

## Gresham revisited again: a further look at the medieval monuments of north Wales

By BRIAN GITTOS and MOIRA GITTOS<sup>1</sup>

*The article ‘Gresham Revisited’ in volume 161 of Archaeologia Cambrensis reported our initial reassessment of Colin Gresham’s magnum opus, Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales.<sup>2</sup> It highlighted errors in the drawings, some unconvincing dating, a surprising number of missed items and imprecise definition of his ‘North Wales School’. The objective of this article is to take the investigation a stage further, attempting to better understand the dating, chronology and context, while exploring some facets that seem particularly Welsh.*

### Chronology

Gresham allocated his material to three periods. From 1237 to the conquest in 1282 he saw as strongly influenced by English practise, but between then and the Black Death *c.* 1350 he believed the monuments assumed a distinct north Welsh style. After a thirty year hiatus production resumed *c.* 1380, lasting until the end of the century. He sought to follow two earlier writers. In *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, Nash-Williams had dealt with the material ‘preserving the old order’ up to the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> In Gresham’s view, Raleigh Radford had then taken matters up to the mid thirteenth century and so this was the point where he began his survey.<sup>4</sup> However, Radford’s standpoint was architectural, covering monuments just as part of a brief final section. He described only the tomb chest believed to have been used for Llywelyn Fawr, Prince of Wales, at Llanrwst, and the monument then attributed to Princess Joan, at Beaumaris (Gresham 1) which he considered a ‘purely English type’, believing it showed ‘affinities with the Plantagenet royal effigies at Fontevault’ (a comparison that is very hard to justify). Somewhat arbitrarily, Gresham ignored the impressive remains of ‘Prince Llywelyn’s tomb’ but made Beaumaris item one of his own chronology, with Princess Joan’s death providing his starting date of 1237. ‘Gresham Revisited’ expressed concern about the dating of this monument and its attribution, based on the evidence of the effigy itself. However, with its key chronological status, it is also helpful to explore the monument’s perceived ‘Englishness’ and its relation to the north Wales corpus of monuments.<sup>5</sup>

It is a highly individual piece and not easy to parallel in England or Wales (Fig. 1a). The lady prays, with her palms outwards in the so-called ‘orans’ position. Before the later thirteenth century, English female effigies typically hold their cloaks. Then, in the last quarter, their hands are shown in prayer but with palms together. Aside from early Christian memorials around the Mediterranean, the orans attitude is rarely used on monuments. A small number of fourteenth-century Irish examples can be seen in Co. Kilkenny.<sup>6</sup> Harry Tummers found none in his survey of thirteenth-century English secular effigies and amongst a published collection of Gaignères drawings, covering over a thousand French medieval monuments, only one (in Paris) shows the orans hand position and it dates from about 1270.<sup>7</sup> In the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, some English brasses, show figures with orans hands.<sup>8</sup> In Wales, the *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones* records a bevy of figures, all from the south and east, such as the well-known monument at Llanhamlach (Breconshire), of the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>9</sup> However, there are two more in Gresham’s corpus, both females, at Cilcain (Gresham 166) and Bangor Cathedral (Gresham 211), so before the fifteenth century this attitude seems more popular in Wales and Ireland than in England.



Fig. 1. **a** (left). Grave slab at Beaumaris. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos*; **b** (right) Decorative ironwork of the late thirteenth century on an armoire in Chester Cathedral, from R. Brandon and J. A. Brandon, *An Analysis of Gothic Architecture*, vol. 1 (London, 1874), section II, pl. 14.

The foliage design on the Beaumaris slab forms a Tree of Life, with five pairs of sinuous branches curving upwards towards the figure and subdividing to terminate in stiff-leaf trefoils. The lady is displayed in a heart-shaped frame formed by the topmost branches. Branching cross shafts, initially in very simple form, seem to develop on monuments during the thirteenth and into the fourteenth centuries. The Beaumaris slab can be seen as a highly developed form, with the design covering the surface like a manuscript carpet page. Significantly, individual leaves are positioned over the branching points on the stem. This recalls the concealed joints of stamped metalwork and in this respect Beaumaris can be seen as a skeuomorph. Stamped metalwork was fashionable in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, to be seen on doors, furniture and in the grilles that sometimes surround monuments. More specifically, Beaumaris is relatable to elaborate wrought iron decorative pieces such as on the Chapter House doors at York Minster (c. 1280–85), the grille around the tomb of Eleanor of Castille in Westminster Abbey (1294) and, most relevantly, on the Chester Cathedral armoire of 1260–90 (Fig. 1b).<sup>10</sup> These designs too, spread a sinuous, symmetrical, pattern across the surface and the relationship with Chester is so close that Beaumaris must be of a similar date.

The Tree of Life was an interpretation of the cross, and Christ's death on it, as a life-giving and redemptive force. So its use on a monument is entirely appropriate, making a strong reference to



salvation. A dragon like that at the foot of the tree is usually taken to represent the forces of evil and there is a specific association between dragons and one form of the Tree of Life illustrated in the mid thirteenth-century *Book of Beasts*.<sup>11</sup> The Perindens (or Peridexion) Tree has doves in the branches to represent people, feasting on the fruit (Christ), with the tree itself representing God. The people are kept safe by the tree, protected from the evil prowling dragons below. It is conceivable that the mason or commissioner had this symbolism in mind, so the lady commemorated may be understood as protected by her faith from the spiritual perils of dying and death. At Beaumaris, a winged dragon curls round the foot of the tree, biting its trunk (Fig. 2a). Dragons appear on some other north Wales slabs. At Valle Crucis Abbey one bites a foliage stem (Fig. 2b; Gresham 39) and at Bangor another attacks the spike at the foot of the cross (Fig. 2c; Gresham 9). Dragons also feature on monuments outside Wales. They appear at the feet of English effigies throughout the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century, where they can be seen biting shields and pastoral staffs.<sup>12</sup> Such depictions may all be construed as Christianity triumphant over evil, reinforcing at Beaumaris the already powerful message of the Tree of Life. These further observations, especially the metalwork comparisons, confirm our earlier view that this monument should be dated nearer to 1280 than 1240. None of the other items in Gresham's earliest group are closely dateable and their chronology is open to debate. As explained in 'Gresham Revisited', some slabs, particularly at Valle Crucis appear to date from soon after

Fig. 2. **a** (top) Dragon biting the trunk of the Tree of Life on the Beaumaris slab; **b** (middle) Dragon biting a plant stem on slab at Valle Crucis Abbey (Gresham 39); **c** (bottom) Dragon biting the tip of the cross shaft on the slab from Bangor Friary, now in the collection of Storiel, Bangor (Gresham 9). Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.



Fig. 3. Tremeirchion, cross-legged military effigy.  
*Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

monument was set up later.<sup>16</sup> Gruffydd's effigy, at Llanarmon, was dated *c.* 1320 by Gresham, but its similarities to Gresford suggest they are contemporary. However, they both have relatively short (knee-length) surcoats, which in an English context would be more indicative of the 1340s than the 1320s or 1330s, putting them in the same date bracket as Pennant Melangell. So it could be that the single English-looking military effigy with crossed legs at Tremeirchion is, in fact, the only figure which dates from the

its 1201 foundation. So, the north Wales sequence of monuments may in fact begin in the very early years of the thirteenth century, rather than in 1237, and at Valle Crucis rather than Anglesey.

The large number of English military effigies provide a useful context for reviewing Gresham's chronology with regard to this type of monument. Of the seventeen full-length military effigies included in Gresham's corpus, only one has crossed legs. In England, from about the mid thirteenth-century to the 1340s, the cross-legged attitude was almost universal. So, whether or not these north Wales figures are unusual in that respect depends on their individual dating. Ten of them can be dated to *c.* 1340 or later, so only seven are germane, including the solitary cross-legged knight at Tremeirchion (Fig. 3; Gresham 168).<sup>13</sup> The remaining six are at Pennant Melangell (Gresham 169), Wrexham (Gresham 170), Ruabon (Gresham 171 and 172), Llanarmon-yn-Iâl (Gresham 173) and Gresford (Gresham 174). The poorly preserved Ruabon pair appear to be related and are probably nearer to the middle of the century than the early fourteenth-century date assigned by Gresham, as one of them has plate defences on his legs. Wrexham is also poorly preserved and difficult to date, as a consequence. The bare-headed figure at Pennant Melangell looks of a later fashion than the *c.* 1315 given by Gresham and 'Gresham Revisited' questioned the validity of the published attribution on which it was based.<sup>14</sup> His hair is short and straight on the crown but curled at the ends under a narrow fillet and can be compared, for example, with a garlanded musician playing a barrel organ in the Luttrell Psalter, which dates from the 1340s.<sup>15</sup>

The remaining two effigies which are potentially from the cross-legged era, are Madog ap Llewellyn ap Gruffydd, at Gresford (Fig. 4a), and Gruffydd ap Llewellyn ap Ynyr at Llanarmon-yn-Iâl (Fig. 4b). We know that Madog died in February 1331 and was buried at Gresford but it is possible the

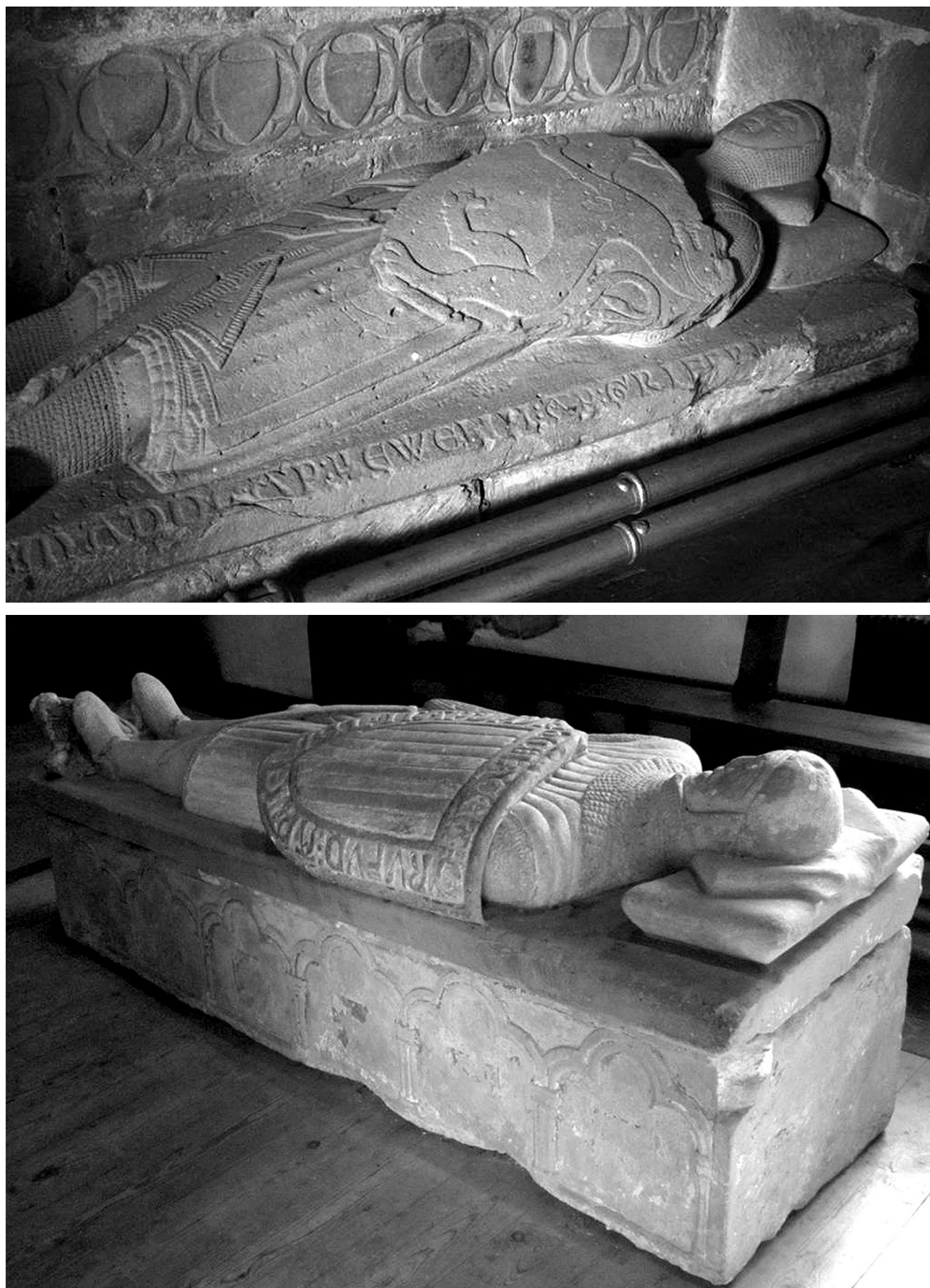


Fig. 4. **a** (top) Gresford, military effigy of Madog ap Llywelyn ap Gruffydd; **b** (bottom) Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, military effigy of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Ynry. Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.



Fig. 5. Towyn, military effigy. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

period when this attitude was prevalent and that there are few (if any) anomalies. The Tremeirchion effigy is probably of *c.* 1320–30 rather than Gresham's 1295, due to the fact that he is wearing gauntlets rather than mail mittens. At 1295, he would be by far the earliest effigy to show them in either England or Wales. The earliest gauntlets on monuments are probably those of the 1320s or 1330s in south-west England.<sup>17</sup> Redating the Tremeirchion effigy means there are no thirteenth-century military effigies in north Wales. This is masked by the fact that most north Wales armoured effigies (up to about 1350) adopt the sword-handling pose that is usually considered characteristic of the thirteenth century. The Towyn effigy (Fig. 5; Gresham 180) is one of the latest examples as his armour suggests he dates from the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Most fourteenth-century English knights have their hands at prayer, although in south Somerset and Devon the sword-handling attitude persisted well into the century.<sup>19</sup> Curiously, this is

the same area where the early gauntlets are shown. So the late use of the sword-handling posture in north Wales should be seen as unusual rather than unique.

Gresham concluded his chronology *c.* 1380–1400, with a collection of some forty monuments comprising slabs, effigies of all types and tomb settings, many of which he saw as emanating from a single workshop in north Flintshire, united by a number of distinctive traits. They, too, reward enquiry and this study will concentrate on a selection of the better-preserved monuments, comprising two females, two monument-like representations of saints, a priest and five armoured figures. A military figure at Chester (Holy Trinity) may also belong with this group (see ‘Further Additions’ below). These monuments share a number of common traits, which are indeed suggestive of a single origin, as Gresham pointed out. Four-petal flowers are a frequent decorative feature, sometimes in the background, such as beside the figures of St Iestyn (at Llaniestyn, Gresham 209) and Eva (at Bangor), edging St Pabo’s clothing at Llanbabo (Fig. 6a; Gresham 210), and on the gablette of the Northop lady (Gresham 212). The elaborate priest’s tomb at Tremeirchion (Gresham 205) has them in abundance, arranged around a cross on his apparel (Fig. 6b), beside the tomb chest shields (Fig. 6c) and all over the canopy arch (Fig. 6d). Gresham counted 116 on this monument alone.<sup>20</sup> A second distinctive flower occurs quite often which is larger and takes the form of a double or triple bloom with five petals in each ring and a button centre. It appears as a space-filler in the background of slabs such as that of Saint Iestyn, on the orle around the bascinet at Llanfair Caereinion (Gresham 185), and dotted amongst the heraldry on the coat armour (often termed *jupon*) at Llanuwchllyn (Gresham 182).<sup>21</sup> Sunk-relief inscriptions are another common thread linking this group and they are discussed below under ‘Inscriptions’. They can incorporate dates of death and the three which survive are: 1374 (Chester, Holy Trinity), 1382 (Northop lady), and 1398 (Llanuwchllyn). Clothing can also be used to inform dating. The Northop lady wears a full garment buttoned down the front and belted at the waist. The thin fabric betrayed by the myriad narrow folds is finely gathered into a plain neck band and it resembles the overgarments worn by the two wives of Sir Reginald Maleyns on the brass at Chinnor (Oxfordshire) of *c.* 1385.<sup>22</sup> The square-topped headdress too, has a similar outline to one of those at Chinnor and the comparison helps verify the 1382 date on the Northop inscription, suggesting that she must have been carved around the time of her death. Similar arguments were advanced in ‘Gresham Revisited’ to confirm a date of *c.* 1380 for the lady at Bangor (as proposed by Gresham) and, by association, for the priest at Tremeirchion.<sup>23</sup>

The five military effigies are at Betws-y-Coed (Gresham 181), Llanuwchllyn, Llanfair Caereinion and two at Northop (Gresham 183, 184). They share many features: all are straight legged, with their hands at prayer; they all wear bascinets; they all rest their heads on crested helmets (of which half appears buried in the slab) and their feet are all on crouching lions. They all wear gauntlets with short flared cuffs and have heraldry in relief on their coat armours. Each has a long sword, a dagger and a heavy, ornamented, girdle. However, there are also some remarkable variations in detail. Of these effigies only those at Betws-y-Coed, the smaller one at Northop, and that at Llanuwchllyn have inscriptions on the base slab, and the Betws-y-Coed effigy holds a heart. The Llanuwchllyn and the smaller Northop effigies attach their swords to a narrow diagonal belt, with the heavy girdle supporting just their daggers which that at Llanuwchllyn alone carries in front. The feet are protected by sabatons, in some cases constructed from scales, a fourteenth-century fashion which continued into the beginning of the fifteenth, although by then most were made from overlapping, parallel lames.<sup>24</sup> The Betws-y-Coed effigy (Fig. 7a) has small, zig-zag edged plates, rivetted to the supporting leathers, whereas the Llanuwchllyn figure’s sabatons (Fig. 7b) have parallel lames with scalloped edges and centrally placed rivets while the Llanfair Caereinion effigy (Fig. 7c) has narrower lames with serrated edges, but only a couple of visible rivets. Superficially, the armour on the arms and legs at Betws-y-Coed, Northop (small) and Llanuwchllyn resembles that sometimes shown on



Fig. 6. **a** (top left). Four-petal flowers on St Pabo's clothing, Llanbabo; **b** (top right) Four-petal flowers on the apparel of the Tremeirchion priest; **c** (bottom left) Four-petal flowers on the Tremeirchion tomb chest; **d** (bottom right) Four-petal flowers on the Tremeirchion tomb canopy. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*





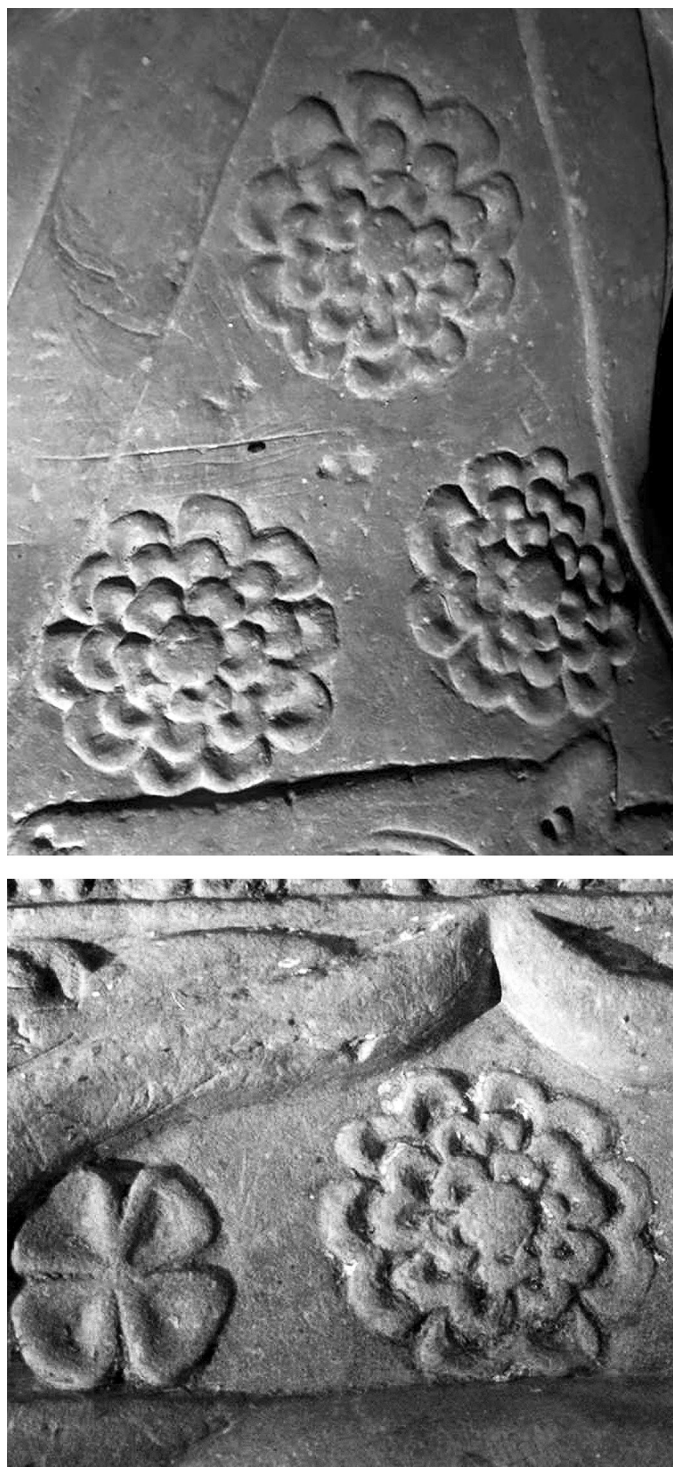
Fig. 7. **a** (top left) Sabaton of the Betws-y-Coed effigy; **b** (top right) Sabaton of the Llanuwchllyn effigy; **c** (bottom left) Sabaton of the Llanfair Caereinion effigy. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

English monuments, for example, the lost brass of Sir Miles Stapleton (ob. 1364) at Ingham (Norfolk).<sup>25</sup> It was constructed from plates of varying size and shape fixed inside the limb defences, the rivet heads often prominently visible on the outside. However, the north Wales effigies differ in having rivets around the edges of individual pieces, to attach the leathers beneath. By the later fourteenth century, poleyns (knee defences) with rigid wings at the sides had become standard in England. The wings protected the side and, from some angles, the back of the knee. However, the north Wales effigies do not follow suit and it is difficult to interpret what is shown. Overall, the evidence suggests that these figures should date from the 1370s or 1380s.

Gresham dated the two saints and the Bangor lady *c.* 1380; the Northop lady at 1382; the Betws-y-Coed military effigy at *c.* 1385; and the Tremeirchion priest as broadly late fourteenth century. However, he saw the four military figures at Northop (2), Llanfair Caereinion and Llanuwchllyn as 1395–*c.* 1400, which sets them apart from the others in this closely associated group. This seems to be in response to the date on the Llanuwchllyn inscription, which Gresham read as 1395 (but see below). The Llanuwchllyn effigy (Fig. 8) commemorates John ap Gruffydd ap Madog and has been in a closed church for many years.<sup>26</sup> It deserves to be better known and provides an instructive case study to understand this group of monuments. The use of the triple flower on his coat armour (Fig. 9a) and supporting his dagger helps link him to other related monuments such as that of Saint Iestyn, where it occurs above the head (Fig. 9b). The lion at Llanuwchllyn is shown with the teeth clenched and the lips drawn back in a fierce snarl and the heraldic wolves on his coat armour have a similar expression (Fig. 10a–b). In both cases the pupils and irises of their eyes are delineated, as are those of the man himself (Fig. 12a). Such eyes occur on many of the other related figures and beasts and are another unifying feature rarely found elsewhere. The sombre effigy of the priest at Tremeirchion rests his feet on a remarkably similar snarling lion (Fig. 10c), as does the armed figure at Betws-y-Coed and Saint Iestyn's staff head also resembles them. Without such evidence it would otherwise be difficult to link a fully carved knight with a low relief saint and a priest.



Fig. 8. Llanuwchllyn, effigy of John 'AP : G[...]T : AP : MADOC : AP : IORWETH'. Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.



The date on the Llanuwchllyn inscription, which is of great importance for the later figures, has had several different readings. Gresham observed that while the Roman numerals for 1370 were easy to read, the final part of the date was damaged with space for two further X's followed by a V, to read 1395. He believed that Hemp's reading of 1397 was mistaken.<sup>27</sup> The inscription begins at the head end and runs along the chamfered edge of the base slab. It continues on a second line above the first, ending with the date (Fig. 11) but the final characters are actually on a third line, above the second. Triple stops divide the date's component parts, each with a median superscript abbreviation 'o', indicating the Latin word's case ending.<sup>28</sup> Because the 'o' is centred over each element, there must indeed have been four Xs and with angled light the ghosts of the missing two can be discerned. Beyond this are more stops and the line ends with 'V', hence the date of 1395 suggested by Gresham. However, the inscription is completed on the short third line above which has three 'I's awkwardly positioned so close to the knight's foot that the superscript 'o' could only be accommodated by burrowing a recess for it, under the heel. So, the date is actually, 'M°:CC°C:LXX[X°X]:VII°I' (1398).

Fig. 9. **a** (top) Characteristic triple flowers on the coat armour at Llanuwchllyn; **b** (bottom) Characteristic triple flower above the head of Saint Iestyn. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*



Fig. 10. **a** (top left) Lion at the feet of the Llanuwchllyn effigy; **b** (bottom left) Heraldic wolf on the Llanuwchllyn effigy's coat armour; **c** (bottom right) Lion at the feet of the Tremeirchion priest. Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.



The difficulty in completing the date is an important issue and to understand it requires further consideration of the effigy itself and the careful planning of its layout. In north Wales, only the effigy at Llanuwchllyn carries his dagger centre front (rather than at his side), a position associated with civilian fashion, highly unusual on an armoured figure, and to avoid having an undercut blade, the carver has provided a generously proportioned flower for support. The second line of the inscription occupies the position where the dagger would normally lie and, since the dagger is a high point in the carving, this unusual arrangement must have been carefully planned from the outset. Furthermore, such a thoughtful

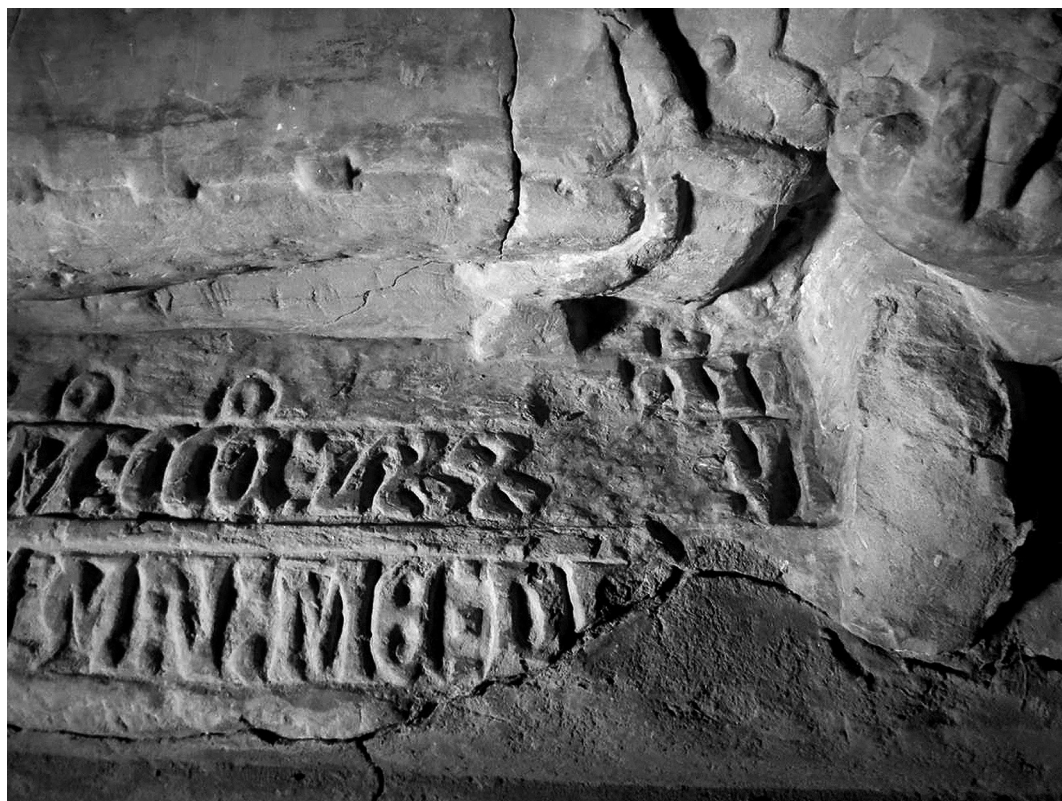


Fig. 11. 1398 date on the Llanuwchllyn inscription. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

carver would have marked out the inscription before cutting the letters and with ample free space to the left of the second line, it should have been easy to accommodate 1398 in its entirety. An explanation for why this did not happen may lie in the common medieval practice of a person provisioning their own monument in their lifetime.<sup>29</sup> In such cases, blanks were left for the date of death to be completed later. The brass of William and Elizabeth Byllyng at Deddington (Oxfordshire) was evidently set up when she died in 1522 and her husband's date of death (1533) was completed later in a different hand.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps John ap Gruffydd ap Madog arranged for the carving of his own effigy, with the date left unfinished. If this were the case, fate was indeed unkind since 1398 has the largest number of characters of any year in the fourteenth century (depending how 1399 is written). Failure to allow sufficient space would explain why it was necessary to squeeze in the extra line by burrowing under the knight's heel. The likely conclusion is that the effigy was carved at John's instigation, perhaps many years before he actually died. The date was eventually completed — but with some difficulty. So, the Llanuwchllyn effigy was probably carved around the same time as the others it so closely resembles and the whole group probably dates from the 1370s and 1380s.

Quite apart from its enigmatic date, the Llanuwchllyn effigy presents some fascinating details, not least on his bascinet. The mail links along the upper edge of the aventail engage with a strip of leather, which has holes to locate over pierced studs or vervelles, protruding around the edge of the bascinet. A cord is threaded through the vervelles to complete the assembly. This is the normal arrangement but

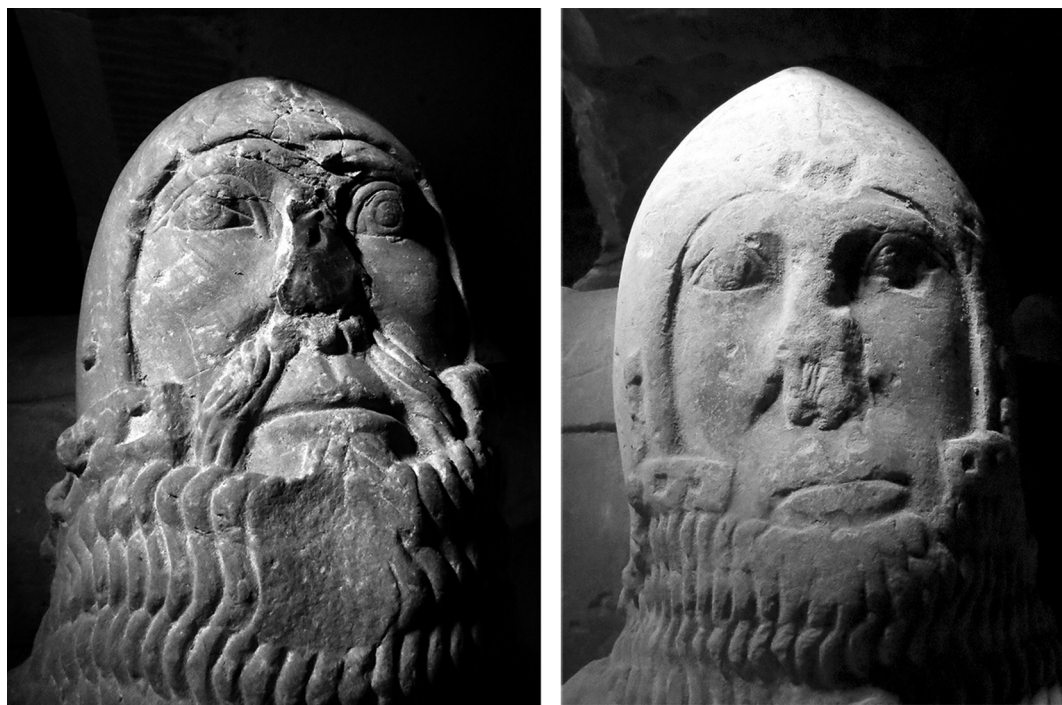


Fig. 12. **a** (left) Unused hole for a vervelle on the Llanuwchllyn effigy's aventail. The carved irises and pupils are clearly visible; **b** (right) Unused holes for vervelles on the smaller armoured effigy at Northop. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

at Llanuwchllyn the final hole of the aventail fixing is not engaged on the last vervelle (Fig. 12a). The only other instance of this we are aware of, is the smaller figure at Northop (Fig. 12b), where the last two holes are left unfastened. A possible explanation lies in the position of the final vervelle, beside the cheek. Attaching the aventail would draw it up over the lower face and provide additional protection (perhaps an echo of the earlier ventail — a flap of mail that could be fixed over the lower face).<sup>31</sup> When lowered, it presents a more relaxed and non-combative pose, perhaps in anticipation of the resurrection. On English effigies and brasses the aventail is attached to vervelles the full height of the face opening, with the aventail shaped to expose the features. Further protection in combat could be provided by means of a visor. The Llanfair Caereinion and the larger Northop effigies have pivots for attaching a visor, which is not present. The Llanuwchllyn effigy and the smaller armoured figure at Northop do not have pivots.

In this group, only the smaller Northop figure carries a carved shield, although the Llanuwchllyn effigy does have a guige across his shoulder, which Gresham saw as ending in a hook for the knight to carry his shield. However, the Llanuwchllyn figure did originally have a shield since the 'hook' is actually a circular hole in the stone, for a pin or dowel to secure one, probably of a different material.<sup>32</sup> Attachments of this kind are long established, with examples on the figures of the West Front at Wells Cathedral (c. 1240) and the probability that the squire beside the effigy of Richard de Stapledon (c. 1320) in Exeter Cathedral originally carried a separate helm.<sup>33</sup> Separate shields are uncommon and are likely to have been supplied because the block of stone was of insufficient size, there was a serious flaw, or greater detail was required than could be achieved in the material. None of these is obviously the case at Llanuwchllyn but it is not



Fig. 13. Inscription around the shield on the grave slab of ‘GRONW : F’ : IORWERTH’ at Gresford. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

beyond the bounds of possibility that the missing shield was John ap Gruffydd’s own. Late medieval funerals for those of higher status were frequently elaborate affairs and armour was often laid up in a church, displayed as an adjunct to a military monument.<sup>34</sup>

### Inscriptions

Carved inscriptions are a distinctive and unifying feature of north Wales effigies and slabs, such as the priest at Corwen (Gresham 164) and the shield slab at Gresford (Fig. 13; Gresham 198). Ninety-nine out of Gresham’s total of 266 memorials have inscriptions, some 37%. Surveys of English regions covering both slabs and effigies are rare but Peter Ryder’s work on cross slabs in northern England provides a useful starting point to understand the comparative frequency of cut inscriptions.<sup>35</sup> Approximately 9% of the Cumbrian slabs have inscriptions, 5.5% of those in Northumberland and only 2% in County Durham. The number of monuments in the northern studies is substantial — considerably larger than the corpus for north Wales — so they provide valid statistics. The picture of inscriptions being a disproportionately important component of Welsh commemoration is supported by Sally Badham’s survey of south Wales.<sup>36</sup>

Just over 50% of the relevant monuments in that survey have inscriptions, all of them incised and the majority in Norman-French. This is an even greater proportion than in north Wales but both are of a different order than seen in England. As far as English effigies are concerned, inscriptions are rare: for example, there are only four out of well over 100 figures in Somerset.<sup>37</sup> The contrast with Wales is highly significant and raises questions about why the Principality is so markedly different. The numerous inscriptions in north Wales provide an opportunity to assess a large volume of information over a long period, for although absent from the earliest monuments, they run from the late thirteenth right through the fourteenth century. However, there are limitations. Only a minority are complete although, as they tend to be formulaic, missing words can often be supplied. Just four inscriptions given by Gresham have dates of death and even these can be problematic as, for example, at Llanuwchllyn. Latin is used almost exclusively, with only one in Norman-French, but those commemorated are overwhelmingly Welsh with just a handful of English names. This is surprising, as all the inscriptions appear to date from after the Edwardian conquest, when large numbers of Englishmen are known to have been brought in for Edward I's building programme, law enforcement and settlement. A question remains over where the English were buried or, true to their own traditions, did they not have carved inscriptions?

Where the opening words remain, thirty-eight start 'Hic iacet' and probably most others did too. The exceptions are one from Valle Crucis, which appears to begin with a Welsh name (Gresham 77), and the solitary Norman-French inscription at Rhuddlan (Gresham 153).<sup>38</sup> This begins with 'Priez pur lalme' and commemorates Bishop William de Fresney, who spent most of his career in England (often working for the king) but may have been of French extraction. The Welsh names usually include a multi-generational genealogical formula using the Welsh 'ap' (son) and 'ferch' (daughter) or their Latin equivalents — the language seems an arbitrary choice. In these respects, the custom in north Wales differs from that in the south. Badham's survey shows that none of the southern inscriptions contains a genealogical formula and the majority use Norman-French.<sup>39</sup> Overall, they seem to be very conventionally English in character. In contrast, the north Wales inscriptions contain a wealth of genealogical detail rarely replicated elsewhere in the British Isles at this time, except in parts of Scotland.<sup>40</sup> A few examples add some form of descriptor after the name, such as 'vicarius', and several of the females have their husband's name added. Although the most common arrangement concludes simply with the name, a significant number finish with standard religious phrasing. There are at least ten occurrences of 'cuius anime propicietur deus' and almost as many 'resquiescat in pace' but there are also three 'orate pro eo' and another three request specific prayers. Single instances occur of the 'si quis eris' formula (Gresham 21, formerly at Chirk Castle) and of an indulgence (Newborough, Gresham 204).<sup>41</sup> A special case is the effigy at Llaniestyn, which names the donors of the saintly image and requests prayers for their salvation.<sup>42</sup> The unusual arm and sword slab at Gresford (Gresham 198) concludes with 'cuius anime deus absolvat' and it is difficult to cite a parallel in either Wales or England.<sup>43</sup>

The almost exclusive use of Latin is noteworthy, although it is also true in Cumbria and the western Highlands of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> Ecclesiastics generally used Latin for their inscriptions, but during the later thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century wealthy lay people in England often chose their vernacular (Norman-French), as in south Wales. So, the absence of the Welsh language is notable. The difference may be cultural or Latin may have been seen as proper, in a church setting. Lombardic lettering is used throughout. In England, this was largely superseded by textura (blackletter) by c. 1350, as evidenced by monumental brasses.<sup>45</sup> Lombardic letter forms were used occasionally on provincial monuments in England well after that, although their ubiquity in north Wales is one of the features that sets these monuments apart. The technique of cutting away the background to leave letters in sunk relief is an almost universal characteristic of these inscriptions (see, for example, Figs 8, 13, 14a–d, 15, 16), a rare exception being the incised legend at Gresford (Fig. 4a; Gresham 174). Sunk-relief lettering is laborious





Fig. 14. **a** (top) Initial cross of the Betws-y-Coed inscription; **b** (second down) Initial cross of the Northop lady's inscription; **c** (third down) Initial cross of the inscription on Gresham 198 at Gresford; **d** (bottom) Initial cross of the inscription on Gresham 190 at Cilcain. *Photographs: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

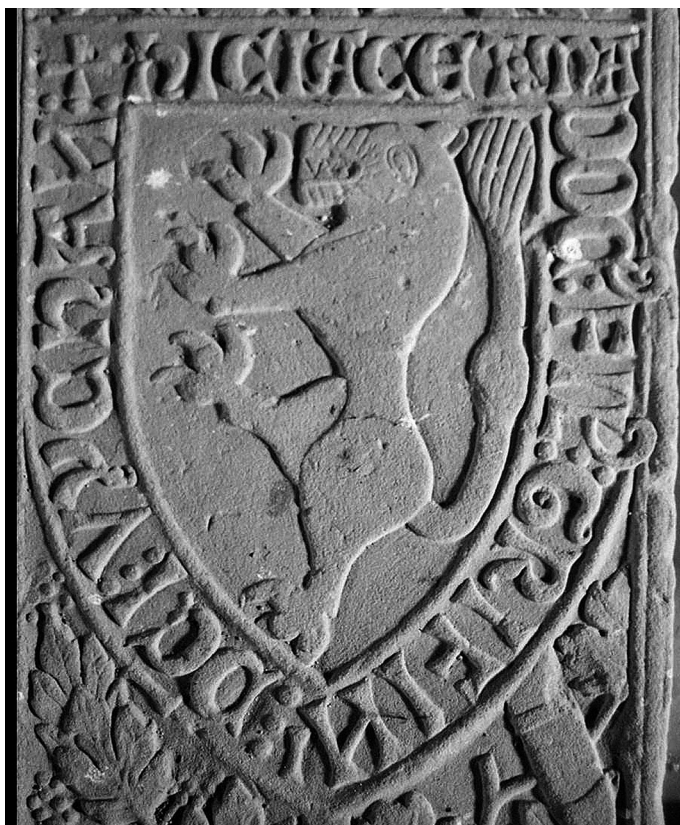


Fig. 15. Inscription around the shield on the monument for ‘MADOC’ : FIL’ : GRIFINI’ at Valle Crucis Abbey. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

to carve and rarely found on English monuments. A few sixteenth-century slabs, at Bedale, Wensley and Middleham (all North Riding of Yorkshire) are in sunk-relief, with boldly-cut *textura* inscriptions. In north Wales sunk-relief lettering was also used in other contexts such as on the west end gable at Valle Crucis, commemorating Abbot Adam.<sup>46</sup> The popularity of the technique in north Wales is puzzling but it is clearly more durable than incising and may reflect a deep-seated need for long-lasting commemoration. Whatever the reason, the sunk-relief inscription is one of the defining features of north Wales monuments.

Gresham set great store by the unusual cross used to start twenty of the later inscriptions. It has a rather solid form, like two crosses superimposed and is indeed, highly individual (Fig. 14 a–d). Gresham’s assertion that the monuments where it occurs must have come from a single source is understandable but its form does vary and it could have been copied by others, perhaps perceiving it as the norm. Its date range remains in doubt but its presence on the monuments of Agnes de Ridelegh at Chester (died 1347, Gresham 214) and the lady at Northop (died 1382) provide an indicative span which embraces that suggested by the armour details described above. The north Wales inscriptions are also idiosyncratically presented. On English monuments, the inscription is usually around the margin or on a chamfer. However, in 42 out of Gresham’s 99 north Wales instances, they are deliberately incorporated as a primary feature of the design. Twenty-three are borders on shields, like the celebrated example at Valle Crucis (Fig. 15;

Gresham 122) and eleven are placed centrally, often down cross shafts but occasionally without a cross. There are several instances of inscriptions used to delineate compartments of the slab and some one-off uses. There is a diagonal inscription at Llangollen (Gresham 41), while the monument formerly at Chirk Castle has part of the legend shown on the open pages of a book. The knight at Llanfair Caereinion is probably unique, with the inscription on the hem of his coat armour, and the lady at Northop appears to have her belt decorated with the repeated monogram 'IL'. The inscription on the Saint Iestyn effigy is the most elaborate. It begins on the scroll the saint is holding, continues on the margin round his head, and finishes as strips on both sides of his pillow (Fig. 16). A few comparable applications are found on English monuments. A mid thirteenth-century slab for Gundrada de Warenne (Sussex) has an inscription delineating its two compartments and a similar arrangement appears on a semi-effigial slab for Matilda le Caus at Brampton (Derbyshire).<sup>47</sup> Cross shaft inscriptions occur on grave covers at High Coniscliffe (Co. Durham), Aconbury (Herefordshire) and on a brass at East Wickham (Kent).<sup>48</sup> A slab in Chichester Cathedral has hands holding a heart within a trefoil formerly bordered by an inscription.<sup>49</sup> But these are all special cases, worthy of note rather than constituting a norm. Except for the Welsh-produced effigy



Fig. 16. Concluding sections of the inscription at Llaniestyn. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

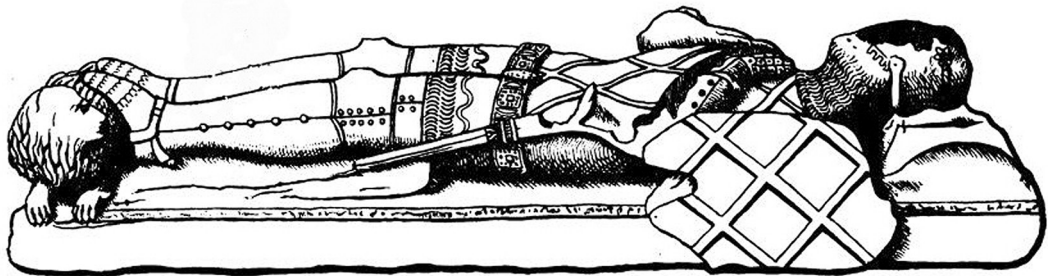
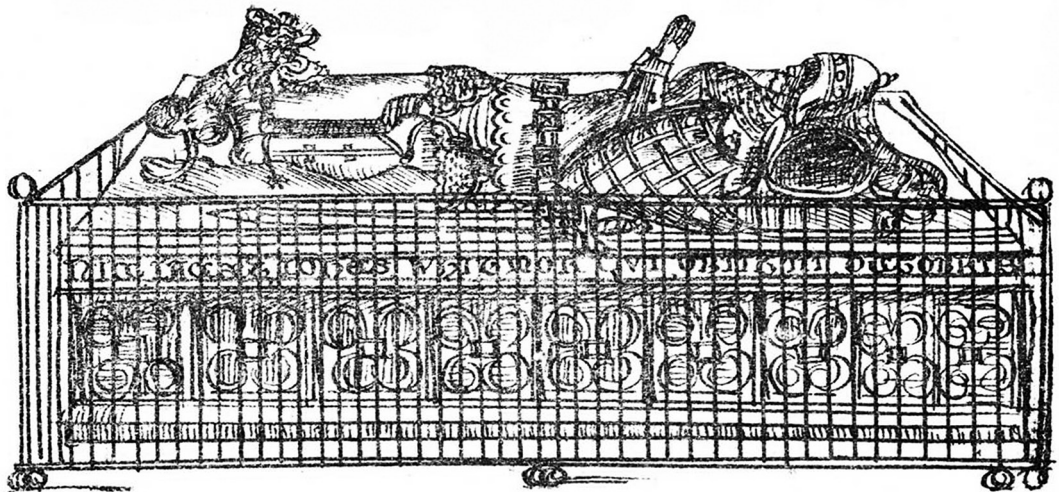


Fig. 17. **a** (left) Cross slab at Burton, Cheshire. *Photograph: Howard Williams*; **b** (top right) Cross head on slab at Cilcain (Gresham 190). *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos*; **c** (bottom right) Leaf pattern beside the cross shaft at Cwm (Gresham 192). *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos*.

at Farndon (Gresham 176), no circumscribed shield has yet been found in England and the inscription locations at Llaniestyn and Llanfair Caereinion also appear to be unparalleled. Clearly, inscriptions embedded in the design are a special feature of these monuments but it remains unclear why the carvers chose to do this. It suggests great importance is being given to naming the person commemorated, an impression further emphasised by the labour-intensive way they were carved. Clearly, identity mattered in medieval north Wales, which may perhaps reflect a fundamental need to perpetuate family histories.

**Additions to Gresham’s catalogue**

‘Gresham Revisited’ listed 28 additional items. Another fifteen are detailed in the Appendix to this paper, some of which are particularly significant as they are located in neighbouring English counties. Gresham included seven in England — one in Shropshire and six at two sites in Cheshire.<sup>50</sup> The late Lawrence Butler recently highlighted the post-Gresham discovery at St Martins (Shropshire).<sup>51</sup> We now believe that



*INSCRIPTION ROUND THE MARGIN, PART OF WHICH IS STILL LEGIBLE.*

[HIC IACET IOHANNES DE WHITMORE OBITU IIII KAL OCTOB M DO MCCCXXXIIII]

Fig. 18. a (top) Late seventeenth-century drawing by Dingley of the military effigy at Holy Trinity Church, Chester; b (bottom). Military effigy at Holy Trinity Church, Chester. Drawing published in 1854 after its retrieval from under the floor.

another grave slab and three more effigies can be added for Cheshire. The slab at Burton (on the Wirral, Cheshire) is only just across the estuary from Wales (Fig. 17a).<sup>52</sup> Its cross head is strikingly similar to that at Cilcain (Fig. 17b; Gresham 190) and the pattern of leaves on sinuous stems beside the cross shaft mirrors that at Cwm (Fig. 17c; Gresham 192). Whilst the Burton cross head differs from Cwm, the two designs occur together on the double slab at Diserth (Gresham 188).<sup>53</sup> The style of cross head at Burton is of particular interest since Gresham adopted it as a motif for his book, featuring on the cover and dust jacket.

Amongst the seven additional effigies and semi-effigial slabs is the armoured figure in the former Holy Trinity Church, Chester. Its original setting, on an altar tomb enclosed by a railing, is shown in a late seventeenth-century sketch by Thomas Dingley (Fig. 18a) and the inscription identifies him as John de Whitmore, giving his date of death as 1374.<sup>54</sup> Ormerod's county history (published 1819), describes it as 'under the flooring of the pews' in the south aisle, but it was retrieved in 1852 and in Crossley's time (1925) was in a dark corner of the church.<sup>55</sup> By the 1940s it had been set up on a window sill and a photograph of it in this position has recently been published.<sup>56</sup> When the church was converted for use as the Guildhall in the 1960s, it was hidden behind wooden panelling but it has since been revealed. Whilst deprecating its ill treatment, Claude Blair related this effigy to the north Walian knights at Betws-y-Coed, Llanfair Caereinion, Llanuwchllyn and Northop, discussed above.<sup>57</sup> Useful drawings were published in 1854 (Fig. 18b) and 1899 which provide some significant details.<sup>58</sup> The figure rests his head on a helm which, as on the other monuments, is shown half buried in the base slab. He wears a bascinet with an orle decorated with flowers, as at Northop and Llanfair Caereinion and appears to have similar mail. His coat armour has relief heraldry, his sword is attached to his girdle and he appears to wear sabatons of scalloped lames. Crossley describes some of the armour as having studs (probably rivets) which, as we have seen, are a particular feature of the later armoured figures in north Wales. The nineteenth-century drawings agree with Dingley in showing the inscription in Lombardic lettering, running along the chamfered edge of the base slab, again like other effigies in north Wales. There is, therefore, a convincing case for considering Whitmore's effigy as a north Wales product. He was mayor of Chester from 1370 until 1374 and this would appear to be the most securely dated of the group.<sup>59</sup>

Two more effigies are at Bunbury (Cheshire), only ten miles from the Welsh border. They are amongst five non-alabaster effigies which are badly weathered, having spent much time in the churchyard, where they may be originally. The group comprises two military figures, a male civilian and two females. Until 2010 they were stacked in the south porch but all are now housed in a locked store, although for part of the twentieth century they were properly displayed on plinths in the north aisle.<sup>60</sup> Both female effigies have marginal inscriptions, in the north Wales fashion, although they are in Norman-French which might reflect the preferences of English patrons.<sup>61</sup> The better preserved figure is named as Joan de Spurstow (probably the widow of Thomas de Spurstow) who was living in 1372/73.<sup>62</sup> She wears a closely gathered gown, with long parallel folds, akin to the Northop lady and to judge from the published illustration, the inscription is in sunk relief. Claude Blair related this effigy to that of Agnes de Ridelegh at Chester and suggested that they both emanated from the workshop responsible for the Betws-y-Coed, Northop and Holy Trinity Church Chester effigies. The other female seems of earlier date and needs careful examination to determine if she has any other relevant features. A close inspection of the remaining three figures would also be worthwhile. These extraterritorial additions are unsurprising because the probable production centre in north Flintshire is not too distant. Transport was expensive and Cheshire patrons may have looked to local Welsh sources for reasons of cost.

The tomb recess at Cwm (Fig. 19a) is very modest, with an unusually narrow and pointed form which is probably due to its having been reconstructed but each stone of the arch has its chamfer decorated with the same four-petal flowers as are found on the later effigial monuments (Fig. 19b). The Cwm arch,



Fig. 19. **a** (left) Tomb recess at Cwm; **b** (right) Four-petal flower on the tomb recess at Cwm.

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

therefore, is a minor addition to the later group and probably once housed an effigy or slab, perhaps even that in the nave (Gresham 192). The additions in the Appendix also include two lost semi-effigial shield slabs from Bangor-is-y-Coed, grave slab fragments at Hope, Nercwys and Northop, plus some reset tomb chest figures at Llanynys. Finally, two more effigies have recently come to light — the civilian in the tower at Nannerch and the incised figure slab of Abbot Howel, which may have originated from Valle Crucis.

### Conclusions

In developing the study of north Wales medieval monuments, comparative material has proved instructive, particularly with respect to Tree of Life iconography at Beaumaris and the relationship of the foliage design of the slab to late thirteenth-century metalwork. It confirms the need to reassess the dating of the thirteenth-century monuments as a whole. A searching look at a group of the later figures suggests that when viewed in a wider context, the final four military figures appear post-dated by about a decade. However, doubts about dating do not detract from an appreciation of the skilful work employed, as demonstrated by the remarkable effigy at Llanuwchllyn. Inscriptions are an important feature of these memorials and display aspects which are special to north Wales, both in their technique and in their frequent integration into the design of the monuments. Looking beyond the confines of the Welsh border, more examples of relevant memorials have been discovered. So, *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales* was demonstrably not the last word on this fascinating subject and neither is this contribution. There are



Fig. 20. **a** (left) Lost semi-effigial grave slab from Bangor-is-y-Coed; **b** (right) Lost semi-effigial grave slab from Bangor-is-y-Coed. Late eighteenth-century drawings from Pennant's *Tours in Wales* (London, 1810) vol. 1, facing p. 302 items II and III.

still many unanswered questions but we hope to have done enough to encourage others to take up the challenge.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to acknowledge our debt to the late Lawrence Butler who instigated this development of our work. We would also like to thank: Tobias Capwell at the Wallace Collection for his comments on the military effigies; Professor Howard Williams and Brian Costello of the University of Chester for their help with the monuments at Burton and Chester; Dr Maddy Gray for her assistance with references and Bob Silvester for information about, and photographs of, the Nannerch effigy.



APPENDIX: FURTHER ADDITIONS TO  
GRESHAM'S CATALOGUE

**Bangor-is-y-Coed (Flintshire)**

Pennant (1778) illustrated four slabs at Bangor which had been dug up in the churchyard, all of established north Wales patterns.<sup>63</sup> Only one survives, transferred to the National Museum of Wales. This and one other were included by Gresham (119 and 120). The omitted two (Figs 20a–b) are as follows.

- i Semi-effigial grave slab with head on a cushion above a shield and a sword diagonally behind it. The shield has a lion rampant within a border carrying the inscription, 'HIC IACET WILLIAM LE FRENS'.
- ii Semi-effigial grave slab with head on a cushion above a shield bearing a lion rampant within a border, carrying the inscription, 'HIC IACET ITHEL CADWGAN'.

**Bunbury (Cheshire)**

- i Effigy of a lady (Joan de Spurstow) with what appears to be a sunk-relief inscription on the chamfer of the base slab. Illustrated by Blair.<sup>64</sup> Inscription in Norman-French: 'PRYETZ PVR IONE DE SPOVRTOV KY GYST [ICI DIEV] SVR ALME EIT MERCI'. Now in store.
- ii Effigy of a lady holding an object, perhaps a book. Appears to have a bas-relief Lombardic inscription on the chamfer of the base slab in Norman-French: '...PVR. NICOL DE TV...T.'. Illustrated by Blair.<sup>65</sup> Veil and wimple, head under a gablette. Now in store.

**Burton (Wirral, Cheshire)**

- i Complete grave slab (Fig. 17a) with low relief cross, having a very leafy head on a three step calvary and a foliage scroll on each side. Illustrated by Beazley and Randall.<sup>66</sup> Built into the internal north wall of the tower.

**Cwm (Flintshire)**

- i Canopy arch in the north wall of the chancel (Fig. 19) is decorated with four-petal flowers on its inner moulded edge which are the same as can be seen on a number of monuments listed by Gresham. It appears to have been reconstructed, making it taller and narrower than it may originally have been and may once have housed a grave slab or effigy.



Fig. 21. Effigy in the tower of St Mary, Nannerch.

*Photograph: R. Silvester.*



Fig. 22. Remaining part of incised slab for 'Abbot Howel'. *Photograph: B. Gittos and M. Gittos.*

#### **Chester Guildhall (formerly Holy Trinity Church)**

- i Military effigy (Fig. 18) which appears to resemble the knights at Betws-y-Coed and Llanfair Caereinion. Half depth helm under head. Bascinet with orle, ornamented with flowers. For description see above. Inscription on the edge of the base slab: 'HIC : IACET : IOHANNES : DE : WHITMORE : OBIIT : III : KAL : OCTOB : AN DO : MCCCLXXIV'.<sup>67</sup> Dingley gives an unclear version of a continuation ending in '... PROPICIETVR DEVS AMEN'.<sup>68</sup> Formerly on a tomb chest surrounded by a railing.

#### **Hope (Flintshire)**

- i Fragment of a grave slab built into south exterior wall, between the first and second windows from the west. Appears to be upside down, showing the bottom of a shield with some letters. A sword emerges diagonally from below it and there is some foliage on the opposite side.
- ii Fragment of a grave slab built into the south exterior wall, just east of the only buttress. Appears to have an incised bow and arrow and possibly the stem of a cross.
- iii Fragment of a grave slab built into the wall just below (ii) with two pairs of parallel incised lines and a damaged sunk-relief Lombardic inscription along the lower edge.

**Llanynys (Denbighshire)**

- i Fragments of a tomb chest with figures of saints in niches. In two pieces, one with three figures and the other with two. They were found coping the churchyard wall and have now been built into a modern concrete tomb chest below the effigy of an ecclesiastic (Gresham 161). The current Pevsner architectural guide describes them as ‘16th or 17th century fragments’ but despite severe damage they appear to be figures of saints and must therefore be medieval.<sup>69</sup> It is difficult to date them because of their condition and rustic style but they could be either fourteenth or fifteenth century and deserve inclusion.

**Nannerch (Flintshire)**

- i A complete small civilian effigy (gender unclear) with hands at prayer, under a trefoil arched canopy on side shafts and having a sunk-relief Lombardic inscription in Latin down the left side (Fig. 21). It is built into the inside of the tower of St Mary’s Church. The church was rebuilt in 1852–53 and presumably it was discovered when the old church was taken down. We are grateful to Bob Silvester for information about this effigy and for supplying photographs.

**Nercwys (Flintshire)**

- i Fragment of a grave slab loose on window sill, south side of the tower. It has a low relief cross comprising a bracelet head which is not tied, pointed buds and a flower centre (compare the tied version at Caerwys, Gresham 88). The head is made up of multi-strand elements and there are pairs of branches on the stem with outlined leaves reminiscent of a slab at Cilcain (Gresham 190).

**Northop (Flintshire)**

- i Fragment of a grave slab with, perhaps, the edge of the slab and part of a leaf. This is in addition to item ‘iii’ in the previous listing.<sup>70</sup> It is in the same recess but appears to be slightly more deeply carved and is therefore likely to be from a different monument.

**Valle Crucis Abbey? (Denbighshire)**

- i Upper part of an incised slab, with inscription, damaged and one side lost. The slab bears the incised head and shoulders of a tonsured ecclesiastic in mass vestments. Part of an inscription in bas-relief Lombardic characters remains on two sides (Fig. 22). It may originally have read ‘[HIC : IACET : FRAT] ER : HOWEL : ABBAS’. First mentioned (and illustrated) in 1895 when it was at ‘Winnstay’ (presumably the Hall near Ruabon), it re-emerged in 2016, in private hands, and was displayed at Llangollen Museum.<sup>71</sup> Professor Howard Williams, who has characterised the figure as ‘the smiling abbot’, has convincingly argued that it is likely to have originated from Valle Crucis.<sup>72</sup> He has also suggested that it commemorates Abbot Howel (or Hywel) of Valle Crucis, who is mentioned in 1294 and 1295.<sup>73</sup> This is a surprising omission on Gresham’s part since he draws on the 1895 article elsewhere in the book.

## NOTES

1. Brian Gittos BSc, MIMMM, C. Eng, FSA and Moira Gittos AMA, FSA, 4 Linden Rd, Yeovil, Somerset, BA20 BH.
2. B. Gittos and M. Gittos, ‘Gresham Revisited: a fresh look at the medieval monuments of north Wales’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 161 (2012), 357–88. Colin A. Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*

- in North Wales: Sepulchral Slabs and Effigies of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1968). The monument identification numbers used in this paper refer to Gresham's Catalogue.
3. V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950).
  4. C. A. R. Radford, 'The native ecclesiastical architecture of Wales (c.1100–1285): the study of a regional style', in I. Ll. Foster and L. Alcock, *Culture and Environment: essays in honour of Sir Cyril Fox* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 355–372.
  5. More recently, Maddy Gray has discussed the monument's history and who may have been commemorated, in the light of our redating (M. Gray, 'Four weddings, three funerals and a historic detective puzzle: a cautionary tale', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* (2014), 31–46). She identified a number of candidates from amongst the Welsh (and English) nobility and concluded that the effigy most probably commemorates Eleanor de Montfort (died 1282), but that it could be for Senana (died 1263), mother of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd who was Eleanor's husband. What is quite clear is that the monument was made locally.
  6. Illustrated in the second volume of J. Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture: 1200–1600* (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1974). The monuments are at Inistioge, Jerpoint Abbey and three in St Canice's Cathedral (Kilkenny town).
  7. H. A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980). J. Adhémar, 'Les Tombaux de la Collection Gaignières: Tome I', *Gazette de la Beaux-Arts* (Paris, Juillet–Septembre 1974).
  8. For example, at Isleham (Cambridgeshire), see W. Lack, H. M. Sturtchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1995), 165.
  9. M. Redknap and J. M. Lewis, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales 1* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 210.
  10. J. Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1999), 160–1, 163–4 and 159 respectively.
  11. C. Hamel, *The Book of Beasts: A Facsimile of MS Bodley 764* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2008), pl. 114.
  12. For instance, the Purbeck marble effigy of Archbishop de Gray in York Minster, d. 1255.
  13. The ten later figures are at Farndon (Gresham 176); Betws-y-Coed (Gresham 181); Northop × 3 (Gresham 183, 184, 186); Llanfair Caereinion (Gresham 185); Llanrwst (Gresham 187); Dolgellau (Gresham 179), Towyn (Gresham 180) and Llanuwchllyn (Gresham 182).
  14. Gittos and Gittos 2012 op. cit. (note 2), 376.
  15. M. P. Brown, *The Lutterell Psalter: A Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2006), fo. 81<sup>v</sup>.
  16. T. Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth Ms. 20 Version* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), 126. It also occurs in the Welsh edition: T. Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth Ms. 20* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1941), 237.
  17. B. Gittos and M. Gittos, 'Medieval Ham Hill stone monuments in context', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 169 (2012), 89–121. Examples wearing gauntlets include Chilthorne Domer, Kingsdon, Limington and Pendomer (all Somerset).
  18. This date is consistent with his traditional identification as Gruffydd ab Adda of Dolgoch, although there is neither inscription nor heraldry to confirm it.
  19. Examples include the Ham Hill stone knights at Chilthorne Domer, Kingsdon and Limington together with two figures in Exeter Cathedral.
  20. Gresham 1968 op. cit. (note 2), 23.

21. The armour terminology is derived from T. Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight 1400–1450* (London: Thomas Del Mar, 2015).
22. M. Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Batsford, 1986), 43.
23. Gittos and Gittos 2012 op. cit. (note 2), 371.
24. Capwell 2015 op. cit. (note 21), 183.
25. H. H. Trivick, *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses* (London: John Baker, 1969), pl. 265.
26. The effigy lies in the church of St Deiniol which was rebuilt in 1872–73. It was closed in 2006 but in 2015, a major Heritage Lottery Fund grant was made for its conversion to community use and the effigy can now expect a more secure future. We are grateful to Beryl Griffiths for her assistance in gaining access to examine this figure.
27. Report on visit to Llanuwchllyn, 27 August, 1957, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 107 (1958), 132.
28. Superscript abbreviation ‘o’s also occur in this position on the 1382 date at Northop.
29. Discussed, for example, in N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 97–100.
30. M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1964), 404.
31. This feature has not been noted elsewhere by Tobias Capwell, Curator of Arms and Armour at the Wallace Collection, pers. comm. 2014. For ventails see C. Blair, *European Armour* (London: Batsford, 1958), 27.
32. The royal effigy of Edmund (Crouchback), earl of Lancaster d. 1296, in Westminster Abbey carried a separate shield which was attached to the arm by two pegs. See M. Downing, *Military Effigies of England and Wales: Volume 4* (Shrewsbury: Monumental Books, 2012), 109.
33. J. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral West Front* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998). The figure sculpture catalogue mentions several sockets and other features for locating separate items such as spears and croziers, e.g. knight 144 on p. 214 and seated bishop 225 on p. 236. The authors discussed the evidence for the Exeter squire having supported a heavy object such as the knight’s helm, during a lecture to the Church Monuments Society Study Day at Exeter in 2012. The use of separate adjuncts on medieval effigies is discussed at greater length in B. Gittos and M. Gittos, *Interpreting Medieval Effigies: The Evidence from Yorkshire to 1400* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019), 109–111.
34. For a useful recent account of heraldic funerals, see D. Wilson with S. Badham, ‘The Arches Court, Wootton St Lawrence and church monuments’, *Church Monuments* 29 (2014), 112–53.
35. Peter Ryder’s publications include: *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in County Durham*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 1 (Durham, 1985); *Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in West Yorkshire* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeological Services, 1991); ‘Medieval cross slab grave covers in Northumberland’; Parts 1, 2 and 3, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 27 (2000) 51–110, 30 (2002) 75–137 and 32 (2003) 91–136; *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Extra Series 23 (2005).
36. S. F. Badham, ‘Medieval minor effigial monuments in West & South Wales: an interim survey’, *Church Monuments* 14 (1999), 5–34.
37. See A. C. Fryer, ‘Monumental effigies in Somerset’, *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 61–76 (1916–1931). Many English effigies are likely to have had painted inscriptions, now lost. The opening words of Dean Godelee’s inscription (d. 1333) survive, painted on the base slab, in Wells Cathedral.

38. The Valle Crucis inscription which is incomplete and damaged but appears to begin ‘+ AWR : VO...’.
39. Badham 1999 op. cit. (note 36). Just over half of the relevant inscriptions are in English-dominated Pembrokeshire (16 out of 31).
40. See, for example, K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman, *The Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1977).
41. The Chirk Castle slab’s current location is unknown as it was sold through a London dealer in 2005. The Newborough monument commemorates Matheus ap Elye.
42. It commemorates Saint Iestyn.
43. It commemorates Goronwy ab Iorwerth.
44. For Cumbria see Ryder 2005 op. cit. (note 35) and for Scotland, Steer and Bannerman 1977 op. cit. (note 40). The volumes of the *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales* demonstrate that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries almost all the small number of surviving inscriptions are in Latin.
45. S. Badham, ‘The contribution of epigraphy to the typological classification of medieval English brasses and incised slabs’, in J. Higgitt, K. Forsyth and D. Parsons, (eds), *Roman, Runes and Ogham* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2001), 202–10.
46. Gittos and Gittos 2012 op. cit. (note 2), fig. 8.
47. Both illustrated in C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London: George Bell, 1854), 46 and 126.
48. For High Conniscliffe, see Ryder 1985 op. cit. (note 35), pl. 14. Aconbury is illustrated in E. L. Cutts, *A Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages* (London: John Henry Parker, 1849), pl. LX, while for East Wickham, see Boutell op. cit. (note 47), 125.
49. In 2015, only a single letter survived but it corresponds with a good drawing made in 1813 which shows half of the inscription remaining, J. Dallaway *A History of the Western Division of Sussex I* (London: T. Bensley, 1815), 132.
50. Two at Chester St John’s (Gresham 193, 214), four at Farndon (Gresham 137, 145, 176, 177), and the Shropshire slab is at Llanyblodwel (Gresham 46).
51. L. A. S. Butler, ‘A medieval tombstone at St. Martins, near Oswestry’, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 87 (2014) 31–4.
52. The Burton slab was noted and illustrated in F. C. Beazley, ‘Notes on the parish of Burton in Wirral’, in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, new series* 59 (1907), 3–79, facing 11.
53. Gresham op. cit. (note 2), 9, cites Diserth as displaying the two predominant cross head forms of his north Flintshire workshop.
54. J. G. Nichols, ed., *History From Marble compiled in the Reign of Charles II by Thomas Dingley, Gent.*, Camden Society 97 (1868), cccvii.
55. G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* 1 (London, 1819), 262. F. H. Crossley, ‘Mediaeval monumental effigies remaining in Cheshire’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 76 (1925), 13–14.
56. M. Downing, *Military Effigies of England and Wales: Volume 1 Bedfordshire – Derbyshire* (Shrewsbury: Monumental Books, 2010), 70. The photograph was taken by the late Claude Blair.
57. C. Blair, ‘Concealment of monuments. Holy Trinity Church, Chester’, *Bulletin of the International Society for the Study of Church Monuments* 3 (1980), 63–4. Blair commented that the figure was not included in Gresham’s catalogue and he believed it should be.

58. See *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society for the County, City and Neighbourhood of Chester* 1.3 (1854), facing p. 357, and S. W. Williams and H. Taylor, 'Effigy in Holy Trinity Church, Chester', *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society for the County and City of Chester and North Wales*, new series 6 (1899), 42–8, illustration facing page 44. A version of the inscription based on this drawing is given in the Appendix.
59. J. S. Barrow, J. D. Herson, A. H. Lawes, P. J. Riden and M. V. J. Seaborne, 'Mayors and sheriffs of Chester', in A. T. Thacker and C. P. Lewis (eds), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions* (London: Victoria County History, 2005), 305–21.
60. Unpublished report by D. Carrington, Conservation Officer of the Church Monuments Society, on a site visit, 24 April 2017.
61. C. Blair, *The Medieval Freestone effigies in Bunbury Church*, Bunbury Papers No. 8 (1959).
62. Blair 1959 op. cit. (note 61), cites the Spurstow pedigree as given in G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 2nd edn revised and enlarged by Thomas Helsby, vol. 2 (1882), 294.
63. T. Pennant, *Tours in Wales by Thomas Pennant*, vol. 1 (London, 1810), 303 and pl. facing 302.
64. Blair 1959 op. cit. (note 61).
65. Ibid.
66. Beazley 1907 op. cit. (note 52) and D. Randall, *The Search for Old Wirral* (Birkenhead: Countywise, 1984), 116, photograph 100. We are grateful to Sheila and Peter Mason for information about this slab.
67. In addition to the references already cited and those listed by Downing 2010 op. cit. (note 56), see F. C. Beazley, 'The parish of Thurstaston', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 75 (1923), 47–9 and photograph facing p. 47.
68. Dingley op. cit. (note 54).
69. E. Hubbard (ed.), *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd (Denbighshire and Flintshire)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 247.
70. Gittos and Gittos 2012 op. cit. (note 2), 382.
71. S. Williams, 'Notes on some sepulchral slabs and monumental effigies in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 12 (1895), 112–33.
72. H. Williams, G. Smith, D. Crane and A. Watson, 'The smiling abbot: rediscovering a unique medieval effigial slab', *Archaeological Journal* 175 (2018), 255–91.
73. D. Smith and V. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 1216–1377* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 318.

