

A Military Effigy in Dorchester Abbey, Oxon.

By PHILIP J. LANKESTER

SUMMARY

The earlier of the two military monumental effigies in Dorchester Abbey is an outstanding piece of sculpture. Its dating has varied from as early as the second quarter of the 13th century to as late as c.1310, and the person commemorated has never been satisfactorily identified. The Dorchester effigy is stylistically very similar to a wooden effigy in Gloucester Cathedral, traditionally ascribed to Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (d.1134), although doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this effigy because of the unknown extent of its restoration in the 17th century. Comparisons for stylistic details on both effigies tend to be with sculpture normally dated to before c.1260, but the extreme vitality of the figures and the technical accomplishment of their execution may indicate a date towards the end of the century. Both early and late datings leave unresolved problems. Two 16th-century descriptions of the Dorchester effigy suggest that it probably commemorates a member of the Valence family. William de Valence the younger (d.1282) is a likely candidate and, if correct, this would support a later dating for this remarkable piece of funerary sculpture.

INTRODUCTION

The dating of medieval monumental effigies is fraught with problems. In the almost total absence of surviving inscriptions, only a very small number of those earlier than 1300 can be identified with any certainty,¹ and the position improves only slightly during the following two centuries. The problem is made worse by the evidence that the tombs of some individuals were not erected until long after their deaths while, from at least as early as the 14th century, some chose to have their monuments made during their lifetimes.² In the 13th century there are simply not enough firmly dated effigies to construct a standard chronology of development against which the exceptions can be identified.

It seems probable that most effigies originally had painted decoration, which would have included heraldry (especially on the shields of military effigies³) and inscriptions (probably on the edge of the slab below the figure, where they occasionally survive⁴). Very little of this colour now survives as anything more than fragments which, while giving some clue to the colouring of an effigy, do not enable the reconstruction of missing heraldry or inscriptions. Moreover, while a single coat of arms on a shield or surcoat can sometimes be shown to have been used for a limited period only, such arms were rarely confined to one

¹ H.A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England. The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980), 18–20.

² L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain. The Middle Ages* (2nd edn., 1972), 114. See also below, p. 164f.

³ Tummers op. cit., 19, counted 16 13th-century military effigies with charges on shields sculpted in relief.

⁴ For examples incised or in relief see *ibid.* 18, and an effigy at Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, discussed below (p. 171).

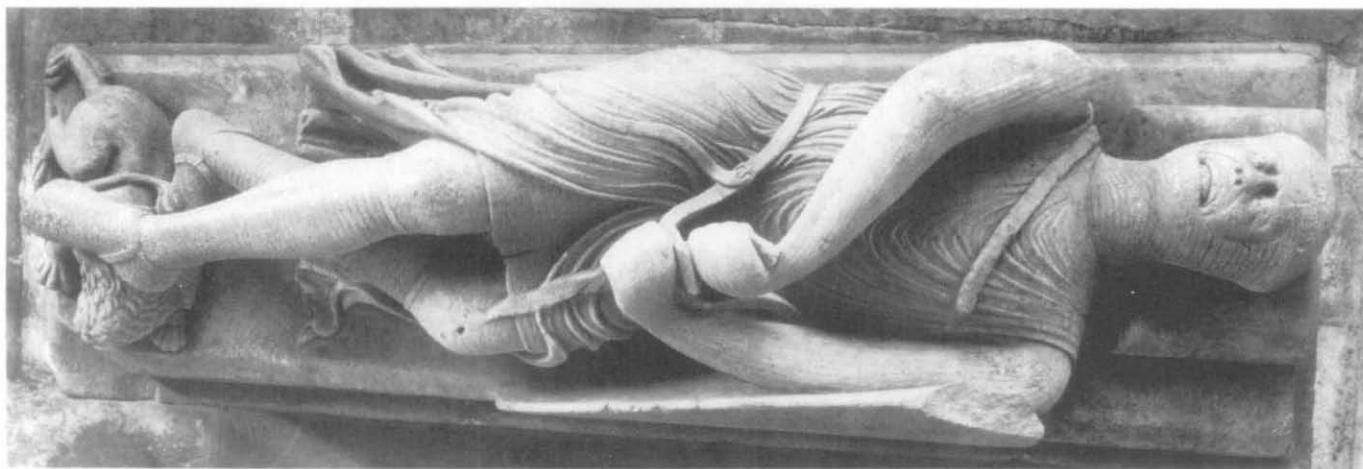


Fig. 1. Dorchester Abbey: Limestone effigy viewed from above. (Ph. Fred. H. Crossley, reproduced by courtesy of Maurice H. Ridgway.)

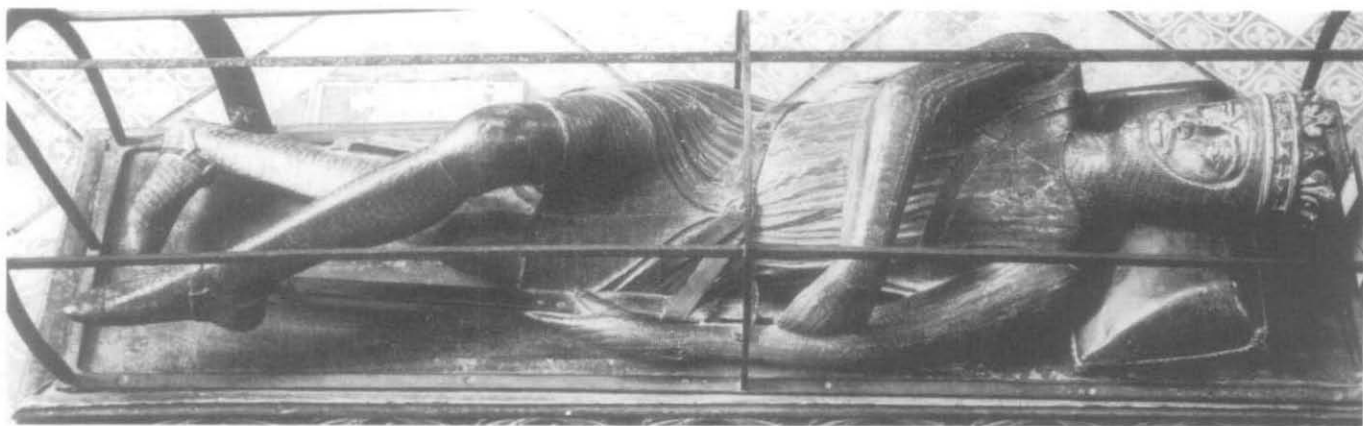


Fig. 2. Gloucester Cathedral: Wooden effigy attributed to Robert, Duke of Normandy, viewed from above. (Ph. courtesy the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.)



Fig. 3. Dorchester Abbey: Limestone tomb viewed from the north side. (Ph. Claude Blair.)

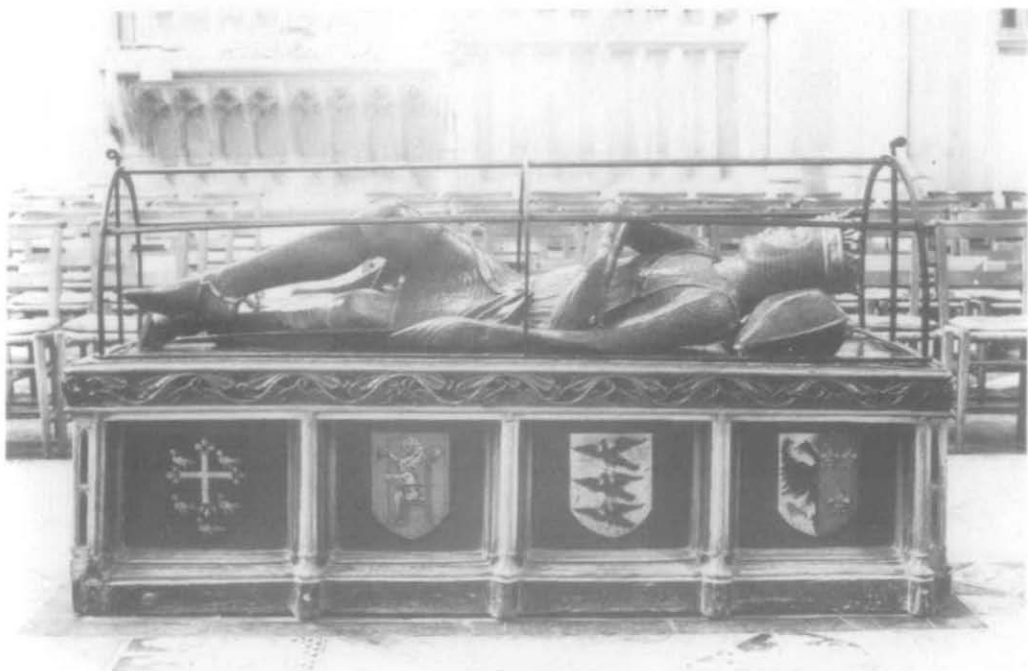


Fig. 4. Gloucester Cathedral: wooden tomb viewed from the north side.

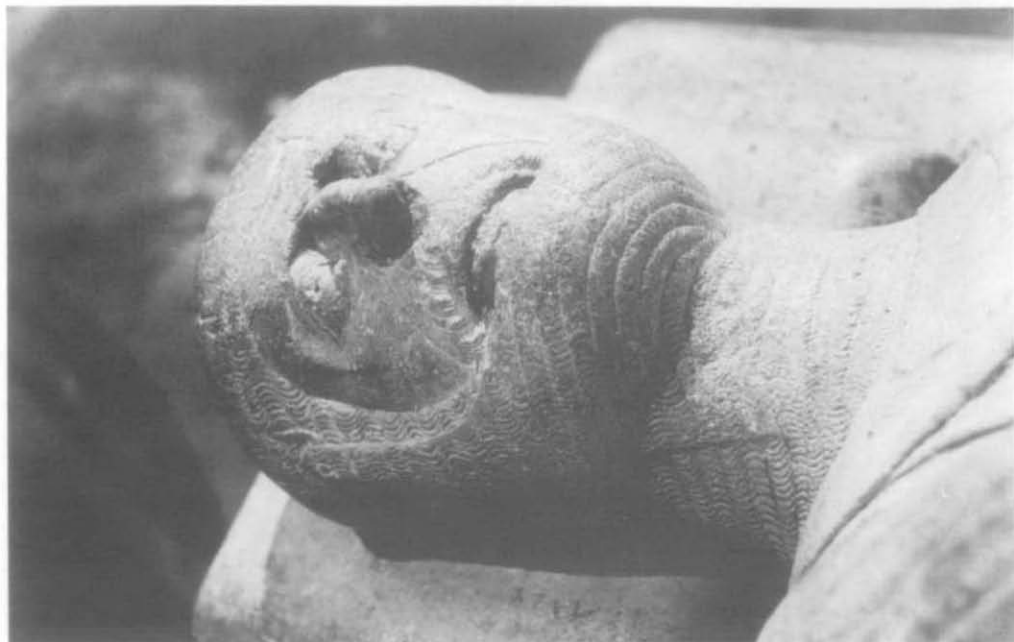


Fig. 5. Dorchester Abbey: Detail of the head of the effigy with the nose restored in wax. (Ph. Claude Blair.)



Fig. 6. Gloucester Cathedral: Detail of the head of the effigy.



Fig. 7. Hailes Abbey: Roof boss depicting Samson and the Lion. (Ph. courtesy Mr. J. Bethell.)



Fig. 8. Hailes Abbey: Detail of roof boss shown in Fig.7.

person. From the 16th century onwards the notes of heralds and antiquaries provide a valuable corpus of evidence (much of it as yet unpublished) which can supply important additional information, but even this must be treated with care in view of the possibility of errors during earlier repaintings.

Against such a background of uncertainty, extreme caution is necessary. Even in the case of an effigy as important as that at Dorchester, which has rightly been described as 'one of the finest and best preserved pieces of 13th-century funerary sculpture in the country',⁵ it is unfortunately not always possible to reach a firm conclusion on dating, even where, as in this case, new evidence has come to light.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to those whose help is individually acknowledged in the notes, I should like to thank: the Vicar and Churchwardens of Dorchester Abbey, the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral, and the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (Mr. Neil Greenhalf and Mr. A.E.S. Musty) for assistance with access and photography; Mr. Claude, Mrs. Joan and Dr. John Blair, and Miss Maddy Clapcott, for help in modelling and photographing the wax nose; Mr. Christopher Hohler who supervised the Courtauld Institute M.A. Report on which this article is based (though my conclusions have altered since); Mr. J.A. Goodall; the late Mr. Stuart Rigold; my colleagues Dr. Sarah Bevan, Mr. Jeremy Hall and Mr. A.V.B. Norman, and the Trustees of the Royal Armouries for their very generous help; Mrs. Blanche Ellis for drawing Fig. 9; The Council for the Care of Churches and the Society of Antiquaries of London for the use of their libraries; The staff of the College of Arms; Miss Ann Payne of the Department of Manuscripts, British Library; and, lastly, my special thanks to Dr. Anne Robertson and Dr. John Blair without whose help and encouragement this article would never have been written.

DESCRIPTION

The limestone⁶ effigy (Figs. 1, 3 and 5) is now situated towards the east end of the south choir aisle, but was almost certainly originally elsewhere in the church (see below p. 153). The figure rests on a low tomb-chest, also made of limestone, but of a more shelly variety. The slab beneath the effigy, which is carved out of the same piece of stone, tapers towards the feet, and the tomb-chest so closely follows its shape that it must have been made for the effigy, though not necessarily at the same time (see p. 166f). Profiles of the mouldings around the top and base of the chest are shown in Fig. 9.

The upper half of the figure lies flat on his back, with his head resting on a single, flat cushion and turned slightly towards his right.⁷ The lower half of his body is markedly twisted to his left, and the legs are crossed, right over left, below the knees.⁸ The right hand

⁵ J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (1974), 581.

⁶ An examination of the stone, kindly undertaken for me by Mr. Philip Powell in 1976, was largely inconclusive because of the difficulty of identifying types of stone without a freshly broken surface. The stone appears to be a limestone of general Cotswold type. The effigy was incorrectly stated to be in Purbeck marble by F.H. Crossley (*English Church Monuments* (1921), 210), and in marble by T.S.R. Boase (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. Das Mittelalter II*, ed. Otto von Simson (1972), 168).

⁷ Unless stated otherwise, left and right refer to the figure's left and right.

⁸ The possible meanings behind or reasons for crossed legs on effigies will not be discussed here. For a recent and balanced study see Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 117-126.

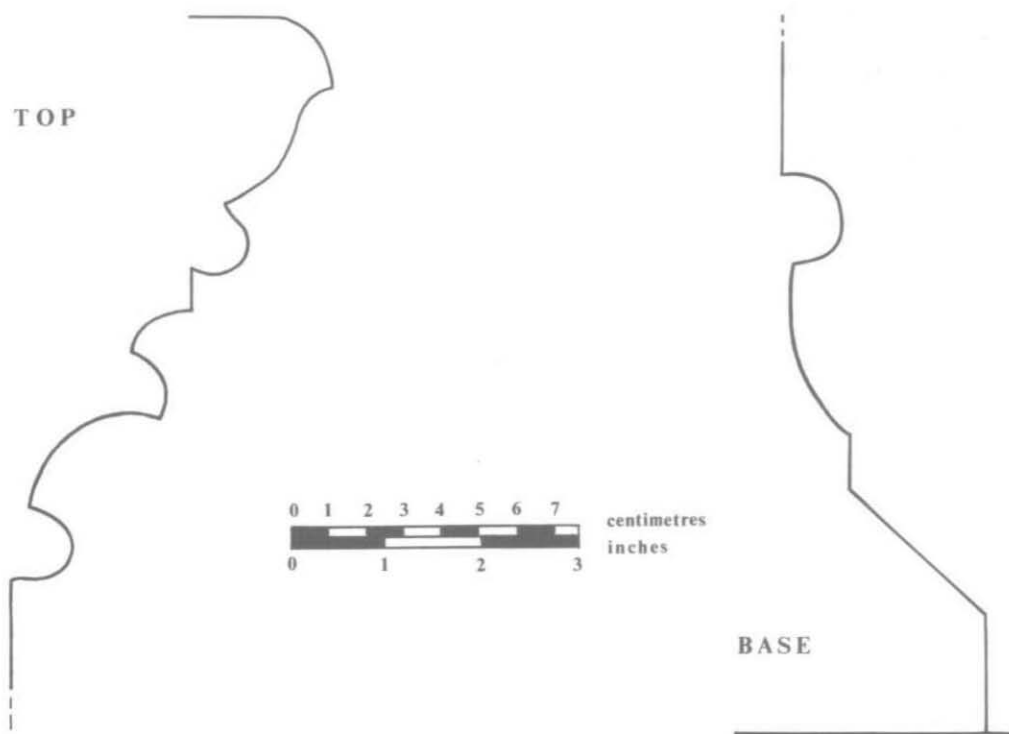


Fig. 9. Dorchester Abbey: Mouldings at the top and base of the tomb-chest.

grasps the sheathed sword. The right forearm is twisted anti-clockwise and the wrist is angled sharply inwards so that the palm of the hand faces the body and the thumb is towards the feet. This contorted position heightens the feeling of vibrant movement in the figure. The left hand grasps the top of the scabbard, and the angled wrist suggests that the arm is braced against the drawing of the sword. At the feet is a lion, with its tail passing between its hind legs and curling up and round to rest against the right side of its body. The figure's left foot presses against the lion's back and the heel of the right foot rests on the top of its neck. One cannot fail to be struck by the tremendous sense of energetic movement in the figure. The face is set in a determined expression and even the lion at the feet reflects the sense of energy, sprawling as if trying to escape.⁹

The figure is dressed in a hauberk (a long shirt of mail) with an attached coif (or hood) which has a ventail (a flap covering the face opening) which fastens on the right side. A narrow strap, laced through the mail, runs horizontally round the top of the face-opening, taking a step down on the right, and passing through the end of the ventail before continuing round the back of the head. The slightly bulbous shape of the top of the head probably indicates some additional protection worn below the coif. The sleeves of the

⁹ The lion, found commonly at the foot of military effigies, almost certainly derives from Psalm xc(xci).13. Ecclesiastical effigies tended to favour dragons, and that commemorating Archbishop Siegfried III of Eppstein (d.1249) has both a lion and a dragon at the feet (E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (1964), Fig.213).

hauberk have attached mitten-mufflers to protect the hands, the shape of the fingers within being just discernable. The hauberk has a short, vertical slit in the centre of its lower edge.

The body is covered by a long, sleeveless gown, the lower hem of which is allowed to trail over the chamfered edge of the slab on the right side. The gown has a front opening below the waist, reaching to the fork of the legs, and has generous arm-holes with V-shaped lower edges. The surcoat stands proud of the body around the arm-holes which, as the folds in the fabric seem to deny any great thickness, may signify some stiffening at the hems.¹⁰ There is a 1.2cm. (0.5in.)-wide band around the neck opening, and also a slit, running from the right side of the opening towards the shoulder, to allow the head to pass through.¹¹

The legs are protected by mail chausses (or stockings) and the knees are additionally protected by gamboised cuisses (quilted, tubular thigh-defences) which end just below the knee and have raised fillets around their lower edges. A cloth undergarment is visible between the legs, below the hauberk. The spurs, which are rendered in fine detail, have angled sides; both goads are broken off.

A relatively large, acute triangular shield, very slightly curved around the body and with an almost straight top edge, is supported on a strap (called a guige), of 2.9cm. (1.1in.) width, which passes over the right shoulder. No braces for the arm are visible inside the shield. The guige stops short some 10cm. (4in.) from the shield. As there is no scar across the arm where it should continue, the missing section must have been completely undercut, or in another material such as wood.

The sword-hilt is too damaged to determine its original form. The scabbard is supported by a narrow belt, 2.5cm. (1.0in.) wide, fastened by a rectangular buckle at the front; the loose end trails away over the right thigh. The figure's left hand conceals the means by which the scabbard is secured to the belt. The scabbard itself is missing, and must have been made of a separate piece. The underside of the left hand (where the scabbard should first be visible) has a tapering rectangular-sectioned hole which continues up inside the hand and has a round dowel-hole at its far end. The carved links of mail on the muffler are continued round to the edges of the hole, and end in such a way as to suggest that the hole is original. What appears to be the remains of the scabbard, stretching as far as the top of the left knee (see Fig. 1), is almost certainly the remains of a bracket to support the scabbard.¹² There is no indication of a support or anchorage for the tip of the scabbard, suggesting that it was unsupported beyond the knee, and, unless very short, it must have projected beyond the edge of the slab. This would necessitate a material other than stone, probably wood or metal.¹³

The effigy is generally in very good condition. Major losses not already mentioned are the upper corner of the shield, the corner of the slab by the lion's head, and the knight's

¹⁰ The same feature is seen on the military statues on the Wells Cathedral West Front (e.g. L.S. Colchester, *The West Front of Wells Cathedral* (5th edn., 1976), 5f. Nos.123-126, 145, 147.), and on two seated figures of knights from Hereford, formerly on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum and now in a private collection (Christie's (London) Sale 13 Dec. 1985, Lots 67, 67A, ill. in cat.). I owe the latter comparison to Mr A.V.B. Norman and the reference to Mr. Paul Williamson.

¹¹ Mr. A.V.B. Norman points out that this is an unusual feature on effigies. It also occurs on the more complete of the two effigies at Great Haseley, Oxon. (Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 138, No.47).

¹² A small, round hole on top of the left knee itself, with traces of iron staining, may be connected with the support of the scabbard but is out of alignment with the stone bracket.

¹³ Evidence of stone sculptures with accessories in different materials is found, for example, among the statues on the West Front of Wells Cathedral (Colchester, *Wells W. Front*, 6f., Nos.182, 184, 195, 201 and 217). The knight, No.126 has a hole in the plinth to secure the butt of a lance (author's observation). The headless 13th-century statue now in the retrochoir at Winchester Cathedral apparently originally had a metal girdle (Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, Pl.86). From photographs it appears that the military effigy at Rippingale (Lincs.) had a scabbard made as a separate piece (Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, Pl.110).

nose. This last damage results in the exposure of two preliminary drill-holes for the nostrils and distorts the general appearance of the face (see also p. 164 below). The recessed pupils of the eyes are unlikely to be original, and the lion's front left paw has been broken off and refixed.

The following traces of colour survive:

Blue-Green: at the junction of the surcoat and slab, best seen on the right side, especially between the sword-belt and the shoulder, where it spreads on to the slab; at the junction of the cushion and the slab, on the right side (where there are also traces of red); on the inner surface of the back of the surcoat appearing between the legs; on the inner surface of the surcoat, round the opening for the left arm; on the slab between the lion's legs.

Red: in the folds of the final flourish of the surcoat trailing over the right edge of the slab; at the junction of the cushion and the slab; on the inner surface of the surcoat under the right knee; on the surcoat, just below the sword-belt, near the buckle; on the outer surface of the surcoat by the forward edge of the right arm-hole.

A black waxy substance, which occurs on the left shoulder and elsewhere, passes over worn surfaces and is therefore not original.

While not completely consistent it seems that the colour-scheme, of which traces now remain, probably incorporated blue-green for the slab and the inside of the surcoat, and red for the outer surface of the surcoat and the cushion. Without technical analysis it is not possible to say anything about the date of these traces of colour.

The effigy measures about 205cm. (81in.) long. The slab measures 209cm. (82.3 in.) along its sides, 65.5cm. (25.5in.) at the head end and 50.0cm. (19.7in.) at the foot. The slab is slightly smaller than the top of the tomb-chest, which projects 3.5 to 4.5cm (1.4 to 1.8in.) at the sides and the narrower ends and 4.5 to 5.0cm. (1.8 to 2.0in.) at the wider end. The total height of the tomb-chest is approximately 62cm. (24.4in.), the portion between the mouldings (Fig. 9) measuring approx. 30cm. (12in.). The block of stone from which the effigy and slab were cut must have been something in excess of 50cm. (19.7in.) thick, this being the approximate height from the base of the slab to the highest points (the hem of the surcoat near the raised right knee, and the right elbow).

HISTORY AND IDENTIFICATION

The tomb now stands under the central arcade of the south choir aisle, in the second bay from the east. It was described by Leland (see below p. 154) as being on the south side of the choir, where it almost certainly remained¹⁴ until it was moved to its present place in the 19th century.¹⁵ In an unpublished plan of 1792 by John Carter¹⁶ and in drawings published in 1823¹⁷ and 1845¹⁸ it is shown under the easternmost bay of the arcade between the choir and south aisle, directly north of its present position.

¹⁴ None of the other 16th-century church notes cited below (p. 155) suggest a different position, nor does Anthony Wood who visited in 1657 (F.N. Davies (ed.), *The Parochial Collections of Wood and Rawlinson* (Oxf. Rec. Soc. ii, iv, xi (1920-9), 116). Richard Symmonds in 1644 describes it as between the pillars of the South aisle and the choir (B.L. MS Harley 965, p. 53).

¹⁵ Extensive restorations to the Abbey were carried out between 1845 and 1874 (Sherwood, *Oxon.* 580).

¹⁶ B.L. MS. Add. 29,931, f. 180. I owe this reference to Mr. A.V.B. Norman.

¹⁷ J. Skelton, *Engraved Illustrations of the Principal Antiquities of Oxfordshire from Original Drawings by F. Mackenzie* (1823), *Dorchester Hundred*, Pl. 5.

¹⁸ H. Addington, *Some Account of the Abbey Church of St Peter and St Paul, at Dorchester, Oxfordshire* (1845), Pl. facing p. 7.

Unfortunately the person commemorated cannot be firmly identified, though some new evidence has come to light. No chronicle, cartulary or burial roll of the Abbey is known to have survived, and any traditional identification had apparently been lost by the time John Leland visited the church in 1542 or soon after. As far as I know, Leland provides the earliest reference to the effigies in the abbey in the following passage:¹⁹

And there yet remainith the image of free stone that lay on the tumb of Bisshop Æschwine, as apperith by the inscription.

There be buried in the quier beside divers abbates a knight on the south side with an image crosse leggid, whos name is there oute of remembrance.

There lyith at the feete of hym one Stoner sumtyme a juge (as it apperith by his habite).

There lyith a knight on the north side of the quier, a knight whom the late abbate tooke to be one of the Segraves, the image was of alabastre. But after the abbate told me that he hard of late one say that there was one Holcum a knight buried.

The effigy identified by Leland from an inscription as commemorating Bishop Æschwine (perhaps Æscwig, d.1002)²⁰ may be the late 13th- or early 14th-century effigy of a bishop now on the north side of the south choir aisle in the third bay from the east.²¹ Next Leland described the effigy under discussion, and, to its east, the effigy of a judge (John Stonor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, d.1354)²² now situated against the south wall of the south aisle, opposite the tomb under discussion.²³ Lastly Leland described the alabaster knight, then on the north side of the choir²⁴ and now situated on the north side of the south aisle opposite the earlier knight and the judge's effigy. The surcoat has in low relief the arms [*sable*] a lion rampant [*argent*] with a bendlet [*gules*] over all.²⁵ The same arms occur among the medieval stained glass shields, now in the south window of the sanctuary²⁶ and probably dating to c.1300,²⁷ where they have been identified as Segrave.²⁸

On the face of it, Leland's statement that the abbot had 'hard of late one say that there was one Holcum a knight buried' relates to the alabaster knight, the description of which it immediately follows. It is, however, just possible that the statement is intended to stand in isolation. Skelton inclined towards the latter view and suggested that the Holcum knight is probably commemorated by the tomb under discussion.²⁹ The *Victoria County History* agrees and makes reference to a Robert of Little Holcombe, who held a third of a hide in

¹⁹ John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1907), i(2), 117.

²⁰ E.B. Fryde et al. (eds.) *Handbook of British Chronology* (3rd edn.1986), 215.

²¹ Addington, *Abbey of Dorch.* 35f., could not accept the effigy as that of Æschwine. It was formerly on the altar platform at the E. end of the S. nave aisle and was dug up from under the S. nave arcade some time before John Carter's visit in 1792 (B.L. MS Add. 29,931, ff.180, 193-4). See also *V.C.H. Oxon.* vii, 60.

²² J.H. Baker, *The Order of Sergeants at Law* (1984), 70 and Pl.Ia facing, 539. (I am grateful to the author for supplying this reference.) Leland's identification with a Stonor was probably on the basis of three shields still surviving on the tomb-chest which bear the arms [*azure*] two bars dancetty and a chief [*or*]; see A. Morant, *General Armory Two*, ed. C.R. Humphery-Smith (1973), 148. See also Addington, *Abbey of Dorch.* 126ff.

²³ It is shown in its former position in Mackenzie's drawing (Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxon.*, Dorchester Hundred, Pl.5).

²⁴ Also illustrated by Mackenzie, *ibid.*

²⁵ Colour was seen on the arms on the surcoat and on a shield on the tomb-chest in the 16th and 17th centuries (Addington, *Abbey of Dorch.* 129).

²⁶ P.A. Newton and J. Kerr, *The County of Oxford*. . . (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. Great Britain, i, 1979), 86, window s.II, No.2a., and E.A. Greening Lamborn, *The Armorial Glass of the Oxford Diocese* (1949), 123, No.14.

²⁷ Newton and Kerr op. cit. 87 and Greening Lamborn, op. cit. 120f.

²⁸ Greening Lamborn, op. cit. 123, No. 14.

²⁹ Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxon.*, Dorchester Hundred, 7.

Holcombe of the abbot in 1241, and suggests that the effigy may represent him or his heir,³⁰ but this is merely speculation. No arms appear to be recorded for Holcombe before 1620, when the arms *azure a chevron argent between three men's heads in profile couped at the shoulders or wreathed about the temples sable and argent*, were, according to Burke,³¹ recorded in a visitation of Devon. Peter Le Neve's Book of c. 1480–1500³² includes for Holcam *azure two bars wavy (or undée) ermine*.³³ However, neither of these coats bears any resemblance to the arms which appear to have been seen on the Dorchester effigy on two separate occasions.³⁴

The first record is from 1574, when Richard Lee, later Clarenceaux King of Arms, visited Dorchester Abbey and described the tomb as follows: 'A man in armor with a shelde cote in stone lyeng on a square tombe with his fote on a lyon it is thought to be Walouce with a baton'.³⁵ Although the manuscript appears to read Walouce (rather than Walonce or Valence), I have been unable to find any reference to a family of that name and, in view of the later description of the tomb (below), Valence seems most likely to have been intended.³⁶ Secondly, in 1596 or 1597, Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, visited the church and described the tomb thus: 'A crosslegged monument on his arme a sheyld of thirtie bares, and by the spots which in orle wear red I supposed it to be Valence, vizt. barrie with an orle of martlets'.³⁷

Clearly the arms painted on the shield were in a fragmentary state by the time Lee and Charles saw them, but both heralds apparently considered them most likely to be the remains of the arms of Valence, that is *barruly argent and azure an orle of martlets gules*.³⁸ Lee also mentions a baton which, if the arms were those of Valence, was probably a mark of difference.³⁹ Assuming that the two heralds were correct in their identification of the arms on the effigy, the number of male, secular members of the Valence family who could have been commemorated by the monument is limited.

William de Valence came over to England in 1247 at the invitation of his half-brother,

³⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vii, 60.

³¹ E. Burke, *The General Armory*... (1884), 498.

³² A.R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (1950), 109.

³³ J.A. Foster, 'A Tudor Book of Arms being Harleian Manuscript No.6163', *Two Tudor Books of Arms*, de Walden Library (1904), 276, No. 8. Compare also Burke, *Gen. Armory*, 498.

³⁴ The suggestion by Parker that the effigy 'in armour of the thirteenth century' commemorates Lord Segrave (J.H. Parker, *Hist. of Dorchester* (1882), p.xiii) can also be dismissed on heraldic grounds. The 1st and 2nd Lords Segrave (d.1295 and 1325 resp.) were in any case buried at Chaucombe Priory (G.E.C[ockayne], *The Complete Peerage* (1910–1959), xi, 605, 608).

³⁵ Bodl. MS Wood D.14, f.115. The manuscript is a collection of heraldic notes from Oxfordshire, taken down in 1574 when Lee accompanied Robert Cooke, Clarenceaux, on his visitation of the county. It was published by the *Harleian Society* (Visitation Series), v (1871) but, in the passage quoted, 'with his fote on a lyon' (p.109) was confusingly mistranscribed as 'with his scotcheon, a lyon'. The passage was correctly published by Addington (*Abbey of Dorch.* 126) but nothing was made of it.

³⁶ I am grateful to Dr. John Blair for checking the transcription and for his advice on this point.

³⁷ B.L. MS Lansdowne 874, f.144. (I am grateful to Mr. John Goodall for drawing my attention to this evidence.) The notes on Dorchester are undated; the previous entry is dated 1596 and the following 1597. Charles may have accompanied Francis Thynne who visited Dorchester on 9th June 1597 (B.L. MS Sloane 3836, f.14). While completing work on this article I was advised that there is some doubt whether these notes are by Charles, but there was insufficient time to alter the main text accordingly. See also note 132.

³⁸ These arms were borne latterly by William de Valence (d.1296) who added the *orle of martlets* to difference the Lusignan arms: *barruly argent and azure*. Earlier, according to the Mathew Paris Shields (c.1244–1259), he differed his arms with a *label of five points gules, each point charged with three lions passant guardant or* (T.D. Tremlett, H.S. London and A.R. Wagner, *Rolls of Arms of Henry III* (1967), pp.31, 49, 72.).

³⁹ For the use of the bend, bendlet or baston in cadet differencing see R. Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *Heraldic Cadency* (1961), 59–63.

Henry III.⁴⁰ William was the son of Hugh X of Lusignan, Count of La Marche,⁴¹ and younger brother of Hugh XI. Two of his other brothers, Guy and Aymer, came to England with him⁴² and his remaining brother, Geoffrey, arrived later. Whereas William and Aymer took up permanent residence in England, Guy and Geoffrey travelled back and forth between England and the Continent,⁴³ and are much more likely to have been buried in Poitou.⁴⁴ They would in any case have been unlikely to have duplicated William's differencing of the Lusignan arms by an orle of martlets.⁴⁵

Aymer was a cleric, being consecrated Bishop of Winchester in 1260 and dying in Paris in the same year.⁴⁶ His body was buried in Paris and his heart in Winchester Cathedral⁴⁷ where a Purbeck marble demi-effigy survives.⁴⁸ William himself died in 1296 and was buried in Westminster Abbey,⁴⁹ where his chased and enamelled copper effigy survives.⁵⁰ He had only three sons: John who died young in 1276/77 and was buried with his sister Margaret in Westminster Abbey,⁵¹ where their mosaic- and brass-inlaid tomb-slabs survive;⁵² Aymer, William's only surviving son and heir, who became Earl of Pembroke in 1307⁵³ and died in 1324, also being buried in Westminster Abbey⁵⁴ where his tomb and effigy survive;⁵⁵ and William the younger who was killed in a skirmish with the Welsh at Llandeilo in 1282.⁵⁶

William the younger is the only legitimate member of the Valence family likely to have been buried in England whose place of burial is unrecorded.⁵⁷ No arms appear to be recorded for him, but the addition to his father's arms of a 'baton' as described by Lee⁵⁸ would not be an inappropriate mark of difference.⁵⁹ The Valences are not known to have had any special connection with Dorchester Abbey, though their arms were formerly

⁴⁰ *Complete Peerage*, x, 377.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ H.S. Snellgrove, *The Lusignans in England 1247-1258* (University of New Mexico Publications in History, no. 2 (1950)), 29.

⁴⁴ Guy died c.1288 without any lands in England and Geoffrey died in 1275 with scattered holdings in Ireland, Yorkshire and East Anglia. I am grateful to Dr. Huw Ridgeway for supplying this information from his unpublished University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis (1983).

⁴⁵ See note 38. Guy differenced the arms with an orle of six red lions (Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms*, p.32, n. under No.86).

⁴⁶ Fryde, *Handbook*, 276.

⁴⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908-9 edn.), i, 760.

⁴⁸ T. and G. Hollis, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1840-42), pt. 4 (unpaginated). G. Dru Drury, 'Heart Burials and some Purbeck Marble Heart Shrines', *Dorset Nat. Hist. & Antiqu. Field Club Procs.* xlviii (1927) 49 (and Pl. facing), 50 and 53.

⁴⁹ *Complete Peerage*, x, 381.

⁵⁰ C.A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1817-32), 41, 42, and Pls.44, 45. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *London*, i 'Westminster Abbey', 43f. and Pl.78. Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 135 and Pl.105. Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, *passim* and Pl.122.

⁵¹ *Complete Peerage*, x, 382.

⁵² R.C.H.M., *London* i, 27. J.D. Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* [3rd ser.] xvi (1953), 31f. and Pl.VIIa.

⁵³ *Complete Peerage*, x, 383f.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 387.

⁵⁵ Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, 46 and Pls.48, 49. R.C.H.M., *London*, i, 24 and Pls.33, 34. Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 159f.

⁵⁶ *Complete Peerage*, x, 382.

⁵⁷ There remains the possibility of a Valence bastard, but as far as I am aware none is recorded.

⁵⁸ As the painted arms seen by Lee were incomplete it may have been a bendlet.

⁵⁹ See note 39.

included among glass shields in the windows⁶⁰ which probably date from c.1300.⁶¹ Probably their most important holding in the area was at Bampton⁶² (about 18 miles north-west of Dorchester) which William the elder acquired in 1249;⁶³ his son, Aymer, built a lavish manor-house there which he obtained licence to crenellate in 1315.⁶⁴ The Valences also held manors at Crowmarsh Gifford,⁶⁵ Ipsden⁶⁶ and North Morton (Berks.),⁶⁷ though not in demesne.

There is, therefore, some evidence to suggest that the Dorchester effigy may commemorate William Valence the younger who died in 1282, but another possibility deserves examination. The Greys of Rotherfield had their principal manor at Rotherfield Greys,⁶⁸ about 12 miles south-east of Dorchester, and bore the arms: *barry of six argent and azure a bend (or bendlet) gules*.⁶⁹ The bend was almost certainly a mark of cadet difference from *barry argent and azure* borne by the Greys of Codnor who were apparently regarded as the senior line.⁷⁰ The same arms, with *three torteaux in chief* in place of the bend, were mainly used by the Greys of Ruthin.⁷¹ Various minor marks of difference are recorded throughout the several branches of the family, including labels of three and five points⁷² and minor charges on the bend gules.⁷³ It seems possible that the heralds saw the remains of the arms of Grey of Rotherfield and mistook them for Valence. This would explain the reference by Lee to a baton. The orle of spots, seen by Charles, is more difficult to explain, but it is just possible that the ends of the bend had become worn, leaving spots of red. As with the Valences, there is no known connection between the Greys and Dorchester Abbey, but the arms of Grey of Rotherfield were, like those of Valence, included in the glazing of the Abbey Church and still survive.⁷⁴

The earliest member of the family likely to have been commemorated by the Dorchester tomb is Robert de Grey, son of Hawise, and the brother of Walter de Grey, Archbishop of

⁶⁰ Recorded in several sets of church notes, e.g. by Lee in 1574 (*Harl. Soc.* v (1871), 107, No.XX) and by Symmonds in 1644 (B.L. MS Harley 965, p.46).

⁶¹ See note 27.

⁶² *Rotuli Hundredorum* (Rec. Comm. 1818), ii, 689.

⁶³ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, i, 339.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1313-1317*, 278. The manor-house was described and sketched by Anthony Wood in 1664 (A. Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*... ii (Oxf. Hist. soc. xxi, (1892), 21 and Pl.I). Only the west gatehouse and a stretch of curtain wall survive today (Sherwood, *Oxon.* 433).

⁶⁵ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, 774.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 42, 781.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Berks.* iii, 493. I owe this reference and those in notes 62, 63, 65 and 66 to Dr. David Carpenter.

⁶⁸ For the medieval remains of the manor house, now called Greys Court, see Sherwood, *Oxon.* 735f. Fragments of high-quality 13th-century architectural details were found built into a wall in 1985 (pers. comm. Dr. John Blair).

⁶⁹ These arms occur quite frequently in medieval rolls of arms. See e.g. Morant, *General Armory Two*, 75, under Grey of Rotherfield. In the Caerlaverock Poem John de Grey has a bend engrailed (T. Wright, *The Roll of Arms of ... the Siege of Carlaverock*... (1864), 17).

⁷⁰ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 133(n.), 150(n.) and 123(n.) (citing the Caerlaverock Poem). For other examples see J.W. Papworth, *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms*... (1874), 52, 53.

⁷¹ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 151(n.). Papworth, *Dictionary*, 1048f.

⁷² For examples see Morant, *Gen. Armory Two* 75.

⁷³ *Ibid.* *Three martlets or on the bend gules* was formerly in a stained-glass shield in Cogges church with the inscription LE DAME DE GREY (J. Blair and J.M. Steane, 'Investigations at Cogges...' *Oxoniana*, xlvii (1982), 108).

⁷⁴ One shield of the Grey arms has survived (Newton and Kerr, *Corpus Vitrearum, Oxon.* 86, window s.II, No.3b), but two were recorded by Lee in 1574 (*Harl. Soc.* v (1871), 106, No. III and 108, No.XXXIX) and by Symmonds in 1644 (B.L. MS Harley 965, pp.48, 49).

York.⁷⁵ The Archbishop acquired Rotherfield from his kinswoman Eve de Grey,⁷⁶ and settled it on his brother Robert.⁷⁷ Walter was generous in his patronage of others of his kinsmen, several of whom received ecclesiastical preferment in the Cathedral and Diocese of York.⁷⁸ The Rotherfield lands in turn passed to Robert's son Walter,⁷⁹ though the latter granted back a life-interest to the Archbishop in 1246.⁸⁰ Thereafter the lands descended to Sir Walter's son Robert and then to his son John.⁸¹ Robert, son of Hawise, was living on 9 March 1240⁸² and was probably dead by 1 May 1246 when his son Walter received grants of land in Rotherfield and Cornwell from Archbishop Walter.⁸³ Sir Walter was living in March 1264⁸⁴ and was dead by 5 January 1267/8 when his son Robert did homage for his father's lands.⁸⁵ This Robert died 27 May 1295⁸⁶ and his son John died 17 October 1311.⁸⁷ The places of burial of the male, secular members of the family, mentioned above, seem to be unknown,⁸⁸ and the Dorchester tomb might represent any one of them within the range of dates between c.1240 and c.1310 suggested by various authors for the effigy (see below p. 159). Archbishop de Grey had an elaborate tomb with a Purbeck marble effigy in York Minster⁸⁹ and he might well have commissioned a prestigious tomb for his brother Robert.

While the possibility of the Dorchester knight commemorating a de Grey is attractive, a closer examination of the heraldic evidence raises certain difficulties. Nicholas Charles clearly described 'a sheyld of thirtie bares', and it is unlikely that the Grey arms would ever have been depicted with so many horizontal divisions. While it would seem that in the early days of heraldry the terms *barry* (a small number of horizontal strips) and *barruly* (a larger number of horizontal strips)⁹⁰ were evidently interchangeable,⁹¹ it seems that by the second half of the 13th century the distinction was appreciated, at least as far as the arms of Valence and Grey were concerned. The arms of Grey are blazoned as *barry of six* in nearly all rolls of arms from Glover's Roll (c.1253) onwards and on contemporary seals.⁹² The largest number of horizontal strips I have found in medieval blazons or representations of

⁷⁵ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 150f.(n.). The name of Robert's father is not recorded.

⁷⁶ Ibid. A fine of 1246 described Eve as the *consanguinea* of the Archbishop (H.E. Salter, *Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire* (Oxf. Rec. Soc. xii), 131 (No.109)).

⁷⁷ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 150(n.).

⁷⁸ G.E. Aymler and R. Cant, *A History of York Minster* (1977), 47. A number are described as nephews, though the precise meaning of the term is unclear and has been questioned in relation to Walter de Langton, alias de Rotherfield, who became Dean of York (J. Raine, *The Register or Rolls of Walter Grey, Lord Archbishop of York with Appendices of Illustrative Documents* (Surtees Soc. lvi), 214). I am grateful to Miss Sally Badham for these references.

⁷⁹ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 151(n.).

⁸⁰ Salter, *Feet of Fines for Oxon.* 132 (No. 109).

⁸¹ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 144.

⁸² Ibid. 150f.(n.).

⁸³ Ibid. 151(n.).

⁸⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls 1261-1264*, 380.

⁸⁵ *Complete Peerage*, vi, 144.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 145.

⁸⁸ Margaret de Oddingesels, the wife of John de Grey, who probably died in 1330, is probably commemorated by the mid 14th-century tomb and effigy at Cogges (Blair and Steane op. cit. note 73, 94f., 99 and 101 (ills.), 108f.).

⁸⁹ H.G. Ramm et al., 'The Tombs of Walter de Grey . . . and Godfrey de Ludham . . . in York Minster . . .', *Archaeologia*, ciii (1971), 108-120 and Pls. XXVI - XLIII. For the elaborate tomb of his nephew, Dean Walter de Langton, with a cast bronze effigy see S. Badham, 'A Lost Bronze Effigy of 1279 from York Minster', *Antiqu. Jnl.* lx(i) (1980), 59-65.

⁹⁰ J.P. Brooke-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry* (1978), 33.

⁹¹ G.J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (1972), 135.

⁹² Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms*, 50.

the Grey arms is eight. In the earlier of the two examples, Powell's Roll of c.1350, the arms are on banners, the shape of which would invite this treatment.⁹³

The number of horizontal divisions in the arms of Valence seems to have been much more variable, depending largely on the size of the object concerned. The enamel shield held by the effigy of William de Valence on his monument in Westminster Abbey has 28 strips; the two surviving shields on the surcoat of the effigy have either 18 or 19 strips; that on the surviving band of decoration at the base of the tomb-chest apparently has 14 strips; while the Valence shields on the diapers have, on the pillow 10 or 11 strips, and on the tomb-chest between the legs 22 or 24 strips.⁹⁴ A shield on a harness-mount in the British Museum has barry of 12.⁹⁵ The long shield on the Dorchester effigy would easily permit the 30 horizontal strips seen by Charles.⁹⁶

It therefore seems most likely that the arms seen by the heralds on the Dorchester effigy were those of Valence.

THE GLOUCESTER EFFIGY

Opinions on the date of the Dorchester effigy have ranged from as early as the second quarter of the 13th century⁹⁷ to as late as c.1310.⁹⁸ Professor Lawrence Stone summarised the dilemma in pointing out that 'the small lion, long shield, single flat cushion, thin ripple treatment of the surcoat folds, and the very narrow sword-belt, are all old-fashioned features that would appear to preclude a date any later than about 1260. On the other hand, the marked twist of the lower half of the body, the energetic withdrawal of the sword, and the grim facial expression are signs of the romantic movement, which hardly seem possible before the turn of the century'. He labelled his plate 'c.1295-1305'.⁹⁹

Stone considered that 'the chief problem of this effigy is its uniqueness, its failure to conform to any definable school',¹⁰⁰ but he assigned the effigy to the Abingdon workshops. The idea of an Abingdon workshop, centred on the figure of Alexander of Abingdon, was first hinted at by Prior and Gardner, who compared Alexander's statues on the Eleanor Cross at Waltham (Essex) with the effigy of a lady at Aldworth (Berks.).¹⁰¹ Stone assigned all the nine effigies at Aldworth, as well as that at Dorchester, to the Abingdon workshops.¹⁰² The Aldworth effigies, with the possible exception of the lady already

⁹³ J. Greenstreet, 'The Powell Roll of Arms . . .', *Jewitt's Reliquary*, n.s. iv (1890), 97 (Nos. 28, 29). (Elsewhere in the roll the Grey arms are shown on shields as barry of six.) According to the Revised Papworth index-cards (Soc. of Antiqu. of London and Coll. of Arms), barry of eight also occurs in the 15th-century Shirley's Roll, No. 322 (Wagner, *Rolls of Arms*, 125).

⁹⁴ Author's observations, which differ slightly from the illustrations by Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, Pls 44, 45. The counting of strips is difficult on the smaller shields because of rivets.

⁹⁵ B.M. Dept. Med. and Later Antiquities, Acc. No. 1947, 10-7, 1.

⁹⁶ Charles's description of the arms (see p. 155) is contradictory in terms of modern blazon but must mean barry of thirty; the 61 horizontal strips strictly required for thirty bars would be absurd.

⁹⁷ Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 56, who says it can be no later than this for stylistic reasons.

⁹⁸ E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (1912), 649; Crossley, *Church Monuments*, 180; A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (1951), 209; P. Brieger, *English Art 1216-1307* (1957), 205. Other dates given include: 1230-40 (K. Bauch, *Das Mittelalterliche Grabbild . . .* (1976), 130); c.1260 (H.W. Janson, *A History of Art . . .* (2nd edn., 1977), 313, Fig. 425, and J.W. Hurtig, *The Armored Gisant before 1400* (1979), 137); c.1280 (T.S.R. Boase, *Propyläen Kunst. Mittelalter II*, 168; Sherwood Oxon. 581); late 13th-century (Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 137).

⁹⁹ L. Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 150 and Pl. 115.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Prior and Gardner, *Med. Fig. Sculpt.* 348f., Figs. 395, 396. Repeated by Gardner, *Med. Sculpt.*, 167.

¹⁰² Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 167.

mentioned, probably date from the second quarter of the 14th century, or slightly later.¹⁰³ With one possible exception (see below p. 170) they are not comparable with the Dorchester knight. Although it has been suggested that a 'permanent works department' may have been maintained by Abingdon Abbey,¹⁰⁴ this does not seem sufficient evidence in itself for the attribution of the Dorchester and Aldworth effigies to its workshops, and, in any case, the closest parallels for the latter are with sculpture in Devon.¹⁰⁵

The quality of the Dorchester effigy is such as to prompt a search for stylistically similar sculpture elsewhere which might have emanated from the same source. There is one outstanding comparison which, until comparatively recently, had gone largely unnoticed by authors on the subject.¹⁰⁶ This is the wooden effigy, attributed to Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, now in the centre of the presbytery of Gloucester Cathedral¹⁰⁷ (Figs. 2, 4 and 6). Robert, the rather tragic eldest son of William the Conqueror, was twice passed over in the succession to the English crown in favour of his brothers William Rufus and Henry I. He died imprisoned in Cardiff Castle in 1134¹⁰⁸ and was buried before the high altar at Gloucester.¹⁰⁹ His effigy, which has been variously dated between c. 1240 and c. 1290,¹¹⁰ was obviously made long after his death. It is not absolutely certain that the effigy commemorates Robert, and one author at least has expressed doubts.¹¹¹ However, it is very likely that Leland was recording a pre-Reformation attribution when he wrote 'Robert Courthose, sonne to William Conquerar, lyeth in the middle of the presbiterie. There is on his tombe an image of wood painted, made longe since his death'.¹¹²

¹⁰³ Robin Emmerson has argued (in an unpublished lecture) that most if not all of the Aldworth effigies were made at one time, and probably in conjunction with a chantry foundation in the 1350s (summarised by J. Blair, 'The first Monumental Effigies Symposium', *Mon. Brass Soc. Bulletin*, 20, p. 17).

¹⁰⁴ E.M. Jope, 'Abingdon Abbey Craftsmen and Building Stone Supplies', *Berks. Arch. Jnl.* li (1948-9), 53 (cited by Stone, op. cit. 256(n.69)).

¹⁰⁵ An effigy at Ottery St. Mary and figures on the external west screen of Exeter Cathedral (Emmerson/Blair, op. cit. note 103, 17).

¹⁰⁶ Although the comparison apparently escaped more specialist authors, the Marquis of Bute, in 1871, perceptively described the attitude of the Gloucester effigy as 'violent, and . . . exactly the same' as that at Dorchester ('Address upon the History of Cardiff and the Surrounding District', *Arch. Jnl.* xxviii, 262). Since the research on which this article is based was carried out, Dr. Judith W. Hurtig has published her similar conclusions (Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 132ff.). Dr. Harry Tummers also discusses the effigies together (Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, *passim*).

¹⁰⁷ Leland's description (see below) almost certainly locates the monument here, as well as the burial; likewise a herald's description, probably of 1569 (College of Arms MS I.C.B. No. 70. f.49). Sometime between the roughly contemporary descriptions by Francis Sandford (*A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England*. . . (2nd edn., 1707), 15f. (first publ. 1677) and Thomas Dingley (*History from Marble*, i (Camden Soc. xciv), 73), and John Sanders's drawing of 1786 (Society of Antiquaries of London, Red Portfolios, Glos, i, 23; published in *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski (1987), Cat. No. 390) it had been moved to the north-east chapel off the ambulatory. By 1924 it had returned to the presbytery (A.C. Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales* (1924), 82). It will shortly be moved to the S. ambulatory.

¹⁰⁸ *D.N.B.* xvi, 1241.

¹⁰⁹ W.H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (Rolls Series xxxiii(i)), 1863, 15. Henry I endowed a perpetual light to burn before the high altar for Robert's soul (Ibid. 110f.).

¹¹⁰ 'Hardly later than 1240' (by A. Hartshorne in A.H. Church et al., *Some Minor Arts as practised in England* (1894), 59); c. 1250 (I.M. Roper, *The Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol* (1931), 231, and P. Tudor-Craig in *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No. 2); c. 1260 (Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 137); 1275-1300 (Boase, *Propyläen Kunst. Mittelalter II*, 168); c. 1280-90 (A.C. Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies by Bristol Craftsmen 1240-1550', *Archaeologia*, lxxiv (1923-4), 23f., 59f., and Fryer, *Wooden Effigies*, 82); c. 1290 (Prior and Gardner, *Med. Fig. Sculpt.*, 665, Crossley, *Church Monuments*, 209, and Brieger, *English Art*, 205); 'late 13th century' (Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 137).

¹¹¹ J. Hewitt in C.A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. . . (2nd edn., 1876), 44.

¹¹² Leland, *Itinerary*, ii, 60.

The effigy was broken up by the Parliamentary soldiers in 1643, but the pieces were bought by Sir Humphrey Tracy of Stanway who, after the Restoration, reassembled them and 'repaired and beautified [them] with gold and colours'.¹¹³ The problem of assessing the effigy lies in determining the extent of the restoration carried out at that time, and a degree of doubt must necessarily attach to any opinions expressed, in the absence of technical analysis below the painted surface. However, if substantial new portions were added to make good the damage, the work was done extremely competently. Apart from any comparisons with similar effigies elsewhere, the details of much of the sculpture and the whole spirit of the piece appear so authentically medieval as to make it highly unlikely that the whole is a 17th-century imitation as suggested by Aron Andersson.¹¹⁴

The breaks now visible, some joined by iron cramps, are as follows:¹¹⁵ round the neck, taking in part of the figure's left shoulder; from the centre of the neck running diagonally across the body to the right thigh; on the right arm (across the back of the hand, across the centre of the forearm, at the elbow and just below the shoulder); across the toes of the right foot (the toes are probably a replacement); on the left leg (diagonally across the shins and up the back of the knee and a parallel crack across the knee).¹¹⁶ The following portions are definitely post-restoration: the revolving rowel spurs,¹¹⁷ the lower part of the scabbard, and the cushion with its corded edge and tassels. There is some doubt about the date of the crown,¹¹⁸ but it is clearly not contemporary with the effigy; and the tomb-chest¹¹⁹ and grille¹²⁰ are obviously also later. That the effigy originally had a shield is clearly indicated by the guige, which, as on the Dorchester effigy, ends abruptly by the arm-hole of the surcoat. The rough surface along part of the left forearm is probably caused by wood-rot but may be associated with the attachment of the shield. The feet would originally have rested on a beast of some sort, probably a lion, and the pillow would almost certainly have been flatter, causing the head to lie closer to the tomb-chest; in other words the whole figure would have originally been tilted further back than it is now. The present cushion is unusually high, even for late pre-Reformation effigies, and an examination of the underside of the effigy shows that the line of the back slopes upwards from the tomb-chest towards the head, leaving a gap under the shoulders.

The effigy is now painted as follows: red for the surcoat; grey for the mail; black for the

¹¹³ Sandford, *Geneal. Hist.* 16.

¹¹⁴ Aron Andersson, *English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood* (1949), 70 (n.5).

¹¹⁵ This information is based on a visit in 1976.

¹¹⁶ A mid 19th-century photograph and a print of 1856 show the left leg missing from the mid-calf (P. Tudor-Craig in *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No.2).

¹¹⁷ The spurs are typically 17th-century in style. One was restored c.1924 (H.D.M. Spence-Jones, *Gloucester Cathedral, a Handbook* (1924), 49).

¹¹⁸ Roper considered that 'the top of the head which does not show links of mail is of modern workmanship as well as the coronet' (Roper, *Effigies of Glos.* 235). Fryer thought that, if the coronet had been replaced at the Restoration, it would have had eight strawberry leaves only (Fryer, 'Bristol Craftsmen', 24).

¹¹⁹ The tomb-chest, dated to c.1500 (Tudor-Craig in *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No.2), was last repainted in 1791 (see note 121). The arms of the Nine Worthies were on the tomb-chest before the Civil War (Coll. of Arms MS I.C.B. No.70, f.49 and B.L. MS Lansdowne 874, f.88) but, at the Restoration, those at the foot end were painted to France modern quartering England (Sandford, *Geneal. Hist.* 15). This shield formerly repeated the arms at the head end, which were those attributed to Godfrey of Boulogne as King of Jerusalem (J.G. Nichols (?), 'The Arms of the Nine Worthies and the Tomb of Robert Duke of Normandy' *Herald and Genealogist*, i (1863), 175-82) and, according to the College of Arms and British Library drawings, a smaller shield of the same arms was painted on the top of the head. The precise significance is obscure, but it is worth noting that Robert is said to have been offered the kingdom of Jerusalem before it was accepted by Godfrey (*D.N.B.* xvi, 1239).

¹²⁰ 'A wire screen in the form of an arch' was added at the Restoration (Sandford, *Geneal. Hist.* 16) but the drawing by Dingley (*Hist. from Marble*, i, 73) shows a much more elaborate structure than the present grille.

guige, sword-belt, scabbard and spur straps; gold for the sword-hilt and chape, the spurs and their buckles, the crown, and the edges of the guige and sword belt; and natural colours for the face. This colour probably dates from 1791,¹²¹ but, with the exception of the arms on the surcoat (see below), it closely follows that shown in John Sanders's drawing of 1786.¹²²

The head now looks straight up, whereas that of the Dorchester figure is turned slightly to its right, and the twist of the body below the waist is less immediately obvious than at Dorchester. However, these dissimilarities would be less marked if the effigy had originally lain further over on its right side.¹²³ The approximate effect of this can be seen in Fig. 2 which is taken from above and slightly from the figure's left, and makes a close comparison with the view of the Dorchester effigy taken from directly above (Fig. 1). The feet of the Gloucester figure are further apart than at Dorchester, and any supporting lion would have had to be longer than its stone counterpart. However, the position of the legs in relation to the body and each other is just the sort of distortion that might result from the effigy being broken up and repaired after an interval of nearly twenty years.¹²⁴ This probably also explains the somewhat curious position of the arms, though, if the hands are original,¹²⁵ they clearly never gripped the sword and scabbard in the energetic manner of the Dorchester knight.

There are two drawings of the monument before the damage occurred but unfortunately neither is really accurate enough to draw any firm conclusions about the extent of restoration. The first is in a book of church notes in the hand of Robert Cooke, Clarenceaux King of Arms, which are dated by a later inscription to 1569 (when Cooke carried out a visitation of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire).¹²⁶ If the drawing is not a copy (see below), it was probably worked up afterwards from sketches made on site which would explain the curious way in which the guige has been made to join the sword-belt in the manner of a Sam Browne. The gamboised cuisses now covering the knees are omitted and the legs are shown as crossing lower down than on the effigy today, but, for all these differences, there is sufficient similarity in the general feeling and in certain details of the drawing compared with the surviving effigy to make it fairly unlikely that Cooke was looking at something very different from what we see today. Particularly interesting is the similarity with the present figure of the awkwardness of the position of the arms and hands in relation to the sword. The sword-hilt has (rather long) quillons which curve slightly towards the pommel and have inward-turned ends; the quillons of the sword now on the effigy are similarly shaped but, as is more usual, curve towards the blade. Cooke's inclusion, in his drawing, of spurs with rowels is discussed below (p. 166).

The second drawing, which is included in undated notes attributed to Nicholas Charles,¹²⁷ Lancaster Herald (d.1613),¹²⁸ has been cited in earlier publications.¹²⁹

¹²¹ The chest has the inscription 'Wm. Davidson pinxit 1791'; the paint on the effigy is probably contemporary.

¹²² See note 107.

¹²³ Though, in the effigy's present state, this would cause the left knee to rise off the 'slab'.

¹²⁴ Though Cooke's drawing (see below) also shows a wide gap between the feet.

¹²⁵ Hurtig considered that the hand and lower arm (unspecified, but probably the right, below the break) are not original (Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 133).

¹²⁶ College of Arms MS L.C.B. No.70, f.49. I am grateful to Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig for this reference and to her and Miss Henrietta Harris for allowing me to see relevant entries in *The Age of Chivalry* exhib. cat. prior to publication. Thanks are also due to Mr. Robert Yorke and to several others of the staff of the College for locating the relevant manuscript and arranging access at short notice, and for helpful advice.

¹²⁷ B.L. MS Lansdowne 874, f.88.

¹²⁸ Godfrey, *Coll. of Arms*, 136.

¹²⁹ Roper, *Effigies of Glouc.* 234. Nicholls, 'Nine Worthies', 176.

However, it and two other drawings in the same manuscript¹³⁰ are so close to drawings of the same monuments in Cooke's notebook¹³¹ that either Charles must have copied from Cooke, or both copied from an earlier source.¹³²

Both heralds show, on the surcoat, *gules two lions passant guardant or* (though Cooke omits the tinctures). Two lions passant are shown on John Sanders's drawing of 1786,¹³³ but the earlier post-restoration drawings by Sandford and Dingley show the surcoat also powdered with roses.¹³⁴

Besides the pose, there are a number of similarities between the Gloucester and Dorchester effigies. These include the manner in which the mail is carved (compare Figs. 5 and 6) and the way in which the lines separating the rows of mail run along rather than around the arms, possibly indicating manufacture by someone working or trained in the west of England.¹³⁵ Allowing for the presence of the coronet, the general shape of the Gloucester head is similar to that at Dorchester, and the ventail is clearly shown in both cases on the right side. Also similar is the narrow fillet interlaced through the mail across the top of the brow, by means of which the ventail is secured. Just below the coronet on the Gloucester figure the outline widens slightly, suggesting that the top of the head would originally have had the somewhat bulbous shape of the Dorchester effigy.

Both figures have similar surcoats with arm-holes with V-shaped lower edges and slightly raised upper edges. In both cases the surcoat falls in generous folds on the right side. The drapery of the Gloucester knight appears less deeply cut than at Dorchester, and the motif of the small cul-de-sac hollows is harder to detect, but this may be due to restoration or to the surface having become smoothed with wear or clogged with paint. The drapery on the chest of the Dorchester figure falls in loops, while that on the Gloucester effigy employs straight, vertical lines. However, the general appearance of the drapery with its sensuous rippling folds over the body and more energetic folds where it falls onto the slab is similar on both figures. The underside of the drawers, seen between the legs, is similarly represented on both effigies,¹³⁶ as are the sword-belts, guiges, gamboised cuisses and spurs (excluding the 17th-century-style necks and rowels at Gloucester).

The face of the Gloucester effigy, with its somewhat naturalistic appearance (Fig. 6), has worried at least one author.¹³⁷ The expression is certainly softer than that at Dorchester. At Gloucester the brow is furrowed with two grooves forming a V above the bridge of the nose, whereas the forehead of the Dorchester knight has several worry-lines

¹³⁰ F.102 – an effigy of a Berkeley knight in the Temple Church, Bristol (apparently now lost), and f.109 – the effigy, with canopy, of Edward, Lord Despencer in Tewkesbury Abbey (Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, Pl.137).

¹³¹ Coll. of Arms MS I.C.B. No.70, ff.48 and 46 resp.

¹³² These are the only three drawings of monuments in Cooke's notebook, and their relative proximity compared with the positions of the equivalent drawings in Charles's notes makes it doubtful that the latter are copied from the former. However, Lansdowne 874 is a complex manuscript with notes and additions in later hands, and the order of the pages has probably been disturbed during rebindings.

¹³³ See note 107.

¹³⁴ See note 107. The drawing by Thomas Kerrich (B.L. MS Add. 6730, f.21) cited by Fryer ('Bristol Craftsmen', 59f., and *Wooden Effigies*, 83), and by Roper (*Effigies of Glos.* 234) is stated by Kerrich to be copied from Sandford.

¹³⁵ Though this feature cannot be taken as evidence of manufacture in a Bristol workshop or under Bristol influence as suggested by Fryer ('Bristol Craftsmen', 27 and *passim*). See also Andersson, *Eng. Influence*, 46ff., and Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 66f.

¹³⁶ The same feature is shown in a drawing of a kneeling knight, c.1250–60, in the Westminster Psalter, B.L. MS Royal 2A XXII, f.220 (repr. in V. Norman, *Arms and Armour* (1964), 21, Fig.20); and in the Maciejowski Bible (New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS 638), ff.18r and 35v (S.C. Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures* (London n.d.), Nos.121, 215 and 216).

¹³⁷ Andersson, *Eng. Influence*, 70 (n.5). The naturalistic appearance is probably accentuated by the paint.

merely incised into the surface. Both effigies have moustaches, but this feature occurs on a number of other effigies. It is possible that the Gloucester face might have suffered more at the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers than other parts of the figure, necessitating more extensive restoration. The nose would have been the feature most likely to suffer damage, but no join can now be detected between it and the rest of the face. The nose is slightly hooked, but Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig has cited similarly-shaped noses on the knightly figures of the West front of Wells Cathedral.¹³⁸ In addition to the possibility of restoration of the face of the Gloucester effigy, comparison with the face of the Dorchester knight is made even more difficult by the damage to the latter. Stone described the Dorchester face as having 'an expression of iron determination, achieved by deeply sunken inner corners to the eyes, a pug nose, and a wide, thick-lipped mouth forming a smooth arc turning down and inwards at the corners' (Fig. 5).¹³⁹ The description is evocative but the reference to a pug nose is misleading; it is simply broken off, exposing the ends of the two preliminary drill holes for the nostrils. In 1975 the Vicar of Dorchester kindly gave me permission to build a temporary wax nose on the effigy and the improvement in the overall appearance can be seen by comparing Figs. 1 and 5.

The Gloucester effigy is about 30cm. (12in.) shorter than its Dorchester counterpart, and measures 175cm. (67.75in.) from the right toe to the top of the coronet. The greatest vertical height (at the right elbow) is about 36cm. (14.25in.).

If the Gloucester figure is accepted as, for the most part, authentic, there are sufficient similarities between the two effigies to assign both to the same workshop and to make it probable that they were executed by or under the close supervision of the same sculptor, who was clearly an artist of considerable talent and technical skill.¹⁴⁰

While I have found no obvious occasion or event in the 13th century which might explain the commissioning of an effigy of Robert of Normandy, there are two possible reasons for its erection. Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig has suggested that it may have been made in support of Henry III's claims to the duchy and, if so, before he relinquished his claims in 1259 on sealing the Treaty of Paris.¹⁴¹ Secular monumental effigies only began to appear in any numbers during the 13th century, and Henry III, who was later to establish a royal mausoleum at Westminster Abbey, may have been concerned to ensure that past members of his family were properly commemorated. In 1252-53 Henry commissioned a marble effigy of his sister Joan (wife of Alexander II of Scotland)¹⁴² to be placed on the marble tomb which had been erected at Tarrant Nunnery (Dorset) on her death in 1238.¹⁴³ Sadly, neither the tomb nor the effigy now appears to survive.¹⁴⁴ In 1254, when Henry visited France for the first time, he went to Paris via the Abbey of Fontevraud,¹⁴⁵ where his uncle,

¹³⁸ *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No.2.

¹³⁹ Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 150.

¹⁴⁰ In the early 15th century Robert Brown, carver, was paid for works in both wood and stone (J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects. A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (2nd edn. 1984), 36.).

¹⁴¹ *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No. 2. F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (1953), 126f.

¹⁴² *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1251-1260*, 91, 138. *V.C.H. Dorset*, II, 334(n.29) also mentions a payment of 100s. for making and transporting the effigy, citing Pipe Roll 38 Hen.III(1253-4), membrane 9; but a search kindly undertaken by Dr. John Blair failed to locate the original entry.

¹⁴³ *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1226-1240*, 316. The tomb was made by Elias of Dereham at Salisbury.

¹⁴⁴ Prior and Gardner, *Med. Fig. Sculpt.* 570(n.1) tantalizingly refer to a coffin having been laid bare on the site of the abbey 'and a marble head found which may possibly be that of this very effigy', but enquiries in 1978 failed to locate either. Two 13th-century tapered Purbeck marble slabs (one with a cross) flank the altar in the nearby church of Tarrant Crawford (D.I. Findlay, Council for the Care of Churches Pastoral Measure Report 1302 (1985), 5).

¹⁴⁵ F.M. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* (1947), 240.

Richard I, his grandfather, Henry II, and his grandmother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, all lay buried, and commemorated by effigies which were probably made in the early 13th century.¹⁴⁶ While Henry was there the body of his mother, Isabella of Angoulême, was transferred to the church from the cemetery where she had originally been buried.¹⁴⁷ A wooden effigy, which is generally similar to the three stone effigies already mentioned, has been attributed to her but cannot be firmly identified.¹⁴⁸

Circa 1263–4 or c. 1267 Louis IX of France commissioned sixteen retrospective effigies for kings of France who had died between the mid 6th and mid 12th centuries.¹⁴⁹ Henry III visited France again in 1259 for the sealing of the Treaty of Paris, and again in 1262 by which time Louis may already have been planning his 'gallery of kings'. But the latter visit was clearly not the happy domestic reunion of 1254;¹⁵⁰ and residual problems arising from the Treaty of Paris, the dispute with Simon de Montfort, and an epidemic which afflicted Henry and a large part of his court,¹⁵¹ would not have been conducive to the discussion of monuments.

Evidence for earlier tomb patronage by Henry is probably to be seen in the Purbeck marble effigy of his father, King John, at Worcester Cathedral, which is normally dated somewhat later than his death in 1216.¹⁵² It may well have been made when his body was placed in a new sarcophagus in 1232.¹⁵³ Henry must have been involved in some way with the transfer of the body, and very probably commissioned the effigy himself. Henry III was in Gloucester on a number of occasions,¹⁵⁴ including 1265 when he was taken there to recover after the Battle of Evesham and stayed three weeks.¹⁵⁵ It is not impossible that he may have turned his mind, during his stay, to the commissioning of a monument to Robert, since by the time he moved on to Marlborough Castle he was sufficiently recovered to order an image of St. Nicholas for the castle chapel and the renovation of a picture above the altar.¹⁵⁶

There are, therefore, several possible scenarios for the erection of an effigy to Robert of Normandy in the late 1250s or 1260s.

ARMS AND ARMOUR

Before sculptural parallels are considered, the evidence of the armour and of the Dorchester tomb-chest will be examined. Armour developed little during the 13th century and the chronology of the developments that did take place is far from clear. The shield of the Dorchester knight is fairly large and flat-topped; but, as stated by Tummers, while there is a tendency for longer shields to be earlier than shorter examples, no strict chronology can

¹⁴⁶ W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* (English edn., 1972), 448–9 and Pl. 142.

¹⁴⁷ Powicke, *Henry and Edward*, 240.

¹⁴⁸ Sauerländer, op. cit. 449.

¹⁴⁹ A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort...* (Geneva, 1975), 81ff. and Pls. XXXV–XLII.

¹⁵⁰ Powicke, *Henry and Edward*, 240f.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. 427–30.

¹⁵² E.g. c. 1240 (Prior and Gardner, *Med. Fig. Sculpt.* 580, Fig. 655); 1225–30 (Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 147 and Pl. 172).

¹⁵³ H.R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series xxxvi(i), 1864), 84. Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 116 and Pl. 87.

¹⁵⁴ Powicke, *Henry and Edward*, *passim*.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 503.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

be laid down.¹⁵⁷ The predominant form of protection throughout the century was the mail hauberk with attached coif and separate chausses for the legs. A considerable amount of evidence can be gleaned from the Maciejowski Bible Picture Book, usually thought to have been produced in France c.1250–60.¹⁵⁸ This manuscript shows armour similar to that on the effigies under discussion, including the quilted knee and thigh defences or gamboised cuisses which were worn under or over the chausses from not later than the second quarter of the 13th century.¹⁵⁹ The armour would, therefore, permit any date within the range suggested by the various authors for the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies.

As already mentioned, the necks and rowels of the Gloucester spurs are post-Civil War restorations. The two heralds' drawings show rowel spurs¹⁶⁰ and, if accurate, might indicate an original feature.¹⁶¹ (The goads of the spurs at Dorchester are missing.) The sides of the spurs on both effigies are deeply curved. The strap passes through a slot on the inner terminal and, at Dorchester, is fastened to rings on the outer terminal. Unfortunately all these features are found throughout the period suggested by various authors for the effigies¹⁶² and will not, therefore, assist in further narrowing their dating.

The sword hilt on the Gloucester effigy does not look like a 17th-century replacement and, along with the upper part of the scabbard, may well be original. Quillons curving towards the blade are found as early as the Viking period.¹⁶³ Curved quillons with the centre swelling on the side towards the blade occur as early as c.1250,¹⁶⁴ and curved quillons with inward-turned ends are seen on an incised slab at Jerpoint Abbey (Co. Kilkenny, Eire) which Greenhill dates to c.1270,¹⁶⁵ and in the Maciejowski Bible of c.1250–60.¹⁶⁶ The lobed pommel, a feature also found on Viking swords,¹⁶⁷ is stated by Oakeshott to occur 'with some frequency on monuments in northern England and southern Scotland dating between c.1250 and 1350 . . . as well as [on] a number of . . . grave slabs in Westmorland and on one in Yorkshire'.¹⁶⁸ However, one must be wary of attempting to date one monument on the evidence of others, the dates of which cannot themselves be supported by firm identifications.

THE DORCHESTER TOMB-CHEST

The tomb-chest (for dimensions see p. 153) is shown clearly in the earlier illustrations,¹⁶⁹ and there is no reason to think that it is not medieval. It fits the effigy slab so well that it

¹⁵⁷ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 77. See also Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 250 (n.14).

¹⁵⁸ New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS 638 (Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures*, No.21 and *passim*).

¹⁵⁹ C. Blair, *European Armour* (1958), 34f.

¹⁶⁰ See notes 126, 127.

¹⁶¹ They may, of course, be earlier restorations.

¹⁶² B.M.A. Ellis in *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No.166. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to see her text before publication.

¹⁶³ R.E.M. Wheeler, *London and the Vikings* (London Museum Catalogues no.1, 1927), 31, Fig. 13.

¹⁶⁴ In Matthew Paris's illustrations of the Life of St. Alban (R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200–1500* (1981), Pl.6); on a roof boss in Westminster Abbey (D. Carpenter, 'Westminster Abbey: some Characteristics of its Sculpture 1245–59', *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assn.* 3rd ser. xxxv (1972), Pl.I, Fig.3); and on daggers in the Maciejowski Bible (Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures*, No.222 (f.36v) and No.180 (f.29v)).

¹⁶⁵ F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial slabs* . . . , ii, 41f. and Pl.44c.

¹⁶⁶ Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures*, e.g. Nos. 82 and 237 (ff.12r and 39r resp.).

¹⁶⁷ Wheeler, op. cit. 32, Fig.13.

¹⁶⁸ R.E. Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (2nd edn., 1981), 97f. (pommel type M).

¹⁶⁹ See note 17. Also sketch by J. Carter of 1792 (B.L. MS Add. 29,931, f.198).

must have been made for it, although it is in a coarser stone. (The slab, which has a uniform chamfer all around except where it is interrupted by the shield and the trailing end of the surcoat, is unlikely to have been trimmed.)

The chest has mouldings around its top and base (Figs. 3 and 9). The latter is too simple to assist with dating, but the former is more elaborate, comprising a scroll with an ogree underside, a roughly semi-circular roll, a quarter hollow-chamfer followed by a beak, and finishing with another half-roll. Dr. Richard Morris has been kind enough to advise me that the distinctive feature is the beak moulding used in this context, where a second scroll would be more usual. Nothing closely comparable has yet been found¹⁷⁰ but a much more thorough search is needed before any firm conclusions can be drawn on the date. All that can, very tentatively, be said at present is that the overall date-span is probably c.1250–1325, with a most likely date of between c.1275 and c.1300.¹⁷¹ If the tomb-chest is contemporary with the effigy, it may suggest a date later rather than earlier in the range of dates suggested for the effigy (see p. 159); it would also add to the very small number of early secular effigies which rest on their original chests.¹⁷²

FURTHER STYLISTIC COMPARISONS

Leaving aside for the moment the dynamic composition of the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies, other features tend to indicate an early date (as pointed out by Stone). The drapery of the Dorchester figure, with its deep loops across the chest (Fig. 1) and over the right thigh,¹⁷³ is broadly comparable with that on the effigy of William Longspée, now under the south nave arcade of Salisbury Cathedral.¹⁷⁴ The manner in which the end of the surcoat is allowed to trail over the edge of the slab on the figure's right side is also similar, as are the plain sword-belt and guige, and the lack of a waist-belt or cord round the surcoat. Longspée died in 1226¹⁷⁵ and was buried in the Lady Chapel of the new cathedral at Salisbury,¹⁷⁶ which was completed in the 1230s. His effigy and its tomb-chest, which were moved from the Lady Chapel by Wyatt in 1789,¹⁷⁷ are normally dated c.1230–40¹⁷⁸ but need not necessarily be much later than his death.¹⁷⁹

As several authors have pointed out, Longspée's effigy and other similar ones in the south-west relate to the military figures on the west front of Wells Cathedral,¹⁸⁰ the majority of the sculpture of which is generally thought to have been completed by c.

¹⁷⁰ Addington's illustrations show beaks in conjunction with scrolls with simple recessed curves on their undersides on the outside and inside of one of the window arches in each of the north and south choir aisles respectively. (*Abbey of Dorch.* 18, 27). On the north side the beak faces the scroll, from which it is separated by a hollow chamfer; on the south side of the beak is one of a pair flanking a filleted roll.

¹⁷¹ I am grateful to Dr. Richard Morris (University of Warwick) for his opinion on this at short notice, but he stresses the need for a much more thorough search for comparable mouldings before any firm conclusions can be reached.

¹⁷² Excluding this chest and five in Westminster Abbey, Tummers found only three 13th-century secular effigies on original chests (Tummers *Secular Effigies*, 28).

¹⁷³ Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, Pl. 211.

¹⁷⁴ Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, Pls. 17, 18.

¹⁷⁵ *Complete Peerage*, xi, 381.

¹⁷⁶ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Wiltshire* (2nd ed. 1975), 390.

¹⁷⁷ Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 251 (n.15).

¹⁷⁸ E.g. by Stone, *ibid.* 115 and Pl. 88, and Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 79, 141 (No. 106); c.1240 by Prior & Gardner, *Med. Fig. Sculpt.* 607, and Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 112.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Andersson, *English Influence*, 48 – shortly after his death, 'but hardly later'.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.* 306; Stone, *op. cit.* 115, Hurtig, *op. cit.* 112; Tummers, *op. cit.* 79–81.

1250–60.¹⁸¹ The surcoat of statue Colchester No.145,¹⁸² for example, exhibits both the straight, vertical folds over the chest, as seen on the Gloucester effigy, and the looped folds over the right thigh seen at Dorchester.

Drapery similar to that on the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies also occurs on the figural bosses of the Lady Chapel, choir and eastern transept of Worcester Cathedral.¹⁸³ The complete covering of paint on the bosses makes it impossible to know the extent of 19th-century restorations or recutting, but notes and drawings of two of the bosses by Charles Wild, published in 1823,¹⁸⁴ suggest that the severe doubts cast by Cave were probably unjustified.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately the bosses cannot be firmly dated. Even if it is assumed that the bulk of the building work on the new east end, begun in 1224,¹⁸⁶ was complete by 1232 when King John's body was moved,¹⁸⁷ the vault need not necessarily have been finished.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, a date of c.1240 and no later than 1250 seems probable.

Comparisons can also be made with the sculptures of Henry III's 'first work' at Westminster Abbey of between 1245 and 1259,¹⁸⁹ though the drapery of some of the figures uses rather flat-fronted folds, not seen on the sculptures already cited.¹⁹⁰ Also, the Abbey sculptures appear generally more relaxed in attitude than the Worcester bosses or the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies. This is apparent even in the mythical combat scenes on the splendid bosses of the recess in the muniment room, where the depiction of physical exertion seems to rely more on facial expression than bodily tension.¹⁹¹ The furrowed brow motif, employed on these and other sculptures in the Abbey,¹⁹² is hinted at by the face of the Gloucester effigy (Fig. 6).

Other well-known sculptures of similar date have also been compared with the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies.¹⁹³ The point of these comparisons is not to suggest any workshop link in their manufacture but, rather, to show that the stylistic comparisons for features on the Dorchester and Gloucester knights, other than the dynamic pose, tend to be with pieces normally dated to the second quarter of the 13th century or, at the latest, c.1260.

There is one piece of sculpture which bears rather closer comparison with the Dorchester effigy and, to a lesser extent, with that at Gloucester. This is the roof boss depicting Samson wrestling with the lion, now on display in the site museum at Hailes Abbey (Glos.) which was founded in 1246¹⁹⁴ (Figs. 7 and 8). The boss was found in the

¹⁸¹ See e.g. Prior and Gardner, op. cit. 299; Stone, op. cit. 110; P. Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture' in *Wells Cathedral* . . . , ed. L.S. Colchester (1982), 114.

¹⁸² L. Colchester, *Wells W. Front*, 6. 111. Prior and Gardner, op. cit. 308, Fig.335 (right).

¹⁸³ C.J.P. Cave, 'The Roof Bosses of Worcester Cathedral', *Trans. Worcs. Archaeol. Soc.* new ser. xi (1934), Pls.I, II (Figs.1–3).

¹⁸⁴ C. Wild, *An Illustration of the Architecture and Sculpture of the Cathedral Church of Worcester* (1823), 11 and Pl.VII (Figs.7–9).

¹⁸⁵ Cave, op. cit. 76.

¹⁸⁶ B. Singleton, 'The Remodelling of the East End of Worcester Cathedral in the Earlier Part of the Thirteenth Century', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* (Brit. Arch. Soc. Conf. Trans. i, 1978), 107.

¹⁸⁷ *Annales Monastici*, i, 84.

¹⁸⁸ Singleton, op. cit. 108, 114(n.24).

¹⁸⁹ D. Carpenter, 'Westminster Abbey', 1–14.

¹⁹⁰ Most noticeable on the south transept censing angels and the muniment room bosses (Ibid. Pls.I, III (Fig.14)).

¹⁹¹ Ibid. Pl.I (Figs.3,4), Pl.III (Fig.14).

¹⁹² Ibid. 6.

¹⁹³ The headless stone statue at Winchester Cathedral and the figure of Ecclesia on the Judgement porch at Lincoln Cathedral in Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 134 and Pl.197, and 136 and Pl.216 resp.

¹⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Glos.* ii (1907), 96. For a discussion of the boss by P. Tudor-Craig see *Age of Chivalry*, Cat. No.289.

ruins of the chapter house, along with two foliage bosses of similar size and three more of smaller size,¹⁹⁵ during excavations begun in 1899–90.¹⁹⁶ The date of completion of the chapter house is not recorded, but it was probably soon after 1251, when the church cloister, dorter and frater were finished.¹⁹⁷

The faces of the figure on the boss and the Dorchester effigy display the same flat forehead incised with a few worry-lines, and eyes with deeply sunken inner corners, highly arched upper lids and almost straight lower lids which are drawn down at their outer ends (Figs. 5 and 8). The lions on the boss and at the feet of the effigy both have eyes of the same shape as the figures, and their paws are also similarly executed. Although the arrangement of the drapery is different, the narrow folds over the body combined with more robust folds at the hem may be compared with the surcoats at Dorchester and Gloucester. The Hailes boss displays, in its own way, as much energy as does the Dorchester knight, and this is best seen in the way the figure wrenches the jaws of the lion apart. It is possible that the Hailes boss represents work by the very accomplished hand or hands responsible for the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies.

Besides the Hailes boss, other sculptures of similar date display energetic compositions comparable with the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies. These include the splendid bosses of the muniment room recess in Westminster Abbey which have already been discussed. On a larger scale, comparison may be made with the figures of seated kings on the Wells west front¹⁹⁸ which probably date to before c.1250,¹⁹⁹ and whose positions are foreshadowed by stained glass of c.1180 in Canterbury Cathedral.²⁰⁰ Dr. Judith Hurtig drew attention to the statue of Gabriel in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey (often associated with a payment of 1253),²⁰¹ and compared to the Dorchester effigy its contorted pose as well as the combination of sweeping, curving and sharply angular folds.²⁰² However, in order to substantiate an early dating of the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies it is necessary to demonstrate comparable attitudes and tension, not just in sculpture generally, but specifically in monumental sculpture of similar date. Moreover, it is important that any dates proposed for individual effigies can be fitted into some sort of overall development, however loose or imprecise, which adequately accommodates other 13th-century military effigies of which over 140 survive in England. Only a handful of such effigies can be firmly identified and, in the absence of such dating aids, Dr. Tummers included in his masterly study of English 13th-century secular effigies²⁰³ an impressive attempt to construct a sequence of development based on the visual evidence of the effigies themselves, and in particular on their attitudes.

It is difficult to find effigies comparable to those at Dorchester and Gloucester because,

¹⁹⁵ W.St.C. Baddeley, *A Cotteswold Shrine* . . . (1908), 53 and Figs.12–14. Fragments of two further bosses were also found.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.vii.

¹⁹⁷ *V.C.H. Glos.* ii, 96. The bosses need not originally have come from the chapter house. One has eight springings for vaulting ribs, which seems unlikely in a rectangular chapter house of moderate size.

¹⁹⁸ E.g. Colchester, *Wells W. Front*, Nos.182, 187 (111. in P. Tudor-Craig, *One Half of our Noblest Art* (1976), No. 14 and Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, Pl. 85B resp.).

¹⁹⁹ See note 181.

²⁰⁰ P. Tudor-Craig, *Noblest Art*, No.14 draws attention to the figure of Methuselah (M.H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury* (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi – Great Britain, ii, 1981), 21, and Pls. II and 6. For dating, *ibid.* 13f. 18.).

²⁰¹ Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 120–1 and Pl. 97. H.M. Colvin (ed.), *Building Accounts of King Henry III* (1971), 226, 230, 236.

²⁰² Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 135–6 and Pl.214.

²⁰³ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*.

as pointed out by Tummers, they are 'very exceptional and certainly not typical of the average English cross-legged effigy'.²⁰⁴ Tummers stresses the variation in the attitudes of 13th-century military effigies, which range from those expressing rest to those in his 'lively martial attitude'²⁰⁵ which he concludes was a 'limited late development'.²⁰⁶

Concentrating on the attitude of the legs, Tummers compares the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies with two in the Temple Church, London, and others at Aldworth (Berks.), and Bere Ferrers (Devon).²⁰⁷ In examining the position of the arms he cites, along with the two Temple Church effigies already mentioned, examples at St. Mark's, Bristol, Danbury (Essex) and Tilton (Leics.).²⁰⁸ Tummers rightly stressed 'the free use of sculpturing technique' and a 'complete mastery of the technique of undercutting'.²⁰⁹ The arms of the Dorchester knight 'are treated as separate sculptural entities, independent from the body. . . , and as regards the right elbow not only striking outwards but also upwards from the body'.²¹⁰ Tummers considered that the 'mannered affectation [of the Dorchester effigy points] to a late date, somewhere at the end of the century'.²¹¹

Tummers dated the effigies at Bere Ferrers and Aldworth to the early 14th century and the remainder of those in the lively martial attitude listed above to the end of the 13th century,²¹² stressing, as well as the advanced sculptural technique, the tinges of the romanticism which is seen in English sculpture in the first half of the 14th century.²¹³

The two effigies in the Temple Church, cited by Tummers, in my opinion make the best overall comparisons for the Dorchester and Gloucester figures.²¹⁴ Unfortunately the detail of the Temple effigies is now difficult to read. All the medieval effigies in the church were restored by Edward Richardson in 1842.²¹⁵ Although he left an account of his work, he was not able to describe the extent of decay and restoration in the detail he desired, and directed those interested to the effigies themselves.²¹⁶ This evidence was largely destroyed when the effigies were badly damaged during the Second World War, though fortunately there are pre-War photographs,²¹⁷ and casts of five of the effigies are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.²¹⁸ Stothard drew effigy R.C.H.M. No.9 before its restoration, and the published illustration²¹⁹ has a suspiciously fuzzy appearance which contrasts with his usual precision and clarity. This may be due to the thick coatings of paint, dirt and whitewash described by Richardson,²²⁰ but the Revd. Thomas Kerrich noted on his drawing that the

²⁰⁴ Ibid. 120.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 125.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. 120.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. 114-16, Pls.28, 98 (Temple Church) and 103 (Bere Ferrers). For Aldworth see Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, Pl.121. The Temple effigies are numbered by Tummers II and V, and in R.C.H.M., *London*, iv (1929), 141, Nos. 9 and 8 resp.

²⁰⁸ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 97f. Pls.56 (Danbury) and 101 (Tilton). For Bristol, St. Mark, see A.C. Fryer, 'Bristol Craftsmen', Pl. II, Fig.3 (foreground).

²⁰⁹ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 115.

²¹⁰ Ibid. 98.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid. 116.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ See note 207. Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 150, cites one of the Temple Church effigies as the closest parallel to Dorchester, probably referring to one of those discussed here, though it is not clear.

²¹⁵ E. Richardson, *The Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church* . . . (1843).

²¹⁶ Ibid. 15.

²¹⁷ R.C.H.M., *London*, iv, Pls.182-7. Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, Pls.27-30, 98.

²¹⁸ Acc. Nos. A1938-6 to 1938-10. 1938-7 is presently on loan to the Royal Armouries.

²¹⁹ Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, Pls.26, 27.

²²⁰ Richardson, *Temple Church Effigies*, 14.

effigy 'is so defaced that I cannot see whether the armour of the head or neck be maille or not'.²²¹

As well as their lively positions, the protection for the knees on both the Temple effigies and the plain, relatively narrow guige and sword-belt of R.C.H.M. No. 9 are similar to the Dorchester and Gloucester figures. There are, however, differences in detail. The lines between the rows of mail run round the arms on the Temple effigies and down the arms at Dorchester and Gloucester. The drapery of the skirt of the surcoat of Temple effigy R.C.H.M. No.9 appears to have used much bulkier folds than are found at Dorchester or Gloucester. If the evidence can be trusted, the faces, and especially the almond-shaped eyes, of the Temple effigies were quite different from those of the Dorchester or Gloucester effigies.

Unfortunately none of the persons commemorated by the Temple Church effigies can be identified. Since at least 1586 three of the effigies have been said to represent William Marshall the elder (d.1219), and his two sons William the younger (d.1231) and Gilbert (d.1241),²²² all of whom were Earls of Pembroke and were buried in the Temple Church.²²³ They bore the arms *per pale or and vert a lion rampant gules* (or variations thereof)²²⁴ and since R.C.H.M. No.9 has a lion rampant carved in relief on the shield it is tempting to attribute it to one of the Marshalls; the traces of red on the field of the shield reported by Richardson would not deny such an attribution.²²⁵ However, the lion rampant was a very common heraldic charge and the bulky folds of the surcoat make a date much before 1260 unlikely.²²⁶

Also comparable with the Dorchester and Gloucester effigies is that at Hatfield Broad Oak (Essex),²²⁷ identified by a now largely lost inscription²²⁸ as commemorating Robert, 3rd Earl of Oxford (d.1221).²²⁹ It was cited by Tummers as a less pronounced example of the lively martial attitude,²³⁰ and Prior and Gardner also grouped it with the Dorchester effigy.²³¹ The Hatfield Broad Oak effigy has similar gamboised cuisses reaching to below the knees, but with the addition to each of a small octagonal plate at the front. The Hatfield sword-belt is of a more advanced design than on the effigies discussed above, and the drapery is not comparable. As pointed out by Enoch Powell, the wording of the inscription dates the effigy to sometime after the succession of the 5th Earl c.1263.²³² Stone considered it to be by the sculptor of the effigy of Edmund Crouchback (d.1296) in Westminster Abbey,²³³ and Tummers dated it to the early 14th century,²³⁴ convincingly arguing that double cushions with attendant angels are 'a certain indication of a date after 1300'.²³⁵

In summary, no really convincing parallels exist for the Dorchester and Gloucester

²²¹ B.L. MS Add. 6728, f.48.

²²² K.A. Esdaile, *Temple Church Monuments* ... (1933), 63.

²²³ *Complete Peerage*, x, 363f., 367f., 373.

²²⁴ Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms*, 8. Variations include a field of *gules and vert*, a lion *argent* and a lion with a forked tail.

²²⁵ Richardson, *Temple Church Effigies*, 25. For the possibility of a red field see note 224.

²²⁶ For the English début of bulkier folds see Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 130ff.

²²⁷ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, Pl.100; Stothard, *Monumental Effigies* Pl.36.

²²⁸ For the original inscription see J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), 631.

²²⁹ Fryde, *Handbook*, 476.

²³⁰ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 116.

²³¹ Prior and Gardner, *Med. Fig. Sculpt.* 648.

²³² J.E. Powell, 'The Riddles of Bures', *Essex Arch. and Hist.* vi (1974), 97.

²³³ Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 150. Ills. in Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, Pls.123, 126; Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, Pls.42, 43.

²³⁴ Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 116.

²³⁵ Ibid. 51.

effigies, and the usefulness of the few comparisons that can be made is limited by the absence of firm dates.

CONCLUSION

The dilemma of the dating of the Dorchester effigy (and with it probably the Gloucester effigy) is this. If Dorchester is dated early, say *c.*1240–1260, it has far-reaching ramifications for the development of English monumental effigies in the 13th century. It is far beyond the scope of this article to examine these ramifications in detail, but a key problem is the developments between the *tour de force* at Dorchester and the turn-of-the-century effigies exemplified by, for example, that of Edmund Crouchback (d.1296)²³⁶ in Westminster Abbey. Because of the particular difficulties in identifying and dating 13th-century effigies,²³⁷ it is not surprising that relative chronologies have emerged based on the development of the effigies themselves, the most recent example of this approach being the impressive and extremely useful study by Dr. Tummers. Tummers's arguments are convincing; they might be wrong in certain details, but would have to be very wrong indeed to permit the dating of the Dorchester knight as early as 1240–1260.

If the Dorchester effigy is dated late, say *c.*1280–1310, it has consequences for our understanding of the development of style, especially drapery style, during the 13th century. It must, of course, be borne in mind that it is usually much easier to define when a style first appears than when it goes out of use.

Having pondered this dilemma for ten years, I still find it difficult to come down firmly on one side or the other but, on balance, I find the points in favour of a later date marginally more convincing. If the person commemorated was indeed William de Valence the younger, who died in 1282, that would lend support to the cogent arguments put forward by Tummers for a late 13th-century date. The outstanding quality of the Dorchester effigy makes it impossible to explain the apparently old-fashioned features in terms of a second-rate provincial artist unconsciously working in an outdated style. A late dating could, therefore, give rise to the need to re-examine the stylistic assumptions on which the dating of some other pieces of 13th-century sculpture necessarily relies in the absence of other evidence.

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²³⁶ For ill. see note 233.

²³⁷ Stone, *Sculpt. in Britain*, 114f. Tummers, *Secular Effigies*, 18–20.