INTERPRETING MEDIEVAL EFFIGIES

THE EVIDENCE FROM YORKSHIRE TO 1400

APPENDICES

BRIAN AND MOIRA GITTOS

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Appendices contents

Appendix 1:

Catalogue

Notes

The entries in the catalogue are very brief summaries intended to create a ready impression of the subject rather than presenting the depth of detail captured in the resurvey records, which would have been impractical. The following is a guide to the entries.

1. The detail in the entries is presented in the following order (used as appropriate):
   Place and Riding or County; Number within place, type and identification (if any); Material; Date or date range; Series or Affiliation; Location; Description; Notes; Selected references.
2. Double effigies carved on the same slab have separate entries.
3. The descriptions assume that where visible or surviving, the hands are in a position of prayer (unless described otherwise).
4. Military effigies wearing mail are assumed to have links carved in relief, unless otherwise stated.
5. References are only provided where they contribute materially to understanding the effigy. Where they are not in the Bibliography, they are quoted here in full. Most armoured effigies appear in I'Anson 1926, 1927 and Downing 2014, 2015, so these references have not routinely been given.
6. References to the Johnston manuscripts are for drawings, unless otherwise stated.
7. Cross references to the main text are given only where there is significant discussion, so these are not a substitute for consulting the index.

Acaster Malbis, W. R.

1. Military (de Malbys family)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1315–30
   On modern plinth, south side of sanctuary.
   Lower legs lost but mutilated lion remains. Holding heart; crossed legs; tied thong scabbard attachment; poleyns; dragon biting heraldic shield (Malbys).
   The effigy was already in a similar position by the late seventeenth century, Johnston (C14, fo. 145v) describing him as on the '…south side the quire…'. The accompanying sketch shows the legs still present. By 1825, he was on the 'south side of the communion table' and 'completely green with damp', (Glynne 2007, p. 57). In the early twentieth century, he was described as covered in a 'generous coat of whitewash' (I'Anson 1927, p. 14).
   See A6c.v for details of the 1328 translation of the remains of Sir John and Agnes Malbys, from Acaster Malbis to Rievaulx Abbey.

Acklam, N. R.

1. Male civilian
   Coarse-grained (probably local) sandstone.
   1st half 14th century
   On the floor of the boiler house (2016)
   Extremely weathered, broken and feet lost. Hood raised. Book? in crook of elbow. Single cushion with single leaves (coming from below it) spread out on chamfer. Likely to have been a churchyard monument.

   Gittos 2013b (written before the resurvey of this figure in 2016 and judged on the basis of limited information) suggested this badly preserved figure was an ecclesiastic of the second half of the 13th century.

2. Lady (Westerly)
   Sandstone
   Late 13th century
   Broken across and worn, fingertips lost. On new plinth under arch between chancel and the south chapel, west of No. 3.
   Hair free at sides but in net behind nape of neck and over crown, broad fillet with alternating shields and fleurs-de-lys. Veil overall but no wimple. Sleeveless cote with deep armholes that show the belt of the lower garment. Book in crook of arm (cf. male civilians at Acklam and Stainton), feet on two adorsed dragons.

3. Lady (Margaret Conyers?)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1400
   On new chest, under arch between chancel and south chapel, east of No. 1
   A little chipped and rubbed but otherwise well preserved. Hair in jewelled net that is flat-fronted with a short veil behind. Straight-necked cote with large flower mounts down front. Feet on dog, crossed cushions with carved shields of arms on each corner (Boynton, Conyers and three other coats).
   Morris 1931, p. 42; Brown, T. H., *Coats of Arms in Cleveland*, (Middlesborough, 1973), p. 71.

Adlingfleet, W. R.

1. Lady
   Pisolitic limestone
   c. 1320–30
   On heraldic chest, in the south wall of chancel. Effigy carved to be set against a south wall.
   Lincolnshire Import
   Local damage, some parts lost, *e.g.* fingers, one angel's head; some repairs in antiquity. Left knee flexed, feet on a headless bird. Hair dressed to sides of face with plaits brought upwards beside the face, under veil with frilled edge. Wimple fits tightly to throat but covers the chin and lower hair in a wide line. Angel supporters.
   Johnston C14. fo. 158r (1670?) shows her as now (*A4c*).
   Richardson (1989).

Aldborough, W. R.

1. Male civilian (semi-effigial)
   Lichen-covered but probably a strongly bedded limestone.
   1325–50
   In churchyard, by path to south, nearer to boundary than church and in line with first nave buttress from west.
   Extremely weathered. Bust of man, bare-headed and possibly with hanging sleeves. Shown in large, cusped, circular opening, drained by two holes, now broken and weathered to grooves. Churchyard monument.
   Johnston (C13, fo. 201v) drew it in a similar position in 1669 when a shaft and calvary were also visible.

Aldbrough, E. R.

1. Lady (Maud wife of Sir John de Meaux?)
   Creamy granular limestone
   c. 1360–80
   Under arch between chancel and north chapel, on heraldic tomb chest.
   Worn with parts missing; foot support and fingers lost; face obliterated and reworked. Short layered veil, frilled around face and innermost layer close-fitting. Short sleeved and wide necked heraldic cote with side splits, showing the griffins of de Meaux. Ogee gablette on side shafts; flowers on slab chamfer (chancel side only). Heraldic tomb panel on south side only. The effigy lies on a chamfered course with positions for (perhaps) prickets, a hearse or a railing.
   The use of the north chapel as a school impinged on the effigy as Gough (1786–96, I.2, p. 180) said, 'Under a plain arch is a female figure, but almost concealed by the desks'. By the 1820s, her arch had been boarded up on the south side, see T. Thompson, *Ocellum Promontorium or short Observations on the Ancient State of Holderness*. Hull (1824).
   By the 1840s, the partition had been dismantled and a 'coating of yellow ochre' also removed (Poulson 1841, II, p. 12).

2. Military (Sir John de Meaux)
   Fine-grained creamy limestone, almost certainly Magnesian
   d. 1377
   On heraldic chest, west end of north chapel.
   Worn and with parts missing, *e.g.* sword, dagger, fingers. Straight legged. No shield present but he wears a coat-armour with the remains of de Meaux heraldry in shallow relief; gauntlets; bascinet and aventail; horizontal hip belt (lozenge mounts) but sword and dagger lost; head on helm; plate limb defences; lion foot support. Funeral armour: a great bascinet associated with the tomb survives. Now in the collection of the Royal Armouries (Fig. 120), a replica hangs above the tomb.
   The north chapel was in use as a school by the late eighteenth century (Gough 1786–96, I.2, p. 180), 'with a knight in armour much defaced by the boys'. By the 1820s, the tomb had been moved into the 'belfrey', T. Thompson, *Ocellum Promontorium or short Observations on the Ancient State of Holderness*, Hull (1824), p. 254. It had been returned to the north chapel by the 1840s (Poulson 1841, II, p. 12). The significance of the bascinet was already appreciated by the end of the eighteenth century (de la Pryme, p. 217). Sir John de Meaux's will survives, giving instructions for his funeral and asking for burial in the lady chapel at Aldbrough (*Test. Ebor*. I, p. 100). See also Section 3f.

Allerton Mauleverer, W. R.

1. Military (smaller)
   Wood
   Late 13th century
   On timber platform, on the floor of north chapel, west of No. 2.
   Decayed, broken and parts missing. Head inclined, left hand gripping large shield's enarm, right (lost) presumably held sword (also lost), legs crossed. Integral coif (or lower edge hidden), poleyns. Spur arm carved on left ankle but socket at heel for a separate prick or rowel, probably of metal, cf. Hanbury (Staffordshire) see Blair 1992. Hollowed under side.
   In 1620, Dodsworth (p. 102) saw one of the figures in the chancel and the other in the north chapel but Johnston's record of 1669 (C13, fo. 214r) notes this one in the chapel, when the feet and any animal were already lost. This drawing shows him wearing what appears to be a bascinet and lines still visible may mark its lower edge. However, a bascinet would not normally be depicted on a sword-handling effigy and if there really were such a headpiece, it would call into question the late 13th century date.

2. Military (larger)
   Wood
   1340–50
   On timber platform, on the floor of north chapel, east of No. 1
   Wood, decayed and much detail lost. Legs crossed at ankles, knees slightly apart and thighs parallel. Ridged [or crested?] bascinet; surcoat hem just below knees; no shield. Feet on lion.
   In 1620, Dodsworth (p. 102) saw one of the figures in the chancel and the other in the north chapel but Johnston's record of 1669 (C13, fo. 214r) notes this one in the chapel.

Alne, N. R.

1. Lady
   Magnesian Limestone
   1340–50
   On post-medieval supports against north wall of north chapel
   Effigy relatively well preserved but facial features rubbed, dog's muzzle broken off, left hand angel lost. The right hand angel's head was a separate piece fixed with a dowel and now lost. Much of the stone has the appearance of having been waxed. Jewelled fillet or coronet over veil, under which is a close-fitting inner veil or cap that hugs the outline of the neck and lies over the wimple. Cloak with single cord. Fitted *cote hardie* that is several inches too long. In life, the skirt would have been picked up to walk, here it lies over the feet and dog. The sculpture is adventurous with much undercutting and very deep drapery folds.

Amotherby, N. R.

1. Military (Boresden family)
   Not possible to assess as coated with paint
   1310–15
   On the floor, south side of sanctuary.
   Series B
   Some areas lost, surface erosion, covered in thick coat of cream paint. Face appears put out. Crossed legs, feet on lion. Sleeved surcoat; poleyns with decorative shields; guige and sword belt decorated with incised lines, loop fittings to attach scabbard without intermediate ring. Long shield with padded interior, relief heraldry (Boresden?). Prick spurs with faceted collars to goads. Shields (carved heraldry including 'Boresden) on base slab chamfer.

A notice in the church says the figure was discovered on the north side of the nave in 1871, during work on the church. The heraldry does not appear to have been recorded but are probably the canting arms of the Boresden family, who held Amotherby (VCH:NR:I, p. 466). It is not clear which member of the family is commemorated by the effigy but its relationship to the other members of Series B would seem to preclude its being the John who was dead by 1329, to whom the effigy has most often been attributed (*e.g.* Lawrance 1946, p. 5). It is possible the tomb chest panel currently in the porch, and another piece previously in the vestry (VCH:NR:I, p. 471) were part of the original monument. NB There are many different ways of spelling the family name, including 'Borresden' and 'Bordesden'.

2. Lady (semi-effigial)
   Creamy coloured fine-grained limestone
   1300–50
   Against the west wall of the south porch, inside.
   Lower part including any feet lost, poorly preserved. Bust within quatrefoil, slab slightly coped. Head in veil and wimple.
   McClain (2005, p. 231) says it was 'found in floor over body of girl in restoration of church'.

Ampleforth, N. R.

1. Male civilian, William Kirkby? (double effigy, with No. 2)
   No clean surface to determine material
   c. 1390
   Upright, built into west wall of tower, inside.
   Probably made by the carver of the Thornton effigies at Stonegrave.
   Lower part chiselled away; feet lost. Head and upper body slightly to one side, to accommodate female. Bare headed, beard and moustache. Unbelted cote, buttoned down front. Garment underneath (doublet?) has fitted, quilted and buttoned sleeves. The high quilted neck may belong to either garment. Short sword on baldric. Fragment of indecipherable inscription, left side.
   Gill 1852, pp. 278–9 (illustrated) mentions the words 'WILELMVS : DE' then visible. Thornton pedigree (Jackson 1873, before p. 345) shows Joan Thornton marrying William Kirkby of Ampleforth in 1390. She was the sister of Robert Thornton, commemorated on the double effigy at Stonegrave. See also Section 2a.viii.

2. Lady, Joan Thornton wife of William Kirkby? (double effigy, with No. 1)
   No clean surface to determine material
   c. 1390
   Upright, built into west wall of tower, inside.
   Probably made by the carver of the Thornton effigies at Stonegrave.
   Peering at angle from behind the man's left shoulder, head and left shoulder only, no cushion. Short layered veil, square outline.
   References as No. 1

Appleton-le-Street, N. R.

1. Lady (Bolton family, perhaps Hawise wife of Robert Bolton, d. *c*. 1310)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   1300–15
   Floor, north side of sanctuary.
   Series B
   Worn with some deliberate damage, especially to face. Veil and wimple which may have covered lower part of face. Cloak with cord and two shield mounts (carved with arms of Bolton). Feet on dog? A squirrel is carved against the right side of the cloak at about hip level.
   The de Bolton family are discussed in Gittos 2002b, pp. 25, 28, Fig. 24.

2. Lady (perhaps Clementia, wife of Thomas de Bolton, living 1323)
   Sandstone
   1340–50
   Floor, south side of sanctuary
   Series E
   Broken across shoulder, hands lost but largely complete. Hair in plaits at side of face, shoulder length veil, wimple and circlet with upstanding leaves. Cloak (with beaded cord) gathered up under elbows. Garments have Series E incised lines shadowing their edges. Foot support lost. Slab has flowers and shields on hollow chamfer.
   Full description, stylistic analysis, and dating in Gittos 2002b. Effigy may be associated with chantry founded by Thomas de Bolton.

Bainton, E. R.

1. Military (Sir John de Mauley)
   Material difficult to determine because of surface condition but the effigy seems different from the canopy. The canopy appears to be of the same material as the walling.
   c. 1330
   On low, integral, plinth beneath canopy (with heraldry), south wall of south aisle, towards east end.
   Wolds Series
   Effigy complete although face damaged, probably deliberately. A notice in the church says a thick coating of whitewash was removed in the early twentieth century but areas remain. Much of the surface detail is rubbed/worn and there is extensive graffiti. Cross legged, heart held between hands, bare headed and tonsured. No coif present but mail covers his neck. This might be part of the hauberk but could be a pizanne (see Richardson 2016, pp. 30, 31). No poleyns are depicted or restraints at the wrists; simple wrap-around scabbard attachment; rowel spurs. Mail carving poorly executed. Shield with carved heraldry (John de Mauley), bitten by dragon.
   The canopy has large (headless) soul-bearing angels and a damaged seated statue, probably of the deity. Above are three shields carved with family heraldry.
   See also Sections 5b.i (pp. 163–4) and 3c (pp. 71–2).

Barnburgh, W. R.

1. Military
   Wood
   1340–50
   On chest of 15th century free standing canopied tomb, north chapel. This appears to have been designed to house him (cf. effigies at Puddletown, Gittos 2014b).
   Excellent condition although parts of sword have been replaced. The effigy seems to have been trimmed at both ends and the base slab cut back. Cross legged, heart held between hands. Plate limb defences, bascinet with aventail attached, gauntlets and sabatons, short-fronted surcoat, large rowel spurs. Shield with enarm but no guige, fully developed ring system to attach scabbard to short sword belt.
   The sword hilt and most of the scabbard seem to have been separate pieces. The former may be original. Two small holes in the side of the left poleyn may have been fixing points for the blade. The pommel seems to be fixed with a central pin.
   Henry Johnston's 1670 drawings (C14, fo. 189v, 190r) show the figure much as now, including the trimming of the base slab, but the scabbard is shown complete. By the mid nineteenth century (Bloxham 1849, pp. 10–12), the scabbard was missing. See also Sections 2c.ii (pp. 63–4) and 4b.v (pp. 110–11).

Batley, W. R.

1. Male civilian
   Sandstone
   Late 14th century
   Churchyard, on later plinth, south of nave, just east of south porch.
   Extremely weathered, lower legs and feet lost but legs were originally crossed. Coffin shaped slab. Two angels hold top cushion, they lie back on the lower cushion, their legs dangling over the edge. Bare headed, wearing a very loose cote. This is controlled by a waist belt, a dagger and drawstring purse seem to be suspended from it. Implement clutched under left arm that has a long, parallel-sided blade, no crossguard, and a tall handle – probably a weaving sword. Churchyard monument.
   The effigy was recorded in the churchyard by Henry Johnston in 1669 (C13, fo. 41r). Although the feet were already lost, the legs are shown crossed. He says he 'seemith to have had a shaven crown' but this is not now apparent.
   See also Section 2.i and A6f.

Bedale, N. R.

1. Lady (Muriel FitzAlan)
   Sandstone
   c. 1290
   On modern low plinth at west end of nave, north side of tower arch beside No. 3.
   Series A
   Worn, with some minor damage. Figure slightly turned to her right, both knees bent. Holding a long scroll. She wears a very long sideless surcote over a long sleeved tunic and a cloak over her shoulders. Hair in net, dressed to give width to the top of the head. Over it, fillet decorated with naturalistic leaves and, over all, veil that is shoulder length at front but elbow length behind. No wimple. Dog at feet. Projecting outward (undercut) from the corners of the slab were rounded emplacements. Three survive, all retaining lead, two of which are sufficiently generous as to suggest they supported a substantial structure. A canopy or hearse seem more likely than candle positions. Original repair to top of head, veil textured.
   Prior to the eighteenth century the effigy lay in chapel at east end of south aisle with No. 3, on a chest with figural niches down each side, a fragment of which survives beneath No. 2 (Gale 1722, facing p. 242).
   See also Section 5c.iii.

2. Ecclesiastic
   Sandstone
   c. 1290–1300
   On made-up chest and below later arch in north wall of north chapel.
   Series A
   Many areas damaged, face, hands, front of gablette and parts of slab lost. Much detail rubbed. Wearing mass vestments. Figure holds crucifixion tablet in cupped hands. Gablette, with four secular heads and seated deity in a panel at the end. Two angel supporters, one with a scroll; feet on lion. Large maple leaves and shields on chamfer.

3. Military (Sir Brian FitzAlan)
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1306
   On modern plinth at west end of nave, north side of tower arch, next to No. 1.
   Series B
   Broken and some parts missing. Cross legged, bare headed with mail coif folded down and feet on lion. Sleeved surcoat, poleyns decorated with blank shields, prick spurs. Sword belt with lion mask mounts, scabbard attached using looped fittings without an intermediate ring. Large shield, with padded interior and two enarms, bearing the arms of FitzAlan in relief. A dragon crawls up the side of the effigy to bite the shield tip. Gablette of nodding ogee design, decorated with ballflower. The shafts spring from crouching men and there are tiny heads on the side pinnacles. Two angels cling to the top of the gablette. Two headless monks are seated by the feet, reading from books. Base slab trapezoidal with pointed ends.
   Prior to the eighteenth century the effigy lay in chapel at east end of south aisle with No. 1, on a chest with figural niches down each side, a fragment of which survives beneath No. 2 (Gale 1722, facing p. 242). The south aisle chapel was the site of the FitzAlan chantry (founded 1290) and lay at the heart of Brian FitzAlan's commemorative strategy. Its beneficiaries encompassed his dead wife and sons, his parents, John Duke of Brittany (his overlord) and his dead Countess, together with FitzAlan himself and his special friends (Nicolas 1832 II, p. 286 fn). The structure survives (Pl. 53) with its extraordinary east window that was designed for heraldic display. Five stubby lancets support a big cinquefoil flanked by two large roundels. In the seventeenth century, the roundels contained single shields of FitzAlan and Brittany. Drawn by Nathaniel Johnston from Dugdale's 1665 Visitation (C31, fo. 125r), each is shown in its roundel, the background filled with fleurs-de-lys. The design of the tracery itself is related to that of York Minster chapter house and blind panelling in the chapter house vestibule. The proportions are different as the Bedale window is much shorter, but the principle of using three large circular compartments at the apex above five lancets, is comparable. Sarah Brown envisages the chapter house and vestibule programme being built during the 1280s and early '90s (Brown 2003, pp. 54–5). FitzAlan must have been well aware of the York project since he helped finance it, his arms appearing in both the chapter house glass and the vestibule's. This comparison helps cement the south chapel as the site of the FitzAlan chantry, its 1290s date and the originality of the surviving window. It also demonstrates the ambition of FitzAlan's commemorative scheme.
   See also A8c.

4. Military (Sheffield family?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   On modern plinth at west end of nave on south side of tower arch.
   Worn areas and some parts broken; scabbard lost and it must have been largely undercut. Straight legged, hip-shot posture, feet against dog. Short-fronted surcoat, plate limb defences, gauntlets and sabatons with rowel spurs. Bascinet and aventail made from mail depicted with double links. Short sword belt with extravagant buckle. Shield with carved heraldry, probably a variant of Sheffield but the precise coat has not been traced. Simon Reynolds of Bedale also consulted the Garter King of Arms who confirmed the problem (we are grateful to Simon Reynolds for this information).
   Dodsworth (p. 237) saw the effigy in the north chapel in 1622. It was later moved into a block of four, with the two FitzAlan figures and the later armoured effigy. Illustrated in Gale 1722, facing p. 242.

Beeford, E. R.

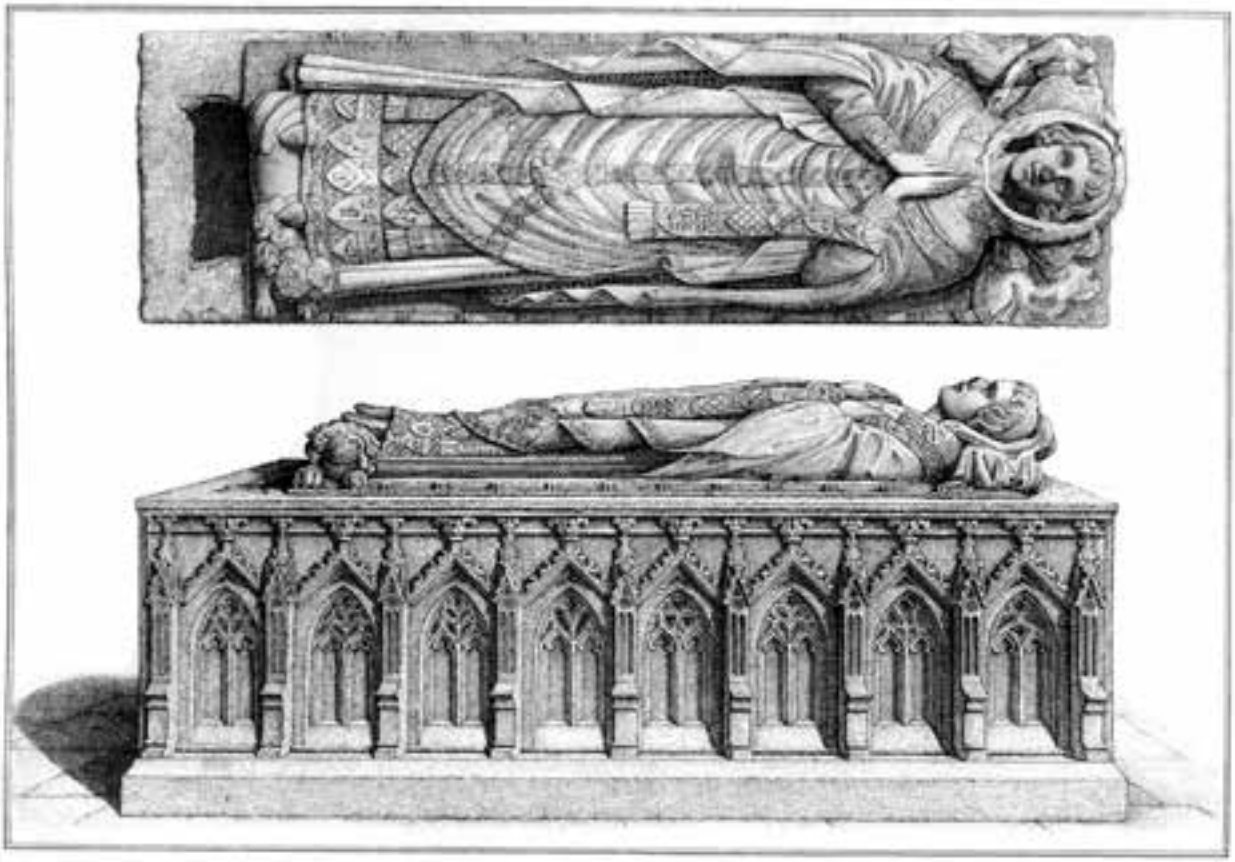
1. Ecclesiastic
   Creamy coloured and honeycombed (cf. Patrington), probably Magnesian Limestone
   1340–50
   Upright against westernmost pier of the nave north arcade.
   Wolds Series
   Rubbed, corner of slab missing. Figure fills the slab, elbows tucked in and fingertips touching chin. Mass vestments, hair straight with tonsure, feet on bracket. Pinched ogee gablette, fits closely to the figure.
   In the early nineteenth century, the effigy was on south side of the chancel (Allen 1828–1831, II, p. 412) but it was later fixed upright on a bracket above the piscina (Poulson 1840 & 1841, I, p. 255; Morris 1906, p. 63).

Beverley (Friary), E. R.

1. Lady
   Magnesian Limestone
   1300–1315
   Upright against the south wall of the easternmost range, outside.
   Series B
   Effigy extremely weathered, no original surface seems to remain anywhere. Broken across in two places, section missing from right side. Veil and wimple; cloak with cord. The latter bunched up under right elbow but the left side swept across the legs, akin to the drapery pattern on the Metham lady at Howden. Gablette (originally of ogee form), with crouching figures as corbels. Central rib at apex with shields either side (charges now extremely eroded).
   The figure has been in this position since at least the start of the twentieth century (Morris 1906, pp. 70–1). The building itself is a remnant of the Dominican Friary.

Beverley (Minster), E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic (Provost Nicholas Huggate)
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1338
   On chest, under southernmost arch on the east side of the north transept.
   Probably carved by the Minster masons
   Uppermost details very rubbed; losses include lion's face, parts of both angels. Feet on lion; mass vestments; tonsure; raised almuce; decorated orphrey; many shields on amice, maniple and apparel. Two angels hold cushion and almuce; four petal flowers on hollow chamfer of both sides. No chamfer at ends implies was set up so these would not be visible.
   Effigy rests on two chest panels carved with paired niches under Decorated tracery. Traces of painted figures remain in some niches (Pl. 25). The panels are longer than effigy so do not necessarily belong but the current arrangement was already in place by 1641 (Dawton 2000, p. 131).
   The literature on this figure is extensive. Gough (1786–96, II.3, p. 312: Pl. CXIV) published detailed drawings of the effigy and tomb chest. McDermid (1980, I, pp. 365–97) provided a rigorously argued identification and analysis of the heraldry, while Dawton 2000 (pp. 131–3) is currently the most up to date appraisal.



2. Male civilian
   Magnesian Limestone
   1330–50
   On modern plinth in south east corner of north transept.
   Wolds Series
   Extensively reworked. Replacement pieces on cut-out seatings for nose, hands, forearms and lion's head. His replacement nose is lost and the angels' heads are missing, may have been separate pieces added in manufacture. Shoes remodelled, slab and much of the effigy retooled, head end of slab reprofiled. Effigy shown with long hair, beard and moustache. Wears ankle length cote with short hanging sleeves and pocket slits; hood folded down around neck; feet in shoes (toes reshaped) on lion. Two large reclining angels hold bottom cushion, cusped gablette.
   Henry Johnston (C14, fo. 257v) drew him in *c.* 1670 when the nose was present but not the angels' heads. He noted, 'This mon: wch lyes in the North Isle of the Quire, was taken out of the Friary, and lade here'. However, Beverley had two Friaries, it is unclear which was meant. A century later, Gough reported it had been 'dug up somewhere in the church' (Dawton 2000, p. 149).

Bilton (in Ainsty), W. R.

1. Lady
   Brown sandstone
   c. 1280–1300
   On modern plinth, south side of sanctuary.
   Slab coffin shaped but with corners chamfered off. Figure depicted holding bird between praying hands, feet on running animal. She wears a sideless surcote over a long sleeved tunic and a cloak over her shoulders, the folds in flat, angular, planes. Hair in plaits arranged across the top of the head, under a rigid fillet or coronet that gives width to the top of the head. The veil overlies it and is worn well back on the head leaving the ears clearly visible. The underside hollowed (discovered during conservation).
   Prior to June 2015, the effigy had been on the floor of the south aisle, green with algae. It was conserved and moved to present position by Skillingtons. Drawn by Henry Johnston (C14 fo. 150v) in 1670, in the south chapel.
   We are grateful to David Carrington for making available a copy of Skillington's conservation report.
   Traditionally associated with Sinningthwaite Nunnery (in the parish) but the authors have been unable to substantiate this.

Birdsall, E. R.

1. Lady (Bridesale family)
   Chalky limestone
   c. 1330–50
   On modern plinth and beneath modern arch, north wall of sanctuary.
   Wolds Series
   Damage to all the heads (except one angel), arms of lady and attendants. The lady's face has been very crudely recut and the inner part of the headdress is difficult to interpret as a result. Sideless surcote with wide and flat neckline, fitted over upper body, flared from hip. Veil, cloak with cord (the tasselled ends hang down front). Feet on stag; two angels bear up her soul figure. Effigy lies in elevated position as if on a bed. Six attendants (five male and one female) kneel alongside, four (including the female) read from books and the other two hold scrolls. They rest one arm and their book or scroll on the effigy. Male figures have long hanging sleeves. Shield at head end (Bridesale arms, repainted); flowers on hollow chamfer, right side only.
   Transferred from the old church to the 19th century replacement in 1824 (notice in church). There are very inaccurate descriptions in Cameron 2011, p. 26 and Barker 2017, p. 125. See Section 5c.vii (pp. 184–6) for iconography.

Birkin, W. R.

1. Male civilian
   Magnesian Limestone
   Early 14th century
   In an arched recess, north wall of nave, towards the east end.
   Cross legged, holding what is probably a large heart casket – appears weighty and creased top may represent folded lead. Figure bare headed in loose cote (unbelted) over garment with buttoned sleeves. Shoes laced at inner side; feet on dog. Tapered base slab which matches the shape of the recess, i.e the effigy and the recess belong together. The slab's surface slightly inclined, to make effigy appear as looking outward from recess. Upper body slightly turned too.
   Knowles (1985) makes the case for this being a Series B figure but this seems not to be the case. He also suggests it may be for Sir John de Everingham (d. *c.* 1328) and be associated with the Everingham chantry. However this seems likely to have been in the south aisle (Torre 1691 fo. 374) whereas Torre recorded the effigy set up as it is now (fo. 376). The effigy need not necessarily be a de Everingham, especially given his position in the nave. He was almost certainly not knighted or there would be some visual reference to that status.

Bulmer, N. R.

1. Military (Bulmer family)
   Shelly limestone, possibly a type of Hildenley?
   Late 13th century
   Built into north wall of nave, on its side, at the east end, inside.
   Broken, lower part lost and an area cut back to accommodate pulpit, originally cross legged. Face damaged. Separate mail coif with circle and cords (possibly arming points) from corner of face opening; integral mail mittens. Bar mounts on sword and waist belt; carved heraldry on shield (Bulmer).
   Dodsworth (26th October 1627) noted 'In a quyer on the North side. The portraiture of a man armed crossleg'd, on his shield billety a lyon rampant' (p. 178). Illustrated account 'The Bulmer Effigy' by W. M. I'Anson (pp. 144–5) in Lawrance, H. and Collier, C., 'Ancient Heraldry in the Deanery of Bulmer', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 27 (1923), pp. 140–65. Tummers 1980, Pl. 104. See also Section 2c.i and A6e.

Burton Stather, Lincolnshire

1. Military (Sheffield family)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1340
   In arched recess, north wall of chancel.
   Series C
   Broken, lower part lost, angels lost, face obliterated. Crossed legs, surcoat to just below knee, lower edge of hauberk forms point which falls between knees; plain poleyns. Lozenge mounts on waist and sword belts; tied thong attachment for scabbard. Tip of animal's tail only remains (tufted like lion); remains of two angels by head holding top cushion. Shield with carved heraldry (Sheffield); guige over aventail passing through hands. Bascinet is of faceted form.
   This is almost certainly one of the Sheffield effigies brought from the churchyard at Owston by John Earl of Mulgrave in the early eighteenth century to rescue them from oblivion (Stonehouse 1839) although he wrongly believed it happened in the reign of Charles II (see Section A6f). In Stonehouse's time the effigy rested on the sedilia.

Butterwick, E. R.

1. Military (Sir Robert FitzRalph)
   Magnesian limestone
   d. 1317
   On the floor, on south side of sanctuary.
   Series B
   Almost complete, damage to some prominent points, most of right side of slab missing. Cross legged, feet on dog and a feathered creature with head of hooded man. Sleeveless surcoat with hem at mid calf. Separate mail coif with circle; poleyns; prick spurs. Sword belt has loop fittings to attach the scabbard via intermediate rings. Sword grip and upper part of scabbard remain but most of scabbard was a separate piece, pinned to thigh and heel. Heel hole rust stained, so the pin is likely to remain. Shield has the guidelines for a barry field marked out and with vestiges of painted charges (Pl. 47).
   Robert FitzRalph, Lord of Greystoke's widow willed (1346) to be buried in Butterwick church, next to her husband (p. 159). The effigy is said (notice in the church) to have been found under the floor during restoration work in 1883. Part of a panel carved with a blind arcade is built into a blocked arch in the church. Comparable in design with the Series B tomb panels at Howden, it may have been part of his tomb chest.
   The carving of this effigy was never completed, making it highly informative about the sculptor's working methods, see Section 4b.i. Section 5b.i (p. 159) examines the question of identification.

Cantley, W. R.

1. Ecclesiastic (semi-effigial)
   Material not possible to examine
   First half 14th century
   Built into east gable wall of chancel, outside.
   Upper part only, bust in trefoil. Holding what may be a heart casket with a small circular base, between praying hands. Bare headed, in mass vestments (wearing amice?).
   Hunter 1828 I, p. 84:

   > A sepulchral monument of the fourteenth or fifteenth century is built up in the east wall, constructed on the same economical principle which may be observed in one of the antient monuments at Loversal, the head and shoulders only of the person commemorated being represented, while the rest is plain.

   Otherwise noticed only by Arthur Mee (1969, p. 64). See also Appendix 3.

Catterick, N. R.

1. Military (Sir William de Pert)
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1394–95
   On modern chest under an arch in south wall of the south aisle
   In quite good condition except that the lower legs and feet, part of hands and sword are lost. Head on helm with ram's head crest, dog as foot rest. Hands at prayer but recessed as a seating to attach another feature. Full plate armour including gauntlets and sabatons, bascinet and aventail. No shield. Sword belt composed of abutting decorative mounts; sword was a completely separate piece, attachment point below belt.
   Most references identify this figure at Sir Walter Urswick but we are satisfied that Nicolas (1832) was correct in attributing it to William Pert, see Section 5b. Catterick church was not built until the early fifteenth century, the contract dated 1412, see J. Raine, *Catterick Church in the County of York: A Correct Copy of the Contract for its Building, Dated in 1412,* (London, 1834). Consequently the effigy was probably transferred from the earlier building. The arch is more likely to have been made anew.

Church Fenton, W. R.

1. Lady
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330
   On modern plinth, north side of chancel.
   Series C
   Left arm and both hands lost (restorations in place), considerable losses from the base slab. She wears a supertunic with pocket slits, modest sleeve extensions and a boat-shaped neckline. The wimple is tucked inside the neck but its upper edge is a major feature of the monument, extending out sideways in a sharp horizontal line, to encompass the hair. The hair is dressed in a complex arrangement of plaits and cauls with a cascading veil. Feet on fight between lion and a two-headed dragon (amphisbaena).
   Graffiti inscription on forehead, the right way up for the figure. Script may be 16th century (cf. something similar on the shield of a knight at Puddletown in Dorset) and appears to read, 'Dam [- - -] may lyf be tyme'.
   Boyne (1855, p. 31) recorded that, 'During the repairs of this Church, in 1844, … beautiful effigy was discovered, with its face turned downwards, and the upper part used as a flag-stone. Whether it had been placed in that position to preserve it, or to get it out of the way, is impossible to say. It is a single block of fine yellow Huddleston limestone, in the most admirable preservation. There is no inscription on it, except that some person has scratched a sentence on the forehead in characters nearly as old as the monument itself, but in so careless a manner that it is unintelligible'.

Coverham Abbey, N. R.

1. Military (torso)
   Sandstone, incorporated into garden feature
   Late 13th century
   On private land.
   Extremely weathered, very little detail remains; head and all below knees lost, together with both arms except right hand. Sword handling. Separate mail coif, prominently shown, so may have been bare headed. Sword belt with wrap-around scabbard attachment, plain shield.
   The earliest reference appears to be nineteenth century (Whitaker 1823, I, p. 358).

2. Military (larger)
   Sandstone
   c. 1290–1300
   On private land, against external wall.
   Series A
   Almost complete but very eroded, some parts lost including most of scabbard. Crossed legs. Sleeveless surcoat; separate mail coif and fillet, arming points both sides. Ailettes behind shoulders and lying over cushion. Wrap-around scabbard attachment; sword crossguard undercut. Large shield (plain), the tip supported by a human hand emerging from the slab. Feet on crouching animal (lion?) but also a dragon under his ankles, that probably held tip of undercut scabbard in its mouth. Face cloth held back by two angels.
   This effigy and its companion were known to Gough (1786–96 I.1, p. 45, Pl. XIV) who said, '… two figures dug up in building some offices to Mr. Wray Atkinson's house at Coverham Abbey…'.
   In the early nineteenth century, they were already in the position they still occupy, 'These are two complete statues in hauberks, and the torso of a third; all of which having been removed from the chapter house, the two former have been built perpendicularly into a wall adjoining to the principal dwelling-house …' (Whitaker 1823, I, pp. 358–9). I'Anson (1926, p. 364) says they were found on the site of the presbytery 'some 120 years ago'.

3. Military (smaller)
   Sandstone
   c. 1290–1300
   On private land, against external wall.
   Series A
   Very eroded, broken and some parts lost, including forearms and hands, upper parts of shield, upper bodies of attendant figures. Crossed legs, head turned as if to look out of niche and the upper part of the body is twisted to the left so the right shoulder is off the slab. Sleeveless surcoat, bulky but short separate mail coif with arming point on left side; circle decorated with shields and flowers. Ailettes behind shoulders and lying on cushions; poleyns. Shield on very broad guige with big buckle. Scabbard attached to sword belt by wrap-around method; sword has straight crossguard. A face cloth lies drawn back over the head. Feet on lion fighting a dragon? Two more dragons around the legs, one biting scabbard, other biting shield. By the legs and feet, two seated attendant figures reading from books. A stag chased by a dog runs along the edge of the base slab, past the shield, towards naturalistic foliage spread over the gablette. This is a straight-sided gable with a sharp pointed apex and the head end cut back as inclined planes.
   The effigy is likely to have been tailored to fit a particular position and the attitude of the body is also adapted to its location.
   References as No. 2

Crathorne, N. R.

1. Male civilian
   Brown sandstone
   Early 14th century
   On blocks in front of north nave doorway.
   Extremely weathered, worn as if by passage of feet and broken. Hair seems to have had roll curl around bottom. Ankle length cote, unbelted but with sleeves that are elbow length and very wide. This may have been similar to the garment worn by the male civilian from Goxhill or be a collobium without its lapels, if so the man would have been a lawyer. Feet on animal. Churchyard monument.
   This effigy has been claimed to be a Deacon (Pev:NR, p. 130) but there is nothing to indicate this.

2. Military (Sir William de Crathorne)
   Brown sandstone
   d. 1346
   In modern recess, north chancel wall.
   Series E
   Damaged and rubbed, broken in two places and crudely repaired, parts of the right shoulder and cushions cut away. Face put out and a poor attempt made to restore it. Substantial areas of repainting. Crossed legs, feet on lion. Base slab has moulded edge with flowers set on hollow chamfer. Sleeveless surcoat to mid-calf, coif with narrow circle, strung with flowers. Poleyns with flowers on the sides, spurs with large rowels. Scabbard attached to belt by two hinges. Shield with crisply carved heraldry (repainted) on guige with flower mounts that loops round neck, visible both sides. Surcoat, straps, belts and saltire on shield all have Series E incised edging line.
   Will of Sir William Crathorne survives *(Test. Ebor*. I, p. 21). He was killed at the battle of Neville's Cross.
   Gittos 2002b. See also A4b.

Danby Wiske, N. R.

1. Lady (Matilda FitzAlan)
   Fine-grained sandstone
   c. 1340
   Upright against north chancel wall, inside.
   Series E
   Lower end of slab (including any feet) lost and piece missing from left side (including elbow). Low relief; hands at prayer but spread; closed eyes. She wears a loose supertunic with slightly flared ¾ sleeves over a garment with tightly buttoned wrist length ones. Over this, a cloak with a beaded cord and heraldic mounts (FitzAlan), worn gathered up under both arms. Hair dressed to sides of face in net, wimple worn loose and outside hair. Two veils appear to be worn, crossing over the top of the head. All garments have the Series E trademark incised edging line and the beaded cord is like those on all the other Series E ladies.
   McCall (1907, pp. 97–8) identifies the monument on the basis of the heraldry. It then formed the lintel of the doorway to the tower stair. It had been extracted by 1966 (PEV:NR, p. 137). Gittos 2002b. See also A6e.

Darfield, W. R.

1. Lady (Anne, wife of Sir John Bosville?)
   Alabaster
   c. 1400
   On alabaster chest, with No. 2, north east corner of the south chapel.
   Midlands import
   Effigy in good condition but parts of her skirt are damaged. Hands lost. *Surcote ouverte*, fitted to the waist, large mounts down front and deep band around hem. Belt around hips under *surcote*. Elaborately jewelled hairnet, perhaps over a bourrelet. Necklace and pendant; cloak with mounts but no cord. Feet on dog with collar of bells; two angels holding cushion.
   References as for No. 2.

2. Military (probably Sir John Bosville)
   Alabaster
   *c.*1400
   On alabaster chest, with No. 1, north east corner of the south chapel.
   Midlands import
   Fingers, dagger and sword lost, face appears to have been deliberately attacked. Some damaged areas, *e.g.* helm and fingers appear to have been neatened up. Hands at prayer but probably only the fingers touching; head on helm with kettle hat crest; straight legged; feet on lion. Full plate armour; SS collar; horizontal sword belt composed of square mounts; scabbard mostly a separate piece with attachment hole in the lion's rump.
   Dodsworth (p. 111) visited Darfield in 1620, describes the tomb and says there was then an inscription for 'Sir John Bosevill' and his wife Anne but does not give a date. This attribution is discussed by Pauline Routh (1976) p. 31. Johnston (C14, fo. 185v) drew them (as they are now) in 1670, naming them 'Bosvile'. Dodsworth's heraldry does nothing to clarify who the monument commemorates and the inscription he copied is unlikely to be contemporary on the grounds of its form. Fifty years later, the meticulous Henry Johnston recorded neither.
   The Bosville family had two branches, one based at New Hall and the other nearby, at Cheet. Sir John Bosville of Cheet was a member of John of Gaunt's retinue from at least 1371 (see, for instance documents 388, 753, 969, 1221, 1378 in Armitage-Smith, 1911 and Medieval Soldier Database). The presence of the SS collar confirms the subject's association with John of Gaunt, who used them from at least the 1370s (Siddons 2009 I, pp. 39–40). In 1372 Gaunt issued John Bosville with a confirmation of the grant of 'Cheet'. It describes him as 'notre tres cher bacheler monsire Johan de Bosvill chivaler' (Armitage-Smith 1911, I, p. 163). Given their proximity, the cousins are equally likely to have been buried in the ancestral church. However, the presence of the collar on the effigy makes Sir John of Cheet the more likely subject.

Darrington, W. R.

1. Lady (Scargill family)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330
   On floor, east end of north aisle, by the south wall.
   Series C
   Parts (particularly around the head) damaged through damp and stone spalling but extensive areas retain original dressing. She wears a supertunic with a low, rounded, neckline and short hanging sleeves (elbow length). Hair dressed to the sides of the head under rigid cauls linked by a narrow band over the forehead. Plaits run up them, crossing on top of head under veil. Wimple fastened outside plaits, forming broad shape, lower edge tucked inside supertunic. Cloak with cord gripped between fingers and thumbs, feet on dog.
   Hair style comparable with Church Fenton and Ryther in Series C, also Kirby Sigston. The figure is far less adventurously carved than her male companion, which may be due to the nature of the stone block available.
   When Henry Johnston visited, probably in 1669 (C14 fo. 165v) she lay next to No. 2 on a plain chest that was too short for them. This was at the east end of the north aisle but he said they were 'formly laid in the Quire'. By the end of the eighteenth century they were on the floor of the chancel (Gough I.2, p. 181) but by the beginning of the twentieth, the effigies had been separated, the knight remaining in the chancel but the lady on the floor at the east end of the south aisle (Morris 1911, p. 170). The move to the north aisle took place between 1959 (Pevsner, N. *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: The West Riding*, Harmondsworth) and *c.* 1980.

2. Military (Scargill family)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330
   Under arch, north wall sanctuary.
   Series C
   Some parts broken and missing, *e.g.* sword pommel and most of the scabbard, parts of shield; both hands and right forearm also lost. Hands were not at prayer. The left was on the breast and the right was upright, almost certainly holding a lance – hole for its attachment below sword belt and socket on back of lion; crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless, calf length surcoat; mail coif and circle with flowers, as if on a string. Extraordinary poleyns fastened at side, prick spurs. Shield with carved heraldry (Scargill) and undercut guige; waist belt with flower mounts; sword belt with flower and disc mounts; tied thong scabbard attachment.
   For movements see No. 1.
   Uncertain which of the Scargill family is represented, see A2b.

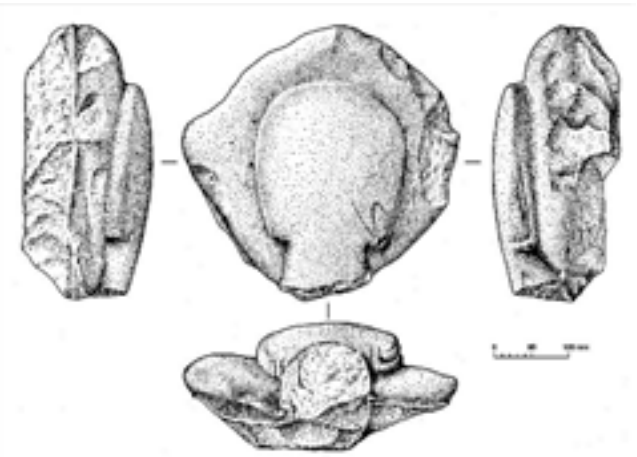
Denton, Co. Durham

1. Lady
   Egglestone Marble
   1st half 14th century
   From the church of Denton (Co. Durham) but now in the collection of Bowes Museum (Accession No. 1995.25/ARC), in store 2017.
   Worn slab in very low relief, fading into the slab (lower part may have been incised); head on cushion; veil (and wimple?). Inlaid, marginal inscription, identifying her as the consort of 'Aubrey de Coynners'.
   We are grateful to the Bowes Museum for permission to reproduce their photograph.
   Badham & Blacker 2009, pp. 37–8 believe the letters were lead-filled on the evidence of Surtees. However John Blair included it in his catalogue of monumental brass indents (Blair, J., 'English Monumental Brasses Before 1350: Types, Patterns and Workshops', in Coales, J. ed., *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270–1350*, (London, 1987), p. 167, 186.). Inspection suggests that the flat-bottom indents for the letters are more appropriate for brass inserts than for lead fill.

Easby Abbey, N. R.

1. Uncertain (semi-effigial)
   Stone type not determined but similar to the other slabs in the floor.
   Mid-14th century?
   Set in the floor of north transept of the ruined abbey.
   Worn and broken rectangular slab; possible head in sunk relief within a circle; long hair? No evidence of feet.

2. Female? (head only)
   Ochreous sandstone
   Medieval?
   Found in the base of the graveyard wall (pers comm. John Buglass, 2012) and now kept in the church.
   Worn completely smooth as if walked on for a long time in the churchyard. Low relief head in outline with rounded neck. Head on cushion set diagonally; detail on the sides of the head make more sense as drapery rather than hair so likely to be a female. If so, she must be wearing a very short veil and likely to be of the late fourteenth century (cf. Stonegrave No. 3). Churchyard monument?
   We are grateful to the archaeologist John Buglass for information and help with this fragment, especially for his permission to reproduce the accompanying drawing.



East Harlsey, N. R.

1. Military
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1310
   Modern plinth, north side of the altar.
   Series B
   Cracked across at the neck and repaired with metal cramps, otherwise only very minor damage. Crossed legs, feet on lion. Bare-headed with mail coif folded around neck; sleeved ankle length surcoat; prick spurs with faceted collars; poleyns with reinforcement but missing the shields sometimes depicted on B effigies. Long shield with padded interior, guige and two buckled enarms; carved heraldry – just a label. Sword belt decorated with incised edging lines; loop scabbard attachments without an intermediate ring. Sword pommel a disc with a plain shield in relief. Small male head where top of shield meets slab.
   Lawrance (1946, p. 23) suggested the carved heraldry (a label of five points) might be that of Hotham, as proposed by I'Anson but admitted that 'the surviving heraldry was too vague to make it possible to speak with certainty.' The authors have also failed to identify the arms.

Eastrington, E. R.

1. Military (double effigy, with No. 2)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone.
   c. 1300–20?
   Built into west wall of south porch, inside.
   Cut down on all sides to form a masonry block and the carved surface also mostly flushed off; lower part lost from just above knees and most of the top half also. Although difficult to judge, it may have been straight legged. Surcoat may have been knee length; sword in scabbard with straight crossguard; probably ring type scabbard attachment. The effigy is depicted lying on shield, single enarm attached to reinforcing plate and what is probably one end of a buckled guige. Traces of carved mail.
   Noted as it is now in *The Little Guide* (Morris 1906, p. 146). Gittos (1979b). See also Section 2a.viii and A6e.

2. Lady (double effigy, with No. 1)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone.
   c. 1300–20?
   Built into west wall of south porch, inside.
   Very little remains (see No. 1); waist belt visible through outer garment.
   References as No. 1.

3. Male civilian (small)
   Magnesian Limestone
   2nd quarter 14th century
   Built into the east side of Judge Portington's tomb chest. Suffering badly from damp, with the surface disintegrating and green algal growth. Much of his face has been lost since we first saw him in the 1970s. Lower legs and feet lost but probably straight legged. He wears a fitted cote, split centre front, with wide neckline. Bare headed with a single cushion; two shields by his hips (Furnival? and Bosville?), cf. Selby lady.
   It is possible that this effigy was already built into the Portington tomb in the late 16th century because Glover's visitation of 1584/5 describes the arms of his shields as being together on the tomb chest then (Foster 1875, p. 443). Gittos (1979b).

Egglestone Abbey, N. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Coarse-grained sandstone
   2nd quarter 14th century?
   English Heritage (item No. 81027122); in store 2017.
   Badly mutilated and weathered, with all the edges of the base slab, feet, hands, arms and facial features lost. Originally held something that was probably a chalice, left hand below it and the right hand on top. Mass vestments, the regular folds of the chasuble being a characterising feature of the effigy. No hair on the crown of his head, so either balding or with a large tonsure. Underside hollowed.
   The figure was described as untonsured in Coppack (1988, p. 14).

2. Uncertain type (fragment)
   Egglestone Marble
   1st half 14th century?
   English Heritage (item No. 81027101), in store 2017.
   Not seen. Badly mutilated foot support only (possibly a dragon) with part of moulded edge of base slab, on two sides. None of the figure itself survives.
   We are grateful to English Heritage for permission to use their photograph.
   Badham and Blacker 2009, pp. 45–6.

Escrick, E. R.

1. Military (Roger de Lascelles?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1300
   Due to be cleaned and installed under tower 2019 (*ex inf*. Michala Pearson). Formerly on floor at west end of north aisle.
   Series B
   Badly mutilated and very eroded, all lost below knees; losses also from hands, shield and sword. Stone blackened, perhaps as a result of his time outside. Legs were crossed. Sleeved surcoat; mail coif with strange discontinuity in the pattern (left side of head); broad circle. Plain shield with broad guige and two buckled enarms. Sword belt with domed disc mounts; scabbard attachment damaged but appears to have used looped fittings without an intermediate ring. Face cloth pulled back to be draped over top of head, across both cushions and onto the base slab.
   Gent mentions this effigy when it was still in the medieval church (1733b, p. 59). Since then it has been to each of its two successors on the present site. In I'Anson's time (1927) it was 'in a modern arched and canopied recess, specially made for its accommodation, in the *exterior* wall of the modern church....'. This recess remains, on the south side of the chancel.
   Whilst not always being the case, a medieval effigy located in a parish church is likely to commemorate a member of the family (or families) that owned the land. No heraldry survives on the effigy but Escrick's position in Series B suggests a date of *c*. 1300. At the end of the thirteenth century, the manor had been held by Roger de Lascelles, who died *c*. 1300, without male issue. His estates were divided between his four daughters (CP IX, p. 377) and Escrick itself was held by his widow, in dower, until her death in 1323 (IPM VI No. 425). By that time, one of the daughters had died, her portion going to her son Ralph FitzRanulph. It was into his hands that three quarters of the manor were consolidated (VCH:ER:III, p. 20). He adopted the Lascelles name, sometimes being called Ralph de Lascelles, and survived until at least 1342 (VCH:NR:I, p. 258). 1342 is far too late for the effigy as armour had moved through a revolution by then, so the figure cannot represent Ralph FitzRanulph. The death of the last of a direct male line was a very significant event and often seems to have prompted the setting up of a substantial monument, so Sir Roger de Lascelles, who died *c*. 1300 is much the most likely person to be commemorated by this effigy.

Etton, E. R.

1. Lady (shoulder only)
   Fine-grained, granular, grey limestone
   14th century?
   On the floor of the sanctuary (2011).
   Only a small fragment of shoulder showing part of cloak (?) and two shields carved with relief heraldry, possibly the arms of Freville and Rossell.
   When it was discovered under the floor during the restoration of I867–8 (Barker 1982, p. 30) it seems to have been reasonably complete and the best description is that of Arthur Mee (1964, p. 126), 'In the sanctuary lies the battered stone figure of a woman holding a heart, three small shields by her side, two dogs at her feet'. However, it was subsequently thrown out in the churchyard (where it was seen by the authors) before being taken away to use as hardcore. This fragment is all that remains.
   See also 2c.ii (Reuse) and A6e.

2. Uncertain type (lower part only)
   Probably similar to No. 1
   1st half 14th century?
   On floor at the west end of the south aisle (2011).
   Uniformly weathered, with the appearance of having been dug up, moss adhering. Small; only the legs and feet remain. Floor length garment with vertical drapery, slightly splayed to the sides; feet on a crouching dog. Churchyard monument?

Felixkirk, N. R.

1. Military (Sir John de Walkingham)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1330–40
   Under arched recess, north wall of chancel.
   Series D
   Very well preserved but suffering salting down the left side, due to damp, which is destroying the surface detail. Legs crossed at ankles, hands at prayer with thumbs under the guige; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat; mail coif and mail-clad skull-cap (Pl. 10); fingered integral mittens with knotted wrist ties; plain shield. Moulded shields on poleyns; rowel spurs. Lozenge and bar mounts on sword belt; tied thong scabbard attachment; depressed crossguard.
   The recess in which the effigy lies is contemporary and built onto the existing chancel wall, respecting the window. This houses stained glass with the arms of Cantilupe and Walkingham. Eva de Bolteby married both a Cantilupe and a Walkingham and her son by her first marriage (John de Walkingham) was buried at Felixkirk, as mentioned in his widow's will (Hamilton Thompson & Brown 1912; *Test. Ebor.* I, p. 16). Sir John is almost certainly the person commemorated by this effigy.

2. Lady (Johanna de Walkingham)
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1346
   On floor, south side of the chancel.
   In very good condition but with some worn areas and minor local damage to her chin, dog, right angel etc. Left knee a little flexed and body slightly swayed, feet on dog. Loose and over long, sleeveless, cote with big pocket slits; cloak with double cord. Hair free at the sides of the face but wimple that follows closely the contours of her throat. Overall an arrangement of multiple veils, two with frilled edges over the forehead and a thicker strip on the crown, perhaps a further veil, folded (Fig. 61). Two complete angels hold upper cushion.
   The effigy is likely to commemorate Johanna de Walkingham who, in 1346, asked to be buried at Felixkirk, next to the tomb of her husband (*Test. Ebor.* I, p. 16).
   References as for No. 1

Felkirk, W. R.

1. Military (torso only)
   Limestone
   Late 14th century
   Extremely weathered, no original surface remains. Torso only but head was high on helm; arms also lost but possible scar on chest for praying hands; narrow waisted; narrow sword belt horizontally across hips.

Johnston (C14, fo. 6r) said in 1669, 'In the west side of the church yard, in the wall [stands?] this stone; wch […] to have been part of a monument and they say was for Sir John Del Hoderoyd'. Morris noted it in the south chapel at the beginning of the twentieth century (1911, p. 188) while Arthur Mee gives, 'A battered fragment is all that is left of an old stone knight' (Mee 1969, p. 91). See Section 2c.ii.

Filey, E. R.

1. Male civilian (small)
   Stone type not determined
   14th century
   Built into the south wall of the south aisle of the nave.
   Face crudely recut, with new nose added; hands lost; feet were probably on an animal which seems to have been trimmed back. Remnants of over painting. The appearance of him wearing a cap is probably a result of the recutting. Loose full length garment with wide, probably hanging, sleeves and a rounded neckline. It is just possible that the figure was intended to represent a canon but the height he is set on the wall prevented us from checking if he has a tonsure.
   Church Guide (2008) page 13 says, 'the effigy survives because of a workman, who was about to break it up during the restoration of 1839 was promised a pint of ale by one John Fox if he would desist!'. However, it was already built into the south wall before 1828 as John Cole wrote, 'In the wall of the south aisle is inserted (evidently not its original situation) an effigy of an ecclesiastic, with his head resting upon a pillow. The face is much mutilated', (J. Cole, *History and Antiquities of Filey in the County of York*, (Scarborough, 1828), p. 43). H. Lawrance 'Two Effigies on the East Coast', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 37, (1949), pp. 195–200.

Forcett, N. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Ochreous sandstone
   1st half of 14th century?
   Under an arch in east wall of the south porch (inside), amongst a collection of grave covers and pre-Conquest sculpture.
   Severely eroded and defaced. A rebate has been cut down its length and holes gouged in the left side. Hands may have been at prayer; head on two bulbous cushions. Mass vestments.

Foston on the Wolds, E. R.

1. Military
   Stone type not determined due to poor surface condition, perhaps sandstone
   Late 13th century?
   On floor at the west end nave by the south wall.
   Broken and extremely eroded; legs lost from about the knees; poor repairs; some over mortaring. Sword handling; crossed legs; head on single cushion; feet on animal. Sleeveless surcoat; traces of carved mail (inside left elbow); long shield. The drapery of the surcoat suggests the sculpture may have been of good quality. Churchyard monument.
   Sheahan & Whellan (1857 II, p. 473) noted, 'In the churchyard is the mutilated effigy of a crusader'. I'Anson (1926, p. 367) says he was placed in his current position, 'a few years ago'.

Fountains Abbey, W. R.

1. Military (Sir Roger de Mowbray)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1300
   English Heritage (item No. 88107000); in store 2017
   Series B
   Broken across at neck and lower leg. Lower piece incomplete and very mutilated so the legs below the knees, feet and foot supporting animal are mostly missing. Also losses from the hands, shield and gablette. The face has the appearance of having been deliberately attacked with a bladed implement, perhaps an axe – presumably iconoclasm.
   Crossed legs; feet were on a lion tangling with a dragon. Long surcoat; mail coif and circle with shield mounts; ailettes behind his shoulders and lying on cushion; poleyns. Large shield with relief heraldry (lion rampant), guige and two buckled enarms. Sword belt, with domed four-petal flower mounts; elaborate sword belt strap end with figure holding hawk?; scabbard linkage broken but the remains suggest it is likely to have used looped fittings without an intermediate ring. Flat-topped gablette with pediment, flowers, crockets and additional side arches, that on the right side with a slight ogee. The remains of a squirrel and bird carved on right chamfer. A second dragon curls under the scabbard and bites shield. Face cloth, with delicate texturing (Fig. 144), drawn back and spread out across the cushion.
   Originally in the choir and very likely to have commemorated Sir Roger Mowbray who was buried in the Abbey in 1299. The effigy was broken and moved many times before going into store (see Sections 2c.ii, pp. 58–9 and 5b.i, pp. 159–61; Appendices A3, A7).

Garton-on-the-Wolds, E. R.

1. Male civilian
   Material not determined due to surface condition
   1320–1340?
   On coffin against north wall of tower, east of No. 3.
   Very weathered; lower legs, feet and supporting animal lost. Legs crossed almost at a right angle; only three stumps remain where the foot support animal stood. Calf length, sleeved cote; probably a coif and a raised hood lying on the cushion behind the head. Churchyard monument. The coffin on which he is lying may belong.

2. Lady (semi-effigial)
   Material not determined due to surface condition
   2nd quarter of 14th century
   In churchyard to the south of the nave.
   Very weathered, broken across and worn. Bust within quatrefoil. Hair appears to have been dressed to the sides of the head, judging from the outline of the veil; wimple. Trefoil opening at the foot, which is filled with drapery. Drainage hole at each side of the quatrefoil. Churchyard monument.

3. Lady
   Material not determined due to surface condition
   c. 1320–40
   On the floor under the tower in the north west corner, west of No. 1
   Broken across at the shoulders and extremely weathered. Probably wearing veil but may not have wimple. Supertunic with shortish hanging sleeves from the elbows (cf. Darrington); no cloak. Feet on lion. Cusped and crocketed gablette on side shafts; two angels in spandrels above gablette. She is made from a trapezoidal block of stone that is *c*. 26" (66 cm) at its thickest. The carving occupies only about one third of the depth. Churchyard monument.

Gilling East, N. R.

1. Military (semi-effigial)
   Probably limestone but difficult to assess
   Mid-14th C
   Under an arch, north side of the sanctuary.
   Very good condition, not weathered. Bust and feet in sunk relief, all the remainder in low relief. Quatrefoil containing the bust acts as head of a cross with leafy terminals; feet in trefoil as cross base, knop on shaft of cross and sprigs of foliage close to the base. Head on cushion; holding a heart. Ridged bascinet, unclear what covers the lower part of the face and neck. Feet seem to be in pointed sabatons. To the left of the cross shaft lies a shield with carved heraldry (three martlets on a bend, a bordure engrailed) over a sword in its scabbard with the sword belt. To the right, a horse's head. The slab is deep and the exposed side has been carved to mimic an underchamfered slab lying on a chest. Below the underchamfer are the upper parts of relief quatrefoils.
   Torre sketched the monument in its current position but with the quatrefoils on the side complete and a plinth below (1692, fo. 280). The effigy seems always to have been recorded in its present position (*e.g.* Eastmead 1824, pp. 397–8). The heraldry has not been identified, although'Belkamore' (Lawrance 1946, p. 3) and 'Elton' (Bertram, 2015 I, p. 237) have been suggested.

Goldsborough, W. R.

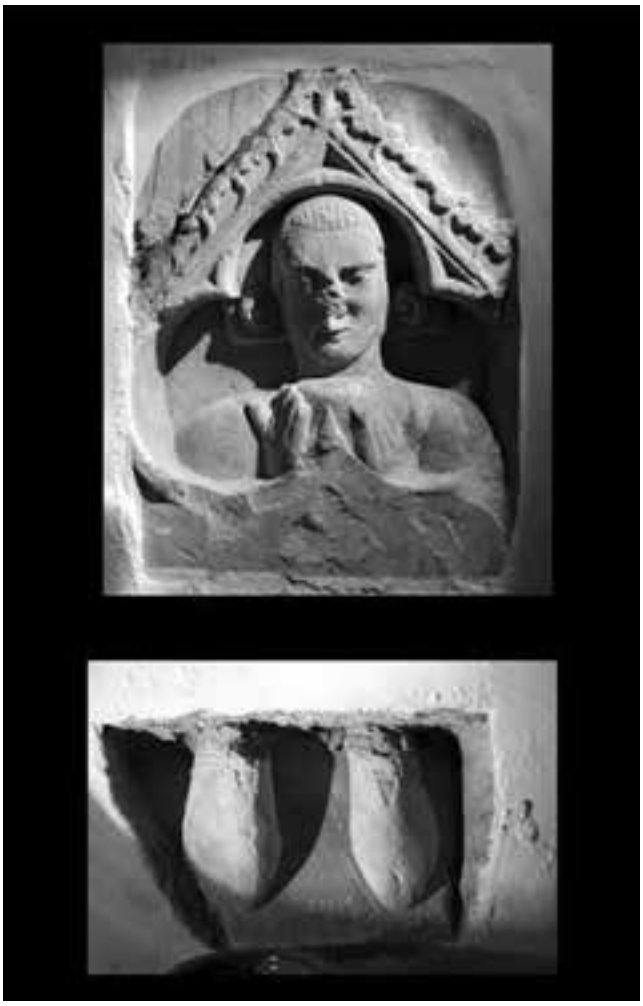
1. Military (Richard de Goldesburgh IV)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1300–05
   Within canopied recess, between north side of the chancel and the north chapel.
   Series B
   Very well preserved with only minor damage to the shield, the knight's nose and one of the corbel figures; the head and shoulders of the seated female are lost. Cross legged; feet on lion. Sleeved surcoat (almost ankle length); mail coif with circle; poleyns with reinforcing and blank shields; prick spurs with faceted collars. Shield (plain) with padded interior, broad guige and two buckled enarms. Sword belt with lion mask mounts; scabbard attached using loop fittings without an intermediate ring. Gablette with ogee at apex, bubbly crocketing and two crouching, bearded men as corbels; the pinnacles have tiny corbel heads. Face cloth, drawn back and stitched to cushion. Seated female figure lower right, the missing head and shoulders were probably on a separate piece. Base slab trapezoidal with pointed head end.
   The effigy and its recess are integral to the chancel. The rear opening would give a line of sight across the effigy from a priest in the north chapel directly to the main altar. In this regard, the tomb was acting like a squint and being directly involved with the liturgical events surrounding it. The plinth below the knight has an inclined base which raises the effigy's head, as if to stress its involvement in the liturgy. Painting was found on the arch during conservation. (Gittos 1997). See also Gittos 1994a.
   Johnston drew the effigy and its setting in 1669 (C13, fo. 194r), 'Knaresborough' [he could not remember where it was]. See also the case study at Section 3g.i (pp. 83–6).

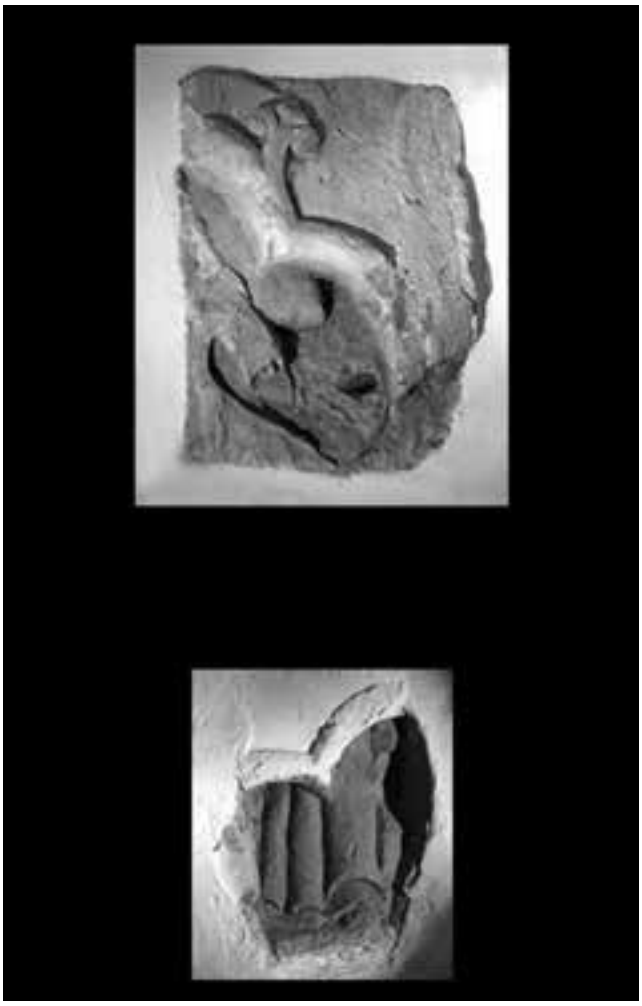
2. Military (Richard de Goldesburgh V)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330–35
   On tomb chest against the north wall of the chancel.
   Series C
   In very good condition with only some very minor damage including the edge of the shield, lower part of scabbard and lion's face. Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat; mail coif, arming point on left side; circle decorated with flowers; poleyns with an additional lower lame; prick spurs. Shield with relief heraldry (de Goldesburgh); narrow waist belt with bar mounts. Sword belt with pimpled disc mounts; complex tied thong scabbard attachment.
   The effigy lies on its original tomb chest which has arcaded sides, retaining some of their figural painting. The miniature heads on the arches prove it came from the same source as the effigy. Unlike No. 1, this monument is an addition to the chancel and has simply been butted against the wall without any back panel.
   See Gittos 1994 & 1997, together with Johnston C13, fo. 187r.

Goodmanham, E. R.

1. Male civilian (semi-effigial)
   Pale grey, fine grained but gritty limestone, containing some complete shells.
   Late 13th/early 14th century
   Set in the west wall of the north aisle, inside.
   Two fragments only, in sunk relief. One shows the bust of a male civilian within a trefoil and the other, his feet within a semi-circular opening. He wears a coif tied beneath his chin and holds what is almost certainly a heart casket between his fingers. Over the trefoil is a straight-sided gablette with leafy crocketing; flushed off features below the trefoil may have been part of a cross head. The feet wear clearly-depicted shoes tied with thongs.
   The two parts are confused with those of No. 2 but are shown together in the illustration. J. E. Morris believed the pieces were found 'during the restoration of the chancel', (Morris 1906, p. 168). This may have been the Temple Moore restoration of 1894–1900 (Pev:ER 1995, p. 437). See Section 2a.vii and A6e.

2. Lady (semi-effigial)
   Similar limestone to No. 1.
   1st half of 14th century
   Set in the west wall of the north aisle, inside.
   Two small fragments only. One is the top left corner of an aperture containing the sunk relief bust of a female. The aperture was probably a quatrefoil and part of the bas-relief frame and a single leafy crocket remain. The second section is the right hand side of a trefoil containing the hem of her garment and, possibly, an indication of her right foot. Only the outline of the left side of the head, neck and shoulders remain, with what appears to be a flying veil; the head rested on a single cushion and there is one drainage hole through the side of the quatrefoil. Churchyard monument.
   The two parts are confused with those of No. 1 but are shown together in the illustration. History as No. 1.





Goxhill, E. R.

1. Male civilian (now at Hornsea)
   Sandstone
   2nd quarter 14th century
   On floor at the east end of the north nave aisle.
   Lower legs and feet lost but the legs were probably crossed (because the right thigh is shown higher than the left). He wears what seems to be a blocked hat under a raised hood, the lower hem of which appears to be tucked inside his outer garment. This is three-quarter length and has cape-like sleeves. Alternatively, he may wear a short collared cape on top of his other clothes. Underneath is a longer garment with long buttoned sleeves. There is also a sword-like feature on his left side but which is seemingly unsupported. The clothing is difficult to interpret and may be a version of legal dress. However, he wears no coif and the headgear under the hood is hard to parallel.
   In the nineteenth century the figure was still at Goxhill, but was in the churchyard (Allen 1828–1831 II, p. 411). In the middle of the century, Poulson said, 'Against the south-east corner of the chancel, in the churchyard, is placed a broken figure in a praying attitude, which has a close hood or cap and a broad cape, and perhaps may have been the top of a coffin or sarcophagus: it is about four feet five inches high' (Poulson I, p. 313; sketch p. 308). Goxhill's font was moved elsewhere in 1939 (VCH:ER:VII, pp. 269–72) and the effigy might have been moved at a similar time.

2. Lady (Johanna de Lellay)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1390–1400
   Set in floor in the north west corner of chancel.
   Complete but wear to the uppermost surfaces, particularly the face and hands. Bas-relief. She wears a loose sleeved, belted, houppelande with a high neck, buttoned down the front. Hair in a jewelled net. Necklace with pendant worn over the houppelande. Feet on shelf, below which are two dogs and the head of grotesque. Triple canopy on side shafts. Either side of her head, two small angels holding shields. Marginal inscription for Johanna de Lellay, the wife of Ralph de Lellay with Evangelist symbols at the corners.
   D. A. Walter, 'Monumental Slab, Goxhill Church, East Yorks.', *The Reliquary,* N. S. III (1889), 193–4, says in footnote, 'This fine slab is now used as a hearthstone for the stove'. For a description and another illustration, see Poulson I, p. 312. He also mentions the will of Ralph de Lellay, asking for burial in the porch at Goxhill and proved in 1412.

Great Langton, N. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Coarse-grained yellow sandstone
   Mid-14th century
   Under an arched recess in north wall of sanctuary.
   In very good condition only slight damage, *e.g.* to his nose and the chalice. Holding a chalice (clumsily). Prominent tonsure, hair short with only a gentle wave. Mass vestments; feet on a shelf or bracket. Very simply carved with little detail.
   The effigy is probably *in situ* and contemporary with the mid fourteenth century chancel, which has a fine reticulated east window. The tomb arch moulding is also in sympathy with that of the east window. Consequently, Robert Worship, Rector in 1343, may be the person commemorated (Jowitt 2012).

Great Mitton, W. R.

2. Ecclesiastic
   Coarse, gritty sandstone
   Later 14th century?
   In churchyard, near path, north of nave north door.
   Severely weathered and worn, lacking all detail; broken across at the figure's neck, parts missing. Head on oblong cushion; hands probably at prayer; feet lost. Assumed to be an ecclesiastic from his bottle-shaped outline. Figure positioned well down the slab, allowing space above the head for something now missing. Churchyard monument.
   Henry Johnston saw it in 1669 (C13 fo 107r). He described its position as 'upon the north side of the church' and drew a figure already extremely weathered but looking as if he were wearing a monastic habit or, perhaps, a cope. He also clearly depicted the featureless space above the head.

Guisborough Priory, N. R.

1. Military
   Oolitic limestone
   1st half of 14th century?
   Seen at the Priory in 2017
   Fragment only of carved mail, showing two faces meeting around a broad curve. Recently found on the Priory site.

On the basis of photographs, geologist Tim Palmer was of the opinion the stone was probably from Yorkshire. We are grateful to Philip Lankester for alerting us to this piece.

Harpham, E. R.

1. Lady
   Pisolitic limestone
   1380–90
   North wall of the north chapel, partly within a shallow arched recess. On modern blocks, straddling a heating pipe.
   Lincolnshire import
   Well preserved with only minor damage, *e.g.* to hands and edge of cloak. Some areas have multiple layers of white or neutral colour paint (none original) that masks detail. Right knee slightly flexed; feet on crouching lion. Long sleeved *cote hardie*, with a high neck and very wide skirt in deep folds. Overall, a cloak with tasselled cord (ends hanging down in front) that passes through the mouths of lion mask mounts. No hair visible because she wears a cap that fits closely to the cheeks and neck. Over this, a layered veil that must rest on a hidden support because the outline of the head is unnaturally high and the veil hangs well forward of the face. No wimple.
   The figure formerly had its own tomb chest. Allen (1828–1831, III, p. 308) said, 'There are two altar monuments: one has a full length effigy of a lady, her feet resting on a lion'.

Hauxwell, N. R.

1. Lady
   Fairly coarse yellow sandstone
   Late 13th century?
   On floor, against the south wall of the tower
   Extremely weathered and broken across at the neck; large pieces missing, including from the edge of the base slab. The degree of erosion makes it difficult to be sure of her clothing but she appears to be wearing a very loose cote, unbelted. There is no evidence of a cloak but the bulging side folds and gathered fabric under the arms is usually associated with one. It may be her cote in this case. The hair seems to be dressed out to the sides of the face in the style of the late 13th century, so the veil hangs well away from her neck. Feet on dog crouching across the bottom edge of the base slab. Churchyard monument.
   Notice in the church states that both effigies were moved from the churchyard into the porch in 1861 and then placed in their present positions in 1964. It also suggests they might represent Sir Walter de Barden (d. 1309) and his wife. Much of the information is taken from I'Anson (1926, pp. 376–8).

2. Military
   Sandstone
   1st quarter 14th century
   On floor, against the north wall of the tower
   Extremely weathered and losses include: his left foot; the lion's head; much of the scabbard; pieces from the edge of the shield and from base slab. Crossed legs; feet on small lion. Sleeveless calf length surcoat, mail coif and circle; plain poleyns with a reinforced lower edge; probably rowel spurs. Long shield; sword belt with disc mounts. Traces of carved mail survive under the right elbow and elsewhere. Churchyard monument.
   I'Anson failed to see the surviving mail and said this is 'the earliest extant Yorkshire example of the use of gesso'(1926, p. 378). None has been found, so this must just have been an assumption. Unfortunately, this misinformation is perpetuated on the notice in the church mentioned under No. 1.

3. Uncertain but male (semi-effigial)
   Crinoidal limestone
   1st half of 14th century?
   Set in the floor, south side of the central aisle of the chancel, near the chancel arch.
   Very worn. Tapered slab with a small circular opening containing a head in sunk relief. No detail remains on the face but what appears to be the outline of the hair terminates in what could be intended for a roll curl. Below the head and offset to the left, is the outline of a sword with a straight crossguard, but much larger than would suit the size of the head. The position of the sword suggests that the slab's original design may have been that of a cross, the figure's head set within the cross head and the sword beside the shaft. The missing details may have been supplied in paint. It was probably for a male civilian but could have been military.
   Badham & Blacker 2009, p. 22.

Hazelwood Chapel, W. R.

1. Military (easterly), probably Sir William Vavasour
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1313
   Beneath an elaborate but unrelated arch on the south wall, under the easternmost window.
   Series B
   In poor condition with much damage and severe cracking. Many parts lost and crudely repaired face. Cross legged, feet on an upstanding lion. Sleeveless surcoat that reaches nearly to ankles; mail coif with circle; poleyns with reinforcing and a plain shield on either side; prick spurs with faceted collars. Large shield with carved heraldry (Vavasour) and two enarms but no internal detail. Sword belt has incised edging lines for decoration and loop fittings to attach the scabbard but no intermediate ring. Originally alongside No. 2 on a single tomb chest, north side of the altar. Panels from the double tomb chest are beneath this effigy.
   Johnston (C13, fo. 277r), shows both effigies on same tomb chest (annotated 'on ye north side of the quire'). They are described by Torre in this configuration (1691, fo. 219) and he recorded the heraldry on the chest. See Section 4c.ii (pp. 130–32) for the carving and 5b.i (pp. 157–8) for a discussion of identification.

2. Military (westerly), probably Sir Walter Vavasour
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1315
   Beneath later arch in the south wall, under westernmost window.
   Series B
   Extremely eroded through damp and with much of the surface lost. The right side of the effigy is partly buried in the wall and there are areas of make up, including the lion and cushion. The features depicted are as No. 1 but are often poorly executed. This is particularly noticeable with the loop mounts to attach the scabbard. The enarms are done as blocks with tangs shown but no buckle. Some of the mail is very poor and the lion's mane is just some incised lines; the lion's tail is more like three leaves. However, heraldry on the shield is well carved. Originally on a single tomb chest, north side of the sanctuary, with No. 1.
   References as for No. 1

Hedon, E. R.

1. Male civilian
   Coarse-grained, creamy limestone
   Mid-14th century
   On modern plinth, north side chancel.
   Extremely weathered and worn, looking as if by passage of feet; broken in two places and cemented back together, ankles lost. Straight legged; feet on crouching animal, probably a lion but now headless. Bare headed and wearing a fitted knee length cote with very long sleeve extensions (tippets). Waist belt with what was probably a purse at the left side and a short sword, probably pushed through the same straps. Churchyard monument. Poulson (1840 & 1841 II, p. 171) says, 'On the floor [of the chancel] is a mutilated effigy of a man, in free stone, which was formerly in the churchyard; his hands are clasped in prayer; apparently his costume is civic, with … the remains of a sword by his side.'

Hickleton, W. R.

1. Male civilian (semi-effigial), Robert Haringel
   Fine-grained limestone
   c. 1340
   On modern plinth, west end of north aisle.
   In a fine state of preservation. Sunk relief bust within a trefoil-headed rectangular opening, having leaves in the spandrels. Low relief cross shaft, with four pairs of leafy branches and architectural base in the form of a cusped ogee-headed trefoil; the feet not shown. The cross head compartment shows the bust of a bare-headed man, holding a small feature probably intended for a heart. Characterful face with beard and moustache; fitted cote with buttoned sleeves. Sword in relief to the left side of cross shaft; incised marginal inscription for Robert Haringel.
   Found by excavation *in situ* below floor level in the early 1980s and now sited close to where it was found.
   See S. F. Badham, 'Simon de Wudston's Incised Slab at Hemsworth, Yorkshire' *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society,* XV.3 (1994), pp. 215–21. Last mention of Robert Haringel seems to have been in 1340 (typescript held by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Service, *The Haringel Family*).

Hornby, N. R.

1. Lady
   Pale coloured sandstone
   Late 13th century?
   In churchyard, south west of porch.
   Severely eroded, partially buried, broken with parts missing. Right hand on abdomen, left on chest, feet on animal. Clothing unclear but folds at sides suggest may have worn a cloak. Head must have been in a veil. Churchyard monument.

2. Lady
   Pale sandstone
   Late 13th century?
   On floor of south chapel, beside the east wall.
   Extremely weathered and battered, broken across at the head end and portion missing from lower right corner, top right corner also badly damaged. Right hand on waist, left fingers cloak cord; feet on animal. Shoulder length veil, narrow fillet and wimple, cloak held up under elbows. Blocky, straight-sided, gablette with coarse crocketing. Three ancillary heads (probably four originally), two acting as corbels for the gablette and two on the corners of the base slab above it, but only those on the left are still recognisable, probably one male and one female. Churchyard monument.

3. Lady
   Fine-grained sandstone
   Late 13th/early 14th century
   Under arched recess in the north wall of the north aisle, next to No. 4.
   In very good condition except that the whole figure has been roughly trimmed (hacked off) all down the right side, presumably to fit in the recess with No. 4. Feet on dog. Surcote with three quarter sleeves over cote with sleeves buttoned to the wrists; long cloak; wimple. The surcote is gathered up under elbows so the skirt of the cote is revealed. For the complex and unusual arrangement of veil, see Section 2a.iv.
   References as No. 4.

4. Military
   Fine-grained sandstone
   Late 13th/early 14th century
   Under arched recess in the north wall of the north aisle, next to No. 3.
   Well preserved but there are areas of flaking and local damage; like No. 3 he has been roughly trimmed, at the head end on his right and along the whole left side. Crossed legs; feet rest on curious lion seemingly with the fur blocked out but perhaps unfinished. Sleeveless surcoat almost to ankles; mail coif with circle; poleyns with ridges at lower edge; plain shield. Mail represented by alternating rows of crescents. Sword belt has bar mounts, scabbard attachment hidden by shield. Straight-sided and crocketed gablette but only the centre survives. Johnston C31, fo. 142v (not illustrated) 'In an Arch of the north wall a man in armor cross leggd, his wife on his left hand. he in armour of male, with a silken surcote, & a great pavice on his left side. This is said to be a Mountford or Burgo anciently Lord of Hackford in the parish of Hornby'.

Hornsea, E. R. (see Goxhill for civilian and Nunkeeling for the knight and lady)

Howden, E. R.

1. Lady (half effigy)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1st half of 14th century
   Upright against the east wall of the ruined chancel, inside.
   The whole slab is extremely weathered. Bas-relief cross with a foliate head, at the base a canopied niche containing a half effigy of a praying female. The figure is small and in low relief. Surface too eroded to determine the details but her hair seems to have been dressed to the sides, under a veil.
   Cutts (1849, Pl. LXXII) shows a very inaccurate reconstruction, purporting to show the slab in perfect condition and confusingly entitled 'Hendon Yorkshire'.

2. Military (Sir John de Metham)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1310–15
   Under an arch in the north wall of the south transept chapel, next to No. 3.
   Series B
   Very weathered; right side of gablette cut away to fit against a pillar, when it was in the centre of the chapel and right side trimmed, full length. Crossed legs, feet on lion. Sleeved surcoat (almost to ankle length); bare headed with mail coif around neck; blank shields and reinforcing on poleyns; prick spurs with faceted collars. Large shield with relief heraldry (Metham) and two buckled enarms. Sword belt (seems undecorated) with loop fittings to attach scabbard, no intermediate ring. Gablette with ogee at apex and crocketing. At head end only one side remains, showing a plain shield hanging from a peg; one corbel remains (crouching wild man, like Goldsborough). Base slab trapezoidal with pointed ends, the part next to the body draped.
   This effigy, and No. 3, originally lay on tomb chest. The panels now below No. 4 remain from it.
   Johnston C14, fo. 252r, shows the Metham effigies supported by the figural tomb panels now beneath the Saltmarsh figure, No. 4. For an in depth analysis of the Howden effigies see Badham, Gittos & Gittos 1996. See also A2a and A4c.
3. Lady (Sybil, wife of Sir John de Metham)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1310–15
   Under an arch in the north wall of the south transept chapel, next to No. 2.
   Series B
   Very weathered and severely trimmed down her left side; hands lost. Crossed legs; feet on headless animal, probably a dog. Sleeved surcote under a voluminous cloak (with cord), drawn across body. Outline of head wide at the temples; veil but no wimple. Crocketed gablette with slight ogee at apex. At the end, a central rib and two plain shields hanging from pegs. One corbel head survives. Base slab trapezoidal with pointed ends, draped with a sheet.
   References as for No. 2.

4. Military (Sir Peter Saltmarsh?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1340
   On reconstructed chest in centre of the south transept chapel.
   Broken across just above the ankles, eroded and local damage, including to the toes, fingers and face. Crossed legs, feet on lion looking away from the knight. Sleeveless knee length surcoat with carved heraldry; shield also with carved heraldry (Saltmarshe), lacking a guige and with one strap-like enarm. Mail coif with arming points on both sides and a circle decorated with flowers; plain poleyns; prick spurs. Sword belt has quatrefoil mounts and the scabbard attachment at a single point, using a hinge for the rear belt section.
   The panels forming the chest below this effigy belong to Nos 2 and 3.
   Johnston C14, fo. 251r, other references as for No. 2.

Hull (Holy Trinity), E. R.

1. Male civilian (Robert de Selby?)
   Alabaster
   c. 1390
   Within canopied recess in south wall of the south choir aisle, beside No. 2.
   Generally well preserved but both angels beside his head are lost and his hands have been replaced with ones holding a book. Straight legs; feet on lion. Bare-headed (short hair) with beard and moustache (Pl. 1). Calf length sleeved supertunic, buttoned down the front; garment below (doublet?) with quilted and buttoned sleeves, cf. Ampleforth; full length hooded cloak, buttoned down the front but only the top three fastened. Two tools suspended from waist belt by different methods.
   Gough (1786–96, I.2, Pl. XLVI, p. 122) shows a sketch of both effigies before his hands and longer tool were repaired. The effigies have been identified as Robert de Selby and his wife Emma (Badham 2015a), based on Leland's comments (I, p. 50), 'Selbys Hospitale is on the north side of the chirch yard. Selby is buried yn the south side of the waulle of isle by the quire: and his wife also, with very fair images'. However, for one of the difficulties in this attribution see p. 171. John Tickell commented 'The editors of this history were at the expence of opening the vault under these effigies, to discover if any inscription could be found, and went as low as the foundation; but it appeared that no person had ever been buried there, as not so much as a human bone was to be found' (*The History of the Town and County of Kingston Upon Hull from its Foundation in the Reign of Edward the First to the Present Time*, Hull, 1798, p. 795).

2. Lady (Emma, wife of Robert de Selby?)
   Alabaster
   c. 1390
   Within canopied recess in south wall of the south choir aisle, beside No. 1.
   Generally well preserved but one of the angels beside her head is lost and the other is headless. At the bottom of the figure there is local cavitation damage which looks like the action of water dripping on the effigy. An object held between the hands has been lost with just the socket remaining but she also holds a small heart between her finger tips; feet on dog. She wears a cote with tightly fitted sleeves that cover part of her hands. Over this is a very loose surcote falling from a neckband. The sleeves are equipped with buttons from just below the shoulder but are worn unfastened. The surcote front, too, is unfastened from just below her waist. No wimple is shown and the shoulder length layered veils look to be worn over a support that carries them high over the crown and forward of the face (see p. 38).
   Her costume can be compared with a lady at Pembridge (Herefordshire) and two women in brass at Chinnor (Oxfordshire). These women are dated *c.* 1385 by Scott 1986 (p. 43).
   Comments as for No. 1.

Hutton Cranswick, E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Material not determined due to poor surface condition
   1340–50?
   Under low recess, in the south wall of the south aisle, at the east end.
   Wolds Series
   Severely defaced, headless; feet on animal; recognisable as a priest because of comparison with Beeford and Winestead. May be churchyard monument.

Hutton Rudby, N. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Coarse-grained, brown sandstone
   Late 13th century
   Under later arched recess in the south wall of the south aisle.
   Well preserved but with local damage near the feet. Several cut-outs have damaged the exposed edge of the slab, including the foliage on the left side chamfer. It may also have been trimmed down the right side to suit its present position. Bas-relief. In mass vestments, holding a chalice by its stem; large tonsure with curly hair around it; no foot support. The head is in a depression, on top (and at the centre) of a leafy cross (stiff leaf and oak leaves). There is a wide plain rim around the edge and the figure seems to be represented as if lying in his coffin. The later canopied recess, where he lies, was probably made for him in the early fourteenth century. The effigy may be on a stone coffin.
   The form of the cross is very similar to that of a cross slab found in 1986 during the excavation of the south aisle of the nave of Guisborough Priory. However, the latter lacks the oak leaves and so Hutton Rudby may post date it. The Guisborough slab was in situ and covered the burial of an ecclesiastic. From its context it predated the destruction of the Priory by the fire of 1289 (Coppack 1988, p. 14, illustrated).

Ilkley, W. R.

1. Military (Sir Peter de Middleton)
   Obscured by paint but appears to have characteristics of Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1335
   Within modern recess in the south wall of the north chapel.
   Series D
   Generally in good condition but beneath a thick coat of cream paint. There is damage to the face and losses include most of the right angel, the knight's finger tips, pieces from the edge of the shield, the sword pommel and part of the grip, the lower part of scabbard and lion's left fore paw. Legs crossed at calves, feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat to mid calf; mail coif and mail-clad skull-cap (Pl. 13); plain decorative shields on poleyns; prick spurs. Shield with relief heraldry (Middleton). Scabbard attached to sword belt by tied thongs. Seated angel on left side holding cushion.
   Johnston (C13, fo. 143v) says 'In the South Isle of the church, called Midleton's Quire, is this monument lying, for Sir Adam Middleton (probabiliter)'. Gough (1786–96, I.2, p. 172), describes him as having 'on his shield Fretty a canton, the coat of *Middleton*, which name is written over him on the East wall'.
   Peter de Middleton died between late June and late October 1335 (CPR 1334–1338, pp. 158, 174). His Inquisition Post Mortem was taken at York 15th July 1336 (IPM VIII, p. 4) and for that reason his date of death is often quoted as 1336.

Ingleby Arncliffe, N. R.

1. Military (Colville family)
   Sandstone
   1340–50
   On modern plinth, north side of the altar.
   Series E
   Complete but broken across legs; local losses from the shield, the edge of the base slab, crest of the great helm, and the right ailette. Most parts of the surface worn. Straight legs; the upper part of the figure inclined to the right; holding a heart; feet on lion fighting a dragon. Sleeveless surcoat to just below knees; mail coif; thin circle decorated with larger flowers; moulded poleyns; large rowel spurs. Carved heraldry on ailettes (depicted on edge) and shield (Colville). Scabbard attached to sword belt by two hinges. Carved alongside the figure's head is a great helm with a moveable face plate (Blair 2003). Flowers are shown widely, on the circle, guige, sword belt and base slab hollow chamfer. Widespread use of the edging lines characteristic of Series E.
   For a detailed account of both effigies see Gittos 2002b, where it is suggested that one of these effigies represents Robert Colville *le puisne* (who died *c*. 1345) and the other a close relative who was commemorated with a similar monument at about the same time.

2. Military (Colville family)
   Sandstone
   1340–50
   On modern plinth, south side of the altar.
   Series E
   More damaged than No. 1 with the head broken off and mortared back in place and losses include most of the shield, the left ailette, most of the great helm and the edge of base slab. The left shoulder area is severely eroded, with almost complete loss of the carving. Despite all this some good detail remains. This figure is almost identical to No. 1, including the inclination of the upper body.
   Reference as for No. 1

Ingleby Greenhow, N. R.

1. Ecclesiastic (William de Wrelton)
   Coarse-grained sandstone
   Early 14th century
   On modern plinth below central arch of north nave arcade.
   Complete but weathered and worn. Relatively low relief; head on patterned cushions; feet on two curious mounds of foliage, arranged like adorsed beasts. Mass vestments and tonsure. Chalice and book laid on the slab either side of head; inscription fills the length of the orphrey '+ VILKS · DE · WRELTON · CAPELLA[?]'.
   For William de Wrelton see Section 2 (p. 12).

Jervaulx Abbey, N. R.

1. Military (Fitzhugh family)
   Sandstone
   c. 1280?
   Within the ruins of the abbey church, just west of the choir screen step.
   Extremely weathered and broken into three pieces; feet lost. Sword handling in very active manner like Dorchester (Oxon), right knee drawn up and left shoulder raised off base slab. The sword blade seems to partly withdrawn from the scabbard. Sleeveless surcoat; integral mail coif?; mail depicted as rows of alternating crescents; carved heraldry on shield (FitzHugh).

Kellington, W. R.

1. Male civilian (small)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   1st half 14th century
   On the floor at the east end of the south aisle.
   Extremely weathered slab broken across towards the bottom end and the two pieces fastened together with two iron cramps. It is also cemented on top of another thick slab (unrelated) which retains part of a chamfered edge. Relief cross that seems to have no calvary and a head that may originally have been foliate. Above the cross, sun and moon. The effigy is on the left side of the cross shaft and appears to be a male civilian in long clothing and cushion beneath the head. Below is what appears to be large curled up dog and above is an angel. On the opposite side of the cross shaft is something that looks more like a fish than a serpent. The way the effigy is arranged on the slab, with the angel above, recalls the small female effigy on the slab at South Anston. There is a number of holes in the edges of the slab, some of which retain lead. They probably indicate where an iron grill or a hearse was attached. Churchyard monument.
   The slab was recorded in the churchyard by Dodsworth in 1621 (pp. 146–7), 'Ther is an antient monument wheron is a long cross, on the on[e] side, the portraiture of a man with a dog at his feet, on the other side, the likeness of [a] flying serpent...'. He goes on to recount the legend of it being to the memory of a shepherd who was killed by a serpent. It was moved into the church from the south east corner of the churchyard in 1920 on the suggestion of Mr. Caroe (Hudson, E., 'The Kellington Serpent Stone', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 33, 1937, pp. 314–7).

Kildwick, W. R.

1. Military
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1345
   Modern chest (1854), west end north aisle.
   Series C
   Worn but remarkably complete; slight losses, *e.g.* from the edge of the shield; face damaged (iconoclasm?). Crossed legs; feet on a curious dog with some lion-like features. Heraldic surcoat (Steveton?) to below knees; plate armour on limbs; tall, ridged, bascinet and aventail; poleyns with lower lame; sabatons with just a few lames; large rowel spurs. The gauntlets have faceted cuffs, perhaps indicating inserted plates. Shield with carved heraldry, guige, two enarms and a handle behind the forward corner. Sword has depressed crossguard; scabbard attached by thongs (very rubbed).
   Dodsworth recorded the effigy in 1621, describing its location as 'In the body of the church' (p. 149).
   The arms are listed as Steveton by Lawrance (1946, p. 43) who said, 'The arms do not seem to appear in the Rolls', tracing the identification back to I'Anson (1927) p. 57.

Kirby Sigston, N. R.

1. Lady
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330
   On floor at east end of north aisle.
   In very good condition with only some loss of detail due to wear, particularly her head and the faces of the angels. The right leg is straight and the left slightly flexed to the side; hands at prayer with thumbs under cloak cord; feet on dog. She wears a belted supertunic, under a cloak. The right side is caught up under her right elbow, while the lower part is looped across the body and held below the left elbow, to create an interesting pattern across the lower body. The hair in thick plaits beside the face, the ends running up to the top of the head. Crossed ribbons over them and a shoulder length veil overall, secured with a narrow fillet. Wimple drawn tightly across between the plaits, clings to the throat with the lower edges tucked inside the neckline. Two angels hold cushion.
   The person commemorated is not known but J. E. Morris (1920, pp. 216–7) mentions a Joan Mansel who was the second wife of John de Siggeston I and subsequently married John Wassand (before 1323). Both arms are carved in the church, so she might be a candidate. See also Brown, W. 'Heraldic Glass from Ingleby Arncliffe and Kirby Sigston Churches', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 22 (1913), pp. 137–44), in which it is suggested that the effigy might be associated with a chantry founded in the church in 1343.

Kirby (in Cleveland), N. R.

1. Lady (double effigy with No. 2)
   Sandstone
   c. 1400
   In churchyard, supported by large stone blocks, north of the nave.
   Extremely weathered and badly broken; most of the two angels, her head and left hand are lost. Her right arm lies across her chest and the left towards her companion – she was probably holding the right hand of knight; feet on animal (dog?). She seems to wear a fitted *cote hardie* (three-quarter length) over a full length garment; there were originally two angels at head, seemingly holding the cushion beneath her head. Churchyard monument.
   References as No. 2.

2. Military (double effigy with No. 1)
   Sandstone
   c. 1400
   In churchyard, supported by large stone blocks, north of the nave.
   Extremely weathered and badly broken, lower legs, feet, hands and face missing. Appears to have been holding his wife's left hand with his right and his left resting on sword; straight legs. Seems to have been in complete plate armour; head on helm; sword with straight crossguard; dagger on right; horizontal belt with mounts and additional diagonal sword belt. Churchyard monument.
   Downing suggests a date range of 1425/50? (2015, p. 27) but it is not included in Capwell's 15th century list (Capwell 2015, pp. 300–302). The appearance of the diagonal sword belt may mean the monument is of the early fifteenth century. I'Anson refers to them as the 'Eure effigies' (1920, p. 298, fn 2). See also Pl. 37.

Kirkby Fleetham, N. R.

1. Military
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330
   In modern recess, south side of chancel
   Well preserved, particularly in view of the extensive undercutting, but with some pitting of the surface and slight damage to the face. The slab has been modified, probably losing a chamfer, and new stone inserted, *e.g.* at the corners. The sword belt strap end looks squared off. The sword's crossguard has broken off and both the corner of the shield and his mail-clad fingers have been repaired with new stone, carved to match. Crossed legs; feet on lion which is looking awkwardly up and away from the knight in a contorted manner (presumably in response to an image or altar). Sleeveless calf length surcoat; mail coif with arming points on both sides; plain circle; poleyn with median ridge and additional lower lame; spurs lost. Large shield with carved heraldry and a guige rivetted inside (a second interior feature is difficult to interpret). Plain sword belt, the scabbard attached by thongs woven through it, their ends tied in a sennit knot. The arms on the shield (a lion rampant with a label of five points) have been taken to be Stapleton with the addition of the label. Kirkby Fleetham was held by the Stapletons but Sir Miles who was killed at Bannockburn in 1314, apparently used a seal without the label (Brault 1997 II, p. 398). His son Nicholas died in 1343 and there seems to be no record of any member of the family using the arms with a label. Downing (2015) opts for Miles while Lawrance favours another Nicholas [*sic*] who died in 1322 'holding Kirkby [Fleetham] by grant from his elder brother.' (Lawrance 1946, p. 41). The family was large with a complex history (Chetwynd-Stapylton 1897) and it is far from certain whom the effigy might represent. One possibility might be Gilbert Stapleton, a younger son of Sir Miles Stapleton and Escheator North of the Trent. He married the elder heiress of Brian FitzAlan. Kirkby Fleetham is the nearest Stapleton holding to the FitzAlan lands and the properties must have marched together. He died between 26th May and 1st July 1321 (Stevenson, W. H. (ed.) (1893) *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward II. A.D. 1318–1323*, London, pp. 301, 313). As a younger son he would have differenced the family arms in some way but it seems not to have been recorded.

Kirkleatham, N. R.

1. Lady
   Relatively fine-grained sandstone
   c. 1340–50
   On floor, towards the west end of the nave north aisle.
   Series E
   So weathered no fine details remains and broken across towards the foot end with the detail of the lowest part chiselled away. Low relief, tapering down from head to foot. Hands at prayer and slightly spread. She wears a surcote with three-quarter length sleeves and the characteristic 'Y' drapery pattern of Series E females. Veil and wimple; cloak with cord, gathered under both elbows.
   For a detailed account of this effigy see Gittos 2002b, p. 32, where comparison is made with the Danby Wiske effigy and it is suggested that the Kirkleatham figure might represent Catherine Furnival who is said to have died at Kilton castle in 1349.

Kirklington, N. R.

1. Lady (Elizabeth Musters?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1370
   On low plinth in canopied recess, south wall of south aisle, west of No. 2.
   In very good condition with only slight damage to the tip of her nose, her finger tips and right elbow; much paint remains. Few fine details are carved (just blocked out) and it seems the deficiency must have been supplied in paint. She wears a *cote hardie* with a boat-shaped neck line and long sleeves covering part of the hands, under a cloak. The headdress is difficult to interpret in the absence of the painted scheme but it seems likely to have been a jewelled hairnet over a shaped support (given the square-topped outline, c.f. Darfield). The broad feature below may be meant for a fillet.
   The recesses occupied by this effigy and No. 2 are designed as a pair, with a single shaft between them. Outside, they share the same thickening of the wall, with a single buttress at its centre. The fenestration, too, respects the tomb positions and it may well be that they were constructed at the same time as the aisle. The effigies also seem to have been commissioned together. This looks like a major double commemorative scheme. The descent of the manor (VCH:NR:1, p. 373) would suggest that the effigy might commemorate Elizabeth Musters, the heiress of Henry Musters. She held the manor in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II and married firstly Alexander de Mowbray and secondly John de Wandesford. It is possible she set up monuments for herself and her first husband when he died. See also A4c.

2. Military (Sir Alexander de Mowbray?)
Magnesian Limestone
c. 1370
On low plinth in canopied recess, south wall of south aisle, east of No. 1.
The effigy is in remarkably fine condition with only slight damage to the nose but the bottom corner of the slab is broken off and the lion has lost his right paw. Straight legs; head on helm; moustache and beard; feet on lion. He wears a coat-armour; ridged bascinet with aventail; gauntlets; and plate limb defences, including winged poleyns and multi-lame sabatons. Shield with carved heraldry (lion rampant) but no guige. Horizontal hip belt with heavy mounts but no sword or dagger, nor are there obvious fixings for them to be added. Traces of paint remain, including on the shield.
The effigy probably commemorates Alexander de Mowbray the first husband of Elizabeth Musters, No. 1. See also notes to No. 1.

Leeds, W. R.

1. Military (Manston family)
   Poor surface condition but probably Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1330–5
   On modern slab, south side of the chancel.
   Series C
   In poor condition, caked with dirt, lower legs and feet lost (including any supporting animal) and much heavy wear and local damage. Crossed lower legs (parallel thighs). Sleeveless surcoat; bascinet with aventail, the vervelles only round the bottom edge; poleyns with lower lames. Shield with carved heraldry (Manston?). Sword belt has disc mounts and complex tied thong attachment for scabbard. With the exception of the bascinet, this figure closely resembles the Series C effigy at Goldsborough.
   There is a very good sketch of the effigy in Moore, R. W. *A History of the Parish Church of Leeds* (Leeds, 1877), facing p. 36, 'on the south side of the chancel…of the family of Steynton or Stainton'. His plan of church shows it to have been in a similar location to where it is now. I'Anson says that it was discovered during removal of the previous church prior to building the present church in 1838–41, '… found at the extreme east end of the chancel, at a considerable depth below the floor.' (I'Anson 1927, p. 34). He identifies the arms as Manston. Unfortunately, the precise heraldry shown on the shield has not been traced to a particular member of that family (see Section 4, p. 137). Glover had recorded the effigy in 1585 (Foster 1875, p. 464), '24. "AN OULD KNIGHT LYING CROSSE-LEGGED ALL IN MALE, WITH HIS SWORD AND HIS TARGETT ON HIS ARME CUT IN STONE AS THIS....., a bend gemelles.....cotised.....'.

London (Temple Church)

1. Military (de Ros family)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1310
   On the floor on the south side of the round
   Series B
   Restored and repaired, including new nose, right curl of hair, top corner of shield and bottom of scabbard plus crisping up of worn mail, widespread scraping and recutting belt mounts as lion masks; lion's head renewed (see Section 2c.ii; Figs 101, 236). Crossed legs; bare headed with coif around neck; feet on crouching lion. Sleeved surcoat to just above ankles; plain poleyns with central ridge and reinforcing of lower edge; prick spurs with faceted collars. Large shield with relief heraldry (de Ros). Sword belt has mounts described pre-restoration as 'broad studs', now recut as lion masks; scabbard attached by loop fittings without an intermediate ring.
   The effigy was brought to the Temple church from York about 1682 and it is not currently possible to identify who is represented (see Section 5, pp. 161–2). It was restored by Richardson in the mid nineteenth century (see Section 2c.ii, p. 61) but the lion's head must have been replaced earlier. See also Appendix 8.

Loversall, W. R.

1. Uncertain type (semi-effigial)
   Magnesian Limestone?
   1st half 14th century
   On floor at west end of south aisle.
   Severely weathered, all detail of the figure lost, plinth broken away. Small slab with integral chamfered plinth and two openings. The upper, arched, recess contained a bust and the lower, semicircular, opening contained the feet; no drainage holes, so water has been retained, eroding away the carving. The figure appears to have had praying hands, head on cushion and long neck; all detail of the feet is lost. Churchyard monument.
   This may have been a male civilian but it is impossible to be sure. It has also been described as commemorating a child (Badham & Blacker 2009, p. 21). An illustration published in 1882 shows it in the churchyard (Bloxham 1882, p. 353).

2. Male civilian
   Magnesian Limestone?
   Mid-14th century
   On blocks against south wall, in south chapel
   Weathered overall but limited areas of good detail remain. Losses include, the lion's head and right fore paw; the lower part of the scabbard; left toe. Straight legs; hands hidden behind shield but not at prayer; feet on lion. Wearing calf length cote with short hanging sleeves; hood with tip on top of his head. Shield with carved heraldry (unidentified) on buckled guige. Sword belt and sword mostly hidden by the shield.
   Morris suggested the arms might be Ripers or Middleton (1911, p. 345) but this seems unlikely. See also Bloxham 1849, p. 10 (illustrated).

Lowthorpe, E. R.

1. Lady, (Marjorie, wife of Sir John de Heslerton; double semi-effigial with No. 2)
   Fine-grained creamy limestone
   c. 1340
   On low plinth in the south west corner of the nave.
   Complete but somewhat worn and weathered. Broken across lower part. Detail lost from face and some local damage to the trunk of the tree. Figure shown as if in bed with No. 2, covered by a sheet; head only visible and one foot beneath sheet. Head inclined towards her husband, probably on a bolster. Hair loose (visible by neck). Tree of life laid over both figures above the sheet, with heads of thirteen children at the ends of the branches and five small shields at the top of the tree. One heart between the two figures. The drapery over the top of the head is likely to be a face cloth, drawn back. Churchyard monument.
   Appears to have been in the churchyard in the nineteenth century. For the case study, see Section 5c. ix (pp187–9).
2. Male civilian (Sir John de Heslerton; double semi-effigial with No. 1)
   Fine-grained creamy limestone
   c. 1340
   On low plinth in the south west corner of the nave.
   Figure represented as if in bed with No. 1. Head only visible and one foot beneath sheet. Head inclined towards No. 1 and wearing coif.
   Other details and comments as for No. 1.

Lund, E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Not determined due to location
   1st half 14th century
   Built into the west wall of the tower, above the west window, outside.
   Top part only, weathered and partly lichen covered. Hands at prayer with only the fingers touching, head resting on two cushions. Shown in mass vestments. The carving appears to have been of good quality. A bracket supports the figure.
   Noted by Morris just as 'Carving above the W. window of the tower' (1906, p. 252).

Melsonby, N. R.

1. Male civilian (semi-effigial)
   Sandstone
   1st half 14th century
   On floor of north nave aisle.
   Very weathered and worn. The slab is coffin-shaped but one corner at the foot is chamfered off. This must be original since the raised border around the top respects it. Head in centre of leafy cross laid out as if eight-rayed, although only showing five arms. Leaves branch off the stem and there is an animal at the base (dog?). Figure bare headed. An indistinct feature below the head partly overlain by leaves, it may be praying hands or, possibly, a heart. Churchyard monument.
   The slab is listed in McClain 2005.

2. Lady (semi-effigial)
   Fairly coarse sandstone
   1st half 14th century
   Reused as sill, north window of ringing chamber.
   The two ends of the slab are hidden or lost; broken across about a third of the way from the head with a piece at the break replaced by cement. Foliate saltire cross and pairs of leaves on the stem. Stem slightly splayed at what is now the foot end. Female head at centre of cross wearing veil and wimple. The sides of the veil are brought around under the head, forming a frame.
   Reference as for No. 1.

3. Military
   Coarse-grained, creamy coloured sandstone
   1320–40?
   On the floor of the south aisle, in front of unrelated tomb canopy.
   Legs below knees lost, together with parts of the slab and almost all the inserted block. Cross legged; holds a small heart. Sleeveless surcoat; integral mail coif; narrow circle ornamented with larger flowers. The sword belt seems to wrap around the scabbard, to attach it. Shield with carved heraldry (lion rampant debruised by a bend); no guige. The shield and left hand appear damaged by a large cut out but this is the seating for a repair made in carving, that has since been lost. The repair was made with a hot mastic preparation, leaving parts of the stone reddened and the adhesive layer is visible below the small remaining piece of stone. The mail appears to have been laid out with the aid of a compass and a fragment from the Newcastle Blackfriars shows similar mail (Lankester 2019).
   The arms on the shield may well refer to the Stapleton family as has been suggested by many writers but the precise heraldry has not been traced.

Methley, W. R.

1. Male civilian
   Fine-grained, yellow limestone
   1st quarter 14th century
   In modern recess, north wall of nave.
   Broken across at neck; losses including parts of the slab, fingers, dog's head and face eroded. Ankle length cote, unbelted and loose with a boat-shaped neckline, with a centre-front split, its edges shown draped; cote's three-quarter length sleeves show more fitted, wrist length, ones below; head in coif; feet in close-fitting ankle boots, with soles marked out. Chamfer inscription in Lombardic characters but too fragmentary to interpret.
   Johnston (C13, fo 10v), shows the effigy was broken across and with a worn face in the seventeenth century just as it is today. From *Churches of Yorkshire* by T. M. Green (Leeds, 1844), I, p. 16 of the Methley section, 'In the Belfrey are deposited two ancient monuments, far anterior to any of those now described. They are evidently there only to be out of the way, and obliged to exchange their recumbent for an erect position'. On the back wall of the recess is a Latin inscription recording the fact that this effigy of an unknown man was placed there in 1901.

2. Ecclesiastic
   Fine-grained yellow limestone
   2nd quarter 14th century
   In modern recess, south wall of the south aisle.
   Broken across at the neck and much damaged, including the loss of the lion's head and parts of the slab. Wearing mass vestments; large tonsure and hair bushy behind the ears. Inscription in Lombardic characters on chamfer but too fragmentary to interpret.
   Johnston (C13, fo. 10v) drew him in 1669, when he was unbroken. The back wall of the recess has a Latin inscription recording the fact that this effigy of an unknown rector was placed there by a successor in 1901.

Middleton on-the-Wolds, E. R.

1. Uncertain type
   Stone type not determined (but see below)
   2nd quarter 13th century
   In churchyard, south of chancel, with three other medieval grave slabs.
   Broken across and severely weathered, foot section lost. Its supports have been rearranged and the monument is now leaning sideways. Tapered slab; only head, shoulders and upper arms can be made out; left arm by the side, slightly crooked and the right is more difficult to make out but seems to come across the body. Two features either side of the head might have provided additional information but are weathered to just lumps of stone.
   The effigy rests on three carved supports (trestles) which in turn stand on a tapered base slab. Each support has carved ends, comprising engaged shafts (with capitals and bases) separated by dog tooth. The trestles span the width of the monument, their size varying to suit the taper of the top and bottom slabs. However, they are currently assembled in the wrong order and one of them appears upside down. This is consistent with the monument having been disturbed. The best dating evidence is the carving on the trestles, which can be related to that on the mid thirteenth century Abbot William Shrine at Rievaulx Abbey.
   We are grateful to Rita Wood for assistance with this effigy. She provide the parallels for the use of dog tooth decoration and made considerable efforts to have the stone identified. She enlisted the help of Professor Mark Seaward to identify the types of lichen present and geologist Richard Myerscough. The lichens were typical of what was found on sandstones while the geologist believed the effigy, its substructure and the three coffin lids beside it, were probably all Magnesian Limestone. They were quite different from the stone from which the church was made.
   See also Section 3d, A2a and Pl. 2.

Moor Monkton, W. R.

1. Uncertain (small)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1st quarter 14th century
   Built into the west wall of the porch, inside.
   Very weathered and badly broken; head and hands gone. Single cushion; feet on animal. Voluminous, ankle length clothes, belted at the waist. The lower legs appear to be visible and if so it is likely to be male.

2. Male civilian (semi-effigial, small)
   Magnesian Limestone
   2nd quarter 14th century
   Built into the east wall of the porch, inside.
   Bust in quatrefoil; feet in trefoil. Bare headed, the hair in curls all over the head, not just at the ends. Hood hangs loosely around neck; buttoned sleeves. There are two drainage holes, sited within the hood, either side of neck. Churchyard monument.
   Walter (1874), pl. XXV, No. 50, (feet not shown).

Nafferton, E. R.

1. Male civilian
   Unidentified pale stone of coarse texture
   1330–40
   On floor at the east end of the north aisle, next to No. 2. Broken across at neck and towards the foot end (cemented back together); extremely weathered and worn. The monument has an overall coped profile and both ends are cut square. The figure is bare headed and wearing an ankle length cote with hanging sleeves. His feet are on what seems to be a mound; nodding ogee gablette with crockets and finial. Over the body is carved a pattern of architectural tracery in the form of cusped arches meeting on the centre line of his body. The pattern has been cleverly continued up the figure by the hanging sleeves and praying hands. The body can be seen through the apertures in the tracery. Churchyard monument.
   This effigy, and No. 2, were outside until the twentieth century. J. E. Morris described both figures as being to the south of the church and went on to say they, 'have once been surmounted by canopies' (1906, p. 258). The entry is too brief to present the evidence for this but Morris was far too knowledgeable to make such a claim without good reason. An external tomb canopy does survive over a pair of fourteenth century effigies in the churchyard at Astbury (Cheshire). The square-cut ends of the two effigies suggest that they were butted against something. This could have been head and foot stones but a canopy must be another possibility.
   Although Nos 1 and 2 are quite separate monuments, they have been joined together with cement. As noted in Section 2a.vii (pp. 27–8), the figures have been wrongly described by many writers.

2. Lady
   Unidentified pale stone of coarse texture
   On floor of the east end of the north aisle, next to No. 1.
   Broken across at the neck and below the arms (cemented back together); extremely weathered and worn, head badly damaged and feet shaled off. Long surcote which sweeps to the left; may have had hanging sleeves like her male companion. Like No. 1, there is a nodding ogee gablette, the monument has an overall coped profile and the body is overlain with architectural tracery. This design is more complex than No. 1 with mouchettes and pierced sub-cusping. Churchyard monument.
   Comments as for No. 1.

3. Male civilian or youth? (small)
   Material not possible to see (figure painted)
   c. 1400
   Built into north wall of the north aisle, above head height
   Rubbed and heavily over-painted, feet lost. Head on single cushion; crossed legs; right hand in pocket and left on stomach. Hair is very short and close cropped; thigh length clothing which is closely pleated, perhaps a houppelande.
   Morris describes the figure as it is now, 'thickly smothered in whitewash' (1906, p. 258).

Normanby, N. R. (English Heritage)

1. Military (fragments)
   Fine-grained sandstone
   1340–50
   English Heritage, (item nos 88212147, 88212148); in store 2017.
   Series E
   Lower part only to just above the knee, broken into two pieces and a section of left leg lost since 1987; weathered and abraded. Straight legs; feet on a fight between a lion and a dragon. Surcoat to just below poleyns which are moulded and have large flowers in circles; large rowel spurs. Slab has corners chamfered off; hollow moulded edge, set with flowers. Hollowed underside. Series E incised edging line on surcoat and spur straps.
   Found at the Normanby Brickworks in 1900 while digging for clay (Fallow 1900). There was more of the figure but it was not recovered. For a detailed account see Gittos 2002b, pp. 32–3.

Norton, Co. Durham

1. Military (Sir John de Lythegraines?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1305
   On modern chest in the north transept.
   Series B
   In very good condition with only parts of the base slab and the sword's crossguard lost; and wear in a few places (the face particularly affected); shield recut. Crossed legs; feet on a violent fight between a lion and a dragon. Sleeved surcoat (ankle length); bare headed, mail coif around neck; poleyns with blank shields; prick spurs with faceted collars. Large shield with padded interior and two enarms, its face recarved with later arms. Undecorated sword belt; scabbard attached by loop fittings without an intermediate ring. Gablette with ogee at apex; bubbly crockets and tall finial; prominent central ridge flanked by two shields with carved heraldry hanging from pegs amongst the foliage, two little grotesques wearing hoods by them; two more crouching figures act as corbels for the gablette. To the right of the effigy's feet, seated figure of a lady in veil and wimple reading from a book, her veil is textured and pinned (Fig. 143). 'I' with three interlinked circles on base slab close to the shield, seems unrelated to the original carving (*4c.ii; A6e*).
   The effigy was appropriated by the Blakiston family and the shield recarved (*4c.ii*), as the shield shows the arms they bore after the marriage of John Blakiston with Elizabeth Bowes in the late sixteenth century (Hunter Blair 1929, p. 25). The shields on the gablette, however, are original and although they lack tinctures they probably represent Bek and Lythegraines. This association would indicate Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham and Sir John Lythegraines, escheator north of the Trent 1295–99, who died in 1303 (*5b.ii*). He was a colleague of Brian FitzAlan (d.1306) whose closely related Series B effigy is at Bedale. Lythegraines is therefore a good candidate for this effigy. There is no known associated between him and Norton but the effigy need not have originated at Norton (*4c.ii*, pp. 126–7). Other possible identifications have been considered and for a detailed account see Coss 1996. Peter Coss also suggest the seated female might represent the grieving widow, which seems highly probable. This vulnerable feature of the Norton effigy is a remarkable survival.

2. Lady
   Fine-grained sandstone
   1340–50
   Built into the east wall of the south porch, inside.
   Series E
   Head is lost and all sides have been trimmed, possibly for reuse as a masonry block; broken across at the middle; the whole front of the figure degraded and also reddened as if exposed to fire. Sufficient remains to show that she wore a supertunic with three-quarter sleeves and cloak bunched up under both elbows; wimple and veil. Characteristic Series E incised edging lines to clothing and the drapery on the front of the figure seems to have been the standard 'Y' pattern. Best detail is at the sides but difficult to see.
   This effigy is an addition to the Series E figures described in Gittos 2002b. It was noted in its current position by Longstaffe (1892). See also Section 4c.v (p. 143).

Nunkeeling (now at Hornsea), E. R.

1. Lady
   Magnesian Limestone
   Late 13th century
   On modern platform, east end of the north aisle, beside No. 2
   London carver?
   In very good condition with only minor losses to parts of the slab, fingers and rosary, dog's face; the effigy's face rubbed. Figure slightly swayed to her right; rosary held between praying hands; feet on dog. She wears a loose supertunic with three quarter sleeves, the skirt caught up under both elbows, which draws the hem up to knee level and produces a pattern of pouched and fluttering draperies; cloak skims the upper arm and is caught up with the supertunic; tunic below has very long and wide skirt giving strong, deeply cut, folds that cover the feet. Hair dressed high and to the sides in a net, giving triangular face shape; two veils over, pinned through to netted hair; wimple worn high on face (covering mouth). Shields (blank) on chamfer. Hollowed underside.
   Brought to Hornsea from the disused chancel of Nunkeeling church in 1948 (VCH:ER VII, pp. 321–9). The effigy is of high quality and bears comparison with the effigy of Aveline of Lancaster in Westminster Abbey. This figure is dated to the 1290s, see Harvey 1984, p. 45. However, the Nunkeeling material is Magnesian Limestone (*ex inf.* Tim Palmer) which suggests a mason from Westminster came to carry out the work in Yorkshire. See also Gittos 1989, p. 95.

2. Military (a Fauconberg of Catfoss)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1300–1330?
   On modern platform east end of the north aisle, beside No. 1.
   All lost below knees, together with any base slab which might have existed around the figure; sword grip missing and crossguard damaged; pieces missing from the edge of the shield and the figure generally rather worn and battered. Crossed legs. Sleeveless surcoat; mail coif with circle. Shield with carved heraldry (Fauconberg of Catfoss); no internal detail; sword belt with alternating disc and bar mounts; waist belt has long pendant end with bar mounts; wrap around and stitched scabbard attachment. Underside hollowed.
   Brought to Hornsea from the ruined chancel of Nunkeeling church in 1948 with No. 1 (VCH:ER VII, pp. 321–9). A 1784 engraving for Dade's *History and Antiquities of Holderness*,(copy in Gott Collection, Wakefield) shows this effigy had already sustained the damage seen today. Traditionally identified as Sir Andrew de Fauconberg (Poulson 1841, I, p. 386). However, Lawrance (1946, p. 15) suggested Sir William Fauconberg of Catfoss who died in 1294. More recently Downing has opted for Henry Fauconberg who died *c*. 1331 and whose son obtained licence for a chantry at Nunkeeling for the souls of himself, his father and his mother (Downing 2010, p. 87; CPR 1330–1334, p. 214). However, even this identification is problematic as Henry's arms were two bars of mascles (Parliamentary Roll) but the effigy has two bars of fusils.

Nunnington, N. R.

1. Military (Sir Walter de Teye)
   Fine-grained, buff coloured limestone
   d. 1324
   Below arched canopy in the south wall of the nave.
   The lion's head is damaged; part of the dragon missing; effigy's head has split off and been refixed, replacement nose added; pilgrim's head lost; some areas abraded. Part of shield and left arm cut away (like Melsonby), to seat repair made in carving. Head on three cushions; holding heart casket; crossed legs; feet on lion, its left paw on foliage supporting the end of the scabbard. Sleeveless surcoat; mail coif with circle; poleyns with central rib; spurs lost. Shield with carved heraldry (de Teye). Plain sword belt with scabbard attached by complex arrangement of woven and tied thongs; fluted pommel. Undulating, winged, dragon supports scabbard. At top left corner (beside head) is the figure of a pilgrim, symbolically shown in a walking posture. He wears a long garment, split at sides and with a hood hanging down his back. A scrip hangs from a strap, worn crosswise. Gold and traces of red on the effigy's surcoat, consistent with the arms of Walter de Tye.
   Case study at Section 5b.i (pp. 165–6).
   Dodsworth (July 1619) mentions the effigy and also stained glass in the same part of the church displaying the arms as shown on the shield, including the correct tinctures (p. 181). However, this was in the 'South quyer' not the nave. William Eastmead (1824, pp. 169–171) said that the church had been rebuilt in 1672 and thought that a south aisle had been lost then and the monument moved into the nave. A seventeenth century intervention might well account for the awkwardly truncated canopy. A serpent-fighting legend traditionally associated with the effigy may be based on the prominent dragon on the slab (Eastmead 1824, pp. 171–4).

Ormesby, N. R.

1. Lady
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1390?
   On modern plinth, north east corner of the north aisle.
   Some areas are well preserved but others in poor condition, due to serious faults in the stone, together with spalling of her left forearm, elbow and loss of hands; dog's head mutilated; right side of her veil and edge of cloak broken away. Hands were in the attitude of prayer but the wide scar suggests she might have held something between them, *e.g.* a heart; feet on dog. She wears a *cote hardie* with rounded neck line and tight sleeves under a cloak; hair in a net of ribbons under short, layered, veil with frilled face edges.
   The existing church was built in 1875, when the effigy must have been discovered (VCH:NR:II, pp. 281–2). The *North Star*, May 2 1908, said:

   > Many visitors to Ormesby Church wonder to what period the fine stone recumbent effigy on the north-east side of the church (near the lectern) belongs. This mournful witness of the past was dug up from under the chancel many years ago, during restorations, and is supposed to belong to the Pennyman [family] and dates probably from the 15th century. All traces of inscriptions have been long since obliterated. Otherwise the effigy is in good preservation.

   (We are grateful to Mark Gatenby for this reference.)

2. Military (fragment)
   Magnesian Limestone
   Late 14th century
   Loose, under tower, propped up on the steps of the font (2016).
   Feet and foot support only. The effigy was straight legged, resting on a lion with a long tail. This is leaning over under their pressure and rests its left paw on what must have been the tip of a scabbard (now just a scar on the base slab). The feet are in very pointed sabatons; rowel spurs, the straps passing underneath the ankle voiders.
   These feet were first seen by the authors in the summer of 1979 when they were stored in a cellar beneath the church, (B. & M. Gittos, 'Yorkshire Legs Untangled', *Bulletin of the International Society for the Study of Church Monuments,* 5, 1981, p. 89). In the 1920s they were in the north aisle with the lady (VCH:NR:II, p. 282).

Patrington, E. R.

1. Lady
   Honeycombed Magnesian Limestone
   1340–50
   On the floor of the south transept
   Wolds Series
   Weathered, worn, battered and broken across with foot end lost; large pieces missing from the middle of the right side and two areas of the left side. Bas-relief. The figure lies under a low relief, straight arm, cross with stepped calvary that reaches to the underside of her praying hands. Loose hair; clothing too indistinct to comment. Pinched ogee gablette with finial and side pinnacles; two drainage holes either side of neck (cf. Moor Monkton No. 2), that are roughly conical, splaying out underneath. Churchyard monument.
   Historic England listing description says the effigy was 'from Kilnsea Church', which was lost to the sea by 1831 (1083450). The source seems to be a church guide (D. A. Young, *Guide to the Parish Church of St Patrick Patrington*, 1978) which simply says, 'rescued from a neighbouring church lost to the sea', without a source. However, the effigy is not listed amongst items known to have survived from Kilnsea church (Backhouse, J. 'A Vanishing Yorkshire Village', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report for 1908*, pp. 49–59), nor is it mentioned by George Poulson (1840 & 1841) who was writing after Kilnsea had been lost. It was in the church by 1906 (Morris 1906, p. 269) and Arthur Mee says the effigy was found in the nineteenth century (Mee 1964, p. 203). In the absence of definitive evidence it was brought from elsewhere, it seems more likely that it was dug up in Patrington churchyard, where it had always been. See also Section 4c.vi (pp. 144–5).

Pickering, N. R.

1. Military (Sir William Bruce of Pickering)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   1340–50
   On modern plinth, immediately west of chancel arch on the north side.
   Well preserved but the heads of both angels and part of the dog's are missing together with much of the scabbard where it was undercut. The most prominent surfaces are badly rubbed. Legs crossed at calves, thighs parallel; holding heart; feet on floppy-eared dog which seems to have been biting the end of the scabbard and also resting his left paw on it. Short-fronted surcoat with relief heraldry (Bruce of Pickering) and dagged front hem; ridged bascinet with aventail, plate armour over mail but without greaves or sabatons; gauntlets; lion mask couter moulded poleyns with central ridge and addition lower lame; small rowel spurs of only four points. The mail is carved as double rings. Shield with relief heraldry but no guige. Short sword belt with square floral mounts and a full 'ring locket' scabbard attachment (the intermediate ring of twisted wire). The sword has depressed crossguard and lion mask pommel. Two headless angels hold the effigy's head. The edges of the base slab are very roughly dressed and parts of the carving are unfinished.
   Sir William Bruce's arms appear on the Boroughbridge Roll (*Genealogist*, 1, 1884) as Gules a saltire engrailed argent and a chief indented argent, agreeing with what is shown on the effigy. The roll is now understood to be associated with a 1319 tournament, probably held at Newcastle. See B. Wells-Furby, "The 'Boroughbridge roll of arms' reconsidered", *Historical Research*, 86.232 (2013), pp. 196–206. Bruce's appearance on the roll implies his participation in the tournament. William Bruce founded a chantry in Pickering church (licence dated 1334, CPR 1330–34, p. 557) and was dead by May 1345 when his wife Matilda was described as his widow (see http://johnmwatson.blogspot.com/2014/06/brus-of-pickering.html).
   Leland (I, p. 63) describes him, 'Ther was another of the Bruses biried in a chapel under an arch of the north side of the body of the quier: and there is a cantuarie bering his name'.

2. Military (fragment, Roucliffe family)
   Alabaster
   Late 14th century
   On floor, against west wall of the north transept.
   Midlands import
   Top half only, very battered and worn with much detail lost; lacking face and arms but originally of good quality. Tightly fitted coat-armour with shallow relief heraldry (Roucliffe arms just discernable); bascinet with an orle and the rooks of Roucliffe edging the vervelle cover which itself is decorated with rooks alternating with 'S'; aventail; narrow collar, perhaps of rings or pierced flowers. Drapery from an angel on left side of head. Surviving paint and gold leaf, particularly on the bascinet.
   Gough recorded this effigy as being in the chancel (Gough 1786–96 II.1, p. 179). Local legend holds it to commemorate 'John of Gaunt' but he is clearly a member of the Roucliffe family.
   This effigy and No. 4 are extremely similar in terms of their armour and carving. They are likely either to have been ordered at the same time or over a short period from the same source. Consequently it has not been possible to distinguish between them. Both carry heraldry of the Roucliffe family and both date from the very end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. At that time, three members of the family were active, all in the service of John of Gaunt (History of Parliament Online, Sir David Roucliffe). The father, Sir Richard, died in 1393 while his heir, Sir David, died in 1406. A second son's date of death is not known but both brothers died childless. The three men are equally likely to have worn Gaunt's 'SS' badge.

3. Lady (Roucliffe family)
   Alabaster
   c. 1400
   On modern plinth, south west corner of the south chapel, beside No. 4.
   Midlands import
   Some severe wear and detail lost, particularly from the face, hands and the dogs' heads; one angel is headless and the other damaged. *Surcote overte* with richly decorated edges to the side openings and large mounts on a central decorated strip down the front; deep band above the hem was carved with ermine tails in shallow relief; cloak with cord (the mounts seem to have matched those on the *surcote overte*); hair in a net of ribbons with flower-shaped jewels at the intersections; collar with pendant around neck (an 'S' visible on left); badge may have incorporated Roucliffe rook. Feet on two dogs, facing each other; two angels holding cushion. Originally a high quality product, some fine detail survives with polychromy and gold leaf.
   See note on identification in No. 2.
   The chapel was used as a school for many years which accounts for the wear on the effigies (Section 2c.ii, pp. 55–6). At that time, numbers 3 and 4 were the other way round. See also Routh 1976, pp. 85–6.

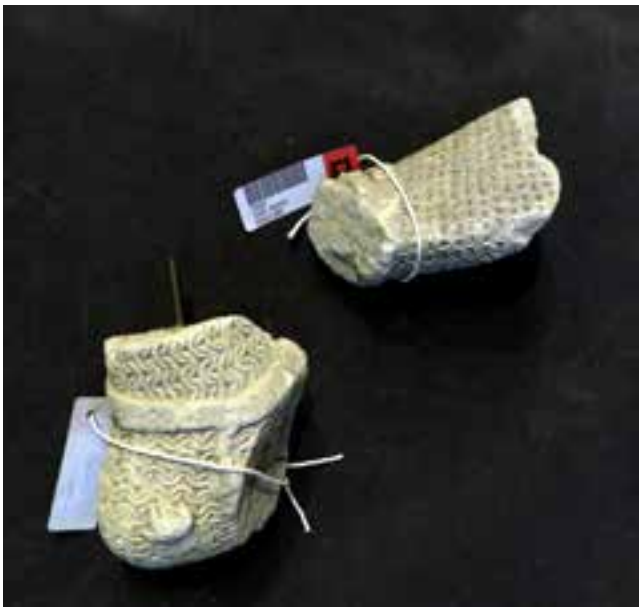
4. Military (Roucliffe family)
   Alabaster
   c. 1400
   On modern plinth, south west corner of the south chapel, beside No. 3.
   Midlands import
   Severely worn down left side with complete loss of detail. Praying hands in gauntlets with fingertips touching (space for something to be held between the palms?); moustache; feet on lion holding a scroll in its mouth laid out along the slab. Full plate armour with decorated edgings; bascinet with jewelled orle and aventail; winged poleyns; coat armour with shallow relief heraldry (Roucliffe); SS collar. Like No. 2, vervelle cover decorated with rooks alternating with 'S' and decorative strip above it composed of rooks. Unusual chain-like hip belt; no diagonal belt; sword lost but remains of dagger on base slab. Two large seated angels wearing cloaks with brooches hold his top cushion.
   Collier and Lawrance (H. Lawrance & C. Collier, 'Ancient Heraldry in Yorkshire: Deanery of Ryedale', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 27 (1924, pp. 44–5), Pauline Routh (1994, pp. 85–6) and other writers have thought this effigy and No. 3 represented Sir David Roucliffe and Margery, his wife. However, see note on identification under No. 2.

Pickhill, N. R.

1. Military
   Pisolitic limestone
   1320s?
   On unrelated medieval grave cover, north of altar.
   Lincolnshire import
   Broken in four, with head, lower leg and part of foot support as separate pieces; much of top of shield lost; most detail worn away from the top surfaces but remains at lower levels. Crossed legs; feet lost but rested on animal, probably a dog. Sleeveless surcoat to mid-calf; mail coif with circle; plain poleyns; spurs lost. Shield with carved heraldry (fesse dancetty and chevron). Sword partly hidden under shield but the scabbard was attached to the sword belt by thongs; its tip rested on the back of a small creature. Hollowed out behind.
   Churchyard monument?
   The effigy was 'discovered in 1876, buried in a cavity beneath the floor of the chancel, where it had probably been thrown in the course of some alterations in the nineteenth century.' (McCall 1910, p. 129).
   The heraldry has been recorded as a chevron and a chief indented (Downing 2010 & 2015, p. 37; I'Anson 1926). However, the horizontal feature has upper and lower edges while a chief would extend to the top of the shield. These commentators may not have appreciated the extent of loss from the top of the shield which means that the position of the horizontal feature approximates to the centre of the shield – the position for a fess but not a chief. McCall (1910, 130) did record the heraldry correctly but does not give the reason for his certainty that it belonged to the Neville of Pickhill family. Unfortunately, although it is likely to be a variant of the Neville's saltire, this particular coat seems not to have been recorded in the Rolls (there is no entry in the *Dictionary of British Arms*). The Nevilles were a complex clan and some of the branches are rather shadowy (see C. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family in England 1166–1400*, (Woodbridge, 1996) and just because a branch owned Pickhill, it does not mean they were resident. For instance, the 1301–2 Lay Subsidy returns do not list de Nevilles as resident in Pickhill and the taxpayers are headed by 'domino Waltero de Langeton' (Brown 1897, pp. 1–2). Consequently, it is impossible even to be certain that the effigy commemorates a de Neville, let alone a particular individual.
   The detached fragment of this effigy (showing where the feet rested against the back of an animal) was found during work on a nearby rubble built garden wall by archaeologist John Buglass and we are grateful to Mr. Hopper (Churchwarden) for showing us this piece.
   See also Section 4a.iv, Appendix 3, Pl. 38.

Rievaulx Abbey, N. R.

1. Military (two fragments)
   Fine-grained, pale limestone
   Early 14th century
   English Heritage (item nos 81300201 & 81300202); in store 2017.
   Potentially Series B (see below)
   Two small mail-clad fragments. The mail carving is so similar that it is almost certain they derive from the same effigy, which must have been cross-legged. 81300201 is from a right heel, showing parts of the spur arms, strap and buckle, also the paw of a small creature (or possibly tip of tufted tail). The foot must have been turned sideways. 81300202 is a section of leg from just above the ankle, with part of spur strap. This may have been from the upper leg of the crossed legs.
   Comparison with Fountains effigy shows that mail is similar but a little more compact than the Series B effigy and the paw seems similar to that of Fountain's dragon.



2. Military (fragments)
   Fine-grained, pale limestone
   1315–30?
   English Heritage (item nos 81300206, 81300335, 81300391). The first two on display in site museum, 2017.
   Three small fragments carved with similar mail (larger scale and looser than No. 1), suggesting they all derive from the same effigy. 81300335 is part of a foot support (probably a dog) with one mail-clad toe and the scar of the other foot. 81300206 is a section of mail-clad leg from just above the ankle, fully undercut but the mail not carved on the underside. 81300391 is from a shoulder piece with a plain strip at the edge that must be part of either the surcoat or the guige.

3. Lady (fragments)
   Hambleton oolite?
   Mid-14th century
   English Heritage (item No. 81300384); on display in site museum, 2017.
   Two sections only, badly mutilated: one with head beneath a gablette; the other with torso and most of left arm; most of face lost; lower part of effigy lost, including feet. Figure is turned to her right, so left arm lies at the uppermost point of the body; hands were either at prayer or holding something but were directed to her right; no cushion under head. Sleeveless surcote; cloak drawn across lower part of body from both sides; veil (flat across top) and wimple with hair at her temples. Ogee gablette with the remains of bubbly crocketing and with a tiny praying angel filling the right spandrel. Four octagonal bases survive, large enough to have supported a canopy over her; each has a square dowel hole.
   Susan Harrison of English Heritage (pers. comm.) believes that the only likely north wall site for her original position is in the chancel. Other situations are either too small or known to have been used in other ways.
   The source for the material: J. R. Senior, 'Appendix A: The Stonework and Quarries', in P. Fergusson & S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey*, (1999), pp. 215–9.

4. Lady (fragment)
   Fine-grained, pale limestone
   14th century?
   English Heritage (item No. 81300233); in store, 2017.
   Small fragment only, showing hem of skirt and one foot against the back of an animal.

Ripley, W. R.

1. Lady (Adeline, wife of Sir Thomas de Ingleby)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1380–90
   On original chest, under west arch of south nave arcade, beside No. 2.
   In very good condition but hands broken and clumsily replaced; slight damage to face and edges of the veil and curious cut outs on both feet. Long-sleeved, round necked, *cote hardie*; cloak with cord through lion masks mounts; closely fitting cap with frilled face edge; shoulder length veil, unnaturally high over top of head, the edges falling loosely over forehead. Feet on a dog with texturing to represent hair.
   Brought from the previous church, known as 'the sinking chapel', when this church was built (Section 3b, p. 69). Tomb chest carved on all sides, so originally free standing. Images of what appear to be mostly their children on tomb chest, some still with their names above them. When Henry Johnston drew the tomb in 1669 (C13, fo. 195v), the chest was in much the same condition as it still is.

2. Military (Sir Thomas de Ingleby)
Magnesian Limestone
d. 1377/78
On original chest, under west arch of south nave arcade, beside No. 1.
Well preserved but with some losses, including his elbows, forearms and much of his hands, toes and the lion's head. Head on helm with boar's head crest intact, the boar's body textured to represent hair (called a bull in error, Section 2a.i, p. 8). Straight legs; feet on lion missing its head. Plate armour; pointed bascinet and aventail; coat armour with dagged hem and shallow-relief shield on abdomen bearing the arms of Ingleby; gauntlets, studded cuisses; hinged greaves; winged poleyns; rowel spurs; scale sabatons. The layer under his coat armour shows a line of studs and is probably intended for a skirt of plates. Horizontal hip belt with heavy floral mounts and central clasp; sword but no dagger.
Sir Thomas de Ingleby was Justice of the King's Bench from 1361–77 and his successor was appointed May 1378 (Baker 1984, p. 520). The 1375 will of one of the figures on the tomb chest (Henry de Ingleby), mentions his father Thomas and his mother Adeline, (*Test. Ebor.* I, p. 94). For Henry see Fig. 230.
Notes as No. 1.

Ripon, W. R.

1. Lady (Dionisia, wife of Sir Thomas Markenfield)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1400
   On original chest under an arch between north transept chapels, beside No. 2.
   Very little of the figure remains; all has been cut away above the waist and there is further loss down both sides; the lower part including the feet is also lost and made up with cement. Surcote does not seem to be open sided but still only reaches to mid calf and has the deep hem band; three lozenge-shaped mounts survive down the front. Like No. 2 she seems to lie on her cloak, rather than wear it. The figure was deliberately made shorter than No. 2 to provide space for the antlers on the crest of his helm, to extended across her base slab. The tomb chest on which both figures lie has shields with carved heraldry.
   Drawn by Henry Johnston in 1669 (C13, fo. 253r and 253v), 'In the east side of the north Isle of the church', by which time the damage to her upper body had already been done. Richard Gough (1786–96, I.2, p. 143) describes her as 'miserably defaced'.
   The tomb chest consists of three panels of shields in arches under the crenellated outer edges of the effigies' slabs. A curious quarter round feature on the north east corner is difficult to explain but suggests that the arrangement as it stands is incomplete.

2. Military (Sir Thomas Markenfield)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1400
   Beside No. 1, on original chest under arch between north transept chapels.
   Broken parts include face, hands and arms, dagger, sword hilt, parts of poleyns, right foot, part of helm; right antler; part of the left antler bridging across to the female slab has been lost and the replacement modelled in mortar. Head on helm with orle and crest of tall stag's antlers; unusually a cushion is also shown, to help support the antlers; feet on a lion. Plate armour with skirt; bascinet with aventail; large rowel spurs; ankle length cloak lies on the slab below him, the neck edge underneath his bascinet. Horizontal hip belt with square mounts and large clasp; sword grip lost, his arms and flowers on the scabbard; dagger was present on right but lost. Despite the plates of his body armour being clearly visible, the Markenfield bend with three bezants is shown crossing them, almost as if being worn as a sash; collar and badge of a stag within palings (Markenfield). The lion's rump seems likely to have been the site a repair made in carving but its flat right side appears to be by design, perhaps to butt the tomb against the wall.
   Thomas Markenfield was dead by March 1399 when his wife was referred to as his widow (Section 5a.iv, p. 156). For the collar see P. Routh & R. Knowles, 'The Markenfield Collar', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 20, (1990), pp. 133–40. For the effigy see J. R. Planché, 'On an Effigy of one of the Markenfield Family in Ripon Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 20 (1864), pp. 285–96.

Romaldkirk, N. R.

1. Military (Sir Hugh FitzHenry?)
   Sandstone
   2nd quarter 14th century?
   On stone coffin (with lid) against the north wall of the north transept.
   A little worn in places such as the face and the dog's head is lost. Sword handling, the blade partly out of its scabbard; straight legs; head on single cushion; feet on a dog. Calf length surcoat, split down the side (*i.e.* like a scapular); mail coif with broad circle; plain poleyns (one carved higher than the other). The mail represented as bands of incised crescents facing alternate ways, although the left side of head has been left uncarved. Sword belt has bar mounts; scabbard attachment hidden by left hand. Shield has a rounded top, with the FitzHugh arms marked out lightly with incised lines. There is also some black within the lines, which could be tarnished silver. Although the arms are not scribed, this colouration can also be seen on his surcoat which must also originally have shown his heraldry. Graffiti on the surcoat, 'F Hugh', which may be an antiquarian identification.
   Anachronistic details mean the figure may be retrospective, to commemorate Hugh FitzHenry who is recorded as being buried at Romaldkirk in 1305 (see Section 2a.v, p. 17).

Routh, E. R.

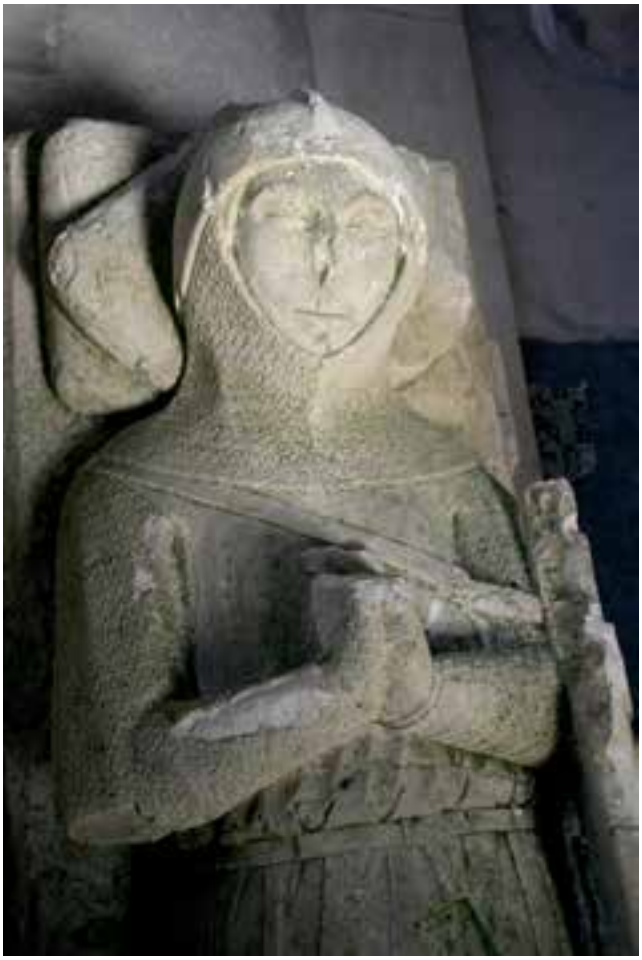
1. Military
   Sandstone
   1290–1300
   On the floor, north side of the sanctuary.
   Series A
   Broken across and cemented back together; extremely weathered and most detail lost; cut-out on right shoulder. Crossed legs (left lost below knee); left shoulder raised to take weight of shield; much detail lost but feet rested against a crouching animal (lion?). Sleeved surcoat, almost ankle length; mail coif with hint of a circle; ailette flat on the slab behind the right shoulder. Shield may have had an enarm. Sword with broad sword belt; much of scabbard was undercut and lost. Face cloth drawn back, visible where it falls to the cushion from the top of his head.
   Poulson (1840 & 1841), I, p. 399:

> There was formerly placed on the north side the churchyard, but now removed within the altar rails, the figure of a crusader, in stone, with his target on his left arm, and wearing a flat top helmet, the remains of a sword by his side, his left leg crossing and bending towards the other, (saltire like) the right leg broken off. Tradition assigns it to Sir John Routh, knt. living in 1429.

This date is more than a hundred years too late for this Series A effigy but the fact that it had been in the churchyard would account for its poor condition. It was in its current position by the 1830s, Allen (1828–1831) p. 414, 'On the north side of the chancel is the mutilated effigy of a crusader'.

Ryther, W. R.

1. Military (de Ryther family)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1330–1340
   On blocks at east end of south aisle.
   Series C
   Suffering badly from damp with pieces breaking off and some recent serious losses from his right arm, hands, feet and the lion; areas are green with algal growth. The corner of his shield had gone by 1669. Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat; crested bascinet shown over mail (probably an aventail attached underneath rather than a coif) and padding shown below that; poleyns with central ridge; prick spurs. Shield has the arms of de Ryther in relief. Undecorated sword belt with scabbard attached by ring lockets with the extra ring; grip of sword now partly lost because it was on a piece inserted at the time of carving, only some of which remains.
   In 1669, Henry Johnston (C 13, fo. 290v) drew this and No. 2 on the same tomb which was, he said, 'Adjoining to the feet of the former' [*i.e.* the alabaster knight's tomb]. He identified what lay beneath both as 'brick'. Gough also describes both effigies as 'laid on brickwork' Gough (1786–96) I.2, p. 173. Excellent illustrations of both the knight and lady were published in Hollis & Hollis (1840–42), I, No. 5 (lady) and II, No. 4 (knight).
   Sir Robert de Ryther '*c*. 1327' and his lady have been suggested as possibly the people commemorated, see Routh P. and Knowles R., *A Ryther legacy: the Monuments assessed* (Sandal, 1981), p. 5. However, this is far from certain and Robert seems actually to have died in 1322 (FR III, p. 201). At that time, Robert had only recently compounded for supporting the losing side at Boroughbridge, accepting a fine of 400 marks (FR III, p. 155). William de Ryther, the heir was only 12 by 1327 and he seems to have died young as his brother Robert inherited (CP XI, p. 9). This Robert survived until the 1360s, which is far too late a date for the style of the effigies' clothing. The William who died young is unlikely to be the subject, so the effigy may be a retrospective monument for the elder Robert. Another possibility might be John, the elder Robert's brother. He had remained loyal to Edward II (CIM II, p. 132), so was able to take charge of the estates during the heir's minority. See also 4c.iii, p. 137; 5a.iii, p. 154.



2. Lady (de Ryther family)
Magnesian Limestone
1330–1340
On blocks, at east end of south aisle.
Series C
Suffering from damp as No. 1, with notable losses from the hands, right arm, veil and the dog. Apart from damage to the tip of her nose, her face is very well preserved and she has a slight smile. Hands at prayer, with thumbs holding cloak cord; feet on dog. She wears a very loose supertunic with deep folds in skirt, it has sleeve extensions and a straight neckline, into which the hem of the wimple is tucked; cloak drawn up under both elbows, to unequal degrees, producing dramatic draperies below; cloak cord through flower shaped mounts. Her hair is in plaits that run up the front of pad-like features either side of the face. The wimple covers the pads and the plaits, a plain fillet running around her head under crossed ribbons. A shoulder length veil covers all this and is secured by a second fillet with decorative plaques and with pins through into the side of the pads. The style is extremely similar to the headdresses of the Series C ladies at Darrington and Church Fenton (Pls 58–60).
Notes as for No. 1.

Scarborough (Museum), N. R.

1. Military
   Sandstone
   c. 1300
   Scarborough Museums Trust (Accession No. 1938·736); in store 2015.
   Series A
   Broken in two; very weathered and partly recut; losses include parts of hands, shield, gablette and slab; appropriated by recutting head, face and shield. Coif recut to create a hat, long hair and collar; face also remodelled; new heraldry applied to shield. Crossed legs; mail coif; feet on a lion, its left shoulder unfinished – presumably to fit against something. Sleeveless surcoat (ankle length); poleyns present but details uncertain; undercut left lower leg is surprising survival. Shield seems to have a single enarm around the upper arm; the shield's top corner was repaired with pieced-in stone (almost certainly during carving). Repair lost but two fixing holes remain; it must have disappeared before the appropriation, since the new heraldry respects the plan of what remains. Undecorated sword belt; the level of erosion makes it difficult to understand how the scabbard was attached. Sword pommel seems to have been a repair during carving, its seating and a fixing point remain. Crocketed gablette with side arches open to the cushions; there were probably four corbel heads but only one survives – a male civilian. The base slab chamfer has a foliage trail and two hanging shields, bottom right. Hollowed underside. Traces of face cloth drawn back on top of head.
   I'Anson (1927) says that it was 'found when excavating a ditch in close proximity to the church of St. Thomas, North Street, and removed to its present position [outside the Rotunda Museum] in 1861'. However, in 1826 it was in the lower apartments of the old Town Hall, see J. Cole (ed.) *The Antiquarian Trio* (Scarborough, 1826), pp. 20–1 and Hinderwell records it in the same location (T. Hinderwell, *The History and Antiquities of Scarborough* (Scarborough, 1832), p. 174). It had previously been 'against the shop now rented by Mr. Cottam, joiner, near the Pier' (J. Cole, *A Series of Cabinet Views of Scarborough*, (Scarborough, 1825) unpaginated).
   The effigy seems to have been recut in the seventeenth century to appropriate it, see Section 2c.ii, pp. 59–60.

Selby (Abbey), W. R.

1. Lady (Pickworth family?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1315–35?
   On modern plinth on the stylobate of the north nave arcade.
   Cracked, eroded and locally abraded; uppermost level of lower part of the figure lost; also parts of slab and gablette. Hands rest on two shields at her sides (Usefleet? and Furnival?); feet on animal (mostly lost). Sideless supertunic with round neck and relief heraldry (Pickworth?), long-sleeved, belted, tunic underneath; head in veil, a little hair at the temples. Crocketed, straight-sided gablette with pierced hanging tracery and cusping; human head corbels; the gable faces each have a shield (Furnival? and unknown).
   Johnston (C14, fo. 151v) described them as, 'Betwixt the north Isle and the Body of the church'.
   Dodsworth (p. 247) describes both figures as being between columns in the north part of the church, with the lady at the foot of the knight. He also gives the arms displayed on the knight's shield and the lady's supertunic as a bend between 6 martels (which the Editor has identified as Hamerton). However, the devices in question are clearly picks rather than hammers, which is how Gough (I.2, p. 177) described them, when the effigies were still where Dodsworth saw them. Lawrance (1946, p. 35) also saw them as pickaxes and identifies them as Pickworth, which occurs in the 'Nicholas Roll' of Edward III. This is *Cotgrave's Ordinary* of *c*. 1340, which gives 'Monsire de Pickworth, gules, a une bend entre vi pieces d'argent' (Nicolas 1829, Edward III, p. 33). Lawrance interpreted 'pieces' as 'picks'. Pickworth, therefore, seems feasible and as the effigies share the same arms and were previously together they are likely to be husband and wife.

2. Military (Pickworth family?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1315–35?
   On modern plinth on the stylobate of the south nave arcade.
   Much detail lost due to wear. Crossed legs; feet on dog. Sleeveless surcoat, ankle length; mail coif with plain circle; poleyns rubbed but with additional lower lame; rowel spurs of seven points. Shield with carved heraldry (Pickworth?). Sword belt has curious scabbard attachment of a loop and two rings, shown at one side only. Each link of the mail is carved as a full circle and they seem to have been laid out using a compass.
   For references and comment see No. 1.

Sheriff Hutton, N. R.

1. Military (Edmund de Thwing of Cornborough)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   ob. 1344
   On tomb chest set in the wall, below easternmost window in the north chapel.
   Series C
   General loss of detail due to wear, including heraldry, lion and right angel; left angel disintegrating through spalling; effigy's face obliterated. Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat to mid-calf; rounded bascinet and aventail so long it covers his shoulders; plate limb defences, including spaudlers and circular couters; poleyns with lower lame; large rowel spurs; gauntlets (faceted cuffs, cf Kildwick). Shield with carved heraldry (Thwing of Cornborough) with buckled enarm visible below elbow and feature at top corner that, on comparison with Kildwick, must be a handle. Sword belt attached to scabbard by thong method; sword grip tucked underneath the shield, straight crossguard. Two seated angels hold top cushion.
   Tomb chest (now on masonry plinth) designed to appear as a row of shields between chamfers and composed of a series of separate blocks. Each block has part of the row of shields and the bottom chamfer. The upper chamfer is made by the knight's base slab. The side has five shields with carved heraldry (none repeating the precise arms on the knight's shield). The centre shield bears mullets (or estoiles) on the fess, not escallops as recorded by I'Anson (1927, p. 58, fn 1). The monument cannot have been intended for this position since the design is inappropriate and the chest blocks seem to have been rearranged, also suggestive of a move.
   The arms on the knight's shield (a fess charged with three escallops between three popinjays) are said by Lawrance to be given in *Jenyn's Ordinary* as Thwing of Cornborough, with Thwing of Kilton (the main branch of that family) having the fess uncharged. Edmund de Thwing died 15th October 1344 (CIPM 8, pp. 367–8) and his main holding was Cornborough.

Skerne, E. R.

1. Male civilian
   Material unknown due to surface being masked
   1330–40
   Built into the blocking of the north arcade west of No. 2. Extensively repaired including hair, face, hands, belt, part of buckler, lower legs and right toe; making it difficult to be certain of the original configuration. Crossed legs; feet on animal (dog?). Fitted cote (calf length?) with very long, broad, hanging sleeves; ankle shoes; spur straps and arms; sword and buckler.
   Many writers have considered this figure to be miliary *e.g.* Morris 1906, I'Anson 1927 and Downing 2014). However, although masked by the clumsy repairs, he can still be seen to be a male civilian, with long hanging sleeves to his cote (rather than a cloak). His cote also has a simple neck line and he wears leather shoes rather than mail sabatons. He was a fashionably dressed gentleman of the mid fourteenth century. The fact that he has a sword and buckler does not make him a military effigy. In fact it would be unusual for a knight to be shown with a buckler rather than a shield. Bucklers occur, for example, on the civilian effigy of a forester at Wadworth and they are mentioned amongst bequests in Yorkshire civilian wills, *e.g.* that of John de Ryell, a tailor who in 1393 asked for burial in Hedon churchyard and left his sword and buckler to his son (*Test. Ebor.* I, p. 194).
   See Section 2c.ii (p. 61) for the restoration, which was probably carried out in the eighteenth century, and also A2a.

2. Lady (semi-effigial) fragments
   Material unknown due to surface being masked
   1st half 14th century
   Built into the blocking of the north arcade, east of No. 1. Only two original pieces remain which have been used to recreate a complete slab with a top end shaped like an eighteenth century headstone. One piece includes the lower part of a quatrefoil opening containing the bust of the lady with praying hands. The face and most of the long veil have been renewed. The lower part shows half of a cusped opening with the hem of the lady's gown and one foot. Both pieces have sections of a very worn cross shaft which must have linked the two openings and there are pairs of leafy branches on the shaft. The monument has not been recut and is very worn, as if the slab were once set in the floor and walked over, see also Section 2c.ii, p. 61.

Slingsby, N. R.

1. Military (Wyville family)
   Fine limestone, shell debris and occasional small scallop shells (unbroken), (cf. Thornton Dale & Thorpe Basset)
   2nd quarter 14th century
   In modern arched recess, south wall of the south chapel. Whole slab broken across at wrist level and mortared back together; lower legs and foot rest lost, damage to the tip of the shield and face (probably deliberate). Holding heart casket. Sleeveless surcoat calf length; possibly mail-clad skull-cap; ailettes flat on the slab behind the shoulders; poleyns with broad reinforcing strips. Shield on guige, now without heraldry. Sword belt with shaped bar mounts (like waist belt); scabbard attached by complicated arrangement of multiple mounts and rings (see Section 2b.iii, p. 46; Fig. 73); sword has a short, down-turned, crossguard and fluted pommel.
   Dodsworth saw the effigy in 1619 (and again in 1627):

   > Ther is [in] the quier a monu[m]ent cross[l]egg'd of one of the Wyvills, att his feet a talbott couchinge; no inscription; a sheild on his arme with three chevrons embraced and a chief depicted, the coulors hard to see (Dodsworth, p. 174).

   On his second visit (p. 177) he added the tinctures, 'gu. 3 cheverons embrased vaire a chief, being the paternall coate of Wyvill, sometymes lord of a parte of this towne'. Lawrance (1946, p. 49), identifies him as Sir William Wyville d. 1332, citing *Jenyn's Ordinary* for the arms. However, this has not been recognised by the *Dictionary of British Arms*, where the effigy is given as the source, in what is a familiar circular argument (DBA 2, p. 525). The effigy was still in the chancel in the early nineteenth century, where he is recorded by William Eastmead (1824, p. 238) but by then had been damaged, 'The monument of the cross-legged knight still remains, near the altar rails, though in a very dilapidated state, both the legs being broken off, and the talbot at his feet removed.' Dodsworth (p. 174) also recounts a serpent legend associated with this effigy (cf. Nunnington).

South Anston, W. R.

1. Male civilian (double effigy, with No. 2)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1335–50?
   Upright against west wall of nave, inside, on the north side.
   Rather battered and eroded; faces and hands particularly damaged; three of the four angels headless. Tapered slab. Hands at prayer; feet on dog. Bare-headed with shoulder length hair; hood folded down around neck, its shoulder cape decorated with shallow relief foliage trails; cote almost ankle length, its elbow length sleeves have long, broad, extensions; waist belt; the tunic below has buttoned sleeves. Two angels hold the effigy's head and shoulders. The sleeve extension from the left arm lies protectively over the small figure alongside.
   For the figure beside him and the two associated angels see No. 2.
   Johnston (C14, fo. 261v.) 'At the East end of the South Isle under Mr. Jessops Loft wch place is called the Lady Quire lyes this effigy There was a vault under this called the G[rea]t Hole'; 'Woman by the face a handsome face'.
   Joseph Hunter (1828 & 1831, I, p. 306) gives, 'The east end of the south aisle has every appearance of having been a private chantry. The window has been of painted glass. Before the middle light stood an image, which has been removed from the still remaining pedestal. On the right is an arch, such as is seen over what are called founder's tombs. With this chapel I should connect the well executed monumental effigies of a lady with an infant in her arms [sic], now lying exposed in the church-yard, having been removed from the interior of the church'. By 1834, the slab was back inside, set upright on the south wall of the chancel (Glynne 2007, p. 386)
   See also Bloxham 1849, pp. 9–10 (illustrated).
2. Female, child? (double effigy, with No. 1)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1335–50?
   Upright against west wall of nave, inside, on the north side.
   On the left side of male figure. Hands at prayer; head on single cushion. Bare headed and wearing a long tunic. Two angels hold head and feet, the one above her is stretched out to support her head and that below holds her feet. A nice detail is that the man's sleeve extension lies over the top of her head in a protective manner. She is probably the daughter of the male figure (Oosterwijk 2010).
   References as for No. 1

Spofforth, W. R.

1. Military (Plumpton family)
   Material not determined due to the whole surface being overpainted
   1330–40
   In a cinquefoil arched recess, north wall of the chancel.
   Series C
   Rather battered and broken, with many pieces missing, including the left leg and parts of the hands, lion, sword and shield; thickly coated with grey paint. Crossed legs; feet on lion (head loose). Sleeveless surcoat; ridged bascinet with a strip of flower decoration around the face and the aventail attached along its bottom edge; waist belt with bar mounts; ridged poleyn with lower lame; prick spurs. Shield with carved heraldry (Plumpton). Sword belt with disc mounts and raised edging; scabbard attached by interlaced and knotted thongs. There was extensive undercutting of forearms, sword hilt, scabbard, tip of shield, left leg and guige where it joined the shield. Henry Johnston saw it in 1669 (C13, fo. 182r),'on the South side of the Quire', noting, 'Plumpton of Plumpton'. His drawing shows one of the upper cusps of the arch as a human face. All were present then but none now survive. Lawrance suggests the figure commemorates 'Sir Robert Plumpton d. *c*. 1323' but see also Section 4c.iii (p. 137).

Sprotbrough, W. R.

1. Lady (Isabella Deincourt, wife of Sir William FitzWilliam)
   Magnesian Limestone (Stapleton quarry)
   1340–50 (d. 1348)
   Beneath reconstructed arched recess, north side of the south chapel.
   In an exceptional state of preservation with some abrasion to the right side of the top of her head and the adjacent hand of an angel. Some areas spalling (*e.g.* effigy's left hand and elbow, parts of her skirt drapery) and two broad brown stains across the figure. All the faces are present. Hands holding heart. She wears a *surcote ouverte* over a long sleeved tunic, both of which are smoothly fitted over the body but sharply flared from the waist; cloak with ribbon fastening (any mounts hidden by veil) gathered up under both elbows; two veils and closely crimped wimple. Feet on group comprising a grotesque head with oak leaves and acorns in lieu of hair and two kneeling females with veils and circles, reading from books which they rest on the grotesque's head. Two angels hold her head; they have the FitzWilliam lozenges on their amices. Lady has part of a fillet on the right side of her head, decorated with FitzWilliam lozenges.
   A surprising comparison with the Sprotbrough lady is the effigy of a priest at Gamston (Nottinghamshire). He has two angels beside his head which are remarkably similar to those at Sprotbrough. We have not seen this figure and are very grateful to David Carrington for bring it to our attention and providing a copy of his unpublished report (D. Carrington, *Report on the monuments in St. Peter's church Gamston, Nottinghamshire*, Skillington Workshop Ltd, February 2016). The priest's effigy is also carved from Magnesian Limestone.
   The case study at Section 3g.ii (pp. 86–8) details the history and context of these monuments.

2. Military (Sir William FitzWilliam)
Magnesian Limestone (Stapleton quarry)
1340–50
Under arched recess, south wall of south chapel.
In good condition with the main losses being both spurs, the nose, three crests from the lion's crown and most of the left side supporter; minor losses include: part of the crossguard, the tips of the shield and scabbard. Straight legs; tablet-like cushion below head with rose diaper; feet on lion wearing a crown or coronet. Sleeveless surcoat with a graduated hem, carved heraldry over the chest; long mail coif covering shoulders; circle decorated with flowers on a central strip (as the lion's coronet); waist belt with flower and circle mounts; bizarre scallop-edged poleyns, seemingly riveted in place. Shield with relief heraldry (FitzWilliam). Sword belt with flower mounts alternating with rings; scabbard attachment without detail. Either side of the head were supporters, that on the right survives – a tonsured monk with a hood round his shoulders holding the cushion. The effigy's nose was on a separate piece of stone, now lost. The smooth, square-cut and cross-hatched seating remains. Some details on the left side were only blocked out e.g part of lion's crown, effigy's waist belt, presumably because these areas were not to be seen.
Notes as No. 1.

Stainton, N. R.

1. Male civilian
   Brown sandstone
   2nd quarter 14th century
   Upright in blocked doorway, south wall of the chancel. Very weathered and worn with face put out, the features later crudely indicated with a cut line for the mouth and holes for eyes. Holding heart between praying hands and cradling a feature that is probably a book, in crook of right elbow (like two figures at Acklam); feet on damaged lion. Tapered base slab. Bare headed; almost floor length cote with hanging sleeves; hood folded down around neck, its liripipe on cushion. Churchyard monument.
   This figure has been badly interpreted. Morris (1931, p. 362) says:

   > Inside the chancel is a recumbent priest, apparently holding a chalice. Ord describes this figure thus in 1846: 'Under the gallery, within a niche of the wall, is the upright figure of an ecclesiastic breaking the holy bread, supposed by the villagers to be the figure of Our Saviour.'

Stanwick, N. R.

1. Lady (semi-effigial)
   Material not determined due to surface condition
   1st half 13th century
   On floor under the tower.
   Head only, wearing a barbette under a straight-sided circlet; shears, fish(?) and stalk with leaf(?) also on slab, which is chamfered on three sides and broken on the fourth.
   See Section 2a.vii (pp. 25–6). This slab is covered in Ryder (2002), item 40, illustrated p. 12 and described, pp. 12–13.

2. Male civilian
   Buff-coloured sandstone
   14th century
   On window sill, south wall of south aisle, east of No. 3. Severely eroded, no original surface remains. Straight legged; right hand on stomach, left holding something, possibly the remains of a bird; feet on beast. Bare headed with fairly short hair (just below ears); calf length garment, fitted over chest but skirt in broad folds, sleeves look loose; hands in big gloves; purse or bag at right side. The combination of large gloves and a possible bird may indicate the figure was shown equipped for hawking. Churchyard monument.
   Morris (1931, p. 364) says, 'Scattered about the church – N. of the Sacrarium and on ledges of aisle windows are four recumbent figures'.
   At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Thomas Whitaker (1823 I, p. 215) saw effigies outside. His comment about the effigies being ejected from the church to provide space for later memorials is likely to be surmise.

   > To make room for these costly and cumbrous [seventeenth century] memorials, several cumbent statues in freestone, which once covered the old lords of this manor and their wives, have been removed into the churchyard, where these sculptures are gradually wearing away, partly from the corrosion of the atmosphere, and partly from the feet of men and cattle.

3. Male civilian
   Buff-coloured sandstone
   14th century
   On window sill, south wall of south aisle, west of No. 2. Very similar condition and features to easterly figure except that parts of the slab are lost; both rest their heads on single rectangular cushions. Churchyard monument. Reference as for No. 2.

4. Lady
   Buff-coloured sandstone
   14th century
   On sill, of the east window of the south aisle.
   Extremely weathered, upper parts in similar condition to Nos 2 and 3 but better detail below. Face has a triangular shape so hair is likely to have been drawn to the sides of the temples; veil; loose tunic with 'V' shaped folds surviving at sides and three vertical ones down front; feet on an animal. The base slab had a broad chamfer. Churchyard monument.
   Reference as for No. 2.

5. Lady
   Buff-coloured sandstone
   14th century
   In modern recess, north wall of the sanctuary.
   Condition as for No. 4 but this is a little better preserved. Her hair must be dressed to the sides of the face as the silhouette is very broad across the cheeks; accentuated by the meeting there of veil and wimple; long garment with three straight folds down the front. Something is caught up in the crooks of both elbows, so she may have had a cloak; 'V' shaped folds at the sides. Feet on animal. Churchyard monument.
   Reference as for No. 2.

Startforth, N. R.

1. Male civilian
   Yellow sandstone
   1330–50?
   On the floor, north side altar.
   Extremely weathered. Hands at prayer; head on single rectangular cushion; a slightly raised feature just under his neck may have been an object held in his fingers; feet on a mutilated animal with a long tail. The base slab is tapered, the figure being presented on a slight platform above chamfered edges (head end square cut). Figure bare headed, with what may be a small roll curl either side of the cheeks. Costume is difficult to interpret but the supertunic is ankle length with hanging sleeves, coming from the points of the elbows; the tunic below is full length. The cushion and head are offset a little to the left, markings in the space produced to the right of the cushion may possibly be the remnants of a short inscription. Base slab chamfers decorated, including a repeated pattern of what appears to be leaves and fruit. Churchyard monument.
   At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Thomas Whitaker (1823 I, p. 144) saw it, 'In the churchyard, on the south side of the choir, is a very antique figure of a female, too much defaced by time and injuries to merit a drawing'. It was inside the church in the 1970s but it was probably still outside when the usually assiduous Joseph Morris visited (1931) without seeing it.

Stillingfleet, E. R.

1. Military (de Moreby)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   1330–40
   On modern chest against south wall of the south chapel.
   Series D
   In good condition, with a little wear in places; the face damaged and partially recut. Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat to mid calf; mail coif with mail-clad skull-cap (Pl. 11); ridged poleyns with shields; prick spurs. Shield with relief heraldry (de Moreby). Scabbard attached to sword belt by thongs; surcoat and the lion's tail lap over the scabbard.
   Richard Gough (1786–96, I.2, p. 179) described him then, 'In the south chapel of this church lies a cross legged knight in mail with round helmet and surcoat: at his feet a lion looking up to him. On his shield three estoiles on a bend; overall a label of five points. This is one of the Moreby's of Moreby'.
   The tablet on the wall adjacent to the effigy has an inscription which includes an antiquarian identification. The tablet was erected in 1613 by Sir William Acclom in memory of his father John Acclom of Moreby (d. 1611), who was descended from Sir William Acclom who (1370) 'married the daughter and heir of Moreby of Moreby whose auntient monument here under lyeth'.
   The effigy probably commemorates Robert or William de Moreby, see Section 3b (p. 69).

Stonegrave, N. R.

1. Male civilian
   Sandstone
   Early 14th century
   In modern recess in the north wall of the north aisle, west of Nos 2 and 3. Worn, with damage including the loss the nose; of part of the left forearm and the animal's head. Crossed legs; feet on an animal (probably a dog). Figure bare headed in loose cote (unbelted) with sleeves; head in coif; seems to be wearing shoes. Base slab slightly coffin shaped; plain chamfer on three sides; right side has hollow chamfer set with flowers.
   For comments on the identification of this effigy see Section 2a.ii (p. 10).

2. Male civilian, Robert Thornton? (double effigy, with No. 3)
   Sandstone
   c. 1390
   Tomb chest in arched recess, north wall of the north aisle, east of No. 1.
   Closely related to the double effigy at Ampleforth.
   There are some losses from the right arm, shield and dagger and the face was obliterated and crudely recreated; much of surface seems to have been reworked with a narrow chisel, including the dagger (where the stone may have flaked off). On his more exposed side this crisping of the surface then seems to have been removed by wear, implying it was done a considerable time ago. Bare headed, with jaw length wavy hair in a centre parting and beard. He wears a very full, ankle length houppelande, with a very high funnel neck (there are indications it was buttoned down the front); buckled waist belt; tight sleeves of under garment just visible; toes in shoes peep from under houppelande; mutilated dagger hangs from belt on left. Small shield with arms of Thornton hangs by a hook from a loop on left shoulder.
   The double effigy is located very awkwardly, using a fairly shallow recess with a decorated depressed arch. This is too small for the block so the female half of the slab has been adapted to fit within it. She is shorter than her male companion and both ends of the block have been cut back (and the arch jambs, below the corbel heads), to allow her to be inserted. This leaves the male outside the recess, where he is supported by an arcaded tomb chest. Most of the niches are blank but two contain angels holding shields, one blank and the other with the Thornton arms, as carried by the effigy. The base slab of the double effigy is under-chamfered to fit the tomb chest, with floral motifs on the head and side chamfers. The tomb and the recess look an *ad hoc* arrangement but is likely to be intentional since the female effigy has been tailored to suit the situation.
   A Thornton pedigree (Jackson 1873, between pp. 344 & 345), includes Robert Thornton who succeeded his brother William as lord of Newton in 1374. He is said to have married Margery and died *c*. 1401–2. His sister married William Kirkby and they are probably the pair commemorated at Ampleforth. Robert Thornton and his wife Margery are, therefore, very good candidates for these effigies, see Section 2a.ii, p. 10.

3. Lady, wife of Robert Thornton? (double effigy, with No. 2)
   Sandstone
   c. 1390
   Tomb chest in arched recess, north wall of the north aisle, beside No. 2.
   Closely related to the double effigy at Ampleforth.
   Much of the face obliterated and there is damage to hands and forearms but she does not appear to have been reworked like the man beside her. Hands at prayer; feet on a dog which is difficult to see because of its cramped situation. She wears a houppelande with a high funnel neck and straight sleeves, buttoned down the front (the raised bands at the cuffs may be intended for fur); broad waist belt with square buckle; hands in wrist length gloves; short layered veil over what may be a frill-edged inner veil or, perhaps, a hairnet.
   Comments and reference as for No. 2.

Sutton-on-Hull, E. R.

1. Military (Sir John de Sutton)
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1356
   On original tomb chest, south side of chancel.
   Areas dark with a skin of dirt, minor damage (*e.g.* hands) and some flaking of the surface; losses include face, a large part of the right arm, part of the hands, most of the scabbard and significant areas of the shield. Straight legs; feet on lion being pushed over; small cushion under head rather than helm. Closely-fitted short-fronted surcoat carved with the arms of de Sutton against a diapered background, laced at right side and with dagged front hem. Ridged bascinet with aventail as wide as his shoulders; hands in gauntlets with rippled cuffs suggesting they were not metal; plate armour on shoulders and limbs with scale sabatons (Fig. 66); poleyns with engrailed ridges and lower lames; rowel spurs. Shield carved with heraldry (de Sutton) against diaper, but no guige. Sword belt ornamented with leaves and circular lion mask mounts; scabbard attached by ring lockets using twisted wire linking rings. Hands have been repaired with a separate inserted piece (which is probably original) and since mutilated; the face is obliterated but may also have been repaired with a separate piece, now lost.
   The effigy on its heraldic tomb chest commemorates Sir John de Sutton who died in 1356 and was probably set up in his lifetime (see Section 3g.iii). The hands and face appear as they are today in an 1784 illustration prepared for Dade's *History and Antiquities of Holderness* (copy in the Gott Collection at Wakefield). References are numerous and include: Glover in 1584 (Foster 1875, p. 445); Abraham de la Pryme, writing in 1700 (de la Pryme 1868, p. 234); Gough (1786–96, I.2, p. 180); Allen (1828–1831 IV, pp. 259–60); Sheahan & Whellan (1857, II, pp. 377–8); Blashill (1900, pp. 83, 100 & frontispiece) and Luxford (2009).

Swillington, W. R.

1. Military (de Swillington family?)
   Wood (very badly decayed)
   Later 14th century
   In a glass case under a multi-cusped ogee arch, in the south wall of the south aisle.
   Very difficult to interpret due to its poor condition; severely attacked by wood boring beetles and the remains broken into pieces. Hands at prayer, with fingers in gauntlets; bascinet; figure seems to have been rather slim. Johnston drawing suggests it was wearing full plate armour and a coat armour.
   Fortunately Henry Johnston visited in 1670 (C13, fo. 276r), commenting 'In the South Isle of the Church. The tradition is, it is one John de Swillington, who builded the church.'; 'In wood – oak'. The shallow arched recess where the figure now lies is recognisable as where the effigy is shown in Johnston's sketch and is likely to be his original setting. The aisle is equipped with Decorated windows, the arcade is fourteenth century as is the tomb recess.

Swine, E. R.

1. Lady (Maud wife of Sir Robert Hilton II)
   Alabaster
   c. 1370
   On tomb chest with No. 2; under north chancel arcade; easternmost of two pairs of effigies.
   Midlands import
   Rather worn and battered, broken across at the waist and cemented back together; hands and forearms lost. Feet on dog. She wears a fitted *cote hardie* under a cloak with double cord; shoulder length outer veil over an inner veil (crimped around face edge) and a closely-crimped wimple. These all follow the natural line of her head and neck. However, no neckline is shown at Swine, since it is covered by the wimple.
   There is a consensus in the literature that this pair of effigies represent Sir John Hilton II and his wife Maud, and date from *c*. 1370: Routh 1976, Lankester 2006 & Downing 2014. A most useful reference is T. Thompson, *A History of the Church and Priory of Swine in Holderness* (Hull, 1824).

2. Military (Sir Robert Hilton II).
   Alabaster
   c. 1370
   On tomb chest under arch of the north chancel arcade, with No. 1.
   Midlands import
   Losses include: hands, toes, much of the helm beneath his head; dagger; most of sword in its scabbard and the arming chains where they were undercut. Straight legs; hands were at prayer and fully undercut; head on helm with plume of feathers crest; moustache; feet on lion. Coat armour with carved heraldry (Hilton) and dagged hem; two arming chains attached to a central ring (that on left lying unused on the slab, showing its fixing pin); bascinet with aventail; full plate armour with studded cuisses and winged poleyns. Horizontal hip belt with circular mounts and large circular clasp, all lacking their centres, which (to judge from the depth of the sockets) would have had decorative inserts. Some remarkable undercutting, particularly of the arming chain, where it fell to the base slab on the left side.
   For references see No. 1.

3. Lady (wife of Sir Thomas Sutton?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1390
   On chest in recess under the most easterly window of the nave south aisle, with No. 4.
   Much of the figure is well preserved but losses include the wrists (undercut) and hands, the left toe, both angels from above the waist and the dog's head, with the last having been a separate piece, as an original repair. Hands must have been at prayer; feet on a dog. She is wearing a low-necked *cote hardie* with tightly buttoned sleeves and conjoined plaques running two thirds of the way down the front (similar, but not identical to, those on her husband's sword belt); hair in beaded hair net, under which must be a bourrelet or the hair dressed into a ring around the head; cloak but no cord. Two small angels originally held the top cushion beneath her head.
   Thompson 1824 (see No. 1)

4. Military (Sir Thomas Sutton?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1390
   Beside No. 3.
   In poor condition and much of the surface eroded, broken across at the waist and between head and helm; areas still retain a grey coating. Both arms broken off completely (three loose pieces remain); other losses include the lions head and most of the crest from his helm. Straight legs; head on helm with the crest broken off (sufficient remains to show it was the lion's head 'erased' noted by Glover, q.v.); moustache; feet on lion. Full plate armour with winged couters and poleyns; the latter with additional lames top and bottom; tight fitting coat armour; very pointed bascinet and aventail, pointed in front; hip belt made up of square mounts with central clasp; rowel spurs of six points. Detail not carved on right side of head and points not cut on right spur but adventurous undercutting, even of the body. No sword or dagger present but slight scars on the slab and belt seem to be their contact points.
   Thompson 1824 (see No. 1).
   Glover in 1584 recorded the knight's arms and crest (Foster 1875, p. 446):

   > 'An ould knight and his wife lying in a tombe of stone in a wall wth these armes and crest, lying in the north side of the "body of" the churche.' A lion rampant debruised by a bendlet gobony. Crest: On closed helmet, a lion's head erased 'gules or gould.'

   The fragment of the crest which remains agrees with this description and the arms may have been painted on the shields of the tomb chest. The arms are those of Sutton (as seen on the knight at Sutton-on-Hull) and the effigy may commemorate that knight's brother (Section 3g.iii, p. 89). The tomb chest below the knight has four plain shields and substantial bases at the corners for a canopy structure, see Section 3e (p. 79; Fig. 135) and A3.

Thornhill, W. R.

1. Military
   Fine-grained limestone
   Early 14th century
   On floor, north side of the north chapel.
   Face replaced (Fig. 86) and fingers shortened; lower right corner of slab and part of lion's rump replaced; muzzle mostly lost; two cramp positions have been filled (see below); all the four attendant figures have lost their heads. Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat; mail coif and plain circle; poleyns of unusual form; prick spurs. Plain shield, guige meets the inside low down (below waist), at a buckle. Sword belt with elaborate mounts and matching strap end; scabbard (complete) with mounts matching those on the belt; wrap around attachment. Two kneeling figures by ankles, one an ecclesiastic blessing and holding a crosier (Fig. 270). Two kneeling angels either side of head, that on right is bearing up a soul (lost) in a sheet (Fig. 256); the other mutilated. Flat-topped gablette with crockets, pinnacles, pediment and side arches; three human corbel heads survive out of four.
   In 1669 Henry Johnston saw him, 'In the north aisle of the church close to the wall' (C13, fo. 16r). His drawing and another of 1794 show the figure in similar condition to today, see Section 2c.ii (p. 53). J. C., writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1795, Pt. II, p. 985) said that it was originally recumbent near the wall towards the east end of the north aisle, 'but when the body of the church was rebuilt in 1777 was removed from this situation, and is now fixed with iron cramps in an erect position against the wall of the ground-room at the west end leading to the belfry'.
   I'Anson (1927, p. 20) and Downing (2015, p. 90) identify the effigy as Sir John de Thornhill, d. 1322.

Thornton Dale, N. R.

1. Lady

   Fine limestone, shell debris and occasional small scallop shells (unbroken) (cf. Slingsby & Thorpe Basset)

   c. 1330?

   Under an arched recess, north side of the sanctuary.

   In quite good condition but fingers lost and the lady's face obliterated, one corbel head of the gablette mostly lost and the face of the other treated like that of the lady; both faces at her feet also damaged. The slab has been trimmed at the head end with slight loss to the gablette pinnacles. Hands at prayer; feet on a dog which rests its chin on a male head. Sleeveless surcote drawn up under both elbows, revealing the tunic beneath. Hair dressed into small rounded features over her ears (outlined under the veils); long double veils, the outer crimped or frilled on the face edge; elaborate fillet rather like a coronet. Straight sided gablette with pinnacles and corbel heads; six shields lie on the base slab flanking the figure, three to either side (St Quintin? and Hastings or Conyers?).

   Eastmead (1824, pp. 319–20) recounts that this effigy was bizarrely mistaken in the past for that of Sir Richard Cholmley (d. 1583). Unfortunately the heraldry has not proved sufficient to provide a positive identification for the lady, see Section 2a.iv, (p. 15). The recess appears to be medieval but may not hers as the lady seems to have been shortened at the head end to fit the space.

Thorpe Basset, E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Fine limestone, shell debris and occasional small scallop shells (unbroken), (cf. Slingsby & Thornton Dale)
   2nd quarter 14th century
   On sarcophagus, under a reconstructed arch, north wall of the sanctuary.
   Extremely worn across the whole of the top surface and down the right side with a great deal lost, including face, hands and most of the drapery; top right corner lost, together with supporting angel and the left angel's head. The lion's face damaged. Hands at prayer; feet on a lion. Wearing mass vestments, originally carved with fine detail, some of which can be seen on the left side, particularly the maniple. Two angels originally held the cushion beneath his head (part of right angel's left hand remains on the top of the cushion). The sarcophagus may be much earlier and re-used to support the priest by cutting appropriate decoration (flowers within quatrefoils). The scheme looks as though it was contrived to make an existing object fit a specific position. However, the effigy appears to fit the sarcophagus. The heavy wear has the appearance of being caused by the passage of feet, implying the figure has spent time set in the ground, slightly tipped over.
   The monument was as now at the beginning of the twentieth century (Morris 1906, p. 313) and the reconstruction was probably done during the 1879–80 restoration (Pev:ER 1995, p. 723). John Baroun held the rectory between 1315 and his death 1354/5 so the tomb may be his, see N. Lawrance, ed., *Fasti Parochiales Vol. V: Deanery of Buckrose*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, CXLIII (1983), p. 55.
   See also Section 2c.ii (p. 56), Section 3d (pp. 77–8) and Appendix 6 (*A6f*).

Throapham, W. R.

1. Male civilian (semi-effigial, small)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1st half 14th century
   Built into the east wall of the south porch, inside.
   In very poor condition, very weathered and the surfaces pitted and flaking; hands and face obliterated. Top half of slab only. Bust of a man, his head on a single cushion, set within a quatrefoil opening, below which part of a cross shaft with a small knop is incised, as if the recess were the head of a cross. Figure bare headed, the outline of the hair consistent with that of a male civilian; neck is relatively thick; scar for the hands is quite wide so may have held something such as a heart. No details of clothing. Probably a churchyard monument but lacking drainage holes.
   Morris (1911, p. 505) recorded it as it is now.

Thrybergh, W. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Yellow honeycombed limestone
   c. 1300
   Upright against south wall of the tower, inside.
   Extremely weathered, with cavities in the surface and most detail lost except for the lower part of his vestments. Slab a pronounced coffin-shape with two holes and a recess for some form of attachment at the foot (not likely to have been original). Head on single cushion; hands appear to have been at prayer; foot support lost but 1670 drawing shows a bracket on foliage. Wearing mass vestments. Churchyard monument.
   Henry Johnston (C14, fo. 193v), commented, 'On the south, and out side of the church lye these 2 monuments, one on each side of the chancel door'.

2. Ecclesiastic
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   1st half 14th century
   On modern plinth in the vestry corridor, south of the porch.
   Extremely weathered, removing the detail; there appears to be deliberate damage to his face; right upper arm lost; cramp positions in the head end. Wearing mass vestments; feet on an animal (probably a dog). He appears to have been holding a chalice between his palms and this is corroborated by Johnston's 1670 drawing. Churchyard monument.
   Reference, as for No. 1.

Thwing, E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic (de Thwing family?)
   Very fine grained, creamy coloured limestone
   Mid 14th century
   On modern plinth against the north wall of the north aisle.
   Well preserved but with damage to the hands, chalice, slab and censor chains; the right angel is headless. Hands at prayer, with a chalice resting below (wide bowl, faceted foot and 'jewelled' knop); feet on lion. Head shown with prominent tonsure; wearing mass vestments, the alb apparels decorated with diaper. Two angels recline on the cushion beside his head, with their knees drawn up and wings spread, swinging censors. Coffin-shaped slab. A slot cut in the top end of the slab must be for a cramp to hold the figure in an upright position, as described by Allen (*q.v.*). It even cuts just into the top of his head. For the chalice position compare the brass of Simon de Wensley in Wensley church (see also Section 5c.ii, pp. 171–2).
   Allen (1828–1831, 4, p. 92):

   > On the north side of the chancel, the effigy of a priest pressing a chalice to his breast has been most ridiculously placed erect, instead of being allowed to retain its original situation on the floor of the church.

   An old photograph (undated) in the church shows him on what looks like the same masonry plinth but under the north east window of the north aisle, close to the altar. This is where he seems to have been seen by Joseph Morris (1906, p. 314). The effigy may commemorate a member of the de Thwing family, see Section 5b.i (p. 159).

Treeton, W. R.

1. Military

Stone difficult to identify because of poor surface condition but may be Magnesian Limestone

Late 13th century?

Set upright in purpose-built alcove, inside the west wall of nave

Partly buried in wall, severely damaged and coated with a variety of plaster skims and paint layers; lower part lost and much of surface chiselled away, including almost all below the waist and much of the shield; right forearm (which was undercut) broken off. Originally sword handling, head rests on something difficult to interpret; crossed legs. Sleeveless surcoat with deep arm holes and 'V' shaped opening in the front of the neck; short mail coif with coronet in place of circle (Fig. 27); stump of ailette on left shoulder, that on the right may be largely buried in the wall; shield with guige. Small parts of the waist and sword belts survive on right side. Some well carved mail survives on right side of head and in the right armhole. Nothing survives of the feet or foot support.

It must have been set in the wall for preservation but it was subsequently severely mutilated to install wooden panelling. That has been removed, exposing the damage (see Section 2c.ii, p. 56). Johnston's drawing (Fig. 91) shows figure where it is now but before the area below the waist was chiselled, confirming that he was cross legged and sword handling.

Henry Johnston (1670) commented, 'This stands in a square Hole at the west end in the Belfrey but I suppose hath been some mon[ument]. the Hole is but the length it is now' [*i.e*. the same as the truncated length of the effigy]; 'Crosse legged', (C14, fo. 229r).

Local tradition refers to him as 'Earl Gilbert', see Section 2a.v (p. 21) and J. Hunter, *Hallamshire* (London, 1819), p. 291. Using notes on Treeton taken in 1802, he said, 'In this church is also the effigy of a knight in armour, called by the common people Earl Gilbert; but if it represent any member of the house of Talbot, it is probably Sir Christopher, who fell at Northampton. But still more probably it represents one of the Horberys or Bernaks, who held this manor under the Furnivals'.

Upleatham (old church), N. R.

1. Ecclesiastic (small)
   Stone type unknown (white washed)
   14th century
   Set upright on back wall of a small recess, in the south wall of what was the chancel (simple cusped arch with two shields above).
   Difficult to assess because of over painting. All detail gone from the head, the whole of the lower half of the figure and the arms. The outline of the head shows a mitre and the amice is also clear so he must have been dressed as a bishop or mitred abbot in mass vestments. The square object on the left side of his chest, might be a crozier head or, possibly, a book. This monument is difficult to interpret but a heart burial is a possibility, with the base of the niche covering the casket.
   The monument has attracted little attention but Gent (1733a, p. 37) printed a poem entitled *Uplethamia Poetae Rusticantis Amonitates*, which includes the following lines:

   Here now with small Attendance Heav'n resides
   Can Heav'n have Priests where He for none provides!
   Here on his Antique Tomb the Mitred Head
   Shows we a Bishop once maintain'd, or bred.

2. Military (Sir Robert de Capon)
   Brown sandstone
   d. 1346
   In collection of Kirkleatham Hall Museum, (Accession No. 2008.18.1).
   Series E
   Head broken off and lost; all lost below knees and there is a gouge in the centre; much rubbed and worn and the base slab broken away. Crossed legs; short-fronted surcoat carved with relief heraldry (de Capon), split at sides; poleyns decorated with large flowers on either side. Shield with relief heraldry (de Capon); single enarm over left forearm. Incised cross binding on sword grip; scabbard attached to sword belt via hinges. Hollowed underside. Belts, straps and most garments (even the heraldic surcoat) have the standard Series E incised edging line.
   In 1979 (from the authors' contemporary notes and photographs), two pieces of the head remained: one the left side of the face, including one eye; the other, the lower part of the face including the chin. Even then, the neck was missing.
   The effigy is alluded to in the poem quoted under No. 1 and at the start of the nineteenth century it was 'beneath the stalls, on the north side of the chapel', J. Graves, *The History of Cleveland, in the North Riding of the County of York* (Carlisle, 1808), p. 353. The church, and the effigy with it were abandoned in 1836. Discovered by excavation on the church site in 1970 (S. Knight, 'St Andrew's Old Church, Upleatham', in P. Addyman & R. Morris, *The Archaeological Study of Churches*, CBA Research Report 13 (London, 1976) pp. 40–1). It was briefly stored in the church in the village (pers. comm. Shirley Knight) before moving to the museum collection.
   For a full account see Gittos 2002b. See also Appendices A3 and A4b.

Wadworth, W. R.

1. Male civilian (double semi-effigial, with No. 2)
   Coarse limestone
   2nd quarter 14th century?
   Upright against the west wall of nave, inside, between Nos 3 and 4.
   Extremely weathered; foot aperture broken away, no details remain; principal features (edges of apertures and figure) now undercut, seemingly through erosion caused by lying water. There is a division line between the two figures, as if they were two separate monuments joined together, the male to the left of the female (No. 2). Quatrefoil opening for head containing a bust with praying hands, lacking all detail; feet were probably shown in the lower opening. Drainage hole on left side of head aperture, broken through; may have been another above the head (cf. No. 2). Churchyard monument.
   Joseph Hunter (1828, I, p. 254), having described No. 4, said 'Two of the same kind are in the church-yard'. He is highly likely to have been referring to this double monument.
2. Lady (double semi-effigial, with No. 1)
   Coarse limestone
   2nd quarter 14th century?
   Upright against the west wall of nave, inside, between nos. 3 and 4.
   Extremely weathered; no details remain; principal features (edges of apertures and figure) now undercut, seemingly through erosion caused by lying water. There is a division line between the two figures, as if they were two separate monuments joined together, the male (No. 1) to the left of the female.
   Quatrefoil opening for head containing a bust with praying hands, the head outline is that of *c*. 1330s when the hair could be dressed out wide at the cheeks (cf. Kirby Sigston); lower opening now empty. Drainage hole on left side of head aperture, broken through; others above the head and at base of lower opening. Churchyard monument.
   Reference as No. 1.

3. Male civilian (semi-effigial)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   Mid 14th century
   Upright against west wall of nave, inside, north of Nos 1 and 2.
   Broken across and rejoined; surface uniformly eroded and pitted; fingers damaged and face obliterated. Cusped ogee-headed recess, surmounted by a crocketed gablette, with side shafts and pinnacles; another at the foot between the shafts. The upper aperture contains the bust of a bare-headed man in lawyer's collobium; hood round neck but no coif; under the collobium, a supertunic with hanging sleeves and under that, a tunic with wrist length sleeves. Head on tasselled cushion; feet and garment hems in lower recess.
   Formerly in the floor of the south east chapel and the vertical edges of the slab are only roughly finished because they were not going to be seen. That is almost certainly where it was originally set up, to commemorate the person responsible for the chapel.
   Mentioned in Hunter (1828, I, p. 254). See Section 2a. vii, p. 27 and Bloxham 1849, pp. 8–9 (illustrated).

4. Male civilian (forester)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   Mid-14th century
   Upright against west wall of nave, inside, south of nos 1 and 2.
   Suffering badly from damp with much salting and the surface contaminated by residual coatings. Broken across in two places (the loss of both elbows associated with the upper fracture) and joined back together, a new block of stone inserted by the left elbow. Much local damage such as to his face, fingers, the buckler and the dog's head and rump. Hands at prayer, touching at fingertips; moustache and beard, making a characterful face; feet on a small dog. Fitted supertunic with pleated skirt to just below knees, the sleeves buttoned from elbow to wrist; raised hood (with liripipe to side of head), its cape also covering shoulders; feet in front-fastening, high-cut, shoes. Low buckled belt supports sword and buckler; hunting horn suspended by baldric over left shoulder.
   It was previously in the south chapel with No. 3, see Bloxham 1849, pp. 7–8 (illustrated). This figure reminded Bloxham of Chaucer's description of the Yeoman from the General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*. He selectively extracted the most apt lines:

   > And he was clad in cote and hode of grene,
   > And by his side a sword and a bokeler,
   > An horne he bare the bawdrick was grene,
   > A Forester was he sothely as I gesse.

   This is definitely a male civilian and not military, despite being included by Downing in his survey of military effigies (Downing 2015, p. 94).

Walton, W. R.

1. Military
   Magnesian Limestone
   c. 1370–80
   Under large canopied recess, north wall of chancel.
   Most of lower left leg, right foot, sword, dagger grip, fingers, part of lion's face and crest lost. Straight legs; head on helm; moustache and beard; feet on lion; the upper part of the figure is slightly turned, to look outward from the niche (towards the altar). Full plate armour, the couters and poleyns all have additional lames; bascinet with aventail; gauntlets; close-fitting coat armour with dagged hem; hip belt has circular mounts alternating with rectangles; remains of ballock dagger on right; sword in its scabbard was on the left but only a small portion remains where it attached to the belt; spur type not shown.
   Although the figure has his hands close together in prayer, they are not joined nor, from the line of what survives, does it look as though the lost fingers touched. Perhaps he originally held something between his fingers. The lion is on a separate piece of stone. This may be the result of a break but given the clean separation between this and the feet, it could be the original arrangement. This view is supported by the fact that the side of the lion towards the effigy is fully carved and undamaged while both of the knight's feet have been lost.
   The effigy rests on a low plinth under a fine canopied arch which is a dominant feature of the chancel. The church was rebuilt in the mid fourteenth century and it seems likely that the tomb was incorporated in the new building at that time. Judging from the effigy, this may have been some time before it was actually needed and that the knight lies in the place of honour in the church he built. His inclined attitude helps him interact with the building he belongs to.
   Henry Johnston drew the monument in 1670, 'In an Arch on the North side of the Quire', (C14, fo. 150r). It was then already damaged, the major difference seems to be that he still had his fingers.

Watton Priory, E. R.

1. Military (fragments)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   Mid-14th century
   On private land.
   Beverley carvers?
   Small, tantalizing, fragments only, more than one piece has been gathered together (Section 1, p. 5). One fragment shows an area of mail carved with rather flat links, next to a plain surface. A second fragment seems to show plate armour but its sculptured surfaces may be from something else. There are also many pieces of elaborately carved canopy work. These would appear to be some fragments of the fine tomb discovered by St John Hope during excavations at the Priory:
   Hope (1900, pp. 81–2):

   > The north wall [of the Nun's Presbytery] contained a doorway into the transept chapels. Just to the east of this there had been inserted, about the middle of the fourteenth century, a most sumptuous canopied tomb. It had contained the effigy of a knight in armour, whose body had been laid to rest in a walled grave beneath, surmounted by an ogee canopy of the same character and workmanship as the beautiful monument of Lady Eleanor Percy in Beverley Minster. Many pieces of the canopy were found as they had been thrown down by the destroyers, but of the effigy such fragments only remained as had been roughly hacked off to make the stone more shapely as spoil. Among these were shields charged with a bend and others with a cross.

Weaverthorpe, E. R.

1. Male civilian
   Coarse gritty stone, probably of local origin
   1st half 14th century?
   In churchyard, on modern plinth, south of the south porch.
   Extremely weathered, broken across at neck and above ankles; most of the base slab, face and feet (including support) lost. A recess has been cut around waist for a metal band to fasten the figure in an upright position. Straight legs; hands at prayer but slightly spread. Bare headed with quite short hair and a small roll curl around the bottom. Cote to about mid calf, seemingly with tight fitting sleeves; waist belt with fastening holes.

The effigy apparently spent time mounted above the south door. Sheahan & Whellan 1857, II, p. 666:

> Over the porch door is the mutilated monumental effigy of a female [sic], which has been removed from the church, and is made fast in its present position by iron braces.

By the beginning of the twentieth century it was lying in the churchyard (Morris 1906, p. 323).
It is just possible that the figure might represent Matthew FitzHerbert (d.1356) who was the last of his male line, see T. Brewster, 'An Excavation at Weaverthorpe Manor, East Riding, 1960', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 44 (1972) 114–33, at p. 126.

Welton, E. R.

1. Military
   Purbeck marble
   Early 14th century
   On modern plinth east end of north aisle.
   Import
   Broken across at neck and knees; upper layers of the stone have flaked off, including the face and hands; most of the edge of the base slab also lost. Sword handling; crossed legs; feet on small lion. Sleeveless surcoat to mid calf; integral mail coif (without circle); large shield on steeply angled guige; sword belt but no waist belt; spur type not shown. The effigy is typical of the final series of effigies made by the Purbeck marblers; with minimalist carving and no undercutting.
   In our initial account of this effigy (Gittos 1981) we suggested the date might be towards the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century (p. 131). However, research since then on the group of effigies to which this figure belongs has revealed that they are more likely to date from the beginning of the fourteenth century (whilst maintaining an older style), see Gittos 1998 and Blair, Goodall & Lankester 2000.
   At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the effigy was upright in the north aisle (Allen1828–1831, 4, p. 182) and it was still there some fifty years later (Sheahan & Whellan 1857, II, p. 553) but a notice in the church says that it was found face down in the churchyard after the restoration of 1863. By the beginning of the twentieth century it was at the west end of the south aisle (Morris 1906, p. 323). By 2011, the effigy had been removed, cleaned and resited on a new plinth in the north aisle.

Welwick, E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic (William de la Mare, Provost of Beverley)
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   d. 1360
   Within canopied recess, towards the east end of the south aisle, south wall.
   Product of the Beverley carvers.
   Sunk relief in coffin-like surround which is slightly coped; hands at prayer but spread. Figure in mass vestments richly decorated; figure surrounded by angels; gablette; tracery behind head like that of the east chancel window; prickets on edge and symbols of the Evangelists along the front of slab. Set beneath a vaulted arch and a most complex canopy with many active angels and channelled light paths. The scheme continues outside the church.
   See detailed case study at Section 6a.

West Tanfield, N. R.

1. Military (John 1st Lord Marmion?)
   Pisolitic limestone
   d. 1322
   On modern chest against north aisle wall, easternmost effigy.
   Lincolnshire import
   Much of the surface is worn with the face almost gone. There were many stone inserts for original repairs, most of which are now lost, leaving just cutouts and fixing points or seating (both shoulders, top of shield and top of the head). The main part of the head was also made as a separate piece of stone but it remains. The lost scabbard was a separate piece, of wood or metal (fixing position remains). Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat, ankle length; mail coif and (probably) a mail-clad skull-cap; plain shield, two enarms but no guige; plain poleyns with lower reinforcement; prick spurs. Sword belt with wrap-around scabbard attachment.
   For more details see Section 4a.iv, (p. 97), Section 4b. ii, (pp. 104–5), Section 4b.v, (p. 109) and Fig. 151. See also Gittos 2002a.
   In the mid sixteenth century, Leland saw the effigy in a different position, 'And yn the south side of the chapelle is another tumbe of the Marmions buried alone' (Leland & Toulmin Smith, 1964, I, p. 83). It had moved by the time of Gough's record (1786–96, I.2, p. 176), probably to where it now lies 'Under the North wall lies the freestone figure of a crosslegged knight in mail, with the round flat helmet, shield and sword, lion at feet.' However, this does suggest that the top of his head had already gone.

2. Military (John 2nd Lord Marmion?)
   Pisolitic limestone
   d. 1335
   In arched recess, north wall of nave north aisle
   Lincolnshire import
   In very poor condition; lower part including feet lost; many breaks around the edges of what remains; much of the surface severely eroded; angels mutilated. Only part of face remains: left eye survives, very realistically carved; best remaining detail around the neck and left side of face; mail survives in patches and is very delicately carved. Crossed legs; base slab seems to have been parallel sided but pointed at the head end. Sleeveless surcoat, possibly with a graduated hem; bascinet with aventail, pointed in front; undecorated poleyns; plain shield. Highly individual sword belt with inset shields (*2b.iii*); sword with straight crossguard; wrap-around scabbard attachment. Two angels either side of head and at least thirteen shields inlaid with composition, along right edge of base slab.
   For more details see Section 2b.iii (p. 44 & Fig. 71), Section 3c (p. 72 & Fig. 109), Section 4b.v (p. 110 & Fig. 158). See also Gittos 2002a.
   An interment in a lead coffin was found under this effigy *c*. 1780 (*A4d*).

3. Lady (Maud Furnival, wife of 2nd Lord Marmion?)
   Magnesian Limestone
   d. *c*. 1360
   On modern chest, in front of No. 2, westernmost of three ladies.
   Feet lost and lower half very badly decayed; fingers lost; most of the face obliterated and both angels mutilated. She wears a round-necked fitted supertunic with elbow length, slightly pointed, sleeves and two pocket slits; cloak with double cord passing through decorative square mounts, the two free ends hanging from the right side; shoulder length double veil and close-fitting wimple with coronet. Only the front paws of the foot support can still be made out and they suggest it was a lion. Two angels, kneeling on one knee, each has a hand on the top of the lady's head. A small piece of stone has been inset beside her right hand, presumably as a repair. Since the stone is flawed in an area next to it, this may have been done to deal with a fault in the stone.
   The discrepancy in the condition of the stone between the two ends of this effigy is very marked and the severely degraded lower area coincides with severe damage to the armoured figure behind. Although different materials, in both cases, the stone has been seriously weakened. Might this be the result of localised fire damage?
   Gittos 2002a.

4. Lady
   Magnesian Limestone?
   Late 14th century
   On tomb chest against north wall of the nave north aisle, centre of three ladies.
   Over life size figure, almost destroyed by damp; all that can be made out of the upper half is part of the right arm with the cloak draped over it and lumps of stone either side of where the head would have been, that must have been from angels. More remains of that on the left, which may have had its arms out to hold a cushion. The angle of the effigy's right arm suggests the hands were at prayer, the cloak continuing down the right side, with a little drapery indicated. In contrast to the rest of the effigy, the large lion foot support is almost undamaged, with the lady's right foot against its mane and a little delicately carved drapery over it, showing what high quality the sculpture originally was. The lion seems to be a copy of that at the feet of the alabaster knight (No. 7). The tomb chest on which the effigy lies is much better preserved than the effigy, with an embattled cornice and five large inset shields carved with heraldry.
   There are many points of comparison between this figure and No. 5. They are both large, and must have been cut from very comparable blocks, No. 4 being 90" (229 cm) long × 28" (71 cm) wide and at least 17" (43 cm) deep while No. 5 is 90" (229 cm) long × 27" (69 cm) wide and at least 19" (48 cm) deep. Both show similar stylistic features in their foot supports and drapery. They have also degraded in a similar way (although to different degrees), the head ends disintegrating while the details at the feet are almost unaffected. All this suggests that the two figures were probably carved at the same time and, given the behaviour of the material, the blocks of stone may have come from a similar area of the same quarry.
   Gough mentions all the figures at West Tanfield but does not say they were damaged (Gough 1786–96, I.2, p. 176). However, by 1864 this figure was described as 'a mutilated effigy' (Glynne 2007, p. 436). See also Gittos 2002a.

5. Lady
   Probably Magnesian Limestone
   Late 14th century
   On modern chest, against the nave north aisle wall, easternmost of three ladies.
   Over life size and suffering from damp in the same way as No. 4 but with the process less advanced. However, the head has eroded away while the left side and waist area are crumbling to dust, with whole chunks of stone broken off; the hands which were at prayer are lost. *Surcote ouverte* with large square mounts down the front to hip level and a deep hem band; a small area at the bottom of the right armhole indicates that the edges had a broad trim, over mounted; cloak with broad cord and large, circular mounts (only a fragment of one remains); there does not appear to have been a veil. Feet on large dog; two angels were either side of head, much of one remains, the other only survives as a scar. The missing head of the surviving angel seems to have been a separate piece.
   See notes under No. 4.

6. Military (Sir John de Marmion)
   Alabaster
   d. 1387
   On tomb chest at east end of north aisle, with No. 7.
   Midlands import
   In very good condition except that the hands, the sword and the dagger are broken off; a little water damage to left side of slab and crest; graffiti on left side. Straight legs; head on helm with plume of feathers for crest, held in place by a crown, mantling with dagged edge and tassels; moustache; feet on large lion. Heraldic coat armour (St Quintin) with scalloped hem; pointed bascinet and aventail with richly decorated orle; full plate armour on arms and legs with winged couters and poleyns; gauntlets (part of a cuff remains); spurs lost. Hip belt composed of square mounts, which would have had inserts; sword was on left and dagger on right. SS collar with pendant ring (for his indenture with John of Gaunt see Section 5a.iv, p. 156). Colour inside helm.
   On a limestone tomb chest beside No. 7 and under an iron hearse. The effigies were originally set up with the lady on the man's right. For more details see Sections 3b (pp. 69–70 & Fig. 107); 3f (p. 81 & Fig. 121); 4b.iii (p. 107 & Fig. 153) and A4d. See also Gough (1786–96, I.2, p. 176) and Gittos 2002a.

7. Lady (Elizabeth St. Quintin, wife of Sir John de Marmion)
   Alabaster
   c. 1400
   On tomb chest at east end of north aisle, with No. 6.
   Midlands import
   In exceptionally fine condition with only her fingers missing. *Cote hardie* with carved heraldry (Marmion impaling St. Quintin), with rolled edge (fur?) to its wide and low neck; long sleeves with small cuffs; the garment worn beneath this is only visible at the wrists, partly covering the hands; cap with shoulder length veil from the back, spread out on the cushion under the head; cloak with double cord and diamond-shaped mounts, its edge turned back behind the neck to form a collar; feet in sharply pointed shoes on back of a large lioness. Two well preserved angels, with corkscrew curls and square morses, sit on the base slab holding her top cushion; moulded edge to base slab.
   The cap she wears on her head is most individual, smooth-surfaced with a rolled edge and a very defined shape. It is unclear whether the cap is fairly firm and made in this shape or if it reflects the dressing of the unseen hair underneath. If the former, it might help explain the shape of other contemporary ladies' headdresses where there are full veils. When this effigy was added to the tomb of the lady's husband, the tomb chest had to be enlarged. The hearse was added after this modification.
   For references see No. 6.

Whorlton, N. R.

1. Military (Nicholas de Meynill)
   Wood
   d. 1322
   On tomb chest beneath freestanding vaulted canopy, under an arch in the chancel south wall.
   London import?
   Surface gobbed with quite a thick preservative coating; lion's tail, spurs, sword grip, crossguard and pommel lost; tip of nose appears to be a replacement. Crossed legs; feet on a large dog with a lion-like muzzle. Sleeveless surcoat to mid calf; bascinet worn beneath a mail coif with a circle over; the mail is not carved and was, presumably, supplied in gesso (as, for example, on the related figure at Abergavenny); poleyns. Guige over right shoulder (not depicted on left side of chest) but no shield; left arm is flattened where a separate shield might have been but no sign of fixing points. Sword belt and scabbard attached by ring method (lost). A slot cut across the lip of the scabbard was probably the socket for a separate crossguard and grip, so the broken pin or dowel that seems to be present in the rear lip, is probably a remnant from its fixing. Two small wooden pegs on bottom cushion either side of head, probably for fixing separately carved angels.
   The tomb is substantially larger than the effigy and incorporates much replacement stone but its vault and side shafts are of overtly Decorated design and it incorporates devotional images at the two ends of the figure compartment.
   Henry Johnston's drawing of the tomb is problematic (C14, ff 220v, 221r). He noted, 'This monument of meynill is in whorlton church, in Yorkshire'. However, while the tomb chest panel seems to be right, his sketch of the effigy bears little relation to the figure at Whorlton but a great deal in common with his drawing of the D'Arcy knight at Selby Abbey (on the next leaf). In fact, the double page spread ff 220v-221r appears to be something of a compilation, including heraldic glass from Hutton Rudby, Selby, Thirsk and Guisborough, alongside the tomb purporting to be at Whorlton. Unlike the great majority of entries, no date is given and it seems likely that these folios are an attempt to draw together material related to the Meynill/Darcy family, rather than a straightforward record of a visit. Graves' 1802 illustration shows the tomb and effigy as they are now (except the damage to the tomb panel). He also noted the effigy was painted white, see J. Graves, *The History of Cleveland, in the North Riding of the County of York* (Carlisle, 1808), p. 148 and facing. See also Prior & Gardner (1912, p. 666) and Fryer (1924, p. 107).
   For more details see Section 2b.iii (p. 47 & Fig. 65), Section 4a.v (p. 97 & Fig. 137) and 4b.v (p. 109).

Wilton (in Cleveland), N. R.

1. Military
   Sandstone
   1340–50
   On modern blocks against west wall of south porch, inside.
   Series E
   Severely weathered with much detail lost, including all the upper surfaces, feet and foot support. Crossed legs; hands at prayer and are bulky, so may have been holding a heart. Sleeveless surcoat to mid-calf; probably a mail coif; ailette with carved heraldry on left; shield with carved heraldry (Bulmer); guige looped over both shoulders (cf. Crathorne No. 2) and decorated with flower mounts; poleyn, decorated with relief flowers. Scabbard attached to sword belt by hinges, the belt decorated with flower mounts on central beading. Base slab has hollow moulded chamfer between rolls, set with four-petal flowers. Many instances remain of Series E edging lines, *e.g.* surcoat, shield, individual billets, sword belt, guige. Not hollowed behind, as many Series E figures are. Slot for inset piece in shield, probably an original repair.
   This effigy spent time in the churchyard propped up against the north wall of the chancel where I'Anson recalled seeing it about 1890 (I'Anson 1920, p. 298; I'Anson 1927, p. 15, fn 6) but it had earlier been on the south side (J. W. Ord, *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland*, London, 1846). See also Gittos 2002b.

2. Lady
   Sandstone
   1340–50
   On modern blocks against east wall of south porch, inside.
   Series E
   Extremely weathered, so that surface detail is preserved only in small areas, on her left side. The figure seems to have been very like Appleton-le-Street No. 2, with hair arranged so it is drawn to the sides of the face at cheek level. The wimple fits the throat closely with the upper edge drawn out in a relatively flat line to the hair at the sides. The veil also falls back to the slab, naturalistically. The cloak (with cord) is caught up under both elbows, and the Series E female 'Y' pattern of tracery is present. Like Appleton, the base slab has a hollow moulding between rolls, set with flowers and shields, each having a shield larger than the others beside the neck; feet on animal (detail lost). Edging lines and flowers on cushion corners typical of Series E.
   References as No. 1.

Winestead, E. R.

1. Ecclesiastic
   Surface mostly masked but probably similar limestone to Patrington
   1340–50
   On a modern plinth which incorporates older material, under south nave arcade, at west end.
   Wolds Series
   All very worn (smooth in the most exposed places) with a great loss of detail. Fingertips touching chin; prominent ears; tonsured; feet on mound, which has a rough under side and may have been trimmed back. Wearing mass vestments and under a pinched ogee gablette.
   The effigy is said to have been brought from one of the lost churches on the coast and the wear on the top surface of the figure is explained by its former location. It was previously in the chancel next the monument of Sir Christopher Hildyard and people stood on it to read his inscription, see T. Moore, 'St. German's, Winestead', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, III (1895), pp. 85–91.

Wintringham, Lincolnshire

1. Military
   Creamy brown limestone
   1330–40
   On modern chest under a segmental arch in north wall of the chancel.
   Series D
   Very well preserved, even preserving creases beside the eyes; a little worn in places; one angel's head lost and losses also from the sword grip, crossguard and scabbard where it was undercut. Crossed legs; feet on lion. Sleeveless surcoat with deep armholes showing mail; mail-clad skull-cap (Pl. 12) over a mail coif; moulded poleyns decorated with shields within panels (Pl. 15), stitching at lower edge (*i.e.* made of leather), one shows straps; spurs lost. Plain shield; scabbard attached to sword belt by tied thong method. Two seated angels holding his cushion.
   Has been attributed to Sir John Marmion who founded a chantry at Winteringham in 1310 and died in 1322, (see Downing 2012, p. 86). However, the date seems too early for this Series D figure and there is also an effigy at West Tanfield attributed to the same person to be accounted for, so the Winteringham effigy remains unidentified.
   In Canon Fowler's assessment of the church, he recounted that, 'At one time [the effigy] lay within the altar-rails, then it was placed beside the font, now it is in the recess from which it is believed to have been taken', J. T. Fowler, 'The Parish Church of All Saints, Winteringham', *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports & Papers*, XXX.I, (1909), 1–9. He went on to recount the former existence (prior to 1836) of what was said to be part of a tomb chest carved with a shield of France ancient. See also Section 2b.iii and 4c.iv.

Wistow, W. R.

1. Lady (Dame Margery)
   Limestone but surface masked by dirt and paint
   1st quarter 14th century
   On modern plinth, east end of the north aisle.
   This low relief monument is in a fine state of preservation with only minor damage, particularly to her face (probably iconoclasm). The piece missing from the lower right corner is where there was an original repair. The stone is slightly reddened where heat was applied for bonding the insert. Hands at prayer but also holding a rosary which loops down below them: feet on a bracket decorated with flowers. Unbelted cote with sleeves buttoned to the wrists; cloak without a cord, gathered up and wrapped around both arms producing ripples down both sides; shoulder length veil and wimple with circle. Full architectural surround with elaborate side shafts and cinquefoil cusped canopy; above this two male heads in quatrefoils, one a bishop and the other a male civilian. Marginal, rhyming inscription:

MARGERI KE : GIST : ICI : A VOVS : IHV CRI : MERCI
VOVS KE PASSEZ PAR ICI : PRIEZ PVR LA DA[M]E [--]M MARGERI

   Sir Stephen Glynne reported it in the north aisle but 'now fixed in the wall' (2007, p. 445). In 1754 it was said to be, 'parallel to, and about a yard above, the floor in the north side of the choir', (Finkle Street, 'Wistow', *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1754) p. 309), while in 1669 Henry Johnston sketched it 'on the north side the Quire', in association with No. 2 (C13, fo. 292r).
   See notes for No. 2.

2. Lady (small, kneeling)
   Magnesian Limestone
   1st quarter 14th century
   Built into north wall of sanctuary.
   In good condition but both hands and right forearm are broken off and her face has been deliberately damaged in a very similar way to that of Dame Margery. Kneeling on an integral, chamfered, bracket; hands were either held up at prayer (or possibly holding something); the body twisted round and the head more so; also tilted backwards and looking up. Belted cote with high neck line and long sleeves buttoned to the wrist; shoulder length veil and wimple; long cloak which is wrapped around her left arm and dramatically swept across her legs in front; behind, the cloak envelops her heels. She has the appearance of a donor figure, showing intense devotion to a religious image. There is also a seated figure of Christ displaying his wounds (face also put out) with an integral foliage bracket, mounted on the same wall, above and to the east of her. Both the kneeling lady and the Christ figure are on blocks built into the wall.
   Johnston C13, fo. 292r, sketched this figure where it is now, 'on the north side the Quire'. His drawing also shows the figure of Christ in the same relationship to the kneeling lady as it still is, with Margery's effigy below. The two female figures are very similarly dressed. All three seem likely to belong to a single composition. The adjacent east window has spectacular Decorated tracery in a contemporary chancel, into which two of these elements are built. Perhaps Margery was a major donor to the work. See Section 4b.vi (p. 115 & Pl. 42).

Womersley, W. R.

1. Military (Newmarch)
   Brown fairly fine-grained limestone
   c. 1335–45?
   On modern plinth against the south wall of the south aisle.
   Broken and widely eroded; losses include right side of the base slab (including part of the dog and part of the head end), dog's head, sword hilt; facial features appear degraded rather than targeted. Crossed legs; feet on dog with collar. Sleeveless surcoat to mid-calf; mail coif with circle decorated with flowers; waist belt with flowers; poleyns with moulded lower edge and centre line, blank shields at sides; prick spurs. Shield with relief heraldry (Newmarch) and undercut guige (flower mounts), shown as riveted inside shield, one enarm. Sword belt with flower mounts, scabbard attached by thongs. Head and shoulders of female figure in veil and wimple emerge from top left corner of base slab; she holds a book and is pointing to the page with her right index finger (Fig. 251). Small shield hangs on chamfer behind the knight's head. Effigy hollowed out behind.
   Henry Johnston (1669) said that it was, 'on the north side the quire'; 'For ..... Newmarsh' (C13, fo. 274r). At that time, the top of the sword was still present but the head end of the slab looked as damaged as today. There is also a note dated 1757 on this page, in a later hand, that the effigy had been moved to the north transept when the chancel was being repaired. According to I'Anson the effigy was 'found buried (1868) beneath the floor of the chancel, the stone slab on which it rested having been utilised as part of the pavement'. It cannot have been there long. See also Section 5c.iii and A7.

Wycliffe, N. R.

1. Male civilian (fragment)
   Grey sandstone with tendency to delaminate
   1st half 14th century
   Upright against nave north wall, west of the north door. Top half only. Generally rather weathered but the face and hair seem best preserved. Delamination has removed some detail and the slab appears trimmed down the right side, where the edge is rough and the letters of the inscription truncated. Bas-relief, partly within a border. Bare headed; hood around neck and hanging across right shoulder; fitted cote with tightly buttoned sleeves; pommel of sword between elbows (*i.e.* centrally positioned); fragmentary marginal inscription which is difficult to interpret. Double stops between letters, so it could be highly abbreviated.
   This figure seems to have attracted little attention with only the briefest of mentions in Pevsner and Arthur Mee.

Yarm, N. R.

1. Male civilian (double effigy, with No. 2)
   Magnesian Limestone
   Late 14th century
   Set in floor at west end of south aisle.
   Extremely weathered and worn; broken across above their heads and across female's neck; bottom of slab probably lost. Bare headed; outline suggests may have been bearded; bracket beneath feet. Ankle length surcote with short hanging sleeves; symbols of two Evangelists above figures. Appropriating inscription difficult to understand but dated 1638. Probably a churchyard monument.
   This monument seems not to have attracted much attention; mentioned by Morris who noted the date (1932, p. 46).
2. Lady (double effigy, with No. 1)
   Magnesian Limestone
   Late 14th century
   Set in floor at west end of south aisle.
   Much detail lost but she seems to have been wearing an unbelted surcote with three-quarter sleeves; cloak gathered up under right elbow, cord touches fingertips; no evidence of veil or wimple; feet on bracket. Other details as for No. 1.
   Reference as for No. 1.

York (Hob Moor)

1. Military (de Ros)
   Magnesian Limestone
   Early 14th century
   Set upright in the ground, about 100 yards along the path leading from Tadcaster Road to Hob Moor (eastern entrance).
   Partly buried in the ground; broken and extremely weathered; cut-out on front; another on right side has removed the right arm; attachment holes in both cut-outs, head and elsewhere on the slab; benchmark carved on left side; top right corner lost. Outline remains that may be of the head but, if so, it lay directly on the slab; a little of the left forearm appears from under the shield with the scar of the right wrist and the remnants of the hands, confirming they were in prayer. Surcoat; waist belt; carved heraldry on shield (the remains of de Ros water-bouget charges); broad sword belt with sword partly behind shield; legs lost.
   Eighteenth century inscription added on underside, now illegible but recorded by several writers, see Section 2c. ii (p. 58). The problems of identifying this effigy and other de Ros monuments are discussed in Section 5b.i (pp. 161–3).
   Drake (1736, p. 398) described the effigy as having been lately set up but did not know where it had come from. See also, Gough (1786–96, II.1, p. cvii) and J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, (London, 1745), II.1, p. 29, pl. X. fig. 2.

York (Minster)

1. Ecclesiastic (Archbishop Walter de Gray)
   Purbeck marble
   d. 1255
   Set in original canopied tomb, in centre of the east aisle of the south transept
   Import
   Well preserved with replacement nose and crosier head; some areas smooth with rubbing. Dressed in pontificals; right hand raised in blessing; left holding pastoral staff; gablette supported on side shafts with running stiff leaf supports and two caryatids under their bases; two censing angels; feet on dragon with tip of staff in his mouth.
   Some discussion (*e.g.* Sillence 2005) has centred on the depiction of the Archbishop with cross staff on the painted image (below the effigy) in contrast to the crosier on the figure itself. Since the crosier head is a restoration, it cannot be taken as evidence of the original configuration. (*2c.ii*, p. 61 & Figs 97–8).
   Johnston C14, ff 29r–30r; Ramm 1971; Sillence 2005.
   See also: Section 2b.ii (p. 34 & Fig. 49); Section 3a (pp. 67–8) and Section 5c.vi (p. 181 & Fig. 266).

2. Youth (Prince William of Hatfield)
   Alabaster
   c. 1370
   On chest under a three-tiered canopy, which is integral with the wall of the north ambulatory.
   Import
   Top surface worn smooth; hands damaged and both angels badly mutilated; face crudely recut with two holes for eyes and a single cut for the mouth. Straight legged; feet on lion. Hair almost shoulder length, in curled locks; coronet composed of narrow circlet with many upstanding points, each comprising three balls (for pearls?). Supertunic, very short and closely fitted, buttoned down the front with large four-petal flower buttons; tunic made from richly decorated fabric (deeply-cut foliage scroll pattern) that might be either embroidered or woven, *e.g.* damask or, in modern terms, cut velvet. Full length fur cloak, fastened on right shoulder with four big decorative buttons; leaf pattern dagged edges and neck band with four-petal flower mounts. Horizontal hip belt composed of square mounts, with large clasp (unusually, on right side); legs in hose; ankle boots, the uppers patterned with pierced quatrefoils amongst a scribed lattice, edged with a foliage scroll. Remains of two angels beside his head, that on the right better preserved.
   Originally set up in presbytery but moved many times and currently back where a wall tomb was made for him *c*. 1400, with his soul figure in the canopy above (Pl. 23). Panels of blind tracery which make up the chest below him, may come from his original tomb. Their tracery pattern can be compare to blind tracery in the heads of the buttresses on the Minster's west front (Brown 2003, p. 114).
   Henry Johnston said in 1661 (C14, fo. 63r) that it was, 'on the south side of the Sanctu Sanctorum near unto the wall', where it lay, 'At the feet of the former [*i.e.* lost male civilian] but they say removed from the Quire'. He also noted that on the left side it, 'Seems that an Angell did hold the cushion'.
   Discussed in: Gent (1733a, p. 39); Gough (1786–96, I.1, p. cxxxvi); Britton (1819, pl. xxv; p. 62); Stothard (1832, Pls 69, 70); Routh (1976, pp. 143–6); French (1991); Routh (1994); Badham (2009); Oosterwijk (2010).
   See also Section 2a.ii (p. 10); Section 3c (pp. 73–5 & Fig. 111) and Section 5c.iv (p. 177 & Pls 22 & 23).

York (St. George Fishergate)

1. Uncertain type (small)
   Magnesian Limestone
   Medieval
   Built into south exterior of the former churchyard wall.
   Small; too weathered and damaged to be sure but may have been a small figure with head on rectangular cushion; probably the stone claimed by Walter to have been a semi-effigial like Moor Monkton.
   Walter (1874, p. 5), 'There is inserted in the wall of the ancient Church-yard of St. George's Fishergate, York, a stone much defaced and mutilated, but one evidently of this class' (*i.e.* semi-effigial).

York (St. Olave)

1. Lady (semi-effigial, fragment)
   Material not possible to identify
   1300–1350?
   Built into the wall over south door, inside.
   The only remaining part is a bust within a mutilated quatrefoil; head on single cushion. Sleeved cote with round neck; veil but no wimple; sleeves tight to wrists. She appears to be holding an object, probably a heart, between her fingers
   We are grateful to Philip Lankester for bringing this monument to our attention. It was not noted by the RCHM (City of York IV) but is mentioned in Pevsner (Pev:ER 1995, p. 175).

York (York Archaeological Trust)

1. Military (torso)
   Not determined due to surface condition
   Late 13th/early 14th century
   York Archaeological Trust (Reference No. 1994·1063).
   Extremely weathered; torso only without head or legs below knees; worn smooth on right side. Crossed legs; sword handling (it may be partly drawn). Surcoat; waist belt with pendant end emerging from under shield; sword belt; sword with straight crossguard; large shield. The effigy was discovered in 1994, during a watching brief at 16–20 Blossom Street, York.

York (York Museums Trust)

1. Military (torso)
   Magnesian Limestone
   Early 14th century
   In store 2013 (Accession No. 2013.499).
   Some resemblance to Series B effigies except for the mail.
   Extremely weathered and incomplete; losses include head, hands and legs below knees. Crossed legs; left arm higher than right, as if hefting shield. Sleeveless surcoat to mid calf; narrow waist belt; mail was very well carved, best shown under right elbow. Shield; guige at steep angle, meeting a buckle under shield's edge (cf. Coverham No. 2 and Fountains). Broad sword belt with domed circular mounts; scabbard attached by tied thongs.

An early published Museum catalogue dated the donation to 1851 and recounted the effigy's history (Wellbeloved 1891, p. 90):

> … during a long period, [it] was placed, with the lower half buried in the ground, at the end of the village of Clifton, near York, by the side of the turnpike road leading to Easingwold..... This figure used popularly to be called 'Mother Shipton's stone,' from the tradition that she was burnt to death by its side.

Gent (1733b, p. 3) said,

> Returning towards Clifton, at the End of Skelton-Lane, lay extended the Effigy of a Knight Hospitaller, in a very unhospitable Manner.

2. Military (William de Vescy of Kildare?)
Magnesian Limestone
1st quarter 14th century
Yorkshire Museum (Accession No. 2010.1218).
In very poor condition and suffering from damp (mostly green with algae in 2013). Upper levels extremely weathered, better detail below the level of the lion's head and the centre of the shield; some parts broken and lost *e.g.* face, hands, right arm, upper parts of angels. Crossed legs; hands at prayer; feet on a lion with luxuriant mail, looking away from the knight. Surcoat to mid-calf; narrow waist belt; poleyns appear to have had central rib and reinforced lower edge; prick spurs. Shield with carved heraldry (possibly for William de Vescy of Kildare?). Broad sword belt; scabbard attached by knotted thongs. Two very weathered angels hold the cushion beneath his head. Dragon with humped back and knotted tail bites the tip of the shield. Slight hollowing on underside.
The fact that it was once 'half buried in the ground' could account for the way the detail has been preserved. The carving of this figure was of high quality and the exuberant lion's mane is a *tour de force* of the carver's art. The mail was carved in a similar way to No. 1, so the two figures may share a common origin.
Drake 1736, p. 309, believed the arms were those of Latimer.
An early published Museum catalogue recounted something of the effigy's history (Wellbeloved 1891, p. 89):

> ...served as a boundary mark of the parish of St. Margaret, in Walmgate; being half- buried in the ground against a wall on the east of Newtgate... On the widening of Newtgate (now called St. George's Street), this effigy was removed.

Lawrance (1946, p. 47) suggests that this effigy's shield carried the arms of Vescy differenced by a bend to show the illegitimacy of William Vescy of Kildare who was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. William de Vescy of Kildare certainly was killed at Bannockburn but he is not amongst those whose body is known to have been retrieved (Brown 2008, p. 130) nor does there appear to be a contemporary record of these arms (DBA 3, p. 173 lists the effigy as the source, using the assumed ascription).

Appendix 2:

Methodology

A2a Archaeological approach

Introduction

The most fundamental principle of this study has been its archaeological approach, *i.e.* the examination and appraisal of the diverse evidence provided by the monuments themselves, their settings and other related features in their environment. Much of the evidence is subtle and, for instance, what can be observed when lit from one direction may be invisible from another. Consequently, it has been necessary to deploy a range of examination techniques: extensive notes written on site, photography (particularly with angled light) and even feel, which aided interpretation where features were particularly worn. Rarely has a single examination sufficed. So many and varied are the strands of evidence that it is frequently necessary to visit and revisit, with time between to consider what has been observed, in order to come to grips with the evidence. The Welwick case study (*6a*) is the result of such an iterative process. Less than 6% of the corpus has been examined only once: Cantley, Catterick, Denton, Easby (head), Felkirk, Guisborough Priory, Hickleton, Kirklington, Melsonby (slab in the tower), Methley, Upleatham (ecclesiastic), York (St Olave) and York (St George). Only the fragment from Egglestone Abbey has not been examined (since it was stored out of area) and in that case the assessment used photographs which were made available to us by English Heritage. The great majority of effigies have been seen on several occasions and in special cases, such as Bedale and Howden, there have been many visits.

Since there is no national survey of effigial monuments or even a county-based listing for Yorkshire, one was created from scratch. It evolved into a database, compiled from a wide range of sources, that encompassed not only effigies known to exist but also others that could be demonstrated to have been lost and indicative remains such as panels and recesses. This was the foundation of the corpus which underpins our study.

Resurvey

Site visits have been made sporadically from the beginning, in an unstructured manner, but in order to achieve uniformity and consistency it was decided to conduct a re-survey of the entire corpus. Work began in 2011 and took seven years. A detailed account was taken of each effigy, using specially devised record sheets that captured the location; carving techniques; key measurements; our best assessment of the material; descriptions of the attitude, hair, facial features, costume and equipment; head and foot supports; additional sculpture integral with the effigy; any heraldry and inscriptions; traces of surviving polychromy; the effigy's setting (including chests and arches); constructional features; architectural features and the building context. In making these assessments, importance was placed on the way the carving had been done, for instance considering how garments are depicted rather than simply cataloguing those represented. Every effort was made to achieve an understanding of what was depicted whilst on site, in order to minimise subsequent uncertainty. The written record was accompanied by a set of photographs (*A3*) designed to show the monument as a whole; its context; details of clothing and equipment; any other important features and macros of the material. A selection has been employed as illustrations for this book.

An attempt to understand the geology is important, since it can provide useful contexts and comparisons. For instance, the willingness to take high quality Magnesian Limestone (whether carved or not) to Ormesby, perhaps as far as 50 miles from the quarries, reveals something of the

monuments' importance to the people commissioning them. Similarly, the use of alabaster or Purbeck marble explains why a particular monument is unrelated to those in the area but is comparable with one, say, 300 miles away: the effigy at Welton (Figs 1 & 133), for example, closely resembles another in Salisbury Cathedral. On the other hand, the use of a common type of local stone can provide evidence about where a group of effigies were made.

Many monuments retain evidence of the manufacturing process in the form of tooling marks, setting out lines, repairs made during carving and even mistakes, which can reveal something of the mason's process. A particularly informative figure in this respect is the unfinished effigy at Butterwick (Fig. 139, Pl. 44) which is in a transitional state (*4b.i*). There may also be traces of finishing techniques. Areas of paint are the most obvious clue, but excavated and scored centres of, for instance, belt mounts may betray the former existence fictive jewels (*4b.v*). The construction of a monument can help elucidate its history and original form, as at Middleton on-the-Wolds (*3d*) where the extremely eroded slab rests on three supports (Pl. 2) of a form that places it in the mid thirteenth century. This allows it to be understood as one of the earliest effigies in Yorkshire and comparable in form with two York Minster monuments supported on columns, to Archbishop Ludham (d.1265) and that now lost to Dean Langton (d. 1279). Without an appreciation that the blocks supporting Middleton are an integral part of the monument, its importance would have been missed.

Comparison between architectural elements (perhaps in the heads of niches on a tomb chest or in a canopy overhead) can show whether a tomb might have been part of a chapel scheme or building project. For this reason, it has been important to examine the structure of the buildings. It has been suggested that the civilian effigy at Birkin (Fig. 11) was originally located in a different part of the church, where there is reason to believe a chantry chapel was located. However the recess he occupies was clearly constructed for him. The effigy is tapered and the recess is too, being of the right dimensions and angle to hold the figure in such a way that the exposed side neatly aligns with the wall face. The recess itself is medieval and not constructed as part of a restoration programme. The effigy clearly still occupies its original position and there is, indeed, a 1691 record of it there (Torre 1691, fo. 376). The opposite is true at Howden, where the *c*. 1310 Metham effigies predate the arched recess they now occupy. The arch cannot have been constructed before the middle of the fourteenth century, as it is an unplanned addition to a wall that must date from the second quarter (Badham, Gittos & Gittos 1996). Elsewhere in the same chapel, the Saltmarsh knight lies on a chest incorporating two figural panels stylistically similar to the Metham figures. It has been possible to resolve this conundrum using antiquarian sources, which show that the panels beneath the Saltmarsh figure originally supported the Metham effigies (Badham, Gittos & Gittos 1996). Another challenging arrangement is the tomb at Welwick where understanding the monument's relationship to the building structure is the key to appreciating how it was meant to function and to understanding the decorative scheme (*6a*). Other types of evidence include surviving glass or wall paintings that are relevant and witness marks in the wall where screens, railings or – as on the arch at Goldsborough (*3f*) – the positions where hearse bars have been located.

Careful examination of the effigies may reveal much about their history and condition. The puzzling figures at Skerne are a case in point (*2a.vii, 2c.ii*). The faces are unlike any others, the female's veil and the male's hanging sleeves are depicted very oddly. They appear as they do because they have been crudely reconstructed, much of the work done in plaster. The male's hair style is unlike anything medieval but it does resemble a late eighteenth century wig and may well betray the date at which the reconstruction was first done (Fig. 100). Detached fragments may appear less useful but it is often possible to deduce something about the posture and clothing of the effigy, how the monument was originally finished and its likely date. However, the benefit of employing an archaeological approach is that all such evidence can be taken into account and the results have greatly informed the content of this book.

A2b Dating and identification

Dating effigies is notoriously problematic. Monuments were sometimes set up by the person during their own lifetime. Often they were installed soon after death by the executors but there could also be a delay before a monument was provided. Since there are no contracts (of which we are aware) relating to monuments in this study and few wills, dating must always be a matter of judgement. We have used a number of tools to inform those judgements, including comparisons with other monuments and with non-monumental sculpture, relationships to building projects, architectural details, sculptural fashions (both local and more widespread) together with the clothing and equipment depicted on the figure. None of this gives precise dates but, taken together, they can narrow down the period when the figure was carved. Caution must still be exercised since a feature or fashion can be depicted at any time after it has emerged and some anachronisms can be deliberate. An elderly person may wish to be depicted in the garb of their youth or may still be using equipment made many years before. Alternatively, it may be considered more decorous not to adopt modernity on a monument created with pious and sober intentions. An additional problem is that a monument may be of more than one date, as is the interesting case of the alabaster knight and lady at West Tanfield (*3b*), see Figs 107, 121. So it is important to be open minded and consider all the available evidence.

A level of uncertainty usually surrounds the identification of the person commemorated. Carved heraldry can assist in identifying the family involved but can also be misleading. Without surviving colour it is impossible to make a distinction between families that bore the same charges but with different tinctures (the Fountains Abbey knight is a case in point) or pick up the differencing used by branches of the same family. Where no heraldry is depicted, reliance must be placed on associated documents such as land holding records, to identify likely families. A problematic case is the pair at Darrington where the male carries a shield clearly carved with the arms of Scargill (Fig. 205, Pls 51). However, the Scargill family history is complicated and the main line's interests seem to have been centred on Scargill Castle, more than sixty miles away in the North Riding. The presence of a Scargill monument in south Yorkshire may be explained by a marriage between the heiress of one branch of the Stapleton clan (Stapleton of Cudworth) and a Warin de Scargill (Chetwynd-Stapylton 1897, 21). Through this marriage, the manor of Stapleton, in the parish of Darrington, would have been acquired by the Scargill family and a connection with Darrington established. Although the marriage must have happened at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, the actual date is unknown. The identity problem is complicated because the Scargills greatly favoured the Christian names Warin and William. Previous authors have opted variously for a Warin or William with dates differing accordingly. However, all this is sufficiently tenuous to make it impossible to be certain who is represented.

Against the background of such difficulties, we have opted to begin with the evidence of the effigy. This has been assessed against comparative material including other monuments, sculpture and manuscript illuminations. Contextual observations of companion figures, chests, arches and architecture have been assessed in a similar way and combined to determine a likely date range. Only then have documentary and antiquarian sources been employed.

A2c Rejected effigies

In the process of compiling the corpus, a small number of figures which might have been included have, after due consideration, been rejected. This category embraces several alabaster effigies which are judged to be dateable to the opening decade or so of the fifteenth century and, whilst some examples which are on the cusp of 1400 have been included (such as Pickering and Darfield), others considered more positively fifteenth century have been omitted. These are the single knight at Swine and the wreck of the Darcy tomb at Selby. We once considered the low relief priest at Scorborough (E.R.) to be of the later fourteenth century and indeed gave that advice to the editor of the revised *East Riding* Pevsner but we are now persuaded that he is probably early sixteenth century. In our initial presentation of Yorkshire effigies (Gittos 1980) two items from outside Yorkshire were included which are no longer believed to be Yorkshire products. They were the lady at Bottesford in Leicestershire (included in Group C) and a military fragment in the collections of the Lancaster Museum (included in Group E). The limited information available at the time unfortunately led to the wrong conclusion in the case of the Lancaster fragment. The Bottesford lady bears a resemblance to the Series C women at Ryther and Church Fenton, which lies in the figure's stance, clothing and drapery style so she is likely to be of similar date but the quality of the carving is inferior, lacking the panache of the other two. However, Bottesford is the nearest parish church to Belvoir Castle, owned by the Ros of Hamlake family since the thirteenth century and the family connection with Yorkshire may in some way account for the resemblance.

Two items have been considered but eventually omitted because we judged them not to be monuments. One is the figure of a priest in mass vestments discovered at Hutton Lowcross, which is clearly related to the Series E monuments as it exhibits the same characteristic features (Gittos 2002b, p. 36). Hutton Lowcross lies to the south west of Guisborough and was the location of a hospital run by Guisborough Priory, so the presence of sculpture from this workshop is unsurprising (*4c.v*). Now in the custody of English Heritage (Accession No. 88280268) the figure has been trimmed on both sides and lost its head. Consequently the hand position is unclear and it is impossible to assess whether there was a cushion below the head. However, since no animal or foot support is depicted and the surface below the feet has the appearance of a pedestal, it seems as though the figure was intended to be displayed upright and, on balance, is more likely to be a statue than an effigy. Another problematic figure is built into the wall of the porch at Thorpe Arch (W.R.). It is a headless male and the carving is extremely crude, almost child-like in its simplicity (Bogg 1904, p. 257). Its legs, with naked feet, project straight down from the outer corners of a garment worn with a front split. His right hand is on his breast and his left is hidden behind him, a feature which seems more in keeping with a statue than a recumbent effigy. Consequently, it is not included in the corpus.

Great uncertainty surrounds the infant at Skerne which is built into the blocking of the north arcade of the nave, between the male civilian and the semi-effigial lady (*A2a*). Like them, the chrysom has undergone considerable reworking. As in the case of the male civilian, its face appears to have been completely renewed and it is difficult to be sure whether any of the figure's original surface survives, with the possible exception of the brooch-like feature which closes the swaddling bands. It has been described as a "Sculpted 'chrysom' of uncertain date" and Sophie Oosterwijk suggested that it 'could even be post medieval'

(2000, pp. 46–7). Indeed, the degree of reworking renders it impossible to interpret the figure's original appearance or judge its date, so it has been omitted.

The final effigies that we have considered and rejected are on the mid-fourteenth century Harrington tomb at Cartmel Priory (Lancashire), which Claude Blair described as 'Probably produced in one of the Yorkshire workshops' (1992, p. 14). Mary Markus (1996) connected the Cartmel figures with a 'consistent and cohesive group of Yorkshire effigies' but named only the knights at Nunnington and Sprotbrough. She mentioned a 'further four in the north of the county' and also the lady at Felixkirk. It is unclear if she considered this lady as part of her grouping, indicating in a note that she had discussed the figure elsewhere but without supplying a reference. Sprotbrough is unlike any other Yorkshire military effigy (*3g.ii*) and bears no comparison with Nunnington which makes it difficult to follow Dr Markus' reasoning, so we have assessed the Cartmel tomb on its own merits. It is an extremely important monument, dense with iconography, some of which (*e.g.* the effigies' heart-holding posture and souls ascending to heaven) also occurs in Yorkshire. However we have been unable to find anything other than the most general comparisons for the figure sculpture and many details of the male figure like the distinctive lion, the way the mail is carved and the presentation of the bascinet are difficult to parallel anywhere. The disparate nature of the Yorkshire examples cited by Dr Markus will be apparent from the main text (*e.g. 2b.iii, 3g.ii* and *4b.i*), see also Figs 61, 241 and 271. We have been unable to associate any Yorkshire effigies with work on the Cartmel monument. Consequently, as we found no evidence to support the contention that the Harrington effigies at Cartmel were produced by a Yorkshire workshop, they have not been included in the corpus.

In summary, we have always giving primacy to the evidence of the monuments themselves and proceeded with caution, presenting only the findings and deductions of which we can be confident.

Appendix 3:

Fieldwork

The resurvey site visits covered geographically-based tranches in week-long sessions. The recording was conducted as described in Section A2a (Resurvey) and the whole process could take several hours per effigy, depending on the complexity, with costume often occupying the greatest time, both to interpret and record. The records were supplemented by over 25,000 digital images, mostly taken on Canon SX 30 and SX 60 cameras as high resolution .jpg files. Daylight has been the preferred photographic light source, used whenever possible and sometimes captured using a reflector. However, worn and dimly-lit monuments benefit from the use of angled light to bring out detail, so a variety of artificial light sources has also been utilised for examination, recording and photography. Only in the most difficult circumstances have we resorted to camera-based flash, since this can flatten the images and render them far less informative.

Many churches are kept locked, particularly close to major urban centres and some proved more difficult to access than others but we received a great deal of help from very many key holders, clergy and churchwardens. Some needed to be present while we were recording in their church and they often showed remarkable patience while we worked. Occasionally, for example at Adlingfleet, Great Langton, Pickhill and Ormesby, churchwardens went out of their way to provide assistance, including useful and informative literature. At Pickhill we were also shown what turned out to be a missing part of the effigy, which had been discovered nearby. This proved to be especially useful as it had a clean, freshly broken, surface (Pl. 38) which revealed better detail of the stone than could be seen on the effigy itself (*4a.iv)*. At Sutton-on-Hull we were even provided with a step ladder to help with photography.

In a few cases the original information was meagre, for example at Felkirk (Pl. 21) where we were eventually successful (*2c.ii*). At Cantley, Arthur Mee (1969, p. 64) mentioned '… over the original east window is a small kneeling figure, with part of a medieval gravestone showing a man with praying hands', leaving open whether it was inside or out and what class of person was depicted. The churchwarden knew nothing of it and an inside search drew a blank. It was eventually located high on the exterior eastern gable (Fig. 36), partly hidden by a large tree. But not all searches were successful. In the chapel of Ledston Hall (W. R.), Arthur Mee noted 'a priest has been lying near the altar since the days of Magna Carta' (1969, p. 164). The hall itself has been divided into separate residences and the chapel is still used, despite being buried within the building. Unfortunately, the chapel had undergone some recent refurbishment and there was nothing to be seen of this potentially early priest. Our guide was very helpful and mentioned that the house had extensive cellars but despite a subterranean tour, nothing was found. Perhaps it was a flat incised slab now covered by the modern sanctuary floor, or even a reference to the damaged cross slab preserved in the central aisle. Another failure was at Doncaster. On the last day of February 1853, the large medieval church of St. George was destroyed in a dramatic conflagration. An impressive account of the fire, the old church and its Gilbert Scott replacement, was compiled by the Rev. John Jackson (1855). He illustrated a remarkable collection of architectural pieces and fragments of medieval grave stones, mostly discovered in the walls of the old church. Amongst them was the semi-effigial bust of a man with praying hands wearing a raised hood, shown within an elaborately cusped recess (Fig. 80). Some slab fragments had been noted in the roof of the crypt before the fire and there was at least the possibility that the semi-effigial fragment had been deposited there. With the help of the churchwarden and some Yorkshire

friends, we were able to search the crypt and found that its vaulted roof incorporated many more grave slabs than were illustrated by Jackson. However, no trace of the male civilian was discovered, either there or elsewhere in the church, so the nineteenth century drawing remains the only source.

The recording of some monuments is made difficult by their situation and effigies on high tomb chests can be tricky both to examine and photograph. This is particularly so with William of Hatfield's effigy in York Minster, which is also protected by a closely-set iron railing, making inspection awkward (Pl. 22). Accessibility within the church can also be an issue and it was necessary to make special arrangements to climb the tower at Melsonby to see the female semi-effigial slab, which has been re-used as a window sill in the ringing chamber (Fig. 33). Effigies which lie in churchyards can be more straightforward to examine but at Middleton on-the-Wolds, ivy had enveloped sections of the monument and at Garton-on-the-Wolds, the recesses in the semi-effigial slab had become receptacles for rabbit droppings. A more general issue with monuments exposed to the weather is 'trouble with lichen' when it covers the surface and prevents an assessment of the stone type, as well as masking detail.

Some Yorkshire effigies are located on private property. We are very grateful to the respective owners for permission to examine the three effigies at Coverham in the grounds of the house on the Abbey site (Pl. 6) and the fragments that survive in a modern wall close to where Watton Priory once stood (Fig. 5). However, Jervaulx Abbey is open to the public, so the military effigy can readily be inspected (Pl. 3). One figure is on public land. This is the enigmatic de Ros effigy, standing upright beside the footpath across Hob Moor near the Knavesmire Race Course in York (Pl. 17). The close scrutiny we were giving it caused passers by to raise an eyebrow.

The fieldwork led us to several stone stores. For some time, it has been the policy of English Heritage to gather carved stones from monasteries and other properties in their care into a small number of designated stores. That at Helmsley houses material from a large area, including the whole of Yorkshire and the collection has much relevant material including complete effigies and fragments. Items from the monasteries of Egglestone, Fountains, Kirkham and Rievaulx, were recorded there, plus the effigy fragment from Normanby and the figure from Hutton Lowcross (Gittos 2002b, p. 36). This juxtaposition of items from different sites enabled close comparisons to be made of carved details, which would otherwise have been far apart.

Museum stores have figured too. The military effigy which is part of Scarborough Museums Trust's collection (1938·736) lay for many years outside the Rotunda, exposed to all weathers, which was how we first saw it (Figs 95 & 183). By the time we embarked on the fieldwork, it had been taken into store and was in very cramped conditions, with the head and gablette separated from the rest of the effigy. The Collections Manager was extremely helpful but it was still one of the more challenging recording sessions. There are two effigies in the collection of the York Museums Trust, the more complete of which (2010.1218) was located in the open, in the Castle Museum's Prison Exercise Yard (Fig. 93), where we found it very damp and green with algae. This was not helpful from a recording point of view and very damaging as far as the Magnesian Limestone effigy was concerned. The Denton monument, now in the Bowes Museum collection (1995.25/ARC), came from a redundant church. When we saw it, the slab was stacked in a temporary store and only partly visible, making full recording impossible. Some effigies have undergone many moves and it can be difficult to keep track of them, for instance the remains of a miliary effigy (torso and two separate pieces of the head) which were found by excavation at Upleatham Old Church in 1970. They were initially kept inside the redundant church (which was where we first saw them in 1979) and later spent time in Upleatham's nineteenth century replacement church. After many enquiries, in 1995 we located the effigy's body in store at the Langbaurgh Museum, later renamed Kirkleatham Hall Museum (Fig. 219). When we contacted the museum in 2016 to carry out the full recording, we were told that it had very recently gone out on loan to the redundant church of Skelton (near Guisborough) which was where we eventually caught up with it. The head pieces apparently disappeared before the move to the Langbaurgh Museum and our only record is the black and white photographs we took in 1979 (*e.g.* Gittos 2002b, Fig. 14).

An important aspect of on-site examination is the opportunity to understand effigies in their settings, which has provided unexpected insights. One example is the original form of the late fourteenth century Magnesian Limestone tomb at the east end of the south aisle at Swine (Fig. 135). Restoration of the arch and window has created an awkward arrangement which scarcely looks medieval but this was once a much more impressive monument. The exterior masonry has been renewed but the low, gabled, outshot was originally provided to accommodate the monument's recess which is deeper than the thickness of the wall. Inside, the recess and base of the window appear to have undergone some remodelling and simplification but the key evidence survives at floor level where there are bases for the buttressed side shafts of what must have been a substantial canopy (Fig. 135). This would have framed the tomb chest, effigies and window, uniting the whole into one splendid entity. Swine demonstrates how it is possible to glimpse the form of the entire monument but more frequently the tell-tale evidence is on a much smaller scale. Close inspection of the military effigy from Fountains Abbey reveals that the carver has carefully distinguished between two types of fabric. The surcoat has been smoothed to represent a material which may have been dense, perhaps even waxed, to provide the

wearer with protection from the weather, whereas the drawn back face cloth has been textured to indicate a finely woven fabric (Fig. 144). It is only too easy to miss such subtleties. The most easterly effigy in the row along the north wall at West Tanfield also repays close attention. At first sight this military effigy seems to have been mutilated, with cut-outs to allow something like a wooden screen to fit over it. But the very opposite is the case and there is clear evidence the figure underwent extensive repair during manufacture, with many new pieces inserted (*4b.ii*).

These are a few examples which serve to highlight the varied and dispersed nature of our subject matter. They also underscore the value of very careful scrutiny implicit in an archaeological appraisal. The fieldwork provided much more than detailed records; it brought to light many significant discoveries which populate the book.

Appendix 4:

Review of sources

A4a Introduction

Yorkshire is fortunate in the extent and quality of the literature which deals with the county's rich heritage. This Appendix reviews some of the principal works, opening with those that provided the kernel of the corpus database. Of the more general works, J. E. Morris' Yorkshire volumes in *The Little Guides* series (1906, 1911, 1920 & 1924) and Pevsner's *The Buildings of England* (1972, 1985 & 1995) were invaluable. Even Arthur Mee's *The King's England* series (1964,1969 & 1970) provided several instances of otherwise unrecorded material. J. E. Morris was particularly thorough for monuments and such was his interest that he appended lists of medieval effigies to each volume. After his West Riding list he wrote, 'I have spared little pains in my endeavour to make these lists both logical and complete'. Pevsner's volumes had gaps, although we were subsequently able to assist with updating the medieval church monuments content of the East Riding volume for the 1995 revision. Despite the popular style of Arthur Mee, its compliers could be very observant. They sometimes included worthwhile additional information about particular figures and occasionally, like the effigy at Felkirk (Pl. 21), noting what others had missed altogether (*2c.ii*).

These and the other sources employed in this study are listed in the bibliography. This section provides an overview, highlighting the value of particular works and indicating some of the problems encountered. In recent years more and more material has become available online, particularly journals and pre-1900 publications, building a valuable resource which has greatly assisted in pursuing the myriad lines of enquiry this study has generated.

A4b Sources pre-1500

Amongst the contemporary texts, wills are important, with testators usually expressing a preference for where they were to be buried and occasionally commenting on their monuments. Wills can also offer an insight into the kind of person the testator was, which can be important in interpreting what has come down to us. Sadly, wills can seldom be correlated with particular effigies, so they are all the more precious when they can. In 1346, William de Crathorne made his will in his home church of Crathorne before going to his death on the victorious side at the battle of Neville's Cross (*5a.iii*). His effigy lies beside the altar in All Saints church carrying a shield displaying his arms (Pl. 64) and perhaps wearing the armour which he bequeathed to 'Galfrido Hunter' (*Test. Ebor.* I, p. 21). His figure and will help to place the Series E effigies in their historical context. In January the following year the will of Robert de Capon was proved, having been made the previous February at his home village of Upleatham. It says nothing about a monument and Robert was content to be buried in whichever church God would provide. In the event it proved to be Upleatham and his effigy (also Series E) bears the de Capon arms on both his shield and surcoat (Fig. 219). It is clear that neither de Crathorne nor de Capon had already provisioned a monument for themselves and the effigies must have been procured by their executors. Rarer still are contemporary references to tombs and the celebrated case heard in the Court of Chivalry to decide whether the Scropes or the Grosvenors had the right to bear the arms *azure a bend or*, is exceptional in this regard (*A6b*). Information about the people concerned with the monuments and the

background to their creation has been drawn from a wide range of published sources, such as the royal records, the publications of the Surtees Society and those of the Yorkshire Record Society.

A4c Sources from 1500 to 1700

The pioneering antiquary John Leland wrote rough notes of his travels through England which he made over some six years from about 1539. He was collecting material for an ambitious programme of antiquarian works which he did not see through to fruition but his travel notes have been published twice, most recently in 1964 (Leland). He visited Yorkshire on several occasions but mentions only a relatively small number of monuments. Leland's antiquarian interest focussed on whom may have been commemorated more than the tombs themselves and he usefully provides an identification of the alabaster effigies in Hull, as that of Robert de Selby, a former mayor, and his wife (1, p. 50). He also mentions surviving effigial tombs of the Markenfields at Ripon, Methams at Howden, and what he thought were all Bruces at Pickering (5, p. 142; 1, pp. 52, 63). Leland describes the effigies at West Tanfield much as we see them today, except for the knight now against the north wall which was then on the south side of the chapel and he attributed it to a Marmion (1, p. 83). He also refers to the de Ros tombs at Kirkham Priory (1, p. 92), see Appendix A6c.v.

Sixteenth century visitations of Yorkshire by heralds from the College of Arms are an early source and that in 1530, of Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms, predates Leland. However, the heralds' task was to record coats of arms wherever they could be found and compile pedigrees of the significant families. They understandably concentrated on inscriptions and heraldry, paying less attention to the form the monuments took. However, in the case of Fountains Abbey, Tonge's published notes provide extremely valuable information about the tombs in the choir (*5b.i*). William Flower, a later Norroy King of Arms, failed to record any monuments during his visitation in 1564/5 but fortunately Glover, the Somerset Herald (who served as Flower's deputy), did do so during his visitation of 1584/5 (Foster 1875).

Antiquarianism became firmly established in the seventeenth century when Yorkshire effigies were recorded by major contributors such as Roger Dodsworth, Sir William Dugdale and the Johnston brothers (Henry and Nathaniel). Of these only Dodsworth's notes have been published (Dodsworth) and they are significantly the earliest, mostly dating from 1620–22. Dugdale visited Yorkshire in 1665–66 and Henry Johnston made his tour from 1669 to 1671, although his brother's notes were compiled over a somewhat longer period. Dodsworth's record therefore predates the troubled period of the English Civil War which is known to have resulted in the destruction of church monuments (*A6*). However, Dodsworth describes thirty-four of the effigies included in our catalogue much as they are today except that a few have moved around the church. He only mentions five which are now lost, at three locations: Bulmer, Hemsworth (W. R.) and Settrington (E. R.), see Section 2c.i. The impression is that, as far as effigies in Yorkshire parish churches are concerned, the violence of the mid seventeenth century resulted in few losses. On the other hand there are twenty-eight effigies which he did not mention, now present at places which he visited. Most of them are non-military and lack heraldry, probably accounting for his lack of interest. Others may not have been visible at the time and a case in point is the knight and lady at Kirklington which occupy recesses in the south wall of the south aisle. The knight has his arms carved on his shield but is ignored by Dodsworth who does describe the post-medieval tomb with its effigies at the east end of the same aisle. The medieval figures are very well preserved and this may be due to the recesses being concealed in Dodsworth's time.

Sir William Dugdale's *Yorkshire Arms* is amongst the manuscripts held by the College of Arms and comprises notes and many drawings of stained glass, effigies etc from Yorkshire churches (Dugdale Yorks. Arms). The effigy drawings are mostly based on original sketches made about 1641 but were worked up to a more finished standard in a compilation of the 1660s. This process has resulted in many inaccurate details. For instance, the drawing of the Metham effigies at Howden (fo. 128v) shows the pair lying on their original tomb chest with eight plain niches on the side. But the surviving tomb chest panels have only six niches per side, each containing a figure (Fig. 113). Similarly, Metham himself is shown with shoulder-length hair, more akin to the fashions of Dugdale's time than the bushy roll curls of the early fourteenth century. However, this lapse does have the advantage of shedding light on the re-cutting of the Scarborough effigy (Figs 95 & 96) which now has similar hair to Dugdale's drawing of Metham, supporting a seventeenth century date for the reworking of Scarborough (*2c.ii*).

About the time *Yorkshire Arms* was completed, Henry Johnston, a Yorkshireman who was born into a Anglican high church family but became a Benedictine monk, made copious notes and reliable sketches whilst touring Yorkshire churches. His brother Nathaniel was a medical doctor, antiquary and Jacobite, who practised in Pontefract before moving to London. Their notes are in the Bodleian Library (Johnston C 13 & C 14; Johnston C 27 & C 31). Again, much of what they recorded was stained glass but there are also many sketches of effigies. This work, especially Henry's, is much more roughly executed than Dugdale's but the detail is usually more reliable. Henry's sketch of the female effigy at Adlingfleet (C14, fo. 158r), shows the tomb very much as it is today with the figure very recognisable. Only one of the quatrefoils containing shields is drawn on the tomb

chest but the positions of the other three are indicated, with insets of the arms on each properly represented. Johnston even has a note about the uncertainty as to whether one of the heraldic lions is shown crowned or not and we had the same difficulty almost 350 years later! He recorded a great deal of the memorial glass still present in the city churches of York, including that of the former mayor Richard Yorke (d 1498) which was transferred to the Minster in 1939 after St John's near Ousebridge ceased to be used for worship. Henry also sketched two civilian effigies there (male and female, Figs 78 & 83) which he described as lying on 'top of the wall of the Ch[urch] yard, on each side of the gate' (C 14 fo. 104r). Both are now lost but his drawings, particularly of the male figure, are good enough to interpret the style (*2c.i*). Other important illustrations include the lost lady from Bolton Abbey (C 13 fo. 84r, Fig. 79) and the wooden knight at Swillington before it was largely destroyed by wood-boring beetles (C 13 fo. 276r), see *4a.v* and Fig. 138. His drawing of the two military effigies in the Hazelwood chapel, where they formerly lay, on the same tomb chest, is of crucial importance in piecing together their history (C 13 fo. 277r), see Section 5b.i and Fig. 233. James Torre's notes on Yorkshire churches, compiled in 1690–2, record a huge number of monuments, particularly floor slabs of all kinds and dates. He usefully punctuates his text with small rough sketches of most of what he describes but effigies are sparingly covered. His equivocal attitude to effigies can be seen at Beverley Minster where he includes what seems to be the male civilian effigy but omits the more impressive figure of Provost Nicholas Huggate. However Torre is the only source for a lost military effigy from Folkton (E. R.; Torre 1692, fo. 914) and his sketch of the semi-effigial at Gilling East is important in showing the tomb chest in the same location as today but complete (Torre 1692, fo. 280).

A4d Sources from 1700 to 1900

Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries publications about Yorkshire become progressively more numerous and only the most useful are mentioned here. Roger Gale, a Yorkshireman and highly respected historian, became the first Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries and published his *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, in Latin (Gale 1722). He made use of a wide range of sources, providing transcripts of many original documents and illustrating four of the five effigies now remaining in Bedale church. They include Brian FitzAlan and his first wife, Muriel, on the tomb chest which they once shared but which has since been broken up. Gale helpfully describes the tomb as then in the north aisle but originally in the chapel at the east end of the south aisle, crucial information in charting the history of a Yorkshire tomb of the first importance. In the following decade Thomas Gent published three volumes on York, Ripon and Hull, the most useful for its coverage of effigial monuments being his *History of the Loyal Town of Rippon* (Gent 1733a) because, 'besides are added, Travels into other Parts of Yorkshire' (Gent 1733b, title page). However, it is not always clear which effigies are being discussed, with those at Pickering for example being difficult to relate to what now remains. He does mention about twenty of the effigies in the corpus and makes some important observations, for instance, about the lost de Mauley knight in York Minster (Fig. 64). This was smashed to pieces in the disastrous fire which severely damaged the east end in 1829. It had previously been in the nave, against one of the tower piers (Drake 1736, p. 498) and should have been safe but by Gent's time, it had recently been moved into the choir because the new floor had just been laid through most of the Cathedral (1733a, p. 39). He is the only antiquary to record the small half effigy of an ecclesiastic at Upleatham (1733a, p. 37), see Appendix A1, and he also mentions the Series B effigy at Escrick (1733b, p. 59) which was then still in the medieval church.

Drake's *Eboracum* (Drake 1736) is concerned with the City of York, describing and illustrating all five of the effigies known to have been in the Minster, three of which are now lost. He also mentions effigies on Hob Moor and in the area of 'Neut-gate Lane', both of which have survived (pp. 398, 309 respectively, see Pl. 17 & Fig. 93). The first ecclesiastical history of Yorkshire was Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense* (Burton 1758) which provides an impressive view of the scale of monasticism in the county. He identifies 106 religious houses broken down as follows: 14 abbeys; 44 priories; 7 alien houses; 13 cells of other houses and 28 friaries. Given the contemporary state of most of the monasteries, there were not many monuments to describe but unlike earlier writers he noted all four coats of arms on the effigy of the lady in Selby Abbey. There is also useful information in his quotations from testamentary burials, particularly those for Guisborough Priory. Burton gives great prominence to the actions of benefactors, throwing light on the people and families who had connections with particular monasteries and may have been commemorated there.

Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* was published in parts from 1786 and this massive compilation still stands as one of the major works on the subject. Gough collected Yorkshire material from a number of sources and visited the county himself in 1785. More than forty Yorkshire effigies are mentioned in *Sepulchral Monuments*, some of which are both illustrated and described in detail. As well as covering all seven figures at West Tanfield, he records an investigation of the monuments about five years previously (1.2, p. 176). The bodies of the pair commemorated by the alabaster effigies (Fig. 153) had been seen beneath the tomb, **'**I was told by the clerk who shewed me this church, that' the man's 'bones were found half a yard under the pavement in the earth, and that his lady's were separated from them by a stone set on edge, but were not taken up'. In contrast,

the body of the knight in the recess lay immediately below the effigy, 'Under his figure lies the body, in a leaden coffin, inclosed in one of wood: his hair appeared red, but the bones dropt down on opening the coffin, which lay close under the slab, and was full of clammy moisture. Mr. Gray, the Rector, saw it about five years ago' (*i.e. c*. 1780). Gough gives the only description of the figures formerly on both sides of the tomb chest at Bedale and publishes detailed drawings of the effigy of the ecclesiastic and its tomb chest at Beverley (II.3, p. 312 & Pl. CXIV). His suggestions about dating and possible ascriptions for some of the effigies are rather fanciful but this does not detract from the value of his descriptions. Gough makes additional references to Yorkshire effigies in his revision of Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1806.

In the nineteenth century, the Lancashire cleric, landowner and antiquary, Thomas Dunham Whitaker produced three important regional studies on western parts of Yorkshire. His *Richmondshire* (1823) is the most fruitful for effigies and he provides accurate drawings which encompass some less well known figures, of which the priest at Great Langton (Fig. 15) and the torso of the military effigy at Coverham Abbey are good examples. He recycled Gale's drawing of the priest at Bedale from a hundred years earlier because, surprisingly, he said that it was not then to be seen. Many other histories of the county, in whole or in part, followed but one of the most notable is Poulson's *Holderness* (1841). He focussed on a less studied area and published much original research using the extensive material left by William Dade. The frontispiece to his second volume is a fine drawing of the elaborate canopied tomb housing the effigy of a priest at Welwick (Fig. 299) and this set the tone for the commendable regional study. Lawton's *Collections Relative to the Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York* of 1840 complemented Burton's work on the religious houses and is still an important ecclesiastical reference source for the county. He often gives the page reference for a particular church in Torre's manuscript and other sources, which can save much searching. It has been partially superseded by the Victoria County History (which is incomplete).

There are many studies of York Minster but it is difficult to improve on the quality of the draftsmanship in John Britton's work (Britton 1819). He illustrates only two relevant effigies but does include a full elevation of the tomb setting where the William of Hatfield figure now lies, showing a rare appreciation of the extent of the whole monument (Fig. 111). Britton was not alone in his regard for accurate illustration and his contemporary Charles Stothard created some of the most painstakingly accurate effigy drawings ever published (Stothard 1817–32). After his tragic early death, the tradition which he had established was carried on by the Hollis brothers who published drawings of seven more Yorkshire effigies to add to just the two by Stothard (Hollis 1840–2). Stothard's drawing of the de Ros effigy (now in the Temple Church in London) shows its condition before it was 'improved' during Richardson's work on the Temple effigies in 1842 (Richardson 1843), see Fig. 236 and Section 2c.ii, Repairs. The Hollis's direct view of the two alabaster effigies at West Tanfield has the lady on her husband's right, confirming that the present arrangement (Fig. 153) is due to a more recent intervention *(3b)*.

In the introduction to his *Christian Monuments* (Boutell 1854) the Rev. Charles Boutell set out his ambition for a comprehensive treatment of the subject which would be divided into five sections by type, with the third dealing with 'monumental effigies, such as display the whole figure'. However, only two sections were published, including the second dealing with semi-effigial monuments which has just two from Yorkshire at Gilling East and Moor Monkton. Edward Cutts' *Manual* (1849), provides another drawing of the Gilling East semi-effigial and one of the half effigy in the base of a cross at Howden, although he confusingly titled it, 'Hendon, Yorkshire'. Matthew Bloxham was a contemporary of both Cutts and Boutell and also published monument material. His *Companion to Gothic Ecclesiastical Architectur*e (1882) is populated with monuments and he uses the priest's tomb at Beverley Minster to discuss his vestments, complete with an illustration. Almost by accident, he provides the only known illustration of the semi-effigial slab at Loversall which can be seen to one side of the famous early chest tomb in the churchyard, the focus of his drawing. Bloxham's paper, *On Certain Sepulchral Effigies and Monuments in South Yorkshire* was delivered to the Yorkshire Architectural Society (Bloxham 1849) and we believe it is the first to deal specifically with effigies in Yorkshire. The published text is accompanied by five excellent illustrations from churches in the south of the county (the knight at Barnburgh; male civilian at Loversall; male civilian and child at South Anston, plus both the forester and the lawyer at Wadworth).

A4e Sources post 1900

Prior and Gardner's ground breaking study of *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Prior & Gardner 1912), set the tone for more systematic research in the twentieth century. They employed details of costume and armour and, crucially, the style of carving to categorise figure sculpture throughout the country. They distinguished a Yorkshire style of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, using particularly the effigies at Bedale and Howden to make their case. They saw the use of large block Magnesian Limestone as a key factor in the way some of the figures were carved and detected north German influence in the style. They also suggested that effigy carving in Yorkshire was likely to have been carried out by masons involved in the major church building programmes of the time. Subsequent research has modified and refined much of the detail but the broad picture

which they created is still largely valid. Fred Crossley covered monuments of all kinds in his *English Church Monuments* (Crossley 1921). Yorkshire effigies are quite well represented but Crossley's strength is his attention to the complete monument and not just the figure. His dates and attributions have to be treated with some caution as many are quite wide of the mark.

Highly significant for Yorkshire is the work of William I'Anson on the military effigies (I'Anson 1923, 1926 & 1927) which, as explained in the Introduction, was a key part of our early involvement with the subject (see Section 1). Military effigies constitute very nearly 40% of the corpus and I'Anson catalogued sixty-six of the ninety-one we have listed. Much of the shortfall is accounted for by his earlier cut-off date of *c*. 1370, and items which have been found since the 1920s, but there are still some surprising omissions such as Routh and Treeton. Although we disagree with many of his attributions and precise dates, he certainly made an important contribution to the subject. Returning to the national perspective, Fryer's countrywide survey of wooden effigies (Fryer 1924) catalogues four of the five figures in Yorkshire, omitting Swillington, which is all the more surprising as it is recorded in Morris 1911 (p. 491) as being in a glass case in the church, just as it is today. Lawrence Stone (Stone 1955) built on the work of Prior and Gardner and his brief section on Yorkshire effigies (p. 153) focuses on just two groups of military effigies (broadly corresponding to Series B and C), using Bedale and the two figures at Goldsborough to make his case, which seems a little confused. Unlike Prior and Gardner he detected French influence combined with essentially English traits. His treatment of a large and complex subject is all too brief but he does make some valid comparisons for the occurrence of sleeved surcoats. Arthur Gardner (Gardner 1940) returned to the monument theme with his solo work devoted to English medieval alabaster tombs and his gazetteer for the whole of England and Wales includes all twelve effigies in this corpus. The work enables comparisons to be made with similarly dated effigies elsewhere. Much more detail was provided by Pauline Routh in her *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire* (Routh 1976). However, her emphasis was more historical than archaeological.

It fell to a Dutchman, Dr. Harry Tummers (Tummers 1980) to write the standard work on thirteenth century secular effigies in England. He explained in great detail the reasoning behind his dating of the 213 effigies in his catalogue, giving prominence to features such as the degree of undercutting and the figures' stance. From it all, he creates an evolutionary pattern which results in eight Yorkshire effigies being dated prior to 1300. They comprise six knights and two ladies all assigned to the late thirteenth century (Bulmer, Coverham torso, Jervaulx, Pickhill, Treeton, Welton, Kirkleatham, Wistow). However, more recent analysis has revealed problems. The lady at Kirkleatham belongs to the Ingleby Arncliffe group of effigies (Gittos 2002b, p. 32) which can be shown to date from the mid fourteenth century and the Purbeck marble knight at Welton (Figs 1 & 133) belongs to the final phase of effigies in this material, some of which can be positively dated into the fourteenth century (Gittos 1998; Blair, Goodall & Lankester 2000, see also Section 2a.v).

A detailed account of the use of Egglestone marble was published in 2009 (Badham and Blacker) under the short title of *Northern Rock* (which had other serious connotations at the time). It includes a chapter presenting 'An overview of monumental production and commemoration in the north-east of England' which embraces stone and wooden monuments in Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland. Yorkshire effigies are included, with an outline of what had been published about workshops and mention of some of the lost figures. However, there are some misleading comments in the case of some individual figures. Two effigies in Egglestone marble (the lady from Denton and the fragment from Egglestone Abbey) have been included in our corpus on the basis of their identification in *Northern Rock*.

I'Anson was proud of the fact that he had seen about 70% of the medieval military effigies in England but in recent times Mark Downing has attempted to see them all. The results of his endeavours have appeared in a series of privately printed publications (2010 to 2015), covering England and Wales county by county. The East Riding appears in Volume 7 and the North and West in Volume 8 (Downing 2014 & 2015). His cut off date of 1500 makes it more comprehensive than I'Anson's survey, and it is much better organised, each effigy being dealt with briefly under a system of sub headings and usually accompanied by two photographs. Useful references are given, particularly to manuscript sources, and it is a valuable work not only for Yorkshire but for the whole country. However, there are some problems. To take the example of the Fountains effigy, important references which give a better indication of the person likely to have been commemorated have been omitted and the description of the figure says the face cloth is stitched to the cushion, whereas this feature is only shown at Goldsborough. By and large the effigies are dated from the armour they wear, using current orthodox assumptions, much as I'Anson did more than eighty years previously. This restricted view unfortunately ignores the many other strands of evidence which can be employed to achieve a more soundly based outcome. Mark Downing has also published a scheme of high status stylistic groupings covering some Yorkshire military effigies (Downing 2010). As explained in Appendix 7, we find this analysis unconvincing.

Probably the most important book dealing with English effigies to be published in recent years has been Nigel Saul's *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Saul 2009). As the title suggests, the scope is much broader than just three dimensional effigies although they do feature

prominently. However, the Yorkshire corpus is not well represented with only about a dozen mentioned in the text plus a similar number listed in the table of English male civilians. Together with members of the legal profession the latter receive special attention in order to fill a gap in the literature. As Nigel Saul embraces much of what has been published since Crossley wrote his *English Church Monuments* nearly ninety years earlier, the limited attention paid to Yorkshire's effigies in recent times is only too apparent.

The launch of *Church Monuments* and the Church Monuments Society *Newsletter* in 1985 provided a dedicated outlet for articles on monuments. Some material in these publications, and elsewhere, deals wholly or in part with Yorkshire, (see Bibliography). Of particular relevance is the work of Sally Badham, Richard Knowles, Philip Lankester and Sophie Oosterwijk. Nevertheless, as this literature survey demonstrates, nothing even approaching a comprehensive treatment of the medieval effigies of Yorkshire has previously been attempted and many figures have received little or no attention at all. However, the wider material available for Yorkshire is extensive and much is of high quality, providing a solid foundation for the current work.

Appendix 5:

The wider monument range

Appendix 6 paints a picture of commemoration by a sculptured effigy having always been a minority choice, even amongst those well able to afford it. The lack of evidence for more than just a handful of effigies commemorating members of such wealthy and well-connected families as the Scropes and Berkeleys serves to make this point. Consequently, it is worth setting effigies against the wider range of commemoration from which choices were made, at least as far as Yorkshire patrons were concerned.

A5a Cross slabs

From what survives in Yorkshire, the cross slab was clearly the most common form of lasting memorial throughout the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth, with several hundred known, mostly reused in the walls of churches. They were chosen by clients with sufficient means right across the social spectrum. Two of the three monuments to thirteenth century Archbishops remaining in York Minster are of this type, Sewal de Bovill (d. 1258) and Godfrey Ludham (d. 1265). When Walter Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, died at his Howden residence in 1260, his viscera were interred in Howden Minster, beneath a cross slab of Frosterley marble bought from nearer his seat of power. Such was the demand for this type of memorial in Yorkshire that, in addition to massive indigenous production, high quality cross slabs were imported from the south of England in significant numbers. Some twenty-one Purbeck marble tapered grave slabs survive in the county, either whole or as fragments. The results of a survey of Purbeck marble coffin-shaped commemorative grave slabs revealed a country-wide total of over 820 slabs, mostly dating from the thirteenth century (Purbeck 1994–2003).

A5b Monumental brasses

A few of the Yorkshire Purbeck marble coffin lids formerly held brass, such as the indent for a cross brass found at Rievaulx Abbey (Gittos 1999) and the figure slab with marginal separate letter inscription at Salley Abbey commemorating Sir Robert de Clyderhow, Parson of Wigan. However, just as Yorkshire seems to have been slow to accept carved effigies as a method of commemoration (see Section 1), the same seems to have been true of monumental brasses. There are no figure brasses which can be dated before that of Archbishop William Greenfield (d. 1315) in York Minster, which is a local product (Badham 1989). Nothing else survives *in situ* to compare with the Greenfield brass but two fragments of a large figure in the same style were discovered on the reverse of a 1522 brass from Middleton (Lancashire), during its conservation in 2004 (L. Lack 'Conservation of Brasses, 2004', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 17.4 (2006) pp. 400–401). After Greenfield, no further brasses survive before the London-made male civilian at Hampsthwaite (W.R.), *c*. 1360, and the priest at Brandesburton (E.R.) who died in 1364. However, either antiquarian records or indents survive for about a dozen figure brasses from the intervening period, the majority of which are believed to have been produced locally. Indeed, as with other monument forms, there seems to have been a preference for indigenous products in Yorkshire. Amongst the fourteenth century figure brasses and indents that date from after the Black Death, only eight come from the London workshops, compared to nearly four times that number produced in Yorkshire (Badham & Blacker 2009, pp. 92–99). This is mirrored in the importation of alabaster effigies in the later fourteenth century. There

are only three before the final decade and one of those is the royal effigy of William of Hatfield. Thereafter, midland-produced alabasters became accepted by Yorkshire patrons, with a further seven by about 1400. The pair at Hull, which have been claimed to be of Yorkshire alabaster, are also from this period (Badham 2015a, p. 144). In contrast, some thirty-two effigies in more local stone remain from the post Black Death period, eleven of those from the final decade, demonstrating the area's resistance to external fashions.

A5c Composite slabs

The slabs at Goldsborough, Goodmanham, Stonegrave and a lost example from Guiseley (W. R.) had just the head inlaid in brass, while the curious design at Hemingbrough (E. R.) had a full length brass figure at the centre and the bust of a second to one side with a centralised inscription plate above. It seems very likely that the remainder of the incomplete figure was originally incised on the slab, together with the whole of a third figure on the other side, which would have balanced the composition (Gittos 1989, Fig. 6c). Similar treatment would have completed the memorial to Eva de Goldesburgh at Goldsborough, which looks decidedly incomplete on account of the large blank space below the indent for her head. However, the Goodmanham slab is unlikely to have had an incised figure because an indent for a shield lies just below the head. The design should, therefore, be regarded as analogous to the head slabs amongst the semi effigials. The incising is also gone from three slabs which once had inlaid heads and hands at Bedale, Pocklington (E. R.) and Welwick. This may also be true of the indent at Patrington showing a half-length priest. These have been considered imports from Flanders (Badham & Blacker 2009, p. 9) but there must be some doubt about this because the Pocklington slab is a crinoidal limestone likely to have come from a more local source. Yorkshire does have two Flemish brasses at Topcliffe and Wensley. The latter is a memorial to the Sir Simon de Wensley who gave evidence to the Scrope and Grosvenor inquiry (Nicolas 1832, p. 329).

A5d Incised slabs

Slabs with incised figures are very rare in Yorkshire and add little to the picture created by the brasses and indents. Greenhill lists just six before 1400 and one of those is the composite slab at Bedale mentioned above (Greenhill 1976). Another was the alabaster slab to a knight and lady at Harpham which can be shown to be a retrospective monument set up after 1400 and related to the commission of another at Hornsea. To the other four at Watton, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor (E.R.), Startforth and York (Holy Trinity, Goodramgate), can be added the fragment of Alicie Tiasse's memorial, reused as a window jamb at Burghwallis (Gittos 1978). Given that there are only a few lines left on the battered fragment at York, the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor slab is almost effaced and Startforth is also very worn (particularly the male figure), that leaves the tapered slab from Watton Priory (now in the parish church) as the best representative of the genre. The figure is dressed as a bare headed canon and the inscription is difficult to read but does not appear to include the date. The name is probably Dominus William de Malton in abbreviated form. Greenhill describes him as a Gilbertine Prior who died in 1279 but gives no source (Greenhill 1976, I, pp. 99–100) and this has been repeated by other writers. However, Smith & London (2001, p. 530) record only one Prior William at Watton, who was active in the 1220s which seems too early for the slab. The monument was excavated amongst a block of four grave covers in the presbytery of the canons' choir (pers. comm. Ken Beaulah, November 1980). A dating clue is present in the form of the crockets on the gablette above his head which seem to be naturalistic foliage of the late thirteenth century. Such a date is also consistent with an inscription simply naming the person, without supplying a date of death. The inscription itself appears to be a variation of the stock form beginning 'Quisquis eris …', with the sentiment 'As I once was, so you will be …', which was popular in the later thirteenth century.

The rarity of incised slabs in Yorkshire does not mean they were an uncommon type of monument, rather that they were a particularly vulnerable type. Usually laid in the pavement and not deeply cut, they would suffer wear and when they became cracked or broken, would be lost during repairs to the floor. The Torre manuscripts have numerous mentions of what must have been incised slabs, particularly in York Minster and the city churches. Many of those he recorded will have been post 1400 but a proportion was probably earlier.

A5e Painted slabs

Even more vulnerable than incised slabs were memorials where the detail was only created by paint (S. Badham, '"A new feire peynted stone": medieval English incised slabs?', *Church Monuments*, XIX, (2002), pp. 20–52). This is another possibility for how the additional detail was supplied on the Hemingbrough slab. Just one example of a completely painted pre-1400 memorial has survived in Yorkshire, a rare instance of a highly ephemeral class of monument. This is the image of Archbishop Walter de Gray in York Minster which was found on the lid of his coffin when the tomb was dismantled for conservation, in January 1968 (Ramm 1971, Pls XLIV & XLVa). It had been preserved beneath the rubble-filled mortar layer separating it from the effigy above. It was initially assumed that this painted image was intended to be a temporary memorial until the effigy and the tomb were ready. However, Matthew Sillence has made a strong case that the painted tomb and

the canopied effigy which superceded it where the result of two separate campaigns (Sillence 2005). He sees the painted tomb, which would have originally stood above the level of the pavement, as intended to be a finished product.

A5f Memorials in glass

Another extremely vulnerable form of commemoration was stained glass but its use was common, as the heralds' visitations and antiquarian notes abound with references. The designs could comprise representations of the commemorated as well as religious imagery, inscriptions and heraldry. Windows could be used alone but might also form part of a broader commemorative scheme, for instance in combination with a tomb or filling the windows of a chantry chapel (*3e*). Painted glass was also the chosen medium of many church benefactors to remind the world of their gift. However, the great majority of the glass has perished, being a particular target of the iconoclasts. York Minster is an exception with a panoply of medieval memorial glass still to be seen, including the de Mauley window in the nave, where members of the family are distinguished by the differencing of their arms on the shields they are holding (Pl. 68). The nave window of *c*. 1307–8 given to the cathedral by Peter de Dene, charts his career and depicts important people with whom he had been involved, alongside the religious imagery related to his adjacent chantry. The donor himself kneels in prayer at the base of his window. These precious survivals are from the first rank of a form of commemoration which was repeated, albeit on a much less grand scale, throughout the churches of medieval Yorkshire. In some cases, such as Swine, the carved effigies and the stained glass would have combined to create the whole monument (*A3*). When considering the effigies, this backdrop of vivid colour and glittering light needs always to be kept in mind.

A5g Conclusions

Those wishing to establish a physical monument in later thirteenth and fourteenth century Yorkshire had a very wide range of available choice. Cost and the constraints of a favoured location might slim down the possibilities but other factors, such as changing fashions and an inherent preference for what was deemed appropriate, would also have weighed in the balance. From a modern perspective, the original pattern of commemoration is grossly distorted by the almost total disappearance of those made with vulnerable materials such as wood, glass and paint. Durable stone products, such as effigies, have been a lasting legacy but it would be a serious misconception to interpret them as evidence for their pre-eminence amongst the choices of medieval Yorkshire's patrons.

Appendix 6:

Loss & Survival

A6a Estimating losses

Two hundred and thirty-one Yorkshire effigies survive in some form but they represent only a proportion of those that were set up. How large a proportion is impossible to be sure but this study attempts to create an informed picture using contemporary records, antiquarian sources and the surviving remains from both Yorkshire and the country at large. The commemorative history of the Scrope family (for whom there are extensive records) will be reviewed first, followed by a wide ranging, building-based, survey of the available evidence.

A6b The Scropes: one family's monumental history

Yorkshire is privileged to have available a very rare form of evidence. This is the depositions of those who testified to the commissioners in the Scrope vs Grosvenor heraldic hearings. They provide glimpses of the memorials of one family as they stood towards the end of the fourteenth century (Nicolas 1832). In the thirteenth century, the Scropes were an established family with their interests centred in and around Wensleydale (N. R.). In the following century a highly ambitious and effective pair of lawyer brothers, Henry and Geoffrey, transformed the family into one of the most powerful in the kingdom. Between them, they founded the dynasties of the Scropes of Bolton and the Scropes of Masham. Succeeding generations capitalised on this foundation before they fell victim to the politics of the fifteenth century and the religious ferment of the sixteenth. None of their pre-1500 tombs survive intact and it may well be that none of them survive at all. However, the records of the dispute over the right to bear the arms 'azure, a bend or', coupled with an impressive number of medieval wills, mean that is easier to gain an overall picture of their commemorative history than for any other family in the study area. The witnesses describe aspects of churches and domestic buildings as they appeared at the end of the fourteenth century and tombs were an important source of evidence in the trial. The family wills carry the picture on through the fifteenth century but it should be stressed that even for the Scropes, it is impossible to compile a full record of the family's commemoration. What is possible to chart is the trajectory of their commemorative practices against the family's fortunes. This allows some assessment of the proportion of individuals commemorated by formal monuments and also, to an extent, the nature of those monuments.

Putting together the Scrope family members referred to by the witnesses, with the evidence from the wills and the heads of the households named in the *Complete Peerage* (CP), a community of forty-three family members emerges, spanning the period from the early thirteenth century to the opening of the sixteenth. During that time, sixteen individuals are known to have been commemorated by tombs. To these can be added that of Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham, who requested a tomb in his will that was probably not erected, since he was executed for treason on account of his part in the Southampton plot of 1415. However, since his intention was clear, it has been included in this survey. Several deponents to the Commissioners refer to yet more tombs in general terms, such as:

> and many others of their lineage interred under flat stones, with their effigies sculptured thereon, and their shields represented with these arms (Abbot of Easby, translated in Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 275).

or,

> Several others of his lineage and name were buried there, one after the other, under large square stones, which being so massive were sunk into the earth, so that no more of the stone than the summit of it could be seen; and many more of their sons and daughters were buried under great stones. (Simon the parson of Wensley, translated in Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 330).

Since these are unquantifiable and undatable, they have been omitted from the figures but they do give a flavour of the Scrope memorials at that time.

The earliest of the tombs was probably that for a Scrope lady who was commemorated jointly with her husband at Skirpenbeck (E. R.). They were said to have been buried 183 years earlier than the date of the inquiry (Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 305). Another from the early thirteenth century, was that for Simon Scrope of Flotmanby and Wensley (p. 329), who must have been born at the end of the twelfth century but was still active in 1225 (CP XI, pp. 532–3). The last is for Alice Scrope of Masham who died *c*.1510 (*Test. Ebor*. V, p. 50, and for the date see CP IX, p. 571). Of the monuments, only three are effigial although a fourth was intended but probably never set up. The three commemorated two brothers and one of their sons. The brothers were Henry and Geoffrey, the founders of the Bolton and Masham lines respectively, who died within four years of each other in 1336 and 1340. They seem to have mirrored each other in death as they did throughout their lives. Both had highly successful careers as lawyers, in turn rising to the position of Chief Justice. Both had enormously increased their wealth and seem to have developed an association with a local abbey where they were subsequently buried (each being accounted as a Founder): Henry at Easby and Geoffrey at Coverham. In doing this they changed the family burial pattern. Their father, grandfather and great grandfather had all been buried under slabs in the parish churchyard at Wensley.

The Scrope of Bolton line would eventually return to burial at Wensley, but not until the sixteenth century, after two more dramatic shifts in family circumstances. Sir Henry purchased the patronage of Easby Abbey in 1319 (Vale 1987, 2, nos 260–265) and Stöber 2007 contains a case study of the relationship (pp. 182–9). When Henry's son William died of wounds received at the battle of Morlaix, in 1344, he followed his father into Easby Abbey, where both had effigial tombs (Nicolas 1832, 2, pp. 16, 274). Henry's was described for the Commissioners in a written submission by William de Irby, on behalf of the Archdeacon of Richmond (Nicolas 1832, 1, p. 222):

> Firstly, in the monastery of St Agatha near Richmond the body of Henry le Scrope father of the said lord Richard lies buried and on his tomb in his memory is a certain image carved and shown in the said heraldry with a shield of the said arms around his neck. This lord Henry was buried there 6th September anno Domini 1336. Around this said tomb these arms are solemnly carved and plainly shown in twenty places.

Having established a family mausoleum at Easby, the Bolton line continued the tradition of burial there throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries until Henry, 6th Baron (who died in 1506) was buried in Wensley. His descendants followed suit and a sunk relief effigial slab of 1525 can still be seen in Wensley church, commemorating the two eldest sons of Henry, 7th Lord Scrope of Bolton.

The situation was rather different for the Scropes of Masham, only two generations of whom were buried at Coverham Abbey. Sir Geoffrey Scrope's second son Thomas was buried there, when he died sometime between 1322 and 1340 (Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 105). Presumably Geoffrey had already decided to shift the family burial focus to Coverham since Thomas predeceased his father. It is unclear when the association began between the Scropes of Masham and Coverham Abbey but it was probably before 1328, when Geoffrey granted the Abbey the church of Sedburgh and a parcel of land, because Coverham had been so badly affected by the Scottish raids (Whitaker 1823, 2, pp. 356–7). When the Abbot of Coverham gave his evidence (Nicolas 1832, p. 277), he described Sir Geoffrey as a founder of the Abbey and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the patronage was in the hands of Sir Stephen Scrope of Masham (Stöber 2007, p. 46n). The turning point seems to have come with the appointment of Richard Scrope as Archbishop of York in 1398 and his impact on York Minster has been examined in detail by Christopher Norton (2007). His opposition to Henry IV led to his execution for treason in 1405. Nevertheless, he was buried in St Stephen's Chapel in York Minster and the coffin-shaped chest tomb there, decorated only with shields in quatrefoils, has traditionally been regarded as his but Christopher Norton doubts the attribution. Scrope's place of burial became a pilgrimage site and the family abandoned Coverham to cluster around their incipient saint (although he was never canonised). Norton has suggested the move from Coverham may have been planned before the execution but even a prospective saint's shrine or burial place was a draw for anyone lucky enough to have one in the family. It can be no accident that Sir Peter Grandisson (d. 1358) was buried in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, beside the original burial position and the mid fourteenth century shrine of St Thomas Cantelupe, who was his great uncle. For the Hereford shrine, see J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 239. Gathered in the same part of York Minster as the Archbishop was buried, was a group of memorials to other members of the Scrope family, recorded by Leland and Dodsworth. Wills add further names and they have been helpfully plotted by Norton, as far as possible (p. 162). The burials span 1406–1475 and include: four

successive heads of the family, three of their wives, two sons and two high ranking clerics. The monuments recorded in Drake are quoted simply as inscriptions, suggesting that they were ledger slabs (1736, p. 440). As Norton has argued, it is likely that the concentration of burials in a very restricted area imposed limitations on the choice of monument, to avoid the obstructions which more elaborate and upstanding monuments would present. Space was limited, processional routes had to be kept free and access to the tomb was needed for pilgrims while, from the mid fifteenth century, a chantry with two chaplains (founded in 1455 by Thomas, 5th Baron) was operating at the chapel altar. It may be that most opted for floor stones, probably brasses, although John 4th Baron's, positioned against the north wall, was perhaps a raised tomb (Norton 2007). Amongst this group of monuments there is evidence for only one intended effigial tomb, that of the traitor Henry, 3rd Baron (mentioned above), which was probably never installed. He certainly intended an effigial tomb in the Minster, either for himself alone or with his second wife, if she agreed to be buried with him. It was clearly to be a grand affair and, in the early fifteenth century, would almost certainly have been of alabaster (Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 142). Not only did the Scrope of Masham family burial preferences alter with changing circumstances, their monument choices responded to the setting in which they were to be established.

The family were even careful to mark the burials of those who died overseas. When Geoffrey Scrope of Masham died in Lithuania in 1362, his burial in Königsberg (now Kalliningrad) was marked by a companion in arms who commissioned window glass (Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 353). However, it seems that a slab was also laid over him which may well have been an effigial brass (Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 445 and Bertram 2012, p. 10). William, brother of Stephen, 2nd Lord Scrope of Masham, died in 1366 while on Crusade on the Black Sea coast of what is now Bulgaria (T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 106). Sir Nicholas Sabraham testified that:

> at Messembre [Messembria], … there is a church, and therein lieth one of the Scropes buried, and beneath him there are depicted on the wall the arms of Scrope, Azure, a bend Or, with a label, and on the label three 'bezants Gules': he knew them to be the arms of Scrope, and to have borne that name, because the wardens of the said church told him so. (Nicolas 1832, 2, p. 324)

Given the degree of resources amassed between them, it is surprising that so few members of the family had, or desired, carved effigies. Although the family wealth increased during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they had sufficient resources to afford effigies earlier but seem not to have done so. Simon de Wensley's words are quite clear. All those buried at Wensley were in the churchyard and under slabs. Perhaps this type of preference helps account for the very limited number of early effigies found in Yorkshire (see Section 1). The appearance of names on those slabs is also of interest, corroborating the likelihood that there were once far more inscriptions than have survived, including on churchyard monuments. None of the effigial monuments to the Scropes remain and in fact, aside from the possible tomb of the Archbishop, there seem to be no medieval Scrope monuments of any sort (although perhaps some of the anonymous slabs in Wensley churchyard may be theirs). However, the family tradition of memorialisation was strong and almost twenty instances of former monuments are known.

As the Masham line reached its end, Lady Elizabeth, widow of Thomas 6th Baron was clearly aware that it was down to her to ensure the commemoration of her family (*Test. Ebor.* V, p. 50). There were no surviving children from a subsequent marriage and, although the daughter from her union with Thomas had been heir to the Scrope of Masham barony, by the time of Lady Elizabeth's will of 1514, even she was dead, leaving no children at all. The barony had passed to her brother-in-law who was childless and had since died. It currently rested with another brother-in-law, Ralph, who by this date must have been well into middle age and without offspring. Unless he produced an heir, the barony would descend to a fourth brother, who was a cleric, and therefore would become extinct. A similar situation obtained within her own family. She was the daughter of John Neville, Marquis of Montagu (the brother of Warwick the 'Kingmaker') who was killed at the Battle of Barnet. Her only brother George would have continued the male line but he had died unmarried in 1483. Although she had sisters, she seems to have taken it upon herself to organise the commemoration of all three of her families, requesting monuments at three different locations: to cover her own grave, alongside her first husband and their daughter Alice; another for her second husband and the last for her parents.

In summary, there were many medieval monuments to members of the Scrope family but nearly all have perished. Only three dating from before 1500 seem to have been effigial and they were commissioned during a short period in the fourteenth century when carved effigies enjoyed their peak popularity. This proportion is particularly striking in the light of the family's wealth and national prominence through which they must have been fully aware of the way their friends and colleagues were organising memorials. In the thirteenth century, senior members of the family chose extra-mural burial, marked by inscribed recumbent stones rather than effigies. This fits well with the broad pattern of commemoration revealed by the effigy survey. However, the question remains, whether the Scropes, based in Yorkshire's rural hinterland, albeit acting on the national stage, were amongst the more conservative of Yorkshire

families or was the choice of a carved effigy subject to even more factors than have hitherto been considered? Whatever their motivation, the Scrope family's choice of commemoration shows that, even when cost was not a factor, effigial monuments were a rarity rather than the norm. The limited number of Scrope effigies is consistent with the Yorkshire evidence and, as will become apparent from the survey which follows, their approach was probably typical of choices made across the country.

A6c The churches: sample evidence

This Section uses evidence from churches throughout England in an attempt to assess the scale of effigial commemoration that once existed. Different types of establishment fulfilled a range of roles in their local and wider communities, had varying status in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and experienced contrasting histories. They might also offer a variety of spiritual potential (for instance, through their possession of relics) and a selection of types has been chosen for this study. Considerably more information is available about monasteries, cathedrals and the greater churches than at parish level and a country-wide selection provides the material for the following survey. Monasteries have been further subdivided into those which have survived, at least in part, as cathedrals or parish churches and those for which we have only ruins. This distinction is useful because, for instance, ruined monasteries can give a picture of the situation at the Reformation while those taken over for parochial use shared the vicissitudes of parish churches in the post-Reformation period. The examples have been chosen primarily for the extent of the records available but also to provide as wide a range as possible, with a view to achieving a worthwhile impression of what proportion of effigial monuments has survived. Owing to the difficulty of being sure about monument dates in much of the documentary material, this survey ranges up to 1500.

A6c.i Ex monastic cathedral churches

By far the greatest losses of monuments will have been from the monastic houses, only a few of which have survived as parish churches. Just a handful were elevated to the status of Cathedrals at the Reformation. Many of those in parochial use have lost parts of their structure, since they were too large and expensive for their new purpose but, looking country-wide, a few have come through relatively intact. Of these Peterborough is amongst the most useful since there is a description of the monuments (Gunton 1686, pp. 93–103) which was taken perhaps in the 1620s, after the Suppression but before the church was ravaged by Parliamentarian forces in 1643. Gunton was a local man who took holy orders and became a Canon of Peterborough. The majority of the tombs he recorded were, inevitably, of fifteenth or sixteenth century date but amongst them he noted three abbots (p. 103) and a 'shaven monk' (p. 98). The latter was next to where the high altar had stood, while the three abbots had been rescued from the demolished Chapter House and placed in the south aisle. They were recorded by Dugdale, together with another two (Dugdale 1641, ff 125r & v, 126r & v). Peterborough currently has five effigies of ecclesiastics before 1500, all in the local Alwalton marble, which Nigel Saul has suggested are a retrospective series (2009, p. 189). So from this comparison it appears that as far as effigial tombs are concerned, just one has been lost from Peterborough and the current figure of five may be accepted as representative. The former Augustinian Abbey, which is now Bristol Cathedral, currently has seven relevant effigies but they are of a rather different character. Here there are three abbots (one, a relatively modest blue lias head slab of thirteenth century date); two fourteenth century armoured men of the de Berkeley family and a double tomb from the middle of that century (Roper 1931, pp. 1–18). This is despite a long history of de Berkeley burial in the abbey (studied in depth in Cannon 2011) and substantial investment in the provision of a mausoleum area. This was provided with seven matching recesses, only two of which are occupied by Berkeley effigies. At least one further recess housed a de Berkeley tomb but there seems no evidence that this was effigial. Even after a century and a half of de Berkeley burials there were only four effigies to add to the three abbots. The situation at the former Gloucester Abbey is comparable. Despite two royal burials (Robert Curthose and King Edward II) few others sought effigial commemoration there. Edward II's fine, more or less contemporary, canopied tomb encloses one of the earliest alabaster effigies while Duke Robert (eldest son of William the Conqueror) was commemorated by a retrospective wooden effigy probably of the late thirteenth century (Lankester 1987). There are three abbots, including a probably thirteenth century retrospective monument for Serlo, the first Norman abbot and builder of the Romanesque structure. Aside from these three, the only effigies that may be prior to 1500 are an armoured man and lady of perhaps *c*.1410. This again produces a total of seven effigies. Only a handful of effigies are known from each of these three Cathedrals but the very small discrepancy between the pre-Civil War evidence from Peterborough and the remaining effigies, suggests the numbers that survive elsewhere are likely to be indicative of what was originally laid down.

A6c.ii Ex monastic parish churches

The previous three churches had been monasteries but became the centres of new sees at the Reformation. Sherborne, Romsey and Tewkesbury abbeys were taken over for use as parish churches. The great abbey church at Sherborne (Dorset) remained almost in its entirety, bought for the town, to replace the adjoining parish church of All Hallows. It was also the site of a new Edward VI grammar

school which allowed some of the domestic buildings to remain. There are only three effigies, all to ecclesiastics. No wealthy families used Sherborne as a mausoleum before the Reformation and there are no unfilled tomb recesses or any other obvious signs of missing monuments. Benedictine Romsey Abbey (Hampshire) was one of the wealthiest of nunneries but has only a single effigy, a splendid thirteenth century secular lady in Purbeck marble. Romsey does host the country's largest collection of monuments to abbesses (certainly four plus a possible fifth). Two had monumental brasses (of which fifteenth century indents remain) and two are coffin lids with hands holding crosiers. A fifth slab bears a severely worn incised figure which may or may not represent an abbess. The situation at Romsey highlights how uncommon three dimensional effigies were, as a proportion of all monuments. This impression is corroborated by the Benedictine monastery at Milton Abbas (Dorset) which also survived largely intact as a parish church and where there are an incised slab, an indent and four Purbeck marble coffin lids (Gittos 2017a), all dating from before 1400, but no medieval carved effigies of any date. The final example of a surviving monastic church is Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire) which was the chosen mausoleum of one of the greatest families of the land, the Despensers in succession to the de Clares, but where there do seem to have been greater changes to the monuments than observed elsewhere. The effigial monuments have been examined by Phillip Lindley and Richard K. Morris (both 2003) and their assessments use pre-Reformation written descriptions. Missing is a precious metal tomb of the mid thirteenth century, which would undoubtedly have been of an armoured knight. Lindley (p. 164) hypothesises a now missing effigy of the early 1330s which would also have been of an armoured man and of which a detached fragment of lion may be a remnant. There are also a knight and lady of the 1350s; a single knight of the mid fourteenth century and another of the 1360s; an idiosyncratic kneeling knight of the late fourteenth century and there may originally have been up to five further such figures in the upper parts of different tombs. There is only one effigial monument for an abbot, a cross slab with a bas-relief figure in the centre of the cross head, which is likely to date from *c*.1328 (Morris 2003, p. 126). One mid fourteenth century effigial tomb of an armoured man has been moved off site but is known to belong to the abbey. To these must be added part of a Purbeck marble armoured figure and the central section of an ecclesiastic clutching a book in Tournai marble. The Purbeck fragment seems to bear part of the de Clare arms so is likely to have come from one of the de Clare tombs reported as lost in Lindley 2003 (p. 161). This can be summarised by saying that as far as is known, there were originally eight men in armour, one lady and two ecclesiastics plus, possibly, three additional kneeling knights and two kneeling ladies. There are now seven knights (or parts of), one lady and two ecclesiastics, meaning that setting the putative high level kneeling figures aside, we are missing only one knight. This was an expensive metal effigy set on a chest tomb in front of the altar and consequently a very obvious target.

Amongst these churches, Sherborne and Romsey abbeys are consistent with the data from Peterborough, Bristol and Gloucester and also the Scrope family's commemorative history. Tewkesbury is exceptional. This may be because of its sustained use as a mausoleum for some of the most powerful Marcher lords and also its position amongst the wealthiest of English Benedictine abbeys (Knowles & Hadcock 1953, pp. 58–82). However, even the exceptional case of Tewkesbury could muster less than a dozen effigial tombs.

A6c.iii Medieval cathedrals

What of the medieval cathedrals? Taking Exeter, Salisbury and Hereford as examples from the rest of the country, they can be compared with Yorkshire's only medieval cathedral, York Minster. Salisbury has thirteen monuments (S. Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral*, (London, 1999), pp. 111–59). They underwent a severe reorganisation during the late eighteenth century but none appear to have been lost in the process. The number does though include two that were originally set up in the precursor cathedral at Old Sarum. They have been included since, although the cathedral itself has changed sites, they are both of bishops which were placed in the episcopal church of their see: their location may have changed but they are still within the same institution. There is a comparison for this amongst the Yorkshire monuments at Ripley, where the late fourteenth century tomb with its knight and lady were removed from the earlier building when a new church was built on a different site (*3b*). Exeter's complement of eleven effigies from this period has remained intact (D. Lepine & N. Orme, *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N. S. 47, (2003)). The cathedral did sustain damage during the Reformation but the effigial monuments appear to have been relatively unaffected and, with the possible exception of the Stapledon knight, do not even appear to have had their faces put out. There was a more serious problem in 1942 when a bomb hit the south choir aisle chapel, demolishing it and spraying debris through the adjacent part of the choir. Thankfully, it was possible to repair the two armoured figures in the aisle, which were very close to the site of the explosion. Hereford Cathedral has more effigies than the previous two combined, with a grand total of twenty-nine (RCHM(E), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire: Vol. I – South-West* (1931), pp. 109–12), of which the four now in the crypt appear to have been brought in from the churchyard. There is no indication of significant losses, but as a whole, they seem to have suffered greater deliberate damage than those at either Salisbury or Exeter. The number

of effigies at Hereford has been significantly swelled by a fourteenth century programme of retrospective episcopal commemoration, which accounts for about a third of the figures. However, even if these were discounted, Hereford would still have the highest total in this survey.

York Minster presents a very different picture from these three cathedrals. The seventeenth century records of Henry Johnston (Johnston C 14) and Roger Dodsworth (quoted in Drake 1736) make it quite clear that unless some were already lost, the only effigies the Minster ever had were those of Archbishop de Gray and Prince William of Hatfield, which survive, and the two lost figures of Sir Robert de Mauley and Dean Langton. The male civilian effigy lost from the Minster in the fire of 1829 is not relevant, having only been brought to York in the seventeenth century (*2c.i*). So, the results of this particular comparison are: Exeter 11, Salisbury 13, Hereford 29 and York 4. This raises the question why York should have had so few in comparison. One factor may have been the availability of locally-made monumental brasses (Badham 1989). Another possible reason is that whereas Hereford and Exeter cathedrals maintained strict control over burials in their cities, York did not and the city churches had their own burial grounds from an early stage (J. Barrow, 'Urban cemetery location in the high middle ages', in S. Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 78–100). Yorkshire's parish churches attest to their popularity amongst the area's landowners, a phenomenon discussed in Saul 2017. It is also worth noting Archbishop Thoresby's purchase in the late 1360s and 1370s of seven monuments to commemorate himself and six of his predecessors, which were monumental brasses (Badham 1989). It may be that such factors combined to suppress the number of effigies in York Minster to a very low level.

A6c.iv Yorkshire: greater churches

Yorkshire has a number of greater churches which are of national significance and those at Beverley, Howden and Ripon can serve as representative of the type. John Leland visited Ripon and Beverley Minsters (Leland 1964, V, p. 142; I, p. 46). The Beverley entry is difficult to interpret but mentions several tombs, including one of white alabaster for Lady Idonea Percy and another of a priest. This may or may not be Nicholas de Huggate's effigy but he did not mention the male civilian now in the north transept. However, Henry Johnston (C14, fo. 257v) believed it had originated in one of the friaries, which would account for its absence from Leland. At Ripon, Leland noted only the two Markenfield pairs from this period, implying that nothing has been lost. At Howden, which was visited by Henry Johnston before the collapse of the choir, there was an effigy of a priest that has gone, in addition to the three secular figures and half effigy still there, making five (Badham, Gittos & Gittos 1996). Collectively, these low numbers again support the suggestion that effigial commemoration was unusual.

A6c.v Yorkshire: ruined abbeys

What of the Yorkshire abbeys? Many have been poorly investigated but for this purpose, the sample consists of a group of the better understood, either because they have been more carefully examined archaeologically or because relevant records have survived. Kirkham is known to have been the site of a mausoleum for the de Ros of Hamlake family (Burton 1995, p. 23). Canon John Atkinson's printed genealogy of the de Ros family (1889, pp. 359–62), taken from a Dugdale manuscript, mentions four burials there but none of them are described as effigial. This is corroborated by another closely related document, copied in the early sixteenth century by Leland (1964, I, pp. 90–3), which means that the information must be late medieval. For William, d. 1264, it simply gives a position 'in medio coram summo altare' and 1264 may well be too early a date (in Yorkshire) for there to have been an effigy. Little more is said of Robert (d.1285) except that he was buried 'in tumba marmorea ex parte australi'. The marble may have been Purbeck but could equally well have been Frosterley. Again there is no mention of an effigy although one is more likely at this date. The next, William (1st Lord), died in 1316 and was buried 'in tumba marmorea ex parte boreali', followed in 1342/3 by his son, also William, 2nd Lord Ros (IPM VIII, pp. 330–46), who clearly had a grand monument, 'mausoleo lapideo juxta magnum altare'. These two died at a time when effigial monuments were very popular amongst their Yorkshire contemporaries but in neither case is there a mention of an image or a likeness. In recent years, careful archaeology and collation of earlier work has led to an understanding of the eastern arm of the church (Coppack *et al.* 1995) which seems to have been rebuilt from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, providing a fine mausoleum for the family (p. 73). The 2010 guide shows the positions of the de Ros burials (Harrison 2010, pp. 27–8). Leland's only mention of Kirkham is a recitation of the genealogy mentioned above and we are unaware of anything amongst the excavated material that might belong to an effigy. However, finds from Kirkham include a number of pieces of microarchitecture of the right scale to have derived from one or more tombs, together with parts of two small figures that could well be weepers or saints from a tomb chest (English Heritage item numbers 81066035 & 81066034). These delicately carved figures, both standing in a fashionable hip-shot posture must date, broadly, from the middle of the fourteenth century. They may even have come from the 'mausoleo lapideo' of William, 2nd Lord Ros. If this were so, the presence of weepers or saints on the tomb chest makes it more likely that the monument was effigial.

Two stone boxes were found on the site that may be caskets for partial burials. The larger of the two (English Heritage item number 81066137) has a carefully fitted lid with chamfered edges and is well finished on only two of its sides. This suggests it was meant to be built into a

corner position, while its size suggests it may have been for a viscera burial. The second casket (English Heritage item number 81066042) is much smaller and more likely to have been for a heart. During the time that the family was burying at Kirkham (seemingly the hundred years from the mid thirteenth century), several heads of the family died away from home. For instance, William, 3rd Lord, died in 1352 'in parts beyond the seas' (A. Stamp, E. Salisbury, E. Atkinson and J. O'Reilly, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 10, Edward III* (London, 1921), p. 32). Atkinson and Leland both say that his death was in the Holy Land and that he was buried there. The burial sites of many family members are unaccounted for and there is at least one instance of a divided burial. The 1285 interment at Kirkham was Robert's body, with his heart at Croxden Abbey and his bowels at Belvoir Priory. No other intramural burials are known at Kirkham and, indeed, several grave slabs survive in the cemetery. Burton (1758, p. 378) mentions one testamentary burial of the period, of Richard Holthwaite, d. 1391, 'under the stone arch in the revestry', but does not indicate a monument. The upshot of all this is that, despite knowledge of several high status monuments in a dedicated setting, there is no definitive evidence that any were effigial.

In addition to Kirkham, the de Ros of Hamlake family were patrons of Rievaulx Abbey, where several chose to be buried. Fragments of a stone peacock, a bird used as a crest by the Hamlake branch, were discovered in the ruins (Siddons 2009, II.2, p. 246). Whilst not necessarily from a tomb, it would at the least have been a statement of the family's patronal relationship with the abbey. The family owed their wealth to Walter L'Espec who founded both monasteries and died in 1154. The indent of a monumental brass probably commemorating him was found in the ruins of the abbey, although it would have been a retrospective monument, as it must date from the early fourteenth century (Gittos 1999). The other de Ros burials there include Peter (d. bef. 1130); Adelina his wife and one of L'Espec's heirs; Thomas (d.1384); John (d.1393) and his wife, Mary de Oreby (d.1394). There is no account of the earlier tombs involved, simply the sites, but Mary's will describes hers (*Test. Ebor.* 1, p. 201). She asked to lie in the choir, next to her husband and left 100 shillings '… ad fracturam petrae marmoreae pro tumulo meo, sicut jacet super Dominam Margaretam de Orrby aveam meam, in ecclesia Sancti Botulphi'. The request is well known since it is amongst the best examples of one monument being modelled on another but, sadly, there is no trace of the Boston slab (Badham & Cockerham 2012 p. 104). The earlier burials are unlikely to have had figurative memorials leaving, from this list, only Thomas and John as potentially falling within the study. Aside from the de Ros family, the register of those who gave land and privileges to Rievaulx Abbey includes many who would have been able to afford effigial monuments as they are drawn from some of the wealthiest North Riding families. Amongst them is the de Malbys family, one of whom has an effigy at Acaster Malbis. Clearly some of the family had been buried at Rievaulx, as Burton (1758, p. 366) records from Archbishop Melton's register that on 1st September 1328, Sir William Malbys, knight, had a licence to translate the bones of Sir John Malbys, and Agnes, his parents, from the church of Acaster Malbis, where they had been many years buried, and inter them in the conventual church of Rievaulx, amongst the bones of his progenitors. Unlike Kirkham, Rievaulx has pieces surviving from the effigies of two ladies and two armoured men. Both the men are in mail and likely to be of the late thirteenth or earlier fourteenth centuries, one of very high quality and the other less well carved. They are of the period when the de Ros family was burying at Kirkham rather than Rievaulx, so whom might they represent? The lesser quality effigy does bear some resemblance to the monument at Acaster Malbis, both in the character of the mail and the profile of the beast used as a footrest. It is certainly possible that it was set up at Rievaulx when the remains of John and Agnes were translated. The fragments of the other three effigies are more difficult to ascribe but there were clearly at least four effigial tombs at Rievaulx from this period.

Assessment of the situation at Guisborough Priory must take into account the disastrous fire of 1289. A classic example of the hazard of building works, it seems to have destroyed most of the existing structure. The fire, together with the extensive and protracted rebuilding which followed are likely to have swept away any three-dimensional monuments that were already there. Another point to bear in mind is that two monuments often associated with the Priory are not relevant. The Brus cenotaph, now in the parish church, can be dated *c*. 1520 and did not carry an effigy (Hodges 1895). The second monument is the broken lower part of the effigy of an armoured man that was kept at the Priory for most of the twentieth century. In fact, it was discovered in 1900 during clay digging at the Normanby Brickworks in Ormesby, so is unrelated to the Priory (Gittos 2002b). The confusion caused by the storage of the Normanby legs at the Priory was examined by Sophie Oosterwijk (1998) together with the accounts of the excavated material and the evidence for Latimer commemoration there. At least two portions of armoured effigies were discovered during the 1867 excavations, reported only in the most general terms at the time in two similar accounts (Bruce 1868 and *Building News* 1867, p. 719). These accounts were discussed by Harrison & Heslop (p. 92) and Oosterwijk (1998). However, it appears that one was 'in chain mail' and the other 'in plate armour', the latter bearing Latimer heraldry. The reports also refer to 'shrine work', 'alabaster shrine work', 'ornamental work' and 'portions of a monumental shrine' and it is clear that the excavator at the time believed that some of this came from tombs. The report does not mention the material of

the Latimer figure so it may have been the remains of the 1370s alabaster tomb (see below) but equally may have commemorated another of the family. William 2nd Lord Latimer (d. 1326/7) is amongst those recorded by Aske as buried at the Priory (below). In 1932, the installation of a temporary railway during building work is said to have uncovered, '… two grave slabs depicting knights-in-armour …' which were reburied (Harrison & Heslop 1999, p. 94). Given that this is a hearsay report, these may have been incised slabs but may equally have been effigies. A small fragment of a mail-clad figure was recently discovered in the grounds. It appears to be from a military effigy but is too small to interpret further, see Appendix 1.

Documentary evidence about burials at Guisborough Priory is relatively abundant. There are two contemporary lists. First is a 'Fundatorum Historia' printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1817–30, 6.1, pp. 267–8) which cuts off in the later fourteenth century but notes at least some of those who were buried at Guisborough. The second is a mid sixteenth century record of 'Sepultures in Gisborough Priory', probably made by Robert Aske (1834, p. 170), while the third is Burton's list of both actual and testamentary burials (1758, p. 556). These sources can be supplemented from a number of wills and cross checked for most individuals with the *Complete Peerage*. Correlating these sources produces a surprisingly long list of individuals who are known to history, seventeen of whom were almost certainly buried in the Priory and a number of others who may have been, spanning the early twelfth to the mid fifteenth centuries. More of these individuals may well have had effigies but unfortunately in only one instance is it possible to be confident of a tomb that was very likely to have been effigial and this was for William, 4th Lord Latimer who died in 1381. His will says (*Test. Ebor.* I, p. 113–4):

> … et mon corps d'estre enterre en l'esglise de Porioralte de Gisburn en Cliveland, devant le haut auter nostre Dame, entre deux pilers la ou autrefois je l'ay devise, et si jeo demoerge devant mon retour que mon corps soit porte et enterre illoeques et que la tombe d'alabaustre q'est en le dit esglise soit surmys come j'ay autrefois devise. … Item jeo voille que mez executours faceont et parfouraent le dit tombe d'alibaustre en manere come il est devise, et jeo voile que mon enterrement soit fait solone la disposicion et discrecion de mez executours.

This may be translated as:

> … and my body to be buried in the church of the Priory of Guisborough in Cleveland, before the high altar of Our Lady, between two pillars where I have previously arranged, and if I die before my return, that my body will be brought back and buried there and that the alabaster tomb which is in the said church be placed above, as I have previously arranged. … Item, I ask that my executors construct and finish the said alabaster tomb in the way it is intended, and I desire that my burial will be done according to the orders and discretion of my executors.

The will was made when he was about to set out on campaign with Thomas of Woodstock and he died the next year, after the expedition returned. He was in his early 50s and without a son, so he must have known that his property would pass to his adult daughter and that he would be the last of his line. Therefore, his organisation of his own burial site and monument is not surprising. The will does not say that the monument had an effigy but given that he clearly intended the tomb to make a statement, that a great deal of money was at his disposal (bequests to Guisborough include the roofing of a north aisle or chapel and five hundred marks towards a bell tower), the monument was of alabaster and the date was 1381, it would be very surprising it were not capped by a fully equipped armoured man. The fact that Latimer himself had not only ordered the tomb but that it had been both made and delivered to the Priory by the time he made his will is revealing but that it was left to be finally erected and finished is a fascinating insight into working practices. It must have been kept at the priory for well over a year until the burial had taken place and the executors ordered its completion.

Another remarkable case is also likely to have given rise to a monument even though nothing is known of it. Walter de Fauconberg died in 1362 and was buried somewhere in the church but ten years later his widow, Isabella, obtained a licence from Archbishop Thoresby to exhume his remains and move them to the family burial area (Thoresby Reg. fo 192, transcription from CP, V, p. 275).

> … corpus ejusdem Walteri coram ymagine sancte Crucis in ecclesia conventuali de Gisburne dudum sepultum exhumare et ipsum corpus ad locum illum in dicta ecclesia..... in quo ipsius Walteri majores ab antiquo sunt soliti sepiliri transferre …

We are grateful to Robert Hudson for the following translation:

> … to exhume the body of the same Walter formerly buried before the image of the Holy Cross in the conventual church of Guisborough, and to transfer the same body to that place in the said church in which the ancestors of the same Walter were customarily buried of old…

When Isabella died in 1401, she wanted to be buried next to Walter (*Test. Ebor.* I, p. 282). The Fauconbergs of Rise were patrons of Guisborough, in succession to the de Brus family and many generations of these families seem to have been buried there along with others who were related and some who were not. The earliest are unlikely to have been

commemorated by effigies, given their date. Some others probably had flat memorials by virtue of their position, for instance Constance de Fauconberg who willed (1402) to be buried in the choir, adjacent to the Prior's stall (CP, V, p. 279). She almost certainly had a floor stone, probably a brass. Walter de Percy, living in the mid thirteenth century (CP, X, p. 455; Martin 1909, pp. 14, 42, 485), is unlikely to have had an effigy since he was buried in the cloister walk. However, the notorious Lucy de Thwing, who died in 1346 (Prestwich 2003) and requested burial in Guisborough, may have had one. 1346 was the heyday of Series E (Gittos 2002b) which seems to have been based locally, possibly even at Guisborough itself. They produced some very attractive female effigies (*e.g.* Appleton-le-Street) and it is difficult to believe that Lucy did not have an effigy, a Series E or even one from York. How many of the fourteenth century burials at Guisborough had effigial commemoration is not possible to recover but it seems highly likely that three did and maybe more.

Although not in Yorkshire, the Benedictine abbey of Muchelney (Somerset) provides a useful comparison. The Abbey church has been largely excavated and the parish church, which was within the abbey precinct, survives. Between them, they preserve the remains of eighteen monuments, from the whole medieval period (Gittos 2015). Of these, fifteen are grave covers; one is a churchyard chest tomb; another is the base of a chest tomb in the abbey church but only one is an effigy. This figure is a fourteenth century priest (not an abbot). Once again, there are many monuments but few effigies.

A6c.vi Conclusions

Outside these greater churches and religious foundations, more than a hundred of Yorkshire's parish churches have preserved one or more effigies in reasonable condition over many centuries. The preservation of these effigies must either have been curiously selective, the result of tenacious efforts to retain just a few from amongst a larger population, or (as seems more likely) what remains is fairly representative of what there was. Details of the relatively small number of effigies known to have been lost from Yorkshire are set out in Section 2c.i. These considerations, combined with the evidence from the monastic houses, great churches, antiquarian sources and family records, concur in their message that effigial commemoration was always something special, even when it was most popular during the first half of the fourteenth century. Although the losses of monuments from the religious houses and other churches in Yorkshire have been considerable, only a relatively small proportion seem likely to have been carved effigies.

A6d Phases of loss

However many effigies were originally produced, some have clearly disappeared and others have been damaged. A variety of reasons for this can be advanced, beginning when the figures were new and continuing right up to the present day. Populist works and local guide books will often breezily ascribe the blame for damaged and missing monuments to Henry VIII or rampaging Cromwellian soldiers but to what extent can this be substantiated? For the Reformation under Henry VIII, Duffy (1992) and Lindley (2007) have carefully addressed the religious zeal which took place right across the nation, extending into the seventeenth century. What follows aims to illustrate the likely impact it had on effigial monuments in Yorkshire as well as reviewing other causes of loss or damage.

A6d.i Within the medieval period

Loss undoubtedly occurred during the medieval period, for example through displacement by later tombs, during building projects, by reuse or deliberate removal. Some damage was inevitable, due to wear and tear. Almost all effigial tombs were painted and paint, as any householder knows, needs regular attention. Unless carefully protected or regularly refreshed, painted inscriptions or heraldry (for instance) might have ceased to be legible well before the end of the medieval period. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, despite knowing the family commemorated at West Tanfield, Leland (1964, I, p. 83) was unable to provide a single name, presumably because any painted inscriptions had already gone. Conservation of the early thirteenth century monument of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral found that there had been multiple repaintings during the medieval period.

The evidence for medieval losses of Yorkshire effigies is largely circumstantial. The disastrous fire at Guisborough Priory has already been mentioned and war with Scotland created serious problems in the early fourteenth century, particularly for the more northerly parts, but raids did penetrate almost as far south as York and Beverley (*5a.i*). The damage could be very severe, being often cited as an argument for tax reduction. At Bainton, the 1322 raid so damaged the church that it was totally rebuilt and described in the early 1350s as 'newly constructed' (*Chron. Melsa*., III, p. 95). The only monuments known from the earlier church are some cross slabs cut up and reused as building material, later to be discovered during restoration work (Petch 1985, p. 16). Within the confines of York itself, there were at least forty-six medieval churches. Seven were demolished in the fourteenth century and many of the nineteen which remain have undergone major reconstructions, particularly during the fifteenth century (Wilson and Mee 1998). Very few monuments from before 1400 have survived and significant losses must have occurred in the medieval period, some of which are likely to have been effigies.

Prior to the Reformation, Lollardy only occasionally translated into destructive activities by extremists. Lollards themselves were modest in their choices of burial places

and memorials, something that often comes through in the wills of their sympathisers. Damage to images did not normally involve monuments but not all the image breakers at that time were necessarily Lollards. At Exeter in 1421 the Franciscan community complained to Archbishop Chichele that "'Ill-disposed locals' had 'profaned the friars' close, the Friernhay, by illicit entry and sacrilegious treatment of the noble tombs and imagery inside. The offenders broke the barred door of the friars' chapel and then 'tore to pieces and pulled down the image of the virgin'…." (Aston 1988, p. 140). Although some medieval losses undoubtedly occurred, it is difficult to know how extensive they were. However, there are unlikely to have been many cases of deliberate destruction and the biggest threats would have been more mundane, such as gross neglect, complete reuse and major building developments, sweeping away what had gone before (*2c.ii*).

A6d.ii The Reformation and beyond

The Reformation posed a more serious threat to the survival of effigial tombs, especially those in religious houses and associated with chantries (*2c.ii*). The long-term patronage of particular religious houses could create family mausolea and lists of burials demonstrate that those with the funds to commission a monumental effigy often sought burial in similar types of church. The houses of the preaching friars are particularly problematic as they were popular places of interment and these town centre establishments have been lost almost in their entirety. The early sixteenth century lists of burials in Young (1837) for places such as the Dominican Friaries in York, Beverley and Pontefract, detail people from some of the wealthiest families in the area. Sadly, nothing is said of the types of monument but it is reasonable to expect that some, at least, would have been effigial. One effigy survives from the Dominican Friary at Beverley, a female dating from the early years of the fourteenth century. Sixteen females are listed as buried there (Young 1837, p. 130). There were a dozen or so monastic houses in the city of York, of which little survives standing but it is quite possible, even likely, that some of the effigies known to have been scattered around the city came from them (*2c.ii*). However, not all of York's scattered effigies may be from religious houses. Two were associated with St John Ousebridge (now known as St John the Evangelist, Micklegate). They were outside, lying on top of the churchyard wall, when Henry Johnston drew them in 1669 (Johnston C 14 fo. 104r) and were still outside in 1825 (Glynne 2002, p. 464) but subsequently disappeared (*2c.i*).

The situation at the rural monasteries is a little clearer than for their urban counterparts, with survivals such as the effigies from Fountains and Coverham Abbeys (Fig. 182, Pl. 6) supplemented by documented effigies that have not survived, including the Scrope monuments at Easby and the lady at Bolton Abbey (Fig. 79). Most religious houses were swept away at the Reformation, with a few exceptions, such as Bolton Priory, Nun Monkton, Old Malton and Selby, where all or part remained in use as parish churches. The monasteries were usually demolished and any materials of value sold off. These included not only commodities, such as the lead from roofs and windows, but also reusable stone, including monuments. Robert Aske, leader of the Yorkshire based Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 set out his views in a deposition following his capture, including a brief description of the fate of the monastic houses (cited in Knowles 1976, p. 213), based on the situation in Yorkshire:

> … the [tombs] and sepulchres of honourable and noble men pulled down and sold.

There was a strong link between the establishment of chantries and the provision of expensive, often effigial, tombs (*3g*), so the suppression of the chantries in the 1540s automatically put these monuments at risk. The areas occupied by many chantry chapels were absorbed into the body of the church, as at West Tanfield, but others seem to have been abandoned, falling victim to disrepair and subsequent demolition. This may well be what happened at Skerne and Kirkby Sigston. Monuments in these two churches survived but Dodsworth's description of Bulmer (*A6.e*) includes the now lost effigy of a lady in the north chapel that has since been demolished. Lost effigies previously associated with chapels are also known from Howden (a priest) and Settrington (knight and lady). For further details see Section 2c.i.

A6e Methods of loss and preservation

Churchyard monuments are particularly vulnerable to loss. They are liable to grass over and disappear below the rising ground level, only to be occasionally uncovered during grave digging. The semi-effigial slabs at Garton-on-the-Wolds and Aldborough are still laid in the churchyard, while the two effigies at Hauxwell have been brought inside. Wooden effigies can simply disintegrate. The two at Allerton Mauleverer are very decayed and that at Swillington is so badly affected by wood-boring beetle that it is scarcely recognisable. Once an effigy has been broken, it is even more vulnerable since it is less understandable. People frequently fail to recognise what the 'old stones' are which can subsequently be discarded. The remains of an effigy at Etton were ejected from the church and, a few years later, taken away to become hardcore for a garage base (*2c.ii*). No doubt the person who used them believed they were helping to tidy the churchyard, not effectively destroying a six hundred year old sculpture (Gittos 1979a, 1990, 1991b).

Having discussed the process of loss, it is worthwhile to consider some of the ways in which effigies have survived. A surprising number of effigies have been preserved by being built into walls. At Eastrington, the central section

of a double effigy has been trimmed to a rectangular block and incorporated into the walling of a porch (Fig. 41). Since the porch is open to the elements, the surviving block of stone has been subject to erosion through weathering. A dark coloured skin of grime has formed over all the exposed surfaces, although it is now falling away. The skin preserves some traces of graffiti that appear to have been done with the block in its current position and to date from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. This gives an indication of how long the block has been exposed in this way and, hence, when it was set in its present position (*2a.viii*). The incorporation of cut down monuments as building material is very common, particularly so in Yorkshire where hundreds of pieces of cross slab are visible in church walls (Gittos 1989). The upper parts of two ecclesiastics look out from the east gable at Cantley (Fig. 36) and the west face of the tower at Lund. These two seem deliberately sited to allow the effigies to be seen and can be parallelled at Rhuddlan (Flintshire, see Gittos 2012b, pp. 359 & 382). Were they so positioned to create the impression of the priest looking out from his church, watching over his parish? The iconic reuse of carved material, particularly of Lincolnshire cross heads, has been identified by David Stocker and Paul Everson (1990, pp. 93–99). The armoured effigies at Bulmer and Treeton have been treated slightly differently, both being inside the church. The figure at Treeton has been trimmed but stands upright, built into the west wall of the nave (see Section 2c.ii Building Changes). The Bulmer figure has been incorporated into the blocking of the two bay arcade of the demolished north chapel. It lies on its side facing into the nave (Fig. 23), stacked above a cross slab, both of which are partly behind the pulpit. The effigy was seen by Dodsworth in 1627 (p. 178) when it lay inside the lost chapel, with the effigy of a lady. The woman, who was not reused, has disappeared (*2c.i*).

Elsewhere in the county, effigial monuments have been reset at Goodmanham and Moor Monkton. In both these cases, the figures have been consciously set with an eye to their display. The two small monuments at Moor Monkton are incorporated inside the porch (Fig. 32 & Pl. 18) and are complete, in contrast to the pair at Goodmanham (Fig. 35). Here, two semi-effigial monuments (a man and a woman) survive in fragments: the head and feet of the male figure but only parts of the head and feet of the female. They are set in a wall but with the feet transposed (*2a.vii*). The four blocks have all been squared off and Morris (1906, p. 168) thought that they had been discovered during restoration of the chancel. Their trimming is likely to have been done to facilitate their previous use as building material. In this they are typical of the many pieces of monuments reused in walling and more may yet be discovered. Occasionally, the shape of the monument has been deliberately exploited by builders, using flat slabs as structural elements. The bas-relief lady at Danby Wiske was reused as the lintel to the tower stair (McCall 1907, pp. 97–8). It is noteworthy that part of a flat cross slab has been used as the lintel of an aumbrey in the same church. The Danby Wiske monument was extracted and has been upright in the chancel for many years (Figs 18 & 220). However, at Melsonby, a semi-effigial slab remains doing duty as the sill of a window in the ringing chamber (Fig. 33). Structural reuse of memorial slabs is widespread across the country and these Yorkshire examples stand out only because effigial monuments have been pressed into service. Even in a stone-rich area (as much of Yorkshire is) flat slabs of this kind were valuable since they could be utilised with the minimum of further working.

Some monuments have survived through a different kind of reuse – appropriation. More common amongst floor stones (cross slabs, brasses or ledgers), several Yorkshire effigies have been appropriated, for instance Scarborough and Yarm (see Section 2c.ii Appropriation). The extremely fine armoured effigy at Norton had new heraldry carved on his shield, depicting Blakiston quartered with Bowes which resulted from a mid-sixteenth century marriage (Hunter Blair 1925, p. 172). John Blakiston died in 1587 (Greenwell 1860, pp. 145–6) so the appropriation may well be his, or that of his recusant son William who probably died soon after 1612 (VCH:D:III, p. 309). In either case, this is an instance of a Post-Reformation appropriation of a medieval monument, akin to the reuse of brasses. It is impossible to know whether the figure was originally positioned in Norton and simply recut by the Blakistons or whether it came from elsewhere and was acquired for the purpose. If the latter, it is unlikely to have been brought any great distance since the transport costs would outweigh the saving. Another potential reason for this reuse is that the family believed that the effigy was made to commemorate one of their ancestors. Peter Coss (1996, p. 24) has drawn attention to the context of Norton's reuse, in 'the same cultural climate, of intense concern with antiquity and genealogy, as the knights of Chester-le-Street and the shields of Lumley Castle'. The shields of Lumley Castle (Co. Durham) are a late sixteenth century heraldic display prominently demonstrating the Lumley ancestry (Coss 1996, pp. 7–9). They were installed by John, lord Lumley (d. 1610) who also created a pseudo family mausoleum in the church at Chester-le-Street (Co. Durham) consisting of fourteen effigies. Eleven were newly carved and two of the three genuinely medieval effigies were brought from Durham Cathedral churchyard in 1594 (Liddy & Steer 2010, p. 212). Such interests were not confined to the north east, as is shown by a medieval effigy of a lady at Dowsby (Lincolnshire) recarved in the sixteenth or seventeenth century (Stocker & Everson 1990, p. 93) and two tombs in the south west. That of Sir Gawen Carew (d. 1584) in Exeter Cathedral depicts him and his wife lying on a table, below which is an anachronistically cross-legged man in sixteenth century armour including the skirt of a surcoat and in the posture of the thirteenth century. Oliver Harris

has interpreted this third figure as the family's legendary founder (Harris 2014, Liddy & Steer 2010). The monument at Puddletown (Dorset) to Nicholas Martyn (d.1595) commemorates the last of the male line (Gittos 2014b, pp. 20–1). Like the Carew monument in Exeter (they were distant relatives of the Martyns), the design features a table but it does not support carved effigies, instead providing a setting for an effigial brass. Below the table, however, are two genuine medieval effigies which probably date from *c*.1300. They are an integral part of the design since the legs of the table rest on the male figure and are made shorter than the back of the tomb, to enable the assembly to work. The inscription refers to Nicholas sleeping with his fathers and it would appear that he had this very literally in mind. Thus the Norton appropriation can be understood not as an isolated aberration but as responding to the spirit of a time when antiquarian sentiment was in vogue.

The loss of effigies can be an attritional process – they are accidentally broken, the pieces deteriorate, lose their significance and are discarded. However, some survive through reuse either whole (*e.g*. through appropriation) or in part, such as for building material, where the carving may or may not remain visible. Vigilance is paramount, because the destructive processes still continue and re-used material may reappear at any time when repairs and alterations are made.

A6f Survival through antiquarianism

The reasons for a particular effigy's survival will be different in every case but the growth of antiquarianism seems likely to have provided the climate that saved some figures from oblivion. The knight at Burton Stather is a curious case of genealogical antiquarianism (Fig. 209), discussed by W. B. Stonehouse (1839, pp. 232–3). The shield bears a chevron between three garbs (for Sheffield) but there is no known medieval association of that family with Burton. The effigy's presence is explained on a tablet stating that John, Earl of Mulgrave, a Sheffield heir, moved 'the venerable remains of five Sheffields' from Owston to Burton to rescue them 'from danger of oblivion'. It also suggests that Mulgrave was prompted by the publication of Leland's *Itinerary* (1710/12), which included the following, 'For in the chirch yard of Oxton, half a mile from Melwood Park, I saw a 5. tumbes of the Sheffeldes' (1, p. 38). The transfer had been completed by 1717 (the date on the tablet). Stonehouse believed nothing remained of this remarkable act of antiquarianism but there is every reason to suspect the surviving weathered and broken knight was amongst them. In Stonehouse's day the effigy rested in the sedilia but, subsequently, a dedicated recess was provided. Unfortunately, Stonehouse misunderstood the inscription, leading him to date the transfer to the reign of Charles II, an error perpetuated by subsequent writers. The story has been further confused by a suggestion that the transfer was from 'Owston Priory' (Downing, 2012, p. 29). There was never a priory at Owston and the Carthusian house of Axholme, to the north of the village, was not founded until 1397/8, nearly sixty years later than the effigy. Nevertheless the role of the Earl of Mulgrave, prompted by the publication of Leland's description, resulted in the survival of this effigy. It is a fascinating example of one of the more unusual ways for a monument to be preserved, whereby publication raises its profile, leading to its preservation.

Instead of simply sweeping away the past, the trauma of rebuilding a church has occasionally been taken as an opportunity for rescuing a monument from near oblivion. This seems to have been what happened with the priest's effigy at Thorpe Basset, which now lies on a chest, under an arch in the north wall of the chancel. The arch has been reconstructed from a few fragments while the effigy has clearly spent a great deal of time in a position where it was being walked over (presumably in the churchyard), as evidenced by the pattern of wear (*2c.ii*). The church underwent a radical restoration in the later nineteenth century. The Faculty was granted in 1878 (Evans 1995, p. 92) and it included the reconstruction of parts of the building. It seems that the cross slab and grave marker pieces built into the north wall of the north aisle were found in the process and incorporated at that time. It was probably then that the tomb was reconstructed and the effigy with its chest placed in its current position. They were certainly in place by 1906 (J. E. Morris) but had not been noted by Thomas Allen in 1828/31 (2, p. 344) or by Sheahan and Whellan in 1857 (2, p. 666). It seems that we have to thank the vigilance of the nineteenth-century rebuilders for the survival of this monument, who took special care to preserve and display what they had found. This is analogous to what must happened at Skerne in the eighteenth century, as described in Section 2c.ii.

Some figures have attracted local folklore which may have contributed to their safety (*2c.ii*). An effigy of a probably late fourteenth century male civilian in the churchyard at Batley who has lost his lower legs and feet is one such case (Fig. 8). Traditionally, it has been ascribed to a particularly severe schoolmaster who was killed with his own sword by some of his pupils (Scatcherd 1830, p. 230). Glynne (2002, p. 85) visited in 1858, noting 'In the churchyard are some ancient sepulchral effigies', although this is the only one currently to be found (*2c.i*). The effigy has the appearance of a churchyard monument and postcards of 1906 and 1909 show it on a plinth on top of a chest tomb in the churchyard. Although Sheard (1894, p. 41) does not give a date, he says that the chest had been removed from inside the church (displaced by an organ) and the effigy had then been put on it. The postcards show the base of the plinth was smaller than the top of the chest but that the top of the plinth fits the effigy in its legless condition. The chest has now disappeared but the effigy

remains on the plinth, although in a different position in the churchyard. The plinth was clearly made for the leg-less effigy as it is such a close fit. The broad and deep chamfer is unlike a medieval plinth so, given that it dates from after the figure was damaged, it is likely to be of post medieval date. Sadly, it is featureless except for some graffitied letters at what is now the head end. These include a copperplate 'N' and an 'A' which has a dropped, angled, bar. Whilst the 'N' appears eighteenth or nineteenth century, the 'A' looks earlier and might be seventeenth. Although on the same end, they look to be the result of different episodes so perhaps the plinth dates from the seventeenth century. However, Batley was sketched by Henry Johnston in July 1669 (C13, fo. 41) and it was then in the churchyard by the south door (as now) and 'almost covered with weeds'. His crossed legs are shown with only the feet missing. Johnston also commented that he 'Seemeth to have had a shaven crown'. Perhaps he was not tonsured but naturally bald on top. The presence of the crossed legs means that the plinth must post-date this record, as does its absence from the drawing since Henry often indicated the setting of a monument. It very much appears that this figure was rescued in the post medieval period and placed on a new plinth, which must have contributed greatly to the figure's survival. However, the question remains whether the legend and resultant local consciousness of the effigy are the reason it was singled out for preservation and display.

A6g Burial of monuments

One further route for survival that deserves consideration is through straightforward concealment, which seems to have taken place at a number of sites in Yorkshire: Etton (see Section 2c.ii Re-use); Church Fenton; Pickhill and Womersley. At all these places it seems likely that an effigy was deliberately buried and later discovered by chance, often during building works. A published note described the discovery of the Church Fenton lady (Boyne 1855, p. 31):

> During the repairs of this Church, in 1844, the … beautiful effigy was discovered, with its face turned downwards, and the upper part used as a flag-stone.

The discovery of the Womersley effigy, seems to have been during a nineteenth century restoration (ex. inf. Graham Sykes) as was that at Pickhill. This figure was apparently '.... found in two pieces in 1876 in a cavity under the floor of the chancel' (I'Anson 1926, p. 371). The task of burying a full size, high relief effigy such as Womersley or Church Fenton is not to be underestimated, particularly where the underside was incorporated into the floor, as a paving slab. Not only would the hole need to be of significant depth, the very irregularly shaped sculpture would have to be set level to function as part of the floor and the underside of the effigy dressed. Why would a church undertake such a task? It may be worth considering that some other objects have been found concealed in churches, particularly crucifixes. Indeed, a Limoges enamel crucifix was found buried at Womersley at the same time as the effigy was discovered. Other examples include a wooden crosier head of *c*. 1200 found at Baxterley (Warwickshire) in 1958 (Pevsner & Wedgwood, 1966, p. 87) and the remains of the South Cerney (Gloucestershire) crucifixion which were walled up by the chancel arch. Lankester 2011(p. 641) notes three instances of effigies buried in the late eighteenth century (Sparsholt, Berkshire; Thornton, Buckinghamshire and Gonalston, Nottinghamshire) but concealment was perhaps more often carried out during the Reformation, when venerated images, including crucifixions and stone altars, had legally to be destroyed. Some altar stones have been found in use as paving and Gunton (1686, p. 97) notes at Peterborough that 'The [high] Altar or Table it self was a goodly free-stone, which was long since removed, and laid in the pavement adjoyning,'. As discussed above, despite efforts to protect them, effigies also attracted the zealots' opprobrium. Concealment is a subject that has received little attention but is outlined by Margaret Aston in 'Public Worship and Iconoclasm', in D. Gaimster & R. Gilchrist, *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 9–28 while David Stocker has examined the burial of fonts ('*Fons et origo*: The symbolic death, burial and resurrection of English font stones, *Church Archaeology*, 1, (1997), pp. 17–25). Possible motives for the burial of monuments include a reluctance to destroy such objects, perhaps because the churchwardens or local clergy (on whom the onus fell) harboured a hope that the old ways might be reinstated, or they were simply unwilling to wreak such violence. An alternative explanation is that burial was seen as a method of removing the objects from censure in as honourable manner as possible. After all, the floor of the church was consecrated ground. Or it may be that this was seen as an effective means of hiding potentially emotive objects ahead of a Visitation. Whatever the motive, the effect has been to preserve some monuments in a far better condition than would otherwise have been possible and for which the Church Fenton lady provides a shining model.

A6h Conclusions

This appendix has explored the evidence for effigies having been set up in range of churches and the impression gained is that only a relatively small number of patrons/executers chose this form of commemoration. The burial history of the Scrope family is illuminating in this respect. Few losses seem to have occurred since the antiquarian records for Yorkshire of the seventeenth century and, although what was lost during the medieval period and as a consequence of the Reformation are impossible to determine, again

effigies are likely to have been only a small proportion of the total number of monuments lost. Perhaps the greatest uncertainty is over the urban friaries which were almost completely obliterated following the Reformation and yet were popular places of burial for many of those who could afford such expensive monuments. Aside from the trauma of the Reformation, there are many other causes of loss, which still continue up to the present day. There are also some remarkable ways in which effigies have survived, including their deliberate concealment beneath church floors. Antiquarian interest and popular legends have also played their part. However, there are good grounds for believing that the effigies which still exist may be regarded as usefully representative of what was there originally.

Appendix 7:

Downing's 'High Status Workshop': a response

In 2010 Mark Downing put forward the theory that a large group of military effigies across a broad sweep of the north-east and the north-east midlands were produced by one 'high status workshop' operating from *c*. 1295 to *c*. 1350 and staffed by 'a single group of carvers' (Downing 2010). The workshop's life is envisaged in phases. The criteria used to distinguish between these phases are not always easy to follow but comprise a mixture of carving details and particular items of armour or equipment, the latter being used to determine dating. The forty-eight effigies discussed in the article are divided into seven chronological sub-groups, with the great majority of Yorkshire effigies clustered in the second half of the period. As an explanation, it is suggested that initially the workshop 'operated chiefly from a location south of Yorkshire and at a later date moved north' (p. 82), although a case is earlier made for the overall distribution centre being at Tadcaster (p. 80). However, if there were such a major workshop serving a wide catchment area, it is surprising that almost all the Yorkshire effigies assigned to it would date from just the final twenty years of its life and that wealthy Yorkshire clients failed to patronise it earlier. It might also be expected that a long lived and prestigious workshop would continue to supply monuments to the families of earlier customers, even if did move further north, but this seems not to have been the case. Clearly there are problems with such a concept and what follows is not a comprehensive critique but is intended to illustrate some particular difficulties with the case made in the article.

Mark Downing's starting point was a 'core group' of five effigies (his Group 4) from which he extrapolated both forwards and backwards in time. The group comprises the complete effigy at Gonalston (Notts.); Flintham (Notts.); Threekingham (Lincs.) and the Yorkshire effigies at Hornsea and Womersley. They are identified as a group by stylistic details but close inspection reveals they lack coherence. All are said to have two cushions, with the upper placed diagonally. This is true for four of them but Gonalston's upper cushion is set squarely. Threekingham's are stiff and angular, more like the blocks of stone they actually are and their rigidity contrasts with the other four monuments, for example, the rounded cushions at Hornsea, which are moulded to the figure's head and shoulders. The article goes on to equate the four heads on the corners of Threekingham's base slab with the single small figure beside Womersley's cushion, despite them being conceptually quite different. Threekingham's heads resemble static architectural corbels, staring blankly outwards away from the knight. In contrast, the half figure of the lady beside the Womersley knight holds a book, animatedly indicating the text with her forefinger. She is an active part of the composition prompting onlookers to join her in prayers for the deceased (*5c.iii*, Fig. 251). Only three of the five effigies retain their foot supports but in this respect Threekingham and Womersley could scarcely be more different. Womersley has a crouching collared dog, leaning over under the pressure of the knight's feet. It is simply carved, without undercutting, its left paw stretching out to the scabbard tip. In total contrast, Threekingham has two lions respectant, standing up tall and fully undercut. The carver has been unsparing with the detail of their manes and paws, making it an exuberant and imaginative piece of work. Gonalston has a single crouching lion without undercutting, its head upraised on a long neck and the mane carved in an unusual pattern of circular tufts, quite unlike how the manes are depicted at Threekingham. The poorest work of the group is Flintham which, far from looking like the product of a high quality workshop, appears to have been made by someone who had little or no understanding of what he was carving. For example, the deep armholes

of the surcoat reveal the mail hauberk but the sculptor has failed to differentiate the arms from the body, with the rows of mail running continuously between them, making his limbs appear pinned to his sides. The lower attachment point on the scabbard is carved but the section of belt it should link to, is absent. In its place, the sculptor has shown the belt's pendant end and the fully carved folds of the surcoat. Visually, this makes it appear that if the knight stood up, his sword would fall to the floor. There is also a problem with the bracer (or enarm), which supports the shield on the left arm. The depiction of bracers is said to be one of the 'main characteristic features of this group' but Flintham's curves the wrong way, more as though it were attached to his body than the shield. The carver must not have understood its purpose. The Flintham knight's legs are crossed with the knees stacked one on top of the other but the lower one is very much fatter than the upper, so both sides are equally visible. A curious fold of drapery lies on the front of the left shin, emerging from underneath the poleyn. Whatever the mason may have been trying to show, it is clearly in the wrong place. In short, the man responsible for Flintham can have had little understanding of what he was carving and was perhaps making a bad job of copying something. He was evidently not closely supervised and, if he been working with others in a major workshop that had a reputation to maintain, it is difficult to envisage how such a catalogue of errors would have gone unnoticed. Flintham's poor quality and lack of understanding set it apart from the other four, particularly the thoughtful composition at Womersley and the accomplished sculpture at Threekingham. In summary, the five effigies lack the coherence necessary to regard them as a meaningful group and, since they form the kernel of the proposed workshop, these problems call into question the whole concept of the forty-eight effigies belonging together.

The chronology proposed for this large workshop also presents some difficulties as it is said to have lasted more than half a century, from *c*. 1295 to 1350. Whilst the author envisages the involvement of more than one sculptor, fifty years is a long life for a craft-based organisation, even today. Some master masons such as Michael of Canterbury, Henry Yevele and William Wynford did have careers spanning more than forty years but these men were not carving the stone themselves, rather they worked more as modern architects might and became major building contractors (Harvey 1984). The known working lives of the men who carried out the carving tend to be much more limited. For instance, Alexander of Abingdon, who worked on Queen Eleanor's viscera tomb in Lincoln cathedral was active for twenty-six years and William de Hoo, who made her heart casket, for twenty-five (Harvey 1984). These are both quite long careers for working sculptors. Production of the alabaster tombs attributed to Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton spanned some forty years of the fifteenth century and might be considered an analogy for Downing's high status workshop but their association is believed to have been more in the nature of a risk-sharing business arrangement rather than relating to the operation of a single workshop, so it was a very different type of operation (Saul 2009, pp. 69–70). The whole proposition seems unlikely.

Further problems relate to the proposed membership of the other groups, which involve both strange bedfellows and surprising omissions. Many effigies identified by us as belonging to Series C and D have been incorporated into Mark Downing's Groups 6 and 7, on the basis of what is described as a 'more detailed assessment', apparently referring to aspects of the armour depicted. So, for instance, the closely-related Series C figures at Goldsborough and Leeds (*4c.iii*) which the article describes as 'virtually identical' (p. 79) have been separated into Groups 6 and 7 respectively, presumably because one wears a bascinet and the other does not. The unfinished Magnesian Limestone effigy at Butterwick has been assigned to Group 3 (1315–30), while all the other Series B figures are redated to *c*. 1330–40 and placed in Group 5. Butterwick sits uncomfortably with the Group 3 companions assigned it. Of these, the material of Kingerby and Kirton-in-Lindsey is simply described as 'limestone', whereas Harrington, Rippingale and West Tanfield are all of a particular limestone containing pisoliths (*4a.iv*) and the larger Coverham effigy is in sandstone. Consequently, Butterwick may well be the only figure in this mixed bag carved in Magnesian Limestone, just as he is the only one with a ring locket scabbard attachment. Splitting the two companion Coverham effigies between Groups 3 and 5 (reverting to I'Anson's perception that they were widely separated in date) is puzzling, as they share many features and idiosyncrasies of carving, which strongly suggest they are not only by the same hand but also very close in date. They are both carved in the same variety of sandstone (perhaps local to Coverham) which not only makes the larger figure unique amongst Downing's Group 3 in terms of material, but also means that he alone has ailettes and a face cloth, all the other instances being placed in Group 5. It all seems rather a muddle.

Particular items of armour and equipment are singled out for comment and one contentious aspect of dating Series B effigies, relates to the poleyns worn by the Fountains Abbey effigy. Downing sees them as 'articulated' (p. 74), making the case that since such equipment did not appear until the 1320s, the effigy (and by implication any figures related to it) could not have been carved earlier. Articulated poleyns were devised to provide flexibility at the knee joint without leaving a vulnerable gap in protection, and they involved plates sliding over one another. They seem to be a development associated with the introduction of plate defences for both upper and lower leg. Blair (1958, p. 63) saw the general adoption of this fashion as happening *c*.1370, by which time plate armour had become the norm. However other than the poleyns the Fountains effigy has

no visible plate armour and so other explanations should be sought. Mark Downing mentions several examples of what he terms 'articulated poleyns', including several from the south west. Amongst these, the poleyns on the effigy at Combe Florey (Somerset) are the simplest, with a hemispherical piece over the front of the knee and a comparable piece around the back of the knee. Where they overlap, on both sides, there is a small disc with a decorative flower. The function of the discs is unclear – they may be purely decorative or perhaps fastenings. This very odd arrangement, enclosing the back of the knee as well as the front, has something in common with the poleyns at Darrington that are not cited by Downing as articulated and which he placed in his Group 6. They are similarly constructed but with knotted ties at the attachment points instead of discs. Downing suggests (p. 75) the earliest 'articulated poleyns' are probably those on the equestrian figures in the canopy over the tomb of Aymer de Valance (d. 1324) in Westminster Abbey, which Claude Blair cited as early examples of side wings (1958, p. 43). These are difficult to see, but nineteenth-century drawings (Stothard, pl. 49) show them with side wings and single lames top and bottom. Superficially they look similar to types in use in the later part of the fourteenth century (*e.g.* Ripon and the complete alabaster at Pickering) but because they are so much earlier may not have functioned in the same way. Indeed, this subject is more complicated than it might seem. For example, the poleyns at Landkey, Wear Gifford (both Devon) and Bristol Cathedral are also cited in Downing's article as articulated but, although they do appear to have additional lames, they also have two dome-headed features at each side. They are quite different from anything amongst the Yorkshire corpus and fully developed side wings on poleyns are not seen in Yorkshire until the later part of the fourteenth century. What may be an early form appears at Kildwick (dating from the 1340s) which has a lower lame but the wing is more like a rounded enlargement to hold either a rivet or a pivot, at its centre. Fountains' poleyns have much in common with those on the Septvans brass at Chartham (Kent), both having curved central features that narrow down to a point at the side, close to the lower edge. Neither have wings and they bear little resemblance to Downing's comparators. The central feature may have had a strengthening, or perhaps decorative, function so could have been static rather than articulated. Indeed, if made of leather, they may even have had a degree of flexibility. In this context, it is worth mentioning that leather poleyns have already been identified in Yorkshire on Series D effigies (*2b.iii, 4c.iv*) and the extensive use of leather for plate armour in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is discussed by Thom Richardson (2017). Chartham's dating has wavered between two possible members of the family but current opinion favours the earlier date of *c*. 1306, rather than *c*. 1322 (see Appendix 8), although the 'High Status Workshop' article adopts the later date. The side feature at Fountains resembles the rivet heads along the lower edge but is set within a slight depression (like the rivet heads of the sword belt mount), as though the material is under compression. This would be more consistent with a fixing point than a mobile joint. Whatever the explanation, the Fountains poleyns are quite different from those used later in the century, which were designed to be worn with full plate armour, and it should be noted that Fountains wears none that is visible. His poleyns, therefore, should be seen in the context of a time when experiments were being made with new forms of equipment. The fact that such a special feature is shown may even reflect armour owned by the knight himself.

Downing's arrangement of the figures into chronological groups creates many anomalies which cannot be reconciled and two archetypal Series C figures at Ryther and Spofforth have been omitted altogether. As explained in Section 4c. ii, there is a radical break in style between Series B and Series C which negates any logical consideration of them being the products of a single workshop. The Series C approach is fundamentally different from that of the Series B carver. Downing's analysis, like that of I'Anson in the 1920s, is hampered by its focus on military effigies and too dependent for dating on the development of armour at a period when it was in a state of flux, to provide a coherent scheme. No account is taken of the many other strands of evidence, such as the architectural setting of the Series B effigy at Goldsborough, and the crucial importance of the sculptural comparisons with York Minster (*4c.ii*) has not been recognised. The subject requires a much more broadly-based approach in order to draw reliable conclusions. Taking the article as whole, a key problem seems to be that moving the date of the Series B figures later, means that their potential role as exemplars, capable of influencing others, is greatly diminished. If they are understood to be at the beginning of the sequence, rather than towards the end, then many of the features seen as diagnostic of the 'high status workshop' can better be interpreted as ripples of influence on the work of other carvers. Once this is acknowledged, the need to invent an overall framework to account for the evidence evaporates and the anomalies disappear. Whilst we clearly find unconvincing the concept of a single long-lived, itinerant, high status workshop, we are extremely grateful to Mark for publishing his article. It was the final spur that provided the impetus to write this book.

Appendix 8:

Comments on the dating of Series B knights

Whilst the quality and coherence of Series B effigies is widely acknowledged, the group's dating has been disputed, centred on concerns about their apparently advanced sword belt fittings. Articles by the late Claude Blair (Blair 1995, 1996), Mark Downing (Downing 2010) and David Park (2010) have sought to advance our dating by twenty to thirty years, into the 1320s and 30s, in line with the views held by William I'Anson in the early twentieth century. For a discussion of the development of sword belts and scabbard attachments, which is of wider import than simply the dating of Series B, see Section 2b.ii. This Appendix addresses other comments on the dating of Series B.

A8a The dating of the Septvans brass at Chartham (Kent)

A comparison between the five bare-headed military effigies of Series B (Bedale, East Harlsey, Howden, Norton, Temple Church) and the monumental brass of a de Septvans at Chartham (Kent) has been widely acknowledged for many years. The comparison extends beyond the folded-down coifs, as the Chartham brass shows a poleyn akin to that worn by the Fountains effigy (*A7*) and a ring type scabbard attachment. Unfortunately, Chartham's dating has also been controversial. Its original marginal inscription is now so fragmentary it is no longer legible. Although the traditional attribution is to Sir Robert who died in 1306, his son Sir William (d. 1322) has also been suggested. When Paul Binski (1980) considered the Septvans brass in the context of other contemporary artistic media, he concluded it was associated with work in the 'Court style'. He cited examples including the work of the 'Madonna Master' of the de Lisle Psalter; wall painting in St Faith's chapel and the painted sedilia backs, in Westminster Abbey, saying, 'The Chartham brass looks like a mainstream Court product of the years *c*.1300' (p. 78). Consequently, he thought it was likely to commemorate Sir Robert. Binski later changed his view in favour of Sir William (1987, p. 88) but this attribution has since been challenged by a number of scholars, including Nicholas Rogers (1996):

> The closest parallels to the Septvans figure are also to be found in incised slabs and paintings. Paul Binski has characterised the similarities with the work of the Madonna Master in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle and the Westminster Abbey sedilia of 1308. These stylistic connections are so close as to invite speculation about the involvement of the one artist in all three works. A dating to the years around 1310, which is supported by the figure's close formal relationship to French incised slabs, would favour the traditional identification of Robert de Septvans (d. 1306), rather than William de Septvans (d.1322), as has been suggested recently.

In 1999 Malcolm Norris and Sally Badham presented a more wide-ranging discussion of the case, coming down in favour of the earlier date (1999, pp. 68–71). More recently still, in the context of his study of Cobham family commemoration, Nigel Saul agreed (2001, p. 85 n. 30):

> The earlier date is to be preferred, partly for the reasons that Binski originally set out, and partly because the revisionist work on the early brasses shows that the London workshops were almost certainly producing large military effigies by the period *c*. 1305–10.

Sir Robert de Septvans was the brother of Joan de Cobham (d. *c*.1298), who is commemorated by the earliest of the family's surviving brasses (Tower 1928). It originally accompanied another for her husband (d. 1300), demonstrating that the

long family tradition of memorialisation through figure brasses was already established by the opening years of the fourteenth century. These monuments add credibility to the commissioning of another, soon afterwards, for a close family member and help to cement the early fourteenth century date for the Chartham brass.

Now in the floor of the north transept at Chartham, the Septvans brass was previously in the chancel (Hasted 1798, p. 316), which was under construction in 1294, when Thomas, parson of Chartham, was pardoned 150 marks of a fine 'towards the works of his church begun by him' (CPR 1292–1301, p. 69). The manor of Chartham belonged to Christ Church Priory Canterbury (see the archaeological survey of the church by Tim Tatton-Brown, http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/CHM.htm, accessed 10-09-2018). Thomas is said to have been treasurer of the See (Haslam 1987, p. 10), so it is unsurprising the chancel was fitted with superb Kentish tracery windows that constitute a classic illustration of the style. John Harvey associated Kentish tracery with Michael of Canterbury, Master Mason at Canterbury through the later thirteenth century and believed he introduced it at Westminster when he worked there from the 1290s (Harvey 1984, pp. 45–6). He was involved in many high profile royal projects including St Stephen's chapel (Westminster) and the Cheapside Eleanor Cross. He was also responsible for a number of influential tombs (Archbishop Pecham in Canterbury Cathedral; Bishop William de Luda in Ely Cathedral; Edmund Crouchback Earl of Lancaster in Westminster Abbey) and John Harvey described him as "certainly the leader of the 'London School' of tomb design and one of the chief formative influences on English style". This is the milieu with which the Septvans brass has been associated. The architectural affinities and building history of Chartham church, with its new chancel retaining much of its 1290s glazing and the magnificent contemporary timber roofs, show work of the highest quality being carried out in the years around 1300. The brass's original position in the centre of this new work provides support for its being set up at the earlier date. All these factors support a date for the Septvans brass around the first decade of the fourteenth century, making its comparison with the Series B effigies a corroboration for dating the Yorkshire sculptures to the first two decades of the century. It adds additional momentum to the dating arguments set out in Section 4c.ii.

A8b The de Ros effigy in Temple Church (London)

Potentially the most influential comments on Series B have come from David Park (2010) in connection with the de Ros effigy now in the Temple Church, many of which have already been discussed. (See Appendix 7 for the scabbard attachment and comparison with the Septvans brass; Section 5b.i for the problems of identifying surviving de Ros effigies and Section 2b.iii for the development of sword belts.) He also used the lion mask mounts on the sword belt to support a date of *c*. 1325–30 for the de Ros effigy, saying:

> .... the richly decorated swordbelts so characteristic of the group, often – as on the Temple effigy – carved with elaborate lions' masks, are closely paralleled in French effigies of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and in an English context anticipate such later effigies as the mid fourteenth-century example at Warkworth (Northants).

This confident sweep fails to address the probability that the Temple Church lion mask belt mounts are not original but cut from plain bosses during a nineteenth century restoration (*2c.ii*) and is wide of the mark in other respects. Eighteen military effigies are included in Series A/B. Of their sword belts, six are plain; three have just incised edging lines; one has bar mounts; one has quatrefoils and three have plain bosses. Only two (Bedale and Goldsborough) have genuine lion masks. So, fifty percent have no belt mounts and only two (hardly typical examples) can be viewed as 'richly decorated'. The allusion to Warkworth is equally difficult to understand. The Series B mounts, of whatever form, are spaced along a plain belt whereas Warkworth's mounts (alternately flowers and lion masks) are butted edge to edge. This arrangement can be seen as a precursor to the horizontal hip belts that became the norm in the second half of the fourteenth century, supporting both sword and dagger, and are commonly seen on alabaster effigies. Warkworth's belt does support both but is not worn horizontally, marking it out as a transitional piece, not representative of a style that can be 'anticipated'. David Park and Claude Blair cite a number of French and German comparators for 'richly decorated sword belts', derived from Hurtig (1979) and Bauch (1976) although it should be noted these works were used purely as sources of illustration. Hurtig's text in particular (since hers is the more extensive coverage), does not address the issues in hand, carefully avoiding the development of armour as her concern is the meaning of the monuments and their sculptural development. The Continental material cited is a very limited sample, primarily from two restricted areas and, whilst Hurtig supplies some discussion of dating and identification, the value of the comparisons is hard to assess without the underpinning evidence.

A8c Bedale

In the context of discussing the de Ros effigy in the Temple Church, David Park (Park 2010) uses the FitzAlan effigy at Bedale as a representative of Series B and concludes it must be retrospective, dating from not earlier than the 1320s. In this he relies on the evidence of a surviving tomb panel, the effigy's gablette and heraldry recorded in the church. The

broken and appallingly damaged tomb chest panel (*3d*) is now below the priest's effigy in the north east chapel. Citing Blore's engraving as his source (1826, facing p. 1 of 'Brian Fitz-Alan, Baron of Bedale'), he describes the principal scene as 'Fitzalan on his deathbed'. He also singles out 'a knight wearing a short surcoat reaching only to his knees' which he concludes '… again suggests a date not earlier than the 1320s'. Unfortunately, the Blore engraving is not all that it seems and is actually a reconstruction. For instance, it shows the full depth of the panel but the accompanying text admits:

> … the lower portion of them [the statues within niches on the side of the tomb] is buried under the present pavement of the church, which has been raised to half the height of the side of the tomb.

Blore cannot have seen the lower part of the panel for himself. So, it must have been his best guess, perhaps mindful of Gale's also retrospective depiction (1722, p. 242 & facing pl.) of what must be the opposite panel (*3d*). What remains at Bedale is in such poor condition it is very hard to interpret, the surface having flaked off in crucial areas. Indeed, Blore himself commented (p. 5):

> The statues set within niches on the sides of the tomb, have suffered so much as to render it a matter of great difficulty to make them out satisfactorily …

Nevertheless, two standing figures are depicted complete, as is the lower margin of the panel, all of which must have been hidden by the pavement when Blore visited. Philip Lindley has observed (2006a, p. 145), with reference to Blore's plate of an effigy at Abergavenny, 'His illustration of this monument provides an exemplary warning of the caution necessary in using antiquarian material'. In the case of Abergavenny, Blore's drawing had repositioned the effigy on the chest, shown an arm that was lost, and supplied an imaginary sixth bay for the chest. Blore's work at Bedale is consistent with this reconstructive approach and it would be a mistake to accept it as an accurate depiction or to rely on its reconstructed elements as dating evidence.

Unlike the tomb chest, the Bedale gablette survives largely intact, with a slight nodding ogee form and embryonic ballflower ornament. Park draws attention to this and believes the most obvious parallel in the north is in York Minster nave and on St. William's tomb, where ballflower also occurs, both dating from *c*. 1330–1340 (p. 90). However, the invocation of architectural features of York Minster's nave is not straightforward. The nave must have been designed in the 1280s, since the foundation stone was laid in 1291 and the building programme is likely to already have been underway then (Brown 2003, pp. 95, 87). It was not completed until the 1350s, having been subject to an indeterminate break in work that was sufficiently long to subject exposed stone to weathering (p. 104). Sarah Brown believes the whole plan and the external masonry to the height of the first string course, were put in place at the outset (pp. 102–6), with the upper levels proceeding at different rates, the south side of the nave in advance of the north. The upper levels of the west front, where the nodding ogee and ballflower occur, were reached only after the break, perhaps in the late 1320s or 1330s. The ogee form appears at different points across the west wall, possibly reflecting the decision-making process involved in updating a forty or fifty year old design, drawn up before curvilinear architecture had developed. It would have needed careful modification to be able to sensitively incorporate the spectacular Decorated tracery of Archbishop Melton's great west window, which was ready to receive its glazing in 1339 (Brown 2003, p. 93). The lag in progress between the two sides may explain why Decorated features appear at a lower level on the north side than the south (p. 111). This complex history means that the Decorated style features used in the second phase occur when it was considered feasible to incorporate them as a modification to an existing scheme. Their employment in such a manner should not, therefore, be taken as indicative of when they first became known in the area. Nationally, the ogee gablette appears in microarchitecture as early as the 1290s, on the tomb of Archbishop Pecham in Canterbury Cathedral. This was designed by the royal mason Michael of Canterbury, the originator of Kentish tracery, who was deeply implicated in work relatable to the Septvans brass (*A8a*), with which the Bedale effigy has been compared. Kentish tracery appears in Yorkshire on the Kirkham Priory gatehouse together with ballflower, outlining the three major image recesses (Plate 27). The dating of the gateway has traditionally been seen as of the later 1290s, based on an analysis of the heraldry displayed. Coppack *et al* (1995, p. 108) viewed a suggestion of 1296 as 'fairly close', ending by concluding (p. 134) that the gateway was 'built apparently in the first decade or so of the fourteenth century'. However in writing about York Minster, Sarah Brown (2003, p. 128) dated it 1289–96 and Nicola Coldstream has described it as 'early 1290s' (1994 p. 105). This means that designs associated with the court style, the ogee arch and ballflower ornament were established in Yorkshire by *c*. 1300. In this context, it is important to remember that at this time, York was not a northern backwater but, albeit temporarily, the country's *de facto* capital (see Section 5a).

Park does not question that the Bedale effigy represents Brian FitzAlan who died in 1306 but sees it as a retrospective expression of filial devotion by his daughters who were his heirs and underage at the time of his death. He cites, as supporting evidence for this, a record of Brian FitzAlan's arms appearing in glass in the later fourteenth century east window of the chancel with an implication that it was placed there long after he died. The source for this is

identified as a 1665 visitation record but no reference is given. The visitation of Yorkshire at this date was made by Sir William Dugdale and a copy of the heraldic information it contained for Bedale was made by Nathaniel Johnston about a hundred years later (Johnston C31, fo. 125). A version was later published by Whitaker which is quite similar to Johnston's (Whitaker 1823 II, p. 11). These records do indeed include the FitzAlan coat of 'barry, or and gules' as one of those displayed in the east window. However, there is an earlier record of the window's heraldry, made by Roger Dodsworth in 1622, which differs significantly from that of Dugdale (Dodsworth, p. 236). He catalogues more shields in the east window than Dugdale (seven rather than three) but does not include the FitzAlan arms. He does mention a barry coat but it has different tinctures (argent and azure) and a bend gules on which were three lozenges or. This may be a differenced version of Gray of Rotherfield. The only FitzAlan coat observed by Dodsworth was in the east window of the south chapel where the FitzAlan chantry was located and that was barry of eight, rather than the barry of six reported by Dugdale for the chancel glass. The reason for the two accounts differing as they do is unclear but the number of shields recorded by Dodsworth corresponds exactly to the number of small quatrefoil lights in the east window which might have housed the heraldry. So there is an implication that, when seen by Dodsworth, the heraldic scheme was complete. In the intervening years, the violence of the Civil War may have taken its toll. Perhaps the glass was damaged and repaired (even re-arranged) by Dugdale's time. Nevertheless, it would seem that the FitzAlan arms were not originally in the east window, as Park believed. As well as the glass, Park also discusses the two painted shields on the east wall of the chancel, which do survive. They were discovered beneath a colour wash in the 1920s (McCall 1926, p. 450), one being 'argent, a lion rampant sable, charged on the shoulder with an annulet of the field' and the other what appears to be a barry coat but is actually 'argent 3 bars azure, over all a bendlet gules', identifiable as Grey of Rotherfield. Unfortunately, they have since been repainted and modified (perhaps drawing on Dodsworth's description of the glass), so that the bend has acquired gold lozenges which were not present when discovered. Nevertheless, the painted shields clearly did not display Brian FitzAlan's arms and there is nothing in either the glass or the painting to support Park's thesis.

A8d Conclusions

The doubts expressed about dating Series B effigies to the early years of the fourteenth century tend to focus on very special aspects of armour and other ancillary features, in order to prove they could not be so early. However, the large body of broadly-based, inter-disciplinary evidence which we have assembled makes the earlier dating of Series B very clear. Failing to acknowledge when the Series B figures were actually produced, degrades their significance, both individually and as a whole. The Series B sculptor was skilful, observant, thoughtful, innovative and very knowledgeable. His fine accomplishments deserve their proper place in the chronology of medieval English sculpture.