Swansea University E-Theses

Monuments and commemoration in the Diocese of Llandaff, c.1200-c.1540.

Biebrach, Rhianydd

How to cite:

Use policy:

Monuments and Commemoration in the Diocese of Llandaff, c.1200-c.1540

Rhianydd Biebrach

Submitted to the University of Wales in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Swansea University

2010

Summary

This thesis is concerned with the commemoration of the dead in the diocese of Llandaff in the pre-Reformation period, a subject about which little has hitherto been written. It takes as its focus monumental effigies, and also considers other, non-monumental forms of commemoration, such as chantries, obits and lights. The aims of the study have been to build up a picture of the nature of the commemorative culture of the region and how this changed over time, looking in particular at the patronal group, production, and secular narratives, and how south-east Wales compares to other regions of Wales and England. Due to the paucity of written documentation the monuments themselves have been treated as the main sources of primary evidence and much weight has been placed on the identification of the materials from which they have been made.

Some clear conclusions can be drawn from the study. The monumental culture of south-east Wales is shown to differ from that of England in several ways, most notably the much lower numbers of memorials of all kinds, monumental and otherwise. Chronological discrepancies in patterns of patronage between the diocese and parts of England are also revealed. Despite these differences, however, the diocese of Llandaff is seen to be substantially similar in its commemorative culture to other regions in several respects, most obviously the form and style of its monuments. Significant observations have been made regarding the influence of Welsh political, social and economic circumstances on the patronage of monuments and other forms of commemoration, a feature which is particularly notable from c.1400.

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently being submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed...(candidate)

Date....O1/07/10...

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s).

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed...(candidate)

Date....O1/07/10...

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations

Signed...(candidate)

Date....O1/07/10...

CONTENTS

List of figures and tables

<u>Definitions and Abbreviations</u>

Arch. Camb.	*Archaeologia Cambrensis*
BL	British Library
CCL	Cardiff Central Library
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
CIM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*
CIPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
NLW	National Library of Wales
WHR	*Welsh Historical Review*

Numbers in square brackets in the text refer to effigies as listed in the Appendix.

All PCC wills have been accessed online, hence folio numbers are replaced by 'image references'.

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father

David Lewis Morgan

1935-1999

Introduction

The medieval monuments of Wales, in contrast to those of England, have been largely neglected. Only two monographs have been published on Welsh monuments: Colin Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales: Sepulchral Slabs and Effigies of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1968) and J.M. Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses: A Guide* (Cardiff, 1974). The former, although an otherwise invaluable guide to the native monumental traditions of the north, neglects the south, and the latter is more of a catalogue than a scholarly work. Both are now in need of updating in the light of the significant advances that have taken place in the study of memorial monuments in the last forty years. A smattering of journal articles and chapters has added to this slim body of information, but Welsh monuments remain mainly unknown and generally unreferenced by leading scholars in the field. This is not a new observation. The need for a study of Welsh monuments was recognised as early as 1869, when a plea was made in *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* the journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, for the greater study of the monumental remains of Wales, and of Glamorgan in particular. The author claimed that "there are a great many monuments, incised slabs, coffin-lids, etc. to be found in the parochial churches of this county....All these remains ought to be engraved and published, and a most interesting volume would be the result."[1] As this paragraph has already demonstrated, however, the call has generally fallen on deaf ears.

In a response to the challenge raised in 1869, this thesis offers a contribution in the form of a study of the medieval memorial effigies of the Diocese of Llandaff, a subject which bears significantly on several bodies of research. Primarily, it provides a long-awaited Welsh perspective to the study of commemorative culture in medieval Britain which has hitherto concentrated overwhelmingly on England itself (see below, historiography).[2] The monuments of the diocese of Llandaff fall generally within the mainstream insular traditions of monumental design and production (themselves influenced by those of France) which developed in England from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries and, as such, deserve study alongside the monuments

---

[1] H. Longueville-Jones., 'On the Study of Welsh Antiquities', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol.15, 3rd. Series (1869), pp. 78-86, at p. 348.

[2] The medieval monuments of Ireland and Scotland have also been neglected in comparison to those of England.

of England and the continent. In addition, the situation of Llandaff diocese within the multi-cultural march of Wales where Welsh and English populations, language, culture and law co-existed, affords an exploration of the effects of this social structure on its commemorative practices.

It is anticipated that this thesis will also contribute further to our knowledge of late-medieval Welsh society, culture and spirituality. Chronological and geographical patterns of monument distribution, discussed in Chapter Two, and the prevalence of certain materials used in their production, discussed in Chapter Three, reinforce current knowledge of ethnic settlement patterns within the march of Wales, and draw out further some of the already-acknowledged cultural differences between native and settler groups. Furthermore, the study of materials, primarily stone types, refines our picture of south-east Wales's economic and commercial position within the Severnside region and, more importantly, brings to our attention a hitherto unknown centre of monument production in Glamorgan in the first half of the fourteenth century. The wills studied in Chapter Five add to our understanding of Welsh pious practices and provision for the souls of the dead, which are sometimes to be contrasted with what has been seen in England, and therefore provide an instructive counterpoint to the picture of late-medieval piety generated by studies of more wealthy and populous regions.

i. The Historiography of the Monumental Effigy

Historiographical surveys of the literature on monuments and effigies have been published on several occasions. The most recent reviews are those of Nigel Saul and Phillip Lindley, which are complementary in that Lindley's concentrates on the early antiquarian movement of the sixteenth century, while Saul's encompasses later developments in the antiquarian study of monuments and the subject's more recent adoption by the art-historical and historical academic communities.[3] The survey undertaken below is necessary in order to put the present study in context, as it has drawn on and been influenced by the scholarly approaches to the study of monuments described in this section. Moreover, the extent to which Welsh monuments have

---

[3] Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007); Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009). See also Sally Badham, 'Richard Gough and the Flowering of Romantic Antiquarianism', *Church Monuments*, vol. 2 (1987), pp. 32-43.

been overlooked will become apparent, confirming that this contribution is timely and goes some way to filling a gap in the current body of research.

i.a. The Antiquarian Tradition from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries[4]

The monuments of the dead were receiving attention as sources of information even as they were being created in the pre-Reformation period. Their armorial displays made them a prime source of heraldic and genealogical information, and they were valued as repositories of the honour of the nobility and gentry they commemorated. William Worcestre (d.1482) noted the epitaphs of the great and the good as he travelled around England in the service of John Fastolf. His near contemporary, John Rous (d.1491), probably used the effigies in St Mary's, Warwick to inform his drawings of past earls of Warwick in the Warwick Rolls.[5] In 1530 Clarenceux King of Arms was given powers by Henry VIII to remove or deface any spurious heraldry erected in churches,[6] which presumably included that displayed on tombs, and at the same time Lancaster Herald, William Fellows, recorded heraldic information from monuments on his tour of south Wales and Herefordshire.[7] Similarly, the king's antiquary, John Leland, recorded the tombs and epitaphs of such historical figures as Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester at Tewkesbury and 'Quene Elenor' at Bedford Greyfriars.[8] The utility of memorial monuments as a source of heraldic, genealogical and historical information was thus established from an early date, and it was primarily for the same purposes that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century observers sought to record, and if necessary, preserve them.

The burgeoning antiquarian movement's collecting impulse was given a sense of urgency by the real, and perceived, threat to medieval monuments occasioned by the Reformation and Civil Wars.[9] The wish to preserve the memorials of the past because of their age and instructive qualities was the stated motivation behind the first published work in which tombs were the primary interest, John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631). Weever acted: 'Out of the

---

[4] Antiquarian sources for the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff are dealt with in detail in Chapter One.

[5] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, ii, c.1307- the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), pp. 328, 338, 309, 311, 326-7.

[6] Maurice Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England c.1300-c.1500* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 16-17.

[7] Michael Powell Siddons, ed., *Visitations by the Heralds in Wales* (Stroud, 1996)

[8] *The Itinerary of John Leland*, vol. 4, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1909), p. 140, p. 23.

[9] Badham, 'Richard Gough', p. 32; Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, p. 61, p. 66.

3

respect I bore to venerable Antiquity, and the due regard to continue the remembrance of the defunct to future posteritie.'[10] For Weever and his fellow antiquaries, such as Sir William Dugdale, monuments were to be studied and preserved because of the witness they bore to the great and the good of a former age for the edification of the future, and it was the epitaphs rather than the form of the monuments themselves that caught Weever's attention. For the early antiquarian movement monuments were a means to an end rather than an end in themselves.

Signs that this attitude was changing however, soon appeared, and for commentators such as the soldier and antiquary Richard Symonds, the physical appearance of monuments was also a matter of interest. Symonds recorded the monuments in churches he visited on his marches with the Royalist army in England and Wales in 1645, and provides the earliest descriptions of the tombs in Llandaff cathedral.[11] At the beginning of the eighteenth century Browne Willis's surveys of the cathedrals of England and Wales exhibited even more interest in the monument as an object worthy of study in itself. Willis gave physical descriptions, locations and occasionally pondered dates and identifications.[12] In Willis's writings can be detected early intimations of the later interest in dating and classification.

A more radical departure from the heraldic and genealogical concerns, and a further move towards a classifying approach came with Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* (London, 1786, 1796). Gough fully concentrated on the physical form of the monument, regarding the traditional emphasis on heraldry and genealogy as "outdated and restrictive",[13] and was one of the first scholars to carry out large numbers of brass rubbings.[14] *Sepulchral Monuments* changed the whole approach to the study of church monuments by focusing on the costume, armour, architectural details and artistic merit of memorials, making the biographical details of the commemorated a secondary concern. Gough believed that monuments could be used to illustrate national manners and modes and saw the value of comparing them and

---

[10] John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), accessed via Early English Books Online.
[11] C.E. Long, ed., *Diary of Richard Symonds* (London, 1859). See Chapter One.
[12] See, for example, Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff* (London, 1718), and discussion, Chapter One, pp 27-30.
[13] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London, 2004), p. 40.
[14] Nigel Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), p. 3.

establishing rules by which they could be judged.[15] Gough thus initiated a sea-change in the study of monuments and dictated the standard ways in which scholars approached them until well into the twentieth century. Indeed, the value of memorials in the study of costume and armour continues to be recognised today.[16]

Gough's meticulous observations inspired a clutch of imitators, among the most accomplished of which was the antiquarian draughtsman Charles Alfred Stothard (1786-1821). Stothard produced a lavish visual record of monuments, which included bird's eye views as well as intricate close-up details, and he was particularly interested in reconstructing the original look of the monument from surviving traces of polychromy.[17] The work of Gough, Stothard and others resulted in the gradual plotting of stylistic similarities between monuments during the nineteenth century and increasing specialisation in their study.[18] Concern now centred on assigning an effigy a date based on the style of its costume or armour, and conversely, on using effigies as a basis for charting changes in costume and armour throughout the medieval period.

Contributors to the growing number of local antiquarian and archaeological journals of the nineteenth century obviously revelled in the use of the specialist terminology of armour, ecclesiastical vestments, and accompanying heraldry (which continued to draw their attention), with the result that their accounts can now appear rather abstruse and somewhat pedantic. Yet it was such attention to detail on which the more analytical observations of a later age depended. Although earlier antiquaries had exhibited some interest, it was with the foundation of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in the 1840s that the study of Welsh monuments got underway in earnest. For the next few decades articles and notices on the monuments in the

---

[15] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 274-5.
[16] Badham, 'Richard Gough', pp. 32-33. The minutiae of the construction of armour and weaponry as represented on effigies still occupy the pages of dedicated journals such as *Church Monuments:* see, for example, Leslie Southwick, 'The Armoured Effigy of Prince John of Eltham in Westminster Abbey and Some Closely Related Military Monuments', *Church Monuments*, vol. 2 (1987), pp. 9-21; Claude Blair, 'The Date of the Early Alabaster Knight at Hanbury, Staffordshire', *Church Monuments*, vol. 7 (1992), pp. 3-18; Mark Downing, 'Military Effigies with Breast Chains', *Church Monuments*, vol. 10 (1995), pp. 7-20; Mark Downing and Richard Knowles, 'A Fifteenth-Century Helmet Depiction, Gnosall, Staffordshire', *Church Monuments*, vol. 17 (2002), pp. 49-53.
[17] Charles Alfred Stothard, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817-1832). Stothard's habit of drawing monuments from a height led to his premature death from a fall while working in a church.
[18] Other major nineteenth-century works include: Mathew Holbeach Bloxham, *A Glimpse at the Monumental Sculpture of Great Britain* (London, 1834); Thomas and Geoffrey Hollis, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1839-1842); Charles Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854), which covered non- and semi effigial monuments only, and C.J. Wall, *Tombs of the Kings of England* (London, 1891).

parish churches of Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and other Welsh counties were regularly published in its journal, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. These contributions suggest that there was a certain level of interest in monuments among the Association's members, fuelled perhaps by the dilapidated state of some of the diocese's medieval remains. In 1847 an anonymous correspondent expressed concern over the state of the Berkerolles tombs at St Athan and the Butler tomb at St Brides Major.[19] In the same volume another correspondent wrote concerning the identity of the military effigy at Llansannor,[20] and an article by J.O. Westwood noted the unusual features on the incised slab of John le Botiler at St Brides Major.[21]

Refreshing though this is, the study of Welsh memorial effigies, in common with that of England, was still rooted in the antiquarian tradition. Consequently, the majority of the nineteenth-century articles on monuments in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* concern themselves with descriptive details of heraldry, genealogy, armour and costume and are lacking in scholarly analysis.[22] Others are little more than lists.[23] In this, however, the contributors to the journal followed the approach taken to the study of monumental effigies current at that time, and in that sense they added significantly to the growing body of research in the field. It is possible to argue that more was published on Welsh monuments in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* from the 1840s to the beginning of the twentieth century than through any other medium at any time before or since. Even so it is difficult to appraise the value of this contribution to the modern scholar. The articles are lacking in analysis and the authors, like most of their contemporaries, were often all too ready to accept traditional identifications and stories attached to the memorials. Overall it would be difficult to argue persuasively that our *understanding* of the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff has been greatly enhanced by the nineteenth-century contributions to this journal.

---

[19] 'Correspondence', *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 2 (1847), p. 93.

[20] 'Correspondence', *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 2 (1847), p. 185.

[21] J.O. Westwood, 'On Certain Peculiarities Observable in some of the Early Monumental Effigies in Wales', *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 2 (1847), pp. 233-243, at p. 242.

[22] Classic examples of this approach can be seen in S.W. Williams, 'Some Monumental Effigies in Wales', *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 7, 5th series (1890), pp. 182-193, and G.T. Clark, 'East Orchard Manor House', *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 15, 3rd series (1869), pp. 63-78, which contains detailed descriptions of the Berkerolles tombs at St Athan.

[23] See in particular Mrs. Thomas Allen, 'A List of Effigies in South Wales', *Arch. Camb.*, vol 10, 5th series (1893), pp. 248-252.

The detailed collation of information in antiquarian journals such as *Archaeologia Cambrensis* did, however, establish a general chronological framework for the development of the monumental effigy, and was the necessary precursor to more analytical scholarly approaches which involved making close stylistic links between effigies and the recognition that different monuments may have been the product of certain schools or workshops with identifiable characteristics. The increasing specialism of the study of monuments from the end of the eighteenth century had a less desirable consequence, however, in that the study of the sculpted memorial became separated from that of the monumental brass.[24] The study of brasses was fostered by their ease of reproduction via rubbings, a pastime which gained popularity in the atmosphere of the Gothic Revival, and was given a further boost by the foundation of the Monumental Brass Society at Cambridge in 1886.[25] Brasses quickly became subject to a more intellectually rigorous critique. As early as 1861 the question of engraving styles and workshop origin had been raised in Herbert Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses,* but his ideas proved to be somewhat ahead of their time and were not seriously taken up again until the mid-twentieth century, leaving the study of brasses primarily to those interested only in details of costume and armour.[26]

i.b. The Study of Monuments in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries.

The last century saw great developments in the historiography of the medieval monument which developed from the antiquarian collecting and classifying impulse into a fully-fledged academic discipline which fostered the recognition of the value of monuments to the study of various aspects of medieval society, religion and culture. The collecting and classifying approach, well-established by the beginning of the twentieth century, has continued to the present with the publication of county surveys. Since 1992 the *County Series,* published by the Monumental Brass Society, has built up a portfolio of volumes listing all the monumental brasses, indents and

---

[24] Saul, *English Church Monuments,* p. 5.
[25] Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 24.
[26] Saul, *English Church Monuments,* p. 5.

lost brasses known from antiquarian accounts in the counties of England.[27] County and other regional surveys of sculpted memorials also continue to be published.[28]

Another tenacious preoccupation has been the question of dating, which for many years continued to be worked out according to details of costume and armour. For long an exercise undertaken for the prime purpose of ordering and cataloguing and thus tracing stylistic development, it is still a prerequisite of the modern study of monuments. The date of a tomb must be established in order to appreciate its context fully, and impacts on discussions of patronage, production and other secular narratives. Since the middle of the twentieth century it has been understood that a monument's date is more securely arrived at by considering the style of the effigy and accompanying features, than by the observation of its costume alone. In 1955 an important contribution was made by Laurence Stone, who set the production and development of monuments against the backdrop of changing architectural and sculptural styles. The swaying pose typical of many early to mid fourteenth-century effigies and weepers he attributed to the "passion for undulating decorative rhythm" which characterised Decorated architecture.[29] Similarly, the linearity and austerity of Perpendicular was to be detected in the straight, frontal style of effigies from the second half of the fourteenth century until the Reformation. The attitude and sculptural treatment of the body, followed by the drapery style, he argued, were the best and most reliable methods of assigning a date, with the details of costume or armour playing only a supporting role.[30] The validity of this technique was echoed twenty-five years later by Harry Tummers in *Early Secular Effigies in England,* which was primarily concerned with establishing detailed criteria by which monuments could be assigned to that century. Details of dress and armour, he concurred, were insufficient guides on their own and the attitude of the effigy had to be the overriding consideration.[31]

A key theme throughout the last century has been the place and mode of production of the monument. That the brass industry was located in urban workshops with a readily identifiable

[27] See, for example, the most recent volume: William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (London, 2009).
[28] The most recent example is Mark Downing, *Medieval Military Monuments in Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 2010).
[29] Laurence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1955) p. 156.
[30] Stone, *Sculpture in Britain,* pp. 114-115.
[31] H.A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 10-12.

output has been thoroughly established,[32] but the organisation of the sculpted monument industry is still a matter for debate.[33] It was long held that carved tomb-production was also urban-based. Prior and Gardner's highly influential 1912 work on medieval figure sculpture identified regional schools producing effigies of a distinctive style, and popularized the concept of the urban workshop.[34] This was followed up by Alfred Fryer in a seminal article of 1923, which furthered the acceptance of the long-lived theory of the Bristol workshops. Fryer followed Prior and Gardner in tracing the origins of this supposed production centre in the dispersal of the workshop responsible for the construction of the west front of Wells cathedral in the first half of the thirteenth century.[35] Current research, however, emphasises the range of differing forms of industrial organisation. Brian and Moira Gittos have demonstrated that Bristol was merely one of several production centres in the West Country, and that some of the supposed characteristics of Bristol manufacture identified by Fryer, such as the use of Dundry stone and 'lengthwise' mail, were imperfectly understood.[36]

The location of quarries is now known to have had a major impact on the production of monuments and their geographical distribution. In the case of alabaster and Purbeck marble monuments, which are made of readily recognizable materials known to be quarried in a restricted number of locations, this has long been accepted. It is now appreciated that the identification of the stones that other monuments were made from is necessary in plotting distribution patterns and thereby pinpointing likely centres of production. The influence of quarries has been recognised in regard to the monuments of north Wales, where Colin Gresham identified a late fourteenth-century workshop centred on the quarrying of a fine-grained grey stone in northern Flintshire which shipped its products along the coast and inland up the River

---

[32] See for example, Sally Badham, 'London Standardisation and Provincial Idiosyncrasy: The Organisation and Working-Practices of Brass-Engraving Workshops in Pre-Reformation England', *Church Monuments*, vol. 5 (1990), pp. 3-25.

[33] This was the subject of the conference 'Monumental Industry: Carved tomb Production in Fourteenth-Century England' held at the University of York in October, 2008, the transactions of which are due for publication in Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, eds., *Monumental Industry: Tomb Production in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010).

[34] E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912).

[35] Alfred C. Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies made by Bristol Craftsmen (1240-1550)', *Archaeologia*, vol. 74 (1923-24), pp. 1-72.

[36] Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Alfred Fryer's 'Monumental Effigies by Bristol Craftsmen': A Reassessment' in Laurence Keen, ed., *Almost the Richest City: Bristol in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1997), pp. 90-92. 'Lengthwise' mail is not only found on effigies outside the south-west, but also on seals and in manuscripts.

Dee.[37] That short-lived workshops could spring up around a convenient source of stone and patronage has been highlighted in Yorkshire,[38] but the mobility of the craftsman himself is also now being recognised.[39] It has recently been observed that, unlike brasses, most sculpted monuments were not produced in an urban environment and in very few cases can large numbers be attributed to a single workshop. Some may have been produced in monastic houses, others in workshops near quarries, and some by rural masons for a localised market.[40]

The role of the patron has also been a matter of debate, and this has particularly been the case in the patronage of monumental brasses. Malcolm Norris observed that circumstantial evidence pointing to the advance production of stock figures must necessarily have limited the creative input of the patron and that instructions given in wills can also be vague. Yet, the purchaser was able to exercise choice in the selection of marblers and in details, such as size, inscriptions and additional features.[41] Patronal involvement has been most clearly implicated in the large number of studies on the secular functions of the tomb. Andrew Martindale, Peter Coss, Anne Mcgee Morganstern, Nigel Saul, and Brian and Moira Gittos have all demonstrated how English monuments carried a range of secular messages, which were often dictated by the personal circumstances of the patron, whether it be childlessness, social mobility, or territorial and family concerns.[42]

The studies highlighted above have stressed secular narratives and social display, but the fundamental purpose of the medieval monument was to solicit prayers for the soul in purgatory.

---

[37] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*, pp. 9-10, p. 15, p. 18.

[38] Brian and Moira Gittos, 'The Ingleby-Arncliffe Group of Effigies: A Mid Fourteenth-Century Workshop in North Yorkshire', *Church Monuments*, vol. 17 (2002), pp. 14-38.

[39] Sally Badham, 'The de la More Effigies at Northmoor (Oxfordshire) and Related Monuments at Winterbourne (Gloucestershire)', *Church Monuments*, vol. 23 (2008), pp. 14-44.

[40] Sally Badham and Geoff Blacker, *Northern Rock: The Use of Egglestone Marble for Monuments in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), p. 31; Sally Badham, 'Evidence for the Minor Funerary Monument Industry 1100-1500', in Kate Giles and Christopher Dyer, eds., *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2007), pp. 165-95.

[41] Norris, *The Craft*, pp. 88-90.

[42] Andrew Martinadale, 'Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages' in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 143-178; Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England 1000-1500* (Stroud, 1998); Anne Mcgee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000); Saul, *Death, Art and Memory;* Saul, 'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses', in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 169-194; Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies' in *ibid*, pp. 143-167.

Remarkably, this function had not been analysed in any depth before the later twentieth century, no doubt in part due to the religious squeamishness of earlier generations of protestant antiquarians and historians. Since the 1990s however, there has been an "explosion of death studies".[43] A growing body of research into all aspects of medieval death culture is being amassed, from the preparations made for death and the process of dying, to the disposal of the body and the strategies put in place for the care of the soul thereafter. The latter issue is of particular relevance for the student of medieval effigies, but stress has also been laid on alternative, less 'concrete' forms of commemoration, such as lights, obits, endowed masses and chantries. The research of Clive Burgess into commemoration in late medieval Bristol has not concerned itself with monuments, but has significantly enhanced our understanding of the tomb as memorial as it encourages our appreciation of them as merely one form of commemoration among many, which in some cases were part of a much wider holistic scheme for salvation.[44]

Greater appreciation of the spiritual and secular functions of the medieval tomb has recommended them to historians of the gentry and of material culture. Peter Coss's study on the lady in medieval England, although not primarily concerned with tombs, recognised their utility as an additional source of information on female status, image and even marital relations.[45] Jon Denton made extensive use of memorials in his study of the east-midland gentry and recognised the monumental effigy as a "gentle symbol" necessary to the construction of the gentle image, a point also emphasised by Deborah Youngs.[46] Peter Lord's survey of the artistic and material culture of medieval Wales has included a wide range of effigies and other monuments, which he used to locate Wales within the broader cultural trends of Britain, Ireland and Northern Europe. While Lord's approach is that of the art-historian, he also taps into the appreciation that the

---

[43] Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, eds., *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester, 1999), p. 3.
[44] Clive Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead: The Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions,* vol. 105 (1987), pp. 183-211; Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity: Perpetual Chantry Foundation in Late Medieval Bristol' in Christopher Harper-Bill, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 1-32; Burgess, 'Longing to be Prayed For: Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages' in Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 44-65.
[45] Coss, *The Lady.*
[46] Jon Denton, 'The East-Midland Gentleman, 1400-1530', University of Keele PhD Thesis, 2006, pp. 2-9, quote on p. 4; Deborah Youngs, *Humphrey Newton (1466-1536): An Early Tudor Gentleman* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 134-141.

effigy was a part of gentle culture and a form of social display.[47] The most successful utilisation of the monument in the study of the gentry to date is certainly Nigel Saul's account of the Cobham brasses, which has not only established "a paradigm for a new approach to the subject" of brasses themselves, but has also afforded an insight into the tastes of medieval elites and revealed intra-family relationships and processes of self-imaging. In Saul's words, the brasses are "a window onto the Cobhams' world" and should be utilised by the historian as any other form of source material.[48]

Although Welsh monuments were included in a small number of the studies mentioned above, the most up-to-date methodologies generally have not been applied in a Welsh context. Harry Tummers's omission of Welsh examples from his study of thirteenth-century secular effigies was reasoned thus: "not only because these effigies are mostly lagging behind the mainstream of stylistic development in England, but also because most of them have recently found their historians."[49] Neither comment is strictly correct, particularly so regarding the thirteenth-century monuments of the diocese of Llandaff, many of which *are* mainstream products of West Country origin and few of which had generated any scholarly interest. Tummers's comments referred primarily to Gresham's 1968 account of the monumental sculpture of north Wales, an important but undervalued contribution to the historiography of the monumental effigy which, as far as Welsh monuments are concerned, has yet to be superseded. Two important, although small-scale, exceptions to the literature on Wales are found in the work of Sally Badham and Phillip Lindley. Lindley's research on the monuments at Abergavenny has made these tombs the best known and understood of all Welsh monuments,[50] while Badham's account of south Wales's minor effigial monuments underlines the extent to which they have been ignored hitherto, commenting that

---

[47] Peter Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003).
[48] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, p. viii; p. 7; p. 9.
[49] Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, p. 5.
[50] Phillip Lindley and Carol Galvin, 'New Paradigms for the Aristocratic Funerary Monument around 1300: Reconstructing the Tomb of John, Second Baron Hastings (1287-1325) at Abergavenny Priory, Monmouthshire', *Church Monuments*, vol. 21, (2006), pp. 58-93; Lindley, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments at Abergavenny and the Mournful End of the Hastings Earls of Pembroke' in J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, eds., *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (Leeds, 2006), pp. 136-160; Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*.

"the impression created by the literature is that there was a dearth of minor effigial monuments in [the south Wales] area, but this is far from true."[51]

ii. The Diocese of Llandaff in the later Middle Ages

The medieval diocese of Llandaff came into being as a territorial entity under Bishop Urban (1107-1134).[52] Broadly speaking it coincided with the post-1536 counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, with the exception of Swansea and the Gower peninsula, which formed part of the diocese of St David's. The diocese covered a number of marcher lordships, by far the largest of which was that of Glamorgan, in the west, with the smaller lordships of Gwynllwg, Abergavenny, Caerleon, Usk and Chepstow further to the east. At less than half the size of St David's, and comparable in area to St Asaph and Bangor, Llandaff was the poorest see in Wales. In 1535 nearly eighty percent of its livings were worth less than ten pounds a year, with thirty-four percent valued at less than five pounds.[53] It contained large tracts of barren upland, and the majority of the population was concentrated in the fertile lowlands along the coast and major river valleys. There was little urbanisation, but towns existed at Newport, Usk, Chepstow, Abergavenny, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Kenfig and Neath. While none of these were large by English standards they were of some significance within Wales, especially the ports of Newport, Chepstow and Cardiff (the largest town in south-east Wales), which were engaged in a sea-borne trade focusing on the major regional entrepot at Bristol and along the Bristol channel. Considerations of regional wealth, population and urbanisation levels will be shown in Chapter Three to have a direct bearing on the nature of commemorative practice in the diocese.

Llandaff was also the most anglicised diocese in Wales.[54] This part of south-east Wales had been an early target of Norman expansion: work on the motte at Cardiff began in 1081,[55] while the

---

[51] Sally Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments in West and South Wales: An Interim Survey', *Church Monuments,* vol. 14 (1999), pp. 5-34, quote on p. 5.
[52] F.G. Cowley, 'The Church in Glamorgan from the Norman Conquest to the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century', in T.B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History,* III, (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 87-135, at p. 87.
[53] Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415-1642* (Oxford, 1993), p. 132.
[54] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* p. 24.
[55] Max Lieberman, 'Anglicization in High Medieval Wales: the Case of Glamorgan', *Welsh Historical Review,* vol. 23 (2006-7), pp. 1-26, at pp. 4-6.

great hall of Chepstow castle may date to before 1071.[56] A recent study of the process of Anglo-Norman infiltration in the marcher lordship of Glamorgan has concluded that there were sustained levels of English immigration into the lowlands from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.[57] The resulting racial mix was generally one of segregation into 'Welshries' and 'Englishries', the latter subject to an English-style manorial system and the upland occupants of the former living according to Welsh law and custom. There was some intermingling, but this did not become marked until the fifteenth century.[58] In Monmouthshire, where there was a strong English presence in the lowlands, there was nevertheless a more complicated mix of native and settler populations than further west.[59] The English socio-economic elites of the diocese (known as the *advenae*) instinctively looked south and east towards Gloucestershire, Somerset and beyond, rather than north and west into the rest of unconquered Wales, and this was for reasons of geography as well as of political structures and ethnicity.[60] This Severnside bias will be seen to have greatly influenced some aspects of commemorative practice in the diocese of Llandaff, but in other ways the differences in commemorative culture between the Welsh and English shores of the Bristol channel will be shown to be of a fundamental nature.

The decision to focus this study on the diocese of Llandaff has resulted from a number of considerations. It has already been pointed out that the major studies of the commemoration of the dead, monumental and otherwise, have tended to take a national focus,[61] but regional, county

---

[56] Jeremy Knight, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone and Utilised Stone in Wales and Ireland', in Conleth Manning, ed., *From Ringforts to Fortified Houses: Studies on Castles and Other Monuments in Honour of David Sweetman* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 143-154, at p. 144.

[57] Lieberman, 'Anglicization', p. 16.

[58] David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 59-64; R.R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 303-317, p. 418, pp. 447-452.

[59] R.R. Davies, 'Plague and Revolt' in R.A. Griffiths, T. Hopkins and R. Howell, eds, *Gwent County History II: The Age of the Marcher Lords c.1070-1536* (Cardiff, 2008), pp. 217-240, at pp. 217-220.

[60] It was an outlook which still prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the gentry of the coastal plains of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire had very few links with the Welsh interior, making it "often difficult to see Glamorgan as part of a 'Welsh' unity": Philip Jenkins, *The Making of A Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 3-11, quote p. 11.

[61] K.L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965); Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses;* Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* and *The Craft* (London, 1977, 1978); Brian Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (London, 1980); Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies;* John Coales, ed., *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops, 1270-1350* (London, 1987); Saul, *English Church Monuments.*

14

or city studies have also found favour,[62] and this has particularly been the case in doctoral dissertations.[63] A national study would be unmanageable at this level; however, the county approach is not possible for the Welsh march, nor do individual lordships offer enough data, either monumental or documentary. Llandaff diocese on the other hand presents a suitable and valid regional alternative. Its boundaries delineate a territory with a coherence arising from the spiritual authority of the bishop and the loyalty that the laity owed towards Llandaff cathedral as the mother church, reflected in surviving wills. A certain amount of internal coherence is also generated from the social networks of the resident gentry who regularly intermarried and held land in more than one lordship within the diocese. In addition the diocese contains a useful number of monuments (sixty-three), a good proportion of which (twelve) are in the cathedral itself.

iii. The Parameters of the Study

Although very little has been published on the majority of the diocese's memorials, the monuments of the Hastings and Herbert families at St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny, have been well-researched.[64] As a large collection of high-status, imported monuments, they are in some ways untypical of the region, which contains a significant proportion of local products commemorating a less exalted social group.[65] It is now the time to turn our attention to these lesser-known monuments, several of which compare well in quality and significance with the Abergavenny collection, but about which a great deal has yet to be said. Accordingly, the memorials at Abergavenny do not form a major part of the present study as the focus on them

---

[62] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving;* Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (Woodbridge, 2001); Saul, *Death, Art and Memory;* D. Lepine and Nicholas Orme, *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (Exeter, 2003).

[63] See for example, Jonathan Finch, 'Church Monuments in Norfolk and Norwich before 1850: A Regional Study of Medieval and Post-Medieval Material Culture', PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 1996; Clara Maria Barnett, 'Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York', D.Phil thesis, University of York, 1997; Kelcey Wilson-Lee, 'Their Final Blazon: Burial and Commemoration among the North Midland Nobility and Gentry, c.1200-1536', PhD thesis, University of London, 2009; Jane Crease, 'Medieval Alabaster Effigies in Yorkshire', PhD thesis, University of York, 2008. Christian Steer's study of the monuments of medieval London, at Holloway, is nearing completion.

[64] Claude Blair, 'The Wooden Knight at Abergavenny', *Church Monuments,* vol. 9 (1994), pp. 33-52; Lindley and Galvin, 'New Paradigms'; Lindley, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments '; Lindley, *Tomb Destruction.*

[65] This observation does not apply so much to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Herbert monuments, which have strong parallels with contemporary monuments at Llandaff and Newport: see Chapters Three and Four.

15

has already been such that other monuments have been ignored and a wider view of the monumental culture of the region has been obscured.

At the heart of this study will be an assessment of the monuments of the lordship of Glamorgan. This is partly because Glamorgan has about twice as many surviving monuments as Monmouthshire and, apart from those at Abergavenny, many in the latter county cannot be identified and/or are in a worn or mutilated condition. Furthermore, some small but significant collections exist in Glamorgan (such as those of the Mathew, Berkerolles and Turbeville families) which deserve greater attention, while the collection of five thirteenth-century episcopal memorials at Llandaff can be argued to compare in importance with those at Abergavenny. It is therefore the aim of this thesis to present an overview of the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff, but making special reference to those in Glamorgan.

The chronological parameters of the study have been dictated by the monuments themselves. The earliest medieval monument in the diocese (Bishop Henry of Abergavenny (d.1218)) is of early thirteenth-century construction, and the latest (Arnold Butler (d.1541) and his wife, at St Brides Major) is likely to have been made very close to the subjects' date of death. The latter monument, moreover, is still very much a recognisably medieval product, seemingly uninfluenced either by reformist theology or Renaissance artistic styles. No attempt has been made in this thesis to consider the fundamental changes wrought in the design and concept of the memorial effigy by these later developments.

The research is also concerned exclusively with effigial and semi-effigial monuments. There are many non-effigial cross-slabs to be found in the diocese and the decision to exclude them from the study has been taken for a number of reasons. Their sheer number and wide dispersal presents challenges in itself, and this is exacerbated by the fragmentary nature of many.[66] Nor is it clear which social groups habitually chose non-effigial commemoration in south-east Wales. Some monuments are substantial and commemorate known members of gentry families for whom effigial memorials also survive, such as the raised early-thirteenth-century slabs of

---

[66] More than sixty in the diocese of Llandaff are catalogued in John W. Rodger, 'The Stone Cross Slabs of South Wales and Monmouthshire', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society,* vol. 44 (1911), pp. 24-64, which is unlikely to be exhaustive. Greenhill mainatained that there are more cross slabs than effigies in Wales: F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs,* vol. 2 (London, 1976), p. 38.

William and Maurice de Londres at Ewenny priory, the fifteenth-century slab of Robert Mathew 'minoris' at Pentyrch and the tomb-chest of Sir Thomas Morgan (d.1510) at Llanmartin. Abbatial slabs survive at Margam, a particularly interesting example being that of Robert, abbot of Rievaulx, who died while on a visitation of Margam in the early fourteenth century. The majority, however, are anonymous and this makes them difficult to place in a study such as this, which is concerned with the patrons and subjects of the memorials to a significant degree. Although some of these monuments are occasionally referenced in the text, overall it is felt that the cross-slabs and other non-effigial monuments of the region warrant a study in themselves, which could not be attempted within the bounds of this thesis.

iv. Research Questions and Methodology

The present study covers much new ground because there have been few previous attempts at a scholarly analysis of the region's monuments.[67] It has therefore been necessary to locate and catalogue all the diocese's medieval effigies as a preliminary exercise, the results of which are contained in the Appendix. The resulting data has been used to create a series of profiles – chronological, geographical, typological, petrological – which can be compared to other parts of south Wales and south-western England. In this way the typicality, or otherwise, of the numbers and forms of commemorative monument in the diocese of Llandaff may be explored.

Nigel Saul has recently criticised the narrowness of outlook of traditional monumental studies, which had a tendency to privilege discussions of style, costume and date over function, meaning and context. He has welcomed signs that a more integrated approach is now being taken and has applauded the growth of methodological diversity, which has encouraged different ways of looking at memorials, from their mode of production to their socio-political significance.[68] It is

---

[67] The most thorough attempts at coverage have been made in the Glamorgan and Gwent/Monmouthshire volumes of the Buildings of Wales series, but these are not entirely foolproof. The Glamorgan volume, for example, omits two effigies in the churchyard at Merthyr Mawr and is not always accurate as to dates. They are also entirely descriptive accounts and can be used as a starting point only: John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995); *Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000) Apart from the Abergavenny memorials the episcopal effigies at Llandaff cathedral have been the only group to attract scholarly attention, most recently in Madeleine Gray, 'The Medieval Bishops' Effigies at Llandaff Cathedral' *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 153 (2004), pp. 37-51. The most valuable study to date is to be found in Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', pp. 5-34, which sets some of the incised slabs and semi-effigial monuments of Wales in a wider regional context and discerns links between them. As the title suggests, however, it is not an exhaustive account.
[68] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp. 5-6; *English Church Monuments*, pp. 8-10.

17

the aim of this thesis to take an interdisciplinary approach, which takes as its central enquiry the nature of the social groups involved in the commissioning of memorial effigies, and how social, political and economic circumstances determined their commemorative choices. The extent to which ethnic origin, local availability of expertise and materials, cultural and trading links between south-east Wales, south-west England and elsewhere impacted on the monumental sculpture of the diocese will be considered. A secondary aim of this thesis is to consider the commemoration of the dead in the diocese of Llandaff in a broader sense. The monumental effigy was only one method among several of securing the remembrance of the dead in the Middle Ages, but this is a fact which historians of death and commemoration rather than of monuments *per se* are more likely to acknowledge.[69] Chapter Five therefore considers the significance and frequency in south-east Wales of other methods of securing intercession for the dead, such as chantries, obits and lights.

The main primary sources of this thesis are the monuments themselves. This has been a matter both of choice and necessity. As Chapter One makes clear, the types of documentary evidence which would normally be sought out in a study of monuments are either absent or very thin, and this has encouraged a greater flexibility of approach towards the evidence which does exist. Careful study of the monuments, their distribution in time and place, their style and execution, and – crucially – their materials and origin, has had to replace wills, contracts, licences, registers, churchwardens' accounts and other records which may have, in other areas, elucidated the circumstances of their commissioning, production, erection and function. This can be contrasted with the approach taken to studies on medieval monuments in York and London, where large numbers of monuments have been lost, but for which a rich archival source is available.[70] It is not possible to claim that the monuments could entirely replace a rich documentary archive of the type described, but when used carefully they can be an extremely valuable resource. In the case of some individuals and families about whom relatively little is known – the Berkerolles and Mathew families being the best examples – a great deal can be gleaned from their

---

[69] See for example: Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, 1997); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996); Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter;* Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour.*

[70] See Barnett, 'Memorials and Commemoration'.

monuments about their social and political networks and aspirations, economic reach, ethnic identity and cultural participation.

Conclusion

There has been scarcely any period which has not exhibited an interest in church monuments since the fifteenth century, but it is within the last few decades that the most significant developments in our knowledge and changes in the direction of research have taken place. In particular, the research of the last twenty years has seen the study of the medieval monument come of age. There is still scope for the art historian, the genealogist and the student of armour and costume, and this is precisely because the utility of the medieval monument as a historical source is now recognised to be very wide-ranging. New avenues continue to be explored. Phillip Lindley's research into the 'afterlife' of the medieval monument, their treatment and mistreatment by subsequent generations in the early modern period is a prime example.[71] Lindley's book ends with the Restoration, but continuing the theme into the modern era would be a very valuable exercise. There may also be great potential in the most recent path to be opened up, which links the memorial effigy with the seal. Elizabeth New has noted the similarity between images on episcopal seals and tombs and has argued convincingly that the design of one influenced that of the other, suggesting that the effigial image was intended to perform a similar authenticating function to that of the seal, as the embodiment of the person and office it represented.[72] It is nevertheless the case that English monuments have until now dominated in all respects and there is much research into the monumental culture of Wales and the other regions of Britain yet to be carried out. It is hoped that this study is able to make a contribution by exploring the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff.

.

---

[71] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction.* Preliminary research was published in 2004: 'Disrespect for the Dead?: The Destruction of Tomb Monuments in Mid Sixteenth-Century England', *Church Monuments,* vol. 19 (2004), pp. 53-79.

[72] Elizabeth New, 'Episcopal Seals and Bishops' Tombs: Some Comparative Thoughts', paper presented at the Monumental Brass Society conference, 'Canons, Clergy and Churchmen', Salisbury September, 2009. See also, Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of the Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York, 2009).

Chapter One

Sources for the study of the monumental effigies of the Diocese of Llandaff

This chapter explores the content and assesses the value of the corpus of written source-material available for the study of the monumental effigies of the diocese of Llandaff. The vast majority of this small collection is antiquarian material of various kinds, the only contemporary written records being a small number of wills. The second part of the chapter uses this material to assess the extent of the losses of, and nature of the damage to, Llandaff's monuments. In particular it will be determined whether Llandaff cathedral and diocese were subjected to a high degree of iconoclasm in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or whether attacks and neglect over a more extended period have wrought more destruction.

1.1 Contemporary written evidence.

The only contemporary written references to the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff are contained in wills. This is by no means a satisfactory state of affairs and the shortcomings of wills for evidence of this kind are well known.[1] Wales, moreover, is a country for which very few medieval wills survive; just over two hundred of Welsh interest from the period up to 1541 have been located,[2] which is less than survive for many English counties and even some cities.[3] Sixty-four wills have been located which pertain to the Diocese of Llandaff.[4] A minority of these

---

[1] A discussion of the uses and limitations of testamentary evidence for *post-mortem* commemorative provision is found in Chapter Five, pp. 219-221.

[2] 180 of these were proved in the PCC, fifteen are taken from the bishops' registers surviving for St Asaph 1536-40, and thirteen are to be found among the Hereford wills: Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, Revised Edition, 1976), p. 288. Those which contain bequests to religious houses are listed in *ibid,* Appendix C, pp. 564-8.

[3] Peter Heath, for example, consulted 355 Hull wills from 1400-1529 in his study of the pious practices of the city's late-medieval population: Peter Heath, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills', in Barrie Dobson, ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 209-234, at p. 211.

[4] This figure has been arrived at from four sources: the list given in Willams, *Welsh Church*, pp. 564-8, which includes only those which make bequests to religious houses (22); Philip Riden, ed., *Glamorgan Wills Proved in the PCC 1392-1571: An Interim Calendar* (Cardiff, 1985) (2); the first will of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke

have quite tentative links to the diocese, such as those of John Richard of Bristol (1411) and John Cogan of Wells (1412), who leave small legacies to Cardiff bridge and St Mary's church in the town.[5] Most, however, are the testaments of residents and/or major land- or office-holders in the diocese,[6] and were proved in the PCC.[7] The wills are overwhelmingly post-1500 in date; only fourteen survive from the fifteenth century, and while nearly all request prayers or some other form of commemoration, only five request or refer to monuments.[8] None of the five, four of which were made by members of the Herbert family of Monmouthshire, describes the desired monument in any detail: William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (d.1469), who requested his tomb in two wills, made before and after the battle of Banbury;[9] Sir William Herbert of Troy (d.1524);[10] Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester and Lord of Gower and Chepstow (d.1525)[11] and Morgan John of Bassaleg (d. 1500).[12] Although the tombs are not described the wills are nevertheless of significant value as the monuments of the earl of Pembroke, Morgan John and Sir William Herbert of Troy no longer exist.[13]

(1469) and that of William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon (1483, but d.c.1490) are preserved in the Herbertorum Prosapia, CCL, MS. 5.7; 21 have been located in the National Archives and 17 are given by D.H. Williams in 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills in the National Library of Wales', in *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol. 19 (2003), pp. 113-128.

[5] Riden, *Glamorgan Wills*, p. 1.

[6] Examples of the latter are two bishops of Llandaff, John Marshall (1495) and Miles Salley (1516). On the other hand the will of William Stradling, Chancellor of St David's (1539), has not been included despite his Glamorgan origins as he identifies himself wholly with St David's diocese and makes no bequests concerning or other references to Glamorgan.

[7] Riden, in *Glamorgan Wills*, p. iii, claims that none of the wills registered at Llandaff survive before the end of the sixteenth century, but D.H. Williams has located several preserved in the Badminton Deeds at the National Library of Wales.

[8] These are discussed further in Chapter Three, pp. 77-80.

[9] CCL, MS. 5.7, fols. 56-8; TNA: PRO PROB 11/5, image ref: 305.

[10] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 203.

[11] TNA: PRO PROB 11/22, image ref: 132. These monuments are discussed further in Chapter Three.

[12] TNA: PRO PROB 11/12, image ref: 22.

[13] The tomb of the Earl of Pembroke was located at Tintern Abbey together with other Herbert monuments. It is not known whether those of William Herbert of Troy and Morgan John were ever erected.

The only other testators who are known to have had effigial monuments did not make testamentary provision for them, either because the monument was already arranged, or it was the later action of family or executors. Robert Walsche (d.1427) of Llandough (Glamorgan) and Langridge (Somerset), made extensive testamentary provision for his soul, but his will contains no reference to his brass that until recently lay in the chancel of Langridge church.[14] John Marshall, Bishop of Llandaff (d.1496) sought, and received, burial near the altar steps in Llandaff cathedral, but the effigy [30] that now occupies the space is not mentioned in his extensive will,[15] and the testament of Arnold Butler (d.1541) is similarly silent on the matter of the imposing and unusual tomb that commemorates him and his wife at St Bride's Major [57].[16] Despite the odd flash of light, therefore, testamentary evidence draws a veil over the true level of interest in monumental commemoration in the diocese.[17]

1.2 Antiquarian Evidence

The most voluminous and valuable documentary sources for the study of the monuments of Llandaff diocese were produced by a range of antiquaries and amateur observers from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, and consists generally of published and unpublished surveys and church notes, tour journals and letters. Part of their value lies in the clues they give to the original, and post-medieval, appearance and location of monuments, but more importantly they are our only sources of information for the small number of monuments which have since been lost. A considerable weakness of this collection of evidence however is its limitation to a few sites, mainly Llandaff cathedral and Abergavenny priory, and to a lesser extent Ewenny priory and Margam abbey, to the detriment of the smaller parish churches, of which we know virtually nothing. The antiquarian sources for Abergavenny priory have recently been transcribed and

---

[14] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 105.

[15] TNA: PRO PROB 11/10, image ref. 363.

[16] TNA: PRO PROB/28, image ref: 366. The Butler tomb at St Bride's Major (c.1540) is remarkable as Arnold Butler's effigy has crossed legs. See Chapter Three, pp. 84-8, for further discussion of this tomb. In addition to these effigial monuments is the inscription brass to Adam Usk (d.1429), unusually in Welsh, in Usk church (Mon): TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 153.

[17] However, see Chapter Five for details of other post-mortem provisions, such as temporary chantries, masses and funeral exequies for Llandaff testators, which are known of only from wills.

extensively discussed by Phillip Lindley and therefore are not covered in this section.[18] Those for other parts of the diocese, however, and particularly those for the cathedral itself, merit detailed discussion as they are relatively few in number but contribute much to our contextual knowledge of the monuments and have not been exhaustively described hitherto.

The earliest references to diocese of Llandaff tombs are from the sixteenth century and are provided by Lancaster Herald William Fellows and the Glamorgan antiquary, Rice Merrick. Fellows, who made an official visitation of south Wales and Herefordshire in 1531, was only concerned with monuments insofar as they contained heraldic information and consequently it is not always clear which monuments he actually saw. But as he records the arms of Sir William Fleming (d.1321) in Cardiff Greyfriars, and Sir William Mathew (d.1528) in Llandaff Cathedral, where both were buried, we may presume that he saw these tombs. He certainly saw those of the Herbert Earls of Pembroke (d.1469) and Huntingdon (d.c.1490), and of Sir George and Sir Walter Herbert in Tintern Abbey.[19] All of the above, other than the Mathew monument at Llandaff, have now disappeared, and so Fellows' contribution cannot be dismissed even though he does not give details of the monuments themselves.

Rice Merrick, born in the 1520s and therefore old enough to remember the effects of the Reformation on local churches and possibly their pre-Reformation appearance, was the upwardly-mobile son of a freeholder of Welsh descent, who entered the legal profession. Merrick, who has been described as the first Welsh antiquary,[20] was influenced by contemporary developments in English antiquarianism and his *Morganiae Archaiographia,* written c.1578, was an early contribution to the new genre of county studies heralded by Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent,* but with a greater stress on the history of the county.[21] His sources were a mixture of

---

[18] Namely, Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthiness of Wales* (1587); *Diary of Richard Symonds*; two mid-seventeenth-century anonymous descriptions; a heraldic visitation of 1683; description by Richard Gough; description by Edward Blore, 1872: Lindley, *Tomb Destruction,* Ch. 6.

[19] Siddons ed., *Visitations by the Heralds,* pp. 37-45.

[20] A.D. Carr, *Medieval Wales* (London, 1995), p. 10.

[21] William Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent* (London, 1576)

23

written records, tradition, oral information and his own local knowledge. He was in contact with

other local antiquaries, such as Edward Stradling, whose 'Winning of the Lordship of

Glamorgan' he had read, and had also consulted the now lost Register of Neath abbey, the Liber

Landavensis and legal and administrative records related to the marcher lordship of

Glamorgan.[22] He was meticulous in citing his authorities, and the fact that he was a local figure

who must have had access to first-hand knowledge of the monuments he includes in his study

contributes to the value and veracity of this source. He corroborates the existence of the tomb of

Sir William Fleming, alluded to by Fellows, and adds that it was made of wood, a material

otherwise known to have been used in the construction of only one other monument in the

diocese, at Abergavenny [2].[23] Interestingly, Merrick recorded Fleming's tomb together with that

of his captive at Cardiff castle, the rebel leader Llewelyn Bren (d.1318), also buried in the

Greyfriars. Both monuments were destroyed at the Dissolution.[24] His is also virtually the only

reference to the mid fourteenth-century tomb of a pilgrim at Llandyfodwg prior to the late

nineteenth century [35].[25] The person commemorated by this stone he named as Dafydd ap

Fychan, and while this identification should not be accepted unquestioningly, it should be borne

in mind that Merrick wrote at a time when the slab may still have retained its polychromy, which

could have included an inscription.[26] The flat border running around the edge of the stone is

certainly wide enough for one. Merrick's obvious interest in and concern for the antiquities of his

county and its leading families may have led him to focus on particular kinds of monuments,

namely the unusual and, in the antiquarian spirit of the times, the lost or threatened. This would

---

[22] *Rice Merrick, Morganiae Archaiographia, A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire,* ed. Brian Ll. James (Barry, 1983) pp. xi-xxiv.

[23] The effigy of Lord Hastings, c.1325.

[24] *Morganiae Archaiographia,* p. 59. Fleming had been sheriff of Glamorgan during Bren's revolt.

[25] The late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century antiquarian and librarian Edward Lhwyd also refers to this monument, but in practically the same words as used by Merrick, indicating Merrick was his source: 'Edward Lhwyd's Topographical Notes relating to Glamorganshire', supplement to *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1911), p.133. In the 1893 volume of the same journal a short description of the tomb was given in a list of south Wales effigies. The author acknowledged that the list was incomplete and called for contributions from readers: Mrs. Thomas Allen, 'A List of Effigies in South Wales', pp. 248-252.

[26] Brian Ll. James comments that Dafydd ap Fychan (which does not make sense as a Welsh patronymic name, as Fychan means 'little') may be identified with the father of Gruffydd ap Dafydd Fychan, a poet active around 1471: *Morganiae Archaiographia,* ed. James, p. 100, n. 231. This does not fit in with the supposed date of the tomb, however, which has been dated to the mid-fourteenth century.

24

account for his interest in the idiosyncratic slab at Llandyfodwg and the rare Welsh brass of Wenllian Walsche at Llandough [33],[27] and his failure to mention more 'mainstream' monuments. Why he should have singled out the lost tombs of William Fleming and Llewelyn Bren is not clear, and it is hard to believe that theirs were the only ones that had existed in the friaries of Cardiff, yet Merrick's nearness to the destruction is compelling.

The royalist soldier and antiquary Richard Symonds (1617-1660), unlike Merrick, was not a local figure and originated in Essex. He encountered Llandaff cathedral, Abergavenny priory and other Welsh churches on his marches accompanying Charles I on his visit to Wales in the summer of 1645, recording his observations of tombs, glass and heraldry in a diary.[28] Symonds' interest in tombs was more focussed than either Fellows' or Merrick's, but he had neither the latter's local knowledge, nor the leisure to consult local documents to provide a context for his observations. Some of his comments have the air of having been made in haste and his lack of Merrick's historical hinterland is sometimes apparent. He missed several effigies which are now in the cathedral and were seen there by later writers, such as Browne Willis, so questions must be raised as to his thoroughness. He noted ten monuments at Llandaff in all: three Mathew tombs [29, 31, 32], the effigy of Lady Audley [27],[29] and six bishops [21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30], which unfortunately he did not name. As he included the indent of a lost brass of a bishop in this number, which has itself now gone, he must have failed to see one of the others as there are still six. He also missed the thirteenth-century semi-effigial cross-slab of Philip Taverner and his wife [26].[30] However, the unusual-sounding effigy of a naked, mitred bishop (presumably included in his total of six), bears no resemblance to any of the current monuments and is not mentioned in any other source. It is likely that Symonds here confused and merged in to one a more

---

[27] Merrick also notes the tradition that one of the de Londres monuments at Ewenny priory was dated "anno Domini M, which is 66 years before the conquest of England": *Morganiae Archaiographia*, p. 62, p. 65.

[28] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, ed. C.E. Long (London, 1859).

[29] Symonds called her Christian Maudlem, and seemed to think she was an ancestor of the Mathews: *Diary*, p. 214. His is the earliest reference we have to this monument, and it is intriguing that he linked her with the Mathew family, rather than the much more well-known Audleys.

[30] The brass and cross-slab were later identified by Browne Willis: see below, pp. 28-9 .

conventional effigy of a bishop and the cadaver effigy in the north aisle [28], to which he does not otherwise refer.

Why he failed to notice the Taverner slab and the other missing bishop is not clear, although the garbled nature of his notes regarding the naked mitred bishop suggests they may not have been made on the spot. Perhaps he miscounted the bishops, or merely forgot the finer details, but it should also be remembered that the cathedral was falling into decay during the seventeenth century and some areas may already have become inaccessible. The patchy nature of his recording is also revealed in his treatment of the tomb of David Mathew [29], which still had its heraldic tomb-chest at that point,[31] although Symonds failed to record this in any detail. Symonds' account, then, is neither full nor completely reliable, and was not the result of an extended visit. Its real significance lies in the fact that it is our only account of the cathedral's monuments from the seventeenth century and shores up the huge gap between the very partial evidence of William Fellows in 1531 and the much more detailed published survey and other notes by Browne Willis in the early eighteenth century. As such, it forms a crucial piece in the jigsaw of evidence on the site.[32]

Also of interest, but uncertain value, is the *Herbertorum Prosapia,* a seventeenth-century history of the Herbert family, written by Sir Thomas Herbert of Tintern and preserved in a later copy, which contains several illustrations and descriptions of tombs of the family located at Abergavenny priory, Tintern abbey and Margam abbey.[33] The monument of "Herbertus fillius Mathei ffillius Herberti" (sic) in the latter location is not otherwise known of.[34] The existence of the other tombs described is attested by Fellows, but a comparison of the copyist's illustration of the monument of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook (d.1469) at Abergavenny [7] with the

---

[31] Recorded by Browne Willis, see Chapter Four, Case Study Three.

[32] *Diary of Richard Symonds,* pp. 213-215. He also visited what he refers to as 'Cardiff church', which was probably St John's, but recorded only a large donor window in the north aisle, and St Fagan's where he notes only the arms of de Clare in the east window: p.215; p.218.

[33] *Herbertorum Prosapia,* CCL, MS. 5.7.

[34] *Herbertorum Prosapia,* f.139.

surviving tomb shows that accurate recording of their appearance was not a priority. The drawing of a single armoured knight bears no resemblance whatsoever to Sir Richard's actual tomb, on which he is commemorated alongside his wife. Nor does the drawing of the tomb of his brother the earl of Pembroke convince as a mid-to-late fifteenth-century monument; neither the armour, tomb-chest, nor the position and appearance of the weepers look right for the period.[35] It is hardly likely that Sir Thomas Herbert would have been unaware of or unconcerned with the look of his kinsmen's tombs, but it may have been of less import to the later transcriber of the original manuscript. Whatever the reason for the inaccuracy, we should be cautious in accepting the depictions of the lost Herbert tombs at Tintern and Margam.[36]

Of much greater value, however, in general terms as well as specifically regarding Llandaff cathedral, is the work of the eighteenth-century antiquary, Browne Willis (1682-1760). Willis, a member of the Buckinghamshire landed gentry, was a founder-member of the Society of Antiquaries and published surveys of every English and Welsh cathedral except Carlisle, which contain plans and elevations and comments on the state of the fabric of the buildings as well as their contents.[37] Although Willis, like Symonds, was not a local man, he kept up a frequent correspondence with sympathetic local clergymen such as James Harris of Llantrisant and Francis Davies of Llandaff, and visited the area on several occasions.[38] His *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff*, which described the building and its contents as it stood in 1717, is the most informative published source we have for the position and condition of the monuments of Llandaff cathedral before the mid-eighteenth-century 'restoration' and erection of John Wood's 'classical temple' within the walls of the medieval structure. As such it is likely to

---

[35] *Herbertorum Prosapia*, fols. 145, 149.

[36] Margam abbey lies in the western part of the diocese, away from the Herbert family's traditional sphere of connections and interests, which were generally further to the east, in Gwent. Moreover, they usually chose burial in the churches of the latter region, notably Abergavenny priory and Tintern abbey. The suggestion that the Margam monument was erected to an ancestor of the family should be treated cautiously as it is not corroborated elsewhere.

[37] http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29577

[38] J.P. Jenkins, 'From Edward Lhwyd to Iolo Morgannwg: the Death and Rebirth of Glamorgan Antiquarianism in the Eighteenth Century', *Morgannwg*, vol. 23 (1979), pp. 29-47, at pp. 32-3, p. 36.

be the nearest picture of the monuments as they would have existed at the end of the medieval period.[39]

The *Survey* is best read, however, in conjunction with Willis's papers preserved in the Bodleian Library which not only contain his correspondence but also his own notes made on a visit to Glamorgan in 1722, after the publication of the *Survey*, containing additional unpublished material.[40] A particular strength of Willis's approach is that he located monuments very precisely, plotting them on labelled floor plans of the cathedral. The plans also indicate where there were empty niches and recesses, giving hints where monuments may have already been removed by that time and giving further definition to our understanding of the condition of the cathedral's fabric in the early eighteenth century. Nor did he limit himself to mere physical descriptions of the effigies and on several occasions pondered the identities attributed to them. In discussing the effigy said to be that of St Teilo [23], the cathedral's sixth-century founding saint, he remarked that it cannot be original as it does not seem to be more than four-hundred years old, but that it could have been erected in his honour by one of Teilo's successors.[41] Evidently, Willis was able to estimate the age of a monument with some precision (the monument in question is of thirteenth-century construction), did not unquestioningly swallow traditional attributions and had a sense of historical anachronism.

Willis's *Survey of Llandaff Cathedral* identifies or describes eleven of the twelve surviving medieval effigies: six bishops,[42] the cadaver effigy, Lady Audley, and the three Mathew monuments. His manuscript notes, made during the later visit in 1722, include the semi-effigy missed by Symonds and absent from the *Survey*, and record its Lombardic inscription identifying

---

[39] Willis, *A Survey*.

[40] Bodleian Library, Willis MSS. The archive consists of many bound volumes of letters, plans and church notes. The majority of the information on Llandaff cathedral and a few other local churches is contained in vols. 36, 38, 42, 66, 104 and 106.

[41] Willis, *A Survey*, p. 17.

[42] Which he named as St Teilo, Edmund Bromfield (d.1391), John Marshall (d.1496) William de Braose (d.1287) and two unidentified bishops.

it as that of Philip Taverner and his wife.[43] They also reveal that there were at that time eight or nine medieval episcopal effigies in total rather than the six included in the *Survey*. The monuments of Bishops Pascall (d.1361) and Monmouth (d.1323), which are not described as effigial in the *Survey*,[44] are noted as such in the notes of 1722. A monument which lay on the altar steps in 1722, but was moved to a bench in the south aisle the following year, Willis identified tentatively as that of Bishop William de Radnor (d.1265), but he does not confirm that it was effigial.[45] More importantly, he identifies the effigy of Bishop John Pascall, which lay in the Lady Chapel, as the robbed-out brass seen by Symonds in 1645.[46] This is of some significance in clarifying the true extent of the patronage of monumental brasses in medieval Wales, for which we otherwise have very little evidence, and Willis himself remarked that there "were not Seemingly above 3 or 4 Stones in the Church that had Brasses on them so the defacers of Monuments in Queen Elizabeth & Edw. The 6th Reigns & afterwards in the great Rebellion met with little plunder in these parts It being remarkable that here were very few Erected in this Diocese & fewer or Scarce any at all in those of Bangor & St Asaph."[47]

Willis was one of very few antiquaries to visit some of the diocese's parish churches, of which Coity, Merthyr Mawr, Llantrisant, St Athan, Flemingston, Llantwit Major, Ewenny and Llandough (which he seems to have confused with nearby Llanblethian) all have effigies which he remarked upon, revealing the existence of at least two which have since been lost.[48] On the whole these church notes are brief, rushed and difficult to decipher, but they occasionally illuminate some dark corners, such as the fact that at least one of the two effigies at Merthyr

---

[43] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 36, f. 156r. This is the only record of the inscription, which had become illegible by the time it was drawn by John Carter in 1803 (see below).

[44] Nor are they indicated as such in the floor plan preserved in NLW, MS. 19046B.

[45] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 104, f. 8.

[46] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 104, f. 3, 43r.

[47] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 104, f. 9. The lack of medieval brasses in the diocese is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

[48] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 42, fols. 268r.–283v. He also visited Monmouth parish church in the diocese of Hereford. The lost monuments are discussed below.

Mawr, then said locally to be that of St Teilo (to whom the church is dedicated), was located in the churchyard [46].[49] This effigy, which is still outside, is likely to have been intended as a churchyard memorial from the start and an unusual protrusion from the top of its head may have been a method of fixing a wooden cross.[50]

Two of the most informative antiquarian sources for Llandaff cathedral are the tour journals of Sir Richard Colt Hoare FSA (1758-1838) and the drawings of John Carter FSA (1748-1817). They form a mutually complementary body of material which may be considered together.[51] Hoare toured south Wales on a number of occasions and saw Llandaff cathedral at least three times, but his most detailed notes were made in 1802. Carter, who moved in the same circles as Richard Gough and other antiquaries, who by now were focussing on the form and artistic merit of effigies, was an architectural historian, architect and draughtsman and fulfilled the latter position for the Society of Antiquaries from 1780.[52] That the visits of Hoare and Carter took place so close to one another in time (Hoare in the 1790s and in 1802, Carter in 1803), and that one is a written and one a pictorial source, is fortunate in that one acts as an illustration, confirmation and explanation of the other. Carter not only sketched each effigy – sometimes from more than one angle, or combined a particular with a general view – but also plotted the location of each monument on a floor-plan of the church.[53] This is especially important as Hoare was not always precise about locations. Neither was Hoare usually able to give a positive identification for the monuments he described; the bishops are anonymous and otherwise well-known effigies are referred to as, for example, "a female Effigy in Alabaster" (Christian Audley), or "a Knight in armour, booted and spurr'd" (David Mathew).[54] Carter's drawings, on

---

[49] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 42, f. 290r. This contradicts the local tradition that when the medieval church at Merthyr Mawr was demolished and rebuilt in the nineteenth century the slabs were left in their original (in-door) positions, which were now outside the slightly smaller Victorian building, rather than inside the larger medieval one.

[50] I am grateful to Brian and Moira Gittos for this information.

[51] Tour Journals of Sir Richard Colt Hoare: CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2 (1802), vol. 3 (1793), vol. 6 (1797); John Carter's Sketchbook: BL, Add. MS. 29,940.

[52] Badham, 'Richard Gough', pp. 33, 37

[53] BL, Add. MS. 29, 940, f.11.

[54] CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f. 61, f.62.

the other hand, are detailed and accurate and bear close comparison with the effigies as they look today, allowing for their easy identification.

Although it is not possible to be absolutely sure, owing to the vagueness of some of Hoare's descriptions, it seems as though Carter's and Hoare's accounts are almost completely in agreement with each other and each source would seem to be accurate to a high degree. The value of Carter's drawings cannot be underestimated, but Hoare's written evidence is more problematic. It has already been noted that he does not identify the monuments he describes, nor does he note their locations as a matter of course, but a further issue is his apparent naïvety when it came to interpreting, rather than merely describing, what he saw. In 1802, for example, he saw the effigy of a bishop (probably 'St Dyfrig') which was accompanied by "a Shield or [tablet] on which are carved Several instruments for building, such as ladders, hammers etc." from which he concluded that "This Bishop probably repaired or built the Cathedral."[55] What he actually saw, of course, but misinterpreted presumably due to unfamiliarity with the Catholic iconography, was the plaque depicting the Instruments of the Passion.[56]

Given this occasional tendency to misunderstand what he saw, it is difficult to know what to make of his reference to what sounds like a now vanished wall-painting associated with the early sixteenth-century alabaster monument of Christopher and Elizabeth Mathew [32]. On the wall behind the heads of the effigies Hoare recorded that there were, "originally five more figures painted, but the heads of two only are at present discernible."[57] This is a highly intriguing statement. No other commentator makes such a reference. That the painting was extremely degraded is evident from his confusion over the number of figures it contained. It would presumably have been in better condition when Symonds and Willis observed the tomb, but neither mentions it, nor, more worryingly, is it indicated by Carter, who delighted in recording incidental details. Hoare's statement is quite clear, however, and it does not read as though he

---

[55]CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f. 62.

[56] He also saw two monuments of monks, one of which must be a misinterpretation of the effigy of a priest or bishop, the other the semi-effigial slab of a civilian; CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f.61. f. 63.

[57]CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f. 61. This monument is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, Case Study Three.

was referring to another element of the tomb, such as the weepers on the tomb-chest. If Hoare did see a wall painting above the heads of the effigies of Christopher and Elizabeth Mathew, this is the only surviving evidence we have of such a feature associated with a medieval monument in Glamorgan, and it considerably heightens the value of Hoare's contribution to the antiquarian writings on the cathedral and its monuments.

Llandaff Cathedral was not the only church visited by Hoare. In 1793 he was at Margam abbey, and commented on the medieval and contemporary buildings there, but failed to mention the effigy of the knight now located in the abbey's Stones Museum [45].[58] In 1802 he visited Abergavenny priory, Ewenny priory and Neath abbey. Ewenny priory was possibly the most visited church in Glamorgan after Llandaff cathedral at this time, a consequence in part of its situation on the main road between Cardiff and the west. One of its earliest commentators was Francis Grose FSA (1731-1791), who visited in 1775 and described, and roughly sketched, several of the monuments. He recorded that the effigy thought to be of Sir Payn de Turbeville [15] was accompanied by a "Coffin shaped stone round which on the Margin are Saxon Characters" which Grose assumed, no doubt because of its position alongside the knight, to be that of Sir Payn's wife.[59] The coffin-shaped stone has since been destroyed, and Grose could not be certain about its subject as the inscription was dirty and illegible.[60] He evidently had less determination than Hoare, as on the latter's visit, in 1802, he heroically "procured some water,

---

[58] CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 3.

[59] Francis Grose's Itinerary, BL, Add. MS. 17,398, f. 78. Grose also visited Llandaff Cathedral during his tour and was particularly struck by the cadaver monument, which he described as '...the Grimest figure I ever saw'. He was less impressed with the Mathew tombs (he does not specify which) thinking them 'pretty well done', but could not agree with the comments of 'Mr. Windham in his Tour' that they were so fine that they must have been made by Italians: *ibid*, f. 80v. Grose's evidence on the tombs of Llandaff, although interesting in what it reveals about his knowledge of other gentlemen's tours - in this case Henry Penruddock Wyndham - is not otherwise particularly useful for the purposes of this study. Grose travelled widely and began the publication of his *The Antiquities of England and Wales* in 1772: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11660.

[60] BL, Add. MS. 17,398, f. 78v. Fragments of several broken-up cross slabs, some of very fine workmanship, can still be seen at Ewenny, some of which may be remnants of this monument. The dangers posed to monuments in the 18th and 19th centuries are discussed below.

and washed and cleaned the letters" resulting in an identification of the tombstone as being that of Roger de Remi (more commonly de Reigny).[61]

Herbert M. Thompson's notes on the churches of the Vale of Glamorgan, compiled in 1935, are a late addition to the corpus of antiquarian materials.[62] Thompson claimed that his accounts were based on a personal examination of the churches, although there are some gaps in his knowledge which raise suspicions that he relied heavily on earlier publications, such as those of S.R. Glynne, who was more concerned with architecture and rarely mentioned monuments.[63] Thompson omits several effigies, such as the ladies at Llandow [34] and Flemingston [17 and 18], and repeats the assertion sometimes made in nineteenth-century editions of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* that the effigy of the de Turbeville lady at Coity [12] was in fact at Coychurch. The most important sources of information on medieval monuments in the diocese of Llandaff have now been discussed, but a few additional or corroborative details may be gleaned from the journals and letters of travellers in the region during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As well as the necessary brevity and lack of discrimination with which many travellers recorded their tours, they were also generally limited to the churches they could take in on their way along the major highways. In Glamorgan this often restricted them to Llandaff cathedral, Ewenny priory and Margam abbey before they left the diocese *en route* to Swansea and the west.[64]

---

[61] CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f. 73. Hoare's actions in cleaning the letters of the coffin slab inadvertently led to some confusion over who the effigy of the knight commemorated. Hoare assumed that the popular attribution of the *effigy* (in which he showed very little interest) as that of Payn de Turbeville applied instead to Roger de Reigny's *cross slab*, and seemed quietly pleased with himself in revealing the 'truth'. In 1901, Ewenny's then owner, Colonel J.P. Turbevill, felt it necessary to clarify the situation and confirmed that the traditional association of the effigy with Sir Payn was correct after all: J.P. Turbevill, *Ewenny Priory: Monastery and Fortress* (London, 1901), pp. 31-32.

[62] CCL, MS. 3.535, 2 vols. Thompson was a local antiquarian and amateur historian. The volumes are type-written with added handwritten notes.

[63] See for example, Sir Stephen R. Glynne, 'Notes on the Older Churches in the Four Welsh Dioceses', *Arch. Camb.*, 6th series, vol. 1 (1901), pp. 245-78.

[64] See, for example, Henry Penruddock Wyndham's Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales 1774, NLW, MS. 6747B, who supposed the Mathew tombs to be the work of Italian sculptors; Robert Clutterbuck's Tours Through Wales and England 1794, CCL, MS. 3.277; John Skinner's Tour in South Wales A.D. 1800, CCL, MS. 1.503, who had very little to say on Llandaff and could not get in to Ewenny priory; Richard Vaughan Yates' Tour through Wales 1805, NLW, MS. 687B; Rose Southby's Journal of a Tour through Monmouthshire and Glamorgan c.1809, NLW, MS. 6497C; Diary of Judith Beecroft's Excursion to Wales 1827, CCL, MS. 2.325.

Some of these minor sources provide incidental details of the removal or discovery of monuments, such as a letter of 1820 from Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick to Henry Ellis, esquire, in which he describes the knight at Margam Abbey [45], which he had visited the previous year.[65] The particular interest of this letter lies not so much in its detailed description of the knight (which is nevertheless of use as the effigy is now very worn), but in the fact that neither Hoare in 1793, Robert Clutterbuck in 1794, or Carter in 1803 recorded it. Carter recorded many other memorials in Margam, so it is likely that the knight was for some reason out of sight before Meyrick's time, or Carter and Hoare would surely have noted it. Meyrick saw it propped against a buttress of the cloister, evidently in full view, but where it had previously been kept, or had lain hidden, is unknown, and this letter is a reminder that monuments cannot be presumed to have always lain in the positions they now occupy.

The sources discussed in this section form the body of our written evidence for the medieval effigies of the diocese of Llandaff. It is not a large corpus of information and has a major weakness in that it is generally silent on those effigies which lay in the parish churches away from the 'tourist attractions' of Llandaff cathedral, Abergavenny and Ewenny priories and Margam abbey. It is tempting – and frustrating – to speculate what lost details Symonds and Carter *et al* could have recorded of the effigies in the diocese's parish churches had they seen them. But although our sources have substantial flaws, their value should not be underestimated; Llandaff cathedral after all, with its collection of twelve effigies, accounts for a significant proportion of the monuments discussed in this study, and the history of its monuments is as yet imperfectly understood.[66] The value of the Llandaff cathedral sources, moreover, comes from two, related, features. First, although they are spread thinly, they cover a broad period of time: from the visitation of William Fellows in 1531, to the early nineteenth-century accounts of Carter, Hoare and one or two lesser contributors, and encompassing the mid seventeenth and

---

[65] Society of Antiquaries of London, MS. 238. Margam Abbey was such a popular stop on the south Wales tourist trail that its owner built an inn, famous for its comforts and hospitality, at nearby Pyle.

[66] See M.H. Bloxham, 'On the Sepulchral Effigies and Sculptured Monuments in Llandaff Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 10, 4th series (1879), pp.33-43; R.W. Griffith, 'The Episcopal Effigies in Llandaff Cathedral' in *ibid*, vol. 7, 5th series (1890), pp.196-204 and Gray, 'The Medieval Bishops' Effigies'. All three articles attempt to reconstruct the original medieval memorial scheme at Llandaff and to reconcile the conflicting antiquarian accounts, with varying success. A detailed discussion of five of the episcopal monuments at Llandaff is given in Chapter Four.

early eighteenth centuries in between, thus providing snapshots of the cathedral and its monuments as they changed over time. Second, this chronological breadth enables us to see through and beyond the successive periods of dilapidation, restoration and repair that have occurred at Llandaff since the sixteenth century.[67] These developments had a fundamental impact on the cathedral's monuments as well as on its basic fabric, and the evidence collected in this section allows us to see it, and its contents, in a form other than its current, essentially nineteenth-century, state.

1.3 Destruction and Survival.

The sources discussed above are not only important for what they reveal about the post-medieval history of the monuments of Llandaff diocese and the buildings which house them, but also because they are often our only evidence that effigial monuments have been lost (see Fig.1, p. 36). Without the work of Rice Merrick and Browne Willis in particular, the existence of otherwise unknown brass and wooden memorials, and others in the poorly recorded parish churches of the diocese, would have been entirely forgotten. The fact that the sources have a broad chronological spread also allows the suggestion of the timing of the losses and damage to tombs, and by inference, reasons for their disappearance. The purpose of this section, therefore, is to use the evidence described above to assess the extent of the losses and the nature of the attacks on monuments in the diocese of Llandaff, and when they may have occurred.

1.3(a) Attacks on monuments.

Lost and damaged tomb monuments have traditionally been ascribed to two bouts of iconoclasm: the first in the mid-sixteenth century after the Dissolution of the Monasteries and during the Edwardian Reformation, and the second during the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. One of the most recent studies to stress the extent of the losses suffered in this period has been undertaken by Phillip Lindley, who outlined the process by which medieval monuments became

---

[67] The deterioration of the building is described in more detail in Chapter Four.

Fig. 1: Known and suggested losses, destruction and rediscovery of monuments in Llandaff diocese from c.1450 to present

1450 1500 1550 1600 1650 1700 1750 1800 1850 1900 1950 2000

Dissolution of the Monasteries and destruction of shrines. Loss of tombs of William Fleming and Llewellyn Bren at Cardiff Greyfriars.
Presumed loss of Rofm slab at Blackfriars.
Loss of Herbert tombs at Tintern abbey.
Damage to Ewenny knight?
Destruction of Bishop Pascell's brass?

Use of slab in construction of tower at Llanblethian.

Civil Wars.
Attack on monuments at Abergavenny.

Restoration of tombs at Abergavenny?

Rediscovery of Llanvetherine priest and removal to churchyard.

Last recording of now disappeared tombs of Bishops Pascall, Monmouth and Radnor, tomb-chest of David Mathew, Turbeville and St Quintin effigies at Coity and male effigy at Flemingston.
(Browne Willis)

Era of 'Italian Temple' at Llandaff Cathedral. Tomb of William Mathew and Jenet Henry in Chapter House.

Rediscovery of monuments of Hawise de Londres at Ewenny, Rofm slab at Cardiff and Llanblethian civilian.

Last sighting of Rofm slab.
Loss of effigy of Philip de Nerber at St Athan after this?

Loss of knight at Llandough?

36

the targets of iconoclastic fury.[68] The attacks occasioned by the Dissolution of the Monasteries from 1536 had a disproportionate effect on the memorials of the clergy and since, at this stage, it was the material value rather than the spiritual sensibilities of the monuments that sealed their fate, those of the laity that had received monastic burial were also plundered.[69] The abolition of the theology of Purgatory in 1547 did away with the need for chantries, colleges and other intercessory institutions and introduced a doctrinal element into the onslaught on Catholic institutions. This inevitably had serious consequences for tomb monuments, so many of which made their intercessory function explicit in their iconography or inscriptions. That attacks occurred is indicated by government pronouncements that tombs were *not* to be targeted as they preserved the memory of honourable men, but in spite of official bans monuments became caught up in the waves of iconoclasm.[70] There were sporadic attacks on monuments during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, again despite official prohibition, but the 1640s unleashed destruction on a devastating scale as the backlash against Laudian innovations gained momentum and victorious Parliamentary troops were given their heads by their commanders.[71] Many other historians and art-historians have bemoaned these waves of vandalism. Lawrence Stone estimated that "well over ninety percent" of medieval religious imagery, including tomb monuments, was lost during these periods of religious and political upheaval.[72] Margaret Aston has also cited many examples of monuments being deliberately targeted in official or unofficial acts of vandalism and referred to the Reformation period as "an age of deliberate disrespect for the dead."[73] Peter Sherlock has written of the "wholesale attack" on monuments during the

---

[68] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction.*

[69] *Ibid,* p. 8, p. 12; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain,* pp. 2-3.

[70] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction,* pp. 18-21.

[71] See *ibid,* pp. 111-123 for examples.

[72] Stone, *Sculpture in Britain,* pp. 1-3.

[73] Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988), quote at p. 15; and see pp. 71-83, 269-270, 314 and 317.

Dissolution, a view echoed by Peter Marshall, who also claimed that the ruinations of Edward VI's reign were "entirely unprecedented".[74]

Lindley maintains that the destruction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was devastating.[75] Although he is ready to acknowledge that subsequent periods may have been equally as hazardous due to "church reorderings, ecclesiological restorations, aesthetic revulsion, the 'de-cluttering' of church interiors, carelessness and theft", he argues that the Reformation and Civil War destruction was of a particularly virulent kind as it was state-sanctioned and national in scale.[76] While this is undoubtedly the case, it is suggested below that iconoclastic impulses may not have been felt as keenly in south-east Wales as they were in other parts of the British Isles, and that the slow process of attrition suffered in later centuries was ultimately to be more detrimental to the region's monumental heritage than earlier episodic religiously-motivated attacks.

Lindley himself admits that his insistence on the extent of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century damage disagrees with current theories to the contrary, and indeed the regrettable effects of post-Restoration attitudes to medieval remains have long been acknowledged. Stone, for example, while acknowledging the scale of the earlier destruction, also cited the indifference and misguided restorations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as having a detrimental effect on medieval religious sculpture,[77] while Aston has also recognised that not all damage to tombs dates from the Reformation-Civil War period.[78] Nigel Llewellyn has put the particular tendency to blame Parliamentarian troops down to the nature of the primary sources. He saw Royalist reports of attacks as "propagandistic and sensationalist", and commented that there are only "a handful of documented episodes" of rampaging soldiers destroying images and tombs. Llewellyn

---

[74] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 102; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), p. 104.

[75] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, p. 1.

[76] *Ibid*, pp. 241-2, quote on p. 242.

[77] Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, pp. 1-3.

[78] Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, p. 63.

cites a range of other circumstances under which monuments may have been damaged, such as inherent weaknesses in the structure of the effigy and attacks motivated by hatred of the person commemorated, and comments that the nineteenth century was a dangerous time for funeral monuments.[79] Marshall also seeks to provide a balanced view and makes the fundamental point that many sixteenth-century examples of destruction come from London, where tombs must have been "particularly vulnerable" due to their "proximity to the nerve-centres of the Edwardian Reformation."[80] Marshall agrees with Llewellyn's scepticism of the veracity of seventeenth-century accounts and maintains that antiquarian summaries of the damage done also show just how much had survived. Crucially, for the suggested pattern of events in Llandaff diocese outlined below, Marshall cites early seventeenth-century chorographies of Suffolk and Norfolk which listed tombs and inscriptions then surviving. A comparison of these with an eighteenth-century account of Norfolk "suggests that present-day survivals represent only a fraction of the epitaphs remaining in the churches *throughout* the seventeenth century" (my italics), and that the six surviving epitaphs from a total of seventy-eight in Suffolk were lost in the Civil Wars "or, more likely, [as a result] of subsequent theft, neglect, and Victorian enthusiasm."[81] Of the twenty-four wooden memorials known to have been lost in England and Wales, A.C. Fryer claimed that, although five fell victim to parliamentary troops at Brecon, most of the rest were destroyed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[82]

Madeleine Gray's study of medieval Welsh religious imagery also points to the dangers posed by the nineteenth century, recording many examples of quite recent destruction, including a small number from the twentieth century. The Welsh, she argued, were reluctant to attack images during the Reformation and those which were destroyed, such as the immensely popular image of the Virgin at Pen-rhys, were the most potent examples, singled out by the government and dismantled by crown agents. Consequently, by the seventeenth century a great deal of religious

---

[79] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 261-269.

[80] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* pp. 104-5.

[81] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* p. 175.

[82] A.C. Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales* (London, 1924), p. vi, pp. 16-7.

imagery remained; some damage was done during the 1640s and 1650s, but "Wales suffered particularly badly at the hands of the nineteenth-century restorers."[83] The traditional foregrounding of the state-sanctioned, religiously-motivated destruction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has to be examined carefully in the context of Wales, therefore, and there is plenty of evidence that other damages and outright losses in different parts of the diocese of Llandaff occurred at other times. This range of circumstances is explored below.

1.3(b). Pre-Reformation losses and damage in the diocese of Llandaff.

Some medieval monuments are known to have come to grief well before the less reverent days of the Reformation. Grave slabs, especially brasses, were appropriated for use by others, some were recycled as building materials and others, such as the tomb of Henry V's queen, Katherine de Valois, were demolished to make way for new building projects or interments and never rebuilt.[84] Such lack of respect in the medieval period is echoed by the observation of Vanessa Harding that, "a casual attitude to monuments and memorials was not necessarily the product of religious change."[85] A similar point is made by Marshall, who credits the medieval reuse of monuments as masonry and window lintels in several locations in Derbyshire, Northamptonshire and Yorkshire and the evidence of palimpsest brasses to a "pragmatic and utilitarian approach" to the memorials of the dead in an age when the long-defunct were in competition with the recently deceased for the attention of the living.[86]

Examples of just this kind of attitude can be found in the diocese of Llandaff. In 1897 during restoration work on Llanblethian church the effigy of a civilian, probably of the thirteenth

---

[83] Madeleine Gray, *Images of Piety: The Iconography of Traditional Religion in Late Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 2000), pp.73-83. Quote at p. 83.

[84] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, pp. 6-7.

[85] Vanessa Harding, 'Burial Choice and Burial Location in Late Medieval London', p. 129, in Stephen Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992), pp.119-135. Harding cites the re-use of gravestones from St Michael Cornhill in 1456-7, when the churchwardens sold a monument to a marbler for 6s. 8d.

[86] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 38-40.

century, was discovered re-used in the foundations of the fifteenth-century tower [20].[87] The figure, already in fairly low relief, had been flattened off, ostensibly in order to bed more evenly into the course of masonry. In Llantwit Major church is the semi-effigial monument, apparently that of a thirteenth-century cleric, consisting of a tonsured head set into a circular depression at the head of a coped tombstone decorated with interlacing geometric and foliate patterns. The decorative carving, however, appears to be the work of the twelfth century and the inscription indicates that the gravestone was once that of a female [43].[88] These examples indicate that 'old' memorials could be at risk in the medieval period, and presumably were re-used as their original subjects were unknown or had no living descendants to preserve their memory. The two monuments cited here clearly are not 'lost', but the Llanblethian effigy in particular indicates that there may be further undiscovered examples of memorials which have been similarly misappropriated.

1.3(c) The Reformation and Civil War and the question of iconoclasm.

An unknown number of monuments were lost in the diocese of Llandaff from the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s to the Restoration in 1660. From William Fellows and Rice Merrick we learn of the loss of the monuments of Sir William Fleming and Llewelyn Bren in the suppression of Cardiff Greyfriars and, given the popularity of the mendicant houses for late-medieval burial requests, it seems logical to presume that these were not the only ones in a

---

[87] Charles B. Fowler, 'Discoveries at Llanblethian Church, Glamorganshire', *Arch. Camb.*, vol 15, 5th series (1898), pp. 121-31, at p. 121.

[88] The inscription reads NE PETRA CALCETUR QUE SUBIACET ISTA TUETUR. Sally Badham has suggested that the patterns are typical of 12th century work and the coped shape is unlikely to be later than the mid 13th century, as is the inscription with its mixture of Lombardic and Roman lettering. However the fashion for semi-effigial monuments came later, in the late 13th to early 14th centuries. The hollow in which the head is set also cuts into the ends of the interlacing patterns. Badham maintains that this points to the slab being a 12th or early 13th century monument which was appropriated in a later period for the tomb of a priest, whose head was then carved into the top. This would also explain the gender disparity between the inscription and the carved head: Sally Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', pp. 17-18. A closely similar recycling of a coped 12th century slab by adding a head in the 13th century has recently been described by Andrew Sargent. The slab was reused again in the 16th century as a window lintel: Andrew Sargent, 'A Re-used Twelfth-Century Grave Cover from St Andrew's, Cherry Hinton, Cambridge', *Church Monuments*, vol. 23 (2008), pp. 7-13.

monastic setting that have disappeared.[89] Excavations of the site of Cardiff Blackfriars in the 1890s which unearthed the semi-effigial slab of the wife of Michel Rofim, probably from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and "several fragments of finely-worked tomb canopies" suggest this to be the case.[90] Further hints of the memorials that once may have been housed in the friaries are gleaned from the first visitations of the heralds to the region. William Fellows' 1531 account of the heraldry in 'Cardiff Friary', probably the Greyfriars, records over twenty coats of arms, the majority of which belonged to local gentry families.[91] Interestingly, some of these coats refer to prominent local families for whom there are no known surviving medieval memorials, such as the Bawdrips, Norrises and Stradlings, and it is tantalising to think that the arms may have been seen on their tombs. Fellows and the other heralds were concerned only with heraldry however, and often failed to note the context in which it was seen, so we should not presume that all the heraldry was seen on tombs, or that the dissolution of Cardiff Greyfriars also entailed the destruction of the monuments of the families whose arms Fellows recorded there.[92]

As was indicated above, the once numerous tombs of the Herbert family were also casualties of the upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their tombs at Abergavenny survived the attack on them which probably took place after the fall of Raglan castle to the Parliamentarians in 1646, while that of Sir John Morgan and Jenet Mathew at St Woollos, Newport, [51] is also thought to have been damaged at this time.[93] These monuments were

---

[89] A study of late medieval Norwich wills revealed that one in ten testators requested burial in one of the city's friaries: Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*, p. 72. See also Chapter Five for the popularity of the mendicants in late-medieval south Wales.

[90]Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments ', p. 19; C.B. Fowler, 'The Excavations Carried out at the Site of the Black Friars' Monastery, Cardiff Castle', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society,* vol. 30 (1897), pp. 5-15, quote at p. 11.

[91]*Visitations,* ed. Siddons, pp. 40-43.

[92] One of the coats, for example, is of Rhys ap Thomas impaling Mathew, representing the marriage of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Jenet Mathew of Radyr: *Visitations,* p. 42. This could not have been seen on a monument as the couple are buried and commemorated in Carmarthen and no children came of the marriage. See Case Study Two, Chapter Four for further discussion of the possible destruction or removal of monuments from the friaries.

[93] David Richard Thomas, 'Sir John Morgan of Tredegar', *Arch. Camb.,* vol. 1, 5th series (1884), pp. 35-45, at p. 38

ultimately preserved, but those at Tintern suffered in the total despoliation of the house.[94]

William Fellows and the *Herbertorum Prosapia* record the monuments at Tintern of William

Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d.1469) and his wife, and their sons William earl of Huntingdon

(d.1491), Sir Walter Herbert of Caldicot (d.1507/8) and Sir George Herbert.[95] The earls'

monuments are said to have been defaced in 1538.[96] At Neath abbey the only surviving

monument is that of one of its thirteenth-century abbots, Adam of Carmarthen [48], but this in

itself must raise questions as to the motivations and timing of any other possible destruction:

why would an iconoclastic attack spare the memorial of such a bastion of papal supremacy as an

abbot?[97]

Margam abbey and the priories of Abergavenny, Usk and Ewenny all retain medieval

memorials, but some of these have been badly damaged, discarded or recycled. The broken

incised-slab of Hawise de Londres at Ewenny for example, of which only the bottom half

remains, was found at the end of the nineteenth century, placed upside down and used as a seat in

the church porch [16].[98] Evidently the physical needs of the parishioners overcame the need to

commemorate the last member of the priory's founding family, although we do not know when

the slab was pressed into its new use, or when and how it was broken.[99] The knights at Margam

[45] and Ewenny [15] have lost their lower legs and feet, and the Margam knight his head; the

---

[94] See Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, pp. 199-220.

[95] Siddons, ed., *Visitations*, p. 38; *Herbertorum Prosapia*, fols. 75, 145, 149. Fellows refers to four other burials at Tintern, but does not confirm if the tombs were effigial, while the *Herbertorum Prosapia* includes an illustration of the effigy of William Herbert of Coldbrook for which neither date nor location are given.

[96] *Herbertorum Prosapia*, f. 75.

[97] The effigy of Abbot Adam has been far from protected, however. During the nineteenth century it lay in a field near the abbey and consequently much of the detail of the carving has been lost, but it does not seem to have suffered unduly from vandalism.

[98] Geoffrey Orrin, *Medieval Churches in the Vale of Glamorgan*, (Cowbridge, 1988), p.154.

[99] It was not seen by Francis Grose on his visit to the church in 1775, so it had presumably been removed to the porch before then.

Ewenny knight's head is so badly damaged that no facial features remain. At Usk the monument of a civilian or priest has been consigned to the churchyard [62].[100]

The loss of the Margam knight's head and feet may have been accidental as it was certainly kept outside for a time (see the letter of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, above), but the nature of the damage to the Ewenny knight's face suggests a deliberate and violent attack, and both knights are known to have suffered their losses before the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.[101] The traditional view would suggest that this deliberate destruction was religiously-motivated and occurred either during the Reformation or during the 1640s and, since these three monuments are in former monastic settings, it is plausible to assume they were attacked in the earlier Reformation phase, like the memorials of Llewelyn Bren and Sir William Fleming described above. What their particular offence may have been is not easy to say. They were of no material value and so it may have been religious imagery, of which there is now no sign, that drew the attention of the vandals. In the case of the Ewenny knight in particular, it is surprising that the effigies were not better protected. Ewenny priory was granted to the Catholic Carne family and so was unlikely to have been at the mercy of iconoclasts. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the removal or reuse of monuments such as those of Hawise de Londres and the Margam knight may speak not of iconoclasm but of indifference, and this can be a feature of any period.

The question of motivation is an important one, and what we know of Welsh attitudes to the Reformation would suggest that religiously-motivated iconoclasm is likely to have been rare. Poor communications, under-urbanisation, restricted trade and a lack of independent institutions and educational opportunities resulted in a society where "a very small fraction of the populace" would have been ready to accept the protestant message, even if it had been broadcast in Welsh. Glanmor Williams put such progress as the Reformation made in Wales (and there is very little evidence of popular resistance) down to the obedience of the Welsh gentry to the Tudor regime and their total acceptance that their families' advancement was in the hands of the crown. The

---

[100] It is possible that this has always been a churchyard memorial, however. It is now too decayed and covered in moss to judge its original appearance.

[101] Francis Grose's Itinerary, BL, Add. MS. 17, 398, f.78.

region's aristocracy, the Herberts, Somersets and Devereux, were "only gentry writ large" and similarly unlikely to stand up to royal will in the way that the earlier, more independent-minded, marcher lords would have done.[102] It is to these men that Henry VIII and Edward VI looked to carry out royal will in the localities, and they did so irrespective of their religious affiliations. There is plenty of evidence that despite their acquiescence in the government's religious policies, the Welsh were reluctant to give up their local saints and traditions. A crowd turned out at the destruction of the shrine of Derfel Gadarn at Llandderfel, near Bala, and the remarkable sum of forty pounds was offered to Henry VIII's commissioners to spare the image.[103]

Here, as with the destruction of the shrine of the Virgin at Pen-rhys in the Rhondda valley, it was government agents, and not a local mob, that were responsible for the desecration. In Cardiff, however, four local men were accused of taking away stones, windows, timber and tiles from the Greyfriars.[104] This would undoubtedly have involved the destruction of commemorative displays in stained glass, and could also have been the occasion of the loss of the tombs of Llewelyn Bren, made of wood, and Sir William Fleming. Yet the motives behind these activities were clearly financial, rather than iconoclastic, and monetary gain was a powerful incentive to destruction. Brasses were particularly at risk due to the inherent value of the material. From 1550 to 1551 thirty pounds in weight of brass was sold by the churchwardens of All Hallows, London Wall,[105] and it may have been as early as this that the brass plates were removed from the memorial of Bishop Pascall in Llandaff cathedral. In the early eighteenth century Browne Willis saw one or two other monuments in the cathedral which had lost brass inscriptions.[106] In 1538 some of the cathedral's canons attempted to forestall the confiscation of the treasures of the

---

[102] Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 32-38, quotes at pp. 32 and 38. It has also been pointed out that the beginnings of the Reformation were being felt at the same time as the union between Wales and England, which may have focused the Welsh gentry's minds of more pressing matters: Lawrence Thomas, *The Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1930), p. xiv.

[103] Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 497; Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 220. Although the image of the saint himself was taken his devotees must have been at least partly successful in protecting the shrine as a wooden horse or stag associated with it still remains in the church.

[104] Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 96.

[105] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, pp. 22-3.

[106] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 104, f.7

shrine of St Teilo by dismantling it and distributing them amongst themselves. The authorities were able to recover only a fraction.[107] In a petition to the bishop of Winchester about the actions of the canons it was claimed that "they have not omitted to plucke up and sell the paving stones."[108]

Surviving evidence suggests Llandaff cathedral suffered relatively lightly at the hands of iconoclasts. It still contains the stone effigies of six bishops, some of which are accompanied by Catholic iconography which has remained mostly intact. The effigy of 'St Teilo' [23] contains a carving of the Virgin and Child and of a soul being lifted to Heaven. The Virgin has lost her head, but the delicacy of the carving remains clear. The effigy of 'St Dyfrig' [24] is censed by angels and accompanied by the Image of Pity, Christ in Majesty and the Instruments of the Passion.[109] The Image of Pity and Christ in Majesty are slightly damaged, but the Instruments of the Passion are still remarkably crisp and clear. Another plaque depicting the Instruments of the Passion and angels supporting the head of Bishop Marshall [30] are also unscathed. The two later Mathew memorials at Llandaff also contain intact religious imagery [31, 32].[110] Both display several undamaged monastic and angelic weepers, as well as sleeping bedesmen under the foot of each male effigy. All these figures have been subject to a certain amount of wear and tear, but overwhelmingly this would seem to be accidental, rather than of a type targeted only at religious imagery, and is easily explained by Llandaff's ruinous state from the later sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, when some of the monuments were relocated to different positions within the cathedral. That Sir William and Christopher Mathew's tombs, peppered with religious imagery, and the bishops' tombs and accompanying iconography should have survived nearly intact, while the apparently entirely secular tomb-chest of David Mathew [29] disappeared, are

---

[107] Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, pp. 127-8. The shrine, located in the lady chapel, included gilded and jewelled images of the three founding saints of the diocese, twelve silver apostles and the Trinity: Thomas, *Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff*, p. 75, 77.

[108] J.H. Mathews, ed. *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, (Cardiff, 1898) pp. 376-7. It is easy to imagine the impact of such actions on the cathedral's floor slabs.

[109] These details are not thought to belong originally to the effigy although they formed part of the same monument in Browne Willis' time: Willis, *A Survey*, p. 24. They were also observed by Symonds in 1645 in conjunction with the effigy of a bishop: *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 213.

[110] Sir William Mathew (d.1528) and his wife Jenet Henry, and Christopher Mathew esquire (d. after 1531) and his wife Elizabeth Morgan.

difficult to account for other than by accidental, rather than iconoclastic damage. Religious motives do seem to have been behind the attack on the angels at the head of Lady Audley's effigy, however [27]. The figure is otherwise quite well preserved and the loss of her nose, chin and fingertips may be collateral damage from the attack.[111]

It is the survival of the effigies of Sts Teilo and Dyfrig which are most telling, however. In 1644 a parliamentary ordinance sanctioning the destruction of catholic iconography widened the remit to include the tombs of those who had been reputed to have been a saint,[112] yet these effigies were not smashed up. Nor was the monument of a priest at Llanvetherine [44], inscribed with the name 'S. VETTERINUS', which was discovered buried deep under the chancel when a vault was being excavated in the mid eighteenth century.[113] Could this have been an attempt by local people during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries to *protect* what they may have regarded as the memorial of the church's founding saint?[114] At Christchurch the fourteenth-century incised slab of John and Isabella Colmer [10] gained a reputation as a site of healing and was resorted to by the sick until the eighteenth century.[115] This monument is worn by the attentions of the faithful rather than damaged by those offended by superstition, and the behaviour of visitors to Christchurch agrees entirely with the views of early modern commentators that Wales was "one of the dark corners of the land."[116]

Ultimately, although there are several documented instances of Reformation/Civil War violence towards monuments in the diocese of Llandaff – of which those at Abergavenny, Tintern abbey and Cardiff Greyfriars are the most compelling – the Welsh, on the whole, did not display

---

[111] An intriguing alternative explanation for the loss of the prominent parts of alabaster effigies, such as noses and fingertips, is provided by F.A. Greenhill, who notes that ground alabaster was used to treat foot-rot in sheep, and cites a quotation from Stothard to the effect that the monument of Sir Hugh Calveley in Cheshire had been mutilated for this purpose: Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, p. 63, n. 65.

[112] Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, p. 77.

[113] 'Report of Abergavenny Meeting, 1876', *Arch. Camb.,* Series 4, vol. 7 (1876), pp. 320-348, at p. 338.

[114] Other instances of local people protecting or hiding favoured images are given in Gray, *Images of Piety*, pp. 75-6.

[115] The sick person was supposed to lie all night on the stone to achieve a cure: A.G. Spink, *The History of Holy Trinity Church* (Cardiff, 1965), p. 28. It is not recorded when this tradition began.

[116] Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1987), p. 43.

iconoclastic tendencies in this period. Such damage that was done may in many cases be put down to ignorance or greed, and perhaps the survivals are more eloquent witnesses to the nature of the situation than the losses. However there is substantive evidence to support the claim that a great deal of harm was suffered by the diocese's monuments in a later period.

1.3(d) Post-Restoration losses and damage

That the monument discovered at Llanvetherine was put outside after its rediscovery is somewhat revealing of eighteenth-century attitudes to relics of the medieval past, and the antiquarian sources described in the first part of this chapter reveal that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be dangerous times for monuments. In the later eighteenth century the antiquarian Richard Gough spoke out against contemporary fashions for modernising churches, which he regarded as damaging to medieval memorials as "the axes and hammers of the Reformation".[117] A mixed picture emerges of the attitudes in this period of clergy, churchwardens and congregations to church buildings and the monuments they contained. A mid-nineteenth-century correspondent with the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* claimed that the Butler monument at St Bride's Major [57] was "falling into decay; and if the help of some one...does not ere long do something to restore it, it will *like many others in the county of Glamorgan, fall to pieces*" (my italics). Of the Berkerolles monuments at St Athan[54, 55] the same writer commented that "These monuments require to be cleaned and repaired, or they will soon fall into the same state as that of the Botelers of St Bride."[118] In 1869 the situation was still perceived to be precarious and it was feared that village churches "may soon become mute and ruined memorials of a state of things doomed to destruction."[119] Churchwardens' accounts and applications for grants to the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) tell a tale of dilapidated buildings in dire need of repair. Coity church, in 1860, was in "imperfect repair" and nearby Coychurch was in a "ruinous condition owing to neglect" six years later.[120] Also in 1866

---

[117] From Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments* (London, 1786-1802) vol. 1, p. 7, quoted in Badham, 'Richard Gough', p. 41.

[118] Correspondence, *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 2 (1847), p. 93.

[119] Longueville Jones, 'On the Study of Welsh Antiquities', p. 82.

[120] Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS File 5440; ICBS File 6573.

the churchwardens at Llantrisant began a public appeal to raise the estimated £108 11s 6d necessary for restoring the belfry, churchyard, steeple and windows, which were "much out of repair" and the roof was in a "dangerous state of dilapidation."[121] The porch and tower of Llansannor church were in a dangerous condition in 1877.[122] That the plight of monuments does not feature in these complaints is telling, and surviving churchwardens' accounts, such as those at St Bride's Major and St Hilary are entirely silent on the matter of church monuments.[123]

By 1718 the medieval fabric of Llandaff cathedral was in a deplorable state and the evidence for the authorities' neglect is overwhelming. The notes and correspondence of Browne Willis are full of disgust at the cathedral authorities for their neglect of the building, which had necessitated moving services to the Lady Chapel as the rest of it was uninhabitable,[124] and in 1724 Thomas Davies of Llandaff complained "I do not know one gentleman or figure of note in this county that will take any pains to keep up his own parish church, much less the cathedral."[125] Several monuments, and parts of monuments, which had survived to this time have since disappeared. These include the effigies of Bishops Pascall (indent only) and Monmouth and probably that of Bishop William of Radnor, as well as the tomb-chest of David Mathew. All had gone by the time Sir William Colt Hoare and John Carter visited in 1802-3.

The most badly-damaged (as opposed to merely worn) effigy at Llandaff is the fifteenth-century cadaver, which lies under a recess in the north aisle [28]. The arms, legs and top-knot of the shroud have all been hacked off. Nearly all this damage had been done by 1775, when it was sketched by Francis Grose. Grose's drawing, later corroborated by that of John Carter, reveals that the top-knot was still there at that time,[126] indicating that the monument suffered further injury at some time in the nineteenth or twentieth century. Although the age of iconoclasm was by then over, the protected position of the cadaver under its niche, and the cleanness of the break

---

[121] Glamorgan Record Office, P/62/2/1.

[122] Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS File 8154.

[123] Glamorgan Record Office, P/89/10; P/12/3.

[124] See Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 36, 66 and 104 *passim.*

[125] Quoted in Jenkins, 'From Edward Lhwyd to Iolo Morgannwg', p. 36.

[126] BL, Add. MS. 17,398, f.80v; BL, Add. MS. 29,940, fos.18-19.

to the knot, are difficult to account for with anything other than a deliberate attack, perhaps a case of random mindless violence. Why the cadaver, rather than nearby episcopal effigies should have attracted the attention of the earlier vandals is unclear, especially since the cadaver motif continued to be acceptable beyond the Reformation.[127] A close inspection of the surface of the stone where the legs of the cadaver would have lain reveals the remains of a small number of wooden dowels which were presumably used to secure the legs to the slab. This may have been a feature of the monument's original construction, or an early (unsuccessful) attempt at repair.[128] Another monument, described and drawn by Hoare and Carter at the beginning of the nineteenth century may have been lost from the cathedral since 1803, but does not seem to have been seen by earlier observers and was not preserved during the full restoration of the church in the middle of the nineteenth century.[129]

To the list of monuments lost from Llandaff cathedral we can add a small number which have disappeared from parish churches and other locations since the eighteenth century, one or two of which have been lost relatively recently. In 1722 Browne Willis saw the "effigies of a man in armour and his wife" at Coity. An inscription is given as "Gilbert de Turbeville ...Nostre Seigniour 1447 de qui alme deux eyt merci Et qi put ca Alme priera quater cents jours de pardon avera." Another is given as "ici gist Dame Annes [?] de Saynt Quinti [?] sa mare [?] soyt fillus ai

---

[127] The Shirley tomb at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire (1598), for example, contains a cadaver: Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, p. 34.

[128] See Rhianydd Biebrach, 'The Cadaver Monument in Llandaff Cathedral', *Church Monuments Society Newsletter*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Winter 2008-9), pp. 16-18. Llewellyn maintains that praying hands, attached to the main part of the effigy by wooden dowels, can become detached as the wood rots. The subsequent loss of the hands may then be taken to be the work of iconoclasts: Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 263, p. 264 fig. 167b.

[129] In 1802 Sir Richard Colt Hoare described a "mutilated effigy of a monk under a Gothic Niche": CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f. 61, which appears to correspond to Carter's 'Grave stone I': BL, Add. MS. 29940, f. 34. Carter's drawing is not detailed but several points are apparent. The effigy was in low relief, carved into a tapered, chamfered slab which was broken off at the bottom left-hand corner. The head is bare with the hair curled over the ears, and lack of detail means it is impossible to tell if a tonsure was present, although Carter has made no attempt to indicate one. All that is visible of the costume is a few scribbled lines which seem to indicate a bulky or voluminous garment worn close around the neck. The figure has no mitre and most resembles a priest in mass vestments. The lower part of the body is barely delineated, which may indicate wear, the damage or mutilation suggested by Hoare, or that it was in partial relief, with a raised, sculpted head and incised body. Hoare's 'monk' is unlike anything surviving in the cathedral, nor can it be associated with anything described by Symonds or Willis.

[?].[130] There were several Gilbert de Turbevilles at Coity from the twelfth to the fourteenth century (this branch of the family died out in the male line in the second half of the fourteenth century), one of whom married an Agnes probably in the late twelfth or thirteenth century.[131] There is no military effigy at Coity now and it is difficult to equate either of the inscriptions with the early fourteenth-century monuments of a lady and a civilian which can now be seen there [15, 16], both of which make reference to Payn, rather than Gilbert, de Turbeville. Willis's notes suggest in this case that, not only have the effigies of Gilbert de Turbeville and Agnes de St Quintin disappeared, but that he failed to see the effigies of the lady and civilian that now lie in the chancel.[132] A similar confusion arises at Flemingston, where Willis noted the effigy of a man but seems to have missed the two female effigies currently in the church: Joan le Fleming and 'Elizabet' [17, 18]. This could be another lost monument, but the possibility that he confused some locations – as he did when he placed the brass of Wenllian Walsche (Llandough) [33] at nearby Llanblethian - must be considered.[133] At Ewenny, the cross-slab of Sir Roger de Reigny, still in existence in 1809, has since disappeared,[134] and further destruction occurred at St Woollos in 1818 when fragments of the already damaged tomb of Sir John Morgan and Jenet Mathew were burnt for plaster during a restoration of the church.[135]

A further three monuments are thought to have been lost in the twentieth century. The thirteenth-century semi-effigial slab of the wife of Michel Rofim, excavated from the ruins of Cardiff Blackfriars in the late nineteenth century (see above), was last known to be located near that spot

---

[130] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 42, f. 290r. Brackets indicate illegible sections. Willis' inclusion of the year 1447 in a French inscription seems incongruous as its use for epitaphs had been in decline since the end of the fourteenth century: Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 354.

[131] See pedigrees in Clark, *Limbus Patrum*, pp. 452-455 and *Morganiae Archaiographia*, pp. 54-5. The St Quintin family of Llanblethian failed in the male line during the reign of Henry III: *Morganiae Archaiographia*, p. 27, 56.

[132] There is some evidence to suggest that these effigies may have originally lain in Coychurch parish church, only a mile or so from Coity. See, for example, Mrs. Thomas Allen, 'List of Effigies in Wales', p. 250; CCL, MS. 3.535, vol. 1, f.78.

[133] Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 42, f. 283r.

[134] NLW, MS. 6497c, f. 60. There is a small fragment of a cross-slab in the church which may be all that is left of this monument. See also: Gray, *Images of Piety*, pp. 82-3 for examples of post-Restoration destruction of medieval features elsewhere in Wales.

[135] Thomas, 'Sir John Morgan', p. 38.

in the gardens of Cardiff Castle in the 1930s, but its present whereabouts is unknown.[136] The "much weathered recumbent figure" of a knight in Llandough churchyard and the thirteenth-century effigy of Phillip de Nerber at St Athan were recorded by Herbert M. Thompson in 1935, but both have now gone.[137]

In the absence of evidence for the precise occasions of the losses of monuments from the parish churches mentioned above it is impossible to say whether it was the neglect of an earlier period or the repairs of a later one that are most to blame. Almost all the medieval parish churches in the diocese were restored at least once in the Victorian era. In the 1850s the primary concern of the restorers was to increase accommodation by adding nave aisles for example. In some cases this was followed later in the century by a complete rearrangement of the interior and provision of new fixtures and fittings in accordance with new liturgical ideas.[138] In such cases any memorials set into the floors, obstructing processional routes, or in wall niches must have been especially vulnerable.[139]

Early manifestations of the emergence of a more sympathetic attitude to medieval remains among clergy, architects and others, may be found in the correspondence between Browne Willis and some Llandaff clergymen described above. On a practical level, however, preservation of monuments was unlikely to become a point of general concern until the attitudes of an educated elite began to filter down to the wider parish clergy and other interested parties. By the middle of the nineteenth century concern for surviving medieval features was certainly being expressed in some quarters in south-east Wales, as the letter to the *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* quoted above, demonstrates. But it was not until the latter part of the century, following the setting up of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, that more sensitive conservation-

---

[136]Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', p. 19.

[137] CCL, MS. 3.535, vol. 1, f.116r; vol. 2, f.214r. The Llandough knight was said to be in a mutilated condition in the churchyard, near the south entrance porch, in 1989: Hilary M. Thomas, 'Llandough Castle, near Cowbridge', *Morgannwg,* vol. 33 (1989), pp. 7-36, at pp. 7 and 34, n. 4.

[138] Geoffrey Orrin, *Church Building and Restoration in Victorian Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 2004), p. xvi.

[139] Two medieval cross-slabs have recently been discovered beneath pews mounted on a wooden platform, erected in 1844, in Tickhill, Yorkshire: Patrick Farman, Peter Hacker and Sally Badham, 'Incised Slab Discoveries at Tickhill, Yorkshire', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society,* vol. 17, part 6 (2008), pp. 521-49.

oriented restorations replaced the earlier destructive overhauls.[140] By the end of the nineteenth century this approach seems to have become the accepted practice. A faculty for the restoration of Llantrithyd church was granted in 1897 on condition that monuments were not affected, and applications for permission to re-lay floors at Llanblethian in 1896 and Llandyfodwg in 1892 contained assurances that memorial slabs would be unaffected or re-laid in the new floor. The applicants at Llantwit Major in 1899 submitted a schedule of the numerous slabs and monuments that were to be affected by the paving of the western church, all of which were to be kept in their former positions or put in better protected ones.[141] It may be suspected that in some cases such assurances were made in order to secure the permission for the alterations, but the responsibility to preserve monuments and other ancient features could also be felt in more crucial quarters: a letter to the ICBS from the architect commissioned to undertake the repairs to Llantrithyd church acknowledged that he was "not at liberty to disturb in any way" the "ancient memorial stone slabs" which covered the chancel floor.[142]

Conclusion

It would seem that relatively few effigies in the diocese of Llandaff are known to have been lost for certain and what survives is probably the greater part of what was originally laid down. In this south-east Wales has been far more fortunate than parts of England such as Norfolk, where huge numbers of memorials, often brasses, were commissioned in the later Middle Ages and have subsequently been destroyed. Whatever has gone from Llandaff's dissolved monasteries other than at Tintern abbey has generally been undocumented. Undoubtedly, some losses and damage are to be assigned to the religious upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there is plenty of evidence that the eighteenth, nineteenth and even the twentieth century, have proved hazardous to the survival of medieval monuments, despite a growing appreciation of

---

[140] Orrin, *Church Building*, p. xvii. The SPAB were dubbed the 'anti-scrape brigade' in reference to their abhorrence of the contemporary practice of removing layers of plaster and limewash in order to expose the bare stone: a practice which had resulted in the loss of medieval wall-paintings.

[141] NLW, MS. LL/F/468; LL/F/373; LL/F/401; LL/F/479/B.

[142] Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS File 9972, letter to Society from George Halliday, 13/04/1897.

the need for their preservation.[143] The evidence available for this part of Wales, therefore, does not fit particularly comfortably with the traditional assertion that the period from the mid 1530s to the Restoration was "cataclysmic",[144] but agrees broadly with the observation of Nigel Llewellyn that greater damage was done during eighteenth- and nineteenth-century changes than by earlier religious iconoclasts,[145] with which the research of Madeleine Gray concurs. Colin Gresham regarded the Reformation and Civil War as times when the monuments of north Wales suffered, but also maintained that this continued into succeeding centuries.[146] That this should be the case for Llandaff Cathedral's monuments in particular is not surprising given the building's post–Reformation history.

---

[143] Many monuments continue to be in a precarious position, however. Churchyard monuments, such as those at Merthyr Mawr and Usk, are particularly vulnerable to the elements and to carelessness or accidents in the maintenance of the churchyard. At Llandyfodwg there is an awareness of the desirability of taking up the pilgrim slab from the cramped confines of the chancel floor and having it affixed to the wall, as at Llandow and Llantrisant, but funds are lacking. Even at Llandow, however, the slab of a lady has been flecked with paint from the wall.

[144] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, p. 237.

[145] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 4, pp. 259-269.

[146]Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*, pp. 59-61.

Chapter Two

The monumental effigies of the diocese of Llandaff

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a statistical description of the surviving medieval effigies of the diocese of Llandaff as a starting point to the more analytical discussions contained in later chapters. The data generated will also be compared with neighbouring parts of the Severnside region in order to put the patterns of the commemorative practices of south-east Wales in context. Again, this is done as a prelude to a more in-depth exploration of these issues in Chapter Three.

<u>Fig. 2</u>

THE MEDIEVAL DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF :
LOCATION OF EFFIGIES AND OTHER PLACES IN TEXT.

1. Ogmore   3. St Bride's Major   5. Llandow   7. Llanblethian
2. Ewenny   4. Colwinston   6. Llandough   8. St Hilary

2.1 Monumental effigies in the diocese of Llandaff – a statistical description.

2.1(a) Chronology

Achieving an accurate picture of the chronological spread of the effigies of Llandaff diocese from c.1200 to c.1540 is a valuable and important exercise and forms the starting point for several of the theories developed in this thesis. It facilitates a long view of trends in commemorative practice and levels of artistic patronage which is not only valid in its own right, but can also contribute significantly to our understanding of the wider cultural and spiritual activities of the south Wales elite. A chronological study can also be easily compared and contrasted with equivalent statistics from other regions in order to set south-east Wales in a wider context.

Fig. 3

Chronological spread of effigies in the diocese of Llandaff c.1200-c.1540 by %

Most of the diocese's sixty-two surviving effigies can be assigned a date with reasonable certainty (Fig. 3). Ten (16.1%) are less easy to categorise, but in every case they can probably be given a pre-Black Death time-frame and in all it is likely that a total of forty-seven monuments (75.8%) were manufactured up to the middle of the fourteenth century. A clear trend is observable from this data. Although there was some interest in effigial commemoration in the first half of the thirteenth century, patronage flourished in the century between c.1250 and the onset of the Black Death. The second half of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries suffered a dramatic slump in patronage, followed by a noticeable resurgence from about 1450. This pattern is unexpected. In England the market for effigial commemoration widened considerably during the later Middle Ages, spreading down the social scale as costs declined.[1] The monumental brass and alabaster industries fostered this trend in the fifteenth century. Brasses in particular were highly adaptable in terms of size and price, while the 'assembly-line' production of alabaster tombs also allowed a greater range of social groups to aspire to this form of commemoration and the monuments of civilians and lesser clergy become increasingly common.[2] Additionally it may be supposed that monuments from the earlier centuries have been disproportionately affected by loss, re-use and destruction later in the medieval period.[3]

---

[1] Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, pp. 178-9; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 57-9.

[2] See figures for Gloucestershire and Somerset, below.

[3] See Chapter One pp. 40-1 for examples of pre-Reformation mis-appropriation of monuments.

Fig. 4: Effigy types in Llandaff diocese

Effigy Types in Llandaff diocese

cadaver 2% pilgrim 2% uncertain 3%

clergy 18%

knight 22%

lady 24%

knight and lady 13%

civilian 16%

It is relatively easy to identify the majority of the diocese of Llandaff's monuments as belonging to a particular 'type' (Fig. 4). As with establishing chronological distribution, this is an important basic exercise as it reveals a great deal about the nature and make-up of the patron class of monumental effigies in medieval south-east Wales and allows for comparisons with other parts of England and Wales. Again, there are distinct patterns to be observed. Two types of effigy form the most common groups. Armoured 'knights' and ladies account for fourteen and fifteen effigies respectively (22.5% and 24.1%).[4] A further eight (12.9%) are double monuments to knights and ladies. While it is not necessarily the case that the men commemorated here had been knighted, or were even of a martial calling, it can be assumed that they were, or claimed to

---

[4] The monument of Sir John Morgan (d.1510) at Llanmartin, although a substantial monument in its own right, has been excluded from the data set as it has no effigy, nor does it seem to have ever had one.

be, of a particular social status.[5] Two of the ladies survive only as fragments: a head at Llantrisant (incongruously superimposed onto the body of a knight), and the lower legs and feet of a monument to a lady at Trellech.[6] Taken together these monuments account for over half of the total number (59.6%) and hint at the social, political and economic domination of the diocese by this class throughout the period under consideration.

Clerical monuments are the next most numerous group. Eleven (17.7%) have been identified with certainty, including six bishops at Llandaff cathedral, an abbot at Neath abbey, and one priest each at Llantwit Major, Merthyr Mawr, Llanvetherine and Pen-y-Clawdd. There are nearly as many civilians as clergy, with ten memorials (16.1%), including two double memorials to a husband and wife. Within this group it is generally very difficult to tell whether the individuals represented could claim gentle status but chose not to associate themselves with its military connotations, or if they were engaged in mercantile activity, the law, or took any other route to social and economic success. These concerns are explored further in Chapter Three. In addition to the clerical, civilian and knightly classes there are two effigies that prevent us from assigning to their subjects any identity other than that which they chose for themselves in death: the cadaver at Llandaff and the pilgrim at Llandyfodwg. Finally, a further two monuments (3.2%), at Colwinston and Usk, have not been fitted into a group as their extremely worn nature precludes definitive categorisation, although both monuments are best thought of as either clerical or civilian.

2.1(c) Location

Almost all the diocese of Llandaff's effigies occur in two relatively geographically compact areas (Fig. 2). The greatest concentrations are to be found in the Vale of Glamorgan, where about a third of the monuments are located, and the majority of the rest are confined to the lowland plains of Gwent and the Usk river valley. There are also significant collections at Llandaff cathedral (twelve or 19.3%) and Abergavenny priory (eight or 12.9%). While a small number of effigies are found in more upland regions, such as at Llandyfodwg, Trellech, Llanvetherine and

---

[5] The numbers of knights, and the meaning, role and significance of knighthood changed throughout this period. See Chapter Three p. 90 ff. for a discussion of this issue and its implications for monumental representations.

[6] The identity and social status of the ladies is discussed in Chapter Three.

Pen-y-Clawdd, none are located in the upland interior of the diocese in the areas roughly corresponding to the modern industrialised valleys of Glamorgan and Gwent. The abbot at Neath and the Margam knight also lie outside the main Glamorgan concentration due to their location in Cistercian monasteries, which tended to be sited away from population centres. This distribution is easily accounted for by the spread of the medieval population (which in Glamorgan in particular was heavily concentrated in the lowland Vale), and the necessity of links to the coastal or riverine transport network for the import of monuments manufactured outside the diocese.

2.1(d) Monument styles.

Fig. 5: Llandaff monument styles

Some clear patterns can also be observed in the monument styles prevalent in the region (Fig. 5). Forty-five (71.4%) monuments are sculpted in high relief or in the round, and twelve (19.3%) are

60

in low relief. Three (4.8%) monuments are semi-effigial, combining a head with a cross or other motif, and there are four (6.4%) incised slabs and one brass (1.6%). Two monuments, the high-relief effigy of a lady at St Arvans and an incised slab of a lady at Flemingston, also appear to have had separate inlaid heads.[7] Six monuments (9.6%) may be counted as undersized, ranging from marginally so (fifty-eight inches long at St Arvans) to the genuinely small at Trellech and Coity. Over two-thirds of the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff represent the knightly and clerical elite but few of these, even in Llandaff cathedral, are of a very elaborate nature. The possibility that freestanding canopies, chests and other features have been lost must be borne in mind, however.

2.2. A comparison of the diocese of Llandaff with Pembrokeshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset.

2.2(a) Severnside

In order to set a discussion of Llandaff's monuments in a meaningful context I have chosen to compare them with figures available from three neighbouring English and Welsh counties with which south-east Wales had extensive contacts: Pembrokeshire,[8] Gloucestershire and Somerset. Both Pembrokeshire and the lands covered by the diocese of Llandaff were marcher societies conquered and settled by incomers of Anglo-Norman descent, and by Flemings in the former case, and were cosmopolitan in terms of their racial mix.[9] Gloucestershire and Somerset have been selected for comparison as they had strong links with south Wales during the medieval period, but were not part of the march and therefore provide a useful counterpoint to the Welsh examples.

The parts of England and Wales under consideration here, as well as other areas bordering the Severn estuary and the Bristol Channel have historically been given the name 'Severnside'. Links between societies on the northern and southern shores of the Bristol Channel go back well before the Norman Conquest, but were strengthened and given concrete expression from the

---

[7] See Sally Badham, 'Medieval Minor Monuments' for an account of this style of monument.

[8] The post-1536 terminology is here used for the sake of convenience and consistency.

[9] For medieval Pembrokeshire see R.F. Walker, ed., *Pembrokeshire County History, vol. 2: Medieval Pembrokeshire* (Haverfordwest, 2002).

arrival of the Norman invaders in south Wales from the direction of Bristol and Gloucester.
These cross-channel ties manifested themselves in several ways: in the administrative cohesion
provided by the de Clare earls of Gloucester's extensive holdings in the region; the social and
familial links between land-holders; the relationships between religious houses; and the
commercial draw represented by Bristol.[10]

The possession of the large marcher lordship of Glamorgan and a number of smaller ones in
Gwent by the de Clare earls of Gloucester during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was of
much regional significance.[11] The de Clares looked upon their lands as a "single community",[12]
and this sense of homogeneity outlasted the ending of the tenure of the earls with the death of
Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn in 1314. Many Norman families who had settled in the West
Country or were in the service of the earls of Gloucester obtained lands in Llandaff diocese, such
as the de Bonvilles, de Londres, de Umfravilles, de Berkerolles, le Flemings and de
Turbevilles.[13] The Stradlings of St Donats, who dominated Glamorgan society from the end of
the fourteenth century continued to hold official positions in Somerset and Dorset,[14] while the
Walsche family of Llandough in Glamorgan and Langridge near Bath, interred one of their
number in both parish churches in 1427.[15] The earls of Gloucester also founded Margam abbey,

---

[10] For a thorough account of Severnside links see R.A. Griffiths, 'Medieval Severnside: The Welsh Connection', in
R.R. Davies, R.A. Griffiths, I.G. Jones and K.O. Morgan, eds., *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays
Presented to Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 70-89, at p. 71. See also: T.B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County
History, vol. 3, The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971) *passim* and Lord, *Medieval Vision* passim, for political and cultural
cross-currents between south Wales and the West Country.

[11] For recent research into the early English settlement of the march see: Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales 1067-
1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain* (Cardiff, 2008); idem, 'Anglicisation in High Medieval Wales'; R.R.
Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 143-64 in
particular.

[12] R.A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), p. 5.

[13] R.A. Griffiths, 'The Norman Conquest and the Twelve Knights of Glamorgan' in Stewart Williams, ed.,
Glamorgan Historian, vol. 3 (Cowbridge, 1966), pp. 162-167; Griffiths, 'Medieval Severnside', pp. 73-75.

[14] Sir Edward Stradling, who endowed an obit at Neath abbey in 1341 (see chap. 5), was MP for Somerset in 1343,
while his descendant, also Sir Edward, acted as Chamberlain and Receiver of south Wales in 1423, sheriff of
Somerset and Dorset in 1424, and served as a JP in Somerset from 1423 to 1451: *Dictionary of Welsh Biography to
1940* (London, 1959), p. 925.

[15] Wenllian Walsche (d. 1427) has a memorial brass at Llandough, while her brother, Robert (d. 1427), requested
burial at Langridge and left £10 2s. to find two chaplains to pray for his soul in Llandough for a year: TNA: PRO,
PROB/11/3, image ref: 105.

and the houses of the Benedictines, Franciscans and Dominicans in Cardiff, although they eschewed burial in them in favour of their West Country foundations.[16]

As well as having founders with strong West Country interests, ecclesiastical institutions in the diocese of Llandaff also maintained their own cross-channel links. Ewenny priory, for example, was a daughter house of St Peter's abbey, Gloucester,[17] while Cardiff priory, founded by Robert FitzHamo, Glamorgan's first Norman lord, was a dependency of Tewkesbury abbey.[18] Margam abbey, moreover, maintained commercial links with Bristol, and held lands and houses there as well as stalls in the market.[19] Similarly, the abbeys of Gloucester, Tewkesbury and Bristol held property and churches in Newport and Cardiff. West Country monks were sometimes found in Glamorgan monasteries, such as 'William, Thomas and Elias of Bristol' at Margam, while William Saltmarsh, the prior of St Augustine's abbey, Bristol, was made bishop of Llandaff in 1184.[20] Bristol was the most important city in the south-west and understandably dominated the trade of under-urbanised south Wales. Welsh traders were so familiar there that one of the quays was named the Welsh Back and south Welsh children were apprenticed in large numbers there in the late medieval period.[21]

These connections had an inevitable impact on the material culture of south Wales, and had some effect on the ecclesiastical architecture of the region. While economic circumstances meant that the churches of Somerset and Gloucestershire are often larger and more lavishly ornamented than those of south-east Wales, certain stylistic similarities may be discerned.[22] The towers of St

---

[16] James, ed., *Morganiae Archaiographia*, pp. 41-45.

[17] F.G. Cowley, 'The Church in Glamorgan from the Norman Conquest to the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century' in T.B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History* (vol. 3, Cardiff, 1971), pp. 87-135, at p. 96.

[18] Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales c.1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 14.

[19] Walter de Gray Birch, *A History of Margam Abbey* (London, 1897), pp. 202-4.

[20] Griffiths, 'Medieval Severnside', pp. 75, 77.

[21] Spencer Dimmock, 'The Origins of Welsh Apprentices in Sixteenth-Century Bristol', *WHR*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Dec. 2009), pp. 116-140. Dimmock's study covers 1532-52, but it is likely that this was also an earlier pattern.

[22] See Malcolm Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Herefordshire, 2006) for Norman precedents.

Stephen's, Bristol, and St John's, Cardiff are thought to be the work of the same craftsman.[23] The masons employed in the construction of the west front of Wells cathedral and the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury abbey in the thirteenth century also worked on Llandaff cathedral.[24] It is also possible to glimpse similarities between the monumental effigies of Severnside, some of the most obvious being between the undersized effigy of a lady at Coity [12] and those at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, which are so similar in appearance that they cannot have been produced in isolation from each other. The presence of Dundry stone, quarried to the south of Bristol, in the furnishings and fabric of many south Welsh churches, illustrates the interrelationship between the trade links previously outlined and the cultural networks highlighted above,[25] and confirms Rees Davies' comment that "in medieval society the movement of men was the most potent agency of cultural diffusion."[26] The diocese of Llandaff was therefore linked to the southern side of the Bristol Channel by the frequent traffic between its shores and it is instructive to look for comparisons and contrasts in the commemorative practices of the region.

2.2(b) Numbers

The following information, together with the rest of the data on the effigies of the three comparative counties, has been taken from the relevant Pevsner volumes.[27] The most fundamental observation to be made regarding levels of effigial commemoration within Severnside is that there is little parity between the Welsh and English parts. Pembrokeshire has very similar numbers of monuments to the diocese of Llandaff at sixty-five, while there are 166 monuments in Gloucestershire and 208 in Somerset. These figures represent all forms of effigial

---

[23] Griffiths, 'Medieval Severnside', p. 83.

[24] Malcolm Thurlby, 'The early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral and its Place in the West Country School of Masons.', in J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, eds., *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (Leeds, 2006), pp. 60-85, at pp. 74-78.

[25] See Jeremy Knight, 'Medieval imported Building Stone' for details on the use of Dundry.

[26] R.R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), p. 351.

[27] Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (London, 2004); David Verey, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean* (Harmondsworth, 1970); David Verey and Alan Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: The Cotswolds* (Harmondsworth, 1999); Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: South and West Somerset* (Harmondsworth, 1958): Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth, 1958).

commemoration, including brasses, incised slabs and semi-effigies, as well as fully sculpted memorials.

2.2(c) Chronology

Fig 6: Chronological spread of effigies in Severnside by %

Broadly speaking, a general pattern emerges from the data presented in Fig. 6. In all regions (apart from Llandaff diocese) relatively low levels of effigial commemoration before c.1300 turn into a steep rise in commissions in the fourteenth century. Then there is a noticeable downturn in the fifteenth century, continuing into the sixteenth century up to the beginning of the Henrician Reformation. Within this broad pattern there are occasional variations. Llandaff diocese has comparatively high levels of patronage in the thirteenth century and is the only one of the four regions not to have greater overall numbers of fourteenth-century effigies. Conversely, Gloucestershire has significantly higher levels of early sixteenth-century monuments, and both English counties exhibit a less dramatic decline in commemoration during the fifteenth century than the Welsh areas, where there was more of a slump.

In the diocese of Llandaff and the counties of Pembrokeshire and Somerset over half the effigies were commissioned in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and this is particularly noticeable

65

in the south Wales examples. In Pembrokeshire there is a significant percentage (10.7%) of insecurely-dated effigies, but even when this is taken into account, over half the effigies can still be dated to before 1400 and here Pembrokeshire exhibits a very similar pattern to the diocese of Llandaff. When precise dates are given for the Somerset and Gloucestershire examples it can be seen that there is a noticeable falling off in patronage after the middle of the fourteenth century, which reaches its nadir in the 1380s and 1390s, with only five effigies given this date in Somerset and only two in Gloucestershire. There are marked differences in chronological distribution between the Welsh and English examples from c.1400 to c.1540. In Wales there are very low levels of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monuments: thirteen (20.9%) in Llandaff; and nine (13.8%) in Pembrokeshire. In Somerset this figure is far higher, at eighty-five (40.8%) monuments, while in Gloucestershire the percentage reaches 48.7 (eighty-one monuments). Even more notable in the case of the latter county is that almost half of this amount can be dated to between 1500 and 1540. The fifteenth-century slump in patronage observable from this data in south Wales seems to have been much less marked in the West Country, and there are clear signs of revival in the English examples from c.1440. The Gloucestershire data in particular suggests that this county experienced a buoyant market for effigial commemoration from c.1500.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the cumulative effects of the various demographic crises of the fourteenth century – of which plague visitations seem to have bitten hardest - had a noticeable effect on levels of patronage of monumental effigies in all four areas, but that these effects may have been experienced differently across Severnside.[28] Numbers of monuments in south Wales do not revive to the extent that they do in Somerset or Gloucestershire. In Wales, of course, Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt contributed further to the economic malaise in the first decade of the fifteenth century, which may account for the failure of Welsh patronage to revive significantly for some time thereafter.[29]

---

[28] See Chapter Three for the effects of plague on the patronage and production of monuments in general and their collapse in the diocese of Llandaff.

[29] For Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt see R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995) and for its effects on the diocese of Llandaff in particular see: R.R. Davies, 'Plague and Revolt', in Griffiths, Hopkins and Howell, eds., *Gwent County History*, vol. 2, pp. 217-240.

Fig 7a: Effigy types across Severnside by number

Fig 7b: Effigy types across Severnside by %

There is some consistency within Severnside in the levels of armoured effigies, which may generally be taken to represent those of the landowning county elite.[30] In each area this group (including double monuments) makes up between twenty to thirty-six percent of the total. If the monuments of single ladies may also be taken to represent members of this group,[31] then the figures rise to between forty-three percent (Pembrokeshire and Gloucestershire) and sixty percent (Llandaff diocese). This is entirely to be expected as effigial commemoration was an expensive luxury available only to the richest section of society. The tombs of the gentry, which were generally erected in parish churches, were also more likely to survive the Reformation than those of the nobility, who favoured burial in monastic houses.[32] It is also to be expected that the clergy are well-represented, being a privileged group in terms of intramural burial. Pembrokeshire figures particularly highly here, with the major pilgrimage centre of St David's being notably rich in the monuments of the clergy.

The military memorials of Llandaff diocese can be contrasted with the clerical effigies in the pattern of their chronological distribution. Whereas the clerical effigies are overwhelmingly concentrated in the pre-Black Death era, military memorials span the entire period, from the mailed figure of c.1250 at Margam to the Butler monument of c.1540 at St Bride's Major. More significantly, this group is the only one in the diocese to have almost equal representation in the pre- and post Black Death eras. In Pembrokeshire only the late fifteenth-century brass (now a Victorian restoration) of Edmund Tudor (d.1456) at St David's post-dates 1400. Gloucestershire mirrors Pembrokeshire's early bias, with thirty of its forty-four military effigies pre-dating 1400; Somerset, like Llandaff, exhibits a more even distribution across the period. Even so, the numbers of early sixteenth-century military memorials in Somerset are low, at five, compared to the twenty dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. Overall, then, the late resurgence of the military memorial in south-east Wales is notable, and is largely due to the rise of new

---

[30] See Chapter Three p. 90 ff. for a discussion of this issue.

[31] See discussion, Chapter Three.

[32] Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift-Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London, 1972), pp. 83-84; Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, pp. 12-14.

families of Welsh blood into the ranks of the gentry during the fifteenth century, who wished to advertise their arrival in a conspicuous and readily recognisable manner.[33]

There is also significant variation between the four sample areas in the numbers and chronological spread of effigies of civilians and their wives, including the merchant class. It is not surprising that the wealthier English counties have higher numbers of this form of memorial, although it is unexpected that Somerset seems to have so few merchants' tombs, considering the trading capacity of the major city of Bristol, and the presence of smaller ports, such as Minehead, along the coast. It may be that some merchants' tombs were not recorded as such, however. Gloucestershire's relatively high numbers of merchants' memorials reflect the wealth that the late medieval wool trade brought to the region, and there are significant collections of brasses to woolmen and their families in Northleach and Cirencester. The poorer Welsh regions have fewer civilian effigies, and only two of these are known to represent merchants, both in the busy port town of Tenby (Pembrokeshire).

All but one of the civilian memorials of the diocese of Llandaff appear to have been manufactured before the Black Death, at a time when civilians were not commonly commemorated by an effigial monument.[34] In contrast, civilian memorials in Somerset and Gloucestershire are sporadic until the middle of the fourteenth century and are not found regularly until the second half of the fifteenth century. Llandaff's civilian effigies are also unusual in that all but one are sculpted effigies, a fact that follows on from their early date. As will become apparent below, a large number of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monuments to the civilian classes in England are brasses: in Gloucestershire thirty-four out of forty-six civilian effigies are brass, including all twelve of the merchant memorials; in Somerset the proportion is slightly lower, at twenty-one out of forty-nine, but the brasses still count for almost half the number of civilians commemorated in the county. Given the fact that so many brasses

---

[33] See Chapter Three for further discussion of the nature of late-medieval commemoration in Llandaff diocese, and Chapter Four, Case Study Three for a the monuments of the Mathews, and their links to those of the Herberts and Morgans.

[34] Kemp, *English Church Monuments*, p. 51; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 238; Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*, p. 8.

are known to have been lost throughout England, it can be supposed that the proportion of brass civilian monuments was originally even higher.

2.2(e) Materials

It has not been possible to subject the monuments of Gloucestershire, Somerset and Pembrokeshire to the kind of petrographical analysis carried out in the diocese of Llandaff,[35] although it is possible to compare levels of commemoration by monumental brasses across the Severnside region (Fig. 8). Brasses are far more prevalent in the English counties than in Wales.

Fig. 8: Brasses as % of total monuments

■ brass ■ other

Llandaff: brass 1.61%, other 98.38%
Pembs: brass 3%, other 97%
Gloucs: brass 35.50%, other 64.50%
Som: brass 18.70%, other 81.30%

Two are listed for Pembrokeshire (not including the nineteenth-century copy of the lost brass of Edmund Tudor at St David's), and only one remains in the diocese of Llandaff. In contrast, Somerset has thirty-nine figure brasses (18.7% of the total) and fifty-nine (35.5%) are recorded for Gloucestershire. In both counties the brasses are almost entirely of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century date, and account for a substantial majority of the monuments of this period.

---

[35] The geological sources of the Llandaff monuments are discussed in Chapter Three.

This is particularly so in Gloucestershire in the decades immediately preceding the Reformation, where nearly eighty percent of surviving effigial monuments are brasses.

These high numbers partly explain the reasons why Gloucestershire in particular departs from the wider Severnside trend towards lower levels of effigial commemoration after c.1400, which are related to the greater frequency of civilian and merchant memorials in this region. Civilians and merchants make up over half of those commemorated by brasses in Gloucestershire, with merchants apparently exclusively choosing this medium. Places such as Cirencester and Northleach, in the heart of the prosperous Cotswold wool-country, contain large collections of brasses, while smaller numbers are found in other Cotswold churches, such as Chipping Campden, and Minchinhampton. Historically, brasses have been more vulnerable to destruction than sculpted memorials due to the value of their materials, but there is little evidence to suggest that great numbers of them have been lost in Wales. The received wisdom is that Wales has never been well-endowed with brasses due to its distance from the London workshops and the relative poverty of its gentry.[36]

Conclusion

Despite a level of homogeneity perceived within Severnside in terms of its socio-political and ecclesiastical links, the patterns of monumental commemoration discussed above reflect the poorer, less urbanised and more thinly populated nature of the lands on the Welsh shore of the Bristol Channel. Raw data can only reveal so much, however, and so some of the themes introduced in this chapter are developed in greater depth in the next, drawing on a closer analysis of the effigies themselves. These questions focus particularly on the nature, extent and representations of the patronal group and how this changed over time; levels of engagement with the native monumental products and those of other parts of Severnside and beyond, and the collapse in patronage and production in the diocese from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries.

---

[36] See Chapter Three pp. 127-33 for a discussion of the factors contributing to the lack of medieval brasses in the diocese of Llandaff.

Chapter Three

Patronage and Production

The erection of any given monumental effigy was the end result of a complex interrelationship of factors bearing upon both patron and craftsman. High levels of demand for funerary sculpture could fuel the existence of local sources of supply, while the prime constraint on the patron would be the level of his/her funds. This could restrict not only the choice of materials and elaboration of the memorial, but also the extent to which patrons could exercise choice away from the products of the local area.[1] The nature of the local supply is also a fundamental consideration. Were there sufficiently capable local masons available, with ready access to a suitable supply of stone, or would patrons have to cast further afield to obtain the necessary materials and manpower? Would the latter circumstance preclude some potential patrons from seeking effigial commemoration in the first place, due to lack of funds or opportunities? Over time, these factors would ultimately have a major bearing on the nature of the monumental culture of a particular region. While religious motives, primarily that of personal salvation, were the overriding consideration behind the erection and design of a memorial effigy, secondary secular motives, perhaps prompted by family circumstances, could in turn influence the details of an individual monument by dictating the inclusion of features such as heraldry or other status signifiers. Patrons may also have been affected by the desire to ape their neighbours or social betters by requesting a tomb similar to one in the vicinity, or in a particularly up-to-date style. This chapter demonstrates that over the long term the basic laws of supply and demand, including the range of products available, transport, competition, population figures and levels of wealth, had a fundamental impact on patterns of patronage and production in the diocese of Llandaff.[2]

---

[1] Tummers maintained that the thirteenth-century transport system was sufficient to supply patrons with whichever stone they wanted as the blocks required for effigial purposes were "relatively small in both size and quantity": Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, p. 16. Even so this ability must have been partly dependent upon economic circumstances. Despite its prestige and popularity Purbeck marble, for example, rarely made it into south Wales, and no diocese of Llandaff effigies are made from it.

[2] See discussion in Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 38-40, for nationwide trends and local variations in England.

The medieval patron had a crucial role as the initiator of a work of art and supplier of funds, but the extent of his/her creative involvement is often a matter of conjecture in the absence of documentation.[3] Were patrons of monumental effigies actively involved with the creation of the work and concerned to obtain a memorial which fulfilled specific design criteria, or were they happy to have an 'off the peg' product that merely complied with the general requirements of name, sex, vocation and social status? There is evidence, outlined below, for both extremes of creative input, and for a range of attitudes in between. In the first part of this chapter the evidence available for the patrons of monumental effigies in the diocese of Llandaff will be examined for such attitudes and the extent of their creative involvement will be gauged where circumstances allow. It is not possible to consider all tombs on an individual basis, hence patronal groups are also looked at as a whole in order to gain an impression of their collective identity, and how secular messages about status were propagated by their tombs. Changes in the character of the patron class over the period c.1200 to c.1540 will also be discussed. The related issue of the production of the region's monuments, and the circumstances surrounding observed phenomena such as the lack of brass memorials in the region and the collapse of the native monument industry, will be considered.

There is some well-known evidence to suggest that patrons of English memorial monuments sometimes exhibited a high degree of interest in the design of the tomb being commissioned and had a fairly precise idea of how the finished monument should look. About a dozen contracts between patron and craftsman have survived from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century.[4] One of these, an indenture concluded in 1421 between Richard Hertcombe and the alabastermen Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton for the tomb of the earl and countess of Salisbury at Bisham (Berkshire), lays down the look of the monument in some detail, for which a 'patron' had already been drawn up on which the finished product was to be based. Its dimensions, the form of the head- and foot-rests, canopies and angels are all specified, as are the

---

[3] See, for example: Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III, 1216-1377* (Woodbridge, 2002); Christopher Wilson, 'Calling the Tune? The Involvement of King Henry III in the Design of the Abbey Church at Westminster', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 161, no. 1 (2008), pp. 59-93.

[4] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 100-1.

price (forty-three marks), method of payment and date for completion.[5] The use of a specified design is also seen in the will of Isabel, Countess of Warwick (1439). The countess asked for her "Image to be made all naked, and no thing on my hede but myn here cast backwardys, and of the gretnes and of the fascyon lyke the mesure that Thomas Porchalyn hath in a lyst."[6] Such plans pre-suppose a certain degree of involvement, or even control, on the part of the patron over the look of the finished monument.

Other monuments, for which no contract or will survives, sometimes point to specific criteria having been insisted upon by the patron. The rather unusual features of the tomb of Oliver, Lord Ingham (d.1344) at Ingham (Norfolk), including his twisting pose, bed of stones and angels supporting the great helm, have been seen as being "specially chosen to reflect Oliver's sense of how he wanted to be remembered."[7] The extreme posture of a contemporary effigy at Aldworth (Berkshire), which is propped up on its side, the head supported on the elbow, has been explained by the likelihood that the patron had seen the reclining Jesse figure at Christchurch, Dorset, and had requested a monument in a similar pose.[8]

In the majority of cases the craftsman was ultimately responsible for the execution and final look of the monument.[9] The dominance of the craftsman's role was especially the case with monumental brasses, the manufacture of which approximated to production-line methods in the fifteenth century, and many patterns of the same design were produced, to be differentiated only

---

[5] Jon Bayliss, 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *Church Monuments*, vol. 16 (2001), pp. 22-9, translation of indenture at p. 24. The 43 marks were payment for the effigies alone. The tomb chest cost an additional £22 13s 4d, and the total cost of the monument was £60: Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 109-10.

[6] F.J. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London* (London, 1882), pp. 116-7. The countess also requested specific details of accompanying saints, heraldry, supporters, weepers and the attitude of her body.

[7] Sally Badham, 'Beautiful Remains of Antiquity: The Medieval Monuments in the Former Trinitarian Priory Church at Ingham, Norfolk. Part 2: The High Tombs', *Church Monuments*, vol. 22 (2007), pp. 7-42, quote at p. 11.

[8] This opinion was given by Moira Gittos in a talk at the Church Monuments Society Study Day at Aldworth, June 2007.

[9] Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies' in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, eds, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002) pp. 143-167, at p. 150.

by the details of heraldry, inscriptions and so on.[10] Malcolm Norris has commented that, especially at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, there is circumstantial evidence that stock figures were prepared in advance, reflecting a low level of participation on the part of the purchaser.[11] That brass designs were replicated can be seen in the strong resemblance of the brass of Wenllian Walsche (d.1427) at Llandough (Glamorgan) [33] to those of Elizabeth Poyle at Hampton Poyle (Oxfordsire), Isabell Carew at Beddington (Surrey) and Elizabeth Slyfield at Great Bookham (Surrey). Even so, four brasses of the Stathum and Sacheverell families at Morley (Derbyshire) erected between 1454 and 1525, indicate that even in the standardised world of brass-engraving the individual needs of the patron could win through. That brass was selected over a seventy-year period at Morley in the heart of alabaster country is notable in itself, but the fact that each brass was of a similar composition despite originating in different workshops can only be explained by patronal influence.[12]

On the whole it is generally appreciated that medieval patrons of monumental effigies were interested more in the accurate expression of status than in artistic originality.[13] The contract for the tomb of the earl and countess of Salisbury, mentioned above, instructs that the earl was "to be armed in all respects as is fitting to a lord" and both images were "to be painted gilded and arrayed well & decently in their colours as pertains to such images".[14] Such terminology was an effective form of shorthand for the type of monument a patron required and is sometimes found in wills, several examples of which have been cited by Nigel Saul. The request of Thomas Tyrell in 1475 that he and his wife be represented "honestle for oure degree" is typical of the nature of patronal concern for an appropriate memorial.[15] Given the importance laid on the "fitting" and

---

[10] Saul, 'Bold as Brass', pp. 185-6.

[11] Norris, *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 88-9. However, Lawrence Stone's opinion was that as far as sculpted monuments were concerned there was probably little prospective production due to the financial outlay involved. Nor are tombs ever precisely identical despite the "close similarity of basic designs": Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, pp. 179-80.

[12] Jon Denton, 'The East-Midland Gentleman', pp. 127-9.

[13] Nigel Ramsey, 'Artists and Craftsmen', in Nigel Saul, ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England* (London, 1992), pp. 48-59, at p. 51; Saul, 'Bold as Brass', pp. 185-6.

[14] Bayliss, 'An Indenture', p. 24.

[15] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 91-4, quote at p. 91.

"honest" portrayal of the individual's status and vocation, care should be taken in analysing and interpreting these signifiers as guides to the appreciation of selfhood on the part of the deceased and the extent to which the patron's wishes may have been taken into consideration by the craftsman. It is worth bearing in mind here Christopher Wilson's observation that the lack of documentation on the medieval process of commissioning architectural works means that "the modern investigator of these things has no other way of proceeding than to focus on the features of the end-product that are most difficult to account for in terms of the architect's own choices."[16] It is this approach, applied to monuments instead of architecture, which has resulted in the interpretation of the Ingham and Aldworth effigies noted above, and which will be borne in mind in relation to the monuments of the diocese of Llandaff.

3.1. Documentary evidence for the patronage of monumental effigies in the diocese of Llandaff.

Unfortunately, documentary sources relevant to the commissioning of monumental effigies by residents of the diocese of Llandaff are confined to five wills from the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a resource which has defects other than mere lack of coverage. None of the wills describe the appearance of the desired monument in any depth. Moreover, two were made by the same testator (William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, d.1469) and another described a monument which does not technically fall within the limits of this study as it was intended for Monmouth church, in the diocese of Hereford (Sir William Herbert of Troy (d.1524)). The will of Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester (d.1525), requested a 'back-up' monument, to be erected only if he died away from London, and he already had an elaborate tomb in place at St George's Chapel, Windsor. The least illuminating testament is that of Morgan John of Bassaleg (d.1500), which merely requested an alabaster tomb and devoted far more energy to stipulating his numerous other legacies, many of which were bestowed on his burial church at Bassaleg.[17]

---

[16] Wilson, 'Calling the Tune?', p. 62.

[17] TNA: PRO PROB 11/12, image ref: 22. See Chapter 5 for the other commemorative arrangements outlined in this will.

Although the other wills mentioned above are greatly lacking in detail regarding tombs, they are worth some consideration as none of the monuments they provide for now exists. The tomb of Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester (d.1526) and his first wife Elizabeth Herbert (d.1507), erected in St George's chapel, Windsor, after the latter's death, does not qualify as a diocese of Llandaff monument because of its location, but the couple's extensive links to the diocese make them relevant for discussion here, the more so as Lord Somerset's will mentions the creation of an alternative memorial. An illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort, Somerset acquired much of his interest in south Wales from his marriage, in 1492, to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon (d.1491). From her, he inherited the lordship of Chepstow in Monmouthshire and the manors of Llandough, Westorchard and St Marychurch in Glamorgan. He was made Lord Chamberlain by Henry VIII and led a retinue of over a thousand men, mostly from his Welsh lands, to France in 1513, his earldom being bestowed the following year.[18] The Somerset monument in St George's chapel, Windsor, already in existence at the time of his death, is a sumptuous affair, consisting of the alabaster effigies of the couple on top of a Purbeck marble tomb chest, encased by a bronze screen of Flemish workmanship.[19] However, should he have died elsewhere than in London, the earl's will stated that he wished to be buried in the nearest abbey, priory or college with "but a fflatteston to be laid upon me with a fflatte remembraunce that they that look upon it praye for my soule".[20] This alternative monument, which was never commissioned, sounds as though he had a brass, or possibly an incised slab, in mind, intended to be a much more modest monument than the one already made at Windsor.[21]

---

[18] W.R.B. Robinson, *Early Tudor Gwent 1485-1547* (Welshpool, 2002), p. 3, p. 19, p. 21, p. 24. See also http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26004?docPos=1.

[19] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 272. Lord Somerset's effigy, at nearly eight feet long dwarfs that of his wife and in its dimensions and execution evokes that of David Mathew (d. before 1470) in Llandaff cathedral.

[20] TNA: PRO PROB 11/22, image ref: 132.

[21] Brasses were by no means always humble affairs, but Somerset makes it clear to his executors that funeral and alternative commemoration expenses are to be capped at a reasonable level.

Sir William Herbert of Troy (d.1524) was a kinsman of Elizabeth Herbert and receiver of the lordship of Monmouth from 1485 until his death.[22] In his will he requested that his executors "shall cause a Tombe of marble to be made over my grave with ymage of me, Margery my first wife and of Blanche nowe my wife, and a Epitafe to be made for me and sett in a square marble to be fyxed in the walle ayenst my said Tumbe according to my mynde therfor declared to myn executors."[23] This monument, to be erected in the south side of the chapel built by Sir William in Monmouth church, no longer exists, but the use of the term 'marble' suggests that Sir William wanted a brass.[24] It is evident that the monument had not already been made, but that Sir William had already discussed the matter with his executors and may have decided on the wording of the epitaph, which was to be a separate item associated with the main monument. Sir William's prior instruction of his executors may have been necessary due to his unusual choice of a brass memorial. Brasses were uncommon in Wales and alabaster was overwhelmingly the material of choice for the tombs of the Herbert family, as well as many of their Welsh contemporaries.[25] This will is of some significance, therefore, as an indication that some patrons were prepared to depart from local and family standard practice, although we do not know the personal motives behind this decision.

Remarkably, the final Herbert testator under consideration here, William, earl of Pembroke (d.1469), changed his mind at least twice about his tomb during the preparation of his two testaments written before and after the battle of Banbury in 1469. In his first will he began by requesting a tomb for himself and his wife at Abergavenny priory near that of his parents, Sir William ap Thomas and Gwladys Ddu [6]. Later in the same will, however, he refers to "my Tomb at Tinterne" and later clarifies by adding: "item, where I have strucken out there I purposed to ly at the Priory of Bergavenny, I will ly in the Church of Tinterne and my wife in the same Tomb with me and she with the number of our children in the same Tomb."[26] Shortly

---

[22] Robinson, *Early Tudor Gwent*, p. 5.

[23] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 203.

[24] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 95

[25] See Chapter Four, Case Study Three. The question of the lack of the patronage of monumental brasses in the region is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

[26] Will transcribed in *Herbertorum Prosapia*, fols. 55-8.

afterwards, as the earl was awaiting execution after the battle he drew up a second will where he reverted to his first choice of Abergavenny.[27] In the event he was buried at Tintern, under a tomb which was defaced in 1538.[28] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the earl's indecision over the location of his monument, he gives no instruction regarding its appearance other than it was to be higher than that of his parents.[29]

The above examples indicate how inscrutable wills can be as evidence of the intentions of the deceased and the extent to which their wishes influenced the final look of their monument: the earl of Worcester requested a stone that he knew may never be laid, and all testators were dependent entirely on the efficiency and reliability of their executors in carrying out their instructions.[30] Under these circumstances, it is necessary to follow Christopher Wilson's advice, given above, to rely on interpreting the monuments themselves to get at the motivations and levels of creative involvement of individual patrons. Before particular examples are discussed, however, the general long-term trends observable in the production and patronage of the diocese's memorials will be explained.

Section A. Patronage

3.2. The patrons of the monumental effigies of the diocese of Llandaff – long-term general trends.

Three main status groups can be detected among the patrons of monumental effigies in the diocese of Llandaff (see Fig. 9) and can be broadly described in the following ways: the clergy; the county gentry of the status of knight or esquire; and 'mere' gentry of very local significance.

---

[27] TNA: PRO PROB 11/5, image ref: 305.

[28] *Herbertorum Prosapia*, f. 75.

[29] TNA: PRO PROB 11/5, image ref: 305. These repeated changes of mind are not easily accounted for. The original choice of Abergavenny is understandable as the earl's parents were interred there (see Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 101-2 for similar burial requests), while the requirement for his own tomb to be higher than theirs may be explained by a desire to express the greater status he had achieved. The switch to Tintern within the same document has no apparent motive, although the further change of heart in the second will may have been the product of a mind troubled by the knowledge of its imminent fate. Presumably the earl's executors were responsible for the eventual choice of Tintern.

[30] A more detailed discussion of the value of testamentary evidence as a guide to pious provision is provided in Chapter 5.

The two lay categories may be subdivided into the Anglo-Norman/English settler class (*advenae*) and the native Welsh gentry (*uchelwyr*), and the clergy into episcopal or parochial. Furthermore, the ten civilian monuments are here taken to be those of individuals who chose not to be, or were not qualified to be, depicted in armour and are therefore ascribed to those of sub-knightly stock.[31] In many cases the civilian effigies will commemorate members of the gentle classes, such as that of a lawyer at Coychurch [14]; the quality alone of this monument indicates the wealth and status of the patron. Civilian effigies will not be taken to be those of merchants unless there is good reason for doing so, such as the known identity of the individual. There are no known civilian effigies commemorating the *uchelwyr*. Effigies of single ladies, unless there is evidence to the contrary, are taken to be the womenfolk of families of knightly status. Some effigies, such the cadaver at Llandaff cathedral [28] and the pilgrim at Llandyfodwg [35] are more difficult to categorise, and will rarely feature in this discussion as a result.

Fig. 9: Patrons of Monumental Effigies in the Diocese of Llandaff

---

[31] The question of armour and social status/occupation is explored further below, under the discussion of military effigies.

The earliest effigial memorials in the diocese of Llandaff are, fittingly, those of bishops, a group described as the pioneers of effigial commemoration.[32] Five of the six bishops are of thirteenth-century date, the earliest thought to represent Henry of Abergavenny (d.1218) [21]. The effigies of Sts 'Dyfrig' and 'Teilo' [24, 23] and that of a closely comparable unknown bishop [25] are of slightly later date, while that of William de Braose (d.1287) [22] may have been commissioned in his lifetime. There is then a gap of two centuries until the commemoration of Bishop John Marshall (1496) [30].[33] The only other high status ecclesiastical effigy in the diocese is that of Abbot Adam of Carmarthen (d. 1289), at Neath abbey [48]. Monuments of the parish clergy, where dates can be given with some certainty, are also thirteenth-century products. From the middle of the thirteenth century the first lay monuments appear, the earliest of which are the knight at Margam abbey (c.1250) [45] and Eva de Braose (d.1257) [1] at Abergavenny.[34] The majority of the knightly effigies of the *advenae*, and those of their ladies, are concentrated at the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, only four surviving from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at Llandough [33], St Hilary [59], Llandaff cathedral [27]and St Bride's Major [57]. Similarly, the monuments of civilians – all of which are thought to be of English descent – are of late-thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date. From the middle of the fifteenth century until the end of the period the armoured effigies of the native Welsh gentry are dominant, accounting for seven of the eleven monuments dateable from c1450 to c.1540.[35]

There are several points of interest here. In Chapter Two it was noted that numbers of monumental effigies in Llandaff diocese were highest before the middle of the fourteenth century, and tailed off considerably thereafter, to have a slight resurgence from c.1450. The

---

[32] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 176.

[33] These thirteenth-century effigies, and the circumstances surrounding their commissioning and production, are discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four, Case Study One.

[34] The identity of the Margam knight is unknown, but it is possible that it commemorates one of the Welsh lords of Afan. This family were generous benefactors of Margam abbey and had shown themselves open to adopting Anglo-Norman practices, such as castle-building, and by the end of the thirteenth century had adopted heraldry and a Norman-style name, de Avene: David Crouch, *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), pp. 162, 242. If this identification is correct, this is the earliest known monument to a member of the *uchelwyr* in the south-eastern march by 200 years, a point of great importance to our understanding of the commemorative practices of the native elites.

[35] The anonymous cadaver has not been included in Fig. 9. Some Welsh gentry also undoubtedly chose non-effigial commemoration, for example Sir Thomas Morgan (d.1510), whose tomb lies at Llanmartin.

figures presented above indicate that the group mostly responsible for this resurgence was one which was new to effigial commemoration in the diocese: the native Welsh *uchelwyr*. While the knightly classes of English descent continued to demonstrate a sporadic interest to the end of the period, the clergy and sub-knightly gentry almost completely turned away from the effigy as a form of commemoration after the middle of the fourteenth century. The reasons for these patterns are explored in more detail in the second section of this chapter, which deals with monument production.

3.3 Evidence for patronal input.[36]

There are several monuments in the diocese which bear signs of the creative involvement of the patron in the production of the monument. Some of these are slight, such as the inclusion of heraldry or other incidental details of dress, sometimes as status-signifiers, while on one or two occasions the wishes of the patron can be seen to have affected the fundamental look of the monument. The clearest example of patronal input comes from the monument of Arnold Butler of Dunraven (d.1541) and his wife Sicyll at St Bride's Major [57]. Arnold was the last of the male line of his family, one of the oldest of the Glamorgan *advenae* dynasties, which can be traced back to at least the thirteenth century and probably earlier.[37] The couple's tomb can be seen to reflect both the spiritual uncertainties of the age and Arnold's own personal dynastic anxieties.[38] He made no reference to a tomb in his will (1541), nor did he make any bequests for prayers or masses. He was not a fledgling protestant, however – his soul is commended to Mary and the saints as well as to God, and cash gifts for unspecified purposes are left to seven churches – giving the impression that he clung to traditional beliefs but was aware of the way the wind was blowing and did not think it wise to make investments for his soul that may turn out to

---

[36] The case-studies presented in Chapter Four consider the patronage and production of three discrete groups of monuments in depth, and so the monuments concerned are not covered in this section.

[37] Tradition accords the Butlers' possession of Dunraven to the gift of William de Londres, or his son, to Sir Arnold Butler in the twelfth century: G.T. Clark, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae* (London, 1886), p. 366. Johannes le Botiler was a juror at Glamorgan County Court in August 1299: Clark, *Cartae III*, pp. 911-912.

[38] Newman records this as the monument of Arnold's parents, John Butler and Jane Basset: Newman, *Glamorgan*, p. 550. It is not known when they died, but the style of the monument fits comfortably with Arnold's date of death. The Bassets of Beaupré were a prominent local family and it would be expected that Jane's arms would appear if the monument was hers. Siddons' opinion is that the tomb is that of Arnold and Sicyll: Siddons, *Visitations*, p. 44, n. 5.

be of short duration.[39] Arnold was survived by Sicyll, who he made his sole executrix, and so it may have been she who arranged the imposing double monument with canopy in the chancel at St Bride's Major. If so, she appears to have shared her husband's religious insecurities as the tomb is studiously spiritually understated in tone. There are the mutilated remains of an angel at the female effigy's head, but none were present at the male's head and no angels or other spiritual figures appear elsewhere on the monument: the chest is adorned only with two male and two female secular weepers. It is tempting to conclude that the couple, or at least the patron of the tomb, felt it wise not to place a foot too firmly in either camp. They may have felt it economically imprudent to alienate resources for the maintenance of a chantry or other form of intercession, but regarded a spiritually-neutral tomb as an acceptable form of memorial.[40]

Whatever the couple's religious motivations, there was a pressing secular purpose behind the erection of the tomb. Arnold and Sicyll were childless and had no male collateral heirs, resulting in the failure of the family after a presence at Dunraven for as much as three centuries.[41] So-called 'end of line' memorials are not uncommon and a few others are known of in the vicinity, such as those of Hawise de Londres (d.1276) at Ewenny priory [16] and Wenllian Walsche

---

[39] TNA: PRO PROB 11/28, image ref: 366. Arnold's reticence was not unusual and the scant testamentary records for south Wales of the period contain little positive evidence of protestant sympathies. The wills of Meredith ap Syr Philip (1539), a burgess of Abergavenny, and Thomas ap Watkyn (1539) lack catholic sentiment: both men dedicated their souls to God alone and the only religious bequests were small amounts to their mother churches and to their parish churches for forgotten tithes. Meredith ap Syr Philip, however, left the residue of his estate "for the welthe and helth of my soule and all crysten soules...to the pleasure of almighty god" indicating at least that he had not fully imbibed reformed ideas on good works: TNA: PRO PROB 11/28, image ref: 33; TNA: PRO PROB 11/28, image ref: 2. Other testators continued making bequests for prayers until the end of the 1530s. Thomas Philip of Llandyfodwg (1536) left money to the Cardiff friaries (while prefacing his will with a reference to "our soveraigne Lord henry the eight...defendour of the Feith...supreme hed of the Churche of Englande."): TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 414; Isabel Williams of Monmouth (1537) wanted burial before the Trinity, a month's mind and a 1-year chantry: TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 173; while Edmund Turnour of Cardiff (1539) left money for masses at Cardiff and Chepstow, a 3-year chantry at St Mary's, Cardiff, the poor of Chepstow and the inmates of the almshouse at Cardiff: TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 414. Turnour, moreover, was close to government circles, being the receiver general of Henry, Earl of Worcester and had been secretary to the earl's father: W.R.B. Robinson, 'The Officers and Household of Henry, Earl of Worcester, 1526-49', *Welsh History Review*, vol. 8 (1976-7), pp. 26-41, at pp. 27-8.

[40] Glanmor Williams put the "sharp and general decline" of chantries and fraternities after c.1529 to the confusion of the times: doubts about purgatory, rumours of the depredations of parish churches and fears that chantries would go the way of the religious houses: Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p. 291.

[41] Given the couple's childlessness the presence of the four weepers, clearly depicted as Butlers by the shields underneath the figures, is difficult to explain. They may represent children who died in infancy.

(d.1427) at Llandough [33].[42] Nigel Saul and Brian and Moira Gittos have drawn attention to other monuments commissioned in response to the failure of the line, such as those of Joan de Cobham (d.1434) at Cobham, Richard Gyverny at Limington (Somerset), Brian FitzAlan (d.1306) at Bedale, Roger de Lascelles (d.1300) at Escrick (Yorks.), and the spectacular series of effigies to the de la Beche family at Aldworth (Berks.), who died out in the mid-fourteenth century.[43] Childlessness was also a "major factor" contributing to commemorative schemes in the parish churches of late medieval York.[44]

The Butler tomb is, above all, a celebration of the family and dynasty. This is not only communicated by the effigies of the couple and weepers, but also by the insistent display of heraldry. The tomb is framed in a canopy surmounted by a prominent achievement of arms with crest, supporters and mantling. The quartered arms are those of 1 and 4, Butler; 2, Fleming; 3, ?Bawdrip.[45] Beneath each kneeling weeper is a shield depicting the Butler device of a covered cup, which is repeated on the canopy and on some detached fragments now placed on the wall. In the circumstances the repetition of the Butlers' covered cup is understandable, but the significance of the other heraldic references is less clear. The Butlers' link with the Flemings went back several generations to the marriage of John Butler with Isabel, a daughter of Sir William Fleming of St George's.[46] In more recent generations the Butlers had intermarried with the de Turbevilles of Coity, Wogans of Pembrokeshire, Mathews of Llandaff and Bassets of

---

[42] See below for a discussion of these monuments.

[43] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, p. 117; Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice', pp. 144-145.

[44] Barnett, 'Memorials and Commemoration', pp. 128-129.

[45] The attribution of the third quarter, *azure, on a fess argent 3 ravens beaked and clawed gules,* to Bawdrip is given in Orrin, *Medieval Churches*, p. 338. However Siddons records the main Bawdrip coat as *gules, 3 swans argent,* with a similar coat to that on the Butler tomb, *azure, on a fess argent 3 Cornish choughs proper,* itself only a quartering. On the Butler tomb, moreover, Siddons maintains that the Cornish choughs may in fact be martlets, and that they are appear as lilies on a coat of arms carved in the floor next to the monument: Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry,* vol. 2, pp. 21-2, p. 54. I have been unable to trace any marital link between the Butlers and the Bawdrips, but an Agnes Bawdrip had married a John Basset in the fourteenth century: *CIPM,* vol. 17, 15-23 Richard II (London, 1988), p. 196. Arnold Butler could, therefore, have claimed the Bawdrip quartering through his mother, Jane Basset of Beaupré, although the Bassets themselves do not seem to have used it. It does not appear on the heraldic decoration of the porch (c.1600) at Beaupré: Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry,* vol. 2 (Aberystwyth, 1993), p. 20. Nor does it seem to have come from Arnold's wife, Sicyll, a daughter of John Monington of Herefordshire: Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry,* vol. 2, p. 384.

[46] Clark, *Limbus Patrum,* p. 366.

Beaupré, yet none of this is reflected heraldically at St Bride's Major, suggesting that there was a specific reason for highlighting the Fleming connection.[47]

Much more notable than the heraldry is the remarkable appearance of the crossed legs of the effigy of Arnold Butler nearly two hundred years after this pose universally ceased to be employed on military memorials.[48] This can only be explained by the specific wishes of the patrons and their clear communication to the craftsman of their precise requirements.[49] The crossed legs of Arnold Butler are undoubtedly to be seen as a deliberate reference to an earlier monument in the church, the incised slab of his ancestor, John le Botiler.[50] Although previously thought to be a late thirteenth-century memorial,[51] a date of c.1335 for this slab is now thought more plausible.[52] John le Botiler is shown conventionally cross-legged, with his sword drawn, standing on a wyvern, an animal also seen on the tomb slab near Arnold Butler's feet and supporting the Butler crest atop the canopy of the latter's monument. A picture emerges here of extensive involvement in the design of this tomb on the part of the patron(s), with the specific aim of making a connection with the monument of a distant ancestor, underlining the antiquity and constancy of the Butlers' tenure of the Dunraven estate. When seen in this light the reason behind the quartering of the Fleming arms becomes more apparent: it is possible that the John le Botiler alluded to in the design of Arnold Butler's effigy was the John Butler who married the daughter of Sir William Fleming of St George's, making the link between the two monuments, and between ancestor and descendant, even stronger. Significantly, John le Botiler was not

---

[47] In 1531 the herald William Fellows recorded the arms of Butler impaling Basset in the Cardiff Greyfriars, representing the marriage of Arnold Butler's parents, John Butler of Dunraven and Jane Basset of Beaupré. Fellows records no heraldic link here with the Flemings however, whose arms are recorded separately, suggesting that the Fleming arms were not quartered with those of Butler as a matter of course: M.P. Siddons, ed, *Visitations*, pp. 41-42.

[48] I am unaware of any other Welsh cross-legged effigies of this date.

[49] The monument is made of a Bath-type oolitic limestone, an unusual choice for the monuments of the Llandaff elite at this time, who generally opted for alabaster. Was this choice dictated by the necessity of finding a craftsman prepared to undertake such an unusual commission?

[50] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 245.

[51] Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, p. 39.

[52] Claude Blair, 'The Conington Effigy: Fourteenth-Century Knights at Conington, Doddington and Tollard Royal', *Church Monuments*, vol. 6 (1991), pp. 3-20, at pp. 5-6.

considered the family's founding ancestor,[53] suggesting the slab, rather than the man, was the fulcrum of the connection.

The patrons of the tomb of Arnold and Sicyll Butler were constrained to act within precise parameters dictated by the religious and political tenor of the times as well as the specific circumstances of the family after Arnold's death without male heirs. While Arnold's will suggests they may have felt it prudent to keep overt demonstrations of Catholic sentiment to a minimum, they nevertheless found it desirable to ensure the commemoration of the deceased and his wife. The extent to which this was fuelled by traditional beliefs in purgatory and the efficacy of prayers, or by the need to mark the Butlers' tenure of Dunraven cannot now be known, but the secular motivations certainly dictated the look of the monument. The patron was keen to commission a heraldically rich and visually significant monument which emphasised the ancient dominance of Dunraven by the Butler family, now due to be terminated after several centuries.

No other monuments in the diocese of Llandaff bear such overt marks of the patron's involvement as that of Arnold and Sicyll Butler, but there are four examples where patronal choice may have been exercised on a smaller scale. The late fourteenth-century effigy of a lady, possibly of the Hastings family, at Abergavenny priory [5] was depicted with a pet squirrel on her chest which tradition blames as the cause of her death in a fall as she played with it on top of a wall.[54] The squirrel is no longer there, but the chain by which it was tethered can still be seen emerging from her pocket. Although the actual reasons for the inclusion of the squirrel on the monument cannot now be known it must be assumed that it was a matter of patronal choice, perhaps in the manner of the inclusion of the named dog, 'Terri', on the brass of Lady Cassy (c.1400) at Deerhurst (Gloucestershire). Personal choice may also be glimpsed behind the inclusion of daggers or small swords on two civilian monuments at Caldicot [9] and Christchurch [10], which were items not normally encountered on this type of memorial.[55]

---

[53] See above, n. 37, chap. 3.

[54] Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, (1587), reprinted in Lindley, *Tomb Destruction*, pp. 220-6, at p. 225.

[55] Only two, at Glanvilles Wootton (Dorset) and Ampleforth (Yorks.), are noted in Saul's list of sculpted effigies of civilians in England before c.1500: Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 374-8.

In the case of Adam of Carmarthen, abbot of Neath (d.1289), the deceased's seal may have influenced the design of his effigy [48]. The austerity of the Cistercian order discouraged funerary ostentation, suggesting that Abbot Adam's memorial is rather unusual, being a fully sculpted effigy of fine workmanship, and not in the least reflective of the humility expected of the order.[56] Yet the nature of the abbot's effigy must be seen in the context of the great rebuilding of Neath abbey, initiated by him, from the 1280s to the 1330s.[57] The full splendour of this rebuilding in the Decorated style is hard to appreciate from the surviving ruins, although one or two fragments of carved ornament, such as a roof boss depicting Christ in Majesty, hint at the richness and accomplishment of the work. The abbot's effigy may post-date his death by a couple of decades and may have been commissioned at the completion of the building in order to mark his role as its initiator, although there is no evidence for this. It is considerably worn after a long period left outside, making it difficult to interpret the object held in its left hand, which has been seen both as a church and as a book.[58] Whatever this object is, it is very similar to the object held in the same position on the abbot's seal.[59] Both objects are of similar size in relation to the body, and are of roughly similar shape (despite the damage suffered by the version on the effigy), being rectangular with a pointed or gabled top. There is some evidence that there was a certain amount of cross-fertilisation between the designs of effigies and seals, both of which were conceived as embodiments of the deceased/owner,[60] and it may be that the patron of the effigy of Abbot Adam requested a memorial modelled on the seal as an official, authentic, visual representation of the man who had contributed so much to the splendour of his house.

3.4 Patronal groups.

The following section looks in more detail at the patronal groups identified at the start of this chapter, and considers how status, vocation and other collective or individual concerns were

---

[56] Compare the cross-slab of Abbot Robert of Rievaulx at Margam.

[57] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, pp. 102-3.

[58] David Lewis, 'Notes on the Charters of Neath Abbey', *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 4, 5th series (1887), pp. 86-115, at p. 101; Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 333.

[59] The seal, from 1266, is illustrated in Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 102. The nature of the object is unclear here, too.

[60] See discussion, Chapter 4, case study 1.

communicated through their memorials via the use of status signifiers, such as heraldry and costume, and the choice of material.

3.4(a) The clergy.

Seven of the eleven clerical effigies of the diocese of Llandaff are those of the higher clergy and only four are thought to be those of parish priests.[61] It is difficult to explain this comparatively low incidence of priestly memorials. Llandaff was by no means a wealthy diocese, but neither was St David's diocese where, in Pembrokeshire alone, fourteen out of the nineteen known ecclesiastical effigies are those of priests, several of which are in the cathedral itself. There are several non-effigial cross-slabs to priests in the diocese of Llandaff, indicated by the depiction of a chalice, such as those at Marcross and Llanblethian. In the later Middle Ages, brasses became a common commemorative choice for the lower clergy because of their relative cheapness, so that even vicars and chantry priests were able to afford them by the fifteenth century,[62] but there are no surviving figure brasses to the clergy in south-east Wales.[63] Brasses of any sort are rare in this region, however, and so the lack of later medieval clerical memorials must necessarily be seen within the context of this particular phenomenon, which is discussed below. In addition, the possibility that incised effigial- or cross-slabs to the parish clergy have disappeared in some numbers cannot be dismissed.

3.4(b) The monuments of the knightly elite.

By the middle of the fifteenth century three levels of society had emerged between freemen of yeoman status or below on the one hand, and the titled aristocracy on the other. This group can collectively be referred to as the gentry. Defining them is not a straightforward matter, although recent studies agree that a mixture of wealth, vocation/occupation, land-holding and life-style were understood by contemporaries to be among the identifying characteristics of the

---

[61] The episcopal monuments are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4.

[62] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 196.

[63] Bishop John Pascall (d.1361) was commemorated by a brass, but this had been destroyed by 1645.

gentleman.[64] The highest of these three ranks were the knights, by that time long-established as being of gentle status. The one essential qualification for this title was the possession of lands worth at least £40 p.a., although many knights were considerably richer. Below the knights were the esquires, who had emerged as a distinct rank during the fourteenth century, and were expected to hold lands worth £20 or more a year. In the fifteenth century another level below the esquires was recognised, that of the 'mere gentleman', who could claim a landed yearly income of at least £10.[65] While levels of wealth could differ enormously within the ranks of the gentry, the class was united, and identified with the nobility above it, by the shared participation in the behaviours and codes of chivalry, such as the bearing of heraldic arms, and the possession of 'gentility'.

The appreciation of the qualities and occupations thought to confer gentility shifted focus during the later Middle Ages. From its inception knighthood had been linked to military activity, but

---

[64] There has been much research in recent decades into the nature and pre-occupations of the English gentry. In the 1980s and '90s many studies concentrated on power structures and socio-political relationships, focusing particularly on the gentry as members of the county community: Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); Michael J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983); Susan M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1983); Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity* (Oxford, 1990); Simon Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); Eric Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992). Peter Coss, Maurice Keen and others have examined the emergence of the gentry as a distinct class in the Middle Ages and the creation of cultural and behavioural norms amongst them: Crouch, *Image of the Aristocracy*; Coss, *The Knight*; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*; Coss and Keen, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*; Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove, eds., *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005). Gentry religion, more specifically, has been discussed in articles by Saul, Carpenter and Colin Richmond: Colin Richmond, 'Religion and the Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman', in Barrie Dobson, ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 193-208; Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth-Century England', in Daniel Williams, ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987); Richmond, 'The English Gentry and Religion c.1500', in C. Harper-Bill, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 121-50; Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish', in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, eds., *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006), pp. 243-60. Gentle families and individuals have also received attention: C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and Their World: Gentry, Law and Land in Norfolk, c.1450-1551* (Oxford, 1992); Youngs, *Humphrey Newton*. Due to the fragmented political and ethnic nature of medieval Wales it is not so easy to approach 'the medieval Welsh gentry' as a group, however, but chapters on the knightly and landowning classes of the march have appeared in county histories: R.R. Davies, 'The Social Structure of Medieval Glamorgan: Bro Morgannwg and Blaenau Morgannwg', in T.B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3 (Cardiff, 1971)pp. 285-311; R.K. Turvey, 'The Gentry', in R.F. Walker, ed., *Pembrokeshire County History*, vol. 2 (Haverfordwest, 2002), pp. 360-400.

[65] Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, p. 109.

there were also strong service and administrative elements to knightly identity.[66] For those knights who did not take up soldiering, the performance of a public role, such as sheriff or knight of the shire, was seen as a boost to, and confirmation of, their status as leaders of local society. However, Maurice Keen has more recently emphasised that in the fourteenth century at least, knighthood was "inescapably military in its connotations" and the contemporary emergence of the squirearchy as a distinct group within the gentry was similarly linked to the experience of warfare.[67] By the middle of the fifteenth century 'mere' gentlemen were also being accepted as armigerous,[68] but the term 'gentleman', unlike 'knight' and 'esquire', carried no martial overtones.[69] The changing nature of English military activity in France and then its cessation in the 1450s resulted in a significant level of demilitarisation in society and a concomitant weakening of the identification of gentility with soldiering.[70] Throughout the period under consideration here therefore, and particularly towards the latter part, it was not absolutely necessary for one of the rank of knight or esquire to have seen battle.

In fourteenth-century Cheshire the proceeds of war were frequently channelled into church-building and the commissioning of monuments,[71] but Nigel Saul has recently observed that as the Middle Ages wore on, commemoration in armour can increasingly be identified with those whose claims to gentility came from birth and the exercise of lordship rather than military experience. By the late fifteenth century many of those shown in armour in effigy would never have worn it in life, such as John Tame (1500), a wealthy Cotswold woolman, whose son commissioned a military brass for him at Fairford (Gloucestershire).[72] Jon Denton has observed of the east-midlands gentry that their gentility was bolstered by the display of "gentle symbols"

---

[66] Coss, *The Knight*, pp. 82-4.

[67] Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 80-85; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p. 256.

[68] Coss, *The Knight*, p. 127-133.

[69] Keen, *Origins*, p. 161.

[70] Keen, *Origins*, pp. 87-96.

[71] Philip Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), p. 176.

[72] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 234-237; Maurice Keen, 'Chivalry' in Radulescu and Truelove, eds, *Gentry Culture*, pp. 35-49, at p. 46.

such as effigies, a practice on the increase in the region from the mid-fifteenth century. For the active soldiers of the east-midlands, effigies were invariably commissioned to depict the deceased in armour, and this practice was followed by members of families with a history of military service even though the individual in question had never been to war. For men from an established culture of civilian service, however, there was more variation in styles. Those from more substantial families chose military attire, while members of the minor gentry were generally commemorated as civilians.[73]

The foregoing discussion suggests that the patrons, or at least the subjects, of the anonymous thirteenth and early-fourteenth-century military monuments in the diocese of Llandaff, at Margam [45], Llansannor [38], Newport [49], Grosmont [19], Llanfihangel Rogiet [37] and Llantrisant [39], were likely to have been members of the knightly classes, lords of manors, with perhaps some experience of warfare. That this is the case may be borne out by comparison with the contemporary military effigies of the few individuals about whom some biographical details are known. Payn de Turbeville and William de Berkerolles, commemorated by military effigies at Ewenny [15] and St Athan [54], fought against the rebel Llewelyn Bren in 1316.[74] Two early-to mid-fourteenth-century Hastings effigies at Abergavenny also commemorate men who had seen active military service. John, second baron Hastings (d.1325), commemorated by a wooden effigy [2] comparable to those of Edmund Crouchback and Aymer de Valence (on whose tomb he appears as a weeper) at Westminster abbey, was a retainer of the earls of Pembroke and custodian of Kenilworth castle for a short time.[75] Lawrence Hastings, earl of Pembroke (d.1348), commemorated by an early example of a straight-legged effigy at Abergavenny [4], served with Edward III in Flanders, Scotland, Brittany and Gascony.[76] These individuals, together with John le Botiler [56] and Sir Roger de Berkerolles [55],[77] for whom we have no evidence of military

---

[73] Denton, 'The East-Midland Gentleman', pp. 4, 9, 44, 212-3.

[74] See Case Study 2 in Chapter 4 for further discussion of the de Berkerolles monuments.

[75] Lindley, 'New Paradigms', p. 77.

[76] Lindley, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments', p. 137. The identification of the other military effigy at Abergavenny as Sir William Hastings, half-brother of Lawrence, is more tentative and Sir William was a "historically obscure figure": Lindley, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments', pp. 151-3.

[77] See Chapter Four, Case Study Two, for the career of Roger de Berkerolles.

activities, can be located firmly within the upper, knightly, strata of the gentry of the diocese of Llandaff and, in the case of the Hastings family, the titled aristocracy. All came from families who were securely of knightly rank in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who exercised manorial lordship, held public office and had in many cases been settled in the locality for several generations by the time of their commemoration.

From the fifteenth century in the east midlands more variation is seen in the backgrounds and careers of the men commemorated by military effigies, and "civilian gentry practised cognitive dissonance by continuing to subscribe to a culture that they no longer practised."[78] What is known of the men commemorated by military effigies in the diocese of Llandaff in the same period suggests that the majority of them had seen military action to varying extents, and in only a minority of cases does warfare seem to have been avoided altogether. The earliest, and one of the least-known of the group is Thomas Basset (d.1423), commemorated by a military effigy of West Country origin at St Hilary [59].[79] The Bassets had been lords of St Hilary since the thirteenth century and Thomas entered into his estates, aged about forty, on the death of his father John in 1396.[80] A Thomas Basset, esquire, served as a man-at-arms under Sir William de Windsor in France from 1380-1.[81] It is not known for sure if this is the same man, but this is the only extant evidence of any possible military activity on his part.

All but one of the remaining fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century military monuments of the diocese of Llandaff commemorate members of just three families: the Herberts, Mathews and Morgans, and in most cases there is a background of at least some experience of warfare. The Herberts owed their spectacular rise in great measure to service in war. Sir William ap Thomas (d.1445), commemorated in Abergavenny priory [6], served in France under the Duke of York during the 1440s, but also undertook civilian roles and was an active estate-builder.[82] The military careers of his sons, William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d.1469), commemorated by a

---

[78] Denton, 'East Midland Gentleman', p. 213.

[79] The effigy is made of Dundry stone. The tomb-chest is lost.

[80] Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 2, pp. 41-2; vol. 4, pp. 1408-9.

[81] TNA: E101/39/7 (Welsh Soldier Database).

[82] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 176-7

lost monument at Tintern abbey, and Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook (d.1469), commemorated at Abergavenny [7], need little rehearsal, and both were executed following their defeat at the battle of Banbury.[83] The Morgans of Tredegar achieved notable successes in public service. Some of this was of a military nature, but warfare does not seem to have played such an important role as in the case of the Herberts. In the words of Ralph Griffiths, the Morgan family "in the course of three generations ... had helped to alter the social and political landscape of south-east Wales and forged personal links with several monarchs."[84] Sir John Morgan (d.1493), commemorated at Newport [51], fought with Henry Tudor at Bosworth, campaigned in France in 1492 and was, amongst other things, steward of the lordship of Newport and constable of the castle.[85] David Mathew (d. before 1470), commemorated at Llandaff cathedral [29], probably served as a man-at-arms in France in the early fifteenth century,[86] while his grandson, William Mathew (d.1528), also commemorated at Llandaff [31], was knighted on campaign in France in 1513.[87]

Sir William Mathew otherwise restricted his activities to the civilian sphere, however, and it appears that in this he was accompanied by three of his near contemporaries, for whom there is no known evidence of active military service, although each was depicted in armour on his monument: Sir William's cousin, Christopher Mathew (d. after 1531), also commemorated at Llandaff [32]; Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d.1510), at Abergavenny [8],[88] and Arnold Butler

---

[83] For the careers of the Herberts see Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 190-207 and R.A. Griffiths, 'Lordship and Society in the Fifteenth Century', in Griffiths, Hopkins and Howell, eds., *Gwent County History*, vol. 2, pp. 241-279.

[84] Griffiths, 'Lordship and Society', p. 260.

[85] R.A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff, 1993), p. 41; *idem*, 'Lordship and Society', pp. 258-60. Sir Thomas Morgan (d.1510), member of a collateral branch of the family, held public office under the Yorkists and Henry VII and fought against Perkin Warbeck in 1497. He, however, chose a non-effigial monument, at Llanmartin.

[86] See Chapter Four, Case Study Three.

[87] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, ii, p. 1556. For the careers of the Mathew family see Chapter 4, Case Study Three.

[88] Herbert of Ewyas was a gentleman-usher in Henry VII's household and was present at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth in 1503: W.R.B. Robinson, 'Some Welsh Members of Henry VIII's Household in the 1520s', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 40 (1993), pp. 157-70, at p. 160.

(d.1541) whose tomb at St Bride's Major was discussed above [57].[89] This pattern agrees with Denton's observations of practices among the east midland gentry to a certain extent. Each of the commemorated individuals outlined above were members of established knightly or rising families of significant local stature, as office-holders, landowners and through the exercise of lordship over men, but although most can be said to have done their military duty, few can be said to have pursued a career of regular warfare. They and their families became patrons of monumental effigies as a way of participating in their shared gentry culture, and a minority, such as Christopher Mathew and Arnold Butler, practised "cognitive dissonance" in choosing to represent themselves in military fashion in order to emphasise their status, rather than simply to reflect a martial life-style.

Status was displayed not only by the erection of an effigy, but also by the inclusion of details such as heraldry, costume and other features which further defined the deceased's place in society. Heraldic decoration became an important aspect of tomb design, and one with which patrons were necessarily involved. Not only would it identify the deceased personally and place him or her within the ranks of the armigerous elite, but it could also advertise kinship ties and give a sense of what Saul has called "exclusionary closure".[90] Unfortunately, many of the knightly monuments in the diocese no longer have any heraldic adornment. Some, such as the effigies of Payn de Turbeville [15], and David Mathew [29], all of whom would surely have been keen to locate themselves within the context of the south Wales elite, are now on replacement tomb-chests. The military figures at Margam [45], Llantrisant [39] and Llansannor [38] are also likely to have lain on tomb-chests, but nothing remains of them.[91] In some cases heraldry was incised or carved on shields and tomb-chests, and this survives at St Athan [54, 55], St Brides Major [56, 57], Abergavenny [1, 8], Newport [51] and Llandaff [31, 32]. The effigy of Thomas Basset at St Hilary [60] wears a tight-fitting jupon on which the Basset arms of three stringed

---

[89] The monuments of the Mathews, Herberts and Morgans are discussed further in Chapter 4, Case Study Three.

[90] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 164-165.

[91] The native Welsh elites adopted heraldry relatively late and its use was not widespread until the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: M.P. Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry, vol. 1* (Aberystwyth, 1991), p. 331. However, all lay monuments in Llandaff from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries commemorating known individuals are those of the *advenae*.

hunting-horns are lightly incised. The most profusely decorated monuments are those of the de
Berkerolles family at St Athan and the Mathew cousins at Llandaff. Heraldry is emblazoned on
the tomb-chests of each of the four monuments in question, but in each case the coats are modern
additions, none of which can be confirmed as original with the exception of a handful on the
tomb of Sir William and Jenet Mathew (c.1530).[92] Although the messages of the original
heraldry are lost, the fact that such large displays were felt necessary indicates that the patrons of
the Mathew and de Berkerolles tombs sought to make specific statements about the deceased,
their relationships and their status and position in local society.

A status indicator sometimes seen on late medieval military monuments was the livery collar. In
south-western England four types of livery collars are seen on effigies: personal devices,
corporate or guild insignia, badges of office and livery badges issued to retainers. The
Lancastrian SS and Yorkist suns and roses predominate, but the appearance of such a collar on
an effigy is not necessarily a sign of membership of an affinity, as they were increasingly used as
insignia implying seniority within the judiciary or government administration.[93] A later variation
on the Lancastrian SS was the Tudor rose, alternating with SS or with knots, while the SS
themselves are found in a variety of forms, such as sideways linking. The Lancastrian collar is
found on twenty-eight effigies in south-west England, making it far more common than the
Yorkist collar, found on nine between 1463 and 1485. A further seven are of neither category
and may be personal devices of the deceased.[94]

There are eight effigies displaying collars in the diocese of Llandaff which, like the West
Country examples cited above, tend to show a Lancastrian or Tudor bias. This reflects the
chronological distribution of the effigies as much as the political affiliations of the deceased,
however. The later generations of Mathews, Herberts and Morgans: Sir William (d.1528) and
Christopher Mathew (d. after 1530); Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d.1510); and Sir John Morgan of
Tredegar (d. 1492), are shown either with SS alternating with knots or plain SS, indicating their

---

[92] Both these sets of monuments are discussed in more depth in Chapter 4.

[93] Stephen Friar, 'Livery Collars on Late-medieval English Church Monuments: A Survey of the South-Western
Counties and Some Suggestions for Further Study.' Unpublished M. Phil. Thesis, University of Southampton,
(2000), pp. 5; 20; 34-35

[94] Friar, 'Livery Collars', pp. 48-49; 60; 63; 66-7; 71-3.

roles within the Tudor administration. Arnold Butler (d.1541) wears a plain chain of oval links, while David Mathew (d. before 1470), who is often cited as a Yorkist, wears a collar of sideways Ss. This could be a variation on the Lancastrian SS, or a personal device with no particular significance, which David's unknown death-date does little to clarify. The pendant, which may have provided more information, has been effaced. The effigies of Sir William ap Thomas (d.1445) and his son Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook (d.1469) wear Lancastrian SS and Yorkist suns and roses respectively, again reflecting their public roles within the administrations of the day.[95]

Included in the knightly patronal group are the monuments of many women, either alongside their husbands, or by themselves. All of the single monuments commemorating known individuals represent families within the knightly elite or above, including those of Eva de Braose (d. 1257) [1] and a Hastings lady at Abergavenny priory [5], Hawise de Londres (d.1276) at Ewenny priory [16], Anna Martel (c.1300) at Llanfihangel Rogiet [36], Joan le Fleming (c.1320) at Flemingston [18], a Turbeville lady (c.1320) at Coity [12], Wenllian Walsche (d.1427) at Llandough [33], and Christian Audley (c.1450) at Llandaff [27]. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the anonymous ladies at Llandow [34], Flemingston [17], Newport [50] and Trellech [60, 61] are also members of this class. The social profile of the patrons of the single female monuments therefore matches that of the military monuments described above.

As well as the desire for commemoration, secular concerns can be glimpsed behind the commissioning of two of these memorials. The incised effigial slab of Hawise de Londres at Ewenny priory followed on from the non-effigial commemoration there of earlier generations of de Londres men. Hawise's own commemoration must be seen not only in the context of the tradition of family burial at the priory however, but also in the light of her status as the last survivor of the family that had built it and had been its active patrons for over a century.[96] Failure of the line also forms the immediate backdrop to the commemoration of Wenllian Walsche (d.1427), last of a family that had been established at Llandough since the twelfth

---

[95] William ap Thomas acted both for leading magnates such as the duke of York and for the crown. He was steward and receiver for the duchy of Lancaster estates: Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* p. 177.

[96] F.G. Cowley, 'The Church in Medieval Glamorgan, 1. From the Norman Conquest to the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century ' *Glamorgan County History III,* pp. 87-135, at p. 96

century. Wenllian and her brother, Robert, died within months of each other in 1427, both lacking heirs, and under these circumstances the pressing need for a memorial marking the family's erstwhile dominance of the neighbourhood is evident. The laying of Wenllian's brass in a position of honour, north of the high altar, was a clear attempt to perpetuate the family's memory as lords of the manor, as well as to elicit prayers for Wenllian's soul.[97]

As with the monuments of men, heraldry was a feature of the secular rhetoric of female memorials as, despite its martial origins, it was by no means a solely male preserve and could be inherited and transmitted by women.[98] They could be closely associated with heraldry on their tombs. The most insistent display associated with a single female effigy in the diocese of Llandaff is found on the mid-thirteenth-century effigy of Eva de Braose (d.1257) at Abergavenny priory [1]. The tomb-chest is adorned with shields, now blank, and Eva's figure is almost entirely concealed by the large shield over her body, displaying the arms of her husband, William de Cantelupe. The de Braoses were the hereditary lords of Abergavenny and, after the death of William de Braose in 1230 the lordship passed to four heiresses, of whom Eva was one. Through her the lordship then passed to her husband, who predeceased her in 1254. On Eva's own death three years later, the lordship passed into the hands of the crown as the couple's son was only five years old.[99] It is tempting to surmise that the foregrounding of the Cantelupe arms on Eva's monument was intended as much as a reference to the family's possession of the lordship of Abergavenny as to her married identity, and this would have acted as a reminder of her infant son's inheritance rights. The arms on the blank shields around the tomb-chest were never recorded and so it is impossible to surmise what other messages they may have contained.

A similar use of heraldry to emphasise the descent of an estate, although on a much grander scale, has been seen in the tomb of Aymer de Valence (d.1324) at Westminster Abbey. Morganstern has argued that this monument was commissioned by de Valence's wife, Marie de

---

[97] Robert Walsche was buried and commemorated on the family's Somerset estate, at Langridge. His commemorative arrangements are discussed further in Chapter Five.

[98] Coss, *The Lady*, pp. 38-47.

[99] A.J. Roderick and William Rees, 'The Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle – Accounts of the Ministers for the Year 1256-1257', in William Rees and Henry John Randall, eds., *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society*, 2 (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 69-125, at p. 70.

St Pol, whose family are heavily represented in the heraldic programme, together with the rightful heir of the deceased (de Valence's nephew John Hastings, or his son Laurence). Marie de St Pol had to defend the integrity of her husband's estates after his death and Morganstern claims that "the prominent placement of the heir to the earl's title in the company of his widow's family [in the monument's heraldry] can be viewed as a deliberate display of family solidarity in the face of aggression."[100] The emphasis here is slightly different, of course, but the use of heraldry to make a political point may be parallel to the case of Eva de Braose's effigy.

Whatever the reason for Eva de Braose's total heraldic absorption into her husband's family, it is a practice seen elsewhere. The seals of ladies often prominently displayed their husband's arms, such as the mid-thirteenth century seal and counterseal of Ela Basset, countess of Warwick, which shows the arms of both of her husbands as well as of her father. Of this practice Coss notes that a lady's "wider sense of identity [was] transmitted through the male-orientated medium of heraldry. Her status was expressed – and necessarily so – through the dominant chivalric culture."[101] Unfortunately, the only other single female effigies in the diocese of Llandaff known to have been associated with coats of arms, Lady Audley [27] and Wenllian Walsche [33], have both lost their heraldry, and so it is now impossible to determine whether they, like Eva de Braose, were identified primarily with their husband's family in death. This is particularly frustrating in the case of Wenllian Walsche, whose natal identity is given precedence over her married status in her epitaph: 'Hic iacet Wenllian Walsche quondam uxor Walter Moreton'. Whether Walter's, or her father's, arms appeared in the single robbed-out indent of a shield above her head, or whether they were impaled, is not known.

Where women were commemorated alongside their husbands it is more common to find the marshalling of arms, however. The central shield on the tomb-chest and canopy of Christopher Mathew and Elizabeth Morgan at Llandaff [32] depicts the Mathew lion impaling the Morgan griffin. At Abergavenny the Herbert lions appear, or appeared, along with the lion of Gwladus Ddu [6], the ravens of Margaret, wife of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook [7], and the boars'

---

[100] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, pp. 73-9, quote at p. 79.

[101] Coss, *The Lady*, pp 41-2.

heads of Richard Herbert of Ewyas's wife, Margaret Cradock [8].[102] The appearance of the latter is particularly interesting as Margaret Cradock herself was not commemorated with her husband. Her arms are associated with the figures of the couple's children who kneel in adoration of the Virgin on the wall above the effigy of their father, emphasising Margaret's role in passing on the Cradock lineage to her Herbert children.

Female status, like that of men, could also be communicated via costume, especially details such as fur, jewelled headdresses, and mantles. The intricate recreation of the details of the fashionable headdresses of Gwladus Ddu, Margaret Herbert, and the Mathew wives Elizabeth Morgan and Jenet Henry [31], is precisely what patrons meant when they asked to be portrayed in a "fitting" and "honest" manner. In their original gilded and polychromed state their message would have needed no explanation. Each of these ladies is also depicted with the addition of a mantle over the gown, which conveyed their high status. In his survey of thirteenth-century English lay monuments Tummers noted that only fourteen out of the forty-five female effigies studied wore a mantle over the gown and kirtle and questioned whether the lack of a mantle indicated lower rank. This has since been confirmed by Saul, who also linked the post fourteenth-century retention of the side-less surcoat to high status as it remained in use as a ceremonial court dress until the sixteenth century.[103] Mantles appear on several other female effigies in the diocese of Llandaff: on Sicyll Butler at St Bride's Major [57], Eva de Braose at Abergavenny [1], the anonymous lady at Trellech [60], Jenet Mathew at Newport [51] and Lady Audley at Llandaff [27].[104] Lady Audley, Gwladys Ddu [6], Margaret Herbert [7] and Jenet Mathew also wear the side-less surcoat, identifying them as moving in court circles.

It may be significant that these signs of status tend to be found on the latest female effigies in the area, dating from the mid fifteenth century to the 1530s, and were coupled with displays of heraldry. A study of Norfolk monuments found that the use of status labels peaked during the

---

[102] See Case Study 3, Chapter 4 for further discussion of these arms.

[103] Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies,* p. 55; Saul: *English Church Monuments,* p. 301.

[104] The damaged early-fourteenth-century effigy of a lady at Llandow may also depict a mantle.

1460s, 1490s and 1530s, and the use of heraldry peaked in the 1480s and 1520s/30s.[105] In Norfolk however, this must be set in the context of rising commemoration levels and although overall numbers of monuments rose after c.1460 only 25-30% of those commissioned between 1400 and 1549 have any heraldry. There is a less pronounced increase in monument numbers after 1460 in the diocese of Llandaff, but here eleven of the thirteen tombs from 1400-1540 carry or carried heraldry and/or status signifiers of some kind, such as a collar.[106] The general trends in monumental commemoration in south-east Wales and Norfolk at the very end of the Middle Ages were clearly quite different, and by then, the patronage of memorial effigies in Llandaff was more than ever the preserve of the diocese's elite.

3.4(c) Civilian memorials

Harry Tummers, in his survey of thirteenth-century lay effigies, asserted that civilian effigies represent the non-knightly, non-landowning, local administrative class.[107] Saul, although broadly echoing Tummers' conclusions, has recently provided a more nuanced view of this group, and argued that, although many may have been of sub-gentry, non-armigerous rank, they were still wealthy and influential individuals. In urban locations burgesses and merchants would have been represented in civilian attire, but many of these memorials will have been lost in the Dissolution, or as a result of subsequent pressure on space in urban churches. Without epitaphs it is difficult to form an accurate picture of the social class who commissioned civilian effigies. As well as the urban and mercantile elites some may have been of gentlemanly rank, even esquires, perhaps with legal training, but convention dictated that they be portrayed as civilians if their claims to gentility were based on service or occupation rather than the ownership of land and the exercise of lordship.[108] This seems to have been the case in the east-midlands, where the minor gentry – classified as possibly professional lawyers, those holding office below shire level, or those with

---

[105] This phenomenon was taken to reflect increasing status-anxiety attendant on the rise of smaller landowners and the squirearchy in parts of rural Norfolk (a different pattern is observed in Norwich during the 1520s and 30s): Finch, 'Church Monuments in Norfolk and Norwich before 1850', pp. 99-107.

[106] The two remaining monuments are those of Bishop Marshall and the cadaver at Llandaff which stand, of course, outside the mainstream or lay group of memorials discussed here.

[107] Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, p. 20.

[108] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 234; pp. 238-247.

estates valued at around £10 p.a. – were usually represented as civilians on their tombs, many by cheap, locally produced incised alabaster slabs.[109] In Cheshire, Humphrey Newton (d.1536), a minor gentleman with legal experience, was commemorated as a civilian in his parish church. The fact that his effigy, and that of his wife, is made from the local sandstone and placed under an earlier wall-recess indicates his lack of means, and his commemorative arrangements have been described as "a downmarket attempt to make a very upmarket gesture."[110]

Few of the subjects or patrons of the ten civilian effigies in the diocese of Llandaff can be identified; only the names of Philip Taverner and his wife at Llandaff [26], John and Isabella Colmer at Christchurch [10], a Turbeville at Coity [11] and William de Rag....(?) at Llantwit Major [42] are known, but we have no biographical details.[111] Consequently, the assessment of this amorphous patronal group must rely more heavily on the evidence of the monuments themselves. The group's economic diversity, reflected in the widely differing quality and style of their monuments, is the first observation that presents itself, and this can be contrasted with the knightly and ecclesiastical patrons described above, amongst whose memorials there is generally less variation.

The monument of Philip Taverner and his wife is semi-effigial, combining the heads of the deceased with a cross. Such monuments would have been at the cheaper end of the scale of effigial commemoration and might have been produced by a local craftsman. Slightly more elaborate in that they are full-length, are the effigies at Christchurch, Colwinston [13], Usk [62] and Merthyr Mawr [46].[112] The Christchurch monument, though large and competently executed,

---

[109] Denton, 'East Midland Gentleman', p. 221.

[110] Youngs, *Humphrey Newton,* pp. 138-9.

[111] The full name of the Llantwit Major civilian has been destroyed by damage to the edge of the monument. I have been unable to find a satisfactory candidate for this individual. The de Reigny family were influential landowners in thirteenth and fourteenth century Glamorgan, but their name never appears spelled with an 'a': see Clark, *Cartae, passim,* nor do they seem to have been connected with the parish of Llantwit Major: D.R. Patterson, 'The Manors of Michaelston-le-Pit and Wrinstone and their Early Owners', in *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society,* vol. 65 (1932), pp. 30-40. There was, however, a William de Reigny in the second half of the thirteenth century: Clark, *Cartae,* vol. 3, pp. 751, 754, 757, 870. In the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Ragland family rose to prominence in Llantwit Major and endowed a chantry in the church, but this monument is far too early to commemorate one of them.

[112] The Colwinston effigy is extremely worn and therefore its identification as that of a civilian must be rather tentative. The same applies to that at Usk, which is not only worn but covered in thick moss.

is incised and therefore a cheaper option than a sculpted memorial. Those at Colwinston and Merthyr Mawr are sculpted, but are of rather crude manufacture and are similar enough in form and execution to suppose they may be the products of the same mason. The churchyard effigy at Merthyr Mawr, moreover, has a cylindrical feature protruding from the top of its head which may have been a method of fixing a churchyard cross.[113] If this is the case, the fact that the patron may not have been able to receive intramural burial is another indication of his relatively lowly status. Of similar naïve and unskilled execution are the monuments at Llantrithyd [41], Coity [11] and Llanblethian [20].[114]

A completely different class of monument and, presumably, patron, is found at St Hilary [58]. This monument is not only of imported Dundry stone – strongly suggestive of the patron's socio-economic horizons – but is also finely carved by a mason skilled in effigial sculpture.[115] The St Hilary figure seems to have been the model for a very similar effigy at Llantwit Major [42], although the craftsman of the latter could not match the delicacy and skill of the former. Probably the finest civilian effigy is found at Coychurch [14]. An extremely well-executed piece, it is of rather ambiguous nature because although it sports a clerical tonsure, the rest of its costume is of an entirely secular, rather fashionable nature. He strikes a slightly hipshot pose, although in a more understated manner than that of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing (d.1347) with which it is contemporary. The figure also wears a collobium (a tabard with two tongue-shaped lapels), showing this to be an effigy of a serjeant at law.[116] There is no other indication of legal status, such as a coif or hood, which may arise from the monument being carved in the mid-fourteenth century, before legal dress was standardised; the monument to the serjeant John Trevaignon in Dorset of c.1335 shows only a coif to indicate his legal vocation and he is otherwise represented as a civilian.[117]

---

[113] I am grateful to Brian and Moira Gittos for this information.

[114] Much of the detail of the carving of the Llanblethian monument was lost when it was flattened off to be re-cycled in the foundations of the 15th century tower. Surviving features suggest it is unlikely to have been a particularly sophisticated piece of sculpture, however.

[115] See below for a discussion of the range of stones used for monumental sculpture in south-east Wales.

[116] I am grateful to Sally Badham for pointing out the significance of the lapels.

[117] Saul, *English Church Monuments,* p. 277.

The patron of the Coychurch effigy was evidently a wealthy individual, as he/she was able to command the services of one of the finest sculptors operating in Glamorgan towards the middle of the fourteenth century, but we have no other clues to his/her identity [118]. The deceased is highly likely to have been a member of a gentry family, possibly a Turbeville, whose *caput* at Coity is about a mile away from Coychurch. The high-status Turbevilles were certainly open to civilian commemoration as can be seen by the rather crudely carved diminutive monument at Coity on which the Turbeville name clearly appears [11].[119] The Turbeville civilian is a rather puzzling monument. The family were lords of Coity and were militarily active, and so a male member of the family might have been expected to have been depicted in armour, as was Payn de Turbeville at Ewenny [15]. This raises the possibility that this particular monument commemorates a child, on which armour would have been inappropriate. The significance of small monuments has yet to be satisfactorily resolved and they may represent children, heart or entrail burials, or just be a result of restricted space or funds.[120] However there are some known examples of undersized civilian monuments set up to children who, had they lived to adulthood, would undoubtedly have been represented in armour, such as Edward III's sons William of Hatfield (d.1336) at York Minster, and William of Windsor at Westminster abbey.[121] Although both boys died in infancy they are depicted as elegantly dressed adolescents; a deliberate choice being made, via their costume and the size of the memorial, to show their youth rather than the military station befitting their social rank. It is only the survival of the incised epitaph that gives any clue to the identity of the Coity figure, hinting at the complexity of the messages contained within effigial representations.

---

[118] The monument is carved from local Quarella stone, for which see below. It has not been possible to identify this person for certain in J.H. Baker *The Order of Serjeants at Law* (London, 1984), although two serjeants with local surnames – John le Botiller and William Basset – are listed for the early fourteenth century. Neither family are known to have had links with Coychurch, however, and the surnames are also common outside Wales. No Turbevilles are listed for this period.

[119] As with the effigy of a Turbeville lady at Coity, the name Payn Turbeville appears on the civilian monument. The rest of the inscription is damaged however, so the deceased's relationship to Payn, himself commemorated by a full-sized military effigy at Ewenny priory, cannot be made out.

[120] See for example: S. Oosterwijk, "'A Swithe Feire Graue": the Appearance of Children on Medieval Tomb Monuments', in S. Tyas and R. Eales, eds., *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2003), pp. 172-92.

[121] See Pauline Routh, 'Yorkshire's Royal Monument: Prince William of Hatfield', *Church Monuments*, vol. 9 (1994), pp. 53-61 for a discussion of these tombs.

103

Status signifiers were as important for the patrons of civilian tombs as they were for those of more exalted rank. Merchants' marks are particularly noticeable on the brasses of those involved in the Cotswold wool industry, on which other identifying features are sometimes seen, such as sheep or woolsacks.[122] None of the civilian effigies in the diocese of Llandaff bear such symbols, although status is suggested via costume and additional features such as footrests. Mantles are unusual on the effigies of civilians,[123] and so the patron of the effigy of the mantled and be-jewelled mid-thirteenth-century civilian at St. James's, Bristol, was clearly determined to stress the deceased's wealth and importance within the city. Interestingly, this monument is comparable to the imported West Country effigy of a civilian at St Hilary [58],[124] of probable late thirteenth-century date, which lies in a similar pose and has the same unusual ball-shaped footrests. The St Hilary civilian has no jewels or mantle however, nor do any others in the diocese, hinting at the poorer economic status of the area. The St Hilary civilian is nevertheless presented as a member of the leisured rural elite, grasping a pair of gloves in his right hand, perhaps signifying his participation in the aristocratic pursuits of hunting and hawking.[125] The similar figure at Llantwit Major - depicted with a fur collar, another status signifier - carries his gloves in his left hand [42]. At Merthyr Mawr [46], Llanblethian [20], Coychurch [14] and Llantrithyd [41] the figures are accompanied by small dogs underneath the feet, again possibly referencing hunting, while at Llantrithyd there is an additional running hound on the tomb-chest.[126] The small swords or daggers accompanying John Colmer at Christchurch [10] and the unknown civilian at Caldicot [9] may have been intended to make a similar statement of gentle status.

---

[122] An example is the brass of Thomas Bush and his wife (d.1526), at Northleach (Gloucs), which contains sheep, woolsacks and merchants' marks.

[123] Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, pp. 59-60.

[124] The effigy is Dundry stone.

[125] Alternatively, the gloves may be a reference to the trade of the deceased, although it would have been a very prosperous glover who could have afforded such a fine imported effigy. See Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 238-68 for an overview of civilian monuments, and p. 263 in particular for trades.

[126] Tummers adds that the dog was 'a link with everyday existence', and that in the thirteenth century the choice of animal may have been merely a motif, without any particular meaning: Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, pp. 41-42.

Those choosing civilian commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff were a socially diverse group and were accordingly commemorated by a variety of monuments. The semi-effigy at Llandaff cathedral and the crude figures at Colwinston, Merthyr Mawr, Llanblethian and Llantrithyd, all of local manufacture,[127] were bottom-of-the-market products possibly representing the attempts of families of very local importance to participate, however slightly, in gentry culture. At the other end of the social scale civilian commemoration was also considered appropriate for a member, possibly a child, of the de Turbeville family at Coity who nevertheless on this occasion sought the services of a second-rate craftsman. The patron of the unknown figure at St Hilary however, although prevented by what Saul has called "the conventions of funerary decorum" from commissioning a figure of an armoured knight, was yet able to demonstrate the deceased's wealth and status by ordering a finely-carved imported monument which made reference to his participation in gentle pursuits.[128] Similarly, the Coychurch figure's combination of tonsure, fashionable dress and collobium effectively communicates his multiple vocations and claims to gentility. The most important conclusion to be reached about the patronage of civilian effigial monuments in the diocese of Llandaff, however, is that it came to an abrupt end in the second half of the fourteenth century with the monument of John and Isabella Colmer (1376) at Christchurch. This is in stark contrast to patterns observed all over England where, by the end of the Middle Ages, civilian memorials "were as common as any other class of effigial monument".[129] Why the diocese of Llandaff should exhibit such markedly different patterns of civilian commemoration is explored below, in relation to patterns of stone use and the fortunes of the native monument industry.

---

[127] See below for stone use and monument production.

[128] Saul, *English Church Monuments,* p. 238.

[129] Saul, *English Church Monuments,* p. 238; Denton, 'East Midland Gentleman', p. 229.

Section B. Production

3.5 The production of the monumental effigies of the diocese of Llandaff.

In the early twentieth century, when monumental effigies were increasingly receiving the attention of art-historians, it was widely assumed that their production was an urban phenomenon, and generally linked to work on major ecclesiastical sites such as Wells, Westminster, and York. In the 1920s Alfred Fryer published an extremely influential article outlining a series of effigies which he saw as emanating from a workshop in Bristol, set up by the masons of the Wells cathedral west front in the early thirteenth century, and continuing there until the sixteenth century.[130] The products of this workshop were held to have certain characteristics, such as the use of Dundry stone and the lengthwise carving of mail down the arms of military effigies. The existence of the Bristol workshop and the supposed homogeneity of its products have been challenged by Brian and Moira Gittos, who pointed out that Fryer's geological deductions were not always correct and that examples of lengthwise mail can be found far outside the supposed area of Bristol influence. It was felt that it was more likely that many sources of monumental production flourished in the West Country during the Middle Ages.[131] This re-assessment is made in the light of current understandings of the complexity of the church monument industry in this period, and it is now thought that sculpted effigies, cross-slabs and brasses were manufactured variously in urban workshops, at quarries, at ecclesiastical building sites, by local masons, and itinerant craftsmen.[132] This variety of organisational structures is reflected in the eclecticism of the monuments of Llandaff diocese.

---

[130] Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies'.

[131] Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Alfred Fryer's 'Monumental effigies by Bristol Craftsmen': A Reassessment.'

[132] The most centralised form of production was found in the brass and alabaster industries, which were organised into workshops producing monuments which often followed defined stylistic patterns: Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, p. 101; Badham, 'London Standardisation'; Phillip Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 26-8; Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 251. Other than in the brass industry, however, monuments are not thought to have been generally produced in an urban environment and in very few cases can large numbers be attributable to a single workshop. Quarryside production, production linked to building work at an ecclesiastical site, and the ad hoc output of local masons are thought to have been more normal. The various methods of monumental production have been outlined most recently in Badham, 'Evidence for the Minor Funerary Monument Industry', Badham, 'The de la More Effigies', and Badham and Blacker, *Northern Rock*, p. 31.

3.5(a) Stone use in the diocese of Llandaff – general trends. [133]

The patrons of the memorials of the diocese of Llandaff favoured a wide range of producers with their commissions, resulting in the use of several different stones and other materials (Fig. 10). In the absence of detailed biographical information about patrons, or of documentary evidence of the commissioning and production of memorials, petrological analysis can reveal much about a patron's socio-economic horizons and cultural awareness as well as the output of various producers. Locally-sourced monuments of indifferent quality, such as the civilian memorials at Merthyr Mawr [46] and Colwinston [13], and the lady at Trellech [60], make radically different statements about their patrons from the finely carved imported pieces like the Painswick stone Hastings effigies at Abergavenny [3, 4], the Dundry stone bishops at Llandaff cathedral [23, 24, 25] or the Dundry knights at Newport and Margam [49, 45]. But local production did not necessarily mean a second-rate product – as some of the Quarella stone monuments, discussed below, prove – and a study of stone use reveals patterns of patronage to be complex and moulded by a number of external factors.

---

[133] The identifications of many of the monumental stones discussed in this section would not have been achieved without the invaluable help and guidance of Tim Palmer of the Palaeontological Association. It is essential to undertake a thorough and expert analysis of each monument as weathering and grime can make identification by an amateur highly risky. The implications of a mis-identification can be great. An example of this is provided by the Berkerolles tombs at St Athan, which were said to be made of Caen stone: Stephen W. Williams, 'Archaeological notes and queries' *Arch. Camb*, vol. 10, 5th series (1893), pp. 271-274, but are actually made of local Glamorgan freestones. Williams' assumption that the monuments were carved from a very fine continental stone rarely seen outside the south-east of England seriously skews our appreciation of the commissioning process and the economic capability of the Berkerolles family. My thanks also go to Jana Horak of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, for discussions about Sudbrook stone. Needless to say, any errors in identification made in this thesis are entirely my own.

Fig. 10:   Material use in the diocese of Llandaff

A range of materials are met with in an effigial context in the diocese of Llandaff. About a third of the monuments have been identified as carved from imported West Country stones; mostly Dundry, but also Painswick and a 'Bath type' oolite. Dundry, quarried near Bristol, is a creamy yellow oolitic limestone of Jurassic age, with a granular texture made of minute fragments of shells and corals.[134] Painswick, another pale and creamy oolite quarried near Gloucester, was usually reserved for fine carving and was therefore a logical choice for the fine Hastings effigies at Abergavenny [3, 4].[135] About the same proportion of monuments are native products, made from Blue Lias, Quarella and Sutton stones, found in the Glamorgan examples, and Old Red Sandstone and possibly Sudbrook stone in Monmouthshire.[136] Lias is a form of limestone found in the cliffs which make up the coastline of the Vale of Glamorgan and is also found further inland. It is formed in shallow beds and consequently the effigies made from it are low relief or partially incised, such as the effigy of 'Elizabet' at Flemingston [17]. Quarella stone is a pale,

---

[134] Knight, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone', p. 144.

[135] Knight, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone', p. 149.

[136] Jana Horák, 'Geological Sources and the Selection of Stone', in M. Redknap and J.M. Lewis, eds., *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, Vol. 1, (Cardiff, 2007), pp.47-58, provides useful information on the use of Sutton, Quarella, Lias and other stones in an earlier period.

fine-grained Triassic sandstone, often of greenish hue, quarried in the region of Bridgend and Pyle. Quarella's fine texture lends itself to detailed carving and some of Glamorgan's finest monuments are made from it, such as the Coychurch lawyer [14], Coity lady [12] and the Llansannor knight [38]. Sutton, a white, pebbly and veined limestone of Liassic age was quarried near the mouth of the River Ogmore, south of Bridgend. Its often coarse texture can preclude fine carving and when weathered it can become pitted, but was still used in high-status memorials such as the Berkerolles effigies at St Athan [54, 55].[137] Devonian Old Red Sandstone, with its distinctive orangey-brown hue, and the more golden-coloured Sudbrook sandstone are found less regularly further to the east, in Monmouthshire. As with Sutton and Quarella both kinds of monuments are found in the vicinity of the quarries or outcrops, the Old Red inland and Sudbrook closer to the channel coast. There is also one monument each of wood and brass, and eight of alabaster.

Over the period under discussion here some clear and basic patterns emerge. There is a distinct watershed in stone use in the second half of the fourteenth century. While the West Country stones continued to be imported throughout the period, they are much less common after the middle of the fourteenth century than before. Welsh stones were no longer used after about the 1370s: the later fourteenth-century tomb-chest at St Athan is probably the last use of Quarella for effigial purposes; Lias is not seen after the thirteenth century and Sutton and Old Red Sandstone are generally confined to the pre-plague era. Brass never achieved popularity, and alabaster was the most common choice of all after it was first used c.1450.[138]

---

[137] Pure versions of it could be suitable for detailed carving, such as in the roof boss depicting Christ in Majesty at Neath Abbey. Sutton was widely exported to other parts of south Wales and was used as far west as Whitland abbey and Manorbier castle in Pembrokeshire. Its use as a building stone pre-dates Dundry and it was also used for tenth-century crosses: Welsh Stone Forum, *Newsletter,* no. 7 (Feb. 2010), pp. 10-11.

[138] The alabaster memorials are dealt with in Chapter 4, Case Study 3.

1. LIAS   2. SUTTON   3. QUARELLA   4. DUNDRY   5. PAINSWICK

6. BATH-TYPE OOLITE   7. OLD RED SANDSTONE   8. SUDBROOK

9. UNCERTAIN   10. ALABASTER

Fig. 11: Distribution of stone types in the Diocese of Llandaff

3.5(b) Monuments manufactured from imported stones of West Country origin.

Twenty monuments have been identified as being produced in the workshops of the West
Country. Sixteen of these are of the clerical and lay elite, while the remaining four monuments,
of three civilians and a cadaver, may also represent wealthy individuals; the civilian at St Hilary
and the cadaver at Llandaff cathedral are of fine craftsmanship, and several members of the
clerical elite are known to have had cadaver memorials.[139] The most heavily utilized West
Country stone in the diocese was Dundry, widely employed locally in the West Country as well

---

[139] For example, Archbishop Henry Chichele (d.1443) at Canterbury and Bishop Richard Bekynton (1465) at Wells.
Edward IV and the Countess of Warwick also ordered cadaver memorials.

as being exported along the south Wales coast and as far west as Ireland.[140] Thirteen Dundry monuments have been identified with some certainty. Its use was concentrated in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but continued at a much lower level into the last years of the fifteenth century. As such it is the only material consistently utilised throughout the entire period, reflecting the continued dominance of south-east Wales's trading links with Bristol.

The use of Dundry in the early thirteenth-century rebuilding of Llandaff cathedral provides a logical context for its effigial use there at that time.[141] The socio-economic links of Severnside undoubtedly provided other patrons with the cross-channel contacts necessary to make their commissions.[142] The influence of personal contacts in monumental patronage has also been seen in north Wales. Here, the late-fourteenth-century products of the Flintshire sandstone quarries are not only found in the immediate locality but also farther afield, and it has been suggested that these more far-flung examples were commissioned by individuals with familial ties in the locality of production.[143] In the south, the extent of the cross-channel links of Payn de Turbeville, commemorated by an effigy of West Country oolite in Ewenny priory, are not known, but it may be significant that he, and the person commemorated by a Dundry effigy at Margam abbey, were buried in monastic settings. Ewenny priory was a cell of Gloucester abbey, while Margam held property in Bristol, suggesting that the Severnside links of the monastic community could have been exploited in order to obtain a prestigious memorial for the benefactor of the house.[144] The patrons of Ewenny and Margam showed little interest in these foundations and, presumably, local benefactors were more highly valued by the brothers as a result.[145] In contrast to the

---

[140] See Knight, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone', *passim.*

[141] See Chapter Four, Case Study One for a more detailed discussion of the monuments of the Llandaff bishops.

[142] See Chapter Two, pp. 62-5 for Severnside.

[143] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving,* p. 56.

[144] For Ewenny priory see Turbervill, *Ewenny Priory;* J Conway Davies, 'Ewenny Priory: Some Recently Found Records', *National Library of Wales Journal,* vol. 3 (1943-4), pp. 107-37; F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales* (Cardiff, 1977), *passim.* The marriage alliances made by Payn de Turbeville's four daughters suggest a thoroughly Welsh sphere of interest, however. All the daughters married into Pembrokeshire, Gower, Glamorgan or Monmouthshire families: Clark, *Limbus Patrum,* pp. 453-455.

[145] The patronage of Ewenny priory had passed to the Duchy of Lancaster by the beginning of the fourteenth century, while the de Clares had far more prestigious houses to attend to than Margam abbey: Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries,* pp. 38 and 90, 41 and 166.

widespread use of West Country stones for effigial purposes in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, there are only four known examples of their use after that time, and this should be seen within the context of the steep decline in effigial commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff after the mid-fourteenth century.[146]

Brian and Moira Gittos's research into the distribution of Ham stone effigies in south-west England found that 90% are found within a twenty-five mile radius of the quarries in Somerset strongly suggesting that they were manufactured at the quarry and transported as finished pieces.[147] This may have been the case with the West Country monuments found in south-east Wales. The mid-thirteenth-century Dundry military effigy at Margam [45] certainly seems to have been exported in this way as it has been hollowed out underneath, presumably to lighten the load for transport across the channel to its destination, probably at Kenfig.[148] Yet the fact that Dundry was imported in large quantities to sites like Llandaff cathedral and elsewhere in south-east Wales for building purposes (such as at Chepstow, Usk and Caerleon castles in the late-twelfth to early-thirteenth centuries and Newport in the fifteenth)[149] presents the alternative possibility that some Dundry effigies could have been produced on site by masons utilising unwanted blocks left over from building projects. Stylistic analysis is of importance here, although it is not easily applied to monuments as badly damaged as Payn de Turbeville's. The three thirteenth-century Dundry bishops' effigies at Llandaff cathedral [23, 24, 25] were probably completed at a time when that stone, and the West-Country masons skilled in working it, were being employed in the church's rebuilding, and so they could feasibly have been made

---

[146] A similar decline in the use of Dundry for effigies after the thirteenth century has also been observed in Ireland, where it began to be replaced by Kilkenny marble: Knight, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone', pp. 150-1.

[147] From a paper presented at the Fourteenth-Century Monumental Industry Conference, University of York, October 2008.

[148] The hollowing is visible as the effigy is not in situ, but displayed on a shallow metal stand which allows visible access to its underside.

[149] Knight, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone', p. 145, pp. 151-2.

on site.[150] Moreover, Lindley has suggested that the Painswick tomb-chest of Lawrence Hastings at Abergavenny [4] was completed on site after an initial rough blocking out at the quarry.[151]

3.5(c) The native monument industry and its failure in the later fourteenth century.[152]

Four effigies have been identified as being carved from the native Blue Lias. Its use in an effigial context seems to have been confined to the thirteenth century, possibly as a local substitute for the fashionable Purbeck marble, which also had had its heyday by 1300.[153] The sculptural qualities of Lias are rather different from Purbeck, however. It has rather a flaky texture, resulting in a tendency to split, which can be seen in the damage to the raised areas on the large semi-effigial cross slab at Llandaff to Philip Taverner and his wife [26]. This weakness was circumvented on the slab to 'Elizabet' at Flemingston [17], where the body is incised, using simple long, parallel lines, but the head was a raised feature of another material laid into the slab. The depth of the now empty recess indicates that this was not brass, but another kind of stone, more suitable for the carving of delicate features in high relief. A similar technique has been used on the early fourteenth-century semi-effigial slab of William and Ismay de Naunton at Penally, Pembrokeshire, and at St Brivael's, Gloucestershire,[154] and was probably employed on the effigy of a lady at St Arvan [53]. 'Elizabet's' slab is not a particularly impressive monument in its current state, especially when compared to the beautiful Dundry effigy of Joan le Fleming in the south chapel of the same church, but this should not necessarily be taken as evidence of the relatively lowly status of the patron. Although incised effigial, semi-effigial and cross-slabs would have been a cheaper alternative to a sculpted effigy, they could be rendered more visually striking by paint, coloured inlays and gilding. Their reputation as the poor cousin of the sculpted

---

[150] See Chapter 4.

[151] Lindley, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments', p. 147.

[152] The following section has been substantially reproduced in Rhianydd Biebrach, 'Patronage, Production and Plague: Effigial Monuments in Fourteenth-Century Glamorgan', in Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, eds., *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010).

[153] See North, *Stones of Llandaff Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1957) and Newman, *Glamorgan*, pp. 32-35, for further information on the utilisation of these stones.

[154] Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', pp. 16-17.

memorial has recently been challenged, and many are known to have been laid down to high-status individuals, such as that of Princess Eleanor (d.1311) in Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire.[155]

At least six effigies were carved from Sutton stone, but none later than the middle of the fourteenth century. Like Lias, Sutton stone was a locally available material used for high-status and humble monuments alike, but with a bias more noticeably towards the lower end of the market. This is apparent not only in the status of the commemorated, but also in the quality of execution, which can be rather crude. Of the six monuments known to be of this stone, three are to anonymous civilians [13, 41, 46] and another is an older monument adapted to form the memorial of a priest [43]. The discussion of the civilian patrons above revealed a diversity of socio-economic backgrounds, but those who opted for Sutton memorials were not able to afford the services of a specialist figure-sculptor nor, in the case of the Merthyr Mawr civilian [46], may they have been accorded intra-mural burial. Furthermore, the heavy pitting of the stone used for the Colwinston civilian/priest [13] suggests that a rather pebbly, less pure form of the stone was used. Sutton stone, therefore, was a readily available material, utilised by local masons prepared to turn their hands to occasional monumental production for local patrons, for whom cost was an important factor. A similar pattern has been observed in the effigies produced from the Ham Hill quarries of Somerset, which served a localised clientele, most being found within a ten-mile radius of the quarry. Significantly, 25% of Ham Hill effigies commemorate civilians, suggesting that the lower classes were limited to patronising the local quarry.[156]

In itself, however, Sutton stone was not regarded as an inferior material and was prized for its toughness and whiteness, lending itself to both structural and decorative use.[157] It was used extensively at Margam and Neath abbeys, Ewenny priory, the Norman phase of construction at Llandaff cathedral where it can still be seen in the striking chancel arch, and for dressings and window ornament at Caerphilly castle. A beautiful Sutton font, decorated with Norman arcading, which has been discarded in the churchyard at Llantrithyd, also demonstrates the stone's

---

[155] See Sally Badham, 'A New Feire Peynted Stone': Medieval English Incised Slabs, *Church Monuments*, vol. 19 (2004), pp. 20-52.

[156] Paper given by Brian and Moira Gittos at the Fourteenth-Century Monumental Industry Conference, held at the University of York, October, 2008.

[157] North, *Stones*, p. 42; p. 70.

qualities to good effect. For the de Berkerolles family of St Athan Sutton was deemed fine enough to be utilised in the mid-fourteenth-century construction of two sets of effigies and a canopied tomb-chest to members of the family [54, 55]. At St Athan, the quality of the stone selected was very different to the impure form used at Colwinston, and is of such purity that it was mistaken in the nineteenth century for fine-grained imported Caen stone.[158] The quality of the workmanship, as would be expected of a monument to a family of this status, is far superior to that seen on the other Sutton monuments, and is the work of a specialist.[159]

At least seven effigies, as well as a tomb-chest, are of Quarella stone, The tomb chest of Sir William and Phelice de Berkerolles at St Athan [54], made in the later fourteenth century, seems to have been the last time this stone was employed for effigial purposes, although it was far from quarried out and continued to be used in other contexts, such as the decorative detail on the fifteenth-century church porches at Laleston and Newton and a first-floor fireplace surviving in the ruins of Candleston castle.[160] As a locally available material it might be expected to conform to the pattern seen in the Sutton monuments, and to be generally found in the inferior work of non-specialist masons. While this is the case with the Quarella figures at Merthyr Mawr [47] and Coity [11], the stone is more readily associated with high-status commissions and fine craftsmanship, the best examples being the lawyer at Coychurch [14], the de Turbeville lady at Coity [12] and the military figure at Llansannor [38]. A lady at Llandow [34], although of lower relief and less impressive than these figures, seems also to have been a finely-crafted memorial although its quality has been obscured by extensive damage. The use of Quarella in first-rate products and by families of the calibre of the de Turbevilles and de Berkerolles reminds us that local sources of stone, as was seen with Lias and, to a lesser extent, Sutton, were patronised by the local elites, and that many options were available to those who could afford to pay for good quality commemorative sculpture.

---

[158] See above, n. 133, ch. 3.

[159] The rather elaborate early thirteenth-century cross-slabs of William and Maurice de Londres at Ewenny priory are also carved from Sutton.

[160] A study of cross-slabs may also reveal its continued use beyond the mid-fourteenth century for non-effigial commemoration.

The use of Sutton and Quarella for monumental purposes appears to have been concentrated in the south-west of Llandaff diocese, close to the quarries. Further to the east, in Monmouthshire, local masons made use of their local materials. The monuments of priests at Llanvetherine [44] and Pen-y-Clawdd [52] and those of ladies at Trellech [60, 61] are carved from Old Red Sandstone, while the lady at St Arvans [53] and the Colmer memorial at Christchurch [10] may be of Sudbrook stone.[161]

It is not known under what organisational circumstances the native monuments were produced. Richard K. Morris has argued that in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries circumstances may have fostered the evolution of architectural workshops in south-east Wales as several major building projects were underway. Neath Abbey was rebuilt from *c*.1280-*c*.1330, Tintern Abbey from 1269-*c*.1320, the churches and cathedrals at Abergavenny, Llandaff, St David's and Brecon were all extensively remodelled and there was construction and reconstruction at Caerphilly and Chepstow castles. There were certainly quarries producing large quantities of good, workable stone locally.[162] Furthermore, apart from the short-lived rebellion of Llewelyn Bren in 1316, the fourteenth century was a time of relative calm in the March, a time when "the soft habits of peace set in".[163] These were certainly propitious circumstances for the emergence of a local workshop capable of turning out stylistically up-to-date and competently executed effigial monuments.

However there is little evidence for this kind of workshop production at the Sutton quarries on the Glamorgan coast between Ogmore–by-sea and Southerndown. The known Sutton monuments are difficult to compare stylistically, and this is also the case with the Old Red Sandstone and possible Sudbrook examples. It is possible, as suggested above, that the Colwinston and Merthyr Mawr civilians [13, 46] are products of the same hand, but they cannot be readily compared to those at Llantrithyd [41] or Llantwit Major [43], and there are no points

---

[161] See J.R.L. Allen, 'Roman and Medieval-Early Modern Building Stones in South-East Wales: The Sudbrook Sandstone and Dolomitic Conglomerate (Triassic)', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol. 21 (2005), pp. 21-44, for the characteristics and distribution of Sudbrook stone.

[162] Richard K. Morris, 'Later Gothic Architecture in South Wales' in J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, eds., *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (Leeds, 2006), pp. 102-135.

[163] Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 80.

of contact between these monuments and the de Berkerolles effigies and canopy at St Athan [54, 55], which are the work of a specialist. The picture that emerges is of an extremely productive quarry near Ogmore-by-sea (in terms of its overall output of building stone and so on), but one with no trained figure sculptor habitually associated with it. The Colwinston, Merthyr Mawr, Llantrithyd and Llantwit Major monuments were likely to have been produced on an entirely *ad hoc* basis as necessity dictated, and with varying levels of adherence to prevailing mainstream sculptural fashions – a mode of production that fits in with what we know of the limited socio-economic level of the patrons of these memorials. The Old Red Sandstone effigies at Trellech are also likely to have been produced on an *ad hoc* basis.

The Quarella monuments hint at a different picture, however, and there is a circumstantial basis for supposing that a short-lived workshop producing monumental effigies for the elite local market may have been in operation in the first half of the fourteenth century in the vicinity of Bridgend. The small number of Quarella stone effigies of a very high standard are well-modelled, exquisitely detailed and elegant, and were the work of a fully-trained and skilful figure-sculptor. The small effigy the de Turbeville lady at Coity [12], is a case in point. She lies in a recumbent, praying position, the head on plump double cushions. Her hair is curled up over her ears, which are small, delicate, and intricately carved. The right knee is slightly bent, lending the figure a just discernable sway. The feet rest on a semi-circular plate, under which is a crouched hare nibbling at foliage. The drapery of her gown falls in thick folds of irregular width from the waist to the feet, where it lies in gentle zigzags, and tiny buttons are just visible on her right forearm. At around 120 cm long, the monument's small size may cause it to be passed over in favour of grander memorials, but a close inspection reveals the skill employed in its execution. This effigy is highly reminiscent of other miniature effigies at Berkeley, suggesting that the craftsman responsible for one was familiar with the work of the others. However, the fact that the Coity lady is carved from a stone indigenous to Glamorgan precludes it from being a West Country import like that of her kinsman at Ewenny priory [15].

A mile or so down the road in St Crallo's, Coychurch, lies another Quarella monument to an unidentified lawyer of the mid fourteenth century [14]. Like the lady at Coity he strikes a restful pose. His hands meet in prayer on his chest while, lying on a large flattish cushion supported by angels, his head is inclined slightly to the right to meet the eyes of the viewer. The angels, lying flat against the pillow, turn their heads to look upward, following the gaze of the effigy. The facial features are delicately carved, the upper eyelids indicated by a double line, and the mouth is slightly downturned. At first glance, this monument would seem to have little in common with the Coity lady, and it is true that their differing sizes and forms preclude easy comparison. Yet both have the same confidence of execution and restful, streamlined pose, and both are elevated above the common stock by perfectly rendered details. The Coychurch effigy, for example, also sports a row of tiny buttons down each forearm with even the buttonholes clearly visible.

Possibly the finest of all the Quarella effigies, and roughly contemporary with the Coychurch lawyer, is the military figure at Llansannor [38]. A cross-legged, praying, rather languid warrior, carved fully in the round, his head lies on a helm and is turned slightly towards his right. He wears the distinctive armour of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, of a type seen in more elaborate form on the effigy of John of Eltham at Westminster Abbey. His ridged bascinet has a pronounced heart-shaped opening for the face.[164] The facial features are rather worn, but enough remains of the moustache curling over the edge of the mail to appreciate the delicacy and attention to detail with which it was carved. The feet rest on a large long-eared dog, possibly a greyhound. There is no inscription remaining, nor any heraldry on the shield to aid identification.

The evidence of these three monuments indicates that there was at least one first-rate craftsman, with a varied repertoire, in operation in this part of Glamorgan in the first half of the fourteenth century, possibly quarry-based. Coity and Coychurch are in the immediate vicinity of Bridgend, where Quarella stone was quarried, while Llansannor is less than ten miles away. Unfortunately, there are no other surviving Quarella stone monuments of equal quality to allow further comparison and add weight to this theory. A badly damaged Quarella effigy of a lady at Llandow [34], about five miles away from Bridgend, is another well-executed piece, but is so different to the main group in its conception that it seems unlikely to be by the same hand. It must be

---

[164] This feature has been identified on other effigies of the 1340s and '50s, particularly in the Gloucestershire and Herefordshire region, such as that at Clehonger: see Badham, 'The de la More Effigies', p. 25.

118

admitted that there are no direct comparisons between these monuments that would definitively identify them as the work of the same man, yet they are similar in several respects, such as the use of Quarella stone, their date of manufacture, the quality of their execution, and a shared air of elegant restraint enlivened by the occasional finely-observed detail.

Such similarities between monuments characterise the 'Ingleby-Arncliffe' group of effigies in North Yorkshire, described by Brian and Moira Gittos, which compare with the Quarella monuments in that they are all made from the same stone and are in close geographical proximity to each other.[165] Although the Ingleby-Arncliffe group are diverse in some ways – some being high, some low relief, for example – there are sufficient similarities between them to link them to the same source, including drapery patterns and devices such as flower-heads.[166] Furthermore, the Ingleby-Arncliffe workshop appears to have flourished over a relatively short time-scale, in the 1340s, demonstrating that "monument production can erupt over a short time span and in a confined area."[167] This would seem to agree with what can be observed in the case of the Quarella monuments. The majority of Yorkshire effigies were produced in the first three decades of the fourteenth century, when new local workshops appeared as a response to the rising demand for effigies from those lower down the social scale.[168] This trend was nation-wide, and Phillip Lindley has commented on the "dramatic surge" in the production of monuments from $c.1275$-$c.1325$.[169] The Quarella effigies discussed here were also produced during propitious times: the majority of the diocese of Llandaff's pre-Reformation effigies were carved in the highly creative and productive decades either side of 1300 when some of the major churches of south Wales were being rebuilt in the latest styles, a flurry of building activity which undoubtedly brought first-rate sculptors to the area. Quarella stone was employed by them for

---

[165] Ten knights and ladies have been identified as the products of this workshop, which was possibly based at Guisborough priory: Brian and Moira Gittos, 'The Ingleby-Arncliffe Group of Effigies'.

[166] Brian and Moira Gittos, 'The Ingleby-Arncliffe Group of Effigies', pp. 17-21.

[167] *Ibid*, p. 25.

[168] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[169] Phillip Lindley, 'New Paradigms', p. 59.

some decorative work, such as the magnificent reredos at Llantwit Major, datable to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[170]

The evidence of the Quarella effigies, therefore, is by no means conclusive, but two sets of circumstances present themselves for the production of the fine effigies at Coity, Llansannor and Coychurch. The first is that a short-lived, quarry-based workshop may have existed in or near Bridgend in the first half of the fourteenth century, producing high-quality memorials for a very local, but wealthy, clientele. The second scenario, which may in fact have given rise to the first, is that the level of high-status building activity in the decades around 1300 brought talented craftsmen to the local area whose services were sought by patrons seeking a prestige memorial. If masons such as these were responsible for the Coychurch lawyer and Llansannor knight, both of which post-date the completion of work at Neath abbey in the 1330s, then they must have stayed in the vicinity for several years, which pre-supposes the existence of other employment opportunities.[171]

The mason(s) responsible for the Coity, Coychurch and Llansannor group may well have been an itinerant craftsman. Sculptors and other craftsmen producing works of art were more likely to be mobile than other artisans as they relied on patrons for employment and had to be prepared to travel to find it.[172] The effigy of a pilgrim at Llandyfodwg [35] provides further evidence of the role of itinerant craftsmen in local monumental production. There are several effigies thought to be of pilgrims in south Wales, in St Mary's, Haverfordwest (Pembrokeshire) for example, but the Llandyfodwg pilgrim bears little resemblance to any of them and is more readily compared to monuments of the north Wales school of masons described by Colin Gresham.[173] The flat relief

---

[170] Morris, 'Later Gothic Architecture', p. 103.

[171] The presence of itinerant masons at Neath, possibly from the West Country, is suggested by the use of ballflower on a surviving roof boss. Ballflower is not generally a feature found in south Wales and its use at Caerphilly castle has been linked with the work of Kentish masons under the direction of Thomas de la Bataile in 1326: Richard K. Morris, 'Ballflower Work in Gloucester and its Vicinity', in British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 7, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury* (Leeds, 1985), pp. 99-115, at pp. 99-100, p. 109.

[172] Ramsey, 'Artists and Craftsmen', p. 55.

[173] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving.*

of the pilgrim figure is very like that used in some of the northern monuments, in particular the representations of St Iestyn at Llaniestyn, and St Pabo at Llanbabo (Anglesey), the effigy of an unidentified woman at Cilcain (Flintshire), and of Iorwerth Sulien, vicar of Corwen (Merioneth). An even more noticeable similarity is the tendency for the slabs of northern monuments to be seeded with flower-like objects, often four-petalled and superficially not unlike Maltese crosses. These can be seen on three of the four effigies named above, and also on a non-effigial slab at Abererch (Gwynedd). The Abererch slab has a Maltese cross which can be directly compared to those on the Llandyfodwg pilgrim, and which are not seen on any other monuments in the diocese of Llandaff. The fact that the Llandyfodwg effigy is made of Quarella stone makes it impossible that it is a northern product which has somehow found its way to the south, and it is far more likely that an itinerant craftsman, familiar with or trained in the north, was responsible for its production.

The precise circumstances of the production of the Quarella and other local memorials are difficult to unravel, but they are highly significant in a study of late-medieval Welsh culture and society as they point to near total collapse in the patronage and production of memorial effigies in south-east Wales after the middle of the fourteenth century. The de Berkerolles monuments at St Athan, and other mid-century monuments such as the Llansannor knight and the Coychurch lawyer, were virtually the last effigies to be commissioned in the diocese of Llandaff, in either local or imported stone, until the 1420s. Only the tomb-chest of Sir William de Berkerolles and Phelice de Vere at St Athan, dating possibly from the 1360s or 70s, the lost brass of Bishop Pascall (d.1361), the incised-slab of John and Isabella Colmer at Christchurch (c.1376) and the unknown Hastings lady at Abergavenny are known to date from the interim period. The first reason that suggests itself for this long hiatus is the impact of the plague. The disruptive effects of the plague on art and architecture in general have long been acknowledged, yet the dislocation may not have been total. The work of Phillip Lindley and Sally Badham has shown that, despite the deaths of leading craftsmen, the disruption in some areas was not long-lasting and brasses and sculpted monuments continued to be produced, if in a more erratic pattern than hitherto.[174]

---

[174] Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance*, pp. 21-22; 'The Black Death and English art. A Debate and Some Assumptions', in *The Black Death in England*, ed. Mark Ormrod and Philip Lindley (Donington, 1996), pp. 136-43; Sally Badham, 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death: A Reappraisal', *Antiquaries Journal,* 80 (2000), pp. 207-247; Badham, 'The de la More Effigies at Northmoor', pp. 36-7.

However, Colin Gresham has attributed the long hiatus between *c.*1350 and *c.*1380 in the series of north Wales monuments to the plague.[175] It is likely that London was better positioned to withstand the turmoil and continue, albeit in truncated form, its artistic output in a way that the poorer regions were not. Yet even compared to north Wales, patronage of monuments in southeast Wales seems to have been disrupted particularly badly.

Explicit references to the Black Death in the diocese of Llandaff are rare, but there is "sufficient indirect evidence" to prove its severity, with the lowlands, close to the ports, bearing the brunt.[176] By 1400 the population of Wales is thought to have been not much more than 200, 000,[177] and analyses of Cardiff's revenues from the fourteenth century suggest that the earlier famines began the process of decline before the plague hit. The income derived from the city by the marcher lords fell by half from 1307 to 1349, and failed to recover its former level before the end of the fifteenth century.[178] Archaeological excavations have indicated that the villages of Cwmciddy, Highlight, Barry, Merthyr Dyfan, Sully and Radyr all showed evidence of shrinkage or desertion in the second half of the fourteenth century, while the parishes of Barry, Cwmciddy and Porthkerry were amalgamated at the same time.[179] It has been estimated that a quarter to a third of the population of Gwent was wiped out in the 1348-9 visitation. The 1361 outbreak was worse on the coast, whereas that of 1369 may have exceeded the severity of 1348-9 in the northerly lordships of Monmouth and Three Castles.[180] By 1366 the fifty heads of household at Caldicot had fallen to just eleven.[181]

---

[175] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*, p. 1.

[176] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, *Glamorgan - Medieval Non-Defensive Secular Monuments* (Cardiff, 1982), pp. 6-7.

[177] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 144.

[178] John Stuart Corbett, *Glamorgan: Papers and Notes on the Lordship and its Members* (Cardiff, 1925), pp. 164-168.

[179] *Glamorgan – medieval non-defensive secular monuments*, pp. 7-8.

[180] R.R. Davies, 'Plague and Revolt', in Griffiths, Hopkins and Howell, eds., *Gwent County History*, vol. 2, pp. 217-240, at pp. 222-5.

[181] Jonathan Kissock, 'Settlement and Society', in Griffiths, Hopkins and Howell, eds., *Gwent County History*, vol. 2, pp. 70-88, at p. 83.

But can the dislocation in the production of monumental effigies described above be laid solely at the door of pestilential visitations? In Wales, successive bouts of plague were exacerbated by the devastations of Owain Glyn Dŵr's rebellion from 1400,[182] which Glanmor Williams described as "painful, debilitating and long-lasting".[183] Of the revolt's effects on Gwent it has been said that the "landscape changed fundamentally thereafter. Recession and retrenchment set in and lasted for some time."[184] There was widespread physical destruction: castles, towns and other symbols of seigniorial dominance such as mills were particularly targeted by the rebels, while ecclesiastical buildings suffered at the hands of royal troops, often in retaliation for their support for the uprising.[185] The nationwide impact of the revolt may be gauged by the fact that throughout the whole country there is no surviving domestic architecture earlier than the fifteenth century.[186] On a more local level, Coity Castle was besieged in 1404 and Cardiff was attacked. The member lordship of Ogmore, within which the Sutton stone quarries were located, had yielded £382 in revenue in 1382, but nothing was forthcoming between 1402 and 1405. In 1406 a mere £13 18s. 7d. was collected and the manor was worth only £100 in 1413. Fifteen years later, in 1428, less than half the tenants' land in Ogmore was occupied,[187] and the nearby vills of Sutton and Northdown had been destroyed by the rebellion.[188] How this dislocation and depopulation affected the manpower and output of the Sutton quarry is not documented, but presumably the disruption was significant, which must have had an impact on the availability of its products.

---

[182] For a definitive treatment of the revolt see R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995).

[183] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 27, 29.

[184] Kissock, 'Settlement and Society', p. 85.

[185] Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 278-9.

[186] Richard Suggett, *Houses and History in the March of Wales: Radnorshire 1400-1800* (Aberystwyth, 2005), p. 26.

[187] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 18-21.

[188] *Glamorgan – Medieval Non-defensive Secular Monuments*, p. 215.

Comparison can be made here with the short-lived Flintshire quarry responsible for a distinctive series of monuments in north-east Wales from c.1380 to c.1400, which stopped production in the early fifteenth century. While the local north Wales industry was able to re-establish itself after the Black Death, Gresham assigned its final downfall to a combination of further calamities such as the deaths of the craftsmen and the Glyn Dŵr revolt. The end of the Flintshire workshop also coincided with the rising popularity of alabaster, which may have undermined the market for the local product.[189] It is possible to see a similar situation in the diocese of Llandaff. When the patronage of monumental effigies here revived slightly, from the 1420s, none were manufactured locally. All the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monuments remaining in the diocese are made from West-Country stones, alabaster or brass, indicating that the final collapse of the local industry in Glamorgan, as in north Wales, may have been due as much to the threat posed by fashionable imports as to the unavailability of the local product.

There is a further element to be considered here, which regards the wider context of architectural activity within which effigial production was often set. Although little is known about the combined effects of plague and revolt on Welsh art and architecture, they have been blamed, along with the financial exactions of the marcher lords, for a lack of significant architectural activity in south Wales from the later fourteenth century into the early fifteenth.[190] Work took place on Raglan, Cardiff and Newport castles in the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century, but was not continuous enough to establish workshops of any stability, and there was a lack of major commissions in the larger churches. This is a point of some importance as the unavailability of local craftsmen suitably trained in the techniques of figure sculpture, may have been a factor in the preference for the exotic alabaster imports seen at Llandaff, Newport and Abergavenny from the middle of the fifteenth century. The shortage of expertise can surely be seen in the inferior quality of the Quarella tomb-chest of Sir William de Berkerolles, perhaps the result of a patron requesting a copy of an existing family monument only to be left with the

---

[189] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*, p. 10. The impact of alabaster on patterns of patronage in Llandaff is described below.

[190] Morris, 'Later Gothic Architecture in South Wales' pp. 111-13.

second-rate work of an inexperienced craftsman.[191] The Berkerolles and other locally

manufactured monuments provide a fascinating documentary record of the collapse of a

flourishing market for effigial commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff from the middle of the

fourteenth century, and the effects of the contemporary crises on the availability of local

expertise. Any workshop which might have previously existed, or craftsmen skilled in working

the local stone, seems to have been no longer in operation after the middle of the century, and the

local production of memorial effigies came to an abrupt end.[192]

It is probably this collapse which was partly responsible for the notable lack of effigial

monuments to civilians and the lower clergy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It has

already been noted in this chapter that civilian effigies in England are a feature of the latter part

of the Middle Ages, and that they were often local products, such as the incised alabaster slabs of

the east midlands. In the diocese of Llandaff, however, the local industry had come to an end,

cutting off the supply of relatively cheap sculpted effigial memorials from a class of people who

could not afford an imported product. In some parts of England, patrons such as these may have

been attracted by the monumental brass, but as the following section demonstrates, this was

another option that seems to have been closed to the lesser gentry of south-east Wales.[193]

3.5(d) Brass.[194]

That monumental brasses are primarily a phenomenon of the southern and eastern counties of

England, and are correspondingly fewer in number in the far north and west, is well-known.[195]

Fewer than twenty brasses of pre-Reformation date are known of in Wales. Eight are listed by

---

[191] A similar case of a later, less accomplished, mason trying to copy an earlier family memorial is found at Combe
Florey (Somerset). Here, two effigies, two Sir John de Meriet and his first wife, were set up at about 1327, and
another female effigy, to the second wife who died in 1344, was added later. The second effigy is a clear copy of the
first, but done in a different stone and with less skill: Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice', p. 159.

[192] See Chapter Four, Case Study Two, for the creation of the Berkerolles monuments.

[193] A separate study would be required to judge the extent to which the lower gentry and clergy of the diocese opted
for cross-slabs in the post-plague era.

[194] Parts of the following section have been reproduced in Rhianydd Biebrach, 'Conspicuous by their Absence:
Rethinking Explanations for the Lack of Brasses in Medieval Wales', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass
Society,* forthcoming.

[195] See chart in Norris, *Monumental Brasses,* p. 45.

J.M. Lewis in his nation-wide survey, which does not include the robbed-out brass of Bishop Pascall (d.1361) at Llandaff cathedral and the late-fifteenth-century memorial to Edmund Tudor (d.1456) at St David's Cathedral (formerly at Carmarthen Greyfriars). Less than ten others, now lost and known only from antiquarian sources, have been located in Pembrokeshire and Llandaff cathedral.[196] The monumental brass of Wenllian Walsche (d.1427) at Llandough [33] is the only surviving figure brass in the diocese of Llandaff and the earliest in the whole of Wales. Consequently it is a monument of national significance, and both its existence and its rarity invite investigation. Wenllian Walsche's brass is an unremarkable, modest little monument. It measures 87 by 41 centimetres, and is accompanied by the indent of a shield of arms above and to the left of the head and an inscription below the feet, reading 'Hic iacet Wenllan Walsche quondam uxor Walteri Moreton que obit xxv die decembris Anno domini Millesimo cccc xxvii cuius anime propicietur deus Amen.' It is a stock product of the London B workshop, although it is set into a slab of local limestone rather than Purbeck marble and surrounded by a competently executed incised canopy, which is presumably the work of a local mason. That he was unfamiliar with the layout of brasses is indicated by the unusual placing of the shield; single shields were commonly placed below the inscription.[197]

The low numbers of pre-Reformation Welsh brasses are generally attributed to a combination of economic, geographical and commercial factors. For J.M. Lewis, Wales' relative poverty put a brass beyond the means of the majority of the Welsh gentry,[198] while for Malcolm Norris, the reason for Wales' "dearth of brasses" was the same as for their lower incidence in the western parts of the British Isles as a whole: distance from place of manufacture, combined with the added restriction on the market for brasses posed by a local supply of stone monuments.[199] The basic truth of these arguments is not under debate. Economic factors must play some part and it

---

[196] Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses*; Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', pp. 7-8. The Tudor brass is a Victorian replacement of a lost original, first erected in the Carmarthen Greyfriars, and moved to St David's cathedral at the Reformation. Browne Willis recorded "3 or 4" indents when he visited Llandaff in 1722: Bodleian Library, MS Willis 104, f. 3.

[197] Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', p. 8.

[198] Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses*, p. 11.

[199] Norris, *Monumental Brasses*, p. 46, p. 50.

makes sense that memorials of all kinds are likely to be more commonly found in the most wealthy and populous areas and close to sources of supply. But these explanations alone are not satisfactory and it can be argued that they do not take into consideration issues particular either to medieval Wales, or to its relationships with neighbouring English counties. The following discussion explores the traditional arguments in more depth and, although it does not seek to overturn them, suggests that a more subtle approach to this issue is needed. Other factors must be considered, and it is necessary to account for the marked difference in levels of brasses within the culturally homogeneous Severnside region described in Chapter Two.

Although possible losses must be taken into account, the absence of fifteenth-and early sixteenth-century brasses in south-east Wales must be partly explained within the context of the low levels of patronage of monumental effigies in the area in general. Of the sixty-two surviving pre-Reformation effigies in the diocese of Llandaff, only thirteen can be securely dated post 1400, when brass was becoming more popular as a commemorative medium. Wenllian Walsche's brass therefore accounts for just seven percent of all the diocese's fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century effigies. In contrast, Somerset and Gloucestershire each have more than eighty memorial effigies datable to this period. As was demonstrated in Chapter Two, around forty-six percent of these are brasses in Somerset, and sixty-seven percent are brasses in Gloucestershire.[200] Although Llandaff diocese's poor showing in the brass league-tables can be partly accounted for by its low overall numbers of late medieval memorial effigies, therefore, Gloucestershire and Somerset clearly have a far higher proportion of brasses among their monuments, and so it is important to question why brasses were able to travel this far west in the numbers that they did, but not make the short crossing to the Welsh shore of the Bristol Channel.

Several regional studies of commemoration have highlighted the tendency for brasses to be the memorial of choice for certain sections of society. In fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Norfolk brasses became the most common form of monument, with an estimated sixty-four to sixty-seven

---

[200] Figures taken from Pevsner, ed., *South and West Somerset*; idem, *North Somerset and Bristol*; D. Verey, ed., *Gloucestershire: the Vale and the Forest of Dean*; D. Verey and A. Brooks, eds., *Gloucestershire I: the Cotswolds* .

effigial brasses laid down in Norwich alone. They were most popular among the knighted manorial lords, clergy and wealthy merchants.[201] In Dunwich, Suffolk, brass was similarly popular among the armigerous class, although the surviving sculpted effigies commemorate those whom Judith Middleton-Stewart has termed "the established gentry".[202] However, the patronage of brass memorials was not just a matter of money and status. Late-medieval Bristol is comparable to Norwich in socio-economic terms, but the interest in brass memorials amongst the city's merchants and traders never reached the same levels, a fact which Finch attributes in part to the different trading routes plied by the two cities. Norwich's contacts lay with north-eastern Europe, where brasses were a common form of memorial, whereas Bristol's focus lay to the south and west.[203] Saul has recently reinforced the view that brasses predominate within certain social groups, such as the Cotswold woolmen and Oxford and Cambridge academics, or within families, such as the Cobhams of Kent. In such cases the operation of conservatism and loyalty to particular monumental types played a part, as did "the working of informal networks" resulting in a taste for brasses "spreading across wide kinship networks."[204] These forces must have proved fairly powerful for the Cotswold woolmen, who inhabited a region of good stone and vigorous local sculptural traditions.

The socio-economic structure of the late medieval diocese of Llandaff was quite different to that of Norfolk or the West Country. Levels of commercial activity, population, urbanisation and wealth were much lower and the kind of person who tended to commission brasses in Norfolk and the West Country was an altogether rarer species in south-east Wales. Cardiff was easily the diocese's largest urban centre as well as the administrative centre of the lordship of Glamorgan, but it consisted of only two parishes and had a mid-sixteenth century population of just over a

---

[201] Finch, 'Church Monuments in Norfolk and Norwich', pp. 64-66, 74-76.

[202] Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*, pp. 267-268.

[203] Finch, 'Church Monuments in Norfolk and Norwich', p. 88, n. 35. The influence of the continent can be seen in the existence of mid-fourteenth century Flemish brasses at King's Lynn.

[204] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 102-104.

thousand, compared to Bristol's four thousand or more.[205] The market for brasses in the diocese of Llandaff was a restricted one therefore. Likely patrons in the form of wealthy merchants and burgesses, or a populous rural gentry, were thinly spread, and there is also the question of competition, alluded to by Malcolm Norris. Norfolk had high levels of medieval brasses because it was wealthy and populous, but it also lacks good stone, resulting in such a demand for brass that local workshops were established. As Norris noted, a local supply of good stone would reduce the attraction of a London-made brass.[206] South-east Wales, as has been demonstrated above, has a plentiful supply of local stone regularly employed for memorial sculpture until the middle of the fourteenth century, while West Country imports also claimed a major share of the market.

From the middle of the fifteenth century the dominance of these freestones was being challenged by an imported material, but it was alabaster that managed to capture the market, rather than brass. This is significant as it suggests that brass was not unpopular among the region's patrons because of the availability of a convenient *local* product, as alabaster also had to be exported from a distant centre of manufacture. And, although poor finances may have prevented a wide range of patrons from seeking effigial commemoration at all, economics could not have been the primary motive for the choice of alabaster over brass for those that did commission effigies: over half of the few patrons of monumental commemoration from c.1400 to c.1540 were prepared to go to the trouble and expense of ordering a very bulky item from as far away as the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire alabasterers. This underlines the essential oversimplification inherent in stating that Wales is too far from London, and the Welsh gentry generally too poor, to make it a viable option to commission a brass memorial. The manufacturing and transport costs of the alabaster tombs at Abergavenny, Llandaff and Newport would have far exceeded those of the Walsche brass.[207]

---

[205] M. Griffiths, 'Very Wealthy by Merchandise? Urban Fortunes', in J.G. Jones, ed., *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 197-235, at p. 205.

[206] Norris, *Monumental Brasses,* p. 50.

[207] See Chapter Four, Case Study Three for the patronage of alabaster monuments by the late-medieval Welsh gentry of the diocese.

What may be seen, however, in the commissioning of Wenllian Walsche's brass, is the operation of the kinship or other social networks referred to by Saul.[208] Sally Badham has pointed out that Wenllian Walsche's husband Walter Moreton, as constable of Cardiff castle, was in the service of the Beauchamps, who had commissioned a brass from the London B workshop – the source of Wenllian's monument – in 1406, and were to do so again in 1439. Perhaps it was as a sign of loyalty to his lord that Moreton broke with local norms and commissioned a brass to his wife.[209] It may also be significant that Wenllian died during the Beauchamp building campaign at Cardiff castle from 1423 to 1439, when Moreton may have come into contact with craftsmen or agents employed by his lord.[210] While it is not certain that Moreton was the patron of the Walsche brass, the kinship network can be seen in operation within Wenllian's natal family. Robert Walsche, the brother who had predeceased her in May 1427, was also commemorated by a brass, in the chancel of Langridge parish church, Somerset, as was his widow Elizabeth, who died in 1441. Robert Walsche's brass appears to be a London D product, so was not part of the same commissioning process as his sister's, but it indicates that the family as a whole were open to brass as a commemorative medium and had the means of communicating with a distant London workshop.[211]

It must be considered that the kinds of networks that fostered the patronage of brasses amongst the Cotswold woolmen and university academics failed to operate in the diocese of Llandaff, or rather, that they operated in favour of alabaster to the detriment of brass. Nor may it be too far-fetched to talk in terms of a form of national resistance to brass as a commemorative medium. Glanmor Williams noted of the distribution of chantries, services and fraternities in Wales that not only were their numbers very low but, "this was not a form of piety that made a very strong appeal in the more markedly Welsh parts of Wales."[212] More significantly, Colin Gresham

---

[208] See above, p. 130.

[209] Badham, 'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments', p. 8.

[210] Richard K. Morris, 'Later Gothic Architecture', p. 113.

[211] I am grateful to Sally Badham for identifying the workshop responsible for Robert Walsche's brass.

[212] Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p. 292.

commented on the resistance of the north Wales school of monument craftsmen to the English

vogue for naturalistic foliage and other Decorated motifs around 1300 – "a style that was never

congenial to the Celt."[213] The diocese of Llandaff was, of course, one of the most Anglicised

parts of Wales, but it is worth considering that brass failed to catch on with the fifteenth- and

early sixteenth-century Welsh gentry due in part to its perception as an 'alien' and unfamiliar

method of commemoration in a land of stone.[214]

Conclusion

The effigies of the diocese of Llandaff are an eclectic range of products, dominated by no single

style, material, or place of origin, the consequence of the lack of a long-lived, thriving,

prominent local source of production. There are a number of conclusions to be drawn regarding

the patronage and production of these monuments, although the small number of examples

means they must necessarily be of a somewhat tentative nature. In some ways what has been

seen in the diocese conforms to the broader picture of the manufacture and commissioning of

effigial memorials in the medieval period. The higher clergy and laity were the initiators of the

practice in the early to mid thirteenth century, with memorials to the lower gentry and women

appearing towards 1300. Effigial commemoration flourished in the late thirteenth and early

fourteenth centuries, and in the fifteenth brass and alabaster appear.

In other, more fundamental ways, the evidence appears not to follow national trends. Throughout

the period, and particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the commissioning of an

effigial memorial in the diocese of Llandaff was confined to the socio-economic elite: bishops

and other senior clergy; knighted manorial lords and their wives; and some well-off and well-

connected civilians. The lesser gentry and parish priests, while able to aspire to an affordable

local product in the pre-plague years, are absent from the scene thereafter, when the increasing

availability of brass and other mass-produced forms of effigial memorial opened up the market to

---

[213] Gresham, *Medieval Stone Carving*, pp. 21-4.

[214] It has recently been noted that the late-medieval merchants of Tickhill, Yorkshire, also bucked the trend towards brass memorials, favouring instead incised effigial and cross slabs, despite the proximity of the York brass industry. This has been accounted for by conservatism and the influence of the "choices made by their immediate peers and the expectations and understanding of the local audience for their memorials": Farman, Hacker and Badham, 'Incised Slab Discoveries', pp. 543-545, quote at p. 545.

the less well-off in England. That effigial sculpture was a more exclusive commodity in south-east Wales in the fifteenth and sixteenth century is reflected not only in the nature of the patronal group but also in the proliferation of status-signifiers such as heraldry, mantles, court dress and collars. It is the narrowing of the patronal class to a restricted group of largely native upper gentry from the mid-fifteenth century that is the most noteworthy feature of the commemorative culture of this region since it is nearly the opposite of what has been observed in many parts of England.

If patterns of patronage changed in the diocese from the later fourteenth century, so too did the availability of the product. The combined effects of plague and revolt brought an abrupt end to local production, in which disruption at local quarries and the curtailment of available craftsmanship and client groups played a part. The lack of lower-status monuments such as small brasses suggests that the poverty of the region in the aftermath of these dislocations was such that only the top levels of society were capable of affording imported products in the wake of the collapse of the local industry. Consequently, a renewal of interest in effigial commemoration from the early fifteenth century directed itself towards outside sources of supply, partly due to prevailing fashions, but also as a possible reflection of the lack of expertise closer to home in a period when few major building projects were underway, while the operation of conservatism and kinship associations may have privileged the alabaster workshops over brass. The evidence for the patronage of monuments in the diocese of Llandaff illustrates the complexity of the forces involved in the creation of the monumental culture of a given region, and suggests that, in an area of a restricted client base and limited economic means, the availability or otherwise of an affordable local supply ultimately defined its character.

Chapter Four

Case Studies

The purpose of this chapter is to explore in detail three groups of monuments in the diocese of Llandaff. In each case the aims are to understand the circumstances surrounding their production, including the immediate historical context, the motivations of the patrons, the production of the effigies and, where relevant, their 'afterlife'. The three sets of monuments have been chosen for particular reasons. Firstly, each presents a coherent group: the first being the thirteenth-century episcopal effigies at Llandaff cathedral, the second the fourteenth-century monuments of the Berkerolles family at St Athan, and the third the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century monuments of the Mathew family, also at Llandaff. Each group is therefore characterised by ties of vocation, location and/or blood. Secondly, between them they cover the full chronological range of this study and can be seen in some senses as typifying the monuments found in the diocese in their respective eras, either illustrating common themes in memorial sculpture, or providing snapshots of the changing nature of the local elites throughout the medieval era. A third, and fundamental, reason for this selection is that in most cases the identity of the deceased is known and biographical details can be established for them to varying extents.

Llandaff cathedral from the thirteenth to the twentieth century.

As the cathedral is the location for two of the three case studies covered in this section it is worthwhile briefly recounting the radical changes that have occurred to the building's fabric over the last seven or eight centuries. This will explain more fully the problems surrounding the identification, location and appearance of the effigies in the present. In 1120 bishop Urban began the full-scale Romanesque remodelling of the cathedral. Only the chancel arch and a few other remaining fragments testify to the quality and beauty of the work executed during this short-lived phase, and by the beginning of the following century work was underway to rebuild in the new

Gothic style, under the patronage of Bishop Henry of Abergavenny (1193-1218).[1] Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Lady Chapel was added by Bishop William de Braose (d.1287);[2] extensive alterations to the nave walls were made in the fourteenth century, and the north-west 'Jasper' tower was added at the end of the fifteenth. Building work ceased when the see became impoverished in the middle of the sixteenth century when its lands were leased and the offerings of the faithful dried up. By 1575 the building was suffering greatly from neglect,[3] and by the early eighteenth century was in a worse state, structurally, than any other British cathedral.[4] In 1718 Browne Willis reported that, although the windows were "tolerably entire" the building was not well kept, and the "whole Fabrick looks out of Order", with the old tower looking particularly weak.[5]

In the early 1720s the tower, together with fifty feet of roof over the west end and the south aisle, fell. The west door was blocked up and services were moved to the only safe part of the building, the Lady Chapel.[6] A plan for the rebuilding of the cathedral in the newly fashionable neo-classical style was hatched and in 1752 the Bath architect, John Wood, erected a neo-classical structure around the sanctuary and choir at a cost of £7,000.[7] The so-called 'Italianate temple' was generally considered an architectural and aesthetic travesty, but it may have preserved some of the medieval features of the cathedral, including some of the effigies, because it was erected within the medieval walls, occasioning the removal or walling-up of certain items. From the accounts of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century antiquarians Sir Richard Colt Hoare

---

[1] Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric', p. 62.

[2] North, *Stones*, p. 102.

[3] W.R. Compton-Davies, *Historical and Pictorial Glimpses of Llandaff Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1900), p. 32.

[4] E.T. Davies, 'John Wood's Italianate Temple', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, vol. 6 (1956), pp. 70-81, at p. 70.

[5] Willis, *A Survey*, p. 29.

[6] J.H. James, *A History and Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1929), p. 16.

[7] James, *History and Survey*, pp. 16-17. See also, Davies, 'John Wood's Italianate Temple.'

and John Carter (see Chapter One) we learn that the tomb of William Mathew and Jenet Henry had been moved to the chapter house,[8] while the tomb of St Teilo was walled up and plastered over *in situ,* not to be re-exposed until a century later.[9] The rest of the building continued to deteriorate, however. At the time of Hoare's visit in 1797, many of the monuments were in a neglected and ruinous state,[10] and five years later, in 1802, he observed that the nave and the two side aisles were completely in ruins.[11] A visitor in 1805 saw green mould covering the aisle walls outside the confines of the temple, and "immense books" lying scattered in heaps on the vestry floor.[12] This picture of utter neglect is somewhat ameliorated by another traveller's account, of 1827, that although the building was ruinous "many figures and whole effigies" had been removed from it, and presumably stored near-by.[13] This suggests a measure of concern for the cathedral's medieval sculpture, but how much was lost or damaged at this point can only be guessed at.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Bishop Ollivant began a thorough and sensitive (by Victorian standards) rebuilding of the whole structure. Not all the monuments were restored to their former positions, however,[14] and what is seen now is largely a creation of that period. The building sustained bomb-damage in 1941, and underwent further restoration from 1948-57.[15] In the following discussions the extent to which these upheavals have increased the difficulties of studying the cathedral's memorials will become evident.

---

[8] BL, Add. MS. 29,940 fos. 35, 36.

[9] NLW, MS. LLCh/42, fol. 13: Extract from a paper given by T.H. Wyatt at the meeting of the Royal Institute of Architects, 1848.

[10] CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 6, f.86.

[11] CCL, MS. 3.127, vol. 2, f.60.

[12] NLW, MS. 678b, f. 147: Richard Vaughan Yates' Tour through Wales.

[13] CCL, MS. 2.325, fols. 41-2: Diary of Judith Beecroft's Excursion to Wales.

[14] Alfred Ollivant, *Some Account of the Condition of the Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral,* (London, 1860), pp. 25-7.

[15] Chrystal Davies, *A Walk Around Llandaff Cathedral,* (Much Wenlock, 1999), p. 4.

Case Study One: The thirteenth-century episcopal effigies in Llandaff cathedral.

a. Date and description of the effigies.

Henry of Abergavenny (d.1218)[16]

On purely stylistic terms, the earliest effigy is likely to be that traditionally identified as Bishop Henry of Abergavenny (d. 1218), which lies under a niche, not its original position, in the south aisle [21]. The bishop is carved in fairly low relief, with a semi-circular canopy over his head, on a tapered slab. The facial features are worn, but it is easy to discern the tall mitre and protruding ears. The left hand rests on the lower torso, holding a staff across the body from the left shoulder to the outside of the right ankle, where it is broken. The right hand is raised across the chest, possibly in benediction, but it is too worn to be certain. The feet lie on a flat ledge and an animal's head (curiously, with no body) appears by the outer side of the right foot in such a position that it would have been speared by the staff in its unbroken state. The drapery is rendered in flat, shallow folds. This, and the overall low relief of the figure must be at least partly dictated by the nature of the Blue Lias, which occurs in shallow beds.[17] Although the stance and treatment of the drapery are different, the semi-circular canopy, and the way in which it is overlapped by the tip of the elongated mitre, is comparable to that seen on the early Purbeck effigy of Bishop Jocelin de Bohun (*d.*1184) at Salisbury cathedral.[18]

Bishop William de Braose (d.1287)

The effigy of Bishop William de Braose on the north side of the altar in the Lady Chapel is similar to the monument of Henry of Abergavenny in its use of Lias and its rather flat, stiff characteristics, although of a more developed form [22]. The figure is set on a tapered slab

---

[16] Bishop Henry was one of Llandaff's several monastic bishops, having previously been prior of the Benedictine house at Abergavenny. The traditional attribution of this monument to Bishop Henry is questioned below.

[17] North, *Stones*, p. 46.

[18] Illustrated in Arthur Gardner, *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 177.

within an architectural frame formed by side shafts, terminating in round, moulded capitals, topped by fleur-de-lys–headed pinnacles. These are decorated with naively-carved naturalistic foliage, of a different form on each pinnacle. A trefoiled arch connects the two shafts. Within the upper lobe of the arch is set the bishop's head, wearing an acutely pointed mitre. Unusually, the eyes are closed, and this looks like an original feature rather than later re-cutting. His left hand holds his staff across his body, diagonally from his left shoulder to just below his right inner knee. The staff is topped by a capital that precisely echoes those on the side shafts. His right hand is laid flat upon his upper chest. The effigy ends abruptly at the bottom hem of the vestments, where the feet and any footrest have been cleanly cut away. The drapery of the vestments is rather stylised, formed by regular ridged folds, giving a corrugated appearance. On the trefoiled arch is the inscription WILLELMUS DE BREWSA EP'S LA'D.

The flat and stiff style of this effigy provoked John Newman to doubt a later thirteenth-century origin (despite the evidence of the inscription) and led him to question whether it must be earlier even than Henry of Abergavenny's memorial.[19] Newman's scepticism is understandable to some extent as Bishop de Braose's effigy can be quite closely compared to several monuments of much earlier date, such as the Purbeck effigy of Bishop Marshall (c. 1206) at Exeter. Both have a similar architectural framework, with trefoiled canopy and prominent shafts topped with plain, round capitals, although the Marshall monument is, if anything, more elaborate than de Braose's. The rather flat, regularly folded drapery, which is barely more than incised on the upper arms, is also highly comparable.[20] Within Wales, de Braose's monument is closely similar to that of Anselm, bishop of St David's from 1231 to 1247. Here again is the flat relief and trefoiled canopy carrying the inscription. In both effigies the hand giving the benediction is held in a similar way, but Anselm's monument does not have the side-shafts. The head of the staff and the draperies are more skilfully rendered on Anselm's effigy but, if it was made around the time of his death, it could ante-date de Braose's monument by forty years.

---

[19] Newman, *Glamorgan*, p. 251.

[20] See Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture*, p. 179, for illustration.

When de Braose's effigy is compared to the mid-century monuments of Archbishop Walter de Gray (d. 1255) at York, and bishops Hugh de Northwold (d.1254) and William de Kilkenny (d. 1256) at Ely, with their naturalistic drapery, censing angels and elaborately decorated detached shafts and canopies, its inferiority is obvious.[21] This is underlined again when considering the monument of Anian, bishop of St Asaph in north Wales from 1268 to 1293. This is of an entirely different character altogether, more indicative of the type of work being undertaken at the end of the thirteenth century, sculpted in the round, with opulent, naturalistic vestments and a richly carved cusped canopy.[22]

However, at the end of the thirteenth century there was also a return to flatter, simpler depictions, which were more suited to the application of polychromy. This could have been the case with Bishop de Braose's effigy, which would have been rendered far more sumptuous by the application of paint and gilding, and would have made the quality of the underlying carving less of an issue. Newman also failed to consider the fact that William de Braose's monument was carved from a relatively thin slab of Blue Lias, which restricts the depth and intricacy of the carving, and inevitably results in rather flat relief.[23] Ultimately, however, it is the presence of the naturalistic foliage on the pinnacles of the side-shafts which places this monument firmly within the last decades of the thirteenth century[24] and shows the awareness, moreover, of up-to-date sculptural trends on the part of the craftsman.

---

[21] All three tombs are illustrated in Matthew J. Sillence, 'The Two Effigies of Archbishop Walter de Gray (d. 1255) at York Minster, *Church Monuments*, vol. 20 (2005), pp. 5-30, at p. 14.

[22] Anselm's and Anian's effigies are both illustrated in Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 121.

[23] Considering the slab can hardly be more than six inches deep, the sculptor has made very efficient use of it in achieving the depth of carving that he has.

[24] Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, p. 138.

'St Teilo'[25]

Teilo is traditionally regarded as one of the three founding saints, along with Dyfrig and Euddogwy, of the diocese of Llandaff, and is said to have been Dyfrig's successor on the bishop's throne.[26] The Dundry stone monument [23], thought to represent him since at least the beginning of the eighteenth century, is set under a Victorian niche on the south side of the sanctuary and is of a more elaborate form than the effigies of Bishops Abergavenny and de Braose, although it is certainly of an earlier date than the latter. The figure of 'Teilo' is framed by an architectural canopy and side-shafts. The latter are rather sturdy, display no undercutting and have moulded shaft-rings halfway along their length. They terminate in stiff-leaf capitals, from which springs a trefoiled, gabled canopy, flanked by figures [23a]. On the left is an angel, holding aloft a smaller human figure in its hands, possibly representing the soul ascending to Heaven [23a.i]. On the right is a worn and headless Virgin and Child [23a.ii]. Within the point of the gable, above the middle lobe of the trefoil, is a rayed star or sun. The head of the effigy, which is very worn, lies within the canopy and wears a low mitre. The left hand holds what remains of the staff diagonally across the body, while the right is raised in benediction. The drapery is more naturalistic than that of the Lias effigies and is formed by thin, rather flat folds. The footrest (which takes the form of a cockatrice) [23b], capitals and canopy are covered in modern gold paint.

'St Teilo's' monument has been dated to the 1220s,[27] although some elements of the tomb are closely comparable to effigies from the middle of the thirteenth century. The use of prominent side-shafts and canopy is paralleled in the Purbeck effigies of Bishops Northwold (c.1255) and Kilkenny (c.1256) at Ely, and Archbishop de Gray (c.1255) at York, where the combination of trefoiled arch, gable and flanking figures is also seen. Teilo is not as sumptuous as any of these,

---

[25] See below for discussions of the identities of the Dundry stone effigies.

[26] G. H. Doble, *St Teilo* (Lampeter, 1942), p. 18.

[27] James, *History and Survey*, p. x.

however, lacking the richness of the foliate carving on the side-shafts, and the heavy shrine-like superstructure of de Gray's monument. Viewed in this way we may conclude that 'St Teilo's' tomb represents the attempts of West Country masons working in Dundry stone to emulate the output of the Purbeck marblers for the prestige end of the market.

In other respects it is also possible to see links between 'Teilo' and the retrospective episcopal effigies at Wells, produced at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Each of the Wells effigies is different in composition, but there are some common features which can also be detected on 'Teilo'. Although 'Teilo's' face is more worn than those of the Wells bishops their proportions are similar, with rounded chins (on some of the Wells examples), short stubby noses and prominent, bulging eyes. The feet share the same sturdy quality. A more compelling point of comparison is found in the small headless figure placed against the outer edge of the trefoil canopy of Bishop Sicarus at Wells. The treatment of the drapery on this figure, its proportions and attitude, are all very close to those found on either side of 'Teilo's' canopy. There are also differences however: the gable of 'Teilo's' canopy and the prominent side-shafts are not found on any of the Wells bishops, while his rather flat drapery has less life. While it may not be possible to claim that the Wells bishops and 'Teilo' are products of the same hand or workshop,[28] there are enough similarities to propose that the 'Teilo' craftsman had at least seen what had been done at Wells.

'St Dyfrig'[29]

Dyfrig is regarded as the first bishop of Llandaff.[30] The Dundry stone monument identified with him (sometimes also identified as Bishop Bromfield, for which see below), lies under a recess in the north choir aisle [24]. As it stands now the effigy, recess and accompanying sculptured

---

[28] It is also important to remember that the Wells bishops were produced in two distinct campaigns.

[29] In using this attribution I am following current practice, as expressed in the cathedral guidebook: Davies, *A Walk Around Llandaff Cathedral*, p. 21.

[30] G.H. Doble, *St Dubricius*, (Guildford, 1943), p. 30.

fragments are clearly an amalgam of at least two different monuments, from the thirteenth and probably the fifteenth centuries (see below). The figure is delicately carved, although much worn, and is rather less than life-sized, but not obviously so. The head lies within a plain, unobtrusive arch, on a flat, square cushion, the corners of which overlap the inner rim of the arch, and there are no side-shafts. More stress is here placed on the accompanying angels either side of the arch than on the micro-architectural details seen on the effigies described above. The bishop holds a staff over the right-hand side of his body, while the left hand rests on the left side of the abdomen and grasps a scroll, which descends down toward the knees and drapes itself over the staff. There is no footrest, the feet merely lying on a plain slab.

The head is one of the most intriguing features of this effigy [24a]. It wears a high mitre and has a short beard and a small, flat object, shaped rather like a heart or an ivy leaf, rests on the right upper lip, as though coming out of his mouth. That this is not an accident of weathering, or damage, is demonstrated by the appearance of the same feature on the closely similar effigy in the north aisle [25], which has also been associated with St Dyfrig (see below). What this object is, and what is its significance, is unknown.[31]

The drapery is very well executed, though worn. The vestments are full and realistically portrayed, the sleeves bunching at the crook of the elbow and falling back in deep, narrow ripples. The planes are flatter on the front of the body as the cloth spreads over the torso and legs as would be the case in a recumbent figure. The angels at either side of the canopy over the head are too worn to make much out, but the left-hand angel appears to swoop downwards from above and swings a censer towards the effigy. This angel, and the censer in particular, are undercut to a

---

[31] Intriguingly, there is a garbled account of a bishop's effigy by Symonds, referred to above: "A naked body, with a mitre on his head, *going out of his mouth* [my italics], and layd hold on by an angel, for his soule.": *Diary of Richard Symonds,* ed. Long, p.213. The reference to the naked body is confusing and suggests that Symonds somehow muddled the bishop's effigy with the adjacent cadaver effigy, which he does not otherwise refer to. See Chapter 1 for further discussion of Symonds' account.

greater degree than anything seen on the effigies of bishops Abergavenny, de Braose or 'St Teilo'.

As indicated above, the recess and most of the accompanying sculptural fragments are not thought to be originally associated with the effigy. The arch is Perpendicular in style, with semi-circular arcading on the inside walls and back face of the recess. In the centre of the back wall is a shield-shaped panel depicting the Instruments of the Passion [24b], and on the underneath of the arch, positioned so that the effigy would be able to 'see' it, is a carving of the Image of Pity [24c]. On the tomb chest are placed, immediately below the slab, three panels. At each end is a half-length shield-bearing angel [24d.i and ii], and in the centre is a worn panel of Christ in Majesty [24e]. Christ's robes have been given a very similar treatment to the vestments of 'Dyfrig', exhibiting the same deep, narrow ripples. Underneath these figures, and running the whole length of the chest, is an arcade of eight blind panels, formed by trefoiled ogee arches.[32]

Assigning a date to this effigy is not a straightforward matter. The thin, rippling folds of the drapery are comparable to the Purbeck bishop in the Lady Chapel at Worcester cathedral, of c.1240,[33] but perhaps the closest stylistic references are to be made with some of the figures on the west front of Wells cathedral, executed from the 1220s to c.1240. Particular similarities with the treatment of 'Dyfrig's' head, beard and vestments can be seen in the figures of a noble, two bishops and a king on the buttresses and centre panel.[34] In other respects, however, 'Dyfrig's' monument compares well with both later and earlier monuments. The detached (*i.e.* not springing from side-shafts) arch above his head echoes that of one of the Saxon bishops at Wells

---

[32] The shield-bearing angels, Instruments of the Passion, Image of Pity and tomb-chest arcade are of a much later date and cannot be part of the original tomb of 'Dyfrig'. While the ogee arch is seen from the beginning of the fourteenth century, shield-bearing angels are more normally associated with fifteenth-century and later tomb chests. The Instruments of the Passion and Image of Pity carvings also fit in with a later-medieval provenance, as a strong Christocentric strand appeared in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century piety, elements of which encouraged the contemplation of Christ's body and wounds. It may also be significant that all these pieces are carved from Painswick stone, which may indicate that they were originally part of the same monument.

[33] Illustrated in Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture*, fig. 215.

[34] See figs. 168, 174, 175 and 192 in Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture*.

of c.1200, but these are also to be seen on the monuments of a Purbeck abbot at Sherborne and Bishop de la Wyle at Salisbury, dated to c.1245 and c.1270 respectively.[35] The censing angels, which are such a prominent feature of 'Dyfrig's' monument, are also seen on that of Bishop de la Wyle. Overall, however, it is probably best to assign an earlier, rather than a later, date to this monument. The vestments of de la Wyle's effigy are of the thinner and flatter form appearing towards the end of the century, which took surface decoration and polychromy more readily than the ridged style exhibited by 'Dyfrig',[36] and the similarity to the Wells sculptures is too close to be ignored. A date in the first half of the thirteenth century may therefore be suggested for 'St Dyfrig'.

The small sculpture of Christ in Majesty, also in Dundry stone, and now fixed to the front of the base of 'Dyfrig's' effigy [24e], has been identified as the work of the same masons responsible for Wells cathedral's west front and Glastonbury abbey Great Church and Lady Chapel (c.1220). These masons have also been linked to the Dundry stone west front of Llandaff cathedral itself, which has been seen as an unfigured precursor to that at Wells.[37] The pose of the figure and fall of the draperies of the Christ in Majesty are certainly easily compared to those of the seated images of the Virgin and Child in the tympanum and the Coronation of the Virgin above the west door of Wells, dated to c.1220 and c.1240 respectively.[38] Significantly, it can also be compared with the small figures flanking 'Teilo's' gabled canopy [23a.i and ii]. It is therefore distinctly possible that the Llandaff Christ in Majesty and the effigy of 'Dyfrig' belong together and were

---

[35] See figs. 215, 189, 218 and 220 in Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture.* In a later edition of Gardner, published in 1973, the Sherborne abbot is also dated to c.1270: Arthur Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (New York, 1973), p. 156, fig. 295.

[36] Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture,* pp. 182-5; Sillence, 'The Two Effigies of Archbishop Walter de Gray', p. 13.

[37] Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven, 1995), p. 107; Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric', pp. 74-80. The greatest sculptural similarities between Wells and Llandaff are probably to be seen inside, however, in the stiff-leaf capitals of the nave arcades.

[38] Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture,* p. 145; figs. 166 and 167. The Coronation of the Virgin is also illustrated in Andrew Martindale, *Gothic Art* (London, 1967), p. 57, ill. 37, where it is dated to c.1230.

143

executed by the same West-Country masons at some time between the 1220s and the 1240s. The early Gothic rebuilding of Llandaff is thought to have been completed by the end of the 1220s,[39] which may give us a cut-off point for the production of the effigy and associated carving, but it is also possible that they were made after the completion of the Wells façade in c.1240 when the workshop dispersed.[40]

Unidentified Dundry Bishop

This effigy [25], which lies under a recess of thirteenth-century character in the north aisle of the nave, is very similar to that of 'Dyfrig'. The figure lies with its head under plain, arched canopy, attended by angels. His hands lie on his stomach, the right resting on a staff, the left lying on a scroll which descends down over the staff to the feet, which rest on a flat, broken-off slab. The head, like that of 'Dyfrig', wears a tall mitre and has the same heart-shaped, flat object against the right-hand side of the mouth, and somewhat larger in size. There is no beard however, and the ears protrude, unlike those of 'Dyfrig'. The treatment of the drapery on both monuments is very similar, having the same narrow, rippling folds, although the vestments seem less voluminous and the depth of the folds less marked. The flanking angels, when seen in isolation from 'Dyfrig', are very worn and difficult to interpret, but are likely to follow the same principles: the left-hand angel, for example, appears to be swinging a censer. J.H. James, who identified this effigy as that of 'Dyfrig' in 1929, gave it a date of c.1220 and, given the similarities between it and the effigy discussed above, there is no reason to question this date.[41] The unidentified bishop and 'Dyfrig' may have been intended as a pair, or one may have been commissioned specifically in imitation of the other, perhaps in emulation of an illustrious predecessor.

---

[39] Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric', p. 62.

[40] Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 111, p. 210. Thurlby sees the Llandaff west front as completed before the Wells west front, but after Glastonbury: Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric', pp. 78-81.

[41] James, *History and Survey*, p. x.

b. The Dundry monuments – whose effigies?

It will become apparent that the identity of these bishops is a vexed question, but it is one worth trying to resolve if the motivations behind the commissioning of the monuments are to become clearer. The earliest commentator on Llandaff cathedral to identify individual episcopal monuments was Browne Willis, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Willis's information was based on tradition rather than epitaphs, however, and so the best that can be said for his identifications is that they may represent a folk-memory of the medieval past. His first identification is of the bishop now on the south side of the presbytery [23], which he names St Teilo,[42] and most other commentators have since echoed this attribution.[43]

The identity of the two bishops in the north aisle [24, 25], however, is less straightforward. In Willis' time the name 'St Dyfrig'[44] appears to have been attached not to the bishop in the north choir aisle as in current usage [24], but to an effigy [25] which then lay alongside Bishop Marshall [30].[45] This has been followed by some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commentators.[46] It is not clear when St Dyfrig came to be associated with the other bishop in the more elaborate tomb recess in the north choir aisle (the practice now followed by Madeleine Gray and the Llandaff cathedral guidebook), but it was certainly done by the beginning of the twentieth century by Compton-Davies.[47]

---

[42] Willis, *Survey of Llandaff*, p. 17. In Willis' time this effigy was described as being in a niche behind two seats beyond the door that goes into the chapter house.

[43] M.H. Bloxham in 'On the Sepulchral Effigies', p. 37, calls it Bishop Staunton (d. c.1294), but the following have all settled on Teilo: Ollivant, *Some Account*, p. 25; Griffith, 'The Episcopal Effigies', p. 203; James, *History and Survey*, p. x; Gray, 'The Medieval Bishops' Effigies', p. 43. Unfortunately two of the key sources of c.1800, Hoare and Carter, failed to see this effigy as it was obscured behind the plasterwork of Wood's 'temple'.

[44] Or more usually in this period, the Latinised form 'Dubritius' or 'Dubricius'.

[45] Corrected proofs of the survey of Llandaff cathedral: NLW, MS. 19046B. The effigy next to Bishop Marshall is likely to be the one now in the plain recess further to the west in the north aisle (see discussion, below).

[46] Griffith, 'The Episcopal Effigies', pp. 198-200; p. 202; James, *History and Survey*, p. x; p. 31.

[47] Compton-Davies, *Historical and Pictorial Glimpses*, p. 57.

This confusion has undoubtedly been partly fostered by the close similarities between the two monuments concerned, their removal to different locations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the failure of key early antiquarian sources to assign them an identity.[48] Neither Carter nor Hoare at the beginning of the nineteenth century identifies either of these bishops by name. At this time they seem to have been in more or less the same positions observed by Willis nearly a century earlier: one in the north choir aisle accompanied by the Image of Pity and the Instruments of the Passion and the other close by on a chest alongside Bishop Marshall.[49] It is not possible from either Hoare's written description or Carter's drawing to decide which effigy is which, although it would make sense to assume that the effigy currently in the recess with the additional iconography (and currently known as 'Dyfrig') is the one seen in the same location by Hoare and Carter, and the effigy they saw alongside Bishop Marshall is the one now in the more westerly recess. This recess was empty in the time of Willis and probably blocked up by the façade of the 'Italianate temple' at the time of Hoare's and Carter's visits.[50] Gray, incidentally, recently referred to this effigy as 'St Euddogwy',[51] the third founding saint of the diocese, but I have been unable to find any precedent for this attribution.[52]

The arrangement outlined above was certainly that understood by Bishop Ollivant in 1860. Ollivant, however, followed Willis in identifying the effigy in the north choir aisle (currently 'Dyfrig') as Bishop Bromfield (d.1393).[53] On stylistic terms it is highly improbable that this monument originally commemorated Bromfield as it is quite clearly the work of the first half of

---

[48] It is notable that F.J. North states that the effigies of Dyfrig, Teilo and Bishop Marshall (d.1496) are of Dundry, but does not mention the third thirteenth-century Dundry bishop. Which effigy he meant by 'Dyfrig' is not clear, but he seems to have overlooked the other one, a confusion perhaps due to its great similarity to its companion.

[49] BL, Add. MS. 29, 940, fols. 17 and 34; CCL, MS. 3.127, fols. 62 r and 63 r.

[50] BL, Add. MS. 29, 940, f. 11.

[51] Often Latinised as Oudoceus.

[52] Gray, 'The Medieval Bishops' Effigies', *passim*. Curiously, this monument is not mentioned at all in the cathedral guidebook.

[53] Ollivant, *Some Account*, p. 25-7; Willis, *A Survey*, pp. 18-19; Corrected proofs of Willis' Survey: NLW, MS. 19046B.

the thirteenth century and bears little resemblance to the episcopal effigies of the end of the fourteenth century.[54] Even so, R.W. Griffith, J.H. James and, as recently as 2003 Peter Lord, have each accepted Bromfield as the bishop commemorated by this effigy.[55]

Three main observations can be drawn from this confusion. Firstly, two of the three founding saints of the diocese, Teilo and Dyfrig, have been associated with the Dundry effigies fairly consistently since at least the beginning of the eighteenth century, and this must represent an earlier oral tradition. The confusion over which bishop is thought to represent St Dyfrig has come about more recently, however, as a result of the movement of one of the effigies in the mid-nineteenth century and their close physical similarities. Secondly, there has been a persistent association of Bishop Bromfield (d.1393) with the effigy in the north choir aisle, which can also be traced back to the early eighteenth century. Although, as has been demonstrated, this effigy cannot have been originally commissioned for Bromfield, we may have the echoes here of the previous existence of another monument to him which had disappeared by Willis' time.

The third and most puzzling observation is that no actual thirteenth-century bishop of Llandaff is known to have been associated with any of the Dundry effigies.[56] There are a small number of candidates, however: William Goldcliffe (d.1229); Elias de Radnor (d.1240); William de Burgh (d.1253); John de la Ware (d.1256) and William of Radnor (d.1265).[57] Either of the first three in particular may conceivably have been commemorated by one of the three Dundry effigies.

---

[54] See, for example, the effigies of Archbishop Courtenay (c.1395) at Canterbury and Bishop William of Wykeham (d.1404) at Winchester: Gardner, *A Handbook*, fig. 456, p. 359; fig. 457, p. 360. Episcopal effigies of this period invariably hold their hands in prayer and rest their heads on double cushions.

[55] Griffith, 'The Episcopal Effigies', pp. 202-3; James, *History and Survey*, p. x; Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 188 and ill. 294, p. 189. M.H. Bloxham, writing in 1879, suggested Bishop Barret (d.1396) as the person commemorated by this effigy, but his account has several idiosyncratic conclusions regarding identities and should be treated with caution: Bloxham, 'On the Sepulchral Effigies', pp. 34-5. Barret is as equally unlikely as Bromfield in stylistic terms, of course.

[56] Bloxham's identification of 'Teilo' with Bishop Staunton would seem to be too late for the style of the effigy.

[57] Willis assumed a monument lying on the choir steps in 1722, but moved to the south aisle the following year, was that of William of Radnor: Bodleian Library, MS Willis 104, fols 7-8. See Chapter 1 for further discussion of Willis.

147

Alternatively, an association of the builder-bishop Henry of Abergavenny (d.1218), responsible for the early Gothic Dundry work at the cathedral, with one of the effigies may be feasible. He has always been thought to have been commemorated by the Blue Lias effigy in the south aisle [21] (see above), but the similarity of this monument to a twelfth-century example has already been pointed out, and perhaps this effigy may have originally been that of an earlier bishop. Nor is Bishop Abergavenny's date of death out of keeping with the style of the Dundry effigies, particularly the two in the north aisle, which have so much in common with the Wells west front statuary.[58]

Another possibility which should be considered is that two of the Dundry effigies were indeed intended as retrospective memorials to the founding saints Teilo and Dyfrig, with whom they have long been associated.[59] The episcopacy was the first social group to embrace the memorial effigy and by the thirteenth century the episcopal monument was functioning as more than a mere aid to the remembrance of an individual and was firmly established as a symbol of episcopal continuity.[60] This made the episcopal effigy a valuable political as well as a spiritual tool, a propensity recognised in the commissioning of the retrospective effigies of seven Saxon bishops at Wells cathedral. The effigies were carved in two campaigns from the first to the third decades of the thirteenth century. All are stock episcopal types and were intended not so much to commemorate the individual bishops, as to emphasise the antiquity and continuity of the see, since Wells had by this time lost its cathedral status to Bath. The seven bishops formed part of a campaign - which included the magnificent rebuilding and the forest of statuary on the west front - designed to win back cathedral status for the church.[61]

---

[58] See below for further discussion of Henry of Abergavenny's monument.

[59] The third founding saint was St Euddogwy, with whom Madeleine Gray connected the effigy in the north nave aisle. Historically, he is not associated with any of the effigies, however.

[60] Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven, 1991), p. 138.

[61] Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 105.

Since the episcopacy of Urban (1107-34) there had been a history of rivalry between Llandaff and the adjoining dioceses of St David's and Hereford. Urban complained to the pope of encroachments upon the territory of Llandaff, which he claimed was an ancient diocese, by the neighbouring sees. A concerted effort was being made at that time to make Llandaff a fitting seat for a bishop: St Dyfrig's relics were brought from Bardsey to join Teilo's in 1120 and in the same year Urban began a total rebuilding of his church in grand Romanesque style. In support of Urban's territorial claims he presented documents which purported to record grants of land made in the time of the bishopric's founding saints in the sixth century, which were later put together to form the *Liber Landavensis*.[62] In this document Herefordshire-born Dyfrig, the first bishop of Llandaff, is not only referred to as archbishop of the whole of southern Britain, but he is also seen as an influence on St David, who he persuaded to attend the Synod of Brefi, thus proving the "antiquity and grandeur" of Llandaff.[63] According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Dyfrig was crowned archbishop of Caerleon by King Arthur himself.[64] Geoffrey regarded Dyfrig's disciple and successor as archbishop, Teilo, as no less important. On pilgrimage to Jerusalem with Sts David and Padarn, Teilo was shown by his actions to be the holiest of the three.[65] Less fantastic claims are made for Euddogwy, but as Teilo's successor he is also seen as a worthy founder.[66] Llandaff's founders were thus established as leading figures in the early Christian history of Wales, and their association with the diocese was undoubtedly intended by later medieval propagandists to contribute to its political and spiritual importance. Urban's tireless campaigning was ultimately fruitless, however, and his death "effectively ended the dispute over diocesan boundaries".[67]

---

[62] Cowley, 'The Church in Medieval Glamorgan', pp. 87-93.

[63] Doble, *St Dubricius*, pp. 6-7, 14, 29-31.

[64] Doble, *St Dubricius*, p. 30.

[65] Doble, *St Teilo*, p. 8, p. 17.

[66] G.H. Doble, 'St Oudoceus', *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 43 (1942), pp. 204-216, at p. 205, p. 209.

[67] Cowley, 'The Church in Medieval Glamorgan', p. 93.

Even so, Urban's claims, and those of the *Liber Landavensis,* were not entirely forgotten, and were resurrected under bishops Nicholas (1148-83) and Elias de Radnor (1230-40).[68] They were claims surely worthy of emphasis through the erection of the founding saints' effigies in their newly reconstructed cathedral, especially at a time when St David's had itself been undergoing an extensive rebuilding and was putting forward claims to primacy in Wales. The Romanesque reconstruction of St David's commenced in 1182 and has been seen as the catalyst for Llandaff's own rebuilding in the new Gothic architectural idiom.[69] Given this historical context, coupled with the fact that there has been a long tradition of associating St Dyfrig and St Teilo with the thirteenth-century Dundry effigies, it must be considered that these effigies were conceived as retrospective memorials, commissioned to draw attention to Llandaff's ancient and distinguished Christian roots. This practice would certainly have been a familiar concept to both the clergy and craftsmen working at Llandaff at the time due to the precedent set at Wells.

However, there are problems with this theory. Firstly, the effigies display no saintly attributes such as nimbuses, nor any other iconography that might mark out holiness. Secondly, and more importantly, there are no surviving indications on the effigies of the supposedly archiepiscopal status claimed for the saints in the *Liber Landavensis,* such as the cross-staff and pallium. Admittedly, the heads of all three staffs are broken off so it is impossible to tell what form they took, but the pallium is nowhere in evidence, unless it was painted.[70] If the effigies were intended to commemorate the founding saints in order to enhance Llandaff's prestige, surely more effort would have been made to emphasise the primacy of their status as archbishops. Unfortunately there are few surviving pictorial depictions of Dyfrig, Teilo and Euddogwy with which to compare the effigies. An illumination depicting St. Dyfrig in the late fifteenth-century Warwick Roll does not suggest that the craftsmen responsible for the 'Dyfrig' effigy were

---

[68] Cowley, 'The Church in Medieval Glamorgan', p. 93.

[69] Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric', p. 62, p. 82.

[70] See Sillence, 'The Two Effigies', for the significance of the cross-staff and pallium and their appearance on images of archbishops. Both are seen on the effigies of Archbishops Stratford (d.1348), Courtenay (d.1396) and Chichele (d.1434) at Canterbury.

150

making an effort to identify him. In the Warwick Roll he has a nimbus and bears the three staffs of the arms of Llandaff, one of which is the archiepiscopal cross-staff and, as has already been pointed out, neither of these features is found on either of the two effigies historically associated with Dyfrig.[71] Pictorial representations of Dyfrig are so few, however, that it is difficult to assess whether these attributes were a later innovation or would have been associated with him in the thirteenth century.

This lack of clear personal identification with Dyfrig (or Teilo and Euddogwy) in the Llandaff effigies can be contrasted with two late fourteenth-century monuments to early Welsh saints in Anglesey. The 'effigies' of St Pabo, at Llanbabo, and St Iestyn at Llaniestyn, were probably set over their relics at their respective churches, and in both cases an attempt has been made to evoke the personal attributes of these early saints. Iestyn is unconventionally represented as hooded and bears a brooch and staff of archaic form, while the royal status of Pabo is indicated by his crown and sceptre.[72]

The issue of identification has been further complicated by a recent claim that the Dundry figures may not be effigies at all and are better seen as statues – of the three founding saints – from the west front in a pre-figuration of the scheme at Wells. This is an interesting suggestion, and is worth consideration. An iconographic scheme which included statues of the cathedral's prestigious founders in prominent positions in niches on the west front would indeed have added to the splendour of the new building and emphasised the antiquity of the diocese. According to Steve and Madeleine Gray of the Welsh Stone Forum, reading the figures as vertical statues rather than horizontal effigies would be consistent with several features. 'Dyfrig', and the companion effigy further to the west, termed by them 'Euddogwy', both lack footrests, their feet

---

[71] Peter Lord was unsure whether the decoration around the shoulders and down the front of the chasuble in the Warwick Roll illumination was an archiepiscopal pallium or orphreys, but judging by the way in which this feature follows the folds of the chasuble it is more likely to be the latter, which would be embroidered, rather than the former, which was a separate strip of material: Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 110 and ill. 164. The pallium was pinned to the chasuble and both pallium and pins are prominent on the effigy of Archbishop Stratford at Canterbury.

[72] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, pp. 216-7, ills. 340, 341.

resting on a plain ledge. This, and the positioning of 'Euddogwy's' censing angel, is considered to indicate a lack of recumbency, and patterns of wear on the effigies are seen as evidence of weather erosion from above consistent with being in a vertical position out-of-doors.[73] However, other than the weathering and perceived lack of recumbency, there is no evidence that the effigies were ever on the west front. The patterns of erosion could easily have occurred when the nave lost its roof and was in ruins, or when effigies were removed during the eighteenth-century 'restoration'.[74]

Despite this intriguing suggestion, the monuments are undoubtedly best read as recumbent effigies as their designs are entirely consistent with contemporary episcopal memorials. Achieving a convincing sense of recumbency was an issue early thirteenth-century sculptors wrestled with and the monuments' canopies and 'Teilo's' side-shafts are standard features of contemporary sepulchral sculpture. 'Teilo', moreover, does have a footrest, while the lack of the same on 'Dyfrig' and 'Euddogwy' is mirrored on the Saxon bishops at Wells, as well as on the Lias effigy of Henry of Abergavenny.[75] There is a lack of any convincing evidence - other than tradition and a conducive contemporary situation - that the Dundry bishops represent the founding saints, and the alternative possibility that they commemorate unknown thirteenth-century bishops is ultimately a more logical one.

---

[73] Gray, 'Medieval Bishops' Effigies', pp. 40, 43, 48, 49.

[74] An early nineteenth-century observer remarked how she saw 'many figures and whole effigies which had been removed out of the ruins.': Diary of Judith Beecroft's excursion to Wales, 1827, CCL, MS. 2.325, fos. 41-42.

[75] Some bishops are represented with their feet resting on a corbel, rather than an animal, which can give the impression of a standing statue, especially when combined with architectural surrounds such as side-shafts: N.J. Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments, 1270-1350, II. The Episcopal Monument', in John Coales, ed., *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350* (London, 1987), pp. 15-37, at p. 19.

c. The Blue Lias monuments: identity, stone use and motivation.

The Blue Lias effigy of Bishop William de Braose[76] (d.1287) [22] is by far the most straightforward of all the thirteenth-century episcopal monuments at Llandaff as it has an identifying inscription and can be linked to a specific period in the cathedral's development. Bishop de Braose was responsible for the erection of the Lady Chapel, in which he made extensive use of Lias and ultimately chose to be buried, and so the use of Lias for his memorial – no doubt as a substitute for Purbeck marble - is readily understandable.[77] The patron of de Braose's monument clearly took advantage of the presence on site of the stone, and the craftsmen accustomed to working it, in order to obtain a memorial marking his burial in a spiritually powerful area of the church. This monument, moreover, is one of the very few in Llandaff which does not seem to have been moved.[78]

Bishop Henry of Abergavenny's memorial [21] is not such an open and shut case, however. Bishop Henry, consecrated in 1193, was eminently qualified for the honour of effigial commemoration, having contributed significantly to the honour and dignity of his see by instituting fourteen prebends and beginning the Gothic rebuilding of Bishop Urban's early twelfth-century Norman structure.[79] The use of Lias for Bishop Henry's memorial is more difficult to understand than in the case of William de Braose as a far superior stone for figure work, in the form of Dundry, was available at the time owing to the building work at the cathedral. As with Bishop de Braose, however, Lias is likely to have been used as a substitute for Purbeck marble. Purbeck was seen as the most desirable material from which to fashion an effigy in the early thirteenth century, and Dundry (and the local freestones) might have been regarded

---

[76] De Braose was a canon of the cathedral and was consecrated in 1266: Newell, *Llandaff*, p. 95.

[77] North, *Stones*, p. 80, p. 86.

[78] The Lady Chapel remained intact and functional when the rest of the building fell into ruin and so there appears to have been no need to remove this effigy.

[79] Newell, *Llandaff*, p. 90.

153

as insufficiently prestigious for a bishop who had achieved so much for his cathedral.[80] Purbeck was employed only sparingly at Llandaff – at a much later date in de Broase's Lady Chapel – nor was Lias used as a building stone in the cathedral until this phase of construction in the second half of the thirteenth century.[81] The use of Lias for Bishop Henry's monument, therefore, must have been an active decision on the part of the patron. It was, of course, much more readily available than Purbeck, with outcrops in the sea-cliffs, and inland, in several locations conveniently close to Llandaff,[82] and therefore provided the opportunity to acquire a fashionable and prestigious-looking memorial in a convenient and economical manner.[83]

Bishop Henry of Abergavenny's effigy is now located in the south nave aisle, but this is not original. In 1645 Richard Symonds saw the monument of a bishop "cut into a stone in blew marble lying on the ground; upon the steps of the altar",[84] and Willis confirmed this as Bishop Henry's effigy in 1722, shortly before it was moved to the south aisle.[85] Bishop Henry's episcopate was one of great importance in the history of the cathedral, not just because of his building works, but also because he instituted the cathedral chapter and organised its funding.[86]

---

[80] Other substitutes for Purbeck were Egglestone marble and Frosterley marble, quarried in north-eastern England. Both are geologically far more similar to Purbeck than is Blue Lias as they are polishable limestones. Purbeck and Frosterley ceased to be used for effigies in the early fourteenth century, when the rising popularity of surface finishing made the appearance and quality of the underlying stone less important: Badham and Blacker, *Northern Rock*, pp. 9-14.

[81] North, *Stones*, p. 80, p. 86.

[82] North, *Stones*, p. 84, p. 102. In several locations along the coastline between Penarth and Southerndown there are flat 'pavements' of Lias below the cliffs, seen particularly well at low tide at Llantwit Major. These may not be a natural feature, but the result of the removal of slabs of rock for building purposes over centuries. I am grateful to Tim Palmer for this observation.

[83] See Chapter 3 for further discussion of Lias.

[84] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, ed. Long, p. 214.

[85] Bodleian Library, MS Willis 104, fols. 7-8.

[86] Cowley, 'The Church in Medieval Glamorgan', p. 106.

Such a contribution would undoubtedly merit burial and commemoration in a spiritually potent location, the best of which being near the high altar.[87]

Although it must be admitted that the only name that has ever been attached to this effigy is that of Henry of Abergavenny, there are grounds for questioning this tradition. Firstly, there is no surviving inscription, and the identification with Bishop Henry can only be traced back as far as Willis in the early eighteenth century: Symonds did not assign it an identity. Secondly, it has already been observed that the monument's closest parallels are with twelfth-, rather than thirteenth-, century monuments, in particular that of Bishop Jocelin de Bohun at Salisbury cathedral. A third issue arises from recent research into the parallels between episcopal tomb design and that of seals. Although the study is still in its infancy, several examples of seals apparently used as templates for their owners' memorials have been recently highlighted by Elizabeth New.[88] A seal of Henry of Abergavenny survives, showing him standing erect and holding his arms to the sides of his body, one holding his staff and the other giving a benediction. Peter Lord has noted the similarity of this seal to an early thirteenth-century figure of a bishop above the west doorway of Llandaff cathedral, suggesting that the carved figure may be intended to represent Bishop Henry, under whom the building work was undertaken.[89] This is a plausible suggestion: not only is the stance exactly the same as on the seal, but the doorway figure is even enclosed in a vesica-shaped opening strongly reminiscent of the seal.[90] However, if the doorway figure does represent Bishop Henry, it is strange that his effigy bears little resemblance to either it or his seal, the pose being quite different. New points out that both seal and effigy performed a similar function, namely the embodiment or personification of its owner/the deceased. It might therefore be expected that a bishop concerned with the imaging of his episcopate and the

---

[87] See Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 86-102, for issues surrounding burial location.

[88] Paper, 'Episcopal Seals and Bishops' Tombs: Some Comparative Thoughts', given at the Monumental Brass Society conference, 'Canons, Clergy and Churchmen', at Salisbury, 4th-6th September 2009.

[89] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 108, ill. p. 109.

[90] Significantly, Lord rejects the idea that the doorway figure may represent St Teilo as it does not have a nimbus: Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 108.

155

perpetuation of his memory as a moderniser of the cathedral fabric, would have been commemorated with an effigy that made reference to already-existing depictions of him.[91]

Conclusion

The thirteenth-century bishops' effigies at Llandaff stand out as a group for a number of reasons. Firstly there is their number. At five they make up a large proportion of the cathedral's collection of twelve medieval monuments and form a noticeable cluster of type and age. From this observation arises a second: Llandaff's thirteenth-century bishops exhibited a consistent interest in effigial commemoration, and this seems to have continued into the fourteenth century. Other than the five surviving effigies already discussed a further three thirteenth and fourteenth-century bishops, William de Radnor (1257-65), John of Monmouth (1296-1323) and John Pascal (1347-1361) are known to have had monuments, now gone.[92] Llandaff's bishops were not unusual in this. Between 1271 and 1350, 108 English and Welsh bishops died, and only fifteen years passed in this period when an episcopal monument was not commissioned.[93] Ultimately, however, this momentum could not be sustained. A sizeable proportion of Llandaff's later bishops was buried elsewhere or was promoted, for example John de Eglesclif (d.1347), a Dominican, who was buried with his order in Cardiff and Miles Salley (d.1516) who sought burial in Bristol. The late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries suffered what has been called a "plague of translation", coupled with short incumbencies. Five bishops out of seven were promoted between 1383 and 1407.[94] It should also be remembered, of course, that after the mid-fourteenth century only a small number of patrons of all types in the diocese of Llandaff opted for effigial commemoration, the result of pressures to which the bishops must also have been exposed.

---

[91] In contrast, the probable seal of Adam, abbot of Neath, from 1266, has clear parallels with the abbot's effigy [48]. Both figures strike a similar pose and hold an object, possibly a church or book, in their left hands. The seal is illustrated in Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 102.

[92] Bodleian Library, MS Willis 104, f.3, fols 7-8.

[93] Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', p. 16, fig. 5.

[94] Newell, *Llandaff*, pp. 101-4.

The thirteenth century was clearly a dynamic time in the history of Llandaff cathedral. It witnessed extensive rebuilding and re-organisation at the hands of active and ambitious clerics keen to enhance the prestige of the diocese, and who took advantage of the flourishing cultural links within Severnside in order to do so. The evidence of the bishops' effigies suggests that the diocese of Llandaff was thoroughly integrated into mainstream fashions in contemporary commemorative culture. The superb quality of the Dundry monuments, although difficult to appreciate in their current state, cannot be doubted, and indicates the presence of the best craftsmen the region had to offer. There is ample scope for more research into the relationship between Wells and Llandaff and what influence the masons of the former had on the funerary sculpture of the latter. The Lias effigies, also now somewhat underwhelming in appearance, suggest that although Purbeck marble may have been a virtually unobtainable material, there was a clear awareness of the quality and desirability of the product which made it worth seeking out a locally-sourced substitute. Here again, we gain an impression of cultural literacy, the expression of which was curtailed by lack of finances. Ultimately, however, the fashionable and cosmopolitan tastes that these monuments evince were not those of the secular elites, but of the episcopacy, a class of men whose contacts and activities inevitably inhabited a world beyond the confines of the diocese.[95]

---

[95] Rogers has noted the importance of the episcopacy in the patronage of the arts as innovators and disseminators of new trends: Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', p. 15.

Case Study Two: the monuments of the de Berkerolles family at St Athan.

<u>a. The Berkerolles family of East Orchard.</u>[96]

The Berkerolles family were one of the foremost dynasties of fourteenth-century Glamorgan and were intimately involved in the local politics and military events of the period. At his death in 1411 Sir Laurence de Berkerolles was seised of the manors of East Orchard, Merthyr Mawr and Lanfey, the lordship and castle of Coity, as well as Newcastle, Newland and Llanharry.[97] Few, if any, resident families could have matched such an extensive powerbase in the lordship at this date, and the opportunities provided by the liquid land market of the fifteenth century would no doubt have propelled them further above their peers in the century to come. Sir Laurence however died childless, and other families – most notably the Stradlings and Gamages – were to benefit from this bounty as the estates were split between his nephews and more distant relatives (see Fig. 12).

The Berkerolles family were in many ways typical of the diocese's contemporary elite, being descended from Anglo-Norman stock and holding estates straddling the Severnside region. Like many of the larger landowners the precise timing and circumstances of their arrival at East Orchard is obscured by myth,[98] but some bald facts are known. A Roger de Berkerolles was connected with the bishopric of Llandaff as early as 1119 and by the middle of the twelfth century William de Berkerolles was holding land in Bassaleg in Monmouthshire – a manor with which the family continued to be associated after moving their *caput* to Glamorgan. The Berkerolles family can be closely compared with other prominent Glamorgan *advenae* clans, such as the Turbevilles, Stradlings, Flemings, Butlers, St Johns and Norrises, to name only a few

---

[96] See Clark, 'East Orchard Manor House', for the most in-depth account. A few documents connected with the family survive in the George Grant Francis collection at West Glamorgan Archives and are transcribed in Clark, *Cartae,* passim. There are no surviving wills.

[97] *CIPM,* vol. 19, 7-14 Henry IV (London, 1992), pp. 354-5.

[98] See R.A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), chapter 2, for the construction of the legend of the Twelve Knights of Glamorgan.

158

of those who dominated local society. All were settled on lowland estates and, by 1300, several had been so for nearly two centuries. They were a close-knit group, united by ties of status, race and language, living in sometimes uneasy proximity to their Welsh neighbours, and, when these relations broke down, they could be relied upon by the marcher lord to bolster his regime.[99]

Service in peace and war seems to have played a crucial role in the early advancement of the family, and was a tradition carried on sporadically until the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the later twelfth century a Roger de Berkerolles was in the service of the earl of Gloucester and held estates in Somerset. In 1213 a William is found as a witness to a charter of Isabel, countess of Gloucester.[100] Continuing connections with the earls of Gloucester, here as lords of Glamorgan, are reflected in the presence of William de Berkerolles (probably d.1327 and commemorated at St Athan with his wife, Phelice de Vere) [54] as a juror at the Glamorgan County Court in August 1299. Already by this time the family had come into the orbit of the powerful Turbevilles with whom they were later to intermarry, Roger de Berkerolles was a witness to a grant of land by Gilbert de Turbeville to Ewenny Priory sometime after 1281.[101] Thereafter members of the family appear frequently as witnesses to the charters of their peers, and of the lords of Glamorgan, indicating that they had become quickly established in Glamorgan society and managed to weather the traumatic transition between de Clare and Despenser that took place in the aftermath of Bannockburn.[102]

The death of Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn in 1314 threw Sir William de Berkerolles (d.1327) into the thick of the crises it prompted in the lordship of Glamorgan. The heavy-handedness of the crown-appointed custodian of the lordship, Payn de Turbeville of Coity, forced the Welsh lord of Senghennydd, Llewelyn Bren, into rebellion in January 1316. Bren's first target was the

---

[99] Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 337-50.

[100] Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, p. 25; G.T. Clark, 'East Orchard Manor House', p. 67.

[101] Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 3, pp. 853-5; pp. 911-12.

[102] See, for example, Clark, *Cartae*, vols. 3 and 4, *passim*.

de Clare castle at Caerphilly, where William de Berkerolles, as sheriff of Glamorgan, happened to be holding court. De Berkerolles and others were captured although the castle was not taken. Bren went on to target other symbols of English domination such as the towns of Llantrisant and Kenfig, but surrendered at Ystradfellte in the lordship of Brecon two months later.[103] The circumstances of William's release are not known, but he was later compensated with a grant of ten marks by Edward II for his expenditure in helping to crush the revolt.[104] The Bren rebellion clearly brought Sir William and his family to the greater notice of the king; in September 1316 he was appointed to hold the county court of Wentloog at Newport in the absence of the sheriff, Robert de Grendon.[105] He seems to have risked losing the favour of the crown by his initial opposition to the Despensers - he was included in a general pardon issued to all those who had acted against them in 1321[106] - but thereafter relations with the crown were untroubled.

Crown and Despenser patronage continued under Sir William's son, Sir Roger de Berkerolles (d.1351) [55]. He appears as a witness to Despenser charters in 1338 and 1340,[107] and in 1340 was appointed to a commission to arrest felons in Newport and Chepstow. 1349 saw Sir Roger used on several occasions on crown business in south-east Wales: he was appointed to commissions to hear pleas in Glamorgan after the death of Hugh Despenser, and together with Simon Basset (the escheator for Gloucestershire) was appointed custodian of the lordship during the heir's minority.[108] Roger's son, Sir Laurence (d.1411), followed in the footsteps of his forebears, serving the lords of Glamorgan in peace and war. In 1372 he accompanied Edward,

---

[103] For the rebellion of Llewelyn Bren see: Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered,* pp. 84-91; J.B. Smith, *Glamorgan County History,* vol. 3, pp. 72-86; Craig Owen Jones, 'A Localised Irritation?: The Revolt of Llewelyn Bren outside Glamorgan', *Morgannwg,* vol. 52 (2008), pp. 51-9.

[104] TNA: SC8/331.

[105] *CPR, Edward II, 1313-17,* (London, 1898), p. 540.

[106] *CPR, Edward II, 1321-24,* (London, 1904), p. 18.

[107] Clark, *Cartae,* vol. 4, pp. 1,213-18; 1,240-4.

[108] *CPR, Edward III, 1340-3,* (London, 1900), p. 93; *CPR, Edward III, 1348-50* (London, 1905), pp. 384, 419, 455; *CCR, Edward III, 1349-54,* (London, 1906), pp. 31, 125.

lord Despenser, to France,[109] and he appears as a witness to a Despenser charter of 1397 - his status manifested in the listing of his name second only to the sheriff[110] - but otherwise his interests seem to have been centred in Glamorgan and on his estates. In 1404, however, he found himself – as his grandfather had been before him – embroiled in a Welsh revolt when he was besieged in Coity castle by Owain Glyn Dŵr, and had to await rescue by a relieving force from the midlands.[111]

The fourteenth century was also a time of active estate-building for the Berkerolles family – a successful enterprise aided by a prudent marriage and a fortunate series of deaths.[112] As already mentioned, the precise time when they first acquired a landed interest in Glamorgan is unclear. An extent of Glamorgan taken in 1262 does not include them in the list of holders of knights' fees[113] (when those at St Athan later held by the family were held by Philip de Nerber), but they must have acquired lands in the lordship by the end of the thirteenth century because they start to appear in the witness lists from this period. In 1320 the so-called 'Spenser's Survey' lists Sir William de Berkerolles in possession of a share of St Athan, along with the Norris, Walsche, Fleming, Juel and Nerber families,[114] and by 1349 Sir Roger had gained sole possession of three-and-a-half knights' fees at St Athan (which included the manor of East Orchard) and a further

---

[109] Adam John Chapman, 'The Welsh Soldier: 1283-1422', Unpublished University of Southampton PhD thesis, 2009, p. 88.

[110] Clark, *Cartae,* vol. 4, pp. 1322-3.

[111] Clark, *Cartae,* vol. 4, pp. 1455-6.

[112] See, among others, Carpenter, *Locality and Polity,* p. 97, and Payling, *Political Society,* pp. 64-5, for the importance of marriage in the acquisition of estates.

[113] Corbett, *Glamorgan: Papers and Notes,* p. 34.

[114] *Morganiae Archaiographia,* pp. 72-3.

one at Merthyr Mawr.[115] The latter manor had come into Sir Roger's possession by 1335, when it was granted in tail to him and his wife by its clerical trustees for 100 marks.[116]

A crucial marriage in building up the family's landed interests was that of Sir Roger de Berkerolles to Katherine de Turbeville, daughter of the Payn de Turbeville of Coity who had helped to provoke the revolt of Llewelyn Bren. The two families were already close associates before the rebellion, but perhaps their shared role in crushing the insurrection that so endangered their positions had proved a bonding experience. At the time of the marriage, however, Katherine represented no more than an alliance with a family of equal status to that of her husband; she was not an heiress, having not only an older brother, Richard, but also three younger sisters. However, the fortuitous deaths of Richard de Turbeville, who had failed to produce an heir, and of the children of Katherine's sisters was to result in the ultimate descent of the lordship of Coity, together with Llanharry and Newcastle, to her son Sir Laurence de Berkerolles.[117] Sir Laurence's inheritance was doubly unexpected as he too had an elder brother, Gilbert, who had been granted the manor of East Orchard by their father, Sir Roger, two years before the latter's death in 1351. By 1352 Gilbert had also died, also without heirs, bringing East Orchard to Laurence, then aged about fourteen.[118]

Unfortunately, the combination of circumstances that brought Sir Laurence his swathes of inheritances was to see these same estates partitioned after his own death having failed to produce an heir. East Orchard, Merthyr Mawr and Lanfey were split between two branches of the Stradling family into which Laurence's sisters Wenllian and Sarah had married, whereas Coity, Newcastle and Llanharry passed to William Gamage, a descendant of one of his mother's

---

[115] *CIPM*, vol. 9, Edward III, (London, 1916), p. 338.

[116] Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 4, pp. 1194-5. See also, Henry John Randall and William Rees, eds., *The Storie of the Lower Borowes of Merthyr Mawr, by John Stradling, 1598-1601* (Cardiff, 1932), pp. 13-15, 53-4.

[117] *CFR*, vol. 13, Henry IV, 1405-13 (London, 1933), pp. 226-7; *CIPM*, vol. 19, 7-14 Henry IV (London, 1992), pp. 354-5.

[118] Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 4, p. 1273; *CCR*, Edward III, 1349-54 (London, 1906), p. 442; *CIPM*, vol. 10, Edward III (London, 1921), p. 5; *CIM*, vol. 3, 1348-77 (London, 1937), p. 32.

162

sisters.[119] This series of events highlights the prime importance of producing an heir to the fortunes of the gentry. Estates could be acquired through several avenues but an heir was crucial to the continuing coherence and consolidation of the estate and the success of the dynasty. The failure of the Berkerolles line with the death of Sir Laurence in 1411 is especially poignant, not just because of the serendipity of the creation of his estate in the first place, but also due to the clear importance previous generations had placed upon family and lineage, which manifested itself in the tombs of his parents and grandparents in the church at St Athan.

------

[119] *CFR*, vol. 13, pp. 22-7; *CIPM*, vol. 19, pp. 354-5.

Fig. 12: The Berkerolles and Turbeville families

Payn de Turbeville

Richard
d. after 1360
m.
Roger de Berkerolles
d. 1351

Katherine

Margaret
m.
Stackpole family

Agnes
m.
de la Bere family

Sarah
m.
Gamage family

Gilbert
d. 1352

Laurence
d. 1411

Wenllian
m.
Stradling family

Sarah
m.
Stradling family

Richard
Stackpole

John
de la Bere

William
Gamage

William

*John
(aged 60 in 1411)

Isabel

John

Gilbert

*Edward Stradling
(aged 22 in 1411)

*Joan Vernon
(aged 40 in 1411)

*Thomas de la Bere
(aged 9 in 1411)

*William Gamage
(aged 30 in 1411)

164

*Denotes heirs of Laurence de Berkerolles.
Information taken from *CFR 1405-13*, pp. 226-7 and *CIPM 7-14 Henry IV*, pp. 354-5.

<u>b. Description of the monuments.</u>

<u>The monument of Sir William de Berkerolles (d.1327) and Phelice de Vere [54].</u>

This monument, in the south chapel of the church at St Athan, now lies with its western end against the middle of the west wall, facing out into the chapel with its southern, eastern and northern faces exposed.[120] Before 1933 it lay against the south-east corner, with the effigies facing south, their feet against the south wall.[121] This cannot be the original location, not just because of the incorrect orientation of the monument, but also because the figures on two sides of the tomb-chest would have been obscured from view. The original positioning of the monument must have been similar to its current location, but as the western end of the chest is now missing it is impossible to tell if it was once entirely free-standing. This explanation may be overly simplistic however, as it is by no means certain that the tomb-chest and effigies belong together (see below).

The monument consists of a tomb-chest and the recumbent effigies of a knight and lady. The knight's head rests on a double, tasselled cushion, his hands are held in prayer on his chest and his right leg is crossed over the left at the knee. The legs are broken off just above the ankle and so no footrest remains. He wears a bascinet and a camail covers his neck and shoulders. The facial features are worn and the remaining details are obscured by inexpertly-applied paint, put on in 1934, which blights the appearance and hinders the study of both monuments. Even so, it is clear that he has a moustache, with its ends tucked into the camail, rather than hanging over it as at Llansannor [38]. The mail is not carved, and in 1893 traces of gesso were still visible.[122] His

---

[120] The presence of a piscina in the chapel's south wall points to its use a chantry chapel, but this is the only clue we have to its existence. There is no record of a mortmain license or any other documentation attached to its endowment, nor does it feature in the chantry certificates compiled at the Dissolution – an otherwise invaluable source for Glamorgan chantries. The lack of the latter is not surprising however, given the extinction of the family nearly a century and a half before the Reformation.

[121] NLW MS LL/F/746. Faculty for repairs to the south transept at St Athan, 1933.

[122] Henry F.J. Vaughan, 'Archaeological Notes and Queries', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th series, vol. 10 (1893), pp. 271-283, at p. 271.

arms are covered in plate, with straps visible on the inside of his upper arm. There are flat, plain, circular reinforcements at the elbow, but none at the shoulders, and he wears plate gauntlets. He also has plate armour on his lower legs and decorated poleyns on his knees. Over the armour is worn a long surcoat of a form predating the 'cyclas' type seen at Llansannor and on Sir Roger de Berkerolles in the same chapel (see below). It is confined at the waist by a narrow studded belt, and parts at the groin to reveal his right thigh and layers of additional body armour, which include the padded aketon, mail shirt, and a garment with a scalloped edge, possibly a coat of plates. The precise number of layers has been obscured by the painting, however. The surcoat is tight to the waist and then falls to the side in v-shaped folds to the lower calf. The shield is worn on the left shoulder and suspended by a broad guige. The sword is also on the left-hand side, suspended from a broad sword-belt decorated with lions' heads, attached to the scabbard by rings.

The female effigy is also lying completely flat and holds her hands together in prayer. Her right knee appears to be slightly raised, lending a hint of movement to the figure. Her head rests on double cushions and she wears a veil and stiff-looking wimple. Her kirtle has tight-fitting sleeves, fastened under the forearms by a row of tiny buttons. Over this is worn a sideless gown, tight on the upper body and falling in ridged folds to the feet, which are seen in outline beneath the cloth. There is a footrest of two small dogs wearing collars with bells, whose front paws touch and overlap.

The effigies lie on, and overlap by several inches, a badly damaged tomb-chest. At the east end is a single large panel, with a wide, flat, crocketted, trefoiled ogee arch [54a]. Underneath the arch are two kneeling female weepers holding open books, the left one wearing a mantle, the right only a buttoned-through gown. Both wear short veils, which do not descend onto the shoulders. In the spandrels are painted shields. At the angle of the south-east corner is a kneeling civilian. Two panels remain on the south side and a fragment of the third [54b]. Each panel is a narrower version of that on the east end and contains two kneeling military figures holding an open book between them. Again, in each spandrel is a painted shield. At the angle of the north-east corner is another kneeling figure, but lacking a head. On the north side are four panels containing eight

badly damaged weepers, which appear to all be female and hold open books between them [54c]. In each spandrel is a painted shield. There are fourteen surviving shields in all, but the total number is likely to have been nearer twenty in the chest's undamaged state.

The monument of Sir Roger de Berkerolles (d.1351) and Katherine de Turbeville [55].

This monument is rather more impressive than its neighbour. It lies against the south wall of the chapel under a richly moulded ogee arch with crisp crockets and sub-cusping. From the bottom of the arch is suspended the bearded head and torso of a man. Lord considers this to be the head of God, and notes its similarity to the head of Edward II on his tomb at Gloucester cathedral.[123] Perhaps its closest parallel, however, is to a similar head above the tomb of a civilian at Witney, Oxfordshire.[124]

The effigies strongly resemble those of Sir William and Phelice, apart from one or two details of attitude and costume. The knight lies flat with no sense of movement in his upper body. His head lies on a double tasselled cushion and is covered by a bascinet, from which hangs a camail onto his shoulders and upper chest. Here the mail links are indicated by paint, which was perhaps the original scheme. His hands are together in prayer on his chest. His right leg is crossed over the left at the knee and he rests his feet on a crouching, timid-looking lion. His arms are covered in plate, with circular, slightly domed, reinforcements at elbow and shoulder, the latter in contrast to the other effigy. He also has plate, or laminated gauntlets. His lower legs and feet also seem to be encased in plate, and he has ridged, decorated poleyns on his knees. His damaged shield, on which is carved the Berkerolles arms *azure a chevron between three crescents or*, is held on his left side by a broad guige. Also on his left side is his sword, attached by rings from the scabbard to the broad sword-belt decorated with lions' heads. Unlike William, Roger wears a 'cyclas' with several layers of body armour underneath, which can be interpreted as the aketon, hauberk and coat of plates.

---

[123] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 127, n. 89.

[124] I am grateful to Sally Badham for this reference.

The female effigy also lies in a rather stiff position, although her head is turned slightly towards her husband. There is also a slight elevation in the right knee, but the overall impression is rather static. Her head lies on double, tasselled, cushions and she wears a veil and wimple. Like Phelice de Vere, the wimple looks stiff and inflexible. Her hands are held in prayer. The rest of her costume appears slightly different from the de Vere effigy, but this may be more an effect of the paint, than what is actually carved in the stone. Both women wear the tight-sleeved kirtle and sideless gown, but no buttons are visible on Katherine Turbeville's sleeves. The twentieth-century repainting has attempted to indicate a mantle over her shoulders, but there is no suggestion of this in the carving. An animal, which may be a lioness, peers out from under her feet.

The tomb-chest is the earliest surviving in Glamorgan to contain weepers and heraldry [55a]. On the front are four ogival trefoiled arches with crockets and finials, separated by gabled shafts. The architectural details are very similar to those on the tomb-chest of Sir William and Phelice, but are much more competently executed. This can be seen in particular on the crockets which, although damaged, can be seen to be cleanly carved and equally spaced, unlike the rather haphazard spacing and erratic execution of the crockets on the other monument. The figure modelling on the earlier chest is also more skilful, although the paint lends the weepers an unfortunate cartoon-like character. Reading from left to right on the northern side there is a bearded civilian, a friar, another cleric and an armoured knight. All kneel and carry scrolls, although the clerics' scrolls have been damaged. The legends painted on the scrolls ('jesu maria' for the civilian and 'ora pro nobis' for the knight) were part of the 1930s repainting and the original texts are not known. In each spandrel is a painted shield, the heraldry again an addition of the 1930s. On the corners of the chest are plain flat-sided shafts, unlike the angled figures on the other chest. The eastern and western ends of the chest awkwardly protrude from the back of the recess and kneeling figures have been squeezed in to the available space. On the east and west ends are scroll-bearing civilians: that on the west bearded, the other clean-shaven. As with the other parts of the chest the spandrels are filled with shields, making twelve in all.

c. Dating.

Establishing the dates of the Berkerolles tombs is a crucial preliminary to attempting to unpick the circumstances of their production. The least complicated in this regard is the monument of Roger and Katherine. Katherine's date of death is unknown, but Sir Roger's death in 1351 gives a useful starting point. Several features of the main effigies and weepers provide a more reliable guide however,[125] namely Roger's plate armour and 'cyclas', and the hanging sleeves of two of the weepers.[126] The elbow-length sleeves of over-tunics began to develop lengthened narrow strips in the 1340s which, by the 1360s had become very thin liripipes.[127] Examples of the latter can be seen on two brasses: that of Nicholas d'Aumberdene at Taplow (Bucks), dated to c.1350,[128] and that of Robert Braunche and his wives at King's Lynn, dated to 1364.[129] The civilians on the Berkerolles tomb-chest, however, have shorter, broader lappets, suggesting a date in the 1340s.

The armour of Sir Roger de Berkerolles is of a distinctive form seen on several English effigies which have been subject to detailed analysis and securely dated by, among others, Sally Badham and Leslie Southwick. The effigy of Oliver, Lord Ingham, at Ingham (Norfolk), has the same scalloped edged coat-of-plates, 'cyclas', bascinet, and ridged poleyns as Roger de Berkerolles,[130] and has been compared with several others, including that of Prince John of Eltham (d.1336), at Westminster Abbey, which have all been dated to the 1340s.[131] The armour of the effigy of

---

[125] Common practice when establishing a date for an effigy from the details of armour and costume is to compare it to others of known date, rather than to what is known about contemporary fashions for the living. This is particularly important with military effigies as innovations in armour do not appear on monuments until several years after their introduction on the battlefield: See Blair, 'The Conington Effigy' p. 5.

[126] The sleeves belong to the civilian weepers at the easternmost end of the north side and the west end of the chest.

[127] Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 4, 54.

[128] Coales, *Earliest English Brasses*, p. 118.

[129] Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 139.

[130] Badham, 'Beautiful Remains of Antiquity', pp. 12-13.

[131] Southwick, 'The Armoured Effigy of Prince John of Eltham'.

169

Roger de Berkerolles therefore, together with the costume of the weepers, gives a fairly certain date of manufacture in the 1340s. Sir Roger may have ordered his monument a few years before his death in 1351 and, since we do not know the date of Katherine's death, it is safest to assume that this was the case.

The tomb of William and Phelice is more of a mystery, however. One certainty is that it was not commissioned on William's death in 1327. His armour in nearly every respect is the same as that of his son, the only differences being that William wears the earlier form of long surcoat, rather than the 'cyclas', and lacks the circular shoulder reinforcements.[132] The figures of Phelice and Katherine are also extremely similar, although changes in female dress are less easy to plot at this date. The logical presumption would be that Sir William ordered the effigies of his parents at the same time as he ordered his own and his wife's, perhaps stipulating that a more antiquated form of surcoat be depicted in order to differentiate the generations.[133] The entire tomb of Roger and Katherine, as well as the effigies of William and Phelice, are in Sutton stone, which also suggests a common workshop origin. Yet there are subtle differences in the carving of the two sets of effigies. In several places where details of the armour are visible, such as the gauntlets, sword-belt, scabbard and poleyns, the carving of Roger's effigy is finer and crisper than William's, and this is apparent despite the paint and greater wear and tear on the latter. The effigies are certainly intended to be a pair but a less skilled craftsman seems to have been responsible for William and Phelice.

---

[132] This is a style of armour which is entirely inconsistent with effigies produced in the 1320s, which show only mail armour and small additions of plate, on the knees and elbows for example. See: Claude Blair, 'The De Vere Effigy at Hatfield Broad Oak', *Church Monuments*, vol. 8 (1993), pp. 3-11; Blair, 'The Wooden Knight at Abergavenny'; Claude Blair, John A. Goodall and Philip J. Lankester, 'The Winchelsea Tombs Reconsidered', *Church Monuments*, vol. 15 (2000), pp. 5-30.

[133] A parallel case is that of the brass of the father and son Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Swynborne at Little Horkesley (Essex). The father is armed for his date of death in 1391, the son in the armour of 1412: Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, p. 103.

Whatever originally supported the effigies of William and Phelice, it was not the chest on which they currently lie. That they do not fit it has already been pointed out, but there are more fundamental objections to the coherence of the tomb than this. A minor issue is that the chest is made from a different stone: Quarella.[134] More important is the obvious inferiority of the carving. The architectural details of the panels on the chest are clearly modelled on the tomb-chest of Sir Roger, but executed by a much less competent craftsman. The ogee arches are not as precisely measured and the crockets in particular look unevenly spaced and are poorly modelled. It is possible that finer details have become worn, and damage is a contributing factor, but the overall impression is of a clumsy imitation of a high-quality monument. Nor is the stone a contributing factor, as Quarella is fine-grained and possible to work precisely (see Chapter Three). The poor workmanship is particularly obvious in the panel on the east end containing the two female weepers. They are too broadly spaced, leaving an awkward gap between them, although this may once have been filled with a painted decoration [54a].

The main objection to the chest and effigies belonging together arises from the form of the four surviving military weeper-figures on the north side [54c]. They are coarsely cut and fine details cannot be made out, yet it is clear that they wear a different form of body armour to the main effigy. Instead of the long surcoat and layers of padding and mail they sport short, tight jupons and low-slung horizontal sword-belts. Variations on this kind of coat-armour are found throughout the second half of the fourteenth century, until full suits of plate armour were adopted in the beginning of the fifteenth century at around the time of Agincourt. The Berkerolles weepers have distinctly cinched waists and swollen chests – a feature of the 1360s.[135] Effigies on which the same bulbous chest appears include that of Richard II Fitzalan in Chichester cathedral

---

[134] In itself this does not present a problem as other examples of mixed media tombs are known of, such as that of John, Lord Hastings at Abergavenny [2]. Here, a wooden effigy, of probable London manufacture, was teamed with a stone tomb-chest carved in a West Country stone, so the two elements of the tomb were entirely separate commissions: Lindley and Galvin, 'New Paradigms', pp. 58-93.

[135] Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, p. 54. In female fashion the 1360s was a time of layered veils which framed the face: *Ibid*, p. 87. Is this intended on the female weepers on the east end?

(c.1375),[136] Reginald, Lord Cobham (d.1361), at Lingfield (Surrey),[137] and Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1371) at Warwick.[138] Although it is not possible to date this tomb-chest precisely, therefore, it clearly post-dates the effigies, possibly by a couple of decades.

d. The creation of the tomb of Sir William de Berkerolles and Phelice de Vere

If, as seems likely, Sir Roger de Berkerolles commissioned the monument to himself and his wife in the late 1340s, and that of his parents at around the same time, he cannot have been responsible for ordering their tomb-chest. The most likely candidate for this commission is his son, Laurence, who would have been in his twenties by 1360. What happened to the original tomb chest is not known – perhaps there never was one – but the damage to its replacement and to the effigies, in contrast to the better preservation of Roger and Katherine's tomb, requires some explanation.[139] Monuments in wall recesses are inevitably better protected against deliberate or accidental damage than those in more exposed positions, but this cannot account for the differing states of preservation of the St Athan tombs. Firstly, we do not know where William and Phelice's monument was originally located. Secondly, it is puzzling that the clerics on Roger and Katherine's tomb-chest have escaped practically intact while the surviving pairs of secular female weepers on the badly-damaged south side of that of William and Phelice have had their heads completely erased. Although some of the structural damage may have occurred during a botched removal, the attacks on the weepers were deliberate.

---

[136] Harry Tummers, 'The Medieval Effigial Tombs in Chichester Cathedral', *Church Monuments,* vol. 3 (1988), pp. 3-41, ill. p. 31.

[137] Saul, *English Church Monuments,* fig, 52, p. 219.

[138] Gardner, *A Handbook,* fig. 462, p. 363.

[139] Peter Lord suggests that Laurence de Berkerolles moved the effigies of his grandparents (from another part of the church, or from the chapel of the manor house at East Orchard) to the newly established family mortuary in the south chapel, and commissioned a new free-standing chest to go with them: Lord, *Medieval Vision,* p. 127, n. 90. This is entirely plausible, but does not account for the state of the replacement chest.

172

The possibility must be considered that the two chests have suffered differently as they were originally in different locations, the tomb of William and Phelice being not at East Orchard chapel as suggested by Lord - as this would have protected it – but in a more easily accessible location. It is possible that the tomb, or at least its chest, was originally in the Greyfriars at Cardiff. The herald William Fellows on his visitation of south Wales in 1530 recorded in the Greyfriars the arms of Berkerolles impaling Turbeville, a reference to the parents of Sir Laurence: Roger and Katherine.[140] Although this could have been seen in a window or other context, the arms would also have been appropriate on the monuments of their children. Some references have been made to a lost tomb of Laurence at St Athan, but I am unaware of any firm evidence that one ever existed.[141] It was noted above that Laurence had had an older brother, Gilbert, whose death before 1352 allowed Laurence to inherit East Orchard. Gilbert's place of burial is not known but it is conceivable that he requested interment with the Greyfriars, along with members of several other leading Glamorgan families.[142] The family had particularly close links with the house as a John de Berkerolles is recorded as having been a friar there, dying in 1327.[143] This raises the possibility that Laurence commissioned a tomb in the 1360s or thereabouts to commemorate his brother in the Greyfriars, which was seen there by Fellows in 1531. At the Dissolution other monuments were destroyed (see Chapter One), and this is when the damage to the tomb chest may have occurred, but was saved from total destruction by its

---

[140] *Visitations,* ed. Siddons, p. 42.

[141] A 1930s antiquarian account by Herbert M. Thompson refers in an anecdotal fashion to the lost effigies of Laurence Berkerolles and his wife being formerly in the church at St Athan. This claim is easy to dismiss as no references are given, nor a description of the monument. He may have assumed the existence of a monument to Sir Laurence because of the tombs of his parents and grandparents which, coupled with the fact that Laurence was the last of the Berkerolles line, makes it seem appropriate that he too would have been fittingly remembered in the family chapel. Thompson claimed that the tomb-chest of William and Phelice was originally that of Sir Laurence: CCL, MS 3.535, Vol. 2, fos. 213-214r. This seems unlikely as the female weepers are in a costume that far precedes the date of Laurence's death in the early fifteenth century and are consistent with the 1360s. Laurence may have commissioned his own monument decades in advance of his death, but it is difficult to imagine why he should do so. See Chapter One for Herbert M. Thompson.

[142] See Chapter One.

[143] William Rees, 'The Suppression of the Friaries in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire', in H.J. Randall and W. Rees, eds., *A Breviat of Glamorgan by Rice Lewis and Other Papers* (Newport, 1954), pp. 7-19, at p. 9.

removal to St Athan where it subsequently received the ill-fitting effigies of Gilbert's and Laurence's grandparents.

Admittedly, this leaves unanswered the question of what happened to Gilbert's effigy and the original tomb-chest at St Athan, assuming both existed. A further problem is the question of who would have seen fit to rescue the monument in the 1530s. The Berkerolles line ended in 1411 and the manor of East Orchard passed through the female line to the Stradling family.[144] That the Stradlings were not content to see their family burial places endangered by the Dissolution is clear by their retrieval of the body of Thomas Stradling (d.1480) from Cardiff Blackfriars and its reburial at their *caput,* St Donat's.[145] It may seem less likely that they would have wanted to retrieve a more distant ancestor's monument and set it up in his own family's chapel, but other examples of this behaviour are known, such as the removal of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century monuments of the Albini and Roos families from Belvoir and Croxton Priories to Bottesford church by the earl of Rutland, who had succeeded the Roos family at Belvoir.[146] Perhaps, like the earl of Rutland, the Stradlings sought to emphasise the antiquity and validity of their link with East Orchard by installing in the parish church the monument of the man from whose family they claimed their inheritance of the estate.

e. The tomb of Roger de Berkerolles and Katherine de Turbeville: family, status and continuity,

Both tomb-chests at St Athan are recognisably of the 'kinship' type described by Anne McGee Morganstern. During the fourteenth century the popularity of the kinship tomb spread from the crown and aristocracy down the social scale to the knightly and emergent gentry classes, and were particularly in vogue during Edward III's reign.[147] An important element of the kinship tomb was the display of heraldry. The Berkerolles tombs are replete with it, but the blazons are

---

[144] See above, and pedigree.

[145] R.A. Griffiths, 'The Rise of the Stradlings of St Donat's', *Morgannwg,* vol. 7 (1963), pp. 15-47, at p. 29.

[146] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction,* p. 15.

[147] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship,* p. 103, p. 82.

174

part of the 1930s repainting and cannot be verified from antiquarian sources. Without the original heraldry it would be unwise to speculate that each shield was intended to identify the weepers with which they are associated, but the weepers themselves are likely to represent family members.[148] Although it is difficult to fit them into what is known about the family structure, the following discussion will show that this is the most logical conclusion, and that the specific tone of the monuments arose from particular family circumstances.[149]

The tomb-chest of Roger and Katherine's monument displays six weeper figures: three male civilians, a friar, another cleric, and an armoured figure.[150] Roger and Katherine are known to have had four children: two sons, Gilbert and Laurence; and two daughters, Wenllian and Sarah.[151] Both daughters married into the Stradling family, but whether this occurred before the erection (and therefore possibly informing the design of the chest) of the tomb is unknown. Laurence was still a young teenager when his father died, so his own marriage may not yet have occurred. Roger's siblings are not known, but it was Katherine who had the most distinguished relatives,[152] being herself a Turbeville and with sisters who had married into the established marcher families of Stackpole, de la Bere and Gamage. This heavily female colouring to the family's nexus of social and political interrelations found no expression in the weeper-figures, which is all the more surprising when one considers that Katherine was of the last generation of the ancient line of the Turbevilles of Coity but this seems to be completely unreferenced in her

---

[148] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 127.

[149] This section will only deal with the monument of Roger and Katherine as its coherence is not in question. As the tomb-chest of William and Phelice is not the original, it is unwise to discuss it in the context of its effigies or to attempt to relate the weepers to them. Any conclusions would, in any case, be tentative as the chest itself is partially missing. All it is safe to assume is that the weepers on this chest may represent members of the de Berkerolles family and/or their neighbours and associates.

[150] These figures have sometimes been thought to represent different orders of society rather than specific individuals: Orrin, *Medieval Churches*, p. 329; Williams, 'Some Monumental Effigies', p. 190.

[151] Based on *CFR*, 1405-13, pp. 226-7, and *CIPM*, vol. 19, pp. 354-5.

[152] Apart from her mother-in-law, Phelice de Vere, who is thought to have been a relative of the earl of Oxford.

tomb.[153] Perhaps it was reflected in the original heraldry, or in a heraldic gown. The only figure who may be identifiable with a known family member is the friar in the second recess from the east, who could represent the Franciscan John de Berkerolles (d.1327) (see above), while the knight could conceivably represent Gilbert.[154] The other cleric, in the third recess from the east, is dressed in the distinctive attire of a *cappa* and hood, which may be intended to show academic or legal dress.[155] This unusual inclusion again points to the depiction of a specific, but unidentified, individual.

Despite the solidly knightly milieu of the Berkerolles' world, the three civilian weepers may also be interpreted as representing family members or associates. Nigel Saul has recently emphasised the importance of commemorative etiquette in governing the mode of costume of the effigy itself,[156] but this applies more to the post-Black Death era, and how it affected the depiction of weeper-figures is not known. Civilian weepers are by no means unusual on monuments of an otherwise highly military nature. The contorted military effigy of Oliver, Lord Ingham (d.1344) at Ingham (Norfolk), surmounts a chest on which twelve fashionably-dressed male civilians are housed in a row of arcades,[157] and a similar civilian presence is seen on the tomb-chests of the earl of Warwick (d.1369) at Warwick, Edward III at Westminster Abbey and that of a knight at

---

[153] Katherine's eldest brother, Gilbert, succeeded their father at Coity and passed the lordship to his son, also Gilbert, who died without issue. The lordship then descended to her second brother, Richard, who died, childless, after 1360. See pedigree.

[154] The emphasis on children dates from the later fourteenth century, and so the absence of the couple's children from the tomb chest does not need explanation: Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, p. 127. Gilbert's age at his death is unknown, but he was older than the thirteen or fourteen-year-old Laurence, who is unlikely to have been depicted in armour at such an age. The conventions governing the depiction of children on their parents' tombs have engendered much discussion. See for example: Oosterwijk, "'A Swithe Feire Graue'".

[155] Compare with the monument of a lawyer at Coychurch [14] and the incised slab of Richard Durant (c.1290), at Dunstable Priory (Bedfordshire), illustrated in Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 202.

[156] Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 233-237, and see Chapter Three.

[157] Badham, 'Beautiful Remains of Antiquity', pp. 18-19. However, Badham is not convinced that the figures do represent family members as there is no means of identifying them, and she is wary of characterising it as a kinship tomb.

Reepham (Norfolk). In each case the figures are thought to represent family members,[158] and it is notable that even such martial figures as the Black Prince were represented in civilian mode when they graced the tomb-chests of their parents.

The military tone of the monument of Roger and Katherine de Berkerolles is rather down-played. Other than the armour-clad effigy of Roger himself and the single military weeper there are few chivalric overtones; he is not shown as a strenuous knight in the manner of Lord Ingham twisting on his bed of stones, nor does he draw his sword, but instead lies quietly praying. Such muted military references should not be taken as a sign of Roger's absence from the battlefield (although his concerns do seem to have been more civil than military), but the overall tone of the monument is dynastic rather than military, which the presence of the effigy of Katherine de Turbeville herself does much to reinforce. It is entirely acceptable, therefore, to suppose that each of the weepers may represent an actual member of the family, even if it is impossible to provide identities for most of them in the absence of the original heraldry.

The foregrounding of lineage and dynasty, together with the grand overall conception of the tomb with its distinctive canopy, was part of a deliberate statement of arrival and achievement on the part of the Berkerolles family. It was demonstrated above that, despite their lordship of the manor of Bassaleg from an early date, there is little evidence of their presence in Glamorgan before the end of the thirteenth century. East Orchard had been in the tenure of the de Nerber family, and an empty niche in the north wall of the chancel of St Athan church is thought to have housed an effigy of one of the family.[159] Though far from being social parvenus the Berkerolles do not appear to have acquired the lordship of East Orchard and the other Glamorgan estates until sometime between 1320 and 1349. The erection of two sets of effigies in the late 1340s was a highly effective way of announcing their arrival on the former de Nerber estates and underscoring the central role they had already adopted in local society (see above, Section A).

---

[158] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, p. 80, p. 98, but see previous note for Ingham tomb.

[159] CCL, MS 3.535, vol. 2, f. 214r. The author, Herbert M. Thompson, implied this effigy was in existence at the time of writing in 1935, but it has since gone.

The colonising of churches by the dead of recently arrived lords has been observed on several occasions. A change of personnel was a time of potential upheaval - as the extinction of the male line of de Clares showed in Glamorgan in 1316 – but the break could be partly glossed over via the erection of monuments to the new family in the church previously patronised by the old. Tewkesbury Abbey, the burial church of the de Clare lords of Glamorgan, passed to the patronage of their Despenser successors, several of whose members were buried there in the fourteenth century, followed by some Beauchamp burials after the next change of dynasty in the next century.[160] In St Mary's priory, Abergavenny, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century alabaster monuments of the Herbert family form a reply to those of the Hastings family of the fourteenth century. At Cobham (Kent), the failure of the male line of Cobhams in the fifteenth century and the succession of the Brookes as lords, was also eased by the erection of monuments. The Brookes had previously sought burial at Thornecomb (Dorset) but in the early sixteenth century decamped in death to their new lordship at Cobham. Furthermore, the Brookes chose commemoration by brass in imitation of the Cobham practice, which "stressed continuity [and] presented the Brookes as the Cobhams' legitimate successors."[161] Similar circumstances have been observed behind the erection of several east-midlands monuments, of which those of the Woodford family are one example. Ralph Woodford was heir to the Folvilles of Ashby Folville, and moved his seat there after coming into his inheritance. The Woodfords modified the parish church and took over the Folville chapel, "emphasising continuity rather than fracture...using the already established cultural identity of the Folvilles as a means of asserting [their] own." The need felt by even established gentry families to assert their arrival in a new inheritance is here explained by the observation that gentility was rooted in place and nobility of lineage counted for

---

[160] Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 167-70.

[161] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp. 117-8. Peter Coss has also commented that the raising of monuments in parish churches helped to strengthen ties to the locality: Coss, *The Knight*, p. 72; and Saul has stressed the gentry take-over, in death, of the parish church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a way of underlining their dominance of local society: Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish'.

less outside its original geographical context.[162] The Berkerolles tombs at St Athan were undoubtedly erected in the same spirit.

Continuity and legitimacy are the keys to understanding the secular motives behind the commissioning of both Berkerolles tombs. It cannot be proven that both commissions were the work of Sir Roger shortly before his death but this seems the most logical scenario. The Berkerolles' succession to the de Nerbers at St Athan was signalled by the erection of Roger and Katherine's monument and given force and a sense of historical legitimacy by the addition of the almost identical retrospective monument of Roger's parents. Roger and Katherine are presented as the nucleus of an extended network of family and associates - lay, military and clerical - firmly rooted in Glamorgan society and forming its very pinnacle. The marginalisation of the military tone of the monument in favour of dynastic references was partly achieved by Katherine's own effigy, and her thoroughly local and well-established credentials would not have been lost on contemporaries.

In this context the lack of a monument to Laurence de Berkerolles needs explaining. The beginnings of a family mausoleum had been established at St Athan by the middle of the fourteenth century, with the monuments of two generations of the family. If, as seems possible, Laurence was responsible for the commissioning of the tomb of his brother, Gilbert (see above), he displayed an interest in carrying on the tradition of the family memorial. Such traditions were not only inherited from his Berkerolles ancestors, however: his mother's Turbeville family had also exhibited consistent interest in effigial commemoration[163] and, with the ending of the Turbeville line at Coity with the death of Richard de Turbeville after 1360, their identity was ultimately subsumed in Laurence himself. His own death, in 1411, marked the end not only of the Berkerolles line, but in a sense also represented the final extinction of the Turbevilles.

---

[162] Jon Denton, 'The East-Midland Gentleman', p. 61, p. 156.

[163] The monuments of Payn de Turbeville (d. before 1318) in Ewenny priory[15], and a fourteenth-century civilian [11] and lady[12] at Coity still survive. The effigies of Gilbert de Turbeville and his wife were also seen at Coity by Browne Willis, but have since disappeared: Bodleian Library, MS Willis 42, f. 290 r.

By the end of the fourteenth century it must have become apparent that Laurence was to produce no heir. Childlessness and impending dynastic extinction has been detected as a motivating factor behind many medieval memorials, such as those of Richard Gyverny at Limington (Somerset), Brian FitzAlan at Bedale (Yorkshire), the de la Beche monuments at Aldworth (Berkshire), William Bowes in York, and Joan de Cobham (Kent).[164] The lack of an heir not only put the onus to arrange commemoration squarely on the individual concerned (or their executors), but also freed up the necessary finances. It was an anxiety to which the local Glamorgan gentry were occasionally prey. The brasses set up to Wenllian Walsche at Llandough [33] and her brother Robert at Langridge (Somerset), both of whom died childless in 1427, can specifically be seen as a wish to preserve the family's memory in both their English and Welsh estates.[165] No doubt Laurence felt the bitterness of his family's extinction at the very apex of their wealth and influence, and this would have been a powerful spur to commemoration, but it has already been shown that there is no more than anecdotal evidence that any monument was erected. He may, of course, have sought monastic burial, in which case a monument will not have survived.

Ultimately, we may be forced to the same conclusions regarding the absence of Laurence's memorial as was the case with the lack of later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century episcopal memorials in Llandaff cathedral. Laurence's death occurred at a time of great political and social upheaval, when economic conditions were dire. The diocese of Llandaff was reeling from the combined effects of plague and the Glyn Dŵr rebellion and no effigial monuments are known to have been commissioned since the incised slab of John and Isabella Colmer at Christchurch, in the 1370s [10].[166] In this sense the failure to obtain an effigy for Laurence was typical of his time; it may have been a departure from his family's traditions, but it was in step with the

---

[164] Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice', pp. 144-5; Barnett, 'Memorials and Commemoration', pp. 128-9; Saul, *Death, Art and Memory,* pp. 116-7, pp. 237-41.

[165] See Chapter Five for Robert Walsche's other arrangements for his commemoration.

[166] See Chapter Three for the effects of these upheavals on the local production of monuments, and for the significance of the Berkerolles tombs as the last known natively-produced effigies in Glamorgan.

practices of his contemporaries. He did, of course, have a powerful spur to commemoration, and he could have sought further afield for a monument – to the West Country like Thomas Basset of Beaupré (d.1423) [59], or to the London marblers like Wenllian Walsche (d.1427), or to the Midlands alabastermen. But this is also true of other families in the diocese from the later-fourteenth century to the 1420s, all of whom, like Laurence, appear to have chosen not to do so.

Conclusion

The Berkerolles tombs reflect many themes observable in the monuments of the medieval diocese of Llandaff, and in England and Wales as a whole. In them can be traced varied secular anxieties and concerns that accompanied the desire for salvation and attended the creation of a monumental effigy: status, lineage and estate-building. As well as being recognisably of the 'kinship' type, the Berkerolles monuments were born out of the need to confirm the legitimacy of the family's possession of East Orchard and their other Glamorgan acquisitions, and the continuity of their lordship from that of the de Nerbers. They also raise questions, such as the apparent lack of a monument to the last of the line, and point to how prevailing socio-economic conditions may have impacted on the ability of the individual to follow dynastic commemorative practices.

Case Study Three: the monuments of the Mathew family in Llandaff cathedral c.1470-c.1530.

The final Case Study concerns three monuments erected to members of the Mathew family in Llandaff cathedral from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. In some ways these memorials may be compared to those of the Berkerolles family. Two are double monuments of a 'knight' and lady and may also be considered to be of 'kinship' type, displaying heraldry and weepers, but they are sufficiently different in concept and message to warrant study on their own terms. The marcher society in which the Berkerolles monuments were erected was appreciably different to that with which the Mathews were familiar over a century later. Plague and rebellion had taken their toll. The flourishing thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century culture of effigial commemoration amongst the *advenae*, which may be said to have reached its apogee at St Athan, had all but dried up.[167] The racial tensions of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century were beginning to ease and the *uchelwyr* Mathews were fully integrated with the established *advenae* families. This process had begun as far back as the fourteenth century among the land-holding classes, fostered by the twin solvents of wealth and marriage, and evidenced by the adoption of Welsh Christian names amongst some *advenae* families. In the fifteenth the process went as far as the "recymricisation of the Vale of Glamorgan" as the Stradlings, Gamages, Turbevilles and Flemings among others became increasingly Welsh in speech and culture.[168] More importantly, as the careers of the Herberts, Morgans, Dwnns, and others show, the withdrawal of the marcher lords from the direct government of their Welsh estates allowed for the concentration of power in the hands of native deputies and the beginnings of the rise of the

---

[167] See Chapters Two and Three for the chronological spread of effigial commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff.

[168] Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 418-9, p. 444, p. 447; Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 94-7; G.J. Williams, 'The Welsh Literary Tradition of the Vale of Glamorgan', *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, pp. 17-18; R.A. Griffiths, 'After Glyn Dŵr: An Age of Reconciliation?', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 117, 2001 Lectures (Oxford, 2002), pp. 139-64; Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England, Antipathy and Sympathy 1282-1485', *Welsh History Review*, vol. 1 (1960-3), pp. 375-96, at p. 390.

great families of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[169] After 1485 this process accelerated perceptibly, bringing new individuals, such as Sir Rhys ap Thomas, to the fore,[170] and it was under the Tudors that the Mathews were to experience their greatest successes. The Mathew tombs may only be fully understood against this backdrop of resurgent Welsh optimism and self-confidence, and this particularly applies to the monument of Sir William Mathew and Jenet Henry [31].[171]

---

[169] Walker, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 180-1; Roberts, 'Wales and England', p. 387; Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, p.97, p. 177, and see chapters 7-10 for the careers of individual families.

[170] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 239-48.

[171] Some of these issues are explored in Rhianydd Biebrach, '"Our Ancient Blood and Our Kings": Two Sixteenth-Century Heraldic Tombs in Llandaff Cathedral', *Church Monuments*, vol. 24 (2009), pp. 73-88.

Fig. 13: Mathew Family Genealogy

David Mathew d. before 1470

John d.1461	Reynborn d.1470	Thomas d.1470	+ others
	m. Elizabeth Denys	m. Katherine Morgan	
	of Gloucestershire	of Radyr	

Jenet	Christopher d. after 1531	Sir William d.1528	Jenet d.1535
m. Sir John	m. Elizabeth d.1526	m. Jenet d.1530	m. 1. Thomas
Morgan of	dau. and h. of Willm	dau. of Henry ap Gwillym	Stradling
Tredegar	ap Jenkin Phillip		2. Sir Rhys ap
			Thomas

Miles d.1556   Sir George d.1557

a. The rise of the Mathew family.

The origins of the Mathews are, like those of many other native gentry, obscure and shrouded in myth.[172] All that can be safely claimed for them is an origin among the freeholders of upland Glynogwr and, in common with many of their countrymen, a finely-tuned sense of, and pride in, their descent from the ancient noble houses of Wales. Whatever the status of the family at the beginning of the fifteenth century, by the end of it the Mathews were thoroughly integrated into the gentry society of the southern march of Wales in terms of marriage, vocation, lifestyle, and cultural preoccupations, including the beginnings of the family mausoleum in Llandaff cathedral. Like the Berkerolles, the Mathews' advance was forged via a mixture of service, estate-building, prudent marriages and, to a lesser extent, military activity. Their link with Llandaff appears to have been made some time in the mid- to late-fourteenth century with the marriage of Ieuan ap Gruffydd Gethin, grandfather of David Mathew, to Cecil daughter and heiress of Watkin Llewelyn of Llandaff.[173] David, the son of Mathew ap Ieuan, (fl. c.1380-c.1419) and Jenet, daughter and heiress of Jenkin Fleming of Penlline, was born about 1394. His abandonment of the traditional Welsh patronymic 'ap' (son of) for the anglicised 'David Mathew' may be taken as a measure of his ambition.[174]

---

[172] There are many unsubstantiated traditions about the family. Some concern David Mathew's forebears, some of whom were said to have been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and made Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Others concern David Mathew himself, and tell of his supposed great stature, martial prowess and role as Royal Standard Bearer at the battle of Towton, where he was supposed to have saved the life of Edward IV. It was a tradition which was certainly in existence by 1645, when Richard Symonds observed the tomb of "Great David Mathew, standard bearer to K."on his visit to Llandaff Cathedral: *Diary of Richard Symonds*, ed. Long, p. 213. David's grandson, William, has also been given the spurious honour of a knighthood bestowed by a victorious Henry Tudor at Bosworth: G.M. Mathews, *Y Mathiaid: The Mathews of Llandaff* (London, 1924), p. 21; J. Barry Davies, 'The Mathew Family of Llandaff, Radyr and Castell-y-Mynach', *Glamorgan Historian*, vol. 2 (1975), pp. 171-187, at p. 179. None of these traditions has a known basis in fact, and smack of later aggrandizement of the family story, akin to the legends spun around the so-called Twelve Knights of Glamorgan.

[173] Thomas Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1887), p. 578.

[174] That the Welsh patronymic form of naming may have been regarded as unsuitable for an upwardly mobile family can be seen by the advice, said to have been given by Edward IV to William Herbert on his creation as Earl of Pembroke, to "decline the Brittish manner of calling [himself] by the addition of [his] Fathers and Grandfathers names and to fix upon the name of Herbert their first auncestor after the Norman conquest": *Herbertorum Prosapia*, f. 47.

185

If David's birth-date is correct, he was reaching maturity at a promising time for ambitious young men. Although he does not seem to have been on Henry V's expedition to France in 1415, which attracted "a good many Welshmen",[175] he may have served in the later campaigns. A Davy Mathew served as a man-at-arms under Richard Beauchamp, lord of Glamorgan, in 1417 and in 1421 under the command of Sir Richard Woodville.[176] Glanmor Williams observed that although there were no great fortunes to be made for the Welsh in France, families like the Stradlings, Herberts, Dwnns and Wogans gained much in terms of increased contacts with the crown and aristocracy, allowing them to further their careers in their service at home.[177] It is possible that a brief military career under Beauchamp gave David access to his lord and other figures in the local administration in a way that might not have happened so readily otherwise. We certainly have no other clues to the background to his appearance in local affairs in the 1420s when he first appears in the witness lists of the charters of the local gentry. His local standing is reflected in his services to figures of greater significance, however, and in 1424 and 1451 he witnessed charters of the lords of Glamorgan.[178] He held a fairly major public position within the infrastructure of the lordship in 1425,[179] and in 1449 and 1450 he is named as the steward of the abbot of Tewkesbury, for which he received 3s 6d expenses for holding courts in May and September 1450 over and above his fee of 20s. He also farmed the rectory of Llantrisant from the abbot, for which he paid £11 6s 8d.[180]

---

[175] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* pp. 168-9.

[176] Chapman, 'The Welsh Soldier', p. 134. The use of the diminutive 'Davy' in both cases suggests the same individual is being referred to: pers. comm. Adam Chapman.

[177] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* p. 171.

[178] Clark, ed., *Cartae,* vol. 4, p. 1523, pp. 1621-5.

[179] *Morganiae Archaiographia,* p. 66. Rice Merrick does not mention the exact office held by David Mathew, but includes him in a list of "chief Officers or Magistrates within the Lordship of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, commonly called *Vicecomites,* or Sheriffs…, Stewards of the Members, Constables of the Castle of Cardiff and Mayors of the Town of Cardiff."

[180] William Rees, 'The Possessions of the Abbey of Tewkesbury in Glamorgan. Accounts of the Ministers for the Year 1448-50', in W. Rees, ed., *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, no. 2* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 129-186, at pp. 173, 180, 181, 185.

The role of steward was one of particular value and status. Stewards of monastic houses were drawn from a class of person with sufficient influence to protect the monks' interests, which usually meant the wealthy gentry or aristocracy. The steward of the houses of Ewenny, Llantarnam, Tintern and Brecon, for example, was the earl of Worcester, while members of the Herbert family acted as stewards of the houses of Neath, Margam, Grace Dieu and Chepstow.[181] Political power in south Wales in the first half of the fifteenth century was mainly concentrated in the hands of a few men, often outsiders, leaving limited openings for other prominent local gentlemen,[182] and so as unremarkable as David Mathew's career may seem to students of the late medieval English county gentry, it was, in Welsh terms, very successful. There is no evidence that David Mathew had legal training, but the possibility cannot be ruled out, and his brother, Robert, seems to have had a career in the law.[183]

In the 1450s David Mathew drops from the historical record, and he was dead by 1470. His third son, Thomas (d.1470), founder of the Radyr branch of the family, took his father's place in public life, acting as receiver of the lordship of Ogmore from 1446-1460.[184] By the next generation the Mathews had reached the highest ranks of the Glamorgan gentry. Thomas's second son, Sir William (d.1528), was active in royal service, being appointed in April 1513 with his cousin Christopher to the commission of oyer and terminer due to assemble at Cardiff in July.[185] On October 13th of the same year, during Henry VIII's invasion of France, William

---

[181] Williams, *Welsh Church*, pp. 367-80.

[182] W.R.B. Robinson, 'The Tudor Revolution in Welsh Government, 1536-1543: Its Effects on Gentry Participation', *EHR*, Vol. 103, no. 406 (Jan. 1988), pp. 11-12.

[183] Little is known about Robert Mathew. An elegy composed upon his death by Hywel Swrdwal refers to his great knowledge of the law and compares him to "Hywel Dda, Or Lord Solomon, for the bar of Cardiff." While allowances must be made for the over-exaggerations of such poetical forms, there is no reason to suppose he was not a lawyer. I am grateful to Barry Lewis for his translation of the Welsh original, transcribed by Dylan Foster Evans.

[184] During Thomas's incumbency the Lordship's arrears jumped from a mere 52s in 1444 to £243 in 1459, while its income fell from £51 in 1440 to £13 in 1450: R.R. Davies, 'The Lordship of Ogmore' in *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, pp. 285-311.

[185] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of HenryVIII*, vol. 1, ii, p. 839.

served under the command of Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, and was knighted.[186] It was a high point in the family's fortunes, knighthood not being an honour usually conferred on Welsh gentry, and there were only six Welsh knights in 1512.[187] William's cousin, Christopher, head of the Llandaff Mathews, was also a public figure: in 1515 he was approver of the lordship of Glamorgan and was appointed deputy sheriff in 1518.[188] Both men continued to act on behalf of the crown in the locality in the following years.[189] Following the Acts of Union in 1536, the way was open for influential and ambitious Glamorgan families of *uchelwyr* descent to take an even greater role in public affairs than hitherto. Accordingly, Christopher's son Miles (d.1556) was sheriff of Glamorgan in 1547,[190] while William's son, Sir George Mathew (d.1558), acted as J.P. in 1536, escheator in 1541-2, sheriff of Glamorgan 1544-5 and was returned as MP for Glamorgan in 1553.[191] In the same year he was knighted at Westminster the day after Mary I's coronation, by the earl of Arundel.[192]

The family's success was not based only on service, however. Any aspiring clan of the fifteenth century was aware that although gentility was commensurate with service and vocation, its ultimate expression lay in the creation of a landed estate. The incipient gentry of fifteenth-century Glamorgan benefitted from liquidity in the land market, and in the Mathews' case a fair proportion of their estates were also acquired through heiresses.[193] Both David Mathew's father

---

[186] *Letters and Papers,* vol. I, ii, p. 1556.

[187] W.R.B. Robinson, 'The Tudor Revolution', pp. 1-20. This figure can be compared to the seven or more in Nottinghamshire in 1488, Payling, *Political Society,* p. 74, n. 34, and the ten to be found in Warwickshire in 1500, Carpenter, *Locality and Polity,* p. 678.

[188] Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records,* vol. 4, p. 533; W. R. B. Robinson, 'Tudor Revolution', p. 10.

[189] Some years later (probably the 1520s) they were appointed to look into a case involving the non-payment of an annuity by the Bishop of Llandaff: Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records,* vol. 4, (London, 1903), pp. 62-66.

[190] Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records,* vol. 1, (London, 1898), p. 236.

[191] S.T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London, 1982), p. 589

[192] W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (London, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 66-67.

[193] Both Carpenter and Payling have noted the importance of marriage in estate-building, particularly for newly risen or rising families (such as the Mathews), or over a short space of time. Even for those families whose rise originated

and grandfather had married heiresses, although the details of David's own marriage are unclear.[194] It is likely that these fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century marriages first launched the family on their upward trajectory in the absence of the fluid land market of later decades. The marriages of David's children were made with the consolidation and expansion of the estate in mind. Sometime during the 1430s or 1440s David's second son Reynborn married Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice Denys of Gloucestershire,[195] who also held land in Coity, where part of David's patrimony lay.[196] In the same generation the marriage of the third son, Thomas, to Katherine Morgan, daughter and co-heiress of Morgan ap Llewelyn ap Ieuan, esquire, of Radyr, brought the bride's inheritance of a capital messuage at Radyr, three tenements and over 300 acres of land and tenements in the parishes of Pentyrch, Llantrisant, Llantwit Fardre, Llanwynno and Aberdare, and in Ystradyfodwg and Llandaff.[197] In the third generation the twin themes of local consolidation and expansion beyond the confines of Glamorgan via good marriages were continued. Christopher Mathew, son of Reynborn, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Morgan, younger brother of Sir Thomas Morgan of Langstone,[198] while William's marriage to

---

from the proceeds of the law or service a good marriage in a subsequent generation allowed the consolidation of the estate. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 97; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 64-65.

[194]There is no agreement on the identity of his wife. Rice Lewis gave Gwenllian, daughter of David Gwillim, esq.: William Rees, 'A Breviat of Glamorgan 1596-1600 by Rice Lewis', in H.J. Randall and W. Rees, eds., *South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society, no. 3* (Newport, 1954), pp. 93-148, at p. 129; Siddons gives Gwenllian, daughter of David William Herbert [which may be the same as the former]: Siddons, ed., *Visitations*, pp. 46-47; R.A. Griffiths gives Lleucu, daughter of Gruffydd ap Nicholas: Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 67. G.T. Clark's suggestion of Wenllian, daughter of Sir George Herbert, would seem to be implausible as the Herbert family had not yet acquired that surname at the time when David's marriage must have taken place, probably by the 1420s.

[195] Siddons, ed., *Visitations*, pp. 46-47.

[196] The Denys family were resident on the manor of Syston, east of Bristol and were prominent in Gloucestershire affairs in the last years of the fourteenth century when Sir Gilbert Denys held the shrievalty (1393-94) and was knight of the shire (1390, 1395): Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p. 269. In the early years of the next century Sir Gilbert appears as a witness to several charters concerning Coity: Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 4, passim, and was involved in lifting the siege of Coity castle in 1412: R.A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government. 1. South Wales 1277-1536.* (Cardiff, 1972), p. 143.

[197] Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 4, p. 84. This important marriage can be seen as part of a deliberate policy of consolidation in the Llandaff area, Radyr being about two and a half miles away from Llandaff, Pentyrch about four miles, and Llantwit Fardre about six and a half miles away.

[198] Siddons, ed., *Visitations*, pp. 46-47.

Jenet Henry, daughter and co-heiress of Henry ap Gwilym, further extended the family's interests west, this time into Carmarthenshire.[199]

Land was not only acquired through fortunate marriages, however. Much of the early progress of the family was a result of opportunistic purchases and leases which took advantage of the depredations visited upon the lordships of Coity and Ogmore, and other lowland areas, during Glyn Dŵr's revolt. Part of David Mathew's patrimony lay in Coity, a lordship which straddles the upland/lowland divide, and he was keen to extend his interests into the more prosperous lowlands.[200] In 1427, or soon after, fellow Coity landowner John Eyre settled the manor of Corntown (only a few miles from the village of Coity, and firmly lowland) on David Mathew for the term of his life with remainder to his son, Thomas, and his heirs male. In 1438 David, along with Thomas, and Sir John Neville, was granted the Manor of Petirston (probably Peterston-super-Ely) the advowson of its parish church and the Manor of Glaspole.[201] These astute moves were part of a deliberate policy of expansion into the lowlands which can be observed in other *uchelwyr* families such as the Thomases of Brocastle, who farmed the lordship of Ogmore from 1490 to 1506. These families now moved in the same circles as, and intermarried with, the older, more established families, such as the Stradlings and the Butlers, the Mathews themselves married into the Stradling family in the 1470s.[202]

By the mid-sixteenth century the Mathews' rise was being outwardly reflected in their private building projects and land improvements as they set about establishing seats appropriate to their status as prominent county gentry. In the 1530s Leland noted in his *Itinerary* that Miles Mathew's seat at Llandaff was "like a pile and welle buildid",[203] and recorded George Mathew

---

[199] R.A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 63. See also Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, p. 265, for a brief biography of Henry ap Gwilym.

[200] Clark, *Cartae*, p. 1,529.

[201] Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 4, pp. 82-85.

[202] Davies, 'The Lordship of Ogmore', pp. 301-302, 307, 310.

[203] *Leland's Itinerary in Wales*, ed., L.T. Smith (London, 1906), p. 19.

as "a man of praty lands dwelling at Rader...[who] hath a park with dere newly made".[204]
George Mathew's deer park, and his family seat, praised by the bards in his father's day, were
clearly intended as a statement of his position in society, marking himself out as a gentleman.[205]
Wales had few parks, making Sir George's all the more impressive.[206] Given the date it is likely
that the deer park was the creation of George's father, Sir William, who had died in 1528, but
whoever was its creator, the fact that it was new rather poignantly illustrates the obvious
satisfaction and pride felt by the family at their arrival at the top of local society. It was
something they were keen to express in a variety of ways.

b. The Mathew monuments in Llandaff Cathedral

Of the three tombs in Llandaff Cathedral that commemorate members of the Mathew family, that
of David Mathew (d. before 1470) [29] was the first to be erected, followed by those of his
grandsons: Sir William Mathew (d.1528) and his wife Jenet (d.1530) [31] probably at around the
time of the latter's death, and Christopher Mathew (d. after 1531) and his wife Elizabeth
(d.1526) after 1531 [32]. All three conform to a broadly similar and familiar late-medieval type,
consisting of a tomb chest supporting an alabaster effigy or effigies, with the later two being very
similar in design. The tombs all lie in the north aisle: that of David Mathew just outside the
Mathew chapel,[207] that of Christopher and Elizabeth under an arch in the wall between the
Mathew and lady chapels, and that of Sir William and Jenet in a bay further to the west. Only the
monument of Christopher and Elizabeth has not been moved. William and Jenet's tomb spent the
century between c.1750 and c.1850 dismantled in the chapter house, while David Mathew's
originally lay in the north-east corner of the Mathew chapel.[208]

---

[204] *Leland's Itinerary,* p. 21.

[205] A. J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England 1399-1509* (Harlow, 2000), p. 187.

[206] Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London, 1976), pp. 152-153.

[207] This chapel is now called the Dyfrig chapel, but the Mathews' name will be kept here.

[208] *Diary of Richard Symonds,* p. 213; Browne Willis, *A Survey,* p.25.

b.i. The effigy abd chantry of David Mathew [29].

David Mathew's effigy is a striking sculpture, exuding a powerful physical presence, measuring 6ft 10 inches in length. Even within the context of the overall dimensions of the figure the head [29a] seems oversized, at just over 13 inches long. The figure assumes the conventional straight-legged praying pose of late medieval effigies, the feet resting on a lion, the head on a helm. The crest has been lost, but the remains of a bird's feet can clearly be seen, which originally belonged to a heathcock, the crest of the Mathews. The hands are missing, as is the tip of the nose; a sword lies on his left side, a dagger on his right. As with all fifteenth-century alabaster effigies the attention to detail in the armour is impressive, fastenings and mail being minutely observed. There is a collar of S-shaped links, although not of the classic Lancastrian design,[209] and frustratingly, the pendant has been effaced [29b]. Although a typical late medieval military effigy in many ways, there is a measure of individuality about the head, and this is not just a matter of its sheer size. In producing an effigy the craftsman usually disregarded the age and appearance of the deceased in favour of a stylised and idealised portrayal of an adult in his/her early thirties, the supposedly perfect age at which Christ died, to which all the saved would be restored at the Resurrection. The face of David Mathew's effigy seems considerably older than this however, having a receding hairline and lines running from nose to chin and probably on the forehead.[210]

At some point since the beginning of the eighteenth century the tomb-chest of David Mathew has been lost and replaced with a plain stone base. Its original position in the Mathew chapel would

---

[209] David was a Yorkist adherent.

[210] Portraits on effigies are very uncommon in this period, being unhelpful in the salvation of the individual and therefore 'functionally superfluous': Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 103. However Laurence Stone cited the example of the effigies of Sir John and Lady Crosby in Great St Helen's Church, London as evidence that by the 1480s London sculptors were showing greater interest in portraiture. Stone cites another trend of the end of the fifteenth century, when "large clumsy heads with long hair came into fashion". This is quite a good basic description of the head of David Mathew as it appears on his effigy, presenting the alternative scenario that his tomb was merely 'of the moment' stylistically: Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, p. 227, p. 218. David Mathew's effigy can also be compared in size and particularly in the look of the head with the early-sixteenth-century effigy of Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, in St George's chapel, Windsor, despite there being thirty or forty years between them.

have been an extremely sought after burial place: near to an altar, and within a short distance of the high altar. Such an area was usually the preserve of high-status laymen and clergy;[211] Bishop Marshall (1478-96) was later to request burial close to this spot and the effigies of several thirteenth-century bishops are also nearby, making this area an especially valuable one in terms of the holiness of its occupants.[212] In 1645 Richard Symonds recorded on the monument the Mathew arms of a lion rampant,[213] but a more detailed description comes from Browne Willis, who described at the effigy's head, "a man in armour bearing his shield. On the other side are six images, five of men and one of a woman all bearing escocheons."[214] The reference to the "escocheons" is most intriguing in the light of David Mathew's chantry, suggesting that they were intended to identify the weepers as particular individuals, in the manner of the 'kinship tombs' described by Morganstern. In cases where tombs are associated with chantries, weepers and associated heraldry can sometimes be seen as performing a mnemonic function, acting as a prompt for their inclusion in the prayers said by the chantry priest.[215] Given the disappearance of the entire tomb chest and the absence of any evidence relating to those mentioned in the chantry ordinance in David Mathew's case, it is not possible to categorically state that the weepers were intended to be 'read' in this way, but the tomb and the chantry should still be considered in a holistic light, with one an integral part of the function of the other.

The precise chronological relationship of the tomb and chantry is unclear. Nor do we know the date of David Mathew's death, other than it had happened – as had the establishment of the chantry - by 1470, when it is referred to in the will of David's son, Reynborn. The wording of Reynborn's will suggests that David had set up the chantry himself: "cantaria qua david mathewe

---

[211] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 97.

[212] See Case Study One.

[213] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 213

[214] Willis, *A Survey*, p. 25.

[215] Anne McGee Morganstern, 'The Tomb as Prompter for the Chantry: Four Examples from Late Medieval England' in, Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast, eds., *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 81-9, at pp. 82-84.

patris meus ordinavit et fecit in dicta ecclesia Cathedralis Landavensis ad valore ix marcas",[216] and so in all likelihood his monument was also his personal commission. This makes the loss of the tomb-chest even more regrettable as its design, heraldry and weeper figures may feasibly have reflected David's own concerns very closely, and could have elucidated the individuals named in the chantry ordinances as benefitting from intercession. The chantry was a service, set up via an enfeoffment to use in order to avoid the expense of a mortmain licence.[217] Such a method of endowment gave the founders, their families and trustees a much greater say over the running of the chantry and the duties of its incumbent, and this can clearly be seen in the continuing concern for the chantry and its endowments exhibited by David's descendants into the middle of the following century.

The chantry was endowed with lands and tenements in Llandaff, part of Reynborn's inheritance, and his concern over the chantry's future is evident in his will. He enfeoffed two Llandaff canons, John Wynter and David ap Llewelyn, with the lands in question in order that they present "unam capellanum idoneum ad cantariam predictam", but that after his death his eldest son and his heirs should have the right of advowson in perpetuity.[218] At least one of the feoffees, John Wynter, had been personally known to David Mathew himself during the late 1440s when both men were in the service of the abbot of Tewkesbury, David as steward and Wynter as receiver.[219] Wynter's long involvement with the family and his administrative experience must have recommended him for the role of feoffee. As the trustee of his father's chantry, Reynborn

---

[216] TNA: PROB 11/6, image ref: 7.

[217] See Chapter Five for further discussion of this issue and David Mathew's chantry.

[218] TNA: PRO PROB 11/6, image ref: 7. The chantry was thus securely endowed with property worth £6, which Reynborn's descendant, Miles Mathew, was anxious to restore to the family purse after the dissolution. As the ultimate heir of the chantry lands Miles refused to pay rent for them to the crown in 1550. He produced several witnesses at the Court of Augmentations in support of his claim in 1553, one of whom was the ex-chantry priest, John Syngar: *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, pp. 259-60; vol. 3, pp. 41-3. The outcome of this case is not known, but by the 1580s the lands, together with the rest of the cathedral's ex-chantry lands, had been leased by the crown to Thomas Morgan of Greys Inn: TNA: E133/4/645.

[219] Rees, 'Possessions of the Abbey of Tewkesbury', pp. 169, 173, 177.

was in the privileged position of being able to add his name to the list of benefactors without having to augment the endowment. It is possible that he did this, but in the event he and his brother, Thomas, chose burial in Bristol, at the Gaunts hospital, where he made his will. The specific attraction of this location for the brothers is unknown, particularly in the case of Thomas, whose career was centred in Glamorgan. Thomas predeceased Reynborn by a number of months, so Reynborn's choice of the Gaunts for burial may be explained by a desire to be near his brother, despite the fact burial near a parent was the more usual option.[220]

b.ii. The tomb of Sir William Mathew (d.1528) and Jenet Henry (d.1530) [31]

There is no surviving evidence to suggest that any monuments were erected – or indeed any interments took place – of other Mathews in the sixty-or-so years between the death and commemoration of David Mathew and the erection of the monument to Sir William Mathew and Jenet Henry. This monument was already in existence in 1530, when it was seen by Lancaster Herald, William Fellow,[221] suggesting that it was commissioned before Jenet's death and, presumably, by her.[222] It bears the signs of its long exile in the chapter house - the chest and plinth on which the effigies lie have deep cracks and the base is a modern replacement - and there are signs of water damage on the face of the knight.[223]

The tomb chest is of a standard design. The north side is decorated with seven double-arched recesses, surmounted by crocketed pinnacles, under which stand a lady in fashionable dress (recess 1), mitred angels bearing shields (recesses 2,4 and 6) and hooded monastic figures carrying rosaries (recesses 3, 5 and 7). The western end contains four recesses of the same

---

[220] Christopher Daniell's analysis of late-medieval Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire wills revealed 114 requests for burial near one or both parents compared with thirteen near a sibling: Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 102. There are not enough surviving Welsh wills to ascertain if there were similar trends here.

[221] Siddons, *Visitations*, p. 45.

[222] The inscription gives William's date of death and is left blank where the day and month of Jenet's should be although, curiously, the year of her death, in 1530, is given.

[223] See Chapter One for antiquarian accounts of the monument.

design, with mitred angels bearing shields in the first and third spaces, and male monastic figures in the second and fourth. The south side reverses the scheme of the north, with the praying female figure in the seventh recess, the monastic figures in the second, fourth and sixth recesses and the shield-bearing angels in the first, third and fifth [31a]. The east end departs slightly from the overall scheme, containing three recesses, the first and third being double-arched, while the central one is triple-arched. In the outer recesses are damaged military figures, and in the centre a knight and a lady support a large shield with eight quarterings. As with the Berkerolles tombs the blazons are twentieth-century additions, but in this case there is enough antiquarian evidence of the originals to gain a feeling of the overall heraldic tone (discussed below). Around the chamfered edge of the chest is a damaged inscription: 'Orate pro animabus Gulielmi Mathew Militis qui obiit decimo die Martii AD, Mccccc° vices° VIII el.....? Jennette uxoris eius qu(i)?e Deo reddidit Spiritum ------- die ------- mensis AD Millmo ccccc trices° quorum animabus propitietur Deus Amen.'

The effigies, again, are of a standard design; the knight's armour is minutely detailed, his head rests on a particularly finely-wrought, though damaged, helm, and his feet rest on a lion. As with the effigy of his grandfather, the crest has been lost, but the heathcock's feet can still be seen, and the hands and most of the sword are gone. Sir William wears a collar of SS alternating with ribbons or bows, with a pendant which can just be made out as a cross. Symonds recorded the collar as being "gilt", with a cross pattee hanging on it.[224] Under the right foot is a miniature figure of a sleeping bedesman. The lady wears fashionable dress with distinctive ruched sleeves emerging from her cloak. Her gabled headdress is very finely detailed, picked out in gilt at the time of Browne Willis, and her belt carries a Tudor rose fastening.[225] Her hands and feet are missing but the remains of two small dogs can be made out between the folds of her dress.

---

[224] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 214.

[225] Willis, *A Survey*, p. 8.

If David Mathew was buried in a spiritually potent position, his grandson's burial location (presuming the monument's present position is accurate) is at first sight, illogical. The monument's westerly position put it at a distance from the holy areas of the high altar and the lady chapel, but even odder is William's separation from his grandfather's chantry chapel. The thoroughly Catholic tone of the tomb-chest and inscription preclude this being a result of reformist leanings, and it is possible that William made his choice for secular, rather than spiritual, reasons. The nave was, of course, a public area of the church and a monument erected there would be more visible than one placed in the private space of a chantry chapel. In the nave his monument could advertise his family's wealth, status and ancestry to a wider audience, who may also have been induced to offer up their prayers for his soul. It will become apparent below that Sir William intended to broadcast a very clear message via his tomb, for which a wide public consumption was most desirable.

b.iii. The tomb of Christopher Mathew (d. after 1531) and Elizabeth Morgan (d. 1526) [32]
The last of the three Mathew tombs to be erected was that of William's cousin, Christopher, and his wife Elizabeth Morgan. Christopher is known to have been still alive in 1531 when he witnessed a fine at Cardiff,[226] and the monument was not recorded on Fellow's visit. The omission in the inscription of the date of Christopher's death suggests that the commission took place in his lifetime, and is therefore likely to have been his own doing: Orate pro animabus Christoferi Mathew armigeri et Elisabeth uxoris sue que quidē Elisabeth obiit ultimo die januarij anno domini millesimo quingentesimo XXVIto et predicti Christoferus obit die ------- anno domini millesimo quingentesimo ------- quo animabus propitietur deus Amen. Christopher would have been in a position to take full advantage of his inheritance of the lands in Llandaff that had been used to endow his grandfather's chantry to amend the ordinances to include his and his family's names in the prayers. He also chose a spiritually more beneficial burial location than

---

[226] Clark, *Cartae,* vol. 2, pp. 284-5.

William, near to the altar in the chantry chapel and in a liminal position between it and the lady chapel.[227]

The monument has a commanding position in an archway piercing the wall between these two holy spaces, the arch forming a kind of canopy, surmounted by a shield bearing Christopher and Elizabeth's impaled arms. It is visually the most sumptuous of the Mathew memorials. In design and construction the main body of the monument is almost identical to that of William and Jenet. Christopher's effigy, though less damaged, is very like William's, the only immediately noticeable difference being Christopher's Lancastrian collar. The sleeping bedesman appears under the right foot, although practically invisible between Christopher's feet and the wall. Similarly, Elizabeth's effigy is virtually indistinguishable from that of Jenet, down to the ruched sleeves, pedimented headdress and Tudor roses on the clasps of her cloak and girdle [32a].[228] The arcades of the tomb chest also closely echo those of William and Jenet, but here there are nine double-arched recesses on each side, with fewer clerical and more lay figures. On the north side, reading from the head end, the first and ninth recesses contain a monastic figure, niches two, three, four, six, seven and eight contain fashionably dressed praying female figures, while the central, wider arch contains two mitred angels supporting the arms of Mathew impaling Morgan.[229] Below the feet of each of the female figures is a shield painted with heraldic arms [32b][230] On the south side niches one, five, eight and nine recreate the scheme of the north, while niches two, three, four, six and seven contain knights. No heraldry has been added on this side of the tomb – other than the central shield of Mathew impaling Morgan – although the (damaged)

---

[227] Liminality symbolised the soul's crossing of the boundary between earth and the afterlife: Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 100.

[228] See the fairly cursory comments in: *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 213; Willis, *A Survey*, pp. 25-26.

[229] *Visitations*, ed., Siddons, pp. 46-47. Although the tinctures for Morgan are displayed on the tomb as *argent, a griffin segreant sable*, Siddons records *or, a griffin segreant sable* for Morgan of Langstone from whom Elizabeth claimed descent.

[230] These represent, left to right: quarterly, 1st and 4th, Fleming of Penlline, 2nd and 3rd, Norris of Penlline; Vortigern; Coel Codebog; Howel of Caerleon; Russell of Kentchurch; Cadwallon: A.L. Jones, *Heraldry in Glamorgan. South Glamorgan no. 3, Llandaff Cathedral* (Bridgend, 1987), p. 19.

knights appear to have shields by their sides and the knight in the second recess has a shield below his feet, all of which are bare. As with Sir William's tomb, the tinctures were painted on in 1980, but in this case there are no antiquarian records of the original scheme and so it is unwise to assume that the heraldic decoration of Christopher and Elizabeth's monument was conceived with similar messages in mind (see below).

While it is not possible to draw any conclusions from the heraldry on this monument, it is clear that once the modern additions are swept away it reads very like a classic kinship tomb. That the weepers on the tomb of Christopher and Elizabeth Mathew are intended to represent family members and associates is indicated by the fact that the shields are held by, or placed below, the knights and ladies, making it likely that specific individuals are being identified, as in the tomb of Elizabeth Montacute at St Frideswide's, Oxford.[231] The clerical figures at either end meanwhile do not bear shields. The sides are neither symmetrically laid out nor mirror images of each other, suggesting that the scheme is not purely decorative and that there were other motives behind the arrangement. By this date lay weepers usually represented children or other figures of importance, such as sons- and daughters-in-law, as in the case of Richard Beauchamp's tomb in Warwick, on which his daughters and their husbands are identifiable heraldically.[232] On Christopher and Elizabeth's tomb there are seven ladies and five military figures, but this does not fit the five daughters and two sons recorded for the couple by the sixteenth-century heralds.[233] It is possible of course that these seven were only those who had survived to adulthood and that two daughters and three sons had died in infancy, but were remembered on

---

[231] See Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, pp. 3-4

[232] Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders', p. 163.

[233] Siddons, *Visitations*, pp. 46-47. Christopher is elsewhere recorded as having five daughters and eight sons, of which five were illegitimate: Clark, *Limbus Patrum*, p. 8.

199

their parents' monument as was the case on the tomb of Edward III.[234] Alternatively, each of the five daughters and two sons may be depicted, along with two daughters-in-law and three sons-in-law. In the latter case, the original heraldic scheme may have related the marriage alliances of Christopher and Elizabeth's offspring and/or other kin and associates.

c. A Mathew Mausoleum?

By the end of the 1530s three impressive alabaster monuments had been erected to the Mathews in Llandaff cathedral, effectively colonising part of the north aisle and adjoining chapel, and constituting the beginnings of a family mausoleum. Why no monuments are known to have been erected to succeeding generations is therefore something of a mystery. As outlined above, Sir George Mathew (d.1557), son of William, had an even more impressive career than his father and there can have been no more appropriate setting for his monument than among his ancestors in the cathedral. In 1553, moreover, Sir George obtained the lease of the manor of Llandaff from the bishop in perpetuity.[235] Christopher's son, Miles (d.1556), also remained a powerful landowner in the locality, but the burial place of neither is known. The evidence of surviving wills indicates that the north aisle in fact continued to receive family burials: in1681 David Mathew of Llandaff requested interment in "the burying place belonging to him and his ancestors",[236] while an undated (but probably early nineteenth-century) plan of the cathedral

---

[234] See Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs,* Chapter 7, for Edward III's monument, and Oosterwijk, 'A swithe feire graue', and 'Chrysoms, shrouds and infants: a question of terminology', *Church Monuments,* 15 (2000), pp. 44-65, for the appearance of children on their parents' monuments.

[235] Madeleine Gray, 'Change and Continuity: The Gentry and the Property of the Church in South-East Wales and the Marches', in J. Gwynfor Jones, ed., *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 1-38, at p. 27. The manor was worth £50 and accounted for a third of the bishop's income, the lease rendering the diocese significantly poorer as a result.

[236] *Cardiff Records,* vol. 3, p. 131. Another requested burial in the cathedral: *Cardiff Records,* vol. 3, p. 124, but other Mathews are known to have been buried elsewhere, such as Davy Mathew (d.1504), who was buried in London (see Chapter 5).

200

burial vaults indicates two Mathew burials in the vicinity of William and Jenet's monument.[237] In 1686, however, the family's burial rights in the north aisle were revoked as the area had not been kept in good repair,[238] suggesting that the seventeenth-century Mathews had ceased to see this part of the church in a proprietorial light.

The absence of monuments to Sir George and Miles is hard to explain, but the lack of later memorials can easily be accounted for by the progressive deterioration of the fabric after the Reformation. Large mural monuments of the type favoured by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century elites are uncommon at Llandaff and no doubt the local gentry were discouraged – as the Mathews appear to have been - from erecting costly memorials in such a precarious setting, while losses must surely have occurred.

d. The political and cultural context of the tomb of Sir William Mathew and Jenet Henry
In its essentials the monument of William and Jenet is of a standard late-medieval type. That it came from the same workshop as that of Christopher and Elizabeth Mathew, Sir John Morgan (d.1491) at St Woolos, Newport [51] and Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d.1510) at St Mary's, Abergavenny [8], has been recognised.[239] However this workshop had a wide client base and was also patronised by the English gentry. Highly comparable tell-tale features, such as sleeves, bedesmen and tomb-chest design are seen in the tombs of Margaret Gyffard (d.1539) at Middle Claydon (Bucks), Sir George Forster (d.1539) at Aldermaston (Berks), and Sir Richard Redman (c.1500) at Harewood, (Yorks).[240]

---

[237] NLW, MS LLCh/2894. One of these may have been that cautiously identified by Willis as the grave of William Mathew (d.c.1539), a canon at the cathedral who held the prebend of Llangwm. It had contained a brass inscription, gone by Willis's visit in 1722: Bodleian Library, MS Willis, 104, fols 6-7.

[238] Ollivant, *Some Account of the Condition and Fabric*, p. 9.

[239] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, pp. 247-8.

[240] The wide geographical and chronological range of these monuments indicates that the workshop was a well-established business, but - if the monuments in question were all commissioned around the time of death of those they commemorate - one whose pattern book barely changed in nearly half a century. The details, such as the ruched sleeves, remaining on the effigy of the wife of Sir John Morgan (d.1491) are the same as those of Lady Margaret

201

An appreciation of the actual significance of William and Jenet's monument can only be gained from the brief references to its heraldry given by heralds and antiquaries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[241] In 1531 William Fellow recorded the following three quartered arms on the tomb-chest of William and Jenet:[242] quarterly, 1. Mathew, 2. Elystan Glodrudd (Lord of Rhwng Gwy ag Hafren, d. c.1010), 3. Llewelyn Foethus (Lord of Llangathan, c.1360), 4. Cydifor ap Selyf (king of Dyfed); quarterly, 1. and 4. Mathew, 2. and 3. Iestyn ap Gwrgant (the last native prince of Glamorgan, late eleventh-century); Mathew quartering Iestyn ap Gwrgant impaling per fess 1. Elystan Glodrydd and Llewelyn Foethus, 2. Cydifor ap Self. Richard Symonds, in 1645, also recorded Llywelyn Foethus and Iestyn ap Gwrgant, but added Marchweithian (eleventh-century Lord of Is-Aled, Denbighshire) and another, unidentified, coat.[243] By 1718 only the arms of Iestyn ap Gwrgant were visible.[244]

What is immediately noticeable about these individuals, of course, is that none are immediate family members and all, apart from Llewelyn Foethus, hail from the pre-conquest, pre-heraldic era, to whom arms had been attributed retrospectively. As the tomb has nine shields, the above three must have been part of a wider scheme, and it is notable that none of the antiquarian accounts refer to any arms that were *not* of this historic, attributed type. The reason for this striking departure from the norm - as perceived in the Anglocentric historiography of late-medieval tomb design - is intimately bound up with contemporary Welsh culture: bardic traditions, distinctive heraldic practices and the emphasis on the primacy of blood and lineage in the transmission of gentility.

Gifford (d.1539). The bedesman under the foot of Sir Richard Redman (tomb dated to c.1500 by Gardner) is identical to that under the feet of the effigies of Christopher and Sir William Mathew carved about thirty years later.

[241] See Jones, *Heraldry in Glamorgan*, pp. 11-12; 29-31, for the current armorial scheme, painted on in 1980.

[242] Siddons points out that Fellow does not categorically state that these coats come from the tomb, but as they are so similar to those observed on it by Richard Symonds in 1645, it is likely to have been the case: Siddons, *Visitations*, p. 45.

[243] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 214.

[244] Willis, *A Survey*, p. 8.

To deal first with the latter: a recent description of the Welsh preoccupation with lineage as "almost proverbial" is not an exaggeration; it held a very real significance for the late-medieval Welsh gentleman.[245] In the late fifteenth-century, for example, John Eyton of the lordship of Bromfield claimed descent from the early twelfth-century Elidir ap Rhys Sais.[246] For Eyton's more recent forebears the knowledge of this descent would not only have been a matter of pride, but of practical necessity. Under Welsh law, land was owned collectively by the kinship group or *gwely*, and an individual's right to a share of those lands depended on his membership of the *gwely* and descent from the common ancestor.[247] Although more families were resorting to primogeniture in the fifteenth century, the remembrance of one's pedigree continued to be important as descent also conferred free status and, more importantly from the Mathews' point of view, gentility of blood. For those families, such as the Mathews, who had also acquired the trappings of gentility in the forms that an Englishman would understand, pride in this descent could be evinced as a way of showing their superiority over others. This inevitably fostered a keen interest in genealogy, which became a "positive craze" amongst the Welsh gentry in Tudor times.[248] The Carnes of Nash for example, a rising family who purchased Ewenny priory in the 1540s, traced their lineage back to Beli Mawr, reputed king of Britain c.100 BC, via Caradog, Coel Godebog, Constantine the Great, Cynedda Wledig and Ynyr, king of Gwent.[249] The possession of a noble and long pedigree was considered as desirable as the acquisition of land, a fortunate marriage and other measures of worldly success; indeed, one was seen as the justification of the other.

---

[245] John Morgan-Guy, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty', in Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton, eds., *Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 50-63 at p. 50.

[246] Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 357-361; J. Gwynfor Jones, *The Welsh Gentry 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority* (Cardiff, 1998), p. 204; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Concepts of Order and Gentility', in J. Gwynfor Jones, ed., *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 121-157, at pp. 125-6.

[247] Davies, *Lordship and Society*, pp. 360-1; Jones, *The Welsh Gentry*, p. 10.

[248] Glanmor Williams, 'Glamorgan Society, 1536-1642', in Glanmor Williams ed., *Glamorgan County History*, 4 (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 73-141, at pp. 79-80.

[249] NLW, MS. 6549 C, vol. 2, fols. 41-2.

The poets played a crucial role in disseminating and upholding these *uchelwyr* pre-occupations and the two operated in symbiosis, the poets finding employment and hospitality in the halls of the gentry in return for their elaborate praise of the nobility, generosity and valour of their patrons.[250] Families and individuals such as the Herberts, Tudors, Owain Glyn Dŵr and Sir Rhys ap Thomas figure heavily in the *cywyddau moliant* (praise poems) and *cerddi brud* (prophetic poems) of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but many more obscure men were patrons or subject-matter. David Mathew figures in the work of Guto'r Glyn, one of the most eminent poets of the second half of the fifteenth century, who called him "the black lion [...] of Llandaff", a reference to the lion borne on the Mathew coat of arms.[251] David's brother, Robert, was commemorated on his death by a *marwnad,* or elegy, by Hywel Swrdwal (see above). The Glynrhondda bard, Ieuan Rudd, sang in celebration of the marriage of Sir William Mathew's cousin, Jenet, to Sir Rhys ap Thomas,[252] while Sir William's hospitality and the magnificence of his court at Radyr was praised by Iorwerth Fynglwyd.[253] John Eyton's descent from Elidir ap Rhys Sais, already mentioned, was extolled after his death in a *marwnad* by Gutun Owain not from obsequiousness or archaism, but as a way of highlighting his nobility of blood.[254] The patronage of the poets was no mere cultural conceit therefore, but a flourishing and deeply rooted facet of native culture with which the Mathews were deeply involved, steeped in the poets' interpretation of Welsh history. At Sir William Mathew's death an *awdl* (ode) by Lewys Morgannwg summed up the themes of nobility which the poets and their patrons held dear, and which were attributed to Sir William: "There is splendour, courage, wealth, abundance; there is

---

[250] See Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* pp. 98-102 and *passim* for individual examples of the relationship between gentry and poets in the late-medieval and early Tudor period.

[251] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry,* vol. 1, p. 121. This can be seen as confirmation of the story that David changed the tincture of the lion on his arms from sable to argent in honour of the House of York. Guto'r Glyn also praised David's modest demeanour, wisdom and faith and evokes his local prominence by referring to him as the key, lock and sword that guards Cardiff. He and his sons are likened to a stag and its antlers, or the thumb and fingers of a hand: E.A. Rees, *A Life of Guto'r Glyn* (Talybont, 2008), p. 163.

[252] Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas,* p. 81.

[253]Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry,* 1, p. 132.

[254] Davies, *Lordship and Society,* p. 362.

holiness for many up in heaven. The blood of lords, feasts of knightly blood, trodden underfoot is our ancient blood and our kings."[255]

A defining factor of English gentility was the right to bear arms, but the adoption of heraldry was resisted by the native Welsh elite until the fourteenth century, and was not popular until the fifteenth.[256] David Mathew, as noted above, bore a black lion, and his possession of arms was fully commensurate with his status as an esquire, a group which had emerged as a distinct armigerous level below the knights in England during the fourteenth century.[257] As with gentility, however, Welsh heraldry had a distinct flavour, and was used to display tribal ancestry rather than immediate family in the English fashion. Arms were projected back to a distant patriarch, such as Iestyn ap Gwrgant, and all the families that claimed descent from him could bear his arms.[258] The Mathews' lion rampant was not a coat awarded by the heralds as would have been contemporary practice in England, but was unilaterally adopted to signify their descent from the patriarch Gwaithfoed and was borne by many other families.[259]

Viewed in this light, the heraldry on William Mathew and Jenet Henry's tomb is much easier to understand and the messages it gave out readily appreciated – as they would have been to the contemporary observer. The arms of Elystan Glodrydd, Llewelyn Foethus and Cydifor ap Selyf, quartered with those of William Mathew on his tomb, derived from Henry ap Gwilym of Carmarthenshire, Jenet's father,[260] while those of Iestyn ap Gwrgant, were inherited from

---

[255] Quoted in J.G. Jones, 'The Gentry of East Glamorgan: Welsh Cultural Dimensions, 1540-1640', *Morgannwg*, vol. 37 (1993), pp. 8-39, at pp. 32-33.

[256] Crouch, *Image of the Aristocracy*, pp. 241-2; Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, 1, p. 331.

[257] Keen, *Origins*, pp. 71-85; Coss, *The Knight*, pp. 129-131; Crouch, *Image of the Aristocracy*, p. 236.

[258] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 1, p. xi, p. 331.

[259] See Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 2, pp. 202-3.

[260] Siddons, *Visitations*, p. 45.

William's mother, Katherine Morgan of Radyr, who claimed descent from him.[261] In its entirety, therefore, William and Jenet's tomb encapsulated the duality of their gentility. The monument itself placed them as established gentry in the English fashion, with extensive lands and a distinguished career of service to the crown, while the heraldic scheme celebrated the meeting of several lines of the ancient nobility of Wales in the couple's marriage. The qualities of courage, splendour and, in particular, noble blood were regarded by the poets as being at the core of every true Welsh gentleman, and found their expression in the alabaster and gilding of William and Jenet's monument.

The assumption of attributed arms was commonplace amongst the *uchelwyr* and, as will be seen below, echoes of the cultural statements in the heraldry of the Mathew tomb can be found on the monuments of their contemporaries.[262] More significant is the popularity of the monumental effigy itself amongst this group. The commissioning of imposing monuments, usually of alabaster, was a popular commemorative choice for several prominent Welsh marcher families and individuals from the mid-fifteenth century to the early Tudor period – a fact which stands out starkly against the background of almost total lack of interest in effigial commemoration among this class hitherto. As well as the three alabaster Mathew monuments at Llandaff there are those of Sir William ap Thomas (d.1446) and his wife Gwladus (d.1454) [6], Sir Richard Herbert

---

[261] NLW, MS. 7272 E. Nineteenth-century description of the arms of Mathew of Radyr.

[262] It should be pointed out that heraldry could be used in similar ways in England. A window commissioned for Tewkesbury abbey by Eleanor de Clare, the widow of Hugh Despenser the Younger and sister of Gilbert de Clare, depicts eight knights, including Hugh, the first de Clare earl of Gloucester, Eleanor's second husband William de la Zouche and Robert FitzHamon, encapsulating the descent of the honour of Tewkesbury from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries and providing an "excellent example of an aristocratic tendency to project their values back into a pre-heraldic past, in the interests of lineage.": Peter Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England' in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 39-68, at pp. 48-9. Similarly, it has been noted how the secular tomb narratives of the gentry of the east midlands "could often call on centuries of genealogical information when required": Denton, 'The East Midland Gentleman', p. 167. Denton cites the lost brass to Sir Thomas Chaworth (d.1458) and his wife Isabel Aylesbury at Launde priory (Leics), which contained nine shields depicting ten separate lineages of the couple. Interestingly, among them were the de Londres arms, representing the marriage of Patrick de Chaworth and Hawise de Londres (d.1274) of Ewenny, via which the lordship of Kidwelly came to the Chaworths: pp. 149-153. Denton does not mention that the marriage also brought them the lordship of Ogmore.

(d.1469) and his wife Margaret [7], and Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d.1510) [8] at St Mary's priory, Abergavenny. At Newport are the effigies of Sir John Morgan of Tredegar (d.1491) and his wife Jenet Mathew [51]. The monuments of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d.1469) and his son, the earl of Huntingdon, were located at Tintern abbey, but have been lost. At Swansea was the now lost tomb of Sir Mathew Cradock (d.1531) and his second wife, Katherine Gordon; at Carmarthen Greyfriars was the monument to Sir Rhys ap Thomas (d.1525) and his wife Jenet Mathew (d.1535), now in St Peter's, Carmarthen. In Pembrokeshire, at Scolton manor (but originally at Slebech), lie the effigies of Margaret Herbert and her husband, Sir Henry Wogan of Wiston, completed before 1483, and Charles Somerset and Elizabeth Herbert are commemorated by an elaborate tomb at St George's Chapel, Windsor.[263]

It is important to note that such a level of effigial commemoration among the native marcher elites was unprecedented and reflects the rise of the native Welsh gentry during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But there is more to this phenomenon than simple socio-economics: each of these individuals distinguished themselves by service to Edward IV or his early Tudor successors, and all were linked by marriage (see Fig.14, Gentry Marital Links).[264] Heraldry survives on some of these monuments but their references are not always as consistently ancient Welsh as on the Mathew tomb. Although the several branches of the Morgan family of Monmouthshire claimed descent from the Carmarthenshire lord Cydifor Fawr (d.1091), they did not derive their usual arms of a griffin segreant from him. However, he is referenced heraldically on the partial remains of the tomb of Sir John Morgan and Jenet Mathew at Newport, which also

[263] Some members of this group also had non-effigial monuments, such as those of Gruffydd ap Rhys (d.1521), son of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and a member of the household of prince Arthur, at Worcester cathedral, and Sir Thomas Morgan (d.1510) at Llanmartin.

[264] The careers of the Herberts and Sir Rhys ap Thomas are too well known to need repeating here. Sir John Morgan of Tredegar accompanied Henry Tudor to Bosworth: Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 41, and was deputy chamberlain of south Wales in the 1470s. Sir Mathew Cradock administered the lordships of Glamorgan and Gower in the early sixteenth century: Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 241-2, and Gruffydd ap Rhys was a senior member of the household of Arthur, Prince of Wales. The Mathews were linked to both the Morgans of Tredegar and Sir Rhys ap Thomas by marriage, while Sir Mathew Cradock's daughter, Margaret, was the wife of Richard Herbert of Ewyas.

displays the Morgan griffin, the three towers of the twelfth-century lord Hywel of Caerleon and the cross between four spear-heads of the Merbury family of Cheshire.[265] A similar mixture of Welsh and English heraldry formed part of the destroyed tomb of Sir Mathew Cradock at Swansea.

---

[265] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 2, pp. 398-400.

Fig. 14: Marital links of the Welsh gentry commemorated by effigial monuments, c.1450–c.1530

Cradock claimed descent from Einon ap Gollwyn (d.1090) but again did not bear the patriarchal arms of a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys, the main Cradock arms being three boar's heads. Both the fleurs-de-lys and the boars' heads appeared on his tomb at St Mary's, Swansea, but all its other known heraldry seems to have referred to the families of his non-*uchelwyr* wives, Alice Mansel and Katherine Gordon.[266]

The heraldry of the Herbert monuments at St Mary's priory, Abergavenny, is also partially lost. The tomb of the family's progenitor, William ap Thomas and his second wife, Gwladus Ddu, originally displayed their arms. The three white Herbert lions are not derived from a Welsh patriarch and Gwladus's black lion similarly departs from the arms traditionally attributed to her ancestors Einon Sais (d.1271) and Bleddyn ap Maenyrch (d.1093).[267] The monument of their son, Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook, again displayed the Herbert lions, together with the arms of his wife, Margaret, which were derived from Urien Rheged (see below). Marital links are also the focus of the surviving heraldry on the monument of Richard Herbert of Ewyas, which alternate the Herbert lions with the boars' heads of his wife, Margaret Cradock.[268] The shields on the tomb-chest are now blank. In Carmarthen the effigy of Sir Rhys ap Thomas (commemorated with his wife Jenet Mathew, cousin of Sir William Mathew) wears a tabard displaying the chevron between three ravens of Urien Rheged (mid sixth-century), repeated on shields around the tomb-chest.[269]

The heraldic tone of the monument of Sir William and Jenet Mathew is therefore echoed in the tombs of their contemporaries to varying extents, and it is logical that families with injections of English or *advenae* blood might reflect that in their heraldic achievements. The most important

---

[266] NLW, MS 6554 E, fols. 11, 13 and 14.

[267] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 2, pp. 226, 141 and 32; *Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 1, pp. 80-81.

[268] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 2, p. 229.

[269] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry*, 2, pp. 498-9.

observation to be made from the collection of monuments to these individuals however, is that they reflect the new-found power, authority and self-confidence of their class acquired through their service and estate-building activities of the fifteenth century, and boosted by the psychological effect of the accession of the Tudor dynasty in 1485. Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth was greeted ecstatically by the poets, one of whom hailed it as the "coming of the long golden summer".[270] Although the new king could not favour the Welsh over the English as the poets had hoped, he did play on his Welsh origins to a certain extent – adopting the dragon of Cadwaladr as a supporter of the royal crest, naming his son Arthur – and encouraged and promoted Welshmen at court and in Wales on a "much greater scale than before."[271] Glanmor Williams remarked that "The new Cadwaladr's [Henry Tudor] victory did indeed mark the beginning of a new era of growing prosperity and preferment for the squires and made them more firmly convinced than ever that they were the rightful heirs of the ancient race of Troy."[272] Even the Herberts survived the change of dynasty, and several of the occupants of the tombs discussed in this section had received promotion under Henry VII and VIII. Peter Lord has identified Welshmen such as these, as well as those, such as the Dwnns, who prospered under the Yorkists, as "extravagant patrons of visual culture." Not all commissioned tomb effigies, some preferring books, glass, wood, stone, or paint, but the "desire of enthusiasts for the new dynasty to demonstrate their loyalty through images" is self-evident.[273] Lord and John Morgan-Guy have termed these objects 'icons of loyalty',[274] and it is sensible to view the tombs of the Mathews and the others mentioned in this section in this light. It may even be possible to see a certain amount

---

[270] Dafydd Llwyd, quoted in Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, p. 237.

[271] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 238-248, quote on p. 239. See also, R.A. Griffiths and R.S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 187-98.

[272] Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p. 252.

[273] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, ch. 5, quotes on p. 252 and p. 274.

[274] Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 274; Morgan-Guy, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty in Wales.'

of tribalism in the patronage of these monuments, most of which were of alabaster,[275] while some are known to have come from the same workshop (see above). Christopher Daniell has surmised that future studies may reveal "group identity in tomb design",[276] and research of this nature into the monuments of the late-medieval Welsh elites would be very rewarding.

Conclusion

The three groups of monuments looked at in the foregoing case studies have provided an excellent illustration of the nature of the changes taking place at the top levels of society in the diocese of Llandaff, and in prevailing commemorative practices during the medieval period. The thirteenth-century episcopal effigies at Llandaff form a distinctive group of monuments from a time when interest in effigial commemoration was gathering pace and the bishops were able to take advantage of Severnside links to commission a series of memorials in the latest styles. The popularity of the monumental effigy soon spread to the gentry classes, and the Berkerolles family commissioned two (or three) elaborate tombs to mark their place in Glamorgan society at a time when a local industry had sprung up to service the level of demand. The ensuing crises of the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries saw an abrupt collapse of the market and when, in the second half of the fifteenth century, it began to revive, a new client class had appeared on the scene.

The Mathew monuments and chantry in Llandaff cathedral indicate how the new families, often of Welsh blood, were benefitting from the opportunities opening up from the fifteenth century, and were taking on the trappings of gentility in the English fashion, which included adopting

---

[275] Although it is true that alabaster was almost ubiquitous as far as sculptured monuments are concerned, brass was also an extremely popular medium during this period, but was only rarely chosen for the monuments of this group. The tombs of Edmund Tudor and Gruffydd ap Rhys were surmounted by brasses, and both may have been commissioned by Sir Rhys ap Thomas: Mark Duffy, 'Arthur's Tomb and its Context' in Gunn and Monckton, eds., *Arthur Tudor*, pp. 77-88, at p. 86. Sir Hugh Johnnys was also commemorated by a brass at Swansea, erected after his death in c.1510.

[276] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 184.

212

commemorative practices to which the Welsh – in the march at least - had not hitherto subscribed in great numbers. The Mathews and their contemporaries continued to operate within Welsh cultural norms, however, and this was reflected in the heraldic tone of their monuments, which displayed their tribal pedigrees in amongst their other family connections. The monument of William Mathew and Jenet Henry perhaps stands out as making particularly strident statements in this respect. Two contrasting features have been observed in the nobility and gentry of Tudor Wales, who benefited from economic progress and "strove to establish for themselves a small-time supremacy in their localities", but who also displayed "reactionary conservative tendencies". They had to deal with "the rift between loyalty to the native soil and the desire, encouraged by Tudor policies, to broaden their social and economic occupations."[277] It may be possible to see these tensions being played out in the funeral monuments of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *uchelwyr*. The medieval commemorative monument had always been the vehicle of concerns other than the purely spiritual: a potent mixture of social, political, territorial and familial bluster and anxiety are all conveyed in their design and execution. For William Mathew, Jenet Henry and their peers the monumental effigy was one way in which they could express their social, political and economic status on one level and set it within the context of their noble blood-line on another.

---

[277] J. Gwynfor Jones, *Conflict, Continuity and Change in Wales c.1500-1603: Essays and Studies* (Aberystwyth, 1999), p. 1.

Chapter Five

Other Forms of Memorialisation

Patterns of monumental commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff have been established via the discussions in Chapters Two, Three and Four, and it is now necessary to set these findings within the context of other methods of securing intercessory prayer, such as lights, obits, chantries and testamentary bequests. Some of these were available to the less well-off social groups who may have been unable to aspire to effigial commemoration, but all were also endowed as part of the wider commemorative schemes of the elite. Research into the commemorative practices of the citizens of late medieval Bristol by Clive Burgess has emphasised that the perpetuation of the memory of the deceased via the commissioning of a monument must be seen within the context of a much wider and varied commemorative culture, which included gifts of liturgical objects and fittings as well as endowments of intercessory institutions.[1] In Duffy's words, "the maintenance of the church and the provision of its furniture and ornaments became the principal expression of [the laity's] mortuary piety."[2]

Like the study of memorial monuments, there has been plenty of recent scholarly interest in the provision of chantries, lights, obits and other forms of intercession, which has arisen in part from the broader growth of interest in late medieval lay piety, and as with monuments, studies have been both nation-wide and local in scope.[3] This body of research, which has drawn on a range of

---

[1] Burgess, 'Longing to be Prayed For'.

[2] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992), p. 133.

[3] Nationwide studies of chantries and lesser forms of memorial were pioneered in the 1960s and 70s with Wood-Legh's *Perpetual Chantries*, J.T. Rosenthal's *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift-Giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1485* (London, 1972) and Alan Kreider's *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (London, 1979). Regional studies have embraced counties, towns, cities, deaneries and single institutions: D.M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971); M.G.A. Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry 1370-1480* (York, 1976); Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984); Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity'; Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of*

sources, has suggested that lay participation in *post mortem* commemorative provision was deeply embedded and richly varied in many parts of England until the immediate pre-Reformation period. Equivalent documentation for and research on the contemporary Welsh experience is woefully lacking in comparison, and so the purpose of this chapter is to build a picture of the range of non-monumental forms of memorialisation employed in the diocese of Llandaff.[4] A systematic study of a broad range of commemorative practices in the diocese, including testamentary bequests for prayers and masses, has not been carried out hitherto and therefore this chapter aims to establish the nature and extent of the commemorative landscape of south-east Wales for the first time. It will also examine the extent to which late medieval Welsh piety fits into trends observed in other parts of the country.

5.1 Sources

Two main groups of documents provide the bulk of the source-material for non-monumental commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff – the chantry surveys and certificates of 1546 and 1548[5] respectively, and wills. In addition, some references to chantries, obits and lights are found in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* but coverage is not as good as in the surveys of the 1540s and it is particularly poor for Glamorgan.[6] Two foundation charters are preserved in the records of Margam and Neath abbeys,[7] and a small number of other institutions are revealed through

---

Salisbury 1250-1550 (Oxford, 1995); Burgess, 'Longing to be Prayed For'; Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*; John A.A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001); Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory*; Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge, 2006).

[4] Accounts of Welsh *post mortem* provision can be found in: Madeleine Gray, 'The Last Days of the Chantries and Shrines of Monmouthshire', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History,* vol. 8 (1991), pp. 21-40; Williams, *Welsh Church.*

[5] 1546 survey: NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; 1548 survey: TNA E 301/74. The certificates were compiled by government-appointed commissioners prior to the chantries' dissolution in 1548 and list the endowments, possessions, staff, purpose and founders of a range of perpetual intercessory institutions.

[6] *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* vol. 4 (London, 1821), pp. 357-76.

[7] 'Glamorganshire Documents', *Arch. Camb.,* 5th series, vol. 3, no. 12 (1886), pp. 292-3; Clark, *Cartae,* vol. 6, pp. 2380-1.

Elizabethan investigations into former chantry lands.[8] As there are no mortmain licences, churchwardens' accounts, or other forms of contemporary documentation associated with the region's chantries and lesser intercessory institutions, the wills and chantry certificates in particular take on an exaggerated value. This is unavoidable, but problematic, as both are known to provide only a very partial glimpse into the pre-Reformation commemorative landscape.

R.B. Dobson, when investigating the perpetual chantries of York, maintained that it was "impossible to over-estimate the value of the York chantry certificates".[9] Yet as a body of evidence they cannot be solely relied upon. Their main shortcoming is that they include only those institutions which survived until 1548, therefore excluding all temporary intercessory services which had already run their course; permanent services which had been allowed to lapse or otherwise dissolved; all those arrangements situated in the already suppressed monastic houses; and, of course, anything which the locals could manage to conceal from the crown's officials. An additional caveat is created by the fact that the two separate surveys rarely agree with one another. The 1548 surveys were more wide-ranging than those of two years earlier, adding to the list of chantries, colleges, hospitals, freechapels, fraternities and perpetual stipendiary priests to be investigated, fixed-term stipendiary priests, obits and lights.[10] The value of the endowments and priests' stipends are often different in each source, and the numbers and names of services sometimes disagree. Two services performed in St John's, Cardiff, Trinity Service and St James' Service, are recorded in 1546 but not in 1548. A similar discrepancy occurs in relation to St Mary's, Cardiff, where the 1546 survey records only the Proctors' Service, which is not mentioned in 1548 when two priests serving at the altar of St Mary and one at St Nicholas' altar are recorded instead.[11] In Llandaff cathedral the only form of intercession

---

[8] A deposition of 1585 concerning the ex-chantry lands belonging to Llandaff cathedral records the chantries of Llewelyn ap Rumbolde, Bishop William de Braose and Blessed St Mary: TNA: E133/4/645.

[9] R.B. Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York' in G.J. Cuming, ed., *Studies in Church History: The Province of York* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 22-38, at p. 23.

[10] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 5.

[11] TNA: E301/74, fols 2r-3r; NLW, MS. Milbourne 2200, 6 and 7

recorded by either document is David Mathew's Service, although evidence of several others and an obit comes from other sources.[12]

Wills are even more problematic, and historians resorting to them as a major source of evidence on pre-Reformation pious practice generally feel obliged to preface their comments with a welter of caveats. Clive Burgess recognised the temptations – and also the dangers – of using large numbers of wills where available, and submitting them to quantitative statistical analysis. The will (or more properly testament), Burgess points out, is a legal document concerned with a restricted set of priorities. As such it is subject to standardisation of form and expression, and limited in its scope. Not only are most wills likely to be concerned merely with small details and afterthoughts to schemes already arranged in life, we cannot be sure whether such bequests and requirements that were outlined in wills were ever carried out by executors, or were even realistic in the first place. Meagre or parsimonious-sounding wills may obscure more lavish bequests and arrangements already set up and reflect nothing more than a well-prepared testator.[13] The relatively perfunctory manner in which Sir Mathew Cradock of Swansea dealt with his commemorative plans in his will is highly suggestive of the fact that all his preparations were already in hand by the time of his death in 1531. His desire to be buried in the north side of the chapel of St Anne in the church at Swansea, "whiche Chapell I caused to be newly buldid and edyfyed", and where he already had a freestanding alabaster monument to himself and his wife, indicates how much had already been done for the salvation of his soul.[14]

---

[12] The chantries of Bishop William of Radnor, the past and future kings of England and the bishops of Llandaff, and the obit of Bishop John of Monmouth are recorded in Walter de Gray Birch, *Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff* (Neath, 1912), pp. 322, 324 and 330. A two-year chantry was instituted by Bishop John Marshall in his will of 1495: TNA: PRO PROB 11/10, image ref: 363, and an inquisition regarding the perpetual chantry established by Humphrey de Bohun for the souls of his ancestors in 1291 is recorded in Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 4, p. 166.

[13] Clive Burgess, 'Late medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in Michael Hicks, ed., *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-33.

[14] TNA: PRO, PROB 11/24, image ref: 69.

Similar concerns about the transparency of wills have been voiced to a greater or lesser extent by Swanson, Lutton, Vale, Heath, Carpenter and others,[15] yet wills still informed their discussions to varying degrees. In the diocese of Llandaff quantitative analysis of wills is unhelpful because such small numbers survive yet they are an essential route into the spiritual mentality of the late medieval elite of the area if used properly. In the discussion that follows, therefore, wills are only taken as evidence of an unknown proportion of a particular individual's pious provision, and care has been taken not to extrapolate from them any conclusions that cannot be safely supported either by comparison with features noted elsewhere or by other corroborative information. Ultimately, due to the absence of evidence such as churchwardens' accounts, to discount wills would be to ignore valuable pointers to the commemorative practices of Llandaff's elites, especially in regard to bequests of items of church furnishings and liturgical equipment or contributions to building programmes, of which we would otherwise have been unaware.

5.2 Overview[16]

A total of fifty-eight chantries have been discovered within the diocese of Llandaff, thirty-nine of which are thought to have been perpetual foundations. Only twenty of the total number are found within the chantry certificates, a further twenty-two being found in wills, eight in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* and eight from a range of other sources alluded to above. Twenty obits are known of, seven of which are found in the *Valor,* four in wills, four in the chantry certificates and five from other sources. References have been found to twenty-six lights before a range of images and altars. Unusually, the majority (sixteen) of these are recorded in the chantry certificates, seven have come to light in wills, two from the Margam abbey charters, and a single example is known only from the *Valor.* To these can be added many examples of endowed masses or prayers, where an existing priest's stipend was enhanced in return for specified services for the

---

[15] R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 297; Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion,* pp.12-18;Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy,* p. 8; Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 213; Christine Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth-Century England' in Daniel Williams, ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 53-74, at p. 57.

[16] See Table 2, pp. 274-87 for a list of chantries, obits and lights in the diocese of Llandaff.

donor. None of these figures, however, can be regarded as an accurate reconstruction of the true level of interest in such forms of commemoration in the diocese during the medieval period. The evidence is overwhelmingly biased towards the very end of the period, by which time a fair number of earlier foundations may have fallen into abeyance. At Aberavon for example, the chantry surveyors of 1548 recorded that lands worth 2s used to fund a mass every Sunday had recently been confiscated by Hopkin Thomas, the son of the original donor of the lands thirty years previously,[17] and services could lapse if the endowments supporting them were not maintained. In addition, the high proportion of foundations known only from testamentary evidence must make us wary of assuming the existence of institutions, especially short-term ones, which may never have been set up.

The diocese of Llandaff contrasts strikingly with the 101 chantries, 126 or more lights or lamps, fifty-eight obits, two colleges or hospitals, twenty-one guilds or fraternities and nineteen free chapels recorded in Somerset at the dissolution.[18] In Gloucestershire, eighty-nine mortmain licenses were granted between 1300 and 1500, which undoubtedly hides the actual level of chantry foundation as licenses were required only for permanent endowments and there were ways around the legislation. This great discrepancy between south-east Wales and Somerset and Gloucestershire is entirely in keeping with the differences already observed between the two areas in levels of memorial effigies, and the apparent poverty of the commemorative culture of Wales is underscored by a comparison with other parts of England.[19]

---

[17] TNA: E301/74, f. 4v.

[18] *Survey and Rental of the Chantries, Colleges and Free Chapels, Guilds, Fraternities, Lamps, Lights and Obits in the County of Somerset* (London, 1888).

[19] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 75 for Gloucestershire, and *passim.*

5.3 Chantries

The rising popularity of the chantry in the later Middle Ages has been traced to the formulation of the doctrine of purgatory in the thirteenth century and the subsequent increase in concern for the soul's fate immediately after death. Although one mass was theoretically of infinite salvific value for all, it was popularly held that if a particular individual was in the mind of the priest the spiritual benefits of the mass were bound to accrue more readily to them than to others.[20] The perceived need for regular individual commemoration which fostered the rise of the chantry movement was also the impulse behind the contemporary increase in the popularity of the memorial effigy, which also drew the attention of the living to the plight of a particular soul languishing in purgatory.

The popularity of the chantry was due not only to its highly personalised nature, but also in part to its flexibility.[21] Its duration could be of a set number of years or in perpetuity, it allowed for frequent commemoration and the prayers offered up did not have to apply only to the founder, but could also be extended to others, both dead and alive. It was also variable in terms of scale: all that was needed in essentials were the altar and other objects necessary for the service, but for a greater investment a private space could be shut off from the rest of the nave by wooden or stone screens, as at Llandaff and Bassaleg, or an additional chapel could be added on to the body of the church, as at Llantwit Major. Chantries also added to the spiritual life of the parish: the chantry priest provided additional manpower to service the needs of the parish, and any vestments or plate belonging to the chantry could also be put to the use of the church.[22] Needless to say, this in itself would benefit the souls of the founders, especially when, as in the case of David Mathew's Service in Llandaff cathedral (discussed below), the priest was given additional responsibilities.

---

[20] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 16. See also, Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (London, 1984), pp. 296-7, for contemporary beliefs about the efficacy of prayers and masses said for individual souls.

[21] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p. 305.

[22] Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', pp. 3-4, p. 21.

220

5.3(a). Numbers

There is evidence of fifty-eight chantries existing in the diocese of Llandaff from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth century, of which thirty-nine were perpetual and nineteen temporary in nature (see Table 2).[23] As indicated above, these numbers are on the low side compared with Somerset and Gloucestershire, and this is underlined by figures available for other areas. Not surprisingly, the highest numbers of chantries are found in the richest and most populous urbanised areas of southern and eastern England. In Norwich alone around forty perpetual chantries were planned after 1369, although not all of these were actually founded, and around twenty-six more are known to have been founded between 1240 and 1370.[24] About sixty perpetual chantries are known of in Bristol from the early fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries,[25] while York was even better endowed, with thirty-eight perpetual chantries in the Minster alone and a further thirty-nine in nineteen parish churches across the city.[26] High levels of chantry foundation in England were not necessarily just an urban phenomenon, however, and many rural areas exhibited similar levels of interest.[27] On the other hand, Suffolk's sixty-three

---

[23] I have not included in this number the chantry of Llewelyn ap Rumbolde referred to in an Elizabethan deposition (see n. 8) as it is described in the Patent Rolls for 1587 as being an obit. The entry records that it was performed four times a year, which is much too infrequent for a chantry service. I have also taken the two priests serving at the altar of St Mary, as noted in the 1546 survey, to be the priests of the Proctors' Service recorded in the 1548 certificates, rather than serving two separate chantries (see discussion on sources above). Nor have I included St Clement's Chantry, which is only known from a Bailiff's account for Cardiff and Roath for 1542-3. No chantry of this name appears in either of the surveys of the later 1540s, nor is it alluded to in any other source. It may be, therefore, that properties in Cardiff had been used to endow a chantry founded outside the diocese: Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, pp. 207-227.

[24] Tanner, *Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 92.

[25] Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', pp. 27-9; Burgess, 'Longing to be Prayed For', p. 193.

[26] Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', p. 23.

[27] In Cambridgeshire there is evidence of sixty-six perpetual chantries from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries and in the diocese of Salisbury, covering the counties of Wiltshire, Berkshire and Dorset, 211 perpetual chantries were established between 1250 and 1545 with a further 328 fixed term services were requested in wills: From a sample of 254 PCC wills: Virginia Bainbridge, 'The Medieval way of Death: Commemoration and the Afterlife in pre-Reformation Cambridgeshire', in Michael Wilks, ed., *Studies in Church History: Prophecy and Eschatology* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 183-204, at p. 198; Brown, *Popular Piety*, Table 3, p. 95; Table 17, p. 235.

known chantry foundations, of which only thirteen were perpetual, compares well to diocese of Llandaff figures and suggests that a straightforward contrast between wealthy, urbanised southern England and poor, rural Wales may be overly simplistic.[28]

5.3(b). Location.

Total numbers of Welsh chantries were low and Williams has commented that they were not "a form of piety that made a very strong appeal in the more markedly Welsh parts of Wales...the farther one moves away from centres of English influence the fewer chantries and services one finds." Therefore more were to be found in poor rural Radnorshire, on the English border, than in westerly Carmarthenshire other than those in its Anglicised boroughs of Carmarthen and Kidwelly.[29] The diocese of Llandaff, with its high level of Anglicisation, consequently had greater numbers of chantries than other, more Welsh, parts of Wales, and within the diocese they were overwhelmingly situated, like monuments, in lowland areas, a phenomenon easily explained by settlement patterns. As far as institutional preferences are concerned, there was a strong bias towards a parochial setting, with thirty-six of the fifty-eight foundations (62%) so located. About 50% of the English chantries studied by Rosenthal were set up in parish or collegiate churches,[30] and a similar favouring of the parish over the monastic or cathedral church for intercessory services has been seen in Suffolk.[31] The parochial focus of testators in the diocese of Salisbury increased throughout the period, and 104 chantries were founded in parish churches compared to 102 in all other locations.[32] In this respect therefore, Llandaff diocese does not differ too greatly with what is seen in some parts of England, although the parochial bias in the former is somewhat greater.

---

[28] Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*, p. 143.

[29] Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 292. But see below for the ethnic background of founders.

[30] Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*, p. 32.

[31] Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*, pp. 56-7.

[32] Based on Brown, *Popular Piety*, Table 3, p. 95.

Llandaff cathedral was also a popular location, where seven chantries are known to have been founded, and here the domination of the clergy is clear. Only two (David Mathew's Service and the chantry established by Humphrey de Bohun for his ancestors in 1291) are known to have been founded by laymen. The remainder were founded by or for bishops and funded by lands in Llandaff and the Forest of Dean,[33] including those of bishops Radnor (d.1265), de Braose (d.1287), Eglescliff (1326), Marshall (d.1496) and that in honour of the blessed St Mary. A clear difference between the clergy and laity in their commemorative preferences has also been observed in York. While the numbers of chantries in the city were nearly equally split between the Minster and the parish churches (echoing the patterns described above), the clergy overwhelmingly opted for the Minster, while the "great majority" of the citizens founded their memorials in a parochial setting.[34]

It was common for the chantries of Llandaff diocese to be set up in urban churches, with the busy ports of Cardiff and Newport having nine and three chantries respectively, and small numbers are also found at Neath, Cowbridge, Llantwit Major, Usk, Caerleon, Chepstow and Abergavenny, adding up to twenty eight in total (48.2%).[35] In contrast, only sixteen (27.5%) were located in rural parish churches. When perpetual chantries alone are considered, the urban bias is even more pronounced, with only six of this type known to have been founded in rural parish churches, compared to twenty-two in urban churches.[36] Kreider's analysis of six English counties revealed exactly the opposite trend: in Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire, chantries, services and guilds surviving to the dissolution were without

---

[33] Birch, *Memorials of Llandaff*, p. 322; TNA: E133/4/645; *CPR Edward II*, vol. 5 (London, 1904), p. 320.

[34] Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', p. 27.

[35] The seven chantries founded in Llandaff cathedral are not included in the urban figure as Llandaff was not part of Cardiff in the Middle Ages and did not have an urban identity.

[36] Only one of the perpetual rural parish chantries, at Llandegfedd, appears in the chantry certificates, and may have then been vacant: TNA: E301/74. Four, at Christchurch, Goldcliff and Grosmont, are listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (pp. 357, 374 and 376), while another is known only as a testamentary bequest, and may never have come into being or had fallen into abeyance before the Reformation: TNA: PRO, PROB 11/12, image ref: 22.

223

exception more numerous in rural parishes.[37] The most recent research into the piety of late medieval Kentish testators however, suggests that, although levels of testamentary pious bequests were low, there were "relatively high" numbers of perpetual chantry foundations and more in the town of Tenterden than in the rest of the county, a phenomenon partly attributed to its urban nature.[38] Urban bias has also been detected in the intercessory foundations of the diocese of Salisbury, where the city itself proved a popular location.[39] Kreider's statistics for his six counties, then, do not necessarily ring true for other parts of the country and have been partially questioned by later research, with which observed levels of urban intercessory provision in the diocese of Llandaff are more in line.

5.3(c). Date of Foundation.

Foundation dates for the chantries of the diocese of Llandaff are not easy to establish. The chantry certificates do not record foundation dates as a rule, and so the age of those services dedicated to a saint rather than named after an individual cannot be established in the absence of the relevant documentation, although it is generally accepted that perpetual chantries would have been founded during life, providing the means of endowing the institution were available.[40] The twenty-two chantries set up by will inevitably reflect the late date of most of the surviving testaments, that is, generally from the last decades of the fifteenth century and more particularly from the early sixteenth century. Gray has commented that the known foundation dates of Monmouthshire chantries are all late, some from within living memory at the time of the

---

[37] Kreider, *English Chantries,* Table 3.7, p. 87.

[38] Lutton, *Lollards and Orthodox Religion,* p. 37, p. 58.

[39] In testamentary bequests for chantries, obits and lights from 1500 to 1547, the cathedral and city churches attracted consistently greater numbers of endowments than the rest of the region, despite there being far fewer wills from the city itself: Brown, *Popular Piety,* Table 16.

[40] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* p. 34; Daniell, *Death and Burial,* p. 32; Swanson, *Church and Society,* p. 297.

Dissolution, although Glanmor Williams observed that for Wales as a whole there was a "sharp and general decline" in the numbers of chantries from c.1529.[41]

Several in the diocese of Llandaff were certainly of some antiquity. Three were established in the thirteenth century: by Bishop William of Radnor (d.1265), Bishop William de Braose (d.1287), and Humphrey de Bohun (1291), all in Llandaff cathedral. At least two others were fourteenth-century foundations: the perpetual chantry of Richard de Turbeville was set up in Margam abbey in 1360, during the benefactor's lifetime, and Bishop John de Eglescliff established the chantry of the Kings of England and the bishops of Llandaff at his cathedral in 1326. Another fourteenth-century foundation may be William Prior's Service at Cowbridge. The chantry itself is not documented until 1487 when Prior's feoffees granted property in the town to one John Thomas, but a William Prior lived in or near Cowbridge in the early fourteenth century.[42]

Only one institution is known to have been founded in the first half of the fifteenth century: the one-year service of two chaplains requested at Llandough by Robert Walsche in 1427.[43] From the second half of the fifteenth century to the 1530s, however, there was a relatively steady trickle of foundations, with several in 1469 (all requested by William Herbert, earl of Pembroke), while David Mathew's Service in Llandaff cathedral was in operation by 1470. Several more requests are found in the 1490s and the succeeding decade, and although none are known during the 1510s there was a noticeable resurgence of interest in the 1520s. A remarkably late request for a three-year service at the altar of St Andrew in St Mary's, Cardiff, was made by Edmund Turnour in 1539.[44] Interestingly, this chronology broadly echoes that of the patronage of

---

[41] Gray, 'The Last Days of the Chantries', p. 28; Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 291.

[42] Brian Ll. James and David J. Francis, *Cowbridge and Llanblethian Past and Present* (Barry, 1979), p. 44.

[43] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 105.

[44] TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 414. For biographical information about Turnour see below.

monuments, described in Chapter Two, especially regarding the noticeable absence of foundations from the later fourteenth to the later fifteenth centuries.[45]

It is difficult to fit this extremely limited evidence into the overall chronology of chantry foundation seen England. The "tremendous crescendo" in English foundations in the fourteenth century noted by Kreider, when over 50% of the perpetual chantries forming his study were established, does not appear to be mirrored in the diocese of Llandaff, although there is some ground for arguing for the "surge" of activity he also observed in the early sixteenth century.[46] The chantry-foundations of the English peerage went into a decline after the Black Death, which was to continue throughout the rest of the period,[47] and Brown's evidence from the diocese of Salisbury would seem to confirm the chronological picture painted by Kreider and Rosenthal, with over half the 211 perpetual chantries founded in the region dating from before the Black Death, and only fifty-six, or about a quarter, established after 1400.[48] Importantly, Brown also notes the propensity of the chantry certificates to skew the perceived chronology of chantry foundation as, by the time of the commissioners' tours of the diocese of Salisbury in the 1540s, "most of the chantries founded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had disappeared."[49] A waning of interest in chantry-foundation after the mid-fourteenth century has also been seen in Exeter and York.[50] In Norwich and Bristol, however, levels were maintained throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, late fifteenth-century Bristolians showing determination

---

[45] An obvious difference between these two forms of commemoration is that monuments are more numerous in the earlier, pre-Black Death era, and chantries are more commonly found in the later, pre-Reformation phase. In the case of the chantries, however, this may reflect nothing more than the greater abundance of documentary evidence from this period.

[46] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 86, pp. 89-90. The sixteenth-century Llandaff foundations were not generally perpetual, however.

[47] Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*, p. 127.

[48] Brown, *Popular Piety*. Taken from Table 3, p. 95.

[49] Brown, *Popular Piety*, p. 97.

[50] Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory*, pp. 239-40; Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', p. 23, p. 25, n.1

in evading the rising costs of mortmain licences by resorting to the use as an alternative form of endowment.[51]

The most constant theme amongst these analyses is the tendency of foundations to be concentrated in the fourteenth century, a point which is difficult to argue for the diocese of Llandaff. Although it would be wise to accept the possibility that Llandaff, like the diocese of Salisbury, originally had more thirteenth- and fourteenth-century foundations than we are now aware of, there is no evidence here of Kreider's "tremendous crescendo." There are faint echoes of the early-sixteenth century "surge", but generally these foundations were short-term in nature rather than perpetual. As previously noted, this apparent flowering of interest in chantry services may be a consequence of the greater number of wills surviving from this period and the vagaries of the documentation is indeed an issue, but the studies discussed above also point to economic conditions resulting in fluctuating levels of investment in larger intercessory services. The relatively early tailing-off of chantry-foundation in York and Lincoln has been seen as a consequence of those cities' economic decline in the later Middle Ages,[52] while the collapse in foundation rates from the mid fifteenth century in Tenterden has been attributed to a combination of economic factors and a possible early manifestation of reformist views about purgatory, coupled with residual Lollardy in the region.[53]

In south-east Wales, economic conditions in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries were, by contrast, probably better than they had been at any time since the crises of the fourteenth century,[54] and it is not surprising that the emergent gentry were keen to express their wealth via the endowment of intercessory services. It may have been the case that only the region's absolute elite, such as the Herberts, Morgans and Mathews, were in a position to commission expensive

---

[51] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 94, pp. 212-9; Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', pp. 27-9, pp. 13-14.

[52] Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', pp. 32-4; Owen, *Church and Society*, p. 94.

[53] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, Table 5, p. 56, p. 57, p. 61, p. 63.

[54] See, for example, Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 78-89.

alabaster tombs, but the ambitious lesser gentry and burgesses could still invest in their souls' future in a less showy manner.[55] In addition, the conservatism of Welsh pious practice prior to the Reformation removed any brakes on the commemorative impulse that may have been applied in areas where reformist ideas had begun to take root.[56] The apparent divergence of Llandaff diocese from national norms in terms of chronology and foundation levels should therefore be seen partly as a consequence of the nature of the primary sources, which obscure details of the foundation processes and privilege the later over the earlier period. The pattern should also be seen partly as a manifestation of the socio-economic upheavals and recovery which also seem to have contributed to patterns in the commissioning of memorial effigies in the region.

5.3(d). Foundation and Endowment.

Three main methods of endowing perpetual chantries were current in the medieval period. The earliest and least secure method of foundation was a simple arrangement whereby the benefactor would confer property on a religious house or, less often, a particular parish priest to pay for the celebration of the masses.[57] More common was the chantry in the strictest sense of the term, which involved the creation of an ecclesiastical benefice. Here the founder would grant the endowments to the chaplain in exchange for his services, and prescribe his duties. The chaplain held the endowments in his own name and passed them on to his successor. Although the endowment was not to be considered as the chaplain's private possession this form of chantry gave more security to the incumbent as he was instituted and removable only by the ecclesiastical authorities.[58] From 1279 a licence to alienate in mortmain was required for perpetual chantries, although less than a third of chantries studied by Kreider had involved a

---

[55] It is not known how many of them may have also opted for non-effigial monuments such as cross-slabs.

[56] See Chapter 1 for the slow progress of the Reformation in Wales.

[57] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* pp. 8-11. See also Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', p. 6.

[58] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* pp. 11-15.

228

mortmain licence,[59] and the fact that concerted efforts were being made to avoid them is reflected in the passing of legislation in 1391.[60] The enfeoffment to use evaded mortmain by granting the endowments to trustees rather than to the incumbent of the chantry, who were then responsible for appointing the chaplain, paying his wages, supervising his conduct and dismissing him when necessary. The institution thus created was known as a 'service' and was popular with founders due to the high degree of control it gave the trustees, who may have been heirs or executors of the founder, fellow parishioners, civic authorities, cathedral chapters or other corporate bodies.[61] The use was particularly common in Gloucestershire and became so in Suffolk, where twenty-seven out of sixty-six chantries were endowed in this way.[62]

The first method of foundation and endowment outlined above was employed by few in the diocese of Llandaff. One such was Sir Richard Turbeville who, in 1360, endowed the monks of Margam with named lands and specified numbers and classes of cattle and other livestock in return for perpetual daily celebration for his soul and those of his ancestors, heirs and all the faithful departed at the altar of St Mary Magdalene. The grant states that the services could be performed by a monk or a secular priest and that it would be the responsibility of the monks to ensure continuity of staffing.[63] The shortcomings of this type of organisation are self-evident. If the value of the endowment declined the monks would still have to provide the service, while Turbeville and his heirs would have little control over the abbey's maintenance of the chantry. It is surprising, therefore, to see a late example of this form of endowment employed by the Herbert family. In 1469 the earl of Pembroke arranged in his first will for the parish of Llangatwg in the lordship of Crickhowell to be annexed to Tintern abbey to find two monks to

---

[59] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 73.

[60] Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', p. 11.

[61] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, pp. 16-26.

[62] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p. 49; Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity*, p. 142.

[63] "Et predicti viri religiosi concesserunt pro se et successoribus suis quod ipsi et eorum successores invenire et sustentare teneantur imperpetuum unum capellanum monachum vel secularem divina celebrantem cotidie ad altare beate Marie Magdalene in ecclesia predicta." Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 6, pp. 2380-1.

sing at his tomb in perpetuity, and the parsonage of Condee to be similarly given to Abergavenny priory to find two monks to sing in perpetuity for the souls of his parents. In 1483 the earl's son, the earl of Huntingdon, also gave the church of Llanfihangel Condee and the chapel of St Tryack to Tintern abbey for a perpetual chantry of two priests for the souls of himself and his wife, his parents and ancestors.[64]

There are no mortmain licences surviving from the diocese of Llandaff, although it appears from the will of Charles Somerset, lord of Chepstow and earl of Worcester, that he had obtained one when he established a perpetual chantry for himself and his first wife, Elizabeth Herbert, in St George's chapel, Windsor.[65] Overall, it is likely that only a handful of chantries were of the ecclesiastical benefice type. The chaplaincies of Bishop de Braose's chantry and of the chantries of the Blessed Virgin and the kings of England, for example, were all in the gift of the bishops of Llandaff.[66] The chantry of Our Lady in the west end at Llantwit Major was also of this form. The 1546 chantry survey lists the two chantries in the church as 'services',[67] but in the more thorough 1548 survey they are distinguished from each other by title and by the status of the priest: "Therbe...two prestes wherof thon is a Chaunterie preste having a parpetuitie in the Chaunterie callid our Lady Chaunterie in the west ende and the other a salarie prest removable of the service callid our Lady Service."[68]

---

[64] *Herbertorum Prosapia*, f. 58, f. 74. Such evidence neatly displays the uncertainty involved in setting up chantries by will. Presuming the 'Condee' given to Tintern in 1483 by the earl of Huntingdon is the same as that intended for Abergavenny by his father in 1469, then the provisions may not have been carried out as he wished.

[65] Somerset refers to the terms of the endowment, "recorded by the lawe": TNA: PRO PROB 11/22, image ref:132.

[66] Birch, *Memorials of the See of Llandaff*, p. 308, p. 322; *CPR Edward II*, p. 320.

[67] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[68] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4r.

In all the remaining perpetual, and some temporary, foundations in Llandaff diocese where the method of endowment is known, the enfeoffment to use was employed.[69] The chantry certificates sometimes reveal details of these foundations. In the case of David Mathew's Service in Llandaff cathedral, the chaplain was "removable at the will and pleasure" of the founder's heirs, who were enfeoffed with the endowment.[70] Each of the chantries recorded in 1548 in Cardiff's two parish churches was a service, where the lands and tenements that provided the endowment were put in the hands of the churchwardens, who also had powers of appointment and dismissal.[71] The churchwardens were also enfeoffed with the lands and tenements that paid the stipend of Leyson Williams, the stipendary priest serving at St Illtyd's, Neath, and here we are given the additional information that the endowments were the gifts of "dyverse parsons".[72] Such vagueness about the nature of the foundation at Neath is both intriguing and frustrating as this may be evidence of a fraternity in the town, very few of which are known of in south-east Wales.[73]

The use of churchwardens as feoffees was common in urban churches[74] and is well-attested in late medieval Bristol. Their responsibilities included day-to-day supervision of the vestments and other equipment belonging to the chantry as well as the important role of appointing the chaplain, and in this they were conscientious administrators. Chantries benefitted not only the founder, but also the church and parish as a whole due to the extra manpower and enhancement

---

[69] A charter transcribed by Clark, recording the transfer of lands in Llantwit Major by John Hebert alias Raglan to several clerical feoffees, and witnessed by the vicar of Llantwit, may refer to the lands used to endow the Service of Our Lady set up by the Raglan family in the church in the late fifteenth century: Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 2, pp. 221-2.

[70] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3v. In the will of David Mathew's son, Reynborn (d.1470), two canons of Llandaff, John Wynter and David ap Llewelyn, are enfeoffed with lands in the lordship of Llandaff in order to present a suitable priest to the chantry: TNA: PRO PROB 11/6, image ref: 7. The administrative capabilities of John Wynter must have been well known to David Mathew as both men had been employed locally in the service of the abbot of Tewkesbury: Rees, 'The Possessions of the Abbey of Tewkesbury in Glamorgan ', pp. 169-73, pp. 180-1, p. 185.

[71] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 2.

[72] TNA: E 301/74 fol. 4r.

[73] See below for further discussion of fraternities.

[74] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p. 66.

231

of the performance of the liturgy, and so it was in the interests of churchwardens and parishioners to maintain them. Burgess has suggested, furthermore, that the successful supervision of a chantry was seen as a "test of parish, civic and even personal competence."[75]

Perpetual institutions were also occasionally set up by will, however the best evidence for this comes from outside the diocese of Llandaff. In 1525 Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Deheubarth requested "that five poundes lands be surely founded to the gray freres of kermerdyn [Carmarthen] for a chantry there to fynde two prestes to pray for me and my wife forever."[76] Sir Mathew Craddock (d.1531) had already rebuilt a chapel in his parish church (Swansea), in which he asked to be buried. He apparently left until his death-bed, however, a request for the chantry founded by one of his ancestors to be re-founded for his own and his wife's souls, to be funded out of lands and tenements worth 20 nobles a year.[77] The most well-known of all Welsh chantries is probably that of James Walbeef (d.c.1533) of the lordship of Brecon who devoted much of his last will to stipulating the details of his chantry at Llanhamlach.[78] A specific chantry priest was named and his duties and services and those for whom he was to pray were set out. The chaplain's place of residence, leave of absence, conduct and stipend of £5 were all delineated and put under the supervision of Walbeef's executors and feoffees, who in turn were bound to replace the first chaplain promptly following his death or dismissal. If possible, the chaplain was to be a learned man so that he could preach or teach in addition to his other duties.

---

[75] Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', pp. 17-21; p. 5.

[76] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 389. This was hardly a generous stipend and stands out in a will that is otherwise fulsome in the scope of its pious bequests. So wide-ranging and detailed, in fact, are the benefactions to various churches across south Wales that the impression is given that Sir Rhys had *not* already put his affairs in order in preparation for his death: in all he bequeathed five vestments each worth 53*s* 8*d*, nine vestments each worth 40*s*, a chalice worth £5 and £8 for the purchase of a pair of organs to churches scattered across south and mid Wales, amounting to a total of more than £44. A further £46 3*s* 8*d* was split between St David's cathedral and the priory and friary of Carmarthen.

[77] TNA: PRO PROB 11/24, image ref: 69. Sir Mathew Cradock and his wife were also commemorated by an alabaster tomb in the chapel, destroyed during World War II. The tomb does not figure in his will.

[78] TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 47

Only three diocese of Llandaff testators are known to have set up perpetual chantries by will: The earls of Pembroke and Huntingdon, discussed above, and Morgan John of Bassaleg (d.1500). The latter's arrangements are reminiscent of Walbeef's instructions in that named properties and fixed amounts of rents are set aside for the endowment and the number and responsibilities of the feoffees are described, but it is neither as wide-ranging nor as detailed. It was far more common for chantries set up by will in the diocese of Llandaff to be of short duration, typically seven years or less, and these were often funded by cash bequests. The temporary services of Robert Walsche of Llandough (1427), Bishop John Marshall (1495), Thomas Herbert of Abergavenny (1527), Richard Carne of Llanblethian (1532) and Edmund Turnour of Cardiff (1539) were all set up in this way, while Lewis ap Richard of Cardiff (1521) granted the profits from the mill at Merthyr Tydfil for the maintenance of his four-year service. Mathew Jubbes (d.1502), however, left the mechanics of the endowment of his six-year service at St John's, Cardiff, entirely in the hands of his son, who also seems to have been obliged to fund the chantry out of his inheritance.[79]

The above discussion indicates that chantries in the diocese of Llandaff were endowed and funded in various manners, but for perpetual institutions it was usual that funds were generated by lands and property close to the churches in which the services were performed. In the diocese of Salisbury, rural services tended to be endowed with livestock instead of property, and those in urban locations lacking extensive rural hinterlands accumulated more property.[80] This is generally reflected in Llandaff, although the lack of rural chantries makes comparison difficult in this instance. Even so, it has already been noted that Sir Richard Turbeville's chantry at Margam Abbey was partly endowed with livestock, as well as lands.[81] The chantry certificates are not particularly fulsome on the matter of endowments, merely noting that chantries were funded by lands and tenements, but other sources are more informative. A bailiff's account surviving for

---

[79] TNA: PRO PROB 11/13, image ref: 2167.

[80] Brown, *Popular Piety*, p. 95.

[81] Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 6, pp. 2380-1.

Cardiff and Roath for the year 1542-3 is invaluable in detailing the extent and location of the urban properties held by Cardiff's chantries. The churchwardens of St Mary's, responsible for maintaining the Proctor's Service and St Nicholas' Service, held fifty burgage tenements in all, while the chantries of Our Lady, Holy Trinity and St Katherine in St John's church held sixteen and a half, sixteen and a quarter and eight and three-quarter burgages respectively.[82]

These tenements appear to have been quite adequate in funding the services concerned. In 1548 the endowments of the chantries of Our Lady and St Katherine were bringing in £22 11s 7d,[83] and the churchwardens of St Mary's had to manage £38 15s 2d for the three chantries in their care.[84] The finances of many other chantries also seem to have been buoyant and perfectly capable of providing the priest with a satisfactory stipend. David Mathew's Service was valued at 115s[85] (114s 4d in 1546),[86] the chantry of Our Lady in the west end at Llantwit Major was funded by lands worth £6[87] (£6 8d in 1546),[88] and the endowments of William Prior's Service at Cowbridge were valued at £6 20s 6d[89] (£11 15s 11d in 1546).[90] Newport's chantries were particularly well-endowed, Morgan ap Rosser's chantry being worth £8 19s 8½d. Other services were much poorer however, and presumably their chaplains scraped a living through the performance of additional masses and prayers.[91] The endowments of the chantry at Neath, for

---

[82] Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, pp. 213-227.

[83] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 6. £8 13s 11d for Our Lady and £4 16s 10d for St Katherine is recorded in 1546.

[84] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 2r; fol. 2v. The endowment also supplemented the stipend of John Pill to the value of 20s. Only the Proctors Service is listed for St Mary's in 1546, although the same £38 15s is given as the value of the endowment: NLW, Milborne Ms. 2200, 7.

[85] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3v.

[86] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 6.

[87] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4v.

[88] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[89] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 5v.

[90] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[91] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p. 96-102.

example, were only worth 42s 10d, while Our Lady's Service at Llantwit Major brought in a mere 30s per year[92] (41s 10d and 38s 1d respectively in 1546).[93] The financial health of the Cardiff and Newport chantries appears to have been better than those in York surviving to the Dissolution, where only a minority were worth more than five to six marks (about three to five pounds),[94] and few Lincolnshire chantries were worth as much as £10 in 1548.[95]

5.3(e). Benefactors.

The founders and benefactors of twenty-five of the diocese's chantries are unknown (see Table 2). The poorly-endowed service at Neath had been founded by "dyverse parsons",[96] which may imply the existence in the borough of a religious fraternity, but this is not made explicit. A similar collective arrangement may have prevailed for some of the Cardiff chantries, and it is possible that the guild of the Trinity (for which a seal of c.1450 survives)[97] sponsored the Trinity Service at St John's, but if so the chantry certificates are silent on the matter.[98] Among those for which founders or benefactors can be identified, three main groups emerge: the higher clergy, burgesses and gentry.

The bishops of Llandaff were active in establishing chantries in their cathedral, a trend noticed earlier in relation to the clergy of York Minster, but there is little evidence that lesser clergy made such endowments, and overall the laity were far more active founders. As indicated earlier, there were many urban chantries, although they were not all necessarily established by burgesses. Edmund Turnour (d.1539) who set up a three-year chantry at St Mary's, Cardiff, and

---

[92] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4r.

[93] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[94] Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', p. 31.

[95] Owen, *Church and Society*, p. 94.

[96] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4r.

[97] Illustrated in Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, facing p. 261.

[98] See below for further discussion of fraternities.

described himself in his will as "of the town of Kerdiff...gent" is a case in point.[99] Turnour's claim to gentility seems to have come primarily from his service to the earls of Worcester, and he is described as a servant of the earl in the will of Charles Somerset (d.1525).[100] He later acted as receiver-general for the latter's son, earl Henry, and received nearly £18 p.a. in fees from local offices.[101]

Other founders came from the rising or established county gentry, and these tended to opt for rural parish churches or local monasteries. Robert Walsche, who requested a one-year chantry in Llandough in 1427, and Richard Turbeville, who set up a perpetual chantry in Margam abbey in 1360, both came from old Glamorgan families of Anglo-Norman descent, members of which are also commemorated by effigies. Richard Carne, who asked for a one-year chantry at Llanblethian in 1532, and David Mathew, commemorated by a perpetual service at Llandaff cathedral by 1470, were of more recent, fifteenth-century, elevation, as were the Raglands, founders of Our Lady's Service at Llantwit Major, possibly in the late fifteenth century.[102] The prolific Herbert clan, with their widely-dispersed interests opted for a mixture of rural parish and monastic locations. Mixed urban and rural interests can be detected in the preferences of the gentry. Lewis ap Richard (d.1521), from whom the Lewis family of Y Fan descended, styled himself "armiger de Kaerdif" and requested burial in the town, but left substantial legacies, and requested his chantry, in the church of rural upland Merthyr Tydfil.[103]

---

[99] TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 414.

[100] TNA: PRO PROB 11/22; image ref: 132. Somerset bequeathed Turnour £10 if he was living with him at the time of his death.

[101] Robinson, 'The Officers and Household of Henry, Earl of Worcester', pp. 27-8; idem, *Early Tudor Gwent*, p. 41.

[102] In 1480 John Herbert, alias Ragland, granted all his lands in Llantwit to 13 individuals including 5 priests, witnessed by Hugh Raglan, vicar of Llantwit. It is possible that this was part of the setting up of an enfeoffment to use to endow a chantry: Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 2, pp. 221-2. The priest of Our Lady's Service in 1548 was one Edmonde Ragland: TNA: E 310/74, fol. 4v. In 1550 Llantwit's chantry lands were granted to Sir William Herbert, a relation of the Raglands, by Edward VI: Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 1, p. 259.

[103] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 21. See *A Breviat of Glamorgan*, pp. 130-1 for pedigree.

236

It is difficult to discern any trends from this limited evidence, although it is clear that well over half of all chantries where founders or benefactors are known commemorated individuals of *uchelwyr,* or native Welsh, descent. This is unexpected considering the fact, mentioned above, that Welsh chantries tended to be a phenomenon of more Anglicised areas. The nature of the available evidence, coupled with the socio-political landscape of late-medieval south-east Wales, are the main factors contributing to this apparent contradiction. No fewer than ten of these *uchelwyr* foundations were established by three members of the Herbert clan, and another by the Mathews, two of the leading local families. These, together with the other foundations, many of which were short-term arrangements by relatively minor figures, may reflect the growing confidence, ambition and wealth of the native gentry under the early Tudors.[104] In addition, it must be borne in mind that many of the named chantries are late foundations known only from wills, and this evidence is bound to reflect the contemporary social features just described, masking the activities and social structures of earlier periods. As was previously pointed out, it is likely that greater numbers of earlier foundations once existed but had disappeared by the time of the pre-Dissolution surveys, and these could have been expected to reflect the greater *advenae* dominance of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Another discernible trend is that of territorial and spiritual loyalties, resulting in a noticeable preference for the local parish church, or followed family links with monastic houses. The rural and urban elites of the diocese of Llandaff were usually loyal to the parish in establishing their chantries, a tendency also noted among the Warwickshire gentry.[105] It is to be expected that Robert Walsche and the Raglands chose churches of which they held the advowson (in the case of Walsche), or which lay in the parish in which they principally resided, while the Turbevilles and Herberts were active patrons of local monastic houses. The Carnes are more usually

---

[104] See chapters 3 and 4 for further discussion of the cultural patronage of this group.

[105] Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', pp. 65-6.

237

associated with the manor of Nash, but Richard Carne of Llanblethian may have been a member of a cadet branch.[106]

5.3(f). Chaplains.

Among the chantry priests of Glamorgan those of Cardiff and Newport were among the most generously remunerated (see Table 2). Most stipends were in the region of £6, with Thomas Smythe, serving at the altar of Our Lady in St Mary's, Cardiff, receiving £8 3s 4d.[107] Nicolas Penllyn, serving at the altar of St Nicholas in the same church, was unusual in receiving only £4.[108] John Syngar, priest of David Mathew's Service at Llandaff was also well-paid at £5 14s 10d,[109] (106s 11d in 1546)[110] closely comparable to John Taylour's £5 18s 2d at Llantwit Major[111] (107s 4d in 1546).[112] At Newport the chaplain of Morgan ap Rosser's chantry received £7 7s, but all would have had cause to be envious of John Thomas, the fifty-year-old priest serving Jenkin Clerke's chantry in the same church, who had an income of £10 from other spiritualities on top of his stipend of £6 17s 6½d.[113] Other stipendiaries were not so fortunate, however. John Taylour's colleague at Llantwit, Edmonde Raglande, received only 27s 5d[114] (34s

---

[106] See Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish', for the relationship between the fifteenth-century gentry and their parish churches.

[107] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3r.

[108] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3r.

[109] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3v.

[110] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 6.

[111] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4v.

[112] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[113] TNA: E 301/74, unpaginated.

[114] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4v.

10d in 1546),[115] while Leyson Williams, serving at Neath, was slightly better-off with his stipend of 42s 10d[116] (44s 9d in 1546).[117]

The chaplains of the temporary chantries established by will were generally paid in cash sums set aside by the deceased for the purpose, and no real difference is discernible in the levels of remuneration between these and the perpetual services. In 1427 Robert Walsche left £10 for two priests to celebrate for a year at Llandough.[118] Five pounds a year was also the stipend fixed upon by Lewis ap Richard in 1521 and Richard Carne (100s) in 1532,[119] while Edmond Turnour left a more generous £6 13s 4d a year for three years in 1539.[120] William Lewis, the chaplain of Bishop Marshall appointed to celebrate for his soul for two years in Llandaff cathedral in 1495, was also amply rewarded with 10 marks a year.[121]

The stipends of Llandaff diocese's chantry chaplains compare well the £5 reckoned as a reasonable minimum level of remuneration and with those found elsewhere. On the whole, they have the edge over the £4 13s 4d - £5 per annum provided for temporary chantries by Hull testators,[122] and in Lincolnshire £5-£6 was the usual stipend by the end of the fifteenth century.[123] Kreider has shown that chantry priests proper tended to be better paid than stipendiaries, with the difference being between a few shillings and three or more pounds annually. The gap was especially wide in Essex, where the average chantry priest was in receipt

---

[115] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[116] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4r.

[117] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[118] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 105.

[119] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 21; TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 19.

[120] TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 414.

[121] TNA: PRO PROB 11/10, image ref: 363.

[122] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 220.

[123] Owen, *Church and Society*, p. 97.

of a handsome £7 17s 10d, while the average stipendiary's wage was a mere £3. In Yorksire, however, the difference was less notable, and only the beneficed chantry priests of the East Riding earned an average of more than £5 per annum.[124]

Some chaplains were to have additional duties. John Syngar, the priest of David Mathew's Service was to keep a free school for twenty poor children.[125] This is the only known example of a chantry school in the diocese of Llandaff and only two others are known of in the rest of Wales.[126] David Mathew's school was probably a song school providing a very elementary education and the duties attached to it were unlikely to have interfered with John Syngar's main duties.[127] Chantry schools were rare nationally: Kreider's four sample counties revealed only eight percent of chantry priests undertaking additional teaching responsibilities, and for most of these it was not a condition of their employment, but it could be reflected in a slightly higher stipend. Financially, John Syngar was on a par with those chaplains teaching in Yorkshire and Warwickshire, who were paid on average £5 and £6 respectively, but was poor compared to his teaching colleagues in Wiltshire and Essex, who received a very comfortable £7 14s 6d and £8 8s 10d on average.[128]

Doubtless the provision of a school was designed to benefit David Mathew's soul as much as it was gainfully to employ his chaplain, who was only required to perform his intercessory services three times a week. Syngar would also have been regarded as an integral member of the cathedral clergy and would have been expected to take part in the daily services provided they

---

[124] Kreider, *English Chantries*, Table 1.3, p. 20.

[125] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 6.

[126] The chaplain of James Walbeef's chantry in Llanhamlach, described above, was required to preach *or* teach children, and there was another, funded by the Service of Our Lady, at Montgomery: Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 290, p. 294.

[127] Some schools were more serious affairs. The priest of the almshouse at Ewelme, Oxfordshire, had to maintain a grammar school, for which he was paid £10 and was exempted from many of his spiritual duties in order to carry out this task: Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 111.

[128] Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp. 59-61, Table 2.2, p. 62.

did not clash with his main duties.[129] The same was expected of the chaplains of bishop de Braose's chantry and the chantry of the Blessed Virgin.[130] Thomas Smythe, chantry priest of Our Lady at St Mary's, Cardiff, whose £8 stipend has already been noted, received this unusually high figure for his additional role of keeping the organs.[131] The performance of instrumental music in the church was one of the ways in which the presence of chantry priests could significantly enhance the liturgy and partly explains why clergy, churchwardens and parishioners alike were keen to maintain these services. It appears from the chantry certificates that keeping the organs was a specialist and highly-regarded job, as Hew Lame, the clerk in minor orders responsible for this in St John's, Cardiff, was paid £6 13s 4d for this role alone.[132]

5.3(g). Chantries and the Parish

The evidence given above makes it clear that some of the diocese of Llandaff's chantries also contributed to the host church and, by inference, the parish. This contribution could sometimes be considerable. In 1546 it was noted that, of the £38 15d worth of endowments of the Proctors' Service in St Mary's, Cardiff, only £12 13s 4d went to pay the stipends of the two chaplains and £24 7s 1d was "bestowed in Reparacions apon the churche."[133] The Cardiff and Newport chantries also played a wider charitable role. The 1548 commissioners noted the importance of maintaining Cardiff's bridge and quay "by reason of the great rage of the streme there", and that the Mayor, bailiff and aldermen had prevailed upon the churchwardens "as occasion dyd serve to bestowe sum yere xli, sum yere xxli, sum yeres more sum yeres less" from the revenues of the chantries towards their repair. Although the Cardiff chantries were well-endowed, such a sum

---

[129] He remained at the cathedral after the dissolution of his chantry and is listed as a vicar in a report by Bishop Kitchin in 1558: Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 4, p. 12.

[130] Birch, *Memorials of the See of Llandaff*, p. 308, p. 322.

[131] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3r.

[132] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 2r. In 1546 the unnamed organist at St John's was said to be in receipt of £4 13s 6d, payable out of the endowment of St Katherine's Service: NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 6.

[133] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

would clearly have an enormous impact on their income, and so when the revenues were diverted in this way the churchwardens "for that tyme discharged certeyne of the sayd stipendarie prestes."[134] It is possible that this may have been necessary in 1546, when the first survey was undertaken, because the commissioners at that time noted that both Trinity Service and St Katherine's Service at St John's were "now voyd",[135] although St Katherine's was apparently functioning normally again in 1548.[136]

The most interesting aspect of this arrangement is that the maintenance of the town's fabric, and in particular structures which were essential to its commercial prosperity, took precedence over the intercessory services provided by the priests. Nor does this seem to have been a recent innovation, as the churchwardens had been "accustomyd" to this practice over a number of years. The role of the civic authorities is also clear, suggesting that the diversion of the chantries' revenues to what, after all, counted as charitable purposes, had not been a term of their original foundation. At Newport the maintenance of the town's bridge appears to have been factored into the original endowments however, and did not interfere with the spiritual function of the chantries. The 20s apiece contributed annually by the chantries of Jenkin Clerke and Morgan ap Rosser at St Woolos, and the 6s 8d from the income of the chapel of St Lawrence, are listed as separate items of expenditure in the 1548 certificate. By way of context, the commissioners added that the bridge was 350 yards long and cost more than £10 a year to maintain.[137]

It is difficult to find a parallel case of the appropriation by outside agents of the chantry's function from a spiritual to a civic one, such as can be seen in Cardiff. In comparison we may hold up the example of the chantry of Walter Hungerford and his wife, established in Salisbury cathedral in 1429. This was an opulent affair, housed in its own chapel in the north nave arcade,

---

[134] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 3r.

[135] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 6.

[136] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 2r.

[137] TNA: E301/74; Gray, 'The Last Days of the Chantries', pp. 26-7.

and comprised not just the chantry, but also an obit and the inclusion of the couple's names in the Sunday litanies. The chantry had an income of over £30, which covered doles to the poor and £2 for the maintenance of the cathedral spire. However, if the endowments failed to cover all these costs, it was the doles and the money for the spire that was to be stopped first, thus privileging the main intercessory services over the chantry's wider charitable role.[138] Duffy, Wood-Legh and Kreider have all alluded to the public services provided by chantries. Kreider noted their role in the maintenance of flood defences, roads and bridges, as at Cardiff and Newport, and made particular reference to the London chantry which also provided a lantern in the common privy in Fleet Street.[139] Wood Legh described the practice of urban chantries being put under the control of town corporations, who then paid the priest's stipend, with any residue going to enrich the town.[140] Duffy has commented on the expectations of parishioners that a chantry would directly benefit the parish as well as the soul of the founder, as was certainly the case with the Proctors' Service at St Mary's.[141] In all these cases, however, it is the intercession for souls which is seen as the crucial function of the chantry, and the wider community was only to benefit once the priest had been paid and discharged this service. Duffy's examples, moreover, illustrate how chantries were seen as benefitting the parish spiritually, via the extra manpower they provided, rather than materially.

Even so, it would be unwise to read too much into the temporary suspension of the Cardiff chantries. It is certainly unlikely that it should be seen as evidence of "serious questions about attitudes to the cult of the dead and its institutions" detected in early sixteenth-century Tenterden[142] as the piety of Cardiff's citizens appears altogether orthodox in all other respects. It

---

[138] Michael Hicks, 'Chantries, Obits and Almshouses: The Hungerford Foundations 1325-1478', in C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (Wodbridge, 1985), pp. 123-142, at pp. 129-30.

[139] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 69.

[140] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* p. 177.

[141] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* pp. 140-1.

[142] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion,* p. 57.

should also be remembered that the maintenance of bridges, roads and other services was seen in itself as a charitable activity, which would also have had a beneficial intercessory effect on the souls of those commemorated by the chantries concerned.

5.4 Obits

Obits took the form of an annual repetition of the funeral service, accompanied by bell-ringing, candles and the giving of alms, and implied significant financial investment: the obits of William Prior and his wife at Holy Cross church, Cowbridge, were performed annually at the cost of 36s 8d.[143] The performance of obits added significantly to the spiritual and communal life of the parish, having a decidedly public element fostered by the pealing of bells and the proclamations of a beadsman, whose role was to inform parishioners of the proceedings in order that they may pray for the person being commemorated. Almsgiving, as in the case of the obit of William Prior and his wife at Cowbridge, may have accounted for half the total cost of the occasion and benefactors were keen to secure the grateful prayers of as many paupers as possible.[144]

Despite the greater frequency of chantry intercession compared to that of the obit, it is apparent that wealthy individuals continued to request the latter service and in some cases, such as William Prior at Cowbridge, Sir Richard Turbeville at Margam abbey, David ap Gwillym Morgan at Llanddewi Skirrid and the earl of Huntingdon at Tintern abbey, that they endowed both (see Table 2). The dual endowment of chantry and obit is seen elsewhere. Thomas Hungerford, for example, founded an obit and two chantries, and his son, Walter, founded a further chantry and obit in Salisbury cathedral in the early fifteenth century (see above).[145] Burgess has suggested that the failure of the chantry to eclipse the obit is due to the fact that, rather than the chantry being merely a fuller development of the obit, the two institutions had different, and complementary, functions. The specific attraction of the obit which the chantry

---

[143] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[144] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', pp. 188-90.

[145] Hicks, 'Chantries, Obits and Almshouses', pp. 126-9.

244

could not offer was the re-enactment of the funeral service in all particulars other than the presence of the corpse – bells, hearse, pall, lights, doles, requiem mass – which concentrated the mind on the plight of the dead more effectively than a chantry endowment. The presence of mourners at the obit also widened the audience considerably, multiplying the number and value of the intercessory prayers being offered up. In addition, the Bristol evidence has indicated that relatively few chantries were intended to last longer than five years whereas obits were more likely to be perpetual.[146] By endowing both a chantry and an obit, therefore, William Prior and the other diocese of Llandaff founders mentioned above were covering all the bases, aiming at a constant stream of intercession throughout the year punctuated by an intense surge of prayer on the anniversary of their deaths in order to maximise the remembrance of their souls. Fortunately, the identities of all but one of the obit-founders recorded in the diocese of Llandaff are known (see Table 2), and accord very closely with the social groups involved in chantry foundation, that is, burgesses, clergy, rural gentry and aristocracy.

5.4(a). Numbers.

Kreider has termed the obit "ubiquitous", a description which sits very awkwardly with the twenty which have come to light in Llandaff diocese.[147] Four (less than 10% of testators) of these are found in wills. This number is very low when compared to figures compiled for parts of England: the population of southern and eastern England was more likely to found a light or obit than a chantry and 60% of Kent parishes had an endowment of this sort, while in Cambridgeshire 13% of testators provided for an anniversary.[148] Kreider found that these smaller institutions were also popular in the north, but less so in the south-west; Cornwall and Wiltshire registered less than a third of parishes with such endowments.[149] Even so, fifty-eight obits were recorded in

---

[146] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', pp. 190-4.

[147] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 5.

[148] From a sample of 254 PCC wills: Bainbridge, 'The Medieval way of Death', p. 200.

[149] Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp. 15-19.

Somerset in 1548, while fifty are known of from Bristol's surviving fifteenth-century evidence, which is thought to be an underestimate.[150] In the period 1500-1547 alone, diocese of Salisbury testators left bequests for ninety-seven obits[151] and in Exeter cathedral there were over one hundred obits by the early fifteenth century.[152]

As with all other forms of commemoration therefore, the churches of Llandaff diocese seem to have supported far fewer obits than those in many parts of England. Some have undoubtedly disappeared without trace, although the Bristol churchwardens' accounts suggest that obits were faithfully maintained over the years providing that the endowment retained its value.[153] The evidence for good numbers of perpetual obits in Llandaff diocese is sorely lacking and it is impossible to say how many shorter-term foundations were made. Seventy-three obits were requested by the testators of Tenterden, Kent, but only five of these were to be celebrated in perpetuity and well over half were for one year only. It is hardly surprising, then, that only three show up in the 1548 Kent returns, and that their actual popularity is entirely masked by this source.[154] The proportion of perpetual obits requested by testators in Hull, at thirty-four out of fifty-seven, is much higher than in Kent, but still demonstrates that foundations of short duration were not uncommon.[155] It would be prudent to assume that there were more foundations of this very transitory kind in the diocese of Llandaff also, but beyond this it is unwise to venture.

---

[150] *Survey and Rental of the Chantries... of Somerset,* passim; Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', p. 193.

[151] Brown, *Popular Piety,* Table 16, p. 226.

[152] Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter,* p. 241.

[153] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', p. 185; p. 203.

[154] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion,* p. 67.

[155] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 218. See also Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', p. 194.

<u>5.4(b). Location.</u>

There are clear differences between the perpetual chantries and obits of the diocese of Llandaff regarding geographical distribution. Firstly, the evidence suggests a preponderance of monastic foundations, with Margam, Neath and Tintern abbeys and the priories of Abergavenny and Usk accounting for eleven of the twenty. Six were founded in parish churches, two in Llandaff cathedral and the location of one is unknown (see Table 2). Only three obits, two at Cowbridge and one at Chepstow, were founded in urban parish churches, and none are known of in the friaries. This contrasts with the diocese of Salisbury, where an urban bias has been observed, mirroring that of the chantries,[156] while in Hull, again in contrast to Llandaff, obits were often located in the friaries.[157]

<u>5.4(c). Date of Foundation.</u>

The foundation dates of few obits are known for certain (see Table 2). A fair proportion may have been of some antiquity by the time of the Dissolution: at Neath, Margam, Tintern and Usk the obits of the founders of the house were still being celebrated at the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and Neath, Margam, Cowbridge and Llandaff cathedral also performed the obits of fourteenth-century benefactors. Only two fifteenth-century foundations are recorded, and three were established in the sixteenth century. Here Llandaff diocese diverges strongly with patterns observed in some parts of England. In Kent the popularity of obits rose to such an extent that nearly three-quarters of testators requested them in the early decades of the sixteenth century,[158] a time when they were also particularly fashionable in Cambridgeshire, although more rarely instituted after 1500 in Exeter.[159] Given the greater survival of Llandaff wills from the late-

---

[156] Brown, *Popular Piety*, pp. 95-6, pp. 108-10.

[157] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 221.

[158] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, pp. 60-61; p. 61, n. 78.

[159] Bainbridge, 'The Medieval Way of Death', p. 200; Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory*, p. 247.

fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, the lack of interest in obits shown by the region's testators compared to those of Kent and Cambridgeshire, is notable.

5.4(d). Methods of Endowment.

Most of the obits recorded in Llandaff diocese where details are known were endowed, at least partly, with lands. In some cases (Sir Richard de Turbeville, William Prior and his wife and David ap Gwillym Morgan) the obit formed part of a larger provision that included a chantry and was funded by lands, tenements and/or cattle, which, in the two latter cases, were in the hands of feoffees.[160] Burgess' work on Bristol obits has revealed similar examples of endowments funding a wider commemorative scheme where the obit was seen as an adjunct of the chantry. In such cases, as with those in the diocese of Llandaff, the obit counted for a small proportion of the revenues and Burgess remarks that the Bristol obits set up in this way were seen as less spiritually significant than the accompanying chantry. In many other cases the obit was a subordinate aspect of a transaction whereby the founder's primary concern was a gift of property to the church, the obit acting as a reminder of the endowment.[161] A hint of both attitudes may be seen in the document outlining the terms by which the Turbeville chantry and obit were established at Margam abbey in 1360. The charter is essentially a land grant and is far more concerned with the location and extent of the lands and flocks which Sir Richard gave to the monks than with the intercessory services he required in return. The obit itself is mentioned third, after the chantry and the entry of his name in the book of founders.[162]

5.4(e). Obits and charitable giving.

As the obit was essentially a repetition of the funeral service it was often accompanied by the type of charitable giving, usually doles to the poor, which was a feature of the funerals of the

---

[160] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7; Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 6, pp. 2380-1; TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 205.

[161] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', pp. 197-203.

[162] Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 6, pp. 2380-1.

wealthy. For this reason obits could be extremely elaborate affairs, with large sums of money spent on charitable purposes. Kreider found varying levels of alms-giving connected with obits across England, ranging from 213 out of 264 obits distributing alms in Essex to none in Wiltshire and Durham.[163] However, more recent studies of obits at Salisbury and Hull have emphasised the centrality of the dole in the performance of this type of intercessory service.[164] The popularity of the obit and related services such as the month's mind in pre-Reformation Tenterden has been put down to the "greater degree of lay participation" that it allowed compared to the chantry, giving more opportunities to dispense "discriminating charity".[165] About half the cost of the obit has been reckoned to have gone on alms in Bristol, and this was often given as a farthing loaf to each pauper. The intention behind these doles was to give a small amount to as many people as possible, rather than a large amount to a few, as this was held to be more spiritually efficacious.[166]

Varying amounts and types of alms were distributed at the obits recorded in the diocese of Llandaff, ranging from none specified in the cases of David ap Gwillym Morgan and Thomas Harrys,[167] to the generous doles of around £4 paid at the obits of the founders of Neath, Margam and Tintern abbeys.[168] Half a mark was spent on bread for the poor at the obit of Bishop John of

---

[163] Kreider, *English Chantries,* pp. 67-8.

[164] Hicks, 'Chantries, Obits and Almshouses', pp. 128-130. However, a shift in emphasis took place in the obits founded at Salisbury cathedral. Few established there after the mid 13th century requested doles to the poor laity and alms were more likely to be bestowed on the clergy instead. Only two out of sixty-three obits recorded at the cathedral in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* mentioned doles to the poor. This fits in with the figure given by Kreider, above, and may also be a reflection of the fact that only seventeen out of the seventy-six obits known to have been established in Salisbury were those of laymen. Perhaps this tendency to give alms to clerical rather than lay poor is due to the high number of clergy requesting their obits to be occasions for the relief of their struggling colleagues: Brown, *Popular Piety,* p. 53, pp. 56-7. For Hull, see Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 224.

[165] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion,* pp. 64-5.

[166] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', pp. 189-90.

[167] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 205, TNA: PRO PROB 11/17, image ref: 258.

[168] *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* p. 351, p. 352, p. 371.

Monmouth, celebrated in Llandaff cathedral,[169] and a more generous 18s 4d was given "to pore people to prestes and clerkes" attending the obits of the Priors at Cowbridge.[170] The Priors' concern for the clergy was also felt by the earl of Huntingdon, who left 6s 8d to every monk in attendance at his obit, which was to run for twenty years at Tintern abbey.[171]

5.5. Lights

The maintenance of a light burning in front of a favoured image or altar was one of the least expensive forms of securing *post-mortem* commemoration, and was the "single most popular expression of piety in the wills of the late medieval laity";[172] a method chosen by the less well-off and wealthy alike.[173] It was also one of the earliest ways in which gifts to specific objects in the church were made in return for intercessory prayers, the setting up of separate funds for altar lights becoming common from the end of the twelfth century.[174] They seem to have inspired little interest in historians however, no doubt due to their lack of drama relative to the chantry, and even the obit, nor do they have the multi-dimensional qualities of the latter forms of commemoration. Yet they should be considered in any study of commemorative culture as they were clearly a widespread phenomenon. However, although "every parish church in England had many lights",[175] there is documentary evidence of only twenty-six lights in existence at various times in the pre-Reformation diocese of Llandaff (see Table 2). The chantry certificates of 1546 and '48 figure very prominently in the source material for this form of intercession, recording sixteen out of the twenty-six. The rest are found in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* Margam abbey

---

[169] Birch, *Memorials of the See of Llandaff,* p. 324.

[170] NLW, Milborne MS. 2200, 7.

[171] *Herbertorum Prosapia,* fol. 74.

[172] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 134.

[173] Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', p. 60.

[174] Brown, *Popular Piety,* p. 92.

[175] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 146.

charters, and wills. It is, perhaps, rather surprising that so many are accounted for in the chantry certificates as lights must have been one of the easiest forms of intercession to conceal.

As with the other commemorative forms discussed above, these figures indicate that Llandaff diocese appears sadly lacking in lights compared to parts of England. At least 126 are recorded in the Somerset chantry certificates,[176] in Tenterden, Kent, thirty-nine testators left money for lights between 1449 and 1535,[177] and testators in the diocese of Salisbury left 205 bequests for lights between 1500 and 1547 alone.[178] They also grew in popularity in Norwich throughout the period, with almost half the lay testators leaving bequests to lights between 1518 and 1532.[179] As with obits, given that so much of the evidence for English lights comes from wills the relative lack of interest among testators in the diocese of Llandaff is notable. While this may reflect a certain level of coolness towards this method of intercession, it is hard to accept that there were genuinely so few lights kept burning by the citizens of Cardiff and Newport in their parish churches, which were otherwise well-endowed with chantries.

5.5(a). Location.

"Almost all" bequests to votive lights in Norwich were in parish churches,[180] an assessment which accords perfectly with the twenty-three lights located in parish churches in the diocese of Llandaff. Unlike chantries, however, there is a markedly rural bias in their distribution, with nearly three-quarters located away from the borough towns, and only one recorded in Cardiff. Many of these lights, moreover, were endowed in churches where there was no other known (whether from documentary or from archaeological sources) form of commemoration.

---

[176] *Survey and Rental*, passim.

[177] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 56, Table 5.

[178] Brown, *Popular Piety*, Table 16, p. 226.

[179] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 84, p. 118.

[180] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 118.

5.5(b). Date of Foundation.

There is no indication given of the foundation dates of the lights recorded in the chantry surveys, but two thirteenth-century references to lights at St Mary's, Cardiff and Margam abbey,[181] indicate that they are among the earliest forms of memorialisation of this period known in this region. Moreover, the seven lights mentioned in wills from 1488 to 1531,[182] not to mention the chantry certificates themselves, show that they continued to be endowed right up to the Reformation. A similar constancy has been observed in the diocese of Salisbury, where there is little sign that bequests to altar lights were in decline until the 1538 injunctions against them, after which they are much less common.[183]

5.5(c). Endowment.

Most of the lights in the diocese of Llandaff were funded by small endowments of land, and sometimes property or cash, often of the scale of one or two acres, ranging in value from 6d (one acre of arable at St Nicholas) to 20s (at Cowbridge). Similar small bequests were left by Norwich testators, few of whom left more than 3s 4d and most 1s or a few pence.[184] The Cowbridge light, before the sacrament, was part of the wider commemorative scheme of William Prior and his wife, who also had a well-endowed chantry and obits, and stands out as being of much higher value than many of the other endowments. There are other examples of apparently overly-generous gifts of land and property intended to find a light, such as the two houses and two gardens given by Sir Hugh David ap John to keep a light before the sacrament night and day at Usk,[185] and two charters referring to land, property and rent given in the thirteenth century to St

---

[181] Walter de Gray Birch, ed., *Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts*, p. 107; Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 6, p. 2305.

[182] Clarke, *Cartae*, vol. 6, pp. 2385-6; TNA: PRO PROB 11/17, image ref: 258; TNA: PRO PROB 11/23, image ref: 95; TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 237.

[183] Brown, *Popular Piety*, p. 226, p. 234.

[184] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 118.

[185] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, p. 366.

Mary's candle at St Mary's, Cardiff.[186] One records the grant, by Nicolas Herward, of a meadow to John le Pork, for the annual rent of a nummus of wax for the candle; the other records the gift of John le Porc (presumably the same) of a burgage in Cardiff and a meadow to Margam abbey in return for the payment of 1d of wax to the same candle at Michaelmas. The grants are stated to be for the souls of John le Porc and his wife and of the parents of Nicolas Herward.

The chronology of the two latter grants is unclear, nor is it certain how they are connected. Their chief interest, however, lies in what they reveal of the process and terms of endowment. The burgage and meadow granted to Margam abbey by John le Porc was, presumably, worth far more than 1d, indicating that the monks' obligation to maintain the candle was a subsidiary issue to the main concern, which was a grant of land. This in itself, of course, would have benefited the donor's soul. Another thirteenth-century Margam charter records the grant by Philip de Marcros of 10s of rent to the monks for lights at the Purification of the Virgin,[187] a generous sum for the purpose and one only intended for use at a particular festival. Presumably Philip de Marcros' main object was the gift of the rents to the abbey, with the maintenance of the light forming an adjunct to the transaction, and a reminder of his benefaction. These examples echo those noted by Burgess (see above) regarding the foundation and endowment of obits, where the intercessory service acted as a reminder to the church/legatee of the benefactor's gift of land or property, thus prompting the greater remembrance of his or her soul.[188]

5.6 Testamentary Bequests.

As indicated throughout this chapter there are too few extant wills from the diocese of Llandaff to allow for a valid statistical analysis of testamentary bequests, an approach to the will as a source of evidence which has in any case been questioned. But neither is it appropriate to disregard wills entirely as other material is equally lacking and they give details which are

---

[186] Birch, *Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts*, p. 55; Clark, *Cartae*, vol. 6, p. 2305.

[187] Birch, *Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts*, p. 107.

[188] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', pp. 197-203.

unavailable elsewhere.[189] They will be used in this section, therefore, to build up a general impression of the death-bed concerns and last pious acts of some of the late-medieval elite of south-east Wales.

5.6(a). Prayers and Masses

For those who could not spare the funds for a more permanent form of commemoration numbers of masses and prayers could be paid for, and this was the simplest way of ensuring an effective form of *post mortem* intercession. The average rate in the late medieval period was 4d per mass, and they were often purchased in large numbers,[190] being very popular in the cities of York and Norwich.[191] It was felt that the process of commemoration should begin as promptly as possible at the death and of the individual, which, together with the funeral was the occasion for a "massive updraught" of intercessory prayers.[192] The will of Robert Walsche of Llandough (d.1427) sets out his wishes that 100s should be given to one hundred priests to celebrate for his soul "to be as quickly done as possible", the same amount is to be divided amongst the poor and a further 100s amongst priests "immediately after my death". 100s was also to be given to ten specially selected chaplains to offer up prayers.[193] Speed was also of the essence for Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester and lord of Chepstow (d.1525), who asked for twenty masses to be said every day between his death and his burial and a further 500 masses as soon as was

---

[189] Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills', p. 15.

[190] R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 227.

[191] Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy*, p. 18; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, pp. 104-5.

[192] Philip Morgan, 'Of Worms and War: 1380-1558', in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, eds., *Death in England* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 119-4, at p. 134.

[193] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 105.

convenient.[194] Richard Carne of Llanblethian (d. 1532) also requested forty masses on the day of his burial.[195]

Other testators were less anxious for a prompt start to the process of commemoration and opted instead for a long-term programme. Davy Mathew (d.1504) of Tortworth (Gloucs.) and St Fagan's (Glam.), bequeathed 20s to the Cardiff Blackfriars to pray for David Dy and 20s a year so that "the prest which singeth in the chapel of Seint Fagan...shalhave my sowle dayly in ther remembrances."[196] George Lewys of Netherwent (d. 1508), was particularly vague, asking only for a priest to pray for his soul, without stipulating location, duration or method of funding.[197] As the example of Charles Somerset, above, indicates, bequests for small or fixed numbers of prayers and masses were not necessarily the resort only of those with restricted finances, and could be part of a wider commemorative scheme. The three-year chantry of Edmund Turnour has already been discussed, and he left numerous other legacies beneficial to his soul, as well as the small sum of 8d to priests "towarde there masses and dirges."[198] In 1512, Thomas Harrys of Chepstow left several properties to his parish church in order to fund a range of intercessory services, as well as the separate gift of 12d to "my gostly ffather to pray for me."[199] These examples, as well as those discussed in previous sections, indicate that, if possible, it was desirable to arrange an array of differing forms of commemoration, some permanent and elaborate, others short-term and simple, and a range of options in-between. Testators could thus hope for an ongoing stream of intercession which had the added benefit of not 'putting all one's eggs in the same basket' and thereby staving off the worst consequences of lax executors or insufficient funds.

---

[194] TNA: PRO PROB 11/22, image ref: 132.

[195] TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 19.

[196] TNA: PRO PROB 11/14, image ref: 130. The identity of David Dy is not known.

[197] TNA: PRO PROB 11/16, image ref: 141.

[198] TNA: PRO PROB 11/ 27, image ref: 414.

[199] TNA: PRO PROB 11/17, image ref: 258.

5.6(b). Funeral and burial requests.

There were many considerations to be borne in mind when choosing a burial location, such as place of death, the wishes of the deceased and their executors, and social, territorial and family loyalties.[200] However it was only the higher ranks of the gentry who may have been able to exercise a choice, the parish gentry being effectively restricted to their parish church.[201] In towns the presence of friaries presented more options and in fifteenth-century Norwich ten percent of testators chose burial with the mendicants, leading to tension between the latter and the parochial clergy over burial rights, while the friars were also very popular with the people of Exeter and its hinterland.[202] As in Hull, however,[203] the parish church was overwhelmingly the choice of diocese of Llandaff testators, perhaps reflecting their restricted socio-economic horizons (see Table 1).[204] If the friars were not particularly sought-after as a burial location, even less interest was shown in the closed orders and Llandaff cathedral, and lay burial may have been restricted at Llandaff as it was in the cathedrals of Exeter, Wells and Norwich.[205]

---

[200] See Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 87-102 and Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 112-145 for discussions of burial preferences.

[201] Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish', pp. 254-6.

[202] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 12; Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory*, p. 33.

[203] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 215, p. 220.

[204] This preference, as expressed in the testamentary evidence, is confirmed by surviving monuments in the diocese, the majority of which are found in parish churches.

[205] Lepine and Orme, eds., *Death and Memory*, p. 26, pp. 31-2; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 12. The single testator requesting burial at Llandaff cathedral was Bishop Marshall in 1495, although the surviving tombs of Christian Audley and three members of the Mathew family show that more lay burials did occur in the cathedral in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Table 1: Testamentary burial requests

Parish church	35
Wherever God decides/variation	4
Cistercians	2
Benedictines	1
Friars	2
Cathedral	1
Hospital	3
Chapel	2

Only five diocese of Llandaff wills have been found which make references to funerals and all request the presence of the poor. Bishop Marshall (d.1495) left £23 for the poor at his funeral, and Thomas Wareyn (d.1427), Robert Walsche (d.1427) and Mathew Jubbes (d.1502) each requested the presence of paupers. Four were to carry torches for Wareyn; sixty were to be clothed in woollen cloth by Walsche, and twenty of both sexes, each clothed (the men in black and the women in white) and bearing torches and candles, were requested by Jubbes.[206] Money and bread were also to be distributed, Jubbes keeping up his funerary display with 200d and 200 loaves for the poor.[207] Charles Somerset's (d.1525) directions were very precise, requesting that his funeral be carried out "with as litill coste or honnour of the worlde as may be, without pompe or great charge of torches or clothing, herce of wex or great dynn, but onely for theym that must nedis be had." This amounted to twenty of the earl's servants clothed and bearing

[206] TNA PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 87; PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 105; TNA PRO PROB 11/13, image ref: 2167.

[207] TNA; PRO PROB 11/13, image ref: 2167.

torches, a black cloth adorned with a white cross over the bier or hearse, which was to be surrounded with no more than four or six tapers, and his family to be attired in appropriate black mourning clothes. £10 was to be given in doles to the poor, £5 to the canons of Windsor and 6s 8d to each of "thallmes knyghtes of Our Lady and Seint George" present at the funeral.[208] Gerard Horenbolte's contemporary illustration of the towering hearse of Abbot John Islip at his funeral in Westminster abbey in 1532, with its multitude of candles and attendant torch-bearers, suggests that Somerset's belief that his funeral arrangements were lacking in worldly pomp was justified.[209]

In the diocese of Salisbury requests for the poor at funerals were at their height in the first half of the fifteenth century, when 66% of testators who mentioned funerals asked for their attendance.[210] The only wills located in Llandaff diocese for this period which discuss funeral arrangements (Robert Walsche and Thomas Wareyn, both 1427), both left bequests to the poor and wanted them at their funerals, but this is also true of the three from the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, making it impossible to judge whether or not Llandaff followed the pattern seen in Salisbury.

5.6(c). Gifts to parish churches and Llandaff cathedral.

Small cash bequests to parish churches and Llandaff cathedral as the mother church were very common, and some testators bequeathed sums to a range of churches, reflecting their social and political connections across a wider area. The brothers Thomas and Reynborn Mathew (both d. 1470) left 4d each to Worcester cathedral as well as money to Llandaff and to their burial church in Bristol.[211] Robert Walsche (d.1427) revealed his cross-channel connections with his legacies

---

[208] TNA: PRO PROB 11/22, image ref: 132. Despite the earl's Welsh titles he left no money to Welsh churches or monasteries in his extensive will.

[209] Jupp and Gittings, eds., *Death in England,* p. 134; ill. 57, p. 135.

[210] Brown, *Popular Piety,* pp.198-9.

[211] TNA: PRO PROB 11/5, image ref: 341; TNA: PRO PROB 11/6, image ref: 7.

to the cathedrals of Llandaff and Wells, and to the rectors of Llandough and his burial church at Langridge (Somerset) for forgotten tithes.[212] The favouring of the parish church over all other religious institutions was a common feature of late medieval lay piety,[213] and was a notable feature of Norwich wills, for example, where 95% of the laity gave to at least one parish church.[214]

Some bequests were for specific purposes and could be substantial. In 1504 Davy Mathew wished for the "overplus that shall come to me of the ferme of the said church of Seint Fagane" to be spent on the purchase of a bell for the church and £10 for the "glasing of the west window of the abbey church of Neth".[215] The improvement of the bells at Merthyr Tydfil and Llansoy, was also the wish of Lewis ap Richard esquire of Cardiff, who provided £20 for the former in 1521, and Philip ap Hoell, who gave £10 to the latter in 1534.[216] Enhancements to the peal of bells and the glazing of a church would undoubtedly add to its beauty and consequently honour God, but the ultimate, commemorative, goal of such bequests is revealed in Lewis ap Richard's plea that if the church bells were not in need of improvement the £20 was instead to provide for a priest to celebrate divine service for his soul for four years. Although most bequests were more modest, the sums laid out by these testators indicate that this kind of benefaction was by no means a cheap alternative to effigial commemoration as the same sums would have purchased a modest monument.[217] It is clear that bequests to the fabric and fittings of the church, although believed to benefit the soul, were primarily given out of a genuine desire to beautify the building

---

[212] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 105.

[213] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 131-41; Clive Burgess, 'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented': an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England' in S.J. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People. Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750* (London, 1988), pp. 56-84, at p. 71; Saul, 'The Gentry and the Parish', pp. 248-256; Bainbridge, 'The Medieval Way of Death', p. 197; Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', pp. 65-6.

[214] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 126.

[215] TNA: PRO PROB 11/14, image ref: 130.

[216] TNA: PRO, PROB 11/21, image ref: 21; Williams, 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills', p. 119.

[217] See Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 108-111 for a discussion of the cost of monuments.

and thereby glorify God: an impulse akin to that behind the gift of a valuable property in return for the maintenance of a relatively cheap form of intercession in the shape of an obit or light, as discussed above.

5.6(d). Gifts to the religious orders.

If the religious orders did not attract the burials of large numbers of the diocese of Llandaff's testators in the late medieval period, they fared a great deal better when it came to cash bequests, and here the popularity of the mendicants over the Cistercians and Benedictines is evident. Of forty-five separate recorded legacies over half were to the friaries, with the Franciscans and Dominicans by far the most popular at twelve bequests apiece. Evidence of loyalty to the mendicants in Llandaff diocese is ultimately somewhat conflicting, however. Support was still being shown to the friars in Cardiff right up until the Dissolution, with Richard Carne of Llanblethian and Thomas Philip of Llandyfodwg leaving sums of money to be divided between the two houses there in 1532 and 1536 respectively.[218] With so many surviving wills from the diocese containing bequests to the regulars therefore, the relative reluctance to arrange formal commemoration with them is notable, but here it is paramount to remember that wills often conceal more than they reveal and an individual preparing for a 'good death' is likely to have already put such fundamentals in hand.

Of the closed orders the Cistercians were the most popular, attracting fourteen separate bequests, in comparison to a mere four legacies to the Benedictines, at Abergavenny and Usk, while the Benedictine priory at Ewenny was entirely ignored.[219] The Benedictines were unpopular in Wales generally, having been identified with the Norman settlement, whereas the Cistercians had

---

[218] TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 19; TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 414.

[219] Despite the collection of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century monuments at Ewenny I have not been able to find any references to any other forms of commemoration, whether chantries, obits or lights, situated there. The ending of the founding de Londres line in the late thirteenth century took away their prime source of benefaction and, although families such as the Turbevilles showed an interest in the early fourteenth century, they seem to have turned their attention to the Cistercians later in the century, when Sir Richard Turbeville chose to found his chantry and obit at Margam. The Turbevilles also undoubtedly experienced the pull of their parish church at Coity.

become more naturalised.[220] The lack of bequests to the Benedictines in Llandaff diocese contrasts with the favour shown them in the diocese of Salisbury, where testamentary support continued to be buoyant to the end of the period. Unlike Llandaff, however, there were many Benedictine houses in the diocese, particularly in Dorset, which may account for the greater share of attention they received.[221] In this respect Llandaff has greater resemblance to Yorkshire, where both the Benedictine and the Cistercian houses were generally ignored in gentry wills of the fifteenth century.[222]

5.6(e). Charitable giving.

Bequests to the poor attending funerals have already been discussed and sums of money were sometimes left to be distributed more widely following the event, such as Robert Walsche's legacy of a total of £25 to be distributed amongst the poor.[223] On the whole, however, the plight of the poor does not seem to have pricked the death-bed consciences of testators in the diocese of Llandaff. There is only one bequest, for example, to the almshouse at Cardiff, by Edmund Turnour (d.1539), who left 12d per year,[224] while Thomas Harrys of Chepstow (d.1512) left the residue of his estate to be distributed amongst the poor of his native parish.[225] It is tempting to see the two latter bequests as part of the trend, observed among the English gentry by the later fifteenth century, towards more discerning charitable giving which tried to ensure that the poor in receipt of alms were of the deserving type.[226]

---

[220] Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 18, p. 349.

[221] Brown, *Popular Piety*, pp. 28-9.

[222] Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy*, p. 23.

[223] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3; image ref: 105. 100*s* was to be given as soon as possible after his death, and at the convenience of his executors a further £20 was to be distributed.

[224] TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 414.

[225] TNA: PRO PROB 11/17, image ref: 258.

[226] Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literacy*, pp. 26-7; Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 65, p. 97.

More popular than the poor as objects of charity were bridges, especially those in and around Cardiff and Newport, although bequests of this nature should not be seen as distinct in purpose to more obvious works of mercy such as doles to the poor, and were in themselves acts intended to benefit the soul of the donor.[227] It is not surprising that the highest level of concern for the upkeep of these urban bridges was expressed by the citizens themselves, and some testators left money for the upkeep of multiple bridges: Lewis ap Richard (d.1521), Mathew Jubbes (d.1502), Thomas Wareyn (d.1427) and Edmund Turnour (d.1539) left money to two, four, six and six bridges respectively.[228] Such concern would seem to contrast with the pre-occupations of Norwich testators, who rarely left legacies to bridges or other civic concerns such as roads and walls.[229] Bequests to bridges and roads were a fairly constant feature of diocese of Salisbury wills through the period, but at rather low levels.[230]

5.6(f). Pious devotion.

The devotional interests of the diocese of Llandaff elite as expressed in their wills are entirely orthodox and conservative and accord with Williams' observation that "supineness was the keynote of religious life in Wales" in the immediate pre-Reformation period.[231] Their attitudes and practices can be compared quite closely to the "utterly conventional" will-making population of Warwickshire,[232] and the spiritual "tranquillity" of the Hull elite.[233] Diocese of Llandaff

---

[227] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 367-8. Bequests to bridges may even, according to Duffy, have been a sign of theological sophistication, as they had a symbolic as well as a practical role as 'emblems of the Christian life and of the communication of charity within the community.'

[228] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 21; TNA: PRO PROB 11/13, image ref: 2167; TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 87; TNA: PRO PROB 11/27, image ref: 414.

[229] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 137.

[230] Brown, *Popular Piety*, Table 14, p. 198. It may be expected, of course, that levels of bequests to bridges or the upkeep of similar crucial parts of the local infrastructure, will to some extent reflect the local topography.

[231] Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 560.

[232] Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', p. 59.

[233] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 229.

testators were entirely mainstream and, furthermore, apparently unfamiliar with (or uninterested in) new devotional trends, whether orthodox or heterodox in nature.[234] Practically every testator commended his soul to God, the Virgin and the saints, or a variation on this theme (some clerics included named individual saints),[235] and despite the tendency of the wills to date from the decades immediately prior to the Reformation, there is only a barely discernible shift away from this practice. The wills of Thomas Philip of Llandyfodwg (d.1536) and Arnold Butler of Dunraven (d.1541) are a case in point. Philip not only left legacies to the friars in Cardiff but also combined his legacy with a preamble referring to Henry VIII as "defendour of the feith...the supreme hed of the Churche of Englande", after which he dedicated his soul to God and to "our blissed lady saint Mary and to all the company of hevyn."[236] If this represents Thomas Philip's personal views, rather than those of the scribe, it indicates that acquiescence in changes to the structure of the church did not necessitate an accompanying wish for doctrinal reform. Butler, whose will contains no intercessory requests, also dedicated his soul to God, Mary and the saints.[237] Only six testators, dating between 1508 and 1540, dedicate their souls to God alone, and only two of these, from 1529 and 1540, lack overtly catholic statements and may best be

---

[234] See Williams, *Welsh Church*, pp. 524-60, for Welsh religion in this period.

[235] Bishop Marshall, for example, also commended his soul to the five patron saints of Llandaff cathedral: Peter, Paul, Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy: TNA: PRO PROB 11/10, image ref: 363.

[236] TNA: PRO PROB 11/25, image ref: 414

[237] TNA: PRO PROB 11/28, image ref: 366. Too much should not be read into Butler's failure to request intercessory services, however, as he may have arranged them in life. He and his wife are commemorated by an imposing tomb at St Bride's Major, not mentioned in the will, which may also have been a lifetime commission or arranged by his wife, whom Butler made his sole executrix and commended her to dispose of the residue of his estate "as she shall thinke best for the welthe of my soule."

described as doctrinally neutral.[238] No wills for the period up to 1540 have been found containing obviously reformist sentiments.[239]

Given this religious conservatism it is not surprising that devotion to the Virgin Mary is a thread running throughout the available evidence, and within Wales as a whole she was more popular than any other saint.[240] Several testators requested burial before her image or in chapels dedicated to her. In addition to this five chantries and five lights are known to have been dedicated to her as well as the Proctor's Service at St Mary's, Cardiff, which was performed at her altar (see Table 2). The diocese of Llandaff also contained the famous shrine of the Virgin at Penrhys, which proved so powerful a draw for pilgrims that it brought in £6 p.a. at the Dissolution and Llantarnam abbey derived one-fifth of its income from offerings there.[241] However, despite this popularity only one testator remembered the image in his will.[242] There is some evidence of devotion to native Celtic saints: in 1470 Reynborn Mathew gave profits from lands to adorn the shrines of saints Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy at Llandaff cathedral; Merthyr Tydfil church contained an image of St Tydfil, remembered by Lewis ap Richard in 1521, and a light dedicated to St Barroc burned at Wenvoe parish church.[243] All other evidence is firmly in

---

[238] TNA: PRO PROB 11/16, image ref: 141; Williams, 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills', pp. 118-9; TNA: PRO PROB 11/23, image ref: 61; TNA: PRO PROB 11/23, image ref: 108; TNA: PRO PROB11/ 28, image ref: 33; Williams, 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills', p. 121.

[239] On reflection, this should not be surprising. Doctrinal change was hesitant under Henry VIII and, as Chapter One explains, the Welsh were slow to adopt reformist teachings.

[240] Williams, *Welsh Church*, p.481-2.

[241] This is a remarkable figure when it is remembered that Becket's shrine at Canterbury brought in £16 p.a.: Glanmor Williams, 'Pen-rhys: Poets and Pilgrims', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol. 20 (2004), pp. 9-15, at p. 11; Jane Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2008), p. 56.

[242] Thomas Kemmys of Newport (d.1493) left a velvet gown to adorn the image: TNA: PRO PROB 11/10, image ref: 122.

[243] TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 21; TNA: PRO PROB 11/21, image ref: 21; TNA: E301/74 fol. 3v.

favour of the primacy of the Roman canon, ascribed by Gray to "the urban and Anglicised location of most of the larger foundations and their recent date."[244]

An increasingly Christocentric focus to lay piety has been detected towards the end of the Middle Ages,[245] and there is some evidence for this in the diocese of Llandaff. This is most notable in the endowment of lights, over half of which were placed in locations connected with the Passion or the sacrifice of the mass: the high altar, the rood, the sepulchre and before the sacrament (see Table 2). In 1469 the earl of Pembroke wished for the glazing of the chapel in which he planned to be buried, at Abergavenny, with the stories of the Nativity and Passion.[246] At Llansoy five masses of the Five Wounds of Christ were to be celebrated on the anniversary of Philip ap Howell, but this is an isolated example of interest in that particular devotional trend (see Table 2). Late-medieval devotion to aspects of both Christ's humanity and divinity has been seen more convincingly elsewhere. In Hull the altar of Corpus Christi was a very popular burial place and focus for bequests, especially after 1500,[247] and in Kent increased devotion to aspects of Christ's divinity was accompanied by a decline in the devotion to the saints, which is not seen in the diocese of Llandaff.[248] An earlier devotional fashion arose around the Trinity, and this may have had some impact on pious practices in the diocese. A chantry dedicated to the Trinity was established at a time and by persons unknown in St John's, Cardiff, and a guild of the Trinity was situated in the town.[249] On the whole, however, there is little compelling evidence that the citizens of Llandaff were enthusiastic participants in new devotional trends.

---

[244] Gray, 'The Last Days of the Chantries', p. 24.

[245] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 70.

[246] *Herbertorum Prosapia*, fol. 56. The earl later opted for burial at Tintern abbey.

[247] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 223.

[248] Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 75.

[249] The guild's seal, of about 1450, survives, and is illustrated in Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records,* vol. 1, between pp. 260-261.

5.7. Absences

Certain types of memorial arrangements and other expressions of piety are apparently absent from Llandaff diocese: there are no known colleges like that established for eighteen priests at Wells cathedral, or that at St David's cathedral.[250] The evidence for almshouses and hospitals is also scant. One was certainly in existence at Cardiff in 1539, when Edmund Turnour left 12d to the paupers there (see above), and this may be the same establishment as the hospital of St Mary Magdalene which lay in the suburb of Crokeston (Crockherbtown) in 1426.[251] There are also references to a hospital for travellers and pilgrims at Aberthin in 1291 and a leper hospital near Usk in the early-fourteenth century,[252] but little is known about any of these. Comparatively few fraternities and religious guilds are known to have existed in Wales.[253] The guild of the Trinity at Cardiff has already been mentioned, but Gray has found no evidence of any examples in Monmouthshire.[254] This contrasts with the wealth of evidence for such institutions in England. Over twenty were recorded in Somerset in 1548,[255] while the late-medieval period was a "Golden Age" for pious confraternities in Norwich,[256] and bequests to them in Lincolnshire "continued without ceasing" until the dissolution.[257] London had a particularly vibrant culture of parish fraternities, there being references to 150-200 between 1350 and 1550.[258] Religious guilds

---

[250] *Survey and Rental of the Chantries...of Somerset*, pp. 15-7; TNA: E 301/74, fol. 5; Gray, 'The last Days of the Chantries', p. 23.

[251] TNA: PRO PROB 11/3, image ref: 87.

[252] Geoffrey Mein, 'Hospitals and Almshouses of Medieval Usk' in Jeremy Knight and Andy Johnson, eds., *Usk Castle, Priory and Town* (Little Logaston, 2008), pp. 27-38 at pp. 27-31.

[253] Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, p. 124.

[254] Gray, 'Last Days of the Chantries', p. 27.

[255] *Survey and Rental of the Chantries...of Somerset*, passim.

[256] Forty-four have been recorded in the city in total: Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 67, p. 74.

[257] In 1389 115 guilds existed in the county, served by 55 chaplains: Owen, *Church and Society*, pp. 127-9.

[258] Caroline M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 13-37, at p. 13.

were not merely a feature of large, wealthy cities, however: a "profusion" of fraternities sprang up in Bridport (Dorset) in the later Middle Ages,[259] by which time most villages had at least one guild, making them "available to the majority of the adult population".[260] The parish fraternity, moreover, was a flexible organisation, some small and poor with only enough funds for the support of a light, and others wealthy enough to pay a permanent chaplain.[261]

Given this obvious appetite for fraternity membership in England, and the clear intercessory benefits they could provide for those unable to afford an individual endowment, it is notable that the evidence for their existence in the diocese of Llandaff – as in the rest of Wales - is highly elusive. Some may be hidden within the chantry certificates. The chantry in St Illtyd's, Neath, and the performance of mass every Sunday at Aberavon, for example, were endowed by "dyverse parsons".[262] If this does refer to fraternities their existence is not made explicit, although as many were short-lived it is possible that more may have existed in the diocese but left no trace in the historical record, whether due to their impermanence, poverty or the loss of any documentation generated by them.[263] Crucially, however, they are not found in the region's wills which are otherwise such a fruitful source of information on the local commemorative and intercessory landscape.

Neither does there seem to have been any appetite in south-east Wales for special masses and prayers, such as trentals. Again, the reason for this is far from clear, as trentals were popular elsewhere and cost only around 10s.[264] Their apparent absence may reflect the lack of interest of the region's testators, noted above, in new devotional trends. In Norwich demand for trentals

---

[259] Brown, *Popular Piety*, p. 134.

[260] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 142.

[261] Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities', p. 21, p. 32.

[262] TNA: E 301/74, fol. 4r.

[263] Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities', p. 35; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 67, p. 74.

[264] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 102; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, pp. 228-9; Bainbridge, 'The medieval Way of Death', p. 200.

rose after 1440 with the trental of St Gregory and the mass of the Name of Jesus being particularly requested.[265] A similar coolness towards trentals has also been observed in the wills of the socio-economic elite of Hull, however, where they were uncommon despite their cheapness.[266]

Conclusions

In some fundamental ways what has been observed in the diocese of Llandaff accords with nation-wide trends, such as the centrality of the parish church. The majority of the diocese's intercessory institutions were located in parish churches, which were also routinely favoured with testamentary bequests and burial requests. In this, the elites of south-east Wales were thoroughly integrated into national religious behaviours. The preponderance of clerical, rather than lay, memorialisation in the cathedral is another national pattern to which Llandaff closely adheres, and the high proportion of greater intercessory institutions located in urban churches is also a feature of other regions of Wales as well as of England. Some late-medieval devotional cults appear to have found favour: the primacy of the Virgin is the most notable, followed by expressions of Christocentric piety. On the whole, however, the available evidence points to the prevalence of a rather conservative – not to say old-fashioned - form of Christianity, on which new devotions had had little impact.

More eye-catching and significant than the similarities are the differences to national norms, and the above discussion primarily demonstrates the huge gulf between south-east Wales and much of England in the depth, variety and extent of its commemorative culture. Most striking is the sheer lack of evidence for great numbers of intercessory institutions of any kind. This raises the same questions as those prompted by the low numbers of monumental effigies in the region, which are most pertinent in regard to the lack of cheaper forms of memorial, such as incised slabs and brasses. The fact that obits, and in particular lights, were a relatively cheap form of

---

[265] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, pp. 102-3.

[266] Heath, 'Urban Piety', p. 219.

endowment, and possible to maintain for a few shillings or less, makes it remarkable that many more are not recorded in economically-limited south-east Wales. Concealment from the chantry commissioners may have some role to play here but, as has been pointed out, they are also largely absent from wills, which suggests that they simply were not as popular a form of intercession as they were in Somerset, for example.[267] Here again, therefore, the available evidence points to a significant departure in commemorative trends in south-east Wales from parts of England, particularly in the light of Duffy's statement, quoted above, regarding the ubiquity of late medieval testamentary bequests to lights and membership of fraternities. Late medieval Wales, as has already been demonstrated in Chapter Three, was quite different from Somerset and other parts of southern and eastern England in socio-economic terms, but relative levels of wealth, as with monuments, may not have been the only factor limiting the number of cheaper commemorative options. The high concentration of obits, lights and short-term prayers in Suffolk, for example, has been put down to a dense population of low earners. Only the Vale of Glamorgan and the coastal plain of Gwent can be said to have had any concentration of population, however, and the upland bulk of the diocese was sparsely inhabited. It is likely, therefore, that low population levels combined with restricted affluence adversely affected the ability to sustain what Virginia Bainbridge has described as a "rich undergrowth" of small-scale and temporary provisions of a type that may be anticipated in an area of restricted economic growth.[268]

This appreciation of the fundamental differences between south-east Wales and many parts of England requires further thought however. It may not merely be the fewer sources available for Wales, or that it was an economically and socially restricted region, that makes it appear different from pre-Reformation commemorative norms as they are generally understood. The impulse felt by the historian to mine a rich archive is natural, but this may have had unforeseen consequences in that our understanding of medieval culture is somewhat skewed as a result. The

---

[267] See above for Somerset figures.

[268] Bainbridge, 'The Medieval Way of Death', p. 202.

commemorative culture of an English city of the calibre of Bristol, Norwich or York is bound to differ from that of a sparsely-populated rural area, yet the practices and beliefs of the latter type of community are just as historically significant, if more difficult to get at. The study of medieval Welsh commemorative practices does not present such a variety of behaviours and institutions as that found in Bristol, for example, but for a balanced view of pre-Reformation culture the areas of more restricted evidence must be recognised and understood alongside those deemed more rewarding to the historian.

Table 2: Chantries, Obits and Lights in the Diocese of Llandaff

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Llandaff Cathedral	Perpetual Service of David Mathew	David Mathew/ Reynborn Mathew	Trustees enfeoffed with lands in Llandaff	By 1470	106s 11d/ 114s 10d	NLW, MS. Milborne 2200; TNA: E301/74; TNA: PRO PROB 11/6, image ref: 7; *Valor Ecclesiasticus (VE)*, p. 347.
Llandaff Cathedral	Perpetual Chantry of Bishop William de Braose (d.1287)	Unknown	Lands in Llandaff and Ely	Unknown	Unknown	TNA: E133/4/645
Llandaff Cathedral	Perpetual Chantry of Bishop William of Radnor (d.1265)	Bishop William of Radnor	Messuage and land In Forest of Dean	Before 1265	Unknown	Walter de Gray Birch, *Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff* (Neath, 1912) p. 330
Llandaff Cathedral	Perpetual Chantry of Blessed Virgin	Bishop of Llandaff	Property, rents and tithes in unknown location	Early 14th c.	Unknown	TNA: E133/4/645; *VE*, p. 347
Llandaff Cathedral	Perpetual Chantry of Kings of England and Bishops of	Bishop John de Eglescliff	100s	1326	5 marks	*CPR Edward II*, vol. v, 1324-1327 (London, 1904), p. 320.

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Llandaff						
Llandaff Cathedral	Perpetual Chantry of Humphrey de Bohun and ancestors	Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford	Vill of Dewstow in Netherwent granted to cathedral	Before 1291	Unknown	J.H. Mathews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, vol. 4 (Cardiff, 1903), p. 166.
Margam Abbey	Perpetual Chantry of Sir Richard Turbeville	Sir Richard Turbeville	Grant of free pasture and cattle to abbey	1360	Unknown	Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 6, pp. 2380-1.
Bassaleg	Perpetual Chantry of Morgan John (d.1500)	Morgan John	5 trustees to be enfeoffed with lands.	After 1500	98s 4d from rents of enfeoffed lands	TNA: PRO PROB11/12 Image ref: 22
St John's Church, Cardiff	Our Lady Service	Unknown	Churchwardens enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	£8 8s 5d/ £6 16s 8d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74
St John's Church, Cardiff	Trinity Service	Unknown (Glovers' chantry?)	Churchwardens enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	£6 19s	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; D.G. Walker, 'Cardiff', In R.A. Griffiths, ed., Boroughs of Medieval Wales (Cardiff, 1978), pp. 103-128, at p. 126.
St John's Church, Cardiff	St Katherine	Unknown (Fraternity?)	Churchwardens enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	£4 13s 6d/ 113s 8d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
St John's Church, Cardiff	St James' Service	Unknown	Churchwardens enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	11s 8d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200
St Mary's Church, Cardiff	Proctors' Service (at altar of St Mary?)	Unknown	Churchwardens enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	£12 13s 4d between 2 priests/ £6 13s 4d and £8 3s 4d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74
St Mary's Church, Cardiff	Priest serving at altar of St Nicholas	Unknown	Churchwardens enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	£4	TNA: E301/74
Cowbridge	Perpetual service of William Prior and his wife	William Prior	Trustees enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	£6	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74
Llantwit Major	Perpetual Chantry of Our Lady of the West End	Unknown	Trustees enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Unknown	107s 4d/ £5 18s 2d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74; VE, p. 355
Llantwit Major	Our Lady Service	Ragland Family	Trustees enfeoffed with lands and tenements	Late 15th c.	34s 10d/ 27s 5d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74
Neath	Perpetual Service 'The Stipendary'	Diverse persons (Fraternity?)	Lands and tenements	Unknown	44s 9d/ 42s 10d	NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74

273

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
St Woolos, Newport	Jenkin Clerk's Chantry	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	£6 17s 6½d	TNA: E301/74; VE, p. 363
St Woolos, Newport	Morgan ap Rosser's Chantry	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	£7 7s	TNA: E301/74; VE, p. 363
Usk	John Edwards' Chantry	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	£4 8s 9d	TNA: E301/74
Usk	Trinity Chantry	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	£4 16s 7d	TNA: E 01/74; VE, p. 369
Llandegfedd	Priest for ever	Unknown	1 messuage and lands	Unknown	15s 5½d	TNA: E301/74
Caerleon	Our Lady Service	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	£4 13s 4d	TNA: E301/74
Caerleon	Rood Service	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	53s	TNA: E301/74
Chepstow	St Katherine's Service	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	58s 10d	TNA: E301/74; VE, p. 375
Abergavenny Priory	Unnamed Chantry	Unknown	Lands and tenements	Unknown	£6 19s 2d	TNA:E301/74
Abergavenny Priory	Perpetual Chantry for souls of parents	William Herbert, earl of Pembroke	Parsonage of Condee given to priory	After 1469		Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 58
Tintern Abbey	Perpetual Chantry of William Herbert, earl of	Earl of Pembroke (d.1469)	Parish of Llangatwg given to abbey	After 1469		Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 58

274

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Grosmont	Pembroke (d.1469) St John's chantry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 357
Grosmont	Chantry of the Duke of Lancaster	Unknown	40s and 9s land since time immemorial	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 357
Abergavenny	St Cadoc's chantry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	£5	VE, p. 363
Usk	Chantry of St Nicholas	John ap Jenkin ap Jevan ap Maddock	£5 5s	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 369
Christchurch	Chantry of Christcurch	Unknown	40s 4d	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 374
Chepstow	Holy Crucifix Service	Unknown	26s 8d	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 375
Caerleon	Chantry of Caerleon	Unknown	20s 4d	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 375
Goldcliff	Chantry of Mary Magdalene	Unknown	£5 6s 8d	Unknown	Unknown	VE, p. 376
Unknown	1 year chantry of William ap Howell Llewellyn	William ap Howell Llewellyn	Not stipulated	After 1529	Not stipulated	TNA: PRO PROB 11/23 Image ref: 95
Llanddewi Skirrid	1 year chantry of David ap Gwillym	David ap Gwillym Morgan	Trustees enfeoffed with purchased lands in	After 1523	8 marks	TNA: PRO PROB 11/21 Image ref: 205

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
		Morgan	Llanwenarth			
Llanishen (Mon)	1 year chantry of Glyn apHowell	Glyn ap Howell	Unknown	After 1507		D.H. Williams, 'Medieval Monmouthshire wills', p. 118.
Unknown	3 year chantry of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke	Earl of Pembroke	£20 to Sir Edward	After 1469	£20 over 3 years	Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 57
Lantilio	4 year chantry for above, before the Trinity	Earl of Pembroke	40 marks to Sir Edward	After 1469	40 marks over 4 years	Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 57
Raglan	1 year chantry for above	Earl of Pembroke	Part of above endowment	After 1469	Part of above	Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 57
Sckalaseley	1 year chantry for above	Earl of Pembroke	Part of above endowment	After 1469	Part of above	Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 57
Tintern Abbey	Perpetual Chantry for William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, parents, Wife and ancestors	Earl of Huntingdon	Church of Lanihangoll Lanihangoll Condee to be given to Tintern abbey	After 1483		Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 74.
Unknown	5 year chantry for Thomas	Thomas Kemmys	Executors to arrange from residue of estate	After 1493	100s p. a.	TNA: PRO PROB 11/10; image ref: 122

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Abergavenny Priory	Kemmys (d.1493) 1 year chantry for Thomas Herbert of Abergavenny (d.1527), before the Rood	Thomas Herbert	Cash bequest	After 1527	£5	TNA: PRO PROB 11/23; image ref: 80
Merthyr Tydfil	4 year chantry of Lewis ap Richard (d.1521)	Lewis ap Richard	Profits of the mill at Merthyr Tydfil	After 1521	Unspecified	TNA: PRO PROB 11/21; image ref: 21
Llanblethian	1 year chantry for Richard Carne (d.1532)	Richard Carne	Cash bequest	After 1532	100s	TNA: PRO PROB 11/25; image ref: 19
St John's, Cardiff	6 year chantry for Mathew Jubbes, wife, parents and Roger Vaughan in St Mary's chapel	Mathew Jubbes (d.1502)	Unknown. Son to organise	After 1502	Unspecified	TNA: PRO PROB 11/13; image ref: 2167

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Llandaff Cathedral	2 year chantry for Bishop John Marshall (d.1495)	Bishop John Marshall	Cash bequest to William Lewis, chaplain	After 1495	10 marks p.a.	TNA: PRO PROB 11/10; image ref: 363
Llandough	1 year chantry for Robert Walsche (d.1427)	Robert Walsche	Cash bequest	After 1427	£10 to two chaplains	TNA: PRO PROB 11/3; Image ref: 105
Unknown	Chantry for William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d.1469) for term of chaplain's life	Earl of Pembroke	Cash bequest to Dr Leison	After 1469	10 marks p.a.	TNA: PRO PROB 11/5; Image ref: 305
Lantilio, before the Trinity	2 year chantry for soul of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke and those killed at Banbury	Earl of Pembroke	Unspecified	After 1469	Unspecified	TNA: PRO PROB 11/5; Image ref: 305
Bassaleg	7 year chantry for Morgan John	Morgan John	Unspecified	After 1500	Unspecified	TNA: PRO PROB 11/12 Image ref: 22
St Woolos, Newport	3 year chantry for	Morgan John	Unspecified	After 1500	Unspecified	TNA: PRO PROB 11/12 Image ref: 22

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
St Mary's, Cardiff	Morgan John					
	3 year chantry for Edmund Turnour (d.1539) at altar of St Andrew	Edmund Turnour	Cash bequest	After 1539	£6 13s 4d p.a.	TNA: PRO PROB 11/27; image ref: 414
St Piran's Chapel, Cardiff	Cordwainers' Chantry	Unknown	Unknown			Walker, 'Cardiff', p. 126.
Woivesnewton	Obit	Unknown	1 acre arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Llangattock Kelewyk	Obit of Watkyn Gunter	Watkyn Gunter	1 meadow	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Abergavenny	Obit of John Mere	John Mere	1 tenement	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Tintern Abbey	20 years of obits for Earl of Huntingdon	Earl of Huntingdon (d.c.1491)	6s 8d to every monk attending the service each year	After 1491		Herbertorum Prosapia, f. 74.
Neath Abbey	Obit of Edward Stradling	Edward Stradling	1 acre of land and advowson of St Donat's	1341		Arch. Camb. (1886), pp. 292-3
St Mary's, Chepstow	Obit of Thomas and Alice Harrys, and parents of	Thomas Harrys	4 houses	After 1512		TNA: PRO PROB 11/17 Image ref: 258

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
	Thomas in chapel of St Anthony					
Unspecified	Obit of Thomas Wareyn (d.1426)	Thomas Wareyn	Sale of tenements	After 1426		TNA: PRO PROB 11/3 Image ref: 87
Cowbridge	Obits of William Prior and wife	William Prior	36s 8d out of chantry endowment	Unknown		NLW, Milborne MS. 2200; TNA: E301/74
Margam Abbey	Obit of Richard Turbeville	Richard Turbeville	Part of chantry endowment	1360		Clark, ed., Cartae, vol. 6, pp. 2380-1.
Llandaff Cathedral	Obit of Llewelyn ap Rumbolde	Unknown	1 tenement in Ely and 37 acres of meadow	Unknown		TNA: E133/4/645
Llandaff Cathedral	Obit of Bishop John of Monmouth (d.1323) 4 times a year	Bishop of Llandaff	Bishop's lands in Forest of Dean	Unknown		De Gray Birch, Memorials, p. 324.
Neath Abbey	Obit of Harry Starling (?Stradling)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 351
Neath Abbey	Obit of Master Sydman	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 351
Neath Abbey	Obit of Founders	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 351

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Margam Abbey	Obit of Founders	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 352
Usk Priory	Obit of Founders	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 366
Usk Priory	Obit of Doctor Adam	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 366
Tintern Abbey	Obit of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		VE, p. 371
Llansoy	5 masses of the 5 Wounds of Christ to be celebrated on anniversary perpetually	Philip ap Howell	Rent of house and croft	After 1534		D.H. Williams, 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills', p. 119
Llanddewi Skirrid	Obit of David ap Gwillym Morgan 4 times a year	David ap Gwillym Morgan	Part of chantry endowment	After 1523		TNA: PRO PROB 11/21 Image ref: 205
St Nicholas	Light before the High Altar	Unknown	1 acre of arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Newton Nottage	Lights of St John's church	David Williams	12 d	1505		Clark, Cartae, vol. 6, pp. 2385-6
Michaelston-super-Ely	Light before the High Altar	Unknown	1 messuage and 1½ acres of land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Sully	Light before Our Lady	Unknown	1 orchard and ½ acre meadow	Unknown		TNA: E301/74

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Wenvoe	Light before St Barroc	Unknown	1 acre meadow	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Kenfig and Pyle	Light before Mary Magdalene	Unknown	1acre arable land			TNA: E301/74
St Bride's Major	Light before the Rood	Unknown	2 acres arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74; TNA: DL 38/7
Llanllywel	Light before the High Altar	Unknown	4d worth of arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Llangwm	Light before the High Altar	Unknown	½ acre arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Llandegfedd	Light before the Sepulchre	Unknown	½ acre meadow	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Llanddewi	Light before High Altar	Unknown	14 acres pasture	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Llanfihangell Ystum Llywern	Light before the Rood	Unknown	1 messuage and lands	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Llanishen (Mon)	Light before the Rood	Unknown	1 acre arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Portskewett	Light before the Rood	Unknown	1 acre arable land	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Bishton	Light before Our Lady	Unknown	1 garden	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Goytre	Light before High Altar	Unknown	10 acres arable and ½ acre meadow	Unknown		TNA: E301/74
Chepstow	Light before the sacrament	Thomas Harrys	Part of wider endowment, funded	1512		TNA: PRO PROB 11/17; Image ref: 258

282

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Chepstow	Light before St Anthony	Thomas Harrys	As above	1512		TNA: PRO PROB 11/17; Image ref: 258
Usk	Light before the sacrament night and day	Sir Hugh David ap John	2 houses and 2 gardens	Unknown		VE, p. 366
Abergavenny	Light before Assumption of the Virgin	William ap Howell ap Llewellyn	Rents of houses in Abergavenny	1529		TNA: PRO PROB 11/23; Image ref: 95
Llanfihangel Crucornau	Light before St Michael	William ap Howell ap Llewellyn	Part of above endowment?	1529		TNA: PRO PROB 11/23; Image ref: 95
Nash (Mon)	Light before St Leonard	John ap Richard and William West	19s 8d	1531		TNA: PRO PROB 11/27; Image ref: 237
St Mary's, Cardiff	St Mary's candle	John le Porc, Nicolas Herward	Burgage in Cardiff and meadow granted to Margam abbey in return for payment of 1d worth of wax to candle of Mary in Cardiff at Michaelmas.	13th century		Walter de Gray Birch, ed., Penrice and Margam Abbey MSS (London, 1893), p. 55; Clark, ed., Cartae, vol. 6, p. 2305.
Margam Abbey	Light at the Purification of the Virgin	Philip de Marcross	10s rent	13th century?		de Gray Birch, ed., Penrice and Margam Abbey MSS, p. 107.

Place	Form of Intercession	Founder/ Benefactor	Endowment	Date of Foundation	Priest's Stipend	References
Cowbridge	Light before the sacrament	William Prior	20s, part of chantry endowment	14th century?		NLW, MS Milborne, 7...
Trelech	Light before St Nicholas	Hugh ap Jankyn ap Thomas Moris	3s 4d	1488		Williams, 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills', p. 116

Conclusion

Several themes have emerged from the foregoing study, central to which are the differences in levels of patronage of memorial effigies and other forms of commemoration in the diocese of Llandaff from those in parts of England where studies have been carried out. In the case of sculpted or incised monuments and brasses this is unlikely to have been due to overwhelming losses in the post-medieval period. As far as non-monumental forms, such as obits, chantries and lights are concerned, it is impossible to estimate how many foundations have left no trace in the documentary record, but surviving testamentary evidence suggests that original numbers are unlikely to have been high. In all cases, the surviving remains are likely to reflect actual levels of interest in all forms of *post mortem* intercession in pre-Reformation south-east Wales.

Another marked outcome of this study is the discovery that patterns of patronage and production in the diocese can be contrasted with those seen in England. Interest in effigial monumental commemoration was at its highest level in the diocese in the pre-Black Death era, and while a slump in patronage in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was common across the board, the diocese of Llandaff did not experience the same levels of recovery seen in Gloucestershire and Somerset for example. More significant than this is the fact that the patronal group became more restricted in the post-Black Death/Glyn Dŵr era. Monuments of the lower clergy and civilians are no longer seen and only the upper gentry and clergy are active as patrons, a feature which may have has as much to do with the failure of the local effigial monument industry as with the socio-economic dislocations of the period. Consequently, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries a range of monumental types are encountered: from incised slabs and semi-effigies, to low and high relief and fully sculpted memorials. From the fifteenth century, and especially from c.1450 to the end of our period, however - with exception of the brass of Wenllian Walsche at Llandough - sculpture in the round predominates, the effigies invariably set atop tomb-chests adorned with weepers. Furthermore, the range of imported and native stones seen in the earlier period are largely, if not completely, pushed out by alabaster. This contraction of numbers and restriction of types is very different to the opening up of the market seen in England, and is one of the most significant observations to come out of this study.

Despite these major departures from the English experience, the monumental culture of the diocese of Llandaff has been shown to have been thoroughly integrated with that across the Bristol channel in terms of sculptural styles. South-east Wales was heavily influenced by its place within Severnside. Hence we have the presence of monuments carved from Dundry, Painswick and other west-country oolites in Llandaff cathedral, Abergavenny priory, Margam abbey and elsewhere, reflecting locations and patrons with cross-channel ties. The native industry was similarly influenced by mainstream sculptural styles and the north-Welsh influence detected in the pilgrim at Llandyfodwg is a unique occurrence. From the second half of the fifteenth century the changing character of the patronal group from settler *advenae* to native *uchelwyr* loosened the grip of the west-country product as the new regional elite sought the most up-to-date fashionable products from the midlands alabasterers.

As with monuments, the foundation rates of other forms of commemoration – such as chantries, lights and obits – were low in comparison with parts of England, and there is little evidence of the large numbers of the cheaper methods of intercession that might be expected in an area of relative poverty. Fraternity membership in particular seems to have been deeply unpopular in the diocese. The non-monumental forms of commemoration mirror patterns seen in effigies, not just in terms of low numbers, but also in the preference of the expensive chantry over the cheaper obit, light or fraternity membership.

The comparison of monumental and non-monumental forms of commemoration afforded by this study underlines the essential intrusiveness and 'self-centeredness' of the memorial monument. Chantries, obits, lights, testamentary gifts and other prayers or masses for the dead in the diocese of Llandaff enhanced the performance of divine service by adding to its frequency and contributing to the numbers of participants. The church building was maintained and beautified, the parish benefited from extra manpower and liturgical equipment, the poor received alms and the local infrastructure, such as bridges, was strengthened. If the donors and founders gained spiritually and posthumously, the local population also did so materially and in life. In contrast, the benefits of the erection of a memorial monument were nearly all with the deceased. While brasses and other floor slabs may not have impeded processional ways or sight-lines, and a collection of the monuments of the elite may have enhanced the honour of a church, it is difficult

to argue that the parish community as a whole gained much from the presence of a monument in their midst. This is not to say that monuments had no impact. This study, like others, has shown that monuments carried spiritual and secular messages intended to manipulate the onlooker into offering up prayers for the deceased or to interpret him/her and any descendants in a specific light. The offering up of prayers for the dead, it is true, would have ultimately benefited the performer, but otherwise the useful wider impact of the monument was decidedly limited compared to other methods of securing intercession.

This begs the question why individuals chose monuments over chantries, or obits, and vice versa. In some cases, of course, individuals utilised a range of intercessory tools, as did many of the testators and founders examined in this thesis, and funds are an obvious issue here, but for many the options were more limited. Why Richard Carne chose to spend 100s on a one-year chantry when he could have spent it on a small, but more permanent, brass, or Lewis ap Richard opted to spend £20 on bells for the church at Merthyr Tydfil when the same amount would have secured him a sizeable – and, unlike the bells, highly visible – monument, are questions which are not straightforward to answer. Whatever Carne's and ap Richard's personal motivations were it is clear that, although monuments may be the most obvious remnants of pre-Reformation commemorative culture in today's parish churches, medieval men and women did not necessarily regard them as the most satisfactory method of securing intercession for their souls. Case studies Two and Three in particular show that the preference for the monumental effigy over less obtrusive, more altruistic, forms of commemoration felt by some patrons may have been largely due to the monument's ability to carry secular as well as spiritual messages about an individual or family. The ability to endow a chantry or an obit revealed something of an individual's wealth, but could not say much to the casual observer about the deceased's status, achievements, political and social contacts, or family links. All this, however, a monument could do. The monument may have been no more effective in easing the soul through purgatory than the chantry, but as a broadcaster of secular messages it was superior.

The present study has indicated the necessity of further research. The diocese of Llandaff has been compared and contrasted with parts of England and with Pembrokeshire, but it has not been possible to look at the rest of Wales. This would be a fruitful area of investigation, especially

regarding the lands beyond the march. Gresham has already shown that the monumental culture of north Wales was quite distinctive from that of the march and of England, and it would be instructive to extend this into the realms of non-effigial and non-monumental commemoration and testamentary piety. A study of the region's cross-slabs in particular may yield explanations for the low numbers of effigial memorials. In this way it would be possible to build a fuller picture of the Welsh approach to the commemoration of the dead and to be more categorical about the place of Wales and the march within this aspect of late-medieval culture. There is also a case for comparing Wales with other parts of medieval Britain. Scotland would be an obvious choice, but areas on the fringes of 'mainstream' English culture, such as Cornwall and the far north would also be instructive comparators. Such an exercise would allow the findings of this study to be set against a broader background and establish whether the patterns of commemoration seen in the diocese of Llandaff are really that unusual, or whether our understanding of levels of patronage, foundations, endowments and testamentary bequests have been skewed by the concentration of studies on wealthy and populous areas of England.

The sixty-two surviving monuments of the diocese of Llandaff have been shown to be an eclectic collection well worth close scrutiny. Through them it is possible to follow both the changing nature of elite Llandaff society and major developments in the history of the medieval monumental effigy. Although previous studies of the Abergavenny monuments have been justified by that collection's size, variety and quality, the present study has brought to greater attention the previously under-appreciated monuments existing in other churches in south-east Wales, many of which are of some significance. Together they underline the region's Severnside links, illustrate the nature and extent of the domestic monument industry and its market, as well as demonstrating their collapse, and further delineate the ways in which the rising *uchelwyr* elites sought to stake their claim in gentle society and strengthen their bonds with one-another. In addition this thesis has unearthed some individual monuments – at Llandyfodwg, St Bride's Major and Llansannor, for example - which are in themselves worthy of note, whether for their artistic excellence or their ability to inform and instruct via their unorthodoxies. All deserve wider recognition.

Appendix

A Gazetteer of Pre-Reformation Effigial Monuments in the Diocese of Llandaff

1: EVA DE BRAOSE, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
Date – Mid 13th c.
Material – West Country oolite
Location – freestanding in chancel. Original location unknown.
Identity – Eva de Braose, Lady of Abergavenny (d.1257). Traditional attribution.
Condition - good
Description – Undersized effigy of lady. Object held between her hands, which lie on her breast, body covered by large shield depicting Cantelupe arms, *three fleurs-de-lys.* Head rests on a single pillow and she wears a fillet, veil and barbe. Details of gown obscured by shield, but a mantle is visible. The slab is tapered and bordered with foliage and flowers. Placed on a modern plinth, resting on tomb-chest decorated with blank shields.

2: JOHN, LORD HASTINGS, ABERGAVENNY

Church - St Mary's Priory
Date – c.1325
Material - wood
Location – on reconstructed stone tomb-chest in nave. Not original location.
Identity – Identified as John, 2nd Baron Hastings (d.c.1325) by Claude Blair.[1]
Condition – Generally good. Head of lion footrest cut away.
Description – Effigy of cross-legged praying knight. Head on double cushions, feet on large lion. Mail armour with plate defences at knees. Mail coif, secured with a leather thong, camail descends over shoulders. Surcoat reaches to knees, confined by broad belt worn diagonally across hips. Effigy lies on thin wooden slab on stone tomb-chest. The latter decorated with arcades housing eight military figures in different poses.

---

[1] 'The Wooden Knight at Abergavenny', *Church Monuments*, vol. 9 (1994), pp. 33-54.

3: SIR WILLIAM DE HASTINGS, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
Date – Mid 14th c.
Material – Painswick stone
Location – In decorated wall recess, south side of Herbert chapel. Original location.
Identity – Sir William de Hastings (d.1349)[2]
Condition – Carving still crisp, but damage to feet, knees, arms and torso.
Description - Cross-legged sword-handling effigy of a knight. Head rests on single pillow with tassels, feet on large greyhound. Weight of body on left side, left arm on breast, right on pommel of dagger, against right hip. Sword rests to his left on the slab. Mostly plate armour, with mail visible at armpits, and camail under bascinet. Armour covered by thigh-length 'jupon' with fringed hem. Mail drapes over scabbard – a nice detail. Broad, richly decorated belt. Tomb-chest is plain. Blind tracery on back of recess.

[2]Philip Lindley, 'Two Fourteenth-century Tomb Monuments at Abergavenny and the Mournful End of the Hastings Earls of Pembroke', in Kenyon and Williams eds., *Cardiff, Architecture and Archaeology,* pp. 136-60.

4: LAWRENCE DE HASTINGS, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
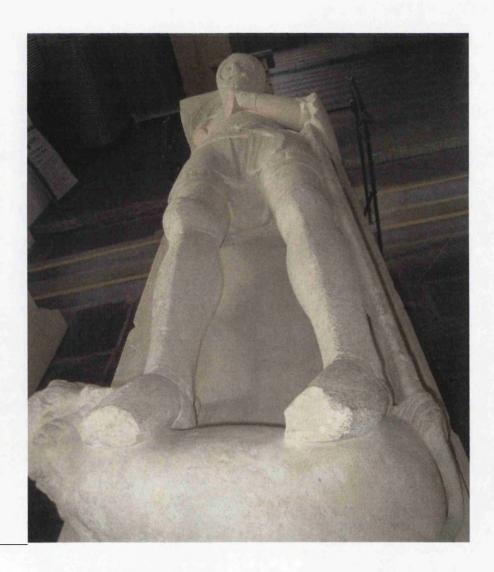**Date** – Mid 14th c.
Material – Painswick stone
Location – Freestanding in middle of Herbert chapel. Original location unknown.
Identity – Lawrence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke (d.1349)[3]
Condition – Generally good but right arm and toes missing
Description – An early example of a straight-legged praying knight. Head rests on great helm, his hands meet in prayer on the chest. De-horned bull footrest. Armour and style of carving very similar to that of Effigy 3, but with sword-belt and further layers emerging from under the jupon. Sword and shield carried on left side, dagger on slab to right of body.

---

[3] See note 2.

5: LADY, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
Date – 2nd half 14th c.
Material – West country oolite
Location – Freestanding in chancel, west of Effigy 1. Original location unknown.
Identity – Unknown ?Hastings lady
Condition – Generally good, damage to hands and footrest, and loss of ?squirrel.
Description – Undersized effigy of a lady. Head on double, tasselled cushions, feet on animal footrest, possibly lioness. Nebulee headdress. Gown has straight, low-cut neckline, tight bodice and sleeves and loose skirts. Buttons down front of gown and forearms. Sleeves have very long liripipes. Large pockets from which a chain emerges on right, thought to have originally tethered the figure of a squirrel sitting on her chest.

6: SIR WILLIAM AP THOMAS AND GWLADUS DDU, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
Date – Mid 15th c.
Material - Alabaster
Location – Freestanding in centre of Herbert chapel. Possibly original location.
Identity – Sir William ap Thomas (d.1445) and Gwladus Ddu (d.1454)
Condition – Very good
Description – Typical alabaster double-effigy of mid-15th c. Similarities to tomb of Sir Ralph Greene and his wife at Lowick (Northants) suggest a common origin in the Prentys and Sutton workshop. Both figures are recumbent and hold their hands in prayer. Lady rests her head on single tasselled pillow with attendant angels, knight's head on his helm. Gablettes above both their heads, with surviving polychromy. Knight wears typical mid-15th c. armour, has an orle around his bascinet and a collar of SS with a lozenge-shaped pendant. His feet rest on a large lion. The lady wears court dress and a horned headdress. The figures rest on an alabaster tomb chest around which are carved biblical figures bearing scrolls.

7: RICHARD HERBERT OF COLDBROOK AND MARGARET, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
Date – c. 1469
Material - Alabaster
Location – Freestanding in Herbert chapel, to south of Effigy 6. Possibly original location.
Identity – Richard Herbert of Coldbrook (d. 1469, son of William ap Thomas) and wife, Margaret.
Condition – Generally good. Some damage to noses, fingers, etc. Right arm of knight lost. Tomb-chest restored from fragments.
Description – Conventional double effigy of knight and lady, both in praying, recumbent poses. Knight's head rests on helm with sheaf of arrows crest, and wears suns and roses collar. Lady has padded, jewelled fillet around head. Both have gablettes above. Reconstructed tomb-chest decorated with arcades housing angels bearing shields and crowned figures.

8: RICHARD HERBERT OF EWYAS, ABERGAVENNY

Church – St Mary's Priory
Date – c.1510
Material – Alabaster
Location – Against south wall of Herbert chapel. Original location.
Identity – Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d.1510)
Condition - Good
Description - Recumbent praying knight, very similar to those of Effigies 31 and 32, in canopied wall recess. Head on helm, feet on lion footrest. Sleeping beadsman under foot concealed against wall. Tomb-chest consists of nine recesses housing seated figure bearing shields and ?books. Central recess empty, and holes show where carved figures were fixed on. Alabaster relief of the Coronation of the Virgin on the back wall of the recess. Virgin adored by kneeling figures representing children of Richard Herbert and wife, Margaret Cradock, identified by shields of arms below their feet.

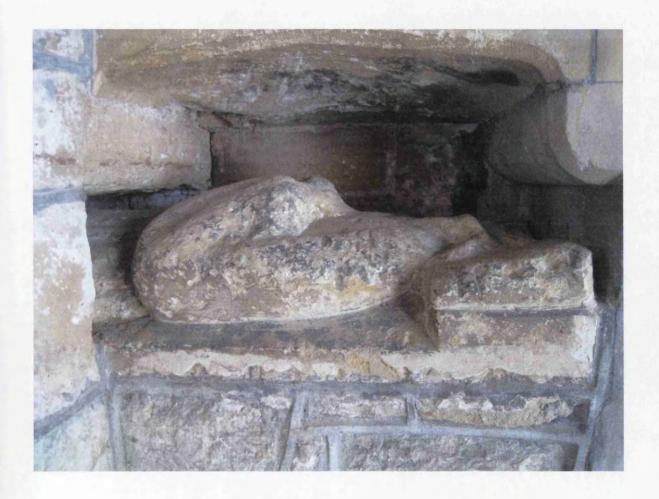## 9: CIVILIAN, CALDICOT

Church – St Mary the Virgin
Date – Uncertain
Material - Dundry
Location – In recess built into SE corner of S porch. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition - Poor
Description – Fragment of high relief effigy of recumbent, praying civilian. Head and lower part of body gone. Head on single, square cushion. Wears gown with voluminous sleeves and v-shaped neckline, belted at waist. Small sword or dagger suspended from this on left side.

10: JOHN AND ISABELLA COLMER, CHRISTCHURCH

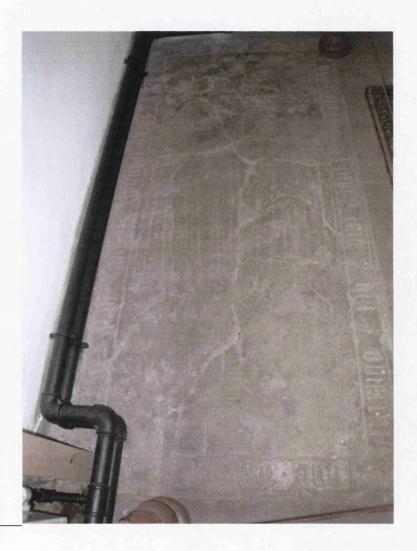**Church** – Holy Trinity
Date – 2nd ½ 14th c.
Material - Unknown
Location – In floor on south side nave
Identity – John and Isabella Colmer (d.1376). Original location unknown.
Condition - worn
Description – Incised slab depicting praying civilian and female. Figures placed either side of large foliate cross. Both wear fashionable dress with hanging sleeves. Gothic inscription round edge reads: Hic iacent Johannes Colmer et Isabella uxor eius qui obierunt anno domini mccclxxvi quor[um] a[n]i[m]abus p[ro]picietur deus amen.

11: CIVILIAN, COITY

Church - St Mary.
Date – Early 14th c.
Material – Quarella.
Location – Laid on floor on north side of chancel. Original location unknown.
Identity – Member of Turbeville family.
Condition – Broken off at ankle. Damage to slab, inscription, hands and face.
Description – Undersized (c.106cm.) relief effigy of civilian, recumbent, hands held in praying position. Head lies on double cushion, no feet or footrest remaining. The hair is short and flicked back from the face. Facial features crudely done, the eyes in particular. Arms and hands are also unconvincing, curving around rather than bending at the elbow. Figure is clad in plain, loose gown with loose sleeves ending at the forearm, and loosely draped neckline, possibly intended for a hood. The effigy lies on a rectangular slab. The inscription is damaged, but the name of Payne de Turbeville can be made out.

12: LADY, COITY

Church – St Mary.
Date – early 14th c.
Material – Quarella sandstone.
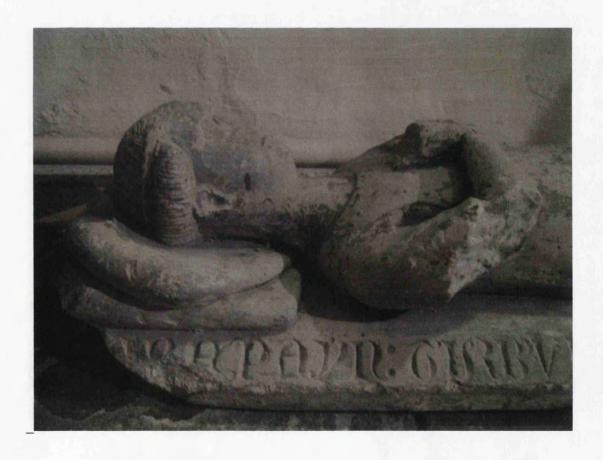**Location** – Laid on the floor, south side of chancel. Original location unknown.
Identity – A lady of the Turbeville family.
Condition – Good. Right elbow, fingers, nose, top right corner and bottom edge of slab missing or damaged.
Description – Relief effigy of lady in recumbent, praying position, the head on double cushions. Right knee slightly bent, lending the figure a just discernable sway. Feet rest on semi-circular plate, under which is a crouched hare nibbling at foliage.
Head bare apart from a fillet, the hair curled over delicately carved ears. She wears a long, plain kirtle. The sleeves are loose to the elbow, then tight to the wrist. Sleeveless gown worn over this, but no mantle. Drapery falls in thick folds of irregular width from the waist to the feet, where it lies in gentle zig-zags. Slab c.120cm.
Partially legible Lombardic inscription runs down right side and around bottom of rectangular slab: DE : PAYNE : TURBVILE : GIT : ICI : DEU : DE : LALME : EI....

13: CIVILIAN/PRIEST, COLWINSTON

Church - St Michael.

Date – Probably 13th c.

Material – Sutton. Stone displays typical features of weathered Sutton, specifically holes formed where pebbles have fallen out and have been enlarged by erosion.

Location – In shallow sepulchral niche against north wall of chancel. Possibly original.

Identity – Unknown.

Condition - Very worn, precluding definite dating and identification. End of feet lost.

Description – Effigy apparently of a man, probably a civilian as there are no indications of clerical status, such as vestments, chalice, etc. Lies in a recumbent, praying position. Effigy very flattened. Head lies on a single rectangular cushion. Protuberances on either side of head suggest either ears or short curled hair. No drapery patterns remain; costume a long featureless gown. No remaining footrest.

The effigy lies on a shallow slab. No sign of an inscription, but the right hand and top edges are decorated with a design resembling dog tooth – a fairly unusual feature, suggestive of an early date.

14: LAWYER, COYCHURCH

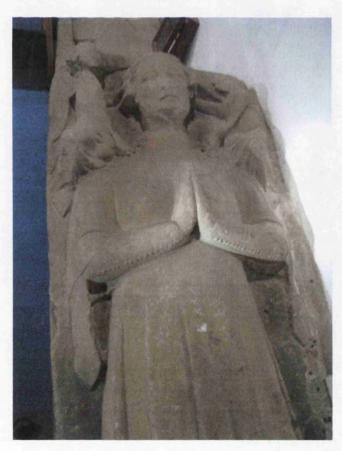**Church** – St Crallo.
Date – Mid 14th c.
Material – Quarella sandstone.
Location – Against north wall of north transept. Original location unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very good overall. Damage to nose and chin of figure, and wings and heads of supporting angels. Footrest worn and appears flattened off at end.
Description – Effigy lies flat on slab. Hands meet in prayer on his chest, head on a large, flattish cushion, supported by angels. Feet lie on a footrest of indeterminate character, but probably a small dog. Head inclined slightly towards the right, away from the wall and meeting the gaze of the viewer. Hair cut in tonsure. At either side of the head is an angel, lying flat against the pillow, heads turned to look upwards. Effigy wears undergarment visible at the forearms and lower legs, where it is split in the middle and turned back. On the forearms the tight sleeves are fastened by a row of tiny buttons from elbow to wrist. The hands are bare. The over-garment has a loose hood around the neck, with two lappets hanging from it, lying flat on the upper chest, indicating legal dress. This garment fits tightly at the chest and has loose sleeves to the elbow, which end in hanging lappets to hip level. Much looser from waist and lying in flat folds, ending at mid shin. Shoes are plain and pointed. Modern chest, no inscription.

15: PAYN DE TURBEVILLE, EWENNY PRIORY

Church – St Michael.
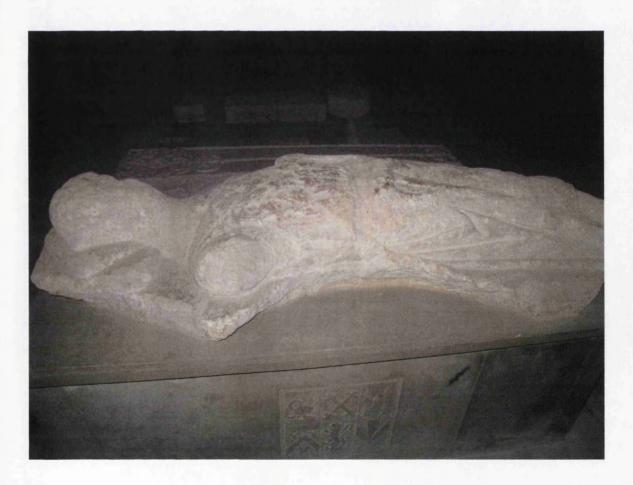**Date** – Early 14th c.
Material – West country oolite.
Location – On modern chest in middle of south transept. Original location unknown.
Identity – Traditionally identified as Payn de Turbeville (d.c.1318), lord of Coity.
Condition – Badly mutilated. Shows signs of having been broken and repaired in at least three places: where legs meet skirt; waist; neck.
Description – Recumbent, cross-legged effigy of mail-clad knight. Lower legs and right arm gone, but likely that his right arm was drawing his sword, which was held by his left hand, concealed behind his shield. The left leg was crossed over the right. His head lies on a double cushion and is very worn, with no facial features remaining. The mail coif is visible. No bascinet, but a steel cap may be indicated under the coif. Mail is also visible on remaining parts of the lower legs, and there is a mail skirt. Long surcoat, belted, parted from the waist and falling in triangular folds on either side of the legs. Sword rests against the left leg, partially concealed by the pointed shield, covering the left side from just below the shoulder to just below the edge of the skirt. There is no trace of any pattern on it. Knees have plain, flat defences.

16: HAWISE DE LONDRES, EWENNY PRIORY

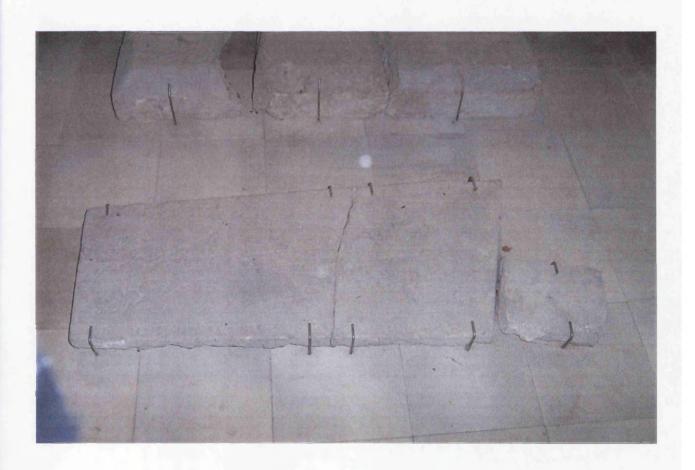**Church** – St Michael.

Date – Late 13th c.

Material - Unknown

Location – On floor in middle of south transept. Used as a seat in the porch until 1895. Original location unknown.

Identity – Hawise de Londres (d.1274).

Condition – Broken into 3 pieces. Head and shoulders of effigy missing, but incised lines and inscription still relatively clear.

Description – Incised slab of lady. All that remains of the figure is the bottom half of the gown, and feet with pointed toes. There is no footrest, but a floriated design beneath her feet. The drapery is suggested by triangular and roughly parallel lines and a curling hem. Around the edge of the tapered slab is a Lombardic inscription ...LE : DAME : HAWISE : DE : LONDRES : PENSEZ....PUR : LA : SON : ALME : PULT : PAT : NOSTER

17: ELIZABET , FLEMINGSTON

Church – St Michael the Archangel.
Date – Probably late 13th c.
Material – Blue Lias.
Location – Under low arch set in north wall of nave. Possibly original location.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very worn. Cut down on left hand side, head cut away, heavy pitting and flaking of surface obscures much remaining detail.
Description – Effigy of a recumbent praying female. Head and neck cut away, leaving square-topped depression in the slab. Head and neck probably originally inlaid in a separate piece of stone of a differing colour, or better sculptural quality than Lias. The bent right arm is just visible, showing tight-fitting sleeves and the drapery of the gown is depicted in long parallel lines. The slab has a concave chamfer on the visible edges inscribed with + ELIZABET in Lombardic lettering.

18: JOAN LE FLEMING, FLEMINGSTON

Church – St Michael the Archangel.
Date – Early 14th c.
Material – Dundry.
Location – Under low sepulchral niche in south wall of south chapel. Not original location.
Identity – Joan le Fleming (d.?1307).
Condition – Good. Damage to hands. Left elbow and head of footrest missing.
Description – Effigy of recumbent praying female. Head lies on double cushion. She wears a wimple and veil, with hair bunched at sides of head. Veil falls in rippling, naturalistic folds onto shoulders. The only other garment is a long, loose gown, tight on the forearms and ending at the wrists, falling from the chest in long, naturalistic folds formed by sweeping ridges. The right knee is raised, lending the figure an elegant and subtle sense of movement. The forms of the pointed shoes are just visible under the gown, resting on a small animal. The effigy lies on a tapered, chamfered slab. A Lombardic inscription runs in two lines on the right hand edge next to the wall, given by Orrin as DAME : IHONE : FLEMENG : GIVT : ICI : DEV : DE : LALME : EIT : MERCI : KI : DU : P : LALME : PRIERTA : CARANTE : IURS.

The recess under which the effigy lies cannot be the original home of the monument as the inscription is hidden against the wall. She must therefore have originally lain along a north wall.
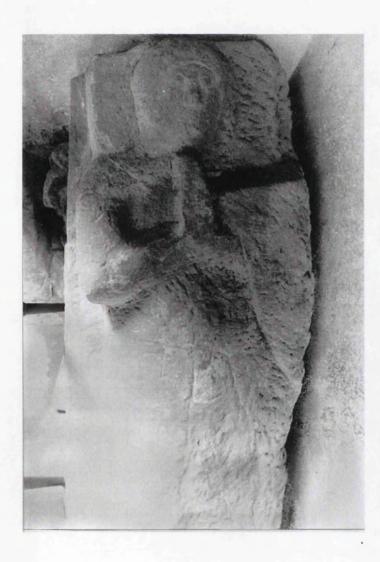
19: KNIGHT, GROSMONT[4]

Church – St Nicholas
Date – Late 13th c.
Material - Unknown
Identity - Unknown
Condition - Unfinished
Description – A rare example of an unfinished effigy, the presence of which in the church suggests that work was carried out on site before being abandoned. Recumbent, praying knight, short shield on left arm, head on single rectangular pillow. Coif and camail clearly delineated, but no detailed carving.

---

[4] Photo: Mark Downing.

20: CIVILIAN, LLANBLETHIAN

Church – St John the Baptist.
Date – Probably late 13th c.
Material - Unknown
Location – In recess in south wall of south transept. Original location unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very worn. Head flattened to level of pillow, forearms and hands completely gone.
Description – Slightly undersized (c.152cm.) effigy of recumbent civilian on a rectangular slab. Head on rectangular pillow, with the remains of some sort of hood on the left side of the head. The position of the hands is no longer evident. Feet rest on an animal, possibly a dog, which lies with its feet pointing towards the effigy. The gown is long and loose with a pointed, folded collar and a row of buttons along the left shoulder. The sleeves are very loose and end at the elbows. The drapery is suggested by stiff parallel folds falling continuously from the upper chest to the bottom hem.

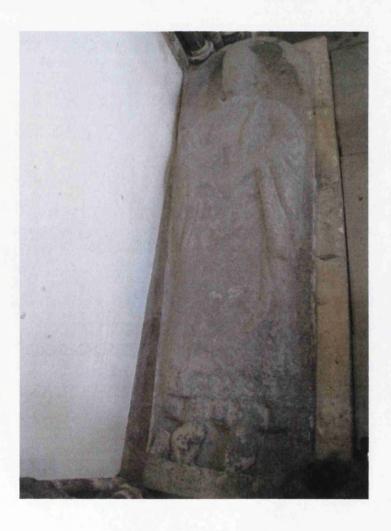## 21: BISHOP HENRY OF ABERGAVENNY, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – Early 13th c.

Material – Blue Lias.

Location – South aisle. Originally on steps of High Altar.

Identity – Thought to be Bishop Henry of Abergavenny (d.1218), but no inscription to that effect (see Chapter 4).

Condition – worn. Top right-hand corner of slab missing.

Description – Recumbent effigy of a bishop in fairly low relief on a tapered slab, a semi-circular canopy over his head. The facial features are worn. He wears a tall mitre and has protruding ears. Left hand rests on lower torso, holding staff across body from left shoulder to outside of right ankle, where it is broken. Right hand raised across chest, possibly in benediction, but too worn to be certain. Feet lie on flat ledge. Animal's head (no body) appears by outer side of right foot in such a position that it would have been speared by the staff in its unbroken state. Drapery rendered in flat, shallow folds.

22: BISHOP WILLIAM DE BRAOSE, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – Late 13th c.
Material – Blue Lias.
Location – North side of Lady Chapel. Probably original location.
Identity – Bishop William de Braose, (d.1287).
Condition – Very good, apart from loss of feet.
Description – Recumbent effigy of a bishop in fairly low relief set within a tapered slab. The figure is set within an architectural frame formed by side shafts, terminating in round, moulded capitals, topped by fleur-de-lys–headed pinnacles. These are decorated with naively-carved naturalistic foliage. A trefoiled arch connects the two shafts. Within the upper lobe of the arch is set the bishop's head, with acutely pointed mitre. The eyes appear to be closed. His left hand holds his staff across his body, diagonally from his left shoulder to just below his right inner knee. His right hand is laid flat upon his upper chest. The effigy ends abruptly at the bottom hem of the vestments. The drapery of the vestments is rather stylised, formed by regular ridged folds, giving a rather corrugated appearance. On the trefoiled arch is the inscription WILLELMUS DE BREWSA EP'S LA'D.

23: 'ST TEILO', LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – 13th c.
Material – Dundry.
Location – In modern recess on south side of sanctuary. Not original location.
Identity – Traditionally the effigy of St Teilo, but see discussion, chapter 4.
Condition – Good. Lower half of staff gone, and supporting figures worn and damaged.
Description – Recumbent effigy of bishop in high relief. Set within architectural canopy and sturdy side-shafts which terminate in stiff-leaf capitals, from which springs a trefoiled, gabled canopy, flanked by figures: an angel, holding a smaller human figure outwards in its hands and the Virgin and Child. The head of the effigy, which is very worn, lies within the canopy and wears a low mitre. The left hand holds what remains of the staff diagonally across the body, while the right is raised in benediction. The drapery is formed by thin, but quite deeply-cut, rippling folds. The footrest – a cockatrice - capitals and canopy are gilded.

23a.
Canopy

23a.i.
Angel

23a.ii.
Virgin
and Child

23b.
Footrest

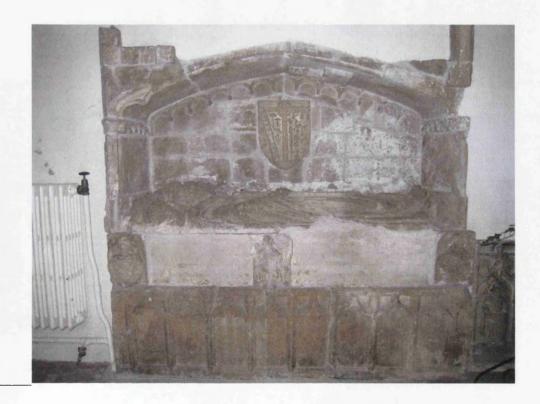## 24: 'ST DYFRIG', LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

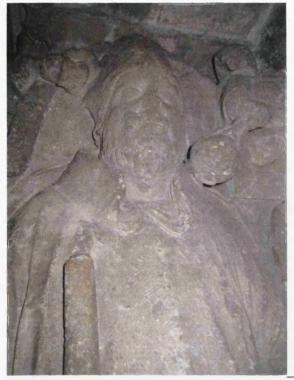**Date** – 13th century.

Material – Dundry.

Location – North choir aisle, *ex-situ* in sepulchral recess with carved panels.

Identity – Identified as St Dyfrig, but see discussion in case study 1, chapter 4.

Condition – Lacking major damage, but details quite worn.

Description – Very high relief recumbent effigy of a bishop in full episcopal vestments. The head lies within a low canopy, on a plain, flat, square cushion. More stress is here placed on the accompanying angels, rather than micro-architectural details of Effigies 21-23. The figure holds a staff over the right hand side of his body, while the left hand rests on the left side of the abdomen and holds a scroll which drapes across the body. There is no footrest. The head is one of the most intriguing features of this effigy. It wears a high mitre and has a full beard and a small, flat object, shaped rather like a heart or an ivy leaf, rests on the right upper lip, as though it is coming out of his mouth. That this is not an accident of weathering is demonstrated by the appearance of the same feature on Effigy 25. The drapery is very well executed, though worn. The vestments are full, the sleeves bunching at the crook of the elbow and falling back in deep, narrow ripples. The planes are flatter on the front of the body as the cloth spreads over the torso and legs. At either side of the canopy over the head is an angel. That on the right is worn and the left swoops downwards from above and swings a censer towards the effigy. The recess and accompanying sculptural details are not thought to be originally associated with the effigy.

24a. Head.

24c. Image of Pity

24b. Instruments of the Passion

24d.i. Left shield-bearing angel

314

24d.ii. Right shield-bearing angel

24e. Christ in Majesty

315

25: BISHOP. LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – 13th c.
Material – Dundry.
Location – Under recess in north aisle. Not original.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very worn, especially on face and upper chest. Right leg damaged. Side of effigy against wall flattened-off.
Description – Very high relief recumbent effigy of a bishop, very similar to Effigy 24. Figure lies with head under plain, arched canopy, attended by angels. His hands lie on his stomach, the right resting on a staff. The feet rest on a flat, broken-off slab. The head, like that of Effigy 24, wears a tall mitre and has the heart-shaped, flat object against the right-hand side of the mouth. There is no beard however, and the ears protrude, unlike 24. The treatment of the drapery is very similar, having the same narrow, rippling folds, although the vestments seem less voluminous and the depth of the folds less marked. The flanking angels are very worn and difficult to interpret, but are likely to follow the same principles as in Effigy 24. The effigy lies on a low, modern base under a moulded sepulchral arch of 13th century character.

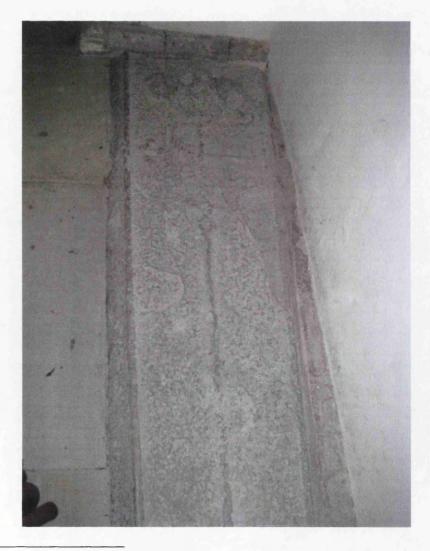## 26: CIVILIAN AND LADY, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – Late 13th c.
Material – Blue Lias.
Location – South choir aisle. No niche.
Identity – Philip Taverner and wife.[5]
Condition – Very worn. At some point the entire slab has been split into two large and two smaller pieces, which have been cemented back together.
Description – Tapered, chamfered slab with thin, low relief cross, either side of which are the low relief heads of a civilian (left) and lady (right). The lady appears to wear a form of head dress common in the thirteenth century which gives the head a flattened top. The other head is split in half length-ways and the right-hand half has been lost. The remaining half appears to wear a hat with a narrow, rounded brim.

---

[5] Identified by Willis, Bodleian Library, MS. Willis 36, f. 156r.

27: LADY CHRISTIAN AUDLEY, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – Mid 15th c.
Material – Alabaster.
Location – South choir aisle. Probably original.
Identity – Identified by Symonds as Lady Christian Audley.[6]
Condition – Very good. Some damage to nose, chin and fingers. Attendant figures at head badly damaged.
Description – Recumbent effigy of praying female. Her head lies on a large diamond-shaped pillow, supported by two small figures, heads gone. She wears a veil, which reaches down almost to her elbows, a wimple, a long, narrow-sleeved kirtle under a sideless gown, and a mantle. The sleeves of the kirtle have narrow cuffs and she wears a long, thin belt, buckled at her right hip and decorated with roses. A string of small beads is looped around it just above the buckle. Her feet rest on two small dogs; the one on her right bites the hem of her gown.

---

[6] *Diary of Richard Symonds,* p. 214.

28: CADAVER, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

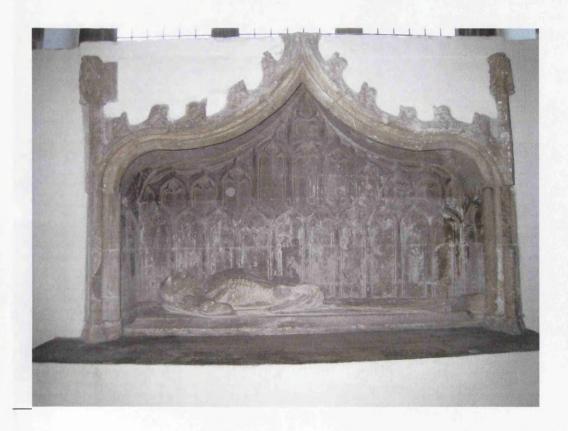**Date** – 15th Century.
Material – Painswick stone.
Location – Under recess in north wall north choir aisle. Probably original.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Arms and legs missing, top-knot of shroud damaged.
Description – Recumbent cadaver effigy, closely resembling other mid-fifteenth-century examples of the genre, such as that at Wells. The figure lies on a shroud, knotted at the top of the head but then falling away to reveal the corpse within. Part of the shroud is swept up over the pelvis on the right hand side. The absent legs seem to have been held in place by five wooden dowels, the remains of which can be seen in the lower part of the shroud. He sports cropped hair in an early fifteenth-century style, and there is no tonsure visible. The slab has a broad, concave chamfer, with no sign of an inscription. The effigy lies under a rather elaborate Perpendicular recess. The arch is deeply ogee, moulded and crocketed. At either side are short shafts terminated by finials, and the central finial has been cut off at the level of the windowsill above. At the back of the recess is perpendicular panelling. The effigy, slab and recess all appear to be made of the same stone, and fit well together stylistically, suggesting the effigy is in its original recess.

29: DAVID MATHEW, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – 2nd half 15th c.
Material – Alabaster.
Location – On modern tomb chest in north aisle. Originally in north-east corner of Mathew chapel.
Identity – David Mathew, esq. (d. before 1470).[7]
Condition – Original tomb chest lost. Damage to nose, helm, hands and sword.
Description – Effigy, measuring 6ft 10in, carved fully in round, of recumbent, straight-legged, armoured figure, hands held in prayer on chest, head on tilting-helm with heath-cock crest, feet on lion footrest. Strong facial features. Long, curly hair receding and thin on top. For these reasons he does not exude the youthful maturity of most effigies. His armour is late-fifteenth century in style. On his right side there is a dagger and his sword is slung on a thin diagonal belt at his right hip. He wears a collar of s-shaped links with a worn pendant.

29a. Head.

29b. Collar

---

[7] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 214.

30: BISHOP JOHN MARSHALL, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

Date – late 15th c.
Material – Dundry.
Location – Freestanding in north aisle. Possibly original.
Identity – Bishop John Marshall (d.1496).
Condition – Effigy in good condition. Right hand damaged.
Description – Recumbent effigy of bishop, accompanied by angels at head, which lies on a single, deep, rectangular, tasselled cushion. A very stiff composition. The hands are in the prayer position, but are several inches apart. The staff is held under the right arm and lies over the body, coming to rest on the inside of the right foot. The feet rest upon an animal with a lion's mane, but a ?dragon's head. It grasps a round object in its front paws. The drapery is very stiff and formalistic, making little concession to the recumbent pose. The effigy lies on a reconstructed chest which appears too big for the effigy. At the east end is a panel of the Instruments of the Passion, which clearly does not belong in its present position. The south side is made up of a blind arcade of seven trefoiled ogee arches very similar to those now on the base of Dyfrig's tomb. The eighth arch is on the north side, at the foot end, and the rest of this side is made up of a large panel of blind tracery consisting of four quatrefoils interspersed with mouchettes.

31: SIR WILLIAM AND JENET MATHEW. LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

Date – c.1530
Material – Alabaster.
Location – North aisle. Restored to near-original position from chapter house in mid nineteenth century.
Identity – Sir William Mathew (d.1528) and Jenet Henry (d.1530).
Condition – Good. The base of the chest has been replaced. The facial features worn. The hands of both figures, and the lady's feet are gone, as is most of the sword and the crest of the helm. The weepers are well preserved.
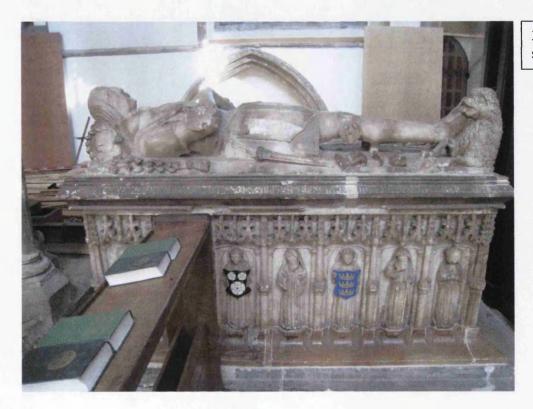**Description** – The effigy of Sir William lies in a stiff, recumbent praying position. His head rests on a tilting helm on which the feet of a bird can just be seen. His feet rest on a lion. Collar of SS alternating with bows or ribbons, with a worn cross-shaped pendant. On his left side are the remains of his sword, and on his right are his dagger and gauntlets. Under the right foot is a sleeping bedesman. The effigy of Jenet Henry lies in the same position as that of her husband. Her head lies on a deep cushion and there are the remains of two small dogs at the bottom of her dress, on either side of her ankles rather than under her feet. She wears fashionable early 16th century dress, including a finely detailed gabled head-dress, a gown with ruffled sleeves and a mantle. On her belt is a Tudor rose fastening.
The effigies lie on a plinth carrying the damaged inscription: Orate pro animabus Gulielmi Mathew Militis qui obiit decimo die Martii AD Mcccc° Vices° VIII (......) Jennette uxoris eius que Deo reddidit Spiritum [blank] die [blank] Mensis AD Mill<u>mo</u> ccccc trices° quorum animabus propitietur Deus Amen.The tomb chest is decorated with seven niches on the long sides, four niches on the west end and three niches on the east. Each niche frames a figure, some monastic, some mitred angels and some knights or ladies. The mitred angels hold shields in front of their bodies; three on each long side, and two on the west end. At the east end a much larger shield of eight quarterings is supported by a knight and lady.

32: CHRISTOPHER MATHEW AND ELIZABETH MORGAN, LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

Date – After 1530.

Material – Alabaster.

Location – In archway cut in wall between Mathew (Dyfrig) and Lady Chapels. Probably original.

Identity – Christopher Mathew, esq. (d. after 1530) and his wife Elizabeth Morgan (d.1526).

Condition – Very good. Some superficial wear and tear.

Description – Double monument under imposing canopy with only the two long sides of the tomb chest visible. The knight rests his head on a tilting helm and his feet against a lion with a damaged head. He has a bedesman beneath his right foot, and wears a collar of SS. The lady wears a pedimented head-dress, ruffled sleeves and Tudor rose clasps. Two very small dogs lie against the outside of her ankles in lieu of a footrest. A squint piercing the wall at the couple's feet gives a view from the Mathew chapel to the altar of the lady chapel. Inscription: Orate pro a[n]i[m]ab[us] xpoferi Mathew armigeri [et] Elisabeth uxoris (......) sue que quidē Elisabeth obiit (…) ultimo die januarij anno d[om]i[n]o (......) vicentesimo xxvito et [pre]dict[i] xpoferus obiit die (blank) anno d[omi]ni mil[esi]mo vicentesimo (blank) quo a[n]i[m]ab[us] p[rop]i[ti]et[u]r d[eus] Ame[n].

There are nine recesses on each side of the tomb-chest, bearing ten elongated figures. On both sides the central recess bears a large shield borne by two mitred angels, while the other six shields on the north side are displayed beneath the feet of six female weepers. On the south side four military figures bear their shields in a variety of poses. Some red polychromy remains under the cusps of the double-arches of the recesses. Canopy formed by a Perpendicular arch cut into the wall between two chapels. Moulded and crocketted arch, with tall central finial, and shafts either side. At the point of the arch, on both sides, is a shield with Mathew impaling Morgan.

32a. Effigies of Christopher and Elizabeth

32b. Part of north side of tomb-chest

33: WENLLIAN WALSCHE, LLANDOUGH

Church – St Dochau.

Date – c.1427.

Material – Brass.

Location – Set in floor, north of high altar. Probably original.

Identity – Wenllian Walsche (d.1427). Wife of Walter Moreton, constable of Cardiff Castle.

Condition – Effigy and inscription in excellent condition. Single shield robbed out. Incised canopy still clear, but any inlay now gone.

Description - A small (81cm) full length London B brass effigy of a lady. She wears fashionable early 15th century costume of long, high-waisted gown with very full sleeves, fur-lined cuffs and large down-turned collar. The tight-fitting sleeves of an under-garment can be seen at the wrists. The gown is laced at the bust and falls in thick folds at her feet. She wears a veiled horned head-dress. Her hands are meeting in prayer.
The figure is set within an incised canopy on a bed of local limestone, rather than the more usual Purbeck slab, no doubt to save on transport costs. The canopy is formed by side-shafts, from which springs an ogival cinquefoiled arch with a poppy-head-like finial. The indent for the lost shield is between the left-hand side of the arch and the left-hand shaft. Below her feet is a brass inscription plate, which reads: Hic iacet Wenllan Walsche quonda uxor Walteri Moreton que obijt xxv die Decembris Anno d[omi]ni Mill[esi]mo cccc xxvij cuius a[n]i[m]e p[ro]piciet deus Amen.

34: LADY, LLANDOW.

Church – Holy Trinity.
Date – Early 14th c.
Material – Quarella.
Location – Pinned to north wall of chancel. Original position unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – slab has been entirely broken in two and a large triangular piece lost from the region of the face and shoulders. There is further damage down the effigy's right-hand side. The slab terminates abruptly at the feet, so it is unclear whether there was ever a footrest.
Description – Low relief effigy of a praying female on a tapering slab with a plain, flat margin and a canopy over the head. The head is veiled, but of the facial features only the left eye is now visible. She wears a long gown, loose on the upper arms and tighter on the forearms, which falls in loose parallel folds to the feet, where it forms flat zig-zags. A mantle is also visible down her left-hand side, again falling in zig-zags. The feet are just visible as slightly pointed toes under the hem of the gown.

The canopy is formed by a septfoiled ogee arch, within the cusps of which are traces of pink or red colouring. The spandrels seem to have been originally filled with undulating, seaweed-like foliage, the tips of which slightly overlap the outer edge of the arch.

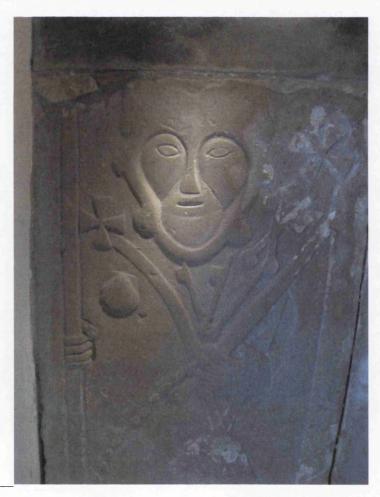## 35: PILGRIM, LLANDYFODWG

Church – St Tyfodwg.
Date – Mid 14th c.
Material – Quarella.
Location – Set into floor on south side of chancel. Possibly original.
Identity – Unknown
Condition – The slab is currently covered by a carpet and is suffering from the effects of damp.
Description – A highly unusual low relief monument depicting a male pilgrim on a slightly tapered slab surrounded by a broad, flat border. In the right hand is held a long staff and the left hand grasps the straps of the scrip and a rod. He wears a hat of unusual form with flaps that appear to come down over the sides of his face and curl up at the ends. He is bearded and his mouth is open slightly, revealing small, square teeth. He wears a short, knee-length garment. His legs are stout and turn towards his right. On his feet are ankle-length boots. Maltese crosses are placed above his right shoulder and in the top right-hand corner of the slab. A cockle-shell (for Compostella) is pinned to his right shoulder and two sets of keys (for Rome) appear by his head.

36: ANNE MARTEL, LLANFIHANGEL ROGIET[8]

Church – St Michael
Date – Early 14th c.
Material - Unknown
Location – Freestanding in nave. Original position unknown.
Identity – Anne Martel
Condition – Worn. Hands gone and face flattened off
Description – Relief effigy of recumbent praying female. Head on flat double cushions, footrest unclear. She wears a heavy veil, confined by fillet, wimple, gown and mantle. Around the edge of the slab is the Lombardic inscription: ANNA MARTEL GIST ICI DEU DE SA LALME EYT MERCI KAE PATER + AVE POUR LI DIRRA DE PARDON XL IURS AVERA.

37: KNIGHT, LLANFIHANGEL ROGIET

Church – St Michael
Date – c.1300
Material - Unknown
Location – On modern chest against wall in nave. Original position unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition - Damaged
Description – Cross-legged, mail-clad, sword-handling knight. The sword is in the process of being unsheathed. Head on single rectangular pillow. Most of right arm gone, as well as feet. Facial features destroyed. Some fine details remaining, such as strap around left wrist, securing shield to left arm, thin belt around surcoat and thicker sword-belt. Bottom of padded layer visible underneath surcoat.

It has not been possible to get access to this church to obtain a photograph.

38: KNIGHT, LLANSANNOR

Church – St Senwyr.
Date – 2nd quarter 14th c.
Material – Quarella.
Location – On floor on north side of chancel. Original position unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very good.
Description – Recumbent effigy of cross-legged, praying knight, carved fully in the round. Head on tilting helm with lion crest. Face turned slightly towards the right. He wears a ridged bascinet with a heart-shaped opening for the face, from which is suspended a mail aventail to the shoulders. Facial features are rather worn, but a moustache curling over the edge of the mail can clearly be seen. The rest of the visible armour appears to be plate, apart from the bottom edges of the mail hauberk and the quilted aketon which can be seen under the 'cyclas'. A short, convex shield covers his left shoulder and upper arm. The sword lies on his left side, suspended from a plain swordbelt worn diagonally across the hips. The feet rest on a large long-eared dog, possibly a greyhound. There is no inscription remaining.

39: KNIGHT, LLANTRISANT
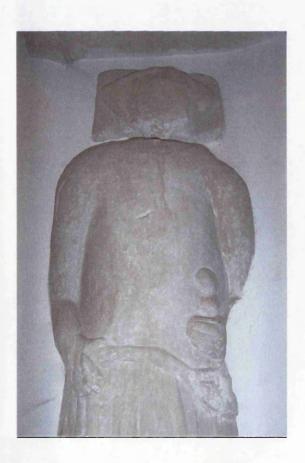
Church – SS Illtyd, Gwynno and Tyfodwg.
Date – 13th c.
Material - ?Quarella.
Location – Upright on north wall of nave. Original position unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Worn. Head missing (see below), left side of figure damaged. No footrest.
Description – Recumbent, straight-legged military figure in high relief. The head is dealt with separately as Effigy 40. Bulky figure wearing long surcoat which ends below the knees. The top edge of the shield can be seen covering the upper left arm. The bottom edge is missing. The right hand grasps the sword-belt at the hip, while the left grasps the sword handle. The surcoat is tight over the body, falls in shallow ridges from the waist and falls open slightly at mid-thigh. The legs have been covered in thick white paint, which obscures the details. They are held closely together and have lumpy areas at the ankles. The feet are squared-off at the ends and the left one is only partly remaining.

40: HEAD OF (?)LADY, LLANTRISANT

Church – SS Illtyd, Gwynno and Tyfodwg.
Date – Probably 14th c.
Material - Unknown
Location – Fixed to wall as part of Effigy 39. Original position unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very worn.
Description – Head of (?)female lying on double (or possibly single diagonal) cushion. The head is worn and can be made out only in outline, with no features remaining. The shape of the outline would seem to preclude either a military figure or a male civilian but could represent some form of female head-dress.

41: CIVILIAN, LLANTRITHYD

Church – St Illtyd.
Date – Late 13th c.
Material – Sutton.
Location – In recess in north wall of nave. Possibly original position.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Good.
Description – Relief effigy of recumbent civilian. Head lies on a rectangular-shaped single cushion under a pointed canopy. The features are crudely carved, having a thick neck, square-ended nose and bulging eyes. The hair is arranged in bubbly curls over the ears. He holds an object between his hands, over his chest. Feet on insubstantial dog footrest. The figure wears a long plain gown which ends at the ankles and fits loosely over the arms, with broad, tight cuffs. The drapery on arms and body is formed by parallel rounded tubes.

The tomb chest is richly, if coarsely decorated. Around the top edge is a raised, rounded border and on three sides the chest is surrounded by a carved frieze. Along the top, below the border, is a row of balls. Underneath this is a broadly indented fillet forming two parallel lines. Below this is a row of fleur-de-lys-like decoration, with a running dog, echoing the footrest, set just off-centre. There is no trace of an inscription. The monument is set under, and seems to closely fit, a plain pointed arch.

42: CIVILIAN, LLANTWIT MAJOR

Church – St Illtyd.
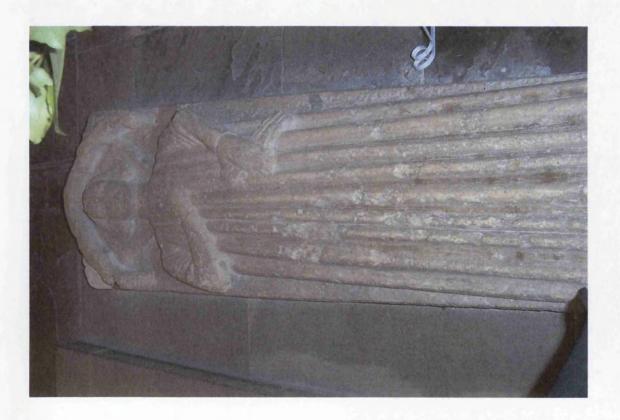**Date** – Late 13th c.
Material – Dundry.
Location – On floor, south-east nave. Not original position.
Identity – William de Rag….(inscription damaged).
Condition – Generally good. Damage to top left hand corner of slab, which has been restored, but without the lost portion of the inscription.
Description – Recumbent effigy of civilian on tapered slab. The head lies on a single flat diamond-shaped pillow within a detached, cusped canopy. The facial features are worn. The hair descends over his ears and curls back and up behind them. His right arm lies flat on the middle of his chest and his left holds a glove on his left hip. He wears plain, pointed shoes; the feet rest on two ball-shaped objects. The gown is long and loose. There is a thin collar of fur, but no apparent cuffs. The drapery is formed by long, regular, tubular or undulating folds, which fall from the neck-line all the way down to the feet. A similar treatment forms the drapery of the arms, but diagonally.

Around the edge of the slab, starting from the head end and continuing down the left side is the damaged Lombardic inscription: WILLAM : DE : RAG……SHAM……GYT : ICI : DEU : DE : SA : ALME : EYT : MERCI : AMEN.

43: PRIEST, LLANTWIT MAJOR

Church – St Illtyd.
Date – 13th century?
Material – Sutton.
Location – On floor in Western Church. Original position unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Good. Facial features worn. Horizontal repaired break just over half-way down.
Description – Coped, decorated tomb slab or coffin lid with head of priest carved in shallow depression at top. Along the left-hand side of the slab is a row of interlacing circles, joined by double bands where they meet. At the head of these is an interlaced knot. Along the top face is a double zig-zag pattern and on the right-hand side is a wavy stylised leaf scroll. The head is worn quite flat, has large, protruding ears and is tonsured. On the right side of the slab is the inscription: NE PETRA CALCETUR QUE SUBIACET ISTA TUETUR. Badham maintains that this points to the slab being a 12th or early 13th century monument which was appropriated in a later period for the tomb of a priest, whose head was then carved into the top.[9]

[9] *Church Monuments*, vol. 14 (1999), pp.17-18.

44: PRIEST, LLANVETHERINE

Church – St James the Elder
Date – 13th c.
Material – Old Red Sandstone
Location – Set in floor to north of altar. Not original location.
Identity – Traditionally St Vettrinus, but identified in inscription as James/Jacob.
Condition – Worn and flaking. Part of slab missing.
Description – Large, low relief effigy of priest on tapered, unchamfered slab. Figure dressed in mass vestments, giving benediction with right hand and holding book with left. Facial features obliterated. Inscription overlaying book and part of chasuble: S VETTRINUS. Feet lie on rectangular foortrest, no pillow. Further inscription in top left corner now partly illegible, but given in *Arch. Camb.* Series 4, vol. 7 (Oct. 1876), p. 339: IACOB PSONA.

45: KNIGHT. MARGAM ABBEY

Church – Margam Abbey Stones Museum.
Date – c.1250.
Material – Dundry.
Location – Original location unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Poor. Head and feet missing, worn. Horizontal break through lower legs, repaired.
Description – Recumbent high relief effigy of mailed cross-legged knight. Effigy lies flat on back with little sense of movement or energy. Right arm on slab, left concealed under long, pointed shield, which also covers left part of body. The legs are crossed, left over right, but are not bent at the knee. Sword emerges from underneath the shield and follows the line of the leg. A small dragon or wyvern lies on the slab and bites the point of the shield. Mail rings run down the length of the arm and the glove of the right hand is thrown off to reveal the hand and lies beside it on the slab. The only plate visible is the plain, square knee defences. The surcoat is long, loose and belted at the waist by a plain strap, falling aside to reveal the legs. The drapery is very elaborate and naturalistic, forming ridged v-shaped folds at the side of the body and spreading onto the slab in folds and ripples. These details are apparent despite the weathering of the stone. Its present position on a metal table reveals it to be hollowed out underneath, presumably to make it lighter and ease transport costs.

48: CIVILIAN, MERTHYR MAWR

Church – St Teilo.
Date – Probably 13th c.
Material – Sutton.
Location – Churchyard. Original location?
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Very weathered. Deeply pitted in places and overgrown with moss.
Description – Relief effigy of praying recumbent civilian on heavily tapered slab. Head rests on single, flat, rectangular cushion. Head is small and roughly circular, with a long, thin neck. Face is completely flattened, with no features remaining. From the top of the head is a strange protrusion, like a flattened cylinder, c.14 cm. long and 9 cm. wide. Shoulders are square and the elbows are held in tightly to the body, bending acutely. The hands meet in prayer high up on the chest, but no details are visible. The feet are held close together, turned in slightly and are flat and insubstantial. They rest on a small animal, possibly a dog, which curls around the feet. Figure wears a long gown descending to the feet and nipped in at the waist, although no belt is visible. An attempt to render drapery has been made from the waist down with thin parallel ridges, giving the effect of pleats.

47: (?)PRIEST, MERTHYR MAWR

Church – St Teilo
Date – Uncertain.
Material – Quarella.
Location – Churchyard. Original location?
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Worn. Head gone. Broken in two below waist, halves placed back together, but not cemented. Covered in moss and lichen.
Description – Recumbent, praying figure in relief, probably of a priest. Body perfectly straight, feet small, rounded and close together. No remaining footrest. The figure wears distinctive garments. From the elbows descend something which may be a cloak, or long outer sleeves. Over the abdomen is a short garment descending into a deep V shape in front. This feature is very flat - almost concave – and smooth, and may represent a chasuble. Underneath is a long under-garment which falls to the feet.

48: ABBOT ADAM OF CARMARTHEN, NEATH ABBEY

Church – Neath Abbey.
Date – Late 13th or early 14th c.
Material – ?Dundry.
Location – Undercroft. Original location unknown.
Identity – Traditionally Adam of Carmarthen, Abbot of Neath c.1266-89, responsible for starting the rebuilding of the abbey c.1280-c.1330.
Condition – Very worn. Broken into three, at neck and knees.
Description – Large high relief recumbent figure. Head is bare and lies on single diagonal cushion, probably flanked by censing angels, but these are worn and badly damaged. Facial features obliterated. Holds an oblong, gabled object in its left arm, which has been interpreted as a book and a church. Front of torso worn smooth, drapery falls from waist in flat regular folds to feet where it falls in ripples at the hem. Remains of figure's left foot only, which appears to be resting on the crouching figure of a monk.

49: KNIGHT, NEWPORT[10]

Church – St Woollo's
Date – Second half 13th c.
Material - ?Dundry
Location – Under alcove in Galilee chapel. Not original position.
Identity – Unknown, but given as William de Berkerolles by Morgan.[11]
Condition – Poor. Head, right arms, lower legs and most of shield gone.
Description – Effigy of mailed, cross-legged knight, carved fully in round. Fragment c.150cm long. Effigy is carved tipped up on left hand side, right leg bent and brought forward over left. Remains of right hand on chest, left emerges from underneath shield. A bulky figure clad entirely in mail with no apparent plate defences. Long surcoat parts at groin to reveal mail skirt, which falls in folds onto slab. Broad belt, but no sword visible. Shield suspended by guige over right shoulder. Quality of carving is excellent and there are hidden details, such as the carving of the mail on the arm underneath the shield, which was surely never meant to be seen.

---

[10] Photograph taken with permission of Dean and Chapter.
[11] C.O.S. Morgan, 'St Woollo's Church, Newport, Monmouthshire, 1', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th series, vol. 2 (1885), pp. 279-91, at pp. 290-1.

50: LADY, NEWPORT[12]

Church – St Woollo's
Date – Late 13th c.
Material - ?Dundry
Location – Under alcove in Galilee chapel. Previously in recess on north side of high altar.[13]
Identity - Unknown
Condition – Damage to footrest, face, hands and right elbow, but draperies reasonably intact.
Description – High relief effigy of lady on tapered slab. Head on flat, square cushion under trefoiled canopy. Face flattened off. Veil spreads over pillow to shoulders, hair coiled behind ears. Figure wears a long-sleeved gown, loose on upper arms, with a loose overdress with slits for the arms to appear. This is gathered up under the left arms. Hands praying, with thumbs spread out at sides. Overdress falls in long zig-zags and sweeping folds, gathered up over left leg. Footrest damaged, but probably small dog.

---

[12] Photograph taken with permission of Dean and Chapter.
[13] *Arch. Camb.*, (1902), p. 112.

51: SIR JOHN MORGAN AND JENET MATHEW, NEWPORT[14]

Church – St Woollo's
Date – c.1491
Material - Alabaster
Location – Under alcove in Galilee chapel. Not original location.
Identity – Sir John Morgan of Tredegar (d.1491) and Jenet Mathew.
Condition – Very poor. Torsos only remaining of effigies, and a single panel from the tomb-chest.
Description – Fragmentary remains of alabaster altar tomb of knight and lady. Surviving fragments show it to have been very similar to Effigies 8, 31 and 32, and from the same workshop.

---

[14] Photograph taken with permission of Dean and Chapter

52: PRIEST, PEN-Y-CLAWDD

Church – Dedication unknown
Date – Probably late 13th c.
Material – Old Red Sandstone
Location – Upright against chancel wall. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition – A little worn
Description – Tapered and chamfered foliate cross slab. Bust of priest appears above cross head, with head on flat square pillow. Wears garment with v-shaped neckline. Head flattened off and top few inches of slab gone.

53: LADY, ST ARVAN

Church – St Arvan
Date – Late 13th c.?
Material - Unknown
Location – On window-sill at west end of nave. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition – Worn and damaged
Description – Relief effigy of recumbent, praying lady on a tapered slab. Long featureless gown, possibly with mantle. Indeterminate footrest. Shallow, square depression in stone where head should be, suggesting there was probably an inlaid head (as with Effigy 17), now gone.

53: LADY, ST ARVAN

Church – St Arvan
Date – Late 13th c.?
Material - Unknown
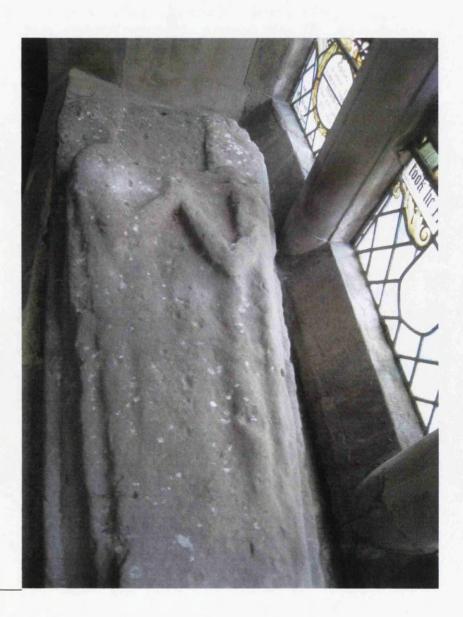**Location** – On window-sill at west end of nave. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition – Worn and damaged
Description – Relief effigy of recumbent, praying lady on a tapered slab. Long featureless gown, possibly with mantle. Indeterminate footrest. Shallow, square depression in stone where head should be, suggesting there was probably an inlaid head (as with Effigy 17), now gone.

54: SIR WILLIAM DE BERKEROLLES AND PHELICE DE VERE. ST ATHAN

Church – St Tathan.
Date – Effigies 2nd quarter 14th century, chest 2nd half 14th century.
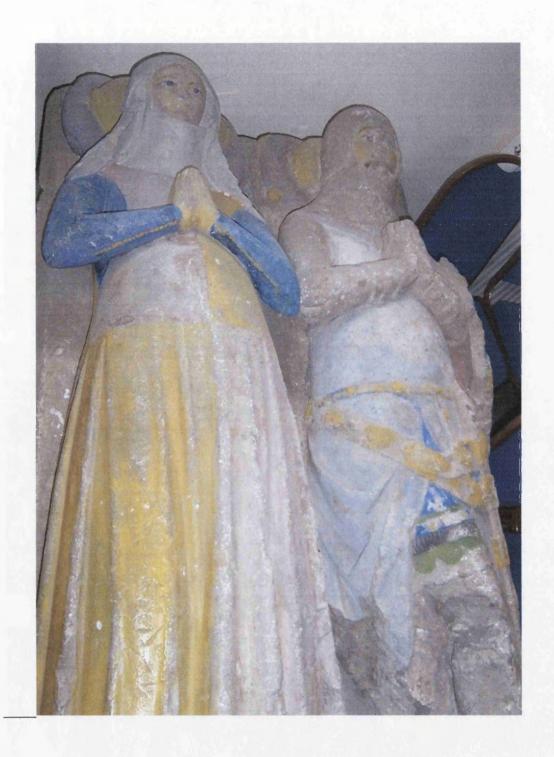**Material** – Sutton effigies and slab, Quarella tomb-chest.
Location – Against west wall of south chapel. Previously in south-east corner, but original position unknown.
Identity – Sir William de Berkerolles of East Orchard(d.1327) and Phelice de Vere. Both this and effigy 55 were identified in G.T. Clark, 'East Orchard Manor House', *Arch. Camb.*, Vol. 15, 3rd series (1869), pp. 63-78.
Condition – Female effigy well preserved, but nose and finger-tips damaged. Male effigy has damaged nose and legs missing below knee. Tomb-chest is worn and missing two panels on south side. Weepers damaged. Repainted inexpertly in 1930s.
Description – The knight lies flat on his back, his head on a double, tasselled cushion, his hands held in prayer on his chest and his right leg crossed over the left at the knee. No footrest remains. His armour is of early to mid-fourteenth-century style, part mail, part plate, with a long surcoat. The female effigy is also lying flat and holds her hands together in prayer. Her right knee appears to be slightly raised, lending a hint of movement to the figure. Her head rests on double cushions and she wears a veil and stiff-looking wimple. Her kirtle has tight-fitting sleeves, fastened under the forearms by a row of tiny buttons. Over this is worn a sideless gown, tight on the upper body and falling in naturalistic folds to the feet, which are seen in outline beneath the cloth. There is a footrest of two small dogs, whose front paws touch and overlap, wearing collars with bells.

The effigies lie on, and overlap, a badly damaged tomb-chest. At the east end is a single large panel, with a wide, flat, crocketted, trefoiled ogee arch. Underneath the arch are two widely-spaced kneeling female weepers holding open books, the left one wearing a mantle, the right only a gown. Both wear short veils. In the spandrels are painted shields. At the angle of the south-east corner is a kneeling civilian. Two panels remain on the south side and a fragment of the third. Each panel is a narrower version of that on the east end and contains two kneeling military figures holding an open book between them. In each spandrel is a painted shield. Although these military weepers are coarsely done and the details of the armour cannot be made out, it is clear that they wear a different form of body armour to the main effigy. They sport short, tight jupons and low-slung horizontal sword-belts, suggesting the tomb-chest dates from the later 14th century, some time after the effigies themselves. At the angle of the north-east corner is another kneeling figure, but lacking a head. He too can be dated on grounds of costume to the later 14th century. On the north side are four panels containing eight badly damaged weepers, which appear to all be female and hold open books between them. In the spandrels are eight shields.
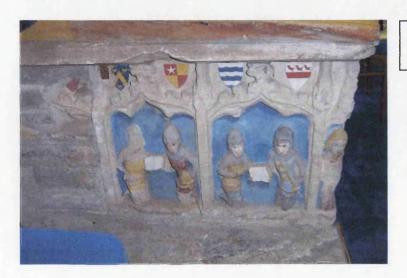
54a. East end.

54b. South Side.

54c. North Side.

55: SIR ROGER DE BERKEROLLES AND KATHERINE TURBEVILLE. ST ATHAN.

Church – St Tathan.
Date – 2nd quarter 14th century.
Material – Sutton.
Location – Under canopied recess in south wall of south chapel. Original location.
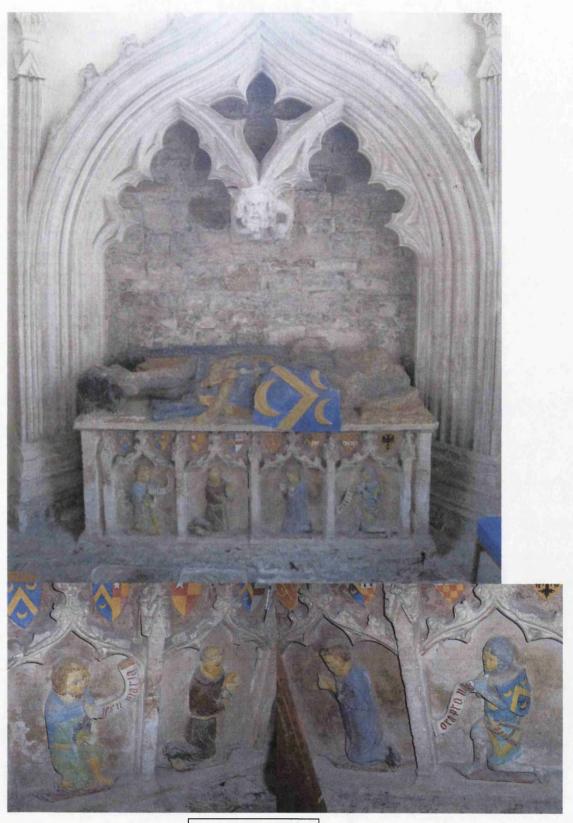**Identity** - Sir Roger de Berkerolles of East Orchard(d.1351) and Katherine Turbeville of Coity. See previous entry.
Condition – Good. Tips of knight's fingers, shield and sword damaged.
Description – Double effigy of knight and lady, carved fully in round, on tomb-chest under wall canopy. Knight is recumbent, praying and cross-legged. His head lies on a double tasselled cushion, his feet are on a lion. His armour is very similar to that of Effigy 54, although he wears a 'cyclas' rather than the long surcoat. On the left side is carried a damaged shield, sporting the Berkerolles arms *azure a chevron between three crescents or.* The female effigy is rather stiff, although her head is turned slightly towards her husband. Her head lies on double, tasselled, cushions and she wears a veil and wimple. Her hands are held in prayer. She wears a tight-sleeved kirtle and sideless gown, with no buttons visible on the sleeves. An animal, which may be a lioness, peers out from under her feet.

On the front of the tomb-chest are four ogival trefoiled arches with crockets and finials, separated by gabled shafts. Under each arch is a civilian, clerical or military weeper. All kneel, and carry scrolls, although the clerics' scrolls have been damaged. The legends painted on the scrolls ('jesu maria' for the civilian and 'ora pro nobis' for the knight) should not be regarded as original. On the corners of the chest are plain shafts. On the east end is another kneeling scroll-bearing figure, probably a monk, and on the west a bearded civilian, also kneeling and holding a scroll. Again the spandrels carry shields.

The tomb is surmounted by an impressive moulded ogee canopy with side-shafts with restored finials. Beneath the arch the head and upper body of a bearded figure springs from the bottom of a quatrefoil.

55a. Tomb-chest

56: JOHN LE BOTILER. ST BRIDES MAJOR.

Church – St Bridget's.
Date – 1285-1335. See below for discussion.
Material – Unknown
Location – On chancel floor under the altar. Not original position.
Identity – John le Botiler.
Condition – Good.
Description – Incised effigy of sword-holding, cross-legged knight. The figure holds his sword upright in his right hand and his small shield is held across his body by his left. The sword has a distinctive lobed pommel and wavy line down the length of the blade. On his shield are the Botiler arms of *three covered cups.* His right leg is crossed over his left in a lively pose, his right toe pointing downwards and his left foot resting on a small dragon or wyvern. The tip of the scabbard can just be seen below the hem of the surcoat on the left side of the slab. He is clad head to toe in mail, indicated by alternate rows of crescents, and has no plate other than a skull-cap worn over the mail coif. This is decorated by a central fleur-de-lys flanked by two covered cups. On his heels he has rowel spurs. The surcoat reaches to just below the knees, the drapery indicated by parallel incised lines and curving loops. The surcoat is bound at the waist by a thin, studded belt, which hangs down in front, and is turned aside to reveal the left thigh. On three sides of the chamfered edge is the Lombardic inscription: +IOHAN : LE : BOTILER : GIT : ICI : DEU : DE : SA : ALME : EIT : METRCI : AMEN.

No image of this monument is available due to its position under the altar.

57: ARNOLD BUTLER AND SICYLL MONINGTON. ST BRIDE'S MAJOR.

Church – St Bridget's.
Date – c.1540.
Material – Oolitic limestone, possibly Bath stone.
Location – Under arch in north wall of chancel. Original location.
Identity – Arnold Butler (d.1541) and Sicyll Monington. See discussion, pp. 84-8.
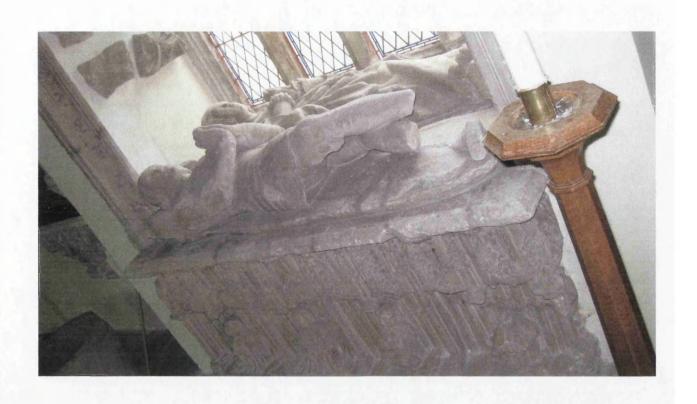**Condition** – Good, but signs of damage: arms and legs of knight abraded; noses gone; loose pieces of canopy.
Description – Recumbent cross-legged knight and lady, carved fully in round, on tomb chest with weepers, and wall canopy. The knight's head lies on a deep tasselled cushion, his hands meet in prayer on his chest and his right leg is crossed over his left below the knee. His lower legs are missing, but the remains of his left foot are still attached to the slab. There is no footrest, but a small lizard, or salamander, lies to the right of the feet, on the edge of the slab. His armour is of early 16th century type and he wears a collar of plain links. A regular, squared-off section of stone has been cut out from the underside of the cushion, and both upper arms have been neatly flattened off at the sides, so that only a thin section of arm remains.

The female effigy's head lies on a cushion and is supported by (damaged) angels. She wears a flat-topped Tudor head-dress, gown and mantle, with well-executed naturalistic drapery. She holds her hands in prayer, her sleeves are tight-fitting at her fore-arms, and have ruffled cuffs. At her feet is a small dog.

Both effigies lie on separate plates on a chamfered plinth with foliage carving on the bottom edge of the chamfer. The tomb-chest is decorated with four wide, shallow recesses. Each is carved with blind Perpendicular panelling, in front of which is a praying figure kneeling on a cushion. There are two females to the left and two armour-clad males to the right, the end one lacking a head. Each recess is topped with double flat ogival arches separated by crocketted and pinnacled shafts. The ogival arches themselves are crowned by tall, elaborately foliated pinnacles. At the bottom of the chest is a foliated frieze echoing that along the top chamfer. Set within this frieze, and below each weeper, is a small escutcheon carved with the covered cup of the Butler arms. At each corner of the tomb-chest is a tall pedestal topped with a headless figure in voluminous, looping drapery, similar to the clothing worn by the female weepers.

The whole monument is framed by a canopy which, by the evidence of loose pieces of carving which have been fixed to the inner walls of the recess, was originally more extensive than it now appears. From each end of the plinth rises a square moulded shaft topped with damaged pinnacles. Between the shafts is a flattened perpendicular arch carved with foliage, interspersed with shells and covered cups. From this rises another ogival arch topped with the Butler arms, crest, mantling and lizard/salamander supporters.

58: CIVILIAN. ST HILARY.

Church – St Hilary.
Date – Late 13th c.
Material – Dundry.
Location – In recess in north wall of nave. Original location unknown.
Identity – Unknown.
Condition – Good. Neck and right foot damaged.
Description – Recumbent effigy of a civilian in high relief. The effigy lies in a completely flat, straight position, his head on a single, flat, rectangular pillow, his left hand lying on his chest, his right holding a glove by his side. His feet are damaged, but appear to rest on small, ball-shaped footrests (compare Effigy 41). The facial features are a little worn, but small almond-shaped eyes can be made out, as well as a small, neat mouth. His hair is curled below the ears. He wears a long, plain gown with no signs of any buttons or other fastenings. It is quite loose on the upper arms, indicated by naturalistic wrinkling and creasing, becoming tighter on the forearms and ending in plain cuffs. It falls in loose folds from the chest to the ankles, the drapery formed by rounded folds interspersed with flatter planes. He lies on a plain chamfered slab with no remaining inscription.

59: THOMAS BASSET, ST HILARY

Church – St Hilary.
Date – c.1423.
Material – Dundry.
Location – On modern tomb-chest in south side of nave. Original location unknown.
Identity – Thoams Basset (d.1423).
Condition – Face worn, elbows, fingers and much of arms gone, footrest damaged.
Description – Recumbent, praying military figure. The head lies on two deep, tasselled cushions. The face is worn. His hands meet in prayer on his chest, his legs are straight and rest on a damaged lion footrest. His armour is of an early fifteenth century date, with a ridged helmet, tight jupon and broad, low-slung, decorated sword-belt. There is no indication of any mail, but it may have been rendered in gesso. His dagger lies on his right side, his sword on his left. On his jupon are the Basset arms *three stringed hunting horns.* An inscription, starting at the bottom of the slab and continuing up the left side, reads: Hic iacet Thomas Basset qui obiit xiiiimo die me[n]sis dece[m]bris a[nno] d[omi]ni m[illesimo] cccc° xxiv cuius a[n]i[m]e p[ro]picietur deus amen.

60: LADY, TRELLECH

Church – St Nicholas
Date – Late 13th c.
Material – Old Red Sandstone
Location – South-east side of chancel. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition – Generally good, but significant damage to head.
Description - Small, low relief effigy of lady on tapered slab, 117cm long. Head on flat, rectangular cushion, head cut away. no footrest. Left arms bends across body to hold right edge of mantle, while right grasps cord. Long, featureless gown with sleeves extending over back of hand, and bound by thin girdle. Hem has slightly crinkled appearance, below which pointed toes are visible.

61: LADY, TRELLECH

Church – St Nicholas
Date - Uncertain
Material – ?Old Red Sandstone
Location – Leaning against wall by west door. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition – Lower half only remaining
Description – Lower half of sunken relief effigy of lady, c.84cm long, on a tapered slab with a broad chamfer. Thin, narrow draperies with hem ending in ruffled edge. No footrest, but small carved foliate feature appears between toes.

62: ?CIVILIAN, USK

Church – St Mary
Date - Uncertain
Material - Uncertain
Location – Churchyard. Original location unknown.
Identity - Unknown
Condition – Very worn and covered in moss
Description – Large, high-relief effigy of male on tapered slab. Head on ?single rectangular cushion, hands meet in prayer, large animal footrest. No further details can be made out.

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

Bodleian Library
Willis MSS

British Library
Add. MS. 17,398
Add. MS. 29,940

Cardiff Central Library
MS. 2.325
MS. 1.503
MS. 3.535
MS. 5.7
MS. 3.277
MS. 3.127

Glamorgan Record Office
P/62/2/1
P/89/10
P/12/3

Lambeth Palace Library
Incorporated Church Building Society Files

National Library of Wales
MS. 19046B
MS. 6497C
MS. 6549C, vol. 2
MS 6554 E
MS. 7272 E
MS. LLCh/42
MS. LLCh/2894
MS. 6747B
MS. 687B
Milborne MS. 2200
Diocese of Llandaff Faculty Records

Society of Antiquaries of London
MS. 238

The National Archives
PROB 11
E 301/74

Published Primary Sources

Birch, Walter de Gray, ed., *Penrice and Margam Manuscripts* (London, 1893)

Brodie, R.H. ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, ii (London, 1920)

Calendar of Close Rolls (London, 1906)

Calendar of Fine Rolls, vol. 13 (London, 1933)

Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, vol. 3 (London, 1937)

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vols. 9, 10, 19 (London, 1916, 1921, 1992)

Calendar of Patent Rolls (London, 1898, 1900, 1904, 1905)

Clark, G.T., *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae* (London, 1886)

-----------*Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, 6 vols (Cardiff, 1910)

Dictionary of Welsh Biography to 1940 (London, 1959)

'Edward Lhwyd's Topographical Notes relating to Glamorganshire', supplement to *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1911)

'Glamorganshire Documents', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th series, vol. 3, no. 12 (1886), pp. 292-3

James, Brian Ll, ed., *Rice Merrick, Morganiae Archaiographia, A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire*, (Barry, 1983)

Long, Charles Edward, ed., *Diary of Richard Symonds* (London, 1859)

Mathews, J.H., ed., *Records of the County Borough of Cardiff*, 5 vols, (Cardiff, 1898-1905)

Randall, Henry John, and Rees, William, eds., *The Storie of the Lower Borowes of Merthyr Mawr, by John Stradling, 1598-1601* (Cardiff, 1932)

Riden, Philip, ed., *Glamorgan Wills Proved in the PCC 1392-1571: An Interim Calendar* (Cardiff, 1985)

Siddons, Michael Powell, ed., *Visitations by the Heralds in Wales* (Stroud, 1996)

Smith, Lucy Toulmin, ed., *Itinerary of John Leland, vol. 4* (London, 1909)

Survey and Rental of the Chantries, Colleges and Free Chapels, Guilds, Fraternities, Lamps, Lights and Obits in the County of Somerset (London, 1888)

Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. 4 (London, 1821)

Williams, D.H., 'Medieval Monmouthshire Wills in the National Library of Wales', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol. 19 (2003), pp. 113-28.

Willis, Browne, *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff* (London, 1718)

Secondary Works

Acheson, Eric, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992)

Allen, J.R.L., 'Roman and Medieval-Early Modern Building Stones in South-East Wales: The Sudbrook Sandstone and Dolomitic Conglomerate (Triassic)', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol. 21 (2005), pp. 21-44.

Allen, Mrs. Thomas 'A List of Effigies in South Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 10, 5th series (1893), pp. 248-52.

Aston, Margaret, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988)

Badham, Sally, 'Richard Gough and the Flowering of Romantic Antiquarianism', *Church Monuments,* vol. 2 (1987), pp. 32-43

----------'London Standardisation and Provincial Idiosyncrasy: The Organisation and Working-Practices of Brass Engraving Workshops in Pre-Reformation England', *Church Monuments,* vol. 5 (1990), pp. 3-25.

----------'Medieval Minor Effigial Monuments in West and South Wales: An Interim Survey', *Church Monuments,* vol. 14 (1999), pp. 5-34.

----------'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death: A Reappraisal', *Antiquaries Journal,* 80 (2000), pp. 207-47.

----------'A New Feire Peynted Stone': Medieval English Incised Slabs, *Church Monuments,* vol. 19 (2004), pp. 20-52.

----------'Beautiful Remains of Antiquity: The Medieval Monuments in the Former Trinitarian Priory Church at Ingham, Norfolk. Part 2: The High Tombs', *Church Monuments,* vol. 22 (2007), pp. 7-42.

----------'Evidence for the Minor Funerary Monument Industry, 1100-1500', in Giles, Kate and Dyer, Christopher, eds., *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contacts, Contrasts and Interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2007), pp. 165-95.

----------'The de la More Effigies at Northmoor (Oxfordshire) and Related Monuments at Winterbourne (Gloucestershire)', *Church Monuments,* vol. 23 (2008), pp. 14-44.

----------and Blacker, Geoff, *Northern Rock: The Use of Egglestone Marble for Monuments in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009)

Bainbridge, Virginia, 'The Medieval way of Death: Commemoration and the Afterlife in pre-Reformation Cambridgeshire', in Michael Wilks, ed., *Studies in Church History: Prophecy and Eschatology* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 183-204.

Baker, J.H., *The Order of Serjeants at Law* (London, 1984).

Barron, Caroline M., 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 13-37

Bayliss, Jon, 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *Church Monuments,* vol. 16 (2001), pp. 22-9.

Bennett, Michael J., *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983)

Biebrach, Rhianydd, 'The Cadaver Monument at Llandaff Cathedral', *Church Monuments Society Newsletter,* vol. 24, no. 2 (Winter 2008-9), pp. 16-18.

----------'"Our Ancient Blood and our Kings": Two Sixteenth-Century Heraldic Tombs in Llandaff Cathedral', *Church Monuments,* vol. 24 (2009), pp. 73-88.

----------'Patronage, Production and Plague: Effigial Monuments in Fourteenth-Century Glamorgan', in Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, eds., *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010)

Bindoff, S.T., *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London, 1982)

Binski, Paul, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996)

Birch, Walter de Gray, *Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts* (London, 1893)

----------*A History of Margam Abbey* (London, 1897)

----------*Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff* (Neath, 1912)

Blair, Claude, 'The Conington Effigy: Fourteenth-Century Knights at Conington, Doddington and Tollard Royal', *Church Monuments,* vol. 6 (1991), pp. 3-20.

----------'The Date of the Early Alabaster Knight at Hanbury, Staffordshire', *Church Monuments,* vol. 7 (1992), pp. 3-18.

----------'The De Vere Effigy at Hatfield Broad Oak', *Church Monuments,* vol. 8 (1993), pp. 3-11.

----------'The Wooden Knight at Abergavenny', *Church Monuments,* vol. 9 (1994), pp. 33-52.

----------Goodall, John A., and Lankester, Philip J., 'The Winchelsea Tombs Reconsidered', *Church Monuments,* vol. 15 (2000), pp. 5-30.

Bloxham, Mathew Holbeach, *A Glimpse at the Monumental Sculpture of Great Britain* (London, 1834)

----------'On the Sepulchral Effigies and Sculptured Monuments in Llandaff Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 10, 4th series (1879), pp. 33-43.

Boutell, Charles, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales* (London, 1854)

Brown, Andrew D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995)

Burgess, Clive, 'A Service for the Dead: The Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions,* vol. 105 (1987), pp. 183-211.

----------'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented': an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England' in S.J. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People. Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750* (London, 1988), pp. 56-84.

----------'Late medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in Michael Hicks, ed., *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-33.

----------'Strategies for Eternity: Perpetual Chantry Foundation in Late Medieval Bristol', in Harper-Bill, Christopher, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 1-32.

----------'Longing to be Prayed For: Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages', in Gordon, Bruce and Marshall, Peter, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 44-65.

Carpenter, Christine, 'The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth-Century England', in Daniel Williams, ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 53-74.

----------*Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992)

Carr, A.D., *Medieval Wales* (London, 1995)

Cartwright, Jane, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2008)

Clark, G.T., 'East Orchard Manor House', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 15, 3rd series, (1869), pp. 63-78.

Coales, John ed., *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops, 1270-1350* (London, 1987)

Colvin, Howard, *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven, 1991)

Compton-Davies, W.R., *Historical and Pictorial Glimpses of Llandaff Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1900)

Corbett, John Stuart, *Glamorgan: Papers and Notes on the Lordship and its Members* (Cardiff, 1925)

Coss, Peter, *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000-1500* (Stroud, 1998)

----------'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England' in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 39-68.

Cowley, F.G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales* (Cardiff, 1977)

Coxe, William, *A Historical Tour through Monmouthshire* (Brecon, 1904)

Crouch, David, *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992)

Daniell, Christopher, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, 1997)

Davies, Chrystal, *A Walk Around Llandaff Cathedral,* (Much Wenlock, 1999)

Davies, E.T., 'John Wood's Italianate Temple', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales,* vol. 6 (1956), pp. 70-81.

Davies, J. Barry, 'The Mathew Family of Llandaff, Radyr and Castell-y-Mynach', *Glamorgan Historian,* vol. 2 (1975), pp. 171-187.

Davies, J. Conway, 'Ewenny Priory: Some Recently Found Records', *National Library of Wales Journal,* vol. 3 (1943-4), pp. 107-37.

Davies, R.R., *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978)

----------*The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995)

----------*The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000)

Dimmock, Spencer, 'The Origins of Welsh Apprentices in Sixteenth-Century Bristol', *WHR,* vol. 24, no. 4 (Dec. 2009), pp. 116-40.

Doble, G.H., 'St Oudoceus', *Journal of Theological Studies,* vol. 43 (1942)

----------*St Teilo* (Lampeter, 1942)

----------*St Dubricius,* (Guildford, 1943)

Dobson, R.B, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York' in G.J. Cuming, ed., *Studies in Church History: The Province of York* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 22-38.

Downing, Mark, 'Military Effigies with Breast Chains', *Church Monuments,* vol. 10 (1995), pp. 7-20

----------and Knowles, Richard, 'A Fifteenth-Century Helmet Depiction at Gnosall, Staffordshire', *Church Monuments,* vol. 17 (2002), pp. 49-53.

Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992)

Duffy, Mark, 'Arthur's Tomb and its Context' in Linda Gunn and Steven Monckton, eds., *Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 77-88.

Farman, Patrick, Hacker, Peter, and Badham, Sally, 'Incised Slab Discoveries at Tickhill, Yorkshire', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society,* vol. 17, part 6 (2008), pp. 521-49.

Fowler, Charles B., 'Discoveries at Llanblethian Church, Glamorganshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol 15, 5th series (1898), pp. 121-31.

----------'The Excavations Carried out at the Site of the Black Friars' Monastery, Cardiff Castle', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society,* vol. 30 (1897), pp. 5-15.

Fryer, Alfred C. 'Monumental Effigies Made by Bristol Craftsmen (1240-1550)', *Archaeologia,* vol. 74 (1923-4), pp. 1-74.

----------*Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales* (London, 1924)

Furnival, F.J., *Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London* (London, 1882)

Gardner, Arthur, *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1935)

------------*English Medieval Sculpture* (New York, 1973)

Gee, Loveday Lewis, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III, 1216-1377* (Woodbridge, 2002)

Goodall, John A.A., *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth -Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001)

Gough, Richard, *Sepulchral Monuments* (London, 1786-1802)

Gittos, Brian and Moira, 'Alfred Fryer's 'Monumental Effigies by Bristol Craftsmen': A Reassessment', in Laurence Keen, ed., *Almost the Richest City: Bristol in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1997), pp. 90-2.

------------'The Ingleby-Arncliffe Group of Effigies: A Mid-Fourteenth-Century Workshop in North Yorkshire', *Church Monuments*, vol. 17 (2002), pp. 14-38.

------------'Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies' in Coss, Peter and Keen, Maurice, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 143-67.

Glynne, Sir Stephen R., 'Notes on the Older Churches in the Four Welsh Dioceses', *Arch. Camb.*, 6th series, vol. 1 (1901), pp. 245-78.

le Goff, Jacques, *The Birth of Purgatory* (London, 1984)

Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England, ii: c.1307 - the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982)

Gray, Madeleine, ed., Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire*, South Wales Record Society vol. 5, (Cardiff, 1983)

------------'Change and Continuity: The Gentry and the Property of the Church in South-East Wales and the Marches', in J. Gwynfor Jones, ed., *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 1-38.

------------'The Last Days of the Chantries and Shrines of Monmouthshire', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 8 (1991), pp. 21-40.

------------*Images of Piety: The Iconography of Traditional Religion in Late Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 2000)

------------'The Medieval Bishops' Effigies at Llandaff Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 153 (2004), pp. 37-51.

Greenhill, F.A., *Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom, c.1100 to c.1700* (London, 1976)

Gresham, Colin, *Medieval Stone Carving in North Wales: Sepulchral Slabs and Effigies of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1968)

Griffiths, M., 'Very Wealthy by Merchandise? Urban Fortunes', in J.G. Jones, ed., *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989)

Griffiths, R.A., 'The Rise of the Stradlings of St Donat's', *Morgannwg*, vol. 7 (1963), pp. 15-47.

------------'The Norman Conquest and the Twelve Knights of Glamorgan' in Stewart Williams, ed., *Glamorgan Historian*, vol. 3 (Cowbridge, 1966), pp. 162-7.

------------*The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government. 1. South Wales 1277-1536.* (Cardiff, 1972)

------------'Medieval Severnside: The Welsh Connection', in R.R. Davies, R.A. Griffiths, I.G. Jones and K.O. Morgan, eds., *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 70-89.

------------and Thomas, R.S., *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Gloucester, 1985)

----------*Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff, 1993)

-----------*Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994)

-------------'After Glyn Dŵr: An Age of Reconciliation?', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 117, 2001 Lectures (Oxford, 2002), pp. 139-64.

------------Hopkins, T. and Howell, R., eds., *Gwent County History II: The Age of the Marcher Lords c.1070-1536* (Cardiff, 2008)

Griffith, R.W., 'The Episcopal Effigies in Llandaff Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 7, 5th series (1890), pp. 196-204.

Harding, Vanessa, 'Burial Choice and Burial Location in Late Medieval London', in Stephen Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 119-135.

Heath, Peter, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills', in Barrie Dobson, ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 209-234.

Hicks, Michael, 'Chantries, Obits and Almshouses: The Hungerford Foundations 1325-1478', in C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 123-42.

Hollis, Thomas and Geoffrey, *Monumental Effigies in Great Britain* (London, 1839-1842)

Horák, Jana, 'Geological Sources and the Selection of Stone', in M. Redknap and J.M. Lewis, eds., *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales,* Vol. 1, (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 47-58.

James, J.H., *A History and Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1929)

James, Brian Ll. and Francis, David J. *Cowbridge and Llanblethian Past and Present* (Barry, 1979)

Jenkins, Geraint H., *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1987)

Jenkins, J.P., 'From Edward Lhwyd to Iolo Morgannwg: the Death and Rebirth of Glamorgan Antiquarianism in the Eighteenth Century', *Morgannwg,* vol. 23 (1979), pp. 29-47.

Jenkins, Philip, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640 -1790* (Cambridge, 1983)

Jones. A.L., *Heraldry in Glamorgan. South Glamorgan no. 3, Llandaff Cathedral* (Bridgend, 1987)

Jones, Craig Owen, 'A Localised Irritation?: The Revolt of Llewelyn Bren outside Glamorgan', *Morgannwg,* vol. 52 (2008)

Jones, J. Gwynfor, 'Concepts of Order and Gentility', in J. Gwynfor Jones, ed., *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 121-57.

--------------'The Gentry of East Glamorgan: Welsh Cultural Dimensions, 1540-1640', *Morgannwg,* vol. 37 (1993), pp. 8-39.

------------*The Welsh Gentry 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority* (Cardiff, 1998)

--------------*Conflict, Continuity and Change in Wales c.1500-1603: Essays and Studies* (Aberystwyth, 1999)

Jupp, Peter C. And Gittings, Clare, eds., *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester, 1999)

Keen, Maurice, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c.1300-c.1500* (Stroud, 2002)

Kemp, Brian, *English Church Monuments* (London, 1980)

Knight, Jeremy, 'Medieval Imported Building Stone and Utilised Stone in Wales and Ireland', in Manning, Conleth, ed., *From Ringforts to Fortified Houses: Studies on Castles and Other Monuments in Honour of David Sweetman* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 143-54.

Kreider, Alan, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (London, 1979)

Lepine, D. and Orme, Nicholas, eds., *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (Exeter, 2003)

Lewis, David, 'Notes on the Charters of Neath Abbey', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 4, 5th series (1887), pp. 86-115.

Lewis, J.M., *Welsh Monumental Brasses: A Guide* (Cardiff, 1974)

Lieberman, Max, 'Anglicization in High Medieval Wales: the Case of Glamorgan', *Welsh History Review,* vol. 23 (2006-7), pp. 1-26.

-----------*The March of Wales 1067-1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain* (Cardiff, 2008)

Lindley, Philip, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995)

------------'The Black Death and English art. A Debate and Some Assumptions', in *The Black Death in England,* ed. Mark Ormrod and Philip Lindley (Donington, 1996), pp. 136-43.

------------'Disrespect for the Dead?: The Destruction of Tomb Monuments in Mid Sixteenth-Century England', *Church Monuments,* vol. 19 (2004), pp. 53-79.

------------'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments at Abergavenny and the Mournful end of the Hastings Earls of Pembroke' in Kenyon, J.R. and Williams, J.M., eds., *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (Leeds, 2006), pp. 136-160.

-----------and Galvin, Carol, 'New Paradigms for the Aristocratic Funerary Monument Around 1300: Reconstructing the Tomb of John, Second Baron Hastings (1287-1325) at Abergavenny Priory, Monmouthshire,' *Church Monuments,* vol. 21 (2006), pp. 58-93.

------------*Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007)

Llewellyn, Nigel, *Funeral Monuments in Post Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000)

Lloyd, Thomas, Orbach, Julian and Scourfield, Robert, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (London, 2004)

Longueville-Jones, Hugh, 'On the Study of Welsh Antiquities', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 15, 3rd series (1869), pp. 78-86.

Lord, Peter, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003)

Lutton, Robert, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge, 2006)

Marks, Richard, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004)

Marshall, Peter, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002)

Martindale, Andrew, 'Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages' in Wood, Diana, ed., *The Church and the Arts* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 143-78.

Mathews, G.M., *Y Mathiaid: The Mathews of Llandaff* (London, 1924)

Middleton-Stewart, Judith, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (Woodbridge, 2001)

Moreton, C.E., *The Townshends and Their World: Gentry, Law and Land in Norfolk, c.1450-1551* (Oxford, 1992)

Morgan, C.O.S., 'St Woollo's Church, Newport, Monmouthshire, 1', *Arch. Camb.,* 5th series, vol. 2 (1885), pp. 279-91.

Morgan, Philip, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987)

Morgan-Guy, John, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty', in Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton, eds., *Arthur Tudor Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 50-63.

Morganstern, Anne McGee, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000)

----------'The Tomb as Prompter for the Chantry: Four Examples from Late Medieval England' in, Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast, eds., *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 81-9.

Mein, Geoffrey, 'Hospitals and Almshouses of Medieval Usk' in Jeremy Knight and Andy Johnson, eds., *Usk Castle, Priory and Town* (Little Logaston, 2008), pp. 27-38.

Morris, Richard K., 'Ballflower Work in Gloucester and its Vicinity', in British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 7, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury* (Leeds, 1985), pp. 99-115.

----------'Later Gothic Architecture in South Wales' in J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, eds., *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (Leeds, 2006), pp. 102-35.

Newell, E.J., *Diocesan Histories: Llandaff* (London, 1902)

Newman, John, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995)

-----------*The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000)

Newton, Stella Mary, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1980)

Nicholas, Thomas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1887)

Norris, Malcolm, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978)

North, F.J., *Stones of Llandaff Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1957)

Ollivant, Alfred, *Some Account of the Condition of the Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral*, (London, 1860)

Oosterwijk, S., 'Chrysoms, shrouds and infants: a question of terminology', *Church Monuments*, 15 (2000), pp. 44-65.

----------'"A Swithe Feire Graue": the Appearance of Children on Medieval Tomb Monuments', in S. Tyas and R. Eales (eds), *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2003), pp. 172-92.

Orrin, Geoffrey, *Medieval Churches of the Vale of Glamorgan*, (Cowbridge, 1988)

----------*Church Building and Restoration in Victorian Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 2004)

Owen, D.M., *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971)

Patterson, D.R., 'The Manors of Michaelston-le-Pit and Wrinstone and their Early Owners', in *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society*, vol. 65 (1932), pp. 30-40.

Payling, Simon, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991)

Pevsner, Nikolaus, ed., *The Buildings of England: South and West Somerset* (Harmondsworth, 1958)

-----------*The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth, 1958)

Prior, E.S. and Gardner, A, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912)

Pollard, A.J., *Late Medieval England 1399-1509* (Harlow, 2000)

Pugh, T.B., ed., *Glamorgan County History, vol. III* (Cardiff, 1971)

Rackham, Oliver, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London, 1976)

Radulescu, Raluca, and Truelove, Alison, eds., *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005)

Ramsey, Nigel, 'Artists and Craftsmen', in Nigel Saul, ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England* (London, 1992), pp. 48-59.

Rees, E.A., *A Life of Guto'r Glyn* (Talybont, 2008)

Rees, William, 'The Possessions of the Abbey of Tewkesbury in Glamorgan. Accounts of the Ministers for the Year 1448-50', in W. Rees, ed., *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, no. 2* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 129-86.

----------'The Suppression of the Friaries in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire', in H.J. Randall and W. Rees, eds., *A Breviat of Glamorgan by Rice Lewis and Other Papers* (Newport, 1954), pp. 7-19.

Richmond, Colin, 'Religion and the Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman', in Barrie Dobson, ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984)

----------'The English Gentry and Religion c.1500', in C. Harper-Bill, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. ???

Roberts, Glyn, 'Wales and England, Antipathy and Sympathy 1282-1485', *Welsh History Review,* vol. 1 (1960-3), pp. 375-96.

Robinson, W.R.B., 'The Officers and Household of Henry, Earl of Worcester, 1526-49', *Welsh History Review,* vol. 8 (1976-7), pp. 26-41.

----------'The Tudor Revolution in Welsh Government, 1536-1543: Its Effects on Gentry Participation', *EHR,* Vol. 103, no. 406 (Jan. 1988)

----------'Some Welsh Members of Henry VIII's Household in the 1520s', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* vol. 40 (1993), pp. 157-70.

----------*Early Tudor Gwent 1485-1547* (Welshpool, 2002)

Roderick, A.J., and Rees, William, 'The Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle – Accounts of the Ministers for the Year 1256-1257', in William Rees and Henry John Randall, eds., *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society,* 2 (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 69-125.

Rodger, John W., 'The Stone Cross Slabs of South Wales and Monmouthshire', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society,* vol. 44 (1911), pp. 24-64.

Rosenthal, J.T., *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift-Giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1485* (London, 1972)

Routh, Pauline, 'Yorkshire's Royal Monument: Prince William of Hatfield', *Church Monuments,* vol. 9 (1994), pp. 53-61.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, *Glamorgan – Medieval Non-Defensive Secular Monuments* (Cardiff, 1982)

Sargent, Andrew, 'A Re-used Twelfth-Century Grave Cover from St Andrew's, Cherry Hinton, Cambridge', *Church Monuments,* vol. 23 (2008), pp. 7-13.

Saul, Nigel, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981)

----------*Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001)

----------'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses' in Coss, Peter and Keen, Maurice, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 169-94.

----------'The Gentry and the Parish', in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, eds., *The Parish in*

      Late Medieval England (Donington, 2006)

------------*English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009)

Shaw, W.A., *The Knights of England* (Vol. 2, London, 1971)

Sherlock, Peter, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008)

Siddons, M.P., *The Development of Welsh Heraldry,* vols. 1 and 2 (Aberystwyth, 1991, 1993)

Sillence, Matthew J., 'The Two Effigies of Archbishop Walter de Gray (d. 1255) at York Minster, *Church Monuments,* vol. 20 (2005), pp. 5-30.

Southwick, Leslie, 'The Armoured Effigy of Prince John of Eltham at Westmister Abbey and Some Closely Related Military Monuments', *Church Monuments,* vol. 2 (1987), pp. 9-21

Spink, A.G., *The History of Holy Trinity Church* (Cardiff, 1965)

Stöber, Karen, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales c.1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2007)

Stone, Laurence, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1955)

Stothard, Charles Alfred, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817-1832)

Suggett, Richard, *Houses and History in the March of Wales: Radnorshire 1400-1800*

      (Aberystwyth, 2005)

Swanson, R.N., *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989)

------------*Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995)

Sweet, Rosemary, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London, 2004)

Tanner, Norman P., *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984)

Thomas, David Richard, 'Sir John Morgan of Tredegar', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 1, 5th series (1884), pp. 35-45, at p. 38.

Thomas, Hilary M., 'Llandough Castle, near Cowbridge', *Morgannwg,* vol. 33 (1989), pp. 7-36.

Thomas, Lawrence, *The Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1930)

Thurlby, Malcolm, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Herefordshire, 2006)

------------'The early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral and its Place in the West Country School of Masons.', in J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, eds., *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (Leeds, 2006), pp. 60-85.

Tummers, H.A., *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980)

------------'The Medieval Effigial Tombs in Chichester Cathedral', *Church Monuments,* vol. 3 (1988), pp. 3-41.

Turbevill, J.P., *Ewenny Priory: Monastery and Fortress* (London, 1901)

Vale, M.G.A., *Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry 1370-1480* (York, 1976)

Vaughan, Henry F. J., 'Archaeological Notes and Queries', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* 5th series, vol. 10 (1893), pp. 271-83.

Verey, D., ed., *The Buildings of England. Gloucestershire: the Vale and the Forest of Dean* (Harmondsworth, 1970)

------------and Brooks, A., eds., *The Buildings of England. Gloucestershire I: the Cotswolds* (Harmondsworth, 1999)

Walker, David, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1990)

Walker, R.F., *Pembrokeshire County History,* vol. 2 (Haverfordwest, 2002)

Walker, Simon, *The Lancastrian Affinity* (Oxford, 1990)

Wall, C.J., *Tombs of the Kings of England* (London, 1891)

Weever, John, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631)

Welsh Stone Forum, *Newsletter,* no. 7 (Feb. 2010)

Westwood, J.O., 'On Certain Peculiarities Observable in some of the Early Monumental Effigies in Wales', *Archaeolgia Cambrensis,* vol. 2 (1847), pp. 233-43.

Williams, Glanmor, 'Glamorgan Society, 1536-1642', in Glanmor Williams, ed., *Glamorgan County History,* vol. 4 (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 73-141.

------------*The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, Revised Edition, 1976)

------------*Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415-1642* (Oxford, 1993)

------------*Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997)

------------'Pen-rhys: Poets and Pilgrims', *Monmouthshire Antiquary,* vol. 20 (2004), pp. 9-15.

Williams, S.W., 'Some Monumental Effigies in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 7, 5th series (1890), pp. 182-93.

------------'Archaeological notes and queries' *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. 10, 5th series (1893), pp. 271-4.

Williamson, Paul, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven, 1995)

Wilson, Christopher, 'Calling the Tune? The Involvement of King Henry III in the Design of the Abbey Church at Westminster', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* vol. 161, no. 1 (2008), pp. 59-93.

Wood-Legh, K.L., *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965)

Wright, Susan M., *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1983)

Youngs, Deborah, *Humphrey Newton (1466-1536): An Early Tudor Gentleman* (Woodbridge, 2008)

Theses

Barnett, Clara Maria, 'Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York', University of York D.Phil thesis (1997)

Chapman, Adam John, 'The Welsh Soldier: 1283-1422', University of Southampton PhD thesis, (2009)

Denton, Jon, 'The East-Midland Gentleman, 1400-1530', University of Keele PhD thesis (2006)

Finch, Jonathan, 'Church Monuments in Norfolk and Norwich Before 1850: A Regional Study of Medieval and Post-Medieval Material Culture', University of East Anglia PhD thesis (1996)

Friar, Stephen, 'Livery Collars on Late-medieval English Church Monuments: A Survey of the South-Western Counties and Some Suggestions for Further Study.' M. Phil. Thesis, University of Southampton, (2000)