



NO. 1. TUTBURY: FIRST USE OF
ALABASTER.

NO. 2. BAKEWELL: SIR GODFREY
FOLJAMBE, d. 1376.

NO. 3. YOULGREAVE: ROBERT GYLBERT, d. 1492.

ALABASTER TOMBS OF THE GOTHIC PERIOD.

By ARTHUR GARDNER, M.A. F.S.A.

Ever since Sir William St. John Hope's valuable paper, 'On the Early Working of Alabaster in England,' was published in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1904,¹ a considerable amount of attention has been given to the English school of alabaster-workers which flourished during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Notice, however, has been mainly directed to the retables which have mostly been broken up and scattered and so afford opportunities to collectors which the tombs can never give. Several interesting papers have been published in this *Journal* by Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A. and others on the 'tables,' as they are called, but apart from certain sections in *Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England*, in which the present writer had the honour of collaborating with Prof. E. S. Prior, F.S.A. and from some good work recently done by one or two local societies,² and from scattered paragraphs and a large number of admirable photographs in Mr. Crossley's beautifully illustrated book on *English Church Monuments*, the alabaster tombs have hardly received the attention they deserve.³ It is true that monumental effigies attracted the notice of several of our older antiquaries, such as

¹ He quotes from an earlier paper by E. Richardson in *Arch. Journ.* for 1853, a remarkable piece of work for its date, and adds the more recent evidence and fresh facts discovered since then.

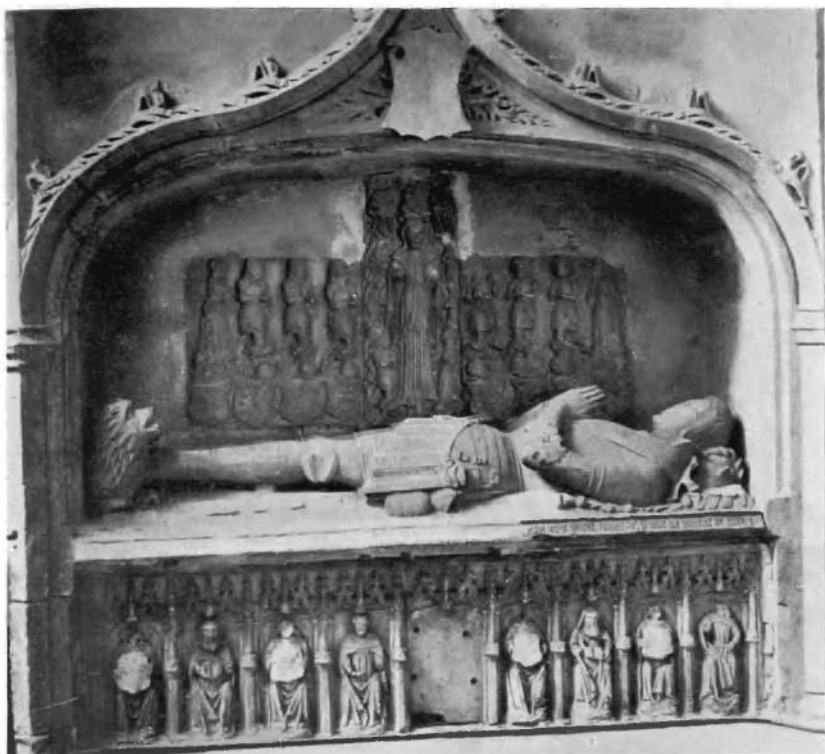
² Dr. A. C. Fryer, F.S.A. has published a series of illustrated articles on *Monumental Effigies in Somerset* in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* during the last year or two, and Mr. Philip B. Chatwin, F.R.I.B.A. has recently published a most valuable article on *Monumental Effigies in Warwickshire* in the *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, vols. xlvii, xlviii, xlix (1921, 1922, 1923), with careful descriptions and full illustration. Reference to this will be made

again in connexion with the list at the end of this paper. Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A. whose superb photographs of this kind of subject are well known, has now published a full account of the effigies of Cheshire in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1925. Messrs. H. Lawrance and T. C. Routh have commenced a series of articles in the *Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society's Journal*, 1925, dealing with the *Military Effigies of Derbyshire*.

³ *Arms, Armour and Alabaster round Nottingham*, by the late G. Fellows, describes and illustrates in detail a number of monuments in that neighbourhood.

Weever, Blore, Gough, Richardson, Stothard and Hollis, but in only the last two cases are the drawings sufficiently accurate to enable us to judge of the style or form a just estimate of their merits. Photography has now given us a new power of accurate record which enables comparisons to be made of widely scattered objects, and the time has come to make as complete a photographic record as possible of the tombs which form such a wonderful link with our past, preserved in numbers probably unequalled in any other country. I have accordingly set before myself the task of photographing as many of these tombs, and especially the alabaster tombs, as the scanty leisure of a business man will permit, and this paper is an attempt to summarise the results so far attained, though I fear that it may be a good many years before I can hope to reach any measure of completeness. In a subject like this there are so many by-paths which throw light on the main issue, so many questions of heraldry and local knowledge, that a complete and detailed survey would require the services of a commission of specialists; but it seems obvious that we must first lay the foundations on which any history of the subject can be based by making as complete a record as possible of the tombs existing to-day, and by suggesting a scheme of classification which may serve to set our ideas into some sort of order. It will be many years before the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments can extend its researches over the whole country on the plan so admirably initiated in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Essex, and the various local guide-books vary so much in quality and reliability that a complete survey is at present an impossibility. Enough material is, however, now available for a preliminary examination and for an attempt to trace the artistic development of the alabaster schools that flourished during the two centuries under review.

So far I have notes of about 460 alabaster effigies, counting husband and wife separately when they occur on the same tomb, and I have myself photographed nearly three-quarters of these. Of the rest I have by me excellent photographs by Mr. Crossley and others dealing with about forty or fifty more. There are, no doubt, a number of others scattered about the country which have escaped my notice, but it would be reasonable to guess that the



NO. I. ABERGAVENNY: WALL-TOMB.

NO. 2. NORBURY: TABLE-TOMB.



NO. 1. SWINE: KNIGHT OF HILTON FAMILY.

NO. 2. HAREWOOD, SIR WILLIAM GASCOIGNE.

total of those still existing does not much exceed 500 examples altogether. These figures only refer to tombs of the Gothic period down to about 1540, though a few later specimens may have been included which retain a Gothic character, even if mixed to some extent with Renaissance details. The number might be increased by including others *c.* 1530–1560, which retain some Gothic feeling, as it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line at any particular date. The use of alabaster for tombs continued right through the sixteenth century, though often mixed with varied marbles, and many tombs of the Elizabethan period attain high artistic value, though they cannot be dealt with here.

Alabaster tombs are naturally most numerous in the counties of Derby and Nottingham in the immediate neighbourhood of the mediaeval quarries at Tutbury and Chellaston, but they are plentiful throughout Yorkshire and the midlands, and there is hardly a county that cannot boast a number of examples. The largest collections of alabaster effigies are at Harewood, 12; Macclesfield, 7; Westminster, Canterbury, Ashbourne, Bromsgrove and Tong, 6 each. Just as in the thirteenth century the Purbeck marblers set the fashion for all the tomb-makers, so in the fifteenth the alabaster workshops produced the monuments for all the most important people, and set up a standard copied at more or less distance by the humbler workers in freestone.

The English alabaster, or gypsum, is a peculiar form of sulphate of lime, and is a material quite different from the oriental or continental alabaster. Most of the earlier tombs are made of a pure white variety, but towards the end of our period the finer beds seem to have begun to give out and brown-veined and streaky blocks came into use. Where monuments have been restored, it is sometimes a help in recognising the new portions to find that the repairs have been executed in the streaky material. Alabaster is soft and easy to work, well suited for fine detail, and takes colour and gilding splendidly. When not exposed to the weather it retains its original surface, and we are better able to realise the gorgeous effect of these mediaeval monuments than in the case of the earlier freestone figures, depending for their full effect on gesso

and paint, to which time has been less kind. The softness of the alabaster, however, has rendered it peculiarly liable to damage at the hands of the initial-cutting fiends of the last century,¹ and many a priceless work of art has been hopelessly ruined by the activity of these vandals. Even to-day, though better care is usually taken of our ancient churches, it is a pity that our schools do not do more to cultivate the aesthetic faculties of our young barbarians, and to encourage reverence for things of beauty or historic interest.

The first known use of alabaster for carved work occurs in one of the inner orders of the rich Norman west doorway of Tutbury priory church, in the immediate neighbourhood of the quarries (plate 1, no. 1). Now Tutbury was given by Henry III to his son Edmund, earl of Lancaster, passed to his successors the earls and dukes, and remains to-day a portion of the duchy. It is possible that this royal connexion of the place may have had something to do with the royal patronage of the alabaster workers when their productions first came into prominence, as will be described when we come to deal with the effigies. John of Gaunt largely rebuilt Tutbury castle, and his tomb in old St. Paul's had alabaster effigies under a magnificent canopy.² It was set up during his lifetime, on the death of his first wife.³

¹ The chapel containing the fine collection of effigies at Abergavenny was for many years used as a school, which naturally resulted in serious damage to the figures. But the abominable habit of initial-cutting was not confined to the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries; in one place I was pointed out the initials of J. B. which were said to be those of John Bradshaw, Cromwell's lieutenant. An even earlier example is given by Prof. Lethaby in his *Westminster Abbey re-examined*, p. 276, where he claims to have discovered the name YPESWIC scratched under the canopy on Crouchback's tomb, which he identifies as that of a sacrist in the later fourteenth century named Ipswich.

² See Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 60, with illustration by Hollar.

³ In his interesting paper on *Monumental Effigies in Warwickshire* (*Birm. Arch. Soc. Transactions*, xlvii, 1921) Mr. P. B. Chatwin

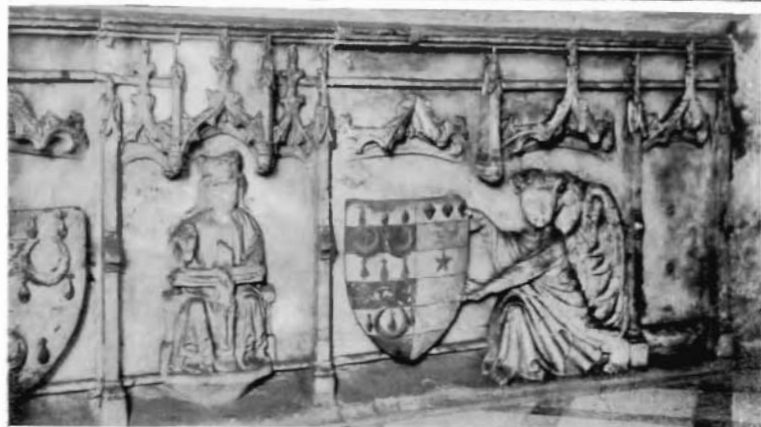
quotes from *John of Gaunt's register* for 1374 (no. 1394, 13 June) instructions given by that prince to his agent at Tutbury to send six cartloads of alabaster for the construction of a tomb for his wife Blanche, who had just died. Two special blocks were to be selected for the principal figures, and if not available at Tutbury they were to be sought elsewhere (probably at Chellaston). This tends to confirm the suggestion to be made later (p. 23) that the earliest figures were carved in London, whither the alabaster was sent in blocks. Later on the evidence points to Nottingham as the chief centre of production, with local workshops at the quarries themselves at Chellaston, but alabaster men are also mentioned in the records at York, Lincoln, Norwich, etc. as well as London. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century Burton-on-Trent seems to have become an important rival for Nottingham.



WEEPERS (ANGELS).

NO. 1. DODFORD, NORTHANTS: TOMB OF SIR JOHN CRESSY.

NO. 2. EWELME, OXON: TOMB OF DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK.



NO. 1. WILLOUGHBY-IN-THE-WOLDS.
 NO. 2. HAREWOOD.
 NO. 3. METHLEY.

The general form of tomb adopted by the alabaster shops deserves some attention. Mural tablets are very rare, only two belonging to our period being known to me. These are the Foljambe monument (1376) in Bakewell church, with half-length figures of the knight and his lady set below a canopy as though looking out of a window (plate 1, no. 2), and a slab to Robert Gylbert at Youlgreave, Derbyshire, dated 1492, with a relief of Robert and his wife kneeling on either side of the Madonna, while seven sons kneel behind their father and nine daughters behind their mother (plate 1, no. 3). The usual form consisted of a tomb-chest surmounted by the effigy, or effigies, either set against the wall in an arched recess, or standing free in the shape of what is known as a table-tomb. A tomb at Abergavenny (plate 11, no. 1) is a good example of the wall-tomb, set in a recess beneath a depressed arch. In this case the tomb-chest is not of alabaster, though the effigy is, and a special feature may be found in the alabaster reliefs set in the back of the recess. These are evidently the work of the retable-workers referred to at the beginning of this paper, the central panel, representing the Assumption, being just one of the tall slabs used for the centre-piece of a reredos. As the tombs at Abergavenny are a collection from various places, one of which is said to be Tintern abbey, it is difficult to know how far the various parts of these tombs belong to one another, but these reliefs appear to form part of a tomb, as there are two kneeling figures of a knight and his lady at the foot of the Virgin, which are more suitable for this purpose than for a reredos. On either side are slabs with kneeling figures and heraldic shields, and as the armour of these knights corresponds exactly with that of the knight at the foot of the central panel, as well as with that of the big effigy, it looks as though they had been rightly put together.

The table-tombs may be illustrated by the very rich example at Norbury (plate 11, no. 2). Full-length figures of the knight and his lady rest on the tomb, while the sides of the tomb-chest are divided up by a series of buttresses and canopies, or 'tabernacles' as they were called, forming niches in which are placed a row of little figures, technically known as 'weepers.' Lofty canopies or arches were often erected over the tombs, and they were sometimes protected

by iron grates or placed in sumptuous chantry-chapels. These, however, were rarely in alabaster, and it will therefore be convenient here to confine our attention to a brief description of the weepers before proceeding to deal with the bigger effigies.¹

The earliest tombs, such as those of John of Eltham in Westminster abbey and of Edward II at Gloucester are composed of varied materials, and in the former the weepers are cut out and set against a background of dark-coloured stone or marble (plate VII, no. 1). In some other cases a similar scheme may have accounted for the disappearance of these little figures. In the fourteenth century all-alabaster tombs the usual plan is to arrange the weepers under a continuous arcade of a comparatively simple character: the inner orders of the niche so formed are cusped, forming usually a cinquefoiled head, as at Warwick (plates VII, no. 3; VIII, no. 1), or trefoiled as at Haversham. About the year 1400, when there was great activity in the alabaster shops, there was a good deal of variety. In some cases, as at Swine (plate III, no. 1) or Harewood (plate III, no. 2) angels are carved on the sides of the tomb-chest without any niches. They usually hold shields, once blazoned with the arms of the deceased, or his family, and the ends of the tomb are usually occupied by a pair of them supporting the shield between them. At Merevale the angels are simply separated by little buttresses, and in other cases, as at Ashwellthorpe Bottesford (plate VI, no. 2) and Strelley, they are placed in plain square or oblong sunk panels. At Lowick the contract, to be quoted later (pp. 34, 35), stipulates for 'tabernacles' over their heads; these are flat ogee canopies very like those fitted to the reredos 'tables' (plate VI, no. 1). Other typical examples may be found at Harewood, Methley (plate V, nos. 2, 3) and Abergavenny (plate XII, no. 2).

In the second quarter of the century a rather formal system of panelling was introduced, resembling the tracery of a four- or six-light perpendicular window in two stages,

¹ I do this the more readily as the reader has only to turn over the pages of Mr. Crossley's splendidly illustrated book on *English Church Monuments* to gain an

excellent idea of the general form and of the sumptuous accessories of these mediæval monuments.



WEEPERS (ANGELS).

- NO. 1. LOWICK, NORTHANTS.
NO. 3. MEREVALE, WARWICKS.

- NO. 2. BOTTESFORD, LEICS.
NO. 4. ASHBOURNE, DERBYSHIRE.



WEEPERS (MALE).

NO. 1. WESTMINSTER
ABBEY.

NO. 2. WELLS CATHEDRAL.

NO. 3. WARWICK,
ST. MARY'S.

NO. 4. NORTH ASTON,
OXON.

NO. 5. NORBURY, DERBY-
SHIRE.

NO. 6. TONG, SALOP.

as at Ashbourne (plate vi, no. 4). The angel or weeper figures occupy wider niches between the panels, or stand in square panels, as at Colne Priory. In very magnificent monuments, such as that of the earl of Westmorland at Staindrop, the panels are complete models of little windows with arched heads, and the niches between them are richly carved, but in this case the weepers have unfortunately been destroyed. In one tomb at Earls Colne, of the end of the fourteenth century, the weepers are grouped in pairs beneath broad ogee canopies, a method which does not again become common till the end of the following century.

In the second half of the fifteenth century the usual scheme for an elaborate tomb is that followed at Norbury (plate ii, no. 2) with ogee-headed niches capped by a foliage finial, separated by buttresses. Sometimes a double-headed niche is formed, with the central support omitted, and ending in a kind of pendant, as at Ewelme (plate iv, no. 2), and Aldermaston (plate viii, no. 5). This enabled the later carvers to introduce groups of two or three weepers into each niche, as at Ashover (plate xi, no. 1), and these lead on into the transitional sixteenth-century groups with details of a Flemish renaissance type, like those at Kinlet (plate xi, no. 2). In some of these early sixteenth-century tombs the niches are round-headed and coarse, though still clumsily foiled, as at Castle Donington or Ross (plate ix, no. 6). In one or two other cases, as in one of the Vernon tombs at Tong (plate vii, no. 6) and the Smythe tomb at Elford, the sides are most elaborately carved with an almost flamboyant kind of tracery, and have only a few small figures introduced at intervals standing in niches with vaulting ribs represented under the projecting canopies. In some of the latest examples, as at Aldermaston, spiral columns are introduced at the corners.

At all periods plainer tomb-chests occur without weepers, sometimes decorated with niches, or with simple panelling, or heraldic devices. At the end of our period lozenge-shaped cusped panels containing shields become very common, and they seem to have been turned out by the dozen with very little variation. In the south-west Purbeck marble tombs, sometimes with canopies as at Melbury Sampford and Puddletown, came into fashion

again *c.* 1470, and later they spread over the Midlands, as at Turvey, Beds. In this last the cusped lozenge pattern and spiral corner columns are reproduced in the darker material, which sets off the alabaster figures on the top.

The weepers may be divided into three categories, angels, relatives of the deceased, and saints. Throughout our period the angel motive is very common. On the tombs they usually carry shields once blazoned with heraldry though in most cases the colours have faded or peeled off. Sometimes they have been refreshed in modern times, and occasionally, as at Dodford (plate iv, no. 1) the arms are carved in relief. In this last instance the angels at the end of the tomb kneel on either side of the shield. Some of the earlier angels are bare-headed, as at Bottesford (plate vi, no. 2) but later they usually wear a kind of low mitre, as at Dodford (plate iv, no. 1), Merevale (plate vi, no. 3) and elsewhere. At Willoughby-in-the-Wolds they have taller mitres, with a peak in the middle, surmounted by a cross (plate v, no. 1). The tips of the upper feathers of the wings are often turned up sharply, as at Lowick (plate vi, no. 1) and Ashbourne (plate vi, no. 4). This might be a special trick of certain workshops like that at Chellaston, where the Lowick tomb was made,¹ but they are so common that it is not safe to build too definite a theory on this practice. Angels are usually clad in an alb or surplice, but occasionally, as at Ewelme (plate iv, no. 2) they alternately wear albs and a kind of feathered tights, like the great wooden roof angels of the eastern counties. As this is the tomb of the duchess of Suffolk and other details of the chapel have a resemblance to eastern county work, there may be some connexion between these angels and the Norfolk and Suffolk work. Professor Prior has suggested that the feathered tights were the costumes worn by angels in the mystery plays, from which the sculptors draw some of their inspiration. In the later examples the hair is brushed up round the cap or mitre in such a way as to look from a distance almost like a brim to a hat. This is seen beginning at Lowick (plate vi, no. 1) and in a more extreme form at Ashbourne (plate vi, no. 4).

The commonest use of weepers was to represent the

¹ See p. 34, later.



WEEPERS (FEMALE).

NO. 1. WARWICK,
ST. MARY'S.

NO. 2. ELFORD, STAFFS.

NO. 3. NORBURY, DERBY-
SHIRE.

NO. 4. ST. GEORGE'S,
WINDSOR.

NO. 5. ALDERMASTON,
BERKS.

NO. 6. KINLET, SALOP.



WEEPERS (SAINTS).

NO. 1. WELLS CATHEDRAL.

NO. 2. ABERGAVENNY,
MON.

NO. 3. MINSTER LOVELL,
OXON.

NO. 4. BERKELEY,
GLOUCESTER.

NO. 5. ABERGAVENNY.

NO. 6. ROSS, HEREFORD-
SHIRE.

family, or relations of the deceased. It had long been the custom to place figures of sons and daughters on the tomb-chests, as in the case of the bronze statuettes on Edward III's tomb at Westminster, and of the earlier freestone tombs in the abbey. The motive was naturally taken up by the alabaster carvers. The actual family of the deceased is no doubt sometimes represented, but usually we should take these figures to be merely relatives or dependents, as it would be difficult always to produce the exact number of sons or daughters to fill the niches. In the tomb of Sir Nicholas Fitzherbert at Norbury his two wives are not represented by large effigies on the top of the tomb, but appear to be introduced in the two figures at the end of the tomb, the survivor being dressed as a widow (plate VIII, no. 3). In the case of the priest at Wells, small figures of canons appear in quire habit on the sides of the tomb-chest (plate VII, no. 2), and friars or bedesmen sometimes occur when the great man commemorated had founded a chantry or hospital, as at North Aston (plate VII, no. 4). All these figures are most useful examples of the dress of the time, and it is interesting to trace the development both of treatment and costume from the elegant king at Westminster with his slightly affected pose and exaggerated detail (plate VII, no. 1), through the richly-clad gentlemen and rather grim ladies of Warwick (plate VII, no. 3 and plate VIII, no. 1) to the graceful ladies of Elford (plate VIII, no. 2) and the gorgeous armour and cloaks of Norbury (plate VII, no. 5), and finally to the Tudor youth at Tong (plate VII, no. 6) and the varied head-dresses of the dames at Windsor, Aldermaston and Kinlet (plate VIII, nos. 4, 5, 6). The least attractive work is perhaps that of about 1470 or 1480, but beautiful figures are sometimes found, as at Ryther (plate X, no. 4), and with the early sixteenth century there is a fresh refinement of detail and an attempt to vary the attitudes. At Ashover, for instance (plate XI, no. 1) the shields have become mere heraldic emblems, and the weepers stand in groups of twos and threes sometimes holding one another by the hand. At Kinlet, with the first breath of the Renaissance (plate XI, no. 2), we have added refinement and an attempt to show the young warriors in attitudes indicative of grief, though the style of armour and

accessories is just the same as that of the previous fifty years.

As the tombs were made by the same men who were engaged upon the retables it is natural to find saints or biblical scenes introduced among the weepers. Figures like the St. Margaret (plate ix, no. 3) at Minster Lovell might do duty as part of a reredos. In some way too the sculptor, or rather those from whom he took his instructions, might have felt that he was putting the deceased under the protection of his favourite saints by placing their images on the tomb. Thus we find the Madonna at Abergavenny (plate ix, no. 5) and Minster Lovell, St. Luke at Berkeley (plate ix, no. 4) and at Ross St. Anne teaching the young Virgin to read (plate ix, no. 6). A tomb at Harewood *c.* 1490 has a very interesting set of saints, including St. Laurence with his gridiron, Edward the Confessor with his ring, and St. Stephen holding a pile of stones in his hand and otheis on his head (plate x, nos. 1, 2). Burton Agnes (Yorks.) also has a good series, of which we illustrate St. Anne and St. Katharine (plate x, no. 3). These saints are frequently ranged alternately with angels, as at Ross and Tong. At Abergavenny there are a number of figures holding scrolls, who appear to be prophets (plate ix, no. 2). Scenes are also introduced, the most common being the Annunciation, as at Wells (plate ix, no. 1) where again we notice the close correspondence to the work of the retable makers, and the same scene occupies the end of a tomb at Abergavenny with censing angels on each side (plate xii, no. 2). If it had not been for the square shape necessary for its position this last panel might have come straight from a reredos. Sometimes in this scene the angel and the Virgin occupy the opposite ends of the tomb-chest, with the ordinary weepers aranged between them, as at Kinlet, and in the late example at Ross on the monument to Judge Rudhall, *d.* 1529, the judge, his wife and family are all kneeling behind the angel, as though taking part in the proceedings.

When we come to deal with the effigies themselves there are one or two pitfalls to be avoided, and before attempting a classification of the figures a few general remarks will not be out of place. In the first place the



NOS. 1 AND 2. HAREWOOD, YORKS.

NO. 3. BURTON AGNES, YORKS.

NO. 4. RYTH, YORKS.



LATE WEEPERS.

NO. 1. ASHOVER, DERBYSHIRE: TOMB OF THOMAS BABYNGTON, d. 1518.

NO. 2. KINLET, SALOP: TOMB OF SIR JOHN BLOUNT, d. 1531.

popular identifications, and the labels often placed on the tombs, must be accepted with extreme caution. Inscriptions are rare before the latter part of our period, and as the heraldry was mainly added in colour which has perished, there is often considerable doubt as to the identity of the persons commemorated. Even where shields of arms still exist they often indicate little more than the family to which the deceased belonged, and we have to fall back upon the style of the costume and armour to find out whether we are dealing with father, son or grandson. Perhaps the crest, or badge worn on the helm upon which the head usually rests, except in some of the earlier examples, is a rather safer guide (see plate XIII, no. 2). Unfortunately, however, this is frequently broken off. Different families, too, seem to have adopted the same or very similar badges at different periods, and like the titles borne by their owners these were sometimes conveyed by marriage with an heiress without conforming to the strict rules of heredity and succession which later came into force. Thus the Hiltons of Swine bear the chaplet of Lascelles derived from their mother (plate XXVIII, nos. 1, 2), and retain it for more than one generation. In a similar way Warwick the 'kingmaker' derived his earldom from marriage with Anne, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. In the case of very well known people, such as kings, princes and bishops, the names given in the guide-books are, no doubt, mostly correct, but in many other instances it is unsafe to accept the traditional identifications, or the labels affixed by local antiquaries of a previous generation, without much further investigation than is possible for anyone engaged on a general description like this. To check all these would demand an amount of local knowledge and historic research that is far beyond the reach of the present writer, and the question arises whether it would not be safer to omit the names altogether. Personal connexions, however, add so much to the human interest that we can take in a monument that it is difficult to do otherwise than retain the traditional names, except in cases where the style of costume and armour shows them to be certainly wrong; but when these names are used here they must be taken as employed without absolute guarantee of their accuracy.

It must also be remembered that tombs were not always erected at the time of the death of the individual, but sometimes were prepared during his lifetime, and sometimes were not erected for years after his decease. Thus we know that the Lowick tomb was made within a year of Ralph Green's death, but the bronze effigy of Richard Beauchamp, the great earl of Warwick, who died in 1439 was not contracted for till 1450. In cases where husband and wife, or wives, were commemorated in the same monument, it might have been ordered on the death of any one of them, and where inscriptions are preserved, a blank space is sometimes left for the date of the death of one or other of the individuals represented. In disturbed times, too, such as those of the Wars of the Roses, which were going on for a great part of the alabaster period, many prominent men lost both their heads and their estates at the hands of the opposing faction, and it might be some time before a reverse of fortune enabled their descendants to pay the honours due to their ancestors.

Throughout the period there is little variety in pose and attitude of the effigies, and we miss the differences of posture and expression of the stone effigies of the beginning of the fourteenth century. Husband and wife lie side by side, with the knight's head resting on his helm and the lady's on a cushion,¹ the latter often supported by angels seated on the slab. The knight's feet usually rest on a lion or some other beast, forming his badge or figuring in his arms. The lady usually rests hers on little dogs, who are sometimes playing with the folds of her skirt, giving a living and playful touch to relieve the monotony of the conventional attitude, e.g. at Merevale, Ashwellthorpe, etc. At Norbury a little figure of a bedesman is perched on the lion at the feet of the knight, and this idea is repeated in a number of later monuments, as in that of the earl of Wiltshire at Lowick and in the fine well-preserved tomb of a member of the Redmayne family at Harewood (plate XIII, no. 1). In the last the little bedesman is used to hide the rather ugly sole of one of the clumsy sabatons which came into

¹ The angel and cushion scheme is also used at times for the knight, especially in the earlier examples, e.g. at Meriden.



NO. 1. GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL: KING EDWARD II, d. 1327.
NO. 2. ABERGAVENNY, MON.: END OF TOMB.



NO. 1. HAREWOOD, YORKS.

NO. 3. SWINE, YORKS.

PLATE XIII.



NO. 2. WINGFIELD, SUFFOLK.

NO. 4. RATCLIFFE, NOTTS.

fashion towards the end of the fifteenth century, the other being supported by the well-curved tuft of the lion's tail. Lord Willoughby de Broke at Callington, in Cornwall, has two bedesmen, one supporting each foot. Probably in these cases where the bedesmen occur the deceased had been patron or founder of a chantry or hospital. In the great tomb of the earl of Westmorland and his two wives at Staindrop, beyond the lions there is a series of little figures of clerks sitting on each side of a kind of lectern or reading desk, but unfortunately their heads and upper portions have been broken away, though their books are still open before them. The great bishop William of Wykeham at Winchester has three monks seated at his feet (plate xxi, no. 2).

Though almost all the stone knights of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries have their legs crossed, there are only three or four known instances of this attitude in alabaster. No doubt this pose, comfortable enough in ring mail, would have been awkward in the plate armour of the succeeding period. With one exception the cross-legged knights are all early, the figure at Hanbury (plate xxv, no. 1) being no product of the regular alabaster craftsmen, whose shops were not established at his date; Prince John of Eltham at Westminster (plate xxv, no. 3) is probably the work of London sculptors, for whose use the alabaster had been imported in the rough, while the knight at Wantage may be a local production (plate xxvi, no. 1). The one late example is a much mutilated knight at Burton-on-Trent, only recently moved from the open air into the local museum. It is in a terrible condition, but enough remains to show the attitude and to indicate a date of *c.* 1470, or even later. The shield at his side, which is also an almost unique feature at this date, is of a distinctly Tudor shape. It is strange that this solitary example of the cross-legged attitude should occur a hundred years later than any other known specimen.¹

In the alabaster knights the earlier sword-drawing *motif* is definitely abandoned, and hands are almost always

¹ Mr. P. B. Chatwin, F.S.A. has made a close examination of this figure, and has kindly sent me photographs of it, which

certainly bear out the description and dating given in the text.

folded in prayer. Sometimes, however, husband and wife clasp hands, especially in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, as at Warwick (plate xxix, no. 1), Elford (plate xxix, no. 2), Strelley (plate xxix, no. 3), Lowick (plate xxxvi, no. 1), and Wimborne (plate xiv, no. 1). In most cases the gauntlet is taken off and held in the left hand, in order to leave the right free to hold that of the lady. A late example occurs *c.* 1495 at Macclesfield.¹

All the effigies were, of course, gorgeously coloured and gilded. Much of this decoration has perished; time has caused the colours to fade and restorers have often cleaned off what was left during well-meant but unfortunate repairs. Many traces, however, still remain to enable us to form some idea of what the original effect must have been like. Sometimes the whole was completely covered, even the faces receiving a flesh tint, but usually the faces and hands were polished, leaving the beautiful material to give the effect required. Sometimes larger surfaces seem to have been left plain, only jewellery, sword belts, and borders of garments being painted or gilded, and jewels of paste or glass were inserted when opportunity occurred. Even in their present condition the alabaster figures preserve more of their original surface than the stone effigies of the previous generation, as elaborate details and rich patterns were worked in the soft alabaster itself, instead of being added afterwards in the gesso which has mostly come off the free-stone effigies in the centuries of neglect and vandalism.

In seeking to identify the figures on the tombs with actual persons it must be borne in mind that portraiture, in the modern sense of the word, can hardly be said to have existed in mediæval times. It is possible that here and there some attempt was made to conform to the general type of the person represented, especially in the case of kings or very great people, but the imagers seem to have paid far greater attention to costume and armour, to badges of rank or fashionable head-dress than to the actual features of the deceased. Katharine Green at

¹ See Crossley's *Mediæval Monumental Effigies in Cheshire*, no. 32 (*Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire*, 1925).



INSIGNIA OF THE GARTER.

- NO. 1. WIMBORNE, DORSET: DUKE OF SOMERSET, d. 1444.
NO. 2. EWELME, OXON: DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK, d. 1477. '
NO. 3. CALLINGTON, CORNWALL: LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE, d. 1503.



NO. 1. ASHWELLTHORPE, NORFOLK :
SIR EDMUND DE THORPE, d. 1418.

NO. 3. LONGFORD, DERBYSHIRE.

NO. 2. ASHWELLTHORPE, NORFOLK :
LADY THORPE.

NO. 4. HOLME PIERREPONT, NOTTS :
SIR HENRY PIERREPONT, d. 1499.

Lowick orders a 'counterfeit of an esquire all armed for battle,' and though minute directions are given for all details of the tomb, this is the only direction as to the individual representation of her husband. If we look through a series of photographs we cannot fail to notice how they all conform to the fashionable type of the period. It is possible that the king would set the fashion of hair-dressing and general type of face to which all his distinguished subjects liked to conform. • Thus Henry V was clean shaven, probably finding a beard inconvenient under a helmet, and from his time onward moustache and beard are rare, and hair is worn short until Henry VII introduced the fashion of wearing it down to his shoulders, while beards do not re-appear till the days of Henry VIII. The first bearded knight of the sixteenth century is probably Thomas Essex in St. Michael's, Coventry (plate XLVI, no. 3). Here and there more attention has been given to the actual features as in the bronzes of Edward III and Richard II at Westminster, and the alabaster head of Henry IV at Canterbury (plate XXIV, no. 2) certainly suggests a portrait, and brings out a strange resemblance to his distant successor Edward VII. Some of the later effigies of the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries have an individual treatment which may be an attempt at portraiture as in the duke of Suffolk at Wingfield (plate LII, no. 1) or the priest in St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol (plate XXII, no. 2), but these instances almost exhaust the list, and speaking generally it would be rash to try to ascertain the actual features of historic personages by examining their tombs, even if some sort of approximation to the general type of the deceased may sometimes have been in the sculptor's mind. Even the Bristol priest, which has such a strong appearance of individuality, may be only a type favoured by a particular sculptor; this is rather suggested by a comparison with the face of the judge at Yatton, not very far off, which bears a strong family likeness to the Bristol figure (plate XXII, no. 1) (see also p. 54 later).

Symbols of rank, as stated above, were of much greater importance than personal features. Kings, princes and dukes wear crown or coronet, and bishops and abbots their mitre and full mass vestments in accordance with

their position. Towards the end of our period some priests are represented in cope or quire habit. Ladies of noble families also assert their rank by wearing coronet or knightly collar. Thus Isabella Nevill, niece of the king-maker, who is represented on the tomb at Elford as second wife of Sir William Smythe, in her glittering coronet (plate xxxviii, no. 2) completely outshines her predecessor, who lies on the other side of her husband. Knights of the Garter are represented in their robes towards the end of our period, the rich cloak, embroidered with the symbol of the order on the left shoulder, being worn over the armour, as in the duke of Suffolk at Wingfield (plate lxi, no. 1) or Sir John Cheyney at Salisbury (plate lxi, no. 3). Lord Willoughby de Broke (*d.* 1503) at Callington, Cornwall (plate xiv, no. 3) not only wears the collar and robe and the Garter, but has the Garter with its motto ('*Honi soit qui mal y pense*') repeated several times on the tomb-chest, where it encircles his shield of arms. In earlier cases there was no robe, and we find the Garter merely strapped below the left knee, as shown in the duke of Somerset at Wimborne (plate xiv, no. 1) or Lord Bardolf at Dennington (plate xxxii, no. 1). In the rare instances where this order was conferred upon a woman it was worn on the left wrist, as at Ewelme by the duchess of Suffolk (plate xiv, no. 2).

More decorative still were the elaborate collars worn by knights and ladies of rank. The most important is that known as the SS collar. The origin and meaning of this famous decoration are lost in obscurity and have offered a wide field for conjecture. There seems to be little doubt that it was a livery collar of the House of Lancaster and was probably instituted by John of Gaunt. Mr. Oswald Barron, F.S.A. writing in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, refers to a complaint by the earl of Arundel before parliament in 1394 that Richard II was wont to wear the livery of the collar of the duke of Lancaster, his uncle, and that people of the king's following wore the same livery. The king replied that after his uncle's return from Spain in 1389, he himself took the collar from the duke's neck, and put it on his own, which collar the king would wear and use for a sign of the good and whole-hearted love between them. The late



NO. 1. HAREWOOD : SS COLLAR ELABORATED.

NO. 3. HAREWOOD : YORKIST COLLAR OF SUNS AND ROSES.

NO. 2. STAINDROP : SS COLLAR, EARLY FORM.

NO. 4. HAREWOOD : TUDOR COLLAR OF SS AND ROSES.



NO. 1. WILLOUGHBY-IN-THE-WOLDS, NOTTS.
NO. 3. METHLEY, YORKS.

NO. 2. WEOBLEY, HEREFORD.
NO. 4. BROMSGROVE, WORCS.

dean of York quotes¹ Gower's *Vox Clamantis* (1387), where Henry of Lancaster is referred to 'qui gerit S,' and a wardrobe account of Henry in 1391-1392 in which figures the item: 'Pro I colu auri facto pro domino Henrico Lancastrie, comite Derb. cum xxii literis de S.' In 1401 a statute was passed granting permission to all sons of the king, and to dukes, earls, barons and lesser barons, to 'use the livery of our lord the king of his collar as well in his absence as in his presence, and to knights and esquires in his presence only.'² There can be little doubt that this collar came into general use among the most distinguished adherents of the Lancastrian cause with the accession of Henry IV in 1399, and it was worn by women as well as men. It would be a useful guide in dating effigies if we could say that it was not used before that date, but there are a few cases that appear to be earlier, and the wearers would then seem to have been specially attached to the household of John of Gaunt. The earliest instance at present known is the collar of an effigy at Spratton, Northants (plate xxvii, no 5), which is identified by the heraldry as Sir John Swinford, who died in 1371. He was a follower of John of Gaunt, and even if a few years elapsed before the tomb was set up, the style of armour etc. clearly belongs to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Another early example is on the tomb attributed to Sir John Marmion, at Tanfield, who died in 1386, and here again the figure is distinctly fourteenth-century in style, even if it should be proved to belong to another member of the Marmion family. The effigy attributed to Sir Thomas Arderne (d. 1391) at Elford (plate xxix, no. 2) also has an SS collar, but this tomb may really be that of Sir John de Arderne, who died in 1408. In the earliest form of the collar the esses seem to have been of metal attached to a band of leather, or some such material. The letters were gilded and the band painted green. Good examples may be quoted from Ashwellthorpe (plate xv, nos. 1, 2), Longford (plate xv, no. 3), and Staindrop (plate xvi, no. 2). In some cases the letters are worked up into a more intricate pattern, as at Tong

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. T. Romans for this reference.

² See also A. Hartshorne on the SS collar, *Arch. Journ.* xxxix.

(plate xxxvi, no. 2) or combined with a kind of metal chain as at Harewood (plate xvi, no. 1).

What the SS stands for is a matter of conjecture and has been a puzzle to generations of antiquaries. The suggestion that it stands for Henry IV's motto 'Soverayne,' which is put forward by Stothard, seems disproved by its earlier use by John of Gaunt. That it stands for 'Senescallus,' the office of steward of England having been bestowed on John of Gaunt, seems far-fetched. One attractive explanation, is that offered by Mr. H. B. McCall, F.S.A. in his *Richmondshire Churches*, where he suggests the origin to be a motto 'Soveine vous de moy,' the forget-me-not having been a favourite flower of Henry IV before he became king. In 1397-1398 Herman Goldsmith provided a collar 'cum eses et floribus de Souveigne vous de moy.' The statue of Henry V on the quire-screen at York wears the SS collar, and a band across the breast bears the words 'Memento mei.' Figures of John Beaufort and his duchess in glass at Landbeach (Cambs.) have beneath them the words 'Souvent me souvient.'

The obvious suggestion that the eses stand for 'Sanctus' obtains some confirmation from a reference to a collar of gold in John of Gaunt's will,¹ where he speaks of it as having the names of God written on each part of it. This might refer to the 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,' or alternatively to 'Salvator.' This particular collar is spoken of as having been given to John of Gaunt by his mother. Hartshorne says² that church vestments were not unfrequently powdered with eses for 'Sanctus.'

The Yorkists, in their turn, introduced the collar of suns and roses, good examples of which occur at Norbury (plate xxxvii, no. 3), Harewood (plate xvi, no. 3) and Holme Pierrepont (plate xv, no. 4). If Dr. Cox is right in assigning this last tomb to Sir Henry Pierrepont, who died in 1499, and the armour is certainly late fifteenth-century in type, it shows that this collar could still be worn after the deposition of Richard III in 1485. The

¹ Extract from will of John of Gaunt, 1398. 'Je ly devise un fermail d'or del veil manere, et escript les noms de Dieu en chascun part de icel fermail, la quel ma treshonoré dame et miere la Roigne . . . me donna.'

² *Arch Journ.* loc. cit. See also articles in *Proc. Soc. Antig. Newcastle-on-Tyne*, 3rd ser. vol. vii, 1916, nos. 16 and 17 (pp. 204, 223), and *Church of Our Fathers*, by Rev. D. Rock.



NO. 1. BERKELEY, GLOUCESTER.
NO. 3. SOUTH COWTON, YORKS.

NO. 2. HAREWOOD, YORKS.
NO. 4. LINGFIELD, SURREY.



- NO. 1. DURHAM: BISHOP HATFIELD, d. 1381.
 NO. 2. WINCHESTER: BISHOP EDINGTON, d. 1366.
 NO. 3. WELLS: BISHOP HAREWELL, d. 1386.
 NO. 4. GLOUCESTER: ABBOT SEABROKE, d. 1457.
 NO. 5. SAWLEY, DERBY: PREBENDARY BOTHE, d. 1496.

lady at Wethersfield (plate I, no. 2) also appears to be after 1485. In a few instances during the reign of Henry VII an attempt was made to combine the York and Lancaster collars in a special Tudor collar formed of esses alternating with roses. Good examples of this may be found at Harewood (plate xvi, no. 4) and South Cowton (Yorks.). In the figure attributed to Sir Thomas Erdington at Aston (*d.* 1433), but evidently not made till thirty years later, the esses have been removed from the collar, which remains blank, suggesting family feuds or the changing of sides in those troublous times.

Henry VII restored the SS collar, and it again becomes common in his reign, the design being often elaborated and enriched, as at Elford (plate xxxviii, no. 2) and Eye (plate xlv, no. 3). In these later examples the collar was broader, and hangs down lower over the breast than in the earlier instances. These collars were valuable and prized possessions, and are specifically mentioned in wills as a special bequest, as in that of Sir John Darell in 1509.¹

In dating effigies the chief criterion must be the costume and armour of the knights, and as inscriptions are rare until the end of our period we are much helped by the wonderful series of contemporary brasses, many of which have preserved their inscriptions. There are, however, one or two strange differences in the alabaster and brass treatment, which should be noticed. For instance, the orle, or jewelled chaplet worn round the bascinet, which is such a feature in the splendid alabasters of the first half of the fifteenth century, as at Dennington (plate xxxii, no. 1), Bromsgrove (plate xvii, no. 4), and Tong (plate xxxvi, no. 2), is very rare in the brasses. In the famous manuscript² illustrating the life of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, the earl is described as entering a tournament with his bascinet decorated with a 'chapellet rich of perle & precious stones.' It was a very decorative feature and was eagerly seized upon by the alabaster carvers as giving an opportunity to make

¹ His effigy still exists in Little Chart church, Kent. Mr. Ralph Griffin, F.S.A. gives the extract from his will in *Archæologia Cantiana*, xxxvi (1923), pp. 139, 140: 'To Dame Anne my wif my coler of gold of esses.'

² Published by Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, Longmans Green & Co. 1914.

the most of their fine-grained material. In the second half of the fifteenth century great ladies frequently wore their hair loose and simply encircled by a coronet as at Elford (plate xxxviii, no. 2) or Lockington (plate LI, no. 2): when they had not the necessary qualification for a coronet they sometimes substituted a kind of orle, as at Turvey, Thurlaston (plate xlvi, no. 1) or Batley (plate xlvi, no. 2). It occurs also in an exaggerated form on the head of Sir Robert Waterton at Methley (plate xvii, no. 3), where he is represented in armour, but without the usual bascinet found at his date (1424). In this case the orle is substituted, and is very large and richly carved, looking like a sort of turban.

The differences between the brass treatment and that of the alabasters is perhaps most marked in the transitional period between the camail and jupon knights and that of the fully developed plate armour,—our Period III in the following classification. Besides the rarity of the orle¹ in the brasses already mentioned, there are quite a number of differences. For instance, figures wearing taces (i.e. the skirt of overlapping hoop-like plates) without the tuilles (i.e. the pointed pendant plates bolted on to the taces, and protecting the thighs) are much commoner in the brasses than in the alabasters. In the brasses too the shoulders are protected by roundels, or circular palettes in nearly every case, while in the effigies in the round such plates are commonly omitted, or when introduced are of all kinds of shapes.² The elaborately embossed hip-belt also lasts longer in the alabasters than in the brasses, perhaps because it afforded an opportunity for the rich decoration beloved of the Nottingham carvers. It is retained as an ornament, or merely to support the misericorde, or dagger, long after it had been superseded by the diagonal bawdric, or sword belt (see p. 26 below), though both belts do not occur together on the brasses. Very often, in the latter the misericorde is simply laid beside the knight without any apparent support. These

¹ The orle occurs in brasses at Lingfield, Spilsby and Harpham. I am indebted to Mr. F. E. Howard for drawing my attention to several of these points in this comparison between the alabasters and brasses.

² Round ones occur in the two earliest knights at Harewood (plate xvi, no. 1), at Wootton Wawen and at Methley (plate xvii, no. 3).



NO. 1. WELLS:
BISHOP RALPH OF SHREWSBURY,
d. 1363.



NO. 2. CANTERBURY:
ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY,
d. 1396.



NO. 3. WINCHESTER :
BISHOP WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM,
d. 1404.



NO. 4. WELLS :
BISHOP BECKYNGTON,
d. 1465.



NO. 1. WINCHESTER: BISHOP WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, d. 1404.

NO. 2. THE SAME: FOOT OF TOMB.

differences are probably due mainly to the differing technique required for the metal and the alabaster. A simpler scheme was desirable in the brasses which were more or less outline drawings, and the engravers shirked the delicate detail and intersecting lines which are so effective in the alabaster.

It is also difficult to recognise in the alabasters the famous butterfly head-dress of the brasses. This is partly because a more restrained treatment is necessitated by the recumbent position, with the head resting on a pillow. The science of perspective, too, was evidently not quite mastered by the makers of the brasses, and it is difficult to see exactly what they intended to represent. Probably, therefore, the alabaster version in the round gives a more accurate idea of what was actually worn, and the student of costume should therefore turn to such effigies as those at Ilton, Methley (plate XLII, no. 3), Kinlet (plate XLV, no. 1) or Marnhull (plate XLIII, no. 1), rather than to the brasses for information, though the brasses attempt to give the effect of the fluttering kerchief hanging down behind, which in the alabasters has to be folded back, or spread flat over the cushion.

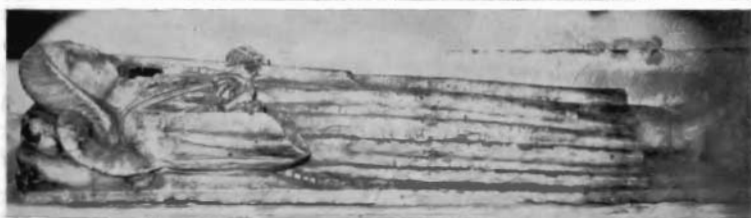
Widows are usually modestly veiled, and wear a barbe over the chin, as at Stourton Caundle (plate XXXIV, no. 3), Haversham (plate XXX, no. 1), Lingfield (plate XVIII, no. 4) and Harewood (plate XVIII, no. 2). In a few cases small figures of children are placed in the folds of the draperies at the side. At Kinlet there is an infant tightly wrapped in swaddling clothes (often described as a *chrism child*), indicating perhaps that the lady died in giving birth to the child (plate XXXIV, no. 1). At Horwood two sons are placed on one side, and two daughters on the other (plate XXXIV, no. 2), while at Stourton Caundle there is a whole column of little figures, one above another, too worn to be made out clearly, but apparently illustrating the same idea (plate XXXIV, no. 3). At Burton Agnes a small figure of a son in full armour is placed on the slab beside his father, and another of a daughter beside her mother, both small figures being practically replicas on a reduced scale of the main effigies (plate XLII, no. 1).

Recumbent effigies may be divided into those of kings, civilians, knights, ladies and ecclesiastics, but, as already

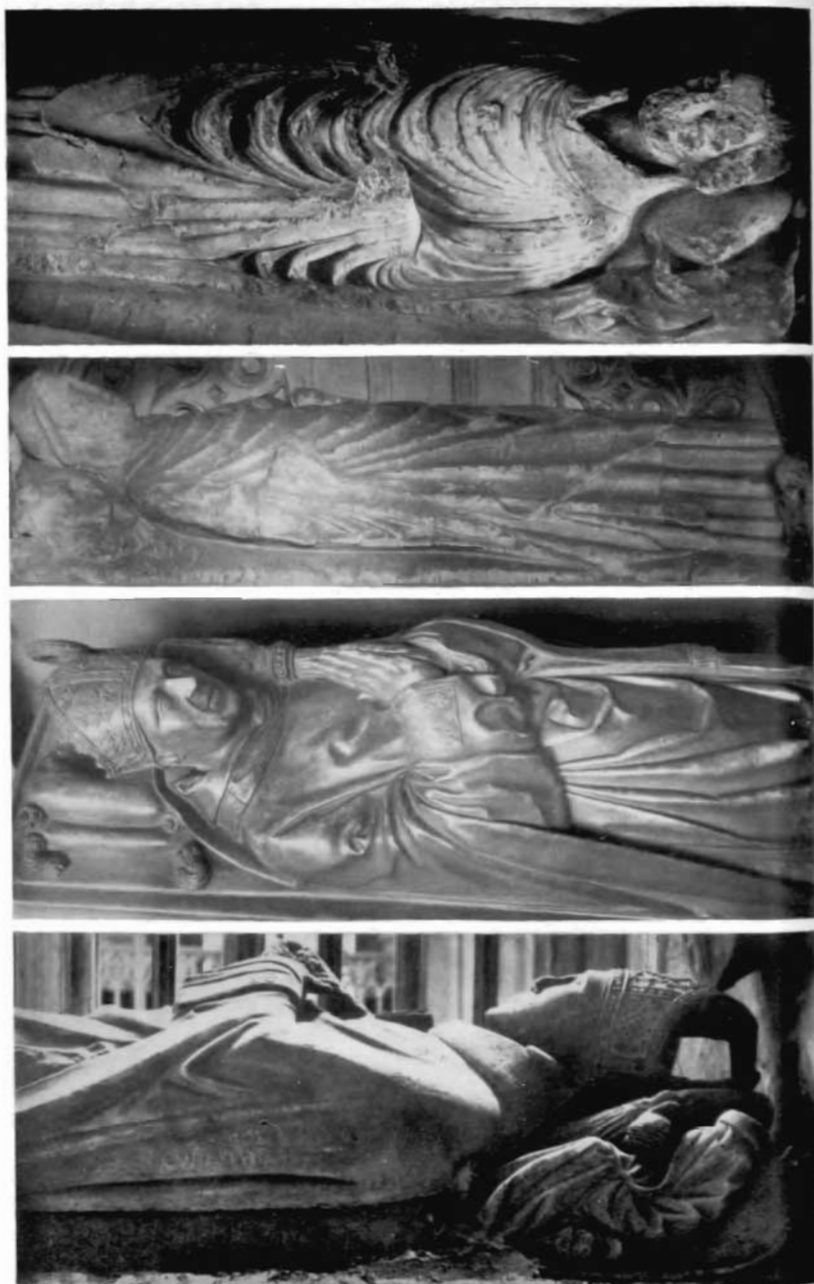
stated, the armour of the knights is the most distinctive feature upon which classification can be based, and it will be convenient to let the others fall into their places beside the knights. The head-dresses of the ladies follow a course of evolution more or less parallel to that of the armour of their husbands, but the ecclesiastics are more constant to type throughout the period. Mass vestments are very much the same all through, and it is much more difficult to date a bishop or priest than any other personage, as we have to judge merely by subtle differences of style and treatment. In a few instances towards the end of our period the quire habit is worn, as in the figure of John Bothe, prebendary of Lichfield, at Sawley (plate xix, no. 5).

The earliest bishops, such as archbishop Stratford at Canterbury, *d.* 1348 (plate xxiv, no. 1) or bishop Hatfield at Durham, *d.* 1381 (plate xix, no. 1), still retain something of the free experimental style of the earlier fourteenth-century types. Later the treatment tends to become more dry and linear, as in abbot Seabroke (*d.* 1457) at Gloucester (plate xix, no. 4); while towards the end of our period there is a tendency to a more individual treatment of feature that we have already noticed in the priest at Bristol (plate xxii, no. 2).

The classification here adopted is according to date, and the alabaster effigies may be roughly divided into five categories. These may overlap slightly, and there are some transitional figures, while time naturally brought some development from the earlier to the later examples of the same category. On the whole, however, as the main centres of production seem to have been near together, in the neighbourhood of Nottingham and Burton, new styles were quickly adopted in all the workshops, and such overlappings would not be for more than a few years. The five main divisions are as follows: (i) early experiments before 1350; (ii) the Edwardian, from 1350 to about 1420; (iii) the Lancastrian, from about 1415 to 1450; (iv) the Yorkist, from about 1440 to 1485; (v) the Tudor, from 1480 to 1530 or 1540, after which the Italian motives begin to oust the national style. These names are not strictly accurate, especially no. (iv), which includes part of Henry VI's reign, and would perhaps be more correctly described as that of the Wars of the Roses, in



- NO. 1. YATTON, SOMERSET: SIR RICHARD NEWTON (JUDGE), d. 1449,
AND SECOND WIFE, d. 1475.
NO. 2. BRISTOL, ST. MARY REDCLIFFE: PRIEST, c. 1500.
NO. 3. ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH: PILGRIM.
NO. 4. GLASTONBURY: A LAY BURSAR, c. 1470-1480.



- NO. 1. BARROW-ON-TRENT: PRIEST, END FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
 NO. 2. YELVERTOFT: PRIEST, MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
 NO. 3. LEICESTER: BISHOP PENNY, d. 1520.
 NO. 4. GLOUCESTER: ABBOT PARKER, d. 1535.

which case we might call no. (ii) that of Crécy and Poitiers, and no. (iii) that of Agincourt, but the dynastic names are shorter and more convenient.

PERIOD I. EARLY EXPERIMENTS BEFORE 1350.

The earliest known alabaster effigy is that at Hanbury, near the Tutbury quarries, attributed to Sir John de Hanbury who died in 1303 (plate xxv, no. 1). It is a cross-legged figure in mail and surcoat, with shield on the left arm and drawing the sword from the scabbard, just in the manner of the freestone knights that were being produced all over England *c.* 1300. The alabaster is of the brownish streaky variety, not the pure white kind which was mostly in use till the end of the Gothic period, and this tomb is evidently the work of the usual monumental masons experimenting in the local stone.

The first sign of the discovery of the suitability of alabaster for tombs may be found in its employment for a group of royal monuments in the first half of Edward III's reign. A magnificent monument was erected to Edward II at Gloucester, consisting of an alabaster figure of the king, resting on a Purbeck marble tomb under an elaborate freestone canopy, and this mixed construction suggests the idea that it was the work of the royal masons. Professor Lethaby mentions several Gloucester masons as working for the king at Westminster at about this time, and, as London has no building-stone of its own, the London sculptors would have been used to working in varied materials imported from elsewhere. The head of Edward II (plate xii, no. 1) is of an ideal type, belonging to the early fourteenth century, and, though it may have been somewhat touched up when the canopy was mended, the face is strikingly beautiful. The head is supported by angels in the Westminster manner of the preceding period.

Another early alabaster is to be found on the tomb of prince John of Eltham, son of Edward II, who died in 1334, and was buried at Westminster (plate xxv, no. 3). Here again the tomb is of mixed materials, effigy and weepers being of alabaster, but the weepers are cut out

and set against a background of dark stone. The splendid canopy has disappeared, though drawings of it still exist. The effigy is the direct successor of the royal tombs of the sanctuary. The prince lies with his head supported by angels and legs crossed, and wears the cyclas, a kind of surcoat cut short in front, worn only at about this period. Here again we are probably justified in assuming a London origin, the alabaster having been imported in the rough.

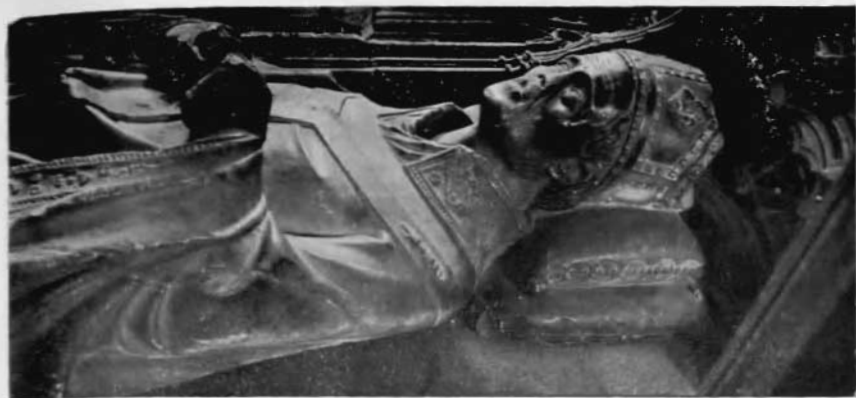
Prince William of Hatfield, second son of Edward III, who died about 1346 when quite a young boy, has a very pleasing, though much worn effigy, about 4 ft. 6 ins. long, at York (plate xxv, no. 4). It is a valuable example of the costume of a noble youth of the period, and the elaborate embroideries of the tunic, and borders of the cloak, gave the sculptor an opportunity of making use of the qualities of his beautiful material.

A small tomb of alabaster was also erected at Westminster to two infant children of Edward III. As they died soon after birth, this tomb, which represents them as at least ten years old, is evidence that portraiture, as we know it, was not taken seriously at this time. The Westminster accounts show that John Orchard was paid 20 shillings for this little tomb. He is otherwise known as a latoner, or bronze-worker, and made the metal weepers for Queen Philippa's tomb. It looks, therefore, as though the contractor, or tomb-furnisher, was beginning to replace the mason-craftsman of the earlier period. Queen Philippa's own effigy was made by Hawkin Liège, a Frenchman, and so hardly comes within our list of English monuments. It also appears to be of white marble, and not of alabaster, as it has usually been described, and so comes definitely outside the scope of this article.¹

Archbishop Stratford at Canterbury, who died in 1348 (plate xxiv, no. 1), is probably our earliest ecclesiastic in alabaster. Though somewhat mutilated the effigy is also the best as a work of art. The face was delicately rendered and the folds of the chasuble are arranged with consummate skill and variety, details of the stole and other ornaments

¹ Professor Prior was the first to draw my attention to this point. His opinion is now confirmed by the Royal Com-

mission on Historical Monuments, in their sumptuous volume on *Westminster Abbey*, 1924.



- NO. 1. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL: ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD, d. 1348.
NO. 2. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL: KING HENRY IV, d. 1413.
NO. 3. EWELME, OXON: ALICE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK, d. 1477.



- NO. 1. HANBURY, STAFFS: EARLIEST ALABASTER EFFIGY, *c.* 1300.
 NO. 2. GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL: KING EDWARD II, d. 1327.
 NO. 3. WESTMINSTER ABBEY: PRINCE JOHN OF ELTHAM, d. 1334.
 NO. 4. YORK MINSTER: PRINCE WILLIAM OF HATFIELD, d. *c.* 1346.
 NO. 5. TEWKESBURY ABBEY: SIR HUGH DESPENSER, d. 1349.

being elaborately chased. Ecclesiastics in alabaster do not become common until the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Professor Prior is of opinion that the earlier alabaster bishops, like the princes, came from London, or, at any rate, are of Westminster inspiration, indicating an origin of the trade in the royal workshop, from which it spread to Nottingham and places like Chellaston in the immediate neighbourhood of the quarries, which thenceforth became the chief centre of manufacture. Bishop Hatfield of Durham (plate xix, no 1) has the elaborate embroideries of the York prince (plate xxv, no. 4), and the Durham accounts mention the importation of marble and alabaster from London in 1372 and 1380. Bishop Ralph of Wells, *d.* 1363, whose effigy should by its date be placed in our next section (plate xx, no. 1), has considerable likeness in general treatment to archbishop Stratford. This effigy, too, has a strong resemblance to the stone figure of bishop Sheppey of Rochester (*d.* 1360), which would presumably be of London work.

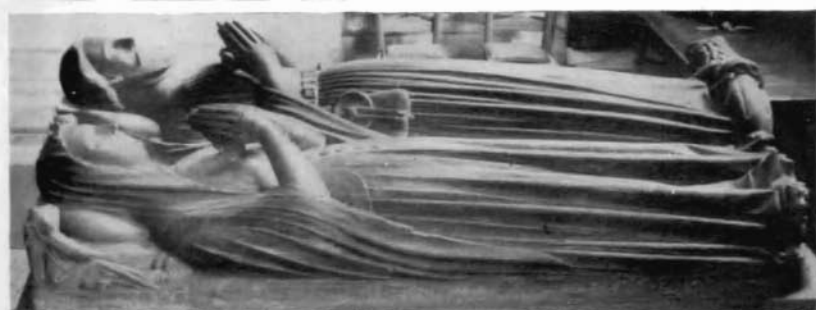
It is difficult to classify the first knights in armour as belonging to this period or the next. The most important of these transitional figures is Sir Hugh Despenser at Tewkesbury, *d.* 1349 (plate xxv, no. 5), who lies with his lady beneath a superb canopy of the Gloucester type. He wears a round-topped bascinet, and over the mail a tight-fitting jupon of leather, while his wife wears the sideless *côte-hardi* with large buttons down the front, and the extraordinary square-framed head-dress in fashion at the time, composed of a series of little frills. This is sometimes called the *nebule* or *nebuly* head-dress.

PERIOD II. THE EDWARDIAN, 1350-1420.

This is also known as the *camail* and *jupon* period, from these distinctive features which occur throughout till superseded by the plate armour of the next class. The *camail* is the curtain of ring-mail suspended from the helmet and falling over the shoulders, protecting the neck; the *jupon* is the smooth leather garment without sleeves, descending below the waist, as shown in the

Dispenser monument referred to above. Arms and legs are protected by plate armour and small roundels of steel begin to be used to protect the joints on shoulder and elbow. The jupon was often fringed or scalloped at the bottom, and was no doubt blazoned with the arms of the wearer. The latter are only occasionally worked in relief but in all cases must have been brilliantly coloured. Richly decorated sword-belts, often set with jewels, and magnificently designed clasps are very decorative features. To begin with, these are of the horizontal type, worn rather low on the hips, and are usually formed of a series of squares decorated with a conventional flower pattern, though a few of the earlier knights have round bosses, as at Meriden. About 1400 the sloping *bawdric* or sword belt began to come into use, as in the later Swine effigies (plate xxxi, no. 1). In most of the richly carved figures of the first half of the fifteenth century the *bawdric* is used in addition to the horizontal hip-belt, though the use of the latter seems purely decorative, and its only function is to support the misericorde, or dagger, on the right side. The splendid effigies at Tong and Dennington (plate xxxii, no. 1) may be cited as examples, though these belong to our period iii. Both kinds of sword-belt are used in period iv, but it becomes less usual for both to be used together, and the hip-belt gradually disappears.

Early examples of type ii knights may be found in Sir John de Herteshull at Ashton, Northants, who died in 1365 (plate xxvi, no. 1), and in one of the De Veres, earls of Oxford, at Colne Priory (plate xxvii, no. 1). The latter shows the star of the De Veres on his jupon; the bascinet is of the pointed shape that now becomes common, and the end of the mail shirt just shows below the jupon. The knight at Ashton is much broken, but is interesting as it has one of the few early inscriptions giving the name of the deceased, which do not become common till quite the end of the mediaeval period. It runs as follows:—‘MONSR IOHAN D’HERTESHULL GIST YEY DIEU D’SA AIME EYT MERCY AMEN.’ The cross-legged knight at Wantage (plate xxvi, no. 1) has already been referred to. He lies beside a lady in a framed, or nebuly, head-dress, and is believed to be Sir William Fitzwarren, who died in 1361.



- NO. 1. WANTAGE, BERKS : SIR WILLIAM FITZWARREN, d. 1361. ,
NO. 2. ASHTON, NORTHANTS : JOHAN D'HERTESHULL, d. 1365.
NO. 3. LONDON, GREAT ST. HELENS : JOHN OTESWICH.
NO. 4. HULL : SIR WILLIAM DE LA POLE, d. 1367.



- NO. 1. COLNE PRIORY, ESSEX: EARL OF OXFORD, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
 NO. 2. CLIFTON, NOTTS: SIR GERVASE CLIFTON (?), TEMP. RICHARD II.
 NO. 3. CLIFTON, NOTTS: DAME ALICE CLIFTON (NEVILL).
 NO. 4. NUTTALL, NOTTS: SIR ROBERT COKEFIELD.
 NO. 5. SPRATTON, NORTHANTS: SIR JOHN SWINFORD, d. 1371.

Other early specimens may be found in Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, *d.* 1371, at Warwick (plate xxix, no. 1), and Thomas lord Berkeley, *d.* 1364, at Berkeley. Both of these lie on great table-tombs with their wives beside them in long cloaks and framed, or nebuly, head-dresses, in these rounded, not square, and in front almost suggesting a modern lord chancellor's wig (plate xviii, no. 1). In the earl of Warwick the jupon is bulged out in a way that indicates the wearing of a steel breastplate underneath.

The figure probably representing Sir Gervase Clifton at Clifton, near Nottingham (plate xxvii, no. 2) may be taken as typical of the martial effigies of the reign of Richard II. The camail is well shown, and the elaborate decorations covering the joints of the armour on arms and legs add the richness of effect which the alabaster-men loved. On the jupon the lion rampant of the Cliftons is carved in low relief. Another effigy in the same church (plate xxvii, no. 3) may be taken as his wife and is a good example of female costume of the time. She has discarded the clumsy framed head-dress worn at the middle of the century and the hair is confined in an elaborately jewelled net with a kerchief thrown over the top, and brought down lower in the middle in front. In some cases the ladies seem to have even shaved their foreheads, the notion being that this gave them a more intellectual appearance! There was considerable variety in these head-dresses towards the end of the century; Lady Marmion at Tanfield wears a close-fitting cap (plate xxx, no. 3) and in other cases, as at Swine (plate xxviii, no. 1) a simple kerchief or veil is thrown over the head more in the fashion of the thirteenth century. In the latter case it may signify that the lady was a widow, and this was certainly so when worn with a barbe, a piece of crimped material drawn over the chin and covering the neck, as at Harewood and Lingfield (plate xviii, nos. 2, 4).

The knight beside the lady at Swine is an excellent example of the earlier type of camail and jupon knight, just as the later warriors in the same church (plates xxviii, no. 2; xxxi, no. 2) are among our best specimens of its later development. He wears steel protection at the joints, on shoulder, elbow and knee, and the leather jupon ends

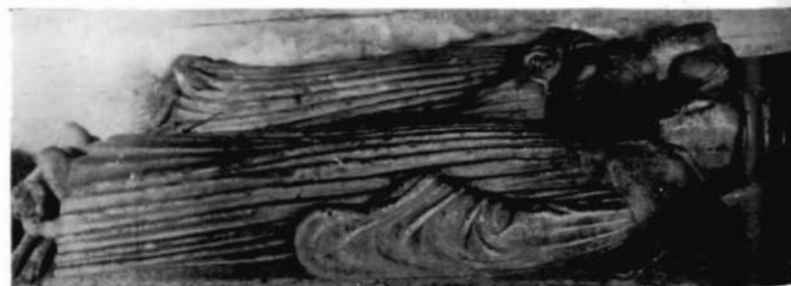
in a scalloped fringe, below which the end of the mail shirt is shown. The jupon is embroidered with the chaplet of Lascelles, and he is believed to be a member of the Hilton family, one of whom had married a Lascelles heiress. The elaborate hip-belt, from which the misericorde, or dagger, once hung, is a feature in all these figures.

The knight at Spratton has already been alluded to as the first wearer of the SS collar (plate xxvii, no. 5). He is an excellent specimen of the armour of the middle of this period. About 1400 there is a tendency to greater elaboration, though without any marked alteration of general type. The ridge of the bascinet, from which the camail hangs, becomes more emphasised, and the narrow bands of chased ornament over the joints, noted at Clifton, become commoner. The orle, or jewelled chaplet worn round the bascinet, also becomes a usual feature, and adds greatly to the decorative effect. It began, apparently, as a flat decorative band, as in the figure of Sir Hugh Calveley, *d.* 1394, at Bunbury, Cheshire, and at Birmingham and Wootton Wawen looks more like a chain, but soon became a kind of padded roll, enriched with embroidery and jewels, as in the fine effigy of William lord Roos, K.G. *d.* 1414, at Bottesford (plate xxxvii, no. 1). This figure rests his head on a good example of the great tilting helm, or heaume, crowned with its peacock crest, and the SS collar is worn over the camail. The knight at Nuttall (plate xxvii, no. 4) and the later ones at Swine (plate xxviii, no. 2; xxxi, no. 2) are typical specimens of this later type of the camail and jupon warriors. The joints of the armour, especially on arms and legs, are enriched with the narrow bands of ornament referred to above, which give these figures a very sumptuous appearance. Some idea of the elaboration of detail in the later examples of this period may be gained by examining the sword-hilt and scabbard of the knight at Meriden (plate xl, no. 3), a feature which has been unfortunately broken off in so many of the effigies that have come down to us.

The great tombs, surrounded by weepers, at Elford and Strelley (plate xxix, nos. 2, 3), rank among the finest of the later examples of our type II. That at Elford is usually attributed to Sir Thomas Arderne, *d.* 1391, but



- NO. 1. SWINE: A HILTON, *c.* 1370.
 NO. 2. SWINE: A HILTON, *c.* 1420.
 NO. 3. STAINDROP: RALPH NEVILL, EARL OF WESTMORLAND, d. 1425.
 NO. 4. HAREWOOD: A REDMAYNE, *c.* 1430.



- NO. 1. WARWICK, ST. MARY'S : THOMAS BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, d. 1371.
 NO. 2. ELFORD, STAFFS : SIR JOHN ARDERNE, d. 1408 (?)
 NO. 3. STRELLEY, NOTTS : SIR SAMPSON STRELLEY, d. 1391.
 NO. 4. ASTON-ON-TRENT, DERBYSHIRE : CIVILIAN.

the well developed orle, the SS collar and the advanced costume of the lady suggest that it is more likely his son, Sir John, who died in 1408 and directed in his will that his body should be buried in the chancel of Elford church. Like the earl and countess of Warwick, husband and wife clasp one another by the hand, and the swelling breast-plate is again indicated. The lady has discarded the framework of frills, and her hair is arranged in an elaborately jewelled net. Her cloak is drawn more over her shoulders, the buttons disappear, and the whole effect is richer and more graceful than that of the tight and rather ungainly costumes of Edward III's reign. This tomb was restored by Richardson, but, though perhaps more drastic in his methods than we should now approve of, he was a real sculptor and antiquary, and the work was well done. Fortunately he published a careful account in 1852 of what he did¹ and of the condition in which he found things. Unfortunately in order to get rid of initials and abrasions he found it necessary to clean off the considerable traces of colour which still existed, but he recorded the following facts. The leaves of the coronet and ends of the plume of the helm, on which the head rests, were bordered and tipped with gold. The plume was red and borders of armour and details gilt. The ground of the SS collar was green and the letters and jewel gilt. The belt and handle of the sword were crimson and gold and fastenings gilt. There was no colour on the jupon except a gold border on the scalloping and waist fillet. The spurs were gilt, and the mane and tail of the lion were gold and his mouth red. The face and hands of the lady were flesh-colour, the lower cushion crimson, the upper green and the tassels gilt, green and white. The angels' hair and borders of dress were gilt. The lady's head-dress had gilt flowers and green leaves, her hair was brown, and her

¹ The knight was broken in two. Restorations included angel's hands and parts of arms; apex of bascinet and part of orle, the word JESU on frontal; left eye, nose, piece of cuff and left forefinger, two-thirds of handle and three-quarters of scabbard of sword; handle and end of dagger, part of lion's tail; toes, elbow pieces, spurs; initials, dates and gashes gritted down and stopped. Of the lady he renewed one

angel's head and part of face of the other, one ear and part of nose, two fingers, parts of cordon, piece of plinth and cushion and foreparts of dog; tassels of cushion, right side and back of head-dress, SS collar, fastenings and ornaments were decayed and worn, but were 'recovered,' together with joined hands and nose of dog. Initials, dates, etc. were removed.

mantle blue, edged with gold and lined with red. Her collar was green with gilt SS. Her dress was brown and gold, lining green, kirtle crimson, sleeves white, fastenings gold. This description suggests the gorgeous effect these monuments must have produced. As few of the tombs preserve more than a faint suggestion of their original splendour we may best gain an idea of the style of the painting by looking at those alabaster altar panels in our museums which still preserve something of the rich colour effect, such as the complete reredos recently acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

The tomb at Strelley is usually considered to be that of Sir Sampson Strelley who died about 1391, but might be a few years after that date, as his lady's head-dress is an early form of a new fashion which became common about 1415; the hair is confined in a kind of net or 'caul,' projecting on each side over the ears and the two sides joined by a jewelled band over the forehead. The knight holds his gauntlet in one hand and clasps his wife's hand with the other. The camail is not carved, but there is an unsatisfactory look about the head of the knight that suggests that it may have been tampered with by a restorer. The later tombs of this class, such as those just mentioned at Bottesford, Elford and Strelley, are really of a type transitional between our classes II and III, and some of them rank with those of the next class as the masterpieces of the alabaster craftsmen. Though the new type of all-plate armour came in about 1415 some of the more conservative-minded warriors like the earl of Westmorland at Staindrop, *d.* 1425 (plate xxviii, no. 3), seem to have retained the camail for another ten or fifteen years instead of adopting the inflexible gorget. Among the finest of these transitional figures the splendid monument of Sir William Wilcote at Northleigh is worthy of special mention. Both he and his lady wear the SS collar, and Lady Wilcote wears a fur-lined cloak and a high collar which gives a distinctive look to this figure. Her hair is confined in very richly jewelled cauls, which are still of moderate size and do not project so far on each side as those of the next period. She also has a very rich chaplet



HAVERSHAM, BUCKS :
WIDOW, (?) LADY CLINTON, d. 1422.



NO. 2. NORTHLEIGH, OXON :
SIR WILLIAM WILCOTE, d. 1411.



NO. 3. TANFIELD, YORKS :
LADY MARMION, c. 1390.



NO. 1. WILLOUGHBY-IN-THE-WOLDS: SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY, d. 1448.
NO. 2. SWINE: A HILTON, c. 1420.

(plate xxx, no. 2). The fine tomb of Sir J. Mainwaring and his lady at Higher Peover, Cheshire, is very like that at Northleigh, and is probably by the same hand. Lady Mainwaring's figure with its high collar and straight parallel folds of drapery is very close to that of Lady Wilcote. The same high collar and straight folds are also found in the notable effigy at Willoughby-in-the-Wolds, attributed to the judge Sir Richard Willoughby, who died in 1362, but if this is correct the tomb must have been set up some years after his death (plate xxxv, no. 1).

Perhaps the finest of all is the great tomb at Staindrop of Ralph Nevill, first earl of Westmorland, and his two wives (plates xvi, no. 2; xxviii, no. 3). He died in 1425, and unless the monument was set up in his lifetime it must be later in date than the dated tomb at Lowick of 1419, in which the camail has been discarded, and which introduces the type of armour described in our next section.

Ecclesiastical figures of this period may be illustrated by the bishops of Wells and Winchester. Bishop Edington, *d.* 1366, at Winchester (plate xix, no. 2) is a striking figure retaining much of the feeling of the earlier part of the century. The smooth drapery over the breast and varied folds lower down reveal few of the mannerisms into which the alabaster carvers fell later on. Bishop Ralph of Wells, *d.* 1363 (plate xx, no. 1) has suffered more from ill-treatment, but has been a fine ascetic figure, with details very richly carved, and is not far removed in general type from archbishop Stratford at Canterbury (plate xxiv, no. 1) described in our section 1. There is a little nearer approach to the linear draperies and sharp angular cutting with which we become familiar fifty years later. Archbishop Langham, *d.* 1376, at Westminster¹ is another fine well-preserved figure retaining much of the free treatment of the earlier part of the fourteenth century, and the same

¹ For illustration see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Westminster Abbey*. A payment to Henry Yevele for this tomb is recorded, see Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 216. Yevele was Edward III's master

mason, who seems to have been responsible for the nave of the abbey. He probably made the tomb, but it does not follow that he was the sculptor of the alabaster effigy on the top. Possibly, however, this may be taken as a London work.

may be said to some extent of bishop Mitford, *d.* 1404, at Salisbury.¹ Towards the end of the fourteenth century we find a rather heavier, coarser type, as in bishop Harewell at Wells, *d.* 1386 (plate xix, no. 3). His thick bull-neck and the heavy folds of his chasuble are in strong contrast with the more refined type of bishop Ralph. Archbishop Courtenay (*d.* 1396) at Canterbury, is a fine bold figure (plate xx, no. 2), but again lacks the refinement of the earlier archbishop Stratford (plate xxiv, no. 1). This effigy is very like the almost contemporary one of William of Wykeham (*d.* 1404) at Winchester (plate xx, no. 3; xxi, nos. 1, 2). This last, thanks to its fine preservation,² enables us to form a juster idea of the gorgeous effect of these alabaster tombs than almost any other. The feet rest upon three little figures of monks whose striking features mark them out as masterpieces of early fifteenth-century work.

The effigy of a priest at Barrow-upon-Trent (plate xxiii, no. 1) is a good, though rather broken, example of one of the inferior clergy. It is difficult to date these figures, but the folds of the drapery and arrangement of the hair suggest a fourteenth-century date.

There are also some interesting civilian tombs of this period, one of the best being that supposed to be that of Sir William de la Pole (*d.* 1367) at Hull (plate xxvi, no. 4), the founder of the famous Suffolk family, and another that of John Oteswich and his wife, a London merchant, in Great St. Helen's church in the City (plate xxvi, no. 3). These merchants are bearded and wear a long gown with high collar, and a short sword and a purse or wallet suspended from the belt. The ladies are modestly veiled, and both these monuments retain some of the feeling of earlier fourteenth-century style. The judge at Willoughby-in-the-Wolds has already been referred to (plate xxxv, no. 1). His bald head, unfortunately partly repaired in plaster, gives this figure a striking and individual expression.

¹ Murray's *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England* describes bishop Mitford as of white marble. The tomb-chest is certainly of alabaster, but the effigy is of a finer and whiter texture than the rest, though I think this too is probably of alabaster.

² When the Puritan soldiers were making havoc of the fittings and sculptures of the cathedral, this tomb was protected by one of their officers, Colonel Fiennes, who had been educated at Wykeham's college and maintained some respect for the founder by whose munificence he had benefited.



- NO. 1. DENNINGTON, SUFFOLK: LORD BARDOLF, K.G. d. 1441.
 NO. 2. TIDESWELL, DERBYSHIRE: SIR THURSTAN DE BOWER (?).
 NO. 3. MEREVALE, WARWICKS: LORD FERRERS (?).
 NO. 4. LONDON, ST. KATHARINE'S HOSPITAL: THOMAS HOLLAND, DUKE OF
 EXETER, d. 1448.



NO. 1. PORLOCK, SOMERSET.

NO. 2. EAST SHEFFORD, BUCKS: SIR THOMAS FETTIPLACE, c. 1440.

NO. 3. ASHBOURNE, DERBY: SIR J. COCKAYNE, d. 1447.

NO. 4. BOTTESFORD, LEICESTER: JOHN LORD ROOS, d. 1421.

PERIOD III. THE LANCASTRIAN, 1415-1450.

About the date of the battle of Agincourt the mail begins to be discarded in favour of plate armour, or at any rate to be almost entirely covered by the newer form of protection. A stiff projecting gorget is now used to cover the neck instead of the more flexible camail, though at first the camail is retained underneath with its lower end showing beneath the plate, as at Lowick (plate xxxvi, no. 1), and Ashwellthorpe (plate xv, no. 1). Later, as at Dennington (plate xxxii, no. 1) and Tong (plate xxxvi, no. 2) the gorget comes directly on to the breastplate. From this time on jupons and surcoats are discarded, though the tabard, a loose short heraldic vest, occurs occasionally, as on the earl of Somerset and duke of Clarence at Canterbury. The bascinet is usually beautifully decorated, and often has the sacred name or monogram inscribed in front, as at Longford (plate xv, no. 3) and Weobley (plate xvii, no. 2). The richly carved orle is almost always employed, and becomes larger and more elaborate as time goes on. In the Lowick tomb of 1420 (plate xxxvi, no. 1) the thighs are covered with a number of small square plates apparently bolted or fixed on a leather support. This is a transitional form and was soon replaced by a system of narrow overlapping strips of steel, known as *taces*. As time goes on small pendant plates, called *tuilles* or *tassets*, are bolted or strapped to the bottom of the *taces*, as at Dennington (plate xxxii, no. 1) or Merevale (plate xxxii, no. 3). The small roundels on elbow and shoulder are gradually replaced by more scientifically-shaped elbow-cops and overlapping shoulder-pieces or *epaulières*, as at Tong (plate xxxvi, no. 2).

The ladies wear a development of the head-dress described above at Strelley, with the hair confined in two elaborately jewelled nets on each side over the ears, joined by a richly decorated band across the forehead and a light kerchief hanging down behind, as at Ashwellthorpe (plate xv, no. 2). or Harewood (plate xxxv, no. 2). This is usually known as the *crespine* head-dress. In the later examples we find the horned or mitred head-dress, in which the hair is worked up into two points on each side, like a bishop's mitre put on sideways, as at Dennington

(plate xxxviii, no. 1) or Horwood (plate xxxiv, no. 2). Cloaks or mantles have elaborate clasps, and are joined by strings and tassels over the breast.

Among the earlier examples of this type we may single out for special mention the great double tombs of Ralph Green (*d.* 1419) at Lowick (plate xxxvi, no. 1) and of Sir Edmund de Thorpe (*d.* 1418) at Ashwellthorpe (plate xv, nos. 1, 2), both of which have been referred to above as typical of certain details. The later examples are very striking, and the great tombs of Sir Richard Vernon, *d.* 1451, at Tong (plate xxxvi, no. 2) and of Lord Bardolf, K.G. (*d.* 1441), at Dennington (plates xxxii, no. 1; xxxviii, no. 1) display perhaps the finest and most imposing of all the alabaster knights that have come down to us, and fortunately they are comparatively well preserved. Other notable examples may be found at Merevale (plate xxxii, no. 3), attributed in the guide books to an obscure bailiff of Coventry, but much more likely a Lord Ferrers; at Tideswell (plate xxxii, no. 2) attributed to Sir Thurstan de Bower, and at Wimborne in the monument of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, *d.* 1444 (plate xiv, no. 1). Other good examples are illustrated in plate xxxiii from Porlock, East Shefford, Ashbourne and Bottesford. The knight at Merevale wears what has almost become an early kind of *salade* instead of the pointed bascinet. This was a light fighting helmet brought low down over the back of the neck, designed to replace the cumbrous tilting helm, which could only be worn for a little while at a time, and was too clumsy for the varied tactics of a real battle. In its fully developed form it will be found in the transitional knight at Kidderminster (plate xl, no. 1) and in the Dorset figures at Puddletown and Melbury Sampford (plate xl, no. 2) described in our next section.

The Lowick tomb so frequently mentioned is in some ways the most important of all from the historical point of view as its complete history is known, and the contract for its construction has been preserved.¹ This has been

¹ The original contract is lost, but it was copied and the full text has been reprinted by Mr. A. Hartshorne in his *Recumbent Monumental Effigies of Northamptonshire* from that scarce work, Halstead's

Genealogies. It is discussed at length by Sir W. St. John Hope in the *Arch. Journ.* for Dec. 1904, and quoted by Mr. F. H. Crossley in *English Church Monuments*.



- NO. 1. KINLET, SALOP.
NO. 2. HORWOOD, DEVON.
NO. 3. STOURTON CAUNDLE, DORSET.
NO. 4. THORNTON, BUCKS.
NO. 5. ILTON, SOMERSET.



NO. 1. WILLOUGHBY-IN-THE-WOLDS: SIR RICHARD WILLOUGHBY, C.J., d. 1362.
NO. 2. HAREWOOD: SIR WILLIAM GASCOIGNE, C.J., d. 1410.

so often quoted in this journal and elsewhere that it is only necessary here to summarise a few of the more important points. It takes the form of an agreement between Katharine, wife of Ralph Green, esq. and two clerks on the one part, and Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton of Chellaston in the county of Derby, 'kervers,' on the other part, whereby the latter agree to make a tomb of fine alabaster, 'upon which shall be made two images, the one a counterfeit of an esquire armed at all points, with a helm under his head and a bear at his feet; and the other of a lady lying in her open surcoat, with two angels holding a pillow under her head, and two little dogs at her feet, and the one of the said images holding the other by the hand, with two tabernacles called "gables" at their heads.' At the sides of the tomb there were to be angels with tabernacles bearing shields according to the device of the said Katharine and the two clerks. Elaborate instructions were given for the exact measurements, and for an arch over the tomb, which has disappeared. The whole was to be gilded and painted, and was to cost £40. Ralph Green died in 1418, and the tomb was to be finished within one year, before Easter, 1420.¹

The superb monument at Canterbury to Henry IV (*d.* 1413), and his queen Joan, belongs to this period and is one of the masterpieces of the alabaster-men (plate xxiv, no. 2). The jewels of the crowns, the magnificent clasps of the mantles and the richly carved borders of the royal robes are finely worked, and display the suitability of the material for elaborate detail. The queen wears the SS collar. Another notable tomb is that of Thomas earl of Arundel (*d.* 1416) and his countess (*d.* 1439) at Arundel. He is represented in coronet and peer's robes instead of armour, and the countess wears the most marvellous spreading head-dress.² The tomb of Margaret Holland

¹ Ralph was son of Sir Henry Green, who figures in Shakespeare as a lord in attendance on Richard II. He was beheaded by Henry IV and his great estates confiscated, but Ralph seems to have recovered them, and they remained in the family till they passed by the marriage of the heiress, Constance Green, to the earl of Wiltshire, the tomb of whose son and heir is also in Lowick church.

² Illustrated in Stothard. The tombs at Arundel are walled off from the rest of the church, and it is difficult to get permission to visit them. It is a pity that the modern representatives of this ancient and honoured family cannot be induced to show more consideration for the public.

(*d.* 1437), step-daughter of the Black Prince, with her two royal husbands John earl of Somerset and Thomas duke of Clarence, has also been mentioned, and here again the details of coronets and jewellery are very rich. Yet another semi-royal tomb of this period has come down to us. It is that of Thomas Holland duke of Exeter (*d.* 1448) and originally stood in St. Katharine's chapel by the Tower, but was moved to the new chapel by Regent's Park when the old one was pulled down to make room for the docks. The duke is clad in a long robe and wears his coronet, and beside him lie his two wives (or, according to one record, his wife and sister). The face of one of the latter appears to have been renewed. Both the ladies are on one side instead of one on each side of their lord, as is usual, but this is possibly because this was a wall-tomb and it was thought right to have the chief figure in front (plate xxxii, no. 4).

Interesting effigies of civilians and their wives exist at Aston-on-Trent (plate xxix, no. 4) and at Harlaxton. The merchant at Aston has a curious kind of turban wound round his head, and the figure at Harlaxton also has a queer-looking cap. Both their wives have the fashionable costume of the day and the bunches of hair on each side like the knights' dames. The well-preserved tomb of Sir William Gascoigne at Harewood must also be mentioned here (plate xxxv, no. 2). This was the judge rendered famous by Shakespeare, who describes him as having dared to commit Henry V, when Prince of Wales, for unruly conduct, and who was chosen as lord chief justice by that magnanimous monarch when he came to the throne as one who would be likely to administer justice without fear or favour. Our illustration shows clearly the distinctive coif worn by the judge. His robes were originally painted red, and traces of colour can still be found in some of the hollows. A priest of about this period remains at Yelvertoft (plate xxiii, no. 2), but the typical ecclesiastic of the period may be found in bishop Stafford at Exeter. He was at one time lord chancellor of England and died in 1419. The elaborate canopy over his head recalls the Lowick 'gables' of about the same date, and we may therefore have here another production of the Chellaston firm. The same features occur in the tombs of the earl of



NO. 1. LOWICK, NORTHANTS: RALPH GREEN, d. 1419.

NO. 2. TONG, SALOP: SIR RICHARD VERNON, d. 1451.



- NO. 1. BOTTESFORD, LEICESTERSHIRE: WILLIAM LORD ROOS, K.G. d. 1414.
NO. 2, LINGFIELD, SURREY: SIR REYNOLD COBHAM, d. 1446.
NO. 3. NORBURY, DERBYSHIRE: SIR NICHOLAS FITZHERBERT, d. 1473.

Arundel and of Henry IV, and Sir William Hope suggests that all these fine works may therefore be the productions of Prentys and Sutton. It is a fascinating game to try and identify the work of this or any other workshop from small details or tricks of style, but so far we have hardly enough evidence to make such suggestions more than pure conjecture. The Lowick tomb is the only one for which the documentary evidence is complete, and though there is some reason to believe that the earliest alabaster figures were carved in London from material imported in block, and that a later school developed at Burton-on-Trent at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we have no definite standards for comparison. All that is possible until further evidence is discovered is to group certain tombs together as the production of different sculptors or workshops. In doing this small details, tricks of style or mannerisms are of more importance than more important features of costume or general design, as the latter might have been dictated by the customer. Thus the presence of 'gablettes' or canopies does not necessarily prove that two monuments came from the Prentys and Sutton firm, but the fact that a particular type of tracery is used to decorate the back of these canopies in both the Lowick and Arundel tombs is a fairly strong argument for this common origin. Again a comparison of the details of the Ashwellthorpe tomb with that at Lowick reveals a very strong resemblance. The tomb-chest at Ashwellthorpe is simpler and the angel weepers have no canopies over them, but in every other detail, treatment of wings, albs and especially the hair, they are almost counterparts of the Lowick angels.

The design of the tomb-chest and treatment of the weepers may often be useful in helping to identify the work of a particular workshop. Thus the two earlier pairs of knight and lady at Harewood, of which we illustrate the best preserved (plates xxviii, no. 4; v, no. 2), are evidently by the same hand. There is a rather coarser treatment than that of the Chellaston figures and we might perhaps suggest York as their place of origin, though this is pure conjecture. The peculiar design of the tomb-chest and of the angels supporting the shield, who are half kneeling, half sitting (plate v, no. 2), helps us to identify

work of the same man in the tomb of Sir Robert Waterton, not far off at Methley (plate v, no. 3). Though a little clumsy in some ways this man, whoever he was, showed a certain amount of originality in his work. The elaborate SS collar at Harewood (plate xvi, no. 1), and the curious exaggerated orle, worn like a sort of cap, at Methley (plate xvii, no. 3) are unmatched elsewhere, and Sir Robert Waterton's beard is an unusual feature in Henry V's reign, though it occurs in Henry IV's effigy at Canterbury (plate xxiv, no. 2). If the tomb at Sheriff-Hutton, Yorks. (plate LI, no. 1) attributed to Edward prince of Wales, young son of Richard III, who died in 1484, belongs to the fragment of the tomb-chest preserved in the church, the likeness of the design to the Methley tomb would suggest doubts as to the identification. It is difficult to speak with certainty as this tomb is so worn and mutilated as to make confident deductions from its style impossible, but it certainly has a look of the Harewood and Methley monuments of fifty years earlier, and the figure of the prince himself suggests the same heavy and rather coarse treatment of the Harewood knight.

The knights at Willoughby-in-the-Wolds (plates xvii, no. 1; xxxi, no. 1) and Merevale (plate xxxii, no. 3) are so alike, not only in details of equipment, but in the treatment of them, that they have struck more than one observer as the work of the same hand.¹ The small rudimentary tuilles suspended from the taces and the peculiar bascinet with long back projection, which seems a forerunner of the salade, are exactly alike in both cases. Here, however, the tomb-chests are evidently by different hands, which suggests that sometimes the effigies were ordered in one place and the rest of the tomb in another, or perhaps the tomb-chests might have been made locally, and only the important figures ordered from the famous workshop at Chellaston, or Nottingham. The knight and lady at East Shefford, Berks. (plate xxxiii, no. 2) might perhaps be also attributed to this sculptor.

The simple tomb with angels at intervals, and two flying angels supporting a shield at the end, which occurs

¹ See P. B. Chatwin in 'Monumental Effigies of Warwickshire,' *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.* xlvii (1921), p. 59.



NO. 1. DENNINGTON, SUFFOLK: LORD BARDOLF, K.G. d. 1441.

NO. 2. ELFORD, STAFFS: SIR WILLIAM SMYTHE, d. 1524, AND LADY ISABELLA SMYTHE (NEVIL:).



- NO. 1. DODFORD, NORTHANTS: SIR JOHN CRESSY, d. 1444.
- NO. 2. ASH, KENT: KNIGHT, c. 1450-1460.
- NO. 3. DUNMOW PRIORY, ESSEX: KNIGHT AND LADY, c. 1460-1470.
- NO. 4. NORBURY, DERBYSHIRE: SIR RALPH FITZHERBERT, d. 1483.
- NO. 5. PUDDLETOWN, DORSET: KNIGHT IN SALADE, c. 1470.

in judge Gascoigne's monument at Harewood (plate III, no. 2), is closely matched in the tomb of a civilian at Aston-on-Trent (plate XXIX, no. 4), which has been referred to above. Another civilian at Harlaxton would seem to be by the same hand, and we therefore have another group of three remarkable tombs which seem to be of common origin.

A little later on the superb figures at Tong (plate XXXVI, no. 2) and Dennington (plate XXXII, no. 1) and the more broken, but fine effigies at Weobley (plate XVII, no. 2) and Porlock (plate XXXIII, no. 1) have sufficient resemblances to indicate common authorship. The fine tombs at Over Peover and Bromsgrove (plate XVII, no. 4) and the broken fragment at Dunster also seem to belong to the same group. If so these widely scattered figures are a good proof of the way in which the productions of a famous workshop were exported all over the country. They were even sent abroad, as in the case of the monument of John duke of Brittany, who died in 1399, which was sent out to Nantes by queen Joan of Navarre, his widow, who later married our Henry IV. This was destroyed in the French revolution, but a drawing of it still exists,¹ and Sir William St. John Hope² gives the text of a safe-conduct given to John Guychard, merchant, for its conveyance to France. It seems to have been something of the type of the tomb of the earl of Westmorland at Staindrop (plate XXVIII, no. 3). The names of the makers of this French monument are given as Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppehowe, but they are not otherwise known.

If a small detail may be allowed significance, there is a little pattern consisting of a four-leaved flower separated from the next by two cross cuts, well shown in the Staindrop tomb (plate XVI, no. 2), which is used to decorate narrow bands of ornament, especially those covering the long side joints of arm and leg armour. This occurs in many of the more ornate figures of the whole of the first half of the fifteenth century, in the later transitional effigies of our camail knights of class II, as well as in class III.

¹ Lobineau's *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, 1707). It is reproduced in Mr. Crossley's *English Church Monuments*, p. 27.

² 'On the Early Working of Alabaster in England,' *Arch. Journ.* (1904), p. 9.

It lasts too long and is too universal to have been the monopoly of a particular workshop, as it lasted for thirty or forty years, from the knight at Clifton, *c.* 1400, to the Tideswell figure of *c.* 1430-40. We might perhaps regard it as a stock pattern handed down through two or three generations in a big school such as that at Nottingham. Besides Clifton and Tideswell it may be found at Swine, Staindrop, Elford, Bottesford, Haversham, Weobley, East Shefford, etc.

Other groups of common origin will be indicated in the following sections when we are dealing with the later periods.

PERIOD IV. THE YORKIST, 1440-1485.

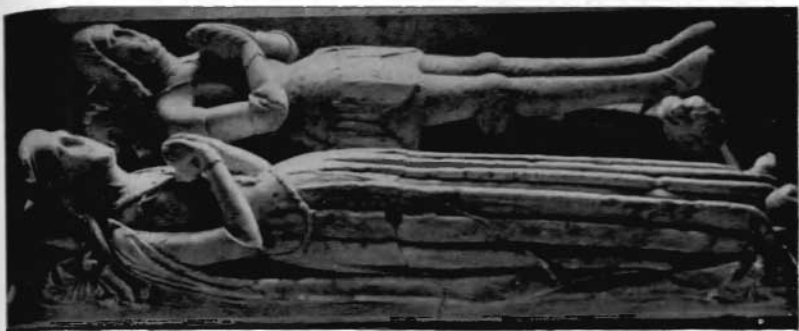
As stated above, it might be more correct to label this period that of the Wars of the Roses, as it begins before the middle of the century, while Edward IV did not gain his throne till 1461, but the dynastic name is conveniently short and fits in better with the titles chosen for the other periods, and many of the most characteristic figures wear the Yorkist collar of suns and roses. It is used here with the one reservation that the change of style begins to show itself ten to twenty years before the end of the reign of Henry VI. It is a remarkable fact that before 1440 the bare-headed warrior is almost unknown, while after 1455 the helmeted knight is almost equally rare. Heads still rest upon the great crested tilting helm, but the bascinet disappears entirely, though in three or four instances the *salade*, a later form of fighting helmet, is substituted. This period is also marked by a tendency to great elaboration of the accessory armour plates, such as those protecting the joints, which stand out more than they had ever done before. *Coudes*, or elbow-cops, especially become very large and spread out like the wings of a butterfly, and are attached by elaborately tied laces. Ridges and flutings cover the broader pieces, apparently devised with the intention of turning aside the hostile weapon and causing it to glance off harmlessly from the vital points. The *tuilles*, or pointed plates hanging from the *taces*, become larger and more important, and the *gorget* of plate is usually replaced by a smooth collar of mail, known as the *standard*.



NO. 1. KIDDERMINSTER, WORCS : KNIGHT IN SALADE.

NO. 2. MELBURY SAMPFORD, DORSET : KNIGHT IN SALADE.

NO. 3. MERIDEN, WARWICKS : SWORD-HILT.



- NO. 1. THURLASTON, LEICS : JOHN TURVILLE, d. 1509.
NO. 2. BATLEY, YORKS : SIR WILLIAM MIRFIELD, d. 1496.
NO. 3. CASTLE DONINGTON, LEICS : ROBERT HASELRIG, d. 1529.
NO. 4. PRESTWOLD, LEICS.

When the early years of the sixteenth century are reached, the pointed shoes of overlapping plates, known as sollerets, are superseded by blunt and square-toed foot coverings called sabatons (see plate XIII, no. 4). The overlapping taces are reduced in number, and the tuilles are larger and are usually shown hanging down over a shirt of mail. Hair is worn longer and comes down to the neck, or even to the shoulder, and is frequently cut straight across the forehead, rather like the 'bobbed' hair of so many little girls of to-day, if we may use a slang term.

Ladies' dress varies very little throughout the fifteenth century, except in the head-dresses. In the earlier examples of this period the cap with broad flap turned back is the commonest, but about the year 1500 a rigid framework is inserted coming to a point in the middle, giving the cap something the shape of a low gable. This is known as the *pedimental* head-dress. At first the veil on each side falls low on the shoulders, as shown at Chipping Norton (plate XLV, no. 2) or Prestwold (plate XLVIII, no. 4), but later the side pieces are stiffened and cut off short, as may be seen at Middle Claydon and Duffield (plate LIII, nos. 1 and 2). Right at the end of our period, as the first signs of the approaching Renaissance and Italian influences begin to appear, we find a sort of Mary queen of Scots cap, and this is usually accompanied by puffed sleeves, something in the manner of those of a modern bishop. What is meant by this description can best be seen by reference to the lady at Eye in our photograph (plate XLV, no. 3). Her husband wears a fine example of the tabard which occurs again and again at various dates throughout the century.

Very great ladies sometimes wear their hair loose, falling down over their shoulders, and crowned with a coronet. Thus, the lady Isabella Smythe, daughter of John Nevill, marquess of Montacute, brother of Warwick the kingmaker, is represented in this manner, while Sir William Smythe's first wife, the lady Anne Staunton, is wearing the ordinary pedimental head-dress (plate XXXVIII, no. 2). Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, duchess of Suffolk, wears her coronet over a simple widow's veil (plate LI, no. 1), and Lady Elizabeth Ferrers at Lockington (plate LI, no. 2) is a very pleasing example. The long loose hair fashion

we have already mentioned that Lord Hungerford at Salisbury (plate xli, no. 4) is practically a duplicate of Sir J. Chideock at Christchurch. The broken figure of Sir Thomas Green at Green's Norton might perhaps be added to the group. Among later examples a knight at Ryther, Yorks. (plate xliii, no. 3) and a sadly defaced one at Puddletown, Dorset, are extraordinarily similar in detail and in pose with the head rather thrown back. The canopies of the weepers are of a very similar type though those at Ryther are relations (plate x, no. 4) and those at Puddletown angels. The pose of Sir Robert Harcourt at Stanton Harcourt is also very much like these effigies, though variety is given by his Garter robes, and his tomb-chest is ornamented merely by shields and panelling.

PERIOD V. THE TUDOR, 1485-1540.

The fifth, or last, class is that of the Tudor period, and lasts from the accession of Henry VII after the battle of Bosworth in 1485, to the end of the Gothic inspiration in Henry VIII's reign. It might perhaps be better to call it the early Tudor period, as students of armour who continue their researches through the Renaissance period would probably use the term 'Tudor' for the highly embossed and gorgeous, though less graceful, suits of armour of the Elizabethan age. In their books the armour of our fifth class is usually referred to as 'Gothic,' scant attention being paid to our earlier classes, as very few actual suits of armour of the earlier dates have come down to us, and details have mainly to be ascertained from the study of effigies and brasses. The break between the fourth and fifth periods is less clearly marked than that between the third and fourth. The chief difference between the later and the earlier is seen in greater restraint and some simplification of the armour. The fantastic projections are reduced, and smoother plates without the ridges and flutings come into use, as being more suitable for actual warfare than for the tournament. The pauldrons, or shoulder-pieces, are no longer a set of overlapping plates, but are usually formed of a large smooth plate with a bold projection at the top to stop a blow aimed at the neck.



- NO. 1. EYE, HEREFORDSHIRE: KNIGHT, *c.* 1510.
 NO. 2. ELFORD, STAFFS: SIR WILLIAM SMYTHE, d. 1524.
 NO. 3. HOLME PIERREPONT, NOTTS: SIR HENRY PIERREPONT, d. 1499.
 NO. 4. RADBOURNE, DERBYSHIRE: KNIGHT AND LADY, *c.* 1490.
 NO. 5. ASHOVER, DERBYSHIRE: THOMAS BABYNGTON, d. 1518.



- NO. 1. BROMHAM, WILTS: RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, LORD ST. AMAND, d. 1509 (?)
NO. 2. COLESHILL, WARWICK: SIR SIMON DIGBY, d. 1519.
NO. 3. COVENTRY: ELIZABETH SWILLINGTON, d. 1546.

effigies placed on either side of the tomb at Burton Agnes, Yorks. (plate XLII, no. 1), but the treatment here is quite unlike that of the Devon and Dorset examples, where the children are arranged one above another in a sort of column in the folds of their mother's cloak.

Ecclesiastics may be represented by Abbot Seabroke at Gloucester, *d.* 1457 (plate XIX, no. 4), to whom reference was made earlier in this paper, when it was pointed out that the style of these figures did not alter very much as one period succeeded another. The rather dry linear treatment of the drapery is perhaps most characteristic of the period of which we are treating.

One of the most sumptuous monuments of this period is that of bishop Beckington at Wells. He died in 1465, but it is recorded that he dedicated the altar in his own chantry chapel thirteen years earlier in 1452, and thus lived with this *memento mori* before his eyes all that time. The chantry chapel was taken to pieces in 1850, but has now fortunately been restored. The effigy only is of alabaster, and is much worn. The face is wrinkled and aged, and as the bishop ordered it himself it may be more of a portrait than is usually the case. The details are very carefully wrought (plate XX, no. 4). Under the tomb is a cadaver in stone.¹

We have no royal effigies of this date, but the most splendid tomb of a semi-royal kind is that of Alice duchess of Suffolk, *d.* 1477, at Ewelme (plate XXIV, no. 3). She was widow of the unfortunate William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who was murdered at sea in 1450, and she is represented with coronet worn over her widow's veil.

A curious and interesting variety on the stock figures is that of a man at Lutterworth with a long gown worn over his armour. It is difficult to say what precisely this is meant to indicate. A much decayed figure, supposed to represent the judge, Sir William Portington (*d.* 1462), at Eastrington near Howden, wears the judge's close-fitting coif and robes over armour, which appears on his right side. This figure is unfortunately in very poor preservation.

In assigning tombs of this section to particular groups

¹ See Dr. Fryer, F.S.A. in *Proceedings of Somersetshire Archaeological and Nat. Hist. Society*, 1923.

this date of a shield on his left arm. The two figures at Melbury Sampford (plate XL, no. 2) are practically identical. Their salades have ridges rising to the point, and are decorated with round knobs, but have no vizor.¹ Their gorgets are replaced by a lighter plate protecting the front, and bent forward under the chin to form a kind of *mentonnière*, but allowing the camail worn underneath to show through at the back. These two figures are exceptionally well preserved, but all traces of colour have been removed. All three of these Dorset knights lie on Purbeck marble tombs beneath elaborate canopies of local manufacture, and it is tempting to regard their unusual features as perhaps an indication of the existence of a local school which imported the alabaster in block and carved the figures themselves, as had been done at London at the outset. The Purbeck marblers had long given up figure sculpture, but were doing a large trade in plain or panelled tombs, often with canopies, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Could these Dorset knights have been an attempt to get back their old trade by importing the fashionable and easily worked material for the figures? Against this it must be confessed that they are accomplished works and certainly do not look like experiments. Possibly there was a skilful establishment of tomb-makers at Bristol, or some other big western town, which provided such figures, and the helmeted figures were a concession to the conservative taste of the provincial nobility.

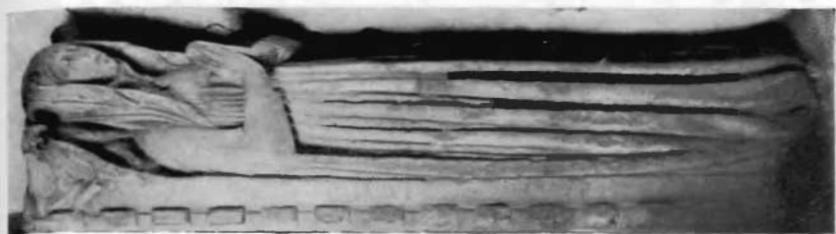
The rather small ladies, about four feet long, at Stourton Caundle, Horwood and Ilton (plate xxxiv, nos. 3, 2, 5) present certain unusual features, such as the children carved in miniature in the draperies at the sides of the first two, and these two suggest the existence of a special workshop supplying figures to the west country. Could this also have been Bristol? Too much must not be made of the children at the side as they occur elsewhere in widely different types of monument. We have already mentioned the chrism child at Kinlet and the small versions of the big

¹ An example of *salade* occurs in stone at Meriden, and at Brancepeth in wood. The latter belongs to the figure identified as the second earl of Westmorland (d. 1484). Sir William St. John Hope has suggested

that this was the wooden pattern from which the alabaster effigy was afterwards to be made. Such patterns are mentioned in the contract for the bronze effigy of the earl of Warwick.



- NO. 1. KINLET, SALOP: SIR HUMPHREY BLOUNT, d. 1478.
NO. 2. CHIPPING NORTON, OXON: RICHARD CROFT, d. 1502.
NO. 3. EYE, HEREFORDSHIRE: KNIGHT AND LADY, c. 1530.



- NO. 1. LEICESTER.
NO. 2. BURFORD, SALOP.
NO. 3. BROMSGROVE, WORCESTER.
NO. 4. ASTLEY, WARWICKSHIRE.

his lifetime, probably on the death of his first wife, as there are two lady effigies of about this date preserved in the church, though not in their original position. His Tudor collar of SS and roses, however, indicates a date after 1485, so that he must have shown rather a conservative taste in the design of his ridged and fluted armour.

The last phase of the Yorkist knight may be illustrated by Sir Humphrey Blount at Kinlet, *d.* 1478 (plate XLV, no. 1). The armour is less flamboyant and is somewhat coarse and dry in treatment, while the hair is worn a little longer. Lady Blount wears the high peaked cap with a broad flap turned back, to which attention has already been called, and which seems to be a moderate version of the butterfly head-dress of the brasses.

Three or four knights only of this period wear any form of helmet. This, as already explained, is not the bascinet, but the *salade*, a light fighting helmet adopted during the second half of the fifteenth century for real warfare, in place of the cumbrous tilting helm, though the latter continues to be used as a head-rest on the tombs. The *salade* has a long back extension to cover the back of the neck, and is sometimes fitted with a movable vizor. In some of the knights in plate gorgets, of the preceding period, the bascinet had been extended backwards to cover the back of the neck, as at Merevale (plate XXXII, no. 3) and at Willoughby-in-the-Wolds (plate XVII, no. 1), and it may have been from this that the new *salade* had its origin. An early example may be found at Kidderminster in the tomb attributed to Sir Hugh Cokesay, who died in 1445. It has a raised vizor and is decorated with ridges which meet in a blunt point at the top (plate XL, no. 1). The effigy is rather worn, but the armour over which the tabard is worn, must have been of a transitional type between that of our periods III and IV.

The other helmeted knights of this period are a little later, dating from about 1470, and are three in number. They lie close together in Dorset, one at Puddletown, and two at Melbury Sampford. All three are good examples of the elaborate Yorkist armour and wear the Yorkist collar of suns and roses. The Puddletown knight (plate XXXIX, no. 5) has a raised vizor which could be pulled down over the face, and also has the unusual feature at

enormous elbow-pieces and elaborate laces and straps for fastening the complicated plates can be clearly seen. It is recorded that after a battle the squires and armourers held a sort of inquest over the bodies of the slain in order to discuss how best to prevent or ward off the blows that had proved fatal in the fray. The results of their conclusions, however, were not always satisfactory, as armour became so heavy that in some fights knights were found dead from exhaustion, without any sign of blows or wounds.

The superb tombs of the Fitzherberts at Norbury are a little more advanced. Sir Nicholas (plate xxxvii, no. 3) died in 1473, and Sir Ralph (plate xxxix, no. 4) ten years later, but both tombs are evidently by the same hand. The hair is rather longer, that of Sir Ralph being elaborately curled at the tips. The details can be well seen in the photograph of Sir Nicholas (plate xxxvii, no. 3) and need not be recapitulated. He wears the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, and his crest of a mailed fist is seen on the helm on which his head is resting. Other excellent specimens of this type are shown in plates xli and xlii from Minster Lovell, Thornton, Bletchley, Burton Agnes, Harewood and Methley. The lady corresponding to the Thornton knight is shown in plate xxxiv, no. 4, and details of the ladies at Harewood and South Cowton in plate xviii, nos. 2 and 3. As stated above, two of these knights at Harewood and Methley wear the tabard. Lord Welles at Methley has his device of lions rampant carved in low relief on the tabard, but at Harewood it is quite smooth and must have had the arms painted upon it.

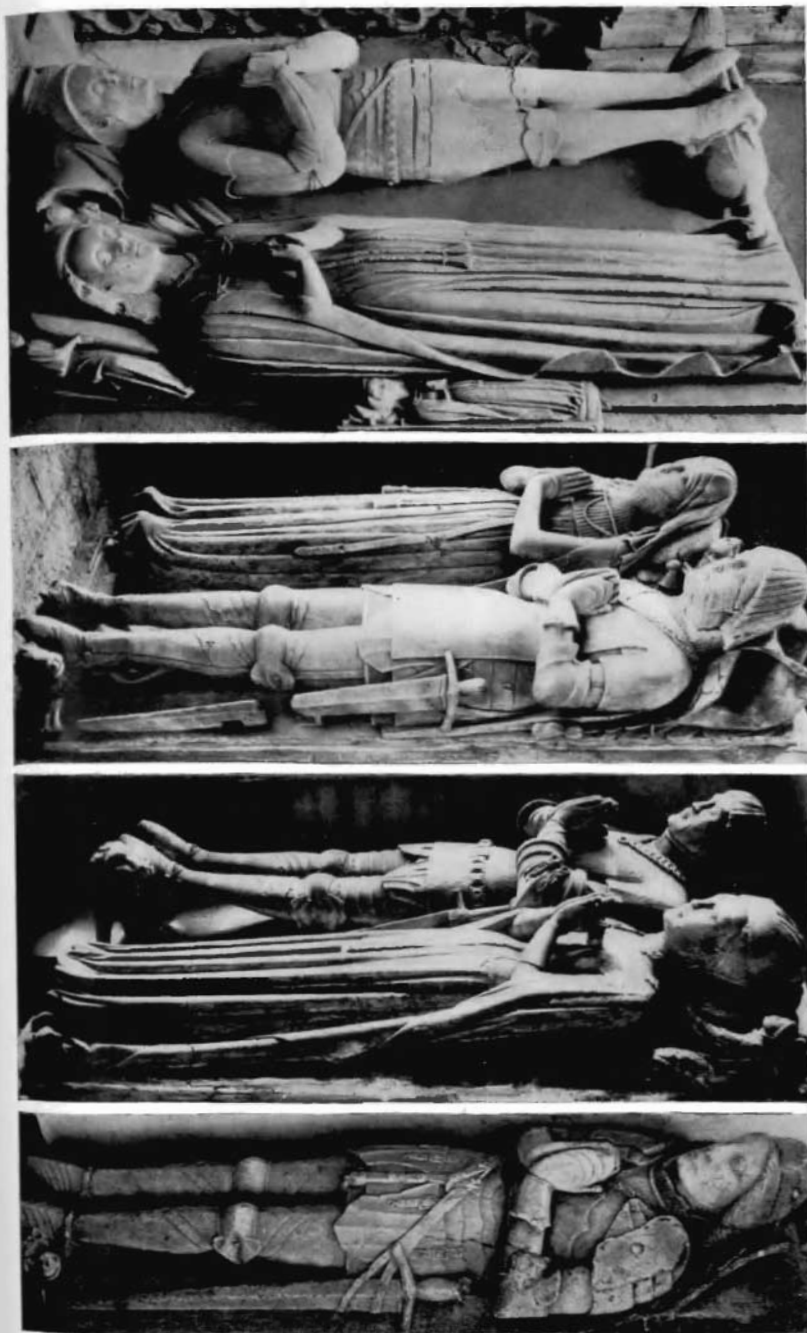
In the latest knights of this series, *c.* 1470-1480, the hair is worn down to the shoulders, and the armour is gradually simplified. Figures of the transitional period between this class and the next are of less even workmanship, and sometimes fall below the standard usually attained by the alabaster shops, as in the two figures lying side by side at Berkeley. A late example of good workmanship remains at South Cowton, Yorks. (plate xlii, no. 4). It is attributed to Sir Richard Conyers, who died in 1493, and who built the neighbouring castle. It has the long hair of the Tudor period, but the elaborate armour indicates a rather earlier date, and it was probably ordered during



NO. 1. MARNHULL, DORSET.

NO. 2. THORNHILL, YORKS.

NO. 3. RYTH, YORKS.



NO. 1. BURTON AGNES, YORKS: SIR WALTER GRIFFITH, d. 1481.

NO. 2. HAREWOOD, YORKS: KNIGHT IN TABARD, c. 1460-1470.

NO. 3. METHLEY, YORKS: LORD WELLES, K.G. d. 1461.

NO. 4. SOUTH COWTON, YORKS: SIR RICHARD CONYERS, d. 1493.

Tudor period, especially in the case of very great ladies entitled to wear a coronet, which was difficult to combine with the more elaborate head-dresses.

An early example of period iv may be found at Lingfield, Surrey, in the figure of Sir Reynold Cobham, who fought at Agincourt and died in 1446, leaving a will directing the burial of his body before the high altar of this church (plate xxxvii, no. 2). His lady, who died in 1453, is shown as a widow with a veil over her head and barbe over her chin (plate xviii, no. 4), a restful and pleasing treatment after the gorgeous head-dresses of the fashionable ladies of the day. A very fine example of a widow may be found at Harewood (plate xviii, no. 2) where she lies beside the husband she had survived.

Another good early example of the bare-headed knight is at Dodford, Northants, commemorating Sir John Cressy, a distinguished soldier in the French wars, who died in 1444 (plate xxxix, no. 1). The same hair treatment, like a skull cap, and the elaborate accessories may be noticed. Round the tomb is an inscription in Latin giving his name and exploits. As this is not very frequent at this date, though much commoner later, it may be worth while to reproduce it here:—

HIC JACET JOHĒS CRESSY MILES D'NUS ISTI' VILLE QUONDAM
CAPITANĪ DE LYCIEUX ORBEF ET PONTLEVEQUE IN NORMADIA
AC CŌCILIARI DNI REGIS IN FRANCIA QUI OBIIT APUD TOVE
IN LOIRINA IIII^o DIE MARCII ANNO DÑI M^oCCCCXLIII CUI'
ANĒ P̄ICIETUR DEUS.

A fine knight at Ash, Kent (plate xxxix, no. 2) appears to be slightly later. His forehead is represented as bald, giving the impression of a portrait. Over his armour he wears a loose heraldic tabard. The tabard becomes commoner during this period, and besides the knight at Ash, good examples occur at Harewood (plate xlii, no. 2), and at Methley (plate xlii, no. 3).

Among the most elaborate examples with the ridged and fluted plates we may make special mention of Robert lord Hungerford at Salisbury, *d.* 1459 (plate xli, no. 4), an almost exact counterpart at Christchurch, and a knight at Little Dunmow (plate xxxix, no. 3). The

The hair is worn short, at first in the unbecoming fashion familiarised by the painted portraits of Henry V, where it is cut straight round the head above the ears, the back of the neck apparently being shaved, as shown in the effigy at Dodford (plate xxxix, no. 1). Later on it is worn slightly longer, coming down a little behind the ears as in the Fitzherberts at Norbury (plate xxxvii, no. 3). In one of these the ends are elaborately curled (plate xxxix, no. 4). Henceforward all faces are clean shaven, and remain so till the end of the reign of Henry VIII.

Ladies sometimes still continue the horned head-dress, but this soon develops into the wonderful structure known as the butterfly head-dress. The points of the horned type are straightened out and brought close together, and a trailing veil or kerchief of light thin material hangs down from them behind. In the brasses it looks as though this were stretched over a wire frame, but in the effigies in the round there is no sign of any framework beyond that supporting the long points, and the fluttering kerchief behind is naturally less effective when the head is resting on a cushion. In later examples a broad flap is turned back round the face, from behind which the pointed structure rises, as at Marnhull (plate xliii, no. 1) and Kinlet (plate xlv, no. 1). In some instances, about 1475 to 1490, this flap is extended down over the shoulders, and a kind of truncated pyramid is substituted for the two points, as at South Cowton (plate xviii, no. 3). Perhaps this is a variant of the tall steeple head-dress of the pictures and manuscripts, which has been so effective in our modern pageants, for this could hardly have been carved on a recumbent figure. During this period the fashion of wearing the hair long and loose comes into favour, as in the thirteenth-century bronze of queen Eleanor, which had been based, to some extent, on the contemporary representations of the Madonna. The head is usually encircled by a coronet or a kind of orle, somewhat similar to that worn by the knights of the preceding period round their bascinets. Early examples occur at Burton Agnes (plate xlii, no. 1) where a veil is thrown over the top of the head, and at Thornhill (plate xliii, no. 2), though in this last case it is more of a jewelled band than a regular orle. This fashion, however, is commoner in the later



NO. 1. THORNTON, BUCKS:
KNIGHT, c. 1460.



NO. 2. BLETCHLEY, BUCKS:
KNIGHT, c. 1450.



NO. 3. MINSTER LOVELL,
OXON: LORD LOVELL.



NO. 4. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL:
LORD HUNGERFORD, d. 1459.



NO. 1. RATCLIFFE-ON-SOAR, NOTTS :
RALPH SACHEVERELL, d. 1539.



NO. 2. HAREWOOD, YORKS :
A REDMAYNE, c. 1490.

was also copied sometimes by dames of less exalted rank, in which case, as already mentioned, a kind of orle replaces the coronet, as at Thurlaston and Batley (plate XLVIII, nos. 1, 2).

The earlier of the two knights at Eye, Herefordshire, is an excellent example of Tudor armour (plate XLVII, no. 1), and shows most of the characteristics described above, while the later one in a tabard (plate XLV, no. 3) is a fine specimen of the very end of the Gothic period. The beautiful and wonderfully preserved figure of Sir Henry Pierrepont at Holme Pierrepont, *d.* 1499 (plate XLVII, no. 3), is also a first-rate example. He left instructions in his will, proved at York, 18th December, 1499, that he 'should be buried in the church among his worshipful ancestors, and a tomb of alabaster to be made and sett upon his sepulchre, and graven by the discretion of his executors.' The tomb upon which he rests with its small shields set in lozenge-shaped panels is practically a duplicate of those of John Strelley at Strelley, *d.* 1501, and Ralph Sacheverell, at Ratcliffe-on-Soar, *d.* 1539, suggesting that all these tombs came from the same workshop, probably in Nottingham.¹ Other good examples of the period may be found at Chipping Norton, where a long-haired knight is lying beside his lady who wears the simple and early form of the pedimental head-dress mentioned above (plate XLV, no. 2), and at Radbourne, Derbyshire, where the lady has the flapped cap (plate XLVII, no. 4). The great tomb of Sir William Smythe, *d.* 1525, with his two wives, at Elford, has been referred to again and again. His face and certain details were restored by Richardson, and the figure of his first wife Anne Staunton, through whom he inherited the Elford property, was much renewed, but the whole gives a good notion of the general effect of these later alabaster monuments in everything except the colour (plate XXXVIII, no. 2). The elaborate tomb-chest with its vaulted niches and fancy traceries is very like that of Richard Vernon, esq. (*d.* 1517) at Tong, and both must have a common origin.

The figure of Sir John Cheyney, *d.* 1509, at Salisbury, is a notable specimen of early sixteenth-century type. He

¹ See *Arms, Armour, and Alabaster, round Nottingham*, by George Fellows, 1907.

was Henry VII's standard-bearer at the battle of Bosworth, and is represented in Garter robes. His long hair and heavy jaw, combined with the smoother more business-like type of armour, give him a rather grim appearance (plate LIII, no. 3). The tomb at Duffield illustrates the final phase of Gothic plate-armour (plate LIII, no. 2). Elbow-cops are no longer fluted and projecting, and are bolted on, not laced. The pauldrons are smooth and curve upwards at the top to provide a neck-guard. The taces are very narrow and unimportant, while the tuilles are long and heavy. The lady has the short pedimental head-dress, and puffed sleeves. A still later, transitional type, may be illustrated by the tomb of Lady Margaret Gyffard, *d.* 1539, at Middle Claydon (plate LIII, no. 1). Here the same features occur, but there is more of the Renaissance feeling, shown chiefly in the more natural and studied folds of the drapery.

Sir George Forster (*d.* 1526) at Aldermaston is of a heavier type and rather different feeling than those mentioned above. The twisted columns at the corners of his tomb are the heralds of the Renaissance, and occur elsewhere in Purbeck marble, as at Turvey. Possibly we have here a production of the London workshops. His lady has the later fully developed form of the pedimental head-dress, framing her face in a four-sided cap instead of falling down in a long veil over her shoulders (plate LII, no. 2). Sir George wears good examples of the square-toed sabatons.

Perhaps as good a notion as any of the earlier type, *c.* 1490, and the latest *c.* 1530, may be gained by comparing the fine examples at Harewood and Ratcliffe-on-Soar, illustrated in plate XLIX. Already in the earlier knight we find the smooth armour without the flutings and excrescences of the Yorkist type, and the pauldrons curve upwards to form a neck-guard. The hair is long and carefully curled, and the Tudor collar of S and rose alternating is worn. His wife is represented as a widow with almost the same veil and barbe as an earlier lady at Harewood, belonging to our class IV (plate XVIII, no. 2), but the folds of the thin draperies are treated with greater variety and naturalism. The knight's feet rest upon a lion, and seated on the lion's back against the sole of the foot is a little



NO. I. CHILTON, SUFFOLK : ROBERT CRANE (?)
d. 1500



NO. 2. WETHERSFIELD, ESSEX.



- NO. 1. SHERIFF HUTTON, YORKS: EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, d. 1484 (?)
 NO. 2. LOCKINGTON, LEICS: LADY ELIZABETH FERRERS, c. 1500.
 NO. 3. CHILTON, SUFFOLK: GEORGE CRANE, d. 1491 (?)
 NO. 4. STRELLEY, NOTTS: JOHN STRELLEY, d. 1501.

bedesman (plate XIII, no. 1), very like an earlier example at Norbury. The tail of the lion is twisted up and given an elaborate bunch of hair to support the other foot (see p. 12). The knight at Ratcliffe is accoutred in a very similar manner, but the pauldrons and tuilles are larger, and the taces and standard-of-mail collar are reduced in importance. The SS collar is of the later fashion with large letters and hanging lower in front. The hair is cut straight in front and behind in the 'bobbed' manner referred to above. His lady has the pedimental head-dress, and some of the slashes and bows begin to appear down the front of her dress, which become such a feature in the costume of the two ladies placed side by side on a single tomb at Prestwold (plate XLVIII, no. 4). These have the earlier form of pedimental head-dress with long pieces hanging down on each side, which may be compared with the latest type as worn by the lady at Castle Donington (plate XLVIII, no. 3), who also wears the puffed sleeves of the latest fashion before the introduction of the Elizabethan ruffs which mark the end of the period under review.

So many of the old fighting nobility had perished in the wars of the Roses that it is not surprising to find monuments of civilians more prominent in this last period. An excellent example may be found at Ashover, Derbyshire, attributed to Thomas Babyngton, who died in 1518. Much of the colouring remains—apparently very much refreshed—and the effect is very striking (plate XLVII, no. 5). The long gowns are red, the hair black, the lady's head-dress black and green, and the hands and faces are left in the natural colour of the polished alabaster. The long gown with purse or scrip hanging from the belt is exactly the costume worn by the courtiers attending the king in the famous Warwick manuscript in the British Museum.¹ There is a tomb of similar date and type to William Blythe at Norton near Sheffield. It was erected and a chantry founded by his son, bishop Blythe of Lichfield (1503-1531). An interesting civilian in long gown with scrip, or seal-bag, hanging from his belt, may

¹ *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.* 1389-1439. Reproduced in facsimile by

Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, 1914.

be found in the remote church of Chilton, Suffolk (plate LI, no. 3). Judge William Rudhall, *d.* 1529, at Ross in cap and robes of office may also be mentioned. Even as late as the middle of the century much Gothic feeling and tradition survives, as in the tomb of lord chief justice Bromley, *d.* 1555, at Wroxeter. The tomb-chest is entirely renaissance in character, but the judge in his red gown and his wife in pedimental head-dress follow immediately in style on the effigies discussed above. The same remark also applies to some of the knightly figures. In spite of certain later details Sir Thomas Cave (*d.* 1558) at Stanford-on-Avon, and Sir Thomas Essex (*d.* 1558) at Lambourn retain much of the old Gothic feeling, while even the sumptuous monument of the earl of Huntingdon, (*d.* 1561) at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in coronet and Garter robes, is quite of the old tradition except for his long beard. The bearded effigy of John Digby (*d.* 1558) at Coleshill might easily pass for a work of fifty years earlier if it were not for the ruffs at his wrists.

As Henry VI's tomb was never completed, and Henry VII was commemorated by the imported Italian Torrigiano, we have no royal alabasters of this period, but the semi-royal tomb of the duke of Suffolk and his duchess Elizabeth Plantagenet has been already mentioned (plate LII, no. 1). The duke died in 1491. He wears Garter robes and coronet, and his furrowed face and curled hair give more the effect of a portrait than is usually to be found. The great crest of a Saracen's head on the helm on which his head rests is a very effective work of art (plate XIII, no. 2).

A remarkable effigy of this period remains at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, representing a pilgrim with palmer's staff and cloak and his head resting on a broad-brimmed hat in which is set the cockle shell of St. James of Compostella. It is not known who is here commemorated, but he must have been a man of some position and importance, as he wears the SS collar (plate XXII, no. 3). Another very unusual figure occurs in a late monument, *c.* 1540, at Coventry to Elizabeth Swillington (plate XLVI, no. 3) and her two husbands. The first of the two, Thomas Essex, is represented in the ordinary late Tudor armour, bare headed but with a beard, a fashion that had been in abeyance

for a hundred years, though shortly to be revived by Henry VIII. This early form of beard is more like those found in the alabaster tables than the sharply pointed beard of the Elizabethan courtier. The second husband, Ralph Swillington, recorder of Coventry and attorney general, is in the costume of a civilian in long robe, like that at Ashover (plate XLVII, no. 5).

Another unusual effigy may be found at Allerton Mauleverer, Yorks, identified by Mr. P'Anson, F.S.A. as Sir John Mauleverer, who died in 1458. He wears a mentonnière or beavor over his chin, and apparently had a bare head and long hair, though the monument is so terribly decayed that it is difficult to make out what it was like. The lady beside him seems to have had the flapped head-dress of c. 1490, and as far as can be judged in its present condition the monument is thirty or forty years later than the accepted date. A still more remarkable, and less mutilated figure at Bromham, Wilts. (plate XLVI, no. 9) enables us to form some notion of what the Yorkshire knight was like. Though the surface is badly disfigured by initials this effigy is otherwise fairly well preserved. A mentonnière or beavor protects the chin, and the hair is worn long, while a round cap, turned up at the back, covers the head, quite unlike anything found elsewhere. The head is supported on cushions instead of the usual great helm. The guide books identify this tomb as that of Sir Roger Tocotes, who died in 1457, but the Purbeck marble tomb-chest, and the heavy pauldrons, that on the left being bent up to form a huge neck-protector, point to a date at the end of the century. The long stern type of face and long hair also belong to a later date. This tomb is placed in the centre of a very rich late Perpendicular chapel, stated to have been built by Richard Beauchamp, Baron St. Amand, who died in 1508, and it therefore seems natural to suggest that it is he who is commemorated by our effigy. It is very likely that he built the chapel some years before his death, and he would probably have ordered the tomb at the same time. His feet rest on a unicorn which appears outside the chapel as a supporter of the arms carved over the eastern gable.

The interesting figure attributed to John Noble,

principal of Broadgates hall,¹ is preserved in St. Aldate's church, Oxford. He died in 1522, and wears what appears to be a university hood thrown over his shoulders in quite the modern manner.

Good examples of late ecclesiastics may be found in the boldly carved abbot Parker (plate xxiii, no. 4) at Gloucester, and in the almost suspiciously well-preserved bishop Penny of Carlisle at Leicester (plate xxiii, no. 3). The latter died in 1520, and was buried at Leicester, of which place he had previously been abbot. The naturalistic treatment of the crumpled folds of his chasuble is one of the first signs of the approaching change, and a herald of the Renaissance so soon to overwhelm our native art and replace it with Flemish and Italian ideas. Bishop Shirburne of Chichester (*d.* 1536) is a typical early sixteenth-century ecclesiastic. The colour and gilding, though no doubt refreshed in modern times, serve to bring home to us the sumptuous effect of these alabaster monuments in their original state. For a lesser dignitary, John Bothe, treasurer of Lichfield, at Sawley is an excellent specimen (plate xix, no. 5). He died in 1496, and is habited in quire vestments instead of the more usual chasuble worn for the Mass. The same remark applies to the very striking figure of a priest in St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. As already mentioned his bald head and individual features suggest a portrait (plate xxii, no. 2). Even here, however, it is possible that this type of face was the mark of a certain school rather than a real portrait. If the Bristol priest is compared with the effigy attributed to Sir Richard Newton, a judge, at Yatton, not far away, a strong family likeness may be detected (plate xxii, no. 1). The rather stiff angular folds of the draperies in both effigies certainly suggest a common origin. Sir Richard died in 1449, and if the tomb is rightly attributed to him it cannot have been erected till the death of his wife in 1475. We have noted more than once certain peculiarities in these south-western effigies, which mark them off from the usual types of the Nottingham workshops, and these last two seem again to point to Bristol as the place of origin. The figure of a lay-bursar of the abbey, now in the parish church at Glaston-

¹ The old name of what afterwards became Pembroke college.



NO. 1. WINGFIELD, SUFFOLK: JOHN DE LA POLE, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, d. 1491,
AND HIS DUCHESS (ELIZABETH PLANTAGENET).

NO. 2. ALDERMASTON, BERKS: SIR GEORGE FORSTER, d. 1526.



NO. 1. MIDDLE CLAYDON, BUCKS :
LADY MARGARET GYFFARD, d. 1539.



NO. 2. DUFFIELD, DERBYSHIRE :
SIR ROGER MYNORS, d. 1536.



NO. 3. SALISBURY :
SIR JOHN CHEYNEY, K.G. d. 1500.

bury (plate xxii, no. 4) might also be a product of this school.

Mr. P. B. Chatwin, F.S.A. whose valuable paper on the Warwickshire effigies has several times been quoted, draws attention to a contract of 1510,¹ whereby Henry Harpur and William Moorecock of Burton undertake to make a tomb for Henry Foljamb at Chesterfield, which still exists. This has no effigy, being surmounted by a brass, but the delicately wrought weepers are distinctive, and can be matched almost exactly by others at Cubley. In the contract it was specified that the Chesterfield tomb should be made as good as that at Cubley. We have, therefore, here something to go upon in assigning tombs to the Burton firm. The weepers of the Babyngton monument at Ashover (plate xi, no. 1) must be by the same hand, and as the effigies at Ashover and of the Blythe tomb at Norton, near Sheffield, seem closely allied, we may reasonably assign both these tombs to the Burton carvers. The canopies of the tomb-chest of the tomb of Sir William Matthews at Llandaff are also almost replicas of those of this group; and though the weepers have not quite the delicacy of those at Ashover, and are mixed with standing friars, we may allow this also to be a Burton work. Mr. Chatwin goes further and assigns a later group of monuments, c. 1530-1540, to the same source, or to an allied workshop. He is certainly right in claiming a common origin for the tombs at Castle Donington (plate xlviii, no. 3) and Clifton Campville, which are almost duplicates. The weepers consist of angels of a heavy type, and seated friars, or bedesmen, under wide round arched niches on coarse semi-classical columns, with clumsy shallow cusping round the arches. Very similar treatment is found at Duffield, and later still at Ross. The two tombs at Prestwold and another at North Aston (plate vii, no. 4) also have the friar weepers though the arcading is of a slightly different type. The likeness, however, is enough to justify ascription to the same shop, and Mr. Chatwin has some justification in assigning them to Burton sculptors, though probably they are not the work of the Harpur and Moorecock firm, but of a younger establishment possibly influenced by their predecessors.

¹ From *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. i, p. 354.

The elaborately niched monuments of Sir William Smythe at Elford, and of Richard Vernon at Tong, must have come from another workshop, and another hand again may be recognised in the very similar figures at Batley (plate XLVIII, no. 2), Thurlaston (plate XLVIII, no. 1) and a tomb at Abergavenny.

Sir Henry Pierrepont at Holme Pierrepont (plate XLVII, no. 3), Sir John Strelley at Strelley (plate LI, no. 4) and the earl of Wiltshire at Lowick all lie upon tombs, the sides of which are decorated with a simple cusped lozenge pattern, which becomes a stock pattern later, as in the tomb at Ratcliffe-on-Soar, but there is a family likeness in the earlier set of effigies which may justify us in grouping them together.

There is a remarkable likeness between the late fifteenth century knights and ladies at Chilton, Suffolk, and Wethersfield, Essex (plate L, nos. 1, 2). In both cases the knights wear tabards and are of a heavily built type rather plainly wrought in a manner that differs from the northern examples. Their ladies are also very much alike, though one has the Lancastrian and the other the Yorkist collar, one of the rare instances where the wife has this decoration and the husband is without it. It looks as though the two families had ordered the tombs from the same sculptor in emulation of one another. In view of the geographical situation it would not be unreasonable to claim these as examples of London work at this period, but this is pure guesswork.

LIST OF EXAMPLES OF ALABASTER EFFIGIES.

This does not pretend to be complete. To make it so would take far more research than I have had time for hitherto, but it is hoped that the majority of the more important examples have been included, and that it may form a basis upon which a more complete list can be compiled. If local antiquaries into whose hands this paper comes would be kind enough to notify me of any omissions in their districts I should be most grateful. (My address is Oakhurst, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex.)

The following remarks and list of abbreviations will explain the method adopted :—

- Column 1* gives the county in which examples occur.
- „ 2 gives the classification or type, as explained in the foregoing article, and will save a more detailed description. Those marked * are after our period, and should, perhaps, have been omitted. They are given as examples still preserving some Gothic character.
- „ 3 gives the place. In the case of cathedral towns the cathedral is meant if no other church is named.
- „ 4 gives the description, i.e. the kind of person represented. K = knight, L = lady, C = civilian, Bp. = bishop, Abp. = archbishop, P = priest. Where two or more letters are put together, e.g. K & L, the effigies are placed side by side on the same tomb.
- „ 5 gives the usual attribution and date. As explained in the text these are not always guaranteed, and many names are mere guess-work. They have, however, been used where the style does not make them impossible at the date. d. = died. c. = *circa* (used where only an approximate date can be given).
- „ 6 gives the knightly collar or other distinguishing feature. SS = the famous Lancastrian collar of essces, and Y = the Yorkist collar of suns and roses. SS and roses stand for the Tudor combination of the two collars. O = orle, B = the decorative band round the bascinet, which later developed into the orle. Where one note is given on a double tomb the reference is to the knight. If repeated, e.g. SS, SS, it means that both knight and lady wear that collar. Where there is any doubt the knight or lady is prefixed, e.g. K—SS, L—O means that the knight wears the SS collar and the lady the orle.
- „ 7 indicates the present state of preservation where I have been able to check it from personal observation or good photographs. Slight repairs, such as new noses, and the cutting of initials unless very bad, have been ignored.

Column 8 gives the reference to the illustrations. As it is impossible to illustrate here more than a few typical examples references to the four most useful hand-books to this subject are given where the subject is not illustrated in the present paper.

Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1832) has remarkably accurate and faithful drawings for his time (referred to in the list as 'Stothard').

Crossley's *English Church Monuments* (1921) is illustrated by a magnificent series of photographs (referred to as 'Crossley').

Crossley's 'Mediaeval Monumental Effigies Remaining in Cheshire' in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1925, also contains excellent photographs (referred to here as 'Crossley's Cheshire').

Prior and Gardner's *English Mediaeval Figure Sculpture* has a special section or two dealing with this subject and contains many photographs (referred to as 'P and G').

Chatwin's 'Monumental Effigies in Warwickshire,' *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 1921, 1922, 1923, illustrates all the more important specimens in that county (referred to as 'Chatwin').

Other plates may be found scattered about in guide-books and the journals of various learned societies in different parts of the country, but the four given above are the most handy for reference.

- „ 9 puts a × against those which I have personally examined or photographed. In a few cases owing to surface decay, paint or deficiency in notes on an old visit I am not quite certain of the material. Those marked † are not guaranteed to be of alabaster.
- „ 10 gives rough particulars of the tomb-chest, especially indicating where there are weepers of alabaster.

There are a large number of effigies between 1520 and 1560 of a transitional character between the Gothic and purely Renaissance types. A few of these marked * have been named as examples, but no attempt has been made to enumerate the greater number of them. They are frequently of great artistic merit and preserve some of the earlier feeling, but the most convenient line to draw is at the Reformation. Perhaps someone else may be in a position to follow up my list by another taking the story down to the end of Elizabeth's reign.

As it is impossible to avoid technical terms altogether I have added (fig. 1) a rough sketch, which, in spite of its imperfections, may help any reader who has not specialised in armour to identify the more important pieces at a glance.

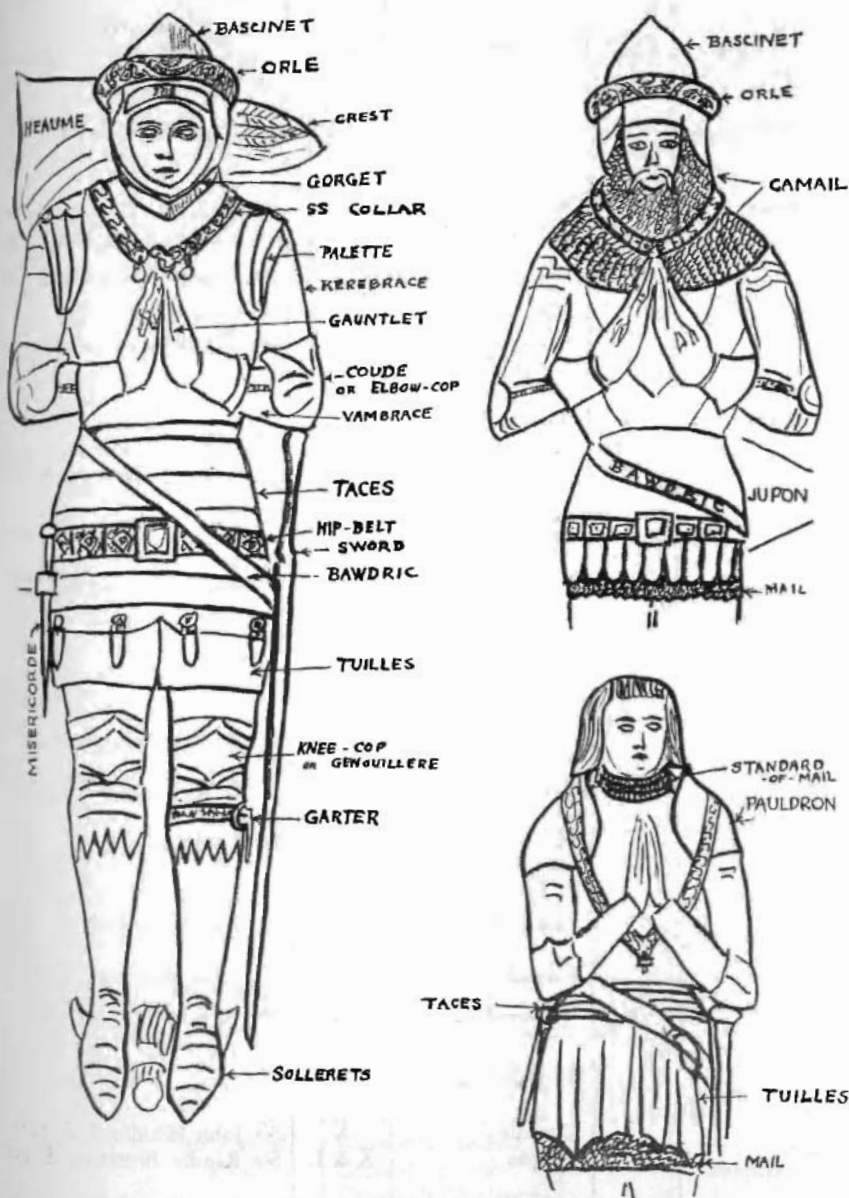


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF ARMOUR GIVING NAMES OF PRINCIPAL PIECES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Bedford ..	v	Turvey	K & L	Sir John Mordaunt, d. 1506
Berks ..	II	Wantage ..	K & L	Sir William Fitzwarren, d. 1361
	III	East Shefford ..	K & L	Sir Thomas Fettiplace, c. 1440
	v	Windsor ..	K & L	Sir George Manners, d. 1513
	*	Aldermaston ..	K & L	Sir George Forster, d. 1526
	*	Lambourne ..	K & L	Sir Thomas Essex, d. 1558
		Farringdon ..	K & L	c. 1553
Bucks ..	II	Aylesbury ..	K	c. 1390
	II-III	Haversham ..	L	Widow, Lady Clinton, d. 1422 (?)
	IV	Bletchley ..	K	Lord Grey of Wilton, c. 1450 (?)
		Thornton ..	K	
		Thornton ..	L	
	v *	Middle Claydon	L	Margaret Giffard, d. 1539
Cambs. ..	II	Isleham ..	K	
Cheshire ..	II	Bunbury ..	K	Sir Hugh Calveley, d. 1394
		Acton	K	Sir William Mainwaring, d. 1399
		Barthomley ..	K & L	Sir Robert Foulshurst, d. 1389
		Higher Peover ..	K & L	Sir J. Mainwaring, c. 1420
	III	Higher Peover ..	K & L	Sir R. Mainwaring, d. 1456
		Cheadle ..	K	Sir John Hondford, d. 1461
	IV	Macclesfield ..	K	Sir John Savage, d. 1463 (.)
		Macclesfield ..	K	c. 1470
		Cheadle ..	K	Sir John Hondford, d. 1473
	v	Malpas ..	K & L	Sir Randle Brereton, d. 1522
		Macclesfield ..	K & L	Sir John Savage, d. 1495
		Macclesfield ..	K	Sir John Savage, d. 1513
		Macclesfield ..	K & L	Sir John Savage, d. 1525

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
K-SS L-O	good	Crossley, p. 100	×	Purbeck.
cross-legged O	much worn fair	Plate xxvi Plate xxxiii	×	angels.
K-SS	good	{ Plate viii P. & G, p. 707	×	weepers.
tabard	good good	Plates viii, lii P. & G, p. 547	×	weepers.
SS	poor good good (? suspiciously good) good good good	Plate xxx Plate xli Plate xli Plate xxxiv Plate liii	×	weepers.
B	good	(Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 21 Crossley, p. 170 Stothard, p. 75	×	
SS, O	fair, but cut about	{ Crossley, p. 92 { Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 22	×	
SS, O	fairly good	Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 24	×	on later tomb weepers, c. 1480
SS, SS O	good	Crossley, p. 218 Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 23	×	
O	fairly good	{ Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 25 Crossley, p. 218 P. & G, p. 699	×	
SS, O	fairly good	Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 28	×	
SS	good	{ Crossley, pp. 217, 219 { Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 30 { Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 31	×	
SS	good	Crossley, 220 P. & G, p. 703	×	
SS K-SS	fairly good good	Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 29 Crossley, p. 160	×	weepers.
hands clasped, Y, Y	fairly good	Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 34 Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 32	×	weepers.
	fairly good	Crossley's <i>Cheshire</i> , 33	×	

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution</i> <i>(not guaranteed).</i>
Cheshire ..	v	Bartholmey ..	P	Robert Foulshurst (rector), d. 1529
Cornwall..	v	Callington ..	K	Lord Willoughby de Broke, K.G. d. 1503
Cumberland	II	Greystoke ..	K	
	IV	Greystoke ..	K	
	v	Millom ..	K & L	Sir John Hudleston, d. 1491
		Wetheral ..	K & L	Sir Richard Salkeld, c. 1500
Derby ..	II	Bakewell ..	K	Sir Thomas Wendesley, d. 1403
		Repton ..	K	
		Barrow-on-Trent	P	
		Longford ..	K	c. 1365
		Longford ..	K	c. 1390
		Newton Solney	K	
	III	Tideswell ..	K & L	c. 1440
		Ashbourne ..	K & L	Sir J. Cockayne, d. 1447
		Cubley ..	K	
		Longford ..	K	
		Aston-on-Trent	C & L	
	IV	Ashbourne ..	K & L	c. 1480
		Norbury ..	K	Sir Nicholas Fitzherbert, d. 1473
		Norbury ..	K & L	Sir Ralph Fitzherbert, d. 1483
		Kedleston ..	K	A Curzon
	v	Youlgreave ..	K	Thomas Cockayne (small tomb)
		Dronfield ..	K	
		Norton ..	C & L	William Blythe, c. 1510-20
		Sawley ..	P	Prebendary J. Bothe, d. 1496
		Ashover..	C & L	Thomas Babyngton, d. 1518
		Duffield..	K & L	Sir R. Mynors, d. 1536
		Radbourne ..	K & L	c. 1490
		Kedleston ..	K & L	A Curzon, c. 1470-80
		Scropton ..	L, K, L	Nicholas Agard, c. 1515
Devon ..	II	Hacombe ..	C	Small effigy of young boy
	III	Exeter ..	Bp.	Bishop Stafford, d. 1419
		Horwood ..	L	c. 1450
	IV	Modbury ..	K	
Dorset ..	III	Wimborne ..	K & L	Duke and duchess of Somerset, d. 1444
	IV	Netherbury ..	K	c. 1460
		Marnhull ..	L, K, L	c. 1465
		Puddletown ..	K	c. 1470
		Melb'ry Sampf'rd	K	c. 1470

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
	fairly good			
Garter robes and collar	fair, except for initials	Plate xiv	×	
			+	
			+	
			+	
K-SS & roses SS, O	rather worn		×	
	much broken	Plate xxiii	×	
	poor		×	
	fair		×	
SS	fair		×	
	fair	Plate xxxii	×	angels & shield.
K-SS, O	fair	Plates vi, xxxiii	×	angels
K-SS, O	poor		×	angels.
	fairly good	Plate xv	×	
SS, O	fairly good	Plate xxix	×	angels.
hands clasped	fair		×	angels.
	good	Plates vii, viii, xxxvii	×	weepers.
Y	good	Plates ii, xxxix	×	weepers.
K-Y	fair			
SS	restored	Crossley, p. 143	×	angels.
Y	fair		×	angels.
	rather broken		×	weepers.
	fairly good	Plate xix	×	
Quire habit	good,	Plates xi, xlvii	×	weepers.
	colour restored			
	good	Plate liii	×	weepers.
K-SS	good	Plate xlvii	×	
K-SS	fairly good			weepers.
K-SS				angels.
	fair		×	
	fair	{ P. & G, p. 686		
		{ Crossley, p. 190	×	
children on each side	fair	Plate xxxiv	×	
collar roses only	rather worn		×	
SS, SS, O	fairly good	Plate xiv	×	
hands clasped				
SS	much broken		×	angels.
K-Y	good except for a few breakages	Plate xliii	×	
salade, Y	fairly good	Plate xxxix	×	Purbeck.
salade, Y	very good	Plate xl	×	Purbeck.

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Dorset ..	IV	Melb'ry Sampf'rd Stourton Caundle	K L	c. 1470 Widow, c. 1460-70
Durham ..	II	Puddletown .. Durham .. Durham .. Durham .. Staindrop ..	K & L Bp. K & L K & L L, K, L	c. 1470-80 Bishop Hatfield, d. 1381 Ralph lord Nevill, d. 1367 John lord Nevill, d. 1388 Ralph Nevill, earl of Westmor- land, d. 1425
Essex ..	III	Redmarshall ..	K & L	Thomas de Langton, d. 1440
	II	Colne Priory .. (private possession) Laver Marney ..	K K	A de Vere, earl of Oxford, c. 1380 Sir William Marney, d. 1360
	III	Colne Priory .. (private possession) Colne Priory .. (private possession)	K L	An earl of Oxford, c. 1430 ? wife of above
	IV	Dunmow Priory	K & L	c. 1460-70
		Dunmow Priory	L	c. 1480
	V	Wethersfield ..	K & L	c. 1490
Gloucester	I	Gloucester .. Tewkesbury ..	King K & L	King Edward II, d. 1327 Sir Hugh Despencer, d. 1349
	II	Berkeley ..	K & L	Thomas lord Berkeley, d. 1364
		Newent ..	K & L	c. 1370
	IV	Gloucester .. Berkeley .. Berkeley ..	P K K	Abbot Seabroke, d. 1457 James lord Berkeley, d. 1463 Son of above
	V	Gloucester .. Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe ..	P P	Abbot Parker, d. 1535 c. 1490
Hants ..	II	Winchester .. Winchester ..	Bp. Bp.	Bp. Edington, d. 1366 Bp. William of Wykeham, d. 1404
	IV	Christchurch ..	K & L	Sir J. Chideock, d. 1446
	V	Godshill (I. of W.)	K & L	
Hereford	II	Hereford ..	K	Sir Richd. Pembridge
		King's Pyon ..	K & L	
	III	Weobley .. Weobley ..	K K & L	Sir John Marbury, d. 1437
	IV	Bredwardine .. Hereford ..	K Bp.	Bp. Stanbery, d. 1476

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
salade, Y children in folds of robe	very good fair	Plate xxxiv	×	Purbeck.
	poor much worn mutilated mutilated fairly good	Plate xix	×	angels.
SS, SS, SS O		Plates xvi, xxviii	×	
	good	Plate xxvii	×	weepers.
SS, O	fairly good good	P. & G, p. 694	×	angels.
SS (?)	fairly good		×	angels.
K—SS	good, but legs broken	Plate xxxix	×	
tabard, L—Y	fair	Plate L	×	
	good	Plates, xii xxv	×	
	fair	Plate xxv	×	
	fair—hands, etc. renewed	Plate xviii	×	
Y	poor	Plate xix	×	
Y (?)	fair	Plate ix	×	weepers.
	fair		×	weepers.
	fair	Plate xxiii	×	
	good	Plate xxii	×	
	fair	Plate xix	×	
K—SS	perfect	Plates xx, xxi	×	
	K fair, L poor		×	
	fair—one leg new		×	
SS—O	mutilated		×	
SS, SS, O	poor		×	
	fair in parts, but much broken	Plate xvii	×	
SS (?) O	poor		×	
	fair		×	angels and weepers.

<i>County</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Plaæ.</i>	<i>Descrip- tion.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Hereford..	IV	Kington ..	K & L	
	V	Eye	K	c. 1510
	*	Eye	K & L	c. 1540
	*	Ross	C & L	Judge William Rudhall, d. 1529
Herts. ..	II	Royston.. ..	K	
Kent ..		Berkhampstead..	K & L	
	I	Canterbury ..	Abp.	Abp. Stratford, d. 1348
	II	Canterbury ..	Abp.	Abp. Courtenay, d. 1396
	III	Canterbury ..	King & Queen	King Henry IV, d. 1413 and queen Joan
		Canterbury ..	K, L, K	Earl of Somerset, d. 1408
				Margaret Holland, d. 1437 Duke of Clarence, d. 1431
Lancashire	IV	Ash	K & L	
	V	Little Chart ..	K	Sir John Darell, d. 1509
	II	Huyton	P	c. 1360
	IV	Halsall	P	c. 1470
		Warrington ..	K & L	Sir John Butler
		Ormskirk	K & L	Thos. lord Stanley, d. 1459
Leicester		Ormskirk	K & L	A Stanley, c. 1470
	V	Halsall	K & L	Sir Henry Halsall, d. 1523
	II	Leicester, Trinity Hospital	L	Called Mary de Bohun, first wife of Henry IV, d. 1394 (?)
		Sweptstone ..	L	
		Kirby Bellairs ..	K & L	
		Melton Mowbray	L	
		Bottesford ..	K	William lord Roos, d. 1414
	III	Bottesford ..	K	John lord Roos, d. 1421
	IV	Lutterworth ..	C & L	
	V	Ashby-de-la Zouch	C	Pilgrim
		Leicester, St. Mary's	Bp.	Bp. Penny of Carlisle, d. 1520
		Thurlaston ..	K & L	John Turville, c. 1509
		Lockington	L	Lady Elizabeth Ferrers, c. 1500
		Prestwold ..	L, L	c. 1510
		Castle Donington	K & L	Robert Haselrig, d. 1529

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
SS	fairly good	Plate XLVII	×	reliefs.
K—SS, tabard	fairly good	Plate XLV	×	
	good	Plate IX	×	
O	rather worn		×	weepers and reliefs.
	surface worn		×	
	fair	Plate XXIV	×	
	fairly good	Plate XX	×	
Queen—SS	good, but arms broken	Plate XXIV	×	
K—SS				
K—SS, tabards and coronets	good but dis- coloured	P. & G, p. 700	×	
K—SS, tabard	good, but L dis- coloured	Plate XXXIX	×	weepers.
SS	good		×	
	much worn			
		Crossley, p. 64		
SS, tabard	poor			
	poor			
	rather worn	Plate XLIV	×	
			†	
	K poor		×	
	L moderate			
	restored		×	
SS, garter	good	Plates VI, XXXVII	×	angels.
O				
SS, O	good	Plate XXXIII	×	angels.
	fairly good		×	angels.
SS	poor	Plate XXII	×	
	good	Plate XXIII	×	
SS, SS, L—O	very fair	Plate XLVIII	×	angels.
coronet	very fair	Plate LI	×	weepers.
	fair	Plate XLVIII	×	weepers.
K—SS	very fair	Plate XLVIII	×	weepers.

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Lincoln ..	II	Spilsby	K & L	Robert lord Willoughby d'Eresby d. 1396
		North Cocker- ton	K	c. 1360
	III	Broughton ..	K & L	Sir H. Redford, d. 1370
		Wellingore ..	K & L	
		Boston	K	
		Boston	L	
Middlesex (London)	IV or V I	Leake	K	Prince John of Eltham, d. 1334
		Westminster ..	K	
	II	Westminster ..	C & L	Children of Edward III (small) (contract for tomb, 1376)
		Gt. St. Helen's..	C & L	John Oteswich, c. 1400
	III	Westminster ..	Abp.	Abp. Simon Langham, d. 1376
		St. Katharine's Chapel	C, L, L	Thomas Holland duke of Exeter, d. 1448
	IV	Gt. St. Helen's..	K & L	Sir John Crosby, d. 1474
	V	Westminster ..	K & L	Sir Giles Daubeney, d. 1507
Monmouth	III	Abergavenny ..	K & L	c. 1450
	V	Abergavenny ..	K & L	c. 1500
		Abergavenny ..	K	c. 1510
Norfolk ..	II	East Harling ..	K & L	c. 1375
	III	Ashwellthorpe ..	K & L	Sir Edmund de Thorpe, d. 1417
	V	Norwich	Bp.	Bp. Goldwell, d. 1499
N'thampton	II	Ashton	K	Johan de Herteshull, d. 1365
		Orlingbury ..	K	c. 1375
		Spratton	K	Sir John Swinford, d. 1371
	III	Lowick	K & I.	Ralph Green, d. 1419
	IV	Yelvertoft ..	P	Sir John Cressy, d. 1444
		Dodford	K	
		Green's Norton	K & L	Sir Thomas Green, d. 1457
	IV-V	Irthlingborough	C & L	c. 1490
		Irthlingborough	L	c. 1490
	V	Lowick	K	Earl of Wiltshire, d. 1498
		Upton	K & L	d. 1537
		Gt. Brington ..	K & L	Sir J. Spencer, d. 1502

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
	head missing			
K—SS, O	rather worn		×	angels.
O	restored		×	
	restored		×	
	fair, but broken in parts		×	
coronet shield cross-legged	fairly good	Plates VII, XXV	×	weepers.
	much worn	Stothard, p. 60	×	
	good	Plate XXVI	×	
	good		×	
coronets	good, but one L has new face	Plate XXXII	×	
K—Y	good	Stothard, p. 99	×	
K—garter robes & collar	good		×	
K—SS, O	fair	Plates IX, XII	×	weepers. weepers, etc. reliefs.
L—O	fair	Plate IX	×	
	fairly good	Plate II	×	
SS, SS; O	good	Plate XV	×	angels.
	moderate		‡	
	poor	Plate XXVI	×	
	fair		×	
SS	good	Plate XXVII	×	angels.
hands clasped, O	good	Plates VI, XXXVI	×	
	rather worn	Plate XXIII	×	angels.
SS	good	Plates IV, XXXIX	×	
SS, SS	poor		×	
	bad		×	
	bad		×	angels.
SS, tabard	fairly good	P. & G, p. 707 Crossley, p. 220	×	
tabard	good	Crossley, p. 221	‡	

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution</i> <i>(not guaranteed).</i>
N'thampton	v	Fawsley ..	K & L	Sir Richard Knightley, d. 1534
	*	Gt. Addington	K	c. 1516
N'thumber- land	iv	Stanford-on-Av'n	K & L	Sir Thos. Cave, d. 1558
	v	Chillingham ..	K & L	Sir R. Gray, d. 1443
Nottingh'm	v	Bothal ..	K & L	Ralph lord Ogle, d. 1512
	ii	Willoughby-in- the-Wolds ..	C	Sir Richard Willoughby (judge)? d. 1362 (but looks a little later)
		Willoughby-in- the-Wolds ..	K	Sir Richard Willoughby
		Strelley ..	K & L	Sir Sampson Strelley, d. 1391
		Hoveringham ..	K & L	Sir J. Goushill, d. 1403 and duchess of Norfolk
		Whatton ..	K	Sir Adam de Newmarch, c. 1380
		Nuttall ..	K	Sir Robert Cokefield
		Fledborough ..	K	
		Clifton ..	K	Sir Gervase Clifton (?)
		Clifton ..	L	Dame Alice Clifton
		Holme Pierrepont	K	
	iii	Willoughby ..	K & L	Sir Hugh de Willoughby, d. 1448
		Worksop ..	L	
	iv	Sutton Bonning- ton ..	K	c. 1470
	v	Strelley ..	K & L	John Strelley, d. 1501
		Holme Pierrepont	K	Sir Henry Pierrepont, d. 1499
		Ratcliffe-on-Soar	K & L	Ralph Sacheverell, d. 1539
Oxford ..	ii	Dorchester ..	K	c. 1390
		Northleigh ..	K & L	Sir William Wilcote, d. 1411
	iii	Broughton ..	L	Called Lady Wykeham, but looks much earlier than the male effigy
	iv	Broughton ..	K	Sir Thomas Wykeham
		Stanton Harcourt	K & L	Sir Robert Harcourt, d. 1471
		Minster Lovell ..	K	Lord Lovell
		Ewelme ..	L	Alice duchess of Suffolk, d. 1477
	v	North Aston ..	K & L	c. 1490
		Chipping Norton	K & L	Richard Croft, d. 1502
		Oxford, S. Aldate	P	John Noble, d. 1522

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
	good		x	
	fairly good, top of head mended	Plate xxxv	x	
hands clasped, B	fair		x	
	good—K's face appears to be restored (?)	Plate xxix	x	angels.
SS, O	worn		x	
hands clasped				
SS	poor		x	
O	good	Plate xxvii	x	
	broken			
	fairly good	Plate xxvii	x	
	good	Plate xxvii	x	
O, salade	a mere fragment		x	
	K good, L fairly good	Plates v, xxxi	x	saints & angels.
	bad		x	
Y	fair, worn in parts		x	
	good	Plate LI	x	
Y	very good	Plates xv, XLVII	x	
K—SS	good—I, hands broken	Plate XLIX	x	
B	fair		x	
SS, SS, O	good	Plate xxx	x	
SS	fair (? restored)		x	
Y	torso only		x	
	genuine			
K—Y	good,	Crossley, pp. 155, 207	x	
garter robes	colour restored			
	fair	Plates ix, xli	x	weepers.
garter on wrist	good	Plates iv, xxiv	x	angels.
	fairly good	Plate vii	x	weepers.
	good	Plate xlv	x	
	fair		x	angels.

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Rutland ..	?	Burley	K & L	
	v	Exton	K & L	Sir John Harrington, d. 1524
		Ashwell	P	
Shropshire	II	Tong	K & L	Sir Fulke Pembrugge, d. 1409
		Kinlet	L	
	III	Burford	L	? Princess Elizabeth (daughter of John of Gaunt), d. 1426
		Tong	K & L	Sir Richard Vernon, d. 1451
	IV	Kinlet	K & L	Sir Humphrey Blount, d. 1478
	v	Tong	K & L	Richard Vernon, d. 1517
	*	Kinlet	K & L	Sir J. Blount, d. 1531
	*	Wroxeter	C & L	Lord chief justice Bromley, d. 1555
Somerset	II	Wells	Bp.	Bp. Ralph, d. 1363
		Wells	Bp.	Bp. Harewell, d. 1386
	III	Wells	P	c. 1440
		Porlock	K & L	c. 1440
		Dunster	K & L	Sir Hugh Luttrell, d. 1428
	IV	Glastonbury	C	Lay bursar of abbey, c. 1470
		Yatton	C & L	Judge, c. 1470-80
		Wells	Bp.	Bp. Beckyngton, d. 1465 (tomb 1451)
		Ilton	L	c. 1470
Stafford ..	I	Hanbury	K	Sir John de Hanbury, c. 1300
	II	Elford	K & L	Sir John Arderne, d. 1408
		Elford	K	
		Audley	K	
		Tamworth	K & L	c. 1400
	v	Burton-on-Trent Museum	K	
		Elford	L, K, L	Sir William Smythe, d. 1524
		Tamworth	K & L	John Ferrers, d. 1512
		Clifton Campville	C & L	Sir John Vernon, d. 1545
	*	Leigh	K & L	
Suffolk ..	III	Dennington	K & L	Lord Bardolf, K.G. d. 1441

<i>Collars, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
	mutilated good		x	
O	fair		x	
baby beside her	fairly good	Plate xxxiv	x	
	good, except new nose	Plate xliv	x	
SS, SS, O	good	Plate xxxvi	x	weepers.
K—Y	fairly good	Plates viii, xlv	x	weepers.
K—SS	fair	Plate vii	x	weepers.
K—SS	good	Plate xi	x	weepers (Renaissance details).
	fairly good	Plate xx	x	
	fair	Plate xix	x	
	fair	{ P. & G, p. 688 { Plates vii, ix	x	weepers.
K—SS, O, L—coronet	very fair	Plate xxxiii	x	
K—SS, O	poor		x	
	very fair	Plate xxii	x	
	very fair	Plate xxii	x	angels.
	rather worn	Plate xx	x	
roses alone	fair	Plate xxxiv	x	
legs crossed, shield	fairly good	Plate xxv	x	
SS, SS, O, hands clasped	good, but restored	Plates viii, xxix	x	weepers.
	restored			
	fair, but arms broken	Crossley, p. 159	x	
cross-legged	a mutilated fragment			
K—SS, L—coronet	good, but restored	Plates xxxviii, xlvii	x	weepers.
K—SS	fair			weepers.
	good			weepers.
SS, SS, O, garter	good	Plates xxxii, xxxviii	x	

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Suffolk	v	Wingfield ..	K & L	John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk K.G. d. 1491, and duchess Elizabeth (Plantagenet)
		Chilton ..	K & L	Robert Crane, d. 1500
		Chilton ..	C	George Crane, d. 1491
Surrey ..	iv	Lingfield ..	K & L	Sir Reynold Cobham, d. 1446
Sussex ..	iii	Arundel ..	C & L	Thomas earl of Arundel, d. 1416
	v	Arundel ..	C & L	William FitzAlan, earl of Arundel d. 1487
		Chichester ..	Bp.	Bp. Storey, d. 1503
		Chichester ..	Bp.	Bp. Shirburne, d. 1506
	*	Easebourne ..	K	Sir David Owen, d. 1540
Warwick ..	ii	Warwick ..	K & L	Thos. Beauchamp, earl of War- wick, d. 1371 c. 1360
		Aston ..	K	
		Kingsbury ..	K	
		Birmingham ..	K	Sir John de Birmingham, c. 1400
		Meriden ..	K	Sir John Wyard, c. 1404
	iii	Merevale ..	K & L	Lord Ferrers, c. 1440
		Wootton Wawen	K	John Harewell, d. 1428
		Polesworth ..	L	c. 1420
	iv	Aston ..	K & L	Sir Thomas Erdington, d. 1431 (tomb, c. 1460)
		Aston ..	K	Sir William Harcourt (?)
		Astley ..	K	Sir E. Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby, d. 1457
		Grendon ..	L	
	v	Birmingham ..	P	c. 1500
		Astley ..	L	
		Astley ..	L	Marchioness of Dorset, d. 1530
		Coleshill ..	K & L	Sir Simon Digby, d. 1519
		Compton		
		Winyates ..	K & L	Sir William Compton
		Sutton Coldfield	Bp.	Bp. Vesey of Exeter
	*	Monk's Kirby ..	K & L	Sir W. Fielding, d. 1547
	*	Coventry ..	K, L, C	Thomas Essex, Elizabeth Swil- lington (1546) and Ralph Swillington (d. 1525)
Wilts. ..	ii	Salisbury ..	Bp.	Bp. Mitford, d. 1407
	iv	Salisbury ..	K	Lord Hungerford, d. 1459

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
garter robes, coronets	duke good, duchess fair	Plate LII	×	
tabard. L—SS	fairly good	Plate I	×	
	fairly good	Plate LI	×	
coronets	good	Plates XVIII, XXXVII	×	
earl—SS	good	Stothard, p. 83		weepers.
coronet	good	Stothard, p. 101		
	poor		×	
	good, but restored (?)	P. & G, p. 687	×	
SS and roses	fairly good			
hands clasped	fairly good	Plates VII, VIII, XXIX	×	weepers.
	fairly good	Chatwin, plate v		
	bad			
B	fairly good	Chatwin, plate VII		
	good	(Chatwin, plate VIII	×	
		(Plate XL		
O	fairly good	Plates VI, XXXII	×	angels.
B	fairly good	Chatwin, plate VIII	×	
	fair	Chatwin, plate XVII	×	
K—SS obliterated, L—SS	fairly good	Chatwin, plate XII		angels.
Y	good	Chatwin, plate XIV		angels.
SS	fairly good	Chatwin, plate XI	×	
	restored			
	fairly good	Chatwin, vol. XLIX, plates IX, X		angels.
roses only	fair	Plate XLIV	×	
K—SS	rather broken	Plate XLIV	×	
SS, tabard	good	Plate XLVI	×	
	poor,	Chatwin, plate xv		
	legs missing			
	covered with modern paint	Chatwin, vol. XLIX, pl. XI.	†	
	good	Chatwin, plate xx	×	Renaissance tomb.
K bearded	fairly good	Plate XLVI	×	Renaissance tomb.
	fairly good		×	
SS	fair	Plate XLI	×	

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Wilts.	V	Bromham ..	K	Richd. Beauchamp, Lord St. Amand (?) d. 1509
Worcester	III	Salisbury ..	K	Sir John Cheyney, K.G. d. 1500
		Bromsgrove ..	K & L	Sir H. Stafford, c. 1450
		Bromsgrove ..	L	Called Lady E. Talbot, d. 1490. but earlier
	IV	Kidderminster ..	K & L	Sir Hugh Cokesay, c. 1445
Yorkshire	V	Martley ..	K	Sir Hugh Mortimer, 1459
		Stanfrd-on-Teme	K & L	Sir Humphrey Salway, d. 1493
	*	Bromsgrove ..	L, K, L	Sir John Talbot, d. 1501
	I	York ..	C	Prince William of Hatfield, c. 1346
	II	Tanfield ..	K & L	Sir John Marmion, d. 1386
		Swine ..	K & L	Sir Robert Hilton, d. 1372
		Swine ..	K	A Hilton, c. 1410-20
		Swine ..	K & L	A Hilton, c. 1410-20
		Hornby ..	K & L	Sir John Conyers, d. 1422
		Pickering ..	K & L	Sir David Roucliffe, d. 1407
		Pickering ..	K	c. 1380
	III	Selby ..	K	John lord Darcy, d. 1411
		Hull ..	C & L	Sir William de la Pole, d. 1399
		Darfield ..	K & L	
		Harewood ..	K & L	A Redmayne
		Harewood ..	K & L	A Redmayne
		Harewood ..	C & L	Judge Sir W. Gascoigne, d. 1411
		Methley ..	K & L	Sir Robert Waterton, d. 1424
	IV	Wadworth ..	K & L	Sir Edmund FitzWilliam, d. 1414
		Barmston ..	K	c. 1420
		Wentworth ..	K & L	
		Harewood ..	K & L	Sir John Nevill (?), 1482
		Harewood ..	K & L	

<i>Collars, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
SS, beavor and cap	fair except for initials	Plate XLVI	×	Purbeck.
SS, garter robes	fairly good	Plate LIII	×	
K-SS, O	fairly good	Plate XVII	×	
	fair	Plate XLIV	×	angels.
K-SS tabard and ridged salade	K fairly good except legs, L worn in upper parts	Plate XL	×	
Y	rather worn		×	
K-SS	fairly good		×	weepers.
	(L's head not guaranteed)			
K-SS	fair		×	
	much worn	Plate XXV	×	
K-SS B	fair	Plate XXX	×	
	good, except arms broken	Plate XXVIII	×	weepers (almost destroyed)
O	good	Plate XXVIII	×	angels.
K-SS, O	K good, L fairly good	Plates III, XXXI	×	angels.
O	fair, legs broken	P. & G, p. 693	×	
SS, SS, O	much worn		×	
	broken torso, practically destroyed		×	
SS	mere fragment		×	angels.
	fair	Plate XXVI	×	
K-SS	moderate		×	
K-SS, O	fairly good	Plates XVI, XXVIII	×	angels.
K-SS, O	K fair, L poor		×	
	good	Plates III, XXXV	×	angels.
SS, SS	fairly good	Plates V, XVII	×	angels, etc.
orle-turban				
K-SS	moderate		×	angels.
O				
O	very fair			angels.
K-SS	K poor, L practically destroyed		×	
	good	Plate XVI	×	weepers.
K-Y	good, but face worn	Plates XVIII, XLII	×	weepers
K-SOSOS (?) tabard				

<i>County.</i>	<i>Class.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Usual Attribution (not guaranteed).</i>
Yorkshire	iv	Burton Agnes ..	K & L	Sir Walter Griffith, d. 1481
		Eastrington ..	K & L	Sir John Portington, d. 1461 (armour half covered by judge's robes)
		Methley ..	K & L	Lord Welles, d. 1461
		Ryther	K	Sir William Ryther, d. 1475
	v	Thornhill ..	K & L	Sir John Savill, d. 1481
		Halsham ..	K	
		Sheriff Hutton..	C	Edward prince of Wales (?) (small), d. 1484
		South Cowton ..	K	Sir Richd. Conyers, d. 1493
		South Cowton ..	L	
		South Cowton ..	L	
		Harewood ..	K & L	A Redmayne, c. 1490
		Batley	K & L	Sir William Mirfield, d. 1496
		Allerton		
		Mauleverer ..	K & L	Knight of Mauleverer family
	*	Whitkirk ..	K & L	Sir Robert Scargill, d. 1531
Wales ..	ii	Montgomery ..	K	
	iv	Montgomery ..	K	
	v	Llandaff ..	K & L	Sir Wm. Matthews, d. 1525
		Beaumaris ..	K & L	

<i>Collar, etc.</i>	<i>State of Preservation.</i>	<i>Illustrated.</i>	<i>Personally Checked.</i>	<i>Tomb.</i>
SS, SS, son and daughter at side	very fair	Plate XLII	×	saints & angels, etc.
	poor		×	
tabard	good	Plate XLII	×	angels.
garter				
Y	good	Plate XLIII	×	weepers.
K—Y	fairly good	Plate XLIII	×	weepers.
SS	fairly good		×	angels.
crown	poor	Plate LI	×	angels, etc.
K—SS & roses	good	Plate XLII	×	
	fairly good	Plate XVIII	×	
O	fairly good		×	
K—SS & roses	very good	Plates XVI, XLIX	×	saints & angels
	fair	Plate XLVIII	×	stone weepers.
beavor	very poor		×	
	fairly good		×	Renaissance weepers.
	fairly good	Crossley, p. 97		weepers.
	fair	Crossley, p. 100		weepers.

In compiling this list I have to thank several friends for much useful help. Mr. F. E. Howard has allowed me to check it with a list which he had begun to compile for his own use, and helped me to fill up several gaps from it. The late W. M. P'Anson, F.S.A. generously placed his unrivalled knowledge of the Yorkshire effigies at my disposal. Mr. P. B. Chatwin, F.S.A. has done the same for Warwick, Worcester and Stafford. Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A. has helped me with Cheshire, Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A. with Lancashire, Mr. T. C. Routh with Leicestershire, the Rev. T. Romans with Northumberland and Durham, and Dr. A. C. Fryer, F.S.A. with Somerset. I have also to thank Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A, Mr. J. H. Curwen, F.S.A, Col. W. G. Probert, F.S.A, Mr. G. H. Fowler, F.S.A. and Mr. J. Bilson, F.S.A. for kind help.

Finally for inspiration throughout I am indebted to Professor E. S. Prior, A.R.A. F.S.A ; to have had the privilege of working with him at our book on *Mediaeval Sculpture in England* was an education in itself. Plates iv, xii, no. 1, and xxiv are reproduced from this book by kind permission of the Cambridge University Press.