

Notes

AN EARLY MEDIEVAL FLOOR-TILE FROM ST. FRIDESWIDE'S MINSTER

The tile which is the subject of this note (now Ashmolean Museum Acc. No. 1970.552) was among the material found in 1863 during the construction of the Meadows Building, Christ Church (see above, p. 229 note 55). A tattered label stuck to one edge bears the number '39' pencilled over the original legend in faded ink. This is only legible in part, but appears to read '...]lett[... / ...] New] Ch 1863 ... /6' (characters in square brackets illegible). In the early 1950s David Sturdy noted this tile in a parcel, then stored in the S. transept gallery, labelled 'Tiles from foundations New buildings Ch: Ch: Mar. 1863'.

Description (Figs. 102–3)

The *fabric* is cream in colour and knife-trimmed to a silky surface on the sides of the tile. On the worn surface and through a few chips it is possible to see that the fabric has fired in places to a pale reddish-brown and that layers of this colour, sometimes including very thin brick-red bands, interleave with layers of cream to give a characteristic laminated effect to the core. Inspection under a $\times 15$ lens shows that the cream bands consist solely of very fine sand particles, not resolvable at this magnification, and that the thin brick-red bands share this composition. The thicker, pale reddish-brown layers are composed of larger grains, easily resolvable at $\times 15$, rounded or sub-angular, consistently c.0.05 to 0.1 mm. in diameter, and cemented together with little trace of a distinct matrix. The fabric is dense, hard, and well fired.

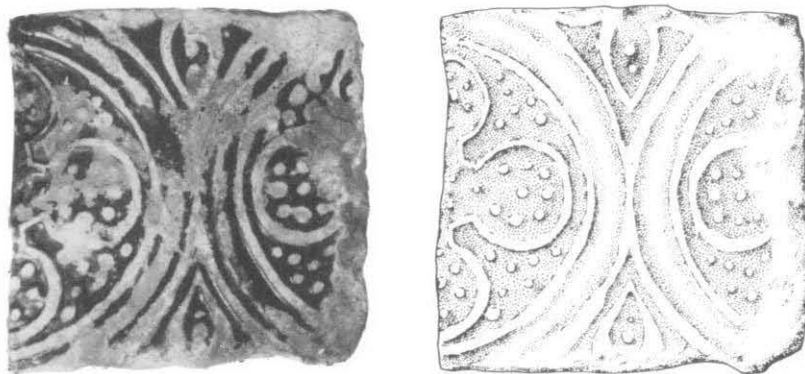


Fig. 102. Early medieval floor-tile from St. Frideswide's. Scale 1:2. (Drawing by Sarah Blair.)

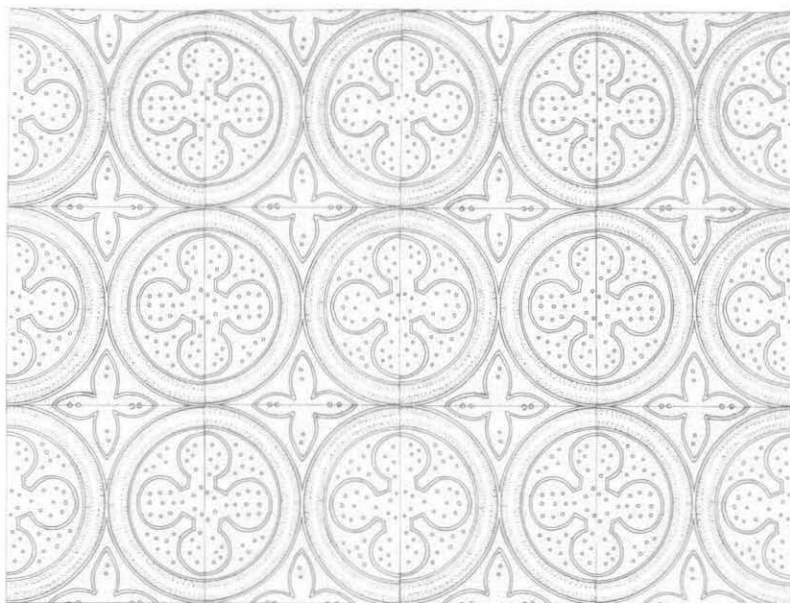


Fig. 103. Reconstruction of the pattern made by the early medieval floor-tile. Scale 1:4. (Drawing by John Blair.)

In *form*, the tile is square, each side measuring between 95 and 97 mm. on the face (slightly more than $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.) and 92 to 94 mm. on the back. The edges are bevelled slightly inwards from the face and smoothly cut, with sharp angles. The back is slightly uneven, but generally smooth; it is not keyed. The tile varies between 20 and 22 mm. in thickness.

The *decoration* on the surface is in relief, the outlines sharp and well-formed where not worn down. The pattern (which requires six tiles to complete it, Fig. 103) consists of tangentially arranged circles filled with 'crosses pommey' and separated by quatrefoils (Fig. 102). The circles consist of outer lines framing a lower and wider central moulding. The 'crosses' comprise an angular central element with four arms opening onto relatively large circular terminals. Both inside and outside the 'crosses', the field is sown with pellets. Between the circles, each element of the quatrefoils is elegantly lobed and brought to a fine point; each is filled with a line of two or possibly three pellets, the outermost smaller than the other(s).

The *glaze* is a rich dark-brown lead glaze. It fills all the recesses of the surface and originally covered the raised elements, where it has mostly been worn away. There is no attempt at polychromy. In places the glaze has run over the edge to form patches and thick bulbous drips of solid, very dark brown, almost black, glaze.

The *surface* of the tile is worn. The back and edges carry areas of both buff sandy (? original) and white mortar, showing that it was reused at least once. Traces of mortar on the surface may suggest that the tile was finally buried below a later floor or reused as rubble.

Discussion

The fabric, the use of relief decoration, the pattern, and the glaze all suggest that this tile is not an example (however uncommon) of the normal range of decorated later medieval floor-tiles,¹ but is rather a further example of the rapidly expanding group of early medieval relief-decorated floor-tiles. These now appear to comprise at least three broad styles or phases: an early and certainly pre-Conquest style, comprising at least two sub-groups, one of polychrome glazed tiles in a pale granular fabric ('Style 1a'), the other of apparently smaller tiles in a brick-red, sometimes laminated fabric ('Style 1b'); an intermediate style of larger and more elaborately decorated tiles, with one-colour glaze ('Style 2'); and a later, probably mid 12th-century group of 'St. Albans type', also large and with a plain glaze ('Style 3'). Since all three styles appear to ante-date the well-known series of medieval floor-tiles beginning in the later 12th century, it seems convenient to call these three styles 'early medieval', to distinguish them from the later series.²

The Christ Church tile, although not exactly matched by any other known tile, is apparently an example of Style 1, which is now known from Winchester,³ St. Albans,⁴ Bury St. Edmunds,⁵ Canterbury,⁶ York,⁷ and Coventry.⁸ The granular fabric characteristic of the reddish-brown layers of the Christ Church tile is very close to the fabric of some of the Winchester, Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans tiles of Style 1a, but overall the tile is probably an example of Style 1b.

The individual elements of the pattern of the Christ Church tile are as difficult to place as the overall design. The concentric circles, displayed back-to-back, the quatrefoils, crosses 'pommy', and pellets cannot be paralleled individually, let alone in this arrangement, among the approximately 3,100 designs of the 14,000 or so later

¹ John Blair was the first to recognise the possible Anglo-Saxon origin of this tile. John Cherry, Richard Gem, Laurence Keen and Christopher Norton kindly commented on a drawing, but have not seen the tile itself; Mark Horton has seen the tile and commented on this note. Christopher Norton is not entirely happy with a pre-Conquest identification, noting that in his experience, in the present state of research, one or two anomalous tiles usually occur in any large group; he suggests a possible context for the pattern in the tile industries of the Penn group. Mark Horton, who has seen all the available tiles of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, confirms that the fabric of the Christ Church tile is not comparable to any of them; he believes that it is characteristically Anglo-Saxon and also notes the thick drips of glaze on the edges as typical of Anglo-Saxon floor-tiles. John Cherry, Richard Gem, and Laurence Keen are prepared to accept an Anglo-Saxon date if the fabric and glaze are consistent with such an interpretation.

² This terminology of three 'styles' within an 'early medieval' series is proposed here for the first time. For previous publications of tiles in this series, see below, notes 3–8.

³ J. Backhouse et al. (eds.), *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066* (catalogue of British Museum exhibition, 1984), Cat. Nos. 142–3, with further references. The Winchester tiles will be published in M. Biddle and B. Kjolbye-Biddle, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters at Winchester*, Winchester Studies 4.i (forthcoming 1990), and, with full technical discussion, in K. Barclay, *The Medieval Ceramics of Winchester*, Winchester Studies 7.i (in preparation).

⁴ R. Gem and L. Keen, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds from the Site of St. Edmund's Abbey', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol. and Hist.* xxxv (1981), 1–30, at p. 23, Fig. 16, which also mentions the much larger series from the St. Albans excavations of 1978 and 1982–4. This will be published in M. Biddle and B. Kjolbye-Biddle, *The Chapter House of St. Albans Abbey* (Hertfordshire Archaeology, in preparation). For Style 2 tiles from St. Albans, see Backhouse et al. op. cit. note 3, Cat. No. 144; and for Style 3 tiles from the St. Albans chapter-house floor, G. Zarnecki et al. (eds.), *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (catalogue of Hayward Gallery exhibition, 1984), Cat. No. 552.

⁵ Gem and Keen op. cit. note 4, 20–6, Fig. 15, Pl. I (colour).

⁶ From the site of the Norman and later Archbishop's Palace: information kindly provided by T. Tatton-Brown.

⁷ Gem and Keen op. cit. note 4, 24, Pl. II.

⁸ M.A. Stokes, 'Late Saxon Tiles from Coventry', *Medieval Ceramics*, x (1986), 29–36.

medieval tiles in the British Museum collection.⁹ The individual elements can, however, be found among the tiles of Style 1 of the early medieval series.

Addorsed semi-circles appear on tiles from York¹⁰ and St. Albans;¹¹ concentric circles on another of the York tiles;¹² and pellets on three more of the York tiles,¹³ and on some of the St. Albans tiles of Style 2.¹⁴ Quatrefoils also occur on Style 1 tiles from Bury St. Edmunds¹⁵ and Winchester,¹⁶ but these are usually composed geometrically of the intersecting arcs of circles. By contrast, the individual leaves of the Christ Church quatrefoils have a more complex, sinuous outline. To some extent this results from the greater depth of wear near the margins of the (one surviving) Christ Church tile, but significantly it also arises from the outer ends of the leaves being formed of ridges which follow concentrically the outer curve of the addorsed semi-circles.

For possible parallels to the crosses 'pommy', it is necessary to turn to the patterns appearing on the reverses of late Anglo-Saxon silver pennies. The 'jewel cross' type of Harold I and Harthacnut, issued from early 1036 until late 1037 or early 1038, offers on the reverse a complex figure, the 'jewel cross', which consists of four round or oval 'jewels' radiating from a central circle or square. The latter is itself outlined by an outer circle appearing only between the arms or 'jewels'. Regional variations in die-cutting are reflected in slightly differing shapes of the 'jewel cross': in Harthacnut's type with right-facing bust (Variety R), round (as contrasted with oval) 'jewels' 'are usual at Canterbury and Oxford, but not at Winchester'.¹⁷ Pellets, it is worth noting, form an element in the obverse design of the 'jewel cross' type, as of the preceding 'pointed helmet' type of Cnut and of the succeeding types of both Harold I and Harthacnut.

Although much remains to be discovered about the tiles of the early medieval series, the analogues of the Christ Church tile suggest that it is of pre-Conquest date and derives from another and as yet otherwise undefined group of 'Style 1b'. All the tiles of Style 1 have come so far from the sites or vicinity of major late-Saxon churches, and it seems probable that their function was to decorate the floor surfaces and steps around principal altars or shrines.

At Winchester, tiles of Style 1a and 1b are present before 980 or 993-4, at the latest.¹⁸ At Coventry, Style 1 tiles are perhaps to be associated with the Benedictine house founded by Leofric and Godiva in 1043.¹⁹ At Bury, they have been plausibly related to the masonry buildings erected after 1020.²⁰ If the analogy of the Christ Church tile with the 'jewel cross' coins of c.1036-7 is valid, a comparable date in the earlier 11th century is suggested.

⁹ E.S. Eames, *Catalogue of Medieval Lead-Glazed Earthenware Tiles in the . . . British Museum*, 2 vols. (1980).

¹⁰ Gem and Keen op. cit. note 4, Pl. II, Row 2, third tile; and another tile with similar addorsed spaced semi-circles in a frieze with ring-impressed borders above and below (drawings and photographs with the writers).

¹¹ Gem and Keen op. cit. note 4, Fig. 16, No. 3.

¹² Ibid., Pl. II, Row 1, third tile.

¹³ Ibid., Pl. II, Row 2, fourth tile; and two other tiles (drawings and photographs held by the writers).

¹⁴ Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle op. cit. note 4.

¹⁵ Gem and Keen op. cit. note 4, Fig. 15, No. 7, Pl. I, bottom row, second tile.

¹⁶ Type D (Fabrics 1 and 2), e.g. Recorded find CG 1222: Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle op. cit. note 4.

¹⁷ Tukka Talvio, 'Harold I and Harthacnut's *Jewel Cross* Type Reconsidered', in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History. Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (1986), 273-90. This suggested parallel between a design on a tile and one on a coin does not stand alone: several of the Winchester tile designs are exactly paralleled by reverse types of Cnut and Edward the Confessor. (Mark Blackburn confirmed the accuracy of this numismatic information, but must not be held responsible for the use made of it.)

¹⁸ See above, note 3.

¹⁹ Stokes op. cit. note 8, 29-30.

²⁰ Gem and Keen op. cit. note 4, 26.

The Christ Church tile is probably therefore the earliest physical evidence so far recognised for the presence of a major pre-Conquest church on the site of the Augustinian priory of St. Frideswide. It complements the evidence for earlier burials, notably those laid on beds of charcoal, recovered during the excavations of the last decade.

MARTIN BIDDLE and BIRTHE KJØLBYE-BIDDLE

THE GOLD FINGER-RING FROM A BURIAL IN ST. ALDATE'S STREET, OXFORD

On 5 February 1903, a gold finger-ring was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London that had been 'found about 1890 in a stone coffin in St. Aldate's Street, Oxford, when excavations were being made for a drain opposite the great gateway of Christ Church'.²¹ In 1905 it was purchased by the British Museum (1905, 11-8, 1) and is No. 214 in Dalton's *Ring Catalogue* (1912).²² Neither the British Museum Register nor the *Catalogue* contains any further information concerning its find circumstances. A seemingly very different account of its discovery by Bjørn and Shetelig in *Viking Antiquities* (1940)²³ turns out on closer examination to refer to a medieval gold ring found in Hertfordshire and may thus be ignored. Although it has been referred to and listed on a number of other occasions,²⁴ the St. Aldate's ring has never before been illustrated or discussed in detail.²⁵

The ring (Fig. 104) is composed of six plaited rods tapering towards the ends, where they are beaten together into a narrow, plain band (parted in one place) which forms the back of the ring; its maximum external diameter is 2.6 cm., and that of the rods is 0.2 cm. The ring is in excellent condition apart from the break in the band, but this clearly took place in antiquity given that both ends are smooth even though one is straight and the other irregular in form.

Finger-rings of gold, silver or base-metal formed from twisted or plaited rods are known from England, the Isle of Man, Ireland and Scotland, as well as Scandinavia, in Viking-age contexts, in some later hoards and as single-finds. Indeed, the fashion for their use in the west is considered to be a result of Scandinavian settlement in Britain and Ireland.²⁶ Those as elaborately executed as the St. Aldate's example are relatively rare, characteristically made of gold and seemingly of 11th-century date.

The gold finger-rings of Viking-age type found in Scotland have recently received brief consideration in print;²⁷ those formed from plaited (as opposed to simply twisted) rods are present in two coinless hoards – one from the Hebrides and one from Stenness

²¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, 2nd ser. xix (1901-3), 221.

²² O.M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger-Rings* . . . (1912), 36.

²³ A. Bjørn and H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Part IV (H. Shetelig (ed.), 1940), 29.

²⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 368, 371; *Oxoniensis*, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 109, No. 23; D.A. Hinton, 'Late Saxon Treasure and Bullion', in D. Hill (ed.), *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (B.A.R. 59, 1978), 135-58, at p. 156, No. 21.

²⁵ The drawing is by Eva Wilson, to whom I am particularly grateful for the time and care she expended on determining and recording the complex nature of the plait. I also wish to thank Leslie Webster of the British Museum for her assistance in the study of the ring and for discussing it with me.

²⁶ E.g. L. Webster, 'Gold Ring from Dane John, Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xcii (1976), 233-4.

²⁷ J. Graham-Campbell, 'An Unpublished Gold Finger-Ring of Viking-Age Date from the Isle of Skye, and New Light on the 1850 Skye Hoard', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, cxii (1982), 568-70.

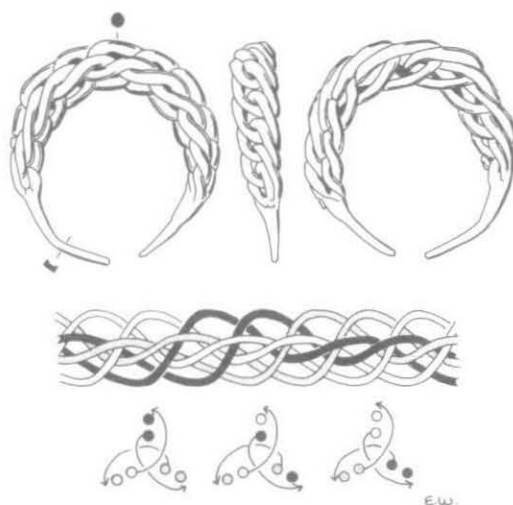


Fig. 104. Gold finger-ring of six plaited rods from St. Aldate's, Oxford. Scale 1:1. (Drawing by Eva Wilson.)

on Orkney Mainland.²⁸ A fine complex example like that from St. Aldate's is a single-find from Fladda Chuinn, off Skye.²⁹ None of these finds is precisely datable, but gold finger-rings of twisted rods are known from both early and late hoards, there having been one variant in the lost (late 9th- or early 10th-century) hoard from Gordon, Berwickshire³⁰ and another in the Plan Farm, Bute, hoard of c.1150.³¹

On the Isle of Man only one such gold finger-ring has been discovered, at Greeba in the parish of German.³² It is, however, of the complex plaited type, as is a fine example from near Waterford in Ireland.³³ This is likewise a single-find, but recently another plaited finger-ring, of simpler construction, has been excavated in Dublin.³⁴ I am most grateful to Dr. Patrick Wallace for the following information concerning its construction and context (*per* D. Caulfield, 1/11/88):

The finger-ring is made of three rods. It was found in a sod layer between two superimposed houses. The earlier house, FS12, plot 5, level 4 of Fishamble Street, had two coins: one an Athelstan c.925; the other an Athelstan c.930. Above this was the sod layer (?collapsed roofing material) where the ring was found. The house on top of this, FS18, plot 5, level 5, had an Eadred c.946–55.

The context for this Dublin ring suggests deposition about the middle of the 10th century, yet there exists the possibility that it had been concealed in the roof of a house

²⁸ S. Grieg, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Part II (H. Shetelig (ed.), 1940), Figs. 58 and 62.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Fig. 58.

³⁰ J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking-Age Silver and Gold Hoards of Scandinavian Character from Scotland', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, cvii (1975–6), 114–35, see Pl. 14, 1.

³¹ J.H. Pollexfen and G. Sim, 'Notice of the Coins Etc. . . found at Plan, in the Island of Bute', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, v (1862–4), 372–84.

³² J. Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking-Age Silver Hoards of the Isle of Man', in C.E. Fell et al. (eds.), *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man* (1983), 53–80, at p. 80.

³³ J. Bøe, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Part III (H. Shetelig (ed.), 1940), Fig. 72.

³⁴ E.g. *ibid.* Fig. 69; the Dublin ring is illustrated in P. Wallace, 'Dublin 988', *Ireland of the Welcomes*, xxxvii. 1 (Jan.–Feb., 1988), 17–25, at p. 24.

(FS12). It is thus necessary to extend the possible date-range for its deposition to 'the second quarter/middle of the 10th century'.

A similar simple (three-rod) plaited finger-ring, in a lead alloy, was recovered at 6-8 Pavement, York, from what would seem to be a late 10th-century context.³⁵ The gold finger-ring executed in the same manner from Hungate in York is, however, undated.³⁶ Rings of plaited wires are mentioned as having been excavated at 16-22 Coppergate, York, of which a complex lead-alloy example has been illustrated, but details of its construction and context are not yet available.³⁷

For England, as a whole, it is premature to attempt a definitive list of plaited-rod gold finger-rings because previous authors have not always considered it necessary to distinguish the plaited from the simpler (and longer-lived) twisted varieties. In all at least 17 rings are on record,³⁸ but amongst these there is only one plaited example known for certain from a coin-dated hoard – the others being single-finds, with an apparent distributional bias to southern England. This hoard was deposited c.1068 near Soberton in Hampshire³⁹ – a date consistent with the limited Scandinavian coin-hoard evidence for plaited finger-rings which commences with the mid-11th-century Åspinge hoard from Skåne, Sweden (t.p.q. 1047).⁴⁰ As a result, Stenberger's central dating for three-rod types in Sweden was late 11th to 12th century, but more complex examples are there a rarity and undated.⁴¹

In conclusion, it seems reasonable to suggest at this stage of investigation that, whilst simple (three-rod) plaited finger-rings were introduced in Britain and Ireland in the 10th century, as demonstrated by the excavated examples from York and Dublin, the elaborately plaited rings of the St. Aldate's type were not current before the 11th century. In this light, the southerly distribution in England of twisted and plaited gold finger-rings suggests a fashion introduced under Danish rule. The most immediate parallels for the St. Aldate's ring are, however, those noted above from Ireland, the Isle of Man and Scandinavian Scotland. Finally, it is worth noting that plaited rings of this type are not known from 12th-century contexts in England, although a silver two-rod twisted finger-ring formed part of the Lark Hill hoard, from near Worcester, deposited c.1180.⁴²

The deposition of such a gold ring of this date in a coffin in England appears highly unusual at first sight, given that only two examples of gold finger-rings are known from mid/late Saxon graves (in Exeter and Repton, Derbyshire) and both of these date earlier – to the 8th/9th centuries.⁴³ However, it is worth recalling that at least two others

³⁵ A. MacGregor, *Anglo-Scandinavian Finds from Lloyds Bank, Pavement and Other Sites* (Archaeology of York, xvii. 3, 1982), Fig. 47, No. 455.

³⁶ D.M. Waterman, 'Late Saxon, Viking, and Early Medieval Finds from York', *Archaeologia*, xcvi (1959), 59-105, see Fig. 10, 14.

³⁷ R. Hall, *The Viking Dig* (1984), 104, Fig. 122, d.

³⁸ Hinton op. cit. note 24, pp. 156 and 158; in this list Nos. 16 and 17 represent a single ring from 'West Bergholt, near Colchester', but Hinton omits two old finds, both plaited rings, from Suffolk (*Archaeol. Jnl.* vi (1849), 58 and Fig. 14), and from Ringmer in Sussex (*Archaeol. Jnl.* xv (1858), 96).

³⁹ No. 263 in M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A Revised Check-List of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, c.500-1100', in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (1986), 291-313; Dalton op. cit. note 22, No. 215.

⁴⁰ B. Hårdh, *Wikingerzeitliche Depotfunde aus Südschweden* (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 4°, No. 9, 1976), Taf. 38, 4.

⁴¹ M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, i (1947), 137-8.

⁴² J. Cherry, 'Medieval Rings, 1100-1500', in A. Ward et al., *The Ring from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (1981), 51-86, at p. 60, No. 112.

⁴³ J. Graham-Campbell, 'A Middle Saxon Gold Finger-Ring from the Cathedral Close, Exeter', *Antiq. Jnl.* lxxii (1982), 366-7; M. Biddle et al., 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Period from Repton, Derbyshire: II', *Brit. Numis. Jnl.* lvi (1986), 16-34, the ring being from Grave 529, with coins of the 870s (see esp. pp. 25-6 and note 36).

amongst the group of 10th/12th-century twisted/plaited gold finger-rings (most of which are poorly documented, and some of which are from hoards) may have been deposited under the same circumstances: that from Hamsey churchyard, Sussex;⁴⁴ and that from Balmer, also in Sussex, which was first illustrated in 1824 around some finger-bones (although it is only described as having been 'ploughed up').⁴⁵

J.A. GRAHAM-CAMPBELL

AN EARLY 12TH-CENTURY PURBECK MARBLE GRAVESLAB FROM ST. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY

Among the worked stones found built into the E. wall of the choir in the 1870s are three fragments from the upper end of a Purbeck marble graveslab (Fig. 105).⁴⁶ It has a flat surface and a broad hollow-chamfer around the edge; it tapers slightly, and the width at the head end when complete would have been c.61 cm. The edges below the hollow-chamfer have coarse tooling, and the under-side is left rough. Carved in shallow relief on the surface are groups of concentric semicircles, the uppermost enclosing a rudimentary face, framing axially-placed concentric lozenges which may represent small crosses. The crudity of this surface decoration suggests the possibility that it may have been added locally to a slab sent blank from the quarry.

The design has obvious affinities with the slabs, usually dated c.1080–1120, on which groups of concentric lozenge and half-lozenge motifs form an over-all, vaguely cruciform pattern.⁴⁷ The semicircular forms are, however, exceptional, and the incorporation of a human face is still more so. So unsophisticated an idiom cannot be dated closely, but the general adoption of better-formulated cross patterns during the 12th century makes a date after the 1120s decreasingly likely for slabs of this type.

Much the most remarkable aspect of this monument is its material. The systematic production of architectural components in Purbeck marble is hard to trace back before the 1160s, when northern French influence, spread especially through Henry of Blois's patronage, stimulated a fashion for dark shafting.⁴⁸ Likewise, the first regular series of effigies and slabs in Purbeck marble are all of the 1160s onwards and show a restricted, south-western distribution,⁴⁹ though it is interesting that two of them have, like the Oxford slab, marginal hollow-chamfers at a date before this feature had come into

⁴⁴ Dalton op. cit. note 22, p. 36, No. 215a.

⁴⁵ T.W. Horsfield, *History and Antiquities of Lewes*, i (1824), 49, Pl. iv, 4, where the provenance is given as Bormer (= 'Borner' in Bjørn and Shetelig op. cit. note 23, p. 29, and Hinton op. cit. note 24, p. 156, No. 24). I am grateful to Fiona Marsden for help with this reference and the information that 'Bormer' is an archaic spelling for the modern 'Balmer'.

⁴⁶ J.C. Buckler records that the slab was 'found in the east wall, among the mason work of the latter part of the 13th century' (B.L. MS Add. 27765 E, f.98). It was illustrated in *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, Pl. 9, and is now on display in the City Museum.

⁴⁷ See especially L.A.S. Butler, 'Minor Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the East Midlands', *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxxi (1964), 119 and Fig. 2A; F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (1963), 92.

⁴⁸ J. Blair, 'Purbeck Marble', in J. Blair and N. Ramsay (eds.), *English Medieval Industries* (forthcoming); G. Zarnecki, 'Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture', in S. Macready and F.H. Thompson (eds.), *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque* (1986), 168.

⁴⁹ G. Dru Drury, 'The Use of Purbeck Marble in Medieval Times', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lxx (1948), 77–8, Pls. IX–XII; Blair, op. cit. note 48.

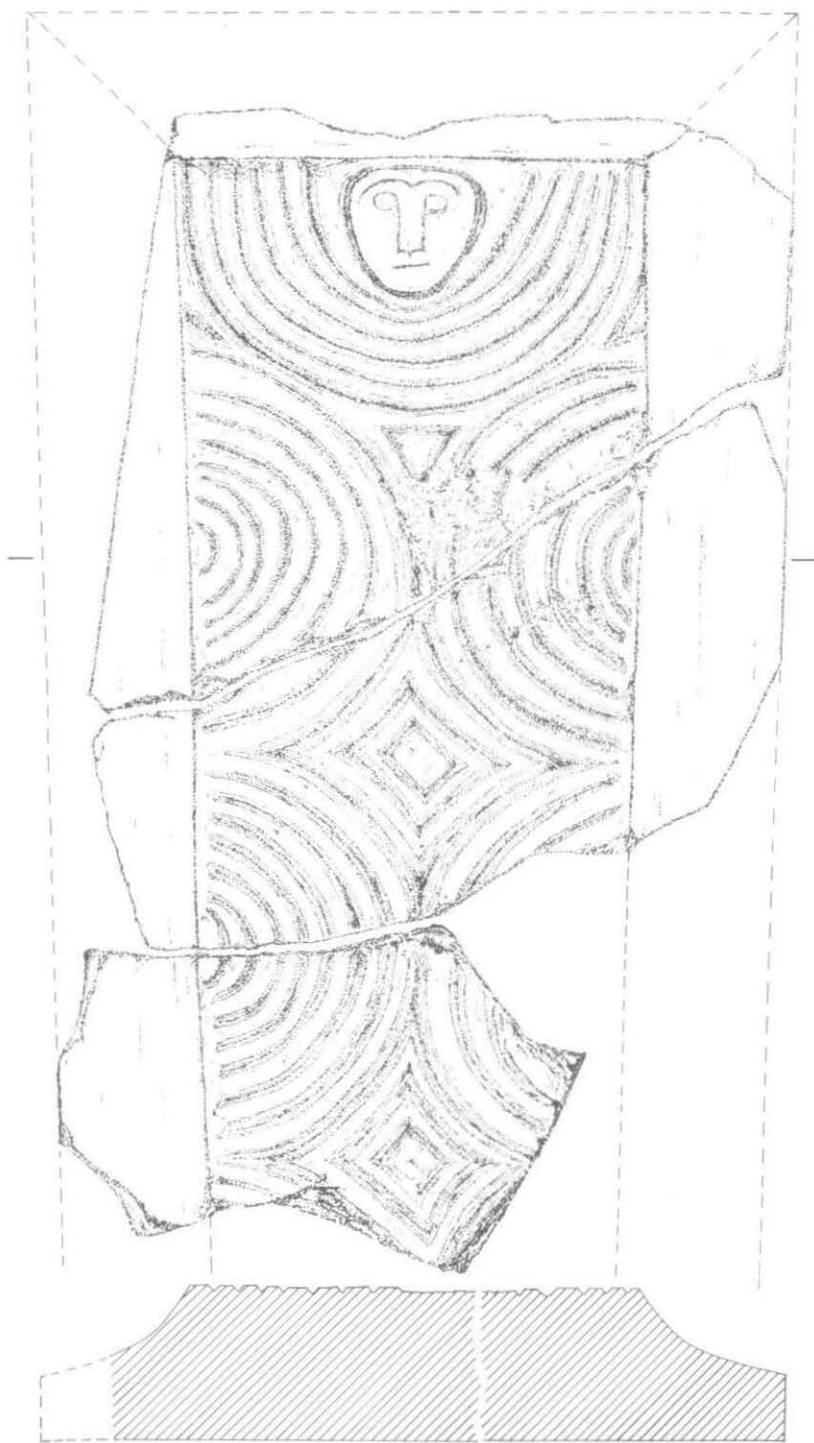


Fig. 105. Purbeck marble graveslab from St. Frideswide's. *Scale 1:6.* (Drawing by Sarah Blair.)

general use.⁵⁰ The existence of occasional Purbeck marble components of apparently early 12th-century date, and the appearance of one *Girardus Marbrarius* in a London deed of 1106,⁵¹ suggest small-scale use of the material before the era of systematic production.

The Oxford slab, with its strange design and naive execution, must be a product of the craft in its infancy; it may well be the oldest surviving funerary monument in Purbeck marble. If it was made during c.1080–1130, it belongs to the last years of the unreformed community or the first of the Augustinians. Obtained from Corfe, or possibly London, at a time when there was no regular trade in Purbeck slabs, it must have been an exotic item indeed. Its presence at St. Frideswide's may well reflect the patronage of Roger bishop of Salisbury (above, pp. 227–8), whose architectural activities were concentrated in Wiltshire and Dorset and whose diocese included the Purbeck quarries.⁵²

If the 'marble' of Corfe had already come to be thought of as a substitute for true marble, the slab was probably bought because it was appropriate to an exceptionally important tomb. It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that with this slab the Anglo-Norman canons marked the reputed grave of St. Frideside. St. Osmund's grave at Salisbury (1099) had a plain, coffin-shaped slab of Tournai marble, which was retained in the 13th century despite the elevation of the relics on a new shrine-base.⁵³ A more telling parallel may be the shrine of St. Wita at Whitchurch Canonicorum (Dorset), which incorporates a freestone coffin covered by a plain Purbeck slab, again with a hollow-chamfer edge moulding. The sides of the coffin and the edges of the slab below the hollow-chamfer are, as on the Oxford slab, rough-dressed: it appears that this originated as a below-floor tomb, raised up on the shrine-base around 1200.⁵⁴ The 12th-century excavators of St. Frideswide's tomb found 'an empty stone coffin' or 'the stone coffin empty' (*sarcofagum lapideum vacuum invenerunt*):⁵⁵ could this coffin, like St. Wita's, have been capped with a Purbeck marble slab?

JOHN BLAIR

AN UNPUBLISHED 12TH-CENTURY WALL-PAINTING AT ST. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY

On the N. jamb of the mid 12th-century N. window of the chapter-house front, facing the cloister, one splendid fragment of the original painted decorative scheme remains, badly faded but still visible to the naked eye.

⁵⁰ Philip the Priest's effigy at Tolpuddle (G. Dru Drury, 'Early Ecclesiastical Effigies in Dorset', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* liii (1931), 252–5); a coped slab in Winchester Cathedral, usually ascribed to William Rufus but probably for Bishop Henry of Blois, d.1171 (J.G. Joyce, 'On the Opening . . . of a Tomb in Winchester Cathedral . . .', *Archaeologia*, xlii (1869), 309–21).

⁵¹ Blair, op. cit. note 48; *Early Charters of St. Paul's*, ed. M. Gibbs (Camden 3rd ser. lviii, 1939), No. 198.

⁵² I am indebted to Dr. L.A.S. Butler for this suggestion. For Roger see R.A. Stalley, 'A 12th-century Patron of Architecture', *JBAA* 3rd ser. xxxiv (1971), 62–83.

⁵³ H. Shortt, 'Three Early Episcopal Tombs in Salisbury Cathedral', *Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* lvii (1959), 217–19. (I accept Shortt's argument that the plain Tournai slab is for Osmund, and that the low-relief Purbeck effigy with a metrical inscription is for Jocelyn de Bohun. *R.C.H.M. Salisbury I* (1980), 19–20 prefers, without serious discussion, an older view reversing these attributions.)

⁵⁴ Personal inspection, 1988; cf. *R.C.H.M. West Dorset* (1952), 263 and Pl. 210.

⁵⁵ Blair, 'St. F.', 117.

A man dressed in a long tunic stands with the head turned in profile to his left and the body turned only slightly in that direction. His right hand, palm inwards, points a little upward across his body; his left hand, palm upwards, gestures or points with thumb and first finger outstretched. The tunic is draped in the characteristic 'damp-fold' convention of much Byzantine-influenced English and English-influenced Continental work of the 12th century. Around his neck the front-opening collar or border continues downward around the fairly short front slit, a widespread but not particularly common style in the 12th century. The wide sleeves end in a similar narrow border or cuff ornamented with large dots or roundels. The medium-length slightly curly hair and large eyes can readily be matched in the once-splendid chapter-house decorations at Sigona in Catalonia, painted by English craftsmen in the 1180s or '90s.⁵⁶

But the best parallels can be found in a group of manuscripts of the 1140s and '50s⁵⁷ comprising the Psalter of Henry de Blois or Winchester Psalter (Brit. Lib. MS Cotton Nero C IV), the Sherborne Abbey Cartulary (Brit. Lib. Add. MS 46487), the Littlemore Priory Anselm (Bod. Lib. MS Auct. D.2.6 ff. 156–200),⁵⁸ a Bestiary (Bod. Lib. MS Laud. Misc. 247 ff. 139–170),⁵⁹ and the charter granted to Kelso Abbey in 1159 by Malcolm of Scotland (Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Roxburghe deposit).⁶⁰

The Anselm manuscript has been claimed to be 'the oldest surviving document of painting from the Oxford region' and recognised as having 'a certain stylistic relationship' with the 'magnificent seal of Godstow nunnery' and the fine lead font of Dorchester Abbey. Dr. Pächt compared it with an Austrian manuscript of Anselm and derived both from an earlier English prototype.⁶¹

The expanded letter-decorations of the Anselm measure no more than 7 × 10 cm., but their general character and, in particular, the expressive and variously gesturing hands are closely related to the St. Frideswide painting. Many heads are in profile, although this is not very common in 12th-century drawing, and the beaky nose and large eye are also frequent in the Anselm. However, the Anselm's twenty illuminations have no slit collars and only one appearance of wide cuffed sleeves.

The figure at St. Frideswide's stands 74 cm. high from the crown of the head, just cut off by a new jamb-stone inserted c.1890, to the lower thighs at the 12th-century window-sill level. A width of about 53 cm. of the composition remained in 1891, with part of a mock-masonry background which in fact followed the actual stonework. Only the rough red-lead underpainting remains, on a fragmentary thin plaster skin. All bright cloth-colours, flesh-tints and highlights, which may have been on a second thin plaster coat, have been lost. The painting's relationship with the conspicuous fire-reddening of the main wall-surface is not entirely clear. Presumably this was caused by the fire of 1190 which may have destroyed the wall-painting proper, and all the rest of the scheme on the other jambs and cloister walls.

On 29 June 1891 the skilful and determined Oxford antiquary H. Hurst made a full-size record drawing of the freshly revealed figure (Fig. 106).

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⁵⁶ W. Oakeshott, *Sigona, Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists* (1972), Pl. 52.

⁵⁷ F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter* (1973), 82–3.

⁵⁸ O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (1973), 18, No. 154.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14, No. 111.

⁶⁰ T.S.R. Boase, *English Art 1100–1216* (1953), 154 and Pl. 50a.

⁶¹ O. Pächt, 'The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xix (1956), 68–83.



Fig. 106. Wall-painting on the chapter-house front of St. Frideswide's; drawing by H. Hurst, 1891. (Bodl. MS Top. Oxon.a.18 No. 14; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library.)

THE LATE 12TH-CENTURY SEAL OF ST. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY

There can be little doubt that the seal-matrix (Fig. 107) used by the Augustinian canons of St. Frideswide during the middle ages was made soon after the saint's translation in 1180. An accumulation of evidence points in this direction. To begin with, the size of the seal is large: 83 × 60 mm.⁶² Arguably no institutional seal before the middle of the 12th century was on quite this scale, and even then only the grandest of religious houses, such as the Benedictine Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, aspired to anything larger.⁶³ Locally, the dimensions of the slightly earlier seal of the Abbey at Godstow are directly comparable with St. Frideswide's, and may have prompted the Oxford canons to opt for this degree of ostentation.⁶⁴ Various features of the punctuation and lettering also suggest a date in the second half of the century. The use of a colon to emphasise certain word divisions was apparently disseminated by the second seal of King Stephen and the seal of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, both dating from the late 1130s;⁶⁵ however, it did not become common until the 1170s and '80s. Letter forms such as the uncial-derived M and A are also best explained as late features, as is the upward-turning curl on the final stroke of M and R.⁶⁶ In general aspect, the legend is quite like that on the seal of Bicester Priory, founded 1182–5.⁶⁷ It is even conceivable that the two matrices were cut by the same craftsman, who might well therefore have been locally based.

In its general style, the figure of St. Frideswide herself is hard to parallel. The most convincing comparisons so far discovered are the seal used by Henry II's illegitimate son, Geoffrey, while he was bishop-elect of Lincoln, and the seal of Constance duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond. Both of these survive on charters datable to the 1180s, though the matrices may possibly go back to the previous decade.⁶⁸ On all three seals the design and disposition of the cloak and the long tight sleeves over thin arms, as well as other proportions, indicate a common aesthetic for which there is no compelling evidence earlier or later in the century.

One final aspect of the design, the canopy over the saint's head, may suggest an even more specific date, but it may also have an iconographical purpose. The curious roofline, which breaks from the horizontal into a semicircular arch in the centre and carries three domes, is very like that seen on the reverse of the lead bulls of the masters

⁶² W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, i (1887), No. 3811; W. Greenwell and C.H. Blair, 'Durham Seals: Catalogue made by the Rev. W. Greenwell. . . collated and annotated by C.H. Blair', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser. xv (1918), No. 3533.

⁶³ Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 2796; G. Zarnecki et al. (eds.), *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (catalogue of Hayward Gallery exhibition, 1984) [hereafter *ERA*], No. 356.

⁶⁴ Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 3209; Greenwell and Blair op. cit. note 62, No. 3489; R. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Monastic Seals*, i (1986), No. M348; *ERA* op. cit. note 63, No. 357.

⁶⁵ For Stephen, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iv, eds. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (1969), Pls. i and ii; but cf. *ERA* op. cit. note 63, No. 332 for comments on the date and authenticity of this seal. For Theobald, Birch op. cit. note 62, Nos. 1173–1182, and A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (1956), 225–6.

⁶⁶ H.S. Kingsford, 'The Epigraphy of English Medieval Seals', *Archaeologia*, lxxix (1929), 149–78, tabulates the various letter forms. His basic findings remain valid even though the analysis needs to be extended and refined in the light of subsequent researches.

⁶⁷ Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 2772; Ellis op. cit. note 64, No. M075. There is a photograph of the seal in *V.C.H. Oxon* ii, opp. 138.

⁶⁸ For Geoffrey, Birch op. cit. note 62, Nos. 1701–3; and see D.M. Smith, *English Episcopal Acta, 1, Lincoln 1067–1185* (1980), lx–lxi and notes. For Constance, Birch Nos. 6594–5; W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iv (1935), 77 (and plate), 97; and v (1936), 352; also illustrated in C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries', *Archaeologia*, lxxxix (1943) Pl. XVb.



Fig. 107. The late 12th-century Priory seal: +SIGILLUM: ECCLESIE SANCTE FRIDESWIDE OXENEFORDIE. Left: photograph of B.L. Seal Cast LXX.79 (reproduced by permission of the British Library). Right: composite drawing by John Blair, based on the B.L. cast and the impressions illustrated *Cart. Frid.* i, frontispiece. Actual size.

of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The obvious date at which this design would have become known in England was during the visit of grand master Roger des Moulins early in 1185, and this in turn suggests a date in the mid or late 1180s for Frideswide's seal.⁶⁹

Frideswide herself is shown in an interesting guise. Given her supposedly royal lineage, one would expect her to be crowned and, since she founded a monastery and was (presumably) its first head, she should carry a crosier. Neither is the case.⁷⁰ The only possible reference to her religious life is the open book in her left hand. In 11th-century England this attribute had been shown on bishops' seals, where it denoted a gospel or mass-book.⁷¹ Male and female conventual rulers in the 12th century also carry a book, probably the monastic rule conveyed to them during the consecration

⁶⁹ Birch op. cit. note 62, Nos. 4508–9. Roger des Moulins came with the embassy of Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem; see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (1967), 64, and R.W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (1878), 263.

⁷⁰ For example, the first known conventual seal of Romsey, dating from the second quarter of the 12th century (Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 3927; Ellis op. cit. note 64, No. M735), shows either St. Ethelfleda or St. Merwenna with pastoral staff, and a closed book held against her stomach. This iconography, with the addition of a crown, was current for Etheldreda of Ely by the 13th century (Birch op. cit. note 62, Nos. 3111–2).

⁷¹ Seals of 11th-century English bishops shown holding books are: Wulfstan of Worcester, Anselm of Canterbury (for both see T.A. Heslop, 'English Seals from the Mid Ninth Century to 1100', *Jnl. British Archaeol. Assocn.* cxxxiii (1980), 12–13 and Pl. IIB and F) and Peter of Chester (J. Cherry, 'The Lead Seal Matrix of Peter Bishop of Chester', *Antiq. Jnl.* lxx (1985), 472–3, and Pl. CVIb). On 12th-century English episcopal seals the books does not appear as an attribute.

ceremony; but this is invariably shown closed.⁷² Frideswide's seal does not fit into either category and is quite possibly left deliberately ambiguous to encourage the association of Frideswide with ideas of learning, perhaps even to represent her as a personification of it. Contemporary images of the Liberal Arts, such as the figure of Grammar on the west front of Chartres, and Philosophy or Wisdom the fountainhead of the Arts, were shown with this symbol.⁷³ In her right hand the saint holds a flower. This was a commonplace on ladies' seals at this period and is frequently adopted by the Virgin Mary. Frideswide's flower is probably too short in the stem to be regarded as either a sceptre or a 'virga', so that connotations of rulership and virginity cannot be specifically intended. Its presence here may indicate more general ideas of beauty, youth and flourishing success, and is perhaps stimulated by the plant metaphors used in association with Wisdom in Ecclesiasticus xxiv.12-17.⁷⁴ It introduces a 'natural' element to counter-balance the man-made book.

The most noteworthy feature is that Frideswide is shown enthroned. In general this pose was reserved for saints of high status. On English seals at this period, apart from universal saints such as Mary and Peter, only Alban and Edmund seem to have merited such treatment.⁷⁵ Lesser saints were usually represented standing. Even further down the scale St. Egwin of Evesham, for example, and St. Neot were shown in the presence of, and subsidiary to, a major figure – in both these cases the Virgin Mary.⁷⁶ This argues that communities were, in general, capable of a realistic appraisal of the importance of their patron saints. Indeed, the local patron might be omitted altogether from the major conventual seal. At Burton-on-Trent, Mary is shown seated alone on the Abbey's large seal, St. Modwenna is relegated to a small counterseal.⁷⁷ Interestingly the Burton seal depicts Mary alone, without the Christ Child. Instead she holds a book and a flower, rather in the same way that Frideswide does. It may be that an assimilation to the personification of Ecclesia is intended and, if it is, it is conceivable that such an association was also in the minds of the Oxford canons when they drew up the contract with the maker of their new seal.

At Oxford, the status implied for Frideswide by her enthronement is enhanced by the canopy placed over her head. There were several formulae current for showing a figure within a structure, but these almost always involved the depiction of supporting columns or side walls with doors and windows.⁷⁸ The exceptions are the reverse sides of

⁷² For the tradition of abbots' seals see *ERA* op. cit. note 63, No. 365 (Hugh of Bury) and Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 2617-8 (Walter of Battle). As with abbesses (see note 70 above) a crozier was placed in the right (dexter) hand and a closed book held against the body with the left. The book is almost certainly the Rule of St. Benedict, given during the consecration service: see D.H. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals* (Henry Bradshaw Soc. xcvi, 1971), 103.

⁷³ See most recently M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens, the Allegory of the Female Form* (1985), ch. 9, and M. Evans, 'Allegorical Women and Practical Men: the Iconography of the Artes Reconsidered', in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women* (1978), 305-328; also G. Cames, *Allegories et Symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum* (1971), illus. 6.

⁷⁴ See T.A. Heslop, 'The Virgin Mary's Regalia and Twelfth-Century English Seals' in A. Borg and A. Martindale (eds.), *The Vanishing Past* (British Arch. Reps. Internat. Ser. cxi, 1981), 53-62; and *ERA* op. cit. note 63, No. 337 (Isabella, countess of Gloucester) for the use of 'flowers' on ladies' seals. In the Vulgate the verses where Wisdom describes herself as a flourishing plant are Ecclesiasticus 24. 16-23.

⁷⁵ For example Birch op. cit. note 62, Nos. 3939-43 (St. Albans) and 4299 (Westminster, St. Peter), *ERA* op. cit. note 63, Nos. 349 and 351 (also *ibid.*, Nos. 350, 352, 356).

⁷⁶ Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 3957 (St. Neots). Ellis op. cit. note 64, No. M314 (Evesham) is from the same matrix as Greenwell and Blair op. cit. note 62, No. 3464; see *ERA* op. cit. note 63, No. 355.

⁷⁷ Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 2778; Ellis op. cit. note 64, No. M137.

⁷⁸ For example Oseney (Birch op. cit. note 62, No. 3799), Canterbury (Birch, No. 1369-72; *ERA* op. cit. note 63, No. 358) and Peterborough (Birch, No. 3827).

the bulls of the masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem mentioned above as the probable source for Frideswide's canopy. As well as providing an argument for the date, this comparison also suggests another line of enquiry. It seems likely that the reverse of such *bullae* was thought to show the Holy Sepulchre with the body of Christ laid inside it.⁷⁹ The Sepulchre was, of course, the archetypal Christian burial site and one that was, as a consequence, widely emulated. It was also a major centre of pilgrimage. There are obvious reasons why these two factors would have had very positive and attractive connotations for the canons of St. Frideswide given the recent translation of their saint into a new shrine. But the canopy has not been copied unchanged: the central, arched element of the model has been enlarged. This may have been done for purely aesthetic reasons, but it can equally have been to lay particular stress on the idea of a dome. This may be taken to imply the covering of a ciborium or a tomb, or perhaps even of a large centralised building. While this does not constitute positive proof that Frideswide's body was actually placed in a centralised building or roofed architectural micro-structure,⁸⁰ it nonetheless indicates the degree of elaboration which the canons thought their patroness merited. They were clearly not alone in their admiration: both the popularity of pilgrimage to her shrine and the appearance of her name in contemporary calendars indicate that Frideswide's reputation had reached a very high level.⁸¹

T.A. HESLOP

CATHERINE OF ARAGON'S VISIT TO THE SHRINE OF ST. FRIDESWIDE

In a paper devoted to the shrine of St. Frideswide in the 12th century, Dr. Mayr-Harting drew attention to the fact that it was particularly visited by women.⁸² It was perhaps natural, he adds, for women to favour a female saint. Certainly when miraculous cures there were recorded by Prior Philip at the end of the 12th century the cures of women outnumbered those of men by two to one. Moreover, while some of the cures related to adolescent girls (and none specifically to women in childbirth), one had been of a woman of Chadlington whom no-one had believed to be pregnant when she was. Again, visitors to the shrine had usually tried every remedy before resorting to the saint to seek a miracle. The chief clients who visited her in the late 12th century seem to have been drawn from knights, townsmen, upper peasantry and their womenfolk living within a circle of forty miles round Oxford.⁸³

On 12 April 1518 the King's Secretary, Richard Pace, reported to Wolsey in London

⁷⁹ E.H. King, *The Rules, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099-1310* (1934), opp. 34. Idem, *Seals of the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (1932) contests that this was regarded as a representation of Christ's sepulchre, but this is how the tomb is shown elsewhere, in particular by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre itself in the 1170s; see G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (1943) Pl. V/9, and E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome* (1971 edn.), Pl. 222.

⁸⁰ [cf. above, p. 256: EDITOR.]

⁸¹ Lavish provision of feasts of Frideswide in the calendars of a group of English psalters from around 1200 is one of the reasons for attributing their production to Oxford. See N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: 1. 1190-1250* (1982), cat. Nos. 23, 28, 29. See also H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: the Miracles of St. Frideswide', in H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History presented to R.H.C. Davis* (1985), 193-206.

⁸² Mayr-Harting op. cit. note 80, 197-8.

⁸³ Ibid., 195-204.

that it was secretly said that the Queen, Catherine of Aragon, was with child.⁸⁴ It was to prove her last pregnancy. A daughter, the Princess Mary, had been born in 1516,⁸⁵ but her three male children had none of them lived for more than a few weeks.⁸⁶ Pace prayed heartily to God that the child might be a prince, to the surety and comfort of the realm. The court from which he wrote was on 16 April at Abingdon. It was to move to Woodstock by the 18th.⁸⁷

The Queen took the opportunity to visit Oxford en route, and to call on the former royal almoner to Henry VII who had preached at the funeral of Prince Henry (the first of her three baby boys) in 1511, Richard Rawlyns, warden of Merton. He entertained her to a meal, and recorded his enthusiasm for her prestigious visit in his own hand in the College Register, where he compared her to Juno and Minerva.⁸⁸ To this day a portrait of her (perhaps contemporary) hangs in the Warden's House, though not in the Lodgings where Rawlyns received her.⁸⁹ But her visit to Oxford was much more than a social occasion. She also went to the shrine of the saint in the Priory⁹⁰ and sought a miracle – a male heir for the Tudors. On the failure of the Anglo-Saxon princess to answer her prayers⁹¹ hung the fate of the English Reformation.

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⁸⁴ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer et al., II, pt. ii, No. 4074. I am grateful to Dr. S. Gunn for this reference.

⁸⁵ *D.N.B.*

⁸⁶ The first had died in 1511. The second had been born in 1513 and a third in 1514, but 'lived not long after' (G. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (1942), 127).

⁸⁷ *Letters and Papers . . . of Henry VIII*, II, pt. ii, Nos. 4085, 4089. I owe these references to Dr. Gunn.

⁸⁸ *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis, 1483-1521*, ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford Hist. Soc. lxxvi, 1921), 477.

⁸⁹ Mrs. R.L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits* (Oxford Hist. Soc. lxxxi, 1926), ii. 45.

⁹⁰ See note 88.

⁹¹ A stillborn girl was born in November 1518 (*D.N.B.*).