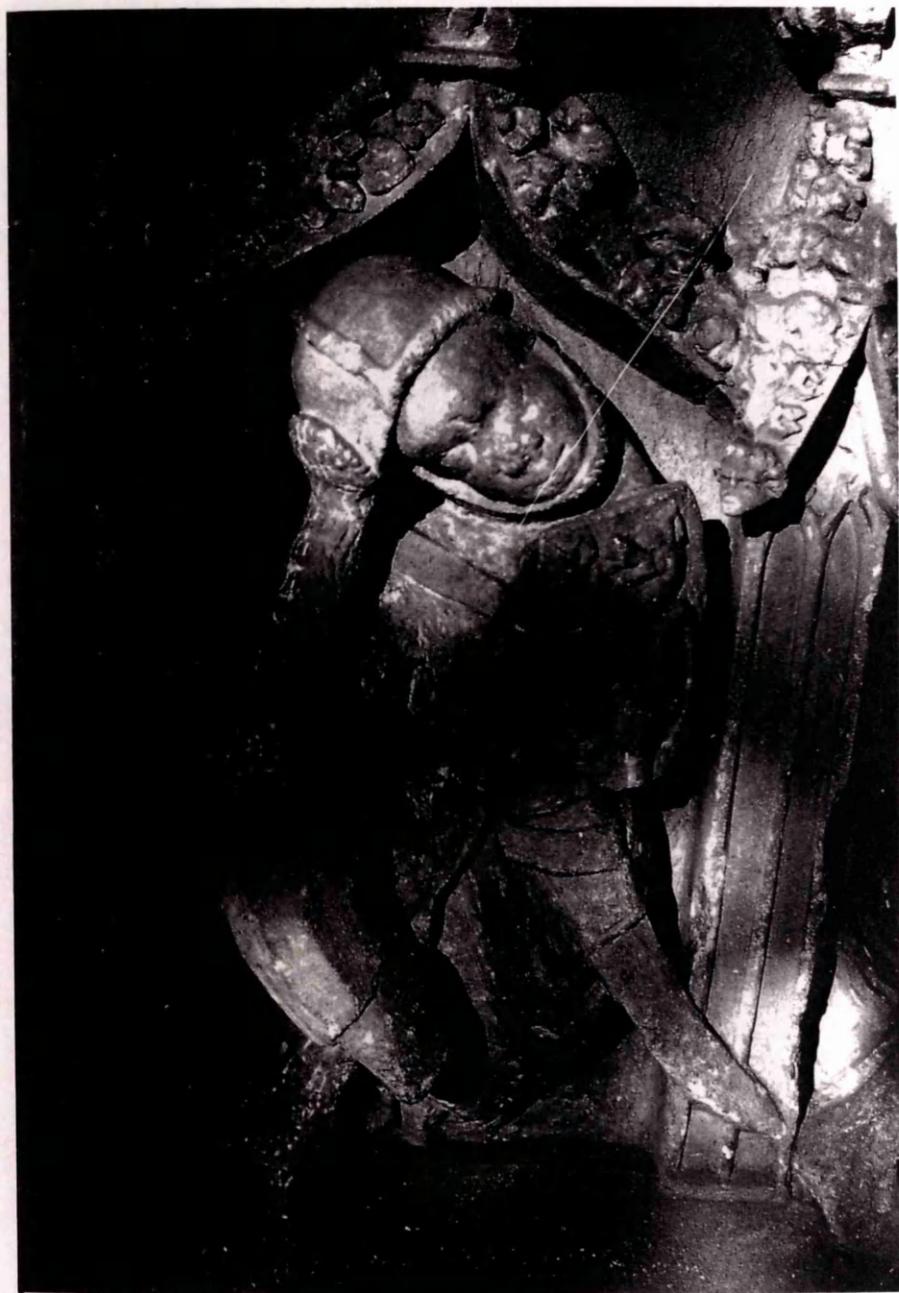


Plate 331: PATRINGTON: Easter sepulchre, soldier on base.



Plate 332: PICKWORTH: figure of a female saint.

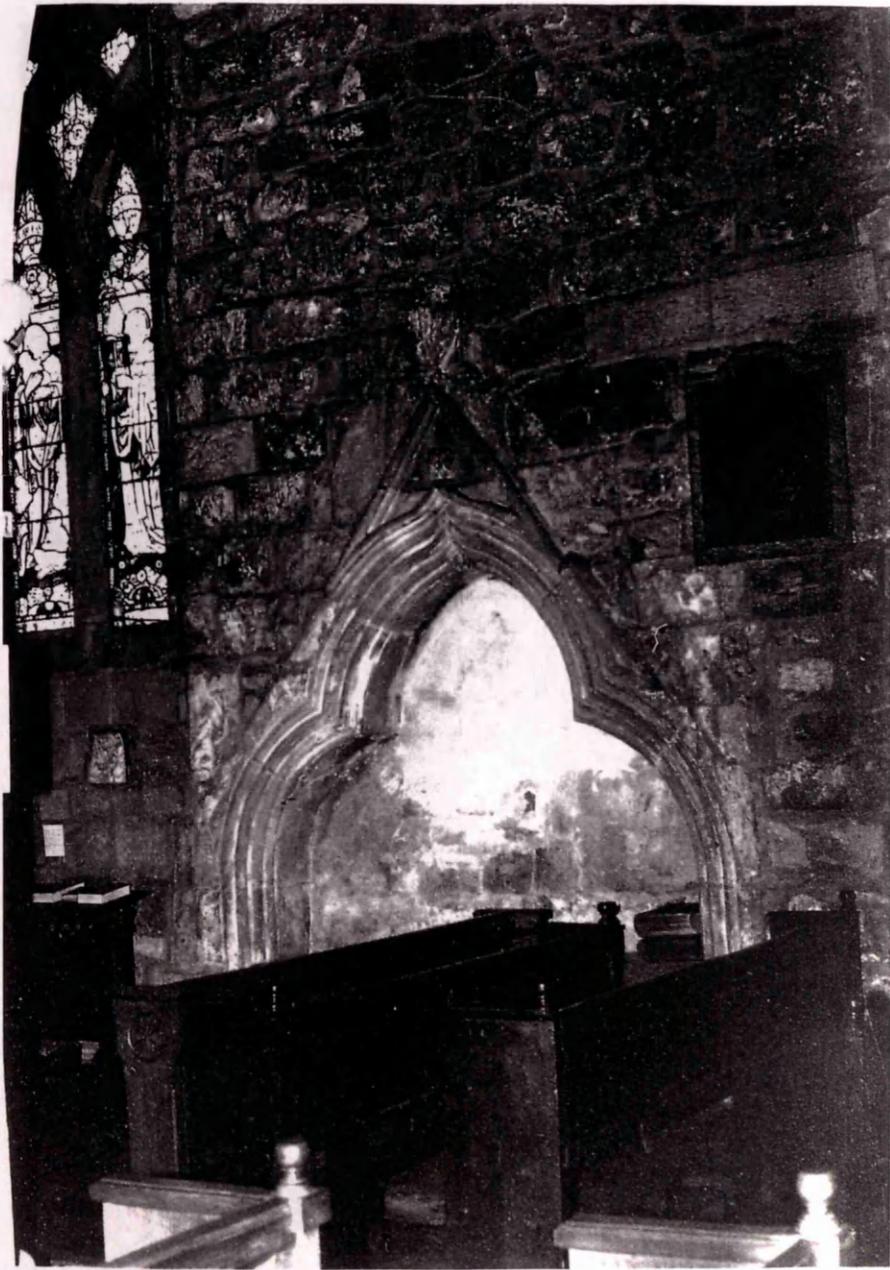


Plate 333: RUDBY: south nave recess.

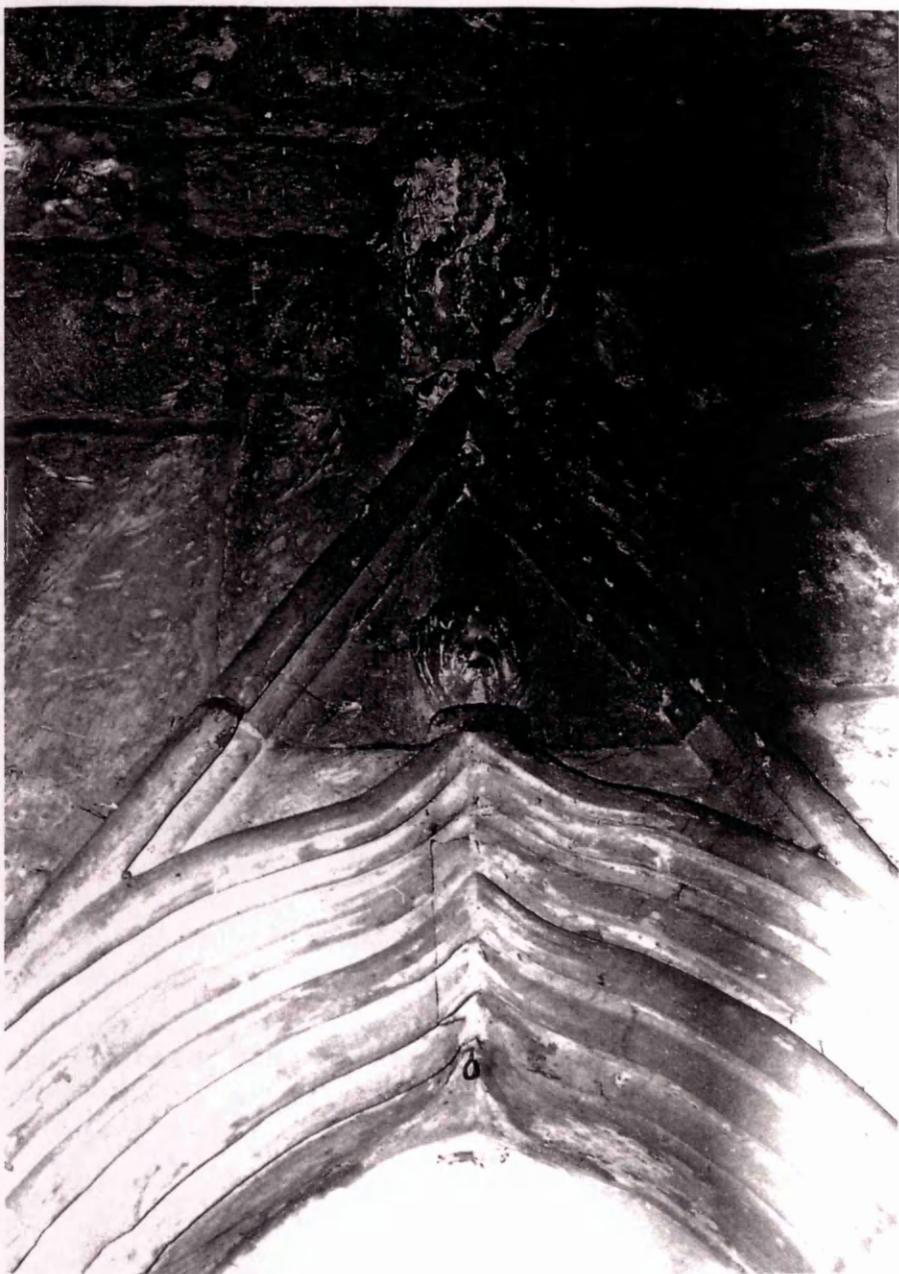


Plate 334: RUDBY: recess arch and gable.

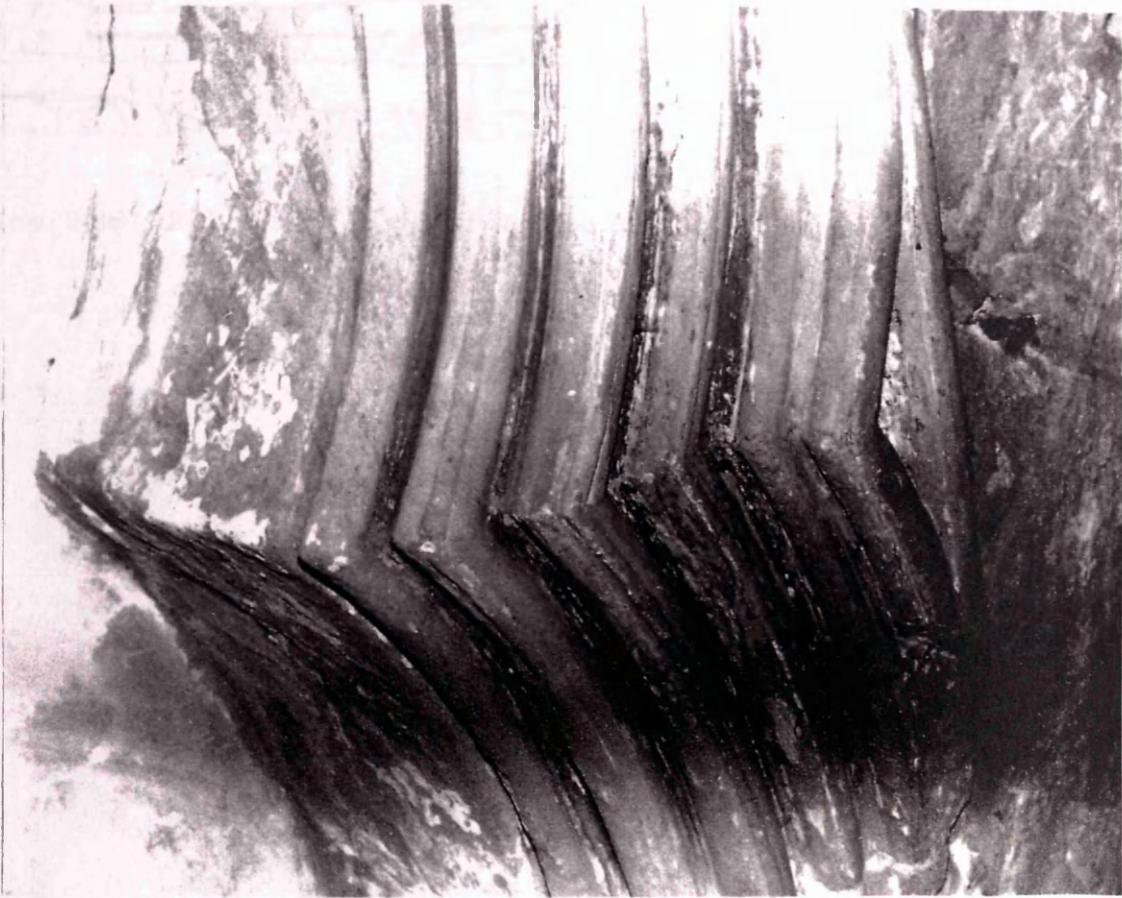


Plate 335: RUDBY: moulding of recess cusp.

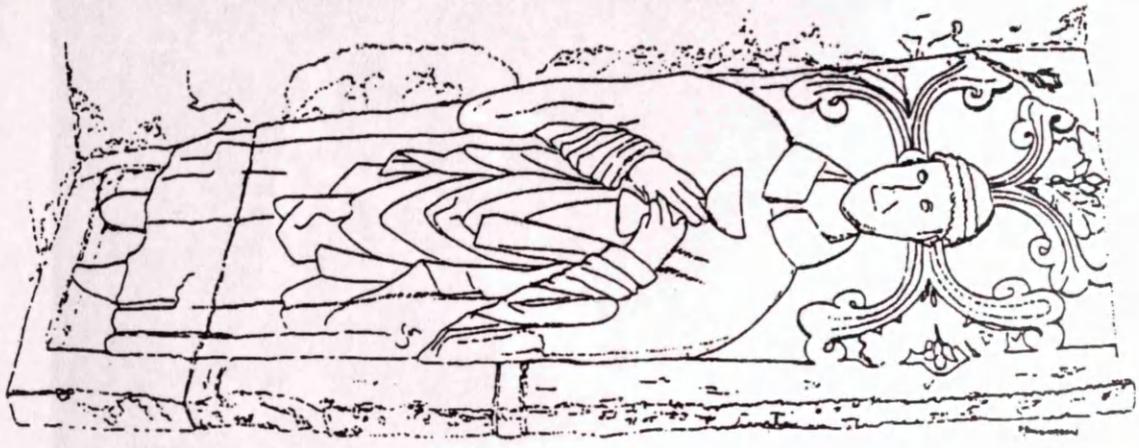


Plate 336: RUDBY: effigy of a churchman, inside recess.



Plate 337: RUDBY: detail of effigy.



Plate 338: RYTHER: effigies of Sir Robert de Ryther and wife.



Plate 339: RYTHER: detail of effigies.



Plate 340: RYTHER: detail of knight.



Plate 341: RYTHER: detail of knight.



Plate 342: RYTHER: detail of knight.



Plate 343: RYTHER: detail of lady.



Plate 344: RYTHER: detail of lady.

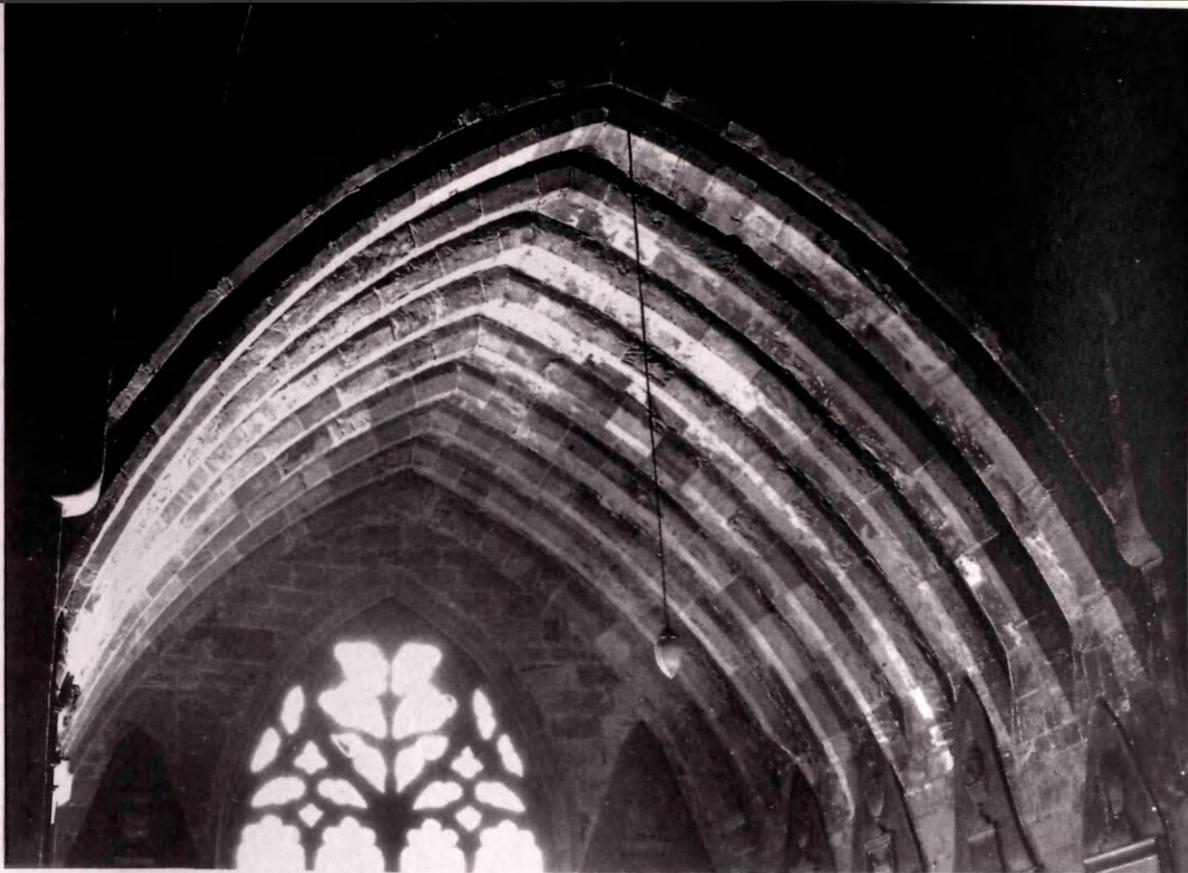


Plate 345: SCARBOROUGH: vault of south nave aisle chapel.



Plate 346: SCARBOROUGH: south nave aisle.

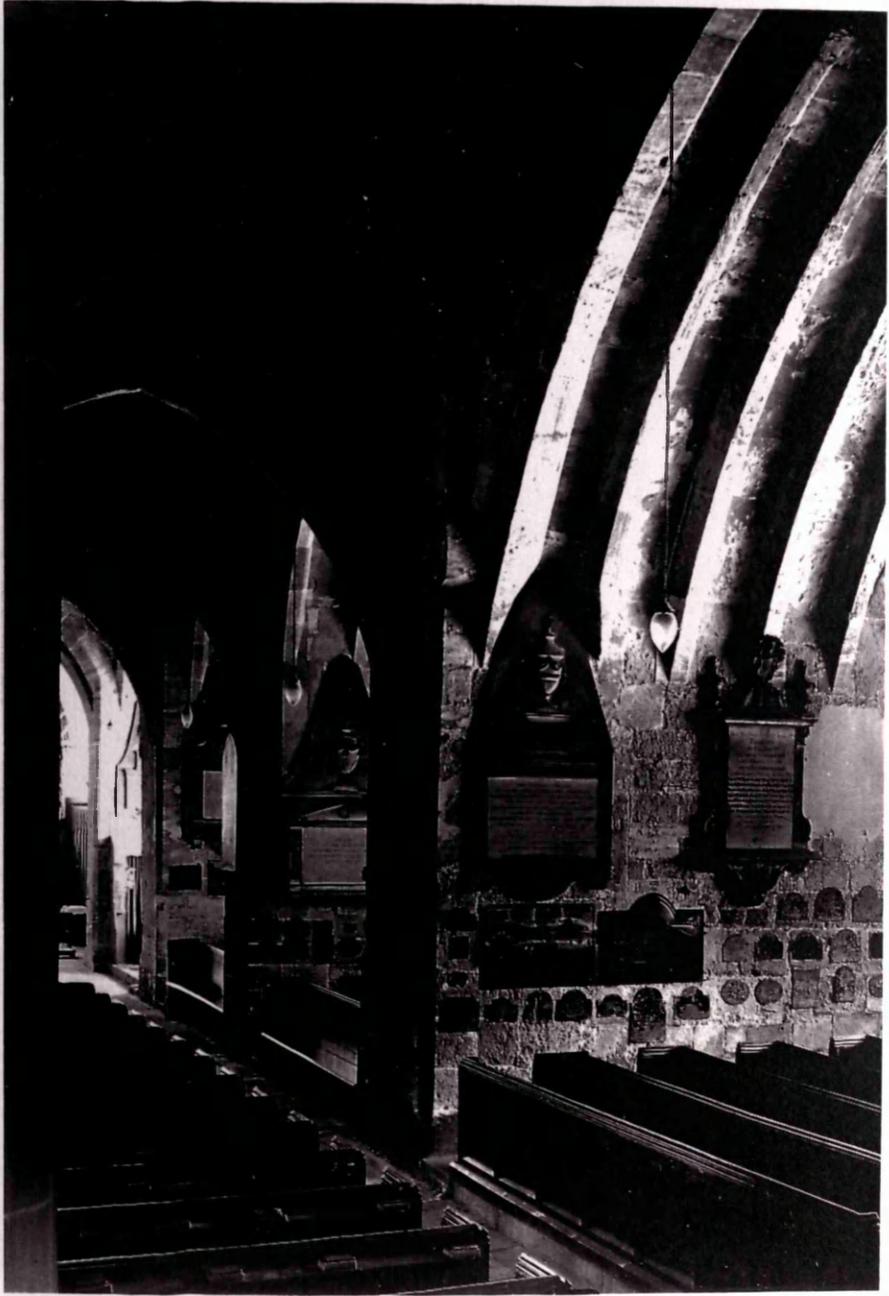


Plate 347: SCARBOROUGH: south nave aisle chapels.

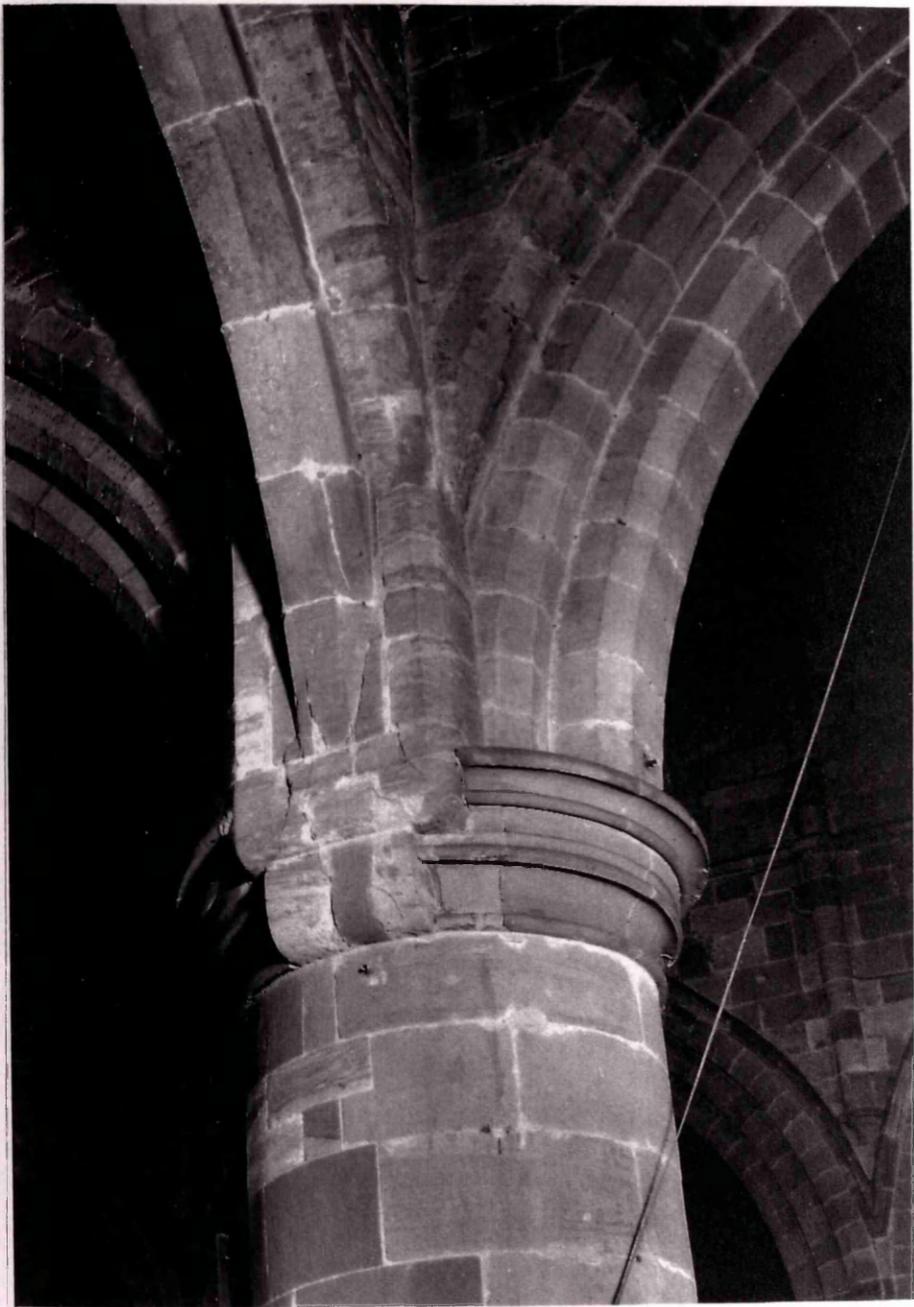


Plate 348: SCARBOROUGH: south nave arcade column and aisle vault.

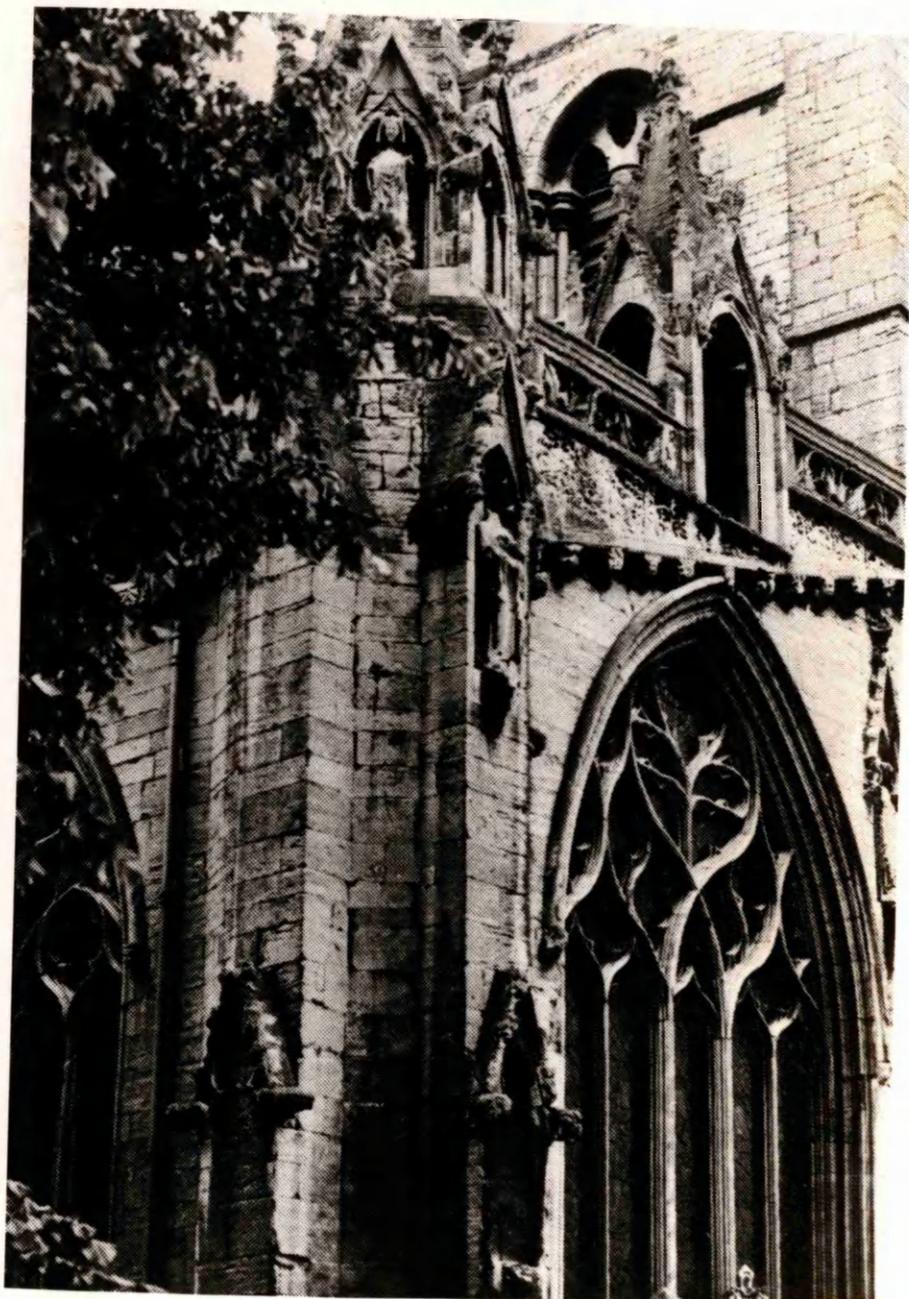


Plate 349: SLEAFORD: north-west corner.

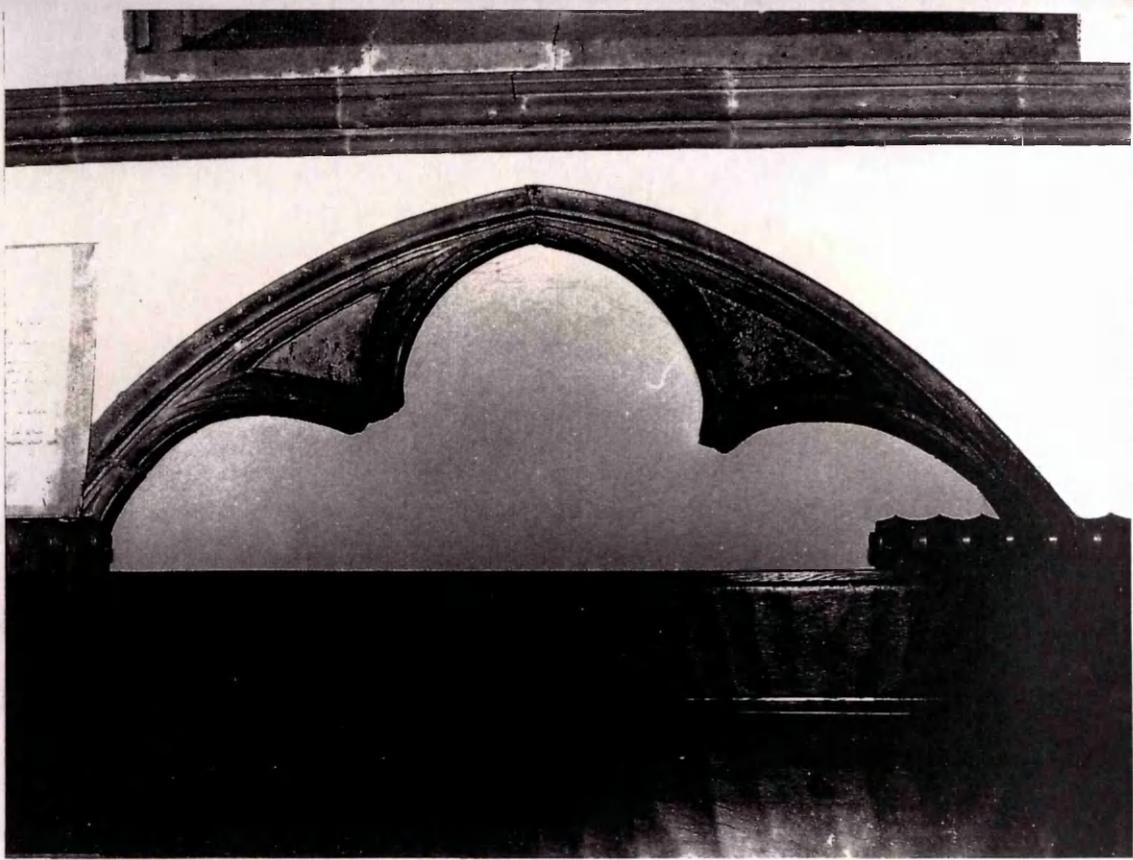


Plate 350: SPOFFORTH: north chancel tomb recess.

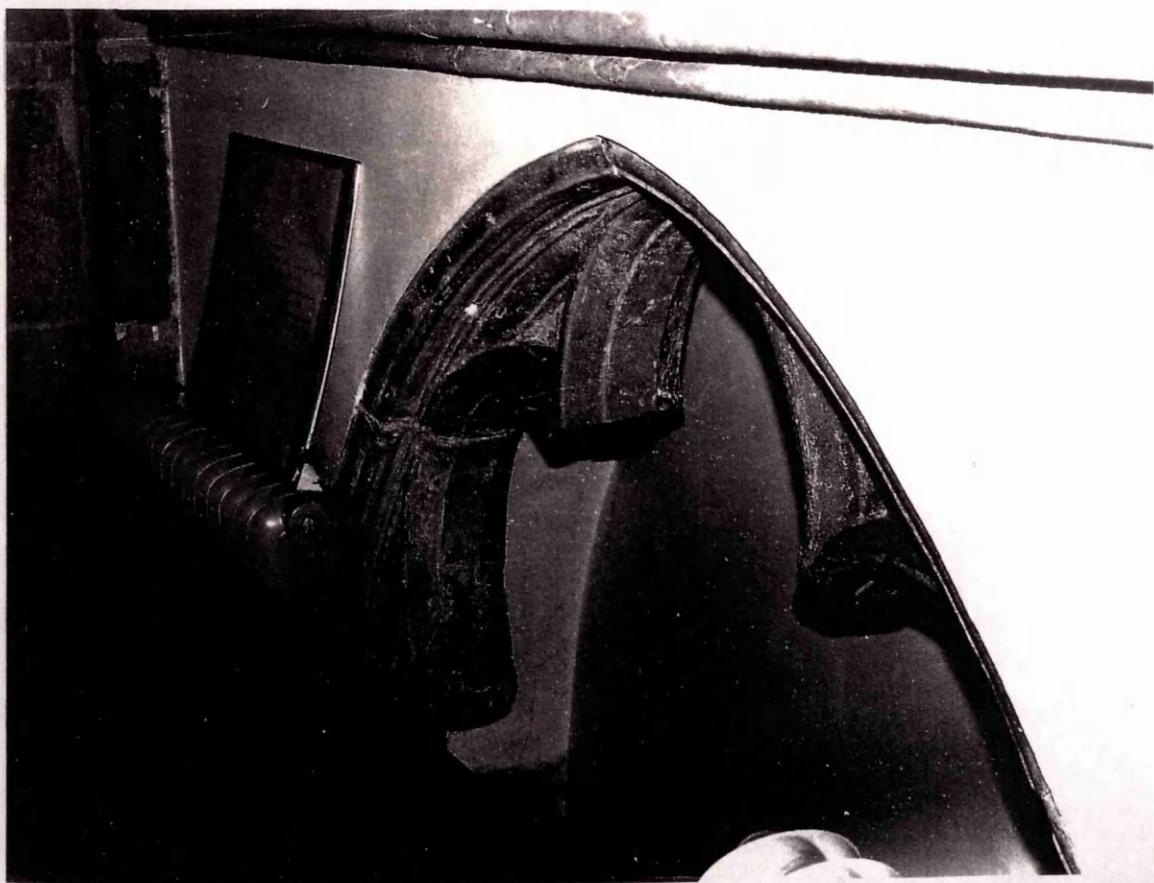


Plate 351: SPOFFORTH: detail of recess.



Plate 352: SPOFFORTH: effigy of Sir Robert de Plumpton.



Plate 353: SPOFFORTH: effigy detail.



Plate 354: SPOFFORTH: effigy detail.



Plate 355: SPROTBOROUGH: south wall south nave aisle,
recess and effigy of Sir William FitzWilliam.



Plate 356: SPROTBOROUGH: effigy of Sir William
FitzWilliam.



Plate 357: SPROTBOROUGH: tomb recess on north side south
nave aisle.



Plate 358: SPROTBOROUGH: east pinnacle of north recess.



Plate 359: SPOTBOROUGH: recess crocketing.



Plate 360: SPROTBOROUGH: effigy of Isabel FitzWilliam.



Plate 361: SPROTBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate 362: SPROTBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate 363: SPROTBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate 364: SPROTBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate 365: SPROTBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate 366: SPROTBOROUGH: detail of effigy.



Plate 367: STAINDROP: effigy of Euphemia de Clavinging.

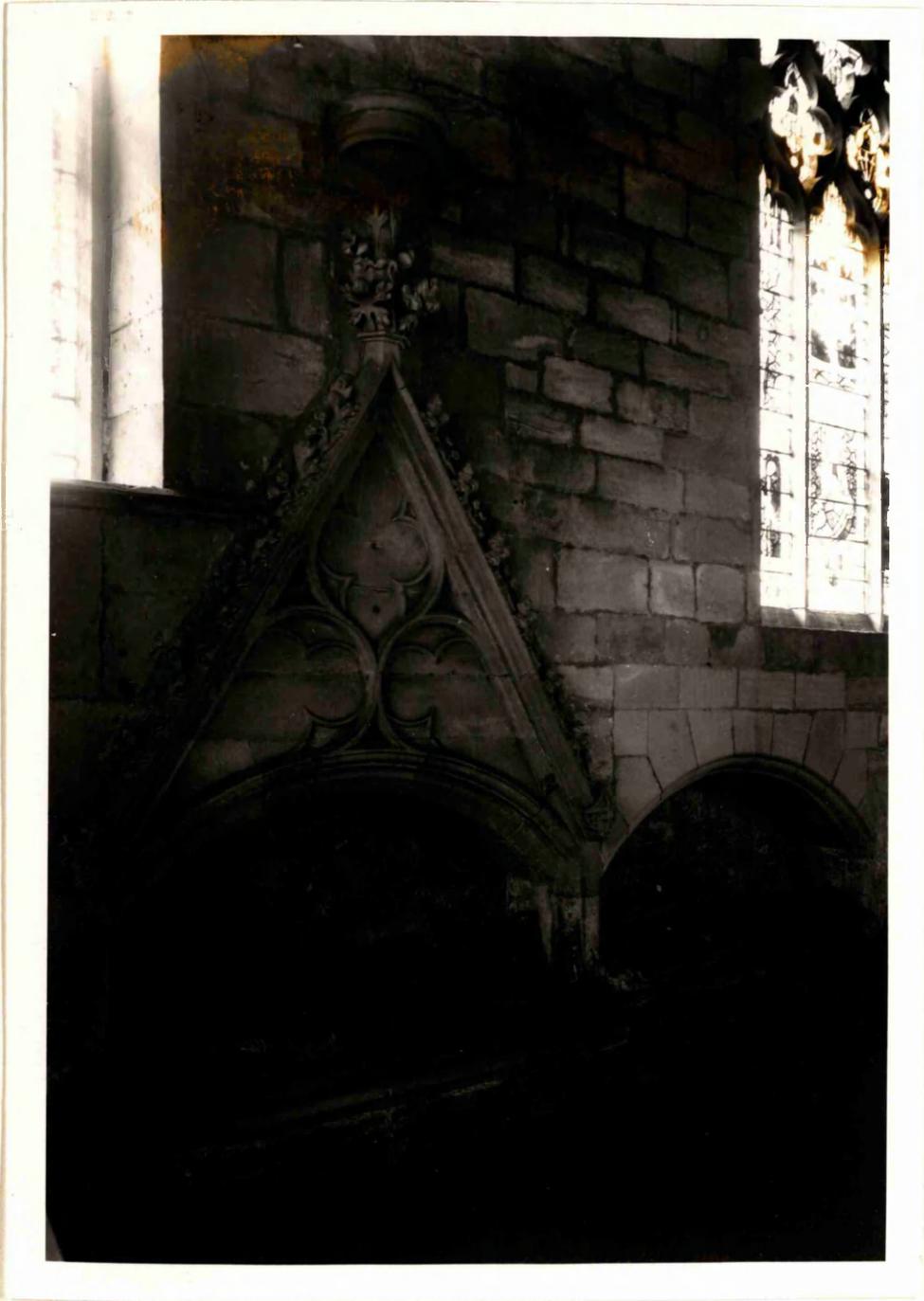


Plate 368: STAINDROP: south nave aisle tomb recesses.

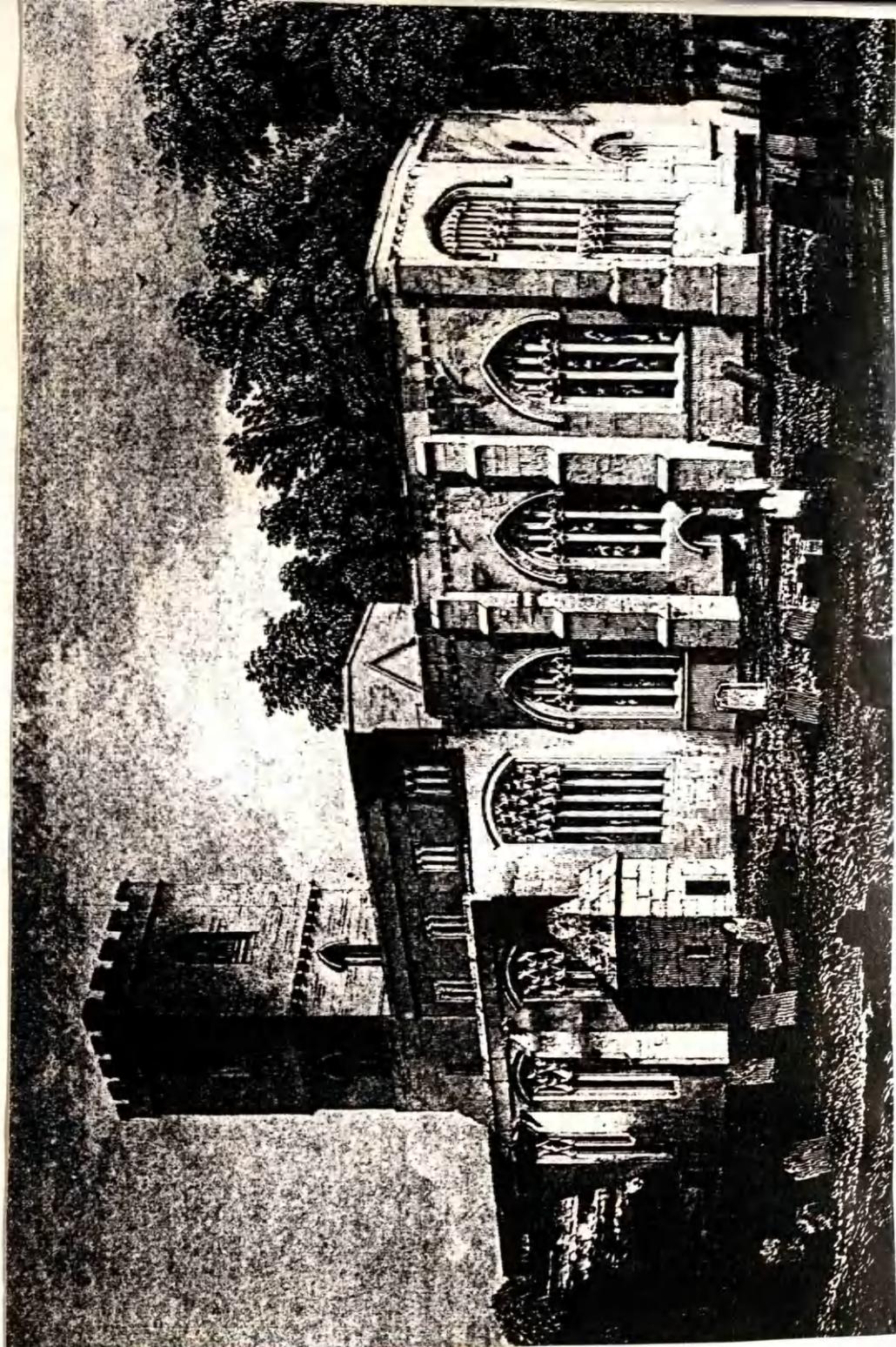


Plate 369: STAINDROP: exterior of church from the south-east.



Plate 370: STAMFORD: standing female figure, c1320-30.

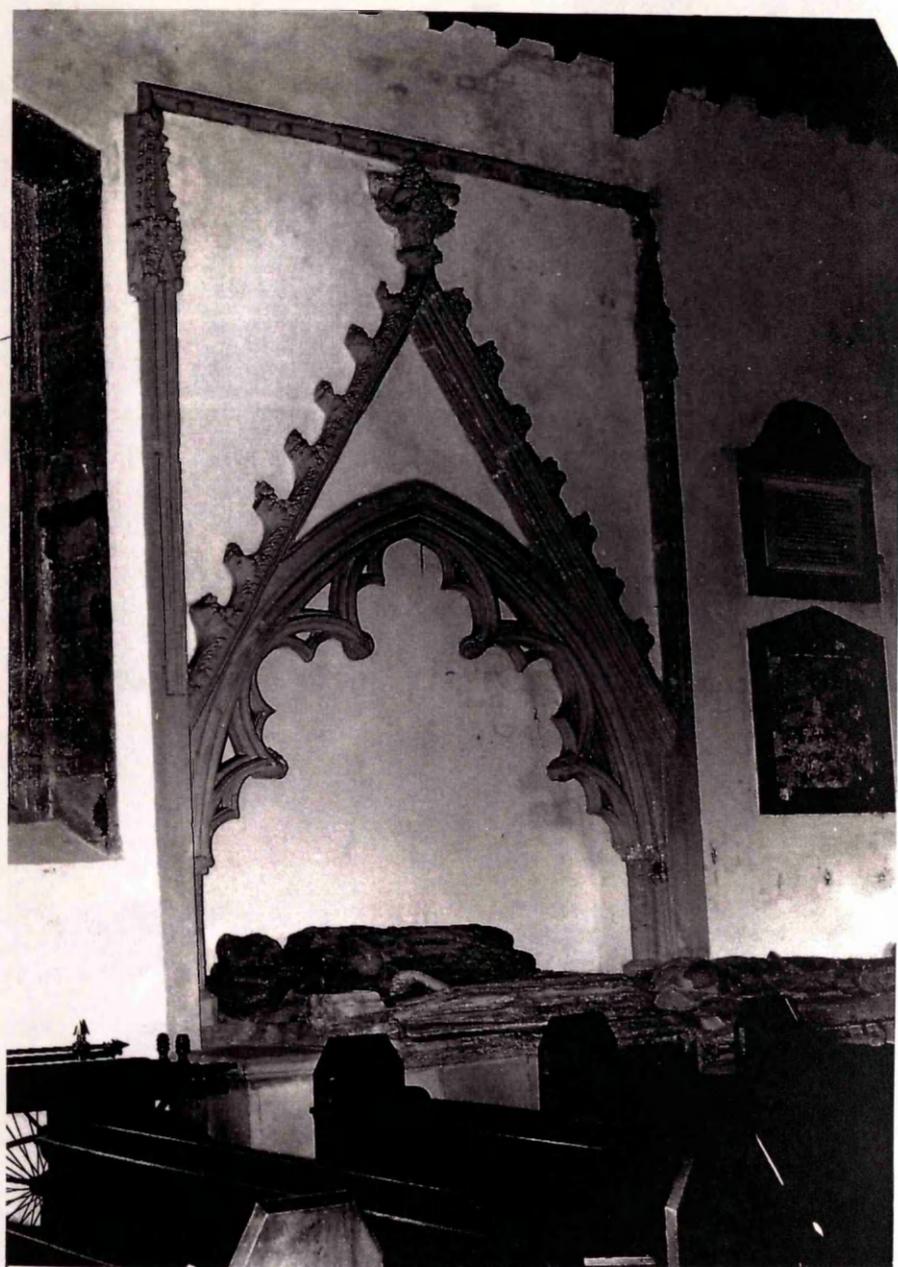


Plate 371: WEST TANFIELD: north nave aisle tomb recess.



Plate 372: WEST TANFIELD: recess crocketing

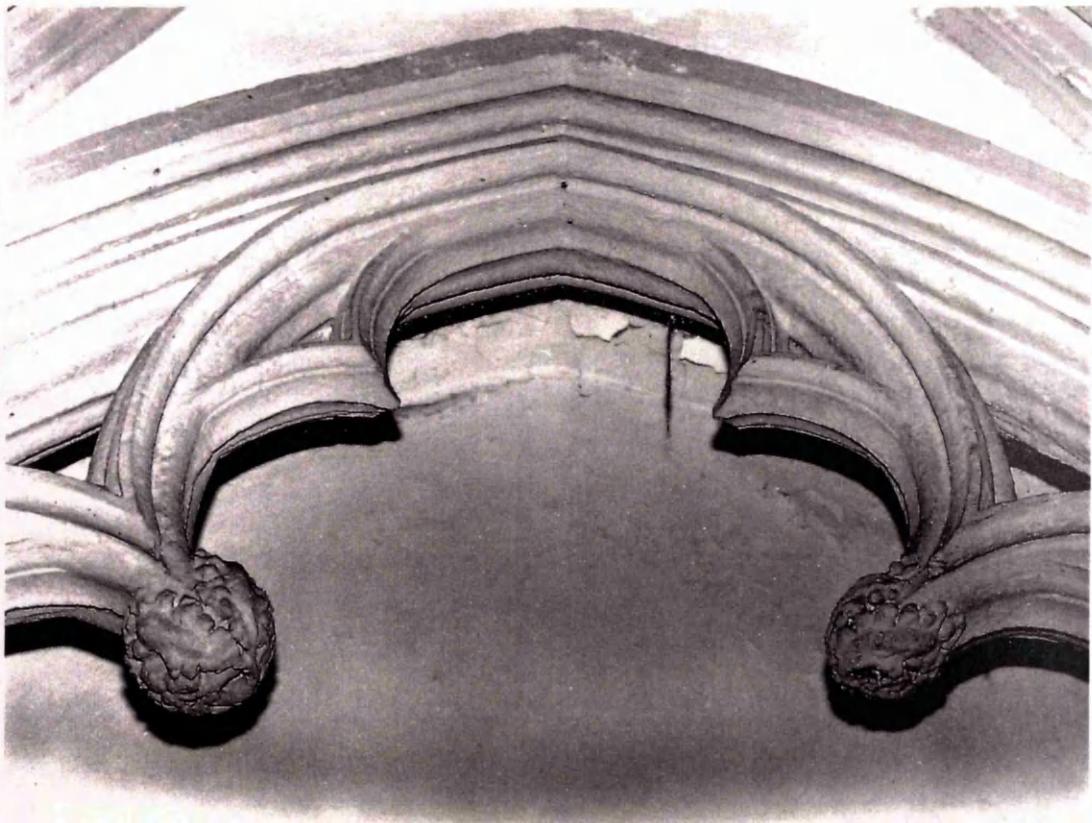


Plate 373: WEST TANFIELD: recess, cusp ends and mouldings.



Plate 374: WEST TANFIELD: cusp end.



Plate 375: WEST TANFIELD: Marmion knight.



Plate 376: WEST TANFIELD: Marmion lady.



Plate 377: WEST TANFIELD: effigy detail.



Plate 378: WEST TANFIELD: effigy detail.



Plate 379: WEST TANFIELD: effigy detail.

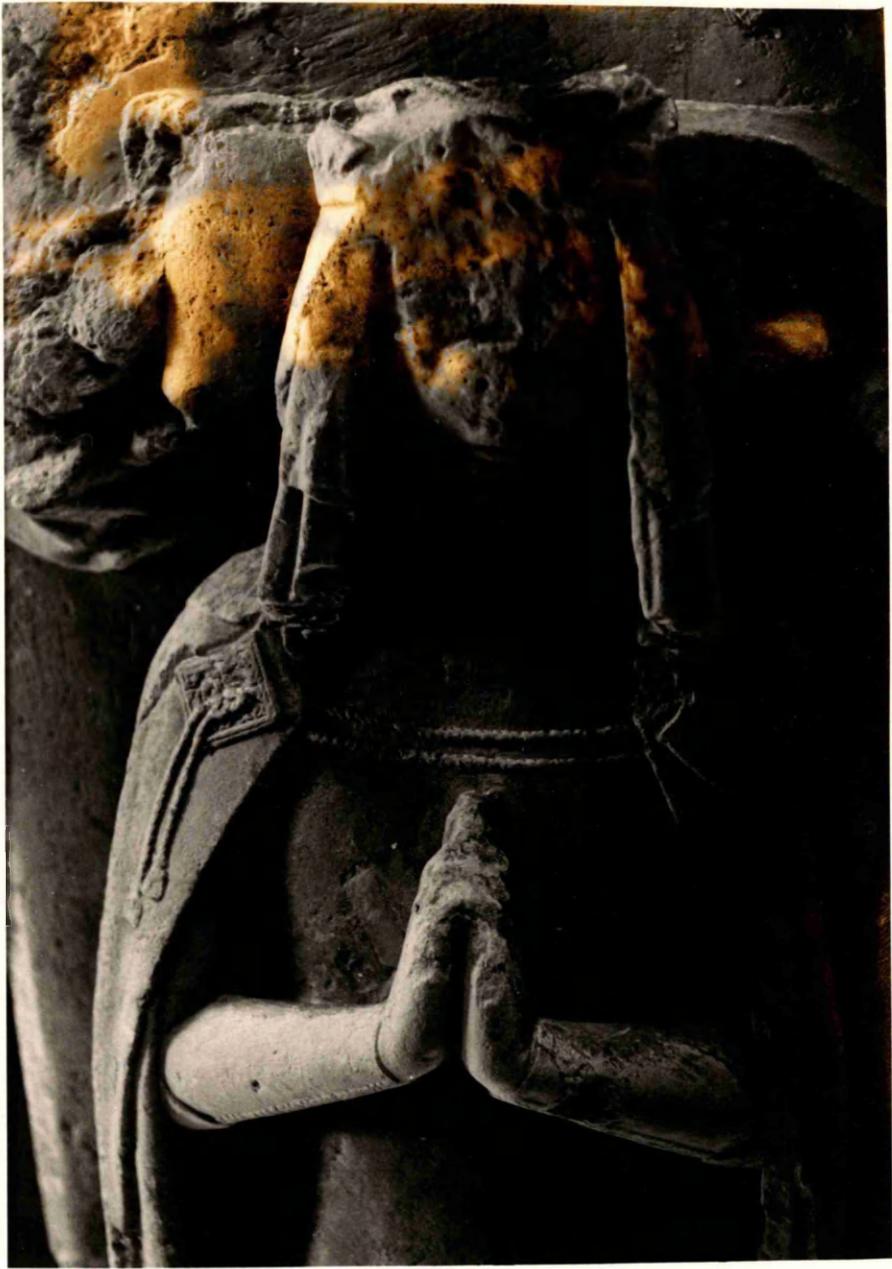


Plate 380: WEST TANFIELD: effigy detail.

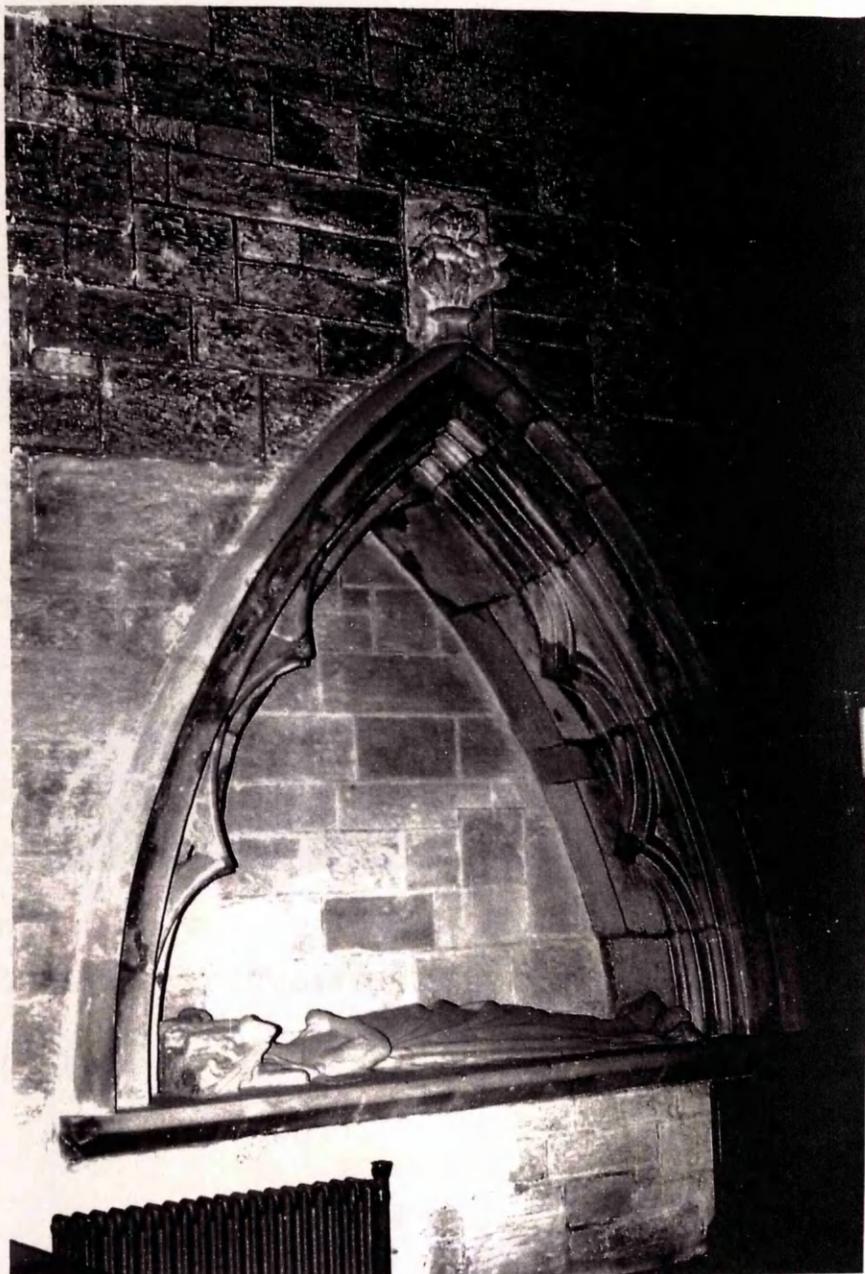


Plate 381: THORNTON DALE: north chancel tomb recess.



Plate 382: THORNTON DALE: effigy.

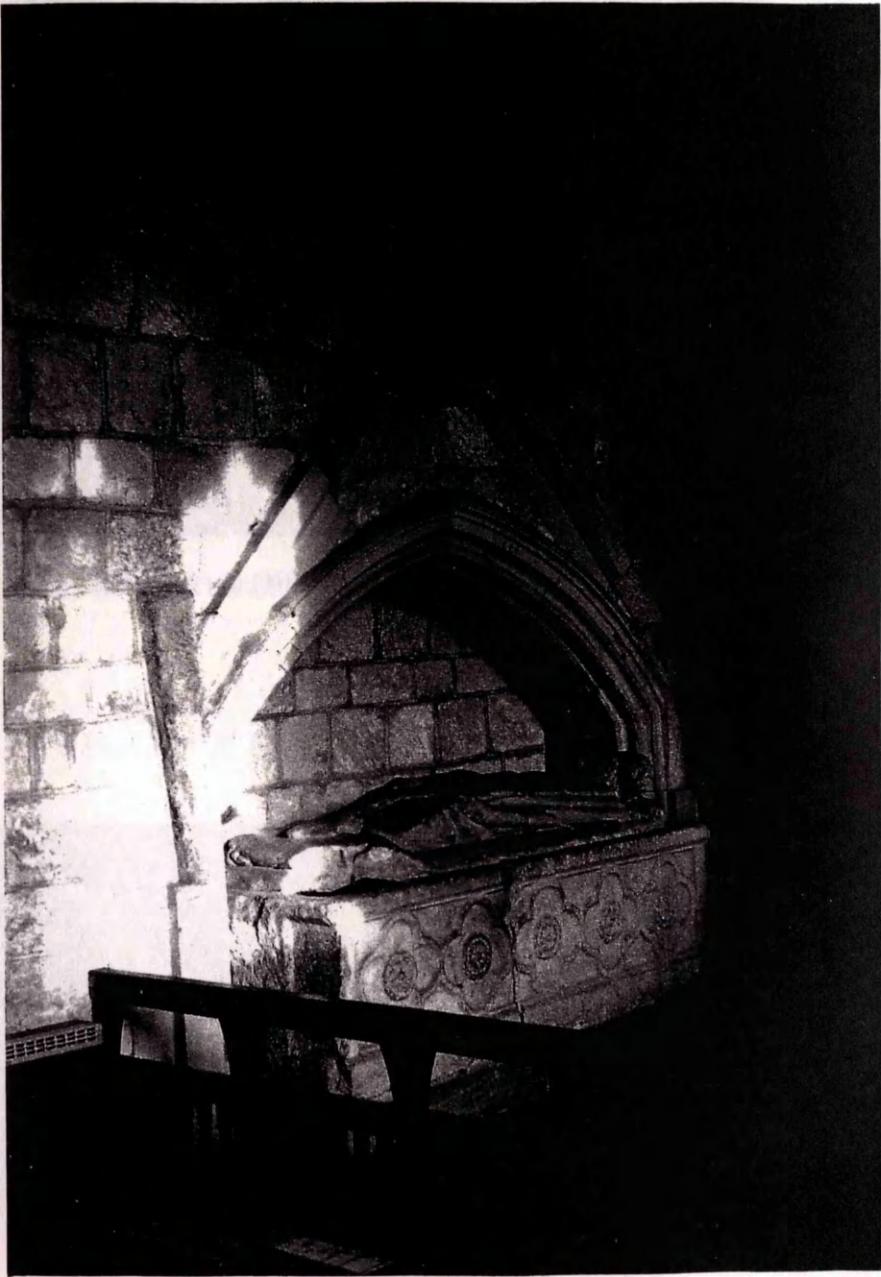


Plate 383: THORPE BASSET: north chancel tomb recess.



Plate 384: THWING: effigy of Thomas de Thwing.



Plate 385: THWING: effigy detail.



Plate 386: THWING: effigy detail.



Plate 387: THWING: effigy detail.



Plate 388: THWING: effigy detail.



Plate 389: TICKHILL: north chancel chapel, tomb recess

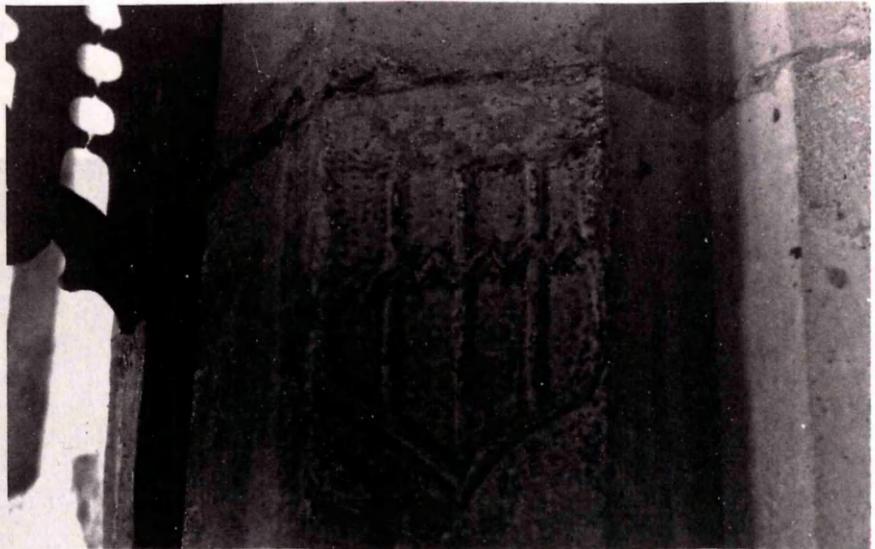


Plate 390: TICKHILL: north nave arcade column, adjacent to chapel, with Herthill heraldic shield.

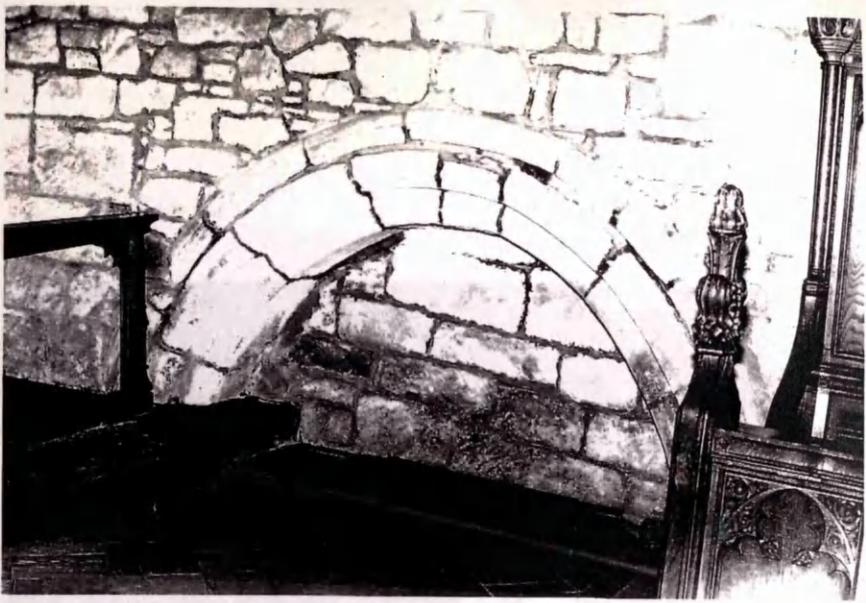


Plate 391: TORPENHOW: south chancel tomb recess.



Plate 392: TORPENHOW: effigy of lady.



Plate 393: TORPENHOW: effigy detail.



Plate 394: WALTON: chancel.

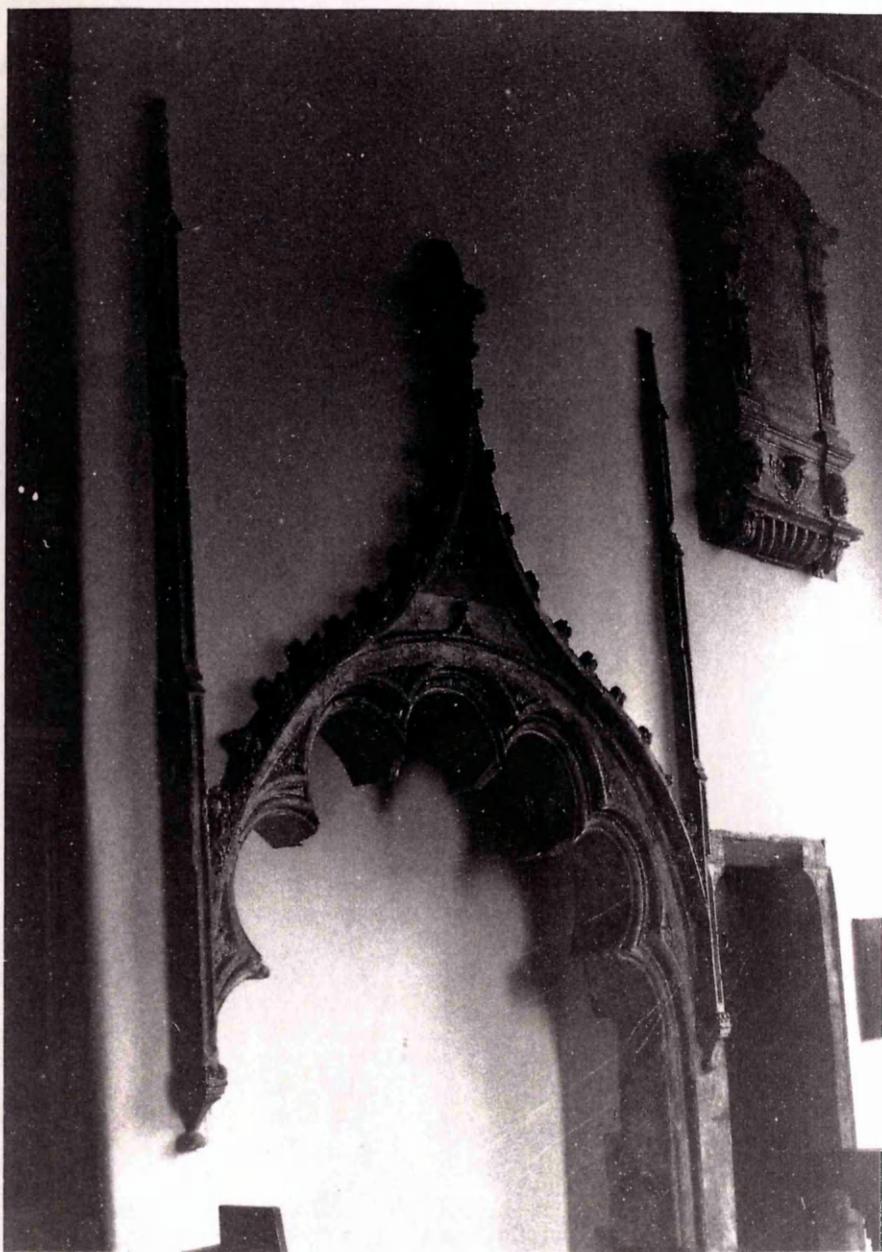


Plate 395: WALTON: north chancel tomb recess.



Plate 396: WALTON: recess, east jamb.

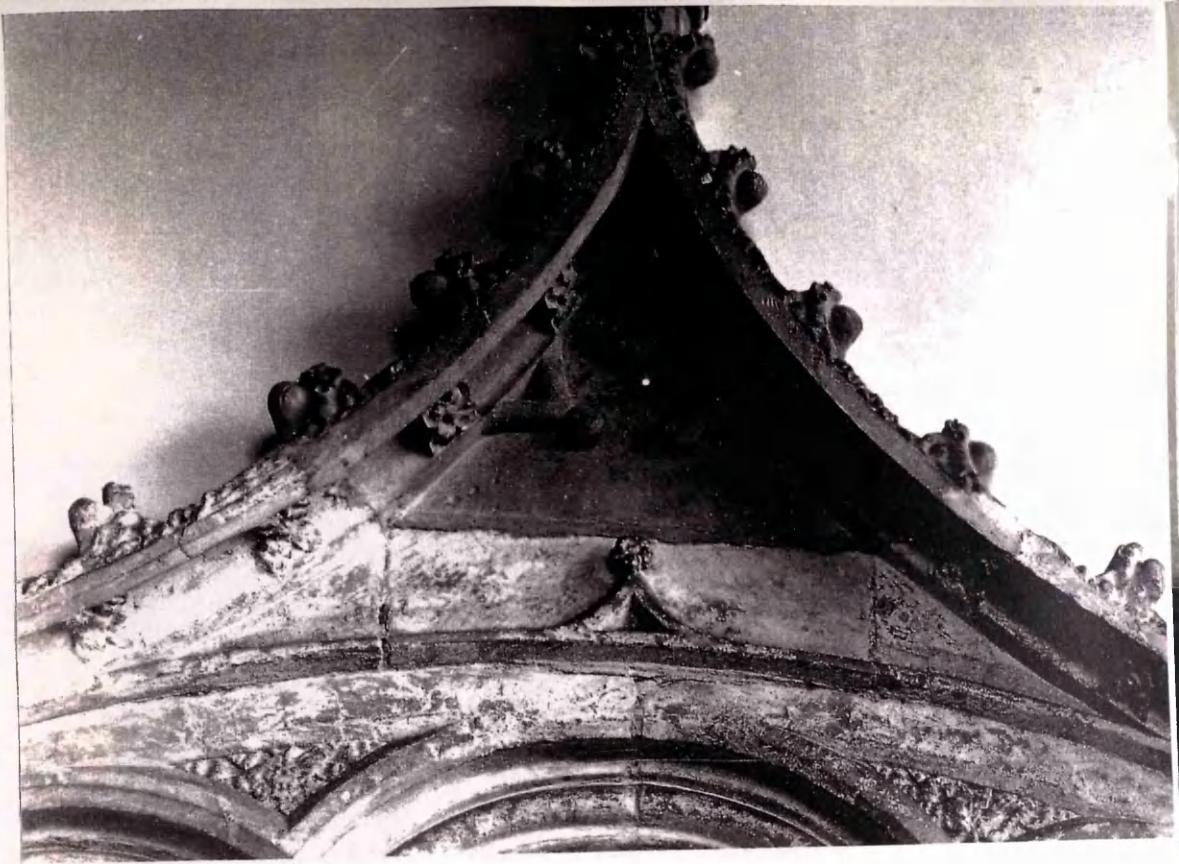


Plate 397: WALTON: recess detail.



Plate 398: WALTON: recess detail.



Plate 399: WALTON: effigy of Thomas Fairfax.



Plate 400: WALTON: effigy detail.

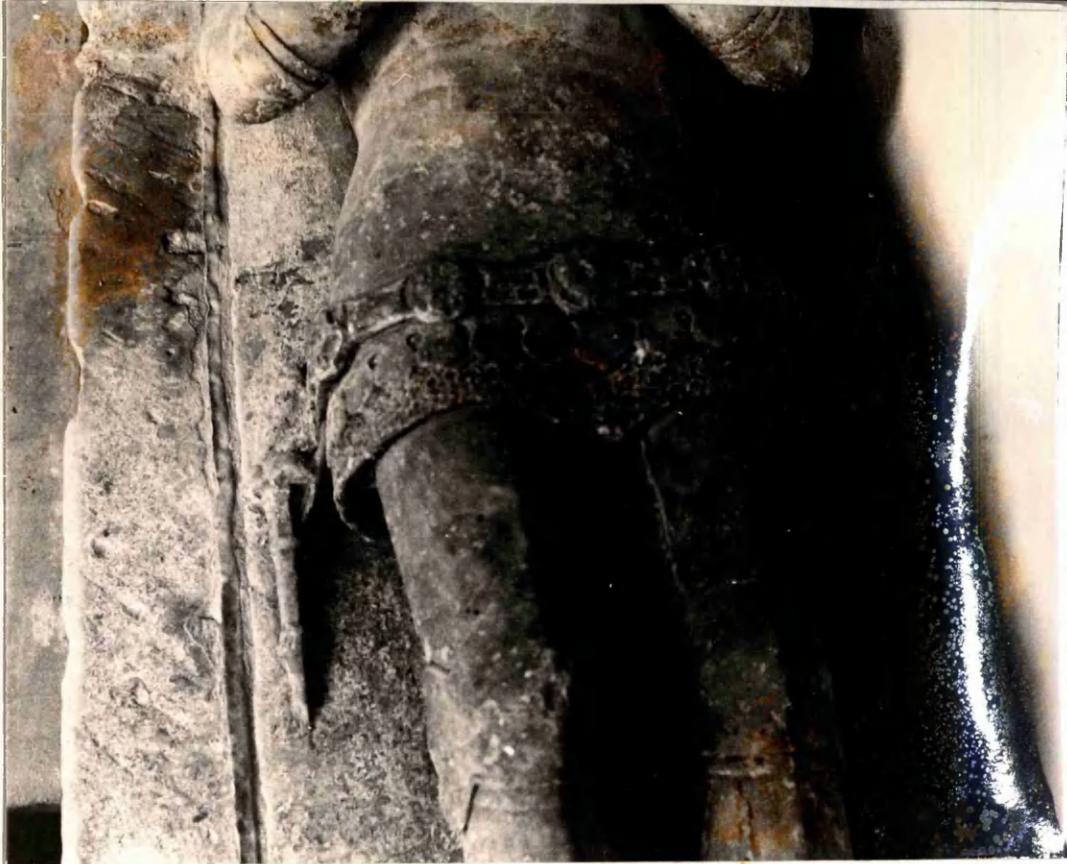


Plate 401: WALTON: effigy detail.



Plate 402: WALTON: effigy detail.



Plate 403: WATH: exterior south transept wall, behind tomb recess.

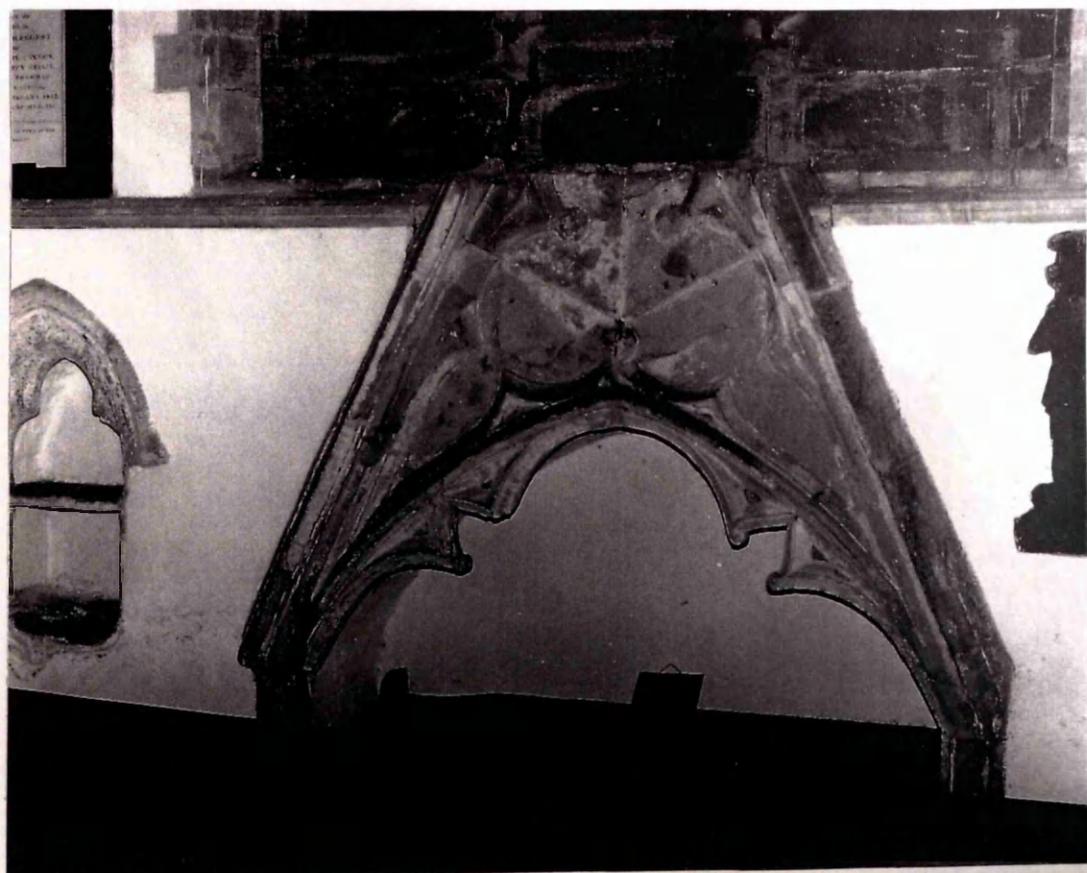


Plate 404: WATH: south transept tomb recess and canopy.

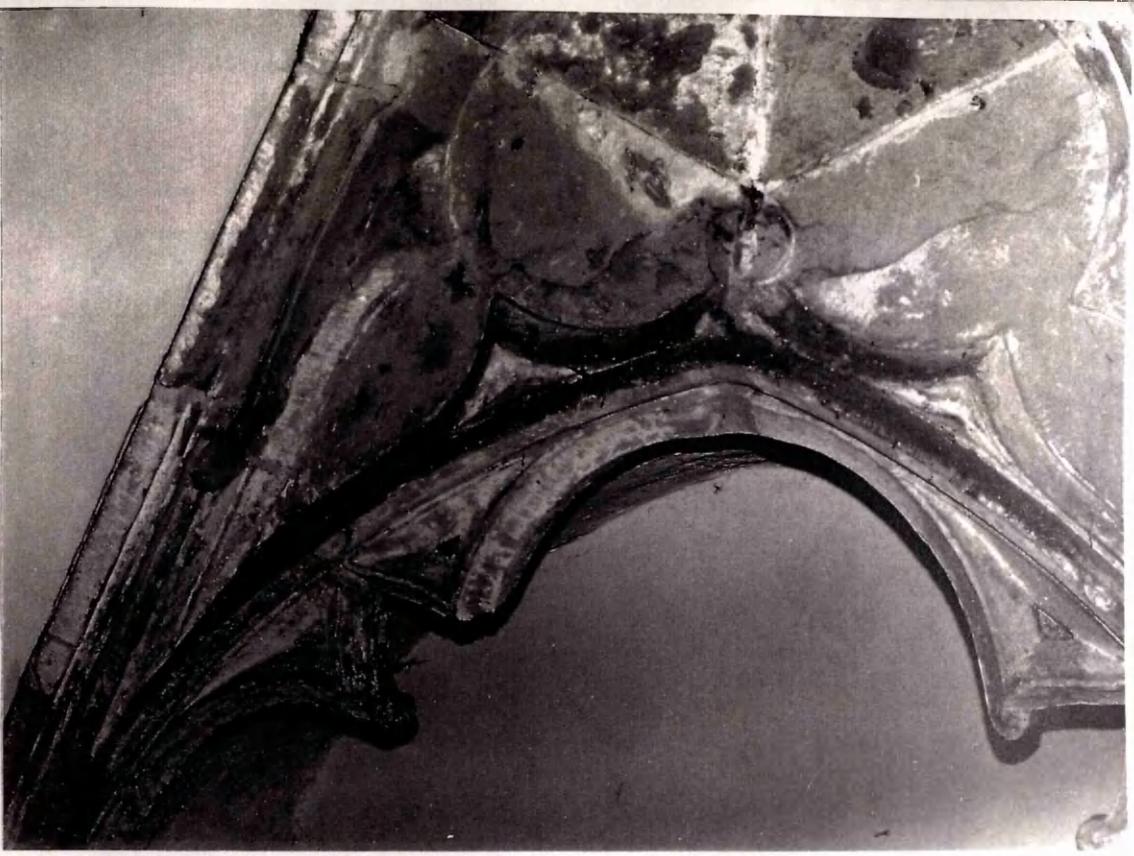


Plate 405: WATH: gable detail

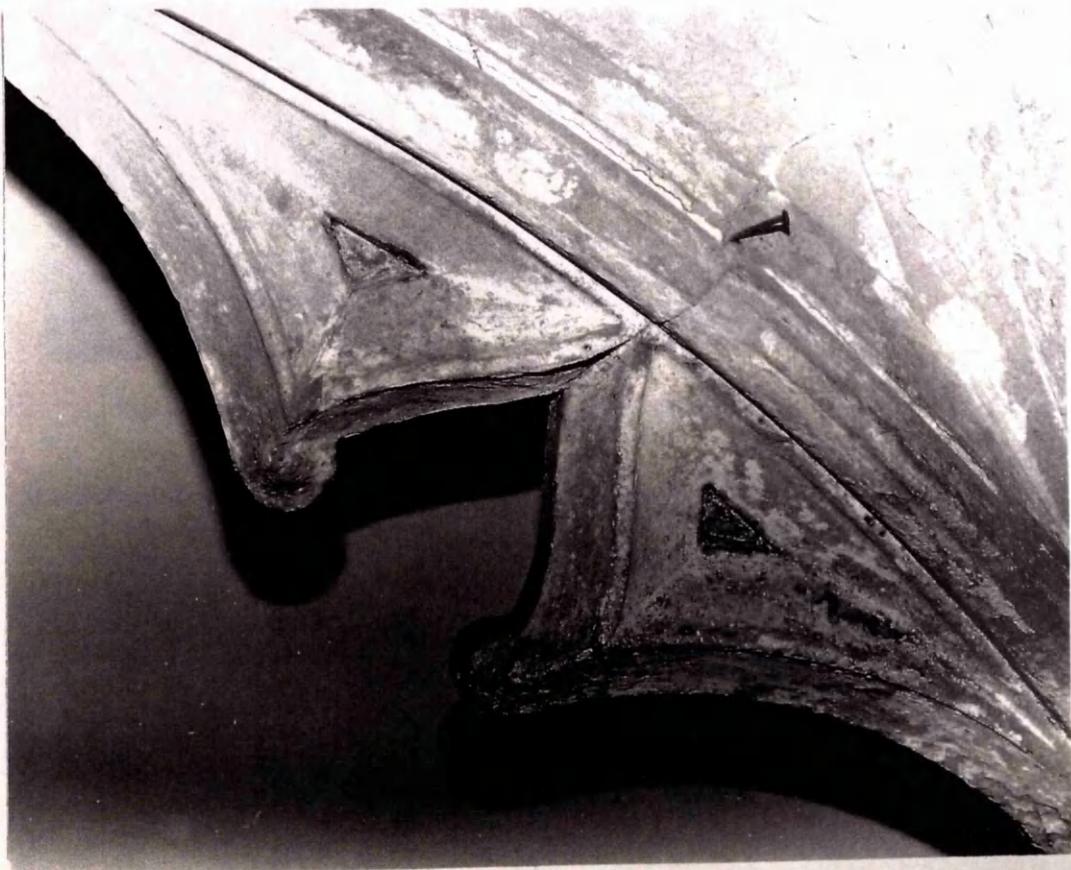


Plate 406: WATH: arch cusping.

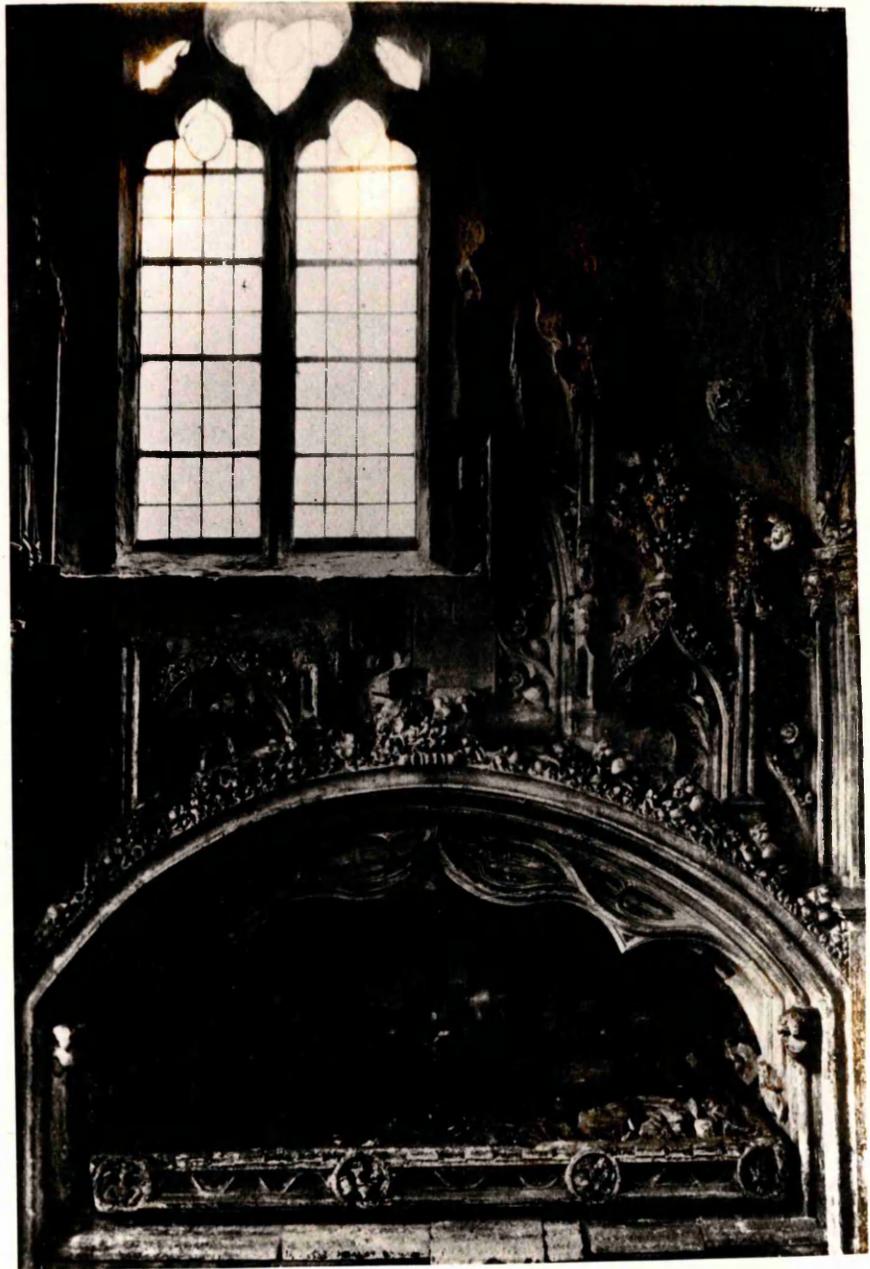


Plate 407: WELWICK: south nave aisle tomb recess and canopy.

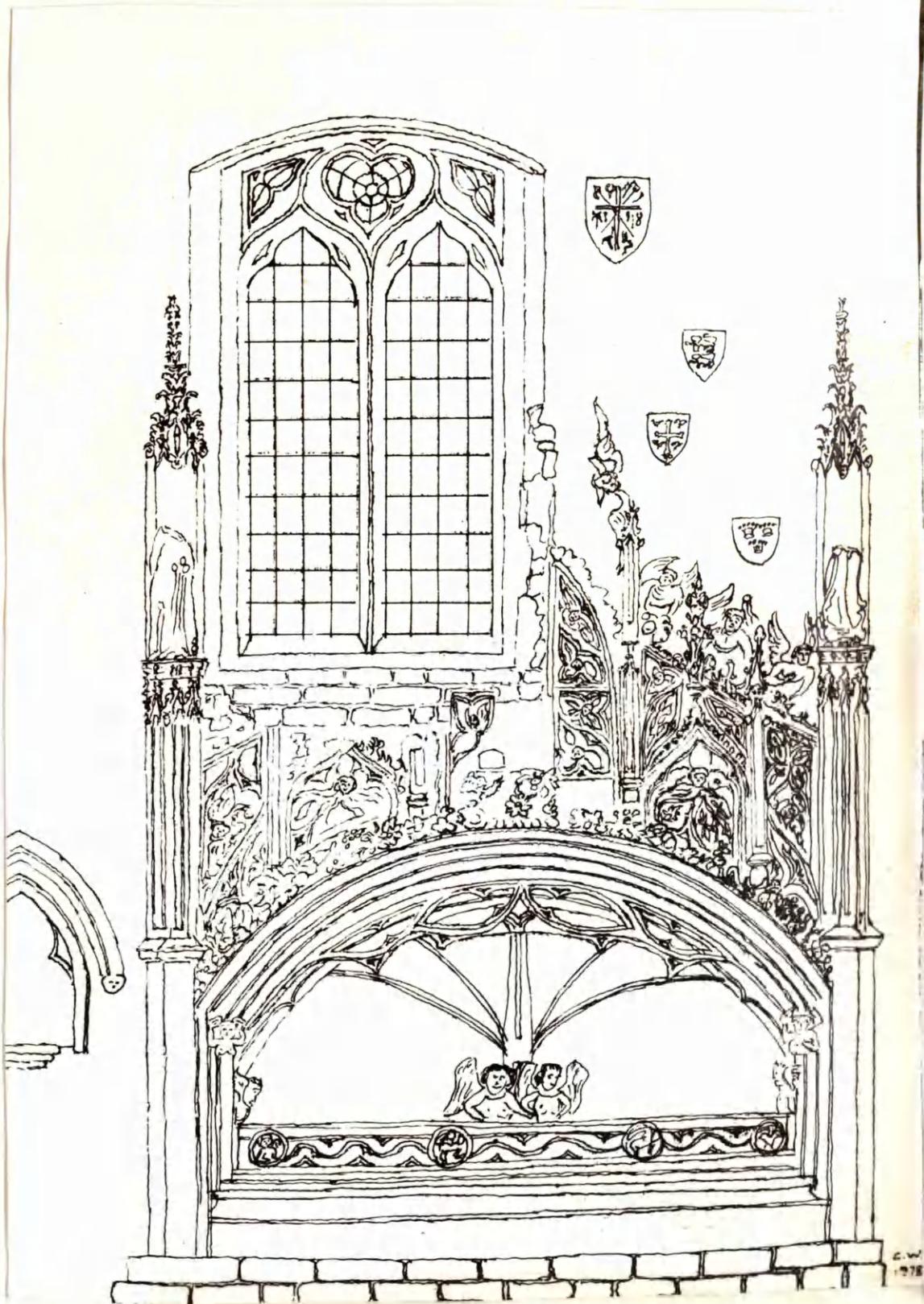


Plate 408: WELWICK: drawing of tomb and acnopy.

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Plate 409: WELWICK: tomb chest and recess.



Plate 410: WELWICK: detail of arch cuspings.



Plate 411: WELWICK: detail of arch cuspings.



Plate 412: WELWICK: east corner of tomb-chest.



Plate 413: WELWICK: effigy of a churchman.



Plate 414: WELWICK: effigy detail.



Plate 415: WELWICK: effigy detail.



Plate 416: WELWICK: effigy detail.



Plate 417: WELWICK: angels inside tomb recess.

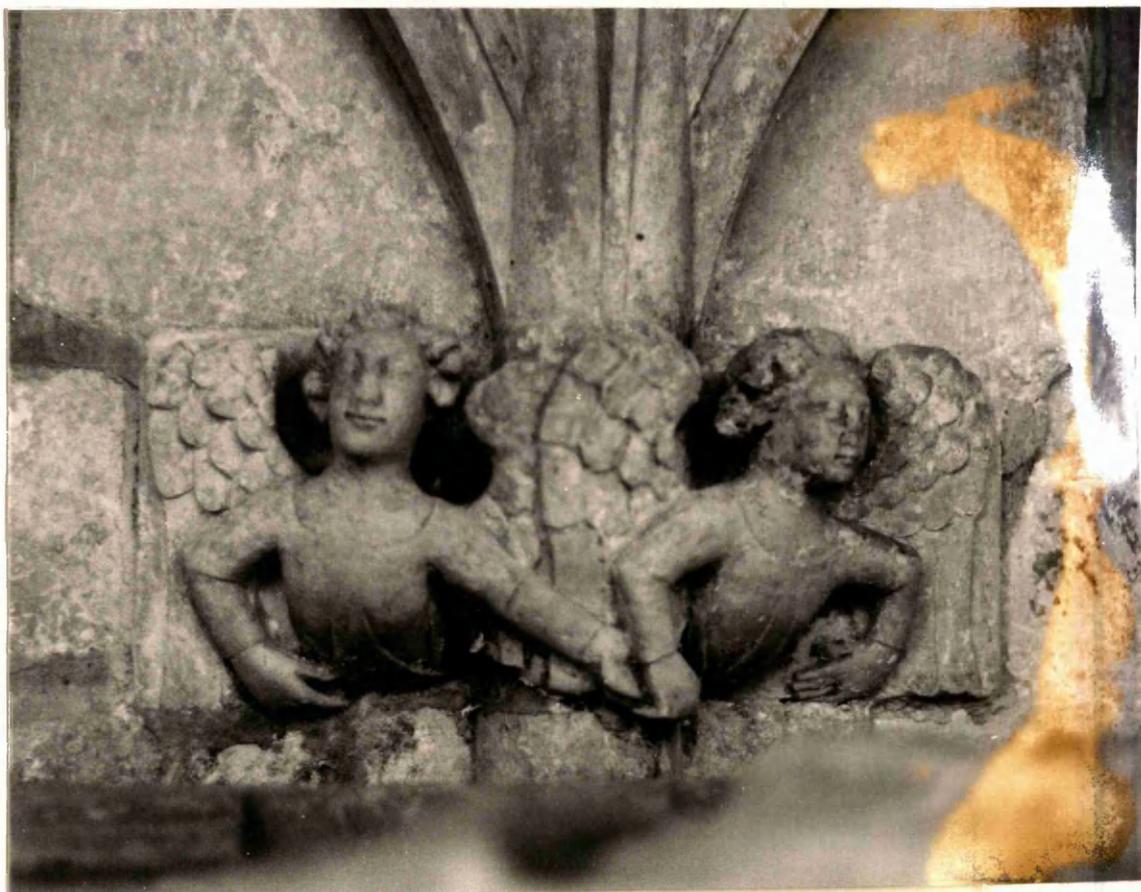


Plate 418: WELWICK: angels inside tomb recess.



Plate 419: WELWICK: angels inside tomb recess.



Plate 420: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy.

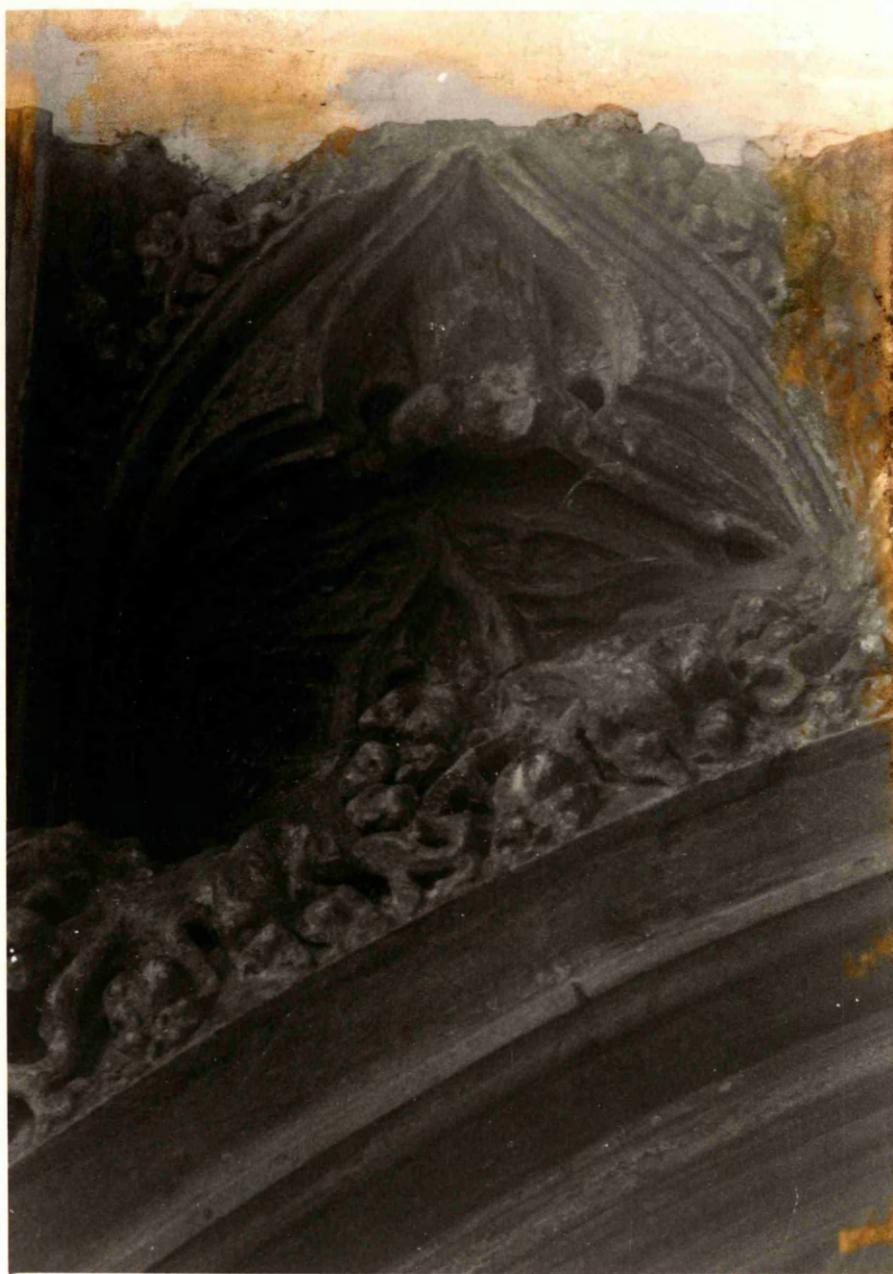


Plate 421: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy.

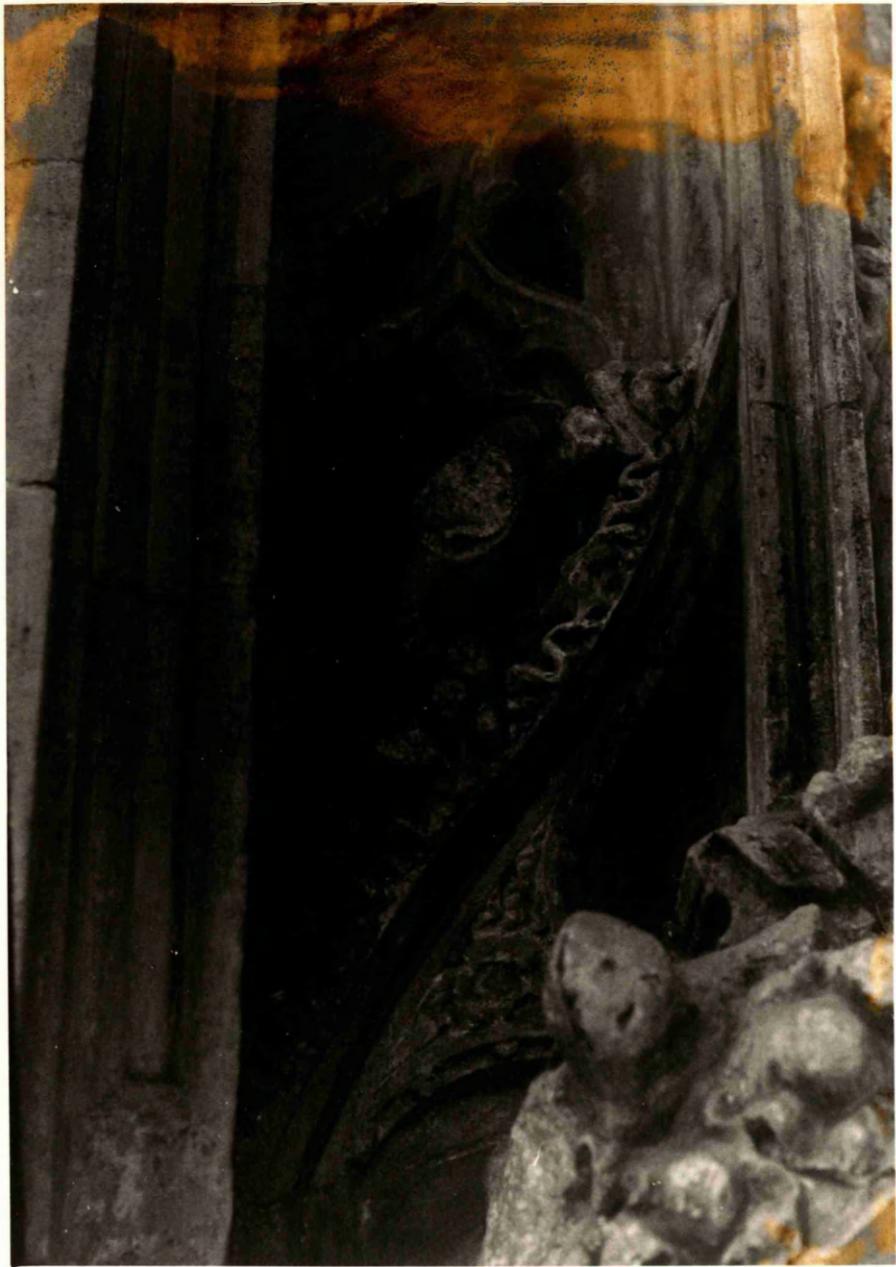


Plate 422: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy.



Plate 423: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy.



Plate 424: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy.



Plate 425: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy, and statue of St Margaret.

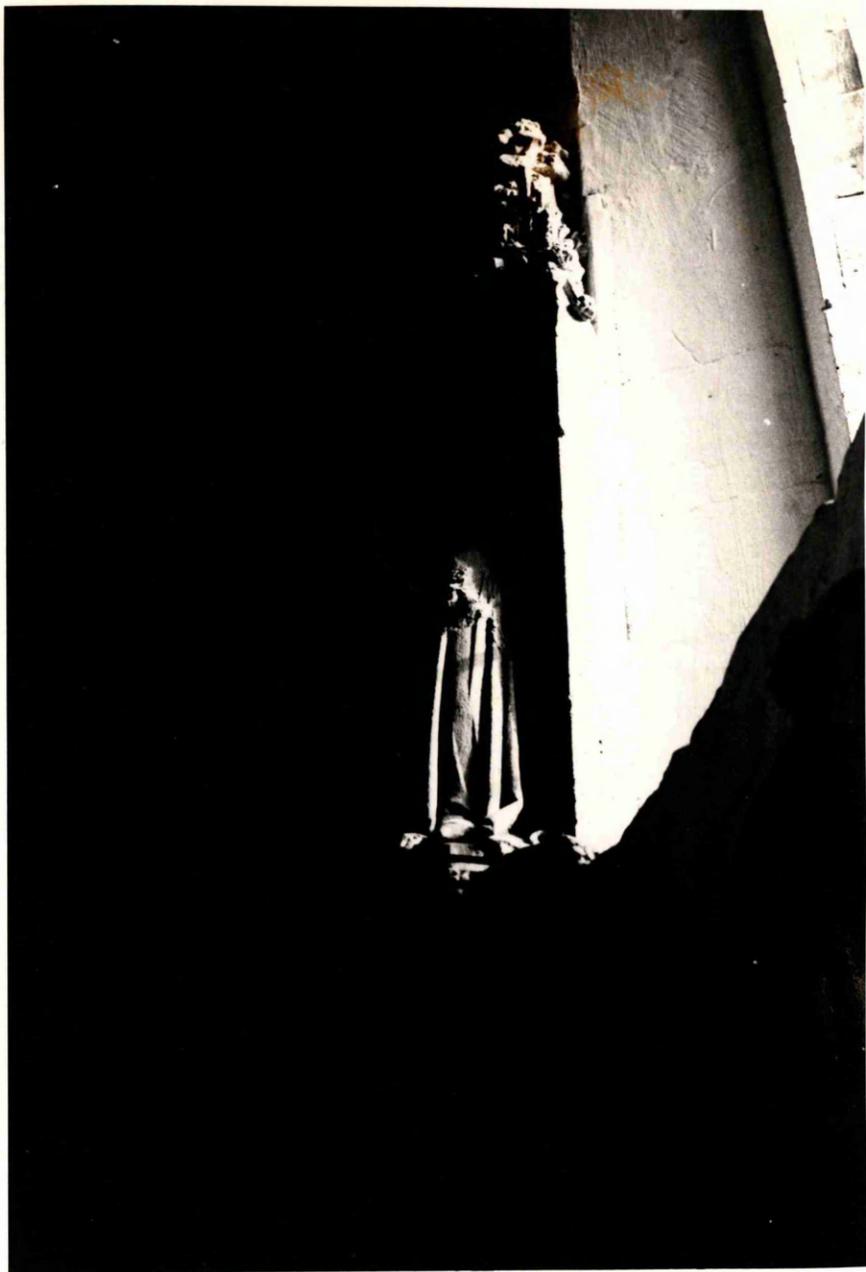


Plate 426: WELWICK: detail of tomb canopy, statue of St Catherine.

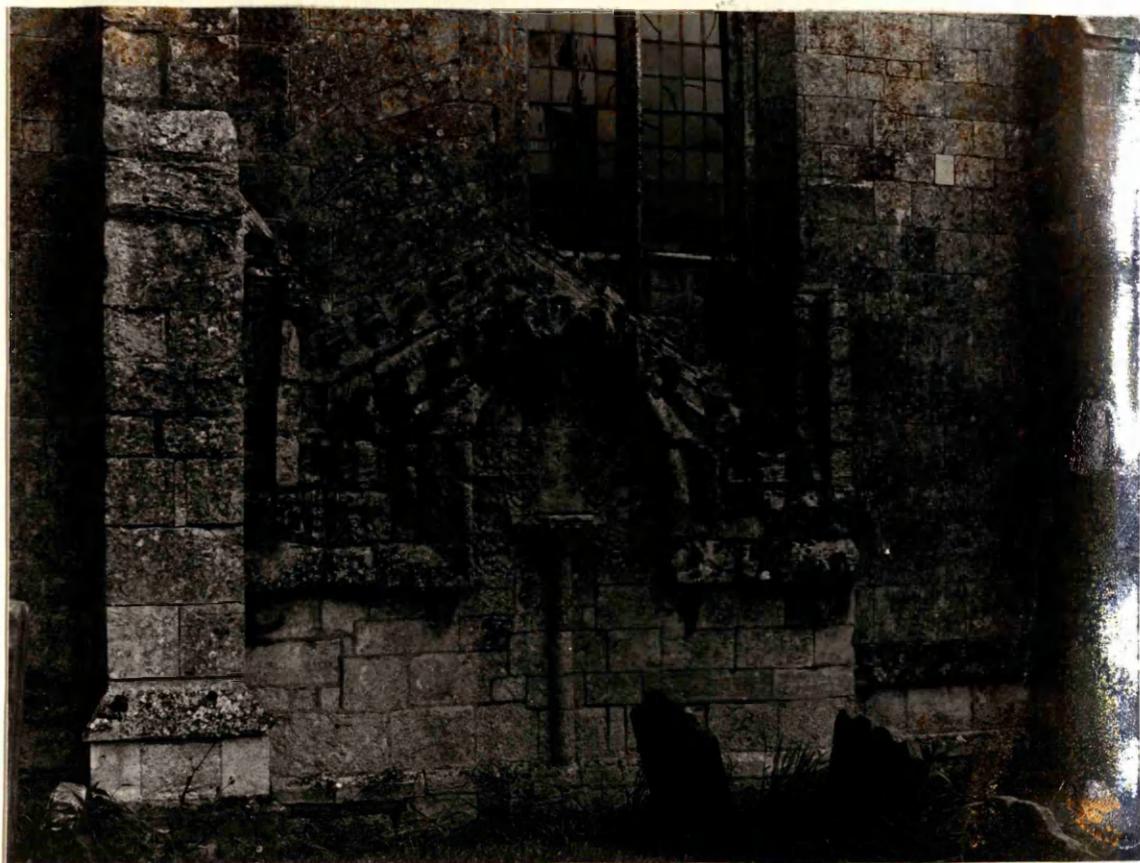


Plate 427: WELWICK: exterior niche.

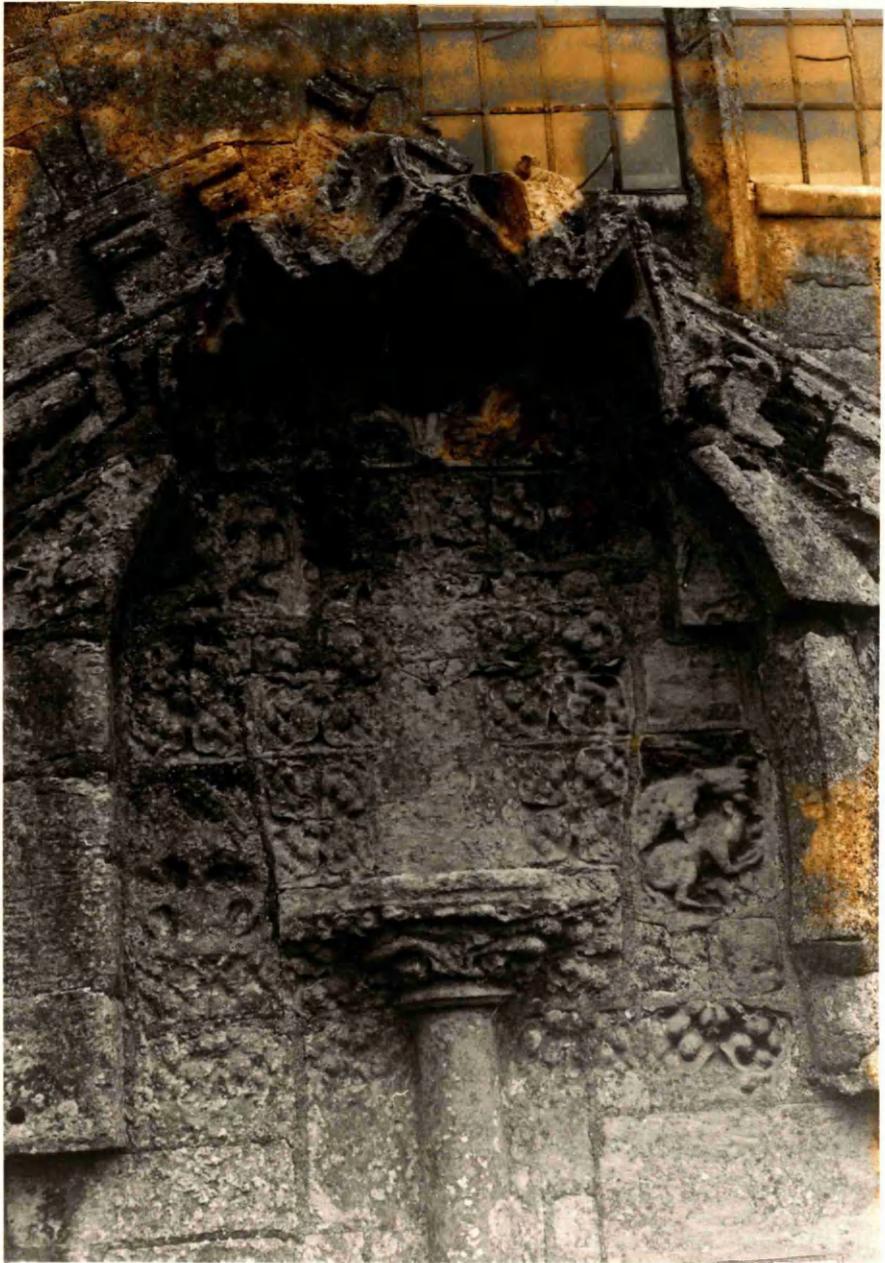


Plate 428: WELWICK: niche detail.



Plate 429: WELWICK: niche vault.



Plate 430: WELWICK: niche detail.

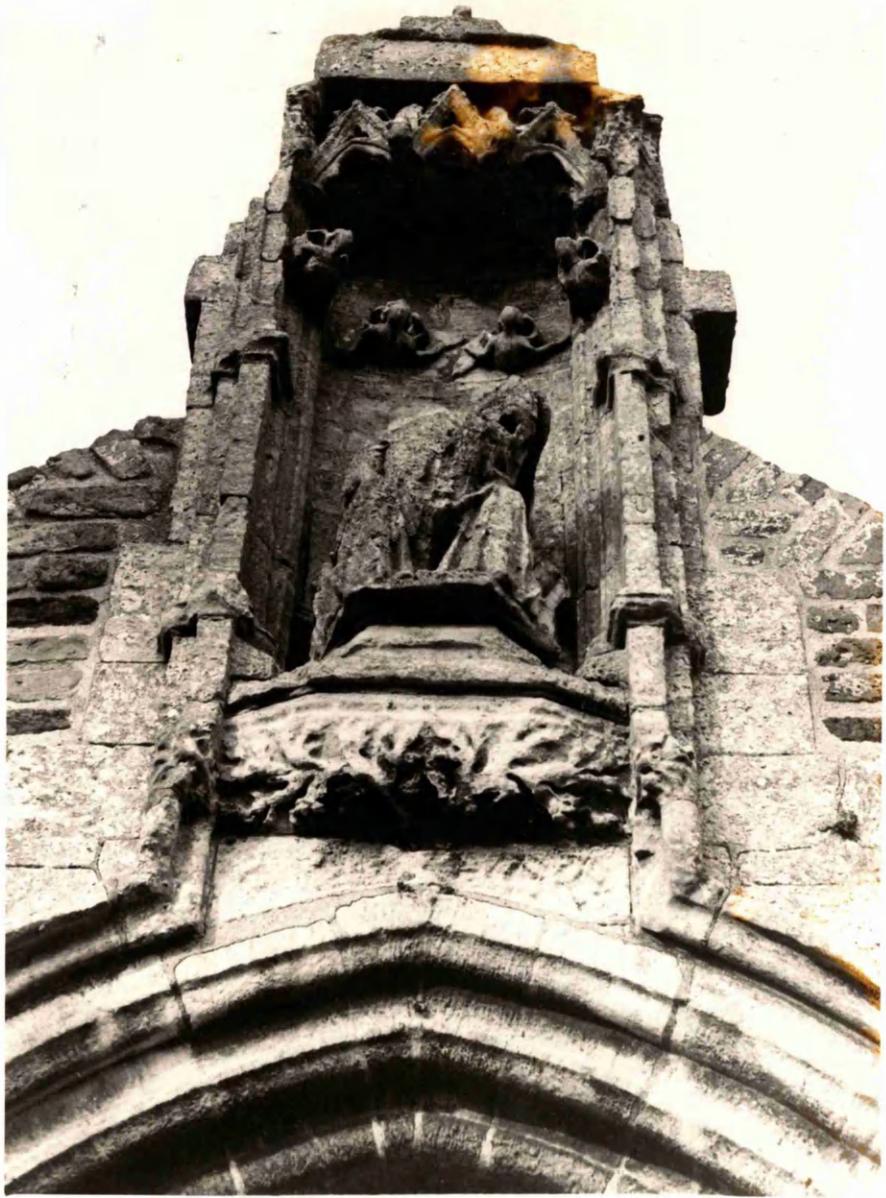


Plate 431: WELWICK: south porch, Madonna.



Plate 432: WOMERSLEY: south nave aisle tomb recess.



Plate 433: WOMERSLEY: recess detail.

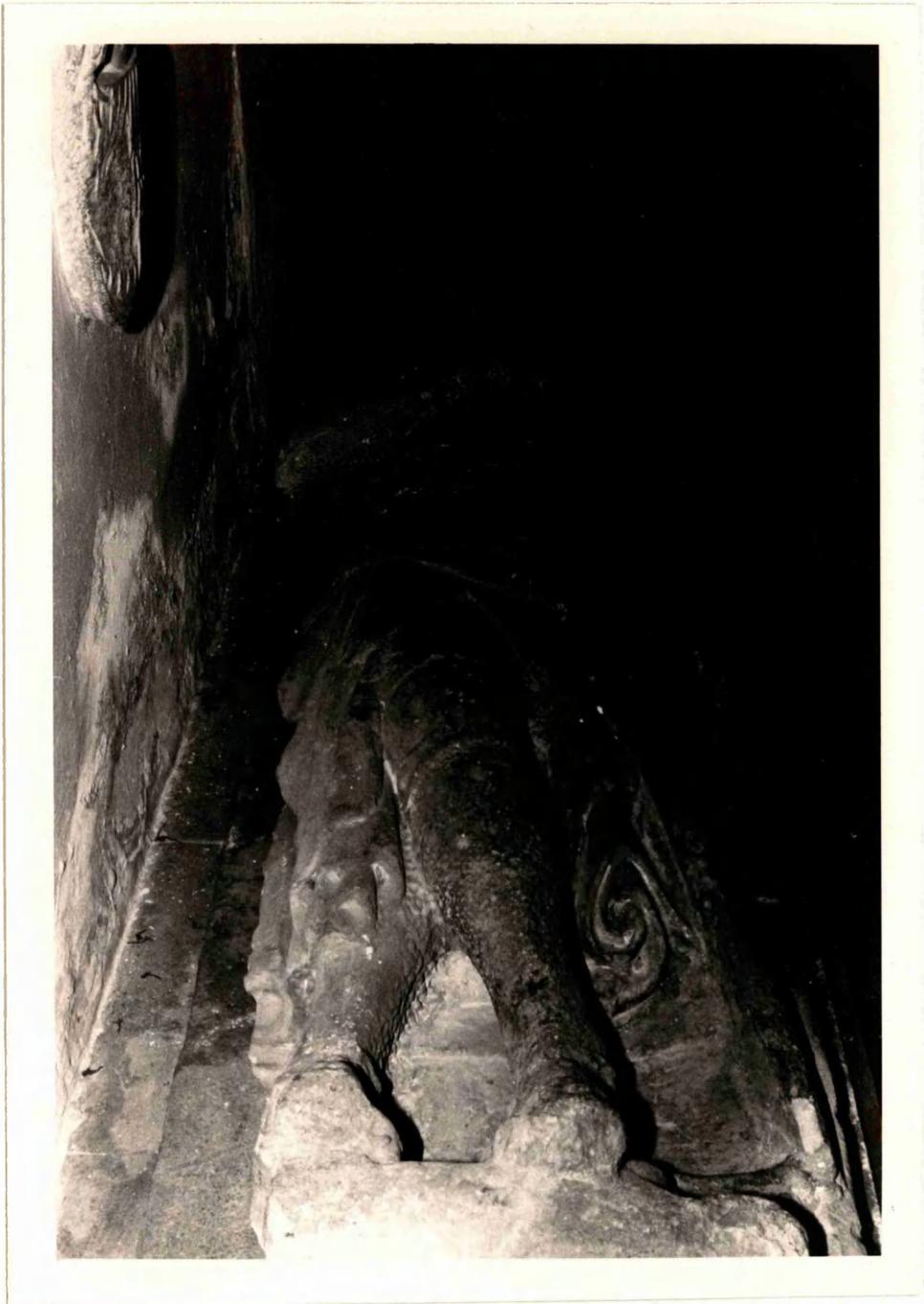


Plate 434: WOMERSLEY: effigy of Sir John de Newmarch.



Plate 435: WOMERSLEY: effigy detail.



Plate 436: WOMERSLEY: effigy detail.



Plate 437: YORK MINSTER, chapter house capitals.

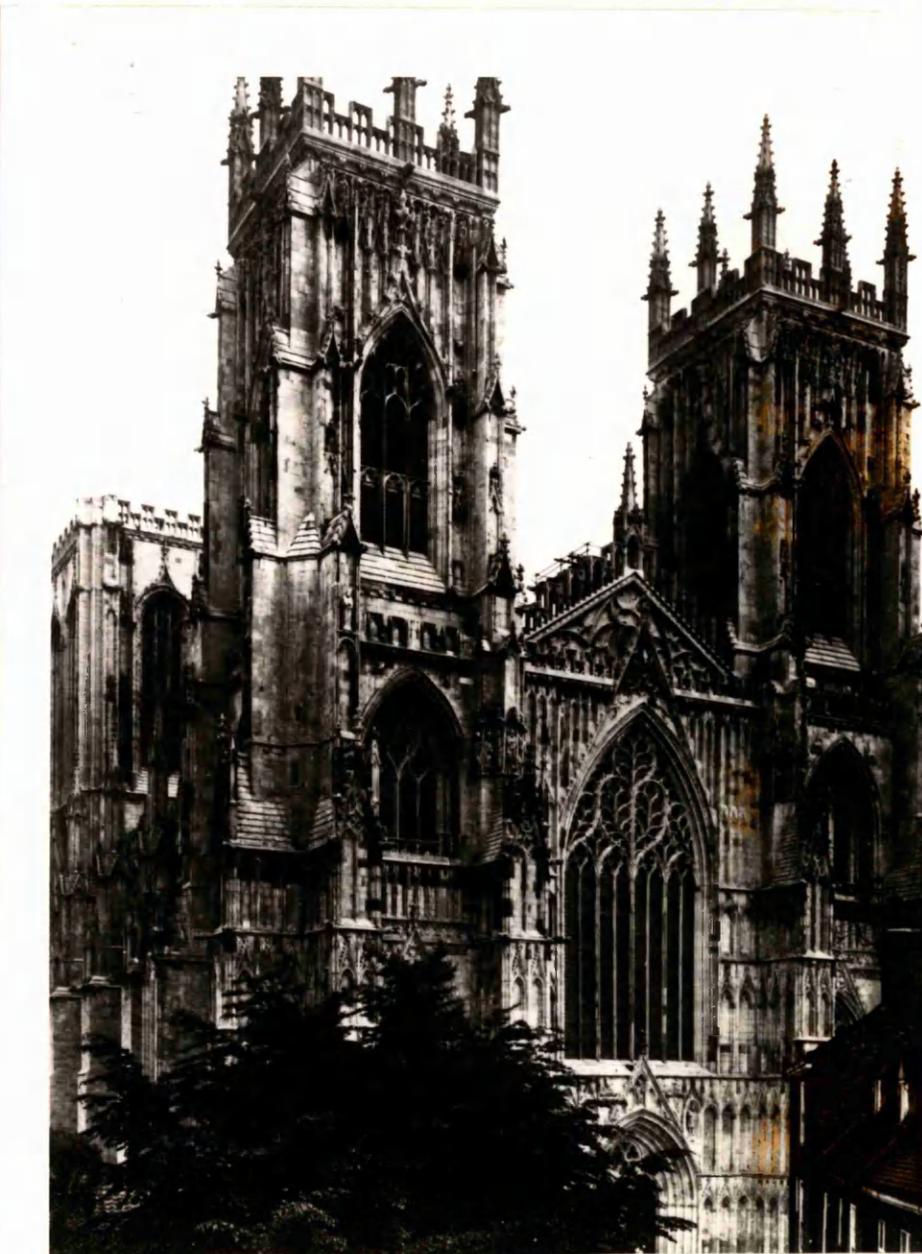


Plate 438: YORK MINSTER: west front.



Plate 439: YORK MINSTER: nave.



Plate 440: YORK MINSTER: south side of nave.

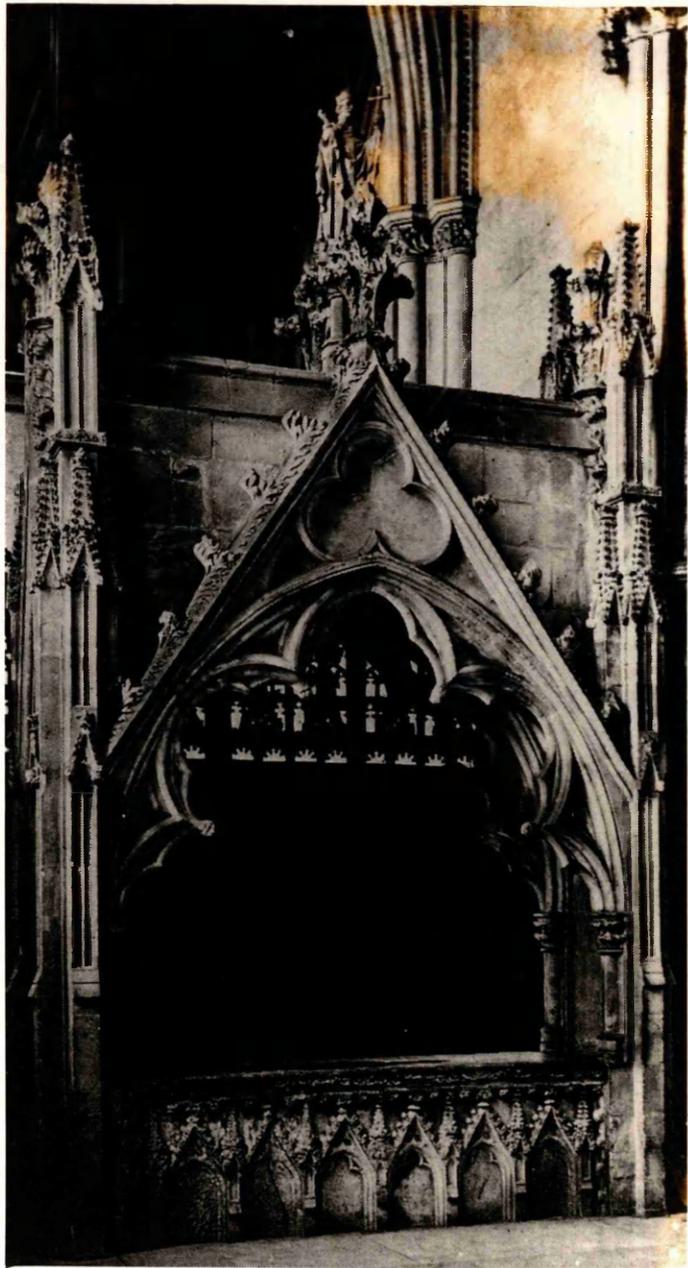


Plate 441: YORK MINSTER: tomb of archbishop William Greenfield, (d1315).



Plate 442: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, north gable.



Plate 443: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, crocketing,
north side.



Plate 444: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb vault.

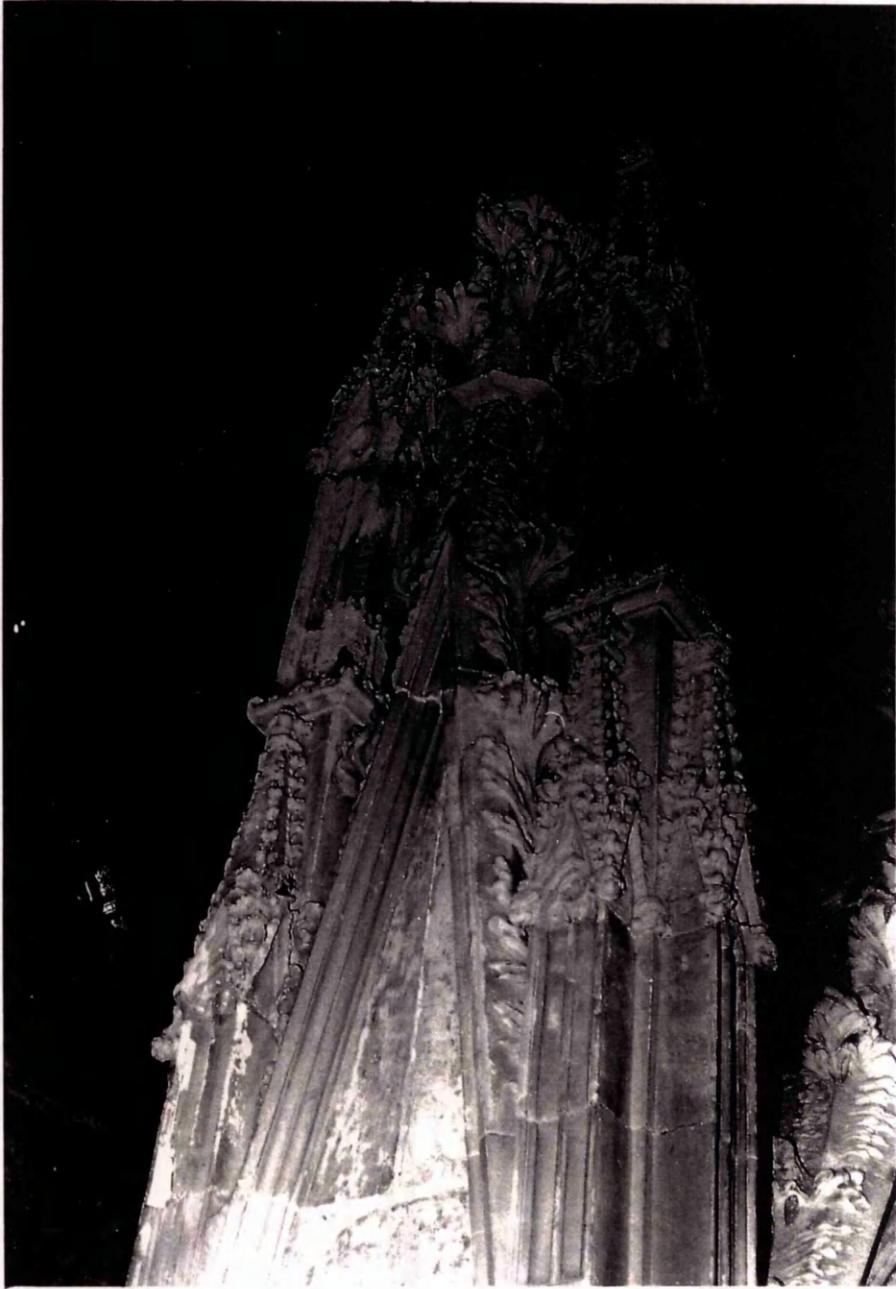


Plate 445: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, east gable.



Plate 446: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, traceried
buttress.



Plate 447: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, tomb-chest.

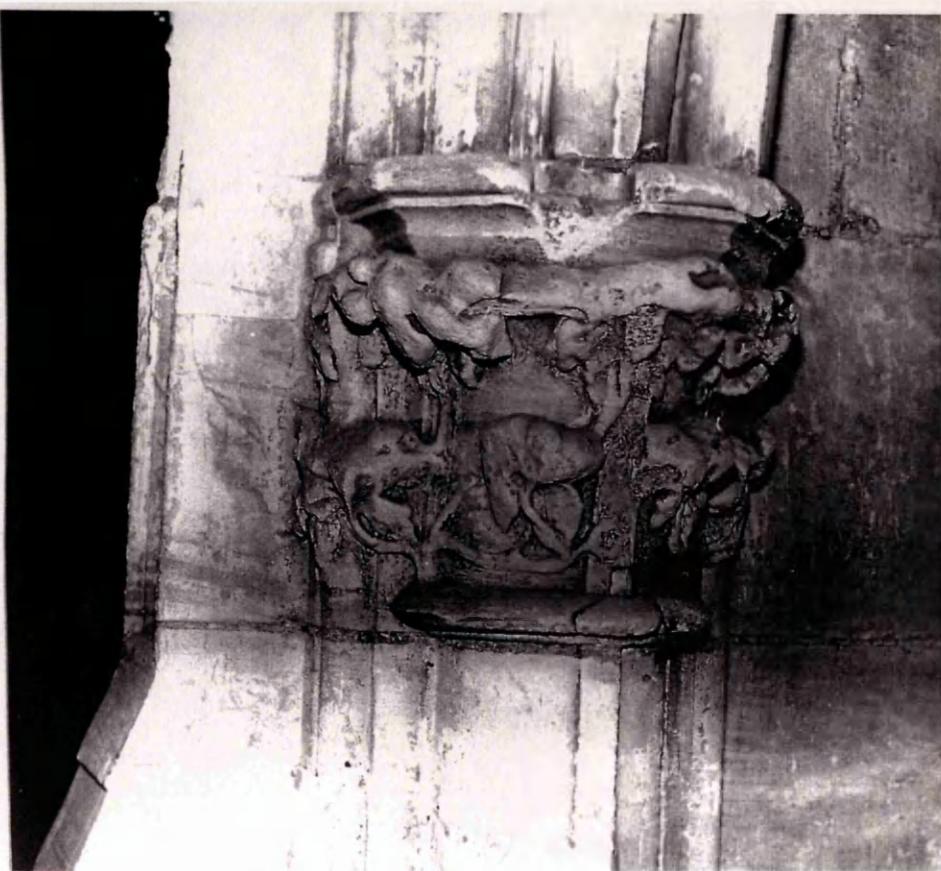


Plate 448: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, foliage capital.



Plate 449: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, foliage capital.



Plate 450: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, foliage capital.



Plate 451: YORK MINSTER: Greenfield tomb, foliage capital.



Plate 452: YORK: shrine of St William, corner of lower stage.



Plate 453: YORK: shrine of St William, cusp spandrel, lower stage.



Plate 454: YORK: shrine of St William, cusp spandrel,
lower stage.

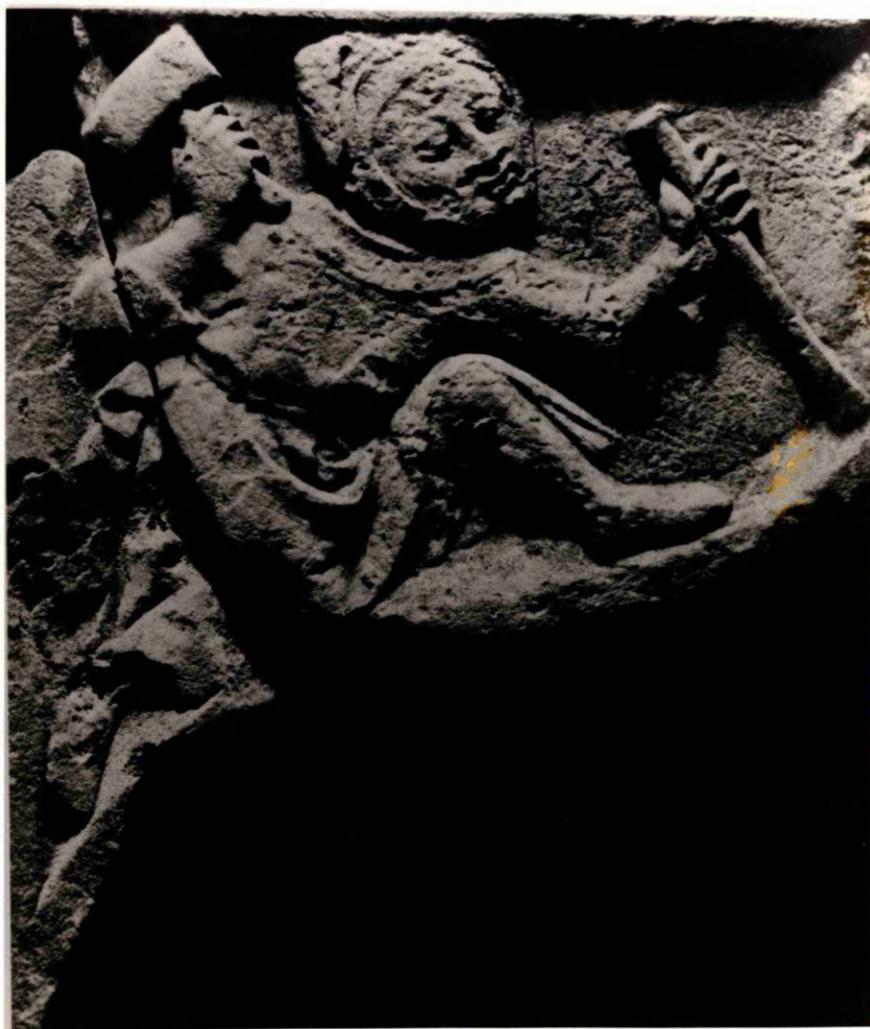


Plate 455: YORK: shrine of St William, interior spandrel figure, lower stage.



Plate 456: YORK: shrine of St William, figure of a crossbowman, upper stage.



Plate 457: YORK: shrine of St William, figure of St
Margaret on column supporting upper stage.

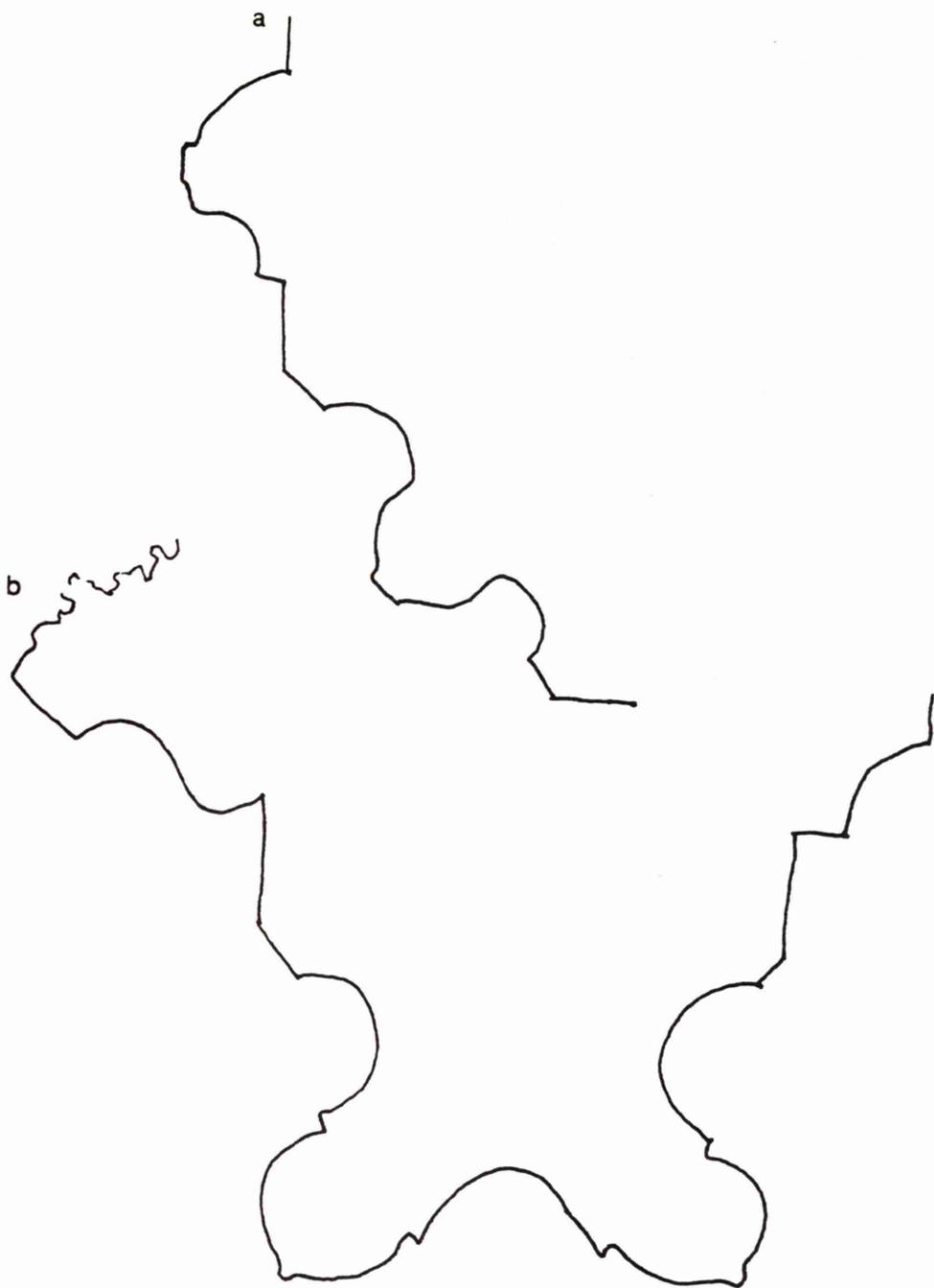


Fig 1

a: Thorpe Basset, arch of north chancel recess.

b: Braithwell, arch of north chancel recess.

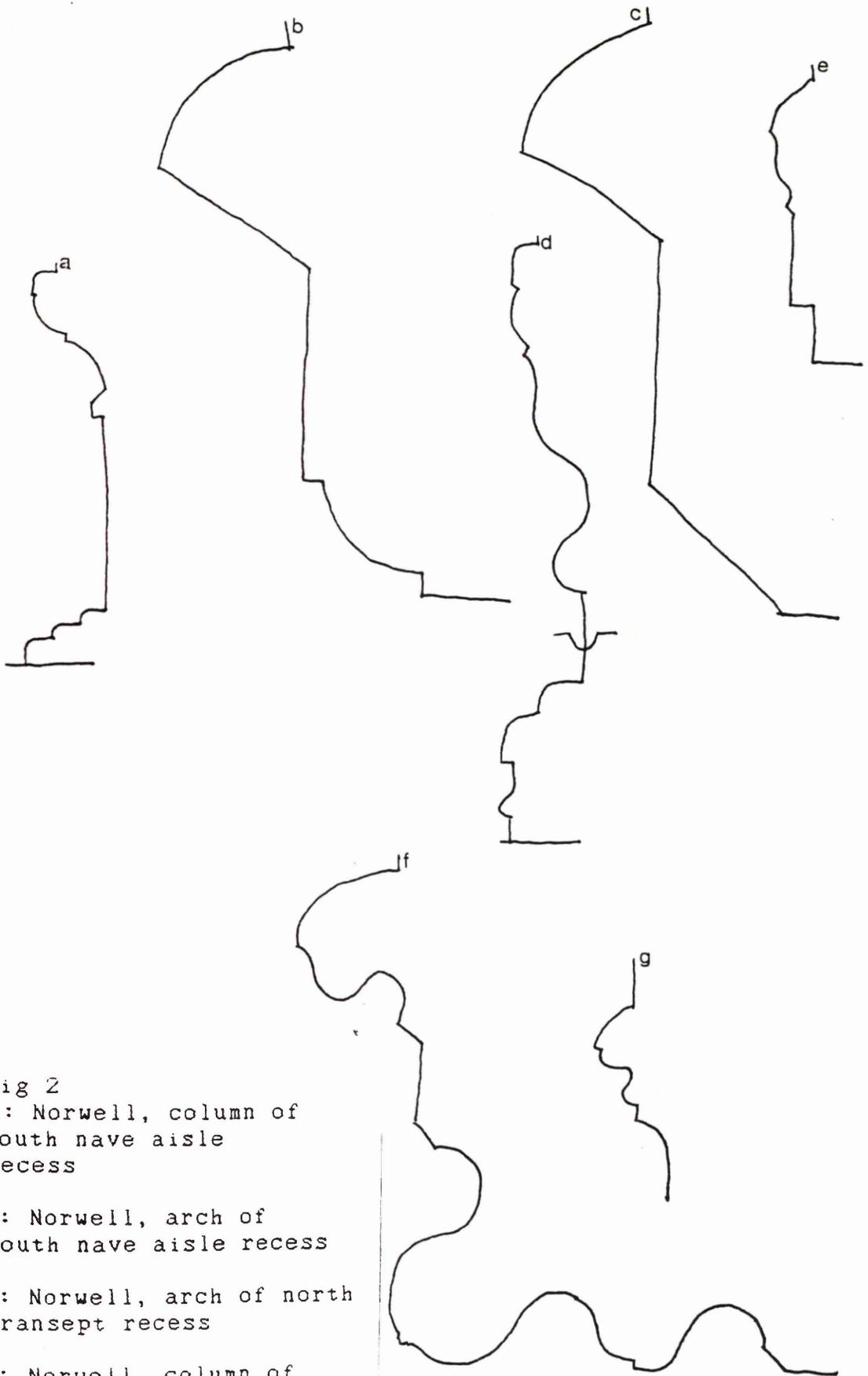


Fig 2

a: Norwell, column of south nave aisle recess

b: Norwell, arch of south nave aisle recess

c: Norwell, arch of north transept recess

d: Norwell, column of north transept recess

e: Norwell, north transept piscina

f: Norwell, arch of south transept recess

g: Norwell, south transept piscina

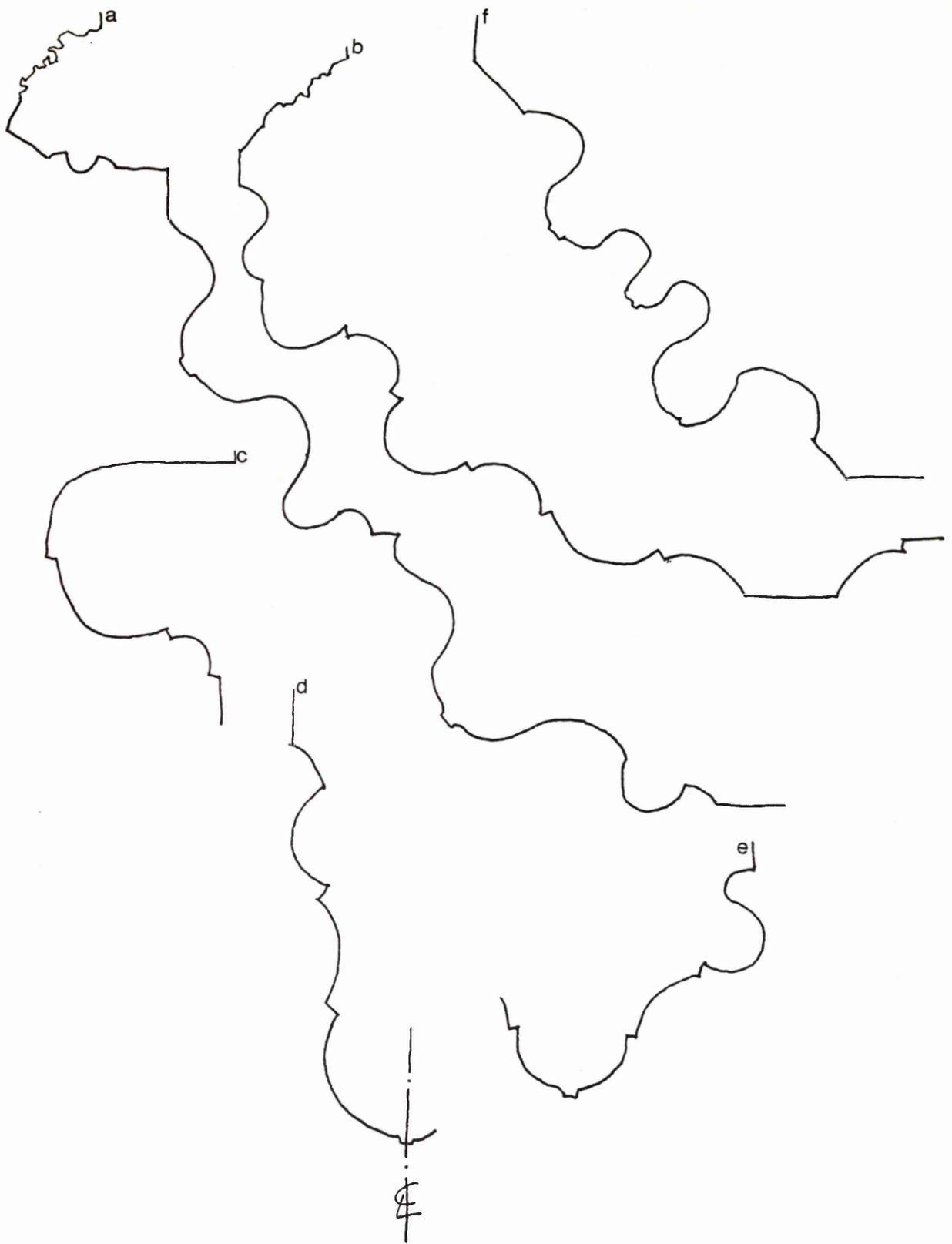


Fig 3

a: Howden, arch of south transept recess

b: Kirkby Wiske, arch of north chancel recess

c: Kirkby Wiske, chancel string course

d: Kirkby Wiske, mullion of chancel sedilia

e: Kirkby Wiske, jamb of chancel piscina

f: Kirkby Wiske, jamb of chancel east window

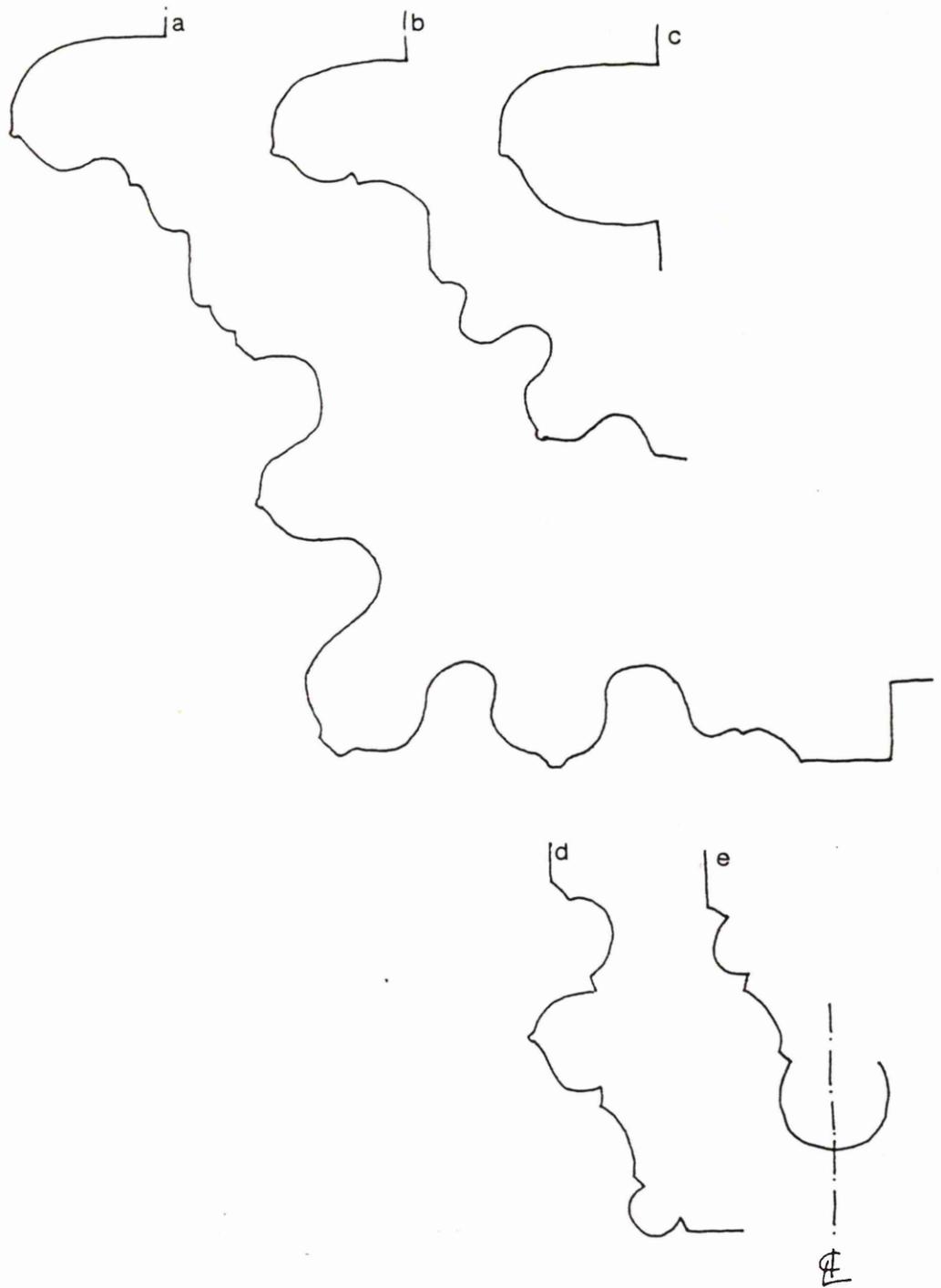


Fig 4

a: Patrick Brompton, arch of north chancel recess

b: Patrick Brompton, arch of chancel piscina

c: Patrick Brompton, chancel string course

d: Patrick Brompton, arch of chancel sedilia

e: Patrick Brompton, mullion of chancel sedilia

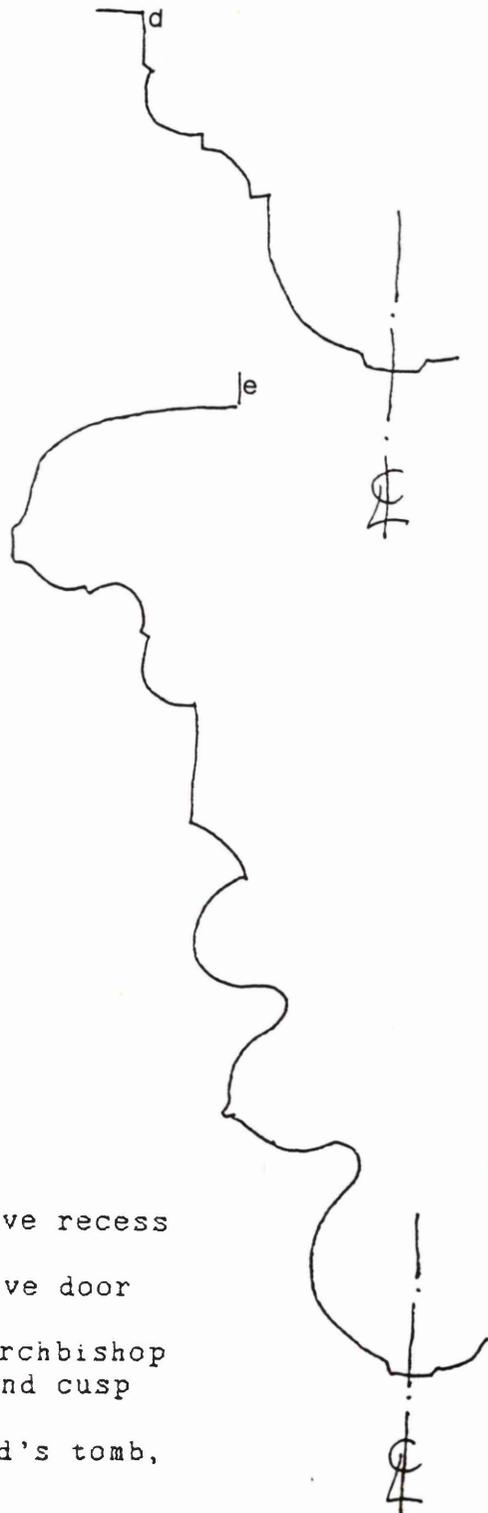
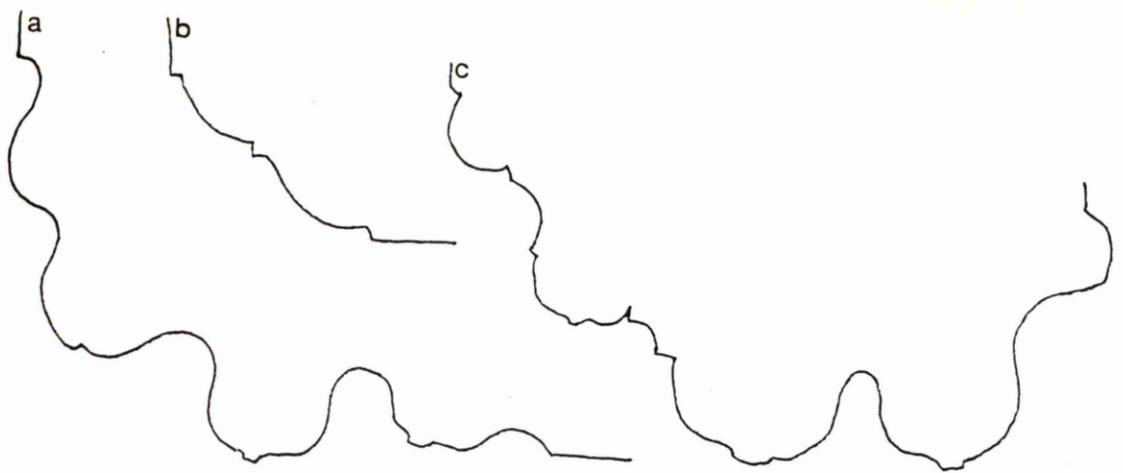


Fig 5

a: Rudby, arch of north nave recess

b: Rudby, jamb of north nave door

c: York Minster, tomb of Archbishop
William Greenfield, arch and cusp

d: York Minster, Greenfield's tomb,
attached shafts

e: Hull, arch of west recess

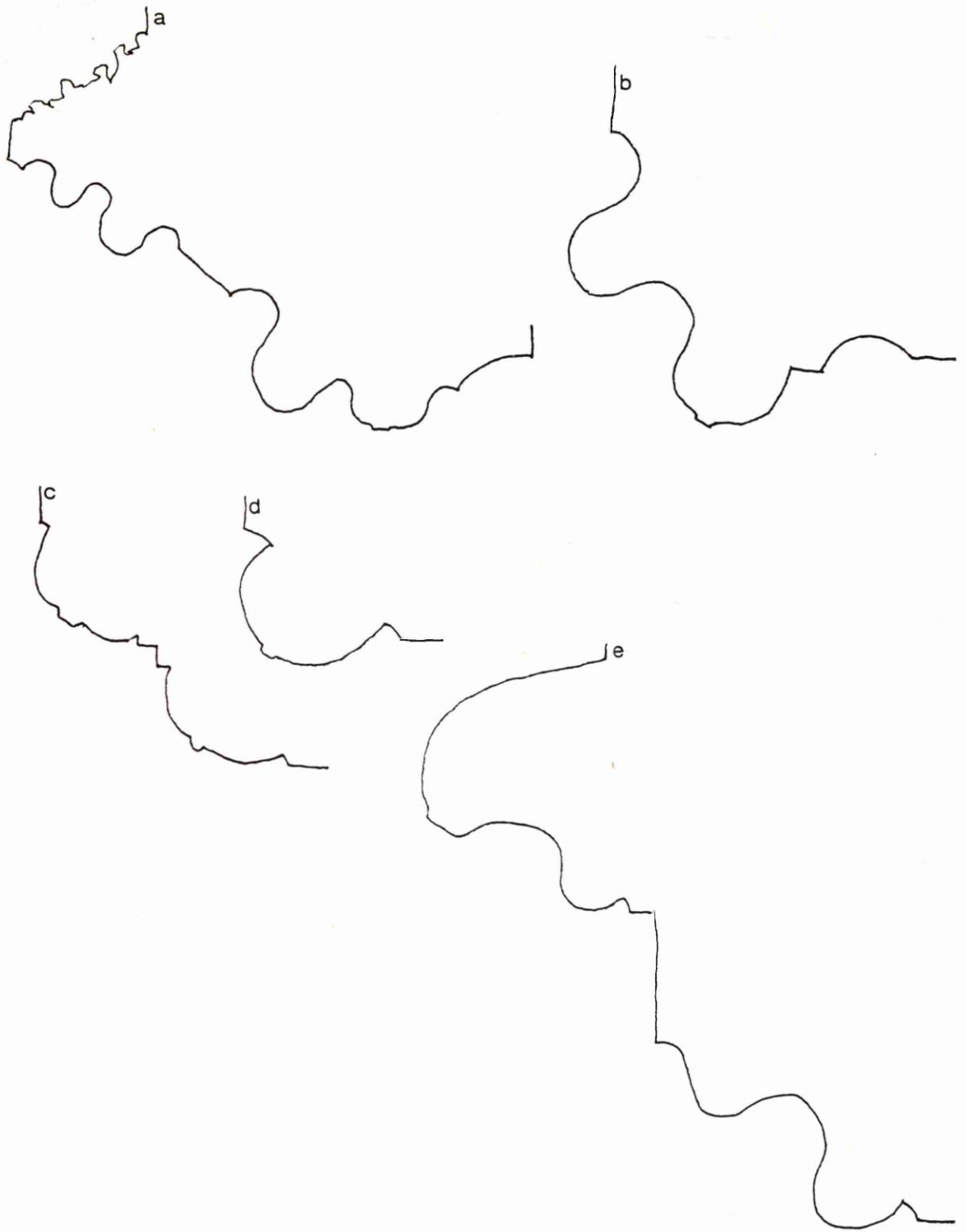


Fig 6

a: West Tanfield, arch of north nave aisle recess

b: West Tanfield, cusp of north nave aisle recess

c: Melsonby, arch of south nave aisle recess

d: Melsonby, attached column of south nave aisle recess

e: Middleton Tyas, arch of south nave aisle recess

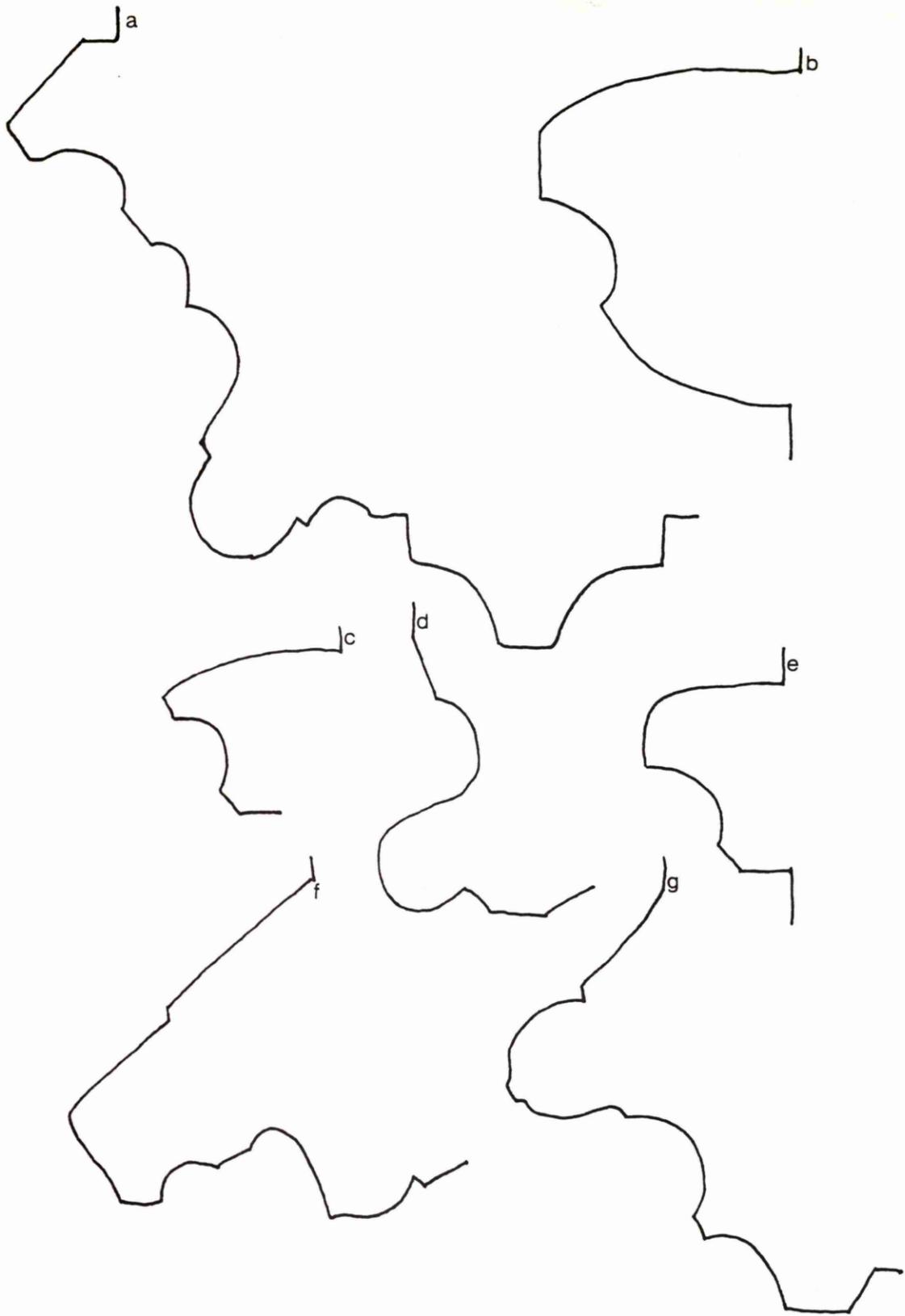


Fig 7

a: Feliskirk, arch of north chancel recess

b: Goldsborough, arch of north chancel recess

c: Goldsborough, cusp of north chancel recess

d: Goldsborough, rear-arch of north chancel recess

e: Goldsborough, chancel stroing course

f: Wath, gable of south transept recess

g: Wath, arch and cusp of south transept recess

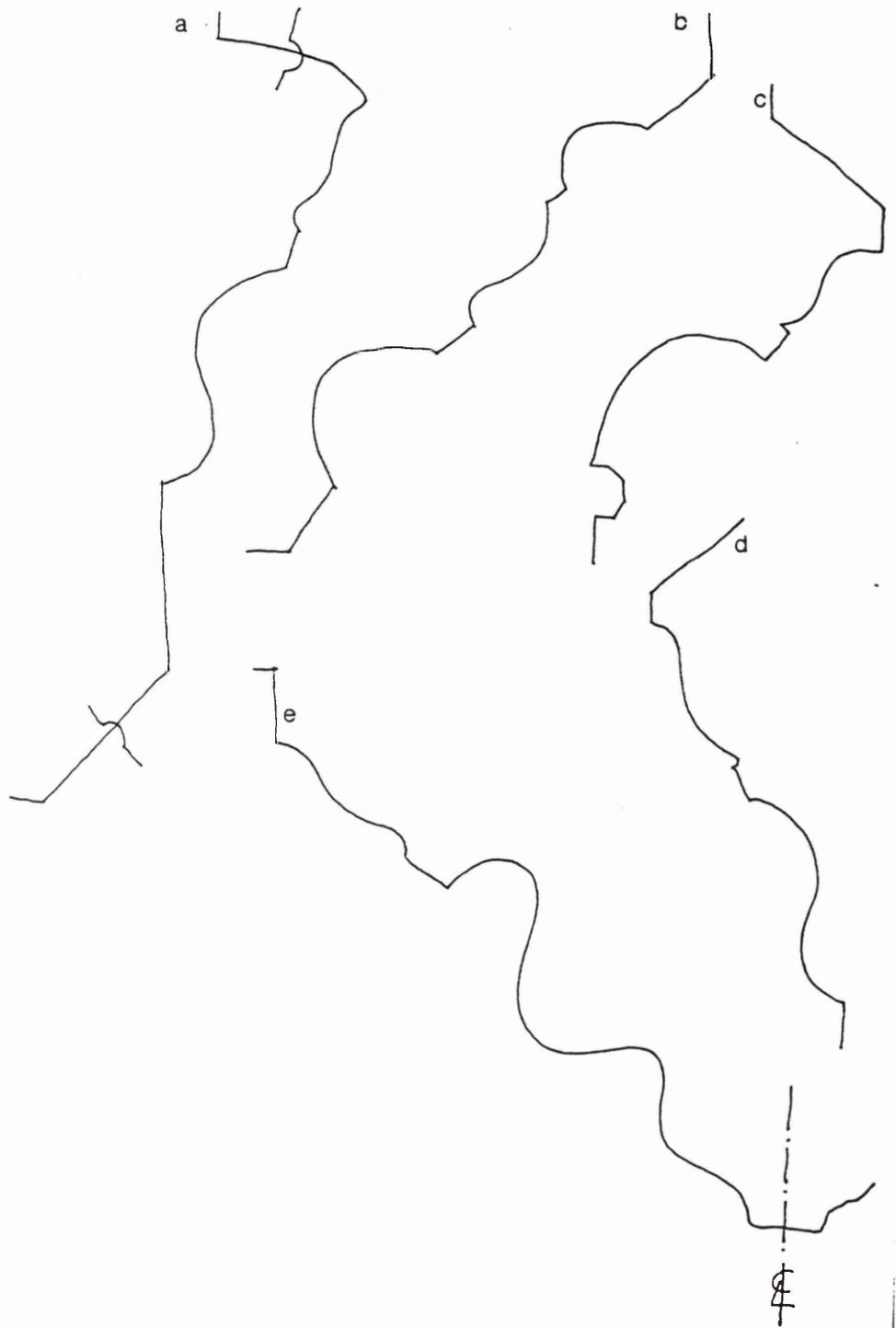


Fig 8

a: Brigham, arch of south nave aisle recess

b: Barnby Don, arch of north nave aisle recess

c: Beverley Minster reredos, cornice

d: Beverley Minster, north nave arcade,
string course

e: Beverley Minster, jamb of Percy tomb

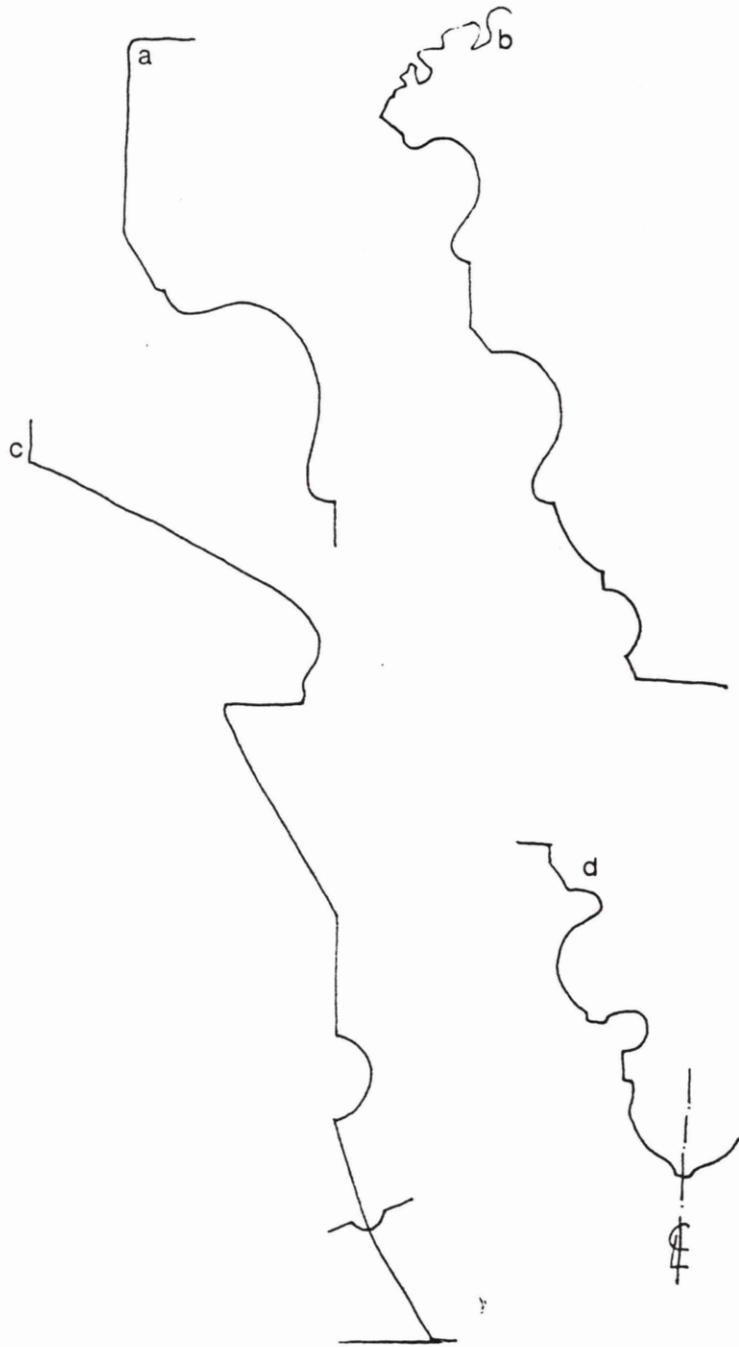


Fig 9

a: Barnby Don, cill of north nave aisle recess

b: Barnby Don, arch of north nave aisle recess

c: Beverley Minster, reredos, base of blind arcading

d: Beverley Minster, reredos, jamb of blind arcading

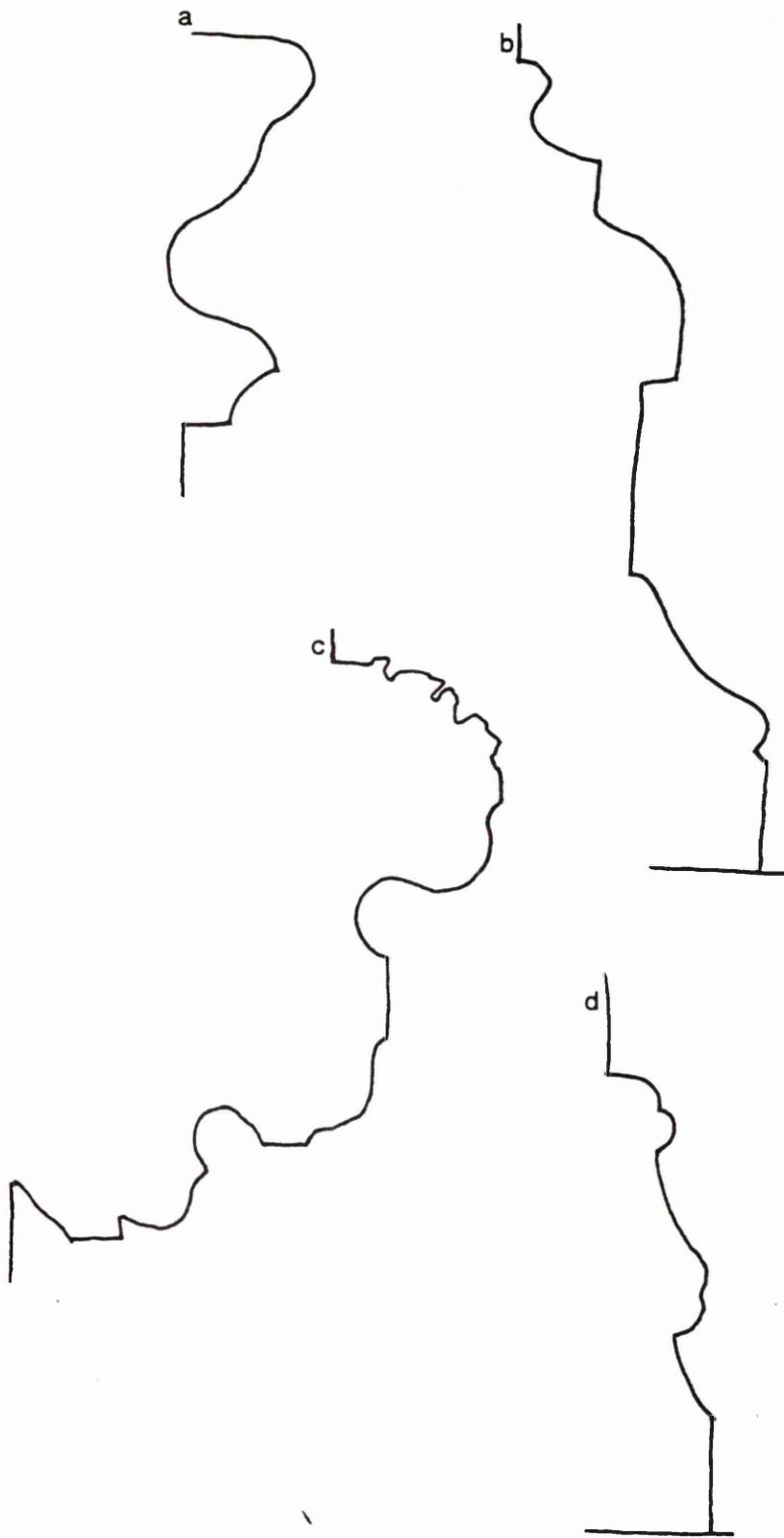


Fig 10

a: Beverley Minster, Percy tomb, tomb slab

b: Beverley Minster, base of Percy tomb

c: Beverley Minster, arch of blind arcade in north nave aisle

d: Beverley Minster, base of blind arcade in north nave aisle

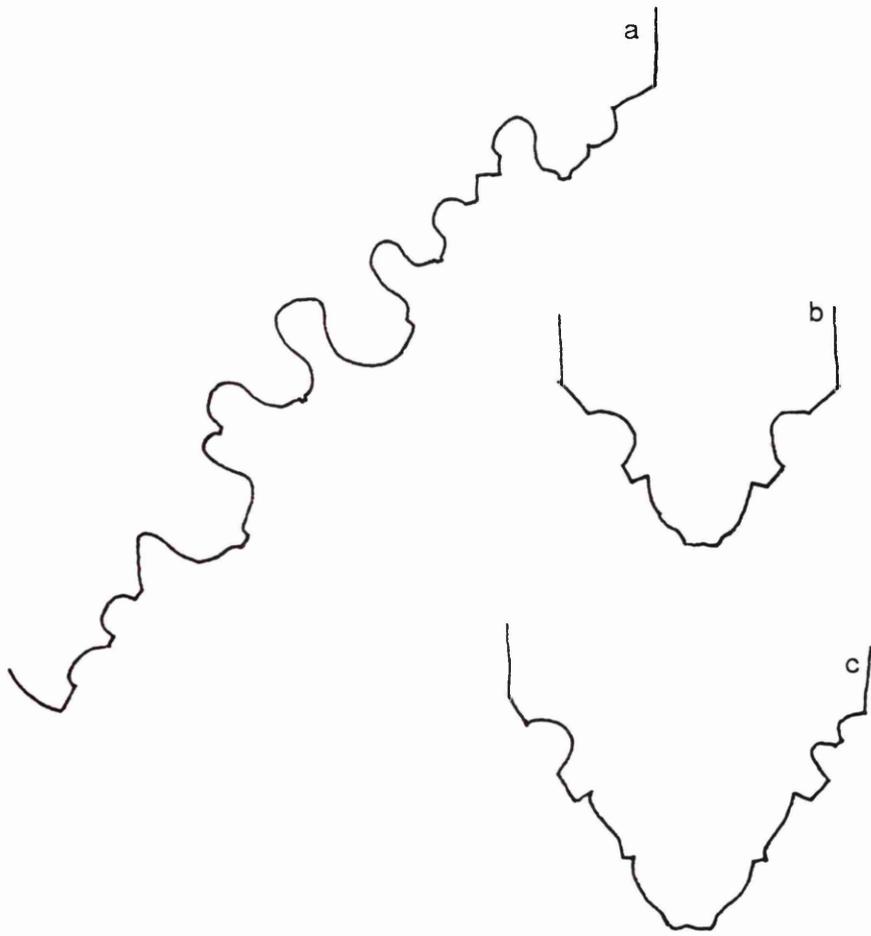


Fig 11

a: Carlisle cathedral, east window jamb

b: Carlisle cathedral, side mullions in east window

c: Carlisle cathedral, main mullions in east window

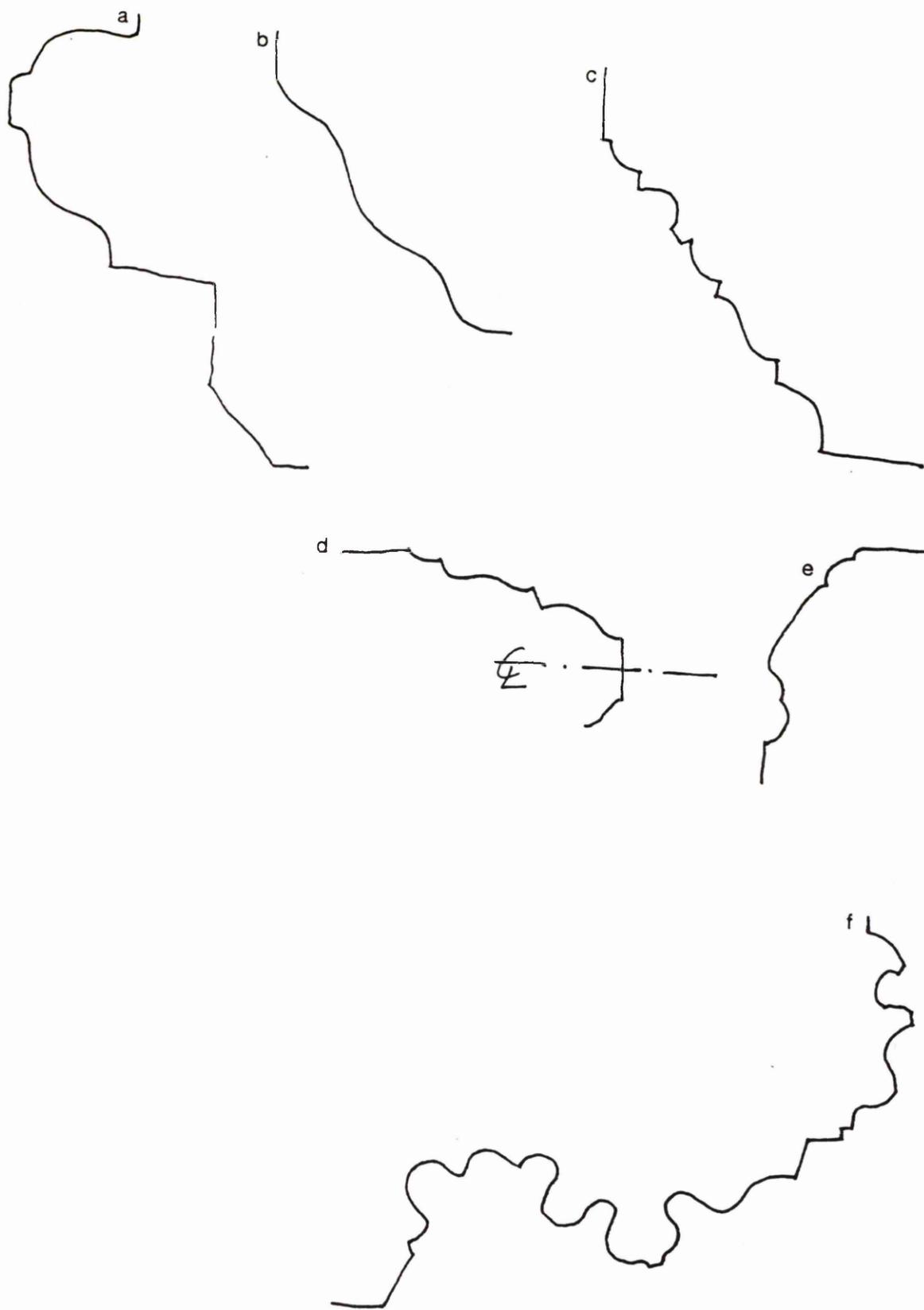


Fig 12

a: Staindrop, south nave aisle, gabled recess

b: Staindrop, south nave aisle, arched recess

c: Norham, gable of south chancel recess

d: Norham, arch of south chancel recess

e: Norham, section through tomb slab

f: York, shrine of St William, section through arch

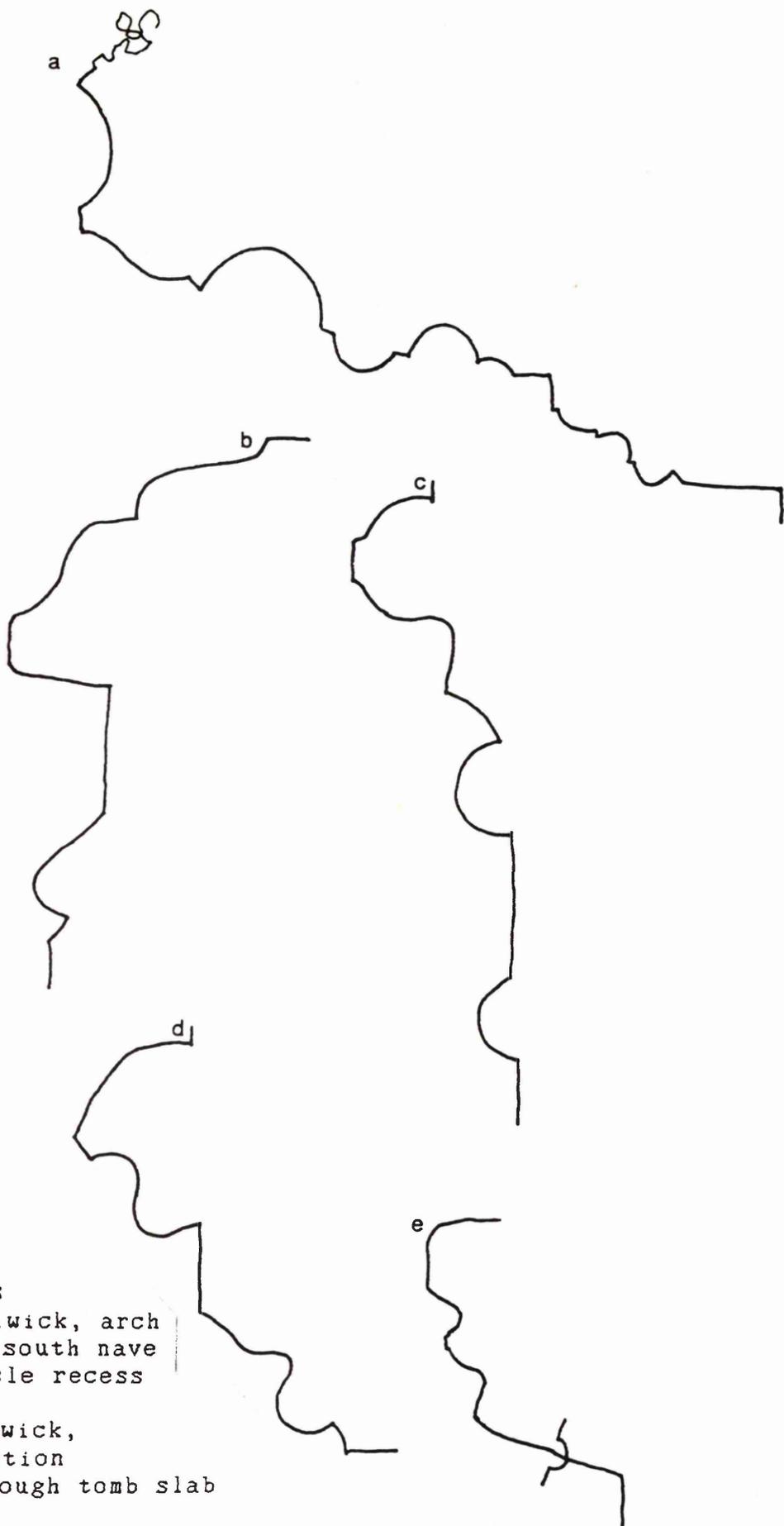


Fig 13

a: Welwick, arch
of south nave
aisle recess

b: Welwick,
section
through tomb slab

c: Welwick, capital of south
nave arcade column,
opposite recess

d: Welwick, arch of south nave aisle piscina

e: Welwick, basin of south nave aisle piscina

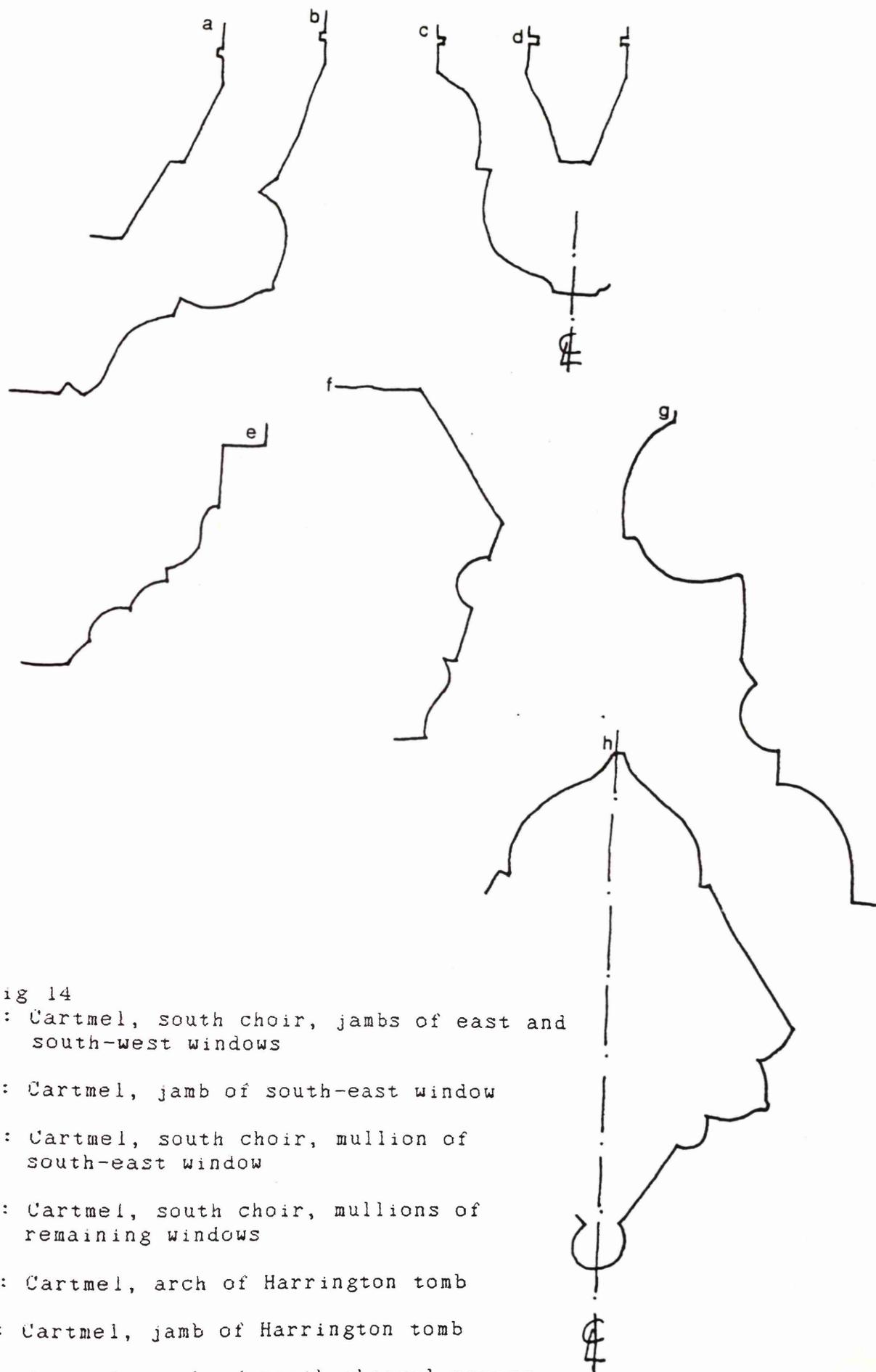


Fig 14

- a: Cartmel, south choir, jambs of east and south-west windows
- b: Cartmel, jamb of south-east window
- c: Cartmel, south choir, mullion of south-east window
- d: Cartmel, south choir, mullions of remaining windows
- e: Cartmel, arch of Harrington tomb
- f: Cartmel, jamb of Harrington tomb
- g: Cartmel, arch of north chancel recess
- h: Cartmel, column of south choir sedilia

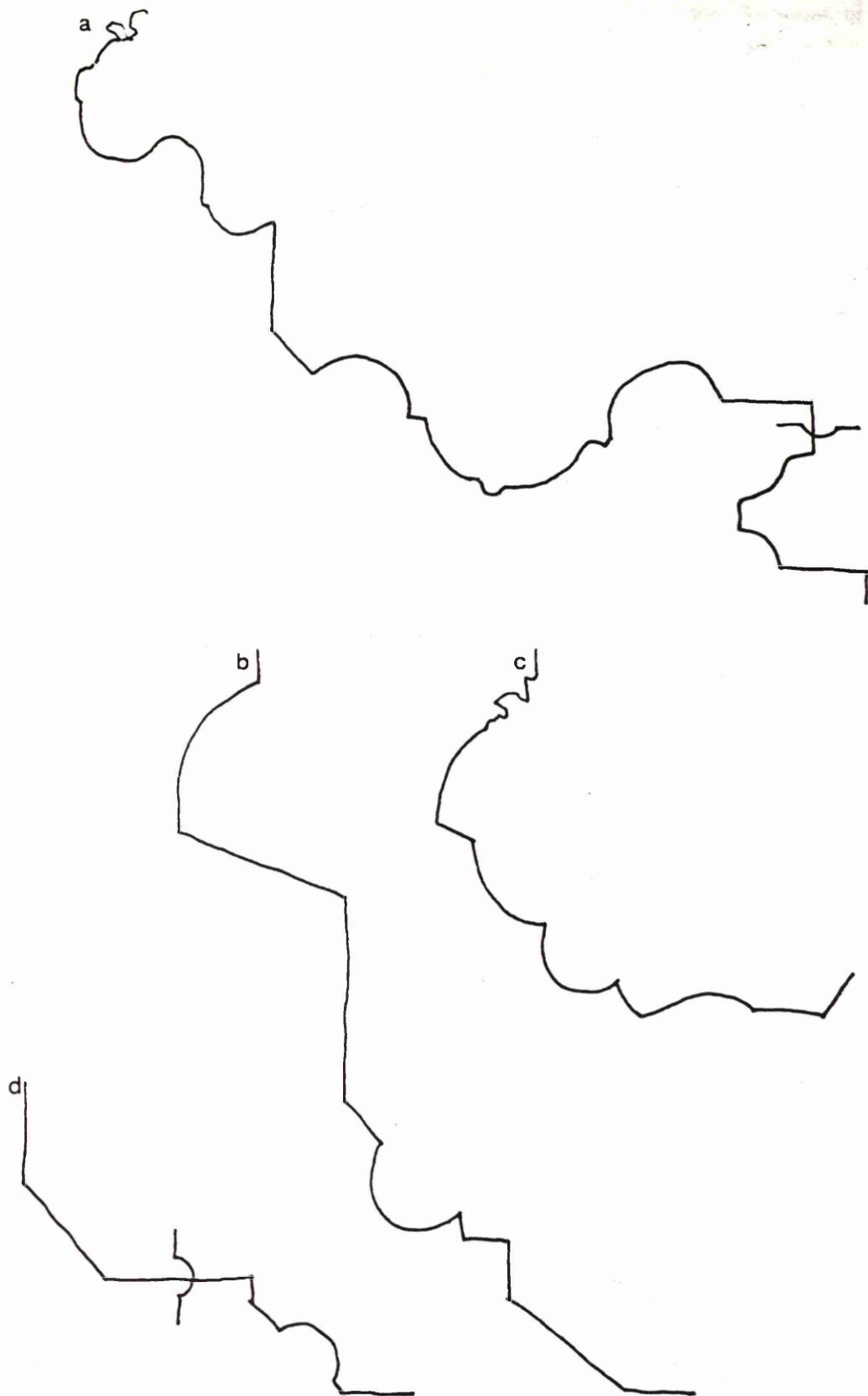


Fig 15

a: Bainton, arch of south nave aisle recess

b: East Gilling, arch of north chancel recess

c: East Gilling, arch of south nave aisle recess

d: East Gilling, jamb of north chancel window

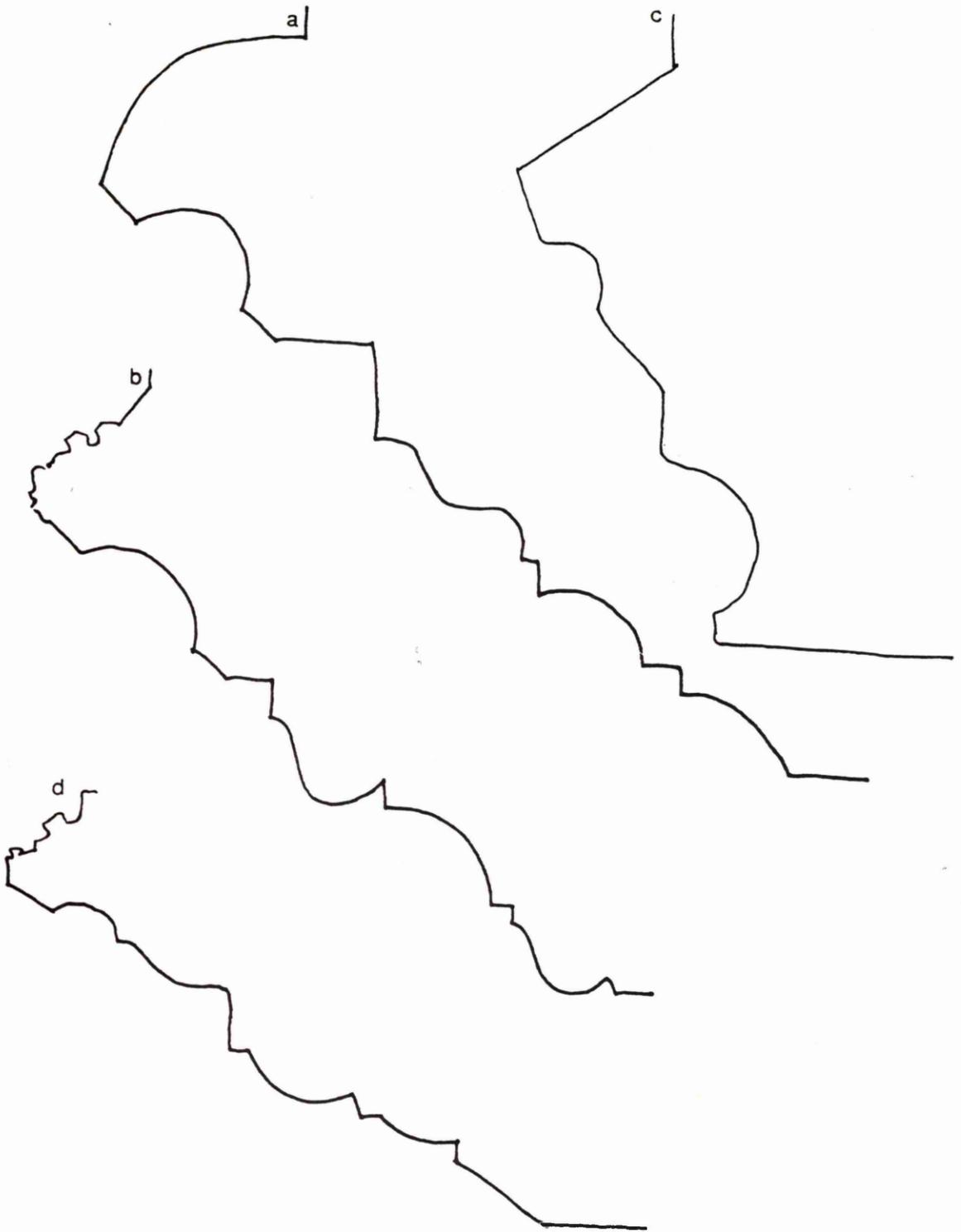


Fig 16

a: Harpham, arch of north chancel recess

b: Hazlewood castle chapel, arch of east recess

c: Hazlewood castle chapel, arch of south doorway

d: Sprotborough, arch of south (and north) recess in south nave aisle

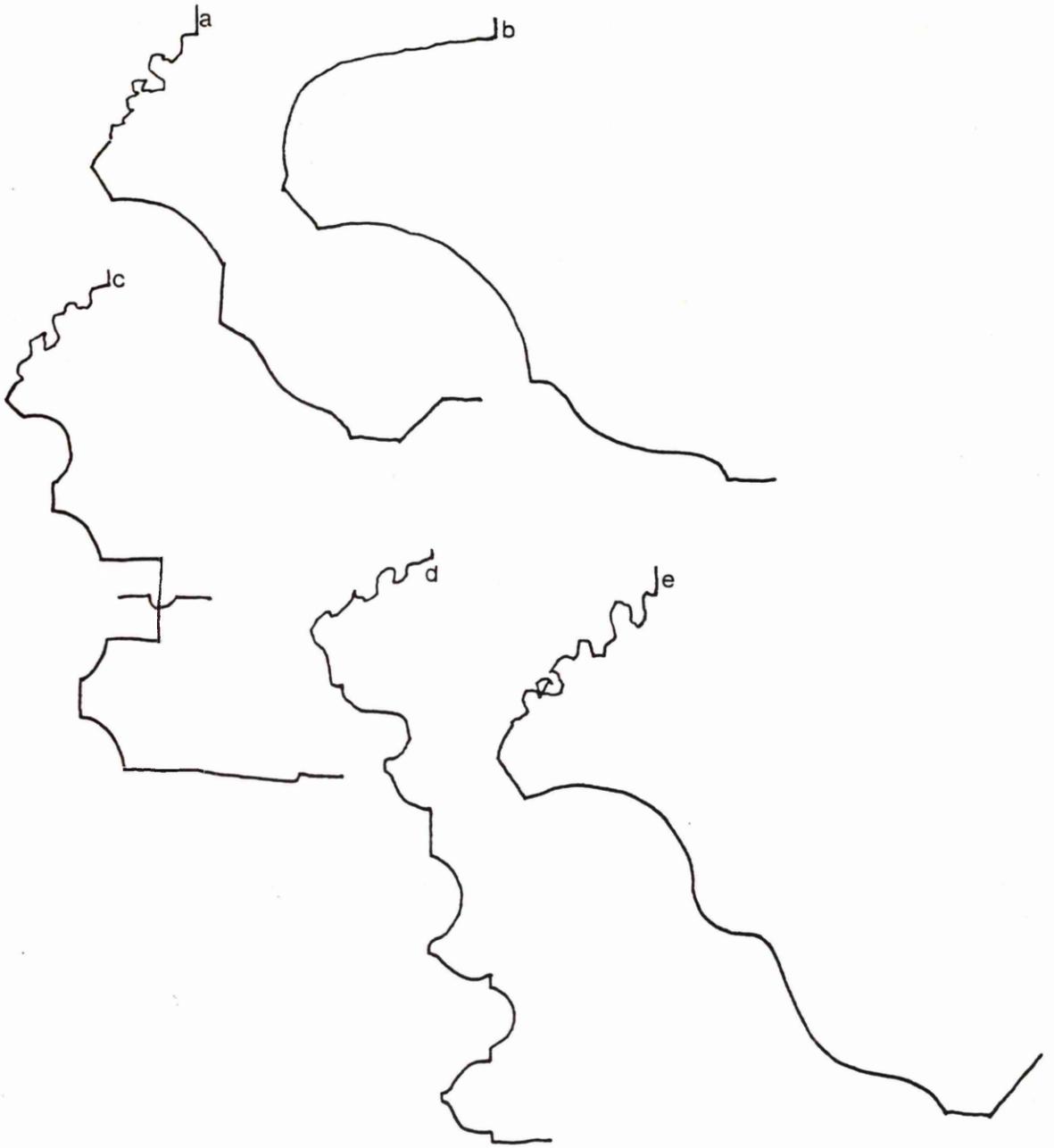


Fig 17

a: Knaresborough, arch of south nave aisle sedilia

b: Bolton in Bowland, fragment of arch of recess

c: Hazlewood castle chapel, arch of west recess

d: Hull, arch of east recess

e: Knaresborough, arch of south nave aisle recess

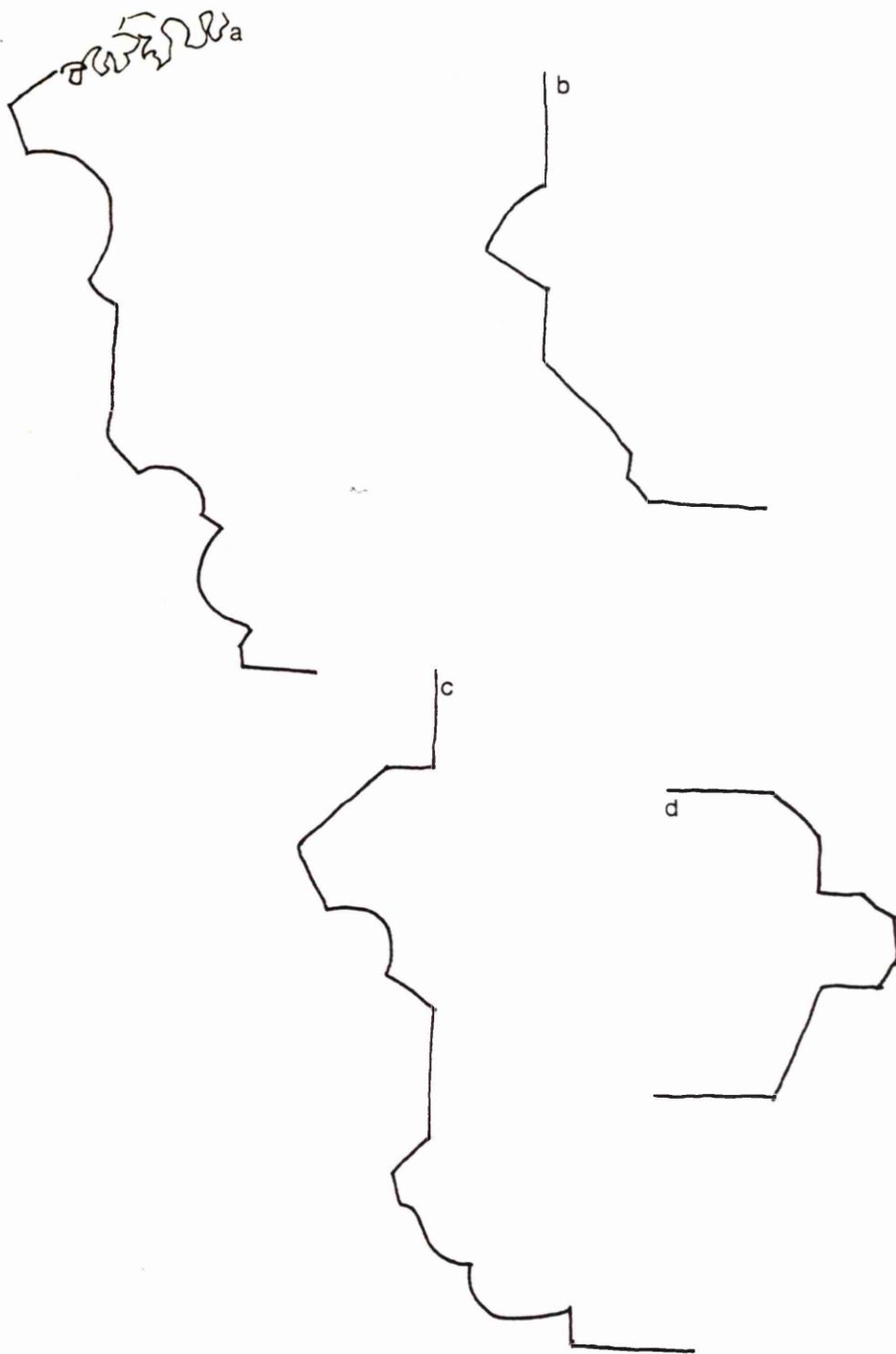


Fig 18

a: Walton, arch of north chancel recess

b: Walton, section through head of south aisle window

c: Walton, arch of south aisle doorway

d: Walton, jamb of south chancel window

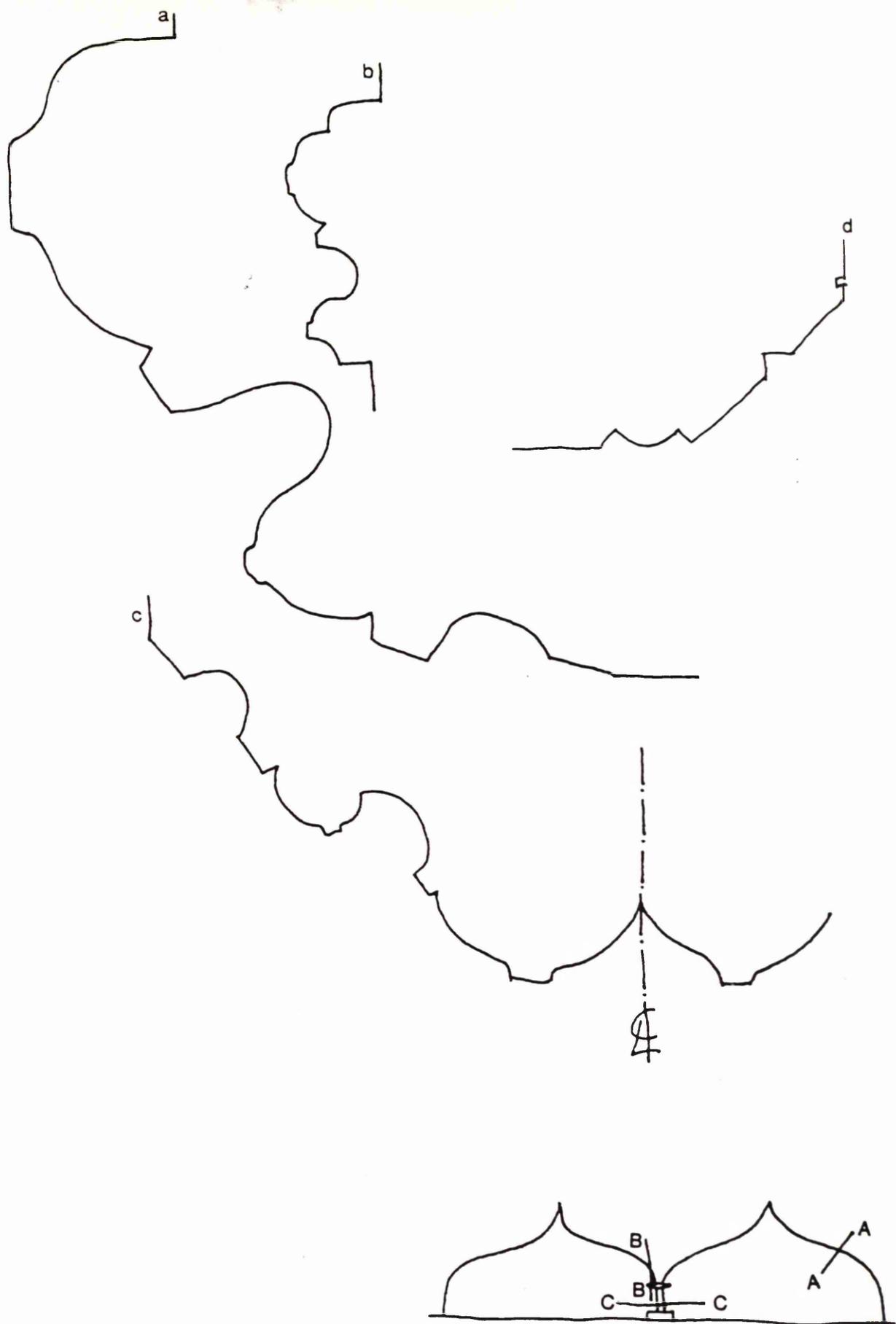


Fig 19

a: Kirklington, arch of south nave aisle recesses (A-A)

b: Kirklington, capital between recesses (B-B)

c: Kirklington, section through central shaft (C-C)

d: Kirklington, jamb of east window, south aisle

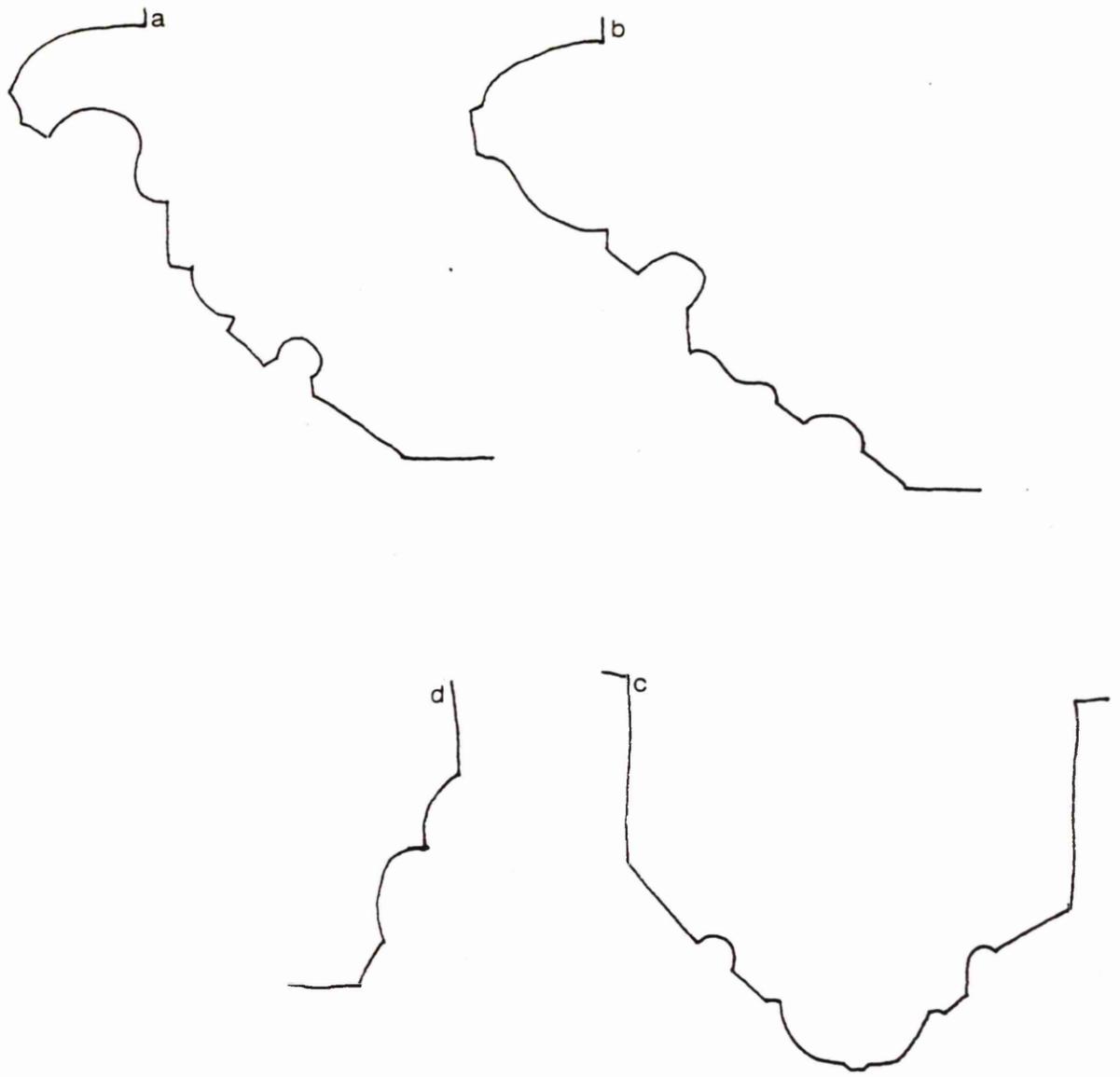


Fig 20

a: Catterick, arch of south nave aisle recess

b: Catterick, arch of north nave aisle recesses

c: Catterick, column between north nave aisle recesses

d: Catterick, jamb of south aisle window

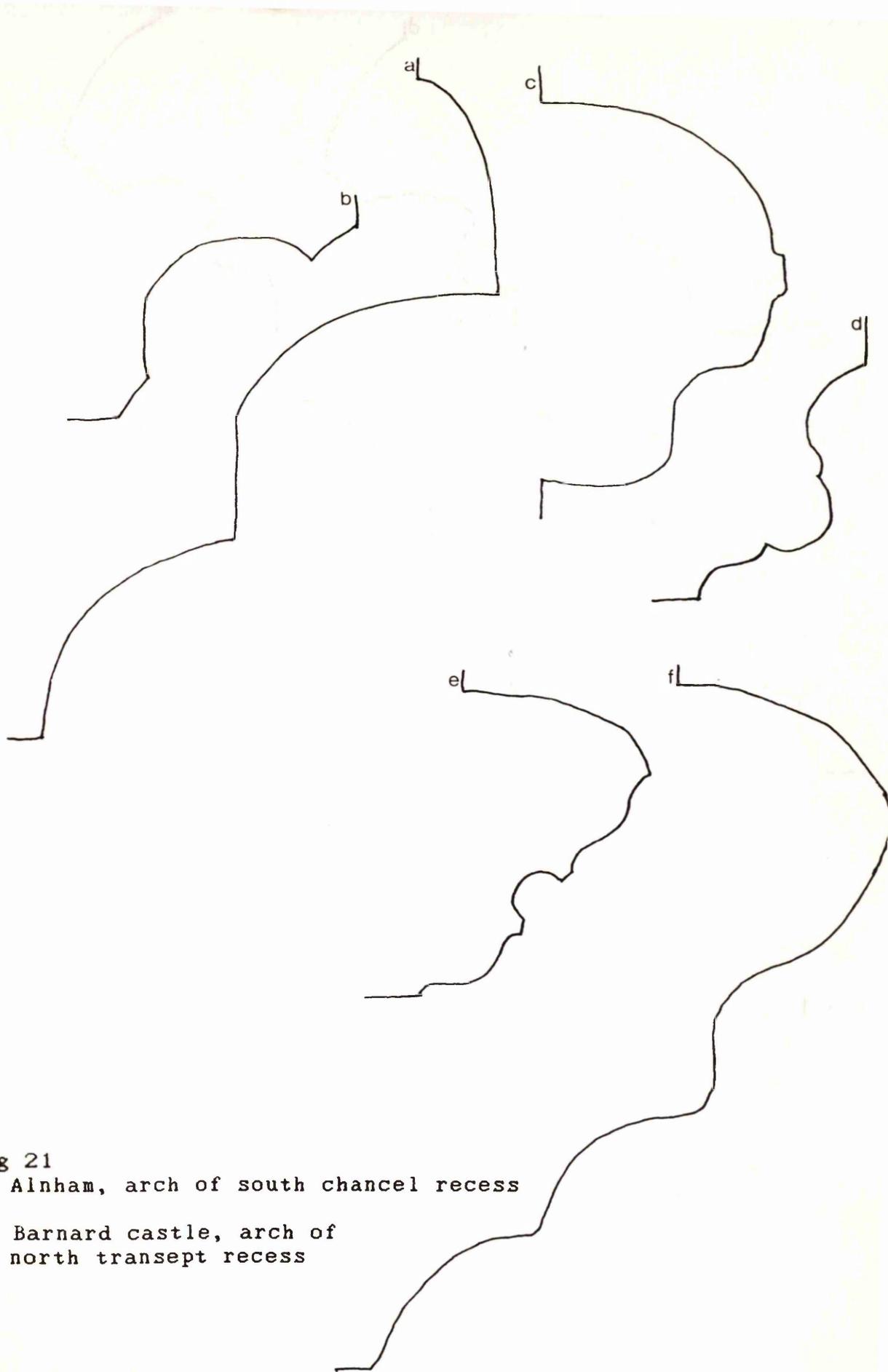


Fig 21

a: Alnham, arch of south chancel recess

b: Barnard castle, arch of
north transept recess

c: Bamburgh, hood mould of
south chancel recess

d: Bamburgh, arch of south chancel recess

e: Bedale, arch of recess in north chancel chapel

f: Birkin, arch of north nave recess

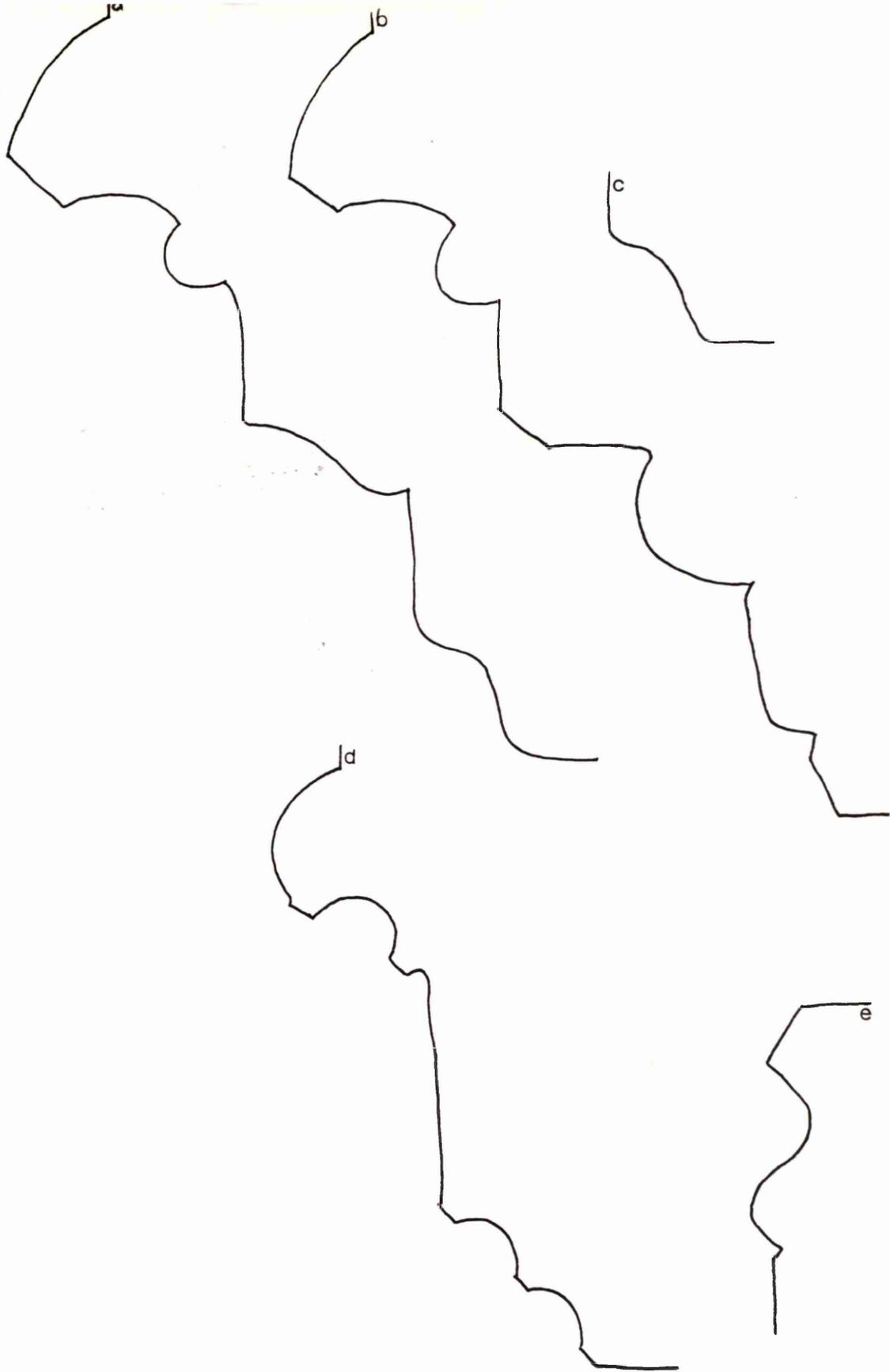


Fig 22

a: West Boldon, arch of east recess in south nave aisle

b: West Boldon, arch of west recess in south nave aisle

c: West Boldon, arch of north chancel recess

d: Bromfield, arch of recess in north nave chapel

e: Bromfield, section through tomb slab in recess

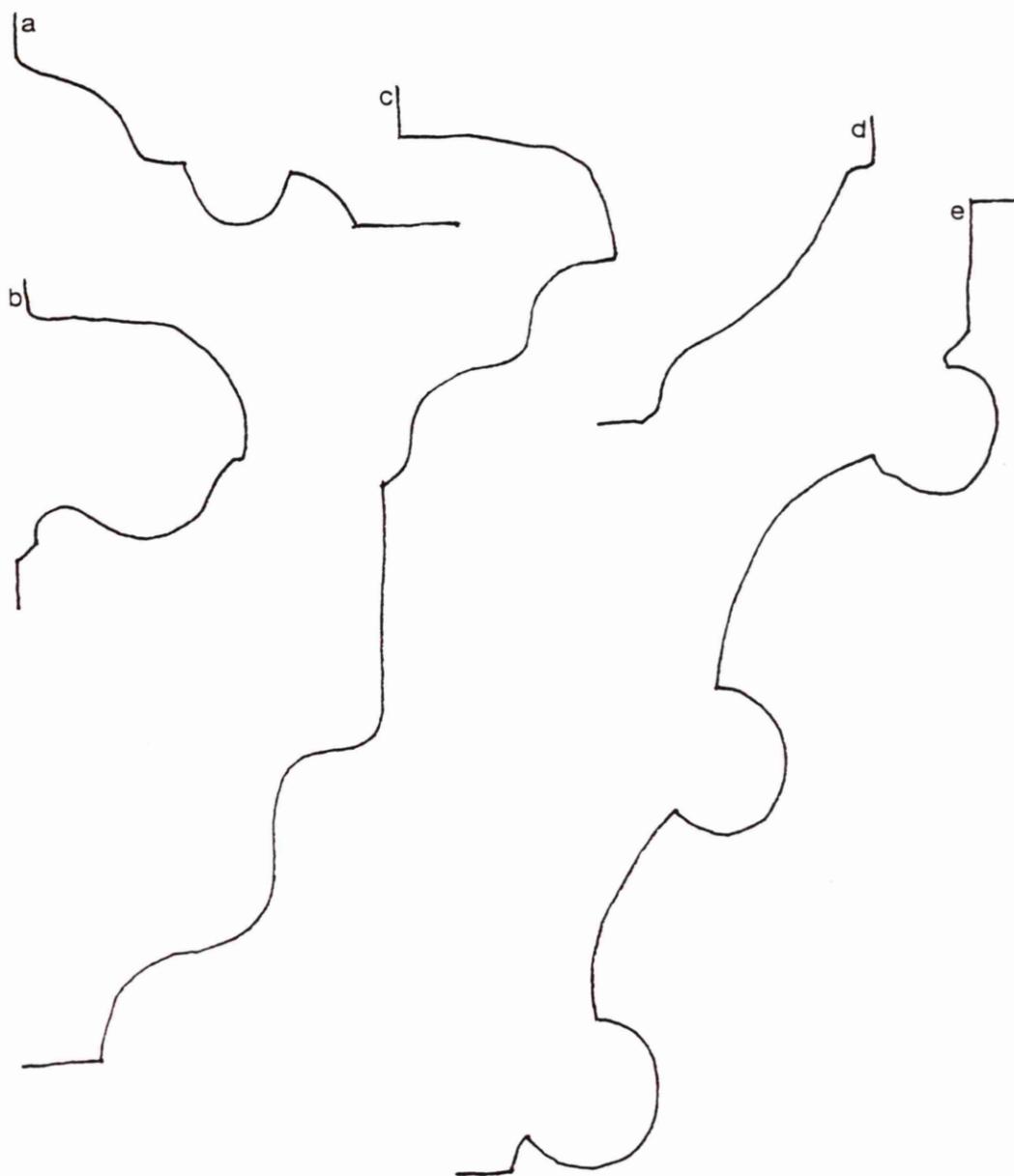


Fig 23

a: Brough, arch of south nave recess

b: Burton Agnes, chancel string course

c: Burton Agnes, arch of north nave aisle recess

d: Campsall, arch of north nave aisle recess

e: Carlisle cathedral, arch of west recess in north choir aisle

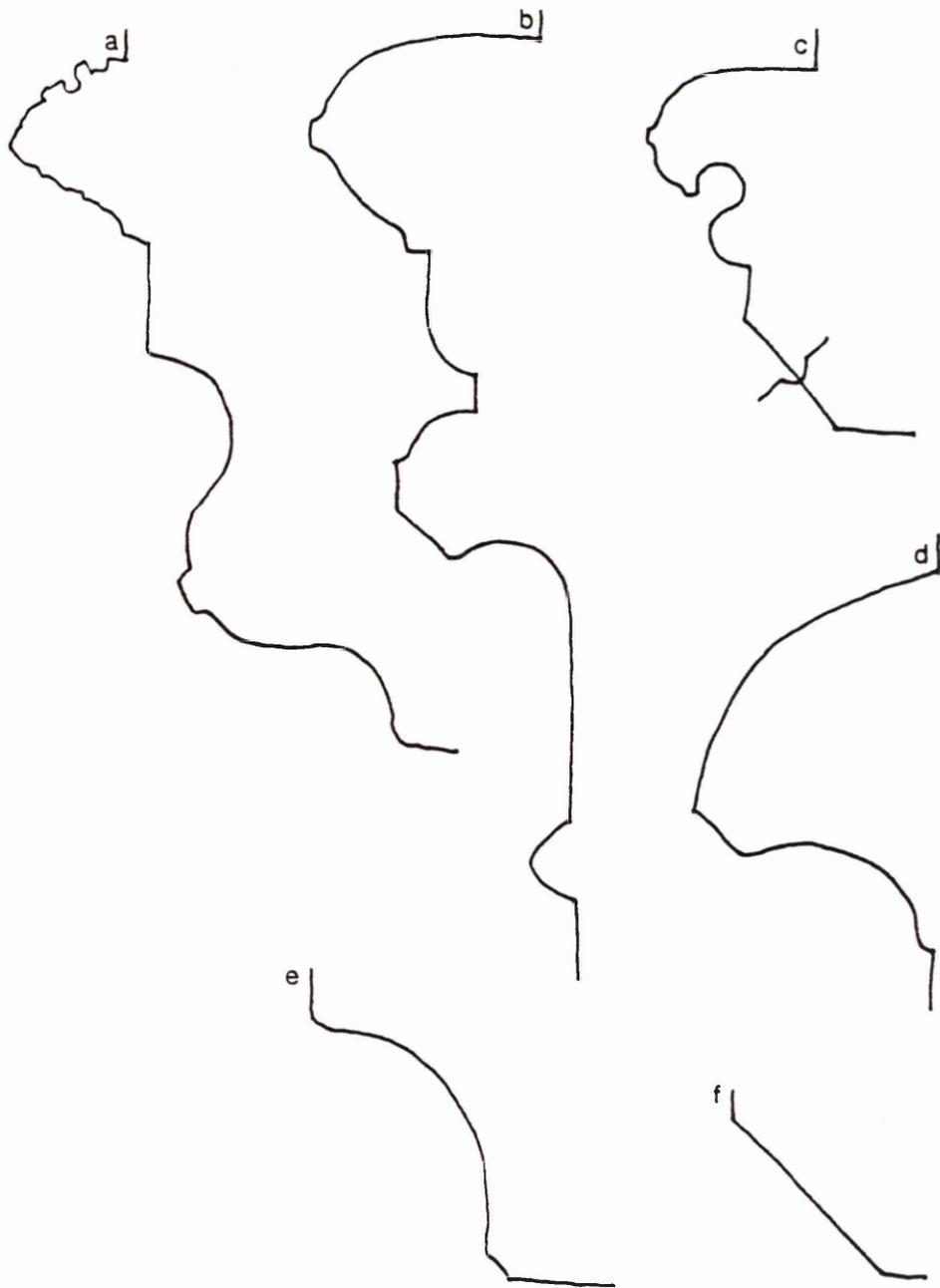


Fig 24

a: Church Fenton, arch of south transept recess

b: Church fenton, capital of south nave arcade

c: Church Fenton, arch of chancel piscina

d: Corbridge, hood mould of north transept recess

e: Dalton-le-Dale, arch of north chancel recess

f: Dalton-le-Dale, arch of north nave recess

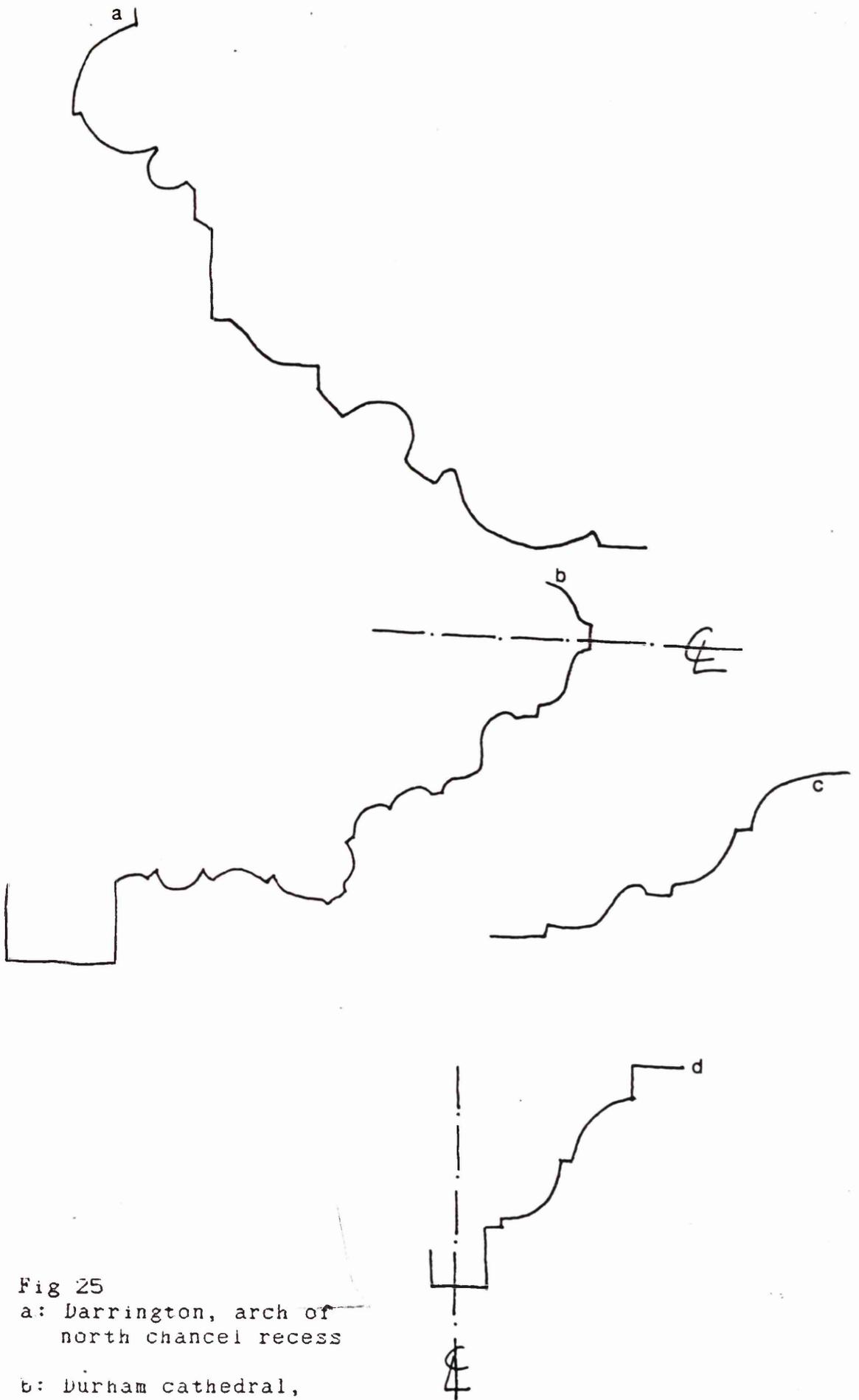


Fig 25

a: Darrington, arch of north chancel recess

b: Durham cathedral, jamb of Hatfield's tomb

c: Durham cathedral, jamb of panelling on Hatfield's tomb

d: Durham cathedral, Hatfield's tomb, jamb of panelled tomb-chest

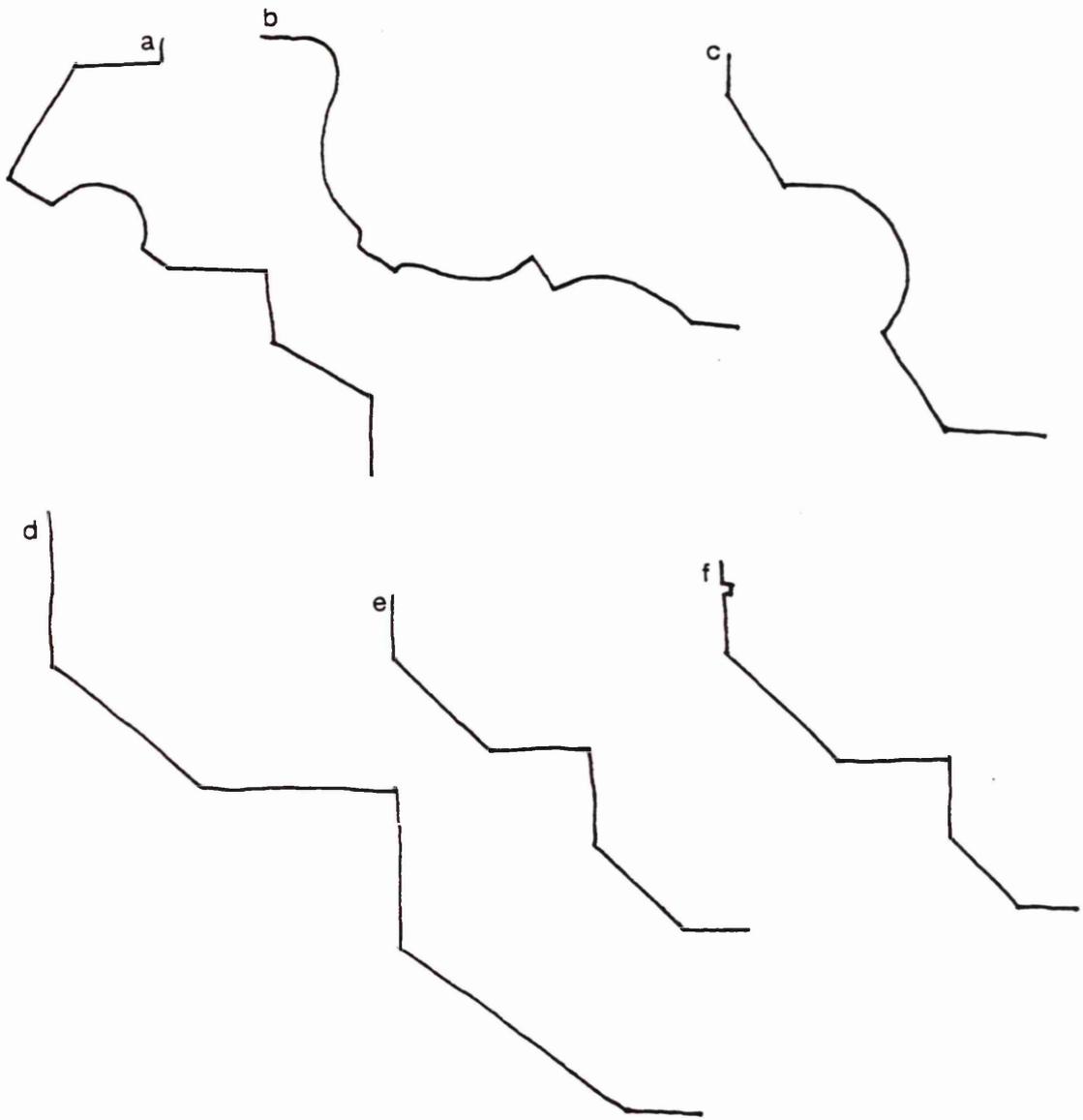


Fig 26

a: West Gilling, gable of south nave aisle recess

b: West Gilling, arch and cusp of south nave aisle recess

c: Fishlake, arch of south chancel recess

d: Hornby, arch of north nave aisle recess

e: Hornby, arch of north nave aisle niche

f: Hornby, jamb of north nave aisle window

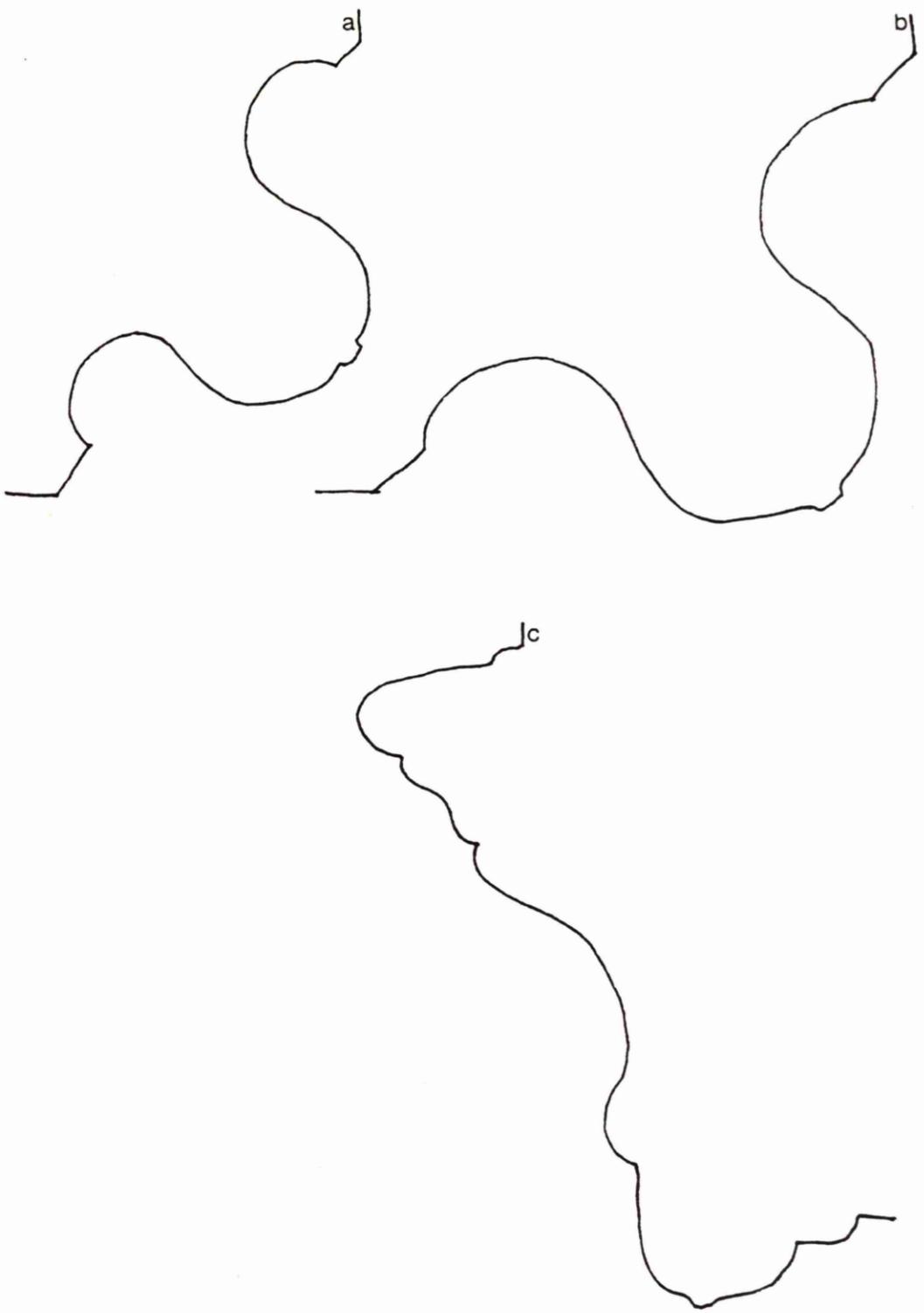
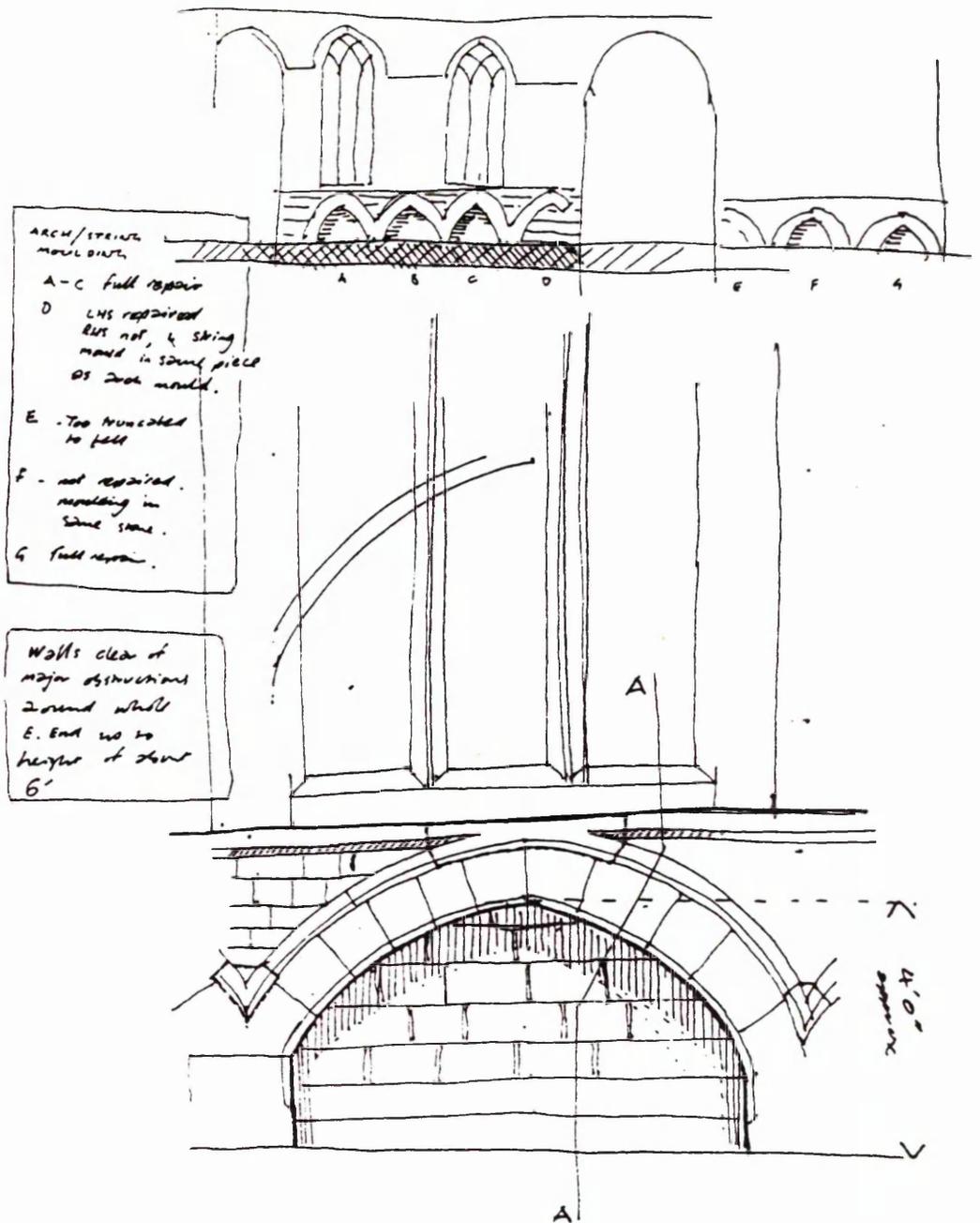


Fig 27

a: Houghton-le-Spring, arch of south transept recess

b: Masham, fragment of south nave aisle recess

c: Monkwearmouth, arch of south chancel screen tomb



St Nicholas
Newcastle.

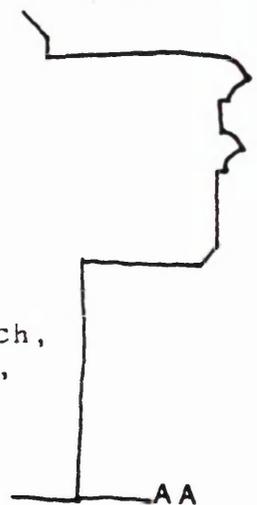


Fig 28
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, St Nicholas' church,
 elevation of south nave aisle recesses,
 and section A-A (drawn and annotated
 by AJ Squire)

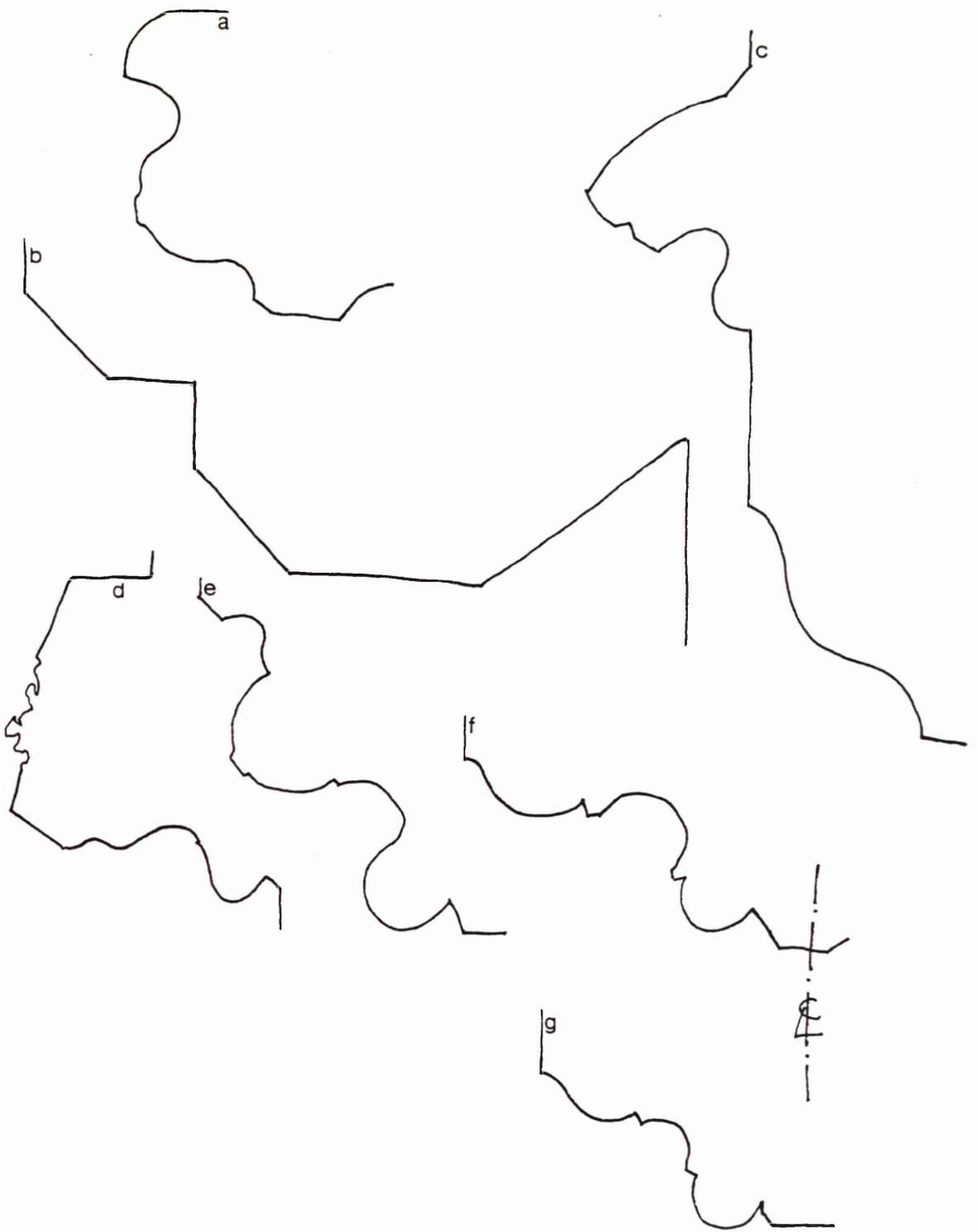


Fig 29

a: Nunnington, arch of south nave aisle recess

b: Oswaldkirk, arch of south nave recess

c: Owston, arch of north chancel door

d: Owston, gable of north chancel recess

e: Owston, arch of north chancel recess

f: Owston, cusp of north chancel recess

g: Owston, chancel piscina

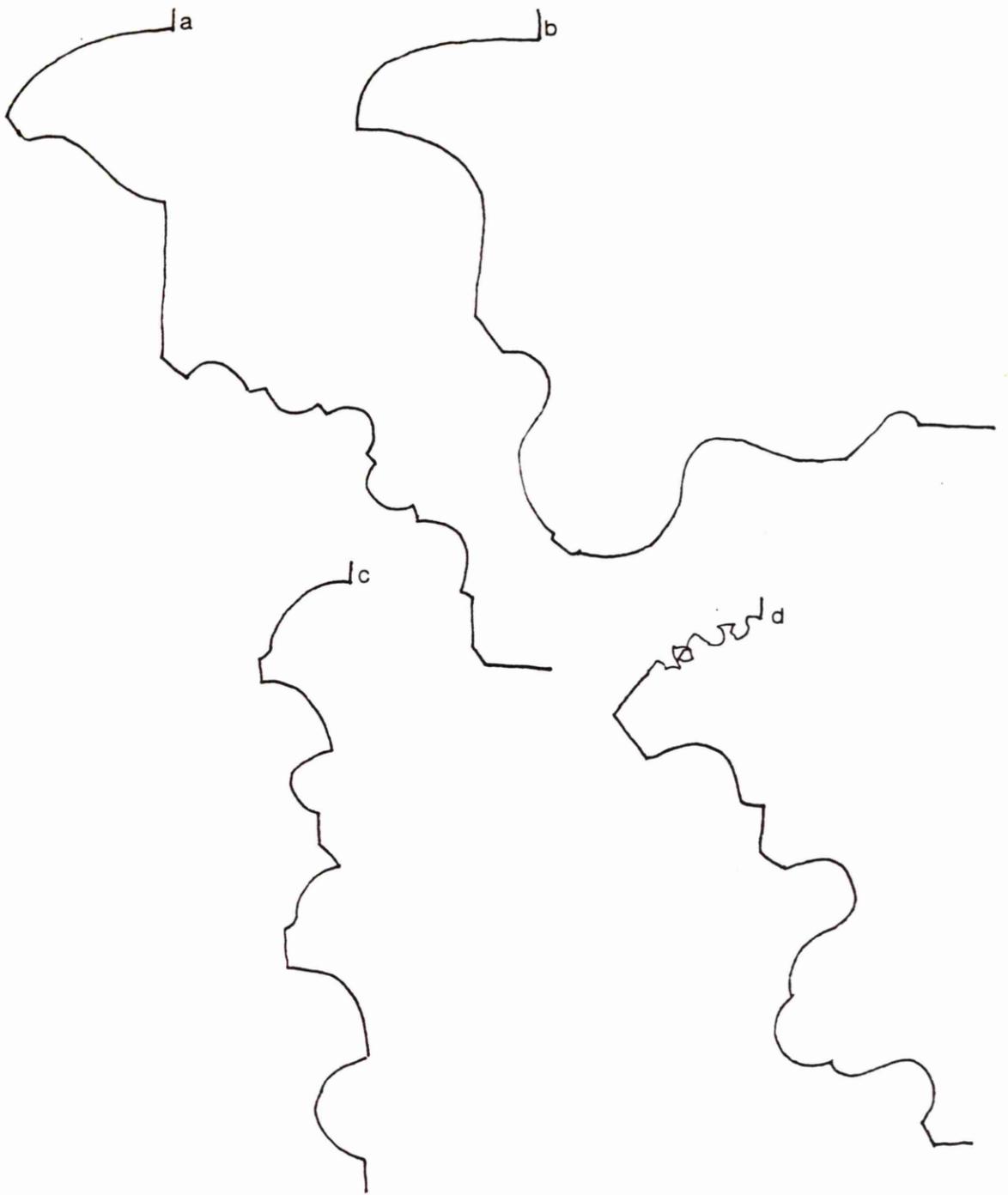


Fig 30

a: Pickering, arch of north chancel recess

b: Redmarshall, arch of north chancel recess

c: Ryther, south nave arcade column capital

d: Ryther, arch of south nave aisle recess

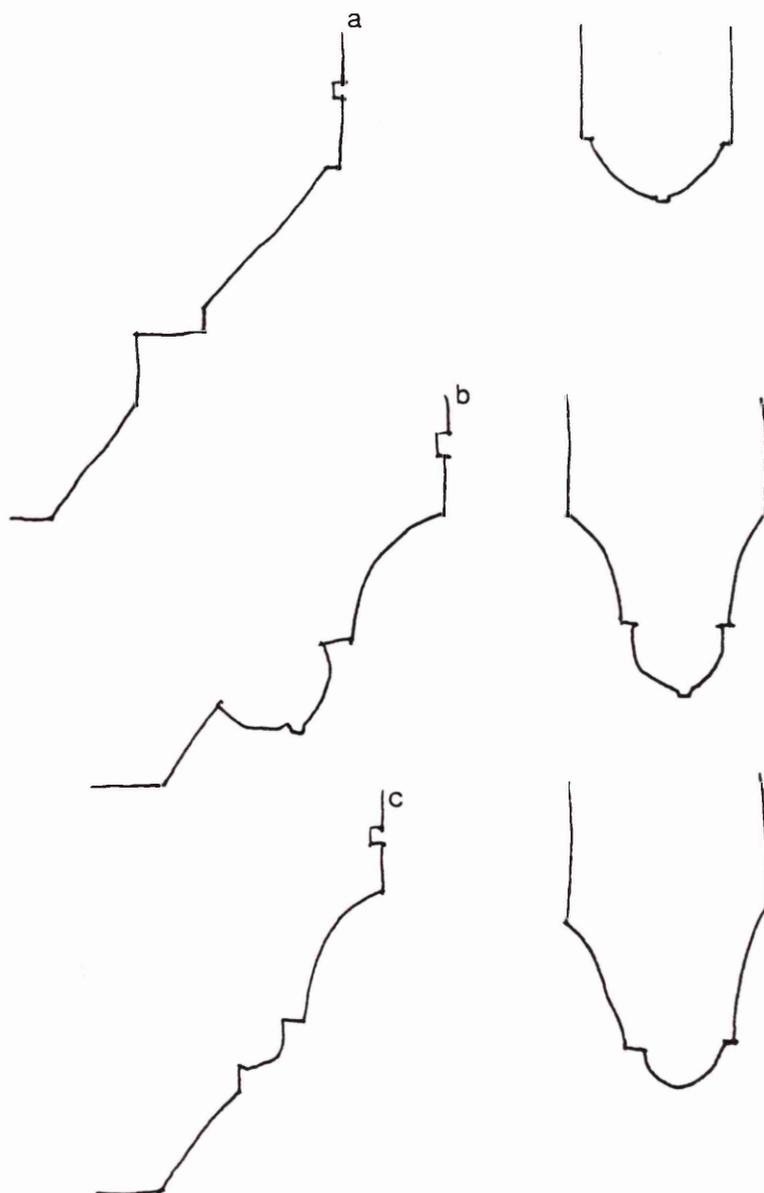


Fig 31

a: Scarborough, south transept window, jamb and mullion

b: Scarborough, south windows of south nave aisle chantry chapels, jamb and mullion (all alike)

c: Scarborough, west chapel in south nave aisle, south window jamb and mullion

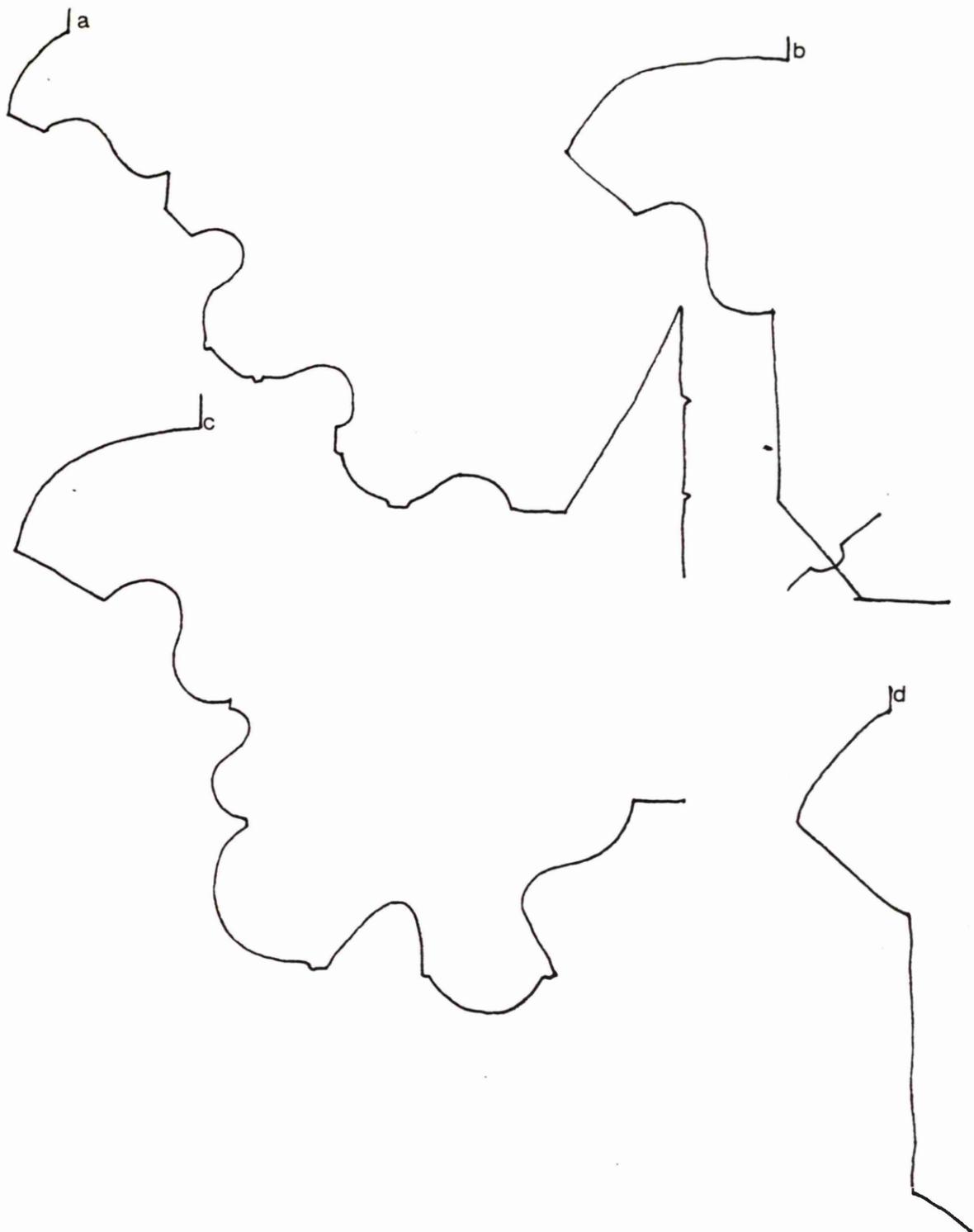


Fig 32

a: Scarborough, arch of south transept recesses

b: Scarborough, arch of recesses in centre and western
chantry chapels, in south nave aisle

c: Scarborough, arch of recess in eastern chantry chapel,
in south nave aisle

d: Sedgfield, arch of south transept tomb recess

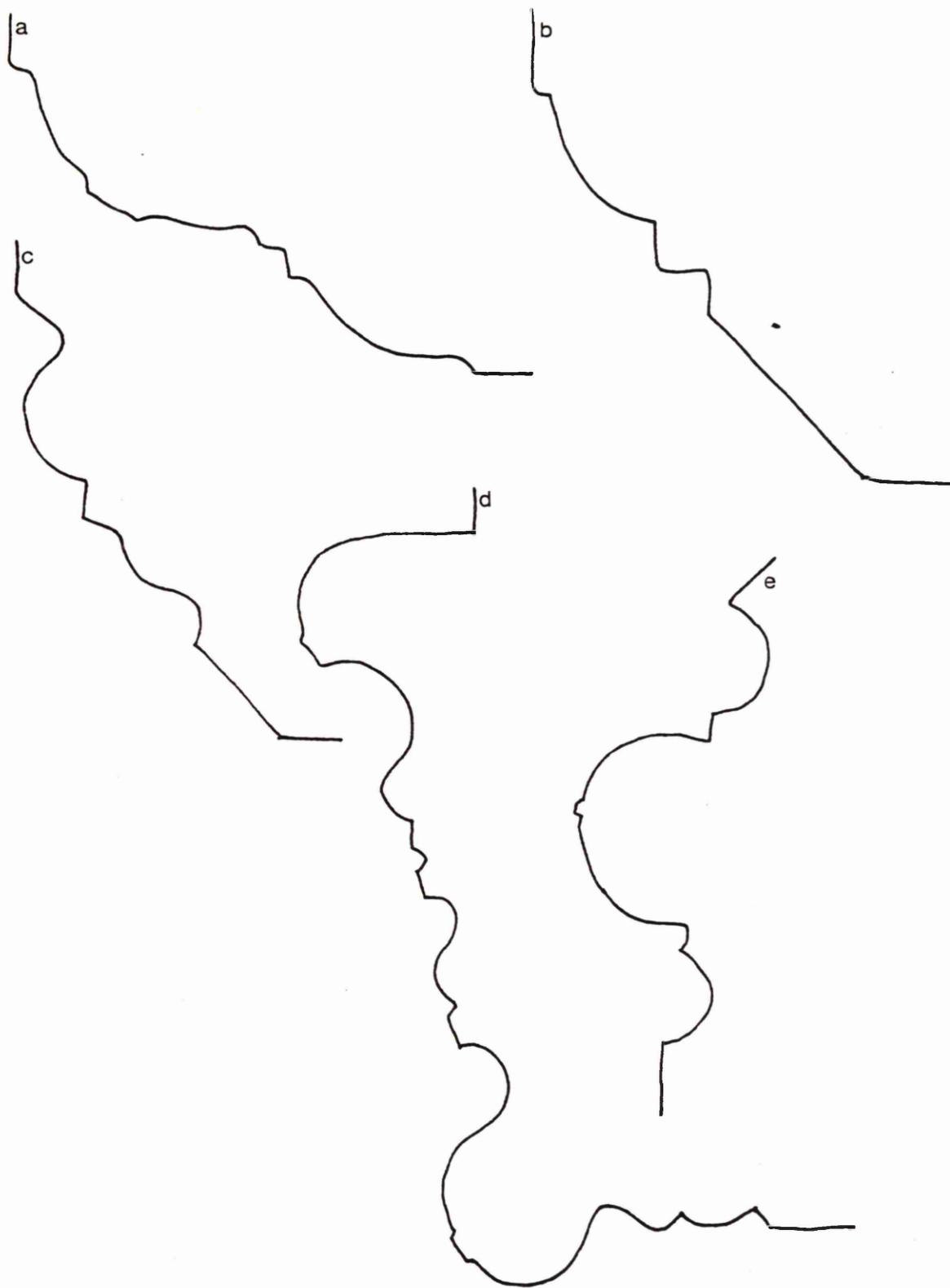


Fig 33

- a: Spofforth, arch of north chancel recess
- b: Stamfordham, arch of south chancel recess
- c: Stamfordham, arch of north chancel recess
- d: Stamfordham, chancel piscina
- e: Stamfordham, chancel window jamb

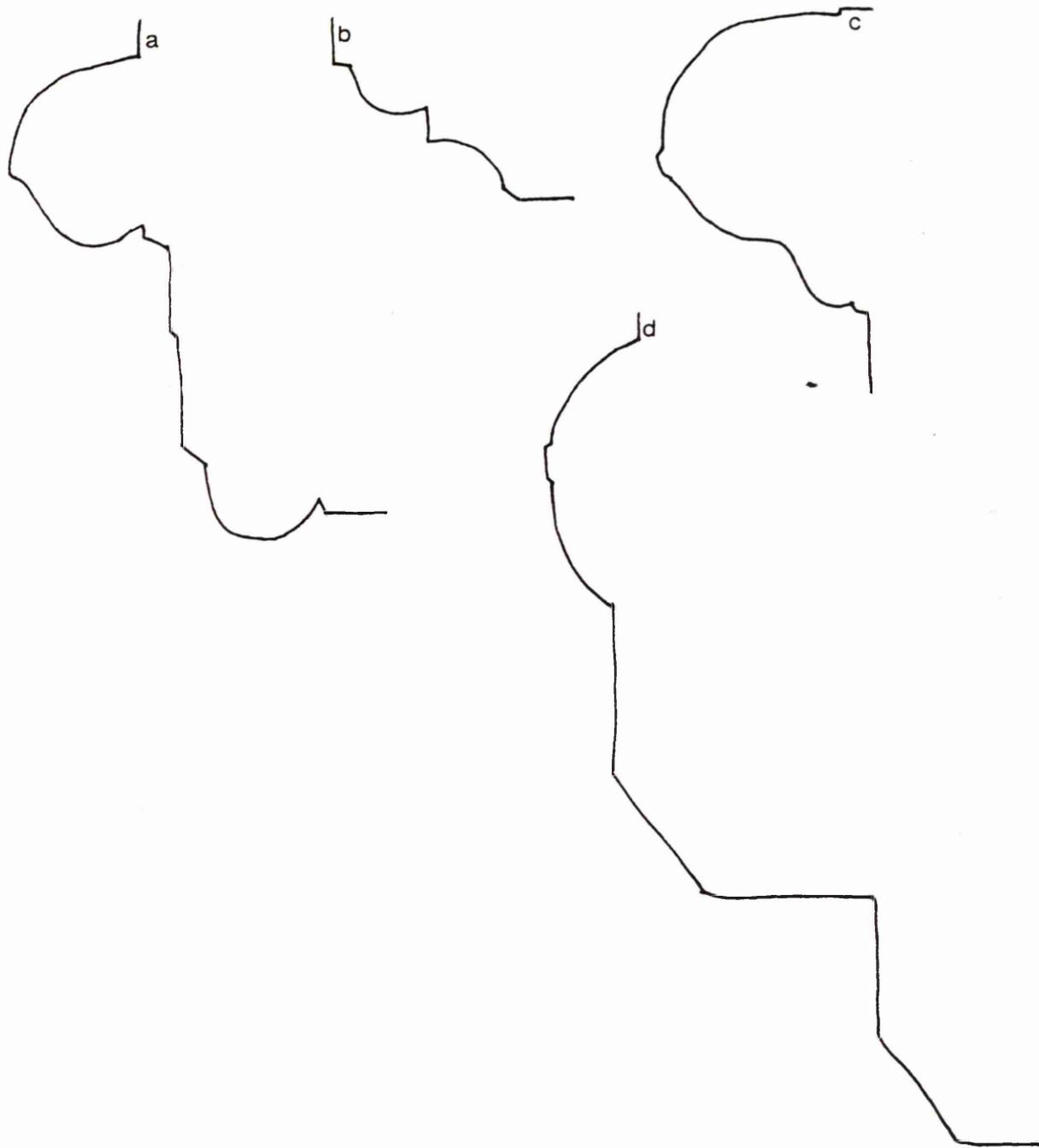


Fig 34

a: Stonegrave, arch of north nave aisle recess

b: Tickhill, arch of recess in north nave aisle chapel

c: Tickhill, section through cills of windows flanking recess

d: Torpenhow, arch of south chancel recess

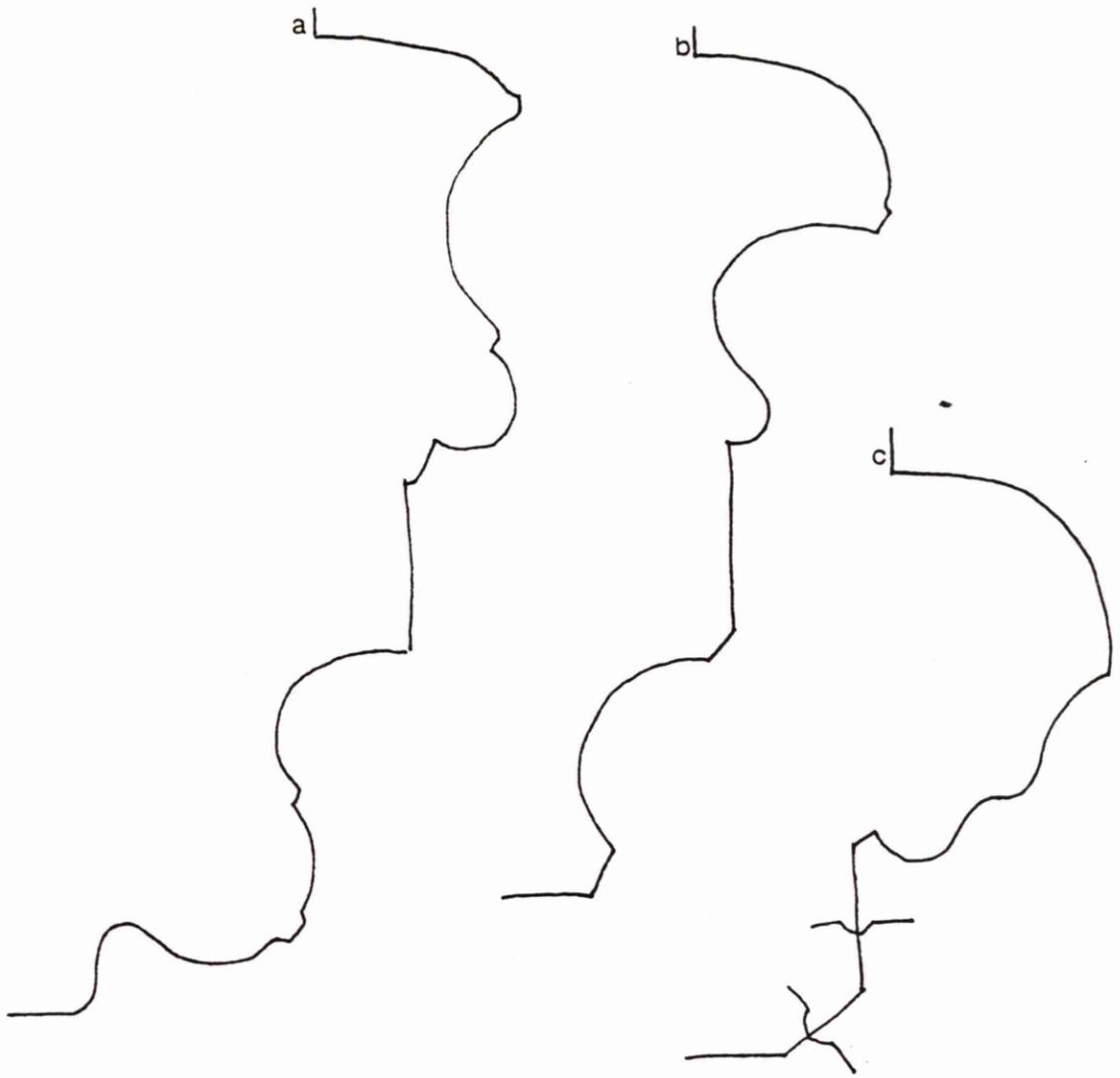


Fig 35

a: Widdrington, arch of eastern recess in north chancel wall

b: Widdrington, arch of western recess in north chancel wall

c: Womersley, arch of south nave aisle recess