From hole-in-the-wall to heavenly mansions
The microarchitectural development of sedilia in thirteenth-century England

James Alexander Cameron

'Sedilia' is the modern term for the seats placed on the south (Epistle) side of the altar for the use of the celebrant priest and his assisting deacon and subdeacon during Mass[1]. In English medieval churches, sedilia commonly take the form of three niches, set into the thickness of the south wall, divided by columns and separated by shafts. This type, which I have termed the 'classic' sedilia, first appeared during the last quarter of the twelfth century in collegiate and ex-minster churches with unaisled square east ends: the most notable early set being in St Mary de Castro, Leicester[2]. Subsequently such integral liturgical fittings became common in the wave of similarly-planned chancels that came to be appended to ordinary parish churches in the early thirteenth century, and reached the height of their popularity in the first half of the fourteenth century[3]. Whereas initially sedilia were purely practical, adapting the walls of the church to provide furnishings suitable for its function as a venue for liturgical performance, by the fourteenth century they became sites of microarchitectural display and objects in their own right, separate from the building. After the destruction wrought on stone high altars and their associated reredoses during the English Reformation, sedilia frequently remain as the most noteworthy surviving sculpture in parish churches: typical are richly-shafted columns, crocketed ogees, and leafy finials over the seats[4]. The famous sedilia of the late 1320s at Heckington (Lincolnshire) represent a particular artistic apex of the genre, with tall gables and a profusion of figural sculpture[5]. It has been suggested that these extraordinary sedilia at Heckington were derived from examples of the genre in cathedral-scale churches[6]. Sedilia with steep triangular gables over the seats, like those at Heckington, were not typical in parish churches[7]. The sedilia at Heckington were an integral part of the enormous new chancel sponsored by the parish rector Richard de Potesgrave, a former chaplain to Kings Edward I and II[8]. Potesgrave seems to be one of many ecclesiastical patrons who can be related to the development of sedilia into elaborate microarchitecture. This chapter will demonstrate that the microarchitectural extravagance of Heckington was instead a legacy of invention in the parish church, where motifs from shrine architecture and the Parisian Rayonnant transformed sedilia under the patronage of high-ranking clerics from a utilitarian feature into an object of desire[9].

Sedilia in the context of architectural elevations

Sedilia did not originally intend to make a particularly pronounced decorative statement within a church building. The earliest mural seating to the south of the high altar appeared in the twelfth century as simple, wide niches with little to no decoration. Such 'single-niche' sedilia are found across Europe, especially in the square-ended presbyteries of Cistercian churches built to the 'Bernardine Plan', such as Kirkstall Abbey (West Yorkshire) of the late 1150s. The more ornamental 'classic' type of sedilia, which became uniquely popular in England, seems to have developed from an economical truncation of the full-length dado arcades that were common in great churches of the Anglo-Norman Romanesque[10]. This means that 'classic' sedilia initially derived from purely architectural motifs rather than from prototypes of free-standing furniture. A good example of this is Cherry Hinton (Cambridgeshire), where the extremely fine chancel from the middle of the first half of the thirteenth century (fig. 1) is dominated by a single motif indicating knowledge of great-church decorative repertoire: the lavishly moulded cinquefoil rere-arches to the tall lancets[11]. These can be related to Bishop Eustace's (1198-1216) work at Ely Cathedral galilee porch (fig. 2)[12]. While the cinquefoil heads to the lancets at Cherry Hinton correspond to the third storey of the porch, the sedilia reflect the pointed arches on the first two storeys. This demonstrates how the designer of Cherry Hinton had in mind a similar vertical hierarchy of forms as at the Cathedral in creating the interior of a parish chancel, including the then relatively novel genre of sedilia. Such sedilia were not separate microarchitectural creations, but cohesive with the whole interior elevation.

1. Cherry Hinton (Cambridgeshire), parish church of Saint Andrew, interior south elevation of chancel, 1220s or 30s. © James Alexander Cameron.

2. Ely Cathedral (Cambridgeshire), exterior north elevation of galilee porch, *c.* 1198-1216. © James Alexander Cameron.

Heavenly Mansions: sedilia with gables

As great church dado arcading became more lavish, parallel developments were made in parish church sedilia that brought them towards the status of independent works of microarchitecture. Enrichment of the blank space within the spandrels of blind arcading was a common habit of Early English Gothic, such as the new work at the east end of Worcester Cathedral (begun 1224)[13]. In the later thirteenth century it became common for parish church sedilia to be treated with more elaborate ornament in this way, such as those of the 1260s at Kempsey (Worcestershire), a parish just south of Worcester of which the advowson was held by the archbishop and had exemption from the usual jurisdiction of the archdeacon[14]. The result of this decorative habit is that the sedilia appear isolated from the wall as a unit, increasing their sense as a piece of furniture separate from the building, and subsequently their importance as a standalone object promoting proper performance of the liturgy.

What began to fully take sedilia beyond the requirements of mere utilitarianism into the realms of fantastic skeuomorphic microarchitecture were triangular gables placed over the initial arches of the seats, which began to appear on some sets after the mid-century. John Summerson and others have drawn attention to the aedicular effect of the Gothic arch and how a gable further exaggerates this sense of creating and enclosing sacred space[15]. The concept of the church building as a large-scale reliquary became a prevailing aesthetic from the mid-century onwards, spurred on by the new taste for brittleness, complexity and small-scale forms in the Parisian style of the 1250s[16]. This is in accordance of the increasing self-referentiality between microarchitecture and 'macroarchitecture', due in part to the increasing use of architectural drafting[17]. A new focus on the small-scale meant that elaboration of liturgical furniture, especially that directly connected to the consecrated Host, became *de rigeur*[18]. With the ever-increasing emphasis on the Real Presence, it is fitting that sedilia were considered more sacred, as those within their seats were, in essence, three instruments directly responsible for the transubstantiation of the Eucharist.

While sedilia were generally coeval with the construction of a chancel, the more elaborate and ostentatious examples were often retro-fitted into earlier fabric, demonstrating their growing desirability as a separate object in important parish churches: namely former minsters or prebends. The square-ended chancel at Bampton (Oxfordshire), largely consisting of Romanesque masonry, contains what are arguably the earliest extant sedilia designed as an independent unit squared off from the wall (fig. 3). They have heads looking through quatrefoils and trefoils in the spandrels, and tiny triangular gables over moulded pointed-trefoil arches[19]. The simple trefoil stiff-leaf is firmly Early English, comparable to that used on the 'many mansions' for statuary that cover Wells Cathedral west front, motifs established before 1229[20]. A later date is suggested by the use of trefoils to fill the half-spandrels, which can be paralleled with Salisbury west front, not finished until 1266[21]. Bampton was an important ex-minster church that had a sizeable clerical community[22]. It is possible that the current sedilia replaced utilitarian Romanesque single-niche sedilia from the original build, and that they were part of the campaign of remodelling the north transept for the shrine of St Beornwald[23]. The use of gabled niches on the sedilia in this context is significant. Wells west front in the 1220s has been said to be the

3. Bampton (Oxfordshire), parish church of Saint Mary, sedilia in chancel, mid-13th century (left half Victorian restoration). © James Alexander Cameron.

4. Faringdon (Oxfordshire, formerly Berkshire), parish and prebendal church of All Saints, sedilia in chancel, third quarter of 13th century (capital level and below Victorian restoration). © James Alexander Cameron.

first appearance of the gabled niche in an architectural context: a motif which has parallels in shrine micro-architecture as found at Aachen (1220-38)[24]. Peter Kidson has drawn attention to busts inside quatrefoils, like those on the Bampton sedilia, at St Hugh's Choir at Lincoln as intended to articulate the sense of the building as a reliquary[25]. St Frideswide's shrine base (prepared 1269, relics translated 1289) at Oxford Cathedral also has the motif of heads looking through quatrefoils along the base[26]. Likewise, Archbishop Hubert Walter's (d.1205) tomb at Canterbury has this striking motif on its hipped gable lid, and has been noted as reminiscent of metal feretra[27]. Archbishop Walter was never a candidate for canonisation[28], and the use of gables over the living priests at Bampton shows that sedilia were part this utilisation of the language of shrines and reliquaries, to enclose the sacred, if not saintly, bodies of clergy celebrating the Mass.

The sedilia at Faringdon (pre-1974 Berkshire, now Oxfordshire) are outstanding (fig. 4), for although they have the exuberance of the fourteenth-century English Decorated Style, all their formal elements can be found in earlier milieu. Their dogtoothed cinquefoil arches are most similar to those at Carlisle Cathedral south aisle (mid-1220s), although southern parallels can be found, such as at Ely Cathedral galilee porch[29]. The low crocketed gables however have foliage that is comparable to the semi-naturalistic work at Exeter Cathedral towards the end of the century rather than Early English stiff-leaf, and therefore a date in the 1280s is possible. These elaborate sedilia were retro-fitted to a long, austere, lanceted chancel, part of a local style in Wiltshire sometimes dubbed the 'episcopal style', which, following the plain dados of Salisbury Cathedral, eschewed sedilia as part of their interior elevations[30]. The insertion of these sedilia is likely related to Faringdon's status as a wealthy prebend of Salisbury Cathedral. In 1227, a vicarage ordinance from the bishop reveals that the perpetual vicar and three priests or chaplains (*sacerdotes* or *capellani*) were given increased liturgical duties from an ordinary parish church[31]. The instruction that the Hours were to be said with the vicar and his chaplains 'decently standing in suitable places' (*locis conventientibus decenter consistentibus*) may indicate that some sort of wooden stalls were provided in 1227. The sedilia may have been added to encourage the continuing proper performance of the Mass with a stone fitting that was not usual in the ordinary parish churches of the diocese: demonstrating that valuable prebends were a case apart. These two sets of sedilia from the third quarter of the thirteenth century show an important change from twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century sets. Rather than being utilitarian niches purely reflecting ritual and function, they are ostentatious objects which have been specifically requested and installed: clearly at some effort and expense.

Episcopal patronage of parish church sedilia, and the Rayonnant pointed-trefoil gable

Although Bampton and Faringdon, as an ex-minster and prebendal church respectively, are both obviously a step above an ordinary parish church, the precise patronage for their retro-fitted sedilia is unknown. Subsequent sedilia with more prominent, French-inspired gables first appear on sedilia in appended chantry chapels founded by high-ranking clerics in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, implying that prelates had become aware of sedilia and viewed them as a desirable fitting for performance of the Mass. The south chapel at Boyton (Wiltshire) is an early example of a chantry chapel that is in effect, a second chancel appended to a parish church, founded off the nave in 1279 by Bishop Giffard of Worcester for the souls of his parents, and has recently had its importance in the context of the development of the chantry chapel emphasised by John McNeill[32]. Its sedilia (fig. 5) take the basic trefoiled form of the earlier sedilia in the adjacent chancel, but add small triangular gables with stops of balled-up foliage[33]. These low triangular gables suggest local workmen, rather than the Bishop sending a team from Worcester. Such gables appear throughout the construction of Salisbury Cathedral: on the pulpitum of *c.* 1236; over the effigy of Bishop Bridport (d.1262); and on the *c.* 1266 west front[34]. In the Boyton chantry chapel, the gables do not sanctify an effigy of a bishop, but the actual clergy inside the sedilia celebrating at his behest. We should be careful not to attribute the sedilia directly to the Bishop's personal taste, for ironically he caused great controversy just before his death by disrupting the arrangement of the high altar's furniture with his tomb at Worcester Cathedral[35]. Nevertheless, his esteemed act of patronage at Boyton appears to have influenced the small chancel at the adjacent parish of Codford St Peter which has similar gabled sedilia, demonstrating how microarchitectural ideas would spread once introduced into parish churches[36].

A similar situation is found in the north chapel at Yaxley (Huntingdonshire) probably related to a chantry founded in 1291/2 by William of Yaxley, Abbot of

5. Yaxley (Huntingdonshire), parish church of Saint Peter, sedilia in north chancel chapel, *c.* 1291/2. © James Alexander Cameron.

Thorney (d.1293)[37]. Its windows are highly inventive and distinctive: each formed of three adjacent stepped lancets with unusual impaled trefoils in each head. The chapel is divided from the chancel (rebuilt in the fourteenth century) by an arcade, which terminates a bay before the east wall to allow for the installation of south-side sedilia (fig. 5). The Yaxley sedilia have rather simple gables formed of a continuous hoodmould, terminating with a trefoil leaf which also appears on the main gable of the chapel. Nevertheless, their date in the 1290s makes them significant in the microarchitectural development of sedilia.

There is one particular type of canopy that became frequently used above sedilia in the fourteenth century: the steep, crocketed gable, of which the interior is artfully filled with a pointed trefoil. This motif has its ultimate ancestor in St Urbain, Troyes (France), both in the skeleton tracery in the apse and over the doors of the south transept façade[38]. The collegiate church of St Urbain exerted a great influence upon English buildings and microarchitecture[39]. In the context both of its stylistic influence and its high-level external clerical patronage, it is significant that the church has in its apse the most elaborate stone liturgical fitting of its date in France: the piscina, dating to either the 1260s or early 1270s. In the spandrels between its extravagant gables, the supplicant figures of Pope Urban IV and his nephew Cardinal Ancher illustrate the likely agents behind this

6. Bishopstone (Wiltshire), parish church of John the Baptist, sedilia in chancel, second decade of 14th century. © James Alexander Cameron.

exceptional furnishing[40]. Urban's institution of the feast of Corpus Christi shows his interest in his promulgation of the Eucharist, hence this manifest tribute to it[41]. Although St Urbain and its piscina would have little impact in France, its motifs became particularly significant for English microarchitecture such as parish church sedilia.

The north chapel at Bitton (Gloucestershire) once again, display advances in formal invention promulgated by a prelate in an annex to an English parish church. Like Boyton, this chapel was endowed by a bishop: Thomas Bitton of Exeter in 1299[42]. The sedilia have cinquefoil arches topped with tall crocketed gables with a pointed trefoil inside, showing a clear lineage to the motif pioneered at Troyes. As Boyton, the immediate sources of the design of the sedilia lie not with the patron's own cathedral, but instead more local work: in this case the chapter house at Wells Cathedral of the 1290s, which has very similar designs for the perimeter seating. Wells chapter house represents the newly French-inspired style of the last decades of the thirteenth century, along with the new choir of St Paul's Cathedral and the Bishop of Ely's chapel at Holborn in London[43]. Identical in their formal elements to the Wells chapter house seats are the sedilia at Merton College Chapel, an ambitious transeptal church with an unaisled choir begun 1289[44]. Merton's sedilia have been directly related by John Goodall to the sedilia which form a sumptuous ensemble with a piscina and tomb recess in the large (13.3 metres internal length) chancel of similar date at Great Haseley (Oxfordshire). Although these sedilia lack the pointed trefoil, have identically proportioned gables, angled pinnacles and distinctive mouldings (three miniature quadrants with flanking fillets separated by hollows)[45]. This repeated use of the tall gable does seem to represent, like 'classic' sedilia, an apparent consensus as to the manner in which particularly ambitious sedilia were to be designed, and in turn forms the basic setting for the foliage and figure sculpture at Heckington.

Breaking out the walls: free-standing sedilia

This growing popularity and increasing ambition of the genre of sedilia in the parish church appears to have influenced the great church. It has been suggested that sedilia were built into the screening set up around the presbyteries of Lincoln and Canterbury Cathedrals around the year 1300, but the material evidence is inconclusive[46]. The earliest surviving sedilia in an aisled presbytery are the wooden set at Westminster Abbey (1307), followed by the stone set at Exeter Cathedral (1316-28); the current writer has argued elsewhere that both were combined with monuments to a founder figure due to competition for space around the high altar[47]. Durham Cathedral's famous Neville Screen of the 1380s demonstrates how great church free-standing sedilia such as Exeter are orphaned parts of larger campaigns to refashion the high altar with a gigantic screen-reredos[48].

Similarly, the remodellings of the presbyteries at the Norman abbeys of Gloucester and Tewkesbury inserted sedilia in between the Romanesque piers[49]. These sedilia are essentially unlike Heckington in that they have no mural connection, and were designed as partly free-standing structures.

Such architectonic sedilia were usually confined to great churches, but two fourteenth-century examples in parish church chancels are particularly telling for how, by the fourteenth century, sedilia had become a desirable object in their own right, and could be conceived separately from the elevation of a building. The parish church at Bishopstone (Wiltshire) near Salisbury, appears to have been largely rebuilt around the base of a Romanesque central tower beginning at the end of the thirteenth century, judging by the nave's west window with impaled trefoils. The subsequent chancel and south transept are rib-vaulted – a very rare feature in English parish churches – and features naturalistic foliage bosses, and simple but precocious flowing and reticulated tracery in the windows[50]. The sedilia were described as in 'tolerable' condition in 1845 but were engraved precisely as they appear now, and there is little restoration clearly visible on them today[51]. The forms of Bishopstone's titanic sedilia (fig. 6) are relatable to local style, suggesting that they bring together motifs through desire for a new object, rather than a straight copy from a prototype of the same genre. The small triangular gables over the initial cusped arches are comparable to the Giffard chapel sedilia at Boyton, while the foliage pinnacles directly over the seats have proportions and blind tracery with a diamond similar to those flanking the tomb of Simon of Ghent (d. 1315) in Salisbury Cathedral. The only ogees are in the divisions separating the seats, and this use, rather than on the major arches, can be paralleled by the Crouchback Tomb in Westminster Abbey which also uses ogees at its terminal ends. Therefore, the Bishopstone chancel and transepts are conceivably an early work of Curvilinear Decorated, with tentative and experimental use of the ogee, probably of the 1310s: thus, the sedilia would predate the examples in cathedrals[52]. The name of the settlement at Bishopstone comes from the fact that the manor house was an estate of the Bishop of Winchester, who also held the advowson of the rectory. However, the parish was a vicarage, its vicar appointed by the rector, which meant the latter would have collected the greater tithes from parish without needing to be present in the parish to provide pastoral care.[53] Ownership of multiple farming estates were part of a Bishop's income and this alone does not grant the parish Bishopstone any unusual status. However, Bishopstone was extremely close to Downton, one of the Bishop of Winchester's premier estates[54]. Downton Castle, one of six founded in 1138 by Bishop Henry of Blois, served as one of the Bishop's five principal residences until the late fourteenth century due to its proximity to the King's manor at Clarendon[55]. With the manor house staffed by tenant farmers and the parish lacking a resident rector or lord of the manor, episcopal patronage seems the only way to account for the exceptionally ambitious and splendid parish church and its liturgical furnishings[56]. The similar architectonic magnificence of the sedilia of the large Decorated chancel at Sandiacre (Derbyshire), the structure of which I have suggested was inspired through a reflexive relationship between stone microarchitecture and wooden choir stalls, can be accounted to the fact that this church was a prebend held by the Bishop of Lichfield in 1342-7[57]. These likely episcopally-endowed chancel rebuildings containing exceptionally lavish sedilia demonstrate how the genre moved toward the notion of being a distinct object. This growing ambition and competition with carpentry may have ultimately contributed to the decline of stone sedilia as a common feature: in the fifteenth century, when woodwork becomes the dominant medium for church fittings, it became much rarer to see sedilia installed as standard in the walls of chancels[58].

Conclusion

Sedilia first emerged as a truncation of the dado arcade, which allowed for useful sheltered seats for the officiating clergy, originally confined to buildings of the middle rank, but subsequently became an established genre in smaller churches. They were part of the architectural

design of a building, like an aedicule in Classical architecture: but with a practical purpose. In the second half of the century the simple individual niches came to be frequently enhanced with a microarchitectural repertoire borrowed from other furnishings that developed sedilia as a separate *tour de force* of display, exciting the eye and eliciting thoughts of salvation in the Heavenly Jerusalem[59]. This was due to the new forms of interest certain prelates had over parish churches – namely chantries and prebends – providing these churches with the money and the means to develop existing genres of liturgical furnishings through microarchitectural splendour, which then spread throughout connected parishes. This microarchitecture framed the bodies of clergy like statues of saints in a reredos: conveying their esteemed nature as instruments of the consecration of the Host.

Notes

1. Cameron 2015a.

2. For this type of twelfth-century church termed 'crypto-collegiate'; Blair 1998, p. 272–294.

3. The origin of the distinctive English square-ended chancel is essential to understanding the popularity of mural sedilia in England, but an account of it remains to be written. For an account of its different fittings, see Bond 1916.

4. The current writer's Ph.D. thesis included a full handlist of all the medieval sedilia in England and Wales derived from as-yet unpublished database. This numbers some 1,300 items, 800 of which are 'classic' sedilia; Cameron 2015b.

5. A very similar set of sedilia dated around a decade later, can be found some 20 miles away in Hawton (Nottinghamshire); Sekules 1990, p. 113–128. I suggested in a paper at the conference "Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology. A day seminar in celebration of the work of Dr Richard K. Morris" held at The Courtauld Institute in 2016 that both sedilia derived from a single architectural drawing passed between separate workshops.

6. Sekules 1990, p. 118.

7. Out of the 400 Decorated-Style sedilia I have recorded, 69 have an extra element such as a gable over the initial arch of the seat.

8. A record (British Library Add. MS. 36295) of a lost inscription in the east window states that Potesgrave had the chancel built in 132x (the last digit apparently lost); Sekules 1990, p. 11.

9. For the issue of the parish church as a separate site of invention apart from the cathedral, see Binski 1999, p. 1–25. For a rare attempt to analyse parish church architecture holistically in its own right; Hoey 1995, p. 45–71.

10. Cameron 2017 considers more of the initial development of sedilia in the context of English architectural style.

11. Wareham / Wright 2002, p. 115 dates Cherry Hinton as *c.*1215-25. Pevsner was a little later, stating 'E.E. at its best, that is c.1230-50'; Pevsner 1970, p. 316.

12.. Pevsner 1970, p. 345–346; Maddison 2000, p. 53–56.

13. Singleton 1978, p. 111–112.

14.. In one of the spandrels of the sedilia is a fleur-de-lys, which was used in triplicate on the arms of Walter Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester 1237-66; Brooks / Pevsner 2007, p. 391. For the status of the parish, see Denton et *al.* 2014.

15. Summerson 1963, p. 18; Crossley 1987, p. 65–66; Wilson 1992, p. 8–9; Coldstream 1994, p. 37–38.

16. Coldstream 2002, p. 164; Bony 1983, p. 396–405.

17. Bucher 1976, p. 71–89; Freigang 2007, p. 67–77; Bugslag 2008, p. 57–74.

18. Bucher 1976, p. 74; Timmermann 2009.

19. Much of the left half of the sedilia is Victorian restoration.

20. Sampson 1998, p. 49–51.

21. Ayers 2000, p. 14.

22. Blair 1998, p. 275.

23. Blair 1985, p. 47–55; Crossley / Currie 1996, p. 55.

24. Malone 2004, p. 95–97.

25. Kidson 1986, p. 41.

26. Coldstream 1976, p. 16–17.

27. Wilson 1995, p. 454–458.

28. Coales 1987, p. 23.

29. Alexander 2004, p. 114. For date of the Ely galilee, see above.

30. For the austere style of Salisbury Cathedral discouraging sedilia in parish churches around Wiltshire, see Cameron 2017a. 'Episcopal style' here is used after Virginia Jansen; Jansen 1996, p. 32–39.

31. Blair 1998, p. 286.

32. McNeill 2011, p. 18–19.

33. Pevsner / Cherry 1975, p. 126.

34. Ayers 2000, p. 14.

35. Cameron 2016, p. 137-139.

36. Pevsner notes that the chancel is 'nearly all Victorian' and does not mention the sedilia, however they do seem as authentic work; Pevsner / Cherry 1975, p. 184.

37. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Huntingdonshire* 1926, p. 303-305, 307; Page / Proby / Ladds 1936, p. 244; Robinson 2008, p. 73.

38. Bony 1979, p. 10–11.

39. Wilson 2007, p. 107–122.

40. Gardner 1996, p. 79–82. Binski has also placed the piscina's allusion to castle imagery into an intellectual context, which suggests such high-level agency in its formulation; Binski 2011, p. 263–273.

41. Gardner 1996, p. 71.

42. McNeill 2011, p. 19.

43. Draper 1981, p. 19. For further identification of the Geometrical motifs in the repertoire of the London-Canterbury Court school; Hastings 1945, p. 3–9.

44. Ayers 2007, p. 124; Ayers 2013, p. lxx.

45. Goodall 1995, p. 277. A similar set of gabled sedilia, again with a pointed-trefoil, are Long Itchington (Warwickshire).

46. Reader-Moore 1979, p. 30-31; Pevsner / Harris / Antram 1989, p. 473.

47. Cameron 2016.

48. Wilson 1980, p. 90–104.

49. Welander 1997, p. 166, 478; Morris 1975, p. 149–150.

50. Pevsner / Cherry 1975, p. 115–116.

51. Carter 1845, p. 5, pls. 9–10.

52. Crittall et *al.*1980, p. 3–19. Bishopstone (called *Ewelesburn'* [Ebbesbourne] *Episcopi* in the 1291 *Taxatio*) in south Wiltshire should not be confused with Bishopstone in north Wiltshire, which was a prebend of Salisbury Cathedral (this error occurred in my Ph.D. thesis).

53. This is recorded as happening in the Salisbury Bishop Registers on 21 October 1322; Edwards 1959, p. 273.

54. Crittall et *al.*1980, p. 19–77.

55. Hare 2017, p. 207.

56.The most likely patron of the Bishopstone chancel and transepts is Bishop Henry Woodlock (1305-16). He was almost certainly the patron of the important early set of canopied choir stalls at Winchester Cathedral underway in 1308, Tracy 1993, p. 9–12.

57. Cameron 2017, p. 151.

58. Cameron 2017b. In the survey for my Ph.D. thesis, I found that less than a sixth of all English sedilia date to the century-and-a-half covered by the Perpendicular style, compared to just over half from the Decorated Style, and a third from the thirteenth century.

59. Bucher 1976.