

# Commemorating change

## an archaeological interpretation of monuments in Norfolk before 1400

by Jonathan Finch

*Early monumental commemoration is often examined within the confines of particular forms or materials and is rarely considered holistically within a regional or spatial context. This study integrates the results of the latest fieldwork to offer an overview of commemoration in Norfolk before 1400. It is suggested that commemoration in the 11th and 12th centuries marked significant moments in the development of the parochial system as well as important patrons. Discontinuities in commemorative practices also emerge when these slabs are examined alongside monuments from the 13th century, suggesting changing priorities.*

Church monuments in general and medieval monuments in particular have typically been approached in one of two ways. They have either figured in accounts of aesthetic progression focused on effigial sculpture, or been the subject of studies of one specific form of monument linked to the identification of stylistic differences, which are then related to workshops or craftsmen. Even the most recent work on the subject, whilst adding to our understanding by grouping certain types of brasses and incised slabs together, is still devoted to identifying shared stylistic characteristics and attributing them to workshops in London (Badham & Norris 1999). There is a reluctance to break away from antiquarian traditions and adopt alternative approaches that embrace wider contextual associations, or that address the social and ideological significance of these monuments (Butler 1987). There has been no attempt to understand how or why regional and parochial monumental assemblages are formed. Whether they are studied as disembodied proto-art or as the products of stylistically distinct workshops, medieval monuments are examined from the perspective of production rather than of use and display. However, the place where monuments were seen and encountered, and the distribution of different commemorative forms can tell us much about the significance of these artefacts (Butler 1993). The patterns of production and deployment should be examined together – by looking at the process as a whole we can learn about the monuments and the people commemorated.

This study will attempt to demonstrate the potential of studying medieval monuments within carefully defined social and spatial contexts. It is an archaeological investigation of commemorative material culture that seeks to address the significance of the artefacts within medieval society. It forms part of an ongoing regional study of commemoration in Norfolk that explores the pattern of

commemoration over time and space and the forces and motivations behind it, including the importance of regional variation in social structure (Finch 2000). It will be suggested that variations in social structure associated with subtle biases within agrarian regimes had a significant impact on patterns of medieval commemoration still evident today. It will also be argued that the earliest monuments that survive in the churches marked an important moment in the history of the churches themselves.

Norfolk offers obvious advantages for such a study: it has a rich stock of medieval parish churches; it has been densely populated since at least the 12th century; it avoided the excesses of Victorian restoration; and it embraced a diversity of agrarian regions. Three rural sample areas were selected within the county, based on hundredal units: Burnham in the north-west (30 parishes), Erpingham in the north-east (29 parishes) and Depwade in the south (19 parishes). Each area was chosen to reflect the diverse agrarian regions that emerged in the early modern period from biases within the medieval subsistence economies (Fig 1). The first topographical account of the county, written in the first decade of the 17th century, recognised and contrasted the two main agrarian regions, describing the north-west as the 'Chiefest Corn-Country . . . mostly open and playne' and the south-east as 'wonderful fat, & comparable for goodness with the Woodland in Suffolk' (Hood 1938, 67). Burnham, in the north-west, lies within the sheep-corn region where arable cultivation was sustained on the light 'Good Sands' with manuring from large flocks of sheep that were folded on the fields at night. Units of landholding were generally larger than elsewhere in the county and a strong element of social control was exercised through the manorial court. Depwade, in the south, lies within the wood-pasture region on the plateau of boulder-clay to the south, where, by the 16th century,

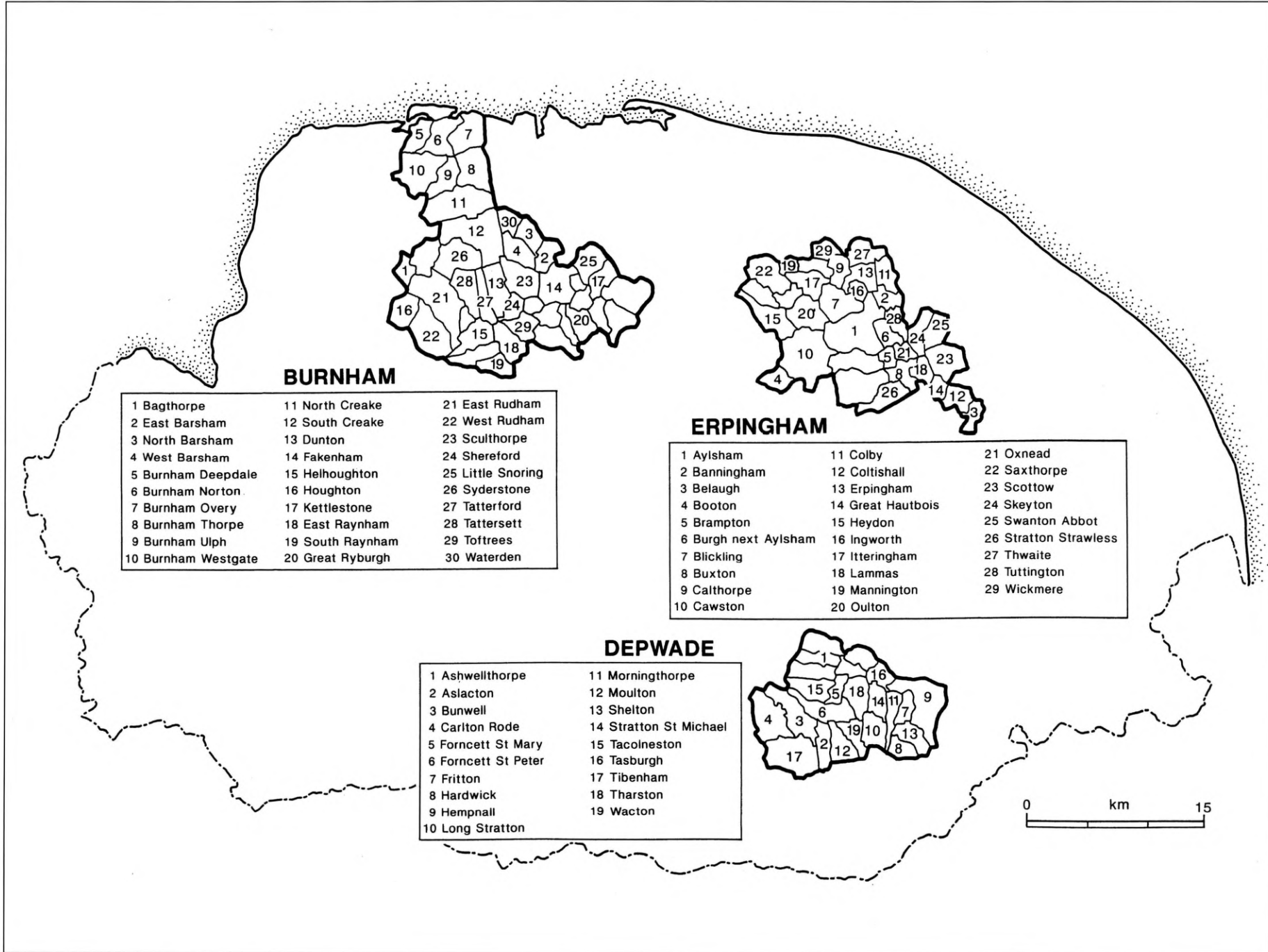


Fig 1 The sample areas in Norfolk showing the parishes surveyed (Illustration: J Finch)

dairy farming and cattle rearing were supplemented by a number of by-employments including woodworking and tanning (Thirsk 1987, 46–49). Here the landscape was characterised by small, irregular, hedged closes and units of landholding were generally smaller.

Historians now tend to emphasise the greater diversity that was evident in Norfolk and suggest a more complex mosaic of agrarian regions than this simple dichotomy. One of the most important regions, centred on the 'Northern Heathlands' in the north-east of the county, was the heartland of the county's textile industry and generated considerable wealth from at least the 13th century (Holderness 1994, 102–3). The third sample area – Erpingham – is in this region and was characterised by a mixture of landholding and settlement types. The heathland was of poor quality, but elsewhere deep fertile loams provided land for the cultivation of rye, wheat and barley, and the meadows in the river valleys were used for bullock rearing and dairy cattle. It was an area of considerable agricultural innovation from as early as the 13th century, with fodder crops, such as beans and peas, taking the place of the year-long fallow (Campbell 1983).

Surviving monuments were recorded in each of these sample areas and these data were supplemented with information about lost monuments from antiquarian sources, dating from the early 17th to the 20th century. Having reconstructed the profile of commemoration in each area, the distribution of monument types was mapped spatially and over time. This was then examined in relation to the evolving hierarchy of the Church, its buildings, its patrons and its personnel. Significant patterns emerged between the distribution of different types of monuments and it became clear that the period also saw a fundamental shift in the iconography and form of commemoration which was to shape the development of monuments over the next 600 years. Before developing these issues further, however, it is necessary to examine the monuments in detail.

### *Cross slabs and tapered slabs*

The earliest monuments that survive in the sample churches are plain and decorated coffin-shaped slabs which have been stylistically dated to between the 11th and 13th centuries. It seems that some were used as coffin lids attached to the stone or wooden coffin below or laid over cist or earthen graves. Others clearly served as monuments and were laid to mark the point of burial below. The plain examples are smooth and flat, tapering towards one end, whilst those with decoration in low relief stand slightly proud of floor level. Despite being the most common surviving form of early medieval monument, cross slabs have been largely neglected since the flurry of discoveries during Victorian church restorations generated considerable

antiquarian interest. Lawrence Butler has conducted surveys of slabs in the East Midlands and around Cambridgeshire (Butler 1957; 1965). He identified distinct stylistic features common to slabs produced by the workshops associated with the limestone quarries at Barnack (Northants). He suggested that these types could be ordered sequentially to provide a rough chronology, starting in the late 11th century and continuing to the mid 14th century when their numbers decline. More recently, Peter Ryder has also conducted valuable studies of slabs in County Durham and West Yorkshire that have identified local styles and the use of local stones (Ryder 1985; 1991). The Church Monuments Society, which is aiming to publish a national survey of existing slabs, has recently revived interest in Purbeck slabs.

At a national level, there are two production sites that stand out as the most significant. The Barnack workshops were in existence before the Conquest and continued to expand in the late 11th century, supplying the requirements of stoneless East Anglia and the Lindsey coast (Butler 1965, 118). Butler has argued that during the first half of the 12th century the Barnack school developed distinctive stylistic features: a slightly coped shape to the limestone slab; a ridge-shaft running from head to foot, sometimes ornamented with a symmetrical 'double-omega' design; and a raised cross-head design (Butler 1965, 121). By the second half of the 12th century, however, Purbeck marble, quarried and finished by workshops around Corfe in Dorset, had become the most prestigious material for such slabs, arguably as a result of its presumed introduction by Bishop Henry of Blois and its frequent use in works authorised by Henry III (Badham & Norris 1999, 23–24; Butler 1965, 142). Throughout the 13th and into the 14th century, Purbeck was the leading centre for monumental slab production and its designs came to influence the output of other provincial workshops. As the 14th century progressed, however, Purbeck slabs lost their pre-eminence in the face of growing competition from brasses and freestone effigies (Leach 1978; Blair 1991).

The scale of the industry and the number of monumental slabs that would once have been found in a medieval church are unclear. Butler believes that the slabs originally filled medieval churches and churchyards, but cases such as the church at Barnack itself, which has over 40 examples of 12th-century slabs, and the 22 slabs found two miles away in the churchyard walls at Tallington (Lincs), are perhaps atypical given their proximity to the quarries (Butler 1965, 111). The discovery of more than 300 examples built into the south transept at Bakewell (Derbys) and the 70 or so slabs reused in the south porch at St Mark's, Lincoln, seemed to support Butler's claim. Those at Bakewell, however, may relate to its early status as a minster church, whilst the provenance of the slabs in Lincoln is far from certain (Butler 1965, 111–18; Gilmour

& Stocker 1986; Morris 1989, 154). The fact that slabs in Norfolk are rarely found in groups of more than four, and are most commonly found singly or in pairs, may suggest that there has been a particularly *high* survival rate. David Stocker has recently argued that the distribution of 9th- and 10th-century stones in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, which shares some important characteristics with the later stones in Norfolk, may in fact be a fairly accurate representation of the original extent of these stones (Stocker 2000).

Until recently Norfolk had not been studied systematically, perhaps because the absence of a local source of workable stone made it an unpromising area. Data about the number of slabs that survive in East Anglia as a whole is also limited. The majority of cross slabs found in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough appear to have been imported into the region as finished items from the workshops around Barnack. Butler suggests that there may have been around 2000 freestone slabs originally distributed in East Anglia and the East Midlands, but it is difficult to verify such an estimate (Butler 1957, 93–94). Attempts to establish the number of slabs surviving in Norfolk from existing secondary sources are also fraught with difficulties as the monuments are rarely mentioned. Significantly, none of the cross slabs recorded in the sample areas were mentioned in Pevsner's volumes for the county (Pevsner & Wilson 1997; 1999). The slabs are similarly under-represented in antiquarian sources and church notes until the late 19th century. Francis Blomefield, for example, writing in the mid 18th century, only mentions one of the slabs found in the sample areas although he does mention one further example which had been removed from Carleton Rode in Depwade and is now lost:

'There was taken up some years since, a fine stone coffin in the midst of the chancel, which stood level with the earth, the gravestone that covered it being jointed into the trough or coffin part' (Blomefield 1805–10, v 126).

There is some evidence that the slabs were sometimes removed from the main areas of the church because the coped or raised profile made them inconvenient (Butler 1957, 93). Some support is given to this theory by the fact that the surviving slabs are usually found hard against a wall or at the west end, well away both from processional routes and from the sites around the altar which would have been the preferred position for such prestigious burials (Cramp 1986). Once removed, slabs were often reused within the fabric of the church and many that we know today, such as the five found in the porch at East Winch in 1875, were discovered laid face down as paving slabs during Victorian restoration schemes.

Finally, the evidence provided by one Norfolk 'slab' is

potentially the most significant. At Guestwick a fragment of a wooden cross slab survives where it has been reused as a lintel in a doorway. Although decayed, the slab shows a central shaft with a double-omega design supposedly indicative of the Barnack workshop (Ashley & Rogerson 1985). This slab not only throws into question the supposed exclusive association of the devices with particular workshops, it also sheds new light on the debate about how many people were being commemorated. The huge number of slabs found at Barnack may, in fact, have been replicated in Norfolk churches, but with wooden monuments. This theory must remain speculative until further evidence becomes available.

The true number of surviving cross slabs will only be known following systematic fieldwork and only then will it be possible to venture a more realistic estimate of how many were once produced. Such fieldwork, conducted by Jonathan Bayliss and others as part of a survey of Purbeck slabs, has demonstrated how common these particular monuments are, listing 164 slabs (Bayliss 1999). However, the narrow typological focus of their study means that the overall distribution of all slabs in Norfolk is now biased towards those made from Purbeck marble and it is not possible to know if omissions from the survey are due to a judgement about the material or simple oversight.

Without any archaeological or architectural context for the slabs, it is impossible to ascribe exact dates with any degree of certainty. Stylistic comparison with the typologies constructed by Butler and Ryder suggests that the Norfolk examples are unlikely to date from earlier than the late 11th century, but these typologies must be used with care (Butler 1957; 1965; Ryder 1985; 1991). Butler's suggestion that the tapered slab was discarded in favour of the rectangular during the first two decades of the 14th century provides a general end date for the series of monuments (Butler 1965, 146). To examine these general points from the specific examples, the most significant slabs from the three sample areas will be discussed.

## BURNHAM

The best preserved group of cross slabs is to be found in Burnham: five complete slabs, all of which show the distinctive patterns that Butler associates with the Barnack workshop. Perhaps the earliest is the half-size coped slab at Burnham Deepdale, which has a plain central shaft and a simple roundel head with four petal-like segments. The small size of the slab (46cm top x 97cm long x 35cm at foot) may have influenced the simplicity of the design, but, using Butler's analysis of the style, it may date from the late 11th or early 12th century (Ryder 1985, 6; Butler 1965, fig 1, 91).

The other four slabs in the area feature the decoration on the central shaft known as the 'double-omega', a design supposedly indicative of the Barnack workshops. The

device has yet to be convincingly explained, but it has been suggested that it could represent the hinges on a coffin, or the palms and laurels used in funeral processions (Cutts 1849, 44; Butler 1965, 122). The significance of the omega, as a symbol of the end, as in Revelation 1:7 'I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending' should not be overlooked. Two of the slabs, one from Burnham Thorpe and one of the two at South Creake, share the same design: a straight shaft with the double-omega design in the middle. At both ends of the shaft is a roundel head with the four petal-like segments seen at Burnham Deepdale (Fig 2). The use of the roundel at both the base and head of the shaft may indicate a date before the late 12th century. The third slab, also at South Creake, is the only one in the sample with a floriated cross-head. This device is repeated at the base and head, whilst the shaft is adorned by the double-omega motif. Stylistically, it is not a design that figures in Butler's chronology, although a number of features, such as the double-head and floriated cross, suggest a date between the late 12th and mid 13th century.

The slab at Shereford provides an intriguing conundrum when placed within Butler's chronological sequence. It is of the double-omega type and has a cross patée head, a straight shaft and a stepped base. Butler describes the cross-head as a late example, offering a date range of between 1120 and 1160, but the stepped base is described as an innovation which appears in the late 12th century, after the cross patée head had stopped being used. This kind of inconsistency is inevitable as more examples are recorded. It is further demonstrated by close analysis of the various types of double-omega design. Butler argues that the rigidity of the device was lost during the 12th and 13th centuries, as it became increasingly ribbon-like (Butler 1957, 92–93). However, both slabs at South Creake, although apparently separated by half a century in the chronology of cross-heads, have the same ribbon-like double-omega.

The evidence provided by the forms of double-omega in the Norfolk sample appears to frustrate neat or absolute chronologies and throws doubt on the reliability of such typologies as a guide in the dating of these slabs. Stylistic developments seem to have involved the incorporation of persistent decorative elements, such as types of cross-head, with 'new' types of double-omega and *vice versa*. It is also worth repeating that the wooden slab at Guestwick demonstrates that the double-omega device can no longer be assumed to be indicative solely of Barnack products. It was clearly a device desired by patrons and emulated by carvers, even to the extent that it crossed media from stone to wood. This desire to incorporate the motif must have implications for stylistic sequences, particularly those that previously assumed a common source.



Fig 2 A coped cross slab with double-omega and double head at South Creake, Burnham (15cm scale) (Photo: J Finch)

## DEPWADE

Three slabs were recorded in the churches from the Depwade sample area. The first slab is at Ashwellthorpe and features a geometric cross-head of four circles, which Butler refers to as the 'Pentrich type' (c1120–c1160) because it was initially found in the Derbyshire Peaks (Butler 1965, 117). It is now becoming clear that the design has a much wider distribution, as the Ashwellthorpe example testifies, and it may be necessary to re-evaluate the dating and provenance of this type. The original impression of this being a regional variant may have been created by the regionally specific nature of the information available (Butler 1965, 117). Again, only detailed petrological examination will be able to establish where the slab at Ashwellthorpe was cut.

The second slab, from Tacolneston, features a stepped base, a small cross bar on the central shaft near the head and a straight-armed cross with a circular centre and trefoil terminals. The nearest approximation to this form to be found in published typologies is Butler's example of a local imitation of a Purbeck monument from Melbourn (Cambs), of 14th-century date, which lacks the cross bar on the central shaft. Whether or not the Tacolneston example is an imitation or a Purbeck product would require more



Fig 3 Purbeck slab at Ingworth, Erpingham, with a cross botonée, a straight shaft and a stepped base (15cm scale) (Photo: J Finch)

detailed petrological examination although it does not appear in Bayliss' survey of Purbeck slabs. The third and final example in Depwade, also at Tacolnaston, is only a fragment of a limestone slab, but it shows the remains of a double-omega device. Unfortunately it is too small to place within Butler's typology. To these slabs Bayliss adds a Purbeck fragment at Tharston with a cross botonée (Bayliss 1999, 20).

#### ERPINGHAM

The largest group of slabs in Erpingham is at Wickmere, which contains five slabs. At least three, and possibly four of these were decorated but they are now badly worn and only the shaft or central ridge and lower ends remain. Even on this meagre evidence some comments can be ventured regarding their place within the chronology of styles, as two of the slabs show differing terminals on the central shaft. One has a small cross at the base of the shaft, a feature which Butler identifies as being common before the introduction of the stepped base in the late 12th century, an example of which can be seen on the second slab (Butler 1965, 130–31). The third slab is similar to that recorded at Burnham Deepdale, having an unadorned central shaft and being noticeably smaller than the others. It measures only

40cm x 83cm x 30cm, making it smaller than the example from Burnham Deepdale.

At Oulton, a damaged Purbeck slab is used as the step into the church and another forms the threshold to the porch. Cutts suggested that the high occurrence of cross slabs either as steps or at the thresholds of doors indicated that these were preferred burial places (Cutts 1849, 28–29). Although this may be true, the number of such slabs and brass indents that appear to have been mutilated in the process of being set in this position leads one to suspect most were being reused. There are two badly worn and broken Purbeck slabs at Heydon, standing at the west end of the nave, and one more is recorded standing in the churchyard. All the decoration, if there was any originally, has been obliterated though Bayliss records a double chamfered edge on all three (Bayliss 1999, 16). The finest example of a cross slab in Erpingham is at Ingworth. It features a cross botonée with a straight shaft and a stepped base (Fig 3), all features which Butler describes as the most common Purbeck design, dating it to between c1250–c1320 (Butler 1965, fig 9c, 144).

Even with such a small group of cross slabs it has been possible to demonstrate some of the difficulties in attempting to categorise and date this form of monument. The evidence does seem to suggest that they date from the late 11th century but were rarely used after the late 13th or early 14th centuries. Until a broad survey of all surviving examples of tapered slabs is undertaken it will only be possible to offer tentative suggestions about the significance of those slabs that have already been recorded. They are, however, an intriguing group of monuments, particularly when compared with effigial slabs.

#### Effigial slabs

An effigial slab is distinguished from later medieval effigies by the fact that it is carved in relief upon a slab that often retains the tapered shape of the coffin. Elaborate examples include architectural canopies and supporting side shafts that frame the effigy, though these become less common on later examples. The five effigial slabs that survive in the sample areas probably date from the 13th or early 14th centuries. None of the effigial slabs feature in Tummers' study of 13th-century secular effigies, perhaps because he judged that they fell outside his criteria, being 14th-century ecclesiastical effigies. However, it is also possible that they were missed because his monument population was based on secondary sources, including Pevsner's guides, which have already been shown to under-represent early monuments (Tummers 1980).

The dating of these monuments is extremely problematic. Tummers' detailed study has begun the process of re-evaluating the dates ascribed by the pioneering work of Prior & Gardner, and Crossley, and this process



Fig 4 Early 14th-century Purbeck effigy of a woman at Stratton Strawless, Erpingham (15cm scale) (Photo: J Finch)

has been carried forward on particular groups of early monuments, but much work remains (Prior & Gardner 1912; Crossley 1921; Blair *et al* 2000). It is now agreed that the attitude or posture of an effigy is by far the most revealing characteristic of date (Stone 1955, 115; Tummers 1980, 11). For later lay effigies and for ecclesiastical effigies, however, the range of postures is restricted and dating must remain imprecise. One of Tummers' most significant conclusions, often overlooked, is his reluctance to group the monuments by schools or workshops on the grounds that too few effigies have survived to support differentiation (Tummers 1980, 10–11). The three sample areas in Norfolk include a number of effigial slabs that have eluded the published literature since Walter Rye's early pamphlet (Rye 1916). It may be useful, therefore, to describe the recorded effigies in some detail. No effigial slabs were found in Depwade.

#### ERPINGHAM

At Cawston there are two effigies in the south transept which are badly worn having spent some time in the churchyard, where Blomefield observed them (Blomefield 1805–10, vi 265). One is of a male in a long tunic beneath a cusped and crocketed canopy. The legs are straight and

the hands held together in prayer. The second effigy, under an identical canopy and again with straight legs and hands held in prayer, has suffered greater erosion and the lower third is a poor restoration. The effigy is in such bad condition that identification is difficult. The egg-shaped head and faint traces of detailing around the face and chin suggest it may have been an armoured knight, but Blomefield describes the pair as being a man, rather than a knight, and a woman. The restoration to the lower section of the figure does appear to have been an attempt to model a woman's dress covering the feet, but the head remains vaguely masculine. Both effigies have their heads tightly fitted between the cusping of the canopy arch and, rather than a pillow supporting the head, the background has not been cut away so deeply above the shoulders giving the effect of a step on which the head rests. The dating of these effigies is extremely difficult. Several features, such as the lack of foot rests, the tapered slabs and the absence of a cushion beneath their heads, suggest an early 13th-century date. Other features, such as the praying posture, the decorated canopy and the fact that one appears to be the effigy of a lay civilian suggest that they are likely to be of a later, perhaps early 14th-century date.

At Stratton Strawless there is the effigy of a woman on a plain slab, with a small pillow behind her head (Fig 4). The whole monument has been painted black, but worn and damaged fragments suggest it is made from Purbeck marble. Her right arm is by her side, but slightly flexed, and the hand holds the side of her gown, whilst her left hand holds an object on her chest. The object has been damaged and it is unclear what it represents. Rye dated the effigy to *c*1350, but Tummers' and recent work which has redated some early Purbeck effigies suggest that this example dates from the first quarter of the 14th century (Rye 1916, 13; Tummers 1980, 57–59; Blair *et al* 2000).

Finally, the lost effigy of a knight also at Stratton Strawless, is mentioned by Weever in the 17th century, and by



Fig 5 Ecclesiastical effigy at Houghton, Burnham, showing the foliate detail on the cusped-ogee canopy (15cm scale) (Photo: J Finch)

Blomefield who described it as being:

'in an arch under the north wall [of the nave] lies its founder carved in Derbyshire marble; cross-legged, all in mail-armour, his belt by his side, and other accoutrements' (Blomefield 1805–10, vi 339).

Blomefield disputes Weever's identification of the effigy as that of a member of the Bardolf family, suggesting instead Ralf de Stratton on the grounds of heraldic glass which was above the recess and in the east window. This is the only effigy from the sample areas to have the crossed-legged attitude that Tummers' study focused on. This most animated posture was widely used until the mid 14th century when the straight legs and praying posture preferred by the London masons serving the royal court came to prevail. Blomefield is silent about other aspects of the posture of the effigy, such as the arrangement of arms and hands, that could have helped to determine its date and provenance. Although the effigy is now 'lost' it appears that the internal medieval wall surfaces were simply panelled over in the 18th century, raising the possibility that the effigy may await rediscovery. Until that time, all that can be concluded is that the effigy was likely to date from the late 13th or early 14th century (Tummers 1980, 107–14).

#### BURNHAM

The ecclesiastical effigy at Houghton, supposedly brought from nearby Coxford Priory at the Dissolution, is a fine example of an effigial slab (Fig 5). It retains the tapered slab, but the effigy is much more ornate than those at Cawston. Dressed in what has been interpreted as Augustinian garb, the effigy's hands are held palms down on his chest and at his feet there is a contorted monster (Jones 1879, 271). His head lies on a small pillow under a highly ornamented trefoiled ogee canopy with finials. Rather than interspaced crockets, the line of the canopy is completely covered with foliage. On stylistic grounds, this profusion of ornamentation could suggest that it was made in the second quarter of the 14th century (Stone 1955, 167–70).

The robed male at Burnham Westgate shows the transition of the effigy from relief sculpting, on what was still essentially a coffin lid, to the fully rounded sculpture of the 15th-century effigy tombs. It is unclear from the surviving detail whether this effigy represents a wealthy member of the laity or a member of a religious order. The effigy lies on a tapered slab but rests his feet on a docile talbot; a move away from the sinuous monster at Houghton and towards the heraldic animals of the 15th century. Although the effigy is carved in quite shallow relief, particularly compared to the Houghton effigy, the absence of a canopy and side shafts leaves the effigy

uncluttered and discrete on the slab. The absence of such details makes the effigy difficult to date. The loose robe and the fact that the effigy is clean shaven with waved side curls and rests its head on a single rectangular pillow could suggest a date around the first quarter of the 14th century.

The surviving effigial slabs of the 13th and 14th centuries are an important link between the early forms of commemoration, such as the cross slabs, and the late medieval monuments. Despite their obvious significance there is, perhaps, an even greater gap in our knowledge about them. Whereas various regional surveys have now been made of cross slabs, there has not been the same degree of interest in effigial slabs and our knowledge of them falls far short of what is known about monumental brasses.

### *Lombardic brass inscriptions, cross brasses and effigies*

#### Lombardic inscriptions and cross brasses

The first widespread use of brass on monuments in this country was in the form of inlaid Lombardic lettering for inscriptions on incised slabs (Badham & Norris 1999; Rogers 1987, 9; Norris 1978, 30). Although some examples are known from the late 13th century, the alphabet became standardised during the first decade of the 14th century as it became more popular (Badham & Norris 1999, 30). The overall design of these monuments had more in common with the incised slabs or the cross slabs of the 12th and 13th centuries, than with the full length effigial brasses that were so popular in the 15th century. Although no brass Lombardic lettering survives in Norfolk, the distinctive indents cut into the stone to take the individual letters survive in three parishes within two of the sample areas.

#### ERPINGHAM

There is an indent at Cawston that is very badly eroded and, although the Lombardic inscription is still discernible, it is illegible. It is impossible to suggest a date with any accuracy since the dating of Lombardic inscriptions is based on the style and shape of the individual letters, but it probably dates from the first half of the 14th century.

#### BURNHAM

The Purbeck cross slab at Toftrees, dated c1330, is in much better repair and the Norman-French inscription can be read with comparative ease:

+ WS : KE : PAR : ICI : PASSEZ : PVR : LALME :  
T[H]OMAS : D[E] : M[I]LHAM : PRYEZ

Thomas de Mileham appears in fines concerning lands in and around Toftrees between 1320 and 1333 (Blatchly



1981, 94). The main design of the slab features a cross fleury rising from a stepped base and around the cross-head is an unusual Catherine wheel with six spokes.

At West Barsham there is another slab that might originally have included an inlaid brass inscription and which has been dated on stylistic grounds to c1335. John Blatchly has argued that the truncated finials of the central cross motif suggest that the slab has been trimmed and the original border inscription may have been lost (Blatchly 1981, 99–100). The border motif of full and half quatrefoils suggests that the slab may have been reworked in the 16th century. This, however, remains supposition, as does the possibility that the cross or the heraldry took some form of inlay, although there are parallels from a group of monuments at Boston (Lincs) dated c1325 (Greenhill 1986, 21–25). The heraldry, which is unusually cut in bas-relief, identifies the slab as commemorating a member of the Wauncy family which held the manor from Domesday until 1372 (Blomefield 1805–10, vii 42–45).

### Brass effigies

The indent of a crossed-legged knight at Emneth and that at Haveringland to Sir Roger de Bylney (c1330), as well as the surviving brass effigy to a member of the Bacon family at Gorleston (c1325), all demonstrate that aristocratic families in the county were quick to adopt brass effigies as a

new form of commemoration in the early 14th century (Greenwood & Norris 1976, 3, 40, 41). Norfolk's early contact and familiarity with this form of commemoration is most graphically demonstrated by the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings (c1347) at Elsing, which has been described as the most remarkable and accomplished of all English brasses (Stone 1955, 164–67).

### BURNHAM

The largest example of a 14th-century brass from the sample areas is an indent at East Barsham. The large black marble slab (125cm x 235cm) has indents for two armoured effigies. One is executed to the same scale as the elaborate canopy but the other is a diminutive half-scale figure, standing to the side of the knight. There are also indents that reveal the original composition included two heraldic shields, a crested helm and five devices apparently surrounded by the Order of the Garter. All of this was surrounded by a marginal inscription with medallions at the four corners, presumably for symbols of the Evangelists. It is unclear, however, who was commemorated by this prestigious monument.

### DEPWADE

The brass to Sir Raulf Shelton (d.1375) at Shelton was lost before the 17th century, but was described as having an

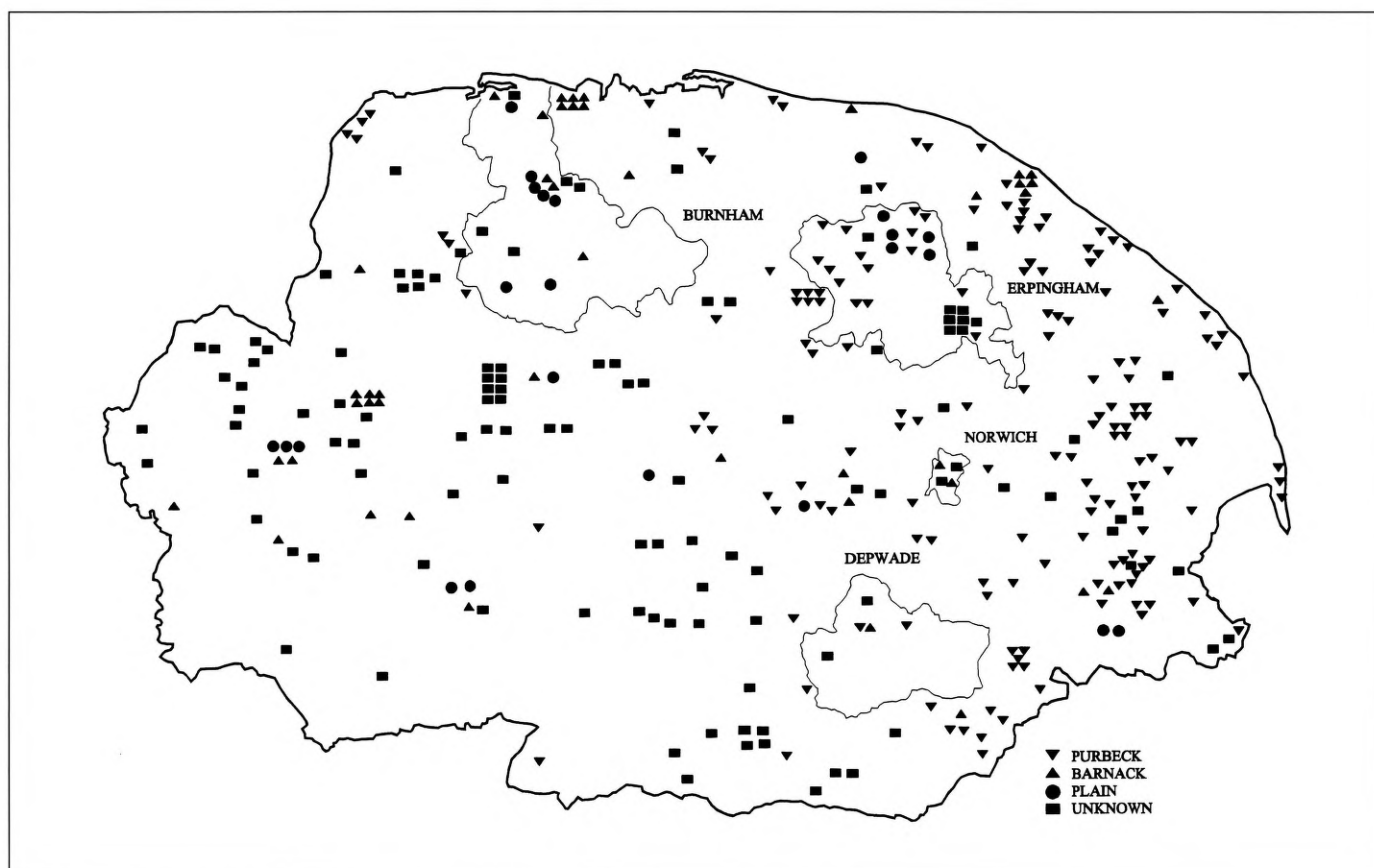


Fig 6 The distribution of cross slabs and plain tapered slabs in Norfolk (Illustration: J Finch)

armoured effigy with a crested helm and a French inscription above the effigy's head (Weever 1631, 864; Blomefield 1805–10, v 265; NRO MF 569–70, iii 342). The badly eroded slab still exists in the aisle to the south of the chancel although the indent is only identifiable by the few remaining brass rivets (NRO Rye MS 17, vi 110).

### ERPINGHAM

In contrast to the martial grandeur of the last two brasses, a layman, possibly James de Holveston (d.1378), is commemorated at Blickling. This brass depicts only the head and shoulders of a bearded man and was the standardised product of a London workshop, reproduced to varying sizes depending on the amount that the patron was prepared to pay (Greenwood & Norris 1976, 5, 46).

This brief survey of the monuments found in the sample areas which date from before the 15th century reveals considerable variety in materials, forms and iconography. Further detailed petrological analysis will shed important new light on the provenance of the monuments and reveal more about the networks of patronage and trade. Although the small monument population may be criticised as being too diverse to form a cohesive group, the contrasts that emerge are important and are often overlooked by studies that are limited to closely defined, typologically specific groups. The following section attempts to draw some tentative conclusions about their distribution, as well as suggesting some possible motives behind the changing symbolism of the monuments.

### *The distribution of monuments before 1400*

When the location of all known cross slabs in Norfolk is mapped their distribution does not appear to be random, although it must be remembered that the systematic recording of Purbeck slabs may bias the distribution throughout the county (Fig 6).

The most obvious distinction within the distribution concerns the type of stone. All the examples of Barnack work within the sample areas, with the exception of a fragment at Tacolneston in Depwade, are to be found in Burnham in the north-west of the county, supporting Butler's theory that the workshops relied on the navigable rivers and coastal trade to supply west Norfolk via the Wash (Butler 1957, 98). The Purbeck slabs, which would have been brought by boat from Corfe, possibly via London, are found in the two areas to the east of the county: Depwade and Erpingham. Clearly, ease or cost of transportation had an effect on the distribution of these slabs (Leach 1978). A similar division – on the east and west sides of the county's central watershed – is seen in the types of worked stone employed in late 11th- and 12th-century churches. Barnack stone was used in the west, but in the east Caen stone was imported from Normandy

(Harris 1989, 6). The presence of a Barnack slab in Depwade, however, suggests that the patterns of distribution were not mutually exclusive. Instead, the west of the county displays a bias towards the more conveniently sited workshops in the East Midlands, whilst east Norfolk was supplied with slabs from there and from the marblers in Corfe. The wider variety of slabs and designs in Erpingham and Depwade suggests a greater familiarity with the more prestigious products of the Purbeck workshops and a choice of suppliers. The fact that one could import slabs from the East Midlands into the east of the county but that there was a lesser overlap of Purbeck into the west, suggests that the former were considerably cheaper.

To explain the distribution we must examine a number of historical factors. There are three related aspects that need to be considered, all or any of which might have affected the distribution pattern evident today: post-depositional factors; the status of the churches; and the social structure that shaped the local communities.

The first possibility concerns the post-depositional impact of factors such as the rebuilding of churches from the 13th century. If one examines the distribution of different types of slabs within the sample areas in relation to the date of the church fabric an interesting pattern emerges. Most cross slabs are found within churches that retain Saxo-Norman or Norman features. Within the sample areas, for example, Ingworth, Wickmere, Burnham Deepdale and Shereford all have round towers and other Romanesque fabric. The correlation between the survival of slabs and relatively early fabric would seem to confirm that as church alterations progressed in the 14th and 15th centuries, the anonymous slabs became increasingly prone to removal, reuse or destruction. The more general distribution across the county of single or paired slabs suggests that there are few areas where they have been expunged from the archaeological record completely. Areas where slabs do appear to be absent, such as from the marginal Brecklands in the south-west of the county, appear to reflect the absence of late Saxon settlement. However, any direct correlation between slabs and population density is undermined by their relative scarcity in the areas of heavy clays in the south which were densely populated in the late Saxon period (Glasscock 1963; Dymond 1990, 23–36; Williamson 1993, 110–14).

If we accept that the characteristics of the distribution reflect, albeit with specific cases of erosion, the original deployment of slabs, then the fact that they are most frequently found singularly or in pairs is important. It suggests that these slabs were used to commemorate important individuals at a specific point in the development of the church – a combination of person and place that was paralleled in churches across the county from the late 11th to the 13th century.

During that period archaeological evidence suggests that

there was considerable investment in rebuilding churches, often marking the transition to permanent stone buildings at the local level (Blair 1988, 7; Gem 1988, 22–23; Morris 1989, 163–67; Harris 1989). The social and economic impetus behind this ecclesiastical ‘great rebuilding’ is obviously complex. The decline and break-up of the Saxon system of minsters and their *parochiae* was still in progress at the time of the Conquest, although the emerging parochial system seems to have been substantially in place by the time Domesday was compiled. The transition from a dependent chapel to a church with full parochial status was an important moment. Just as rebuilding the church in stone may have marked the change in status, so the acquisition of baptismal and burial rights may also have been marked by the ostentatious display of the relevant furniture, such as a font. The monumental slab was tangible evidence that the church now enjoyed the right of burial previously held by the minster or senior church. Once installed – even initially as a cenotaph – the slab would have been a clear sign of the church’s new rights, as well as an indication of the status of the patron who effected the change.

In fact, the distribution of slabs shares a number of similarities with that of another, earlier form of monumental commemoration recorded in Lincolnshire by David Stocker (Stocker 2000). Stocker argues that the distribution of Hiberno-Norse slabs across Lincolnshire, again as single or paired stones within churches, closely reflects their original distribution. He suggests that these stones were used to mark the foundation of a new generation of proto-parochial graveyards by elite families in the late 10th century (Everson & Stocker 1999, 76–79; Stocker 2000, 194–97). From the similarities in distribution, it would appear that a similar strategy was being pursued in 11th- and 12th-century Norfolk at a different moment in the development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The wide distribution of the slabs across the county is suggestive of a correlation with areas that have been described as ‘characteristic of the old estate heartlands’ of the mid Saxon period (Williamson 1993, 119). It might be possible to suggest that it was in these areas that the fragmentation of large estates into smaller units led, from the 11th century on, to the creation of numerous new parish churches, as dependent chapels established full parochial rights. One way in which new landowners could express their domination was to build, or more often rebuild, a church; it demonstrated the owner’s power, it could be a source of profit and it was an indicator of the gentry rank (Williamson 1993, 156; Morris 1989, 253). Harris suggests that the building activities of Bishop Herbert de Losinga may have provided a model in Norfolk (Harris 1989, 177). The policy of ‘episcopal imperialism’, realised through de Losinga’s monastic building

programmes in Norwich, Great Yarmouth and King’s Lynn, was emulated across the county by landowners eager to demonstrate their own power:

‘No longer ephemeral or informal, the local church was now a fixed point in the landscape, maintained from permanent endowments and the focus of a nascent parish community’ (Blair 1988, 10).

The rate of church building in late Saxon and early Norman Norfolk was of such intensity that Tom Williamson has argued it was not simply fuelled by the need to minister to the population; the competitive nature of status negotiation was also important:

‘in a region in which there was no sharp and simple division between ‘lords’ and ‘peasants’, but a complex and subtle gradation of freeholders, questions of status must have been acute: and a church was an important index and symbol of status’ (Williamson 1993, 158).

It is difficult to distinguish between the relative importance of, on the one hand, the evolving parochial system and, on the other, the impact of the Norman invasion, but the result seems clear:

‘new systems of local government and land-tenure, and above all a developing territorial aristocracy, brought new kinds of domination and patronage’ (Blair 1988, 2–7).

This hypothesis fits neatly with the idea that the slabs might commemorate individuals of the status of the church’s patron, particularly since many are to be found in churches which Heyward associates with the new lay patronage, or the resident priest installed by the private patron (Blair 1988, 11; Heyward 1988, 169). Butler also suggests these two groups of potential patrons on the more mundane, but no less relevant, criteria of the expense involved in transporting the slab (Butler 1965, 125).

The link with the commemoration of important manorial lords seems to be supported by the ‘exceptional’ collections of cross slabs (more than four) that occasionally punctuate the spread of slabs across the county. Some of these appear to commemorate members of wealthy manorial families: the de Plays and the Howard families, for example, were based at Knapton and East Winch respectively, where two of the largest groups are to be found (Blomefield 1805–10, viii 132–35, ix 148–54). Other collections of a similar size are found at monastic sites, including the priories at Castle Acre and Shouldham, which in addition to the burial of high-ranking clergymen, attracted aristocratic burials from an early stage (Morris 1989, 292; Platt 1981, 44).

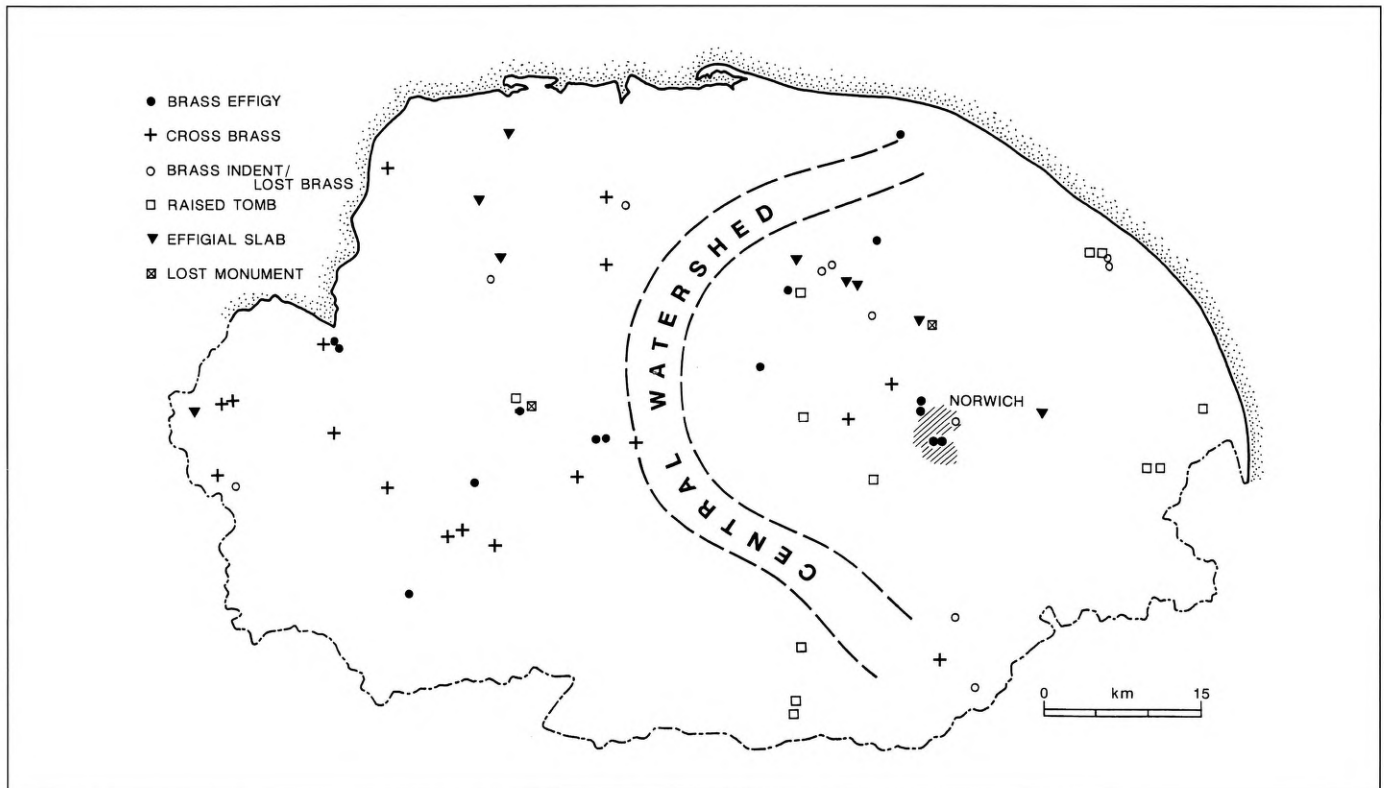


Fig 7 The distribution of monuments dated before 1400 in Norfolk (Illustration: J Finch)

It is within this context that the cross slabs must be placed. Those slabs which can be stylistically dated are contemporaneous with the ‘great rebuilding’ of Norfolk’s churches from the late 11th and 12th centuries into the 13th century. The proliferation of slabs at this time can, therefore, be interpreted as an extension of the competitive display necessary for the negotiation of status and the embodiment of permanence, investment and lordship, part of which was exercised through an association with the Church (Morris 1989, 292; Blair 1988, 8).

The evidence of monumental commemoration from cross slabs can be usefully compared with the similar analysis of 14th-century monuments, to ascertain to what extent their appearance established a tradition of monumental commemoration. The distribution of known brasses and effigial slabs and of chest tombs erected before 1400 was mapped across the whole county.

The first significant point concerns the distribution of all the monuments (Fig 7). Most are found in areas that have already been identified as being characterised by larger estates and tighter manorial control. There is a distinctive scatter of monuments in the west of the county, and in the east there is a cluster of monuments to the north-west of Norwich, coinciding with the sandy heathlands where the social and manorial structures had considerable similarities with those found in the north-west. In addition to the distribution across areas of the county where manorial control was strong, there are occasional parochial

concentrations. The medieval monuments at Ingham commemorate members of the de Boys family and their successors the Stapiltons, who inherited the parish in the middle of the 14th century. A similar group at South Acre, which includes the only 14th-century chest tombs in the west of the county, commemorates members of the Harsick family. Both of these examples demonstrate the impact of a single aristocratic family emphasising their social position through conspicuous commemoration (Blake 1961; Blomefield 1805–10, vi 77–79; ix, 320–22).

The distribution of 14th-century monuments is also marked by the difference between that of brasses and of sculpted monuments. The distribution of sculpted monuments is quite clearly biased towards the east of the county. Some occur on the sandy heathlands, which have already been mentioned, but others are dotted around the more fertile areas in the south and east. It has already been suggested that in these areas the social structure was not as highly differentiated as it was elsewhere, particularly amongst the numerous freemen, and so the negotiation of status was at its most competitive (Williamson 1993, fig 7.1, 164). If the chest tomb was the type of monument associated with the east of the county, then the cross brass was that associated with the west: of the 17 examples, 14 are in the west, accounting for nearly half the monuments erected in that region before 1400. In the west of the county, beyond a line running from Blakeney on the north coast, through East Dereham, to Garboldisham on the

Suffolk border, the only sculptural monuments are four effigial slabs, apart from two monuments at South Acre to members of the Harsick family.

In this context raised monuments appear to have served a basic purpose: they were erected by aristocratic families, such as the de Boys, Gerbrygges and Stapiltons, to distinguish themselves absolutely as the social elite. The chest tomb was the most effective way of expressing one's aristocratic credentials. Status could be ostentatiously displayed through an armoured effigy and by displaying the family's pedigree on heraldic devices adorning the sides of the monument. Perhaps the most important factor was that the raised monument was different from anything else in the church, not only by degree, but in its very form; it was the supreme statement of difference, distinction and power. Similar monuments are largely absent from areas in the west where the wealth and estates of manorial lords were substantially greater than those of their social inferiors.

The distribution of 14th-century monuments appears to show the same two basic characteristics already identified in the distribution of the earlier cross slabs: both occur in areas of stronger manorial control, or in parochial clusters which may be tentatively linked with the commemoration of locally important families. The east and west of the county also appear to have been differentiated by the types of monuments and materials most commonly employed. The east of the county is distinguished, not by the absence of a particular form of monument, but by a greater variety, compared with the west of the county. To the west of the county's central watershed the demands of those patrons seeking sculptural commemoration were met by the workshops in the East Midlands. The limestone effigial slabs would also have been supplied via the Wash. In the east of the county, however, the monuments produced in the Midlands are found alongside a greater variety of materials brought from further afield in accord with national fashions.

The 14th-century monuments also reveal a division between the status of those commemorated in the east and west of the county: ecclesiastical patrons are more prominent in the west than in the east. In the east, less than a quarter of those commemorated were described or portrayed as rectors or clergy, but in the west of the county the same group accounted for two-thirds of those commemorated. Three of the effigial slabs in the west of the county, and possibly all four, commemorate ecclesiastics, and four of the nine identifiable people commemorated with cross brasses are described or depicted as rectors or clergy. Such a difference in the distribution of ecclesiastical patrons is difficult to explain because in absolute numbers the group should have been more numerous in the east and appropriated livings seem to have been fairly evenly distributed across the whole county. The majority of those described as rectors, however, do come

from the west of the county, suggesting that in this area rectors were better able or had a greater need to be commemorated as such. The available evidence seems to suggest that before the 15th century there was a contrast in materials, styles and patrons between the east and the west of the county. In the east, the wealthy lay aristocracy were commemorated with a range of monumental forms, including effigial slabs, brasses and chest tombs, drawn from workshops in London and elsewhere. In the west, clergymen were regular patrons and they relied on workshops in the East Midlands, which supplied a more restricted range of monument types.

Perhaps the most significant point to make is that the map is far less crowded than that for cross slabs. Although it is difficult to claim that we are comparing like with like in terms of time span, it seems safe to say that the proliferation of cross slabs did not spark an explosion in monumental commemoration. It may be imprudent to push any conclusions further, given the fragmentary and partial state of the evidence. By comparing these two groups of monuments, however, it might be possible to suggest that the distribution of cross slabs indicates that they were used to commemorate significant points in the histories of each church as much as they commemorated important patrons. The more restricted use of monuments in the 14th century, by contrast, might suggest that they were used to commemorate important individuals.

### *Religious symbolism*

Once the pre-1400 monuments are discussed together rather than as separate types or forms, the fundamental change in the symbolism becomes apparent. The primary iconographic elements of 12th- and 13th-century monuments appear to have been connected with the monuments' role of protecting the last resting place of the body, ready for the resurrection of the dead on the Day of Judgement, as well as marking the right of burial itself. This concern for the physical or corporeal was expressed, in part, by the coffin-shaped slab which was used to cover the grave. The iconography was dominated by themes of the Resurrection, particularly through the emphasis on the cross, symbolising the Resurrection of Christ and the expectation that the dead would, one day, share in everlasting life.

Between the 12th and the 14th centuries the iconography of the cross was gradually abandoned in favour of the effigy. Although it has received little attention, this was perhaps the single most important change in monument design. The art-historian Erwin Panofsky placed the demand for such 'portraits' within a narrative of medieval art that led inevitably to the recognition and representation of the individual (Panofsky 1964, 51). Elsewhere the tendency has been to simply

ignore the transition between two very different forms of commemoration, by concentrating on the effigial slabs rather than the cross slabs. Thus, the development of monumental commemoration becomes the evolution of the portrait. For example, Brian Kemp wastes little space on cross slabs, declaring that:

‘By far the most significant of the early coffin slabs, however, were those which showed an effigy of the deceased, for from these momentous developments were to come’ (Kemp 1980, 16).

Yet the dominance of the cross slab in the early medieval period and its subsequent abandonment demand attention. One possible explanation of the preference for effigial monuments by the 13th century may relate to the changing interpretation of the Day of Judgement, and the increasing importance placed on intercessory prayers, acknowledged by the Church’s official recognition of Purgatory in 1274. The 12th and 13th centuries appear to have been a period when concepts of the fate of the soul after death underwent considerable change; changes that were manifest in the religious art and decoration of the period. The 12th-century iconography of Christ in Majesty with the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgement was gradually replaced in the 13th century by Christ sitting in judgement, accepting the intercessory advice of the Virgin Mary and St John, as individual souls were weighed by St Michael. The fear of an apocalyptic Last Judgement appears to have been mitigated by the belief in individual judgement and the power of intercessory prayers (Boase 1972, 26–30; Ariès 1974, 31).

The doctrine of Purgatory transformed the relationship between the living and the dead members of the Christian community and began to change the nature of the Church’s pastoral responsibilities too:

‘The devotion, theology, liturgy, architecture, finances, social structure and institutions of late medieval Christianity are inconceivable without the assumption that the friends and relations of the souls in Purgatory had an absolute obligation to procure their release, above all by having masses said for them’ (Bossy 1983, 42).

The identification of individuals within Purgatory and their continued link with the living may account for the change in commemorative iconography. The dead were no longer a group whose collective destiny would be decided at a stroke during the apocalypse, instead the dead retained their individual identity and individual sins, and required intercessory prayers to afford leniency at their personal judgement. Remembering the fate of the individual soul became more important than the collective fate of the dead,

and so the impersonal Christian symbols were abandoned in favour of individual remembrance (Ariès 1983, 99–106). It should also be remembered that the remembrance of the individual was carried across a whole raft of media, fittings and furnishings throughout the church – most of which have now been lost. Painted screen-panels, stained glass and ceramic floor tiles were all pressed into service to carry heraldry, inscriptions and two-dimensional effigies that brought the deceased to mind and prompted intercessory prayers.

### *Conclusion*

This study has sought to indicate the enormous potential in the study of medieval commemoration. Academics and others have often neglected the monuments because they are difficult to date with accuracy and because few have been adequately recorded. Many also stand beyond the related historical and art-historical interests of portraiture, genealogy and chivalric culture. An alternative approach has been suggested, based on archaeological principles of contextual and spatial analysis with a more inclusive sampling of monument types. As a result it has proved possible to discern patterns amongst the broader distribution of monuments from suggestions drawn from smaller systematic studies of limited areas. The research has also drawn attention to the probability that these monuments, particularly the cross slabs, survive in much greater numbers than was thought. The distribution of monuments appears to be influenced by three important factors: the constraints of transport; the manorial and social structure of different areas; and the history of the churches in which they are located. It has also been possible to put forward a tentative explanation for the change in commemorative iconography from the cross to the effigy. Although it may not be possible to establish a direct link between the changing doctrine surrounding the Last Judgement, intercessory prayers and the first effigial monuments, a link between the popularisation of both the doctrine and the monumental form seems likely. This fundamental change of priorities was to profoundly effect the development of monumental forms thereafter.

### *Acknowledgements*

I would like to thank Steven Ashley for his generosity in allowing me to add the results of his preliminary fieldwork to my own ongoing research on cross slabs. I would also like to thank Kate Giles for digitising the distribution map, and Lawrence Butler and Tom Williamson for help and comments on earlier drafts.

*Dr Jonathan Finch is Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of York and Director of Studies for the MA in Medieval Archaeology.*

### Documentary sources

- Norfolk Record Office (NRO) MF 569–70: Rye MS 6 Anthony Norris 'The History and Antiquities of Diverse Towns and Villages in the County of Norfolk', 6 vols c1730–c1733  
 Norfolk Record Office (NRO) Rye MS 17 P143 T131 'Collections of Church Notes by Thomas Martin and Others', 7 vols c1700–1780

### Bibliography

- Ariès, P, 1974 *Western attitudes toward death: from the Middle Ages to the present*. Baltimore
- Ariès, P, 1983 *The hour of our death*, transl H Weaver. Harmondsworth
- Ashley, S & Rogerson, A, 1985 'A medieval wooden coffin lid from Guestwick', *Norfolk Archaeol*, 39, 216–17
- Badham, S & Norris, M, 1999 *Early incised slabs and brasses from the London marblers*. London
- Bayliss, J, 1999 '[A] List of Purbeck marble coffin-shaped slabs: Part XI – Norfolk', *Church Mon Soc News*, 15/1, 10–21
- Blair, C, Goodall, J A & Lankester, P J, 2000 'The Winchelsea tombs reconsidered', *Church Monuments*, XV, 5–30
- Blair, J, 1988 'Introduction: from minster to parish church', in J Blair (ed), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the local church in transition 950–1200*, Oxford Univ Committee for Archaeol Monograph, 17, 1–19. Oxford
- Blair, J, 1991 'Purbeck Marble', in J Blair & N Ramsey (eds), *English medieval industries. Craftsmen, techniques, products*, 41–56. London
- Blake, W J, 1961 'Fuller's List of Norfolk Gentry', *Norfolk Archaeol*, 32, 261–91
- Blatchly, J M, 1981 'The lost cross brasses of Norfolk 1300–1400', *Trans Monumental Brass Soc*, 13, 87–107
- Blomefield, F, 1805–1810 *An essay towards a topographical history of the County of Norfolk*, continued by C Parkin, 2nd edn, 11 vols. London
- Boase, T S R, 1972 *Death in the Middle Ages: mortality, judgement and remembrance*. London
- Bossy, J, 1983 'The Mass as a social institution', *Past & Present*, 100, 29–61
- Butler, L A S, 1957 'Medieval gravestones of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough', *Proc Camb Antiq Soc*, 50, 89–100
- Butler, L A S, 1965 'Minor medieval monumental sculpture in the East Midlands', *Archaeol J*, 121, 111–53
- Butler, L A S, 1987 'Symbols on medieval memorials', *Archaeol J*, 144, 246–55
- Butler, L A S, 1993 'Cistercian abbots' tombs and abbey seals', in M Parsons Lillich (ed), *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 4*, Cistercian Studies Series, 134, 78–88. Kalamazoo
- Campbell, B, 1983 'Agricultural progress in medieval England: some evidence from east Norfolk', *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser, 36, 26–46
- Cramp, R, 1986 'The furnishings and sculptural decoration of Anglo-Saxon churches', in L A S Butler & R K Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon church. Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in honour of Dr H M Taylor*, CBA Res Rep, 60, 101–4. London
- Crossley, F, 1921 *English church monuments 1150–1550: an introduction to the study of tombs and effigies of the mediaeval period*. London
- Cutts, E, 1849 *A manual for the study of the sepulchral slabs and crosses of the Middle Ages*. London
- Dymond, D, 1990 *The Norfolk landscape*, 2nd edn. Bury St Edmunds
- Everson, P & Stocker, D, 1999 *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, Volume V, Lincolnshire*. Oxford
- Finch, J, 2000 *Church monuments in Norfolk before 1850: an archaeology of commemoration*, BAR, 317. Oxford
- Gem, R, 1988 'The English parish church in the 11th and early 12th centuries: a great rebuilding?', in J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches. The local church in transition 950–1200*, Oxford Univ Committee for Archaeol Monograph, 17, 21–30. Oxford
- Gilmour, B & Stocker D A, 1986 *St Mark's Church and cemetery*, Archaeology of Lincoln, XIII–I. London
- Glasscock, R E, 1963 'The distribution of wealth in East Anglia in the early fourteenth century', *Trans Inst Brit Geographers*, 32, 113–23
- Greenhill, F A, 1986 *Monumental incised slabs in the county of Lincoln*. Newport Pagnell
- Greenwood, R & Norris, M, 1976 *The brasses of Norfolk churches*. Norwich
- Harris, A, 1989 'Late 11th- and 12th-century church architecture of the Lower Yare Valley, Norfolk'. Unpubl MPhil thesis: Univ E Anglia
- Heyward, S, 1988 'The round towers of East Anglia', in J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches. The local church in transition 950–1200*, Oxford Univ Committee for Archaeol Monograph, 17, 169–178. Oxford
- Holderness, J, 1994 'Farming Regions, 1500–1750', in P Wade-Martins & J Everett (eds), *An historical atlas of Norfolk*, 2nd edn, 102–3. Hunstanton
- Hood, C (ed), 1938 *The chorography of Norfolk: an historical and chorographical description of Norfolk*. Norwich
- Jones, H, 1879 'Houghton in the Brake', *Norfolk Archaeol*, 8, 231–72
- Kemp, B, 1980 *English church monuments*. London
- Leach, R, 1978 *An investigation into the use of Purbeck marble in medieval England*, 2nd edn. Hartlepool
- Morris, R, 1989 *Churches in the landscape*. London
- Norris, M, 1978 *Monumental brasses: the craft*. London
- Panofsky, E, 1964 *Tomb sculpture. Its changing aspects from ancient Egypt to Bernini*. London
- Pevsner, N & Wilson, B, 1997 *The buildings of England: Norfolk 1: Norwich and North East Norfolk*, 2nd edn. London
- Pevsner, N & Wilson, B, 1999 *The buildings of England: Norfolk 2: North West Norfolk and South Norfolk*, 2nd edn. London
- Platt, C, 1981 *The parish churches of medieval England*. London
- Prior, E S & Gardner, A G, 1912 *An account of medieval figure-sculpture in England*. Cambridge
- Rogers, N J, 1987 'English episcopal monuments 1270–1350', in J Coales (ed), *The earliest English brasses: patronage, style and workshops 1270–1350*, 8–68. London
- Ryder, P, 1985 *The medieval cross slab grave cover in County Durham*, Architect & Archaeol Soc Durham & Northumberland Res Rep, 1. Durham
- Ryder, P, 1991 *Medieval cross slab grave covers in West Yorkshire*. Bradford
- Rye, W, 1916 *Early recumbent figures on monuments in Norfolk before 1500*. Norwich
- Spencer, N, 1977 *Sculptured monuments in Norfolk churches*. Norwich
- Stephenson, M, 1964 *A list of monumental brasses in the British Isles*. London
- Stocker, D, 2000 'Monuments and merchants: irregularities in the distribution of stone sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the tenth century', in D Hadley & J Richards, *Cultures in contact: Scandinavian settlement in England in the ninth and tenth centuries*, Studies in the early Middle Ages, 2, 179–212. Turnhout
- Stone, L, 1955 *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*. Harmondsworth
- Thirsk, J, 1987 *Agricultural regions and agrarian history in England, 1500–1750*. London
- Tummers, H, 1980 *Early secular effigies in England: the thirteenth century*. Leiden
- Weever, J, 1631 *Ancient funerall monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands adjacent...* London
- Williamson, T, 1993 *The origins of Norfolk*. Manchester