ON THE EFFIGIES AND MONUMENTAL REMAINS IN PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.[1]

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THE ancient conventual church of Peterborough, now the Cathedral, was never remarkable either for the number or stateliness of the sepulchral monuments it contained.

The sculptured memorials of this class now existing are confined, with one exception, to a few ancient recumbent effigies of abbots, not one of which, it is believed, occupies its original position, nor are there inscriptions to inform us, with certainty, of what particular abbots we have the representations. We are left to appropriate these effigies as we best may; and in a conjectural appropriation there is doubtless much room for diversity of opinion. It is, under these circumstances, that I would endeavour to describe, and to assign, according to my own opinion, with all deference to that of others conversant with monumental remains, that series of ancient sepulchral effigies, six in number, contained within those hallowed walls, which have been preserved from the destruction to which other monuments have been subjected.

Five of these effigies are of dark-colored marble, a material in which many early monumental effigies—for instance, those in the Temple church, London—are sculptured, and in relief more or less bold. The most ancient of these I should ascribe to the latter part of the twelfth century, the other four to different periods in the thirteenth century. The sixth effigy, sculptured in clunch or chalk-stone, is, I think that I shall be able to show, of the early part of the sixteenth century. From the material, however, in which it is sculptured, it is far more mutilated than any of the earlier effigies.

Although not one of these monuments occupies the posi-

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tion in which it was originally placed, but each appears to have been removed, some, as we are told by Gunton, from the Chapter-house, one probably from the Lady Chapel, and they are not arranged in chronological order, I shall commence with that which I consider the earliest, and so describe them, not as they are now placed, but in order of supposed date.

In the retro-choir, at the back of the high altar, or to speak more in accordance with our own church discipline, the holy table, on a coffin-shaped slab of dark-colored marble, is the effigy, in somewhat low relief, of one of the abbots. He is represented as bareheaded, with the face close shaven, vested in an alb, (the long linen garment with close sleeves, reaching to the feet), and chasuble. The chasuble is ornamented with the orphrey, attached to it in front, in form resembling the archiepiscopal pall. Beneath the lower part of the chasuble appear the extremities of the stole, which coming over each shoulder crossed the breast in front, and was then passed under the girdle of the alb, over which it was worn, the two extremities falling perpendicularly downwards. The amice is represented about the neck. The pastoral staff is placed in a diagonal position across the body, and is held in the right hand, the crook, which is simply curved and turned outwards, appears on the right side of the head ; the ferule of the staff, on the left side of the left foot, is thrust into the jaws of a two-headed dragon, the winged serpent of fabulous tradition, sculptured at the feet of the effigy, which, as it is also represented at the feet of other early sepulchral effigies of ecclesiastics, seems allusive to that verse in the Psalms,—"Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and dragon shalt thou trample under foot." The left hand is represented holding a book. Over the head of the effigy is a flat canopy, consisting of a plain semicircular trefoil, surmounted by the representation of a Norman arcaded building, finished with a conical roof such as we find on towers of the twelfth century, represented in illuminated manuscripts and on seals. This, which I consider to be the most ancient of the sepulchral effigies, may, I think, be attributed either to Abbot Benedict, who died in 1193, or to Abbot Andrew, who died in 1199. As the former is said to have built the nave of the church, I am rather inclined to assign this monument to him. It is

engraved in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, but he does not venture an opinion as to whose effigy it was supposed to be.

The second monumental effigy, taking them in chronological order, is that now placed second from the west end of the south aisle of the choir, and probably one of those three which Gunton tells us were removed from the chapter house on the suppression of the monastery. This, with the coffin-shaped slab on which it rests, is sculptured out of one block of dark-colored Purbeck or Forest marble. It is the effigy of an abbot in bold but somewhat low relief; the head is represented as bare, reposing on a lozenge-shaped pillow, within an Early English circular trefoiled arch, springing from two lateral shafts, with sculptured foliage on the capitals, and surmounted by a kind of architectural design. This effigy is somewhat abraded on the surface, but the chin of the face appears to have been covered with a beard. The abbot is represented with the amice about his neck, vested in the alb and chasuble, between which appear the extremities of the stole. The feet do not rest against any animal. The pastoral staff is held in the right hand, whilst in the left appears a book. This is evidently a monument of the early part of the thirteenth century, and, as the architectural details agree with those of the west front of the Cathedral, I am not perhaps far from being correct when I assign this memorial to Abbot Robert de Lyndeseye, who is said to have erected the west front, and to have died in 1222. This effigy is engraved in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and assigned to Abbot Martin de Vecti, who died in 1155. It is figured, from a drawing by Mr. Blore, in Britton's Peterborough Cathedral, plate xii.

The third monumental effigy in chronological order is also the third from the west end, and was probably one of the three said to have been removed from the chapter-house. Like the two effigies I have described, this, together with the coffin-shaped slab on which it lies, is sculptured out of one block of dark-colored marble. The abbot, of whom this is the effigy, is represented bareheaded, with a curled beard reaching from ear to ear. He appears vested in the alb, with an ornamented parure or apparel in front at the feet; over the alb is worn the tunic, and over that the chasuble. The pastoral staff is headed with a simple crook, turned

inwards towards the effigy, and is held in the right hand. In the left hand appears a book. The maniple is suspended over the left wrist. The feet rest against a dragon, into the jaws of which the ferule of the pastoral staff is thrust. This effigy is in low relief, but unmutilated. Over the head appears a pointed cinquefoiled canopy or arch, springing from lateral shafts, with capitals, sculptured with foliage. The arch is surmounted by the representation of a building. This monument appears in date to be of about the middle of the thirteenth century, and I am inclined to ascribe it either to Abbot Walter de St. Edmund, who died in 1245, or to Abbot William de Hotot, his successor, who died in 1249, shortly after he had resigned the rule of this monastery, and was buried in this conventual church before the altar of St. Benedict. This effigy is ascribed by Gough to John of Salisbury, who died in 1125, but it is not of so early a date. (Figured in Britton's Peterborough Cathedral, plate xii.)

The fourth effigy, in chronological order, is that disposed first at the west end of the south aisle of the choir. This, like the three effigies already described, is, with the coffin-shaped slab on which the effigy appears, sculptured in somewhat bold relief out of a block of black or dark-colored English marble. The effigy of the abbot is represented with the face closely shaven, and the body vested in the alb, the parure or apparel of which in front at the feet is richly worked. Over the alb is worn the tunic, or dalmatic, and over that the chasuble, the folds of the latter coming down to a point in front, heater-shaped. This chasuble is richly ornamented with foliage. On the right side is the pastoral staff, the head or crook of which is gone, but the ferule of the staff is inserted into the jaws of a dragon, sculptured beneath the feet of the effigy. In the left hand, somewhat upraised on the breast, is a book. The amice, like a hood, partly covers the head, which is supported by the mutilated figures of two angels. This monument, which is assigned by Gough, in whose work it is engraved, to Abbot Andrew, who died in 1199, may, I think, more properly be ascribed to Abbot John de Caleto, who died in 1262, and was buried in the south aisle of the choir of this conventual church.

The fifth recumbent effigy, in chronological order, is the most eastward of the series, lying under or adjoining to the south wall of the south aisle of the choir. Unlike the effigies

already described, the sepulchral effigy of the abbot here represented, is placed on a raised tomb of black marble, the north side of which has been divided by plain cylindrical shafts, with bases and capitals, into four compartments, each containing a plain quatrefoiled circle; at the lower end is a single compartment similarly filled with a quatrefoiled circle. The shape of the tomb at the head is semi-hexagonal. This tomb appears to have been removed from some other place and is not altogether perfect; the lower part is broken, and one-half of a quatrefoiled circle is gone. It is, therefore, in its present state somewhat shorter than it was originally. On this tomb, sculptured in the same kind of marble, lies the recumbent effigy of an abbot, the head apparently that of an aged man, with the face bearded from ear to ear, but the feet are gone, probably destroyed with the lower portion of the tomb beneath. The vestments which are visible consist of the alb, over the skirt of which appear the extremities of the stole, above this is the chasuble, and about the neck is worn the amice. The pastoral staff is gone, but a book is held in the left hand. Over the head is a canopy, consisting of a pointed trefoil, enriched above with Early English foliage stiffly designed, and much abraded, perhaps from violence. This monument is, I think, of a later date than the four previously described; the workmanship is better and of a more advanced period in art. There is also a greater attempt at freedom in the arrangement of the drapery. Gough assigns this monument, as he has described another, to Martin de Vecti, who died in 1155; I should, however, consider it to be that of Abbot Richard de London, who died in 1295, at the advanced age of 82 years. This would accord not only with the architectural details of the tomb and style of the sculptured foliage, but also with the face of the effigy, which is that of an aged man.[2]

These effigies differ from early episcopal sepulchral effigies in that the latter are generally represented with the right hand upraised, with certain of the fingers extended, in the act of benediction, which is not the case with any one of

[2] Since this paper was read, I have ascertained that this monument, within which is a stone coffin containing the remains of an abbot, was removed to its present position in the year 1630, when it was discovered on the north side of the choir. With the remains in the coffin was an oblong piece of lead four inches long, with the words ABBAS ALEXAND' inscribed upon it. This abbot Alexander died in 1226. The difference of date, nearly seventy years, shows how far I was wrong in my conjectural ascription.

these, and also in the absence of the mitre, the wearing of which had not as yet been granted to the abbot of this monastery. But these form perhaps the most interesting series of recumbent effigies of ecclesiastics of abbatical rank anywhere to be found in this country.

The sixth and last of the sepulchral effigies of the abbots is that placed on the floor of the south aisle of the choir, near the east end, but on the north side of the aisle. It has evidently been removed thither from the place it originally occupied, and was formerly, probably, elevated on a raised tomb. It is much mutilated, far more so than the earlier effigies I have noticed, from the material being of clunch or chalk stone, not of marble. It is also undoubtedly of a much later period than the other effigies. The abbot, here represented in a recumbent position, appears vested in the alb with its apparels, tunic, dalmatic, stole, and chasuble, with the amice about the neck; and on the head is worn, though now much mutilated, the mitre, *mitra pretiosa*. The head reposes on a double cushion supported by two angels, which are much defaced. There is no appearance of any pastoral staff.

This effigy is neither engraved by Gough nor assigned to any particular abbot, but as it is that of a mitred abbot, there are only two to whom it can be ascribed. William Genge, the 40th abbot, elected in 1396, is said by Gunton to have been the first mitred abbot of this monastery. The same writer states, that this abbot had a brass for his monument. This disappeared in the general devastation by the parliamentary troops in 1643. John Deeping, the 41st abbot, elected in 1408, had also, as Gunton informs us, a brass for his monument, which fared as the former in 1643. Richard Ashton, the 42nd abbot, surrendered his office in 1471. William Ramsey, the 43rd abbot, was elected in 1471, and having been abbot for 25 years died, and was buried at the upper end of the body of the church, "under (says Gunton) a fair marble which of late was plentifully adorned with brass, but disrobed thereof with the rest."

Robert Kirton, the 44th abbot, elected in 1496, built much, says Gunton, especially "that goodly building at the east end of the church." "He also set up the gate leading to the deanry, which is yet standing, and retaineth the memory of the builder in his hieroglyphick of a crosier with

the letter R, and a church or kirk placed upon a tun, which must be construed with the allusion thus, Abbot Robert Kirk Tun, and so Kir-ton." Thus far Gunton, and when, as that writer informs us, he, Robert Kirton, had been abbot 32 years (that is in 1528), he was buried in the Lady Chapel or Chapel of St. Mary, now demolished, which he had contributed to beautify. "His monument was in the year 1651 levelled with the ground, above which it was erected some four foot and placed upon an hollow arch, where his body lay, and at the head thereof was a fair stone lying even with the pavement, which covered a pair of stairs going down into the sepulchre."

To Abbot Robert Kirton, then, the last who died abbot of this monastery, I am inclined to assign this effigy, evidently removed from a tomb in some other part of the church.

I must not omit to state, however, that John Chambers, the 45th and last abbot, elected in 1528, was in 1541 nominated and consecrated the first bishop of this now Cathedral church. He continued bishop about the space of 15 years, to the year 1556, and he had, Gunton tells us, two monuments in the church, one "made of white chalk stone with his statue excellently carved lying on the top, which was demolished in 1643." Some may think that this effigy represented Bishop Chambers, but I am inclined to attribute it to Abbot Kirton. The style of workmanship is rather that of his period than of his successor, in whose time, at least during the reign of Edward the Sixth, a change had occurred in the episcopal vestments, and, although in the reign of Mary the old ecclesiastical habits had been reverted to, he would probably have been represented, like Bishop Goldwell at Norwich, in the cope rather than the chasuble. I also doubt whether this bishop had two monuments in this church, as stated by Gunton.

The only monument of a bishop worthy of notice appears to have been that of Bishop Dove, who died in 1630, and was buried in the north transept. Gunton states that "over his body was erected a very comely monument of a long quadrangular form, having four corner pilasters supporting a fair table of black marble, and, within, the pourtraiture of the bishop lying in his episcopal habit." That would consist of the rochet with the chimere worn over it. But this monument was, in the year 1643, leveled with the ground.

In the same year all the inlaid effigies of brass of persons of any distinction, buried within this church, including those of the abbots Genge, Deeping, and Ramsey, were torn away from the slabs by the parliamentary troops. Some of the sepulchral slabs, thus despoiled, may yet be seen forming part of the pavement in the vestibule or porch at the west end of the Cathedral. From the matrices of these, one appears to have borne a cross fleury, with a shield on the middle of the stem ; another bore the effigy of a person in the habit of a layman, with his wife, being apparently of the fifteenth century ; a third bore the effigy of a knight or esquire clad in armour, with his wife, of the latter part of the fifteenth century, and a fourth, that of a layman and his wife, with a group of children beneath them.

I can find only one sculptured monument, worthy of notice, placed in the Cathedral since the devastation committed in the middle of the seventeenth century. This is the monument, in the retro-choir, of Thomas Deacon, Esquire, some time sheriff of the county of Northampton, who died in 1721, aged 70 years. This consists of a high tomb of white and variegated marble of common-place design, having an inscribed tablet, and surmounted by a divided segmental pediment springing from fluted pilasters of the Corinthian order. Between the two portions of the pediment is an escutcheon, and on each portion is an urn. Above the inscribed tablet are heads of cherubs, issuing from clouds on marble representing drapery.

On the tomb thus described is the sculptured effigy, in white marble, of Thomas Deacon. He is represented as reclining on his left side, his left elbow being supported by a cushion, and his left hand resting on a skull ; his right arm and hand are stretched out. He appears habited in the costume of his time ; on his head is a long flowing wig, a falling cravat is tied about his neck, and he wears a single-breasted coat. A mass of loose drapery envelopes the lower limbs down to the feet, on which are high-heeled square-toed shoes. This effigy is fairly executed : it is one of a class of monumental effigies not uncommon in the early part of the eighteenth century, in which the ordinary costume of the day is adhered to, whilst in some of the monumental effigies then executed the persons commemorated are represented in the costume of Roman warriors, or in an imaginary garb.

On this monument the sculptor has recorded his name,—"Robertus Taylor, civis Londinensis, fecit et exculpsit."

It may appear strange that I have not noticed earlier the ridged and sculptured monument in the retro-choir, the most remarkable relic of ancient sculpture, doubtless, now to be seen in Peterborough Cathedral. It measures 3 ft. 6 in. in length, 2 ft. 4 in. in height, and 12 inches in width; it is plain at both ends, but the sides are covered with arcades of six arches each, beneath which are figures sculptured in relief, twelve in all, with a nimb round the head of each. Whether this relic is sepulchral or otherwise is a question for consideration.

The Saxon Chronicle states, *sub* A. D. 870, "This year the army" (*i. e.* the heathen army or that of the Danes) "rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford, and the same winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory and slew the king, and subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Hingwair and Hubba. At that time they came to Medeshamstede, and burnt and beat it down, slew abbat and monks, and all that they found there. And that place which before was full rich they reduced to nothing."

In the work known as the History of Ingulf, said to have been written by Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, who died A.D. 1109, a longer and more particular account is given of the destruction by the Danes in 870 of the church and monastery of Medeshamsted, when "the venerable father, lord Hedda, the abbot, as well as all his monks, and the whole of their countrymen, were put to the sword." The writer of this work, whoever he was, then goes on to inform us that "Godric, abbot of Croyland, which monastery had also been devastated, went to Medeshamsted to commit to Christian burial the corpses of the abbot Hedda and his brethren, which were still lying unburied, and, after all the corpses of the monks of the said monastery had with great labour been carried into the midst of the cemetery of the said monastery, he buried them there over against that which was formerly the east front of the church, in one very large tomb prepared for the purpose, on the festival of the virgin St. Cecilia. Over the body of the abbot, who lay in the centre of his

sons, Godric placed a pyramidal stone, three feet in height, three in length, and one in breadth, having the images of the abbot with his monks standing round engraved upon it. This, in memory of the monastery which had been destroyed, he commanded thenceforth to be called Medeshamstead, and every year, so long as he lived, he paid a visit to the place, and, pitching his tent over the stone, he, with a constant devotion for two days, celebrated mass for the souls of those who were buried there."

This account would seem to be a decided answer to any question as to the appropriation of this ancient sculpture, but the authenticity of the History of the pseudo Ingulf, as to its having been the work of Abbot Ingulf, or indeed of his period, that is of the latter part of the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century, has been much questioned. No early MS. of this history is known to exist, and the not unreasonable supposition has been advanced, that it is a production of the fourteenth century, a work of fiction rather than an history.

On carefully examining this sculptured stone we can hardly attribute the date of its execution to so early a period as the History of the pseudo Ingulf would, if true, lead us to assign to it. My own opinion is that it is at least two centuries later than the time, A.D. 870, at which the abbot and monks are said to have been massacred. For I think that the sculpture and details are of a far more advanced period, not executed hastily, but with care, and that the figures on the sides do not represent monks, but Our Lord and eleven of the Apostles. The sculptured work rather agrees with that on the curious Norman monument in Wirksworth church, Derbyshire, and that at Conisborough church, Yorkshire, figured in this Journal, vol. I., p. 354, than with the ruder Saxon monuments at Dewsbury, Yorkshire (with which this has been compared); Heysham in Lancashire, and Hexham in Northumberland; or with a monument discovered in the foundations of the old church of St. Alkmund at Derby, when it was demolished preparatory to the erection of a new church.

I may observe that in the spandrels formed by the arches of the arcades on the sides of this ancient sculpture is a double foliation issuing from a stem. We hardly look for this carefully worked detail in Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The

ridge or roof is divided on each side into four compartments containing interlaced knot-work much abraded on the surface, as if from exposure to the weather. There is a woodcut of this monument in Britton's Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities, p. 22. See also Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting, second edit., pl. xliv., p. 108.

Dismissing then the account of the pseudo Ingulf, to what period may we assign this work, and to what purpose was it appropriated? With deference to the opinion of others, I am inclined to assign the date of this interesting sculpture to the close of the eleventh or to the early part of the twelfth century, and I would moreover suggest that it was not what we generally understand to be a mere sepulchral memorial, but that it was, or formed part of, some ancient Norman shrine. Now Gunton tells us that in the time of Elsinus, the tenth abbot, who died A.D. 1055, having been elected fifty years before, the bodies of St. Kyneburga and St. Kyneswitha were translated from the church of Castre, and the body of St. Tibba from Rihale, to Peterborough. The pseudo Ingulf speaks of them indeed as being there, and trampled under foot in the devastation committed by the Danes, A.D. 870.

The abbot Elsinus is said also to have enriched this monastery with a large number of relics, of which Gunton gives us the enumeration. (Hist. of Peterb. p. 13). Over some or all of these it is not improbable that this sculptured monument may have been placed.

I would not be too positive on the matter; the antiquity and original destination of this stone may be left to further investigation. I should, however, mention that at Fletton church, about a mile from Peterborough, inserted in the wall of the Norman chancel, are two sculptured bas-reliefs of single figures with nimbs round the heads, and some interlaced knot-work with other sculptured details, precisely similar to, and executed I have no doubt by the same hand as, this sculptured relic at Peterborough.

Thus far of the monuments in the Cathedral, which contains no architectural or sculptured sepulchral memorial of either of the two Queens, Catherine of Aragon, and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, or of either of the Archbishops of York, Elfricus and Kynsius, who died in the middle of the eleventh century, and were buried at Peterborough.

In a niche of the gateway of the bishop's palace, south-west of the Cathedral, is the statue of a monk in the costume of the Benedictine order, well worthy of attention, for all the effigies of the abbots which I have noticed above, represent them as vested for the mass, not in monastic costume. This effigy, which was probably intended to represent the founder of the order, St. Benedict, appears in a long loose garment with the *caputium* or hood partly drawn over the head. As a specimen of sculpture of the thirteenth century, it is treated with great simplicity and breadth. It is noticed in Flaxman's lectures on sculpture, where an engraving of it appears. A cast of it is in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham : why it should there bear the name of St. Luke I know not.

It is remarkable that very few sepulchral effigies in monastic costume exist in our churches. Those few are mostly well known. They consist of the recumbent effigy of a Benedictine in Hexham church, Northumberland; the recumbent effigy of, as I conceive it to be, a monk of the Cistercian order, at Orton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire ; and the recumbent effigy of an abbess of the Benedictine order, in Polesworth church, Warwickshire. The recumbent effigy of a knight with a friar's weed, that of a Franciscan, the *cappa manicata*, girt with a knotted cord, and worn over a hooded hawberk of mail, may be seen in Conington church, Huntingdonshire, and has been described in the Archæological Journal, vol. V., p. 146, where also mention is made of an incised brass in Sawtry All Saints church, Huntingdonshire, near Conington, where the demi-figure of a friar is represented in the *cappa manicata* or sleeved garment, with the *caputium* or hood drawn over the head, and holding in the hands a whip with knotted cords. In Standish church, Lancashire, is said to be an effigy in the garb of a Franciscan, of late date. These, with the brass of an abbess in Elstow church, Bedfordshire, represented in a long gown with wide sleeves, mantle, veil, and wimple or gorget, and that of Agnes Jordan, abbess of Syon, in Denham church, Bucks, are (exclusive of minor effigies on the sides of tombs) all that I recall in simple monastic costume, the sepulchral effigies of abbots and priors, of which there are several, being sculptured in the mass vestments.