Abstract

This dissertation considers the Harington Tomb in Cartmel Priory in Cumbria, an usually large and ambitious funerary monument to a local baron and his wife made c.1340. Severely cut down and moved from its original position in the church in the seventeenth century, it seems that it originally included a section containing an altar for chantry masses, ahead of the first usually accepted example of a "cage chantry".

A survey of the fabric and a seventeenth century drawing are used to reconstruct the original appearance of the monument, and also to assess the workshop methods of the team of sculptors who created it.

The novel form of a self-contained altar and tomb ensemble and the sculptural decoration used to represent the terms of the chantry agreement are investigated in connection with other funerary monuments, and the development of these characteristics assessed.

The tomb's programme of religious imagery is interpreted through its potential agents and audience: the Haringtons who lie within it; the Augustinian Canons whose church it stood in; and the laity who would have worshipped not far from it. The interpretation of the tomb solely as a self-aggrandising monument for a minor lord is reconsidered in favour of a more inclusive approach to the institution of the chantry.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

The Harington Tomb in Cartmel Priory, Cumbria (pls.1,2) is a lavish funerary monument of c.1340 almost certainly commemorating Sir John Harington, first Baron of Aldingham and his wife Joan Dacre, which displays the taste for increased ornament and imagery characteristic of the height of the English Decorated Style.[1] The first two serious accounts of the Tomb were both read in 1880.[2] A century later a paper on the Tomb was published by the Reverend Dickinson, which was later included as a chapter in his book on the Priory.[3] The most in-depth study is by Markus in 1996.[4] As well as identifying three hands in the figural carving, she placed the style of sculpture in a Yorkshire context, and explored links to funerary monuments on the continent and the shrine bases in York and Chester.

However, many aspects still deserve to be investigated. First, the Tomb has been moved from its original location in the church and cut down drastically at both ends. It seems that the current surviving portion was originally part of a larger architectural ensemble that incorporated an altar for the daily prayers for John and Joan's souls.[5] This would make it resemble the later common form of the "cage chantry" that would pre-date

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[1] Nicola Coldstream *The Decorated Style. Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (London: British Museum, 1994) p.158.
[2] Henry Fletcher Rigge "The Harrington Tomb in Cartmel Priory Church" *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Historic Society* 5 (1881); William Oliver Roper "The Harington Monument in Cartmel Church" *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 32 (1880). These two publications show the two spellings used for the family name, and Harington will be used in this study as it is more commonly used when referring to the Aldingham family in historical literature.
[3] John Compton Dickinson "The Harrington Tomb at Cartmel Church" *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Historical Society* 85 (1985); *The Priory of Cartmel* (Milthorpe: Cicerone Press, 1991) pp.76-85.
[4] Mary Markus "'An attempt to discriminate the styles' – The sculptors of the Harrington Tomb, Cartmel" *Church Monuments* 11 (1996).
[5] This view of an attached altar is assumed in: Matthew Hyde and Nicholas Pevsner *Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010) pp.272-273; It is referred to in passing as one of the "first chantry chapels" in Pamela Tudor-Craig "Painting in Medieval England. The Wall-to-Wall Message" in *Age of Chivalry. Art and society in late medieval England* Nigel Saul (ed.) (London: Collins and Brown, 1992) p.111; and is called the "Harrington Chantry" in Coldstream p.158.

the usually accepted first example of Bishop Edington's at Winchester of 1366 (pl.17a).[6] The iconographical programme of the Tomb's canopy, with Christ Showing His Wounds, the Coronation of the Virgin, scenes of the Passion and figures of saints is also very unusual, of a complexity only surpassed by the contemporary Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster (pl.20). This seeming multi-faceted pioneering design we might expect more for royalty or bishops, not for a minor provincial lord.

A survey of the monument's surviving fabric and the visual record will be used to make a tentative reconstruction of its original appearance, which will be used to investigate the working methods of the workshop that created it, and to assess its place within the development of funerary and chantry monuments. The detailed programme of figural sculpture will be examined through its relevance to the patrons and potential audience. Along with the Haringtons, the canons of Cartmel Priory are also prominently depicted on the Tomb, and their role in shaping the programme for the benefit of the laity who would have worshipped in close proximity to it will be considered.

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[6] Confidently stated as the first cage chantry in: Cindy Wood "The Cage Chantries of Christchurch Priory" in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (eds.) (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2010) p.235.

I. An overview of Cartmel Priory, the Haringtons and the Harington Tomb

The Priory Church of St. Mary and St. Michael, Cartmel was a house of Augustinian Canons founded in 1189.[7] It replaced a parish church, and one of the stipulations of its founding was that the altar to St. Michael should be retained for the use of the parishioners and maintained by either a canon of the Priory or a hired secular priest.[8] Unusually, the church may not even have had a nave until the fifteenth century,[9] so the south choir aisle, or "Town Choir" (plan, pl.8c; exterior, pl.15b) served as Cartmel's parish church, and was extended in the fourteenth century most probably under the patronage of John Harington.[10] Much of what is known of the church's medieval history comes from the Vatican archives, the church's own records were likely moved to Richmond or York at the Reformation and then lost.[11]

John Harington is a figure of similar obscurity. Although we should not expect to see personalities emerging from the records of the Middle Ages, it is difficult to see what would single this individual out for an unusual level of commemoration. His biography is little more than the bare essentials for a knighted baron. He was knighted in 1306, when he may have taken part in Edward I's Scottish campaign, and received his summons to Parliament in 1326. He undertook military service from 1309-35, and like many of the gentry, was complicit in the murder of Piers Gaveston, Edward II's favourite.[12] He appears

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[7] "Houses of Austin canons: The priory of Cartmel" in *A History of the County of Lancaster* William Farrer and John Brownbill (eds.) (London: Archibald Constable, 1914) Vol. 2, pp.143-148 [www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38352].

[8] Dickinson (1991) pp.10-12. Whether the altar was in practice served by a hired secular priest or a canon is unknown. Dickinson suggested Cartmel was one of the instances where canons served the altar in John Compton Dickinson *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London: Church Historical Society, 1950) p.233; but later suggested that the existence of a Priest Lane in the town meant a secular priest was lodged there. *The Land of Cartmel: A History* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1980) p.16. It is perhaps likely the situation could change a number of times between the foundation and Dissolution.

[9] John Lewis Petit "Cartmel Priory Church, Lancashire" *Archaeological Journal* 27 (1870) p.87.

[10] For the evidence towards John's patronage of the whole Town Choir see: John Compton Dickinson "The Architectural Development of Cartmel Priory Church" *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Historical Society* 45 (1945) pp.53-55.

[11] Dickinson (1980) p.22; Dickinson (1985) p.10.

[12] Ian Grimble *The Harington Family* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957) pp.20-22; George Gibbs *The Complete Peerage* (London: St Catherine Press, 1926) Vol. 6., pp.314-315.

occasionally in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, receiving commissions to keep the Peace in

Lancaster,[13] and commissions *oyer and terminer* various disputes in his region.[14] The

family of his wife Joan is only inferred from lost heraldic evidence from the Tomb,

although the scallop shells of the Dacre arms on the south side of the tomb chest still attest

to her identity (pl.3c).

Their tomb at Cartmel Priory is currently situated in an arch, seemingly created for

it, in the wall between the south choir aisle and the choir, roughly where there was

originally a thirteenth century lancet window that was blocked in the fourteenth century

(Shown on plan, pl.8c). The mutilation this arrangement causes to the thirteenth century

sedilia means it almost certainly was not medieval, as this surely would unacceptably

disrupt the liturgical function and aesthetic environment of the canons' choir.[15] The Tomb

as it now survives comprises a tomb chest, the base of which bears the symbols of the

Evangelists at the corners and small figures of Austin canons along the sides (pl.4c,d,e).

The effigies of Joan and John on top of the chest (pl.3a,b) hold their hearts in their hands,[16]

a dog and lion[17] at their respective feet and angels holding their heads. The couple are

flanked by further figures of the Austin canons, carved from the same block of stone

(pl.4a,b).[18] A lofty superstructure rises around the effigies, reminiscent of Decorated

window tracery. The shafts feature saints (pl.5), angels (pl.10a,c), shields (pl.3d) and a

blessing Christ (central shaft, pl.1). These support an ogee arch with Passion narratives at

its springings (pl.6), and at the apex angels raise figures of a tiny man and woman in

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[13] I.e.: *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1343-1345, p.275.

[14] I.e.: *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1334-1338, p.452.

[15] Rigge p.112.

[16] Rigge p.109. A common motif, but here ovoid and abstract, without any sign of anatomical observation seen in some other examples.

[17] A rather unusual specimen in that he is quite noticeably the highest part of the sculpted block and does not find any stylistic affinity with the groups identified by Downing in his pioneering survey of leonine footrests in knightly monuments. Mark Downing "Lions of the Middle Ages: A Preliminary Survey of Lions on Medieval Military Effigies" *Church Monuments* 13 (1998).

[18] For the effigies and arguments for their dating see John Bryan Ward-Perkins "The Harrington Effigy in Cartmel Priory" *Antiquaries Journal* 23 (1943); Claude Blair "The Date of the Early Alabaster Knight at Hanbury, Staffordshire" *Church Monuments* 7 (1992) p.14.

napkins on the north and south sides respectively, away from the jaws of two monsters (pl.7). Above the ogee runs a horizontal cornice which supports a programme of figure sculpture on both sides (pls.11,12). Underneath, the blessing Christ is suspended over the effigies, painted on a tester of horizontal wooden planks (pl.14a).

II. Reconstructing the Haringtons' Chantry Ensemble

The Harington Tomb is unusual in that it was dismantled and reconstructed remarkably early, which is attributable to the strong recusant Catholicism in the north-west of England after the Reformation. This means that nineteenth century depictions of the Tomb in the *John O'Gaunt sketch-book* (1874),[19] a watercolour in John Weld's sketchbook (1839)[20] and engraving in Whitaker's *Whalley* (1818)[21] (pl.15c) show the Tomb in very much its present condition with only minor changes to the arrangement of the sculptural programme on top. A drawing made in 1646 (pl.16) also represents its current state, the note reading "The Monument of Harington is under an arche of the south syde of the quyer of Cartmell Church" explicitly confirming the position.[22] It is traditionally thought to have been moved to this location by the Lord of Holker Hall, George Preston, after damage inflicted by Cromwellian troops stationed at Cartmel in 1643.[23] It may also have been moved during Preston's first restoration campaign of the Priory in 1617-22, which provided the church with major roof repairs and the fine new choir-stall canopies.[24]

Numerous features of the Tomb's current fabric imply that its original location in the Priory would have allowed it to be seen more in the round. The symbols of the Evangelists at the four corners of the tomb chest are repeated on the ends of the Tomb as well as the long sides, those at the ends hidden by or embedded in the wall to varying degrees. On the shafts, figures of angels (pl.10a) and St. Peter (pl.5d) are also partly obscured by the current setting. Its original position seems to have been partially free-

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[19] Edward Paley and Hubert Austin (eds.) *John O'Gaunt Sketch-Book* Vol. II. (Lancaster: E.G. Paley and H.J. Austin, 1874) pl.72.

[20] Held in the Lancashire Record Office, DP386/1.

[21] Thomas Whitaker *An history of the original parish of Whalley, & honor of Clitheroe.: To which is subjoined an account of the parish of Cartmell* Vol. 2 (London: G. Routledge and sons, 1872-76) plate following p.587.

[22] Published in John Brownbill "The Harrington Tomb at Cartmel" *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Historical Society* 25 (1925).

[23] Dickinson (1985) p.115.

[24] Dickinson (1991) p.36.

standing, in the western-most bay of the Town Choir. This area is now most regrettably hidden by the organ, but signs of the Tomb's original location here "were seen when the area now covered by the organ was recently opened up, including a large stone block, laid east and west and of about the same length as the present tomb and roughly a foot square in cross-section" (Marked on plan in pl.8c).[25]

The Tomb's fabric also suggests it has been cut down from its original length both to the east and west. The representation of the Crucifixion on the south-east shaft has a prominent broken arch springer to the east, now embedded in the wall (pl.6d). The Mocking of Christ of the north-west shaft has a broken springer pointing in the opposite direction (pl.6b).[26] The other two corner pieces of the arches, showing the *Noli Me Tangere*[27] and the Flagellation (pl.6a,c), appear to be terminal, although the stone of their sides is unfinished and clearly not designed to be seen (pl.9a). The Passion scenes are carved from the same block of the arch which contains cusping with praying angels (pl.9b), which shows that they belonged to the same structure that contains the elevation of the Haringtons' souls on the adjacent blocks. Although the praying angels on the north side have suffered greater damage, those on the south side are of a consistently higher quality, as demonstrated in a comparison of the carefully rendered wings of the angel in pl.9c to the angel in pl.9d which, although it has lost its head, never had wings. This consistency of quality on each side suggests the canopy has been reconstructed correctly. The broken arches from the Crucifixion and Mocking are of a different moulding to the

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[25] Dickinson (1985) p.115. Earlier scholars looked into the possibility that the monument was not originally from Cartmel Priory, explored but rejected by Rigge pp.114-116; however the opinion that it came from nearby Conishead Priory is voiced and maintained in: Harper Gaythorpe "Urswick and Aldingham: Field Meeting 25th June, 1881" *Barrow Naturalists Field Club* 3:2 (1882) p.94 and "Notes of the Summer Meetings, 1902" *Barrow Naturalists Field Club* 8 (1904) p.46.

[26] This contradiction is noted by Rigge pp.111-112, and while other scholars have no doubt noticed it, no attempt has been made to resolve it.

[27] Previous studies always interpret this as the Magdelene washing Christ's feet. Roper p.150; Dickinson (1985) p.119; Markus p.15. The problems with this identification will be discussed below.

extant canopy (pl.6b,d), forbidding any attempt to rearrange the canopy into a system only extending in one direction.

In some areas of the Tomb it is difficult to ascertain whether they represent unfinished medieval work or restoration following its relocation. While some of the decorative ornament of the Tomb on the north side is of a darker stone in better condition and represents restoration work of 1832 (marked red on pl.8a),[28] the plain portions of the south side are more difficult to date (pl.8b).[29] The original portions of the monument seem to be entirely of a pale white sandstone quarried from a single source, likely nearby Quarryflat transported via Cark Beck, as used in the Priory itself.[30] The building material for the fifteenth century nave consisted of various local stones, showing it was not easy to obtain the homogenous white sandstone.[31] The Quarryflat stone has deteriorated in some places on the Tomb, for instance the saint on the north-west corner (pl.5c),[32] which makes it easier to identify where it has been used. [33] Importantly, although of uneven quality, the figural sculpture is all of the Quarryflat sandstone, showing it to be entirely medieval.[34] The lower-most block of the central shaft on the south side is a similar shape to the respective piece on the north, and therefore possibly an unfinished medieval piece awaiting diaper. The two blocks above this have discoloured differently and may be from a different source and thus not original. The portions coloured yellow on pl.8a,b however are of original stone, but are of a different shape to the other side and may be from an earlier

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[28] Rigge p.110.

[29] The account of the Tomb in the VCH states "The south side was doubtless originally the same, but has suffered much from restoration". "The parish of Cartmell" in Farrer and Brownbill (eds.) Vol. 8 pp.254-265. [www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=53312].

[30] Dickinson (1991) pp.99-100; Rigge pp.114-116.

[31] Dickinson (1991) p.100.

[32] Roper identifies this saint as Alphege, which appears baseless now, suggesting that it was in better condition in his time, particularly since he is tentative when suggesting the adjacent Bishop is St. Gregory. Roper p.150.

[33] This deterioration is probably due to oxidisation, which has also occurred in many of the ashlar blocks of the Priory walls. Rigge p.114.

[34] The view taken by Markus and Dickinson (1985). Rigge supposes some of the "inferior workmanship" could be accounted as later replacement, however he then discusses the elevation of John's soul as if it were medieval so it is not clear which parts he sees as post-medieval. Rigge pp.118-119.

restoration that cannibalised small pieces of stone from a destroyed section of the monument.

The impressive groups of monumental sculpture on top of the Tomb are sometimes thought not to be one with the original monument.[35] On both sides, but more complete on the north, a crenelated wave parapet[36] runs under figures carved from the same block, those figures not part of the block have been coloured purple on pl.8a,b.[37] The pattern of the wave parapet on the south side is broken by the standing angel, who thus may have belonged to the other side. Both the Coronation and Christ Showing His Wounds have been cut down to fit under the arch (pl.11b,12b). The right hand side of the Coronation block has an angel's wing wrapping round the right edge, showing it was free standing from the lateral figures as it is now. Close scrutiny of the fragments show that the programme is very apt for the summit of a funerary monument. On the north side, a fragment to the right of the Coronation (pl.11c) can be clearly seen as an angel holding a smaller figure. To the left of the Coronation is a much more damaged fragment of a small figure, but the traces of fingers under the figure's armpits suggests it may originally have had an angel behind it. On the south side, two of the fragments even more clearly show angels carrying small naked figures, although here the souls have more confidently sculpted bodies (pl.12a,c), which goes together with the higher quality of the Christ (pl.12b) compared to His counterpart in the Coronation (pl.11b). Although the programme may have been subject to some disruption and rearrangement, the representations on each

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[35] Dickinson supposes the Coronation group were from the chantry's altar and the south side "a miscellany, and possibly not all of one date". Dickinson (1985) p.121.

[36] A decorative device common in S. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Lawrence Stone *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955) p.169.

[37] These fragments are not seen in the above mentioned nineteenth century depictions of the monument, nor is one of the three crenelated blocks on the south side.

side of two souls being presented indicate it is in its correct setting on the summit of the

Harington Tomb.[38]

The seventeenth century relocation of the Harington Tomb to its current position

seems then not to have been as brutal and haphazard as an initial observation may suggest,

for it would be a foolhardy mason who would reconstruct such a large and complicated

interlocking structure without maintaining its original configuration. The monument is

aesthetically logical. The saints to the east have high elaborate pinnacles compared to the

low ogees of those to the west and are set higher, and the eastern Evangelists also stretch

further on the long sides of the chest, suggesting a crescendo from west to east (pls.1,2).

The conclusion from the analysis of the fabric is that the current Harington Tomb

was part of a larger architectural ensemble that would have dominated the west end of the

south choir aisle. As well as being extended by a lost bay to the east housing the chantry

altar, the monument must have also extended an extra bay to the west, perhaps connecting

with the west wall of the Town Choir (shown extending from the Tomb's original position

in the plan on pl.8c). Since the Tomb noticeably sinks in the middle in its current setting,

the buttressing of this sizeable monument on both sides would be desirable for structural

purposes.

To get an indication of the appearance of the lost section of the ensemble with the

chantry altar, we must turn to the crude sketches of 1646 by Daniel King (pl.16).[39]

Brownbill saw King's drawings' prime importance as confirming that the arms of Dacre,

seen in the nineteenth century before the cleaning of the Tomb, [40] were there in the

seventeenth thus strengthening the identity of the effigies. The page shows two drawings

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[38] Markus suggests that the two souls on the north side may represent John and Joan in Paradise, which added to the south side, their elevations by angels and effigies would mean they appear on the Tomb four times each. Markus pp.18-19. This will be further discussed below.

[39] King was an engraver of "decidedly modest" ability from Chester who made etchings for Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* in the 1650s. Antony Griffiths "King, Daniel (c.1616–c.1661)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15555]

[40] Whitaker p.587.

of structures containing the Harington arms. In the upper drawing, although all religious
iconography such as the sculpture on top,[41] Passion narratives and saints have been
omitted (understandable considering this sketch was made shortly after the
Parliamentarians' victory in the First Civil War) it is very clear that King was looking at
the north side of the monument much as it stands today. The number of canons beside
John's effigy is correct, with angel holding his head, and the foliate decoration of the
canopy (with its central shaft indicated but partly omitted to allow depiction of the
effigies) is recognisable. Brownbill assumed the second drawing under this to be the
opposite, south side of the Tomb with the current blank central shaft missing.[42] However, a
comparison of this drawing with pl.2 will show it has little in common with the current
south side except for the two hanging shields. There is no representation of the arch
housing the Tomb or the effigies like there is in the upper drawing. King has rather
clumsily drawn a wide ogee arch, but with a logical pattern of eight cusps either side, far
too many for it to reflect the cusps on the current canopy. The cornice he has drawn is
different to that in the upper drawing, with cusping underneath and foliate motifs in the
corners, that bears no resemblance to the current south side. These characteristics look like
reflections of Decorated Gothic, for instance the wide ogee resembles that over the tomb of
Simon of Ghent (d. 1315) in Salisbury Cathedral (pl.17c),[43] but could not have been copied
from south side of the Harington Tomb as it currently appears. It is unlikely that the south
side could have had such a different appearance in King's time, and it is more likely that
what the lower drawing represents is not any surviving portion of the Harington Tomb. If
it was a view of the opposite side to that shown in the upper drawing, the positions of the
arms of Harington and Dacre should be reversed, with the Dacre arms closest to the
viewer. Instead, the Harington arms are closest, suggesting King's second drawing is a

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[41] Brownbill does not consider this proves the sculpture was not present at the time. Brownbill (1925) p.373.
[42] Brownbill (1925) p.373.
[43] Nikolaus Pevsner rev. Bridget Cherry *Wiltshire* (London: Penguin, 1975) p.412.

view from "John's side", the north. These arms show that the structure must be to do with the Harington Tomb, so it may well be what the second drawing shows is King's view of the lost eastern altar section of the Haringtons' chantry ensemble, then standing on its own in the western bay of the Town Choir. It seems perfectly appropriate that King would draw this section if it had a second depiction of the all-important heraldry. This altar section appears to have had a wide ogee canopy, with the arms of Harington and Dacre depicted on a closed eastern end. This eastern end seems to run down to floor level, meaning that there would be space inside for an altar and celebrant. The base of the structure is drawn differently to how King shows the tomb chest in the upper drawing, maybe indicating the side of the structure recessed inwards. To imagine how the lost altar section was attached to the surviving Tomb is difficult to assess, as King's drawing of it shows no signs of being cut down, but then neither does his upper drawing of the extant section.

The lower drawing shows no means of ingress for the celebrant, so it may be that the opposite, undrawn south side of this lost section had a door formed from the springer issuing from the Crucifixion (pl.6d). It is also a possibility that the lost section was not attached directly on to the east end of the current Tomb, but against the wall, only answering the Crucifixion springer, with ingress from the west (Included on plan, pl.8c).[44] However, the position of the Tomb in the south-west corner of the Town Choir, with a smaller, ogee canopied altar section to its east and some sort of arch connecting with the west wall of the aisle is the most plausible reconstruction of the Harington chantry ensemble, and a representation of this is given on pl.15a. This arrangement would make the north side of the Tomb more visible to those entering the Town Choir explaining the greater damage to the lower levels of this side, where all three saints have lost their faces (pl.5a,b,c) and the angels immediately above them their heads (pl.10a), an indication of

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[44] The organ occupies the whole space from the west wall up to the central window so examining this wall is not possible.

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iconoclastic action at the Reformation rather than wanton vandalism of Cromwellian

troops. The carving also generally is not as sharp on the south saints, which could mean

that in the medieval period they were worn with sustained devotional touching.[45]

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[45] Although the Tomb is closer to floor level on the chancel side than the aisle, and has been so since before the Victorian trend for raising chancels (as seen in the early nineteenth century engraving of the choir in Whitaker p.585), the saints on the south side are still perfectly within reach for wearing to occur in the modern period.

II. The Workshop of the Harington Tomb

Previous scholars have placed the style of the effigies and figural sculpture in a Yorkshire context, which suggests the workshop of the Harington Tomb was an itinerant group that worked largely in this area.[46] With the exception of London it seems that tomb sculptors at this time worked on a rural basis rather than from an urban centre, so it is plausible that they travelled to nearby Lancashire to carve the Tomb on-site.[47] The fourteenth century work on Cartmel's parish aisle, possibly all under the patronage of John Harington, was multi-faceted, including architecture, stained glass and sculpture and it should be considered how the Tomb's workshop was related to this larger campaign of work.

Dating and connection with other work on the Town Choir

The first and third windows of the south wall of the Town Choir are based on geometric forms, while the centre has flowing tracery which suggests a later date (pl.15b).[48] The east window shows an interest in vertical forms towards the Perpendicular style (pl.14d),[49] therefore again indicating a date more towards the mid-century. Two sculpted corbels survive in the Town Choir, the stone of which appears darker than the Harington Tomb, and the eyes and faces have a rounder appearance (pl.13b,d). Both the stone and style is similar to the loose angel on top of the south side of the Tomb that is distinct from the original programme (pl.13a). The piscina and sedilia are again difficult to relate stylistically to the Tomb in both their handling and more elaborate shaft mouldings

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[46]For the effigies: Blair p.14 and Markus pp.7-10; for the sculpture: Markus pp.19-20.

[47] Sally Badham "What constituted a Workshop and how did Workshops operate?" in *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (eds.) (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010) pp.31-34.

[48] Dickinson proposes this to be due to the centre bay being used as a gap to remove the original vaulting. Dickinson (1991) pp.73-74.

[49] Hyde and Pevsner p.270.

(pl.13c,e).[50] That the two centre pieces of the sedilia canopy are of red sandstone shows that the sculpture of this campaign seems to have used a wider variety of stone than the Harington Tomb's single type. The only external decoration of the Town Choir is a pinnacle on its south-east corner (pl.15b), which again shows a handling distinct from the Tomb. It seems then that the initial expansion of the Town Choir, including the two geometric windows, roof corbels, sedilia and piscina and perhaps a reredos including some of the loose figures on the south side of the Harington Tomb formed the first campaign of work.

The painted wooden tester above the effigies (pl.14a) provides evidence for a second campaign comprising the more modern tracery, surviving glazing and Lord Harington's own tomb c.1340. The tester's planks were only returned to the correct order in the 1980s[51] and therefore the piece has been understudied in early fourteenth century English panel painting, a field with very few surviving examples.[52] Despite its perhaps *retardataire* style,[53] it appears to have been an impressive piece done by a very capable painter, which may seem odd given the uneven quality of the sculpture of the Tomb. Hebgin-Barnes makes the general observation that the style of the Jesse Tree window, in-situ at the east end of the Town Choir (pl.14b,c,d), is very close to that of the tester.[54] Indeed, the best surviving part of Christ, the detail of His feet with their rather mannered, finger-like toes, find close parallel with the foot of the angel of the Annunciation (pl.14b).

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[50] Moulding profiles of sedilia and Tomb given in Paley and Austin (eds.) pls.71-72.

[51] Anna Hulbert "New Discoveries – The Priory Church of St Mary and Michael, Cartmel, North Lancashire (Now Cumbria)" in *The Conservator as Art Historian* Anna Hulbert, Julie Marsden, and Victoria Todd (eds.) (London: United Kingdom Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1992) Although Hulbert states there would not be enough space for Christ's missing head and the two further Evangelist symbols within the remaining available space, this is debatable. This study assumes the lost parts would have fit on the space represented by the five modern planks to the west.

[52] For the problems of dating English panel painting, see: Paul Binski "Style and date" in *Dominican Painting in East Anglia: the Thornham Parva retable and the Musée de Cluny frontal* Christopher Norton, David Park, Paul Binski (eds.) (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987) pp.57-81.

[53] Pevsner's remarks in 1969 that the tester "looks more c.1300 than 1350", reflect more on the poverty of examples of English monumental painting and the provincial location of the painting than any serious concern as to the monument's date. Nikolaus Pevsner *North Lancashire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969) p.90.

[54] Penny Hebgin-Barnes *The Medieval Stained Glass of Lancashire* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009) p.clxv, p.50.

There is no evidence that glass painters could also work on panel in England,[55] but even if the glass and tester were not painted by the same man, the similarities suggest they were made at a similar time. Hebgin-Barnes dates the glass to 1330-40, which is companionable with the Tomb. Since both the sculpture and glass can be associated with York, it may be suggested that the itinerant workshop was self-contained and often undertook multi-faceted commissions of architecture, glass and interior decoration.

The Nature of the Tomb Workshop and the unfinished state of the Tomb

Lindley's profile of the English sculptor of the Decorated Style, with reference to the Lady Chapel at Ely, shows that unlike Italy where masons could specialise in features such as hair,[56] in England work was more "block stratified" than "task stratified".[57] The labour on the Harington Tomb does indeed seem to have been block stratified. For instance, the finials on the two eastern shafts are very closely integrated with the adjacent angels in a way that suggests they are done by one hand, but the angels themselves are clearly done by different sculptors (pl.10). On the north shaft the angel is sculpted more in the round with complicated drapery patterns (pl.10a), on the south shaft the drapery is more rigid, and the feet crudely shown on a single plane (pl.10c).

However, no case study can be demonstrative of all medieval workshop practice, and applying a particular model to separate the hands in the Harington Tomb encounters difficulties. Dawton's influential essay on the Percy Tomb identified five hands in its

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[55] In thirteenth century Italy, the so-called Master of Saint Francis has been associated with works in fresco, panel, glass and manuscript: Frank Martin "The St. Francis Master in the Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi: Some Considerations regarding His Origins" *Gesta* 35 (1996); and in the fourteenth century the Master of the Fogg Pieta worked in a similar variety of media. Richard Offner with Klara Steinweg continued under the direction of Miklós Boskovits and Mina Gregori. *A critical and historical corpus of Florentine painting Section III: The Fourteenth Century; Vol. IX: The painters of the Miniaturist tendency* (Florence: Giunti Barbéra Publ., 1984) pp.60-66.

[56] For this see the seminal study: John White "The Reliefs on the Façade of the Duomo at Orvieto" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22:3/4 (1959) p.287.

[57] Phillip Lindley *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995) pp.16-21.

sculpture, almost entirely block stratified, although sculptors seem to specialise in certain figure types, for instance the "Soul Master" only carves the fully in the round figures on the pinnacles (pl.20b), while the "Annunciation Master" is responsible for all the relief carving of the south side of the canopy (pl.20c).[58] In her similar survey of the Harington Tomb, Markus identifies the "Effigy Master", to whom she attributes, together with the effigies, the "weeper figures and attendant angels, … the canons on the tomb chest, and some of the main figures on top of the tester, including Christ Enthroned and the Coronation of the Virgin";[59] the "Yorkshire Master" who carved the saints in niches and is supposed identical with the hand who carved similar portions of the Shrine of St. William at York,[60] and the "Column Master", a primarily architectural mason who is responsible for the cruder figures.[61] These three men then come from different backgrounds and regions and were brought together at Cartmel.[62]

One of Markus' key attributes of the Effigy Master's style is his "figures are free of an architectural framework"[63] with which she implies an unique artistic character for him, where his contributions are partly defined by his willingness to break away from the frames of the Gothic norm. However, the canons beside John's effigy are of a greater quality and height than Joan's, meaning that at least two separate hands worked on these "unconfined" figures (pl.4a,b). The saints of the shaft niches similarly do not seem to be by the same hand. The Virgin, St. Catherine and the Baptist (pl.5a,e,f) have much finer and

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[58] Nicholas Dawton "The Percy Tomb Workshop" in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* Christopher Wilson (ed.) (London: British Archaeological Association, 1989).
[59] Markus pp.7-12. Also seen as close, if not identical, with work on the shrine of St. Werburgh at Chester, pp.20-21.
[60] Markus p.15, pp.19-20.The York saints are carved in the round, while the Cartmel saints are in relief, and while Markus supposes this is a development of the artist's style between York and Cartmel, it seems more of a regression, and weakens the case for any direct connection.
[61] Markus pp.12-15.
[62] Markus p.21.
[63] Markus p.12.

more flowing draperies than the rigid robes of the other saints (pl.5b,c,d).[64] Similar motifs

can be seen throughout the sculpture, the curly hairstyles in particular, and it is this

distinction of quality and capability, rather than artistic choice and specialisation, that

differentiates hands.[65] For instance, the angels of Joan's elevation (pl.7a) and the Christ

Child in the Virgin's arms (pl.5e) share the technique of the hairstyle of the trumpeting

angels of the south shafts (pl.10c), yet the wholly naïve quality of the latter's feet show

they are clearly not by the artist who achieves the sense of space in the elevation scene.

It has been said that the head of a medieval workshop is directly opposed to the art

historian, while the former tries as much as possible to conceal individual styles, the latter

seeks to uncover them.[66] When one tries to attribute hands in the case of the Harington

Tomb, collaboration blurs the edges of individuals to the point where the whole exercise

becomes unfeasible. However, it is interesting to note that the distinctly cruder figure

carving such as the trumpeting angels, some of the Passion scenes and John's elevation

does not start until the upper levels of the Tomb. This use of hands perhaps unused to work

beyond solely decorative and architectural elements may be due to a disruption that

occurred during the production of the monument.

Markus has drawn attention to how there is unexecuted diaper work next to the

Baptist and St. Catherine (pl.5a,f),[67] and these sections are highlighted in blue on pl.8a,b.

However, on the very much hidden east face of these eastern shafts, it appears that two

saints were completely abandoned for some reason in the original campaign of work. The

east face of the south-east shaft has a carved pinnacle over a niche with an uncarved base

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[64] St. Peter is difficult to assess because he is so badly obscured. It would be desirable to attribute him to the same hand as the Virgin, making a fully block stratified pattern, but he does seem to mostly resemble the saints on the north-west shaft, meaning two sculptors worked on this block.

[65] Rigge was the first to make this kind of stylistic analysis on the Tomb, observing the hair and wings of the angels are "all arranged in the same manner as they would by the same hand", from the effigy block to the canopy work. Rigge p.118.

[66] Bruno Zarnardi "Giotto and the Saint Francis Cycle at Assisi" in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto* Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) p.61.

[67] Markus p.7.

which has been carved flat rather than with a saint. The north-east shaft has a similarly empty niche, this time with a carved base, but the pinnacle is only a cone waiting final detailing.[68] These incomplete portions are perhaps one reason that the seventeenth century relocation appears so inconsiderate, but in fact it seems the short sides were hidden as there was little to see.

While the unexecuted diaper work on its own would not be particularly remarkable,[69] these parts to the east imply more seriously that work did not run entirely smoothly. This unfinished work may mark when one sculptor departed, around the point when the saints were being carved, leaving a number of blocks at various states of incompletion. The highest block of this sculptor may be from the north-east shaft, bearing a censing angel (pl.10a) with a finished finial to its right (pl.10b) and the uncarved cone to its left. After this, less capable hands had to step in. Above St. Catherine and the empty niche on the south-east shaft, a sculptor not used to figure sculpture was drafted in to carve two complete finials with a clumsy trumpeting angel in between (pl.10c,d). This hand before may have only been limited to blocks such as the purely foliate sections of the tomb chest, but the quality of his finials (pl.10d) shows he was an adept sculptor outside of figures.

Rather than attribute this disruption to a cataclysm such as the Black Death, it is more likely to be something directly concerning the monument. The head sculptor may have had to depart this unusually large and bespoke commission to attend to another project, leaving his deputy and reduced workforce to complete the Tomb without him, forcing the incorporation of some incomplete blocks into the monument to save time. It

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[68] These portions are so close to the wall it is extremely difficult to photograph them without them just being pictures of blank stone.

[69] Example of apparently missing diaper include St. Werberg's Shrine at Chester: John Maddison "Master Masons in the Diocese of Lichfield: A Study in Fourteenth Century Architecture of the Time of the Black Death" *Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 85 (1988) p.113; and Westminster Abbey, here related to a change in the motif's size due to financial constraints. Paul Binski *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995) pp.26-27.

may also be that the assumed eastern altar section was not planned from the outset and that it hid the eastern face, making the rear saints redundant. The subsequent extra workload would then necessitate the use of less refined hands on the superstructure of the Tomb.

The Cartmel workshop can then show us evidence that some medieval English sculptors were communicating common motifs in a shop environment to give wherever they could an even appearance to their collaborations, and could be fluid with regard to assigning responsibilities. The block stratification method inevitably led to occasional incongruities, such as the height of the effigies' canons, but considering the scale of the project, this workshop did a largely successful job.

IV. The Harington Tomb and the development of chantry tombs

That a chantry was founded at Cartmel for John and Joan Harington is only indicated by the survival of their unusual tomb. However, Wood, in her study of the cage chantries at the Austin Christchurch Priory shows how our picture of the number of chantries established in England may be skewed by two reasons peculiar to the Austins. Firstly, a chantry where the masses were celebrated by the existing canons rather than a newly created chantry priest may have been a more informal agreement.[70] Secondly, as the Austin houses were suppressed in the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536, the commemorative masses were unlikely to have been continued afterwards and thus not recorded in the Edwardian abolition of the chantries in 1547.[71] For existing canons to maintain a chantry was attractive, as it ensured its continuation as long as the house existed, avoiding the problems associated with maintaining secular chantry priests,[72] sometimes characterised as a "clerical proletariat".[73]

That the Austin Canons, the most numerous order in England,[74] became more popular with lay benefactors in the fourteenth century is shown by the family mausoleums at St. Augustine's Abbey (Now Bristol Cathedral) and Guisborough Priory.[75] John's father, Robert (d.1297) is likely commemorated at the Benedictine Calder Abbey along with two other contemporary military effigies,[76] but his great-great grandson William (d.1457) was buried at the Austin Conishead Priory.[77] John, in choosing the Austin Priory of Cartmel, not the closest church to his seat at Aldingham, may have begun this family

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[70] Wood p.249.

[71] Wood pp.245-246.

[72] Wood p.247; Joan Evans *English Art 1307-1461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) p.183.

[73] Paul Binski *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) p.116; Kreider p.29.

[74] Dickinson (1950) p.59.

[75] Evans pp.176-177.

[76] Mark Downing *Military effigies of England and Wales. Vol. 1, Bedfordshire-Derbyshire* (Shrewsbury: Monumental Books, 2010) pp.91-93.

[77] Dickinson also believes John Harington III (d.1418) left money in his will for the grand east window of Cartmel. John Compton Dickinson "Three pre-Reformation documents concerning South Cumbria" *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Historical Society* 86 (1986) pp.129-130.

preference for the order, and the move away from Calder would have made an important statement about his family's new beginning and status as members of the Peerage.[78] William's will of 1457 may be similar to John's made a century before for the scope of his patronage and subsequent reward. In return for 100 marks for leading the choir roof and various other lavish material endowments, William Harington ensured a daily mass would be said in his chantry chapel and an annual requiem mass performed.[79] These two important aspects of commemoration are perhaps what is represented by the two sets of canons on the Harington Tomb.

The canons of Cartmel may have felt that they had space for such an ostentatious tomb, as their founder was William Marshal, a powerful knight who also founded two Cistercian Abbeys and was buried in the Temple Church, London.[80] While this association with such an influential individual would no doubt have been a point of pride for the Priory,[81] it did mean that they had no founder buried in their church. John Harington may have proved a suitable replacement, and commemorated to a level that would otherwise have suited the founder in his area of benefaction.

The monument, in its presumed original position at the west end of the Town Choir, would have been viewable from the high altar through the arcade (pl.8c).[82] The canons may have also had to process past it via the south transept when leaving their complex then on the south side.[83] The monument would make sure that the canons were

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[78] Karen Stöber *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007) p.144.
[79] John Brownbill "Lord Haringon and Conishead" *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 74 (1922); Dickinson (1986) pp.130-131.
[80] David Park "Medieval Burials and Monuments" in *The Temple Church in London. History, Architecture, Art* Robin Griffith Jones and David Park (eds.) (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010) pp.76-80
[81] The Marshal's arms survive in glass in the Town Choir and were recorded in the west window: Hebgin-Barnes p.48, p.74.
[82] For the importance of view-shed analysis in chantry study, see: Simon Roffey *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007) pp.39-41, p.76, pp.115-118.
[83] As with the tomb of John Gower at the Austin Priory of St. Marie Overie, Southwark. Roffey (2007) p.106.

constantly reminded of their duty to say a daily mass for John by the "mental trigger" it

most effectively provided.[84]

Relation to other tombs with a chantry function

The reconstruction of the monument given in pl.15a suggests a unique design with

no direct parallel in chantry architecture, however the pattern of tomb survival is skewed

towards country gentry in isolated parishes, and a prototype for the Harington Tomb may

have existed in a well-connected monastery such as nearby Furness, lost at the

Dissolution.[85] Cage chantries are rare in parish churches, but they could have been more

common, especially if some of them used timber screens.[86] In the Harington Tomb, the

tomb chest seems to have represented the full breadth of the monument which sets it apart

from the cage chantry, where a chest and effigy set fully within an enclosure gives the

sense of a self-contained "building within a building" (pl.17a).[87] However, with the

hypothetical altar enclosure at its east end, it also seems slightly more enclosed and private

than the type identified by Cook in his survey of chantry chapels as a "chantry tomb", the

"next best thing" to a chantry chapel, where space was left at the end of the tomb chest for

the priest to perform offices. [88] The examples of this type, including Chaucer at

Westminster Abbey (d.1400) and Bishop Redman at Ely (d.1505)[89] (pl.17d) are later in

date, and the canopy is a single arcade over the whole ensemble, rather than the apparently

[84] Elizabeth Valdez Del Alamo with Carol Stamatis Prendergast (eds.) *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (London: Ashgate, 2000) pp.1-8.
[85] Nigel Saul *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009) pp.55-56.
[86] Roffey (2007) p.43. Two stone cages survive either side of the choir in of S. Mary Magdelene, Newark, although this church approaches cathedral proportions.
[87] This is apparently the conclusion on the monument reached in the currently forthcoming Julian Luxford "The origins and development of the cage chantry chapel" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164 (2011).
[88] George Cook *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London: Phoenix House, 1947) p.67. Although Cook says space was provided at the "western end", his examples contradict this: Redman's tomb has space at the east, as is invariably the case with cage chantries. Chaucer's, unusually, has space to the south as it is set in the east wall of the south transept.
[89] Cook p.87. Redman's effigy lost his feet (now restored) at some point, although the tomb chest does not appear to have been truncated. Lindley (1995) pp.91-92.

self-contained canopies for the two sections proposed here for the Harington chantry ensemble. The idea that the Tomb "screened" the space to its south side is similar to the function of Bishop Fleming's (d.1431, chantry founded c.1425) tomb at Lincoln, in which the western-most bay is occupied by a door to his chantry chapel on the north (pl.17b).[90]

It has been suggested that the peculiarly English form of the cage chantry is linked to space constraints, namely that the low vaults of cathedrals prohibited the construction of chapels between lateral buttresses as on the continent,[91] and this seeming unique design at Cartmel could similarly be a product of the demand for a dedicated altar within the constraints of the architectural space. John could not take over the side-aisle altar for himself because it was the parish church. Since there are only two open bays between the aisle and choir (one currently blocked by the choir stalls, as it probably was in the fourteenth century) setting his tomb within the arcade may have unacceptably limited access to the choir from the south. Instead he had a semi-private space created at the west end of the Town Choir. It is perhaps not too surprising this seemingly isolated development happened in the north of England, where chantries were very popular, disproportionate to its much lower population and wealth than the south.[92] Although the Harington Tomb seems an impressive commission now, it appears entirely appropriate to John's status as a new member of the minor gentry when viewed in comparison to the most splendid form of ecclesiastical benefaction and individual advertisement, the *de novo* foundation of an entire monastery or chantry college that some of the nobility could afford to make.[93]

The "weeper" figures and representation of chantry arrangements

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[90] Cook pp.111-112.

[91] Howard Colvin *Architecture and the After-life* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1991) pp.161-70.

[92] Alan Kreider *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1979) p.15.

[93] Joel Rosenthal *Nobles and the Noble Life* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976) pp.94-95.

The so-called weeper figures that surround funerary effigies (they are not always shown as mourning, but they are referred to with this term in late medieval contracts[94]) serve broadly as a motif of solidarity of the living with the dead,[95] and sometimes perhaps as mnemonic devices for further individuals to receive commemorative prayers.[96] Unusually, the Harington Tomb appears to represent thirteen canons of the Priory twice, pointing to a different function. [97]

Flanking the effigies and carved from the same block, seven beside John and six beside Joan, are lateral figures (pl.3a,b) who can be seen to wear the long robe, gown and scapular of an Austin,[98] similar to the dress of the effigy of a canon beside the Harington Tomb's south side, likely displaced from his wall-niche by it.[99] All of the figures have at least been decapitated. Three of John's can be seen to place their hand on the shoulder of the figure in front (pl.4a), while Joan's stand separate with open books (pl.4b), except for the second from the west who may hold a scroll.

Around the base of the Tomb are sixteen little figures (pl.4c,d,e). Here the three unhooded figures on the south side may be distinguished from the others as their youthful curly hair, and small tonsure of the right-most, suggest they may be novices (pl.4d),

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[94] The phrase "les ymages appalez morners" occurs in a 1421 contract for an effigy for Bisham Abbey, reprinted in: Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk "'C'est Endenture Fait Parente' English tomb Contracts of the Long Fourteenth Century" in Badham and Oosterwijk (eds.) pp.229-231.

[95] Paul Binski *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) p.99.

[96] Anne McGee Morganstern "The Tomb as Prompter for the Chantry" in Valdez del Alamo and Prendergast (eds.) (2000a).

[97] We do not know how many canons were at the Priory at the time of the Tomb, but thirteen is the "ideal", as it imitates Christ and the Apostles, and is suggested as the number at the Priory's foundation. The first recorded number of canons at Cartmel is seven in 1381, and it was ten at the Dissolution. Dickinson (1991) p.28. Interestingly enough, we have another (fragmentary) group portrait of the canons of Cartmel in fifteenth century glass from the Priory preserved at Bowness church. Hebgin-Barnes p.49, p.363; Dickinson (1980) pp.87-88.

[98] The Harington figures are described as "poor bedesmen, alluding to the charitable acts of the deceased" in Simon Roffey *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008) p.159; and "true weepers" in Saul (2009) p.167.

[99] For the Austin effigy, see: Dickinson (1985) pp.121-122; for the dress of the Austins, see: John Willis Clark *The Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1897) pp.lxxiii-lxxxii.

making this a second group portrait of the thirteen Priory staff. They are all apparently

singing from books, some huddled together in groups.

Pevsner's comment that the upper figures being carved from the same block is

unique to England has proved influential.[100] Markus suggested it shows the Cartmel

sculptors' familiarity with continental trends, citing destroyed French tombs recorded by

Gaignieres and extant Spanish examples.[101] However, a fourteenth century tomb at

Birdsall (E. Yorks.) shows that it was in fact not an isolated development (pl.18a). Moved

from the ruined old church to the new church on its construction in 1823-4, an effigy of a

lady of the Briddesall family is surrounded by six figures.[102] The effigy's position in a wall

niche may reflect its original setting, as diaper work has only been executed on the edge

facing out. The front four figures appear to be armoured knights, perhaps the lady's family,

and the back two figures wear long robes and are therefore likely to be priests. Like the

canons of the Harington Tomb, all the figures hold books, except one of the priests who

holds a scroll. It seems as if a long scroll originally ran along the side of the monument

perhaps bearing a painted inscription that appealed for prayer.[103]

While figures beside the effigies on continental tombs often clearly represent

funerary rites or processions,[104] in England figures on the effigy block seem more likely to

represent arrangements made for chantry prayers. At the feet of William of Wykeham's

(d.1404) effigy in Winchester are three monks, representing the stipulation in his will that

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[100] Pevsner (1969) p.89; repeated in Hyde and Pevsner p.272.

[101] Markus pp.17-18. The link to a continental prototype recorded by Gaignieres was first made by Crossley in the catalogue entry for the Tomb in: Paul Crossley "Cartmel Priory, Lancashire. The Harrington Tomb" in *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West* Jonathan Alexander (ed.) (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, 1976) pp.87-88.

[102] Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave *York and the East Riding* (London: Penguin, 1995) p.326

[103] Much of this scroll has broken off and the parts where it touches the body are all that remains. Although the tomb would have suffered damage it may be that this was a rather over-ambitious idea by the artist as it surely would be very delicate even by the late middle ages.

[104] As seen very clearly on the Tomb of Armengol VII: James Rorimer "A Fourteenth Century Catalan Tomb at the Cloisters and Related Monuments" *Art Bulletin* 13:4 (1931) fig.1.

he was to be provided with three daily masses (pl.18d).[105] An early fourteenth century Yorkshire tomb that incorporates figures with books at the feet of the effigy is that of Brian Fitzlan at Bedale (N. Yorks) (pl.18b).[106] This is a motif that would become very popular in the fifteenth century,[107] but it seems that northern workshops were catering for the growing institution of the chantry with these novel designs a little earlier. While little figures carved together with the effigy may be rarer in England at this period than subsequent centuries, clerics with books appear on many other contemporary monuments, such as the sides of the tomb chest of Bishop Henry Burghersh in Lincoln Cathedral (pl.18c). The bishop set up a chantry in 1336, eight years before his death, and the arcade of his tomb chest depicts five canons at lecterns, suggested to represent the perpetual prayers.[108]

While it is difficult to argue conclusively which represents which, the two "group portraits" of the canons at Cartmel may represent, as mentioned in connection with their descendant's 1457 will, the two important arrangements that John and Joan made with the Priory. The reason for a second depiction may be to commemorate the second part of the Haringtons' commemoration aside from the daily chantry masses: the annual re-enactment of their funeral, a common requirement in the Middle Ages.[109] This agreement may never have been committed to parchment, but instead was made orally and "sealed" in stone, which would surely have been more powerful than a document that could have been forgotten in the Priory archives.

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[105] Cook p.91.

[106] For the dating of the Bedale effigy see Park, pp.90-91.

[107] Clerks with books next to the feet of Archbishop Chichele's effigy are mentioned by Wilson as "an innovation" in 1426 when the tomb was completed. Christopher Wilson "The Medieval Monuments" in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995) pp.476-481; however it may be a much older motif, identified in an effigy c.1240 in Fred Crossley *English Church Monuments* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921) p.132.

[108] Morganstern (2000a) p.84; Saul (2009) p.125.

[109] For this institution, see Clive Burgess "A Service for the Dead: The Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol" *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 105 (1987).

The detail of the central canons on both sides of the tomb chest holding up the base of the central shaft is an intriguing one, carefully rendered, that deserves attention as to its significance (pl.4c). The detail is paralleled in a wall tomb c.1320 at Pendomer (Somerset) where figures hold up the canopy above (pl.19a).[110] As well as these very striking literal supporters, representations of contemporarily dressed individuals are common under shafts on freestanding monuments, for instance the usually unnoticed and quite strikingly literal weepers, including a woman drying her eye with her veil, shown under the main shafts of the Percy Tomb in Beverley Minster on the aisle side (pl.20d). On the so-called "Two Sisters Tomb" in the same church, four highly individual busts act as corbels for the interior shafts of the now anonymous tomb (pl.19b).[111] Arched wall tombs often feature heads as label-stops, such as at Harpham, (E. Yorks.) (pl.19c). Usually these are thought of as purely decorative or representing further beneficiaries of chantry arrangements,[112] but since the Harington Tomb allows us to identify the supporters as representative of individuals involved with the affairs of the deceased, one is lead to think that their "supporting role" in the monument is a visual pun. In the case of tombs where representations number from around two to four, they may represent the executors of the will. While later wills occasionally stipulated the appearance of a monument, often its form seems to have been dictated by the executors,[113] and it is possible that it may have been standard to include these fairly innocuous semi-portraits as proof of their legal status and involvement in the affairs of the deceased.[114] The executors for Cardinal Longhi

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[110] Nikolaus Pevsner *South and West Somerset* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958) pp.270-271, pl.33.
[111] Nicholas Dawton "The Medieval Monuments" in *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History* Rosemary Horrox (ed.) (Beverley: Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000) pp.146-148.
[112] Morganstern (2000a).
[113] Badham and Oosterwijk p.191.
[114] For tombs' uses as legal proof see Julian Luxford "Tombs as forensic evidence in medieval England" *Church Monuments* 24 (2009).

(d.1319) were assigned in his will the choice of his burial place, and his tomb, now in

Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, has two men holding up the base of his tomb.[115]

      The Harington Tomb then can be seen as representative of the widening popularity

of chantries in the first part of the fourteenth century, which encouraged artists to respond

with the invention of novel imagery and a creative approach to individual architectural

settings.

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[115] Their heavy load also well reflects the enormous cost incurred moving the Cardinal's body from Avignon to Bergamo. Julian Gardner "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design" *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973) p.436.

V. Agents and audience of the religious imagery

However, the Harington Tomb's elaborate programme of saints, Passion scenes and the monumental sculpture seems designed to do more than just represent the terms of the Haringtons' chantry arrangements and provide a venue for their masses. At this period, before the urbanisation and beginnings of "mass production" that came with the introduction of alabaster, the more rural nature of tomb sculpture allowed for much contact between clients and patrons.[116] The Tomb's imagery will now be looked at from the perspective of the devotional requirements of the Haringtons themselves, and then in the wider context of the Austin Canons and their congregation.

The Haringtons

There is no rule that we can follow for the erection of funerary monuments, there being positive evidence indicating it could take place both before and after the individual's death.[117] In the case of cage chantries many were in use in the commemorated's lifetime, such as William of Wykeham's at Winchester.[118] With the date of the Harington Tomb assumed as c.1340, it may be that John had it built well before his death in 1347 and that he was an active agent in deciding the iconography. John's soul is being taken up to a Coronation of the Virgin (pl.11b), which is also above the tomb of Sir Peter, Lord Grandisson in Hereford Cathedral (pl.21b),[119] and the soul of Sir Hugh Hastings is brought up to it in a napkin on his brass at Elsing (Norfolk) (pl.21c).[120] This shows that the scene

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[116] Saul (2009) p.82.

[117] Paul Binski "The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses" in *The Earliest English brasses: Patronage, Style, and Workshops, 1270-1350* John Coales (ed.) (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1987) p.70; Park pp.90-91.

[118] Cook p.62. They could be erected centuries later in the case of founders at monasteries, i.e. Lord Fitzharmon at Tewkesbury, Cook pp.142-143.

[119] This tomb, with its similar subject and mid-century "increased feeling for the horizontal" is associated with the Harington Tomb in Evans pp.167-168; and Crossley (1921) p.62.

[120] Paul Binski "The Coronation of the Virgin on the Hastings Brass at Elsing, Norfolk" *Church Monuments* 1 (1985).

of Mary's Coronation was not an uncommon choice for knights to associate with their effigies.[121]

Joan's date of death is not known, but it is also possible she could have commissioned the Harington Tomb towards the end of the 1340s after her husband's death. Above the elevation of her soul is the monumental Christ showing His Wounds (pl.12b), which also appeared above the tomb of Enguerrand de Marigny (Ecouis, France) (pl.21a) which had a similar flat upper canopy to the Harington Tomb.[122] This could also be seen as an appropriate choice, as it has been suggested that women showed a gendered interest towards the body and wounds of Christ.[123] Female agency is shown by the tomb of Alice de la Pole (d.1475) at Ewelme (Oxon.)[124] and has been suggested in the double monument to Henry IV (d.1413) and Joan Navarre, (d.1437) in that she ensured her heraldry on the tester was as prominent as her husband's.[125] One striking feature of the Harington Tomb that is not often remarked upon is the pronounced divergence in quality between the elevations of the souls on each side (pl.7). Joan's side is carved by a very capable sculptor, who cleverly shows the bodies of one of the angels recessing into fictive space, perhaps inspired by work on the Percy Tomb at Beverley (pl.20c). The sculpture of John's elevation however is clumsily proportioned and completely flat, with the angels existing on a two dimensional plane. However, an attempt has been made to show weight and effort, and perhaps directly imitates the other elevation. We should not assume that medieval commissioners of art were any less sensitive to such obvious gulfs in levels of

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[121] The significance of the Coronation in death and judgement will be discussed below.
[122] Jean Adhemar with Gertrude Dordor "Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignieres. Dessins d'Archaeologie di XVIIe siecle" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84 (1974) p.110; Markus p.19; First associated with Harington Tomb in Evans pp.167-168.
[123] Saul (2009) p.308.
[124] Saul (2009) pp.297-299.
[125] Wilson pp.499-500.

ability than we are, and here it may be that the living individual secured the best sculpture for themselves.[126]

The saints of the Harington Tomb are unusual for its date, becoming more common in the decorative repertoire in the fifteenth century.[127] An early example of the foregoing of Earthly weepers for saints is the tomb of Richard II (d.1400) at Westminster Abbey, but this can be attributed to the fact that he produced no offspring, not the case for the Haringtons.[128] However, the saints flanking the view of the Harington's effigies may represent their personal choices, on John's side are a bishop and his name-saint, the Baptist (pl.5a,b), while Joan has two female saints, the Virgin and St. Catherine (pl.5e,f). The Christ child plays with the Virgin's headdress and holds a goldfinch, motifs that go beyond mere attributes and suggest that the sculpture was designed to appeal to the viewer and excite their devotion, like a full-page miniature of the same subject in an illuminated manuscript.[129] The choice of the Haringtons to have only the Austin Canons and saints represented on their tomb may seem unusual when compared with the more common "kinship tombs" that show the children of the effigies[130] or in the case of Thomas Cantelupe at Hereford Cathedral and the brass of Hugh Hastings at Elsing (pl.21c), their military brothers-in-arms. Observations before the removal of the whitewash destroyed all traces of paint suggest that the only arms displayed on the monument were that of Harington and perhaps Dacre (pl.15c).[131] From this we might deduce that John had a very

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[126] The Percy Tomb's canopy is thought by Dawton to relegate the lesser carvers to the side not visible from the altar. Dawton (2000) p.144.

[127] Brian Kemp *English Church Monuments* (London: Batsford, 1980) p.29.

[128] Badham and Oosterwijk p.209. The saints stated in the contract do not survive. How unusual it would be for a tomb of this date to feature saints is emphasised in Phillip Lindley "Absolution and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture" *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.) (London: Harvey Miller, 1997) p.64.

[129] For instance in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle. Coldstream p.180.

[130] Ann McGee Morganstern *Gothic tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA: PA State UP, 2000b).

[131] It is not clear in Whitaker's account whether the currently blank shields were painted with the Harington fretty arms along with the ones that still carved with the design five times on the north side (pl.3d), but they are thus represented on his engraving. He also observes the arms of Dacre painted above Joan on the modern

strong individual sense of self-importance, with little desire to show links with other

gentry or any indication of his ancestry or progeniture. However, it may be the Haringtons'

genealogical ambition was symbolised elsewhere, namely the Jesse Tree in the east

window that, as mentioned above, may have been installed simultaneously with the

Harington Tomb (pl.14d). The unusual nature of the commission, in some ways occupying

the east end of a parish church, but not used by the canons of the Priory for their own

personal liturgy, may have given the benefactor a degree of control over its design. The

grand Jesse Tree now in St. Mary's Shrewsbury, was made under the patronage of a

similar newly-made magnate, John Charlton of Powis, (d.1353) shown kneeling at the base

of the window, and originally came from the Franciscan Friary where he and his wife were

buried.[132] The combination of Christ's ancestry with the shields of the patrons could have

been a powerful statement of the right to rule being passed through progeniture.[133]

Furthermore, Hebgin-Barnes notes that the Cartmel Jesse is unique within surviving

examples in that only one of the surviving ancestors of Christ is shown as a seated king.

The others are shown in standing pairs that highlight close relationships such as father-son

and grandfather-grandson (pl.14c),[134] and may be due to the Haringtons wishing to

highlight genealogy within the Tree of Jesse rather than just a display of the ancestors of

Christ.

The tester painting directly over the effigies is one last element that may have been

a personal choice of the Haringtons (pl.14a). Cartmel seems to be the very first surviving

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arch, which obviously is post-reformation and therefore the painted arms of the canopy could have been modern too. Whitaker pp.586-587.

[132] Cyril Edgar Jarman *The Story of St. Mary's Shrewsbury* (Gloucester: British Publishing Co., [19--]) pp.35-39; John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner *Shropshire* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2006) p.531.

[133] The sinister side of the Harington arms survives in a south window of the Town Choir, and although it is difficult to date, could be fourteenth century and belong in the aisle. Hebgin-Barnes p.75.

[134] That this design was unusual is further highlighted by the fact the same cartoon has been used for two of the extant double kings. Hebgin-Barnes p.50.

example of a painted wooden tester,[135] a genre that became very popular with royalty, for

instance Edward the Black Prince (d.1376) and Henry IV at Canterbury and Richard II at

Westminster, and may have developed from cloth Majesties that hung over the funerary

chariots at royal funerals.[136] This makes the Harington Tomb once again an unusual

provincial pioneer, although providing imagery above effigies seems to have been not

uncommon in the first part of the fourteenth century, with examples for two Bishops at

Exeter.[137] Some of this imagery, such as over Alice de la Pole's lower effigy of her rotting

cadaver at Ewelme, is all but invisible to any other viewer.[138] The remains of ironwork in

the shafts of the Harington Tomb (visible on pl.1,2 and prominently sticking out in top left

of pl.10d) may very well be medieval and would have then made the tester one of the

more private parts of the decoration, and easily "seen" only by the Harington's effigies.[139]

The Black Prince's tester (pl.21d), although in the later International Style rather than

Cartmel's more linear Gothic, provides a good parallel of subject and medium as it shows

a depiction of the Trinity with the symbols of the Evangelists at its corners.[140] This subject

was likely of significance to the Prince as he was born on Trinity Sunday,[141] which

suggests the images designed for effigies to contemplate in perpetuity could be personal

choices.

Wider audiences – The Canons and Congregation

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[135] Pamela Tudor-Craig "The Wilton Diptych in the context of contemporary English panel painting" in Gordon, Monnas and Elam (eds.) p.207.

[136] Lisa Monnas "Textiles from the Funerary Achievement of Henry V" in *The Lancastrian Court: proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium* Jenny Stratford (ed.) (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003) pp.128-129; Wilson p.297 n.202; Evans pp.165-166.

[137] Bishop Grandisson's is low-relief sculpture, while Stapledon's is painted on to the canopy of his niche. Coldstream pp.96-97.

[138] Saul (2009) pp.173-174.

[139] These railings are noticed on the south side in Gaythorpe (1882) p.95, but are noticeable on both sides. Ironwork may have been an integral part of many medieval tombs, surviving for instance on Eleanor of Castille's at Westminster, Crossley (1921) pp.165-168; and around Sir Hugh Calveley's (d. 1394) effigy at Bunbury, Cheshire. Nikolaus Pevsner *Cheshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) pp.119-120.

[140] Marie-Louise Sauerberg, Ray Marchant, Lucy Wrapson "The Tester over the Tomb of Edward the Black Prince" in Badham and Oosterwijk (eds.).

[141] Sauerberg, Marchant, Wrapson pp.165-166.

So far the Tomb's programme has been looked at with reference to the demands of those lying within it. Yet the canons' requirements with regard to their congregation should also be considered. Despite their ubiquity in England, the Augustinian Canons and their place in society have not received as much attention from scholars as the monastic orders.[142] Although we should be careful not to characterise them as a preaching order, with a concern for the cure of souls on the level of the Mendicants,[143] they had a less rigorous liturgical day than the closed orders,[144] with a greater emphasis on pastoral care.[145] An interest in conditioning the imagery of artistic production may have played a part in their relationship with the laity. A Yorkshire effigy workshop has been hypothesised to operate from the Austin Priory at Guisborough during its building works,[146] and they have been suggested as influencing the subject matter of a fourteenth century Book of Hours in Lancashire.[147]

Reception of the programme: a comparison with the Percy Tomb

Firstly it may be useful to compare the Harington Tomb with another important funerary monument that may have had multiple audiences and function beyond that of a tomb. The Percy Tomb, c.1340, in Beverley Minster is the only comparable funerary monument to the Harington Tomb in its sheer wealth of imagery and was likely was an

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[142] For a review of the state of scholarship on the Austin Canons, see the introduction to Alison Fizzard *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) pp.1-13.

[143] Fizzard p.6.

[144] Dickinson (1950) p.192.

[145] Roffey (2007) p.21, Jeremy Goldberg *Medieval England: A Social History* (London : Arnold, 2004) p.127.

[146] Brian and Moira Gittos "The Ingleby Arncliffe Group of Effigies: A Mid Fourteenth Century Workshop in North Yorkshire" *Church Monuments* 17 (2002) p.36.

[147] Kathryn Smith *Art Identity and Devotion in Medieval England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 2003) pp.137-138. The Neville of Hornby Hours was, interestingly enough, made for a woman from fourteenth century Lancashire not at all far from the territory of the Haringtons. Smith pp.32-47.

influence upon it (pl.20).[148] Although it greatly surpasses the Harington Tomb in regard of artistic achievement, its in-situ status and almost pristine condition allows for useful analysis of its viewership. The Percy Tomb's quality and detailed programme could be accounted for with the theory that it was used as an Easter Sepulchre. The brass that is recorded to have laid underneath, rather than a sculpted effigy, would have permitted a temporary sepulchre to be set up, and the unusual positioning of the knights holding coats of arms in the canopy rather than on the tomb chest would have avoided unfortunate associations with the evil knights guarding Christ's tomb for the families represented.[149] This identification of the wider use of the tomb as a liturgical device rather than just genealogical self-advertisement means the secular canons of Beverley Minster may have had a large influence upon its design. The audience of the monument, which is claimed to "involve the onlooker as both witness and participant" in its grand programme of redemption[150] is somewhat surprising, in that the parts of the canopy that show narrative events; the Annunciation, the Nativity and the blessing of the Virgin by Christ are only visible from the altar side of the monument (pl.20a). Looking up from the aisle side most viewers of the Percy Tomb would only have really been able to engage with the figure of Christ Showing His Wounds at the pinnacle and the accompanying choirs of angels.[151] However the canons, particularly those seated in the sedilia opposite it, were witness to the more complicated detail and constantly reminded of the commemoration of the soul of the

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[148] Dawton (2000) p.144. The canopy features the quartered arms of England and France, and therefore has a *terminus post quem* of 1340, so the Harington Tomb would follow shortly after. Nicholas Dawton "The Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster. The Style of the Sculpture" in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture* Frederick Hugh Thomson (ed.) (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1983) p.124.

[149] Phillip Lindley "A Gothic Enigma: The Percy Tomb in Beverley Minster" in *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship. Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007) pp.167-198.

[150] Saul (2009) pp.171-172.

[151] The two nearest corbels above the now missing tomb chest may just have been visible, but what they supported is unknown. Dawton believes the corbel of the Dividing of the Cloak indicates a lost Crucifixion above, and that with fighting beasts a Harrowing of Hell. While this would make a good comparison with the Passion on the Harington Tomb, it seems unlikely. Dawton (2000) p.136.

Percy lady who sits in a napkin on the lap of God the Father at the pinnacle of "their" side of the monument (pl.20b).

While in this case the canons may have been the major beneficiaries of the detail, the case for their likely participation in the design and the provision of a powerful devotional symbol of Corpus Christi for the "laity's side" (particularly important at Easter when the sepulchre was laid underneath, as this was often the only time of year the laity would receive communion) is an example of how the appearance of funerary monuments could be due to more than the demands of the deceased and executors. The Harington Tomb however, rather than situated at the threshold of an ecclesiastical space like the Percy Tomb, seems to have been at the centre of a lay one. Therefore, unlike at Beverley, where the programme of imagery outside of a funerary context is divided between lay and religious, the Harington Tomb may have been more fully targeted at the layperson.

The Harington Tomb as a material reflection of the wide cultural significance of Purgatory

At first it may be hard to see how the Haringtons' chantry ensemble could have a wide audience. Chantries, and their related material remains, have been seen as selfish institutions, "hardly reconcilable with the message of the Gospel".[152] Indeed, the Harington Tomb's advertisement of family identity through heraldry and the multiplication of the self - both Haringtons may be intended to appear in body and soul as many as four times - shows a sense of individuality that would be unthinkable a century before.[153] This may have been fostered by the new doctrine of Purgatory's focus on individual salvation.[154] This large monument in the relatively small space of the Town Choir could be narrowly seen as reinforcing a social order. As heraldry became confined to the landed

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[152] Kathleen Wood-Legh *Perpetual chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) p.312, although she does acknowledge some benefit to the wider parish from the extra masses, p.291.

[153] As in the multiple representations of Edward on the Crouchback Tomb at Westminster Abbey noted in Binski (1996) pp.109-110.

[154] Jacques Le Goff *The Birth of Purgatory* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991) p.283.

gentry, it became a powerful indicator of social dominance,[155] and could have broadcast the superiority of the Haringtons to the congregation and advertised John's new status as a Lord with pride of place in his "country's" social hierarchy.[156] However, recent studies have tried to emphasise how chantry institutions would have benefited the wider community, at a time when lay interest in the Eucharist was stronger than ever before.[157]

The reconstruction of the ensemble assumes that it provided the church with another altar,[158] which would increase the accessibility to the mystery of the mass for the enthusiastically pious layperson. Either they could try and see (as well as hear and smell) a solemn mass in the chancel as best they could through the screen, attend parish mass (clearly lower, since the Town Choir sedilia only has two seats (pl.13e)) or catch one of the Harington's chantry masses. Burgess' view of Purgatory sees it as perpetuating a "circular flow" of intercession and grace between the wealthy who would use their wealth to benefit their local parish, and the honest poor who would prove their own charity by interceding for the rich's souls.[159] Following this way of thinking, the masses said in the Harington's chantry, rather than selfish and mechanical, would be mutually beneficial. The parishioner benefits from the increase in divine service, and the Haringtons in turn receive intercession due to this piety.[160] Much of the imagery of the Harington Tomb may have worked as an advertisement for this feasible route to salvation.

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[155] Peter Coss *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Stroud : Sutton, 1996) pp.86-88.

[156] Chris Given-Wilson *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages. The Fourteenth Century Political Community* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) p.160.

[157] Clive Burgess "'A Fond thing vainly invented'; an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in Late Medieval England" *Parish, Church and People. Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750* Susan Wright (ed.) (Hutchingson: London, 1988) pp.56-84; Roffey (2007) pp.86-89.

[158] There must have been at least other three altars in the church, as well as the high and parish altars; the north choir aisle has a piscina at its east end. Dickinson (1980) p.31.

[159] Burgess (1988) p.69.

[160] Roffey (2007) p.87.

The Passion cycle is one such unusual feature that may be geared towards this function (pl.6).[161] The north-east scene of Christ standing over a woman with wavy hair and its usual identification as Mary Magdelene washing the feet of Christ during His ministry is unacceptable, as Christ clearly holds the staff of the Resurrection. Instead the scene must depict the *Noli Me Tangere* from Christ's Passion, with His gesture indicating the delivery of the titular phrase. The figure however undeniably holds her long wavy hair over Christ's feet, and it seems the artist has used the iconography of the Anointing of Christ's Feet to help identify the Magdelene, which is unusual but not unknown for this particular scene.[162] The other representations of the Mocking and Flagellation are securely identifiable. The Crucifixion is a most interesting representation. The way it has been integrated with the springer of the lost extra bay has resulted in the cross being remarked as resembling a contemporary German Y-shaped *Gabelkreuz*,[163] all but unknown in England, perhaps because of the censure of one example by the Bishop of London. [164] However, the crucifix itself is distinct from the arch, and regarded separately from it has little to do with the horror and expressionism of the *Gabelkreuz*.[165] The cross has tiny buds on its surface,[166] which relates to the *Lignum Vitae* of Revelation 22:1-2, imagery common in England since Anglo-Saxon times.[167] While showing Christ's suffering through the clear depiction of the modern "three nail" crucifixion, the life-giving aspect of Christ's sacrifice is above all emphasised, most appropriate to this monument to the afterlife. This

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[161] The early fifteenth century tomb chest at Harpham, (E. Yorks.) (pl.19c) with an alabaster crucifixion either side is noted as a unusual example of Christological imagery on a tomb in: Jane Crease ""Not Commonly Reputed or Taken for a Saint" The Output of a Northern Workshop in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries" in Badham and Oosterwijk (eds.) pp.154-156.

[162] See for instance an example from the Bernward Gospels in Gertrud Schiller *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. Bd. 3 Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986) p.419 fig.279, pp.95-96.

[163] Markus p.23 n.14.

[164] Paul Binski "The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art" in *The Medieval World* Peter Linehan and Janet Nelson (eds.) (London: Routledge, 2001).

[165] Binski (2002) p.349.

[166] Pevsner (1969) p.89.

[167] Binski (2002) p.346; Paul Binski *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004) pp.87-101.

working of a crucifixion into the foliate decoration of a tomb in this manner is not without

comparison, for instance it is seen on a finial in Bishop Aquablanca's (d.1268) tomb in

Hereford Cathedral[168] (pl.19d) and Geoffrey Luttrell's (d.1348) tomb at Irnham (Lincs.)

(pl.19e).[169] However, the inclusion of such a full Passion is without parallel, and is

probably due to the fact that the monument was more than just a tomb. The most violent

aspects of Christ's Passion are shown, along with His simultaneous triumph over death and

blessing of a penitent sinner. This emphasises to the viewer the importance of Penance and

dedication to Christ's sacrifice in achieving the salvation promised above.

The Tomb's unusual dual approach to Judgement may also reflect its simultaneous

personal and public significance. The first Judgement is that of the Haringtons, where their

souls are elevated in a napkin by angels. Either side of the elevations are two grinning

beasts, hiding in the foliage (pl.7). Although Decorated architecture is often brimming with

such grotesques, these are the only such creatures on the Harington Tomb, and they all

look towards the soul in the napkin. These elevations could represent the Haringtons'

completion of the trials of Purgatory and their entry into Heaven, [170] or perhaps the

"Particular Judgement" rendered onto their souls at the time of death, and their deliverance

from the total despair of Hell.[171] The Particular Judgement of the Haringtons could be

designed to be complemented with the sculptural programme on top, where at least two

souls each side are presented to Christ showing His Wounds and the Coronation of the

Virgin. This may represent the Final Judgement of all Humanity at the end of time. This

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[168] Binski (2004) pp.216-217.

[169] The function of the monument, which bears the arms of Luttrell and those of Geoffrey's wife, Agnes Sutton is obscure, and it may have been primarily an Easter Sepulchre. Michael Camille *Mirror in Parchment. The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998) pp.132-139.

[170] The iconography of Purgatory in medieval art showing the Judgement is rare, and when it is shown it is shown in a similar way to Hell, usually through fire. Eleanor Townsend *Death and Art. Europe 1200-1530* (London: V&A, 2009) pp.20-23.

[171] For the Particular Judgement in Italian art, see Virginia Brilliant "Envisioning the Particular Judgment in Late-Medieval Italy" *Speculum* 84 (2009). However, Italy was unusual in associating the transport of the soul in a napkin almost exclusively with sainthood, unlike northern Europe, pp.317-324.

would be very appropriate to Christ showing His Wounds, which along with the trumpeting angels of the shafts (pl.10c), is essentially eschatological, and also the Coronation, which represents through Mary's currently unique position of being in Heaven body and soul, the status of all the elect following the Day of Judgement.[172] It may be that the souls on top are not intended to represent the Haringtons again, but all of Humanity, which would bring the monument into a wider context and not just concerned with two individuals' salvation. While this depiction of two sorts of Judgement would be highly unusual,[173] the fluid nature of the disputes around both Purgatory and when an individual receives the Beatific Vision means that it is not surprising to find experimentations with such imagery on what may very well be one of the first structures erected that has these issues at the centre of its function.[174] Binski concludes that Purgatory's power lay ultimately in its non-representation,[175] and the Harington Tomb may represent experimentation with eschatological and Judgemental imagery that was not taken up in mainstream visual culture.

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[172] Nicholas Rogers "English Episcopal Monuments, 1270-1350" in Coales (ed.) p.26.
[173] It has been suggested that the exterior of the Percy Tomb represents Particular Judgement, as the soul ascends to Heaven, and the interior represents the Final Judgement, as the angels descend to the body in the tomb chest with a Heavenly crown. Dawton (2000) pp.134-135.
[174] Binski (1996) p.212.
[175] Binski (1996) pp.188-199.

Conclusion

The Harington Tomb has been often noted in passing for its novel characteristics, but its significance has never really been explored, perhaps on account of its undeniably provincial location. However, the medieval parish church should be seen for a venue for invention, rather than solely reflecting something "going on elsewhere".[176] For a monument in the provinces to be the prototype for the cage chantry at Winchester, the painted tester in royal tombs and the widespread representation of chantry arrangements through additional figures on the tomb chest would be implausible. However, to suppose that all these developments stem from any single source is equally unlikely. Some of the seemingly unique aspects of the Tomb, such as the possible depiction of both the Particular and Final Judgements, were suppressed by the cultural norm of the non-representation of Purgatory. However others, such as a semi-private space to associate wealthy deceased with the sacrament of the mass, would become ubiquitous. These innovations were all stimulated by common cultural conditions and could easily surface in multiple places at once, and the possibility that the monument encountered a change of plan during its construction would show even more how fluid the nature of creating religious art and architecture was at this time. Later, in the age of Perpendicular, it seems as if indeed demand was conditioned more by emulation of existing monuments, and more centralised urban workshops somewhat suppressed invention. The Harington Tomb is just one of many monuments of the Decorated Style that through its invention in both imagery and architectural form, Art History can use to illustrate the cultural forces and agents surrounding its creation.

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[176] Paul Binski "The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages. A Review of the Problem" *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999) p.2.

Plate 1

1 – The Harington Tomb, Cartmel Priory, Cumbria.
North side, from choir.

Plate 2

2 – The Harington Tomb. South side, from south aisle.

Plate 3

3a – Effigy of Joan Harrington

3b – Effigy of John Harington

3c – Dacre scallop shell, tomb chest, south side.

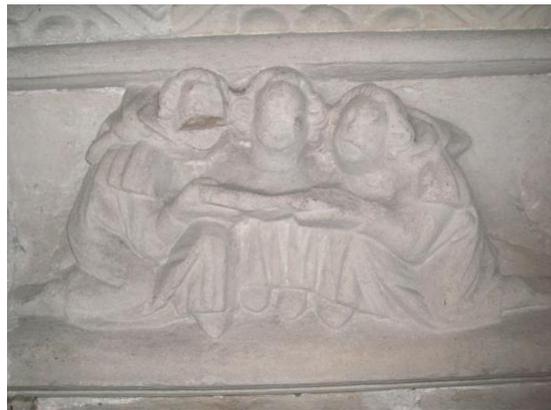

3d – Harington arms, central shaft, north side.

Plate 4
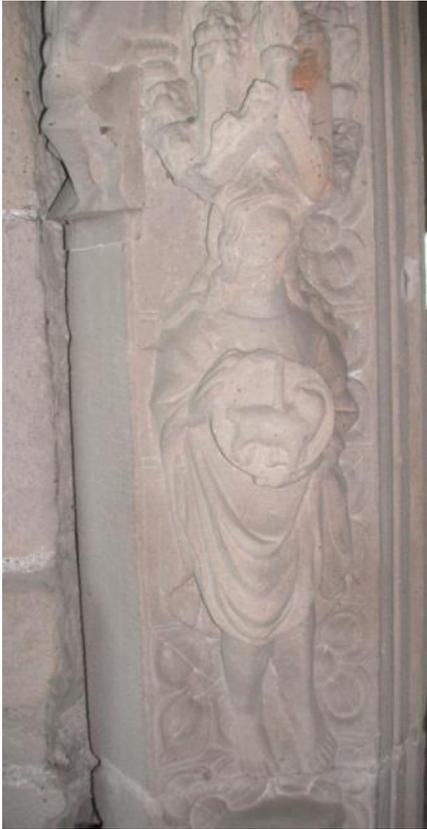

4a – Canons beside John's effigy

4b – Canons beside Joan's effigy

4c - Canons supporting tomb chest, north side.

4d – Novices reading book, tomb chest, south side

4e – Canons reading book, tomb chest, south side

Plate 5

5a – John the Baptist, north-east shaft.

5b – Bishop saint, north-west shaft, north face

5c – Saint (Alphege?) north-west shaft, west face

5d – St Peter, south-west shaft, west face

5e – Virgin and Child, south-west shaft, south face

5f – St Catherine, south-east shaft

Plate 6
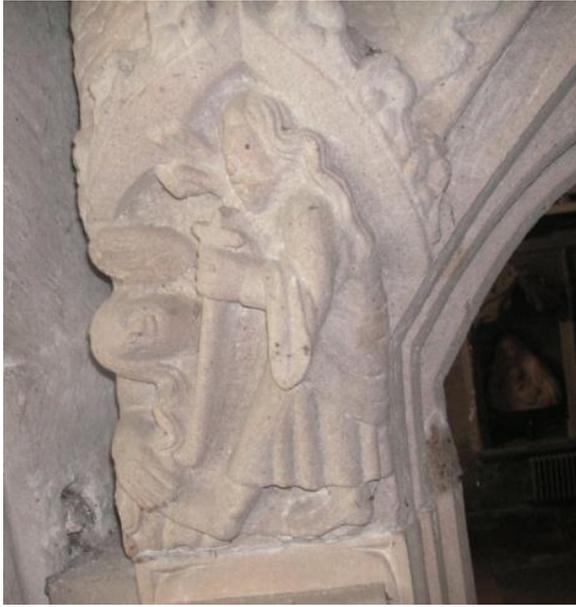
6a – *Noli Me Tangere*, north-east shaft

6b – Mocking of Christ,
north-west shaft.
With broken springer to the
right, pointing west.

6c – Flagellation of Christ,
south-west shaft

6d – Crucifixion, south-east shaft.
With broken springer to right, pointing
east.

Plate 7

7a – Ascension of Joan Harington's soul, south side

7b – Ascension of John Harington's soul, north side

Plate 8

8a and 8b – North and south sides coloured to show proposed state of Tomb.
Green – Original medieval work
Blue – Original, unfinished medieval work
Purple – Medieval work, ex-situ
Red – Replacement work of different stone, c.1832.
Yellow – Replacement work in original stone – date unclear but pre-1818.

8c – Plan of Cartmel Priory choir and choir south aisle. (Paley and Austin (eds.) pl.61)

A. Harington tomb, current position.

B. Tomb, position as described by Dickinson, with hypothetical arcading extending to the west wall.

C. First, most probable possible position of chantry altar section.

D. Second possible position of chantry altar section.

E. Area now covered by organ.

Plate 9
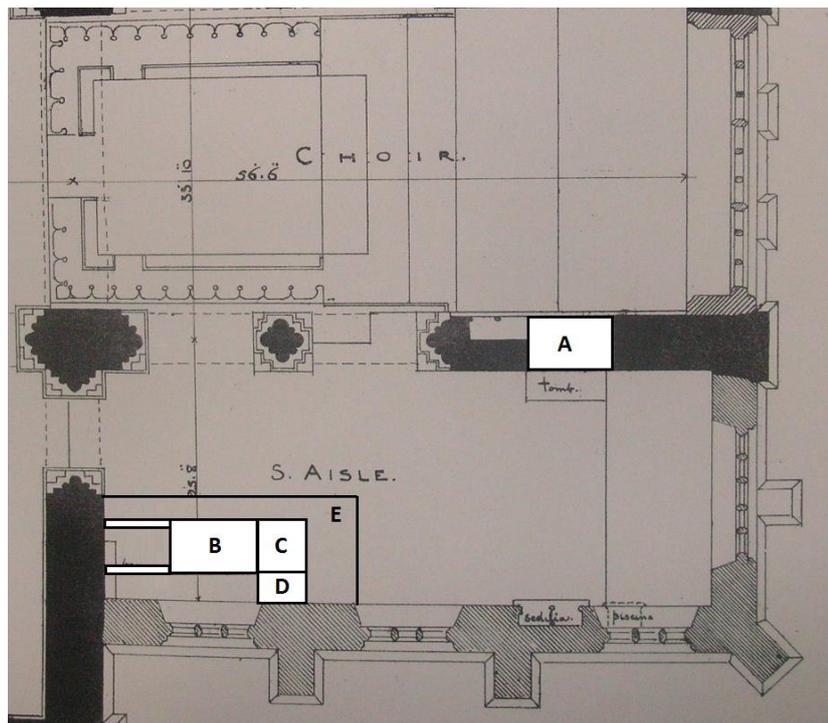
9a – View of south-west shaft, showing unfinished stone not intended to be seen.

9b – View of south-west shaft and beginning of ogee arch showing Passion scene and praying angel carved from a single block.

9c – Detail of angel in 9b, showing finer and more detailed carving of angels on the south canopy.

9d – Detail of angel (decapitated) of north canopy, showing lack of finely carved wings and overall lower detail of praying angels on arch of the north canopy.

Plate 10

10a – Censing angel, north-east shaft.

10b – Canopy, carved from same block as 10a.

10c – Trumpeting angel, south-east shaft

10d – Canopy, carved from same block as 10c

Plate 11

11c – Angel presenting soul. Sixth figure fragment from east, north canopy summit

11b – Coronation of the Virgin. Central fragment, north canopy summit

11a – Possible fragment of angel presenting soul. Second figure fragment from east, north canopy summit

Plate 12

12c – Angel presenting soul.
Second fragment from east, south
canopy summit

12a – Angel presenting soul. Fifth
fragment from east, south canopy
summit

12b – Christ showing His wounds.
Central fragment, south canopy
summit

Plate 13

13b – Man wrestling with lion.
Corbel, Town Choir.
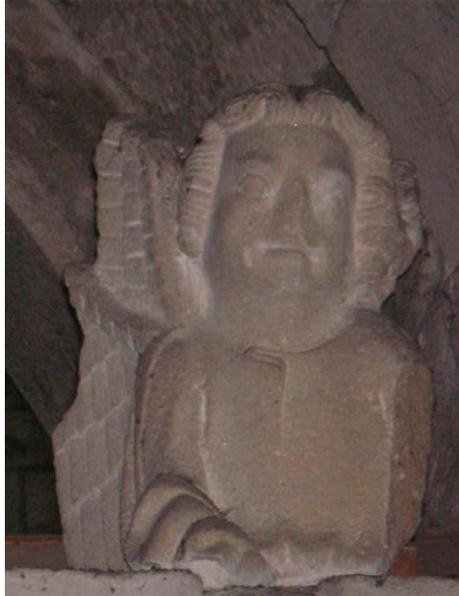
13a – Angel, perhaps from earlier Town Choir campaign.
First fragment from east, south canopy summit of Tomb.

13d – Fighting beasts. Corbel,
Town Choir.

13c – Detail of Sedilia, Town Choir.

13e – Sedilia and Piscina, Town Choir.

Plate 14

14a – Surviving portion of Tester Painting, Harington Tomb.

14b – Angel of the Annunciation, Town Choir East window

14c – Detail of Town Choir east window, showing unique pairing of kings and reuse of cartoon.

14d – East window, Town Choir.

Plate 15
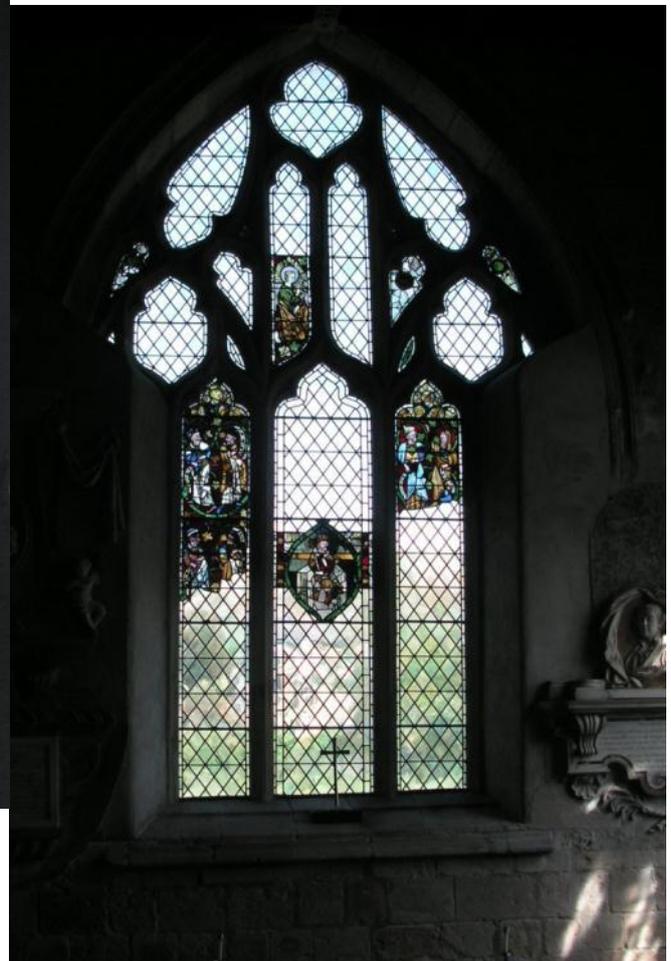
15a: Sketch of possible appearance of complete chantry ensemble in front of west-most south window of Town Choir, from north side.

Includes full height cornice sculpture of Last Judgement, altar section based on King's sketch adjoining east end, arch extending to west wall, ironwork around chest, and canon entering for mass.
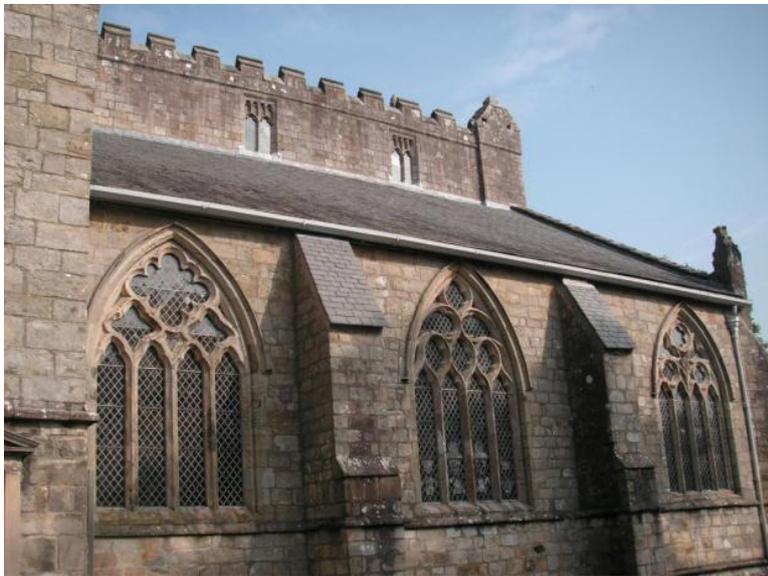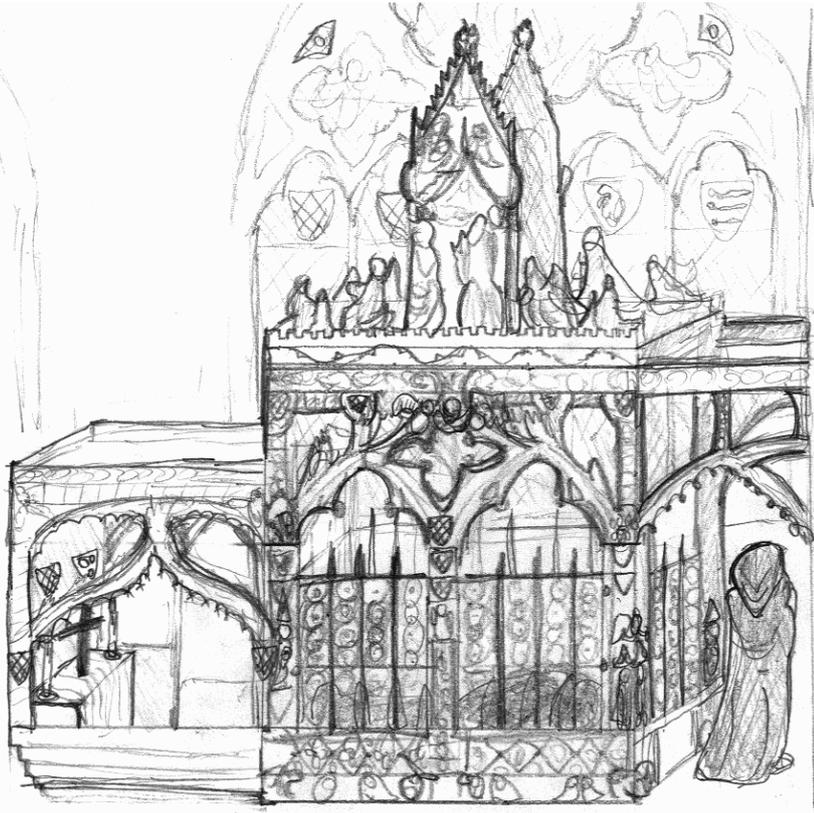
15b – Cartmel Priory, Town Choir and choir clerestory from south.
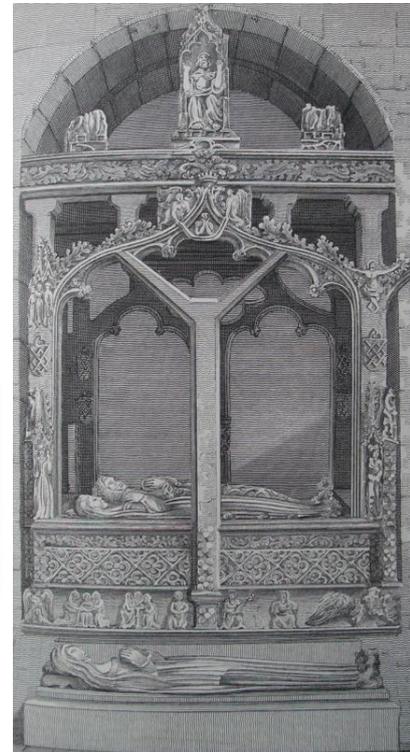
15c – Engraving of the Harington Tomb and effigy of Austin Canon, showing now lost Harington arms on the shaft shields, 1818. (Whittaker, plate following p.587)

Plate 16

16 – Drawing of Harington Tomb by Daniel King, 1646. Dodsworth MSS. lxxxviii, f.20. Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Brownbill (1925) p.372)

Plate 17

17a – Bishop
Edington's tomb
and chantry chapel,
Winchester
Cathedral.

17b – Bishop Fleming's Tomb and
chantry chapel, Lincoln Cathedral.

17c – Bishop
Ghent's tomb,
Salisbury
Cathedral.

17d – Bishop
Redman's Tomb, and
perhaps chantry, Ely
Cathedral.

Plate 18

18a – Monument to a Lady, Birdsall new church, East Yorkshire.

18b – Effigy of Sir Brian Fitzlan, Bedale, North Yorkshire (Source: Park pl.54)

18c – Tomb chest of Bishop Henry Burghersh showing clerics with books, Lincoln Cathedral.

18d – Three monks at the feet of effigy of William Wykeham, inside his chantry chapel, Winchester Cathedral.

Plate 19

19a – Monument in Pendomer Church, Somerset. (Source: Pevsner (1958) pl.33a)
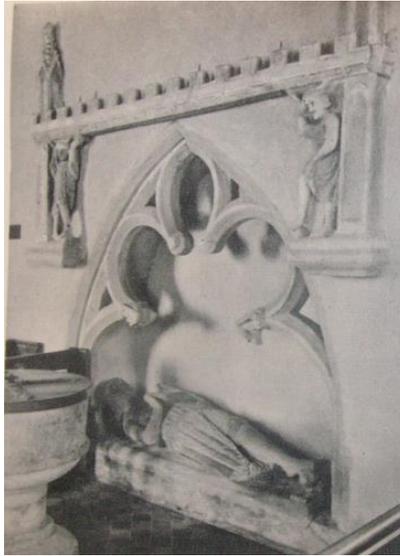
19b – Underside of shaft on "Two Sisters' Tomb", Beverley Minster.

19c – Tomb chest with alabaster crucifixion, and head label-stops on niche. Harpham, East Yorkshire.

19d– Crucifixion on tomb of Bishop Aquablanca, Hereford Cathedral.

19e – Crucifixion on finial of monument (tomb or Easter Sepulchre?) with Luttrell and Sutton arms, Irnham, Lincolnshire.

Plate 20
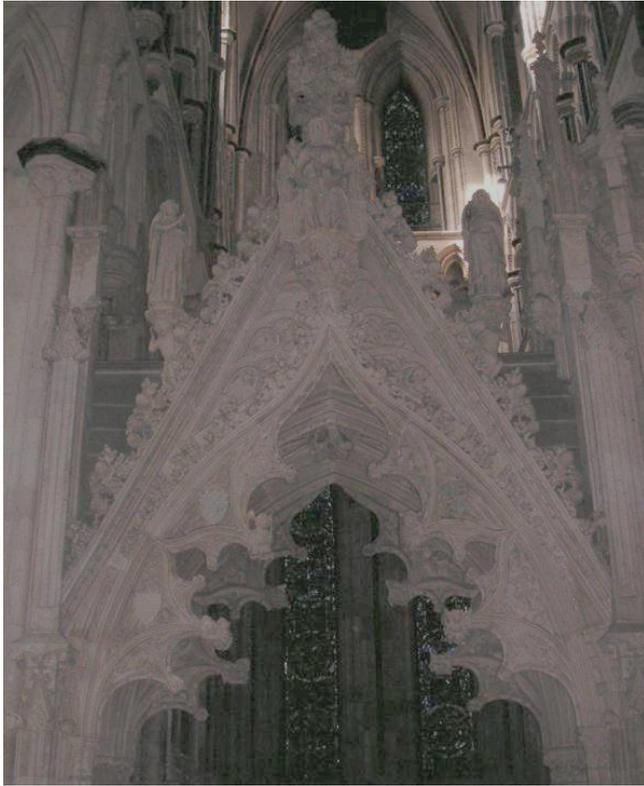
20a – Percy Tomb, view from choir side, Beverley Minster, East Yorkshire.

20b – God the Father receiving the soul of a Lady (Eleanor Percy?), Percy Tomb pinnacle south side, attributed by Dawton to the "Soul Master".
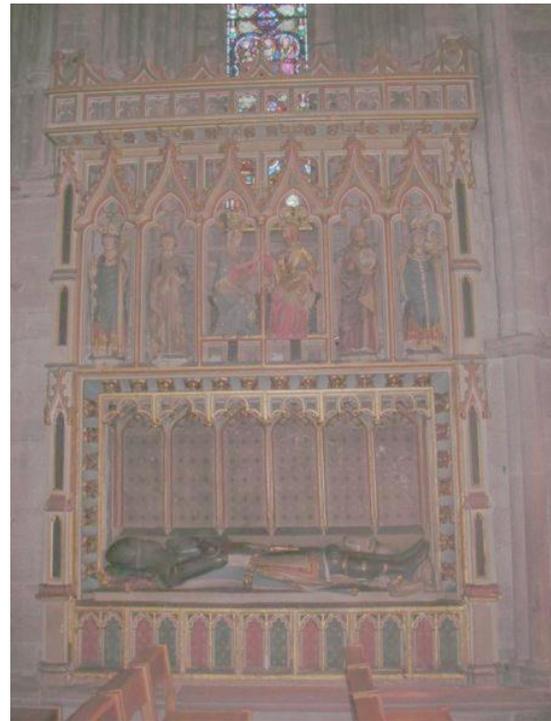
20c – Angel in relief recessing into a fictive space, interior of canopy cusping of the Percy Tomb, attributed by Dawton to the "Annunciation Master"
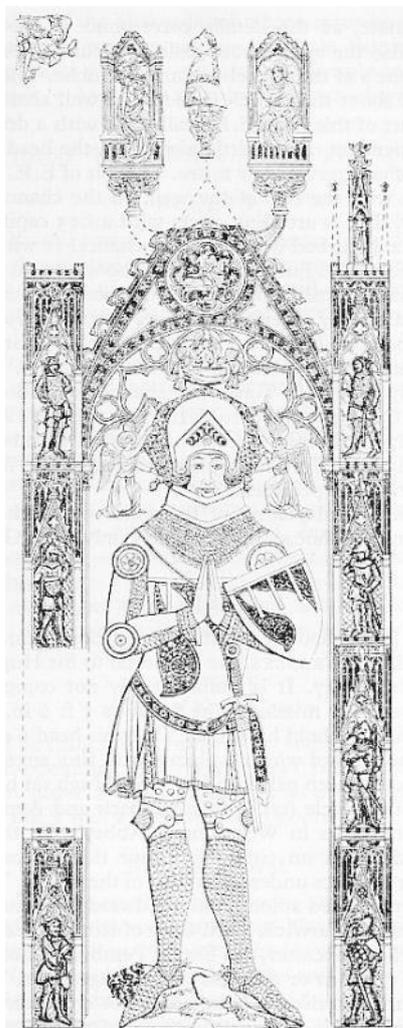
20d – "Weeper" under shaft of Percy Tomb, aisle side.

Plate 21
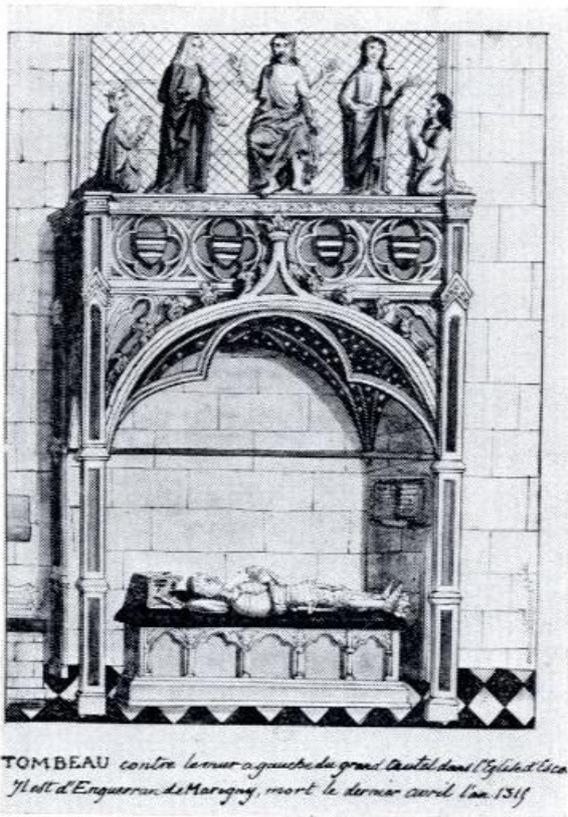
21a – Lost tomb of Enguerrand de Marigny, Ecouis. Drawing by Gangieres. (Adhemar with Dordor p.110)

21b – Tomb of Sir Peter, Lord Grandisson, (current state with repainting and restored heads) Hereford Cathedral.

21c – Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing, Norfolk. (Pevsner (1962) p.155)

21d – Tester over the Tomb of Edward the Black Prince, Canterbury Cathedral.