

The Cornwall Chapel of St. Nicholas Church, Asthall

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SUMMARY

The church of St. Nicholas at Asthall was enhanced in the early 14th century by the addition of some high quality decorative art through the patronage of a local family related to the Earl of Cornwall, one of the most powerful men in the land. An endowment made in 1320 by Lady Joan Cornwall for a chantry priest to say mass in the north transept, the chapel of St. Mary and St. Katherine, demonstrates how far this area had been differentiated from the rest of the church as the focus of family devotion. This article examines the radical alterations Lady Joan made to the appearance of this transept, particularly by the introduction of a grand canopied tomb and a stained glass window, and shows how these served simultaneously to reinforce the noble status and powerful connections of their patron and to create an iconographical setting specifically directed towards her spiritual salvation. Stylistic analyses of both glass and sculpture have been attempted separately before, but here the information is reviewed and the parallel evidence of both tomb and window is shown to build up an interesting pattern for the transmission of artistic trends from London to the provinces through the social aspirations of the wealthy and the mediating influence of local workshops. Taking the transept as an artistic and architectural whole, a reconstruction of the liturgical layout is possible, and in the light of recent scholarship on the subject, consideration is given to the ways in which this reflects its patron's status as a woman, with the specific attitudes she might have had with regard to late medieval piety.

THE CORNWALL FAMILY AND THE MANOR OF ASTHALL

Richard Earl of Cornwall had received lands including Asthall as part of the honour of St. Valéry in a territorial settlement from his brother Henry III in 1227.¹ After his death in 1272, Edmund his only surviving son was knighted and invested with the earldom by Henry III, and we know that at some stage Edmund made a gift of the manor of Asthall to his illegitimate brother Sir Richard Cornwall, because Margaret, whom Edmund had divorced, tried to claim dower rights in the manor after both brothers were dead in 1300.² Sir Richard Cornwall can be connected with Asthall as early as 1279 when the Hundred Rolls show him holding land there.³

Sir Richard Cornwall had served as a knight of Earl Edmund in 1277 and witnessed his charters between 1278 and 1295,⁴ so it is clear that his illegitimacy did not prevent him and

¹ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (1947), 14; *V.C.H. Oxon.* v, 61.

² *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1292-1300*, iii, 482, 486-8.

³ E. Stone (ed.), *Oxfordshire Hundred Rolls of 1279* (O.R.S. xlv), 38.

⁴ C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I* (Harleian Soc. lxxx, 1929), 239.

his wife, Lady Joan, herself a member of the powerful Fitzalan family of the Shropshire borders,⁵ from participating in the courtly, chivalric activities of his noble relatives. They must have seen the castle at Wallingford while it was held by Earl Edmund and where he founded a collegiate church in 1278,⁶ as well as his Cistercian foundation of Rewley Abbey where monks prayed for the soul of his father,⁷ and possibly even visited the grand Cornwall family foundations of Ashridge College in Buckinghamshire or Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire. Not only was Lady Joan thus surrounded by plentiful examples of artistic and religious patronage as a means of self-commemoration and social display, but after the death of Sir Richard in 1300,⁸ she also had the means to indulge her desire for a relatively grand chantry foundation, since she held one third of the manor of Thonnek in Lincolnshire, which was worth four and a quarter knight's fees, as well as a third of the manor of Asthall.⁹

As a widow Lady Joan obtained licence from the king to give to the prior and hospital of St. John the Evangelist at Burford lands and rent in Asthall and Asthall Leigh, to find a chaplain who would celebrate divine service daily in the church of St. Nicholas for the souls of Richard and herself.¹⁰ The gift to the hospital was completed in 1322 and a second document¹¹ specifies that these services should be celebrated in the north transept (referred to as the chapel of St. Mary and St. Katherine) and should also be for the souls of the couple's children after death. These documents underline the fact that the 14th-century alterations to the transept of the church were made with the specific aim of creating a chantry chapel, a distinct space devoted to the commemoration and salvation of the Cornwall family.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CORNWALL CHAPEL

A brief description of the appearance and layout of the church as a whole is a necessary preliminary to establishing what changes were made in Lady Joan's time. As it appears today, the church consists of a nave, north aisle, north transept, a chancel which was rebuilt in the 13th century, and a 15th-century west tower (Figs. 1–2). The arcade between nave and aisle is dated by Sherwood to c. 1160,¹² and she suggests that because nave and aisle are of almost equal width, it is likely that the aisle and north transept were added to the nave of an earlier church. In its present condition,¹³ the transept is higher than both nave and chancel, but from remnants of string-course in the masonry, visible both inside the transept and outside, it is clear from the parts which match up that there have been at least two lower roof levels in earlier times (Fig. 3). It seems most probable that when building the transept, the masons initially intended to match its roof to the level of that of the chancel, but later decided to balance the transept more evenly with the north aisle and

⁵ *Visitation of Shropshire* (Harleian Soc. xxviii–xxix, 1889), 146.

⁶ J.K. Hedges, *A History of Wallingford in Berkshire* (1881), i, 348.

⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 365. For an overview of Cornwall devotional interests see C. Hodsworth, 'Royal Cistercians: Beaulieu, her Daughters and Rewley', in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, *Thirteenth-century England* iv (1992), 123–37.

⁸ His will was proved at Lincoln in 1300: A.W. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills* (1888), i, f. 167.

⁹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1292–1300*, iii, 482, 486–8.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 14 Edward II, 495.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 154.

¹² J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Oxfordshire* (1974), 424–5.

¹³ There is no specific mention of the transept in the only surviving record of restoration from 1884: Oxfordshire Archives, MS. DD. Par. Asthall, c.4. The main work described is re-roofing chancel, nave and aisle, re-building the south front and restoring the north front, with a vague reference to repairing and restoring whichever other parts of the church needed it. It is unfortunate that no interior views of the chapel survive amongst the drawings of J.C. Buckler: B.L. MS. Add. 36372, ff. 103–5 only confirm that its exterior appearance is little changed since 1821.

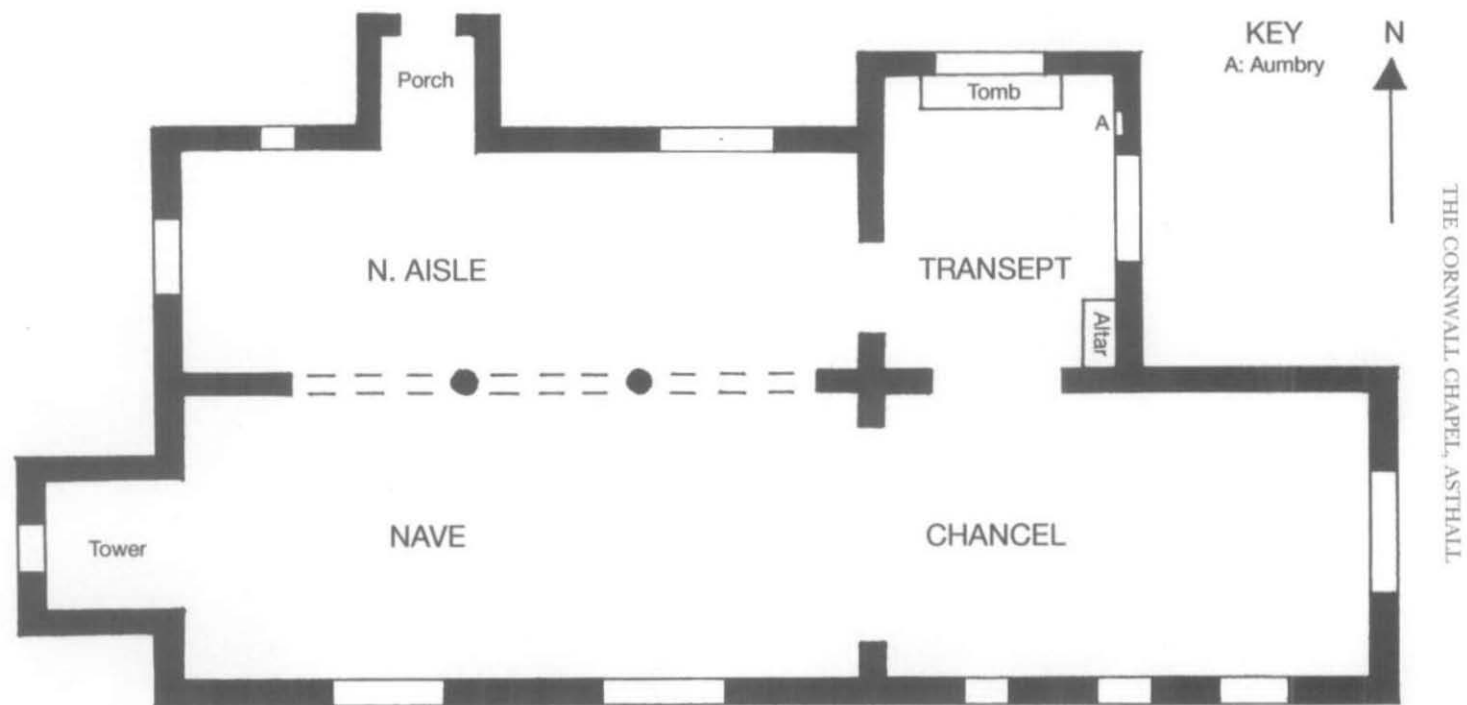


Fig. 1. St. Nicholas Church, Asthall: ground plan (not to scale).



Fig. 2. St. Nicholas Church from north.



Fig. 3. North transept, western wall: roof levels.

nave arcade of the 1160s, and so raised its roof level. The final heightening of the roof to its current level would have taken place concurrently with the other alterations to the transept made in the 14th century by Lady Joan Cornwall.

A separate roof was one way of differentiating a chantry from the rest of the church and at Burford, c. 1200, a merchant guild had even taken this to the extent of building an entirely independent chapel in the churchyard.¹⁴ The transept at Asthall is relatively small in its ground plan, but its strikingly disproportionate height, bizarre to the modern eye, must have seemed the ideal way for Lady Joan to distinguish and impress without the expense of a total rebuilding (the height being further accentuated inside the chapel by the high arch of its wooden roof). Windows with the most modern tracery of the day were also a restrained but effective way of elaborating the chapel, and the remains of three lancet windows remain embedded in the walls where they were blocked to make way for two new ones in the north and east walls (Figs. 4–5). The rectangular east window of the transept is of three lights with ogee heads, separated by ogee trefoils at the top, and is unlike anything else in the church (except one in the south nave which is probably a 15th-century copy). This could perhaps be seen as a reference to the ogee quatrefoils of the dado cornice of the upper chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster (1292–1348), but the north window is even more interesting. Reticulated tracery was known in Oxfordshire as early as 1310–11, according to Sherwood, in the window of Merton College sacristy, and the appearance of a three-light window with reticulated tracery forming the focal point of the chapel in the transept north wall at Asthall is consistent with the connection between the glass at Asthall and that of Merton College chapel. The head-stops, which also mark out this window from all others in the church, show a man and a lady in a wimple. It is tempting to think of them in the tradition of English corbel-carving¹⁵ as representing Sir Richard and Lady Joan, though they are clearly idealized types evoking status rather than portraits in the modern sense. This sophisticated and elaborate window provides an alternative axis of devotion to the north of the chapel, in contrast to the eastern orientation of the chancel.

Inside the chapel, which is barely visible from the aisle due to the retention of the low, narrow archway (Fig. 6), and separated from the chancel by a coped stone parclose, the liturgical focus is similarly ambiguous. The gaze of the faithful is directed to the north by parallel sills running along the east and west walls towards the great unified composition of gabled tomb and stained glass window, with the pinnacles of the tomb buttress and the arch of the window frame cut from single blocks of stone to enclose effigy and window in an integral frame of masonry (Fig. 7). Although this view dominates the space, there is no room for an altar beside it, in spite of the presence of a square recess in the north corner of the east wall, which was probably an aumbry (Fig. 8),¹⁶ so the main altar for chantry mass must have been on the east wall somewhere, thus competing with the visual emphasis to the north. In the south-east corner of the transept stands a stone altar with a curiously truncated rear elevation (Fig. 9); only its front right leg, with a built-in piscina, seems to be original 14th-century work. The back is built in to the wall, but this could have happened at any time, and it seems unlikely that this was the main altar of the chapel in Lady Joan's time.

The combination of stained glass window and tomb is what gives the chapel its dramatic visual impact, even though the gable and finial actually obscure the depiction of the Crucifixion in the central pane of glass. Asthall is not the only local church with a decorative scheme where

¹⁴ Sherwood and Pevsner, op. cit. 504.

¹⁵ E.g. N. Coldstream, 'Fourteenth-century Corbel Heads in the Bishop's House, Ely', in F.H. Thompson, *Studies in Medieval Sculpture* (1983), 165–76.

¹⁶ Holes for the hinges of a door are still visible.



Fig. 4. North transept, east window.

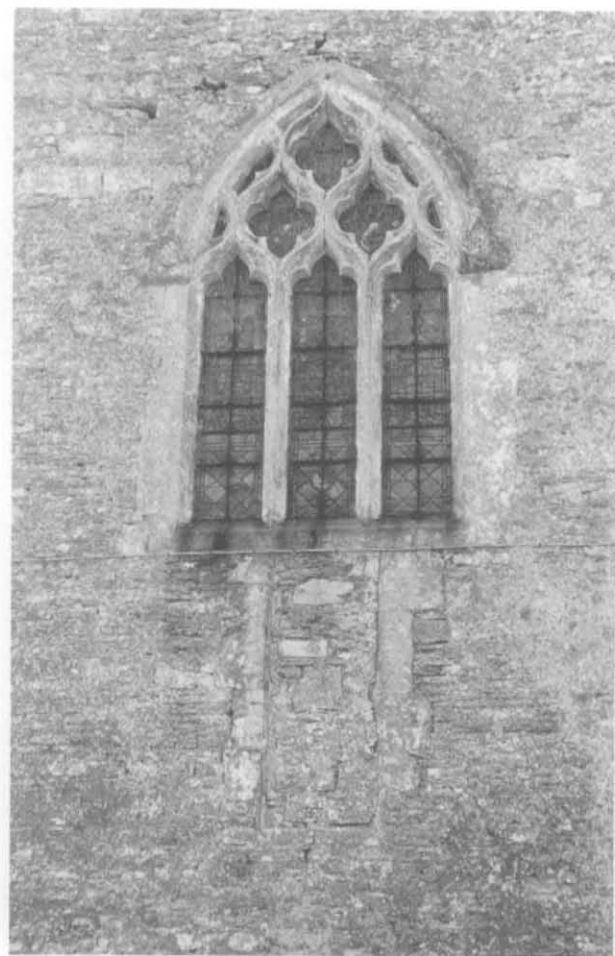


Fig. 5. North transept, north window.

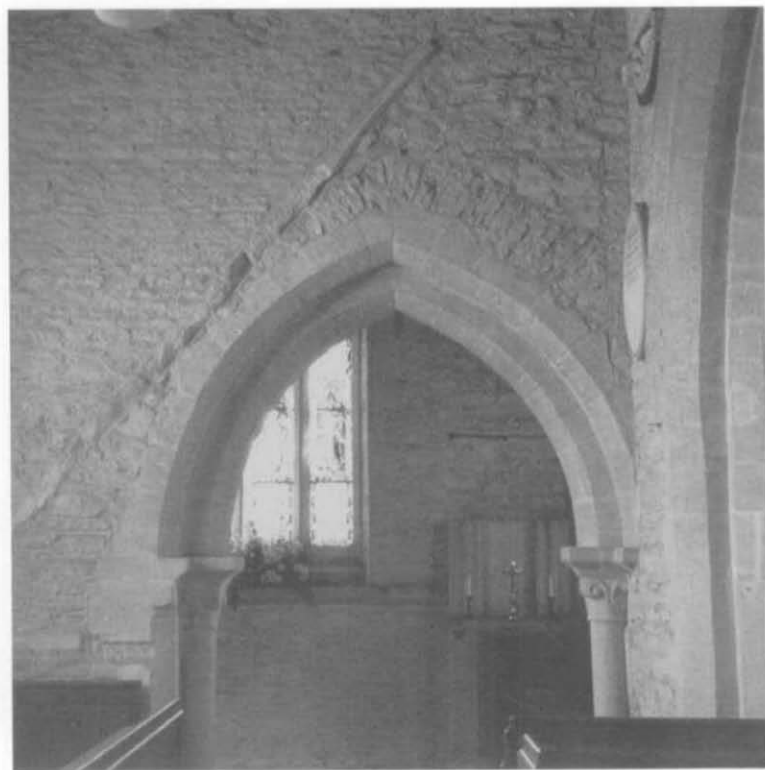


Fig. 6. North aisle, entrance to north transept.

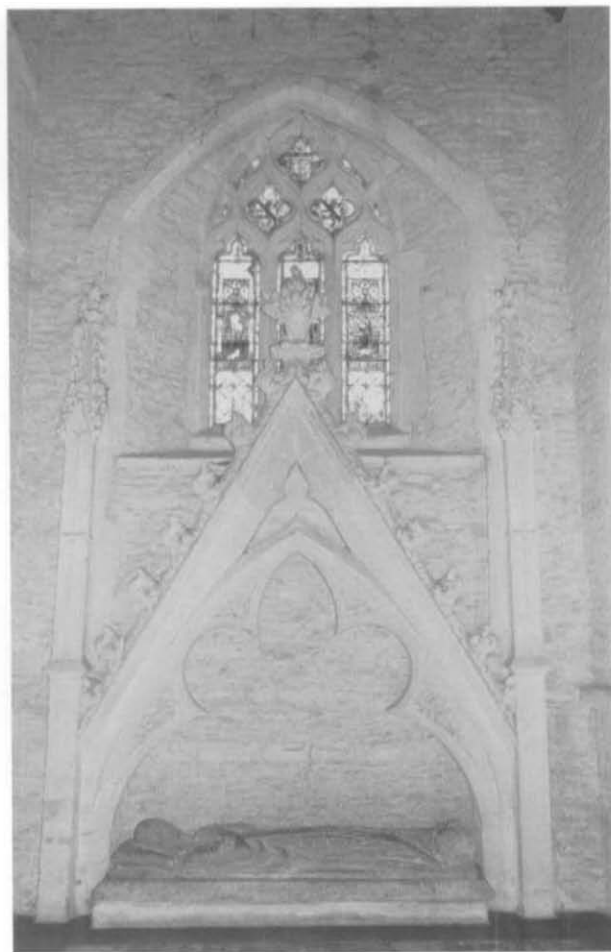


Fig. 7. North transept, tomb of Lady Joan Cornwall.

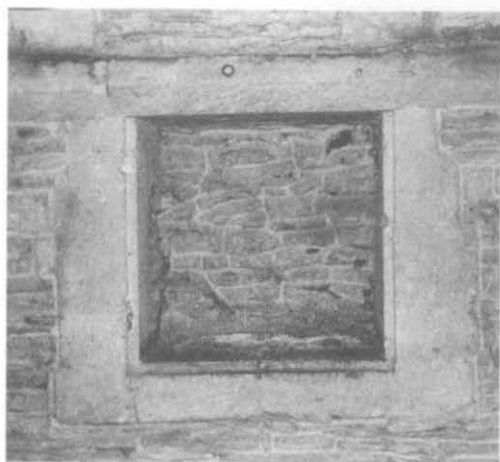


Fig. 8. North transept, aumbry.



Fig. 9. North transept, south-east corner, stone altar.

architectural elements and glass harmonise into a single symbolic unit: Dorchester Abbey (c. 1340) with its Jesse tree tracery window, Ducklington's north aisle east window (Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1340),¹⁷ and the head of Christ windows at Adderbury and Bloxham (c. 1330)¹⁸ all make stonework into more than a mere support for the glass. At Merton College chapel (1289–94)¹⁹ the tops of the lights of the east window are filled with crocketed gables and finials, interspersed with pinnacles: a common architectural motif actually translated into tracery, in the same way that the figures in the Asthall glass stand under canopies strikingly similar to the canopy of Lady Joan's tomb itself. Clearly in Oxfordshire, as elsewhere in the

¹⁷ T. Ayers, 'The Sanctuary of Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire' (Univ. of London unpubl. M.A. thesis, 1991), 42; Sherwood and Pevsner, *op. cit.* 588 (Ducklington). At Ducklington, as at Dorchester, the stained glass would have been thematically linked to the sculpture – a typical approach in the Decorated period.

¹⁸ J. Goodall, 'A Study of the Grotesque 14th-century Sculpture at Adderbury, Bloxham and Hanwell in its Architectural Context', *Oxonensia*, lx (1995), 273, 290.

¹⁹ N. Coldstream, *The Decorated Style, Architecture and Ornament, 1240–1360* (1994), 66.

period, decorative ideas were easily adapted from one medium to another, leading to an overall homogeneity of design, but also to new and exciting inter-relationships of themes.

THE STAINED GLASS

The bright jewel-like colours of the stained glass windows give the Cornwall chapel an aura of opulence which could never be created by architecture and sculpture alone, but more than this, the quality of the workmanship constitutes a conspicuous attempt to promote the family name by aligning the heraldry of the Cornwalls with a style which can be shown to derive directly from Merton College Chapel, one of the most impressive foundations of that time in Oxfordshire.

The glass in the north window of the chapel (Figs. 10–13) is largely original: the top tracery openings are filled with three coats of arms (Sir Richard Cornwall at the top, his sons Edmund on the left and Geoffrey on the right),²⁰ and the main lancets each have a panel with a canopied figure – a crucifixion in the centre flanked by the Virgin and St. John – set into a background of decorative grisaille glass. Peter Newton has provided a detailed examination of the window,²¹ identifying as modern replacements the pieces which lack pronounced exterior pitting, although now it would seem that the oldest pieces are those which show a distinct coating of greenish dirt on the outside. The areas which show radical alteration are the top coat of arms, which is incomplete and has been made up with foliage diaper and part of a patterned strip, and the panel of the Virgin, which is completely 19th-century work. The inscriptions which run beneath the figures are probably restorations as they are more crisp and clear than the bidding scroll in the Crucifixion panel.²² Newton provides a restoration diagram of the Crucifixion panel showing that much of it is original, enough to establish that modern copies of the canopies in the other two panels are reasonably accurate, and it is probable that most of the St. John figure and part of his canopy side shafts are also genuine medieval work. Clearly what we see today is sufficient to give a very reliable idea of the appearance of the glass when it was first inserted, and thus a good basis for analysis of the themes and style.

The single exception to this is a frustrating hint at the greatest loss from the glass since the time of Lady Joan: what appears to have been a donor figure which may have knelt either at the foot of the cross where the diaper seems to be new, or in the space under the Virgin as intercessor. Only one source mentions the existence of this figure – the *Parochial Collections of Richard Rawlinson, 1690–1755*: 'In a North Ile under an arch lyes a Lady at full length said to be the countess of Cornwall. In the window over her is the Crucifixion and on each side a woman, underneath one praying . . .'.²³ The Crucifixion panel contains a bidding scroll²⁴ whose words *Jesu eyet merci de moy* would make sense in conjunction with a supplicant donor, and it does seem unlikely that anyone, even someone who could mistake St. John for a female figure, could have entirely imagined a kneeling figure and then taken the time to record his

²⁰ a) argent a lion rampant gules crowned or, over all a bend sable three bezants or; b) argent a lion rampant gules crowned or, over all a bend sable three bezants or; c) as b) but with three mullets or, instead of bezants.

²¹ P. Newton, 'The County of Oxford: A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass', *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain*, i (1979), 22–5.

²² These read (left to right): *Humiliavit semetipsum factus/obediens usque ad mortem/mortem autem crucis.*

²³ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 400b, f. 1.

²⁴ Newton allows the possibility that this scroll could have been moved from elsewhere in the window, but it fits exactly into the space with no sign of disturbance to the text, so transplantation seems unlikely.

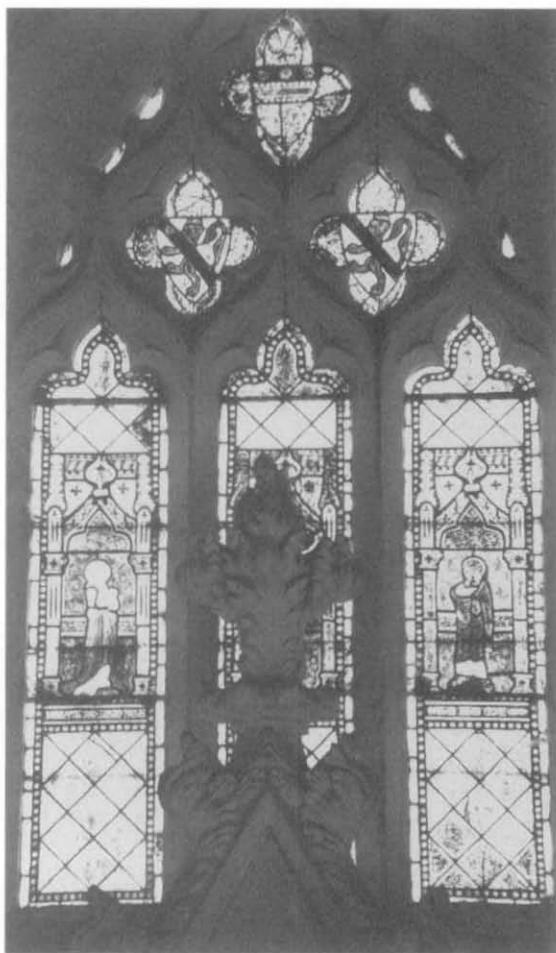


Fig. 10. North transept, north window.



Fig. 11. North transept, north window, Crucifixion panel.

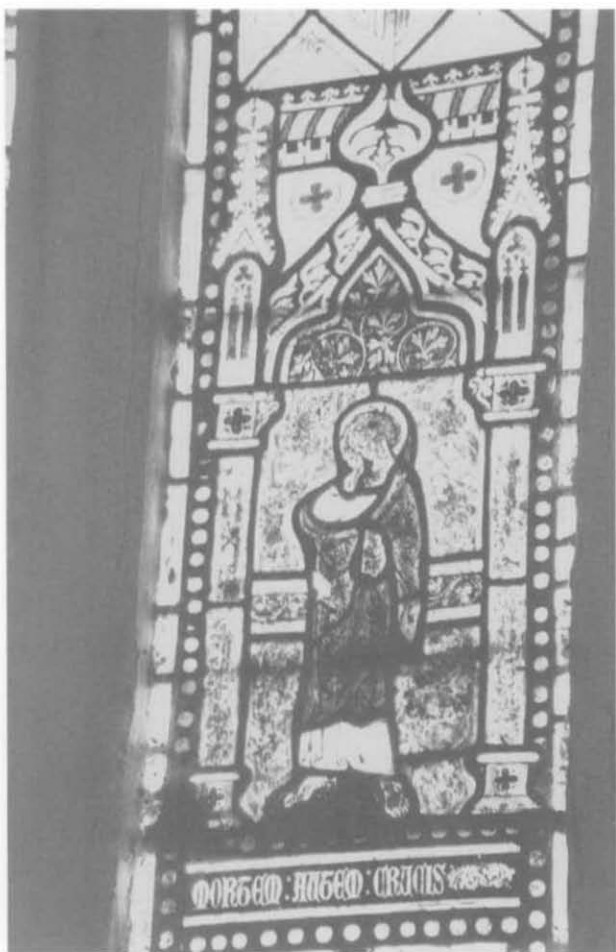


Fig. 12. North transept, north window, St. John the Evangelist.

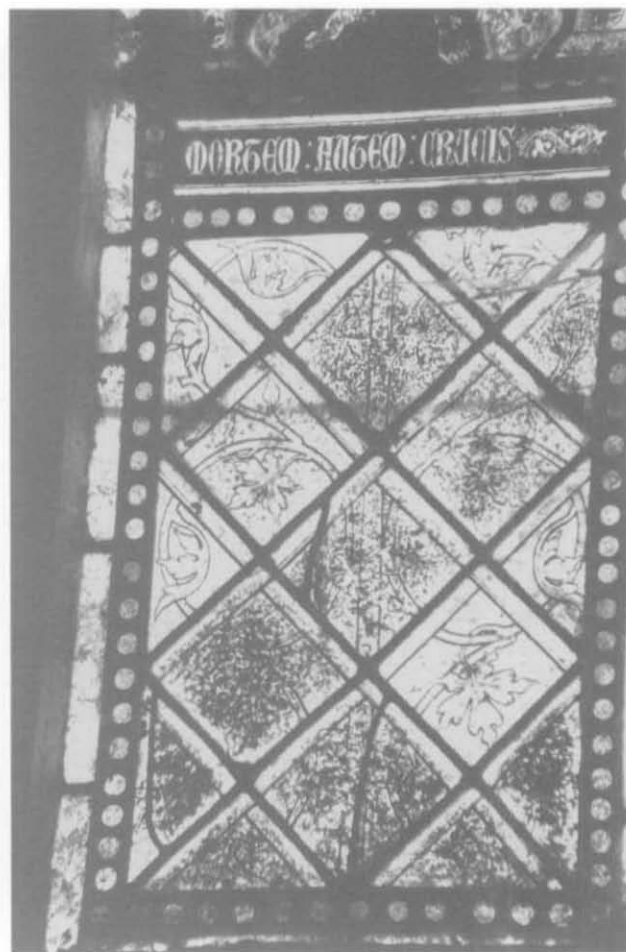


Fig. 13. North transept, north window, right lancet, grisaille.

invention. We can only guess at what it may have looked like, but it will be important to remember the possibility of its existence when considering the iconography of the chapel.

The north window of the Cornwall chapel shows such a striking resemblance to the glass of Merton College, in spite of its smaller scale, that it was probably made to designs from the same workshop or even actually painted by the same group of artists. Work on the choir of the College chapel started just before 1290, and re-roofing took place in 1296-7:²⁵ the fourteen lateral windows of the choir, each consisting of three main lights, contain glass in a band composition – largely grisaille with a horizontal strip of coloured figural glass – just as at Asthall, and they depict standing apostles and saints with Henry de Mamesfield, who paid for some of the work and who is shown twenty-four times, kneeling at the apostles' sides (Fig. 14). The grisaille of the Cornwall chapel consists of a trellis of white, diamond-shaped quarries with a vertical stem in brown paint running from bottom to top of each lancet with trails of maple leaves curving out from it: some of the windows at Merton have a very similar diamond pattern in the quarries (although this is varied, as one might expect in a larger chapel, by others where the leading forms complex geometrical patterns), and the springing of naturalistic foliage outward from a central stem also finds a direct parallel there. Another similarity is the fact that the grisaille at Merton is dotted with roundels (some made up of foliage, others containing heads) and at Asthall there is also a roundel of a radiating double trefoil below the Crucifixion panel. Moreover, the borders at Merton are decorated with heraldic motifs (fleurs de lys and castles) or foliage in much the same way as at Asthall where the windows have a border of heraldic bezants as a Cornwall emblem.

The remains of medieval glass in the east window of the Cornwall chapel (Fig. 15), (which may be slightly later work than that of the north window, because the new technique of yellow stain is used in the east and pot metal in the north) also support these links with Merton: radiating foliage roundels in the tracery lights, oak and ivy foliage grisaille, and borders of oak foliage stems on the outer lights and crocketed stem around the central light. The fact that the foliage stems of the grisaille in this window are less symmetrical than in the north window or at Merton, and have no central stem, again suggests a later creation. Unfortunately, the figure panels have been completely replaced, and thus only the north window of the chapel can be compared with Merton in this most important respect.

The decorative features described above are all standard for the period and could thus confer a spurious correlation between Merton and Asthall, although taken as a group, they do indicate a very similar approach to glass painting. The canopies under which the figures at Asthall and Merton both stand, however, constitute virtually incontrovertible evidence for a direct link between the glass-painters of the two chapels. The Asthall version of the canopy has been simplified (there are only three units of tracery in the side shafts instead of four, and the tracery beneath the canopy is omitted completely) but it still clearly reveals its origins. The basic pattern of gable and pinnacles is the same in both chapels, with detailed equivalence down to the number of three crockets on each side of the gable, and pairs of tracery windows topped by trefoils on the side shafts, with a quatrefoil and projecting leaf at the level of the springing of the arch. The striped dome of a building behind the canopy at Merton has been converted, at Asthall, into a stylised striped decorative band which still retains a lower storey of fictive ashlar masonry pierced with quatrefoils (which in some cases at Merton are tracery windows), and a row of crenellations. The stripes of the Merton domes are elaborated with a pattern of wavy lines and dots exactly like the border of the Asthall roundel and the figures in

²⁵ Sherwood and Pevsner, *op. cit.* 160.

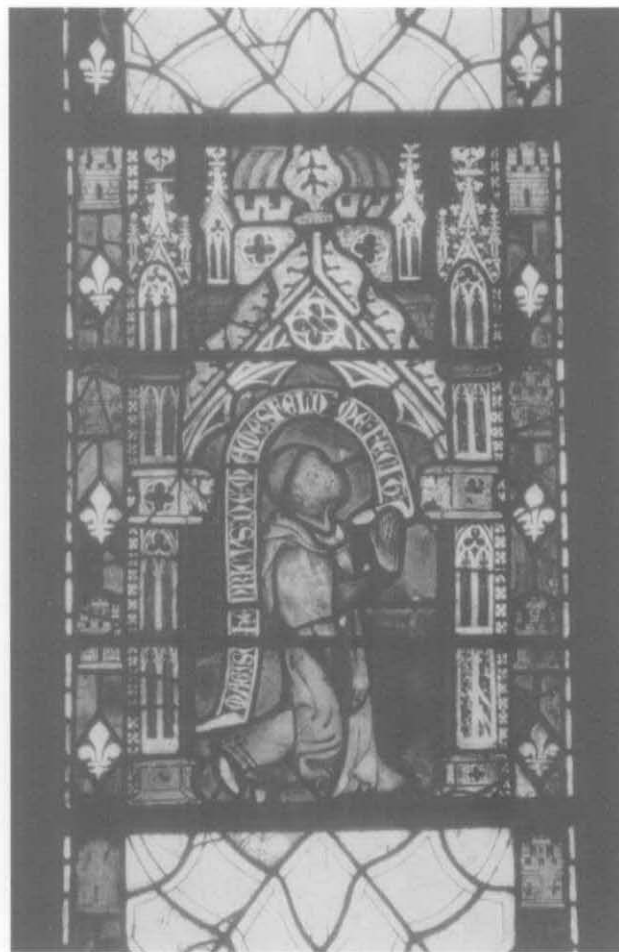


Fig. 14. Merton College chapel: Henry de Mamesfield.

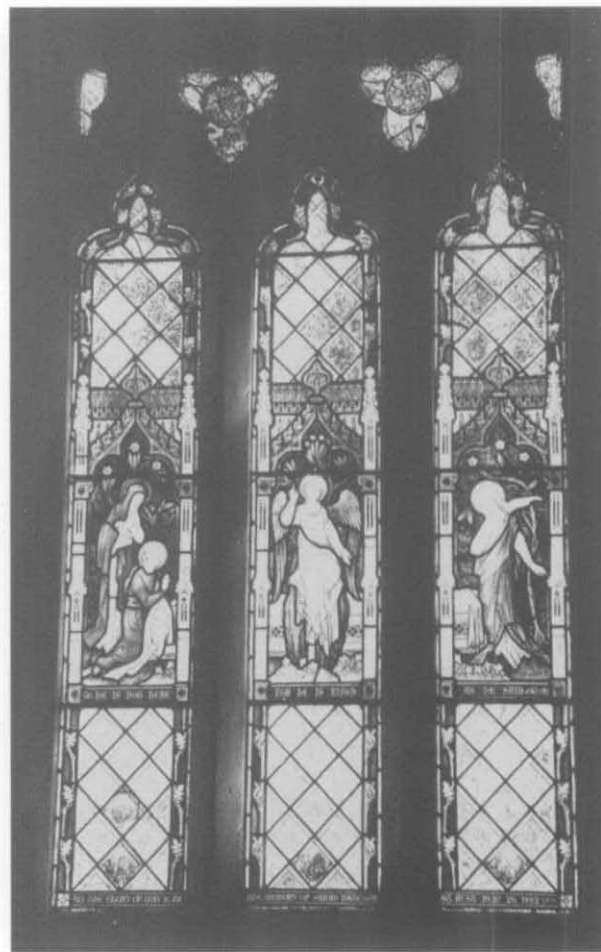


Fig. 15. Asthall: north transept, east window.

both cases stand or kneel against a blue maple-leaf ground,²⁶ crossed by a coloured decorative band just under halfway down the panel.

The painting of the figures themselves (Fig. 16), while more delicate at Merton, manifests the same long, elegantly gesturing hands, and faces with a straight nose, almond eyes, distinctive sloping eyebrows and down-turned mouth – the perfect expression of mournful piety. Their hair is painted in clumps of waving locks, and the overall proportions of the figures are neither excessively tall and thin, nor in any way stocky. The green hillocks on which the Asthall figures stand can also be found at Merton, in both cases a purely formal reference to a spatial setting, showing no interest in the illusion of perspective.

Newton has made the interesting suggestion that another window, which he relates to Merton and Asthall, has links with painting at the court in London at this time. This window, at Checkley in Staffordshire, has a canopy-type which is a less advanced version of that at Merton, and he points out its relationship to the Temple of Jerusalem as it was depicted in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. The combination of a cusped arch and gable in front of a domed building with flanking pinnacles certainly seems sufficiently unusual to indicate a link between glass at Checkley and Merton and current fashions in painting at Westminster. In spite of valid criticisms of the notion of a 'court style' which argue that at this time there was no clearly defined school of artists working solely for the king, whose patronage was anyway characterised by eclecticism rather than stylistic coherence, the royal buildings at Westminster and their decorations certainly set an example to which ambitious patrons outside London could aspire, and Westminster must have served as a central focus for the exchange of artistic ideas. The structure and tracery of Merton College chapel is clearly indebted to St. Etheldreda's, Holborn, built c. 1284–6, which also influenced other buildings outside London such as Burnell's palace chapel at Wells.²⁷ This demonstrates that architectural forms could be transmitted from London to Oxfordshire and elsewhere through the patronage of men connected with the court, and it seems very likely that a similar process took place in terms of painted motifs seen at Westminster, reaching Asthall via Merton.

The particular mournful expression, with long gesturing fingers, found at Asthall and Merton is also seen in many works associated with the court in this period, such as the Westminster Retable, the Douce Apocalypse, and the Westminster Sedilia paintings. In all of these cases, however, the proportions of the figures differ from those of the Oxfordshire glass, being taller, slimmer and more elegantly swaying than at Merton. Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, presented his foundation of Ashridge College, Buckinghamshire, with an illuminated manuscript of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (c. 1283–1300),²⁸ which shows a type of figure closer to that at Merton and Asthall, shorter and with a relatively large head, less mannered and more monumental (Fig. 17). This manuscript is also noted for the signs it shows of a developing interest in painting naturalistic foliage. Evidently the glass of Merton and Asthall was not painted by the same hand as the Petrus Comestor or the Painted Chamber, but it

²⁶ Newton contrasts these large maple leaves with the smaller, tighter ones found in the glass of Christ Church, Oxford, c. 1340, and the west window of York Minster, 1338.

²⁷ See Coldstream, *Decorated Style*, 38, 66. St. Etheldreda's, under the patronage of John Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, was built by London masons probably from Old St. Paul's, while Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died in 1292 and his chapel is uncertainly dated to the 1280s. The role of these high-ranking members of Edward I's household in the dissemination of London-based architectural fashions to the provinces has long been recognised; see J. Bony, *The English Decorated Style: Art and Architecture Transformed* (1979), 12. For the combined roles of bishops, royal patrons and local masons in the diffusion of style, see also N. Coldstream, 'Le Decorated Style: Recherches Récentes', *Bulletin Monumental*, 147 (1989), 55–80.

²⁸ L. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts i, 1285–1385* (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, v, 1986).



Fig. 16. North transept, north window, detail of head of St. John the Evangelist.



Fig. 17. Figure from Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* (B.L. Royal MS. 3.D.VI, f. 116).

does seem likely that the glass painters had seen some of these works and were acquainted with the latest fashions in London. The link between the Petrus Comestor and the Merton-type glass at Asthall is particularly interesting because of the Cornwall family connection between the two.

Peter Newton has developed the idea of a Merton/Asthall group of stained glass windows which manifest a similar style of painting, particularly focused on the characteristic type of head described above. Most of his examples are to be found in Oxfordshire, but he proposes several from the Midlands as well, without seriously discussing how they came to be related to each other.²⁹ Few of these windows can be dated outside stylistic comparisons, and the Midlands glass³⁰ seems to be related to the group by generic rather than specific similarities, as do some of the Oxfordshire examples.³¹ In the main Oxfordshire group, however, the links with Merton are stronger: a Christ in Majesty at Aston Rowant, a head of Christ at Tadmarton, and the life of Lazarus scenes at Great Milton show particular affinity with the heads painted in the roundels at Merton; the Crucifixion in the east window at Kidlington resembles the Dorchester scene of St. Birinus preaching, which in turn resembles work at Merton. Noticeably, none of these windows combines similarity to the Merton head-type with an equally convincing similarity to the canopy-type.³² That combination, unique to the Cornwall Chapel, of head and body type, leaf form in the quarries, canopy design and composition of the window, all strongly recalling Merton choir, implies the translation of a workshop rather than an individual, to the work for Lady Joan at Asthall. In the other cases, the glass was probably painted by individuals who had scattered after completing the commission at Merton, and, taking with them a characteristic style of painting, applied it to markedly different types of scene and setting.

The important implication of this is that the glass at Asthall is more likely to have been painted during, or immediately after the period of work at Merton, and thus earlier than the date of 1320–2 previously attributed to it on the evidence of the chantry endowment.³³

THE TOMB AND EFFIGY OF LADY JOAN CORNWALL

The gabled, pinnaced form of tomb canopy chosen by Lady Joan for her final resting-place at Asthall (Fig. 7) is one interpretation of a basic design principle which had been established in the presbytery of Westminster Abbey, and adapted for use all over England. At Asthall, although the tomb consists of a wall recess, the canopy form is adapted from that of the 'ciborium' type of free-standing monument, first seen in England at the Canterbury tomb of Archbishop John Pecham (d. 1292) and at Westminster in the tomb of Aveline, Countess of

²⁹ P. Newton, 'Schools of Glass-painting in the Midlands, 1275–1430' (Univ. of London unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1962), Ch. 1.

³⁰ Stanford-on-Avon (Northants), Checkley (Staffs), Newark (Notts).

³¹ Dorchester Abbey (St. Michael), Sandford St. Martin (Christ), South Newington (Evangelist symbols), Hardwick (John the Baptist).

³² Dorchester has a canopy, but with no dome, over a narrative scene rather than static figures.

³³ Two examples not mentioned by Newton, but related to Merton/Asthall canopy types, although more elaborate, are dated: North Moreton, Berkshire, in existence by 1299, and a Crucifixion at Barnoldby-le-Beck (Lincs) c. 1320–1330. See F. Whyte, 'The East Window of the Chapel of St. Nicholas at the Church of All Saints, North Moreton' (Univ. of London unpubl. M.A. thesis, 1993), *passim*; P. Hebgin-Barnes, 'The Medieval Stained Glass of the County of Lincolnshire', *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain*, iii (1996), 19.

Lancaster (d. 1273, but the tomb completed in the 1290s).³⁴ Both of the latter consisted of a cusped arch and single gable flanked by pinnaced side shafts, and the effigy resting on a tomb chest decorated with weepers; this design was further elaborated in the tomb of Aveline's husband Edmund 'Crouchback' (c. 1297 by Michael of Canterbury, also designer of the Pecham tomb) who enlarged the earlier canopy form to a tripartite arrangement.

The adaptation of this free-standing form gives Lady Joan's tomb a more impressive aspect than could have been achieved by a simple arched wall recess, and in spite of the constraints of money, local materials, and provincial masons, the canopy is sufficiently reminiscent of the London fashion to commemorate Lady Joan's royal connections. The two most noticeable simplifications are the lack of a tomb chest and the choice of a single rather than a tripartite gable. The arches of the Pecham and Crouchback tombs are both double-cusped like Asthall, but with sub-cusping which Asthall, like Aveline's tomb, lacks; the side shafts at Asthall stand parallel to the canopy face and are decorated with panels of blind tracery under a gable with dog and monkey heads at the junctions of these gables (Fig. 18), all very similar to the Crouchback and Aveline monuments in Westminster. These features at Asthall combined with the naturalistic foliage carving (ivy, oak and vine leaves on the arch cusps, Fig. 19), and even the bulbous coarse crockets and finial,³⁵ demonstrate how closely the details were patterned on those of the most influential tombs of the preceding years, and the significance of these motifs with their royal associations is underlined by the fact that they also appear on the Eleanor Crosses.

The omission of the tomb chest, and the consequently lower base of the canopy with cusps starting low down the arch, at first recalls adaptations of the Westminster tomb type which appear in the West country: the tomb of Bishop Thomas Charlton (d. 1343) in Hereford cathedral, the tomb of a lady in the chancel at Tarrington (early to mid 14th-century), and the tomb in the nave of Little Hereford (c. 1320), are all examples of a Herefordshire variant with a low arch and gable and shorter buttresses than in London. Lady Joan's family connections with the Welsh border counties make a connection with these tombs tempting, as the proportions are unlike those of contemporary local work, such as the tomb of Prior Sutton (d. 1316) in Christ Church, Oxford. However, the overall effect of the gable, in spite of its low base level, is steep and high, rather than wide and low as in Herefordshire, and the result is thus more like Westminster, with the lack of chest probably due to financial constraints rather than to stylistic influences from the west.³⁶

The dating of the canopy obviously must rely largely on the chantry documents of 1320 and 1322, but there are two points of possible significance which also merit consideration. The first is that the lack of any use of ogees in the cusping, as found in the 1320s in, for example, the Alard tombs at St. Thomas, Winchelsea and the tomb of Aymer de Valence at Westminster (d. 1324), show that the tomb was certainly not following fashions current after the date suggested by the documentation. Secondly, the possibility that the tomb could have been built

³⁴ For a discussion of the transmission of this design to England from Italy via France, see L.L. Gee, 'Ciborium Tombs in England 1290-1330', *Jnl. of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 132 (1979), 29-41. For the role of French stylistic traditions, see also C. Wilson, in P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (eds.), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1995), 460. The reference at Asthall to the tomb of the Earl of Lancaster, and that of his wife, is particularly pointed since he was actually related to Lady Joan through Richard Earl of Cornwall who was his uncle.

³⁵ Aveline's tomb has flatter, creeping foliage, rather than crockets, but the crockets of the Crouchback monument double back on themselves in a similar way to those at Asthall.

³⁶ Gee, 'Ciborium Tombs' argues that monuments of this type in the eastern counties tend to be closer in proportion to those at Westminster than those in the west, which generally seem lower and more 'idiosyncratic'.



Fig. 18. Tomb of Lady Joan Cornwall, side shaft.

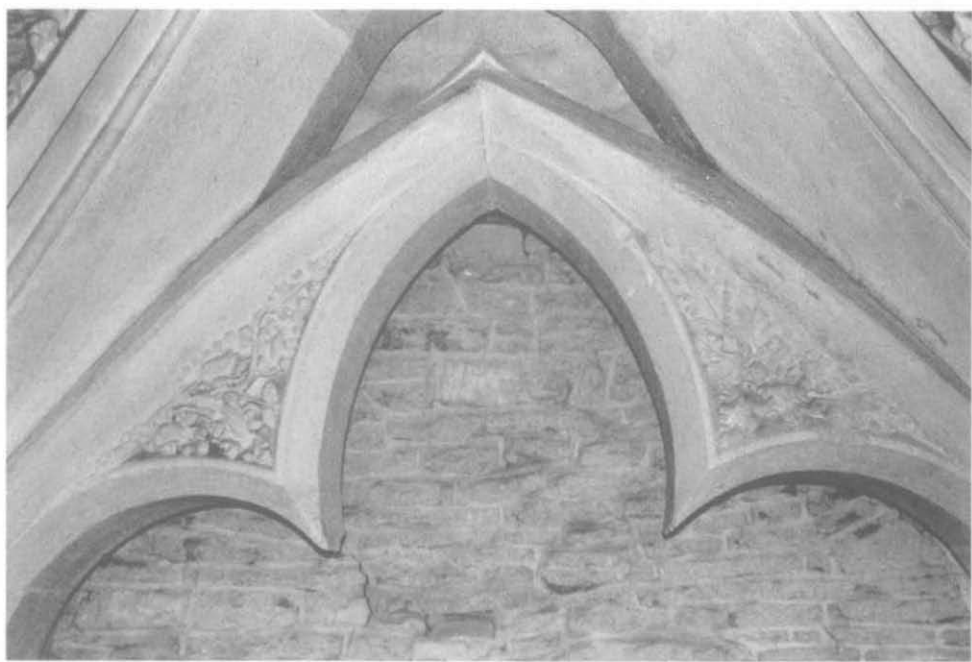


Fig. 19. Tomb of Lady Joan Cornwall, foliage carving in cusps.

rather earlier than 1320 is suggested by the lack of ballflower decoration, early examples of which can be found in Oxfordshire in buildings which are architecturally related to Merton (whose links with Asthall have already been indicated in the stained glass and reticulated tracery), but which are inexactely dated. Many of these buildings are discussed and given convincing stylistic datings by John Goodall;³⁷ they include Adderbury tower (c. 1301–15), Great Haseley's exterior choir frieze (uncertainly dated but with furnishings and style closely comparable to Merton chapel, thus likely to be early 14th-century or even c. 1290), and the exterior frieze of the chancel at Hanwell (c. 1320s or 1330s). That Asthall excludes ballflower at a time when so many other roughly contemporary buildings in the county include it, does not constitute positive evidence for a dating earlier than 1320, but neither does it contradict the opinion already proposed with regard to the stained glass, that a date nearer to 1310 might be more consistent with the stylistic evidence.

The effigy of Lady Joan (Figs. 20–22) is a much darker brown colour than the stone of the canopy,³⁸ which might indicate that its material is a type of ironstone. The plinth it rests upon is of the same stone as the canopy and fits the recess perfectly, while notches have had to be carved in the sides of the arch to allow for the length of the effigy itself, indicating that it was made elsewhere to inaccurate measurements. Without a definite identification of the type of stone it would be dangerous to use this as the sole key to the effigy's place of origin, but the nearest sources of ironstone were in north Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, whereas the lighter stone of the church walls and canopy may well have been quarried at Burford or Taynton, both very close to Asthall.³⁹

The effigy is clothed conventionally in a long, flowing dress, with a round neck and full length sleeves, which covers all but the tips of her feet, and over this is a mantle tied with a looped cord. Her hair is completely covered by a veil and a wimple encloses her face, all carved with more delicacy than the sculpture of the tomb canopy. The patterns formed by the folds of the drapery function as a further connection between the tomb and its royal models: the mixture of long, straight pleats of fabric curving only at the feet, with small voluted folds down the side and loops under the arm from the mantle being caught under the elbow, look like an interpretation of the various patterns of drapery to be found on the Eleanor Cross statues,⁴⁰ and also on the weepers of the Crouchback tomb. All of them have a combination of these basic motifs, although the effect is different. The fact that these figures are shown standing allows for the graceful swaying posture which is absent from Lady Joan's effigy, and in all cases their drapery is far more realistic, whereas Lady Joan's drapery is in unnaturally low relief against her body and the perfunctory nature of the loops under her arm contrasts surprisingly with the profusion of little rippling folds running down her side. It seems extremely likely that the use of two-dimensional, linear representations of the royal works might have enabled a sculptor to reproduce the patterns without understanding the logic of the forms – the final impression is of drapery shapes superimposed on a bland surface, rather than voluminous fabric enveloping a human body. The double cushion arrangement supporting Lady

³⁷ See Goodall, *op. cit.* note 18. Other early examples of ballflower in Oxfordshire: west doorway of Broughton St. Mary ('before 1315'); south porch, St. Mary Kidlington (whose east window of the south chapel is dated to 1317–c. 1330); the spire of St. Mary's, Oxford (c. 1315–25 according to Sherwood and Pevsner, or c. 1310–20: RCHME, *Oxford*, 133); the tomb of Prior Sutton, Christ Church, Oxford (d. 1318).

³⁸ This is clear in spite of the fact that the canopy has evidently been vigorously cleaned at some stage, although there is no clear documentation for when this might have been, apart from the vague terms of the 19th-century restoration faculty (see note 13).

³⁹ A. Clifton-Taylor in Sherwood and Pevsner, 407.

⁴⁰ Coldstream, *Decorated Style*, 41, 100.



Fig. 20. Effigy of Lady Joan Cornwall.



Fig. 21. Effigy of Lady Joan Cornwall, drapery detail.



Fig. 22. Effigy of Lady Joan Cornwall, lion detail.



Fig. 23. St. Margaret's Church, Lewknor: south chancel, effigy of a lady.

Joan's head, and the lion at her feet, apparently proved easier for a less highly-skilled workman to imitate than Westminster drapery patterns, the rotated lower cushion being a motif first seen in the effigies of Queen Eleanor and Henry III (1291-3),⁴¹ and lions most famously seen in the tomb of Eleanor of Castile.⁴²

The distribution of Eleanor Crosses throughout England meant that the 'Eleanor' type of female figure was available for copying and adaptation by masons everywhere, but within Oxfordshire two effigies constitute strikingly similar parallels to Asthall. The effigy of a woman in the chancel of St. Margaret's church at Lewknor (Fig. 23) demonstrates exactly the same interpretive approach, with very flatly carved drapery in a similar range of folds. The stone used is unlike that at Asthall, but, in spite of the greater length and narrowness of the figure, the style of the sculpture alone indicates that it could have been carved at the same workshop, or at least from a very similar pattern.⁴³

⁴¹ H. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England* (1980), 44.

⁴² Dogs appear twice as often as lions in association with female effigies in the 13th century: *ibid.* 41.

⁴³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* viii, 113: a coat of arms still visible on one of the two shields at the effigy's head is described as 'a shield semee of crosses patee, two trumpets in bend', and the effigy is thus identified as the wife of John Trompeton; but B.L. Add. MS. 5527, f. 15b shows the charges as swords, which is certainly how they appear today, which undermines this identification.

E.R. Price seems to have been the first to consider the effigy of Lady Margaret Grey at St. Mary's church, Cogges in relation to Asthall,⁴⁴ although, as she correctly concluded, the style of sculpture is different and more dramatic – unlikely to be work of the same hand, and there is a clear difference in the overall form: a sculpted tomb chest with no canopy. Heavily influenced by Westminster designs, it goes further than Asthall in including the sculpture of two angels at the sides of the head, as seen for the first time on the Crouchback tomb, and similar drapery patterns, more deeply cut and three-dimensional. John Blair and John Steane have dated the tomb to c. 1340,⁴⁵ and their work puts the effigy in the context of the whole chapel built for his mother by Lord John Grey, which provides a fascinating example of the same mixture of tomb, glass and window tracery to be found at Asthall, although executed in a style which has advanced from that of Lady Joan's chapel, and is generally on a larger and more lavish scale. Tantalising links with Asthall appear in the form of a square-headed window in the chapel with two tracery trefoils like the Cornwall chapel's east window, and glass in the tracery of the Cogges chapel's east window with roundels like those at Asthall and Merton, with the addition of nailhead patterned borders round them.⁴⁶

The evidence of the Cornwall chapel, taken as an architectural and decorative whole, along with the stylistic parallels and influences discussed in the preceding pages, shows that in the early 14th century masons, architects and painters, who may initially have introduced outside influences and expertise to Oxfordshire (as in the case of the Merton College glass), then seem to have stayed on in local centres. Subsequent developments in these three arts appear closely related because craftsmen were commissioned to work on similar shared projects in the same area over a considerable period of time, to produce high quality chapels for wealthy patrons, such as Lady Joan Cornwall or Lord John Grey, who aspired to the grandeur of London monuments. Merton-style tracery was influential throughout the county as was Merton-type glass, and it would now seem that there may even have been a local source of effigy sculpture, or at least a shared stock of designs as had happened in Lincolnshire,⁴⁷ which allowed fashionable styles of tomb or chapel to appear in similar forms in Oxfordshire even when produced by different craftsmen. From the late 1290s to the 1340s, from Merton College chapel and the Cornwall chapel to the family chapel at Cogges, artistic influences and links with Westminster were emphasised by patrons to convey the grandest impression of their own power and wealth.

DEATH AND DEVOTION: A FEMALE PATRON

It is no coincidence that Lady Joan Cornwall undertook the patronage of such an ambitious chantry chapel at Asthall after the death of her husband. As the daughter of a noble family, it is likely that her parents arranged her marriage at an early age, possibly as a political alliance. Any land she might have inherited from them would have become part of her husband's property, and it was only after his death, when as her widow's dower she received a third of his land-holdings, that she was in a position of relative financial independence. Signifi-

⁴⁴ E.R. Price, 'Two Effigies in the Churches of Cogges and Asthall', *Oxonien-sia*, iii (1938), 103ff.

⁴⁵ J. Blair and J. Steane, 'Investigations at Cogges, Oxfordshire, 1978–81: The Priory and Parish Church', *Oxonien-sia*, xxxvii (1982), 91–9, 108–10.

⁴⁶ Newton, op. cit. note 21.

⁴⁷ V. Sekules, 'A Group of Masons in Early 14th-century Lincolnshire', in F.H. Thompson (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Sculpture* (1983), 151–64.

cantly, the one freedom a woman was allowed during her married life was the right to choose her own burial place, which did not have to be a tomb shared with her husband.⁴⁸

Death was the one condition in which a woman was equal in status to her husband, and so it is appropriate that Lady Joan should have chosen to decorate her tomb as lavishly as possible, not only as a grand resting place, but perhaps even as a memorial to herself as an individual, independent from her husband. Although the chantry endowment was for the soul of her husband first and then for the rest of the family, in visual terms the chapel was dominated by the canopy of Joan's tomb. Sir Richard Cornwall's coat of arms may be in the apex of the window, but it is Joan's tomb canopy projecting into the Crucifixion panel which brings her nearer to Christ.

Without documents recording any instructions to the craftsmen, we cannot, of course, know to what extent Lady Joan was involved in the design of the chapel, but we know that women could be personally involved in the process, both from the evidence of a spandrel relief in the chapter house at Worcester Cathedral, showing a woman instructing a mason, and from a few French manuscripts which depict women in conference with masons who are carving incised tomb slabs.⁴⁹ The whole design of Lady Joan's chapel appears to have been carefully planned to present a unified theme of devotion and salvation, centring on the figure of the patron herself as represented in her effigy. She lies in the symbolic space of the canopied recess, with the aumbry in the wall as close as possible to her, while in the window above, she could see a picture of herself (if we believe Rawlinson) kneeling before a devotional image of the Crucifixion.

Emphasis on the body of Christ is one of the dominant effects of the chapel, which relates this human side of Christ to Joan, both explicitly and implicitly. Caroline Walker Bynum has argued that the eucharist and related devotions to the body, wounds, heart and blood of Christ were at the centre of medieval women's piety,⁵⁰ which might explain Joan's decision to give particular prominence to this aspect of worship, although it has to be said that it would be just as appropriate for a man in the context of a tomb. Bynum explains that by the high Middle Ages the eucharist had become an object of cult adoration – God who became man, bleeding and broken flesh – and thus access to it became more problematical, and communion less simple. The clergy increasingly came to celebrate on behalf of the laity, with elevation of the host after consecration becoming standard practice, so the congregation could participate visually.⁵¹ The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 made annual communion sufficient for the laity,⁵² and taking into account the physical barrier of the screen across the chancel, which would have blocked the layman's view of the high altar,⁵³ it is easy to see how sacrosanct the host must have seemed to the average person. Chantry chapels and side altars which offered the chance of a more intimate, personal experience of mass became more important in consequence.

The position of the aumbry recess, which probably held the sacrament itself or sacramental vessels with the same connotations of holiness, and its proximity to the effigy of Lady Joan, is instantly remarkable in the Cornwall chapel. This can hardly have been an accident. The small altar in the corner of the chapel nearest to the chancel is a long way from this aumbry,

⁴⁸ M. Wade Labarge, *Women in Medieval Life* (1986), 32, 97.

⁴⁹ V. Sekules, 'Women and Art in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries', in J. Alexander and P. Binski, *The Age of Chivalry, Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (1987), 41–8.

⁵⁰ C.W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (1987), *passim*.

⁵¹ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (1991), 63–82.

⁵² *Ibid.* 50: priests were able to celebrate mass once a day. Even the consecrated chalice would often be withheld and a substitute offered to lay communicants, to avoid spillage.

⁵³ P. Draper, 'Architecture and Liturgy', in J. Alexander and P. Binski, *op. cit.* note 49, 88.

and is unlikely to have been the main chantry altar in the 14th century. Instead, this might have stood under the east window where there is no sign of it now, but which would also have been closer to the tomb. Death appears to bring Lady Joan closer to the body of Christ than strictly limited access during her lifetime would have allowed. Social hierarchies played no small part in the positioning of tombs, and the more important a person was, the more likely they were to find a precious site near an altar or shrine – the Westminster tombs which Asthall emulates were clustered close to the high altar, with Edmund Crouchback even shown turning towards it. In eastern England aumbries have a similar significance, where a whole group of Easter sepulchres are associated with founders' tombs and fitted with aumbries.⁵⁴ The site of the aumbry at Asthall, next to the tomb, imparted an aura of sanctity to the burial, perhaps less impressive than association with a shrine, but drawing on the same idea – a modification of the concept behind burial near a 'tomb of Christ'.⁵⁵

Her hands clasped in eternal prayer, the image of Lady Joan's earthly physical being rests beside the physical tokens of Christ's suffering humanity in the aumbry, and her eyes look upwards to the devotional image in the glass above. As Rawlinson describes it, she was shown there, actually and spiritually elevated, also in prayer, but with a more direct line of communication to God. The scroll with the words of her prayer is in direct contact with Christ's body, virtually penetrating his side where the wound would have been. For mystics, the wounds were literally an entry into Christ with whom they wished to be united in spirit – Thomas à Kempis says: 'Rest in Christ's passion and live willingly in His holy wounds'.⁵⁶ The idea of this wound had particular relation to the eucharist and the wound was an appropriate route for appeals for Christ's intercession because it was his suffering which ensured man's salvation.

The idea of the blood of Christ would also have had particular resonance for Lady Joan because of her noble family connections. Not only had King Henry III himself set an example of current attitudes to Christ's body in his acquisition and subsequent veneration of a relic of the Holy Blood, but he may also have commemorated its presence in Westminster Abbey with a Last Judgement portal, where Christ gestures to the wound.⁵⁷ Edmund Earl of Cornwall (Lady Joan's brother-in-law) purchased another relic of the blood in 1267, dividing it between Ashridge monastery and Hailes Abbey.⁵⁸ In this context, the emphasis on the wound in the Asthall iconography assumes a significance which goes beyond the merely spiritual. It is tantamount to a reminder of its patron's noble lineage and relationship to a particularly pious family of relic collectors.

The notion of purgatory was well established by the 14th century as a place where venial sins might be expurgated through torture, and the process could be abridged by intercessory prayers from the living.⁵⁹ The image of the Asthall window and the effigy's hands clasped in prayer serve as a permanent reminder of how Joan's prayers, and those of the living after her death, mediated through the Passion of Christ, would mitigate, even obviate, her purgatory. The '*Omne Bonum*', an English encyclopedia of the 1360s, includes a miniature of the instru-

⁵⁴ V. Sekules, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine', *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Conference Transactions*, 1982 (1986), 118–31.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 118; Rabanus Maurus stated in 822 that the copy of the tomb of Christ in St. Michael's chapel at Fulda gave solace to the graves of the monks in the crypt below.

⁵⁶ *Imitatio* II.i, vol. ii, 225; see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 302.

⁵⁷ M.E. Roberts, 'The Relic of the Holy Blood and the Iconography of the 13th-century North Transept Portal of Westminster Abbey', in W.M. Ormrod (ed.), 'England in the 13th Century', *Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium* (1985), 129–42.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 140.

⁵⁹ J. le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1984), *passim*.



Fig. 24. Wells Cathedral: south choir aisle, tracery glass, Crucifixion and canon. (Copyright RCHME.)

ments of the Passion with a text saying that whoever recites the prayer *Ave facies praeclara*, addressed to the Holy Face, and looks at the image with devotion, will receive an indulgence of three years from Pope Innocent IV.⁶⁰ Prayer, Passion imagery and purgatory were closely entwined in manuscripts of the time. An image in the tracery of the south choir aisle at Wells cathedral (c. 1320),⁶¹ where the glass shows a canon kneeling at the foot of the cross with the words of his prayer on a bidding scroll (Fig. 24), resembles in type a miniature in the miscellany of Roger of Waltham, thus demonstrating the debt owed by this sort of glass-painting to the more personal art of illuminating manuscripts for the use of specific individuals.

Sandler explains how owner-portraits in manuscripts had various functions, but most importantly the translation of mental images of devotion into pictorial ones – aids to contem-

⁶⁰ L.F. Sandler, 'Face to Face with God: A Pictorial Image of the Beatific Vision', in W. Ormrod (ed.), 'England in the 14th Century', *Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium* (1986), 224–35.

⁶¹ L.S. Colchester, *Wells Cathedral* (1982), 135.

plation incorporated into the text.⁶² Applying the same approach to the Asthall window, we find an image created expressly to inspire contemplation of Christ's suffering body as a route to salvation, both for the use of Joan herself and her ancestors after her death. The words of prayer are shown actually reaching Christ as an additional encouragement, clarifying an invisible process. The image of Joan would have acted as a form of self-definition, personalising the redemptive message of the Crucifixion scene and confirming her belief in its message of hope. Sandler also sees such 'portraits' as a reinforcement of prayers actually uttered, even a surrogate for actual supplication, or a 'permanent effigy of repeated acts of devotional piety'. In other words, the window served as an eternal symbol of the chantry masses celebrated there daily and of the prayers of the living for the dead. As befits the more private space of the chapel, the imagery of the window is intended as an aid and inspiration to individual contemplative piety, rather than as a narrative scene with a didactic function, and hence its relative obscurity behind the finial would not have drastically diminished its efficiency.

The effigy of Lady Joan lies under a canopy which, when painted, would have paralleled the canopies over the holy figures above her; thus her remains rest in their own sacred space, a terrestrial precursor of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The symbolism of the divine light from the coloured glass overhead enhances the transition from earthly corpse and host in their stone prisons to the spiritual world of God and saints above, in their precious shining kingdom. The fact that the movement is upwards parallels the way in which purgatory could be seen as a gradual progress towards heaven: Dante's description of purgatory is in terms of a mountain with the ascent, both physical and spiritual, through seven circles, with punishment alleviated as the soul rises. The Cornwall chapel appears to have been designed with the tomb of Lady Joan as the focus, surrounded by imagery of redemption through the flesh and blood of Christ, which inspired contemplation and prayer, as well as supporting the daily celebration of mass which the chantry endowment had secured.

CONCLUSION

The Cornwall chapel at Asthall is an interesting example of how a noble patron in the early 14th century, wishing to present a self-image of social superiority, could align herself with royal circles through visual symbols. Such provincial plagiarism of the most striking artistic achievements of the day is valuable to us now, as much for the local modifications it manifests as for its successful quotation of sources. Even a relatively small chapel such as this can provide useful information about the way in which styles were transmitted from one place to another and adapted, as those who commissioned them interacted with the craftsmen who interpreted the designs.

Swift deliverance from purgatory and ascent to the ranks of the blessed dead was the aim of every 14th-century believer, and Lady Joan's wealth allowed her to create a vehicle in stone and glass for her route to salvation through her devotion to Christ and his passion. The juxtaposition of tomb and stained glass Crucifixion panel forms an explicit manifestation of contemporary attitudes to death and the afterlife, focused on late medieval affective piety and literal attitudes to Christ's physical suffering. These transactions between Lady Joan and her redeemer took place within the sympathetic context of a semi-private chantry chapel. Here,

⁶² L.F. Sandler, 'The Image of the Book-owner in the 14th Century', in N. Rogers (ed.), 'England in the 14th Century', *Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium* (1993), 58-80.

as so often in the later Middle Ages, personal devotion found its proper outlet, not in public ceremony, but in private retreat.

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