

# Gresham Revisited: a fresh look at the medieval monuments of north Wales

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## Introduction

Colin Gresham's *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales*, published in 1968, is a well-produced volume presenting some 230 monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from Anglesey to the Marches.<sup>2</sup> The monuments are fully catalogued and illustrated by an impressive series of line drawings with 75 photographs. There is a thorough analysis, each monument being assigned a date and genealogical evidence included where appropriate. It presents the results of Colin Gresham's work which was built on the substantial body of research carried out by Wilfred Hemp. Since publication, it has stood as the definitive work and its influence has been profound. The *Buildings of Wales* volumes for Gwynedd and Clwyd use Gresham's identifications, as do many church guides.<sup>3</sup> When the slabs at Valle Crucis Abbey were gathered up from around the site, they were displayed on the floor of the monk's dormitory in the same sequence as in the book.<sup>4</sup> This paper details a reappraisal of the work and assesses it in the light of subsequent scholarship. The objective was to form an independent opinion of the monuments both individually and as a corpus, to compare with the book. About half the catalogued monuments were examined, at nearly forty sites. Surprisingly, a significant number of potential additions to the catalogue were found and some inaccuracies in the drawings were also apparent. These discoveries raised questions about Gresham's methodology and the purpose of the book. Was it meant to be a comprehensive corpus or, if selective, what were the criteria? Were the drawings done on site or worked up subsequently from photographs? These questions are not addressed in the book and there is a lack of clarity in what is meant by the frequently used term 'North Wales school'. It was, therefore, important to achieve a better understanding of this fundamental concept.

## Origins of the book and its contents

Colin Gresham lived most of his life in Crickieth with the resources to enable him to pursue a wide range of archaeological interests, publishing research on north west Wales throughout his adult life.<sup>5</sup> Wilfred Hemp was Secretary to the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, moving to Crickieth in 1939.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, the friends worked and published extensively together. Hemp had long been interested in the monuments of north Wales and transmitted his enthusiasm to Gresham who, after Hemp's death, brought the material to publication. The fortunate survival of both Gresham and Hemp's papers in the National Library of Wales and the Royal Commission archive allows us to understand something of their working methods and respective contributions.<sup>7</sup> The National Library collection includes the correspondence and original drawings, while the Royal Commission catalogue has a category for material directly related to the book and there is more monumental data amongst Hemp's Research Files. Whilst Hemp's interest in monuments was of long standing, the presentation in the book—both text and drawings—was done by Gresham working alone.

When Hemp died in 1962, Gresham seems to have started work immediately. By 1965 he describes the book as nearing completion and early the next year it was with the publisher.<sup>8</sup> In effect, he took Hemp's material as a starting point, carried out additional fieldwork, created the text and did all of the drawings inside three years. Whilst there is no explicit statement of intent in the book, Gresham set out his stall

in a letter dated February 1965, 'I am just finishing a book which is intended to be a sequel to Dr Nash-Williams *Early Christian Monuments in Wales* but for North Wales only. I think to entitle it *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales* and it is a complete corpus of all sepulchral slabs and effigies of the 13th and 14th centuries'.<sup>9</sup>

Gresham was especially interested in the monuments created in north Wales and carved by Welshmen but acknowledged English involvement in those pre-dating the conquest of 1282. He saw almost everything subsequent as being produced by this 'North Wales school', with only a few exceptions.<sup>10</sup> However, this view is not well founded as many slabs that Gresham saw as Welsh are comparable with contemporary monuments across Britain.<sup>11</sup> The assumption seems to have arisen from misleading published data upon which he was simply building.<sup>12</sup> Three from Conwy look particularly English (Gresham 73–6). With their bracelet heads and stepped calvaries, they are very like a standard product of the thirteenth-century Purbeck marblers, so there seems little justification for considering them fourteenth-century products of a north Wales school.<sup>13</sup> Two 'North Wales school' slabs are shown in Figure 1, compared with examples from Cumbria.<sup>14</sup> English comparisons can be found for most of the slabs which Gresham characterised as having four circle crosses.

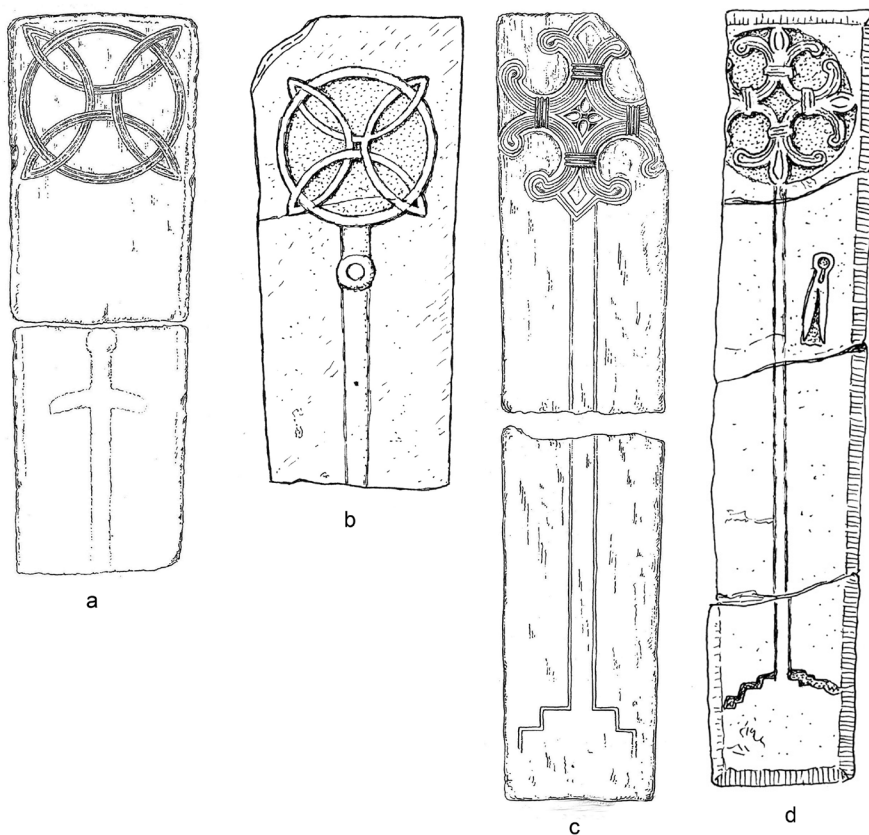


Fig. 1. Comparisons of north Wales cross slabs with similar designs in England: **a** Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 70); **b** St Bees (Cumbria); **c** Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 88); **d** Stanwix (Cumbria). Drawings *a* and *c*, © J. Gresham, *b* and *d* © Peter Ryder.

Given Gresham's aim of including everything, it was surprising to find many monuments which had been omitted but without an obvious reason for exclusion. In examining about half the total, some thirty more were discovered, an increase of 27 per cent. They were nearly all in churches with monuments recorded in the book, so, allowing both for those outside the sample group and the many locations not covered by Gresham, the real total must be far higher. Many of the additions were referenced in literature available to Gresham and others built into walls adjacent to catalogued monuments. A few have come to light since Gresham's time but most would have been visible in the early 1960s. Full details of the additional monuments are given in the Appendix.

Two important omissions are reused as door lintels and a third in a ceiling (Fig. 2). The battleaxe slab spans the south doorway at Tremeirchion (Fig. 2, b), where Gresham catalogued seven monuments. Had he seen it, it would have expanded his list of symbols. When he climbed the stair to the monks' dormitory to record the material there, he passed under the Valle Crucis slab (Fig. 2, c) which figures in a work cited in his Bibliography.<sup>15</sup> The Cilcain slab (Fig. 2, a), over a doorway in the north aisle, could more easily be missed but it too had been published, with a photograph.<sup>16</sup> The same article illustrates the half effigy of a civilian with characteristic 'North Wales' features, which is another omission. The top half of an effigy (probably of an ecclesiastic) in the chancel gable of Rhuddlan parish church is not catalogued. It is much weathered but a drawing published in the nineteenth century shows it in better condition and should have been an aid to its interpretation.<sup>17</sup>

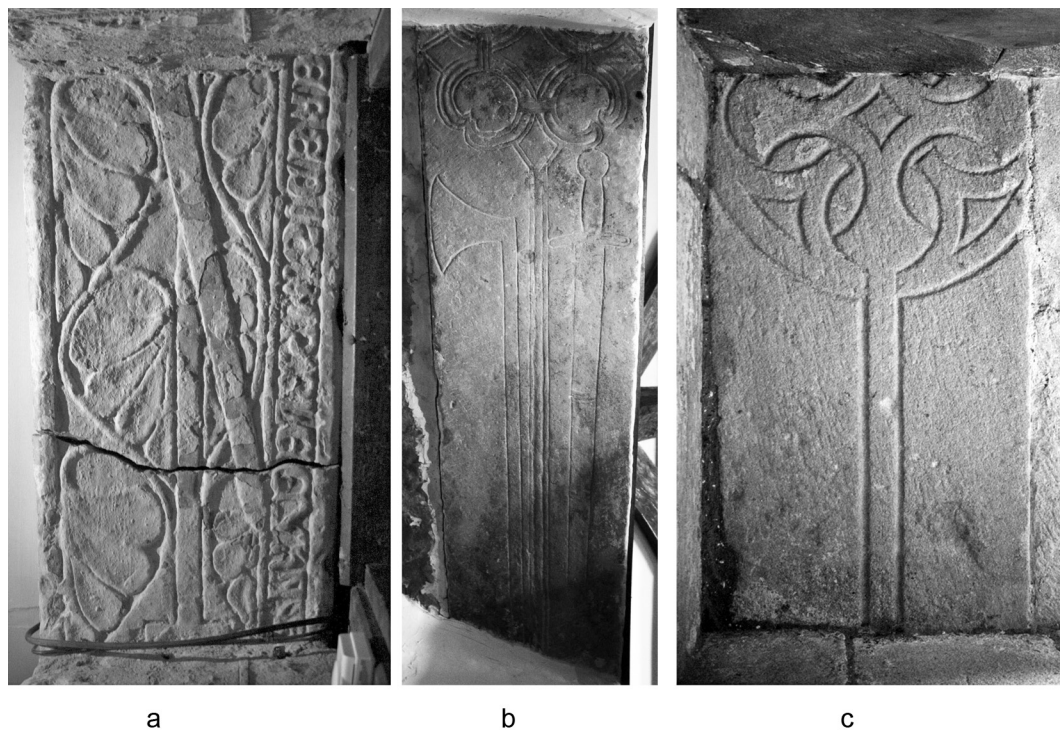


Fig. 2. Cross slabs omitted from the catalogue: **a** door lintel at Cilcain; **b** door lintel at Tremeirchion; **c** roof of the dormitory stair, Valle Crucis Abbey. Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.

These examples were either overlooked or forgotten but some monuments were ignored. Gresham's treatment of the cross slab pieces framing a window at Llantysilio-yn-Iâl is very puzzling (Fig. 3). He illustrated the entire window but catalogued only four of the seven elements (Gresham 33, 34, 149), although one he might have judged too early.<sup>18</sup> A notebook details the reason for omitting the semi-effigial civilian at Overton (Flintshire), where everything else was included.<sup>19</sup> He said, it was 'Not of the Welsh school'. However, at Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd the stones blocking the north doorway include several cross slab fragments, only one of which (Gresham 90) features in the book, despite the fact that he also sketched its neighbour.<sup>20</sup>



Fig. 3. Reused stones framing a window at Llantysilio-yn-Iâl. Some were included by Gresham and others omitted. © Crown copyright, RCAHMW, W. J. Hemp Collection.

Unfortunately, the archive material is undated, so understanding the working sequence is difficult. However, Gresham appears to have made a series of site visits, while working up the manuscript. Only two notebooks survive but they show him targeting sites and making detailed, dimensioned, sketches.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes he returned to record further information and the consequently fragmented records may account for some of the more surprising errors. One example is the drawing of Gresham 112 at Diserth, which lacks the sword beside the cross shaft (Fig. 4). One notebook contains a sketch of the complete slab but the dimensioned detail of the sword is overleaf and does not appear on the final version.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the shears incised beside the shaft on Gresham 88 at Caerwys are missing from the published drawing, perhaps for a similar reason.<sup>23</sup> Good as the drawings are, they do contain errors and should be viewed with caution.

The absence of dating is symptomatic of some other organisational problems. The files contain many notes of useful information on tiny scraps of paper, but almost all without sources and the same problem carries through to the photographs, such that potentially significant images, probably collected by Hemp before the war, are unidentified. The example shown in Figure 5 is just labelled 'Valle Crucis' but shows Gresham 52, presumably as it was discovered, during Owen's unpublished work of c. 1890.<sup>24</sup> The second-

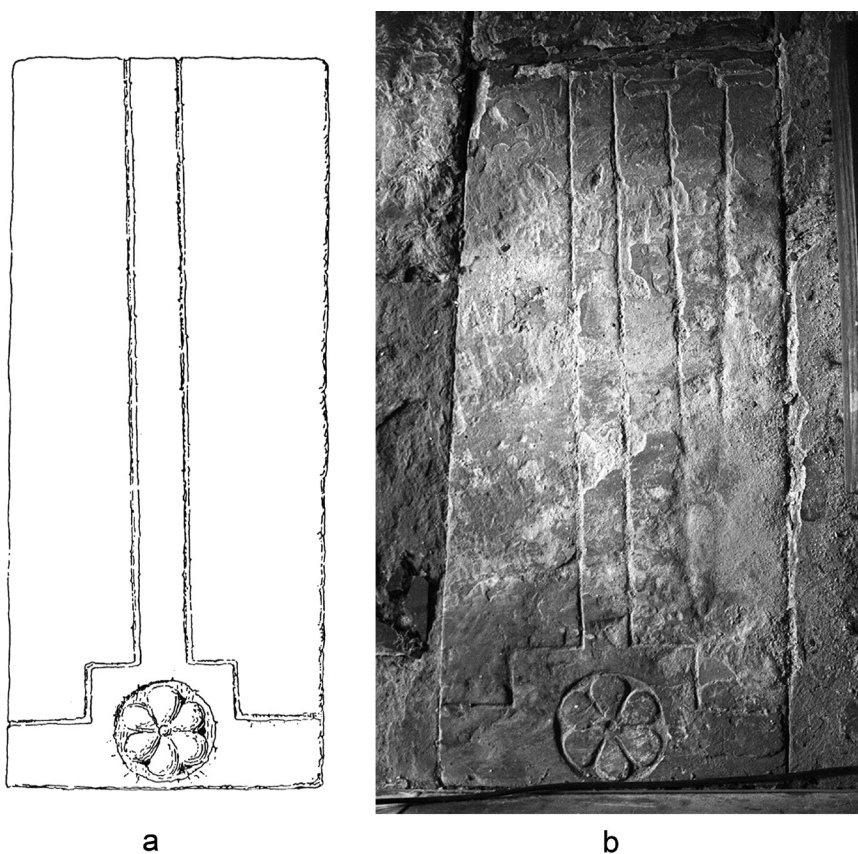


Fig. 4. Lower part of a cross slab at Diserth (Gresham 112): **a** Gresham's drawing omitting the sword, © J. Gresham; **b** view showing the sword present. Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.

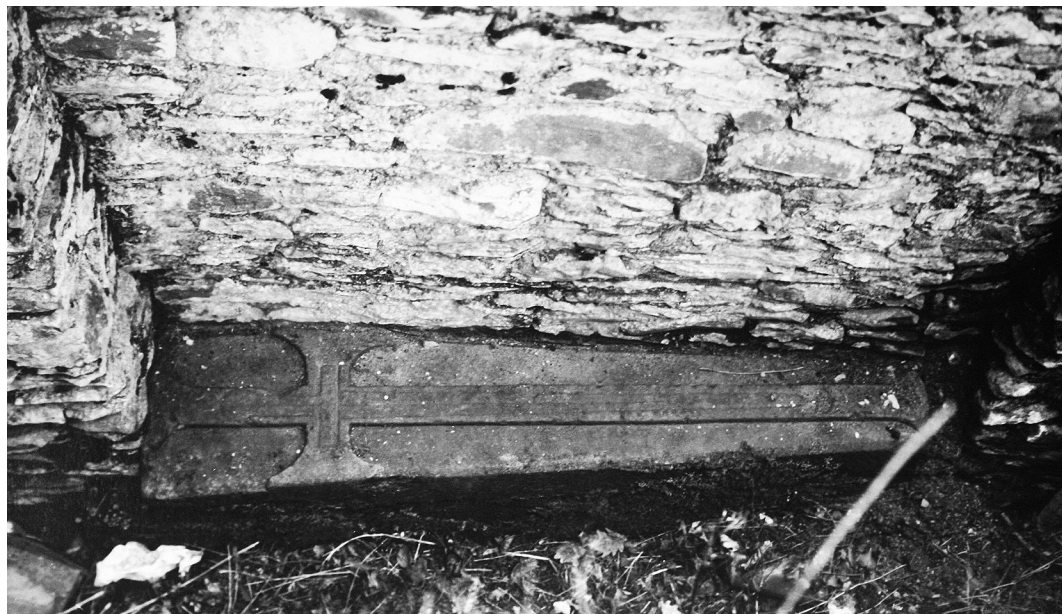


Fig. 5. Gresham 52 at Valle Crucis Abbey *in situ*, presumably as it was first discovered. © Crown copyright, RCAHMW, W. J. Hemp Collection

hand accounts locate it on the foundations beside the north wall of the nave, but the photograph shows it in a close-fitting recess which is difficult to reconcile with that description, as we have not noted a recess in this location.<sup>25</sup> However, there was one in the presbytery north wall, now surviving only in outline.<sup>26</sup> An early slab in this prestigious location would have commemorated someone of prime importance.

Both Gresham and Hemp were Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries and extremely active in Welsh archaeological and historical circles. The correspondence shows how they used their contacts to seek advice, consulting, for example, James Mann on armour, Hamilton Thomson on history, Alfred Fryer on monuments, Cecil Humfrey Smith on heraldry, and F. J. North on geology. But this all seems to have taken place prior to the book being written and the only review of the manuscript was by Raleigh Radford, who advised the Board of Celtic Studies about its publication. He made just a few comments but only about the presentation.<sup>27</sup>

#### Characteristics of the ‘North Wales school’

Whilst the full scope of Gresham’s ‘North Wales school’ is ill-defined, the archetypal monuments are undoubtedly those with shields circumscribed by a commemorative inscription. They occur on both slabs and effigies but only on monuments in north Wales and the immediate border region. They appear to have a long time-span during the fourteenth century, and for this reason the authors believe it is unlikely that one workshop could be responsible. Perhaps a local fashion became established with many different carvers involved and it is possible to discern sub-groups that probably represent individual workshops or craftsmen. Some idiosyncratic features link different types of figure, for instance (Fig. 6), the fringe on the gown of the knight at Gresford (Gresham 174) also edges the chasuble of the priest at Corwen (Gresham 164). It would otherwise be difficult to compare a priest carved in bas-relief with a military figure carved

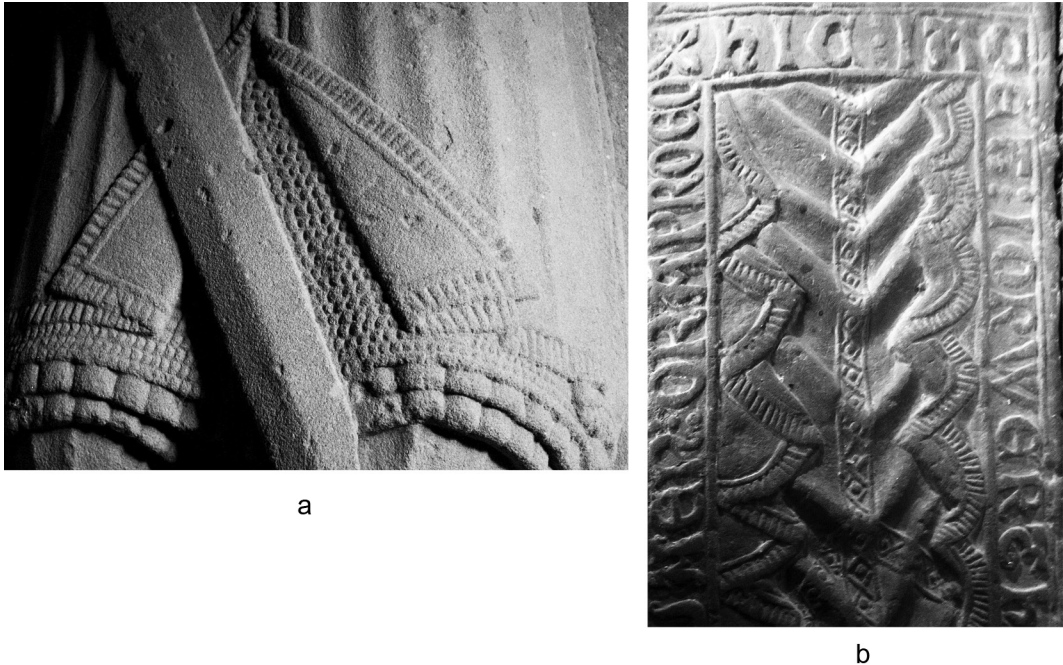


Fig. 6. Comparison of fringe details on different types of figure: **a** military gown at Gresford (Gresham 174); **b** priest's chasuble at Corwen (Gresham 164). *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

in the round. A further link with the men in armour is the inscription framing the lower part of the Corwen priest, handled in the same way as the inscriptions bordering the shields. A surprisingly high proportion of the monuments in Gresham's catalogue (nearly 40 per cent) have inscriptions and they are one of the defining traits. As at Corwen, they are often integral to the design rather than relegated to the margins. Thus they surround shields, edge the jupon at Llanfair Caereinion (Gresham 185) and fill cross shafts as, for example, at Rhuddlan Abbey Farm (Gresham 95) (see Figure 7 for examples of each). They are in Lombardic script, with the background cut away to leave the letters in a sunk-relief strip—a technique rarely used elsewhere.

The reason for the prominence given to inscriptions, in a fashion not seen in England, is intriguing and worthy of study in its own right. It may be rooted in the contemporary culture of Wales, perhaps related both to certain strands of the strong bardic tradition and how Welshmen understood their own identity. Inscriptions using this technique can be found in architectural and sculptural contexts in north Wales over a broad date range, supporting the idea of a local fashion. The large-scale example at Valle Crucis gives dating evidence for their use (Fig. 8). Cut into the masonry high on the west front is, '+ ADAM : ABBAS : FECIT : HOC : OPUS : I : PACE : QUIESCAT : AMEN'. It probably refers to Abbot Adam who held office in the 1330s and 40s and it provides a mid-fourteenth century context for this distinctive form of inscription, at the very location where many of the monuments were probably carved.<sup>28</sup> Twenty-six are listed for Valle Crucis, which constitutes more than 10 per cent of the overall number of monuments and more than twice the total for any other site. Gresham's field notebook includes another two not listed and a further two are noted in the Appendix to this article, making the full tally for Valle Crucis at least thirty. Moreover, the distribution pattern for the monuments of the first half of the fourteenth century supports



a



b



c

Fig. 7. Examples of sunk-relief inscriptions on north Wales monuments: **a** on a shield at Llanarmon-yn-Iâl (Gresham 173); **b** on the hem of the jupon at Llanfair Caereinion (Gresham 185); **c** on cross shaft at Rhuddlan Friary Farm (Gresham 95). *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*





Fig. 8. Inscription on the gable of the west front, Valle Crucis Abbey, recording work by Abbot Adam *c.* 1340. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

Valle Crucis as a likely production centre.<sup>29</sup> The earliest sunk-relief Lombardic inscription which can be assigned a date is also at this site and commemorates Madoc ap Gruffydd, who died *c.* 1306 (Gresham 122).<sup>30</sup>

### Aspects of dating

Gresham provided a date for each monument but, although there is good evidence for some, more often the dates are a matter of judgement and many now seem unconvincing. Figure 9 demonstrates the irregularity of the chronology. There is nothing before 1237 nor between 1350 and 1380, as he believed production was halted by the Black Death. Only nine are dated immediately before that, with the great majority bunched together either side of 1300. This seems most improbable in terms of the normal death rate and in relation to the picture elsewhere in Britain, where monuments were being set up throughout the thirteenth century and, in increasing numbers, to the mid fourteenth.<sup>31</sup> The evidence from England also indicates that whilst production may have been severely affected, it did not entirely cease at the Black Death.<sup>32</sup> He saw the final phase running from 1380 to the end of the century, before indigenous production was superseded by imports from English alabaster workshops and ending with the fifteenth-century military effigy at Llanrwst.

Gresham considered the earliest monument that at Beaumaris, traditionally attributed to Princess Joan who died in 1237 (Gresham 1, Fig. 10), the illegitimate daughter of King John and the wife of Llywelyn

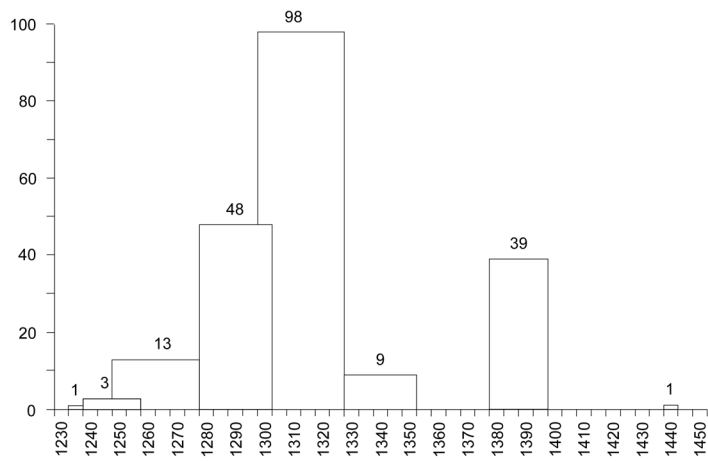


Fig. 9. Bar chart showing the irregular pattern of Gresham's dating.

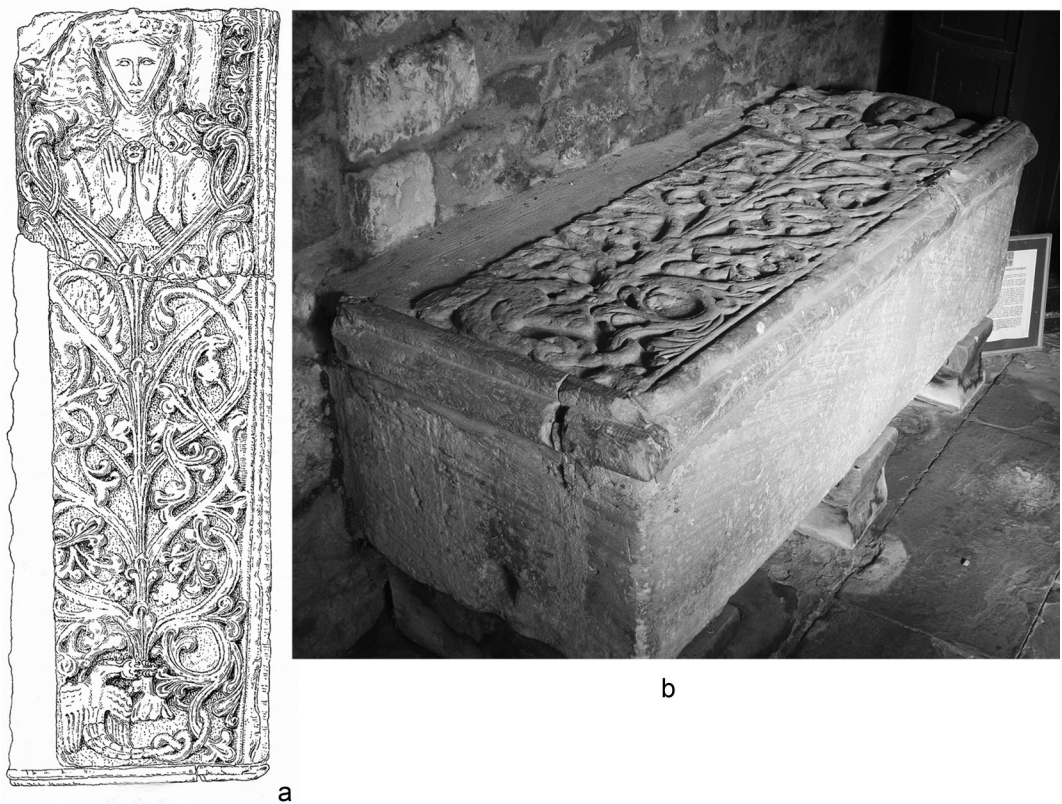


Fig. 10. Female effigy at Beaumaris (Gresham 1): **a** Gresham drawing, © *J. Gresham*; **b** overall view of the monument on its coffin. Photograph: *B. Gittos and M. Gittos*.

Fawr.<sup>33</sup> It is said to have come from Llanfaes Friary where Joan was buried, but many other candidates were buried there, including Eleanor de Montfort (d. 1282), who married Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, thereby becoming Princess of Wales.<sup>34</sup> At 1237, this monument would be both one of the earliest female effigies in Britain and a very early example of a partial effigy, pre-dating by a wide margin that of Bishop Valence at Winchester (died 1260), one of the earliest with a reliable date.<sup>35</sup> The style and costume too are more suited to a date later in the century. She wears a barbette and shoulder length veil draped over a damaged band that has been interpreted as a coronet (Fig. 11, a). However, coronets or crowns were not worn in this way.<sup>36</sup> The Beaumaris head may be compared with female figures at Worcester Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. The lady at Worcester (Fig. 11, c) is roughly contemporary with Princess Joan and typifies costume at that time—a close fitting cap above the barbette—producing a neat, narrow, elegant silhouette with a rounded chin. A veil worn with this arrangement would lie under the cap. But at Beaumaris, the shape of the face is sharply triangular.<sup>37</sup> It was later in the century that the triangular shape became fashionable, and one of the best comparisons is Aveline of Lancaster in Westminster Abbey, from the 1290s (Fig. 11, b).<sup>38</sup> The ‘coronet’ seems simply to be the band which holds the cauls in place. On Aveline, the band is shown plain but it was often decorative, as at Beaumaris. Since the monument must be significantly later than Princess Joan’s death, it may commemorate someone else or it may have been retrospective, possibly even to replace a damaged original. Llanfaes seems to have suffered during the disturbances at the end of the century.<sup>39</sup> Whoever it commemorates, this must have been regarded as a notable monument in the medieval period, since the effigy at Cilcain appears to be a crude copy and shares the unusual attitude of prayer (Gresham 166, Fig. 11, d). It has the appearance of being the best effort of a local stone carver to imitate a famous monument.

Valle Crucis Abbey was founded in 1201 and there are likely to have been burials from the outset with two slabs in particular supporting this view, despite being dated by Gresham to the late thirteenth century (Gresham 51 and 52, Fig. 12). One is steeply coped with a splayed terminal cross and the other has an expanded arm cross and bands of zigzag decoration. These are features with their origin in the twelfth century, so a date for both in the early thirteenth would be more appropriate. Another potentially early slab at Valle Crucis (Gresham 53) has overall diagonal tooling, again usually considered characteristic of the twelfth century.<sup>40</sup> It appears unfinished since one of the circles between the cross arms lacks detail and the background has been only partially cut away, around the upper part of the cross head and sword hilt (not shown in the published drawing), strongly suggesting that monuments were produced on site. Gresham dated these examples later than similar slabs elsewhere. However, more rarely they appear to have been ante-dated.

Only four inscriptions cite dates of death and one of these commemorates Agnes de Ridelegh at St John’s, Chester (Gresham 214, Fig. 13).<sup>41</sup> Gresham read the date as ‘[M]CCC8WN’, with the ‘M’ lost due to the break in the stone and claimed that it had not previously been deciphered.<sup>42</sup> The only reference given is Boutell’s *Christian Monuments*, where the date is incomplete.<sup>43</sup> He therefore enlisted the help of Raleigh Radford who provided an inventive explanation for reading the date as 1381, arguing that it was an early use of an Arabic ‘8’, and the ‘I’ elided with the ‘A’ of the concluding ‘AD’, to make what appeared to be a ‘W’ (see Fig. 13, b). This suited Gresham’s purpose as he believed the characteristic initial cross and letter forms used in the inscription linked it to a group of monuments produced in Flintshire at the end of the fourteenth century. However, he appears unaware of Fred Crossley’s detailed account of the medieval effigies of Cheshire, where Agnes’ date of death is given as 1347.<sup>44</sup> Most recent publications have followed Crossley’s dating and close examination of the slab supports it.<sup>45</sup> The ‘8’ is, undoubtedly, an ‘X’ cut exactly as two other examples earlier in the inscription. A more plausible explanation for the ‘W’ is an elided ‘LV’, with a long tail of the ‘L’ joining the top of the ‘V’. This form of ‘L’ also appears earlier in the inscription. This only leaves the final letter, seen by Gresham as ‘N’, to be accounted for and



Fig. 11. Comparison of thirteenth-century female heads: **a** (top left) Beaumaris (Gresham 1); **b** (top right) Aveline of Lancaster, Westminster Abbey (*drawing after Stothard 1817*); **c** (bottom left) Purbeck marble lady, Worcester Cathedral; **d** (bottom right) Female effigy at Cilcain (Gresham 166). *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

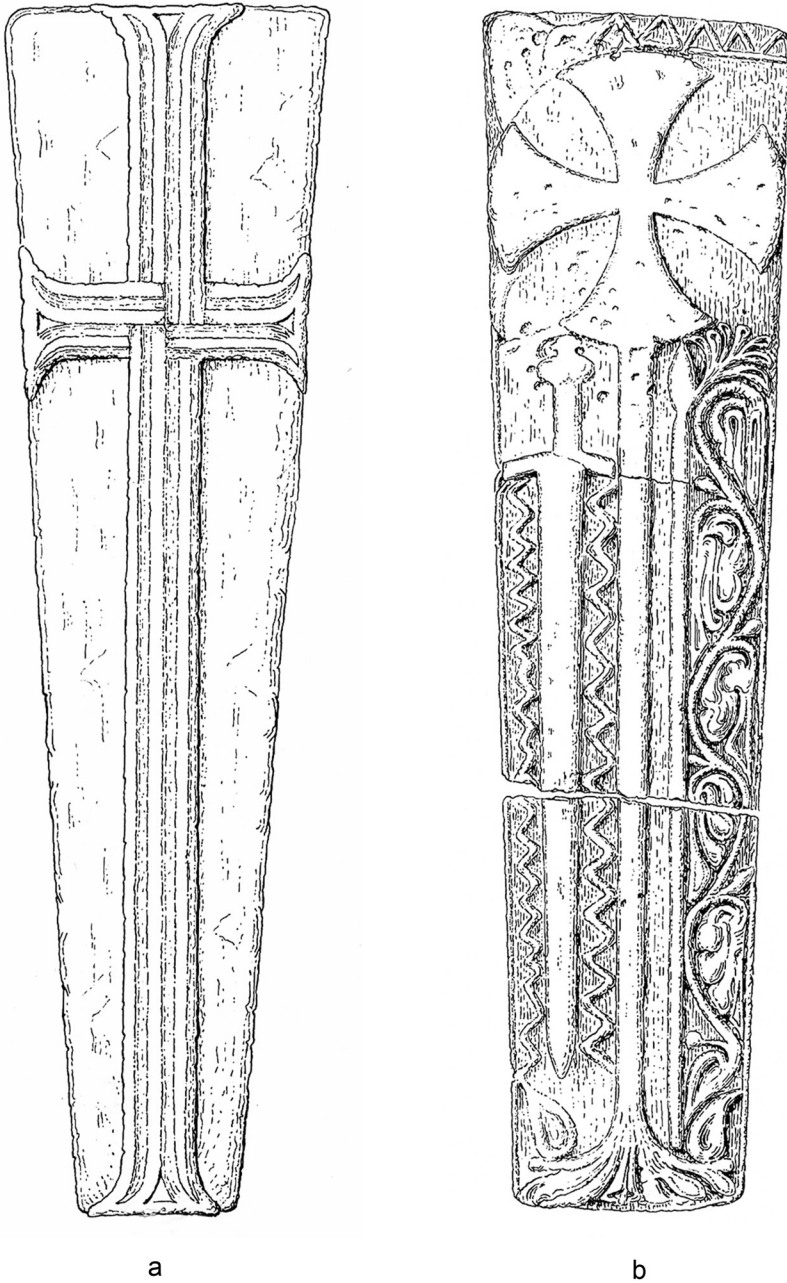


Fig. 12. Examples of slabs which are likely to be earlier than the dates suggested by Gresham: **a** Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 51); **b** Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 54). Drawings © J. Gresham.

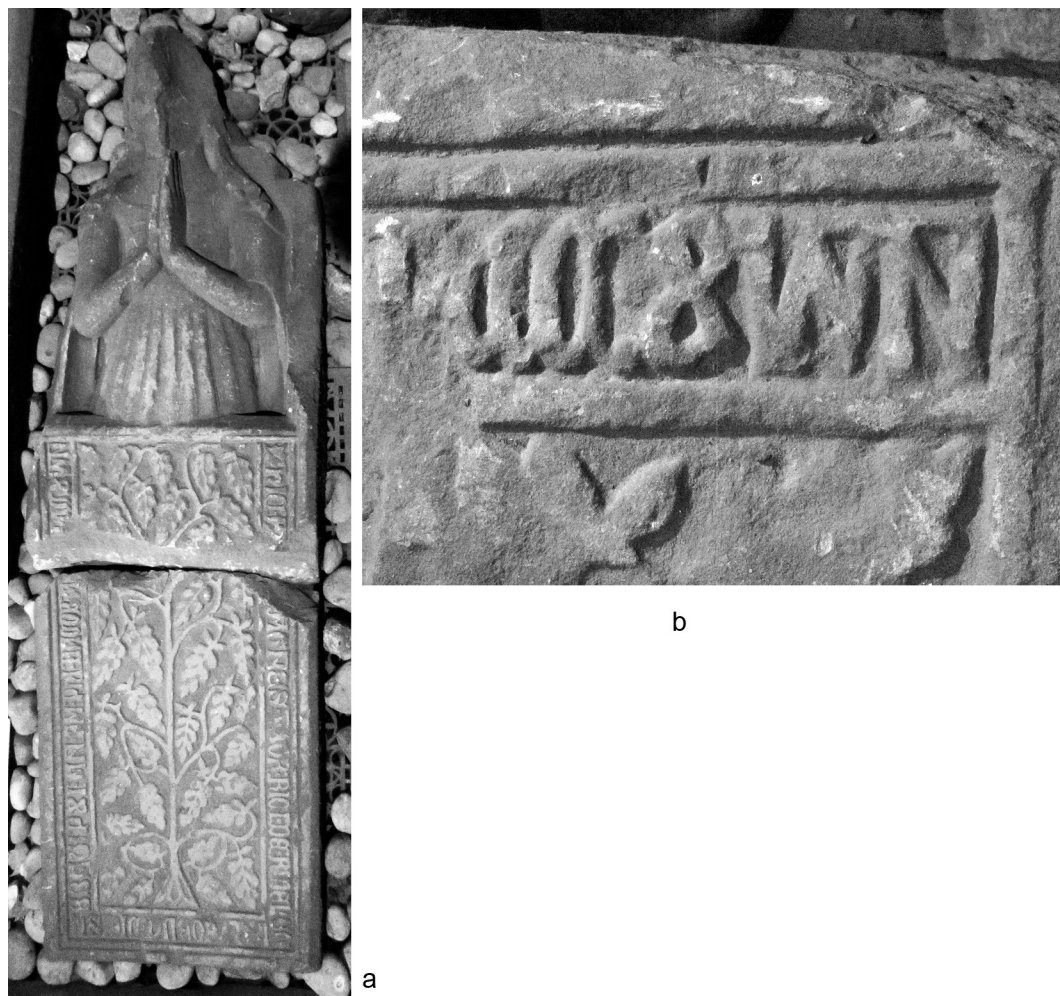


Fig. 13. Semi-effigy of Agnes de Ridelegh at St John's, Chester (Gresham 214): **a** overall view; **b** detail showing the date. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

this must simply be 'II' with a linking cross stroke. The date should therefore be read '[M]CCCXLVII'. Evidently, it was also preceded by 'AD', with the 'A' still present and the 'D' lost at the break. Gresham recorded the 'A' but suggested that it was the first letter of the abbreviation 'APT' for 'Apostles'. A date of 1347 for this monument is entirely in agreement with Agnes' costume. She wears a gown with fashionable mid-fourteenth-century long sleeve extensions and an appropriately cut neckline. Female costume does not seem to have been an aspect on which Gresham was knowledgeable because she is also shown wearing a shoulder-length veil which Gresham describes as a 'wimple'. (He uses the word 'wimple' throughout the work when referring to veils.) The tree which covers the bottom half of the slab is difficult to parallel on a late fourteenth-century monument but at Norton Priory (Cheshire) there is a grave cover from the first half of the fourteenth century, where abundant foliage (flanking a cross) covers the slab below the elbows of a female figure.<sup>46</sup>

Gresham was unable to find an ‘Agnes the wife of Richard de Ridelegh’, as she is described in the inscription, in the later fourteenth century and claimed that a mid-fourteenth-century Agnes was married to a Robert de Ridelegh.<sup>47</sup> However, the *Victoria County History* lists a Richard de Ridelegh as Sheriff in 1347.<sup>48</sup> No other Richard is mentioned but it is difficult to believe it is pure coincidence and that he is not the same person who was Agnes’ husband. Abandoning Gresham’s 1381 date and reverting to 1347 creates problems for the coherence of his late-fourteenth-century workshop and the dating of the whole group might need to be reassessed. Indeed, several of the military figures seem to be post-dated by several decades, compared to figures elsewhere.

A fragment of a grave slab from Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 35, Fig. 14, a) depicts one large and two small windows, all with reticulated tracery like the three in the east wall of the Chapter House (Fig. 14, b). Although there, the larger window is in the centre. The Chapter House was rebuilt *c.* 1350, which provides a *terminus post quem* for this slab, some fifty years later than the date given in the book.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, there is no record of where it was found but the design suggests it might commemorate someone involved in the rebuilding project.

Gresham’s last group spans *c.* 1380 to *c.* 1400 and includes some very unusual figures such as two saints on Anglesey (Gresham 209, 210) and the related female monument at Bangor Cathedral (Gresham 211, Fig. 15, a). Whilst not fashionable court dress, she wears comfortable attire at home at Gresham’s suggested date of *c.* 1380: a cote hardie, buttoned down the front, with patch pocket slits and separate strip tippets but with the addition of a rather unusual front-fastening wimple (Fig. 15, c). This also appears on a label stop of the Tremeirchion priest’s canopy (Gresham 205) and is akin to a buttoned hood (Fig. 15, d). Her rosary and that of the lady at Northop (Gresham 212) have brooches and rings attached to them (Fig. 15, b). This is an unusual feature as they are not used to pin the rosary to the clothing but, as the detail shows, hang from it. Possibly they were items that had previously belonged to friends or relatives and were there as remembrances, prompting prayers for the original owners.<sup>50</sup> Comparisons such as Bangor and Tremeirchion support Gresham’s case for a group of monuments that are both tightly-knit and widely-separated geographically.

### Illustrations and omissions

Moving from aspects of dating to an assessment of the illustrations, we found no evidence for the systematic collection of photographs. The original photographs for the plates are a motley collection, some of them very small and of indifferent quality.<sup>51</sup> Gresham said that the lack of suitable illustrations had prevented Hemp from publishing the material himself. Not surprisingly, therefore, he regarded drawings as essential and was a good enough draughtsman to produce them himself. Gresham describes Hemp’s files and rubbings as the basis of his work and this is borne out by the large group of dabbings now with the RCAHMW which were demonstrably a primary source for the drawings.<sup>52</sup> Dabbling was clearly a recording technique favoured by Hemp, as they are widespread amongst his papers and taken from everything that would give a result, even prehistoric stones and masons’ marks.<sup>53</sup> He extend this favoured recording method to the slabs and, via the effigies’ shields, to another of his interests—medieval heraldry. Gresham put great store on accuracy, which he must have thought the dabbings would provide. He drew reference lines on both the dabbings and the drawings to locate the elements and scaled off the details at a consistent 1:10 (Fig. 16). But he seems first to have worked up the dabbings by recreating any uncertain features in pencil. Many of the carved details are at different levels and modelled with rounded edges, so dabbling does not give a totally faithful image, often giving an impression slightly smaller than the original, with broader gaps between the features. It is undoubtedly this process that has given rise to some of the less happy aspects of the drawings.

The wonderfully preserved memorial to Madoc ap Gruffydd at Valle Crucis (Gresham 122) was drawn in all its detail and indeed Gresham considered it ‘perhaps the finest in North Wales’ (Fig. 17).



Fig. 14. Window tracery at Valle Crucis Abbey: **a** (top) monumental slab (Gresham 35); **b** (bottom) windows in the east wall of the Chapter House. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*





Fig. 15. Female effigy at Bangor Cathedral (Gresham 211): **a** (top left) overall view; **b** (bottom left) detail of the rosary; **c** (top right) detail of the head; and **d** (bottom right) label stop from the canopy over the priest at Tremeirchion (Gresham 205). Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.



Fig. 16. Cross slab from Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (Gresham 129), showing the development of the drawing from a dabbling, compared with the slab itself: **a** (top left) dabbling; **b** (top right) detail pencilled on dabbling; **c** (bottom left) finished drawing, © *J. Gresham*; **d** (bottom right) detail of the slab. *Images a and b* © Crown copyright, RCAHMW, *W. J. Hemp Collection*; *d*, Photograph: *B. Gittos and M. Gittos*.

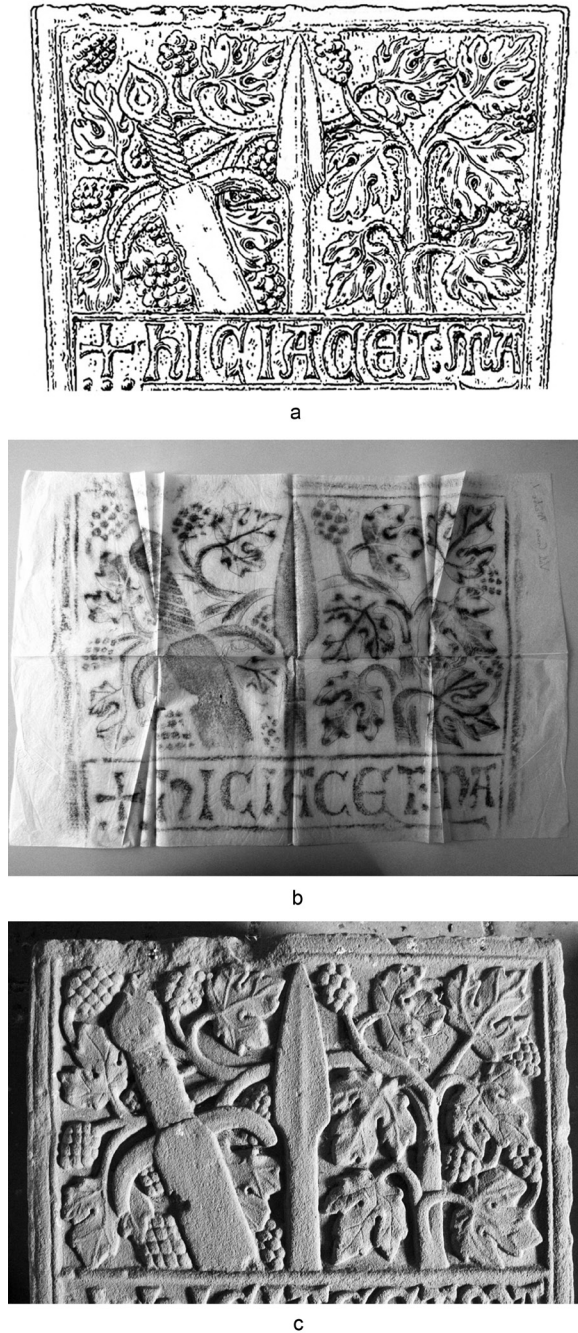


Fig. 17. Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 122), demonstrating problems caused by making a drawing from a dabbling: **a** drawing, © J. Gresham; **b** dabbling © Crown copyright, RCAHMW, W. J. Hemp Collection; **c** the slab. Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.

However, even here there are small errors, with the spiral pattern on the sword hilt shown in bold relief when it is actually only lightly incised, and the chape absent from the scabbard, despite being clear on the original. Other minor points include the lion's claws being more finely detailed, a different eye shape, the absence of wrinkles from the lower jaw and the gap between the bared teeth. Another feature is more subtle. The carver has carefully distinguished between the upper and lower surfaces of the vine leaves, with the veins lightly incised on the upper surface and in relief on the back. Although apparent on the dabbing, this was not maintained in the drawing. These differences can all be accounted for by using a worked-up dabbing. On the other hand, great attention has been paid to the inscription, with individual letter forms faithfully represented. Further examples of errors caused by working from dabbings can be seen, for example, on the drawings of monuments at Dolgellau and Chester.<sup>54</sup> For the effigies, dabbings were only available for inscriptions and heraldry and since there do not appear to be any on-site working sketches, the question of how Gresham drew them remains unanswered. But minor errors of interpretation are present on them as well. A curious example is the knight at Towyn (Gresham 180). The carver has not shown any method of attaching the couters but the drawing has a strap, which is also mentioned in the description. The mistake may be due to a misinterpretation of the way the mail lines are cut at the elbow.

In other cases there are inconsistencies, for instance in the treatment of the crests on the helms of two closely related military effigies (Fig. 18). At Betwys-y-Coed (Gresham 181), the crest is correctly interpreted as the head of a bird with a leaf in its beak but the same device at Llanfair Caereinion (Gresham 185) is called a 'woolly cap with an elaborate tassel'.<sup>55</sup> Two of the military figures have ailettes. At Gresford (Gresham 174) they are heraldic but, unusually, they are shown wrapped around the back of the shoulder instead of upright. This is easier to carve and more robust, so was probably the sculptor's choice. However, ailettes are shown in the same way on the later and unrelated figure at Towyn but, like the shield there, without heraldry. Gresham has recognised them at Gresford but not at Towyn, describing them as 'plain spaudelers'.<sup>56</sup> It was surprising to find that the bare-headed fourteenth-century military effigy at Pennant Melangell (Gresham 169) was, in fact, wearing a narrow circlet on his head, as a signifier of status. Its delicacy is akin to the narrow-based crown on a thirteenth-century carved head from Deganwy.<sup>57</sup> It is unfortunate the circlet was not spotted by Gresham or Hemp who would surely have been interested. The name surviving on the shield is simply 'Madoc', all else being lost, and the figure's identification may be less certain than has been suggested. Pennant Melangell was an ancient pilgrimage site, which attracted burials from outside the immediate vicinity.<sup>58</sup> For example, in the mid fifteenth century, Einion ap Gruffudd of Llechwedd Ystrad, who lived on the shores of Lake Bala, chose burial here.<sup>59</sup> What does seem clear is that it must commemorate someone from amongst the higher Welsh nobility, who probably considered himself a prince.

Since Gresham's time, it might be expected that changes would have occurred. Some slabs do appear to be missing but, curiously, only from monastic establishments. Of the 26 listed for Valle Crucis, we failed to find five.<sup>60</sup> Several appeared to be missing from the farmyard on the site of Rhuddlan Friary (Gresham 78, 101, 102 and 147). Loss through deterioration is a concern at Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd. The very fine heraldic slab to David son of Madoc (Gresham 129) was complete when the dabbing was made. The stone surface has since spalled off along the top edge and down the left side, taking with it important detail, including a whole section of the inscription and this process seems still to be active. Another case of deterioration is Gresham 75 at Conwy, which is now almost unrecognisable. However, in most cases, the monuments were in good condition. On the plus side, new material has been discovered and Gresham himself published the fragment from Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd.<sup>61</sup> A piece at Caerwys was found in 2003 when the churchyard wall was being refurbished, where it is now displayed (Fig. 20, a).<sup>62</sup> Fragments at St Martin's (Shropshire) were uncovered in the fabric during alterations in 1992/93 and have been set up

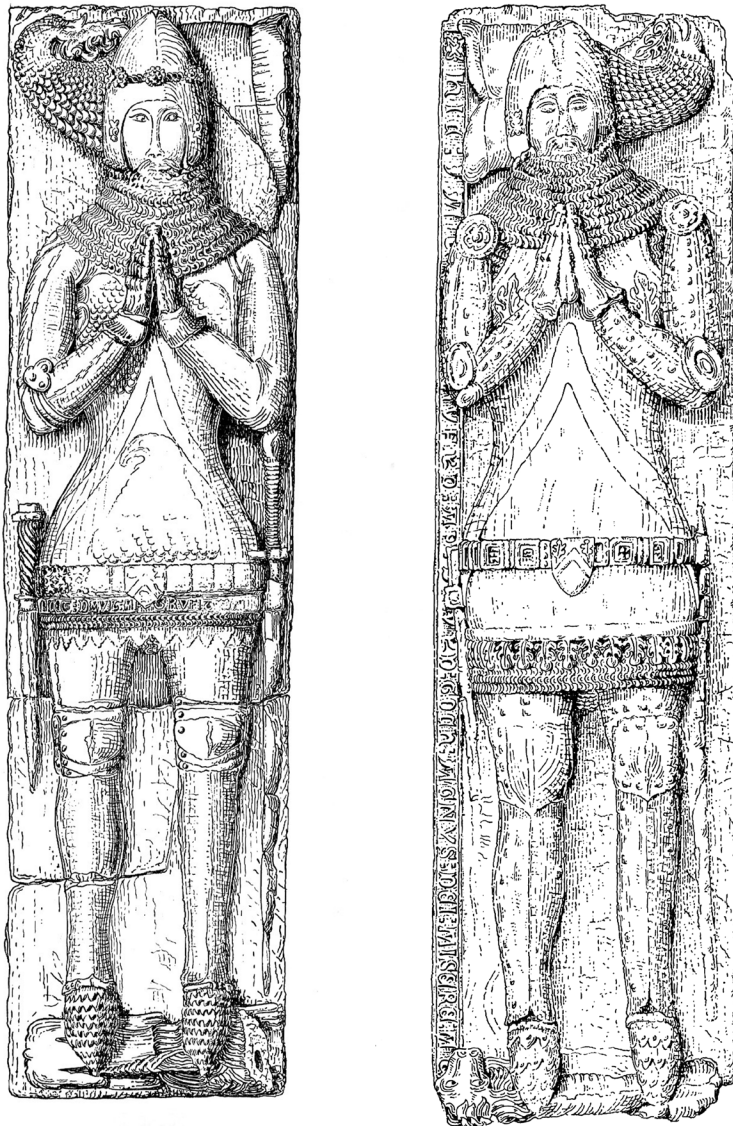


Fig. 18. Different interpretations of similar crests: **a** Llanfair Caereinion (Gresham 185); **b** Betws-y-Coed (Gresham 181). Drawings © J. Gresham.

inside the church, although wrongly reassembled.<sup>63</sup> They are from a typical north Wales monument, with boldly cut lettering, but the bird feeding on grapes is a nice detail (Fig. 20, b).

### Conclusions

The majority of the monuments Gresham covered do appear to be indigenous Welsh products, an analysis underpinned by a range of distinctive and characteristic features, including an unusually high proportion



Fig. 19. The effigy at Pennant Melangell (Gresham 169): **a** Gresham drawing, © *J. Gresham*; **b** detail of head. Photograph: *B. Gittos and M. Gittos*.



Fig. 20. Items found since the publication of the book: **a** Caerwys, part of slab found in 2003; **b** St Martin's (Shropshire), fragments of monumental slab found in 1992/93.

*Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

of inscriptions, which sets them apart. However, some monuments included, particularly amongst the unscribed cross slabs, are seemingly indistinguishable from their English counterparts. There are also problems with many of the dates which appear either too early or too late, in some instances by a wide margin. The drawings are good representations, for the most part, but they contain numerous small errors, many caused by working from dabbings without checking the results against the original. In a few cases there are genuine mistakes. The text contains a few bizarre interpretations of the evidence perhaps stemming from an unquestioning willingness to accept the opinions of others. Most surprisingly, a

significant number of monuments have been omitted. Some exclusions may be deliberate but the majority seem simply to have been overlooked. This is true, too, of some material in readily available published sources and there is no evidence of a thorough literature survey, even though some aspects (such as genealogy) are extensively referenced. Despite this, this book remains the major authoritative work on the subject and is the culmination of a great deal of fieldwork, supported by extensive research, painstaking draughtsmanship and much original analysis both by Gresham and Hemp. The compilation of this corpus was a major achievement but these fascinating monuments still deserve to be better known outside Wales.

### **Acknowledgements**

We would like to thank Mr James Gresham for permitting us to reproduce the drawings of his late uncle from *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales*, and the staff of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales for their help at the archive, illuminating discussion and permission to reproduce material in their care. Similarly, the way has been smoothed by the welcome and cooperation of the many custodians of churches and collections with whom we have come into contact. Thanks too are due to Dr Madeleine Gray of the University of Wales (Newport) for information and discussion; to Peter Ryder for permission to reproduce two of his drawings and to the two anonymous referees, for their helpful comments. Above all we would like to express our gratitude to Dr Lawrence Butler for much discussion and help, particularly with the Appendix. Without his assistance this paper would be much the poorer.

## APPENDIX: ADDITIONS TO GRESHAM'S CATALOGUE

### **Abergele (Denbighshire)**

- i Built into foundations beneath priest's door. Fragment of foliate slab. Discovered by excavation, 2006.<sup>64</sup> It is understood that some additional slabs have recently been found at this location.

### **Bangor Cathedral (Caernarvonshire)**

- i Loose by the font in July 2012. Fragment showing the feet and lower legs of the effigy of a bishop. The feet rest on the back of a lion which was probably biting the under-cut tip of the crosier for which the stump of a support remains. First half of 14th century.<sup>65</sup>

### **Caerwys (Flintshire)**

- i Built into churchyard wall by the gate. Fragment of the head of a cross slab, tied bracelet type. Discovered when the churchyard wall was refurbished in 2003.<sup>66</sup>
- ii Upright against wall, west end of north aisle. Complete cross slab, with incised straight arm cross on stepped calvary and bas-relief, Latin, inscription down the right side, in textura letters. Appropriated by an inscription of 1666, written over the cross head.

### **Chirk Parish Church (Denbighshire)**

- i Loose inside the church in March 2012. Effigy of male civilian, small, in low relief. The figure is bare-headed and holding a heart. His head is on a single cushion and feet on the head of a man with close-cropped hair.<sup>67</sup> The figure appears to be wearing a loose fitting animal skin, as the Baptist is often shown, but has a pillow under his head.
- ii Built into the exterior south wall of the nave above a window. Relief head of a cross with slightly splayed arms within a circle.
- iii Built into the hood of the same window as ii but inside. Bas-relief cross-crosslet within a circle.



**Cilcain (Flintshire)**

- i Loose amongst the collection of stones at the west end of the nave in March 2012. Half effigy of a male civilian, small in low relief. Headless but wearing a tight fitting belted garment. His left hand is on his breast and his right at his side, possibly gripping a sword. Part of a bas-relief Lombardic inscription below his right hand.<sup>68</sup>
- ii Acting as the lintel to the doorway between the north aisle and the tower. Lower two thirds of fine cross slab, carved overall. Stem of a cross on a stepped calvary with large floppy leaves on both sides, connected by sinuous branches making a coherent pattern (Fig. 2, a). A sword lies diagonally across the slab and down the right side, a bas-relief Lombardic inscription.<sup>69</sup> More of the slab is buried in the wall but it does not appear to be complete.
- iii Loose in the north aisle, near door to the tower in March 2012. Fragment of the base of a cross slab showing one side of an incised three-step calvary.

**Conwy (Caernarvonshire)**

- i One of the treads to the tower stair appears to be an effaced effigy, with the head and neck surviving in outline and part of the collar present in low relief. RCAHMW described it as: '12th step above the landing (reverse side) also incorporates a small column base with foliate spurs.'<sup>70</sup>

**Gresford (Denbighshire)**

- i Loose in the north aisle in March 2012. Probably the lower part of a broken and worn slab of unusual design. Largely worn out but still showing the Agnus Dei, a four petal flower and some leaves.

**Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd (Denbighshire)**

- i Believed to be in the new parish church but discovered in the old church in 1981.<sup>71</sup> Fragment of the lower part of a grave cover with an overall design. The composition resembles 124 at Valle Crucis Abbey. (Included for completeness.)

**Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (Denbighshire)**

- i Used in the exterior blocking of the north doorway (beside Gresham 90) is the top of a cross slab with deeply cut plain cross and worn traces of the hilt of a sword on the left.<sup>72</sup>
- ii Located next to i. Fragment of the centre section of a cross slab with incised stem and two branches curving away from it.
- iii Located above ii. Fragment of cross slab with low relief decoration, including leaves and a small cross.

**Llangedwyn (Denbighshire)**

- i Set upright in the churchyard against the chancel east wall. Cross slab, with an incised plain cross within a circle. To either side of the stem are what appear to be a hammer and two lines, possibly the handles of tongs. The missing detail is either lost or buried in the ground. Gresham may have considered this slab too early but the emblems suggest otherwise.

**Llantysilio-yn-Iâl (Denbighshire)**

NB The following items are in addition to Gresham 33, 34, 149 (2 pieces) which are incorporated into the same window. There is also another piece carved with a four-petal flower but this may not be monumental.

- i Incorporated into the surround of a window in the north wall of the nave, fragment with a simple, straight-arm cross in relief. Gresham may have thought it too early.

- ii Located immediately above i, fragment with low-relief carving of large curling leaves, perhaps from beside a cross shaft.

#### **Newborough (Anglesey)**

- i Built into the west interior wall of the vestry. Five pieces of a large tapered cross slab. They are not arranged in the proper order and two pieces are hidden by a cupboard. However, a published sketch of the whole assemblage can be used to reconstruct the full composition.<sup>73</sup> It bore an incised straight arm cross with widely splayed budded terminals. There is a calvary of at least two steps and a large cross bar which has splayed arms which may have resembled the terminals of the cross head.

#### **Northop (Flintshire)**

- i Loose in central recess, north aisle, July 2012. Fragment of a slab which is difficult to interpret but appears to have bas-relief carving within a panel at the top, a central shaft below and, perhaps, the pommel of an incised sword or a paton.
- ii As i. Fragment with (probably) part of the cross shaft incised and the upper part of a sword.
- iii As i. Two pieces, probably from the same slab. Carved in low bas-relief they show large floppy leaves with thin curving stems. They were probably decoration beside a cross shaft and are closely related to slabs at Diserth (Gresham 188), Cwm (Gresham 192) and Newborough (Gresham 197).

#### **Overton (Flintshire)**

- i Loose in the north aisle between pews with most of the other stones in March 2012. Fragment of a semi-effigial slab showing the bust of a man with hair in a roll curl and holding a heart. His head rests on a cushion but, due to severe weathering, little detail remains except for his eyes. See above for Gresham's comment. The semi-hexagonal outline of the head end is paralleled on coffins at Norton Priory (Cheshire) and an indent at Shrewsbury.<sup>74</sup>

#### **Penmachno (Caernarvonshire)**

- i Upright against the south nave wall, inside. Tapering cross slab, missing the head. Incised shaft with stepped calvary. The lower edge of the circle which framed the cross can just be seen above a circular knob containing a brooch or buckle.<sup>75</sup>

#### **Rhuddlan Parish Church (Flintshire)**

- i Set high in the exterior east gable of the south nave. Top half of a praying effigy. Extremely weathered and most of the detail lost but some draperies remain below the arms and on the left shoulder and there is a curious feature to the right of where the neck would have been which looks like the outline of a vestment (as at Towyn, Gresham 155, and Beverley Minster, East Yorkshire) so almost certainly an ecclesiastic. A drawing of this effigy in the same location but better condition was published in 1847.<sup>76</sup>

#### **St Asaph Cathedral (Flintshire)**

- i Loose in the south aisle of the nave, March 2012. Fragment of slab, head of an incised cross botonnée with five-lobed leaf terminals and central cross. Badly worn. Found complete during repairs in the mid nineteenth century.<sup>77</sup>

#### **St Martin's (Shropshire)**

- i Displayed in a case within the church. Three fragments of slab, low relief, showing traces of a foliated

cross and a bird pecking a bunch of grapes. Characteristic border inscription: '.....CE.....EVA : FILIA : ...'. Found buried in the north wall during alterations in 1992/3.<sup>78</sup>

#### **Tremeirchion (Flintshire)**

- i Serving as lintel to south doorway. Cross slab incised with tied bracelet cross. Sword and battleaxe either side of stem. More of the slab will be buried in the wall and it may be complete.
- ii Loose against churchyard wall near the war memorial in March 2012. The top part had recently been broken off and the lower part split. Small complete slab with low relief, straight arm, cross within a circle and semi-circles bracing each arm. Traces of stepped calvary. The head closely resembles Gresham 109 and 110 nearby.
- iii Loose beside the military effigy in the north chapel in March 2012. Fragment of cross slab with low-relief floppy leaves and sinuous triple strand stems, cf. Gresham 134 at Whitford.

#### **Valle Crucis Abbey (Denbighshire)<sup>79</sup>**

- i Set in the ceiling at the bottom of the stairway leading to the monk's dormitory. Upper part of slab bearing an incised cross with splayed arms within a circle and cusps like hanging tracery between the cross arms. Very good state of preservation and mentioned by Price.<sup>80</sup>
- ii Built into the south internal wall of Chapter House, just above Gresham 26. Small fragment which is difficult to interpret but could represent an arched base of a cross in relief with the shaft just beginning above it.

#### **Whitford (Flintshire)**

- i Loose, at west end of south aisle in March 2012. Small fragment which is difficult to interpret but includes debased Lombardic letters 'OST' in relief and the setting for an apparent inlay. Gresham drew the piece but may have considered it too late in date. However, the sunk-relief lettering suggests it should have been included.<sup>81</sup>
- ii West end of the south aisle. Fine coffin / sarcophagus with canopied niches carved in high relief along one side. While an unusual subject for Gresham's list, it is designed for display and must have formed an integral part of a monument, as evidenced by the relief Lombardic inscription on the rim which has been read as 'HIC IACET ROBERT'.<sup>82</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Brian Gittos BSc, MIMMM, C.Eng, FSA and Moira Gittos AMA, FSA, 4 Linden Rd, Yeovil, Somerset, BA20 2BH.
2. Colin A. Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales: Sepulchral Slabs and Effigies of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1968). The monument numbers used in this paper refer to Gresham's Catalogue.
3. E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd* (New Haven and London, 1986 corrected 1994). R. Haslam, J. Orbach, A. Voelcker *The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd* (New Haven and London, 2009).
4. D. H. Evans, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (Cardiff, 1987) 44–5 sets out the sequencing of the monuments in the dormitory which follows Gresham's categories. The descriptions are stated to have been based on those in the book.

5. A. Lloyd Hughes 'Dr. C. A. Gresham (1913–89): a tribute and bibliography', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions* 51 (1990), 11–21.
6. C. A. G. [Colin A. Gresham] 'Wilfred James Hemp', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions* 22, (1961) 19–22. C. A. Raleigh Radford, 'Obituaries: Wilfred James Hemp', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 111 (1962), 167–8.
7. The majority of Gresham's papers are held by the National Library of Wales (NLW) as the 'Dr Colin A. Gresham' collection, 1989/36 A990/24. The remainder are with the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) (Colin Gresham Papers: W. J. Hemp Group) of which a useful catalogue was compiled by Richard Suggett in 1990.
8. The advanced state of the manuscript is mentioned in a letter, NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 36: Gresham to Dr Davies, 25 February 1965. Other documents in the same file show that it was in the press from January 1966 into 1967.
9. NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 36: Gresham to Dr Davies, 25 February 1965.
10. C. A. Gresham, 'Stone and Wood Carving in Wales', *Mabon* 1.4 (1971) 5–14; and Gresham 1968, Introduction. The term 'North Wales School' was used in RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey* (London, 1937), cxxxi–cxxxiv but without a comprehensive definition. Gresham seems likely to have adopted the term from Hemp.
11. Although a great deal has been published since Gresham's time, the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries had seen a flurry of publications on cross slabs, including E. L. Cutts, *A Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages* (London, 1849). Possibly the most influential was Charles Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854). This profusely illustrated volume was cited by Gresham in his Bibliography. Alongside the overview publications was a large group of works focusing on specific areas, amongst them: south Wales and Monmouthshire; the Diocese of Carlisle; the counties of Northumberland and Durham; Chester and York. The first modern treatment was L. A. S. Butler, 'Minor medieval monumental sculpture in the East Midlands', *Archaeological Journal* 121 (1964), 111–163.
12. For example, RCAHMW *Caernarvonshire: Volume I East* (London, 1956) dated Gresham 73, 74 and 76 at Conwy to the fourteenth century, later than comparable slabs in England.
13. S. Badham, B. Gittos, M. Gittos, P. Lankester, 'Survey of Purbeck marble coffin-shaped Slabs Part 1, *Church Monuments Society Newsletter* 10.1 (1994), 4–11, fig. 1 (E). Perhaps significantly, a Purbeck marble coffin lid with a type E head (although not voided) remains at St John's, Chester. This is a rare outlier from the main distribution pattern of Purbeck marble slabs.
14. Peter Ryder, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria, Cumberland and Westmorland* Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Extra Series 23 (2005), 91 and 112.
15. G. Vernon Price, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (Liverpool, 1952), 125, 137.
16. F. Simpson, 'Cilcain and its Parish Church', *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historic Society*, new ser., 19, part 1 (1912), 37; pl. facing p. 37, monument 6.
17. H. L. J. [Harry Longueville Jones], 'Priory of the Dominican Friars, Rhuddlan, Flintshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1st ser., 2 (1847), 250–7.
18. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), pl. IV (Gresham 33, 34 and 149).
19. NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 99 (hardback field notebook in Gresham's hand, undated).
20. Gresham op. cit. (note 2), 121, fig. 52 (Gresham 90); and NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 99.
21. In addition to the field notebook identified in note 19, there is another in the collection (NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 98), also without dates.
22. See note 19.
23. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 121, fig. 52 (Gresham 88).

24. RCAHMW, Colin Gresham Papers: W. J. Hemp Group, B, IV, 3, Valle Crucis Abbey.
25. The excavations were never published but summary accounts by other people appeared in local publications. See *Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, January 1894. A plan was published by Roland Paul in *The Builder*, July 1899, but it does not appear to show the slab.
26. Evans op. cit. (note 4), inside back cover.
27. NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 36: Board of Celtic Studies to Gresham, 25 February 1965, giving Radford's comments on a draft of the manuscript.
28. The full period of Abbot Adam's tenure is not recorded but he is known to have held office between 1330 and 1343: see D. M. Smith and V. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, Volume II, 1216–1377* (Cambridge, 2001), 318.
29. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 16, fig. 2. The question of where monuments were produced has been discussed by S. Badham, 'What constituted a "workshop" and how did workshops operate? Some problems and questions', in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry* (Donington, 2010), 12–36. Detailed instances have been suggested for craftsmen working at York Minster and Guisborough Priory: see B. Gittos and M. Gittos, 'Yorkshire Effigies c. 1300 and their place in English sculpture', in C. P. Graves and D. Tweddle (eds), *Medieval Europe 1992: Art and Symbolism. Pre-printed Papers*, 7 (York, 1992), 209–15; B. Gittos and M. Gittos 'The Ingleby Arncliffe group of effigies: a mid-fourteenth century workshop in North Yorkshire', *Church Monuments* 17 (2002), 14–38. A documented example is the Purbeck marble effigy for Joan, Queen of Scotland, commissioned in 1238 from Elias of Dereham. The monument was made at Salisbury where he was in charge of the building works, J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, 2nd edn (Gloucester, 1984), 81.
30. There is also a thirteenth-century head from Valle Crucis Abbey found in 1970 and bearing in sunk-relief the word 'Morus' in the position of a crown: L. A. S. Butler, 'Valle Crucis Abbey: an excavation in 1970', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 125 (1976), 80–126. This is an architectural element but its presence at Valle Crucis is another indicator of the abbey's association with this style of inscription.
31. For a current review of medieval monument production in England see N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), Chapter 4.
32. See, for instance, S. Badham, 'The de la More effigies at Northmoor (Oxfordshire) and related monuments at Winterbourne (Gloucestershire)', *Church Monuments* 23 (2008) 14–44.
33. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 63–5.
34. For the monument's removal see C. R. Hand, 'Llanfaes Friary and its mystery monuments', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 79 (1924) but it has not been possible to substantiate his assertion that the slab was moved to Beaumaris from Llanfaes in 1539. For other burials at Llanfaes see A. D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, Studies in Anglesey History 12 (Llangefni, 2011), 229. A document of Henry V, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry V, 1413–1416* (London, 1910), 234, mentions 'in it are buried the bodies of the daughter of king John, the son of the king of Denmark, the lord of Clifford and other lords, knights and esquires killed in the wars of Wales in the times of the king's progenitors'. For the burial of Eleanor de Montfort see Kate Norgate, 'Eleanor (c. 1258–1282)', rev. Marios Costambeys, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, May 2007 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/19046>> accessed 18 February 2013.
35. J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years 1093–1993* (Chichester, 1993), 103, fig. 9.5. The majority of semi-effigial monuments span the late thirteenth to the mid fourteenth century.

36. Contemporary depictions of veiled queens and the Virgin Mary invariably show the veil underlying the crown which fulfils the function of pins or a fillet, keeping the veil in place. More importantly, this arrangement allows the crown to be seen and fulfil its purpose as a signifier of rank.
37. RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey* (London, 1937), cxxxi–cxxxii compares the figure with the costume of queens Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) and Isabella of Angoulême (d. 1246) at Fontevrault Abbey (France), but both wear the crown over the veil and have rounded rather than triangular faces.
38. H. A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980), pls 134 and 136. The source of the drawing in Fig. 11, b is C. A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817), pl. 40.
39. D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), 158.
40. John Schofield and Mark Samuel, *Dealing with architectural fragments*, Association of Diocesan and Cathedral Archaeologists Guidance Note 3 (2010), 21.
41. The other three are: Llanuwchllyn (Gresham 182); Northop (Gresham 212); Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 29).
42. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 240.
43. C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854), 143.
44. F. Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550* (London, 1921), 194; F. Crossley, ‘Mediaeval monumental effigies remaining in Cheshire’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 76, (1925), 1–51.
45. C. Hartwell *et al.*, *Buildings of England: Cheshire* (New Haven and London, 2011), 239; A. Thacker and C. Lewis (eds), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Chester; Volume V: The City of Chester; Part 2* (Woodbridge, 2005), 125–33.
46. L. A. S. Butler, ‘The gravestones and coffins’, in F. Brown and C. Howard-Davis, *Norton Priory: Monastery to Museum* (Lancaster, 2008), 138–49.
47. The names mentioned by Gresham are from inquisitions post mortem given in G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, Volume II* (London, 1819), 159. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace any of these people in the published royal records.
48. *Victoria County History* (see note 45), 308.
49. Evans op. cit. (note 4), inside back cover, where the Chapter House is shown as ‘mid-Fourteenth Century, about 1350’.
50. Many testators provided bequests of rings and brooches, occasionally accompanied by a comment such as ‘to Margarete, my suster, a paire of bedes of corall gaudied with silver and gilt, to pray for my soule’ in the will of Walter Dolyng (d. 1492), see F. W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383–1500)*, Somerset Record Society, vol. 16 (1901), 298–300.
51. RCAHMW, Colin Gresham Papers: W. J. Hemp Group, B, IV, 2.
52. RCAHMW, Colin Gresham Papers: W. J. Hemp Group, B, IV, 3. The dabbings are contained in separate folders for each place. They have been done using many pieces of paper rather than a single large sheet.
53. Dabbings are made by applying a paste of powdered graphite and linseed oil, on a pad, to thin paper stretched over the subject. The gentle pressure allows copies to be made from objects with very uneven surfaces. The process is clearly described in Malcolm Norris, *Brass Rubbing* (London, 1965), 15–16.
54. On the knight’s shield at Dolgellau (Gresham 179) the width of the incised lines delineating parts of the anatomy of the lion, have been exaggerated by the dabbing process, making it appear wrongly that some of the limbs and claws are disarticulated. The broken slab at St John’s, Chester

- (Gresham 193), has a change in level between the two pieces and the dabbling has missed detail immediately below the break. Consequently, the sword quillons are not properly drawn, despite being clear on the original. It commemorates John Le Seriaun, probably one of the city sergeants, with the sword acting not as a token of knighthood but rather as a badge of the sergeant's office: see C. P. Lewis and A. T. Thacker (eds), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Chester, Volume V: The City of Chester, Part 1* (Woodbridge, 2003), 40.
55. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 202, 'Its identification as a pointed (woolly) cap (rather than a tail or a bird's head) by Hemp (Arch. Camb., 1932 p. 457) is undoubtedly correct.'
  56. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 193.
  57. P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), 98, no. 135. The Deganwy head is held by the National Museum of Wales.
  58. An important, although reconstructed Romanesque shrine survives in the church: W. J. Britnell and K. Watson, 'Saint Melangell's Shrine, Pennant Melangell', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 146–66; J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011), 166–9.
  59. W. J. Britnell, 'Excavation and recording at Pennant Melangell Church', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 48, quoting poem by Guto'r Glyn, *Marwnad Einon ap Gruffudd o Lechwedd Ystrad*: see J. Ll. Williams and I. Williams (eds), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* (Cardiff, 1939), 171 (no. 64, lines 25–8); and <<http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem=042>> accessed 18 February 2013.
  60. They are Gresham 23, 70, 139, 143 and 144. Of these, 70 was formerly in the north cloister walk and may have been reburied. The others were loose fragments in the Chapter House and may now be in a Cadw store.
  61. C. A. Gresham, 'Part of an early fourteenth-century gravestone from Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 131 (1982), 138.
  62. R. J. Silvester, R. Hankinson, W. Owen and N. Jones, 'Medieval and Early Post-Medieval Monastic and Ecclesiastical Sites in East and North-East Wales', unpublished report, Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust Report 1090 (2011), 45.
  63. We would like to thank Lawrence Butler for drawing this discovery to our attention: see L. A. S. Butler 'A medieval tombstone at St. Martins Church, near Oswestry, Shropshire', *Shropshire History and Archaeology*, forthcoming.
  64. Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust report at <<http://www.cpat.org.uk/projects/longer/abergele/abergele.htm>>, accessed 2 March 2013.
  65. Listed in RCAHMW, *Caernarvonshire: Volume II Central* (London, 1960), 8, where it is described as 'probably late medieval'. This may be the reason it was omitted.
  66. Silvester *et al.* op. cit. (note 62).
  67. Lawrence Butler has commented that it 'may be intended to be a negro or "Black-a-moor" favoured in north Welsh medieval heraldry' (pers comm., April 2012).
  68. Simpson op. cit. (note 16), 35; pl. facing p. 34, monument 1.
  69. Simpson op. cit. (note 16).
  70. RCAHMW, *Caernarvonshire, Volume III: West* (London, 1964), 111.
  71. Gresham 1982 op. cit. (note 61).
  72. Sketched by Gresham in NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 99, but not published.
  73. H. Owen, 'St Peter's Church, Newborough', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th ser., 19 (1919), 113–80.
  74. Butler 2008 op. cit. (note 46); and J. Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses Before 1350', in J. Coales (ed.), *The Earliest English Brasses* (London, 1987), fig. 204.

75. The slab was noted in the RCAHMW volume which was reviewed by Gresham, where he drew attention to the early inscribed stones in the same church: C. A. Gresham 'Caernarvonshire. Volume I: East', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 106 (1957), 123–7.
76. Longueville Jones op. cit. 1847 (note 17).
77. Anon, 'Stone slabs found in the Cathedral of St. Asaph', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 15 (1869), 60–2, including a drawing of the complete slab.
78. Butler op. cit. (note 63).
79. Dr Madeleine Gray of the University of Wales, Newport, has recorded two or possibly three further pieces incorporated into the fabric at Valle Crucis Abbey as part of her 'Death, Tombs and Commemoration in Medieval and Reformation Wales' project (*ex inf.* Dr M. Gray).
80. Vernon Price op. cit. (note 15).
81. NLW, C 1989/36 A990/24, 99 (hardback field notebook in Gresham's hand, undated).
82. E. Davies 'Stone sarcophagus', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 7th ser., 3 (1923), 157–9.