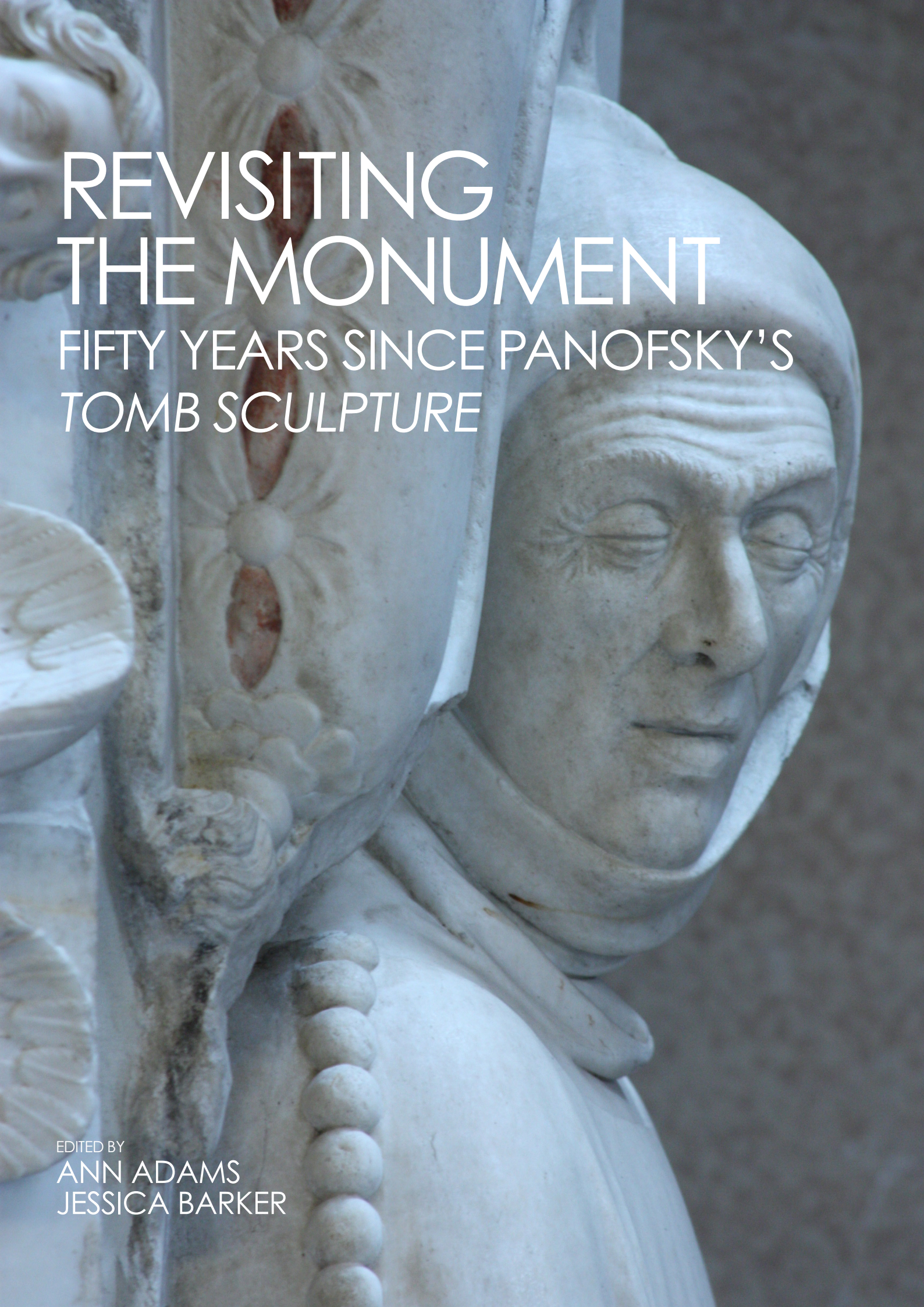

REVISITING THE MONUMENT

FIFTY YEARS SINCE PANOFSKY'S *TOMB SCULPTURE*

EDITED BY
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Detail of tomb of Jacopo de Carrara
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III. MONUMENTS AND MATERIALS

CHAPTER 7

COMPETING FOR *DEXTRA CORNU MAGNUM ALTARIS*: FUNERARY MONUMENTS AND LITURGICAL SEATING IN ENGLISH CHURCHES

JAMES ALEXANDER CAMERON

7.1
Effigy of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, before 1302, probably 1290s. Purbeck marble, Worcester Cathedral.

Erwin Panofsky's historical survey of the human perception of death through the morphosis of tomb sculpture includes an enormous amount of images in relation to its relatively short text. The intensely chronological arrangement of the plates, along with their monochrome presentation, is rather like walking through a museum of casts. The images of the monuments are presented for undistracted study of their iconography, often isolated

from their original spatial context and architectural location. It must be assumed that Panofsky had not seen the vast majority of his examples in person, owing to the late stage in his career when the lecture series was conceived, their diverse and often remote locations, and also because of his established practice of working from reproductions.[1] Nevertheless, neglect of the context of tomb monuments within the edifices that housed them when considering their meaning and significance is a serious omission throughout much of *Tomb Sculpture*. Panofsky acknowledges that the conversion from paganism to Christianity caused a significant change in cultural attitudes to the dead body, and that it began to be buried inside or in the vicinity of buildings housing religious ritual, which had never been the case before.[2] Although Panofsky pays this matter little attention from then on, it is an extremely important point. Whereas pre-Christian funerary sculpture was essentially free in what choices could be made in its scale and form, in the Middle Ages it had to co-exist with the liturgical life of the church: a situation that influenced decisions regarding its appearance. It has been noted that a gradual intrusion of individual commemoration into the domain of the sacred took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and was a phenomenon that met with resistance from custodians of the buildings, and proved controversial among commentators of the time.[3] This chapter will focus on monuments in the liturgical heart of the church building—the sanctuary of the high altar—and the conflict and compromise with the essential furniture of its ceremony revealed either in historical records or in the very fabric of the tombs themselves. A famous complaint by the Primate of England at the turn of the fourteenth century against a fellow prelate's tomb will act as the point of departure.

On 10 January 1302, Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent a letter from the archiepiscopal palace in Mayfield (Sussex) to the prior and sacrist of Worcester Cathedral following a recent metropolitan visitation.[4] It concerned the apparently new arrangement by the Cathedral's high altar of the tomb of the revered John of Countances (†1198) and the monument of the incumbent bishop Godfrey Giffard (†26 January 1302) (fig. 7.1).[5] Giffard's monument is described by Winchelsey as a lofty and sumptuous structure of carved stone, with pinnacles carved above in the manner of a tabernacle ('quisbusdam pinnaculis ad modum tabernaculi superius fabricatis alta et sumptuosa structura lapidum excisorum'), a rare medieval description of a work of microarchitecture, albeit in a context of disapproval rather than admiring ekphrasis.[6] He judged the impact that they had on the liturgical furniture of the altar to be unacceptable:

> *… locum occupat ubi pro sacerdote et aliis ministris ipsius altaris in missarum celebracione deberent juxta morem aliarum ecclesiarum sedilia preparari ac lumen sufficens eidem altari a locus oportunis inferri, impeditur per hoc nichilominus indecenter.*

> …[the two tombs] occupy the place where according to the custom of other churches seats should be prepared for the priest and other ministers of the altar at the celebration of the Mass and improperly prevent sufficient light from falling from the natural quarter upon the altar.

7.2
Prince Arthur's Chantry, south side (c.1502-15), with fragments of tomb of Bishop Giffard and the tomb of a lady (Matilda d'Evereux?), from south-east transept, Worcester Cathedral.

The Archbishop instructed that John of Countances be removed to his former position (we are not told where that was), and that, again, '*sedilia*' should be set up.[7] He closes his letter with the startling demand that Giffard's own tomb be completely disassembled (*totaliter demoliri*) within eight days. There is no record of precisely when the letter arrived at Worcester, but it must have been at the most inappropriate of times, since Bishop Giffard died twelve days after its date of composition. The Prior gave his reply on 12 February to say that he wished to postpone the removal of the tomb to avoid public scandal.[8]

It is not clear what ultimately happened to Giffard's tomb because of the installation of Prince Arthur's cage chantry on the south side of the altar after 1502.[9] This Tudor structure has clearly been designed to incorporate some earlier material in a crypt-like section on the side facing the choir transept, which almost certainly includes sections of Bishop Giffard's tomb (fig. 7.2). In the western section is a recumbent effigy of a bishop under a horizontal gable with a cinquefoil arch. It is most probable that this represents Bishop Giffard, although the use of Purbeck marble and details of his costume have been suggested as rather archaic even for the 1290s.[10] Winchelsey commanded that the tomb monument of Giffard 'shall be removed from that spot and placed lower down; and be erected with sufficient honour, at some distance, but near that spot, on its south side, where it may be more plainly seen by those who pass by'.[11] This would be entirely consistent with the effigy's location on the floor of the eastern south transept, rather than the elevated pavement of the sanctuary.[12] In the shorter eastern section of the chantry's 'crypt' is a female effigy of very similar style, who is likely to be Giffard's sister Matilda d'Evereux, who was recorded in the Cathedral annals as being interred next to the place of her episcopal brother.[13] These two effigies are also related by reliefs underneath them, partly obscured by the mullions of the Tudor structure, which may be the original two sides of the Bishop's tomb chest, particularly as that under the lady has been truncated by one quatrefoil to fit her shorter length.[14] The iconography within the quatrefoils of these panels is problematic, but it would seem to be a programme focused around the resurrection of the body through

7.3
Tomb of Bishop William Louth, south side (c.1298). Stone, Ely Cathedral.

the wounds of Christ and devotion to the saints.[15] These fragments hint at the high quality of Giffard's destroyed tomb, and the importance that it must have had in the design history of English episcopal monuments.[16]

Giffard's controversial canopy *'ad modum tabernaculi'* is entirely lost. Either it was destroyed as soon as he was moved down from the sanctuary pavement by metropolitan decree; or if it was relocated, survived until the sixteenth century until being cleared away for the Tudor Prince's new burial chapel, perhaps prompted by structural problems in its new location.[17] There are no precise parallels for the lost canopy from monuments directly related to the surviving tomb chest panels and effigy, but counterparts could be

7.4
Prince Arthur's Chantry, north side with built-in four-seat sedilia (c.1502–15), from high altar sanctuary, Worcester Cathedral.

suggested in the multiple Rayonnant pierced gables over the earlier monument to Bishop Aquablanca (†1268) in the north transept of Hereford Cathedral, or the 'ciborium tombs' of the Kentish-Westminster masons from around the turn of the fourteenth century, such as Bishop Louth's tomb at Ely (fig. 7.3).[18] Despite its ostentation, the enormous Tudor chantry appears to have remembered the complaint of two centuries before, as it prudently has four individual seats projecting on the altar side, which, while simple, are unique in the corpus of sedilia (fig. 7.4).[19]

Winchesley's use of the word '*sedilia*' is potentially deceptive to a modern reader, as now the word is used ubiquitously to refer to the seats for the priest, deacon and subdeacon celebrating a high Mass, commonly found in the form of three deep niches set in the walls of parish church chancels, surmounted by arches and separated by shafts.[20] However, the particular use of the Latin plural noun '*sedilia*' for these seats was only coined in the 1790s, subsequently achieving ubiquity in the Victorian era.[21] Instead, as the current author has demonstrated, '*sedilia*' was used in the Middle Ages to refer to simple, undemarcated bench-like seats.[22] Winchelsey was not asking for ornate sculpted stone niches on the scale of the Giffard tomb canopy, but instead may have envisioned a purely functional piece of liturgical furniture: perhaps no more than a plank of wood with a plinth at each end.[23] His use of '*preparari*' recalls the phrase '*sedibus ad hoc paratis*' ('seats that have been prepared') which is used in the Sarum Rite and other liturgies to refer to the officiating clergy's seats when they are first encountered in the rubrics for the High Mass.[24]

Winchelsey's complaint came at a time when stone sedilia had begun to rise in prominence as a genre: from a purely functional solution for seating the clergy in parish churches, to a desirable object often of some sophistication. The first sedilia with gables over the arches—giving them an appearance akin to statue niches or shrine microarchitecture—appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century.[25] Two notable examples are in the chantry chapels at Boyton (Wiltshire) and Bitton (Gloucestershire), founded respectively by the above Bishop Giffard of Worcester in 1279 and Bishop Bitton of Exeter in 1299.[26] This suggests that prelates were now becoming aware of sedilia as a site of display, and wished to install them in their churches. However, one of the common attributes of cathedral architecture is the incorporation of aisles around the presbytery and high altar, which obviates the practical form of mural sedilia.[27] There is surprisingly little evidence for sedilia in great churches: of the sixteen surviving original diocesan cathedrals, only Exeter, Rochester and Durham have authentic medieval sedilia of any prominence at the

7.5
Sedilia of high altar (c.1307). Wood with polychromy, Westminster Abbey.

high altar, and these are not coeval with the original builds but fourteenth-century additions.[28] What is clear is that Worcester Cathedral's high altar, in the east end extended and remodelled beginning 1224, did not have permanent sedilia at the time of Winchelsey's visitation.[29]

Tombs were also greatly increasing in both size and number in the presbyteries of churches, most noticeably in England at Westminster Abbey, in which Henry III's veneration of Edward the Confessor and his choice for burial beside him eventually led to its establishment as the English royal mausoleum.[30] It is where the earliest sedilia in an aisled church can be found, usually dated to c.1307: thirty-eight years after the high altar was consecrated in 1269 (fig. 7.5). Significantly for this investigation, they suggest a compromise with a pre-existing tomb niche constructed underneath. The sedilia consist of a large oak canopy of four gables supported by a lateral plank between the two piers of the sanctuary arcade.[31] Their architectural style is consistent with the other furnishings and tombs made for the Abbey in the 1290s and early 1300s, and the extremely fine images of kings and largely obliterated ecclesiastics which are painted behind the four seats are also suggestive of a date in the first decade of the fourteenth century.[32] The precise date of 1307 marks when the Saxon king Sebert was recorded as being translated into a new tomb in the Abbey church, to which the new sedilia appear to be connected. The medieval chronicles state only that Sebert was reinterred by the high altar, that his right arm was incorrupt,

7.6
Tomb niche (originally constructed c.1245-64) underneath sedilia, view from south ambulatory, Westminster Abbey.

and that he was honoured as the founder of the church.[33] The two kings painted behind the seats lend strength to the assumption that Sebert is in the niche facing the ambulatory directly underneath the sedilia, which has been called 'Sebert's tomb' since the seventeenth century, especially since there are no competing suggestions for his burial place (fig. 7.6).[34] The association of this niche with the royal imagery on the front of the sedilia increases when the original appearance of the ensemble is considered. The back wall of this tomb niche is filled with blind tracery of Perpendicular motifs which suggests that it was added to the niche much later—at the same time as Henry V's reredos and chantry—and that therefore before then the arch beneath the sedilia was open to the sanctuary side.[35] The front of the sedilia was first represented in 1775, when a member of the Society of Antiquaries (almost certainly the young William Blake) made a fine coloured and gilded drawing, which was engraved by Basire for publication in *Vetusta Monumentua*.[36] This shows the floor level in front of the sedilia much lower than it is now, with wooden panelling covering the area now buried under the pavement. The sanctuary floor in the medieval Abbey can be seen in the sixteenth-century Islip Roll to be straight-through without the current step before the bay of the sedilia and Crouchback Tomb.[37] Therefore the sedilia must have been so high above the original pavement as to be unusable, unless there was some sort of wooden staircase over the niche. However, the ensemble would have accentuated a connection between the painted figures of the wooden canopy and the tomb.

The reason for this impractical situation is because the tomb niche and sedilia were evidently not designed at the same time, and the niche only subsequently appropriated for King Sebert. Paintings of a spiked wheel—an attribute of St Catherine—and the head of a young queen survive at each end of the niche.[38] This suggests that it originally held either Henry III's Princess Katherine (†1257), the funeral of whom cost the enormous amount of

£51 12s 4d; or Edward I's daughter of the same name (†1264), who had burial expenses of £40, including two gold cloths decorated with Catherine wheels.[39] As royal infants were often relocated as competition for space around St Edward's shrine became heated, therefore Katherine—whichever Katherine it may have been—must have been ejected for the more revered founder king, her paintings covered, and at the same time then-fashionable sedilia installed above the tomb. Therefore, in the context of the episode five years earlier at Worcester, the Westminster sedilia may have been an experiment in installing such furniture in a great church beginning to be crowded by tombs, and their cheaper material and compromised position owed to the fact that such prominent sedilia were then a novelty in the great church.[40]

It was only further into the fourteenth century that great churches with ambulatories began to render the officiating clergy's seats in stone, with tabernacle-like canopies such as those that Winchelsey described upon the Giffard tomb, often associated with the new phenomenon of large stone altar reredoses. Shortly after Westminster came the sedilia at Exeter: the earliest extant freestanding stone sedilia set in an arcade (fig. 7.7).[41] Like Westminster, they were not part of the original campaign of the presbytery, the east portion of which was completed by c.1301-2.[42] They were added as an east-west return of the now-demolished enormous high altar screen-type reredos, documented 1316-28 in the fabric rolls under the tenure of Bishop Walter Stapledon, whose tomb survives opposite the sedilia across the sanctuary.[43] The semi-transparent and exceedingly lofty form of the sedilia is unlike any other before them: three seats with polygonal backs painted with fictive draperies, with brass columns supporting a magnificent set of stone canopies. These sedilia are much restored, owing a great amount of their fabric to the George Gilbert Scott restoration of the 1870s, but are reliable as evidence as to their original appearance.[44] The tall canopies were observed to contain 'plugs' for figures at the base of the triangular niches in 1874, and replacements were installed in the early twentieth century.[45] The identity of these lost figures, however, appears not to have simply carried on the programme of the altar screen with a generic display of saints.[46] Instead there is a notable similarity to the paintings at Westminster Abbey: secular royalty and an ecclesiastic. The identity of the three modern statues which occupy the three canopies today comes from a tradition first recorded in 1635 which says that the sedilia were formerly the seats of Bishop Leofric, Edward the Confessor, and his queen, Egytha.[47] This ultimately refers to the account that Leofric was installed at the new cathedral at Exeter after the see moved from Crediton, in a ceremony attended by the king and queen in 1050.[48] The sedilia are mentioned three times in the Dean and Chapter record books between 1638-39, which record an 'ancient monument contiguous to the altar' set up in memory of these three individuals.[49] For this memory to survive, it seems likely that these three statues were spared the iconoclasm that must have been wrought on the connected screen-reredos during the Reformation.[50] An account by Bruno Ryves in 1646, which stated that the puritans 'pluck down and deface the statue of an ancient queen, the wife of Edward the Confessor, mistaking it for the statue of

7.7
Sedilia of high altar (c.1316-28). Stone, Exeter Cathedral.

the blessed Virgin Mary', suggests that they may have been destroyed in the more reckless destruction of the Civil War.[51]

An important feature of the Exeter sedilia that has not been noticed is the uncommon emphasis that they have on lions, and how that this may be intended to make them a retrospective founder memorial like the Westminster sedilia. In addition to the drapery painting behind the seats in which lions hold the edges of the fabric in their mouths, lions appear as sculpted bases to the brass columns, and also consistently as stops to the initial arches of the canopies, looking down on a viewer before the sedilia. Lions are, of course, common iconography on thrones, being part of the Biblical imagery of the throne of Solomon.[52] Yet sedilia generally eschew throne-like iconography and features of wooden furniture for the purely architectural appearance of sheltering arcades and tabernacles, and subsequently lions are not typical iconography for sedilia.[53] Therefore the Exeter lions are plausibly a punning reference to Bishop Leofric, much as the multitude of owls in Bishop Oldham's (†1519) chapel in the same cathedral, which represent the first half of his surname in a similar way.[54] The tradition that the Exeter sedilia commemorated Bishop Leofric is strengthened by the parallel that it would form with the sedilia and tomb niche at Westminster Abbey. The resting place of Leofric's body, transferred from the Saxon to the Norman Cathedral in 1133, is not known.[55] The north wall of the south choir aisle under the sedilia is blank, except for a modern door to the sanctuary and late-eighteenth-century and later wall monuments, so it is certainly possible that some sort of monument was originally placed here when the choir was built, much as Westminster. However, unlike the crowded royal mausoleum, when the Exeter altar screen was erected the sedilia articulated the existing identity of the tomb underneath rather than reappropriating it.

A similar arrangement can be seen at Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire), where a set of gabled three-seat stone sedilia were built as part of the renovations to the Romanesque choir under the Despenser family. The back of the Tewkesbury sedilia form a tomb niche most likely interring the infamous Hugh the younger Despenser (†1326), facing into the ambulatory as at Westminster. That this solution for accommodating both liturgical furniture and a tomb in an esteemed position was seemingly emulated strengthens the concept that the English Crown's royal mausoleum was a model for the bourgeois Despensers.[56] However, unlike the niche open to both sides at Westminster, it is very difficult to perceive the relationship between the sedilia and the tomb simultaneously when present in the architectural space of either sanctuary or ambulatory. This suggests that there was no particular desire on the part of patrons to associate sedilia with their tombs, and that the above associations were down purely to competition for a particular spot, and conceived with a spirit of compromise. It is extremely rare to find such combinations of tomb and sedilia in parish churches. The sedilia at Wingfield (Suffolk), of the unusual form of three stone armchairs, are unique for their integration into the north side of the tomb chest with the effigies of Michael and Katherine de la Pole which dates c.1415 (fig. 7.8).[57] The sedilia, however, seem not to have been original to the chest, but added when the tomb was moved

7.8
Tomb of Michael and Katherine de la Pole, c.1415, set in arcade bay of 1460s with added sedilia. Collegiate parish church of Wingfield, Suffolk.

and the arcades were carried forward to embrace the sanctuary in the 1460s, which would have destroyed any mural sedilia in the originally unaisled sanctuary.[58] This modification discourages the assumption that the patrons envisioned a deliberate combination of their tomb with the sedilia, and implies again, that sedilia and tomb needed to be in the same spot, and thus a compromise achieved.[59] This is unlike the situation on the north side of

7.9
Tomb of Katherine Swynford (†1403, canopy probably late 17th century), truncating screenwork of c.1296 probably incorporating sedilia. Lincoln Cathedral.

the chancel with the Easter Sepulchre, where from the mid-fifteenth century many flat-topped tombs were placed with the explicit testamentary bequest that the wooden chest for the ritual entombment of the Host and cross on Good Friday be placed on top of it for the duration of the Paschal liturgy.[60] This may have developed due to a similar competition for space on the opposite side of the chancel, but here resolving into a more mutually beneficial solution, especially due to the desirability of the association of a real tomb with the symbolic tomb of Christ Himself.

In the later period, many mural sedilia must have been totally destroyed by the arcades of chantry chapels fully embracing the chancel such as at Wingfield. In great churches too, there is an indication that Archbishop Winchelsey's protection of the site of the sedilia from funerary monuments was no longer widely practised. In the set of stone screens added around the sanctuaries of Lincoln and Canterbury in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries respectively, later tombs now truncate sections of the stonework that may have formed sedilia of sorts. At Lincoln the choir was enclosed by screening associated with the tomb of the founding bishop Remigius and the Tomb of Christ/Sacrament Shrine in c.1296.[61] There is a small projecting ledge on the south side, surmounted by diapering and blind tracery with two flanking shafts cut short by a classical cornice added in the late sixteenth century (fig. 7.9). It has been suggested that this is one seat of the sedilia.[62] If so, the three further seats were obliterated by the chantry to Katherine Swynford, wife to John of Gaunt (†1403).[63] At Canterbury Cathedral, it is similarly often assumed that part of the high altar sedilia survive next to the tomb of John Stratford (†1348).[64] Initially, we can see that before the tenure of Winchelsey, prelates kept their tombs away from the high altar enclosure, instead preferring positions relating to St Thomas Becket and side chapels. The first extant monument to an archbishop is Hubert Walter (†1205), who is sited in an outer window embrasure near to Becket's shrine.[65] His successor Stephen Langton's (†1228) modest tomb is in the now much-remodelled chapel of St Michael off the south transept, and impressive canopied wall tomb of John Pecham (†1292) is in the north transept in the vicinity of Thomas' martyrdom.[66] Winchelsey's (†1313) own tomb was unfortunately all but destroyed at the Reformation, but he cannot be accused of hypocrisy as it occupied the centre of the south wall of the south-east transept.[67] Simon Meopham's (†1333) manages to fulfil a practical value in forming a screen across the entrance to the south-eastern chapel of the ambulatory.[68] Therefore the positioning of Stratford's tomb at the liturgical

centre of the Cathedral was a decision that could not have been taken lightly.[69] Stratford's tomb, although boasting exquisite canopy-work above, has a surprisingly diminutive effigy which means that the monument only occupies the western half of the first south bay after the eastern crossing of the choir. The eastern half of the bay still contains part of Prior Eastry's stone screening, documented as installed around the choir and sanctuary in 1304-05.[70] It would therefore appear Stratford's monument was made smaller than one might expect in order to occupy this position while still preserving this part of the Eastry enclosure, which may have possessed a special function. What distinguishes this part from the other (much more heavily restored) sections of screening between the rest of the sanctuary piers is that it features elaborate stellate diapering of intersecting ogees—the pattern of which is practically identical with the fictive painted fabric behind the priest's seat in the Exeter sedilia—and two small canopies poking above the cornice.[71] However, on close inspection there is no clear evidence that this screen incorporated a projecting seat.[72] The sedilia could also have been sited in the next bay to the east, which houses the tomb of Simon Sudbury (†1381). Sudbury's tomb—now a flat slab under a canopy, but originally with a gilt-metal effigy—shows no such humility with regard to size: unlike Stratford's tomb it occupies the whole length of the bay, obliterating the screening the bay must have previously held.[73]

Therefore, after the initial controversy between the Metropolitan bishop and Worcester Cathedral acting in favour of liturgical furniture, it appears that the decline in the popularity of stone sedilia and the increasing emphasis on personal commemoration in the later Middle Ages meant that it was the liturgical furniture that lost out in the ensuing competition for space at the high altar.[74] After the Reformation, the area around the high altar was increasingly used for the burial of gentry who had become lay rectors, and subsequently many sedilia were entirely obscured or destroyed by funerary monuments erected on the south side of the altar.[75] Sometimes, such as at the parish church of Warkton (Northamptonshire), the whole chancel itself became a mausoleum, entirely purged of its former status as a venue of living ritual and ceremony. It would not be until the Oxford Movement in the Victorian era that the space of the chancel was widely reclaimed for the liturgy, and many sedilia discovered from underneath such works of personal commemoration. The form and scale of church monuments has therefore been demonstrated to be influenced not just by the beliefs regarding death held by the patrons that they commemorated, but that it was also governed by the attitudes regarding the architectural spaces of the consecrated buildings in which they desired to be interred. Panofsky's observation that Christian burials are fundamentally tied to sacred space is a reminder for the art historian that the context of tomb sculpture in architectural and liturgical space is essential in understanding its morphology.

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2. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964), pp. 45-47.

3. Andrew Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 143–78.

4. The letter was copied both into the Canterbury bishop's register; Rose Graham, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 762; and the Worcester Liber Albus; James Maurice Wilson, *The Worcester Liber Albus: Glimpses of Life in a Great Benedictine Monastery in the Fourteenth Century* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), pp. 21–23. Full translation of the episode and consequences for the shrine of St Oswald can be found in Ute Engel, *Worcester Cathedral: An Architectural History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), pp. 202–26. Also Christopher Guy and John Hunter, 'Prince Arthur's Chapel and Tomb: An Archaeological Analysis', in Steven J. Gunn and Linda Monckton (eds), *Arthur Tudor, Prince Of Wales: Life, Death & Commemoration* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), p. 102.

5. The monument is implied as existing in Giffard's will of 1301, as he instructs that his interment should be in 'the tomb which is situated near the high altar, on the right'. J. M. Hall, 'The Will of Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester A.D. 1301', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 20 (1895-97): pp. 144–45. For Giffard's life, see Susan J. Davies, 'Giffard, Godfrey (1235?–1302)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10649.

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7. 'corpusque predicti sancti in locum pristinum restitui et predicta sedilia preparari'. For further suggestion that the saint's location was not Winchelsey's primary concern; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), p. 70.

8. Wilson, *The Worcester Liber albus*, p. 23.

9. The construction of the chantry is entirely undocumented. Its altar was dedicated in 1516; Mark Duffy, 'Arthur's Tomb and its Context', in Gunn and Monckton, *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales*, p. 80.

10. Christopher Guy and Catherine Brain, 'Medieval Ecclesiastical Effigies in Worcester Cathedral – Part 1', in Christopher Guy (ed.), *Archaeology at Worcester Cathedral. Report of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium* (Worcester: Worcester Cathedral, 2006), pp. 17-23. I would like to thank Chris Guy for sharing this article with me.

11. 'ipsum monumentum cum ejus structura hujusmodi ordinamus ab edem loco fore inferius deponendum, et ex pate australi prope eundem loco in ymo satis honorifice statuendum, ubi eciam a transeuntibus manifestius poterit contemplari'; Graham, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, vol. 1, p. 762.

12. Linda Monckton, 'Regional Architecture or National Monument? The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', in Gunn and Monckton, *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales*, p. 118.

13. 'juxta locum ubi episcopus frater'. Engel, *Worcester Cathedral*, p. 202, n. 8; Guy and Hunter, 'Prince Arthur's Chapel and Tomb', pp. 107–10. Matilda d'Evereux seems to be otherwise undocumented as an individual.

14. David Park has compared the quatrefoil design to the monument of Joan de Vere (†1292) in Chichester Cathedral; Park, 'The Giffard Monument', pp. 20-21.

15. While it is possible to suggest some Apostolic identities for these figures, as well as John the Evangelist with his eagle and John the Baptist, an overall programme is difficult to deduce, as many of the figures appear to hold large swords. The two most intriguing figures on each panel are those gesturing to a vescia-shaped wound on their chest, one youthful, and one bearded. This would parallel with Christ Showing His Wounds on a number of other tombs, e.g.; James Alexander Cameron, 'The Harington Tomb in Cartmel Priory' (Masters diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2011), pp. 40–41; however the precise iconography of the chest wound deserves further investigation.

16. For the importance of the episcopal monument in tomb design, see Nicholas Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', in John Coales (ed.), *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style, And Workshops, 1270-1350* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1987), pp. 8–68.

17. The lower levels of the Tudor cage chantry are hypothesised to be the original canopy of Giffard's tomb, heightened with the middle frieze of heraldry in Guy and Hunter, 'Prince Arthur's Chapel and Tomb', p. 107. However this is countered by Monckton, who accounts the appearance of fourteenth-century motifs on the Tudor chantry superstructure as part of a late medieval trend for revivalism, in this case the mason's close knowledge of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century monuments in the West Country associated with the Beauchamp family;

Monckton, 'The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', pp. 131–34.

18. Loveday Lewes Gee, '"Ciborium" tombs in England 1290-1330', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132 (1979): pp. 29–41; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 113–120; Phillip Lindley, 'The Tomb of Bishop William de Luda: An Architectural Model at Ely Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 73 (1984): pp. 75–87.

19. Monckton, 'The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', p. 119. These seats are visible in a view of the choir in 1823; Gerald Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries: Restoration and Change from 1530 to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 173.

20. James Alexander Cameron, 'Sedilia in Medieval England' (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2015). Before this PhD, sedilia were largely overlooked features, and their formal development not adequately assessed. Earlier overviews include Francis Bond, *The Chancel of English Churches* (London: H. Milford, 1916), pp. 176–203; John Charles Cox and Alfred Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (London: Methuen and co., 1908), pp. 67–74; Carol Davidson Cragoe (as Carol Foote Davidson), 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125- c.1250' (PhD diss., Birkbeck College, University of London, 1999), pp. 166–74 and Justin E. A. Kroesen, *The Interior of the Medieval Village Church* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 148–53.

21. James Alexander Cameron, '"Sedilia in choro sunt fracta": The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168 (2015): pp. 112-13.

22. Cameron, 'The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', pp. 115-17.

23. Items documented as *cathedrae* in church inventories may have served as the sedilia, but their form is unclear. In greater churches elaborate chairs, resembling the Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey, may have been used.; Cameron, 'The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', pp. 118-22.

24. Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum: The Original Texts Edited from the MSS* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898-1901), p. 66. See also Cameron, 'The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', pp. 113-15.

25. James Alexander Cameron, 'From Hole-In-The-Wall to Heavenly Mansions: The Microarchitectural Development of Sedilia in Thirteenth-Century England', *Microarchitecture et figure du bâti: l'échelle à l'épreuve de la matière* (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2017), forthcoming.

26. John McNeill, 'A Prehistory of the Chantry', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164 (2011): pp. 18–19.

27. A freestanding high altar is considered a defining element of a great church in Harry Batsford and Charles Fry, *The Greater English Church of the Middle Ages* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1940), p. 46.

28. Including the six abbeys raised to cathedrals by Henry VIII; Gloucester, Westminster and Chester also have fourteenth-century high altar sedilia. A full account of all great church sedilia can be found in Cameron, 'Sedilia in Medieval England', pp. 135–53.

29. Barrie Singleton, 'The Remodelling of the East End of Worcester Cathedral in the Earlier Part of the Thirteenth Century', in Glenys Popper (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* (London: British Archaeological Association, 1978), pp. 105–15.

30. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, pp. 90–120.

31. Lucy Wrapson, 'The Materials and Techniques of the c.1307 Westminster Abbey Sedilia', in Jilleen Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History: Studies in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Unn Plahter* (London: Archetype Publications, 2006), pp. 114–36.

32. Paul Binski, '"A Sign of Victory": The Coronation Chair, Its Manufacture, Setting and Symbolism', in Richard Welander, David John Breeze, and Thomas Owen Clancy (eds), *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), pp. 210–11; Warwick Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone: History, Archaeology and Conservation* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), p. 79.

33. Walsingham only says 'in novam basilicam'; Henry Thomas Riley (ed.), *Thomæ Walsingham, quondam monachi S. Albani, historia Anglicana* (London: Longman, 1863), p. 114. Flete adds '*juxta altare quod sanctus Petri dedicaverat*'; Joseph Armitage Robinson (ed.), *The History of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), p. 45.

34. Henry Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia, or, an historical account of the original, increase, and present state of St. Peter's, or, the Abbey Church of Westminster* (London, 1682), p. 35. Binski relates the honouring of an ancient founder king in this position with the Dagobert monument at Saint-Denis; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 123. However there are a significant amount of founders' tombs on the north side of the sanctuary, see especially Veronica Sekules, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered', in T. A. Heslop and Veronica Sekules (eds), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral* (London: British Archaeological Association, 1986), pp. 118–31.

35. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 124. The top of the relieving arch of the tomb is still visible on the sanctuary side.

36. Joseph Ayloffe, 'An Account of Some Ancient Monuments in Westminster Abbey', *Vetusta Monumenta* 2 (1789), pp. 1–15 (separate pagination). Wrapson, 'The Westminster Abbey Sedilia', pp. 117–18 suggests that the mullions between the seats in this image may be partly original.

37. William Henry St John Hope, *The Obituary Roll of John Islip* (Westminster: Society of Antiquaries, 1906).

38. George Gilbert Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (Oxford: J. Henry and J. Parker, 1863), p. 165; Paul Binski and Ann Massing (eds), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation* (Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, 2009), p. 310. Currently the painting is in a very poor state, with the head and much of the soffit covered by a protective layer of paper.

39. Joan Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 16 (1953): pp. 26–27; Sally Badham, 'Whose Body? Monuments Displaced from St Edward the Confessor's Chapel, Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 160/1 (2007): pp. 130–34. There is also a strong tradition of the burial of Katherine in the south ambulatory, but this could be attributed to the presence of the moved Cosmati monument in the outer wall, which is within sight of the sedilia niche; Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, 'The Tomb Monument of Katherine, Daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence (1253–7)', *The Antiquaries Journal* 92 (2012): p. 173.

40. Although Binski hypothesises that the wooden construction of the sedilia was to render them moveable for important events such as coronations; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 141, this has been shown to be untenable due to the tin-relief over structural dowels; Wrapson, 'The Westminster Abbey Sedilia', pp. 131–32. It is also possible that the material may be due to a rush to get the sanctuary ready for Edward II's coronation on 25 February 1308; Wrapson, 'The Westminster Abbey Sedilia', pp. 121, 131. The hierarchy of material finds parallel in the Coronation Chair, which is documented as originally intended to be bronze; Binski, 'A Sign of Victory', pp. 208–09.

41. Veronica Sekules, 'The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral', in Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 1985 (Leeds: W.S. Maney, 1991), p. 172; Veronica Sekules, 'Early 14th-Century Liturgical Furnishings', in Michael Swanton (ed.), *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration* (Exeter: Dean and Chapter of Exeter, 1991), p. 115.

42. Virginia Jansen, 'The Design and Building of the Eastern Arm of Exeter Cathedral c.1270-1310: A Qualified Study', in Kelly, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, p. 43. The western choir went up in 1309-10, and the east portion was then remodelled with a triforium in 1318 when the altar screen was being erected; Jansen, 'The Eastern Arm of Exeter Cathedral', pp. 46–49.

43. Percy Morris, 'Exeter Cathedral: A Conjectural Restoration of the Fourteenth-Century Altar-Screen pt. I', *Antiquaries Journal* 23 (1943): p. 131.

44. They were engraved by James Basire and John Carter for the Society of Antiquaries, *Some account of the cathedral church of Exeter: Illustrative of the plans, elevations, and sections, of that building* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1797), p. 22, plate X, and underwent a shortening of the canopies by Kendall around 1820; Herbert E. Bishop and Edith K. Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter* (Exeter: James G. Commin, 1922), p. 57, criticised for the replacing of the original ornament with 'something like cabbages for finials' in *Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* 1 (1843): p. 179. Scott restored the canopies to their original height with some 1,400 new pieces of stone; Sekules, 'The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral', p. 173; Sekules, 'Early 14th-Century Liturgical Furnishings', p. 115; Morris, 'Exeter Altar Screen pt. 1', pp. 137–38.

45. William Cotton and Henry Woollcombe, *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1877), part 2, pp. 8–9; Bishop and Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter*, p. 58.

46. Although its construction is well-documented, we know very little of the imagery of the screen. All that can be gleaned from the fabric rolls is that there were figures made of Saints Peter, Paul and the Virgin, and probably an Annunciation scene; Sekules, 'Early 14th-Century Liturgical Furnishings', p. 115.

47. Richard Pearse Chope, *Early Tours in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter: Augustus M Kelley, 1918), p. 89; Richard Gough, *Sepulchral monuments in Great Britain applied to illustrate the history of families, manners, habits, and arts from the Norman conquest to the seventeenth century: with introductory observations* (London, 1786), p. 60; Samuel Denne, 'Remarks on the Stalls near the Communion Table in Maidstone Church, with an Enquiry into the Place of Burial of Archbishop Courtney', *Archaeologia* 10 (1789): pp. 266–67.

48. John Thurmer, 'The Cathedral Constitution', in Swanton, *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, p. 13; Vyvyan Hope, L. J. Lloyd, and Audrey M Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral: A Short History and Description* (Exeter: Exeter Cathedral, 1988), pp. 5–6.

49. Cotton and Woollcombe, *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records*, part 2, p. 8; Bishop and Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter*, p. 61.

50. Morris, 'Exeter Altar Screen pt. 1', pp. 123–24.

51. George Oliver, *The History of the City of Exeter* (Exeter: William Roberts, 1821), p. 123.

52. 1 Kings 10:19; Francis Wormald, 'The Throne of Solomon and Saint Edward's Chair', *Walpole Society* 31 (1942-43): pp. 109–12.

53. Some examples appear on the beheaded armrests of the fourteenth-century drop-sill sedilia in Earl Stonham and Gazeley (both Suffolk), which are unusual for their armchair-like appearance. A pair of happy and sad lions appears among the characterful spandrel faces of the more traditional mural three-niche sedilia at Cossington (Leicestershire).

54. Bridget Cherry, 'Some Cathedral Tombs', in Swanton, *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, p. 162.

55. Philip Freeman, *Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1888), p. 57; John Hellins, 'The Alleged Tomb of Bishop Leofric in Exeter Cathedral', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 19 (1887): pp. 675–78; Hope, Lloyd, and Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 99–100.

56. The sedilia and the recess are dated to the resumption of work on the choir in the early 1330s, after work had come to a halt in the 1320s with the downfall of the Despensers; Richard K. Morris, 'Tewkesbury Abbey: The Despenser Mausoleum', *Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society Transactions* 93 (1975): pp. 149–50.

57. John A. A. Goodall, *God's House At Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 55, 57; Monckton, 'The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', p. 120.

58. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, pp. 57–62.

59. The Markham Chantry (c.1508) to the right of the choir of Newark, complete by 1498, is clearly designed to respect the pre-existing sedilia, also of stone armchair form and likely preserved from an earlier building; Cameron, 'Sedilia in Medieval England', p. 69; Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *Nottinghamshire* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 184.

60. Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1987), pp. 39–41. Sheingorn says such wills are 'widespread', indeed there are a number found in her catalogue. Sometimes the desired association of their grave with the wooden furniture of the Paschal liturgy is clear in the documents and through the surviving tomb's flat-topped appearance; Faversham (Kent), p.179; Raynham (Kent), p. 245, Newark (Nottinghamshire), p. 287 and Hamsey (Sussex), p. 332, although more often the tomb does survive e.g.: p. 171, p. 181, p. 190, p. 227, p. 234, p. 287. For more on flat-topped tombs see chapter 9 by Ann Adams in this volume.

61. The date comes from a comparison with the cloister arcading, which is documented as under construction in 1296; Sekules, 'Development of the Sacrament Shrine', p. 118.

62. Nikolaus Pevsner, John Harris, Nicholas Antram, *Lincolnshire* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 473.

63. John Hooper Harvey, *Catherine Swynford's Chantry* (Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral, 1971).

64. Anthony Reader-Moore, 'The Liturgical Chancel of Canterbury Cathedral. An Essay in Antiquarian Research', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 73 (1979): pp. 30–31, followed by Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 468.

65. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 454–58

66. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 458–59, 459–64.

67. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 464.

68. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 465–68.

69. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 468.

70. Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Routledge, 1981), pp. 142–43.

71. For the relation of the stellate diaper work to the oeuvre of Michael of Canterbury; Christopher Wilson, 'Gothic Metamorphosed: The Choir of St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol and the Renewal of European Architecture around 1300', in Jon Cannon and Beth Williamson (eds), *The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: An Enigma Explored* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), p. 107.

72. Also for consideration is that Stratford's tomb was leaving space for the altar of St Dunstan, which was somewhere on the south side of the high altar, flanking it along with that of St Alphege on the north side. Reader-Moore, 'The Liturgical Chancel of Canterbury Cathedral', p. 30.

73. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 471–72.

74. Sedilia from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century make up only about 15% of the English corpus. Just over half of English sedilia date from the period of the Decorated Style (c.1290s to the third quarter of the fourteenth century). Mural south-side sedilia are extremely rare before 1200, and unknown before the twelfth century.

75. For instance, Sir Robert Brett (†1624) in West Malling (Kent); the rector Peter Boundy (†1730) in Edmondthorpe (Leicestershire); and William Windham (†1810) in Felbrigg (Norfolk).