

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LXXIII

for 1984

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CONTENTS

Officers and Council of the Society, 1983-84

Obituary: Joan Liversidge, 1914-1984 MARY CRA'STER, TIMOTHY POTTER and others	1
Antler Cheekpieces from Edmundsoles, Haslingfield, Cambs. WILLIAM J. BRITNELL	5
Rescue Excavations at Cow Lane, Godmanchester, Cambs. during 1984 DAVID HAIGH	7
A Roman Stone Coffin from Stuntney and Gazetteer of Similar Coffins in Cambridgeshire ALISON TAYLOR	15
Three Anglo-Saxon Cremations from Girton, Cambridgeshire C. J. ARNOLD and J. L. WILKINSON	23
The Churches of Ashley and Silverley ROBERT HALLIDAY	29
Excavation of the Town Ditch at Swavesey, 1984 DAVID HAIGH and others	45
Excavation of a Medieval Bridge and Twelfth-century Cross Shaft at Kings Ripton, Cambridgeshire, 1983. DAVID HAIGH	55
Excavations at Cromwell House, Huntingdon, 1984 DAVID HAIGH	65
The Tomb of Bishop William de Luda: an Architectural Model at Ely Cathedral P. G. LINDLEY	75
<i>Index</i>	88

THE TOMB OF BISHOP WILLIAM DE LUDA: AN ARCHITECTURAL MODEL AT ELY CATHEDRAL

P. G. LINDLEY

The tomb of Bishop William de Luda (d. 1298) stands on the south side of the Presbytery at Ely Cathedral, between the two westernmost piers of Bishop Northwold's mid-thirteenth-century work (Plate 1*a*). It is a highly elaborate free-standing monument, consisting of a wide central gable over a cinquefoiled arch, flanked by two smaller lateral ones. Four tall pinnacles punctuate the main divisions.

The de Luda tomb is the earliest and closest derivative of the monument to Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (d. 1296), in Westminster Abbey, a tomb whose architectural refinement and polychromatic splendour were to make it an influential model for half a century (Plate 1*b*).¹ Perhaps the most obvious feature which the two monuments have in common is their tripartite format; such an arrangement was anticipated in Bishop Aquablanca's (d. 1268) tomb at Hereford Cathedral² and, more closely, in the central compartment of the Westminster Retable, where the middle bay is larger than those flanking it (Plate 1*c*). This produces an effect reminiscent of the portals of French cathedrals, such as the West façade of Amiens.³ The Crouchback and de Luda tombs share the Retable's stress on the central bay, although here the architectural models, such as the transept façades of Notre-Dame de Paris, are a generation later.⁴

The Crouchback tomb has been assigned on the basis of convincing stylistic analyses to Michael of Canterbury,⁵ and one of his earlier works, namely the tomb for Archbishop Pecham (d. 1292) at Canterbury, provided a model for a number of features of the Westminster and Ely tombs (Plate 2*b*).⁶ The arch cusping with foliate tips, the restrained use of ogee arches and the design of the architectural mouldings all reappear in the later works. However, the heaviness of the Pecham design was radically modified in the following tombs, perhaps reflecting the influence of the tomb of Aveline (d. 1273), Edmund Crouchback's first wife (Plate 2*a*). This tomb, also at Westminster, probably dates from c. 1292–3 and appears to have been designed by Richard Crundale.⁷ In a number of respects it anticipates the Crouchback tomb design, with its effigy lying under a vaulted canopy, a trefoil-filled central gable, narrow pinnacled buttresses and elaborate polychromy.⁸ The sculpted and polychromed shields of the Crouchback and de Luda tomb-chests replace the painted shields above the Aveline weepers;⁹ such painted shields may, perhaps, have been espoused by Michael of Canterbury on the Pecham tomb-chest, where the empty spandrels seem to demand this treatment, although no trace now remains.

Many of the architectural features of the Crouchback and de Luda tombs are also to be found on the Eleanor crosses.¹⁰ The surviving fragments of Michael of Canterbury's Cheapside Cross show that it had a marble plinth, with two-light tracery framing shields;¹¹ it may well have also featured the rich diaper carving which appears at Geddington and Waltham, and the narrow, pinnacled buttresses which appear on all three extant crosses, and which are also a feature of the Crouchback and de Luda tombs.

Details of the Crouchback monument's decorative vocabulary could be paralleled in much of the earlier work at Westminster Abbey: a single example must suffice to demonstrate this. The buttresses of both the Crouchback and de Luda tombs have inlays of fictive enamels which play an important part in the overall decorative effect; they are anticipated in the Retable and in the Aveline tomb. Moreover, the Limoges enamelled monument of William de Valence (d. 1296) must have provided a strong stimulus to this type of decoration.¹²

So far, the stylistic antecedents of the Crouchback and de Luda tombs have been examined as if the Westminster and Ely works were identical. In fact, although the de Luda tomb is so similar to the Crouchback monument that it too can confidently be attributed to Master Michael of Canterbury, there are a number of important differences between them.

The de Luda tomb, fitted in between two piers of the Ely presbytery, is smaller and narrower than Crouchback's monument. There are also a number of changes in the architectural repertoire's detailing. Some modifications, such as the manner in which the blind tracery of the lateral gables is simplified at Ely, may be due to the restricted nature of the de Luda tomb's site, and others, like the substitution of a monumental brass for a freestone effigy, may be the result of personal taste or motives of economy.¹³ However, there are other signs that the Ely tomb represents a later design than Crouchback's. This point is of interest because although Crouchback died at Bayonne in June 1296, his burial at Westminster did not take place until March 1300.¹⁴ Features such as the sinuous, double-centred curves of the trefoil in the apex of the de Luda canopy revise the simpler geometrical forms of the Crouchback gable; the ultimate source for the Ely design is perhaps to be found in the designs in the lateral gables of the St Stephen portal of Notre-Dame de Paris. The manner in which the foliate patera, so prominent a feature of the Crouchback and Pecham tombs, has here been incorporated into the glass inlays, also appears to demonstrate that the Crouchback design does indeed predate de Luda's.

The most important difference between the de Luda and Crouchback monuments arises from the fact that the central bay of the former is open, without a tomb-chest, and with the brass indent serving as a step. It has recently been suggested that the de Luda tomb was actually constructed in this form and that its unique arrangement is, therefore, intentional.¹⁵ However, an examination of the indent (Plate 4)¹⁶ shows quite clearly that it has been maltreated. The most obvious indications are the manner in which the upper section of the crocketed canopy-work over the figure of the bishop (who held a crozier in his left hand and held his right in a gesture of benediction) has been severely cut down. Moreover, part of the indent's base is also missing, and the north side has been unevenly pared away, so that little trace now remains of the inscription, in separately inlaid 'Main Group' Lombardic letters, which is visible on the south side (where it has not been worn away).¹⁷ There can be little doubt that the indent was cut back in this manner so that it would fit between the side bays at ground level. The implication, therefore, is that it has been removed from its original location, above a tomb-chest. Before its removal and drastic treatment, the indent would appear to have filled almost the whole length of the tomb's three bays, and in this respect would be unlike the Crouchback tomb, where the effigy only fills the central bay of the very wide monument. Positive proof that the de Luda brass did, indeed, stand above a tomb-chest is provided by the fact that part of the missing structure still survives.

In 1909 Count Paul Biver claimed that he had discovered part of the de Luda tomb-chest,¹⁸ incongruously housed in the Chantry Chapel of Bishop West, where it had been placed by James Essex and James Bentham. The circumstances attendant on their action can, I believe, illuminate eighteenth-century attitudes to medieval art and architecture.

Bishop Gunning (d. 1684) was apparently the first to suggest the removal of the fourteenth-century choir-stalls from underneath the Octagon and their relocation at the East end of the cathedral, in order to open up the church's interior space.¹⁹ During the next century the idea received increasing support, notably from Browne Willis in 1730.²⁰ However, principally owing to a lack of funds, the proposed removal, for which both Bentham and Essex were enthusiastic advocates, did not start until 1768. The move, which also entailed the destruction of the Anglo-Norman pulpitum and of the fourteenth-century wall in which the remains of seven Anglo-Saxon benefactors were placed, was completed in 1771, the year of publication of Bentham's *History*.²¹

Whilst Essex and Bentham are certainly responsible for the destruction of the pulpitum, they can be exonerated from blame for the removal of part of the de Luda tomb-chest: Thomas Gray, who visited Ely before the Choir was moved, indicates in a passage in his *Common-place Book*, now in Pembroke College, that the tomb was then in its present position. In the earliest known comparison of the de Luda and Crouchback tombs, he describes the former as 'a flat grave-stone rob'd of its brasses: over it a Canopy of three frontons with scallop'd arches, foliage, and culs-de-lampe in stone, painted, gilt, and inlaid with glass, much like that of Edmond Crouchback in Westminster Abbey'.²² Charles Parkin, in his manuscript *Prominent Prelates*, also in Pembroke, describes the de Luda tomb in similar terms. 'It is to this day', he states, 'a very large and stately (tomb) of stone having a Canopy of carved stone form'd Archways and reaching from each pillar, under which there is space left to walk between ye Mont. On ye Floor underneath this Arch lys a Grey Marble stone, whereon has been ye Effigies of a Bishop in Pontificalibus, as also an Inscription in Brass in ye Rim of ye Marble stone, but all ye brass is tore away.'²³

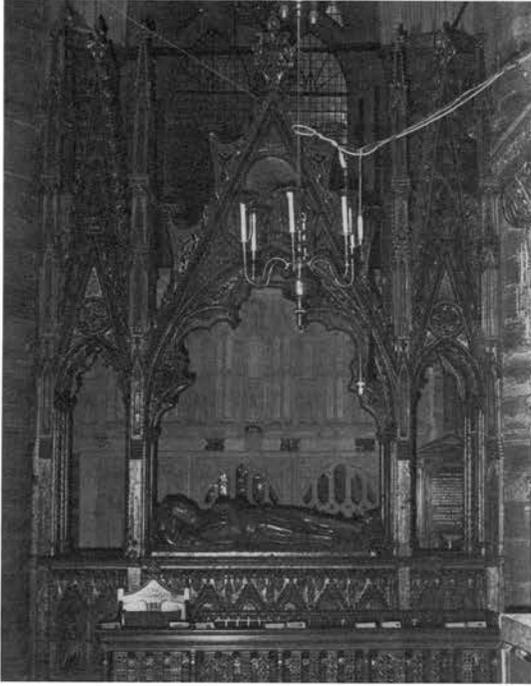
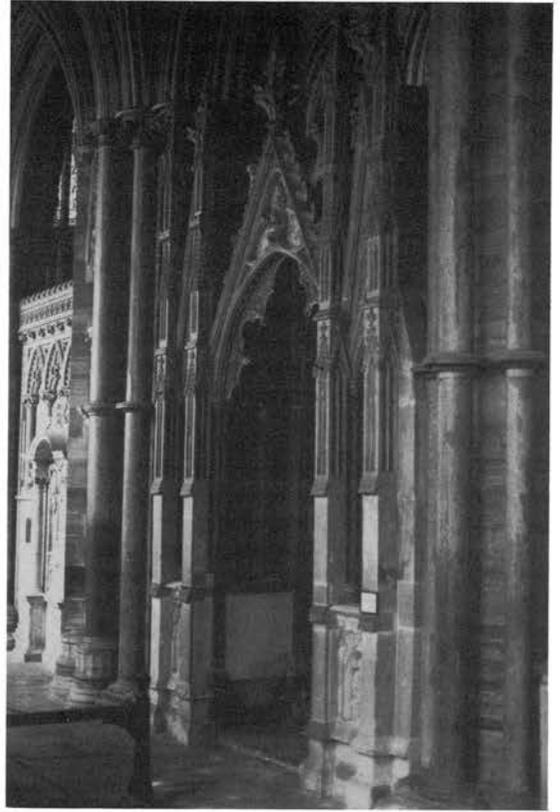
Bishop Redman's (d. 1505) monument was very probably damaged at the same time that the central portion of the de Luda tomb-chest was removed and the indent laid on the floor. Bentham's (undated) plate of Redman's tomb shows the effigy with its feet cut off, although the tomb-chest itself appears to be undamaged (Plate 2c).²⁴ Since Redman's monument stands opposite de Luda's, on the north side of the Presbytery, it seems likely that they were both cut back at the same date to provide access from the aisles. Although this mutilation could, theoretically, have taken place at any date after the Dissolution, it is almost certain that it occurred in the eighteenth century, since it is difficult to see why such access should have been desired before it had been decided to move the liturgical choir to the East.²⁵ Moreover, it is unlikely that the central section of the de Luda tomb-chest could have been long discarded if it was still available for Essex's use of it to re-house the remains of the Anglo-Saxon benefactors.

William Cole tells us that on 31 July 1771 the bones were deposited in West's chapel: 'In the Front Mr Essex had contrived to put seven old gothic Arches of clunch being part, I think, of Bishop Hotham's Tomb, and above them a Place for an Inscription.'²⁶ Although Cole's guess that Essex had re-used part of Hotham's (d. 1337) tomb is incorrect, the tradition that a tomb had been requisitioned for this purpose is valuable. For it is immediately apparent that the seven panels now in West's chapel come not from Hotham's, but from de Luda's monument. A comparison between these panels and the four niches of the de Luda tomb-chest which still survive *in situ* under the lateral canopies will clarify this (Plates 4 and 5).

Although the northern two of the four panels, which contain figures of the Evangelists, were restored in the nineteenth century by Sir George Gilbert Scott (Plate 5a),²⁷ those on the south side were left untouched (Plate 5b). They are wider than the niches in West's chapel, but of exactly the same height.²⁸ Moreover, the architectural format, consisting of a trefoiled arch and crocketed gable, flanked by buttresses and pinnacles, and with shields suspended from foliage in the spandrels, is identical. Nevertheless, the panels in West's chapel do not, as Biver thought, comprise the whole missing section of the de Luda tomb-chest, nor did they all come from the same side of the monument. The total length of the seven niches, 217.5 cm (Plate 4a) is greater than the available 193 cm space occupied by the indent, and there is a clear break between the two easternmost niches in West's chapel and the five to the west. The two eastern ones are differentiated from the other five by minute differences of architectural detail: the foliage from which the shields hang is differently handled, the shields are slightly smaller,²⁹ and the sets-offs of the pinnacles are taller than the other five. The five-bay section is identical in handling to the Evangelist panels of the south face, whilst the other two niches match those on the north side. It might be objected that comparison with the niches on the north side has been rendered problematic by the Victorian restoration, but the latter appears to have been extremely accurate archaeologically. Testimony to the care taken by the restorers is provided by the scrupulous fidelity with which the fragments of the medieval fictive enamels still visible on the south side are reproduced by the restorers on the north face. An examination of the medieval polychromy shows that it is very closely based on that of the Crouchback tomb and, indeed, that the same men may have been employed.³⁰

This suggestion may be reinforced by a consideration of the de Luda tomb's sculpture. Although it has all been severely defaced, its original high quality is still visible in the unrestored figures of St Mark and St Luke in the south side niches and in the figure of Christ showing his wounds in the central gable. Detailed stylistic analysis is somewhat hazardous in view of the sculpture's present state and in the absence of exactly comparable work at Westminster, but the folds of the loose and elegant draperies, the figures' long necks and gently swaying poses and, above all, the general proportions of each figure to its niche, are very like the Crouchback weepers (Plates 5b and 6a).³¹ In view of the architecture's dependence on Westminster work and the fact that the brass almost certainly came from London, it is not unreasonable to suggest that London sculptors and painters were also employed at Ely.³²

Any original sculpture in the seven panels now in West's chapel was destroyed by the carving of inscriptions relating to the Anglo-Saxon benefactors (Plate 4a). It is, therefore, difficult to conjecture as to their original iconography. The extremely unusual winged figures of the Evangelists, with their symbols and Gospels placed on a lectern, were supplemented by the figures of Christ in the sides of the central gable and by angels which stood on brackets above the gable, like those still visible on the Percy tomb and formerly to be seen on the Crouchback and Eltham tombs at Westminster.³³ Parallels for the de Luda Evangelists are difficult to find: the closest comparison seems to be in the Wheel of

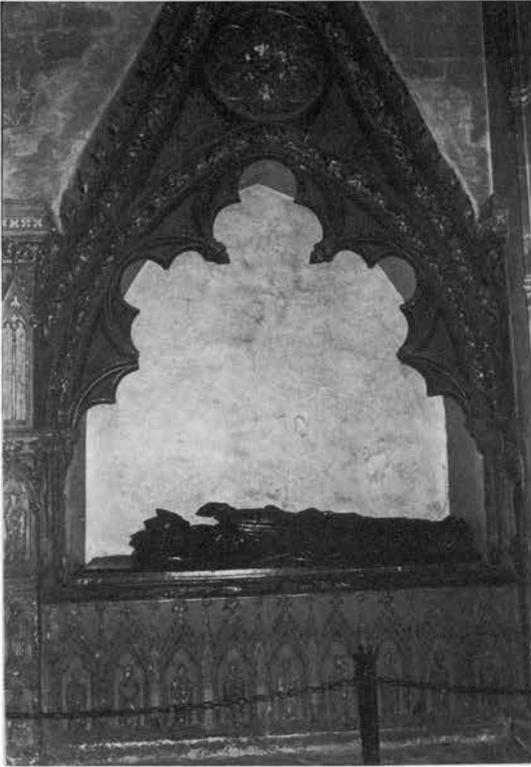
*b**a*

1a Bishop de Luda's tomb, Ely Cathedral.

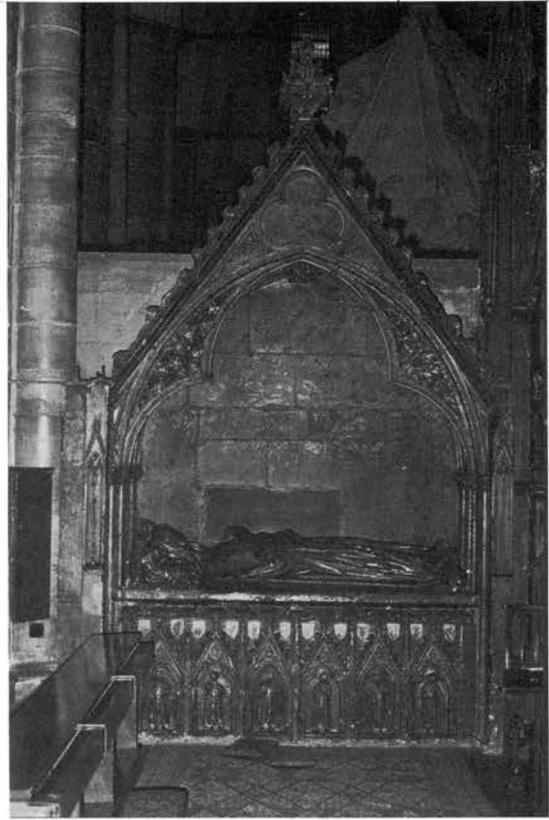
*c*

1b Edmund Crouchback's tomb, Westminster Abbey.

1c The Westminster Retable (detail).



b



a

2a Aveline, Countess of Lancaster's tomb, Westminster Abbey.



c

2b Archbishop Pecham's tomb, Canterbury Cathedral.

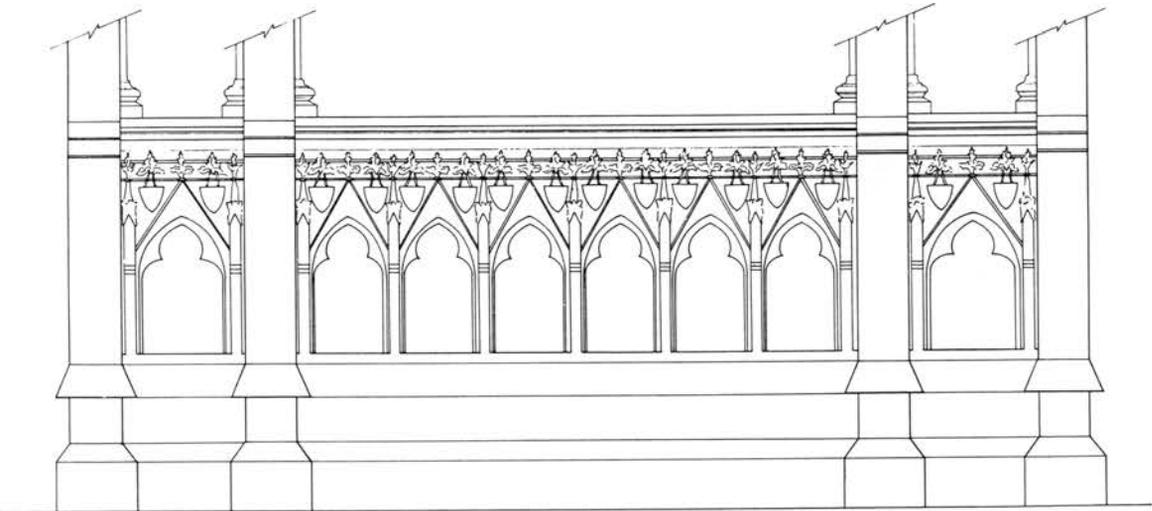
2c Bishop Redman's tomb, Ely Cathedral (Bentham, pl. 22).



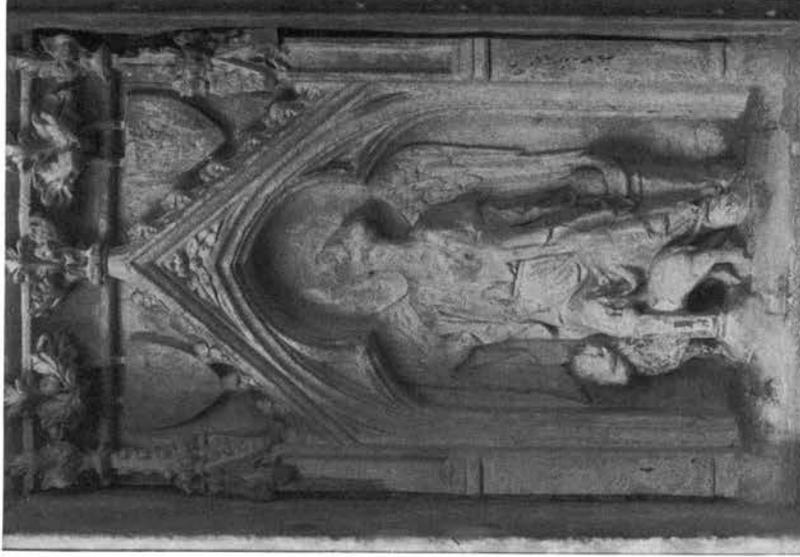
3 Bishop de Luda's tomb, indent (rubbing by W. J. Blair).



4a De Luda tomb-chest, Bishop West's chapel (detail).



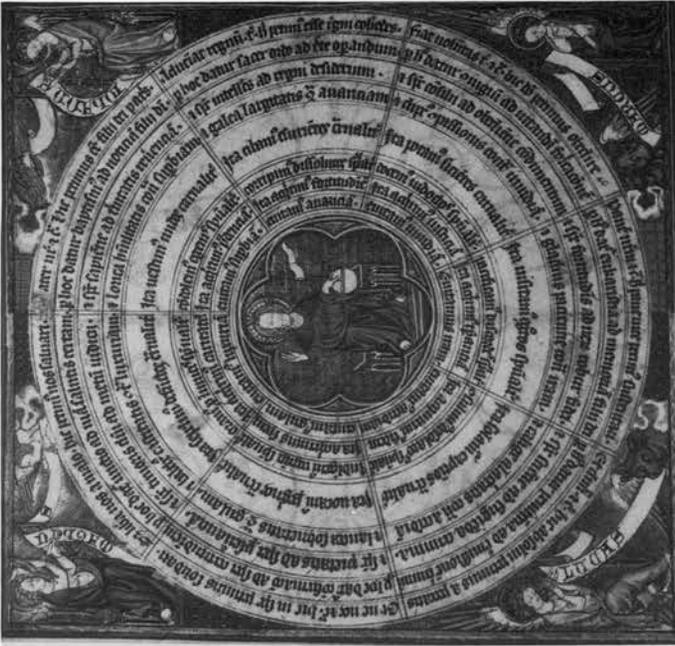
4b Conjectural restoration, de Luda tomb-chest.



5b St Mark, de Luda tomb.



5a St Matthew, de Luda tomb, restored.



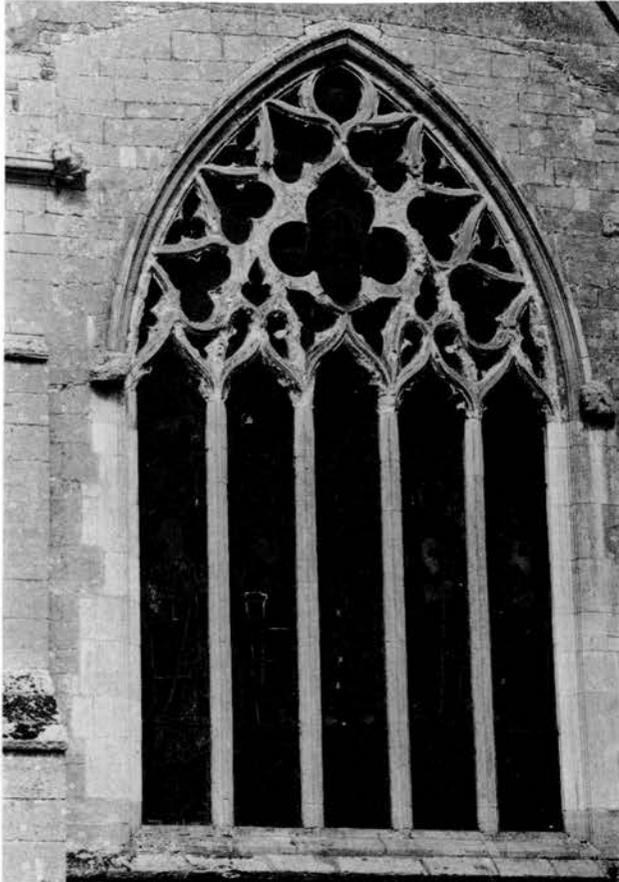
6b De Lisle Psalter, Wheel of Sevens (detail).
Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board.



6a Crouching tomb, weepers.



7a De Luda tomb (detail).



7b Prior Crauden's chapel, Ely Cathedral.

Sevens, painted by the Madonna Master in the de Lisle Psalter, B. L. Arundel MS 83.³⁴ Dr Binski has related the Madonna Master's style to that of the Crouchback tomb, and the stylistic and iconographic parallels between the illuminations and the de Luda Evangelists would seem to provide further evidence for this case (Plates 5*b* and 6*c*).³⁵

The comparison is, however, of little help in a search for subjects which could have been sculpted on the de Luda tomb-chest panels. That the missing figures, if they were indeed sculpted, represented weeping relatives or associates, as on the Aveline or Crouchback tombs, or bishops, as on the Pecham tomb at Canterbury, seems possible. There were, however, twelve available niches, and in view of the placing of the Evangelists at the ends of the tomb it might be conjectured that the Apostles were depicted; but, as there are also twelve niches in the central portion of the Crouchback tomb, and they are here filled with weepers, this suggestion must remain conjectural.³⁶ It is by no means certain that sculpted figures occupied the niches; later, as on Bishop Hotham's (d. 1337) tomb at Ely, painted and sculpted figures alternated, and it is possible that the de Luda tomb also featured painted figures. Sir Joseph Ayloffe, writing in 1780, understood John Dart's account of Aveline's tomb, contained in his 1723 *Westmonasterium*, to imply that the north side of the tomb originally had painted figures of monks in its niches, to balance the sculpted figures on the south side.³⁷ However, the interpretation of Dart's text is not without its difficulties, and his plate of the north side of the monument plainly depicts a Perpendicular altar-tomb;³⁸ it may seriously be doubted whether the Aveline tomb was ever actually free standing. In this case, there would not be a Westminster precedent for a hypothetical reconstruction of the de Luda tomb which involved painted figures in the niches of the tomb-chest; there are, of course, painted figures on the basements of both Queen Eleanor's and Crouchback's tombs.

In view of Bishop de Luda's political and ecclesiastical connections, it is not surprising that he or his executors should choose to employ the best artists currently available at Westminster. Before his appointment to the See of Ely in 1290, de Luda had been a Prebendary at St Paul's, as well as at Lincoln and York, and at the time of his election was Dean of St Martin's le Grand in London and Keeper of the King's Wardrobe; the latter position, in particular, would have brought him into frequent contact with Edward I's artistic and architectural projects.³⁹ Moreover, the London palace of the Bishops of Ely, at Holborn, contained his predecessor, John de Kirkby's (d. 1290) splendid new chapel, and this must have stimulated de Luda's interest in artistic matters.⁴⁰ The employment of the same men who had recently produced Crouchback's tomb, at the time of its completion one of the most splendid in Europe, testifies to Bishop de Luda's political and ecclesiastical power.⁴¹

At Ely, the de Luda tomb was to exert a powerful influence on the architecture of a later generation: the trefoil containing a seated figure in the apex of the central gable (Plate 7*a*), reappears on the Octagon walls, in the apex of the crossing arches, and in the tracery designs of Prior Crauden's (d. 1341) chapel (Plate 7*b*). The highly decorated character of the tomb and its use of diapering and complicated polychromy provided a potent model for the early-fourteenth-century architecture of the Lady Chapel. The form of the foliage cusps of the de Luda canopy reappears in the tracery cusping of the west bay of the south side of the triforium of Bishop Hotham's Choir, and the base mouldings of the canopy influenced those of some of the aisle window rear-arch bases.⁴² Thus Michael of Canterbury's influence on later architects working at Ely was mediated not only by their contact with his work at St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster but also, more immediately, by the de Luda tomb in Ely Cathedral.

NOTES

- 1 L. L. Gee, "'Ciborium' Tombs in England 1290-1330', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* CXXXII (1979), 29-41; C. Wilson, 'The origins of the Perpendicular style and its development to ca 1360' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1979), pp. 80-7. For the Crouchback tomb see also P. Binski, 'The Painted Chamber and painting at Westminster ca 1250 to 1350' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983), pp. 115 ff. For dynastic mausolea see E. M. Hallam, 'Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1060-1330', *Journal of Medieval History* VIII (1982), 359-80.
- 2 Illustrated in *Architectural Association Sketch Book* IX; P. Brieger, *English Art 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1968), p. 187, pl. 31; P. B. Pepin, 'The monumental tombs of medieval England, 1250-1350' (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1977), pp. 118-42.
- 3 Gee, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, p. 36. For Amiens see also A. Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La façade de la cathédrale d'Amiens', *Bulletin Monumental* CXXXV (1977), 253-93.
- 4 Gee, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, p. 35.

- 5 W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen* (London, 1906), pp. 182–4; J. H. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects* (London, 1954), p. 52; Wilson, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, pp. 83–7.
- 6 Harvey, *op. cit.* n. 5 above, p. 52; Wilson, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, pp. 82–4.
- 7 Wilson, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, pp. 80–2, convincingly revises W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey Re-examined* (London, 1925), p. 96 and Harvey, *op. cit.* n. 5 above, p. 52, who both ascribe the tomb to Michael of Canterbury.
- 8 For the Aveline tomb polychromy see C. A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817); W. Burges, 'The tombs', in G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (London, 1863), pp. 143–93 (159–62).
- 9 For weepers see L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 146. For the background to the use of shields see J. Evans, *Pattern* (Oxford, 1931, repr. New York, 1976), I, chapter 3; Evans suggests that the fashion of depicting shields hanging by their guiges from foliage reflects tournament usage, when knights awaiting their challengers hung their shields from trees. For this motif on seals see, for example, the seal of Queen Margaret, made by William de Keyles in 1299, very like the arrangement of the Eleanor tomb-base in Westminster Abbey.
- 10 R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works* (London, 1963), I, 477 ff.
- 11 Wilson, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, p. 33.
- 12 Burges, *op. cit.* n. 8 above, pp. 155–9; Stone, *op. cit.* n. 9 above, p. 135.
- 13 It is difficult satisfactorily to compare the costs of different kinds of effigy; in 1276 Walter de Merton's Limoges effigy cost over £40 (Burges, *op. cit.* n. 8 above, p. 155). In 1310 the 13 ft long marble slab for the brass of Bishop Bitton at Exeter cost £3, whilst the manufacture and fitting of the brass cost £16 3s 4d (J. Blair, in *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society* xxvii (June 1981), 7–9). Andrew de Kilkenny's (d. 1302) brass cost £6 11s 9d in c. 1316 (A. Erskine, 'The accounts of the fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279–1353. Part 2: 1328–1353', *Devon and Cornwall Record Society* n.s. xxvi (1983), appendix II. A wooden image would cost about £2 judging from the cost of Edward II's funeral effigy in 1327, cited by T. F. Tout, 'The captivity and death of Edward of Carnarvon', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* vi (1921–2), 94; an equivalent freestone effigy would cost approximately the £3 6s 8d paid for some of the Eleanor cross figures (Harvey, *op. cit.* n. 5 above, p. 146).
- 14 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1288–96*, 15 July 1296, p. 512. For his burial see the *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotularis Garderobae Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo* (London, 1787), introduced by J. Topham, pp. 46–7. Crouchback's heart was buried in the Minories (E. M. Tomlinson, *A History of the Minories* (London, 1907), p. 68; C. A. Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933), pp. 95–6).
- 15 P. Draper, 'Bishop Northwold and the cult of St Etheldreda', *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions* II (1979), 8–27 (23, n. 33).
- 16 Rubbing by W. J. Blair, *Portfolio of the Monumental Brass Society* vii, 31. The indent has suffered considerable damage since this rubbing was made in 1974.
- 17 C. J. P. Cave, 'Ely Cathedral: list of brasses: brasses, lost brasses and matrices in Ely Cathedral', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* III (1897–9), 88–106, quotes R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* (London, 1786), I, 77, who gives the inscription as reading: DE LUDA:QUOND:.../...IUS: ECLESIE: CUIUS: ANIME: PRO. The first line (on the north side) has now almost totally disappeared. For the lettering of early brasses see W. J. Blair, 'The lettering of English brasses 1270–1350', in *Specimens of Lettering from English Monumental Brasses* (London, 1976); J. Blair, 'English monumental brasses before the Black Death', in *Collectanea Historica; Essays in Memory of Stuart Rigold* (Maidstone, 1981), pp. 256–72.
- 18 P. Biver, 'Les Tombes de l'école de Londres au début de XIV^e siècle', *Bulletin Monumental* LXXIII (1909), 243–58, translated in *Archaeological Journal* LXVII (1910), 51–65. In this discovery he was anticipated by Sir George Gilbert Scott (G. G. Scott, *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture* (London, 1881), 149).
- 19 See appendix B of the author's forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation.
- 20 Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford and Peterborough* (London, 1730), pp. 334–5.
- 21 For the pulpitum see W. H. St. J. Hope, 'Quire screens in English churches, with special reference to the C12th quire screen formerly in the Cathedral Church of Ely', *Archaeologia* LXVIII (1916–17), 43–110; T. D. Atkinson, *Victoria County History: Cambridge and the Isle of Ely* (London, 1967), IV, 66–7. According to the author-annotated copy of D. J. Stewart, *On the Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London, 1868), now in the Chapter Office at Ely, Stewart intended to publish a (now lost) plan he had made of the pulpitum. He had made copies of Essex's drawings in his *Papers*, file II, in the Chapter Office. For the C14th wall, see W. Stevenson, *A Supplement to the First Edition of Mr Bentham's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral and Conventual Church of Ely* (Norwich, 1817), pp. 23–4.
- 22 Thomas Gray, *Common-place Book*, II, 894.
- 23 C. Parkin, *Prominent Prelates*, unpaginated.
- 24 J. Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1771), pl. xxii. W. Cole, in B.L. Add. MS 5842, f. 113, confirms that the feet were broken off.
- 25 The de Luda brass had certainly been removed at the time of the Reformation. Lieutenant Hammond in his *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties*, Camden Miscellany xvi, 3rd Series LIII (London, 1936), 92, ed. L. G. Wickham Legg, notes how in 1635 brasses and sculpture had already been despoiled.
- 26 B.L. Add. MS 5834, f. 15.
- 27 J. Bacon, *A Record of the Restorations 1818–1871*, MS volume in Ely Chapter Office, pp. 111–12; Bacon notes that the enormous sum of £400 was spent on the restoration of this tomb alone.

- 28 See pl. 11.
- 29 Shield heights of two-bay section: 91.6 mm, 92.2; 92.8, 92.6 of 5-bay section: 96.4, 96.8; 97.3, 95.3; 95.7, 96.1; 96.1, 96.1; 91.4 (broken at bottom), 95.8. De Luda tomb, S.E.: 92.7, 96 (eroded); S.W.: 95.8, 96.5; N.W.: 94.6, 89.6; N.E.: 93.2, 91.2. I am indebted to Dr A. Poursartip for taking all the measurements. The differences in sculptural treatment seem to show that two different sculptors were employed on the tomb-chest.
- 30 A detailed examination of the Crouchback tomb's polychromy would be extremely useful.
- 31 Compare also the pillow-holding angels at Crouchback's head.
- 32 For the London origin of the brass see Blair, *op. cit.* n. 17 above (1981). Proof that leading architects designed tombs is provided by the payments to William Ramsey for Blanche's (d. 1342), and to William's executrix, his daughter Agnes, for the tomb of Isabella of France (Colvin, *op. cit.* n. 10 above, I, 486 n. 5; F. D. Blackley, 'The Tomb of Isabella of France, Wife of Edward II of England', *International Society for the Study of Church Monuments* VIII (1983), 161-4).
- 33 For the Percy tomb see N. Dawton, 'The Percy tomb at Beverley Minster: the style of the sculpture', *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. F. H. Thompson (London, 1983), 122-50. For the Crouchback and Eltham tombs see J. Dart, *Westminsterium* (London, 1723), I, 106 and II, 13. See also F. Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain* (London, 1677), pp. 106 and 154.
- 34 L. F. Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (Oxford, 1983), pl. 10.
- 35 Binski, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, pp. 115-17.
- 36 Winged Evangelists with their symbols also appear in the extraordinary miniature of Christ in Majesty on a detached leaf (Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, MS 298) in which St Matthew and his symbol have been transformed (presumably as a result of an artist's error) into an Annunciation; see *Art and the Courts*, exhibition catalogue (Ottawa, 1972), I, 101-2 and II, pl. 46. Another comparison with the Ely tomb's Evangelists and symbols can be found on the tomb of Archbishop Meopham (d. 1333) at Canterbury. For a French example of a tomb with Apostles in the place of weepers, see *Les Fastes du Gothique; le siècle de Charles V*, exhibition catalogue Paris, 1981, p. 63.
- 37 Dart, *op. cit.* n. 33 above, II, 7-10. J. Ayloffe, 'An account of some ancient monuments in Westminster Abbey', *Vetusta Monumenta* II (London, 1780), 7.
- 38 Dart, *op. cit.* n. 33 above, II, 9.
- 39 The building of Edward I's Welsh castles was administered through the Wardrobe; thus in de Luda's account for 1281-5, £9414 4s 11d was spent on the wages of masons, carpenters and other workmen at Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon and elsewhere. Money for the erection of Vale Royal Abbey was also received through the Wardrobe (D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason* (Manchester, 1967), p. 17 n. 2).
- 40 L. Sleight, *St Etheldreda's Ely Place* (London, 1952), p. 18.
- 41 It is probable that de Luda had made arrangements before his death for his tomb as, for example, did Archbishop Pecham (d. 1292), for which see T. L. Hogan, 'The memorandum book of Henry of Eastry, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1966), I, 110-11. However, both Bishop Bitton's (d. 1307) and Dean Kilkenny's tombs considerably postdated their deaths, the latter not being completed until some 15 years later.
- 42 Wilson, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, p. 191.

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